

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL AND AFRICAN STUDIES,
University of London.

THE VERBAL SYSTEM IN A DIALECT OF NUBIAN.

being a description of the
verbal function in the structures
called "relatio" and "relatio adjunct.

As spoken in the Halfa district.

Thesis

Presented for the Degree of Ph.D.

by

Abd el Rahman AYOUB.

June, 1952.

ProQuest Number: 10731419

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10731419

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

Abstract of
The Verbal system of the Nubian language
as spoken in the Halfa district

being a study
of the Verbal function in the structures called,
relatio, conjunct and adjunct.

This work is based on the assumption that linguistic analysis is the abstraction of units and the arrangement of these units in categories. This involves the abstraction of types of relationship between these units, since it is these types that are the formal criteria by which the categories are set up.

We abstract two main categories, root and affix. Groups of these are of three types, adjunct, conjunct and relatio.

An adjunct is composed of members (which can be roots, adjuncts, conjuncts or certain types of relatio) linked together by juxtaposition or by the use of certain affixes called "links".

A conjunct is composed of a "base" (which can be a root, an adjunct, a conjunct or certain types of relatio) and one or more affixes of the class called "formatives."

A relatio is composed of relata (which can be roots, adjuncts, conjuncts or certain types of relatio) and certain affixes called "marks".

We depart from the traditional order of grammatical analysis and begin with the study, not of nominals and verbal

(which are classes of roots, conjuncts and adjuncts) but of "relatio". We do this for two reasons:-

1. Because theoretically it is more in accord with the descending approach, from the whole to the abstracted components.
2. The marks of the relations are in some cases the only formal criteria for differentiating between a term when it is verbal or nominal.

A brief survey of the nominal relatum, root, adjunct and conjunct, is followed by a fuller account of the verbal relation.

Prefixes and infixes can be joined to the verbal, whether a base of a conjunct, a member of an adjunct or a relatum. But particular suffixes are used for each case.

These prefixes, infixes and suffixes are exponents of a number of categories such as mood, negation, voice, mode, concord and aspect.

We conclude with the study of the "relatio adjunct". This is a group of nexal relations formally related in one of two ways:-

1. By the fact that a nexal relation functions as a relatum in a larger nexal relation.
2. By the use of certain affixes to link two nexal relations.

Fifteen texts with translation are given at the end. One of these is fully analysed so as to illustrate these points.

FOREWORD.

When I registered for the Ph.D degree, a choice of the subject depended mainly on the informant I could find. Some time was spent searching before I found a Gala who unfortunately and without warning returned to Abyssinnia after two months. Another was found and lost in the same way.

By chance, I discovered that a Nubian, Hasan Fadl of Gumay, was employed by the Egyptian Minister in London. This contact seemed to be of a more lasting nature. I therefore approached the Minister, who kindly allowed him to help me, but even so our meetings were few and irregular because of the nature of his work and our progress was slow because he was not able to read or write.

After a few months the Egyptian Government approved my journey to the Sudan for field work. It was interrupted by an official delay of two precious months (January and February) which meant that I had to work in the hottest and most unsuitable time of the year.

In spite of the help given by my friends in Halfa, the problem of finding a regular informant was not satisfactorily solved. It was only when I decided to live in Ishkade - a little village north of Halfa, where I began to mix with non-Arabic speaking Nubians - that I was able to collect any

useful material. This was taken at intervals to Halfa, for discussion with some of my educated friends there, who were on such occasions of great help.

I was always faced with three dangers. The uneducated villagers, although they eventually ceased to think of me as an official, were always ready to agree with me rather than to dispute. Their reverence for books was another obstacle.

The educated, on the other hand, were more liable to think of what they should say rather than what is actually said. They also were greatly influenced by the Arabic, and in some cases by English, grammar. Interminable disputes arose out of certain utterances which I had already registered. Added to this, dialectical differences were found within a very small area; for instance, on opposite banks of the river. Some of these appear in the texts provided in this work, which were written by people belonging to different localities.

I registered on cards utterances heard by accident which seemed to be relevant to a certain structure, and, because it was useless to ask direct grammatical questions, about tense or person for instance, I had either to provide an Arabic sentence and ask for translation, or to construct what I thought would be the required form. Neither of these methods is wholly satisfactory, because for one Arabic sentence there might be a

number of Nubian translations and the form sought after might never be found. The latter was also unsatisfactory because the villagers often agreed, quite mistakenly. A linguist has always to overcome such disadvantages. A single instance is final. Having suggested an utterance or having constructed an example, which has been met with approval, it was always necessary to create circumstances in which they would be likely to use it quite naturally. Those forms found to be not in current use, had to be abandoned.

I had with me the following books:- *

(1) Die Nuba-Sprache by Leo Reinisch, Wien, 1879.

(2) Nubisch Studiern in Sudan (collected papers),
Almkuist, Uppsala, 1911.

and (3) Notes from Nubische Grammatik by R. Lepsius,
Berlin, 1880.

They were useful in suggesting paradigms and inspiring enquiry, but I had to be careful not to allow them to influence my approach to the problem at an early stage. The illiterate people, particularly women and children, provided the most valuable instances. Educated people, on the other hand, helped to fill the gaps in my paradigms.

I stayed in the Halfa district for six months, mostly in Ishkade and occasionally in some of the surrounding villages.

* These books are referred to in this work by the Authors only.

It was only towards the end of this period that I began to perceive the structure of Nubian and the system I have adopted here. Coming back to London and arranging the material in its final order, I found that in most cases either my paradigms were incomplete, or that on further consideration of the work as a whole, they needed modification. Again, there was no informant to consult, Hasan having left London because the Minister was transferred to New York. After some time I found another Nubian - Ahmed Awad of Sarra - working in London, who also could not read or write and who could only give very irregular help, but by then I had a better understanding of the whole problem.

I do not suggest that this is the final word on the Nubian language. If anything, it is an attempt to analyse it in terms of its own structure, and not in terms of Latin or Arabic grammar. No doubt there is room for improvement. I had to make decisions based on the available material. I also abandoned some forms because I had not enough material. All this may have to be reconsidered in the light of further data.

The work is in Five Parts. Part I is devoted to NOTES ON TRANSCRIPTION, and A REVIEW OF TERMINOLOGY. Part II to the structure called RELATIO AND ITS MORPHOLOGICAL COMPONENTS, RELATA AND MARKS. Part III to the use of

MORE THAN ONE RELATIO. Part IV contains CONJUGATION TABLES OF THE VERBAL "KAB" = TO EAT. These do not cover all the possible affixations which are too many to be given in a work of this sort. Part V provides (1) TEXT, Fully Analysed according to the Approach suggested and other 15 translated Texts written in narrow Transcription. I have tried to provide a brief description of the social life of the Nubians in these texts.

At this stage, I can only wonder how much of this study of Nubian can explain certain features of Egyptian and Sudanese Arabic. I am conscious of many Egyptian and Sudanese expressions, which immediately suggest Nubian ones. This may be a cultural question, but the relation between the cultural and linguistic studies, especially in the field of semantics, is obvious.

I am also conscious of certain structural similarities between Nubian and Egyptian Arabic, such as the structure called here "a Verbal Adjunct" and that called in my M.A. Thesis "Poly-nomial Verb". These similarities may be explained by further study of Nubian and Egyptian Arabic, coupled with the study of Coptic.

C O N T E N T S.

PART I.

	<u>Page</u>
Chapter 1.	
On transcription 	1
Chapter 2.	
Basic abstractions and terminology 	9

PART II.

The Relatio - Chapter 1. 	274
Transitive and Intransitive Verbals.	27
The Nexal Relatio 	29
1 - (s-v) relatio 	29
Synthetic (s-v) relatio	30
2 - "men" relatio 	31
3 - "illin" " 	33
4 - "gen" " 	34
The Non-nexal relations 	37
1 - (o-v) relatio 	37
2 - (c-v) relatio 	41
Chapter 2.	
The nominal conjunct 	48
The nominal adjunct 	54

	<u>Page.</u>
A - The Zero linked	54
1 - The non-numeral	54
2 - The numeral	56
B - The Positively linked	58
1 - With "in"	58
2 - With "go:n"	61
3 - With "ya:" or "aw"	63
4 - With "wala:"	63
Chapter 3.	
The Verbal relatum	64
The verbal conjunct	64
1 - "ay" formative	64
2 - "kir" formative	66
Verbal affixation	67
Prefixes and infixes	68
Chapter 4.	
The Suffixes	88
The formative	
"innan"	92
"e"	96
"am"	99
"i-o"	102
"atti"	106
The links	108
The verbal adjunct	108

	<u>Page</u>
1 - Serial adjunct	108
2 - "go:n" adjunct	112
3 - The loose adjunct	114
Terminations	116

Chapter 5.

Affixes as category exponents

Termination	129
1. Mood	129
2. Tense	130
3. Negative	131
4. Temporal	132
5. Concord	137

Prefixes and infixes

Modes

1. The persuasive	146
2. Consequential	149
3. Ego Centric	150
4. Mode of recollection	151

The Aspect

1. The Imperfective	152
2. The Perfective	153
3. The Habitual	155
4. The Durative	156
5. The Stative	157
6. The Prospective	158

	<u>Page.</u>
The Causative	159
The Passive	160

PART III.

The Relatio Adjunct	162
The Adjunctive relations	163
(1) "e" form	163
(2) "ri:" form	166
The links	
"log"	193
"du:tin"	194
"ba:d"	196
"gabil-la"	198
"dan"	199
"watti-ga"	200
"sa:min"	201
"do"	202
"gaddi-ga"	203
"nagitta"	205
"alag-ka"	206
"ga"	208
"go:n"	210
"ya:"	211
"aw"	211
"wala:"	211

	<u>Page</u>
"e:n" 	212
"ta:n" 	214
"ey" 	215
The Conditional links ...	220
Reported Speech 	230

PART IV.

Conjugation Tables 	239
----------------------------------	-----

PART V.

Text

1 - Analysed text ...	275
2 - Translated text ...	300

P A R T I.

=====

INTRODUCTORY.

CHAPTER 1.

ON TRANSCRIPTIONTHE CONSONANTS.

The following are symbols used for the transcription of consonants

1) The plosives.

b. - bilabial voiced plosive.,

e.g. "buru:" = girl, "hambarte: = weeds,
"nab" = gold, "dubba" = accursed, "irabb" = god.

p. - bilabial voiceless plosive.

This is only found as an initial sound in three affixes.

(I) "pa" (an exponent of the mark "ga" - see P. 38).

e.g. "kita:b-pa 'dumm" = Take the book.

(II) "pu:" (an exponent of the plural suffix "gu" - (see P.52)

e.g. "se:nab-pu:" = Senab's people.

(III) "po:n" (an exponent of the affix "go:n" - see P. 62).

e.g. "kita:b po:n 'gelem go:n-g ekkir" = Bring the
book and the pen.

t. - dental voiceless plosive

e.g. "tukk" = beat, "hataba" = door-step,
"ittir" = a sort of food, "kutt" = stand up.

d. - alveolar voiced plosive

e.g. "dumm" = catch, "a:dam" = man, "kudu:d" = young
"eddi" = hand, "kadd" = throw away.

k - voiceless velar plosive,

e.g. "kutt" = stand up, "takkir" = do like this,

"sukk" = go down.

g - voiced velar plosive,

e.g. "gurra-fi:-n" = pleased, "agar" = place, "mug" = dog.

2) The nasals.

These are represented by four symbols

m - voiced bilabial nasal

e.g. "mug" = dog, "aman" = water,

"man" = that, "hamma:m" = pigeon, "dumm" = catch.

n - voiced alveolar nasal

e.g. "no:g" = house, "aman" = water, "unn" = to give birth.

ñ - voiced palatal nasal,

e.g. "ña:ñu:b" = seaweed, "koñ" = face, "taññ" = go.

ɲ - voiced velar nasal,

e.g. "taɲis" = name, "tuɲe" = a type of fish,

"bo:ɲ" = the lowing of a cow.

3) The laterals.

r - voiced rolled lateral

e.g. "oro" = south, "arr" = bring,

"agar" = place, "urrag" = first

Arabic words with an initial "r" have a vowel preceding the "r" when they are initial in a phonetic piece. No Nubian word begins with an "r". e.g. "urum'ma:n" = pomegranate

"arah'ma" = mercy

"ira:ydo" = radio

l - voiced unrolled lateral,
 e.g. "jelew" = wash, "nal" = look,
 "malle" = all, "jill" = remember.

4) The fricatives

f - voiceless labio-dental,
 e.g. "fag" = goat, 'dafar = pain
 "koffa:re" = a curse to a dog, "se:f" = sword,
 "koff" = shut

s - voiceless alveolar fricative,
 e.g. "sam'mir" = dry, "unuska:r" = midwife,
 "taɲis" = name, "sas'su:r" = sparrow
 "koss" = palm tree branch.

ʃ - palato alveolar fricative,
 e.g. "ʃaddo" = outside, "maʃa" = sun,
 "uʃa" = slave girl, "faʃʃ" = stretch, "biris" = mat.

h - guttural voiceless fricative,
 e.g. "ho:ɸ" = to bray, "u'hu:ni" = when,
 "do:h" = clever, "kuhh" = cough.

5) The affricates.

tʃ - voiced alveolar affricate,
 e.g. "jelli" = work, "enji:" = women, "kaj" = donkey,
 "kaba-fi:-jj-ur" = We are full up.

c - voiceless palatal affricate,
 e.g. "bale:-nci:" = marriage festivals, "acc" = bite.

6) The semi vowels.

w - bilabial semi-vowel

e.g. "waraw" = run, "awa" = night, "a:w" = do,

"daw'wu" = big,

y - palatal semi-vowel,

e.g. "yo:'yo" = a call to the mother, "oy'ye" = a type of vegetable

"ho:y" = butter, "fiyy" = sleep.

THE VOWELS.

The following symbols are used for transcribing vowels

- i. front close e.g. "id" = man, "i:'dir" = send
- e. front half close e.g. "ed" = to take, "ge:l" = red
- a. open e.g. "agar" = place, "fa:'b" = father
- o. back half close with lip rounding e.g. "ogoj" = young man,
"ho:ɣ" = to bray.
- u. back close with lip rounding, e.g. "umuska:r" = midwife
"ña:ñu:b" = seaweed.

Length is marked by (:) following the vowel symbol.

The following conventions have been adopted in the transcription

The Space

Space is used

before new words

e.g. "ay kab-eda kis-s" = I came after I had eaten.

before and after sounds that are found between a copulative "a" and the final vowel of the preceding relatum (see P. 32.) e.g. "in aʒri y a" = This is good.

before and after "l" that is found after the final single sound of the nominal relatum of a nexal relatio. (See P. 36.) e.g. "u: 'l ukk-us" = We heard.

An "n" is found in the same position as "l" when the relatum ends in an "n", and an "r" when it ends with an "r". They will also be preceded and followed by a space, e.g. "in 'agar r aʒri y a" = This place is pleasant.

"hasan n aʒri y a" = Hasan is pleasant.

The vowel "i" is found finally after (1) some affixes when they are at the end of an utterance. These follow the affix without a space.

e.g. "ay kis-s halfa-l to:ni" = I come from Halfa as compared to

"ay 'halfa-l to:n kis-s" = I came from Halfa.

(2) formative affixes that end in a vowel and some roots ending in a vowel. In these cases a glide is found between the formative and this "i". Both the glide and "i" are written with space before and after them.

e.g. "ay illin kab-o y i" = I am the one who has eaten as compared with

"kab-o fa-ki:-n" = The one who has eaten will come

e.g. "ju: hala:'wa y i:, 'jibini, walla sa:'tu:n-g ekkir"
= Go and bring halawa or cheese or olives.

"a", the link of the verbal adjunct (See P. 110) is joined to the verbal it follows and is thus differentiated from the copulative "a" which is written after a space.

e.g. "ay 'tanna[~]kis-s" = I came walking

"in 'agar asri y a" = This place is pleasant.

When "i" and "a", which occur after verbals that end in a double or two consonants, are followed by a consonant, they are written without a preceding space or dash

e.g. "feddi-kes-s" = ~~XXXX~~ I used to pray to God to help me

"fedda-kos-s" = I had prayed to God to help me.

The Dash

The dash is used (1) between an affix and the root to which it is affixed, e.g. "fa-kab-ir" = I shall eat.

(2) between a number of affixes following the same root, e.g. "ay kab-kir-ed-is" I fed him.

There are two exceptions

1 - when a post position follows a nominal or an adjunctive relatio (see P. 163) it is written after a space.

e.g. "ay 'wilidi ddan taññis" = I walked with the boy

"ay fa-kab-ir faññi-ri: 'logo" = I shall eat because
I am hungry.

The post-position "la" = in, however is written ~~without~~ after a dash. This is to differentiate it from the "l" that is found after the final single sound of the nominal relatum of nexal relatio

e.g. "inga 'halfa-l ed-ju" = Take this and go to Halfa

"'halfa l asri y a" = Halfa is pleasant.

2 -- When a link follows a verbal^{or} a nominal or a relatio it is preceded by a space

e.g. "ay 'go:n ali: go:n fa-ti:g-j-ur" = Ali and I will stay.

The link "a" following a member of a verbal adjunct however is written without either a space or a dash. This is to differentiate it from the copulative "a"

e.g. "ay 'ogj a mell" = I am good

"ay 'tañña kis-s" = I came walking.

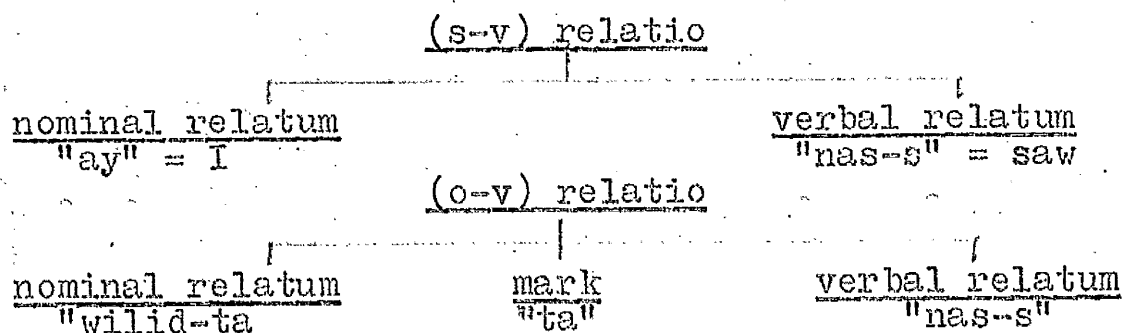
Another exception is the link "in". This follows a nominal member of an adjunct after a dash. In doing so, we differentiate between it and the demonstrative "in" which is written after a space

e.g. "wilid-in kita:b illin" = This is the boy's book.

"wilid in kita:b illin" = Boy! this is the book.

The Arrow

The arrow is used in diagrams analysing grammatical structures to show that one unit functions in more than one structure, e.g. "ay 'wilid-ta nas-s" = I saw the boy



There "nas-s" is a relatum in both the (s-v) and (o-v) relations, and "ta" is a suffix to "wilid" and a mark of a relation (o-v).

The Stress Mark

The stress mark is placed above and before the first symbol of ~~the syllable~~ the stressed syllable

e.g. "ay lim'm-is" = I gathered.

Assimilation

An assimilated consonant is written as heard. A note is given to show the form without assimilation

e.g. "ir 'tek-ka tic-c-o-'nam" = You gave them

("tek-ka" = "ter"+"ga", and "tic-c-o-nam" = "tir"+"j"+
termination).

In the case of some verbals and infixes the final consonant followed by the infix "j" and an initial "s" of the termination is realised as "ss". A division of these into three is not possible and therefore they are represented without dashes or spaces e.g. "ter kab-esssan" = They had eaten for ~~many~~ "ter kab-ed--ji-san"

Elision of Vowels

Elided vowels are not written but attention is drawn to the form without elision

e.g. "in 'ogj a" = This is a man (for "ogoj"+"a").

CHAPTER 2.

BASIC ABSTRACTIONS AND TERMINOLOGY.

An act of speech is a single linguistic instance.
Linguistic instances can be similar but never identical.

In (a)

"^lkab"

"^lay kab-is"

"ir kab-^lona".

There are similarities as well as differences.

The three acts of speech represented by the symbols

(b) "^lkab"

"^lkab"

"^lkab"

are not identical either. They look identical because the system of transcription purposely ignores the differences which result from the fact that either the same speaker, or more than one speaker try to repeat a certain linguistic activity, but with unavoidable different organic behaviour at each attempt.

In both (a) and (b) we have three acts of speech. The similarity in (b) however, is strong enough to consider the three acts of speech as a repetition of one thing.

Thus we have our first abstraction which we call "utterance". In (a) we have three acts of speech and three utterances. In (b) we have three acts of speech and one utterance.

Further abstractions can be made from utterances with the purpose of stating the structural patterns into which utterance will be fitted. In order to do this we must understand their composition.

In examples (a) and (b), we have the units

(1) "kab", (2) "ay", (3) "ir", (4) "is", (5) "ona".

(1), (2) and (3) can be found as whole utterances, that is independent of any other unit. We shall call these "roots".

(4) and (5) are dependent on a unit of the same class as "kab". We shall call these "affixes".

In dividing utterances we must not ignore the inter-relationship of these units.

Thus in

1. "ay¹wallo fa-ta[~]~[~]ir" = I shall go tomorrow

We can substitute "tar" for "ay", but the substitution will result in the following utterance -

1A. "tar¹wallo fa-ta[~]~[~]in"

where "ir" has been replaced by "in".

We can substitute "wi:l-in" for "wallo" but the utterance will become -

1B. "ay¹wi:l-in fa-ta[~]~[~]is"

where "is" has replaced "ir".

The root "ta[~]~[~]", then, has two relationships,* that between it and "ay", and that between it and "wallo". The first is formally marked by the affix "ir" or "is" and the second by the fact^{that} only one of these, i.e., "ir", is used to the exclusion of the other.

We conclude that, within one utterance

- there can be a number of relationships.

- one root can have more than one relationship.

* "relationship" is used as a current word and not as a technical term.

We are only interested in the relationships that are formally signified such as that between "ay" and "taññ" and that between "wallo" and "taññ". "ay" and "wallo" are not formally related.

In

- I. "wilid fa-taññ-in" = The boy will come.
 II. "wild-in'kaj fa-taññ-in" = The boys will come.
 III. "wilid-tan fa-taññ-in" = His son will come

the relationships can be illustrated as follows:-

<u>1.</u>		<u>2.</u>		<u>3.</u>
a. "wilid"	and	"taññ"	signified by	"in"
b. "wild-in kaj"	and	"taññ"	" "	"in"
c. "wilid-tan"	and	"taññ"	" "	"in"

In column 1, we have one partner, in 2 another.

"a" of column 1 is a single root.

"b" " " 1 is a group of two roots, the first of which is followed by an affix "in". This we shall call an "adjunct".

"c" " " 1 is a group of one root and an affix "tan".

This we shall call a "conjunct".

The affixes in column 3 signify the relationship between the roots in column 1 and those in 2. These we shall call "marks".

The affix "in" in 1b signifies another sort of relationship - that between two roots which together represent

one partner of the relationship between "tañ" and lb. Its presence makes the grouping of "kaj" and "wild" in this way, possible, and does not affect the other relationship. We shall call it a "link".

The affix "tan" in lc is only used in relation to the root that it follows. Its absence will result in an utterance identical to I. We shall call it a "formative".

A "relatio" is a structure pattern that is composed of a mark and relata (examples I, II and III).

A mark is one or more affixes used as a formal sign of a relatio (column 3).

A relatum is one component of a relatio, and is either a root, an adjunct or a conjunct (column 1 and 2).

An adjunct is a structure pattern that is composed of a link and members (lb).

A link is an affix used as a formal sign of an adjunct ("in" in lb).

A member of an adjunct is a component of this structure that is either a root, an adjunct, or a conjunct ("wild" and "kaj" in lb).

A conjunct is a form composed of a base and a formative ("wild" and "tan" in lc).

A base is a root, an adjunct or a conjunct, to which one of the formatives is affixed.

A formative is an affix used in forming a conjunct.

A base can be followed by a number of formatives. In this case we have a series of bases and conjuncts. The term agglutination is applied to the whole form.

An agglutination is a whole form composed of a root and a series of formatives.

e.g. a:wa-de:n-c-e-ra~~x~~-e-kka" *

= (the government) will do to us,

where we have the following series of bases and formatives.

Base 1 - the root "a:w" = to do, followed by the link "a" and the formative "de:n", and the infix "c".

Base 2 - the conjunct "a:wa-de:n-c", followed by the formative "e".

Base 3 - the conjunct "a:wa-de:n-c-e", followed by the formative "a~~x~~".

Base 4 - the conjunct "a:wa-de:n-c-e-ra~~x~~", followed by the formative "e".

"kka" is an exponent of the affix "ga".

Prefix, infix and suffix.

Affixes have been divided according to their function.

They can also be divided according to their position.

* See foot-note on page 65 where this agglutination is mentioned.

In "fa-kab-ir" = I shall eat,
we have an affix that takes a position previous to that of the root "kab". Such an affix we shall call a "prefix".

In "kab-kir-on" = He fed,
we find the root "kab" with two affixes "kir" and "on".
"kir" takes a medial position and we shall call it an "infix",
and "on" takes a final position and we shall call it a "suffix".

SECTION I.

CLASSES AND SUB-CLASSES OF ROOTS.

1. The nominal and verbal.

Affixes will be taken as formal criteria to differentiate between these two.

A verbal root may have one of the following suffixes.

"i:d" e.g. "taññ-i:d" = walking (of the verbal root "taññ"
= to walk)

"a:d" e.g. "daffir-a:d" = losing (of the verbal root "daffir"
= to lose)

"andi" e.g. "simark-andi" = anger (" " " " "simarkir"
= to be angry)

"innan" e.g. "kab-innan" = eating (of the verbal root "kab"
= to eat).

"dakk" e.g. "kab-dakk-in" = is eaten (of the verbal root "kab"
= to eat).

Others will be given later.

Moreover a verbal root may have a suffix belonging to one of the paradigms called "verbal terminations". (See P. 116)
when it has the suitable grammatical relation with a nominal.

e.g. "ay kab-ir" = I eat,

where the verbal root "kab" is suffixed by "ir". (1st person singular termination - to be given later P.137).

A nominal root on the other hand may be followed by one of the following affixes -

- 1 - "kinni" e.g. "so:b-kinni" = people of the past (of the root so:b = old time).
- 2 - "ki" e.g. "u:s-ki" = badness (of the root "u:s" = bad)
- 3 - "kine" e.g. "kaj-kine" = donkey-like (of the root "kaj" = donkey)
- 4 - "ko" e.g. "songir-ko" = rich (of the root "songir" = money)
- 5 - one of the affixes "gu", "nci", "ri" or "i:" (plural affixes (See P.51)

e.g.(a) "kayye:-gu:" = water lifting instruments (of the root "kayye")

(b) "bale:-nci:" = marriage festivals (of the root "bale")

(c) "mug-ri" = dogs (of the root "mug")

(d) "wild-i" = boys (of the root "wild")

- 6 - one of the affixes called "post-positions listed on P. 42/3

e.g. "ay dan'ban" = talk to me

where the root "ay" is followed by "dan".

A nominal root may also take part in a grammatical structure, called relatio, and accordingly one of a particular number of affixes is used.

e.g. "ay kab-ir" = I eat. "u: kab-ur" = We eat,

where we have the nominal root "ay" (or "u:" in a grammatical relationship with "kab" which is marked by the affix "ir" (or "ur").

Classes of nominal root.

The following are recognised as classes of the nominal root.

1. The pronominals.

These are six units in which a category of person and a category of number are recognised in the following way.

The six pronominal roots can be formally arranged in two different ways.

I.(a) "ay", "ir", "tar". (b) "u:", "ur", "ter".

In certain structural patterns the use of (b) group is associated with the infix "j". This is not the case when group (a) is used in the same pattern.

e.g. "tar u:-ga tukki-j-on" = He has beaten us.

"tar uk-ka tukki-j-on" = He has beaten you.

"tar tek-ka tukki-j-on" = He has beaten them,

as opposed to

"tar ay-ga tukk-on" = He has beaten me.

"tar ik-ka tukk-on" = He has beaten you.

"tar tak-ka tukk-on" = He has beaten him.

On this formal basis we establish the category of number

II (a) "ay" "u:"

(b) "ir" "ur"

(c) "tar" "ter"

Group (a) is associated with the use of "de:n". This cannot be used with either (b) or (c).

e.g. "tar ay-ga de:n-on" = He gave me.

"tar u:-ga de:n-c-on" = He gave us

as opposed to

"tar ik-ka tir-on" = He gave you.

"tar 'uk-ka ^{ti-c-on} ~~tir-on~~" = He gave you.

"tar 'tak-ka tir-on" = He gave him.

"tar 'tek-ka ^{ti-c-on} ~~tir-on~~" = He gave them.

We shall call group (a) "first person".

(c) group can be replaced with other nominals of the same number without consequent formal difference.

"tar fa-ki:-n" = He will come.

"wilid fa-ki:-n" = The boy will come.

"ter fa-ki:-nnan" = They will come.

"wildi: fa-ki:-nnan" = The boys will come.

We shall call group (c) "third person".

(b) group is formally differentiated by not being one of these.

We shall call group (b) "second person".

On this basis we establish a category of person.

		Category of number	
		<u>Singular</u>	<u>plural</u>
<u>Category of person.</u>	{ 1st	"ay" = I.	1st "u" = we
	{ 2nd	"ir" = you.	2nd "ur" = you
	{ 3rd	"tar" = he.	3rd "ter" = they.

The affix "ni" may be added to each of these. We then have a new paradigm of "possessive pronominals". These are the following:- *

		number	
		<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>
<u>Person</u>	1st	("an-ni" = mine.	"un-ni" = ours.
	2nd	("in-ni" = yours.	"un-ni" = yours.
	3rd	("tan-ni" = his.	"ten-ni" = theirs.

These are different from the following pronominal affixes

1.

		number	
		<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>
<u>Person</u>	1st	("an" = my.	"u:n" = our.
	2nd	("in" = your.	"un" = your.
	3rd	("tan" = his.	"ten" = their.

This is formally proved by the fact that the former unlike the latter can represent a whole utterance.

e.g. "an-ni" = It is mine, but not "an".

* See also "Adjunct "in" linked", P. 58.

2. The demonstratives.

These are three units

"in" = this, "tar" = that (near), "man" = that (far).

The affix "do" follows either of these resulting in

"in-do" = here, "tad-do" = there (near), "man-do" = there (far)

Any one of these six can represent a complete utterance

(i.e. in answer to a question)

The plural affix "gu" may also follow any of them.

e.g. "in-gu:" = these, "tak-ku" = those (near), "man-gu" = those (far).

3. The interrogatives.

These are:-

	<u>singular.</u>	<u>plural.</u>
" ¹ nay"	= who	nay ¹ gu:
" ¹ naysi"	= "	¹ naygu:le
" ¹ nayle"	= "	
" ¹ mini"	= who	
" ¹ minga"	= what	
" ¹ mina"	= why	
" ¹ mina:"	= what	
" ¹ minke:lka	= how much	
" ¹ minke:lka	= " "	

" ¹ siri" (or "hiri")	=	who, which
" ¹ siddo" (or "hiddo")	=	where
" ¹ sikkir" (or "hikkir")	=	how
" ¹ ihu:ni (or "isu:ni")	=	when.

4. Other nominal roots.

These may also be divided into sub-classes. For our purpose, however, this is not necessary.

We have avoided the use of the conventional terms "verb" and "noun" and used instead the adjectives^{*} "nominal" and "verbal" applied to various terms, such as relatum, root, base, conjunct, adjunct, etc.

We recognise a verbal root by the fact that it takes affixes, which a nominal root cannot take. The verbal root "kab" takes the suffix "ir" and the prefix "fa" in

I. "¹ay fa-kab-ir" = I shall eat.

A nominal is recognised by the fact that it takes affixes which a verbal root cannot take. The nominal root "ogoj" takes the mark "illin" in

II. "ogoj ¹illin" = It is the young man.

In the example

III. "ay f-ogj-¹ax-ir" = I shall be good,

we have the nominal root "ogoj" taking the prefix "fa" and the suffix "ir" in the same way as a verbal root, but the infix "¹ax" is also found.

* "adjective" is used as a current word and not as a technical term.

In the example

IV. "kab-i:d illin" = It is bread,

we have the verbal root "kab" taking the mark "illin" in the same way as a nominal root, but the suffix "i:d" is also found.

Thus, the nominal root "ogoj" followed by the suffix "a/" can substitute for the verbal root "kab". Similarly the verbal root "kab" followed by the suffix "i:d" can substitute for the nominal root "ogoj".

In conventional terms

a noun + "a/" = a verb,

a verb + "i:d" = a noun,

and so "verb" and "noun" would have to be newly defined if we were going to use them.

V. In "ay masir-ra ju: fa-kull-i-ra/-ir"

= I shall go to Egypt and grow learned,

we have components which conventionally would be called verbs and nouns.

(1) "kull" = a verb, since it can be followed by the mark "ir" as in "ay fa-kull-ir" = I shall learn.

(2) "kull-i" = a noun, since it can be followed by the mark "kka" as in "ay kull-i-kka nas-s" = I saw the learned man.

(3) "kull-i-ra/" = a verb since it can be followed by the mark "ir" as in example V.

This means that, although the whole of (3) is a verb, it has a component which is a noun (2) and this noun has a component which is a verb (1). This contradiction is a result of the fact that the single word "verb" or "noun" is applied to the form of the unit, the actual function and the possible function of it. For instance, "kull" in example V and "kab" in example IV do not function as verbs (i.e., in a relatio) although it is possible for them to do so.

The terminology which will be used differentiates between (1) the form of the unit, for which we shall use the terms prefix, infix, suffix, root, conjunct, agglutination, adjunct and relatio;

(2) the function of the unit for which we shall use the terms link, mark, formative, base and relatum.

The terms "verbal" and nominal" will be used in the following ways:-

describing 1. relatum and then they refer to the function;

2. the terms, root, base, conjunct and agglutination and then they refer to the possible function of the form as a relatum;

3. the term "relatio", where "verbal" is used to refer to the fact that the relatio has a verbal relatum as distinct from the relatio that has no verbal relatum.

4. The use of "nominal" or "verbal" alone or with a quoted form refers to the possibility of the form being used as a verbal or nominal relatum.

Thus, "kab" in IV and "kull" in V are verbal roots; "ogoj" in III is a nominal root: "kab-i:d" in IV and "kull-i" in V are nominal conjuncts: "ogj-ax" in III and "kull-i-r-ax" in V are verbal conjuncts: "kab-ir" in I, "ogj-ax-ir" in III and "kull-i-rax" in V are verbal relata: "ogoj" in II and "kab-i:d" in IV are nominal relata: "kab" in IV and "kull" in V are verbal bases; "ogoj" in III and "kull-i" in V are nominal bases.

I
a single unit can be
a root. an affix.

II
a group of more than one unit can be
a relatio. a conjunct. an adjunct. an agglutination.

IIIa.
a root, conjunct or adjunct can be
nominal verbal.

IIIb.
a root, a conjunct or an adjunct can be
a relatum. a member of an adjunct. a base of a conjunct.

IVa.
an affix can be
prefix. infix. suffix.

IVb
an affix can be
a mark of a relatio a formative of a conjunct. a link of an adjunct.

P A R T I I .

=====

THE RELATIO.

CHAPTER 1.

THE RELATIO.

Having abstracted and classified the indivisible units of affix and root, we are now in a position to handle utterances in terms of their physical structure. We work in descending and not ascending order. From "act of speech" we have abstracted "utterance": from "utterance we shall now abstract relations.

e.g. I (a) "ay 'we:-kka kab-is" = I have eaten one.

(b) "ir 'we:-kka kab-o--'nam" = You have eaten one.

In both examples we have

1. a nominal root ("ay" in (a), "ir" in (b).)
2. a verbal root ("kab" in (a) and (b).)

When "ir" is substituted for "ay", the suffix (called termination see P.116) of the verbal root is subsequently changed from "is" to "onam". This shows a formal relationship between the nominal and verbal roots.

e.g. II. (a) "ay telmi:s a 'mes-s" = I was a schoolboy
(b) "ir telmi:s a men-o-nam" = You were a schoolboy.

Similarly the substitution of "ir" for "ay" results in the substitution of "onam" for "s". The nominal and verbal roots have a relationship similar to that between the corresponding roots in e.g. I (a) and (b).

In I (a) and (b), "kab" has a relationship with another nominal, "we:", which is marked by the suffix "kka".

In II (a) and (b) "men" has a relationship with another nominal, "telmi:s", which is marked by the use of "a".

e.g. III (a) "ay telmi:s illin" = I am a schoolboy

"ir telmi:s illin" = You are a schoolboy

In these examples, the substitution of "ir" for "ay" does not result in any formal change of "illin". It is not a verbal root; it does not take any of the formal marks that distinguish a verbal root. Neither does it take any of the marks that distinguish a nominal root. "illin" is an affix marking the relationship between the two nominal roots "ay" and "telmi:s" in (a), "ir" and "telmi:s" in (b)

e.g. IV (a) "ay 'wilid lekin gen" = I am better than the boy

(b) "u: 'wilid lekin gen-gu:" - We are better than the boy.

The substitution of "u:" (pl:) for "ay" (sing:) results in the affixation of "gu" to "gen". "gu" has been cited as one of the units that differentiates a nominal from a verbal root.

In eg. (1) and (2) a formal relationship is established between a nominal and a verbal root. This relationship is called "verbal relatio". *1

A verbal relatio~~n~~ of the type in e.g.I is called an (s-v) relatio

A verbal relatio of the type in e.g.II is called a "men" relatio

*1 The term relatum is applied to the roots, whether nominal or verbal, taking part in the structure called "relatio"

In e.g. (III) and (IV) a formal relationship is established between two nominal roots. This relationship is called "copulative relatio".

A copulative relatio of the type in e.g. III is called "illin" relatio.

A copulative relatio of the type in e.g. IV is called "gen" relatio.

.....

e.g. V (a) "ay 'we:-kka kab-is" = I have eaten one.

(b) "ay we:-kku:-g kab-j-is" = I have eaten some.

The substitution of the plural form "we:-kku" for the singular "we:" *² results in the addition of the infix "j" to the verbal root "kab".

This shows a formal relationship between the nominal root "we:" (or "we:kku:") and the verbal root "kab".

e.g. VI (a) "ay awwal-ka kab-is" = I ate first

(b) "awwal kab-on" = The first has eaten.

In these examples the nominal root "awwal" has two different relationships with the verbal root "kab". In (a) it is marked by the suffix "ka" following "awwal" in (b) it is marked by the substitution of a suffix "on" following the verbal "kab" for the suffix "is" (in e.g. (a).)

"awwal" in (b) is a substitution for "ay" in (a) and the construction is an (s-v) relatio.

*2 "kka" in "we:-kka" in e.g. I (a) and "ga" in "we:-kku:-ga" in e.g. I (b) are exponents of the same unit.

It is not possible to substitute its plural for "awwal" in e.g. VI (a) as is the case in example V (a) with "we:"

The relationship formally established between the nominal and verbal roots in eg. V. (a) and (b) is called an (o-v) relatio.

That formally established between the nominal and verbal roots in e.g. VI (a) is called (c-v) relatio.

.....

Transitive and Intransitive Verbals

These six relations can be divided into nexal and non-nexal. The former are (s-v), ("men"), ("illin") and ("gen") relations.

They can be used with or without a dependent * (c-v) or (o-v) relatio

e.g.1. "ay fa-kab-ir" = I shall eat

(s-v) without a dependent (c-v) or (o-v) relatio

2. "ay kaba-kka fa-kab-ir" = I shall eat the bread

(s-v) with a dependent (o-v) relatio

3. "ay issa:g-ka fa-kab-ir" = I shall eat now

(s-v) with a dependent (c-v)

4. "ay telmi:s a mes-s" = I was a schoolboy

("men") without a dependent relatio

5. "ay gem ju-o-kka telmi:s a mes-s" = I was a schoolboy
last year

("men") with a dependent (c-v) relatio

(o-v) relatio is not possible with ("men")

* (o-v) and (c-v) relations are called dependent because their verbal relatum is at the same time a verbal relatum of a nexal relatio or a base for a conjunct.

Unless one of the relata is a conjunct of a verbal base

6. "ay kaba-kka kab-am mell" = I do eat the bread

where the conjunct "kab-am" is a second relatum of "men" and a verbal (o-v) relatum with "kaba-kka".

7. "ay telmi:s illin" = I am a schoolboy
("illin") without a dependent relatio

8. "ay issa:g-ka telmi:s illin" = I am now a schoolboy
("illin") with a dependent (c-v) relatio.

(o-v) relatio is not possible with ("illin") unless one of the relata is a conjunct of a verbal base.

9. e.g. "ay kaba-ka kab-o llin" = I am the one who has
eaten the bread

where the second relatum "kab-o" is a nominal conjunct of a verbal base "kab"

10. "ay ali: lekin gen" = I am better than Ali.
("gen") without a dependent relatio

11. "ay issa:g-k ali: lekin gen" = I am now better than Ali
("gen") with a dependent (c-v) relatio
(o-v) relatio cannot be used with "gen".

The non-nexal relations are (c-v) and (o-v)

As illustrated in the above examples, these are dependent relations. (c-v) relatio is dependent on (1) a copulative or verbal relatio (see examples 3, 5, 8 and 10)

or (2) a verbal base
of a conjunct

e.g. "ay illin issa:g-ka fa-kab-i" = I am the one who will
eat now.

(o-v) relatio is dependent on (1) a verbal base of a conjunct (see ex: 9) or (2) an (s-v) relatio (see ex: 2). A verbal (s-v) relatum (or a verbal base) that has or can have a dependent (o-v) is called a "transitive verbal" * (see eg. 2 and 9).

A verbal (s-v) relatum (or a verbal base) that cannot have a dependent (o-v) is called an "intransitive verbal" *

e.g. "ay¹ ki:-nnan¹ nin" = I must come
where "ki:-nnan" is a conjunct ("innan" form that has the verbal "kir" for a base)

This base cannot be a relatum of an (o-v) relatio

"ay fa-ki:-r" = I shall come

The relatum "kir" cannot be a relatum of an (o-v) relatio.

THE NEXAL RELATIOS.

(1) (s-v) relatio

This is a relatio of a nominal and a verbal relatum, the latter taking suffixes that vary according to the number and person of the nominal. These are called "terminations"

e.g. "ay kab-ir" = I eat

"ir kab-nam" = You eat, etc.

These suffixes are formal marks of the relatio and are discussed at length in the section on "terminations" (P.116.)

* The two categories of verbals can be differentiated by the manner in ~~which~~ which the unfix "j" is used as a concord unit. See "Concord" p. 144.)

The synthetic (s-v) relatio

e.g. (1) "u: fa-kac-c-ur" = We shall come.

(2) "ay 'go:n ik-ko:n fa-kac-c-ur" = You and I will come.

Both of these are (s-v) relations which are marked by the suffix "ur" which follows the verbal relatum. The nominal relatum of the first is the root "u:" = we, and that of the second is a nominal adjunct linked by "go:n". This adjunct has two members (the root "ay" = I, and the root "ik", - realised as "ik" = you). See P. 61.

(3) "ay 'go:n ik-ko:n-~~ay~~ fa-kac-c-ur" = You and I will come. The difference between (2) and (3) is that the nominal adjunct "ay go:n ik-ko:n" in (3) is followed by the formative "~~ay~~". The resulting agglutination is a verbal which, in its turn, is linked to the verbal "fa-kac-c-ur" by "a" (see "Verbal Adjunct. P. 108).

The second member of the verbal adjunct "fa-kac-c-ur" has the suffix "ur" which marks an (s-v) relation, as in (2).

The verbal "fa-kac-c-ur" has two relationships ~~XXX~~

(1) with the whole verbal agglutination "ay go:n ik-ko:n-~~ay~~" - marked by the link "a".

(2) with the base of this agglutination "ay go:n ik-ko:n" - marked by "ur". This is an (s-v) relation.

A structure of type (3) is called a "synthetic relation".

(2) "men" relatio

This is a relatio of two nominal and one verbal relata, the verbal being "men" which takes suffixes that vary according to one of them which we call the "firstrelatum".

e.g. 1. "ay ogj a 'mell" = I am good

2. "ir ogj a 'men-nam" = You are good

The second nominal relatum "ogj" is followed by an "a" as in these examples. This is called the copulative "a"

When the relatum is

(1) an adjunctive relatio "e" form (see P. 163,)

or (2) a nominal conjunct that has a formative ending in a vowel

an "r" occurs between this relatum and "a" (the copulative)

e.g. "in an kab-e r a" = This is what I eat

where the relatio "an kab-e" = what I eat, is the 2nd nominal relatum of "men" relatio.

e.g. "in kab-i r a" = This is the one who eats

where the conjunct "kab-i" has the formative "i" (see P.90.)

An exception to this is the case of (the "i") formative, "y" is found where "r" is found in the above cases

e.g. "in toma:tom ja:n-i y a" = "This is the tomato-seller as compared to

"in toma:tom ja:n-i r a" = This is the one who may sell tomatoes (but not a merchant)

(3) when this relatum is a root that ends in a vowel, we find "r", "y" or "w",

e.g. "in ma'sa r a" = This is the sun

"tar tambu:ra y a" = He is in Tambura

"tar 'dolgo y a" = He is in Dologo

"tar 'dolgo w a" = " " " "

"tar 'abri y a" = He is in Abri

The second nominal relatum can also be followed by "illin"

e.g. 3. "ay ogj illin mell" = I am the good one

"ir ogj illinmen-nam" = You are the good one

"illin" can also take the position between the two nominals in which case the second is followed by "a".

e.g. 4. "ay illin ogj a mell" = I am the good one

"ir illin ogj a men-nam" = You are the good one.

The second nominal relatum can also be followed by a member of the affix class called post-positions. In this case neither "a" nor "illin" follows it.

e.g. "ay 'no:g-il mes-s" = I was in the house

"men"* relatum

"men" is a verbal root, different from others in that

1 In an (s-v) positive present tense relatio, the verbal relatum has the suffix "in" as a mark of the relatio, when the nominal relatum is 3rd person singular

e.g. "tar fa-kab-in" = He will eat

In a "men" positive present tense relatio, however, the absence of "men" is a mark of the relatio when the first relatum is 3rd person singular, e.g. "tar ogj a" = He is good.

* Reinisch (p.102) considered "amen" as one unit and not as two, "a" and "men". The fact that "men" can be used with "illin" (i.e. without "a") supports the view that they are two units.

2 When the (s-v) relatio is present tense negative, the negative unit follows the verbal.

e.g. "tar¹ kab-mun" = He does not eat

When the "men" relatio is present tense, negative, however, "men" is not found and the negative unit follows "a"

e.g. "tar a¹ri y a-ummun" = He is not good.

3 The prefix "fa" can be followed by any verbal root other than "men"

e.g. "tar fa¹-kab-in" = He will eat.

It can be followed by "men" however, if the second relatum intervenes between it and "men".

e.g. "ir fa-a¹ri y a¹men-nam" = You will be good

4 Verbals other than "men" can be followed by a number of infixes such as "ed", "o:s" and "fi:"

e.g. "ay kab-ed-is" = ~~XXX~~ I have eaten

"ay kab-o:s-is" = I began to eat (after illness)

"ay kaba-fi:-s" = I was full up.

(3) "illin" relatio

"illin" marks a relatio of two nominal relata. The second of these agrees in number with the first in some cases.*

e.g. "in telmi:s illin" = This is a school boy

"in-gu: telmi:s-i: llin" = These are school boys

"u:la¹ri: llin" = We are good

* This fact is a formal mark defining the nominal class called "adjectives". Only these need not agree with the first nominal relatum of "men" or "illin" relations.

In the last example there is no agreement in number between the two relata "u;" and "aʒri:".

illin mark.

"illin" has three other exponents

1) "rin" when it follows a final "r"

e.g. "in agar 'rin" = This is the place

2) "nin" when it follows a final "n"

e.g. "in hasan 'nin" = This is Hasan

3) "llin" (or "lin") when it follows a final vowel

e.g. "in 'ali: llin" = This is Ali.

(4) "gen" relatio

1. When a verbal (s-v) relatum is followed by "go:n" or the interrogative infix "al", it cannot take the termination of the relatio. In this case "gen" follows either "go:n" or "al" and the termination of the relatio is affixed to it. This is a formal mark of a verbal.

e.g. (1) "ir kaba go:n gen-'nam, 'niya go:n gen-'nam"

= You eat and drink

(2) "tak-ka dull-al gen-i". = Do you like him?

Neither (1) nor (2) are "gen" relatios.

2. "gen" relatio is a relatio of three nominal relata, the last of which is "gen". It agrees in number with the first relatum. The second relatum is followed by the post-position "lekin" or "do:ro".

e.g. "ay ali: lekin gen" = I am better than Ali
 "ir ali: lekin gen" = You are " " "
 "tar ali: lekin gen" = He is " " "
 "u: | a'li:
~~"u: | a'li:~~ "u: | a'li: lekin gen-gu" = We are " " "
 "ur ali: lekin gen-gu" = You are " " "
 "ter ali: lekin gen-gu" = They are " " "

where "lekin" follows the second relatum

e.g. "ay ali:-n do:ro gen" = I am good for Ali
 "ir ali:n do:ro gen" = You are " " "
 "tar ali:-n do:ro gen" = He is " " "
 "u: | a'li:
~~"u: | a'li:~~ "u: | a'li:-n do:ro gen-gu" = We are " " "
 "ur ali:n do:ro gen-gu" = You are " " "
 "ter ali:-n do:ro gen-gu" = They are " " "

where "do:ro" follows the second relatum.

When the second relatum is plural "gen" may or may not agree with it in number

e.g. "ay wild-i:-n do:ro gen" = I am better for the boys
 or "ay wild-i:-n do:ro gen-gu" = " " " " "
 "ay wild-i: lekin gen" = " " " " "
 or "ay wild-i: lekin gen-gu" = " " " " "

"gen" may be a second relatum of "men" or "illin" relations

e.g. "ay ali: lekin gen'nin" = I am better than Ali
 for "gen illin"

* Ahmed Awad of Sarra does not accept this form with the plural suffix "gu" but with "gen" only.

- "ay ali:-n do:ro gen 'nin (for "gen illin")"
 = I am good for Ali
- "ay ali: lekin gen a 'mell" = " " better than Ali
- "ay ali:-n do:ro gen a 'mell" = " " good for Ali
- "ay ali: lekin gen 'nin mell (for "gen illin mell")"
 = I am better than Ali
- "ay ali:-n do:ro gen 'nin mell = " " good for Ali
-

A nominal relatum of nexal relatio, ending in a vowel or a single consonant is followed by "l" when it is followed by

(1) a relatum that has an initial vowel

- e.g. (a) "ali: l ukkir-on" = Ali heard
- (b) "wilid l ukkir-on" = The boy heard
- (c) kaj l asri y a " = The donkey is good
- (d) "ali l asri llin" = Ali is the good one.

(2) an (o-v) relatum that has an initial vowel

- e.g. "ali: l 'ogoj-ca nal-on" = ^{Ali} ~~The boy~~ saw the young man
- "wilid l 'ogoj-ca nal-on" = The boy " " " "
- When the two vowels are similar "l" is not found

- e.g. "ali: i:ga-de:n-on" = Ali said to me
- "ali: irbir-on" = Ali knew

When the first nominal ends in "n" we find in place of "l" another "n"

- e.g. "hasan n ogj a" = Hasan is good

When it ends with an "r" we find an "r"

- e.g. "in agar r asri y a" = This place is good

Exceptions from these are (1) the pronominal and demonstrative roots ending in a single consonant

e.g. "ay 'ukk-is" = I heard

"in 'ukk ir-on" = This heard

"ay o'goj-ca nas-s" = I saw the young man

"man o'goj-ca nal-on" = That person saw the young man

(2) the pronominal and demonstrative roots beginning with a vowel [(o-v) relatum]

e.g. "ali: ay-ga nal-on" = Ali saw me

"abo in-ga nal-on" = My father saw this

The non-nexal relations

(1) (o-v) relatio.

The relata of the (o-v) relatio are a nominal and a verbal, the latter being at the same time a verbal relatum of (s-v) or a verbal base of a conjunct.

e.g. "ay 'kaba-kka fa-kab-ir" = I shall eat the bread
where "kab" (of fa-kab-ir) is a verbal relatum of an (s-v) relatio as marked by the suffix "ir" and of an (o-v) relatio, the nominal relatum of which is "kaba-kka"

e.g. "ay 'kaba-kka kab-innan-ga f'irg-ir" = I want to eat the bread
where "kab" (of "kab-innan") is a verbal base for this conjunct. At the same time it is a verbal relatum of an (o-v) relatio, the nominal relatum of which is "kaba-kka".

THE MARK. The relatio is marked by the affixes "ga" and "j". Each of these is realised in different ways.

"ga" (A) "g" is realised ~~as~~

1) as "k" when it follows a word ending in f, s, ~~g~~, r, l, g and k

e.g. "ay 'wilid u:s-ka nas-s" = I saw the bad boy

"ay in agar-ka 'ja:n-ed-is"

= I bought this place

"ay 'biris-k ekk-is" = I brought the mat

2) as "c" when it follows a word ending in "j"

e.g. "ay kaj-ca 'ja:n-ed-is" = I bought a donkey

3) as "p" when it follows a word ending in "b"

e.g. "ay kita:b-pa 'ja:n-ed-is" = I bought the book

4) as "t" when it follows a word ending in "d" or "t"

e.g. "ay 'wilid-ta nas-s" = I saw the boy

"ay ~~ser~~ba:t-ta ni:-s" = I drank sherbet

5) as "kk" when it follows a word ending in a short vowel

e.g. "ay 'kaba-kka kab-is" = I ate the bread

6) as "g" in all other cases

e.g. "ay 'hasan-ga nas-s" = I saw Hasan

"ay 'buru:-ga nas-s" = I saw the girl

(B) the vowel ^{"a"} is (l) always realised when the mark

"ga" follows a word ending in a consonant or a short vowel

and is followed by a word beginning with a consonant *

e.g. "ay 'kaba-kka kab-is" = I have eaten the bread

"ay 'wilid-ta nas-s" = I saw the boy

* otherwise the elision of "a" would result in a group of three consonants.

(2) always elided when it is followed by a vowel e.g. "ay in-g'ukk-is" = I heard this

(3) in other cases it need not be realised e.g. "ay 'buru:-g nas-s")
or "ay 'buru:-ga nas-s") = I saw the girl

"j" The mark "j" has variants that are given on Page "ga" is affixed to the nominal relatum. By itself it is not sufficient to differentiate between (o-v) and (c-v) "j" in the verbal provides another mark for (o-v). It is affixed to the verbal when the nominal is plural or when the word "malle" substitutes for a plural

e.g. "ay 'fenti we:kku:-g kab-j-is" = I have eaten some dates

"ay malle-kka kab-j-is" = I have eaten all

It is possible as well as the actual presence of "j" that marks this relatio

e.g. "ay 'fenti we:-kku;-g kab-j-is" = I have eaten some dates

"ay 'fenti we:kka kab-is" - I have eaten one date

In "ay issa:g-ka kab-is" = I have now eaten

The singular "issa:-g" cannot be substituted for its plural.

It is not therefore a nominal relatum of (o-v).

In "ter gem ju-o-kku:-ga 'ti:g-ji-san" = They stayed the last few years

we have a plural nominal marked by "ga" and a verbal relatum by "j". Yet we still do not have an (o-v) relatio. "j" is

not a unit marking the relationship between "gem ju-o-kku" and "ti:g" but between "ter" and "ti:g" (the relata of an (s-v) relatio).

Some verbals * cannot be relata of (o-v) relations. They take "j" as a mark of relationship between them and the nominal relatum of (s-v).

e.g. "u: fa-kac-c-ur" = We shall come
where "j" (realised as "c") marks the concord between "u:" and "kac" (s-v) relata

"j" is also a mark of an (o-v) relation in the following
(1) when the nominal of (o-v) relation is the word "ay" = heart, self, followed by a pronominal plural affix ("u:n" = our, "un" = your, "ten" = their)

e.g. "ter ay-ten-ni-g to:g-j-ʒsan" = They beat themselves

"u: ay-u:n-ga nac-c-us" = We saw ourselves

(2) when the nominal of the (s-v) relation is a plural and the nominal of (o-v) is "we: r we:" (each other)

e.g. "u: we:r we:-kka to:g-j-us" = We beat each other

In both cases the verbal may be found without "j"

e.g. "ter ay-ten-ni-ga to:g-san" = They beat themselves

"u:we: r we:-kka to:g-us" = We beat each other

Some nominal conjuncts do not have a plural form which means that there will only be one mark ("ga") of the relation. They are conjuncts of a verbal base and are not to be found as relatum of (c-v) type that is marked with "ga" in the nominal only.

e.g. "ay kab-innan-ga firi-ir" = I want to eat

"ay mir-a:d-ta tiss-ir" = I hate running

* These are called "intransitive verbals".

(2) (c-v) relatio.

The relata of this relatio are nominal and either
(1) a verbal relatum which is at the same time an (s-v)
relatum or a base of a conjunct

e.g. "ay issa:g-ka kab-is" = ~~XXXXX~~ I have just eaten

"ay issa:g-ka kab-innan-ga 'fing-ir" = I want to eat
now.

or

(2) a non verbal relatio

e.g. "ay issa:g-k a/sri: llin" = I am well now

THE MARK This relatio is marked by either

1) "ga" affixed to the nominal relatum. A verbal relatum
of this relatio cannot take "j" as a mark of the relationship
between it and the nominal relatum. If "j" is found affixed
to the verbal, it is either a mark of the (o-v) or (s-v)
relatios

e.g. "ay issa:g-ka kab-is" = I have just eaten

2) "in" affixed to the nominal relatum

e.g. "ay 'wi:l-in ki^s-s" = I came yesterday

"i" of "in" is elided when it follows a nominal ending with a
vowel

e.g. "ay eli:-n fa-ki:-r" = I shall come today

3) zero

In this case neither "in" nor "ga" are found as marks of the
(c-v) relatio

e.g. "ay 'wallo fa-ki:-r" = I shall come

4) post position

The nominal relatum here is marked by the fact that it is followed by one of the following that are called post-positions. They either follow the nominal directly or after an "in" suffixed to it

(a) Those directly connected are

"la" = to, "la:kin" = towards, to, "to:n" = from, "lekin" = than, "logo" = by

e.g. "ay no:g^{ai}il ha'-ju:-r" = I shall go home

"ay ho:g la:kin ha'-ju:-r" = I shall go home

"u: 'tawwo to:n kac-c-us" = We came from down there

"ay 'no:g-ail to:n kis-s" = I came from the house

"ay kaj 'log fa'-ju:-r" = I shall go by donkey

The final vowels of "la" and "logo" are found only when they are final in the phonetic piece

e.g. "ay fa'-ju:-r kaj 'logo" = I shall go by donkey

"ay fa'-ju:-r no:g^{ai}ila" = I shall go to the house

The initial "l" of this group is realised as

1. "r" when it follows a nominal ending in "r"

e.g. "ay in agar-ra ti:g-ir" = I am staying in this place

"he:r rogo" = blessing

2. "n" when it follows a nominal ending in "n"

e.g. "ay aman 'na:kin fa'-ju:-r" = I shall go to the river

3. when "la" follows a nominal that ends in "C.V.V.C" syllable or in two consonants, it is preceded by an "i"

e.g. "ay no:g^{il} fa-jū:-r" = I shall go home.

"ard-il to:n ekkir" = Bring it from the farm

(b) Those following a nominal after "in" affix are

"dō" = at, "dogo" = at, "dan" = with, "kiñ" = without

e.g. "no:g-id dō ju:-s" = I went home

(for "no:g-in-dō")

"abra:s-id dog a:g-ir" = I am staying with Abras

(for "abra:s-in dog")

"ay 'tad dan taññ-is" = I walked with him

(for "tan dan")

"ay kaj-in kiññ-in kis-s" = I came without the
donkey

Some others have been counted by Lepsius (p. 44) and Reinisch (p. 116) as belonging to this group. I take them as nominals forming an adjunct with the noun they follow of the type linked by "in"

e.g. "tu" = inside, as in (a), and mo:l = beside, as in (b) :-

(a) "no:g-in tu:l ti:g-is" = I sat inside the house

(b) "wild-in 'mo:l-la ti:g-is" = I sat beside the boy

.....

When one of the following is a nominal relatum of (c-v) it is marked by "ga" "issa:g" = now, "gedd" = as much as, "awwal" = first, "alag" = like, "watti" = when

e.g. "ay uk-k a:ña-fi:-ri-n 'geddi-ga f-ago:ri-jju-mun
= I shall not forget you as long as I live

"awwal-ka fa-ju:-r" = I shall go first

"an'kir-e-n 'watti-g ir fa-ju:-nam" = You will go when I
come

"in-g 'alag-ka baññ-is" = I spoke like this

When one of the following is a relatum of (c-v) it is marked
by "in"

"eli" = today, "wi:l" = yesterday, "kamis" = the day before
yesterday

"sitti" = quick, "wile:sa" = slow

e.g. "ay eli:-n gery-is" = I read today

"ay 'wi:l-in ju:-s" = I went yesterday

"ay 'kamis-in ju:-s" = I went the day before yesterday

"sitti:-n 'baññ-on" = He spoke quickly

"wile:sa-n 'baññ-on" = He spoke slowly

When one of the following is a relatum of (c-v) it is marked
by post-position

"gabil" = before, "gasko" = middle, "fakki" = half or middle,

"tu" = the inside, "mo:l" = side, "agar" = place

The days of the week which are "sante:" (Saturday),

"kirage", "itne:n", "tala:ta", "arbea", "hami:sa", "juma",

the times of the day which are "fajir" = morning,

"duhur" = noon, "as'ir" = mid-afternoon, "migrib" = evening,

the roots "sahar" = month, "gem" year

e.g. "in 'sahar-ra fa-ju:-r" = I shall go this month

"ho:g-in gasko-l 'ag-ir" = I am sitting in the middle
of the house

"ba:d" = after, can be followed by the mark "ga", "in" or by the
post-position

e.g. "in-i:n'ba:d-ta fa-'ki:-r" = I shall come after this

"m-i:n'ba:d-il fa-'ki:-r" = I shall come after this

"ukkir-ed-innan ba:d-in enji: fac-'c-innan"

= The women go after they hear

1) A zero-linked numeral adjunct (see p. 56) that has one of the following as its first member *¹"marra" = once, "sahar" = month, "gem" = year, "juma" = week, takes "ga" as a mark of this relation

"ay marra 'tusko-g ju:-s" = I went three times

"ay sahar 'tusko-g a:g-is" = I stayed for three months

2) A zero-linked non-numeral adjunct that has a first member which is one of the following:-

the roots "gem" = year, "sahar"^{*2} = month, "juma" = week or one of the days of the week, and as second member one of the nominal conjuncts, "tanna-f-i" = coming, "dukk-i" = coming (only with "gun" and "sahar) or "ju-o" = past, has the mark "ga" or the post-position "la"

e.g. "ay sahar 'dukk-i-lla fa:-'ki:-r" = I shall come next month

"ay juma 'tanna-f-i:-kka fa-'ki:-r" I shall come next week

"ay gem 'ju-o-kk a:g-is" I stayed last year

3) The zero-linked adjunct ^{*3} that has the root "kami:sa" = The day before yesterday, as the first member, as its second the conjunct "jo:r-o" = past, or the adjunct (linked by "in")

*¹ an adjunct that has one of these as first member and one of the roots "diyyi" (many) or "geli:l" (few) as second, also takes "ga" as a mark e.g. "ay marra diyyi-kka ju:-s" = I went many times. "ay marra geli:l-ka ju:-s" = I went a few times.

*² see p. 54.

*³ see p. 54.

"jo:r-o-n jo:r:o" or "jo:r-o-n jo:r-o-n jo:r-o" takes the mark "ga"

e.g. "ay kami:sa jo:r-o-kka 'kis-s"

= I came three days ago

"ay kami:sa jo:r-o-n jo:r-o-n 'jo:r-o-kka kis-s"

= I came four days ago.

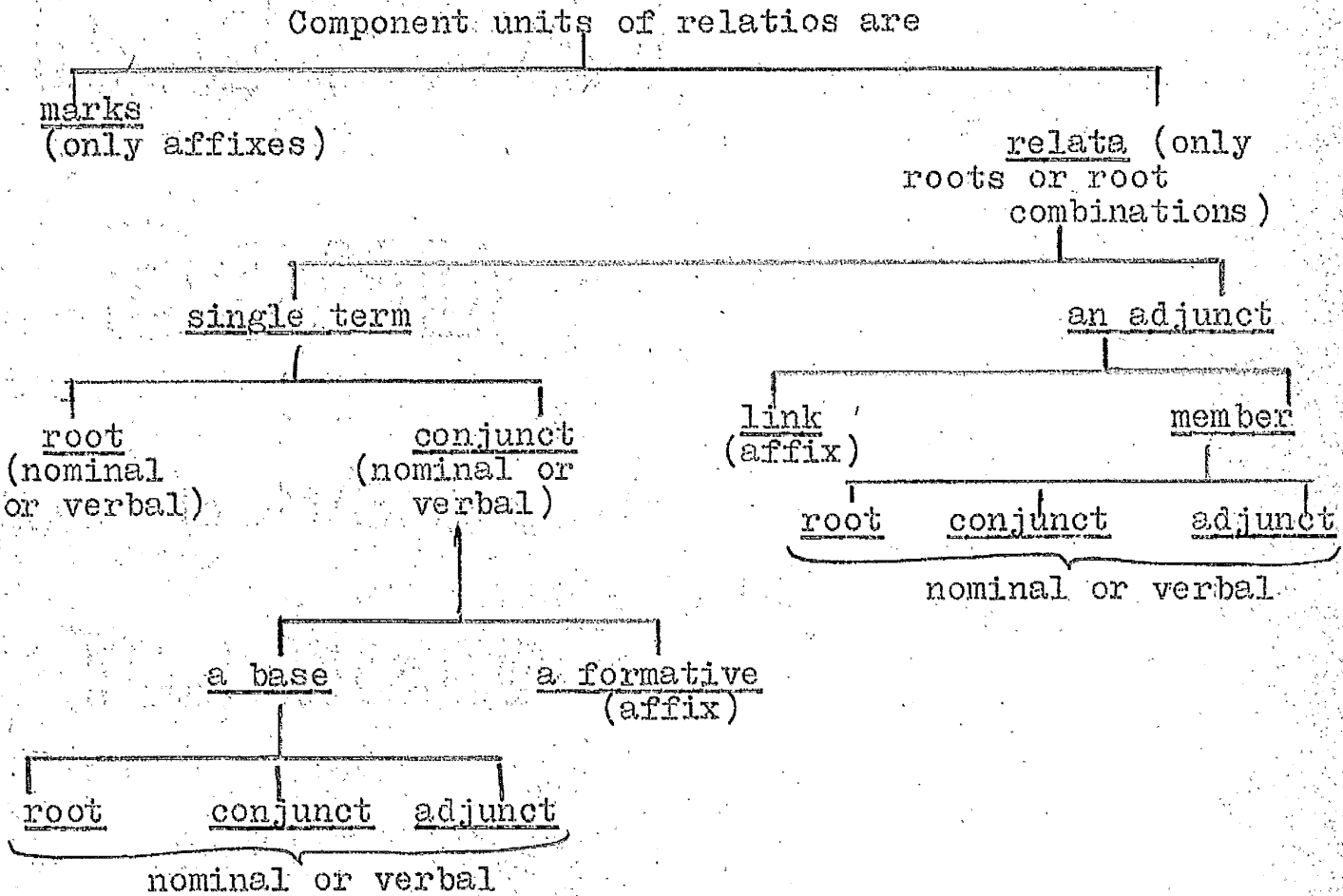
4) The "in" linked adjunct * that has for first member the root "wallo:ga:ga" = the day after tomorrow, and for second member the root "jer" = back, or more than one "jer" linked by "in", takes for a mark a post-position

e.g. "ay walloga:ga-n 'jer-in jer-in 'jer-ra fa-ki:-r"

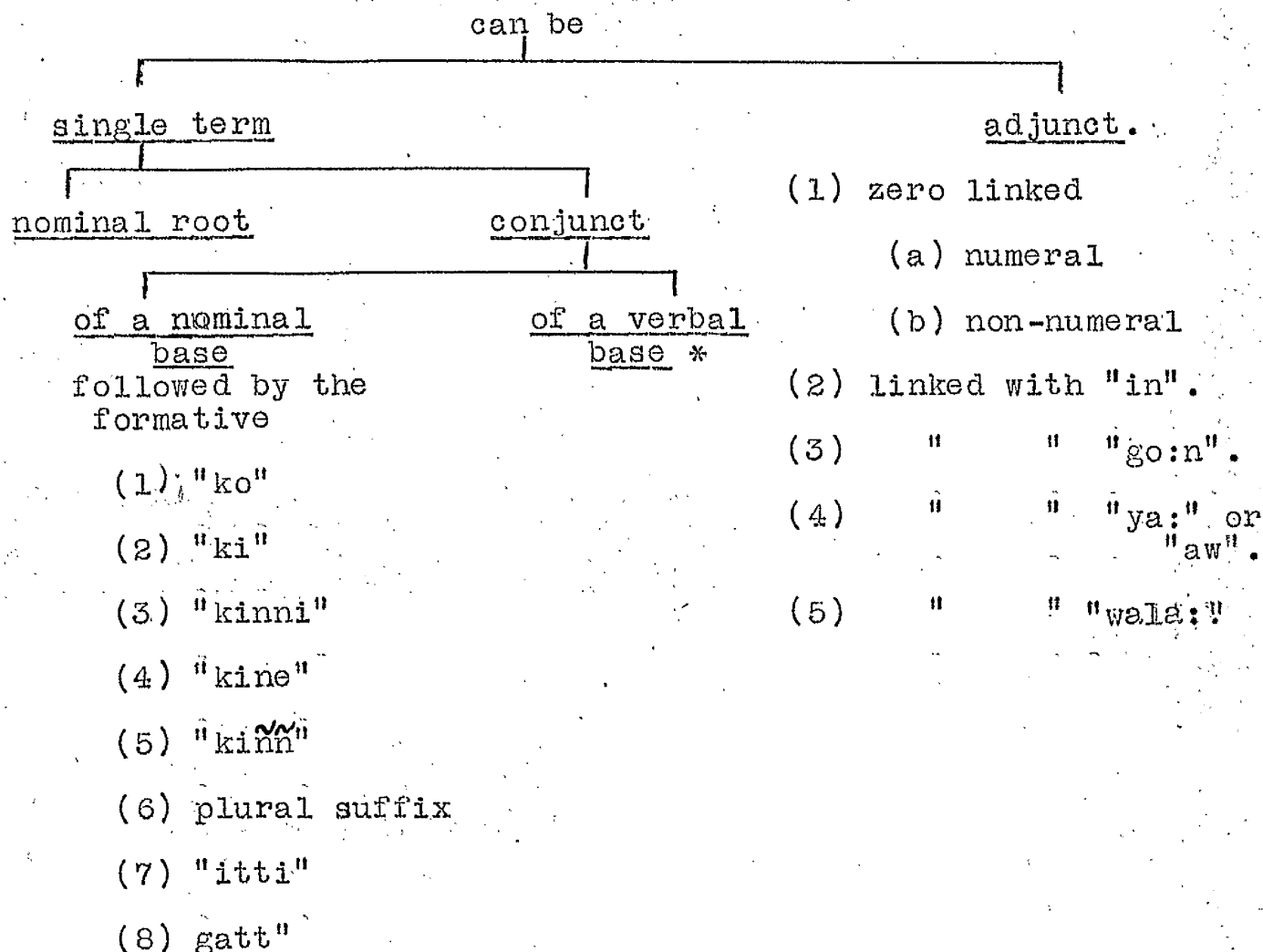
= I shall come in five days' time.

It is interesting to notice that when the conjuncts No. 3 and 4 are used the hearer and the speaker use their fingers to count the number of days. For "walo:ga:ga" three fingers are counted and for each "jer" one finger is counted.

The morphology of the relation is illustrated in the following diagram.



CHAPTER 2.

THE NOMINAL RELATUMSECTION I.THE CONJUNCT.(1) "ko".

The nominal preceding "ko" has one of three formal possibilities.

* Conjuncts of a verbal base are dealt with after the prefixes and infixes. This is because these prefixes and infixes are affixed to the bases and must be dealt with first. An account of the function of each conjunct is given in the special section allotted to it. P.89 to P.108.

In "no:r ay-ga 'ko:, malle-n ko" = God is my master and the master of all, we find "ko" following

(a) a nominal root that has the mark "ga" (of (o-v) relatio).

(b) a nominal root that has the link "in". (See P. 58.)

"ga" and "in" are marks of (o-v) relatio and a nominal adjunct (P. 58.).

The third possibility is that of the direct affixation of "ko" to the nominal root.

"songir-ko" = rich.

where the base is the nominal root "songir" = money

"su:-ko" = with milk added

where the base is "su:" = milk

"koñ u:s-ko" * = of a bad face

where the base is the group of nominal roots, "u:s" = bad and "koñ" = face.

Only in this last case, i.e., when "ko" is directly affixed to the nominal root, can "ko" be called a formative.

* After Reinisch. P. 29 , paragraph 122a.

(2) "ki".

<u>Base.</u>	<u>Conjunct.</u>
"u:s" = bad	"u:s-ki" = badness
"aʁi:" = good	aʁi-kki" = beauty
"mas" = good	mas-ki = goodness
"wi:rri" = far	wi:rri-kki = being far
"jugi" = hot	"jugi-kki" = heat

(3) "kinni".

<u>Base.</u>	<u>Conjunct.</u>
"so:b" = the long ago	"so:b-kinni" = that of the past
"wi:l" = yesterday	"wi:l-kinni" = " " yesterday
"eli" = to-day	"eli:-kinni" = " " to-day
"wallo" = tomorrow	"wallo:-kinni" = " " tomorrow
etc.	

(4) "kine".

<u>Base.</u>	<u>Conjunct.</u>
"u:s" = bad	"u:s-kine" = bad person
"kaj" = donkey	"kaj-kine" = donkey-like
"ale:" = truth	"ale:-kine:" = truthful (inex stupid)
"marja" = lie	"marja:-kinne" = liar.

(5) kinñ.

<u>Base.</u>	<u>Conjunct.</u>
"une:" = brain	"une:-keññi" = stupid
"songir" = money	"songir-kinñi" = poor
"kitti" = clothes	"kitti-kinñi" = naked
etc.	

(6) The plural affixes.

These are "ri:", "nci" and "i".

(a) "ri:"

<u>Base.</u>	<u>Conjunct.</u>
"koy" = a piece of wood	"ko:y-ri:" = pieces of wood
"no:g" = house	"no:g-ri" = houses
"ogoj" = young man	"ogji-ri" = young men

(b) "nci:"

<u>Base.</u>	<u>Conjunct.</u>
"bale:" = marriage festival	"bale:-nci"
"angare" = bed	"angere:-nci"
"talle:" = needle	"talle:nci"

(c) "i:"

<u>Base.</u>	<u>Conjunct.</u>
"wilid" = boy	"wild-i:"
"du:ñ" = rabbit	"du:ñi:"
"murti" = horse	"murti:"

(d) a unit that appears as

1. "cu" after a base ending in "j".

<u>Base.</u>	<u>Conjunct.</u>
e.g. "kaj" = donkey	"kaj-cu"
"ogoj" = young man	"ogoj-cu"

2. "pu" after a base ending in "b".

Base.

Conjunct.

e.g. "kita:b" = book

"kita:b-¹pu:"

"se:nab" = a name of
a girl.

"se:nab-¹pu:" = Se:nab's
people.

3. "tu" after bases ending "d" or "t".

e.g. "kudu:d" = small

"kudu:d-¹tu"

"baraka:t" = the name of
a man

"baraka:t-¹tu" = Barakat's
people.

4. "ku" after bases ending in "s", "ʃ", "r", "l", "f",
"g" and "k".

e.g. "u:s" = bed

"u:s-¹ku"

"¹agar" = place

"agar-¹ku"

5. "kku" after bases ending in a short vowel

e.g. "kab-i" = the eater

"kab-i-¹kku"

"kaba" = food

"kaba-¹kku"

6. "gu" otherwise.

"ti:" = cow

"ti:-¹gu"

hasan = name of a
man

¹hasan-gu = Hasan's people.

All these will be referred to as "gu".

(7) "itti".

"itti" follows the numeral roots as an exponent of two different formatives, the "fraction" and the ordinal.

A conjunct that has the ordinal formative "itti" has a strongly stressed penultimate syllable. A conjunct that has the fraction formative "itti" is weakly stressed.

Fractions.

fag-atti	^{*2} = $\frac{1}{2}$
tusk-itti	= $\frac{1}{3}$
kems-itti) = $\frac{1}{4}$
'kemi-ssi	
dij-itti	= $\frac{1}{5}$
'goricci	= $\frac{1}{6}$
kolod-itti	= $\frac{1}{7}$
udw-itti	= $\frac{1}{8}$
oskod-itti	= $\frac{1}{9}$
dim-itti	= $\frac{1}{10}$

Ordinals.

awwal-in 'ke:l-la	^{*3})	= 1st
urrag-in 'ke:l-la	^{*4})	
uwwo-tti		= 2nd
'tusk-itti		= 3rd
kems-itti		= 4th
dij-itti		= 5th
gorj-itti		= 6th
kolod-itti		= 7th
udw-itti		= 8th
oskod-itti		= 9th
dim-itti		= 10th

-
- * 1. See 1 list of these roots on P. 56.
- * 2. "fagatti" is "att" form of the verbal root. "fag" = to divide.
- * 3. "awwal-in 'ke:l-la" is an adjunct of the borrowed Arabic "awwal" = 1st, linked by "in" to the Nubian nominal "ke:l" = that much, "la" = in (i.e., in front of, or first of all).
- * 4. "urrag-in 'ke:l-la" is an adjunct of the root "urrag" linked by "in" to the root "ke:l" followed by "la" as above.

(8) gatt

The formative is less frequently found than other formatives.

e.g., "marja" = lie marja:-gatta = liar
 une: = brain une:-gatta. = intelligent

SECTION II.THE NOMINAL ADJUNCT.A. Zero-linked.

Two types of zero-linked adjuncts are found - the numeral and the non-numeral.

1. The non-numeral.

- (a) "ay 'mug-ka nas-s" = I saw the dog.
 (b) "ay 'mug u:s-ka nas-s" = I saw the bad dog.

We find these examples identical except in the following ways:-

(1) We have in (a) the nominal "mug" followed by "ka" and in (b) the nominal "mug" followed by "u:s" and then by "ka".

(2) No intervening affix is found between the two nominal roots "mug" and "u:s" of (b).

(3) The two nominals take the same position and carry the same mark "ka" as the simple nominal "mug" of (a). They in fact can substitute for it.

A nominal adjunct of this sort can have more than two members, e.g., "ay¹ wilid kudu:d u:s-ka nas-s.

= I saw the bad little boy.

Marks, links or formatives that are used in relation to the adjunct follow the last member.

e.g., "ay wilid kudu:d u:s-ka nas-s" = I saw the bad little boy,

where the last member of the adjunct "u:s" is followed by the mark "ka".

e.g., "wilid kudu:d-in kita:b l aʒri y a." = The little boy's book is good,

where the last member of the adjunct "kudu:d" is followed by the link "in".

e.g., "ay fa-ld aʒri:-¹n-ir" = I shall be a good man, where the formative "¹n" (an exponent of "aʒri") follows the last member of the adjunct "aʒri:".

This adjunct is formally recognized by the fact that

1. the members are nominal roots;
2. they stand in juxtaposition, i.e., without the use of an affix;
3. neither of them is considered separately as relatum of one of the relations, the group is, in fact, one relatum of more than one term.

2. The numeral adjunct.

In Nubian there are thirteen Nubian and seven borrowed numeral roots. They are:-

'we:	= 1	
'uwwo	= 2	<u>Arabic.</u>
'tusko	= 3	tela:ti:n = 30
'kemso	= 4	arbai:n = 40
'di ja	= 5	ham'si:n = 50
'gorjo	= 6	sitti:n = 60
'kolod	= 7	sabi:n = 70
'idwo	= 8	tama:ni:n = 80
'osko	= 9	tisi:n = 90
'dime	= 10	
'aro	= 20	
'imil	= 100	
'dure	= 1,000	

They are used:-

(a) As single nominals - when they may form with another preceding nominal "a" "zero-marked non-numeral adjunct".

e.g. "kaj 'we:" = one donkey.

"kaj 'uwwo" = two donkies.

(b) As members of numeral adjunct which in its turn, forms, with a preceding nominal, a non-numeral zero marked adjunct.

e.g. "kaj 'dime we: r'a" = 11 donkies.

where "kaj" is a first member of an adjunct, the 2nd of which is the numeral adjunct "dime: we: r."

The numeral adjunct is formed as follows -

(c) FROM 11-19.

The first member of the adjunct is the root "dime" = 10, the second, the root "we": "uwwo" etc. (up to 9).

e.g. 'dime^rwe: = 11

'dime uwwo = 12

etc.

(d) FROM 20-29.

The first member of the adjunct is the "aro" = 20, and the second the root "we": "uwwo" etc: (up to 9),

e.g. 'aro we: = 21

aro'uwwo = 22

etc.

(e) FROM 30-90.

A certain one of the borrowed roots mentioned above.

(f) FROM 31, 32, etc., 41, 42, etc. - 99.

One of the borrowed roots is the first member, the second is the particular number (1-9),

e.g. "tala:ti:n we" = 31

"tala:ti:n uwwo" = 32

(g) 100, 200, 1,000.

The root "imil" is used as the first member of the adjunct with one of the root roots from (1-9).

e.g. 'imil we: = 100

'imil uwwo = 200

(h) 101, etc: 201, etc: - 999.

The adjunct ("g") is used as a first member and the second is the particular root (from 1-9) or a particular adjunct of those mentioned above (other than (g)),

e.g. 'imil we: r we" = 101.

'imil we: dime we" = 110,

where in the 2nd example we have the members of the adjunct as "imil we:r" (first) and "we" or "dime we" (second).

(i) 1,000, 2,000, 3,000, etc:

The root "dure:" as the first member and the root or adjunct indicating the number of 1,000's as the second,

e.g. "dure: we" = 1,000

"dure:dime we:" = 1,100

where in the latter the second is the adjunct "dime we" = 11.

(j) 1,001, etc:

The adjunct indicating the number of 1,000's as the first member and as a second the root or adjunct indicating the remaining figures in the order from 100's to 10's to 1's.

e.g. "dure uwwo imil tusko dime we" = 2,311.

B. Positively linked.

1 - with "in".

This is an adjunct of two members which can be formally established by -

(a) - the fact that two members are nominals,

(b) - the fact that "in" or "n" after a vowel, "i:n" or "na:n" is suffixed to one of them.

(c) - the fact that neither of them can be a relatum in one of the following relations, as separate from the other.

(d) - the fact that the group can commute with a single nominal.

e.g. "wild-in kaj l aʒri y a" = The boy's donkey is good, where both "daj" and "wilid" can be proved nominal by the possibility of a post position following either of them.

e.g. "ay wilid dan taññ-is" = I walked with the boy.

"ay kaj log kis-s" = I came with the donkey.

where "dan" = with and "log" = by follow each of them respectively.

Neither is a relatum as separate from the other and consequently a single root can commute with the group of the two, as in

"kaj l aʒri y a" = The donkey is good.

"in", "i:n" or "na:n" are affixed to a certain member which we call first, and the other second.

When the first is a pronominal root, "i:n" is used, we have the following paradigm.*

ay-i:n	u-i:n
ir-i:n	ur-i:n
tar-i:n	ter-i:n

* A group of pronominal affixes has been given before (P.118). It is to be noted that, unlike these, they cannot take a first position to the other nominal except in the case of the following nominals:- "fa:b" = father. e.g. "taf-fa:b" = his father.
"eng" = brother. e.g., "ann-engi" = my brother.

This group must be differentiated from the group of possessive pronominal given (P. 18,) and the group of pronominal affixes (P. 18).

The latter can only be suffixed to the nominal. Thus we say - "kata:b-an" = my book (a nominal conjunct) but not

"an-kita:b"

whereas we say

"ay-i:n kita:b" = my book

which is the usual order for the member of this adjunct.

The other group (possessive pronominals) can represent whole utterances.

Thus, in answer to a question, we may say

"an-ni" = it is mine

but not "ay-i:n".

The adjunct "kita:b an-ni" = (my book) is classified therefore as a zero linked and not as a reverse order of the "in" linked adjunct. The following comparison may be useful -

"mihammad-in kita:b daff-o:s-on" = Muhammad's book is lost. can be in reverse order as "kita:b mihammad-in daff-o:s-on" and not "mihammad-in-ni" (i.e. comparable to an-ni).

The demonstratives also take the link "i:n" when they are first members of this adjunct.

e.g. "in-i:n kita:b l asri y'a" = This (person's) book is good.

"tar-i:n kita:b l asri y'a" = That (person's) book is good.

"man-i:n kita:b l asri y'a" = That (person's) book is good.

"na:n" is found as a variant of "in"

e.g. "ja:sir-na:n fa:b nagitta kir" = Come in the same way as Jasir's father did.

2 - with "go:n".

This adjunct can be formally recognised by

- (a) - The use of "go:n" after each of the members.
- (b) - The possibility of the adjunct to commute with a plural conjunct or the root "malle" (all).
- (c) - The fact that no single one of the members can be a relatum.

e.g. "ali: go:n mihammad to:n^{fa-} kab-innan" = Ali and Muhammed will eat.

"ay go:n ann-enga kko:n amando menjis/su" = My brother and I stood by the water.

where we have in each case two nominals, each followed by "go:n" and both being the relatum of (s-v) relatio. The verbal relatum has the ending "innan" and "s/su", which it takes when the nominal relatum is 3rd and 1st person plural (respectively). The group in both cases can commute with a plural nominal.

e.g. "enji fa-kab-innan" = The women will eat.

and "u: l amando 'men-jis/su = We stood by the water.

The link "go:n".

The initial consonant can be

1) "c", after "j"

e.g. "kaj co:n ti: go:n-g 'f-ekkac-c-ir" = I shall bring
the donkey and the cow.

2) "p" after "b".

e.g. "kita:b po:n 'gelem go:n-p 'f-ekkac-c-ir" = I shall bring
the book and the pen.

3) "t" after "d" or "t".

e.g. "wilid to:n buru: go:n fa-'ki:-han" = The boy and the
girl will come.

4) "k" after f, s, ~~s~~, r, l, g and k.

e.g. "in agar ko:n man agar 'ko:n asri y a" = This place and
that place are pleasant.

5) "kk" after a short vowel.

e.g. "kaba 'kko:n sahan go:n-ga 'dummi-j-an" = Take the food
and the plate.

6) "g" in all other cases.

e.g. "hasan go:n ali: go:n fa-'ki:-han" = Hasan and Ali
will come.

3 - with "ya:" or "aw".

"ya:" links two nominals in one of two ways

(a) by occurring before each of them

e.g. "ya: ayi: ya: iri:, fa-ki:-n" = You or I will come.

(b) by occurring between the two nominals

e.g. "ayi:, ya: iri:, fa-ki:-n" = You or I will come.

"aw" can be used in the second manner only

e.g. "ayi: aw iri:, fa-ki:-n" = You or I will come.

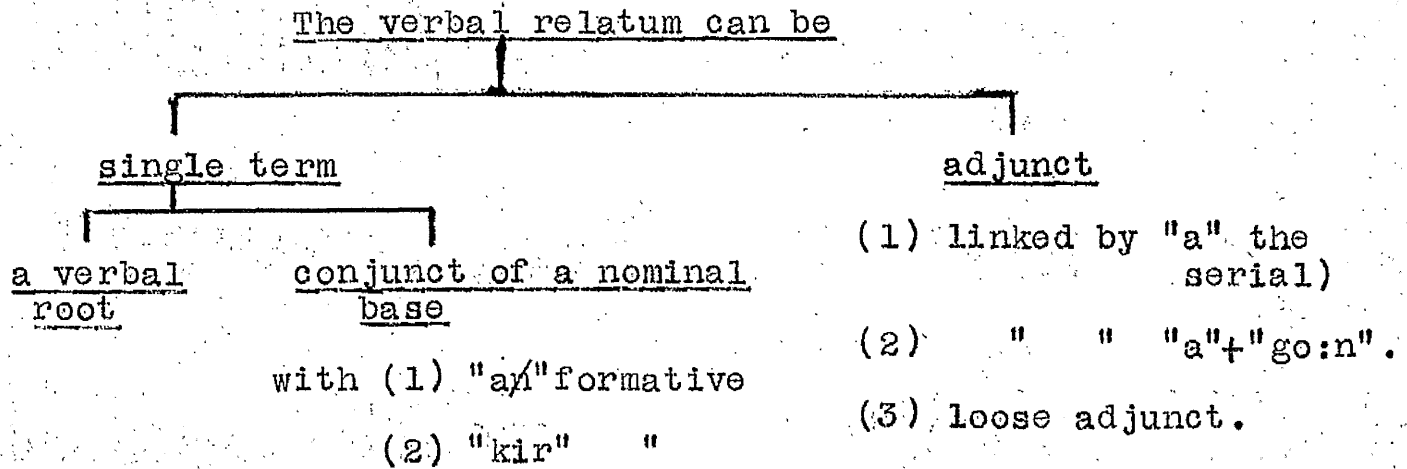
4 - with "wala:".

This stands in front of each of the nominals. When the adjunct is a relatum of a verbal relatio, the verbal appears in the negative form.

e.g. "wala: 'uk-ka, wala: in irki 'un-ni-ga, f-ago:ru-mun"
= I shall forget neither you nor your village.

CHAPTER 3.

THE VERBAL RELATUM.



SECTION I.

THE VERBAL CONJUNCT.

(1) with "aḥ" formative.

The base of this conjunct is either

(a) nominal root

e.g. "ay f-ogj-aḥ-ir" = I shall be good.

where "ogoj" is a nominal root.

(b) a nominal conjunct of a verbal or nominal base

e.g. "ay massir-ra ju: fa-kull-i-raḥ-ir" = I shall go to Egypt and grow learned.

where the base "kull-i" is a nominal conjunct of a verbal base "kull" = to learn (see p.102).

e.g. "tar f-une:-gatt-aḥ-in" = He will be intelligent

where the base is "une:-gatta" i.e. a nominal conjunct of a verbal base. (See p.54).

nominal

(c) a nominal adjunct

e.g. "ay'go:n ik-ko:n-ay a fa-'kac-c-ur" = You and I will come.

where the base "ay go:n ik-ko:n" is a nominal adjunct linked by "go:n".

The formative "ay" has the following exponents.

1. "ay" when the base ends in a consonant,

e.g. "fa-'ogj-ay-ir" = I shall be good.

2. "ray" when the base is

(a) one of the nominal roots "we:" = one,

"mal'le" = all,

or (b) a nominal conjunct which ends in a vowel,

(c) an adjunctive relatio "e" form (present).

e.g. ("u: fa-we:-ray-ur" = We shall all be united.

(a) ("u: fa-mal'le-ray-ur" = We shall be together.

(b) "ay 'massir-ra ju: fa-'kull-i-ray-ir" = I shall go to Egypt and grow learned.

(c) "huku:man u-ni-g ukkir-e-ray a" = (my wish is that) the government will listen to what we say.

3. "y" after a vowel, other than those of 2.

e.g. "tar fa-as'ri:-y-in" = She will be beautiful.

* This is a quotation from the text No. 14 - p. 357. The relatio quoted here is the nominal relatum of an (o-v) relatio the verbal of which is "nal-ed" (line 5). The mark of this relatio follows "a:wa-de:n-c-e-ray-e" (last line) which is also a nominal relatum of the same relatio, (lines counted from the bottom).

This conjunct can be a base for another conjunct expanded further by the addition of other affixes,

e.g. "uwwo-^lɲ-a:r" = both

"tusko-^lɲ-a:r" = the three etc:

where "nuwwo" (two) and "tusko" (three) are nominal roots followed by the affix in question ("a" of "aɲ" is not realised when it follows a final vowel).

"a:r" is a formative that is found in the nominals (b) following -

(a)

"a:g" = to stay

"firg" = to want

(b)

"agar" = place

"firgar" = a wedding present.

(2) "kir" formative.

This is suffixed to a nominal root or adjunct.

e.g. nominal base.

"fenti" = date

conjunct.

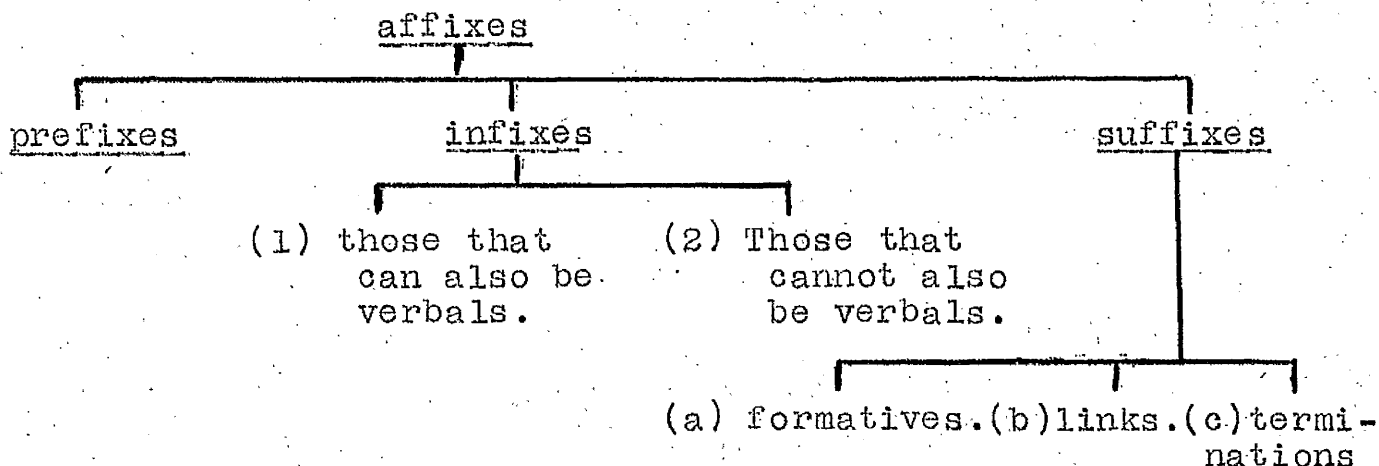
"fenti-kir" = to make the payment in dates.

e.g. "wildi:-n jelli"
= childish acts

"wildi:-n jella-kir" = to do
childishly.

SECTION II.
VERBAL AFFIXATION.

Affixes that can join a verbal are given in this diagram.



The prefixes are "fa" and "a:g".

The infixes are (1) "ed", "o:s", "kir", "kun", "tir", "de:n", "fi" and "a:g".

(2) "j", "ken", "daɲ", "dakk", "all" * "min", "men", "tam", "kum", "kon".

The suffixes are (a) "a:d", "i:d", "andi", (The "i:", "innan", "e", "am" ("i:o") and "atta".

(b) "a", "go:n" and others given in Section 2
Chapter
P. 108

(c) a number of sets given on tables 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, P.

* "min", "men" and "tam" belong to the same paradigm as the termination "mun" (negative paradigm). They are discussed on P. 131 and after.
Similarly "kum" and "kon" belong to the same paradigm as the termination "is", etc. (temporal paradigm). They are discussed on P. 132 and after.

Any verbal whether a base, adjunct or conjunct can be preceded by a prefix or followed by an infix. Only a base can take the suffixes called formatives, a member of an adjunct, those called links and a verbal relatum those called terminations. Prefixes and infixes are discussed together.

SECTION III.

PREFIXES AND INFIXES.

^{*} Some of these forms can occur as verbals or affixes and others as affixes only.

Those occurring as verbals or affixes.

(a) as verbals.

"ed" = to take, marry.

Functioning as (1) a verbal relatum in (s-v) relatio (single term) e.g. a "ay¹ed-is" = I married

where no verbal follows it.

b "ay¹ed-j-is" = I married

where "j" is affixed to it.

c "ay¹ed-ed-is" = I was married once (but not still married)

where the verbal infix "ed" follows it.

d "ay ed-o:¹s-is" = I am married

where the verbal infix "o:s" follows it.

e "ay ed-o:j-j-is" = I have been married

where it is followed by "o:s" and "j".

* We do not presume that these represent one unit in two different functions, but two units of one form.

f "ay eda-fi:-r" = I am married

where it is followed by the verbal infix "fi".

g "ay ed-a:g-ir" = I have married

where it is followed by the verbal infix "a:g".

h "ay ed-ed-a:g-ir" = I had married

where it is followed by the infixes "ed" and "a:g".

(2) a first member of a verbal adjunct (see P.108)

e.g. a "ay 'eda ju:-s" = I took and went.

b "ay 'eda kis-s" = I took and came (i.e. I brought).*

(3) a non-initial member of a verbal adjunct.

e.g. "ay 'ju:'ed-is" = I went and married.

(4) a base of a conjunct.

e.g. "ay 'ed-innan-ga firg-ir" = I want to marry.

"o:s" = to take out.

Functioning as (1) a verbal relatum in (s-v) relatio.

e.g. a "ay in-ga f-o:s-ir" = I shall take this out.

where it is a "one-term" verbal relatum, followed by no infix.

b "ay in-gu:-g f-o:s-j-ir" = I shall take these out
where it is followed by "j".

* Or "ay ej ju:-s" = I took with me.

"ay ek kis-s" = I brought.

c "tar kitti-tan-g o:s-o:s-on" = He took off his clothes.

where it is followed by the infix o:s".

d "tar in-gu:-ga f-o:s-o:j-j-in" = He till take these out.

where it is followed by the infixes "o:s" and "j".

e "ay kita:b-p'e:-kk'o:s-eda gir'y-is" = I took a book out and read it

where it is followed by the infix "ed".

f "ay-ga ni:d-an-g o:sa-de:n-on" = He took a tooth out for me.

where it is followed by the infix "de:n".

g "ay in kita:b-p o:s-ed-a:g-ir" = I have edited the book

where it is followed by "ed" and "a:g".

h "in kita:b o:sa-fi:-n" = This book is taken out
where it is followed by the infix "fi".

(2) an initial member of a verbal adjunct.

e.g. a "ay in kita:b-p o:sa gery-is" = I took this book out and read it.

(3) a non-initial member of a verbal adjunct.

e.g. "ay ju: tak-ka ni:d-tan-g o:s-is" = I went and took his tooth out.

(4) a base for a conjunct.

e.g. "ay kita:b-p o:s-innan-ga f'irg-ir" = I want to take the book out.

"kir" = to come.

Functioning as (1) a verbal relatum in (s-v) relatio.

Single term

e.g. "ay'kis-s" = I came

where no other affixes join "kir" (except the termination)

e.g. "ay fa-ki:r = I shall come

where the prefix "fa" joins "kir"

e.g. "u: fa-kac-c-ur" = We shall come

where the prefix "fa" and the infix "j" (realized as "c") join "kir".

e.g. "ay'kir-ed-a:g-ir" = I have come.

where the infixes "ed" and "a:g" join "kir",

etc.

As a member of a verbal adjunct,

e.g. "ay'kir-eda ju:-s" = I went after I had come

where "kir" is the initial member of the adjunct.

e.g. "ay'ke:ra kis-s" = I came up

where "kir" is a final member of the adjunct.

(2) a base for a conjunct.

e.g. "ay'ki:-nnan-ga firg-ir" = I want to ^{come} eat

where "kir" is a base for a conjunct "innan" form.

"kun" = to have.

Functioning as a verbal relatum of (s-v) relatio.

e.g. "ay'kun-ir" = I have

where no affixes other than the termination is joined to "kun".

e.g. "ay¹kun-kos-s" = I had
 where the infix "kon" joins the root "kun".
 "kun" has not been found as a member of an adjunct or as a
 base of a conjunct.

"tir" = to give.

Functioning as (1) the verbal relatum in (s-v) relatio
 (single term).

e.g. a "ay tak-k¹in-ga fa-te:-r"^{*1} = I shall give him this,
 with no affixes following it.

b "ay tak-k in-gu:-ga fa-tic¹-c-ir" = I shall give him
 these,
 with "j" following (realized with the preceding "r" of "tir"
 as "cc").

c "ay firgar-ka tir-o:s¹-is" = I gave him the wedding
 present,
 followed by "o:s" infix.

d "ay firgar-ka tir-o:j-j-is" = I gave them the
 wedding present,
 followed by "o:s" and "j" infixes.

e "ay firgar-ka 'tir-ed-a:g-is" = I have given the
 wedding present,
 followed by "ed" and "a:g" infixes.

(2) an initial member of a verbal adjunct

e.g. "ay¹ firgar-ka tic-ca^{*2} nogodo-kka nas-s"^{*3} = I gave them the
 present and saw the bride.

* 1. "te:-r" = "tir" + the termination of 1st person singular ~~past~~ ^{present} form.

* 2. "tic-c" = "tir" + j infix. * 3. "nas-s" = "nal" + "is".

(3) a non-initial member of a verbal adjunct.

e.g. "ay 'ju firgar-ka 'tic-c-is" = I went and gave the wedding present.

(4) a base for a conjunct.

e.g. "ay tak-ka 'songir-ka 'te:nnan-ga firgir" = I want to give him money.

"tir" has a characteristic feature that will be found essential in the following discussion. It can only be used as the verbal relatum of (o-v) relatio when the nominal relatum is 2nd or 3rd person singular or plural.

e.g. "ay ik-ka (or "tak-ka") te:-r" = I give you (or him).

"ay 'uk-ka (or tek-ka) tic*-c-ir" = I give you (or them).

When the nominal relatum of the (o-v) relatio is 1st person singular or plural the root "de:n" is used.

e.g. "ir ay-ga 'de:n-nam" = You give me.

"ir u:-ga 'de:n-ci-nam = You give us.

"fi" = to sleep, lie down.

Functioning as (1) a verbal relatum in (s-v) relatio.

Single term.

e.g. "ay fi:-s" = I have slept,

where no affix other than the termination joins "fi".

e.g. "ay fiyy-o:s-is" = I have been asleep.

where the infix "o:s" joins "fi".

etc.

* "tic-c" = "tir" + j infix.

As a member of an adjunct.

e.g. "ay fiyy'-eda kis-s" = I came after I had slept,
where "fi" is the first member of the adjunct.

e.g. "ay 'ne:ra fi:-s" = I have been asleep,
where it is the 2nd member of the adjunct.

(2) as a base for a conjunct.

e.g. "ay fiyy'-innan-ga firg-ir" = I want to sleep,
where "fiy" is a base for a conjunct "innan" form.

"a:g" = to be, sit.

Functioning as (1) a verbal relatum in (s-v) relatio.

Single term.

e.g. "tar a:g-in" = He is in,
where no affix other than termination joins "a:g".

e.g. "tar a:g'-kon-on" = He had been in,
where the infix "kon" follows "a:g".

e.g. "u: l'a:g-j-ur" = We are staying,
where the infix "j" follows "a:g".

As a member of a verbal adjunct (not as a first member).

e.g. "u: kab'-ed a:g-j-ur" = We have eaten and are sitting,
where the infix "j" joins "a:g".

"a:g" has not been found as a base for a conjunct.

(b) As Affixes.

In this case their phonetic and grammatical behaviour is different from that when they are verbals.

Phonetic Behaviour.

"ed".

It is affixed to a verbal that functions either as

- (1) a base for a conjunct,

e.g. "ay kab¹-ed-am mell = I do eat.

- or (2) a verbal relatum

e.g. "ay kab¹-ed-is" = I have already eaten.

"ed" the infix has the following phonetic features -

- (1) The final "d" is assimilated into the consonant which follows it.

e.g. "gada:-n wagiti-g ir kab¹-en-nam" } You always eat
for "kab-ed-nam" } at lunch time.

"ir on kab¹-ek kani, fa¹-ko:s-nam" } If you eat you will
for "kab-ed kani" } be satisfied.

This is not the case with the verbal root "ed".

e.g. "ir on¹-ed kani, fa¹-ki-r" = If you marry I shall come.

"ir tak-ka f¹-ed-nam" = You will take it.

- (2) The group of the infix "ed" + "j" appears as "ec-c", that of the verbal root "ed" "j" appears as "ed-j".

e.g. "tar kab¹-ec-c-on" = He ate all.

for "kab-ed-j-on"

"tar¹ u¹r-ec-c-on" = He did beat

for "u¹r-ed-j-on"

as compared to -

"ay¹ed-j-is" = I married (more than one woman).

(3) The group of the infix "ed" + "j" + "is" appears as "es/s" or "eccis".

e.g. "ter malle-kka kab-¹es/san = They ate all

or "ter malle-kka kab-¹ec-c-isan" = " " "

In the case of the verbal root "ed", the only possible form is "ed-j-is", e.g. "ay¹ed-j-is" = I married (more than one woman).

"o:s".

Similarly the infix "o:s" has a phonetic behaviour different from the verbal root "o:s", in the following ways -

(1) Its "s" is assimilated into the following consonant.

e.g. "wilid kab-¹o:k kan taññ-on" = When the boy began to eat,
he walked.

for "kab-o:s kan"

"u: l on¹a:ñ-o:j-ja" = May we live.

for "a:ñ-o:s-ja"

compared to -

"ir on kita:b-p o:s kan fa-giry¹-ir" = If you take the book
and not ("o:k kan") out I shall read.

"ay fenti:-g¹o:s-j-is" = I planted palm trees.
and not ("o:j-j-is")

(2) In the Imperative verbal relatum (see P.129,) the "s" of the affix "o:s" can or need not be realized.

e.g. "ti:g-o:" = Sit for a while
or "ti:g-o:s"

compared to -

e.g. "tak-k o:s" = Take it out
(and not "tak-k o:")

(3) The group of the infix "o:s" + "j" + "s" (of the termination "is" paradigm) can appear as "o:ʃʃ". This is not possible when "o:s" is a verbal root.

e.g. "a:dam-iri: 'mo:n-o:ʃʃan" = People refused
for "mo:n-o:s-j-isan"

compared to

"ter fenti we:-kku:-g 'o:s-j-isan" = They planted a few
palm trees.
(and not "o:ʃʃan")

"fi".

"fi" is a weak form of the verbal root "fiyy" (to lie to sleep). It is differentiated from the strong form by the realisation of "f" as "f" or "h".

e.g. (1) "ay fa-fi:-r" (or "ay fa-hi:-r") = I shall sleep.

(2) "ay fa-fiyy-ir (but not "ay fa-hiyy-ir").

In e.g. (1) "fi" is a verbal relatum of (s-v) and thus not an infix. This means that the phonetic feature mentioned

differentiates not between the verbal root and the infix, but between the weak and strong forms of "fiyy".

The realisation of "f" as "h" when it is a relatum, is not always possible. When "fi" is for instance, followed by the infix "kon" or "ken".

e.g. "ay 'fi:-'kos-s" (but not "ay hi:-koss") = I had slept.

"ay fi:-kes-s" (but not "ay hi:-kess") = I used to sleep.

"a:g".

The prefix, and not the infix, is phonetically differentiated from the verbal, by the fact that its "g" can be assimilated into the following consonant.

e.g. "ay a:g-'baññ-ir" = I am talking.

or "ay a:b-'baññ-ir".

"kir", "kun", "tir" and "de:n" are not phonetically differentiated when they are affixes, from when they are verbals.

Grammatical Behaviour.

"ed".

"ed" following a verbal root is either

(1) a member of a verbal adjunct, in which case it can

(a) be in reverse order

e.g. "ay tak-ka 'ju: 'ed-is" = I went and took it.

or "ay tak-k 'ed-is jua".

(b) take a nominal (o-v) relatum which intervenes between it and the preceding member of the adjunct.

e.g. "ay' ju: ide:n we:-kk'ed-is" = I went and married a woman.

(2) an infix, where neither (a) nor (b) is possible.

e.g. "ay kab-ed-is" = I have eaten.

"o:s".

"o:s" following a verbal root is either

(1) a member of a verbal adjunct, in which case it can

(a) be in reverse order.

e.g. "ay ni:d an-ni-g ju: o:s-is" = I went and took my tooth out.
or "ay ni:d an-ni-g o:s-is jua"

(b) take a nominal (o-v) relatum which intervenes between it and the preceding member of the adjunct.

e.g. "ay' ju: ni:d an-ni-g o:s-is" = I went and took my tooth out.

(2) an infix where neither (a) nor (b) is possible.

e.g. "ay kab-o:s-is" = I started eating (after illness).

"kir".

"kir" following a verbal root is either

(1) a member of a verbal adjunct, in which case it can

(a) be in reverse order

e.g. "ay' ju-eda kis-s" = I went and then came.
or "ay' kis-s' ju-eda"

(b) take a nominal (c-v) relatum which intervenes between it and the preceding member of the adjunct.

e.g. "ay 'ju-eda tad ^{*}dan 'kis-s" = I went and came with him.

(2) an infix where neither (a) nor (b) is possible.

e.g. "ay 'wilid-ta kab-kis-s" = I fed the boy.

(3) "kir" the verbal root + the termination for the present tense (i.e. "ir" etc. see P.127), appears as follows -

"ay fa-'ki:-r" = I shall come.

"ir fa-'ki:-nam" = You will come. etc.

i.e. with the elision of the final consonant "r" and with the long "i" after "k".

"kir" the infix, appears with the same termination (present tense) as in -

"ay kab-'ke:r" = I feed.

"ir kab-'ke:-nam" = You feed.

(4) Both "kir" the infix and the verbal root followed by the infix "j" appear as "kac-c". The infix "j" is used because the nominal relatum of (s-v) is plural when "kir" is a verbal, but because of the plurality of the nominal relatum of (o-v) relatio when "kir" is an infix.

e.g. "u: 'kac-c-ur" = We come.

"ay 'wildi:-ga kab-'kac-c-is" = I fed the boys.

*"tad dan" = "tar dan" = with him.

"kun".

The verbal root "kun" = to have is differentiated from the infix "kun" by the fact that

(1) The verbal "kun" can take the termination for present or past tense, i.e. "ir" and "nam" etc., or "is" and "onam", etc: which are the exponents of Time 1 and Time 2 (see P.135). The infix takes the present termination only.

e.g. "ay 'gelem we:-kka 'kun-ir" = I have a pen) "kun" here is
 "ay 'gelem we:-kka 'kun-is" = I had a pen) a verbal root.
 "ay kab-'kun-ir" = Oh! but I have eaten it - "kun"
 here is an infix but not "kab-kun-is".

(2) The exponents of the double time (see Page 136) are, in the case of the verbal root, "kon" + past tense termination: in the case of the infix they are "kon" + present tense termination.

e.g. "ay 'gelem we:-kka 'kun-kos-s" = I had a pen ("kun" is a verbal).
 "ay kab-'kona-kun-ir" = Oh! but I had ^{eaten} a pen ("kun" is an infix)

"tir".

"tir" following a verbal root is either

(1) a member of a verbal adjunct, in which case it can
 (a) be in reverse order.

e.g. "tar firgar-ka 'ju: tic-c-on" = He went and gave
 them the wedding present.
 or "tar firgar-ka tic-c-on 'jua".

(b) take a nominal (o-v) relatum which intervenes between it and the preceding member of the adjunct.

e.g. tar 'ju: firgar-ka 'tic-c-on" = He went and gave them the wedding present.

(2) an infix where neither (a) nor (b) is possible.

e.g. "ay ik-k' i:ga-tis-s" = I told you.

"de:n".

"de:n" following a verbal root is either -

(1) a member of a verbal adjunct, in which case it can

(a) be in reverse order.

e.g. "tar firgar-ka 'kir de:n-c-on" = He came and gave us the wedding present.

or "tar firgar-ka de:n-c-on kira".

(b) take a nominal (o-v) relatum which intervenes between it and the preceding member of the adjunct.

e.g. "tar 'kir firgar-ka de:n-c-on" = He came and gave us the wedding present.

(2) an infix where neither (a) nor (b) is possible.

e.g. "tar u:-g' i:ga-de:n-c-on" = He told us.

"fi"

"fi" following a verbal root is either

(1) a member of a verbal adjunct, in which case it can

* "tis-s" = "tir" + the termination "is".

(a) be in reverse order.

e.g. "ay 'mando ju: 'fi:-s" = I went and slept there.

or "ay 'mando fi:-s jua".

(b) take a nominal (c-v) relatum which intervenes between it and the preceding member of the adjunct.

e.g. "ay 'ju: mando 'fi:-s" = I went and slept there.

(c) when the preceding member ends with a vowel, the verbal "fi" follows it without the link "a" (see Verbal Adjunct, P. 108).

e.g. "ay 'ju: fi:-s" = I went in order to sleep.

as compared to "ay 'jua-fi:-s" = I was going there

where "fi" is an infix.

(2) an infix where

(A) neither (a), (b) or (c) is possible.

e.g. "ay 'kaba-fi:-r" = I am full up.

(b) more than one "fi" can follow a verbal.

e.g. "ay 'jokka-fi:-r" = I am thirsty.

or "ay 'jokka-fiya-'fi:-r" = I am very thirsty.

"a:g".

(1) The prefix "a:g" can occur after the verbal to which it is affixed. In this case the verbal will take its termination, and is then followed by "a:g". The latter has a vowel "a" appearing finally.

e.g. "ay 'a:g-kab-ir" = I am eating

or "ay 'kab-ir 'a:ga".

This is differentiated from

(a) the infix by position, i.e., the infix can never occur before the verbal it follows and when the group of "a:g" the prefix and the verbal are in reverse order they are separated by the termination; "a:g" the infix never follows the termination of the verbal to which it is affixed.

e.g. "ay 'kab-ir 'a:ga" = I am eating.

where "a:g" is a prefix in reverse order, and "ir" is the termination.

e.g. "ay 'kudd-a:g-ir" = I am happy.

where "a:g" the infix is followed by the termination "ir".

(b) the verbal root by the fact that the former takes the infix "j", whereas the prefix "a:g" never takes it.

e.g. "ur 'a:g-ji-'rokkom" = You are sitting.

"ur 'a:g-kab-'rokkom" = You are eating.

(2) The infix "a:g" is differentiated from the verbal root by

(a) "a:g" the verbal can be a member of a verbal adjunct, in which case

I. It can be in reverse order.

e.g. "ay kab-'ed a:g-ir" = I ate and am sitting.

or "ay a:g-ir kab-'eda".

but not "ay a:g-ir kab-eda"

for "ay kab-'ed-a:g-ir" = I have eaten, where "a:g"

is an infix.

II. "j" follows "a:g" the verbal root when it has a plural nominal relatum of (s-v) relatio.

e.g. "u: kab-ed a:g-j-ur" = We ate and are sitting.

(X) "ay kab-ed a:g-ir" = I have eaten and am sitting.

"a:g" the infix can be followed by "j" when the verbal to which it is affixed has nominal relatum of (o-v) relatio.

(Y) e.g. "ay tek-ka kab-ed-a:g-j-is" = I have eaten them all, where we have a singular nominal relatum of (s-v) relatio and a plural nominal relatum of (o-v) relatio.

In comparing examples (X) and (Y) we find that they are identical except for the fact that in example (Y) the root "kab" has a nominal (o-v) relatum (plural) and that the infix "j" is used as a concord mark between "kab" and the nominal relatum.

In the example "u: malle-kka kab-ec-c 'a:g-j-ur"

= We have eaten all and are sitting,

we have (1) "a:g" as a verbal relatum followed by the infix "j" as a mark of its concord with the plural nominal relatum of (s-v) relatio ("u: = we).

(2) "kab" as a verbal relatum has the infix "j" (realized with the previous infix "ed" as "ec-c") as a mark of its concord with the nominal relatum ("malle" = all) of (o-v) relatio.

In this example therefore, "a:g" is not an infix but a root member of a verbal adjunct, the other member being "kab".

Those occurring as affixes only.

Phonetic Behaviour.

The prefix "fa".

(1) The initial consonant "f" can be realised as either "f" or "h", e.g. "ay fa-ki:-r" = I shall come
or "ay ha-ki:-r".

(2) The vowel "a" can be elided when (a) it is followed by a verbal beginning with a vowel.

e.g. "ay f'-eda ju:-r" = I shall take it and go.
or "ay fa'-eda ju:-r".

(b) it is followed by a nominal (o-v) relatum of the verbal to which it belongs.

e.g. "ay usma:n-ga fa-tukk-ir" = I shall beat Usman.
or "ay f-usma:n-ga tukk-ir".

When "fa" is followed by the question particle "al".
In this case a "y" is found between the two vowels.

e.g. "fa y'al sukki walla kede-kk a:gi"
= Will you be going down or staying a little.

"j".

The infix "j" has three realisations.

(1) as "c" after "ed" or after verbals ending in "n" or "ir" such as "de:n", "tir" or "kir".

e.g. "tar mir-ec-c-on" = He has fled.
for "mir-ed-j-on".

e.g. "ay tek-ka tic-c-is" = I gave them.

for "tir+j+is".

"tar u:-ga de:n-c-on" = He gave us.

for "de:n+j+on".

"u:'kac-c-ur" = We come

for "kir+j+ur".

(2) as "jj" when it follows a long vowel,

e.g. "mas-ka fi:-jji-ro:" = Did you sleep well?

(3) as "j" in all cases where (1) and (2) do not apply.

N.B. "day" and "dakk" do not have phonetic variants.

"all", "min", "tam", "kon", "kun" and "men" vary only according to the particular termination unit which follows them and therefore this is pointed out in the section "Termination" P. 116.

CHAPTER 4.

THE SUFFIXES.

SECTION I.

The Formatives.

The formatives are used to construct a conjunct of a verbal base. The following is a review of these suffixes, the verbals taking them, the resulting conjuncts and the structural patterns in which the latter are used.

Some can be used with any verbal. These are "innan", "e", "am", "i" or "o" and "atta". The rest vary: "o", "a", "ar" and "ir" for instance being rarely found and "a:d", "i:d", "andi" and "i:" being more commonly found.

Examples of "o", "a", "ar" and "ir" -

"kaba" = food	"kab" = to eat
"diyo" = death	"di:" = to die
"agar" = place	"a:g" = to stay
"firgar" = wedding present	"firg" = to want
"goñir" = building	"goñ" = to build

None of the forms that have "o", "a", etc. can provide a verbal relatum of (o-v) or (c-v) relations. As relata they are only used as nominals,

e.g. "ay kaba-kka fa-kab-ir" = I shall eat the food, where "kaba" takes the mark "kka" (a realisation of "ga") that is affixed to the nominal (o-v) relatum,

e.g. "diyo llin" = It is death where "diyo" is a second relatum of "illin" relatio, which is a nominal function.

e.g. "in'agar r asri y 'a" = This place is pleasant
 where "agar (as a component of a nominal adjunct, zero-linked)
 is the first relatum of "men" relatio.

e.g. "ay fir'gar-ka fa-tic-c-ir" = I shall give the wedding
 present (to my fiancé's people),
 where "firgar" is an (o-v) nominal relatum.

e.g. "ay gōñir-ka ja:n^l-ed-is" = I bought the building
 in which "gōñir" is a nominal relatum of (o-v) relatio.

Examples of "a:d", "i:d", "andi" and "i".

"a:d".

Verbal root.

"daffir" = to lose
 "ka:sir" = to spin
 "simarkir" = to be angry

"i:d".

"mir" = to run
 "dummir" = to burn
 "kab" = to eat
 "baññ" = to talk

"andi".

"simarkir" = to be angry
 "daffir" = to lose
 "mir" = to run

Conjunct.

"daffir-a:d" = losing
 "ka:sr-a:d" = a spun thread
 "simarkr-a:d" = anger

"mir-i:d" = running
 "dummir-i:d" = burning
 "ka:b-i:d" = a sort of bread
 "baññ-i:d" = language

"simark-andi" = anger
 "daffir-andi" = losing
 "mir-andi" = running

Verbal root.*
(The "i:")Conjunct.¹"u¹sir" = to beat¹"irbir" = to know¹"udir" = to bake¹"gu:ñ" = to look¹"u¹sir-i" = a man of such a job¹"irbir-i:" = a fortune teller¹"udr-i:" = a baker¹"gu:ñ-i:" = spy, secret police.

(The "i:") conjunct and ("i") conjunct (P.102) are formally differentiated by -

1. (The "i:") conjunct has no variant, whereas the other has "o". Both are temporal exponents, see P.137.

e.g. (a) "ay illin fa-¹ja:n-i" = I am the one who will sell

(b) "ay illin fa-¹ja:n-o" = I am the one who was going to sell

where in (a) "i" conjunct is used and in (b) its variant "o". as compared to "ay ja:¹n-i y a mell" = I am the seller

"ay ja:¹n-i y a mes-s" = I was the seller.

2. (The "i") conjunct has a following "y" when followed by "a" of the "men" copula. ("i") conjunct has "r".

e.g. "ay fa-¹ja:n-i r a mell" = I am the one who will sell

"ay fa-¹ja:n-i y a mell" = I shall be a salesman

3. ("i") formative is not used when the verbal root ends in "ir". Another variant "e" is used instead. This is not the case with (the "i") formative

e.g. (The "i:") conjunct.

¹"irbir-i:" = the fortune teller.

("i") conjunct.

¹"irb-e" = one who knows.

* The definite article is used to differentiate between two formatives, this and another "i" formative which has the variant "o".

4. (The "i:") conjunct and ("i") conjunct are different in stress.

e.g. (the "i:") conjunct.

"uʒr-i:" = beater

"ja:n-i:" = seller

("i") conjunct.

"uʒ-e" ("uʒir" = to beat)

"ja:n-i" (ja:n" = to sell)

All these conjuncts can be nominal relata.

e.g. "mir-i:d l aʒri y a" = Running is good

"simark-a:d l u:s a" = Anger is bad

"simark-andi l u:s a" = Anger is bad

where "i:d", "a:d" and "andi" conjuncts is each a first nominal relatum of "men" relatio.

"kita:b-in ja:n-i; fa-ki-n" = The book-seller will come,
where (the "i:") conjunct (as a member of an adjunct) is the nominal relatum of an (s-v) relatio.

These conjuncts can also be verbal relata of (o-v) or (c-v) relations.

e.g. "tar kita:b-pa ja:n-i y a" = He is a book-seller.

"ʒongir-ka daffir-andi l u:s a" = Losing the money is bad.

"ka:sir-ka ka-sir-a:d in-ni l u:s a" = Your way of making
a turban is bad.

"kaj-ca do:g-id an-ni l u:s a" = My riding of the donkey
is bad,

where the conjuncts "ja:n-i" (seller) "daffir-andi" (losing),

"ka:sir-a:d" (spinning or making a turban) and "do:g-id" (riding)

are verbal relata of (o-v) relations, the nominal relata of which are "kita:b", "songir", "ka:sir" and "kaj". These nominals are followed by the mark "ga" (each having an exponent suitable to its final consonant - See P. 38).

e.g. "sitti:-n mir-andi l'u:s a" = Running quickly is bad.
 "sitti:-n mir-a:d l'u:s a" = " " " "
 "sitti:-n mir-i:d l'u:s a" = " " " "

where the conjuncts "mir-andi", "mir-a:d" and "mir-i:d" provide for a verbal relatum of the (c-v) relation. The nominal relatum "sitti:-n" is marked by "in".

"innan" *

Two other exponents of this formative are found.

(1) "nan" when it follows the infix "min",

e.g. "ay kab-min-nan'nin = I should not eat.

(2) "nman" when the verbal ends in "ir". In this case the verbal appears without the "r" of this syllable "ir", with "e" in place of the "i" ~~of this syllable~~,

e.g. "ay ing-irbe:-nman-ga f'irg-ir" = I want to know this where the base is the verbal root "irbir".

The base of this form can be a single verbal or a verbal adjunct.

1. With no other following affix.

e.g. "ay kab-inman-ga f'irg-ir" = I want to eat

where the single root "kab" is the base.

* This formative is identical to the 3rd person plural termination ("ir" paradigm). Unlike the latter it cannot be substituted for any other of the members of the mentioned paradigm.

"ay¹ ju: kabb-innan-ga¹ firg-ir" = I want to go to eat
where the root group "ju: kab" is the base.

"ay¹ ogj-a¹x-innan-ga¹ firg-ir" = I want to become good
(i.e. manly)
where the conjunct "ogj-a¹x" (of the nominal base "ogoj" = man)
is used for a base.

"ay¹ fenti-ke:-nnan-ga¹ firg-ir" = I want the payment to
be in dates
where the conjunct "fenti-kir" (of the nominal base "fenti" =
dates) is used for a base.

2. With the affix "kir" following the verbal

e.g. "ay¹ wilid-ta kab-ke:-nnan nin" = I should feed the boy.

3. With "inkir" following the verbal

e.g. "ay¹ wilid-ta kab-inke:-nnan¹ nin" = I should let the
boy eat.

In the last two examples the verbal ends in "kir" thus the
formative is "nnan".

4. With the affix "dakk" following the verbal

e.g. "tar¹ to:g-dakk-innan¹ nin" = He should be beaten.

5. With the affix "da¹x" following the verbal

e.g. "tar¹ to:g-da¹x-innan¹ nin" = He should be beaten.

6. With "o:s" infix following the verbal

e.g. "ay¹ kucc-o:s-innan-ga¹ firg-ir" = I want to swim
where "o:s" follows the verbal etc.

7. With more than one of the above affixes

e.g. "ay¹ wilid-ta kab-kir-o:s-innan-ga¹ firg-ir" =
I want to feed the boy.

8. With the negative affix "min" following the root.

e.g. "ay kab-min-nan' nin" = I should not eat,
where the negative affix "min" follows the root "kab"
(realised as "kam").

It is to be noted that the base of "innan" conjunct cannot have any temporal affix. Thus "kum", "o", "ken" and "kom" cannot be included in the verbal base (see Temporal Category P.132).

"innan" conjunct may itself be a base followed by -

1. "aɲ" infix.

e.g. "min da:r-i' baññ-innan-aɲa" = What is there to talk about?

"hika:ya we: da:ri' baññ-innan-aɲ-in" = There is a subject for discussion.

2. "kir" (nominal infix)

e.g. "in-ga' baññ-innana-kira" = This deserves to be mentioned.

As such it is comparable to the nominal root "aɣri:" in

"ay f-aɣri:-ɲ-ir" = I shall be good,

and in "in f-aɣri:-kira" = This will be good.

"innan" form can also be followed by the affixes "kir" and "in~~k~~ir".

e.g. "ay ay-ga' baññ-innana-ke:-r" = I cause myself to be talked about,

where "kir" is affixed to "innan" form. "kir" here is a verbal infix.

"ay ay-ga 'baññ-innan-inke:-r" = I let myself be talked
about

where "inkir" is affixed to "innan" form.

"innan" form in both of these cases is comparable to the verbal root "kab" in

"ay kab-ke:-r" = I feed

and "ay kab-inke:-r" = I let eat.

"innan" conjunct can be a relatum in the following relations.

1. - "men"

e.g. "in kab-innan a 'men-on" = This was ready to eat
where there is a preceding "men".

2. - "illin"

e.g. "ay issa:g-ka kab-innan 'nin" = I must eat now.

In these two cases it takes a part similar to that taken by the nominal root "hasan" in

e.g. "man 'hasan a 'men-on" = That was Hasan

and in "in hasan 'nin" = This is Hasan.

3. -(o-v) (a) as the nominal relatum (marked by "ga")

e.g. "ay kab-innan-ga firg-ir" = I want to eat.*

(b) as the verbal relatum

e.g. "ay in 'kaba-kka kab-innan-ga firg-ir" = I want to
eat this food.

In this case the base takes "j" when the nominal (o-v) relatum is plural (or the word "malle")

e.g. "ay malle-kka kab-j-innan-ga firg-ir" = I want to eat
all.

* Compare with "ay ik-ka kab-in firgir" = I want you to eat, where each verbal has its own (s-v) nominal relatum. In this case "innan" conjunct cannot be used but an adjunctive relation "e" or "ri:" form. See P.

4. - (s-v) relatio as the nominal relatum

e.g. "batar-innan ay-ga gurri-ke:-n" = Playing pleases me.

It is to be noted that "innan" form does not provide a verbal relatum of this relatio.

"e".

"e" form conjunct is used as a second "illin" relatum but it does not agree in number or person with the first relatum. "illin" however may also be followed by "men" in which case agreement between "men" and the first relatum is observed.

e.g. "ay 'taññ-e: lin" = I ought to go.

"ay 'taññ-e: lin mell" = I ought to ~~come~~ come.

The base of the form may be a single verbal or a verbal adjunct

1. with no other following affix

e.g. "taññe: lin" = One ought to go

where the single root "taññ" = to walk, is used for the base.

"ju: kab-e: lin" = One ought to go to eat

where the verbals "ju:" and "kab" are members of the adjunct which is used for the base.

"ogj-añ-e: lin" = One ought to be good (i.e. manly)

where the conjunct "ogj-añ" (that has "ogoj" = young man, for a base) is used for the base of the "e" conjunct.

2. With "ed".

e.g. "ay kab-ed-e: 'lin" = I must eat

where "ed" is affixed to the root and both are used for a base.

3. With the affix "kir" following the verbal

e.g. "ay wilid-ta kab-kir-e: lin" = I ought to feed the boy.

4. With the affix "inkir" following the verbal

e.g. "ay wilid-ta kab-inkir-e: lin" = I ought to let the boy eat.

5. With the affix "daŋ" following the verbal

e.g. "tar tukki-daŋ-e: lin" = He would rather be beaten.

6. With the affix "dakk" following the verbal

e.g. "tar tukki-dakk-e: lin" = He would rather be beaten.

7. With more than one of the above affixes

e.g. "tar tukki-dakk-o:s-e: lin" = He would rather be beaten

where the verbal root "tukk" is followed by the affixes "dakk" and "o:s", all of which are used for the base.

"tar tukki-dakk-ed-e: lin" = It is time that he should be beaten

where the verbal root "tukk" is followed by the affixes "dakk" and "ed", all of which are used for the base.

8. With the negative infix "me:n"

e.g. "ay wilid-ta tukki-me:n-e: lin" = I have no right to beat the boy.

It is to be noted that the base cannot be affixed with "ken" or "kon".

They can, however, be used as affixes to "men" which can follow "illin", but cannot be affixed to the base.

e.g. "ay kab-e: lin'mell" = I must eat.

"ir kab-e: lin'men-nam" = You must eat.

etc. - like the rest of "ir" paradigm.

"ay kab-e: lin'mes-s" = I should have eaten.

"ir kab-e: lin men-o-nam" = You should have eaten

etc. - like the rest of "is" paradigm.

"ay kab-e: lin men-kes-s" = I ought to have been in
the habit of eating.

"ir kab-e: lin men-ken-o-nam" = You ought to have been
in the habit of eating

etc. with the rest of the "is" paradigm.

"ay kab-e: lin"

"ir kab-e: lin"

etc. with the rest of the "is" paradigm.

This conjunct can be a verbal relatum of an (o-v) or (c-v)
and at the same time a second relatum of "men" or "illin"
relatio.

e.g. "ay wilid-t addub-e: lin" = I must teach the boy how
to behave

where the nominal (o-v) relatum "wilid-ta" is marked by "ta" (a
realisation of "ga").

When the nominal (o-v) relatum is plural (or the word
"malle"), "j" affix occurs between the verbal and the formative
"e:" e.g. "ay fenti we:-kku:- g kab-j-e: lin" = I ought to eat
a few dates.

"ay issa:g-ka kab-e: lin" = I must eat now,
 where the nominal (c-v) relatum is marked by "ka" (a realisation
 of "ga").

"ay suttì:-n ju-e: lin" = I must go quickly
 where the nominal (c-v) relatum is marked by "in".

"ay in gelem log fa:y-e: lin" = I must write with this
 pencil
 where the nominal (c-v) relatum is marked by the use of "log".

A conjunct "e" form that has a base including "daŋ" or
 "dakk" infixes can be a nominal relatum of an (o-v) relatio.

e.g. "ay to:g-daŋ-e-kka mo:n-o:s-is" = I refused to be
 beaten up

or "ay to:g-dakk-e-kka mo:n-o:s-is" = I refused to be
 beaten up.

"am".

The base of the form can be a single verbal or a verbal
 adjunct with

1. No other affixation between the verbal and the formatives.

e.g. "ay kab-am mell" = I do eat

where the base is one verb "kab".

"ay ju: kab-am mell" = I do go to eat

where the base is the two verbal roots (adjunct) "ju:" and "kab".

"ay asri:-ŋ-am mell" = I shall certainly be good

where the base is the verbal conjunct "asri:-ŋ" (of a nominal
 base "asri:").

2. With one of the verbal affixes

e.g. "ay kab¹-ed-am mell" = I do eat

where "ed" is affixed to the root "kab" and both being the base for the form.

e.g. "wilid kab-o:s¹-am men-in" = The boy did start to eat where the base is the root "kab" followed by "o:s".

3. "ay wilid-ta kab-kir-am mell" = I should feed the boy where the base is the root "kab" with "kir" affixed to it.

4. "inkir".

e.g. "ay wilid-ta kab-inkir¹-am mell" = I should let the boy eat

where the base is the root "kab" with "inkir" suffixed to it.

5. "dakk".

e.g. "in wilid tukki-dakk¹-am men-in" = This boy deserves to be beaten,

where the base is the root "tukk" with "dakk" affixed to it.

6. "dax"

e.g. "in wilid tukki-dax¹-am men-in" = This boy deserves to be beaten.

7. With more than one of these

e.g. "wilid tukki-dakk-o:s¹-am men-in" = This boy deserves to be beaten

where the base is the root "tukk" followed by the two affixes "dakk" and "o:s".

"ay wilid-ta kab-kir-ed-am¹↓^{mell.}" = I do feed the boy

where the base is the root "kab" followed by the affixes "kir" and "ed".

"ay¹ wilid-ta kab-inkir¹-ed-am mell" = I do let the boy eat.
No negative infix can be a component of the base for this form.

It has been seen that this form is used as a second relatum of "men" relatio. Two particular features, however, must be mentioned -

(1) "a", that in other cases is found preceding "men" is not found here.

(2) In other cases "men" is not found when the first relatum is 3rd person singular. The copulative "a" is found alone. When "am" form is the second relatum, we find "men-in" for 3rd person singular

e.g. "tar¹ u:s a" = He is bad

as opposed to

"tar kab¹-am men-in" = He does eat.

"am" form can also be the verbal relatum in the following relations -

(1) (o-v)

e.g. "ay in-g irbir¹-am mell" = I do know this.

When this nominal relatum is plural, "j" is infixed between the verbal root and the formative "am".

e.g. "ay in-g-u:-g irbac¹-c-am mell" = I do know these,
where the final "r" of the root "irbir" and "j" are realised as "cc".

(2) c-v. (a) "ga" marked.

e.g. "ay issa:g-ka fa-kir-am mell" = I shall come soon,
where the nominal relatum is marked by "ka" (a realisation of
"ga").

(b) "in" marked.

e.g. "tar xitti:-n kab-am men-in" = He does eat quickly,
where the nominal relatum is marked by "in".

(c) zero-marked.

e.g. "ay wallo fa-safar-am mell" = I shall travel tomorrow,
where the nominal relatum is "Wallo".

(d) post-position.

e.g. "ay ma:laga log kab-am mell" = I do eat with a spoon,
where the nominal relatum is marked by a post-position next to
it.

"i" - "o".

The formative affix here is either "i" or "o". "i" has
another variant ("e") when the verbal root of more than one
syllable ends in "ir".

e.g. "ay illin fa-kab-i" = I am the one who will eat.

"ay illin kab-o" = I am the one who has eaten.

"ay illin irb-e" = I am the one who knows.

"ay illin irbir-o" = I am the one who knew.

The base of the form is a single verbal or a verbal adjunct.
1. - without any affixation.

e.g. "ay illin fa-kab-i" = I am the one who will eat,
where we have a single root "kab".

"ay illin fa-ja^u:kab-i" = I am the one who will go to eat.

"ay illin fogj-ay-i" = I am the one who will be good
(i.e. manly).

2. followed by one or more of the verbal infixes.

e.g. "ay illin fa-tukka-f-i" = I am the one who will be
beaten

where the root "tukk" is followed by "fi".

"ay illin fa-ja:n-ed-i" = I am the one who will buy

where "ed" follows the root "ja:n".

3. followed by "kir"

e.g. "ay illin wilid-ta fa-kab^u-k-e" = I am the one who
will feed the boy,

4. followed by "inkir"

e.g. "ay illin wilid-ta fa-kab^u-ink-e" = I am the one who
will let the boy eat.

5. followed by "dakk"

e.g. "in^u wilid fa-tukki-dakk-i illin" = This is the boy
who will be beaten.

6. followed by "day"

e.g. "in^u wilid fa-tukki-day-i illin" = This is the boy who
will be beaten.

7. followed by a group of these affixes

e.g. "ay illin wilid-ta tukki-dakk-ink-e" = I am the
one who will let the boy be beaten.

8. followed by one of the infixes "ken" and "kon"

e.g. "ay illin kab^u-kon-o" = I am the one who ate before

where "kon" is affixed to the root "kab"

e.g. "ay illin kab-ken-o" = I am the one who used to eat.

9. followed by one of the negative infixes "mi:n" and "kum-mi:n"

e.g. "in illin kab-mi:n-i" = This is the one who does not eat

where the infix "mi:n" follows the verbal root

e.g. "in illin kab-kum-mi:n-i" = This is the one who did not eat

where the infix "kum-mi:n" follows the root

"in illin kab-ken-kum-mi:n-i" = This is the one who used not to eat

where "ken" and the infix "kum-mi:n" follow the root

"in illin kab-kon-kum-mi:n-i" = I am the one who did not eat before.

It is to be noted that the formative "o" cannot be used where the base has the infix "kum-mi:n". The formative "i" is used here. "kum" is a temporal unit used with the negative form. It is in opposition to the formative "o" (which is also a temporal unit used in the positive form). See Temporal Category P. 134.

The conjunct formed in this way can be a nominal base for "ay" conjunct.

e.g. "ay masir-ra ju: fa-kull-i-rax-ir"
= I shall go to Egypt and become learned.

e.g. "ay masir-ra ju: fa-kull-o-rax-ir"
= I shall go to Egypt and pretend to be learned

where there is an "r" between the formatives "i" and "o" and the following vowel, i.e. the exponent "rax" is used and not "ay" (See P. 64.)

"i" and "o" forms can be followed by the plural affix that follows nominals - namely "gu" which is found realised as "kku".

e.g. "kull-i-kku: fa-kac-c-innan" = The learned men will come.

"kull-o-kku: fa-kac-c-innan" = Those who have learned will come.

An "i" or "o" conjunct can also be a relatum in a number of relations.

1. The nominal in the

(a) (s-v) relatio

e.g. "kull-i fa-ki-n" = The learned man will come.

(b) (o-v) relatio

e.g. "ay kull-i-kka nas-s" = I saw the learned man.

(c) (c-v) relatio

e.g. "ay kull-i ddañ taññ-is" = I walked with the learned man.

2. The verbal in

(a) (o-v) relatio

e.g. "ay illin kaba-kka kab-o" = I am the one who ate the food.

(b) (c-v) "ga" marked

e.g. "ay illin issa:g-ka kab-o" = I am the one who has eaten now.

(c) (c-v) "in" marked.

e.g. "ay illin sitti:-n fa-k-i" = I am the one who will come tomorrow.

(d) (c-v) post-positional

e.g. "ay illin kaj log fa-k-i" = I am the one who will come by the donkey.

The "i" form can also be a number of a nominal adjunct

e.g. "w^lid fa-kab-i fa-ki:-n"

= The boy who will eat will come

"atti".

The base followed by the formative "atti" can only be a single verbal root which

1. has no other affixation

e.g. "ay kab-att a* 'mell" = I am a good eater

2. has "kir" infix

e.g. "ay kab-kir-att a 'mell" = I am a good feeder

3. has "inkir" affix

e.g. "ay kab-inkir-att a 'mell" = I am a man who lets
people eat

4. has "dakk" infix

e.g. "ay 'to:g-dakk-atta 'mell" = I am a person who is
often beaten.

The base of the form cannot have any negative, temporal or aspectival infixes (see P.129/145).

"atti" conjunct can be a nominal relatum

e.g. "kab-atti fa-ki:-n" = The big eater will come

where "atti" conjunct is the nominal relatum of (s-v)

e.g. "ay kab-atti-g nas-s" = I saw the big eater

where it is the nominal relatum of (o-v) and thus marked by "ga".

* This is the copulative "a".

The final "i" of "atti" is elided.

e.g. "ay kab-atta ddañ taññ-is" = I walked with the big eater

where it is a nominal relatum in (c-v) and is thus followed by a post-position "dan".

It can also provide for the verbal relatum of (o-v)

e.g. "in wilid fenti-g kab-att a" = This boy is a big eater of dates.

or (c-v)

e.g. "in wilid awa-kka taññ-att a" = This boy is a night walker.

SECTION 2

The Links

These are affixes used in forming the structure called "verbal adjunct"

The Adjunct

1. The serial adjunct.

A sequence of verbals can be linked to each other by the use of "a", e.g. "ay ka^sa gurbir enna kab-is" = I stirred, mixed, lifted and ate

where we find a series of four successive verbals, each of which is called a member of the adjunct. "a" which follows "ka^s" and "enn" is called a link.

A. The members

A member can be (a) a single verbal with no affixes

e.g. "ay do:ga kis-s" = I came riding

(b) a verbal that has a prefix or an infix

e.g. "ay fa-do:ga ki:-r" = I shall come riding

where "do:g" is preceded by the prefix "fa"

e.g. "ay kab[']eda kis-s" = I came after I had eaten

where "kab" is followed by the infix "ed"

e.g. "ay tak-ka nal-o:sa['] kis-s" = I have seen him and come.

where "nal" is followed by the infix "o:s" etc.

Only those affixes which are not exponents of the categories of time, concord, tense or mood, can follow any

member (see p. 129). Those that are, can follow the last member only.

e.g. "ay fa-do:ga ki:-r" = I shall come riding
where "ir" (realised as "r") follows the last member of the adjunct "ir" is an exponent of concord, tense, time and mood.

"min" (the negative infix, see P. 131) can follow any member. It is not an exponent of time, concord, tense or mood. When the adjunct is a verbal relatum of (s-v) relatio, "min" does not vary according to the person and number of the nominal relatum.

We shall compare the verbal "sukk" used at one time as a verbal relatum of (s-v) relatio and at another time as a member of this verbal adjunct

- e.g. (a) "ay 'sukka-kum-mun" = I did not go down
(b) "ay 'sukki-mi:n kab-is" = I ate before I went down
(a) "ir 'sukka-kum-min-nam" = You did not go down
(b) "ir 'sukki-mi:n kab-o-nam" = You ate before you
went down
(a) "tar 'sukka-kum-mun" = He did not go down
(b) "tar 'sukki-mi:n kab-on" = He ate before he went down
(a) "u: 'sukka-kum-mun" = We did not go down
(b) "u: 'sukki-mi:n kab-us" = We ate before we went down
(a) "ur 'sukka-kum-min-nokkom" = You did not go down
(b) "ur 'sukki-mi:n kab-sokkom" = You ate before you
went down
(a) "ter 'sukka-kum-min-nan" = They did not go down
(b) "ter 'sukki-mi:n kab-san" = They ate before they
went down

where in case (a) "sukk" (as a verbal relatum) has "mun" or "min" according to the nominal relatum

and in case (b) "sukk" (as a member of the verbal adjunct) has "mi:n" even in cases where "mun" occurs, in (a) examples.

The last member of an adjunct can occur in a position which is not final. It still has the mark of the (s-v) relatio.

e.g. "ay 'sukka kab-is" }
or "ay kab-is 'sukka" } = I went down and ate

The adjunct in this case is in reverse order

Any member of the adjunct can be the verbal relatum of (o-v) and (c-v) relations. The nominal relatum can precede it directly

"ay fa-'sukka kaba-kka kab-ir" = I shall go to eat the food

"ay fa-'sukka ann-enga ddog kab-ir"

= I shall go down and eat in my brother's place

the former having "kaba-kka" which is a nominal (o-v) relatum marked by "kka" and the latter, "ann-enga" which is a nominal (c-v) relatum followed by the post-position "dog".

b. The link "a"

When one of the verbals ends in (1) a vowel

or (2) a syllable "ir" and the verbal is not monosyllabic

the link "a" cannot be affixed to it

e.g. "ay fa-'ju: kab-ir" = I shall go to eat

"ay irbir baññ-is" = I spoke knowingly

as compared to

"ay do:ga¹ kis-s" = I came riding

"ay¹ warawa kis-s" = I came running

There is an exception to this

Some verbal roots of more than one syllable which end in "ir" can appear without the vowel "i" (in the final "ir"). When these are used as members of the "a" linked adjuncts it will be found that "a" is then affixed to them. In the following example the root "udir" (to fill) appears once as "udr" and once as "udir". Only in the former case is "a" affixed to it

"walli-kir-o:sa, sukkar-k¹udra gisa:s-ka-l abbi-ja,

kubba:ya-l¹ udir ni:s"

= I boiled (the water) added the sugar, put in a bottle, filled one glass and drank

A member that does not normally take "a" takes it when it occurs finally in a reverse order adjunct

e.g. "ay fa-ju: kab-ir" }
 "ay kab-ir fa-jua" } = I shall go to eat

"a" differentiates between certain forms as verbals and the same forms as affixes

- (1) e.g. "a:ga-tir¹ nog-on" = He sat until it was time to go, and went.
- (2) "a:g-tira¹ nog-on" = He continued giving whilst he went
- (3) "kab-kir" = Feed
- (4) "kaba-kir" = Eat and come

where "a:g", "tir" and "kir" are each a verbal root once and once an affix.

In (1) "a:g" is followed by "a" and thus is a verbal member of

an adjunct. The other verbal is "nog"

In (2) "a:g" is not followed by "a" and thus is not a verbal member of the adjunct, but a prefix.

In (3) "kir" follows the root "kab" that has no "a" link.

"kir" then is an affix.

In (4) "kir" follows a root that has an "a" link affixed to it.

This root "kab" is then a member of an adjunct and "kir" is a second member.

2. "go:n" adjunct

In "kaba 'go:n 'niya go:n" = Eat and drink we find two verbals "kab" and "ni", each followed by "a" + "go:n". This group of verbals form what is called a "go:n" verbal adjunct. It has the link "a" + "go:n" as a formal distinguishing unit. It is to be noted that "go:n" is not a verbal. The verbal terminations cannot therefore be suffixed to it. Neither can they be suffixed to the verbal since "ago:n" takes the position next to it. "gen" is found in this case next to "go:n" with the verbal termination suffixed to it.

"gen" + termination is used with one or all of the verbals. In the former case we have a verbal adjunct: in the latter, a relatio adjunct. (see p.162.)

- (a) e.g. "ay kaba go:n 'gell 'niya go:n gell = I eat and
- (b) "ay kaba 'go:n 'niya go:n gell" = " " drink

In (a) "gen" is used once after each verbal, carrying its termination. We therefore have two relatios.

In (b) we have a verbal adjunct as proved by the fact that we have only one termination and therefore one relatio.

When the infixes "kon", "ken" or "fi" are used, they follow "go:n" and take the terminations. "gen" in these cases is not used

e.g. "tar kaba 'go:n 'niya go:n-kon-on" = He ate and drank

"tar kaba 'go:n 'niya go:n-ken-on" = He used to eat and
drink

"tar kaba 'go:n 'niya go:n-fiy-on" = He ate and drank
(he is satisfied)

In these examples the verbal termination "on" (3rd.pers: sing:, perf:) follows "kon", "ken" and "fi"

"men" can be used as a member of "go:n" verbal adjunct. In this case

(1) "men" can be used and then

(a) it takes the termination

(b) "gen" is not used

(2) "men" may not be used and then

(a) only the copulative "a" (which represents
3rd pers: sing: of the copulative "men")
is found

(b) "gen" follows "a" and takes the termination

(3) in both (1) and (2) "go:n" follows the other members of the adjunct and the 2nd relatum of "men" relatio

("sedid" in both of the following examples)

"ir kaba 'go:n sedid a go:n men-nam" = You eat and are well

"ir kaba go:n sedid a go:n gen-nam" = " " " " "

"go:n" is considered as a unit separate from the preceding "a", because each can be used separately. "a" is alone in the serial adjunct and "go:n" is alone in the nominal "go:n" adjunct.

e.g. "ay kab-eda kis-s" = I came after I had eaten

"ay go:n ali: go:n fa-kac-c-ur" = Ali and I will come

Both the serial and "go:n" verbal adjuncts function as one relatum of (s-v) relatio. They therefore have one nominal relatum

e.g. "ay kab-eda kis-s" = I came after I had eaten

"ay kaba 'go:n 'niya go:n ges-s" = I ate and drank

3 The loose verbal adjunct

In one utterance we may find more than one verbal relatio. The verbal relatum of the last relatio may have one or more infixes ~~MMH~~ or suffixes that have a bearing on the previous verbal relata

e.g. "ay kab-eda, ann-enga go:n ka:sir-ka ka:s-eda, in-i:n

ba:d-ta ur ka/sokkom" = After I had eaten and my

brother had done up his turban, you came

where "kab-ed" and "ka:s-ed" are each a verbal relatum of (s-v) relations.* They appear without the verbal termination. "ka/sokkom," however, has a verbal termination (past tense)

* "kab-eda" has "ay" = I, "ka:s-eda" has "annenga" = my brother and "ka/sokkom" has "ur" = you, for the nominal relata of (s-v)

Had it not been for the fact that there is an accompanying verbal that has a termination, they would each appear with their own

e.g. "ay kab-ed-is" = I have eaten

"ann-enga ka:sir-ka kas-ed-on" = My brother did his
turban

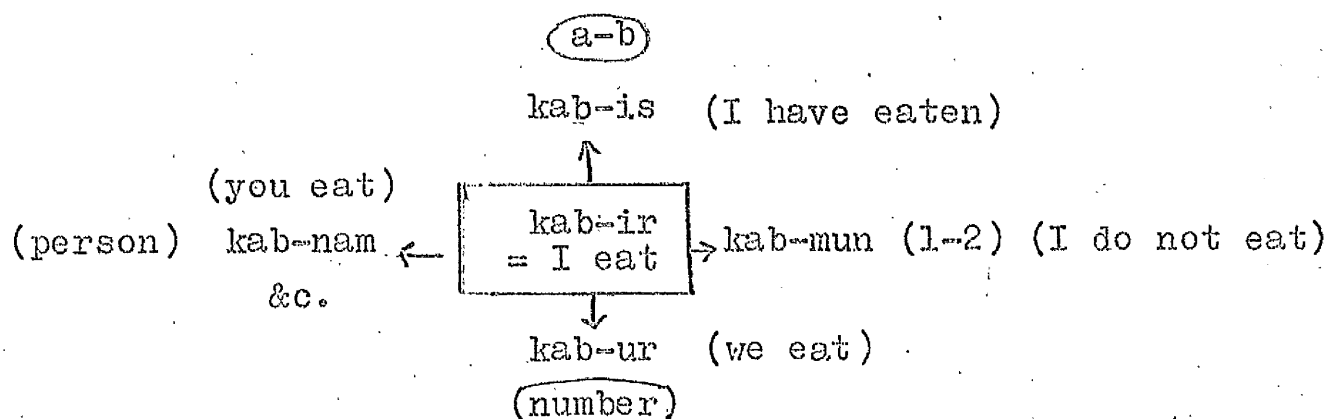
SECTION 3

Terminations.

These suffixes can be grouped in sets which stand in four oppositions

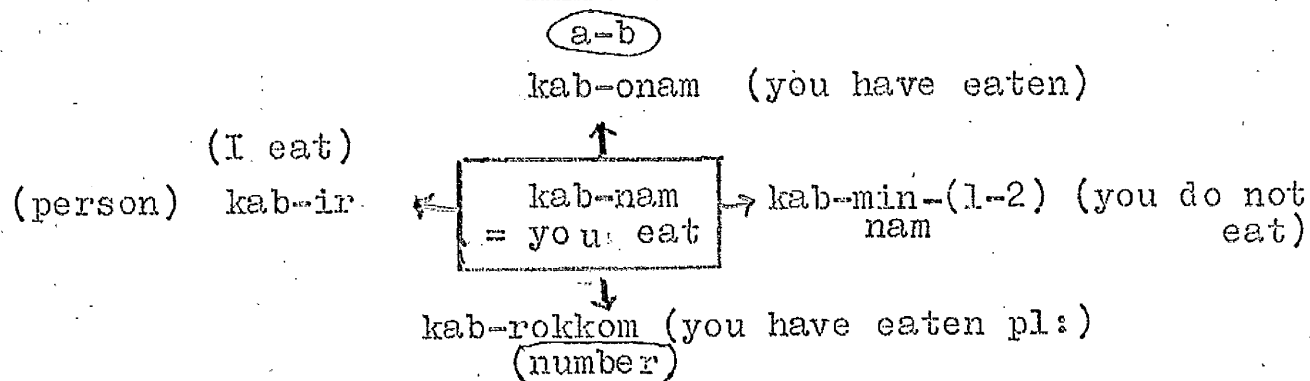
- | | | |
|---------------------------------------|---|------------------------|
| 1 - person | } | of the nominal relatum |
| 2 - number | | |
| 3 - an opposition symbolised by (a-b) | | |
| 4 - " " " " (1-2) | | |

If we take the form "kab-ir" we find it in opposition to the following forms DIAGRAM 1



Each of these forms could be arranged with forms representing the four oppositions. For instance, "kab-nam"

DIAGRAM 2



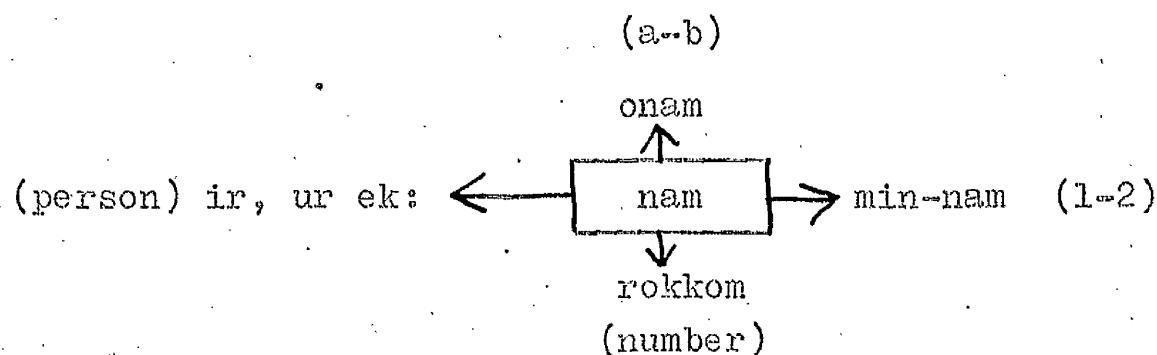
In this way we can collect into sets all the forms standing in the four oppositions. The following tables provide the number of sets found to operate in this way. Only the affixations are entered, since they are common to all verbals.

Some of these affixes can be divided into more than one unit. In dividing them we follow these principles

- 1 The affix under consideration is not only a phonetic form
- 2 It is a member of four oppositions

A unit cannot therefore be abstracted - unless it represents a phonetic piece common to more than one form - if in doing so we do not prevent the abstracted unit from operating in other oppositions.

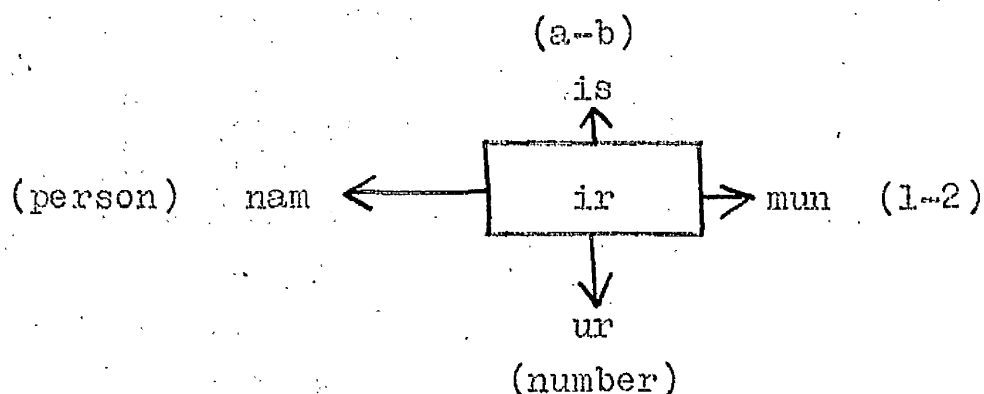
A POSSIBLE ABSTRACTION



The termination "nam" is common to "nam" and "minnam". This can be represented in the equation

"nam" versus "min-nam" = nam ("zero" versus "min")
 "min" is a unit that can represent the opposition (1-2), which has in this case two exponents "zero" and "min". Abstracting "min" as a unit does not prevent "nam" from operation in the oppositions person, number and (a-b).

AN IMPOSSIBLE ABSTRACTION



No division of units is possible and therefore one cannot abstract a unit that represents the oppositions (person) or (1-2), because there is no common phonetic piece between "nam" and "ir" or "ir" and "mun"

Between "ir" and "ur" there is a common phonetic unit "r". If we abstract it as a unit we shall be left with "i" and "u", which cannot be members of the oppositions (person), (number) or (1-2). "kab-nam" for instance, is in opposition to "kab-ir", "kab-ur", etc., and not to "kab-i" and "kab-u". See Diagram 2.

The same can be said about the other oppositions.

T A B L E 1.

=====

SINGLE NOMINAL RELATUM.

	1st PERSON		2nd PERSON		3rd PERSON	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
POSSIBILITY						
a			zero	tam	zero	tam
b						
ABSTRACTED UNITS			zero	tam	zero	tam

PLURAL NOMINAL RELATUM.

	1st PERSON		2nd PERSON		3rd PERSON	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
POSSIBILITY						
a			an	tamman	an	tamman
b						
ABSTRACTED UNITS			an	tam an	an	tam an

This Table shows that the nominal relatum can be only the 2nd or 3rd person. The verbal terminations in the case of these two persons are identical. Therefore, the opposition of person is not operative in these two sets.

Opposition (a-b) is also not operative. No form is used that has an affix applicable to this opposition.

Opposition of number has two exponents, "zero" and "an". "an" is used in all persons for plurality.

Opposition (1-2) has two exponents, "zero" and "tam". "tam" is used with all persons and numbers for case 2.

T A B L E 2.

=====

SINGLE NOMINAL RELATUM

		1st PERSON		2nd PERSON		3rd PERSON	
POSSIBILITY		1	2	1	2	1	2
a	set X	"re"		"na:"		"na:"	
	set Y	"ri"	minni	"i"	mi:ni	"i"	mi:ni
b	set X	"se"		"ona"		"ona"	
	set Y	"si"	kumminni	"o" *	kummi:ni	"o"	kummi:ni
ABSTRACTED UNITS		re ri se si	kum min ni	na: i o	kum min i	na: i o	kum mi:n i

PLURAL NOMINAL RELATUM

		1st PERSON		2nd PERSON		3rd PERSON	
POSSIBILITY		1	2	1	2	1	2
a	set X	"ro:"		"ro:"		innana:	
	set Y	"ru"	minno	ru	minnu	innana	minna
b	set X	"so"		"so"		"sana"	
	set Y	"su"	kumminnu	"su"	kumminno	or "sa"	kumminna
ABSTRACTED UNITS		or "ro:" or "ru:" or "so:" or "su:"	kum min nu	or "ro:" or "ru:" or "so:" or "su:"	kum min nu	innana "sana" or "sa"	kum min na

* These are two different sets used similarly.

Set X

Indivisible terminations are "re", "se", "na", "ro", "so",
"innana" and "sana"

The divisible unit is

ona = o+na (as compared to the indivisible "na")

Set Y

The indivisible terminations are "ri", "i", "si", "o",
"su", "innana" and "sa"

The divisible are

minni = min+ni * (compared to "ri")

kumminni = kum+min+ni

mi:ni = mi:n+i (compared to "i" termination)

kummi:ni = kum+mi:n+i

minno = min+no (compared to "ru")

kumminno = kum+min+no

minna = min+na

The units function in the four oppositions as follows

1. Opposition of number and person

1st sing: set X "re", "se"

set Y "ri", "ni" and "si"

2nd and 3rd sing:

set X "na",

set Y "i" and "o"

* We draw attention to the realisation of "ri" and "ru" as
"ni" and "nu" after "n"
e.g. (1) "isun fa-ja:n-ni" = When shall I sell it
(2) "isun fa-ja:n-nu" = When shall we sell it

1st and 2nd pl: set X "ro" and "so"
 set Y "ru", "no" and "su"

3rd pl: set X "innan" and "sana"
 set Y "innana", "sa" and "na"

2. Opposition (1-2)

only set Y, zero versus "min" or "mi:n".

3. Opposition (a-b)

- I. zero versus "kum" (set Y)
- II. "i-0" (set Y)
- III. zero-"o" (set X 2nd and 3rd sing:)

The consonant "r" in the terminations of 1st sing: and pl:
 and 2nd pl: (in "a") versus "s" (in b). Sets X and Y

- IV. "in" (as a part of a unit) versus an "s" sound
 for 3rd pers: pl: "a" and "b"

T A B L E 3.

=====

ALL PERSONS and NUMBERS of the NOMINAL RELATUM

	ALL PERSONS and NUMBERS	
POSSIBILITY	1	2
a	e	me:ne
b	si:n	kumme:ne
ABSTRACTED UNITS	e si:n	me:n e kum

The indivisible terminations are "e" and "si:n"

The divisible are $me:ne = me:n + e$

$kumme:ne = kum + me:n + e$

These units function in two oppositions only.

(1) (1-2) zero versus "me:n"

(2) (a-b) terminations in "a" as opposed to those in "b".

"si:n" versus "e" and zero versus "kum".

T A B L E 4.

=====

SINGLE NOMINAL RELATUM

	1st PERSON		2nd PERSON		3rd PERSON	
POSSIBILITY	1	2	1	2	1	2
a	ri:	munni	in	minni:n	in	minni:n
b	si:	kummunni	"si:n" or "on" *	kummi:nin	"si:n" or "on" *	kummi:nin
ABSTRACTED UNITS	ri: si:	mun ni kum	in "si:n" or "on" *	minn i:n kum	in "si:n" or "on"	kinn i:n kum

PLURAL NOMINAL RELATUM

	1st PERSON		2nd PERSON		3rd PERSON	
POSSIBILITY	1	2	1	2	1	2
a	ru:	munnu	ru:	munnu	innan	minnan
b	su:	kummunu	su:	kummunu	san	kumminnan
ABSTRACTED UNITS	ru su:	mun nu kum	ru: su:	mun nu kum	innan san	minn an kum

* "si:n" and "on" are alternatives, each used in certain constructions.

The indivisible terminations are "ri:", "si:", "ru:", "su:", "in", "si:n" (or "on"), "innan" and "san".

The divisible are

munni = mun + ni (compared to "ri:")

kummunni = kum + mun + ni

minni:n = minn + i:n (compared to "in")

kummi:nin = kum + mi:n + in

munnu = mun + nu (compared to "ru")

kumminnu: = kum + min + nu:

minnan = minn + an

kumminnan = kum + minn + an

These are exponents of the four oppositions in this way

I. person and number

- 1) 1st pers: sing: "ri:", "si:" or "ni:"
- 2) 2nd and 3rd pers: sing: "in", "si:n" (or "on")
- 3) 1st and 2nd pers: pl: "ru:", "nu:" or "su:"
- 4) 3rd pers: pl: "innan", "an" or "san"

II. (1-2)

zero versus "min" or "mun"

III. (a-b)

- 1) zero versus "kum"
- 2) "in" versus "on"
- 3) the sound "r" in "ri:" and "ru:" versus "s" in "si:" and "su:"
- 4) the sound "s" versus its absence in "si:n" and "san".

* "ri:" and "ru:" are realised as "ni:" and "nu:" when they follow "n" e.g. (1) "a:g-ja:n-ni:-n tar kir-on" = He came while I was buying (2) "u:l a:g-ja:n-nu:-n tar kir-on" = He came while we were buying.

T A B L E 5.

=====

SINGULAR NOMINAL RELATUM

POSSIBILITY	1st PERSON		2nd PERSON		3rd PERSON	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
a	ir	mun	nam	minnam	in	mun
b	is	kummun	onam	kumminnam	on	kummun
ABSTRACTED UNITS	ir is	mun kum	nam o	min nam kum	in on	mun kum

PLURAL NOMINAL RELATUM

POSSIBILITY	1st PERSON		2nd PERSON		3rd PERSON	
	1	2	1	2	1	2
a	ur	mun	rokkom	minnokokom	innan	minnan
b	us	kummun	sokkom	kumminnokokom	san	kumminnan
ABSTRACTED UNITS	ur us	mun kum	rokkom sokkom	min rokkom kum	innan san	minn nan kum

The indivisible terminations are "ir", "is", "ur", "us", "nam", "rokkom", "sokkom", "in", "on", "innan", "san" (case 1), and "mun" (case 2)

The divisible are

onam	= o + nam
kummun	= kum + mun
minnam	= min + nam
kumminnan	= kum + min + nam
minnokkom	= min + nokkom
kumminnokkom	= kum + min + nokkom
minnan	= minn + an
kumminnan	= kum + min + an

where we notice that "min" has two exponents "min" and "minn". These units function in the four oppositions as follows

(1) Person and number

Person	<u>1st</u>	<u>2nd</u>	<u>3rd</u>
Sing:	ir, is, mun	nam	in, on, mun
Plu:	ur, us, mun	rokkom, sokkom, and "nokkom"	innan, san and "an"

(2) (1-2) zero versus "min" or "mun". The use of either is tied with the person and number of the nominal relatum.

(3) (a-b)

I. case 2 of the opposition (1-2) zero versus "kum"

II. case 1 of the opposition (1-2)

- "o" versus zero (between "nam" and "onam")
- the presence of the consonant "s" in "is", "us", "sokkom" and "san", versus "r" in "ir", "ur", "rokkom" and "in" in "innan".
- "on" versus "in."

CHAPTER 5.

=====

AFFIXES AS CATEGORY EXPONENTS

SECTION 1

Terminations.

Terminations are exponents of the following categories

(1) Mood

Each of the five given tables contains a number of sets of terminations that are exponents of a particular mood.

Sets in Table No. 1. are exponents of a mood that we call Imperative, e.g. "kab" = Eat.

Sets in Table No. 2. are exponents of a mood that we call Interrogative, e.g. "ay kab-re" = Do I eat?

Sets in Table Nos. 3 & 4 are exponents of a mood that we call Adjunctive, e.g. (a) "kabri: l asri y'a" = What I eat is good

(b) "an kab-e l asri'y a"
= What I eat is good

These will be referred to as the adjunctive "ri:" form and the adjunctive "e" form relations, respectively.

Sets in Table No. 5 are exponents of a mood that we call Indicative.

A number of infixes are exponents of a category called "Mode". When an indicative relation is of persuasive (see p.146) mode, it is found that its termination differs from that in

Table 1. An indicative relatio that takes the termination in Table 1 is called a simple relatio. An indicative relatio that takes the termination of the persuasive mode is called "persuasive" relatio. Apart from the indicative, only the imperative relatio can be of persuasive mode. It is called an imperative persuasive relatio.

The use of the terminations in these tables entails

- (1) The actual addition of the termination to the verbal relatum. This is a characteristic of the verbal. No nominal can have these terminations.
- (2) The selection of a particular set of the seven provided. This depends on the relationship between the relatio concerned and other relations. Since the presence of a particular set is the formal criterion of mood, we conclude that this category is characteristic of the relatio as a whole. A relatio is described as being simple, imperative, etc.,
- (3) The selection of a particular member of the chosen set. This depends on the person and number of the nominal relatum, i.e. on a formal agreement between the 2 relata.

(2) Tense

These tables have been arranged to show four oppositions - number, person, an opposition symbolised by (1-2) and an opposition symbolised by (a-b). These can be oppositions between parts of the terminations. There is also an

opposition of the whole termination in case (a) to that of the whole termination in case (b)

e.g. (a) "kab-kum-min-nam" = you did not eat

(b) "kab-in nan" = They eat

The oppositions between the two terminations are between

1 the unit "kum" in e.g. (a) and the lack of a similar unit in
2 "min" in e.g. (b)
3 "nam" in e.g. (b)
4 whole termination "kum-min-nam" and the whole
 termination "innan".

No. 4. is the opposition between the whole terminations in (a) and (b), which we call an opposition of tense -- past and present.

(3) Negative

Comparing in each of these tables the terminations under column 1 with those under column 2 we find that either, the termination in column 1 (a) is replaced by another

(b) has been retained but an additional unit precedes it

The opposition between columns 1 and 2 is an opposition of positive versus negative.

The negative exponents.

In the simple relatio

(1) the termination "mun"*. It is used as the terminations for 1st pers: sing: and pl.:, 3rd pers: sing: column 1

* See Table 5, p. 127.

(2) the unit "min" preceding the terminations of
2nd pers: sing: and pl: and 3rd pers: pl:

In the interrogative relatio

it is "min" in all cases

In the adjunctive "e" form relatio

it is "me:n" in all cases

In the adjunctive "ri" form relatio

it is "mun" for 1st pers: sing: and pl: and 2nd pers:
pl: "mun" in this case is used as a part of the termination.
It is followed by another unit that shows person and number,
"ni" and "nu". In the other cases the exponent is "min".
In the imperative and persuasive relations

it is "tam" in all cases

The positive exponent is zero, i.e. the use of
terminations that do not contain any of the mentioned units
(terminations in Column 1).

(4) Temporal

e.g. A. (1) "ir fa-kab'-nam" = You will eat

(2) "ir fa-kab-o'-nam" = You were going to eat.

B. (1) "ir kab-min'-nam" = You do not eat

(2) "ir kab-kum-min-nam" = You did not eat

There are two ways of looking at the difference between (1)
and (2) in both A. and B.

(1) a different termination is used in case (1) from that
used in case (2). This is the tense opposition.

(2) a unit is found in case (2) which is not found in case (1), namely "o" in A (2) and "kum" in B (2).

This is a different opposition that we call temporal.

It is an opposition of Time 1, Time 2 and Double Time.

The temporal exponents

e.g. C. (1) "ay kib-ir" = I eat

(2) "ay kab-is" = I have eaten.

The difference between these is in the use of "ir" termination as opposed to that of "is" termination. Both are indivisible. The opposition of tense in this case as well as in that of time, are exposed by the use of one or other of the terminations ~~"ir"~~
~~and "is"~~

In all terminations of the past tense we find either a special unit i.e. when the termination is divisible, as a temporal exponent, or a common sound when it is indivisible.

Indivisible terminations

FOR TIME 1.

(1) The sound "r" in the terminations of

1st pers: sing: and pl:, and 2nd pers: pl: in the simple relatio.

1st pers: sing: and pl:, and 2nd pers: pl: in the adjunctive "ri:" form relatio and the interrogative relatio

(2) the sound "i" in the terminations of

3rd pers: sing: and pl: in the simple relatio

2nd and 3rd pers: sing: and 3rd pers: pl: in the adjunctive

"ri:" form relatio

2nd and 3rd pers: sing: and 3rd pers: pl: in set (Y) of the
interrogative relatio

The formative "i" following a verbal base (see page 102.)

(3) the sound "n" in the termination of
2nd and 3rd pers: sing: in set X of the interrogative relatio.

(4) the sound "l" in the termination of
1st pers: sing: and pl: and 2nd pers: pl: in the consequential
mode (the indicative and the interrogative mood)

(5) the sound "e" in the termination of
all persons in the adjunctive "e" form relatio. "e" is the
whole and not a part of the termination

All of these are in the present tense termination.

FOR TIME 2.

(1) the sound "s" in the terminations of
1st pers: sing: and pl: and 2nd and 3rd pers: pl: in the
simple relatio.

All persons and number in the adjunctive "ri:" form and "e"
form relations

1st pers: sing: and pl: and 2nd and 3rd pers: pl: in set X
and Y of the interrogative relatio

(2) the sound "o" in the terminations of
3rd pers: sing: in the simple relatio an alternative
termination for 2nd and 3rd pers: sing: of the adjunctive "ri:"
form relatio.

The formative "o" following a verbal base (see page 102).

All these are in the past tense terminations.

Divisible terminations

FOR TIME 2. (It is more convenient to begin with time 2)

(1) the unit "o" in the termination of

2nd pers: sing: of the simple relatio

2nd and 3rd pers: sing: of the interrogative relatio

In set (Y), "o" is the whole termination and thus stands also for the rest of the oppositions (i.e. person, number, &c.)

(2) the unit "kum"

in the negative terminations for all persons and numbers in all moods

(3) the unit "kon"

is used as the temporal unit in constructions of the following

type "ir on¹ kir-kok^{*} kan ay fa-ju:-r" (see page 223.)

= If you had come I would go.

FOR TIME 1.

The exponent is zero, i.e. the absence of "o", "kum" and "kon" when the person and number of the nominal relatum are as mentioned above

e.g. (1) "ir kab¹-nam" (time 1) = You eat

as compared to

"ir kab-o¹-nam (time 2) = You have eaten

e.g. (2) "ir kab-min-nam" (time 1) = You do not eat

as compared to

"ir kab-kum-min-nam" (time 2) = You did not eat

* kir-kok kan = kir + kon + kan

e.g. (3) "ir on 'kir kan ay fa-'ju:-r" (time 1)

= If you come I shall go

as compared to

"ir on 'kir-kok kan ay fa-'ju:-r" (time 2)

= If you had come I would go

FOR DOUBLE TIME

"kon" is also used in ~~all~~ the past forms ^{of} ~~in~~ all moods

e.g. "ir kab-kon-o-nam" = You had eaten

In this case there are two temporal exponents of time 2, "kon" and one of the other exponents (here "o") of the past tense terminations.

Reinsch considered (not admittedly, but by the fact that he provided paradigms) "ken" (P.83 and after) and "kun" * (P.76 and after) as temporal units. His paradigms show no single instance when one of these is used without an additional temporal unit of those mentioned here. This is not the case with "kon" which can be used as the sole temporal unit

e.g. "ir on kir-kok kan fa-ki:-r"

= If you came, I shall come

where the first verbal "kir" has "kon" (realised as "kok") as its only temporal unit.

"kon", unlike "ken" and "kun" can be considered a temporal unit. Lepsius (P. 166, 167 "Perfectum and Plusquam Perfectum") considers "ken" only, as a temporal unit.

* The unit "kun" seems to be the unit "kon" which is being discussed here.

(5) Concord

Concord is the formal agreement in person, number or both, between the nominal relatum and the verbal relatum. It is found in (s-v)*1 and (o-v) relations.

Concord in (s-v) relatio

In an (s-v) relatio there are two types of concord.

- (1) between the nominal and verbal relata
- (2) between the nominal relatum and a link following the verbal relatum.

(1) Between the Nominal and Verbal Relata.

The concord between the nominal and verbal relata varies according to whether the former is a single term or an adjunct.

When it is a single term Agreement in number.* 2

- 1) In the adjunctive "e" form relatio, the termination does not vary according to number and therefore an opposition of number cannot be established.
- 2) In the imperative relatio, there is only an opposition of number but not of person. ~~XXXXXXXX~~ Its exponents are zero (sing:) and "an" (pl:)

Agreement in person.

- 1) In the adjunctive "e" form relatio, the termination does not vary according to person and agreement in person cannot be established.

*1. The copulative "men" agrees with the first nominal relatum in the same way as a verbal with its nominal relatum. For examples see P. 31 & 32.*2 "j" is affixed to the verbal relatum of (s-v) when the nominal relatum is plural (It is therefore an exponent of concord See P.39.) e.g. "u: mand a:g-j-u:s" = We stayed there as compared to "ay mand a:g-is" = I stayed there
this is where the verbal is intransitive

2) the imperative relatio, the nominal relatum can only be 2nd and 3rd pers: but the verbal termination does not vary.

The agreement in person cannot be established.

In other cases agreement in person and number are bound together as follows

(1) The simple relatio

1st pers: sing: "ir", "is", "mun"

" " Pl: "ur", "us", "mun"

2nd " sing: "nam"

" " pl: "rokkom", "sokkom" (or "nokkom" in the negative).

3rd " sing: "in", "on"

" " pl: "innan", "san" (or "an" in the negative)

(2) the other relations, the terminations of 2nd and 3rd pers: sing:, is identical, and that of 1st and 2nd pers: pl: is identical. The termination therefore shows an opposition of two

(A): singular 1st pers: versus non-1st pers:

In the interrogative relatio the exponents are

1st pers: "re" (or "ri") "se" (or "si") and "ni"

non-1st pers: "na", "i"

In the adjunctive "ri:" form relatio the exponents are

1st pers: "ri:", "si:" and "ni:"

non-1st pers. "in", "si:n" (or "on")

In the persuasive relatio, the exponents are (see Persuasive mode p. 146.)

1st pers: "ne" (or "se") in

non-1st pers: "mi" (or "o").

(B): plural. 3rd pers: versus non 3rd pers:

In the interrogative relatio the exponents are

3rd pers: pl: "innana", "sanna" (or "sa") "na"

non-3rd pers: pl: "ro" (or "ru"), "so" (or "su")

In the adjunctive "ri" for relatio the exponents are

3rd pers: pl: "innan", "san", "an"

non-3rd pers: pl: "ru", "su", "nu"

In the persuasive relatio, the exponents are

3rd pers: pl: "na", "sa"

non-3rd pers: pl: "no" (or "so").

The following is a review of the exceptional behaviour of some of the terminations found in the Tables

"all" and "is"

The terminations "all" and "is" are normally for 1st pers:

sing: past and present.

When they are followed by "ey" as in the following constructions (see p. 215.)

"ay kab[^]-all ey kiss" = I came in order to eat

"ay kab-s[^]ey kiss" = I came because I have eaten

they do not vary according to the person and number of the nominal relatum

e.g. "ur kab-all ey kis-sokkom" = You (pl:) came in order to eat

"ur kab-s'ey kis-sokkom" = You (pl:) came because you have eaten

"in", "on"

The terminations "in" and "on" are normally for 3rd pers: sing: (simple relatio) or 2nd or 3rd pers: sing: (adjunctive ^{"ri:"} ~~te~~ form relatio)

When a verbal relatio is linked to another by "ta:n", *1 "in" and "on" are used as exponents of the temporal opposition, for all persons and number

e.g. "ay kab-in ta:n kis-s" = I came eating

"ay kab-ed-on ta:n kab-is" Although I had eaten I have eaten again

here they are used with a nominal relatum 1st pers:

Similarly, when a verbal relatio is linked to another by the link "sa:min" *2 either "in" or "on" is used irrespective of pers: and no:

e.g. "ay kab-is sa:min ir fa-ti:g-nam"

= You will wait until I eat

"ay kab-os sa:min ir fa-ti:g-nam"

= You will wait until I eat

"n" of "in" and "on" appears as "s".

"ir", "ur" and "is", "us"

The terminations "ir" and "ur", and "is" and "us" are normally for 1st pers: sing: and pl:, present and past (simple relatio)

*1 See p. 214. *2 See p. 201 "fa:min" is a variant of "sa:min" when it is used, "in" appears as "if"

In the reported relatio *1 that has the same nominal relatum as that of the main relatio they are used for all persons, "ir" and "is" for sing:, "ur" and "us" for plural.

eg. "ir fa-kab-ir 'ey-o-nam" = You said that you will eat
where termination "ir" is used for 2nd pers: sing:

"ir ir kab-is 'ey-o-nam" = You said that you have eaten
where "is" is used for 2nd pers: sing:

"ur ur fa-kab-ur 'ey-issokkom" = You said that you will eat
eat
where "ur" is used for 2nd pers: pl:

"ur ur kab-us 'ey-issokkom" = You said that you have eaten
eaten
where "us" is used for 2nd pers: pl:

"in", "innan" and "on" *2 "san"

The terminations "in", "innan" ~~and~~ ^{and} "on", "san" are normally used for 3rd pers: sing: and pl:, present and past (simple and adjunctive "ri:" form relatio).

In the reported relatio that has a nominal relatum different from that of the main relatio, they are used for all persons, "in" and "on" for sing: "innan" and "san" for pl:

e.g. "tar 'ik-ka fa-kab-in 'ey-on" = He said that you are going to eat

where "on" is used for 2nd pers: sing:

"tar 'ik-ka kab-on 'ey-on" = He said that you were going to eat

where "on" is used for 2nd pers: sing:

*1 See p. 230/2. *2 "in" and "on" are used also for 2nd pers: sing: in the adjunctive relatio "ri:" form.

"tar u:-ga fa-kab-innan ey-on" = He said that you were going to eat

where "innan" is used for 2nd pers: pl:

"tar uk-ka kab-san ey-on" = He said that you were going to eat

where "san" is used for 2nd pers: pl:

Nominal adjunct

linked by "ya:" or "aw"

When the nominal relatum is an adjunct linked by "ya" or "aw", the termination is that of either the last member or 3rd pers: sing:

e.g. "ay ya: (or "aw") ir fa-kab-in" = I or you will eat
Termination is 3rd pers: sing:

"ay ya: (or "aw") ir fa-kab-nam" = I or you will eat
Termination is 2nd pers: sing:

"ir ya: (or "aw") ay fa-kab-ir" = You or I will eat
Termination 1st pers: sing:

"ir ya: (or "aw") ay fa-kab-in" = You or I will eat
Termination 3rd pers: sing:

When one of the members is plural the termination agrees with the last member only

e.g. "ter ya: ay fa-kab-ir" = They or I shall eat

linked by "wala:"

When the nominal relatum is an adjunct linked with "wala:" the verbal relatum must be in negative and agree with either of the members of the adjunct.

e.g. "wala: 'ay wala: 'ir fa-kab-mun" = Neither I nor you
will eat

Agreement with 1st member (1st pers: sing:)

"wala: 'ay wala: 'ir fa-kab-min-nam" = Neither I nor you
will eat

Agreement with 2nd member (2nd pers: sing:)

This is the same when one is plural

e.g. "wala: 'ay wala: 'ur fa-kab-mun" = Neither I nor you
have eaten

Agreement with 1st member (1st pers: sing:)

"wala: 'ay wala: 'ur fa-kab-min-nokkom" = Neither I nor
you have eaten

Agreement with 2nd member (2nd pers: pl:)

linked with "go:n"

When the nominal relatum is an adjunct linked with "go:n"

1) the suffixes show a plural number even when both members
are singular

2) the person is 1st if one member of the adjunct is 1st pers:;
if not, 2nd if one person is 2nd person; otherwise 3rd person.

e.g. "ay 'go:n ik, 'ko:n fa-kac-c-ur" = You and I will come

Agreement is with 1st pers: pl:

e.g. "tak, 'ko:n ik, 'ko:n fa-kac-c-~~ur~~rokkom" = He and you will
come

Agreement is with 2nd pers: pl:

"ali: 'go:n hassan 'go:n fa-kac-c-~~ur~~inman" = Ali and
Hassan will come

Agreement is with 3rd pers: pl:

In all these cases neither of the members is plural

An adjunct of this type can be a nominal relatum of a

synthetic relatio * i.e. by being a base of a verbal conjunct "an" form which, in turn, is linked to the verbal relatum thus forming a verbal adjunct

e.g. "ay 'go:n ik-ko:n-an-a fa-kac-c-ur" = "you and I will
come

(2) Concord of links

The verbal relatum of an (s-v) relatio can be followed by a link that varies according to the nominal relatum. Only two links behave in this way "kan" and "e:n" (See p.214 & 223).

e.g. "ay on 'kir kayyiga ir fa-ju:-nam"
= If I come you will go

"ir on 'kir kan ay fa-ju:-r"
= If you come I shall go

"ay fa-kab-r 'e:ni" = I shall therefore go

"tar fa-kab-n 'a:ni" = He will therefore go

Concord in (o-v) relatio

There are two types of concord

(1) The use of the infix "j" affixed to the verbal, when the nominal relatum is plural or when it is a nominal adjunct linked by "go:n"

e.g. "ay 'fenti we:-kka 'kab-is" = I ate one date

"ay 'fenti we:-kku:-g 'kab-j-is" = I ate some dates

"ay in 'go:n man go:n-ga 'kab-j-is" = I have eaten this
and that

* See p. 30.

(2) The infixes "tir" or "de:n" affixed to the verbal. The use of either depends on the person of the verbal relatum of the (o-v) relatio. "de:n" is for 1st pers., "tir" is for 2nd and 3rd pers:

e.g. "ay ik-ka'i:ga-tiss" = I said to you

"ay tak-ka'i:ga-tiss" = I said to him

as opposed to

"tar ay-ga'i:ga-de:n-on" = He told me

"tir" and "de:n" as verbal relata of (o-v) behave similarly.

SECTION 2

Prefixes and Infixes

These are exponents of the following categories.

(I) The Modes.

This is an opposition of four modes that are called persuasive, consequential, ego centric and a mode of recollection. They have the following formal exponents.

(1) The Persuasive.

The exponents of this mode are

1. "ni" for 1st pers: sing:
2. "mi" 2nd and 3rd pers: sing:
3. "min" for other persons and number

This mode is used

- 1) with "illin" relatio

e.g. "asri^l llin-mi" = It is very good indeed

- 2) with (s-v) relatio

- (a) Imperative Mood

e.g. "kab-mi" = Do eat

"kab-min^l-no" = Do eat (pl:)

- (b) Indicative Mood

Present Tense - positive

e.g. "ay^l kab-ni" = I do eat

Present Tense - negative

e.g. "ay kab-¹tam-min-ni"

= I certainly do not eat

Past Tense - positive

e.g. "ay kab-k¹um-min-ne"

= I certainly did eat

The infixes "ken" and "kon" cannot be used with the persuasive terminations. They can be found with "min" the negative exponent, but not with the persuasive "min".

e.g. "ir kab-¹ken-min-o-nam" = You did not usually eat

"ir kab-k¹on-min-o-nam" = You had not eaten

The indicative termination of the persuasive mode is different from the indicative in other modes.

In the following paradigm we find the terminations to be more similar to those of the Interrogative Mood (see Table 2, page 121) than to those of the Indicative Mood (see Table 5, page 127).

The interrogative set (X) on Table 2, lacks column 2 (the negative).

Because in both the negative and the persuasive oppositions, one of the exponents is "min", one is tempted to consider as Lepsius (page 172-173) and Reinisch (page 71 para: 206) did, the termination cited here as persuasive, to be the lacking column 2 of the Interrogative set (X).

We refrained from doing so because

(1) "min" which is classed as an exponent of the persuasive mode and "min" which is classed as a negative exponent belong to different exponent paradigms, as exemplified by the case of the Present Indicative :-

<u>The persuasive</u>		<u>The negative</u>	
"ay kab-ni"	} = I do eat	"ay kab-mun"	= I do not eat
or "ay kab-min-ne"			
"ir kab-mi"	= You " "	"ir kab-min-ham"	= You " " "
"tar kab-mi"	= He does "	"tar kab-mun"	= He does " "
"u: kab-min-no:"	= We do "	"u: kab-mun"	= We do " "
"ur kab-min-no:"	= You " "	"ur kab-min-hokkom"	= You " " "
"ter kab-min-ne:"	= They " "	"ter kab-min-nan"	= They " " "

"min" of the persuasive is a member of the opposition "ni", "mi", "min"

"Min" of the negative is a member of the opposition "mun", "min".

(2) "min" the negative exponent is not used with the Imperative Mood. The negative exponent in this case is "tam"

e.g. "kab-tam" = Do not eat (sing:-)

"kab-tamm-a-n" = Do not eat (plural)

"min" and "tam" the negatives are in opposition. They cannot be used together.

In "ay kab-tam-min-ne:" = I certainly do not eat. we have both "min" and "tam". If one is the negative exponent the other must be something else.

With the help of the whole paradigm of the negative we can decide which is which

"ay kab-tam-min-ni:"	= I certainly do not eat
"ir kab-tam-mi"	= You " " " "
"tar kab-tam-mi"	= He " does " "
"u: kab-tam-min-no"	= We " do " "
"ur kab-tam-min-no"	= You " " " "
"ter kab-tam-min-na"	= They " " " "

Here we find "tam" as a constant unit, whereas "min" varies according to person. This variation is identical to that in the positive case given before. We conclude therefore that the negative unit is "tam" and not "min". "min" in this case is an exponent of something other than negation i.e. of the persuasive mode.

(2) Consequential.

The exponents of this mode are

"ar" for the negative past and present

and for the positive past tense in the case of

1st. pers: sing: and pl:

"arir" for the positive past tense in the case of the

2nd and 3rd pers: sing: and pl:

"all" in other cases.

This mode is used only with (s-v) relatio.

A. Interrogative mood -- present positive only

e.g. "ay kab-'all-e" = Shall I therefore eat?

B. Indicativ-e mood -- present positive

e.g. "ay kab-'all = I shall therefore eat

present negative

e.g. "ay kab-ar-'um-mun" = I shall therefore not eat

past, positive

e.g. "ay kab-ar-'is" = I have therefore eaten

past, negative

e.g. "ay kab-ar-'kum-mun" = I have therefore not eaten.

(3) Ego Centric.

1. "ay kitti-g 'song-is" = I washed the clothes.

2. "ay 'kitti-g song-ed-is" = I washed my own clothes

3. "ay 'kitti-g 'songa-tis-s" = I washed your (or his) clothes

4. "ir kitti-g songa-de:n-o-nam" = You washed my clothes

In example 1. the verbal relatum is followed only by the termination, in 2. by the infix "ed", in 3. by "tir" and in 4. by "de:n".

The last two infixes have been given as exponents of concord between the verbal and the nominal (o-v) relata. It has been stated that this formal concord is also found where an (o-v) nominal relatum can be, but is not necessarily, found. Examples 3. and 4. illustrate the latter case.

"ed" infix is an exponent of a mode which we call "ego centric". Although there is a ^{notional} natural opposition between the use of "ed" and the use of either "tir" or "de:n", *¹ we prefer to separate (i.e. not to bring in opposition) the construction with "ed" from those with "tir" or "de:n". The latter mark a concord of (o-v) relation which "ed" does not do.

Other examples of this mode are:

1) "ay odd-ir" = I am ill

as compared to

"ay odd-ed-is" = I took my turn of the illness

2) "ay fag we:-kka ja:n-ed-is" = I bought a goat

as compared to

"ay fag we:-kka ja:n-o:s-is" = I sold a goat

3) "ay angare: we:-kka a:w-ed-is" = I made a bed for myself

(4) Mode of recollection.

This has one exponent "kun"

e.g. "ay kab-kun-ir" = Oh! but I have eaten it

It is used in (s-v) relations, indicative mood, present tense only. The time opposition is exposed in this mode by the termination of the present for Time 1 and by the unit "kon" for time 2.

*1 "ed" for an act done for the sake of the doer and "tir" and "de:n" for the sake of somebody else.

*2 The root "ja:n"=to transact does not differentiate between ~~buying or selling~~ buying or selling. The difference is modal, i.e. the use or the non-use of the infix "ed".

e.g. "ay kaba-kon-kun-ir" = Oh! but I had eaten it.
 where we have 2 temporal units "kon" and "ir". The
 termination for the past tense is never used with "kun".

(II) The Aspect.

This is a category of six aspects, which are called the
 Perfective, Imperfective, the Habitual, the Durative, the
 Stative and the Prospective. They each have their formal
 exponents.

(1) The Imperfective.

The exponent of this aspect is the present tense
 termination of all moods except the imperative.

e.g. (a) "ay a:g-kab-ir" = I am eating (Indicative mood)
 as opposed to

(b) "ay a:g-kab-is" = I was eating.

(a) "ay kab-ri: l aʒri y a = "What I eat is good
 (Adjunctive mood)

as opposed to

(b) "ay kab-si l aʒri y a" = The thing I have eaten was
 good

(a) "ay kab-re" = Do I eat? (Interrogative mood)
 as opposed to

(b) "ay kab-se" = Did I eat?

(2) The Perfective.

This has the following exponents

a) The past tense terminations of all moods, except the Imperative which cannot take past tense terminations - (preceding examples (b).)

b) The infix unit "ed". This is used with the present and past tenses of all moods.

The Indicative mood, - single term verbal relatum.

Present tense

e.g. "ay issa:g-ka kab-ed-ir" = Usually I have eaten by
now

Past tense

e.g. "ay kab-ed-is" = I have already eaten
- adjunct verbal relatum

Present tense

e.g. "ay fa-kab-eda ju:-r" = I shall go after I have
eaten

Past tense

e.g. "ay kab-eda ju:-s" = I went after I had eaten

The Adjunctive mood

Present tense - single term verbal relatum

e.g. " kab-el-li:-n* ba:d-ta fa-ki:-r"
= I shall come after I have eaten

* This form "kab-el-li:-n" = "kab" + "ed" = "ri:" + "n".

Past tense

e.g. "ay kab-es-si:-n 'ba:d-ta' kis-s" = I came after I had eaten

- adjunct verbal relatum

Present tense

e.g. "ay ju: kab-el-li:-n 'ba:d-ta fa-ki:-r"

= I shall come after I go to eat

Past tense

e.g. "ay ju: kab-es-si:-n ba:d-ta' kis-s"

= I came after I went to eat

The Interrogative mood - single term verbal relatum

Present tense

e.g. "ir issa:g-ka kab-en-na" = Have you usually eaten at this time?

Past tense

e.g. "ir kab-ed-o-na" = Have you finished eating?

Present tense - adjunct verbal relatum

e.g. "ir issa:g-ka ju: kab-en-na" = Would you have gone and eaten by this time?

Past tense

e.g. "ir ju: kab-ed-o-na" = Have you gone and eaten?

The Imperative mood - single term verbal relatum

e.g. "in-ga kab-ed" = Eat this up

- adjunct verbal relatum

e.g. "kir in-ga kab-ed" = Come and eat this.

c)* The infix unit "j". This is similarly used with the present and past tenses of all moods.

* It is unnecessary to exemplify all the various cases. Enough are given to indicate what the other forms would be.

e.g. "ay fenti we:-kka kab-j-is" = I have eaten up one
date

(past tense - Indicative mood)

e.g. "man fenti kab-ja-ri: l asri:y'a "

= The date that I have eaten up was good

(present tense - Adjunctive mood)

e.g. "man fenti kab-j-ona" = Have you eaten that date?

(present tense - Interrogative mood)

e.g. "in-ga kab-j-an" = Eat this up.

(Imperative)

(3) The Habitual.

The exponents of this aspect are

- a. The present tense termination of all moods except the
Imperative

e.g. "ay issa:g-ka kab-ir laki:n messe:-g ka:g-ir

fa-kab-mun" = I am in the habit of eating now but
am fasting and shall not eat

The relatio "ay kab-ir" is present tense Indicative mood.

e.g. "ay kab-ri: l asri y'a" = The thing I usually eat
is good
(present adjunctive relatio)

e.g. "ay in-ga kab-re:" = Do I eat this?

(present Interrogative)

- b. "ken" infix. This is used only in the past tense for all
moods.

e.g. "ay issa:g-ka kab-kes-s laki:n kaba-na:ne mia:d-ta

gayyir-o:s-is" = I was in the habit of eating now but I
have changed the meal-time

(past indicative)

e.g. "ay kab-kes-si: l aʒri y 'a" = The thing I used to eat
was good
(past adjunctive)

e.g. "in-ga kab-ken-o-na" = Were you in the habit of
eating this?
(past Interrogative)

(4) The Durative

This has the following exponents

a The prefix "a:g". This is used with all tenses and moods
except the Imperative

e.g. "ay a:g-kab-is" = I was eating
(past Indicative)

e.g. "ay a:g-kab-ri: l aʒri y 'a" = The thing I am eating
is good
(present adjunctive)

e.g. "ir a:g-kab-na" = Are you eating?
(present Interrogative)

b "tir". This is used with

e.g. "ay kaba-tig-s" = I went on eating
(present Indicative)

e.g. "kaba-tir" = Go on eating
(Imperative)

"tir" here is different from "tir" the concord exponent
(see page 145). The latter is in opposition with "de:n"
which is not the case with this unit.

(5) Stative.

The exponents are

- a) "o:s". This is used in both tenses of the Indicative and Interrogative and Adjunctive moods
 e.g. "wilid 'taññ-o:s-on" = The boy reached the age to eat
 (past Indicative)
 e.g. "ir kab-o:s-o-na" = Have you been well enough to eat?
 (past Interrogative)
 e.g. "ay-ga kaba-kka de:n-on, kab-o:l-li logo"
 = He gave me food because I am well enough to eat
 (present Adjunctive)
- b) The infix "a:g". This is used in both tenses of the Indicative, Interrogative and Adjunctive moods
 (eg) "ay 'faññ-a:g-ir" = I am hungry
 (present Indicative)
 e.g. "ay-ga kaba-kka de:n-on, faññ-a:g-si: logo"
 = He gave me food because I was hungry
 (past Adjunctive)
 e.g. "ir faññ-a:g-o-na" = Were you hungry?
 (past Interrogative)
- c) The infix "fi:". This is used in both tenses of all the moods except the Imperative
 e.g. "ay 'fanna-fi:-r" = I am hungry
 (present Indicative)

e.g. "ay-ga kaba-kka de: ¹n-on ¹fanna-fi:-si logo"

= He gave me food because I was hungry

(past Adjunctive)

e.g. "ir ¹fann-fi:-na" = Are you hungry?

(present Interrogative)

(6) Prospective.

The exponents of this aspect are

- a. The prefix "fa". Used with all except the Imperative,
in both tenses

e.g. "ay fa-kab-is" = I was going to eat

(past Indicative)

e.g. "ay fa-kab-ri: l asri ya" = The thing I shall eat
is good

(present Adjunctive)

e.g. "ir fa-kab-na" = Will you eat?

(present Interrogative)

- b. The infix "all". This is used in both tenses of the
Indicative and Interrogative

e.g. "ay kab-ar-is" * = I therefore ate

(present Indicative)

e.g. "ir kab-alli-na" = Are you therefore going to eat?

(present Interrogative)

* "ar" in "kab-ar-is" is a variant of "all.

See Consequential mode P. 149.)

(III) The Causative.

This has two exponents

1. "kir" which is used in both tenses and all moods.

e.g. "tar 'tak-ka kab-'kir-on" = He fed him

(part Indicative)

e.g. "ay 'wilid-ta kab-kis-si:-n 'ba:d-ta kis-s"

= I came after I had fed the boy

(past Adjunctive)

e.g. "ir 'wilid-ta kab-kir-o-'na" = Have you fed the boy?

(past Interrogative)

e.g. "wilid-ta kab-'kir" = Feed the boy

(Imperative)

2. "inkir" used in both tenses and all moods

e.g. "ay 'wilid-ta fa-kab-inke:-r" = I shall let the boy eat.

(present Indicative)

e.g. "ay 'wilid-ta kab-inkis-si:-n 'ba:d-ta tar 'kir-on"

= He came after I had let the boy eat

(past Adjunctive)

e.g. "ay 'wilid-ta fa-kab-inke:-re" = Shall I let the boy
eat?

(present Interrogative)

e.g. "wilid-ta kab-inkir" = Let the boy eat

(Imperative)

(IV) The Passive.

The exponents of this category are

- 1) "day" infix, used in both tenses and in all moods
 e.g. "ir fa-tukki-day-nam" = You will be beaten
 (present Indicative)
 e.g. "tar kir-kum-mun fa-tukki-day-in"
 = He did not come because he will be beaten
 (present Adjunctive)
 e.g. "ir tukki-day-o-na" = Have you been beaten?
 (past Interrogative)
 e.g. "kir tukki-day" = Come and be beaten
 (Imperative)
- 2) "dakk" infix used in both tenses and in all moods
 e.g. "ir fa-tukka-dakki-nam" = You will be beaten
 (present Indicative)
 e.g. "tar kir-kum-mun fa-tukka-dakk-in' nogo"
 = He did not come because he will be beaten
 (present Adjunctive)
 e.g. "ir tukka-dakk-o-na" = Have you been beaten?
 (past Interrogative)
 e.g. "kir tukka-dakk" = Come and be beaten
 (Imperative)

A base followed by the formative "innan" is considered by Lepsius to be a passive infinitive (p. 143).

We do not agree with this because the passive "notion" is only a matter of collocation.

e.g. "ay kab-innan 'nin" = I should eat

and "in kab-innan 'nin" = This should be eaten.

Only in the latter can we find the passive notion.

The two examples are grammatically identical.

N.B. Reinisch thinks of "innan" as 3rd pers: pl: termination (p. 94, para: 279). This can be so, not by virtue of its form, but on account of its opposition with other exponents of the categories of person and number. "innan" which is a member of this opposition is different from that which is not.

Thus, "innan" in "ter to:g-innan" = they beat, is a 3rd pers: plural termination since when "ter" is substituted by "ay", for instance, "innan" is replaced by "ir".

e.g. "ay kab-ir" = I eat.

"innan" in "ter kab-innan nin" = They should eat, is not a termination since such substitution does not result in substituting "ir" for "innan"

"ay kab-innan 'nin" = I should eat

"innan" in this case is a formative.

P A R T I I I .

=====

THE RELATIO ADJUNCT.

THE RELATIO ADJUNCT

A nexal relatio is used in one of two ways, i.e.

1. independently from any other nexal relatio. The simple, imperative and interrogative relations (not the adjunctive) can be used in this manner

e.g. "ay fa-kab-ir" = I shall eat

"kab" = Eat

"ir kab-na" = Do you eat?

2. formally related to another ^{nexal} relatio. The group is called a "relatio adjunct"

Two or more relations can be formally related to each other in one of two ways

1. an adjunctive relatio can be a nominal relatum of another relatio

e.g. "kab-ri: l a_sri y'a" = What I eat is good

where we have

I - an adjunctive relatio "kab-ri:" that has

(a) a nominal relatum, not found, but recognised by the termination "ri:" of the 1st pers: sing:

(b) a verbal relatum "kab" followed by the termination "ri:"

II - a "men" relatio that has

(a) a 1st nominal relatum. This is the adjunctive relatio

"kab-ri:"

(b) a 2nd nominal relatum "asri:" = good

(c) the copula "a"

2. a non-adjunctive relatio which is related to another by affixes called links

e.g. "ir kaba go:n 'gen-nam 'niya go:n 'gen-nam"

= You will eat and drink

where we have two relations linked by "go:n"

I - "ir kaba go:n gen-nam", that has

(a) a nominal relatum, "ir" = you

(b) a verbal relatum, "kab" = eat

(c) the link "go:n"

(d) the verbal "gen" to which the termination "nam" is suffixed (see "gen", p. 34.)

II - the relatio "niya go:n gen-nam", that has

(a) a nominal relatum which is a 2nd pers: sing: as shown by the termination "nam".

(b) a verbal relatum "niya" = drink

(c) the link "go:n"

(d) the verbal "gen" to which the termination is suffixed.

SECTION 1

The adjunctive relatio

/I/ - "e" form

This relatio is used only as a member of a relatio adjunct. The nominal relatum has the suffix "in" and the verbal relatum has the termination "e" for the present and "si:n" for the past.

The termination does not vary according to the person or the number of the nominal.

PRESENT

e.g. "an' kab-e l asri y 'a" = What I eat is good (1st pers: sing:)

"un' kab-e l asri y 'a" = What you eat is good (2nd pers: pl:)

PAST

e.g. "tan kab-si:n n asri y 'a" = What he has eaten was good (3rd pers: sing:)

"ten kab-si:n n asri y 'a" = What they have eaten was good (3rd pers: plural)

This type of relatio is used as parallel to another type of "adjunctive relatio" ("ri:" form). We prefer, therefore, to discuss their uses, together. We must however mention that

(1) "e" form relatio has the nominal relatum with "in" suffix, whereas the "ri" form has no such suffix

(2) it is never elided, whereas that of "ri" form can be

(3) in cases when "ri" and "e" forms have identical

termination

→ (1) and (2) can differentiate one form from the other

These two facts also differentiate between the verbal of the adjunct relatio "e" form and the conjunct "e" form of a verbal base (See p. 96.)

e.g. "dungi ti:g-o:s-e: llin" = The blind man should remain where he is

where we notice that (1) the conjunct and not the relatio is a second relatum of "illin" relatio

(2) the nominal relatum in this case does not have the suffix "in"

The "e" form relatio may be found in reverse order as is clear from the comparison between

- (a) "an 'to:ge l u:s a" = My beating is bad
and
(b) "to:ge r an n u:s a" = My beating is bad

where we notice an "r" between the verbal and nominal relata.

This form may appear in some cases as identical with a nominal which is followed by the pronominal suffixes

e.g. "to:ge 'tan n u:s a" = His beating is bad

This compared with

"kita:b-'tan n u:s a" = His book is bad

persuaded Lepsius to consider them as identical constructions (See Lepsius P. 141-5) "e" form in his view is an infinitive which is mostly used as a substantive.

It is obvious from the following examples that we have a relatio of nominal and verbal relata and not a nominal and a pronominal affix

"in 'no:g-il an kissi:n 'nin" = This is the only house to
which I came (See "ga" p. 209)

"taron ay dog 'kik kani an fa-to:g-e-kka"

= If he comes to me I shall beat him (see Condition
p. 53.)

"tar ay-g i:ga-de:n-on in fa-to:g-e-kka"

= He told me that you will beat me (see "Reported Speech"
p. 57.)

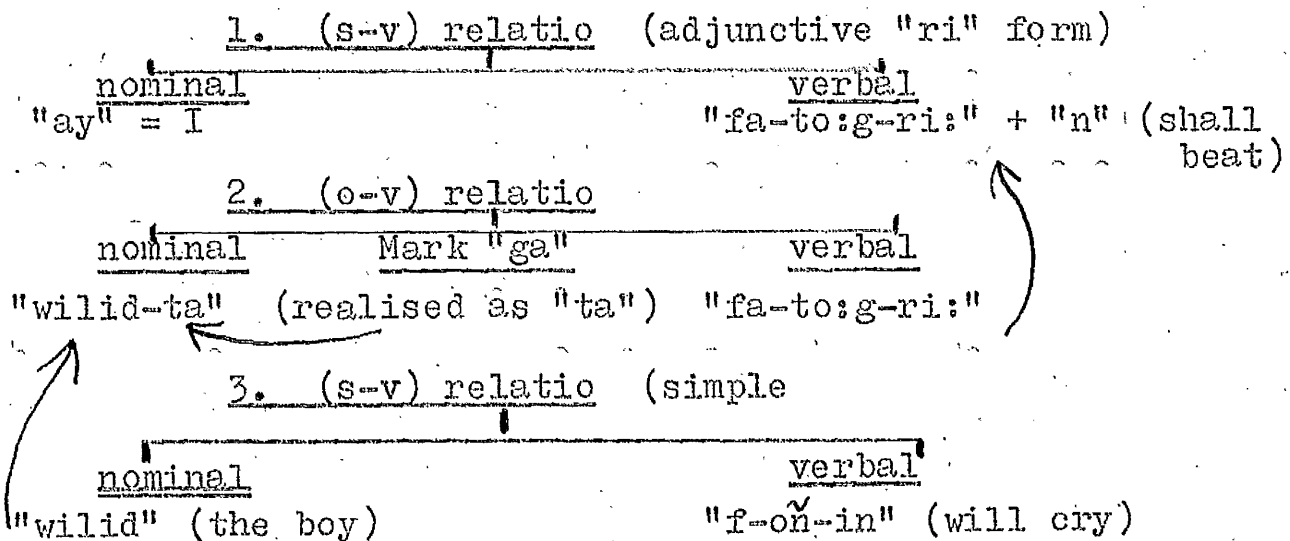
Reinisch did not give this form in his classification of verbal moods - P. 81-102. In his section on Syntax (P. 148) however a number of examples of "e" relatio, occur.

/2/ - "ri" form

The verbal termination of this relatio varies according to the construction in which it occurs. The variation, being only in the case of 2nd and 3rd pers: sing:, are considered as contextual. The number of adjunctive relations will be reduced to a minimum of two, "e" form, and "ri" form. We provide the termination table of the "ri" form together with the type of construction in which it is found.

CONSTRUCTION I.

e.g. "ay 'wilid-ta fa-to:g-ri:-n f-on-in" = I shall beat the boy
and then he will cry
which can be analysed thus:



We notice that the nominal relatum of 3. is the nominal relatum of 2., and the verbal of 2. is the verbal of 1. These two points are always found in such constructions.

In this example

"ay fa-to:g-ri:-n f-ōñ-in" = I shall beat (him) and (he)
will cry

the (o-v) relatio is not found. The fact that it is there potentially sufficiently satisfies the conditions above.

The termination paradigm runs as follows:-

1. PRESENT

"ay wilid-ta fa-to:g-ri:-n f-ōñ-in"	=	I shall beat the boy and he					
"ir wilid-ta fa-to:g-in f-ōñ-in"	=	You will	"	"	"	"	"
"tar wilid-ta fa-to:g-in f-ōñ-in"	=	He	"	"	"	"	"
"u: wilid-ta fa-to:g-ru:-n f-ōñ-in"	=	We shall	"	"	"	"	"
"ur wilid-ta fa-to:g-ru:-n f-ōñ-in"	=	You will	"	"	"	"	"
"ter wilid-ta fa-to:g-innan f-ōñ-in"	=	They will	"	"	"	"	"

2. PAST

"ay wilid-ta fa-to:g-si:-n f-ōñ-on"	=	I was	(going to beat the
"ir wilid-ta fa-to:g-on f-ōñ-on"	=	You were	(boy, and he was
"tar wilid-ta fa-to:g-on f-ōñ-on"	=	He was	(going to cry
"u: wilid-ta fa-to:g-su:-n f-ōñ-on"	=	We were	"
"ur wilid-ta fa-to:g-su:-n f-ōñ-on"	=	You were	"
"ter wilid-ta fa-to:g-san f-ōñ-on"	=	They were	"

CONSTRUCTION II.

e.g. "ay kabri:llin" = I do not mind if I eat
which can be analysed thus:-

"illin" relatio

<u>nominal</u>	<u>verbal</u>	<u>copula</u>
"ay" = I	"kab-ri:" (eat)	illin

It is to be noted that (1) there is one relatio in this construction, (2) the second relatum is a verbal "ri" form, (3) we do not have an example of an adjunctive relatio "ri" form but of a verbal "ri" form, which is a second relatum of "illin" relatio

The termination paradigm runs as follows:-

1. PRESENT

"ay kab-ri: illin"	=	I do not mind if I eat *
"ir kab-in-nin"	=	You do " " " you eat
"tar bab-in-nin"	=	He does " " " he eats
"u: kab-ru: illin"	=	We do " " " we eat
"ur kab-ru: illin"	=	You do " " " you eat
"ter kab-innan-nin"	=	They do " " " they eat

NEGATIVE FORM

"ay kam-mun-ni: illin"	=	I do not mind if I do not eat
"ir kam-mi:-n nin"	=	You " " " you " " "
"tar kam-mi:n nin"	=	He does " " " he does " "
"u: kam-mun-nu: illin"	=	We do " " " we do " "
"ur kam-mun-nu: illin"	=	You " " " you " " "
"ter kam-minna:n nin"	=	They " " " they " " "

*exact translations cannot be ~~produced~~ ^{provided} in English

2. PAST

"ay kab-si: llin"	=	I	did	not	mind	if	I	did	eat
"ir kab-si: llin"	=	You	"	"	"	"	you	"	"
"tar kab-si: llin"	=	He	"	"	"	"	he	"	"
"u: kab-su: llin"	=	We	"	"	"	"	we	"	"
"ur: kab-su: llin"	=	You	"	"	"	"	you	"	"
"ter kab-san' nin"	=	They	"	"	"	"	they	"	"

NEGATIVE FORM

"ay kab-kum-mun-ni: llin"	=	I	did	not	mind	if	I	did	not	eat
"ir kab-kum-min-in nin"	=	You	"	"	"	"	you	"	"	"
"tar kab-kum-min-in nin"	=	He	"	"	"	"	he	"	"	"
"u: kab-kum-mun-nu: llin"	=	We	"	"	"	"	we	"	"	"
"ur kab-kum-mun-nu: llin"	=	You	"	"	"	"	you	"	"	"
"ter kab-kum-min-nan nin"	=	They	"	"	"	"	they	"	"	"

Comparing these two sets of paradigms we find

1 - that all the terminations of the "ri" verbal form in the present (positive) of Construction I and Construction II are identical

2 - that the terminations of the past are identical except with the 2nd and 3rd pers: sing: where in Construction I we find "on" and in Construction II we find "si:"

These can be looked at in two ways

- 1) is to consider them as different types of relation
- 2) is to consider them as "one" type that has a special feature in a special grammatical construction.

I adopt the latter and call them "ri" form I and "ri" form II.

CONSTRUCTION III

e.g. "ay' taññi-mi:n-i:n tar kir-on" = He came before I went

which can be analysed thus:-

1. (s-v) relatio (simple

nominal	verbal
"tar" (he)	"kir-on" (came)

2. (s-v) adjunctive relatio

nominal	verbal	
"ay" = I	taññi-mi:n-i:n	
	composed of	
"taññ"	"mi:n"	"i:n"
verbal root	negative infix	"ri" form
(to walk)		termination

The termination paradigm runs as follows:-

1. PRESENT

"ay' taññi-mi:n-i:n tar' kir-on" =	He came before I went
"ir' taññi-mi:n-i:n tar' kir-on" =	" " " you "
"tar' taññi-mi:n-i:n tar' kir-on" =	" " " he "
"u: taññi-mi:n-u:n tar' kir-on" =	" " " we "
"ur' taññi-mi:n-u:n tar' kir-on" =	" " " you "
"ter' taññi-min-nan tar' kir-on" =	" " " they "

Comparing this with the Negative of Construction II

(1) the negative unit is "mi:n" for all persons in this paradigm

(2) the negative unit varies between "mun" and "min" in the paradigm provided for Construction II

(3) a final "n" is found in the verbal form (i.e. after the termination) in all cases here

(4) in the paradigm provided in Construction II it is only found in the case of 2nd and 3rd pers: sing: and 3rd pers: plural.

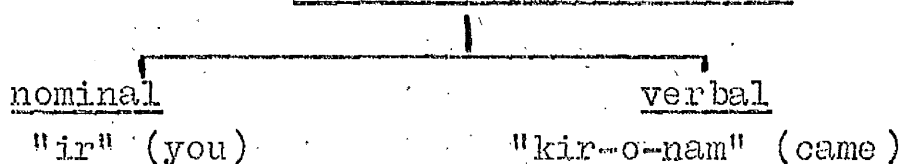
CONSTRUCTION IV.

e.g. "ay 'a:g-kab-ri:-n ir 'kir-o-nam"

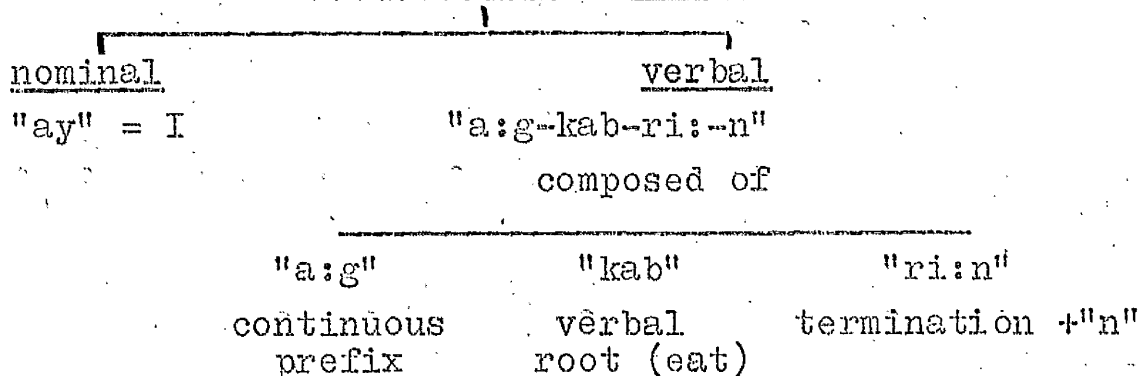
= You came while I ate

This can be analysed thus:-

1. (s-v) simple relatio



2. (s-v) adjunctive "ri" form relatio



The termination paradigm is identical to that in Construction II Past and Present (Positive).

We note that the verbals have two different nominal relata. When they have one and the same nominal relatum they are linked by "tà:n" (see p. 214.)

e.g. "ay kab-in 'ta:n kis-s"

= I came eating (on the way).

SECTION 2

Adjunctive relatio as relata and bases

The following is an analysis of instances where either "e" or "ri:" adjunctive relations are used.

(1) a

"fa-kab-ri: a¹ri: llin" = What I shall eat is good

where we have

"illlin" relatio

<u>1st relatum</u>	<u>2nd relatum</u>	<u>copula</u>
"fa-kab-ri:" = shall eat	"a ¹ ri:" (good)	"illlin"
This is an (s-v) adjunctive relatio "ri:" form		

<u>nominal relatum</u>	<u>verbal relatum</u>			
not found but indicated by the termination of the verbal (1st pers: sing: present)	"fa-kab-ri:" (shall eat)			
	It has			
	<table style="width: 100%; border-collapse: collapse;"> <tr> <td style="text-align: center; width: 33%;"><u>"fa"</u> (prefix)</td> <td style="text-align: center; width: 33%;"><u>"kab"</u> (verbal root)</td> <td style="text-align: center; width: 33%;"><u>"ri:"</u> (termination)</td> </tr> </table>	<u>"fa"</u> (prefix)	<u>"kab"</u> (verbal root)	<u>"ri:"</u> (termination)
<u>"fa"</u> (prefix)	<u>"kab"</u> (verbal root)	<u>"ri:"</u> (termination)		

We notice that a "ri:" form adjunctive relatio has functioned like a nominal root as in:

"wilid a¹ri llin" = The boy is good

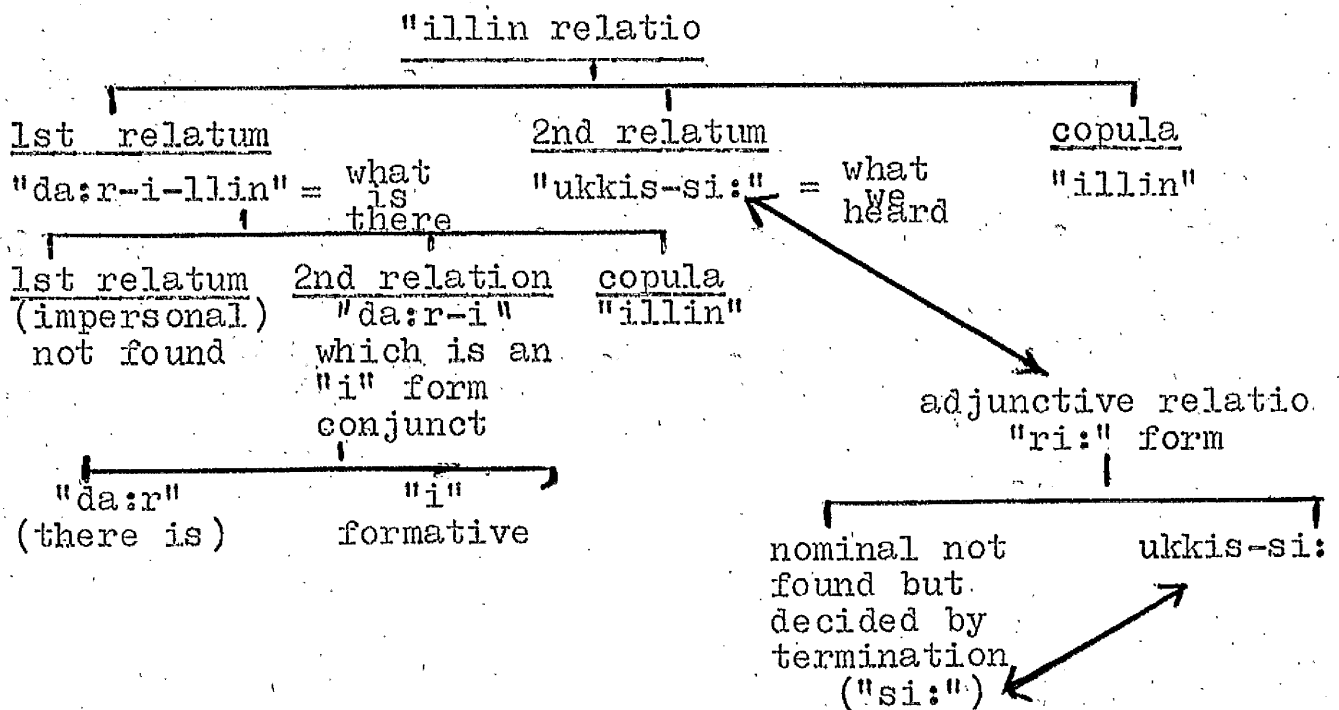
where "wilid" (the boy) is the 1st nominal relatum of "illlin"

(3) the termination of the adjunctive relatio is "si:n". This is the past of "e" verbal termination. It is also identical to the past form of "ri" relatio, 2nd or 3rd pers: sing:

(4) "e" form adjunctive relatio has a nominal that is always found. Here the nominal is not found, and this fact persuades us to classify it as an (s-v) "ri" form adjunctive relatio.

(3)

"da:r-i llin ukis-si: llin" = we heard what happened



(4) a
=

"man' waraw-si: llin" = That is the distance I walked.

where we have

<u>"illin" relatio</u>		
<u>1st relatum</u>	<u>2nd relatum</u>	<u>copula</u>
"man" = that	"waraw-si:" (walked) which is an (s-v) adjunctive relatio that has	"illin"
<u>nominal relatum</u>	<u>verbal relatum</u>	
not found but indicated by the termination of the verbal (1st sing:-)	"waraw-si:"	

We notice that an adjunctive relatio "ri:" form has taken a function that can be taken by a nominal as in

e.g. "ay' wilid illin" = I am the boy

where the nominal root "wilid" is a second relatum of "illin"

The "ri:" form in this as well as in the previous case takes "si:" termination for 2nd and 3rd person singular (past form) and not "on"

b
=

"in an' waraw-si:n nin" = This is the distance I walked

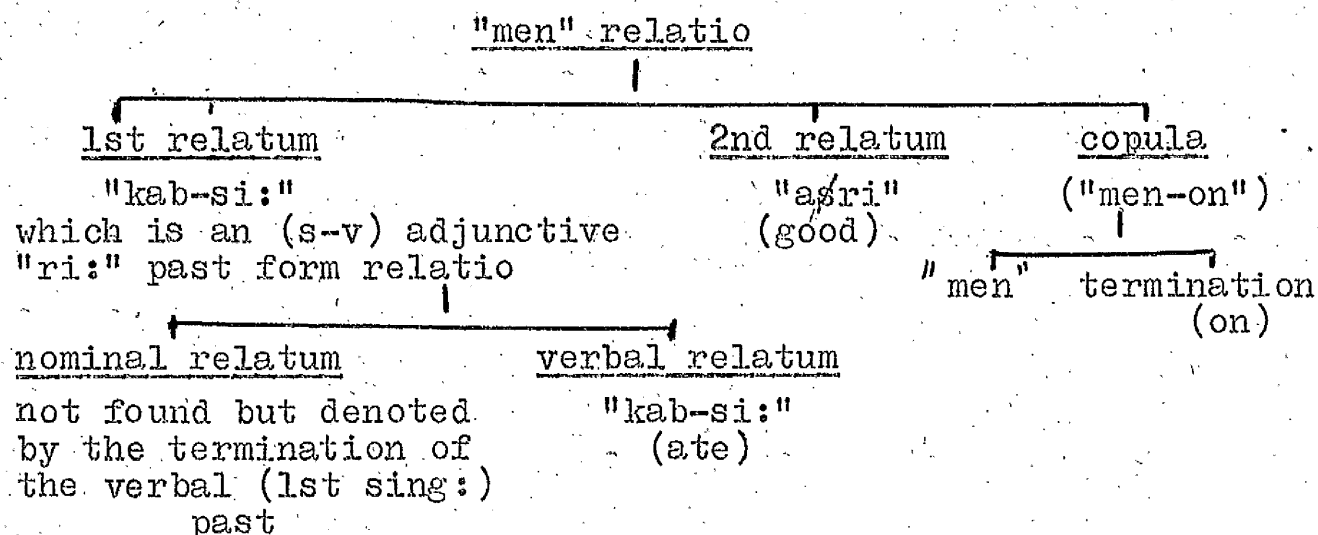
This can be analysed in the same way as the previous utterance. The difference is

- 1 - the nominal relatum here is found
- 2 - it appears with "in" suffix ("an" = "ay-i:n")
- 3 - the relatio is "e" past form and not "ri:"

(5) a

"fa kab-si: {a'sri} a 'men-on" = What I ate was good.

This is analysed as follows



where we notice (1) the nominal relatum of the adjunctive is not found. (2) the adjunctive relatio functions similarly to a nominal root in "wilid a'sri: y a men-on" = The boy was good.

b
=

"an kab-si:n n a'sri y a 'men-on" = What I ate was good.

It can be analysed as above. The difference between the two is

(1) the nominal relatum of the adjunctive is found

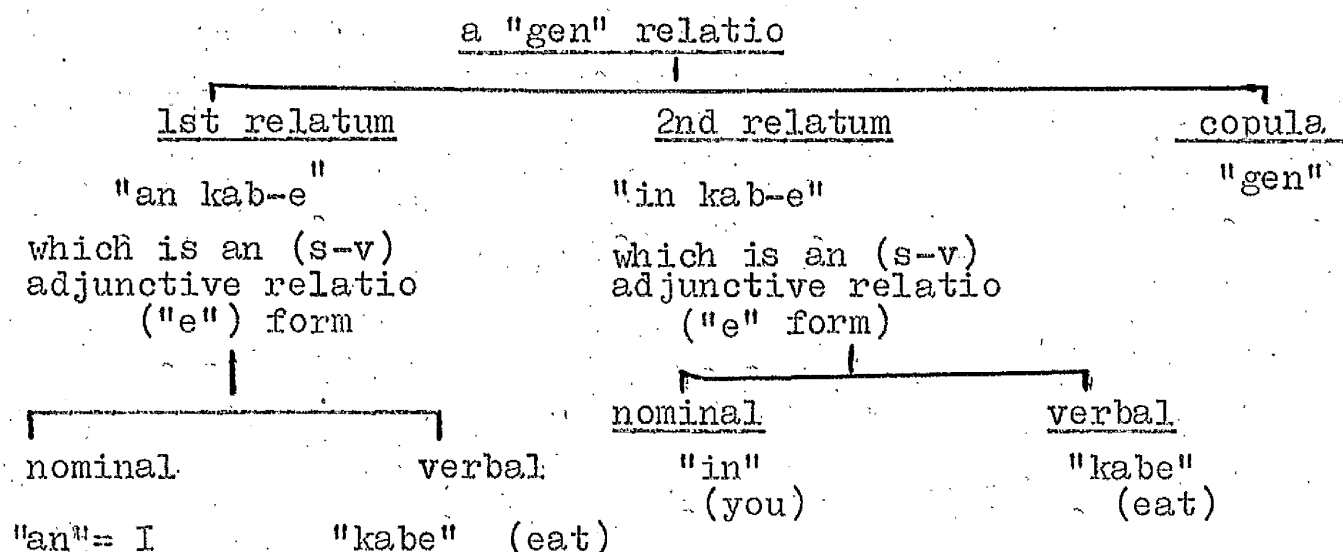
(2) it has the suffix "in"

It is therefore an "e" form adjunctive relatio.

(6)

"an kab-e in kab-e lekin gen" = What I eat is better than
what you eat

where we have



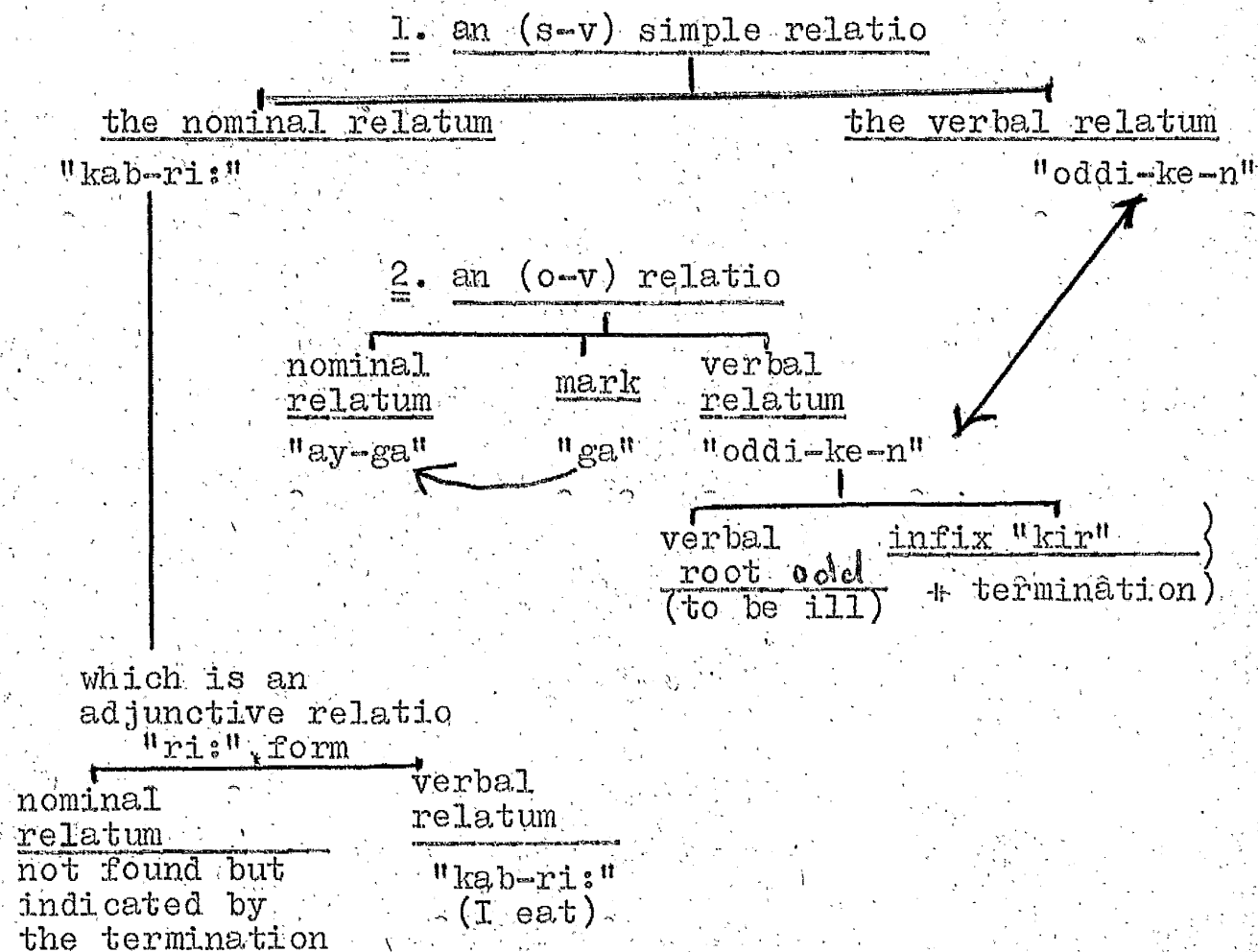
where we notice two adjunctive relations ("e" form)
functioning in the same way as nominals in the
following

"ali: abra:s lekin gen"
= Ali is better than Abras

(7) a

"kab-ri: 1 ay-ga oddi-ke-n" = What I eat makes me ill

where we have



where we notice that (1) the adjunctive relatio ("ri:" form) functions similarly to the nominal in

"ni:dammi ay-ga oddi-ke-n" = My tooth hurts me

(2) the nominal relatum of this relatio is not found.

(7) b

"an kab-e l ay-ga oddi-ke-n

= What I eat makes me ill

which is similar to the one above except that

(1) "e" forms relatio is used instead of "ri:" form

(2) The nominal relatum is found

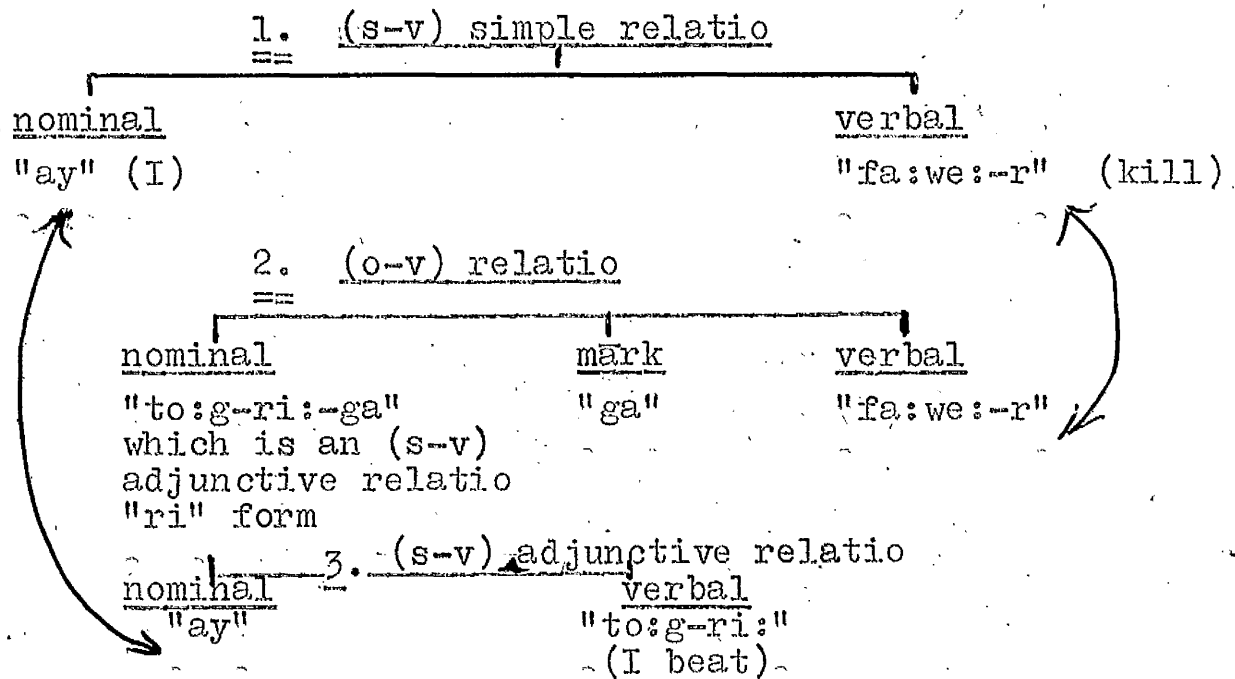
(3) " " " is suffixed by "in".

(8)

"ay 'to:g-ri:-ga 'fa:we:-r"

= The person that I beat I kill

This can be analysed thus:-



The past form of the 2nd and 3rd person singular has the ending "si:n"

e.g. "ir 'to:g-si:n-ga 'fa:wr-o-nam"

= You killed the person whom you beat

"tar to:g-si:n-ga 'fa:wr-on"

= He killed the person whom you beat

The other terminations are as usual.

Here we notice (1) the two (s-v) relations (the simple and the adjunctive) have one nominal relatum

(2) the adjunctive relatio is "ri" form.

(9)

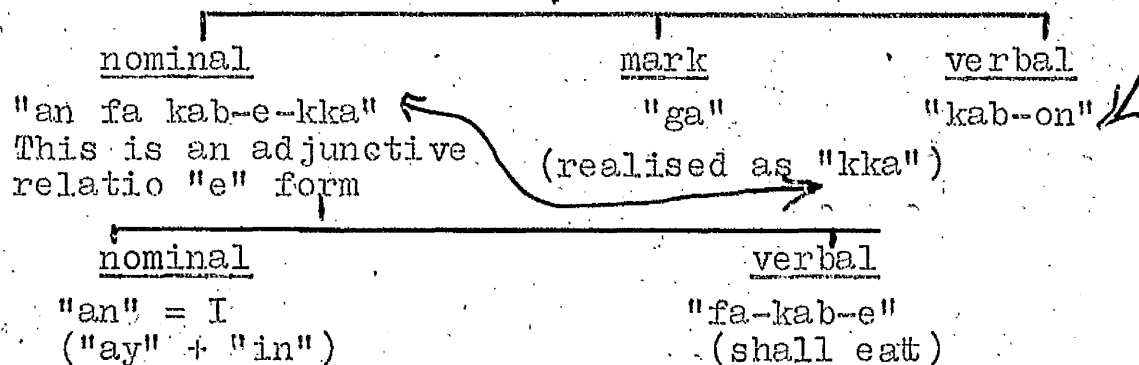
"an fa-kab-e-kka tar kab-on"

= He ate what I was going to eat

1. (s-v) simple relatio



2. (o-v) relatio



Here we notice that (1) the nominal relata of the two (s-v) relations are different ("ay" in the simple and "tar" in the adjunctive)

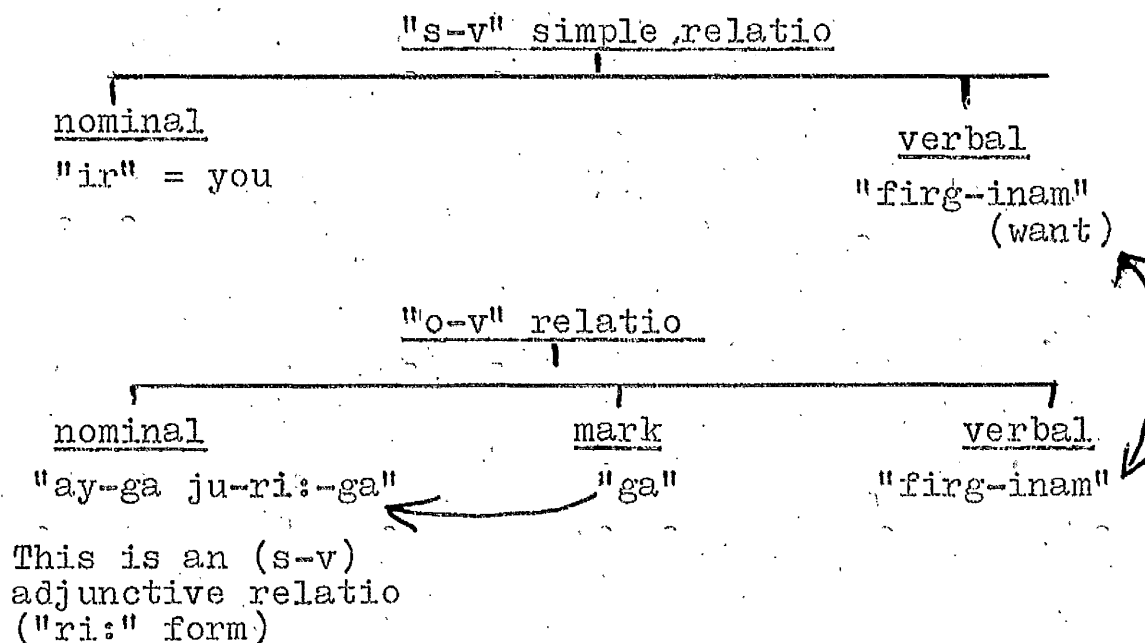
(2) the "e" form adjunctive relatio is used.

The adjunctive relations function like a nominal as in

"tar kaba-kka kab-on" = He ate the bread.

(10) a

"ir ay-ga ju:ri:-g firg-inam" = You want me to go



"ay" = I

"ju:ri:" = go

where we notice that (1) an adjunctive relatio is used as a nominal (o-v) relatum as "songir" in

"ir songir-ka firginam" = You want the money

(2) the adjunctive relatio has a nominal relatum which is different in person and number from that of the simple (s-v) relatio

(3) each of the relata is followed by the mark "ga"

"e" form adjunctive relata can also be used in this way

(10) b

"ir ay-i:n ju-e-kka 'firg-innam" = You want me to go

The difference between the two examples is that when the "ri:" form is used both the nominal and verbal relata are suffixed with the mark "ga".

When an "e" form is used the nominal has its normal "in" suffix and the verbal has "ga" (realised as "kka")

c

"ay kab-innan-ga firg-ir" = I want to eat

(s-v) simple relatio

nominal

"ay" = I

verbal

"firg-ir" = want

(o-v) relatio

nominal

"kab-innan-ga"

mark

"ga"

verbal

"firg-ir"

Which is a conjunct (of a verbal base "innan" form) followed by the suffix "ga"

It is important to notice that the "innan" conjunct is not a substitute for the (s-v) adjunctive relations ("e" or "ri:" form). They are used only when their nominal relata are different from that of the simple relatio. Otherwise the "innan" conjunct is used. This is therefore a

(11)

"ur man 'ji:l-la to:n sukka to:ʃ-su-g'awwo-kk uda-fi:-jji-irokkom"

= You have been inside since the time you went in

Can be analysed as follows:-

(1) "s-v" simple relatio

nominal
"ur" (you)

verbal
"uda-fi:-jji-rokkom"
(are staying)

(2) "c-v" relatio

nominal
"awwo-kk"
(inside)

mark
"ga"
(realised as "kk")

verbal
"uda-fi:-jji-rokkom"

(3) another "c-v" relatio

nominal
"man'ji:l-la to:n
sukka to:ʃ-su-g"
which is

mark
"ga"

verbal
"uda-fi:-jji-rokkom"

an "s-v" relatio, "ri" form (past)

(a) It has

nominal
"ur"

verbal
"sukka to:ʃ-su"*
which is a verbal serial adjunct
that has

1st member
"sukk"
(to-go down)

link
"a"

2nd member
"to:r" (of
"to:ʃ-su")

(b) It also is a member of a nominal adjunct
(zero-marked)
that has

1st member
"man ji:l" (that time)

2nd member
the "s-v" relatio,
"ri" form (past)

+ the post-position "la to:n"
(since)

"sukka to:ʃ-su"

* to:ʃ-su = to:r + j + su (termination "ri" past
2nd pers: pl: form)

Where we notice in relatio 3 that a "ri" form has taken the function of a nominal relatum (c-v). It has the mark "ga". In this it is like the nominal "issa:g" in the following

"ay issa:g-ka fa-ki:-r"

= I shall come soon.

(12)

- A. "witi an sa:yis-si:n-na to:n 'ekkis-s" } I brought it from the
B. "witi ay sa:yis-si:-la to:n 'ekkis-s" } herd that I watched
over

Both can be analysed thus:-

(1) "s-v" simple relation
that has

Nominal
not found but recognised
by the termination "is"
in the verbal

Verbal
"ekkis-s" = brought

(2) "c-v" relatio
that has

<u>Nominal</u>	<u>Post-Position</u>	<u>Verbal</u>
A. "witi an sa: yis-si:n"	A. "na to:n th "	"ekkis-s"
B. "witi ay sa: yis-si:n"	B. "la to:n th " = from	
ur		
which is		
a nominal adjunct (zero linked)		

<u>1st member</u>	<u>2nd member</u>
" ^{u7} wa:ti"	adjunctive "s-v" relatio
	in A, "e" form (past)
	"an-sa:yi-si:n"
	in B, "ri:" form (past)
	"ay-sa:ysi:"
	that have

<u>Nominal</u>		<u>Verbal</u>
in A, "an")		in A, "sa:yis-si:n") watched
in B, "ay") = I		in B, "sa:yis-si") over

where we notice that ^{either} an "e" ^{or "i:"} form ^{relatio} (past) has been followed by the post-position "la to:n". It is therefore the nominal of (c-v) post-positional. As such it is like the nominal "no:g" in

"ay no:g-illa to:n kis-s" = I came from home.

(13)

'no:gi ddo ju: warag-i:-g fa-dummu-ri: y'i:g-si:n-g,
 irbe:-r". = "I know the house where you told me to go and
 fetch the papers"

Can be analysed as follows:-

(1) "s-v" simple relatio

nominal verbal
 not found, but recognised "irbe:-r" = I know
 by the termination (r) in the verbal

(2) "o-v" relatio

nominal mark verbal
 "no:gi ddo.....i:g-si:n-g" "ga" "irbe:-r"
 This is a nominal adjunct (zero-marked). It has
1st member 2nd member
 "no:g" "do.....i:g-si:n"
 This is an adjunctive relatio "e" form (past)
 The verbal of which is an adjunct

Reported relatio (see page) verbal
 "do ju: warag-i:-g fa-dumm-iri:" 1st member "ey"
 which is an adjunctive "s-v" 2nd member
 relatio "ri" form that has "i:g-si:n-g"

nominal verbal
 not found, but recognised "do ju: warag-i:g fa-dummi:ri:"
 by the termination in the verbal which is a verbal serial adjunct
 verbal ("ri") (in "dummi:ri:") that has

1st member 2nd member
 "ju:" "dumm"
 which is a verbal relatum in which is a verbal of an
 "c-v" (post-positioned) "o-v" relatio that has
 that has

nominal mark verbal
 "no:g + in (realised "warag-i:-g" "ga" "dumm"
 as "id") + the (papers) (bring)
 post-position "do" (to) (go)

where we notice that a "ri" form has taken the function of the last member of a nominal adjunct, zero-linked.

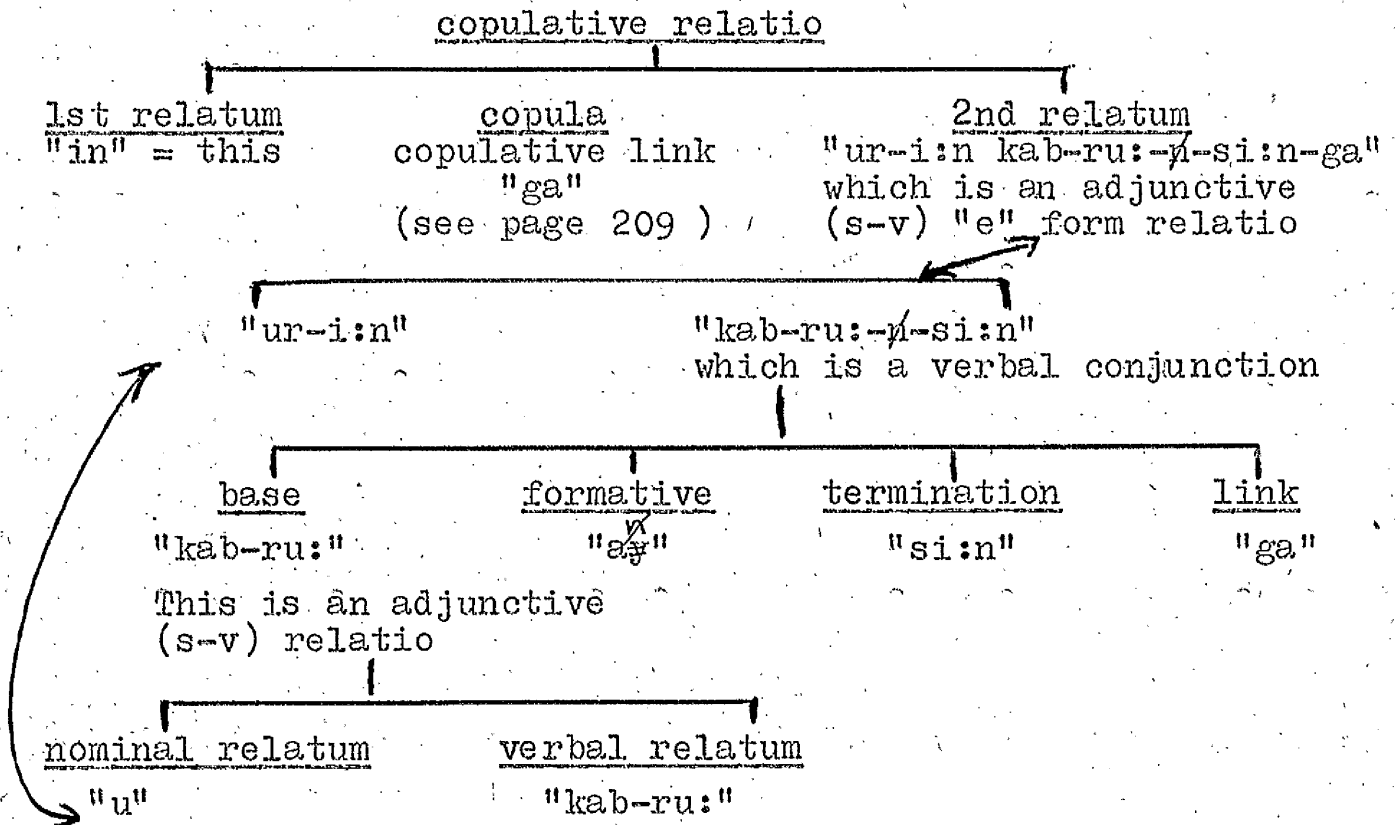
This adjunct is the nominal relatum of (o-v) relatio.

The mark "ga" which is suffixed to the last member of the adjunct appears after the "ri" form.

(14)

"ir' ur-i:n kab-ru:-~~ri~~si: n-ga" = This is what was ready for you to eat.

This can be analysed thus:-



where we notice that (1) instead of the copula we find "ga"
 (2) a "ri" form relatio is being used
 as a base for a verbal conjunct "~~ay~~" form. In this respect
 it is like a nominal root as in

"ay f-ogj-a~~n~~-ir" = I shall be good

where the base is the nominal root "ogoj" = a young man

(3) "ri" form as a base has
 termination ("ru:")

(15) a

"in ur kab-ru:-~~n~~'-su:-ga" = This is what was ready for you
to eat

This can be analysed in the same way as the preceding example (No.14). The difference between them is that the conjunct "kabru:-~~n~~" in this case has the past tense termination of the adjunct relatio "ri:" form and in the previous example this conjunct has that of "e" form.

In both cases we notice

1 - that the base is a "ri:" form relatio

2 - the termination "ru:" (i.e. present tense) is suffixed to the verbal relatum "kab". This termination varies according to the nominal relatum as follows:

"in ay kab-ri:- n '-si:-ga"	=	This is what was ready for me	to eat
"in ir kab-in- n '-si:n-ga"	=	" " " " " " you " "	
"in tar kab-in- n '-si:n-ga"	=	" " " " " " him " "	
"in u: kab-ru:- n '-su:-ga"	=	" " " " " " us " "	
"in ur kab-ru:- n '-su:-ga"	=	" " " " " " you " "	
"in ter kab-innan- n '-san-ga"	=	" " " " " " them " "	

In all these examples we have two terminations (of adjunctive relations)

1 - after the verbal root "kab". This is present tense

2 - after the conjunct "kab-ri:-~~n~~" &c., This is past tense.

(15) b

"in¹ray-i:n kab-e-rax¹-si:n-ga" = This is what was ready for me
to eat

In this case the base of the conjunct is an adjunctive relation
"e" form.

Otherwise the two examples (15 "a" and "b") are identical.

SECTION 3.

THE LINKS.

"log"

I. e.g. "ay kab-es-si: log kis-s" = I came because I have eaten, where we have two verbal relations.

A. "ay kab-es-si:" that has

(1) "ay" = I, the nominal relatum.

(2) "kab-es-si" (for "kab-ed-si:") = ^{have} had eaten, the verbal relatum.

B. "kis-s" = came, where we have

(1) the nominal 1st person singular, as denoted by the termination of the verbal. This relatum is the same as the nominal relatum of relatio A.

(2) "kis-s" = came, the verbal relatum.

II. e.g. "ir kab-es-si: log kir-o-nam" = You came because I have eaten

where we have two relations.

C. "ir kir-o-nam" = you came, that has

(1) a nominal relatum, "ir" = you.

(2) a verbal relatum, "kir-o-nam" = came.

D. "kab-es-si:" = I have eaten, that has

(1) a nominal relatum, 1st person singular as denoted by the termination of the verbal. This relatum is different from that of relatio C. which is 2nd person singular.

(2) a verbal relatum, "kab-essi:" (for "kab-edsi:") = have eaten.

III. e.g. "ir an kab-si:n'nog 'kir-o-nam" = You came because I
ate

where we have two relations.

E. "ir'kir-o-nam" = You came, that has

(1) a nominal relatum, "ir" = you.

(2) a verbal relatum, "kir-o-nam" = came.

F. "an kab-si:n" = I ate, that has

(1) a nominal relatum, "an" = I ("ay" + suffix "in")

which is different from the nominal relatum of E.

(2) a verbal relatum, "kabsi:n" = ate.

Relations A. and D. in examples I and II are adjunctive relations "ri:" past form. Relatio F. is an adjunctive relation "e" past form.

It has been noticed that "ri:" form can be used whether or not the two relations have the same nominal relatum, "e" relation, however, can be used only when the nominal relata are different.

"ri:" form in this case has the termination "si:n" for the 2nd and 3rd person singular.

e.g. "ir kab'es-si:n'nog kir-on" = He came because you have eaten.

"tar kab'es-si:n'nog kir-o-nam" = You came because he has eaten.

"du:tin".

I. e.g. "ay kab-ri:-n' du:tin'ne:-r" = I sleep whenever I eat
where we have two relations.

A. "ay ne:-r" = I sleep, that has

(1) a nominal relatum "ay" = I.

(2) a verbal relatum "ne:r" = sleep.

B. "kab-ri:-n" = eat, that has

(1) a nominal relatum, which is the 1st person singular as denoted by the verbal termination. This is the same as the nominal relatum of A.

(2) a verbal relatum "kab-ri:-n" = eat.

II. e.g. "ay kab-ri:-n 'du:tin 'ki:-nam" = You come whenever I eat, where we have two relations.

C. "ki:-nam" = You come, that has

(1) a nominal relatum denoted by the verbal termination, 2nd person singular.

(2) a verbal relatum "ki:-nam" = you come.

D. "ay kab-ri:-n" = I eat, that has

(1) a nominal relatum, "ay" = I, 1st person singular, which is different from the nominal relatum of C.

(2) a verbal relatum "kab-ri:-n" = eat.

III. e.g. "an kab-e-n 'du:tin ir 'ki:-nam" = You come whenever I eat,

where we have two relations.

E. "ir ki:-nam" = You come, that has

(1) a nominal relatum "ir" = you,

(2) a verbal relatum, "ki:-nam" = come.

F. "an kab-e-n" = I eat, that has

(1) a nominal relatum, "an" = I ("ay" suffix "in")

which is different from that of E.

(2) a verbal relatum, "kab⁻¹_en" = eat.

We notice that -1- "ri" form can be used whether or not the nominal relatum is common to both relations.

-2- "e" form can only be used when the nominal relata are different.

-3- an "n" is suffixed to the verbals of "e" or "ri:" form relations.

The 2nd and 3rd person singular past termination is "si:n".

e.g. "tar kab-si:n 'du:tin' kir-o-nam" = You came whenever he ate.

"ir kab-si:n 'du:tin' kir-on" = He came whenever you ate.

"ba:d".

I. e.g. "ay kab-eda-ri:-n 'ba:d-ta fa-n^og-ir".

= I shall go when I have eaten,

where we have two relations.

A. "ay fa-n^og-ir" = I shall go, that has

(1) a nominal relatum "ay" = I.

(2) a verbal relatum "fa-n^og-ir" = shall go.

B. "kab-eda-ri:-n" = have eaten, that has

(1) a nominal relatum, which is 1st person singular as denoted by the verbal termination, which is the same as the nominal relatum of A.

(2) verbal relatum, "kab-eda-ri:-n" ("ri form).

II. e.g. "ay ur-i:n kab-eda-ru:-n ba:d-ta fa-nog-ir"

= I shall go after you have eaten,

where we have two relations.

C. "ay fa-nog-ir" = I shall go, that has

(1) a nominal relatum "ay" = I.

(2) a verbal relatum "fa-nog-ir" = shall go.

D. "ur-i-n kab-eda-ri:-n" = You have eaten.

(1) a nominal relatum, which is different from that of A.

(2) a verbal relatum, "kab-eda-ri:-n" ("ri" form).

III. e.g. "an kab-e-n ba:d-ta fa-ju:-nam" = You will go after I have eaten, that has two relations.

E. "fa-ju:-nam".

(1) a nominal relatum denoted by termination 2nd person singular.

(2) a verbal relatum "fa-ju:-nam".

F. "an kab-e-n" that has

(1) a nominal relatum "an" which is different from that of E.

(2) a verbal relatum, "kaben" ("e" form)

where we notice that 1. "ri" form can be used whether or not the nominal relatum is common to both relations.

2. "e" form is used only when they are different.

3. in all cases "n" follows the verbal termination.

4. in all cases "n" is suffixed to the nominal relatum when found.

"gabil-la".

I. e.g. "ay kab-ri:n 'gabil-la fa-'ju:-r" = I shall go before I
eat,

where we have 2 relations,

A. "ay fa-'ju:-r", that has

(1) "ay" = I, the nominal relatum.

(2) "fa-'ju:-r" = shall go, the verbal relatum.

B. "kab-ri:-n",

(1) the nominal 1st person singular as denoted by the termination of the verbal. This relatum is the same as the nominal relatum of A.

(2) "kab-ri:-n" = eat, the verbal relatum.

II. e.g. "ay ir-i:n kab-si:n 'gab+1-la fa-'ju:-r"

= I shall go before you eat.

C. "ay fa-'ju:-r".

(1) "ay" = I, the nominal relatum.

(2) "fa-'ju:-r" = shall go, the verbal relatum.

D. "ir-i:n kab-si:n".

(1) "ir" = you, the nominal relatum which is different from that of C.

(2) "kab-si:n" = ate, the verbal relatum.

III. e.g. "ay ur-i:n kab-e-n 'gabil-la fa-'ju:-r"

= I shall go before you eat.

E. "ay fa-'ju:-r".

(1) "ay" = I, the nominal relatum.

(2) "fa-'ju:-r" = shall go, the verbal relatum.

F. "ur-i:n kab-e-n",

(1) "ur-i:n" = you (plural) which is different from the nominal relatum of E.

(2) "kab-e-n" = eat, the verbal relatum.

We notice that 1. - the "ri" form has been used when the linked relatio had the same or a different nominal relatum from the other relatio.

2. - "e" form has only been used when the two relations have different nominal relata.

3. - "in" suffix is joined to the nominal and verbal relata of the linked adjunctive relatio - whether "ri" form or "e" form, when the two nominal relata are different.

"dan".

I. e.g. "ay kab-ri: d¹dan kir-on" = He came while I was eating, where we have two relations.

A. "kiron".

(1) nominal relatum, 3rd person singular, denoted by termination.

(2) verbal relatum, "kiron" = came.

B. "ay kab-ri:"

(1) "ay" = I, nominal relatum which is different from that of A.

(2) "kab-ri:" verbal relatum.

II. e.g. "an kab-e ddan tar kir-on" = He came while I was eating.

C. "tar kir-on".

(1) "tar" = he, nominal relatum.

(2) "kir-on" = came, verbal relatum.

D. "an kab-e".

(1) "an" = I, which is different from nominal relatum of C.

(2) "kab-e" = eat, the verbal relatum.

Where we notice that (1) the linked adjunctive relatio "e" or "ri" form are used only when the nominal relata are different.*

"watti-ga".

I. e.g. "kab-ri:-n watti-g fa-ki:-n" = He will come when I eat.

A. "kab-ri:-n".

(1) 1st person singular denoted by termination; nominal relatum.

(2) "kab-ri:-n", verbal relatum.

B. "fa-ki:-n".

(1) 3rd person singular, denoted by termination; it is different from that of A.

(2) "fa-ki:-n" = will come, a verbal relatum.

II. e.g. "an kab-e-n watti-g fa-ki:-n" = He will come when I eat.

C. "fa-ki:-n".

(1) 3rd person singular as denoted by termination; nominal relatum.

(2) "fa-ki:-n" = will come, verbal relatum.

* When the two relations have the same nominal relatum, "ta:n" is used. (See P. 214).

D. "an kab-e-n".

(1) "an" = I, nominal relatum, which is different from that of C.

(2) "kab-e-n" = eat, verbal relatum.

Where we notice that (1) the adjunctive relatio "e" or "ri" form were used when the nominal relata were different.*1

(2) an "in" suffix follows the verbal relatum in both cases.

"sa:min".

I. e.g. "ay kab-ri: 'sa:min fa-ti:g-ir" = I shall stay until I eat.

A. "ay fa-ti:g-ir".

(1) "ay" = I, the nominal relatum.

(2) "fa-ti:g-ir" = shall sit, the verbal relatum.

B. "kab-ri:"

(1) the 1st person singular denoted by the termination; nominal relatum is the same as that of A.

(2) "kab-ri:" = eat, the verbal relatum.

II. "tar ay-i:n kab-ed-os sa:min fa-ti:g-in" = He will stay until I eat.*2

C. "tar fa-ti:g-in".

(1) "tar" = he, the nominal relatum.

(2) "fa-ti:g-in" = will stay, the verbal relatum.

*1 When the two relations have the same nominal relatum, "ta:n" is used.

*2 This is also often heard as "kab-ed-is sa:min". "kab-ed-is" is considered as a present form and "kab-ed-os" a past form; There is, however no difference in the use of either.

D. "ay-i:n kab-ed-on".

(1) "ay" = I, the nominal relatum which is different from that of C.

(2) "kab-ed-os" = eat, the verbal relatum + "os" termination.

where we notice that 1. - "ri" form relatio has been used when the two relations have the same nominal relatum.

2. - when they have different nominal relata, that of the adjunctive relatio has the suffix "in".

3. - the verbal relatum in this case has either "in" or "on" termination realised as "is" and "os".

"do".

I. e.g. "ay fa-ki:-ri: ddo, ay dan f-ekk-ir" = Since I am coming, I shall bring it with me, where we have two relations.

A. "ay f-ekk-ir".

(1) "ay" = I, the nominal relatum.

(2) "f-ekk-ir" = Shall bring, the verbal relatum.

B. "ay fa-ki:-ri:".

(1) "ay" = I, nominal relatum which is same person and number as that of A.

(2) "fa-ki:-ri:" = eat, verbal relatum.

II. e.g. "ay fa^l-ki:-ri: ddo tar fa^l-ki:-n" = Since I am coming,
he will come.

C. "tar fa-ki:-n".

(1) "tar" = he, nominal relatum.

(2) "fa-ki:-n" = will come, verbal relatum.

D. "ay fa-ki:-ri:"

(1) "ay" = I, nominal relatum which is different from
that of C.

(2) "fa-ki:-ri:" = shall come, verbal relatum.

III. e.g. "in fa^l-kir-e ddo ay fa^l-ki:-r" = Since you are coming,
I shall come.

E. "ay fa-ki:-r".

(1) "ay" = I, nominal relatum.

(2) "fa-ki:-r" = shall come, the verbal relatum.

F. "in fa-kir-e".

(1) "in" = you, nominal relatum, different from that of E.

(2) "fa-kir-e" = will come, verbal relatum.

where we notice that 1. - "ri" form has been used when the
nominal relatum is common or individual
to both relations.

2. - "e" form is used only when they are
different.

"geddi-ga".

I. e.g. "ay kab-ri:-n 'geddi-g a:g-~~s~~ogul-ir" = I work as much as
I eat.

A. "ay a:g-~~s~~ogul-ir".

(1) "ay" = I, nominal relatum.

(2) "a:g-~~s~~ogul-ir" = work, verbal relatum.

B. "kab-ri:-n"

(1) 1st person singular denoted by termination, nominal relatum.

(2) "kab-ri:n" = eat, verbal relatum.

II. e.g. "ay kab-ri:-n 'geddi-g tar fa'-kab-in" = He will eat as much as I do.

C. "tar fa-kab-in".

(1) "tar" = he, nominal relatum.

(2) "fa-kab-in" = will eat, verbal relatum.

D. "ay kab-ri:-n".

(1) "ay" = I, nominal relatum which is different from that of C.

(2) "kab-ri:-n" = eat, verbal relatum.

III. e.g. "an kab-e-n 'geddi-g tar fa'-kab-in" = He will eat as much as I do.

E. "tar fa-kab-in".

(1) "tar" = he, nominal relatum.

(2) "fa-kab-in" = will eat, verbal relatum.

F. "an kab-e-n".

(1) "an" = I, nominal relatum, which is different from that of E.

(2) "kab-e-n" = eat, verbal relatum,

where we notice that 1. - "ri" form has been used whether or not the nominal relatum is common to both relations.

2. - "e" form is used when the relata are different.

3. - in all cases the verbal relatum is followed by the suffix "in".

"nagitta".

I. e.g. "ay-i:n¹ masir-r a:w-ri:-n nagitta-n f-a:w-ir¹"
= I shall do as I do in Egypt.

A. "f-a:w-ir".

(1) 1st person singular denoted by termination, nominal relatum.

(2) "f-a:w-ir" = shall do, verbal relatum.

B. "ay-i:n a:w-ri:-n"

(1) "ay-i:-n" = I, nominal relatum which is the same as that of A.

(2) "a:w-ri:-n" = do, verbal relatum.

II. e.g. "ay-i:n a:w-ri:-n nagitta-n tar f-a:w-in¹"
= He will do as I do.

C. "tar f-a:w-in"

(1) "tar" = he, nominal relatum.

(2) "f-a:w-in" = will do, nominal relatum.

D. "ay-i:n a:w-ri:-n"

(1) "ay-i:n" = I, nominal relatum which is different from that of C.

(2) "a:w-ri:-n" = do, verbal relatum.

III. e.g. "ay-i:n a:w-e-n nagittam tar f-a:w-in"

= He will do as I do.

E. "tar f-a:w-in"

(1) "tar" = he, nominal relatum.

(2) "f-a:w-in" = will do, verbal relatum.

F. "ay-i:n a:w-e-n"

(1) "ay-i:n" = I, nominal relatum which is different from that of E.

(2) "a:w-e-n" = do, verbal relatum,

where we notice that 1. - "ri" form is used whether the nominal relata of the two relations is common or not.

2. - "e" form is used only when they are different.

3. - in either case the nominal and the verbal relata have "in" suffix.

"alag-ka".

I. e.g. "ay-i:n a:w-ri:-g 'alag-ka f-a:w-ir" = I shall do as I usually do.

A. "f-a:w-ir".

(1) 1st person singular denoted by termination, nominal relatum.

(2) "f-a:w-ir" = shall do, verbal relatum.

B. "ay-i:n a:w-ri:"

(1) "ay-i:n" = I, nominal relatum, which is the same as that of A.

(2) "a:w-ri:" = do, verbal relatum.

II. e.g. "ay-i:n a:w-ri:-g^lalag-ka, f-a:w-in" = He will do as I do.

C. "f-a:w-in".

(1) 3rd person singular denoted by termination, nominal relatum.

(2) "f-a:w-in" = will do, verbal relatum.

D. "ay-i:n a:w-ri:"

(1) "ay-i:n" = I, nominal relatum which is different from that of C.

(2) "a:w-ri:" = do, verbal relatum.

III. e.g. "ay-i:n a:w-e-kk alag-ka f-a:w-in" = He will do as I do.

E. "f-a:w-in"

(1) 3rd person singular denoted by termination, nominal relatum.

(2) "f-a:w-in" = will do, verbal relatum.

F. "ay-i:n a:w-e"

(1) "ay-i:n" = I, nominal relatum which is different from that of E.

(2) "a:w-e" = do, verbal relatum,

where we notice that 1. - "ri" form is used whether the nominal relata is common or not.

2. - "e" form is used only when they are different.

3. - the nominal relatum has the suffix "in" in all cases.

"ga".

"ri:" and "e" adjunctive relations have been found used as the nominal relatum of the (o-v) relatio and the (c-v) relatio. In the former they were always marked by "ga", in the latter they were sometimes marked by "ga", which was suffixed to the verbal relatum. "ga" in these two cases is a mark of (o-v) or (c-v) relations. There are, however, other constructions in which we find "ga" suffixed to the verbal relatum of "ri" and "e" adjunctive relations. These are the following:-

1) when the adjunctive relatio is reported.

e.g. "ay ik-ka i:ga-tis-say fa-ju:-ri:-ga"

= I told you that I would go.

"ay ik-ka i:ga-tis-san fa-ju:-e-kka"

= I told you that I would go.

(See Reported Relatio, P. 233)

2) in a conditional construction. (See P. ²²⁷/₈)

e.g. "tar on ay-dog 'kik kani, an fa-to:g-e-ekka"

= If he comes to me I shall beat him.

"tar on ay 'dog kik kan¹, ay fa'-to:gr¹i:-ga"

= If he comes to me I shall beat him,

where the second relatio (i.e., the one other than that which has "on" after the nominal and "kan" after the verbal) is an adjunctive "e" and "ri" form (s-v). In both cases "ga" is suffixed to the verbal relatum.

"ga" is also found in the following constructions.

(3) e.g. "in 'no:g¹il ay kis-'si:-ga" = This is the house to which I came.

"in 'no:g¹il an kis-'si:n-ga" = This is the house to which I came,

where we have in the former a "ri:" form, in the latter an "e" form relatio, the verbal of which is suffixed by "ga". This "ga" can be substituted by the copula "illin".

e.g. "in 'no:g¹il ay kis-si: llin" = This is the only house to which I came.

"in 'no:g¹il an kis-si:n 'nin" = This is the only house to which I came.

This "ga", which can substitute for the copula "illin" is called a "copulative link".

4) "ha-kab-ri:-ga fa'-ju:-r" = Instead of eating, I shall go, where we have two relations.

1. - "fa'-ju:-r" = I shall go.

This is a simple relatio that has

(a) a nominal relatum which is 1st person singular as shown by the termination.

(b) a verbal relatum "fa-ju:-r".

2. - "ha-kab-ri:" = I shall eat.

This is an adjunctive relatio "ri" form that has

(a) a nominal relatum 1st person singular as shown by the termination. This is the same as the nominal relatum of the other relatio.

(b) a verbal relatum "ha-kab-ri:"

"ga" is suffixed to this verbal relatum. It is a link between these two relations.

In this example the two relations have the same nominal relatum^{*1} and only "ri" form of the adjunctive relations can be used. When this relatum is different the adjunctive relatio^{*2} "e" form is used.

e.g. "an fa-ju-e-kka tar 'kir-on" = Instead of me going, he came.

"go:n".

e.g. (1) ay kaba 'go:n'niya go:n gell" = I eat and drink.

(2) ay kaba 'go:n gell'niya go:n gell" = I eat and drink.

In both of these examples "go:n" has been used as a link. It follows two verbal roots. In (1) we notice that "go:n" is followed by "gell", i.e., "gen" with 1st person singular termination (present form).

*1. In this case "innan" conjunct can be used in the same way as the adjunctive relatio. e.g., "ay gery-innan-ga fa-ne:r-ir" = Instead of reading, I shall sleep.

*2. I have no example of the "ri" form relatio being used in this case.

In (2) "gell" is found after the 1st as well as the 2nd "go:n". In other words, we have here, two verbal terminations and consequently two relations. In (1), however, we have one verbal termination and consequently one relation.

"go:n" in (1) is a link of verbals, and thus we have a verbal adjunct (see P.112). In (2) "go:n" is a link of relations.

"ya:"

e.g. (1) "ay 'ya: fa-kab-ir 'ya: fa-ni:-r" = I shall either
eat or drink,
where we notice that "ya:" precedes two verbals, each having a termination. It is, therefore, a link of relations.

"aw".

e.g. "ay fa-kab-ir aw fa-ni:-r" = I shall either eat or
drink,
where "aw" precedes only the second of two verbals, each having a termination. It is therefore a link of relations.

"wala:".

e.g. "ay wala: kir-kum-mun wala: ju:-kum-mun"
= I neither came nor went,
where "wala:" precedes each of two negative verbals, each having its own termination. "wala:" is therefore a link of negative relations.

The relations involved in these cases were simple (s-v) relations. "men" relation can also be linked to another "men" or (s-v) relation, by means of one of these links.

e.g. "ay ya: mas a'mell ya: u:s a'mell"

= I am either good or bad.

e.g. "ay wala: u:s a-um-mun wala: mas a-um-mun"

= I am neither good nor bad.

e.g. "ay mas a go:n'mell u:s a go:n'mell"

= I am sometimes good, sometimes bad.

The last four links can also link two adjunctive relations.

e.g. "an kab-e ~~ko~~:n in kab-e ~~ko~~:n n'u:s a"

= What I eat and what you eat is bad.

e.g. "an kab-e ya: in kab-e l'u:s a"

= What I eat or what you eat is bad.

e.g. "an kab-e aw in kab-e l'u:s a"

= What I eat or what you eat is bad.

e.g. "wala: an kab-e wala: in kab-e l u:s a-um-mun"

= Neither what you eat nor what I eat is bad.

"e:n".

e.g. "kir fa-ta[~]n-in a:ni = Come, he is going to go otherwise, where we notice two relations, one imperative, the other simple (s-v). The latter has "a:n" after the termination. "a:n" is one member of a link paradigm that runs as follows:-

"kir ay fa-ta[~]ni-ir e:ni" = Come, otherwise I shall go.

"kir ir fa-ta[~]ni-nam 'me:ni" = Come, otherwise you will go.

"kir tar fa-ta[~]ni-in 'a:ni" = " " he will go.

"kir u: fa-ta[~]ni-ur 'o:ni" = " " we shall go.

"kir ur fa-ta[~]ni-rokkom 'me:ni" = " " you will go.

"kir ter fa-ta[~]ni-innan 'a:ni" = " " they will go,

where we notice that the link varies according to the number and person of the nominal relatum. The link is "e:n" for 1st person singular, "o:n" for 1st person plural, "me:n" for 2nd person singular and plural, and "a:n" for 3rd person singular and plural.

The verbal form taking this link as suffix is either a relatum of a simple relatio, or a relatum of an indicative consequential relatio ("al" form). We have given examples of the former. The following are examples of the latter -

(1) "sukk fag-ka 'dumm-al-lam 'me:ni"

= Come down, you are going to catch the goat.

(2) "u: fa-to:g-all o:ni"

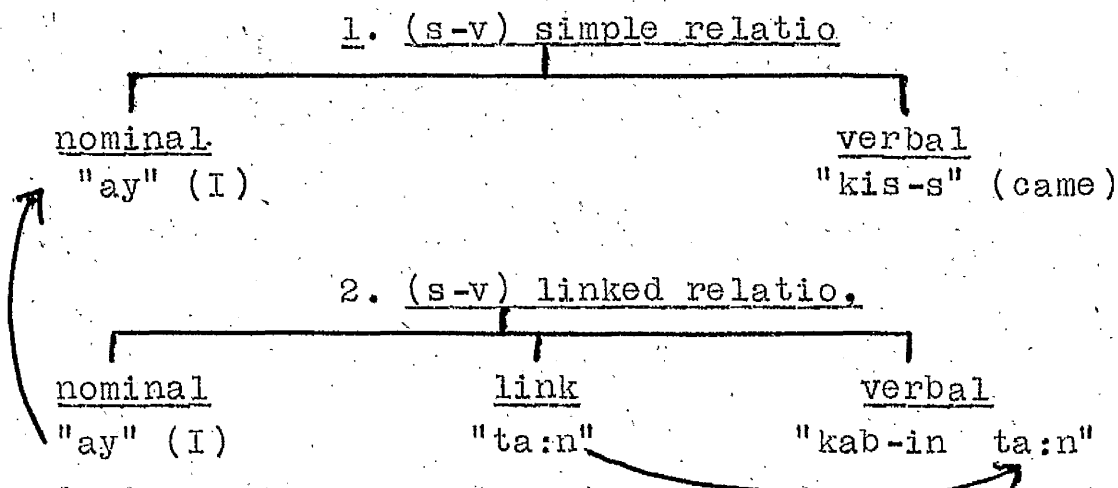
= We shall therefore beat him.

In all these examples we note that the verbal and the link have each its own concord unit - The verbal in the form of different terminations and the link in its own varying forms.

"ta:n".

"ay kab-in 'ta:n kis-s" = I ate while coming.

This can be analysed thus -



We notice (1) the verbal of the linked relatio has "in" termination.

(2) the verbal (and the termination) is followed by the link "ta:n".

(3) the nominal relatum is one and the same in both relations.

The termination paradigm runs as follows -

PRESENT FORM.

"ay kab-in 'ta:n kis-s" = I came while eating.

"ir kab-in 'ta:n kir-o-nam" = You came while eating.

"tar kab-in 'ta:n kir-on" = He " " "

"u: kab-in 'ta:n kac-c-us" = We " " "

"ur kab-in 'ta:n kac-ci-sokkom" = You came while eating.

"ter kab-in 'ta:n kac-c-isan" = They " " "

where we notice that the verbal has "in" termination that does not vary according to person and number.

PAST FORM.

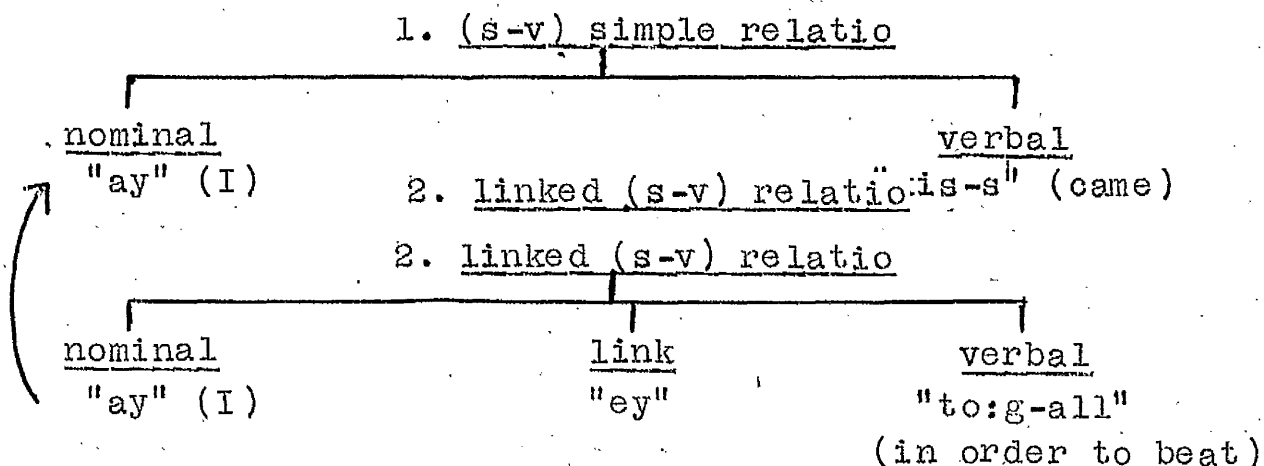
"ay kab-on 'ta:n kis-s"	= I came having eaten.
"ir kab-on 'ta:n kir-o-nam"	= You " " "
"tar kab-on 'ta:n kir-on"	= He " " "
"u: kab-on 'ta:n kac-c-us"	= We " " "
"ur kab-on 'ta:n kac-c-isokkom"	= You " " "
"ter kab-on 'ta:n kac-c-isan"	= They " " "

where we notice that the verbal termination is "on" which does not vary according to person or number, of the nominal relatum.

It must be noted that in all the above cases (as said before) the nominal relatum of the (s-v) linked relatio is the same as that of the simple (s-v) relatio. When the two relations have different nominal relata, this construction (i.e. the use of "ta:n" with this particular verbal termination) cannot be used.

"ey".

e.g. 1. "ay to:g-all ey kis-s" = I came in order to beat him, which can be analysed as follows:-



where we notice that (1) the verbal of the linked relatio has "all" (affix of the persuasive mode) and with no termination.

(2) the verbal is followed by "ey".

(3) the nominal of the linked relatio is the same as that of the simple relatio.

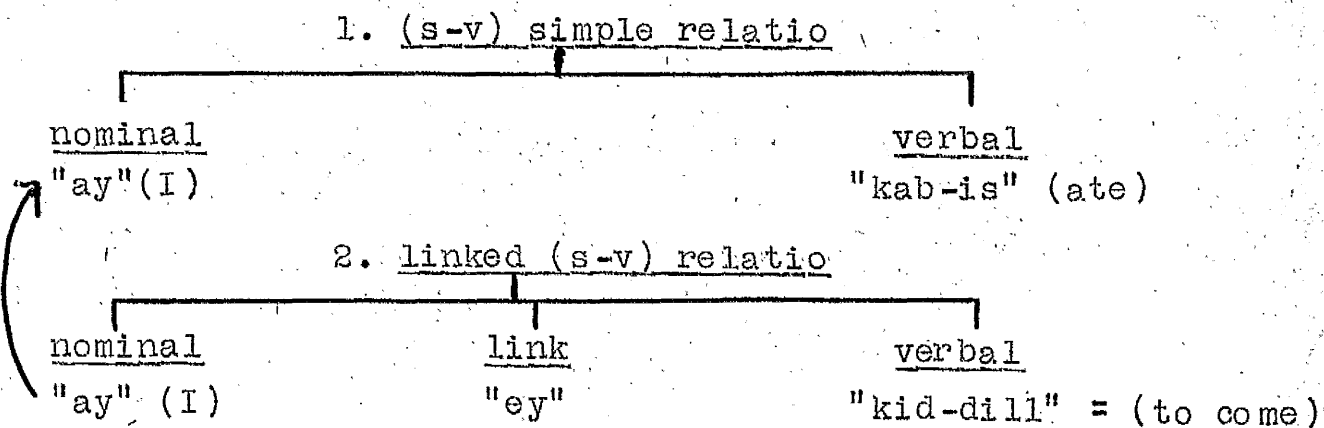
The paradigm runs as follows:-

"ay 'to:g-all ey 'kis-s"	= I came in order to beat him.
"ir 'to:g-all ey 'kir-o-nam"	= You " " " " " "
"tar 'to:g-all ey 'kir-on"	= He " " " " " "
"u: 'to:g-all ey 'kac-c-us"	= We " " " " " "
"ur 'to:g-all ey 'kac-ci-isokkom"	= You " " " " " "
"ter 'to:g-all ey 'kac-ci-isan"	= They " " " " " "

where we notice that the verbal of the linked relatio has "all" followed by "ey" for all persons and numbers of the nominal relatum.

e.g. 2. "ay 'kid-dil ey kab-is" = I ate in order to come.

It can be analysed thus:-



where we notice that the verbal of the linked relatio has "dill" affix and no termination. It is then followed by "ey".

The paradigm runs as follows:-

PRESENT FORM.

"ay'kid-dill ey kab-is"	= I ate in order to come
"ir'kid-dill ey kab-o'-nam"	= You " " " " "
"tar'kid-dill ey kab-on"	= He " " " " "
"u:'kid-dill ey kab-us"	= We " " " " "
"ur'kid-dill ey kab-sokkom"	= You " " " " "
"ter'kid-dill ey kab-san"	= They " " " " "

where we notice that no termination is found with any of the persons or numbers of the nominal relatum.

In the two previous examples we find that the verbals have the ~~persuasive~~ affix "all" or "dill".

PAST FORM. "to:g"

"ay'to:g-s ey'kis-s"	= I came because I have beaten him.
"ir'to:g-s ey'kir-o'-nam"	= You " " you " " "
"tar'to:g-s ey'kir-on"	= He " " he has " "
"u:'to:g-s ey'kac-c-us"	= We " " we have " "
"ur'to:g-s ey'kac-ci-sokkom"	= You " " you " " "
"ter'to:g-s ey'kac-ci-san"	= They " " they " " "

PAST FORM. "kir"

"ay'kis-s ey kab-is"	= I came because I had eaten.
"ir'kis-s ey kab-o'-nam"	= You " " you " "
"tar'kis-s ey kab-on"	= He " " he " "
"u:'kis-s ey kab-us"	= We " " we " "
"ur'kis-s ey kab-sokkom"	= You " " you " "
"ter'kis-s ey kab-san"	= They " " they " "

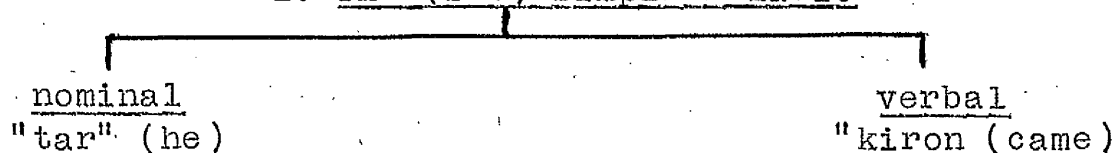
where, in both verbals "to:g" and "kir", the termination was "s" affixed to the root for all persons and number of the nominal relatum.

In all the above examples the nominal relatum of the two relations was the same. In the following example we have two linked relations that have two different nominal relata.

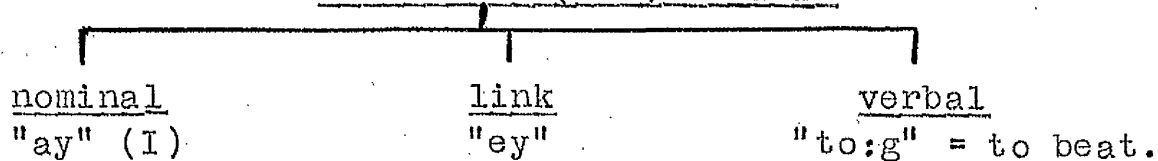
e.g. "ay'to:g ey tar'kir-on" = He came because I beat.

This can be analysed as follows:-

1. The (s-v) simple relatio.



2. The linked (s-v) relatio.



where we notice that there is no ending affixed to the verbal relatum of the linked relatio (~~3rd~~ person singular).

The paradigm runs as follows:-

PRESENT FORM.

"ay'to:g ey tar'kir-on"	=	He	came	because	I	beat.
"ir'to:g ey tar'kir-on"	=	He	"	"	you	"
"tar'to:g ey tar'kir-on"	=	He	"	"	he	"
"u:'to:g-an ey tar'kir-on"	=	He	"	"	we	"
"ur'to:g-an ey tar'kir-on"	=	He	"	"	you	"
"ter'to:g-an ey tar'kir-on"	=	He	"	"	they	"

PAST FORM.

"ay 'to:g-on ey tar 'kir-on" = He came because I had beaten.

"ir 'to:g-on ey tar 'kir-on" = " " " you " "

"tar 'to:g-on ey tar 'kir-on" = " " " he " "

"u: 'to:g-san ey tar 'kir-on" = " " " we " "

"ur 'to:g-san ey tar 'kir-on" = " " " you " "

"ter 'to:g-san ey tar 'kir-on" = " " " they " "

where we notice that the verbal of the linked relatio has no termination in the present for the singular and "an" for the plural, all persons, and in the past it has "on" for singular and "san" for plural, all persons. In this way, the verbal (past form) termination in this construction is similar to the past form paradigm of the reported relatio (See P. 232).

The order of the two relatios can be reversed in such a way that the linked relatio will be final.

e.g. "tar 'kir-on ay 'to:g-on eya" = He came because I had beaten.

"ay 'kis-s 'to:g-all eya" = I came in order to beat.

In this case we find that "ey" has the affix "a".

The nominal relatum of the linked relatio can be followed by the affix "ga".

e.g. "ay-ga 'to:g ey tar 'kir-on" = He came because I beat.

In answer to the following questions we may find one of the following:-

Question. "illim ira:dio a:wir-o:sa?"

= Why did you put the radio on?

Answer. "ukkid-dil ey-is" = In order to listen.

or "ukkir ey-is" = In order that you may listen,
where in both examples "ey" has the verbal termination "is" for
1st person singular (past). "ey" is therefore a verbal root. *

The Conditional links.

1. The use of "le".

e.g. "ul le: kudu:d a mel-lu: fa-to:ḡ_j-ir"

= If you were young I would beat you.

This can be analysed in the following way:-

(1) Simple "s-v" relatio that has

nominal relatum.

not found, but recognised
by the ending "ir" in the
verbal.

verbal relatum.

"fa-to:ḡ_j-ir" = shall
beat

(2) an adjunctive "s-v" relatio.

nominal.

"ur" + "le:"
(both realised as
"ul le:")

verbal.

"meller:" the copulative verbal
"men" 2nd person plural "ri"
form.

This example shows that 1.- one of the two relations used is "men
relatio.

2.- "le" follows the nominal relatum of
this relatio.

3.- the verbal relatum ("men") is "ri"
form.

In this case the "ri" form verbal paradigm runs as follows:-

* See Lepsius P. 163 and Reinisch P. 153 paragraph 459 and
after.

1. PRESENT.

- "ay 'le:kudu:d a 'mel-li fa-to:g-innan" = If I were young they would beat me.
- "il 'le:kudu:d a fa-to:g-innan" = If you were young they would beat you.
- "tal 'le:kudu:d a fa-to:g-innan" = If he were young they would beat him.
- "u: 'le:kudu:d a mel-lu fa-to:g-j-innan" = If we were young they would beat us.
- "ul 'le:kudu:d a 'mel-lu fa-to:g-j-innan" = If you were young they would beat you.
- "tel 'le:kudu:d a 'men-na fa-to:g-j-innan" = If they were young they would beat them.

2. PAST.

- "ay 'le:kudu:d a 'mes-si fa-to:g-san" = If I had been young they would have beaten me.
- "il 'le:kudu:d a 'men-on fa-to:g-san" = If you had been young they would have beaten you.
- "tal 'le:kudu:d a 'men-on fa-to:g-san" = If he had been young they would have beaten him.
- "u: 'le:kudu:d a 'mes-su fa-to:g-ji-san" = If we had been young they would have beaten us.
- "ul 'le:kudu:d a 'mes-su fa-to:g-ji-san" = If you had been young they would have beaten you.
- "tel 'le:kudu:d a 'mes-sa fa-to:g-ji-san" = If they had been young they would have beaten them.

where (1) in the 2nd and 3rd person singular "men" is not found in the present and appears as "menon" in the past.

(2) in the 1st and 2nd person plural it is "mellu" in the present and "messu" in the past.

(3) for the 1st person singular it is "melli" in the present and "messi" in the past.

(4) for the 3rd person plural it is "menna" in the present and "messa" in the past.

"ay il 'le-n kok kayyig ha-'ju:-s = If I were you, I would go.

"ir ay 'le-n kok kan ha-'ju-o-nam = You would go if you were me.

We notice that (1) the temporal infix "kon" is used after "le" which has the suffix "n".

(2) "kon" has been used without a verbal root to which ~~to be suffixed~~ it is usually affixed.

(3) The conditional "kan" appears in different forms according to the first of the two nominals "ay" and "ir".

2. The use of "on".

e.g. "ay on 'ju: kayyiga ir fa-'ki:-nam" = If I go you will come.

This can be analysed in the following way:-

1) "s-v" simple relatio.

nominal
"ir"

verbal
"fa-ki:nam" (will come)

2) "s-v adjunctive relatio (conditional)

nominal
"ay" "on"
(conditional particle)

verbal
"ju:" + "kan" + concord unit
for 1st person singular
(both realised as "kayy" +
"ga").

This example shows that (1) "on" is used after the nominal relatum of the adjunctive relatio.

(2) the verbal relative ^{um} appears in its root form, i.e. without any termination.

(3) The conditional affix "kan" is used after the verbal or as will be seen, after the temporal unit "kon" or the aspectival unit "ken" which in this case follow the root.

(4) "kan" agrees in person and number with the nominal relatum as shown in the following paradigm -

A. PRESENT.

- "ay on 'ju: kayyiga tar fa-'ki:-n" = If I go he will come.
 "ir on 'ju: kan tar fu-'ki:-n" = If you go he will come.
 "tar on 'ju: kan tar fa-'ki:-n" = If he goes he will come.
 "u: l-on 'ju: kawwoga tar fa-'ki:-n" = If we go he will come.
 "ur on 'ju: kawwoga tar fa-'ki:-n" = If you go he will come.
 "ter on 'ju: kawwan tar fa-'ki:-n" = If they go he will come.

B. PAST.

- "ay on 'ju: -kok kayyiga tar fa-'kir-on" = If I had gone he would have come.
 "ir on 'ju: -kok kan tar fa-'kir-on" = If you had gone he would have come.
 "tar on 'ju: -kok kan tar fa-'kir-on" = If he had gone he would have come.
 "u: ton 'ju: -kok kawwoga tar fa-'kir-on" = If we had gone he would have come.
 "ur on 'ju: -kok kawwoga tar fa-'kir-on" = If you had gone he would have come.
 "ter on 'ju: -kok kawwan tar fa-'kir-on" = If they had gone he would have come,

where we notice

- (1) in all cases the verbal appears in its root form, i.e. without termination.
- (2) in the past it is followed by "kon".
- (3) "kan" follows the root with or without the infix "kon".
- (4) "ken" appears in different forms according to the nominal relatum, as follows:-

(a) with 1st person singular, it is "kayyiga"
(or "kayyi").

(b) with 1st and 2nd person plural it is "kawwo-ga"
(or "kawwo").

(c) with 2nd and 3rd person singular it is "kan".

(d) with 3rd person ^{plural} ~~singular~~ it is "kawwan".

The negative form is realised by the addition of the affix "me:n" to the root, followed by "kan" in its various forms.

e.g. (1) "ay on 'ju:-me:n\kayyiga, tar fa-ki:-n"

= If I do not go, he will come.

and (2) "ay on 'ju:-me:n-kok\kayyiga tar fa'kir-on"

= If I had not gone, he would have come.

where in the second example the temporal unit "kon" followed the negative unit "me:n". This is the past form, and the first where "kon" is not used, is the present.

The infix "ken" can also be used. It follows the root and is followed by the temporal "kon".

e.g. "ay on 'ju:-ken-kok kayyiga tar fa'kir-on"

= If I had been in the habit of going, he would have come.

"ay on 'ju:-me:n-ken-kok kayyiga tar fa-'kir-on"

= If I had not been in the habit of going, he would have come.

Other aspectival infixes may also be used, in which case they follow the root and are followed by other elements.

e.g. "ay on ju:-ek-kok kayyiga tar fa-kir-on"

= If I had been in the habit of going, he would have come,

where "ed" (realised as "ek") follows the root "ju:".

The causative and passive infixes may also be used in the same way,

e.g. "ay on 'to:g-dakki kayyiga, tar fa-'ki:-n"

= If I am to be beaten, he will come.

e.g. "ay on 'wilid-ta kab-kik kayyiga, tar fa-'ki:-n"

= If I were to feed the boy, he would come.

"kan" can also be used in non-conditional constructions, i.e. without "on" or "le".

It has been assumed by other writers that "kan" in its various forms represents a conditional verbal termination.* We question this for the following reasons.

(1) as in the example,

"ay le-n 'kok kayyig fa-'ju:-s"= If I were you I would go.

where we have "kan" without a verbal root (appearing as "kayyiga", i.e., in the form suitable for the 1st person singular. It is obvious that it cannot be a termination of a (verb) if we have no (verb).

* Reinisch (P. 84 and after).
Lepsius (P. 111 and after).

(2) The verbal of "s-v" simple relatio and that of the consequential ~~adjective~~ relatio ("al" form) can take in addition to its normal termination a link which varies according to the nominal relatum.

e.g. (a) "ay 'go:n fa-ta[~]n[~]-ir'e:n" = I shall also go.

(b) "tar 'go:n fa-ta[~]n[~]-in'a:n" = He will also go, where we notice that the verbal relatum "ta[~]n[~]" has the normal termination of "s-v" simple relatio (i.e. "ir" in 1st example and "in" in the second). There is another element that varies according to the nominal relatum "e:n" in the first and "a:n" in the second.

e.g. (c) "ay 'to:g-all e:n" = I shall therefore beat him.

(d) "tar 'to:g-all-in a:n" = He will therefore beat him.

In both cases we have the normal termination of the consequential ~~adjective~~ "al" form verbal relatum (present) followed by the varying "e:n", "a:n", etc.

If the various forms of "kan" are considered as verbal terminations because they agree with the nominal relatum, we must also consider that in all the examples given under (2) we have two sets of verbal terminations.

We submit that, in Nubian, concord is not only a special feature of the verbal, but also of some particles that we call links. These ("kan" etc. and "e:n" etc.) are links that are in concord with the nominal relatum of the relatio in which they are used.

A conditional construction is composed of two relations;
one of these has the following features -

- (1) the nominal is followed by "on" or "le";
- (2) when "on" is used the verbal is followed by "kan";
- (3) this verbal takes no termination.

The other relation is either -

- (1) an imperative relation,

e.g. "ay on kab-o:k kayyiga, 'kab" = Eat when I start to eat.

- (2) a simple relation,

e.g. "ir on 'kab kan fa-'kab-ir" = I shall eat if you eat.

- (3) ~~an adjunctive relation~~ or

- (a) "al" form, (consequential mode of the indicative)

e.g. "ir on 'kab kani, ay kab-all"

= If you eat, I shall also eat.

In this case as well as in that of the simple relation, the link paradigm "e:n" can follow the verbal.
(See P. 212.)

e.g. "ir on 'kab kan fa-kab-r'e:ni"

= If you eat, I shall also eat.

"ir on 'kab kan kab-all e:ni"

= If you eat, I shall also eat.

- (b) "ri" form. (adjunctive)

e.g. "ir on 'kab kan fa-kab-ri:-ga"

= If you eat, I shall also eat.

(c) "e" form. (adjunctive)

e.g. "ir on¹ kab kan an fa-kab-e-kka"

= If you eat, I shall also eat.

It has been noticed that "ga" is suffixed to the verbal of "ri" and "e" form relatios.

"on" can also be used in a non-conditional construction,
e.g. "ir oni" = May it befall you. (in answer to a bad wish).

"tar on¹ kik kani" = If he would only come.

"kan" used without "on" or "le".

e.g. "ay¹ kik kayyig fa-kab-ir" = I shall eat when I come,
where we have a simple relatio "ay fa-kab-ir" and a linked
relatio "kir" (realised as "kik") which is followed by "kan" in
its form of 1st person singular. The nominal relatum of the
two relatios is the same. In this case "kan" agrees with the
nominal relatum in person and number - as follows:-

"ay¹ kik kayyiga fa-kab-ir" = I shall eat when I come.

"ir¹ kik kani, fa-kab-nam" = You will eat when you come.

"tar¹ kik kani, fa-kab-in" = He will eat when he comes.

"u: ¹kik kawwoga fa-kab-ur" = We shall eat when we come.

"ur¹ kik kawwoga fa-kab-rokkom" = You will eat when you come.

"ter¹ kik kawwani, fa-kab-innan" = They will eat when they come.

We may notice that "kan" in this case, is identical with
"kan" used in the conditional construction in its varying forms.

When the two relations have two different nominal relata,
 we find (1) the nominal relatum of one relation suffixed with "in".
 (2) the verbal relatum of the same relation followed by
 "kan".

(3) "kan" has no varying forms according to the person
 and number of the nominal relatum.

These points are clearly seen in the following paradigm.

"an'kik kan'tar fa-kab-in" = He will eat when I come.

"in'kik kan'tar fa-kab-in" = He will eat when you come.

"tan'kik kan'tar fa-kab-in" = " " " " he (somebody
 else) comes.

"u:n'kik kan'tar fa-kab-in" = " " " " we come.

"un'kik kan'tar fa-kab-in" = " " " " you come.

"ten'kik kan'tar fa-kab-in" = " " " " they come.

SECTION 4.

REPORTED SPEECH.

A. e.g. "ir ir fa-kab-r 'ey-o-nam" = You said that you will eat,
where we have

1. simple (s-v) relatio.nominal relatum

"ir" (you)

verbal relatum

"ey-o-nam" (said)

2. reported (s-v) relatio.nominal relatum

"ir" (you)

verbal relatum

"fa-kab-r" (will eat)

in which we notice (1) the use of "ir" termination (usually for 1st person) as a concord unit with the nominal relatum of the reported (s-v).

(2) the nominal of the two relations are of the same person and number.

In such a case the termination paradigm runs as follows:-

PRESENT FORM.

"ay ay fa-kab-ir 'ey-is" = I said that I shall eat.

"ir ir fa-kab-ir 'ey-o-nam" = You said that you will eat.

"tar tar fa-kab-ir 'ey-on" = He " " he " "

"u:l u: fa-kab-ir 'eyi-ssu" = We " " we shall "

"ur ur fa-kab-ur 'eyi-ssokkom" = You said that you will eat.

"ter ter fa-kab-ur 'eyi-ssan" = They " " they " "

PAST FORM.

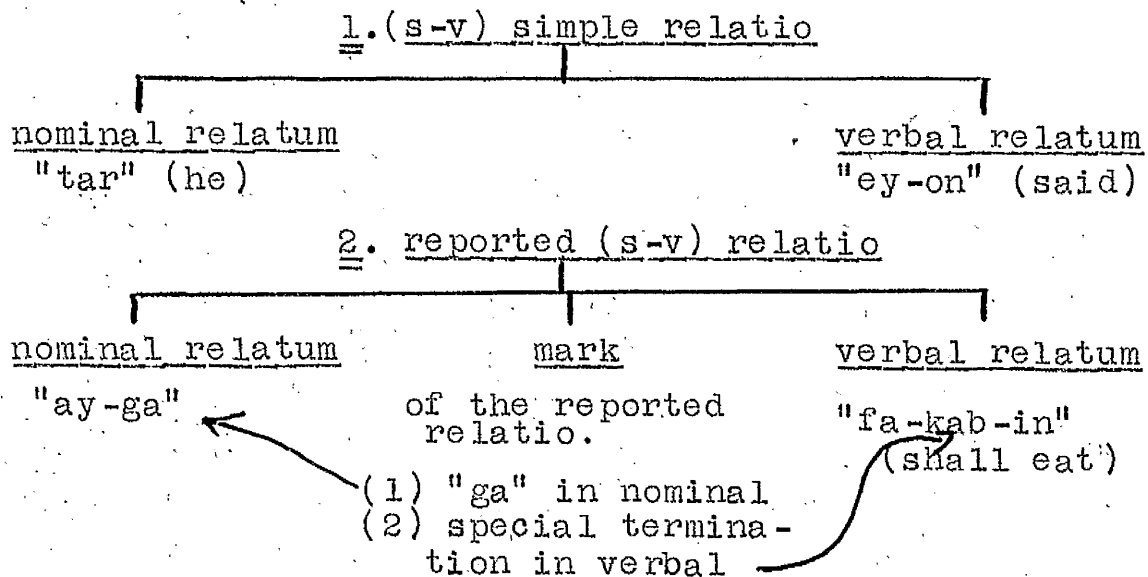
"ay ay kab-is 'ey-is"	= I said that I ate.
"ir ir kab-is 'ey-o-nan"	= You " " you "
"tar tar kab-is 'ey-on"	= He " " he "
"u:l-u: kab-us 'eyi-ssu"	= We " " we "
"ur ur kab-us 'eyi-sokkom"	= You " " you "
"ter ter kab-us 'eyi-ssan"	= They " " they "

In this case it is possible to have one pronominal relatum for both the simple and the reported relatio.

e.g. "ir fa-kab-ir 'ey-o-nam = You said that you will eat.

When the two relations have two different nominal relata, another set of terminations is used in the reported relatio:-

B. e.g. "tar ay-ga fa-kab-in 'ey-on" = He said that I am going to eat.



The termination paradigm runs as follows:-

PRESENT FORM.

"tar ay-ga fa-kab-in 'ey-on"	=	He	said	that	I	am	going	to	eat.
"tar ik-ka fa-kab-in 'ey-on"	=	"	"	"	you	are	"	"	"
"tar tak-ka fa-kab-in 'ey-on"	=	"	"	"	he	is	"	"	"
"tar u:-ga fa-kab-innan 'ey-on"	=	"	"	"	we	are	"	"	"
"tar uk-ka fa-kab-innan 'ey-on"	=	"	"	"	you	are	"	"	"
"tar tek-ka fa-kab-innan 'ey-on"	=	"	"	"	they	"	"	"	"

PAST FORM.

"tar ay-ga kab-on 'ey-on"	=	He	said	that	I	was	going	to	eat.
"tar ik-ka kab-on 'ey-on"	=	"	"	"	you	were	"	"	"
"tar tar-ka kab-on 'ey-on"	=	"	"	"	he	was	"	"	"
"tar u:-ga kab-san 'ey-on"	=	"	"	"	we	were	"	"	"
"tar uk-ka kab-san 'ey-on"	=	"	"	"	you	"	"	"	"
"tar tek-ka kab-san 'ey-on"	=	"	"	"	they	"	"	"	"

We notice that in case A.

(1) the termination is "ir" for singular and "ur" for plural (present). The termination for the past is "is" and "us" singular and plural respectively.

(2) the nominal relatum of the reported relatio does not have the suffix "ga".

In case B. on the other hand we notice -

(1) the termination is "in" for the singular and "innan" for the plural (present). In the past we have "on" for the singular and "san" for the past.

(2) the nominal relatum of the reported relatio has the suffix "ga".

Thus, in case A, we have 1st person terminations
and in B, we have 3rd person terminations, both
singular and plural.

"ay ik-ka'i:ga-tis-s ay fa-'ju:-ri:-ga"

= I told you that I would go.

"ay ik-ka'i:ga-tis-s an fa-'ju-e-kka"

= I told you that I was going to go,

where we notice (1) the absence of "ey".

(2) the presence of "ga" where "ey" is usually
found, i.e., after the reported relatio.

(3) the use of one of the verbals of saying.

In this case it is "ga".

(4) the use of "ri" or "e" verbal form.

(5) otherwise these examples are identical with
the previous ones.

In these two examples "ri" and "e" verbals are in their
present form. They can also occur in the past form.

e.g. (1) "tar ik-ka'i:ga-tir-on tar fa-'ju:-si:n-ga"

= He told you that he was going to go.

(2) "tar ik-ka'i:ga-tir-on tan fa-'ju:-si:n-ga"

= He told you that he was going to go,

where we notice (1) the use of the past form of "ri" and "e"
verbal terminations.

(2) that the two verbals are identical, i.e.,
they have the termination "si:n".

(3), in the second example "si:n" is not variable according to number and person of the nominal relatum. In the first, it is variable.

e.g. (3) "ay ik-ka 'i:ga-tis-s ay fa-'ju:-si:-ga" ("ri" form)

= I told you that I was going to go.

(4) "ay ik-ka 'i:ga-tis-s an fa-'ju:-si:n-ga" ("e" form)

= I told you that I was going to go.

(4) in example (1) and (3) the nominal relatum has no suffixes. In (2) and (4) it has "in", as expected.

We can conclude therefore, that, the "ri" form termination paradigm in this case has "si:n" and not "on" for 2nd and 3rd person singular past form.

Imperative and interrogative relations can also be reported. The termination paradigms run as follows:-

Imperative.

"tar ay-ga kab 'ey-on" = He told me to eat.

"tar ik-ka kab 'ey-on" = " " you " "

"tar 'tak-ka kab 'ey-on" = " " him " "

"tar u:-ga kab-an 'ey-on" = " " us " "

"tar 'uk-ka kab-an 'ey-on" = " " you " "

"tar 'tek-ka kab-an 'ey-on" = " " them " "

where we notice (1) the nominal relatum of the imperative has the suffix "ga".

(2) the termination of the imperative verbal form are as usual, i.e., zero for singular and "an" for plural.

Interrogative.PRESENT FORM.

"tar ay-ga fa-kab-na: y-on" = He asked me if I shall eat.
 "tar ik-ka fa-kab-na: y-on" = " " you " you will eat.
 "tar tak-ka fa-kab-na: y-on" = " " him " he " "
 "tar u:ga fa-kab-ro: y-on" = " " us " we shall "
 "tar ^uu-k-ka fa-kab-ro: y-on" = " " you " you will "
 "tar tek-ka fa-kab-ro: y-on" = " " them " they " "

PAST FORM.

"tar ay-ga kab-ona: y-on" = He asked me if I had eaten.
 "tar ik-ka kab-ona: y-on" = " " you " you " "
 "tar tak-ka kab-ona: y-on" = " " him " he " "
 "tar u:ga kab-so: y-on" = " " us " we " "
 "tar ^uu-k-ka kab-so: y-on" = " " you " you " "
 "tar tek-ka kab-so: y-on" = " " them " they " "

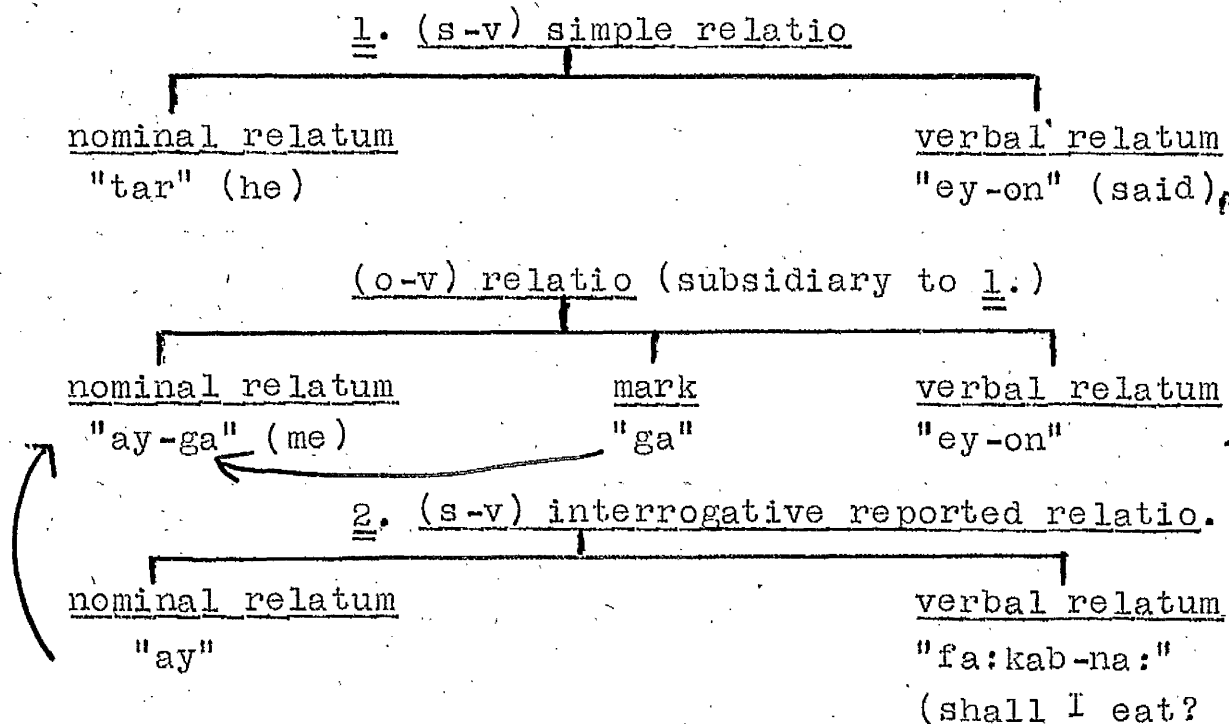
where we notice (1) the termination of the interrogative

reported relatio is singular, "na: (present)
 and "ona:" (past);

plural "ro:" (present) and "so:" (past).

(2) the (o-v) nominal relatum, subsidiary to the
 simple relatio is the same as that of the
 (s-v) interrogative relatio, as appears from
 the following analysis.

"tar ay-ga fa-kab-na:y-on"



N.B. The case when the two nominal relata are the same will be compared to that when they are different. In the latter case the paradigm runs as follows:-

PRESENT.

"tar¹hasan-g ay-ga fa-kab-na: y issig-on"

= He asked Hasan if I shall eat.

"tar¹hasan-g ik-ka fa-kab-na: y issig-on"

= He asked Hasan if you will eat.

"tar¹hasan-ga tak-ka fa-kab-na: y issig-on"

= He asked Hasan if he will eat.

"tar¹hasan-g u:ga fa-kab-innana: y issig-on"

= He asked Hasan if we shall eat.

"tar¹hasan-g uk-ka fa-kab-innana: y issig-on"

= He asked Hasan if you will eat.

"tar 'hasan-ga tek-ka fa-kab-innana: y issig-on"

= He asked Hasan if they will eat.

PAST.

"tar 'hasan-g ay-ga kab-ona: y issig-on"

= He asked Hasan if I had eaten.

"tar 'hasan-g ik-ka kab-ona: y issig-on"

= He asked Hasan if you had eaten.

"tar 'hasan-ga tak-ka kab-ona: y issig-on"

= He asked Hasan if he had eaten.

"tar 'hasan-g u:-ga kab-sana: y issig-on"

= He asked Hasan if we had eaten.

"tar 'hasan-g uk-ka kab-sana: y issig-on"

= He asked Hasan if you had eaten.

"tar 'hasan-ga tek-ka kab-sana: y issig-on"

= He asked Hasan if they had eaten.

Where we notice that -

(1) the termination of the interrogative reported

relatio is:-

Singular - "na" (present), "ona:" (past).

Plural - "innana" (present), "sana:" (past).

(2) the use of the verbal "issig" to ask,

after "ey".

- (3) the (o-v) nominal relatum subsidiary to the simple relatio is not the same as that of the (s-v) interrogative reported relatio. In this the former is "hasan-ga" and the latter is "ay", "tar", etc.
- (4) the nominal of the (s-v) interrogative reported relatio has the suffix "ga".

PART IV.

=====

CONJUGATION TABLES.

In the following conjugation tables the root "kab" = to eat is used. When this root is not possible to be used, i.e., with a certain affix, another root is used in its place.

THE INDICATIVE.

Positive.

Present Tense.

1. 'ay fa-kab-ir = I shall eat

'ir fa-kab-nam

'tar fa-kab-in

'u: fa-kab-ur

ur fa-kab-rokkom

'ter fa-kab-innan

2. With the infix "kir" -

'ay fa-kab-ke:-r = I shall feed him

'ir fa-kab-ke:-nam

'tar fa-kab-ke:-n

'u: fa-kab-ke:-ru

'ur fa-kab-ke:-rokkom

'ter fa-kab-ke:-nnan

3. With the infix "inkir" -

'ay fa-kab-inke:-r = I shall let him eat

etc., as with "kir".

4. With the infix "dakk" -

ay 'kab-dakk-ir = My debt is not paid.

ir 'kab-dakki-'nam

tar 'kab-dakk-in

u: 'kab-dakk-ur

ur 'kab-dakki-rokkom

ter 'kab-dakk-innan

5. With the infix "day" -

ay 'kab-day-ir = My debt is not paid.

ir 'kab-day-'nam

tar 'kab-day-in

u: 'kab-day-ur

ur 'kab-day-rokkom

ter 'kab-day-innan

6. With the infix "kun" -

ay kab-'kun-ir = Oh! but I have eaten it.

ir kab-'kun-nam

tar kab-'kun-in

u: kab-'kun-ur

'ur kab-'kun-rokkom

ter kab-'kun-nan

7. With the infixes "kon" and "kun" -

ay kaba-kona-kun-ir = Oh! but I had eaten it.

etc.

8. With the infixes "ken" and "kun" -

ay kab-ken-kun-ir

etc.

9. With the infix "ed" -

ay kab-ed-ir

ir kab-en-nam

tar kab-ed-in

u: kab-ed-ur

ur kab-ed-rokkom (or kab-el-lokkom)

ur kab-en-nan (or kab-ed-innan)

10. With the infix "o:s" -

ay kab-o:s-ir = I shall start eating (sick)

ir kab-o:n-nam

tar kab-o:s-in

u: kab-o:si-ru (or kabo:l-lu)

ur kab-o:l-lokkom (or kab-o:s-rokkom)

ter kab-o:s-innan

11. With the infix "fi" -

ay kaba-fi:-r

ir kaba:-nam (or kaba-fi:-nam)

'tar kaba-fi:-n

u: kaba-fi:-jj-ur

'ur kaba-fi:-jji-rokkom

'ter kaba-fi:-jj-innan

12. With the infix "a:g" *

ay 'odd-a:g-ir
 ir 'odd-a:g-nan
 tar 'odd-a:g-in
 u: l 'odd-a:h-ur
 'ur odd-a:g-rokkom
 'ter odd-a:g-innan

13. With the infix "j"

ay fa-kab-j-ir
 ir fa-kab-ji-nam
 etc.

When the verbal ends in "ir" and is more than one syllable, the paradigms run as follows:-

1. ay irbe:-r = I know.
 ir irbe:-nam
 tar irbe:-n
 u: l irbe:-ru
 ur irbe:-rokkom
 ter irbe:-nnan

2. With the infix "kir" -

ay irbir-ke:-r
 etc., as with other verbals.

3. With the infix "inkir" -

ay irbe:-nke:-r
 etc., as with other verbals.

* "a:g" does not follow some roots, such as "kab", except after "ed". e.g. ay kab-ed-a:g-ir = I have eaten.

4. With the infix "dakk" -
 ay f-irbir-dakk-ir = I shall be discovered.
 etc., as other verbals.
5. With the infix "dax" -
 ay f-irbir-dax-ir
 etc., as other verbals.
6. With the infix "kun" -
 ay irbir-kun-ir
 etc.
7. With the infix "ed" -
 ay f-irbir-ed-ir
 etc., as other verbals.
8. With the infix "o:s" -
 ay f-irbir-o:s-ir
 etc.
9. With the infix "fi" -
 ay irbir-fi:-r
 etc.
10. With the infix "a:g" or "eda:g" -
 ay irbir-ed-a:g-ir
 etc.
11. With the infix "j" -
 ay irbac-c-ir
 etc.

The verbals "ingir", "takkir", "mangir"* conjugate in the same way as "irbir" in the positive.

e.g. ay inge:-r = I do like this.

etc.

ay takke:-r = I do like that.

etc.

ay mange:-r = I do like that.

etc.

Past Tense.

1. ay 'kab-is = I have eaten.

ir kab-o'-nam

'tar kab-on

u: 'kab-u₃

ur kab-'sokkom

'ter kab-san

2. With the infix "ken" -

'ay kab-kes-s

'ir kab-ken-o'-nam

tar' kab-ken-on

u: 'kab-kes-su

ur 'kab-kes-'sokkom

ter' kab-kes-san

* These are comparable to the demonstratives "in" = this, "inge:-r" = I do like this, "tar" = that (near), "ay takke:-r" = I do like that, "man" = that (far), "ay mange:-r" = I do like that.

3. With the infix "kon" -

ay kab-kos-s

ir kab-kon-o-nam

tar kab-kon-on

u: kab-kos-s

ur kab-kos-sokkom

ter kab-kos-san

4. With the infix "kir" -

'ay kab-kis-s

ir kab-kir-onam

tar kab-kir-on

u: kab-kis-su

'ur kab-kis-sokkom

'ter kab-kis-san

5. With the infix "inkir" -

'ay kab-inkis-s

ir kab-inkin-o-nam

etc., as with "kir"

6. With the infix "dakk" -

ay kab-dakk-is = My debt has not been paid to me.

ir kab-dakk-o-nam

tar kab-dakk-on

u: kab-dakk-us

'ur kab-dakki-sokkom

'ter kab-dakki-san

7. With the infix "daŋ" -ay¹ kab-daŋ-isir¹ kab-daŋ-o¹-namtar¹ kab-daŋ-on

u: kab-daŋ-us

¹ur kab-daŋ-sokkom¹ter kab-daŋ-san8. With the infix "ed" -ay kab¹-ed-isir kab¹-ed-o-namtar kab¹-ed-onu: kab¹-ed-usur kab¹-es-sokkomter kab¹-es-san9. With the infix "o:s" -ay kab-o:¹s-is = I began to eat (after illness).ir kab-o:¹s-o-namtar kab-o:¹s-onu: kab-o:¹s-usur kab-o:¹s-sokkom¹ter kab-o:¹s-san

10. With the infix "fi" -

'ay kaba-fi:-s
 ir kaba-fi-y-o'-nam
 'tar kaba-fi-y-on
 'u: kaba-fi:-jj-us or kaba-fr:-~~s~~su
 'ur kaba-fi:-jji-sokkom or kaba-fr:-~~s~~sokkom
 'ter kaba-fi:jj-isān or kaba-fr:-~~s~~san

11. With the infix "a:g"

ay 'odd-a:g-is = I was ill
 ir 'odd-a:g-o'-nam
 tar 'odd-a:g-on
 u: l'odd-a:g-us
 'ur odd-a:g-'sokkom
 'ter odd-a:g-san

12. With the infix "j" -

ay 'kab-j-is
 ir kab-j-o'-nam
 etc.

When the root ends in "ir" and is more than one syllable -

1. ay irbis-s = I knew.
 ir irbir-o'-nam
 tar irbir-on
 u l irbis-su

* "a:g" cannot be affixed to "kab"; "eda:gis" is used where
 "a:g" is used with "odd" = to be ill.

When the root ends in "ir" (Contd.) -

ur irbis-sokkom

ter irbis-san

2. With the infix "ken" -

ay irbik-kes-s

ir irbik-ken-o-nam

etc.

3. With the infix "kon" -

ay irbir-kos-s

ir irbir-kon-o-nam

etc.

4. "kir" -

irbir-~~ke~~^{kis-s}

etc. as usual.

5. "inke:r" -

irbir-~~inke~~^{is-s}

etc. as usual.

6. "dakk" -

ay irbir-dakk-is = I was discovered.

etc. as with other verbals.

7. "day" -

ay irbir-day-is

etc. as with other verbals.

8. With "kun" infix -
 ay irbir-kun-ir
 etc.
9. With "ed" infix -
 ay irbir-ed-is
 etc., as usual.
10. With "o:s" infix -
 ay irbir-o:s-is
 etc.
11. With "fi" infix -
 ay irbir-fi:-s
 etc.
12. With "a:g" or "eda:g" -
 ay irbir-ed-a:g-is
 etc.
13. With "j" infix -
 ay irbac-c-is
 etc.

The Negative.Present Tense. *

1. ay kab-mun
 ir kab-min-nam
 tar kab-mun
 u: kab-mun
 'ur kab-min-nokkom
 'ter kab min-nan

2. With "kir" infix -

- 'ay kab-kim-mun
 'ir kab-kim-min-nam
 'tar kab-kim-mun
 'u: kab-kim-mun
 'ur kab-kim-min-nokkom
 'ter kab-kim-min-nan

3. With "inkir" infix -

- ay kab-inkim-mun
 etc., as in "kir".

4. With "daɲ" infix -

- ay 'to:g-daɲ-mun
 ir 'to:g-daɲ-min-nam
 etc.

*"kab" is realised as "kam" when followed by the negative infix. Since the difference between the two forms is only the nasality of the bilabial of the 2nd form, we represented it as "kab".

5. With "dakk" infix -

ay to:g-dakku-mun
 ir to:g-dakki-min-nam

etc.

6. With the infix "ed" -

ay kab-em-mum
 ir kab-em-min-nam

etc.

7. With "o:s" infix -

ay kab-o:m-mun
 ir kab-o:m-min-nam

etc.

8. With "fi" infix -

ay kaba-fi:-mmun
 ir kaba-fi:-mmin-nam
 tar kaba-fi:-mmun
 u: kaba-fi:-jju-mmun
 ur kaba-fi:-jji-min-nokkom
 ter kabo-fi:-jji-min-nan

9. With "a:g" or "eda:g" -

ay kab-ed-a:g-mun
 ir kab-ed-a:g-min-nam
 ter kab-ed-a:g-mun
 u:kab-ed-a:g-mun
 ur kab-ed-a:g-min-nokkom
 ter kab-ed-a:g-min-nan

10. With "j" infix -

ay 'kab-ju-mmun
 ir 'kab-jⁱ-min-nam
 'tar kab-ju-mmun
 'u: kab-ju-mmun
 'ur kab-ja-min-nokkom
 'ter kab-ja-min-nan

Verbals ending in "ir" which are more than one syllable are as follows -

"irbir" -

irbu-mmun
 irbi-min-nam
 tar irbu-mmun
 u: l irbu-mmun
 ur irbi-min-nokkom
 ter irbi-min-nan

When one of the infixes follows the root ending in "ir", the root appears with this syllable ("ir") unchanged -

e.g. ay irbir-kim-mun, etc.

With "kir" infix

ay irbir-inkim-mun, etc.

with "inkir" infix.

The verbals "ingir", "takkir" and "mangir" have two possible forms in the negative.

1. ay ingu-mmun
 etc.
 ay takku-mmun
 etc.
 ay 'mangu-mmun
 etc.

In this case they are like other verbals ending in "ir".

2. ay ingir a-um-mun
 etc.
 ay takkir a-um-mun
 etc.
 ay 'mangir a-um-mun
 etc.

Past Tense.

1. ay kab-kum-mun
 ir kab-kum-min-nam
 etc.
2. With the infix "kir" -
 ay kab-kir-kum-mun
 ir kab-kir-kum-min-nam
 etc.

3. With the infix "inkir" -

ay kab-inkir-kum-mun
 ir kab-inkir-kum-min-nam
 etc.

4. With the infix "daŋ" -

ay 'to:g-daŋ-kum-mun
 ir 'to:g-daŋ-kum-min-nam
 etc.

5. With the infix "dakk" -

ay 'to:g-dakka-kum-mun
 ir 'to:g-dakka-kum-min-nam
 etc.

6. With the infix "ed" -

ay kab-ek-kum-mun
 ir kab-ek-kum-min-nam
 etc.

7. With the infix "o:s" -

ay kab-o:k-kum-mun
 ir kab-o:k-kum-min-nam
 etc.

8. With the infix "fi" -

ay kaba-fi:-kkum-mun
 ir kaba-fi:-kkum-min-nam
 etc.

9. With the infix "a:g" or "eda:g" -

ay kab-ed-a:g-kum-mun

ir kab-ed-a:g-kum-min-nam

etc.

10. With the infix "j" -

ay kab-ja-kum-mun

ir kab-ja-kum-min-nam

etc.

Root ending in "ir" are followed by the "past" tense negative terminations as other roots -

e.g. ay irbir-kum-mun

ir irbir-kum-min-nam

etc.

.....

THE INTERROGATIVE.

There are three interrogative constructions in Nubian.

- (1) The use of a verbal form without an interrogative root or affix.
- (2) The use of a verbal form with an interrogative root.
- (3) The use of a verbal form with the infix "al".

(1)

(use of neither)

The verbal paradigm runs as follows -

The Present.

- 1) ay kab-'re: = Do I eat?
 ir kab-'na: etc.
 tar kab-'na:
 u: kab-'ro:
 ur kab-'ro:
 ter kab-innana

With "kir" infix.

- 2) ay kab-ke:-'re: = Do I feed?
 ir kab-ke:-'na: etc.
 tar kab-ke:-'na
 u: kab-ke:-'ro:
 ur kab-ke:-'ro:
 ter kab-ke:--nana:

With "inkir" infix.

- 3) ay kab-inke:-'re: = Do I let eat?
 (as with "kir") etc.

With "dakk" infix.

- 4) ay fa-tukki-dakki-'re: = Am I to be beaten?
 ir fa-tukki-dakki-'na: etc.

"dakk" infix. (Contd.)

tar fa-tukki-dakki-na:
 u: fa-tukki-dakki-ro:
 ur fa-tukki-dakki-ro:
 ter fa-tukki-dakki-nna^{na}.

With "day" infix.

5) ay fa-tukki-day-re: = Am I to be beaten?
 ir fa-tukki-day-no: etc.
 tar fa-tukki-day-na:
 u: fa-tukki-day-ro:
 ur fa-tukki-day-ro:
 ter fa-tukki-day-nna^{na}

With "ed" infix.

6) ay fa-kab-el-le:
 ir fa-kab-en-na:
 tar fa-kab-en-na:
 u: fa-kab-el-lo:
 ur fa-kab-el-lo:
 ter fa-kab-ed-inmana:

With the infix "o:s".

7) ay fa-ndl-o:l-le:
 ir fa-ndl-o:n-na:
 etc., as with "ed".*

* i.e., with the assimilation of the last consonant of (o:s)
 as in the case of (ed).

With "fi" infix.

- 8) ay fa-kaba-fi:-re:
 ir fa-kaba-fi:-na:
 tar fa-kaba-fi:-na:
 u: fa-kaba-fi:-jji-ro:
 ur fa-kaba-fi:-jji-ro;
 ter fa-kaba-fi:-jj-inna:

With "a:g" or "eda:g" infix.

- 9) ay fa-kab-ed-a:g-re
 etc.

With "j" infix.

- 10) ay fa-kab-ji-re:
 etc.

An alternative termination for 1st person singular and plural are -

- | | | |
|------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Singular - | ay kab-ya: | |
| | ay kab-kiy-ya: | (with kir) etc. |
| Plural - | u: kab-wa: | |
| | u: kab-kiw-wa: | (with kir) etc. |

The Past.

- 1) ay kab-se: = Did I eat?
 ir kab-ona: etc.
 tar kab-ona:
 u: kab-so:
 ur kab-so:
 ter kab-sana:

With "ken" infix.

- 2) ay kab-kes-se: = Was I in the habit of eating?
 ir kab-ken-ona: etc.
 tar kab-ken-o-na:
 u: kab-kes-so:
 ur kab-kes-so:
 ter kab-kes-sana

With "kon" infix.

- 3) ay kab-kos-se: = Had I eaten?
 ir kab-kon-ona: etc.
 as with "ken" (2).

With "kir" infix.

- 4) ay kab-kis-se: = Did I feed?
 ir kab-kir-ona: etc.
 tar kab-kir-ona:
 u: kab-kis-so:

With "kir" infix (Contd.)

ur kab-kis-'so:

ter kab-kis-sana:

With "inkir" infix.

5) ay kab-inkis-'se: = Did I feed?

etc.

as with "kir" (4).

With "dakk" infix.

6) ay 'to:g-dakki-'se: = Was I beaten?

ir 'to:g-dakki-ona: etc.

tar 'to:g-dakki-ona

u: 'to:g-dakki-'so:

ur 'to:g-dakki-'so:

ter 'to:g-dakki-ssana:

With "dan" infix.

7) ay 'to:g-dan-'se: = Was I beaten?

ir 'to:g-dan-ona: etc.

etc.

With "ed" infix.

8) ay kab-es-se

ir kab-ed-o-na

tar kab-ed-o-na

u: kab-es-so:

ur kab-es-so:

ter kab-es-sana:

With "o:s" infix.

- 9) ay kab-o:s-se:
 ir kab-o:s-o-na:
 etc.

With "fi" infix.

- 10) ay kaba-fi:-se
 ir kaba-fiy-ona:
 tar kaba-fiy-o-na
 u: kaba-fi:-jji-so:
 (or kaba-fi:-ss^oo)
 ur kaba-fi:-jji-so:
 (or kaba-fi:-ss^oo)
 ter kaba-fi:-jji-sana
 (or kaba-fi:-ss^{ana}-ana)
 (or kaba-fi:-ssana)

With "a:g" or "eda:g" infix.

- 11) ay kab-ed-a:g-se:
 etc.

With "j" infix.

- 12) ay kab-ji-se;
 etc.

(2)

The use of an interrogative root.

In reviewing the paradigm of this case we use the interrogative root "isun" = when, throughout.

(a) The Present.

- 1) 'isun ay kab ri = When do I eat?
 'isun ir kab-i etc.
 'isun tar kab-i
 'isun u: kab-ru
 'isun ur: kab-ur
 'isun ter kab-inna~~na~~

With "kir" infix.

- 2) 'wilid-t isun ay kab-ke:ri = When do I feed the boy?
 'wilid-t isun ir kab-ke: etc.
 'wilid-t isun tar kab-ke:
 'wilid-t isun u: kab-ke:-ru
 'wilid-t isun ur kab-ke:ru:
 'wilid-t isun ter kab-ke:-nna

With "inkir" infix.

- 3) 'wilid-t isun ay kab-inke:ri = When shall I let the boy
 eat?
 etc.

as with "kir" (No. 2)

With "dakk" infix.

- 4) 'isun ay fa-to:g-dakki-ri = When shall I be beaten?
 'isun ir fa-to:g-dakk-i etc.
 'isun tar fa-to:g-dakk-i
 'isun u: fa-to:g-dakki-ru
 'isun ur fa-to:g-dakki-ru
 'isun ter fa-to:g-dakki-nna

With "dan" infix.

- 5) 'isun ay fa-to:g-dan-ri = When shall I be beaten?
 'isun ir fa-to:g-dan-i etc.
 'isun tar fa-to:g-dan-i
 'isun u: fa-to:g-dan-ru
 'isun ur fa-to:g-dan-ru
 'isun ter fa-to:g-dan-innana

With the infix "ed".

- 6) 'isun ay fa-kab-el-li
 'isun ir fa-kab-ed-i
 'isun tar fa-kab-ed-i
 'isun u: fa-kab-el-lu
 'isun ur fa-kab-el-lu
 'isun ter fa-kab-ed-inna

With the infix "o:s".

- 7) 'isun ay fa-kab-o:l-li
 'isun ir fa-kab-o:s-i
 'isun tar fa-kab-o:s-i
 'isun u: fa-kab-o:l-lu
 'isun ur fa-kab-o:l-lu
 'isun ter fa-kab-o:s-inna

With the infix "fi".

- 8) 'isun ay fa-kaba-fi:-ri
 'isun ir fa-kaba-fi
 'isun tar fa-kaba-fi
 'isun u: fa-kaba-fi:-jji-ru
 'isun ur fa-kaba-fi:-jji-ru
 'isun ter fa-kaba-fi:-jji-inna

With the infix "a:g" or "eda:g".

- 9) 'isun fa-kab-ed-a:g-ri
 etc.

With the infix "j".

- 10) 'isun fa-kab-ji-ri
 etc.

(b) The Past.

- 1) 'isun ay kab-'si = When did I eat?
 'isun ir kab-o etc.
 'isun tar kab-o
 'isun u: kab-'su
 'isun ur kab-'su
 'isun ter kab-'sa

With the infix "ken".

- 2) 'isun ay kab-kes-'si = When used I to eat?
 'isun ir kab-'ken-o etc.
 'isun tar kab-'ken-o
 'isun u: kab-kes-'su
 'isun ur kab-kes-'su
 'isun ter kab-kes-'sa

With the infix "kon".

- 3) 'isun ay kab-'kos-sai = When had I eaten?
 'isun ir kab-'kon-o etc.
 as with "ken" (No. 2).

With the infix "kir"

- 4) 'wilid-t 'isun ay kab-kis-'si = When did I feed the boy?
 'wilid-t 'isun ir kab-'kir-o etc.
 'wilid-t 'isun tar kab-'kir-o

"kir" infix (Contd.)

'wilid-t 'isun u: kab-kis-'su

'wilid-t 'isun ur kab-kis-'su

'wilid-t 'isun tar kab-kis-'sa

With the infix "inkir".

5) 'wilid-t 'isun ay kab-inkis-'si = When did I let the boy
eat?

as with "kir" (No. 4)

etc.

With the infix "dakk".

6) 'isun ay fa-'to:g-dakki-'si = When was I beaten?

'isun ir fa-'to:g-dakk-o etc.

'isun tar fa-'to:g-dakk-o

'isun u: fa-'to:g-dakki-'su

'isun ur fa-'to:g-dakki-'su

'isun ter fa-'to:g-dakki-'sa

With the infix "dap".

7) 'isun ay fa-'to:g-dap-'si

'isun ir fa-'to:g-dap-o

'isun tar fa-'to:g-dap-o

'isun u: fa-'to:g-dap-'su

'isun ur fa-'to:g-dap-'su

'isun ter fa-'to:g-dap-'sa

With the infix "ed".

- 8) 'isun ay kab-'es-si
 'isun ir kab-'ed-o
 'isun tar kab-'ed-o
 'isun u: kab-'es-su
 'isun ur kab-'es-su
 'isun ter kab-'es-sa

With the infix "o:s".

- 9) 'isun ay kab-'o:s-si
 'isun ir kab-'o:s-o
 'isun tar kab-'o:s-o
 'isun u: kab-'o:s-su
 'isun ur kab-'o:s-su
 'isun ter kab-'o:s-sa

With the infix "fi".

- 10) 'isun ay kaba-fi:-si
 'isun ir kaba-fiy-o
 'isun tar kaba-fiy-o
 'isun u: kaba-fi:-su
 'isun ur kaba-fi:-su
 'isun ter kaba-fi:-sa

With the infix "a:g" or "eda:g".

- 11) 'isun kab-'ed-a:g-si

etc.

With the infix "j".

- 12) isun ay kab-ji-si
etc.

The Negative.

1. 'isun ay kab-min-ni
'isun ir kab-mi:n-i
'isun tar kab-mi:n-i
'isun u: kab-min-nu
'isun ur kab-min-nu
'isun ter kab-min-na

2. With the infix "kir".

- 'isuh ay kab-kim-min-ni
etc.

3. With the infix "inkir".

- 'isun ay kab-inkim-min-ni
etc.

4. With the infix "dakk".

- 'isun ay 'to:g-dakki-min-ni
etc.

5. With the infix "daŋ".

- 'isun ay 'to:g-daŋ-min-ni
etc.

6. With the infix "ed".

'isun ay kab'em-min-ni

etc.

7. With the infix "o:s".'isun ay ^{*}nal-o:m-min-ni

etc.

8. With the infix "fi".

'isun ay kaba-fi:-mmin-ni

etc.

9. With the infix "o:g" or "eda:g".

'isun ay kab-ed-a:g-min-ni

etc.

10. With the infix "j".

'isun ay kab-ji-min-ni

etc.

The Past.

'isun ay kab-kum-min-ni

etc.

With the infix "ken".

'isun ay kab-ken-kum-min-ni

etc.

*We use "nal" = to see, in place of "kab" because the former is not used with "o:s" in this case.

With the infix "kon".

'isun ay kab-kona-kum-min-ni

etc.

Other infixes can follow the root.

The form is similar to that of the present except for the addition of "kum" in the "past".

(3)

(Use of the verbal form with the interrogative infix "al")

In this case "gen" follows "al" and takes the termination which runs as follows -

(a) The Present.

ay kab-al gel-li or ay kab-al gey-ya

ir kab-al gen-i

tar kab-al gen-i

u: kab-al gell-u or u: kab-al gew-wa

ur kab-al gell-u

tar kab-al gen-na

(b) The Past.

ay kab-al ges-si

ir kab-al gen-o

tar kab-al gen-o

u: kab-al ges-su

ur kab-al ges-su

ter kab-al ges-sa

"ken" and "kon" and the other infixes precede "al".

e.g. "ay mando kab-ken-al ges-si" = Was I in the habit of eating there?

where "ken" infix is used.

"ay mando kab-kon-al ges-si" = Had I eaten there?

where "kon" infix is used.

"wilid-ta kab-kir-al gel-li" = Do I feed the boy?

"wilid-ta kab-kir-al ges-si" = Did I feed the boy?

where the infix "kir" is used, both with present and past terminations.

"wilid-ta kab-inkir-al gel-li" = Do I let the boy eat?

"wilid-ta kab-inkir-al ges-si" = Did I let the boy eat?

where the infix "inkir" is used, both with present and past termination.

"to:g-dakk-inkir-al gel-li" = Do I let the boy be beaten?

"to:g-dakk-inkir-al ges-si" = Did I let the boy be beaten?

where the infixes "dakk" "inkir" are used with present and past termination.

etc.

The Imperative.

The imperative paradigm runs as follows -

ay -
 ir kab
 tar kab
 u: -
 ur kab-an
 ter kab-an

The negative.

ay -
 ir kab-tam
 tar kab-tam
 u: -
 ur kab-tamm-an
 ter kab-tamm-an

.....

The adjunctive mood paradigms have been given in the course of reviewing the possible uses of the adjunctive relatio "e" and "ri:" forms.

.....

The terminations of the modes called persuasive and consequential is different from that of other modes.

The persuasive terminations have been given in the course of discussing this mode (P. 146). The following are the termination paradigms of the consequential mode.

1. Present.

ay kab-'all
 ir kab-'al-lam
 tar kab-'ar-in
 u: kab-'al-lu
 ur kab-'al-lokkom
 ter kab-'all-an

2. Past.

ay 'to:g-aris-s
 ir 'to:g-arin-o-nam
 tar 'to:g-arir-on
 u: 'to:g-aris-su
 ur 'to:g-aris-sokkom
 ter 'to:g-aris-san

The Negative.

Present.

ay kab-ar-'um-mun
 ir kab-ar-'um-min-nam
 tar kab-ar-'um-mun
 u: kab-ar-'um-mun
 ur kab-ar-'um-min-rokkom
 ter kab-ar-'um-min-nan

Past.

ay to:g-ar-kum-mun

etc.

When the verbal root ends with a vowel or the syllable "ir", the infix "dil" can be used in place of "al". In this case the termination runs as follows:-

1. Present.

ay 'usid-dill

("usir" = to beat)

ir 'usid-dilli-nnam

tar 'usid-dill-in

u: l 'usid-dil-lu

ur 'usid-dil-lokkom

ter 'usid-dill-innan

2. Past.

In the past tense the verbal root is followed by "dil" and "ey" then by the termination as follows:-

tar on kir-kok kan,

ay 'usid-dill ey-is

ir 'usid-dill ey-o-nam

tar 'usid-dill ey-on

u: l 'usid-dill eyi-ssu

ur 'usid-dill ey-sokkom

ter 'usid-dill eyi-ssan

PART V.

=====

TEXTS.

S E C T I O N I.

ANALYSED TEXT.

"maße-n gitte:	page	275
Grammatical Analysis	"	281
List of Vocabulary	"	296

maša-n gitte: *

- 1 'asil-la u:-n u:-gu:-na:ne, maša-kka, bahar-ka, ti:-g
 2 abdi-kes-si:ni:, ta'ale y a ha:la. u:-i:n assar a
 3 mes-si:n 'wagit-ta, wilid e:-n unni-dakk-e-n dime
 4 dij-itt'in ug-ka, ka:gar-in konte dawwu we:-kk
 5 ekkira ille: logo, ya: ku:še: log middi-kir-o:sa,
 6 šema dime dij co:n giritti-kir konte:-l 'šekki-ja,
 7 du:du:-g kitti-tan-na kand'eda kir gasko to:n konte:-n
 8 tu:-l uskir-o:sa, daha:-n maša 'orki-lla, 'sokk-eda ju:
 9 uskir-o:sa, 'jamma-n edd e:, edd e: log konte:-g
 10 dumm-eda 'sokk uske:-nnan, "maša-n gitte we: r'a, maša-n
 11 gitte l 'uwo, maša-n gitte tusko" 'kolod-añ-if
 12 fa:min 'baññ-in ta:ni.
 13 a:dam dawwu une:-gatta we:-kka, ay marra we:-kka, in
 14 maša-n gitte mina:y 'issig-si:ni, ay-g 'i:ga-de:n-on.
 15 "šo:b 'ha:lisi-la, u:-n u:-gu-n 'ten-n u-gu:
 16 maša-kk abdi-kes-san 'nogo. as'sar unni-dakk-i-kka
 17 tak-kir no:r ten-ni-g eda ju: amantir-o:sa,
 18 'feddi-kes-san, wilid to:d 'ten-ni-g iriñ-o:t-tac-c
 19 'eya, 'ug nass'i-kko: to:da-kir-o:t-tac-c 'eya".
 20 "in-na 'ma:s-in go:n 'icci we:-kka f'i:ga-te:-r"
 21 'ey-on. "bardu: šo:b ha:līs-in adām-iri: do
 22 tto:n u-i:n 'se:w-ed-a:g-e we:-kka".
 23 minni:y 'issig-si:-ga-n go:n ay-g 'i:ga-de:n-on.

*
"maša-n gitte".

In reality our forebears seem to have worshipped the sun, the river and the cow. When we were young it was the habit, on the fifteenth day after the birth of a child, for people to bring a big straw basket, fill it with wheat and "ku:še" (a sort of grain), put fifteen candles around it in a circle, wrap the baby in his clothes and put him inside the basket, and in the morning, when the sun is cool, they used to carry the basket between them, lifting it up and down quickly, counting "maša-n gitte"-1, maša-n gitte"-2, "maša-n gitte"-3, to seven.

I once asked a wise old man what this "maša-n gitte" was, and he said to me -

"Because, in the distant past, our great grandfathers used to worship the sun, they used to take the newly born baby to show to their god, and pray that he would look after him and be kind to them by giving him long life.

Besides this, I shall tell you of something else which we have also inherited from the past".

I asked what this was and he said -

* This is in the form of a nominal adjunct linked by "in", or an adjunct relatio "e" form. The word "maša" = sun. "gitte" however cannot be decided upon. In "misar gassi-g gitt-in" we find the root (verbal) "gitt" = to nibble. No suitable translation of the phrase can be provided.

24 "maṣa-n gitte go:n maṣa-kk abdi-ken-o-kku: ddo to:n
 25 'se:w-su" ey-on "in ay-i:n ik-ka fa-issa:g-k
 26 i:ga-tir-e 'kkoni:, 'bahar-ka, abdi-ken-o-kku:
 27 ddo to:n u:-i:n se:w-si:n we: r'a."
 28 'baññ-on "ide:n-n unn-e-n arba'i:n-n ug-ka, umuska:r
 29 'kira, ased-in 'sigir we:-kk a:w-o:sa, ille:-n nurti 'go:n,
 30 giṣwa:r ko:n, 'fenti go:n guru:b-in ulbid e:-'kku: go:n
 31 a:w-ec-ca, maṣa-n 'to:r-ti-n garra:b-ki-la, 'e:n go:n
 32 erg-kir-eda, du:du: go:n 'wild-in tiṣti tan-na 'sokk-eda,
 33 bahar-ra sukka 'jua, wild asṣar bangi dij-ca ya:
 34 kolod-ta men'jir-o:j-ja, man ulbid 'to:n fent e:-'kku:
 35 go:n-ga, ased-in 'sigir-r okk-ec-ca, sigir awo la:kin
 36 dañña udr-o:sa, we: r'a uwo 'tusko kolod-in 'ke:l-k
 37 o:m-ec-ci 'kan, 'man assar-i:sent-o:j-ja menja-tira,
 38 barwu: barwiy 'wi:rka to:ra 'kucca ju:, man ased-in
 39 'sigir-r okka-fi:-n ulbid to:n, 'fenti: go:n-ga kabṣa
 40 kab-ji kawwani, umuska:r wi:da, wasa:ha y a 'yi-mmi:,
 41 'kitt-in fa:r a 'yi-mmi: 'si:w du:du:-g kocci-tan-na
 42 fiyyi-kes-si:n a 'yi-mmi:, malle-kka bahar-ra 'fo:g
 43 udic-ca, ide:n go:n, du:du: go:n-ga jelew-o:t-tec-ca,
 44 kakake: go:n a:w-o:t-tec-ca. maṣa-n to:r
 45 'jo:r-e-n ba:d-ta-g, 'erig-kir-ec-ca ke:ra 'no:gi ddo.
 46 'no:g kan, tar-i:n 'ba:di-la, ide:n wi:da, unn-ed awo
 47 fi:-si:n 'ba:d-ta, 'fing-in wagit to:n 'ṣa:ddo fa:-n,
 48 bale:-nci:-l 'ju:-n, 'no:g-in tu:-n jelli go:n a:w-in.
 49 umuska:r-k, ir on 'issig kan goni, ik-k 'i:ga-te:-n

We have inherited "masa-n gitte" from those who used to worship the sun. The thing that I shall tell you of now is something that we have inherited from those who used to worship the river.

On the fortieth day from the woman's giving birth, the midwife used to come, make a straw boat, make some "ulbid" (a sort of bread of dates, wheat and whole meal), and near the time of sunset she used to lead the woman, carry the baby in his bath and go to the river, make five or seven young boys stand by and put the "ulbid" and some dates in the straw boat, and push it into the water, and when she counts one, two, three to seven, these boys who stand ready, splash, splash, splash, dive into the water, swim and snatch and eat the "ulbid" and dates with which the boat is loaded, and when they have done this, the midwife throws into the river dirt, old clothes and the sand in which she put the baby to sleep. She also washes the face of the woman and the baby, burns incense and after sunset she leads them home. When they go, after all this, the woman can go out to weddings and do all the housework, having given birth and lain indoors. If you ask a midwife, she will tell you-

- 50 "melayka-nci: l ide:n 'unn-eda-fi:-kk irñ-eda 'ti:g-j-innan"
- 51 'ay-on. "in 'aman do sukk-in 'ba:di-l wi:da, melayka-nci:
- 52 'wa:ya nog-ji kawwani, ide:n 'unn-eda fiy-o 'wi:da, tar-i:n
- 53 firg-e-kka, esk a:w-in."
- 54 'gu:ñ-eda kac-ci kawwo go:n ále: logo, in 'jelli yi:,
- 55 bahar-ka abd-i-kku:-n jell 'a: ha:l a. nay irb-e: asil-la,
- 56 in melle l on man kid 'fa:ya-fi:-n ta:ni, guddo 'kuña-fi:-n
- 57 dukk ekkir geryi:-jj-innan-gu:-l tar on 'fiya-r-ek kani.
- 58 usu:n 'fa:y i:dira, in kalo-n uttu:-g 'issig-j-innan a
- 59 'men-on.

"Angels stay guarding the mother: after the going to the water, the angels fly away and then the mother can do whatever she wants again".

If we come to look into this, it would seem, in fact, an act of people who worshipped the river. Who knows! Perhaps all this is indeed written on one of those buried stones that are sometimes dug out and read: Now we should write to those people of the North and ask them.

Grammatical Analysis.

The following is an analysis of selected sentences from the text "maṣa-n gitte".

A sentence selected for analysis is written thus:- the first few and the last few words are quoted, with a space markedbetween, to indicate the middle part of the quotation.

The numbers indicated as X refer to the line of the Nubian text where the word(s) or sentence in question, occurs. Where necessary, the reference Nos. X are placed at the beginning and at the end of the quotation.

*** 2 "u:-i:n assar a mes-si:n wagit-ta, wild e:-nn unni dakk-e-n dimeḍij-itt-in ug-kabaññ-in ta:n" 12 ***

1. (s-v) simple relatio

nominal relatum

denoted by termination
(3rd pers: plural, present)
in "uske:-nnan" (13th
member)

verbal relatum

a verbal adjunct of 13
members. Some of these are
also verbal relata of (o-v)
or (c-v)

The 13 members of the verbal
adjunct are the following:-

No.1.

5 "ekkira" (bring

has

4

(o-v) nominal relatum
"ka:gar-in konte dawwu
we:-kka" (a big basket)

Quotations to be analysed are shown within the marks ***-----***

No. 2.

5 "middi-kir-o:sa"
(fill)

has (c-v) relatum
post-positional

5 "ille: log, ya:-koše:
log"
(with wheat of koshe)

No. 3.

6 "giritt-kir"
(put round a circle

" (o-v) relatum
6 "sema dime dij co:n"*
(ten candles)

No. 4.

6 "seki-ja"
(stick in)

" (c-v) post positional
6 "konte:-l" relatum
(in the basket)

No. 5.

7 "kand-eda"
(wrap)

" (o-v) relatum
7 "du:du:-g" (the baby)
7 "kitti-taṇ-na"
(in his clothes)

No. 6.

7 "kir" (come)

No. 7.

8 "uskir-o:sa" (put)

" (c-v) relatum
post-positional
7 "gasko to:n konte:-n
tu:l" (inside the
middle of the basket)

No. 8.

8 "sökk-ed" (to lift)

No. 9.

8 "ju:" (go)

" (c-v) post-positional
8 "maša-n orki-lla"
(in the coolness of
the sun)

No. 10.

9 "uskir-o:sa" (put)

No. 11.

/10/ "dumm-eda"
(catch)

has

(1) (c-v) relatum

/9/ "jamman" = together

(2) (c-v) relatum

/9/ "edd e: log edd e: log"
(each with one hand)

(3) (o-v) relatum

/9/ "konte:-ga"
(the basket)No. 12./10/ "sokka" (lift)No. 13./10/ "uske:-nnan"

"uskir"
(put down)

"innan"

verbal termination
(pres: 3rd pers: pl:)

This termination is common to
all 13 verbals.

2. (c-v) relatio.nominal relatumlinkverbal relatum

/2/ "u:-i:n assar a
mes-si:n wagit-ta"
(while we were
young

"ga"
(Realised
as "ta")

The adjunct of 13
verbals as before

This is a nominal adjunct linked by "in"

1st member2nd member

"u:-i:n assar a" etc.,
which is an adjunctive
(men) relatio, "e" form (past)

wagit

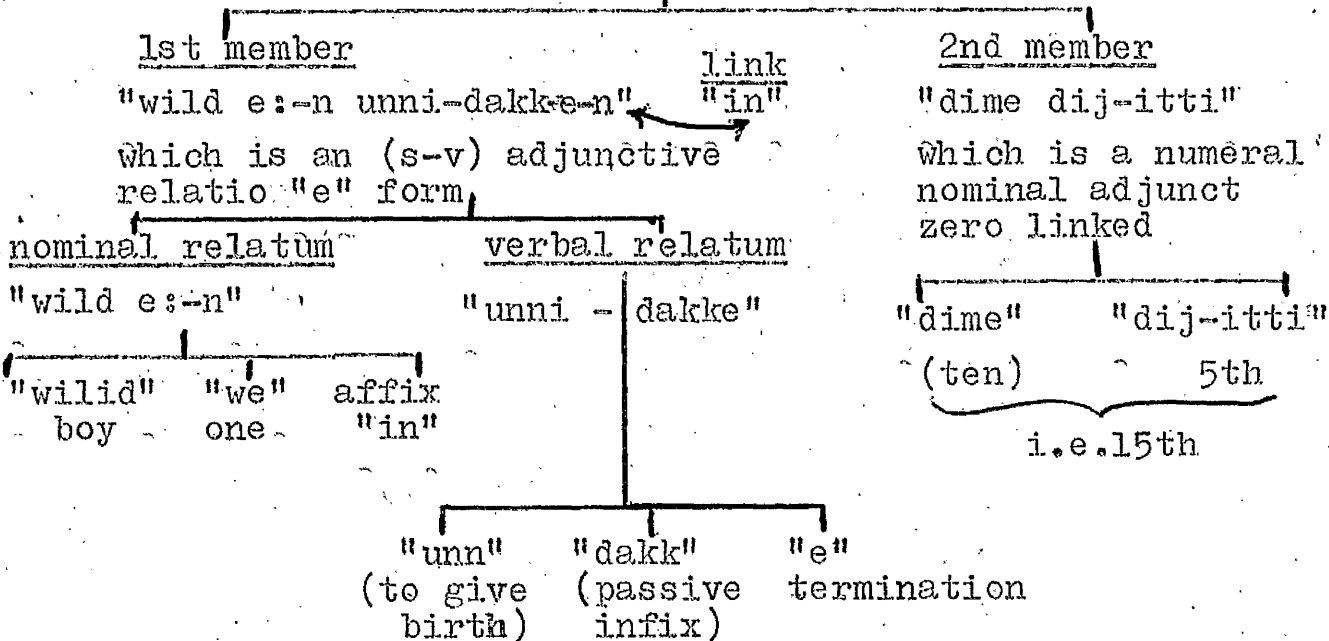
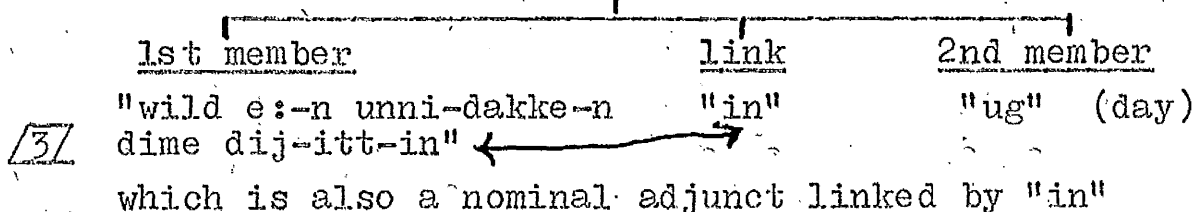
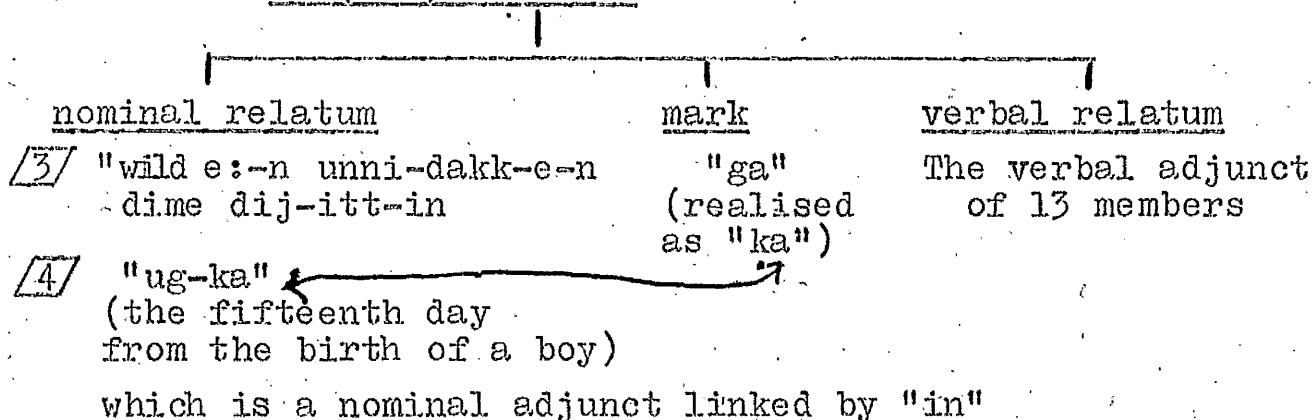
1st relatum2nd relatumcopula

"u" + "in"

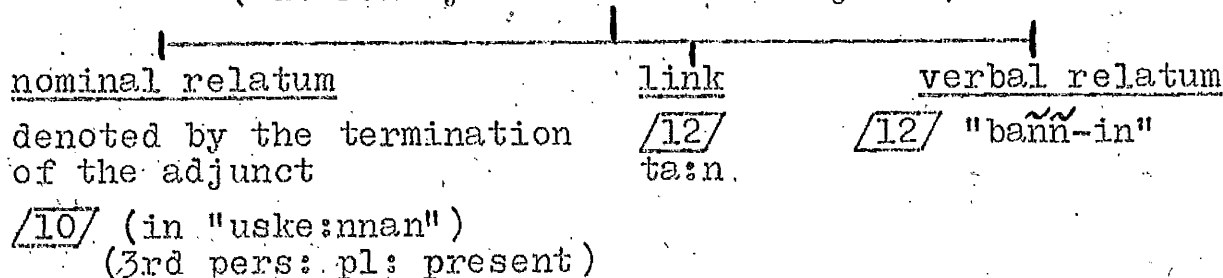
"assar"

a messi:n

3. (c-v) relatio.



4. a linked relatio (subsidiary to the verbal adjunct)



2. (o-v) relatio.

<u>nominal relatum</u>	<u>mark</u>	<u>verbal relatum</u>
/17/ "no:r teni-g" (their god)	"ga"	the adjunct

3. (o-v) relatio.

<u>nominal relatum</u>	<u>mark</u>	<u>verbal relatum</u>
/16/ "assar unni-dakk-i-kka" (the born baby)	"ga" (realised as "kka")	the adjunct

4. reported relatio (a)

<u>reported</u>	<u>verbal</u>
/18/ "wilid to:d-ten-ni-g irñ-o:t-tac-c" (to guard their child for them)	a reverse order adjunct of two members (1) "fed" /18/ to ask (2) "ey" /19/ to say

reported relatio (b)

<u>reported</u>	<u>verbal</u>
"ug nassi-ko: to:da-kir-o:t-tac-c" (to make it, for them, a son of a long life) which is a verbal conjunct	a reverse order adjunct of two members (1) "fed" /18/ (2) "ey" /19/

<u>base</u>	<u>formative</u>	<u>infixes</u>	<u>termination</u>
/19/ "ug nassi-ko: to:d" (a boy of a long life)	"kir"	"o:s" "tir" "j"	zero

*** /20/ "icc e:-kka f-i:ga-te:-r ey-on.....se:w-ed-a:g-e
we:-kka" /22/ ***

1. (s-v) simple

<u>nominal relatum</u>	<u>verbal relatum</u>
denoted by termination (3rd pers: sing: past)	/21/ "ey-on" = said

verbal relatum,

/12/ "baññ-in" (continued)

(a) relatio (reported)
(subsidiary to No.4.)

<u>nominal relatum</u>	<u>mark</u>	<u>verbal relatum</u>
/10/ "maṣa-n gitte we: r a....."		"baññ-in" (to say)
/11/ "kolod-añ-if fa:min"	zero	

(b) linked relatio
(subsidiary to No.4.)

<u>nominal relatum</u>	<u>verbal relatum</u>	<u>link</u>
impersonal	/11/ "kolod-añ-if"	"fa:min"
This is a verbal conjunct "añ" form		

<u>base</u>	<u>formative</u>
the nominal "kolod" (seven)	"añ" + if (a realisation of "in" termination)

*** /16/ "assar unni-dakk-i-kka.....
.....to:da-kir-o:t-tac-c eya" /19/ ***

1. (s-v) simple relatio

<u>nominal relatum</u>	<u>verbal adjunct of</u>
denoted by termination	five verbals
"san" (3rd pers: pl: past)	/17/ 1. "tak-kir" = do like that verbal conjunct

<u>nominal base</u>	<u>formative</u>
"tar" = that	"kir"
/17/ 2. "ed" = take	
/17/ 3. "ju:" = go	
/17/ 4. "amantir-o:s" = show	
/18/ 5. "feddi-kessan"	

<u>root</u>	<u>aspectival infix</u>	<u>termination</u>
"fed" ; beg	"ken"	"san"

The infix and termination are
common to all members.

2. reported (s-v) relatio

nominal relatum

denoted by termination
(1st pers: sing: present)

verbal relatum

/20/ "f-i:ga-te:-r"
 "fa" "i:g" "te:r" "ir"
 future (say) infix- termination
 prefix

2. (a) (o-v) relatio

nominal relatum

"icci we:-kka"
(another one)
/20/

mark

"ga"
(realised as
"kka")

verbal relatum

/20/ "f-i:ga-te:-r"
(I shall tell you)

The nominal relatum is expanded by the phrase "bardu....."
which is analysed in this way

2. (b) (o-v) relatio

nominal relatum

/21/ "so:b halis-n....
....we:-kka" /22/

verbal relatum

/20/ "i:ga-te:-r"

which is an adjunct zero linked

1st member

/22/ "u-i:n se:w-ed-a:g-e"
(which we have inherited)

2nd member

/22/ "we:-kka"

This is an adjunctive relatio

nominal relatum

"u:-i:n" (we)

verbal relatum

"se:w-ed-a:ge" (inherited)

(c-v) relatio (post-positional)

nominal relatum

/21/ "so:b ha:l-is-n
a:dam-iri do tto:n" /22/

post-positional

"do to:n"

verbal relatum

"se:w-ed-a:g-e"
(inherited)

This is a nominal
adjunct linked by "in".

1st member	link	2nd member
"so:b ha:lis-n" (the distant past)	"in"	"a:dam-iri" (people)

*** 28 "baññ-on.....47 ke:ra no:g iddo"***

(s-v) simple relatio

nominal relatum

denoted by termination
(3rd pers: sing: past)

verbal relatum

"baññon"

"reported speech"

This includes a number of (s-v) relations. ONE

verbal relatum

an adjunct that has the following members

nominal relatum

28 "umuskar"
(the midwife)

28 1. "kira" = comes

29 2. "asadin sigir we:-kk a:wo:sa" = makes a straw boat

29 3. "ille:n.....31 a:wec-ca" = makes some "ulbid" from
a mixture of
wheat, whole-meal and dates

31 4. "maṣa-n to:r-ti-n.....32 "erg-kir-eda"
= leads the woman, at nearly
sunset

32 5. "wild-in tiṣṭi tan-na sokk-eda"
= carries it all in the
baby's bath

33 6. "bahar ra sukka ju:"
= goes down to the river

33 7. "bangi.....34 menjir o:j-j"
= makes five or seven boys stand.

(s-v) simple relatio. TWO

Nominal relatum

"umuska:r"

verbal relatum

(continued)

(verbal relatum,
continued)

verbal adjunct of two members

[42] "fo:g udic-ca"
(throw into)

"fo:g" (throw) "udir" (to put in) "ca" a realisation of "j" (plural (o-v) concord)

(o-v) relatio.

nominal relatum

marks

verbal relatum

[40] (a) "wasa:h a yi-mmi"
= whether dirt

(1) "ga"
(realised as "kka")

"fo:g udic-ca"

[41] (b) "kitti fa:r a yi-mmi"
= or old clothes

(2) "j"
(realised as "ca")

[41] (c) "si:w du:du:-n kocci tan-na fiyyi-kis-si:n a yi-mmi"
= the sand on which she put the key

(d) "malle-kka" = all

(a), (b) and (c) are reported "men" relations, persuasive form.

<u>1st relatum</u>	<u>2nd relatum</u>	<u>copula</u>	<u>ey + persuasive termination</u>
(a) impersonal	wasah (nominal root)	a	yi-mmi
(b) "	Kitti fa:r (nominal adjunct)	a	yi-mmi
(c) "	si:w....fiyyikissi:n (adjunctive relatio "ri" form, past).	a	yi-mmi

[43] "ide:n go:n.....jelew-o:t-tic-ca"

≡ she also washes the face of the woman and baby

[44] "kakake: go:n a:w-o:t-tec-ca"

≡ she also burns incense for them.

A relatio which is linked to another is in its turn linked to this verbal adjunct.

1. linked (s-v) relatio; (linked to this verbal adjunct)

<u>nominal relatum</u>	<u>link</u>	<u>verbal relatum</u>
<u>/37/</u> "man assari: sent-o:j-j menj a tira" = those boys who are still standing ready"	"kawwan" (when)	a verbal adjunct of six members <u>/38/</u> (1) "wi:rka" = throw <u>/38/</u> (2) "to:ra" = enter <u>/38/</u> (3) "kucca" = swim <u>/38/</u> (4) "ju:" = go <u>/38/</u> (5) "man asadin.... kabza" <u>/39/</u> = snatch the bread which is on the boat. <u>/40/</u> (6) "kab-j" = ate up

2. linked (s-v) relatio; (linked to 1.)

<u>nominal relatum</u>	<u>link</u>	<u>verbal relatum</u>
denoted by the concord of the link (3rd pers: sing:)	"kan" (when)	<u>/36/</u> "we:ra..... ...o:mec-ca" <u>/37/</u> (she counts one to seven)

N.B. When she (the midwife) counts from one to seven,
(i.e. No.2. relatio) the boys dive into the river,
and when they do this, (i.e. No.1. relatio)
she washes the faces of mother and child, etc.,
(i.e. TWO relatio).

*** /46/ "nog kan.....saddo fa:-n" /47/ ***

(s-v) simple relatio.

nominal relatum

verbal relatum

/46/ "ide:n" = woman

/47/ "fa:-n" = goes out

Four (c-v) relations are subsidiary to this.

1. (c-v) post positional

nominal relatum

post
position

verbal
relatum

/46/ "tar-i:n ba:d-ila"
= after this

ba:di-la

/47/ "fa:-n"

"tar" (= this) refers to a preceding
relatio which is

nominal relatum

link

verbal relatum

denoted by concord
of the link (3rd sing:)

"kan"

a verbal adjunct that
has the following
members

/45/ (1) "erig-kir-ec-ca"
= leads them

/45/ (2) "ke:r" = goes up

/45/ (3) "no:gi ddo"
= goes home

2. (c-v) post positional

nominal relatum

post
position

verbal
relatum

/46/ "ide:n unn-ed
-awwo fi:-si:n"
(the woman
having given birth
and stayed inside)

"ba:d-ta"
(after)

"fa:-n" /47/
(goes out)

This is an adjunctive relatio "ri" form

nominal relatum

"ide:n"

verbal relatuma verbal adjunct of
two members

/46/ (1) "unn:ed" = gave birth

/47/ (2) "awwo fi:si:n"
= has been staying
inside3. (c-v) post positionalnominal relatum/47/ "firi-in wagit
to:n"
(from the time
she wants)post
position"to:n"
= fromverbal relatum/47/ "fa:-n"
of (s-v)4. (c-v) zero markednominal relatum

/47/ "saddo" = outside

verbal relatum

/47/ "fa:-n"

*** /51/ "in aman do sukk-in ba:di-l.....
.....esk a:w-in" /53/ ***(s-v) simple relationominal relatum/50/ "ide:n unⁿ-eda fi:"
(the woman who gave
birth and was lying
down)verbal relatum/53/ "esk a:w-in"
(can do)which is a verbal
adjunctThis is a nominal
adjunct zero-linked1st member

"esk" = can

2nd member

"a:w-in" = do

"ide:n"
(woman)

"unn-eda-f-i"

This is a conjunct "i" form

base

formative

"unn-ed fi"

"i"

which is a verbal adjunct

1st member

aspectival
infix

2nd member

"unn"

"ed"

"fi" (to lie down)

(o-v) relatio

nominal relatum

mark

verbal relatum

/52/ "tar-i:n firg-e-kka"
(whatever she wants)

← "ga"
(realised
as "kka")

/53/ "a:w-in" = do

which is an (s-v) adjunctive relatio "e" form

nominal relatum

verbal relatum

"tar-i:n" (she)

"firg-e" wants

linked relatio

nominal relatum

link

verbal relatum

/50/ "mala:ykan-nci:
wa:ya nog-j"
(The angels fly
and go)

/52/ "kawwan"
(when)

/53/ "a:w-in"

which is an (s-v)

nominal relatum

verbal relatum

"mala:yka-nci"

verbal adjunct of two members

(1) "wa:y" = fly

(2) "nog" = go

and the infix "j".

*** /55/ "nay irb-e: asil-la, in malle.....
tar on fiya-r-ek kan!." /57/

(s-v) interrogative relatio

nominal relatum
 interrogative root
 "nay" = who

verbal relatum
 "irb-e:" (knows)

linked (s-v) relatio (conditional)
 (tar on fiya-r-ek kani)
 = if it is there

nominal relatum
 "tar" = that
 which refers to
 "in malle" /56/
 = all this

links
 (1) "on"
 after the
 nominal
 relatum
 (2) "kan"
 after the
 verbal
 relatum

verbal relatum
 /57/ "fiya-r-ek"
 = is there
 "fi" = to be "ed"
 (infix)

(c-v) relatio post-positional

nominal relatum
 /56/ "man kid.....
 ...geryi:-jj-innan-gu:-l"
 (in those stones which are
 written on, buried in the
 ground, dug out and read)

post
 position
 "l"
 = in

verbal relatum
 "fiya-r-ek" /57/
 = is there

This nominal ~~adjective~~ relatum
 is an adjunct of 3 members:-

<u>1st member</u>	<u>2nd member</u>	<u>3rd member</u>
"man" = those	"kid" = stone	this is a plural conjunct

<u>base</u>	<u>formative</u>
This is a conjunct	"gu:" (plural suffix)

<u>base</u>	<u>formative</u>
This is a verbal adjunct of the following members	"innan"

- 1) "kuña-fi:-n = buried
- 2) "dukk" = dug
- 3) "ekkiṛ" = brought
- 4) "gery" = read

This verbal adjunct is a second member of another verbal adjunct linked by "ta:n", the first member of which is "fa:ya-fi:-n" (= written).

LIST OF VOCABULARY.

abd	=	to worship	da:r	=	to be, to think, to walk.
a:dam	=	man	dawwn	=	big, old
a:g	=	to stay, to sit.	de:n	=	to give (1st pers: sing: & plural)
aman	=	water	dije	=	five
amantir	=	to show	dime	=	ten
arabai:n	=	forty	do	=	place (suffix)
aro	=	twenty	do:ro	=	because, the top
ased	=	straw	du:du:	=	baby
asil	=	origin	dumm	=	to catch
asil-la	=	in fact	dumm	=	to burn
assar	=	child	jamman	=	together
a:w	=	to make	jelew	=	to wash
awwo	=	inside	jelli	=	work
ay	=	I	ju:	=	to go
ba:d	=	after	ed	=	to take, to marry
bahar	=	river	edd	=	hand
bale:,	=	wedding ceremony.	ekkir	=	bring
bang	=	a youth	e:n	=	woman
baññ	=	to talk	erig	=	to lead
bardu	=	also	erki	=	town, village, country
daha	=	mid-morning	esk	=	to be able to
dan	=	with			
daññ	=	to push			

fa1	=	to go out	issig	=	to ask
fa:r	=	old	kab/	=	to snatch
fedd	=	to beg, to pray	ka:gar	=	container
fenti	=	date	kaka:	=	incense
firg	=	to want, to need	kalo	=	north
garra:bki	=	nearness	kan	=	when
giswar	=	chaff of wheat	kand	=	to wrap
guddo	=	in the earth (a realisation of "gur" "do")	kaww	=	to open
gu:n	=	to look into	kede	=	some
gur	=	ground	ke:l-la	=	at the limit of
guru:b	=	a mixture	ken	=	it, with which, under which
gasko	=	in the middle of	ke:r	=	to climb up
icci	=	another	kir	=	to come
i:d	=	to send	ko	=	owner of, friend
ide:n	=	woman	kocci	=	top
i:g	=	to say	konte	=	straw
ille	=	wheat	kon	=	face
ille:nurti	=	wheat flour	kucc	=	to swim, to wash oneself
in	=	this	kudu:d	=	young, little
ingir	=	to do in this way	kup	=	to bury
irbir	=	to know	ku:se	=	some sort of grain
irn	=	to wait, guard	la:kin	=	towards, but
issa:gka	=	now	mala:ykanci:	=	angels

malle	=	all	seme	=	candle
man	=	that	so:b	=	distant past
marra	=	time	ta/aleya ha:la	=	it seems
masa	=	sun	tar	=	he, that
mangir	=	to do like that	tere	=	some
mangir	=	to tell, let do	teno	=	west
matto	=	south	ti:	=	cow
men	=	to be (copula)	ti:g	=	to sit
menj	=	to stand	tir	=	to give (2nd and 3rd pers: sing: and plural)
midd	=	to fill	to: ^r re	=	to enter
mina:y	=	why, how	tu:	=	stomach, inside
nas	=	long, tall	tukkir	=	to beat
nog	=	to go	ulbid	=	a sort of bread made of dates and wheat.
no:g	=	house	udir	=	to put in
okk	=	to put, to load	ug	=	day, age
o:mir	=	to count	ulu/m	=	crocodile
orki	=	cold	une:	=	brain
se:w	=	to inherit	une:-gatti	=	intelligent
sigir	=	boat	uni	=	ours
si:w	=	sand	unn	=	to give birth
sokk	=	to lift	uskir	=	to put
sakk	=	to stick in	umuska:r	=	midwife
sa:ddo	=	outside			

usu:n	=	now, when
was:ha	=	dirt
wa:y	=	to fly away, flee
wagit	=	time
we	=	one
wi:d	=	to go back
wi:da	=	then
wilid	=	boy
wi:rk	=	to throw away

SECTION II.

TRANSLATED TEXTS.

	Page
halfa	Ali Ahmed of Dabaroosa. 301
arti:-gu:-l nuwwe	Mohamamad Hassan Abdel Mageed of Halfa Digaim. 307
no:g illin	Abras Ayoub of Ishkade. 311
mahkama-nci: so:b-kinni-gu ...	Fathy Seedi Deheb of Ishkade. 315
unne	Ali Turfa of Ishkade. 317
bale:-nci: llin	Si:di Ahmed Oya 321
diya llin	Ali Turfa of Ishkade. 325
misse: go:n kore: go:n nin ...	Abras Ayoub of Ishkade. 331
tossi	Abras Ayoub of Ishkade. 335
aman ba:bu:r	Abras Ayoub of Ishkade. 341
fenti: llin	Abras Ayoub of Ishkade. 345
u:-gu: masri:-gu:-n a:nji: ...	Mohamed Shaykhon of Ishkade. 353
nubi:n nin	Shawky Suliman of Dabaroosa. 355
nu:bi masir-r a:g-i-kku: la:kini	Fathy Seedi Deheb of Ishkade 357
nubi:n kulle r an-ni	Abras Ayoub of Ishkade. 359

'halfa

el'gon we:-kka 'bañni-mi:n a:ni:, uhu:n in esm-in 'hikkir
kis-si:n-ga na:-nnan-ga 'hirc-ur. 'marra we:-kka, a:dam
'sinn-il dawwu ha:lis e: ddan a:g-in 'ta:ni, issig-is.

"mini:n do:r in irk-un-ga 'halfa yi-ssan".

tar 'wi:d i:ga-de:n-on

"walla:hi ya: anga 'to:, ay gon okk ingir ir'bum-mun.
la:ki:ni:, ann-u'yi, ay elgon kudu: to:d a 'mell i:ni,
eskiri: we:-kku: ddan a:g-in ta:n a:g-i:ga-tic-c-on,
tann-uy 'dog' ukkis-s aya. "semen gadi:mi-la, in
irk-u:-n agar malle yi:, hambarte: log, 'midda-fi:-n"
ey-on. (hambarte:) goni:, ara:b-iri (halfa) i:g-innan.
irk-u:n gon adi 'ur-i:n a:g-nal-e llin, teno gon matto
gon 'nog, jebel-i: 'log koffa-fi:-n. 'ardin-g 'alag koni:,
ara:bi 'log (wa:di) y-innan. in-i:n do:ro goni:, in
irki-g (wa:di halfa) y-innan. in 'u:n ukkis-si:n 'nin
'helbatin aley a, 'helbatin gon marja: r a, 'no:r irbe-n".
in-g 'i:g-o:-de:s-sin ba:d-ta, 'bañña-de:n-on.

"in irki ge'di:mi-la ye:ni futu:h-in gabil-la, irki
kudu: tered a'men-on. in 'su:g ha:dir-n agari:, 'hala y
a men-on. dukka:n uwo tusko:, no:g-iri: geli:l
e:-kku: gon, 'menji-san. ay jill-ir kudu:d to:n a
'mell-u:-ni:, duhur 'ge:l-k i:d-ec-ci kawwani: ha:ja
y e:-kka ju: ekk-ac-c-an ay 'i:g kawwani, waraw-i:d su:d
logo, kitti-g 'agi-ll acc-eda, 'gur-in ja:g-ki 'logo, 'ju:

(1)

Halfa.

Before saying a word, we want to see how this name came to be used. Once, when I was sitting with a very old man I asked him -

"Why is this town of ours called Halfa?".

He told me -

"Indeed brother I do not know, but when I was young my grandfather was sitting with some guests and told them that he had heard his grandfather saying that long ago our town was full of weeds, which the Arabs call "halfa". Moreover, our town is, as you see, shut in by mountains, to the east and west. Such a place is called in Arabic "wa:di". For this reason the town is called "Wa:di Halfa". This is what we have heard. Perhaps it is right, perhaps wrong. God knows!"

After he had said this, he continued, "In the past, before the invasion, this was a small village. This market-place was empty except for two or three shops and a few houses."

I remember that when we were young and were sent to fetch something, we used to catch the tail of our garment between our teeth running all the way coming and going for fear of the "gu:r".

kac-ci-kes-su. amma la:kin futu:h-in 'ba:d-ta, a:dam
 'diyyi weyi:, 'de:s-k erg-eda kira, indo 'ti:g-ji-san.
 ti:g-o:j-ja goni:, dukka:n-i:-g kawwira, no:g-ri:-g
 goñ-ja, kuðu: tere kudu: tere 'llogo, irki dawwu-raña:,
 a:dam 'diyy-aña:, ir-i:n a:ga-nal-e 'ha:l-añ-on.

'irki-n kawwa, dunya-n 'kudd-o:s-si:n 'ba:d toni,
 huku:ma sikka hadi:d-ta 'midda, 'dawwi:-g kaww-ec-ca,
 'irki:-gu:-g we:r we: ddan deg-ec-c-on. in'nog safar
 okka gon 'sa:hel-añ-o:s-oni:, a:dam-iri: diyyi weyi:,
 'irk irki-gu-l 'to:ni, 'kir in irki-l 'ti:g-ji-san.
 huku:ma wi:da, irki-g ašri:-kid-dill eya:, ha:ja
 'diyyi ha:lis e:-kk a:w-on, madrasa:-gu:-g goñ-ja,
 ša:ra-in'ci:-g 'nassim-ja, jene:na-ñci:-g a:wa:, irk
 ašri we:-rañ-o:s-on".

"in irki-l goni:, kull agar-ra 'to:n a:dam-iri:
 da:c-c-innan, šami:-guyi:. giri:gi:-guyi:,
 gibti:-guyi:, sei:di:-guyi:, uswalli-nci:yi, la:ki:n
 irki-n 'no:r-kuyi: nubi:-gu: llin. malle-raña goni:,
 ašri: 'to:d-ta wer we: ddan 'a:g-innan.bessi ta, in
 na:di:-gu:-n 'kawwi-si:n 'ba:d-ta, ko:ra-n 'batar rogo,
 baññid diyyi ha:lis xxxxx wer we: ten-ni 'fakki-l
 temelli-g hasl-in.

'halfa goni:, 'markas okka gon dawwu we: r a.
 in-i:n gabil-la gon mudi:riyya y a men-on. 'haddi-tan
 goni:, oro 'la:kin go:n "abu fa:tma" llin, kalo
 'la:kin go:n "faras" illin. 'nassi-ki tan-niyi

But after the invasion, many people followed the army and settled here. They opened shops and built houses and little by little the town and the population grew and became what you see now.

After the invasion of the country when everything became quiet, the government built railways, opened roads and connected towns in this way. Consequently travel grew easier and people from different villages came and stayed in this town. The government, in order to improve the town, did many good things: built schools, planned streets and opened gardens.

To this town came people from all places, Syrians, Greeks, Copts, Southern Egyptians and people from Aswan, but the people to whom the town belongs are the Nubians. They all live happily together except for the fact that, now that clubs have been opened and they play football, there are often disputes.

Halfa is moreover a very big administrative division. It used to be a provincial town. Its boundary extends south to Abo Fatina and north to Faras, a distance of

tultumi:t ke:lu:-g'alaga. in masa:fa malle-la'goni:,
 irki'halfa-g alag da:m-mun, 'dawwu-kki-la, ni'sa:m-tan-na:.
 a:dam-iri: ten-ni malle kkoni:, 'oddi we:-kka
 weyyi-ke:-nnan-ga'firgi kawwani:, bu'da: we:-kka
 ja:n-innan-ga'firgi kawwani:, walla masiri:, har'tu:m
 la:kin safar-innan-ga'hirgi kawwani:, halfa'la:kin
 kac-c-innan. ik'kon a:ga-na:-nam tar-i:na:ne, bahar-in
 kocc-il'menj-e-kka. in-i:n do:ro goni:, ba:bu:r sikk e
 lli weyi:, indo'gon, sella:l kon'uwwo-n fakk-il, 'ju
 kac-c-innan. bu'da: 'okka gon diyyi weyi halfa-l'to:n,
 'sukk-in massir ra:kini.

in'harub'ju-o-lla to:n 'goni:, a:dam'bagidi:,
 songir'diyyi we:-kka el-ec-ca, no:g-iri:-n goñe-lla
 'nadda-fi:-jj-innan. agar'fa:di y a men-o'diyyi we:
 kkoni:, issa:g-ka no:g-iri: as'ri we:-kku: llog'midd-o:j-
 j-innan. in-i:n do:ro gon ay a:g-i:g-ir, 'halfa yi:,
 muş'bas ta:, irki'go:b-kinni we: r a-ummun, 'bardu esk
 irki'miri we: r a ya gon'i:g-ur.

ha:to'sayb elgon irk-u:n ay'in indo to:ni, u:-ni
 kelliya:, u-i:n malle-raña, ayi-ll'udra, 'jelli
 fa:yda-ko: 'su:d-ta, id e'de:n-aña, dawwu kudu:d-aña,
 u-i:n a:w-e llin, in'nekin gon irki-g as'ri:-n'eya,
 a:dam-iri:-g u:-ni-g mas log'i:g-an aya. 'no:r kon
 mas to: dda'n'da:r-in.

about 300 kilo-metres. In all this region there is no town to compare with Halfa in size or order. People of all other villages come to Halfa when they want to cure an illness, buy goods or go to Egypt or Khartoum. As you see it stands by the river and many boats travel between Halfa and Shellal. Many goods are sent to Egypt via Halfa.

After the last war some people made a great deal of money and were keen on building houses. The places that once were empty are now full of good houses. For this reason I can say that Halfa is not only an old town, but a modern one as well.

At any rate we have a duty to our town; all of us, man, woman, big and small, that is, to take it to our hearts and to do useful work to improve it, and let people praise our effort. May God bless us!

arti:-gu:-l nuwwe.

'marra we:-kka, 'enga gorjo kolod-aña, aña:-n 'ba:d e:-kka
 'jamma ti:g-o:j-j a:ga-farr-in ta:n 'baññ-us. 'ummil
 detta jamma sigr e:-kk 'ajjir okk-o:j-ja, ingir or rekin
 ya: 'kal leken 'fac-ca kok kawwoga, f-añri:-ñ-kum-mi.
 'ag e:-la to:n fal-on 'nakira, 'jamma 'baññ-us "ummil
 fa-kumma kumm-añ-on." tar agar to:d-u:n-na a:g-j-in
 ta:ni, ur-un-ga degis-su, urrag jama:-l 'sirig rog oro-n
 arti:-gu:-l ha-ju:-ru ya.

hami:s 'dohor-ra u:-l 'to:ni, kemso su:g-il sugil-i-
 kku: kaba 'kko:n furu:ta go:n, in 'go:n, man 'go:n, nabis
 dime-g fa-witte: tusko-g kab-k-e:-kka detta bitta sibr
 e:-lla middi-kir-ec-ca, sigir 'ko:n dumma, no:g-iri:-n
 tawwo-kir 'beyyit ey i:g-o:t-tira. 'or ranga-fi:-jj-in
 ta:n 'go:n, 'telj-in tarti:b-p a:w-o:sa, teme-kku: ddo
 to:n go:n, eged-in kalis e:-kka ja:n-eda, wi:da
 wallo-kkin sira:ya-g, maña 'war-mi:n ini:, u:,
 'kirr-u:ni, go'jir-u:ni:, 'telj-u:ni:, ira:dyu:i:,
 enna:ha:ytu man u-i:n wi:l-in to:n jammi-kis-si:n
 ha:ja malle-kka sigir-ra 'suk-kec-ca, sigr-u:n-ga oro
 lla:kin 'ku:s-o:s-us.

maña-n 'ña:rt e: kelli-kka, do:r rang-e-n 'kelli-la,
 sigiri:, tu:g-n 'añri y a mes-si:n 'nogo:, nob-in
 a:rti-g 'duww-on.

'sigir-un-g degir-o:sa, kirr-un malle-kka 'degec-ca, ju:,
 'ambi to:de:n we:-n 'tawwo uskec-ca, 'sijja:da-nci:

(2)

An afternoon in the Islands.

Once upon a time, we, six or seven friends, were sitting together talking after supper. We said "Would it not be pleasant if we were to gather and get a boat to go South or North". In one voice we said "Would it not be a tale to tell!" In the very place in which we were sitting we made up our minds to go to the islands of the South, by boat, on the following Friday.

Thursday, at noon, the four of us who work at Halfa filled a basket with food, tins of fruit, this and that, enough for three meals for ten people. We also got a boat and asked for it to be brought down by the houses for the night. On the way South we made arrangements for the purchase of ice and from neighbours we bought a young sheep. Then, early in the morning before sunrise, with our luggage, our sheep to kill, our ice, a radio and, in a word, all that we had gathered the day before, we boarded the boat (let down into the boat). We untied the boat and went South.

By the time that the sun had risen as high as a spear in the sky, the boat with a good wind had arrived at the islands of Nubia.

We moored our boat, collected all our things, put them underneath an Ambi tree of many trunks, spread the carpets

u-i:n 'ka:g-j-e-kku:-g awwir-^o:j-j-a, yalla, 'guwwari:-n
 no:g-iri: 'nagira:, kulli 'wa:hid jell e:-la 'kutta-menj-on.
 bagid go'jir-ka goja, 'fottir arij-ca, 'jehhis-on. bagid,
 'halla-nci:-g 'jelewa, 'fili-kka se:r uskir-on. bagid
 gir'ba-ga aman nog middi-kir ork ey 'ollir-on. bagid
 fatu:r-ka tu:m go:n, mirabba go:n nog 'haddir-on.
 fatu:r kab-^oeda, gada:-n i^oda:m go:n a:w uskir-o:sa
 i^ora:dyo 'dawwir-o:sa:, fa-'n-i:-ku: go:n 'ni:-n ta:n ke:r
 arag-in ta:n ti:g-o:šsan. 'o:n fa-ni:-mi:n-i-kku 'go:n,
 bagid 'ten-ni go:n ke:r-e-kka 'ukke:-n ta:n a:g-n-i:-kku:
 dan ti:g-^ošsan. bagid 'to:n kemera-nci: 'ten-ni-gu:-g
 enn-^oec-ca:, 'šella:l-i:-n kocci-la, agar ašri: ašri:-l
 we:r we:-kka 'sawwir-j-in ta:n 'giri:d-o:šsan.

gada:-n wagt-in kis-^osi:n ke:l-la, malle detta jamma
 gada:-g kab-^oeda, 'maša-n kede-kk 'ork-if fa:min,
 nuw'wa-fi:-jja-tira, kutta 'jamma-n arti firra-fi:-kka
 giri:d a:ga-gušna, 'jamma su:ra kemso deje:-kka
 'dummi-ja. šella:l-i:-n kid-tu:-n 'kocci-lla, a:ga-burja:s-k
 'enna, kiñña-ji-san 'ke:l-la.

'wi:da-kir agar to:d 'ten-ni-l ti:g-o:j-ja, 'asr-in ša:y-g
 okkir 'niy-eda, kutta 'kirri-g detta, sigir-r 'okkec-ca,
 sigir-ka 'kus-eda, i^ora:dyo: 'log winnis-dakk-in ta:ni:,
 a:rt a:rti-gu:-l a:ga-giri:da, maša-n 'to:r-ti-n
 gerrib-o:s-si:n 'ke:l-la, irki-g 'ti:r wi:d-san.

and presto! like a nest of ants everybody got down to his work. Some killed the sheep, skinned the meat and prepared it: some washed the pans, chopped the onions and put them on: some filled the water bags to cool; others prepared a breakfast of the offal. Having eaten breakfast we put the lunch to cook and turned on the radio. Those who drink, started to drink, sing and dance. Some of those who do not drink sat with those who were drinking listening to the singing. Others took their cameras and wandered, taking photographs of one place after another from the top of the cataracts.

When lunch time came all gathered together, ate the meal and slept until the sun grew somewhat cooler, and then they arose, wandered, looking around all the islands, and took group photographs, and on the stones of the cataracts, played "burgas" until they were tired.

Then they returned to their places and sat, put on the afternoon tea, and having drunk it, collected their belongings, put them in the boat and set sail, while being entertained by the radio, wandering from one island to the other, until sunset approached and they returned to the village.

'no:g illin.

no:g-iri: 'so:b-ini:, o:da noro:d tu:n a 'mes-san,
 'in irki-la. u:n u:-gu: ter-ko: tu:ni:, we:r 'we:-kka
 sa:yda 'goñ-kes-san ay 'baññ-innan. bagid 'ten-ni l
 elgon gon 'menj-innan, in 'aman tossi sene: dej-in
 'gabil-la kir-o-n tu:-la. hatar arki-g kaša hammir
 • kušša-fi:-n 'mug-kes-sani, 'si:tti-g tad dan 'udac-c-an,
 tar-i:n 'ba:d-ta 'ken goñ-all eya. ay 'ma:ñ-an nog
 'nas-s, o:da 'so:b-kinni we:-kk aman tu:-l 'kidda-fi:-n
 ta:n 'fo:g-kum-mi:n-in.

issa:gi-nni no:g-iri: u:-ni-guyi:, dawwu wesey a
 'men-nan, ya:ni jensi:r we:-rañ-in 'kulli no:gi.
 'arki-l to:n banna-nci: goñ-innan, 'si:w-ga tad dan
 gorb-ec-can. la:ki:n wala: 'si:tti-ga wala: 'icci-kka,
 'udir kušši-kir-min-nan, 'so:b-kinni-gu: nagittan.
 'ho:š-in tu:-g gasko to:n dawwu-kir mug-o:sa o:da-
 nci:-g 'jenbi-l kekki-j-innan. do:ro-n 'ke:l log
 diwa:ni 'go:n ha:sil-tan 'gon-g a:w-innan. in 'uwwo l
 u: ddog muhimm a men-nan, ayla 'we:-kka daru:ra-n
 'watti-ga esk enn-ed-innan 'nogo. 'jenbi kalo-l bagid
 l o:da uwwo-g kekki-ja, tal-la 'to:n we: kkon
 'de:wissa-rañ-in, uwwo-tti gon ha:sil-añ-in, 'nurti:,
 kab-innan 'icciyi:, ken kab-innan 'kirri:-g in-g
 alag uskid-dill eya. tawwo-n saffa-l o:da we:
 dehri:s we: l 'a:w-dañ-in. deheri:s-in tu:-l gon

(3)

The House.

In this village, long ago, houses were no more than small rooms. It is said that our grandfathers helped each other to build their houses. Some of these houses withstood the flood of five years ago. The secret being that they kneaded the clay, mixed it with bits of straw, left it to swell, and then used it for building. I saw with my own eyes one of these rooms in the middle of the water and it did not collapse.

The houses of to-day are big and spacious, that is one "jensir" for each. The builders use mud mixed with sand but do not mix it with bits of straw or with anything else, nor leave it to swell as they did in the past. A big courtyard is left in the middle and rooms are built around it. On the eastern side they build a main room and one adjoining it. These two are very important to us, because when necessary they can hold a whole family. On the northern side some build two rooms, one of which is the kitchen, the other is a store-room in which to keep flour, food, and the implements for eating. In the west, a room and a little yard are made.

bowwa:ba to:r-in. oro-n saffa log wi:da:, mandara
 to:r-in. 'ba:b-tan gon in deheri:s-in tu:-l kalo-g
 'gu:ña menj-in. sebba:k kemso dij-c'alag kon
 'udir-te:-nnan, do:ro-tan no gon mandara-n ha:sil
 menj-in. ba:b-tan mandara-n tu:-g ti:r'kaww-in
 i:n. in ha:sil-in do:r ro baranda kuɗu:d tere
 menj-in gu:tti:-g tal-la menj'ec-c-all eya
 'no:g bagid mandara-g tawwo log 'kun-in, bagid 'to:n
 kalo logo, kulli wa:hed tan 'firge-n na 'rasm-ila.
 ingir goñ-daɗa timm-o:k kani, 'dugs-innan 'fenti-n
 jeri:d 'logo, 'umbu:-ga ya: miri:no:-ga. dambi-l
 middi-j-innan ba:d-ta jeri:d-ta wer we: dɗan uruss-
 'innan, silikki yi:, ya:, ambi karda:w log
 dege:-nnan. in-i:n 'ba:d-t id 'kass-i-kk ekkir
 kass-innan ʒa: r'awwo-ga. bowwa:ba-l wi:da
 jenbi: log arki-g ʒa:-kka ti:r menjira resm-innan,
 'ulum-ga, 'esed-ta:, id se:fa 'sokka ka:g-i-kka
 adi:-n-g alag-ka. kubba:ya-n tabag siya:d'an-ini
 kkon kolli-ke:-nnan, in'sa:m log hataɓa-nci:-la.
 'awwo diwa:n-in tu: gon 'bardu nagriɗ-innan 'arki log
 eresma:, 'lo:n nulu yi: ge:l log 'seyyiga.

la:ki:n issa:g-ka bagid l in-ga 'battil-o:sa,
 ta'sa:da-kir mug-innan 'kass-o:sa. fa:jin kid
 'log goñ-innan-na gon to:r-j-esɗan 'esk-i-kku yi.

no:g'iri: l indo 'diyy a men-nan. a:yla bagid
 'to:n no:g'uwwo tusko-g 'kun-in.

A gate leads into the yard. On the southern side, a sitting-room is built. It has a door between it and the yard, which faces north. Some four or five windows are also built in it. The adjacent room is east of the sitting room and there is a door between them. On the east a small verandah is built for the housing of water-jars. Some houses have the sitting-room on the west and some on the north, according to the plan chosen. When it is completely built the roof is made of palm tree trunks or planks and filled in with palm tree branches tied to each other by wire or by strips of bark from the "ambi" tree. After this the plasterer is brought and plasters the house inside and out. On the main gate he carves such things as a crocodile, a lion, or a man brandishing a sword. Odd saucers are stuck in a pattern at the front gate. The main rooms are also decorated with carvings in the mud and white and red wash.

Nowadays some people have stopped this practice, and prefer plain plaster. Those who can afford it use stone.

Houses here are plentiful. One family may own two or three.

mahkama-nci: 'šo:b-kinni-gu

'šo:b-kinni-n mahkama-nci:, issa:g-kinni-g alag-a
 'men-kum-mun. we:-'kku l on ermenyi-j kawwani:,
 a:dam une:-'gatti we-kku: masa-kac-c'all ey
 fakki-ten-ni-l 'to:c-c-innan. ter on 'ten-ni-g ukkir
 mas-ay-me:n kawwani, mahkama-g'ay gebi:la-nci:-n
 dawwu-ri: limm-'o:j-j-a, kull we:-n du:t-ta baññid-in
 no:r-ku:-l to:ni, tan-ni-g baññ eya,'ša:had-i:-ni:
 gon ukkir-ec-ca,'tel-la to:n ha:ti:-g hokma-te:-nnan.
 hokom 'ten-ni goni, 'urfi-l to:ni, ya: beled-in a:da:-l
 to:n 'dumma-fi:-n. in hokom-g ukki-mmi:n'-i kkon, a:dam
 malle ga:te:-nnan. ide:n uwwo ll on bişş'iññi-j kawwani,
 'tel-la to:n diyyi-kka bişş-olla to:n, geli:l-ni-g
 'bişşa-te:-nnan.

la:ki:n issa:g-ka mahkama lgarawiyya-g aya,
 umda go:n še:h-i:'go:n, nafar 'kemso go:n-ana
 limm-'o:j-ja, nala-'tic-c-innan, baññid-i:, ding-in
 'no:r-ku:-ga dingi ll on dawwu-n kan goni, merkesi-l
 i:'dac-c-innan. 'bardu hokom 'ten-ni-g 'ukki-mmi:n-i kkoni
 merkersi-l i:'de:-nnan. in hokom 'ten-ni goni,
 baññid-in no:r-ku-'ni-g 'ukkir-ec-ci kawwani:,
 ša:had-i:-ni ddani wer 'we:-kka ša:wira,uruf logo ya:
 a:da beled-ni logo,'hokm-innan. la:ki:n wagt
 'diyyi to:d-ta sulhi-kac-c-innan.

(4)

The Law Courts of the Past.

The law courts of the past were not like those of to-day. When people quarrelled some wise men would intervene and put things right. If this proved impossible they used to summon a court representing the big families, and after each party had told his case and been heard they pronounced judgement against the wrong doer, the verdict being drawn from the customs and traditions of the village. If either of the disputants refused to accept the verdict, he was boy-cotted by everybody. When two women pulled out each others hair, and one had pulled out more, they balanced it by pulling out the same amount from hers.

To-day, we have what are called village courts. They are composed of the "umda" (the village chief) and the sheikhs (his assistants) and four other people who come together to look into such matters. If the point in dispute is serious they send those concerned to the central police station, as they do also with people who refuse to accept their judgement. The judgement^{is} pronounced after they have heard the disputants and the witnesses and have consulted with each other. Their verdict is also made according to the customs and traditions of the village, but in many cases they settle the matter peacefully.

(5)

'unne.

'ide:n sahar-ay-'o:k kan, iste:'da:d-tan-g a:'w-in.
 hamma:mi:, dir'badi:, go'jiri:, in-g alag-ka sey'ya:
 amma: ja:na: 'haddira menj-en. 'no:yi:, 'ja:si:, 'wilid
 du:du:-n 'kitti yi:, malle-kka haddir-in. wala:
 'jelli diyyi-kk a:wa ta:b-'dakku-mmun. tann-'e:ni: ya:
 te:r-tan-gu, a:wa-te:-nnan. tar on kagi 'llen goni:,
 tann-e:n no:g-il 'nog-in, sahar 'dukki kani. ta:jan 'kik
 kan goni:, 'fa:bi: ya: weyi:, ju: unu'skar-k o:gir
 'ekk-in. unuska:r 'kir goni:, tal le:sa:'hel a, tar
 unhi-ke:-n, tal 'le: ga:sy a heki:mi ddog 'eda
 ju-an aya. unn-'o:k kan goni:, tawwa:li-l 'wilid-ta
 aman nog 'kuccir-o:sa, 'ki:dir-o:sa, uske:-nnan angare:
 ddo. tann-'e:n gon bardu mo:l tan-na angare: ddo
 fiyy-in. naha:r-in tusko-tt-ay-os sa:min 'goni:,
 'wilid-t aman-ga jugra-kir uskir-o:sa sukka:r-ka
 udr-o:sa 'te:-nnan. tann-'e:n goni:, dir'bad-in marag-ka,
 'fent-in sorba go:n karom go:n-ga 'te:-nnan, kaba
 ku'du:d tere ddani. kolod-ay-is 'sa:mini wi:da
 tarabe:sa we:-kka, mo:l ten-'ni-l uskir-o:sa. kocci-
 tan-na sahan we:-kk okkir-o:sa, tu:-tan-na, imi:d
 'to:n, gidam gon gidamo:s-in 'tu:-la, bunni 'dessi-g
 ko:n, liba:n 'go:n, mare: 'go:n, 'fenti go:n-ga,
 'ude:-nnan, 'mañ go:n se:'ta:n go:n-na to:n wa:yin-j
 'eya. 'wilid-ta bismu:n so:-kka 'fa:y-eda-kir, edd

(5)

Birth.

As the month of the woman's confinement approaches she makes her preparations. She buys or breeds pigeons, chicken, a sheep to kill and so on and keeps them at hand. She has the child's clothes, the butter, paraffin and everything else ready. She does not do enough work to tire her. Her mother or a relation does that for her. If it is her first child, she goes to her mother's house at the beginning of the month. When labour starts the father or somebody else goes to bring the midwife. When she comes, if the delivery is easy, she attends to her. If it is difficult she tells them to take the mother to the doctor. As soon as the child is born they wash it with water, cover it, and lay it on a bed. His mother sleeps in a bed beside him. Until the third day, the baby is given hot sugar water. His mother is given chicken broth, stewed dates and karom seeds with a little bread.

On the seventh day they put a table beside her. On it is placed a plate in which there is salt, "gidam" in a gidam-pot, some green coffee, gum, some grains of maize and dates, in order to protect them from the devil and the evil eye. A charm is written and tied on the boy's two wrists.

uwwo-~~ɣ~~-a:r-ra degir-te:-nnan. a:dam-iri: gon
 kolod-a~~ɣ~~-os 'sa:mini, kir ba:rka-te:-nnan. wala:
 di'y-o-kka nal-o 'yi:, wala: bahar-k add-o yi: 'to:ra
 ju:-mun, mi'sahra-g ja:ga. ja:ma:-n tusk-itt-a~~ɣ~~-os
 'sa:min goni, teme-kkuyi:, karre:-g arra te:-nnan,
 hamma:m a 'yi-mmi:, dirba:d a 'yi-mmi:, kaba-kk
 'udra:, ingir a:wa te:-nnan. 'kolod-in tu:-l
 goni:, 'so:b-ini:, ter 'issi-g fejr kon megirib
 po:n-na, marra kolod-t 'u~~ʃ~~ir-tek-kes-san. owwal erre:
 'tan-na gon, sali:b-pa ken a:w-kes-san 'he:ti-la.
 ma~~ɣ~~-an gette: gon a:w-kes-san. kolod a-n kan 'goni:,
 kolod-ta 'goja, a:dam-iri:-g o:gir kab-kir-o:j-ja,
 taf-fa:b tani~~s~~-k 'udir te-n. 'in kolod-in tu:-l
 'goni:, unuska:r marra 'owwo-ga ya: 'tusko-ga, 'kir
 na:-n ide:n-ga. kolod-in na:ha:r koni:, kir 'wilid-
 na:ne, 'esim-ga duma musa: id haki:m-g a:wir te:-n
 'sejjil eya. u~~j~~ra-tan goni, songir 'ko:n sa:bu:n
 go:n urus go:na-kir 'dumm-in. sahar-in dukki kan
 goni:, wilid-t 'aman do bahar-r 'eda sukk-innan,
 ba:hu:r kon 'walleya ka:g-in ta:ni. arba'i:n ba:d-a~~ɣ~~-o:k
 kan 'goni:, wilid-ta tann-e:n 'sokk-eda saddo fa:-n
 'jelli-tan goni, a:w-in, awwal-in mu:jibi-la.

On the seventh day people come to congratulate her. Nobody who has seen a corpse or has crossed the river goes in, for fear of harming the woman. Until the third week, neighbours give her presents, pigeons, chicken or cooked food and so on.

On the seventh day at morning and evening, they bang two pieces of iron together seven times. With the baby's first excretion they used to draw a cross on the wall. They used, also to make "maşa-n gitte". On the seventh day, also, they kill the seventh day sheep and people are invited and fed and the father gives the child a name.

During the first week the midwife comes to see the mother two or three times and on the seventh day she takes the boy's name and gives it to the doctor's assistant to register. She takes her payment in money, soap and rice.

When the month begins they take the baby to the river carrying at the same time, burning incense. After the fortieth day, the mother of the baby goes out and does her work as usual.

(6)

'bale:-nci: llin.

awwal-in 'ke:l-ka we: ll'oni, buru: we:-kk'ed-innan-ga
 'firg-ok kani:, id'uwwo tusko-ga, buru:-n taf-fa:bi ddogo,
 aw tak-ka'ko:-gu: ddogo, 'i:dac-c-in. 'ju: kawwan goni,
 'i:ga-te:-nnan'ha:sil-ka. ingir fila:n fila:n to:di
 inn-as-ka 'firg-in aye. 'tal-la wi:da 'buru:-n fa:b l on
 gibl-o:k kani, 'he:n in ga:lla 'ey-in. o:n tar on 'firgi-
 me:n kan goni:, 'i:ga-tic-c-in, buru: firga-fi:-n aya.

'gibl-o:s-in 'ba:d to:ni, firgar-k'a:wir-o:t-tic-ca,
 'bale:-g a:w-i-ran-o:j-ja, jini: 'aro dij-ca 'buru:-n
 no:r-ku:-g tir'o:j-j-innan. in-i:n ba:d-ta wi:da,
 'habar-k a:dam'iri:-g i:ga-tic-c-innan, 'ten-na:ne
 fa-bale:-g a:w-e-kka. 'kutta wi:da o:gid-t o:s-innan,
 ide:n we: llogo in ide:n goni:, irki-l'a:g-in, in-g
 'alag-in do:ro. ajol 'we: kkon enn-o:t-te:-nnan.
 'in ajol-la goni:, gir'aro go:n, 'bina:ti: we:'kko:n,
 irri:ha-n gisa:s we: kko:n da:f-fi:ni. kutta 'sokk-eda
 fa:n, 'oro gon kalo go:n-na, enji:-g 'i:ga-tic-c-in
 'ta:ni fila:n kofare: dib wello dib-il'linn a:ni,
 'kac-c-an aya.

'ukkir-ed-innan 'ba:d-ini:, enji: 'wi:da kutta kossa
 'fac-c-innan, kofare: dib-ini: ari:s ko:n, aro'sa go:n,
 tek-ka'ko:-gu: ddogo 'karre:-nci kka:g-in ta:ni.
 ju: tir'o:j-ja goni a'sa-nci 'ten-ni-g kab'eda.
 kaba hal's-innan ba:d toni:, ari:s-ka kofare:-g

(6)

The Marriage.

When one wants to marry a girl one first of all sends two or three men to her father or relatives to talk the matter over with them. They say that so-and-so the son of so-and-so wants your girl. If the girl's father agrees he says "If God wills it all is well". If he does not he says that the girl is wanted.

If the matter is agreed upon, the man sends a wedding present and prepares for the marriage festival and gives £20 to her people, announces that there will be a wedding, and sends invitations by a woman who stays in the villages for such purposes. She carries a small wooden box in which there are ten piastres, a scarf and a bottle of perfume. She goes north and south telling women that the henna-night of so-and-so will be tomorrow. "Come along".

When they hear this all women go on the henna-night to the people of the bride and bridegroom, carrying presents. They eat the supper and then they spread a mat for the bridegroom to sit on and have his hands dyed with henna.

okkir-tir-all 'eya, 'biriḡ we:-kk awwe:-nnan. 'ari:s
 kir ti:g-o:k kan goni:, mo:l-tan-na, sahan we: r a,
 'ajol we:-kk 'uske:-nnan. 'in ajol-la goni:, kofare:
 'da:f-fi-n. 'sahan-na gon 'aman da:f-fi-n. 'enji: wi:da
 tak-ka 'halliga 'koff-eda, 'menj-innan, 'ke:ra-te:-n
 ta:ni, 'ḡongir-ka kadḡa 'sahan-n ude:-n 'ta:ni.
 ke:re 'ten-ni gon wi:da:, ik-k 'i:ga-tid-dill e:ni,
 'a:har rogo.

'bale: dib-in goni:, ide:n 'su:d-aḡa, 'oro go:n kalo
 go:n-na to:n detta 'jamma, 'ari:s-in no:g-il 'midd-o:j-ja,
 a:g-ke:r-innan a:g-arig-innan, ḡuyna l asr-aḡ-in.
 ogj-iri: go:n ḡal log kerre dawwu we da:f-fi:-ni,
 tal-la 'ti:g-j-innan. ḡay 'ten-ni-g baḡko:t log
 'ne:-jja. kutt 'ari:s-ka, id 'ede:n-aḡa 'siff-eda,
 aro:sa-n no:g-il 'ju:-nnan. aḡa: ten-ni-g kab-eda,
 'ari:s-ka kutt 'awwo ude:-nnan. hataḡa-l wi:da,
 aro:sa-n tan-ne:ni, solta:hiyya we:-lla su: go:n
 no:y go:n-ga goḡbac-ca, 'menj-in. 'ari:s wi:da,
 solta:hiyya-l to:n kede-kka 'ne:-jj-i kani, tad dan
 gon 'sa:hab-i: tan-gu: 'dukka ni:-nnan, sulta:niyya-l
 to:n, kiḡ-o kkoni, aro:sa ddog a:we:-nnan.
 'ari:s wi:da, tar-ko: to:d-aḡa, 'awwo ha:sil-la to:ra
 jua, aro:sa-n mo:l-la jenbi 'logo, kede-kka jigsa
 tad dan 'ti:ga, digi:ga dime-g alag-ka, ya: dime
 dij-c 'alag-ka. ti:g-eda kutta ju: angre:-do
 ti:g-o:k kani, a:dam-iri: ju: bark-o:t-tira dec-c-innan.

Beside him are placed a dish and a small wooden box. In the box there is henna, and in the dish there is water. Women stand in a circle around him, singing and throwing money into the dish. I shall tell you about their singing afterwards.

On the eve of the marriage, all women from north and south gather, filling the house of the bridegroom, singing and dancing until the middle of the afternoon. Men stay outside in a big straw hut drinking tea and eating biscuits. Then all of them, men and women, make a procession to take the bridegroom to the bride's house. Having had their evening meal the groom goes inside. On the doorstep the bride's mother holds a mug full of milk and butter mixed together. When the groom drinks a little of it his friends snatch it away and drink some. What remains is taken to the bride. The bridegroom enters the room and sits near the bride for about ten or fifteen minutes and then goes out and sits on the bed receiving congratulations from people who file past him.

diya llin.

u: 'ddogo:, 'odd-i-kka temelli:-ga ta-ka 'ko:-gu yi:,
 'irna sokk uskira 'gowitta: nan-nan sowarti-n fad-dill
 ay kan 'goni:, eska ya:si:n-ga gery-i we:yi:, gerya
 tira saha:da-g o:g-innan-ga 'leggin-in. sowa:rti fal-o:k
 kan goni:, ide:n we yi:, 'sa:ddo jua: tel le: 'duww a:
 'jaww-in tal le: kurked a, 'wi:g-in. in-i:n 'ba:d-ta wi:da,
 'kitti tan-g o:s-ja-'tira, kofare:-g ka:ba jitta tan-ga
 kusma-te:-nnan, 'id a ogjiri:yi:, ide:n a 'enji:.
 wi:da gata: log koffi-kir-o:sa 'goni:, te:r-tan-gu:-l
 to:ni:, a:g-mi:n-i ll on da:k 'kani:, 'o:ge:-nnan. ten
 'kac-c-os sa:min 'goni:, a:dam 'we:-kk i:dira, 'kossi:-g
 fenti tan-ni-l to:n 'mer-eda kac-c-innan. 'mer-eda kik
 kan 'goni:, angare: ddo 'ba:s okkac-c-innan. aman 'gon
 jogra-kir-o:sa, 'li:f ko:n sa:bu:n gon-g 'ekkir
 te:r-ayi:-tan-guyi:, 'diy-o-kka 'sokka jari:d-il
 angare:-n 'kocci-l okkir-o:sa, angare:-n tawwo goddo-g
 'find-o:sa, 'jelew-innan. ogj-iri: sa: 'llog 'kac-c-i-kku
 goni:, birsi-g awwir-o:j-ja, 'tugur-ka 'nic-c-innan.
 enji: gon 'diy-o lle 'duww a, jaww-in 'ta:ni, diy-o
 'lley 'ja:hal a, wi:g-in 'ta:n, 'no:y-o:j-ja mard-in ta:ni,
 'kac-c-innan. diy-o-n agar-in 'mo:la-n kawwani, 'hussan
 wi:ga ya: jaww-in 'ta:ni, tal 'le: 'wirra, 'watti we:
 'watti we: ddo, wi:ga: amma 'jaww-in ta:n 'kac-c-innan.
 'o:n tar on ide:na-n kan 'goni:, 'a:dam we:-kk i:dir

(7)

Death.

In our village the relations of the sick man look after him, sit him up and lie him down, feed him and tend to his wants. When his soul is departing, somebody who can read "yasin" reads it to him and reminds him of the Islamic creed. When he dies a woman goes outside and if he is old she screams and if he is young she wails. After this they take his clothes off, mix henna and rub his body with it. If it is a man, men do this, if a woman, women. Then they spread a cover over him. If one of his relatives is not present they send for him. Meanwhile somebody is sent to cut some branches from a palm tree that belonged to the dead man. Then they strip them and put them on a bed. They heat water, bring soap and a loofah, lift the dead man on the bed, dig a hole under it and wash him. The men who have gathered outside spread mats and sit, sewing the shroud. Women come screaming if the dead person is old, if young, wailing, putting ashes on their heads and singing dirges. When they approach the house they scream or wail all the time, but when they are still far from it they wail now and then.

If the dead person is a woman a man is sent

'kossi-g sa:b ekkira, 'korondi-g a:wa-te:-nnan. in
 korondi'goni:, fent-in galle:-g ekkir agar'tusko
 llog ogo:d kira, 'liffi-kir eda jua:, agar'ta:ni'log,
 angare: ddan de'ge:-nnan. de'gir-o:sa goni:, mela:ya
 'uwwo llog ki:'dir-o:sa, angare:-g 'sokk-eda jua,
 'no:g-in tu:-l uskir-o:sa, tugur-ka edjua, 'udir-te:-nnan.
 iri:ha gon 'tugur-ra missa-te:-nnan.

'id a-n kan gon mila:ya we: 'log 'kand-o:sa
 sijja:da we ddo ya: 'biriŋ we: ddo, angare:-n'kocci-l
 ukkir-o:sa, fa:tha-g giry-o:t-tira, 'sokk-eda
 'fac-c-innan. 'sokk-eda facci kawwan goni:, enji:
 malle yi:, 'kutta menj-innan. tal le: 'duww a
 'ja:w-innan, tal-le: 'kurked a, 'wi:g-innan. 'sa:ddo ju:
 kawwan goni:, odj'iri: saddo a:g-ji-'kkuyi:, 'kutta
 menja-te:-nnan. menj-in 'ta:n goni:, fa:tha-g
 gerya-te:-nnan. gery-o:t-tir goni:, a:dam-'iri:-g
 i:dac-c-innan; bagid to:n torba-g find eya, bagid
 'toni:, 'kid-ta sukkir eya, torba-g find-o:k kawwan goni,
 jana:sa-g sall-o:t-tira, 'ju: kuñe:-nnan. kuñnir-o:sa
 goni:, fa:tha-g tir-o:sa 'gabr-in kocci-la. 'diy-o-n
 tak-ka 'ko:-gu: ddani:, 'taff-o:sa, diy-o-n 'no:g-il
 lefta 'ju:-nnan. 'ju: goni:, 'kerri-g ude:-nnan, 'koyyi,
 'solonti, 'alli-g ekkira. 'kerri-g udr-o:sa 'goni, yo:m
 dij-ça ya: 'kolod-ta 'ti:g-j-innan. in naha:r kolod-in
 masru:f koni:, tegri:ban-na teme-'kku: l o:s-innan,
 kaba r a 'yi-mmi:, sa:ya 'yi-mmi:, 'in-g alag-ka.

to cut and bring palm branches to make a little canopy by standing three of them vertically, bending them and fastening them to the other side. They cover them with two bed-spreads, lift the bed, go into the house and bring the shroud and cover her. They also spray the shroud with perfume.

If the dead person is a man, they wrap him in one sheet and place him on a mat or rug which has been already spread on the bed. They read the "fatha", lift him and go. Then, all the women stand up and scream or wail. The men outside stand up for the bier, reading the "fatha". Some people are sent to dig the grave, others to collect stone with which to line it. Then they say the funeral service, bury him, read the "fatha" over the grave, and console the relatives of the dead man. They turn back to the house, bring wood, woven mats and ropes and erect a large shelter, and stay in it for five or seven days. Nearly all the expenses of these days are ^{met} ~~taken~~ by the neighbours, in the form of food, tea and the like.

in naha:r kolod-il 'goni:, a:dam-iri: icci-kkuyi:, 'kir
ti:ga 'kutt-innan. te:r-ayi: 'goni:, 'awa r ogre:s-ka
ti:g-innan.

enji: 'goni:, ogj-iri 'goni, diy-o-n tusk-itt-in
'ug koni:, a:ga 'goj a:dam-iri:-g kab-kac-c-innan. ju:
naha:r-in kolod-itti goni:, arhama-g bardu 'goja kab-
kac-c-innan. seba: te:la:f ka'da kkoni, 'toll-ed-a:ga,
'asir-ra, ju: 'diy-o-kka 'fo:ga-te:-nnan. 'kossi kolod toni:,
fenti ten-ni-l toni:, 'korja ka:ga, 'aman gon fa:la
we:-kka aw 'sahan we:-kka ka:g 'udir-te:-nnan.
su:ra:d toni:, 'kaba r a-n kan aw fent a-n kan mis:ki:n
we:-kka te:-nnan. i:w-in 'habbi goni:, gabur-in 'kocc-il
'fo:ga-te:-nnan, ka'wart-in do:ro. 'wi:da kulli yo:m
goni:, su:r-innan. aman go:n ha:ja go:n nogo, jama:
tusko-~~n~~-os 'sa:mini. 'wi:da, wa:di wa:di-l 'goni:,
sada:ga-g a:wa-te:-nnan, ida:m tan 'dolli-kes-si:n we:
'logo. ju arbai:n naha:r koni:, 'aman go:n ha:ja go:n
nogo, su:r-o:sa, 'kossi sama-kka ba:yac-ca, 'edju:
jawa-kka korja 'ka:ga, okkir-te:-nnan. ya:si:n gon
gerya-te:-nnan.

ide:n-ga tar on 'kun-kon goni:, idda-l ti:g-in.
'sahar kemso naha:r 'dime-ga, 'no:g-in tu:-l kerri
we:-kk 'udr-o:sa, 'asli:-l sa:ddo fam-mun. 'wi:da kulli
'kore-l goni:, sedega-g a:w-o:t-tir, su:r-innan.

During this time, people come and go, but his relations stay day and night.

On the third day they kill a sheep and feed people, men and women. On the seventh day, they do the same and say God's name 7,000 times counting with pebbles. In the afternoon, they take them and put them on the grave. They also put by the grave a dish or a clay pot full of water. An offer of food or dates is made to a poor man: grains of wheat are thrown on the grave for birds. Then every day for the next three weeks they visit him taking water and something else. Now and then, they offer the food he used to like. On the fortieth day they go to visit him with green palm tree branches, water and other things, replace the dry branches and read "yasin".

If the dead man had a wife she remains in mourning for four months and ten days. Inside the house they build a straw hut for her, and she does not go out. Then at every feast-time they visit him with gifts.

'misse: go:n 'kore: go:n nin.

'misse:-n sahar u: 'ddogo, sahar 'kudda-fi we: r'a
ogre:s-ka. 'awa-kka la:ki:ni, seher ko:n wenes ko:n' nog
har'aka tere da:r-in. kudderki tan'-ni hikma-tan-gu:-l
to:n a, husu:san 'i:ga-gon-fi:-n'nogo, 'nalu: tal-la
iba:da y aya.

fejir 'kocci ddo, saa tala:te-l kaba 'ni:-nnan-ga
wele:si kkawwoga, ju: masa-n to:ra timmi kan fatr'-ur.
faññ-id okk ingir hissi-dan-mun. aman 'u:-ga
a:g-udec-c-e-kka 'gu:ñ kawwoga, 'a:dam l odd-i-kk'alaga
hussadani. la:ki:n tak-k udd-i-kk'esk in'nin ayi-mmun.
'jisim diya-fi:-n ay 'i:ge:-ga yi-mme:n kani. dunya-n
jugr-an-e ta: 'wi:gid illin. 'kutta fu:ta ya'yi-mmi
sa:l a'yi-mmi, aman nog 'taffa koñ-gu:-l okkir ag-ka
sokma, meski-dan kan, 'sukka bahar-ra 'kuña dukki-me:n
kawwog irhi:-dan-mun, marra 'uwwo: 'tusko-ga.
'jelli tere-kk a:ww-o:s-i wi:da, no:r tan'-ni-g alag-ka
'kun-in, jell-un malle masa-n tawwan 'nogo.

migrib-in gerrube gurr-andi llin. 'kutta
birɣ-i:-ga, 'gulla-nci:-ga, girba-nci:-ga, gamar
eddi:ni:, abre:yi, 'fenti-n ñeñira:di, ar'je:g fu:la-n
'kan, hamu:sa-n'kan, urus'-ur, no:g-iri:-n sa:ddo.
'jamman ti:ga fatr'-all eya. in-gu:-g kaba 'niy-eda,
migirib-pa sall'-ec-ca, 'gelba ti:ga 'sa:y go:n'niy-eda,

(8)

The Fasting Month and the Feast.

The fasting month is quiet during the day, but at night, because of staying up late, chatting, it is more lively. Its quietness is one of God's wise decrees, especially if we remember that sleep during the day is an act of worship.

From dawn at about 3 o'clock until sunset we stop eating and drinking. We do not feel hunger so much, but you should see what the need for water does to us, you would think that we were ill. But an invalid can say what hurts him. The body seems to be dead. When it is hot it is real anguish. One dips a towel or a scarf in the water to put on the face, cools the mouth by gargling, and, if this is not enough, dives into the water two or three times. God help those who have to work, because all our work is in the sun.

The approach of sunset is truly pleasant. We bring the mats, clay water-pots and water vessels of hide, and drinks such as "gamar edin", "abre", water in which dates have been soaked, and food like boiled beans or split peas and put them all outside the houses and sit together to eat. Having eaten this we perform a sunset prayer and turn around to drink tea, and until dusk and the "tarweh" prayer we talk

isa:-ga, tara:wi:h ko:n 'gerrub-of fa:min, ti:ga 'di:n-na
 ya: wenēs 'icci e:lla 'baññ-ur. tar-i:n 'ba:d-ta, a'sa:-g
 kab-ur. tara:wir-in ba:d-ta, kab-su: malle hiff-in,
 hikma-tan-gu:-l to:n we: r'a. ba:d-tan-na go:n,
 agonde:-n kan 'sa:y'su: dan kan 'ekcac-c-ur, 'jisin-ga
 fikki-kir eya.

in malle-kk a:g-kiff 'udir-tir kir 'misse: nog
 kan, 'ay l un-g olow-añ-su:n 'el-ur. la:ki:n
 'jerrobid-ta, 'kore:-n ba:d-ta 'yo:m tusko 'log, 'lefta
 kombo:-ñ-o: j-j-ur, 'fa:ji-n 'so:b lekin. no:r-in
 hikma l in 'misse: tan-na dawwu-r a men-kun-ir.
 ay 'go:n ki:lo we:-kka 'si:d-kun-ir.

baha:yum-un-gu:-g min'ji:, mug-ri:-ñ-of 'fa:n
 'sefeg-j-ur, 'a:dam-ni ta ir'bir-dañ-a-fi: llin.

'kore:-n naha:r 'wi:da gurr-andi dawwu llin.
 tal-la 'misse:-g enn-innan 'gon hara:m a, hikma-tan
 nogo. kitti miri:-g. udd-ec-ca, id ide:n, dawwu
 ku'du:d-aña, 'fac-c-innan, 'gabr-i:-g ju: su:r-
 'o:j-ja. ogj-iri: go:n wild-i: go:n sala: ddo
 'ju:-nnan. 'enji:-gon no:g-iri:-l wi:d-innan,
 urussiyi, ul'bidid: 'se:lidi:yi, 'sa:yi:, 'surba:ti,
 'fentiyyi, hala:wa-g 'haddir all eya. urussiyi,
 in i:g log karji-kka 'beddira gurunma y a-in i:n
 i:g-ka, 'urr-innan. gabri:-l 'gon 'i:g-ka f-urr-innan
 nogo diy-o-r-iri: jedi:da-n do:ro.

sala:-n 'ba:d-ta, 'ti:ga ela:day a we:r we:-kka

about religion or other matters. Then we have our supper. After the "tarweh" prayer the meal grows lighter, which proves the wisdom of this prayer. After this we bring cold soaked beans and tea with milk in order to comfort our bodies.

In spite of all that we eat in this month, we find ourselves thin at the end of it, but we also find by experience that three days after the feast, we grow fatter than before, and this again shows God's wisdom. I myself have put on about a kilo.

In the fasting month we are kind to our animals and even to our dogs, not to mention our kindness to human beings.

The feast day is the greatest pleasure. Fasting during this day is prohibited, another of God's wise decrees. We wear new clothes and go out, men and women, old and young, to visit the graves. Men and youths go to perform the feast's prayer. Women go home to prepare rice, "ulbid", "sheleed", tea, sherbet, dates and sweets. Rice and other foods which need much cooking are prepared early in the morning. Fire is also taken to the cemetery, for the sake of those who have recently died.

After the prayer we sit down and ask each other for forgiveness, then make a procession and go from house to house,

sa:mah-'o:j-ja, siffa log kulli no:g min'kelli-n sa:ddo,
 birg-i: l 'awwa-fi:-jj-innani, 'ti:ga kaba ni:-n ta:n
 irki-n 'a:har-ka 'duww-innan, 'to:ra sala:ma'kore:-g
 na:la tic-c-in 'ta:ni. 'wild-i: gon sigr-i:-l
 'okk-o:j-ja, fush-in ta:n yo:m-g 'i:de:-nnan. irk-i:
 wi:rri-kku: wallo-kkine 'kac-c-innan, ya: 'uwwo-ya ya:
 'tusko-ya. 'ale:-n gurr-anda u: 'ddog, kore: u:-ni.

(9)

'tossi.

gem 'kemso-n 'gabil-la, 'misse: we:-lla 'kir-kon-on.
 tar 'misse-n sahar malle-kka, iski:d-t awa r ogre:s-ka
 fi:ra kama:l-u:nn a:w-da'ya, 'dibe:-u:n 'kekk-on.
 'kore: dib-pa 'wi:da, aman okka 'tibj-o:sa, dummi-dakk-e:-g
 'mo:na, sira:ya-ga jebeliyya 'log korj-ed-on. a:dam
 'firra-fi jebaliyya-n ba:la 'men-nani. dib 'uwwo-tti-ga,
 'kalo logo go:n korj-ed-on. wi:da dummi-dakki-ray 'kum-mun.
 in 'aman ya ann-enga to:, oslangi nagittan 'iyyi-g
 'sokk-eda, no:g-iri:-n fakk-il kara:ka tor 'jo:r-on.
 'ma:n-in 'kuffa 'galle-lla, 'irki-g kullun bullun 'kir-on.
 'ir on tar na'ha:r-k u: ddo fal-o-kka nal-'kok kani, id
 'ide:n, assar dawwu kudu:d, wa:cci wu:cci-l
 'da:f-fi:-jj-innan, dib uwwo-tt-ay-on. 'hikkir ayi ddo
 'sa:bi r a men-on. 'e:n wilid-tan-g a:ga-tabbay-in, 'wilid

sitting outside on the mats eating and drinking, and going inside wishing the inhabitants a happy return of the feast day, until we reach the end of the village. Children spend the day on boats. People from far villages come after two or three days. Indeed, it is true that the feast is a great pleasure.

(9)

The Big Flood.

Four years ago, the fasting month came. During the whole of it we were completely exhausted, our livers cut in shreds, by the carrying, both day and night, of earth. On the night of the feast the river was full and refused to be restricted. In the morning, it burst its banks at Gaballeya. All the people concentrated their attention here. The following night it burst also in the North and could not be stopped there either. This water, my brother, was like a snake lifting his head and rushing between the houses. In a blink of the eyelids, it left the village in utter destruction.

If you could have seen what befell us that day! Man, woman, child, big and small, were all wandering aimlessly until the second night. How heartbreaking it was! A woman looking for her baby, a boy his father and mother,

taf-fa:b-pa, tann'e:n-g a:ga-tebbay-in, 'te:r te:r-
 tann-in hulla-g ed-all ey, ya: 'warawa-fi:-n ya: 'tu:ba-fi:-n.
 'bagid kirri-g 'sokk-ec-ca, ga:w-in 'ta:n ya: 'kul-in ke:l-la
 'kidd-o:sa, 'tu:ba fi:-n. bagid 'urti-g kucci-kir'-ec-ca,
 'sama lla:kin 'fala-fi:-n kirri bagid 'aman dan nakka
 'daff-on. ennehayto, he:lo watta ge:l-atta fi:-n,
 naha:r-in tusko-tt-ay-on. in malle-la go:n kaba kab-j-innan
 da:r-kum-mun. 'faññid log 'meska, 'fenti-g kun-i kab-on,
 'kaba sama-kka 'kormi-san. meski-dakk-on go:ni:,
 arabiiyye-nci: log, 'su:g-il to:n ju: eregi:f-k ekkira, a:dam-
 iri:-g faga-tec-ca 'gowwiti-ssan, 'tawwo a:go-n adam
 'firra-fiiyyi:, 'tebayen no:g-kiññ-ay-o:ssan. 'hikir-in
 no:g-iri:-l midd-on. ki:d-oyi, karri-gu:-g no:g-iri:-n
 'jer-ra, 'udr-o:j-ja ti:gi-ssan. bagid 'to:n, ta karri-g
 'ken ude:-nnan gayya:d to:n 'ma:r-on. huku:mayi,
 gadi-ri-n hambarte:-n geyya:d a 'yi-mmi:, 'julle:-n
 migra:d-a 'yi-mmi:, malle-kk ekkir umda ddog eskec-ca:,
 'maɣa-lla a:g-j-i-kku:-g 'nu:r-k a:wa-ti-c-c-on. 'irki
 irki-l ukkir-day-on wi:da, 'halfa dige:m-n uttu:-g toss-in
 kiddir-o:ssani, 'ter-i:n karri-gu: log. a:g-eyi, faññid
 'log a:ga-'diy-eyi:. in-g 'ukkis-san 'ke:l-la wi:da,
 'gassir-kum-min-nan. 'sibir-i: go:n siwa:l-i:go:n nogo,
 kaba sama 'kko:n baško:t to:n, ilba-nci-l 'da:-hi:-n
 furu:tayi:, hala:wayi:, 'jibini:, 'ka:wa-kir 'sukki-san,
 atbarayi:, hartu:mi:, bolt su:da:n-na to:ni. tar-i:n
 'ba:d-ta, 'a:dam-i kudu:d tere-kka so:r-ti-g golla

a man, seeking news of his relatives, wading in the water. Some furniture was carried, floating, away. Some were carrying their belongings, pushing them on the water, walking waste-deep. Others made their cattle swim to dry places. Some things were lost in the water. In a word, everything was chaotic until the third day.

Added to all this, we had nothing to eat. Those who had dates or dry bread ate them because of their hunger. Still hungry they went by cars to the market-town, bought bread and shared it with the others thereby feeding them.

All the people who were living down by the river were, naturally, rendered homeless. The hikh houses were full: the people who remained homeless built straw huts behind these houses and stayed in them. Some did not even find straw with which to build. The government brought unfamiliar mats made of reeds or branches of trees, and deposited them at the umda place to give cover to those still living unprotected from the sun.

In one village after another it was heard that the people of Halfa Digem had been flooded out and that they were sheltering in huts and dying of hunger. As soon as this was heard they did not fail in their duty. They collected dry bread, biscuits, fruit in tins, hallawa, cheese and brought them in baskets and sacks and came from Arbara, Khartoum and Port Sudan.

After this, their souls and their self-confidence were

ta:mni-dakki-san. 'kede kede llog 'wi:da, tar'i:n ba:d-ta,
 a:dam'iri: karri-l a:g-o-kkuyi, no:g'iri:-g goñ-ja kirri
 'daff-o-n agar-k 'a:wa, ile:-lan to:n, ter-i:n sikkir
 fa-ti:g-e-kka, 'siddo fa-ti:g-e-kka, une: jamman hogo,
 tebbeya nas-san. adi 'eli:-n naha:r-añ-of fa:min a:dam
 malle lgon 'kudda ti:g-o:j-ja 'kum-min-nan. man 'ter-i:n
 taww a:g-si:n 'jissa-kira, 'gu:ñ nak kawwoga, imka:na ha:l a
 yu-mmun, gem 'dime, dime dij-in 'gabil-la, in 'toss-in
 ka:r'ke-ssi:n-gu:-n ta:mni:-dakk-eyi. o:n ta'a:w-r ey
 a:w-innan go:n, man tawwo ter-i:n a:gi-ssi:n nagir 'ter-i:n
 f -ile:lan to:n eska ti:g-o:j-j-e-kka, ay 'abadan imka:na
 kum-mun. 'diyyi: no:g-ka goñ-ec-ci-san eli:-ñ-if fa:mi:ni,
 *** la:ki:n tawwo teme r a men-o-kkuyi, we: r 'we:-n
 mo:l-la 'goñ-kum-min-nan. 'oro kalo ddan 'gorb-on, 'horri
 ha:ya ddan 'gorb-on, wala: elgon we r we:-kka 'kulla, we r
 we: ddan 'u:s mas 'log ti:g-o:j-ja-kum-min-nan. in-ga
 wele:s, aman ne:-jj-innan gelli: 'logo, sik-k alag-i:-l
 a:dam-i: ddo fala-fi:-n. huku:ma-n masu:ra go:n ile:lan
 irki-n fag-atti-kka duww-on. fag-atti uwo-tti 'oro go:n,
 mittari:- 'find-o:j-ja. mittari:-n aman 'fassi:-kus/ša:d-ta
 'ni:-n ta:n a:g-j-innan. man 'tawwo jamman 'labahi:
 jimme:si:n 'nu:r-ra, ti:g-o:j-ja kaba 'ni:-kes-sani:, we: r
 we: ddan 'ga:g-kes-sani:, issa:g-ka mu:s 'ela-fi:-jji-min-
 'nan. wala: šajar kiri: we:-kka no:g'iri:-n ša:ddo, elgon
 nu:r-ka a:w-kum-mun. in-i:n do:ro goni:, no:g'iri:-n
 tu:-n 'ge:ra nu:r da:m-mun kulli 'no:g-in uttu: 'go:n, no:g

somewhat restored. Little by little, the people staying in the straw huts, built houses and made furniture to replace the things that were lost. Once more they were able, with a collected mind, to think where and how they would live.

Even up to the present day, not everybody is comfortably settled. Considering all this, it seems impossible that the people left homeless by the flood, will live calmly as they did ten or fifteen years ago. In my opinion, it is improbable that, however much they try, they will ever do so.

By now, many have built houses, but those who were neighbours down by the river, did not build beside each other. People from the north mixed with those from the south, high with low. They have not lived together long enough to get to know about each others good and bad points.

Apart from this, what great inconvenience is caused by the lack of drinking water. The water-pipe which the government laid is within reach of only half of the village. The other half in the north have dug wells and are drinking the stale, tasteless water from them.

Now people long to do again what they used to do; to sit together in the shade of the big labah and gimmer trees, eating and drinking and chatting with each other. None of the trees has cast a shadow in front of the houses yet, consequently there is no shade except inside the houses,

ten-ni-l koff a:g-innan. 'tawwo nagir sa:ddo 'jamma teme
 malle-r-aya ti:g-o:j-ja, u:s mas-ka 'farr-innan agari:,
 we:r we:-n hulla-g ed-innan agar-in 'jissi da:m-mun.in
 melle llekin 'go:ni, man tawwo-n urka:d urki bahar-ra
 'to:n fa:k-ka, nor-na:ne: ikkir-o: j-ja, 'ekkir in se:r
 'ko:n kid 'to:n, samu:m 'i:g-k alagi-lla, 'koff-ec-c-a:g-eyi.
 ta: no:r-in gadaba ha:l a.

(10)

'aman ba:bu:r.

'so:b-in elgon in ba:bu:r-k ekkac-ci-min-nani:,
 irk-in 'uttu: l askale:-nci 'go:n kiyye:-gu: go:n nogo,
 'ewek-kes-san. okka 'go:n kiññi-kes-san 'wi:da.
 mi:na:y ig kani:. 'aman sukk-o:k kani, 'farig-ka 'finda,
 kolotto:d-ta 'gokka, kiyye:-gu: log 'olla kiññi-kes-san.
 in malle-n ba:d-ta, 'ten ewek-kes-si:ni, 'fenti:-n tu:-l
 'lin men-on nu:ri-n 'fakki-la. in 'aman ba:bu:r-k
 ekkac-c-'all ay hoko:ma l arid-ta ja:na 'dumm-an ay-oni,
 a:dem-'iri: mo:n-o:-ssan, geli:l tu:ñi: we:- 'kku:-g
 ayi-mme:n kani. babu:r-ka 'firgi-munn ey 'baññi-san.
 ta, in harja-g aman-ga middi-kir-o:d-de:n-ci: kani,
 eskale:-nci: gon kiyye:-gu: gon 'nogo, f-ewe-ru..
 harob 'ju-o-n kutti-si:n-na, i:w-in galyi-si:n ke:l-la,
 ter gurr-andi-l 'to:ssan. la:ki:n 'diyyi: to: 'wi:g-on,
 'nidme: logo, 'we:-kka kun-kum-minn'eya. ingir
 mug-o:j-ji-mi:ni, hoko:ma l ojra-l okkir simarki-kac-c-on.

and the people stay shut in them.

There are no places like those that were down by the river, where people can gather outside and sit talking of good and bad, and enquiring about each other. Worst of all, God has deprived the people of the cool breeze coming from the river and brought them, imprisoned, to this sand, stone and burning wind.

This indeed is God's anger.

(10)

The Water-pumping Station.

In the past before this water-pump was installed, the people of the village used to irrigate their land by means of the water-wheels and "kiyye"s, which is a very tiring way. Why? Because when the water level went down they dug wells, fixed little water wheels and lifted the water by means of the "kiyye"s. After all this the thing they cultivated grew in the shade of palm trees (and consequently was not very successful). In order to bring this water-pump, the government asked people to buy the land. They, except for a few, refused to do so. They said "We don't want a water pump. If you only fill this canal with water, we shall irrigate by means of the water wheels and "kiyye"s.

At the beginning of the last war when grain was expensive, those who bought land were very happy, but many who did not cried with sorrow that they did not have any. Apart from this, the government increases the price of the water and this angers

tar on 'husša mug-o:j-ja'kok kani, irk-in'uttu he:r-ra
 fa-kidda -'fi:-jji-san. in'nekin u:s koni, 'fagon-na
 kull a:ña-fi:n aman-ga 'firg-e-lla, kir ba:bu:r-ka
 'šahar uwwo-g men'jir-o:k kawwani, wala: huda:r tere-kk
 ewra, wala: gešši tere-kka feyyi-kir-ed-e:-g 'ma:r-innan.
 in-na 'ma:s-in goni, šejar-i:'ten awar ogre:s-ka
 'ba:l-k uskir-e:'kuyi:, 'aman gilli log 'di:-jj-innan.
 bešši tar on in'i:n ke:l-la fa-menja'kok kan gon
 'we:-kk a:w-ken-kum-mun. huda:r-ka fa'ja:n-us, 'ell-u:
 logo. šejar-i:'gon mittar-i: dacc-i'kku: log
 fa'de:g-j-us, 'meselen-na. la:ki:n aman'ni:-nnan-ga
 bahar-in 'ge:r-ra to:n 'diyyi-to: firgi-min'nan. in-na
 'gon bahar-in 'wi:rr-ikki-g 'nak kani, 'aman-g ayi-lla to:n
 'o:sira, husu:san dunya-n ju'g-ikki-g 'jilli kani. bahar
 kon 'ju:-n du:tin 'sukka wi:rra-n-in. in jugi 'kkon
 ataš-ka si:da-de:n-c-in. 'enji: go:n 'buru-wi: go:n
 miški:n tu:ni:, kube:-nci:'ten-ni-gu: log 'sukk-innan
 wi:da, 'fejir ko:n duhur-in 'ba:d to:n-na. masa:fa-n
 dawwu-kki ddani, kulli we:-n du:t ten-ni do:r kemso-ga,
 dej-c 'alag-ka 'oll-innan. 'kiññ-andi tar-ko: lle 'kok
 kan ha'tir-tan-na 'men-on.'ter ta: galaba ten-ni log
 hilm-'aris-san, u:'gon aman-ga 'woffira košša
 'niy-ares-su. la:ki:n 'ja:g-ki dawwuyi:', 'ter-i:n kube:-g
 middi-kid-dill ey a:g-kidda 'diy-e llin. geme-n' ho:l-in
 kik kani, 'kiñña-fi:-jj-in 'ta:n kube:-nci:-g middi-kir
 'tolli kawwani, 'gitti-kki log menja tek-ka toll-ec-ca

people. If only they would leave the price of water as it is the people of our village would live in plenty. What is worse is the fact that in the summer, at the time when everyone needs water, the water pump is stopped and thus we are not able to grow vegetables or grass.

In addition, our trees, which we care for, day and night, die for lack of water. If this were all it would not matter so much, we should buy vegetables with whatever we found and irrigate trees with wells. But many people do not want to drink water from any source other than the river, and if we consider how far the river is and remember how hot the weather is, one would hate the mention of water. Whenever the water moves north, its distance from us grows. Moreover, because of the heat, we are more thirsty. Women and girls, poor things, carry their tins and go down to the water, and in spite of the long distance, each of them brings water four times, morning and afternoon. Had it only been tiredness it would not matter so much. They would suffer their misfortune patiently and we would save on water. But the great fear is that in certain seasons when they fill their tins and try to lift them they will be pulled into the water and

'sukk-innan, aman'ga:r-ka ti:ra kidda'di:-nnan a:ni. okk
 u:s-aŋ'-kom-me:n-kok kani, u: wele:s-ares-su, la:ki:n
 u:s-ki-tan nogo sehi:da i:g-daŋ-in. u:'wi:da sabr
 'all-u, no:r-ka, 'ajir-ka 'diyya-kir eya. u: ll on
 wi:g-ken'-kom-me:n-kok kawwoga, mini:n fahasli-si:n-g
 irb-e da:m'-mun. in aman ba:bu:r-n ujra sene: we:-kka
 ha:l-tan-na men'ju-mun, siya:da kiññ-ini. issa:g-in
 yo:mi:-'la-m, 'fenti: ba:bu:r-in 'de:g-j-i-kku:-g 'o:me:-n
 ta:n da:c-c-innan, hoku:ma-n a:dam-iri: we:k'kuyi:,
 in fenti:-l'gon hara:j l a:g-defay-daŋ-in, 'arid-tan
 feyya-fiy-e 'kkon a:s-daŋ-in sera ddani. 'bardu no:r-in
 faraj-ca irñ-all-u.

(11)

fenti llin.

'fenti l in irk-un-g a:ñir-ed-a:g-i llin. wala:
 tar-aŋ'-kom-me:n-kok kani, fa-'sikkir fiyyi-su:-g
 irbum-mun. kabire-lla ma:sini, dumm arrian un-na 'da:f-
 fi-n. eskale:-u:n'ken i:w-g ewr-e 'fenti-l to:n
 a, 'no:g seken-nu:, tal-la 'to:n a, angare: okka
 'ti:g-ruyi:, fiyyi-ru:yi:, 'biri:si:, kossir ken
 to:y-ru:yi:, 'alli baha:yum-un-ga ken dege:-ruyi:,
 kerri'ten-mi-g ken 'a:w-ruyi:, sibir geŋsi ten-ni-g
 dikk ude:-ruyi:, mesbela ken ma:ro:-g fi:ra sera:-l
 'ude:-ru, dette u:-ni, elmagsu:d wi:da, 'fenti-n u:-g
 'ken nefay-ji-me:ne da:m'-mun gende:-tan-ga duww-of

drown. Had death by drowning been less dreadful we would stop complaining, but because it is so bad those who drown are called martyrs. Still we must be patient in order that God will increase his rewards. Who knows what would happen if we did not complain so much. The price of the water does not remain steady without an increase for one single year. In these days the palm trees that are irrigated by the pump are counted by the government employees. They are to be paid for, in spite of the fact that the irrigation of the land on which they grow is also paid for. But we still wait for God's mercy.

(11)

The Palm Tree.

In our country the palm tree is the giver of life. Without it I do not know how we should manage. As well as supplying us with food it is used in everything we do. The water-wheel with which we irrigate the cornfields is made of it, the beds on which we sit and sleep, the mats, the brooms with which we sweep, the ropes with which we tether our cattle, the sheds we make for them, the baskets in which we carry their food, the bins by which we take the manure to the farm, our firewood, and, in a word, we do nothing in which the palm tree does not play its part, even the thorns.

fa:mini. ka'bi-re-kka mu'himm-in 'ke:l-lin ay ba-gid-n' i:g
 kan 'fenti-la, ba-gid l'esk ay ko-gor-ro-g 'la:la: y-i:n.
 mi-na:y i:g kani? tar ayi-mmi:ni ka-b-innan-ga 'sa:hal
 lo-g esk'el-ur. la:ki:n in eskale:-nci:-ga,
 no:g'iri:-ga, 'kirr u:n kun-e mal-le-kka, de-tte: ken
 ka-ba-kka 'sa:y-ga, i-da:m-ga ka-r'je:-ru:-ga, 'in-ga man-ga
 f'el-kum-mun sa:hal 'lo-g. se-jar 'ic-ci-lla to:ni,
 'di-yya-n-s ey' i:g kani, fa:y-da tusko-g 'el-ur. in-gir
 fi:-n gon ji:l 'di-me-g alag-ka 'menj-in, wa-la: aman
 jo-ke-kka wi:da tan 'na-gitta hil-m-i da:m-mun. ay
 issa:g-k in mal-le-kka, 'o:mi-si:-l 'mu-g-ed-a:g-ir
 a-go:ra di-yyi-kka. in-i:n do:ro goni fenti kut-ta
 'menj-i we:-kka 'dum-m-eda, ta-wo-n 'ke:l-la to:n f-o:m-ir
 u:hu:ni, kul-li ha:'ja-l to:n mi-ni:n 'fal-i-kka na-d' dill
 eya.

'umbu: llin. eskale:-nci:-l 'fak-ki-mmi:n 'to:r-in.
 'fak-kac-ci kani, no:g'iri:-n 'dam-bi-g 'du-gs-in, ba-ha:ym-in
 ker-ri-'gu:-l to:r-in, ker-r 'ic-ci-lla 'to:r-in. ha:ja
 i:g di-yyi-kka 'fir-g-i-kka ka-r'je:-n. ku-bri:-na 'mar-ti-l
 mid-di-da-n-in. me:'tam-i:-n sa:ddo wi:rk-'o:k kan
 ka-j-'cu:-g de-gec-c-innan ay-in.

'asma:n nin. 'al-li-g tal-la to:n 'mil-la san-fi-in
 kel-li we:ra-'kira, eskale:-la, ba-ha:yum-in de-gre-lla,
 'ker-ri ten-ni-g ken a:'w-e-lla, 'sir-gir-ka ken
 'tol-l-innan-na. fa-'di-yya ku-m-'mun e:ni, kul-li ha:ja
 fa-de-ge:-ru:-g ken de-ge:-nnan-an-in.

If some should claim that its most important use is in supplying food, others can with good reason say "no". But how is this? If the palm tree did not exist we could easily find food, but we should not find a single thing which we could use in the making of water-wheels, houses, or the household articles, the wood fire with which we make tea and cook and so on. At the most we find three uses in other trees. Moreover a palm tree stands for ten generations and there is nothing else that can withstand shortage of water. In counting all this I forgot to mention many things. For this reason I shall take one palm tree starting from the bottom in order to see what we do with it.

The trunk - Without being cut, it is used in making water-wheels, and when it is cut in planks, it is used to make roofs, cattle-sheds and huts. It is also used to cook things that need plenty of cooking. It is put across streams to make bridges, and laid outside the "metam"s in order that the donkies can be tied to it.

The bark - Ropes of many sorts are spun from it, and they are used for tying animals to the water-wheels, in the making of their sheds, to tow boats and, in a word, in everything that needs tying.

'kossi llin. 'bardu eskale:-la, 'jakk alasa-kira.
 'fe:se:-nci:-g 'alli-tan nog degira. 'kossi sama llog
 'no:g-ka ken 'dugsa, angare:-nci 'korra, solonti-l'asadi
 ddan 'to:ra, dette:-ya, 'ken serba ha:'ja u:n-ga hafad-ur.
 'kossi jawa kkon ba'ha:yum ges:-in da:m-me:n kan
 kab-innan. 'diy-o: we:-n 'di: kan go:n in 'kossi jawa-n
 kocci-l okkir 'jelew-innan. 'kuñe:-nnan watti gon wi:rk
 'ude:-nnan gabur-ra. kuññir-o:s-innan 'ba:d to:n bagid-ta
 'sakk-innan gabur-ra. 'yo:m-in dij-'itti-l 'bardu kossi
 jawa-kka korj-eda ju 'sakk-o:sa, ya:'yo:m dime diji:,
 ya erbai:n ba:d-ta 'dukka wi:rk-innan.

in 'koss-in do:ro goni, si'mark-o:j-ji kawwani,
 we:r we:-kka 'tu:s-innan, "in 'koss-in wilidi", "koss-in
 koñi" "koss-in eskale yi" adi ingr a. gojir-ni-g
 ago:r-ec-c-all 'ey da:ris, 'kossi jawa-kka ekkir gojir-ka
 goj kawwani, 'tawwo tann awwir-o:sa goj-innan. in gon koss-
 in u:s-ki-g 'mag-ka beyyina-tic-ci llin. dette:-kira
 gon gen-min-nan in 'koss-in jissi-ga, 'samm-o:k kani.

'fenti kab-innan 'nin. 'fenti-g owwel 'se:ba kede-kka
 se:'tu:n noro:d-t alay-o:k kani, kabire-lla to:c-c-innan
 as'sar-i: diffe:-g ey-in ta:ni. tar-ko:'nadd-i-kka,
 nan'-o-kk ey-innan. ten 'nodd-e kkon 'so:da kab-innan.
 kedde-kka nulu-ay-o:k kani, nulu:-g 'ay-in. dawwu-ri:
 gon menja kab-innan. 'ju:ur 'karj-ay-in, 'seyyo-ray-in,
 'timma karj-in. in 'fenti:-l to:n 'sanfi so:l we:-kk
 a:w-innan. safi:hi:-l 'semkira jaga:d-kir uske:nnan.

The branches - When beaten, they are used in water-wheels and made into ropes to which are fastened the water containers. When they are dry, they are used in the making of roofs, and are inter-woven to form the tops of beds, and with stalks of wheat, in the construction of huts, as fire-wood, and in the making of storing sheds. Animals eat the tender branches when there is no grass. When somebody dies he is laid on green branches and after burial some are put on top and some are driven into the sides of the grave. On the fifth day, green branches are cut and driven into the side of the grave and are taken out and thrown away on the 15th or the 40th day.

Because of this the word "kossi" (palm tree branches) is used in anger in such phrases as "This boy of the "kossi"", "The face of the "kossi"", "The water-wheel of the "kossi"", and so on. When we want to kill an animal we spread some green branches underneath it first, and this is enough to show why the word "kossi" has such bad associations. When these branches are dry we do not even use them as firewood.

Dates to eat - When dates just come out and are only as big as olives, they are eaten by children who call them "daffeg". Those that fall are called "nanno". Those that are picked, skinned and eaten and are rather white are called "nulu" (white). After this they become ripe and soft and adults also eat them. From dates we make many sorts of things. They put them, when soft, in tins which they solder, they knead

kure:-kir do:rk-innan, sama-kka tukka sorb-innan.
 harb-i:n'watti-g sukka:r daff-on'goni, 'fenti sama-kk
 agar-tan-na sa:y-il'udik-kes-san.

na~n-o:-m ke:l-la to:n su:g-il werd-in, 'ju:
 sama-ra~n-if fa:'mini, kede kede 'llogo. laki:n gara:-ri
 'log ju:-n 'gabil-la, ta'ssa:sa-g ay sibiri:'logo, hala:wa
 y a yi-mmi:, tamiyya yi-mmi:, masi:ka yi-mmi:, 'assari:-n
 ken batar-e: malle-kka, ja:na-tic-ca'fenti-g ken
 limm-innan. tar-i:n'ba:d-ta, ta:jir-i: we:r we:-kka,
 'ji:ra ja:n-all'ey songir-ka eddi-gu:-l koffi-kir-ec-ca,
 'tañña giri:d-innan. la:ki:n'fenti-n no:r-ku:
 'karj-o-ra~na 'baññ-innan. miya:d we:-kka degir-o:sa
 limm-o: j-ja, kulli we:-n 'du:ti-tan fa'ken dumm-e-kka,
 'warag we:-lla 'fa:y-eda-kir eya, diyyi-n'ke:l ja:na
 'dumm-in. tar'watti wi:da sene:'yo:m-i:-l a~ri:n
 'ke:l lin. 'songir ondi karre:-n je:bi-l midda-fiy-in
 gem-in'ho:l-ka. 'ten fa-kab-e-kka no:g'iri ten-ni-l
 hafad-j-innan 'ba:d-ta. 'tal-la kulli ha:'ja-n haraka
 taññ-in indo: su:'gi-la. arabiyya-nci: tu:l il'yo:m-g
 awar ogre:s-k 'orre-~na 'kalle-~n-innan.

'fenti-n irk'un-g a:~nir-ed a:g-e-lla baññid
 da:m'mun. no:r-in ne:ma y a gon gen, 'tak-ka kab-ja,
 'komatte:-tan-ga kokk-o:k kawog'feyy ogo:d-in,
 sene:'kemso-n ba:d-ta se:b'all eya.

them and make "kure", crush them and make soup. During the war when sugar was scarce the dry dates were used to sweeten tea.

From the time when it is "nanno" to that when it is dry, it is sent to the market. Before being put into sacks (i.e., when they are dry), the "tashasha" (i.e. a cheap sort) are gathered in baskets by people selling sweets, fried savouries, mouth organs, and playthings for children. Later merchants rush with clenched hands full of money, to buy the dates. But the owners of the dates talk wisely and fix a day when all the merchants come, and each writes on paper the amount he is prepared to pay, and he who offers most takes them. This is the best time of the year. Money fills the pockets of men and women, having sold those dates which they do not need for food for the whole year. Everything is on the move here and in the town. Cars, day and night, are running north and south.

There is no doubt that dates are the givers of life to our country. They are the gift of God. We eat them and throw the stone and it grows out and in five years bears fruit.

(12)

u:-gu: masri:-gu:-n a:ñji:

u:-gu: masri: 'so:b-kinni-gu, we: r a 'mes-su.
 a:ñji u:-ni go:n, 'ten-ni go:ni, 'so:b-in we: r a
 'men-on. ir on 'ka:r kani, 'el-nam, te:-gu:-la,
 no:g-'iri:-la, birba-n'ci:-la u: ddog da:r-'kon-o
 kko:n, 'ted dog da:r-'kon-o kko:n we: r a men-'kos-san.
 u:-gu:, 'tek-kuyi:, we: r a 'mes-su' logo, tira
 'dummi-kes-su' wiskir-e llogo. u:n 'el-e-kka
 'wiskir-kes-su: 'nagittani, o:t-u:-ni we: r a
 'men-on.

'maša-kka, masri:gu: l abdi-kes-sani, u: 'gon
 abdi-kes-su. issa:g we:-'rañ-of fa:mini, koñ-il
 'atti-kes-san maša-kka. uw'wo-tti goni, urt-in 'unni
 kani, 'su: owwal-in 'ke:l-ka, maša-kka 'dokka wi:rka
 te:r-u, 'i:g-o:sa, "wo: maša to:, 'wo: maša to:, in-ni-g
 'i:ne in-ni-g 'i:ne." ni:d-ta 'dukki kawwog koni:,
 maša-kka 'kadda te:-ru. 'hikkir i:g-o:sa? "wo: maša
 to:, 'wo: maša to:, an-ni u:s-ka dumm-eda in-ni
 ašri:-g de:ne."

'wi:da masri:-gu 'aman-g abdi-sani, u: gon
 abd-us. 'sikkir irbu-wwa:? bale: 'dib-in nogodo-'kkuyi,
 'aman-na 'sukk-innan. bahu:r-k enn-ec-ca, koñ 'ten-ni-ga,
 aman-na jelew 'ude:-nnan. wilid-ta 'unni kawwan goni,
 aman-na 'sukk-innan, bahu:r-ka 'urr-eda, du:du: go:n 'sokk-eda.

(12)

Our life and that of the Ancient Egyptians.

Our ancestors and the ancient Egyptians were one people. In the past, our life and theirs were one. If you search in graves, houses and temples you will find that, because we were one, our habits were the same. As well as bartering with them we shared one religion.

The Egyptians used to worship the sun and so did we. Until recently our people tattooed a sun on their faces. When animals give birth, we throw the first lot of milk to the sun saying "Oh sun, oh sun, take your share, take your share!" When we pull out a tooth what do we say, "Oh, sun, take my bad one and give me a good one!"

The Egyptians worshipped the river and so did we. How do we know? On the night of the wedding, the married couple still go down to the river, burn incense and wash their faces letting the water fall into the river again. Moreover, when a baby boy is born they carry him to the river and burn incense.

wilid-t 'unni-mi:n-i, 'sante: 'dib-ini, 'unn-o-ni
 awwal-la, warta:b-pa'kadd-ec-ca, 'ju: aman-na, 'koñ jelew
 'udr-o:sa, mer we: kkon 'tad dan da:r-ini, ag-ka
 'bañni:-mi:n 'no:g-il ju: 'to:r-in. 'dawwi-tan ken
 'sukki-si:n-ga muga, dawwi'icci we: 'llogo:, 'ju: de:w-il
 'tiff udac-ca, 'wi:da-kir 'ti:g-in.

u: 'ddogo, ulum-ga hataba-la, 'olle:-nnan 'eli:-y-of
 fa:mini. minga tak-ka 'a:w-n aya? 'ma:n-ga tur-n 'aya,
 wildi-g hafad-j-in aya.

gor-'ni-l to:n ki:da-flyy-i we: tered'a. kitt-in
 'jawa-ray-ji kani, wildi: noro:d-iri, tef-fa:b-pa ja:g
 kawwani, 'i:g-innan. "wo: ang-i:n gor 'to:, 'wo: ang-in
 gor 'to:!! an-'ni-g sammir, in-'ni-g jawara-kir." in gon
 min-i:n do:ro, gor-ka 'he:r-k esk a:w-n aya.he:r
 malle-kka tad 'do to:n aya.

(13)

nubi:n nin.

in nubi:n-un-g asli:-tan-na, bañnid gadim ha:lis we: r a
 ken a:dam-iri so:b-kinni-'gu:, masi:h-in 'gabil-la, dure:
 tusko 'kemso-n gem' log, 'ba:sa-fi:-jj-o-kku:-n
 'bañni-kes-si:n nin. nubi:n-un gon asli:-tan-na, 'nab
 illin, ya:ni 'deheb illin. in tani:ka ken udis-san goni,
 a:dam-iri: takka 'bañni-ken-o-kku:-n a:g-ji-si:n-n
 irki-gu:-n gur-ra, 'nab diyy a 'men-on. in-'i:n do:ro 'goni,

On Saturday night, the woman who is sterile cuts her leg in front of one who has recently given birth, and goes with one who is old to the river, washes her face, letting the water drop back into the river and silently returns home by a different route. She goes to the fireplace, shakes out her clothes and sits down.

They also worshipped the crocodile and the bull. We still, to this day, hang a crocodile on the front door. Why? To turn away the evil eye and guard the children.

There is still one habit lingering with us from the worship of the bull. When little boys wet their clothes (while playing) and fear their fathers' anger, they say "Oh, my uncle's bull, oh my uncle's bull, dry mine and wet yours", because a bull can do good and all goodness comes from the bull.

(13)

The Nubian language.

This Nubian of ours is a very old language, which the people of the past, living three or four thousand years before Christ, used to talk. Our word "Nubian", moreover, is originally "nab", which means, gold. There was a great deal of gold in the ground where the people who gave it this name and used to talk it, lived. For this reason, in recent

gabr-i: 'ten-ni-gu:-ga, in 'saman-na kir finda
 kaw'wac-ci-san-na , nabi 'llog midda-fi:-jj-innan
 'el-ji-san, tu:t an h a:mu:n-na:ne gabir 'nagitta.
 tar 'sa:t toni, masir-ka kom-o meliki:-l 'to:n a men-on.
 'jinsi-tan gon nubi:n a men-on ayi-ssan. min-i:n
 do:ro: ? u: l on 'esim-tan-ga 'dummi kawwoga,
 'ale:-kkine:-tan 'bi:na-fi:-n. ('tu:ti:) (to:d) illin.
 (anhi) goni:, (a'ñji) llin. (amu:n) goni: (aman) nin.
 'ya:ni minne 'wi:da, 'anj-in aman to:d illin. la:ki:n
 wi:da, semen muru:r rogo, kede kede llogo, baññid-un
 sa:ti, 'harruf-eda kir in-na 'menj-on. in dan 'goni,
 bardu 'sabah 'kon ma:na: 'go:n da:r-in.

(14)

nu:bi: 'masir-r a:g-i-kku: la:kini.

mas-k a:g-ro:, wo: 'masiri:, iskindiriyya-l
 a:g-i-kkuyi. ay 'ud dan a:g-baññ-i, 'fenthi: llin,
 is'ke:di-la, si:di: 'dehab-in to:di. sikkir ay
 'gurra-fi:-ri, 'ud dan a:g baññi-ri: 'logo. in sa:lla:ho
 logo, 'mo:la-kir kir fa'-ma:ñ log nac-c-ir, 'he:r rog
 a:g-ru:-ni. a:nj-an-na goni, ammen'niya: we: tered'a.
 minnin i:n-g irbe:-ro? ay-i:n 'a:ña-fi:-n ta:ni,
 nal-ed-e llin, nu:bi:-gu:-na:ne, 'dungula-n 'ke:l-la
 to:ni, sella:l-ka daww-of 'fa:mini, ittefaga,
 baññid-un-ga, we: r 'a-kira, huku:ma-n u:-ni-ga,
 'ukkir-e-raña, u:n 'firg-e malle-kka kapp-in
 a:wa-de:n-c-e-rañ-e-kka. in goni, 'mo:l we: ddo

times, their graves have been dug open, ~~were~~^{and} found to be full of gold, as is the case with the tomb of Tutan Kamoon. He himself was one of the kings who ruled over Egypt. They say that he was a Nubian. But how? If we take his name, the truth will be obvious. "tu:t" is the Nubian "to:d" (son), "anh" also is "anj" (life), "amoon" is "aman" (water), that is to say, "the son of the life of the water", but with the passing of time, little by little, our language itself changed to what it is, and in spite of all this, a similarity in words and meaning still remains.

(14)

To the Nubians staying in Egypt.

How are you - O those staying in Cairo and Alexandria? I who am speaking to you, am Fathi of Ishked, the son of Seedi Dahab. How pleased I am to be talking to you. With God's will I shall soon come to see you with my own eyes, when you are all faring well. In my life there is one hope. Do you know what? It is to see, while I live, the Nubians from Dongola up to the Shallal agreeing, allowing their voice to be one, the government hearing it, and its being worth hearing. Let her quickly satisfy our need, and let our need be worth satisfying. This will happen in the near future,

fa-hasl-in, i'ssa:lla:ho logo. mi'na:y i:g kani: ? u:
 'so:b lekini, 'diyyi-kka 'geddum-us. u:ll on mura:d-un-g
 'ela-fi:-jja-kok kawwoga, 'jiss icci malle lekini,
 fa-gen-a'z-us. la:ki:n u:sur baññid-ta 'kum-mun. ay
 fa-gu:b-mun ale y a, irk u:n-ni-gu:-n galba:nayine.
 wala: galab-al 'e:b a-ummun, u'i:n sara-f-un nog a:g-hidma
 kab'all eya. wala: in hidma l u:-ga f-us'sa-kir-o:j-ju-
 mun. a:dam-g us'sa-k-e: koni, se:r tan-ni, fi:l 'tan-ni.
 la:ki:n an'ud do tto: 'firg-e, 'we: tered a. adi:,
 wildi:-l to:n 'diyyi gira:-g 'kull-o:ssan a:ni, or-ka l
 a:g-i-kku: 'beled-il a:g-i-kku:-ga 'bañña-tic-c-an,
 burw-i: kulli-kac-c-an 'aya. wilid 'kulla-f-i: na:ne,
 buru: 'kulla-fi:-mi:n-i-kka 'ed-e llin, 'seney a:ni,
 wala: mas-ka 'ti:g-dan-munn a:ni. wala: ta:li:m
 buruw-i:-ga koñ samakk-o:k-kac-c-in ay 'i:g-innan-ga,
 'ukkit-tamm-an, 'marja: r a:ni. fa-'diyya-kum-munn e:ni.
 'balkin turu'w-i l 'ul-la to:n da:-nn'a:ni. a:fya logo,
 ila:hi: 'he:r-in jama:-g a:w-all a:ni.

(15)

nubi:n kulle r an-ni.

ay in nubi:n un-ni-g kull-al ey newyi-si:-la,
 kede-kka 'ja:ga-fi:-s. owwel 'kis-si:-l gon, halfa
 medi:na-l sukk-is. a:dam-'iri: mas we:-kku, ay-ga 'ga:bil
 erig-kis-san. la:ki:n ta, an 'ju-e-nn agar-ra, 'menj

if it be God's will. If you ask how, we have advanced more than in the past. If we reach our goal and grow better than all other peoples, our lot will improve. There are no excuses. I do not ignore the fact that our countrymen are poor for in that there is no shame. If we work with integrity in order to eat, work does not make us slaves. What makes a man a slave are his deeds and his behaviour. But what I want from you is one thing. That is, those staying in the North must tell those staying in the country (in Nubia) to teach the girls, since quite a number of the boys have been educated. It is a pity that an educated boy should marry an uneducated girl. They will not be happy together. Tell them that education will not demoralise her (will not dry her face), and do not yourselves listen to such a thing. It is a fallacy. I do not want to be longwinded. Perhaps some among you are in a hurry. Goodbye. May God reunite us in happiness.

(15)

My learning of Nubian.

On deciding to learn this Nubian of yours I was a little afraid. When I came first, I alighted at the town of Halfa. Some good people met me. But, wherever I went

'arabi:-g 'baññ-innan el-kes-s. na:di:-'gu-l ju:
 'kayyiga, 'arabi y a, kulubbi:-la, 'arabi y a,
 'su:g-il dukka:n-i:-n tu:-'la, 'arabi y a. ay
 'wi:da 'guñna nal i:ga-tic-c-is. ay nu:bi: 'su:d-n
 agar we:-lla, fa-'ju:-r eya. 'ter wi:da, ketter
 'he:rhun, 'gessir-kum-min-nan. 'kutta so: 'we:-kka,
 jawab we:-kka 'fa:y-o:d-de:s-san. ind iske:di-l
 enga-ri: 'ten-ni-gu:-l to:n we: 'ddogo: no:r-ka
 hamd-is, 'enga mas we:-kku y a 'men-nan. kir
 'kede-kka ti:ga 'guñ-si:ni, dawwu ku:du:d 'ten-ni-l
 in irk 'un-ni-la, abo:yi:, an-e:ni, ann-'enga-kku:-g
 alag a 'men-nan. 'wi:da ay-ga gurba we:-kka
 hiss-inkir-kum-min-nan, 'haggi lilla:h. ay dan
 'tel-la to:ni, okka 'kiññ-o koni, 'da:r-in, nubi:n-ga
 kulli-kid-dill eya. issa:g-ka no:r-ka hamd-ir,
 'kulli-si:-ga. wala: uk-ka wala: in irk 'un-ni-ga,
 a:ña-fi:ri:-n 'geddi-ga f-ago:ru-mun. issa:g-k
 an fa 'wi:d-e-lla, jema: we: ki:da-fi ni, 'uk-ka
 wedday-o:j-j-innan-ga 'firgir, malle r un-ni:,
 a:fya-logo. ila:hi: wer we:-n 'koñ-ga, 'he:r edd
 amanta-c-c-ar-in.

I found Arabic spoken. If I went to the clubs it was Arabic, to the cafe, Arabic, in the shops of the market, Arabic. I looked and said to them, "I shall go to a place of pure Nubian. Then, may God reward them, they did not fall short of their duty. They wrote a letter and sent it here to Ishked to one of their brethren. Thank God they are good brothers. After staying for some time, I found that in this village of yours the old and the young are like my father, mother and brother. In fact they did not leave me to feel a stranger. Among them there are those who troubled themselves to teach me Nubian. Now, I thank God, I have learned, and I shall never forget you or this village of yours as long as I live. Now, I want to take my leave of you, there being only one week before I must return. Goodbye to all of you. May God let us meet again in prosperous times.

AN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This work comes at the end of my association with Professor Firth which lasted for six years. During this time I have been under his guidance which, although ^{it} influences his students, never overrides their personalities. I recall many occasions when I was in disagreement with him. It was through his tolerance and understanding that I was able to develop in my own way and finally find myself in complete agreement with him.

At this point when I am about to leave this country, I cannot forget his fatherly care when the political atmosphere between this country and my own was not clear.

The future development of linguistic studies in Egypt will no doubt owe a great deal to Professor Firth, to whose further guidance we shall all look forward.

A. R. AYOUB,
June, 1952.