

Confronting the golems

(1)

	a. Standard Arabic ‘write’			b. Biblical Hebrew ‘keep’	
	Perf	imperf		Perf	imperf
1s	katab- tu	ʔa -ktub		šāmar- tī	ʔe -šmor
2ms	katab- ta	ta -ktub		šāmar- tā	tī -šmor
2fs	katab- tī	ta -tub- ī		šāmar- t	tī -šmər- ī
3ms	kataba	ya -ktub		šāmar	yi -šmor
3fs	katab- at	ta -ktub		šāmr- ā(t)	tī -šmor
1p	katab- nā	na -ktub		šāmar- nū	ni -šmor
2mp	katab- tum	ta -ktub- ū		šāmar- tem	tī -šmər- ū
2fp	katab- tunna	ta -ktub- na		šāmar- ten	tī -šmor- nā
3mp	katab- ū	ya -ktub- ū		šāmr- ū	yi -šmər- ū
3fp	katab- na	ya -ktub- na		šāmr- ū	tī -šmor- nā

(2)

a. Perfective

/ten/	↔	[+PSE, -Author, +F, +Pl]
/tem/	↔	[+PSE, -Author, +Pl]
/t/	↔	[+PSE, -Author, +F]
/ta:/	↔	[+PSE, -Author]
/nu:/	↔	[+Author, +Pl]
/tī:/	↔	[+Author]
/u:/	↔	[+Pl]
/a:/	↔	[+F]
NULL	↔	elsewhere

b. Imperfective

/i:/	↔	[+PSE, -Author, +F, -Pl] Suff
/na:/	↔	[+PSE, -Author, +F, -Pl] Suff
/n/	↔	[+Author, +Pl] Pref
/u:/	↔	[-Author, +Pl] Suff
/y/	↔	[-PSE, -Fem] Pref
/ʔ/	↔	[+Author] Pref
/t/	↔	elsewhere

(3)

NULL	↔	[-Author]
/a:/	↔	elsewhere

(4)

	Real Perf	Fantastic Perf
1cs	šāmar-tī	šāmr-ū
2ms	šāmar-tā	šāmr-ū
2fs	šāmar-t	šāmr-ā(t)
3ms	šāmar	šāmar-tem
3fs	šāmr-ā(t)	šāmar-nū
1cp	šāmar-nū	šāmar-ten
2mp	šāmar-tem	šāmar
2fp	šāmar-ten	šāmar-t
3mp	šāmr-ū	šāmar-tā
3fp	šāmr-ū	šāmar-tī

/t/	↔	[+PSE, -Author, +F, +Pl]
NULL	↔	[+PSE, -Author, +Pl]
/a:/	↔	[+PSE, -Author, +F]
/ti:/	↔	[-PSE, -Author, +F, +PL]
/tem/	↔	[-PSE, -Author]
/ten/	↔	[+Author, +Pl]
/nu:/	↔	[+F]
/u:/	↔	elsewhere

The data?

(5)

2ms	šāmar-tā
2fs	šāmar-t
2mp	šāmar-tem
2fp	šāmar-ten

- i. *šāmar-t* has no business being shorter than *šāmar-tā* (note that *šāmar-ten* is not shorter than *šāmar-tem*).
- ii. in fact... *šāmar-t* should be LONGER THAN *šāmar-tā*, (and *šāmar-ten* than *šāmar-tem*).

In fact, we can see what's missing

i

(6)

2ms	šāmar-tā	ti-šmor
2fs	šāmar-t	ti-šmər-ī

(7)

2ms	“šāmar- tø ”	ti -šmor-ø
2fs	“šāmar- tī ”	ti -šmər-ī

(8) The imperfective is derived from the perfective.

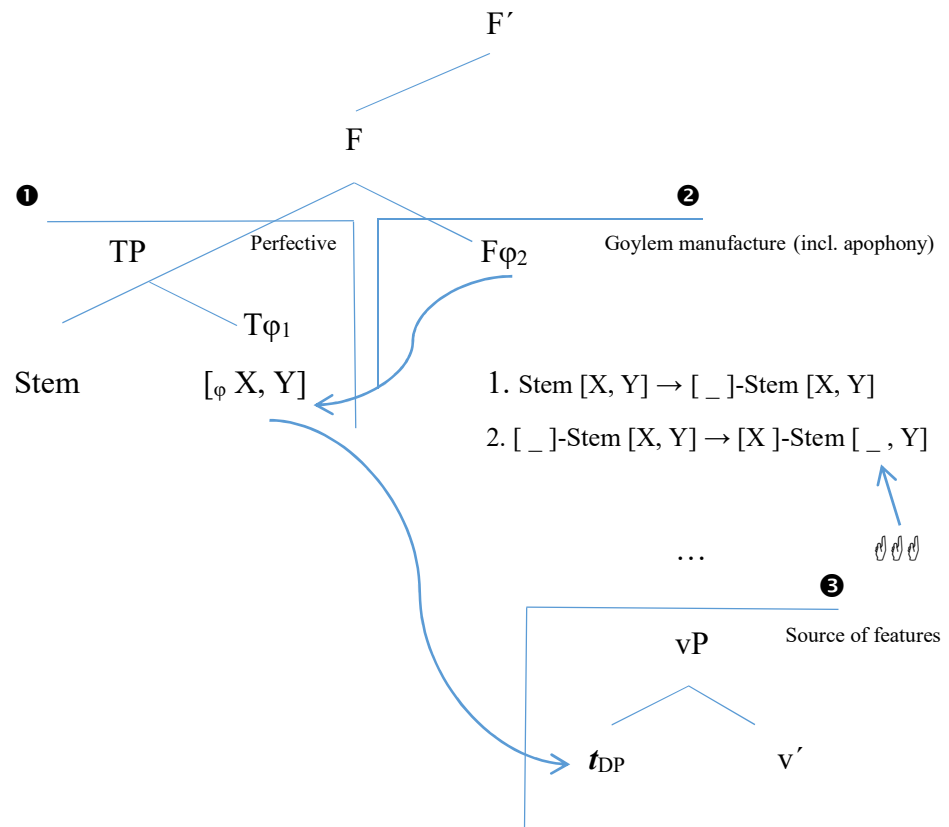
Apophony

(9)

	Perf.		Impf.
Active	faʕʕal	→	yufaʕʕil
	↓		
Passive	fuʕʕil	→	yufaʕʕal

Note: This shows what forms are related by apophony (crucially for the point under discussion here, Imperfectives from Perfectives), *not* the details of how apophony operates; for which see e.g. Baturay Meral (2010), Bendjaballah (1998, 1999, 2005), Boyé (2014), Chekayri & Scheer (1996, 2003), Fathi (to appear), Faust (2017), Guerssel (2003, 2014), Guerssel & Lowenstamm (1996), Idrissi (2000), Lahrouchi (2011), Lahrouchi & Ségéral (2009), Ségéral (1995, 1996, 2000), Ségéral & Scheer (1998)).

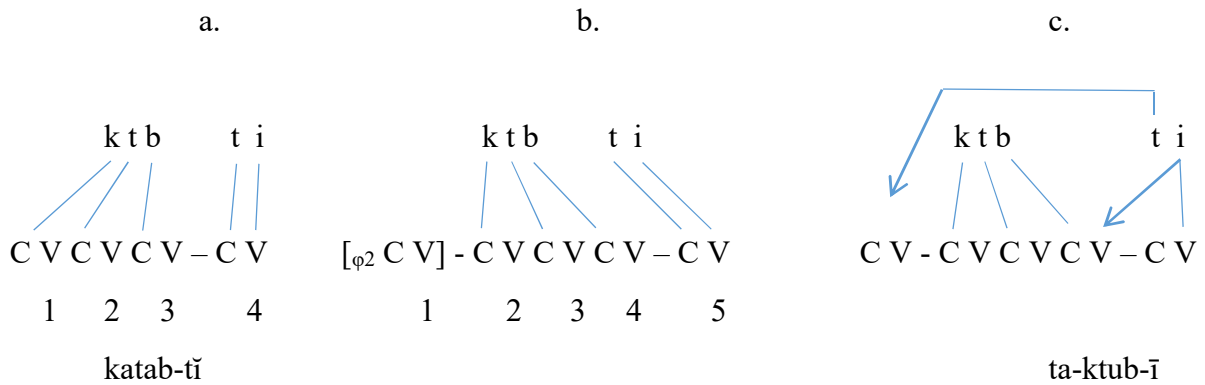
(10)



(11)

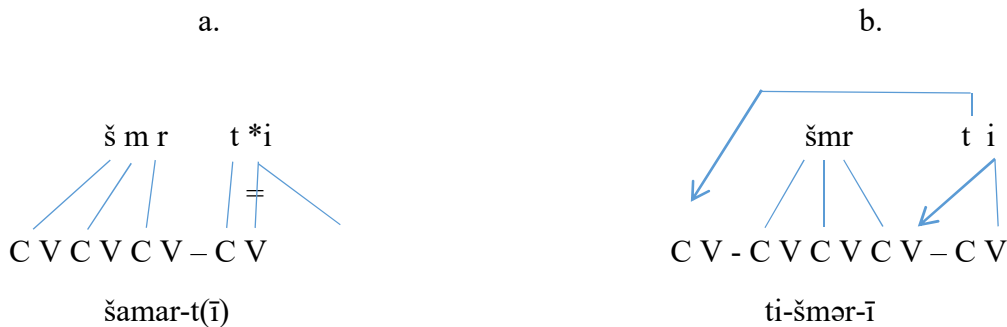
[]-Stem [X, Y] → [X]-Stem [, Y]

(12) CA 2FSG katab-tī/ta-ktub-ī



(13)

BH 2FSg šamar-t / ti-šmər-ī (same as katab-tī / ta-ktub-ī)



(14) Why does *i* have to branch?

(15)

	a. Standard Arabic			b. Biblical Hebrew	
	Perf	imperf		Perf	imperf
1s	katab- tu	ʔa -ktub		šāmar- tī	ʔe -šmor
2ms	katab- ta	ta -ktub		šāmar- tā	tī -šmor
2fs	katab- tī	ta -ktub- ī		šāmar- t	tī -šmər- ī
3ms	kataba	ya -ktub		šāmar	yi -šmor
3fs	katab-at	ta -ktub		šāmr- ā(t)	tī -šmor
1p	katab- nā	na -ktub		šāmar- nū	ni -šmor
2mp	katab- tum	ta -ktub- ū		šāmar- tem	tī -šmər- ū
2fp	katab- tunna	ta -ktub- na		šāmar- ten	tī -šmor- nā
3mp	katab- ū	ya -ktub- ū		šāmr- ū	yi -šmər- ū
3fp	katab- na	ya -ktub- na		šāmr- ū	tī -šmor- nā

(16) Redundant marking (impure discontinuity)?

There is a popular consensus that \bar{i} in *ti-šmar- \bar{i}* and *ta-ktub- \bar{i}* is the special feminine exponent of 2Sg. Because \bar{t} certainly marks 2nd person too, those forms are thus reputed to be doubly marked for 2nd person: by \bar{t} , but also by \bar{i} .

(17)

a. *katab* [2 \bar{t}][F/2 \bar{i}]

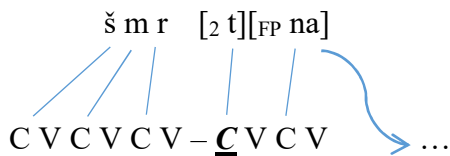
b. [2 \bar{t}]*aktub*[F/2 \bar{i}]

c. [2 \bar{t}]*išmar*[F/2 \bar{i}]

(18)

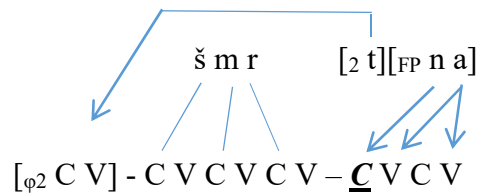
BH 2FPL *šamar-ten* / *ti-šmor-nā*

a.



šamar- $\bar{t}^n(\bar{a})$

b.



ti-šmor-nā

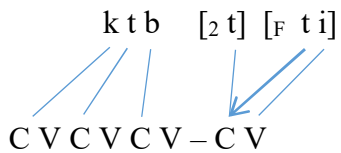
(19)

What's with *katabat* / *taktub*, *šamra(t)* / *tišmor*?

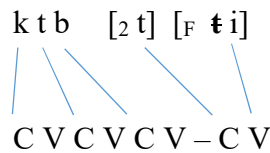
(20)

Going back to *katabti* / *taktubi*: suppose feminine is not defined contextually...

a.



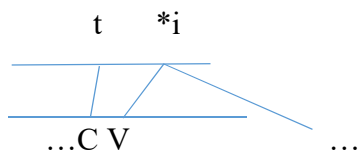
b.



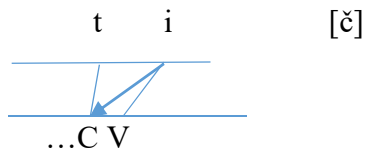
(21)

[*katabat*] 'she wrote' is, in reality, *katab-a*[F ti].

(22)



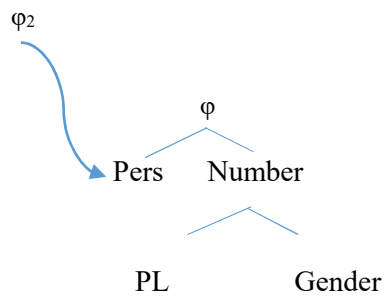
(23)



(24)

- a. Amharic, Muher: säbbärä-č(č) ‘she broke’
- b. Chaha: säpärä-č ‘she broke’
- c. Gumer: käfätä-č ‘she opened’
- d. Soddo: säffär-ätti (main clause), säffär-ät (subordinate clause)

(25)



F

(26) **ti-šmor-nā**: [F t]i-šmor-[F, PL nā]

	Perf	imperf		Perf	imperf
1s	katab-tu	?a-ktub		šāmar-tī	?e-šmor
2ms	katab-ta	ta-ktub		šāmar-tā	ti-šmor
2fs	katab-ti	ta-tub-ī		šāmar-t	ti-šmər-ī
3ms	kataba	ya-ktub		šāmar	yi-šmor
3fs	katab-at	ta-ktub		šāmr-ā(t)	ti-šmor ←
1p	katab-nā	na-ktub		šāmar-nū	ni-šmor
2mp	katab- tum	ta-ktub-ū		šāmar- tem	ti-šmər-ū
2fp	katab- tunna	ta-ktub-na		šāmar-[₂ t]en(ā)	ti-šmor-nā
3mp	katab-[₃ ø]ū	ya-ktub-ū		šāmr-[₃ ø]ū	yi-šmər-ū
3fp	katab-[₃ ø]nā	ya-ktub-na		šāmr-ū	ti-šmor-nā ←

(27) The system is incapable of generating **ti-šmor-nā**. MH could have introduced šāmar-nā, **generating a yi-šmor-nā imperfective; or kept identical 3MPL and 3FPL perfectives, eventually deriving 2 identical imperfectives: yi-šmər-ū and yi-šmər-ū.**

ti-šmor-nā: < ((ti-šmor)nā:)

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