

Predication in Beja (Cushitic)

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Introduction

This paper presents the various predications, in the sense of the grammatical relations overtly encoded, by whatever linguistic means, between a predicate and its NP argument(s) in the Beja language (North-Cushitic, Afroasiatic). It was elaborated during the joint ANR project *CorTypo* (<http://cortypo.huma-num.fr/>) (PI Amina Mettouchi), on the basis of the sound-indexed corpus annotated for the project. The data, collected in the field from one male speaker and one female speaker of Sinkat, in 2005, 2006 and 2011, consist of 40 oral texts (1 conversation, 1 language play, 1 personal narrative, 1 religious story, 2 jokes, 2 pear stories, 3 procedural texts, 4 anecdotes, and 25 folktales), for a total duration of 98 mn.

All in all, eighteen predications are encoded in the language, either by grammatical morphemes and/or linear order. As they are not always overtly expressed in all the lexicon, depending on the phonemic and syllabic structure of the arguments, and because of changes in the linear order due to information structuring, the user of the Beja corpus in the *CorTypo* database has to be aware that when searching the database some tokens may be missing.

The article is structured as follows: After some general information about the Beja language, all the predications are listed in turn, grouped by the language coding means, together with their language internal definition, their constraints in use, the predications which they are in contrast with; they are illustrated by examples extracted from the corpus, glossed following the Leipzig Glossing Rules as expanded during a previous ANR project, CorpAfroAs (<http://dx.doi.org/10.1075/sci.68.website>). These two parts are automatically generated from the online database. The article ends with a synthesis and a discussion, followed by a brief general conclusion.

Language information



Name and ISO code : Beja, named beḳawije:t by the Beja people (BEJ).

Speakers : approx. 2,000,000.

Region : Eastern Sudan, Red sea and Kassala provinces.

Classification : North Cushitic, Afroasiatic.

Dialectology : Three main dialectal zones: North, South, transition zone. Ill-known.

Status : Unwritten language in Sudan. Widespread bilingualism with Sudanese Arabic, more for male than female speakers. Still the mother tongue of most Beja-s, but in towns, parents tend to avoid speaking Beja to their children, counting on the grand-parents for the transmission of the language. But still widely used for interactions of everyday life. Arabic is the means of education in schools, but girls, if sent at all to school, very often stop school after primary level. Rate of literacy is unknown. Hierarchy of speech, encoded in the language, linked to honour-related issues, rules of politeness and social taboos.

Main typological features : Beja is a marked-nominative language with accusative alignment. It is predominantly head-final, dependent-marking in NPs but head-marking in VPs; the canonical constituent order is **SOV** (SVO with object bound pronouns), dependent clause – matrix clause. Information structure licenses other rarer constituent orders. The verbal system is not tensed but based on aspectual and mood distinctions in finite verb forms which index the subject. There are also four nonfinite converbs. Beja distinguishes three core cases, **nominative, accusative, and genitive** (pronouns have ablative and dative in addition). It has two genders (masculine and feminine) and two numbers (singular and plural). Part of the morphology is non-concatenative and based on a root-and-pattern system. The concatenative morphology has both suffixes and prefixes. There are **28 phonemes, 21 consonants, among them 2 retroflex, 2 labio-velars and 2 laryngeals, and 7 vowels** (3 short and 4 long).

Functions in the domain of Predication for the language Beja (Cushitic)

1.1. affirmative ascriptive

Definition	The affirmative ascriptive is a construction which expresses a quality predication.
Construction	The ascriptive construction is expressed with an adjective (+ indefinite determiner) + enclitic copula .
Constraints	The host of the copula has to be an adjective.
Contrasts	EQUATIONAL_AFF; ASCRIPTIVE_NEG

▶ [u:tak ama:XXX](#) (BEJ_MV_CONV_01_RICH_SP2_049)

u:tak **ama:gi**
u:= tak ama:g =i
DEF.SG.M.NOM= man bad =COP.3SG
DET= N,M ADJ =PRED.N

the man is bad.

▶ [hamafo:jt /](#) (BEJ_MV_NARR_28_PEAR1_89)

hamafo:jt /
hamafo:j =t =i /
dark_coloured =INDF.F =COP.3SG .
ADJ =DET =PRED.N .

it was dark,

▶ [qimja:jt ata:btu /](#) (BEJ_MV_NARR_31_KING_54)

qimja:jt **?ata:btu** /
qimi -a:j =t ?ata:b =t =u /
stink -N.AC =INDF.F full =INDF.F =COP.3SG .
V1 -. =DET ADJ =DET =PRED.N .

is (sic) full of stinky things,

1.2. affirmative equational

Definition	The affirmative equational is a construction that expresses a relation of identity between its two arguments.
Construction	The equational and identification relations have the form (noun +) noun (or interrogative pronoun) + enclitic copula. The copula indexes the subject for number and person on a portmanteau morpheme, gender is marked by the indefinite enclitic article between the host and the copula.
Constraints	The host has to be a noun or an interrogative pronoun.
Contrasts	EQUATIONAL_NEG; ASCRIPTIVE_AFF

▶ [g^wisiri /](#) (BEJ_MV_CONV_01_RICH_SP2_092)

g^wisiri /
g^wisir =i /
lie =COP.3SG .
N.M =PRED.N .

it is a lie

▶ [?a:bu:jd indiho:? //](#) (BEJ_MV_NARR_31_KING_46)

ʔa:bu:jt **indiho:b** //
 ʔa:b =u =it i- ndi =ho:b //
 who =COP.3SG =CSL 3SG.M- say\IPFV =when .
 PRO.Q =PRED.N =CONJ PNG- V1.IRG.TR =CONJ .

then who am I?', when he says,

▶ **bu:g gidhi:ji:: jemwa endi e: /** (BEJ_MV_NARR_31_KING_48)

baru:k **gidhi:ji** **jamwa** **indi** **e:n** /
 baru:k gidhi: -i jam =wa i- ndi e:n /
 2SG.M.NOM beyond -GEN water =COP.2SG.M 3SG.M- say\IPFV say\PFV.3PL .
 SBJ.PRO POSTP -CASE N.PL.M =PRED.N PNG- V1.IRG.TR V1.IRG.TR .

'Formerly you were water', he says, they said.

1.3. affirmative existential

Definition	The affirmative existential is a construction that refers to the existence or presence of something or someone.
Construction	The affirmative existential has the following forms: Noun (in nominative) + one of the three locative verbs: haj, faj or da 'be there'.
Constraints	An overt subject is obligatory; It cannot cooccur with a locative postposition, an ablative and dative pronoun in the preceding context.
Contrasts	LOCATIVE; EXISTENTIAL_NEG

▶ **e:tni:tu:kna thaje:g umbatu: /** (BEJ_MV_CONV_01_RICH_SP2_217)

e:tni:tu:k **na** **thaje:k** **umbatu:** /
 e:tni: =t =u:k na t- ha =e:k umbatu: /
 come\IPFV.3SG.F =INDF.F =POSS.2SG.NOM thing 3SG.F- be_there\IPFV =if 3SG.F.NOM .
 V2.IRG.TR =REL =PRO N.F PNG- V1.IRG.INTR =CONJ PRO .

if there is something that can happen to you, it

▶ **baʔka:l ʔo:r idne tag i:fi:: /** (BEJ_MV_NARR_21_BASHKAL_08)

baʔka:l **ʔo:r** **i:dni** **tak** **i:fi** /
 baʔka:l ʔo:r i:- d -ni tak i:- fi /
 Bashkal child 3- say\AOR -PL man 3SG.M- be_there\AOR .
 N.PROP N PNG- V1.IRG.TR -PNG N.M PNG- V1.IRG.INTR .

there was a man named Bashkal Oor, and

▶ **rha: da:ja^h //** (BEJ_MV_NARR_27_GOAT_104)

rha: **da:ja:n** //
 rha: da:j -ja:n //
 see\N.AC be_there -PFV.3PL .
 N.V.M.PL V2.INTR -TAM.PNG .

there were sights

1.4. locative

Definition	The locative is a construction which locates an animate or inanimate entity in relation with a locative complement
Construction	A locative predication is expressed by any of the three 'be there' verbs: haj, faj and da. There are six constructions: noun + locative postposition + 'be there'; noun + dative or ablative pronoun; noun in the accusative case + 'be there'; proper noun + 'be there'; also marginally: noun + locative postposition + ak 'become'; and noun + ablative pronoun + 'be there'.
Constraints	Locative postposition, ablative pronoun, dative pronoun, noun in the accusative, or proper name are obligatory in the preceding context.
Contrasts	EXISTENTIAL_AFF

▶ **whik^wim whar?:i: dajni: /** (BEJ_MV_CONV_01_RICH_SP2_286)

whik^wim **whar?:i:** **da:ji:nib** /
 w= hik^wim w= har?:i: da:j -i:ni =b /
 DEF.SG.M= judgement DEF.SG.M= after be_there -IPFV.3SG.M =INDF.M.ACC .
 DET= N.M.BORR.ARA REL= POSTP V2.INTR -TAM.PNG =REL .

from the judgement that will come afterwards

▶ **bara: gabe:te:b i:finajd /** (BEJ_MV_NARR_21_BASHKAL_15)

bara: gabe:te:b i:finajt /
 bara: gabe:t =e:b i:- fi -n =ajt /
 3PL.M.NOM Gabeet =LOC.PL 3- be_there\AOR -PL =CSL .
 SBJ.PRO N.PROP =POSTP PNG- V1.IRG.INTR -PNG =CONJ .

they were in Gabeet. In Gabeet Alashraaf,

▶ khara:jib da:jini // (BEJ_MV_NARR_21_BASHKAL_77)

ikhara:ji:b da:jja:n ini //
 i= khara:j =i:b da:j -ja:n i- ni //
 DEF.M= hyena =LOC.SG be_there -PFV.3PL 3SG.M- say\PFV .
 DET= N.M =POSTP V2.INTR -TAM.PNG PNG- V1.IRG .

they followed the hyena, he said.

1.5. negative ascriptive

Definition	The negative ascriptive is a construction that negates a quality predication.
Construction	The negative ascriptive is formed with an adjective + a negative particle + the verb ak 'become'.
Constraints	The predicate must be an adjective.
Contrasts	ASCRPTIVE_AFF; EQUATIONAL_NEG

▶ bajik^w ki:ka:j / (BEJ_MV_NARR_56_dove_150)

bajik^w ki:ka:j /
 bajik^w ki= i- ka =aj /
 cooked\ADJ NEG.IPFV= 3SG.M- become\PFV =CSL .
 ADJ PTCL= TAM- V1.IRG =CONJ .

since it is not ready

1.6. negative equational

Definition	The negative equational is a construction which negates a relation of identity between its two arguments.
Construction	The negative equational is formed with noun + negative particle + verb ak 'become'.
Contrasts	EQUATIONAL_AFF; EXISTENTIAL_NEG; ASCRPTIVE_NEG

▶ a:::badan an akna:ji gi:ga:ne tak ka:kidi / (BEJ_MV_NARR_25_ORPHAN_263)

abadan ani akna:ji gi:gani tak ka:ki idi /
 abadan ani i= kina =ji gi:g -ani tak ka= a- ki i- di /
 never 1SG.NOM DEF.M= owner =POSS.1SG.NOM leave -IPFV.1SG man NEG.IPFV= 1SG- become\PFV 3SG.M- say\PFV .
 ADV SBJ.PRO DET= PRO.REFL =PRO V2.INTR -TAM.PNG N.M PTCL= PNG- V1.IRG.TR PNG- V1.IRG.TR .

He said: 'No way! I am not a man who runs away' and (lit. I am not a man of 'I leave')

▶ bare:k ba:kaj hariwna idi:n e:n // (BEJ_MV_NARR_30_QUARREL_033)

bare:k ba:kaj hariwna idi:n e:n //
 bare:k ba:= kaj hariw -na i- di: -n e:n //
 2PL.M.ACC NEG.PROH= become\CVB.SMLT seek -IMP.PL 3- say\PFV -PL say\PFV.3PL .
 PRO PTCL= V1.IRG.TR V1.TR -TAM.PNG PNG- V1.IRG.TR -PNG V1.IRG.TR .

who are not you, go and fetch them!', they said, they said.

▶ kamte:jo:n ?o:r u:n ki:ki nde:n // (BEJ_MV_NARR_30_QUARREL_091)

kamte:jo:n ?o:r u:n ki:ki indi e:n //
 kam =t =e:jo:n ?o:r u:n ki= i- ki indi e:n //
 camel\PL =INDF.F =POSS.1PL.GEN child PROX.SG.M.NOM NEG.IPFV= 3SG.M- become\PFV 3SG.M- say\IPFV say\PFV.3PL .
 N =DET =PRO N DEM PTCL= PNG- V1.IRG.TR PNG- V1.IRG.TR V1.IRG.TR .

'It's not a calf of our she-camels', he said, they said.

1.7. negative existential

Definition	The negative existential is a construction that refers to the non existence or absence of something/someone.
Construction	Negative existential has the following forms: Noun (in nominative) + one of two locative verbs haj or da 'be_there'
Constraints	The verbe faj 'be there' cannot be used

▶ [we:r balat kiha:jn i:bi:ni /](#) (BEJ_MV_CONV_01_RICH_SP2_053)

we:r balad ki:ha:j han i:bi:ni /
 we:r balad ki= i- ha:j han i:- bi -n =i /
 other country NEG.IPFV= 3SG.M- be_there\PFV Q.PLR 3- go\INT.AOR -PL =REL .
 ADJ N.M PTCL= PNG- V1.IRG.INTR ADV.Q PNG- V1.DER.IRG.TR -PNG =CONJ .

Is not there another country where they could go?

▶ [wha:f ho:j bitha:je:b o:mhi:n /](#) (BEJ_MV_CONV_01_RICH_SP2_080)

wha:f ho:j bitha:je:b o:mhi:n /
 w= ha:f ho:j bi= t- ha =e:b o:= mhi:n /
 DEF.SG.M= ground ABL.3 OPT= 3SG.F- be_there\NEG.OPT =REL.M DEF.SG.M.ACC= place .
 DET= N.M PRO PTCL= PNG- V1.IRG.INTR =CONJ DET= N.M .

the point that in the land there is no (one except him)

▶ [baja i:dni gabal baha:j /](#) (BEJ_MV_CONV_01_RICH_SP2_199)

baja i:dni gabal baha:je: /
 baj -a i:- d -n =i gabal ba= a- ha:j =e: /
 go\INT -CVB.MNR 3- say\AOR -PL =REL direction OPT= 1SG- be_there\NEG.OPT =REL .
 V1.DER.TR -. PNG- AUX.VOL -PNG =CONJ N.PL.M TAM= PNG- V1.INTR =CONJ .

as there is no direction where they want to go,

2.1. transitive

Definition	The transitive is a construction where the verb has two arguments, an Agent or Subject, and a Patient or Object
Construction	With basic verbs, transitivity is marked by linear order (S)O V, or (S) V + enclitic Object Pronoun. The arguments are marked by case on determiners only if the noun is monosyllabic or CiCVC. It is always marked for pronouns. There is no overt case marking for other syllabic structures of nouns. 3rd person enclitic object pronouns are zero morphemes (not mentioned in the transcription).
Constraints	Must have one Object / Patient argument.
Contrasts	INTRANSITIVE; DITRANSITIVE

▶ [mhalle d?o:ri:ne:n /](#) (BEJ_MV_NARR_19_POISON_12)

mhalle: d?o:ri:ni e:n /
 mhall =e: d?o:r -i:ni e:n /
 two =POSS.PL.ACC feed -IPFV.3SG.M say\PFV.3PL .
 NUM =PRO V2.TR -TAM.PNG V1.IRG .

he feeds them both (the girl and the monkey), they said.

▶ [ilaki jha:f biddi:ne:g /](#) (BEJ_MV_NARR_20_SMART_44)

ilaki jhafi biddi:ne:k /
 i= laki i- hafj bi= t- di: -n =e:k /
 DEF.M= wooden_house 3SG.M- dismantle\PFV OPT= 3SG.F- say\NEG.OPT -L =if .
 DET= N.M PNG- V1.TR PTCL= PNG- V1.IRG.TR -. =CONJ .

if you are not dismantling the hut

▶ [t?ati darre: //](#) (BEJ_MV_NARR_23_LEZARD_016)

t?ati darri e:n //
 t?a -ti danri e:n //
 hit -CVB.GNRL kill\IPFV.[3SG.M] say\PFV.3PL .
 V1.TR -. V1.TR V1.IRG.TR .

he beats it to death, they said.

2.2. intransitive

Definition	The intransitive is a construction in which the verb has only one argument, the subject, be it agent or patient.
Construction	With basic verbs, the construction is based on linear order (S)V. In addition, S is in the nominative case (only overtly marked by ablaut on definite article for monosyllabic nouns and CiCVC nouns, or by the feminine indefinite article =t. Indefinite masculine nouns in S position don't bear the indefinite article. Pronouns are marked for the nominative case.
Constraints	No object, either covert or overt
Contrasts	TRANSITIVE; DITRANSITIVE

if he wanted to deprive them

▶ **na:ti: bka** she:sine: / (BEJ_MV_NARR_20_SMART_12)

na:ti: bka **ishiji:sine:t** /
na: =t =i:b =ka i- s- hiji:si -n =e:t /
thing =INDF.F =LOC.SG =DISTR 3- CAUS- be_prefered\AOR -PL =SIMIL.PL .
N.F =DET

They preferred her in every thing.

▶ **dʒabana:t da:ji: t gʷ?astin e:n** / (BEJ_MV_NARR_24_CHIEF_082)

dʒabana:t **da:ji:t** **gʷ?astini** **e:n** /
dʒabana =t da:ji =t gʷ?a -s -tini e:n /
coffee =INDF.F good =INDF.F drink -CAUS -IPFV.3SG.F say\PFV.3PL .
N.F =DET ADJ =DET V2.TR -V2.DER -TAM.PNG V1.IRG.TR .

She provides him with a good coffee, they said.

3.2. double causative

Definition	The double causative is a construction that adds a controller argument different from the subject and the object. The double causative meaning is lost with most verbs. There are no occurrences of a real double causative in the online corpus, and examples are just causative or even non-causative verbs.
Construction	Double causative is marked by morphological derivation. Prefix sisi- or sis- for verb class 1. Suffix -isis or -sis for verb class 2
Constraints	Prefix sis(i)- does not apply to verb class 2. Suffix -(i)sis does not apply to verb class 1.
Contrasts	CAUSATIVE; RECIPROCAL; MIDDLE; PASSIVE; PLURACTIONAL; INTENSIVE

▶ **dig isi:sjo:d ha:j isinhast** / (BEJ_MV_NARR_29_PEAR2_036)

dig isi:sjo:d **ha:j isinhast** /
dig i- si:s- jo:d ha:j i- si- nhas =t /
shake 3SG.M- DBL.CAUS- say\INT.PFV COM 3SG.M- CAUS- become_clean\PFV =COORD .
V2.TR PNG- V1.DER- LV POSTP PNG- V1.DER- V1.INTR =CONJ .

he shook it and cleaned it with it, and

3.3. middle

Definition	The middle is a construction in which the subject is both active and affected. It can be transitive or intransitive.
Construction	The middle is marked by morphological derivations: Vocalic ablaut for verb class 1 in the Perfective, prefix t- in the Imperfective and Aorist; Suffix -(a/i)m for verb class 2.
Constraints	Vocalic ablaut and prefix t- do not apply to verb class 2. Suffixe -(a/i)m does not apply to verb class 1.
Contrasts	PASSIVE; RECIPROCAL; CAUSATIVE; DOUBLE_CAUSATIVE; PLURACTIONA; INTENSIVE

▶ **na:t ho: e:dgi:m nu:n** / (BEJ_MV_CONV_01_RICH_SP2_081)

na:t **ho:** **e:dgi:m** **nu:n** /
na: =t ho: e:- tgi:m nu:n /
thing =INDF.F LOC 1SG- ignore\MID.IPFV except .
N.F =DET POSTP PNG- V1.DER.TR PTCL .

except that I know nothing about that.

▶ **hadʒajdha gʷirjami:nho:β** / (BEJ_MV_NARR_24_CHIEF_027)

whadʒajdha **gʷirjami:nho:b** /
w= hadʒa -i =dha gʷiri -am -i -n =ho:b /
DEF.SG.M= chief -GEN =DIR pity -MID -AOR.3SG.M -L =when .
DET= N -CASE =POSTP V2 -V2.DER -TAM.PNG -. =CONJ .

When he complains to the chief:

▶ **ga:l do:r nakʷa:ju:::** / (BEJ_MV_NARR_25_ORPHAN_298)

ga:l do:r nakʷa:ju /
ga:l do:r nakʷ -a =u /
one time be_pregnant\MID -CVB.MNR =COP.1SG .
NUM N.M V1.DER.INTR -PRF =PRED.N .

(my mother) was pregnant of me once,

3.4. passive

Definition	The passive is an intransitive construction with the patient argument promoted as subject.
Construction	The passive derivation is a morphological derivation only applicable to verb class 1: Prefix ato:- with monosyllables, at- with disyllables (infix after first root consonant s or f), (a)me:- with transitive Intensive and Pluractional verbs. 3 verbs have am- or mi- instead: am-hak ^w ir 'be attached', am-he:jd 'be sewn', mi-fir?a 'be out'
Constraints	Does not apply to verb class 2. The agent is not demoted and cannot be expressed.
Contrasts	MIDDLE; RECIPROCAL; CAUSATIVE; DOUBLE_CAUSATIVE; PLURACTIONAL; INTENSIVE

▶ ha:j ime:fwa:jt / (BEJ_MV_NARR_31_KING_89)

ha:j ime:fwa:jt /
 ha:j i- me:- fwa:j =t /
 COM 3SG.M- PASS- add\PFV =COORD
 POSTP PNG- V1.DER- V1.INTR =CONJ

he benefited from it and

3.5. reciprocal

Definition	The reciprocal is a construction that marks that an action is performed by at least two different participants on one another, or that one participant is accompanying or assisting the other(s) to perform the action.
Construction	The reciprocal is marked by morphological derivations: prefixes amo:- for monosyllables and am- for disyllables for verb class 1; suffix -sam for verb class 2. A few verbs have a suffix -o:m.
Constraints	In the singular it means to 'help, assist s.o in doing s.th' for both verb classes. For verb class 1, in the plural it is only a Dual-Reciprocal (between two persons only); it marks a reciprocal with reference to three or more subjects only when applied to intensive or pluractional derived verbs. For verb class 2 it marks reciprocal for two or more participants, and assistance also in the plural.
Contrasts	CAUSATIVE; DOUBLE_CAUSATIVE; MIDDLE; PASSIVE; PLURACTIONAL; INTENSIVE

▶ hi:da:j itafago:mja:ni:? / (BEJ_MV_CONV_01_RICH_SP1_063)

hi:da:j itafago:mja:ni: /
 hi:da:j itafag -o:m -ja:n =it /
 together agree\PFV -RECP -PFV.3PL =COORD .
 ADV V2.BORR.ARA.INTR -V2.DER -TAM.PNG =CONJ .

they had agreed with him

▶ imtarra:mti:tka ge: / (BEJ_MV_NARR_24_CHIEF_014)

imtarra:mti:tka ge:b /
 im- tarra:m -ti:t =ka ge:b /
 RECP- endure -CVB.SEQ =DISTR beside .
 V1.DER- V1.TR -. =POSTP POSTP .

after he was always patient with her,

▶ bare:k arawe:samho:kna / (BEJ_MV_NARR_26_POOR_183)

bare:k arawe:samho:kna /
 bare:k ?arawe: -sam -i =ho:kna /
 2PL.M.ACC friendship -RECP -FUT.SG =OBJ.2PL .
 PRO N.F -V2.DER -TAM.PNG =PRO .

become friend with you

3.6. pluractional

Definition	The pluractional is a construction that marks the plurality of events, participants or goals: object argument, several object arguments and adjuncts, multiple locations, repetition, durativity, interrupted successive events; actions done carefully, quietly, leisurely or on the contrary in a rapid careless fashion; or against someone's will.
Construction	The pluraction is marked by morphological derivations for both verb classes: Reduplication, total or partial, of the verb stem. If partial, it concerns the initial syllable of the stem for verb class 1, and the final syllable or the middle consonant of the stem for verb class 2. The vowel in reduplicated syllable is always a.
Constraints	Initial reduplication does not apply to verb class 2. Final and middle reduplications do not apply to verb class 1. Verbs which are both Pluractional and Reciprocal are intransitive and are only used with plural subjects.
Contrasts	INTENSIVE; RECIPROCAL; CAUSATIVE; DOUBLE_CAUSATIVE; MIDDLE; PASSIVE

▶ thalgati:tu gu:dgu:di tini:ne:b o:do:r / (BEJ_MV_NARR_24_CHIEF_020)

thalgati:tu: t= halga -ti =t =u: **gu:dgu:di** gu:d~gu:d -i ti- ni:n =e:b o:= do:r /
 DEF.F= bend -N.AC =INDEF =POSS.3SG.NOM PLAC~be_numerous -L 3SG.F- take\IPFV =REL.M DEF.SG.M.ACC= time .
 DET= V1 -N.V =DET =PRO V2.DER.INTR -. PNG- AUX.EMPH =CONJ DET= N.M .

when she becomes too bad with him,

▶ ujna gagami:na: / (BEJ_MV_NARR_32_MEAT_13)

u:ɖɜna **gagami:nejt** /
 u:= ɖɜina ga~gam -i:ni =ejt /
 DEF.SG.M.NOM= baby PLAC~scream -IPFV.3SG.M =CSL .

because the baby screams

▶ ho:j dadi:no:jiho:β // (BEJ_MV_NARR_33_TEETH_29)

ho:j dadi:no:jiho:b //
 ho:j da~dino:j -i =ho:b //
 ABL.3 PLAC~wander -AOR.3SG.M =when .
 PRO V2.DER.INTR -TAM.PNG =CONJ .

when he is wandering around there

3.7. intensive

Definition	The Intensive expresses a plurality of events. It is a pluractional. Contrary to the pluractional derivation, the intensive form can also mark a plurality of objects, without a connotation of intensity or repetition. Not all Intensive forms have a corresponding base form and may not even be intensive in meaning.
Construction	The intensive is a morphological derivation only found for verb class 1: vocalic ablaut of patterns CV:C (V: is mostly o:, sometimes e: or a:) and Ca:CaC.
Constraints	It does not apply to verb class 2.
Contrasts	PLURACTIONAL; CAUSATIVE; DOUBLE_CAUSATIVE; MIDDLE; PASSIVE; RECIRPOCAL

▶ ta:wti:t whaggo: ho:j ijajne:t to:n / (BEJ_MV_CONV_01_RICH_SP1_214)

ta:wti:t **whaggo:** **ho:j ijajne:t** **to:na** /
 ta:w -ti:t w= hagg =o: ho:j i- jaj -n =e:t to:= na /
 wring\INT -CVB.SEQ DEF.SG.M= right =POSS.3SG.ACC ABL.3 3- take\IPFV -PL =REL.F DEF.SG.F.ACC= thing .
 V1.DER.TR -. DET= N.M.BORR.ARA =PRO PRO PNG- V1.IRG.TR -PNG =CONJ DET= N.F .

after having forced him, that they take their rights

▶ ida:rho:g andi:d // (BEJ_MV_NARR_23_LEZARD_043)

i:da:rho:k **andi** **indi** **e:n** //
 i:- da:r =ho:k a- ndi i- ndi e:n //
 FUT.SG- kill\INT =OBJ.2SG 1SG- say\IPFV 3SG.M- say\IPFV say\PFV.3PL .
 TAM.PNG- V1.DER.TR =PRO PNG- AUX.FUT PNG- V1.IRG.TR V1.IRG.TR .

I'll slaughter you', he says, they said.

▶ ilali ge:dtaj tid?i: / (BEJ_MV_NARR_27_GOAT_189)

ilali **ge:dtaj** **tid?i** /
 i= lali ge:d -ta -i ti- d?i /
 DEF.M= acacia_fruit throw\INT -PFV.3SG.F -L 3SG.F- do\PFV .
 DET= N.M V1.DER.TR -TAM.PNG -. PNG- AUX.EMPH .

it was throwing out the acacia fruits, and

4. benefactive

Definition	The benefactive is a construction which adds a beneficiary animate argument to a transitive verb.
Construction	The benefactive is expressed by a periphrastic construction (complex predicate): verb (finite or causal converb) (+ linker -i) + auxiliary verb hi 'give' (finite or nonfinite), a highly irregular verb. If both object and beneficiary are bound object pronouns, they are both zero morphemes for third persons.
Constraints	The verb 'give' has to be preceded by a verb.
Contrasts	TRANSITIVE; INTRANSITIVE; DITRANSITIVE

▶ ibi:lej lakkatija:n jhi:n // (BEJ_MV_NARR_29_PEAR2_151)

ibi:lej		lakkatja:ni		jhi:n		//
i=	bi:li	-i	lakkat	-ja:n	-i	i- hi: -n //
DEF.M=	basket	-GEN	pick_up	-PFV.3PL	-LINK	3- give\PFV -PL .
DET=	N.M	-CASE	V2.BORR.ARA.TR	-TAM.PNG	-	PNG- AUX.BENF -PNG .

they picked them up for him into the basket.

▶ nʔe:tha:f birirti ti:wa:t / (BEJ_MV_NARR_36_HUNCHBACK_261)

nʔe:tha:f	birirti		ti:wa:t		/
nʔe:tha:f	birir	-ti	ti:-	ji:w	-i =a:t /
ash	spread	-CVB.GNRL	3SG-	give\AOR	-F =COORD .
CN	V1.TR	-	PNG-	AUX.BENF	-PNG =CONJ .

She was spreading ashes for her and

▶ bʔe:ti:t na:tka fejse:te:w // (BEJ_MV_NARR_36_HUNCHBACK_393)

bʔe:ti:t	na:tka		fa:jse:ti	e:jawna	e:n	//
bʔ	-e:ti:t	na:	=t =ka	fa:jis	-e:ti	e:jawna e:n //
lie_down	-CVB.SEQ	thing	=INDF.F =DISTR	finish	-CVB.GNRL	give\IPFV.3PL say\PFV.3PL .
AUX.TRM	-	N.F	=DET =POSTP	V2.TR	-	AUX.BENF V1.IRG.TR .

they finish and they finish everything for her, they said.

Synthesis & Discussion

The first seven predications under Sections 1.1. to 1.7. (ascriptive, equational, existential and locative) are all related to the sub-domain of non-processive predication and are encoded by means of linear order and word classes ('be' verbs, copula, adjectives, postpositions).

The three predications under Sections 2.1. to 2.3. (transitive, intransitive, ditransitive) concern the valency of processive and stative verbs at the basic form, i.e. underived verb forms. The coding means include linear order and case marking on the determiners of the argument(s). Note that the case of the lexical arguments is not always overtly marked, and that bound object pronouns are zero morphemes in 3rd persons. Note also that ditransitive verbs are only a handful in Beja.

The seven predications under Sections 3.1. to 3.7. concern various functions of the derived verbs, related to the verb arguments: valency and control of the Subject over a participant (3.1. causative & 3.2. double causative), the absence of agentivity of the Subject (3.3. middle, 3.4. passive), the engagement in an action of two or more participants which are both agent and patient (or recipient) of its outcome (3.5. reciprocal), or plurality of core or peripheral arguments (3.6. pluractional, 3.7. intensive). They are all expressed by morphological means.

The predication in 4. (benefactive) is the only one that encodes the recipient of an action made by the Subject by means of a complex predicate involving an auxiliary construction and core verbs that are not intrinsically ditransitive.

Conclusion

Beja makes a clear-cut formal distinction between different types of semantic predications, having recourse to the same category of coding means for each type.

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