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Mood and Modality in Beja

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1. Introduction

Beja, the sole language of the North Cushitic branch of Afroasiatic, has developed, in addition to a morphological marking of several moods, two intriguing and crosslinguistically unfrequent, formal means for the expression of modality: (i) the cliticization of a nominal copula to finite verb forms, and (ii) the cliticization of a special set of bound object pronouns to finite verb forms. Although the basic facts about these two constructions have been known for almost a century (Roper 1928), so far it has not attracted the attention of typologists or Africanists.

After an overview of the verbal morphology in section 2 necessary for the understanding of the whole verbal system, section 3 examines the morphology and semantics of the irrealis mood paradigms, section 4 the bound object pronoun encoding strategy, and section 5 the copula encoding strategy and its developments. As a final comment, section 6 discusses possible evolutions of the two modal constructions.

2. A brief overview of the verbal morphology

Beja, like four other Cushitic languages, Saho, Afar, Somali and South-Agaw, has two morphological verb classes.

Verb class 1 (V1), historically the oldest one, is conjugated with prefixes (which become infixed for disyllabic verbs in the singular), and, similarly to Arabic, the stem undergoes ablaut, according to TAM. Beja is by far the Cushitic language where this verb type is the most frequent (56% according to Cohen (1988) as against e.g. four verbs in Somali).

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1 The language is mainly spoken in Eastern Sudan, where I have been collecting data since 2000, by some 1,100,000 speakers, in Northern Eritrea by a few thousands speakers, and in Southern Egypt where it is almost extinct, if not extinct.

2 Cohen’s count is based on Roper’s (1928) lexicon of Sudanese varieties. For the Eritrean variety, Wedekind (2002) give a lower figure, 45%.
Verb class 2 (V2), the innovative paradigm which spread all over Cushitic, is conjugated with suffixes, which etymologically go back to a verb *n meaning ‘say; be’, itself conjugated with prefixes (Cohen 1973). The stem is invariable for all TAM and corresponds to the root without the inflectional morphemes.

Verb class assignment is synchronically arbitrary, but most CVC and CVCVC stems are conjugated with prefixes, the others with suffixes (cf. Cohen 1988: 276).

The inflection system indexes partly on portmanteau morphemes person (1st, 2nd and 3rd), gender (F and M in 2SG and 3SG only), number (SG and PL), and TAM. There are (i) four basic finite affirmative indicative forms with aspectual distinctions: Perfective, Imperfective, Aorist, Perfect, the latter being of verbo-nominal origin; (ii) five imperative paradigms, Imperative, Empathic Imperative, Prohibitive, affirmative Optative, negative Optative; (iii) four non-finite verb forms: the Simultaneity, Anteriority, Causal and Manner converbs; (iv) and a series of periphrastic constructions with 10 auxiliaries expressing various TAM (for details see Vanhove 2012b: 33-36), among them the Future tense formed with an auxiliary verb di ‘say’. In addition, Beja has a set of 5 to 7 (for V2 and V1 respectively) derived forms expressing various semantic and voice properties: Pluractional (divided into an Intensive and a Frequentative form for V1), Passive, Reflexive (merged in one Passive-Reflexive form for V2), Causative, Double Causative, Reciprocal.

The inflectional morphemes of the three main Indicative paradigms at the base form are given in Table 1 below for V1 monosyllabic verbs and V2 verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>AOR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 SG</td>
<td>an-\textsuperscript{1}CiC</td>
<td>ne-\textsuperscript{1}CiC</td>
<td>n(ii)-\textsuperscript{1}CiC</td>
<td>ni-\textsuperscript{1}CiC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M SG</td>
<td>'tin-CiC-a</td>
<td>'ti-CiC-na</td>
<td>i-CiC-na</td>
<td>t-CiC-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M SG</td>
<td>in-'CiC</td>
<td>'i-CiC-na</td>
<td>i-CiC-na</td>
<td>t-CiC-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F SG</td>
<td>tin-\textsuperscript{1}CiC</td>
<td>ti-\textsuperscript{1}CiC</td>
<td>t-\textsuperscript{1}CiC</td>
<td>t-\textsuperscript{1}CiC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 F</td>
<td>-ani -nej/-naj</td>
<td>-\textsuperscript{1}an -ta(n) -taj /-tan -ja(n) -ta(n)</td>
<td>-\textsuperscript{n}a(n)</td>
<td>-\textsuperscript{1}ijan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M F</td>
<td>'tnija '-tem(a)</td>
<td>-tija -tij</td>
<td>-ti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F F</td>
<td>'tini '-en(a)</td>
<td>-'tin(a)</td>
<td>-'tin(a)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Indicative paradigms at the base form
NB: The variants with a final (n) occur before the conjunctive enclitics =hoːb ‘when’, =eːk ‘if’, and the relative markers =e(ː(b/t); those with a final (a) are morphophonetic variants.

Table 2 below provides the paradigm of disyllabic V1 verbs. At the base form, this verb type inserts the IPFV marker -an- after the first consonant of the stem in the singular: -C1anC2iːC3-.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Indicative</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>IPFV</td>
<td>PFV</td>
<td>AOR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V1</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
<td>SG</td>
<td>PL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a-CanCiC</td>
<td>ne-ːCaCic</td>
<td>a-ːCCIc</td>
<td>ne-ːCaCic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M</td>
<td>ːCanCiC-a</td>
<td>ter-ːCaCic-na</td>
<td>ːti-ːCCIc-a</td>
<td>ter-ːCaCic-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2F</td>
<td>ːCanCiC-i</td>
<td>e-ːCaCic-na</td>
<td>ːCiC-i</td>
<td>e-ːCaCic-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M</td>
<td>Can’CiC</td>
<td>ːCaCic-na</td>
<td>ːCiC</td>
<td>ːCaCic-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F</td>
<td>Can’CiC</td>
<td>ːCaCic-na</td>
<td>ːCiC</td>
<td>ːCaCic-na</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2: Indicative paradigms of disyllabic V1 at the base form

NB: The prefixed 1SG index a- is usually elided before initial laryngeals.

There is in addition a number of irregular (usually mono-consonantal) V1 and V2 verbs which do not fully comply with these paradigms, and a small sub-class of bi-consonantal and tri-consonantal V1 verbs which do not have the Imperfective n prefix or infix. They are characterized by a post-stem suffix -i. This sub-class includes most verbs whose stem pattern is C1i(C2)oːC3 or C1iC2eːC3, e.g. a-for-i ‘I flee’, a-ʃiboːb-i ‘I am good’, a-hibeːb-i ‘I spend the rainy season’, and some verbs (mainly stative) which contain a vowel a(ː) (in second position for disyllabic verbs), e.g. hadal ‘be black’, haragʷ ‘be hungry’, ʃikʷan ‘smell nice’, nhad ‘finish’, bʔam ‘fear’, kʷas ‘create’, war ‘do’, bar ‘have’.

The inflectional morphemes of V1 derived verbs differ slightly from those of the base form in tables 1 and 2 above. The n prefix or infix of the Imperfective singular is not used with any of them; the Imperfective prefixes of V1 Intensive, Frequentative and monosyllabic Reflexive contain an -eː- in both singular and plural; other derived forms of V1 have -i- in both singular and plural; most derived forms also have ablaut patterns in the stem; and Reflexive verbs insert an infix -t- (a frequent Reflexive morpheme in Afroasiatic languages) between the inflectional prefixes and the stem in the Imperfective and the Aorist.
The Perfect is based on the Manner converb, which is formed with a suffix -a added to the verb stem for both verb classes. It agrees in gender with the subject, marked by the enclitic indefinite articles (masculine = b, feminine = t), followed by the enclitic copula, whose paradigm is given in Table 3 below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 &amp; 3</td>
<td>(j)i / (j)u</td>
<td>(j)a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>wa</td>
<td>(j)ana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Paradigm of the copula

NB: The 1 & 3SG = (j)i / = (j)u are dialectal variants (which for certain speakers have become free variants).

Below are two examples of the Perfect in an independent clause (1) and an interrogative clause (2):

1. \( t=Ɂabaː=t=ib \) kirif-aː=b=u  
\[ \text{DEF.F = valley = F = LOC.SG} \]  
\[ \text{meet-CVB.MNR = INDF.M.ACC = COP.1SG} \]  
\[ 'I met them in the valley' (and they are still there) (BEJ_MV_NARR_03_camel_094) \]

2. \( \text{kak jʔ-}aː=b=wa \)  
\[ \text{how come-CVB.MNR = INDF.M.ACC = COP.2SG.M} \]  
\[ \text{How have you come? (BEJ_MV_NARR_01_shelter_147)} \]

In embedded clauses, the Manner converb is followed by the auxiliary verb ak ‘be’ instead of the enclitic copula. (3) is an example in a relative clause:

3. \( w=handi \) \( wi=whi \) \( mir-aː=b \)  
\[ \text{DEF.SG.M = tree} \]  
\[ \text{REL.M = under} \]  
\[ \text{find-CVB.MNR = INDF.M.ACC} \]  
\[ \text{iː-kti=jeːb rhi-is-i=}hoːb \]  
\[ \text{AOR.3SG.M-be = REL.M} \]  
\[ \text{see-Caus-AOR.3SG.M = when} \]  
\[ 'When he showed him the tree under which he had found it…' (BEJ_MV_NARR_02_farmer_053-055) \]

Unlike many Cushitic languages, Beja has no dedicated negative paradigms, but uses instead proclitic particles in combination with part of the Indicative tenses and periphrastic constructions.

The \textit{negative Imperfective} is made with a negative proclitic particle \( ka=\) /ki= (1SG / other persons; only \( ka= \) for all persons before initial h), followed by the \textit{Perfective} finite verb form.

The \textit{negative Perfective} is a complex form. The core verb is the Manner converb with a suffix -a, which agrees in gender with the subject (marked by the indefinite article

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3 All examples whose reference starts with \textit{BEJ_MV_NARR} are excerpts from my online corpus of Beja freely accessible at http://corpafroas.tge-adonis.fr/Archives/.

4 For the aspectual shift in Beja, see Cohen (1972).
M = b, F = t), followed by the negative proclitic particle $ka = /ki= $, and an auxiliary, the verb $ak$ ‘be’ conjugated in the Imperfective: $rha-a = b \ 'ka = a-ki$ ‘I did not see’.

In addition to these asymmetries, the Aorist has no specific negative form and shares it with the negative Perfective.

3. Irrealis mood paradigms

3.1. Canonical imperatives

Beja imperatives have not grammaticalized aspectual or time distinctions. Canonical imperatives can only be used in independent or coordinated clauses.

3.1.1. Imperative

The inflectional morphemes of the most common “canonical” imperative, i.e. addressee-oriented imperative (cf. Aikhenvald 2012), are suffixed to an invariable stem whatever the verb class. The inflectional morphemes differ slightly for V1 and V2 in the plural: V1 - na, V2 - ana. Like the indicative paradigms, the imperative differentiates gender only in the singular: - a (M), - i (F). When the subject, i.e. the addressee, that commands the gender and number of the imperative, is overtly expressed, it takes the vocative case, not the nominative as in declarative or interrogative utterances. The use of an overt subject makes the command more forceful, as in (5).

4. $\alpha = jham$ \quad $der-a$
   
   DEF.SG.M.ACC = leopard \quad kill-IMP.SG.M
   
   ‘Kill the leopard!’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_15_leopard_072)

5. $ligam-ana = t-i$ \quad $ligam-i$
   
   look_over\ DIM-N.AGN = INDF.F-VOC \quad look_over\ DIM-IMP.SG.F
   
   ‘Overlooker, overlook!’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_12_witch_090)

6. $i = rezg = ok$ \quad $hariw-na$
   
   DEF.M = job = POSS.2SG.ACC \quad seek-IMP.PL
   
   ‘Look for your livelihood!’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_18_Adam_devil_066)

7. $u = mb?e$ \quad $q?am-ana$
   
   DEF.SG.M.NOM = day \quad hide\ REFL-IMP.PL
   
   ‘Hide during the day!’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_18_Adam_devil_068-070)

Although uncommon in spontaneous utterances, 5 all derived forms can also be used in the imperative, including Passive and Reflexive forms, as well as stative verbs and verbs with non-volitional meaning referring to uncontrolled events: $atômâna$ (atoː-mam-a) ‘be shaved!’ (Roper 1928: 72), $yâya$ (jaːj-a) ‘die!’ (Roper 1928: 78).

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5 Not a single example was found in a sample of 3 hours of narrative texts (which include a lot of dialogues and commands).
3.1.2. Emphatic imperative

The data I collected in Sinkat (Sudan) revealed the existence of a second imperative paradigm unrecorded so far: a suffix -n is added to all the imperative inflectional morphemes, i.e. there is no morphological loss as compared with the more ‘neutral’ imperative: gender and number distinctions are kept, contrary to a strong cross-linguistic tendency towards a reduction of grammatical categories in emphatic imperatives (Aikhenvald 2012: 125).

As e.g. the emphatic imperative in -tte in Haro (Woldemariam 2003: 152-3), the Beja emphatic imperative is used for pragmatic reasons in order to strengthen the illocutionary force of the command or the urgency with which it should be fulfilled. It often brings overtones of threat, scolding or anger (8, 9) towards the addressee, would the command not be (immediately) accomplished, or an overtone of warning, signalling a danger if the desired action is not undertaken (10).

8. ʔamuːl=ib iː-fi-iːn=t jʔa
milk_bowl=LOC.SG AOR.3-be_there-PL =COORD milk
sallam-ta = ajt = heb
give-PVF.3SG.F = CSL = OBJ.1SG take-IMP.SG.M-EMPH say\PFV.3SG.F = OBJ.1SG = when
‘Since she had given me a milk bowl, when she told me: Take it! ...’ (you'd better take it quickly!) (BEJ_MV_NARR_01_shelter_129)

9. t=ʔoːr-ej oː=meːk fidin-i
DEF.F = child-VOC DEF.SG.M.ACC = donkey move_away-IMP.SG.F
galeːl-i=n
case_away-IMP.SG.F = EMPH
‘Girl! Chase the donkey away!’ (chase it right now, it annoys me!) (BEJ_MV_NARR_03_camel_020-021)

10. bak ʔabk-i-n w=hi
thus take-IMP.SG.F-EMPH DEF.SG.M = lamb
‘Take the lamb like that!’ (or it will escape) (BEJ_MV_NARR_01_shelter_044-046)

3.1.3. Prohibitive

Morphologically, the prohibitive only encodes one degree of strength. It involves a dedicated negator: a variable proclitic particle, different from the Indicative negative particle, baː= (SG.M & PL) / biː= (SG.F), precedes the verb stem for both verb classes. The prohibitive paradigm also partially differs from the imperative. For V1 verbs, the prohibitive stems are different from the imperative ones, CiːC and CaCiːC, the same stems as the negative Simultaneity converb. This is partly reminiscent of the prohibitive formation in Warlpiri with a privative case marker on

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6 For a cross-linguistic analysis of illocutionary force in connection with imperatives, see Aikhenvald 2012: 203-212).
8 And the negative Optative (see below 3.4.2). The (uninflected) Simultaneity converb combined with the prohibitive particle forms a privative clause (meaning ‘without’).
the nominalized verb form (and an auxiliary meaning ‘leave’) (Laughren 2002: 115-16, in Aikhenvald 2012: 172). The Beja prohibitive construction may have originated along similar lines, as converbs have both nominal and verbal features. Another difference with the imperative is the feminine morpheme of V2 verbs which is -ej instead of -i. The other inflectional morphemes are those of the Imperative.

11a. baː-gig-a  
    NEG.PROH-leave-IMP.SG.M
11b. biː-tam-ej
    NEG.PROH-eat-IMP.SG.F

‘Don’t go away!’ ‘Don’t eat!’

12. dhaːj-i = da baː= hadiːd-aːna  
    people-GEN.SG = DIR NEG.PROH = talk-IMP.PL

‘Don’t tell the people!’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_02_farmer_073)

3.4. Non-canonical imperative

The non-canonical imperative encompasses two paradigms, which cover all three persons, setting them apart from the canonical imperative paradigms. The affirmative non-canonical imperative, as the canonical ones, can only be used in independent and coordinated clauses, while the negative form can also be used in relative and complement clauses as well as in the apodosis of conditional clauses.

3.4.1. Affirmative Optative

The affirmative Optative paradigm, which is not very frequent in my data, is derived from the Aorist paradigms for both verb classes, preceded by an invariable Optative particle baː=⁹ (homophonous with the above mentioned SG.M & PL Prohibitive particle). This Optative fully inflects for person, number and gender, thus functioning also as a Hortative with 1st persons, with an inclusive reading in the plural, and as a Jussive/Injunctive with 3rd persons. This paradigm complies with the cross-linguistic observation that non-canonical imperatives are always more formally marked than addressee-oriented ones (Aikhenvald, 2012: 75). For 2nd persons, the Optative expresses a wish or a threat to the addressee would he/she carry out the action expressed by the verb as in (14) below. Historically, the Beja Optative seems to have developed along a line similar to Indo-European languages, i.e. from a Perfective to an Optative, the Aorist form being the former Perfective paradigm (see Cohen 1972).

¹⁹ Reinisch (1893: 187), describing Northern Beja, gives this particle for 3rd persons only. 1st and 2nd persons are identical to what he calls Futurum I (which is in fact the Potential, an irrealis verb paradigm, see below section 3.5.1). Because of the absence of other sources on the Northern variety of Beja, it is impossible to decide whether this difference is due to a diachronic evolution, a dialectal difference or an incorrect analysis.
13. *henén bānīdwilhokna*¹⁰
    hinin *baː = niː-dwil = hokna*
    1PL.NOM OPT = 1PL-approach\AOR = OBJ.2PL
    ‘Let us approach you’ (Roper 1928: 67)

14. *barūk bātamtiheb!*
    baruk *baː = tan-ti = heb*
    2SG.M OPT = eat\AOR.2SG.M = OBJ.1SG
    ‘Just you bite me!’ (Roper 1928: 51)

15. *jin-aː=t geb=oːn baː=iː-sani*
    day-PL = F near = POSS.1PL.ACC OPT = 3SG.M-stay\AOR
    ‘Let him stay with us a couple of days!’ (Poor and shopkeeper, Ahmed, 2005)¹¹

3.4.2. Negative Optative

The negative Optative, a rather frequent paradigm in my data, is formed by adding a proclitic particle *bi* = (*ba* = in the 1SG because of vowel harmony) to the verb stem, which is different from its affirmative counterpart for V1: the stem is the same as the negative Simultaneity conjugverb and the Prohibitive stems (see above 3.1.3.), CiːC and CaCiːC.¹² *Both verb classes* are in addition conjugated with *prefixes*; a set of suffixes is added to all V2, and to monosyllabic V1 only. The inflection is detailed in table 4 below (the variation in the V2 suffixes is dialectal):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SG</th>
<th>V1mono</th>
<th>V2</th>
<th>PL</th>
<th>V1mono</th>
<th>V2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>baː = a-stem</td>
<td><em>-aj / -ej</em></td>
<td>biː = n-stem</td>
<td><em>-aj / -ej</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M</td>
<td>biː = t-stem</td>
<td><em>-a</em></td>
<td><em>-aj / -ej</em></td>
<td>biː = t-stem</td>
<td><em>-na</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2F</td>
<td>biː = t-stem</td>
<td><em>-i</em></td>
<td><em>-aj / -ej</em></td>
<td>biː = i-stem</td>
<td><em>-na</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M</td>
<td>biː = i-stem</td>
<td><em>-aj / -ej</em></td>
<td>biː = i-stem</td>
<td><em>-na</em></td>
<td><em>-ena</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 3F | biː = t-stem | *-aj / -ej* | biː = i-stem | *-na* | *-ena* |

Table 4: Paradigm of the Optative Negative

NB: The V2 singular suffixes change to *-a* before the enclitic pronouns, and the plural final vowel of V2 is elided as well as before the enclitic conjunction =*eːk* ‘if’.

In independent or main clauses, the negative Optative has the same functions as its corresponding Positive form, i.e. optative, hortative and jussive/injunctive:

16. *harʔiː=isi* biː = t-jʔ-a = heb = aj
    after = 1SG.ABL NEG.OPT = 3SG.F-come\OPT = OBJ.1SG = FOC
    ‘Let it not come from behind me!’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_05_eritrea_328)

Furthermore, in relative and complement clauses, the negative Optative paradigm is in complementary distribution with the indicative negative paradigms which cannot

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¹⁰ Examples taken from Roper (1928) are first given in the original transcription, followed by an IPA transcription, showing morpheme breaks.

¹¹ The examples with this type of reference are taken from my own unpublished data.

¹² Remember that there is no ablaut with the V2 verb class, whose stem is invariable.
be used in this syntactic context. The negative Optative loses its optative, hortative and jussive/injunctive semantics, and most often brings instead other epistemic modal values of near-uncertainty, uneventuality or improbability (see Vanhove 2011), as in (18) and (19):

17. \(\alpha = \text{kina} \quad \text{hoj} \quad \text{bi} = \text{i-bar-in} = e = \text{na} \)
   \(\text{DEF.SG.M.ACC = owner}^{14} \quad \text{3ABL} \quad \text{NEG.OPT = 3-have\OPT-PL = REL = thing}^{15} \)
   \(\text{ki} = \text{t-haj} \quad \text{NEG.IPFV = 3SG.F-be\_there} \text{\OPT} \)
   ‘There was really nothing that they did not have in it.’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_02_farmer_323)

18. \(\text{dab-i} \quad \text{bi} = \text{i-di=jeb} \quad \text{his-an} \)
   \(\text{run-FUT} \quad \text{NEG.OPT = 3SG.M-say\OPT = REL.M} \quad \text{think-PFV.1SG} \)
   ‘I thought he would not be able to run.’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_03_camel_152)

19. \(\text{on} \quad \text{ba=a-gadab-s-aj} = \text{o} \text{kna} \quad \text{fibib-na} \)
   \(\text{PROX.MSG.ACC} \quad \text{NEG.OPT = 1SG-be\_sad-CAUS-OPT = OBJ.2PL} \quad \text{look-IMP.PL} \)
   ‘Beware that I would make you unhappy!’ (Seven orphans and cow, Asha, 2006)

The negative Optative paradigm is also compulsory in the protasis of conditional clauses. This is in line with the cross-linguistically frequent use of imperatives in this context (Aikhenvald 2012: 235-38). In Beja, it brings in addition a deontic value of incapacity:

20. \(\text{na=} = \text{t} \quad \text{ho} \text{k} \quad \text{bi} = \text{i-d?i-na=jek} \)
   \(\text{thing = INDF.F.ACC} \quad \text{2SG.DAT} \quad \text{NEG.OPT = 3-do\OPT-PL = if} \)
   \(\text{alla} = \text{jor=da} \quad \text{g\^iri-am-ni} \quad \text{ni-jad} \quad \text{God = 1SG.GEN = DIR} \quad \text{complain-REFL.PASS-FUT.PL} \quad \text{1PL-say\OPT} \)
   ‘If they cannot do anything to you, we are going to complain to my God’
   (BEJ_MV_NARR_08_drunkard_068-070)

3.5. Potential

3.5.1. Affirmative Potential

The Potential paradigm is periphrastic: the irregular auxiliary verb \(j? \) ‘come’, conjugated in the Imperfective, follows the core verb, which has the form of an invariable verbal noun characterized by a suffix -at (-it with verbs ending in -i), a form found exclusively with (some) auxiliary verbs. This paradigm presents various degrees of grammaticalization: (i) it is formally reduced and grammaticalized to an inflectional morpheme in 2SG and 2PL, (ii) it is usually omitted in 1SG, and (iii) it only occurs as a full-fledged inflected auxiliary in 3SG and 1PL & 3PL. Table 5 below gives the full paradigm for the verb \(\text{tam} \) ‘eat’:

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13 But not in any other adverbial clause type.

14 This is the still semantically transparent strategy used in Beja for the expression of reflexive pronouns, which also function as focus particles as in this example.

15 The dummy noun \(\text{na} \) ‘thing’ may cliticize to the relative enclitic markers to reinforce them. For further details, see Vanhove (2012b: 56-64).
This paradigm corresponds to an irrealis mood. According to Roper (1928: 83), the Potential is typically used in questions, or “in reply to a question framed in the same mood”, where, judging by his translations, it expresses deontic modalities of volition and capacity:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SG</th>
<th>PL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>tam-at (eni)</td>
<td>tam-at enej</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2M</td>
<td>tam-at-a</td>
<td>tam-at-na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2F</td>
<td>tam-at-i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3M</td>
<td>tam-at ejni</td>
<td>tam-at en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3F</td>
<td>tam-at etni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: Paradigm of the Potential

The Potential expresses also epistemic modalities, the most common one being that of inference (22), as well as the deontic modality of ineluctability, with an overtone of threat as in (23), or obligation as in (24):

21a. - šagāmāta  
ʃagam-at-a  
work-VN-POT.2SG.M  
‘Do you want to work? Are you willing to work?’

21b. - šagāmat  ēni  
ʃagam-at  eni  
work-VN_Q POT.1SG  
‘I want to work’ / ‘I can work’ (Roper 1928: 83)

22. dijar-an = etsk  ka = a-kan  dabal = had  
be_tired-PFV.1SG = if  NEG.IPFW = 1SG-KNOW\REFL.PFV  small = until  
fan-at = aj  
rest-POT. [1SG] = CSL  
‘I am really exhausted (lit. I don’t know if I was tired), so I should rest for a while’  
(BEJ_MV_NARR_18_Adam_devil_165-168)

23. hinin  rhi-is-at = oːk  enej  
1PL.NOM see-CAUS-VN = 2SG.ACC  POT.1PL  
‘We are going to show you!’  
(BEJ_MV_NARR_03_camel_183)

24. ʃirfi = t  ʃʔ-anaː = b = i  on = ani  
gamble = INDF.F  strike-N.AGN = INDF.M.ACC = COP.3SG  PROX. SG.M.ACC = 1SG.NOM  
tub-at  i-di  
repent-POT. [1SG]  3SG.M-say\PFV  
‘He was a gambler. He said: I should repent!’  
(Gambler, Ahmed, 2006)

3.5.2. Negative Potential

The negative form of the Potential is built with the same verbo-nominal form as the affirmative Potential, and is followed by the negative Imperfective of the auxiliary

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Reinisch (1893: 185) analyzes this form as one of the Future tenses. Although not the canonical Future tense (formed with the verb di ‘say’), this analysis is in line with its irrealis status.
verb areː ‘wish, want’. Not a single instance of this construction was found in my data, and the sole examples found so far in Roper’s grammar book (1928) express a deontic value of incapacity:

25a. - tontonātón gāl dor kwit’áta?
   - ton toː=naː=t=oon
def.sg.f.acc.  indf.f = poss.1pl  one time
   gāl dor k“it?-at-a
   PROX.sg.f.acc.  def.sg.f.acc.  thing
‘Can you swallow this at a single gulp?’

25b. - kwit’át káran
   - k“it?-at ka=r-an
swallow-vn  neg.IPfv = wish-pfv.1sg
‘no, I cannot’ (Roper 1928: 83)

4. Modality and enclitic object pronouns

Before going into the details of the modalities expressed by the use of object enclitic pronouns, a few words about the morphology of these pronouns are needed. The bound object pronouns are overtly expressed for 1st and 2nd persons only. There is no gender distinction, but in the singular a suffix is optionally added to encode the sex of the addressee (-a for masculine, -i for feminine). The form of the bound pronouns varies with TAM. Table 6 below provides the list of the bound object pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>After IPFV &amp; PFV</th>
<th>After AOR</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>pl</td>
<td>sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>=heb</td>
<td>=hon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>=hok</td>
<td>=’hokna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: Clitic object pronouns

NB: The set of bound object pronouns after the Aorist have the same form as the nominative possessive bound pronouns.

It is known since Roper (1928: 29), that the bound pronouns used with the Aorist express a hypothesis or a doubt. When object pronouns are overtly expressed in their enclitic form in a conditional clause, they cannot cooccur with the conditional enclitic particle =eːk ‘if’, which is dropped (Roper 1928: 45, 50). In this context, the

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17 Reinisch (1893: 185) wrongly analyses the negative Potential as being formed with the auxiliary verb rib ‘refuse’. The construction expresses in fact a contrastive negation (cf. Vanhove & Hamid Ahmed 2004).

18 Beja also has a set of independent object pronouns for all three persons.

19 “The objective suffixes to the conditional [= Aorist] of the verb […], and to the verb when the meaning or intention is dubious, are …” (Roper 1928: 29). Reinisch (1893: 109, n. 2) does not give a special paradigm and only notes that “Statt -hēb findet sich auch das nominalsuffix -ū” (instead of -hēb we also find the nominal suffix -ū, my translation). The translation of the example he provides does not show any modal value.
clause with the enclitic Aorist object pronoun is the protasis of the conditional clause.

26. **barú** barók tamiúk kák sáktia?
   **baruː** baroːk tam-i=juːk kak sak-tija
   3SG.M.NOM 2SG.M.ACC eat-AOR.3SG.M = OBJ.2SG how do-AOR.2SG.M
   ‘Had he bitten you what would you have done?’ (Roper 1928: 30)

27. **imhalagaïyék** aheyúk, ámsé yi’át
   i-mhalaga-jeːk a-he=juːk amsi jʔ-at
   DEF.M-money = POSS.2PL.ACC 1SG-give\AOR = OBJ.2SG today come-VN
tíriba ti-rib-a
   2-refuse\PFV-SG
   ‘Had I given you your money you would not have come to-day’ (Roper 1928: 30)

28. **áne** barók tamiúk kák sáktia?
   ani baroːk tam-i=juːk kak sak-tija
   1SG.NOM 2SG.M.ACC eat-AOR.1SG = OBJ.2SG how do-IPFV.2SG.M
   ‘If I bit you, what would you do?’ (Roper 1928: 50)

29. **w=haˈwaːd jʔ-i=juːk**
   DEF.3SG =night come-AOR.3SG = OBJ.2SG
   ‘If night falls upon you…’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_05_eritrea_110)

Bound Aorist object pronouns are also used with the indicative Imperfective and Perfective paradigms in the protasis of conditional clauses, a frequent construction in my data:

30. **aː=jas j-ʔaʃiʃ-n=uːk ʃiːʃik**
    **heː-ja j=ʔar i=dabaloː-ja**
    1PL=dog\PL 3M-face\each\other\PFV-PL = OBJ.2SG thorn
    be-IMP.3M = child\PL DEF.M = small-PL
    jʔaʃiʃ-n=uːk halaːwa= t fif-a
    3M-face\each\other\PFV-PL = OBJ.2SG sweet\PL = INDF.F pour-IMP.SG.M
    heː-ja jʔaʃiʃ-n=uːk t=hadʔa
    be-IMP.SG.M DEF.F = elder 3M-face\each\other\PFV-PL = OBJ.2SG
    halaːwa=t fif-a heː-ja
    pour\IMP.SG.M blue_pearl\PL = INDF.F pour-IMP.SG.M be-IMP.SG.M
    ‘If you meet the dogs, pour thorns to them! If you meet the small children, pour sweets to them! If you meet the old women, pour blue pearls!’ (lit. if the dogs face you, etc.) (BEJ_MV_NARR_12_witch_107-112)

31. **ni-garb=uːk ∫ambhaneː=b=wa**
    **sōtʔaːl-a=t fif-a heː-ja**
    1PL-win\REFL.PFV = OBJ.2SG eyebrow = INDF.M = COORD
    hoːk ni-jad
    DEM.MSG.ACC DEF.M = moustache = POSS.2SG.ACC = COORD 2SG.DAT FUT.1PL-take
    ‘If we defeat you we’ll shave off your moustache and eyebrows’ (Gambler and marriage, Saddik, 2006)
With ditransitive and motion verbs, a recipient marker =eːt is inserted between the verb form and the Aorist object pronoun:

32. \( en \) \( er \cdot j ə \) \( un \) \( w = boj \)
\( PROX.PL.M.ACC \) \( DEF.PL.M.ACC-COW.PL \) \( PROX.SG.M.NOM \) \( DEF.SG.M.NOM = blood \)
\( dhaj \) \( e=fi = je = na = ka \) \( ti-jaw-n = et = i \)
\( DIR \) \( 3MSG-be_there\)IPFV \( = REL \) \( thing = DISTR \) \( 2\)-give\)IPFV-PL \( = RCPT \) \( OBJ.1SG \)
\( i = gug = i \) \( diw-in = i \)
\( DEF.M = mood = POSS.1SG.NOM \) \( sleep-IPFV.3SG.M \) \( AOR.3SG.M-say \)

‘He said: if you give me all the cows that have blood on them, I’ll keep quite.’ (Dead mother and cow, Asha, 2005)

The Aorist bound pronouns are also used with the Imperfective paradigm and the affirmative and negative Optative paradigms outside the above conditional context, in declarative independent or relative clauses. In such cases, they encode epistemic modalities of inference (34), in line with the conditional reading of the construction, as well as a deontic modality of ineluctability (35, 36):

34. \( wadʤʤa = b \) \( han \) \( are: \) \( ti-kten = eb \)
\( appointment = IND.F.M \) \( also \) \( then \) \( 2SG.M-know\)REL.IPFV = REL.M \)
\( ti-s-dalːw = eb \) \( ti-niw = un \) \( n-higit \)
\( 2SG.M-CAUS\)-approach\)IPFV = REL.M \( 2SG.M-give\)IPFV = OBJ.1PL \( FUT.1PL\)-wait \( ni-jad \)
\( 1PL\)-say\)IPFV \( ‘Then you also know the meeting time. You should not make us wait. We’ll wait for you’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_03_camel_122-127) \)

35. \( oːn \) \( baː = dar-i = juːkna \) \( jibib-na \)
\( PROX.SG.M.ACC \) \( OPT = kill\)OPT-AOR.1SG = OBJ.2PL \( look\)-IMP.PL \( ‘Beware I would kill you!’ (= I’m going to kill you, for sure) (Seven orphans and cow, Asha, 2005) \)

36. \( α = k^{\ast}a n \) \( i = baː = hass-aj = uk \)
\( DEF.SG.M.ACC = flood \) \( REL.M = NEG.OPT = pass-OPT.3SG.M = OBJ.2SG \)
\( i-sanni = hok-a \)
\( 3SG.M-wait\)IPFV = OBJ.2SG-ADRF.M \( ‘May you find the flooding river that would prevent you from crossing!’ (BEJ_MV_NARR_12_witch_133-134) \)

The Aorist bound pronouns can also be used in interrogative utterances with Perfective and Imperfective verb forms. In this context, they encode a deontic modality of capacity or possibility:

37. \( kak \) \( ni\)-wari = juːk \( i = gug = uk \) \( diw-in = hok \)
\( how \) \( 1PL\-do\)IPFV = OBJ.2SG \( DEF.M = mood = POSS.2SG.NOM \) \( sleep\)IPFV.3SG.M = OBJ.2SG

\(^{20}\) This marker is homophonous with the feminine marker of relative clauses and the plural similitative marker.
in-di = hob
3SG.M=say\IPFV = when
‘When he told him: How can we manage so that you’ll keep quite?’ (Seven orphans
and cow, Asha, 2005)

5. Finite and non finite verbs + nominal copula: deontic and focus

In his Beja grammar book, Roper (1928) mentions the possibility to add the enclitic
nominal copula, the usual device to form verbless clauses, after the Imperfective (his
‘present’) and the Aorist (his ‘conditional’) verb forms in order to express a set of
modal values. With the Imperfective, Roper (1928: 43) translates this compound
verb form by ‘ought to, can, could, might’. He provides two contextualized
examples, which clearly have deontic modal values of obligation and advice, but not
of capacity:

38. barúk émbi’ kissó bāskitāwājait to’a
   barūk u = mbʔe; kass = o; baski-ti = wa = jaɪt tʔa
2SG.M.NOM DEF.SG.M.ACC-day all = POSS.3SG.M.ACC fast-N.AC = COP.2SG.M = CSL now
tamîńiwa
   tam-ɪni = wa
   eat-IPFV.2SG.M = COP.2SG.M21
‘Since you have fasted all day you ought to eat now’ (Roper 1928: 44)

39. ʊnɪtám lhejɪ etmɪge
    un u = tam lhejt e-t-mɪgej
DEM.SG.M.NOM DEF.SG.M.NOM = food tomorrow 3SG.M-REFL-go_bad\IPFV
tam-nɪbi
    tam-anɪ = b = i
eat-IPFV.1SG = INDF.M.ACC = COP.1SG
‘This food will go bad tomorrow so I ought to eat (it now)’ (Roper 1928: 44)

With the Aorist, Roper (1928: 50) further specifies that the copula seems to be used
only in conditional clauses, and judging by his two examples, in the apodosis. His
translations clearly show deontic values of obligation and necessity, which are
inferred from the propositional content of the first clause:

40. dne osūk akantîmɛk
    ani o = sug a-kantîm = eɛk
1SG.NOM DEF.SG.M.ACC = market 1SG-arrive\IPFV = if
tâmîbi
    tam-ɪɛ = b = i
eat-AOR.3SG.M = INDF.M.ACC = COP.1SG
‘When I reach the market I must eat’ (Roper 1928: 50)

41. yam temeriɛk gwîwɑ
    jam ti-miri = jɛk g^{*}-ɪɛ = wa
water 2SG.M-find\IPFV = if drink-AOR.2SG.M = COP.2SG

21 Roper (1928: 43) specifies that ‘[t]he first person singular has also tamînibì, tamîniti.’ The =b and
= t of the final -bi and -ti are the indefinite M and F articles, which add an extra nominalization
device to the construction.
‘If you find water you must drink it’ (Roper 1928: 50)

Roper (1928: 39) mentions that this construction, with the same modal values, is found not only with finite verbs, but also with a non-finite verb form, the negative Simultaneity converb (his negative “present participle”). His translations hint to deontic modalities of capacity, obligation, advice and necessity (‘that cannot, must not, ought not’):

42. **āne  gerāb  hádīt  bātāmei (-eyi)**
   \[ani  girab  hadit  ba= tam-e= ji\]
   ‘I do not (must not) eat until evening (lit. I until evening am-a-non-eater)’ (Roper 1928: 39)

43. **bārūk  lḥāwāyāɣit  bātāmewa**
   \[baruːk  lha-a=wa=jajt  baː=tam-eː=wa\]
   ‘Since you are ill you-ought-not-to-eat’ (Roper 1928: 39)

These examples are still understood with the same meaning by today’s speakers of Beja, but they are felt as “out-of-date”, and no occurrence of any of these modal values was found in the spontaneous data I have recorded so far, nor in the material I tried to elicit.

In today’s speech, the combination of a finite verb form and the copula has a different meaning: it is one of the syntactic strategies used to encode information structure, namely the contrastive focus of an argument of the verb, denoting a constituent that identifies a subset within a larger set of alternatives. Copulas are crosslinguistically well-known devices for the expression of focus, particularly in African languages (see e.g., Heine & Reh 1984). Beja is thus one more example, but it is particular in that it does not recruit also for this purpose a cleft or a relative clause. At least if such constructions were involved at some point in the history of the language, their structure was different from what relative clauses\(^22\) are today, and were in Roper’s time.

44. **bess  barijok  harwi=ju=it**
   only \[2SG.M.GEN  want\(PFV\).[1SG] = COP.1SG = COORD\]
   ‘But it was from you that I wanted it, and...’ (and from no one else) (Lion and Prophet, Zeinab, 2003)

45. **ani  a-dir=i  ti=dhaninaj  i-ndi= jeb= ka**
   \[1SG.NOM  1SG-kill\(PFV\) = COP.1SG  DEF.SG.F = monster 3SG.M-say\(IPFV\) = REL.M = DISTR\]
   ‘Every time (someone) says: I am the one who killed the monster’ (Starry dress, Ahmed, 2002)

\(^{22}\) For an overview of relative and cleft clauses, see Roper (1928: 89-94) and Vanhove (2002b: 56-64).
Example (47) is the sole instance in my data in which both the finite verb form and the focused argument are marked with the nominal copula.

6. Discussion

From the preceding section, one question arises: What are the commonalities between focus construction and deontic modality? Is there a functional synchronic explanation to the polysemy of this construction involving a versatile category (i.e. the nominal enclitic copula also used with finite verbs), which in turn might explain a possible evolution between the two grammatical meanings, hypothetically from deontic modality to focus in Beja, because of diachronic considerations?

The use of similar or related constructions, usually involving nominalizations, copulas or cleft constructions, for the expression of focus and of deontic modality is not unknown crosslinguistically, but explanations differ depending on the language group and on linguists.

Eitan Grossman (p.c.) states that “In earlier Egyptian, there is a definite association between focus and deontic modality: they tend to meet in asseverative constructions, where focus is not on an argument but on the predicative link itself.”

He also mentions (Grossman, p.c.) that the polyfunctionality is attested in the Sahidic variety of Coptic (Afroasiatic) for the focus marker *e/- ere-* which was grammaticalized for the expression of an Optative, via a Future tense construction, i.e. the reverse grammaticalization path than the one postulated above for Beja.

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23 In this example, the comparative particle, which here agrees in gender and changes the meaning of the verb ‘like’ into ‘prefer’, is inserted between the verb and the copula.

24 My deepest thanks are due to Denis Creissels, Eitan Grossman, Randy LaPolla, Stéphane Robert, Eva Schultz-Berndt, and Bernhardt Wälchli for providing insights into Coptic, Tibeto-Birman languages (Qiang in particular), Latvian, and Wolof, and for discussing with me possible synchronic and diachronic interpretations of this polyfunctionality, in answer to a query I posted on LinguistList.
Grossman (p.c.) further adds that this is “part of a general trend for earlier biclausal structures (clefts, mainly) to be grammaticalized into monoclausal focal constructions, and from there on, to other things”.

The verb paradigms in Wolof (Atlantic, Niger-Congo) (Stéphane Robert p.c. and 1991: 266-268), offer yet another semantic and formal link between focus and deontic modality: deontic values are compatible with the so-called Emphatic conjugations, which encode the focusing of Subject, Object, and Verb, when an Imperfective morpheme is added.

Bernhard Wälchli (p.c., and 2000: 200-206) suggests that the Latvian (Baltic, Indo-European) debitive paradigm, historically related to a cleft construction and a copula, could be marginally relevant to this issue, again with a grammaticalization path opposite to the hypothetical one in Beja: “the debitive (necessitive modality, both deontic and epistemic) developed from a construction with copula in main clause and lexical verb in relative clause, something like ‘To me(DAT) is water (of) what to drink’. The copula is still obligatory everywhere except in affirmative present where it is optional. The relative clause has fused to a synthetic form which cannot be analyzed synchronically. Focus is not morphologically expressed in Latvian, but it seems possible that the construction originally implied a focus on the object, since the verb has been backgrounded in the relative clause.”

In Qiang (Tibeto-Burman) Randy LaPolla (p.c. and 2003: 190ff, 234-235) mentions a quite common pattern, similar to that of Beja, involving a copula and a verb form (usually nominalised, but finite verbs may also be used) for the expression of argument contrastive focus and deontic modality. The construction is not understood in Qiang and Tibeto-Burman languages “as a deontic construction becoming a focus construction, but as two different uses for nominalizations (among others)”.

Eva Schutze-Berndt (p.c.) suggests the following, in line with LaPolla: “My guess (knowing nothing about Cushitic languages, so just based on your two examples) is that a cleft construction is here recruited for both functions, rather than one function being grammaticalised from the other. For argument focus that’s unproblematic since cleft constructions are widely attested in that function.” She further adds: “I know less about grammaticalisation paths for deontic modality but I could imagine that a structure “if X, it’s that Y” could by implicature receive a deontic interpretation “... one must Y”. A similar suggestion was made by Denis
Creissels (p.c.), and examples (40, 41) show that the implicature context is attested in the Beja. So, the syntactic link between focus and deontic (in particular necessity as in Latvian) is clear attested crosslinguistically, whatever the exact grammatical means. Nevertheless, in Beja, two factors seem to go against a grammaticalization from focus to deontic as attested in Coptic, supposed in Latvian (and possibly also in Wolof considering that the Emphatic paradigm is primarily a focus construction): (i) both the implicature and the deontic modality are attested diachronically prior to the focus function (even if shortly), (ii) the native speakers’ feeling is that the deontic reading is “old fashioned”. Does the case of Beja provide an argument in favour of a possible bidirectional grammaticalization? Or do we have to discard the grammaticalization process altogether and be happy with the synchronic analysis of a polyfunctional construction? No satisfactory answer can be provided in the present state of knowledge, and further research is needed which is beyond the scope of this paper.

Another unsolved question concerns the role of the special set of Aorist bound object pronouns (as described in section 4) in the expression of hypothesis, epistemic and deontic modalities. So far no crosslinguistic data reminiscent of the Beja construction has been found and it remains unclear how object pronouns contribute to the encoding of modalities. Cushitic and Afroasiatic comparison could help providing the beginning of an explanation, but the following is still highly tentative. As mentioned earlier, the Aorist object pronoun set is the same as the nominative possessive pronoun set, which hints to a possible nominal origin of the Aorist paradigm itself, the former Perfective (but, to the best of my knowledge, we have no proof of this yet). If it were the case, a parallel could be drawn with the well known grammaticalization scenario of possessive constructions into deontic necessity (e.g. van der Auwera & Plungian 1998). Still, if deontic modalities are indeed expressed with a pronominal set of possessive origin in Beja, there is no instance so far of a necessitive meaning of the construction, a stage that could explain further developments into other deontic and epistemic values. Such a diachronic scenario would make the Beja construction not so unique typologically.

**Abbreviations**

- ABL Ablative
- ACC Accusative
References


