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**UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS**

**A sketch of the Kuria Muria language variety and other aspects of  
Modern South Arabian**

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## **Abstract**

This thesis discusses a number of open questions and explores various understudied and unstudied aspects of Modern South Arabian (MSA) linguistics and MSA studies at large. Namely, it contains an extensive literature review which offers a summary of the most significant works in the field, a discussion about the internal sub-grouping and the internal cohesion of Modern South Arabian within Semitic, a grammatical sketch of the Jibbali/Shehret variety spoken on al-Ḥallāniyya island in the Kuria Muria Archipelago: this description focuses on the differences between this and the better-studied mainland varieties. The syntax section, however, takes into account not only the insular variety, but also central and eastern Jibbali/Shehret, in order to present a clearer picture of the syntactic features of this language. In the chapter that follows, a discussion about the lexical interferences of Arabic and Austronesian in Modern South Arabian is presented. Furthermore, the thesis contains three appendices: the first one is a description of the Dhofar inscriptions, re-labelled South-eastern Arabian inscriptions in view of new findings in the Yemeni governorate of Mahra and the examination of epigraphic evidence from Soqatra. The second appendix contains a number of texts in Kuria Muria Jibbali/Shehret, ranging from a selection of Miranda Morris's recordings from the 1980s to recordings proceeding from personal fieldwork made in 2017, with interlinear morpheme glossing. Finally, the third appendix contains a glossary of the above-mentioned Jibbali/Shehret variety. It is argued that Modern South Arabian studies are overall still in an incipient phase, and a research agenda is set up and proposed.

## List of abbreviations

### Glosses

1 = First person

2 = Second person

3 = Third person

ADV = Adverb

CIRC = Circumstantial

COLL = Collective

COND = Conditional

CONJ = Conjunction

DEF = Definiteness marker

DEM = Demonstrative

DISJ = Disjunct

DU = Dual

ELAT = Elative

EXIST = Existential

F = Feminine

FILL = Filler

FUT = Future

GEN = Genitive exponent

HES = Hesitation

IMP = Imperative

IMPV = Imperfective

IND = Indicative

INTJ = Interjection

M = Masculine

NEG = Negator

OBJ = Direct object marker

ONOM = Onomatopoeia

PART = Participle

PASS = Passive

PL = Plural

PRF = Perfective

Q = Question

REL = Relativiser

SBJT = Subjunctive

SG = Singular

SGV = Singulative

TAG = Tag question marker

## Literature

CSAI = Corpus of South Arabian Inscriptions. 2013.  
<http://dasi.humnet.unipi.it/index.php?id=42&prjId=1&corId=0&colId=0&navId=0>

HL = Johnstone, Thomas Muir. 1977. *Ḥarsūsi Lexicon and English–Ḥarsūsi Word List*. London: Oxford University Press.

JL = Johnstone, Thomas Muir. 1981. *Jibbali Lexicon*. London: Oxford University Press.

LS = Leslau, Wolf. 1938. *Lexique Soqotri (Sudarabique Moderne)*. Paris: C. Klincksieck.

ML = Johnstone, Thomas Muir. 1987. *Mehri Lexicon and English-Mehri Word-List*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies

SED = Militarev, Alexander & Leonid Kogan 2000. *Semitic Etymological Dictionary. Vol. 1. Anatomy of Man and Animals*. Münster: Eisenbrauns.

## **Other**

ASA = Ancient South Arabian

KM = Kuria Muria Jibbali/Shehret

MSA = Modern South Arabian

PAN = Proto-Austronesian

PMP = Proto-Malayo-Polynesian

PS = Proto-Semitic

PWMP = Proto-Western-Malayo-Polynesian

C = any consonant

V = any long vowel

v = any short vowel

[ ] = phonetic transcription

// = phonological transcription

< > = graphemic transcription

√ = Semitic root

## **Key to transcription system**

Sounds found in Modern South Arabian languages

b = [b]

d = [d]

g = [g]

ğ = [d͡ʒ] ~ [ʒ] (voiced postalveolar affricate/fricative, only in Hobyöt)

t = [t]

k = [k]

ʔ = [ʔ] (glottal stop)

t̥ = [tʰ] ~ [tʰ̥] (ejective alveolar stop ~ pharyngealised voiceless alveolar stop)

k̥ = [kʰ] (ejective velar stop)

ɖ = [ð] (voiced dental fricative)

z = [z] (voiced alveolar fricative)

ʒ = (voiced alveo-palatal labialised fricative)

ɣ = [ɣ] (voiced velar fricative)

ʕ = [ʕ] (voiced pharyngeal fricative)

f = [f]

θ = [θ] (voiceless dental fricative)

s = [s]

ʃ = [ʃ] (voiceless non-labialised palato-alveolar fricative)

ʃ̣ = (voiceless labialised alveo-palatal fricative)

x = [x] (voiceless velar fricative)

ħ = [ħ] (voiceless pharyngeal fricative)

h = [h] (voiceless laryngeal fricative)

θ̥ = [θʰ] (ejective dental fricative)

ʃ̥ = [ʃʰ] (ejective alveolar fricative)

ʃ̥̣ = [ʃʰ̣] (ejective non-labialised palato-alveolar fricative)

ʃ̥̣̣ = (ejective labialised alveo-palatal fricative)

l = [l]

ɬ = [ɬ] (voiceless alveolar lateral fricative)

ɬ̥ = [ɬʰ] (ejective alveolar lateral affricate)

m = [m]

n = [n]

r = [r] ~ [r̥] (alveolar tap ~ alveolar trill)



- w = [w]
- y = [j] (palatal approximant)
- a ~ a = [a] (low central/front unrounded)
- e ~ e = [e] (mid-high front unrounded)
- ɛ ~ ɛ = [ɛ] (mid-low front unrounded)
- i ~ i = [i] (high front unrounded)
- ə = [ə] (mid-central unrounded, schwa)
- o ~ o = [o] (mid-high back rounded)
- ɔ ~ ɔ = [ɔ] (mid-low back rounded)
- u ~ u = [u] (high back rounded)
- ː = long vowel
- ˜ = long nasalised vowel
- ◌◌ = intrusive (i.e. non-phonological) ultra-short vowel
- ˈ = stress accent
- ◌◌ = devoicing

Sounds found in other languages

- ǧ = [d͡ʒ] ~ [ʒ] (voiced postalveolar affricate/fricative in Arabic)
- q = [q] (voiceless uvular stop in Arabic, PAN, PMP and PWMP)
- \*R = (alveolar or uvular trill in PAN, PMP and PWMP) (Blust 2013:554)
- ɖ = [d̪ʼ] (pharyngealised voiced alveolar stop in Arabic)
- ɗ = [ð̪ʼ] (pharyngealised voiced dental fricative in Arabic)

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## 0. Chapter – Introduction

### 0.1 Modern South Arabian

The so-called Modern South Arabian languages (henceforth optionally called MSA languages)<sup>1</sup> are six currently unwritten Semitic languages, five of which are spoken in the southern part of the Arabian Peninsula, while the remaining one is spoken on the Island of Soqatra and a few islets that surround it (see below, table 0-1). They can be named as follows: Mehri (sometimes referred to as Mahri, especially in older texts), Jibbali/Shehret (natively Gəblēt/Šherēt), Ḥarsusi, Baṭḥari, Hobyōt and Soqoṭri. In this thesis, the author decided to use the Arabic names for MSA languages, except for Hobyōt, whose Arabic name “*hubīyya*” (Simeone-Senelle 2015:5) is normally not used in linguistic literature.

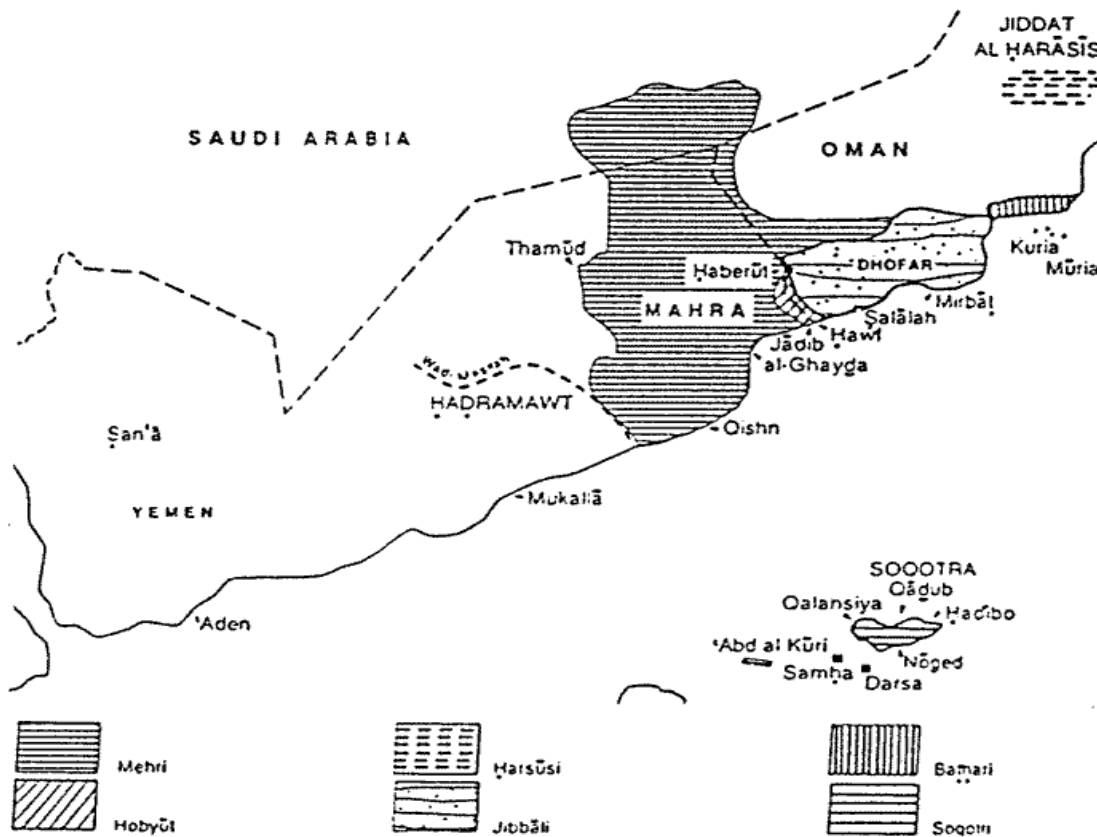


Table 0-1 The MSA languages (map retrieved from The Archaeology Fund Website)<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See below 0.2 for a discussion on the names of the languages

<sup>2</sup> <http://arabian-archaeology.com/research4msal.htm>

These languages are endangered,<sup>3</sup> three of them being highly so, having less than 1,000 speakers. Baḥari exhibits the appalling figure of 15 competent speakers, and constantly decreasing, plus an unspecified number of passive users (Gasparini 2018:13; Miranda Morris, p.c.). In spite of having been in contact with Arabic for many centuries, probably before the great Islamic conquests (see 4.2), all MSA languages were vital as recently as the 1930s (Thomas 1939), thus the reasons for their gradual loss must be sought not only in the prestige, both political and religious, of Arabic (which is spoken by virtually every speaker of an MSA language), but also in the mass emigration towards oil-rich countries like Kuwait, Qatar and Saudi Arabia, that took place during the 1970s and the 1980s, triggering a need for social and linguistic adaptation within the expatriate communities. However, at present, this process seems not to be threatening these languages as much as it did at the time of the above-mentioned emigration, since after Oman began to exploit its oil reserves, many individuals who had spent a number of years working in the oil industry in other Gulf countries came back to their ancestral abodes, and resumed the use of their ancestral languages. In spite of this, MSA languages are now additionally being threatened by the interference of Arabic as a language of entertainment, education and communication. This state of affairs influences greatly the younger generations, including the present-day child-bearing generation.

With regards to anthropological aspects, the feature that sets the peoples who speak these languages apart from most other Semitic speaking groups is the total lack of historical records of their language.<sup>4</sup>

The documentation of these languages was initiated in the late 1970s by Miranda Morris, and the proceedings of these projects have been deposited in the Endangered Languages ARchive (ELAR) for Mehri (Watson & Morris 2016a), Jibbali/Shehret (Watson & Morris 2016b), Ḥarsusi (Eades & Morris 2016), Baḥari (Morris 2016a), and Hobyōt (Morris 2016b). Moreover, projects for the documentation and description of Modern South Arabian are being carried out by the France-based OmanSAM project.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Mehri scores 6b on the EGIDS scale (Lewis & Simons 2010).

<sup>4</sup> The existence of other undocumented Semitic languages in the past or even in the present cannot be totally ruled out. However, to date, MSA languages seem to be the only extant Semitic varieties, along with some Ethiopian Semitic (Goldenberg 1977:461), and some Western Neo-Aramaic languages (Lewis et al 2018), to lack a written record.

<sup>5</sup> Projet Agence Nationale de la Recherche. <http://omansam.huma-num.fr/>.

## 0.2 About the names of the languages and the label “Modern South Arabian”

Whilst consensus exists on the name of five out of six MSA languages, there remains one whose name is matter of (harsh) debate, namely Jibbali/Shehret, which is the language on which the present work focuses. As will be seen, I chose to adopt a double name which reflects the current state of affairs. This, however, is the result of a historical process and it is likely that other names were used in the past, in addition to those used at present: for example, Fresnel reported the name Eḥkili (1838a), and Carter (1845) Ḥakli.<sup>6</sup> The beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century saw the rise of a misnomer for Śḥerét, namely Šḥauri/Škhauri/Šxauri, which lingered in the literature well into the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Müller 1907; Leslau 1938). Bertram Thomas (1938) has Shahari, and Matthews similarly has Shaḥrī. The linguistic works produced roughly in the last forty years seem to lean towards Jibbali: Johnstone entitled his seminal work on the lexis of this language *Jibbali Lexicon* (JL), and Rubin, who cautiously points out the double naming of the language in the title of his descriptive grammar *The Jibbali (Shaḥri) Language of Oman* (2014b), mostly calls it Jibbali within the text. Conversely, Morris and Watson prefer Śḥerét (Morris 2017:10; Watson 2012:1). Regardless of the scholarly debates, the naming of the language is a sensitive issue for its very speakers, as Šaḥri/Śḥerét has a strong tribal connotation. The Šaḥri tribe (appearing in the literature also as Shaḥri) is commonly held to be the most ancient tribe of Dhofar (Thomas 1932; al-Shahri 2000), which was displaced and enslaved by the incomers Ḥakili, also called Qara in Arabic (Carter 1845; 1847), which came from the Hadramawt at some point in the past (see below 4.8). At present, Omani subjects in Dhofar live a relatively easy life which has allowed them to focus on aspects of life which differ from tribal enmity. However, members of the al-Shahri tribe are usually very keen on having the language named after them. On the other hand, non-Shahri individuals are often disturbed by the label Šaḥri/Śḥerét, and prefer the more semantically neutral label Jibbali/Gebłét. Jibbali (that is, Arabic *Ġibālī* ‘of the mountains’, in local Arabic *Gibbālī*) is a glossonym that does not have any intrinsic reference to tribal affiliation, and would seem a sensible choice for a language spoken by more than one tribe. Unfortunately, common sense does not seem to apply to such matters, in Dhofar and elsewhere. This, in brief, results in great uncertainty when it comes to mentioning the name of the language, and in an even greater

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<sup>6</sup> With regards to these glossonyms, it is remarkable that a similar similar name was in use for an archaic phase of Hobyōt, which, according to Miranda Morris’s informants, gave rise to the antecedents of the other MSA languages. (Morris 2017:22)

uncertainty at the time of writing a scholarly work which, like this one, has this language at its core. A recent enquiry (Castagna & Gasparini 2017) endeavoured to gather and systematise some of the native speakers' views about the glossonyms in question. The results do not allow any conclusive statements, but provide a reliable picture of their opinions: among 23 participants, 20 of them opted for Jibbali (or Geblét), but were not offended by Šaḥri/Šḥerét, and two of them pointed out that the latter were the old names of the language. Two speakers were disturbed by Jibbali/Geblét and pointed out that the al-Shahri were the first inhabitants of Dhofar. Finally, one of the speakers was fiercely offended by Šaḥri/Šḥerét, and assertively discouraged me from using this term ever again.

It can be then surmised that old enmities still burn under the ashes, and since this work does not aim at re-igniting them, it has been opted for a double naming of the language throughout the text: Jibbali/Shehret, Shehret representing the arabised rendition of Šḥerét. Additionally, it should be pointed out that while Jibbali and Geblét are synonymous, the same cannot be said of Šaḥri and Šḥerét: Šaḥri (that is, Arabic *Šaḥrī*) is a *nisba* adjective which could indicate the city of al-Shihr in present-day Yemen. In view of what is reported by Serjeant of a statement contained in the 16<sup>th</sup> century Arabian geographical work *al-Nisbah ilā ʔal-mawāḏiʕ wa-ʔal-buldān* by bā Maxrama, namely the fact that the city of al-Shihr “is named so because its inhabitants are a generation of the Mahra called al-Shahrat” (1958:259),<sup>7</sup> this could be more appropriate as an ethnonym *sensu stricto*, rather than a glossonym. On the other hand, *šḥerí/šḥeró/šḥerét/šḥeróti* (M.SG/F.SG/M.PL/F.PL) are adjectives derived from *šḥer* ‘green area of the mountains, countryside’ (JL:250), and neither of the two terms seems to function as the translation of the other. This intricate matter calls for a greater scale study.

It should be briefly pointed out that although the three main varieties of Mehri have been referred to as Omani Mehri, Eastern Yemeni Mehri and Western Yemeni Mehri in the literature (Rubin 2010, 2014b, 2018; Dufour 2016, and others), the native terms, which reflect accurately varieties and avoid geographical overlap, are Mehreyyet (Omani Mehri), Mahriyōt (Eastern Yemeni Mehri), and Mehriyēt (Western Yemeni Mehri) (Simeone-Senelle 2011b:1074).

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<sup>7</sup> See the footnote to the Freya Stark entry in the literature review chapter 1.

With regards to Modern South Arabian as an umbrella term for the above-mentioned languages, the scholarly community tacitly agrees that it is but a convenient label which contrasts with Ancient South Arabian (also known as Sayhadic, after the desertic region in present-day Yemen which constituted the centre of the territory in which these languages were spoken). It is hoped that the deepening of MSA studies, coupled with new findings in the history of the peoples who speak them, will provide a more appropriate name for this group of languages.

### 0.3 Thesis overview

This thesis is the result of an attempt to tackle some open questions in the study of Modern South Arabian languages, and to fill some gaps in the scholarly literature devoted to them. The first chapter is a literature review on both the linguistic and anthropological aspects of Modern South Arabian languages and peoples. It is arranged in three macro-sections: the first one concerned with the linguistic literature, the second one with the anthropological and narrative literature, and the third one with studies in other disciplines. The entries appear in alphabetical order. The second chapter is an excursus on the previously published literature on the internal sub-grouping and internal cohesion within Semitic MSA. It presents the commonly held views in the past studies and endeavours to propose a few new observations. The third chapter is a grammatical sketch of the Jibbali/Shehret variety spoken on al-Ḥallāniyya island in the Kuria Muria Archipelago. This description based on both personal fieldwork and existing recordings from the 1980s, courtesy of Miranda Morris, focuses on the differences between this and the better described mainland varieties. The syntax section, conversely, is concerned with all Jibbali/Shehret varieties, in order to fill some gaps in the literature. Finally, the fourth section has the twofold purpose of describing the influence of Arabic on MSA, and to advance a hypothesis about a substantial number of lexical items in MSA languages which have no parallels in other Semitic sub-groups: specifically, it is argued that they stem from an Austronesian linguistic variety. Historical and linguistic evidence is presented and discussed, and some of the above-mentioned lexical items are examined closely. This thesis contains three appendices: the first appendix is a brief analysis of the inscriptions found in the caves in the Dhofar hills, in which some new materials, courtesy of Geraldina Santini, are presented and discussed. The second appendix contains the texts with interlinear glossing which constitute the basis of the grammatical sketch. The third appendix is a brief glossary of Kuria Muria Jibbali/Shehret terms. A reference list ends the volume.

## 0.4 Significance of the study

A relatively new field such as that of Modern South Arabian studies is in need of contributions that view it from new and multi-disciplinary angles, and explore the connections between the linguistic and the historical domain. Practically speaking, this endeavour has been pursued by attempting to provide a contribution towards the solution of some of the most vexing issues in the field, namely:

- The lack of a comprehensive MSA literature review;
- The need for a concise overview and discussion about the internal sub-grouping and internal cohesion of MSA;
- A literature gap with regards to Kuria Muria Jibbali/Shehret peculiarities, and a scarcity of information about the overall syntactic features of this language in the existing literature;
- The lack of description of the diverging (i.e. seemingly non-Semitic) lexis of Modern South Arabian;
- The existence of a great number of epigraphs in the MSA speaking areas which could represent an archaic phase of the languages. This subject has been long neglected by the scholarly literature.

The aim of this thesis is, as stated above (0.3), to tackle these open questions. The deeper, more long-term, goal of this study is to contribute towards the unravelling of the unrecorded history of MSA-speaking peoples, which at present represents an obscure page of the history of Arabia. The production of a comprehensive literature review may constitute a reference instrument by which new scholars can easily find the literature items that will help them to carry further on the studies in the field. Similarly, a summary of the commonly held views on the matters of MSA position within Semitic and internal sub-grouping may represent a reference instrument. The description of the virtually undescribed Kuria Muria variety of Jibbali/Shehret, which is the core chapter of this thesis, will provide a number of new elements which may be of use in the study of this language and its relationship to MSA. Similarly, the description of a sample of the lexical peculiarities which set MSA apart from other Semitic sub-groups will provide a new perspective to their study.

## 0.5 Methodologies and practicalities

The specific methodologies employed in the gathering of the audio materials which constitute the bases of the grammatical sketch of Kuria Muria Jibbali/Shehret and their analysis are set out at the beginning of the relevant chapter (see 3.2 and 3.3). As for the other chapters, their devising and



write up was largely based on the published literature. However, the literature which was taken into account is not solely concerned with the specific fields of MSA and southern Arabia. In fact, information regarding people movement in the Indian Ocean relevant to southern Arabia and Dhofar was found thanks to the examination of non-Arabic documents, and a working hypothesis about the Austronesian influence on MSA was formulated and advanced in the course of an ongoing perusal of etymological dictionaries of language families rooted in south and south-east Asia and in other lands by the Indian Ocean (see chapter 4). As for chapters 1 and 2, they are the result of the examination and the systematisation of the contents of relevant works summarised therein.

# 1. Chapter – Modern South Arabian – a literature review

## 1.1 Introduction

The process of reviewing the literature relative to an entire sub-group of Semitic languages is rife with pitfalls. It can be particularly tricky to gather all the relevant information when, as is the case with MSA, this is scattered rather erratically in the Semitic literature at large, or in the scholarly works in other disciplines, as well as in travel narratives.

In the light of this, the present literature review is structured to reflect this fragmentary state of affairs, and consists of the following sections:

1. Studies on the languages *sensu stricto*;
2. Anthropological studies and travel narratives (including those touching cursorily upon linguistic issues);
3. Studies in other disciplines concerned with the environment in which MSA speakers live.

The above-mentioned three sections constitute the main body of the literature review, which will be followed by an additional section:

4. Position of the present study within the existing literature and the identification of gaps in the literature.

This section contains a recapitulation of what has been presented and discussed in this chapter, identifies gaps in the existing literature, and states how the present thesis contributes to fill them.

## 1.2 Linguistic studies on the Modern South Arabian languages

MSA was discovered by western scholarship only towards the end of the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This, coupled with the difficulties in finding native speakers and the dangers of venturing into such a hostile territory as southern Arabia appears to have been, kept the number of scholarly works devoted to it relatively low until the 1970s. In 1871, Heinrich Freiherr von Maltzan published what in a present-day terminology would be described as a “sketch grammar” of Mehri entitled *Über den Dialect von Mahra, genannt Méhri, in Südarabien*, based on the very scanty materials available in his time. A rather substantial number of studies on the grammar of Mehri, Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri appeared as a result of the analysis of the data proceeding from the *Südarabische Expedition* which was carried out by the *Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in*

Wien (Imperial Academy of Sciences in Vienna) in 1898-1899. Six out of the eleven volumes that were published as a result of this expedition are devoted to MSA: *Die Mehrisprache in Südarabien* (Jahn 1905) is the first attempt at a fully-fledged grammatical description of Mehri. *Die Mehri- und Soqoṭri sprache* 1, 2 and 3 (Müller 1902, 1905, 1907) is a three-volume presentation of several elicited texts in Mehri, Soqoṭri and Jibbali/Shehret (called Šḥauri in early German works). *Mehri- und Ḥaḍrami-Texte, gesammelt im Jahre 1902 in Gischin von Dr. Wilhelm Hein* (Müller 1909) is a collection of texts in the Mehri dialect of Qishn and in Ḥaḍrami Arabic collected by Wilhelm Hein, but published by Müller after the death of the former. Lastly, *Die Mehri- und Soqoṭrisprache, 4. Wörterbuch der Šḥauri-Sprache* is an unpublished Jibbali/Shehret glossary. The same materials were used by Maximilian Bittner to compile his sizeable *Studien zur Laut- und Formenlehre der Mehri-Sprache in Südarabien*, a five-volume grammatical description of Mehri (Bittner 1909; 1911; 1913a; 1914; 1915), which deals with nominal morphology, verbal morphology, pronouns and numerals, particles, and texts. In addition to that, Bittner wrote an equally detailed study on Soqoṭri (1918a; 1918b; 1918c). With regards to the lexicon of Modern South Arabian, the first work to provide some details was J.R. Wellsted (1835a; 1835b). His *Report on the island of Socotra* contains a wordlist which, despite its historical value, cannot be considered accurate because of the total lack of linguistic training and knowledge of the compiler. Twenty years later, a few more terms in Soqoṭri were reported by M. Guillain in his paper *Quelques mots dans l’idiome de Socotra* (1855). Fresnel’s papers entitled *Quatrième lettre sur l’histoire des arabes avant l’islamisme* (1838a), *Note sur la langue hhymiarite* (1838b) and *Cinquième lettre sur l’histoire des arabes avant l’islamisme* (1838c) presented some Ehkili (one of the names for Jibbali/Shehret) lexicon, including a verbal paradigm. In 1840, J.G. Hulton published *Notice on the Curia Muria islands*, in which he presented a rather long wordlist of the language spoken on “Hellarnea” (Ḥallāniyya). He regarded this language as “almost identical with the Shehree” (1840:189). A few years later, in 1846, a two-page comparative wordlist of Mehri and Jibbali/Shehret, including a short collection of sentences, was compiled by the missionary Ludwig Krapf. Carter (1845, 1847),<sup>8</sup> in his *Notes on the Gharah* tribe and *Notes on the Mahrah tribe of Southern Arabia*, provided a number of additional lexical items in the course of his detailed description of the tribal societies of the Mahra and the Gara (Qara/Ehkili). Within the *Südarabische Expedition*, Jahn’s *Die Mehri-Sprache in Südarabien: Texte und Wörterbuch* (1902), *Grammatik der Mehri-Sprache in Südarabien* (1905) and Hein’s *Mehri-*

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<sup>8</sup> See below p. 57-58

und *Ḥaḍrami-Texte. Gesammelt im Jahre 1902 in Gischin* (1909) gave the first exhaustive presentation of Mehri lexicon to western academia. From the same sources came Bittner's works (see above) concerned with Jibbali/Shehret lexicon. In 1938, Wolf Leslau published his *Lexique Soqotri* which will be dealt with separately below (p. 28). Bertram Thomas's *Four strange tongues from south Arabia: the Harada Group* (1939) enriched the scanty materials available for Mehri and Jibbali/Shehret, and introduced the hitherto unknown Botahari (Baḥari) and Ḥarsusi. Wolf Leslau published *The Parts of the Body in the Modern South Arabic Languages* in 1945, which, thanks to the comparison of MSA body part terms with those found in other Semitic sub-branches, is the first scholarly paper to hypothesise that MSA is a Semitic sub-branch of its own, and that it contains non-Semitic lexical items. After Leslau's *Lexique Soqotri* publication in 1938, the first substantial works in MSA lexicography were produced in the 1970s and the 1980s: the *Ḥarsusi Lexicon* (1977), the *Jibbali Lexicon* (1981), and the *Mehri Lexicon* (1987) were compiled by T.M. Johnstone, while the *Comparative Vocabulary of Southern Arabic: Mahri, Gibbali, and Soqotri* (1986) stems from the research of the Japanese scholar Aki'o Nakano, who later also authored *Hōbyot (Oman) Vocabulary: With Example Texts*, published posthumously in 2013, thus presenting the lexicon of the most recently "discovered" Modern South Arabian language. Antoine Lonnet and Marie-Claude Simeone-Senelle published the *Lexique des noms des parties du corps dans les langues sudarabiques modernes* (1985; 1988), a research that was further expanded with *Les noms des parties du corps dans les langues sudarabiques modernes* (1988), *Lexique soqotri: les noms des parties du corps* (1991), and *Compléments à lexique soqotri : les noms des parties du corps* (1992). It was not until the beginning of the second decade of the third millennium that the first scientifically sound grammars of MSA languages were published by Aaron Rubin for Mehri (2010; 2018) and Jibbali/Shehret (2014), and by Janet Watson for Mehri (2012). In 2005, Alexander Sima's valuable collection of Mehri proverbs entitled *101 Sprichwörter und Redensarten im Mehri-Dialekt von Ḥawf* was published shortly after his death. The Yemeni Mehri texts which were at the core of his work were published in 2009, annotated and edited by Janet C.E. Watson and Werner Arnold. In 2014, Vitaly Naumkin, Leonid Kogan and Maria Bulakh published the *Corpus of Soqotri oral literature*, which further expanded the available resources for this language. Finally, two more publications need to be mentioned in this list. al-Maṣṣanī's *Muṣṣam lisān Ḥufār* (2014), Jibbali/Shehret – Arabic dictionary which, despite not following a strictly scientific framework, provides useful native-speaker insights into the language. Leonid Kogan's chapter devoted to MSA lexicon within his 2015 publication *Genealogical Classification of Semitic. The Lexical Isoglosses*,

not only provides a lexical comparison among three macro-subdivisions of MSA (Mehri, Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri), but also highlights the issue of the unknown origin of a part of its lexicon (see also chapter 4).

Here follows a list of linguistic studies that are of particular relevance to the advance of MSA scholarship. This list, far from being exhaustive, is arranged in alphabetical order. This arrangement will also be adhered to in the subsequent sub-sections. The rationale for this choice is that this is the first literature review on MSA: as such, it should be as accessible and easy to consult as possible. Most of the items listed are briefly commented on, although it is safer to say that, rather than commented on, they are described in proportion to their significance for the field. The rationale behind this choice, too, stems from the fact that this is the first work of its kind in MSA. Therefore, rather than providing a critique of the previously published works, it seems more sensible to describe them, so as to create an instrument which allows scholars to navigate through MSA literature. Such an instrument is strongly needed, and it is hoped that it will constitute the basis of an enhanced literature review, to be published at a later stage. A few items have not been described, but simply listed, because of either difficulties in getting hold of them, or their being in press or forthcoming. A complete and regularly updated bibliography on MSA can be found at:

[https://www.leeds.ac.uk/arts/info/125219/modern\\_south\\_arabian\\_languages/2376/resources](https://www.leeds.ac.uk/arts/info/125219/modern_south_arabian_languages/2376/resources).

- **Vladimir Agafonov**

#### **Temethel as the brightest element of Soqotran folk poetry (2006-2007)**

The article describes the genre of temethel (that is four-line stanzas composed mostly in old times) and its significance in the folklore of Soqotra, and gives a general classification of the known poems with examples in Soqoṭri with an English translation. The paper further discusses the evolution of the genre from the old traditional verses until those composed in the 1970s. All the Soqoṭri material studied was recorded by the author in 1976-1980 on the island of Soqotra.

- **Khalsa al-Aghbari**

**Noun plurality in Jebbāli. PhD dissertation (2012)**

This PhD dissertation analyses noun plurality in Jibbali/Shehret within the optimality theory framework.

- **Hassan Obeid Abdulla Alfadly**

**A study on the morphology of Mehri of Qishn dialect in Yemen (2007)**

This thesis is an in-depth description of the formation and functions of the nominal and verbal morphology of the Mehri dialect of Qishn. Its descriptive, rather than critical, nature makes it a good reference instrument.

- **David Appleyard**

**Ethiopian Semitic and South Arabian: towards a re-examination of a relationship (1996)**

This paper is a lengthy and important contribution to MSA studies, which analyses the similarities among the southernmost Semitic sub-groups, namely Ethio-Semitic, ASA and MSA. Although a full review of this significant piece of scholarship is beyond the scope of the present literature review, it may be said that it compares the relevant features of these sub-groups, namely, the imperfect, the -k perfect, the *qātala* template, the -t- infix, the t- prefix, the internal passive, and the h- third person independent pronouns. The paper concludes that at the time it was written, there was no definitive proof that this sub-group should be viewed as forming a sub-division within Semitic. With regards to MSA, the vexing issue of the first singular and dual independent pronouns is analysed: their irregularity is taken into account, and it is proposed that common MSA *\*hoh* comes from Proto-Semitic *\*ʔana* via *\*oon* and *\*(h)oo(h)* (Appleyard 1996:207), and that MSA *ki* is a peculiar innovation of MSA which proceeds from the unsuitability of the *\*hv* first singular pronouns to receive the dual marker -i. The author claims that the [k] would have been taken by analogy from the first person singular marker of the perfect -k (Appleyard 1996:207).

- **Werner Arnold**

**Zur Position des Hobyot in den neusüdarabischen Sprachen (1993)**

This paper is a concise description of the then almost unknown Hobyōt. At the time this paper was published, Hobyōt had been recently “discovered” by western scholarship, and only a few remarks

had appeared in the literature, i.e. Johnstone's lexica. At the very beginning of the paper, there is an important remark about an allegedly alternative name of the language: Ḥkelyōt. This name, besides being used by Fresnel to present the language he "discovered" (a form of Jibbali/Shehret), appears in Morris's paper *Some thoughts on studying the endangered Modern South Arabian Languages* (2017) as the ancient name of Hobyōt. Arnold's analysis of the data he elicited from a Hobyōt speaker in Syria compares various aspects of this language, namely suffix pronouns, numerals, independent pronouns, deixis, verbal morphology and definiteness markers with their Mehri and Jibbali/Shehret counterparts, and concludes that, although Hobyōt shows a number of similarities with both, it has enough linguistic characteristics of its own to be considered as a language of its own within MSA.

- **Werner Arnold & Alexander Sima**

**Das Maysir-Spiel im Mahra-Land. Ein Text im Mehri-Dialekt von Ḥawf erzählt von 'Askari Sa'd (2011)**

This is the transcription of a recording about the apportioning of land lots in the Mahra region in the Mehri dialect of Ḥawf.

- **Alex Bellem & Janet Watson**

**Backing and glottalization in three SWAP language varieties (2014)**

This paper investigates the back consonants in the sound systems of three Semitic varieties (San'ani Arabic, Mahriyōt and Mehreyyet) from the South West of the Arabian Peninsula (SWAP) namely the "emphatics", which may have two different types of realisation in these varieties: ejectives and pharyngealisation. In the introduction, the authors elucidate the phonatory mechanisms underlying both realisations, and with regards to pharyngealisation, they cite studies that argue against it, as the upper pharyngeal is not actively involved in the phonation, and also labial behaviour seems to play a role in the contrast between "pharyngealised" consonants and their plain counterparts. Additionally, the greatest constriction seems to take place in the upper pharynx with the aid of tongue retraction, which would speak to a rather "uvular" articulation. They nevertheless choose to use pharyngealisation as a label for these consonants, as it appears to be more relevant as a phonological category, while they recognise that uvularisation may, on the other hand, be more correct from a phonetic point of view. Each of the sub-sections sums up the effects of both articulations in the three above-mentioned varieties, which leads the authors to

conclude that in Mahriyōt and Mehreyyet the only consonant that exhibits ejectives in all positions is [k'], while the realisation of other emphatics may be ejective only through pre-pausal glottalisation, and thus not saliently ejective. They further affirm that ejectivity is present in the MSA varieties examined as both a lexical and a prosodic process, while in San'ani it is only a prosodic process, and that both articulations (ejectivity and pharyngealisation) are back phenomena and may be related to one another, as some studies they cite argue that ejectives may evolve into pharyngeals, and describe the mechanism through which this may occur.

### **South Arabian sibilants and the Šherēt ṣ̌ ~ ṣ̣̌ contrast (2017)**

This is the first discussion ever to appear in the literature since Johnstone (1984) about the nature of a peculiar element of Jibbali/Shehret phonemic inventory, namely the phoneme /ṣ̌/, which contrasts with /ṣ̣̌/ and /s/. Firstly, the authors present an outline of MSA languages, and a description of the sociological context in which they are spoken. They then describe /ṣ̌/ diachronically, pointing out that it is now a full status phoneme, and it is the result of a process of contextual palatalisation of /k/ (of which /ṣ̌/ may still be an allophone) that took place at some point of Jibbali/Shehret unrecorded history, the outcomes of which became phonemised once it stopped being productive. Additionally, they point out that /ṣ̌/ has an emphatic counterpart /ṣ̣̌/, which occurs often as an allophone of /k/, and in spite of being phonemic has very limited distribution. Subsequently, they review the previous studies of MSA sibilants, mainly taking into examination Johnstone (1984), and countering Johnstone's opinion about the manner of articulation of /ṣ̌/, as well as his statement that the phoneme in question is characteristic of central Jibbali/Shehret only, as they argue that /ṣ̌/ with phonemic value is also found in the eastern variety of this language, and its presence/absence is most probably due to sociological reasons, rather than linguistic ones. Also, they point out that all of the authors who tackled this issue in the last three decades adopted Johnstone's description. In the core section of the paper, the authors present the results of their Electropalatography (EPG) analysis of Jibbali/Shehret sibilants, namely /s/, /ṣ̌/, and /ṣ̣̌/, which show that /ṣ̌/ is articulated in a way that resembles more closely /s/ than /ṣ̣̌/. The following section describes labial behaviour for the three sibilants, which was studied with the aid of video recordings of native speakers. The evidence gathered suggests that /ṣ̌/ is produced with a lip pout, while /s/ and /ṣ̣̌/ entail lip spreading. They, however, add that native speakers do not mention lip protrusion as a feature of /ṣ̌/ when describing this sound, which, according to the authors, points to fact that lip protrusion may not be "as relevant to the



identity of  $\check{s}$  as lip *spreading* is to the identity of  $s$  and  $\check{s}$ " (Bellem & Watson 2017:637). An acoustic analysis of tokens of all three sibilants shows that while  $/s/$  and  $/\check{s}/$  have predictable frequencies, those of  $/\check{z}/$  vary both from speaker to speaker and from token to token: some speakers seem to produce frequency that ranges from high (like  $/s/$ ) to medium (like  $/\check{s}/$ ), while others consistently produced frequencies in the high range, which made it sound more like  $/s/$  with a "whistling effect", and indeed many speakers describe  $/\check{z}/$  as having a whistling sound. Here, the authors also point out that the lip pout may contribute to lower the frequency of  $/\check{z}/$  and may be the cause of the partial merger with  $/\check{s}/$ . In the subsequent section, the authors summarise the sociolinguistic aspect of this issue. They report a noteworthy fact: some speakers state that "their mothers used to chastise them for using  $\check{s}$  in place of 'the whistled'  $\check{z}$ , and would instruct them to use the  $\check{z}$  appropriately" (2017:639). They conclude that  $/\check{z}/$  should be defined as an alveo-palatal, as "contact is greater in the alveo-palatal region for  $\check{z}$  than  $s$ " (2017:640). In the conclusion, they additionally set out an agenda for future research, i.e. bringing more Jibbali/Shehret speakers to the UK where EPG facilities are available, and state that a similar investigation should be carried out on western Jibbali/Shehret, which needs further fieldwork (see 3.6).

- **Sabrina Bendjaballah**

**Gutturals and glides and their effects on the Mehri verb (2016)**

This paper analyses the markedness of guttural consonants and glides in the verbal morphology of Omani Mehri (that is, Mehreyyet), and the effect these have on the thematic vowel. At the outset, the author recognises that a substantial number of changes are triggered by this phonetic context. She, therefore, focuses on two specific cases: the H- and S1- stems. The paper then goes on to present examples of initial, medial and final glide verbs from both the published materials and the author's fieldwork, and further sub-divides glide-final verbs into two categories, type A and type B, on the basis of their vocalic behaviour in the subjunctive conjugation. In the following section, the author explains the distribution of the above-mentioned categories by presenting three phonological "generalisations" into which the glide-final verbs fall, and which trigger the differences between type A and type B. She concludes that this model predicts the behaviour of two thirds of the roots taken into account, and that the hypothesis advanced confirms cross-linguistic tendencies with regards to the contexts examined. Additionally, she affirms that more in-depth research into the properties of final CC clusters is expected to shed light on their ability to govern/license.

- Sabrina Bendjaballah & Philippe Ségéral

**Remarques sur la gémination dans le système verbal du mehri (sudarabique moderne) (2013)**

**The phonology of ‘idle glottis’ consonants in the Mehri of Oman (Modern South Arabian) (2014a)**

The aim of this paper (2014a) is to describe the phonological properties of voiceless, non-ejective consonants in Mehri. These, namely [f], [θ], [t], [s], [ʃ], [ʔ], [k], [χ], [ħ] and [h], are labelled “idle glottis consonants”, and noted © in this and the subsequent works by the authors. Bendjaballah and Ségéral strive to describe the allomorphic phenomena triggered by these consonants, and tackle the issue as follows: in the first place, they introduce the verbal morphology and sound system of Mehri, providing details of each articulatory place and glottal behaviour (i.e. voiceless, voiced and glottalised). The authors then proceed to illustrate various instances of allomorphy involving idle glottis consonants. These are: prefixal allomorphy, dealt with in the second section, where the a- prefixation to certain participial templates is shown to occur or not to occur according to the presence or absence of idle glottis consonants in the first root consonant, and the shapes of the definite article are systematised according to the same principle. In the third section, the effects of final idle glottis clusters are analysed, and these are affirmed to be the cause of some anomalies in subjunctive verbal forms, where two idle glottis consonants can occur as a cluster, whereas other consonants cannot. The same principle seems to work for the possessive, gender and plural suffixes. This section additionally presents an exception to this rule. In the fourth section, the same rules are applied to instances of initial idle glottis consonants clusters (i.e. the causative h- stem in Mehri and Ḥarsusi, and the differences between the realisation of these clusters in Omani and Yemeni Mehri). The conclusions state that single idle glottis consonants do not trigger any process, as this feature is relevant only when two such consonants are in a sequence. The processes dealt with in the paper are then summarised. It is necessary to remark that a few points discussed in this paper seem not to take into account previously published literature: for example, the authors state there are no initial and final phonetic geminates in Mehreyet, but the consonants in these positions may be subject to latency (2014a:194-195). Watson (2012:17) argues that “acoustic evidence from fricatives and released final stops provides strong indication that final geminate verbs do indeed end in final geminates phonetically, and that these contrast in length with simplex counterparts”. As for initial gemination, Bendjaballah and Ségéral state that “In Mehri, the realization or not of the initial geminate is one of the differences

between the two dialects” and the difference between the Omani and Šarqīyah varieties is that the former employs latency, whereas the latter employs the insertion of an epenthetic initial vowel (2014a:194). Again, Watson (2012:20-22) states that “some initial aspirated consonants are geminated in definite nouns” (2012:21), and that “Mehreyyet speakers also describe gemination of initial aspirates explicitly as a marker of definiteness” (2012:22). Watson provides additional discussion about gemination, with regards to initial consonants behaviour in the presence of the causative verb prefix /h/. She states that “H-stem verbs may be realised without *h-* in both dialects. In this case in Mahriyōt and occasionally in Mehreyyet, an aspirated  $C_i$  is geminated, as for the *a*-initial verbs, as in: *hahwūh* ~ *ahhwūh* ‘to drop TRNS’, *haśnūh* ~ *aśśnūh* ‘to show’, *hakilūh* ~ *akkalūh* ‘to bring [camels/goats] back in the early evening’” (Watson 2012:84).

### **En Oman, un trésor linguistique menacé (2014b)**

This is an article published in the French magazine *Pour la science*, in which the authors engage with lay audiences by concisely presenting some elements of the history of southern Arabia, the history of MSA studies, and the current state of affairs of MSA languages. Additionally, further readings are recommended.

### **On the verb forms derived from four h-initial roots in the Mehri language of Oman (2017a)**

In spite of its title, which appears to be concerned with the verbal system, this paper further discusses two aspects of idle glottis consonant clusters dealt with in Bendjaballah & Ségéral (2014a), namely the assimilation of a radical *h-* with *-t-* infixal sequences, and a radical *h-* with radical idle glottis sequences. The conclusions show that the assimilation of an initial *h-* and an adjacent idle glottis consonant occurs both when *h-* is a preformant morpheme and in case it is a root consonant. In the first case, however, the assimilation appears to work regressively, while in the second case the *h-* may either disappear completely, or assimilate causing the first root consonant to geminate.

### **The vocalic system of the Mehri of Oman (2017b)**

In this paper, the authors carry out a deep analysis of the vocalic system of Mehri, and claim at the outset that to date only its surface level has been described, while the underlying processes are still awaiting description. They analyse the interaction of stress, vocalic length and syllabic structure, the unstressed long vowels in open syllable, the case of [ʕ], the glides, the *h-* article associated with originally ʔ-initial roots, stressed and unstressed vowel in closed syllables, short

stressed vowels in open syllables, consonant latency, as well as the unresolved issue of word-final syllables, as has been already pointed out in Bendjaballah's 2016 paper (see above p. 15). The authors conclude that Mehri does not exhibit any phonological contrast between short and long vowels, the latter being, in their opinion, the product of either the lengthening of open syllables under stress, or compensatory lengthening after the deletion of consonants in coda position.

- **Maximilian Bittner**

**Neues Mehri-Materiale aus dem Nachlasse des Dr. Wilhelm Hein (1910)**

This is a description of how the author and Müller sorted and edited the texts gathered by Wilhelm Hein after the latter's death.

- **Maria Bulakh**

**Color terms of the Modern South Arabian language: a diachronic approach (2004)**

The author presents basic colour terms in MSA with the twofold aim of describing their etymologies and suggesting new interpretations for non-basic colour terms. The first section deals with the terms for white, black, red and the peculiar terms which cover the yellow, green and blue spectrum in MSA. Cognate terms in other Semitic languages are presented and their semantic fields are compared. In the second section, the same is done with non-basic colour terms.

**The diachronic background of the verbs *wīda* and *ġerōb* 'to know' in Mehri (2013)**

This paper discusses the syntactic differences between two verbal forms whose cognates are found throughout MSA: namely, Mehri *wīda* and *ġerōb*, both meaning 'to know'. The author outlines the Semitic etymology of the former verb, whose cognates are common in other Semitic sub-branches, as well as of the latter verb, which, conversely, is restricted to MSA and some sporadic occurrences in Sabaic. After discussing the fact the *ġerōb* is typically transitive and can express both propositional and non-propositional knowledge, whereas *wīda* almost invariably intransitive and expresses propositional knowledge, the author goes on to compare PS *\*Vnkr* to common MSA *\*Vġrb*, and hypothesises a parallel development of the semantics of these two roots by proposing that *wīda* originally had both a propositional and a non-propositional function, and was gradually replaced by *ġerōb*, a root whose original meaning was '(to be) alien, foreign, unknown' (2013:23), in the non-propositional domain, thus restricting *wīda* to its current propositional function.

- **Giuliano Castagna**

### **Towards a Systematisation of the Broken Plural Patterns in the Mehri Language of Oman and Yemen (2017)**

This is an attempt at the systematisation of the broken plural patterns in Mehri on the basis of fieldwork and the Johnstone texts published by Stroomer (1999). The available lexical items are examined, and a number of broken plural patterns are identified, along with their correspondences with singular patterns.

- **Julien Dufour**

### **Recherches sur le verbe subarabique modern (2016)**

This is a long and complex work, which analyses in depth the verbal morphology of MSA languages. The topics examined may be thus summarised: 1) the phonology of Jibbali/Shehret, 2) a comprehensive description of Jibbali/Shehret verbal morphology, 3) The identification of Jibbali/Shehret accent rules and their correspondences in Soqoṭri, which explains the irregularities in the latter language, 4) A massive scale comparison of MSA verbal morphology, which surveys all of the verbal stem types in each language, 5) the morphology of  $C1VzC2(ə)C3$  nouns and adjectives (compare Dufour 2017a). Its contents (particularly those of the second chapter) are frequently referred to in the grammatical description of Kuria Muria Jibbali/Shehret contained in this thesis (see chapter 3). The fourth chapter of this work contains a literature review on the diachrony of MSA verb (2016:192-200).

### **Nouns and adjectives of the shape $C1VC2(ə)C3(-)$ in Jibbali (Šḥri) and Mehri (2017a)**

This in-depth analysis of a specific nominal class (mentioned in the title) in Jibbali/Shehret and Mehri investigates the variation among patterns with different vowels. The author points out that the presence of a sonorant as the third root consonant conditions the presence of a schwa /ə/ regardless the specific pattern. Through the examination of a number of phonological processes involved in the production of the above-mentioned nominal class, the author concludes that the treatment of the items which have a glide as a third root consonant constitutes a separating isogloss between west MSA (i.e. Mehri) and east MSA (i.e. Jibbali/Shehret), and that the  $C1VC2C3$  pattern goes back to Proto-Semitic  $*C1VC2C3$ , while the  $C1VC2əC3$  pattern is, in most cases, descended from  $*C1āC2īC3$ .

**La morphologie des forms verbales simples en sudarabique moderne: Hypothèse diachronique (2017b)**

In this paper, the author analyses the two types of the basic verbal stem in MSA languages, both those unmarked and those whose second or third root consonant is a guttural, and shows that what in the present state of affairs surfaces as a system of allomorphy (i.e. the two types of basic stem) is in actuality due to a historical phonological process.

- **Domenyk Eades**

**Syncretism in the verbal morphology of the Modern South Arabian Languages (2014)**

In this paper, various types of syncretised forms in MSA languages are examined and compared with parallel forms in some non-MSA varieties, namely Šarqiyya Arabic (Oman), Rāziḥīt (Yemen), and Ge'ez (ancient Ethiopian). The analysis shows that MSA has distinctive patterns of verbal syncretism, but they are consistent with a western/eastern dichotomy (i.e. Mehri, Ḥarsusi, Baḥari and Hobyōt vs. Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri). Additionally, it is argued that only two of the patterns analysed are common to all the varieties examined, and that Jibbali/Shehret, Soqoṭri, and Hobyōt possess a number of distinct patterns.

- **Domenyk Eades & Janet Watson**

**Tense and aspect in Semitic: A case study based on the Arabic of the Omani Šarqiyya and the Mehri of Dhofar (2013)**

The authors, through the comparison of some grammatical forms, namely the s-stem, p-stem and active participle, show that the two varieties taken into examination do not encode tense within their verbal morphology, which is thus largely aspectual, but rely on adverbials for encoding tense.

- **Lutz Edzard**

**On the role of Modern South Arabian within a comparative Semitic lexicographical project (2017)**

Kogan's study (2015) led Lutz Edzard to reflect on the relevance of MSA lexicon for the internal classification of Semitic. Edzard presents three types of roots: common Semitic roots also attested in Modern South Arabian, those found mainly (or exclusively) in Arabic and MSA/South Semitic, and non-Semitic roots that are loaned via Aramaic into Arabic and found their way also into MSA.

He then states that the results of the analysis of these roots constitute an argument for the relative independence of MSA.

- **Aaron Ember**

**Mehri parallels to Egyptian stems with prefixed ḥ (1914)**

This very brief note brings to the attention of the reader the phenomenon of non-etymological ḥ-prefixation in Mehri. It mentions its (then) recent discovery by Theodore Nöldeke in 1910.

- **Samuel E. Fox**

**Problems of the dual in Soqotri (1975)**

This is a rather short paper that examines Soqotri as a Semitic language, and tries to provide an account of some its peculiarities by viewing it within the framework of classical and modern standard Arabic grammar. Specifically, the paper aims at the internal reconstruction of a nominal class whose members are attested both in their singular and dual forms, and exhibit a stress accent irregularity. The author affirms that the loss of proto-Semitic case endings may, in a number of cases, cause the insertion of what in later works will be called “parasite h” as a compensatory device to preserve length. The fact that this phenomenon does not occur in the dual form can, according to the author, be explained by the *-i* ending preserving the original structure that the nominal class in question had prior to the loss of case endings.

- **Fabio Gasparini**

**Phonetics of Emphatics in Baḥari (2017)**

In this paper, an in-depth discussion of the articulation of the emphatics in Baḥari is provided. Given that Baḥari is currently the most endangered and the least studied of the six MSA languages,<sup>9</sup> this study introduces some hitherto unknown features of this language. At the outset, the author gives details about the environment in which the speakers live, their attitudes towards their language, and their tribal status and connections. The paper then focuses on the sound

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<sup>9</sup> However, it is not yet extinct. With regards to this, it is worth mentioning an article that appeared on the Muscat Daily on the 26<sup>th</sup> of January, 2014, entitled “Experts fear modern South Arabian languages disappearing in Oman”. During the course of the interview of which this article is a summary, Sabrina Bendjaballah stated: “We believe that Bathari language of Dhofar is either extinct or nearly extinct, as we haven’t been able to find speakers”. Gasparini, however, found a number of native speakers in western Dhofar and wrote his thesis on the basis of their speech.

system of Baḥari, and presents the data examined (partly proceeding from the author's own fieldwork, and partly from Miranda Morris's recordings). The discussion then moves on to expounding the results of the analysis of the sound tokens: there emerges a tendency to pharyngealisation rather than to glottalisation. /k/ seems to be the only emphatic to show a consistent glottalisation,<sup>10</sup> while /t/ is pharyngealised much more often than it is glottalised. In intervocalic position, only pharyngealisation seems to take place. The author further states that the analysis of the fricatives is problematic, as there exists a high degree of idiolectal variation among the speakers. He concludes that in view of this variation, the label "emphatic" should be retained, in order to include both types of realisation.

### **The Baḥari Language of Oman: Towards a descriptive grammar (2018)**

This PhD dissertation is the first grammatical description available for the Baḥari language: its structure consists of an introduction, which is mainly concerned with the cultural and historical features of the Baḥāhira, as well as with the presentation of the methodologies and the data. The first chapter describes the phonetics and phonology. The second chapter deals with the nominal morphology. There follows a chapter on the pronouns, and one on the verbal morphology. The work further deals with numerals, preposition, adverbs, other particles and minor categories, syntax and lexis. The appendices contain two sample texts with interlinear glossing and a bibliography.

#### **- Aharon Geva-Kleinberger**

### **Maritime terminology in the Mehri-language (2009)**

In this relatively short paper, the author presents a significant amount of maritime terms in the Mehri dialect of Ḥawf (Yemen, next to the border to Oman). He had the chance to work with Alexander Sima's main informant, Ṣaskari SaṢad Hujayran, on this collection of maritime and fishing-related terms. The informant, who was a fisherman himself, enabled the author to produce a thirteen-page report.

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<sup>10</sup> See Bellem & Watson (2013) for the description of the similar state of affairs in Mehri.



- **Richard Gravina**

#### **The vowel system of Jibbali (2014)**

This concise yet significant paper deals with the phonological processes that underlie and shape the surface vowel system of Jibbali/Shehret. The first and second sections introduce the language, its vowel system and the methodology employed, which is mainly based on the observation of the vowels within the verbal paradigm, rather than within the nominal system. The third section analyses the conditioning and raising processes, as well as vowel harmony. The fourth section deals with lengthening and nasalisation. The fifth section summarises the rules for vowel modification according to the phonetic environment. In the sixth section, some examples aimed at proving contrast among Jibbali/Shehret vowel are provided, and in the seventh section the underlying phonological processes involving the vowels are labelled and sorted in the order in which they occur. Finally, in the eighth and ninth sections the vowel system of Jibbali/Shehret thus analysed is compared with that of the other MSA languages, as well as with those of certain Ethiopian Semitic languages (namely, Ge'ez, Tigrinya and Amharic), and further research questions in the field are put forth, with regards to the typologically peculiar absence of [a], the correspondences among MSA languages vowels, and the reconstruction of proto-MSA vocalic system for individual lexical items. This study is largely based on the *Jibbali Lexicon* of T.M. Johnstone.

- **Michael Hahn**

#### **Proto-Modern South Arabian vowels – A first approximation (2012)**

This is an attempt at the reconstruction of Proto-MSA vowels, and is largely based on the comparison between western MSA and Jibbali/Shehret-Soqoṭri vowels. Dufour (2016) carries further the study of this field, and proposes a number of research avenues.

- **Katrina Hayward, Richard Hayward & Sālim Bakhīt al-Tabūki**

#### **Vowels in Jibbālī verbs (1988)**

This paper, focusing on the vowel system of Jibbali/Shehret, takes into examination the two types of simple stem verbs that contain gutturals, and attempts to discover their thematic vowels. The findings may be relevant in view of Bendjaballah & Segeal's 'idle glottis' theory (2014).

- **Antja Ida Hofstede**

#### **Syntax of Jibbāli (1998)**

This unpublished thesis deals with the syntax of Jibbali/Shehret, on the basis of some of Johnstone's paper the author analysed (Hofstede 1997), as well as on personal fieldwork. The third chapter of the present thesis contains a section (3.5.3) which aims at describing the syntax of Jibbali/Shehret and includes data from the Kuria Muria variety.

- **Thomas Muir Johnstone**

#### **The Non-Occurrence of a t- Prefix in Certain Socotri Verbal Forms (1968)**

This article can be regarded as a precursor of Testen (1992), in that it brings up the issue of this irregularity in the Soqoṭri verbal system (Testen will afterwards find that it exists also in Jibbali/Shehret). Johnstone examines both his own materials and Bittner's, and presents the occurrences of this phenomenon through the verbal measures pointed out by Testen. However, he does not make any statements as to the cause of this phenomenon. The phonological roots of this phenomenon will be later discussed by Testen (1992).

#### **A definite article in the Modern South Arabian languages (1970a)**

This paper examines definiteness issues in MSA, as do Matthews's *Modern South Arabian Determination-A Clue Thereto from Shaḥrī* (1969),<sup>11</sup> and Pennacchietti's *Un articolo prepositivo in neosudarabico* (1969).<sup>12</sup> The discussion encompasses the allomorphs of the definiteness marker in Mehri and Jibbali/Shehret, and a cognate affix in Soqoṭri and its functions, including its being attached to nouns with possessive prefixes.

#### **Dual forms in Mehri and Ḥarsūsi (1970b)**

In this paper, Johnstone presents the hitherto unstudied dual verbal forms in Mehri and Ḥarsusi, and compares them with their Jibbali/Shehret counterparts.

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<sup>11</sup> See p. 31

<sup>12</sup> See p. 37

### **Diminutive patterns in the Modern South Arabian languages (1973)**

This paper takes into account the diminutive forms in Mehri/Ḥarsusi (treated here as a single language), Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri. In addition to the phonological templates and an array of examples from the three languages, Johnstone provides a note on the semantics of the diminutives, as well as some hypotheses about their historical development.

### **Contrasting Articulations in the Modern South Arabian Languages (1975)**

This short conference paper is the first presentation of the emphatic consonants in MSA where they are described as ejectives. A list of lexical items containing these consonants is presented (actually, the transcription of a cassette played during the presentation). There follows a report of a discussion that took place during the presentation, which features Leslau, Petracek and Kaye.

### **Ḥarsusi (1977) Jibbali (1981) and Mehri (1987) lexica**

These lexica were compiled as the corollary of Johnstone's long periods of fieldwork. The raw data, in the form of transcriptions of recorded speech on which they are based was later published by Harry Stroomer for Mehri (1999)<sup>13</sup> and Ḥarsusi (2004), while a part of his Jibbali/Shehret texts were published in Rubin's grammar (2014). These lexica begin with a grammatical sketch: a succinct one for Ḥarsusi and an extensive one for Mehri and Jibbali/Shehret, followed by a bibliography. The main body of the works consists of the terms arranged by root in English alphabetical order. Philologically speaking, these works often offer cognates in other MSA languages, but rarely do so with other Semitic languages outside MSA. The Ḥarsusi and Mehri lexica additionally comprise a glossary. These works are currently the main sources of lexical data for these languages, although the validity of their contents (especially with regards to the transcription) was recently challenged by Rubin (2017) who re-analysed Johnstone's field data and came up with different and more accurate interpretations.

### **Gemination in the Jibbāli language of Dhofar (1980)**

In this paper, the author presents the cases in which gemination occurs in Jibbali/Shehret, making it clear from the outset that it is a secondary phenomenon which, nevertheless, might once have been a regular feature of this language. He shows that certain voiceless consonants and glides in

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<sup>13</sup> A new edition of these texts, with revised transcription, is found in Rubin (2018). See below 43-44.

initial position undergo gemination when the definite article is attached. He also shows that the same consonants in the same position in the verbal system may, in a number of cases, trigger gemination in the perfect and imperfect conjugation of the causative stem *VCCVC* (i.e. H-stem), and less frequently in the perfect conjugation of the intensive-conative stem *CVVCV* (i.e. D/L-stem).

#### **New sibilant phonemes in the Modern South Arabian languages of Dhofar (1984)**

This very short paper describes some previously unreported sibilants which, in time, turned out to be a peculiarity of Jibbali/Shehret. The articulation of these sounds, usually represented as /š/, /ʃ/ and /ž/ in the literature, is described by Johnstone as follows: “pronounced with the blade of the tongue on the hard palate and the lips protruding: the breath is forced between the blade of the tongue and the hard palate” (1984:389). Johnstone’s explanation remained totally unchallenged for over three decades, until Bellem & Watson’s paper (2017) shed new light on this topic. The paper additionally presents another sound, namely /ẓ/, which, differently from /ž/, has a phonemic status in Central Jibbali/Shehret. The sound in question is described as being “pronounced with more force than /ž/ and gives the acoustic impression of a plosive. It is not, however, glottalized” (1984:390).

#### - **Leonid Kogan**

##### **Genealogical Classification of Semitic: The Lexical Isoglosses (2015)**

Leonid Kogan, in this work devoted to the sub-grouping of Semitic, offers insight into MSA lexical peculiarities. The chapter that deals with MSA outlines lexical similarities and differences within MSA, and examines the lexical items that are thought not to be of Semitic origin. The author additionally advances hypotheses about the internal sub-grouping of MSA.

#### - **Leonid Kogan & Maria Bulakh**

##### **On some poorly known or unrecognised verbal categories in Soqotri: 1905–2005 (2017)**

This paper deals with two understudied peculiarities of the Soqotri verb, namely the so-called “old imperative” (that is, the jussive-based form), and the *-n* conditional. This study is based on the Südarabische Expedition materials, as well as on the authors’ own fieldwork. In the first section, 68 occurrences of the “old imperative” are reported, and the complete paradigm, as elicited by the authors, is provided. Subsequently, its occurrence throughout different verbal measures is

commented on. In the second section, 94 occurrences of *-n* conditional are presented, and the environments in which it occurs are described. There follows a description of the functions of the *-n* conditional. Finally, a discussion about the unreal conditional sentences in Soqoṭri is presented, on the premises that this is the most common environment in which the *-n* conditional appears.

- **Ludwig Krapf**

**Sammlung von Wörtern in den Sprachen von Murbat dafar und Mahāra im südlichen Arabien (1846)**

A small word-list containing terms from Mehri and Jibbali/Shehret.

- **Wolf Leslau**

**Sur le préfixe *n-* en soqoṭri (1934a)**

The discussion here is aimed at ascertaining whether the *n-* prefix in Soqoṭri has a limited productivity in verbs of action, as is the case with a similar prefix in Ethio-Semitic languages, or it has reflexive-passive value like in other Semitic languages. This discussion stems from a paper by Marcel Cohen, *Sur l'affixe *n* dans des verbes expressifs de diverses langues chamito-sémitiques* (1935), in which Cohen describes the uses of this affix in several Semitic and Afroasiatic languages. After presenting a number of examples, the author concludes that the prefix in question seems to be linked to action verbs.

**Le passif interne en soqoṭri (1934b)**

This short paper points out some features of the internal passive in Soqoṭri: firstly, the templates for the basic stem and some derived stems are presented, then the uses of the passive are examined. There emerges a tendency towards its use in the third person, rather than in the other persons, as the author states that the passive in Soqoṭri has, rather, an impersonal nuance, i.e. *iruca tos* 'elle est vue' (Leslau 1934b:92)

**Der š-Laut in den modernen südarabischen Sprachen (1937)**

This paper, dating back to a phase in which Modern South Arabian studies were relatively new, describes the environments, the phonological processes and the etymology of /š/ in MSA.

### **Lexique Soqotri (1938)**

This is the first extensive work on the Soqotri language. It comprises a very brief grammatical sketch, a table of the phonetic correspondences between Soqotri and other Semitic languages, as well as a French-Soqotri glossary. With regards to the main body of this work, the roots are arranged in the Hebrew alphabetical order. Cognate terms in other MSA languages or other Semitic sub-branches are given whenever available. To date, it remains the only fully-fledged Soqotri lexicon, and in spite of it having been published 80 years ago (it draws on the *Südarabische expedition* data), its outdated layout, and the advances made since its publication, it is still an important tool for the study of this language.

### **Four Modern South Arabic languages (1947a)**

A brief grammatical sketch of Jibbali/Shehret, Mehri, Ḥarsusi and Baḥari.

### **The Position of the Dialect of Curia Muria in Modern South Arabic (1947b)**

The author cites Hulton's paper (1840) and, firstly, reports some of his statements about the geography and people of the island. He then examines all the lexical items in the word-list, and compares each of them with its counterpart in continental MSA and relevant Arabic varieties. He concludes, like Hulton himself had concluded on less scientific grounds, that the language spoken on Ḥallāniyya is a variety of Jibbali/Shehret.

### **A Prefix ḥ in Egyptian, Modern South Arabian, and Hausa (1962)**

This short article is concerned with a non-etymological [h] ~ [ħ] prefix in certain lexical items found in the above-mentioned languages. The author does not try to provide any explanation to this phenomenon, but merely points out its existence, which had been pointed out by Ember (1914).<sup>14</sup> See also 2.4.11.

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<sup>14</sup> See p. 21

- **Samuel J. Liebhaber**

#### **Acoustic spectrum analysis of Mehri orature (2017)**

This study analyses acoustically two genres of Mehri oral poetry, chanting and recitation, in order to gain understanding of their metrical system. The author considers two commonly held views on this topic: 1) the metrical system is based on patterned beats of stress; 2) it is based on the regular alternations of long and short vowels. The preliminary results show that the rhythmic organization of recited poetry seems not to be precisely codified, but, rather, is based on the volume contrast between hyper-stressed, stressed, and unstressed syllables. As for chanted poetry, it seems to follow a similar arrangement, although the above-mentioned contrast is relevant to a lesser degree.

- **Antoine Lonnet**

#### **The Modern South Arabian Languages in the P.D.R. of Yemen (1985)**

Lonnet's introduction to MSA languages is divided into two sections: in the first one, the author reviews Jonhstone's scholarly achievements, and then moves on to describing the Mehri language, the domains of its use, and some anecdotes of remarkable socio-linguistic interest: he reports to have seen, at the beginning of the 1980s, people who were completely monolingual in Mehri, one being so unaware of the Arabic language that he needed to have the expression "as-salām ṣalaykum" translated. The second part presents the then few data available for Hobyōt, and a brief comparison between it and more known MSA varieties is made.

#### **Quelques résultats en linguistique sudarabique moderne (1994a)**

A detailed comparative sketch grammar of MSA languages, based on the knowledge available at the time it was written.

#### **L'accumulation des déictiques : l'expression de « maintenant » en sudarabique moderne (2003)**

This paper proposes a description of the MSA terms expressing 'now' as sequences of deictics.

#### **Les langues sudarabiques modernes (2006)**

This is a brief, yet comprehensive, presentation of MSA salient grammatical features, carefully described for each language.

**La marque -i de féminin en (chamito-)sémitique et son développement en sudarabique moderne oriental (2008)**

In this paper, Lonnet provides a new element for the sub-grouping of MSA: the *-i-* marker of the feminine in the verbal morphology and the adjectives. The author first illustrates the parallels of this feminine marker in the verbal and nominal morphology of other branches of Afro-Asiatic, and then moves on to showing that this morpheme underwent a peculiar development in a part of MSA, that is what he defines “sudarabique moderne oriental”, which comprises Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri. In these languages the *-i-* marker is embedded into the verbal inflection rather than being an affix. Likewise, the feminine gender is marked by an infix *-i-* in a number of quadrilateral adjectives, which can be either derived from trilateral roots by means of derivational morphemes, or can be reduplicated bilaterals and true quadrilaterals.

**South Arabian, Modern. In the Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics. Vol. 4 (2009)**

This encyclopaedia entry describes briefly MSA languages.

**Modern South Arabian *ikōtāb* is not necessarily *iparras* or *yānaggār* (2017)**

In this article, the author counters the arguments for a Proto-Semitic imperfective template \**yaqattal*: after a deep analysis of the existing literature, the review of a scholarly debate that took place between David Cohen and Gideon Goldenberg, and of the position of David Testen on the *t*-markers in Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri, Lonnet affirms that MSA imperfective derives, rather, from the west Semitic \**yvktubu*.

- **Ahmad bin Mahād al-Maṣṣanī**

**Muṣṣam lisān Ḥufār (2014)**

This Jibbali/Shehret-Arabic dictionary was compiled by a local amateur lexicographer. It is structured according to the Arabic alphabetical order, and the roots are coherently presented throughout the book. Although it does not account for the rich dialectal variation of this language, and its arbitrary use of Arabic diacritics to render the linguistic sounds unknown to Arabic make it slightly difficult to use, it is, nevertheless, a good consultation tool, especially as it sometimes succeeds in filling the gaps found in western lexica. The fact that it was compiled by a native speaker is, obviously, of particular interest. Regrettably, it is virtually impossible to get hold of this



privately published work outside of Dhofar, where it is currently found on sale at the Islamic centre bookshop next to the Sultan's mosque in Salalah.

- **Heinrich Freiherr von Maltzan**

**Ueber den Dialect von Mahra, genannt Méhri, in Südarabien (1871)**

This is the first sketch grammar of Mehri, written according to the criteria of the time. It contains a careful description of the verbal and nominal morphology, as well as of the pronouns.

- **Charles D. Matthews**

**Non-Arabic place names in central south Arabia (1959)**

**Again on non-Arabic place names in central south Arabia (1962)**

The two above papers deal with some non-Arabic place names in southern Arabia of likely MSA or ASA origin. This is particularly relevant in view of the south-eastern Arabian undeciphered inscriptions (see appendix 1).

**Modern South Arabian Determination-A Clue Thereto from Shaḥrī (1969)**

This paper, which is almost contemporary with Johnstone's *A definite article in the Modern South Arabian languages* (1970a). This scholar states that Jibbali/Shehret possesses a definite article on the basis of the *Südarabische Expedition Vienna* corpus data, as well as on some materials elicited from native speakers residing in the United States, and concludes that also the other MSA languages are likely to possess such a feature.

- **Miranda Morris**

**Plant names in Dhofar and the Soqatra archipelago (2002a)**

This paper presents a wide number of plant names in MSA languages, and arrays them according to some salient features, namely names that are similar in Soqatra, continental MSA, and the wider Arab world, names that are similar throughout MSA for related species, names that are similar throughout MSA for unrelated species, names for key food plants, names that are not similar throughout MSA though the species appear to be related, and names for major plants that occur only in one area and not in the other(s). Each section is then divided into several sub-sections, according to the relevance each plant has for the people who live in the area examined. Thus, the author introduces the reader to folk metaphors (i.e. plants whose name contains the

term for 'date', as they are a source of sweetness), the diminutives (widely used in Soqotri), and the vulgar plant names. Additionally, the paper presents a description of plant parts names in various MSA languages. In the last section, the data presented in the discussion are conveniently presented in tables, and a few comments on each name are provided.

### **The Soqotra Archipelago: Concepts of good health and everyday remedies for illness (2003)**

This paper is essentially a treatise of traditional Soqotran medicine. Firstly, it introduces the concepts of good health and describes the practical ways in which the islanders strive to keep it. It then describes the causes of illness, both natural and supernatural, including witchcraft and the evil eye, and the healers, which are of different types and are employed according to the perceived cause of illness. The last 13 pages contain a number of tables which present illnesses, cures, and the native names of both.

### **The pre-literate, non-Arabic languages of Oman and Yemen (2005)**

This paper is the summary of a talk the author gave at a meeting of Anglo-Omani and British-Yemeni societies. It is intended for a lay audience and describes the state of the art in MSA studies, as well as each language and its speakers in detail.

### **The songs and poems of Soqotra (2011)**

This paper is the commentary and translation of six poems in Soqotri. The author briefly describes Soqotran society, poetical genres and the language. She additionally comments on the increasingly important role of Arabic in the everyday life of the Island, and the resulting retreat of Soqotri from a growing number of social domains.

### **The use of 'veiled language' in Soqotri poetry (2013)**

In this concise description, a poetic device of the Soqotri language translated by the author as "veiled language" is examined. The purposes of this device are described: namely, a poet who shows a good use of veiled language is regarded as a better poet, while those who use the language literally are considered to be of a lesser stand. Also, the veiled language allows people to hold secret conversations in public. The paper provides examples of various degrees of veiled language in poetry.

### **Some thoughts on studying the endangered Modern South Arabian Languages (2017)**

This long essay summarises the author's thoughts on her fieldwork on MSA, over more than thirty years. It is structured as follows: after a brief introduction, in which the aims of the paper are described, the first section informs the reading of the author's activity in the field of MSA studies. The second section describes the society of the Baṭāḥira (that is, the speakers of Baṭḥari) and warns fieldworkers against the elicitation of a single tokens, on the basis on her experience of getting wrong plurals, whereas those in spontaneous speech were correct. She then moves on to describing how the Baṭāḥira modify Arabic words to sound more Baṭḥari, as well as how certain speakers of this language already exhibited, in the 1980s, a marked lack of competence, their language already being partially replaced by Arabic. In the third section, the author delves into the semantics of "living space": she reports that MSA speakers, when asked how to say "home" in their languages, will at first provide a cognate of Arabic *bayt*, but a deeper analysis reveals that the languages possess other more specific terms for "living space", the use of which is closely intertwined with their traditional environments and ways of life. Morris uses this example to describe lexical impoverishment. The fourth section deals with the possible causes for the decline of two MSA languages, namely Baṭḥari and Hobyōt: in the case of Baṭāḥira, their former status of "weak" people, and their wish to be regarded as Bedouins (with its overtone of respectability) are described as a cause. The Baṭāḥira now overtly declare that their language is Arabic and give little heed to their legacy. In the case of Hobyōt, which, differently from the other MSA, is not associated with any particular tribal group, but rather is the language of a geographic area, the reason for a loss of speakers is said to be precisely the lack of tribal affiliation. In the fifth section, the author counters a statement by Simeone-Senelle that native speakers of Arabic and native speakers of MSA language do not enjoy any mutual understanding; Morris claims that speakers of Arabic and MSA languages have shared common interests and aims since ancient times and, hence, were always driven towards multi-lingualism. In the sixth section, the author warns fieldworkers against relying on informants that claim to be fluent in more than one MSA language, as using their speech for semantic descriptions could be misleading. She cites the case of a number of common MSA roots that have slightly (but importantly) different meanings across the six languages. The seventh section presents the terms that MSA (specifically Jibbali/Shehret and Hobyōt) use to describe people who speak their languages haltingly, and traces their origin back to a term originally used to describe incorrectly tanned leather. Finally, in the conclusions, the author summarises the contents of the paper.

**The linguistic situation in the Central Oman mountains (in press)**

**The Intangible Culture of Jabal Samhan, Jabal Qara and Jabal Qamar (in press)**

- **Miranda Morris & Sālim ʿawaḍ Ahmad al-Shahri**

**Drink long and drink in peace: Singing to livestock at water in Dhofar, Sultanate of Oman (2017)**

This is a collection of lyrics of the chants Jibbali/Shehret herders sing as they water their animals. The paper first presents lists of various types of natural springs occurring in Dhofar and types of rain: each item is given in Jibbali/Shehret, translated into English and described. The following section presents 14 chants: the lyrics of each chant are reported, translated and commented. The author points out that these chants are no longer heard and that, during a recent trip to Dhofar, she heard chants and calls in another language, as the herder was an outsider.

- **David Heinrich Müller**

**Die südarabische Expedition der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien (1899)**

**Die Mehri- und Soqoṭri sprache (1902, 1905, 1907)**

**Die Formen qatlal und qatlil in der Soqoṭri-Sprache (1909a)**

**Mehri- und Ḥaḍrami-Texte, gesammelt im Jahre 1902 in Gischin von Dr. Wilhelm Hein (1909b)**

- **Walter W. Müller**

**Über Beziehungen zwischen den neusüdarabischen und den abessinischen Sprachen (1964)**

In this paper, several aspects of MSA and Ethiopian Semitic are examined and compared and it is concluded that the two groups have a number of features in common, and can then be considered as a sub-group within Semitic. This, according to the author, speaks to the long independent development of Arabic. Müller's arguments are put into question by later studies (Appleyard 1996; Huehnergard & Rubin 2011; Lonnet 2017).

**Zum Wortschatz des neusüdarabischen Mehri (1993)**

This is a concise literature review of the published materials concerned with Mehri lexis.

- **Aki'o Nakano**

**Comparative Vocabulary of Southern Arabic: Mahri, Gibbali and Soqotri (1986)**

This bulky work (1156 pages) authored by Aki'o Nakano, provides a lexical comparison of the languages mentioned in its title. In the foreword, the speakers participating to the study are briefly described, the methodology outlined (the data collection was carried out with the aid of a questionnaire). There follows a succinct bibliography. The introduction focuses on the description of the three languages' phonological systems. The lexicon is structured schematically: each English term is given a translation in the three languages (not infrequently, however, the translation in one or two of the languages is missing), and usage examples are given, when available. The lexical items are arranged in sections named after a semantic field, rather than by a strict alphabetical order. This lexicon is based on the previous works on these languages, as well as on the author's personal fieldwork.

**Höbyot (Oman) Vocabulary with Example Texts (2013)**

This is the first (and hitherto only) major work on the lexis of Hobyöt. This is Nakano's last work, and was published posthumously in 2013. It consists of an introduction written by Robert Ratcliffe (at that time Professor of Arabic and Linguistics at the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies), in which the circumstances that led to the publication of the manuscript are expounded, and a few remarks about the language (the last MSA language to be "discovered" by western scholars) are put forth. The phonological system of Hobyöt and the transcription system used in the work are then briefly described. The main part of the work consists, similarly to Nakano's 1986 work described above, of semantically arranged sections, in which the English terms are translated into Hobyöt. This work comprises a number of valuable usage examples. A glossary (called "index") can be found in the last section.

- **Vitaly Naumkin & Leonid Kogan**

**The vowels of Soqotri as a phonemic system (2014)**

This study constitutes a focus of the vocalic system of Soqotri, and its outcomes show that this language possesses a very simple /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/, /u/ system, and that length is not phonemic. The analysis is based primarily on the observation of vowel alternation in the verbal morphology, although the nominal morphology is also examined.

- **Vitaly Naumkin, Maria Bulakh & Leonid Kogan**

#### **Two erotic stories from Soqotra revisited (2013)**

This article presents two Soqotri erotic stories, with an English translation, that were recorded by Naumkin in the 1970s, but could not be included in the Corpus of Soqotri Oral Literature (2014 and forthcoming) in order to preserve the reputation of the informants who told them.

- **Vitaly Naumkin, Leonid Kogan, Dmitry Cherkashin, Maria Bulakh, Ekaterina Vizirova, ʿĪsa Gumfān al-Daʿrhi & Ahmad ʿĪsa al-Daʿrhi**

#### **Corpus of Soqotri oral literature: volume I (2014)**

The core of this work is a collection of 30 texts gathered by the authors during their fieldwork in Soqotra. The book is structured thus: the introduction begins with a summary of the contents of the texts, and is followed by a table representing the phonological system of Soqotri and the sound correspondences with Proto-Semitic, Arabic, Ge'ez and Hebrew. Then, a discussion of the most peculiar phonetic and phonological processes of the language is presented: the velarised /l/, /š/ ~ /yh/ ~ /h/, that is, the outcomes of PS \*s<sub>1</sub> (see 2.4.10), and the palatalisation of velar stops. After that, the vowels and the phonological processes in which they are involved are analysed in detail: nasalised vowels and the “furtive” glide. The authors then deal with accent and syllable structure. In the following sub-sections, the English translation of the texts is examined and the issues encountered are put forth and described, the annotation criteria are set out, and references to the Vienna corpus of the *Südarabische expedition* are made. The section that follows is devoted to the description of the modified version of the Arabic script that was used by the authors, alongside the Latin alphabet, to record the texts. This section also describes the Arabic translation of these texts, including their purpose and the style used. A section devoted to the glossary then presents a brief grammatical sketch of Soqotri, describing the basics of nominal and verbal morphology, and how Arabic loanwords fit into the bigger picture of the language. Finally, a description of the images used is given, and links to the online elements of the works are provided. There follow the actual texts, accompanied by the English translation, each of which is complemented by a detailed section of philological notes. The work is further enriched by the appendices, three glossed texts, the glossary, the plates, and a comprehensive bibliography.

#### **Corpus of Soqotri Oral Literature: volume II (forthcoming)**

- **Vitaly Naumkin & Viktor Porkhomovsky**

#### **Personal pronouns in Socotran folklore texts (1998)**

This paper illustrates how the use of personal pronouns in Soqoṭri folk narratives differs from their use in everyday speech. The authors first present the Soqoṭri pronominal system, and then provide the transcription of one such narrative. Subsequently, they state that the pronouns are used in a much more redundant fashion in folk narratives than in everyday speech, and provide a comparison.

- **Fabrizio Pennacchietti**

#### **Recenti studi sudarabici (1967)**

This is basically a literature review that aims at informing Semitic scholars about the state of the art of MSA studies in the time it was written. It is mainly concerned with the works of Wagner, the Südarabische Expedition, and Leslau.

#### **Un articolo prepositivo in neosudarabico (1969)**

This paper is a reflection on the functions of the definite article in MSA, rather than a true discussion about whether it exists or not. The author notes its features, like its being associated with the possessive suffixes, which he understandably finds unusual, and concludes that the MSA article must be of a very different nature from its counterparts in other Semitic languages: rather, he holds, it resembles that of Somali.

#### **Appunti per una storia comparata dei sistemi preposizionali semitici (1974)**

In this long essay, Pennacchietti provides a comprehensive discussion about the Semitic prepositions. In the first section, he presents the syntactic and semantic features of preposition in general. He then moves on to presenting the prepositional systems of each Semitic subgroup, focussing on MSA prepositions and their peculiarities in the last five pages on this section, also discussing their similarity with those of the Hadramawtic language, which belongs to the Old (or Epigraphic) South Arabian group. Finally, in the third section, he concludes that each Semitic subgroup developed a prepositional system which exhibits characteristics of its own, but they can all be traced back to an older, and simpler, Proto-Semitic system.

- **Viktor Porkhomovsky**

**Modern South Arabian languages from a Semitic and Hamito–Semitic perspective (1997)**

This concise paper offers an overview of the (then) commonly held views on the genetic classification of MSA within Semitic. It then raises the issue of the verbal system in Semitic, and the status of MSA with regards to innovation vs. retention in its own verbal system. It is useful to compare Porkhomovsky's statements with Lonnet's (2017).

- **Gary Rendsburg**

**Modern South Arabian as a source for Ugaritic etymologies (1987)**

This is a comparison between ten terms found in the Ugaritic corpora, and similar MSA terms, in terms of phonetics and semantics.

- **Nikolaus Rhodokanakis**

**Zur Formenlehre des Mehri (1910)**

This is an early work on Mehri morphology, based on the *Südarabische Expedition* data.

- **Rachid Ridouane & Cédric Gendrot**

**On ejective fricatives in the Mehri of Oman (2017)**

This description of ejective fricatives in Mehri, namely [θ'], [s'], [t'], [ʃ'], endeavours to provide new phonetic information about this cross-linguistically relatively rare feature. The ejective fricatives are analysed in initial and medial position. The results show that, compared with their fricative non-ejective counterparts, these sounds exhibit significantly longer pre- and post-frication silent intervals, as well as a higher intensity, and higher centres of gravity and F1 formants of the adjacent vowels. The F2 formants, on the other hand, are found to be unaffected by ejectivity in intervocalic position, but are lowered word-initially. Vowel length seems to be equally unaffected. The study also shows that there is significant inter-speaker variation in the pronunciation of these sounds, with the ejective realisation being phonetically marginal.

- **Emil Rödiger**

**Fresnel über die Himjaritische Sprache (1840)**

This is a summary of Fresnel's (then) recent communications, translated into German.



- **Kirsten Morgan Rood**

#### **The Morphosyntax of Pronominal Possessors and Diminutives in Mehri (2017)**

This PhD thesis analyses the syntactic and morphological features of pronominal suffixes and diminutives (both nouns and adjectives) in Mehri.

- **Aaron Rubin**

#### **The Mehri participle: Form, function, and evolution (2007)**

In this relatively concise paper, the author provides an overview of the active participle (AP) in Mehri, giving details about its forms for various verbal stems, its functions and its historical development.

#### **Interrogatives in Mehri: Their use and etymologies (2008)**

The title of this article is self-explanatory: it tackles the issue of the interrogatives in Mehri. Of special significance is the etymological note on each item examined, which traces back the evolution of the interrogatives to Semitic prototypes. The paper also points out some similarities between Mehri prepositions and their Egyptian Arabic counterparts, with regards to their syntax and etymology.

#### **The functions of the preposition *k-* in Mehri (2009a)**

This paper describes the function of the preposition *k-* ‘with’ in Mehri. It is to be noted, however, that most of the remarks in this paper are also valid for the other MSA languages, which possess the same preposition. The discussion examines its allomorph *š-* in the presence of a possessive suffix, and its functions, which can be environmental, i.e. *šīham mawsē* ‘It’s raining (for them)’ (2009a:224), physical, i.e. *šay harq* ‘I am hot’ (2009a:225), and temporal, i.e. *tē kə-sōbāḥ aḡayg šawkūf* ‘Then, in the morning, the man fell asleep’ (2009a:225).

#### **Ḥōm Sweet Ḥōm: The unusual Mehri verb ‘to want’ (2009b)**

In this paper, various aspects of the Mehri verb ‘to want’ are discussed. Besides its basic meaning, its cohortative function, i.e. ‘should’, ‘ought to’, proximative and avertative function, i.e. ‘to be about to’ are analysed. Additionally, its use as a motion verb, i.e. ‘heading to’, and its idiomatic use in the expression *ḥōm...aw* ‘whether...or’ are touched upon. The author concludes that this Mehri

verb does not only mean ‘to want’, but has a wide range of meanings. However, he points out that most of these developments have semantic parallels in other languages.

### **The Mehri Language of Oman (2010)**

This is Rubin’s first Mehri grammar, and, chronologically speaking, the first modern-day grammar of a Modern South Arabian language. It consists of fourteen chapters, which focus on the following: an introduction, in which the author describes the dialects of Mehri, and presents a literature review on this language. This chapter also presents Mehri from a MSA and Semitic perspective, and describes the data sources (this work is mostly based on Johnstone’s texts).<sup>15</sup> The second chapter examines the phonology of this language. In the third chapter, the pronouns and their functions are described. The fourth and the fifth chapters tackle the nominal morphology of Mehri, while the sixth chapter discusses the verbal morphology. The seventh chapter deals with tense-aspect-mood issues, and the eighth chapter provides a detailed description of the prepositions and their uses. In the ninth chapter, the numerals are dealt with, while the tenth chapter is devoted to the adverbs. The eleventh chapter describes the interrogatives. In the twelfth chapter, a discussion on the uses of various miscellaneous particles is presented, while the thirteenth chapter deals with the syntax. Finally, the fourteenth chapter focuses on the Arabic loanwords in Mehri. The work further consists of the following: an appendix where some corrections to Stroomer’s edition of Johnstone’s texts are proposed, a bibliography, an index of passages from Johnstone’s texts, and an index of select Mehri words. It is to be noted that this grammar, being based on data whose reliability the author himself came to doubt afterwards (Rubin 2017), has been updated and a new version has recently become available.<sup>16</sup>

### **Mehri dialect studies: Omani and Šarqīyah Mehri (2011)**

This is a systematic comparison between Mehreyyet data (Johnstone) and the (then) recently published Yemeni Mehri (Mahriyōt) texts gathered by Sima and annotated and edited by Watson and Arnold. The study carefully compares these two varieties, and summarises the results of this comparison in the conclusions section.

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<sup>15</sup> Stroomer (1999), and Rubin (2017; 2018)

<sup>16</sup> Rubin (2018), see p. 43-44

### **The future tense in Jibbali (2012a)**

The author reviews the existing data about the Jibbali/Shehret future tense marker, represented in the literature as *dḥar-*, *dḥa-*, *ḥa-* and *a-*. He then proceeds to search for the sources of this prefix, and identifies its most likely antecedent in the verb *ḥaré* + the punctual action, or circumstantial, prefix *d-*.

### **Two Modern South Arabian etymologies (2012b)**

The two etymologies discussed in this paper are the terms for ‘shark’ and the preposition ‘under’. Various hypotheses found in the existing literature about the origins of the first term, whose Proto-Semitic root can be reconstructed as *\*lxm*, are reviewed. The author counters the opinion of other scholars who believe that this term should be derived from the PS root *\*lḥm* ‘staple food’ through an irregular sound change, and proposes a regular derivation from *\*lxm* by providing an Akkadian cognate *lax(a)mu* ‘mythological sea monster’. As for the second term, namely Mehri *nəxāli* ‘under’, the author proposes two scenarios: its cognacy with various Semitic terms meaning ‘valley’, or with its Soqōṭri counterpart *nəḥaṭ*, in turn deriving with PS *\*nxt* ‘to go down’, through the addition of *-li*, the assimilation *\*nəxāt + -li > \*nəxāl + -li > \*nəxālli*, and the subsequent degemination, typical of MSA, into *nəxāli*.

### **Hulton’s Jibbali word-list from 1836 (2014a)**

The contents of this paper are particularly relevant to the present thesis, as it discusses the validity of the only published materials on the Kuria Muria dialect of Jibbali/Shehret. After presenting a brief overview of the milestones of the Jibbali/Shehret literature, the author focuses on Hulton’s publication, from which he cites lengthy excerpts concerning the physical geography of the islands and their inhabitants. After reviewing all the terms contained in Hulton’s wordlist, the author concludes that the main feature of the Kuria Muria dialect, namely the alleged pronunciation of lateral sounds as interdental sounds, was either a free variation or not at all present at the time of Hulton’s enquiry.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> See below 3.5.1.7

### **The Jibbali (Shaḥri) Language of Oman, Grammar and Texts (2014b)**

This book is the only Jibbali/Shehret grammar published so far, and is of particular interest as it includes a selection of Johnstone's Jibbali/Shehret texts, revised by the author and published for the first time. It consists of sixteen chapters plus appendices, of which the first fourteen constitute the actual grammatical description, and the last two deal with the presentation of the texts on which the grammar is based. The first chapter introduces the language, the issues with its naming,<sup>18</sup> the previous studies on it, as well as its position within MSA and Semitic. The second chapter deals with the phonetics and the phonology, and the process related to them. In the third chapter, the pronouns are discussed. In the fourth and fifth chapters, the nominal morphology is dealt with. The sixth and seventh chapters focus on the verbal morphology, while the eighth chapter presents the prepositions and their functions. The ninth chapter provides a description of the numerals. The tenth chapter tackles the adverbs. The eleventh chapter deals with interrogatives, while the twelfth chapter describes a number of miscellaneous particles. The thirteenth chapter focuses on the syntactic features of the language, while in the fourteenth chapter some conversational sentences are presented, translated and explained. The fifteenth chapter deals with the presentation of Johnstone's texts, while the sixteenth chapter presents other materials on which the work is based. There follow four appendices: appendix A presents a text with morpheme glossing. Appendix B contains the same text in Arabic script. Appendix C presents a supplement to Johnstone's Jibbali lexicon, while appendix D consists of the *errata* of the author's Mehri grammar (Rubin 2010). The book further comprises a bibliography, and index of passages, and an index of selected Jibbali words.

### **A brief comparison of Mehri and Jibbali (2014c)**

This study compares various features of Mehri and Jibbali/Shehret, with the aim of providing useful material for future attempts at the internal sub-grouping of MSA. The author does not make any conclusive statements, and calls for a comprehensive comparison of these languages.

### **Recent developments in Jibbali (2015a)**

This paper surveys the changes that Jibbali/Shehret has undergone over the last forty years. Rubin detected these changes by the comparison of the data proceeding from an unspecified number of

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<sup>18</sup> See above 0.2

informants, who were all between the ages of 18 and 28 (2015a:432) and whose speech he recorded, with Johnstone's materials, which were largely the result of the latter's interviews with Ali Musallam al-Mehri, a native speaker of Mehri who learnt Jibbali/Shehret at an early age. Rubin himself was in contact with Ali Musallam in the last years of the latter's life, and affirms that Ali's speech remained stable through the years, so that it came to differ substantially from that of the above-mentioned speakers (2015a:432). The changes in question can be thus summarised: the reduction in the productivity of the intervocalic deletion of /b/ and /m/, the levelling of the vowels in the second and third masculine plural possessive suffixes in favour of the vowels contained in the other plural suffixes, the levelling of the first singular inflectional morphemes of the imperfect and subjunctive in favour of the subjunctive morpheme, the restoration of the *t*- inflectional morpheme in the second persons of the verbal stem (Testen 1992) in analogy with the majority of the verbal paradigms, and the phonetic erosion of the future tense marker to *a*-.

### **The classification of Hobyot (2015b)**

This descriptive paper surveys some features of Hobyōt, and uses them to argue for an internal sub-grouping of MSA which places this language in a closer kinship with Mehri, Ḥarsusi and Baḥari than to Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri. Yet, Hobyōt is cautiously kept slightly more distant from Mehri than Ḥarsusi and Baḥari .

### **The reliability of published Mehri texts (2017)**

This paper represents a turning point in the history of MSA corpus studies, as the author casts doubt on the reliability of Johnstone's Mehri texts, as published by Stroomer (1999), on which the author's 2010 grammar of Mehri is based. Rubin analyses closely the shortcomings of Johnstone's transcription after re-examining the original manuscripts, to which he had access only after his grammar had been published, and having double-checked the original recordings, he informs the scholarly community of his findings. He then states that a revised edition of his grammar is forthcoming.

### **Omani Mehri: A New Grammar with Texts (2018)**

This is Rubin's latest grammar of Omani Mehri (Mehreyyet). While the structure of the volume is identical to that of the 2010 grammar, all the chapters are expanded and almost every aspect of the language is dealt with in greater detail. For example, the second chapter (phonology) benefits from Bendjaballah & Ségéral's "idle glottis" consonant theory (2014a), which the author

acknowledges (2018:24). Also, the thirteenth chapter (some syntactic features) contains a greater amount of information compared with its 2010 counterpart, especially in the negation and temporal clauses paragraphs. This work was carried out bearing in mind the transcription issues mentioned in Rubin's 2017 paper (see above). Therefore, the transcription is totally revised. This is reflected in second section of the volume, which presents a revised version of Johnstone's Mehri texts originally published by Stroomer (1999).

- **Ur Shlonsky**

**A note on phrasal movement in Modern South Arabian and its consequences (2017)**

This essay focuses on the syntax of negation in Mehri and Jibbali/Shehret, and examines it through the generative grammatical framework. The author argues that the pre-eminence of clause-final negation and the non-occurrence of object cliticisation on perfective verb stems with a subject agreement suffix both proceed from the fact that in MSA Tense probes a verbal projection rather than verbal head. In other words, there is a functional relationship between Tense and the entire Verbal Phrase (VP) rather than the verbal head (i.e. the "verb" *sensu stricto*). After setting out the premises of his argument, the author provides an array of examples from the two languages and draws his conclusions accordingly.

- **Alexander Sima**

**Mehri-Texte aus der jemenitischen Šarqīyah (2009)**

This is a collection of oral literature proceeding from Alexander Sima's fieldwork. The scholar died in a car accident in Yemen in 2004, leaving behind a great bulk of partly unanalysed data. The correction and systematisation of the 110 texts comprised in this volume was carried out by Janet Watson and Werner Arnold. Janet Watson authored the introduction of the volume. After setting out the premises of her activities with regards to Sima's legacy, Watson provides a detailed sketch of the phonological processes found in the texts, and a bibliography of the works cited in the introduction. The German introduction, written by Sima, provides a technical description of the recordings, the contents of the texts, the speakers, and the book layout. There follow the texts, translated into German, arranged in two parts: those from Jodab (1-75) and from Rehan (76-110). The last section contains a bibliography.

- **Marie-Claude Simeone-Senelle**

**Notes sur le premier vocabulaire soqotri: le Memoir de Wellsted (1835). Première partie (1991)**

**Notes sur le premier vocabulaire soqotri: le Memoir de Wellsted (1835). Deuxième partie (1992)**

This paper, divided in two parts, is a detailed commentary of Wellsted's Soqotri word-list, in which the author describes each term and its cognacy to other MSA and Semitic languages.

**L'expression du futur dans les langues sudarabiques modernes (1993)**

A detailed description of the morphological strategies employed by each MSA language to express the future.

**La derivation verbale dans les langues sudarabiques modernes (1998)**

In this paper, a detailed discussion about the derived verbal stems is presented. Each verbal stem is examined, and its semantic value, as well as the derivational morphemes and pattern modification involved, are described. In the conclusions, the author summarises the contents of the paper.

**Bilan et perspectives de recherches sur les langues sudarabiques modernes parlées au Yémen (1999)**

This is a literature review that captures the state of the art of MSA studies at the end of the second millennium.

**Une version soqotri de la légende de Abu Šawârib (2002)**

This text is a Soqotri version of a Mehri piece of oral poetry, whose contents differ from the original in several points. The paper contains a brief overview of the language, a translation into French, as well as a glossary.

**De quelques fonctions de *ǧ*- dans les langues sudarabiques modernes (2003)**

This paper analyses some functions of the *ǧ*- morpheme in MSA. Stemming from a well-known Semitic deictic, it is described here as a genitive exponent, a determiner (in the languages that lack the definite article), an identifier (i.e. *that which...*), a relative pronoun, a denominal prefix in Soqotri and Jibbali/Shehret, a subjunction (i.e. a conjunction which introduces the subjunctive, a

relativizer) in Yemeni Mehri, an aspectual and modal marker, and, finally, as an emphasising verbal prefix.

#### **Soqotri dialectology and the evaluation of the language endangerment (2004)**

This is an in-depth description of Soqotri, its dialects, the socio-linguistic situation in the island, and its endangerment. It presents some useful insights into the differences between the now well-known dialectal east-west split, by describing them in detail. In the last section, the author evaluates the endangerment of this language and calls for countermeasures to language loss.

#### **Expression de l'appartenance et de la possession dans le syntagme nominal en sudarabique moderne (2008)**

In this article, the devices through which MSA expresses belonging or possession are discussed. After presenting the data and the languages, the author presents the (limited) uses of the *status constructus*, that is the juxtaposition of a noun and an annex. She subsequently introduces the genitive exponent, which features in the majority of MSA possessive constructions, and illustrates, through an array of examples, the simple and complex sentences in which the genitive exponent is used.

#### **Mehri and Hobyot spoken in south Oman and east of Yemen (2011a)**

The aim of this paper is to highlight the commonalities between Mehri and Hobyōt, which constitute the grounds to posit a Mehri-Hobyōt subgroup within MSA, while also presenting the differences between these two languages, as well as those between Omani and Yemeni varieties of Mehri. The paper also includes a description of the physical environment in which the speakers live.

#### **Modern South Arabian (2011b)**

This book chapter is a concise grammatical sketch which compares the most prominent traits of each MSA languages.

#### **Le hobyot parlé au Yémen. 1ère rédaction 2010 ; mise à jour en 2015 (2015)**

This brief grammatical sketch is an update of a 2010 version, and includes up-to-date information on the Hobyōt speaking people.

#### **Les langues sudarabiques modernes du Yémen : mehri, hobyot, soqotri (to appear)**



- **Marie-Claude Simeone-Senelle & Martine Vanhove**

**La formation et l'évolution d'auxiliaires et particules verbales dans des langues sémitiques (langues sudarabiques modernes et maltais) (1997)**

This paper is concerned with the formation of auxiliary particles in the verbal system of MSA and Maltese. As for the MSA section, the particles expressing the future tense are examined. These are *ḥōm* in Mehri, *xōm* in Ḥarsusi, *(d)ḥa* in Jibbali/Shehret, and *mad-* ~ *med-* in Hobyōt. For each particle an etymology and a path of grammaticalisation is proposed.

- **Benjamin D. Suchard**

**The origin of \*s<sup>3</sup> in the Hadramitic and Modern South Arabian third person feminine personal pronouns (2017)**

This paper deals with the unexpected presence of [s] in the third person feminine pronouns of MSA languages, where one would expect [ʃ] < \*s<sup>1</sup>. The author hypothesises that this forms might originate from utterances like \**malikat s<sup>1</sup>v* which come to be re-analyzed as \**malikat ts<sup>1</sup>v* ~ *malikat s<sup>3</sup>v*. The affricate, that is \*s<sup>3</sup> within the so-called affricate hypothesis, thus obtained would then have become de-affricated into [s], following a process analogous to that proposed by Testen for the numeral 9 (1998). This phenomenon is found also in Hadramawtic, an Ancient South Arabian language, where its presence is, however, more problematic, as there is no apparent linguistic explanation as to why this language does not share the same set of personal pronouns with the other languages in the ASA group. On the basis of this and other shared peculiarities (namely, the presence of the preposition *h-* 'to, for'), and the lack of information about the Hadramawtic first person personal pronouns, numerals and verbal morphology, the author proposes that a tighter genetic relationship between MSA and Hadramitic be not ruled out *a priori*, pending more in-depth studies.

- **Pierre Swiggers**

**A phonological analysis of the Ḥarsūsi consonants (1983)**

This simple sketch of Ḥarsusi phonology offers a detailed discussion about the /ʃ/ phoneme, its phonetics, distribution and phonemic strength. The paper additionally describes the glottalised consonants in this language.

- **David Testen**

**The significance of Aramaic  $r < *n$  (1985)**

This article tackles the issue of a peculiarity shared by Aramaic and MSA: the presence of a [r] in the terms for 'son' and 'two', where other Semitic varieties have [n]. The author suggests that the Proto-Semitic forms for these terms, namely *\*bin* and *\*tin*, came to be pronounced in Aramaic and MSA more like *\*bn* *\*tn*, thus not unlike Arabic. In the author's opinion, Arabic would have then resolved the resulting initial consonant cluster by adding a prosthetic vowel, while Aramaic and MSA would have changed the nasal with a liquid rhotic in order to ease the pronunciation of the consonant cluster. The resulting forms *\*br* and *\*tr*, initially possessing an ultra-short vowel positioned in between the two consonant, would have then become stabilised by acquiring a full-status vowel.

**The loss of the person-marker  $t$ - in Jibbali and Socotri (1992)**

This paper contains the systematisation and explanation of a phenomenon common to Jibbali/Shehret and Soqotri: the loss of the *t*- verbal inflectional morpheme in certain verbal stems, namely the internal passive of the basic stem, the causative, intensive-conative and quadriliteral stem. He explains the phenomenon providing a comparison with classical Arabic. In this language, the stems in which the Jibbali/Shehret and Soqotri *t*- morpheme is lost correspond to those which exhibit a pre-radical [u] in the imperfective. Thus, according to Testen, the two MSA languages in question must have possessed, at some point of their history, a distinction between two (or more) pre-formative vowels in the verbal morphology, like classical Arabic. The initial sequence of sounds in the verbal inflection of second persons (hypothesised to be *\*tu*) would have then undergone a shift  $> *tə$ , and the vowel would have then completely disappeared, causing the resulting *\*t*- not to be pronounced anymore. The author additionally notes that in Jibbali/Shehret passives the *t*- prefix is not the only one to disappear: in fact, also the *y*-, *n*-, and *-ʔ* prefixes disappear. This fact causes the author to hypothesise that at some point the loss of inflectional prefixes was

widespread across the above-mentioned verbal stems, and that the latter three were subsequently restored on the analogy of all the other paradigms, were they survived regularly.

### **Modern South Arabian 'nine' (1998)**

In MSA, the numeral 9 is represented by a term phonetically lacking the expected initial [t], which, additionally, has a sibilant [s] instead of the expected [ʃ]. In view of his 1992 paper (see above), the author hypothesises that this is due to a two-stage phenomenon: in the first place, the term in question would have lost its initial [t] due to the same reason the *t*- verbal inflectional morpheme lost initial *t*- (Testen 1992). Subsequently, the resulting affricate sequence [tʃ] might have come to be analysed by the speakers as Proto-Semitic \*s<sup>3</sup>, which, within the framework of the affricate hypothesis, would have had an affricate articulation. This sound would have then become de-affricated, and yielded [s], which is the regular outcome of PS \*s<sup>3</sup> in MSA.

#### **- Bertram Thomas**

### **Four strange tongues from South Arabia: the Hadara group (1939)**

This work, whilst primarily concerned with the lexicon and the folk history of MSA speaking peoples, contains a very schematic grammatical sketch of Mehri, Jibbali/Shehret, Ḥarsusi and Baḥari. It is of particular interest, as it is the first one to mention Baḥari and Ḥarsusi, which the author believes to be intercomprehensible with Mehri, while Jibbali/Shehret is set somehow apart from the other languages. This statement makes this work the first attempt at the internal sub-grouping of MSA. After describing the (then) current state of affairs with regards to MSA-speaking tribes, the author proceeds to present the sounds of these languages in a non-scientific transcription, as well as the personal pronouns (independent and suffixed). He then hypothesises that MSA languages might possess a definite article, and states that a clue of this may be found either in the final nasal sounds of certain words, or in the initial *ʾ*-, *h*-, or *ḥ*-. Subsequently, nouns, numerals, and adjectives are described. There follows a rather long (27 page) description of the verbal system of the languages, followed by a list of personal names in Jibbali/Shehret, Mehri, Ḥarsusi and Baḥari. The last section is an English-MSA glossary, in which English terms in alphabetical order are translated into each one of the languages. In the last two pages, the author provides a "philological note" compiled with the help of Marcel Cohen, which examines the contents of the book from a wider Semitic perspective.

#### **- Rainer Voigt**

### **Der Lautwandel s1 > h in wurzellosen Morphemen des Alt- und Neusüdarabischen (1994)**

This paper is concerned with the shift \*s<sup>1</sup> > [h] in non-root morphemes in ASA and MSA. Now, this is particularly relevant in the third person independent pronouns, which superficially exhibit this shift in Mehri and related languages (Ḥarsusi, Baḥari and Hobyōt) and Sabeian. The author describes this shift as having many parallels cross-linguistically.

#### **- Ewald Wagner**

### **Syntax der Mehri-Sprache unter Berücksichtigung auch der anderen Neusüdarabischen Sprachen (1953)**

This is a description of various types of syntactical structures in Mehri and other MSA languages based on the Vienna corpus. The author provides comparisons not only among MSA languages, but also with classical Arabic and spoken Arabic.

### **Der Dialekt von ‘Abd-el-Kūrī (1959)**

This is the first and only grammatical sketch of the Soqoṭri variety spoken on ‘Abd-el-Kūrī island. It is based on a 1,300 words text collected by David Heinrich Müller during his stay in the island in 1899. The paper briefly describes the phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon of this dialect. The conclusions point out that while the linguistic variety examined is to be considered as a dialect of Soqoṭri, it does exhibit some lexical affinities with Mehri.

### **Gedanken zum Verb des Mehri aufgrund der neuen Materialien von Johnstone (1993)**

This paper stems from the author’s reflection following the publication Johnstone’s lexica. It is remarkable that the author was the first to point out that Jibbali/Shehret materials were obtained from a single speaker who was a native speaker of Mehri (1993:318-319), namely Ali Musallam al-Mehri. The Yemeni varieties of Mehri, hitherto known from the Vienna corpus data, is compared with Johnstone’s material.

### **Neues Material zum Studium des Neusüdarabischen: Die Stroomer’sche Edition der Mehri-Texte von Johnstone (2001)**

This is a critical review of Johnstone’s Mehri texts published by Stroomer. The author highlights, through a rigorous perusal of the texts, some inconsistencies, and states his thoughts about them. The inconsistencies in question are mainly in the realm of transcription, which is a subject that is

examined in greater detail by Rubin (2017), in a paper that finally exposes the weaknesses of Johnstone's transcriptions in a systematic way.

- **Janet Watson**

### **Annexion, attribution and genitives in Mahriyyōt (2009)**

This book chapter, forming part of a volume entitled *Relative clauses and genitive constructions in Semitic*, analyses the semantics and the syntax of genitive relationships in Mahriyyōt, based on Sima's texts (2009). In the first place, a set of eight nominal elements, plus the numerals, which allow a noun phrase annex are examined. The functions and syntax of each of the above-mentioned elements are presented in detail. Secondly, the *ḡ*-particle is analysed in-depth. This particle in MSA may function as a relativizer as well as being the genitive exponent. The author states that the basic function of *ḡ* is "a nominalising particle that can head an attribute or a verbal predicate" (2009:238). There follows a description of all the genitive relationships, that is the semantic functions, that this particle can convey in Mahriyyōt. In the conclusions, there emerges the fact that annexion is restricted lexically, but, in contrast to a number of Arabic varieties, has a wider semantic scope. Nevertheless, the great majority of genitive relationships are expressed in Mahriyyōt through the use of the *ḡ*-particle. The author also notes that annexion and the use of the genitive exponent are, with only few exceptions, in complementary distribution: the terms included in the above-mentioned set of nominals may not perform the same actions as the genitive exponent phrase, that is, they "may not occur as independent noun phrases, may not take a pronoun suffix in place of the noun annex, and may not take a following *ḡ*-phrase" (2009:243). Additionally, Watson states that the number of annexable nominals for Mahriyyōt is larger than affirmed by Wagner (1953), but smaller than that of Najdi dialects. The chapter is concluded by the setting out of a research agenda for annexable nominals in Mehri. Specifically, the author affirms that whether this difference in number of annexable nominals is due to dialectal variation or accidental gaps in the data, is to be ascertained. Also, she expresses the need to look into the restrictions on one of the annexable nominals, namely *kall*, to ascertain whether these restrictions are becoming relaxed or enforced over time.

### **The structure of Mehri (2012)**

Watson's Mehri grammar differs from Rubin (2010) in several points: first of all, although published sources were used, it is largely based on the author's own fieldwork materials (2012:5). Secondly, it aims to describe both main dialectal sub-divisions of Mehri (Mahriyōt and Mehreyyet). In the third place, the structure in which this book is arrayed is significantly different. It consists of eleven chapters, divided in three macro-sections: the first one, which does not have a name of its own, comprises an introduction (chapter 0), where the background of Mehri, MSA at large, the speakers participating in the study, and the methodology are set out. The overview of phonetics and phonology (chapter 1), and the grammatical categories (chapter 2), where morphology and prosody are discussed, also belong to the first macro-section. The second macro-section, labelled Phrase Structure, comprises the following chapters: attribution (chapter 3), which describes the formation and syntax of different types of Noun Phrases, annexion (chapter 4), which describes the way Noun Phrases and Prepositional Phrases are expanded in Mehri, and complementation (chapter 5), in which the verbal complements to various types of phrases are examined. The third macro-section, named Clause Structure, comprises: predication (chapter 6), where structure and syntax of nominal, locational and verbal clauses is examined, coordination (chapter 7), in which complex sentences are analysed, negation (chapter 8), supplementation (chapter 9) which deal with adverbs, and the oral text (chapter 10), where some of the author's recordings are presented with an English translation. The last section comprises a bibliography and an index.

**Translation, mistranslation and seasons in Mahrah (2017)**

**South Arabian and Arabic dialects (2018a)**

**A Stratal OT account of word stress in the Mehri of Bit Thuwar (2018b)**

**Jabal Al Qara and Jabal Al Qamar: Language (in press)**

- **Janet Watson & Yahya Asiri**

**Pre-pausal devoicing and glottalisation in varieties of the south-western Arabian Peninsula (2008)**

The paper examines the peculiarities of pre-pausal devoicing in San'ani Arabic, Rijal Alma Yemeni dialect of Arabic, and Mehriyōt. With regards to the latter, besides exhibiting the above-mentioned phenomenon, there is a glottal closure following a long vowel in the environments -VV]/-VVC]/-VVS]. A glottalic release of pre-glottalised obstruents neutralises the distinction between ejectives and non-ejective obstruents. Utterance-final sonorants are pre-glottalised, but

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released with partial voicing (2008:139). Additionally, the sonorants are only partially voiced in this environment (2008:139).

- **Janet Watson & Munira al-Azraqi**

**Lateral fricatives and lateral emphatics in southern Saudi Arabia and Mehri (2011)**

This paper is mainly concerned with the acoustic analysis of lateral sounds in Arabic dialects spoken in southern Saudi Arabia and in Mehri. The results of this analysis show a number of facts: firstly, the presence of lateral sounds in the above-mentioned Arabic dialects is more widespread than previously thought. Secondly, there is, in the Mehri varieties examined, a greater variation in articulation than expected, and the differences seem to be linked to gender. The variants in both languages are illustrated with spectrograms.

- **Janet Watson & Alex Bellem**

**A detective story: Emphatics in Mehri (2010)**

This is a description of how the so-called emphatic sounds are articulated in Mahriyōt. The results of this analysis show that in Mehri “the correlates of emphasis differ according to the primary place and manner of articulation of the consonant concerned” (2010:352), namely, glottalic initiation for /k/, tongue retraction and pharyngeal contraction for /t/ and the continuant emphatics. Affrication appears to be a secondary feature of /č/ and /š/, but not of /s/.

- **Janet Watson & Barry Heselwood**

**Phonation and glottal states in Modern South Arabian and San'ani Arabic (2016)**

In this paper, the reasons for the opposition between *mahmus* and *majhur* consonants in traditional Arabic grammatical terms are explored in depth. Although these two categories are normally labelled as "voiceless" and "voiced" in western literature, some inconsistencies in this model (i.e. /q/ and /t/ being included in the *majhur* group) call for a deeper analysis. Firstly, the authors examine the synchronic behaviour of some verbal stems in Mahriyōt and Mehreyyet, namely the L-stem<sup>19</sup> and the H-stem, and of the definite article, additionally providing some parallels in Jibbali/Shehret. Secondly, they describe the pre-pausal glottalisation phenomenon in

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<sup>19</sup> The D/L stem, in the terminology employed in this thesis.

San'ani Arabic. Based on the above-mentioned examples, the authors show that in the above-mentioned varieties consonants pattern as plain voiceless vs. voiced and emphatic. While acknowledging that other authors had already argued for this, Watson and Heselwood point out that the phonetic nature of this patterning has not been explored satisfactorily. They then proceed to argue that what distinguishes these two groups of consonants is an open glottis in the case of the plain voiceless vs. a closed glottis in the case of the voiced and emphatic. Since *mahmus* is translated as 'whispered' and *majhur* as 'clearly spoken', the authors link the definition of "whisper" to the presence of the turbulent airflow which accompanies these consonants, and the "clarity" to the absence thereof. In the final remarks, they propose a model of consonantal classification for MSA and, partly, for Arabic, based on the above-mentioned opposition (2016:33). They also state that the phonological category corresponding to *majhur*, namely the closed glottis, may possess two sub-categories: tense, corresponding to emphatics, and lax, corresponding to voiced consonants. They, however, remark that these two sub-categories play no role in the phonology.

- **Janet Watson & Abdullah Musallam al-Mahri**

**Language and nature in Dhofar (2017)**

This paper explores the relationship between language and nature in Dhofar, and gives examples of how the lexis of MSA languages and their use of figurative language reflect this relationship. It also describes the process of erosion of the lexis/nature relationship in societies like those where MSA languages are spoken, in which people have stopped relying entirely on nature for survival.

- **Janet Watson, Miranda Morris, Abdullah al-Mahri, Saeed al-Mahri, Munira al-Azraqi, Ali al-Mahri**

**Modern South Arabian: Conducting fieldwork in Dhofar, Mahrah and eastern Saudi Arabia (in press)**

- **Janet Watson & Paul Rowlett**

**Jespersen's cycle and negation in Mehri (2012)**

This paper first presents the various types of negation in Mehri, namely monopartite (pre- or post-) and bipartite, and then demonstrates, by means of a wealth of examples taken from the Omani, Yemeni eastern and western varieties of this language, that all three stages of the Jespersen's cycle are represented, and their choice with regards to negation strategies is at least partially



dependent on syntactic and morpholexical factors. In the conclusions, the authors point out that, historically speaking, monopartite pre-negation must be the older form, in view of the state of affairs in other Semitic sub-branches, as well as of the fact that this types of negation is consistently exhibited by Soqoṭri (the only MSA language which developed in isolation), and that it appears in a set of fixed negative phrases in the other languages.

- **Andrzej Zaborski**

**Arcaismi ed innovazioni nei pronomi personali del sudarabico moderno (1994)**

This short paper is a dense description of the MSA pronominal system. The author tackles the third, second, first singular, plural and dual pronouns. At the outset, it is stated that MSA possesses an archaic pronominal system, as most of its members can be directly traced back to proto-Semitic antecedents. In the paragraph that follows, the author reviews the most widespread reconstructions of the third person pronouns, and how MSA outcomes have contributed to the PS reconstruction of *\*huʔa/huwa* ‘he’, and *\*šiʔa/šiya* ‘she’ (1994:252). There follows a critique of the above-mentioned hypothesis, and a comparison with the Afro-Asiatic counterparts of these pronouns. Finally, the author argues that the differentiation of the first sound of these pronouns (i.e. /š/ ~ /h/) must have existed in an archaic phase of Semitic, or possibly in Proto-Afro-Asiatic, as a greater morphological differentiation is usually associated with a more archaic phase of a language, compared with a phase in which the system is more regular (1994:253). The second singular pronouns are labelled as “enigmatiche” (1994:253). The author reviews various attempts to derive these pronouns, which exhibit an unexplained initial [h], from a \*[k] initial pronoun, which is attested in the Agaw sub-group of Cushitic, and other hypotheses which derive them from a peculiar development of the initial [ʔ], or a secondary deictic element *h-* (1994:254). Additionally, the hypothesis according to which the *h-* may be the result of analogical process triggered by the third singular masculine pronoun is reviewed: this is highly controversial, as while this applies to Mehri and related languages, it does not work with the Jibbali/Shehret pronominal system. Finally, the similarity of MSA second singular pronouns with their counterpart in certain neo-Aramaic dialects of Syria is pointed out. The first singular pronoun is described as even more enigmatic (1994:256). Firstly, the author reviews an attempt to derive it from *-ku* of *\*ʔanāku*.

Secondly, he describes another two possible scenarios: 1) \*ʔanah > \*ʔanh > \*ʔahh > \*hah > hoh > ho; 2) hu < \*ku < \*ʔVku < \*ʔVkku < \*ʔanaku (1994:256). However, he concludes that none of the above-mentioned hypotheses is easy to prove. The author states that the presence of an initial *h*- in all the singular pronouns except the third feminine (which is, again, true of the Mehri group, but not of Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri) is certainly a secondary development. Lastly, the plural and dual pronouns are briefly touched upon: they are said to be well preserved. Also, the author states that the dual pronouns are based on the singular pronouns to which the dual suffix *-ay* is attached (1994:257): this is again highly controversial, as all the available data speak to a substantial difference between the singular pronouns, and the base of the dual. Let us take as an example the Mehreyyet pronouns (Watson 2012:66): first singular *hōh*, first dual *akay*; second singular (common gender) *hēt*, second dual *atay*; third masculine/feminine singular *hēh/sēh*, third plural *hay*. As can be seen, the above statement may apply to the third person pronouns, but certainly does not apply to first and second person pronouns. As for the first plural pronoun, Johnstone’s hypothesis about the metathesis of \**naḥna* into \**ənḥan* is cited (1994:257). There follow a reconstruction of all the independent personal pronouns of MSA on the basis of what has been discussed in the paper.

### 1.3 Anthropological studies and travel narratives

The most ancient mentions of what is presently known as Modern South Arabian can be found in the field of historiography: these are summarised in Müller (2012), although it is worth making mention of some of them here. In the 10<sup>th</sup> century, al-Hamdāni reported that the people of Mahra land speak “gibberish” (Arabic *ḡutm*) (Versteegh 1997:38). Shortly thereafter, Ibn Ḥawqal affirmed that “the capital of the Mahra country is called Šiḥr. It is desert, and their tongues are incomprehensible”.<sup>20</sup> In the 16th century, a legal document regarding a divorce in Dhofar records the use of the Jibbali/Shehret language. This document was discovered in the 1950s as a result of the research of R. B. Serjeant on the unabridged version of a collection of *fatāwā* called *fatāwā bā Makhramah*, whose only copy was in possession of the Qadi of Dathina (Serjeant & Wagner 1959). The document reports various divorce formulas in Jibbali/Shehret (Serjeant & Wagner

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<sup>20</sup> وبلاد مهرة فقصبته تسمى الشحر وهي بلاد قفرة ألسنتهم مستعجمة (ibn Ḥawqal 1992:44)

1959:129).<sup>21</sup> These mentions, in addition to the literature mentioned in this paragraph, bear witness to the antiquity of the MSA (or, at any rate, a language different from Arabic) presence in the area. It is, however, only in the last 150 years that the western scholarship and travel literature provided deeper accounts of the MSA societies.

- **Taddeus (Tony) Altounyan**

**The land of the Mahra (1947)**

This journal paper is a concise yet detailed summary of an expedition into the Mahra country led by the British army major Taddeus (Tony) Altounyan in 1946 on behalf of a subsidiary of the Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC), which was aimed at surveying the soil of that region. He travelled by car from Mukalla to Raidat Abdul Wadud, where the road once ended, and from there by camel to Ghayda and then back to Tarim. Apart from the great interest of his insights into the life and the tribal customs which were, even as recently as 1946, almost totally unknown, there is one remark relevant to MSA studies that is worth reporting here: during his stay in the house of the Sayyid of Ghayda, he met a local learned Sheikh who told him that “the origin of the Mahra language was lost in antiquity, but [he] believed that at one time it had a writing. With the advent of Islam (Sunni), which the entire population had now devoutly embraced [...] the Arabic alphabet was used to write it” (1947:238).

- **Theodore and Mabel Bent**

**Southern Arabia (1900)**

In the travel narrative, Mrs Mabel Bent, Theodore Bent’s wife, recounts their travels through southern Arabia, including Dhofar and Soqatra, providing a wealth of information about the events they witnessed, the archaeological sites they discovered, and the people they met. The book further contains photographs, sketches, and copies of inscriptions found by the couple. Two out of the seven chapters of which the book are devoted to MSA speaking areas. The fourth chapter deals with Dhofar and the Qara mountains: in this section, the Bents present a detailed description of Salalah and the Qara mountains, from several points of view, including the languages, traditions, flora and fauna, and tribal relationships. The sixth chapter is devoted to

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<sup>21</sup> See also 4.2

Soqatra. It provides a wealth of information about every aspect of the island's life. This narrative is of particular interest, as the Bents were the first westerners who sojourned in southern Arabia for a substantial period of time, and could, hence, observe events and focus on things that went unnoticed by the few westerners that had already visited those places.

- **H. J. Carter**

**Notes on the Gharah Tribe (1845)**

Carter's first report represents the first attempt to describe a Modern South Arabian speaking tribe on the part of a westerner, and deals with the Qara/Ehkili tribe (misnamed *Gharah* غاره). This six-page paper covers subjects such as their habitat, habits, physical appearance, clothing, hair-style, tattoos, weapon use, language (no term is presented here), authorities, blood feuds, food, smoking habits, greetings and religion. While very cursory, this report is of great interest, as it provides a concise look into a MSA society in a historical phase in which it was still largely untouched by western interferences.

**Notes on the Mahrah Tribe (1847)**

This is Carter's second report about MSA speaking tribes. However, this report is substantially different from the previous one, not only in that it is concerned primarily with the Mahra, but also because the anthropological section covers a narrower array of topics and the focus is on the language of this tribe. In fact, a seventeen-page English-Mehri glossary is included in this paper. The first part aims to describe the habitat of the Mahra (its full extent being then unknown, the author places them on the sea shore between Wasi Masila and Damkut), their tribal sub-divisions, physical appearance, food, fishing abilities, personal wealth, and language. There follows a brief sketch of the sounds in Mehri, followed by an appendix to his 1845 report on the Qara. This appendix is an update of the author's research among the Qara and is mainly concerned with the description of the physical boundaries between the Qara and the Mahra tribal territories. The appendix additionally provides details of Qara tribe sub-divisions and the rules for the establishment of a blood feud. Then, the English-Mehri glossary is presented: the last part of it contains a number of (then) every-day expressions. The subsequent section is a lengthy discussion about the origins of the languages treated that, while rather devoid of scientific grounds, did not fail to highlight some of the features that in the following century would be the object of scholarly

debate, such as the apparent foreignness of some lexical items, and the unclear depictions of these peoples in the ancient literature.

- **Dawn Chatty**

**Local administration and Harasiis tribal authority in the Sultanate of Oman (1996)**

This paper is a description of the tribal identity of the Ḥarasis, and its consequences in the management of their ancestral land, Jiddat el-Ḥarasis, vis-à-vis the Omani national oil company.

**Bedouin Economics and the Modern Wage Market: the case of the Harasiis of Oman (2000)**

In this article, the intricacies of Bedouin economics are dealt with: generally at the beginning, then specifically with regards to the Ḥarasis. The author describes how this tribe claimed successfully their rights, and become a part of the economy of Oman at large.

- **C. J. Cruttenden**

**Journal of an excursion from Morebat to Dyreez, the principal town of Dofar (1844)**

This travel narrative, written by a member of the Palinurus crew named C. J. Cruttenden, does not provide any details on the languages of Dhofar, except the statement that “the language of the Gurrah bedouins is so assimilated very nearly to that spoken on Socotra. It is so harsh and guttural that it is almost painful to *watch* a man speaking, and I gave up the attempt to imitate them in despair” (1844:188). It, nevertheless, provides a rather detailed description of the terrain between Mirbat and Dahareez, and the flora and fauna found in the region at the time. Also, it mentions the story of Abdullah Lorleyd, an American boy who was captured by pirates off the shores of Dhofar several years earlier, and rose to a great power in Salalah. At the time of the narration, Lorleyd was still living in Salalah.

- **Walter Dostal**

**Some remarks concerning the Baṭāḥirah, a social inferior tribe in southern Arabia (1960)**

This is the first in-depth description of the uses and customs of the Baṭāḥirah, after Bertram Thomas first brought to attention their existence in the 1930s.

- **Jörg Janzen**

### **Die Nomaden Dhofars/Sultanat Oman. Traditionelle Lebensformen im Wandel (1980)**

This study is concerned with the social structures, uses and customs of the inhabitants of Dhofar, and was carried out at the beginning of the development of the oil industry in Oman.

- **Wendell Philips**

#### **Unknown Oman (1966)**

This narrative takes place a few years before Sultan Qaboos's accession to the throne, and is therefore of great interest as it portrays various areas of Oman (including parts of Dhofar) as it was when the new government took over. There are a few ethnological remarks of great value, i.e. the ritual of female circumcision.

- **Marielle Risse**

#### **Generosity, gift-giving and gift-avoiding in Southern Oman (2015)**

In this paper, the author attempt to trace an outline of the principles underlying gift-giving, receiving and other related activities in the Jibbali/Shehret speaking society.

- **Freya Stark**

#### **The southern gates of Arabia (1936)**

Although the author failed to visit Dhofar, as she fell ill (1936:239), an appendix of this book entitled *Notes on the Southern Incense Route of Arabia* contains a good amount of information on the frankincense country she gathered from ancient and medieval texts. This includes an interesting reflection on the place-name *al-Shihr* and its interchangeability with *Mahra* (1936:252,255)<sup>22</sup>, and the alleged migration of people from Dhofar to the horn of Africa, as reported in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (1936:242-252).

- **Bertram Thomas**

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<sup>22</sup> See also *Two sixteen-century Arabian Geographical Works* by R. B. Serjeant about the town of al-Shihr, in present-day Yemen. سميت بذلك لان سكانها كانوا جيلا من المهرة يسمون الشحرا ت. (1958:269)

### **Arabia Felix (1932)**

Bertram Thomas, who authored this travel narrative, is the first westerner who crossed the Rub' al-Khali, the Empty Quarter. A large part of the book, roughly the first half, narrates of his time in Dhofar before making his way into the sands. He reports very important and previously unknown details of Dhofari culture, customs and environment. He often reports his conversations with people, thus providing invaluable insights into everyday life in a time in which Dhofar was not a part of Oman.

#### - **Wilfred Thesiger**

### **Arabian Sands (1959)**

Wilfred Thesiger (also known by his Arabic epithet Mubarak bin London) was the last traveller to experience Arabia as it once was and had been for millennia, and this book narrates his journeys through the Qara mountains, Hadramawt and the Rub' al-Khali. As for the Qara mountains, from which he descended into the Neġd and, from there, made his way into the sands, he reports many details about their life and language, and although this individual was certainly more interested in travelling than the scholarly aspect of his experience, this narrative provides a wealth of information that is useful for scholarly purposes.

#### - **Janet Watson**

### **Travel to Mecca from Southern Oman in the Pre-motorised Period (2013)**

This essay, published in a volume entitled *The Hajj: Collected essays*, illustrates the practicalities involved in performing the Hajj from Dhofar in the pre-motorised period, which corresponds largely with the period preceding Sultan Qaboos's reign. In this period, transport was exclusively on foot or by camel, and travellers used to navigate with the aid of the stars. Today, however, no one seems to be able to recognise stars, and non-motorised travel is virtually non-existent. After introducing the MSA languages, the author describes the preparation for the hajj, the routes used by Dhofarites, the items people used to bring with them on the journey, and the secondary activities and unforeseen diversions that may have taken place along the way to Mecca and on the way back. The essay presents two Mehreyyet oral texts collected by the author, which describe two such journeys.

## 1.4 Studies in other disciplines

The environment in which the speakers of MSA live is of great interest for scholars of an array of disciplines, as it exhibits some peculiarities that set it apart from the rest of the Arabian Peninsula. It is worth citing a study of extreme interest by Michael Gallagher (2002), a naturalist who published a long and detailed report on the Kuria Muria islands, which includes not only highly valuable information about the flora and fauna found on the island (information which is considerably hard to get hold of, given the remoteness of the islands and the absence of transport), but also a detailed summary of what is known of their history, from their first mention in the *Peryplus of the Erythrean sea* to our days, as well as their geology, climate, and sea currents. The paper additionally reviews the published literature on Kuria Muria islands. In the field of toponomastics, Charles Matthews, a linguist who contributed to give impetus to the study of determination in MSA, published two papers entitled *Non-Arabic place names in central south Arabia* (1959), and *Again on Non-Arabic Place Names in Central Southern Arabia* (1962),<sup>23</sup> in which he pointed out for the first time in western scholarship that a number of place names in southern Arabia have non-Arabic origins, and can be formally compared to MSA lexical roots (see also appendix 1, section 5). Miranda Morris, published *The harvesting of frankincense in Dhofar, Oman* (1997), in which she presents a detailed account of the harvesting techniques, as well as of the traditions relative to Frankincense in Dhofar. With Anthony Miller, she published *Plants of Dhofar, The Southern Region of Oman: Traditional, economic and medicinal uses* in 1988, and *Ethnoflora of the Soqatra Archipelago* 2004, which give an overview of the traditional uses of the local flora. In the field of the relation between language and gesture, a paper authored by Janet Watson and Jack Wilson entitled *Gesture in Modern South Arabian languages: Variation in multimodal constructions during task-based interaction* (2017) illustrates, through a series of tasks, the importance of the visual component of language, in order to appreciate fully the meaning of an utterance, and points out that language description seldom include gesture in the categories they analyse. Lastly, a special mention is deserved by the works of a Dhofari historian and amateur archaeologist named Ali Ahmad Mahash al-Shahri, whose careful research into the intricacies of his native land's history yielded two valuable contributions to MSA studies, from several viewpoints: *kayfa ibtadayna wa kayfa irtaqayna bil-haḍāra al-insaniyya min šibh al-jazīra al-*

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<sup>23</sup> These two papers are also mentioned in the linguistic literature review. See above p. 31



*Ṣarabiyya: ɗafār, kitābatuhā wa nuqūshuhā al-qadīma* (1994), and *The language of Aad* (2000). The former is currently unavailable for sale, while the latter may be purchased at online book retailers, although its availability is limited. The former is written entirely in Arabic, and is mainly concerned with the description of the history of Dhofar from a folk perspective. It nevertheless contains a great number of good quality pictures of the inscriptions and drawings found in the caves of the Dhofar monsoon hills, as well as in the Neḡd.<sup>24</sup> It also comprises descriptions and pictures of the resinous trees of Dhofar and their uses, traditional costumes, archaeological sites and coins found in the region. The latter publication is bilingual, the English part being the translation of the Arabic part. It contains more pictures of the cave paintings, as well as an extensive collection of Jibbali/Shehret proverbs, information about Shahri tribal divisions, land management, folk games, calendar, measurements and song genres in the Jibbali/Shehret speaking area.

### 1.5 Identification of gaps in the literature

The present thesis endeavours to fill, inasmuch as is possible and permissible in this type of work, some of the gaps in the MSA literature. In the light of what has been reported in the present literature review, there emerge a number of shortcomings in the published studies, both with regards to the languages *sensu stricto*, and to their historical context. Firstly, the great majority of scholars who work on peculiar and diverging aspects of MSA in comparison with other Semitic sub-groups, do this from a strictly Semitic (or Afro-Asiatic) point of view, and indeed very few, if any at all, have striven to find a place for the southern part of Arabia and its languages within a socio-cultural and linguistic system that, for MSA, is as relevant as the Semitic-speaking world and the Middle East, namely the Indian ocean. Having identified this gap in the literature, I directed my investigations towards the ties of southern Arabia to the Indian Ocean and its trade, which is often referred to as being in existence since time immemorial (Alpers 2013; Campbell 2016). A description of the findings in this field will be given in chapter 4. Secondly, in spite of the great advances of MSA studies in the last 20 years, no satisfactory description of at least three varieties of MSA is available, namely Kuria Muria Jibbali/Shehret, Western Jibbali/Shehret, and Hobyōt.<sup>25</sup> This thesis comprises a sketch of Kuria Muria Jibbali/Shehret grammar (chapter 3), which focuses

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<sup>24</sup> See appendix 1

<sup>25</sup> Until very recently, the same could be stated of Bathari. Then, Fabio Gasparini (2018) undertook the study of this almost extinct language, and produced a grammatical description.

on the differences between this variety and the better known central and eastern varieties spoken on mainland Dhofar. This description additionally includes the transcription and the interlinear glossing of the 155 texts on which it is based, contained in appendix 2. Thirdly, the issue of the internal sub-grouping of MSA is still a vexing one, in spite of a growing consensus on a western/eastern sub-division, the former comprising Mehri, Ḥarsusi, Baḥari and Hobyōt, and the latter comprising Jibbali/Shehret and Soqōtri (Lonnet 2006; Rubin 2015b). In chapter 2, a number of isoglosses are examined and the results are discussed. Lastly, since MSA literature is sparse, and the number of works devoted to it is not abundant, the present literature review strives to provide a summary of the most important works that have been published on MSA to date, through which it is possible to compare the contents of various works without having to consult several physical books and/or computer screens. This said, it is worth pointing out that, notwithstanding a heightened interest on the part of Semitic scholars in the last decade, MSA studies are still incipient, and even the sub-fields of grammar which have been studied for a longer time are prone to undergo major changes as the existing corpora are analysed by a growing number of scholars and with increasing depth, and new materials are gathered by fieldworkers. Also, it is imperative that the inscriptions found the caves of Dhofar monsoon hills and the adjacent desert, which could represent an archaic phase of MSA (see appendix 1), be deciphered in order to provide MSA studies with a historical background which would, on the one hand, help scholars to grasp the principles underlying these languages, and could, on the other hand, describe the history of the south-eastern corner of the Arabian Peninsula.

## 2. Chapter – Unity and diversity: on the sub-grouping of MSA languages

### 2.1 Introduction

There are a number of open debates as to what makes MSA a distinct sub-group within Semitic,<sup>26</sup> and how the languages can be internally sub-grouped. The aim of this chapter is to systematise and present coherently existing scholarly findings, and subsequently formulate some working hypotheses. This will serve, on the one hand, to better define the field of investigation whose contours are blurred by the lack of historical data, and, on the other hand, to contribute towards the more general aim of the thesis, which is to explore and, to an extent, reconstruct the history of those who speak them. The present chapter draws data from the following sources: Rubin (2018) and Watson (2012) for Mehri. Dufour (2016), Rubin (2014b), and personal fieldwork for Jibbali/Shehret. Johnstone (HL) for Ḥarsusi, Gasparini (2018) for Baḥari, Nakano (2013) for Hobyōt and Leslau (LS) for Soqōṭri.

### 2.2 MSA as a genetic sub-group of Semitic

Since the days in which the first linguistic description of a Modern South Arabian language was written, at the beginning of the twentieth century, only one linguist has argued against the assumption of their unity as a single sub-group of Semitic: Richard Steiner, in his monograph *The case for fricative-laterals in Proto-Semitic* (1977) stated: “Several phonological innovations, which, at first glance, appear to set off MSA as a distinct branch of South Semitic, prove, upon closer examination, to have affected only some of the MSA languages” (1977:12). The author then listed a few examples of innovations which, despite being present in some MSA languages, are absent in others, namely:

- i. the raising of /a:/ to /o:/ or /u:/ in Mehri, Jibbali/Shehret, Ḥarsusi and Baḥari, not found in Soqōṭri (1977:12);
- ii. the conditioned merger of /j/ with /h/ in Mehri, Ḥarsusi, Baḥari and Soqōṭri, not found in Jibbali/Shehret, with the “Exception of a few lexical items” (1977:12-13);

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<sup>26</sup> For a concise summary of Modern South Arabian distinctive linguistic traits see Lonnet (2006), Simeone-Senelle (2011b), and Dufour (2016:4).

- iii. the merger of /h/ and /ħ/ in Soqoṭri, which is not reliably reflected in the other languages, except in the unreliable transcriptions made by Bertram Thomas in 1939 (1977:13);

Almost forty years later, Leonid Kogan addressed the question of MSA unity in his volume entitled *Genealogical Classification of Semitic: The Lexical Isoglosses* (2015).<sup>27</sup> At the beginning of the chapter concerned with MSA he cites Steiner's statements, bringing to the reader's attention the author's scepticism towards considering MSA as a sub-group of Semitic, and then moves on to testing Steiner's opinion by reviewing other authors' works and providing discussion. After conceding that finding morphological traits that are specific to MSA is not easy (2015:468), he lists the following features, some of which have been described by other scholars as specific to MSA:

- i. the "future participle" in Mehri (2015:468);
- ii. a feminine apophonic marker *-i-* in quadriradical adjectives, found in Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri (2015:470);
- iii. the loss of the *-t* prefix in some verbal forms in Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri (2015:471);
- iv. the circumfix negation in "Jibbali and the Mehri of Najd" (2015:471);
- v. the *-ən* suffix in the imperfect conjugation of some derived stems in all the languages (2015:472);
- vi. the *-ən* suffix in the conditional, initially thought to be a feature of Jibbali/Shehret and Negdi Mehri, but later found also in Soqoṭri (2015:473);
- vii. the causative-reflexive verbal stem marked by a sibilant prefix, opposed to a simple causative stem with a laryngeal or vocalic prefix in all the languages (2015:474);
- viii. the plural markers in all the languages, with emphasis on the feminine external plural marker *-(ū)tən* (2015:474-476);
- ix. some broken plural patterns (2015:476);
- x. the diminutive patterns (2015:477);
- xi. the definite article (2015:478);
- xii. the forms of the dual pronouns (2015:478-479).

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<sup>27</sup> See p. 26

During the course of the present chapter, all these features will be reviewed and described in detail for each language. Additionally, two features not included in the above list will be discussed and their specificity to MSA demonstrated. The features in question are the following:

- xiii. a non-etymological *h-* prefix that appears in a number of contexts: definite articles, pronouns, broken plural patterns, causative verbal stem formation and function words;
- xiv. the peculiar phonetic shape of the numeral 9 across MSA.

### 2.3 Previous attempts at the internal subgrouping of Modern South Arabian

Given the relatively recent discovery of these languages on the part of western linguistics, the earliest treatises are largely concerned with the description of the (then) newly discovered languages, and tend to overlook the relations among them. Bertram Thomas, who admittedly lacked formal training in linguistics (1939:11), stated that the languages may be classified into two groups: Mehri, Ḥarsusi and Baḥari in the first group, and Jibbali/Shehret in the second one, on the basis of the high degree of intercomprehensibility among speakers of the former three, and the lack thereof between them and speakers of the latter (1939:5-6). The introduction of his work containing the first description of Ḥarsusi and Baḥari, provides a detailed account of the tribal habits, seasonal migration patterns, and sub-tribal divisions of MSA-speaking people. It also states that the Qara and the Mahra (two terms that, in this case, both mean Mehri-speaking tribes) were not the original inhabitants of Dhofar, which was the Shahara's (Jibbali/Shehret-speaking tribes) ancestral abode, but came from the west and invaded it at some point in the past, captured the Shahara's wealth, and enslaved most of them. However, the invaders adopted the language and customs of the Shahara, except in the case of the Harsusi and Baḥari who adopted a form of Mehri (1939:7-8). Thomas's work, which proceeds from his conversations with MSA-speaking people aided by an Arab assistant (1939:10), is currently the only description of these languages, that takes the history of their speakers into account.<sup>28</sup>

Rodgers (1991) conducted a lexicostatistical analysis, whose data is currently unpublished, as pointed out by Kogan (2015:583). This analysis compares the vocabularies of Mehri, Ḥarsusi, Jibbali/Shehret and Soqotri, as well as those of Old South Arabian languages (Sabaic) and Ethiopian Semitic, which he collectively labels as South Semitic. On the basis of the results obtained, he

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<sup>28</sup> Gasparini (2018) provides a few historical and sociological insights for Baḥari.

affirms that MSA is the eastern branch of South Semitic, and that Mehri, Ḥarsusi and Jibbali/Shehret can be sub-grouped together, while Soqoṭri alone forms a second sub-group (1991:1327).

The state of affairs described by Thomas in his above-mentioned work (1939) is later endorsed by Antoine Lonnet, (1994a:40; 2006:27; 2008:117; 2009:296), who, by backing Thomas's statements with phonological, morphological and lexical evidence, posits two sub-branches within MSA: a western branch comprising Mehri, Ḥarsusi, Baḥari and the (then) recently discovered Hobyōt, and an eastern branch comprising Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri. Marie-Claude Simeone-Senelle classifies Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri as two distinct sub-groups, assigning the remaining four languages to a single sub-group (1997, 2010:1).

Miranda Morris (2007) argues that although Soqoṭri is the least comprehensible MSA language to the speakers of the other five, it is nonetheless more similar to Jibbali/Shehret than to any other MSA language. Thus, she proceeds to subgroup Mehri, Ḥarsusi and Baḥari together, Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri in another less tight group, and Hobyōt "falling somewhere between the two groups".

At the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, Aaron Rubin tentatively proposed to sub-group Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri together, thus agreeing with Lonnet's view, and basing his provisional hypothesis on similar grounds (2008:75, 2014b:125). In the concluding paragraph of his paper *The Classification of Hobyōt* (2015b), Rubin summarises his views on this topic by stating that there are phonological, morphological and lexical characteristics that suggest a close relationships among Mehri, Ḥarsusi, Baḥari and Hobyōt, and that "At the same time, there are a number of features, only some of which are mentioned above, that suggest a relationship between Jibbali and Soqoṭri, against the other languages" (2015b:331).

Kogan (2015) tackled the issue of MSA sub-grouping from a lexical perspective, by the internal comparison of the Swadesh list of 100 lexical items, plus another 136 culture-specific lexemes, which yields trivial (i.e. pan-Semitic) and non-trivial (i.e. non-pan-Semitic) retentions, as well as a number of innovations. On the basis of the results thus obtained, the author proceeded to tentatively draw an MSA family tree which is essentially identical to that drawn by Lonnet and Rubin (2015b:331).

Finally, Dufour summarised the work of other scholars and added his own contribution to both the internal sub-grouping and the genetic unity of MSA (2016:403-412). With regard to the genetic unity of MSA, he teamed up with Kogan in the latter's disagreement with Steiner (1977), and pointed out some commonalities in MSA morphology, such as stress accent rules and pattern allomorphy in derived verbal forms (2016:405), "idle glottis" effect (2016:406; Bendjaballah & Ségéral 2014a). As for the internal sub-grouping, he too, similarly to the scholars mentioned above, argued for an east/west opposition, and added the following peculiarities to those pointed out by the previous literature: differences in the quality of  $v_1$  in the perfect of the Gb-stem, and the alternation of /ú/ (3.M.SG) and /í/ (3.M.PL) in the perfect of H, Š1, T2, N stems in the western (Mehri, Ḥarsusi, Baḥari and Hobyōt) and eastern (Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri) groups (2016:410). However, he cautiously pointed out that

"Il est ainsi difficile de trouver un cas certain d'innovation morphologique partagée entre le jibbali et le soqotri, et il est possible que la proximité évidente entre ces deux langues soit en bonne partie due à leur archaïsme, avec lequel contrastent les innovations des langues de l'ouest" (2016:411).

This statement leans towards Simeone-Senelle's above-mentioned opinion. He added that, notwithstanding the soundness of such a sub-grouping, there are certain peculiarities that are found in a single language and not in the others: for Soqoṭri, he mentioned the stress accent falling on the prefix in some persons in the subjunctive of the G-stems (2016:411-412), the imperfect of first-guttural Ga-stem, the "astonishing" morphology of the perfect of T1-stem and the imperfect of the T2-stem (ibid.). As for the western sub-group, he pointed out that Omani Mehri (Mehreyyet) possesses various peculiarities that set it apart from the other languages, among which: the markedly irregular reflexes of rounded vs. unrounded vowels, the unexplained allomorphy of dual and perfect 3.F.SG<sup>29</sup> verbal suffixes where the other languages have a rounded vowel, the existence of an *umlaut* of the masculine plural of the type *ktúb* ~ *ktáwb*, and the stress accent falling on  $v_1$  in the perfect of the quadrilateral H-stem (2016:412).

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<sup>29</sup> This allomorphy might be relevant for Kuria Muria Jibbali/Shehret too. See below 3.5.2.5

## 2.4 Discussion

### 2.4.1 The phonological inventories of MSA languages

The following tables summarise MSA phonological inventories. The consonantal and vocalic inventories are presented in separate tables. Note that the term “emphatic” has been adopted for sounds that can be either pharyngealised or ejective according to the phonological context and language variety.

Table 2-1 Mehri consonants adapted from Watson (2012:11)

	labial	dental	alveolar	palato-alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	pharyngeal	glottal
<b>voiced stop</b>	b		d			g <sup>30</sup>			
<b>voiceless stop</b>			t			k			ʔ
<b>emphatic stop</b>			ṭ			ḵ			
<b>voiced fricative</b>		ɖ	z	ʃ <sup>31</sup>			g̠	ʕ <sup>32</sup>	
<b>voiceless fricative</b>	f	t̪	s	š			x	ħ	h
<b>emphatic fricative</b>		t̪ ~ ḍ	š <sup>33</sup>	ṣ̌ <sup>34</sup>					
<b>voiced lateral</b>			l						
<b>voiceless lateral</b>				ś					
<b>emphatic lateral</b>				ṣ́					
<b>nasal</b>	m		n						
<b>trill</b>			r ~ ṛ						
<b>glide</b>	w				y				

<sup>30</sup> In Mehreyyet only.

<sup>31</sup> Voiced palato-alveolar affricate, in Mahriyöt only.

<sup>32</sup> Marginal in Mehreyyet.

<sup>33</sup> Voiceless alveolar affricate.

<sup>34</sup> Voiceless palato-alveolar affricate.



Table 2-2 Jibbali/Shehret consonants, adapted from Rubin (2014b:25)

	labial	dental	alveolar	Palato-alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	pharyngeal	glottal
<b>voiced stop</b>	b		d			g			
<b>voiceless stop</b>			t			k			ʔ
<b>emphatic stop</b>			ṭ			ḵ			
<b>voiced fricative</b>		ɖ	z	(ʒ) <sup>35</sup>			ğ	ʕ	
<b>voiceless fricative</b>	f	ṯ	s	š / ṣ̌ <sup>36</sup>			x	ħ	h
<b>emphatic fricative</b>		ṯ̣ <sup>37</sup>	ṣ̌ <sup>38</sup>	ṣ̣̌ <sup>39</sup>					
<b>voiced lateral</b>			l	ž <sup>40</sup>					
<b>voiceless lateral</b>				š					
<b>emphatic lateral</b>				ṣ̌					
<b>nasal</b>	m		n						
<b>trill</b>			r ~ ṛ						
<b>glide</b>	w				y				

<sup>35</sup> Non-phonemic. Allophone of /g/ or /l/ (Rubin 2014b:25; 3.5.1.12 and 3.5.1.13).

<sup>36</sup> This phoneme and its voiced and emphatic counterparts /ʒ/, /ʒ̣/ are alveo-palatal sounds, produced with a co-occurring lip pout (Bellem & Watson 2017:640). See below (3.5.1.12).

<sup>37</sup> The glottalisation is usually weak.

<sup>38</sup> The glottalisation is usually weak, especially in non-final position.

<sup>39</sup> Marginal. Often resulting from the palatalisation of /k/ (Rubin 2014b:26). Glottalisation may not occur in Kuria Muria variety (see 3.5.1.12).

<sup>40</sup> Marginal. Allophone of /l/ (see 3.5.1.13).

Table 2-3 *Ḥarsusi consonants, adapted from Johnstone (HL:xii)*

	labial	dental	alveolar	Palato-alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	pharyngeal	glottal
<b>voiced stop</b>	b		d			g			
<b>voiceless stop</b>			t			k			ʔ
<b>emphatic stop</b>			t̤ <sup>41</sup>			k̤			
<b>voiced fricative</b>		ɖ	z				ğ	ʕ <sup>42</sup>	
<b>voiceless fricative</b>	f	t̤	s	š			x	ħ	h
<b>emphatic fricative</b>		t̤ ~ ɖ̤	s̤ ~ z̤	š̤					
<b>voiced lateral</b>			l	ž					
<b>voiceless lateral</b>				š					
<b>emphatic lateral</b>				š̤					
<b>nasal</b>	m		n						
<b>trill</b>			r ~ r̤						
<b>glide</b>	w				y				

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<sup>41</sup> A partially voiced allophone may appear intervocalically.

<sup>42</sup> Marginal.

Table 2-4 Baḥari consonants, adapted from Gasparini (2018:23)

	labial	dental	alveolar	palato-alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	pharyngeal	glottal
voiced stop	b		t			g			
voiceless stop			d			k			ʔ
emphatic stop			ṭ			ḵ			
voiced fricative		ḍ	z			ḡ	ʕ		
voiceless fricative	f	ṯ	s	š		x	ħ		h
emphatic fricative		ṯ̣	ṣ	š <sup>43</sup>					
voiced lateral			l						
voiceless lateral				ś					
emphatic lateral				ṣ̌					
nasal	m		n						
trill			r ~ ṛ						
glide	w				y				

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<sup>43</sup> Marginal.

Table 2-5 Hobyōt consonants, adapted from Nakano (2013:v)

	labial	dental	alveolar	Palato-alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	pharyngeal	glottal
<b>voiced stop</b>	b		d			g <sup>44</sup>			
<b>voiceless stop</b>			t			k	q <sup>45</sup>		ʔ
<b>emphatic stop</b>			ṭ			ḵ			
<b>voiced fricative</b>		ɖ	z	dʒ~j <sup>46</sup>			ġ <sup>47</sup>	ʕ	
<b>voiceless fricative</b>	f	t̪	s	š			x	ħ	h
<b>emphatic fricative</b>		ṭ̪	ṣ	ṣ̌					
<b>voiced lateral</b>			l						
<b>voiceless lateral</b>				ś					
<b>emphatic lateral</b>				ṣ́					
<b>nasal</b>	m		n						
<b>trill</b>			r						
<b>glide</b>	w				y				

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<sup>44</sup> Marginal.

<sup>45</sup> Marginal.

<sup>46</sup> The fricative appears only in loanwords from Arabic, and in the word meaning ‘dung beetle’ (Nakano 2013:vii).

<sup>47</sup> Although /ġ/ is presented here as a fully-fledged phoneme, it is subsequently stated that “There is no phonemic basis for setting up a contrast between uvular and velar point of articulation in this language” (Nakano 2013:vii).

Table 2-6 Soqotri consonants, adapted from Naumkin et al (2014:11-12)

	labial	dental	alveolar	palato-alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	pharyngeal	glottal
<b>voiced stop</b>	b		d			g			
<b>voiceless stop</b>			t			k			ʔ
<b>emphatic stop</b>			ṭ			ḵ			
<b>voiced fricative</b>			z	j			g <sup>48</sup>	ʕ	
<b>voiceless fricative</b>	f		s	š	ç <sup>49</sup>		x	ħ	h
<b>emphatic fricative</b>			ṣ	ṣ̣					
<b>voiced lateral</b>			ɹ <sup>50</sup>						
<b>voiceless lateral</b>				ṣ̌					
<b>emphatic lateral</b>				ṣ̌					
<b>nasal</b>	m		n						
<b>trill</b>			r ~ ṛ						
<b>glide</b>	w				y				

<sup>48</sup> The uvular fricative (both voiced and voiceless) are present only in the dialects of the west of Soqotra. In the east, they merge into /ʕ/ and /ħ/ respectively (Simeone-Senelle 2003:7).

<sup>49</sup> This sound, not present in other MSA languages and usually transcribed as <yh>, is one of the outcomes of PS \*s<sub>1</sub>.

<sup>50</sup> Velarised in phonetically neutral contexts. It may have a non-velarised allophone in preceding or following an [i]. According to Simeone-Senelle it can be described as [L] velar lateral approximant (Simeone-Senelle 2003:7).

Table 2-7 Mehri vowels, adapted from Watson (2012:22-28)

	Front			central			back
high	i, ī						u, ū
mid-high		e, <sup>51</sup> ē				o, <sup>52</sup> ō	
mid-low			ɛ, <sup>53</sup> ɛ̄ <sup>54</sup>				
low				a, ā			

Table 2-8 Jibbali/Shehret vowels, adapted from Rubin (2014b:40)<sup>55</sup>

	Front			central			back
high	i						u
mid-high		e		ə		o <sup>56</sup>	
mid-low			ɛ		ɔ		
low				a			

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<sup>51</sup> Marginal.

<sup>52</sup> Marginal.

<sup>53</sup> Marginal.

<sup>54</sup> Only in Mehreyyet with a low functional load (Watson 2012:24).

<sup>55</sup> All vowels except /ə/ have long and nasalised long counterparts, which result from the intervocalic elision of /b/ and /m/ (Rubin 2014b:28-32; see 3.5.1.2, 3.5.1.3, 3.5.1.4).

<sup>56</sup> Phonologically not contrastive with /ɔ/.

Table 2-9 *Ḥarsusi vowels, adapted from Johnstone (HL:xiii)*

	Front			central			back
high	ī						ū
mid-high		e, ē				ō	
mid-low							
low				a, ā			

Table 2-10 *Baḥari vowels, adapted from Gasparini (2018:42)*

	Front			central			back
high	i, ī						u, ū
mid-high		e, ē		ə		o, ō	
mid-low			ɛ, ē				
low				a, ā			

Table 2-11 Hobyōt vowels, adapted from Nakano (2013:viii)

	Front			central			back
<b>High</b>	i, ī						u, ū
<b>mid-high</b>		e, ē		ə		o, ō	
<b>mid-low</b>							
<b>Low</b>				a, ā			



Table 2-12 Soqotri vowels, adapted from Naumkin et al (2014:17-18)

	Front			central			back
High	i						u <sup>57</sup>
mid-high		e~ə~ø <sup>58</sup>				o~ɔ <sup>59</sup>	
mid-low			ɛ				
low				a <sup>60</sup>			

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<sup>57</sup> Limited functional load (Naumkin et al 2014:17).

<sup>58</sup> Labialised allophone of /e/ when /o/ occurs in the following syllable (Naumkin et al 2014:17).

<sup>59</sup> Allophone of /o/ usually (but not exclusively) in the presence of labials and [n] (Naumkin et al 2014:18).

<sup>60</sup> Limited functional load (Naumkin et al 2014:17).

## 2.4.2 The expression of the future

The following figure, adapted from Rubin (2010:134), illustrates the forms of the future participle in Mehri. This is the most common way to express the future in this language.<sup>61</sup>

Table 2-13 The "future participle" in Mehri

M. singular	F. singular	M. dual	F. dual	M. plural	F. plural
<i>CəCCōna</i>	<i>CəCCīta</i>	<i>CəCCōni</i>	<i>CəCCawti</i>	<i>CəCyēCa</i>	<i>CəCCūtən</i>

On the other hand, Jibbali/Shehret and Hobyōt form the future by adding a prefix to the subjunctive, *(d)ħa-* and *mad-* ~ *med-* respectively (Rubin 2015b:320), while Baḥari normally resorts to *yħām* + a subjunctive form (Gasparini 2018:89). Soqoṭri does not have any overt morphological device to mark the future (Simeone-Senelle 1993:1).

## 2.4.3 The *t-* person marker loss in some Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri derived and passive verbs

In Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri, it is possible to observe a phenomenon whereby the expected *t-* element is lost in the prefix conjugation of certain derived verbal stems and the internal passive voice. This feature is discussed in Testen (1992).<sup>62</sup> The author notes that the Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri verbs that exhibit this feature are cognates of Literary Arabic verbal forms that exhibit *u* as preradical vowel (Testen 1992:447). He cautiously hypothesises that “\**u* underwent some form of weakening which \**a* escaped (as happened, for example, in Ethiopic, where *a* < \**u*, \**i*, but *a* < \**a*), perhaps even resulting in complete elision of the reflex of \**u*” which “Could have threatened to lead to the formation of initial consonant clusters more complex than the phonotactics of the language (at that point in time, at least) would tolerate” (1992:449). In other words, the loss of the *t-* prefix may be due to a process triggered by initial consonant clusters. The occurrence of this phenomenon in a core area of Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri grammar (and, by contrast, its non-occurrence in Mehri and closely related languages) may be viewed as an innovation that speaks to the sub-grouping of Modern South Arabian.

<sup>61</sup> These are the G-stem forms. For the participial forms of derived stems, whose pattern can be exemplified as *ma-* SBJT (that is, the prefix *ma-* + the subjunctive without any flexional prefixes), see Watson (2012:99-100). Ḥarsusi and Baḥari too resort to the future participle, although not exclusively (Rubin 2015b:319).

<sup>62</sup> See p. 48

#### 2.4.4 Negation patterns

Negation is an aspect that is subject to substantial variation across MSA languages. The following figure, adapted from Simeone-Senelle (1997:413-414), summarises MSA negation patterns:

Table 2-14 MSA negation patterns

	Prefix	Suffix	Circumfix
<b>Mehri</b>	əl <sup>63</sup>	Western la?	Eastern əl ... la?
<b>Ḥarsusi</b>		la?	
<b>Baḥari</b>		la?	
<b>Hobyōt</b>			(əl) <sup>64</sup> ... la?
<b>Jibbali/Shehret</b>	ɔ <sup>65</sup> , ɔ(l) <sup>66</sup>	KM la	ɔ(l) ... lɔ? KM a(l) ... la
<b>Soqoṭri</b>	ɔl ~ ɔʒ, ʔa ~ ʕa(n) ~ ḥa <sup>67</sup>		

Given the extremely heterogeneous scenario, it is difficult to advance a hypothesis about the historical syntax of negation in MSA, as it is possible to observe all three stages of Jespersen's cycle across the languages (see 3.5.3.10). On the other hand, it is safe to infer that the morphological antecedent of MSA negation is to be found in the common Semitic negator *\*/a*.<sup>68</sup> Lucas & Lash state that the use of this common Semitic negator post-verbally as a sentential negator results from its grammaticalisation from an anaphoric negator: i.e. in resumptive contexts ('I don't like that, no'), or in tag questions ('you didn't like it, no?'), and mention a similar process in Brazilian Portuguese (2010:400). Additionally, Sjörs, in his description of Jibbali/Shehret negation of emphatic coordination, argues that the pre-verbal element is the older negative

<sup>63</sup> May occur as a prefix optionally in interrogative sentences (Simeone-Senelle 1997:414).

<sup>64</sup> The first element is optional and there is a significant variation among speakers (Simeone-Senelle 1997:413).

<sup>65</sup> In prohibitive sentences only.

<sup>66</sup> May occur as a prefix optionally with verbs of fear and hope (Simeone-Senelle 1997:414).

<sup>67</sup> The second set of negations is used only in prohibitive sentences.

<sup>68</sup> See Lucas (2009:90-93).

construction, and that a similar state of affairs can be found in Ḥarsusi (2010:311). This is quite probable in view of the evolution of negation along the lines of Jespersen’s cycle, whereby a pre-verbal negator represents the first stage (Lucas 2009:15; see 3.5.3.10). Moreover, Watson and Rowlett, in their analysis of the stages of Jespersen’s cycle in three varieties of Mehri (Mehreyyet, Mahriyōt and Western Yemeni Mehri, also known as Mehrīyet) state that some data they analysed “which show monopartite prenegation exclusively in set phrases suggest that the original negator was the initial element and that bipartite negation resulted from the addition of a negative element based on the anaphoric negator *lā*” (Watson & Rowlett 2012:218). As for the patterning of negation within MSA, it seems to be due to contact: the geographical core of the MSA speaking area, consisting of Mehreyyet and Jibbali/Shehret, leans towards the use of a circumfix, while the peripheral areas of Western Mehri (Mahriyōt and Mehrīyet) on the one side, and of Ḥarsusi, Baḥari and Kuria Muria Jibbali/Shehret (3.5.3.10) on the other side, make a more frequent use of the monopartite suffixed negation.<sup>69</sup> Soqoṭri, as can be expected, stands out and exhibits a pre-verbal sentential negator. The history of PS *\*la* as a sentential negator in MSA is rather controversial: Sjörs (2018:303-304) hypothesises that it was lost in proto-MSA, and then re-acquired through borrowing from Arabic. Pat-El (2012:25) is of a similar opinion, and reconstructs the bipartite negation at a proto-MSA stage. However, the above-mentioned presence of a pre-posed negation in set phrases in some Mehri varieties (Watson & Rowlett 2012:218), as well as the state of affairs in Soqoṭri, argue in favour of a pre-posed sentential negation in proto-MSA.

#### 2.4.5 *The -ən suffix in the verbal morphology*

An *-ən* suffix appears in the imperfect of certain verbal classes. This can be observed in the so-called D/L-, Š2-, and T2-stems in both Mehri and Jibbali/Shehret (Watson 2012:88, Rubin 2014b:131). Moreover, this suffix may appear together with the prefix *l-* and the subjunctive pattern to form the conditional mood in Mehri (Watson 2012:91-92), and in Jibbali/Shehret (Rubin 2014b:152). A similar state of affairs can be described for Ḥarsusi (HL, *passim*), Baḥari (Gasparini 2018:79), and Soqoṭri (LS:12-13). Johnstone (ML:xx) compared this morphological device with the *Modus Energicus* of Classical Arabic, and, in the actuality, some similarities with the MSA *-ən* suffix can be recognised from a formal viewpoint. The homogeneous presence of this feature across

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<sup>69</sup> The bipartite negation is not, however, absent in Mehrīyet, despite not being the primary way of achieving negation (Watson & Rowlett 2012:206).

these languages, while not relevant for the internal sub-grouping, speaks to the genetic unity of MSA.

#### 2.4.6 (h)vCCVC ≠ švCCVC: causative-reflexive vs. simple causative

It is possible to distinguish two types of causative stem in MSA: a causative-reflexive, used (mostly) to express actions performed onto oneself, and a simple causative stem, expressing the idea of changing something into something else or making something acquire a characteristic by one's action (Kogan 2015:474). This can also be observed in the morphology of Mehri (ML:xxi; Rubin 2018:131-146; Watson 2012:83), Jibbali/Shehret (JL:xvi-xvii; Rubin 2014b:115-125), Ḥarsusi (HL, *passim*), Baṭḥari (Gasparini 2018:79), Hobyōt (Nakano 2013, *passim*) and Soqoṭri (LS:12-13). Similarly to the *-ən* suffix, the morphological mark of these two verbal classes, namely (h)v- and šv- respectively, further proves MSA genetic unity. It should be noted here that the causative-reflexive prefix in Jibbali/Shehret is š̄- and not š- (Kogan 2015:474; JL:xvii). This points to an inherited pattern rather than to borrowing, as /š̄/ in Jibbali/Shehret may correspond to /š/ in the other MSA languages in a wide array of contexts.<sup>70</sup>

#### 2.4.7 Plural markers

The following figure, adapted from Kogan (2015:474), Leslau (LS:10), Rubin (2014b:79-82), Gasparini (2018:55-56), Johnstone (HL, *passim*), and Nakano (2013, *passim*), exemplifies the MSA external plural markers:

Table 2-15 MSA external plural markers

	Masculine	Feminine
<b>Mehri</b>	-īn	-(V)tən
<b>Ḥarsusi</b>	-ēn	-(V)tən
<b>Baṭḥari</b>	/	-(V)tən
<b>Hobyōt</b>	-īn	-(v)tə
<b>Jibbali/Shehret</b>	-īn	-(v)tə

<sup>70</sup> See 3.5.1.12

<b>Soqoṭri</b>	-(v)hən <sup>71</sup>	-(v)(hə)tən, -at, -āt
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This state of affairs has been described by Kogan as “peculiar” (2015:474). The peculiarity here is not to be found in the markers themselves,<sup>72</sup> but in the way they can combine with broken plural patterns to form mixed sound-broken plurals, i.e. Mehri *ktōb* ‘book’, pl. *ktib-īn* (Watson 2012:58). This pluralisation device is widespread in MSA, while it is practically unknown in the rest of Semitic.<sup>73</sup> In addition, pluralisation in MSA stands out among the rest of its counterparts in other Semitic sub-groups in that it is often achieved by means of internal vowel alteration rather than total pattern replacement (Kogan 2015:476), e.g. Ḥarsusi *kebkīb* ‘star’, pl. *kebkōb* (Ratcliffe 1998:193). This trait can be observed, at varying degrees, in all MSA languages.

#### 2.4.8 Diminutive patterns

The table below, adapted from Kogan (2015:477) and Johnstone (1973:99) illustrates the two main basic<sup>74</sup> (masculine singular) diminutive patterns for trilateral roots in Mehri, Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri.

Table 2-16 MSA diminutive patterns

	Type 1	Type 2
<b>Mehri</b>	CəwĒCĕC	CəCĒCĕn
<b>Jibbali/Shehret</b>	CĕCĕC	CĕCəCĕn

<sup>71</sup> For a discussion on the “parasite *h*” in Soqoṭri, see below 2.4.12.

<sup>72</sup> Although Kogan (2015:475) presents a variety of scholarly opinions about the diachronic development of the markers, which highlight their highly innovative nature.

<sup>73</sup> But compare Ge’ez nouns which form their plurals on the pattern  $\text{ʔaCCvCt}$ , i.e. *gabr* ‘slave’, pl. *ʔagbert*. According to Ratcliffe (1998:167) this is one of the most common plural patterns in Ge’ez. It is difficult to ascertain whether these plurals should be regarded as formed on the pattern  $\text{ʔaCCvCt}$ , or rather on the pattern  $\text{ʔaCCvC}$  with a *-t* suffix, as the latter pattern does exist, although less often attested (*ibid.*). Additionally, for the Afro-Asiatic domain compare the “mixed” plurals in Berber (Idrissi 2000:102).

<sup>74</sup> Diminutive patterns in MSA are numerous, and they exhibit allomorphy according to the number of root consonants, the gender of the non-diminutive stem, as well as the different phonological contexts (Watson 2012:62-63, 106). The diminutive patterns listed above are those which Kogan deems to be relevant for the purpose of sub-grouping and internal unity of MSA (2015:477). For a complete list of diminutive patterns in Mehri see Watson (2012:62-63, 106-107, 121-122). For Jibbali/Shehret see Rubin (2014b:86-87), Dufour (2016:45, 51, 57, 59, 66, 69, 76, 263). For Soqoṭri see Naumkin et al (2014:33-35).

Soqoṭri	CówCεC	CówCÉChεn
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Dufour, within the framework of his careful revision of Johnstone’s transcription, argues that the Jibbali/Shehret forms have a long vowel: i.e. *mbēré* ‘boy’, *ǧēbgót* ‘girl’, *ḵēléb* ‘heart’, *šētár* ‘kid’ (2016:44-45; see also 3.5.1.2). These patterns are, according to Dufour, the result, similarly to Mehri, of the infixation of a \*/w/ which would have then been elided causing the lengthening of the adjacent vowel (2016:44-45). This seems to find a confirmation in KM materials: i.e. *ǧāb<sup>o</sup>gót* ‘girl’.

Johnstone (1973:106-107), argues that both type 1 and type 2 patterns may respectively be distantly related to the Arabic diminutive patterns *CuCāC* and *CuCayC*, and views the *-Vn* of type 2 as coming from *\*ān*, a diminutive suffix that can be found elsewhere in Semitic.<sup>75</sup> As far as can be observed, there is little difference among diminutive patterns in the three languages taken into consideration, and they can safely be considered cognate forms.

#### 2.4.9 The dual pronouns

The dual pronouns in MSA have been described as innovative by Kogan, as they exhibit “The direct attachment of the dual marker *-i* to the ‘core consonant’ of the pronominal morpheme” (2015:478). This opinion seems to be shared by Zaborski (1994:256-257), who adds that the first person dual pronouns in Mehri, Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri might be the only surviving vestige of PS *\*ʔanāku* (compare Akkadian *ʔanāku* ‘I’). This situation differs sharply from that of Arabic and Ancient South Arabian (Kogan 2015:478), and, once again, sets MSA apart from the rest of Semitic. The following table, adapted from Rubin (2015b:316), presents the dual pronouns:

Table 2-17 MSA independent dual pronouns

	1 <sup>st</sup> pers.	2 <sup>nd</sup> pers.	3 <sup>rd</sup> pers.
Mehri	akay/kīh <sup>76</sup>	atay/tīh	hay/hīh
Ḥarsusi	ətī	ətī	hī

<sup>75</sup> Compare *-ōn* in Hebrew (Bolzky 1994:6), and in Syriac (Nöldeke 1904:79).

<sup>76</sup> The double forms in Mehri reflect dialectal variants: Mehreyyet/Mahriyöt.

<b>Hobyōt</b>	tīh	tīh	hīh
<b>Jibbali/Shehret</b>	(ə)šī <sup>77</sup>	(ə)ti	ši
<b>Soqoṭri</b>	kí(hən)	tí(hən)	yhí(hən)

With regard to this, it can be noticed that, as far as the internal sub-grouping is concerned, Mehri, Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri pattern together in retaining a system which is, in all probability, more archaic, while Ḥarsusi and Hobyōt 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronouns became analogically levelled in favour of the inherited 2<sup>nd</sup> person. This may be due to a parallel development (note that Ḥarsusi and Hobyōt are not in permanent contact).

#### 2.4.10 The treatment of PS \*s<sub>1</sub>

The tables at the beginning of this section (pp. 70-79) clearly show that MSA languages have very similar phonological inventories, except for Soqoṭri, whose inventory underwent a series of mergers and modifications. It, however, retains the basic traits of MSA.<sup>78</sup>

Now, one of the features that differentiate MSA languages from one another is their respective outcomes of Proto-Semitic \*s<sub>1</sub>.<sup>79</sup>

This trait is summarised in the following table:

Table 2-18 The treatment of PS \*s<sub>1</sub> in MSA

<b>PS</b>	*s <sub>1</sub>
<b>Mehri</b>	/š/ ~ /h/
<b>Ḥarsusi</b>	/š/ ~ /h/
<b>Baḥari</b>	/š/ ~ /h/

<sup>77</sup> It will be useful to remind here that Jibbali/Shehret /š/ may result from the palatalization of an underlying \*/k/ in the vicinity of a palatal vowel.

<sup>78</sup> Simeone-Senelle (2003:2-3) provides a concise description of the peculiarities of Soqotri compared with other MSA languages.

<sup>79</sup> This phoneme is traditionally reconstructed as [ʃ] (SED:LXX-LXXI). However, according to a growing number of scholars, it may be reconstructed as [s] within the so-called affricate hypothesis. For a detailed description see (Kogan 2011:61-70). For \*s<sub>1</sub> specifically see (*ibid.*:65).



<b>Hobyōt</b>	/š/ ~ /h/
<b>Jibbali/Shehret</b>	/š/ ~ /š̃/
<b>Soqoṭri</b>	/š/ ~ /h/ ~ /yh/

While all MSA languages exhibit a voiceless palato-alveolar realisation, it can be noticed that in Mehri and closely related languages, PS  $*s_1$  can be realised as a laryngeal fricative,<sup>80</sup> while in Soqoṭri it can be realised as a voiceless palatal fricative <yh> [ç]: i.e. Mehri and Ḥarsusi *hērək* (ML:160; HL:52), Jibbali/Shehret *šérk* (JL:263), Soqoṭri *yherok* ‘thief’. Jibbali/Shehret, on the other hand, exhibits a peculiar variant, namely the labialised alveo-palatal fricative, which, according to Johnstone “is pronounced with approximately the same tongue position as š̃ but there is no contact between the top of the tongue and the alveolum. The air is pushed out over the tongue and the lips are simultaneously rounded and pouted” (JL:xiv).

Conversely, Bellem and Watson affirm that this sound should be defined as an alveo-palatal, as “contact is greater in the alveo-palatal region for š̃ than s” (Bellem & Watson 2017:640) This has been ascertained by means of electro-palatography (EPG). Thus, the actual articulation of this sound would be the opposite of what Johnstone stated (JL:xiv).<sup>81</sup> The other languages followed a pattern of backing that led to total debuccalisation in Mehri, Ḥarsusi, Baḥari and Hobyōt [h], and in a middle stage, with the loss of the rounding, in Soqoṭri [ç]. Rubin adds that “š̃ usually derives from  $*k$  or  $*st$ ” (2014b:26). In the actuality, š̃ can derive also (and, indeed, chiefly derives) from  $*s_1$  (SED:LXIX). Compare the causative-reflexive prefix in Jibbali/Shehret verbal system š̃-, vs. š- in that of all the other MSA languages (see above 2.4.6).

While these correspondences are not entirely regular, it is undeniable that no other Semitic sub-group treated this proto-phoneme in such an innovative and diverse way: compare PS  $*s_1$  > Akkadian, Hebrew, Aramaic /š/, Arabic, Ge’ez /s/, other Ethiopian Semitic /s/ ~ /š/ (SED:LVIII-LXIX). Thus, if not the single outcomes, the process whereby  $*s_1$  changed its place of articulation and, in

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<sup>80</sup> *Contra* the statement of Lonnet (2006:30) that the phoneme “Est passé régulièrement à h en mehri”, there is a fair amount of cases in which Mehri /š/ < PS  $*s_1$ . E.g. Mehri *yamšē* ‘yesterday’. compare Arabic *أمس* [ʔams] ‘id.’, Hebrew *עֵשׂוּרָה* [em’ε] ‘last night, yesterday’. Mehri *awšēn* ‘tongue’. Compare Arabic *لسان* [li’sa:n] ‘tongue’, Hebrew *לְשׁוֹן* [le’jo:n] ‘tongue’.

<sup>81</sup> See discussion in Bellem & Watson (2017), as well as above (2.4.10), and below (3.5.1.12)

the case of Jibbali/Shehret, developed a secondary articulation, can be regarded as an innovation that encompasses all MSA. Also, it is easy to observe how Mehri, Ḥarsusi, Baḥari, and Hobyōt pattern together in exhibiting the laryngeal outcome, while Jibbali/Shehret and Soqōṭri follow two different patterns: the former possesses two variants, /š/ being an innovation, while the latter has three different outcomes, sharing the laryngeal one with Mehri and closely related languages, and additionally exhibiting its own original palatal outcome. Therefore, it can be stated that, as far as this particular feature is concerned, Jibbali/Shehret and Soqōṭri do not agree in their patterns, while the other languages seem to do.

#### 2.4.11 *The non-etymological word initial h*

One of the features that sets MSA languages apart from the other Semitic sub-branches is the presence of a non-etymological word-initial *h*, which appears in nearly every linguistic sub-system of all MSA languages (verbal and nominal morphology, question words, definiteness markers, pronominal systems, core lexicon) in varying degrees, according to the specific language, and occurs in the place of the following Proto-Semitic sounds: \*w, \*y, \*ʔ, \*v and ∅. The occurrence of this phenomenon can be summarised as follows: Mehri exhibits this trait consistently across linguistics sub-systems; Ḥarsusi, Baḥari and Hobyōt do so quite consistently too, but there are a number of cases in which it may appear optionally (see below); Jibbali/Shehret and Soqōṭri are the languages that, while showing traces of this phenomenon, do not show it regularly and exhibit, in most cases, the PS sounds mentioned above.

A number of authors noticed this phenomenon, but described it quite cursorily (as in Ember's 1914 article), inasmuch as it was needed to describe other features of MSA. It was Leslau (1962) who described in some detail the presence of a non-etymological *h* that "Occurs in Ancient Egyptian, Modern South Arabian, and Hausa" (1962:65), and provided a list of lexical items exhibiting this feature. A few years later, in 1970, Pennacchietti, in the course of his analysis of the syntactic behaviour of the MSA definite article, noted that the definite marker in Mehri is represented by the three prefixes *a-* *ha-* and *ḥa-* (1970:286). Andrzej Zaborski (1994:255), in his discussion about archaisms and innovations in MSA personal pronouns, pointed out that Johnstone implicitly admitted a derivation of the second person singular independent pronouns (summarised by the form \**h(v)t*) from the root *vʔnt*, by listing it accordingly in the *Jibbali Lexicon* (JL:4), but not in the Mehri and Ḥarsusi lexica, where these pronouns are listed under *vʔt* (ML:8;

HL:4). On a similar rationale, Simeone-Senelle (1997:383-384) stated that “The initial and non-etymological *h* and *ħ* may be the development of the laryngeal”. Kogan (2015:478) acknowledges the presence of the laryngeal element in the Mehri definite article and, while arguing in favour of the reconstruction of definiteness marking as a feature of proto-MSA, he provides only a short paragraph and a footnote on this topic. All these writings brought up the subject of the non-etymological laryngeal/pharyngeal element in certain domains of MSA (chiefly the pronominal system and the definiteness markers), but were not concerned with the bigger picture of its occurrence across several other domains. The first paper that presents this issue in a clearer way is Rubin’s “The Classification of Hobyot” (2015b), in which the author presents various features of MSA languages with the aim of outlining a neater classification of Hobyōt. Interestingly, not only does the author succeed in presenting concisely some of the intricacies of MSA grammar and discussing the place of Hobyōt within it, but he also provides a visually clear representation of *h*-occurrence across MSA languages and linguistic sub-systems.

The next sub-paragraphs provide details of this phenomenon by using Rubin’s discussion (2015b, *passim*) as a basis, and adding other elements as appropriate.

#### 2.4.11.1 *h*- in verbal morphology

The formation of the simple causative stem (the so-called H-stem) involves the use of a prefix that has the phonetic value of [h] in Mehri and Ḥarsusi,<sup>82</sup> while in the other languages it is a vowel. However, in Ḥarsusi the *h* appears only in the subjunctive.

Thus, the status of this prefix can be summarised by the following table for the H-stem of root *vwkb* ‘to enter’ (*vwgh* ‘to enter’ in Jibbali/Shehret) (Morris et al, in press):

*Table 2-19 The causative (H) stem in MSA*

	<b>3.M.SG</b> <b>perfect</b>	<b>3.M.SG</b> <b>indicative</b>	<b>3.M.SG</b> <b>subjunctive</b>
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<sup>82</sup> Although examples could not be found at this stage, Miranda Morris states that, as far as she could notice, an *h*-prefix in simple causative stems can be heard “From those speakers whose mothers were Ḥarsusi women. However, this is not acceptable to Bathari speakers of purely Bathari descent, and the speakers who used the *h*- verb usually correct themselves or use it only once in a recording” (p.c.).

<b>Mehreyyet</b>	hūkūb	yihkūb	yhawkab
<b>Ḥarsusi</b>	awkōb	yawkōb	yeháwkeb
<b>Baḥari</b>	ewkōb	yəwkōb	yēkəb
<b>Hobyōt</b>	ewkōb	yewkōb	yawkəb
<b>Jibbali/Shehret</b>	ebgaḥ	yǝgaḥ	yibgáḥ
<b>Soqoṭri</b>	keb	ykub	l-ákəb

#### 2.4.11.2 *h-* in broken plural patterns

Within MSA, it is possible to identify a broken plural pattern *\*(h)vCCVC-(vt)*, whose attested outcomes can be described as follows, for the roots *bwb* ‘door’ and *bʕr* ‘camel’:

Table 2-20 The *h-* prefix in broken plural patterns

	<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>
<b>Mehri</b>	bōb	həbwēb-ət
<b>Ḥarsusi</b>	bāb	(h)əbwōb
<b>Hobyōt</b>	bōb	həbwēb-ət
<b>Jibbali/Shehret</b>	ɔb <sup>83</sup>	ʔəbbétə
<b>Soqoṭri</b>	beʕér <sup>84</sup>	ʔəbʕár

It must be noted here that the initial *h-* appears only optionally in Ḥarsusi.

#### 2.4.11.3 *h-* in question words

The following table, adapted from Rubin (2015b:318),<sup>85</sup> presents some common question words in MSA languages:

<sup>83</sup> “In this word the initial radical *b* (compare Mehri *bōb*) has disappeared. *ɔb ʔád*, one door” (JL:5).

<sup>84</sup> The root *bwb* seems to be lost in Soqotri (LS, *passim*).

Table 2-21 The *h-* prefix in question words

	Mehri	Ḥarsusi	Baḥari	Hobyōt	Jibbali/S hehret	Soqōtri
What?	- <sup>86</sup>	-	ínε	iníh	íné	iném
Where?	ḥōh	ḥōnah	ḥānə; ḥā; ḥān; ḥō	húṭun; hoh; ḥū bhóh/wōr/h óh-ṭoh	hun/ húṭun	óʔo
How?	hīboh	ḥəbō; hbuh	habōh	ḥəbōh	ʔɔl/ʔɔh	ifú(l) <sup>87</sup>

Here it can be observed that Mehri, Ḥarsusi, Baḥari and, to a lesser extent, Hobyōt pattern together, leaving out Jibbali/Shehret and Soqōtri, in which the *h-* prefix occurs fewer times, an exception being Jibbali/Shehret *hun/húṭun*<sup>88</sup> ‘where?’

#### 2.4.11.4 *h-* in definiteness markers

The following table summarises the definiteness markers of MSA languages:

Table 2-22 MSA definiteness markers

<b>Mehri</b>	a-, ha-, ḥa-
<b>Ḥarsusi</b>	a-, ha-, ḥa-
<b>Baḥari</b>	a-, ḥa- <sup>89</sup>

<sup>85</sup> This table has been updated to include final laryngeals [h] in most of the terms (Morris & Watson, in press).

<sup>86</sup> Mehri and Ḥarsusi words for ‘What?’ (*ḥeśān* and *ḥásān* respectively) are not cognate of their counterparts in the rest of the languages.

<sup>87</sup> According to Rubin (2015b:318) the Jibbali/Shehret and Soqōtri words for ‘how?’ are cognate with those of the other languages.

<sup>88</sup> Johnstone lists the Mehri and Ḥarsusi words for ‘where?’ under the root *ʔyn* (ML:10, HL:4), however the Jibbali Lexicon has *hun* under the root *hn* (JL:97) and *húṭun* under *htn* (JL:99) with *t* instead of *ṭ*. Frankly, in most cases, one hears *hū* ~ *hō* rather than *hun*.

<sup>89</sup> According to Gasparini, the definite article in Bathari is obsolescent (2018:61).

<b>Jibbali/Shehret</b>	i-, ε-
<b>Soqoṭri</b>	ʔ- <sup>90</sup>

It can be seen that also in the case of definiteness markers, Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri pattern together in not exhibiting the *h-* prefix.

#### 2.4.11.5 *h-* in independent personal pronouns

The table below, adapted from Rubin (2015b:316) with additions from Morris et al (in press), shows that within the pronominal system of MSA, the occurrence of a non-etymological *h-* in the first singular and second singular masculine and feminine is almost universal:

*Table 2-23 First and second singular independent pronouns in MSA*

	<b>Mehri</b>	<b>Ḥarsusi</b>	<b>Baḥari</b>	<b>Hobyōt</b>	<b>Jibbali/Shehret</b>	<b>Soqoṭri</b>
'I'	hōh; hoh	huh	ho(h)	ho(h)	he	hohən; ho(h)
'thou' (m.)	hēt	hīt	het	het	hēt	ʔε(h); het
'thou' (f.)	hīt <sup>91</sup>	hīt	hit	hit	hit	ʔi(h); hit

It has been argued that these pronouns are the result of the emergence of Afro-Asiatic forms, the antecedents of which can be found in two Central Cushitic languages, namely Khamta and Khamir (Reinisch 1909:101-102), and Brockelmann (1908:300; also Zaborski 1994) posited the effect of a process of analogical levelling on the third person pronouns at the basis of the *h-* forms in Mehri. However, if this does make sense in Mehri (and closely related languages), in which the third person masculine pronouns begin with *h-*, the same cannot be said for Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri, whose third person masculine pronouns have š- = [ʃ], and *yh-* = [ç] respectively. On the other hand,

<sup>90</sup> Soqoṭri does not possess true definiteness markers, but there seems to be a /ʔ/ non-functional, non-productive prefix corresponding to the laryngeal/pharyngeal article in Mehri and closely related languages (Johnstone 1970:301).

<sup>91</sup> Only in Mahriyōt (eastern Yemeni Mehri) (Rubin 2015b:316; Sima 2009:104,304,394,454,486,532).

Zaborski (1994:253-256) posited an inherited origin of these pronouns, and cited other authors who considered the development of [ʔ] into [h] as possible. See 4.10 for a hypothesis about the origin of *h-* in independent first and second singular pronouns, which takes into account language contact.

#### 2.4.11.6 *h-* in the core lexicon

Some lexical items of Mehri and related languages, especially those belonging to core areas of lexicon, often require a laryngeal/pharyngeal definiteness marker (see definiteness markers in 2.4.11.4). This phenomenon seems to be unknown to Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri, although, as said above (2.4.11.4), Soqoṭri frequently exhibits a non-etymological ʔ- in correspondence of Mehri laryngeal/pharyngeal articles. Examples are given in the following table (Hobyōt, Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri forms are provided for the purpose of comparison):

The following table shows some lexical items which exhibit a *h-* definiteness marker in Mehri and closely related languages, but not in Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri. It is adapted from Rubin (2015b:314) to include indefinite/definite forms in Morris and Watson (in press). The former are included when available. The languages which do not have definiteness marking (i.e. Hobyōt and Soqoṭri) exhibit only one form:

*Table 2-24 Core lexicon with non-etymological h- in Mehri and closely related languages*

	<b>Mehri</b>	<b>Ḥarsusi</b>	<b>Baṭhari</b>	<b>Hobyōt</b>	<b>Jibbali/Shehret</b>	<b>Soqoṭri</b>
father	yīb/ḥayb	ḥayb	ḥayb	ḥīb	ī (<abī)	íif-
hand	īd/ḥayd	ḥayd	hed	ḥīd	id	iʔd
ear	īdēn/ḥaydēn	ḥaydēn	ʔaydēn	ḥaydēn	idén	idəhən
road	wōrəm/ ḥōrəm	wōrəm/ ḥōrəm	ʔōrem/ḥārem	ḥōrəm	órəm/ōrəm	óʔorəm
moon	rīt/ḥārīt	ḥārīt	erīt/ḥārīt	ḥārīt	erét/ērīt	iʔrə
sun/day	yawm/ḥəyáwm	ḥyūm	yawm/əyawm	ḥayúm	yum/eyúm	yum

			(ḥayōm)			
women	īnēt/ ḥaynēt	ḥānīt	ḥaynēt	ḥaynēt ~ ḥaynēt	inēt/īnēt	<sup>92</sup>

With regards to these correspondences, there are two facts that must be noted: in the first place, as with other linguistic sub-systems, Mehri and Ḥarsusi consistently pattern together in exhibiting the *h*- article, and Hobyōt in this case follows this pattern. Secondly, as Rubin (2015b:315) notes, Hobyōt shows the *h*- prefix regardless of the fact that it does not possess overt definiteness markers.

#### 2.4.12 The “parasite” *h* in Soqoṭri

This phenomenon, which does not seem to be directly related to the appearance of the non-etymological initial *h*-, involves the appearance of a non-etymological and non-morphological [h] in Soqoṭri nouns, and, very rarely, in verbs, in medial position (Simeone-Senelle 1997:384).

Unique to Soqoṭri, this feature has been the matter of debate: Leslau’s opinion (LS:22) is summarised by Simeone-Senelle (1997:384). She states that it may be related to vowel length and stress rules, so that the parasite *h* may appear in certain contexts beside a short vowel that was originally long, so the original length is not disrupted. The articulatory mechanism that causes the appearance of the parasite *h* is, according to the author, the so-called murmured or breathy consonants, which affects the articulation of the adjacent vowels. However, the phenomenon seems to be optional, to an extent: in another paper (2004:7), she provides an example of a speaker who used two variants of the same word, one with and the other a without parasite *h*, freely: the word in question is *ažētān* ~ *ažéh<sup>h</sup>tān* ‘women’. Lipinski (2001:212) interprets this phenomenon as a part of an ongoing Afro-Asiatic process of root-extension that can be detected also in dialectal Aramaic *šmh*’ (where the *h* is not etymological) ‘the memorial’ (lit. ‘the name’), as well as in certain plural forms of nouns in Ancient South Arabian, Paleo-Syrian, Ugaritic, Phoenician, Tigre, and certain Arabic dialects, where a “parasite *h*” can occur.

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<sup>92</sup> The term meaning ‘woman’ in Soqoṭri is not cognate of the corresponding terms in other MSA languages. Rather, it is cognate of the terms for ‘men’: (i.e. Mehri *gayg*).



Bearing this in mind, despite its undoubted interest, both synchronically and diachronically, this feature cannot be viewed as specific of MSA. However, it is a development that sets Soqoṭri apart from the rest of the languages.

#### 2.4.13 The numeral 9

The terms normally<sup>93</sup> used to express the numeral 9 in MSA languages differ quite sharply from their counterparts in the rest of the Semitic languages. The following figure, adapted from Testen (1998), summarises this peculiarity:

Table 2-25 The numeral 9 in Semitic

	<b>Masculine</b>	<b>Feminine</b>
<b>Akkadian</b>	tišītum	tišum
<b>Arabic</b>	tisḡatun	tisḡun
<b>Biblical Hebrew</b>	tišḡa	téšaḡ
<b>Ugaritic</b>	tšḡ	?
<b>Syriac</b>	tešḡā	təšaḡ
<b>Ge'ez</b>	təsḡatu, tasḡatu, tasāḡtu	təsḡ-u
<b>Mehri</b>	sa:t	sɛ
<b>Ḥarsusi</b>	sa:'ḡayt, sə'ḡayt	se:
<b>Jibbali/Shehret</b>	sa'ḡayt	sɔḡ
<b>Soqoṭri</b>	seḡah	saḡ

At first glance, it is possible to observe two facts: firstly, the initial *t-* has been lost; secondly, the outcome of the second consonant of the PS root *\*vt-s<sub>2</sub>-ḡ* is [s] instead of the expected /š/ ~ /h/ ~ /ç/ (see above 2.4.10).

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<sup>93</sup> All MSA languages possess a quite distinct set of numerals which is employed exclusively for counting the days.

Testen explains the first peculiarity within the framework he had employed previously to account for the non-occurrence of the *t-* prefix in certain verbal forms in Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri (see above 2.4.3) positing a vowel merger PS *\*i, \*u* > Proto-MSA *\*ə*, and stating that this very short vowel might have caused, by further shortening, an initial consonant cluster in which [t] was the first element: i.e. *\*tišʕ* > *\*təšʕ* > *\*tʔšʕ*. The resulting form would not be tolerated, and thus would be simplified into *\*šʕ*, for the same reason by which initial verbal *t-* prefixes were lost in certain contexts, namely when the preradical consonant was a [u] (Testen 1992:447-449; 1998:314-315). However, it must be noted that while the *t-* prefix loss in verbs happened only in Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri, the *t-* loss in the numeral 9 encompasses all MSA. There remains a question as to whether the initial *t-* loss was, at some point in the past, a generalised phenomenon, and the sound in question was subsequently restored in some MSA languages due to contact with Arabic, or both losses are the consequence of a phenomenon which affected Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri more deeply, leaving Mehri, Ḥarsusi, Baḥari and Hobyōt less affected. At any rate, it can be safely stated that this feature speaks to the genetic unity of MSA languages.

As for the unexpected [s] outcome, Testen proposes two plausible explanations: (i) the presence of [s] instead of [ʃ] might be due, again, to areal contact with Arabic, in which [s] is the expected outcome of *\*s<sub>1</sub>* (1998:315), or (ii) it may represent the normal outcome of PS *\*s<sub>1</sub>* in this context (*ibid.*:315-316): the so-called “affricate hypothesis” (Kogan 2011) reconstructs PS *\*s<sub>1</sub>* as [s], contrary to the commonly held opinion that it had the value of [ʃ] (SED:LXX-LXXI). The same hypothesis holds that another PS sibilant<sup>94</sup> had the value of an affricate [ts], its outcomes being almost invariably represented by [s] across Semitic languages, including MSA (*ibid.*:LVIII-LXIX). Now, if we assume that the processes of vowel merger and vowel shortening postulated by Testen (*\*tišʕ* > *\*təšʕ* > *\*tʔšʕ*) took place, and view them within the affricate hypothesis, so that proto-MSA *\*s<sub>1</sub>* still retained the PS value [s], we would then have to reinterpret these processes as follows: *\*tisʕ* > *\*təsʕ* > *\*tʔsʕ*. That would have eventually resulted in *\*tsʕ*, and this affricate, homophonous with *\*s<sub>3</sub>*, would have then regularly evolved into the expected [s]. This seems to be confirmed by the anomalous third person feminine pronouns in MSA, which exhibit, similarly to the numeral 9, a [s] instead of the expected [ʃ]. This has been explained by Suchard (2017, *passim*) through sequences like: *\*malkat s<sub>1</sub>īʔ* = [malkat si:ʔ] ‘she is a queen’, re-analysed as *\*malka ts<sub>3</sub>īʔ* =

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<sup>94</sup> To be labelled *\*s<sub>3</sub>* according to some scholars (see, for example, Suchard 2017).

[malkattsi:ʔ], where the *-t* feminine suffix would have been perceived as the onset of the PS (and Proto-MSA) affricate \**s*<sub>3</sub> = [tʃ].<sup>95</sup>

#### 2.4.14 *-i-* as an apophonic marker of the feminine nouns

An infix *-i-* marks the feminine gender of a number of nouns (mostly quadriliteral) in Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri, while this does not happen in the rest of MSA languages, where the feminine is almost invariably marked by the suffix *-(v)t* (Watson 2012:58; Simeone-Senelle 2015:19). This phenomenon is described in Lonnet (2008), where the scholar cites a good number of examples. He states that “Les éléments manquent pour affirmer que le sudarabique moderne occidental (mehri et langues voisines) – ou même le sémitique dans son ensemble! – a connu puis perdu ce phénomène” (2008:123). Actually, he seems to lean towards considering this an innovation of Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri, but points out that feminine low numerals are marked by *-i-* ablaut not only in Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri, but also in the other languages. At any rate, whether inherited from a common ancestor or developed independently by the two above-mentioned languages, it can be stated that this characteristic sets Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri apart from the other languages.

## 2.5 Conclusions

The following table provides a visual summary of what has been discussed in the present chapter:<sup>96</sup>

*Table 2-26 Summary of the MSA languages characteristics described in chapter 2*

		Mehri	Ḥarsusi	Baḥari	Hobyōt	Jibbali/Shehret	Soqoṭri
1.	<i>-ən</i> suffix in verbs	X	X	X	X	X	X
2.	Simple causative vs. causative-reflexive stems	X	X	X	X	X	X
3.	sound and broken						

<sup>95</sup> See above p. 47

<sup>96</sup> Question marks mean lack of data in a given area for a given language.

	plural co-occurrence	X	X	X	X	X	X
4.	Diminutive patterns	X	?	?	?	X	X
5.	Numeral 9 lacking <i>t-</i>	X	X	X	X	X	X
6.	<i>s-</i> 3 <sup>rd</sup> person feminine pronouns	X	X	X	X	X	X
7.	Dual pronouns with <i>-i</i> attached to core consonant	X	X	?	X	X	X
8.	<i>h-</i> in 1 <sup>st</sup> and 2 <sup>nd</sup> singular pronouns	X	X	X	X	X	X
9.	* <i>s</i> <sub>1</sub> > /š/ ~ /h/	X	X	X	X		
10.	<i>h-</i> in broken plurals	X	X	?	X		
11.	<i>h-</i> in core lexicon	X	X	X	X		
12.	<i>h-</i> definite article	X	X	X			
13.	Negation suffix	X	X	X		X	

14.	<i>h-</i> in simple causative stem	X	X				
15.	<i>h-</i> in question words	X	X	X	X	X	
16.	Future participle	X	X				
17.	Future expressed by a pre-posed particle			X	X	X	
18.	No overt future marking						X
19.	Loss of <i>t-</i> prefix in the conjugation of some verbs					X	X
20.	<i>-i-</i> as an apophonic marker of the feminine nouns					X	X
21.	* <i>s</i> <sub>1</sub> > /š/ ~ /š̄/					X	
22.	* <i>s</i> <sub>1</sub> > /š/ ~ /h/ ~ /ç/						X
23.	Negation prefix	X				X	X
24.	Negation circumfix						

		X			X	X	
25.	“parasite <i>h</i> ”						X

This chapter dealt with two topics, namely the genetic unity and the internal sub-grouping of Modern South Arabian languages.

As for the first topic, the figure above shows that, contrary to Steiner’s opinion (1977:12-13), there are a number of innovative features found in all MSA languages, but not in any other sub-branch of Semitic.

Firstly, let us consider the *-an* suffix in verbal morphology. Although morphologically quite similar to the *modus energicus* of Arabic, the function of this suffix in MSA differs sharply from it. In fact, while the *modus energicus* is an optional morphological device conveying a generic sense of emphasis, the *-an* suffix in MSA is more deeply embedded in the verbal morphology as a means of expressing the basic indicative mood of some verbal classes, and the conditional of all verbal classes, and its use is not optional (Watson 2012:88,92; Rubin 2010:93,107,113; Rubin 2014b:110,124,130; LS:13-14; Kogan 2015:473; HL, *passim*; Nakano 2013, *passim*; Simeone-Senelle 2015:12).

Secondly, the presence of a simple causative verbal stem, morphologically marked by a *(h)v-* prefix, that contrasts with a reflexive-causative stem, marked by a *šv-* prefix, in all MSA languages is an innovation of this sub-group (Kogan 2015:474).

Another phenomenon that characterises MSA within Semitic is the co-occurrence of broken plurals and sound plurals. Besides, the MSA feminine sound plural marker *-(v)tā(n)* is innovative (Kogan 2015:475). It must be noted that although the innovative *-n* extension cannot be found in Jibbali/Shehret and Hobyöt, some scholars, for example Lonnet (1993:65), argue in favour of its presence in proto-MSA and its subsequent loss in the two above-mentioned languages.

The peculiar phenomenon whereby the numeral 9 is rendered across MSA by a form lacking the first root consonant can be regarded as a shared innovation. This feature deserves further investigation in order to ascertain whether other lexical items might have undergone the same process described by Testen (1998, *passim*) and furthered by Suchard (2017, *passim*). The latter

additionally proposes an explanation, by the same rationale, to another innovation of MSA, namely the *s*- third person feminine pronouns.<sup>97</sup>

The dual pronouns of MSA are of a kind that is not found in other Semitic sub-groups. The innovation here is represented by the fact that the dual marker *-i* is attached to the core consonant of the singular/plural pronoun.

Diminutive patterns, on the other hand, while exhibiting some traces of innovation, might be related to those of Arabic (Kogan 2015:477).

Lastly, the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular independent pronouns are among the most striking innovations of MSA. The presence of an initial *h*- makes them unique, although Zaborski (1994 *passim*) observes that their character is archaic and innovative at the same time because it has not been reorganized, as is the case with Beja, ancient Egyptian, Harari, Soddo, Berber and Amharic, which all exhibit compound pronouns (*ibid.*:251), but the outcomes of the ancient pronominal system are rather enigmatic (*ibid.*:253, 256).

On the basis of what has been argued above, it is safe to state that MSA, on the whole, exhibits a number of innovative traits (at least from a morphological and phonological point of view) that clearly speak to their genetic unity. Moreover, the present chapter does not take into account the lexis, which, despite not being the most reliable feature for linguistic sub-grouping, can tell and does tell something about the history of languages, provided that the lexical facts are backed with evidence from other more reliable linguistic sub-systems. In the case of MSA, according to Kogan (2015:601) the lexis seems to exhibit a high degree of specificity and innovation which “Provide a welcome addition to several remarkable morphological peculiarities” (2015:602).<sup>98</sup>

As for the internal sub-grouping of the languages, let us take into consideration the synchronic facts described above.

In the first place, the presence of a non-etymological initial *h* gives us some clues with regards to internal division: Mehri and Ḥarsusi almost invariably mirror one another in exhibiting this trait, which can be found in their broken plural patterns, definite articles, simple causative verbal stem,

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<sup>97</sup> This feature is likely to be shared by Hadramitic (Zaborski 1994:253), which is one of the Ancient South Arabian languages (Suchard 2017).

<sup>98</sup> For a specific discussion on the lexis of MSA, and the lexical substrata which influenced it, see below chapter 4.

question words, and in some core lexical items. Ḥarsusi differs from Mehri in not exhibiting the *h-* in the perfect and indicative of the simple causative verbal stem, but only in its subjunctive. Baḥari tends to team up with Mehri and Ḥarsusi, but its simple causative stem does not show traces of this prefix, having a *v-* prefix instead (Gasparini 2018:79). Also, the *h-* definite article is used only rarely (*Ibid.*:48). It was not possible to gather information about broken plural patterns at this stage. The position of Hobyōt can be summarised as follows: it exhibits the *h-* in broken plurals, core lexicon and question words, although to a lesser extent in comparison with Mehri, Ḥarsusi and Baḥari. Conversely, it does not exhibit it in the definite article<sup>99</sup> and the simple causative verbal stem. Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri do not show traces of this phenomenon in any domain, except for the first and second person singular independent pronouns.<sup>100</sup> As for the latter trait, the present thesis advances a hypothesis about the origin of the first singular independent pronoun in MSA, and its influence on its second singular counterparts (see 4.10). With regards to the other contexts in which a laryngeal/pharyngeal prefix appears in Mehri and related languages, no hypotheses can be advanced at this time. It must be noted, however, that the distribution of this feature argues in favour of Lonnet's and Simeone-Senelle's sub-grouping (2.3). Another trait that speaks to the internal sub-grouping of MSA is the outcome of PS \**s*<sub>1</sub>. Mehri, Ḥarsusi, Baḥari and Hobyōt have /š/ and /h/, while Jibbali/Shehret has /š/ and /s/, and Soqoṭri /š/, /h/ and /ç/. Here the former four languages pattern together, while Jibbali/Shehret on the one hand, and Soqoṭri on the other hand, seem to follow their own courses independently, as per Simeone-Senelle's sub-grouping.

The participle as a means of expressing the future is a feature shared by Mehri and Ḥarsusi and Baḥari.<sup>101</sup> Jibbali/Shehret and Hobyōt on the other hand express the future analytically by means of a prefixed particle. Soqoṭri does not overtly mark the future.

There are two important morphological features shared by Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri, namely the loss of the *t-* prefix in the prefix conjugation of some verbal classes, and the use of *-i-* as an apophonic marker of feminine. The former seems to be an innovation triggered, in all likelihood, by a process of simplification of word-initial consonant clusters (see 2.4.3). It is thus a

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<sup>99</sup> Hobyōt does not have a definite article, although it has been argued that there might be some remnants of it (Simeone-Senelle 2015:22).

<sup>100</sup> Thus, this trait is shared by all MSA languages.

<sup>101</sup> Baḥari employs the future participle rarely (Gasparini 2018:103-104).



phonologically motivated shared loss, which can be considered as a valid element for subgrouping (Huehnergard & Rubin 2011:270), while the latter is slightly more problematic, as it can be found also in Mehri and closely related languages as a marker of the feminine in low numerals (Lonnet 2008:123). However, the facts seem to point to a shared retention in Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri, and it could be hypothesised that Mehri, Ḥarsusi, Baṭḥari and Hobyōt have extended the feminine suffix *-(v)t*, initially associated with the “unmarked” trilateral nouns, to quadrilateral nouns, while Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri might have retained the old system of feminine marking.

The expression of negation seems to follow relatively unpredictable patterns: the most common way to achieve it seems to be a circumfix based on the common Semitic negator *\*/(v)*, with the optional omission of the prefix, but this is by no means a stable pattern, and can vary within a single language. The only language that seems to adhere steadily to a prefix is Soqoṭri, although it is also the language which exhibits the greatest diversity in terms of negation morphemes. Taking these elements into account, negation cannot be considered as a safe feature for sub-grouping.

Finally, the so-called “parasite” *h* is very likely to be a secondary development of Soqoṭri, as no traces of it can be found in any other MSA language. Therefore, despite its rarity as a linguistic phenomenon *per se*, it will not be taken into account in the present study.

It can be concluded that the statements made by Bertram Thomas (1939:5-6) and reiterated by later scholars find some scientific backing in the present analysis. However, a family tree can hardly describe the relations among MSA languages, and Thomas’s sub-grouping and Lonnet’s ‘sudarabique moderne occidental/oriental’ are better viewed in a more nuanced way: Mehri and Ḥarsusi are very closely related to each other, and Baṭḥari seems to be, on the basis of the scanty data available, related to the former two, but slightly less so. On the other hand, Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri share, too, some important isoglosses, but their relatedness appears, at least inasmuch as phonology/phonetics and morphology are concerned, to be looser than that of Mehri, Ḥarsusi and Baṭḥari. This must be due, at least partly, to the physical isolation in which Soqoṭri has been developing over the course of a long time. However, it is worth noting that, in addition to what has been discussed here, there exist studies like Kogan (2015) which attentively scrutinise the MSA lexicon in order to find shared retentions and innovations. The results of the above-mentioned study seem to point to a higher amount of shared retentions between Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri (*ibid.*:590), although, as the author points out, this may speak to the

innovative character of Mehri and closely related languages rather than to a particularly tight relation between Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri. The position of Hobyōt is quite unclear: on the one hand, it shares quite a number of innovations with Mehri, Ḥarsusi and Baṭḥari, while on the other hand, it does not adhere to them enough so as to motivate its sub-grouping with the above-mentioned three languages. Therefore, Mehri, Ḥarsusi and Baṭḥari, being tightly linked to one another by a series of innovations, can be safely regarded as a sub-unit within MSA. Hobyōt can be provisionally sub-grouped with the former three languages, although its relation to them is undoubtedly less tight, and its history must be investigated further<sup>102</sup> in order to ascertain its historical position within MSA. Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri share some important innovations, as has been already mentioned, but these appear to be lesser in number and, being significant morphological isoglosses, they suggest a relatedness between these two languages that is more genetic than areal. For this reason, they can be regarded as another sub-group, albeit a looser one, within MSA.

Moreover, the analysis of the relation among MSA languages should take into account contact. In fact, bilingualism has been widespread in the region for a long time, and the shared culture of the inhabitants of the area must have played an important role in the shaping of MSA as we observe it at present. Huehnergard and Rubin (2011:271-274) use an areal model to account for the diffusion of some features across Arabic, Ethiopian Semitic, Ancient and Modern South Arabian (collectively labelled “South Semitic”) which would not be efficiently explained by a genetic model. Therefore, it is not impossible that similar processes could have driven the emergence and the shaping of MSA, as they have driven the development of other Semitic sub-families in the area and the spread of linguistic traits among them.

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<sup>102</sup> According to some scholars, Hobyōt appears to be a mixed language: According to Miranda Morris “It interestingly combines elements of ŠḥerĒt and of Mehri” (p.c.), and Julien Dufour, cited in Rubin (2015b:312), reports that a native speaker “seemed to feel he had the right to pick up any lexeme he wanted from Jibbali or Mehri when speaking Hobyōt”.

### 3. Chapter – *Gizírt ʕamḳés iyó*: a brief grammatical sketch of the Jibbali/Shehret variety spoken on al-Ḥallāniyya

#### 3.1 Introduction

*Gizírt ʕamḳés iyó* is a Jibbali/Shehret toponym: it is one of the names by which al-Ḥallāniyya is colloquially referred to by its inhabitants, and translates as ‘island where the people are’. It describes one of the most salient features of al-Ḥallāniyya: its being the only inhabited island of the Kuria Muria archipelago (officially called al-Ḥallāniyyāt) at the present time.

This group of islands lies roughly 40 km from the coast of Dhofar, the westernmost island, al-Ḥāsikiyya, lying 32 km from Ḥāsik (Gallagher 2002:1). Although a few references to them do exist in the literature, very few describe them satisfactorily. Undoubtedly, this is due to the difficulty with which they can be reached, which also resulted in a dearth of information about the people living on them. It cannot be doubted, however, that the population must have always been scarce, due, on the one hand, to the almost total lack of fresh water and the rugged and infertile soil, which render agriculture unfeasible. On the other hand, while the waters surrounding the archipelago are teeming with a great variety of sea life, the isolation in which the population was steeped until the 1970s meant that they did not possess the technological means necessary to catch fish in abundance, so that until that time they could not expect but meagre catches.

Nearly every aspect of these islands, other than the linguistic one, has been dealt with in Gallagher’s essay (2002), which includes a comprehensive historical and sociological sketch, as well as accurate descriptions of their geography, geology, fauna and flora.

Thus, the extra-linguistic information contained in this chapter is but a mere *addendum* to the published works. In the first place, it will be useful to mention that although the islanders are known to belong to the al-Shahri (Janzen 1980; Gallagher 2002:11), one of the linguistic informants who participated in the fieldwork for the present thesis stated that a man from northern Oman was living on al-Ḥallāniyya on a permanent basis in the 1980s. Interestingly, one of the recordings on which the present grammatical sketch is based is a description of this man made by another islander, who praises the outsider’s good character and reliability, and defines him *Ḥabbat ar-riḥ*. The circumstances under which this person became a dweller of al-Ḥallāniyya are unknown, and it would not be useless to gather more information about his life and dealings, to

ascertain how his likely lack of command in Jibbali/Shehret might have influenced the island's small community from a sociolinguistic viewpoint.

Secondly, it is important to point out that the islanders use a great number of Jibbali/Shehret toponyms for places found in the archipelago which, for the most part, await documentation. It was easy to realise how prominent these are when, during an elicitation session with the main informant, I enquired about the names of the peaks, valley and wells of al-Ḥallāniyya. The informant willingly described a great number of places on the islands, and provided their local names. Unfortunately, it was impossible to associate the names with the corresponding places, as this would require a long stay on the islands which, at the moment, does not seem feasible. Notwithstanding the lack of identification of these toponyms, a paragraph has been devoted to their presentation, including a discussion on the etymology of some of them.<sup>103</sup> However, it is hoped that this piece of information will be useful for other researchers who may be willing to undertake the task of producing a topographic map of al-Ḥallāniyya.

That said, it is now time to move on to tackling the linguistic aspect, which constitutes the core of this chapter.

To date, as stated above (See 1.4), the only works entirely devoted to the language of Kuria Muria are J.G. Hulton's *Notice on the Curia Muria islands* (1840), Wolf Leslau's *The Position of the Dialect of Curia Muria in Modern South Arabic* (1947), and Aaron Rubin's analysis of Hulton's paper, which resulted in an article entitled *Hulton's Jibbali Word-List of 1836* (2014a). Except for the above-mentioned papers, reference to Kuria Muria (both linguistically and physically) is seldom and cursory: in the introduction of the Jibbali lexicon, Johnstone states that "The few inhabitants of the Kuria Muria Islands speak a variety of this dialect which the mainland speakers call 'baby Gəblēt'", and in a footnote he further states "On the basis of the fact that they pronounce the letters **ś** and **ž** as **ṭ** and **ḍ**, etc." (JL:xii). Rubin makes reference to Johnstone's statement in his grammar of Jibbali/Shehret, as well as to the above-mentioned 2014 paper he wrote himself, affirming that Hulton's data argue against Johnstone's claim, but he adds that more research is needed (2014b:12). Indeed, the alleged shift of lateral sounds to interdental sounds is one of the few (if not the only) peculiarity of the Kuria Muria variety (optionally abbreviated as KM

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<sup>103</sup> 3.5.4.2.4

henceforth) which MSA scholars happen to mention, although the lack of reliable data confined these statements to the realm of anecdote.

Now, as will be seen in the course of this chapter and will be discussed in detail in the conclusions, the phenomenon in question constitutes one of the core points of this grammatical sketch, along with other hitherto unstudied peculiarities of the Kuria Muria variety of Jibbali/Shehret.

After three introductory paragraphs devoted, respectively, to the presentation of the data at the basis of this study, the methods, and the limitation of the study, the grammatical sketch will be presented in four main sections: phonology, morphology, syntax and lexis. Each section will be divided into a number of sub-sections as appropriate, and the description of each linguistic phenomenon will be exemplified by one or more strings of interlinearly glossed text. Finally, the conclusions paragraph will recapitulate what has been expounded, and endeavour to set a research agenda for the language of Kuria Muria, as well as Jibbali/Shehret at large. Since a fully-fledged description of the Jibbali/Shehret language is beyond the scope of the present study, this sketch will focus on the differences between the Kuria Muria variety and the mainland dialects, examples of which will be drawn from the only descriptive grammar<sup>104</sup> of this language available to date, namely Rubin's *The Jibbali (Shaḥri) Language of Oman, Grammar and Texts* (2014b). To begin with, a series of phonetic and phonological phenomena will be described: the peculiar patterns of the intervocalic deletion of /b/ and /m/ in KM, the shift of /b/ > [f], patterns of gemination, the shift of lateral fricatives to interdental fricative, the shift of other sibilants to interdentals, the shift of /x/ > [h] ~ [ħ], the shift of laterals to sibilants, the shift of /g/ > [ʕ], the behaviour of alveo-palatals /š/, /ž/ and /ṣ/, the non-occurrence of ž (IPA [ʒ]) in the place of intervocalic /l/, a description of the vocalic patterns in KM, and the lack of devoicing of sonorants in final position. As for the realm of morphology, the differences between KM and mainland varieties in the following fields will be described: independent personal pronouns, pronouns suffixed to the direct object marker *t-*, demonstratives, the dual number in nouns, the definite article, adjectives, the KM adverb *ḥērín* vs. mainland *xērín*, an excursus on the verbal stems found in the KM recordings analysed, and some divergences in the use of two prepositions.

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<sup>104</sup> It must be noted that Julien Dufour's *Recherches sur le verbe sudarabique moderne* (2016), although formally not a grammatical description, is a substantial source of data regarding various aspects of Jibbali/Shehret grammar, in terms of morphology, phonology and lexicon. Hence, this chapter will make reference to it as appropriate.

Subsequently, this chapter will endeavour to describe the syntax of Jibbali/Shehret (that is, not only the Kuria Muria variety, but also the mainland varieties) in order to fill some gaps in the existing literature. When appropriate, reference will be made to the texts published in Rubin (2014b:381-642). Finally, a section on the lexis will describe the lexical peculiarities detected in the KM recordings analysed, as well as an analysis of some toponyms of the island of al-Ḥallāniyya.

### 3.2 The data and the speakers

The data come from two sources: the first source is Miranda Morris's recordings. These recordings were made in the early 1980s during Morris's stays on the island, and depict, in all likelihood, a long-passed phase of the language during which the lack of transport and modern-day commodities meant a high degree of specificity. The corpus comprises 80 sound files, whose length ranges from 8 seconds to over 7 minutes and average around 1.30 minutes. These recordings proceed from 14 speakers who were residing in al-Ḥallāniyya: 8 of them are known by name, while the identity of the remaining 6 could not be ascertained.<sup>105</sup> 13 out of 14 speakers were, in all likelihood, born and raised in al-Ḥallāniyya, while one of the speakers (the only female) is known to be originally from Mirbaṭ. She married an islander when she was very young, and spent the rest of her life in al-Ḥallāniyya. At present, 9 of these recordings from 6 different speakers have been analysed and transcribed. This choice is the result of the fact that a great part of the materials proceeding from my own fieldwork (see below) had already been analysed by the time in which the analysis of Morris's recordings was initiated.

The second source of data is a collection of 31 recordings I made in Sadaḥ, Dhofar, Oman, over a three-month period between March and May 2017. These recordings depict the speech of a person who was born and lived most of his life in the island, and moved to the mainland slightly more than 20 years ago. Although he does not seem to have any clue as regards his own age (births were not recorded before 1970), he appears to be between 65 and 75 years old.<sup>106</sup> In spite of his long absence from the island, this person maintains strong ties with his kin who still live

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<sup>105</sup> An attempt has been made to identify the unknown speakers with the Sadaḥ informant. However, he rapidly became uneasy with the questions regarding his tribe members, and it was chosen not to trouble him any further.

<sup>106</sup> The lack of birth records before Sultan Qaboos government often results in awkward situations: for example, when asked about his age, the person in question declared he was 45 years old. He then remained silent for a few seconds and eventually said "Well, maybe I am 46".

there, and his speech, according to Jibbali/Shehret speakers from the mainland, exhibits the distinguishing traits of the Kuria Muria dialect.<sup>107</sup>

The 1980s recordings are concerned with the description of an array of traditional activities, with an emphasis on sea-related activities, like catching various types of fish, shark liver oil extraction, and ambergris collection and uses. However, other subjects like children games, fire, and even troubles with a car, are encountered.

The 2017 recordings, on the other hand, are the result of elicitation *sensu stricto*, and proceed from specific stimuli. Most of them depict the speaker's descriptions of images (children books and collections of pictures and videos), with a few of them being simple translations of vocabulary items from Arabic into Jibbali/Shehret. Additionally, given the speaker's previous activity of fisherman, and his great knowledge of the waters around the Kuria Muria archipelago, a number of local fish and star names, and their Arabic counterparts when available, were elicited.

### 3.3 The methods

The 2017 data were recorded on a Zoom H1 digital recorder, in WAV 44.000 Hz 16 bit format, and recording sessions took place at the informant's house.<sup>108</sup> More precisely, the etiquette of that geographical area demands that encounters with visitors take place in the sitting room, or *majlis*, where other people often came and went. As a result, some recordings are not free from background noise. However, since acoustic analysis is not the primary aim of the present thesis, the speech contained in the sound files turned out to be of acceptable quality for the purposes of the study, and it is to be noted that the acoustic analysis of the segments of interest was unproblematic.

Since the first session, it became clear that the informant, in spite of his willingness to take part to the study, was prone to become very quickly bored with the translation from Arabic to Jibbali/Shehret. Besides, when confronted with an Arabic stimulus, the informant opted for mainland Jibbali/Shehret forms, according to the common belief that Kuria Muria Jibbali/Shehret

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<sup>107</sup> One of the mainland speakers of Jibbali/Shehret who was asked to evaluate the reliability of the recordings in question burst into laughter after listening to a few sentences, and stated that the speech was certainly that of an islander.

<sup>108</sup> See appendix 2 for more details about these and Miranda Morris's recordings.

is a “broken” variety of the language.<sup>109</sup> Hence, the informant was presented with images and videos (on a computer screen) and children books, and asked to comment on them using his native “dialect”.<sup>110</sup> As a result, the atmosphere during the sessions became increasingly relaxed, and the quality of the linguistic material obtained improved.

Morris’s recordings, courtesy of Dr Morris herself, were collected onto a reel-to-reel analogue recorder. Although a listener cannot fail to notice the quality gap between these recordings and those made by digital recorders, they are of the highest possible quality, and in spite of a great deal of background noise, the speech they contain is perfectly intelligible, although their quality is not high enough for acoustic analysis.

The recordings examined were transcribed with the help of a native speaker: this person is a speaker of the Jibbali/Shehret variety of Salalah, where he was born roughly 31 years ago. However, his father was from al-Ḥallāniyya, a fact that gave him exposure to Kuria Muria Jibbali/Shehret and made him able to understand it and to appreciate the differences between it and the mainland varieties. His presence during the transcription phase of this project played a key role in avoiding misunderstandings and pointing out the differences between Kuria Muria and other varieties of Jibbali/Shehret, tasks which he was happy to undertake, given his interest in poetry and literature, which he eagerly cultivates whenever his daytime job allows. The transcriptions were then glossed interlinearly according to the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Comrie et al 2008). The texts thus arranged served as the basis of the grammatical sketch in this chapter.

### 3.4 Limitations of the study

In the first place, the present grammatical sketch is based on a relatively low amount of data. This is likely to cause the study to leave undescribed some characteristics of the language that do not occur in the recordings examined.

Secondly, the data directly elicited are limited to the speech of a single informant: this means that it was impossible to record conversations between two or more speakers, leaving out an important aspect of the human speech, namely its use in context. Thirdly, it must be remarked

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<sup>109</sup> For example, when asked to translate Arabic *hunā* ‘here’ in isolation, he produced *bun*, whereas in free speech he consistently produced *mun*.

<sup>110</sup> The local Arabic term used is *lahga*.



that the above-mentioned speaker had lived outside of the island for over 20 years at the time the recording sessions took place, and whilst, as stated above, his speech seems to have preserved its original characteristics, an interference of the prestigious and dominant mainland variety of Jibbali/Shehret spoken in Sadaḥ cannot be ruled out, especially in the realm of lexis.

### 3.5 The grammatical sketch

#### 3.5.1 Phonology

##### 3.5.1.1 Consonants

	labial	dental	alveolar	palato-alveolar	palatal	velar	uvular	pharyngeal	glottal
voiced stop	b		d			g			
voiceless stop			t			k			ʔ
emphatic stop			ṭ			k <sup>111</sup>			
voiced fricative		ḍ	z	(ž) <sup>112</sup>			ġ	ʕ	
voiceless fricative	f	ṫ	s	š, ṣ̌ <sup>113</sup>		x		ħ	h
emphatic fricative		ṫ <sup>114</sup>	š <sup>115</sup>	ṣ̌ <sup>116</sup>					
voiced lateral			l	ž <sup>117</sup>					
voiceless lateral				ś					
emphatic lateral				ṣ̌					
nasal	m		n						
trill			r ~ r						
glide	w				y				

The above chart, adapted<sup>118</sup> from Rubin (2014b:25), illustrates the consonants of the Jibbali/Shehret variety he examined in his work. Except for a few points, it may be considered valid

<sup>111</sup> Normally [k']. In prosodically weak environments may be realised as [g].

<sup>112</sup> Non-phonemic. Allophone of /g/ or /l/ (Rubin 2014b:25; 3.5.1.12 and 3.5.1.13).

<sup>113</sup> This phoneme and its voiced and emphatic counterparts /ž/, /ṣ̌/ are alveo-palatal sounds, produced with a co-occurring lip pout (Bellem & Watson 2017:640). See below (3.5.1.12).

<sup>114</sup> The glottalisation is usually weak.

<sup>115</sup> The glottalisation is usually weak, especially in non-final position.

<sup>116</sup> Marginal. Often resulting from the palatalization of /k/ (Rubin 2014b:26). Glottalisation may not occur in Kuria Muria variety (see 3.5.1.12).

<sup>117</sup> Marginal. Allophone of /l/ (see 3.5.1.13).

for Kuria Muria Jibbali/Shehret: the exceptions will be discussed in detail in below, although it seems convenient to summarise them here:

- Rubin (2014b:26) cites Johnstone’s description of /š/: “The C[entral Jibbali] š is pronounced with approximately the same tongue position as š, but there is no contact between the top of the tongue and the alveolum. The air is pushed out over the tongue and the lips are simultaneously rounded and pouted”. It must be remarked from the outset that a recent study (Bellem & Watson 2017)<sup>119</sup> disproved this definition on the basis of electropalatography, acoustic and articulatory analysis. Rather, the articulation of /š/ (as well as its voiced and “emphatic” counterparts /ž/ and /š/) seems to entail a greater contact between the tongue and the alveo-palatal region than the articulation of /s/ (as well as /z/ and /s/). With regards to the realisation of this phoneme in Kuria Muria Jibbali/Shehret, it varies according to the speaker and, to a lesser extent, the phonotactics, and some do not differentiate it at all, producing /š/ in its place. The intricacies related to this phoneme, both from a linguistic and a sociolinguistic perspective, deserve a discussion which will be presented below (3.5.1.12);
- The emphatic velar stop /k/ is normally realised as a ejective velar stop [k’], except when it occurs in prosodically weak positions (that is, when the main stress accent of a given utterance containing /k/ falls significantly far from the sound in question). In that case it may be realised as a voiced velar stop [g];
- All the other emphatic sounds exhibit a weak glottalisation, a fact which makes it troublesome to disambiguate certain roots;
- As for [ʔ], it does not occur in KM recordings, except in utterance-final position, where it is part of the so-called pre-pausal glottalisation (see 3.5.1.14);

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<sup>118</sup> Footnote comments are mine.

<sup>119</sup> See above p. 14-15

### 3.5.1.2 Vowels

	Front			central			back
high	i						u
mid-high		e		ə		o <sup>120</sup>	
mid-low			ɛ		ɔ		
low				a			

This chart is an adaptation of Rubin’s (2014b:40) for mainland varieties, and reflects well the vocalic inventory of KM. Vowel length is phonetically perceptible, and all the vowels except /ə/ have long counterparts. Nevertheless, vowel length is only marginally phonemic (2014b:41). Rubin cites the elision of /b/ and /m/ (2014b:28-32, and below 3.5.1.3 and 3.5.1.4), and of /ʔ/, /w/ or /j/, and, occasionally, the merger of [aʃ] and [ʃa] into [a:] (2014b:41), as the only sources of long vowels in mainland varieties. Long vowels can be found in diminutive nominal patterns: i.e. *ġāb<sup>a</sup>ġót* ‘girl’ (Dufour 2016:44-45; see also 2.4.8). Johnstone states that “Long vowels (marked *ā*, etc.) are relatively rare, except where elision is involved” (JL:xv).

All the vowels except /ə/<sup>121</sup> have long nasalised counterparts which proceed uniquely from the intervocalic or word-final loss of /m/ and, rarely, /n/ (Rubin 2014b:41, and below 3.5.1.4). Thus, nasalised vowels, similarly to long vowels, do not possess a great phonemic weight.

Johnstone affirms that “The vowel in the contiguity of m and n is usually raised, ɔ > u, e > i, etc.” (JL:xiv). With regards to this statement, Dufour notes that /ɔ/ and /e/ are the only vowels to be raised in the contiguity of a nasal consonant (2016:57). He also reports Gravina’s statements that /ɔ/ is raised whether or not the nasal is adjacent (2014:45), and that /e/ is raised only when following a nasal, whereas it remains unaffected when preceding it (2014:46). Dufour thus states that “Il y aurait ainsi une dissymétrie entre le comportement de /e/ et celui de /ɔ/” (2016:57). KM recordings contain a few counterexamples, at least for /ɔ/: *izón* ‘those’, *lahón* ‘there’, *ēnǰf* ‘self’.

Dufour states that /a/ and /ɛ/ are allophones in most cases, although he soon concedes that “une opposition phonologique /ɛ/ ~ /a/ existe de manière marginale pour un nombre très limité

<sup>120</sup> Phonologically not contrastive with /ɔ/.

<sup>121</sup> With one exception, although probably not very significant. See 3.5.4.1.15.

de lexèmes échappant à la morphologie schème/racine et où elle s’est phonologisée, souvent à la suite de la perte d’une consonne abaissante” (2016:32).

Finally, as will be told later (3.5.1.14), KM exhibits a large amount of intrusive vowels, i.e. ultra-short vowels which do not trigger any phonological phenomena but result from the transition from a consonant to another (Hall 2006). These vowels will be noted in the present description as <sup>ə</sup>.

### 3.5.1.3 The intervocalic deletion of /b/

Intervocalic /b/ is deleted, and results in a long vowel or, more rarely, in a diphthong, according to the following rules:  $VbV > \bar{V}$ ,  $VbV > i\acute{V}$  (Rubin 2014b:28; also Dufour 2016:39-40):

(1)  $n\bar{a}$ -rotē-š                      b-e-réb<sup>ə</sup>reb

1.PL-arrange.IND-3.M.SG    in-DEF-sea.M.SG

“we place it in the sea” (4:3)

Although this normally applies to KM, there are cases in this variety in which the deletion does not occur:

(2) ḥóləb-ən                      t-aš

lower.PRF-1.PL OBJ-3.M.SG

“we lower it” (8:9)

In this case there might be some doubt as to whether the root *vḥlb* (JL:109) is an Arabic loan, as this root shares a phonetic resemblance to the Arabic root for ‘milk’ and activities related to it. A deeper analysis, however, reveals its native status, as its use in Jibbali/Shehret in the field of maritime terminology, ‘to lower [the sails]’ (unattested in JL) sets it apart from its meaning in Arabic, although a common origin, through analogy or metaphor, cannot be completely ruled out. Moreover, its use within a morpho-syntactic environment which is specific to MSA, namely the Jibbali/Shehret perfect first plural verbal suffix *-ən* and the object marker *t-*, points to a native origin.

Additionally, in KM intervocalic /b/ may sometimes be geminate instead of disappearing:

- (3) sabbít            zaḥĕt-š  
hit.PRF.3            come.PRF.3.F.SG-3.M.SG

“it hit, it came to it” (94:2)

The basic stem verb proceeding from the root *vsbṭ* (JL:222) ‘to beat, to hit with a stick’ is expected, according to the *Jibbali Lexicon*, to have a 3.M.SG perfect form *sṭṭ*, a 3.M.SG indicative form *ysṭṭ*, and a 3.M.SG subjunctive form *yṭṭ*. Additionally, the terms *ḥóboṭ* ‘swell at sea’ (79:1), and *śabáṣ* ‘to be satisfied’ (7:6) are realised without intervocalic deletion (see below 3.5.4.2.1)

#### 3.5.1.4 The intervocalic deletion of /m/

Similarly to /b/, also /m/ is lost intervocalically, resulting in a long nasalised vowel (transcribed as *ã, ě, ĕ, ĭ, õ, ã, ũ*), according to the following rule: *VmV > Ṽ* (Rubin 2014b:30, also Dufour 2016:40-42). Rubin adds that, more rarely, the intervocalic loss of /m/ may result in a diphthong, although this does not occur in the KM recordings.

This phenomenon is slightly more stable than the intervocalic deletion of /b/, and occurs even where it would not be expected in mainland varieties:

- (4) ḥõs            ənṣen-ót  
turtle.F.SG small-F.SG

“a small turtle” (154:16)

This speaker realised this term consistently as *ḥóm<sup>s</sup>* throughout the recording, regardless of the prosodic position and the surrounding phonetic context, except for the above occurrence. Evidence proceeding from other lexical items in the analysed KM recordings suggests that *ḥóm<sup>s</sup>* is the surface realisation, with an intrusive vowel (see 3.5.1.14), of an underlying form *\*ḥóms* (JL:112). See also below (3.5.4.2.1). It may then be inferred that, at least as regards this speaker,

there might begin to rise some uncertainty as to the difference between an epenthetic and an intrusive vowel (Hall 2006).

A previously unattested term, *ramʿáṭ* ‘sword, dagger’, which does not appear to be an Arabic loanword,<sup>122</sup> does not exhibit /m/ elision. However, in this case too the non-occurrence of the phenomenon could be due to an intrusive (i.e. non-phonological) vowel obscuring this phonological process, in which case the term should be transcribed as *ramʿáṭ*. See also below (3.5.1.14).

#### 3.5.1.5 The shift of /b/ > [f]

KM recordings provide evidence for a non-systematic shift of /b/ (both etymological and < \*w) to [f]. At present, little can be stated about the patterns according to which this phenomenon occurs. At any rate, it can be surmised that it affects /b/ in C<sub>3</sub> in trilateral roots, and /b/ < \*w in the broken plural pattern with /b/ infixation (al-Aghbari 2012:230). Here follow a few examples:

(5) her     rətóḥ-ən     t-ḥš

when   arrange.PRF-1.PL   OBJ-3.M.SG

“when we place it” (4:4)

The root in the above example is *ṣrtf* < *ṣrtb* (JL:216-217):

(6) ə-ġābʿgót     ʾrkóf     ḥaṣán

DEF-girl.F.SG   ride.PRF   horse.F.SG

“the girl rides a horse” (68:6)

(7) rəkíf     əl     ḥaṣán     ə-ġābʿgót

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<sup>122</sup> It is not present in the published literature on Dhofari Arabic, namely Davey (2016) and al-Darūdī (2002).

ride.IND.3.F.SG<sup>123</sup> for horse.F.SG DEF-girl.F.SG

“the girl rides the horse” (68:7)

(8) rəkóf      urbaḥ      urbaḥ      ḥaṣənín

ride.PRF.3 four.M<sup>124</sup> four.M horse.F.SG

“he rides four, four horses” (70:3)

The root in the above examples is *vrkf* < *vrkb* (JL:211, Rubin 2014b:109).

(9) ərbaḥ-ót keréfsi      skəf      ar      keréfsi

four.F chair.M.PL sit.PRF.3 on chair.M.PL

“four chairs, they sit on chairs” (56:3)

(10) bə      xōš      keréfsi

and five.M chair.M.PL

“and five chairs” (58:4)

(11) ṣaḵ ṣaḵ keréfsi

in in chair.M.PL

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<sup>123</sup> This is doubtful. The form resembles a 2.F.SG of a verbal stem in which the *t*- prefix is lost, rather than a 3.F.SG. It is to note that the *i* between the second and the third root consonant points to the feminine gender (Rubin 2014b:14, Lonnet 2008, *passim*).

<sup>124</sup> MSA languages, similarly to other Semitic languages, exhibit the so-called reverse agreement in numerals (Brugnatelli 1982). The published studies tend to consider gender synchronically in numerals (Rubin 2014b:277; Watson 2012:110). In this thesis, however, it was chosen to consider the historical gender of the numerals terms, thus glossing the morphologically masculine numerals, which count feminine nouns, as (M), and feminine numerals, which count masculine nouns, as (F).

“in in chairs” (62:9)

(12) ġāb<sup>ə</sup>gót t̪rut skɔf ar keréfsi

girl.F.PL two.F sit.PRF.3 on chair.M.PL

“two girls sit on chairs” (63:2)

See also the sound shifts described by Rubin for mainland varieties (2014b:33-35,83). Besides, the 2017 speaker produced the form *dunúf* ‘tail’ < *vɔnb* during the elicitation of a word-list (see below 3.5.4.1.11).

#### 3.5.1.6 Geminata

The conditions under which gemination, which is neither productive nor morphologically significant in Jibbali/Shehret, may occur in KM are basically the same as in mainland varieties, namely in geminate roots, because of the attachment of the definite article to certain consonants, in the conjugation of guttural-prefixed verbs, and because of the so-called “transfer of gemination” (Dufour 2016:26, 108, *passim*; Johnstone 1980; Rubin 2014b:39-40). However, in KM it can occur also in other circumstances:

(13) t̪it t̪rut śállét urbaɕ urbaɕ ašgár urbaɕ

one.F two.F three.M four.M four.M tree.F.PL four.M

“one, two, three, four, four trees, four” (28:1)

(14) arbaɕ-št šodí kollób i-tíw

four.F fish.M.PL dog.M.PL 3.M-eat.IND.PL

“four fish, the dogs eat” (55:20)



- (15) xallí                      sendík  
 empty.M.SG    box.M.SG  
 “the box is empty” (143:1)
- (16) ḥaggé-š  
 surround.PRF.3-3.M.SG  
 “it surrounded it” (87:3)
- (17) gaḥāt                              aḥ-ḥoggólt  
 come.ashore.PRF.3.F.SG    DEF-ring.F.SG  
 “it came to the ring” (74:2)
- (18) nə-ḥáttal-ohom              ṭanún řak řed  
 1.PL-wrap.IND-3.M.PL    so    in    rope.M.SG  
 “we wrap them up with rope” (3:5,6)

In all the above examples the terms *šallét*, *kóllób*, *xallí*, *ḥaggé*, *ḥoggólt* and *ḥáttal* are attested in mainland varieties respectively as *šhalét*,<sup>125</sup> *kólb*, *xalí*, *ḥagé* *ḥogúlət* and *ḥétal* (JL:253,130,301,106,106,119). The second root consonant in these tokens is perceptually longer than its non-geminate counterpart.

Time measurements were carried out on selected tokens of geminate vs. singleton consonants, to support the perceptual impression with instrumental evidence. The results, summarised in the

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<sup>125</sup> See 3.5.4.1.28

table below, show that the perceptually geminate consonants are significantly longer in term of duration:

*Table 3-1 Geminate vs. non-geminate consonants duration in Kuria Muria Jibbali/Shehret*

consonant	mean duration (sec.)	tokens analysed
[l]	0.037	6
[ll]	0.08	6
[g]	0.055	3
[gg]	0.078	3
[t]	0.03	3
[tt]	0.046	1

Since gemination “plays no productive role in derivational or inflectional morphology” (Rubin 2014b:39), and all the examples presented in this paragraph occur in prosodically strong positions, it may well be that gemination, in this case, proceeds from a strong prosodic accent. A similar process is attested at the basis of the emergence of non-etymological geminates in early Italian (Dursteler 2013:943).

### 3.5.1.7 The shift of laterals to interdentalals

In this paragraph, the best-known aspect of KM Jibbali/Shehret will be discussed, namely the shift of lateral fricatives to interdental fricatives, which allegedly won this variety the epithet of “baby Jibbali”. Rubin (2014a) devoted a paper to this topic, in which he argues that on the basis of the transcription used by Hulton’s in his 1840 “*t̥* was a free variant of *ś* at this time. It is just as likely, however, that *th* was another attempt to write the sound *ś*” and that Johnstone’s report of the “baby Jibbali” epithet is not totally supported by Hulton’s data (2014a:483). However, the data analysed for this study do confirm the existence of this phenomenon, although it seems to be far from universal. As will be seen, the patterns according to which it occurs vary greatly from speaker to speaker, and KM speakers, while perfectly able to articulate lateral fricatives, may optionally

utter interdental fricatives in their place with a certain degree of unpredictability. Here follow some examples of this phenomenon:

(19) t̪ōt̪-ít    ʰlxím    t̪alaṭ-ít

three.F shark.M.SG three.F

“three sharks, three” (18:2)

(20) t̪ōt̪-ít    t̪ōt̪-ít    ləhəyʃt̪

three.F three.F shark.F.PL

“three, three sharks” (21:1)

(21) ɖenə                      t̪alaṭə    lək

DEM.PROX.M.SG three.M bottle.F.PL

“this is three bottles” (25:11)

(22) kal    ʈat    t̪i    ʃod    nīʃán    ʃaḵ xɔ-ʃ

each one.M EXIST fish.M.SG small.M.SG in mouth.M.SG-3.M.SG

“each one has a small fish in the mouth” (36:2)

(23) bə    ɖenə                      t̪e    t̪e                      la

and DEM.PROX.M.SG EXIST thing.M.SG NEG

“and this one has nothing” (11:14)

(24) ʰt̪et̪                      t̪e                      la

with.3.M.SG thing.M.SG NEG

“he has nothing” (43:2)

(25) tell      ʃod<sup>ə</sup>      tell      ʃod<sup>ə</sup>

take.PRF.3 fish.M.SG take.PRF.3 fish.M.SG

“he took the fish, he took the fish” (46:1)

(26) ʃi      ʃōr      tōr

EXIST fishing.pole.F.SG fishing.pole.F.SG

“there is a fishing pole, a fishing pole” (11:4)

(27) hōk      tə-kin      ʃaṭər      ɔnu      fəték

sew.PRF.3 3.F-be.IND.SG ten.M DEM.PROX.M.SG fabric.F.PL

“about ten fabrics are sewn up” (8:1)

(28) kəl-án      tār-ən      t-eṭən      kəll-ən      hen      tiráf

all-1.PL break.PRF-1.PL OBJ-3.F.PL all-1.PL for sail.M.PL

“all of us tear them, all of us, for sails” (8:2)

In the above examples, the terms *tōtīt* ‘three F.’, *talaṭa* ‘three M.’, *tī* ‘there is/are; thing’, *te* ‘id.’, *tell* ‘to take’, *t̄r* ‘fishing pole’,<sup>126</sup> *ṣaṭar* ‘ten M.’, and *tirás* ‘sail’ are attested in mainland varieties respectively as *sōtīt*, *shalét*, *si* (~*se*), *sell*, *ṣṣar*, *seraṣ* (JL:253,259,252,17,254). Additionally, the term *šūr<sup>a</sup>t* ‘belly’ (see 3.5.4.1.13), to be compared to *širs* ‘id.’ (JL:267), and *tabaḥ* ‘fat’ (see 3.5.4.1.10), to be compared to the root *vśbh* (JL:245), were recorded during the elicitation of a culture-specific wordlist (see appendix 3). All the terms reported above exemplify the sound shift in question, which occurs both in the 1980s and 2017 data. It is to be noted that almost all the above terms (in addition to other terms that are not reported here, found in section 3.5.4) occur also in their “regular” forms (i.e. with a lateral fricative). Thus, it is quite clear that this sound shift is not to be considered a stable feature of KM, and a listener might not encounter it even throughout substantial portions of discourse. Whether this shift is induced by specific synchronic rules, or, similarly to the more widespread /š/ ~ /ʃ/, may involve sociological aspects (Bellem & Watson 2017), is to be ascertained. It must be remarked that this is not a feature for all speakers, and those for whom it is have been involved, at some point in their lives, in the traditional activities of al-Ḥallāniyya (i.e. fishing and all related activities). More data and more research are needed in order to shed light on this phenomenon which sets apart KM from other Jibbali/Shehret varieties.

### 3.5.1.8 The shift of other sibilants to interdentalals

On the basis of similar patterns, KM speakers may produce interdental fricatives in the place of sibilants other than /š/. This phenomenon occurs in the speech of three speakers only:

(29) *tet*                      *ṣod*                      *nīṣán*

with.3.M.SG fish.M.SG small.M.SG

“he has a small fish” (44:3)

(30) *ašgár*                      *be-tən*                      *zuhúr*                      *ašgár*

tree.F.PL with-3.F.PL flower.F.PL tree.F.PL

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<sup>126</sup> The term *t̄r* ‘fishing pole’ is unattested (see 3.5.4.2.1), but it often alternates with *ṣr*.

“the trees have flowers, the trees” (19:3)

(31) t-xanṭ-ót                      š-xanṭ-ót

Š/STEM-go.away.PRF-3.F.SG    Š/STEM-go.away.PRF-3.F.SG

“it went away, it went away” (85:2)

(32) te                      skəf-ót              kura              skəf-ót

PRN.3.F.SG sit.PRF-3.F.SG ball.F.SG sit.PRF-3.F.SG

“it sat, the ball sat” (149:4)

(33) šigirét    be-t              elwán

tree.F.SG in-3.M.SG colour.M.PL

“the tree has colours” (9:4)

(34) yə-nkʔa              mətəlləm

3.M-come.SBJT Musallam.PN

“(if) Musallam comes” (1:17)

(35) šerók              tinḱeṭót te              ɖinu

make.PRF.3 spot.F.SG PRN.3.F.SG DEM.PROX.F.SG

“it makes a spot, it, this” (6:15)

(36) ɫarók-ən      ɫik      ɫɛd

make.PRF-1.PL DEM.DIST.M.SG rope.M.SG

“we make that rope” (8:8)

(37) ɫaɫám-k      bə-betról

come.PRF-1.SG with-petrol

“I brought the petrol” (2:12)

While not as frequent as the shift of laterals to interdentalals, there are a considerable number of occurrences of this phenomenon in the corpus, especially of *ɫɛɫ* < *šeš* ‘with.3.M.SG’, and *ɫɛ* < *se* ‘PRN.3.F.SG’. Moreover, this shift is attested also for a voiced sibilant (i.e. /z/ > /ɫ/), although only one such occurrence can be found in the corpus. This optional shift can thus be generalised as: *voiced sibilants* > *voiced interdentalals* and *voiceless sibilants* > *voiceless interdentalals*. Thus:

/s/ > /ɫ/

/š/ > /ɫ/

/š/ > /ɫ/

/z/ > /ɫ/

As with the shift of laterals to interdentalals, the phenomenon is not universal, and all the terms contained in the above-mentioned examples occur in their “regular” form, sometimes even within the same utterance (see example 31 above). Also, it must be pointed out that the speakers who exhibit this sound shift are the same who exhibit the /š/ > /ɫ/ shift. This may indicate that the two phenomena share a common trigger. What can be surmised from the data analysed is that KM

seems to possess a tendency (though not a constraint) to articulate all the sibilants as interdental, possibly due to a generalised etymological blur as regards these sounds.

### 3.5.1.9 The shift of /x/ > [h] ~ [ħ]

This phenomenon, which entails the backing of the voiceless velar fricative [x] to a voiceless laryngeal or pharyngeal fricative [h] or [ħ], occurs sporadically throughout the corpora, and though it cannot be totally predicted, it may nevertheless be stated that the surrounding vowel quality may play a part in triggering it.

(38)      *ḡenə*                      *šáhar*

DEM.PROX.M.SG    elderly.person.M.SG

“this is an old man” (24:4)

(39)      *šáhar*                      *halí*

elderly.person.M.SG    empty.M.SG

“the old man is empty (has nothing)” (27:2)

(40)      *šáhar*                      *ḡaḡ ḡamḡ*

elderly.person.M.SG    in    middle

“the old man is in the middle” (57:6)

(41)      *əd-dəh<sup>ə</sup>*                      *bə ḡamzét*      *d-i-šenóḡ-an*                      *ḡamzét*

DEF-duck.M.PL and    turtle.F.SG    CIRC-3.M-let.IND-Š2/STEM    turtle.F.SG

“the (two) ducks and the turtle, they (two) let the turtle” (154:38,39)



The term *šáhar* ‘elderly man’ occurs exclusively in the KM corpora, and stems from the root *všxr* in the mainland varieties (JL:264, Rubin 2014b:317, 340, 343 and *passim*). Similarly, the term *ḥērín* ‘a little’ (see also 3.5.4.1.3) occurs in the mainland varieties as *xērín* (JL:310, Rubin 2014b:377,444,478 and *passim*). Finally, in example 41, *dišenóḥan* ‘they are letting’, stems from the root *všnx* (JL:263). Although the present analysis does not allow conclusive statements, it is tempting to think that this phenomenon may be triggered by surrounding low vowels, which render the velar frication more difficult to realise. Interestingly, this sound shift, if confirmed by a deeper analysis, would constitute a similarity with Soqoṭri, whose eastern variety exhibits a similar phenomenon which was once believed to be a feature of all the varieties of this language (Simeone-Senelle 2003:7).

#### 3.5.1.10 The shift of laterals to sibilants

Even more rarely than the shift of sibilants to interdentalals, one of the speakers occasionally exhibits the shift of laterals to sibilants. More specifically, this phenomenon involves the voiceless member of the lateral class and the voiceless member of the palato-alveolar class, hence /s/ > /š/. Given its rarity, there is a chance that this phenomenon may simply reflect a mispronounced word on the part of the speaker. However, it seems worth to report it, as the parallel sound shifts involving other classes of fricatives point to a complex scenario which deserves attention. Here follow the only two occurrences of this sound shift:

(42) áwwal ši n-ḳóṭaṣ-š ʔn-ḳóšaṣ-š

first.M.SG thing.M.SG 1.PL-cut.IND-3.M.SG 1.PL-dry.IND-3.M.SG

“first thing, we cut it and dry it” (3:28)

(43) her bər ḳəšaṣ-ən læxim

when still.be.PRF.3 dry.PRF-1.PL shark.M.SG

“once we dried the shark” (3:29)

The term for ‘to dry’ stems from the root  $\nu\kappa\acute{\sigma}\zeta$  (JL:153), which, indeed, appears to be reflected by all the other occurrences of the term within the corpus. Also, it must be remarked that the speaker who produced the above sentences with /š/, always used /ś/ before and after these two occurrences, and unless more supporting data emerges, this must be considered as an error.

3.5.1.11 The shift of /ġ/ > [ʃ]

In a similar manner, also the shift of /ġ/ > /ʃ/ can be found in the corpora, although considerably less often than /x/ > /h/ ~ /ħ/.

(44) ʃō-k            hen í            ʃad

say.PRF-1.SG for father.M.SG go.IMP.M.SG

“I told my father ‘go!’” (2:7)

(45) ʃad            her betról

go.IMP.M.SG for petrol.M.SG

“go and get the petrol” (2:8)

(46) ʃad-k            her betról

go.PRF-1.SG for petrol.M.SG

“I went to get the petrol” (2:11)

(47) ʃad-ək            he

go.PRF-1.SG PRN.1.SG

“I went” (2:20)

The fact that the above examples come from a single speaker, and they all reflect a modification of the root *vwǧd*, which conveys the sense of ‘to go’ makes this sound shift doubtful: the above examples contain *ʕad* < *ǧad* ‘go! M.SG’ and *ʕadək* < *ǧadək* ‘I/you M.SG went’. This points to a peculiarity of this speaker’s idiolect. However, if confirmed by a more comprehensive analysis, this sound shift would constitute another similarity between KM and Soqoṭri sound systems (Simeone-Senelle 2003:7).

### 3.5.1.12 The alveo-palatals /š/, /ž/ and /ʒ/

This set of peculiar sounds, which constitute the chief distinguishing feature of the Jibbali/Shehret sound system within MSA, are described in detail in Bellem & Watson (2017) from an array of perspectives. Here follow some examples:

(48) bə ɣem                      šū                      ɣami                      ɣami

and heat.up.PRF.3 sunlight.M.SG hot.M.SG hot.M.SG

“and the sunlight is very hot” (6:7)

(49) nə-klá-s                      ɣano    l-əš-šū

1.PL-roast.IND-3.F.SG so    to-DEF-sunlight.M.SG

“we roast it so in the sunlight” (6:8)

(50) ɣenu                      šerók                      tinḳeṭót    tinḳeṭót

DEM.PROX.M.SG make.PRF.3 spot.F.SG spot.F.SG

“this makes a spot, a spot” (6:17)

(51) ɣenu                      i-šerók                      šōṭ

DEM.PROX.M.SG 3.M-make.IND fire.M.SG

“this makes fire” (6:20)

(52) šebdít e-lxím

liver.F.SG GEN-shark.M.SG

“shark liver” (3:57)

(53) t-širik-š

2.F-make.IND.F-3.M.SG

“you use it” (7:23)

(54) kəl ʔn-šak mən-əš n-šör hət mišérʔd

all 1.PL-laugh.IND from-3.M.SG 1.PL-say.IND PRN.2.M.SG stupid.M.SG

“we all laugh at him, we say ‘you are stupid’” (155:27)

Since the audio recordings from which the above examples are taken were made in the 1980s, and are not accompanied by videos, it was not possible to gather evidence as regards labial behaviour, nor were these recordings of sufficiently high quality to be analysed acoustically with PRAAT (Boersma & Weenink 2018). However, in the above examples, this series of sounds does differ perceptually from both palato-alveolars (i.e. /š/) and alveolars (i.e. /s/), at least for some of the speakers recorded.

Conversely, the 2017 speaker, whose recordings could on the other hand be analysed acoustically, realises both /š/ and /š/ as [ʃ]. The measurement of the mean centroid frequencies of three sibilants from his recordings (i.e. /s/, /š/ /š/), which was carried out on PRAAT examining the whole spectrum, confirms this impression. The results are shown in the table below:

*Table 3-2 Mean centre of gravity of sibilants as uttered by the 2017 speaker*

	mean centre of gravity (Hz)	number of tokens analysed
/š/	6449	13
/ṣ̌/	6441	13
/s/	8749	13

This method has been shown to be effective in identifying the differences between sibilants (Gordon et al 2002; Ladefoged 2003:156-157). As can be seen, the results show that there is no significant difference, acoustically speaking, between the tokens of etymological /š/ and /ṣ̌/, while those of /s/ have a much higher mean centre of gravity.

No occurrences of /ž/ were found within the recordings examined, although the analysis of the 1980s recordings that were not examined at this time is likely to provide additional data in this respect. As for /ṣ̌/, only three occurrences of a single lexical item which contains it etymologically were found. Interestingly, it seems to have lost its glottalic character. This can be surmised by the fact that all three occurrences of this term are in utterance-final position, where the glottalisation should be particularly noticeable:<sup>127</sup>

(55) wa mə n-ḥorét-hom                      bə-xí      bə-ḥaš

and and 1.PL-unload.IND-3.M.PL with-HES with-beach.M.SG

“and we unload it on the shore” (5:3)

(56) bə n-gódaḥ                                      bə-ḥaš

and 1.PL-come.ashore.IND with-beach.M.SG

“and we go ashore” (3:25)

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<sup>127</sup> The conclusions of Bellem & Watson (2013) for Mehri might be relevant for Jibbali/Shehret as well (Rubin 2014b:27).

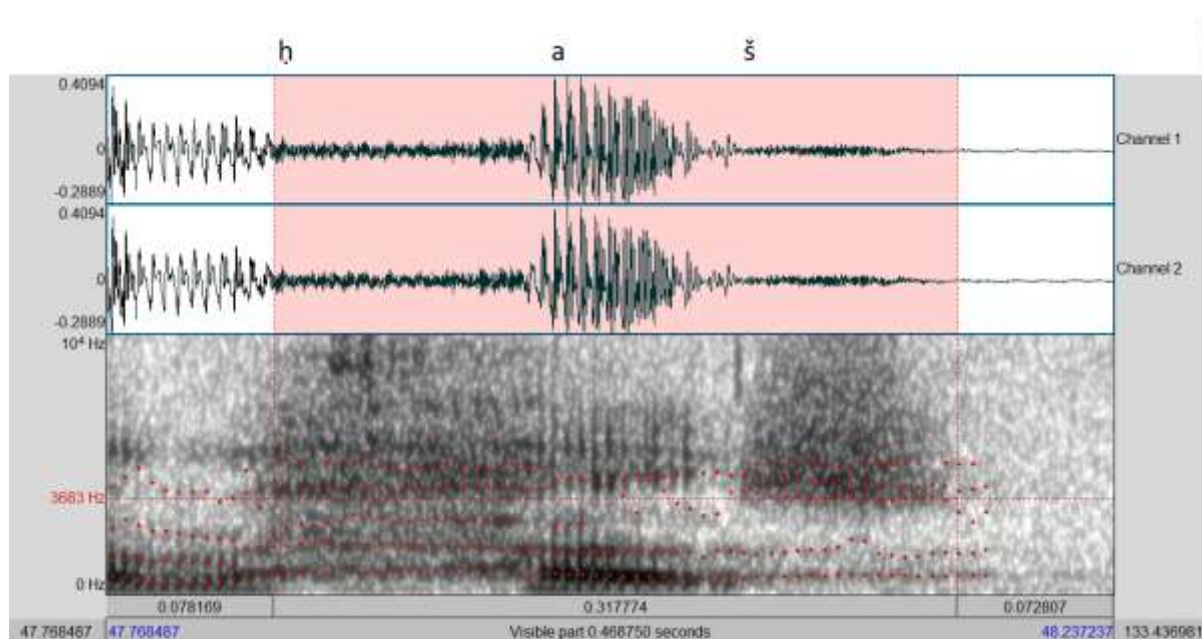
(57) her bɛr bə-ɦaʃ

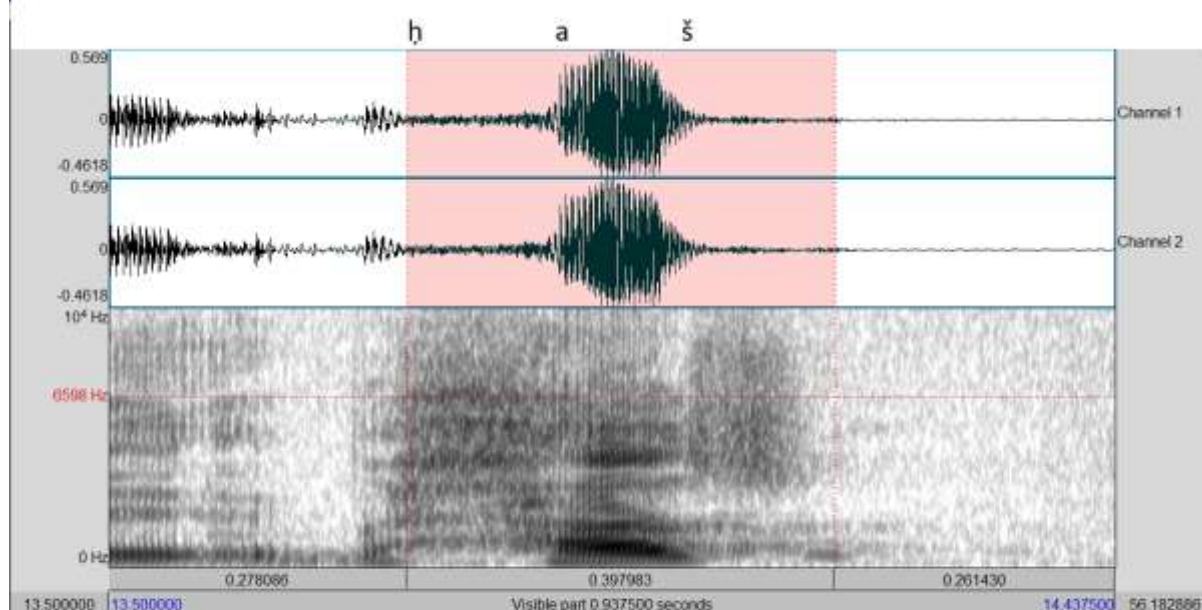
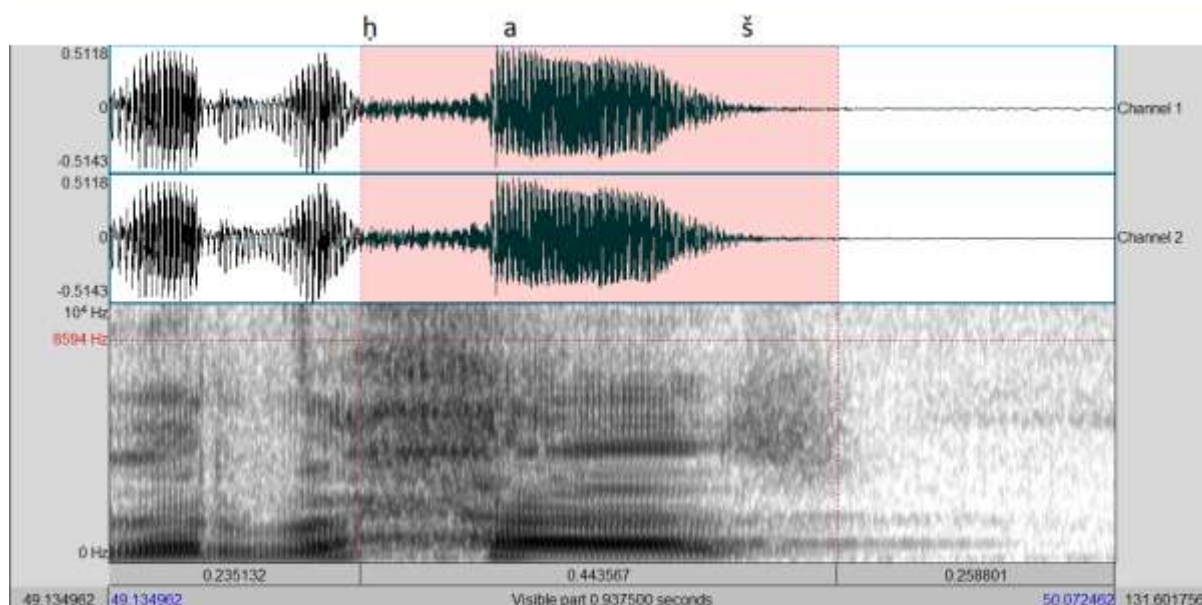
when still.be.PRF.3 with beach.M.SG

“when it is on the shore” (3:26)

The sound in question has been transcribed as /ʃ/ to reflect the lack of glottalisation. Since it was impossible to carry out an instrumental analysis on this recording, it being part of Miranda Morris’s 1980s corpus, it was chosen to observe the spectrum shape, in order to gain visual evidence of the lack of glottalisation:

Table 3-3 Spectral shapes of three occurrences of /ɦaʃ/ 'shore' in Miranda Morris's recordings





As can be seen in the above spectrograms, there is no significant silent period (which represents the Voice Onset Time) between the /a/, whose voicing is represented by the dark dash in the lower part of the spectrum, and the /ʃ/ (etymological /š/), whose energy is located mostly in the upper part of the spectrum. In the third image, it is even possible to observe a certain overlap. The articulation of ejective fricatives has been proved to entail long VOTs: for example, Shosted & Rose affirm the average VOT following alveolar ejective fricatives [s'] in the Tigrinya data they analysed is 31 milliseconds (2011:59-60), and Ridouane & Gendrot (2017:147-148) state that in Mehri “pre-

and post-frication silent intervals were observed for ejective fricatives”. These facts speak to the loss of it in this lexical item, although the lack of tokens in positions other than utterance-final calls for more investigation.

In conclusion, a contrast between /š/ and /ʃ/ does exist for some KM speakers (although not for the 2017 speaker), and even though at this time the lack of high-quality recordings means that this statement cannot be backed by acoustic evidence, the perceptual impression strongly argues in its favour. Bellem & Watson’s statement that “the š ~ ʃ contrast is a feature for some Eastern Šherēt speakers (contra the previous literature)” (2017:638) is confirmed by these findings in KM, which is located on the eastern fringe of the Jibbali/Shehret speaking area.

### 3.5.1.13 The non-occurrence of ž (IPA [ʒ]) in the place of intervocalic /l/

The voiced lateral fricative [ʒ] has a marginal phonemic load in Jibbali/Shehret, and is often an allophone of /l/ in certain intervocalic environments (Rubin 2014b:25; JL:xiv). However, at least in two cases, this shift does not take place in a phonotactic context in which it is expected:

(58) bɛr                      rɔɟ-én                      n-kɔs                      sillób

still.be.PRF.3 arrange.PRF-1.PL 1.PL-find.IND fish.species.M.SG

“once we placed it, we find

mɛken mɛken ʃamɔ-eš

many many in-3.M.SG

many many rabbit fish in it” (4:9)

(59) širik                      šɛltɪ                      ɛm                      her gilí

2.F.make.IND three.days day.F.PL if be.ill.PRF.3.M.SG

“use it for three days if you are feverish” (7:21)



In the first example, the lexical item in question is *sillób*, which occurs again in its “regular” form within the same recording:

(60) *sizób*                      *denə*                      *nəkaʃ*                      *b-eš*

fish.species.M.SG DEM.PROX.M.SG come.PRF.3 with-3.M.SG

“this rabbit fish comes to it” (4:10)

It is to be noted that the lexical item in which the phenomenon occurs is found in a very strong prosodic position, that is the main stress accent of the utterance falls in the proximity of the sound in question (see also 3.5.1.1). In fact, the first vowel of the following term (i.e. *meken* ‘much’) is stretched and high-pitched to convey emphasis. Thus, the role of prosody in this phenomenon, similarly to the realisation of /k/ as [g] (see 3.5.1.1), should be investigated.

In the second case, i.e. *gilí*, the “regular” form of this lexical item is *gizí* ‘to be ill, fevered’ (JL:75).

#### 3.5.1.14 Vowel patterns: KM and mainland varieties compared

Whilst KM vocalic system does not differ from mainland Jibbali/Shehret in qualitative and quantitative terms, it does so in terms of distribution. As far as could be observed in the recordings examined, vowel distribution is an aspect in which KM differs greatly from mainland varieties: in the first place, let us consider mainland Jibbali/Shehret [ɔ], which often corresponds to [a] in KM. This has important consequences on certain lexical items, as well as on some common grammatical words. Here follow a few examples of this phenomenon, which involve the negator *la* (mainland *lɔ*), *hārég* ‘to talk’ (mainland *herɔg*) (see also 3.5.2.5.1), and the auxiliaries *ʃad* and *d-ʃad* (mainland *ʃɔd* and *d-ʃɔd*):

(61) *i-ṭrór-əš*                      *la*    *ʃaḵ ismu her bi-s*                      *sift*                      *ləxím*

3.M-matter.IND-3.M.SG NEG in HES if with-3.F.SG oil.M.SG shark.M.SG

“it is not a problem in, what's its name?, when there is shark oil on it” (3:86)

(62) ḥaydén            y-ūdā            l-ən    la

Moḥammed.PN 3.M-lie.IND to-1.PL NEG

“Moḥammed does not lie to us” (1:6)

(63) ǧenu                hārég            la

DEM.PROX.M.SG talk.PRF.3 NEG

“this one doesn’t talk” (62:11)

(64) ḥad            b-ḥrém

once with-DEF.road.M.SG

“once on the road” (2:4)

(65) naḍáf-n            b-eš            d-ḥád            ʔeṭ

hang.PRF-1.PL with-3.M.SG still.be.PRF.3 one.M

“we hang one more onto it” (8:18)

(66) dīr-ót                d-ḥad            dīr-ót            ʔt-té-š

return.PRF-3.F.SG be.still.PRF.3 return.PRF-3.F.SG 3.F.SG-eat.IND.SG-3.M.SG

“it returned again, it returned to eat it” (22:1)

(67) d-ḥad            teyr            iżón

be.still.PRF.3 tyre.M.SG DEM.DIST.PL

“again those tyres” (2:28)

As has been mentioned above, the phenomenon affects negation morphemes (see also 3.5.3.10), which in KM surface consistently as *a(l) ... la* instead of *ɔ(l) ... lɔ* (Rubin 2014b:330). A similar effect can be observed for the adverb *ɔɔd*, and the auxiliary verb *d-ɔɔd* (Rubin 2014b:311,168), which occur in the examined KM recordings as *ɔad* and *d-ɔad* respectively (see below 3.5.3.11.9; Rubin 2014b:168).

Another important and widespread phenomenon which affects the vocalic realm of KM is vowel intrusion. This phenomenon has been described by Dufour for mainland varieties (2016:37,78) within the framework of Hall (2006), which posits two types of non-etymological vowels: those which “are phonological segments inserted in order to repair illicit structures”, and those which “are actually phonetic transitions between consonants” and are labelled as intrusive vowels (2006:387). Thus, whereas the first type of vowels triggers phonological processes, the second type does not. This, in KM, seems to be the case with frequently occurring lexical items such as *réb<sup>ə</sup>reb* ‘sea’, *ǰāb<sup>ə</sup>ǰót* ‘girl’, *šeš<sup>ə</sup>rór* ~ *šet<sup>ə</sup>rór* ‘green’, *ram<sup>ə</sup>ɔát* ‘sword’, and *hom<sup>ə</sup>s* ‘male turtle’. In the first, second, fourth and fifth case, the [ə] does not trigger the intervocalic deletion of /b/ and /m/, while in the third case, as also in the first, second, and fifth case,<sup>128</sup> the JL entry does not report any [ə] (JL:214,91,265,112). In addition to that, intrusive non-phonological vowels in KM also carry out prothetic and paragogic functions:

- (68)   <sup>ə</sup>lahám        bə-ɔɔdd<sup>ə</sup>  
touch.PRF.3 with-fish.M.SG  
“he touches the fish” (11:19)

Paragoge sometimes (but not always) appears where one would expect pre-pausal glottalisation, as in the above example.

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<sup>128</sup> JL:214, 91, 112 respectively.

### 3.5.1.15 Devoiced sonorants in final position

In mainland varieties, sonorants in final position are devoiced in certain terms: i.e. [ʃ̥], [m̥], [ŋ̥], [r̥] (Dufour 2016:24-26; Rubin 2014b:37-38). The former author believes that these realisations must be considered phonological, as the speakers with whom he worked found the voiced realisations [ʃ], [m], [ŋ] and [r] incorrect (Dufour 2016:24).<sup>129</sup> With regards to KM, this phenomenon does not seem to occur as often as it does in mainland varieties,<sup>130</sup> except in utterance-final position, within the more widespread phenomenon of the pre-pausal glottalisation (Watson & Bellem 2011).

## 3.5.2 Morphology

### 3.5.2.1 Personal pronouns

Not all personal independent pronouns are attested within the examined recordings, and those which occur do not differ from those found in mainland varieties. There have been numerous attempts to elicit the whole set of pronouns from the KM speaker living in Sadaḥ. However, he failed to produce the dual pronoun series. Instead, he produced forms like *nḥán ṭrɔ* ‘we two’ and *tum ṭrɔ* ‘you two’ (see below appendix 3).

A similar scenario can be described for the suffixed pronouns, which do not substantially differ from mainland varieties. Dual suffixed pronouns do not occur within the corpora, and the 2017 (i.e. Sadaḥ) speaker employed plural or singular forms when asked to describe a situation in which two individuals (or things) were involved, as the following example shows:

(69) butt<sup>a</sup>            ṭrut    bə    ḥamzét        ṭɔl-əš

house.F.SGV two.F    and    turtle.F.SG    by-3.M.SG

“two houses and the turtle is beside it (them)” (154:34)

See also the Adjective section (below 3.5.2.4.3).

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<sup>129</sup> Dufour provides a list of contexts where the phenomenon occurs in mainland varieties (2016:25).

<sup>130</sup> Actually, the phenomenon in question seems to occur in a restricted number of contexts in comparison with those listed by Dufour (*ibid.*).

### 3.5.2.2 Pronouns suffixed to the direct object marker *t-*

Similarly to other MSA languages, Jibbali/Shehret expresses often (though not necessarily) the direct object through the particle *t-* followed by the possessive suffixes (Rubin 2014b:54, JL:xxvi). KM seems to show consistently the vocalisation /e/ for the 3.F.PL, which Rubin did not encounter (2014b:55), but was recorded by Johnstone (JL:xxvi):

(70) ṭaḥán            t-esen        ṭenó

grind.PRF.3    OBJ-3.F.PL so

“they are ground like this” (6:25)

(71) bə ṭár-ən            t-eṭən

and break.PRF-1.PL OBJ-3.F.PL

“and we break them” (8:3)

As for the 3.M.SG, one of the 1980s speakers has /ɔ/, while another one has /ə/:

(72) her    rətóʔ-ən            t-ɔš

when arrange.PRF-1.PL OBJ-3.M.SG

“when we place it” (4:4)

(73) her    ṭōr-on            t-əš            b-e-réb<sup>a</sup>reb            i-nokaʔ

when break.PRF-1.PL OBJ-3.M.SG with-DEF-sea.M.SG 3.M.SG-come.IND

“when we break it in the sea, the fish comes

ṣod            bə y-ɔgaḥ

fish.M.SG and 3.M.SG-enter.IND

the fish and enters” (5:30)

The 3.M.PL form is *t-ohom* throughout the corpora. The other persons are either not attested in the recordings examined, or do not exhibit any divergence from mainland varieties.

### 3.5.2.3 Demonstratives

The demonstratives attested in the corpora do not seem to differ greatly from those recorded in mainland varieties (Rubin 2014b:57). The only noteworthy difference is the tendency of the proximal singular demonstratives to have a final /ə/ instead of the expected /u/:

(74) siʒób                      ɖenə                      nəkaɸ                      b-eš

fish.species.M.SG DEM.PROX.M.SG come.PRF.3 with-3.M.SG

“this rabbit fish comes to it” (4:10)

(75) bə ɖinə                      teɸ                      ɖinə

and DEM.PROX.F.SG woman.F.SG DEM.PROX.F.SG

“and this, is this a woman?” (24:5)

As for the other demonstratives (proximal plural and distal singular and plural), their sporadic attestation in the recordings examined does not allow a detailed description. They seem, however, not to differ from those recorded in Rubin (2014b:57-59):

(76) ʔmǵór ɖen                      ɸambér                      ɖɔkún                      i-ɠɔdaɸ

then DEM.PROX.M.SG amber.M.SG DEM.DIST.M.SG 3.M-come.ashore.IND

“then this amber comes ashore” (7:11)

(77) d-ʕad        teyr        iżón

be.still.PRF.3 tyre.M.SG DEM.PROX.PL

“again those tyres” (2:28)

Note that the proximal plural demonstrative in the above example is vocalised with /ɔ/,<sup>131</sup> while Rubin describes this demonstrative as *izénu* (or *izén*) (2014b:57).

### 3.5.2.4 Nominal morphology

#### 3.5.2.4.1 Dual

As with mainland varieties, KM forms the dual number simply by adding the numeral *trɔ/trut* ‘two’ after the singular noun. However, during an elicitation session, the speaker produced a dual based on a plural form:

(78) ərsút        trɔ

boy.M.PL two.M

“two boys” (66:17)

This is the only occurrence of this phenomenon, and the same speaker used the regular form, based on the singular, in every other occurrence of the dual number:

(79) ʔmbéɾə        trɔ

boy.M.SG two.M

“two boys” (62:4)

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<sup>131</sup> Watson (p.c.) affirms that this realisation is also found in mainland varieties.

#### 3.5.2.4.2 The definite article

The definite article in Jibbali/Shehret is a prefix which is fully productive in the mainland varieties, and may surface as a short vowel, as  $\emptyset$  in the presence of initial voiceless non-glottalic consonants, or as a long (or long nasalised) vowel, respectively in the presence of a word-initial [b] or [m] followed by a vowel (Rubin 2014b:84-85). The extent to which the definite article is productive in KM is largely unclear. It is not found in contexts in which, according to Rubin (2014b:84-86), it is expected:

(80) bə ʕákar-aš ləbr<sup>a</sup>

and size.M.SG-3.M.SG like

“and its size is like” (6:4)

In other cases, though, it is found where it is to be expected:

(81) š-xənít ěgədəḥ

Š/STEM-go.away.PRF.3 DEF.stick.M.SG

“the stick went away” (99:1)

(82) ʔlkén ʕaḵ īdī-s ʃod ʕaḵ īdi-š

but in DEF.hand.DU-3.F.SG fish.M.SG in DEF.hand.DU-3.M.SG

“but in her hands there is a fish, in his hands” (18:7)

It may appear with nouns without any possessive suffix:

(83) ʕaḵ e-núšub

in DEF-milk.M.SG

“in the milk” (7:25)



(84) no-róda-hom                      b-e-réb<sup>o</sup>reb

1.PL-throw.IND-3.M.PL in-DEF-sea.M.SG

“we throw them in the sea” (3:7)

(85) ə-ḵərḵór                      nə-rotē-š                      b-e-réb<sup>o</sup>reb

DEF-fish.trap.M.SG 1.PL-arrange.IND-3.M.SG in-DEF-sea.M.SG

“the fish trap, we place it in the sea” (4:2,3)

However, there is a great number of cases in which it does not appear when it is expected. For example:

(86) yaʔni tḥámməs                      sift

DISJ heat.up.PRF.3.M.SG oil.M.SG

“well, the oil becomes hot” (3:66)

(87) aḡad                      ṭer rēš

go.PRF.3 on head.M.SG

“it goes onto the head” (29:4)

One could argue that the definite form of the term *mədərga* ‘stairs/ladder’ (97:2), namely \**ēderga*, does not occur because the term in question is an Arabic loanword. It must be remarked, however, that expected definite forms do occur with Arabic loanwords in mainland varieties, i.e. *məsgíd* ‘mosque’, definite form *ēsgíd* (Rubin 2014b:85).

As can be observed, there is a great deal of variation and even a single speaker is prone to use the definite article inconsistently within the same utterance.

#### 3.5.2.4.3 Adjectives

Adjectives in Jibbali/Shehret behave morphologically like nouns in all aspects, except in that they do not take dual number (2014b:89-99). As far as could be observed, KM adjectives do not show any divergence from the morphological pattern found in mainland varieties. There is, however, a difference that should be pointed out: agreement patterns exhibit some irregularities. Let us consider the following examples:

(88) bə ɖinə                      ʔmbērə

and DEM.PROX.F.SG boy.M.SG

“and this is a boy” (55:4)

(89) bə ɖenu                      kəl līnīti

and DEM.PROX.M.SG each white.F.PL

“and these ones are all white” (69:4)

In the above sentences, the agreement patterns are not as they are expected to be: in the first example, a feminine demonstrative is used for a masculine noun, while in the second sentence, a masculine singular demonstrative is used for a feminine plural adjective. While this phenomenon does not occur a great number of times, it is important to mention it, as the above unexpected agreement patterns do not fall within the same gender and number, and could, thus, suggest a process of obsolescence targeting demonstratives other than the singular ones. In view of the scanty attestation of plural demonstratives, the above hypothesis deserves a deeper analysis.

#### 3.5.2.5 Verbal morphology

KM verbal flexional morphology does not seem to differ substantially from that of mainland varieties, described in Dufour (2016, *passim*) and Rubin (2014b:101-224). A notable exception is

represented by the third feminine singular morpheme of the perfective, which in a number of cases (but not universally) appears to be vocalised with an unrounded vowel (namely /a/, /e/, /ɛ/, /i/) instead of the expected *-ót* (*-út* after a nasal consonant) (Rubin 2014b:139). Such a vocalisation in mainland varieties is characteristic of verbs whose PRF.3 ends in a stressed vowel: i.e. *ksé* ‘he found’, *ksét* ‘she found’ (Dufour 2016:334; Rubin 2014b:140). Dufour, who could not work with KM data, remarks that a comparable phenomenon is a characteristic of Omani Mehri (that is, Mehreyyet) (2016:334-340), and states that “L’allomorphie affectant les suffixes de duel (-óh, -éh) et d’ACC.3fs (-út, -ót, -ét), là où les autres langues ont partout un vocalisme <sup>x</sup>o<sup>132</sup> dans ces morphèmes” (2016:412). Additionally, a similar allomorphy can be found in Baṭṭari, which is spoken on the closest shore of Dhofar to Kuria Muria islands (Gasparini 2018:92). The occurrence of this phenomenon is moderately consistent with the presence of adjacent laryngeal/pharyngeal consonants /h/ or /ħ/, which tend to have an unrounding effect on the neighbouring vowels. However, unrounded vowels do occur also in absence of a neighbouring /h/ or /ħ/: see example 94 below: *ħellit* ‘settle PRF.3.F.SG’. Thus, a deeper investigation is needed in order to describe the triggering factors of this phenomenon:

(90)   <sup>ə</sup>hēt                      l-əš-šū  
  
heat.up.PRF.3.F.SG to-DEF-sunlight.M.SG

“it is heated up by the sunlight” (6:6)

(91)   zaḥēt                      mən rbó  
  
come.PRF.3.F.SG from ???

“it came from ???” (134:3)

(92)   nahát  
  
take.away.PRF.3.F.SG

---

<sup>132</sup> i.e. unrounded.

“it was taken away” (142:1)

(93) gaḥát                      řak sendík

come.ashore.PRF.3.F.SG in box.M.SG

“it came into the box” (142:4)

(94) ḥell-ít

settle.PRF-3.F.SG

“it settled” (116:2)

For *ḥēt* ‘heat up PRF.3.F.SG’ in example 90 compare *hōt* ‘id.’ JL (111). In example 91 *zaḥēt* ‘come PRF.3.F.SG’ represents an alternative form for *zaḥōt*, which appears in the same recording, when the speaker “corrects” himself after uttering the former term:

(95) zaḥōt                      mən rbó

come.PRF.3.F.SG from ???

“it came from ???” (134:4)

Similarly, some unrounded forms alternate with the expected *-ót* forms, even within the same speaker’s discourse:

(96) ʔddúr                      nahót                      bə ḡad                      lə aḡal

return.PRF.3 take.away.PRF.3.F.SG and go.PRF.3 to down

“it returned, it (was) carried away and went down” (128:1)<sup>133</sup>

### 3.5.2.5.1 Verbal stems

Not all known verbal stems occur in the analysed texts. Here follows a description of the verbal stems encountered.

Ga-stem, that is the basic stem, is represented in the perfective by the shape *CɔCɔC/CCɔC* (Rubin 2014b:102), or *CaCáC* in the presence of the back consonants /ǧ/, /h/, /ħ/ and /ʕ/ (Rubin 2014b:174-175).

However, a few roots, which do not necessarily contain back consonants, seem to diverge from this rule:

- (97) nafár<sup>ə</sup>                      nafár<sup>ə</sup>                      lóbaḥ  
slide.down.PRF.3    slide.down.PRF.3    board.M.SG

“it slid down, it slid down the board” (137:1)

- (98) bə ḥāīl-k                      sift                      bə nišḥ-ak                      t-os  
and take.PRF-2.M.SG    oil.M.SG    and polish.PRF-2.M.SG    OBJ-3.F.SG

“and you take the oil and polish it” (3:89)

For example 97 compare *nʕr* (JL:182), and for example 98 compare *ḥōl* (JL:111)

Also, see example 63 *ǧenu hārég la* ‘this one doesn’t talk’, and compare *heróg* (Rubin 2014b:175) and *héróg* (JL:98). The auxiliary verb *d-ʕád* (Rubin 2014b:168) appears in KM as *d-ʕád* with no exception:

- (99) dīr-ót                      d-ʕad                      dīr-ót                      <sup>ə</sup>t-té-š

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<sup>133</sup> See above, example number 92.

return.PRF-3.F.SG be.still.PRF.3 return.PRF-3.F.SG 3.F.SG-eat.IND-3.M.SG

“it returned again, it returned to eat it” (22:1)

(100) ḥadar betér-ən d-ḥad d-ḥad néḡaḥ-an ʔeʔ

once fish.PRF-1.PL still.be.PRF.3 still.be.PRF.3 hang.PRF-1.PL one.M

“once we have fished, again and again we hang one” (8:15)

(101) ḥaṣe ʔeríb læ ʔrém d-ḥad fegér

once near.M.SG to road.M.SG be.still.PRF.3 burst.PRF.3.M.SG

“once (we were) close to the road, again it burst

d-ḥad teyr izón

be.still.PRF.3 tyre.M.SG DEM.PROX.PL

again these tyres” (2:28)

Additionally, /ʕ/ may trigger the unrounding of /ɔ/ in the indicative:

(102) ʕagəb i-ʕḥár ḥamzét

want.PRF.3 3.M-bite.SBJT turtle.F.SG

“it wants to bite the turtle” (154:45)

For the above example, compare the subjunctive form *ʔaʕḥár* (JL:322).

Among the anomalous verbs occurring in the texts examined, the verb *šēf* ‘to sleep’ deserves mention. Rubin (2014b:215-216) derives it from a Š1-stem of the root *vwkf* which “became \**šəkēf* (with loss of *w*, instead of the expected shift to \**šəbkēf*), and then \**šəšēf* (with the shift of /*k/* to /*š/*) > \**ššēf* > *šēf*” (2014b:216). This Š1-stem is attested in Mehri and Ḥarsusi with the same meaning (ML:425-426; HL:135). Rubin further states that the fact it is a Š1-stem “can also be seen by the vowel shift in the first and second person perfect forms (e.g., *šófk* ‘I slept’) and 3.F.SG *šōfót*” (Ibid.). However, in the examined KM texts there can be found forms with unrounded vowels:

(103) ʔmbérə bə ġābʔgót šāfót                      ba ʔmbérə šēf

boy.M.SG and girl.F.SG sleep.PRF.3.F.SG INTJ boy.M.SG sleep.PRF.3

“the boy, and the girl sleeps. oh! the boy sleeps” (153:39,40,41)

The geminate Ga-stems are often (though not necessarily) degeminated:

(104) bə tār-ən                      t-eṭən      bə sək-ən                      t-aš

and break.PRF-1.PL OBJ-3.F.PL and sew.PRF-1.PL OBJ-3.M.SG

“and we tear them, and we sew it” (8:4)

In the above example *səkən* ‘we sew’ comes from *vskk* (JL:226).

A few D/L-stems<sup>134</sup> (Rubin 2014b:110-114) can be found in the examined materials. They appear to be rather unproblematic:

(105) nə-ḥāšəl-ən                      še                      la

1.PL-get.IND-D/L-stem thing.M.SG NEG

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<sup>134</sup> Dufour rejects the label “D/L stem” and states that “On a cherché à employer des dénominations qui puissent valoir pour tout le SAM” and “elle présuppose que ce thème est cognat des thèmes D et L des autres langues sémitiques (arabe II *fāḥāla* et III *fāḥāla*), ce qui pourrait bien être vrai mais doit être démontré” and renames it H2 (2016:93). In this grammatical sketch, which is only concerned with one MSA language, it seemed more convenient to preserve the established terminology.

“we get nothing” (3:21)

(106) yom d-i-rúkb-ən                      teyár

when CIRC-3.M-mount.IND-D/L-STEM tyre.M.SG

“when he was fitting the tyre” (2:30)

(107) d-i-šenóħ-ən<sup>135</sup>                      ħamzét

CIRC-3.M-make.rest.IND-DL/STEM turtle.F.SG

“they make the turtle rest (on them)” (154:39)

As for the H-stem, it occurs once, and does not exhibit any problematic feature:

(108) a-bǧád                      a-bǧád

H/STEM.go.PRF.3 H/STEM.go.PRF.3

“it was made to go, it was made to go” (89:2)

The situation for the Š-stems, of which only type 1 seems to occur, as encountered in the examined texts, is more complex. Let us take into account a few examples:

(109) i-š-xarót

3.M-Š1/STEM-be.stripped.IND

“it is stripped” (144:7)

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<sup>135</sup> √šnx (JL:263).



(110) ṣ̣-xənít                      mən ag-gōl

Ṣ1/STEM-go.away.PRF.3 from DEF-ring.M.SG

“it went away from the ring” (76:2)

(111) ṭ-xanṭ-ót                      ṣ̣-xanṭ-ót

Ṣ1/STEM-go.away.PRF-3.F.SG Ṣ1/STEM-go.away.PRF-3.F.SG

“it went away, it went away” (85:2)

With regards to example 109, the fact that *iṣ̣xarót* ‘it is stripped’ is a Ṣ1-stem is shown by the lack of *-vn* suffix, which is typical of the Ṣ2-stem in the imperfect indicative. However, *ṣ̣xənít* and *ṣ̣xanṭót*, in examples 110 and 111, occur in the perfective aspect only, thus rendering it difficult to pinpoint the stem. The *Jibbali Lexicon* has a Ṣ1-stem for this root (JL:303). In example 110, the sibilant of the prefix shifts to an interdental (see 3.5.1.7).

Two T-stems, both of the type 2, occur within the texts analysed, one of them being the ubiquitous and culturally prominent verb *(<sup>ə</sup>)btér* ‘to fish with pole and line, to angle’. It is remarkable that this verb is absent from the published literature for Jibbali/Shehret, except an uncommented occurrence in one of Johnstone’s texts proceeding from a translation by Ali Musallam al-Mahri of one of his own Mehri texts into Jibbali/Shehri published by Rubin (2014b:560; text number 97). The term is unattested in all three Johnstone’s lexica, but can be found in Hobyōt (Nakano 2013:111). Here follow a few sentences in which this verb occurs:

(112) ṣ̣-k                      <sup>ə</sup>btér                      i-btér-ən

say.PRF-1.SG fish.IMP.M.SG.T2/STEM 3.M-fish.SG.IND-T2/STEM

“(if) I said ‘fish!’ he fishes” (1:10)

(113) d-i-btér-n-əṣ̣                      be-r-réb<sup>ə</sup>reb

CIRC-3.M-fish.SG.IND-T2/STEM-3.M.SG with-DEF-sea.M.SG

“he is fishing it in the sea” (11:11)

(114) ṣ̄r                      ṭít      d-i-btór-ən                      bə-s

fishing.pole.F.SG one.F CIRC-3.M-fish.IND.PL-T2/STEM with-3.F.SG

“one fishing pole, they are fishing with it” (12:5)

(115) ḥadra ḥolb-én                      bəté-r-ən

once lower.the.sail.PRF-1.PL fish.PRF-1.PL

“once we lower the sail, we fish” (8:13,14)

Here follows the only other occurrence of a T2-stem:

(116) i-ftellet-én

3.M-be.separate.IND-T2/STEM

“it separates” (144:8)

Lastly, a quadrilateral N-stem (Rubin 2014b:136-138) is found within the corpus:

(117) tə-n-ḵelaśód                      tə-n-ḵelaśód

3.F.SG-N/STEM-roll.IND 3.F.SG-N/STEM-roll.IND

“it rolls, it rolls” (122:1)

This root is reported in JL as  $\nu k l \zeta d$  (JL:144). However, both the basic stem and the N-stem are, probably mistakenly, reported as having a metathesis  $\nu k l \zeta d > \nu k \zeta l d$ . See also Leslau (1934a) for a hypothesis about the *n*- prefix in Soqotri verbs of expression.<sup>136</sup>

### 3.5.2.6 Prepositions

KM prepositions do not differ substantially from those found in mainland varieties. However, a few facts must be remarked: firstly, the preposition *tel/tāl-* (Rubin 2014b:263-266), may surface as *təl* in absence of pronominal suffixes:

(118) *təl*      *šigirét*

beside tree.F.SG

“beside the tree” (153:28)

(119) *ʔtəl*      *dirém*      *tāl-əš*

beside barrel.M.SG beside-3.M.SG

“beside the barrel, beside it” (3:67.2)

Secondly, evidence from the recordings suggests that the preposition ‘under’ in KM is *lxin* instead of *nxin* (6:12, 18:4-5). Rubin (2014b:260) provides a discussion about the diatopic variation of this preposition.

### 3.5.3 Syntax

This section describes Jibbali/Shehret clause construction in as much detail as possible, focusing on both KM data and Johnstone’s texts published in Rubin (2014b). Rubin’s transcription has not been altered substantially, except in two cases: the glottal stop has been noted <ʔ>, while the

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<sup>136</sup> See above p. 27

voiced pharyngeal fricative has been noted <ʕ>. This was done to avoid Rubin’s smaller symbols which could have resulted in ambiguity within the font type used in this thesis. Most of this section relies on the structure of Watson’s Mehri chapter on Clause Structure (2012:229-405).

### 3.5.3.1 Nominal clauses

In Jibbali/Shehret, as in most Semitic languages, the nominal clauses consist of a predicand (or subject) and a predicate which are juxtaposed, without using a copula verb (Rubin 2014b:327). They can be sub-divided into three types: proper inclusion, equation and attribution (Watson 2012:230).

Proper inclusion clauses assign the predicand to (or negate its inclusion in) a class:

(120) ʔaydín<sup>a</sup> ʔabb-at er-riḥ

PN grain-F.SG DEF-wind

“Moḥammad is a ‘ʔabb-at er-riḥ’” (1:9)

(121) sɛ ɔl ǧabǧót lɔ

PRN.3.F.SG NEG girl.F.SG NEG

“she is not a girl” (Rubin 2014b:327)

In equational clauses it is affirmed that the predicand is identical to the predicate (Watson 2012:231):

(122) ī-s melik

DEF.father.M.SG-3.F.SG angel.M.SG

“her father is an angel” (Rubin 2014b:568)

(123) eḵ-ḵúrgit ʕáśri

DEF-measure.unit twenty.M

“the ʔúrgit is twenty” (3:44)

In clauses of attribution, the predicate, expressed by an adjective, assigns a characteristic to the predicand:

(124) šigirét    ɖinə            ʔafer-ót

tree.F.SG DEM.PROX.F.SG red-F.SG

“this tree is red” (28:4)

(125) hət            mišér<sup>ə</sup>d

PRN.2.M.SG stupid.M.SG

“you are stupid” (155:27)

Typically, in nominal clauses, the order of the constituents is predicand-predicate. However, the predicate-predicand order can occur as a predicate topicalisation device:

(126) ʔmbéřə    ɖenu

boy.M.SG DEM.PROX.M.SG

“this is a boy” (10:4)

### 3.5.3.2 Locational clauses

Locational clauses are clauses that express the place of an entity, and may be sub-divided into clauses of location, possession, existence and accompaniment (Watson 2012:237). Additionally, comparative clauses are included in this paragraph because, in spite of the little commonalities they share with locational clauses, they do share a syntactic structure, that is, predicand-prepositional phrase (Watson 2012:245).

Clauses of existence can either express the absolute existence of something, or the existence of something in a given location. Both functions may be expressed by the particle *śi* ~ *śe*<sup>137</sup> and by the copular verb *kun* (see 3.5.3.3):

(127) mun śe    ʃodd<sup>a</sup>    mun

here EXIST fish.M.SG here

“here, there is fish here” (55:18)

(128) śi    śe            la    śi    śe            la

EXIST thing.M.SG NEG EXIST thing.M.SG NEG

“there is nothing, there is nothing” (27:3)

(129) i-kín            ʃar b-e-rémni

3.M-be.IND only in-DEF-sea.M.SG

“it is only in the sea” (7:1)

Additionally, when there is emphasis on the location or the subject is indefinite, it may be expressed by a prepositional phrase followed by a noun phrase:

(130) <sup>a</sup>mbérə    tōl-iš            kōbb<sup>a</sup>    trɔ

boy.M.SG by-3.M.SG dog.M.SG two.M

“the boy, beside him there are two dogs” (66:11)

(131) i-kín            b-iš            arbaśót xōš

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<sup>137</sup> Optionally realised as *t̪i* ~ *t̪e* in KM.

3.M-be.IND with-3.M.SG four.F five.M

“there are four, five” (3:18)

Clauses of possession may either convey a focus on the possessee, in which case they are headed by the preposition *k-* (*š-* ~ *ṣ̌*<sup>138</sup> before pronominal suffixes) to express alienable possession, and *b-* to express inalienable possession:

(132) bə ɖenə                      ʔmbéɾə ʈiʃ                      kɔbʔ                      lōn

and DEM.PROX.M.SG boy.M.SG with.3.M.SG dog.M.SG white.M.SG

“and this is a boy, he has a white dog” (66:20,21)

(133) bélé    sɛ                      ɔl    š-es                      ʃefót                      lɔ

even.if PRN.3.F.SG NEG with-3.F.SG knowledge.F.SG NEG

“even if she has no knowledge” (Rubin 2014b:502)

(134) ɔl    b-i                      kəʔəfóf                      lɔ

NEG with-1.SG wing.M.PL NEG

“I don’t have wings” (Rubin 2014b:390)

(135) be-ʈən                      zuhur-ét

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<sup>138</sup> Optionally realised as *ʈ-* in KM.

with-3.F.PL flower.F.PL-PL

“they have flowers” (19:2)

Or they can convey a focus on the possessor, in which case they are headed by one of the genitive exponents  $d(\partial)$ - ~  $e$ - ~  $\varepsilon$ -:

(136)  $d\eta a$ - $t\partial$ - $ks\acute{e}$        $\acute{k}alo$        $d\partial$ - $n\acute{u}s\acute{a}b$

FUT-2.M-find.SBJT bucket.M.SG GEN-milk.M.SG

“you’ll find a bucket of milk” (Rubin 2014b:474)

(137)  $t\partial$ - $\acute{k}\acute{e}$        $m\grave{a}n$   $giz\acute{e}l$        $e$        $m\grave{a}n$   $giz\acute{e}l$        $e$ - $\zeta am b\acute{e}r$

3.F.SG-vomit.IND from fever.M.SG HES from fever.M.SG GEN-amber.M.SG

“it vomits from the fever of amber” (7:9,10)

Locational clauses describe the location of a given entity, and differ from clauses of existence “in that they present the position of a specific entity rather than the existence of an entity (in a particular location)” (Watson 2012:243). In Jibbali/Shehret, they either may be introduced by the prepositions  $\zeta a\acute{k}$  ( $\zeta am\acute{k}$ - before pronominal suffixes) and  $b$ -, or by a locational adverb:

(138)  $n\grave{a}$ - $\eta af\acute{s}$ - $hom$        $\zeta a\acute{k}$   $gun\acute{e}t$

1.PL-collect.IND-3.M.PL in bag.F.SG

“we collect (sort) it in a bag” (4:24)

(139)  $n\grave{a}$ - $\eta \acute{h}\acute{e}r$        $\zeta or\acute{o}b$        $b$ - $e$ - $r\acute{e}b^{\circ}reb$

1.PL-slaughter.IND wood.piece.M.PL with-DEF-sea.M.SG



“we chop the wood pieces in the sea” (5:17,18)

(140) šum            ɣéríb l-ɛn

PRN.3.M.SG near to-1.PL

“they are near to us” (Rubin 2014b:518)

In clauses of accompaniment, the location of an entity in terms of companionship of another entity is conveyed. It is expressed by the preposition *k-* (*š-* ~ *ʃ-*<sup>139</sup> before pronominal suffixes):

(141) ʃ-óhum        a-ǵá-ʃ

with-3.M.PL DEF-brother.M.SG-2.F.SG

“with them is your brother” (Rubin 2014b:454)

(142) k-ɔ́            ɛnhán

with-god.M.SG PRN.1.PL

“with God we are” (Rubin 2014b:644)

Comparative clauses convey the comparison of two or more entities. This is achieved in Jibbali/Shehret by *taʃmírən-*,<sup>140</sup> and the prepositions *əl-hés* and *lébər(ə)*.<sup>141</sup> The latter abounds in KM data, whilst the former two prepositions do not appear in the recordings examined. The preposition *lébər(ə)* is only marginally attested in Johnstone’s texts from the mainland, and Rubin reports that there might be some slight semantic differences among the three prepositions in question (Rubin 2014b:254):

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<sup>139</sup> Optionally realised as *t̪-* in KM.

<sup>140</sup> This is not a preposition, but a grammaticalised verbal form meaning ‘you would say’ (Rubin 2014b:263).

<sup>141</sup> Often realised as *lébər(ə)* in KM.

(143) ε-lhúti            əl-hés i-yél            zétə

DEF-cow.M.PL like    DEF-camel.F.PL too

“are the cows like camels too?” (Rubin 2014b:586)

(144) zũ-t-ɔ                    sé            lūn            taʕmírən skər

give.PRF.3-OBJ-1.SG thing.M.SG white.M.SG like    sugar.M.SG

“a white thing like sugar” (Rubin 2014b:478)

(145) bə xaʕík            lébər sigíl-t

and cloak.M.SG like    ???-F.SG

“and the cloak is like ???” (6:10)

### 3.5.3.3 Copula

The copular verb is *kun/ikín*, although it is not normally used as such, since nominal clauses do not require a copula (see 3.5.3.1). Rather, it usually conveys the idea of becoming:

(146) her ʔgād-ək            kə-raḥím            tə-kən            raḥím

if go.PRF-2.M.SG with-good.M.SG 2.SG-be.M.IND good.M.SG

“if you go with the good, you will be good” (150:1)

This verb is used also to express epistemic as well as deontic modality:

(147) ḥṣk            tə-kin            ʕaʕər ɖenu            fəték

sew.PRF.3 3.F-be.IND ten.M DEM.PROX.M.SG fabric.F.PL

“it may be ten of those fabrics are sewn up together” (8:1)

(148) hes-tó y-ékən š-ek kəróš

should 3.M-be.SBJT with-2.M.SG money.M.SG

“there should be money with you” (Rubin 2014b:324)

As for the epistemic modality, the future tense of this verb may be used in mainland varieties (Rubin 2014b:284-285), while there is no attestation of this function of *kun/ikín* in the KM materials examined:

(149) bə skɔf ɣa-y-ékən ɔrx

and sit.PRF.3 FUT-3.M-be.SBJT month.M.SG

“they stayed about a month” (Rubin 2014b:432)

This verb can be found in its copular function in conditional sentences, both in the protasis and in the apodosis (Rubin 2014b:329):

(150) her kun-k ǵeyg

if be.PRF-2.M.SG man.M.SG

“if you are a man” (Rubin 2014b:504)

(151) bə də šε ɔl ɣez yit-š ɔ

and if PRN.3.M.SG NEG slaughter.PRF.3 camel-3.F.SG NEG

“and if he didn’t slaughter his camel

he ə-kín ɣəbét

PRN.1.SG 1.SG-be.IND whore.F.SG

I am a whore” (Rubin 2014b:388)

### 3.5.3.4 The auxiliary verb *ber* ~ *ber*

This morphologically irregular verb (Rubin 2014b:164-168) is very common. In its basic meaning, it heads a clause and modifies a predicand (normally pronominal) by conveying a nuance of “already” which turns out to be most commonly redundant in translation (similarly to the classical Arabic particle *qad*). Additionally, it has a number of other less common uses, among which is its ability to head a verbal phrase which expresses the occasionality of the predicate (that is, it can express ‘sometimes’) (see 3.5.11.1). It is noteworthy that in some occurrences in KM it, similarly to Mehri, seems to behave like a particle, in that it takes dependent pronominal suffixes and does not inflect as a verb (Watson 2012:248). It can, however, also behave as a verb, in which case it takes the suffix (that is, perfective) conjugation. The following examples present both morphological behaviours:

(152) *ber*                      *ṣahyṭ*

be.already.PRF.3 be.scared.PRF.3.F.SG

“it has been (already) scared away” (139:2)

(153) *ber-s*                      *lahón*

already-3.F.SG there

“it is already there” (93:7)

(154) *ber-t*                      *ḥafé*

be.already.PRF-3.F.SG carry.PRF.3

“it is carried now” (93:8)

More research is needed in order to describe the features of this particle/verb in KM. On the other hand, its use in mainland varieties, in its basic meaning, is rather straightforward:

(155) he            bek                            heróg-ək            š-es

PRN.1.SG be.already.PRF.1.SG talk.PRF-1.SG with-3.F.SG

“I already spoke with her” (Rubin 2014b:500)

(156) bókum                            tē-kum

be.already.2.M.PL eat.PRF-2.M.PL

“have you already eaten?” (Rubin 2014b:165)

In KM, when preceded by *her*, it is closer in meaning to the temporal conjunction ‘when’. This function is rather different from the one which requires *ber* to be preceded by *her*, and followed by a verb in the future tense, which, on the contrary, means ‘before’, ‘be about to’, ‘nearly’ (Rubin 2014b:364):

(157) her    bər                            ʔeśʔ-an            n-kóds-iš

when already.PRF.3 dry.PRF-1.PL 1.PL-pile.up.IND-3.M.SG

“once we dried it, we pile it up” (3:42)

(158) her    bər                            fehés

when already.PRF.3 boil.PRF.3

“once it is boiling” (4:12)

### 3.5.3.5 Verbal clauses

Jibbali/Shehret is, like other MSA languages and Arabic, a pro-drop language. Therefore, the verbal phrase may occur (and most frequently does occur) without an overt predicand:

(159) tə-ǧórəb            la

2.M.SG-know.IND NEG

“don’t you know?” (pc)

(160) ʔn-ḵófaʕ            rīd

1.PL-turn.over.IND ash.M.SG

“we turn over the ashes” (5:24)

The predicate of a verbal phrase is a fully inflected verb which consistently agrees with the predicand in person, number and gender, with a few exceptions that will be presented below. Here follow some examples of simple gender agreement:

(161) ek-kura            ṣahyōt

DEF-ball.F.SG disappear.PRF.3.F.SG

“the ball disappeared” (132:3)

(162) hət            dḥa-t-ǧád            ḵərére

PRN.2.M.SG FUT-2.M.SG-go.SBJT tomorrow

“you will go tomorrow” (Rubin 2014b:390)

When the predicand is a complex of two entities the verbal phrase may agree in number, although it most often fails to do so:

(163) aǧad-ó          a-ǧéyg          bə    tít-š

go.PRF-3.DU DEF-man.M.SG and woman.F.SG-3.M.SG

“the man and his wife went” (Rubin 2014b:554)

(164) a-ǧéyg          bə    tít-š                      šin-és

DEF-man.M.SG and woman.F.SG-3.M.SG see.PRF.3-3.F.SG

“the man and his wife saw her” (Rubin 2014b:554)

It is worth pointing out that the dual number in the verbal system is generally obsolete in mainland Jibbali/Shehret, where younger speakers consistently fail to use it (Rubin 2014b:78). Moreover, it is not attested in Morris’s 1980s recordings. It is attested only once in the 2017 recordings, although there is a possibility that more occurrences of the dual number might emerge from a deeper analysis of all the available materials. The 2017 speaker normally failed to produce dual forms, both in the verbal inflection and in the personal pronouns, either through direct elicitation (by comparison with classical Arabic dual pronouns), or through indirect elicitation (by presenting him with images and videos with two referents, and asking him to comment on them), except in one occasion, where he produced a perfect third person dual (see below 3.5.4.2.1)

#### 3.5.3.5.1 Word order

With regards to the order of the constituents, in unmarked contexts, Jibbali/Shehret typically exhibits the SVO and VSO order. Similarly to Mehri, SVO order is almost always employed to establish the theme of a narrative, as well as in other contexts in which its use is, nevertheless, less consistent:

(165) sižóǧ                      ǧenə                      nəkaʃ                      b-eš

rabbit.fish.M.SG DEM.PROX.M.SG come.PRF.3 with-3.M.SG

“this rabbit fish comes to it” (4:10)

(166) ínét            tə-l̩s-ən                            xaʦóʔ-ésən            wudún

woman.F.PL 3.F-wear.IND.PL-DL/STEM cloth.M.PL-3.F.PL new.M.PL

“the women wear their new clothes” (Rubin 2014b:392)

When the predicand is a simple substantive (that is, a noun) it usually causes the clause to take the SVO order:

(167) ṽšáxt                            ɔl    yə-ħǝl                            séléb            lɔ

DEF.tribe.name.M.PL NEG 3.M-carry.IND arms.M.PL NEG

“the Mashaykhi do not carry arms” (Rubin 2014b:550)

Quantifiers typically require a SVO order:

(168) de    mən-én    ya-ʕǝr            h-eš            sízób            de

some from-1.PL 3.M-say.IND to-3.M.SG rabbit.fish.M.SG some

“some of us call it ‘sízób’, some

ya-ʕǝr            abéra

3.M-say.IND rabbit.fish.M.SG

say ‘abéra’” (4:6)

Similarly, demonstratives functioning independently as predicands usually occur in clause-initial position:

(169) ɢenə                            d-i-btér-ən

DEM.PROX.M.SG CIRC-3.M-fish.IND.PL-T2/STEM



“this one is fishing” (11:15)

(170) ǰenu                      hārég      la

DEM.PROX.M.SG talk.PRF.3 NEG

“This one doesn’t talk” (62:11)

It should be pointed out that, as discussed above (3.5.2.1 and 3.5.2.4.3), demonstratives in KM do not always trigger the expected agreement patterns. Also, the insular variety exhibits sporadic cases in which demonstratives are the predicand of a VOS verbal clause:

(171) šerók              tinḳetót    ǰe              ǰinu

make.PRF.3 spot.F.SG PRN.3.F.SG DEM.PROX.F.SG

“it, this makes a spot” (6:15)

The non-SVO order is prominent once the theme of the narrative or the utterance is felt by the speaker as being sufficiently established:

(172) aǰád              embéře      ḥalél              kəl

go.PRF.3 boy.M.SG town.F.PL all

“the boy went to all the towns” (Rubin 2014b:394)

(173) aǰád              erśót              ǰer    ε-ḳōr              ém-ehum

go.PRF.3 boy.M.PL on DEF-grave.M.SG DEF.mother.F.SG-3.M.PL

“the boys went to their mother’s grave” (Rubin 2014b:398)

The VS(O) order tends to be employed when the predicand is indefinite:

(174) zəḥĩ-hum                      ġeyg

come.PRF.3-3.M.PL man.M.SG

“a man came to them” (Rubin 2014b:424)

### 3.5.3.6 Subject clauses

A type of clause where the predicate consistently precedes the predicand is, according to Watson for Mehri (2012:263), that in which “[T]he initial element is one of a closed set of verbs, participles, adjectives” which function “as the predicate to a following subject clause”. In Jibbali/Shehret these elements are *lézəm* ‘must’, ‘have to’, ‘it is necessary that’ (Rubin 2014b:320), *śef* ‘it happened/turned out that’, ‘as it happened/turned out’ (2014b:322), *tō-* or *wéḡəb* ‘it is proper that’, ‘ought to’, ‘should’, ‘it is necessary’ (2014b:325), *axér her (h-)* ‘it’s better for’ (2014b:149), *ḳəyś* ‘a good fit’ (2014b:324-325), and the verb *kun* in its modal function (for the latter, see above 3.5.3.3):

(175) lézəm dé      dḥa-y-šəhék-ək

must some FUT-3.M-answer.SBJT-2.M.SG

“there must be someone who will answer you” (Rubin 2014b:486)

(176) bə śéf                      teṭ                      š-es                      ε-ráḥaś

and turned.out woman.F.SG with-3.F.SG DEF-menstruation.M.SG

“it so happened that the woman had her period” (Rubin 2014b:388)

(177) wéḡəb      l-ən      nə-ḡád

ought.to to-1.PL 1.PL-go.SBJT

“we ought to go” (Rubin 2014b:325)

(178) axér ho-kum l-óflæt

better to-2.M.PL 1.SG.SBJT-run.away.SBJT

“it’s better for you to run away” (Rubin 2014b:534)

(179) ol kəyós-kum (t)-təg̃ t̃ɛfəl mən ʕaḵ fidét lo

NEG good.fit-2.M.PL 2.M-kill.IND infant.M.SG from in cradle NEG

“it is not right for you to kill an infant in the cradle” (Rubin 2014b:456)

### 3.5.3.7 Topic-comment clauses

This type of clause “Comprise[s] an initial topic and a predicate which in itself is a complete clause and includes an anaphor referring back to the topic” (Watson 2012:266), and the initial element is topicalised through this device. Here are a few examples in Jibbali/Shehret:

(180) ʔmbéərə t̃l-iš kəbbʔ t̃rɔ

boy.M.SG by-3.M.SG dog.M.SG two.M

“the boy, beside him there are two dogs” (66:11)

(181) šed no-radé-sən

residue.F.PL 1.PL-throw.IND-3.F.PL

“the residue, we throw it” (3:73)

(182) ʕašáš rodε-n-hom b-aḥrér

bone.M.PL throw.PRF-1.PL-3.M.PL with-waste.M.SG

“the bones, we throw them M. in the waste” (4:16)

(183) denu                      ləxím                      i-şbaḥ                      şobaḥ                      nə-ḥáll

DEM.PROX.M.SG shark.M.SG 3.M-become.IND morning.M.SG 1.PL-take.IND

“this shark, when the morning comes we take

šikkét

hook.line.M.SG

the hook line” (3:14,15)

Additionally, there are other topicalisation strategies, whereby the topic may be post-posed:

(184) şod                      řag dirém                      řa

fish.M.SG in barrel.M.SG PRN.3.M.SG

“the fish is in the barrel” (46:4)

(185) ʔd-i-bğód                      řa

CIRC-3.M-go.IND PRN.3.M.SG

“it is going” (82:3)

### 3.5.3.8 Coordination

According to the Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Linguistics “Coordination is a syntactic phenomenon in which two or more elements, known as *conjuncts*, are linked together, often with a *conjunction* (also known traditionally as a *coordinating conjunction*)” (Goodall 2017). The basic conjunction in Jibbali/Shehret is *bə* < \*wə. In Western Jibbali/Shehret it is normally realised as *wə* (Rubin 2014b:301). KM generally employs the conjunction *bə*, although it is often (but not invariably) realised as *mə* before /n/:

(186) mə n-śóm-iš                      b-əl-ķúrgit

and 1.PL-sell.IND-3.M.SG with-DEF-measure.unit

“and we sell it by the ķúrgit” (3:43)

In mainland varieties this conjunction assimilates to /m/ in the proximity of another [m], or is realised as *ə* or *əb* in the proximity of a /b/ (Rubin 2014b:302).

This conjunction has wide use and can coordinate syndetically virtually every part of speech in Jibbali/Shehret except pronominal suffixes. This sub-section is concerned with syndetic conjuncts, whilst asyndetic conjuncts will be dealt with in 3.5.3.9.

#### 3.5.3.8.1 Asymmetrical conjuncts

It is important to point out that while in the English language (as well as in many other languages) it is not possible to begin a phrase, clause or sentence with a conjunction, this is possible in Jibbali/Shehret, as it is in other Semitic languages:

(187) bə zĩ-s                      xáţók              mən-hũm

and give.PRF.3-3.F.SG cloth.M.PL from-3.M.SG

“And he gave her some (other) clothes” (Rubin 2014b:462)

Conjuncts usually appear in an order which is shaped by a definiteness hierarchy:<sup>142</sup>

(188) yum ε-nkʕ-ʔt se bə a-ḡigeníti ɖə-ʃ-és

when REL-come.PRF-3.F.SG PRN.3.F.SG and DEF-girl.F.PL REL-with-3.F.SG

“When she came, she and the girls who were with her

yə-fóth l-es

3.M-open.IND for-3.F.SG

he would open it for her” (Rubin 2014b:604)

### 3.5.3.8.2 Ellipsis in the conjuncts

Where the phrasal head becomes redundant in the second conjunct, it may be omitted:

(189) sift nušəh b-es ling-ét bə

oil.M.SG polish.PRF.3 with-3.F.SG type.of.boat-F.PL and

“the oil, it polishes launches and

horó

dug.out.canoe.M.PL

huris with it” (3:90)

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<sup>142</sup> This, according to the author cited above is: personal pronouns (1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup>), a proper noun, a demonstrative pronoun, a definite substantive with suffixed pronoun, a definite substantive with attributive pronoun, a definite substantive annexed to a substantive, or a non-modified definite substantive (Watson 2012:230).

In the above example the head *sift nušaḥ bes* ‘the oil, it polishes’ has been omitted before the second conjunct (that is, after the conjunction *bə*) as the information contained therein applies to both conjuncts.

The ellipsis can occur with verbs (as in the above example), as well as with nouns, adjectives, prepositions and adjuncts.

### 3.5.3.8.3 Anaphora in coordination

The first conjunct may contain, or be in its entirety, the antecedent of an anaphoric pronoun in the second conjunct:

(190) *nə-nókaʕ      bə-ʔano bə-ʔorób                      bə n-kótoḅ      l-əš*

1.PL-come.IND with-so with-wood.piece.M.PL and 1.PL-write.IND to-3.M.SG

“we bring thus the wood pieces and we write (peck?) them” (3:29)

Also an indefinite pronoun can carry out the anaphoric function. In the example below, *mən-sēn* ‘some’ (literally ‘among them’) carries out this function:

(191) *ε-lhúti              əl-hés ērún              mən-sēn      her ʔizz-ək*

DEF-cow.M.PL like DEF.goat.F.PL from-3.F.PL if slaughter.PRF-2.M.SG

“Cows are like goats. Some, if you slaughter (the calf)

*i-géfún*

3.M-accept.a.substitute.calf.IND

it accepts the substitute” (Rubin 2014b:586)

### 3.5.3.8.4 Agreement in coordination

This field is understudied and calls for more fieldwork and analysis of the existing materials in order to shed light on the agreement patterns in coordination, as well as in other contexts (see also 3.5.2.4.3). The main challenge in studying and describing agreement patterns on the basis of elicitation and narratives in Jibbali/Shehret stems from the fact that these are predominantly carried out in the third person, which, as is well known, does not distinguish number and gender in the perfective (except the feminine singular), while in the indicative there is only a third person masculine which functions as both singular and plural for a large number of verbs. The second persons, when they occur (and this happens only when two or more characters engage in a conversation within the narrative), are of little help too, as the indicative (which is the mood in which a conversation is most likely to take place) does not make a distinction between second singular and second plural, again for a large number of verbs (Rubin 2014b:139,141). However, the dual number, in its seldom occurrences, may be of use when trying to surmise some elements of agreement in coordination:

(192) a-ǧéyg                      bə tíṭ-š                      nəfś-ó

DEF-man.M.SG and woman.F.SG-3.M.SG go.in.the.evening.PRF.3.M-DU

“the man and his wife went” (Rubin 2014b:556)

(193) aǧad-ó                      a-ǧéyg                      bə tíṭ-š

go.PRF.3.M-DU DEF-man.M.SG and woman.F.SG-3.M.SG

“the man and his wife went” (Rubin 2014b:556)

In the two above examples, the verb agrees in number with the combined elements of the coordinate complex (Watson 2012:277) regardless of the word order.

The lack of scholarly work on verb agreement in coordination represents a gap in the literature, and it is hoped that this aspect of the language will be in the agenda of current and future scholars.

#### 3.5.3.8.5 Multiple conjuncts



As with simple conjuncts, there may exist conjuncts that are formed by multiple phrases or clauses, which aim at describing a sequence of events or listing things:

(194) š-ek            lənk                    bə gaḥáb-ək            t-os            bə

with-2.M.SG type.of.boat.F.SG and moor.PRF-2.M.SG OBJ-3.F.SG and

“you have a launch and you moor it, and

ḥāl-k            sift            mə nišḥ-ak            t-os

take.PRF-2.M.SG oil.M.SG and polish.PRF-2.M.SG OBJ-3.F.SG

and you take the oil, and you polish it” (3:88,89)

(195) šigirét    řafər-ót bə līn-ít            bə řafər-ót bə līn-ít

tree.F.SG red-F.SG and white-F.SG and red-F.SG and white-F.S

“a red tree, and a white one, and red one, and a white one” (9:1,2)

(196) mə lahán mə lahán mə lahán bə lahák

and there and there and there and there

“and there and there and there and there” (8:11)

This type of clauses can occur either on their own or within a larger structure, and can feature virtually every type of constituent except conjunctions and prepositions. The examples above contain, respectively, series of verbal, noun and adverbial phrases.

#### 3.5.3.8.6 Coordinated attributes and distributive readings

Syndetical coordination can also carry out the functions of assigning two or more attributes or predicates to a head, or to two (or more) separate entities, or of listing attributes to the right of genitive exponents *ǧə-* and *ε-* or the construct state:

(197) *keltǧt bε-nəwás bə ε-šxar-ét*

story.F.SG PN and DEF-elderly.person-F.SG

“the story of Ba Newas and the old lady” (Rubin 2014b:638)

(198) *yə-šoz-én éb bə ε-nīšan*

3.M-pray.IND-DL/STEM DEF.big.M.SG and DEF-small.M.SG

“they pray, old and young” (Rubin 2014b:392)

### 3.5.3.8.7 The relationship between conjuncts

As stated by Watson for Mehri (2012:284-289), the relationship between conjuncts linked syndetically can be of several types: it can be one of simultaneity, that is one “where events and states occur at the same time” (2012:284):

(199) *nəhí-n b-eš bə n-ǧólaʕ məħaruǧ ʔt-éš*

burn.PRF-1.PL with-3.M.SG and 1.PL-leave.IND fuel.M.SG OBJ-3.M.SG

“we burn it and leave fuel in it” (6:11)

Secondly, sequence can be expressed (2012:285):

(200) *nə-nakaʕ bə n-ǧófaʕ*

1.PL-come.IND and 1.PL-turn.over.IND

“we come and turn (it?) over” (5:21)

Thirdly, a relationship of consequence (that is, where the last conjunct expresses a consequence of the penultimate conjunct, and so on) can be conveyed (2012:286):

(201) ε-ḡ-í                      mériś    bə    ɖə-ḥézil

DEF-brother-1.SG ill.M.SG and CIRC-separate.PRF.PASS.3.M.SG

“My brother was sick and had been put in seclusion” (Rubin 2014b:530)

Fourthly, adversity can be conveyed, that is one where the conjuncts present contrasting topics (2012:287):

(202) ktun                      ber                      γə-kín                      b-ε-giēl                      əb

stinging.bugs.COLL already.PRF.3 3.M-be.IND with-DEF-mountain.M.PL and

“*ktun* sometimes are in the mountains and

bér                      γə-kín                      bə-ḥallét

already.PRF.3 3.M-be.IND with-town.F.SG

sometimes in the city” (Rubin 2014b:594)

Fifthly, syndetically linked conjuncts are occasionally attested in a context where the coordinating conjunction could be replaced by the disjunctive *mən* (Rubin 2014b:303) or *aw*:

(203) ɖə kun                      gériún                      t̪roh    bə    ɖə kun

if be.PRF.3 long.date.basket.M.SG two.M and if be.PRF.3

“whether it be two long date-baskets or

śṭṭét egirēt                      bə də kun                      śiēd

three.F long.date.basket.M.PL and if be.PRF.3 small.round.basket.M.SG

three long date-baskets or one small round basket” (Rubin 2014b:576)

Finally, coordinated conjuncts are employed in the listing of entities or events (Watson 2012:288-289):

(204) bə ksəbet      ε-tét                      bə ĩndəxét                      bə řétər

and cloth.F.SG GEN-woman.F.SG and DEF.incense.F.SG and perfume.M.SG

“and the woman’s clothes, incense, perfume

bə kərkúm                      bə kóhl                      bə a-ğrás                      ʔd-tét                      bə

and turmeric.M.SG and kohl.M.SG and DEF-item.M.PL GEN-woman.F.SG and

turmeric, kohl and and the woman’s things, and

yə-śiśt-hum

3.M-capture.IND-3.M.SG

and he takes them” (Rubin 2014b:576)

### 3.5.3.8.8 Adversative conjuncts

This type of conjuncts, which conveys a contrast or something unexpected about the topic, can be introduced by *fələkən*, *wələkən*, *lėkən* and *dun* (the latter may be optionally preceded by *mən*) (Rubin 2014b:302):

(205) ře                      məhrí                      fələkən řə-ķəní                      bə-śfól

PRN.3.M.SG mehri.M.SG but Š1/STEM-bring.up.PRF.3 with-Dhofar

“he was Mehri, but he was brought up in Dhofar” (Rubin 2014b:474)

(206) šãʕ-k ġaró wələkən ɔl ɰtum-k lɔ mũn

hear.PRF-1.SG speech.M.SG but NEG be.sure.PRF-1.SG NEG who

“I heard some talk, but I’m not sure who

ε-ʕõr h-íni

REL-say.PRF.3 to-1.SG

told me” (Rubin 2014b:410)

(207) ʃud tɔl-əʃ mékən ʔlkán ʔtet te ʃod<sup>a</sup> la

fish.M.SG by-3.M.SG much but with.3.M.SG EXIST fish.M.SG NEG

“there is a lot of fish beside him, but he has no fish” (43:4,5)

(208) yə-hérg lɔ dun bass yə-ʕõr ʔénu b-íd-éʃ

3.M-talk.IND NEG but only 3.M-say.IND so with-hand.M.PL-3.M.SG

“he didn’t speak, but he just said this with his hands” (Rubin 2014b:608)

(209) ə-xédəm yum-əl-əʔnén mən-dún yum-əl-ʔalāʔā ɔl ə-xédəm lɔ

1.SG-work.IND Monday but Tuesday NEG 1.SG-work.IND NEG

“I work Monday, but I don’t work Tuesday” (Rubin 2014b:303)

Additionally, the particle *ar* can carry out the same function (Rubin 2014b:315), although it does so far less commonly than its Mehri cognate *ār* (Watson 2012:291):

(210) he            b-erš            ar   ol   dé   kólóṭ   h-íni

PRN.1.SG with-land.M.SG only NEG some tell.PRF.3 to-1.SG

“I’ve been in the country, only no one told me

bə-šfókt-ək            lo

with-marriage-2.M.SG NEG

about your marriage” (Rubin 2014b:472)

The particle *amma* (from Arabic) contrasts the established topic by introducing a new topic, and can be roughly translated as ‘as for’, ‘with regards to’:

(211) yə-kín            bə-xár            əb   b-óhum            ε-núsəb            ámma

3.M-be.IND with-good and with-3.M.SG DEF-milk.M.SG as.for

“they are well and they have milk. As for

i-yél            bə ērún            ol   y-óžəm-sən            řad            lo

DEF-camel.M.PL and DEF.goat.M.PL NEG 3.M-give.IND-3.F.PL sardine.M.S NEG

the camels and the goats, they don’t give them sardines” (Rubin 2014b:412)

### 3.5.3.8.9 Disjunctive conjunctions

The disjunctive conjunctions are *aw*, *am* (these ones found in KM), *mən* (Rubin 2014b:303), *fló* (this one may be optionally preceded by *bə-*), *ya* and *miṭ* (Rubin 2014b:305-306).

The first four conjunctions are used to convey alternatives between the conjuncts:

(212) ɔrx                      aw ɔrx                      tɔɔ  
 month.M.SG or month.M.SG two.M

“a month or two” (3:81)

(213) y-énhum                      mən bédé                      l-ek  
 3.M-be.true.IND or lie.PRF.3 to-2.M.SG

“are they telling the truth or did they lie about you?” (Rubin 2014b:452)

(214) ī-s                                      bə-fló a-ǵá-s  
 DEF.father-3.F.SG or DEF-brother.M.SG-3.F.SG

“her father or her brother” (Rubin 2014b:502)

Additionally, *am*, *aw*, and *bə-fló* can introduce polycoordination (see below 3.5.3.8.10), rather like ‘either ... or’ in English:

(215) əm šerók-ən                      t-iš                      ʔmṭarək                      aw šerók-ən  
 or make.PRF-1.PL OBJ-3.M.SG type.of.food.M.SG or make.PRF-1.PL

“we either make it into salted dried fish, or we make it

t-iš                      mélaḥ

OBJ-3.M.SG salted.compressed.fish.M.SG

into salted compressed fish” (3:33,34,35)

(216) bə-fló tə-lótəg t-ɔ bə-fló t-ózám t-ɔ tét-i

or 2.M.SG-kill.IND OBJ-1.SG or 2.M.SG-give.IND OBJ-1.SG woman.F.SG-1.SG

“either you’ll kill me or give me my wife” (Rubin 2014b:466)

Finally, *ya* and *miṭ* convey uncertainty (Rubin 2014b:305):

(217) əmsélm miṭ áḥmad ɣör h-íni ɔl fəṭn-ək lɔ

PN or PN say.PRF.3 to-1.SG NEG remember.PRF-1.SG NEG

“Musallam or Ahmed told me, I don’t remember” (Rubin 2014b:305)

(218) yérd b-eš ɣaḵ gaḥrér ya ġör

throw.PRF.3 with-3.M.SG in valley.M.SG or pit.M.SG

“he threw it in a valley or in a pit” (Rubin 2014b:640)

#### 3.5.3.8.10 Polycoordination

Watson states that “[P]olycoordination involves a conjunction to the left of the initial conjunct as well as the second conjunct” (2012:297). Two instances of polycoordination have been presented above (examples 215 and 216 in the preceding paragraph), where, additionally, it is stated that the conjunctions involved in this type of coordination are *am*, *aw*, and *bə-fló*. In negative sentences, that is when the speaker wants to exclude two coordinated entities or actions, the negation *ɔl ... ɔl* comes into play:



(219) ɔl kis-k h-ésən sé ʕálaf bæ ɔl sáʕər

NEG find.PRF-1.SG to-3.F.PL thing.M.SG fodder.M.SG and NEG grass.M.SG

“I haven’t found for them any fodder or grass” (Rubin 2014b:632)

(220) ɔl teṭ š-eš bæ ɔl yit-š š-eš

NEG woman.F.SG with-3.M.SG and NEG camel.F.SG-3.M.SG with-3.M.SG

“he had neither the woman nor his camel” (Rubin 2014b:388)

### 3.5.3.9 Asyndetic coordination

There are various ways in which two or more conjuncts may be linked asyndetically. The simplest one is by apposition, that is when “[t]wo nominal conjuncts that share the same referent” are linked without using a conjunction (Watson 2012:299).

(221) i-nokaʕ əs-sižób y-ɔgaḥ

3.M-come.IND DEF-fish.species.M.SG 3.M-enter.IND

“the rabbit fish comes and enters” (4:5)

Secondly, counting entails invariably asyndetic construction:

(222) ʔad<sup>ə</sup> ʔ<sup>ə</sup>ro tōtít

one.M two.M three.F

“one, two, three” (52:13)

Thirdly, uncertainty<sup>143</sup> in a clause headed by a prepositional phrase is often conveyed asyndetically:

(223) ḥawále šilt riśá em

about three four day.F.PL

“about three, four days” (5:11,12)

Fourthly, when a concept needs to be re-worded halfway through the utterance, be it a correction or an addition, this is ordinarily expressed by means of asyndetic coordination:

(224) ən-šerók-hom śízóf ṭano śízóf šiwoṭ šiwoṭ

1.PL-make.IND-3.M.PL bundle.M.PL so bundle.M.PL tight.M.PL tight.M.PL

“we make them into bundles, bundles tied tightly tightly

faxra

together

together” (5:16)

Fifthly, in a sequence of events, conjuncts may optionally be linked asyndetically:

(225) áwal ši n-ḵóṭaḥ-š ʿn-ḵóšaḥ-š

first.M.SG thing.M.SG 1.PL-cut.IND-3.M.SG 1.PL-dry.IND-3.M.SG

“first off, we cut it and dry it” (3:28)

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<sup>143</sup> As in this case, where the exact number of days is not known to the speaker.

Other cases in which asyndetic coordination may be used include the following: the expression of consequence:

(226) ῥῶρ-ῶτ            ndóh    ἡa-l-éfk                            d-ḥákél

say.PRF-3.F.SG give.IMP FUT-1.SG-get.dressed.SBJT inside

“Give (them) here, I’ll get dressed inside” (Rubin 2014b:430)

Two adjacent imperatives may optionally be linked asyndetically:

(227) ḡád            ḥmél            ε-mbére            ε-nīṣán

go.IMP.M.SG get.IMP.M.SG DEF-boy.M.SG DEF-small.M.SG

“go get the little boy!” (Rubin 2014b:520)

In order to convey intensity, adverbs and adjectives may be reduplicated without an intervening conjunction. The same applies to plural nouns, whose repetition conveys emphasis on plurality, and for verbs:

(228) tə-n-ḱelaśód                            tə-n-ḱelaśód

3.F.SG-N/STEM-roll.IND 3.F.SG-N/STEM-roll.IND

“it rolls, it rolls” (122:1)

(229) fudún    fudún    ũ    ũ

stone.F.SG stone.F.SG big.F.SG big.F.SG

“a stone, a stone, big big!” (133:4,5)

Similarly, nouns and prepositional phrases may be reduplicated and linked asyndetically to achieve a distributive effect:

(230) ʕaʕrít mən bɔ ʕaʕrít mən bɔ

ten.F from here ten.F from here

“ten here and ten here” (155:8)

Finally, asyndetic coordination may be a stylistic device to convey a rapid succession of events within a narrative:

(231) t-ādo as-siyára baʕd ʕag siyára

3.F-begin.IND.SG DEF-car.F.SG after in car.F.SG

“the car started, and after (I entered) the car

ɖaʕ-t əs-siyarah-í

break.PRF-3.F.SG DEF-car.F.SG-1.SG

my car broke down” (2:1,2,3)

### 3.5.3.10 Negation

In Jibbali/Shehret, there are various particles that carry out the function of negating a phrase, a clause or a whole proposition: these are ɔ(l) ... lɔ (invariably realised as a(l) ... la by KM speakers), which are most commonly used in tandem in mainland varieties (Rubin 2014b:330), whereas in KM the use of la without a preceding (a)l is prominent. Other negation particles are ɔl-ʕɔd, zeyd, abdan, mən and ma (2014b:330-339). Anaphoric negation, that is “negation that relates to the content of an earlier utterance (e.g. This is red. No, this is orange)” (Yoshimoto 2012:547), is achieved by the use of laʔ, abdan, ob and lob (Rubin 2014b:306-307; see also 3.5.3.10.13).

An important diachronic process that must be taken into account when dealing with negation is the three-stage Jespersen’s cycle, whereby a language uses a pre-verbal negator in stage 1. This becomes weak, and is reinforced by a post-verbal negator in stage 2. Finally, in stage 3, the original pre-verbal negator is dropped (Lucas 2009:14-16; Watson & Rowlett 2012; Watson 2012:310-311). Jibbali/Shehret exhibits all three stages of this process. The following examples depict stage 1:

- (232) tēt-i                      guzūt                      l-i      ɔl      tə-bǧǧd  
 woman.F.SG-1.SG swear.PRF.3.F.SG to-1.SG NEG 2.M-go.IND  
 “my wife swore to me, ‘You won’t go’” (Rubin 2014b:460)

Stage 2:

- (233) hət                      ɔl      ǧeyg                      lɔ  
 PRN.2.M.SG NEG man.M.SG NEG  
 “you are not a man” (Rubin 2014b:504)

And stage 3:

- (234) her ʔǧad-ək                      sida                      la  
 if go.PRF-2.SG straight NEG  
 “if you don't go straight” (150:6)

The following sub-paragraphs illustrate Jibbali/Shehret negation in various morpho-syntactic contexts, and the use of the negators listed above.

### 3.5.3.10.1 Negation of the predicate

Prepositional phrases are normally negated by the circumfix ɔ(l) ... lɔ, although there are sporadic occurrences of a simple pre-posed negation:

(235) ɔl h-ek sé lɔ

NEG for-2.M.SG thing.M.SG NEG

“there is nothing for you” (Rubin 2014b:558)

(236) her ɔl tɔl-əs ġeyg

if NEG by-3.F.SG man.M.SG

“if a man is not by her” (Rubin 2014b:616)

Conversely, nominal phrases seem to be invariably negated by the circumfix negation:

(237) al wuléd<sup>o</sup> la

NEG boy.M.SG NEG

“isn’t he a boy?” (62:3)

(238) sɛ ɔl ġabgót lɔ

PRN.3.F.SG NEG girl.F.SG NEG

“she is not a girl” (Rubin 2014b:500)

Verbal phrases are invariably negated by a post-posed *la* in KM:

(239) ħaydén y-ūdə l-ən la

PN 3.M-lie.IND to-1.PL NEG

“Moḥammed does not lie to us” (1:6)

(240) ʕōr l-ə he ə-ġód la

say.PRF.3 to-1.SG PRN.1.SG FUT.1.SG-go.SBJT NEG

“he said to me ‘I won’t go’” (2:10)

In mainland varieties, on the other hand, the circumfix negation seems to represent the basic negation for verbal phrases, although the use of a post-verbal *lɔ* without a pre-verbal *ɔl* is sporadically attested:

(241) *ɔl dʰa-l-ǵád lɔ*

NEG FUT-1.SG-go.SBJT NEG

“I won’t go” (Rubin 2014b:390)

(242) *ɔl ksé sé lɔ*

NEG find.PRF.3 thing.M.SG NEG

“he didn’t find anything” (Rubin 2014b:432)

(243) *édaɸ-k lɔ*

know.PRF-1.SG NEG

“I don’t know” (Rubin 2014b:334)

The same seems to apply to subordinate clauses:

(244) *na-ɸgūn-kum ɔl aǵád-kum lɔ*

1.PL-wish.IND-2.M.PL NEG go.PRF-2.M.PL NEG

“we hope [or: wish] that you didn’t go” (Rubin 2014b:224)

### 3.5.3.10.2 Negation of an indefinite pronoun predicand

Clauses whose predicand is an initial indefinite pronoun are usually negated by the circumfix *ɔ(l) ... lɔ*, which surrounds the entire clause:

(245) ɔl dé níʂəz mɛs sé lɔ

NEG some drink.PRF.3 from.3.F.SG thing.M.SG NEG

“no one had drunk anything from it” (Rubin 2014b:476)

(246) ɔl dé yə-bǝ́d lɔ

NEG some 3.M-go.IND NEG

“no one is traveling” (Rubin 2014b:552)

However, in at least one case, the indefinite pronoun is negated rather than the entire clause:

(247) ɔl dé lɔ ʃõr h-íni

NEG some NEG say.PRF.3 to-1.SG

“no one told me” (Rubin 2014b:386)

### 3.5.3.10.3 Negation in coordination

In coordination, similarly to other types of environments, bipartite negation seems to be the most common one:

(248) mən ɔrx t̪roh ɔl-ʃód õtəl sé lɔ

from month.M.SG two.M NEG.anymore send.PRF.3 thing.3.SG NEG



“he hasn’t sent anything at all for two months

bə ɔl-ʕód níkaʕ mɛʃ gɔ̃b lɔ

and NEG.anymore come.PRF.3 from.3.M.SG letter.M.SG NEG

and a letter hasn’t come from him at all” (Rubin 2014b:410)

(249) ɔl ʃ-óhum kíʔ zeyd-lɔ bə a-ǵéyg ɔl-ʕód

NEG with-3.M.PL food.M.SG more.NEG and DEF-man.M.SG NEG.anymore

“They didn’t have any more food, and the man

yə-gósar yə-xétər ɣallét lɔ

3.M-dare.IND 3.M-go.down.IND town.F.SG NEG

didn’t yet dare go down to town” (Rubin 2014b:454)

When a positive clause or phrase is coordinated with a negative one, then the negative clause takes the circumfix negation *ɔl ... lɔ*:

(250) ifélɔʔ-ʃ mən ráħəʕ bə ɔl i-ʕun-és

trick.animals.PASS.PRF.3-3.M.SG from far.M.SG and NEG 3.M-show.IND-3.F.SG

“you take it far away. And you don’t show

t-ɔʃ lɔ

OBJ-3.M.SG NEG

it to her” (Rubin 2014b:586)

#### 3.5.3.10.4 Negation within comment of topic-comment clause

Jibbali/Shehret, unlike Mehri (Watson 2012:320), does not require an anaphoric independent pronoun referring back to the negated predicand to appear within the negative clause. Thus, whilst propositions like the following one, which incidentally was uttered in Jibbali/Shehret by a native speaker of Mehri, are grammatical:

(251) hɛt            ɔl    hɛt            axér    ʕan-én    lɔ

PRN.2.M.SG NEG PRN.2.M.SG better from-1.PL NEG

“you are not better than us” (Rubin 2014b:440)

Clauses of the following type are more acceptable:

(252) ʃɛ            ɔl    tɔl-ɔkum    lɔ

PRN.3.M.SG NEG by-2.M.PL NEG

“it is not with you” (Rubin 2014b:406)

#### 3.5.3.10.5 ɔl-ʕɔd

This negator is a combination of *ɔl* and the particle *ʕɔd* (see 3.5.3.11.9 and Rubin 2014b:311) and can serve as the negative counterpart of the auxiliary verb *d-ʕɔd* ‘still be’ (2014b:168), which in KM is realised as *d-ʕád*. *ɔl-ʕɔd* is almost exclusively used as a pre-verbal negator in tandem with *lɔ* as a post-verbal negator, and compared with the simple *ɔl ... lɔ* circumfix it has a different semantic nuance, conveying ‘not anymore’, ‘no longer’, or ‘not again’ (2014b:334):

(253) ɔl-ʕɔd            ʕág-ən            nə-gzém            lɔ

NEG.anymore want.PRF-1.PL 1.PL-swear.SBJT NEG

“we don’t want to swear anymore” (Rubin 2014b:416)

(254) ɔl-ʕód            yə-šérók            ʕágət            lɔ

NEG.anymore 3.M-make.IND jewelry.M.SG NEG

“it will not make jewelry anymore” (Rubin 2014b:448)

Secondly, as the negative counterpart of *d-ʕód*, *ɔl-ʕód* can be translated as ‘still not’ or ‘not yet’ (Rubin 2014b:335):

(255) ɔl-ʕód            shəl            lɔ

NEG.anymore be.satiated.PRF.3 NEG

“he still had not had enough” (Rubin 2014b:388)

Thirdly, there are circumstances where *ɔl-ʕód* takes the suffixes of the perfective verbal aspect. This happens when it is used emphatically to convey what in English could be expressed by ‘not at all’, and when it is combined with the future particles in its basic meaning of ‘not anymore’, in which case the particle *zeyd* precedes the post-verbal *lɔ* (Rubin 2014b:335):

(256) ɔl-ʕó-k            kódór-k            l-éflət            lɔ

NEG.anymore-1.SG be.able.PRF-1.SG 1.SG.SBJT-escape.SBJT NEG

“I couldn’t get away” (Rubin 2014b:490)

(257) ɔl-ʕó-k            dḥa-l-š-ēn-k            zeyd            lɔ

NEG.anymore-1.SG FUT-1.SG.SBJT-Š1/STEM-trust.SBJT-2.M.SG NEG.more NEG

“I won’t trust you anymore” (Rubin 2014b:390)

In a few cases it may appear without a post-verbal *l*, but this is most likely the result of the negator *ɔl* followed by the particle *ʕɔd* which results in a homophonous sequence:

(258) *ɔl ʕɔd ɛbʔé ar tuš*

NEG still.be.PRF.3 leave.PRF.3 only male.goat.M.SG

“he left only (one) male goat” (Rubin 2014b:446)

### 3.5.3.10.6 Other negators

Other particles can function as negators. The particle *zeyd* conveys the sense of ‘no more’:

(259) *guzúm-k ɔl-ʕɔd a-ħzéz šítár zeyd*

swear.PRF-1.SG NEG.anymore FUT.1.SG-slaughter.SBJT kid.M.PL NEG.more

“I swore I would not slaughter kids anymore” (Rubin 2014b:516)

As for *abdan*, it is certainly an Arabic loanword, and may be used to convey its originary meaning ‘never’ and takes the place of *l* post-verbally. More commonly, however, it means ‘never!’ as an anaphoric negator. Rubin states that it is the most common way to say ‘no’ in the texts (2014b:337):

(260) *əħtéđír ɔl (t)-zim tíṭ-i xaṭóḳ-és*

be.sure.IMP.M.SG NEG 2.M-give.IND woman.F.SG-1.SG cloth-M.PL-3.F.SG

*ábdan*

NEG.never

“be sure never to give my wife her clothes” (Rubin 2014b:462)

The particle *mən* (Rubin 2014b:338), which is originally a preposition, has a very specific meaning. It is used in oaths referring to a past action, where the speaker swears not to have done something. Syntactically speaking, it is a pre-verbal negation, and is always followed by a subjunctive verb:

(261) *mən l-šrək            ε-yít-kum*

NEG 1.SG-steal.SBJT DEF-camel.F.SG-2.M.PL

“I didn’t steal your camel” (Rubin 2014b:422)

Finally, *ma* has a very narrow scope, and is used (apparently exclusively) in the expression *ma l-dáf* ‘I don’t know’. Rubin states that it “seems to be a shortened form of the negative *mən* [...] which is also followed by a subjunctive, and not a borrowing of the Arabic negative particle *ma*” and “This is supported by the fact the the Mehri equivalent is attested both as *ma l-dā* and *män l-dāf*” (2014b:338-339).

### 3.5.3.10.7 Word order in negation

In a proposition, the last negator does not necessarily represent the last element (Watson 2012:325). There are cases in which some elements are positioned to the right of the last negator. For instance, a subordinate clause may appear after a negator:

(262) *ɔl    b-ek            ʕō-k            h-ek    lɔ    d̪ə-hét            mišérd*

NEG with-2.M.SG say.PRF-1.SG to-2.M.SG NEG REL-PRN.2.M.SG stupid.M.SG

“Didn’t I already tell you that you were stupid?” (Rubin 2014b:386)

Similarly, a clause of purpose (see below 3.5.3.11.11) may follow the negator:

(263) *ɔl    b-i            kəʔəfɔf    lɔ    her    l-šffər*

NEG with-1.SG wing.M.PL NEG so.that 1.SG.SBJT-fly.SBJT

“I don’t have wings to fly with” (Rubin 2014b:390)

Additionally, prepositional phrases, temporal, subject and locational clauses, as well as clauses of exception (see 3.5.3.10.11), can be located to the right of the last negator:

(264) ɔl ə-bğɔd lɔ mən tɛl aʕel-í

NEG 1.SG-go.IND NEG from by family.M.SG-1.SG

“I will not go from my family” (Rubin 2014b:408)

(265) ɔl ɔtəl l-ókum sé lɔ ʕónut dínu

NEG send.PRF.3 to-2.M.PL thing.M.SG NEG year.F.SG DEM.PROX.F.SG

“didn’t he send you anything this year?” (Rubin 2014b:410)

(266) ɔl wégəb lɔ tə-ğɔd

NEG must NEG 2.M-go.SBJT

“you shouldn’t go” (Rubin 2014b:456)

(267) ɔl kəs-én əɣɔd lɔ bũn

NEG find.PRF-1.PL pasturage.M.SG NEG here

“We haven’t found any pasturage here” (Rubin 2014b:470)

### 3.5.3.10.8 Negation of a single constituent

Within a proposition, a single constituent may be negated to the exclusion of other constituents:

(268) tet            urbʃa bə ɖenə            šíś            še            la

with.3.M.SG four.M and DEM.PROX.M.SG with.3.M.SG thing.M.SG NEG

“he has four and this one has nothing” (51:2,3)

### 3.5.3.10.9 Absolute negation

In absolute or existential negation, the existence of the predicand is negated. To achieve it, the predicand is surrounded by the circumfix negation *ɔ/ ... lɔ* in mainland varieties, or, in KM, followed by the monopartite post-posed negation *la*:

(269) ɔl    šíé    míh            əl-fənó-kum    lɔ

NEG EXIST water.M.SG ahead-2.M.SG NEG

“there is no water ahead of you” (Rubin 2014b:552)

(270) ší    še            la

EXIST thing.M.SG NEG

“there is nothing” (35:7)

### 3.5.3.10.10 Negative command

A negative imperative is expressed through the subjunctive surrounded by the circumfix negation *ɔ/ ... lɔ*:

(271) ɔl    t-tī-š                            lɔ

NEG 2.SG-eat.SBJT.F-3.M.SG NEG

“don’t eat it!” (Rubin 2014b:398)

### 3.5.3.10.11 Exception clauses

In this type of clauses, an element is negated (or excluded) by the exception particle *ar*, which takes the place of *ʌ* in the bipartite negation (Rubin 2014b:312-315). This clause is preceded by a negative clause which states the circumstance from which the element following *ar* is excluded:

(272) ɔl š-eš ar múxbuṭ ʔaṭ

NEG with-3.M.SG except cartridge.M.SG one.M

“he only had one cartridge” (Rubin 2014b:454)

Conversely, Rubin states that positive exception clauses are headed by the preposition *ǧer* (Rubin 2014b:242-243); however, although he mentions ‘except’ as one of the meaning of this preposition, it seems rather to convey ‘besides’ and ‘without’, the latter when preceded by *mən*:

(273) ǧ-aǧád ǧə-xəlóf ǧír-š

REL-go.PRF.3 3.M-replace.IND besides-3.M.SG

“something else [lit. besides it] will take the place of that which has gone”

(Rubin 2014b:564)

(274) šéləṭ ēm mən ǧér ʔít

three.days day.F.SG from besides food.M.SG

“three days without food” (Rubin 2014b:464)

### 3.5.3.10.12 Tag questions

Tag questions “[t]urn a declarative clause into a yes-no question that requests confirmation or disconfirmation, but implies expectation of a positive answer” (Watson 2012:336). In



Jibbali/Shehret, these are realised by adding the interrogative phrase *ɔl hǝ lɔ?* in mainland varieties (Rubin 2014b:300), and (*hǎ*) *la?* and *ndoh* in KM (for the latter, see below 3.5.4.2.1):

(275) he            zəḥám-k            bũn ɔl-hǝ-lɔ

PRN.1.SG come.PRF-1.SG here TAG

“I came here, didn’t I?” (Rubin 2014b:528)

(276) hǎ la

Q NEG

“isn’t it?” (62:2)

(277) ʔmgóran la

then NEG

“then, isn’t it?” (7:7)

### 3.5.3.10.13 Anaphoric negation

In Jibbali/Shehret, an array of adverbs may be used to carry out an anaphoric negation, or generally express an opinion or feeling that contrasts with a given statement or state of affairs. These are *ob*, *lob* (also found in the compound *ob-lob*), and *abdan* (for the latter see 3.5.3.10.6). Additionally, also the Arabic negative adverb *la(?)* is used widely (Rubin 2014b:306-307), and is the only negative adverb found in the KM texts analysed so far:

(278) ob            dḥa-l-ǧád

NEG.ADV FUT-1.SG.SBJT-go.SBJT

“no, I will go” (Rubin 2014b:390)



Adverbs pointing to a precise moment or period of time answer the question ‘when?’ or ‘at what time’ (Watson 2012:348) and are questioned by the interrogative *mit* ‘when’.<sup>144</sup> These are usually (but not exclusively) true adverbs, such as: *ēē* ‘earlier, a little while ago, a few minutes ago’, *berhón* ‘last year’, *d-ḡonút* ‘next year’, *fnērhón* ‘year before last’ (< fné+ *berhón*), *fnēfnērhón* ‘3 years ago’, *fnēnhínəm* ‘night before last’ (< fné+ *mənhínəm*), *fnēfnēnhínəm* ‘three nights ago’, *fənémsīn* ‘the day before yesterday’ (< fné+ *əmsīn*), *ḡasré* ‘at night’ (KM *ḡasrín*), *k-ḡásaf* ‘in the morning’, *kəlḡéni* ‘in the evening’, *ḡarére* ‘tomorrow’, *əl-ḡéni* ‘tonight’, *mənhínəm* ‘last night’, *əmsīn* ‘yesterday’, *nhére?* ‘at midday, in the afternoon’, *náḡsanu* (or *násanu*, KM *našenó*) ‘now’, *síkun* ‘at that time’, *(ə)šḡér/(ə)šḡór* ‘today’ (Rubin 2014b:289-290).

Additionally, the preposition *k-* might have been previously productive in expressing a precise point in time, which can be surmised by the expressions *k-ḡásaf* ‘in the morning’ and *kəlḡéni* ‘in the evening’. However, it is no longer productive at present. The prepositional phrase *mən hēs* conveys the sense of ‘since’ (that is, ‘from the time when’) (2014b:370).

The task of expressing a precise moment or period of time can also be carried out by a subordinate temporal clause, as in:

(281) ḡa-nə-śné                      ε-gōb-š                      mit                      zəḡám

FUT-1.PL-see.SBJT DEF-answer-3.M.SG when.CONJ come.PRF.3

“we would see his answer when he came” (Rubin 2014b:414)

(282) hēr                      bēr                      bə-ḡaš                      ə-lxím

when.CONJ still.be.PRF.3 with-beach.M.SG DEF-shark.M.SG

“once it is on the beach, the shark

---

<sup>144</sup> It must be remarked that, unlike Arabic and its dialects, *mit* ‘when?’ functions also as a conjunction (Rubin 2014b:360-361).

áwal ši n-ḳóṭaḱ-š

first.M.SG thing.M.SG 1.PL-cut.IND-3.M.SG

in the first place, we cut it” (3:26,27,28)

Additionally, this function can be carried out by days of the week and phrases with reference to the hour (Watson 2012:350):

(283) edūr-ək sáḱa xīš bə fókḱ ūt

return.PRF-1.SG hour.F.SG five.M and half.M.SG DEF.house.F.SG

“I returned to the house at 5:30” (Rubin 2014b:470)

(284) a-l-ənkáḱ yum-l-εṭnín

FUT-1.SG.SBJT-come.SBJT Monday

“I will come on Monday” (Rubin 2014b:284)

Adverbs referring to a boundary in time are, similarly to those pointing to a precise moment (see above), questioned by the interrogative *mit* ‘when?’. The true adverbs in this category are: *axaréṭ* ‘then’, *fónā* ‘earlier, previously (remote)’, *ḱérib* ‘soon’, *mǵóρε?* ‘then, later’ (*mǵóra(n)* in KM) (Rubin 2014b:289-290). KM has the (likely) Arabic loanword *baḱdín* ‘afterwards’. Additionally, the prepositional phrase *mən ḱírš* can express ‘afterwards’.

In the third place, the adverbs denoting duration may be triggered by *mše εḱ(ə)t* ‘how much time? how long?’. In this category one can find *sáḱate* ‘for a long time’ (Rubin 2014b:410), *šin* ‘for ..., in a while, for a time’ (JL:268). In addition, noun phrases headed by *ḱónut* ‘year’, *ox* ‘month’, *yum* ‘day’ (KM *nəhéř*), and prepositional phrases headed by *ḱaḱ* ‘in’ can express duration:

(285) skəf-k elóhun ḱaḱ ḱónut ṭrut bə fókḱ

stay.PRF-1.SG there in year.F.SG two.F and half.M.SG

“I stayed there for two and a half years” (Rubin 2014b:598)

(286) bə ɰtɔr-ən xĩš ěm bə-gizírt

and wait.PRF-1.PL five.day day.PL with-island.F.SG

“And we waited five days on an island” (Rubin 2014b:418)

Finally, adverbs of frequency, which may be triggered by the question *mše enzafór* ‘how many times?’, or, generally, by enquiring about frequency, include *xətarét* ‘once’ (Rubin 2014b:290), *xətarɔk troh* (2014b:438), and *zifét trut* (2014b:522) both meaning ‘twice’, ... *enzafór* ‘... times’ (2014b:493), *sɔbər* ‘always’ (2014b:290), *abdan* ‘never’ (Rubin 2014b:337-338). Frequency can also be expressed by verbal phrases headed by the auxiliary *ber*:

(287) ber-ót tə-kín bə-šhelót ber-ót

be.already.PRF-3.F.SG 3.F-be.IND with-thirty be.already.PRF-3.F.SG

“sometimes it is thirty, sometimes

tə-kín bə-ɣásəri

3.F-be.IND with-twenty

it is twenty” (Rubin 2014b:588)

Multiple adverbs of time can appear in a sequence, in order to achieve an accurate description of a timeframe:

(288) kərəre k-ɰaşaf dɰa-tə-ksé kálo də-núsəb

tomorrow in.the.morning FUT-2.M-find.SBJT bucket.M.SG GEN-milk.M.SG

“tomorrow morning you’ll find a bucket of milk

t̥l-ák

by-2.M.SG

by you” (Rubin 2014b:474)

### 3.5.3.11.2 Adverbs of place

This category of adverbs may be sub-divided into 1) adverbs of location and 2) adverbs of direction. Adverbs of location, which answer the question *hōʔ/hōʔ* ‘where?’, include *bun* (KM *mun*), *bɔ* ‘here’, *lɔn*, *lɔʔhun*, *elɔʔhun*, *lɔʔkun*, *elɔʔkun*, *əlɔʔhun*, and *əlɔʔák*, all meaning ‘there’ (Rubin 2014b:288). It is not always clear which nuances of deixis each of them represents. However, some of them can be used contrastively in a sequence:

(289) mə lahán mə lahán mə lahán bə lahák

and there and there and there and there

“and there and there and there and there” (8:11)

Other adverbs of location are *ħaʔé* ‘up’, *aǧál* ‘down’, *d-ħáǧél* ‘inside’ (Rubin 2014b:289), *xunʔ* (*mən*) ‘outside’ (2014b:289), *kɔl mukún* and *kɔl mənʔél* ‘everywhere’ (2014b:289), *ħeríb* ‘near’, *ráhək* ‘far (away)’, *fagər*, *ənʔorát*, *remnéʔm* and *keblət*, respectively ‘north’, ‘est’, ‘south’ and ‘east’<sup>145</sup> (al-Shahri 2000:160). A prepositional phrase headed by *b-* may carry out the same function of an adverb of location:

(290) ɛd ber b-órəm ksé teʔ k-ērún

up.to be.already.PRF.3 in-road.M.SG find.PRF.3 woman.F.SG with-DEF.goat.F.PL

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<sup>145</sup> These points of references are not cardinal but topographical. *fagər*, *remnéʔm* and *keblət* mean respectively ‘Negd desert’, ‘sea’, and ‘qiblah’, roughly representing the north, south and west in Dhofar. As for *ənʔorát*, its originary mean is not known.

“Then when he was on the road, he found a woman with the goats”

(Rubin 2014b:446)

Adverbs of direction are triggered by the questions *al-ħō?* ‘to where?’ and *mən ħō?* ‘from where?’.

They partly overlap with adverbs of location, when the proposition contains a verb of movement:

(291) zəħám-k            bun her l-édraš

come.PRF-1.SG here for 1.SG.SBJT-study.SBJT

“I came here in order to study” (Rubin 2014b:634)

There is a set of adverbs that specifically express direction. These are *al-yóh* ‘to here’ and *əm-bóh* ~ *əm-bún* ‘from here’ (Rubin 2014b:287). However, direction is more commonly expressed by means of a prepositional phrase, usually headed by *mən* or *ɣl*:

(292) a-ǧálét            zəħám            mən tōl-és

DEF-fault.M.SG come.PRF.3 from by-3.F.SG

“The fault came from her?” (Rubin 2014b:580)

(293) ǧíd            ɣl            ɛššér

go.IMP.F.SG towards DEF.party.M.SG

“go to the party” (Rubin 2014b:564)

### 3.5.3.11.3 Adverbs of manner and comparison

These answer the question *ɣl* ~ *ɣh* ‘how?’ (Rubin 2014b:297), and include *tanún*, *teno* ~ *teno* ‘like this/that’, *l-ǧrxér* ‘slowly’, *fáxrə* ‘together’, *físáf* ‘quickly’ (Rubin 2014b:290), and *xérín* (KM *ħērín*) ‘a little (bit)’, and the reflexive adverb/pronoun *ēńf* (pl. *ēńfóf*) often in combination with the

preposition *k-* or *b-*. The prepositional phrases that carry out the same function as these adverbs are headed by the prepositions *əl-hés*, *lěbər* and *taʕmírən*<sup>146</sup> ‘like’ (Rubin 2014b:246,254,263):

(294) rəḥīt                      əl-hés    ɛ-rét

beautiful.F.SG like    DEF-moon.F.SG

“beautiful like the moon” (Rubin 2014b:430)

(295) ə-lóbaḥ                      lěbər<sup>ə</sup> mədérɡa

DEF-board.M.SG like    stairs.M.SG

“the board is like a staircase” (96:2)

(296) šɛ                      ġeyg                      rəḥím                      taʕmírən-š    ɛ-rét

PRN.3.M.SG man.M.SG beautiful.M.SG like-3.M.SG DEF-moon.F.SG

“he was a handsome man, like the moon” (Rubin 2014b:536)

#### 3.5.3.11.4 Adverbs of means and instrument

These describe the means or the instrument by which a certain thing or event is achieved. The only true adverb in this category is *ʕanún*, *ʕeno* ~ *ʕeno* ‘like this/that’, which doubles as an adverb of manner (see above 3.5.3.11.3). Normally, prepositional phrases headed by *b-* carry out this function:

(297) i-ʕkík<sup>ə</sup>                      b-eš

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<sup>146</sup> See 3.5.3.2



3.M-dig.IND with-3.M.SG

“he digs with it” (71:5)

(298) ʕndəx                      b-eš

fumigate.IMP.M.SG with-3.M.SG

“fumigate with it” (Rubin 2014b:488)

### 3.5.3.11.5 Adverbs of degree and quantity

Adverbs of degree quantify the extent of a quality. Some true adverbs in this category are *bē* ‘very’, *zētā* ‘too’ (Rubin 2014b:290-291), *xérín* (KM *ḥērín*) ‘a little (bit)’. Additionally, a verbal phrase headed by *kun* can express approximation with a following numerical phrase:

(299) ḥōk                      tə-kin                      ʕaṭər denu                      fəték

sew.PRF.3 3.F-be.IND ten.M DEM.PROX.M.SG fabric.F.PL

“about ten fabrics are sewn up” (8:1)

### 3.5.3.11.6 Quantifiers

They are usually expressed by numerical phrases, and answer the question *mše?* ‘how much/many?’:

(300) mʕsé                      ʔoaṭ-ít ləxeyš

how.much.Q three-F shark.M.PL

“how many? three sharks” (35:1,2)

### 3.5.3.11.7 Adverbs of reason and purpose

These are usually realised by means of a prepositional phrase introduced by *her* or *ed* ‘in order to’ for purpose, and *hes* or *l-íné* ‘because’, and *mən* ‘because of’ for reason, and answer the question *kɔ(h)?* ‘why?’ and *siéb íné/l-íné?* ‘for which reason?’:

(301) ɣazz-ót                      h-íni

slaughter.PRF-3.F.SG for-1.SG

“she slaughtered (an animal) for me” (Rubin 2014b:420)

(302) ɣə-ród                      bə-xɬɔrók-š                      bə ɣ-šif                      ed

3.M-throw.IND with-stick.M.SG-3.M.SG and 3.M-run.IND to

“he would throw his stick and run to

ɣə-šé-kkl-əs

3.M- Š1/STEM-catch.IND-3.F.SG

catch it” (Rubin 2014b:532)

(303) ol    tə-ɣódər                      ɬɔk<sup>147</sup>                      t-šé-xəntɔ                      lo

NEG 2.M-be.able.IND want.PRF.1.SG 2.M- Š1/STEM-go.away.IND NEG

“you can’t want to go out

mən ělébsi                      bə ɛrsét

from DEF.rain.M.PL and cow.excrement.F.SG

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<sup>147</sup> This appears to be an atypical form. want.PRF.1.SG is normally realised as *ɬak* (Rubin 2014b:218).

because of the rains and the liquid excrement” (Rubin 2014b:594)

(304) hes bɛr bəhɛr-ʃ b-i

because be.already.PRF.3 ask.PRF-2.F.SG with-1.SG

“since you have asked me” (Rubin 2014b:542)

(305) l-íné he ɔl ɔ-éləf-k ɔ

because PRN.1.SG NEG CIRC-be.accustomed.PRF-1.SG NEG

“because I was not accustomed” (Rubin 2014b:596)

### 3.5.3.11.8 Adverbs of focus

They can be sub-divided into limiters, which restrict the scope of the proposition to the focussed element, and additives, which add a focused element to the proposition (Watson 2012:369). Some true adverbs in this category are the exception particle (ʃ)ar ‘only’, usually occurring to the left of the focussed element, and *bass* ‘only’, usually occurring to its right. The adverb *zétə* ‘too’ belongs to the sub-category of additives:

(306) d-ʃɔd ʃ-eʃ ɬaɬ bass

be.still.PRF.3 with-3.M.SG one.M only

“he had only one left” (Rubin 2014b:556)

(307) he ɔl ʃ-i ar ɔ́énu

PRN.1.SG NEG with-1.SG only DEM.PROX.M.SG

“I have only this” (Rubin 2014b:444)

(308) nɬa ʃ-en zétə əlhúti

PRN.1.PL with-1.PL too cow.M.PL

“we too have cows” (Rubin 2014b:494)

### 3.5.3.11.9 Epistemic adverbs

Epistemology in linguistics expresses the degree to which a speaker believes in what he/she is saying. In Jibbali/Shehret, epistemic adverbs are the parts of speech by means of which this is expressed. One of these adverbs is *śef*, grammaticalised by the homophonous term meaning ‘track’, as also observed in Arabic Bedouin dialects (Watson, p.c.), and having an identical cognate in Mehri (Watson & al-Mahri 2017:9-10), which conveys the sense of ‘it turned out that/it so happened that’:

(309) *śef*            *ε-gēnbít*            *məgəzz-ót*

turned.out DEF-dagger.F.SG loosen.PART-F.SG

“it turned out that the dagger was loose” (Rubin 2014b:456)

The particle *un* gives imperatives a sense of urgency (Rubin 2014b:310):

(310) *əftət-ũn-ũ(n)*

remember.IMP.M.SG-emphasis-emphasis

“please remember!” (Rubin 2014b:410)

The adverb *ʕad* (KM *ʕad*) may express uncertainty:

(311) *ʕad*            *tə-kún*            *lətgə-kum*            *émí*

perhaps 2.M-be.IND kill.PRF-2.M.PL DEF.mother-1.SG

“have you perhaps killed my mother?” (Rubin 2014b:438)

The particles *ḵetk* and (ə)*thúmk*, which are frozen PRF.1.SGs (Rubin 2014b:319), similarly convey uncertainty:

(312) ḵetk t-ʔš yə-ǧórb-əš

perhaps OBJ-3.M.SG 3.M-know.IND-3.M.SG

“maybe he knows him” (Rubin 2014b:320)

(313) thúmk t-ʔs ərgəfét

perhaps OBJ-3.F.SG malaria.F.SG

“I think it’s malaria” (Rubin 2014b:486)

The particle *məskín*, undoubtedly grammaticalised from the homophonous Arabic term meaning ‘poor fellow!’, takes on the peculiar task of conveying hope in Jibbali/Shehret:

(314) məskín ε-śíní-k ḵéríb

hope REL-see.PRF.3-2.M.SG near

“I hope to see you soon” (Rubin 2014b:321)

#### 3.5.3.11.10 Disjuncts

Disjuncts introduce information that, although not necessary, expresses the speaker’s attitude to the content of the proposition or clause (Watson 2012:377). The Arabic loan *yaʕni* often serves this purpose:

(315) bər ʔorób nəḵér yaʕni miya fi-l-miya

already wood.piece.M.PL slaughter.PRF.3 DISJ hundred in-DEF-hundred

“when the wood pieces are chopped, I mean, a hundred percent” (5:19,20)

Additionally, the time adverb *nášanu* may function as a disjunct “to capture the listener’s attention” (Watson 2012:377):

- (316) *nášanu* *yə-štím*      *aʕád*      *bə-dún*      *mən* *yə-mdéd*
- now    3.M-buy.IND sardine.M.PL with-credit.M.SG or    3.M-stretch.IND
- “now, do they buy the sardines on credit or lay out
- ḥóʕər*
- cash.M.SG
- cash?” (Rubin 2014b:588)

Content disjuncts express the speaker’s attitude towards something, and are often prosodically separate from the clauses that surround them (Watson 2012:378). These are represented by the positive and negative adverbs: *mor* ‘okay’, *ēhē* ‘yes’, *hes-tó* ‘fine!’, *hiškík* (f. *hiškíš*, pl. *hiškókum*) ‘don’t be scared! it’s okay!’, (*ya*) *ḥay b-* ‘welcome!’ (followed by a pronominal suffix or noun), *ya rét* (+ subj.) ‘would that! I wish!’, *yəx* ‘ugh!’ (expressing disgust) (Rubin 2014b:306). As for the negative adverbs, see 3.5.3.10.13.

Filler disjuncts are common in face-to-face conversation, like for example *yaʕni*. This may be used as a filler which conveys hesitation utterance-initially, without any following additional information:

- (317) *yaʕni* *əstaʕməl<sup>ə</sup>*    *sift*      *nušaḥ*      *b-es*      *lingét*
- DISJ    use.PRF.3    oil.M.SG    polish.PRF.3    with-3.F.SG    type.of.boat.F.PL

“I mean, the oil is used to polish launch” (3:90)

### 3.5.3.11.11 Adverbial clauses

These can be sub-divided into clauses of time, clauses of place, clauses of degree and quantity, clauses of manner and comparison, clauses of purpose and reason, clauses of negative purpose,

clauses of concession, clauses of factual and counterfactual conditions, clauses of universal condition-concession, and clauses of circumstance. Each can be linked to another clause of phrase by means of hypotaxis (that is, by the use of conjunctions), or parataxis (that is, without the use of conjunctions) (Watson 2012:382). These clauses tend to (but do not invariably) occur to the right of the main clause. In adverbial clauses, the word order is generally rather free, with occurrences of VOS, as well as of SVO.

Clauses of time are hypotactically introduced by *mit*, *ħaṣ ε-*, *hes*, *ħaḳt ε-*, *yum* ‘when’ (Rubin 2014b:360-372), and *əd* ‘until’ (2014b:358):

(318) *mit*    *ħág-iš*                      *(t)-ší-xnəṭ*  
 when want.PRF-2.F.SG 2-Š1/STEM-go.away.SBJT

“when you want to leave” (Rubin 2014b:564)

(319) *šxaf*                      *əd*    *šēḥ*  
 drink.PRF.3 until be.satisfied.PRF.3

“he drank until he was satisfied” (Rubin 2014b:474)

The conditional *her* can sometimes convey a meaning similar to that of the above-mentioned conjunctions:

(320) *bə*    *hér*    *ɔl*    *ksé*                      *sé*                      *lɔ*    *yə-gũḥ*                      *aħfól*  
 and if    NEG find.PRF.3 thing.M.SG NEG 3.M-collect.IND fig.M.PL

“and if<sup>148</sup> he didn’t find anything he would collect wild figs” (Rubin 2014b:432)

Clauses of place are commonly headed by the *mən-tel* ‘where’ (Rubin 2014b:73):

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<sup>148</sup> Here ‘if’ can be exchanged with ‘when’ without altering the meaning of the proposition.

(321) bə ksé ġarórt d̪ə-díréhəm mən-tél šēf embéɾe

and find.PRF.3 bag.F.SG GEN-money.M.PL where sleep.PRF.3 boy.M.SG

“and he found a bag of money where the boy had slept” (Rubin 2014b:400)

Clauses of degree and quantity<sup>149</sup> and clauses of manner and comparison are both introduced by *əl-hés* ‘like, as’ (Rubin 2014b:370), and the distinction between them most often relies on the verb in the subordinate or the wider context (Watson 2012:388):

(322) šerók-ək əl-hés řök h-íni

make.PRF-1.SG as say.PRF.1.SG to-1.SG

“I did as you told me” (Rubin 2014b:247)

(323) řod əl-hés řág-iš řírk

perhaps like want.PRF-2.F.SG 2.F.make.SBJT

“Do as you want” (Rubin 2014b:614)

Clauses of purpose and reason express the purpose or reason underlying the main clause (Watson 2012:390), and are introduced by *her* or *ed* ‘in order to’ for purpose, and *hes* or *l-íne* ‘because’ (see also above 3.5.3.11.7 for relevant examples). This type of clause, more often than others, may be linked paratactically to another clause:

(324) ol d̪ə-l-ġád lɔ mġóre her ol kis-k t-ɔk lɔ ol

NEG FUT-1.SG-go.SBJT NEG then if NEG find.PRF-1.SG OBJ-2.M.SG NEG NEG

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<sup>149</sup> It was not possible to find any clause of this type in the analysed materials. Thus, the examples in this sub-section refer to a clause of manner and a clause of comparison.



“I won’t go (because) then if I don’t find you

ə-ǧórəb      ɔrəm      lɔ

1.SG-know.IND road.M.SG NEG

I won’t know the road” (Rubin 2014b:390)

Clauses of negative purpose present a condition which may occur if the purpose stated in a negative declaration or imperative clause is hindered or disobeyed. It was not possible to find any such clause in the examined materials. However, there is no doubt that these clauses do occur in Jibbali/Shehret, and a deeper analysis of the existing materials, coupled with new fieldwork, will fill this gap.

Clauses of concession convey that “the proposition in the main clause occurred or may occur in spite of the proposition in the adverbial clause” (Watson 2012:395). They are introduced by *bélé* (Rubin 2014b:351):

(325) ɔl      (t)-zim      tíṭ-i      xaṭóḵ-és      ábdan      bélé

NEG 2-give.F.SG.IND woman.F.SG-1.SG cloth.M.PL-3.F.SG NEG.never even.if

“Be sure never to give my wife her (own) clothes, even if

ḥǝr-ót      h-iš      ɔl      dḥa-l-ǧád      lɔ

say.PRF-3.F.SG to-2.F.SG NEG FUT-1.SG-go.SBJT NEG

she says to you, ‘I won’t go’” (Rubin 2014b:462)

Conditional clauses are formed by the protasis (which introduces the condition), and the apodosis (which represents the main clause). These can be sub-divided into factual (or real conditional, where the condition is held to be true) and counterfactual (or irreal conditional, where the condition is held not to be true, highly unlikely, or not possible). Factual clauses are normally

introduced by *her*, while counterfactual clauses are introduced by (ə)ǧə (Rubin 2014b:344). Factual clauses normally contain a perfective verb in the protasis, and an imperfective verb in the apodosis:

(326) her šēṣ                      yə-dǫfən              ǫkət

if    be.satisfied.PRF.3 3.M-bury.IND DEF.food.M.SG

“if he was full, he would bury the leftovers” (Rubin 2014b:534)

(327) širik                      šelṭ                      ɛm                      her gilí

2.F.make.IND three.days day.F.PL if    be.ill.PRF.3

“you use it for three days if you are feverish” (7:21)

The apodosis may, however, contain a future:

(328) her ṣág-iš                      b-i                      ḥa-t-ǧíd                      š-i

if    want.PRF-2.F.SG with-1.SG FUT-2-go.SBJT.F.SG with-1.SG

“if you love me, you’ll go with me” (Rubin 2014b:420)

Additionally, the protasis or apodosis may not contain a verbal phrase:

(329) her š-ek                      kəróš                      mékən t-ǫk                      l-ézzəd                      t-ǫ

if    with-2.M.SG money.M.PL much OBJ-2.M.SG 1.SG.SBJT-give.more.SG OBJ-1.SG

“if you have a lot of money, you ought to give me more” (Rubin 2014b:558)

(330) her šerók-ək                      t-ǫš                      ɔl    h-ek                      sé                      lɔ

if make.PRF-2.SG OBJ-3.M.SG NEG to-2.M.SG thing.M.SG NEG

“if you do it, there is nothing for you” (Rubin 2014b:558)

Rubin states that occasionally the protasis may contain an imperfective or future verb (2014b:346). The particle (ə)ɖə is used in the protasis to introduce counterfactual conditionals, as well as two contrasting conditional clauses. Counterfactual conditional clauses may include the so-called conditional verbal mood (JL:xvi) in the apodosis:

(331) hɛt            ɖə kun-k            kólɔ́t-k            h-íni    tə-ǵíd-ən

PRN.2.M.SG if be.PRF-2.M.SG tell.PRF-2.SG to-1.SG 2-go.F.SG-COND

“if you had told me, your wife would have gone

š-ek            tít-k

with-2.M.SG woman.F.SG-2.M.SG

with you” (Rubin 2014b:422)

(332) ɖə šɛ            hez            yit-š            šɛ            yə-kín

if PRN.3.M.SG slaughter.PRF.3 camel.F.SG-3.M.SG PRN.3.M.SG 3.M-be.IND

“if he slaughtered his camel, the man is

mišérd    bə ɖə šɛ            ɔl hez            yit-š

crazy.M.SG and if PRN.3.M.SG NEG slaughter.PRF.3 camel.F.SG-3.M.SG

crazy, and if he didn't slaughter his camel

lɔ he ə-kín ɣəhbét

NEG PRN.1.SG 1.SG-be.IND whore.F.SG

I am a whore" (Rubin 2014b:388)

Two contrasting conditional clauses that contain the verb *ɣagəb* 'to want' may optionally be linked paratactically:

(333) ɣak tó-skəf bə-rík bə ɣak əl-xóle

want.PRF.2.SG 2.M-stay.SBJTas.you.wishand want.PRF.2.SG 1.SG.SBJT-divorce.SBJT

"if you want to stay, please do. And if you want to get divorced

ɣa-n-zém-k ĩndík-ək

FUT-1.PL-give.SBJT-2.M.SG DEF.rifle.M.SG-2.M.SG

we will give you your rifle" (Rubin 2014b:408)

Clauses of universal condition-concession convey the possibility of a universal choice, which may be expressed by *ɣəl* 'what/whoever', *əlhín* and *in* 'whatever' and *mən-tel* 'where(ever)' (Rubin 2014b:71-73):

(334) ɣa-l-zém-k əlhín ɣak

FUT-1.SG.SBJT-give.SBJT-2.M.SG whatever want.PRF.2.M.SG

“I’ll give you whatever you want” (Rubin 2014b:418)

(335) *kɔl*                      *ε-š-éš*                      *díréhəm*

what/whoever REL-with-3.M.SG money.M.SG

“whoever has money” (Rubin 2014b:550)

(336) *her*                      *ḵeri-ót*                      *yum*                      *ə-gólε*

whenever set.PRF-3.F.SG sun.F.SG 1.SG-be.ill.IND

“whenever the sun goes down, I get sick” (Rubin 2014b:486)

Clauses of circumstance “describe the circumstances under which the main clause occurs” (Watson 2012:402), or describe the circumstances parallel to the main clause. Clauses of this type are typically linked to the main clause paratactically. For instance, in example number 336 above, *her ḵeriót yum* ‘whenever the sun goes down’ is the main clause, and *ə-gólε* ‘I get sick’ is the clause of circumstance.

#### 3.5.4 *Lexis*

This paragraph is concerned with the comparison of the available KM lexical data with that of mainland varieties. Hulton’s word-list will be also taken into account in this comparison. Where relevant, parallels with other MSA languages will be drawn.

In the first place, items from a list of 200 culturally relevant words will be examined. The word-list in question is based on Bown (2008) and has been adapted to the cultural landscape of Arabia by the DEAMSA team (Documentation and Ethnolinguistic analysis of Modern South Arabia, led by Janet Watson with Miranda Morris, Domyk Eades and Alex Bellem): single items of interest will be described in detail. This word-list was elicited from the Sadaḥ speaker (see 3.2), as well as from a young (20 years old) speaker from al-Ḥallāniyya whom I met, rather randomly, in Salalah in April 2017. It was not possible to work with him on a regular basis, due to his scarce interest in the project which, in turn, resulted in his frustration whilst being recorded.

Nonetheless, he agreed on carrying out the recording session whose object was the above-mentioned word-list, and the results of it are by all means worth reporting here.

Secondly, lexical items of interest from other recordings, from both Morris's and 2017 corpora, will be described.

Thirdly, parallels will be drawn, where possible, with Hulton's word-list (Rubin 2014a).

Finally, some remarks about the peculiarities of KM lexis will be put forward.

#### 3.5.4.1 Elicited word-list

Only the relevant items, that is, those which exhibit variation in comparison with their counterparts in mainland varieties of Jibbali/Shehret, will appear in this section. For the complete sets of elicited materials see below (appendix 3).

For the sake of brevity, the 2017 (Sadaḥ) speaker will be henceforth labelled as speaker 1, whilst the younger speaker (see above) will be labelled as speaker 2.

##### 3.5.4.1.1 Item 14: 'here'

Speaker 1 produced *mun* consistently in natural uncontrolled speech, despite his family occasionally correcting him into *bun*. Speaker 2, conversely, produced the expected *bun*, shared by mainland varieties (Rubin 2014b:287). As far as the [b] ~ [m] alternation is concerned, mainland varieties (Rubin 2014b:33), as well as Mehreyyet show a \**bvn* > *mvn* shift (Rubin 2018:35). In KM this shift concerns also the conjunction *bə*, which is often realised as *mə* before [n] (see 3.5.3.8). This is not universal and there are exceptions. At any rate, its occurrence here is predictable, even if not previously attested. For another occurrence of this phenomenon see below (3.5.4.1.6)

##### 3.5.4.1.2 Item 12: 'there'

Speaker 1 produced *lahák* and *ʔlhoḥǒ*, without any mention of the many other attested forms (Rubin 2014b:288). Speaker 2 repeated the Arabic stimulus, without producing any native term.

##### 3.5.4.1.3 Item 21: 'a little (bit)'

Speaker 1 produced consistently *ħērín* here, and throughout the subsequent elicitation sessions. Speaker 2 produced both *xērén* and *ħērén*. Interestingly, he produced the second term in an attempt to correct himself.

#### 3.5.4.1.4 Item 22: ‘one (numeral)’

Speaker 1 uttered the expected M. *ṭaṭ*/F. *ṭiṭ*, whilst speaker 2 produced the most peculiar form *ṭẽ*, within the self-chosen container sentence *bire ṭẽ* ‘one person’ (as for this term, see below 3.5.4.1.6).

#### 3.5.4.1.5 Item 32: ‘woman’

Speaker 1 produced the expected *tiṭ/inéṭ* (SG/PL). Conversely, speaker 2 produced *titi*, translated by him into Dhofari Arabic *zogti* ‘my wife’, and repeated it several times. Now, while this could simply be a mistake on the part of the speaker due to mis-articulation, it might also well be that this form is the result of the coronal assimilation and subsequent dissimilation process, which lies at the basis of the genesis of this term: compare the Semitic root  $\sqrt{ʔnt}$ , and its outcome in a 16<sup>th</sup> century legal document, which contains a divorce formula uttered by a Jibbali/Shehret speaker (Serjeant & Wagner 1959:129). In this document, the term appears as *ṭiti* (ibid.). In the following centuries, the first consonant dissimilated into [t]. There is then a chance that in this insular variety, which is still not fully documented, some terms (especially those of every-day use, like the one in question) might have undergone peculiar developments. It is then possible that the second consonant might have (optionally) assimilated into [t] as well, although more analysis is necessary to ascertain this.

#### 3.5.4.1.6 Item 34: ‘person’

Consistent with the well-documented *\*bvn > mvn* shift, speaker 1 produced *minédam* < *\*binédam*. Interestingly, he added another term: *merdám*. JL has *birdém* (JL:27-28), which also occurs in the KM 1980s recordings (1:1). The presence of [m] in this term is unexpected, as there is no neighbouring post-vocalic [n], and may point to two different scenarios: the term in question might have been either 1) influenced by the analogy with its synonym *minédam* (< *\*binédam*, in which /b/ > [m] is expected), or 2) the shift might have taken place in a time when *ber* ‘son’ was pronounced [ben] (Testen 1985); thus, the sequence of the shift might have been the following: *\*benadam > \*men(a)dam > \*mer(a)dam*. Of course, this implies that two separate developments of the same term took place, as the form *birdém* is also attested. Nonetheless, one has to bear in

mind that MSA languages, as we know them, are the result of migrations and geographical overlap of the speakers, thus it might well be that in cases like this, one term is native *sensu stricto*, while the other one is a loanword from a language that was geographically near (or overlapping) at some point in the past.

As for speaker 2, his response is equally interesting, if from another angle. He produced the form *bire* which, whilst related to *birdém*, is not clearly explainable. It is rather safe to hypothesise that it might be a phonetically reduced form of *birdém*, used in counting (the speaker produced it consistently while counting, whilst he did not respond to the Arabic stimulus *šaxš* ‘person’).

#### 3.5.4.1.7 Item 43: ‘bird’

In response to the Arabic stimulus word *šašfúra* Speaker 1 responded with *ṭīrít*/PL. *ṭer*, whilst speaker 2 initially uttered *ṭiyerít*, and later added the term *ṭeyšít*.<sup>150</sup> This term does not appear in JL, and does not seem to be a cognate of Arabic *šašfúra*.

#### 3.5.4.1.8 Item 61: ‘blood’

This term is diagnostic of the sonorant devoicing that occurs rather unpredictably in some terms (usually monosyllabic) and in some speakers of Jibbali/Shehret (see 3.5.1.15). Speaker 1 produced *dʒr̥*, thus devoicing the final sonorant, while speaker 2 produced *dʒr*.

#### 3.5.4.1.9 Item 62: ‘bone’

Speaker 1 produced the expected *šašéš*, while speaker 2 produced *šašéš*, featuring an unattested diphthong.

#### 3.5.4.1.10 Item 63: ‘fat (noun)’

Speaker 1 produced both *ṭábaḥ* and *ṭóbaḥ*, with the optional shift of laterals to interdental (see 3.5.1.7). Compare the root *ṽšbh* ‘fat’ (JL:245).

#### 3.5.4.1.11 Item 66: ‘tail’

Speaker 1 initially produced the expected form *dunúb* (JL:47), but then corrected himself and said *dunúf*, which is consistent with the [b] > [f] shift described above (3.5.1.5).

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<sup>150</sup> Compare *ṭiṣyét* ‘oiseau’ (Dufour 2016:47).



#### 3.5.4.1.12 Item 77: ‘finger-toenail’

Speaker 1 produced the expected form *ṭifér/ṭaferéte*. Conversely, speaker 2 produced *šifér*, featuring a clearly pronounced non-etymological ejective lateral.

#### 3.5.4.1.13 Item 81: ‘belly’

Speaker 1, when requested to translate Arabic *amṣa* ‘guts’, unexpectedly responded with the term *šúr<sup>ə</sup>t*, which in all likelihood corresponds to *širs* ‘belly’ in mainland varieties (JL:267).

#### 3.5.4.1.14 Item 86: ‘liver’

Speaker 1 produced *šebdít*, that is with a palato-alveolar sibilant, while speaker 2 articulated the etymological alveo-palatal sibilant (Bellem&Watson 2017), thus producing *šibdít*.

#### 3.5.4.1.15 Item 93: ‘sea’

Speaker 1 produced the anomalous, although not exceedingly so, form *réb<sup>ə</sup>reb*, undoubtedly stemming from the eastern mainland variety *rémrem* (JL:214). Speaker 2, conversely, produced a form that, although still connected with the standard term, is significantly more anomalous: *erám<sup>ə</sup>*. This term has a final schwa which is markedly nasalised, probably through *\*erámám* < *\*eramnám*.

#### 3.5.4.1.16 Item 100: ‘cloud’

Whilst speaker 1 produced the expected *šǰób* (collective) and *ṣafír/ṣafrín*, speaker 2 returned the unknown term *garzáat*, which does not compare with any known term in Jibbali/Shehret.

#### 3.5.4.1.17 Item 101: ‘earth, land’

The Arabic stimulus *arḍ* ‘earth, land’, triggered *gadarét* from speaker 1, and *arṭ* from speaker 2. This term is *arš* in mainland varieties (JL:4).

#### 3.5.4.1.18 Item 111: ‘night’

The Arabic stimulus used for night was *lēla*. Speaker 1 produced the the adverb *ṣašarí* ‘at night’, and repeated the term two more times without pronouncing the [ʕ]. Speaker 2 produced *ḡašerí*, clearly pronouncing a /ḡ/. This seems to be the result of a mutual influence between *ṣášar* ‘night’ (JL:17) and the adverb *ḡašre* ‘at night’ (Rubin 2014b:289).

#### 3.5.4.1.19 Item 112: 'daytime'

Speaker 1 produced *nəhére*, whilst speaker 2 produced the unknown form *eṭṭúr*, which is not comparable to any known term in Jibbali/Shehret.

#### 3.5.4.1.20 Item 120: 'cold'

Speaker 1 produced the expected *ḥṓr*. Speaker 2 produced *šēl*, which has the more specific meaning 'icy cold' (JL:323)

#### 3.5.4.1.21 Items 133 and 134: 'right' and 'left'

Speaker 1 did not produce any native term, but re-iterated the Arabic stimuli. Speaker 2, conversely, produced the expected terms but in reverse order: when requested to translate Arabic *yimin* and *yasar*, he uttered *šemplét* and *emlét*.

#### 3.5.4.1.22 Item 136: 'green'

Speaker 1 predictably produced *šeš<sup>a</sup>rór* (and then corrected himself into *šet<sup>a</sup>rór*). Speaker 2, on the other hand, produced the unknown term *xórob*.

#### 3.5.4.1.23 Item 160: 'to play'

Whilst speaker 1 produced the expected *d-i-nḥag* (the 3.M.SG indicative preceded by the circumstantial prefix seems to be favoured as a citation form for verbs), speaker number 2 produced initially *d-i-nahág* (with /h/ instead of /ḥ/), and then re-iterated as *d-i-nág*.

#### 3.5.4.1.24 Item 162: 'to kill'

Speaker 1 produced the expected *i-lótoḡ*, whilst speaker 2 produced an interesting form exhibiting the reduplication of the third root consonant: *i-ltoḡég*. This form is not attested in JL, nor is it found in Johnstone's texts.

#### 3.5.4.1.25 Item 168: 'to sit'

Speaker 1 produced *skef*, with an anomalous vocalisation. Speaker 2, on the other hand, produced the expected *skɔf*.

#### 3.5.4.1.26 Item 181: 'to wash'

Speaker 1 produced *d-i-rḥót*, which is connected to *raḥás* (JL:210). Speaker 2 produced *d-i-raḥás*.

#### 3.5.4.1.27 Item 190: 'now'

Speaker 1 produced the expected *naşeno*, while speaker 2 uttered the same term without a final vowel, that is *nāşún*. In view of the likely composite origin of this term, which likely entails the agglutination of deictic elements (Lonnet 2003), the absence (or the presence) of elements might fit into the picture.

#### 3.5.4.1.28 Terms not contained in the word-list

During the elicitation, it happened that the speakers spontaneously added some terms that were not contained in the word-list. Speaker 1 uttered a fixed sentence that loosely means ‘what’s that?’ or ‘why so?’, conveying a nuance of surprise and curiosity: this is *iné téné?*. In a similar manner, speaker 2 told the present writer that the term *koş*, possibly akin to *koṭ* ‘spring, summer before rains’ (JL:157), means ‘very hot’. Speaker 1 usually utters *şalét ~ talét* ‘three M.’ without the expected [h] after [t] ~ [θ] (JL:253).

#### 3.5.4.2 Lexical items from the recordings

From the perusal of the transcriptions of the available recordings, there emerged a number of lexical peculiarities that are worth presenting and discussing. This sub-section is further subdivided into a section concerned with the 2017 speaker (with some data from speaker 2 used for comparison purposes), and another section in which the lexical peculiarities of Miranda Morris’s recordings will be presented. The last section will present and discuss the toponyms elicited from the 2017 speaker (speaker 1).

##### 3.5.4.2.1 2017 speaker (speaker 1)

The term *but* ‘house’ occurs several times, despite the speaker affirming that the standard term for ‘house’ is *ūt*.<sup>151</sup> *Contra* this, see Jibbali Lexicon (JL:32). Speaker 2 produced *ūt* when presented with the Arabic stimulus *bayt*. Additionally, Speaker 1 produced, in two occasions, a singulative form *butta* (154:28,32), which is clearly a calque on Arabic singulatives.

A striking feature of speaker 1 is his use of the imperative particle *ndoh* (variously realised as *ndó* or *ʔndú*), which normally means ‘give!’, as a tag question marker:

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<sup>151</sup> Actually, *ūt* is the definite form of *but*. However, it may be used as an indefinite form.

(337) dur            ĩnzil-š            ndo

return.PRF.3 DEF.place-3.M.SG TAG

“it returned to its place, didn’t it?” (80:3,4)

(338) ūt-hum                    ġinu            ūt            ūt

DEF.house.F.SG-3.M.PL DEM.PROX.F.SG DEF.house.F.SG DEF.house.F.SG

“this is their house, house, house

ūt            ʾndú

DEF.house.F.SG TAG

house, isn’t it?” (153:35,36)

(339) ʾrfaɣ-ót            ʾrfaɣ-ót            ndú

climb.PRF-3.F.SG climb.PRF-3.F.SG TAG

“it climbed, it climbed, didn’t it?” (153:34,35,36)

Also rather unexpectedly, in one occasion the speaker produced what looks like a PRF-3.DU verbal form:

(340) ʾmbérə    šēf                    bə    ġābʾgót    šāfe-tó

boy.M.SG sleep.PRF.3.M.SG and girl.F.SG sleep.PRF-3.DU

“the boy sleeps, and the girl sleeps” (153:41,42)

However, the context makes this doubtful, as the first predicand (the boy) already has a predicate. It is, at any rate, possible that the speaker realised there were two referents only when he was halfway through the utterance (he was observing a children's book), and the feminine gender may be due to the fact that the right-most referent is feminine (*ġāb<sup>ə</sup>ġót* 'girl').

As has been told elsewhere (see above 3.2), speaker 1 is a retired fisherman, and possesses a vast knowledge of the marine fauna of the Kuria Muria archipelago. Here is a selection of species names which exhibit interesting features linguistically speaking:

The turtle is called *ħúms* in mainland varieties (JL:112). Speaker 1 realised it normally as *ħóm<sup>ə</sup>s*, without the deletion of /m/ (see above 3.5.1.4 and 3.5.1.14 for a hypothesis), but also as *ħõs* twice: once during a semi-controlled elicitation session, and another time during the elicitation of fish species names.

According to Johnstone, 'lobster/crayfish' is called *śerəx* in eastern Jibbali/Shehret (ML:386). Now, speaker 1 initially produced *śiróx*, but immediately corrected himself into *ťiróx*.

Additionally, it is worth mentioning *dóx<sup>ə</sup>s* 'dolphin', which, although widely understood by mainland speakers, is not reported in the previously published literature.

The term for 'sea', apart from his usual *réb<sup>ə</sup>reb* (see above 3.5.4.1.15), was on one occasion realised by speaker 1 as *āranám*. This might be a plural form, to compare with *rónam* (JL:214), possibly used to convey emphasis/intensity.

The term *ħóboť* 'swell at sea', and not 'bruise' like its Arabic cognate *ħabať* could hint to, and the root *vħbť* (JL:102) carry the meaning of 'swell'. The context clearly points to a maritime term. It is realised without /b/ intervocalic deletion, and in this case the intrusive schwa does not seem to play a role in the non-occurrence of this phenomenon (see 3.5.1.3 and 3.5.1.14). It is to note that JL lists a substantive for this root, *ħayēť* 'swelling' (JL:102).

The verb meaning 'to disappear, to be scared away' appears as *ťehém* (PRF.3) and *śahyćť* (PRF.3.F.SG) in speaker 1's recordings. The non-3.F.SG form with /ť/ is attested (JL:275), whereas the 3.F.SG form is not. It is not to be doubted that both forms share a common origin.

There are a number of unattested terms which appear in speaker 1's recordings. *ram<sup>ə</sup>śát* 'sword' or 'dagger' was produced by speaker 1 when trying to describe a hand-held weapon he

saw in a picture (see 3.5.1.4), and *re*, which in all likelihood means ‘water’, features in a recording in which speaker 1 was describing a picture in which a human figure drinks from a bottle (25:1). It is hard not to associate this term to Soqotri *riho* ‘water’ (LS:396). Also *ṭ̣r* ~ *ṣ́r* ‘fishing pole’ (11:4-5) appears not to be recorded in the previously published literature, and it is problematic to ascertain whether the original root consonant is a /ṭ/ or a /ṣ́/.

#### 3.5.4.2.2 Miranda Morris’s 1980s recordings

The speakers featuring in these recordings spent their whole life, or nearly so, on the island of al-Ḥallāniyya. Their speech is, therefore, to be considered more reliable than that of speaker 1. However, it is to be noted that Arabic loanwords are not totally absent from their speech, as these recordings were made roughly 10 years into Sultan Qaboos’s rule, which brought prosperity and health to the islanders, as well as Arabic, which was starting to gain momentum in al-Ḥallāniyya.

Nonetheless, the language these recordings depict is still rather vigorous, and contains peculiarities worth discussing.

For starters, the ubiquitous personal name Moḥammed is pronounced in one of the recordings as (Mə)ḥáydan. Normally, when it is not pronounced in Arabic, Jibbali/Shehret speakers pronounce this name as *Mḥōd*.<sup>152</sup>

The unattested plural term *fāték* ‘fabrics’ occurs once in the recordings. As for its origin, it may be linked to Arabic فتيق [fati:q] ‘unstitched, ripped, ripped open, slit, rent, torn; sharp’ (Wehr & Cowan 1976:695), which would be consistent with the “ragged” nature of the fabrics used for sail-making (see text 8). It is worth reporting a measure unit mentioned in one of the recordings: the *ḵúrgit*, which corresponds, in the words of the speaker, to 120 *ḵarśš* (which is a currency unit, the piastre). In this recording, it is stated that the islanders used to sell shark meat by the *ḵúrgit*.

The striking feature of all the 1980s recordings that were analysed is the consistent use of the alveo-palatal sibilant /ṣ̌/, which is not the case with speaker 1. It is hoped that the analysis of the recordings that were not analysed at this time will shed light on unknown peculiarities of the lexis of this variety of Jibbali/Shehret, as well as on those which are hitherto not satisfactorily explained.

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<sup>152</sup> Watson (p.c.). Dufour reports *ēḥūd* and *āḥōd* (2016:42).

### 3.5.4.2.3 Hulton word-list: a comparison with 1980s and 2017 data

Rubin's article *Hulton's Jibbali word-list from 1836* (2014a) presented the data proceeding from a word-list collected on al-Ḥallāniyya by J.G. Hulton, a member of the crew of the surveying ship *Palinurus* (see chapter 1), and discussed its contents.

Wolf Leslau was the first scholar to state that the language of the Kuria Muria archipelago is a variety of Jibbali/Shehret on the basis of lexical comparison (1947). The contents of the word-list largely support this, but it must be remarked that there is a number of unclear terms that deserve mention and, where possible, further discussion:

Item 2 of the word-list is 'woman'. It is presented by Hulton as *yeth*, which in Rubin's opinion might be a typographical error (2014a:475). He further states that it might be a dialectal form. If so, there would be a great deal of dialectal variation in this semantic field (see above 3.5.4.1.5).

Item 44 'bird' is presented as *inkairuth*. Rubin (2014a:478) states that this term, that he transliterates as *ənkerót*, might refer to a specific bird species, rather than being a generic term, and argues that it has excellent cognates throughout the Semitic family.

Item 57 'a wound' is presented as *seemh*. This term is unknown, and its origin obscure (Rubin 2014a:479). Rubin attempts to connect it to Arabic *šamaxa* 'hit, smite', and cites Leslau in his attempt to connect it to Arabic *šamaḥa* 'hit with a whip', but further states that it was not possible to find this term in any dictionary, and indeed it could not be found in course of the present research.

Item 65 'upon' is presented as *baathuf*. Rubin (2014a:480) assumes a typographical error of *baaghuf*, and connects the latter to Mehri *b-aǧáwǧ* 'above' (ML:145). He further states that this term might have been dialectal and fallen out of use in time. This hypothesis, while certainly not to be ruled out, is doubtful as <t> and <ǧ> are graphically very different.

Item 74 'dry' is presented as *kuthoom*. This corresponds to *ḵóśśún* 'dry' (JL:153). It is noteworthy that here Hulton transcribed <th> in the place of a /ś/, whilst he transcribed <sh> and <s> to convey a sibilant in *shot* for *śōṭ* 'fire' and *nusb* for *núśab* 'milk', and <thl> to convey laterality in *thluf* for *śof* 'hair'. This might speak to the degree of interchangeability between interdental and laterals in KM. The same rationale may be applied to: item 89 'buy and sell', in which Hulton presents *yuhareetheem*, representing *yəḥór yəštém* 'he wants to buy'; item 101 '10' *athired*, representing *ḥásírét*. It is not far-fetched to state that Hulton, as a native speaker of English, would

not have had any doubt in transcribing [θ] as <th>. Conversely, when confronted with [t̪], a sound which is not part of the sound system of his native language, he would, in all likelihood, try to express the “dental” aspect of this sound (well represented by <th>) plus the laterality, which can be expressed with the only lateral sound of English, namely [l]. As for <sh> in Hulton’s transcription of *śōt̪*, it might be hypothesised that the rounding and the length of [ɔ:] in co-articulation with [t̪] reduces, at least perceptually speaking, the laterality of the latter.

#### 3.5.4.2.4 al-Ḥallāniyya toponyms

The 2017 speaker possesses a deep knowledge of al-Ḥallāniyya topography and toponymy. A part of this knowledge was recorded during an elicitation session which yielded a number of toponyms. They are presented below:

*Table 3-4 al-Ḥallāniyya toponyms*

1	xīzót e-zǧar
2	xīzót e-ǧet
3	xīzót e-ger <sup>a</sup> béb
4	xīzót əḥált
5	xīzót e-śáfaf
6	xīzét ət-tōḥ
7	ḥār ek-keddót
8	ḥār axléf ~ aḥléf
9	ǧadét řayōt
10	nəhúr hendí
11	e-nhúr e-rḥót
12	rəš eb
13	rəš e-gemǧút
14	rəš məḥábət
15	śaḥāṭót
16	maḥál
17	xīzét řaḥlón
18	xīzét mištót ~ mištút
19	xīzét el-lennót



20	xīzét ḥūr
21	xīzét e-tardót
22	xīzót tasānán
23	xīzét āsré ~ ātré
24	xīzót e-dāfənót
25	ḥār ĩnhít
26	ḥār e-sízóḥ
27	ḥār bə-nhúr de-latí
28	nəhúr e-ḥaṭót
29	rəš e-ktenníti
30	e-got āśá

Most of the toponyms above contain fixed elements: *ḥēr* ~ *ḥār* ‘mountain’ (JL:111), *n(ə)húr* ‘river, wadi’, probably ultimately from Arabic نهر [nahr],<sup>153</sup> *ḡadét* ‘depression on a mountain’ (JL:83), *gōt* ‘deep hole, depression’ (JL:80). As for *xīzét* ~ *xīzót*, it seems to derive from *xalé* ‘empty place, something empty; loneliness’ (JL:301) and the two variants alternate according to a pattern that is currently unclear. *xīzót* may be safely be considered as a feminine diminutive form (Johnstone 1973:99; Dufour 2016:44-45), but *xīzét* does not seem to correspond to a masculine diminutive pattern, which in the case of *vxy* would yield \**xīzÉ*. Each toponym will now be discussed: *xīzót e-zḡar* contains the term *zḡar*, which is described in the *Jibbali Lexicon* as ‘kind of bitter, peppery cactus which in an emergency can be chopped up for camel fodder’ (JL:316). Hence, the toponym in question can be translated approximately as ‘the place of the *zḡar*’. *xīzót e-ḡet* can safely be interpreted as ‘the place of the sister’. *xīzót e-ger<sup>a</sup>béb* contains the term *ger<sup>a</sup>béb* ‘the plain between the sea and the mountains in Dhofar’, which appears in the *Jibbali Lexicon* as *gerbéb*<sup>154</sup> (JL:78). The second element in *xīzót eḥált* is likely the result of the intervocalic elision of /m/ of \**e-meḥált*, which can be derived from Arabic محلة [ma'ħa:lla] ‘settlement’. Hence, the interpretation of this toponym as ‘settlement place’ seems rather unproblematic.<sup>155</sup> *xīzót e-sáḥaf* contains the term *sáḥaf* < *sáḥab* (see 3.5.1.5), which means ‘valley, watercourse’ (JL:244). The second element

<sup>153</sup> The *Jibbali Lexicon* does not list this term.

<sup>154</sup> Without the intrusive vowel /ə/ which occurs widely in KM, and does not trigger the elision of /b/ (see 3.5.1.3, 3.5.1.4 and 3.5.1.14).

<sup>155</sup> The speaker affirms that this place is located near the harbour, where, in the actuality, the main settlement of the island is found.

in *xīzēt at-tḥ* may be a nominal form derived from the root *ṽtbḥ* ‘to swing, to wander off’ (JL:281). Hence, this toponym may be interpreted as ‘the place of the wandering’. *ḥār ek-keddót* exhibit a second element which reflects a feminine diminutive form of *kidéd* ‘long hill, long ridge’ (JL:125). Thus, the meaning of this toponym may be ‘the mountain with a little long ridge’. There are two possible interpretations of the toponym *ḥār axléf* ~ *aḥléf* (see 3.5.1.9 for /ḥ/ < /x/): it may be either a nominal form derived from the verbal H-stem of the root *ṽxlf* meaning ‘to change, to transhume’ (JL:299), or an unattested term derived from the same root, but more semantically akin to the term *mixizéf* ‘deserted place’ (ibid.). *ḡadét ḡayṯt* contains a problematic second element, in that it formally corresponds to a feminine diminutive of an unattested root *\*ṽḡym*. Alternatively, it is possible that *ḡayṯt* is derived from *\*ḡaynót* which underwent the non-systematic intervocalic deletion of [n] (Rubin 2014:37). Thus, a likely interpretation is ‘depression of the small eye’. While *nahúr hendí* (literally ‘Indian river’) is rather unproblematic etymologically speaking, the historical background of this toponym calls for further investigation. The second element of *enḥúr e-ḥṯt* is, in all likelihood, a diminutive form of *erḥīt* ‘beautiful’ (JL:210). Thus, this toponym may be interpreted as ‘the little beautiful river’. *reš eb* literally translates as ‘big cape’, and *reš e-gemḡút*, whose second element means ‘skull’ (JL:76), can be translated as ‘cape skull’. As for *reš maḥábəṭ*, its interpretation is less straightforward: the second element seems to be a participial form derived from the root *ṽḥbṭ* whose basic meaning is ‘to swell’ (JL:102). The non-occurrence of the intervocalic elision of /b/ (see 3.5.1.3) points to the presence of an intrusive vowel between C<sub>2</sub> and C<sub>3</sub>, but similarly to *ḥóboṭ* ‘swell at sea’ (see 3.5.4.2.1) it seems not to be there. This toponym may be translated as ‘swollen cape’ or ‘cape swell’. *śaḥāṯt* is undoubtedly related to the term *śebḥaṭat*<sup>156</sup> ‘sperm-whale’. However, it is not clear whether this form should be considered a diminutive (Johnstone 1973) or a plural form. *maḥál* is, according to the speaker and the term’s Arabic meaning, the place where the main settlement of the island is located (see also above *xīzēt eḥált*). As for the remaining toponyms in the list above, it was not possible to identify their meaning with an acceptable degree of certainty. Among them, number 24 *xīzēt e-dāfanót* contains a second element *dāfanót* which has been identified with a fish species in Baḥari.<sup>157</sup> The remaining toponyms need further study.

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<sup>156</sup> Not recorded in JL.

<sup>157</sup> Precisely, a species of small shark (Gasparini p.c.).

### 3.6 Conclusions

In the course of this chapter, the grammar of the Jibbali/Shehret variety of Kuria Muria was analysed. Firstly, an introduction provided an overview of the language, the relevant literature, and its socio-cultural context. Secondly, the phonology, morphology, syntax and lexis of the language were described in as much detail as the available materials allowed. The syntax section endeavoured to describe clause structure in all Jibbali/Shehret varieties, in order to fill a literature gap.

This study led to a number of findings that may be thus recapitulated:

- 1) KM does exhibit what may be superficially described as a shift of the laterals to interdental. However, a deeper analysis reveals two important characteristics: 1) this phenomenon is better described as a shift of sibilants to interdental, as there are a number of examples of non-lateral sounds shifting to an interdental locus, 2) this shift is not universal, and 3) the shift does not seem to happen only from sibilant to interdental, but also (although much more rarely) *vice versa* (see 3.5.1.7, 3.5.1.8);
- 2) The intervocalic assimilation of /b/ and /m/ is not universal and not entirely productive in KM (see 3.5.1.3, 3.5.1.4, 3.5.1.14);
- 3) Other consonantal shifts may be observed: /x/ > [h] ~ [ħ] and /ǧ/ > [ʕ]. Both phenomena are not predictable and the latter is rather rare, although occurring a sufficient number of times to make it worth describing it. The former, on the other hand, occurs more often, and seems to be triggered by the proximity of a low vowel. These shifts, if confirmed by further research, would represent a commonality of KM with eastern Soqotri, in which they are stable features (see 3.5.1.9, 3.5.1.11);
- 4) /l/ may not shift to [ɭ] intervocalically (see 3.5.1.13);
- 5) The use of the definite article is not consistent, and, at least in some cases, it is omitted altogether (see 3.5.2.4.2);
- 6) The distinction between /š̃/ and /š/ is present, although not found in all speakers. This is consistent with Bellem & Watson's statement that this distinction is not an exclusive

- feature of the central varieties of the language, and that its presence/absence may be governed by socio-linguistic factors (2017) (see 3.5.1.12);
- 7) The agreement patterns (especially when demonstratives are involved) are not clear, and plural demonstratives show signs of obsolescence (see 3.5.2.3);
  - 8) The vocalisation of the 3.F.SG suffix of the perfective verbs seems to fluctuate according to unknown patterns (see 3.5.2.5);
  - 9) It was possible to find only one doubtful occurrence of the dual number in the verbal system (see 3.5.4.2.1);
  - 10) The vocalisation of the auxiliaries *ʕɔd* and *d-ʕád*, and of the negation *ɔ(l) ... la*, is *ʕad*, *d-ʕád* and *a(l) ... la* respectively (3.5.1.14, 3.5.3.10);
  - 11) Some terms exhibit non-etymological gemination of the second root consonant in prosodically strong environments (see 3.5.1.6);
  - 12) The conjunction *bə* may be realised as *mə* when the following sound is [n], consistently with the well-described shift *\*bvn > mvn* (Rubin 2014b:33) (see 3.5.3.8);
  - 13) The 2017 speaker uses the particle *ndoh*, which elsewhere means ‘give!’, as a tag questions marker (3.5.4.2.1);
  - 14) The widespread presence of paragoge where one would expect pre-pausal glottalisation (see 3.5.1.14);
  - 15) KM lexis exhibits a number of peculiarities.

As is obvious, additional research is needed in order to describe satisfactorily the above-mentioned phenomena. Besides, there is a need for more fieldwork in mainland varieties. A research agenda for Jibbali/Shehret might include the following points:

1. Although some materials are currently available (Watson & Morris 2016b), it is imperative to obtain new data for the western varieties of the language, as this is the least documented among mainland varieties;

2. Not all of Miranda Morris's recordings were analysed at this time. Therefore, this must be done;
3. More fieldwork is needed in al-Ḥallāniyya in order to document the Kuria Muria variety in its every-day use;
4. Agreement patterns must be analysed across varieties in order to shed light on the anomalies that have been shown here (see 3.5.2.4.3 and 3.5.3.8.4);
5. A deeper analysis of clause structure is needed;
6. A large scale study on the distinction between /š/ and /ṣ̌/ across varieties is needed;
7. An ethnographic project aimed at discovering the history of Jibbali/Shehret (and MSA at large) speakers must be carried out, and its findings must be compared to those of the grammar studies and, if relevant, to those concerning the deciphering of the cave inscriptions found in Dhofar;
8. A detailed survey of al-Ḥallāniyya's native place-names, and the production of a topographic map of the island featuring them are needed.

## 4. Chapter – The lexical substrata of Modern South Arabian

### 4.1 Introduction

In the recent decades only a few remarks about MSA lexis has appeared in the literature: for example, Kogan (2015:546) describes MSA vocabulary as having a “peculiar aspect, at times so strikingly ‘non-Semitic’ that some sort of external influence (substratum or adstratum) might legitimately suggest itself as an explanatory model”. Also, Militarev (1984) noticed some peculiar lexical items, which he initially thought to be of Cushitic origin, and later recognised as a part of the wider Afro-Asiatic background of Semitic (p.c.). In parallel fashion, it is difficult not to notice the massive amount of Arabic loans that constitutes a sizeable part of MSA vocabulary, and have found their way to virtually all semantic fields. The twofold aim of this chapter is, on the one hand, to describe the influence of Arabic on MSA lexis, and, on other hand, to propose Austronesian, and specifically, a pre-documentary phase of the Malagasy language (in its turn influenced by Malay and Javanese languages), which is part of the south-east Barito sub-group, as the source of some of the above-mentioned hitherto unidentifiable MSA lexical items, on the basis of formal and semantic correspondences, as well as of the historical and textual evidence of an Austronesian presence in the geographical area where MSA languages are spoken at present. The chapter is divided into two main sub-sections: the first one is devoted to the Arabic lexical interference in MSA, while the second one illustrates the hypothesis of an Austronesian influence.

### 4.2 Arabic<sup>158</sup> influence on MSA

That MSA languages exhibit a great number of Arabic loanwords is a fact that can hardly go unnoticed. Yet, this aspect of MSA lexis has been simply explained with contact, which has presumably been going on since the dawn of Islam, if not before that, and with the cultural prominence of Islam, whose linguistic vehicle is the Arabic language. All this, however, does not provide an explanation as to when this process began. It is known from aṭ-Ṭabarī (1905), that the peoples of southern Arabia accepted Islam at an early stage, but, similarly to other conquered Arabian peoples, attempted to reject it after Muhammad’s death, which prompted the wars of

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<sup>158</sup> The label “Arabic” in this case is not limited to contemporary Arabic dialects or Modern Standard Arabic, but comprises the old Arabic varieties that were spoken in the Arabian peninsula in pre-documentary times, and that came in contact with MSA through trade and travel.

apostasy. From that time on, with the enforcement of the Islamic law in the conquered territories, the use of the Arabic language may have started to become more prominent. Also, it must be remarked that the desert areas of southern Arabia were home to (or, at least, were frequented by) some old Arabic speaking tribes (Macdonald 2000:36; Robin 2015:93), although they likely represented a minority. In spite of this, the influence of Arabic has not been strong enough to erode MSA languages until recently. For example, Al-Hamdani reported that the people of Mahra spoke *ǧutm*<sup>159</sup> (Versteegh 1997:38), and in the 16<sup>th</sup> century it is stated of the al-Shahra that they “have a language like the Africans” but “most of them can cope with Arabic” (Serjeant & Wagner 1959:129), which bears witness to the foreignness of the Arabic language in that land.

In addition to that, the cultural tenets of which Arabic was the spoken vehicle seem to have had a loose grip on the southern Arabian peoples until relatively recently: in 1847 Carter affirmed that, in matters of religion, the Mahra “had little, or none”, and that “it was only here and there on the coast that you met with a man, who could say his prayers, while the Bedwins of the interior were wholly devoid of religion” (Carter 1847:341).

The picture of the contact between MSA and Arabic appears complex from every angle, be it linguistic or cultural. However, since the cultural aspects are not within the scope of the present thesis, only some linguistic facts will be analysed here.

#### 4.2.1 Arabic lexical items in MSA

A linguistic fact that seems to point to a long exposure to northern Arabian varieties is that some likely loanwords in MSA contain sounds that are not found in contemporary and classical Arabic. To cite a few examples: Jibbali/Shehret *aḥrék* ‘to burn’ (JL:115), probably connected to Arabic <حرق> [ħaraq] (Kogan 2015:491), Mehri *bayś* ‘egg’ (ML:60), < Arabic <بيض> [bajd<sup>ʕ</sup>] (Kogan 2015:499), Jibbali/Shehret *kəbś* ‘male lamb’ (JL:125) < Arabic <كباش> [kabʃ], and Jibbali/Shehret *tǧhur* ‘noon’ (JL:48) < Arabic <ظهر> [ð<sup>ʕ</sup>uhr]. As regards MSA [ʔ] = Arabic <ض>, currently articulated as [ð<sup>ʕ</sup>] in Dhofari (Davey 2016:37) and Yemeni varieties (Durand 2009:227-228), it may be inferred that the loanwords entered MSA in a time in which the relevant Arabic varieties possessed [ʔ] (al-Azraqi 2010).<sup>160</sup> The correspondence between Modern South Arabian [kʰ] and Arabic <ق> is more

<sup>159</sup> Incorrect, indistinct.

<sup>160</sup> Watson (p.c.) notes that Bayt Kathiri speakers of Mehri have an emphatic sonorant lateral for cognate of Arabic <ض>.

problematic, albeit etymologically straightforward (SED:LXVIII-LXIX). Dhofari Arabic currently exhibits [q] for <ق> (Davey 2016:34), which could reasonably be re-analysed as [k']. However, there is no certainty as to how old this pronunciation of <ق> is in the area.<sup>161</sup> As for MSA [t] = Arabic <ش>, al-Jallad (2018:324-325) states that in ancient early Arabic varieties

“It was probably the case that the reflex of \*s<sup>2</sup> retained its original value as a voiceless lateral fricative [t]. This realization can be triangulated from two observations. The Safaitic glyph corresponding to ش is never used to transcribe Aramaic š [ʃ], indicating that it had not yet achieved that value. The same sound is always transcribed as σ in Greek [...] which could also suggest that it did not have the value that Sibawayh described, namely, a voiceless palatal fricative [ç], as velar and post-velar fricatives are always given with the *spiritus asper*. Thus, it was probably the case that the sound preserved its original lateral value”.

It can then be surmised that <ش> might have been realised as [t] when certain Arabic terms found their way into MSA. However, al-Jallad’s statements, while certainly relevant for the northern fringe of the Arabic speaking area, are not necessarily valid for southern Arabia, where spoken Arabic might have had other phonetic peculiarities. Finally, with regards to MSA /t̤/ = Arabic <ظ>, al-Jallad hypothesises that the proto-Arabic value of <ظ> was [tθ'] (2018:324), which can easily be re-analysed as MSA /t̤/ = [θ'].

Arabic loans in MSA abound in nearly every semantic domain. Unsurprisingly, much of the religious vocabulary is not native: for example, Mehri *masgīd* (ML:271), Jibbali/Shehret *masgéd*<sup>162</sup> (JL:224) ‘mosque’, Mehri *qablēt* (ML:221) ‘qiblah’, Mehri *ramāṣōn* (ML:327), Jibbali/Shehret *rēṣūn* (JL:214) ‘ramāḍan’. A peculiar exception<sup>163</sup> is represented by the term for ‘God’, which is Mehri *abēli* (ML:41), and Jibbali/Shehret *ḥḥz* (JL:22).

Conversely, the semantic domains that are less prone to lexical borrowing from Arabic are those concerned with traditional activities and knowledge, including personal names (Watson 2012:54), lunar calendar months and stars names (*ibid.*: 56),<sup>164</sup> and the rich camel-related terminology, as well as the camel lineage names (*ibid.*: 57).

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<sup>161</sup> It seems unlikely that Arabic possessed [k'], even in its archaic phase (Versteegh 1997:21; Durand 2009:219-220; al-Jallad 2018:324). However, Versteegh further states that “the Arabic phoneme /q/ possibly evolved from a phoneme \*k, which was neutral with regard to voicing” (1997:42).

<sup>162</sup> Lacking the expected correspondence PS \*s<sup>1</sup> > Arabic [s], MSA [ʃ], [h], [ç].

<sup>163</sup> A similar case may be found in Persian: خدا [xo'da] ‘God’. These terms are closer in meaning to ‘lord’ than to ‘God’.

<sup>164</sup> Although many Arabic star names are used in MSA (Watson, p.c.).



Loanwords may be adopted and then co-exist with inherited lexical items. For example, Mehri *arkayb* < Arabic ركب ~ *erisit* ‘a kind of saddle’, *xodəm* < Arabic خادم ~ *gaḥayl* ‘servant’.

#### 4.2.2 Research avenues towards an accurate identification of Arabic loans in MSA

Kogan defines this process as “one of the most perplexing issues in the historical lexicography of MSA” (2015:532). Indeed, the question of the Arabic influence on MSA is a vexing one, as not only do the loanwords appear to have found their way in the languages at different times (and at different degrees, according to the single MSA languages), but they also come from a language (namely, Arabic) which is genetically related to the borrowing languages. Pat-El, in her 2013 article entitled *Contact or Inheritance? Criteria for distinguishing internal and external change in genetically related languages*, affirms that “borrowing from genetically similar languages may be untraceable. In fact, some scholars think that it is nigh impossible to differentiate borrowing from internal change” (2013:314), and suggests two criteria to identify linguistic features borrowed through contact between genetically related languages: the first one is tracing the stages of a process. If one language exhibits the evolutionary stages of a process leading to a certain state of affairs, while another only exhibits the final result of that process, then the latter language borrowed from the former. The second one is checking the consistency across categories: if one language exhibits a pattern across categories, while another one exhibits the same pattern restrictedly, then the latter language borrowed that pattern from the former (2013:316). Now, Pat-El’s paper does not take into account lexical borrowing, as this does not involve, *per se*, linguistic processes and categories (the process of “borrowing” obviously does not qualify as an evolutionary process, like those examined in the paper). Nonetheless, the second criterion may be of some use in establishing the status of some loanwords. For example, some nouns in MSA may be labelled as loanwords on the basis of their otherwise unproductive broken plural pattern. For example, the widespread Mehri term *šəx* ‘tribal leader’ < Arabic *šayx* is pluralised as *šyūx*. The broken plural pattern *CəCūC* is, in itself, a result of the contact of Mehri with Arabic, as its use occurs only with words of likely Arabic origin: the literature does not mention it among the productive broken plural patterns of Mehri (Rubin 2010:66-68; 2018:93-96) and its use is, therefore, not consistent across categories (Pat-El 2013:316). This method, if applied systematically, is likely to yield a more clear-cut picture of the Arabic loanwords in MSA.

### 4.3 Non-Arabic loanwords in MSA

MSA speakers were influenced by the spread of English as a global language only relatively recently, and individuals with a working knowledge of this language are not common. However, English loanwords are not as uncommon, even among monolingual MSA speakers: for example, the Mehri word *tanki* ‘tank’,<sup>165</sup> PL. *twanki*, was encountered during personal fieldwork in Dhofar. Watson (p.c.) reports *tankar* ‘tanker’, *lait* ‘light’ and *rongsaid* ‘wrong-side’ for Mehri. Johnstone mentions, among others, Mehri *brūš*, Jibbali/Shehret *bruš* ‘brush’ (ML:54), Mehri *bawk*, Jibbali/Shehret *bók* ‘book’ (ML:59), Jibbali/Shehret *fōneš* ‘to leave work, finish’ (ML:96). Lonnet (2006:31) reports a number of more exotic loanwords in MSA, namely: Soqōṭri *gírbaḡ* < Indo-Iranian for ‘cat’ [Sic], Jibbali/Shehret *sékál* ‘bicyclette’ < English ‘cycle’, *wér* ‘perche’ < Portuguese ‘vara’, *sérún* ‘pagne’ < Malay ‘sarong’.<sup>166</sup>

### 4.4 Contact among MSA languages

According to Bertram Thomas, the state of affairs at the time he was writing with regard to tribal settlements in the area where continental MSA languages are spoken is the result of the invasion of Mehri-speaking people from the west into the east. Subsequently, the invaders would have adopted the language of the conquered people, namely Jibbali/Shehret. Obviously, this would have happened only where Jibbali/Shehret was spoken, thus leaving Mehri unscathed outside those areas. An exception to this language shift pattern could be represented by the emergence of Ḥarsusi and Baḥari, resulting from Jibbali/Shehret-speaking tribes shifting to Mehri (1939:7-8).

However, even if Thomas’s report, whose sources are not completely reliable, is not taken into account, it can be observed that continental MSA languages are in contact with each other, and have probably been for a considerably long time: Dhofari Mehri (Mehreyyet) speakers are often competent in Jibbali/Shehret, and Hobyōt speakers “Are also speakers of Mehri and/or Jibbali” (Rubin 2015b:312). Baḥari speakers, who live on the coast opposite the Kuria Muria (or Al-Ḥallāniyya) islands where Jibbali/Shehret is spoken (see chapter 3), have some knowledge of both Jibbali/Shehret and Mehri. Moreover, exogamy in the single tribes makes competence in more than one MSA language quite widespread: Morris (2007, *passim*) states that “Ḥarsusi and Mahri

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<sup>165</sup> The Arabic stimulus was صهرج [sʰahʰri:ḡ] ‘cistern’.

<sup>166</sup> This is probably a recent borrowing, unlike those treated in 4.10 (see below).

men freely married Bat'hari women" and "Of course the children of such marriages spoke their mother's language as well as that of the dominant group to which their father belonged".

Finally, trade and shared daily activities have played a major role at the base of the region's widespread bilingualism: Morris (*ibid.*) observes that "Speakers of these languages lived similar lives" and that the need to co-ordinate their respective activities "obliged them to work together and to make themselves understood".

This said, however, singling out loanwords from a Modern South Arabian language into another is difficult, as phonetic correspondences are not always helpful. One of the most relevant examples of problematic sound correspondences is represented by the irregular patterns of sibilants, especially with regards to the manifold outcomes of Proto-Semitic \*s<sup>1</sup> (see 2.4.10).

#### 4.5 Austronesian-MSA contact: a hypothesis

Before describing what is being proposed, it is necessary to set out the premises of the hypothesis, and introduce some relevant issues of the Austronesian language family, whose contact with MSA is the focus of this section.

The Austronesian language family is "arguably the largest language family in the world, and certainly extends over the largest geographical area of any language family today outside Indo-European" and its members account for "roughly 20% of all the languages of the world" (Tryon 1995:5-6). Now, this language family, as sprawling as it is, has rarely found its way out of Asia and Oceania. One remarkable exception is Malagasy, the national language of Madagascar, which is a full-status Austronesian language, belonging to the south-east Barito sub-group of Borneo. It is then clear that the Austronesians must have migrated towards the west in pre-documentary times. However, the chronology and modes of this migration(s) are the subject of much debate, and the only unequivocal evidence for this movement of people is supplied by the Malagasy language. Although the similarities between this language and those spoken in Austronesia proper were recognised as early as the 16th century, the first formal proposal of linguistic kinship was formulated by Otto Dahl (1951), who, additionally, identified its *Urheimat*.

Apart from the linguistic facts and the Malagasy people's genetic<sup>167</sup> makeup, which point to an ancestry rooted in south-eastern insular Asia (Wellcome Trust Sanger Institute 2005), there are hardly any answers to the historical questions that arise from this unexpected link between the westernmost shore of the Indian Ocean and a geographically contiguous region, albeit fragmented by intervening stretches of sea, whose centre lies about 8,000 kilometres to the east of Madagascar. Furthermore, as stated above, there is no strong consensus on the time scale of the Austronesian arrival to the western part of the Indian Ocean. There seems to be no evidence of permanent settlement in Madagascar before the 5<sup>th</sup> century of the common era (Blench 2010a:240), and scholars now tend to place the earliest arrival of Austronesian mariners to this island<sup>168</sup> variously between the 5<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> centuries (Blench 2010a:239), 650 (Serva 2012), as recently as 1500 years ago (Wellcome Trust Sanger Institute 2005), or even around 830 (Cox et al. 2012). However, the historical sources, as well as anthropological and biological data, point to an Austronesian presence in the area, that is not specifically in Madagascar but more generally along the western shores of the Indian Ocean, which can be dated further back to the turn of the era (Murdock 1959, Blust 1994). Blust, on the basis of the distribution of the outrigger canoe in non-Austronesian contexts, clearly states that the ancestral Malagasy followed a route which comprised south Sumatra, the west coast of the Malay peninsula, the gulf of Martaban, the Irrawaddy delta, the coast of India, the Arabian peninsula, and east Africa (1994:61). This subsection will illustrate what is known about Austronesian journeys towards the west and the traces that these journeys may have left, as well as about ancient south Arabian sea-going towards the east. Further on, some mentions of peoples of likely Austronesian background in the western Indian ocean will be presented. Finally, the lexical items of likely Austronesian origin will be presented and discussed.

#### 4.6 Austronesian westward journeys

There are a number of facts that argue in favour of Austronesians journeys towards the western shores of the Indian Ocean in pre-documentary times: the Malagasy language, as pointed out

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<sup>167</sup> It is to be noted that according to the same study of the Wellcome trust Sanger Institute (2005), the East African element is as prominent as the Austronesian element, in terms of genetic makeup.

<sup>168</sup> Blench (2010a) describes these views in detail, and contains an extensive bibliography.

above, is the only uncontroversial evidence for this. Nevertheless, the following facts are, in all likelihood, of great relevance:

- Some Austronesian loanwords (mostly related to boat parts) can be found in the lexicon of Indic languages currently spoken like Hindi, Sinhalese, Dhivehi, as well as in Dravidian languages like Tamil, and ancient languages like Pali (Fuller et al 2011:552-553). According to these authors, an Austronesian loan is the basis of the middle-Indic term for 'Sail' (2011:553);
- The traditional boatbuilding techniques in the Maldives, where Dhivehi is spoken, exhibit a strong Austronesian influence (Manguin 1993:265);
- The hybrid (Semitic-Austronesian) sail types in the western half of the Indian Ocean (Mahdi 1999:157) bear witness to cultural contact;
- The early presence in Africa of lymphatic filariasis (also known as elephantiasis), a condition scholars deem to have originated in Southeast Asia. Supporting evidence is provided by a depiction of this condition on the Nok culture terracottas from Nigeria. The Nok culture is thought to have thrived between 500 BC and 500 AD (Blench 2010a:241);
- The terms for 'banana' (a plant which began to be cultivated in south-east Asia in ancient times) in the Tanzanian coastal Shambala and Bondei languages, namely (*hu*)*ti*, probably have their ultimate origin in Proto Malayo-Polynesian \**punti*. Compare Malagasy *fontsy* (Blench 2010a:242);
- The *Sayābiġa*, who were living on the shores of the Persian Gulf in the days of the rise of Islam, and were employed by the rising power of the *Rāšidūn* caliphate as prison wardens and policemen, have been identified with people of Austronesian descent, although they are thought to have spent some time in Sind before moving to Arabia (De Goeje 1903:86-89; Blench 2010b:8);

In addition to these facts, there exists strong evidence, based on archaeobotanical research, for the early presence of south-eastern Asian crops in the Comoros archipelago (Blench 2010a:245; Crowther et al. 2016).

## 4.7 Ancient Arabian journeys eastwards

When it comes to examining the sources related to ancient Arabian (that is, before the advent of Islam) sea voyages to the east, the task of drawing a neat picture of the degree of maritime knowledge which these peoples possessed is considerably steep. On the whole, textual evidence suggests that Sumerians, and Akkadians after them, controlled a thriving gulf-centred sea trade, although its exact extent cannot be determined; two out of their three principal trade correspondents have been identified with the islands of Bahrain and Failaka (Dilmun) (Crawford 1996) and present day Oman (Magan) (Bhacker & Bhacker 1997). Meluhha has not been identified with certainty, although a number of scholars believe it might correspond to the Indus valley civilisation (Parpola 2015).

At any rate, it is likely that by the middle of the first millennium BC, when the ancient South Arabian kingdoms reached their apex, there was a flourishing Indian Ocean trade in which they were involved no less than African, Indian and south-eastern Asian kingdoms. However, there is no reliable account of the ancient South Arabians sailing further east than southern India, and in spite of some speculation in the literature in favour of an early contact of Arabia with south-east Asia (Steiger et al. 1929), the earliest evidence for it dates to the 8<sup>th</sup> century of the common era, when the registers of merchants from the Gulf record a trading activity with south-east Asia. Therefore, no conclusive statement can be made as to whether the ancient South Arabians might have encountered Austronesians in their journeys in pre-documentary times, although there have been suggestions that this might have happened in southern India and/or Sri Lanka (Mahdi 1999).

## 4.8 Textual evidence for the presence of Austronesians in the western Indian Ocean

In addition to the above-mentioned traces that Austronesians might have left on the western shores of the Indian Ocean, there are a few pieces of textual evidence suggesting not only a mere presence, but also an active role of Austronesians in the region.

Al-Idrisī, an Arab geographer and traveller who lived in the 12th century and authored one of the most extensive geographical descriptive works of his time, the *Tabula Rogeriana*, named after the Norman king of Sicily Roger I of Hauteville who commissioned the work, suggests that the people of Zābag ~ Zābaj (زَابَج), one of the names of western Indonesian islands (probably the kingdom of Srivijaya) in medieval Arabic, had dealings with the people living in Sofala and

Zanzibar, on the east African coast, and they understood each other's languages, thus suggesting that these African trade outposts were manned by Austronesians (Ferrand 1907:498-499). An even more relevant statement comes from Ibn al-Mujāwir, a 13th century Arab traveller, who reports the following regarding the foundation of Aden in his work entitled *Tārīkh al-Mustabṣir* "History of the observer":

"When the dynasty of the pharaohs came to an end, the place fell into ruins as their dynasty disappeared. A group of fishermen settled the island, fishing there. They remained a long time thus, provided with God's sustenance and a livelihood, until some Madagascans<sup>169</sup> arrived in ships with lots of people and took control of the island after chasing out the fishermen by force. They settled the summit of al-Jabal al-Aḥmar, Ḥuqqāt and Jabal al-Manẓar, a mountain overlooking the boatyards. Traces of them still exist and their building remains in stone and gypsum, brought from these wadis and mountains. [...] They used to come up from Madagascar, taking in Aden in one go in one monsoon. Ibn al-Mujāwir said as follows. These communities with these rulers died out and this route fell in disuse. There is no one left in our time who knows what happened to them, nor how many they were, nor how they were"<sup>170</sup>  
<sup>171</sup>(Smith 2008:137-138).

Ibn al-Mujāwir based his reports on three sources, as Smith points out: "His personal observations, his informants and named literary works" (Smith 2008:18). Unfortunately, the above description of the invasion of Aden by Madagascans is one of the few statements he made without the backing of an informant or literary work. One could thus surmise that Ibn al-Mujāwir heard it in the form of a local legend by word of mouth. The echoes of an ancient south-east Asian presence in Yemen has survived to our days: in Ḥaḍramawt people believe that some lineages have "Malay"<sup>172</sup> blood of old (Scott et al. 1946:371). Another testimony of the well-established nature of the south-eastern Asian trade in Dhofar comes from a Chinese official of the Song dynasty who

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<sup>169</sup> Mogadishu and Kilwa are mentioned by Ibn al-Mujāwir as ports of call on the way between Aden and < القمر > *al-Qumr* (Smith 2008:138), thus making Madagascar a probable identification. However, this name has been used by Muslim geographers and travellers also for Java and Sumatra (Ferrand 1907:506-551), which were (and are) populated by people of Austronesian stock.

<sup>170</sup> لما انقطعت دولة الفراعنة خرب المكان بزوال دولتهم، و سكن الجزيرة قوم صيادون يصيدون في المكان فكانوا على ما هم عليه زمنا طويلاً يرتزقون الله في القوت و المعاش إلى أن قدم أهل القمر بمراكب و خلق و جمع و ملكوا الجزيرة بعد أن اخرجوا الصيادين بالقهر و سكنوا على ذروة الجبل الأحمر و حقات و جبل المنظر، و هو جبل يشرف على الصناعة. و أثارهم إلى الآن و بنائهم باق بالحجر و الجص ملء تلك الأودية و الجبال و كانوا يطلعون من القمر يأخذون عدن رأساً واحداً في موسم واحد. قال ابن المجاور: و ماتت تلك الأمم مع تلك الرئاسة و انقطعت تلك الطريق و لم يبق

<sup>171</sup> أحد في زماننا يعلم مجرى القوم و لا كم كيف كانت أحوالهم و أمورهم

<sup>172</sup> It is necessary to make a distinction between this ancient influence, the existence of which is common knowledge in Ḥaḍramawt, and a much more recent Malay influence due to the emigration of Ḥaḍrami traders to Malaysia and Indonesia where they established businesses. They would then marry Malay and Indonesian women and bring them back to Ḥaḍramawt. This process began in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

lived a few decades before Ibn al-Mujāwir, Chau Ju-Kua. In his work entitled *Zhu Fan Zhi* or *Records of Foreign People*, he devoted a chapter to the Arabian trade. In this chapter he states:

“There is the country of Ma-li-pa [Mirbat]; ships leaving Kuang-chou [Canton] during or after the eleventh moon (December) and sailing with a northerly wind, can make the country called Lan-li (N. W. Sumatra) in forty days. Here they trade, buying sapan-wood, tin, and long white rattans. The following year, in winter, they set to sea again and, with a north-easterly wind favouring them, they make the voyage to this country of Ma-li-pa, (i. e., the hadramaut coast of Arabia) in some sixty days” (Hirth & Rockhill 1911:119-120).

Much later, Bertram Thomas reports an interesting local tradition about the inhabitants of the Qara mountains in Dhofar, in the words of a local tribal leader:

“The Arabs call us Qara but we call ourselves Hakalai, and we came here from Hadhramaut, and to Hadhramaut we came from across the sea’, I had heard this many times, and Shaikh Hasan held that the tribe migrated westwards with the Mahra, and that they had lingered together over Habarut. This seems improbable to me because they, like the Shahara and Barahama, have no camel wasm, and for a tribe that was at one time nomadic and still breeds camels not to have had, or to have lost, the camel mark which is the tribal coat of arms, is inconceivable. Its absence suggests that they came in by way of the sea. 'Hakalai was our ancestor, and the Qara sprang from the Guraish. He and the Baliyoz sprang from one race: but *we crossed the sea*” (Thomas 1932:69)

This tradition, which is reported also in Scott et al. (1946:369), provides a hint as regards a foreign interference in the ethnogenesis of MSA speaking peoples.

In the light of what has been reported so far, one might legitimately suspect that the Austronesian peoples who came into contact with the populations of the west are likely to have left a trace in the intangible cultural profile of the latter, as much as they did in material domains, as discussed above. With regards to the scarcity of evidence for this contact, it is necessary to observe that the advent and swift spread of Islam in the 7th and 8th centuries wiped out numerous traditions and, in all likelihood, languages, especially in the Arabian peninsula, where the very initiators and greatest supporters of Islam fought in the first line against those who did not accept the new religion, and wielded an immense military strength which could not be curbed by any opponent in the region. Although this chapter must not be viewed as an attempt to establish a genetic kinship between the MSA and Austronesian with the aid of scholarly arguments, and no archaeological evidence has emerged so far to postulate the existence of an Austronesian settlement in Arabia, it must be noted that Modern South Arabian lexis shows traces of the interference of a language which appears to be Austronesian. This influence encompasses all the languages in the group, and enriches their vocabularies with items whose cognates cannot



be found either in any other Semitic sub-branch, or in the larger Afro-Asiatic family. Kogan affirms that the MSA terms which appear to be of non-Semitic origin “Show no phonological and/or structural features incompatible with the traditional norms of the Semitic *Sprachtypus* - what is missing is just the Semitic etymology” (2015:583). Now, in support of Kogan’s statement, it must be pointed out that a common inherited feature of Austronesian is a *CvCvC* and *CvCCvC* word structure (Tryon 1995:32). The former word structure formally coincides with the structure of Semitic trilateral verbs in their basic third masculine singular perfective form, and is not unknown to Semitic nouns. It could then have been borrowed and implemented without the need of syllable restructuring in a Semitic context.

#### 4.9 MSA and Austronesian: a brief excursus

The idea that there exists a link between Austronesian and Afro-Asiatic at large (not only MSA and Semitic) is not unheard of. Uncanny as this idea may seem, an Arab scholar recently devoted a monograph to this topic (Makki 2015). Further back in the past, there are traces of similar ideas in the anthropological literature: for example, it is worth mentioning Smith (1897) who discussed the statements of another scholar who was positive about the Sabean origin of Polynesians, and the Reverend Daniel Macdonald who, around the same period, tried to prove that Oceanic languages had a close kinship with Semitic languages (Thieberger & Ballard 2008).

In recent years, M.R. Izady stated that:

“The Austronesian [sic] demographic component in the entire southern seaboard of the Arabian Peninsula, from Ra’s al-Hadd southeast of Muscat to Aden and the island of Socotra is hard to miss even today. At some point, the Austronesian settlements may have stretched to the Musandam peninsula and the environs of the Strait of Hormuz” (Izady 2002:45-47).

Further on, he stated that:

“Austronesians and Dravidians are also to be found mixed with the South Arabian/Himyarite elements in the highlands of Dhofar and the adjacent southern Yemen and the island of Socotra. [...] It is not clear if the Mahra and the Qara [...] are also settlers from the period when the island of Madagascar and the Natal coast of southern Africa came or were brought to be settled by the Malayo-Indonesians, or whether they came later in late medieval times [...] these are clearly Austronesian peoples” (Izady 2002:74).

Izady cites the Soviet Atlas Narodov Mira and the Encyclopaedia Britannica as the sources of these statements. Although the analysis of the sources confirms this, it is, however, not possible to go further back to the origin of these data. Hence, Izady’s ideas must be considered as doubtful, and

an Austronesian presence in southern Arabia cannot be assumed on the basis of his statements. Bearing in mind all that has been discussed so far, it is now time to examine the lexical elements that constitute the core of this chapter.

#### 4.10 MSA Lexical items of likely Austronesian origin: presentation and discussion

When comparing MSA lexical items with those of Austronesian origin, one must bear in mind the extreme complexity of Austronesian in terms of sub-grouping: in fact, to take into account Austronesian as a whole in this context would not only be a toilsome and time consuming process, but it would also be a useless one, as the research on the Austronesian westward migrations yielded some findings that allow to narrow down the scope of this comparison:

- The Malagasy language belongs to the south-east Barito sub-group (Dahl 1951);
- The Barito, being a riverside culture, lacked the maritime technology necessary to cross the ocean (Adelaar 1995b:87-88), hence:
- They must have been transported to the western shores of the Indian ocean, but not necessarily straight to Madagascar (Adelaar 2012:145-146), by expert seafarers with whom they had a commercial agreement: on the basis of loanwords in culturally relevant domains in Malagasy, it can be surmised that the Barito peoples were transported by Malays and/or Javanese peoples (Adelaar 1989; 1994), who were dominant in the seafaring enterprises of the Srivijaya empire, which controlled the most of Indian Ocean trade in the second half of the first millennium AD (Adelaar 1995a:328; 2012:145).<sup>173</sup>

In view of the above, semantic cognacy and formal comparability will be sought exclusively between the MSA lexical items in question and their counterparts in the three relevant Austronesian sub-groups, namely: Barito, Malay and Javanese. Additionally, the reconstructed Proto-Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) and the Proto-West-Malayo-Polynesian (PWMP) forms, that is the relevant proto-branch of Austronesian, and/or in Proto-Austronesian (PAN) will be cited, as

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<sup>173</sup> For a description of other types of evidence for an early chronology of the Austronesian voyages in the west Pacific see Blench (2010a).

available. The rationale for such a narrow-scope comparison is, as mentioned above, the extreme diversity within Austronesian, and the lack of historical relevance of other Austronesian sub-groups and sub-families (for example, Formosan, Oceanic, or eastern Malayo-Polynesian). Hence, basing a comparison on a formal resemblance between an MSA lexical item and its counterpart in a non-historically relevant Austronesian sub-group, would amount to comparing the lexis of genetically unrelated languages in order to prove their relatedness on the basis of the phonetic resemblance of a few terms, which, it goes without saying, is a most unsound practice. The lexical items examined in this paragraph have been selected from a list of etymologically uncertain or obscure terms in MSA (Kogan 2015:541-576). This section is structured thus: each sub-section title is the basic meaning of the MSA gloss taken into examination. In the first place, the MSA forms are reported. There follow(s) the known proto-Semitic root(s) covering the same (or a similar) semantic field. Subsequently, the comparable proto-Austronesian and the attested forms in the relevant languages are provided. As for one of the fish species listed below (number III), the PAN and PMP form is missing, as its reconstruction is not available. Each sub-section contains a discussion of the etymology tentatively established.

#### I. Blood

Mehri *ḡora* (ML:81), Ḥarsusi *ḡerō* (HL:29), Jibbali/Shehret *ḡo(h)r* (JL:47), Baḡhari *ḡēr* (Gasparini 2018:128), Hobyōt *ḡoor* (Nakano 2013:17), Soqoṭri *dur* (LS:134) 'blood'

PS \**dam-* (SED:47-48)

PAN \**daRaq* 'blood' - Malagasy *ra* 'blood', Malay *dara?* 'blood', Old Javanese *rāh* ~ *rah* 'blood', (Blust & Trussell 2010)

Kogan affirms that the origin of this term is uncertain (2015:541). He further states that although there is a similarity with the Proto-Semitic biconsonantal root \**ḡr* 'to sow, to scatter' "There is hardly any persuasive way to reconcile the semantic difference between them" (*ibid.*).

Austronesian exhibits the pattern *d(a)ra(h)* consistently throughout the attested forms. It must, however, be pointed out that PAN \**d* corresponding to MSA \**ḡ* cannot be explained. In this respect, it is worth mentioning the extensive instances of metathesis and root consonant substitution that emerge from a comparison between MSA and common Proto-Semitic reconstructed roots, which is a virtually undescribed characteristic of MSA. To cite only a small number of examples: PS \**ḡax(ʷ)* 'sibling' (Militaver 2006), Mehri *ḡā* (ML:145), Jibbali/Shehret *aḡa*

(JL:90) ‘brother’, PS \*nVpVš ‘to breath’ (Militarev 2006), Soqoṭri *fēniš* (Naumkin & Kogan 2014:59) ‘to breathe’, and PS \*xVšar- ‘green’ (Militarev 2006), Mehri *həzáwr* (ML:163), Jibbali/Shehret *šəšrór*, Soqoṭri *šəzrhar* (JL:265) ‘green’. In view of the extent of these phenomena, which await description, it is not far-fetched to hypothesise that the MSA lexical items in question might have evolved along the same lines as the examples reported above. The semantic aspect, on the other hand, does not seem to be problematic.

## II. Body of water

Mehri *ráwrəm* (ML:333), Jibbali/Shehret *rémnem* ~ *rémrem* PL. *rónəm* (JL:214), Baṭṭhari *ερωνα* (Gasparini 2018:132), Hobyōt *ráwrəm* (Nakano 2013:204), Ḥarsusi *réwrew* (HL:106), Soqoṭri *rinhem* (LS:402) ‘sea’. Jibbali/Shehret *vryn* ~ *vryn* ‘to soak’ (JL:214)

Relevant PS roots include \**yam* (Cohen et al 2012:1151) and \**baḥr* (Cohen 1976:56-57)

PMP \**danum* ‘fresh water’ (Blust & Trussell 2010)

PAN \**danaw* ‘lake’ – Malagasy *ranu* ‘water’ (Blust & Trussell 2010)

Kogan proposes Akkadian *ramāmu* ‘to rumble, to roar, to howl, to bellow’ and Tigriña *ramram* *bälä* ‘to be an indistinguishable, incomprehensible noise’ as verbal roots possibly connected to the MSA root, but makes no conclusive statement to establish this connection (2015:569).

The semantic aspect of the roots proposed by Kogan does not seem to constitute a strong connection with the MSA prototype. PAN \**danum* did not leave any trace in any relevant language, although its unattested outcome in Malagasy would be likely to exhibit an initial [r] (Adelaar 2006:232).

With regards to semantics, the similarity is unmistakable, although it must be noted that none of the attested Austronesian words means ‘sea’.<sup>174</sup>

Lastly, MSA exhibits varying degrees of reduplication across the set: Ḥarsusi has full reduplication, while Mehri, Hobyōt and Jibbali/Shehret singulars have partial reduplication, and Jibbali/Shehret plural, Soqoṭri and Baṭṭhari do not exhibit such a phenomenon.

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<sup>174</sup> However, the attested meanings are by no means restricted to ‘fresh water’, ‘lake’ and ‘rinse’. See Blust & Trussell (2010).

### III. Fish species (I)

Jibbali/Shehret (Kuria Muria)<sup>175</sup> *kēlēt* 'fish sp.'

Madurese<sup>176</sup> *kelet* '*Lutjanus argentimaculatus*', Javanese *kelelet* '*Lutjanus sanguineus*' (Schuster 1952:73).

Fishes of the genus *Lutjanus* are common throughout the Indian ocean and west Pacific ocean (Froese & Pauly 2017).

### IV. Fish Species (II)

Jibbali/Shehret (Kuria Muria) *bedibēba/bedibēda*<sup>177</sup> 'unpalatable fish species', Soqoṭri *bedbōdi* 'кámбала (*Pleuronectes platessa*)' (Naumkin & Porkhomovski 1981:52)

PWMP \**bedbed* 'Fish species' (Blust & Trussell 2010) – Old Javanese *bebed* 'a particular kind of big fish', (Blust & Trussell 2010).

From a formal point of view, the correspondence does not seem to be problematic. The semantics, on the other hand, are difficult to ascertain.

### V. Fish Species (III)

Soqoṭri *ṡāba* 'рыба типа карпа' (Naumkin & Porkhomovski 1981:52)

PWMP \**qabu qabu* 'fish sp.' (Blust & Trussell 2010) – Malay (Jakarta) *ikan abu-abu* 'fish sp.' (Blust & Trussell 2010), Malay (West Java, South Celebes, Borneo) *abu-abu* '*Neothunnus rarus*' (Schuster 1952:9)

The lack of first-hand data means that it is particularly difficult to identify with certainty both Naumkin and Porkhomovski's 'kind of carp fish', and Malay generic fish species. Additionally, the *Neothunnus rarus* certainly do not resemble a carp. However, from a formal point of view, it is possible to notice a strong similarity between the Soqoṭri and the Proto-Western-Malayo-Polynesian terms.

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<sup>175</sup> Personal fieldwork (see appendix 3).

<sup>176</sup> Spoken in eastern Java and on an island off its north-eastern coast (Blust & Trussell 2010).

<sup>177</sup> Personal fieldwork (see appendix 3).

## VI. Skin, Waterskin

Mehri *ānēt/nīd*<sup>178</sup> ‘large-mouthed waterskin’ (ML:26), Ḥarsusi *ānīt* ‘small waterskin’ (HL:9), Jibbali/Shehret *ḥanīt* ‘large mouthed water skin (such as is used by a traveller)’ (JL:14), Baḥari *enīd* (Gasparini 2018:53), Hobyōt *ḥanīt* ‘waterskin’ (Nakano 2013:73), Soqōṭri *ḥanīh* ‘panier, outre’ (LS:316)

PS \**gi/ald* (SED:72-73)

PMP \**qanit* ‘animal skin, hide, leather’ (Blust & Trussell 2010) – Inabaknon *panit* ‘vegetable skin’ (Greenhill et al 2008)

The only relevant and reliable attested cognate of the above-mentioned root is found within the greater Barito group, in the Inabaknon language spoken in the south-east of the Philippines which is part of the Sama-Bajaw sub-group. Now, Blust states that “the specific ‘homeland’ of the Sama-Bajaw peoples is the area which today forms the basin of the Barito river and its tributaries — the same area from which the Malagasy derive” (2005:43). Semantically speaking, a strong connection between the two terms is evident. Phonetically, PMP \**q* might plausibly yield [ʕ], perhaps through the sound shift [q] > [ɣ] > [ʕ]. The presence of [d] in Baḥari and Mehri is unexpected and makes one wonder if the [t] in other MSA languages might actually be a pre-pausal realisation of /d/. However, this term was borrowed by Dhofari Arabic as عنيت [ʕa'ni:t] (al-Darudi 2002:95), and the presence of a final [h] in Soqōṭri points to a [t]-final morpheme in the other languages: this can be observed both in the feminine singular suffix (Simeone-Senelle 2011b:1084), and in the third feminine singular perfective suffix (*Ibid.*:1093). It could then be posited that the *-t* in the Austronesian term has been re-analysed as a feminine morpheme in MSA and treated accordingly, since [t] as a third radical consonant is preserved in Soqōṭri (LS, *passim*). Johnstone reports both *ānēt* and *ḥa-nīd* in the English-Mehri wordlist in the Mehri lexicon (ML:617), which could point to the existence of two variants.

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<sup>178</sup> The second term proceeds from a personal communication from Janet Watson.

## VII. Wind

Mehri *balēt* ‘north wind’ (ML:49), Hobyōt *biilōot* ‘north wind, in winter’ (Nakano 2013:198), Baḥari *bilōt* ‘strong wind usually from the north during winter months’ (Gasparini 2018:58)

PS \**šimaʔl-* (Militarev 2006)

PAN \**bali* ‘wind’ (Blust & Trussell 2010). Malagasy (nord) *valaza* ‘coup de vent’ (Velonandro 1983:223)

The *Ḥarsusi lexicon* reports a cognate Jibbali/Shehret form *belēt* (HL:18) which does not appear in the *Jibbali lexicon*. The final [t] in the MSA forms marks the feminine gender. The semantic connection between the MSA and Austronesian roots seems to be unproblematic. With regards to phonetics, \**bali* underlies northern Malagasy *valaza*,<sup>179</sup> despite Blust & Trussell reporting that the above-mentioned PAN form has no reflexes outside of Formosan language families (Blust & Trussell 2010).

### A. First person singular independent pronoun

Mehri, Ḥarsusi, Hobyōt, Baḥari, Soqoṭri *ho(h)*, Jibbali/Shehret *he* ‘I’ (Rubin 2015b:316)

PS \**ʔanāku* (Cohen et al 1995:25)

PAN \**aku* ‘I’ – Malagasy *aho* ‘I’ (Blust & Trussell 2010)

The origin of this pronoun is a long debated issue in MSA scholarship. Commonly held views on this subject are summarised in Zaborski (1994) and Appleyard (1996). The latter points out that “Most have sought to derive the MSA forms from the extended pronoun in -k, Proto-Semitic (PS) \**ʔanaaku*, or just from the -k extension alone, something such as PS \**ʔaku*, which is not attested elsewhere in Semitic. Yet, there is no evidence from what we can at present deduce of the historical phonology of MSA for a k > h shift” (Appleyard 1996:206). Although the borrowing of first person pronouns is not common from a cross-linguistic viewpoint,<sup>180</sup> it must be conceded that not only does the Malagasy pronoun fit in phonetically (Malagasy [h] < PAN \*/k/ is a well-

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<sup>179</sup> Malagasy (nord) [v] < PMP \*/b/, /w/, Malagasy (nord) [z] < PMP \*/y/ (Adelaar & Kikusawa 2014:489). The latter sound shift is not universal in Malagasy, and is still in progress (*ibid.*:507). The final vowel is paragogic (Adelaar 2012:130-131).

<sup>180</sup> But far from unheard of. For example, Thomason and Everett (2005) mention a number of cases in which personal pronouns (both single pronouns and entire sets) were transferred from a language into another. Interestingly, a great number of the examples cited by the authors is from Austronesian languages (*ibid.*:303-304,307).

documented shift),<sup>181</sup> but the very fact that it is the Malagasy (that is, the Austronesian language which is closest to Arabia, geographically speaking) pronoun, and not that from another Austronesian language, to be borrowed by MSA, is consistent with the westward Austronesian migrations. Conversely, Militarev<sup>182</sup> argues that Wolane *ihe*, Selti *ihä* ‘I’ are likely cognates of the MSA 1.SG pronoun within Semitic. It seems now appropriate to bring up another issue regarding independent personal pronouns in MSA, namely the unexplained presence of an initial [h] in the second person singular pronouns, whose derivation from Proto-Semitic is otherwise unproblematic (Appleyard 1996:206). This could be the result of analogical extension, due to the frequency of expressions such as ‘I and you’: hence, *\*ho w ?et* > *ho w het*. Furthermore, such a process could also underlie the Jibbali/Shehret first person independent pronoun *he*, where the vowel of the second person pronoun could have influenced that of the first person pronoun: *\*ho bə het* > *he bə het*.<sup>183</sup>

#### B. What? / Where?

Hobyōt *inīh* (Nakano 2013:274), Baḥari *(h)īne* (Gasparini 2018:75), Jibbali/Shehret *iné* (JL:4), Soqōṭri *iném* ‘what?’ (Rubin 2015b:318)

PS *\*ma(h)* (Militarev 2006)

PAN *\*inu* ‘where?’ – Malagasy *ino-na* ‘what? how?’, Malagasy (Provincial) *ino* ‘what? how?’ (Blust & Trussell 2010)

Kogan (2015:589) states: “The origin of the Jibbali-Soqōṭri impersonal interrogative is still a mystery”.

Most reflexes of PAN *\*inu* mean ‘where?’, with some of them meaning ‘how?’ and ‘why?’, and the final vowel is problematic phonetically (Blust & Trussell 2010). Again, only Malagasy exhibits

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<sup>181</sup> Moreover, Adelaar & Kikusawa argue that this sound shift must have taken place shortly after the arrival of Austronesian people in eastern Africa and Madagascar, and is a feature of the second phase of Proto-Malagasy (2014:507). This would fit a scenario in which the *ahl al-qumr* invaders of Aden, of which Ibn al-Mujāwir wrote, came from Madagascar (see above 4.8), instead of Sriwijaya/Zābag ~ Zābaj.

<sup>182</sup> p.c.

<sup>183</sup> In English, a similar process caused <February> to be optionally pronounced [*'febju:eri*], in analogy with <January> [*dʒænju:eri*], and the Slavic numerals for ‘nine’ to acquire a non-etymological initial [d] under the influence of the initial consonant of the numerals for ‘ten’: Proto-Slavic *\*dewin-* < Proto-Indo-European *\*(h<sub>1</sub>)newn̥* and Proto-Slavic *\*desimt-* < Proto-Indo-European *\*deǵm̥(t)*.



the semantic shift relevant to the MSA lexical item. Militarev,<sup>184</sup> on the other hand, finds the following Afro-asiatic correspondences relevant: Yaaku (East Cushitic) *(di)nyɔh*, Glavda (Central Chadic) *ɔ̀awninà*; Fayumic (Coptic) *ɔun* ‘what?’.

#### 4.11 Conclusions

The aim of this chapter was to describe the lexical influences which MSA might have undergone throughout its history. Firstly, the well-known influence of Arabic was analysed and described. Additionally, a methodology to pinpoint Arabic lexical items and grammatical patterns was proposed. Secondly, it was proposed that the forebears of Malagasy speakers (and their Malay and Javanese travel companions) might have come in contact with the ancestors of Modern South Arabian speakers and influenced their speech in pre-documentary times.<sup>185</sup>

In the first place, some anthropological, botanical and linguistic findings, i.e. loanwords in some languages spoken on the western shores of the Indian Ocean, have been expounded. In the second place, the topic of ancient south Arabian eastward journeys was touched upon. Subsequently, the textual evidence for MSA-Austronesian contact was analysed: the reports of Chau Ju-Kua about the south-east Asian trade link to Mirbat, and those of al-Idrisī and ibn al-Mujāwir regarding the mingling of Semites, Africans and Austronesians in the western half of the Indian Ocean and Arabia were examined. Finally, the MSA lexical items which might have an Austronesian origin were presented, and the establishment of the etymologies was discussed. Seemingly Austronesian terms can be found in a number of semantic fields, the historically relevant fish species domain and the maritime terminology being the most promising avenues for future research. It is imperative to stress that the aim of this chapter is to suggest linguistic contact between MSA and an unattested phase of Malagasy in view of some historical and linguistic arguments, and ***not*** to propose a genetic kinship between MSA and any branch of Austronesian. What can, on the other hand, be stated without any hesitation is that the Arabian Peninsula, contrary to a common present-day perception, has been home to a diverse population for several millennia. Izady affirms that:

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<sup>184</sup> p.c.

<sup>185</sup> The fact that the terms taken into examination are found in Soqotri as well as in the continental languages implies that the contact took place before MSA speakers landed on Soqatra, and although the dating of this event is highly controversial and debated, one can infer that it took place at least several centuries ago on the basis of the substantial divergence of Soqotri from the continental languages.

“Far from being a creation of the petroleum industry and an unstable community of nouveaux riches, the Gulf boasts an ancient and dazzling history of multicultural, entrepreneurial, and internationalist grandeur marked by astonishing stability”

And:

“Ancient and medieval ‘glittering’ port-states such as Siraf, Oboleh, Hormuz, Tiz, and Suhar are just the forebears of the likes of modern Kuwait City, Manama, Dubai and Muscat” (2002:77).

Commins further adds:

“Merchants and seamen from the Indian Ocean basin speaking a variety of African and South Asian tongues also flocked to the Gulf. The polyglot character of modern Gulf cities is the historical norm, not an effect of oil wealth pulling in cheap unskilled and expensive technical labour although today’s high proportion of expatriate workers is exceptional” (2012:11-12).

The Arabian Peninsula, its southern shores being rooted into trade routes established in times immemorial, is extremely likely to have been involved in the long-range movements of people which characterised the history and the economy of the Indian Ocean. Indeed, a lack of involvement in the rich Indian ocean trade on the part of ancient Arabian kingdoms would be unexpected, as they would have been the only political entities of the region not to take advantage of it, and the documented trading network in which Arabia was a crucial actor throughout the centuries speaks against it. However, since no epigraphic evidence is available (see p. 244), the extent of its involvement, and its consequences, can be made clearer only by deepening of our understanding of both the historical and archaeological sources, as well as by the study of intangible evidence such as the above-mentioned lexical interference and other strata in Modern South Arabian which might turn out to be there as a consequence of extensive contact.<sup>186</sup> Moreover, much work is to be done on the anthropological side, in order to make sense of MSA peoples traditions, or the lack thereof,<sup>187</sup> which are not found elsewhere in the region.

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<sup>186</sup> Such contact in the eastern half of the Indian Ocean (and its linguistic consequences) is currently the subject of debate. See, for example, Hoogervorst (2016).

<sup>187</sup> For example, their lack of a camel mark, or *wasm*, which is unconceivable for an Arabian tribe (Thomas 1932:69).

## 5. Chapter – Concluding remarks

### 5.1 Recapitulation

This thesis is made up of four chapters, plus an introduction and the concluding remarks, and three appendices. The introduction presents the field of research, and subsequently discusses the issues of the labels “Jibbali” and “Shehret” and their native counterparts, as well as of “Modern South Arabian” itself. It then presents an overview of the contents of the thesis, a section on the significance of the study, and a section on the methodologies and practicalities. The first chapter is a literature review of the works concerned with MSA, its speakers and the places where it is spoken. The first section is devoted to linguistic works *sensu stricto*, while the second section considers anthropological literature and travel narratives. The third section briefly reviews works concerned with other aspects of the environment in which MSA speakers live. After reviewing a substantial part of what has been written on various aspects of MSA, the chapter ends with the identification of literature gaps, and a statement of how this thesis partially fills them. The second chapter tackles the internal sub-grouping of MSA and its place within Semitic as a sub-group. After the examination of a number of phonetic, phonological and morphological isoglosses, it is argued that they speak to an east-west internal division, as is held by a number of scholars (see 2.5). Specifically, it is argued that while the western languages, namely Mehri, Ḥarsusi, Baḥari and, to a lesser degree, Hobyōt share a great number of isoglosses, the eastern languages, namely Jibbali/Shehret and Soqoṭri, are linked by a less tight unity, exhibiting fewer common innovations. The third chapter is a grammatical sketch of Kuria Muria Jibbali/Shehret. To begin with, it describes the field of research, namely the island of al-Ḥallāniyya. It then moves on to presenting the speakers, the existing recordings, courtesy of Miranda Morris, and the methodologies employed. What follows is a description of the phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical characteristics of this variety which contrast with those found in mainland varieties. An exception is represented by the syntax section, which endeavours to describe all varieties of Jibbali/Shehret. The lexis section contains, among a number of KM lexical items, some toponyms of al-Ḥallāniyya. The fourth chapter is concerned with the lexical substrata of MSA. It is made of two parts: the first one is concerned with the influence of Arabic, while the second one advances a hypothesis about an interference of an Austronesian language, and specifically an unattested phase of Malagasy, in its turn influenced by archaic phases of Malay and Javanese. In support of this hypothesis, some historical reports of the Austronesian presence in southern Arabia are presented and discussed,

and a number of MSA lexical items are examined and compared with likely cognates in historically relevant Austronesian sub-groups. The concluding remarks recapitulate and discuss the overall findings of the study, as well as proposing future research avenues. The first appendix examines the Dhofar inscriptions, which are re-labelled as “south eastern Arabian inscriptions”, as they can be found not only in Dhofar, but also in the Yemeni governorate of al-Mahra, as some previously unpublished photographic materials show. This appendix also states that some personal names pecked onto loose stone in the Omani Negd could be read by using a standard reading of some ancient south Arabian character, but that the reading could not be successfully applied to other inscriptions (i.e. those found in the caves of the Dhofar hills) because the signs specific to the south eastern Arabian inscriptions could not be interpreted. The second appendix contains the interlinearly glossed texts of all the recordings on which the grammatical sketch is based, and the third appendix is a glossary of KM terms.

## 5.2 Discussion on current and future research

Not all the findings of this study are unexpected. For example, that an east-west division works well for MSA is far from unheard of: what has been done here is simply the gathering of currently held scholarly opinions, and the presentation of the linguistic facts which shaped them. Similarly, the research agenda set out in the conclusions of the literature review features a number of points of which MSA scholars are perfectly aware: it is hoped that the statement (or perhaps re-iteration) of these points will serve as a reminder for these scholars to look into them. There are, however, at least three points in which this thesis endeavours to propose new views on MSA: namely, the Austronesian lexical interference in MSA, the decipherment of south eastern Arabian inscriptions, and the phonetic and lexical characteristics of KM Jibbali/Shehret. With regards to the first one, the examination of the few lexical items described in chapter 4 in terms of semantics and phonetic correspondences yielded some encouraging results, although only a larger-scale study may ascertain the depth and the extent of this lexical interference. As for the second point, the interpretation of the south eastern Arabian inscriptions has intrigued at least two generations of scholars, since their discovery on the part of western scholarship. It may then well be that they contain some unexpected element, which was not taken into account by those who attempted their decipherment previously. This element could either be an unexpected language variety, or an unexpected phonetic value of the signs. While writing systems can have diverging variants, it is not likely that the seemingly ancient south Arabian characters which are employed in these

inscriptions have totally different phonetic values from their well-known neighbours (i.e. the Musnad and Zabur scripts employed for ancient south Arabian languages). It is then worth looking into the first hypothesis, namely an unexpected language variety: the Austronesian variety which influenced MSA lexis could be a candidate. Finally, the analysis of Kuria Muria Jibbali/Shehret recordings, both recent and 40-year-old ones, provided evidence for some sound shifts which include the tendency to articulate lateral fricatives as interdental. This shift caused mainland speakers to call the language spoken in al-Ḥallāniyya “baby Gəblét” (JL:xii), and is sometimes the subject of conversation between native speakers in Dhofar and eager Jibbali/Shehret learners. This analysis provided evidence that this shift does indeed take place, but is not universal: speakers often produce a term containing a lateral sound, only to correct themselves using an interdental, and vice-versa. A focused study could shed light on the patterns according to which this and other sound shifts (see 3.5.1) occur.

# **Appendix 1 – The state of the art in the study of the undeciphered south-eastern Arabian inscriptions**

## **1. Introduction**

The aim of this appendix<sup>188</sup> is to provide a brief description of the issues related to the numerous inscriptions found in Dhofar on the walls of caves in the monsoon hills, on rocks and pebbles in the adjacent dry areas, and, to a lesser extent, in the Yemeni governorate of al-Mahra and in Soqatra. In the present thesis, they have been labelled as “south-eastern Arabian inscriptions”, as the definition of “Dhofar inscriptions” does not take into account the fact that this script(s) is found in other places than Dhofar. This serves as the rationale for such an apparently unrelated subject to the linguistic nature of this thesis: as will be seen below, the presence of these inscriptions, which is consistent with the presence of MSA speakers, could mean that, once deciphered, they could yield an ancient phase of one or more Modern South Arabian languages. Notwithstanding, their study has long been neglected, although their discovery on the part of western travellers dates back to the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This appendix is structured thus: the first sub-section will present the script(s) and the context in which the inscriptions are found, as well as the intricacies involved in its decipherment. A brief review of the relevant literature will follow. In the third sub-section, some new materials from a private image collection will be presented. The conclusions will then propose a research agenda for this field.

## **2. The script(s) and its context**

In Southern Arabia, not differently from other parts of the Arabian peninsula, it is possible to find numerous inscriptions and petroglyphs. The inscriptions found mainly in the caves of the monsoon hills of Dhofar, and to a lesser extent in the Dhofari Negd, Soqatra and, as will be seen below (p.268), in the Yemeni governorate of al-Mahra, differ from the great majority of the Arabian inscriptions in that, despite being written in a script which is unmistakably related to the ancient Arabian scripts, their contents cannot be readily deciphered. With regards to the nature of these inscriptions, Ali Mahash al-Shahri and Geraldine King stated that the inscriptions “are tantalising and frustrating (sic) as the similarity of many of the letters to those occurring in other Semitic

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<sup>188</sup> The decision of presenting this portion of the thesis as an appendix was not an easy one, and was made because a link between the inscriptions and MSA languages cannot be proven at this time.

scripts, suggests that decipherment and translation should not be a difficult task. Such optimism, however, has proved to be unfounded” (al-Shahri & King 1993:2). The Dhofar cave inscriptions and those found in the Negd were documented extensively by al-Shahri and King in 1991 and 1992. However, personal fieldwork in the monsoon hills, which was carried out in December 2017 and January 2018, revealed a number of petroglyphs which were not recorded by the above-mentioned scholars. One could then surmise that there is a far greater number of inscriptions and materials than has been reported so far in the literature. As for Soqatra and al-Mahra, the records are virtually non-existent (see below, p. 266). al-Shahri and King assert that the Dhofar script can be found in two variants which they label script 1 and script 2 (1993:1). A tentative representation of these scripts can be found in the appendices (1993:484-485), and is reported below:

Table 5-1 South-eastern Arabian script: variety 1

APPENDIX 1

A HYPOTHETICAL REDUCTION OF THE NUMBERS OF LETTERS IN SCRIPT 1

The square brackets indicate that there is little or no evidence for the equation of the forms with each other.

1.	⊃	[ ⊃ ⊔ ⊕ ⊖ ]	
2.	<	[ > ∨ ]	
3.	⊔		
4.	⊕	[ ⊔ ⊕ ]	
5.	⊖		
6.	⊗		
7.	⊘		
8.	⊙		
9.	⊚	⊚	
10.	⊛	[ ⊛ ]	
11.	⊜	⊜ [ ⊛ ⊜ ⊝ ⊞ ]	
12.	⊝		
13.	⊞	[ ⊞ ]	
14.	⊟		
15.	⊠		
16.	⊡		27.    [ = ]
17.	⊢		28.     [ ≡ ≡ ]
18.	⊣		29. ∟ [ ∟ ]
19.	⊤		30. ⊥ ⊥ ⊥
20.	⊥		31. H [ I ]
21.	⊦		32. + [ X ]
22.	⊧	[ H ]	33. ×
23.	⊨		34. ⊗ ⊗ [ ⊗ ]
24.	•		35. §
25.	-		36. ∞ [ ∞ ]
26.			37. √ (only 1 doubtful example)

The following are possibly variations of the forms listed:

⊔	⊕	⊖	⊗	⊘	⊙	⊚	⊛	⊜
⊝	⊞	⊟	⊠	⊡	⊢	⊣	⊤	⊥





called *triliths*<sup>189</sup> (*Ibid.*). The very few inscriptions that are known to be in al-Mahra and Soqatra are, similarly, found on rocks and stone walls. It is worth noting that many rock art sites in the monsoon hills of Dhofar are linked to one another by a network of paths, like the one in the following picture.

*Table 5-3 Ittin, Salalah, Dhofar: A path winding through a hillside connects various caves*



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<sup>189</sup> These structures, whose purpose is currently unknown, are constituted by three long stones leaning onto each other vertically and capped horizontally by another stone, and are found in the dry areas of Dhofar and, to a lesser extent, in the Yemeni Mahra (al-Shahri 1991b; 1994 *passim*). Ali al-Shahri argues that they should be named *tetraliths*, as they usually consist of four stones (1991b:188-194).

The path in the picture above provides a link to a number of caves that are found in Ittin, in the vicinity of Salalah. In the steepest parts of the trail, there are man-made sidestones which mark the safest way to walk. Similar networks can be found in other parts of the monsoon hills, and are consistent with the presence of petroglyphs and inscriptions. While this can be expected, given the herding activities of the locals, the existence of such networks, which are an important characteristic of these rock art sites, was unrecorded. As for the scripts, Ali al-Shahri and Geraldine King's 1993 report provides full details about their intricacies. In sum, the main difficulties stem from the interpretation of some of the signs, notably signs number 3, 13, 14, 25, 26, 27 and 28 in script 1 (see above p. 261), and signs number 4, 23, 32 and 33 in script 2 (see above p. 262). The A-shaped signs (number 3 in script 1, and number 4 in script 2) bear a strong resemblance to the sign for /b/ in recent Sabaic (al-Shahri & King 1993:13). However, this sign is the most frequently occurring one in script 1 (*ibid.*). This argues against its identification with /b/, as one would not expect a bilabial stop to be the most common sound of a language represented by a script that employs over 30 signs. Additionally, there is, in both variants, a character which strongly resembles /b/ in all other varieties of ancient south Arabian scripts (al-Shahri and King 1993:12,44). The O-shaped signs (number 13 and 14 in script 1) are both known to represent /ʕ/, and occasionally /g/ or /d/ in various Arabian scripts (al-Shahri and King 1993:17-18). Evidence regarding these two signs, which differ from each other in that one of them has a dot in the centre, is often contradictory, as in certain patterns that occur several times across the corpus they appear interchangeably, while in other contexts they appear side by side (al-Shahri & King 1993:32-33). In addition, assigning the value of /ʕ/ to the plain O-shaped sign would be problematic, as it often appears after the trident-shaped character (number 9 in both script 1 and 2) which is known to stand for /h/ in practically all the other ancient Arabian scripts: this would produce a phonetically impossible sequence [hʕ] (al-Shahri & King 1993:40). However, it is worth noting that if the two characters in question were indeed to be read as /h/ and /ʕ/, then one of the two sounds may undergo dissimilation, since they are homotopic. The authors suggest that the plain O-shaped sign may represent [g], and provide the reading of a portion of text which would yield a Safaitic name (*ibid.*). The relative rarity of /d/ means that its identification with the above-mentioned sign, occurring a great number of times in script 1, and a 67 times in script 2 (al-Shahri & King 1993:18,47-48) is unlikely. The line-shaped signs (number 25, 26, 27 and 28 in script 1, and 23 in script 2) are problematic in that the frequency of their occurrence and their position within

the inscriptions do not indicate that they could be numeral signs. With regards to the single vertical line-shaped sign, the authors affirm that it is likely word divider in script 2 (1993:50,55). As for script 1, they list what this character stands for in other ancient Arabian scripts without advancing any hypothesis (1993:21). The other line-shaped signs, namely the double and triple vertical and horizontal lines, are left unexplained (1993:21,51). Since the A-shaped sign and the various line-shaped signs are either unknown to other ancient Arabian scripts, or are far less frequent, they may be considered as “diagnostic” of the south-eastern Arabian script. In addition, the co-occurrence of the two O-shaped signs (see above) may be a diagnostic feature as well. The problems that one faces when dealing with this script are not limited to those related to single signs. It is necessary to point out some additional features of the inscriptions, which hinder their decipherment:

1. The cave walls onto which the inscriptions have been painted are often badly damaged by soot and water, so that whole portions of text might have been deleted (al-Shahri & King 1993:5), and those found in the dry areas are often badly weathered, so that their reading is difficult;
2. Apparently, there are no “familiar” Semitic hallmarks, such as *bn*, *bnt*, except in a few inscriptions found on pebbles and boulders in the negd (see below p. 271);
3. Very few commonly occurring patterns have been identified. See al-Shahri & King (1993:27-31). These, however, could not be deciphered.

Although there is little doubt that the origin of the script(s) is Semitic, and that the meaning of the inscriptions, once deciphered, will shed light on the past of southern Arabia, very little can be surmised at present time. It is, however, noteworthy that, as will be seen in the next sub-sections, they can be found wherever Modern South Arabian languages are spoken. This, of course, gives a clue as to where to look for an aid in the decipherment, although other avenues, i.e. the Austronesian hypothesis (see chapter 4) or an interference from the Indian subcontinent (which had strong trading ties with ancient southern Arabia), must not be ruled out, especially in view of the recent discovery of the traces of a resident Indian community at Sumhuram (Lischi 2013).

### 3. A literature review on the south-eastern Arabian inscriptions

The first mention in the literature of what may be considered a south-eastern Arabian inscription is found in Theodore and Mabel Bent's book *Southern Arabia* (1900). During their stay in Soqatra, they reported the existence of a large upright rock in the vicinity of the Qalansiyah, and precisely near a village called Haida, on which they noticed an inscription which they defined "Himyaritic" or "Ethiopic" and copied it (1900:351,438). This inscription contains one of the "diagnostic characters" mentioned above (p. 265), namely the vertical double line-shaped sign. In 1932, Bertram Thomas reported for the first time the existence of the triliths in Dhofar, and published some inscriptions he found on their capstones (Thomas 1932:126-128). These inscriptions contain both the line-shaped and the A-shaped signs. Similarly, Wilfred Thesiger reported the existence of inscriptions on the structures he, too, called triliths, although he did not publish any drawing or picture of them (1959:90-91). In 1970 Brian Doe reported another inscription in Soqatra, in the vicinity of Eriosh, which contains the A-shaped sign (Doe 1970:5). It is, however, not until 1991 that these inscriptions gained international recognition, when Ali al-Shahri published a paper entitled *Recent Epigraphic Discoveries in Dhofar* (1991a), in which he provided a brief description of the script and the sites. In the same year, al-Shahri published a paper concerned with the triliths and their epigraphic significance (1991b). This led the British scholar Geraldine King to carry out, together with al-Shahri, an extensive survey of the sites in the Dhofar monsoon hills and the adjacent dry areas, whose findings were subsequently published in the form of a report entitled *THE DHOFAR EPIGRAPHIC PROJECT: A Description of the Inscriptions Recorded in 1991 and 1992* (al-Shahri & King 1993), which is to be considered the most complete description of the inscriptions and the scripts to date. The report first introduces the geographical and geological context of the sites, and reviews the (then) very scanty mentions of the epigraphic materials in question. Subsequently, the authors move on to describing each sign of the two variants of the script: the vertical script (script 1), which is the variety to which most of the inscriptions belong, and the horizontal script (script 2), which, compared to script 1, exhibits some differences in terms of stance and sign shape. In the third place, the patterns occurring more than once are reported, and a discussion about the possible values of the signs in context is offered. There follows a brief excursus of the differences between script 1 and script 2, and a description of the petroglyphs found together with the inscriptions. A substantial part of the report is then devoted to the concordance of the inscriptions. Lastly, the bibliography, the abbreviation list, the maps of the sites, and the facsimiles of the inscriptions and petroglyphs are presented. During the last decade

of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the original pictures of the Dhofar inscriptions were published in al-Shahri's sizeable publications (1994; 2000). These books, while concerned mainly with the Jibbali/Shehret language and culture, contain a great number of photographs and facsimiles of the inscriptions (see above p. 62). In 2000, the British scholar Michael MacDonald mentioned the inscriptions in his paper entitled Reflections on the linguistic map of pre-Islamic Arabia. He dismissed their importance by stating that "They are in a previously unknown form of the Arabian script and have so far defied decipherment but, even when eventually they can be read, the short, informal nature of the texts suggests that they may not be particularly informative" (MacDonald 2000:68-69). In 2001, the Indian epigraphist Muhamed Abdul Nayeem produced a book entitled Origin of ancient writing in Arabia and new scripts from Oman (Nayeem 2001). This book is structured in two sections: the first one is an excursus on the history of writing systems in Arabia, while the second one is an attempt at the decipherment of the Dhofar inscriptions. Sadly, his decipherment fails to convince the reader for the following reasons:

- He does not hesitate to resort to double readings of signs, in order to make sense of the inscriptions. For example, the A-shaped sign in the inscription KMG21 (al-Shahri & King 1993:28; Nayeem 2001:137-138) is assigned the tentative double reading /d/ ~ /ṣ/ (Nayeem 2001:138). Given the high frequency of this sign, its identification with a stop, let alone with an "emphatic" sound, seems unlikely. Quite predictably, he interprets the inscription in question as "First name and tribal name – seem to be a new name (sic)" (*Ibid.*). Elsewhere, the same sign is read as /m/, without any comment or explanation (Nayeem 2001:142);
- In his transliteration, he often assigns the value of /d/ to the double line-shaped sign (Nayeem 2001:139,142). However, the rationale for this is not made clear;
- In general, the author does not hesitate to resort to personal names recorded in ancient languages from all over the Arabian peninsula in order to make some sense of the inscriptions: he identifies names of Safaitic, Lihyanitic, Thamudic, Minaic and Sabaic origin (Nayeem 2001:135-145, *passim*).

In addition to this, the author proposes that the scripts be named *Sa'kalhanic* A and B, after the ancient name of Dhofar (Nayeem 2001:114). While the proposal does not seem unreasonable at first glance, one should take into account two facts: firstly, the *-han* part of Sa'kalhan (a disputable

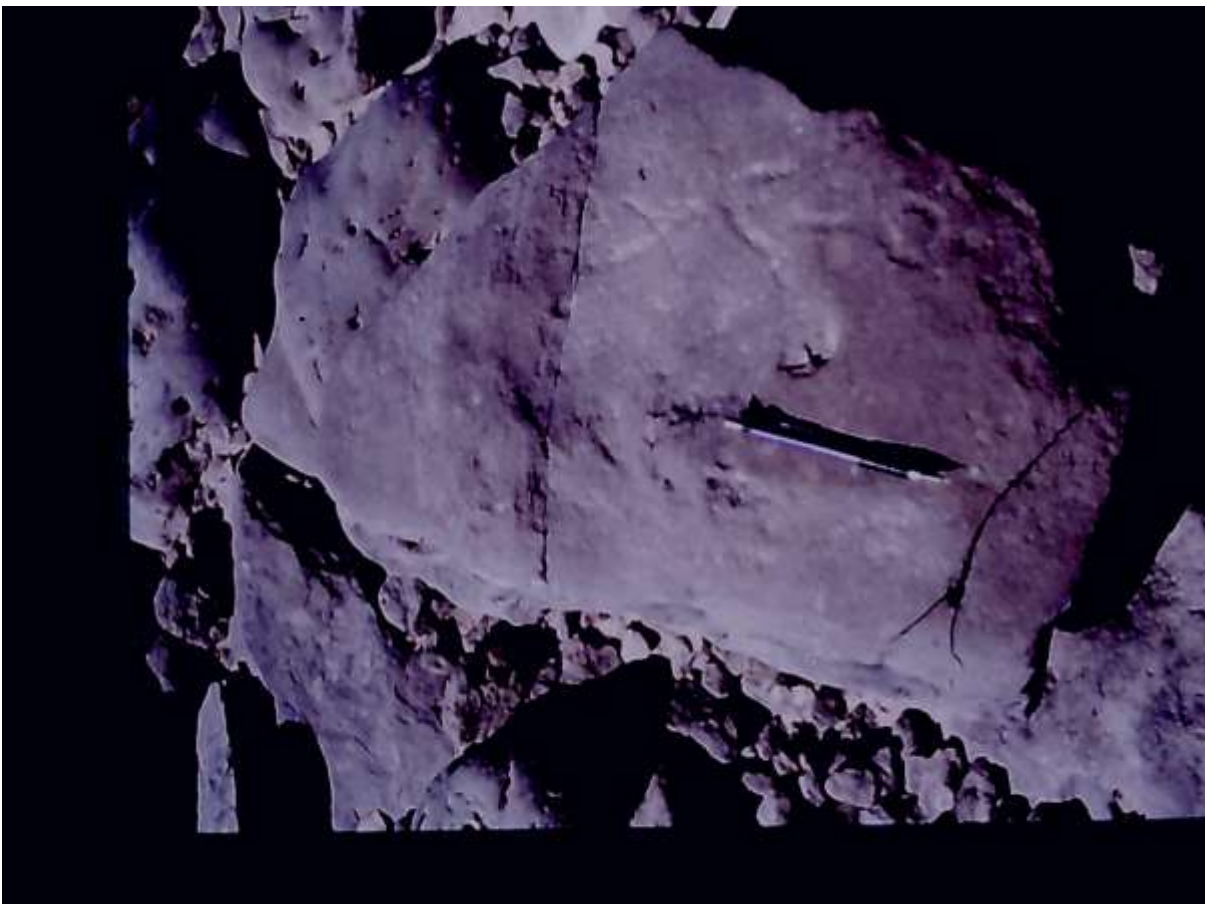
transliteration, since he renders Hadramitic /s<sub>1</sub>/ with <s>) is a definiteness marker. Hence, calling the script *Sa'kalhanic* would be the equivalent of calling *Alyemeni* somebody or something from Yemen, on the basis of *al-Yemen*. Hence, *Sa'kalic* would be a more correct form. In the second place, evidence presented in this appendix suggests that the inscriptions are also found in areas other than Sa'kalhan, and there is no evidence that the script originated in Dhofar/Sa'kalhan, although that is the place in which most of the inscriptions discovered so far are found. Since then, very little material has been published on the inscriptions: an article written by David Insall (1999) presents two inscriptions found at Shena, in northern Oman, which are said to be comparable to those found in Dhofar. After that, Angelo Fossati brought up again the subject in his paper which is, however, mainly concerned with the rock art of northern Oman (2017:86-88). Currently, the inscriptions are being studied by Dr William Zimmerle in the United States. He organised exhibitions which featured photographs and facsimiles of the Dhofar inscriptions, but nothing has been published so far regarding their decipherment.

#### 4. Some new inscriptions from Wadi Xurūt, al-Mahra, Yemen

The materials that will be presented in this paragraph are the courtesy of Dr Geraldina Santini, who produced them during an archaeological survey of the Yemeni governorate of al-Mahra, in 1992. During an inspection of Wadi Xurūt, which lies to the north of al-Ghayḍa, her attention was drawn by some rocks on ground which bore various petroglyphs and inscriptions, and she took photographs of them. In the context of this discussion, three of these photographs have proved to be highly relevant, as the inscriptions depicted therein contain signs found in the other undeciphered south-eastern Arabian inscriptions. In particular, the third image presented below contains the “diagnostic” A-shaped sign. Although these materials have never been published, the existence in Yemen of inscriptions in a script comparable with that of the Dhofar monsoon hills was not totally unknown: al-Shahri and King mention a personal communication from Mikhail Piotrovsky concerned with them (1993:2).



Table 5-4 Three south-eastern Arabian inscriptions from wadi Xurūt, al-Mahrah, Yemen







## 5. Conclusions

This appendix aims to offer a recapitulation of the issues related to the undeciphered inscriptions found all over the MSA speaking area. To this end, it contains a description of the script(s), the geographical context, and the intricacies related to their interpretation, as well as a concise literature review and the presentation of three new inscriptions from the Yemeni governorate of al-Mahra. In order to maximise the chances of decipherment, a few additional facts should be taken into account: in the first place, the MSA speaking area might once have been significantly wider than it is at the present time. Charles Matthews discussed the question of non-Arabic place names in central-southern Arabia in two articles (1959; 1962). Some of these place names bear a striking resemblance with those found in Dhofar: for example, Bārūt in the Omani governorate of al-Dakhiliya. Also, it is worth mentioning the Aramaic-Hasaitic bilingual inscription on a funerary monument found at Mleiha, in the United Arab Emirates. The Hasaitic inscription contains the unexpected form *br-h* for 'his son' (Overlaet et al 2016), where Hasaitic normally has *bn*. While this could be due to a mistake of the scribe who carved both the Hasaitic and the Aramaic part (where *br* is the expected term for 'son'), it could also be that the scribe's every-day language had *br* for 'son', which is the case in Modern South Arabian. Thus, it would be worth exploring the northern parts of Oman and the present-day UAE, to see if other south-eastern Arabian inscriptions can be found there. The inscription at Shena (Insall 1999; Fossati 2017) seems to be an encouraging

starting point. Secondly, a few inscriptions among those reported by al-Shahri and King (1993) seem indeed to contain personal names of ancient south Arabian origin. In particular, see inscriptions KMJ80 to KMJ86 found in the Omani Neġd (*ibid.*). A cursory analysis of these inscriptions, which unfortunately do not contain any “diagnostic” signs, seems to yield some personal names of Hadramitic origin (CSAI), based on the standard values of south Arabian *musnad* signs. While this would be consistent with the Hadramitic colonisation of Dhofar/Sa’kalhan, it would also, if proved true, raise the question as to why the personal names are fairly easily translatable, whilst the longer inscriptions, probably representing a fully-fledged language,<sup>190</sup> cannot be interpreted. It would be worth tentatively applying this reading to other south-eastern Arabian inscriptions, to test its validity. Unfortunately, as said above, at this time it was not possible to interpret the “diagnostic” signs, so that the reading is far from certain, and the south-eastern Arabian script must still be considered as undeciphered. In addition to that, it is almost certain that a survey of the Yemeni Mahra and Soqatra, when the political situation of Yemen allows, will yield additional relevant materials which could prove crucial for the decipherment of this script(s).

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<sup>190</sup> Given the length and the nature of the inscriptions, it seems likely that they might contain more than personal names. See MacDonald (2000) for a different point of view.

## Appendix 2 – Kuria Muria texts

The transcription and interlinear glossing of three groups of texts, consisting of 155 items in total, will be presented here: the first group is a selection of 9 among Miranda Morris’s recordings from the early 1980s. The second group and the third group are the 2017 speaker’s description of, respectively, a set of 64 pictures and a set of 76 video animations, designed for linguistic fieldwork (Levinson 2001). Finally, a proverb elicited from the 2017 speaker, and an additional text<sup>191</sup> from Miranda Morris’s recordings have been transcribed and glossed.

### Miranda Morris

#### Text 1. Habbat ar-riḥ

1 wallá məḥáyɗən nádər əmdáḥ bər<sup>o</sup>dém  
god.INTJ PN PN praiseworthy.ELAT human.being.M.SG  
indeed, moḥammed nádər is a most praiseworthy man

2 ə-mši ʕánd-ina  
IMP-go.M.SG by-1.PL  
come to us

3 ḥaydin<sup>a</sup> ǵad t-ɛn  
PN go.IMP.3.M.SG ???  
Moḥammed, go ???

4 ḥaydín i-btér-ən  
PN 3.M-fish.IND.SG-T2/stem  
Moḥammed fishes

5 ḥaydén i-gilél  
PN 3.M-cook.IND

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<sup>191</sup> The text in question (number 155) was added to the corpus at an advanced stage of the writing of this thesis. Hence, its transcription was added at the end of the appendix.

Moḥammed cooks

6 ḥaydén y-ūdə l-ən la  
PN 3.M-lie.IND to-1.PL NEG

Moḥammed does not lie to us

7 ḥaydén

PN

Moḥammed

8 ḥala kullə ši

on all thing.M.SG

in everything

9 ḥaydín<sup>a</sup> ḥabb-at er-riḥ

PN grain-F.SG.GEN DEF-wind

Moḥammed is "ḥabbat er-riḥ"

10 ḥṣ-k ʔbtér i-btér-ən

say.PRF-1.SG fish.IMP.M.SG 3.M-fish.IND.SG-T2/STEM

(if) I said "fish" he fishes

11 ḥṣ-k ʔgilél i-gilél

say.PRF-1.SG cook.IMP.M.SG M.SG-cook.IND

(if) I said "cook" he cooks

12 ḥṣ-k

say.PRF-1.SG

(if) I said

13 əstélmən l-ən i-stélmən l-ən

receive.IMP.M.SG to-1.PL 3.M-receive.IND to-1.PL

"receive us" he receives us

14 ʕǝ-k            ɣáyðən ya  
say.PRF-1.SG PN      VOC

(if) I said "Moḥammed"

15 ʕala kol  
on all  
in every...

16 unt-iʃ kəllá tamám  
??? all okay  
??? is all okay

17 yə-nkʔa            məṭélləm  
3.M-come.SBJT PN  
(if) Musallam comes

18 ɣabb-at er-riḥ  
grain-F.SG DEF-wind  
"ḥabbat er-riḥ"

19 id-i-btér-ən  
CIRC-3.M-fish.IND.SG-T2/STEM  
he fishes

20 d-i-túlmən            l-ən  
CIRC-3.M-receive.IND to-1.PL  
he serves us

21 ɣəhwá  
coffee.M.SG

coffee

22 d-i-gilél

CIRC-3.M-cook.IND

he cooks

23 ʕala kollə ši

on all thing.M.SG

in everything

24 ʕala ʕabb-at er-riḥ

on grain-F.SG DEF-wind

in "ḥabbat er-riḥ"

## **Text 2. the day of many punctures**

1 t-ādo as-siyára

3.F.SG-begin.IND DEF-car.F.SG

the car started

2 baʕd ʕag siyára

after in car.F.SG

after (I entered) the car

3 ɖaʕ-t əs-siyara-hí

break.PRF-3.F.SG DEF-car.F.SG-1.SG

my car broke down

4 ʕad b-ɔrém

once with-DEF.with-road.M.SG

once on the road

5 *daʃ-t*                    *əs-siyára*  
break.PRF-3.F.SG DEF-car.F.SG  
the car broke down

6 *yom daʃ-t*                    *əs-siyára*  
when break.PRF-3.F.SG DEF-car.F.SG  
when the car broke down

7 *ʃö-k*                    *hen í*                    *ʃad*  
say.PRF-1.SG for my.father go.IMP.M.SG  
I told my father "go"

8 *ʃad*                    *her betról*  
go.PRF.M.SG for petrol.M.SG  
go and get the petrol

9 *ʃö-k*                    *hen í*                    *ʃad*                    *her*                    *betról*                    *tə-ǵád*                    *her*  
say.PRF-1.SG for my.father go.PRF.M.SG when petrol.M.SG 2.M-go.IND when  
*betról*  
petrol.M.SG  
go to get the petrol, you go to get the petrol

10 *ʃör*                    *la*                    *ʃör*                    *l-ə*                    *he*                    *ə-ǵód*                    *la*  
say.PRF.3.M.SG NEG say.PRF.3.M.SG to-1.SG PRN.1.SG FUT.1.SG-go.SBJT NEG  
*ʃör*                    *ma ǵód*                    *lə-ǵád*                    *he*  
say.PRF.3.M.SG NEG 1.SG.go.IND SBJT.1.SG-go PRN.1.SG

he said "no", he said to me "I won't go", he said "I won't go", "I'll go"

11 *ʃad-k*                    *her betról*  
go.PRF-1.SG to petrol.M.SG  
I went to get the petrol

12 ḡahám-k      bə-betról  
come.PRF-1.SG with-petrol

I brought the petrol

13 bə ḡū-n      bə ḡū-n      siyára  
and fill.PRF-1.PL and fill.PRF-1.PL car.F.SG

and we filled, and we filled the car

14 ḡagə-n      ḡū-n      siyára  
wait.PRF-1.PL fill.PRF-1.PL car.F.SG

we waited and filled the car

15 ḡad      ḡad      as-siyára      ḡad      as-siyára      ḡad      bər  
go.PRF.3 go.PRF.3 DEF-car.F.SG go.PRF.3 DEF-car.F.SG go.PRF.3 still.be.PRF.3

b-ḡrém

with-road.M.SG

the car went, the car went, went on the road

16 təbəršər      təbəršər      l-ən      teyr  
be.puctured.PRF.3.M.SG be.puctured.PRF.3.M.SG to-1.PL tyre.M.SG

we got a flat tyre

17 yom      təbəršər      təbəršər      l-ən      teyár  
when be.puctured.PRF.3.M.SG be.puctured.PRF.3.M.SG to-1.PL tyre.M.SG

once we got a flat a flat tyre

18 ḡō-k      hen í      ḡad      hət      tə-ḡád      hət      waa  
say.PRF-1.SG for my.father go.PRF.M.SG PRN.2.M.SG 2.M-go.IND PRN.2.M.SG or

ə-ḡád      he

1.SG-go.IND PRN.1.SG

I told my father "you go, will you go or will I go?"



19 ʒõr            ə-ǵód        la    ǵad            het  
say.PRF.3.M.SG 1.SG-go.IND NEG go.IMP.M.SG PRN.2.M.SG  
he said "I won't go, you go"

20 ʒad-ək        he  
go.PRF-1.SG PRN.1.SG  
I went

21 ʒad-ək        he            ʒū-k            teyr  
go.PRF-1.SG PRN.1.SG fix.PRF-1.SG tyre.M.SG  
I went and fixed the tyre

22 yom    ʒū-k            teyár        rukb-ən        teyr        bæ    ǵád-ən  
when fix.PRF-1.SG tyre.M.SG mount.PRF-1.PL tyre.M.SG and go.PRF-1.PL  
once I fixed the tyre we fitted it and left

23 a-bərúr        ɔ́rém        təbəršər                    l-ən    teyr  
1.SG-see.IND road.M.SG be.pictured.PRF.3.M.SG to-1.PL tyre.M.SG  
when I saw the road, we got a flat tyre

24 ʒõ-k            hen í            tə-ǵád        het            o    ǵád            he  
say.PRF-1.SG for my.father 2.M-go.IND PRN.2.M.SG or 1.SG-go.IND PRN.1.SG  
I told my father "will you go or will I?"

25 ʒõr            əl-ǵád        neʒən ə-ǵád        dabl-ə    he            lə-ǵád        he  
say.PRF.3 SBJT.1.SG-go now 1.SG-go.IND turn-1.SG PRN.1.SG SBJT.1.SG-go PRN.1.SG  
he said "I will go now, I'll go, it's my turn, I'll go"

26 ǵad            í            bæ    ǵádər            teyr  
go.PRF.3.M.SG my.father and turn.PRF.3.M.SG tyre.M.SG  
my father went and turned the tyre

27 yom ḥádər teyár rəkób teyr bə ʕad-ən  
when turn.PRF.3.M.SG tyre.M.SG mount.PRF.3.M.SG tyre.M.SG and go.PRF-1.PL  
once he turned the tyre, he fitted it and we left

28 ḥaʕe ʔeríb læ ɔrém d-ʕad fegér  
once near.M.SG to road.M.SG be.still.PRF.3.M.SG explode.PRF.3.M.SG  
d-ʕad teyr iżón  
be.still.PRF.3.M.SG tyre.M.SG DEM.PROX.PL

once we were near the road, again one burst, again those tyres

29 ʕõ-k dur her teyr  
say.PRF-1.SG go.back.IMP.M.SG when tyre.M.SG  
I said "go back (to get) to a tyre"

30 yom d-i-rúkb-ən teyár ḥaʕe ʔeríb læ ɔrém  
when CIRC-mount.IND-D/L-STEM tyre.M.SG once near.M.SG to road.M.SG  
when he was fitting the tyre, once near the road

31 təbərʕər l-ən nede t̃ir l-ən ladyeter  
be.punctured.PRF.3.M.SG to-1.PL HES break.PASS.PRF.3 to-1.PL radiator.M.SG  
we got a flat... the radiator broke down

32 yom t̃ir l-ən ladyeter ə-gózəm he as-siyára  
when break.PASS.PRF.3 to-1.PL radiator.M.SG 1.SG-swear.IND PRN.1.SG DEF-car.F.SG  
ḡinə ʔaḥ-k taḥ  
DEM.PROX.F.SG sacrifice.PRF-1.SG OBJ.3.F.SG

when the radiator broke down, I swear, I sacrificed this car

### Text 3. fishing for shark preparing shark making and using shark liver oil

1 ləxím          ləxím  
shark.M.SG shark.M.SG  
shark shark

2 ɖenu                  ləxím          áwal          ši                  nə-štərí          šikkét  
DEM.PROX.M.SG shark.M.SG first.M.SG thing.M.SG 1.PL-buy.IND hook.line.M.SG  
nəḥán    nə-səmmí    šikkét                  ɖanún  
PRN.1.PL 1.PL-call.IND hook.line.M.SG so

this shark, first off, we buy a hook line, we call it thus "šikkét"

3 yeqlít  
hook.M.SG  
hook

4 ḥaláḵ                          b-əš                  ḥaláḵ                          ɖano  
make.into.a.circle.PRF.3 with-3.M.SG make.into.a.circle.PRF.3 so  
it is made into a circle, thus

5 u          baɖín          haɖa                          eqlét                  b-ohom                  ḥaláḵ  
and after DEM.PROX.M.SG hook.M.SG with-3.M.PL make.into.a.circle.PRF.3  
nə-rbóɖ-ohom          fi nə-ḥáttal-ohom          ɖanún ɖaḵ  
1.PL-tie.IND-3.M.PL in 1.PL-tie.IND-3.M.PL so in

and afterwards, this hook they have is made into a circle, we tie them, we tie them thus, in...

6 ɖed  
rope.M.SG  
rope

7 no-róda-hom            b-e-réb<sup>a</sup>reb  
1.PL-throw.IND-3.M.PL in-DEF-sea.M.SG  
we throw them in the sea

8 bə noçaʃ            ʃamq-om ʃud            ʃeno ʃud  
and come.PRF.3 in-3.M.PL fish.M.SG so fish.M.SG  
and the fish comes in them thus

9 ɟenu            ʃud  
DEM.PROX.M.SG fish.M.SG  
this fish

10 ɟasəri    nəkáʃ            læxím  
at.night come.PRF.3 shark.M.SG  
at night comes the shark

11 bə i-tí            ɟenu            ʃud  
and 3.M-eat.IND DEM.PROX.M.SG fish.M.SG  
and eats this fish

12 bə ʃód-om            ʃikkét            ɟalák  
and catch.PRF.3.M.SG-3.M.PL hook.line.M.SG make.into.a.circle.PRF.3  
and the round hook line catches them

13 ʃód            læxím  
catch.PRF.3 shark.M.SG  
it catches the shark

14 ɟenu            læxím  
DEM.PROX.M.SG shark.M.SG  
this shark

15 i-ṣbaḥ            ṣobaḥ            nə-ḥáll            šikkét  
3.M-become.IND morning.M.SG 1.PL-take.IND hook.line.M.SG  
when the morning comes, we take the hook line

16 nə-ḥáll            šikkét  
1.PL-take.IND hook.line.M.SG  
we take the hook line

17 u    awḳát  
and sometimes  
and sometimes

18 i-kín            b-iš            arbaḳót xōš  
3.M-be.IND with-3.M.SG four.F five.M  
there are four, five

19 u    awḳát    ṭənína u    awḳát    šāsít    awḳát    arbaḳót  
and sometimes two.M and sometimes three.F sometimes four.F  
and sometimes two, and sometimes three, sometimes four

20 awḳát    wáḥada awḳát    me    ši  
sometimes one.F    sometimes NEG thing.M.SG  
sometime one, sometimes nothing

21 nə-ḥáṣəl-ən            še            la  
1.PL-get.IND-DL/stem thing.M.SG NEG  
we get nothing

22 walakén  
but  
but

23 sift ʰmǵóran

oil.M.SG then

the oil then

24 nə-nnakaŋ bə-lxím mə yaŋni bə

1.PL-come.IND with-shark.M.SG and HES and

we bring the shark and...

25 bə n-gódaḥ bə-ḥaš

and 1.PL-come.ashore.IND with-beach.M.SG

and we go ashore

26 her bər bə-ḥaš

when still.be.PRF.3 with-beach.M.SG

when it is on the shore

27 ə-lxím

DEF-shark.M.SG

the shark

28 áwal ši n-ḵóṭaŋ-š ən-ḵóšaŋ-š

first.M.SG thing.M.SG 1.PL-cut.IND-3.M.SG 1.PL-dry.IND-3.M.SG

first off, we cut it and dry it

29 her bər ḵəšaŋ-ən ləxim

when still.be.PRF.3 dry.PRF-1.PL shark.M.SG

once we dried the shark

30 d-i-róbtə řáləf

CIRC-3.M.SG-???.IND fodder.M.SG

???

31 ən-ḵólos-ən k-ēnóf  
1.PL-to.do.up.ones.button.IND-D/L-STEM with-REFL  
???

32 bə lxim  
and shark.M.SG  
and the shark

33 əm šerók-ən t-iš ʔmṭarəḵ  
or make.PRF-1.PL OBJ-3.M.SG type.of.food.M.SG  
we either make it into salted dried fish

34 aw šerók-ən t-iš  
or make.PRF-1.PL OBJ-3.M.SG  
or we make it into...

35 mélah  
type.of.food.M.SG  
mélah

36 hən báḡal səwáhəl i-štón-əš  
so.that people.M.PL coast.M.PL 3.M-buy.IND-3.M.SG  
so that the people of the coast buy it

37 ən-yébbis-u  
1.PL-dry.IMPV-3.M.SG  
we dry it

38 aw nḵol-aš ḵennə ṭələt yum  
or transfer.PRF.3-3.M.SG ??? three.M day.M.SG  
???

39 śəśé̃ kə̃nə  
three.? ???  
???

40 moǵóran  
then  
then

41 ən-ḳóśḳ-aš  
1.PL-dry.IND-3.M.SG  
we dry it

42 her bə̃r ḳeśḳ-án n-kóds-iš  
when still.be.PRF.3 dry.PRF-1.PL 1.PL-pile.up.IND-3.M.SG  
once we dried it, we pile it up

43 mə̃ n-śóm-iš b-əl-ḳúrgit bə̃ ḳúrgit  
and 1.PL-sell.IND-3.M.SG with-DEF-measure.unit and measure.unit  
and we sell it by the ḳúrgit

44 yaḡni eḳ-ḳúrgit ḡásri  
HES DEF-measure.unit twenty.M  
the ḳúrgit is twenty

45 ḡásri miya mut ḳə̃rós̃  
twenty.M one.hundred one.hundred currency.unit.M.PL  
twenty, a hundred ḳə̃rós̃

46 mut bə̃ ḡásri ḳə̃rós̃  
one.hundred and twenty.M currency.unit.M.PL  
one hundred and twenty ḳə̃rós̃



47 baʔdín haða I-ʕaléf  
after DEM.PROX.M.SG DEF-fodder.M.SG  
then this cattle food

48 yaħrósən bə-Dəbéy  
??? with-Dubai  
??? in Dubai

49 əlmén ryal-ín u nuşş tələta ryal  
measure.unit.M.SG currency.unit.M-DU and half.M.SG three.F currency.M.SG  
one əlmén for two ryals and a half or three ryals

50 arbaş ryal  
four.M currency.M.SG  
four ryals

51 əlmén  
measure.unit.M.SG  
one əlmén

52 u ənthá  
and finish.PRF.3  
and this is the end

53 ásəf  
sorry.INTJ  
sorry

54 walakən sift  
but oil.M.SG  
but the oil

55 šebdít  
liver.F.SG  
liver

56 ən-ḥǝl-əs                      mə n-nǝl-əs                      ʕag<sup>a</sup> dirém  
1.PL-take.IND-3.F.SG and 1.PL-transfer.IND-3.F.SG in      barrel.M.SG  
we take it and put it in a barrel

57 šebdít      e-lxím  
liver.F.SG GEN-shark.M.SG  
shark liver

58 wa her      bə-h-es  
and when in-to-3.F.SG  
and when into it...

59 ən-əṭáwl      dirém              bə-nuṣṣ-a  
1.PL-fill.IND barrel.M.SG with-half-SGV  
we fill half of barrel

60 foḡah-áš      dirém  
half-3.M.SG barrel.M.SG  
half of it, the barrel

61 ʔn-ḥǝl  
1.PL-take.IND  
we take

62 šǝṭ  
fire.M.SG  
fire

63 bə ʈɔ́ɔ́b  
and wood.M.SG  
and wood

64 mə n-ʂxɔ́ʈ təl dirém  
and 1.PL-ignite.IND by barrel.M.SG  
we make a fire near the barrel

65 i-kín  
3.M-be.IND  
it is

66 yaʔni ʈám̄məs sift  
HES heat.up.PRF.3.M.SG oil  
well, the oil becomes hot

67.1 bə nə-nnákʃ bə-dirém xalí mə n-nɔ́ɔ́l-əš  
and 1.PL-come.IND with-barrel.M.SG empty.M.SG and 1.PL-transfer.IND-3.M.SG  
and we bring an empty barrel and we put it

67.2 ʔtɔ́l dirém təl-əš  
beside barrel.M.SG beside-3.M.SG  
beside the barrel, beside it

68 mə mə n-ħāl sift  
and and 1.PL-take.IND oil  
and we take the oil

69 mən dirém i-fhós  
from barrel.M.SG 3.M-boil.IND  
from the barrel that boils

70 ʕaḵʔ

in

in

71 ʕaḵ ʕṣṭ

in fire.M.SG

in the fire

72 mə n-nḵɔl-əʕ ʕag ə-dirém ə-xalí sift

and 1.PL-transfer.IND-3.M.SG in DEF-barrel DEF-empty oil

and we put it in the empty barrel, the oil

73 ɢen ismu ʕed no-radé-sən

DEM.PROX.M.SG whatsitsname residue.F.PL 1.PL-throw.IND-3.F.PL

this, what's its name?, residue, we throw it away

74 idé ber hōl-ən sift

if be.already.PRF.3 take.PRF-1.PL oil

if we have already taken the oil

75 es-sift haɢa əstʕámilə

DEF-oil DEM.PROX.M.SG use.PRF.3.M.SG

this oil is used

76 idé

if

if

77 huri

kind.of.boat.M.SG

a huri

78 haða                    še  
DEM.PROX.M.SG PRN.3.M.SG

this is it

79 bæ    še                    skɔf        ʃaʁ    šũ  
and PRN.3.M.SG sit.PRF.3 in    sunlight.M.SG

and it sits in the sunlight

80 mə    dhɛn<sup>ə</sup>        baʃd    əsboʃ-ín        baʃd  
and rot.PRF.3 after week.M-DU after

and it rots, after two weeks, after...

81 ɔrx                    o    ɔrx                    tɾɔ  
month.M.SG or month.M.SG two.M

a month or two

82 nə-ħǎl                sift mə    n-nóš-əš  
1.PL-take.IND oil and 1.PL-rub.IND-3.M.SG

we take the oil and polish it (the huri)

83 den                    huri                    əstʃáməl  
DEM.PROX.M.SG kind.of.boat.M.SG use.PRF.3.M.SG

this huri is used

84 idé    ʁətarr-at                ʃalé                ə-ššams                aw    š-šũ  
if strike.PRF-3.F.SG on.3.M.SG DEF-sun.F.SG or DEF-sunlight.M.SG

if the sun or sunlight shine upon it

85    i-nukaʃ                    huri                    lidí-š                    šũ                    ma  
3.M-come.IND        kind.of.boat.M.SG        shine.PRF.3-3.M.SG        sunlight.M.SG        NEG

i-ɖarra

3.M-be.a.trouble.IND

a huri comes, the sunlight shines upon in, it is not a problem

86 i-ṭrór-əš la ʕaḵ ismu her b-is sift læxím  
3.M-matter.IND-3.M.SG NEG in HES when with-3.F.SG oil shark.M.SG  
it is not a problem in, what's its name?, when there is shark oil on it

87 u idé lenš  
and if type.of.boat.F.SG  
and if it is a launch

88 ʕand-ək gaḥáb-ək š-ek lənk bə gaḥáb-ək  
by-2.M.SG moor.PRF-2.M.SG with-2.M.SG type.of.boat.F.SG and moor.PRF-2.M.SG  
t-os  
OBJ-3.F.SG

you have, you moor, you have a launch and you moor it

89 bə ḥāil-k sift m nišḥ-ak t-os  
and take.PRF-2.M.SG oil and polish.PRF-2.M.SG OBJ-3.F.SG  
and take the oil and polish it (the lenk-lenš)

90 yaʕni əstaʕmələ sift nušaḥ b-es lingét bə  
HES use.PRF.3.M.SG oil polish.PRF.3 with-3.F.SG type.of.boat.F.PL and  
horó  
type.of.boat.M.PL

the oil is used to polish lenk and huri

91 haḍa məšáləḥ mēl  
DEM.PROX.M.SG interest.F.PL GEN  
this is the interest of

92 məslaḥ-á ləxim haḍi hiya u anthá  
interest-F.SG shark.M.SG DEM.PROX.F.SG PRN.3.F.SG and finish.PRF.3  
the interest of shark, this is it, and this is the end

#### Text 4. **ḳerḳor** fish traps

1 ɖenu ḳərḳór  
DEM.PROX.M.SG fish.trap.M.SG  
this is a **ḳerḳor** fish trap

2 ə-ḳərḳór  
DEF-fish.trap.M.SG  
the fish trap

3 nə-rotē-š b-e-réb<sup>a</sup>reb  
1.PL-arrange.IND-3.M.SG in-DEF-sea.M.SG  
we place it in the sea

4 her rətóf-ən t-ɔš  
when arrange.PRF-1.PL OBJ-3.M.SG  
when we place it

5 i-nokaḥ əs-sizób y-ɔgaḥ  
3.M-come.IND DEF-fish.species.M.SG 3.M-enter.IND  
the rabbit fish comes and enters

6 de mən-én ya-ḥór h-eš sizób de ya-ḥór  
some from-1.PL 3.M-say.IND to-3.M.SG fish.species.M.SG some 3.M-say.IND

abérə  
fish.species.M.SG

some of us call it **sizób**, some call it **abérə**

7 her rətɔf-ən t-ɔʃ ən-nɔl-əʃ arbaʔ u ʒaʃərín  
when arrange.PRF-1.PL OBJ-3.M.SG 1.PL-transfer.IND-3.M.SG four.M and twenty.M

səʒá

hour.F.SG

when we place it, it (transfers?) it twenty-four hours

8 b-e-réb<sup>ə</sup>reb

in-DEF-sea.M.SG

in the sea

9 bər rɔɔf-én n-kɔs sillób məken məken ʒamɔ-eʃ  
still.be.PRF.3 arrange.PRF-1.PL 1.PL-find.IND fish.species.M.SG many many in-3.M.SG

once we placed it, we find many many rabbit fish in it

10 siʒób ɔenə nəkaʒ b-eʃ  
fish.species.M.SG DEM.PROX.M.SG come.PRF.3 with-3.M.SG

this rabbit fish comes to it

11 bə n-fhɔs-əʃ  
and 1.PL-boil.IND-3.M.SG

and we boil it

12 her bər fehés  
when still.be.PRF.3.M.SG boil.PRF.3

when it is boiling

13 nəkaʒ mi e-réb<sup>ə</sup>reb mə n-fhɔs ʒag mi e-réb<sup>ə</sup>reb  
come.PRF.3 water.M.SG GEN-sea.M.SG and 1.PL-boil.IND in water.M.SG GEN-sea.M.SG

the sea water comes and we boil (it?) in the sea water



14 her bər fehés bə zehéb  
when still.be.PRF.3 boil.PRF.3 and be.ready.PRF.3  
when it is boiled and ready

15 nə-fókə-š  
1.PL-cover.IND-3.M.SG  
we cover it

16 nə-fókə-š řařář rodé-n-hom b-ařrér  
1.PL-cover.IND-3.M.SG bone.M.PL throw.PRF-1.PL-3.M.PL with-waste.M.SG  
we cover it, the bones we throw them in the waste

17 bə bə siźób b-əs-səróf nə-rəřš-š  
and and fish.species.M.SG with-DEF-side.M.PL 1.PL-loosen.IND-3.M.SG  
nə-nřo-hom mə n-řasař-hom  
1.PL-burn.IND-3.M.PL and 1.PL-dry.IND-3.M.PL

and and the siźób on the sides we loosen it (set it free?), we burn (grill?) them, and we dry them

18 her bər řəřař-an t-ohom  
when still.be.PRF.3 dry.PRF-1.PL OBJ-3.M.PL  
when we are drying them

19 °n-gofó-m  
1.PL-turn.over.IND-3.M.PL  
we turn them over

20 řar i-řřrək bə i-dhin  
from 3.M-make.IND and 3.M-stink.IND  
so they don't rot and stink

21 her ber kəbaz-ən t-əhóm ən-kośaŋ her ber kaśaŋ  
when still.be.PRF.3 ???-PRF-1.PL OBJ-3.M.PL 1.PL-dry.IND when still.be.PRF.3 dry.PRF.3

nə-nhó-hóm mə n-koś-hóm  
1.PL-burn.IND-3.M.PL and 1.PL-???.IND-3.M.PL

when we ??? them, we dry, when it is dry, we burn and ??? them

22 nə-nkól-hóm ʒaŋ xɔ  
1.PL-transfer.IND-3.M.PL in mouth.M.SG

we put them into the mouth (?)

23 aw ʒaŋ xadé  
or in ???  
or in ???

24 nə-ħafś-hóm ʒaŋ gunét u xalás  
1.PL-collect.IND-3.M.PL in bag.F.SG and this.is.it  
we collect (sort?) them in a bag, and that's it

### Text 5. making a kerkor fish trap

1 nə-bgód hen n-nka? bə-ʦorób ət-tór  
1.PL-go.IND for 1.PL-come.SBJT with-wood.piece.M.PL DEF.type.of.wood.M.SG  
we go to bring ʦɔr wood pieces

2 nə-nnókŋ b-ohom ʒaŋ lenš aw ʒaŋ zaít  
1.PL-come.IND with-3.M.PL in type.of.boat.F.SG or in type.of.boat.F.SG  
we bring it by lenš or by zaít

3 wa mə n-ħorét-hóm bə-xí bə-ħaš  
and and 1.PL-unload.IND-3.M.PL with-HES with-beach.M.SG  
and we unload it on the shore

4 ʼmgóran

then

then

5 ʼtorób

wood.piece.M.PL

the pieces

6 ət-ʼtór

DEF.type.of.wood.M.SG

of ʼtór

7 n-ozíḵ-hom

1.PL-load.IND-3.M.PL

we load them

8 ʼaḵ

in

on

9 b-e-rébʼreb

with-DEF-sea.M.SG

in the sea

10 aywa b-e-rébʼreb

yes with-DEF-sea.M.SG

yes, in the sea

11 ḥawálə

about

about

12 šilt riʕá em ta keða  
three.days four.days day.F.PL HES so  
about three, four days, like that

13 ʔmǵóran n-nḥó-hom bə-nufs  
then 1.PL-burn.IND-3.M.SG with-???  
then we burn them on ???

14 ʔorób  
wood.piece.M.PL  
the pieces of wood

15 her bər nəšáz-ən ʔorób  
when still.be.PRF.3 drink.PRF-1.PL wood.piece.M.PL  
???

16 ʔn-šerók-hom sízóf ʔano sízóf šiwoʔ šiwoʔ faxra  
1.PL-make.IND-3.M.PL bundle.M.PL so bundle.M.PL tight.M.PL tight.M.PL together  
we make them into bundle, tied together tightly

17 moǵóran nə-nḥér ʔorób  
then 1.PL-slaughter.IND wood.piece.M.PL  
then we chop the wood pieces

18 b-e-rébʔreb  
with-DEF-sea.M.SG  
in the sea

19 baʔdín bər ʔorób nəḥér  
after still.be.PRF.3 wood.piece.M.PL slaughter.PRF.3  
then, when the wood pieces are chopped

20 yaɣni miya fi-l-miya  
DISJ one.hundred in-DEF-one.hundred  
a hundred percent

21 nə-nnakaɣ bə n-ɣófaɣ  
1.PL-come.IND and 1.PL-turn.over.IND  
we come and turn (it?) over

22 áwal ši n-ɣófaɣ aś-śigét  
first.M.SG thing.M.SG 1.PL-turn.over.IND DEF-female.dress.F.SG  
first off, we turn over the cloth (?)

23 ʰber ś-śiɣət zahb-a  
still.be.PRF.3 DEF-female.dress.F.SG ready-F.SG  
when the cloth (?) is ready

24 ʰn-ɣófaɣ rīd  
1.PL-turn.over.IND ash.M.SG  
we turn over the ashes

25 ʰmgóran n-nakaʔ bə-śiɣét ɬer śiɣét  
then 1.PL-come.IND with-female.dress.F.SG on female.dress.F.SG

ʰn-ɣóɬɬ-as

1.PL-turn.over.IND-3.F.SG

then we bring (put?) a cloth on the cloth that we turn over

26 məgóran ber əś-śiɣét ɬrút ʰxóls  
then be.already.PRF.3.M.SG DEF-female.dress.F.SG two.F finish.PRF.3  
then, when the two cloths are finished

27 ber-ít xils-át n-nəkaŋ bə-xɔ  
be.already.PRF-3.F.SG finish.PRF-3.F.SG 1.PL-come.IND with-mouth.M.SG  
when it is finished we bring (put?) (mouth?)

28 mə n-ḵófaŋ əx-xɔ  
and 1.PL-turn.over.IND DEF-mouth.M.SG  
and we turn over the (mouth?)

29 nə-nnókaŋ b-ṭano bə-ṭorób bə n-kótob l-əš bə  
1.PL-come.IND with-so with-wood.piece.M.PL and 1.PL-write.IND to-3.M.SG and  
n-ṭór-əš b-e-réb<sup>ə</sup>reb  
1.PL-break.IND-3.M.SG with-DEF-sea.M.SG

we bring so the wood pieces and we write (peck?) them, and break them in the sea

30 her ṭōr-ən t-əš b-e-réb<sup>ə</sup>reb i-nokaŋ šod bə  
when break.PRF-1.PL OBJ-3.M.SG with-DEF-sea.M.SG 3.M.SG-come.IND fish.M.SG and  
y-ɔgaḥ  
3.M-enter.IND

when we break it in the sea, the fish comes and enters

31 u ənthá  
and finish.PRF.3  
and this is the end

### Text 6. Making fire

1 ḵarŋát šerók śōṭ  
spark.striker.M.SG make.PRF.3 fire.M.SG  
the spark striker makes fire

2 zen haḍi                    ḵarḥát                    məšánn-eš əzgúg  
well DEM.PROX.F.SG spark.striker.M.SG like-3.M.SG glass.M.SG  
well, this spark striker is like glass

3 məsél zgúg                    mədáwwar-a  
like    glass.M.SG round-F.SG  
like round glass

4 bə ḥáḵar-aš                    ləbr<sup>ə</sup> g-gəš  
and size.M.SG-3.M.SG like DEF-???  
and its size is like ???

5 faḍḍa  
silver.F.SG  
silver

6 <sup>ə</sup>hē-t                    l-əš-šū  
heat.up.PRF-3.F.SG to-DEF-sunlight.M.SG  
it is heated up by the sunlight

7 bə ḥém                    šū                    ḥami                    ḥami  
and heat.up.PRF.3 sunlight.M.SG hot.M.SG hot.M.SG  
and the sunlight is very hot

8 nə-ḵlá-s                    ṭano l-əš-šū  
1.PL-roast.IND-3.F.SG so    to-DEF-sunlight.M.SG  
we roast it so in the sunlight

9 bə i-kín                    bər                    nəḥí-n                    bə-xaṭíḵ  
and 3.M-be.IND still.be.PRF.3 burn.PRF-1.PL with-cloak.M.SG  
and then we burn a cloak

10 bə xaṭík ləbər sigíl-t  
and cloak.M.SG like ???-F.SG  
and the cloak is like ???

11 nəḥí-n b-eš bə n-ḳólaḡ məḥaruḡ ʔt-éš  
burn.PRF-1.PL with-3.M.SG and 1.PL-leave.IND fuel.M.SG OBJ-3.M.SG  
we burn it and leave fuel in it

12 ʔlxín ḡinə mədáwwar-a ʔzgúḡ  
under DEM.PROX.F.SG round-F.SG glass.M.SG  
under this glass circle

13 ʔn-ḳólaḡ ḡaḡ ṭer šū ṭenó  
1.PL-leave.IND in on sunlight.M.SG so  
we leave it in the sunlight

14 ḡen  
DEM.PROX.M.SG  
this

15 šerók tinḡeṭót ṭe ḡinu  
make.PRF.3 spot.F.SG PRN.3.F.SG DEM.PROX.F.SG  
it makes a spot, this

16 ešmu zəḡúḡ  
whatitsname? glass.M.SG  
what's its name? glass



17 ɔ̃nu                      řerók                      tinkeťót                      tinkeťót                      ɔ̃nu                      řag  
DEM.PROX.M.SG      make.PRF.3.M.SG      spot.F.SG      spot.F.SG      DEM.PROX.F.SG      in

eřmu

whatitsname?

this makes a spot a spot, this, in, what's its name?

18 řak řarík  
in tinder.M.SG  
in the tinder

19 řarík                      haɔa  
tinder.M.SG DEM.PROX.M.SG  
this tinder

20 ɔ̃nu                      i-řerók                      řot  
DEM.PROX.M.SG 3.M-make.IND fire.M.SG  
this makes fire

21 baɔd i-kén                      telet                      digaég                      i-řerók                      řot  
after 3.M-be.IND three.M minute.F.PL 3.M-make.IND fire.M.SG  
after maybe three minutes it makes fire

22 i-řerók                      indóx  
3.M-make.IND smoke.M.SG  
it makes smoke

23 řífær  
pellet.F.PL  
pellets

24 irón tífra oz  
goat.PL pellet.F.PL goat.SG  
goats, goat pellets

25 ʔaħán t-ésen ʔenó  
grind.PRF.3 OBJ-3.F.PL so  
they are ground like this

26 ber zehē-n t-es °n-ķólaʕ ɢen  
be.already.PRF.3 be.ready.PRF-1.PL OBJ-3.F.SG 1.PL-leave.IND DEM.PROX.M.SG  
ħarék ʕag ʕag ət-tífər ʔaʕl sóʔ  
tinder.M.SG in in DEF-pellet.F.PL come.out.PRF.3 fire.M.SG

once we have prepared it, we leave this tinder in the pellets, and the fire comes out

### Text 7. Ambergris

1 i-kin ʕar b-e-rémni  
3.M-be.IND only in-DEF-sea.M.SG  
it is only in the sea

2 b-e-rémni  
in-DEF-sea.M.SG  
in the sea

3 mən sébħaʔat  
from whale.F.SG  
from whales

4 tə-bğód ʕaħ ſigér lakún e  
3.F.SG-go.IND in tree.M.SG there GEN  
it goes to the tree there of

5 e-ʕambér  
GEN-amber.M.SG  
of amber

6 bə t-te      bə t-te      bə t-te      bə t-te      ʕəbáʕ  
and 3.F-eat.IND and 3.F-eat.IND and 3.F-eat.IND and 3.F-eat.IND be.satisfied.PRF.3  
and eats and eats and eats and eats, (until) it is satisfied

7 ʔmǵóran la b-e-rémnem tə-ǵóraḥ  
then no? in-DEF-sea.M.SG 3.F.SG-???.IND  
then, no?, it (goes off to) in the sea

8 tə-ǵé  
3.F-vomit.IND.SG  
it vomits

9 tə-ǵé      mən ǵízél      e  
3.F-vomit.IND.SG from fever.M.SG HES  
it vomits because of the fever of

10 mən ǵízél      e-ʕambér  
from fever.M.SG GEN-amber.M.SG  
amber fever

11 ʔmǵór ɖen      ʕambér      ɖǵkún      i-ǵɔdaḥ  
then DEM.PROX.M.SG amber.M.SG DEM.DIST.M.SG 3.M-come.ashore.IND  
then this amber comes ashore

12 i-ǵɔdaḥ      əlyó  
3.M-come.ashore.IND hither  
it comes ashore hither

13 řambér dókun el-ařli el-ařli el-ařli  
amber.M.SG DEM.DIST.M.SG DEF-original.M.SG DEF-original.M.SG DEF-original.M.SG

el-ařli

DEF-original.M.SG

that original original original original amber

14 miř řafór  
from.3.M.SG red.M.SG

may be red

15 miř lōn  
from.3.M.SG white.M.SG

may be white

16 miř řaór  
from.3.M.SG black.M.SG

may be black

17 kəl-ře kel-ř kel-ř řambér  
every-thing all-3.M.SG all-3.M.SG amber.M.SG

everything, all of it, all of it is amber

19 řin her gell-ř  
see.M.SG.IMP if be.hot.PRF-2.F.SG

see, if you are feverish

20 her gill-ř  
if be.hot.PRF-2.F.SG

if you are feverish

21 širik            śelt            em            her            gilí            gall  
make.IMP.F.SG three.days day.F.PL when be.ill.PRF.3.M.SG be.warm.PRF.3.M.SG  
use it for three days if you are feverish

22 wallá    ṭaṭ    śaḥfún    śaḥfún    śaḥfún    śaḥfún  
god.INTJ one.M weak.M.SG weak.M.SG weak.M.SG weak.M.SG  
indeed, (when) one is weak weak weak weak

23 t-širik-š  
2.F-make.IND.F-3.M.SG  
you use it

24 wallá    fi-l-libén  
god.INTJ in-DEF-milk.M.SG  
indeed, in the milk

25 ḥaḥ e-núsub  
in DEF-milk.M.SG  
in the milk

### **Text 8. Making sails**

1 ḥōk            tə-kin            ḥaṭər    ḡenu            fəték  
sew.PRF.3 3.F-be.IND ten.M DEM.PROX.M.SG fabric.F.PL  
about ten fabrics are sewn up

2 kəl-án    ṭār-ən            t-eṭən            káll-ən    hen    ṭiráf  
all-1.PL break.PRF-1.PL OBJ-3.F.PL all-1.PL for sail.PL  
all of us tear them, all of us for sails

3 bə t̪ár-ən t-etən  
and break.PRF-1.PL OBJ-3.F.PL  
and we tear them

4 bə t̪ár-ən t-etən bə sək-ən t-aš  
and break.PRF-1.PL OBJ-3.F.PL and sew.PRF-1.PL OBJ-3.M.SG  
and we tear them, and we sew it

5 haða bər sək-ən t-eš bər  
DEM.PROX.M.SG be.already.PRF.3.M sew.PRF-1.PL OBJ-3.M.SG be.already.PRF.3

dəháb  
be.ready.PRF.3.M.SG

this, once we sew it, once it is ready

6 nədaɣ-án b-eš  
hang.PRF-1.PL with-3.M.SG  
we hang it

7 hað bər nədáɣ-ən b-eš  
DEM.PROX.M.SG be.already.PRF.3 hang.PRF-1.PL with-3.M.SG  
this, once we hung it

8 t̪arók-ən ɟik kəd  
make.PRF-1.PL DEM.DIST.M.SG rope.M.SG  
we make, that, rope

9 hóləb-ən t-aš  
lower.PRF-1.PL OBJ-3.M.SG  
we lower it

10 baʔd ruḥ  
then go.IMP.M.SG  
then go!

11 mə lahán mə lahán mə lahán bə lahák  
and there and there and there and there  
and there and there and there and there

12 ḥolb-ən  
lower.PRF-1.PL  
we lower

13 ḥadra ḥolb-én  
once lower.PRF-1.PL  
once we lowered it

14 betér-ən  
fish.PRF-1.PL  
we fish

15 ḥadar betér-ən d-ḥad d-ḥad néḡaḥ-n ʔeʔ  
once fish.PRF-1.PL still.be.PRF.3 still.be.PRF.3 hang.PRF-1.PL one.M  
once we have fished, again and again we hang one

16 hāl-ən t-iš mən lahán  
carry.PRF-1.PL OBJ-3.M.SG from there  
we bring it from there

17 bə əḡh-án  
and enter.PRF-1.PL  
and we enter

18 beṭ rawaḥ nəḍáḥ-n b-eš d-ḥad ʔeṭ  
that's it go.back.PRF.3.M.SG hang.PRF-1.PL with-3.M.SG still.be.PRF.3 one.M  
that's it, we go back to hang one more onto it

## 2017 speaker: pictures

### Text 9. Picture 1

1 šigirét ḥafer-ót  
tree.F.SG red-F.SG  
a red tree

2 bæ línít bæ ḥafer-ót bæ línít  
and white.F.SG and red-F.SG and white.F.SG  
and white and red and white

3 šigirét bedə  
tree.F.SG HES  
tree...

4 šigirét be-ṭ elwán  
tree.F.SG with-3.F.SG colour.M.PL  
the tree has colours

5 šigirét šigirét  
tree.F.SG tree.F.SG  
tree tree

6 bæ ḡinu a-rənáḡ  
and DEM.PROX.F.SG DEF-sea.M.SG  
and this is the sea?



7 ʈer a-rərám á-rəram  
on DEF-sea.M.SG DEF-sea.M.SG  
on the sea, the sea

8 ʈer á-rənam  
on DEF-sea.M.SG  
on the sea

9 šigirét ʈer á-rəram  
tree.F.SG on DEF-sea.M.SG  
a tree on the sea

#### **Text 10. Picture 11**

1 ɖenə iné  
DEM.PROX.M.SG what.Q  
what is this?

2 ɖenə ġāb<sup>ə</sup>gót  
DEM.PROX.M.SG girl.F.SG  
is this a girl?

3 <sup>ə</sup>ɖen <sup>ə</sup>mbéřə  
DEM.PROX.M.SG boy.M.SG  
this is a boy

4 <sup>ə</sup>mbéřə ɖenu  
boy.M.SG DEM.PROX.M.SG  
this is a boy

5 bæ ɢenə ʰmbɛ́rə  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG boy.M.SG  
and this is a boy

6 bæ ɢenə  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG  
and this

7 ʰmbɛ́rə  
boy.M.SG  
a boy

8 ʰmbɛ́rə bæ ɡābʰgót  
boy.M.SG and girl.F.SG  
a boy and a girl

9 ʰmbɛ́rə ʰmbɛ́rə  
boy.M.SG boy.M.SG  
a boy a boy

10 ərbaf-ót ərsót ərbaf-ót  
four-F boy.M.PL four-F  
four boys four

11 ərbaf-ót ərsót  
four-F boy.M.PL  
four boys

12 iné ya-fõr ərsót ərsót ərbaf-ót  
what.Q 3.M-say.IND boy.M.PL boy.M.PL four-F  
what do the four boys say?

13 hārég la  
talk.PRF.3 NEG  
they don't talk

14 hārég la  
talk.PRF.3 NEG  
they don't talk

15 ma yi-tkallem-u  
NEG 3.M-talk.IMPV-PL  
they don't talk

16 hārég la erśót hārég la  
talk.PRF.3 NEG boy.M.PL talk.PRF.3 NEG  
they don't talk, the boys don't talk

17 hārég la  
talk.PRF.3 NEG  
they don't talk

### **Text 11. Picture 12**

1 i-nḥag mətweý  
3.M-play.IND game.name  
he plays “mətweý”

2 d-i-btér-ən  
CIRC-3.M-fish.SG.IND-T2/STEM  
he is fishing

3 d-i-btér-ən                      şod  
CIRC-3.M-fish.SG.IND-T2/STEM fish.M.SG  
he is fishing fish

4 śi      ś̄r                      t̄r  
EXIST fishing.pole.F.SG fishing.pole.F.SG  
there is a fishing pole, a fishing pole

5 ś̄r                      d-i-btér-ən  
fishing.pole.F.SG CIRC-3.M-fish.SG.IND-T2/STEM  
fishing poles, he is fishing

6 iné      ġagó ġagó  
what.Q FILL FILL  
what? .....

7 d̄inə                      şod      şod  
DEM.PROX.F.SG fish.M.SG fish.M.SG  
this is a fish, a fish

8 d̄inə                      şod      b-er-réb<sup>ə</sup>reb  
DEM.PROX.F.SG fish.M.SG with-DEF-sea.M.SG  
this is a fish in the sea

9 d̄inə                      şod      samak      haḍa  
DEM.PROX.F.SG fish.M.SG fish.M.SG DEM.PROX.M.SG  
this is a fish, this is a fish

10 denə                      şod  
DEM.PROX.M.SG fish.M.SG  
this is a fish



19 ʾlahám bə-ʂoddʾ  
touch.PRF.3 with-fish.M.SG  
he touches the fish

20 lahám bə tə ʂod  
touch.PRF.3.M.SG with HES fish.M.SG  
he touches the fish

### Text 12. Picture 13

1 ɢenə ʾmbéərə bə ɢenə ʾmbéərə  
DEM.PROX.M.SG boy.M.SG and DEM.PROX.M.SG boy.M.SG  
this is a boy and this is a boy

2 ʂōtít erśót  
three.F boy.M.PL  
three boys

3 ʂōtít  
three.F  
three

4 i-btór-ən bə-śǝr ʂít  
3.M-fish.PL.IND-T2/STEM with-fishing.pole.F.SG one.F  
they fish with one fishing pole

5 śǝr ʂít d-i-btór-ən b-əs  
fishing.pole.F.SG one.F CIRC-3.M-fish.PL.IND-T2/STEM with-3.F.SG  
one fishing pole, they are fishing with it

6 zena                    waḥd-a  
fishing.pole.F.SG one-F  
one fishing pole

7 ʔalaʔ-a    awlad  
three-F boy.M.PL  
three boys

8 ʔōʔit    erśót  
three.F boy.M.PL  
three boys

9 i-btór-ən                    bə-śṣr                    ʔit  
3.M-fish.PL.IND-T2/STEM with-fishing.pole.F.SG one.F  
fish with one fishing pole

### Text 13. Picture 14

1 ʔImun ʔmbérə    tet    k-ēnóf  
here    boy.M.SG above with-self.M  
here (is) a boy above himself (?)

2 bə ɢenu                    ʔmbérə    tet-š                    urbaʔ    śérétə  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG boy.M.SG above-3.M.SG four.M fishing.pole.F.PL  
and this is a boy who has four fishing poles on himself

3 urbaʔ    śérétə  
four.M fishing.pole.F.PL  
four fishing poles

4 bə denə                      śís                      śa                      la                      denə                      śís  
 and DEM.PROX.M.SG with.3.M.SG thing.M.SG NEG DEM.PROX.M.SG with.3.M.SG  
 śa                      la  
 thing.M.SG NEG

and this one has nothing, this one has nothing

**Text 14. Picture 15**

1 ərbaɣ-ót şod                      ərbaɣ-ót şod  
 four-F fish.M.SG four-F fish.M.SG  
 four fish, four fish

2 ərbaɣ-ót şadı  
 four-F fish.M.PL  
 four fish

3 kəl-am                      ərbaɣ-ót  
 all-3.M.PL four-F  
 they are four in total (?)

4 ərbaɣ-ót şod  
 four-F fish.M.SG  
 four fish

5 kəl    ɬat    ɬi-š                      şod<sup>a</sup>                      kəl    ɬat    ɬi-š                      şod<sup>a</sup>  
 each one.M with-3.M.SG fish.M.SG each one.M with-3.M.SG fish.M.SG  
 each one has a fish, each one has a fish

**Text 15. Picture 16**

1 denu  
 DEM.PROX.M.SG  
 this



2 *ɖenə*            *ɬi-š*            *ʂod<sup>ə</sup>*    *bə* *ɖenə*            *ɬi-š*            *ʂod<sup>ə</sup>*  
DEM.PROX.M.SG with-3.M.SG fish.M.SG and DEM.PROX.M.SG with-3.M.SG fish.M.SG  
this one has a fish and this one has a fish

3 *ɖenə*            *śiś*            *śé*            *la*  
DEM.PROX.M.SG with.3.M.SG thing.M.SG NEG  
this one has nothing

4 *bə* *ɖenə*            *ɬi-š*            *ʂod<sup>ə</sup>*  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG with-3.M.SG fish.M.SG  
and this one has a fish

5 *toaɬ-ít* *ʂod*            *toaɬ-ít*  
three-F fish.M.SG three-F  
three fish three

6 *tāɬ-ít*    *ʂədí*  
three-F fish.M.PL  
three fish

### Text 16. Picture 18

1 *ɖenu*  
DEM.PROX.M.SG  
this

2 *ʰmbéɾə*    *bə* *ɖenə*            *ʰmbéɾə*  
boy.M.SG and DEM.PROX.M.SG boy.M.SG  
is a boy and this is a boy

3 śam trɔ  
??? two.M  
two ???

4 bə denə                      śís                      śé                      la                      toaṭ-ít  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG with.3.M.SG thing.M.SG NEG three-F  
and this one has nothing, three

5 toaṭ-ít                      şadı  
three-F fish.M.PL  
three fish

6 śalés                      śērétə  
three.M fishing.pole.F.PL  
three fishing poles

7 śalés                      xetṭ  
three.M line.M.SG  
three lines

8 ṭit                      trut                      śállé                      śērétə  
one.F two.F three.M fishing.pole.F.PL  
one, two, three fishing poles

9 tāṭ-ít                      şadı  
three-F fish.M.PL  
three fish

### Text 17. Picture 18

1 denə                      te-ş                      urbaŋ                      śērétə                      urbaŋ  
DEM.PROX.M.SG with-3.M.SG four.M fishing.pole.F.PL four.M  
this one has four fishing poles

2 šērétə

fishing.pole.F.PL

fishing poles

3 ba tār t̥rut

INTJ fishing.pole.F.SG two.F

oh, two fishing poles

4 ɖenə tār t̥rut urbaʃ

DEM.PROX.M.SG fishing.pole.F.SG two.F four.M

this is two fishing poles, four

5 əl kəl t̥iʃ sé la ʃud la

for all with.3.M.SG thing.M.SG NEG fish.M.SG NEG

each one has nothing, no fish

6 i-btér-ən bə-aǵal

3.M-fish.IND.SG-T2/STEM with-below

he fishes down

7 ʃaʁ ráb<sup>ə</sup>ram ʃaʁ ráb<sup>ə</sup>ram

in sea.M.SG in sea.M.SG

in the sea, in the sea

8 i-btér-ən

3.M-fish.IND.SG-T2/STEM

he fishes

**Text 18. Picture 19**

1 ʔlxím ʔlxím ʔlxím  
shark.M.SG shark.M.SG shark.M.SG  
a shark, a shark, a shark

2 t̥ōt̥-ít ʔlxím t̥alaṭ-ít  
three.F shark.M.SG three-F  
three sharks three

3 śalaṭ-ít ʔlxím  
three-F shark.M.SG  
three sharks

4 ǵenə ʔmbérə l̥xan-əš ʔlxím ǵenu  
DEM.PROX.M.SG boy.M.SG under-3.M.SG shark.M.SG DEM.PROX.M.SG  
this is a boy, below him there is a shark, this

5 bə ǵenu l̥xan-əš ʔlxím  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG under-3.M.SG shark.M.SG  
and this one below him is a shark

6 bə ǵenu t̥i-š ʔlxím  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG with-3.M.SG shark.M.SG  
and this one has a shark

7 ʔlkén ʕaḵ īdí-s ʕod ʕaḵ īdí-š  
but in hand.DU-3.F.SG fish.M.SG in hand.DU-3.M.SG  
but in her hands there is a fish, in his hands

8 e-lxím            řař idit-ř  
DEF-shark.M.SG in hand.F.SG-3.M.SG  
the shark is in his hand

9 řař idit-ř            e-lxím  
in hand.F.SG-3.M.SG DEF-shark.M.SG  
the shark is in his hand

### Text 19. Picture 2

1 kel řafer-etə ařgár    ařgár    kel řafer-etə  
all red-F.PL tree.F.PL tree.F.PL all red-F.PL  
all red, trees trees, all red

2 be-tən    be-tən    zuhur-ét  
with-3.F.PL with-3.F.PL flower.F.PL-PL  
they have, they have flowers

3 ařgár    be-tən    zuhur    ařgár  
tree.F.PL with-3.F.PL flower.F.PL tree.F.PL  
the trees have flowers, the trees

4 be-tən    zuhur  
with-3.F.PL flower.F.PL  
they have flowers

### Text 20. Picture 20

1 řinə            řīb-a  
DEM.PROX.F.SG wolf-F.SG  
this is a shark

2 dīb-a      dīnu  
wolf-F.SG DEM.PROX.F.SG  
this is a shark

3 dīb-a      ləxím      ləxím  
wolf-F.SG shark.M.SG shark.M.SG  
shark shark shark

4 elli y-akəl      y-akəl      nəfər  
REL 3.M-eat.IMPV 3.M-eat.IMPV person.M.SG  
the one that eats people

5 dīb-a      dīb-a  
wolf-F.SG wolf-F.SG  
shark shark

### Text 21. Picture 21

1 tōt-ít      tōt-ít      ləhəyʔt  
three.F three.F shark.M.PL  
three three sharks

2 əd-i-hugub      əl ʔmbérə  
CIRC-3.M-attack.PL.IND for boy.M.SG  
they are attacking the boy

3 əd-i-hugub  
CIRC-3.M-attack.PL.IND  
they are attacking

4 əd-i-hugub əl ʔmbéɾə lxim  
CIRC-3.M-attack.PL.IND for boy.M.SG shark.M.SG  
they are attacking the boy, the shark

5 ləhím d-i-hégəb əl ʔmbéɾə  
shark.M.SG CIRC-3.M-attack.SG.IND for boy.M.SG  
the shark is attacking the boy

### Text 22. Picture 22

1 dīr-ót d-ɟad dīr-ót ʔt-té-š  
return.PRF-3.F.SG be.still.PRF.3 return.PRF-3.F.SG 3.F.SG-eat.IND-3.M.SG  
it returned again, it returned to eat it

2 iné śə źén<sup>ə</sup>  
what.Q EXIST DEM.DIST.PL  
what are those ones?

3 ɟenə t̪i-še ɟenə t̪i-še  
DEM.PROX.M.SG with-3.M.SG DEM.PROX.M.SG with-3.M.SG  
this one has, this one has

4 hūri  
type.of.boat.M.SG  
a huri

### Text 23. Picture 23

1 ine t-te t-te ʃod  
what.Q 3.F-eat.IND 3.F-eat.IND fish.M.SG  
what does she eat? does it eat fish?

2 t-te            şod  
3.F-eat.IND fish.M.SG  
she eats fish

3 řak xó-s  
in mouth.M.SG-3.F.SG  
in her mouth

4 şod            řak xó-s                    şod  
fish.M.SG in mouth.M.SG-3.F.SG fish.M.SG  
fish in her mouth, fish

5 t-te            şod            řak xó-s  
3.F-eat.IND fish.M.SG in mouth.M.SG-3.F.SG  
she eats fish in her mouth

6 şod            řak xó-s                    şod  
fish.M.SG in mouth.M.SG-3.F.SG fish.M.SG  
fish in her mouth, fish

7 şod            řak xó-s  
fish.M.SG in mouth.M.SG-3.F.SG  
fish in her mouth

**Text 24. Picture 25**

1 iżon            źon            że            la    řinu  
DEM.DIST.PL DEM.DIST.PL thing.M.SG NEG DEM.PROX.F.SG  
those ones those ones have nothing, this



2 ʔmbéréə ʒaḵ ʒamḵ ʔmbéréə ʒaḵ ʒamḵ  
boy.M.SG in middle boy.M.SG in middle  
a boy is in the middle, a boy is in the middle

3 ʔmbéréə ɢenə šáhar  
boy.M.SG DEM.PROX.M.SG elderly.person.M.SG  
a boy, this is an old man

4 ɢenə šáhar  
DEM.PROX.M.SG elderly.person.M.SG  
this is an old man

5 bæ ɢinə tet ɢinə  
and DEM.PROX.F.SG woman.F.SG DEM.PROX.F.SG  
and this, is this a woman?

6 ǵayg  
man.M.SG  
a man

7 ɢenə ʔmbéréə ʒaḵ š ʒaḵ ʒamḵ  
DEM.PROX.M.SG boy.M.SG in HES in middle  
this is a boy, in in the middle

8 ʒófər ʒófər ʔmbéréə ʒófər  
red.M.SG red.M.SG boy.M.SG red.M.SG  
red red, a red boy

## Text 25. Picture 26

1 ʔmbéřə séší re ɬeno  
boy.M.SG drink.PRF.3 water.M.SG so  
the boy drinks water so

2 séši ləbket  
drink.PRF.3 bottle.F.SG  
he drink from the bottle

3 ləbket ləbket  
bottle.F.SG bottle.F.SG  
bottle bottle

4 bə ɢenə ɣayg ɬiši ləbket  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG man.M.SG drink.PRF.3.M.SG bottle.F.SG  
and this is a man who drinks from a bottle

5 bə ɢenə ɬiši ləbket  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG drink.PRF.3.M.SG bottle.F.SG  
and this one drinks from the bottle

6 bə ɢenə ɬiši ləbket  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG drink.PRF.3.M.SG bottle.F.SG  
and this one drinks from the bottle

7 urbaŋ lək urbaŋ  
four.M bottle.F.PL four.M  
four bottles, four

8 denə            ləbket      trut  
DEM.PROX.M.SG bottle.F.SG two.F  
these are two bottles

9 šalaṭə    lēḳ            ḡa                    šalét  
three.M bottle.F.PL DEM.PROX.M.SG three.M  
these are three bottles, three

10 šalaṭə    lēḳ  
three.M bottle.F.PL  
three bottles

11 denə                    ṭalaṭə    lēḳ  
DEM.PROX.M.SG three.M bottle.F.PL  
these are three bottles

12 denə                    ber                            ḡad  
DEM.PROX.M.SG be.already.PRF.3.M.SG go.PRF.3  
this is gone...

### **Text 26. Picture 27**

1 ši      še      la      xalí                    id-š                    halí  
EXIST EXIST NEG empty.M.SG hand-3.M.SG empty.M.SG  
there is nothing, empty, his hand is empty

2 xalí-t            id-š                    halí-t  
empty-F.SG hand-3.M.SG empty-F.SG  
empty, his hand is empty

**Text 27. Picture 29**

1 *ɔ̄nə*                      *xalí*  
DEM.PROX.M.SG empty.M.SG  
this one is empty

2 *šáhar*                      *halí*  
elderly.person.M.SG empty.M.SG  
the old man is empty

3 *ši*    *še*    *la*    *ši*    *še*    *la*  
EXIST EXIST NEG EXIST EXIST NEG  
there is nothing, there is nothing

4 *halí*  
empty.M.SG  
empty

5 *bə* *ɔ̄nə*                      *ǵayg*                      *šís*                      *šalaṭə*    *lēḵ*  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG man.M.SG with.3.M.SG three.M bottle.F.PL  
and this is a man who has three bottles

6 *ʾmbéərə*    *šís*                      *šalaṭə*    *lēḵ*  
boy.M.SG with.3.M.SG three.M bottle.F.PL  
the boy has three bottles

7 *bə* *ɔ̄nə*                      *šiši*                      *ləbḵét*                      *ṭit*  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG drink.PRF.3 bottle.F.SG one.F  
and this one drinks from one bottle

**Text 28. Picture 3**

1 ʔit ʔrut ʂállét urbaʂ urbaʂ aʂgár urbaʂ  
one.F two.F three.M four.M four.M tree.F.PL four.M  
one, two, three, four, four trees, four

2 urbaʂ aʂgár  
four.M tree.F.PL  
four trees

3 ɖinə bæ-aǵál ʔafer-ót  
DEM.PROX.F.SG with-down red-F.SG  
this one below is red

4 ʂigirét ɖinə ʂafer-ót  
tree.F.SG DEM.PROX.F.SG red-F.SG  
this tree is red

5 ʂafer-ót  
red-F.SG  
red

**Text 29. Picture 30**

1 bæ ɖənə xali  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG  
and this is empty

2 bæ ɖənə  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG  
and this one

3 ʰtétʰ wáyər  
with.3.M.SG wire.M.SG  
has wire

4 ʰgəd t̪er rɛš  
go.PRF.3 on head.M.SG  
it goes onto the head

5 ʰdd-i-nhág bə še d-i-nhag  
CIRC-3.M-play.IND and PRN.3.M.SG CIRC-3.M-play.IND  
he is dancing, and he is dancing

### Text 30. Picture 31

1 ɢenə šeši ɢenə  
DEM.PROX.M.SG drink.PRF.3 DEM.PROX.M.SG  
this one, does this one drink?

2 šeši ləbɤét  
drink.PRF.3 bottle.F.SG  
does he drink from a bottle?

3 lēt lēt  
light light  
light light

4 fēnús fēnús  
lantern.M.SG lantern.M.SG  
lantern lantern

5 ɢenə fēnús  
DEM.PROX.M.SG lantern.M.SG  
this is a lantern

6 bæ ɔ̃nə fēnús bæ ɔ̃nə fēnús  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG lantern.M.SG and DEM.PROX.M.SG lantern.M.SG  
and this is a lantern, and this is a lantern

7 ərbaf-ót fenzétə  
four-F lantern.M.PL  
four lanterns

8 ərbaf-ót fenzétə ərbaf-ót  
four-F lantern.M.PL four-F  
four lanterns, four

### Text 31. Picture 32

1 ɔ̃nə šəž<sup>ə</sup>rór eeee  
DEM.PROX.M.SG green.M.SG HES  
this is green

2 ɔ̃nə bənni  
DEM.PROX.M.SG brown.M.SG  
this is brown

3 bæ ɔ̃nə šəž<sup>ə</sup>rór  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG green.M.SG  
and this is green

4 bæ ɔ̃nə řófər  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG red.M.SG  
and this is red

5 bə ɖenə  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG  
and this is

6 šəzʰrɔr  
green.M.SG  
green

7 ɖenə                    šáxar  
DEM.PROX.M.SG elderly.person.M.SG  
this is an old man

8 šáxar                    ɖenu  
elderly.person.M.SG DEM.PROX.M.SG  
this is an old man

9 ɖenu                    šahar  
DEM.PROX.M.SG elderly.person.M.SG  
this is an old man

10 iné    š-eš            ɖenu  
what.Q with-3.M.SG DEM.PROX.M.SG  
what does this one have?

11 iné    š-eš            ʈenu  
what.Q with-3.M.SG thus  
what does this one have?

12 eš    ʈand haɖa  
what.Q with DEM.PROX.M.SG  
what does this one have?



13 ma fi ma ši ma ši  
NEG EXIST NEG EXIST NEG EXIST  
there is nothing

**Text 32. Picture 34**

1 ʔoat-ít ʔoat-ít læxyʔt  
three-F three-F shark.M.PL  
three three sharks

2 hagəb el ʔmbérə ad id-š  
attack.PRF.3 to boy.M.SG to hand-3.M.SG  
attack the boy on his hand

3 ərbaʕ-ʔt ʔlxím ərbaʕ-ʔt  
four-F shark.M.SG four-F  
four sharks, four

4 i-gyodəm ʔmbérə id-š  
3.M-cut.IND boy.M.SG hand-3.M.SG  
they cut off the boy's hand

5 ʕayəb i-ti-š  
want.PRF.3 3.M-eat.SBJT-3.M.SG  
they want to eat him

6 ʕagəb i-ti-š  
want.PRF.3.M.SG 3.M-eat.SBJT-3.M.SG  
they want to eat him

**Text 33. Picture 35**

1 hagəb lə  
attack.PRF.3 to  
it attacks

2 l ʔmbéərə  
to boy.M.SG  
the boy

**Text 34. Picture 36**

1 ərbaɣ-ót  
four-F  
four

2 ərbaɣ-ót ləxeyót  
four-F shark.M.PL  
four sharks

3 kal ɬat ší ʂod<sup>ə</sup>  
each one.M EXIST fish.M.SG  
each one has a fish

4 ʂod ɬaɣ xɔ-š  
fish.M.SG in mouth-3.M.SG  
fish in his mouth

5 ʂod ɬaɣ xɔ-š ʂod  
fish.M.SG in mouth-3.M.SG fish.M.SG  
fish in his mouth, fish

6 ṣod      řak xɔ-ř  
fish.M.SG in mouth-3.M.SG  
fish in his mouth

**Text 35. Picture 37**

1 m°śé  
how.much.Q  
how much?

2 ɮoaɮ-ít læxyǫ́t  
three-F shark.M.PL  
three sharks

3 °d-i-hugub              iře  
CIRC-3.M-attack.PL.IND HES  
attack...

4 əl řodd°      ɮɔ  
for fish.M.SG two.M  
two fish

5 řat      śem ɮɔ  
one.M ??? two.M  
one two

6 bə ɢenə              xalí  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG empty.M.SG  
and this is empty

7 śi śe la  
EXIST EXIST NEG  
there is nothing

8 halí  
empty.M.SG  
empty

**Text 36. Picture 38**

1 ərbaf-út ərbaf-út ləxeyʃt  
four-F four-F shark.M.PL  
four four sharks

2 kal ʔat ʔi ʃod nīʃán ʃaʔ xɔ-ʃ  
each one.M EXIST fish.M.SG small.M.SG in mouth-3.M.SG  
each one has a small fish in the mouth

3 ʃod nīʃán fəl-ét  
fish.M.SG small.M.SG escape.PRF-3.F.SG  
the small fish escaped

4 fəl-ét b-ēnóf  
escape.PRF-3.F.SG with-self.SG  
escaped by itself

5 fəl-ét fəl-ét  
escape.PRF-3.F.SG escape.PRF-3.F.SG  
escaped escaped

6 fəl fəl  
escape.PRF.3 escape.PRF.3  
escaped escaped

7 ʃod ʃod ɖenə ʃod nīʃán  
fish.M.SG fish.M.SG DEM.PROX.M.SG fish.M.SG small.M.SG  
fish, this is a fish, a small fish

**Text 37. Picture 39**

1 ərbɑɣ-ót ərbɑɣ-ót ləxeyót  
four-F four-F shark.M.PL  
four four sharks

2 ɬat tɾɔ  
one.M two.M  
one, two

3 t̪ótít ərbɑɣ-ót  
three.F four-F  
three, four

4 kal ɬat ʃa  
each one.M HES  
each one...

5 kal ɬat ʃaɣ xɔ  
each one.M in mouth.M.SG  
each one, in the mouth

6 denu xõš  
DEM.PROX.M.SG five.M  
this is five

7 k-ēnóf k-ēnóf  
with-self.M with-self.M  
alone, alone

8 denu k-ēnóf k-ēnóf  
DEM.PROX.M.SG with-self.M with-self.M  
this is alone alone

**Text 38. Picture 4**

1 ʔit ʔrut śalét urbaʃ  
one.F two.F three.M four.M  
one, two, three, four

2 urbaʃ ašgár  
four.M tree.F.PL  
four trees

3 kel be-ʔən ʔʃún lēk ʃafer-étə  
all with-3.F.PL stab.PRF.3 bottle.F.PL red-F.PL  
each has a red bottle on it

4 urbaʃ ʃafer-étə  
four.M red-F.PL  
four red

5 ʃit ʃafer-ʃt  
one.F red-F.SG  
one red

6 ʃit ʃafer-ʃt  
one.F red-F.SG  
one red

7 Ńgirét  
tree.F.SG  
tree

8 bə lhan se  
and there PRN.3.F.SG  
and there it

9 t-ʃún ləb<sup>ə</sup>ʔət ʃrut  
3.F.SG-stab.IND bottle.F.SG two.F  
it stabs two bottles (two bottles hang on it)

10 ʃafer-étə  
red-F.PL  
red

**Text 39. Picture 40**

1 ʃōʃit  
three.F  
three

2 ʃat ʃrə ərbəʃ-ʃt ərbəʃ-ʃt  
one.M two.M four-F four-F  
one, two, four four

3 ʒaḵ xɔ-š                      əɾbaɟ-ót  
in mouth-3.M.SG four-F  
in his mouth four

4 əɾbaɟ-ót    ʒod              ʒaḵ xɔ-š  
four-F fish.M.SG in mouth-3.M.SG  
four fish in his mouth

**Text 40. Picture 41**

1 ǵaǵ              ʔmbéɾə    d-i-btér-ən  
man.M.SG boy.M.SG CIRC-3.M-fish.SG.IND-T2/STEM  
the man, the boy is fishing

2 d-i-btér-ən  
CIRC-3.M-fish.SG.IND-T2/STEM  
is fishing

3 d-i-btér-ən                                      an    ʒod  
CIRC-3.M-fish.SG.IND-T2/STEM    ??? fish.M.SG  
is fishing ??? fish

4 ʒaḵ              əɾbaɟ-ót    ʒod              mu    əɾbaɟ-ót  
???.PRF.3 four-F fish.M.SG FILL four-F  
he ??? four fish, four

5 i-btér-ən                                      h-eš  
3.M-fish.SG.IND-T2/STEM to-3.M.SG  
he fishes them



**Text 41. Picture 42**

1 t̥s̥r̥<sup>ə</sup>                      t̥rut  
fishing.pole.F.SG two.F  
two fishing poles

2 śís                      ś̥r̥<sup>ə</sup>                      t̥rut    əmbéřə  
with.3.M.SG fishing.pole.F.SG two.F boy.M.SG  
he has two fishing poles, the boy

3 d-i-btér-ən                                      mǎ-ś̥r̥<sup>ə</sup>                      t̥rut  
CIRC-3.M-fish.SG.IND-T2/STEM with-fishing.pole.F.SG two.F  
he is fishing with two fishing poles

4 əřbař-ót řodí              əřbař-ót řod              əřbař-ót  
four-F fish.M.PL four-F fish.M.SG four-F  
four fish, four fish, four

**Text 42. Picture 43**

1 əmbéřə    skɔf                      ar    kǎřízí  
boy.M.SG sit.PRF.3.M.SG about chair.M.SG  
the boys sat on a chair

2 skɔf                      ar    kǎřízí              d-i-btér-ən  
sit.PRF.3.M.SG about chair.M.SG CIRC-3.M-fish.SG.IND-T2/STEM  
he sat on a chair fishing

3 əd-i-btér-ən  
CIRC-3.M-fish.SG.IND-T2/STEM  
he is fishing

**Text 43. Picture 44**

1 ʔd-i-btér-ən

CIRC-3.M-fish.SG.IND-T2/STEM

he is fishing

2 ʔt̪et̪            t̪e            la

with.3.M.SG thing.M.SG NEG

he has nothing

3 ʔt̪et̪            t̪e            ʂudʔ            la

with.3.M.SG thing.M.SG fish.M.SG NEG

he has no fish

4 ʂud            t̪ɔl-əʂ            mékən

fish.M.SG by-3.M.SG much

there is a lot of fish beside him

5 ʔlkán ʔt̪et̪            t̪e            ʂodʔ            la

but with.3.M.SG thing.M.SG fish.M.SG NEG

but he has no fish

**Text 44. Picture 46**

1 i-btér-ən                            xalí            t̪et̪            ʂodʔ            la

3.M-fish.SG.IND-T2/STEM empty.M.SG with.3.M.SG fish.M.SG NEG

he fishing empty, he has no fish

2 ah t̪et̪            ʂod

INTJ with.3.M.SG fish.M.SG

oh, has has (one) fish

3 teṭ      ṣod<sup>a</sup>      nīṣán      teṭ      ṣod<sup>a</sup>      nīṣán  
with.3.M.SG fish.M.SG small.M.SG with.3.M.SG fish.M.SG small.M.SG  
he has a small fish, he has a small fish

4 teṭ      ṣod<sup>a</sup>      nīṣán  
with.3.M.SG fish.M.SG small.M.SG  
he has a small fish

5 teṭ      ṭat  
with.3.M.SG one.M  
he has one

6 teṭ      ṣod<sup>a</sup>      nīṣán      ṭat  
with.3.M.SG fish.M.SG small.M.SG one.M  
he has one small fish

7 teṭ      ṣod  
with.3.M.SG fish.M.SG  
he has fish

**Text 45. Picture 47**

1 teṭ      ṣod      teṭ      ṣod      nīṣán      teṭ      ṣod  
with.3.M.SG fish.M.SG with.3.M.SG fish.M.SG small.M.SG with.3.M.SG fish.M.SG  
he has fish, he has a small fish, he has fish

2 teṭ      ṭat      teṭ      ṭat  
with.3.M.SG one.M with.3.M.SG one.M  
he has one, he has one

### Text 46. Picture 48

1 tell      şod<sup>a</sup>      tell      şod<sup>a</sup>  
take.PRF.3 fish.M.SG take.PRF.3 fish.M.SG  
he took the fish, he took the fish

2 <sup>a</sup>mbérə      denu              şill-i  
boy.M.SG DEM.PROX.M.SG take.PRF.3-3.M.SG  
this boy took (it?)

3 bər                      řag dirém      kel řag dirém      şod  
be.already.PRF.3 in barrel.M.SG all in barrel.M.SG fish.M.SG  
already in the barrel, all in the barrel, the fish

4 şod      řag dirém      řa  
fish.M.SG in barrel.M.SG PRN.3.M.SG  
the fish is in the barrel

### Text 47. Picture 49

1 tit              şod<sup>a</sup>      tit              şod<sup>a</sup>      řet      tōl-əř  
with.3.M.SG fish.M.SG with.3.M.SG fish.M.SG one.M by-3.M.SG  
he has a fish, he has one fish beside him

2 wəhad bəs  
one.M only  
one only

3 <sup>a</sup>řet              řat      řat  
with.3.M.SG one.M one.M  
he has one, one

4 ʔat  
one.M  
one

5 bæ ʔat ʕag dirém še bæ-rəm<sup>ə</sup>ném še  
and one.M in barrel.M.SG PRN.3.M.SG with-sea.M.SG PRN.3.M.SG  
and one in the barrel, in the sea

#### Text 48. Picture 50

1 a sé la xalás  
NEG thing.M.SG NEG this.is.it  
nothing, that's it

2 kəl kəl ʕag dirém  
all all in barrel.M.SG  
all, all in the barrel

3 kəl-em ʕag dirém šom  
all-3.M.PL in barrel.M.SG PRN.3.M.PL  
all of them are in the barrel, they

4 kəl-em ʕag dirém  
all-3.M.PL in barrel.M.SG  
all of them are in the barrel

#### Text 49. Picture 51

1 ʔet k-ēnóf  
one.M with-self.M  
one alone

2 ə-ʂod<sup>a</sup>      ʈat  
DEF-fish.M.SG one.M  
the fish is one

3 ʂod<sup>a</sup>      ʈat  
fish.M.SG one.M  
one fish

**Text 50. Picture 52**

1 ərsút      ɖenu  
boy.M.PL DEM.PROX.M.SG  
this, boys

2 baʃál      kura      baʃál      kura  
owner.M.SG ball.F.SG owner.M.SG ball.F.SG  
ball owner, ball owner

3 kəl   ʈat      kəl   ʈat      ʈiʂ      kura  
each one.M each one.M with.3.M.SG ball.F.SG  
each one, each one has a ball

4 ərbaʃ-út   ərbaʃ-út   ərsút  
four-F   four-F   boy.M.PL  
four four boys

5 bə   ərbaʃ-út   kura      kəl   ʈat      ʈiʂ      kura  
and four-F   ball.F.SG each one.M with.3.M.SG ball.F.SG  
and four balls, each one has a ball

**Text 51. Picture 53**

1 urbʕa kura  
four.M ball.F.SG  
four balls

2 t̪et̪ urbʕa  
with.3.M.SG four.M  
he has four

3 bə ɖenə́                    síś                    še                    la xalí  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG with.3.M.SG thing.M.SG NEG empty.M.SG  
and this one has nothing, empty

4 ɖenə́                    xalí  
DEM.PROX.M.SG empty.M.SG  
this one is empty

**Text 52. Picture 54**

1 ɖenu                    ʔmbéɾə  
DEM.PROX.M.SG boy.M.SG  
this is a boy

2 ɖen  
DEM.PROX.M.SG  
this

3 ʔad    t̪ʔró    sóas-ít    ərbaɸ-ót̪  
one.M two.M three-F four-F  
one, two, three, four

4 hōš štít  
five.M six.F  
five, six

5 štít erśót  
six.F boy.M.PL  
six boys

6 q̄enə ʒod  
DEM.PROX.M.SG fish.M.SG  
this is a fish

7 q̄inə ár<sup>o</sup>nab  
DEM.PROX.F.SG rabbit.F.SG  
this is a rabbit

8 śalás ár<sup>o</sup>nab  
three.M rabbit.F.SG  
three rabbits

9 śalás ár<sup>o</sup>nab śalés  
three.M rabbit.F.SG three.M  
three rabbits, three

10 ine q̄inə  
what.Q DEM.PROX.F.SG  
what is this?

11 q̄inə q̄ik šigirét  
DEM.PROX.F.SG DEM.DIST.M.SG tree.F.SG



this, that is a tree

12 ber                    kǐsáʕ  
be.already.PRF.3 dry.PASS.PRF.3  
it dried up

13 ʔad<sup>a</sup>    t<sup>a</sup>ró    tōʔít  
one.M two.M three.F  
one, two, three

14 ərbaʕ-ʔt xōš    šʔít  
four-F five.M six.F  
four, five, six

15 mun mun šʔít  
here here six.F  
here here six

16 ǧagginíti bə erśót  
girl.F.PL and boy.M.PL  
girls and boys

17 la  
NEG  
no

18 la ǧagginíti bə erśót  
NEG girl.F.PL and boy.M.PL  
no, girls and boys

19 kəl ġagginíti  
each girl.F.PL  
all girls

20 la ġagginíti ġagginíti  
NEG girl.F.PL girl.F.PL  
no, girls girls

21 kal ʔat ʔiʃ<sup>ə</sup> ʔiʃ<sup>ə</sup> ár<sup>ə</sup>nab ʔit  
each one.M with.3.M.SG with.3.M.SG rabbit.F.SG one.F  
each one has, has one rabbit

22 ʕaʔ id-ʃ  
in hand-3.M.SG  
in his hand

23 ár<sup>ə</sup>nab  
rabbit.F.SG  
a rabbit

24 kal ʔat ʔiʃ ár<sup>ə</sup>nab ʕaʔ id-é  
each one.M with.3.M.SG rabbit.F.SG in hand-3.M.SG  
each one has a rabbit in his hand

25 kal ʔat ʔiʃ ár<sup>ə</sup>nab ʕaʔ id-ʃ  
each one.M with.3.M.SG rabbit.F.SG in hand-3.M.SG  
each one has a rabbit in his hand

26 <sup>ə</sup>dd-i-nħag<sup>ə</sup> b-es  
CIRC-3.M-play.IND with-3.F.SG  
he is playing with it

**Text 53. Picture 55**

1 iné      ɔenu  
what.Q DEM.PROX.M.SG  
what is this?

2 ɔenu              ʔmbéɾə  
DEM.PROX.M.SG boy.M.SG  
this is a boy

3 ɔenu              arʔnáb  
DEM.PROX.M.SG rabbit.F.SG  
is this a rabbit?

4 ʔit      ʔrut      ʔahəlləʔ      urbʃa      árɳab      urbʃa  
one.F two.F three.M four.M rabbit.F.SG four.M  
one, two, three, four rabbits, four

5 urbʃa      árʔnab  
four.M rabbit.F.SG  
four rabbits

6 ine      ɔinə  
what.Q DEM.PROX.F.SG  
what is this?

**Text 54. Picture 56**

1 erʂót  
boy.M.PL  
boys?

2 ár<sup>ə</sup>nab  
rabbit.F.SG  
rabbit?

3 ərsót  
boy.M.PL  
boys

4 ərbaɸ-ót xōš šít  
four-F five.M six.F  
four, five, six

5 ar<sup>ə</sup>náb  
rabbit.F.SG  
rabbits

6 shələs mun shələs  
three.M here three.M  
three here three

7 shələs ár<sup>ə</sup>nab  
three.M rabbit.F.SG  
three rabbits

8 shələs  
three.M  
three

**Text 55. Picture 57**

1 gāb<sup>ə</sup>gót dīnə gāb<sup>ə</sup>gót wa  
girl.F.SG DEM.PROX.F.SG girl.F.SG FILL  
girl, this is a girl

2 ɖinə                    ǵāb<sup>ə</sup>ǵót ɖinə                    ǵāb<sup>ə</sup>ǵót  
DEM.PROX.F.SG girl.F.SG DEM.PROX.F.SG girl.F.SG  
this is a girl, this is a girl

3 bə ɖinə                    ǵāb<sup>ə</sup>ǵót  
and DEM.PROX.F.SG girl.F.SG  
and this is a girl

4 bə ɖinə                    <sup>ə</sup>mbéərə  
and DEM.PROX.F.SG boy.M.SG  
and this is a boy

5 ine ɖenə  
what.Q DEM.PROX.M.SG  
what is this?

6 kolób kolób  
dog.M.PL dog.M.PL  
dogs dogs

7 kolób kolób  
dog.M.PL dog.M.PL  
dogs dogs

8 kolób  
dog.M.PL  
dogs

9 ʕagəb i-ʕar erśót  
want.PRF.3 3.M-bite.SBJT boy.M.PL  
they want to bite the boys

10 ʔd-i-nḥagʔ b-ohom erśót  
CIRC-3.M-play.IND with-3.M.PL boy.M.PL  
the boys are playing with them

11 i-nḥagʔ b-ohom i-nḥagʔ b-ohom  
3.M-play.IND with-3.M.PL 3.M-play.IND with-3.M.PL  
they play with them, they play with them

12 mun mʔśé ʕat ʕrɔ ʕalaʕ-ít əbaʕ-ót  
here how.much.Q one.M two.M three.F four-F  
here how many? one, two, three, four

13 əbaʕ-ót  
four-F  
four

14 ɖenə ʕodʔ ʕodʔ ʕaʕ id-é  
DEM.PROX.M.SG fish.M.SG fish.M.SG in hand-3.M.SG  
this is a fish, a fish in his hand

15 ʕodʔ ʕad ʕaʕ id-əš  
fish.M.SG one.M in hand-3.M.SG  
one fish in his hand

16 mun ʕod mun  
here fish.M.SG here  
here fish here

17 mun şott-a  
here fish-SGV  
here one fish

18 mun še şodd<sup>a</sup> mun  
here EXIST fish.M.SG here  
here, there is fish here

19 űayb samak  
want.PRF.3 fish.M.SG  
it wants fish

20 əbaű-ıt şodı kóllob i-tıw  
four-F fish.M.PL dog.M.PL 3.M-eat.IND.PL  
four fish, the dogs eat

21 əbaű-ıt şodı əbaű-ıt  
four-F fish.M.PL four-F  
four fish, four

### Text 56. Picture 59

1 təlét<sup>a</sup> ğagginıti  
three.M girl.F.PL  
three girls?

2 urbűa urbűa ğınıt urbűa  
four.M four.M girl.F.PL four.M  
four, four girls, four

3 əbaű-ıt kerėfsi skɔf ar kerėfsi  
four-F chair.M.PL sit.PRF.3 about chair.M.PL  
four chairs, they sit on chairs

4 skof ar keréfsi  
sit.PRF.3 about chair.M.PL  
they sit on chairs

**Text 57. Picture 6**

1 denu mbérə  
DEM.PROX.M.SG boy.M.SG  
this is a boy

2 mbérə řafor  
boy.M.SG red.M.SG  
a red boy

3 bə denu  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG  
and this

4 řáhar  
elderly.person.M.SG  
is an old man

5 bə denu mbérə  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG boy.M.SG  
and this is a boy

6 řáhar řak řamk  
elderly.person.M.SG in middle  
the old man is in the middle



**Text 58. Picture 60**

1 xõš

five.M

five

2 ber

xĩš

be.already.PRF.3.M.SG five.F

now five

3 giniti

girl.F.PL

girls

4 bə xõš keréfsi

and five.M chair.M.PL

and five chairs

5 xõš keréfsi

five.M chair.M.PL

five chairs

**Text 59. Picture 61**

1 kərzí t̪rɔ bə

chair.M.SG two.M and

two chairs and

2 bə ġāb<sup>ə</sup>gót ʈit bəs

and girl.F.SG one.F only

and one girl only

3 ḡāb<sup>ə</sup>gót ʈit  
girl.F.SG one.F  
one girl

4 iné  
what.Q  
what?

5 kərzí ʈɔ  
chair.M.SG two.M  
two chairs

6 kərzí ʈɔ bəs  
chair.M.SG two.M only  
only two chairs

7 kərzí ʈɔ  
chair.M.SG two.M  
two chairs

### Text 60. Picture 62

1 ɖenu <sup>ə</sup>mbéréə  
DEM.PROX.M.SG boy.M.SG  
this is a boy

2 bə ɖenu <sup>ə</sup>mbéréə  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG boy.M.SG  
and this is a boy

3 bə ɖenu <sup>ə</sup>mbéréə ərbaɣ-ót erśót  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG boy.M.SG four-F boy.M.PL  
and this is a boy, four boys

4 urbʁa kura  
four.M ball.F.SG  
four balls

5 ərbaʁ-ýt erśýt urbʁa kura  
four-F boy.M.PL four.M ball.F.SG  
four boys, four balls

**Text 61. Picture 64**

1 mun erśýt  
here boy.M.PL  
here are boys

2 urbʁa kura  
four.M ball.F.SG  
four balls

3 ərbaʁ-ýt  
four-F  
four

4 urbʁa kura  
four.M ball.F.SG  
four balls

5 mun ərbaʁ-ýt  
here four-F  
here are four

6 əbaɣ-ʒt bæ xĩʃ kura  
four-F and five.F ball.F.SG  
four and five balls

7 xĩʃ kura xĩʃ  
five.F ball.F.SG five.F  
five balls five

**Text 62. Picture 65**

1 ɔnə ʔmbéré  
DEM.PROX.M.SG boy.M.SG  
this is a boy

2 hã la  
Q NEG  
isn't it?

3 al wulédʰ la  
NEG boy.M.SG NEG  
isn't he a boy?

4 ʔmbéré tɾɔ  
boy.M.SG two.M  
two boys

5 əbaɣ-ʒt erʒt  
four-F boy.M.PL  
four boys

6 əbaɣ-ʒt  
four-F  
four

7 xõš štít  
five.M six.F  
five, six

8 štít erśót  
six.F boy.M.PL  
six boys

9 řak řak kerěfsi  
in in chair.M.PL  
in in chairs

10 hārég la  
talk.PRF.3 NEG  
they don't talk

11 denu hārég la  
DEM.PROX.M.SG talk.PRF.3 NEG  
this one doesn't talk

12 hārég la  
talk.PRF.3 NEG  
they don't talk

13 ma i-tkallem-u  
NEG 3.M-talk.IMPV-PL  
they don't talk

**Text 63. Picture 66**

1 ḡāb°ḡót ṭrut  
girl.F.SG two.F  
two girls

2 ḡāb°ḡót ṭrut skɔf ar keréfsi  
girl.F.SG two.F sit.PRF.3 about chair.M.PL  
two girls sit on chairs

3 ṭer kərzí ṭrɔ  
on chair.M.SG two.M  
on two chairs

**Text 64. Picture 67**

1 denə °mbéréə ʔat  
DEM.PROX.M.SG boy.M.SG one.M  
this is one boy

2 miṭéllom  
???  
???

3 ərbaf-ót kolób  
four-F dog.M.PL  
four dogs

4 ərbaf-ót kolób ərbaf-ót  
four-F dog.M.PL four-F  
four dogs four

5 əmmút komə nīşán  
??? ??? small.M.SG  
??? small

6 bə t̪l-óm kit ʃag saħán xobz ʃag saħán  
and by-3.M.PL food.M.SG in plate.M.SG bread.M.SG in plate.M.SG  
and beside them there is food in a plate, bread in a plate

7 əmmút ərbəʃ-ót kolób d-i-tí  
??? four-F dog.M.PL CIRC-3.M-eat.IND  
??? four dogs are eating

8 əd-i-tí xobʔz d-i-tí  
CIRC-3.M-eat.IND bread.M.SG CIRC-3.M-eat.IND  
they are eating bread, they are eating

9 bə ʔmbérə skof t̪l-óm  
and boy.M.SG sit.PRF.3 by-3.M.PL  
and the boy sits beside them

### Text 65. Picture 68

1 ʔmbérə d-i-ʃaʃam i-ʃaʃam kɔb  
boy.M.SG CIRC-3.M-feed.IND 3.M-feed.IND dog.M.SG  
the boy is feeding, he feeds the dog

2 ʔõr-íʃ tɛ tɛ  
say.PRF.3-3.M.SG eat.IMP.M.SG eat.IMP.M.SG  
he told it "eat eat"

3 bə ɢenə ʔmbérə ya-ʃór tɛ han kɔb tɛ  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG boy.M.SG 3.M-say.IND eat.IMP.M.SG to dog.M.SG eat.IMP.M.SG  
and this boy says "eat" to the dog

4 tɛ                    mə-l-xɔbʰz                    tɛ  
eat.IMP.M.SG from-DEF-bread.M.SG eat.IMP.M.SG  
eat the bread eat

**Text 66. Picture 69**

1 əɾbaɟ-ʒt    ɛrʂʒt  
four-F    boy.M.PL  
four boys

2 əɾbaɟ-ʒt    ɛrʂʒt        bə    kura  
four-F    boy.M.PL and ball.F.SG  
four boys and a ball

3 ma    fi        kura  
NEG EXIST ball.F.SG  
there is no ball

4 əɾbaɟ-ʒt    ɛrʂʒt  
four-F    boy.M.PL  
four boys

5 bə    ɟənə                    ʰmbéɾə    ɟat    xõš  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG boy.M.SG one.M five.M  
and this is one boy, five

6 xõš  
five.M  
five



7 °mmun əbaɣ-ót

four-F

here four

8 xōš

five.M

five

9 xōš bə xōš ɣašír-et

five.M and five.M ten-F

five and five ten

10 ɣašír-et kəlób

ten-F dogs.M.PL

ten dogs

11 °mbérə t̪ɪl-iš kɔbb° t̪ɪɔ

boy.M.SG by-3.M.SG dog.M.SG two.M

the boy, beside him there are two dogs

12 kɔbb° t̪ɪɔ t̪ɪl-iš

dog.M.SG two.M by-3.M.SG

there are two dogs beside him

13 kɔbb° t̪ɪɔ t̪ɪl-iš

dog.M.SG two.M by-3.M.SG

there are two dogs beside him

14 bə °mbérə mun

and boy.M.SG here

and the boy here

15 t̩l-iš kɔb  
by-3.M.SG dog.M.SG  
there is a dogs beside him

16 bə ɢenə  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG  
and this

17 ərśót t̩ɔ  
boy.M.PL two.M  
two boys

18 t̩l-óm kɔbb<sup>ə</sup> t̩ɔ  
by-3.M.PL dog.M.SG two.M  
beside them there are two dogs

19 bə ɢenə <sup>ə</sup>mbérə  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG boy.M.SG  
and this is a boy

20 t̩iš kɔb<sup>ə</sup> lōn  
with.3.M.SG dog.M.SG white.M.SG  
he has a white dog

21 kɔb<sup>ə</sup> lōn lōn  
dog.M.SG white.M.SG white.M.SG  
a white dog, white

22 lōn lōn  
white.M.SG white.M.SG  
white white

**Text 67. Picture 71**

1 ʼmbéərə ʼmbéərə t̪ɛt̪ kɔbbʰ t̪ɔ  
boy.M.SG boy.M.SG with.3.M.SG dog.M.SG two.M  
the boy has two dogs

2 ɣ-ezəm-am ɣit  
3.M-give.IND-3.M.PL food.M.SG  
he gives them food

3 ɣ-ezəm-am ɣit izán  
3.M-give.IND-3.M.PL food.M.SG DEM.DIST.PL  
he gives them that food

4 bæ ɣenə fəl-ét b-ēnóf  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG escape.PRF-3.F.SG with-self.SG  
and this ran off by (her?)self

5 ferɣ ʼmbéərə ferɣ  
be.afraid.PRF.3.M.SG boy.M.SG be.afraid.PRF.3  
he is afraid, the boy is afraid

6 ferɣ ʼmbéərə skɔf k-ēnóf  
be.afraid.PRF.3 boy.M.SG sit.PRF.3 with-self.M  
the boy is afraid, he sat alone

7 skɔf ke xaf  
sit.PRF.3 HES be.afraid.PRF.3.M.SG  
he sat... he is afraid

8 bə ɢenə                    bə ɢenə                    ʔmbéɾə  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG and DEM.PROX.M.SG boy.M.SG  
and this, and this is a boy

9 ġābʔgót t̪ɔl-ʃs            t̪āt-ít            kolób  
girl.F.SG by-3.F.SG three-F dog.M.PL  
beside the girl there are three dogs

10 t̪āt-ít            kolób  
three-F dog.M.PL  
three dogs

11 ta-ʃúr            ti            ti            ti            ti  
3.F.SG-say.IND eat.IMP.F.SG eat.IMP.F.SG eat.IMP.F.SG eat.IMP.F.SG  
she says "eat eat eat eat"

12 ʔmbéɾə            d-i-skɔf            lahák ferɕ  
boy.M.SG CIRC-3.M-sit.IND there be.afraid.PRF.3  
the boy sits there, he's afraid

13 ferɕ                    ʔmbéɾə  
be.afraid.PRF.3 boy.M.SG  
the boy is afraid

### Text 68. Picture 73

1 iné            ɢenə                    ɣaʃənín  
what.Q DEM.PROX.M.SG horse.F.PL  
what is this? horses?

2 ʃit            ʃrut            ʃhállés            urbaʃ            xĩʃ            ʃet  
one.F two.F three.M four.M five.F six.M  
one, two, three, four, five, six

3 šet ḥaṣənín  
six.M horse.F.PL  
six hourses

4 bə ərbaḥ-ót erśót  
and four-F boy.M.PL  
and four boys

5 šet ḥaṣənín šet  
six.M horse.F.PL six.M  
six horses, six

6 ə-ġāb<sup>o</sup>ġót ʾrkóf ḥaṣán  
DEF-girl.F.SG ride.PRF.3 horse.F.SG  
the girl rides a horse

7 rəkíf əl ḥaṣán ə-ġāb<sup>o</sup>ġót  
ride.PRF.3.F.SG for horse.F.SG DEF-girl.F.SG  
the girl rides the horse

8 ġāb<sup>o</sup>ġót rəkóf ʾter ḥaṣán  
girl.F.SG ride.PRF.3 on horse.F.SG  
the girl rides on the horse

#### **Text 69. Picture 74**

1 ḥaṣán ḥaerót ḡinə  
horse.F.SG black.F.SG DEM.PROX.F.SG  
this is a black horse

2 ḥaṣán ḥaerót  
horse.F.SG black.F.SG  
the horse is black

3 ḥaerót  
black.F.SG  
black

4 bə ǧenu kəl līnīti  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG each white.F.PL  
and these ones are all white

5 eh m<sup>ə</sup>śé urbaḥ urbaḥ urbaḥ ǧagginīti  
FILL how.much.Q four.M four.M four.M girl.F.PL  
eh how many? four four four girls

#### **Text 70. Picture 75**

1 urbaḥ ḥaṣán  
four.M horse.F.SG  
four horses

2 ʾmbérə ʧat eh ǧāb<sup>ə</sup>ǧót ʧit  
boy.M.SG one.M HES girl.F.SG one.F  
one boy eh... one girl

3 rəkóf urbaḥ urbaḥ ḥaṣənín  
ride.PRF.3 four.M four.M horse.F.PL  
he rides four, four horses

**Text 71. Picture 76**

1 eh urbaŋ urbaŋ ǵagginíti  
FILL four.M four.M girl.F.PL  
eh four, four girls

2 iné ǵenə  
what.Q DEM.PROX.M.SG  
what is this?

3 ǵadíd-it  
iron-F.SG  
an iron (tool?)

4 ǵadíd-it foşş  
iron-F.SG shovel.M.SG  
a shovel tool

5 i-şkík<sup>ə</sup> b-eş  
3.M-dig.IND with-3.M.SG  
he digs with it

6 foşş i-şkík<sup>ə</sup> b-eş  
shovel.M.SG 3.M-dig.IND with-3.M.SG  
the shovel, he digs with it

7 bə ǵenə <sup>ə</sup>mbéřə  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG boy.M.SG  
and this is a boy

8 ʔtét            ḥadíd-it    ʕaḵ id-é  
with.3.M.SG iron-F.SG in hand-3.M.SG  
he has the tool in his hand

9 lébərʔ    zahát            zahát            ɟinə  
like type.of.tool.F.SG type.of.tool.F.SG DEM.PROX.F.SG  
like a "zahat", this is a "zahat"

### Text 72. Picture 8

1 ɟenə  
DEM.PROX.M.SG  
this

2 ɟenə            ʔmbéréə    bə    ɟenə            ʔmbéréə  
DEM.PROX.M.SG boy.M.SG and DEM.PROX.M.SG boy.M.SG  
this is a boy and this is a boy

3 bə    ɟenə  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG  
and this

4 ʔʕúrʔ    ɟābʔgót  
??? girl.F.SG  
??? girl

5 derémʔ    ʔrɔ  
barrel.M.SG two.M  
two barrels



6 tʃúr<sup>a</sup> skrín

??? ???

7 drem-ét

barrel-M.PL

barrels

8 drem-ét

barrel-M.PL

barrels

### **Text 73. Picture X**

1 dīnə                      ġāb<sup>a</sup>gót

DEM.PROX.F.SG girl.F.SG

this is a girl

2 šxar-ét

elderly.person-F.SG

an old woman

3 šxar-ét                      ewa šxar-ét

elderly.person-F.SG yes elderly.person-F.SG

an old woman, yes, an old woman

## **2017 speaker: video animations**

### **Text 74. Video enter-exit 1**

1 gaḥát                      ag-gōl

come.ashore.PRF.3.F.SG DEF-ring.M.SG

it came to the ring

2 gaḥát                      aḥ-ḥoggólt  
come.ashore.PRF.3.F.SG DEF-ring.F.SG

it came to the ring

3 ḥoggólt  
ring.F.SG

ring

4 gaḥát                      ʕamḵ-es  
come.ashore.PRF.3.F.SG in-3.F.SG

it came into it

#### **Text 75. Video enter-exit 10**

1 ʔat      ḡad      e-nīṣán      ḡad  
one.M go.PRF.3 DEF-small.M go.PRF.3

one went, the small one went

2 e-nīṣán      ḡad  
DEF-small.M go.PRF.3

the small one went

#### **Text 76. Video enter-exit 11**

1 šuf                      š-xənít  
look.IMP.M.SG Š/STEM-go.away.PRF.3

look, it went away

2 š-xənít                      mən ag-gōl  
Š/STEM-go.away.PRF.3 from DEF-ring.M.SG

it went away from the ring

3 iné      ʔeno  
what.Q so  
what is that?

**Text 77. Video enter-exit 12**

1 še      ɣad  
EXIST go.PRF.3  
it went

2 ɣad      še      ɣad  
go.PRF.3 PRN.3.M.SG go.PRF.3  
it went, it went

**Text 78. Video enter-exit 13**

1 š-xənít      š-xənít  
Š/STEM-go.away.PRF.3 Š/STEM-go.away.PRF.3  
it went away, it went away

2 š-xənít  
Š/STEM-go.away.PRF.3  
it went away

3 ək-kura      b-ĩzil      skəf-ót  
DEF-ball.F.SG with-DEF.place.M.SG sit.PRF-3.F.SG  
the ball is in its place, it sat (stopped)

**Text 79. Video enter-exit 14**

1 lɛ̀bər<sup>ə</sup> lɛ̀bər<sup>ə</sup> ɣóboʔ      lɛ̀bər<sup>ə</sup> ɣóboʔ  
like like swell.M.SG like swell.M.SG  
like, like a swell, like a swell

2 lébær<sup>ə</sup> hóbət      zaḥám      bə    ʕaṭk ʕaṭk ʕaṭk ʕaṭk ʕaṭk ʕaṭk ʕaṭk  
like    swell.M.SG    come.PRF.3    and    ???    ???    ???    ???    ???    ???    ???  
like a swell came and ???

**Text 80. Video enter-exit 15**

1 iné      ʔeno  
what.Q    so  
what is that?

2 šε            ddur            ĩnzil-š  
PRN.3.M.SG    return.PRF.3    DEF.place.M.SG-3.M.SG  
it returned to its place

3 dur            ĩnzil-š  
return.PRF.3    DEF.place.M.SG-3.M.SG  
it returned to its place

4 ndo  
isn't.it.Q  
isn't it?

**Text 81. Video enter-exit 16**

1 zaḥám  
come.PRF.3  
it came

2 ɢenə            néfəḵ            néfəḵ  
DEM.PROX.M.SG    tunnel.M.SG    tunnel.M.SG  
this is a tunnel, tunnel

3 lĕbĕr<sup>ə</sup> nĕfəḵ          lĕbĕr<sup>ə</sup> nĕfəḵ  
like tunnel.M.SG like tunnel.M.SG  
like a tunnel, like a tunnel

4 e-nĕfəḵ                  lĕbĕr<sup>ə</sup> gilĭlt  
DEF-tunnel.M.SG like bullet.F.SG  
the tunnel, like a bullet

5 tĕ-gōr                  gilĭlt  
3.F-meet.IND bullet.F.SG  
meets the bullet

6 ɣɔl          ruṣaṣa  
toward bullet.F.SG  
toward a bullet

7 lĕbĕr<sup>ə</sup> gilĭlt  
like bullet.F.SG  
like a bullet

### **Text 82. Video enter-exit 17**

1 ſe                  d-i-bġód                  b-ĕnóf  
PRN.3.M.SG CIRC-3.M-go.IND with-self.SG  
it is going by itself

2 <sup>ə</sup>d-i-bġód                  b-ĕnóf                  ſe                  d-i-bġód  
CIRC-3.M-go.IND with-self.SG PRN.3.M.SG CIRC-3.M-go.IND  
it is going by itself, it is going

3 ʔd-i-bǵód      ša  
CIRC-3.M-go.IND PRN.3.M.SG  
it is going by itself, it

**Text 83. Video enter-exit 18**

1 iné      ǰenu  
what.Q DEM.PROX.M.SG  
what is this?

2 ǰenu              lǐ́bǎrʔ lǐ́bǎrʔ es-sabbiyat  
DEM.PROX.M.SG like like DEF-type.of.wood.F.PL  
this is like the sabbiya

3 lǐ́bǎrʔ tǰrób      es-sabbiya  
like wood.M.SG DEF-type.of.wood.F.SG  
like the sabbiya wood

4 lǐ́bǎrʔ tǰrób  
like wood.M.SG  
like wood

**Text 84. Video enter-exit 19**

1 i-bǵád      ʕamḵ-es  
3.M-go.IND in-3.F.SG  
it goes into it

2 ǰinǎ              gul      ə-t-ǵád      ʕamḵ-es  
DEM.PROX.F.SG ring.F.SG FUT-3.F-go.SBJV in-3.F.SG  
this ring goes into it

3 ʔte-bǵad ʕamq-es gul dīnu  
3.F-go.IND in-3.F.SG ring.F.SG DEM.PROX.F.SG  
it goes into it, this ring

### Text 85. Video enter-exit 2

1 gaḥát  
come.ashore.PRF.3.F.SG  
it came

2 t-xanṭ-ót š-xanṭ-ót  
Š/STEM-go.away.PRF-3.F.SG Š/STEM-go.away.PRF-3.F.SG  
it went away, it went away

3 š-xanṭ-ót  
Š/STEM-go.away.PRF-3.F.SG  
it went away

### Text 86. Video enter-exit 3

1 ġad ġad ġad ag-gōl  
go.PRF.3 go.PRF.3 go.PRF.3 DEF-ring.M.SG  
the ring went, went, went

2 ġad b-ēnóf  
go.PRF.3 with-self.SG  
it went by itself

3 ʔġad  
go.PRF.3  
it went

**Text 87. Video enter-exit 5**

1 še            še            ġad            b-ēnóf  
PRN.3.M.SG PRN.3.M.SG go.PRF.3 with-self.SG  
it it went by itself

2 dur            ĩnzíl-š  
return.PRF.3 DEF. place. M. SG – 3. M. SG  
it returned to its place

3 ḥaggé-š  
surround.PRF.3-3.M.SG  
it surrounded it

4 ḥaggé-š                            ḥaggé  
surround.PRF.3-3.M.SG surround.PRF.3  
it surrounded it, it surrounded

**Text 88. Video enter-exit 6**

1 š-xənít  
Š/STEM-go.away.PRF.3  
it went away

2 š-xənít                            š-xənít                            š-xənít  
Š/STEM-go.away.PRF.3 Š/STEM-go.away.PRF.3 Š/STEM-go.away.PRF.3  
it went away, it went away, it went away

**Text 89. Video enter-exit 7**

1 a            sé            la  
NEG thing.M.SG NEG  
nothing



2 abǵád                    abǵád  
H/STEM.go.PRF.3 H/STEM.go.PRF.3  
it was made to go, it was made to go

3 a    sé                    la    a    sé                    la    ǵad  
NEG thing.M.SG NEG NEG thing.M.SG NEG go.PRF.3.M.SG  
nothing, nothing, it went

4 iné    ʔeno  
what.Q so  
what is that?

5 a    sé                    la    a    sé                    la    a    sé                    la  
NEG thing.M.SG NEG NEG thing.M.SG NEG NEG thing.M.SG NEG  
nothing, nothing, nothing

**Text 90. Video enter-exit 8**

1 zaḥám                    zaḥám  
come.PRF.3 come.PRF.3  
it came it came

2 ʔehém  
disappear.PRF.3  
it disappeared

**Text 91. Video enter-exit 9**

1 zaḥám                    zaḥám  
come.PRF.3 come.PRF.3  
it came, it came

2 ʔed eb ʔet nīʃán ʔrɔ  
one.M big.M one.M small.M.SG two.M  
one big, one small, two

3 ʔed eb ʔet nīʃán  
one.M big.M one.M small.M.SG  
one big, one small

### Text 92. Video enter-exit X

1 ʃ-xaŋʔ-ót ʃ-xaŋʔ-ót  
ʃ/STEM-go.away.PRF-3.F.SG ʃ/STEM-go.away.PRF-3.F.SG  
it went away, it went away

### Text 93. Video figure-ground 1

1 ʔrfaʕ-ót  
climb.PRF-3.F.SG  
it climbed

2 ʔrfaʕ-ót ʔer ʔaʔé dīnu  
climb.PRF-3.F.SG on up DEM.PROX.F.SG  
this one climbed up

3 hadik ʃaʔán  
DEM.PROX.F.SG plate.M.SG  
this is a plate

4 lébər<sup>ə</sup> ʃaʔán  
like plate.M.SG  
like a plate

5 ʾrfaɣ-ót            ɬer-š  
climb.PRF-3.F.SG on-3.M.SG  
it climbed on it

6 ʾrfaɣ-ót            ɬer-š            kura            kura            ʾrfaɣ-ót            ɬer-š  
climb.PRF-3.F.SG on-3.M.SG ball.F.SG ball.F.SG climb.PRF-3.F.SG on-3.M.SG  
it climbed on it, the ball the ball, it climbed on it

7 ber-s                lahón  
already-3.F.SG there  
it is already there

8 ber-t                ɬafé  
be.already.PRF-3.F.SG carry.PRF.3  
it is carried now

#### **Text 94. Video figure-ground 11**

1 sabbít            ɣad-ót            sabbít  
hit.PRF.3 go.PRF-3.F.SG hit.PRF.3  
it hit, it went, it hit

2 sabbít            zaɬéɬ-š  
hit.PRF.3 come.PRF.3.F.SG-3.M.SG  
it hit, it came to it

#### **Text 95. Video figure-ground 12**

1 ɖenu                ɣamúd  
DEM.PROX.M.SG pillar.M.SG  
this is a pillar

2 ɣamúd            ɖenu                ɣamúd  
pillar.M.SG DEM.PROX.M.SG pillar.M.SG  
a pillar, this is a pillar

3 ʕamúd  
pillar.M.SG  
pillar

**Text 96. Video figure-ground 13**

1 lĕbər<sup>a</sup> mədérǵa  
like stairs.M.SG  
like a staircase

2 ə-lóbaḥ lĕbər<sup>a</sup> mədérǵa  
DEF.board.M.SG like stairs.M.SG  
the board is like a staircase

3 lĕbər<sup>a</sup> mədérǵa  
like stairs.M.SG  
like a staircase

**Text 97. Video figure-ground 14**

1 ʔǵad ša  
go.PRF.3 PRN.3.M.SG  
it went

2 mədérǵa ǵad-ót ǵad-ót mədérǵa  
stairs.M.SG go.PRF-3.F.SG go.PRF-3.F.SG stairs.M.SG  
the staircase went went, the staircase

3 ǵad-ót  
go.PRF-3.F.SG  
it went

4 ḡad-ót mǝdérǵa ḡinǝ  
go.PRF-3.F.SG stairs.M.SG DEM.PROX.F.SG  
this staircase went

**Text 98. Video figure-ground 15**

1 ʔṡúr mǝǵǝdáh mǝǵǝdáh  
stab.PRF.3 stick.M.SG stick.M.SG  
the stick, the stick stabs

2 mǝǵǝdáh  
stick.M.SG  
stick

3 ʔṡúr mǝǵǝdáh ǝǵǝdáh  
stab.PRF.3 stick.M.SG DEF.stick.M.SG  
stick, the stick stabs

4 ǝǵǝdáh  
DEF.stick.M.SG  
the stick

5 ʔṡúr mǝǵǝdáh da haḡi  
stab.PRF.3 stick.M.SG DEM.PROX.? DEM.PROX.F.SG  
the stick stabs, this

**Text 99. Video figure-ground 16**

1 Ń-xǝníṡ ǝǵǝdáh  
Š/STEM-go.away.PRF.3 DEF.stick.M.SG  
the stick went away

2 megədəh dənə megədəh  
stick.M.SG DEM.PROX.M.SG stick.M.SG  
a stick, this is a stick

3 d-i-gədəh  
CIRC-3.M-come.ashore.IND  
it is coming here

4 wa ěgədəh š-xənít  
FILL DEF.stick.M.SG Š/STEM-go.away.PRF.3  
oh the stick went away

5 š-xənít  
Š/STEM-go.away.PRF.3  
it went away

#### **Text 100. Video figure-ground 17**

1 ěgədəh dənə ěgədəh ba  
DEF.stick.M.SG DEM.PROX.M.SG DEF.stick.M.SG INTJ  
the stick, this is the stick

2 ěgədəh  
DEF.stick.M.SG  
the stick

3 i-ḳódəh<sup>192</sup> ěgədəh  
3.M-pierce.IND DEF.stick.M.SG  
the stick pierces

---

<sup>192</sup> Soqotri ‘percer, produire du feu’ (LS:367), Jibbali/Shehret ‘to strike a spark’ (JL:141).

**Text 101. Video figure-ground 18**

1 ěgádáh      đenə      megádáh  
DEF.stick.M.SG DEM.PROX.M.SG stick.M.SG  
the stick, this is a stick

2 đenə      megádáh      megádáh  
DEM.PROX.M.SG stick.M.SG stick.M.SG  
this is a stick, a stick

3 megádáh      đenə  
stick.M.SG DEM.PROX.M.SG  
this is a stick

**Text 102. Video figure-ground 19**

1 ǝǵad      ěgádáh  
go.PRF.3 DEF.stick.M.SG  
the stick went

2 skɔf      skɔf      skɔf  
sit.PRF sit.PRF.3 sit.PRF.3  
it sits, it sits, it sits

3 iné      đinu  
what.Q DEM.PROX.F.SG  
what is this?

4 đinu      šammém  
DEM.PROX.F.SG melon.M.SG  
this is a melon

5 d-i-ḳodaḥ            šammém    d-i-ḳudaḥ-š  
CIRC-3.M-pierce.IND melon.M.SG CIRC-3.M-pierce.IND-3.M  
it is piercing the melon, it is piercing it

6 rəwwaḥ  
return.PRF.3.M.SG  
it returned

7 ěgədəḥ            dur            dur            ěgədəḥ  
DEF.stick.M.SG return.PRF.3 return.PRF.3 DEF.stick.M.SG  
the stick returned, the stick returned

### **Text 103. Video figure-ground 2**

1 hōrt-ót  
descend.PRF-3.F.SG  
it came down

2 ġad-ót            ġad-ót  
go.PRF-3.F.SG go.PRF-3.F.SG  
it went, it went

### **Text 104. Video figure-ground 20**

1 skof  
sit.PRF.3  
it sat

2 rəwwaḥ            šammém  
return.PRF.3.M.SG melon.M.SG  
the melon returned



3 dīr-ót                      dīr-ót                      dīr-ót  
return.PRF-3.F.SG return.PRF-3.F.SG return.PRF-3.F.SG  
it returned, it returned, it returned

4 ġad-ót                      šammém                      ġad-ót  
go.PRF-3.F.SG melon.M.SG go.PRF-3.F.SG  
it went, the melon went

### **Text 105. Video figure-ground 21**

1 ʕag ʕadíd-it  
in iron-F.SG  
in the tool

2 ʕag ʕag fəkirét ʕadíd-it  
in in tool.F.SG iron-F.SG  
in in the iron tool

3 də-ʕadíd  
GEN-iron.M.SG  
of iron

4 fəkirét də-ʕadíd  
tool.F.SG GEN-iron.M.SG  
iron tool

### **Text 106. Video figure-ground 23**

1 ɛgədáh  
DEF.stick.M.SG  
the stick

2 megədáh ba  
stick.M.SG INTJ  
a stick!

3 iné ġinu  
what.Q DEM.PROX.F.SG  
what is this?

### Text 107. Video figure-ground 24

1 iné ġinu  
what.Q DEM.PROX.F.SG  
what is this?

2 dawara  
circle.F.SG  
a circle

3 řagel řagəłét  
wheel.HES wheel.F.SG  
a wheel... a wheel

4 řagəłét i-ddir<sup>o</sup> řagəłét  
wheel.F.SG 3.M-turn.IND wheel.F.SG  
the wheel turns, the wheel

5 i-ddir<sup>o</sup> i-ddir i-ddir  
3.M-turn.IND 3.M-turn.IND 3.M-turn.IND  
it turns, it turns, it turns

6 řagəłét dawara d-i-ddir  
wheel.F.SG circle.F.SG CIRC-3.M-turn.IND  
the round wheel is turning

7 ʔte-bǵád    ǰenə                    ǣǵədáh            ɥadə bə aǵal  
3.F-go.IND DEM.PROX.M.SG DEF.stick.M.SG up    and down  
this stick goes up and down

8 ɥadə bə aǵal    ɥadə bə aǵal  
up    and down up    and down  
up and down up and down

**Text 108. Video figure-ground 4**

1 bɔ    bɔ    bɔ  
INTJ INTJ INTJ

2 ʔrfaɟ-ót                    ʔrfaɟ-ót                    ʔrfaɟ-ót  
climb.PRF-3.F.SG climb.PRF-3.F.SG climb.PRF-3.F.SG  
it climbed, it climbed, it climbed

**Text 109. Video figure-ground 5**

1 ʔrfaɟ-ót                    ʔrfaɟ-ót  
climb.PRF-3.F.SG climb.PRF-3.F.SG  
it climbed, it climbed

2 ndú  
isn't.it.Q  
didn't it?

**Text 110. Video figure-ground 6**

1 hōrt-ót  
descend.PRF-3.F.SG  
it went down

2 zaḥám mən əǵázya  
come.PRF.3 from under  
it came from below

3 zaḥám mən əǵal  
come.PRF.3 from under  
it came from below

4 zaḥám mən əǵal ṣaḥan  
come.PRF.3 from under plate.M.SG  
the plate came from below

5 al ǵad-étª la se la  
NEG go.PRF-3.F.SG NEG PRN.3.F.SG NEG  
it didn't go, not it

6 al ǵad-étª la  
NEG go.PRF-3.F.SG NEG  
it didn't go

7 ṣaḥan ṣaḥan zaḥám mən əǵal  
plate.M.SG plate.M.SG come.PRF.3 from under  
the plate, the plate came from below

8 zaḥám mən əǵal ṣaḥan  
come.PRF.3 from under plate.M.SG  
the plate came from below

**Text 111. Video figure-ground 7**

1 əṣahyǵt  
be.scared.PRF.3.F.SG

it was scared away

2 ber-s                      lahón  
be.already.PRF.3-3.F.SG there  
it is there now

3 ber-s                      gad-ót  
be.already.PRF.3-3.F.SG go.PRF-3.F.SG  
it is gone now

4 ʔšahyõt  
be.scared.PRF.3.F.SG  
it was scared away

5 ber-t                      ɥafé  
be.already.PRF-3.F.SG carry.PRF.3  
it is carried now

6 ɥafé              ša              ɥafé  
carry.PRF.3 PRN.3.M.SG carry.PRF.3  
it is carried

7 ɥafé  
carry.PRF.3  
it is carried

**Text 112. Video figure-ground 8**

1 šahyõt                      xalás      ruwɥ-at  
be.scared.PRF.3.F.SG this.is.it be.scared.PRF-3.F.SG  
it was scared away, that's it, it was scared away

2 ġad-ó̄t  
go.PRF-3.F.SG  
it went

3 ʃaħan      śi      t̄rɔ  
plate.M.SG EXIST two.M  
there are two plates

4 ʃaħan      śi      t̄rɔ  
plate.M.SG EXIST two.M  
there are two plates

5 bunni  
brown.M.SG  
brown

6 ʃaħan      bunni  
plate.M.SG brown.M.SG  
brown plate(s)

7 ʃaħan      bunni  
plate.M.SG brown.M.SG  
brown plate(s)

**Text 113. Video figure-ground 9**

1 sabbít      sabbít  
hit.PRF.3 hit.PRF.3  
it hit, it hit

2 ine      t̄eno  
what.Q so  
what is that?

**Text 114. Video manner 1**

1 hōrt-śt

descend.PRF-3.F.SG

it came down

2 skɔf skɔf t̥er<sup>a</sup>-ś

sit.PRF.3 sit.PRF.3 on-3M.SG

it sat, it sat on it

3 skɔf t̥er t̥ahan billewt

sit.PRF.3 on plate.M.SG ???

it sat on the plate ???

4 t̥er t̥ahan billewt

on plate.M.SG ???

on the plate ???

**Text 115. Video manner 2**

1 ʃag dawara sa

in circle.F.SG PRN.3.F.SG

it is in the circle

2 ʃagé-s dawara ʃagé-s

surround.PRF.3-3.F.SG circle.F.SG surround.PRF.3-3.F.SG

it surrounded, the circle surrounded it

3 ʃagé-s dawara ɖinu

surround.PRF.3-3.F.SG circle.F.SG DEM.PROX.F.SG

that circle surrounded it

4 ḥagé-s  
surround.PRF.3-3.F.SG  
it surrounded it

**Text 116. Video manner 3**

1 k-ēnóf  
with-self.M  
alone

2 ḥell-ít  
settle.PRF-3.F.SG  
it settled

3 ḥag əmsaha  
in ???  
in ???

4 ḥag əmsaha se k-ēnóf  
in ??? PRN.3.F.SG with-self.M  
in ??? alone

5 ḥag əmsaha k-ēnóf  
in ??? with-self.M  
in ??? alone

**Text 117. Video motion 13**

1 ʼtə-bǵád laháκ  
3.F-go.IND there  
it goes there



2 yɔl xɔ yɔl gul  
toward mouth.M.SG toward ring.M.SG  
toward the mouth, toward the ring

**Text 118. Video motion 14**

1 ba ɡad-ót  
INTJ go.PRF-3.F.SG  
it went

2 ɡad-ót yɔl xaragón  
go.PRF-3.F.SG toward death.M.SG  
it went towards its death (loss?)

**Text 119. Video motion 14b**

1 tə-bǵód bə dduᵛ tə-bǵód bə dduᵛ  
3.F.SG-go.IND and return.PRF.3 3.F.SG-go.IND and return.PRF  
it goes and comes, it goes and comes

**Text 120. Video motion 15**

1 ɡad-ót imín ˁdanə  
go.PRF-3.F.SG right.hand.side DEM.PROX.M.SG  
it went to the right, this

**Text 121. Video motion 18**

1 zaḥõt zaḥõt  
come.PRF.3.F.SG come.PRF.3.F.SG  
it came, it came

**Text 122. Video motion 2**

1 tə-nʁelaʁód tə-nʁelaʁód  
3.F-roll.IND 3.F-roll.IND  
it rolls, it rolls

**Text 123. Video motion 20**

1 hõk  
here.you.are.INTJ  
here you are!

2 zaħõt                   lə imín  
come.PRF.3.F.SG to right.hand.side  
it came to the right

**Text 124. Video motion 3**

1 dīr-ót                   dīr-ót  
return.PRF-3.F.SG return.PRF-3.F.SG  
it returned, it returned

2 dīr-ót                   əlyó  
return.PRF-3.F.SG hither  
it returned here

**Text 125. Video motion 4**

1 dīr-ót                   dīr-ót  
return.PRF-3.F.SG return.PRF-3.F.SG  
it returned, it returned

**Text 126. Video motion 5**

1 ʔddúr  
return.PRF.3  
it returned

2 ʔddúr əlyó  
return.PRF.3 hither  
it returned here

3 ʔddúr əlyó  
return.PRF.3 hither  
it returned here

**Text 127. Video motion 6**

1 zaḥʔt  
come.PRF.3.F.SG  
it came

2 zaḥʔt əl dirém  
come.PRF.3.F.SG for barrel.M.SG  
it came to the barrel

3 ɢenə dirém mən sor  
DEM.PROX.M.SG barrel.M.SG from behind  
this is a barrel from behind

### Text 128. Video motion 6b

1 ʔddúr nahót bə ǵad lə aǵal ʔddúr  
return.PRF.3 take.away.PRF.3.F.SG and go.PRF.3 to down return.PRF.3  
it returned, it carried away and went down and returned

2 ʔddúr əlyó ʔddúr əlyó  
return.PRF.3 hither return.PRF.3 hither  
it returned here, it returned here

### Text 129. Video motion 7

1 ʔtəǵaŋ d-dirém  
push.PRF.3 DEF-barrel.M.SG  
it pushes the barrel

2 ʔtə-bǵád bə dduṛʔ tə-bǵád bə dduṛʔ  
3.F-go.IND and return.PRF.3 3.F-go.IND and return.PRF.3  
it goes and comes, it goes and comes

3 t-ruḥ u tə-rgaŋ t-ruḥ u tə-rgaŋ  
3.F-go.IMPV and 3.F-return.IMPV 3.F-go.IMPV and 3.F-return.IMPV  
it goes and comes, it goes and comes

### Text 130. Video paths 1

1 šəšʔrér elwán ša elwán  
green.F.SG colour.M.PL PRN.3.M.SG colour.M.PL  
green, colours colours

2 elwán      kəl šišór  
colour.M.PL all green.M.PL  
the colours are all green

3 šəš<sup>ə</sup>rér    šəš<sup>ə</sup>rér    šəš<sup>ə</sup>rér    šəš<sup>ə</sup>rér  
green.F.SG green.F.SG green.F.SG green.F.SG  
green, green, green, green

4 ɣaerót    ɟinu  
black.F.SG DEM.PROX.F.SG  
this is black

5 šəš<sup>ə</sup>rér    šəš<sup>ə</sup>rér    kəl šəš<sup>ə</sup>rér    šəš<sup>ə</sup>rér  
green.F.SG green.F.SG all green.F.SG green.F.SG  
green, green, all green, green

6 kura      ti-nɣag      ɣag əmsaha k-ənóf  
ball.F.SG 3.F-play.IND.SG in ???      with-self.M  
the ball plays itself in the ???

7 ti-nɣag      ɣag əmsaha k-ənóf      ti-nɣag  
3.F-play.IND.SG in ???      with-self.M 3.F-play.IND.SG  
it plays in the ??? by itself

8 <sup>ə</sup>ti-nɣag      <sup>ə</sup>tə-bǵád  
3.F-play.IND.SG 3.F-go.IND  
it plays, it goes

9 <sup>ə</sup>tə-bǵád      ɣadə bə aǵal    ɣadə bə aǵal  
3.F-go.IND.SG up    and down up    and down  
it goes up and down, up and down

### Text 131. Video paths 10

1 ti-nḥag k-ēnóf  
3.F-play.IND.SG with-self.M  
it plays by itself

2 lahán šigirét  
there tree.F.SG  
there, a tree

3 lahán eš-šigirét  
there DEF-tree.F.SG  
there, the tree

### Text 132. Video paths 11

1 ʔlahán eš-šigirét šigirét təl-es  
there DEF-tree.F.SG tree.F.SG by-3.F.SG  
there the tree, a tree beside it

2 šigirét šigirét šigirét  
tree.F.SG tree.F.SG tree.F.SG  
a tree, a tree, a tree

3 ek-kura šahyōt  
DEF-ball.F.SG be.scared.PRF.3.F.SG  
the ball was scared away (disappeared)

### Text 133. Video paths 12

1 iné ḡinu  
what.Q DEM.PROX.F.SG  
what is this?

2 fudúr um um fudún um  
stone.F.SG big.F.SG big.F.SG stone.F.SG big.F.SG  
a big big stone, a big stone

3 fudún um  
stone.F.SG big.F.SG  
a big stone

4 fudún fudún  
stone.F.SG stone.F.SG  
a stone, a stone

5 um um  
big.F.SG big.F.SG  
big, big

#### **Text 134. Video paths 14**

1 skæf-ót  
sit.PRF-3.F.SG  
it sat

2 şahyót  
be.scared.PRF.3.F.SG  
it was scared away

3 zaħět mæn rbó  
come.PRF.3.F.SG from ???  
it came from ???

4 zaḥṣt mən rbó  
come.PRF.3.F.SG from ???  
it came from ???

5 ʔfǝ-t bə zaḥṣt  
turn.off.PRF-3.F.SG and come.PRF.3.F.SG  
it was turned off (disappeared) and came (back)

6 kə se ʔeno kə se ʔeno kə se ʔeno  
why.Q PRN.3.F.SG so why.Q PRN.3.F.SG so why.Q PRN.3.F.SG so  
why so? why so? why so?

### Text 135. Video paths 15

1 dīr-ót dīr-ót  
return.PRF-3.F.SG return.PRF-3.F.SG  
it returned, it returned

2 ġad-ót bə dīr-ót  
go.PRF-3.F.SG and return.PRF-3.F.SG  
it went and returned

3 tə-bġód t-rǝfaḥ ḥaġé bə dduṛ<sup>ə</sup>  
3.F.SG-go.IND.SG 3.F-climb.IND.SG up and return.PRF.3  
it goes, it climbs up and returns

4 t-rǝfaḥ ḥaġé bə dduṛ<sup>ə</sup>  
3.F-climb.IND.SG up and return.PRF.3  
it climbs up and returns



### Text 136. Video paths 2

1 ʔtfé-t                    ʔtfé-t  
turn.off.PRF-3.F.SG turn.off.PRF-3.F.SG  
it turned off, it turned off

### Text 137. Video paths 3

1 nafárʔ                    nafárʔ                    lóbaḥ  
slide.down.PRF.3 slide.down.PRF.3 board.M.SG  
it slid down, it slid down the board

2 nafárʔ                    bə-ḡə-lóbaḥ  
slide.down.PRF.3 with-GEN-board.M.SG  
it slid down the board

3 nafárʔ                    bə-ḡə-lóbaḥ  
slide.down.PRF.3 with-GEN-board.M.SG  
it slid down the board

4 nafárʔ                    bə-ḡenə                    nafárʔ  
slide.down.PRF.3 with-DEM.PROX.M.SG slide.down.PRF.3  
it slid down that, it slid down

### Text 138. Video paths 4

1 kura                    ʔtfé-t  
ball.F.SG turn.off.PRF-3.F.SG  
the ball turned off (disappeared)

2 zaḥṣ̣t mən rəmbó  
come.PRF.3.F.SG from ???  
it came from ???

3 zaḥṣ̣t mən rəmbó  
come.PRF.3.F.SG from ???  
it came from ???

4 iné ṭeno  
what.Q so  
what is that?

#### **Text 139. Video paths 7**

1 zaḥṣ̣t zaḥṣ̣t zaḥṣ̣t  
come.PRF.3.F.SG come.PRF.3.F.SG come.PRF.3.F.SG  
it came, it came, it came

2 bər ṣ̣ahyṣ̣t ṣ̣ahyṣ̣t ṣ̣ahyṣ̣t  
be.already.PRF.3 be.scared.PRF.3.F.SG be.scared.PRF.3.F.SG be.scared.PRF.3.F.SG  
now it was scared away, it was scared away, it was scared away

#### **Text 140. Video paths 8**

1 ṣ̣ahyṣ̣t ṣ̣ahyṣ̣t  
be.scared.PRF.3.F.SG be.scared.PRF.3.F.SG  
it was scared away, it was scared away

2 ʔtti-nḥag ṣ̣ag əmsaha  
3.F-play.IND.SG in ???  
it plays in the ???

3 xalás    ʒahyʒt  
this.is.it be.scared.PRF.3.F.SG  
that's it, it was scared away

**Text 141. Video paths 9**

1 zaḥʒt            zaḥʒt  
come.PRF.3.F.SG come.PRF.3.F.SG  
it came, it came

2 ʒahyʒt  
be.scared.PRF.3.F.SG  
it was scared away

3 iné    ʒeno  
what.Q so  
why so?

4 iné    ʒeno  
what.Q so  
why so?

**Text 142. Video triads 1**

1 nahát  
take.away.PRF.3.F.SG  
it was taken away

2 sendík  
box.M.SG  
box

3 ʕaḵ sendík  
in box.M.SG  
in the box

4 gaḥât ʕaḵ sendík  
come.ashore.PRF.3.F.SG in box.M.SG  
it came into the box

5 gaḥât ʕaḵ sendík  
come.ashore.PRF.3.F.SG in box.M.SG  
it came into the box

6 ʕaḵ sendík  
in box.M.SG  
in the box

**Text 143. Video triads 2**

1 xallí sendík  
empty.M.SG box.M.SG  
the box is empty

2 zaḥõt mən ʔter  
come.PRF.3.F.SG from on  
it came from above

3 sendík hallí zaḥõt mən ʔter  
box.M.SG empty.M.SG come.PRF.3.F.SG from on  
the box is empty, it came from above

**Text 144. Video triads 3**

1 ʕaḵ sendíḵ      ɖenə  
in box.M.SG DEM.PROX.M.SG  
this is in the box

2 ʕaḵ sendíḵ  
in box.M.SG  
in the box

3 geré-t              ʕaḵ sendíḵ  
run.PRF-3.F.SG in box.M.SG  
in ran into the box

4 oh    la  
INTJ NEG  
oh no

5 ʕaḵ sendíḵ      ʕaḵ sendíḵ  
in box.M.SG in box.M.SG  
in the box, in the box

6 ḥārá  
???  
???

7 i-š-xarót                              i-ftellét-ən  
3.M-Š1/STEM-be.stripped.IND.SG 3.M-T2/STEM.be.separate.IND.SG-T2/STEM  
it is stripped and separate

8 i-ftellet-én

3.M-T2/STEM.be.separate.IND.SG-T2/STEM

it is separate (?)

9 i-ddúr<sup>ə</sup> ĩnzíl-š

3.M-return.IND DEF.place.M.SG-3.M.SG

it came back to its place

10 i-ddúr<sup>ə</sup> ĩnzíl-š

3.M-return.IND DEF.place.M.SG-3.M.SG

it came back to its place

11 i-ddúr<sup>ə</sup> ĩnzíl-š

3.M-return.IND DEF.place.M.SG-3.M.SG

it came back to its place

#### Text 145. Video triads 4

1 ġad

go.PRF.3

it went

2 <sup>ə</sup>rfaɣ-ót <sup>ə</sup>t̪t̪er

climb.PRF-3.F.SG on

it climbed up

3 sendík rawaḥ mu še la sendík

box.M.SG go.back.PRF.3.M.SG NEG EXIST NEG box.M.SG

the box is gone, the box is not there

4 <sup>ə</sup>rfaɣ-ót ḥaǧé

climb.PRF-3.F.SG up

it climbed up

**Text 146. Video triads 5**

1 kura      zaḥṣ̣t  
ball.F.SG come.PRF.3.F.SG  
the ball came

2 zaḥṣ̣t              kura  
come.PRF.3.F.SG ball.F.SG  
the ball came

3 eḥé-t<sup>o</sup>              bə-aǵál  
fall.PRF-3.F.SG with-down  
it fell down

**Text 147. Video triads 6**

1 zaḥyṣ̣t  
come.PRF.3.F.SG  
it came

2 zaḥyṣ̣t              ba    ǵad-ót              ǵad-ót  
come.PRF.3.F.SG INTJ go.PRF-3.F.SG go.PRF-3.F.SG  
it came and went, went

3 zaḥyṣ̣t  
come.PRF.3.F.SG  
it came

4 zaḥyṣ̣t              kura      zaḥyṣ̣t  
come.PRF.3.F.SG ball.F.SG come.PRF.3.F.SG  
the ball came, it came

5 ʔt-rófaʃ                    ʔter ʔt-rófaʃ  
3.F-climb.IND.SG on 3.F-climb.IND.SG  
it climbed up, it climbed

**Text 148. Video triads 7**

1 lóbaḥ                    ʃaḵ lóbaḥ  
board.M.SG in board.M.SG  
the board, in the board

2 ʃaḵ bəlewt lóbaḥ  
in                    board.M.SG  
in ??? board

3 ʃaḵ bəlewt  
in  
in ???

4 ndú  
isn't.it.Q  
isn't it?

**Text 149. Video triads 9**

1 šéršif d-i-bǵód                    šéršif  
??? CIRC-3.M-go.IND ???  
the ??? goes

2 šéršif d-i-bǵód  
??? CIRC-3.M-go.IND  
the ??? goes



3 se d-ʕad b-ĩzil-š  
PRN.3.F.SG be.still.PRF.3 with-DEF.place.M.SG-3.M.SG  
it is again in its place

4 te skəf-ót kura skəf-ót  
PRN.3.F.SG sit.PRF-3.F.SG ball.F.SG sit.PRF-3.F.SG  
it sat, the ball sat (stayed)

5 ʔskəf-ót  
sit.PRF-3.F.SG  
it sat (stayed)

### Text 150. Proverb

1 her ʔgād-ək kə-rahím t-kən rahím  
if go.PRF-2.SG with-good.M.SG 2.SG-be.M.IND good.M.SG  
if you go with the good, you will be good

2 her ʔgādə-k kə-mišērʔd t-kən mišērʔd  
if go.PRF-2.SG with-stupid.M.SG 2.SG-be.M.IND stupid.M.SG  
if you go with the stupid, you will be stupid

3 her ʔgād-ək kə-dĩĩ akal t-kən dĩĩ  
if go.PRF-2.SG with-back.stabber.M.SG ??? 2.SG-be.M.IND back.stabber.M.SG  
if you go with the back stabber, ???, you will be a back stabber

4 her ʔgād-ək sida  
if go.PRF-2.SG straight.M.SG  
if you go straight

5 tə-bʰǝ́d      sida  
2.SG-go.M.IND straight.M.SG  
you will go straight

6 her ʰǝ́d-ək      sida      la  
if go.PRF-2.SG straight.M.SG NEG  
if you don't go straight

7 la  
NEG  
no

8 tə-gaʰr  
2.SG-fall.M.IND  
you will fall

## **2017 speaker: book pictures descriptions**

### **Text 151. ʒali baba**

1 iné      i-šerók  
what.Q 3.M-do.IND  
what do they do?

2 iné      i-šerók      kɔl-ɔhóm  
what.Q 3.M-do.IND all-3.M.PL  
what do they all do?

3 i-šerók      iné  
3.M-do.IND what.Q  
what do they do?

4 řali baba iné i-řerók  
PN PN what.Q 3.M-do.IND

what does Ali Baba do?

5 erśót nīřón  
boy.M.PL small.M.PL  
small boys

6 kel erśót nīřón ġenu  
all boy.M.PL small.M.PL DEM.PROX.M.SG  
all these are small boys

7 ġinu ġābgót  
DEM.PROX.F.SG girl.F.SG  
is this a girl?

8 řahar  
elderly.person.M.SG  
an old man

9 ah ġa-ř ġa-ř  
INTJ brother.M.SG-3.M.SG brother.M.SG-3.M.SG  
ah his brother his brother

10 ġa řali baba řah  
brother.M.SG PN PN true.M.SG  
Ali baba's brother, true

11 a-ġa-ř a-ġa-ř  
DEF-brother.M.SG-3.M.SG DEF-brother.M.SG-3.M.SG  
his brother, his brother

12 ġa-š

brother.M.SG-3.M.SG

his brother

13 iné ġābġót ɖinu

what.Q girl.F.SG DEM.PROX.F.SG

what is this girl?

14 ġābġót ɖinu

girl.F.SG DEM.PROX.F.SG

is this a girl?

15 ʳmbéṛə

boy.M.SG

a boy?

16 a-ġa-š

DEF-brother.M.SG-3.M.SG

his brother

17 ʒali baba ɖenu

PN PN DEM.PROX.M.SG

is this Ali baba?

18 ɖenu

DEM.PROX.M.SG

this one?

19 ɖenu iné ɖenu

DEM.PROX.M.SG what.Q DEM.PROX.M.SG

this one, what is this one?

20 ɖenu a-ḡa-š  
DEM.PROX.M.SG DEF-brother.M.SG-3.M.SG  
this is his brother

21 bæ ɖenu a-ḡa-š  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG DEF-brother.M.SG-3.M.SG  
and is this his brother?

22 iné ɖinu  
what.Q DEM.PROX.F.SG  
what is this?

23 ḡābḡót  
girl.F.SG  
a girl

24 a-ḡābḡót ʔttí-nḡag  
DEF-girl.F.SG 2.F.SG-play.IND.SG  
the girl plays

25 ʔttí-nāḡ  
2.F.SG-play.IND.SG  
she plays

26 iné i-šerók ɕano iné i-šerók  
what.Q 3.M-do.IND so what.Q 3.M-do.IND  
what does he do so? what does he do?

27 ʔdd-i-naḡəḡ  
CIRC-3.M-play.IND  
they are playing

28 i-lɪab-u            i-lɪab-u  
3.M-play.IMPV-PL 3.M-play.IMPV-PL  
they play they play

### Text 152. The judgement of Solomon

1 tɛt̪  
woman.F.SG  
a woman

2 ɟinu            tɛt̪            ɟikun<sup>193</sup>            ʔmbɛrə  
DEM.PROX.F.SG woman.F.SG DEM.DIST.F.SG boy.M.SG  
this is a woman, that is a boy

3 tɛt̪            ʔɟkɔn  
woman.F.SG DEM.DIST.F.SG  
that is a woman

4 tɛt̪            ʔɟkún            ʔmbɛrə  
woman.F.SG DEM.DIST.F.SG boy.M.SG  
woman, that is a boy

5 tit̪            t̪rut  
woman.F.SG two.F  
two women

---

<sup>193</sup> According to Rubin (2014b:57) this is the feminine singular distal demonstrative. However, the same author affirms that there is disagreement among speakers with regards to its use (ibid.). In this case it agrees with the masculine singular noun *ʔmbɛrə* ‘boy’, while subsequently *ʔɟkɔn*, which can be considered as its allomorph, agrees with the feminine singular noun *tɛt̪* ‘woman’.

6 bə ɡābg̃ ʔmbéɾə t̥ɾɔ  
and HES boy.M.SG two.M  
and... two boys

7 tɛt̥ t̥ɾut  
woman.F.SG two.F  
two women

8 mbéɾə t̥ɾɔ  
boy.M.SG two.M  
two boys

9 ɖena t̥at bə ɖena t̥at  
DEM.PROX.M.SG one.M and DEM.PROX.M.SG one.M  
this is one and this is one

10 ʔmbéɾə a-y-it̥ ək-kɔb kɔb  
boy.M.SG FUT-3-eat.SBJT DEF-dog.M.SG dog.M.SG  
the boy will be eaten by the dog, dog

11 kɔb a-y-it̥-š  
dog.M.SG FUT-3-eat.SBJT-3.M.SG  
a dog will eat him

12 ʔmbéɾə kɔb a-y-it̥-š  
boy.M.SG dog.M.SG FUT-3-eat.SBJT-3.M.SG  
the boy, the dog will eat him

13 a-y-it̥-š kɔb kɔb  
FUT-3-eat.SBJT-3.M.SG dog.M.SG dog.M.SG  
it will eat him, the dog, the dog

14 ɟenu            ək-kɔb  
DEM.PROX.M.SG DEF-dog.M.SG  
this is the dog

15 a-y-it            ʔmbérə  
FUT-3-eat.SBJT boy.M.SG  
it will eat the boy

16 y-ʃk            y-ʃk            y-ʃk            y-ʃk  
3.M-weep.IND.SG 3.M-weep.IND.SG 3.M-weep.IND.SG 3.M-weep.IND.SG  
he weeps, he weeps, he weeps, he weeps

17 ʔd-y-ʃk            ʔmbérə  
CIRC-3.M-weep.IND.SG boy.M.SG  
the boy is weeping

18 wo    ǵābǵót    firik-ót  
INTJ girl.M.SG be.afraid.PRF-3.F.SG  
oh! the girl is afraid

19 teɟ            firik-ót  
woman.F.SG be.afraid.PRF-3.F.SG  
the woman is afraid

20 firik-ót            xāf            xāf-ət  
be.afraid.PRF-3.F.SG be.afraid.PRF.3.M.SG be.afraid.PRF-3.F.SG  
she is afraid, he is afraid, she is afraid

21 bə    ǵābǵót    firik-ót  
and girl.M.SG be.afraid.PRF-3.F.SG  
and the girl is afraid



22 firik-ót                      ġābgót      firik-ót  
be.afraid.PRF-3.F.SG girl.M.SG be.afraid.PRF-3.F.SG  
she is scared, the girl is scared

23 firik-ót                      ə-ġābgót      firik-ót  
be.afraid.PRF-3.F.SG DEF-girl.M.SG be.afraid.PRF-3.F.SG  
she is scared, the girl is scared

24 ʳmbéra      šēf  
boy.M.SG sleep.PRF.3  
the boy sleeps

25 šēf                      ʳmbéra  
sleep.PRF.3      boy.M.SG  
the boy sleeps

26 ʳmbéra      šēf  
boy.M.SG sleep.PRF.3  
the boy sleeps

27 ɟinu                      t-ʃk                      t-ʃk  
DEM.PROX.F.SG 3.F-weep.IND.SG 3.F-weep.IND.SG  
this one weeps weeps

**Text 153. The bold little tailor**

1 ɟenə                      ʳmbéra  
DEM.PROX.M.SG boy.M.SG  
this is a boy

2 ʔndú

TAG

isn't he?

3 ba

INTJ

oh!

4 ʔmbérə ɬad

boy.M.SG one.M

one boy

5 ɖenə ʃáhar

DEM.PROX.M.SG elderly.person.M.SG

this is an old man

6 ʃáhar rigál kibír

elderly.person.M.SG man.M.SG big.M.SG

an old man, an old man

7 ʃáhar

elderly.person.M.SG

an old man

8 ɖenə ʔmbérə

DEM.PROX.M.SG boy.M.SG

this is a boy

9 bə ɖenə ʃáhar

and DEM.PROX.M.SG elderly.person.M.SG

and this is an old man

10 ɔnə ʔmbərə  
DEM.PROX.M.SG boy.M.SG  
this is a boy

11 iné ya-ʃór ʔmbərə ɔnu  
what.Q 3.M-say.IND boy.M.SG DEM.PROX.M.SG  
what does this boy say?

12 ɔnu šigirét ɔnu  
DEM.PROX.F.SG tree.F.SG DEM.PROX.F.SG  
this is a tree, this

13 wo šáhar šáhar i-ʃaʃán ʔmbərə  
INTJ elderly.person.M.SG elderly.person.M.SG 3.M-stab.IND boy.M.SG  
oh the old man, the old man stabs the boy

14 šáhar i-ʃaʃán ʔmbərə  
elderly.person.M.SG 3.M-stab.IND boy.M.SG  
the old man stabs the boy

15 šáhar<sup>a</sup> mišér<sup>a</sup>d  
elderly.person.M.SG evil.M.SG  
the old man is evil

16 mišér<sup>a</sup>d šáhar  
evil.M.SG elderly.person.M.SG  
the old man is evil

17 mišér<sup>a</sup>d  
evil.M.SG  
evil

18 iné     ḍinu           iné     ḍinu           eš     haḍa  
what.Q DEM.PROX.F.SG what.Q DEM.PROX.F.SG what.Q DEM.PROX.M.SG  
what is this? what is this? what is this?

19 haḍa                 xanḡər  
DEM.PROX.M.SG dagger.M.SG  
this is a dagger

20 ʰgembí     ḍenə             gembí  
dagger.M.SG DEM.PROX.M.SG dagger.M.SG  
a dagger, this is a dagger

21 šáhar  
elderly.person.M.SG  
the old man

22 ya-ḥín             šigirét  
3.M-twist.IND.SG tree.M.SG  
twists the tree

23 ḍenə                 ḡābʰgót  
DEM.PROX.M.SG girl.F.SG  
is this (M.) a girl?

24 ḍenə                 ḡayg     ṭišʰ             ramʰḡát  
DEM.PROX.M.SG man.M.SG with.3.M.SG sword.F.SG  
this is a man who has a sword

25 ramʰḡát     ṭišʰ             ramʰḡát  
sword.F.SG with.3.M.SG sword.F.SG  
a sword, he has a sword

26 *denə*                    *ḥaṣón*        *ḥaṣón*        *denə*  
DEM.PROX.M.SG horse.M.SG horse.M.SG DEM.PROX.M.SG  
this is a horse, this is a horse

27 *ḥaṣón*        *ḥaṣón*        *ḥaṣón*  
horse.M.SG horse.M.SG horse.M.SG  
a horse, a horse, a horse

28 *tɔl*        *šigirét*  
beside tree.F.SG  
beside the tree

29 *ḥaṣón*        *ʾmbérə*        *dd-i-nəṣófʾ*  
horse.M.SG boy.M.SG CIRC-3.M-chase.IND  
the horse, the boy chases

30 *ədd-i-nəṣóf*                    *ko*  
CIRC-3.M-chase.IND why.Q  
why does he chase?

31 *ʾmbérə*        *dd-i-nəṣóf*                    *ḥaṣón*  
boy.M.SG CIRC-3.M-chase.IND horse.M.SG  
the boy chases the horse

32 *ḡābʾgót* *ḡābʾgót* *ḡinə*  
girl.F.SG girl.F.SG DEM.PROX.F.SG  
a girl, this is a girl

33 *bə* *denə*                    *šáhar*  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG elderly.person.M.SG  
and this is an old man

34 ɖinu            ūt            ūt-hum            ɖinu  
DEM.PROX.F.SG DEF.house.F.SG DEF.house.F.SG-3.M.PL DEM.PROX.F.SG  
this is a house, this is their house

35 ūt            ūt            ūt  
DEF.house.F.SG DEF.house.F.SG DEF.house.F.SG  
house, house, house

36 ʼndú  
TAG  
isn't it?

37 ba  
INTJ  
oh

38 yaʔni iné    ɖenu            ʼmbéɾə    ɖenu  
DISJ what.Q DEM.PROX.M.SG boy.M.SG DEM.PROX.M.SG  
I mean, what is this ? is this a boy?

39 ʼmbéɾə    bæ    ǵābʼgót    ʼmbéɾə    bæ    ǵābʼgót  
boy.M.SG and girl.F.SG boy.M.SG and girl.F.SG  
a boy and a girl, a boy and a girl

40 šāfót  
sleep.PRF.3.F.SG  
she sleeps

41 ba    ʼmbéɾə    šēf  
INTJ boy.M.SG sleep.PRF.3  
oh the boy sleeps

42 bə ġāb<sup>ə</sup>gót šāfetó  
and girl.F.SG sleep.PRF.3.DU  
and the girl, they sleep

43 řófər řófər xařəg řófor  
red.M.SG red.M.SG female.dress.M.SG red.M.SG  
red, red, a red female dress, red

44 řófor xařəg řəké-t  
red.M.SG female.dress.M.SG wear.PRF-3.F.SG  
red, female dress, she wears

45 đinə ġāb<sup>ə</sup>gót đə šřfót  
DEM.PROX.F.SG girl.F.SG REL sleep.PRF.3.F.SG  
this is a girl who sleeps

46 đenə ġayg šáhar šáhar  
DEM.PROX.M.SG man.M.SG elderly.M.SG elderly.M.SG  
this is a man, an old man, an old man

47 řiš<sup>ə</sup> ram<sup>ə</sup>řát bə đenə řiš<sup>ə</sup> ram<sup>ə</sup>řát  
with.3.M.SG sword.M.SG and DEM.PROX.M.SG with.3.M.SG sword.M.SG  
he has a sword, and this one has a sword

48 <sup>ə</sup>ndú  
TAG  
doesn't he?

**Text 154. A turtle and two ducks**

1 *ḍenə*            *ṭīr-ín*  
DEM.PROX.M.SG bird.M-PL  
these (M.SG) are birds

2 *ṭīr-ín*        *ḥǒl*  
bird.M-PL carry.PRF.3  
the birds carry

3 *ḍenə*            *ḥómʿs*  
DEM.PROX.M.SG turtle.M.SG  
is this a turtle?

4 *səlḥafa*        *ṣaǧíra*  
turtle.F.SG small.F.SG  
a small turtle

5 *e-ṭīr-ín*        *ḥǒl*        *ḥómʿs*  
DEF-bird.M-PL carry.PRF turtle.M.SG  
the birds carry a turtle

6 *əd-dáx*                    *dáx*  
DEF-bird.species.M.SG bird.species.M.SG  
the dax, dax

7 *bə-l-gibbéli*                    *dáx*  
with-DEF-language.name.M.SG bird.species.M.SG  
in Jibbali dax



8 əd-dáx                    ɣǎl            ɣómʰs  
DEF-bird.species.M.SG carry.PRF.3 turtle.M.SG  
the dax carries the turtle

9 ǵaggīníti ǵābʰgót  
girl.F.PL girl.F.SG  
girls, girl

10 ɖenə                    ǵeyg  
DEM.PROX.M.SG man.M.SG  
this is a man

11 ɖenə                    ǵābʰgót ǵābʰgót  
DEM.PROX.M.SG girl.F.SG girl.F.SG  
this (**M.**) is a girl, a girl

12 dax  
bird.species.M.SG  
dax

13 ya-ɣǒr            wax    wax  
3.M-say.IND ONOM ONOM  
it says “wax wax”

14 ɣómʰs            tǒl-əǵ            ɣómʰs  
turtle.M.SG beside-3.M.SG turtle.M.SG  
a turtle, there is a turtle beside it

15 bə ɖenə            dax                    bə ɖenə            dax  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG bird.species.M.SG and DEM.PROX.M.SG bird.species.M.SG  
and this is a dax, and this is a dax

16 ḥómʿs ḥõs ənʂenót  
turtle.M.SG turtle.M.SG small.F.SG  
a turtle, a small F. turtle M.

17 ǰenə ḥoms ù  
DEM.PROX.M.SG turtle.M.SG big.F.SG  
this is a big (**F.**) turtle (**M.**)

18 bæ dax t̄l-óm dax  
and bird.species.M.SG beside-3.M.SG bird.species.M.SG  
and the dax is beside them, the dax

19 ed-dax ʕagəb i-ʕar  
DEF-bird.species.M.SG want.PRF.3 3.M-bite.SBJT  
the dax wants to bite

20 ʕagəb i-ʕar  
want.PRF.3 3.M-bite.SBJT  
it wants to bite

21 iné ǰinu ǰinu ḥómʿs  
what.Q DEM.PROX.F.SG DEM.PROX.F.SG turtle.M.SG  
what is this? this (**F.**) is a turtle (**M.**)

22 ǰinə  
DEM.PROX.F.SG  
this one

23 ʕaǰ bæ-lem əʂeʕan<sup>194</sup>

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<sup>194</sup> This is an idiom which literally means ‘he’s taken refuge with the Devil’ (JL:268), but can be translated as ‘what the hell is that?’ in this case.

24 kutta<sup>195</sup> la  
dog.M.SG NEG  
a dog, isn't it?

25 kutta ḡinā  
dog.M.SG DEM.PROX.F.SG  
this is a dog

26 ḡenā i-kān ḡag ə-mi  
DEM.PROX.M.SG 3.M-be.IND in DEF-water.F.SG  
this is in the water

27 but but but  
house.F.SG house.F.SG house.F.SG  
a house, a house, a house

28 butta  
house.F.SGV  
one house

29 ḡóm<sup>ə</sup>s ḡamzét  
turtle.M.SG turtle.F.SG  
a turtle M., a turtle F.

30 ḡinā ṣḡirét ḡafērót  
DEM.PROX.F.SG tree.F.SG red.F.SG  
this is a red tree

31 kə ṣe ṡeno  
why.Q PRN.3.M.SG thus

---

<sup>195</sup> Hindi/Urdu term for 'dog'.

why so?

32 butta      ɢenə      butta  
house.F.SING DEM.PROX.M.SG house.F.SGV  
this is a house, a house

33 t̥rut  
two.F  
two

34 butt<sup>a</sup>      t̥rut bə ɣamzét      t̥l-əš  
house.F.SGV two.F and turtle.F.SG beside-3.M.SG  
two houses and the turtle is beside them (**M.SG**)

35 butt<sup>a</sup>      t̥rut  
house.F.SG two.F  
two houses

36 ɣamzét      ɣaɣ ɣamɣ      ɣamzét  
turtle.F.SG in middle.M.SG turtle.F.SG  
the turtle is in the middle, the turtle

37 dēx<sup>a</sup>      t̥rɔ  
bird.species.M.SG two.M  
two dax

38 əd-dax<sup>a</sup>      bə ɣamzét  
DEF-bird.species.M.SG and turtle.F.SG  
the dax and the turtle

39 d-i-šənɔɣ-ən      ɣamzét  
CIRC-3.M-make.rest.IND-DL/STEM turtle.F.SG

they make the turtle rest (on them)

40 bə ɖənə            ɡayg    ɖinə            ɡāb<sup>ə</sup>ɡót  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG man.M.SG DEM.PROX.F.SG girl.F.SG  
and this one is a man, this is a girl

41 bə ɖinə            but            t̥l-hom            but  
and DEM.PROX.F.SG house.F.SG beside-3.M.PL house.F.SG  
and this is a house, there is a house beside them

42 ʧet    k-ēnóf  
one.F with-self.M.SG  
by itself

43 ɖənə            dax            dax<sup>ə</sup>            t̥rɔ  
DEM.PROX.M.SG bird.species.M.SG bird.species.M.SG two.M  
this is a dax, two dax

44 ə-dax            temm            ɣamzét  
DEF-bird.species.M.SG finish.PRF.3 turtle.F.SG  
the dax finishes the turtles

45 ɣagəb            i-ʃɣar            ɣamzét  
want.PRF.3 3.M-bite.SBJT turtle.F.SG  
it wants to bite the turtle

46 ɣagəb            i-ʃɣar-əs  
want.PRF.3 3.M-bite.SBJT-3.F.SG  
it wants to bite it

47 iné    ɖinə  
what.Q DEM.PROX.F.SG

what is this?

48 iné      ʒõr      ɔ̃nə

what.Q say.PRF.3 DEM.PROX.M.SG

what does this say?

49 ʒágəb      yé-ffər      d-i-frér

want.PRF.3 3.M-fly.SBJT CIRC-3.M-fly.IND.SG

it wants to fly, it is flying

50 d-i-frér                      d-i-frér

CIRC-3.M-fly.IND CIRC-3.M-fly.IND

it is flying, it is flying

51 d-i-ğaş                      ʒaḵ

CIRC-3.M-dive.IND in

it is diving in

52 ʒaḵ e-réb<sup>ə</sup>reb

in DEF-sea.M.SG

in the sea

53 i-ríd                      samak

3.M-want.IMPV.SG fish.M.SG

it wants fish

54 d-i-ğaş                      d-i-ğaş

CIRC-3.M-dive.IND CIRC-3.M-dive.IND

it is diving, it is diving

55 ba      ḥóm<sup>ə</sup>s      ba

INTJ turtle.M.SG INTJ

oh a turtle

56 ḥómʷs k-ēnóf  
turtle.M.SG with-self.M.SG  
a turtle by itself

### Text 155. Kids games

1 ḍen ʰnḥág nə-nḥág-əš ʰnḥa ʒad nişón nişón  
DEM.PROX.M.SG game.M.SG 1.PL-play.IND-3.M.SG PRN.1.PL once small.M.PL small.M.PL  
this is a game we play when we are young

2 nə-nḥág bonḥáys  
1.PL-play.IND game.name.M.SG  
we play “Bonḥáys”

3 bonḥáys ḍenu  
game.name.M.SG DEM.PROX.M.SG  
this Bonḥáys

4 ʰtwállaf-u b-əš  
to.be.involved.PRF-3.M.PL with-3.M.SG  
it involves

5 arbaʒót mən bə bə arbaʒót mən bə  
four.F from here and four.F from here  
four here and four here

6 aw  
or  
or

7 ʔínít mən bə bə ʔínít mən bə  
eight.F from here and eight.F from here  
eight here and eight here

8 o ʔaśrít mən bə bə ʔaśrít mən bə  
or ten.F from here and ten.F from here  
or ten here and ten here

9 bə kəl ʔarfét  
and each team.F.SG  
and each team

10 i-kín b-əs ʔaʔ masúl i-ššum ġeg læšiš  
3.M-be.IND with-3.F.SG responsible.M.SG 3.M-call.IND man.M.SG ??? .M.SG  
has a responsible person called “læšiš” man

11 de i-ššum ʔarbút  
some 3.M-call.IND fish.name  
some are called “ʔarbút”<sup>196</sup>

12 de i-ššum ʔēlét  
some 3.M-call.IND fish.name  
some are called “ʔēlét”<sup>197</sup>

13 de i-ššum ʔēr  
some 3.M-call.IND mountain.M.SG  
some are called mountain

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<sup>196</sup> Fish species.

<sup>197</sup> Fish species.



14 de i-ššum kábəli  
some 3.M-call.IND tribal.M.SG  
some are called tribal

15 de i-ššum nə-nhág ní-šma  
some 3.M-call.IND 1.PL-play.IND 1.PL-name.SBJT  
some are called... we play giving names

16 bə gəg ləšiš b-əš ʕarfét dək  
and man.M.SG ????.M.SG with-3.M.SG team.F.SG DEM.DIST.PL  
and the “ləšiš” man has this team

17 kəl ʕarfét i-ššum bə-l-ğayba  
each team.F.SG 3.M-call.IND with-DEF-absence.F.SG  
each team is named in absence

18 aywa bə nə-nhág  
yes and 1.PL-play.IND  
yes, and we play

19 ġōt ʕayn reys el-ḳəbīle  
choke.PRF.3 eye.M.SG head.M.SG GEN-tribe.F.SG  
the eyes of the head of the tribe are closed

20 yʕáni ḥokma e-ḳīlət ġōt h-əš ʕayn-š  
HES head.M.SG GEN-tribe.F.SG choke.PRF.3 to-3.M.SG eye.M.SG-3.M.SG  
well, they blindfond the head of the tribe

21 n-ʕōr ḳarbút ḳarbút ḳarbút  
1.PL-say.IND fish.name fish.name fish.name  
we say “ḳarbút ḳarbút ḳarbút”

22 ʔeno šũ-š                      ʔarbút  
thus name.M.SG-3.M.SG fish.name  
thus, his name is “ʔarbút”

23 i-núkaʕ                      še                      bæ i-ʕõr                      ʔano  
3.M-come.IND PRN.3.M.SG and 3.M-say.IND thus  
he comes and says so

24 bæ ɖenu                      ǵõʔ                      h-əš  
and DEM.PROX.M.SG choke.PRF.3 to-3.M.SG  
and this causes him to be blindfolded

25 i-nóʔt-əš                      ʔano ʔer reš  
3.M-hit.IND-3.M.SG thus on head.M.SG  
they hit it on the head thus

26 her nə-nké                      t-əš                      n-ʕõr                      ɖenu  
if 1.PL-hurt.IND OBJ-3.M.SG 1.PL-say.IND DEM.PROX.M.SG  
if we hurt him, we say this

27 kəl ʔn-šak                      mən-əš                      n-ʕõr                      het                      mišérʔd  
all 1.PL-laugh.IND from-3.M.SG 1.PL-say.IND PRN.2.M.SG stupid.M.SG  
we all laugh at him, we say “you are stupid”

## Appendix 3 – Glossary

In this appendix, a number of terms elicited from the two available speakers are presented and sorted according to their semantic field. Additionally, the DEAMSA word-list (see 3.5.4), containing KM terms is presented. The plural forms, when available, are given between parentheses (). Feminine forms are marked as per transcription key (p. vii-viii-ix): when not marked, the form is masculine. When two terms result from a single stimulus, they are marked with a tilde (~) in between them. Missing items are marked with a question mark (?).

### Fish species

English	Arabic	Jibbali/Shehret
	hammúr	rétəḵ
	huḍír ~ šaḥri	ḥasét
	sammán	xəlxól
	samak qərš	ləxím ~ ḡība
	takwa	takəbít
	tuna	gédər ~ šérwi
	?	ṭəbbéna
	samak musa	mix
	šəḥūṭa	šəbḥaṭat
dolphin	dulfin	dóx <sup>s</sup>
	ḥaríf ~ rabāba	kəfaḥán
	?	kəlét
weever fish	?	naḥál ~ tabbáka
turtle	šəḥləfá	ḥōs ~ ḥóm <sup>s</sup>
crayfish/lobster	šarḥa	šíróx ~ ṭíróx
	?	rəbyén
sardine	sardín	ḥad
	buks ~ bakas	surumóm
	?	ḡoda
	kəḥḥá	tanník ~ tarník

	ʕakám ~ ʕagám	ʕakəbít ~ ʕakəmít
	fəkál	bedibéba
electric fish	sammát	səmmé̄ta ~ səmmáta
	wuld al-hammūr	məṭərút
	wuld al-xuḍír (huḍír)	ʕasét ~ ʕasēnót
	sed abyəḍ ~ xanáfa	mēré̄t
	samak filipini	xēt

### Land animals

English	Arabic	Jibbali/Shehret
ram	tēs	tuš
goat	māʕiza	oz (erón)
snake	ḥanaša	ḥōt
scorpion	ʕaqrab	išín
crab	salṭaʕūn	ḥarzí/ḥarḍí
cat	sannūra	sənnúrət
black bird	ṭer il-ʕagez	nirín ḥōr
white bird	?	gərráʕ
big bird	sumi	samót
bird sp.	?	dax
mosquito	baʕūḍa	ḳerós

### Star names

Arabic	Jibbali/Shehret
ṭaréya	šīt
əlkalíl	əlḳálb

šelli	əǧél
šaʔrán	əlít
əʃhél	ʃhof
raʕót	raʕót xarəfét
ʔ	fiftúh
əlkəǧáb	əlkəǧáb
əlħímər	əlħīmár
məǧúi	məǧúi
ʔ	ərʔarót
ʔ	ekʕát

**Bowern/DEAMSA wordlist**<sup>198</sup>

English	Arabic	Speaker 1	Speaker 2
I	anā	he	he
we	naħnu	nħán	ʔ
we (du.)	naħnu al-iʔnān	nħán ʔrɔ	ʔ
you (m.sg.)	anta	het	hət
you (du.)	antumā	tum ʔrɔ	ʔ
you (f.pl.)	antunna	tən	ʔ
he	huwa	ʃε	ʔ
she	hiya	sε	ʔ
they (m.)	hum	ʃō	ʔ
they (f.)	hunna	sən	ʔ
here	hunā	mun	bun
there	hunāk	lahák ~ əlhohǒ	ʔ
who?	man	mon	mən
what?	māǧā	iné	ʔ
where?	ayna	honzé/hon	hũ
how?	kayfa	kɔ	ʔ
why?	limāǧā ~ lēš	inéténo	ʔ
all	kul	kɔl(hǒ)	ʔ

<sup>198</sup> See 3.5.4

much/many	kaṭīr	mékəṇ	mékəṇ
some	baṣḍ	məṇhúm	?
little	qalīl	ḥērín	xērén ~ ḥērén
one	waḥad	M. ṭaṭ F. ṭiṭ	M. ṭē
two	iṭnān	M. ṭrɔ F. ṭrut	M. ṭro
three	ṭalāṭa	M. śalāt	F. śāṭiṭ
four	arbṣa	F. urbṣa M. urbṣát	?
five	xamsa	F. xōš M. xīš	M. xūš
six	sitta	F. šṭiṭ	F. šṭiṭ
seven	sabṣa	F. šəbṣiṭ M. šuṣ	F. šəbṣiṭ M. šuṣ
eight	ṭamānya	F. ṭīniṭ M. ṭūni	F. ṭīniṭ
nine	tisṣa	F. səṣiṭ M. saṣ	F. səṣiṭ
ten	ṣāšara	F. ṣaširét M. ṣášor	F. ṣaširiṭ
woman	mara ~ imrá	tiṭ (inét)	titi <sup>199</sup>
man	rajul	ḡeyg ~ ḡeg	ḡeg
mankind	bašriyya	γɔ méken ~ merdám méken ~ minédam	bire <sup>200</sup>
child	ṭifl	ḳállán (f. ḡāb <sup>a</sup> ḡót, pl. erśót)	<sup>a</sup> mbērə F. ḡāb <sup>a</sup> ḡót
mother	um	ēmí	ēmí
father	ab	ī	i
name	ism	šū	šū
house	bayt	ūt	ūt
bed	firaš	minśéf	?
cradle	najṣ	əlbənéš	?
fish	samak	ṣod	ṣud
bird	ṣaṣfūra	ṭīriṭ (ṭēr)	ṭiyerit ~ ṣeyšit
dog	kalb	kɔb	kob
lice	qaml	šinís	?
snake	ḥánaša	ḥōt	ḥōt
worm	dūda	təbṣalót ~ təbṣawót	?
tree	šajara	šigirét	?
shadow	ḍul	ḡófə	gofe
wood	ḥaṭab	ṭarób	?
seed	biḍra	naḡét	?
leaf	waraqa	eréḳəs	érekəṭ
root	jaḍar	ṣarḳ	?
bark	qašar	ḳiśór	?
flower	warda/zahra	?	?
grass	hašīš	əḡḡód	?

<sup>199</sup> compare *tiṭ-i* 'my wife'.

<sup>200</sup> < *ber adam* 'person'.

rope	ḥabl	ḳod	ḳud
skin	jild	gɔd	god
meat	lahma	t <sup>h</sup> e	te
milk	ḥalīb	nušub	nušeb
blood	dam	ḡḡhr	ḡḡr
bone	ṣaḡm	ṣašéš	ṣayšéš
fat (noun)	šahm	tábah ~ túbah	?
egg	bayḡa	ḳóḥal	?
horn	qarn	ḳun (ḳirón)	ḳurún
tail	ḡayl ~ ḡanab	ḡunúb ~ ḡunúf	ḡunúb
feather	riša	?	?
wing	janaḥ	kétəf	ḳitáf
hair	šaṣar	šɔf	šof
head	raʔs	reš	reš
ear	uḡun	īḡén	?
eye	ṣayn	ṣaín	ṣayn
nose	anf	nəx <sup>o</sup> rír	nəx <sup>o</sup> rír
mouth	famm	əxó	ḳəf <sup>o</sup> rór
teeth	asnān	šinón	šanún
tongue	lisān	ilšín	elšín
nail	ḡufra ~ ḡifra	ṭifér (ṭaferéte)	šifér
foot	qadim	faṣm (fším)	faṣm
knee	rukba	érek (erók)	?
hand	yad	id	id
guts	amṣa	šúr <sup>o</sup> t	?
belly	baṭn	šófəl	šófəl
neck	raqba	ḡóti (ḡóto)	?
back	ḡahr	šɔ	šo-k
heart	qalb	ḳalb	ḳalb
liver	kabid	šebdíť	šibdíť
sun	šams	šū	šū
moon	qamar	erét	?
star	nijma	kob <sup>o</sup> ḳób	?
sky	samaʔ	šútum	?
water	maʔ	mi	mi
rain	maṭar	musé	?
sea	baḥr	eréb <sup>o</sup> reb	erəm <sup>o</sup> ~ erəmá
wadi	wadi	nhúr	?
salt	malḥ	mizḥót	mizḥót
stone	ḥajara	ḥáši	fidúnt
sand	ramla	ḥáši	ḥáši
earth	ṭīn	?	?
mountain	jabal	fudún (fəḡəní) ~ gyél (gyál)	?

clouds	ġuyūm	shóǒb ~ ʕafór (ʕafrín)	garzáat
ground	arḍ	gəðərət	arṭ
mist	ḍabáb	təló	?
dew	nadá	əndá	?
wind	ryāḥ	hizéz	hizéz ~ fkos
smoke	duxxān	indóx	dxén
fire	nār	śōṭ	śōṭ
ash	ramād	rīd	?
road	ṭarīq	órom	?
long	ṭawīl	rāḥaḵ	ēb
short	qaṣīr	ḵirí ~ ḵisír	?
night	layla	ʕaṣərí	ġaṣerí
daytime	nahār	nəhér <sup>a</sup>	eṭṭúr
month	šahr	ɔrx-írəx	?
year	sána	ʕanót-ʕayón	ʕonút
wide	ʕarīḍ	ʕaríṣ	?
heavy	ṭaqīl	ṭiḵíl	ṭiḵíl
narrow	ḍayyiq	ṭiḵ	?
thin	naḥīf	neṣán	nīṣán
hot	ḥarr	gižó	?
cold	bard	ḥōr	śer
full	malyān	dīsi ~ dīti	?
new	Jadīd	udín	?
good	zayn	rəḥím	raḥím
bad	su	défer	?
rotten	ʕafin	dehén	?
round	mudawwar	?	?
sharp	ḥadd	ḥizéf	?
smooth	amlas	ṭišék	?
wet	mablūl	biš <sup>a</sup> mí	?
dry	nāšif	ḵeśʕón	?
near	qarīb	ḵiríb	?
far	baʕīd	rāḥaḵ	rāḥaḵ
right	yamīn	?	śemlét <sup>201</sup>
left	yasār	?	emlét
red	aḥmar	ʕáfor	ʕáfer
green	axḍar	šetərór ~ šeṣərór	xórob
yellow	aṣfar	?	?
white	abyaḍ	lōn F. līnít	lūn

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<sup>201</sup> sic



black	aswad	ḥōr F. ḥaerót	ḥōr
to bite	ṣaḍ	iśṣór	?
to breath	tanaffas	šinízamə ~ nisán	d-enísfen
to burn	aḥraqa	nahétəbí	?
to come	jaʔa	zahám	zahám
to count	ṣadda	yadí	?
to cut	qaṣṣa	iḵóta	?
to die	māta	xaróg	?
to dig	ḥafara	di-ḥéfer	?
to drink	šariba	di-štík	di-štík
to fall	saqaṭa	gaṣár	?
to fear	xāfa	ferḵ	ferḵ
to hit	ḍaraba	sītíš	?
to fly	ṭāra	ferr	ferr
to give	ṣaṭá	zōm	zōm t-o <sup>202</sup>
to hear	samaṣa	šōṣ	de-l-šūṣ-ak
to hold	amsaka	šēt	šītṭ <sup>o</sup>
to know/be able	qadara	iśəbér	?
to know (fact)	ṣarifa	yoǵórob	?
to laugh	ḍaḥika	di-šḥók	de-šaḥók
to milk	ḥalaba	di-ḥélb	?
to play	laṣaba	di-nḥag	di-nahag ~ di-nag
to pull	saḥaba	išḥób	?
to kill	qatala	ilótoǵ	i-ltoǵéǵ
to say	qāla	ṣōr	ṣūr
to push	ḍafaṣa	defer	dafer
to see	raʔa	di-śon	?
to sew	xayyaṭa	iskék	?
to sing	ǵanná	yehəbəb ~ i-ré	di-rri
to sit	jalasa	skéf	skof
to sleep	nāma	šēf	šēf ~ šof
to smell	šamma	di-ṭé ~ ḍi-ǵé	ṭik
to split	šaqqa	iśḵék	?
to squeeze	ṣaṣara	di-ṣáṣar	?
to stab	ṭaṣana	iṭáṣón	?
to stand	qāma	eś	eś
to swim	sabaḥa	di-rōḥ	di-ruḥ
to think	fakara	i-ftkérən	di-ffekerén

<sup>202</sup> 'give me'.

to throw	ramá	di-ród	?
to tie	rabaṭa	əḥtél	?
to walk	mašá	yibgód	?
to wipe	masaḥa	órək	?
to wash	ḡasala	di-rḥót	di-raḥaš
to vomit	qāṭa	di-ḳé	?
in	fi	ḡamḳ-éš	?
on	ḡalá	ṭer	?
under	taḥta	b-aḡál ~ d-aḡál	?
with	maḡa	k- š-	k- š-
and	w-	b-	?
if	iḡa ~ law	mu	?
because	li-ḡanna	lekhét ~ ekhét ~ ešhét	?
now	alāna	našenó	nāšún

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