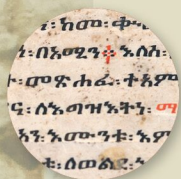


# Omani Mehri

*A New Grammar with Texts*

Aaron D. Rubin



Omani Mehri

# Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics

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*Ali Musallam al-Mahri, circa 1976*

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*A New Grammar with Texts*

*By*

Aaron D. Rubin



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*For my colleagues  
Antoine Lonnet  
and Sabrina Bendjaballah.*

*In sincere gratitude for your friendship,  
inspiration, and collaboration.*







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## Preface

When I started working on Mehri, in late 2006, there was almost no one else working in the field of Modern South Arabian languages. My only contact was with Antoine Lonnet, who first got me interested in the subject. But since then, and especially in the last five years, there has been what seems like an explosion of new publications on Mehri and the other MSA languages. First came the edition of Alexander Sima's Mehri texts from Yemen (2009), then my grammar of Mehri (2010), the Mehri grammar of Janet Watson (2012), the Hobyot dictionary by Nakano (2013), my Jibbali grammar and text collection (2014), and the edition of Soqoṭri texts by Naumkin et al. (2015). In the last five or so years, three teams of outstanding scholars—from France, Russia, and the UK—have conducted fieldwork in Yemen and Oman. From these teams have come, in addition to some of the abovementioned books, numerous groundbreaking articles, and masses of data yet to be published.

My 2010 grammar was based almost exclusively on three related sources: the texts collected by T.M. Johnstone as published by Harry Stroomer (1999), the audio of these texts recorded by Johnstone, and Johnstone's *Mehri Lexicon*. I knew when I published that grammar that the texts and the lexicon were imperfect sources, but I felt (and still feel) that the 2010 grammar was a good beginning. And I am elated that it has been useful to other scholars in the field. But after its publication, when I obtained copies of the original manuscripts of Johnstone's texts, I realized just how many problems there actually were with the existing published texts. Add to this the truly excellent advances in Mehri phonology and morphology made by other scholars in recent years, and I realized that there was a definite need for both a re-edition of Johnstone's texts and a thorough revision of my grammar.

For this new volume, I have completely re-edited the texts collected by T.M. Johnstone, relying primarily on the Arabic-letter manuscripts written by native speaker Ali Musallam, and on the audio recorded by Ali Musallam. Harry Stroomer did a wonderful service by publishing Johnstone's transcriptions of these texts, but those transcriptions were only preliminary. Only now that we have a far better understanding of the phonology and morphology of Mehri are we able to fully understand the texts and transcribe them correctly. And with these corrected texts come many new interpretations of grammatical features. The present edition of the texts has benefitted greatly from those recent advances made by my colleagues in the field, in particular those of Sabrina Bendjaballah, Julien Dufour, Philippe Ségéral, and Janet Watson.

## Acknowledgements

Antoine Lonnet introduced me to Mehri in the summer of 2006, during a conference held in the beautiful Catalonian town of Sitges. I have been working on Mehri ever since, and this book is a culmination of those studies. Since our first meeting, Antoine has remained a great source of encouragement, and his many comments on a late draft of this book were of enormous benefit. I thank him sincerely once again.

I met Sabrina Bendjaballah only in 2013, but her influence has been no less important on this book. It was the many new ideas that she shared, and the stimulating workshops that she organized, which motivated me to completely revise my 2010 grammar and re-edit all of Johnstone's Mehri texts. Our discussions on numerous points of Mehri phonology and morphology, in person and by e-mail, have been instrumental in improving the contents of this book, and she has my profound thanks.

I am also very grateful to the other members of the OmanSAM research project, especially Julien Dufour and Philippe Ségéral, who have each done groundbreaking work on Mehri. The collegiality and warmth of my abovementioned colleagues, as well as of Radwa Fathi and the other members of the OmanSAM team, has made it a pleasure to continue working in the field.

Another of the great pleasures of working on Mehri (and Jibbali) has been reading and listening to the stories of the late Ali Musallam. I was lucky enough to be in contact with Ali from 2010 until his death in 2013, thanks to the kind help of Janet Watson and Saeed al-Mahri. Ali was very happy to be reminded of his old stories, and he encouraged me greatly in my Mehri studies. I think that he would be very pleased with this book. My thanks to his son Faisal for providing the photograph of him included herein.

The texts published in this book nearly all came from Ali Musallam, but these were collected and recorded by the late Thomas Muir Johnstone, a pioneer in the field of Modern South Arabian Studies, whose work I gratefully acknowledge. I would like to thank the late Mrs. Bernice Johnstone, as well as her daughter Caroline and her other children, for allowing me to receive and use copies of her husband's Mehri manuscripts and audio recordings, which were invaluable to my work.

My sincere thanks go to the staff of Durham University Library, in particular Jane Hogan, Mike Harkness, and Danielle McAloon, who assisted me with the Johnstone collection. The recordings of Johnstone's texts were obtained through the Sound Archive of the British Library, which was very efficient and helpful, thanks especially to Tom Ruane.

I am also very indebted to Harry Stroomer, who first made Johnstone's Mehri texts available in published form. Without his indispensable work, my work on Mehri would never have gotten started.

I would also like to thank Miranda Morris for her many valuable comments on a draft of this book, and for sharing her vast knowledge of Modern South Arabian culture. And I thank Saeed al-Qumairi, a native speaker of Mehri who was able to provide answers to some lingering questions.

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And finally, to Kim, my wife and still most trusted editor, thank you for everything.

# Abbreviations and Symbols

1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
Ar.	Arabic
C	consonant; causative stem
cf.	compare
com.	common (gender)
cp	common plural
cs	common singular
cstr.	construct
D	D-Stem (Hebrew <i>pi'el</i> , Arabic <i>fā'ala</i> )
D/L	D/L-Stem (see § 6.2)
def.	definite
dimin.	diminutive
d.o.	direct object
du.	dual
f.	feminine
fd	feminine dual
fp	feminine plural
fs	feminine singular
G	guttural consonant (ʔ, ʕ, ġ, h, ħ, or x); G-Stem (see § 6.1)
gem.	geminate
glott.	glottalic
gutt.	guttural
H	H-Stem (see § 6.3)
<i>HV</i>	<i>Hōbyot Vocabulary</i> , Nakano 2013 (see Bibliography)
Ḥ#	Ḥarsusi text # (as published in Stroomer 2004)
<i>ḤL</i>	<i>Ḥarsūsi Lexicon</i> , Johnstone 1977 (see Bibliography)
IG	idle glottis (see § 2.1.2)
impf.	imperfect
impv.	imperative
intrans.	intransitive
i.o.	indirect object
J#	Jibbali text # (as published in Rubin 2014)
<i>JL</i>	<i>Jibbāli Lexicon</i> , Johnstone 1981 (see Bibliography)
<i>JLO</i>	<i>The Jibbali (Shahri) Language of Oman</i> , Rubin 2014 (see Bibliography)
L	L-Stem (Arabic <i>fā'ala</i> )



lit.	literally
m	masculine
md	masculine dual
mp	masculine plural
ms	masculine singular; manuscript
mss	manuscripts
<i>ML</i>	<i>Mehri Lexicon</i> , Johnstone 1987 (see Bibliography)
<i>MLO</i>	<i>The Mehri Language of Oman</i> , Rubin 2010 (see Bibliography)
MSA	Modern South Arabian
n.	note
o.a.	one another
obj.	object
OSA	Old South Arabian
perf.	perfect
pl.	plural
Q	quadriliteral stem
redup.	reduplicated
sg.	singular
s.o.	someone
s.t.	something
subj.	subjunctive
Š <sub>1</sub>	Š <sub>1</sub> -Stem (see § 6.4)
Š <sub>2</sub>	Š <sub>2</sub> -Stem (see § 6.4)
T <sub>1</sub>	T <sub>1</sub> -Stem (see § 6.5)
T <sub>2</sub>	T <sub>2</sub> -Stem (see § 6.5)
trans.	transitive
V	vowel
var(s).	variant(s)
X > Y	X develops into Y.
X < Y	X derives from Y.
X → Y	X becomes Y; this symbol is used for derived forms, such as forms with the definite article or a possessive suffix.
*	An asterisk marks a reconstructed or underlying form.
*Text #	In chapter 14, an asterisk before a text number means that I did not find any audio for that text, and so the transcription is less reliable.
**	A double asterisk indicates a non-existent or ungrammatical form.

## Text Citation

The Mehri examples cited in this book, unless otherwise noted, are taken from the texts published in this volume, all of which were collected by T.M. Johnstone. Passages are cited by text number and “line” number, so 35:11 refers to Text 35, “line” number 11. I put the word “line” in quotation marks, because the numbered “lines” often run more than one line on the page. In order to facilitate comparison with the edition of Stroomer (1999), which includes most of these texts, I have kept the same line numbering as much as possible, though occasionally I have moved a few words to the preceding or following line.

## A Note on Transcription and Translation

In my 2010 grammar, I retained Johnstone's very inconsistent transcription. In this volume, I have adhered to a much more rigorous system, though there is still some slight variation. My own transcription of the consonants is phonemic, though I allow for some small variation in the transcription of vowels, including epenthetic (non-phonemic) *a*, allophonic *a/ε*, and allophonic final *-šh*, *-ih*, and *-eh*. In citing Mehri words from other published sources and from Johnstone's own manuscripts, I have usually altered the transcription to match my own, unless there is some specific reason not to.

A consonant in parentheses (e.g., (*t*)šémah in text 3:12 or (ð-)šəfōr in text 59:4), unless otherwise noted, indicates that it is not present in the Arabic-letter manuscript and is not pronounced; I include the parenthetical consonant as an aid to comprehension. Word stress is marked (with an acute accent) only when it falls on a short vowel within a polysyllabic word. See further on stress in § 2.3.

For the benefit of those using Johnstone's *Mehri Lexicon*, I note the following differences between my transcription and his:

Johnstone	This Book
<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>
<i>d</i>	<i>ð</i>
<i>ḏ</i>	<i>ḏ</i>
<i>ž</i>	<i>š</i>

In earlier works, including my 2010 grammar of Mehri and my 2014 grammar of Jibbali, I used the symbol *ž* or *ḏ* instead of *š*, primarily to facilitate use and comparison with Johnstone's dictionaries.

The translations of the texts are all my own, though there is naturally much similarity with the translations found in Stroomer (1999), nearly all of which came from Johnstone's manuscripts.

**PART 1**

*Grammar*





Topographic data source: [openstreetmap.org](https://openstreetmap.org)



# Introduction

Mehri is a Semitic language spoken mainly in Yemen, in the easternmost governorate of Al-Mahra, and across the border in Oman, primarily in the governorate of Dhofar. A small number of speakers live in southeastern Saudi Arabia, near the Yemeni and Omani borders. The total number of Mehri speakers is unknown, and estimates vary quite a bit. The number is probably at least 130,000, with over half of this group living in Yemen.

Mehri is one of six languages known collectively as the Modern South Arabian (MSA) languages, which in turn are part of the Semitic language family. In addition to Mehri, the MSA languages are Jibbali (also called Shaḥri, Šheri, or Šherēt), Ḥarsusi, Soqoṭri, Hobyot, and Baṭḥari.<sup>1</sup> Mehri, Jibbali, and Soqoṭri each have a number of dialects. The established term ‘Modern South Arabian’ can be misleading, since these languages are not the descendants of the set of languages collectively called Old South Arabian (OSA), nor are they varieties of Arabic.

The linguistic domain of the other MSA languages (see the map on p. 2) is restricted to eastern Yemen, western Oman, and the island groups of Soqoṭra and Al-Ḥallaniyāt (formerly Khuriya Muriya). None of the MSA languages has a tradition of writing, and they have been known to Europeans only since the 19th century.

## 1.1 Previous Scholarship on Mehri and MSA

The existence of the Modern South Arabian languages was first brought to the attention of Europeans by James Wellsted (1805–1842), a British Lieutenant in Her Majesty’s Indian Navy. In 1835, Wellsted published a list of words in Soqoṭri, which he had collected during his survey of the island in 1834.<sup>2</sup> However, it was Fulgence Fresnel, the French consul in Jeddah, writing on Jibbali in 1838, who

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1 Overviews of the MSA languages and dialects can be found in Johnstone (1975), Lonnet (1985; 2006), and Simeone-Senelle (1997; 2011).

2 Wellsted (1835a). Wellsted briefly discusses the language on pp. 211–212, and a word-list appears on pp. 220–229. Much of the data, with abundant printing errors, is found also in Wellsted (1835b: 165–166). It seems that Wellsted falsely claimed credit for collecting at least some of this data (see Haines 1845: 110).

first recognized the existence of a new branch of the Semitic language family.<sup>3</sup> Fresnel's work really marks the beginning of Modern South Arabian studies.

The first published information on Mehri was a short word-list given by Wellsted in his popular travel narrative, *Travels to the City of the Caliphs*, published in 1840.<sup>4</sup> Another list of about a hundred words and forty phrases, along with a translation (from Arabic) of Genesis 24:1–7, was published in 1846 by a missionary named (Johann) Ludwig Krapf (1810–1881).<sup>5</sup> H.J. Carter, a surgeon who had traveled with Wellsted, published an even longer list of Mehri words and phrases (1847), providing also some discussion of phonology. Heinrich von Maltzan (1826–1874), known for his travels in the Arab world, published two grammatical studies of Mehri (1871, 1873b) and a short comparative word-list (1873a). Additional Mehri words can be found scattered in a few other 19th-century publications. A short text (a letter) of about sixty-five words, with Jibbali and Soqotri parallels, was published in 1896 by Fritz Hommel (1854–1936).

Unfortunately, with the exception of the scant material published by Hommel, which was collected by Eduard Glaser (1855–1908), none of the 19th-century data on Mehri or any other Modern South Arabian language was collected by a language specialist, and so the reliability and scope of these publications are often limited.<sup>6</sup> Still, every witness has some value.

A major turning point in the field of Modern South Arabian studies came in 1898, when a scholarly expedition to Southern Arabia was launched by the Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, now called the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.<sup>7</sup> Fieldwork on MSA was carried out by the Austrian scholars David Heinrich Müller (1846–1912), Alfred Jahn (1875–1940?), and, a couple of years later, by Wilhelm Hein (1861–1903). The result of this team's efforts was a great wealth of textual material in Mehri, Jibbali, and Soqotri, published between 1902 and 1909, which greatly advanced the field of MSA. For Mehri, the most relevant publications of texts are Jahn (1902),

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3 Discussion of classification appears in Fresnel (1838a: 513ff), but more detailed grammatical discussion appears in Fresnel (1838b, 1838c). Annotated and corrected versions of these and other works of Fresnel can be found in Lonnet (1991).

4 The list of thirty-seven words appears on pp. 26–27.

5 Krapf is well known for his work on East African languages, particularly Swahili. He got his data on Jibbali and Mehri from an informant in East Africa, probably in or near Mombasa, where Krapf lived for a time, and which was then under Omani rule.

6 See Leslau (1946) for a complete bibliography of MSA studies until 1945.

7 On the background of these expeditions, see the accounts of Landberg (1899) and Müller (1899), as well as the studies of Macro (1993) and, especially, Sturm (2007, 2015). For the study of the languages, the information about the expeditions provided in the introductions to the text editions is much more relevant.

which includes a substantial glossary, Müller (1902, 1907), and Hein (1909).<sup>8</sup> From this material also came the grammar of Jahn (1905), the important four-part grammatical study of Bittner (1909–1914a),<sup>9</sup> and the short linguistic study of Rhodokanakis (1910). These remained the most comprehensive grammatical studies of Mehri until 2010. It must be pointed out that the Mehri texts collected by the Austrian team are all in Yemeni dialects.

In 1937, Bertram Thomas (1892–1950) published a sketch of four MSA languages, one of which was Mehri.<sup>10</sup> This sketch comprised the first new data on MSA collected in nearly thirty years. Thomas had no previous knowledge of the material collected by the Austrian team, and so he provides an important independent witness to the languages. Unfortunately, Thomas was not a trained linguist, as he himself readily admitted. Like so many of his 19th-century predecessors, he was simply an adventurous traveler with a keen interest in language.<sup>11</sup> Thomas does have one significant distinction, in that he was the first to collect and publish data on Ḥarsusi and Baḥari, two MSA languages that were previously unknown to the scholarly world. In fact, Thomas's work remains to this day almost the only published work on the nearly-extinct Baḥari language.<sup>12</sup>

In 1953, Ewald Wagner published his highly-regarded study of MSA syntax, with Mehri as the main focus. Wagner's study, after Bittner's combined work, is the most detailed grammatical study of the MSA languages from the 20th century. It included no new data, however; all of his data came from the publications of the Austrian team (Müller, Jahn, and Hein) and from Thomas's sketch.

Charles D. Matthews (1901–1986), an Arabist by training, worked from 1948 to 1961 in Saudi Arabia with the Arabian-American Oil Company (Aramco, now called Saudi Aramco). For part of this time he was involved in surveying areas

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8 Müller's Mehri informant was from Al-Ghayḍah. Hein worked with speakers from Qishn, while Jahn worked with speakers from Al-Ghayḍah, Qishn, and Nishtun (a village about halfway between Al-Ghayḍah and Qishn). The Mehri material in Müller (1907) came from Hein.

9 A fifth part of this study (published as three, 1914b–1915b), though important, mostly contains re-published texts and commentary.

10 A study of Thomas's data was made by Leslau (1947).

11 Thomas (1932) is a fascinating account of his travels in Arabia, including his time among speakers of Modern South Arabian languages. Interestingly, Johnstone's texts 42, 75, and 76 are similar to stories that Thomas recounts on pp. 246–251, 239–242, and 219–222, respectively. Thomas's accounts of various beliefs and customs also find parallels in Johnstone's texts.

12 Already Thomas (1932: 143) refers to the dwindling numbers of the Baḥari tribe.



of the Empty Quarter in the southeastern part of the country, and there he made the acquaintance of MSA speakers and endeavored to learn something of their languages. He published several articles between 1959 and 1970, though only his 1969 article received much attention. Matthews was the first 20th-century scholar to recognize the existence of a definite article in Mehri and Jibbali—a fact that completely eluded Müller and Bittner.<sup>13</sup> It is unfortunate that Matthews did not publish more, especially since most of his knowledge was gained in the field.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Thomas Muir Johnstone of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, carried out fieldwork on the MSA languages. The results of his efforts were dictionaries of three MSA languages (Ḥarsusi, Jibbali, and Mehri), a number of important articles, and three posthumously published text collections, on Mehri, Ḥarsusi, and Jibbali. Much of Johnstone's Mehri material was collected in 1969–1970 in Dubai. Afterwards, he was able to bring his most productive informant, Ali Musallam, to London for a year, and he continued to work with Ali in Oman on subsequent visits in the mid-1970s.<sup>14</sup> Johnstone's Mehri data all reflect the Omani dialect, in contrast with the Yemeni material collected by the Austrian team and, until very recently, by those researchers who have come after Johnstone (see below). This makes Johnstone's already weighty contributions to Mehri studies all the more valuable.

Sadly, Johnstone died in 1983, just one week shy of his fifty-ninth birthday. He managed to see the publication of his Ḥarsusi and Jibbali dictionaries, which appeared in 1977 and 1981, respectively, but his *Mehri Lexicon* was published only after his death, in 1987. With nearly five hundred pages of Mehri-English entries (often including comparative MSA material), a one hundred and forty-page English-Mehri word-list, fifty pages of verbal paradigms, and an additional ten pages of grammatical discussion, the *Mehri Lexicon* was a massively important contribution to the field of Semitic studies. Unfortunately, as Johnstone was not able to oversee the publication of his manuscript, the lexicon is filled with an enormous number of typographical and other errors. His collections of Mehri and Ḥarsusi texts were published by Harry Stroomer in 1999 and 2004,

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13 Fresnel (1838b:82) mentioned the existence of a definite article *a-* in Jibbali, but this seems to have been forgotten or disregarded.

14 Janet Watson, who also consulted with Ali during her visits to Oman, kindly put me in contact with him. He and I, with the help of Saeed al-Mahri, corresponded in Mehri by letter (sometimes also recorded onto audio) over a period of about three years, and once we even spoke by telephone. One Jibbali story that Ali provided me with was published in *JLO*. Sadly, Ali passed away in February, 2013, around the age of sixty-seven.

respectively. His Jibbali texts were published in 2014, in my own *JLO*. See §1.5 for more details on the Mehri texts.

Around the same time that Johnstone was active in the field, a Japanese researcher named Aki'o Nakano (1937–2008) was also pursuing field research. The result of visits to Yemen in 1971 and 1974 and a stay in Oman in 1974 was a comparative lexicon of Yemeni Mehri, Jibbali, and Soqotri, published in 1986. Later visits led to his Hobyot lexicon—the first ever significant publication on that language—which was published posthumously in 2013.<sup>15</sup> Like Johnstone's *Mehri Lexicon*, Nakano's dictionaries must be used with some caution.

Beginning in 1983, two French scholars, Antoine Lonnet and Marie-Claude Simeone-Senelle, made several trips to Yemen to do fieldwork on Mehri, Soqotri, and Hobyot. The result has been a number of important investigative articles and surveys, published both as a team and individually, which have added much to the field of MSA studies. Some of the most important articles are Lonnet (1994a, 1994b, and 2005a), which each contain a wide range of original and very insightful observations. Simeone-Senelle, Lonnet, and Bakheith (1984) includes an original text. Lonnet (2006) and Simeone-Senelle (2011) are overviews of MSA.

Between 2001 and 2004, an Austrian scholar named Alexander Sima collected a large corpus of Mehri texts, both from an informant he brought over to Germany and from informants in Yemen. Sima published several important articles on Mehri, and wrote the bulk of a grammar, which he intended to submit for his Habilitation, as well as a lexicon based on his texts. Sadly, in late 2004, Sima was killed in a car accident in Yemen, only a few months before completing his work. He was just thirty-four years old. His text corpus was published in the summer of 2009, edited by Janet Watson and Werner Arnold. Unfortunately, his grammar and lexicon remain unpublished.

In 2010, my own grammar of Omani Mehri appeared, based on Stroomer's edition of Johnstone's Mehri texts. And in 2012, Janet Watson published a grammar of both the Omani and Eastern Yemeni dialects, based mainly on her own fieldwork in Yemen and Oman. Her grammar also includes a couple of new texts, two of which were re-published in Watson (2013). My grammar of Jibbali, which included a significant number of texts both from Johnstone's manuscripts and my own fieldwork, appeared in 2014. Working on Jibbali did a lot to advance my own understanding of Mehri, and it made clear the need for a new edition of both Johnstone's texts and my grammar.

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15 The Hobyot recorded by Nakano shows heavy influence from the local dialect of Mehri.

Janet Watson, in collaboration with Miranda Morris and others, has continued to collect data in Mehri and several other MSA languages. In addition to numerous publications resulting from their fieldwork, some of their data are available online through the Endangered Languages Archive at SOAS, University of London.

In 2007, Samuel Liebhaber completed a dissertation on Yemeni Mehri poetry. Though the focus of the dissertation is not purely linguistic, a number of poetic texts are included, along with some linguistic commentary. Liebhaber has also published a separate edition of some of the poetic texts he has collected (2011a).<sup>16</sup> In that edition, his texts are presented both in Roman transcription and in a modified Arabic script. Though this is not the first publication to use Arabic script to transcribe Mehri,<sup>17</sup> this is probably the first by a non-native author that was intended partly for a native Mehri readership.

In 2013, a team of French scholars, including Sabrina Bendjaballah, Philippe Ségéral, Julien Dufour, Rachid Ridouane, and Antoine Lonnet began a project (titled OmanSAM) on the MSA languages, which included fieldwork on Mehri, Jibbali, and Hobyot in Oman. They also worked with native informants in France. The results of their investigations have been, and will be, far-reaching into all areas of MSA, but especially in the realms of phonology and verbal morphology. Noteworthy studies to date include Bendjaballah and Ségéral (2014a, 2017a), and the brilliant Habilitation of Dufour (2016).

A Russian team under the direction of Leonid Kogan has conducted fieldwork on Soqoṭra, and has done extensive work with speakers that they have brought to Moscow. Several important articles and one collection of texts (Naumkin et al. 2014) has been published so far, while another text collection and a descriptive grammar of Soqoṭri are forthcoming. Kogan (2015: 467–597) is a very important study of Modern South Arabian as a subgroup of Semitic, useful especially, but by no means only, for the wealth of lexical studies therein, including many Mehri lexical items.

Native speakers, in addition to those who have assisted outside scholars, have also made their own contributions to the study of Mehri, as have some other Arabic-speaking scholars in Oman, Yemen, and Saudi Arabia. Works in English include Al-Aidaros (1996, 1999) and Almakrami (2015), and the unpublished theses of Al-Fadly (2007), Al-Qumairi (2013, 2017), and Alrowsa (2014). A short sketch of Mehri, mainly focused on vocabulary, was published in Arabic by Al-Mahri (2006). In late 2016, native Mehri speakers in Yemen,

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16 Liebhaber has also recently created the online Mahri Poetry Archive.

17 Cf. Carter (1847), and Simeone-Senelle, Lonnet, and Bakheith (1984).

led by Saeed al-Qumairi, established the Mehri Language Center for Study and Research (*markaz al-luġah al-mahrīyyah lid-dirāsāt wa-l-buḥūṭ*) in the town of Al-Ghayḍah, Yemen.

When I began working on Mehri in 2006, there was almost no one working on the MSA languages, and those few that existed were working individually. Citations of MSA in works on comparative Semitics, rare as they were, relied largely on data that were decades old. Now, a little more than a decade later, there is a vast amount of new data available on Mehri, as well as on Jibbali, Soqoṭri, and even Hobyot. Teams of scholars in the UK, France, and Russia have each done fieldwork in Yemen and Oman, and more text collections and grammatical studies are forthcoming. From 2013–2017, the OmanSAM project held an annual workshop on the MSA languages, including scholars from France, the United States, the United Kingdom, and Russia. In 2013, the Seminar for Arabian Studies in London held a special session on the languages of Southern Arabia, with five papers on MSA. Several graduate students in the United States and in Europe are currently working on MSA languages. In short, MSA is now a vibrant sub-field within the field of Semitics.

## 1.2 Dialects of Mehri

Mehri can be divided into two basic dialect groups. There is a western group spoken in Yemen, which can be called Yemeni Mehri, and there is an eastern group, which can be called Omani Mehri or Dhofari Mehri.<sup>18</sup> In Omani Mehri, the language is natively called *mahrāyyat*, and in the local Arabic it is called *mahrīyya*. The political boundary between Yemen and Oman probably does not perfectly correspond to the dialect boundary, but the terms Yemeni and Omani Mehri are sufficiently accurate. Within Yemeni Mehri, we can also distinguish a western dialect area centered around the town of Qishn, a central dialect area centered in the town of Al-Ghayḍah, and an eastern (or *sharqīyya*) dialect around the town of Ḥawf, near the border with Oman.<sup>19</sup> In Yemen, at least, there are also differences between the language of the bedouin population and the language of those speakers settled in the larger towns. While there is dialectal

18 Johnstone used the terms Southern Mehri and Nagd Mehri, for Yemeni and Omani, respectively.

19 On Yemeni dialects, see further in Simeone-Senelle (2002: 388) and Kogan (2015: 528–532). The locals in Qishn refer to the language as *mahrāyyat*, while in Ḥawf it is referred to as *mahrāyyōt*.

variation within Omani Mehri, the differences seem to be smaller than we find among Yemeni Mehri varieties.

The differences between Omani Mehri and the various Yemeni dialects are as in most any other language. That is, there are some differences in phonology, in morphology, and in lexicon.<sup>20</sup> In the realm of phonology, one recognizable difference in pronunciation is that of the phoneme /g/. In Oman, Mehri speakers pronounce this as *g*, while Yemeni speakers pronounce it as a palatal *j* (IPA [j] or [dʒ]). In Omani Mehri, ʿ is lost in most environments (see § 2.1.3), while in some Yemeni dialects it is preserved. In the Yemeni town of Qishn, the interdental *t̪*, *ð*, and *ḏ* have merged with *t*, *d*, and *t̪*, respectively, but elsewhere they are preserved. Many of the sound rules discussed in chapter 2 (e.g., § 2.1.3, § 2.1.4, § 2.1.5, § 2.1.8, § 2.2.1, § 2.2.2) are not applicable to Yemeni Mehri dialects.

Morphological differences between the dialects abound, and some are quite fundamental. For example, Yemeni Mehri dialects lack the definite article *a*-found in Omani Mehri (§ 4.4). There are many differences in the conjugation of verbs. For example, where Omani Mehri indicates a plural verb in many cases by means of ablaut alone (e.g., *āmūr* ‘he said’ ~ *āmáwr* ‘they said’; *yāghōm* ‘he goes’ ~ *yāghīm* ‘they go’), Yemeni Mehri normally has a suffix *-əm* (e.g., *āmōr* ~ *āmōrəm*; *yāghōm* ~ *yāghīməm*);<sup>21</sup> in Omani Mehri this suffix exists, but is more restricted in use.

There are numerous lexical differences between the dialects. For example, in Omani Mehri the usual word for ‘woman’ is *tēt*, but in Yemeni dialects it is *ḥarmāt* or *ḥarmēt*.<sup>22</sup> Sometimes words have different meanings, like the verb *ḥarōh*, which means ‘hide’ in Omani Mehri, but ‘read’ in Yemeni.<sup>23</sup>

In addition to the regional differences, there are also some diachronic differences in the Mehri recorded in various periods: the early 19th century, the turn of the 20th century, the 1970s, and today. For example, fieldwork done with informants in recent years has shown some analogical changes in the verbal

20 See Rubin (2011) for an overview and more examples of dialectal differences. Watson (2012), which is a study of two different dialects, also has abundant examples, including many tables comparing forms in Omani Mehri and Eastern Yemeni Mehri.

21 The Yemeni forms are adapted from Jahn (1902: 90, 96). On the suffix *-əm*, see Lonnet (2005a: 191–195).

22 *ML* (s.v. *ḥrm*) defines Omani Mehri *ḥarmēt* as ‘widow; poor, defenseless woman’. The word occurs once in our texts (48:22), with the general meaning ‘woman’, but text 48 was translated from Yemeni Mehri, and has several Yemeni lexemes.

23 Confusion over this verb is the subject of text 71. See especially the comment to text 71:2. Texts 59 and 80 also deal specifically with misunderstandings due to dialectal differences in vocabulary.

system, and many of the lexical items recorded by Johnstone are unknown to younger speakers.<sup>24</sup> There is no doubt that the influence of Arabic has become much more pervasive in the last forty years.<sup>25</sup>

### 1.3 The Position of Mehri within MSA

As discussed in the previous section, the last seven or eight years have seen a major surge of new data and analysis on the MSA languages. Grammatical studies of Mehri, Jibbali, and, to a lesser extent, Soqoṭri, plus the first real significant data on Hobyot, have allowed us to gain a much more solid understanding of the internal classification of the MSA family.

There is a binary split within MSA, with Jibbali and Soqoṭri forming one subgroup that we can call Eastern MSA, and the remaining four languages forming a subgroup that we can call Western MSA. There are several important morphological isoglosses between Jibbali and Soqoṭri that leave no doubt that these two languages share a common ancestor within MSA. Shared innovations between Jibbali and Soqoṭri include the conditioned loss of prefixed *t*- in certain verbal forms; loss of *w* in all forms of I-*w* verbs; irregular loss of *r* in some forms of the verb ‘to say’ (root *ʿmr*); certain details in the conjugation of the auxiliaries *\*ad* and *\*ber*; and use of the preposition *\*an* ‘from; than’.<sup>26</sup>

Within Western MSA, it is clear that Ḥarsusi and Baḥari—each of which are moribund—are closely related to Mehri, as they share a number of innovative features. For example, in these three languages the Semitic active participle has developed into a future tense, while Jibbali and Hobyot have developed other means of expressing the future, and Soqoṭri has no such development.<sup>27</sup> Still the paucity of published material in Baḥari precludes making more definite conclusions about the exact relationship of these three languages.<sup>28</sup>

24 No study has been made of diachronic differences in the available Mehri material, but see the comment to text 24:6 (*ḥāftak*). For a study of this issue in Jibbali, see Rubin (2015a).

25 Lonnet (2009) is a short study of the Arabic influence on MSA. A thorough study of the Arabic influence, both past and present, on Jibbali and the other MSA languages (or of MSA influence on Arabic) has not yet been attempted. More data are needed on the Arabic dialects of the Mehri-speaking areas. Studies of Dhofari Arabic include Rhodokanakis (1911) and Davey (2016).

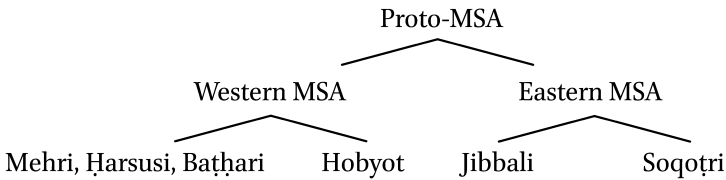
26 On the loss of *t*, see Johnstone (1968, 1980), Testen (1992), and Voigt (2006). Both Johnstone (1980) and Testen note the importance of this feature in grouping these two languages. On other shared innovations, see Rubin (2015b).

27 On this development in Mehri, see Rubin (2007).

28 Miranda Morris (p.c.) has reported that Mehri and Ḥarsusi are largely mutually intelligible,

Hobyot, on which there was almost no available data until the publication of Nakano (2013), shares some innovations with Mehri, Ḥarsusi, and Baḥari, but can be classified as a separate language within the western branch of MSA. Rubin (2015b) is a study of the classification of Hobyot.

Thus the internal classification of the MSA family can be illustrated by the following tree:



In addition to the genetic relationships among the MSA languages, there are also areal phenomena that cross genetic boundaries. For example, Omani Mehri, Jibbali, and Ḥarsusi all have a prefixed definite article *a-/ε-* (see § 4.4), while further to the west, Yemeni Mehri dialects and Hobyot have no such article. The innovation of the article in the more easterly languages—or perhaps the loss of the article in the more westerly languages—appears to be an areal phenomenon. The sound changes pertaining to the consonant *l* that we find in Omani Mehri (§ 2.1.5) have parallels in Jibbali, but not in Yemeni Mehri dialects. Another example is the pronunciation of the phoneme /g/, which is [g] in Omani Mehri, Central and Eastern Jibbali, and Ḥarsusi, but [j] or [dʒ] in Yemeni Mehri, Western Jibbali, and Hobyot.

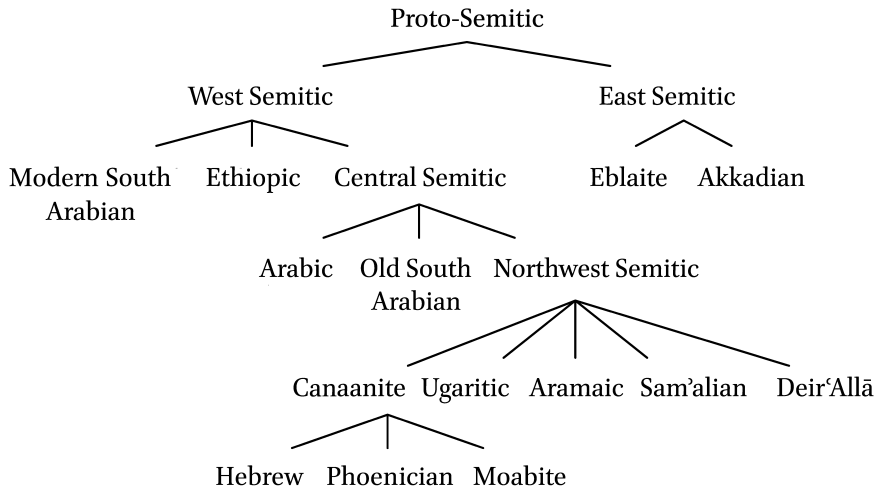
#### 1.4 The Position of MSA in Semitic

The Semitic family of languages is one of the longest attested, most widely studied, and, thanks to Arabic, most widely spoken in the world. Yet with regards to the proper subgrouping of the Semitic family, a consensus has not been reached among scholars, and probably never will be. The following figure illustrates the subgrouping of the Semitic language family as it is best understood given the facts available to date.<sup>29</sup>

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and that there is some degree of mutual intelligibility between Ḥarsusi and Baḥari. On the other hand, Mehri speakers find Baḥari quite unintelligible.

29 For discussions of the subgrouping of the Semitic languages, see Rubin (2008a), Huehnergard and Rubin (2011), and Kogan (2015).



It is probable that, like the Ethiopian subgroup, MSA is distinct from Central Semitic, since it did not participate in the innovation of the indicative *yaqtulu* form.<sup>30</sup> But there is no reason to suggest that MSA and Ethiopian stem from a single node. It is true that they share some features—most of which are also shared by Arabic and/or Old South Arabian—but these features are mainly shared retentions from Proto-Semitic or are the result of areal phenomena (e.g., the leveling of *k*-suffixes in the perfect). The most important morphological feature shared by MSA and Ethiopian to the exclusion of Arabic and OSA is the presence of the imperfective form *yaqattal*; this, however, is also a retention from Proto-Semitic (as attested by its presence in Akkadian), and is therefore of no use in classification. There are no morphological or lexical innovations that link MSA and Ethiopian Semitic.<sup>31</sup>

From the first discovery of the MSA languages in the 19th century until relatively recently, it was assumed by most scholars that the Old South Arabian languages (Sabaic, Minaic, Qatabanic, Ḥaḍramitic) must be the ancestors of the Modern South Arabian languages.<sup>32</sup> Both groups are attested in Southern Arabia; both groups preserve the three Proto-Semitic sibilants (*s*, *š*, *ś*), in con-

30 A minority of scholars, most notably David Cohen and Antoine Lonnet, have suggested that the MSA imperfective form (e.g., Mehri *yəkūtəb*) does in fact stem from *yaqtulu*, and not from the Proto-Semitic *\*yVqattVl*; cf. Cohen (1974; 1984: 68–75) and Lonnet (2005a: 187–188; 2017). See Goldenberg (1977: 475–477; 1979) for an argument against this scenario. It remains for either theory to be proven definitively.

31 See the excellent study of Kogan (2015) for a lengthy discussion of this issue.

32 Although many scholars made such a connection with accompanying doubts, it was the



trast with almost all other Semitic languages; both make broad use of internal (broken) plurals; and the languages share some lexical items (e.g., the root *ḡrb* ‘know’). But N. Nebes has shown, based on the orthography of forms made from weak verbal roots, that the OSA languages, like Arabic, possessed an imperfective of the Central Semitic type.<sup>33</sup> J. Huehnergard has since given further evidence in favor of the classification of the OSA languages as Central Semitic.<sup>34</sup>

The recognition that the OSA languages should be classified as Central Semitic has made it clear that the MSA languages cannot be derived from the OSA languages. However, even without this fact, the innovations present in OSA and lacking in MSA should have made this clear, for example, the presence of a suffixed definite article *-(h)n* in all OSA languages.

It has been suggested that Ḥaḍramitic—in some respects the most divergent of the OSA languages—may still be connected with the Modern South Arabian languages. Ḥaḍramitic is the most easterly of the OSA languages, and its homeland (the Ḥaḍramawt, in central Yemen) approaches the Mahra, the westernmost area of present-day Modern South Arabian territory. More importantly, Ḥaḍramitic exhibits some curious isoglosses with MSA, namely the contrasting initial consonants of the third person pronouns and the preposition *h-* ‘to’.<sup>35</sup> Despite these connections between Ḥaḍramitic and MSA, there are a number of features of Ḥaḍramitic that preclude it from being the ancestor of the modern languages, most importantly the merger of *s* and *ṣ*, and possibly also *z* and *ḏ*, each of which are distinct in the modern languages,<sup>36</sup> and the presence of the suffixed definite article in Ḥaḍramitic, versus the prefixed article (or complete lack of article) in Modern South Arabian. Therefore, it seems safest to say at this point only that the similarities between Ḥaḍramitic and MSA may be due to language contact, as I have suggested elsewhere (Rubin 2008a). Language contact is also probably responsible for the similarities between some MSA and OSA numerals.<sup>37</sup>

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short article of Porkhomovsky (1997) that has been most influential in disproving this assumption.

33 Nebes (1994). Nebes also provides discussion of the history of the debate.

34 Huehnergard (2005).

35 This isogloss may be misleading, since the preposition is *h-* in Mehri (and Ḥarsusi), but *her* in Jibbali (with the base *h-* used mainly before suffixes) and often also in Hobyot. In Soqoṭri the cognate is *e-*. Even if they prepositions are cognate, they may be retentions from Proto-Semitic; see Kogan (2015: 119–120, 556).

36 Beeston (1984: 68). The interdental and dental/alveolar stops have fallen together in the Yemeni Mehri dialect of Qishn and in Soqoṭri (i.e., *t* > *t* and *ḏ* > *d*), but these are internal developments.

37 For example, the MSA word for ‘one’, reflected in Mehri *tād* (probably from the common

## 1.5 Johnstone's Mehri Texts

As discussed in § 1.1, Johnstone began collecting texts in Mehri around 1969, and continued through much of the 1970s. At the time of his death in 1983, these texts remained unpublished, and his transcriptions unfinished. Nearly all his texts were first written down in Arabic script by his informant, Ali Musallam, a native speaker of Mehri who was raised in the mountains near Jibjāt (about 30 km northeast of Ṭaqah). Ali wrote with little to no punctuation, and with inconsistent spelling.<sup>38</sup> After Ali had written the texts, Johnstone then made his own rough, Roman-letter transcriptions of them. In some cases he later made a more careful written or typed version. All of his manuscripts can be considered working drafts. For most of the texts he also made audio recordings, on which see § 1.6. See Appendix B (pp. 819–821) for sample images of both the Arabic-letter and Roman-letter manuscripts.<sup>39</sup>

Harry Stroomer performed a very admirable and valuable service by publishing 106 of Johnstone's Mehri texts in 1999.<sup>40</sup> Stroomer's edition is based entirely on Johnstone's Roman-letter manuscripts. The English translations that appear in his edition are also mostly based on Johnstone's own manuscripts, and these were also just drafts. These facts are not intended as a criticism in any way. Stroomer did not claim to be a Mehri expert, and was only trying to make Johnstone's material available, which he thankfully did. The publication of these texts, and of Johnstone's Ḥarsusi texts in 2006, did a lot to jumpstart the field of MSA studies.

With the kind permission of Mrs. Bernice Johnstone, I obtained copies of Johnstone's Mehri manuscripts in 2010.<sup>41</sup> Johnstone gave numbers to most of his texts, from 1 to 103, plus 14A and 71A. Stroomer published all of these,

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Semitic root *\*ḥd/wḥd*, is found outside of MSA only in Qatabanic (*td*). Also, MSA and OSA both have the root *\*šlt* for the numeral 'three', and *\*fkh* for 'half'. See also § 9.1.1, notes 2, 4, and 20.

- 38 A sample of Mehri in Ali's system of Arabic spelling can be found in Appendix B.
- 39 Additional images of manuscript pages can be found in Stroomer (1999: xxiv–xxvi). See also Stroomer (2004), which has facsimiles of Johnstone's Ḥarsusi manuscripts.
- 40 Stroomer (1996) is a preliminary publication of the first five of Johnstone's Mehri texts, though the transcription of the texts differs from that of the 1999 edition. The earlier publication, however, includes a greater number of textual notes, nearly all of which are references to entries in *ML*.
- 41 Johnstone's papers are now held at Durham University Library Special Collections. The Mehri texts are found mainly in Box 6, Files A, B, C, and D. See further details in the introduction to § 14.

plus an additional text that he designated number 104. There exist a few more texts among the manuscripts, four of which I have given the numbers 16A, 21A, 56A, and 105.<sup>42</sup> A text that I found only in an audio version I have given the number 106. Several of the manuscripts remain unpublished, including some letters from Ali to Johnstone, which are a witness to the warm friendship between the two. Most of these unpublished texts are known only in one medium (that is, only in Arabic script, only in Roman transcription, or only on audio), which is why I have chosen not to publish them.<sup>43</sup>

This volume includes 105 texts, including four texts (16A, 56A, 105, and 106) that Stroomer did not publish. Five poetic texts published by Stroomer (21, 51, 78, 79, and 87) have not been included in this volume. The poems I have not included mainly because they are difficult to translate. There is also little in them that adds to our understanding of Mehri phonology and morphology, though they include some interesting vocabulary that is not attested in the prose material. In a handful of places in this volume I have made reference to some of these poems published by Stroomer.

The texts included in this edition are not simply corrected versions of those published by Stroomer. They are completely new editions, based on the Arabic-letter manuscripts and audio recordings made by Ali Musallam. The differences between the texts herein and those published by Stroomer—all based on the Roman-letter manuscripts—are enormous, and range from a single diacritic or letter to entire chunks of texts.<sup>44</sup>

In the commentary to the texts, I often make reference to Johnstone's Roman-letter transcriptions, but they are much less reliable than the other witnesses. The number of errors in his transcriptions is considerable, but this is not a criticism of Johnstone. When Johnstone made his transcriptions, he had not made a complete study of Mehri grammar, so it is natural that he made errors.

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42 Johnstone himself gave the first two of these the numbers 21 and 56, but those numbers are also used for other texts, and so I refer to them as 21A and 56A. 16A is appended to the end of text 16. 21A is a short poem not included in this volume. As for text 105, the manuscript has on top “M8Š2” (i.e., Mehri 8, Šħeri [Jibbali] 2), but it has nothing to do with Mehri text 8 or Jibbali text 2.

43 The major exception is a long text that is an interview between Ali Musallam and a man named Šāliḥ. This interview was recorded by Johnstone (Tape 52) and later transcribed. But because it contains much highly specialized vocabulary (relating to fishing and other practices) and because Šāliḥ spoke a different dialect of Mehri, I have not included it in this volume.

44 See Rubin (2017) for an overview of the kinds of differences that exist, and discussion of how the differences have impacted our understanding of the language.

In many of the transcriptions he included English glosses for basic words like ‘mother’, ‘son’, or ‘then’, which demonstrate that the transcriptions were made at a time when he had only a very limited command of the language. Any fieldworker naturally makes errors in his or her first attempt(s). I should also emphasize that the numerous errors in Stroomer’s edition are nearly all Johnstone’s, which Stroomer simply reproduced faithfully.<sup>45</sup>

The included texts cover a variety of genres. There are conversations, folk tales (often quite humorous, and sometimes bawdy), explanations of cultural practices, tribal histories, and biographical stories. A few of the texts are translations, either from English or from the Yemeni Mehri texts of the Austrian team. Overall, the texts are immensely interesting, both as windows into Mehri culture and as entertaining stories.

## 1.6 Johnstone’s Audio Material

For most of Johnstone’s published texts, there exist audio recordings, which were made in the 1970s. The original tape recordings now belong to the British Sound Archives (catalogue number C733), which is part of the British Library, and they have been transferred onto compact discs. In 2006, Mrs. Bernice Johnstone kindly gave me permission to receive copies of her late husband’s recordings. The tapes most relevant for the Mehri texts are 116–122, though Mehri material appears also on tapes 42, 52, and 112–113. Of the 105 texts published in this volume, I was able to consult the audio for 88 texts. The texts for which I did not find audio recordings are 7–11, 43, 78, 86, and 94–96, 98–102, and 104. Only a small part of text 97 has audio, and a few other texts have some lines missing. I suspect that audio exists for at least some of these missing texts, but I have yet to find it. One text published herein (106) is attested only on audio.

The recordings of the Mehri texts are, with a few exceptions, not recordings of natural speech, but rather of Ali Musallam reading from the manuscript that he wrote. Text 106 is the one text in this collection that was recorded at natural speed. Ali often struggled to read his own language; he stumbles, pauses, and corrects himself often on the recordings. Sometimes the recording differs slightly from the manuscript. Some of these differences are obvious mistakes, like a missed or misread word, while others are alternative forms, like a plural pronoun used instead of a dual one. Such differences are noted in

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45 Rubin (2017) lists most of the major errors.

the text commentary. The audio was an invaluable resource in preparing this edition of Ali's manuscript texts.

## 1.7 This Grammar

The grammar described in this book is based primarily upon the texts that are included in Chapter 14, on which see further in §1.5 and §1.6. It is a heavily revised, updated, and expanded version of my 2010 grammar. Topics in phonology, morphology, and syntax are covered. With regard to morphology, all of the basic topics are covered, though any treatment can never really be considered complete, especially in a case such as Mehri, with so much dialectal variety. Mehri verbal morphology is quite complex, due to the large number of “weak” root consonants that have resulted in various phonetic changes, and there simply are not enough verbal forms attested in the texts to provide complete paradigms for most verb types. In my treatment of the verbal system, I have devoted a lot of space to discussing the derived stems and the use of the tenses, and I discuss the most salient features of the various weak verb types. Although my treatment is extensive, it is necessarily incomplete. A complete list of paradigms, for all stems and root types, would run to hundreds of pages.

In my description of Mehri syntax, there are certainly areas in which more could have been said, but I have chosen to focus on those features which are most remarkable or most practical for reading the texts. Each feature described is well illustrated with examples from the texts. An index of these textual examples is included at the end of this volume.

I have restricted myself in this book to the Omani Mehri of Johnstone's texts, to the exclusion of other published Mehri material. Johnstone's texts reflect a dialect that is different from the dialects of the other available text corpora (i.e., the large corpus of material collected by the Austrian team at the turn of the 20th century, and the texts collected by Sima), with the exception of a few texts published by Watson (2012). It seemed wiser and clearer to describe well one type of Mehri, rather than attempt to describe multiple dialects simultaneously. Moreover, not only do the different available corpora reflect different geographic dialects, but they also come from different eras. To compare our Omani texts from the 1970s with, say, Müller's texts from around 1899, with Sima's texts from around 2000, is complicated also by diachronic changes. And some published data on Omani Mehri (namely, that of Thomas 1937), though very interesting and important, are not very sound in terms of their linguistic method. Still, reference will be made on occasion to other dialects of Mehri, especially from the recent Omani data provided in Watson

(2012). I also sometimes have made reference to one or more of the other MSA languages, in order to point out a noteworthy difference or similarity, or to illuminate a difficult lexical item.

My philosophy in compiling this grammar was essentially to deduce as much as possible directly from the texts, without the interference of previous descriptions of Mehri. Of course, previous works were invaluable in their help, but, as much as possible, I consulted these only after forming my own initial theories. To this end, Johnstone made the following remark, in an unpublished manuscript:

I have not been preoccupied in the course of my own field work to run down errors in the work of my predecessors, since I have found it on the whole easier not to study their publications too closely. Certain of the wrong ideas I did acquire from them did mislead me seriously, and these of course stick in my mind.<sup>46</sup>

Johnstone was referring to the works of the Austrian expedition. Of course, I have many more predecessors than Johnstone did, authors of the far more reliable material of the last three decades (including that of Johnstone himself). Still, in compiling my 2010 grammar, I was wary of having too many presuppositions based on earlier publications, preferring to reach my own conclusions. In preparing this new grammar, many of the improvements are due to the excellent work of my colleagues over the last five or so years. The studies on phonology and morphology by Sabrina Bendjaballah and Philippe Ségéral (e.g., 2014a, 2017a), and Julien Dufour (2016), as well as their personal communications with me, have been invaluable. Janet Watson's 2012 grammar has also been a wonderful resource. Still, I have tried to extract as much information as possible from the evidence available in the texts.

The Mehri language (like Jibbali), has changed over the last forty years, along with the entire country of Oman. Arabic influence on the language has been extensive, and younger speakers can hardly speak a sentence, or so it seems, without including numerous Arabic words and phrases. Younger speakers recognize that their language is not the same as that of their parents and grandparents. Knowing full well that the language as it appears in Johnstone's forty-year-old texts—all of which were carefully written out, and not just spoken spontaneously—does not fully reflect the language as spoken today, and know-

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46 This manuscript, entitled "The reliability of the SAE [= Südarabische Expedition] publications on the MSA languages", is in the possession of Antoine Lonnet, who kindly allowed me to borrow it for study.

ing that there is quite a bit of variation among today's many speakers, I still have chosen to use these texts as the basis for my grammar. When writing a grammar of any language, one cannot take into account all variations; that would be an impossible task. Although nearly all of the rules outlined in this grammar are based on the language of a single informant (Ali Musallam), I have found that these rules work just as well for the language of other informants, and that the data closely match what has been found by other researchers. Where there are differences, I have noted them where appropriate.

Writing a grammar of an unwritten, unstandardized language presents its own challenges. In such a situation, there is usually greater variation among speakers, and, moreover, it is not always clear which forms to single out as ideal. For example, if I were writing a grammar of English, I would not list *ənə* as a marker of the future tense. Nevertheless, I use this form regularly in my own native American English dialect, as in *I'm ənə go home* or *he's ənə call me later* (*ənə* < *gonna* < *going to*). I might include the form *gonna* in my grammar, but certainly not *ənə*, even though this is a widely used surface realization of the underlying phrase *going to*. In a language without a standardized writing tradition, like Mehri, it is not always clear where to draw the line for such lexemes or morphemes. Of course, more reduced forms are typical of fast speech, while more conservative forms are more typical of very careful speech or writing. It is precisely because the language of most of Johnstone's texts reflect more careful speech or writing that I feel justified in choosing to use these as the basis for the grammar. It seems more reasonable to start a description with more conservative forms, and add to these observations on the changes that take place in fast speech. The same point applies to the fact that Johnstone's texts reflect a slightly older stage of the language—conservative grammatically, as well as phonetically.

It also seems to me that many of the readers of this volume will be most interested in Mehri for its importance to comparative Semitic studies, and so for this reason as well it makes good sense to base the grammar on Johnstone's texts. Those who are interested only in contemporary Mehri, or in modern Arabic interference in Mehri, will still find much of use in this book.

Ideally, a grammar of Mehri would be constructed on the basis of my having lived for six months or more in some Mehri-speaking town, hearing and speaking the language on a daily basis, and interacting with male and female speakers of all ages. None of my efforts described above can totally compensate for not having studied the language in its native environment. However, I believe that this grammar has succeeded in describing the essential structures of the language. Still, I have no doubt that there is more out there to describe, or that some of the suggestions in the book may be subject to revision.

# Phonology

## 2.1 Mehri Consonants

The following table illustrates the phonemic inventory of Omani Mehri:

	Labial	Labiodental	Interdental	Dental/Alveolar	Lateral	Palato-Alveolar	Velar	Pharyngeal	Glottal
<b>Stops</b>									
voiceless				<i>t</i>			<i>k</i>		(ʔ)
voiced	<i>b</i>			<i>d</i>			<i>g</i>		
glottalic				<i>t̥</i>			<i>k̥</i>		
<b>Fricatives</b>									
voiceless		<i>f</i>	<i>t̪</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>ʂ</i>	<i>x</i>	<i>ħ</i>	<i>h</i>
voiced			<i>ð</i>	<i>z</i>	<i>l</i>	( <i>j</i> )	<i>ɣ</i>	ʕ	
glottalic			<i>ð̥</i>	<i>s̥</i>	<i>ʃ̥</i>	<i>ʂ̥</i>			
<b>Nasal</b>									
	<i>m</i>			<i>n</i>					
<b>Trill</b>									
				<i>r</i>					
<b>Approximant</b>									
	<i>w</i>					<i>y</i>			

Notes:

- The historical consonant ʔ is lost. See below, § 2.1.3 and § 2.2.4.
- In Yemeni dialects, *g* is realized as a palatal [j] or [dʒ].
- The phoneme *l* is lost or becomes *w* in some environments. See below, § 2.1.5.



- The consonant *j* ([ʒ] or [dʒ]) occurs only in loanwords. In the texts, it is found in the word *janbáyyat* ‘dagger’ (from Arabic *janbíyyat*-), but *ganbáyyat* is also found (cf. 34:11 and 34:12).
- The pronunciation of the fricative *ǰ* can be velar (IPA [ɣ]) or uvular (IPA [ʁ]). It can also be pronounced as a glottalic fricative [xʼ] (Dufour 2016: 23). This explains why Ali Musallam sometimes confuses *ǰ* and *ǧ* in his spelling.
- The consonant ʿ is lost in most environments, unlike in Yemeni dialects. See below, § 2.1.3.
- Johnstone described the phoneme *ǰ* as voiced, rather than glottalic, but it behaves like the other glottalic consonants. See below, § 2.2.1.
- The phoneme *š* is very rare. It only occurs in four words in the texts: *šōbā* ‘fingers’, *mānšābēt* ‘bow’, *šānāyf* ‘corner’, and the verb *ǧāšāwl* ‘snap’. In at least some Yemeni dialects this phoneme is an affricate, and is thus transcribed *č* in some publications (e.g., Sima 2009).

The MSA phoneme \*š (cognate with Arabic *s*) became *h* in Mehri in most environments. As a consequence, the phoneme *š* in Mehri is rather rare. Morphological *š* derives from different historical sources. The 2fs suffixed pronoun *-š* comes from \**ki*,<sup>1</sup> while the verbal prefix *š-* (§ 6.4) comes from \**st-* (the Semitic Ct- or Št-Stem). Lexical *š* often occurs in loanwords (e.g., *kšūf* ‘uncover, expose’ < Arabic *kašafa*; *ašrāyn* ‘twenty’ < Arabic), but in at least one noun it is derived from a historical \**k* (*šābdūt* ‘liver’, from the Semitic root *kbd*). In some environments the sound change *š* > *h* appears to have been blocked due to phonological reasons, such as the presence of another guttural (e.g., *āšūm* ‘cut off’, root *šm*).<sup>2</sup>

### 2.1.1 Glottalic Consonants

The consonants *ǰ*, *ǧ*, *š*, *š*, *š*, and *š* are glottalic. Another term used for such consonants is “ejective”. Semitists often refer to these consonants as “emphatic”, a term which is rather vague. In Arabic, these “emphatic” consonants are pharyngealized, while in the Ethiopian Semitic languages they are glottalic. Johnstone was the first scholar to make it widely known these consonants were in fact glottalics in Mehri (and in the other MSA languages), and his first announcement of this fact in 1970 (published as Johnstone 1975b) was significant in the field of Semitics.

1 Cf. also the allomorph *š-* of the preposition *k-* ‘with’ (§ 8.11).

2 Cf. also the roots \**ks*, *xšl*, and *xšy*. This is not to say that the presence of another guttural always blocks this shift. Cf. *mehh* ‘clarified butter’ < \**mahh* < \**mašh* (Jibbali *mašh*).

The above having been said, the glottalic articulation of the “glottalic” consonants is not always present. Their consistent articulation as glottalics is not quite as evident as, say, in Amharic. Johnstone (1975a: 6) makes two important points:

1. Aspiration of most of the voiceless, non-glottalic consonants constitutes an important element in the distinction of glottalic/non-glottalic pairs.
2. The degree of glottalization can vary in strength, depending on a number of factors, such as whether a consonant is initial, medial, or final, and the effect of contiguous consonants.

Johnstone also writes that it is not completely clear how the glottalic consonants fit into the categories of voiced and voiceless, and that “perhaps best defined as partially voiced” (1975a: 7). What is certain is that the glottalics pair with voiced consonants when it comes to certain morphological features, such as the appearance of the definite article (§ 4.4) and the prefixes of the D/L-Stem (§ 6.2) and H-Stem (§ 6.3). The glottalics also pair with voiced consonants when it comes to certain sound changes (see § 2.1.2), but with guttural consonants (voiced or voiceless) when it comes to others (see § 2.2.1).

Watson (2012: 12–16) claimed that all of the emphatic consonants except *k* normally have a pharyngeal realization, rather than a glottalic one, though she also recognized glottalic *ʂ* and *ʧ* in some environments. See also the studies of Watson and Bellem (2010, 2011). The later study of Watson and Heselwood (2016) describes the situation a bit differently. They maintain that the Mehri emphatics are all glottalics with voiced allophones, and they show how the emphatics, like the voiced consonants (but unlike the voiceless ones) are unaspirated. Ridouane, Gendrot, and Khatiwada (2015) and Ridouane and Gendrot (2017) also provide solid evidence for a glottalic pronunciation. All these researchers acknowledge that there is some variation among speakers as to the pronunciation of these consonants.

It should be mentioned that the consonants *ʃ*, *ʂ*, and *ʧ* are transcribed by some scholars as *ʃ̣*, *ʂ̣*, and *ʧ̣* (or *ʂ̣̣*), respectively. The symbols *ʂ̣* or *ʧ̣* for *ʂ* (used by Johnstone and in both *MLO* and *JLO*) do not make it clear that this phoneme is the glottalic counterpart of *ʂ*. Johnstone believed this phoneme to be the *voiced* counterpart of *ʂ*, rather than a glottalic, which explains his use of *ʂ̣* in *ML*. The consonant *ʃ̣* does seem to be voiced in Omani Mehri. As noted above, *ʧ̣* in place of *ʂ̣* stems from the fact that this phoneme can be realized as an affricate in some dialects. Also note that some scholars prefer to transcribe the glottalics with a following apostrophe or accent mark rather than a dot below, e.g., *k'* and *s'* for *ḳ* and *ʂ̣*. The former follows IPA conventions, while the latter is traditional in the field of Semitics.

### 2.1.2 “Idle Glottis” Consonants

In several respects, the voiceless, non-glottalic consonants *f*, *t̥*, *t*, *s*, *š*, *ś*, *k*, *x*, *ħ*, and *h*—what Bendjaballah and Ségéral (2014a) have termed “idle glottis” consonants—behave differently than the voiced and glottalic consonants.

Unstressed phonemic *ə* does not occur between two idle glottis consonants.<sup>3</sup> This has an effect on various morphological patterns. For example, the Ga-Stem 3ms perfect pattern *CəCūC* becomes *CCūC* when the first two consonants are idle glottis (e.g., *ǧərūb* ‘he knew’, but *ktūb* ‘he wrote’).

Lack of *ə* between two idle glottis consonants also has an effect on syllable structure, which in turn has an effect on vowels. Cf. *aǧáyǧəs* ‘her husband’ (< \**aǧáyǧ*+*əs*) vs. *abáts* ‘her house’ (< \**abáyt*+*s*). The presence of *ə* in *aǧáyǧəs* means that the diphthong *ay* is in an open syllable, but the lack of *ə* in \**abáyt-s* means that *ay* is in a doubly-closed syllable, and so is reduced to *á*. (The diphthong *ay* is only allowed in a stressed open syllable or a stressed, singly-closed final syllable; see §2.2.) For an example with the feminine forms of adjectives, see §5.2, n. 8. For more significant effects pertaining to the verbal system, see §7.2.12.

The following additional points can be made:

- Clusters of two or three idle glottis consonants are allowed in syllable-initial or syllable-final position, e.g., *kšfīs* ‘he uncovered her’ (24:9), *ftkūt* ‘she left’ (48:9), and *watxf* ‘he came’ (31:1). Sometimes an epenthetic (non-phonemic) *ə* may intervene to break up a cluster of three, e.g., *wátxəf* (31:9) and *təsháyət* ‘you will be killed’ (24:39).
- The definite article *a-* does not appear before an idle glottis consonant (except before a cluster of two idle glottis consonants). See §4.4 for details.
- The characteristic prefix *a-* of the D/L- and Q-Stems, and the prefix *h-* of the H-Stem do not appear before an idle glottis consonant. See §6.2, §6.3, and §6.6.1 for details.

An exception to the rule is found with certain verb forms. 3mp perfects and 2/3mp imperfect and subjunctive forms that do not have a suffixed *-əm* have an underlying final *-ə* (< \**-u*), which is evident by the fact that these verbs do not show vowel reduction when an object suffix is added (§7.1.1 and §7.1.2). For example, a form like *wəzáwmhəm* ‘they gave them’ (35:2) must be from \**wəzáwmə-həm*; if the underlying form were \*\**wəzáwm-həm*, then we would expect a surface form \*\**wəzámhəm*. The lack of vowel reduction applies even when the underlying *ə* should not be present between two idle glottis conso-

3 This rule applies across the MSA languages.

nants. So we find 3mp perfect *škalītəh* ‘they heard the story from him’ (92:6), not *\*škaláth*, and 3mp imperfect *yaxlǝfk* ‘they will replace you’ (76:5), not *\*yaxlǝfk*.

For a more extensive discussion of these idle glottis consonants, see the seminal article by Bendjaballah and Ségéral (2014a). See also § 7.2.12 for many more examples from within the verbal system.

### 2.1.3 *The Consonants’ and ‘*

The consonant ʿ is lost in most environments in Omani Mehri. It is regularly retained (outside of some Arabisms) only in three environments:

1. When followed by stressed *á* in a closed syllable, e.g., *ʿamləm* ‘they did’ (cf. *áyməl* ‘he did’), *ʿáss* ‘he got up’ (cf. *ássút* ‘she got up’), and *fəʿmke* ‘your feet’ (24:28; cf. *fawm* ‘feet’ < *\*fəʿum* or *\*fəʿawm*).
2. When followed by the diphthong *ay* in an initial syllable (stressed or unstressed), in a stressed, open syllable, or in a stressed, final (open or closed) syllable,<sup>4</sup> e.g., *ʿaysē* ‘dinner’, *ʿaynət* ‘a little’, *ʿaymər* ‘singer’, *ʿayliḡ* ‘young camel’, *bəʿayli* ‘owners of’,<sup>5</sup> *bəʿayr* ‘male camel’, and *kaʿalʿay* ‘he let me’. The major exceptions to this are monosyllabic nouns of the shape *CVC*, e.g., *ayn* ‘eye’, *ayd* ‘sardines’, and *ayb* ‘disgrace’ (including derived forms like *aynəh* ‘his eye’). When unstressed, initial *ʿay* is hard to distinguish from *ay* on the audio, but Ali regularly spelled such words with *ɣ* in his manuscripts. When the definite article is added to a word beginning with unstressed *ʿay*-, the sequence *aʿay*- (both vowels unstressed) is normally realized *aʿi*-, e.g., *aʿisēk* ‘your dinner’. Again the ʿ is often hard to hear, though it is regularly written in the Arabic-letter manuscripts.<sup>6</sup>
3. In the sequence *Vʿy*, which we find in D/L-Stem forms of I-ʿ, II-y verbs (§ 6.2.1; § 7.2.2; § 7.2.7), e.g., *aʿyit* ‘he cried out’ and *aʿyis* ‘he kept alive’; in some forms of I-ʿ, II-y verbs and II-ʿ, III-w/y verbs, e.g., *yaʿyənəh* ‘he may look at him with the evil eye’ (22:3); and in a very few nouns, e.g., *baʿyōr* ‘male camels’, *wəʿyōl* ‘ibexes’, and *kəʿyōt* ‘female spirit’.<sup>7</sup>

4 This refers only to an original *ay*. A diphthong *ay* that arises from the shift of *i* > *ay* after ʿ (§ 2.2.2) does not count. Examples are *kaʿalʿay* ‘he cut me’ (75:18), but *kaʿalʿays* ‘he cut her’ (75:18, < *\*kaʿalʿis*); 3ms Gb-Stem perfects of I-ʿ verbs, e.g., *áyməl* ‘he did’ (< *\*iməl*) and *áyḡəb* ‘he loved’ (< *\*igəb*); and the numeral *áysər* ‘ten (days)’ (< *\*isər*; see § 9.2).

5 The pronunciation of *bəʿayli* tends towards *bəʿeli*. On *ayliḡ*, see the comment to text 102:11.

6 On the other hand, the exceptional cases where we do not find ʿ before stressed *ay* (like *áyḡəb* ‘he loved’ and *ayn* ‘eye’) are regularly spelled by Ali with | (without *ɣ*).

7 Where *Vʿy* comes from *Vʿay*, we normally find *ā*, e.g., *āyénthe* ‘his eyes’ < *\*a-ʿayénthe* (77:1).

In other environments, ʿ is lost, e.g., *ōśar* ‘ten’ (< \**ōśar*) and *ād* ‘still, yet’ (< \**ād*). The sequences ʾ, ʿ, and ʿ become *ā*, e.g., *āmūr* ‘he said’ (< \**āmūr*). In medial position, when ʿ is lost between vowels, the vowels merge, e.g., *šāk* ‘he called’ < \**šāʿāk*. The sequence *əʿ* also becomes *ā*, e.g., *hāsūs* ‘he roused’ (< \**həsūs*), but word-final *-əʿ* becomes *-a* (sometimes phonetically *-əʿ* or *-aʿ*), e.g., *nūka* ‘he came’ (< \**nūkəʿ*). Word-final *-ēʿ* and *-āʿ* become *-ē* and *-ā*, respectively, which are pronounced *-éʿ* and *-áʿ* unless suffixes are added, e.g., 3ms subjunctive *yānkéʿ* ‘he comes’ (< \**yānkéʿ*), but *yānkēh* ‘he comes to him’ (< \**yānkēʿh*); see also § 2.2.4. The sequence *áʿ* also becomes *ē*, as in *yāhērās* ‘he may marry’ (< \**yāhárās*).

Where ʿ is lost, it remains present in the underlying phonological form. So, for example, the underlying ʿ causes diphthongization in the form *áygab* ‘he loved’ (< \**īgāb*), even though it is lost in pronunciation. Likewise, we find *nákak* ‘I came’ < \**nōkək*; if the ʿ were not present in the underlying form, we would not see reduction of *ō* > *á* in the closed syllable. On the other hand, the underlying ʿ is not relevant for the sound rule *CVIC* > *CēC* (see § 2.1.5). Hence we find 3fs subjunctive *thálab* ‘she may over-milk’ (< \**tháləb*), with no loss of *l*.

When the definite article *a-* (§ 4.4) is added to a word in which an initial ʿ has been lost, the article either merges with the following vowel, or is pronounced with a hiatus, e.g., *āśar* or *aáśar* ‘the night’.

The etymological glottal stop ʾ has been lost everywhere. But while the loss of ʿ is a recent phenomenon, loss of ʾ must be older. Compare the following two columns of words:

*fēm* ‘leg’ < \**faʿm*

*šāk* ‘he called’ < \**šaʿák*

*rōh* ‘head’ < \**raʿh*

*sōl* ‘demand payment of a debt’ < \**saʿál*

The sequence *aʿ(a)* must have first become *ā*. The fact that *aʿ(a)* became *ō*, as in *rōh* and *sōl*, but *aʿ(a)* became *ē* or *ā* (the latter after a guttural or glottalic), as in *fēm* and *šāk*, shows that the shift of \**ā* > *ō* happened before the loss of ʿ, and that when *aʿ(a)* became *ā*, the shift of \**ā* > *ō* was no longer operative. That is to say, we can posit a relative chronology for the following sound changes:

1. \**aʿ(a)* > \**ā* (e.g., \**sáʿal* > \**sāl*)
2. \**ā* > *ō* (e.g., \**sāl* > *sōl*)

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However, while Ali normally spelled forms of ‘eyes’ with the Arabic letter *l*, he once wrote it with *ع* (42:27; but with *l* in 42:28).

3. \*a'(a) > ē or ā (e.g., \*ša'ák > šāk) (cf. also the examples of \*'ə > ā and \*'ə > ā, given above)

We may hear initial ' used before a word-initial vowel, but this is not phonemic. And ' used in final position either stems from a historical ' (see above and § 2.2.4), or is simply a phonetic variant of a word-final vowel.

For more on historical ' and ' as root consonants in the verbal system, see § 7.2.2, § 7.2.6, and § 7.2.9.

In *ML*, the consonants ' and ' are often confused, and one should always be aware of this fact when using that dictionary.

#### 2.1.4 The Non-occurrence and Assimilation of h-

The morpheme *h* assimilates to a following *h* or *ħ*. That is,

$$hC > CC \text{ (} C = h, \text{ħ)}$$

One common word affected by this rule is the preposition *h-* 'to; for' (§ 8.8). In most cases, the initial geminate *h* or *ħ* is simplified. As a result, there are many places where we expect the preposition *h-* before an indirect object, but it is not noticeably (to the naked ear) present. Such are:

*amətwē habēr* 'pasturage for the camels' (13:8)  
*hēsən* 'why?' (27:2) (lit. 'for what?'; see § 11.2)  
*nəħōm nəħlēb ħənfáyyan* 'let's milk for ourselves' (35:20)  
*āmūr ħāmáh* 'he said to his mother' (42:3)  
*āmūr hēxər ħəbráh* 'the old man said to his son' (83:2)  
*āmárk ħərbātye* 'I said to my companions' (91:4)  
*šĥāt ħəmátəh* 'he slaughtered for his sister-in-law' (94:48)

Sometimes the geminate resulting from the assimilation is clearly audible, as in:<sup>8</sup>

*āmūr əħ-ħəbráh* 'he said to his son' (48:15)

Individual words can also be affected by this rule, e.g., *məħħ* 'clarified butter' < \**mahħ* < \**mašħ* (Jibbali *mašħ*). There are also exceptions in the texts,

8 Watson (2012: 18) usually recorded a geminate, e.g., *əħ-ħənōfi* 'to myself', while Johnstone's texts have just *ħənōfi*. See § 3.6 for examples.

namely, *h-hōkam* (20:51; but see the comment to that text), *h-həwōdi* (70:7), and *h-hāywəl* (91:11).<sup>9</sup>

This rule is also commonly met in forms of H-Stem verbs. In the H-Stem perfect and imperfect, the element *h* that is so characteristic of the stem assimilates to a following voiceless, non-glottalic consonant. That is,

$$hC_1C_2\bar{u}C_3 > C_1C_1(\partial)C_2\bar{u}C_3 \quad (C_1 = \text{voiceless, non-glottalic})$$

$$y\partial hC_1C_2\bar{u}C_3 > y\partial C_1C_1(\partial)C_2\bar{u}C_3 \quad (C_1 = \text{voiceless, non-glottalic})$$

In the perfect, this results in an initial geminate that often surfaces as a simple consonant. So, for example, the 3ms perfect *ffəlūt* ‘he fled’ is often pronounced *fəlūt*. The geminate is normally heard when non-initial, as in *wə-ffəlūt* ‘and he fled’. See further in § 6.3, as well as Bendjaballah and Ségéral (2014a; 2017a).

### 2.1.5 The Loss of l

In Omani Mehri, the consonant *l* is subject to phonetic change when it occurs in the environment *CV\_\_C*, whether or not the following consonant is part of the same syllable. When *l* is preceded by a stressed short vowel in a closed syllable, the sequence *Vl* becomes  $\bar{\varepsilon}$  ( $\bar{a}$  after a guttural or glottalic). That is to say:

$$C\acute{V}lC > C\bar{\varepsilon}C \text{ or } C\bar{a}C \quad (V = \acute{a} \text{ or } \acute{a})$$

We can see this sound change, for example, in nouns that have the pattern *CVCC*:

- ēf* ‘thousand’ (< \**alf*)
- gēd* ‘skin’ (< \**gald*)
- ḥām* ‘dream’ (< \**ḥalm*)
- kēt* ‘speech’ (< \**kalt*)
- kāb* ‘mind; heart’ (< \**kalb*)

We also find the change in the phrase *kā-tāt* ‘each one’, which is a variant of *kāl tāṭ* (§ 3.5.3). An exception to the rule is the word *kawb* ‘dog, wolf’ (< \**kalb*), which has an unexpected *aw*. However, the shift of *l* > *w* in this word actually

9 In Stroomer’s edition of the texts, we also find *h-hāgərīt* (68:14), but this reflects an error in Johnstone’s transcription. The texts of the Austrian expedition are more inconsistent with the transcription of *h*- before *h* or *ḥ*, and this has caused some occasional confusion among subsequent scholars. See the brief discussion in Bittner (1913b: 51–52).

pre-dates the Omani Mehri sound change, since it is found also in Yemeni Mehri dialects, Ḥarsusi *kawb/kōb*, Jibbali *kɔb*, and Hobyot *kōb* (HV, p. 213).

In the plural forms of the Mehri words listed above, the *l* is not subject to the sound rule, so we see, e.g., *yālēf* ‘thousands’, *ḥaláwm* ‘dreams’, and *kālōb* ‘dogs, wolves’.

When preceded by an unstressed vowel, *l* in a closed syllable is realized as *w*, that is:

$CVlC > CVwC$  ( $V = ə$  or  $a$ )

We find this change, for example, in marked feminine nouns of the pattern  $CVCC\bar{V}t$ , as in:

*ḥəwḳāt* ‘ring’ (< \**ḥəlḳāt*)  
*kəwtēt* ‘story’ (< \**kəlṭēt*)  
*ḳəwsēt* ‘button’ (< \**ḳəlsēt*)  
*məwkēt* ‘possession of a woman in marriage’ (< \**malkēt*)  
*xəwfīt* ‘window’ (< \**xəlfīt*)  
*xəwḳāt* ‘mole (on skin)’ (< \**xəlḳāt*)

As with the previous set of nouns, the *l* is present in the plural forms, e.g., *kəlābtən* ‘female dogs’ and *xəlōyaf* ‘windows’. The loss of *l* can also be seen in a few nouns of other patterns, for example, *məwsē* ‘rain’ (root *lsw*), *məsəwmūt* ‘sacrificed animal’ (root *slm*), and *səwsəlēt* ‘chain’ (root *slsl*). Also, even when a noun does not normally meet the conditions for loss of *l*, it may do so when a suffix is added, e.g., *ḳəbáylət* ‘tribe’, but *aḳəbētkəm* ‘your tribe’ (38:16, < \**aḳəbáltkəm*).

When the syllable *lə-* occurs word initially—as with other syllables of the shape *Cə-* whose initial consonant is a liquid or nasal (§ 2.2.3)—it is often realized *əl-*. Consequently, the initial sequence *əl-* often shifts to *əw-*. This affects a small number of nouns and adjectives, like *əwbədēt* ‘noise’ (< \**ləbdēt*) and *əwbōn* ‘white’ (< \**ləbōn*). The preposition *l-* (§ 8.12) and the prefix *l-* of the 1cs subjunctive (§ 7.1.3) are not affected, however.

These sound changes are most commonly met in verbs that have *l* as a root consonant. From verbs whose first root consonant is *l*, we find the alternation of *l* and *w* or *ē/ā* throughout the paradigms of most stems, for example:

*əwbūd* ‘he hit, shot’ (< \**ləbūd*, cf. *yəlūbəd* ‘he hits, shoots’)  
*yəwbōs* ‘he wears’ (< \**yəlbōs*, cf. *libəs* ‘he wore’)  
*ḥəwbūs* ‘he dressed (s.o.)’ (< \**ḥəlbūs*, cf. *libəs* ‘he wore’)



*əwtēġ* ‘he was killed’ (< \**əltēġ* < \**lətēġ*, cf. *lūtəġ* ‘he killed’)  
*wətgōna* ‘will kill (ms)’ (< *əwtgōna* < \**əltgōna* < \**lətgōna*)<sup>10</sup>

From verbs whose second root consonant is *l*, we find forms like:

*hēmək* ‘I dreamt’ (< \**həlmək*, cf. *həyləm* ‘he dreamt’)  
*ġəwḳáwt* ‘she looked’ (< \**ġəlkáwt*, cf. *ġəlūk* ‘he looked’)  
*kəwṭūt* ‘she told’ (< \**kəltūt*, cf. *kəlūt* ‘he told’)  
*həwbōh* ‘they (two) milked’ (< \**həlbōh*, cf. *həlūb* ‘he milked’)  
*təġáġəm* ‘you (mp) look’ (< \**təġáġəm*, cf. *yəġáwləġ* ‘he looks’)  
*yəkētəm* ‘they tell’ (< *yəkəltəm*, cf. *yəkūlət* ‘he tells’)  
*tšəġəsən* ‘she argues with’ (< \**tšəġálsən*, cf. *šəġēlas* ‘he argued with’)  
*səwbōna* ‘will wait (ms)’ (< \**səlbōna*, cf. *səlab* ‘he waited’)

And from verbs whose final root consonant is *l*, we find forms like:

*əhtəwēk* ‘I went crazy’ (< \**əhtəwálk*, cf. *əhtəwūl* ‘he went crazy’)  
*šxəwlēk* ‘I sat’ (< \**šxəwlálk*, cf. *šxəwlūl* ‘he sat’)  
*sələs* ‘take it!’ (< \**sələlés*, cf. *sələléli* ‘take me!’)

The loss of *l* and shift of *l* > *w* is blocked before some guttural consonants (at least *h*, ‘, and *h*), as in *šalh* ‘truce’, *əlhāk* ‘he caught up’, *həlháwḳ* ‘he rounded up’, *ḳəl’áy* ‘he let me’, and *əlhē* ‘it bleated’. The form *təwēhe* ‘to him’ has the variants *təwáhlhe* and *təwélhe* (see § 8.23). Loss of *l* is also blocked before *y* and *w*, as in *səlyēba* ‘will wait (mp)’, *təwélye* ‘to me’, *alwīm* ‘he expected’, and *ġábwək* ‘I got ill’, and when *l* is followed by another *l*, as in *dəllōna* ‘will guide (ms)’ and *dəllək* ‘I guided’. There is also a tendency to preserve *l* before the glottalic *t*, as in *yəltōf* ‘he was kind’ (15:10), *wə-ltəmátəh* ‘and she slapped him’ (48:11), and the noun *səltān* ‘ruler, sultan’ (e.g., 68:6), though these words are all probably Arabic loans. There is also some variation; cf. *ðə-wtəmūk* ‘the one who slapped you’ (47:4, < \**ðə-ltəmūk*), from a verb which also may be a borrowing (cf. Arabic *laṭama* ‘slap’). I-l verbs show no changes in the T1-Stem, e.g., *yəltáyw* ‘it may wrap’ (49:11) and *əlttəġōh* ‘they killed each other’ (4:17).

10 As noted above, initial *lə-* (like *rə-* and *nə-*) is usually realized *əl-*, which is why we see the shift *əl-* > *əw-* in these last two examples. Then we see the shift *əwCC-* > *wəCC-* in *wətgōna* in order to break up the consonant cluster. See also § 2.2.3.

### 2.1.6 *The Loss of t*

The prefix *t-*, which is used with the third-person feminine and all second-person forms of the imperfect, subjunctive, and conditional, is often lost in pronunciation when it occurs before *t*, *ʃ*, *s*, *ʂ*, *ś*, *š*, or *ṣ̌*. In such cases in the texts, I have transcribed the underlying prefix in parentheses. Examples are:

- (*t*)*təhš* (49:15)  
 (*t*)*tákkən* (64:6) (< \**t-ttákkən*)  
 (*t*)*ʔaym* (35:5)  
 (*t*)*tōm* (75:22)  
 (*t*)*sbēt* (89:13)  
 (*t*)*syūr* (44:9)  
 (*t*)*šábrən* (27:23)  
 (*t*)*šāri* (54:19)  
 (*t*)*šəlūlən* (68:9)  
 (*t*)*šéməh* (3:12)  
 (*t*)*šhōk* (36:25)  
 (*t*)*šáti* (89:31)  
 (*t*)*šhəgəs* (22:32)  
 (*t*)*šákfi* (85:34)

When not word initial (e.g., after the conjunction *wə-*) the loss of *t* may cause gemination of the following consonant; see the comment to text 68:9.

It is less common to find the prefix *t-* preserved before the above consonants. Examples of *t-* preserved before *s*, *ʂ*, *ś*, *š* in the texts are:

- tslébi* (76:18)  
*tsāmi* (83:5)  
*tsmēhəm* (24:41)  
*təšábrən* (58:9)  
*tšléli* (85:24)  
*tšéməh* (85:28) (cf. 3:12 above)  
*tšákfi* (85:29) (cf. 85:34 above)  
*əttwéhi* (75:6)

The prefix *t-* before another *t* results in an initial geminate *t* that often simplified, as in the first two examples in this section. But the geminate can also be preserved, pronounced with or without an epenthetic initial schwa. So for example, we find (*t*)*tīyən* (15:17; 35:12), with only a simple *t* pronounced, but also *əttīyən* (15:18) (< \**ttīyən*). When there is a prefixed conjunction, the gem-

inate is preserved, as in *wə-ttéhəh* (15:6). When preserved before *t*, we find an initial epenthetic schwa, as in *əttwéhi* (75:6).

As a general rule, when the prefix *t-* is absent from the audio, it is also absent from Ali's Arabic-letter manuscript. And when it is heard on the audio, it is usually present in the manuscript. This is true for all of the above examples. Since Ali read the manuscripts for the audio recordings, his spelling evidently influenced his pronunciations. However, there are also times when Ali wrote the prefix *t-* in the manuscript, but it is not heard on the audio, e.g., *(t)šnéš* (48:7) and *(t)syērəm* (89:12).

It should be added that the Mehri numeral '9' (see §9.1.1 for the forms) exhibits this same loss of historical *t-* before *s*, and that the loss of the *t-* prefix has parallels in the other MSA languages.<sup>11</sup>

### 2.1.7 Assimilation of *ð*

The particle *ð-*, which can be a relative pronoun (§3.8.1), genitive exponent (§12.4), or verbal prefix (§7.1.10), sometimes assimilates to a following consonant. The verbal prefix *ð-* regularly assimilates to a following *t*, and sometimes assimilates to another dental or sibilant. In such cases, the resulting word-initial geminate is often simplified (as in the first three examples below), in which cases the verbal prefix is simply suppressed. Alternatively, the initial geminate is pronounced with an epenthetic *ə*, as in the remainder of the examples below.

- kō hēt tábáyk* 'why are you crying?' (5:10) (*tábáyk* < \**ð-tábáyk*)  
*kō tēm tháfrəm naxāli abáyti* 'why are you digging under my house?'  
 (19:16) (*tháfrəm* < \**ð-tháfrəm*)  
*sē təšhōk* 'she was laughing' (89:9) (*təšhōk* < \**ð-təšhōk*)  
*kō hēt ət-təgáwłək bay wə-t-tábáyk* 'why are you looking at me and  
 crying?' (22:25)  
*ənkōt aríšit ət-tənhōk* 'the serpent came roaring' (42:26)  
*hātəmūt ət-təgōla agənēd* 'it spent the night gnawing on the branches'  
 (42:30)  
*tétəh ət-təkáyən ġġgēn* 'his wife was nursing a boy' (64:6)  
*hē əs-šxəwlūl* 'he was sitting down' (77:7)

For more examples, see §7.1.10.1. Note that the particle *ð-* is apparently not suppressed before *t-* when it is part of the verbal root, though evidence for this

11 See further in Testen (1998) and the references therein. On Jibbali, see *JLO* (§2.1.9).

is not abundant. Cf. *ðə-ttáláyk* ‘I regret’ (53:6, root *tly*) and *əð-tābəm* ‘they were weary’ (61:1, root *tʿb*); but see also §13.5.3.1, n. 25.

Cases of assimilation with the relative pronoun and genitive exponent are much less common in the texts, but we do find a few. Examples with the relative pronoun are:

- b-anēħar ðeh s-sarīn* ‘in this wadi behind us’ (28:5)  
*ənħōm nāslēl tē ħəwōdi s-sarīn* ‘we should move to the valley behind us’  
 (30:2)<sup>12</sup>  
*aǧáyǧ əs-sōm aməndáwķəħ* ‘the man who sold his rifle’ (39:10)  
*ħəbrē ðə-ttēt əs-səyūr šihəm* ‘the woman’s son who had gone with them’  
 (42:22)  
*šxəbərátəħ tēt ət-təķáyn* ‘the woman who was nursing questioned him’  
 (63:13)  
*kāl əz-zəyūd* ‘all that was more’ (66:8)  
*aǧáyǧ əð-ðār abáyř* ‘the man who was over the well’ (68:4)  
*fakħ əð-ħəbēr əz-zəǧēd* ‘half of the camels that were stolen’ (69:8)

And examples of assimilation with the genitive exponent are:

- ķáwhəl əd-dəǧōǧ* ‘chicken eggs’ (18:12)  
*fakħ əs-sēt* ‘half an hour’ (53:6)  
*ķālēw əs-šxōf* ‘a bowl of milk’ (63:6)  
*kaff əz-zəytūn* ‘the hand of an olive tree’ (85:16)

### 2.1.8 Gemination

Consonant gemination exists in Mehri, though it plays almost no role in derivational or inflectional morphology. Most examples of gemination result from a consonant assimilation.

In the nominal system, gemination is simply lexical in words like *ǧəǧǧīt* ‘girl’, *ǧəǧǧōtən* ‘girl’, *bə-ħálláy* ‘(at) night’, *sənnáwrət* ‘cat’, *ámma* ‘as for’ (§12.5.3), *ķənnáwn* ‘small’, and *xəmmōħ* ‘five’.

There are a number of nouns with the pattern *CəCCōC* or *CəCCāC* that designate occupations. One might suggest that in this pattern the gemination is a feature of derivational morphology. However, these words are most likely

12 Assimilation of *ð*- seems to be the norm before forms of *sār* ‘behind’ with a pronominal suffix. See also 80:4 and probably also 102:4, though I found no audio to confirm the latter.

just borrowings from Arabic. At best, they are part of a noun pattern that is no longer very productive. Examples are *ħallāk* ‘barber’, *šayyōd* ‘fisherman’, *kəššāb* ‘butcher’, *dallōl* ‘guide’, and *ħaddōd* ‘blacksmith’.

Some nouns exhibit gemination in the plural, but not in the singular. An example is *xəddōmət* ‘workers’ (sg. *xōdəm*). Gemination here is obviously part of the morphology of the plural pattern, but such examples are met infrequently and are mainly (or possibly always) borrowings from Arabic.

In word-final position, a geminate cluster is sometimes shortened in pronunciation. This is true of both nouns and verbs. So, for example, *ħamm* ‘name’ may be pronounced *ħam*, and *rədd* ‘he came back’ may be pronounced *rəd*. The word *kāl* ‘all; each’ (§ 5.5.3) always has a simple *l*, but the base to which suffixes are attached is *kall-* (e.g., *kálləh* ‘all of it’). A word-initial geminate, which with nouns and adjectives stems mainly from the definite article (see § 4.4), is either shortened or pronounced with the aid of an epenthetic *ə*. So, for example, *ttēt* ‘the woman’ is pronounced either *tēt* or *əttēt*. When a prefixed preposition or conjunction is added, the initial geminate is usually heard, e.g., *wə-ttēt* ‘and the woman’. See also § 2.1.4, § 2.1.6, § 2.1.7, and § 2.1.9 for cases of initial geminates caused by consonant assimilation.

In the verbal system, gemination also plays no part in derivation. We do find gemination in verbs whose second and third root consonants are identical (geminate verbs; see § 7.2.11), and in places where an assimilation has taken place. So, for example, geminate clusters are met in forms of D/L- and H-Stem verbs whose initial root consonant is voiceless and non-glottalic, e.g., D/L *ssōfər* ‘he traveled’ and H *ffərūk* ‘he frightened’ (see § 6.2 and § 6.3). As with nouns, an initial geminate consonant is usually either simplified in word-initial position or resolved by epenthesis, e.g., 3ms perfect *sōfər* or *əssōfər* ‘he traveled’ (but *wə-ssōfər* ‘and he traveled’). Gemination is also found in T1-Stem verbs whose second root consonant is a sibilant, dental, or interdental (e.g., *nəttəb* ‘fall off, drop (intrans.)’, < \**nattəb*; see further below and in § 6.5.1) and in T2-Stem verbs whose second root consonant is a dental or sibilant (e.g., *ħəddūr* ‘he was careful’, < \**ħttəddūr*; see further below and in § 6.5.3). Occasional irregular assimilation also causes gemination, as in the verbs *əttōma* ‘hear’ and *(t)təkək* ‘drink’ (see § 6.5.3 and § 7.2.14).

There is also a general sound rule that results in geminate consonants, namely:

$$C_1əC_1V > əC_1C_1V \quad (C_1 = \text{identical consonants; } ə \text{ is unstressed})$$

The effects of this rule are seen in three places in the verbal system:

1. Various forms of geminate verbs are affected, e.g., H-Stem 3fs perfect *həgallūt* ‘she boiled’ (< \**həgləlūt*) and G-Stem 3md imperfect *yədallōh* (< \**yədləlōh*). See further in § 7.2.11. Comparable changes occur also in Qw- and Qy-Stems (§ 6.7), e.g., *šxəwallūt* ‘she sat’ (< \**šxəwləlūt*).
2. In the T1-Stem imperfect (§ 6.5.1), the infix morpheme *t* assimilates to a dental, interdental, or sibilant, resulting in a geminate consonant that is then subject to the abovementioned rule. Examples are 3ms imperfect *yənəttāwb* ‘he drops’ (< \**yənəttūb* < \**yənətəttūb* < \**yənətəttūb*) and 3mp imperfect *yərəššāyṣ* ‘they press together’ (< \**yərəššīṣ* < \**yərəššīṣ* < \**yərtəšīṣ*).
3. In the T2-Stem perfect and subjunctive (§ 6.5.3), the infix morpheme assimilates to dentals and interdentals, resulting in a geminate consonant that is then subject to the abovementioned rule. Examples are 3ms perfect *həddūr* ‘he was careful’ (< \**əhəddūr* < \**əhtəddūr*) and 3ms perfect *xəššāwṣ* ‘he got his due’ (< \**xəššūs* < \**əxəššūs* < \**əxtəššūs*).

In cases #2 and #3, we could suggest that the metathesis takes places prior to the actual assimilation, in which case  $C_1$  in the sound rule needs not represent two identical consonants, but rather two identical consonants or two consonants with potential for assimilation. Examples following this analysis would be *yərəššāyṣ* ‘they press together’ (< \**yərəššīṣ* < \**yərtəšīṣ* < \**yərtəšīṣ*) and *həddūr* (< \**həddūr* < \**əhtəddūr*).

On the sound change  $C_1C_2\partial C_2 > C_1C_1\partial C_2$ , which also results in a geminate cluster, see § 7.2.11.

### 2.1.9 The Shift of *b* > *m*

There is an assimilatory sound change in Omani Mehri \**bVn* > *mVn*. This is seen in the following words:

- əm-mán* ‘between’ < *əm-bán* < \**mən bayn* (§ 8.15)  
*məndáwḵ* ‘rifle’ < Arabic *bunduq*  
*mənēdəm* ‘person’ < \**bənēdəm* (lit. ‘son of Adam’)  
*məndēr* ‘port’ < Arabic *bandar*  
*məndáyrəh* ‘flag’ < Arabic *bandēra*  
*məngəráy* ‘bracelet, bangle’ < *bangrī* (cf. Hindi *bangrī*)  
*zəbōn* ‘time’ < Arabic *zəmān*

We also occasionally find the shift in a word with *n* in a different position within the word, as in *məstōn* ‘orchard, plantation’ < Arabic *bustān*.

Forms of some of the above words with the original *b* are found in Yemeni Mehri dialects, e.g., *beyn* or *bīn* ‘between’ (Jahn 1905: 125; Bittner 1914a: 12; Watson 2012: 114) and *bnādam* ‘person’ (Sima 2009: 230, text 45:2).

Verbal roots do not follow this rule (e.g., *bənōh* ‘build’, *kəbūn* ‘hide’),<sup>13</sup> and there are also many noun exceptions, e.g., *ḥəbūn* ‘sons’ (construct *bāni*). Sometimes doublets exist. For example, *ML* lists both *bənnāy* (s.v. *bnv*) and *mənnōy* (s.v. *mny*) ‘builder’, the former from Arabic, and the latter a Mehrized form.

We also sometimes find a separate assimilatory shift of *b* to *m* that affects the preposition *b-* (§8.6) before nouns or pronouns that have an initial *m*. So we find:

*əm-məškōt* < *b-məškōt* ‘in Muscat’ (91:24)  
*ənké’ əm-mōh* < *ənké’ b-mōh* ‘bring water’ (76:2; cf. also 94:37)  
*(m-)mōn* < *b-mōn* ‘(with) who?’ (97:34)

This change is not universal, as can be seen from phrases like *bə-məndáwḵ* ‘with a rifle’ (6:10) and *bə-məšráwf* ‘with supplies’ (8:7). It is not clear how regular the change is before the words *mōn* ‘who?’, *mōh* ‘water’, and *məškōt* ‘Muscat’; in Jibbali it seems to be the norm before at least the first two of these (*JLO*, §2.1.4).

### 2.1.10 Word-final -nC

A word-final voiced consonant following the consonant *n* is devoiced:

$nC_{+voice}\# > nC_{-voice}\#$

So, for example, on the audio recordings of Ali Musallam made by Johnstone, *ḥənd* ‘India’ is pronounced *hənt* (e.g., 40:6). Likewise, the word *lang* ‘boat’ is pronounced *lank* (e.g., 45:15), though the suffixed form *alángəh* ‘his boat’ (74:24) is pronounced with a voiced *g*. I have not indicated this devoicing in the transcription.

## 2.2 Mehri Vowels

Mehri vowels have been a source of considerable disagreement in the past, though enormous progress has been made in the last several years, primarily through the work of Sabrina Bendjaballah and Philippe Ségéral.<sup>14</sup> We find

13 Curiously, Mehri *kəbūn* is surely cognate with Arabic *kamana* ‘hide’. In Jibbali, we find both the roots *kbn* and *kmn*, depending on dialect.

14 Especially Bendjaballah and Ségéral (2017b).

in Omani Mehri six long vowels, three short vowels, and four diphthongs, though not all are phonemic:

Long vowels: *ā ē ē ī ō ū*

Short vowels: *a e ə i u*

Diphthongs: *ay aw əy əw*

We also find the nasals *ō* and *ē*, but they are restricted to just one or two words each (see below). Vowel length is for the most part predictable. We find long vowels only in the following three contexts:

1. In open, stressed syllables.
2. In word-final, stressed syllables closed by only one consonant (-CVC#)
3. From compensatory lengthening as a result of a lost ʔ, ʕ, or contraction of a non-final sequence *əw* or *əy*.

When we find a long vowel in an unstressed syllable, it is the result of compensatory lengthening or contraction. Unstressed long *ā* or *ē* is often met as the result of a lost ʕ, e.g., *āmūr* 'he said' < \**ʕāmūr*; see § 2.1.3. Unstressed long *ī* is often met in the broken plural pattern *CīCōC*,<sup>15</sup> e.g., *rīḥōm* 'nice (mp)' (43:4, < \**rəyḥōm*).

When we find a short vowel in an open, stressed syllable, the syllable is actually closed in the underlying form. The most common examples of this are forms like *nākak* 'I came', which has the underlying form /*nākʕak*/; see further in § 2.1.3. Word-finally, unstressed long vowels are shortened, with no change in quality. Examples are:

*nūka* 'he came' (< \**nūkā* < \**nūkə*)

*abáyti* 'my house' (< \**abáytī*)

*šīni* 'he saw' (< \**šīnī* < \**šīnəy*)

*gīlu* 'he was sick' (< \**gīlū* < \**gīləw*)

Word-final long vowels normally attract a final *-h* or *-ʔ* when stressed, and additional changes may occur; see further in § 2.2.4.

When an underlying long vowel should be in a closed syllable (or is doubly closed word-finally, i.e., *CVCC#*), the vowel is reduced. We see the following correspondences of long and reduced vowels:

15 On unstressed *ī* (< *əy*) in noun plural and other patterns, see Diem (1979: 64–75).



Long	Reduced
<i>ū</i>	ə <sup>16</sup>
<i>ī</i>	
<i>aw</i> <sup>17</sup>	
<i>ay</i>	
<i>ō</i>	<i>a</i> (ε)
<i>ā</i> (ē)	
<i>ē</i>	

The reduced vowel *a* has the allophone ε, which is especially common in a doubly-closed syllable and in the reduced form of the noun pattern *CēCəC* (base *CéCC-*), except before *x* or *ǧ*.<sup>18</sup> Examples are:

*ǧərūb* ‘he knew’ → *ǧərǧbk* ‘I knew’  
*sūmāḥ* ‘he forgave’ → *sámḥək* ‘I forgave’  
*rikəb* ‘he mounted’ → *rǧkbək* ‘I mounted’  
*xəṣáwm* ‘enemies’ → *xəṣámḥe* ‘his enemies’  
*abáyt* ‘the house’ → *abáts* ‘her house’  
*tḥōm* ‘you want’ → *tḥáms* ‘you want her’  
*nəkōt* ‘she came’ → *nəkáts* ‘she came to her’  
*bār* ‘he went out’ → *bark* ‘I went out’  
*tēt* ‘woman, wife’ → *tetk* ‘your wife’  
*nəwtēǧ* ‘we may kill’ → *nəwtáǧs* ‘we may kill her’  
*yərdēd* ‘he may return’ → *yərdéds* ‘he may return her’  
*sēkan* ‘settlement’ → *sēknək* ‘your settlement’

16 This can sometimes be realized *a* when following a glottalic or guttural. See the end of § 2.2.1, the end of § 2.2.2, and § 7.2.1 for examples.

17 The sequence *aw* may appear in a non-final closed syllable when *a* is a reduced form of an underlying *ō*, as in *xəláwḥye* ‘my clothes’ < \**xəlōwḥye* ← *xəlōwəḥ* ‘clothes’.

18 Nouns of the pattern *CēCəC* are equivalent to the Hebrew segholate type and the Arabic pattern *faʿl*.

The default short vowel is ə. Note that it can, and often does, bear stress. The short vowels *a* and *ɛ*, when not the reflex of a reduced long vowel, are rather rare. The vowel *a* is found in the definite article *a-* (see § 4.4), in the suffix of the ms future *CəCCōna* (see § 7.1.6), and in the conjunction *wəlākan* ‘but’. The short vowel *ɛ* is often an allophone of *a*, but cannot be considered so in the possessive suffixes used for plural nouns (see § 3.3.2) or in a handful of isolated words, like the demonstrative *ḏəh* (§ 3.4) or the preposition *tɛ* (§ 8.19). The short vowels *i* and *u* are mainly found word-finally, as allophones of unstressed *ī* and *ū*, respectively. Final short *-i* is often met as a morpheme indicating a 1cs possessive or object pronoun (§ 3.2.1 and § 3.2.3), and this derives from historical *ī*. When not word-final, short *i* is either a phonetic variant of ə, or, in the case of the pronominal suffixes (§ 3.2.2), a vocalized *y* (e.g., *ḥázihəm* ‘their goats’ < \**ḥázyhəm*). On short *i* in the sequence *a’i-*, see § 2.1.3. An exceptional short *i* is found in the exclamatory particle *his-táv* ‘ok!’. Non-final short *u* is not used in this book, but in some other publications (e.g., Watson 2012) it is used as a phonetic variant of ə.

The unstressed sequence əy, except when followed by a stressed vowel, is usually realized *ī*, or word-finally as *i*. Similarly, the unstressed sequence əw can be realized *ū* when not followed by a stressed vowel, though in this book I have maintained the transcription əw, except word-finally. See § 7.2.7 and § 7.2.10 for examples.

The vowels *ō* (often pronounced closer to an open [ɔ]) and *ū* rarely contrast, and sometimes the pronunciation of the two are difficult to distinguish. A case of contrast is the Ga-Stem 3fs perfect *təb(ə)rūt* ‘she broke (trans.)’ vs. Gb-Stem *təbrōt* ‘she/it broke (intrans.)’. Another example is G active *yəšlūl* ‘he carries’ vs. G passive *yəšlōl* ‘he is carried’. Likewise, *ī* and *ē* rarely contrast and can be hard to distinguish. A minimal pair is *xəwfit* ‘next (f.)’ and *xəwfēt* ‘window’. Since the vowels *ī* and *ū* are susceptible to diphthongization in certain environments (see below, § 2.2.1 and § 2.2.2), this fact can help to decide whether a particular pattern has an underlying *ū* or *ō*, *ī* or *ē*. (See also § 3.2.1 on the diphthongization of *ī* and *ū* for other reasons.)

The long vowel *ē* is in most cases an allophone of *ā* (e.g., *fēm* or *fām* ‘leg’), but as Johnstone has pointed out (*ML*, p. xiii), a minimal pair can be found, e.g., *bār* ‘he went (at night)’ vs. *bēr* ‘camels’.

When a word-final or stem-final diphthong *-ay* or *-aw* is combined with the suffix *-ən*,<sup>19</sup> the subsequent syllabification (*á/yən* or *á/wən*) results in a stressed

19 A suffix *-ən* is regularly used as a first person plural marker (§ 3.2.1; § 7.1.1), the marker of the imperfect in certain verbal stems (§ 7.1.2), and the marker of the conditional (§ 7.1.4). It is also found with a number of adverbs, especially those related to time (§ 10.3).

short vowel in an open syllable. Because this situation is not allowed, the glide is geminated in order to keep the proper syllable structure.<sup>20</sup> Examples are the 1cp reflexive pronoun *ħanfáyyan* (§ 3.6), the 1p reciprocal pronouns *tāṭīdáyyan* and *ṭayṭīdáyyan* (§ 3.7), the dual imperfect of certain verbal stems (§ 7.1.2), all dual conditionals (§ 6.1.1, n. 3), and the words *ǰadéwwan* ‘let’s go’ (§ 12.5.11) and *ǰasráwwan* ‘evening’.

Nasalized long vowels occur in Mehri in a very few words, and are of doubtful phonemic status. The vowel *õ* occurs in just a single word, *ħõ* ‘where?’, which plainly derives from *\*ħõn* (cf. Ḥarsusi *ħõnəh*, Jibbali *hun*), which in turn comes from Semitic *\*ʾān* (cf. Hebrew *ʾān* ‘where?’). We can find a near minimal pair, *ħõ* ‘where?’ vs. *hõh* ‘I’, but given that *õ* occurs in no other words, we can hardly call it phonemic. A nasalized *ẽ* is used in the particle *ẽħẽ* ‘yes’ (§ 12.2.1) and in the interrogative particle *ħẽ* (§ 11.9), but this nasal vowel is no more phonemic than the nasal vowel often heard in English ‘huh?’ or ‘uh-huh’.

I have tried in this book to be consistent in the transcription of vowels, but I have indicated some variation. This means that the transcription is not strictly phonemic. I regularly indicate epenthetic *ə*, but indicate the variation between *ī* and *ē*, *ō* and *ū*, *a* and *ε* only in cases where it is very clear.<sup>21</sup>

On the relationship of the vowels and word stress, see § 2.3.

### 2.2.1 *The Effects of Glottalic Consonants on Vowels*

The glottalic consonants *ǰ*, *k*, *ʒ*, *ʃ*, and *ʧ* cause the changes *ī* > *ay*, *ū* > *aw*, and *ē* > *ā*, when these vowels carry stress and follow the glottalic. Most guttural consonants also cause these changes, but because they also have other effects, they are treated separately in § 2.2.2. Following are the most commonly met environments for these changes:

For *ī* > *ay*:

1. The vowel *ī* in the first syllable of Gb-Stem 3ms and 3fp perfects becomes *áy*, e.g., *ħáyraḅ* ‘he approached’, *ǰáyma* ‘he was thirsty’ (cf. *tīḅar* ‘he broke’, *wīka* ‘he became’).
2. The vowel *ī* that occurs before certain object suffixes attached to 3ms and 3fp perfects (see § 3.2.3) becomes *áy*, e.g., *zərħáyh* ‘he stabbed him’ (cf.

<sup>20</sup> This gemination was first recognized and explained by Bendjaballah and Ségéral (2017b).

<sup>21</sup> For example, if it was difficult to determine whether the audio recording had *õ* or *ū*, I transcribed the vowel that was expected based on the morphological pattern or evidence from elsewhere. But if we expected *õ*, and the audio very clearly had *ū*, I transcribed *ū*.

*wəzmīh* ‘he gave him’) and *šəbḳáyəsən* ‘he tied them’ (cf. *ǰəbrīsən* ‘he met them’).

3. The vowel *ī* that occurs in the 3mp perfect and imperfect of many H- and Š1-Stem verbs becomes *áy*, e.g., H *həḳšáym* ‘they spent the afternoon’ (cf. *hənsīm* ‘they breathed’). The same goes for the 3mp perfect and most plural imperfect and subjunctive forms of T2-Stems, e.g., T2 *əntəḳáyl* ‘they chose’ (cf. *əftəriǰ* ‘they watched’).
4. The suffix *-īta* of the G-Stem fs future becomes *-áyta*, e.g., *šəḥəḥáyta* ‘will slaughter (fs)’ (cf. *kəwḥīta* ‘will tell [fs]’).

For *ū > aw*:

5. The vowel *ū* that follows the second root consonant in Ga-, H-, Š1-, and T2-Stem 3ms/3fp perfects, becomes *áw*, e.g., G *rəšáwn* ‘he tied up’ (cf. *ǰəlūḳ* ‘he looked’) and H *həbšáwr* ‘he saw well’ (cf. *həǰfūl* ‘he cheered up’). In the Ga-Stem, this means that the 3ms, 3mp, and 3fp perfects look identical when the second root consonant is a glottalic.
6. The 3fs suffix *-ūt* found with most perfects becomes *-áwt*, e.g., G *ǰəwḳáwt* ‘she looked’ (cf. *kəwtūt* ‘she told’) and Š1 *šədhəḳáwt* ‘she looked down’ (cf. *šəḥəbərūt* ‘she asked’). (The suffix *-ōt* remains unaffected, e.g., *šəḥəḥōt* ‘she took’.)
7. The vowel *ū* in the first syllable of Ga perfects whose final root consonant is *ʕ*, *ǰ*, *h*, or *x* (see § 2.2.2) becomes *áw*, e.g., *ḳáwla* ‘he let’, root *ḳl*’ (cf. *nūka* ‘he came’, root *nk*’), and *ḥáwrəḥ* ‘he left’ (cf. *sūbəḥ* ‘he swam’).
8. The vowel *ū* that follows the first root consonant in the Ga imperfect becomes *áw*, e.g., *əḳáwdər* ‘I can’ (cf. *əḳūtəb* ‘I write’).
9. The vowel *ū* that follows the second root consonant in H-, Š1-, and T1-Stem imperfects becomes *áw*, e.g., *ǰəhəbšáwr* ‘he sees well’ (cf. *ǰəhəḳbūl* ‘he arrives’).
10. The vowel *ū* that occurs before a 2ms object suffix when attached to a 3ms or 3fp perfect (see § 3.2.3) becomes *áw*, e.g., *šəḳáwk* ‘he called you’ (cf. *ḳsūk* ‘he found you’).
11. The plural suffix *-ūtən*, most commonly found attached to plural futures (§ 7.1.6), becomes *-áwtən*, e.g., *rəḥšáwtən* ‘will bathe (fp)’ (cf. *ǰəzmūtən* ‘will swear [fp]’).

For *ē > ā*:

12. The feminine suffix *-ēt* becomes *-āt*. This applies to nouns, e.g., *fəššāt* ‘silver’, *wəḳāṭ* ‘note, paper’, and to the 3fs perfect of G passives, D/L-, Š2-, and Q-Stems, e.g., G passive *xəwḳāṭ* ‘she was born’ and *səbṭāt* ‘she was hit’.

13. The vowel  $\bar{e}$  of Ga subjunctives and imperatives becomes  $\bar{a}$ , e.g.,  $y\acute{a}g\acute{s}\bar{a}\acute{s}$  ‘he winks’ (cf.  $y\acute{a}d\bar{l}\bar{e}l$  ‘he guides’),  $y\acute{a}t\bar{a}f$  ‘he may visit’ (cf.  $y\acute{a}m\bar{e}t$  ‘he may die’), and  $\bar{a}k\bar{a}f$  ‘be quiet!’ (cf.  $\bar{a}z\bar{e}m$  ‘give!’).
14. The vowel  $\bar{e}$  after the second root consonant in forms of the G passive perfect becomes  $\bar{a}$ , e.g.,  $r\acute{a}\bar{s}\bar{a}n$  ‘he was tied up’ (cf.  $k\bar{a}b\bar{e}r$  ‘he was buried’).
15. The suffix  $-\bar{e}ta$  of the fs future of derived stems becomes  $-\bar{a}ta$ , e.g.,  $m\acute{a}\bar{s}\bar{f}\bar{a}-k\bar{a}ta$  ‘will marry (fs)’ (cf.  $m\acute{a}\bar{s}\bar{a}n\bar{d}\bar{a}r\bar{e}ta$  ‘will vow [fs]’).
16. The vowel  $\bar{e}$  of Š2-Stem perfects and subjunctives becomes  $\bar{a}$ , e.g.,  $\acute{s}\bar{a}k\bar{a}d\bar{a}m$  ‘he preceded’ (cf.  $\acute{s}\bar{a}g\bar{e}l\bar{a}s$  ‘he quarreled with’). (There are no examples in the texts.)
17. The dual suffix  $-\acute{a}h$  (<  $-\bar{e}h$ ) of certain perfect, imperfect, and subjunctive verb forms becomes  $-\acute{a}h$  (<  $-\bar{a}h$ ), e.g., H  $y\acute{a}h\bar{a}w\bar{s}\bar{a}k\bar{a}h$  ‘they (two) may attach’ (cf.  $y\acute{a}h\bar{a}r\bar{k}\bar{a}b\bar{a}h$  ‘they two may mount’) (There are no examples in the texts.)

There is at least one exception, which is that the  $\bar{e}$  of the 2fs imperfect, subjunctive, and fs imperative of at least some stems does not change, as in the Ga-Stem imperfect  $t\acute{a}k\bar{e}d\bar{a}r$  ‘you can’ (99:28) and the D/L-Stem imperative  $ak\bar{e}f\bar{i}$  ‘go back!’ (e.g., 3:5). This suggests that this  $\bar{e}$  is from an earlier  $ay$ .<sup>22</sup>

The above list is not exhaustive, but covers the most important and commonly seen changes. More verb examples can be found in § 7.2.1 and § 7.2.8.

As noted above, these changes of  $\bar{u}$ ,  $\bar{i}$ , and  $\bar{e}$  only take place when these vowels bear stress. So we find, for example,  $\acute{s}\bar{i}f\bar{o}n$  ‘guests’ (4:3),  $\acute{t}\bar{i}h\bar{o}r$  ‘pure (mp)’ (4:11), and  $k\bar{e}y\bar{o}t$  ‘female spirit’ (15:2), with stress on the final syllable.<sup>23</sup> Anyway, where  $\bar{i}$  or  $\bar{u}$  occur in unstressed syllables, they are only the surface representation of an underlying  $ay$  or  $\bar{a}w$ , as in  $\acute{s}\bar{i}f\bar{o}n$  ‘guests’ <  $*\acute{s}\bar{a}y\bar{f}\bar{o}n$ .

On rare occasion we do find stressed  $\bar{i}$  following a glottalic, but in such cases  $\bar{i}$  is only the surface representation of an underlying  $y\bar{i}$ , e.g.,  $\acute{s}\bar{a}\acute{s}\bar{i}k$  ‘they got annoyed’ (40:4, <  $\acute{s}\bar{a}\acute{s}y\bar{i}k$ ).

A glottalic consonant followed by a liquid ( $r$  or  $l$ ) or  $w$ , can also trigger diphthongization or the shift  $\bar{e} > \bar{a}$ . See § 2.2.3 for examples.

We also sometimes find that a stressed  $\bar{a}$  can be realized  $a$  when following a glottalic, e.g.,  $y\acute{a}k\bar{a}f\bar{d}\bar{a}m$  ‘they go down’ (58:6), for expected  $y\acute{a}k\bar{a}f\bar{d}\bar{a}m$ ;  $y\acute{a}d\bar{a}b\bar{r}\bar{a}m$

22 In support of this argument, cf. also 2ms imperfect  $t\bar{a}b\bar{a}y\bar{k}$  ‘you cry’ (e.g., 5:10) and 2fs  $t\bar{a}b\bar{e}k\bar{i}$  ‘you cry’ (e.g., 75:23), from the III-w/y verb  $b\bar{a}k\bar{o}h$ .

23 A possible exception, according to *ML* (s.v.  $k\bar{s}r$ ), is  $k\bar{a}y\bar{s}\bar{o}r$  ‘short (mp)’ (<  $*k\bar{i}\bar{s}\bar{o}r$ ). If this form is correct, unstressed  $\bar{i}$  perhaps became  $ay$  because there are two glottalics in this word.

‘they apologize’ (61:7), for expected *yəðábrəm*; and *həkšámk* ‘I spent the day’, for expected *həkšámk* (62:6).

### 2.2.2 *The Effects of Guttural Consonants on Vowels*

The guttural (velar, pharyngeal, and glottal fricative) consonants *ʕ*, *g*, *h*, *ħ*, and *x* cause a number of sound changes, though they have their greatest effect on the formation of verbs. They can all be considered ‘weak’ root letters with respect to the verbal system, in that they all cause phonetic changes in verbal paradigms. However, the gutturals are not a totally uniform group.

The four velar and pharyngeal fricatives (*ʕ*, *g*, *h*, and *x*) all cause the same changes to a following vowel as the glottalics, that is, *ī* > *ay*, *ū* > *aw*, and *ē* > *ā*, when these vowels carry stress. Even though the consonant *ʕ* is most often lost in pronunciation, it remains phonologically present in underlying forms. As with glottalics, diphthongization does not normally occur when *ī* is a surface representation of an underlying *ay* (e.g., *xīnīta* ‘she will betray’ < *xəynīta*, 24:2; *gībūt* ‘she passed out’ < *gəybūt*, 54:11; or the nouns *hītār* ‘(goat) kids’ and *hīrīt* ‘donkey’), in which case *ī* is unstressed anyway. Following are the most commonly met changes:

For *ī* > *ay*:

1. The vowel *ī* in the first syllable of Gb-Stem 3ms and 3fp perfects becomes *áy*, e.g., *háybər* ‘he was cold’ (cf. *tībər* ‘he broke’).
2. The vowel *ī* that occurs before certain object suffixes attached to 3ms and 3fp perfects (see §3.2.3) becomes *áy*, e.g., *səmháys* ‘he excused her’ (cf. *bəgdīs* ‘he chased her’) and *nəkáyhəm* ‘he came to them’ (< *\*nək’áyhəm*; cf. *bəgdīhəm* ‘he chased them’).
3. The vowel *ī* that occurs in the 3mp perfect and imperfect of many H- and Š1-Stem verbs becomes *áy*, e.g., H *həbgáyš* ‘they hated’ (cf. *hənsīm* ‘they breathed’). The same goes for the 3mp perfect and most plural imperfect and subjunctive forms of T2-Stems.
4. The suffix *-īta* of the G-Stem fs future becomes *-áyta*, e.g., *wətgáyta* ‘will kill (fs)’ (< *\*əwtgīta* < *\*əltgīta* < *\*lətgīta*; cf. *kəwtīta* ‘will tell [fs]’).

For *ū* > *aw*:

5. The vowel *ū* that follows the second root consonant in H-, Š1-, and T2-Stem 3ms/3fp perfects becomes *áw*, e.g., *həbáwr* ‘he took out (animals) at night’ (< *\*həb’áwr*) and *həbgáwš* ‘he hated’ (cf. *həgfūl* ‘he cheered up’). In the H-Stem, this means that the 3ms, 3mp, and 3fp perfects look identical

when the second root consonant is a guttural. Unlike with glottalics (see § 2.2.1, Rule #5), this rule does not apply to Ga-Stems whose second root consonant is a guttural, because such verbs are subject to other changes; see below, as well as § 7.2.5 and § 7.2.6.

6. Most III-Guttural verbs use the suffix *-ōt* for the 3fs perfect, rather than *-ūt*, but the two attested III-ġ verbs in the texts (*lūtəġ* ‘kill’ and *nūtəġ* ‘throw’) use *-áwt* < *-ūt*, e.g., *wətġáwt* ‘she killed’ (29:7; cf. *wəzəmūt* ‘she gave’). We also find *-áwt* with II-Guttural, III-w/y verbs, e.g., *hərxáwt* ‘she let go’ (root *rxw* or *rxy*; cf. *həbkūt* ‘she made cry’, root *bky*).
7. The vowel *ū* in the first syllable of Ga-Stem 3ms and 3fp perfects whose final root consonant is ‘ (see § 2.2.2) becomes *áw*, e.g., *xáwda* ‘he duped’ (cf. *nūka* ‘he came’). It is extremely rare, however, to have a guttural as both the first and third root consonants; *xáwda* (*ML*, s.v. *xd*’), which does not appear in the texts, may be the only such verb in the language.
8. The vowel *ū* which follows the first root consonant in the Ga imperfect becomes *áw*, e.g., *nəġáwłək* ‘we look’ (cf. *nəġūzəm* ‘we swear’).
9. The vowel *ū* that follows the second root consonant in H-, Š1-, and T1-Stem imperfects becomes *áw*, e.g., *yəhəbġáwš* ‘he hates’ (cf. *yəhəkbūl* ‘he arrives’).
10. The vowel *ū* that occurs before a 2ms object suffix when attached to a 3ms or 3fp perfect (see § 3.2.3) becomes *áw*, e.g., *səmháwk* ‘he excused you’. (There are no examples in the texts.)
11. The plural suffix *-ūtən*, most commonly found attached to plural futures, becomes *-áwtən*, e.g., *ḵəláwtən* ‘will leave (fp)’ (< *\*ḵəl’áwtən*; cf. *ġəzmūtən* ‘will swear [fp]’).

For *ē* > *ā*:

12. The feminine suffix *-ēt* becomes *-āt*. This applies to nouns, e.g., *fərhāt* ‘happiness’, *mərgāt* ‘dusty area’, and to the 3fs perfect of G passives, D/L-, Š2-, and Q-Stems. (There are no examples in the texts.)
13. The vowel *ē* of a few Ga-Stem subjunctives and imperatives becomes *ā*, e.g., 3ms *yəġār* ‘he falls’ (< *\*yəġār*) and *yənhāġ* ‘he dances’ (cf. *yəbgēd* ‘he chases’). However, the subjunctives and imperatives of most II-Guttural verbs have the vowel *ō* in their base (like Gb-Stems). See § 7.2.5 and § 7.2.6.
14. The vowel *ē* after the second root consonant in forms of the G passive perfect becomes *ā*, e.g., *shāṭ* ‘it (m.) was slaughtered’ (cf. *ḵəbēr* ‘he was buried’).
15. The suffix *-ēta* of the fs future of derived stems becomes *-āta*, e.g., *məhəš-*

*bəḥāta* ‘will become (fs)’ (cf. *məḥarkəbēta* ‘will mount [fs]’). (There are no examples in the texts.)

16. The vowel *ē* of Š2-Stem perfects and subjunctives becomes *ā*, e.g., *šxārəg* ‘he interpreted’ (cf. *šhēwəb* ‘he thought’).
17. The dual suffix *-šh* (< *-ēh*) of certain perfect, imperfect, and subjunctive verb forms becomes *-áh*, e.g., H *yəḥəšbəḥáh* ‘they (two) may become’ (cf. *yəḥarkəbáh* ‘they two may mount’). (There are no examples in the texts.)

The above list is not exhaustive, but covers the most important and commonly seen changes. More verb examples can be found in § 7.2.1, § 7.2.2, § 7.2.5, § 7.2.6, and § 7.2.9.

On rare occasion we do find stressed *ī* following a guttural, but in such cases it is only the surface representation of an underlying *yī*, e.g., *yāgīḏən* ‘they will anger’ (90:15, < *yāgyīḏən*).

In addition to the sound changes outlined above, verbs whose second or third root consonant is a guttural (including *h* and etymological *ʿ*) have distinct conjugations. These are treated in detail in § 7.2.5, § 7.2.6, and § 7.2.9, but here we will mention one additional sound change that has an effect on III-Guttural verbs, namely:

$CəCūG > CūCəG$  ( $G = ʾ, ʿ, ġ, h, ḥ, \text{ or } x$ )

This change is met most often in the Ga-Stem of verbs whose third root consonant is any of the gutturals. These have the pattern *CūCəC* in the 3ms perfect, while strong verbs have the pattern *CəCūC* (§ 6.1.1). So there exist such Ga-Stem verbs as *dūbəh* ‘collect honey’,<sup>24</sup> *dūləx* ‘seize’, *gūdəḥ* ‘drift to shore’, *lūtəġ* ‘kill’, *nūfəġ* ‘throw’, *nūgəḥ* ‘succeed’, *nūšəḥ* ‘advise’, *sūbəḥ* ‘swim’, *sūməḥ* ‘forgive’, *šáwrəx* ‘make a bang, fire (intrans.)’,<sup>25</sup> *ṭáwbəx* ‘make a mark’, and *ṭáwrəḥ* ‘leave, let’.

When the final root consonant is *ʾ* or *ʿ*, the final *-əʾ* or *-əʿ* becomes *-a* (see § 2.1.3), as in the III-*ʾ* verbs *kūsa* ‘find’ and *mūla* ‘fill’,<sup>26</sup> and the III-*ʿ* verbs *hūma* ‘hear’, *qáwla* ‘let, leave’, *qáwṭa* ‘cut’, *mūna* ‘hold’, *nūka* ‘come, bring’, *rūfa* ‘go up’, and *tūba* ‘follow’.

24 However, *dəbōh* seems to be an acceptable variant. See the comment to text 77:3.

25 *ML* (s.v. *srx*) has the form *sáwrəx*, but this is likely an error. See further in the comment to text 39:3.

26 III-*ʾ* verbs are rare, and are often conjugated on analogy with III-w/y verbs. See further in § 7.2.9.



This sound change affects forms from other stems as well. For example, it affects the imperfects of H-, Š1-, and T1-Stems (e.g., H *yəhəšáwbəh* ‘he becomes’), and the perfect of the T2-Stem (e.g., *əftūrəh* ‘he was delighted’). For more examples, see § 7.2.9. A similar shift *CəCCūG > CūCCəG > CəCCəG* affects Q-Stems, as in *yabárqa* (< \**yabárkə* < \**yabūrəkə* < \**yabərəkū*) and *yamárkəh* ‘he tidies up’ (< \**yamūrəkəh* < \**yamərəkūh*; cf. *yamərháwb* ‘he welcomes’).

We also sometimes find that a stressed *ə* can be realized *a* when following a guttural, e.g., *yəxádməm* ‘they work’ (67:3), for expected *yəxádməm*; *yəhákrəm* ‘they were refusing access’ (70:1), for expected *yəhákrəm*; and *šəghádk* ‘I was convinced’ (82:3), for expected *šəghádk*.

### 2.2.3 The Effects of Liquids, w, and n on Vowels

In several places, we find that the changes *ū > aw*, *ī > ay*, and *ē > ā*, which regularly occur following glottalics (§ 2.2.1) and certain gutturals (§ 2.2.2), also take place following a liquid (*r* or *l*) or *w*. In such cases, there is normally a glottalic consonant preceding the liquid or *w*. Examples with a glottalic plus a liquid or *w* include H-Stem verb forms like the perfects *hətláwək* ‘he released’, *həšráwb* ‘he became ill’, and *šəkráwt* ‘she hid’ (< \**šəkrūt*); a few comparative adjectival forms (e.g., *aklāl* ‘less, smaller’ and *aṭwāl* ‘taller’; see § 5.4);<sup>27</sup> subjunctive forms of III-Guttural verbs in the G-Stem (e.g., 3ms *yəṭrāh* ‘he may leave’); perfect and subjunctive forms of III-Guttural verbs in the H- and Š1-Stems (e.g., 3ms *šəkrāh* ‘he had his head shaved’; see further in § 7.2.9); Gb-Stem forms like 3mp subjunctive *yəkráyb* ‘they might get near’; and some nouns (e.g., *šətráyr* ‘rag, strip of cloth’).

Examples with a guttural plus a liquid are the passive participle *məgráyb* ‘well-known’ (< \**məgrīb*) and the noun *yəgráyb* ‘crow, raven’. The roots *rb* and *rf* both have subjunctive forms with *ā* (< \**ā*) in place of the expected *ē* (< \**ē*) in the Ga-, H-, and Š1-Stems, also perhaps because of the liquid (see further in § 7.2.9).

We also find diphthongization in the presence of geminate liquids, as in the 3fs perfect form *fərráwt* ‘she fled’ (37:11, < \**fərrūt*) and in the 3ms suffixed perfect *əðərráyhəm* ‘he spread them’ (48:13, < \**əðərrīhəm*).<sup>28</sup>

In an open syllable, a sequence of *r*, *l*, or *n* followed by *ə* is often metathesized. In word-initial position it is optional, for example:

27 But Watson (2012: 50, 107) has *ašlēh* ‘fatter’; cf. also the H-Stem 3ms perfect *həšlēh* ‘he arranged a truce’ (*ML*, s.v. *šlh*).

28 The inconsistency of transcription in *ML* makes some of the relevant data uncertain. For example from the root *frr*, *ML* lists the T2-Stem 3ms perfect both as *əftərr* (p. lv) and *əftəráwr* (s.v. *frr*). Unfortunately, this verb does not occur in the texts.

*anxāli* ‘under’ (3:8; but *naxāli* in 19:14)  
*ankáyn* ‘he came to us’ (82:4; but *nakáyn* in 20:25)  
*ardīyam* ‘throw (mp)’ (91:23; but *ms rādéh* in 63:16)

This includes the prefixed preposition *l-* (§ 8.12), which is normally realized *al-* before a consonant, and the prefix *l-* of the 1cs subjunctive (§ 7.1.3) and conditional (§ 7.1.4).

Word-internally the metathesis is more regular. Examples are:

*tháhantəm* ‘you (mp) make break an oath’ (31:10, < \**tháhnatəm*; cf. 2ms *tháhnat*)  
*gátarbkī* ‘we recognized one another’ (74:22, < \**gátrabkī*, cf. 3fp *gátrab*)  
*gátarbəm* ‘they recognized one another’ (74:24, < \**gátrabəm*)  
*támərħəm* ‘their dates’ (99:7, < \**támərəħəm*)

In fact, the metathesis regularly triggers the shift of *l > w* discussed in § 2.1.5, for example:

*əwbūd* ‘he shot’ (10:15, < \**əlbūd* < \**ləbūd*)  
*gátəwsəm* ‘they argued’ (32:11, < \**gátəlsəm* < \**gátləsəm*)  
*məháfəwti* ‘we’ll run away’ (35:10, \**məháfəlti* < \**məháfəlti*)

Sometimes the sequence *əw* is itself metathesized to *wə*, as in:

*wətgōna* ‘will kill (ms)’ (37:13, < *əwtgōna* < \**əltgōna* < \**lətgōna*)  
*kátwətəm* ‘they chatted’ (63:13, < *kátəwtəm* < \**kátəltəm* < \**kátlətəm*)  
*kátwətki* ‘we chatted’ (74:21, < *kátəwtki* < \**kátəltki* < \**kátlətki*)

#### 2.2.4 Word-final Vowels, -h, and -ʾ

The vowels *ī* and *ē*, when followed by a word-final morpheme *-h*, are often realized *ó*. Final *-ih* can also be realized *-ēh* or *-eh*. That is, there is a sound rule:

$Vh\# > \acute{o}h\#$  (V = *ī, ē*)

We see the effects of this in various prepositions with a suffixed 3ms pronoun (see the paradigms in § 8.23), the 3ms form of the direct object pronoun (see § 3.3), and in the form of the 3ms object suffix attached to 3ms/3fp perfect verbs (see § 3.2.3). We see it also in nouns ending in *-ē* used with a 3ms possessive suffix, e.g., *ħāmóh* ‘his mother’ (← *ħāmē* ‘mother’; cf. *ħāmēk* ‘your mother’) and *ħəbróh* ‘his son’ (← *ħəbrē* ‘son’; cf. *ħəbrēk* ‘your son’). The rule is not normally

in effect when *h* is not a morpheme. So the pronouns *hē* ‘he’ and *sē* ‘she’ (§ 3.1) are often pronounced (and written in Arabic characters) with a final *-h*, but the vowel is never reduced. Likewise, the vowel is not reduced in the demonstrative pronoun *ḏīh* ‘this’ (§ 3.4) or the adverb *yāmšīh* ‘yesterday’.

Word-final *-ō* almost invariably attracts a final *-h*.<sup>29</sup> We find this in various dual verb forms (see § 7.1.1 and § 7.1.3), in the masculine numeral *trōh* ‘2’, in the 3ms/3fp perfect of III-w/y verbs (e.g., *bākōh* ‘he cried’; see § 7.2.10), and in several other words (e.g., *kōh* ‘why’, *hībōh* ‘how?’, and *yāmōh* ‘today’).<sup>30</sup> These words all have an underlying final *-ō*, which is realized *-ōh*, with a slight shortening of the vowel and final aspiration. In the transcription in this book, I have used *-ōh*, since nowhere do *ó* and *ō* contrast. The final *-h* of the dual forms and of III-w/y perfects is extant only when word-final.<sup>31</sup> For those dual verb forms that have an underlying *-ē* instead of *-ō* (see § 7.1.1 and § 7.1.3), we find the same final *-h*, and the same sound change described above, namely, *-ēh* > *-áh*.

Words with a final *-ā* and *-ē* are a bit more interesting, in that an *h* is added only sometimes. In other cases, a final *’* is heard. In both cases (as with *-ōh*, *-īh*, and *-ēh*), the vowels are shortened. As a result, final *-áh* and *-éh* contrast with final *-á’* and *-é’*. Compare the 3ms subjunctive verbs *yābkéh* ‘he cries’ (root *bky*) and *yānké’* ‘he comes’ (root *nk’*), the 3ms imperfect *yār’é’* ‘he herds’ and 3ms subjunctive *yār’éh* ‘he may herd’ (both root *r’w*), or the nouns *xāh* ‘mouth’ and *ka’* ‘place’.

When a suffix is added, both *-h* and *-’* are lost, as in 3mp subjunctive *yānkēm* ‘they come’, 3ms subjunctive (+ 3ms object) *yānkéh* ‘he may come to him’, or the noun *aḳāhām* ‘their place’.<sup>32</sup> Because the vowel length is noticeably longer when a suffix is added, I have indicated the shortening of *-áh/-éh* and *-á’/-é’* in the transcription. For the transcription of *-ōh* there is no such need, since *-ō* and *-ó* nowhere contrast, and since a suffix never follows *-ō*.

In sum, there seems to be a general rule, whereby a long vowel is shortened before a final *-h*. In the cases of *ī* and *ē* the vowel quality is also affected, in that we often hear *-áh*.

29 On the rare verb forms with final *-ō*, see § 6.5.4, n. 72.

30 It is noteworthy that Ali Musallam nearly always transcribed this final *-h* in his Arabic-letter transcriptions of Mehri.

31 Dual *ō* shifts to *ay* when object suffixes are added (§ 3.2.3) and the root consonant *y* reappears on III-w/y verbs when suffixes are added (§ 7.2.10). So we never find *-ō* plus an object suffix.

32 With some nouns, final *-h* may remain, since it may be, or at least may be perceived to be, part of the root; see the comment to text 42:35.

After other final long vowels (*ay*, *ē*, *ū*) or final short vowels, a final -' is sometimes heard,<sup>33</sup> but since it is not contrastive and has no effects, it is not normally transcribed.

### 2.2.5 *The Loss of ə*

In the environment  $\bar{V}CəC\#$ , a phonemic *ə* is lost when suffixes are added, with the result that the long vowel or diphthong, no longer in an open syllable, is then reduced. We see this with both nouns and verbs. Some noun examples are:

*šēhəz* 'frankincense' → *šēhzi* 'my frankincense'  
*sēkan* 'settlement' → *sék(ə)nək* 'your settlement' (see also § 3.2.1)  
*hōrəm* 'road' → *hármi* 'my road'  
*hōkəm* 'ruler' → *hákmaħ* 'his ruler'  
*hákáwmət* 'kingdom' → *ahkámti* 'my kingdom'

Verb examples are ubiquitous. Some are:

*yəbūqəd* 'he chases' → *yəbáqdəm* 'they chase' (Ga-Stem imperfect)  
*yəbūqəd* 'he chases' → *yəbáqdəħ* 'he chases him' (Ga-Stem imperfect)  
*yəgōrəb* 'he knows' → *yəgárbəs* 'her knows her' (Ga-Stem imperfect)  
*nīšəz* 'he sipped' → *nášzək* 'I sipped' (Gb-Stem perfect)  
*aqōrəb* 'he tried' → *aqárbək* 'I tried' (D/L-Stem perfect)  
*tfōšəl* 'you may embarrass' → *tfášli* 'you may embarrass me' (D/L-Stem subjunctive)  
*šhēwəb* 'he thought' → *šháwbək* 'I thought' (Š2-Stem perfect)  
*yəšhēwəb* 'he may think' → *yəšháwbəm* 'they may think' (Š2-Stem subjunctive)  
*məxtīləf* 'will change (ms)' → *məxtəlfēta* 'will change (fs)' (T1-Stem future)

The vowel *ə* in an initial syllable can be lost when the definite article or other prefixed particle is added. Some examples are:

*rəħbēt* 'town' → *arħabēt* 'the town', *bə-rħabēt* 'in a town'

33 Watson (2012: 46) observed that word-final vowels are usually glottalized in sentence-final position.

*məhlōb* ‘young camels’ → *amhəlōb* ‘the young camels’, *kə-mhəlōb* ‘with young camels’

For more examples with the definite article, see § 4.4.

### 2.3 Word Stress

The transcription in this book indicates stress only on short vowels, since stress on long vowels is predictable. Most words only have one long vowel or diphthong, in which case the stress falls on the long vowel or diphthong. If a word has more than one long vowel, then the long vowel nearest the end is stressed. As discussed in § 2.2, unstressed long vowels are the result of a lost consonant or contraction of *əy* or *əw*.

Stressed short vowels occur mainly in non-final closed syllables and final CVCC syllables. Most exceptions to this rule are the result of lost consonants, e.g., *nákak* (< underlying *\*nák’ək* < *\*nōk’ək*). A final *-V̄* or *-V̄h* may be shortened in pronunciation, but the vowels remain long underlyingly (see § 2.2.4). There are also a small number of exceptional words, like *mən* ‘from’ (§ 8.13), *bər* ‘son of’ (§ 4.6), and *bər* ‘already’ (§ 12.5.7).

Where we find a stressed short vowel, it often stems from a reduced long vowel, e.g., *ġəbəráthəm* ‘she met them’ (< *ġəbərūt* ‘she met’) and *ġəzámk* ‘I swore’ (< *ġəzūm* ‘he swore’). In verbal patterns, the position of stress normally remains fixed, unless a suffix with a long vowel is added, e.g., *sátħəb* ‘he crawled’, *sátħəbək* ‘you (ms) crawled’, *sátħəbkəm* ‘you (mp) crawled’, but *sətħəbōt* ‘she crawled’; *yəhábħəl* ‘he may cook’, *yəhábħələm* ‘they (mp) may cook’, but *yəhəb-ħəlólh* ‘they (md) may cook’ (< *\*yəhəbħələh*).

## Pronouns

### 3.1 Independent Personal Pronouns

Following are the independent forms of the Mehri personal pronouns:

	sing.	dual	plural
1c	<i>hōh</i>	<i>əkáy</i>	<i>nəḥāh</i>
2m	<i>hēt</i>	<i>ətáy</i>	<i>ətēm</i>
2f			<i>ətēn</i>
3m	<i>hē</i>	<i>hay</i>	<i>hēm</i>
3f	<i>sē</i>		<i>sēn</i>

Notes:

- The final *-h* of 1cs *hōh* and 1cp *nəḥāh* is heard most clearly at the end of a clause or phrase, or when it is stressed. Ali Musallam consistently included it in his Arabic-letter transcriptions. The 1cp form is often pronounced *ənḥāh* or (after a vowel) *nḥāh*.
- The 3s pronouns can also be heard with a final *-h* when clause- or phrase-final, but the *h* is less strong than after *ō*. Since the vowels of *hē* and *sē* are not subject to the reduction described in § 2.2.4, I have chosen not to transcribe a final *-h*.
- The second person singular forms show no gender distinction in Omani Mehri (or in much of Yemeni Mehri), but 2fs *hīt* exists in Eastern Yemeni Mehri (Watson 2012: 66).
- The initial *ə-* of the 2p forms is lost after the interrogative *kō* ‘why?’ (§ 11.5) and the particle *əbōbnε* ‘please’ (§ 12.5.6), e.g., *kō tēm* ‘why are you?’ (36:15). The same is presumably true of the 1d and 2d forms.

The independent pronouns have several functions. Most commonly, they are used as the subject or predicate of a non-verbal sentence (§ 13.1), or as the subject of a verbal sentence. Examples of such non-verbal sentences are:

- hōh ġayg fəkáyr* ‘I am a poor man’ (91:3)  
*hōh aġāk* ‘I am your brother’ (34:28)  
*hēt háywəl* ‘you are crazy’ (94:36)  
*hēt ġayg* ‘you are a man’ (93:6)  
*hē ġiġēn háywəl* ‘he is a crazy boy’ (91:8)  
*hō sē* ‘where is she?’ (65:9)  
*nəhāh kənyáwn* ‘we were children’ (89:11)  
*əkáy ġayw* ‘we (two) are brothers’ (74:22)  
*atáy həbánye* ‘you (two) are my sons’ (74:23)  
*hēm xəšəmhē* ‘they are his enemies’ (64:18)  
*sēn bə-həwōdī dīh* ‘they were in this valley’ (31:3)

In a verbal sentence, the pronoun—if one is used at all—normally precedes the verb, but can sometimes follow when used for emphasis. Examples of verbal sentences with an independent pronoun used as the subject are:

- hōh hōm šūk* ‘I want (to go) with you’ (76:4) (cf. *hōm šūk*, 76:7)  
*kō hēt təbáyk* ‘why are you crying?’ (19:6)  
*hē əlyəġárbhəm lā* ‘he didn’t know them’ (37:7)  
*sīni aġəgənōt w-əyġəb bīs, wə-sē āġbōt bəh* ‘he saw the girl and fell in love with her, and she fell in love with him’ (24:16)  
*nəhāh əl nəġōrəb hōrəm lā* ‘we don’t know the way’ (35:4)  
*sēn ber mōt kāl* ‘they had all died’ (99:39)  
*hōh ašəṭki, ar atēn dálləkən lā* ‘I was truthful, you just didn’t know the way’ (99:41) (Note that the phrase *hōh ašəṭki* is non-verbal.)  
*əbáydlā hōh* ‘I don’t lie’ (34:16)  
*āššūt fənwáy. wə-ššək hōh* ‘she got up before me. And (then) I got up’ (97:43)

In general, however, pronouns are usually omitted in verbal sentences. This is even true when the verb is in the future tense, which is not marked for person (§ 7.1.6). When the pronoun appears, it can emphasize a change of subject or give contrastive emphasis, as in the examples from 24:16, 97:43, and 99:41 above, but in most cases there is no obvious reason for its appearance. Passages in which the pronoun is omitted are abundant, but a few representative examples are:

*āmūr*, “*əl šīnək təh lā*” ‘he said, “I haven’t seen it”’ (23:14)  
*ankōna bə-ǰəǰənōt, wə-xīnīta būk* ‘you will beget a girl, and she will  
 betray you’ (24:2)  
*bə-kám thōm (t)šōm lay aməndáwķək* ‘how much do you want to sell me  
 your rifle for?’ (39:1)  
*wə-kōh əl səyərš lā* ‘why didn’t you go?’ (97:22)

A redundant independent personal pronoun can also be fronted, to emphasize the subject (usually second person) of a negated verbal or non-verbal sentence. We see fronting also with imperatives (§ 7.1.5), which normally have no explicit subject. Examples are:

*hēt əl hēt ǰə-ħtámk lā* ‘you aren’t sure’ (82:3)  
*hēt əl hēt axáy r mənīn lā* ‘you are not better than us’ (61:4)  
*wə-hēt, l-ād təbkéh lā* ‘and you, don’t cry anymore!’ (40:7)  
*hōh məšəkf. wə-hēt amōl hūn* ‘*aysē* I’m going to sleep. But you make  
 dinner for us!’ (76:5)

A fronted independent pronoun can also emphasize the object of a preposition or particle. This is most common with ‘have’ constructions (§ 13.3):

*wəlākan ətēm, əl əħād yəķáwdər līkəm lā* ‘but you, no one can beat you’  
 (73:12)  
*hōh əl šay ar ǰōmäh* ‘I have only this’ (73:5)

An independent pronoun can also be used to clarify a direct object suffix, or it can function as an object in cases where no verb is present:

*ksáki, hōh w-arībēy, ǰə-nəšħōk* ‘he found us, me and my friend, laughing’  
 (91:22)  
*ǰōmäh yəsdádki, hōh wə-ħāməy, warx wə-zōyəd* ‘this would be enough for  
 us, me and my mother, for a month and more’ (42:10)  
*šáyli fənōhən aǰənēd, wə-mǰōrən hōh* ‘first finish the branches, and  
 then (eat) me’ (42:29)

An independent pronoun can be used to strengthen a possessive or objective suffix, indicating contrastive emphasis. In the texts this is rather rare with possessive suffixes, but less so with objective suffixes:

*abķaryən nəħāh* ‘our own cows (as opposed to his)’ (6:8)



*aǧōrāb aǧāy hōh* ‘I know my own brother’ (64:16)  
*b-arāyāk hēt* ‘(no,) as *you* wish!’ (101:3) (in response to *b-arāyāk* ‘as you wish’, 101:2)  
*thōm tāzēmān ḥabrēk natéhāh, aw thāmān antéhk hēt* ‘do you want to give us your son so we can eat him, or do you want us to eat *you*!’ (2:3)  
*tāwwāk tāklēy hōh al-syēr* ‘you ought to let *me* go’ (20:43)  
*thāyimi hōh al-tāf* ‘do you want *me* to scout?’ (29:13)  
*tshīd ḏā-hē akfāylās awkalāy hōh, sérā* ‘do you bear witness that *he*, her custodian, has authorized *me*, the judge?’ (100:5)

Finally, the independent pronouns can follow the genitive exponent *ḏ-* (§12.4), in which case they function as possessive pronouns (‘mine, yours, ours, etc.’). This construction, unknown in classical Semitic, is known from elsewhere in Modern South Arabian and from modern Ethiopian Semitic. Among the few examples from the texts (all of which are first persons) are:

*ḏōmāh ḏā-hōh* ‘this is mine’ (75:21)  
*ḏōmāh adébah ḏā-hōh* ‘this honey is mine’ (77:7)  
*trōh ḏā-nḥāh* ‘two of ours’ (89:4)  
*hē ḏā-hōh* ‘it’s mine’ (67:8)

In text 87:1 (a poetic text published in Stroomer 1999, but not included in this collection), we find *ḏā-hāh*, translated as ‘what was his’. As transcribed in the text, we can analyze the *hāh* in this phrase as the preposition *h-* ‘to; for’ (see §8.8) plus the 3ms object suffix, i.e., ‘to/for him’. But perhaps *hāh* is a mistaken transcription for the independent pronoun *hē* (Ali normally spelled both the same way in Arabic script, and the audio is inconclusive), in which case we would have *ḏā-hē* ‘his’, paralleling *ḏā-hōh* ‘mine’ in the examples above. Both analyses seem to work in that poetic passage.

### 3.2 Suffixed Pronouns

To express pronominal possession, a special suffixed form of the pronoun is attached to the noun. There are two closely related sets of suffixes used with nouns, one used with singular nouns and one with plural nouns. Dual nouns (§4.2) cannot take pronominal suffixes. A noun with a possessive suffix must also have the definite article (see §4.4).<sup>1</sup> There are also two closely related sets

1 There are exceptions found in a couple of idioms. For examples, see the comment to text 36:3.

of suffixes used to indicate the direct object of a verb. The pronominal objects of most prepositions and of certain particles are also expressed with a suffix, from the sets of suffixed used for nouns; see further in § 3.3, § 8.23, § 12.5.1, and § 12.5.7 for examples.

### 3.2.1 *Suffixes on Singular Nouns*

The suffixes that attach to singular nouns are:

	sing.	dual	plural
1c	-i	-əki	-ən
2m	-ək	-əki	-əkəm
2f	-əš		-əkən
3m	-əh	-əhi	-əhəm
3f	-əs		-əsən

Notes:

- Unless the noun ends in a stressed vowel, the possessive suffixes are not stressed.
- When a noun ends in a vowel, the 1cs suffix is -y.
- The 1cd and 2cd forms are identical, and so must be distinguished by context. They are rarely used, in any case.
- For those suffixes listed above with an initial ə, this ə is phonemic. It is not present if the word ends in a vowel or (except for the 1cp) if the word ends in a voiceless, non-glottalic consonant. This has an effect on syllable structure (see below). The phonemic ə of the dual, 2p, and 3p suffixes is usually heard only when the noun base ends in a cluster of two consonants (including geminate consonants).

To illustrate the forms of these suffixes, we can use the nouns *ħayb* ‘father’ and *ǧā* ‘brother’:

*ḥayb*: ḥáybi, ḥáybak, ḥáybaš, ḥáybah, ḥáybas, ḥáyb(ə)ki, ḥáyb(ə)ki, ḥáyb(ə)hi, ḥáyban, ḥáyb(ə)kam, ḥáyb(ə)kan, ḥáyb(ə)ham, ḥáyb(ə)san<sup>2</sup>  
*ǧā*: aǧāy, aǧāk, aǧāš, aǧāh, aǧās, aǧāki, aǧāki, aǧāhi, aǧān, aǧākam, aǧākən, aǧāham, aǧāsən

Many nouns show some sort of change in their base when suffixes are added. As noted above, when the final consonant is voiceless and non-glottalic, then the ə that precedes the second- and third-person suffixes (and the rare 1cd suffix) is lost. This is because, as discussed in § 2.1.2, unstressed phonemic ə cannot come between two voiceless, non-glottalic consonants.<sup>3</sup> When this loss of ə results in a doubly-closed final syllable, then we see vowel reduction in the noun base. For example, from *bayt* ‘house’, we get *abáyti* ‘my house’ (with *ay* in an open syllable), but *abátk* ‘your house’ (< \**abáytk*), with reduction of *ay* to ə in the doubly-closed final syllable. The noun *bayt* has the same structure as *ḥayb* ‘father’ or *ǧayǧ* ‘man; husband’ (*CayC*), but compare *abáyti* ‘my house’ and *abátk* ‘your house’ with the forms of *ḥayb* given above, or with *aǧáyǧi* ‘my husband’ and *aǧáyǧak* ‘your husband’. Below are some additional suffixed forms of *bayt*, and forms of *tēt* ‘woman’. Note that before the 3ms *-h* an epenthetic ə is often heard, but this has no bearing on the underlying syllable structure.

*bayt*: abáyti, abátk, abátš, abát(ə)h, abáts, abáytan, etc., abátsən  
*tēt*:<sup>4</sup> tēti, tetk, tetš, tēt(ə)h, tetš, tētən, etc., tētсэн

Nouns of more than one syllable with an unstressed ə in the final syllable, often lose that vowel when a suffix is added, at least phonemically (§ 2.2.5). The resulting closed, non-final syllable causes a vowel reduction. So, for example, the noun *səkən* ‘settlement’ has the base *sékn-* (< \**sēkn-*), e.g., *sékni* ‘my settlement’, *séknək* ‘your settlement’, *séknəh* ‘his settlement’, etc., and the noun *ḥōkam* ‘ruler’ has the base *ḥák-* (< \**ḥōkm-*), e.g., *ḥákmi* ‘my ruler’, *ḥákmas* ‘her ruler’, *ḥákman* ‘our ruler’, etc. We sometimes find an epenthetic ə added back before a stem-final liquid or nasal, e.g., *sékəni* ‘my settlement’, *séknək* ‘your settlement’, and *támərḥəm* ‘their dates’ (← *tōmər* ‘dates’). With these bases that end in a consonant cluster, the dual, 2p, and 3p suffixes have an initial ə, as noted

2 As already noted, the ə is usually not heard in the dual, 2p, and 3p forms (e.g., *ḥáybhəm* ‘their father’). The diphthong *ay* is present in what appears to be a closed syllable, but, in fact, it is in an open syllable in the underlying form *ḥáybhəm*.

3 This was first explained by Bendjaballah and Ségéral (2014a).

4 The suffixed forms of *tēt* may also have an initial geminate *t* (e.g., (ə)ttēti ‘my wife’), reflecting the definite article (§ 2.1.8; § 4.4).

above; when the final consonant is a sonorant, we then see metathesis (§ 2.2.3), e.g., *sékənhəm* (< \**sékənahəm*).

*səkən*: *sék(ə)ni*, *sék(ə)nək*, *sék(ə)nəš*, *sék(ə)nəh*, *sék(ə)nəs*, etc., *sékənsən*

Nouns that have the vowel *ū* or *ī* in the final syllable normally show diphthongization when suffixes are added. This includes the nouns with the feminine suffixes *-īt* and *-ūt*. However, because *t* is a voiceless, non-glottalic consonant, it is subject to the rules described above (and in § 2.1.2), meaning that the diphthong is reduced to *š* in most forms. Compare the following sample forms of the nouns *gūr* ‘slave’ (def. *hāgūr*), *dīd* ‘uncle’ (def. *hədīd*), *brīt* ‘daughter’ (def. *həbrīt*), and *xəlūt* ‘paternal aunt; mother-in-law; step-mother’:

*gūr*: *hāgáwri*, *hāgáwrək*, *hāgáwrəš*, *hāgáwrəh*, *hāgáwrəs*, etc., *hāgáwr(ə)sən*  
*dīd*: *hədáydi*, *hədáydək*, *hədáydəš*, *hədáydəh*, *hədáydəs*, etc., *hədáyd(ə)sən*  
*brīt*: *həbráyti*, *həbrátk*, *həbrátš*, *həbrát(ə)h*, *həbráts*, etc., *həbrátsən*  
*xəlūt*:<sup>5</sup> *xəláwti*, *xəlátk*, *xəlátš*, *xəlát(ə)h*, *xəláts*, etc., *xəlátsən*

The nouns *hāmē* ‘mother’ and *həbrē* ‘son’ both have the 1cs suffix *-šy*, and the 3ms forms in *-ēh* are usually realized *-šh*, following the rule described in § 2.2.4:

*hāmē*: *hāmáy*, *hāmēk*, *hāmēš*, *hāməh* (< *hāmēh*), *hāmēs*, etc., *hāmēsən*  
*həbrē*: *həbráy*, *həbrək*, *həbrēš*, *həbrəh* (< *həbrēh*), *həbrēs*, etc., *həbrēsən*

When a noun ends in *-i* (< \**-əy*), it becomes *y* before suffixes (except dual, 2p, and 3p suffixes), e.g., *təwyəh* ‘his meat’ (13:7), from *táywi* ‘food’; *tádyəs* ‘her breast’ (40:15), from *tōdi* ‘breast’; *aǵátɣək* ‘your neck’ (49:11), from *ǵōti* ‘neck’; and *aməšyək* ‘your excrement’ (99:55), from *məši* ‘excrement’. Before the 1cs suffix *-i*, the *y* may be lost in pronunciation, but is still present underlyingly, e.g., *aǵátī* ‘my neck’ (99:11, < \**aǵátɣi*).<sup>6</sup> Before the dual, 2p, and 3p (*-CV* and *-CVC*) suffixes, *-i* may remain, e.g., *táywihəm* ‘their meat’ (99:6), but note the reduction in *həwádihəm* ‘their valley’ (30:14, < \**həwōdy-həm*). The shift of *i* > *y* in the examples above reflects the loss of *ə* in the underlying *əy*, by the rule described in § 2.2.5, e.g., \**táywyə* > *taywi* ‘meat’, but \**táywyəh* > *təwyəh* ‘his meat’.

5 The suffixed forms of *xəlūt* may also have an initial geminate *x* (e.g., *(ə)xxəláwti* ‘my mother-in-law’), reflecting the definite article (§ 2.1.8; § 4.4).

6 On the noun *məši* ‘excrement’ with a 1cs possessive suffix, see the comment to text 99:55.

### 3.2.2 Suffixes on Plural Nouns

The suffixes that attach to plural nouns are:

	sing.	dual	plural
1c	-yε	-iki	-yən
2m	-kε	-iki	-ikəm
2f	-šɛ		-ikən
3m	-hε	-ihi	-ihəm
3f	-sε		-isən

Notes:

- The suffixes are never stressed.
- The dual and plural suffixes are the same as those attached to singular nouns, except that the suffixes are preceded by the vowel *i*.
- The *-i* of the dual and plural suffixes is underlyingly a consonant *y*, as proven by the fact that it triggers vowel reduction in a form like *ħázihəm* ‘their goats’ < \**ħōzyhəm* (not \*\**ħōzihəm*). But on the surface, it is realized *y* only in the 1cp.
- The forms of these suffixes differ somewhat in Eastern Yemeni Mehri (Watson 2012: 75).

As with singular nouns, plural nouns often show a reduction or change of the stressed vowel when possessive suffixes are added. Often this is because a long vowel in a final closed (CVC) syllable is regularly reduced when it is no longer in the final syllable (e.g., *ħəbūn* ‘sons’ > *ħəbən-*). Or, if the final syllable has an unstressed *ə*, this can be lost (see § 2.2.5), with the result that a preceding open syllable with a long vowel becomes closed (e.g., *xəlōwək* ‘clothes’ > *xəlāwək-*). Following are all the suffixed forms of these two sample nouns:

*ħəbūn*: *ħəbánye, ħəbánkε, ħəbənšɛ, ħəbənhe, ħəbənse, ħəbəniki, ħəbəniki, ħəbənihɪ, ħəbənɪ, ħəbənɪkəm, ħəbənɪkən, ħəbənɪhəm, ħəbənɪsən*

*xəlōwək:*<sup>7</sup> *xəláwkye, xəláwḵ(ə)ke, xəláwḵše, xəláwḵhe, xəláwḵse, xəláwḵiki, xəláwḵiki, xəláwḵihi, xəláwḵyan, xəláwḵikəm, xəláwḵikən, xəláwḵihəm, xəláwḵisən*

The final *-ən* of external feminine plurals (see § 4.3.2) is dropped before adding suffixes. For example, from *āyēntən* ‘eyes’, *ǰáwtən* ‘sisters’, and *ḥādūtən* ‘hands’, we find:

*āyēntən*: *āyántye, āyántke, āyántše, āyánthe, āyántse, āyántiki, āyántiki, āyánti, āyántyan, āyántikəm, āyántikən, āyántihəm, āyántisən*

*ǰáwtən*: *aǰátye, aǰátke, aǰátše, etc., aǰátisən*

*ḥādūtən*: *ḥādátye, ḥādátke, ḥādátše, etc., ḥādátisən*

### 3.2.3 Suffixes on Verbs

A pronominal direct object is often indicated by a suffix attached to the verb. With perfect-tense verbs, pronominal object suffixes are attached only to third-person forms. With imperfect, subjunctive, and imperative forms, the suffixes can be attached to any form ending in a vowel or the final root consonant.<sup>8</sup> The future tense and conditional forms of the verb cannot take object suffixes.<sup>9</sup>

There is one set of suffixes attached only to the 3ms and 3fp forms of perfect-tense verbs, the two of which are always identical. These suffixes are:

	sing.	dual	plural
1c	-áy	-áki	-īn
2m	-ūk	-áki	-īkəm
2f	-áyš		-īkən

7 In the suffixed forms, *aw* is allowed in a non-final closed syllable because *aw* is already the reduced form of *ōw* (that is, the reduced form of *ō* plus the consonant *w*).

8 The rules governing which verb forms can accept suffixes differs in Yemeni Mehri dialects. See Rubin (2011: 73–74) and Watson (2012: 201–202). Note that the example from Johnstone’s text 52:3, cited by Watson (2012: 201), is based on a faulty reading that was noted already in *MLO* (p. 37, n. 2).

9 The future form *maǰtóbəri* (94:43) was translated by Johnstone as ‘meet me’, i.e., as an

3m	-īh	-áhi	-īhām
3f	-īs		-īsən

## Notes:

- Unlike the possessive pronominal suffixes used with nouns, and the suffixes used with other verb forms, these suffixes carry stress.
- The 3ms suffix is often realized -ēh or -áh, as per the rule described in § 2.2.4.
- The initial *ī* and *ū* of the suffixes are diphthongized when following a guttural or glottalic consonant (see below, as well as § 2.2.1 and § 2.2.2).
- Before suffixes, there is often a vowel reduction in the verbal stem (e.g., *wəzūm* ‘he gave’ > *wəzm-*). The paradigms in Chapter 6 list the respective bases of the different verbal stems.
- Watson (2012: 70) records the dual suffixes -īki and -īhi, and we expect that these should have the same vowel -ī that we see in the singular and plural suffixes. However, the one relevant form in our texts has -áki. *ML* (p. xvii) also has -áki and -áhi. See the comment to text 91:22 and the comments to the first two tables in § 8.23.

Some examples are:

*wəzmáy* ‘he gave me’ (18:6)

*āzmūk* ‘he invited you’ (22:81)

*bəgdīh* ‘he chased it’ (14A:2)

*śənyīs* ‘he saw her’ (15:10)

*hədallīn* ‘he guided us’ (60:8)

*śəlláy* ‘they (f.) took me’ (40:23)

*səwbáyš* ‘he waited for you’ (75:7)

*šxəbərīh* ‘he asked him’ (12:7)

*ǰəbrīsən* ‘he met them’ (99:40)

*wəzmīhām* ‘he gave them’ (10:10)

Examples with verbs that have a guttural (‘, ǰ, h, and x) or glottalic final root consonant exhibit the diphthongization discussed in § 2.2.1 and § 2.2.2. Examples are:

*šākáwk* ‘he called you’ (20:25) (< \*šāķūk)

*həməyh* ‘he heard it’ (40:8) (< \*həmīh)

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imperative with an object suffix, but this was just a mistranslation (followed by Stroomer in his edition). This is a md future ‘we’ll meet’.

*shəṭáyh* 'he slaughtered it' (48:23) (< \**shəṭāih*)  
*ḵəbšáyh* 'they (f.) bit him' (92:4) (< \**ḵəbših*)  
*nəkáyn* 'he came to us' (20:25) (< \**nəkāin*)  
*təbáysən* 'he followed them' (63:3) (< \**təbāisən*)

There is another set of suffixes that is used with 3fs, 3d, and many 3mp perfect tense verbs, as well as all imperfects, subjunctives, and imperatives that end in a vowel or the final root consonant:

	sing.	dual	plural
1c	-i/-y	-ki	-n
2m	-k	-ki	-kəm
2f	-k		-kən
3m	-h	-hi	-həm
3f	-s		-sən

#### Notes:

- Unlike the suffixes used with 3ms and 3fp perfects, these suffixes are unstressed.
- An epenthetic *ə* may be used before these suffixes.
- The underlying form of the 1cs suffix is a consonantal *-y*, which is proven by the fact that it triggers vowel reduction (e.g., *wəzmāti* 'she gave me' < \**wəzmūty*, not \*\**wəzmūti*). But the suffix surfaces as *-i* (< \**-əy*, with epenthetic *ə*), unless the verbal base ends in a vowel, e.g., *ḵəlēy* 'let me!' (< *ḵəlē'* 'let!' < *ḵəlē̄*).
- The suffixes can attach to a 3mp perfect verb only if the form ends in the final root consonant (e.g., *wəzáwm* 'they gave', 3mp of *wəzūm*). Suffixes do not attach to those 3mp perfects with suffixed *-(ə)m* (e.g., *tábam* 'they followed', 3mp of *tūba*); see further in § 3.3.
- 3mp perfects and 2mp/3mp imperfects, subjunctives, and imperatives with only ablaut (no suffixed *-m*) have an underlying final *-ə* (< \**-u*) that affects the syllable structure when suffixes are added, e.g., *wəzáwmhəm* (< \**wəzáwmə-*



*həm* < \**wəzáwmu-həm*). More examples are provided in § 7.1.1 and § 7.1.2, and in n. 13 below.

- The final *-ōh* of 3d perfect verbs is replaced by *ay* before object suffixes (as it is also before the conditional suffix *-ən*).<sup>10</sup>
- These suffixes are not used when a verb ends in a consonant other than a root consonant or 3fs perfect *-t*. In those cases, an independent object pronoun must be used (§ 3.3), at least in Omani Mehri.

Some examples of 3fs, 3mp, and 3d perfects with object suffixes are:

*ḵərbáti* ‘she came near me’ (36:12)  
*šxəbūrah* ‘they asked him’ (3:10)  
*təbátəh* ‘she followed him’ (15:9)  
*šənyáts* ‘she saw her’ (15:13)  
*ənkáthi* ‘it (f.) came to them’ (17:2)  
*ǰərbáthəm* ‘she knew them’ (48:28)  
*səbṭáys* ‘they (two) hit her’ (65:12)<sup>11</sup>  
*šənyáyəh* ‘they (two) saw him’ (84:6)  
*wəzáwmi* ‘they gave me’ (4:9)  
*ǰəbáwri* ‘they met me’ (62:4)  
*āzáwmən* ‘they invited us’ (38:10)  
*šxəbūrhəm* ‘they asked them’ (72:2)  
*həláwbsən* ‘they milked them’ (35:7)

Some examples of imperfects with object suffixes are:

*təlḥámi* ‘you (ms) touch me’ (22:20)  
*əǰárbək* ‘I know you’ (20:46)  
*əšáṭš* ‘I will take you’ (24:19)  
*yəbáǰdāh* ‘it was following him’ (95:4)  
*yəsdádk* ‘it would be enough for us (two)’ (42:10)  
*yənákahəm* ‘he would come to them’ (64:10)

Some examples of subjunctives with object suffixes are:

10 There are just four certain dual forms with suffixes in the texts, two of which are given in this section (65:12; 84:6). The other two can be found in texts 35:17 and 94:41.

11 This could also be parsed as a 3ms perfect (< \**səbṭīs*), but a dual fits the context.

*tháffki* 'you marry me (off)' (100:2)  
*əmdéħk* 'I flatter you' (52:18)  
*tāzéməh* 'you (ms) invite him' (22:66)  
*nəwtáǰs* 'we kill her' (24:9)  
*tháwkəbən* 'you (fs) should get us in' (75:6)  
*nəháddəlkəm* 'we will show you' (60:5)  
*əl-sáxbərhəm* 'I ask them' (28:6)

Finally, some examples of imperatives with object suffixes are:

*əršáni* 'tie (ms) me up!' (24:28)  
*šákəh* 'call (ms) him!' (22:24)  
*əwbáds ... wə-wtáǰs* 'shoot (ms) her ... and kill her!' (6:10)  
*w-āzémhəm* 'give (ms) them!' (37:14)

The addition of a suffix to an imperfect or imperative can sometimes result in the loss of gender distinction. For example, the forms *təǰōrəb* 'you (ms) know/she knows' and *təǰērəb* 'you (fs) know' both have the base *təǰərb-* when suffixes are added. We find *təǰərbəh* 'you (fs) know him' in 94:34, which is identical to *təǰərbəh* 'she knows him' (e.g., 94:36).<sup>12</sup>

When a 2fs imperfect or subjunctive (or fs imperative) has a suffixed *-i*, the suffix is lost when an object suffix is added. For example, 2ms *thōm* 'you want' and *tháymi* 'you want' have the bases *thám-* and *thám-* before suffixes, respectively, with the expected vowel reductions ( $\bar{o} > a$  and  $ay > ə$ ). Compare *thámi* 'you (ms) want me' (e.g., 85:26) and *thámən* 'you (ms) want us' (e.g., 2:3) with *thámi* 'you (fs) want me' (e.g., 32:19) and *thámən* 'you (fs) want us' (24:24).<sup>13</sup> To cite another example, the simple fs imperative *āzēmi* 'give!' (22:60) has the base *āzəm-* before suffixes, e.g., *āzəmi* 'give (fs) me!' (32:19) and *āzəməh* 'give (fs) it!' (22:60). Curiously, the base is actually different from that of the ms imperative, which is *āzém-*, e.g., *āzēmi* 'give (ms) me!' (53:4) and *āzéməh* 'give (ms) it!' (91:10), even though the unsuffixed ms imperative form *āzēm* has

12 Since all Mehri 2ms and 3fs imperfects are identical, we can use *təǰərbəh* 'she knows him' as evidence for *təǰərbəh* 'you (ms) know him', to make the point that the gender distinction of these 2s imperfects is lost when suffixes are added.

13 Note that while the diphthong *ay* of 2fs *tháymi* is reduced to *ə* in the suffixed base *thám-*, the vowel of 2mp *thaym* (< \**tháymə*) is unaffected. Cf. *tháymi* 'you (mp) want me' (29:13), *tháymən* 'you (mp) want us' (60:5), and *tháyməs* 'you (mp) want her' (65:9).

the same vowel *ē* of the fs imperative.<sup>14</sup> Compare also the fp imperative and the singular imperative forms with a 1cp suffix: *azēmān tī* (20:4) ‘give (fp) me!’, *azémān* ‘give (ms) us!’ (91:24), and *azámān* ‘give (fs) us!’ (32:21).<sup>15</sup> See also § 7.1.5.

These pronominal object suffixes can indicate only direct objects. They cannot serve as indirect objects, as they can in some Semitic languages. This may not be clear from the examples above or in the texts, since a number of Mehri verbs take a direct object where English has an indirect object (e.g., *wəzūm* ‘give’ and *nūka* ‘come’).

It should be mentioned that when a verb takes a double direct object, either object can appear as a pronominal suffix. Compare the following two sentences containing the verb *wəzūm* ‘give’:

*wə-wzāmīs adārēhām* ‘and he gave her the money’ (85:5)  
*wə-wzāmīs ḥāgáwrāh* ‘and he gave her to his slave’ (85:25)<sup>16</sup>

### 3.3 Direct Object Pronouns (*t-*)

In addition to the object suffixes (§ 3.2.3), there also exists a set of independent direct object pronouns, which are built on a direct object marker *t-* plus pronominal suffixes.<sup>17</sup> This particle *t-* occurs only with suffixes, never independently. The full set of forms is as follows:

	sing.	dual	plural
1c	<i>tī</i>	<i>tīki</i>	<i>tīn</i>
2m	<i>tīk</i>	<i>tīki</i>	<i>tīkām</i>
2f	<i>tīš</i>		<i>tīkən</i>

14 The reduced vowel *é* of the fs base suggests an underlying *ay* (i.e., \**āzáyimi*), but we clearly hear *ē* in the unsuffixed form *āzēmi*.

15 As noted in § 7.2.3, the imperative forms of the verb *wəzūm* ‘give’ (and other I-w verbs) can have either *ā* or *ə* as the initial vowel. These are variants that have no bearing on the rest of the form.

16 It is possible that the phrase could be translated ‘he gave his slave to her’, but the context strongly favors the suggested translation.

17 We could say that the base is *tī-* in Omani Mehri, since the vowel *ī* appears in all forms

3m	<i>təh</i>	<i>tīhi</i>	<i>tīhəm</i>
3f	<i>tīs</i>		<i>tīsən</i>

## Notes:

- The declension of the particle *t-* is unique, though very similar to the prepositions *b-*, *k-*, and *l-* (see § 8.23). In other Mehri dialects, some of the forms can differ with regard to the quality of the vowel following *t-*.
- 3ms *təh* comes from an underlying *\*tīh*. See § 2.2.4.

In Omani Mehri (but not all Mehri dialects),<sup>18</sup> the independent direct object pronouns are not interchangeable with the verbal object suffixes. Rather, the direct object pronouns are used in complementary distribution with the verbal object suffixes, as they are used only when a verbal suffix cannot be added to the verb form (see § 3.2.3). Specifically, the direct object pronouns are used with all first- and second-person perfects; 3mp perfects that have a suffixed *-m*; imperfect and imperative forms that have a suffixed *-m* or *-n* (i.e., in a consonant that is not a root consonant); and all futures and conditionals. Examples are:

*wəzámk təh* 'I gave him' (53:4)  
*kūsəm tīhi lā* 'they didn't find them' (35:17)  
*yərdīyəm təh* 'they will throw him' (20:31)  
*háddələm tīn* 'show (mp) us!' (60:4)  
*təwyōna tī* 'you'll eat me' (99:30)

A verb that takes a double direct object can be followed by two direct object pronouns, if the verb is unable to accept an object suffix, for example:

*yəššək mən aḵənyáwn yəğšābəm tī təh* 'I am afraid that the children will snatch it from me' (37:22)  
*əl wəzámk tīn tīhəm lā* 'you didn't give them to us' (91:30)

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in this dialect. However, in other dialects there is variation in the vowel (Rubin 2011: 74; Watson 2012: 69).

18 See Rubin (2011: 73–74) and Watson (2012: 201–202).

However, if the form of such a verb is able to accept an object suffix than one of the objects will be suffixed to the verb, as in:

*wə-śśənyīs tihəm* ‘and he showed it to them’ (67:8)  
*wə-wzəmīs təh* ‘and he gave it to her’ (97:48)<sup>19</sup>

As Watson has observed (2012: 205), if a verb has two pronominal direct objects, then the one equivalent to the English indirect object will precede, whether it takes the form of an object suffix on the verb (as in 97:48) or an independent direct object (as in 37:22 and 91:30). The example from 67:8 above does not violate this rule, since the causitive verb used ((*ś*)*śənōh* ‘show’) is doubly transitive. That is, *wə-śśənyīs tihəm* is literally ‘and he made them see it’. This rule does not seem to apply when only one of the two direct objects is pronominal; see the end of § 3.2.3.

On the use of *t-* in combination with the preposition (*əl-*)*hīs* ‘like, as’, see § 8.10.

### 3.4 Demonstratives

Mehri demonstratives fall into two classes, near and far. For each class there is a set of longer forms (with a suffix *-məh*) and a set of shorter forms. The forms are:

Near demonstratives (‘this, these’):

ms. <i>ḏōməh</i>	fs. <i>ḏīməh</i>	cp. <i>əlyōməh</i>
ms. <i>ḏəh</i>	fs. <i>ḏīh</i>	cp. (none attested) <sup>20</sup>

Far demonstratives (‘that, those’):

ms. <i>ḏékəməh</i>	fs. <i>ḏəkəməh</i>	cp. <i>əlyəkəməh</i>
ms. <i>ḏēk / ḏək</i>	fs. <i>ḏəyk</i>	cp. <i>əlyēk</i>

While the longer forms of the near demonstratives are very common in the texts, the shorter forms are relatively rare, each occurring just a few times. Omani Mehri has no short form of the near plural demonstrative.

19 See the comment to this passage in the texts.

20 A short form of the near demonstrative (*əlyēh*) exists in Yemeni Mehri. Cf. Jahn (1905: 29); Watson (2012: 79).

In contrast to the near demonstratives, the shorter and longer far demonstrative sets occur with roughly equal frequency in the texts. The *ms* and *fs* long forms *ḏékamāh* and *ḏákamāh* are not easy to distinguish in fast speech. As for the shorter forms of the far demonstratives, *ḏēk* is much more common in the texts than *ḏək*. (On the use of *ḏək* as an introductory particle, see § 12.5.10.)

The demonstratives can be used independently as pronouns, for example:

- ḏōmāh hē* ‘it [lit. this] is him’ (37:22)  
*ḏōmāh əl hē sawr gīd lā* ‘that [lit. this] is not good advice’ (90:6)  
*ḏōmāh ḥáyri* ‘this is my donkey’ (46:12)  
*ḏeh ḥáybi wə-ḏéh aǵāy* ‘this is my father and this is my brother’ (48:31)  
*ḏīmāh tēti* ‘this is my wife’ (46:16)  
*ḏékamāh yəḳdēr* ‘might that one be able?’ (42:47)  
*ḏək əl yəbáyid lā* ‘that (guy) doesn’t lie’ (57:14)  
*əlyōmāh ḥəbánye* ‘these are my sons’ (74:23)  
*əlyək ráddəm ḥəbérihəm* ‘those (men) returned their camels’ (12:14)

Much more often, the demonstratives function as attributive adjectives, as in:

- amkōn ḏōmāh* ‘this place’ (10:12)  
*tōgər ḏōmāh* ‘this rich man’ (65:14)  
*ḥəwōdi ḏīmāh* ‘this valley’ (42:17)  
*sənēt ḏīmāh* ‘this year’ (39:12)  
*aǵáyg ḏeh* ‘this man’ (77:5)  
*ḥəwōdi ḏih* ‘this valley’ (31:3)  
*ḥābū əlyōmāh* ‘these people’ (62:13)  
*xəlōwəḳ əlyōmāh* ‘these clothes’ (37:5)  
*aḳā’ ḏékamāh* ‘that land’ (63:1)  
*anhōr ḏákamāh* ‘that day’ (54:7)  
*aǵáyrat ḏákamāh* ‘that island’ (74:3)  
*aǵáyg ḏēk* ‘that man’ (42:47)  
*hərōm ḏēk* ‘that tree’ (94:37)  
*ašāwər ḏək* ‘that rock’ (99:19)  
*aǵərḑēt ḏayk* ‘that room’ (22:97)  
*aǵəyūg əlyákamāh* ‘those men’ (41:10)  
*ḥābū əlyək* ‘those people’ (65:6)

When used attributively, the demonstrative usually follows the noun and the noun must have the definite article (§ 4.4), as in the examples above. Examples of the demonstrative preceding its head noun are far less common in the texts.

Among the few examples are:

- ḏōmāh aḡīgēn* ‘this boy’ (76:12)  
*ḏīmāh ḥāmēk* ‘this mother of yours’ (15:17)  
*ḏīmāh aḡáwharət* ‘this jewel’ (22:54)  
*ḏīmāh aḡässēt* ‘this story’ (88:14)  
*ḏákāmāh awáktən* ‘that time of ours’ (104:35)

It is likely that the demonstrative precedes in 15:17 and 104:35 because of the possessive suffix used on the noun. The others are probably the result of Arabic interference.

### 3.5 Indefinite Pronouns

#### 3.5.1 *əḥād* and *ṭāt* ‘someone’

The pronoun *əḥād* has the meaning of ‘someone’ or ‘anyone’. Combined with a negative *əl* (... *lā*), it has the meaning ‘no one, nobody, (not) anyone’. Examples are:

- əḥād əl-hīs tī* ‘is anyone like me?’ (42:3)  
*wələ əḥād ənkáykəm* ‘has anyone come to you?’ (45:5)  
*hām əḥād mánkēm kərbáy* ‘if any one of you come near me’ (47:11)  
*mən ṭawr əḥād yəḥātūm ḏār aḡōbər* ‘sometimes someone spends the night by the grave’ (54:3)  
*əl kəsk bīs əḥād lā* ‘I didn’t find anyone in it’ (38:2)  
*əl əḥād ḥərfōna tīs lā* ‘no one will move it’ (67:5)  
*wə-l-ād əḥād ḏəlūm əḥād lā* ‘and no one was unjust to anyone again’ (66:10)  
*w-əl əḥād yəḡáwdər yəlḥōm əḥād lā* ‘no one can touch anyone’ (104:38)

In one passage, *əḥād* has the translation ‘some’ or ‘some people’:

- əḥād yəšbáyɗ, w-əḥād yəšəsduk, w-əḥād yōmər ḏə-yəḥlōm* ‘some disbelieved, and some believed, and some said he was dreaming’ (92:6)

Note that *əḥād*, which is clearly derived from the common Semitic numeral ‘one’, is not used in the Mehri numeral system (§ 9.1.1).<sup>21</sup>

21 It is possible that *əḥād* is a borrowing of Arabic *ḥād* rather than a retention from earlier Semitic. The adjective *wəḥáyɗ* ‘solitary, lone’ (10:12) is from Arabic *waḥīd*.

The Mehri numeral *ṭāṭ* ‘one’ can sometimes be used in to mean ‘someone’, as in:

*hām ṭāṭ ḡilu* ‘if someone was sick’ (25:17)

*hām ṭāṭ mōt* ‘if someone dies’ (54:1)

*tāmārām hībōh hām wəzámkəm ṭāṭ kəhwēt* ‘what do you say if you give someone coffee?’ (59:13)

On the alternation of *əḥād* and *ṭāṭ*, see further in § 3.5.3.

### 3.5.2 *šī* ‘something, any(thing)’ and *šī lā* ‘nothing, not any(thing)’

The word *šī* (cognate with or, more likely, borrowed from Arabic *šay* ‘thing’) is most often used with the meaning of ‘something’ or ‘anything’, for example:

*hōh kəsk šī* ‘I found something’ (37:22)

*wīka lūk šī* ‘has something happened to you?’ (42:7)

*məḥáffək təh ḥəbráyti mən ḡayr šī* ‘I will give my daughter to him in marriage for free [lit. without anything]’ (42:42)

*hām əḥād yəḡōrəb šī* ‘if anyone knows anything’ (65:7)

*ḏōməh šī məkádđar* ‘this is something preordained’ (65:14)

*hām ṭhōm mən hənáy šī* ‘if you want any from me’ (77:4)

*əzéməh šī* ‘give him something!’ (91:10)

*hámak tīs ḡətəryōt šī* ‘did you hear her say something?’ (94:17)

Used in a negative sentence, as the subject, predicate, or indirect object, *šī* means ‘nothing’, ‘(not) anything’. The combination *šī lā* can also be used on its own to mean ‘nothing’. Examples are:

*wəzyēma tīkəm šī lā* ‘we won’t give you anything’ (35:14)

*əl šəh šī lā* ‘he didn’t have anything’ (65:1)

*əl šī yədūm lā* ‘nothing lasts’ (98:15)

*əl ḥəssək bə-šī lā* ‘I didn’t notice anything’ (103:3)

*āmūr*, “*šī lā*” ‘he said, “(It’s) nothing”’ (94:32)

In combination with a preceding noun (usually in an interrogative or negative sentence), *šī* also has the sense of an adjective ‘any’, for example:

*káskəm mətwē šī yəməh* ‘did you find any pasturage today?’ (26:3)

*rawn wə-bēr, wəlākan abḡār šī lā* ‘goats and camels, but not any cows’ (29:15)



*ād wazyēma tīn šxōf sī* ‘will you give us any milk yet?’ (35:13)  
*wālē rəhmēt sī šihām sənēt dūmah* ‘have they had any rain this year?’  
 (45:3)  
*hām šūk dārēham sī lā* ‘if you don’t have any money’ (86:8)  
*əl wīka ḥarb sī lā* ‘there hasn’t been any war’ (104:28)

Finally, *sī* can also be used to express an existential (again in either an interrogative or negative sentence), though examples are rather few. Among these are:

*wālē sī ayd* ‘are there any sardines?’ (27:9)  
*əl sī šáyga kəráyb lā* ‘there wasn’t any shelter nearby’ (17:12)  
*əl sī lā ḏār ḥamōh* ‘there was nothing at the water’ (95:11)  
*əl sī mōh fənwīkəm lā* ‘there is no water ahead of you’ (94:37)  
*sī lā mōh bāwmah kəráyb* ‘there is no water here nearby’ (99:29)

The last two examples show an interesting difference. In the first (94:37), *sī* is used as an existential, and the whole clause is negated by *əl ... lā*. In the second (99:29), *sī lā* is in itself a negative existential.

On the longer form *šīyan*, which occurs in the compound *kāl šīyan*, see § 3.5.4.

### 3.5.3 *kāl əḥād and kāl ṭāṭ* ‘everyone; each one’

The phrase *kāl əḥād* means ‘everyone’ or ‘each one’. It is normally treated as grammatically singular. Examples are:

*kāl əḥād yašənḏūr bə-msəlāmtən* ‘everyone makes vows with sacrificial animals’ (16:4)  
*kāl əḥād šāṭ aráwah* ‘each one got his lot’ (99:7)  
*yāmərəm ḥābū wə-kāl əḥād ḏə-ǧərbīhəm* ‘people and everyone who knew them say (this)’ (104:30)  
*kāl əḥād yəhātūm hāl xāšməh* ‘everyone spends the night with his enemy’ (104:39)

However, *kāl əḥād* can also be used appositionally with a dual or plural verb, noun, or pronoun. Examples are:

*šəwǧīs ḥābū kāl əḥād əl-sékənəh* ‘the people, each one went home to his settlement’ (lit. ‘the people went, each one to his community’) (9:10)  
*bəttədōh kāl əḥād məkōn* ‘they each went to (their own) place [lit. each one to a place]’ (12:9)

*báttadəm kāl əḥād bə-ḥárməh* ‘they all went their (separate) ways [lit. each one on his way]’ (12:13)

*mət gəzōt ḥəyáwm yəšəwgīs ḥābū kāl əḥād əl-sékənəh* ‘when the sun goes down, the people go home, everyone to his (own) settlement’ (54:3)

The phrase *kāl tāt* (sometimes reduced to *kā-tāt* by the rule discussed in § 2.1.5) can also mean both ‘everyone’ or ‘each one’. It occurs about three times more often than *kāl əḥād* in the texts. The examples from the texts suggest that *kāl əḥād* is more often used to refer to a whole group (‘everyone’), while *kāl tāt* is more commonly used when highlighting the individuals (‘each one’), though there appears to be a lot of overlap in usage. If reference is clearly feminine, then the phrase is *kāl tayt*. Examples of *kāl tāt* are:

*kāl tāt yənké’ bə-kəwtēt* ‘each one should offer [lit. bring] a story’ (48:29)

*kāl tāt yəslūl šáwri trayt təlōfəf* ‘each one carries two flat stones’ (71A:1)

*kāl tāt kalūt b-aqəssətəh* ‘each one told his story’ (74:24)

*šəll šātáyət məsáwmər, wə-təkk kāl tāt bə-xáff* ‘he took three nails, and he hammered each one into a foot’ (76:16)

*kāl tāt bə-ḥáydəh škay* ‘each one (had) a sword in his hand’ (104:32)

*kāl tāt yāgōb yəgrēb aqīd mən aqōməh* ‘everyone wants to know the good from the bad’ (73:12)

*kāl tayt šis rəmḥāt ḏ-ḏəḥēb* ‘each one (witch) had a spear of gold’ (2:1)

*kāl tayt təntəkōl jāyγ tšəffkəh* ‘each one should choose a man to marry’ (15:21)

As with *kāl əḥād*, the phrase *kāl tāt* is treated as grammatically singular (cf. the above examples), though it can also be used appositionally with a dual or plural, as in:

*bārəm ḥābū kā-tāt h-abótəh* ‘the people went home, each to his own house’ (97:28)

*wəzmūhəm kā-tāt hayb* ‘he gave them each a crow-bar [or: shovel]’ (19:13)

*šəllōni kā-tāt šāwər* ‘we’ll each pick up a rock’ (35:10)

*qələm tīhəm kāl tāt bərk dəhrīz* ‘leave them each in a (separate) cell’ (46:17)

*hēm kāl tāt wəḥšīh* ‘they were each alone’ (50:4)

The last example shows that while *kāl tāt* is used appositionally with the plural *hēm*, it is still grammatically singular, as shown by the 3ms suffix of *wəḥšīh*.

A few times in the texts, we also find *kāl* used by itself meaning ‘all’ or ‘everyone’, for example:

*kāl ḏə-nūka yōmər* ‘everyone that came said’ (42:42)

*kāl āmáwr* ‘they all said’ (42:43)

*sēn ber mōt kāl* ‘they had all died’ (99:39)

For more on *kāl*, see § 5.5.3.

### 3.5.4 *kāl śīyən* ‘everything’

The indefinite pronoun ‘everything’ is expressed in Mehri by *kāl śīyən*, for example:

*báwməh kāl śīyən ġōli* ‘here everything is expensive’ (18:15)

*aṣābər axáyər mən kāl śīyən* ‘patience is better than everything’ (61:9)

*ktēbəm háyṇi kāl śīyən ḏə-wīḳa* ‘write down for me everything that happens’ (66:1)

*hēt fəyázk lay bə-kāl śīyən* ‘you have surpassed me in everything’ (76:18)

*śīhəm kāl śīyən* ‘they have everything’ (104:36)

In one passage in the texts, a shorter form *kāl śī* is used:

*nāṣāṣəh axáyər mən kāl śī* ‘we fear it more than anything’ (7:2)

The use of *śī* here may reflect a nuance of meaning, since the sense is closer to English ‘anything; any (other) thing’, rather than ‘everything’. Or, it may just be an error.<sup>22</sup>

In a few cases, *kāl śīyən* is strengthened by an appositional *kálləh* ‘all of it’ (see § 5.5.3), for example:

*tōli ġəráwb kāl śīyən kálləh* ‘then they realized everything’ (67:9)

*kəlētī lay bə-kāl śīyən kálləh* ‘tell me everything!’ (85:34)

*ḳəlōna kāl śīyən kálləh* ‘he will leave absolutely everything’ (98:11)

For more on *kāl*, see § 5.5.3, and for more on *śī*, see § 3.5.2. On ‘everything’ as a relative pronoun, see § 3.8.3.

<sup>22</sup> As noted in the comment to this passage in the texts, Johnstone transcribed *kāl śīyən* in his Roman-letter transcription, suggesting a possible later correction.

### 3.5.5 *fəlān(ə)*, *əl-fəlāni*, *ḥadd əl-fəlāni*

The noun *fəlān* (f. *fəlānə*), which appears more than thirty times in the texts, is used, like English ‘so-and-so’, to represent an unnamed person. It is used in stories when a name is unknown, or when the storyteller wishes to keep a character anonymous. Its use is much more common than in English. Examples are:

*šay gəyg ḥamməh fəlān* ‘with me was a man whose name was so-and-so’  
(18:2)

*hōh bər fəlān bər fəlān* ‘I am the son of so-and-so, son of so-and-so’  
(20:45)

*hēt ḥabrē ḏə-fəlān* ‘you are the son of so-and-so’ (20:47)

*fəlān gīlu* ‘so-and-so got sick’ (96:3)

*hōh əttēt ḏə-fəlān* ‘I am the wife of so-and-so’ (94:47)

*ā-fəlānə, syēri k-aḡyḡyḡš* ‘so-and-so, go with your husband!’ (94:12)

*hē hārūs bə-fəlānə bərt fəlān* ‘he has married so-and-so, daughter of so-and-so’ (100:4)

With nouns not referring to people, the Arabic word *əl-fəlāni* (f. *əl-fəlānīyyə*) can be used adjectivally to mean ‘such-and-such’, as in:

*hōh nākak mən rəḥbēt əl-fəlānīyyə* ‘I came from such-and-such town’  
(22:28)

*nəḥāh b-amkōn əl-fəlāni* ‘we are in such-and-such place’ (22:85)

The phrase *bə-ḥadd əl-fəlāni*, borrowed from Arabic, means ‘in/to such-and-such place’, as in:

*aḡōfi bə-ḥadd əl-fəlāni* ‘go to such-and-such a place’ (74:4)

*bə-ḥadd əl-fəlāni hē ḏə-səwbáyš* ‘in such-and-such place he is waiting for you’ (75:7)

### 3.5.6 *ḥəyálla tāt* ‘*whoever*’

There is one attestation in the texts of the pronoun *ḥəyálla tāt* ‘whoever’ (lit. ‘whichever one’), where it is followed by the relative pronoun:

*hōh ḏə-ḡərábk ḥəyálla tāt ḏə-yənké’ bəwməh ḥərfōna tīs* ‘I know that whoever comes here will move it’ (67:5)

The word *ḥayálla* ‘whichever’ comes from dialectal Arabic *ḥayyalla*, which in turn has been grammaticalized from the phrase *ḥayya allāh* ‘may God sustain (any choice)’.

According to one native speaker of Yemeni Mehri, the word *ḥayálla* can also be used as an exclamation meaning something like ‘it is good (news) that’, e.g., *ḥayálla aǵáyǵ gəhēm* ‘it is good news that the man went!’.

### 3.5.7 Other Indefinite Pronouns

As in Arabic, the particle *ǵayr* ‘except’ (§ 8.7) with a suffix can substitute for an indefinite pronoun, with a meaning ‘someone/something else’. Examples are:

*adámmaḥ bārəḥ k-əḥād ǵayrən* ‘he is probably with somebody else [lit. (someone) besides us]’ (41:4)

*ḏə-səyūr yəxlōf ǵayrəḥ* ‘something else [lit. besides it] will take the place of that which has gone’ (97:27)

The word *ḥōgət* ‘something’ (an Arabism) is attested twice in the texts, and seems to be synonymous with *šī*.

*ḥəǵdáyk ḥōgət* ‘I forgot something’ (70:6)

*āmáyli ḥənáfš tāmáyli ḥōgət* ‘pretend you are doing something!’ (94:8)

The noun *mənēdam* ‘person’ may also be used in place of ‘someone’, but there is no reason to call this a pronoun. An example is:

*kəlūt lay mənēdam ḏ-əl yəbáyǵ lā* ‘a person who doesn’t lie told me’ (57:12)

## 3.6 Reflexives

Reflexivity in Mehri is occasionally expressed by means of a verbal pattern, though often in such examples the English reflexive pronoun can be omitted without change in meaning. Some examples are:

*sē šəkráwt* ‘she hid (herself)’ (85:22) (Š1-Stem)

*ḥām šḥəwábək* ‘if you warm yourself (by the fire)’ (86:4) (Š1-Stem)

*šəbdəs* ‘detach (yourself) from her!’ (94:43) (Š1-Stem)

See further in § 6.4 and § 6.5.<sup>23</sup> However, more often, Mehri employs a reflexive pronoun based on suffixed forms of the noun *ḥənōf*- (du./pl. *ḥənfáy*-). This is historically the definite form of a noun *nōf*, based on the Semitic root *\*nfs* ‘soul’,<sup>24</sup> but the noun is never used without suffixes. Following are the forms of the reflexive pronoun:

	sing.	dual	plural
1c	<i>ḥənōfi</i>	<i>ḥənfáyki</i>	<i>ḥənfáyyan</i>
2m	<i>ḥənáfik</i>	<i>ḥənfáyki</i>	<i>ḥənfáykam</i>
2f	<i>ḥənáfš</i>		<i>ḥənfáykan</i>
3m	<i>ḥənáf(ə)h</i>	<i>ḥənfáyhi</i>	<i>ḥənfáyham</i>
3f	<i>ḥənáfš</i>		<i>ḥənfáyhan</i>

Note:

- Because in Omani Mehri the preposition *h*- ‘to, for’ is often suppressed before an initial *ḥ*- (see § 2.1.4), this reflexive pronoun can also function as a dative ‘to myself, yourself, etc.’.

Following are some examples of the reflexive pronoun in context:

*əlūtəǵ ḥənōfi* ‘I will kill myself’ (75:24)

*ḥəððōr bə-ḥənáfik* ‘watch out for yourself!’ (18:18)

*šəláləh hēt ḥənáfik* ‘you take it for yourself!’ (22:47)

*hībōh tkōsa ḥənáfik* ‘how do you find yourself?’ (i.e., ‘how are you?’) (84:8)

*āzámī ḥənáfš* ‘give yourself to me!’ (48:23)

*kšūf ḥənáfəh* ‘he exposed himself’ (24:42)

23 I found no examples of a simple pronominal suffix (on a verb or preposition) used to indicate a reflexive, but see the comment in Watson (2012: 200, n. 4).

24 The Semitic root is *\*nfs*, but the root is irregular in all of the MSA languages. For example, Jibbali has *enúf* (pl. *enšif*), suggesting a root *niff*, while Soqotri has some forms with a metathesized root *nhf* (< *\*nsf*).

*nəhōm nəhlēb hənfáyyan* ‘let’s milk for ourselves’ (35:20)  
*háfəwtəm bə-hənfáykəm* ‘save [lit. escape with] yourselves’ (42:19)  
*ğəruḫ hənfáyhəm* ‘he got water for themselves’ (68:3)

The reflexive pronoun is also used in the idiom *áyməl hənōf* ‘pretend’ (lit. ‘make oneself’), which occurs about a half-dozen times in the texts. A few of the passages are:

*āmlōt hənáfš ǵayg* ‘she pretended to be a man’ (lit. ‘she made herself a man’) (48:27)  
*ǵār w-áyməl hənáfəh ber mōt* ‘he fell and pretended he had died’ (64:21)  
*tāt yāmōl hənáfəh ḏə-ǵilu* ‘one will pretend he has a fever’ (84:2)  
*āmáyli hənáfš tāmáyli hōgət* ‘pretend you are doing something!’ (94:8)

Other idioms that use the reflexive pronoun are *səyūr k-hənōf* ‘go to the bathroom’ (lit. ‘go with oneself’) (cf. 97:37), *səyūr b-hənōf* ‘be oneself again, recover’ (cf. 25:16), and (*š*)*šənōh hənōf* ‘have one’s fortune read’ (lit. ‘show oneself’) (cf. 24:1).

English ‘-self’, in the adverbial sense of ‘by oneself, alone’, corresponds to the Mehri word *wəhš-* plus a pronominal suffix. As with many prepositions (§ 8.23), the suffixes look like those that are attached to 3ms perfect verbs (see § 3.2.3), e.g., 1cs *wəhšáy*, 2ms *wəhšūk*, 3ms *wəhših*, and 3fs *wəhšis*.<sup>25</sup> There are about ten examples in the texts, among which are:

*aǵáyg sōbər yāgōb wəhših* ‘the man always liked (to be) by himself’ (15:3)  
*hōh tēt wəhšáy* ‘I am a woman by myself’ (64:26)  
*əl əhmūm l-əklēs wəhšis lā* ‘I cannot leave her by herself’ (74:13)  
*hāl əhād aw wəhšūk* ‘with someone, or by yourself?’ (80:5)  
*kō tēm kálakəm təh yəsyēr wəhših yəmših* ‘why did you all let him go by himself yesterday’ (89:34)

There is one example in the texts of the reflexive pronoun *hənōf-* used with the adverbial meaning ‘by oneself’:

*ǵátri šis hənáfš* ‘he spoke with her by herself’ (48:11)

<sup>25</sup> This is not to say that the idiom is verbal in origin. No G-Stem verb (which would give a base *wəhš-*) is attested, though *ML* lists an Ši-Stem *šəwháwš* ‘feel lonely’. Cf. also the Arabic C-Stem *ʾawhaša* ‘be deserted; be lonely’.

### 3.7 Reciprocals

Reciprocals are most often expressed by means of a T-Stem verb. For example:

*kátwə́təm hābū* ‘the people chatted (with one another)’ (63:13) (T1-Stem)  
*antáwhəm* ‘they fought (with one another)’ (70:4) (T2-Stem)  
*hēm əl gátərbəm lā* ‘they didn’t recognize one another’ (74:9) (T1-Stem)  
*təhaym təgtēsəm* ‘you want to quarrel (with one another)’ (77:8) (T1-Stem)

See further in § 6.4.4, § 6.5.2, and § 6.5.4. However, Mehri sometimes employs a special reciprocal pronoun, formed on the bases *tāṭīdáy-* for masculine forms, and *ṭaytīdáy-* for feminine forms.<sup>26</sup> This pronoun is derived from the numeral *tāt/ṭayt* ‘one’. Following is the complete set of forms:

	dual	plural
1m	<i>tāṭīdáyki</i>	<i>tāṭīdáyyan</i>
1f	<i>ṭaytīdáyki</i>	<i>ṭaytīdáyyan</i>
2m	<i>tāṭīdáyki</i>	<i>tāṭīdáykəm</i>
2f	<i>ṭaytīdáyki</i>	<i>ṭaytīdáykən</i>
3m	<i>tāṭīdáyhi</i>	<i>tāṭīdáyhəm</i>
3f	<i>ṭaytīdáyhi</i>	<i>ṭaytīdáyəsən</i>

Note that this is the only word in the language for which gender is distinguished in the first person.

<sup>26</sup> The only feminine reciprocal form that occurs in the texts is *ṭaytīdáyəsən* (99:52). This was mistranscribed by Johnstone (and hence by Stroomer) as *ṭatīdáyəsən*, the form on which I based my original analysis in *MLO*. This single mistake thus affected my entire paradigm in *MLO* (p. 51), which lacked all the feminine forms. Watson (2012: 78) recorded the feminine forms, and the correct reading of the form in text 99:52 corroborates Watson’s data.



The pronoun *ṭāṭīday-* can be preceded by a preposition where the context requires it. There are about ten occurrences of *ṭāṭīday-* in the texts, some of which are:

*āmārōh hə-ṭāṭīdayhi, “hēt əngáys”* ‘they said to one another, “You are impure”’ (4:17)  
*nəhōm nəṣān ṭāṭīdayyən* ‘let’s tie each other up’ (24:25)  
*tōli fhēməm ṭāṭīdayhəm* ‘then they understood one another’ (59:14)  
*nákam hābū wə-ffáskəm tīhi mən ṭāṭīdayhi* ‘people came and separated them from each other’ (61:5)  
*aytáył šəbūk arikōb əl-ṭayṭīdayəsən* ‘the fox tied the camels to one another’ (99:52)

In some cases, a simple transitive verb plus a reciprocal pronoun is synonymous with an existing reciprocal verb. For example, we find in the texts the G-Stem *lūtəj* + reciprocal pronoun, as well as the T<sub>1</sub>-Stem *lāttəj*, both meaning ‘kill one another’, for example:

*təwtəjəm ṭāṭīdaykəm* ‘(lest) you kill one another’ (104:9) (G-Stem)  
*lāttəjəm* ‘they killed one another’ (3:19) (T<sub>1</sub>-Stem)

In cases where there is a prepositional relationship between multiple actors, without a sense of reciprocity, we find a construction ‘one’ + preposition + ‘one’, as in:

*yəṭkákək əšəwáyr ṭayt ḏār ṭayt* ‘they pound rocks on one another’ (lit. ‘one upon one’) (16:2)  
*agárbəm ṭāṭ bād ṭāṭ* ‘they tried, one after the other’ (50:3)

### 3.8 Relative Pronouns

#### 3.8.1 *Relative ḏ-*

The basic relative pronoun in Mehri is *ḏ(ə)*- (var. *əḏ-*) ‘who, that, which’. It does not decline for gender or number, and it does not matter if the antecedent is human or non-human.<sup>27</sup> Sometimes the consonant *ḏ* assimilates to a following

<sup>27</sup> A plural relative pronoun *lə-* is attested in some Yemeni dialects; cf. Jahn (1905: 28) and Bittner (1913a: 55).

dental or sibilant, as described in § 2.1.7. The relative can be followed by a verbal or non-verbal clause. Some examples are:

- gátəwsəm aǵəyūg ǰə-śətməm hərəm* ‘the men that bought the tree argued’ (3:18)  
*fəʔnək hēxər ǰə-nkáyən* ‘do you remember the old man who came to us?’ (22:73)  
*ǰəmāh hē aǵīgēn ǰə-śəʔ tətək* ‘this is the boy who took your wife’ (22:89)  
*kūsəm məšār ǰə-mīla dərēhəm* ‘they found a turban that was full of money’ (68:2)  
*šəhākəm hābū ǰə-hənīn mən aǵáyǵ* ‘the people that were by us laughed at the man’ (71:4)  
*āmūr aásər ǰə-aǵáyǵ ǰə-yāgōb b-aǵəǵǵīt* ‘the friend of the man who loved the girl said’ (75:6)  
*yəxlīfk ǵəyūg ǰə-axáyər mənək* ‘men who are better than you will replace you’ (76:5)

In some cases, a resumptive independent pronoun follows the relative. In all of these cases the antecedent functions as the subject of a non-verbal clause within the relative clause. Examples are:

- šīnən rawn bāš ǰə-əl sēn bə-xáyər lā* ‘I saw some goats that were not well’ (26:6)  
*hēm ǰār rəhmēnōt ǰə-əl sē mēkən lā* ‘they were on vegetation that was not much’ (30:1)  
*ʔəʔ mənəkēm əǰ-hē ʔəwáyəl yəsyēr yəkfēd bərk xan* ‘one of you who is tall should go walk down into the hold’ (91:18)

If the antecedent is the direct object of the verb in the relative clause, then a resumptive object pronoun—either a verbal object suffix (§ 3.2.3) or a direct object pronoun (§ 3.3)—must be used, for example:<sup>28</sup>

- əl kəsk əhād lā ǰə-əǵərbəh* ‘I didn’t find anyone that I knew’ (lit. ‘that I knew him’) (34:20)  
*b-arhōyab ǰə-əhākəmsən* ‘in the towns that I rule’ (66:1)

<sup>28</sup> In general, a resumptive pronoun is used whenever a direct object precedes the verb, regardless of whether or not a relative clause is involved. Cf. *kāl kəbáyli yəhərbən təh* ‘they fought any tribesman’ (104:37).

*ʿásš aǵáyǵ ḏā-wátǵfəm təh aǵəyūǵ* ‘the man that the men had come to got up’ (73:5)<sup>29</sup>  
*ḵəṛōh aḵáwt ḏā-hərḵáys* ‘he hid the food that he had stolen’ (84:5)

A resumptive pronoun must also be used if the relative is in a prepositional relationship with the antecedent, as in:

*ašāhən ḏā-bərḵásh aʿísē* ‘the dish that had the food in it’ (24:47)  
*ʿásš aǵáyǵ əḏ-hātīm hənəh aǵəyūǵ* ‘the man with whom the men had spent the night got up’ (73:11)  
*ǵəhmōh h-arḥəbēt ḏā-bīs aǵəǵənōt* ‘they went to the town that the girl was in’ (75:4)  
*hēt syēri bərḵ xəlōwəḵ ḏā-hōh nákak bərḵihəm* ‘you go out in the clothes that I came in’ (75:8)  
*aríkōb ḏā-ǵəzīw ḏəyrsən* ‘the camels upon which they had made the raid’ (104:24)

The relative can optionally be omitted when the antecedent is indefinite. However, the rules regarding the use of a resumptive pronoun in the relative clause still apply. Some examples of this are:

*təwōh ǵayǵ yəšəwkūf* ‘they came to a man who was sleeping’ (2:2)  
*bə-šāfūr xawr hámməh arīri* ‘in Dhofar there is a lagoon whose name is (Khawr) Rawri’ (7:7)  
*wbáysi bə-xəlōwəḵ yədōn nákak tīk bīhəm* ‘put on new clothes that I brought for you’ (24:6)  
*ǵəláwḵ əhād yəǵōrəb aǵəṛōyi* ‘they looked for someone who spoke my language’ (34:25)  
*šay ǵayǵ yəḥōm yəṭāf layš* ‘I have a man who wants to visit with you’ (38:15)  
*nəḥōm rəhbēt ṭayt nəhárhən bīs aməndáwḵən* ‘(we were) heading for a certain town in which we could pawn our rifle’ (91:2)  
*wəlē əkōsa əḥād yəməzūz* ‘perhaps I will find someone who smokes’ (94:25)  
*ksōna bū təǵárbhəm* ‘you will meet people that you know’ (37:16)

<sup>29</sup> The verb *wátx(a)f* ‘come to (in the evening)’ takes a direct object.

In the last example above, it is possible that the relative *ǰ-* is missing for phonological reasons, since *ǰ-* is normally suppressed before an initial *t-* (see further in § 2.1.7 and § 7.1.10.1). The example from 7:7 above illustrates how a resumptive pronoun is also required in contexts where English uses ‘whose’, i.e., where the antecedent is in a possessive relationship with a noun in the relative clause (cf. also 18:2).

The relative *ǰ-* can also be used with no antecedent, with the meaning ‘(the) one who’ or ‘that/those which’. Examples are rare in the texts, but a few are:

*al biham ǰ-āwānīn lā* ‘there is no one among them [lit. not among them one] that has helped us’ (91:14)

*ǰ-sayūr yaxlōf gāyrah* ‘something else [lit. besides it] will take the place of that which has gone’ (97:27)

*ǰ-yahōm yaxṭān* ‘the one who wants to cut us off’ (98:9)

*šardīd hāzīham kālsan, gāy ǰ-bér šhāṭam tīsān amhārēh* ‘they got back all of their goats, except for those that the Mehris had already slaughtered’ (104:34)<sup>30</sup>

Keeping with the above use, the relative *ǰ-* can also be used following an independent pronoun or the interrogative pronoun *mōn*, with the meaning ‘the one that, the one who’, as in:

*hēt ǰ-gābbak naxāhe* ‘you are the one who defecated under it’ (3:18)

*hēt ǰ-harākak ab’āyran* ‘you are the one who stole our camel’ (23:10)

*hōh ǰ-lātḡak tīs* ‘I am the one who killed it’ (42:43)

*hōh ǰ-kāsk tēh fānōhan* ‘I am the one who found it first’ (77:3)

*mōn ǰ-xayūn būk* ‘who (is the one who) betrayed you?’ (22:89)

The relative pronoun is not required following *mōn* if it is the subject of a verb; see further in § 11.1.

The first four examples from the set above show another interesting feature of Mehri relative clauses. If the relative pronoun (used in these cases with no antecedent) is itself the predicate in a non-verbal clause with a pronominal subject, then the verb in the relative clause agrees with that pronominal subject, and not the relative pronoun. Compare the Mehri phrase *hōh ǰ-kāsk* ‘I am the one who found’, in which there is a first-person verb following the relative, with the English phrase ‘I am the one who is’, in which a third-person verb follows the relative.

<sup>30</sup> Note also the resumptive pronoun *tīsān* in this sentence.

Similarly, if the antecedent of the relative pronoun, functioning as the subject of the relative clause, is itself the predicate in a non-verbal clause with a pronominal subject, then the verb in the relative clause (along with any pronominal suffixes referring to the antecedent) agrees with that pronominal subject, and not its grammatical antecedent. A few examples will make this clear:

*hōh ḡayg əð-ḥōm əl-ḡabēr ḥábye* ‘I am a man that wants [lit. I want] to meet his [lit. my] parents’ (20:35)

*hōh āḡáwz ðə-l-ād wəšəlak lā əl-syēr; wə-l-ād həbšárk lā* ‘I am an old woman who can’t manage to go anymore, and doesn’t see well anymore’ (46:2)

*hōh ḡayg ðə-xəlásk ḥōrəm* ‘I am a man who lost the road’ (47:8)

*hēt tāká’ ðə-wbádk ṭāt əl-fēm* ‘you should be one who has shot someone in the leg [or: foot]’ (72:4)

*hōh ḡayg ð-əl əfyádkaḡm mən sī lā* ‘I am a man who is of no use to you for anything’ (73:4)

*hēt ḥōkaḡm ṭḥáwkaḡm bə-ḥákk* ‘you are a ruler who rules justly’ (74:20)

*hōh ḡayg ð-əl šay ḡawt lā* ‘I am a man who has no food’ (92:2)

*hōh ḡayg ð-əl əḡáwdər l-əšxáwwəl b-aḡā’ ḍōməh lā* ‘I am a man who cannot stay in this land’ (94:4)

*hōh ḡayg əmzūz* ‘I am a man who smokes’ (94:29)

This rule applies also when the antecedent is the direct object of the verb in the relative clause, in which case the required resumptive pronoun (see above) agrees with the subject of the nominal clause rather than the antecedent, as in:

*hōh sənnáwrət əð-ḡōnək tī* ‘I am the cat that you raised [lit. that you raised me]’ (6:11)

On the use of *ð-* as a genitive exponent, see §12.4; in conjunction with some numerals, see §9.1.4 and §9.3; to form possessive pronouns, see §3.1; and as a verbal prefix, see §7.1.10.

### 3.8.2 *kāl* ð- ‘whoever’

As the antecedent of a relative clause, *kāl* is used to mean ‘whoever’, ‘everyone/anyone who’, ‘each one that’. Some examples are:

*kāl ðə-nūka xəzōh* ‘everyone who came refused’ (36:3)

*kāl ðə-ḥərūf ašāwər ḍīməh mən ḥōrəm, həh aḡáwhərət* ‘whoever moves this rock from the road, the jewel is for him’ (67:6)

*kāl ḏa-yəḥōm xədmēt wə-məskēn, yənké* ‘whoever wants work and a dwelling-place, let him come’ (74:7)

*kāl ḏa-šáh darēham yəḳáwdar yəslél salēb* ‘whoever has money can carry arms’ (94:28)

With an interceding *mən*, this construction can also have the meaning ‘whoever/whichever/any (one) of’, as in:

*kāl mənīn ḏa-bdōh, yəḳšōš ḥarōhəh* ‘whichever of us has lied, his head will be cut off’ (24:37)

*kāl mənḳēm ḏa-wətgáys, yəfrēr* ‘whichever of you killed it, he should jump’ (42:43)

*kāl mənḳēm ḏa-ḥátrək mən amḳōnəh, ḏa-l-əwbádəh* ‘any one of you who moves from his place, I will shoot him’ (64:31)

*kāl mənḥēm ḏa-ḥərfīs ḳsōna hədáyət* ‘whichever one of them moves it will find the gift’ (67:5)

### 3.8.3 əlhān

Mehri possesses a special relative pronoun *əlhān* (known also from elsewhere in MSA; cf. Jibbali *əlhín*, Hobyot *əlhīn*, Ḥarsusi *hən*), meaning ‘all that’, ‘everything (that)’, or ‘whatever’.<sup>31</sup> It can be followed by a verbal or non-verbal clause. Examples of its use are:

*wəzyēma tīk əlhān thōm* ‘they will give you whatever you want’ (65:8)

*əlhān ḳəsk nəxāse hē ḏa-hōh* ‘whatever I find under it is mine’ (67:8)

*sītəm aməráwkəb w-əlhān bərkīhəm* ‘he bought the ships and all that was in them’ (74:6)

*sītəm əlhān šəh* ‘he bought all that he had’ (74:12)

*šáxbərhəm əlhān gátəryəm yəllōh* ‘ask them what they talked about last night’ (74:20)

*ḳəlūt ḥābū b-əlhān həməyḥ* ‘he told the people all that he had heard’ (40:8)

The final example above illustrates two important points. First, *əlhān* can be the object of a preposition, unlike the relative pronoun *ḏ*-. Second, the verb following *əlhān* can have a resumptive pronoun.

<sup>31</sup> Watson (2012: 401–402) also recorded a shorter form *hān* in Omani Mehri.

### 3.8.4 *Relative mən hāl*

The phrase *mən hāl* has two meanings.<sup>32</sup> It can function as a compound preposition ‘from (the presence of)’, on which see § 8.9. It is also used as a relative-locative ‘where’, used with or without an antecedent. Examples with an antecedent are:

- ḵārōh tāwyāh bārk dāḥlīl mən hāl əl əḥād yāsényāh lā* ‘he hid his meat in a cave where no one would see it’ (13:7)  
*syērəm bəh tē hāl hārōm mən hāl ḵəbṣāh ayəḏbūr* ‘bring him to the tree where the hornet stung him’ (25:13)  
*nākam kərmáyym mən hāl kādēt yəsūkən* ‘they got to the mountains where Kadet was living’ (64:11)  
*bārk amḥfərūt mən hāl aǧəyūg ḥfəwr* ‘into the hole where the men had dug’ (88:11)  
*ṭayt mənsēn (t)šxəwlūl ḏār šāwər mən hāl taḵábələn lay* ‘one of them would sit on a rock where she could watch me’ (89:3)

When used without an antecedent, *mən hāl* can mean either ‘where’, ‘(in/to) a/the place where’, or ‘wherever’, as in:

- šḥāṭ wōz mən hāl attəǧēr yāsényəm təh lā* ‘he slaughtered a goat (in a place) where the merchants couldn’t see him’ (4:2)  
*mən hāl nākak, yəšḥáyk mənáy ḥābū* ‘wherever I came to, people would laugh at me’ (34:10)  
*mən hāl aǧáyǧ əssōfər, tssáfrən šəh* ‘wherever the man traveled, she traveled with him’ (74:10)  
*aǧhōm mən hāl əl əḥād yənōka lā* ‘I go where no one else goes’ (76:1)  
*hásnən mən hāl sīnək təh* ‘show us where you saw it’ (95:8)

The phrase *mən hāl* can also be a relative ‘from where’, serving in place of *\*\*mən mən hāl*, as in:

- hōh ḵəfdōna bārk ḥəwōdi mən hāl nākan* ‘I will go down into the valley where we came from’ (70:6)  
*sīni sékənəh mən hāl ǧəhēm* ‘he saw the settlement he had set out from’ (98:1)

32 Watson (2012: 387, 401) also recorded the particle *hān* used with the functions of relative *mən hāl* in Omani Mehri.

*anké' bə-ħərōh ǰ-arīšit mən hāl ǰ-ālēk* 'bring back the head of the serpent from where it was hung' (42:43)

In this last example, the passive verb *ǰ-ālēk* has the verbal prefix *ǰ-* (§ 7.1.10.2), not the relative pronoun.

Finally, in one passage in the texts we find relative *mən hāl* preceded by the preposition *te* 'until, up to', meaning 'to where':

*śáll aḳādər te mən hāl ħārāwn thəḳšáwmən* 'he took the pot to where the goats spend the day' (1:7)



## Nouns

### 4.1 Gender

Mehri has two grammatical genders, masculine and feminine. Masculine nouns have no formal marker. Feminine nouns are sometimes recognizable by the presence of a stressed suffix *-it*, *-ēt*, *-āt*, or *-ōt*,<sup>1</sup> or unstressed suffix *-ət*. Feminine nouns frequently lack an explicit feminine marker, in which case the gender of an individual noun is simply lexical. Following are some examples of marked and unmarked feminine nouns:

Marked feminine: *bahlīt* ‘word’, *bəḵərēt* ‘cow’, *fəššāt* ‘silver’, *ǰəggīt* ‘girl’, *ǰəgənōt* ‘girl’, *ksəwēt* ‘clothing’, *kəwtēt* ‘tale’, *ḵəhwēt* ‘coffee’, *ḵəssēt* ‘story’, *lāwḵət* ‘bottle’, *məḵsōt* ‘dead tree’, *nəxlīt* ‘palm-tree’, *rəhbēt* ‘town’, *rīšīt* ‘snake’, *sáhrət* ‘witch’, *sənēt* ‘year’, *šáyǰət* ‘jewelry’, *šənēt* ‘sleep’, *wərkāt* ‘paper; note’, *xədmēt* ‘work’, *xəwfēt* ‘window’, *xəṭərāt* ‘time’, *yəbīt* ‘female camel’

Unmarked feminine: *āgrēz* ‘testicle’, *āgáwz* ‘old woman’, *ārḵáyb* ‘mouse’, *ayn* ‘eye’, *bayt* ‘house’, *bōkər* ‘young she-camel’, *dənyē* ‘world’, *fēm* ‘leg; foot’, *fərháyn* ‘horse’, *gēzəl* ‘boulder’, *ḵāmē* ‘mother’, *ḵərōš* ‘acacia’, *kərmáyym* ‘mountain’, *ḵawt* ‘food’, *məndáwḵ* ‘rifle’, *məwsē* ‘rain’, *maws* ‘razor’, *məšrāḵ* ‘tooth’, *rikēb* ‘riding-camel’, *šāwər* ‘rock’, *təbráyn* ‘hyena’, *wōdi* ‘valley’, *wōrəm* (def. *ḵōrəm*) ‘road’, *wōz* (def. *ḵōz*) ‘female goat; goats’

Nearly all singular nouns ending in *-t* have feminine gender, even if the *t* is part of the root, as with *bayt* ‘house’ and *ḵawt* ‘food’. Exceptions are *bəháyymət* ‘poor fellow’ (*ML*, s.v. *bhm*), which has parallel cognate forms (that is, masculines ending in *-t*) attested in Hobyot and Jibbali, and *wəḵt* ‘time’, an Arabic loanword. On the other hand, plural nouns ending in *-(ə)t* are normally masculine, e.g., *zəyáwrət* ‘jars’ (sg. *zayr*); see § 4.3.3 for additional examples.

A very few nouns seem to be of variable gender, such as *məwsē* ‘rain’ (cf. 47:2 and 49:1), and *kəlōn* ‘bride/groom’.<sup>2</sup> Based on the limited evidence in the texts,

1 Johnstone suggested (1975a: 20) that the *-ōt* suffix is characteristic of trisyllabic nouns, while *-ēt* is characteristic of disyllabic nouns. This does not seem to hold up.

2 The word *kəlōn* can be qualified to remove ambiguity, and so we find *tēt kəlōn* ‘bride’ (9:7),

it seems that the feminine noun *səwēḥar* serves as the plural of both masculine *sēḥar* ‘warlock, wizard’ and feminine *sáḥrət* ‘witch’.<sup>3</sup>

Some masculine nouns referring to animate beings have a recognizable feminine counterpart, while others do not. Feminine nouns referring to humans most often have an explicit feminine-marking morpheme, though there are exceptions. Compare the following pairs:

Masculine	Feminine
<i>gīgēn</i> ‘boy’	<i>gəgənōt</i> ‘girl’
<i>ḥəbrē</i> ‘son’	<i>brīt</i> ‘daughter’ (def. <i>ḥəbrīt</i> )
<i>gūr</i> ‘male servant’	<i>gərīt</i> ‘female servant’
<i>bāl</i> ‘master’	<i>bālīt</i> ‘mistress’
<i>dīd</i> ‘paternal uncle’	<i>dīt</i> ‘maternal aunt’
<i>xayl</i> ‘maternal uncle’	<i>xəlūt</i> ‘paternal aunt’
<i>ḥaym</i> ‘brother-in-law’	<i>ḥəməyāt</i> ‘sister-in law’
<i>ḥayr</i> ‘male donkey’	<i>ḥūrīt</i> ‘female donkey’
<i>kawb</i> ‘dog, wolf’	<i>kəwbīt</i> ‘bitch’
<i>sēḥar</i> ‘wizard’	<i>sáḥrət</i> ‘witch’

But:

<i>gəyḡ</i> ‘man’	<i>tēt</i> ‘woman’
<i>ḥayb</i> ‘father’	<i>ḥāmē</i> ‘mother’
<i>bə‘áyr</i> ‘male camel’	<i>yəbīt</i> ‘female camel’
<i>téyəḥ</i> ‘male goat’	<i>wōz</i> ‘female goat’ (def. <i>ḥōz</i> )
<i>ḥēxər</i> ‘old man’	<i>āgáwz</i> ‘old woman’

Not all nouns referring to female animals are feminine in gender. For example, the nouns *dərḥīs* ‘one-year old female (goat) kid’, *fəráyṣ* ‘young she-camel’, and *ḥōṭər* ‘two- or three-month old female (goat) kid’ are all grammatically masculine.

Feminine nouns that are marked in the singular need not be, and usually are not, marked in the plural. For example, the plurals of *bəhlīt* ‘word’, *nōbēt* ‘bee’, and *rīsīt* ‘snake’ are, respectively, *bəhēl*, *nəwēb*, and *rəyēs*, all of which lack

*agəggūt kəlōn* ‘bride’ (75:7), and *agáyyg kəlōn* ‘groom’ (9:8; 75:10). But cf. *sē kəlōn* ‘she is a bride’ (75:6) and *nūka ḥaynīt təwōlī kəlōn* ‘the women came to the bride’ (9:7).

3 In 7:4, the masculine singular *sēḥar* must refer to one of the people referred to as *səwēḥar* elsewhere in this text (7:3, 7:7), though *səwēḥar* is grammatically feminine. The word *sēḥar* in other passages in this text is an abstract noun meaning ‘magic, witchcraft’ (7:1, 7:5, and 7:8).

an explicit feminine morpheme. And as a corollary, nouns that lack a feminine marker in the singular can exhibit a suffix *-t* in the plural, as with *məndáwk* ‘rifle’, pl. *məndádkət*, though such examples are uncommon. See further in § 4.3.3.

## 4.2 Duals

Nouns in Mehri possess a distinct dual form, as do pronouns and verbs. Unlike the formation of noun plurals, the formation of the dual is remarkably simple. For almost all nouns, regardless of gender, the dual is formed simply by adding the suffix *-i* to the singular, for example:

<i>warx</i> ‘month’, du. <i>wárxi</i>	<i>tēt</i> ‘woman’, du. <i>tēti</i>
<i>káwzərət</i> ‘date-basket’, du. <i>káwzərəti</i>	<i>ǰīgēn</i> ‘boy’, du. <i>ǰīgēni</i>

In actual use, the dual form of the noun is nearly always followed by the numeral ‘two’ (m. *trōh*, f. *trayt*). Examples from the texts are:

<i>ǰáygi trōh</i> ‘two men’ (104:5)	<i>tēti trayt</i> ‘two women’ (2:1)
<i>ḵōni trōh</i> ‘two horns’ (88:7)	<i>yəbīti trayt</i> ‘two camels’ (32:9)
<i>wárxi trōh</i> ‘two months’ (17:11)	<i>sənēti trayt</i> ‘two years’ (37:18)
<i>āšəri trōh</i> ‘two nights’ (98:6)	<i>fərháyni trayt</i> ‘two horses’ (24:11)
<i>ḵādəri trōh</i> ‘two pots’ (35:17)	<i>šáwri trayt</i> ‘two rocks’ (71A:1)

In speech, this dual ending *-i* is interpreted by Mehri speakers as part of the following numeral (e.g., *warx itrōh*). In fact, in Ali Musallam’s Arabic-letter transcriptions, he nearly always wrote *i-* prefixed to the numeral *trōh*, rather than suffixed to the noun. However, speakers do not use the form *itrōh* for the numeral when used alone or preceding a noun.

In a few places, the numeral ‘two’ precedes the noun, in which case the noun is in the plural:

<i>trōh ǰayw</i> ‘two brothers’ (40:1)
<i>trōh šhawd</i> ‘two witnesses’ (9:4; 100:1)

Johnstone (1975a: 21) cites two nouns that exhibit a unique, unpredictable dual, namely, *ǰayg* ‘man’ (dual *ǰáwgi*) and *ǰəggīt* ‘girl’ (dual *ǰəggáwti*), though only the former is found in the texts. He also says that these unique dual forms can sometimes be used without an accompanying numeral; the attested examples

of *aǰáwgi* ‘the two men’ (4:14; 5:17) confirm this. Also note the unusual case of *faǰħ* ‘half’, whose dual form *faǰħi* serves also as its plural, a use which is quite logical semantically. Dual *faǰħi* can also occur without an accompanying numeral (cf. 65:12; 77:10).

Adjectives do not have dual forms, so a dual noun is modified by a plural adjective, as in:<sup>4</sup>

*šáwri trayt ǰəlōfǰ* ‘two flat stones’ (71A:1)

The dual form also does not occur with possessive suffixes. So, when the numeral ‘two’ follows a noun with a possessive suffix, that noun is based on the plural form, as in:

*aǰáthe trayt* ‘his two sisters’ (15:1)<sup>5</sup>

*ħabánye šātáyt* ‘my three sons’

*ħabánse trōh* ‘her two sons’<sup>6</sup>

In terms of subject-verb agreement, we find both dual verbs with plural noun subjects and plural verbs with dual noun subjects. However, dual noun subjects and dual verbs do not usually co-occur, presumably for reasons of redundancy. Among the few examples of a dual noun subject with a plural verb are:

*ǰǰēni trōh wátǰǰəm* ‘two boys came’ (35:1)

*nūka kē’yōti trayt* ‘two female spirits came’ (68:6)

Compare the preceding examples with the following, which have dual verbs, but plural nouns:

*ǰǰǰdōh ǰǰǰēr* ‘the (two) merchants went down’ (4:12)

*sīrōh ħambārǰwtǰn* ‘the (two) boys went’ (35:16)

*sīrōh ħāǰǰrōn* ‘the (two) slaves went’ (65:10)

*dǰrtōh ħāǰǰǰrtǰn* ‘the (two) slave girls went around’ (97:31)

4 More examples can be found in Watson (2012: 139).

5 In this example, the base *ǰǰt-* could derive either from the singular *ǰǰyt* or the plural *ǰǰwtǰn*, but the suffix *-he* clearly shows that this is a plural form (cf. *aǰǰtǰh* ‘his sister’ and *aǰǰthe* ‘his sisters’).

6 These last two examples were elicited from Saeed al-Qumairi, a native speaker of Yemeni Mehri.

An exception is *aǰáwǰi aǰtáwáloh* ‘the two men have gone crazy’ (4:14); surely it is not a coincidence that *aǰáwǰi* is one of the few nouns with an unpredictable dual, and which can be used without an accompanying numeral. The choice of whether to put the noun or verb in the dual does not seem to be totally dependent on word order, as shown by the above examples, but it does seem to be the case that the dual element usually comes first.<sup>7</sup>

When the number ‘two’ is used independently, it does require a dual verb:

*trōh rākboḥ bārkēh* ‘two (men) rode in it’ (60:6)

*trōh ḏā-ǰāsīrōh* ‘two were traveling’ (68:1; 72:1)

*trōh sīrōh ... wā-trōh āmārōh* ‘two went ... and two sang’ (84:4)

In some cases, all verbs in a narrative sequence remain either dual or plural, as determined by the first verb. For example, in 35:1 (given above), the verb is plural because of the dual noun preceding it. All of the verbs and pronouns referring to the ‘two boys’ remain plural for the next several lines, even though the dual noun is not mentioned again. In 35:10, on the other hand, after a short break in the narrative about the ‘two boys’, we find a dual verb (*šállōni*), after which the verbs and pronouns are dual for the next several lines. In other cases, we find just one dual verb, followed in sequence by several plural verbs (e.g., 72:2). Sometimes we find flip-flopping between dual and plural verbs (e.g., 66:3). In several cases, Ali wrote a dual form in his Arabic-letter text, but read a plural on the audio, or vice versa.<sup>8</sup> In short, there seems to be a lot of flexibility in the use of dual verbs, no doubt an indication of obsolescence.

### 4.3 Plurals

Mehri exhibits two types of plural marking on nouns. There are external plurals, meaning that an explicit plural-marking suffix is used, and there are internal plurals, meaning that plurality is indicated by means of internal vowel changes, with or without the addition of an infix or suffix. Internal plurals are far more common in Mehri than external plurals; for masculine nouns they are used almost exclusively.

<sup>7</sup> We see this order preference too when there is a compound subject that is semantically dual. Cf. *hōh wā-ššōx mānan tāh* ‘the big one and I held him back’ (91:7, with the semantically dual compound subject first, followed by a plural verb) and *səyārki hōh wā-səddáyki* ‘my friend and I went’ (18:8, with the dual verb first, followed by the semantically dual compound subject).

<sup>8</sup> See, for example, the comments to texts 5:3, 17:1, 35:17, 35:22, 76:4, and 77:10, among others.

A few nouns have a suppletive plural, meaning they form their plural from a different base. Such are *ġigēn* ‘boy’, pl. *əmbəráwtən*; *yəbūt* ‘female camel’, pl. *bēr*; *nəhōr* ‘day’, pl. *yūm*; *mənēdam* ‘person’, pl. *bū*;<sup>9</sup> and *ḵəhwēt* ‘coffee-shop’, pl. *məḵōhi*.<sup>10</sup> The noun *tēt* ‘woman’ (pl. *yənīt*) falls into this category from a synchronic perspective, but historically both forms are from the same root, *nt*.

Some singular nouns can have both a singular and collective meaning, e.g., *šáyġət* ‘ornament; jewelry’, *tōmər* ‘date; dates’, and *wōz* ‘female goat; goats’. A collective noun may be treated as grammatically singular or plural. For example, the collective *ḍəbbēt* ‘flies’ takes feminine plural verb concord in text 29:4, but feminine singular concord in 29:7; cf. also the morphological plural *aḍbēb* (29:18). The plural noun *hərōm* ‘tree’ can also be used with a singular meaning, and in fact is much more commonly used in the texts than singular *hərmáy*, which is found just once (70:1).<sup>11</sup> The plural nouns *bēr* ‘camels’ and *rawn* ‘goats’ can also be used as collectives.<sup>12</sup>

#### 4.3.1 Masculine External Plurals

Nouns with the masculine external plural marker *-in* are quite rare in Mehri, and are exceedingly rare in the texts. Two examples are *ktəbīn* ‘books’ (25:18, sg. *ktōb*), and, with the allomorph *-áyn*, *maytáyn* ‘dead (people)’ (40:4, sg. *mōyət*).<sup>13</sup> Other examples not occurring in the texts can be found in *ML*, such as *ḍənōb*

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- 9 The word *bū* (def. *hābū*) is likely historically connected with Semitic *\*ab(w)*- ‘father’ (Kogan 2015: 547). If so, then this means that it is related to the Mehri singular *ḵayb* ‘father’, but the plural of the latter is *ḵawb*.
- 10 *Məḵōhi* (attested in 48:13) is the broken plural of *məḵhōyət*, the Yemeni Mehri word for ‘coffee-shop’, which occurs in text 48:14 (though the audio has *ḵəhwēt* here). *ML* (s.v. *ḵhw(y)*) says that it is also the plural of the Omani Mehri word *ḵəhwēt* ‘coffee-shop’. As I discuss elsewhere (§ 9.3, n. 16), text 48 contains several Yemeni Mehri forms.
- 11 In some contexts, it is unclear whether a singular or plural is intended. For example, in 70:2, we find the phrase *bāl ḵārāwn ḍə-yəlūbəd hərōm*, which I have translated as ‘a goat-herder beating a tree’. But ‘beating trees’ is an equally possible translation in this context. However, in 70:3 we find *hərōm ḍə-yəlābdəh* ‘the tree that he was beating (it)’, where the 3ms resumptive object suffix makes it clear that *hərōm* is singular. Similarly, we can cite *kūsən hərōm əḍ-bəh ḵfūl, wəlākan ḍəyərəh yəḍbōr mēkən* ‘we found a tree that had ripe figs on it, but there were a lot of hornets in it’ (25:3), which has a ms suffix referring to *hərōm* on both *bəh* and *ḍəyərəh*. In 94:37, *hərōm* is modified by the ms demonstrative *ḍək*.
- 12 Though *bēr* is the generic word for ‘camels’, it also serves as the plural of *yəbūt* ‘female camel’. The word *bēr* has the same root as *bəáyər* ‘male camel’ (pl. *ba’yōr*).
- 13 The mp form *məxāsəráyn* ‘mixed’ (60:1) seems to be an Arabized form (as noted in *ML*, s.v. *xśr*), though it is not clear if this verbal root occurs in Arabic with this meaning. There is a verb *xśūr* ‘mix’ in Mehri, however.

'tail', pl. *ḏanābīn*; *gāfōn* 'eyelash, eyelid', pl. *gāfānīn*;<sup>14</sup> *ǧōb* 'excrement', pl. *ǧābbīn*; *ḵarōš* 'mosquito', pl. *ḵarāšīn*; and *zawōd* 'supplies', pl. *zawādīn*.<sup>15</sup> Note that almost all of these words have the singular pattern *CāCōC*. Kogan (2015: 474–475) has suggested that the suffix *-īn* is not to be seen historically as the external plural marker (like Arabic *-īna* or Hebrew *-īm*), but rather should be compared to Arabic broken plural patterns with the suffix *-ān* (e.g., *ǧulām* 'boy', pl. *ǧilmān*).

In addition to the rare suffix *-īn*, we find the likewise rare masculine plural morpheme *-ōn*. Examples from the texts are *ǧarōn* 'slaves' (e.g., 22:104, sg. *ǧūr*), and *šīfōn* 'guests' (e.g., 4:3, sg. *šayf*). We also find this morpheme in the feminine plural *āǧzōn* 'old women' (e.g., 97:8, sg. *āǧāwz*).<sup>16</sup>

The most common suffix found with masculine plurals is *-ət*, though this is nearly always used in conjunction with an internal plural pattern (see § 4.3.3). An example of *-ət* used independently is *dallōlat* 'guides' (60:8, sg. *dallōl*); cf. also *ḥaddōdat* 'blacksmiths', sg. *ḥaddōd*, listed in *ML* (s.v. *ḥdd*). A small number of masculine nouns take the feminine external plural marker, on which see § 4.3.2.

#### 4.3.2 *Feminine External Plurals*

The external feminine plural marker is *-tān/-ōtān/-ūtān/-āwtān*. The form *-tān* is especially common with adjectives, including most of those based on the pattern *CāCāyC* (see § 5.2), while *-ūtān* is used with the future tense (see § 7.1.6), which was originally a nominal form. With nouns the external feminine plural marker is a bit less common, though it is found with some frequently occurring feminine nouns, especially those referring to humans and body parts. At least one masculine noun has a plural with feminine external suffix, though it remains grammatically masculine. Below are most of the feminine external plurals found in the texts, though several of these are attested only with pronominal suffixes:

- ayn*, pl. *āyēntān* 'eye'  
*(ḥə)brīt*, pl. *(ḥə)bāntān* 'daughter'  
*ḏay*, pl. *ḏayōtān* 'scent' (masculine?)  
*fīkā*, pl. *fākyūtān* 'cover' (masculine?)  
*ǧānyōt*, pl. *ǧānnāytān* 'female jinn'  
*ǧārīt*, pl. *ǧērtān* 'slave-girl'  
*ǧayfēn*, pl. *ǧāfānūtān* 'dress' (masculine?)

14 Johnstone (1975a: 20) has the definition 'eyebrow' for *gāfōn*, but that is an error.

15 The singular *zawōd* normally has plural or collective meaning; cf. texts 12:3 and 24:11.

16 *ML* (s.v. *ǧz*) gives *āǧōyāz* as the plural of *āǧāwz*, and lists *āǧzōn* as a collective. In the texts, only *āǧzōn* is used for the plural.

*ǰaggīt*, pl. *ǰaggōtān* ‘girl’  
*ǰīǰēn* ‘boy’, pl. *āmbārāwtān* ‘boys’ (masculine)  
*ǰāǰānōt*, pl. *ǰāǰānāwtān* ‘girl’  
*ǰāyt*, pl. *ǰāwtān* ‘sister’  
*ḥayd*, pl. *ḥādūtān* ‘hand’  
*ḥayḏēn*, pl. *ḥayḏāntān* ‘ear’  
*kāwbūt*, pl. *kālābtān* ‘female dog, bitch’  
*šāfārīt*, pl. *šāfārtān* ‘braid, plait (of hair)’<sup>17</sup>

Unfortunately, the attestations of the nouns *ǰay*, *fikā*, and *ǰayfēn* are not in contexts that allow us to determine whether they are masculine or feminine, so *āmbārāwtān* is the only certain masculine noun in the list above with a feminine external plural suffix. The plural of *hamm* ‘name’ is *hāmūtān* (*ML*, s.v. *hmy*), and this is also likely masculine.<sup>18</sup>

Some masculine nouns with the prefix *mā-* have plurals in *-ūtān* (e.g., *māḥīšān* ‘soothsayer’, pl. *māššānyūtān*), but these are all historically active participles, i.e., what has become the future tense in Mehri, and futures from derived stems have the common plural ending *-ūtān* (see § 7.1.6).

Before possessive suffixes (§ 3.2.2), the element *-ān* of the feminine plural marker (presumably historical nunation) is lost, as in *ḥābāntse* ‘her daughters’ (15:4), *āǰāthe* ‘his sisters’ (15:1), *āyēntšē* ‘your (f.) eyes’ (42:27), *ḥādāthe* ‘his hands’ (75:10), and *āšāfārtse* ‘her braids’ (75:14).

An external feminine plural suffix *-ōt* is attested with a small number of adjectives, e.g., *kōmāḥ* ‘bad’, fp *kamḥōt* (18:18); *nākāy* ‘innocent; pure’, fp *nākāyōt* (2:3); and *mātālli* ‘second, other; later’, cp *mātalyōt* (30:13). On the suffix *-ōn*, found in the form *āǰzōn* ‘old women’ (sg., *āǰāwz*), see § 4.3.1.

### 4.3.3 Internal Plurals

By far the most common method of indicating the plurality of a noun is changing the vocalic pattern, with or without the addition of an infix or suffix. For the most part, these internal plural forms are unpredictable. If we grouped

17 *ML* (s.v. *šfr*) lists *šāfir*, pl. *šāfarūtān*, with the meaning ‘plait of hair’, and *šāfirūt*, pl. *šāfārtān*, with the meaning ‘leaf with a scent like thyme ... used by women on their hair’. However, it is the latter term that occurs in the texts meaning ‘braid, plait (of hair)’. See further in the comments to texts 75:11 and 75:15. The plural is clearly feminine, since we find both fs *ḥayt* ‘one’ (75:13) and fp *bīšān* ‘them’ (85:10) referring to this word.

18 The attestations of *hamm* ‘name’ in our texts give no clue to its gender, but the word is masculine in the Yemeni texts collected by Sima (2009: 230, text 45:1). It is possible, of course, that the gender of this word differs between the two dialects.



into sets nouns whose singular and plural patterns were the same (e.g., sg. *hēxār*, pl. *hīxār*; sg. *nēhār*, pl. *nīhār*), there would be dozens of such groups.<sup>19</sup> In general, internal plurals themselves can be loosely classified according to several types:

**Type 1:** Internal plurals indicated with the change of a single vowel or diphthong.

This type includes many quadrilateral nouns of the pattern *CəCCīC* (var. *CəCCáyC*; pl. *CəCCōC*):<sup>20</sup> *dəhlīl* (pl. *dəhlōl*) ‘cave, hole’, *dərhīs* (pl. *dərhōs*) ‘one-year old female (goat) kid’, *gərdīs* (pl. *gərdōs*) ‘ground; desert’, *kərmáy* (pl. *kərmōm*) ‘mountain’, *kətfīf* (pl. *kətfōf*) ‘wing’, *məhlīb* (pl. *məhlōb*) ‘young camel’, *məhtáy* (pl. *məhtōm*) ‘camel-rope’, *magrīr* (pl. *magrōr*) ‘beehive’, *məndīl* (pl. *məndōl*) ‘handkerchief’, *šətráy* (pl. *šətrōr*) ‘rag, strip of cloth’, *yəgráyb* (pl. *yəgrōb*) ‘crow, raven’, *zənbīl* (pl. *zənbōl*) ‘basket’

Several masculine kinship terms: *dīd* (pl. *dūd*) ‘paternal uncle’, *ḥayb* (pl. *ḥawb*) ‘father; (pl.) parents’, *ḥaym* (pl. *ḥawm*) ‘brother-in-law; father-in-law; (pl.) parents-in-law’, *xayl* (pl. *xawl*) ‘maternal uncle’

And others: *āšáyš* (pl. *āšáwš*) ‘bone’, *fəráyš* (pl. *fərōš*) ‘young she-camel’, *nīd* (pl. *nūd*) ‘(water-)skin’, *rīkēb* (pl. *rīkōb*) ‘riding-camel’

**Type 2:** Internal plurals with total pattern replacement.

Examples include: *āgōrēz* (pl. *āgōrəz*) ‘testicle’, *āšər* (pl. *āšáwr*) ‘night’,<sup>21</sup> *āšər* (pl. *āšōr*) ‘friend’, *bōkər* (pl. *bəkōr*) ‘young she-camel’, *bark* (pl. *bīrōk*) ‘knee’, *bayt* (pl. *bəyūt*) ‘house’, *gayg* (pl. *gəyūg*) ‘man’, *hēxār* (pl. *hīxār*) ‘old man’, *ḥarf* (pl. *ḥəráwf*) ‘gold coin’, *ḥōrəm* (pl. *ḥayrēm*) ‘road (def.)’, *ḥōṭər* (pl. *ḥīṭār*) ‘(goat) kid’, *kādər* (pl. *kēdōr*) ‘pot’,<sup>22</sup> *karš* (pl. *kəráwš*) ‘money; Maria Theresa dollar’, *ḥayd* (pl. *ḥəyūd*) ‘rope’, *kawb* (pl. *kəlōb*) ‘dog, wolf’, *nēhār* (pl. *nīhār*) ‘wadi’, *səkən* (pl. *skūn*) ‘settlement; family’, *šəbb* (pl. *šəbōb*) ‘young man’, *šáyga* (pl. *šīgē*) ‘shelter; (animal) pen’, *tōgər*

19 See, for example, the extensive coverage of Jahn (1905: 35–63).

20 This also includes passive participles; see § 7.1.8.

21 It is sometimes unclear from the audio evidence whether the plural is really *āšáwr* or *āšōr*. Both forms are given in *ML*. Watson (2012) has only the former.

22 See the comment to text 35:6.

(pl. *tagēr*) ‘merchant, rich man’,<sup>23</sup> *warx* (pl. *wōrax*) ‘month’, *xášam* (pl. *xəšáwm*) ‘enemy’, *xōtam* (pl. *xtūm*) ‘ring’<sup>24</sup>

**Type 3:** Internal plurals with pattern replacement and an infix *w*.

Examples include: *ātər* (pl. *ātōwər*) ‘perfume’, *fatx* (pl. *fəṭōwax*) ‘hit, blow’, *markēb* (pl. *məráwkəb*) ‘ship’, *másmər* (pl. *məsáwmər*) ‘nail’, *məxbāṭ* (pl. *məxáwbəṭ*) ‘cartridge’, *nēḏər* (pl. *nəḏōwər*) ‘vow’, *xalēk* (pl. *xəlōwək*) ‘cloth, dress (pl. clothes)’, *xətrāk* (pl. *xəṭáwrək*) ‘stick’

**Type 4:** Marked feminine singulars with internal, unmarked feminine plurals (some with infix *y*).

Examples include: *bəhlit* (pl. *bəhēl*) ‘word’, *bəḵərēt* (pl. *bəḵār*) ‘cow’, *dəgərīt* (pl. *dēgər*) ‘bean’, *gəzáyrət* (pl. *gəzōyər*) ‘island’, *hərmáyt* (pl. *hərōm*) ‘tree’,<sup>25</sup> *jənbáyyət* (pl. *jənōbi*) ‘dagger’,<sup>26</sup> *ḵəbáylət* (pl. *ḵəbōyal*) ‘tribe’, *nōbēt* (pl. *nəwēb*) ‘bee’, *rəḥbēt* (pl. *rəḥōyab*) ‘town’, *rīsīt* (pl. *rəyēs*) ‘snake’, *sáḥrət* (pl. *səwēḥər*) ‘witch’, *šəfəráyyət* (pl. *šəfōri*) ‘pot’, *wáhnət* (pl. *wəḥōyən*) ‘shoulder blade’, *xəwfēt* (pl. *xəlōyaf*) ‘window’

**Type 5:** Internal plurals with suffixed *-t* (some with infix *w* or *y*).

These are usually masculine nouns, including: *hērək* (pl. *həráwḵət*) ‘thief’, *ḥōkəm* (pl. *ḥkōmət*) ‘ruler’, *ḵəbáyn* (pl. *ḵəbáwnət*) ‘scorpion’, *məlēk* (pl. *məláyḵət*) ‘angel’,<sup>27</sup> *ribay* (pl. *ərbāt*) ‘companion’, *skayn* (pl. *skáwnət*) ‘knife’, *škay* (pl. *škáyyət*) ‘sword’, *xōdam* (pl. *xəddōmət*) ‘worker, servant’,<sup>28</sup> *zayr* (pl. *zəyáwrət*) ‘jar’

23 The word *tōgər* also has a plural form *tagərēt*. Based on 66:1 and 66:10 it appears that they are free variants as nouns. It is possible that *tagərēt* is preferred for the adjective plural (e.g., 65:8), and *tagēr* for the noun plural (e.g., 4:1).

24 See the comment to text 22:51.

25 As noted in § 4.3, *hərōm* is often grammatically singular in the texts.

26 Besides *jənbáyyət*, pl. *jənōbi* (e.g., 9:8; 3:19), the texts also have *gənbáyyət*, pl. *gənōbi* (e.g., 34:11; 104:36).

27 *ML* (s.v. *mlk*) lists a plural *məlōkət*, but in the texts (4:9), we find *məláyḵət*. It is unclear if *məlēk* ‘king’ has a different plural than *məlēk* ‘angel’.

28 The singular *xōdam* is according to *ML* (s.v. *xdm*), since only the plural form occurs in the texts (e.g., 19:13). Based on other nouns of this plural pattern, e.g., *dəllōl* (pl. *dəllōlət*) ‘guide’ and *ḥəddōd* (pl. *ḥəddōdət*) ‘blacksmith’, we might expect a singular *xəddōm*. An adjective

A feminine example is: *məndáwḵ* (pl. *mənádkəṭ*) ‘rifle’

Among diminutive plurals, we also find some internal plurals with an infix *y* (in the suffix *-ēyēn*), as well as plurals that show partial reduplication (e.g., *nəhrāhōr* ‘little wadis’, sg. dimin. *nəwāhār*). See further in § 4.5.

Certain nouns can be classed as irregular, either because their plural is formed from a different base (see § 4.3 for examples) or because the base is phonologically altered in the plural. Examples fitting the latter category are *həbrē* (pl. *həbūn*) ‘son’, *gā* (pl. *gəyḡ*) ‘brother’, *tēt* (pl. *yənīt*), ‘woman’, and *wōrəm* (pl. *ayrēm*) ‘road’ (def. *hōrəm*, *hayrēm*). On the similarly irregular plural bases of ‘daughter’ and ‘sister’, see § 4.3.2.

#### 4.4 Definite Article

The existence of a definite article in Mehri was for a long time not recognized, because Mehri dialects differ with regard to this feature. Yemeni Mehri dialects lack a definite article, but one undoubtedly exists in Omani Mehri.<sup>29</sup> The productive form of the definite article is an unstressed prefixed *a-* (sometimes pronounced *ε-*), which does not inflect for gender or number. Some words have a definite article *h-* or *h-*, but these are lexical, and such forms must be learned individually. The great majority of nouns take the article *a-*, the use of which is phonologically conditioned. That is, before certain consonants it does not appear. The rules are as follows:

- a. The definite article *a-* is found before the voiced and glottalic consonants *b, d, ḏ, ḑ, g, ġ, j, k, l, m, n, r, s, š, ṣ, t, w, y,* and *z*. Examples are *bəyt* ‘house’ (def. *abəyt*), *dəbəh* ‘honey’ (def. *adəbəh*), *ḏəbbēt* ‘flies’ (def. *aḏəbbēt*), *ḏəwma* ‘thirst’ (def. *aḏəwma*), *gəzəyrət* ‘island’ (def. *agzəyrət*), *gəyḡ* ‘man’ (def. *aḡəyḡ*), *jənbəyyət* ‘dagger’ (def. *ajənbəyyət*), *kā* ‘place’ (def. *aḵā*), *lang* ‘launch’ (def. *aləng*), *məkōn* ‘place’ (def. *amkōn*), *nəhōr* ‘day’ (def. *anhōr*), *rəhbēt* ‘town’ (def. *arḥəbēt*), *šəwər* ‘rock’ (def. *ašəwər*), *šəyga*

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*xəddōmi* ‘hard-working’ is also attested (34:4). Jahn (1902: 1905) lists sg. *xōdam*, pl. *xədəm* (cf. Arabic *xādim*, pl. *xuddām*).

29 The definite article in Mehri was only first suggested (tentatively) by Thomas (1937: 243 [17]), who was the first to collect data on Omani Mehri. Matthews (1962) was aware of the definite article, but his work was not widely known. Johnstone (1970a) published the first real description of the definite article in Mehri. Sima (2002a) is an important study of the issue.

- 'shelter; (animal) pen' (def. *ašáyyga*), *šōbā* 'fingers' (def. *ašōbā*'), *tayk* 'fig tree' (def. *aṭáyk*), *wārēk* 'papers' (def. *awrēk*), *yāgráyb* 'raven, crow' (def. *ayāgráyb*), *zānbīl* 'basket' (def. *azānbīl*).
- b. The definite article is found before a cluster of voiceless, non-glottalic consonants (§ 2.1.2).<sup>30</sup> Examples are: *fšē* 'lunch' (def. *afšē*'), *ḥfūl* 'ripe (wild) figs' (def. *aḥfūl*'), *ḥkáwmāt* 'government' (def. *aḥkáwmāt*), *ksāwēt* 'clothes' (def. *aksāwēt*'), *ktōb* 'book' (def. *aktōb*'), *šxōf* 'milk' (def. *ašxōf*'), *xtūm* 'rings' (def. *axtūm*).
- c. For nouns with etymological initial ʿ that has been lost before a stressed vowel, the article may appear (pronounced with a hiatus) or may be assimilated to the initial vowel of the word. So from *āšār* 'night', we may hear definite *aášār* or *āšār* 'the night'. When initial ʿ is preserved (see § 2.1.3), then the article appears as expected before this voiced consonant, e.g., *aʿišē* 'the dinner' and *aʿáymār* 'the singing'.
- d. The definite article *a-* does not occur before the voiceless, non-glottalic consonants *f*, *h*, *ḥ*, *k*, *s*, *š*, *t*, *ṭ*, and *x* (except when there is a cluster of two, as in rule b). Instead, there is gemination of the initial consonant. In practice, however, the gemination is very often not realized, in which case the article is then not present at all (or, one could say that it has the surface form  $\emptyset$ ). For example, the definite form of *tēt* 'woman' can be simply *tēt*, or it can be *ttēt* or *attēt*. An initial geminate is heard more often, but not always, with a prefixed preposition or the conjunction *wā-*, e.g., *wā-ttēt* 'and the woman'.

An unstressed *ə* is often deleted in the syllable following the definite article *a-*. For example:

*bākār* 'cattle' → def. *abkār*  
*gəzáyrat* 'island' → def. *agzáyrat*  
*mənēdam* 'human being' → def. *amnēdam*  
*nəhōr* 'day' → def. *anhōr*  
*wārēk* 'papers' → def. *awrēk*

But not:

<sup>30</sup> Johnstone's transcriptions in Stroomer's edition of the texts and in his other publications completely obscured this phenomenon. This rule was subsequently discovered by Sabrina Bendjaballah and Philippe Ségéral (2014a) in the course of their own fieldwork. The revised editions of Johnstone's texts published herein match splendidly with the rule that they uncovered.

*məwsē* ‘rain’ → def. *aməwsē*  
*məndáwķ* ‘rifle’ → def. *aməndáwķ*  
*ķaráwš* ‘money’ → def. *aķaráwš*

Cases like *aməwsē* and *aməndáwķ* retain the ə to avoid a cluster of three consonants, while in a case like *aķaráwš* the ə is retained because of the preceding glottalic consonant.

As already mentioned, words with the definite article *ħ-* or *h-* are lexical, and for the most part it is unpredictable (synchronically, at least) which nouns use these article. The article *ħ-* is by far the more common of the two, and it is found both with (synchronically) vowel-initial and consonant-initial words. We can formulate the following rules to describe the form of the article *ħ-*:

- a. The default form is *ħə-*. Examples are: *brīt* ‘daughter’ (def. *ħəbrīt*), *dīd* ‘paternal uncle’ (def. *ħədīd*), *mōh* ‘water’ (def. *ħəməh*), *nōb* ‘big (f.)’ (def. *ħənōb*), *nīd* ‘(water-)skin’ (def. *ħənīd*), *nōf-* ‘self’ (def. *ħənōf-*),<sup>31</sup> *rōh* ‘head’ (def. *ħərōh*), *wōdī* ‘valley’ (def. *ħəwōdī*).
- b. Where the historical root has an initial glottal stop, the form is *ħā-* (*ħa-* in a closed syllable). Examples are: *arnáyb* ‘hare’ (def. *ħarnáyb*), *bū* ‘people’ (def. *ħābū*), *gūr* ‘slave’ (def. *ħāgūr*), *rīt* ‘moon’ (def. *ħārīt*), *rawn* ‘goats’ (def. *ħārāwn*).
- c. Before a voiceless, non-glottalic consonant or before *y* the form is *ħa-*.<sup>32</sup> Examples are: *fārōķ* ‘flocks, camps’ (def. *ħafrōķ*), *skūn* ‘settlements’ (def. *ħaskūn*), *səlōb* ‘arms, weapons’ (def. *ħaslōb*), *śəbōb* ‘young men’ (def. *ħaşbōb*), *yəbīt* ‘female camel’ (def. *ħaybīt*), *yənūt* ‘women’ (def. *ħaynūt*), *yūm* ‘days’ (def. *ħayūm*).
- d. In a couple of words in which an initial glottal stop was replaced by *w*, the form is *ħ-*, which replaces the *w*: *wōrəm* ‘road’ (def. *ħōrəm*), *wōz* ‘female goat; goats’ (def. *ħōz*).<sup>33</sup>

Many of the nouns with the definite article *ħ-* have an etymological initial ʔ. When the consonant was part of the root, this is usually reflected in the long

31 The form *ħənōf-* only occurs with suffixes, and so always appears as definite within the texts; see further in § 3.6. The word *nōf* is cognate with Arabic *nafs* ‘soul; self’, though the root has undergone some mutation in Modern South Arabian (§ 3.6, n. 24).

32 An exception is *ħəyáwm* ‘the sun’, though here the prefix can be considered part of the lexeme, not as a removable article.

33 The word *wōz* must be connected etymologically with Arabic *ʾanz*, Hebrew *ʿēz*, etc., but the proto-MSA form can be reconstructed with ʔ.

*ā* of the definite article *ḥā-*, as noted above. For example, *bū* is probably from Semitic root *\*b* ‘father’ (as is Mehri *ḥayb* ‘father’); *gūr* ‘slave’ is cognate with Arabic *ʿajūr* and Akkadian *agru* ‘laborer’; *rīt* is probably cognate with Hebrew *ōr* ‘light’; and *rawn* is cognate with Syriac *ʾarnā* ‘mountain goat’. Definite plurals like *ḥafrōk* ‘flocks, camps’ (sg. *farḥ*) and *ḥaslōb* ‘arms, weapons’ (sg. *sālēb*) must reflect a broken plural pattern *\*aCCāC*. The word *yābūt* ‘female camel’ derives from the root *ʿbl*, while *yānūt* ‘women’ derives from the root *ʿnt*.

Some other nouns with an initial *y* also take the definite article *ḥa-*, like *yūm* ‘days’, while others do not, like *yāḏbūr* ‘hornet’ (def. *ayāḏbūr*) and *yāḡrāyb* ‘crow’ (def. *ayāḡrāyb*).<sup>34</sup>

Other nouns with the definite article *ḥ-*, like *mōh* ‘water’, *rōh* ‘head’, and *nōf* ‘self’, and the adjective *nōb* ‘big’ do not have etymological initial *ʿ* or *y*, but they do each have the pattern *CōC*, so perhaps some analogy took place with words of this pattern. The noun *wōdi* ‘valley’ may also fit with these nouns, since the pattern is nearly identical. The noun *nīd* ‘water-skin’ may also belong here; its plural is *nōd*, so probably this attracted the article *ḥ-*, which then spread to the singular. The word *wōz* ‘female goat; goats’ (def. *ḥōz*), mentioned above, also has the shape *CōC*.

Nouns like *brīt* ‘daughter’ and *dīd* ‘paternal uncle’ perhaps take the article *ḥ-* on analogy with other kinship terms like *ḥayb* ‘father’ (historical root *ʿb*), *ḥāmē* ‘mother’ (historical root *ʿm*), and *ḥaym* ‘brother-in-law’.<sup>35</sup> The feminine *dīt* ‘maternal aunt’ has a definite *ḥādīt*, rather than the expected *\*ḥādīt*, probably under the influence of *ḥāmē* ‘mother’. In short, the appearance of an article *ḥ-* can be explained in most cases, though it cannot necessarily be predicted.

For several nouns, especially those with etymological initial *ʿ*, an initial *ḥ* has become part of the base of the noun, rather than simply the article. This includes the words *ḥayb* ‘father’, *ḥāmē* ‘mother’,<sup>36</sup> *ḥābrē* ‘son’ (but construct *bār*; see § 4.6),<sup>37</sup> *ḥōtāl* ‘tamarisk’, (*bə-*)*ḥəlláy* ‘night’, *ḥayḏēn* ‘ear’, and *ḥāyməl*

34 Some nouns with initial *y-* vary by dialect, and even Johnstone’s own data are inconsistent on occasion. For example, for *yātīm* ‘orphan’ (pl. *yātōm*), *ML* (s.v. *ytm*) lists the definite forms *ḥaytīm* and *ḥaytōm*. But in the texts we find the definite plural form *aytōm* (16:2), as well as the fs definite *aytamūt* (32:11). See further in Sima (2002a).

35 In the case of *ḥaym* ‘brother-in-law’, the initial *ḥ* is etymological.

36 *ML* (s.v. *ʿmm*) gives a form *ʿēm* ‘mother’ as the indefinite of *ḥām* (correctly *ḥāmē*), but Johnstone indicates that it is very rare; it is not in the texts.

37 Though *ʿ* is not strictly etymological in the noun *ḥābrē*, it could be from an initial prosthetic syllable, as in Arabic *ʾibn*. Or, perhaps the initial *ḥābrē* is analogical, as I suggest for the forms *ḥādīd* and *ḥādīt*. According to *ML* (s.v. *brv*), the plural *ḥābūn* has an indefinite form *būn*, but *ḥābūn* is also used as an indefinite in the texts (7:3).

'right', each of which can be either indefinite or definite. This initial *h-* of these words may stem from a sound change affecting initial *ʔ*, a change which is seen elsewhere, in words like *ḥō* 'where' (< \*ʔān; cf. Hebrew ʔān 'where?') and *ḥāwəláy* 'first' (cf. Arabic ʔawwal). In words like *ḥayb* 'father', therefore, it is not correct to parse the prefix *h-* as the definite article, since it does not have this specific function with these words.

The article *h-* is far less common than *ḥ-*, occurring with only a few words, all of them plural. The most commonly met words with *h-* are *bēr* 'camels' (def. *ḥabēr*) and *ərbāt* 'companions' (def. *ḥərbāt*). There are numerous words that have an initial *h-* in *ML* and Johnstone's own transcriptions of the texts (published by Stroomer), but in fact should correctly be transcribed with *ḥ-*, as proven by the Arabic-letter manuscripts of the texts and the audio. Among such cases are *ḥaskániḥam* 'their communities' (72:5)<sup>38</sup> and *ḥašbōb* 'the young men' (42:47).

It should be pointed out that the article *ḥ-* or *h-* need not appear on both the singular and plural forms of a noun. For example the definite form of *sēkan* 'settlement; family' is simply *sēkan* (or *ssēkan*), but the definite plural is *ḥaskūn*.

Finally, as discussed elsewhere (§ 3.2.1), the definite form of the noun is the form to which possessive suffixes must be attached (but see the comment on *rābbək* in text 36:3), for example:

*bēr* 'camels' → *ḥabérhe* 'his camels'  
*bayt* 'house' → *abátk* 'your house'  
*ḡayt* 'sister' → *aḡáyti* 'my sister'  
*ḳādār* 'pot' → *aḳādārəh* 'his pot'  
*wōz* 'goats' → *ḥázyən* 'our goats'  
*rōh* 'head' → *ḥərōhi* 'my head'

#### 4.5 Diminutives

It is not clear how widely used diminutives are, and it is probable that frequency of use varies by speaker. There are only about a dozen different diminutive nouns attested in the texts. Watson (2012: 62) says that diminutives are more likely to be used by women and children, and that they are "considerably more common in both [Mehri] dialects than can be inferred from Johnstone's texts". The forms found in the texts are:

38 The erroneous initial *h-* appears not only in Johnstone's published transcription of the text (Stroomer's line 72:6), but is also cited in *ML* (s.v. *skn*).

- ākērāmōt* ‘little pelvis’, dimin. of *ākərmōt* ‘pelvis’ (88:9)  
*awəddōt* ‘small (amount of) sardines’, dimin. of *ayd* ‘sardines’ (45:8)  
*gəwēlēw* ‘little fever’, dimin. of *gōləw* ‘fever’ (105:2)  
*ǰayǰēn* ‘boy’, dimin. of *ǰayǰ* ‘man’ (8:4)  
*hərmēyēn* ‘bushes’, dimin. of *hərōm* ‘tree(s)’ (26:4)  
*kəramōt* ‘hill, little mountain’, dimin. of *kərmaym* ‘mountain’ (88:9; 94:41)  
*mārāy* ‘a little grass’, dimin. of *māray* ‘grass, pasturage’ (26:4)  
*rəhbēnōt* ‘small village place’, dimin. of *rəhbēt* ‘town’ (60:3)  
*rəhmēnōt* ‘little vegetation’, dimin. of *rəhmēt* ‘vegetation; rain’ (30:1)  
*šəwēhər* ‘new moon; first part of the first crescent of the moon’, dimin. of  
*šēhər* ‘first crescent of the moon’ (82:1)  
*səwānōt* ‘a little while’, dimin. of *sēt* ‘long period of time’ (18:6; 36:21;  
 94:19)  
*wəḳētēn* ‘a little time’, dimin. of *wəḳt* ‘time’ (81:4)  
*xədmēnōt* ‘little job’, dimin. of *xədmēt* ‘work, job’ (57:4)

One diminutive adjective is attested in the texts, namely, *rəwāḥāḳ* ‘a little ways away’ (83:3, dimin. of *rēḥāḳ* ‘far’). In addition, it is likely that the common nouns *ǰīǰēn* ‘boy’ and *ǰǰǰānōt* ‘girl’ are historically diminutive forms, though are not recognized as such by native speakers today,<sup>39</sup> and at least the latter has its own diminutive (see below). Lonnet (2003: 436) has suggested that *ǰasráwwān* ‘(in the) evening’ is also historically a diminutive.

In one of Johnstone’s unpublished manuscripts, found among his papers between texts 26 and 27, there is a list, written by Ali Musallam in Arabic script, of nearly thirty diminutive forms.<sup>40</sup> These were subsequently recorded on audiotape by Ali, and most were included in *ML*. The forms are as follows; stress falls on the final syllable, unless noted:<sup>41</sup>

- ālgēyēn* (pl. dimin. of *aylīǰ* ‘young camel’)  
*bəḳərēnāwtān* (pl. dimin. of *bəḳərēt* ‘cow’)<sup>42</sup>

39 This last point was confirmed by Rood (2017: 128–129).

40 Ali did not include the source lexemes of the diminutive forms, except for *ǰayǰ* ‘man’, *ǰǰǰānōt* ‘girl’, *mānēdam* ‘person’, and *tēt* ‘woman’.

41 The recording is found on tape 118/3, just before text 27. Excluded from my list here are three forms that are attested in the texts: *ǰayǰēn*, *hərmēyēn*, and *mārāy*. I have included *rəhbēnōt*, even though it occurs in the texts, since the list also has the plural form. The word *šəwrēnōt* appears twice in the list, but I have listed it here just once. I have also rearranged the list alphabetically.

42 Ali actually wrote and read *məǰrēnāwtān* (pl. dimin. of *məǰrāt* ‘frankincense tree’), but he undoubtedly meant to write *bəḳərēnāwtān*, since the words before and after this one (in



*bəwətōt*, pl. *bəwətáwtən* (dimin. of *bayt* ‘house’)  
*fəṣšāyēn* (pl. dimin. of *fəráwš* ‘young she-camel’)  
*ǧəǧənēwōt* (dimin. of *ǧəǧənōt* ‘girl’)  
*ḥəwerrōt* (dimin. of *ḥərr* ‘small goat-pen’)  
*ḥəṭərētōr* (pl. dimin. of *ḥōṭər* ‘[goat] kid’)  
*ktēbēn*, pl. *ktəbēyēn* (dimin. of *ktōb* ‘book’)  
*məḥlēbáwtən* (pl. dimin. of *məḥlīb* ‘camel calf’)  
*mənēdēm* (dimin. of *mənēdam* ‘person’)  
*məyēhēn* (dimin. of *mōh* ‘water’)  
*nəwāḥār*, pl. *nəḥrāḥōr* (dimin. of *nēḥər* ‘wadi’)  
*šxēfēn* (dimin. of *šxōf* ‘milk’)  
*rəḥbēnōt*, pl. *rəḥbēnáwtən* (dimin. of *rəḥbēt* ‘town’)<sup>43</sup>  
*šəwrēnōt* (dimin. of *šāwər* ‘rock’)  
*təwəṭōt* (dimin. of *tēt* ‘woman’)  
*wədəyēn*, pl. *wədəyáwtən* (dimin. of *wōdi* ‘valley’)<sup>44</sup>  
*wəzēyáwtən* (pl. dimin. of *wōz* ‘goat’)  
*xəwfēnōt*, pl. *xəwfēnáwtən* (dimin. of *xəwfēt* ‘window’)  
*šəwēgē*, pl. *šəǧāǧō* (dimin. of *šāyga* ‘shelter; [animal] pen’)

These small sets of forms are not enough to draw any solid conclusions about the formation of diminutives in Mehri. We can simply note some features that apply to two or more forms, such as the use of the suffixes *-ōt*, *-ēnōt*, and *ēCēn*, and the infixation of *w* between the first and second root consonants. Plural diminutives sometimes show partial reduplication, as in *ḥəṭərētōr*, *nəḥrāḥōr*, and *šəǧāǧō*.

Many of the forms above were included in Johnstone (1973), which is an important treatment of diminutives in MSA, and some additional forms appear in *ML*. Jahn (1905: 43–45) also has some relevant data. Watson (2012) treats diminutives in a number of places in her grammar, including diminutive adverbs (pp. 50, 121–122), demonstratives (pp. 49–50, 80), adjectives (pp. 106–

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the ordering of the manuscript) refer to kinds of animals; the latter also appears in *ML*. There is actually a dot below the *m* (as if for the letter *b*). In Ali’s handwriting, medial *ǧ* and *ḥ* are hard to distinguish.

43 On the audio recording, Ali read *rəḥmēnōt*, pl. *rəḥmēnáwtən* (from *rəḥmēt* ‘vegetation; rain’).

44 I assume that *wədəyēn* is the diminutive of *wōdi*, and this assumption is supported by the fact that *wədəyēn* appears in the list just after *nəwāḥār*, and the plural *wədəyáwtən* appears (a few words later) just after *nəḥrāḥōr*. In Johnstone (1973: 103) and *ML* (s.v. *wdy*) the singular diminutive is given as *wədəy*, which is either a variant or an error.

107), nouns (pp. 52–53, 62–63, 143–144), and numerals (p. 112). A fair amount of additional data on diminutives, along with a theoretical analysis, can be found in Rood (2017).

#### 4.6 Construct State

The construct state, a characteristic feature of the Semitic language family, has all but disappeared from Mehri, which instead makes use of the particle *ǝ-* to express a genitive relationship (see § 12.4).<sup>45</sup> However, remnants of the older construction survive with a handful of words, usually with a limited semantic function. In some cases a unique construct form of the noun is preserved. These are:

*bər* (cstr. pl. *báni*) ‘son of’; *bərt* ‘daughter of’: These constructs are limited to two main functions. The first is in conjunction with proper names. In the texts, names are almost always substituted by the generic word *fəlān* ‘so-and-so’, as in *hōh bər (bərt) fəlān* ‘I am the son (daughter) of so-and-so’ (e.g., 20:45; 94:42). The second use is with compound family words like *bər (báni) dīd* ‘cousin(s)’ (lit. ‘son(s) of an uncle’), *bər-ǧā* ‘nephew’ (lit. ‘son of a brother’), and their feminine equivalents.<sup>46</sup>

*bət* ‘house of’: This is restricted to the sense of ‘clan, familial line’ (e.g., 42:5; 94:32), and is not used when referring to possession of an actual house (which would be expressed as *abáyť ǝ-*, e.g., 19:14).

*bāl* (cstr. pl. *bá’yli*; f. *bālīt*): This is the most productive of the construct forms. It is often used in constructions involving professions, e.g., *bāl rawn* ‘goat-herder’ (f. *bālīt rawn*, pl. *bá’yli rawn*), *bāl bēr* ‘camel-herder’, *bāl bəqār* ‘cow-herder’, *bāl hfōy* ‘herder of suckling mother-camels’, *bāl ays* ‘rice merchant’, and *bāl ksəwēt* ‘clothing merchant’. The construct is also productive in the meaning of ‘owner of’, as in *bāl kəhwēt* ‘coffee seller’

45 Watson (2009) is a study of the construct state and other genitive constructions in Yemeni Mehri. The subject is treated also in Watson (2012: 177–182).

46 When a possessive suffix is added, the phrase ‘cousin’ always has the definite article, e.g., *bər hədáydas* ‘her cousin’ (75:1). On the other hand, *bər-ǧā* does not, e.g., *bər-ǧāh* ‘his nephew (from his brother)’ (76:2) and *bər-ǧətəh* ‘his nephew (from his sister)’ (76:13). When the words are plural, we find the exact opposite: *báni dáydi* ‘my cousins’ (83:7), but *báni aǧətk* ‘your nephews’ (31:6). See also the comment to *báni dáydi* in text 83:7.

(also *bāl māḳāhōyāt*), *bāl hāwri* ‘owner of the canoe’, *bāl sayārāh* ‘(car) driver’, and *bə‘āyli abdén* ‘the *badan* (boat) owners’; and in the meaning ‘people of’, as in *bə‘āyli arḥābēt* ‘the people of the town’, *bə‘āyli šarḥ* ‘party-goers’, and *bə‘āyli agbēl* ‘the people of the mountains’. Note also the more idiomatic *bāl xayr* ‘a well-to-do person’ (47:12), *bə‘āyli aṭāba aḳōmāḥ* ‘those with bad manners’ (29:6), *bāl ḥāmōh* ‘the one (cup) with water (in it)’ (22:60), and *bālīt aḳāma* ‘a flintlock rifle’ (64:9).<sup>47</sup>

In addition, a construct phrase is sometimes used in phrases involving quantities (partitives), most commonly with *‘āynāt* ‘a little (bit)’ (see also § 5.5.1). Examples are:

*‘āynāt ātārīt* ‘a little buttermilk’ (35:2)  
*‘āynāt tōmār* ‘a little bit of date; a few dates’ (73:5)  
*‘āynāt təmbōku* ‘a little tobacco’ (94:33)  
*fīgōn ḳāhwēt* ‘a cup of coffee’ (18:12)  
*xāymāh rikōb ḳawt* ‘five camel-loads of food’ (65:15)  
*rikēbi trayt ḳawt* ‘two camel-loads of food’ (98:13)

As elsewhere in Semitic, only the second member of a construct phrase can take the definite article, for example:

*bāl rawn* ‘a goat-herder’ → def. *bāl ḥārāwn* ‘the goat-herder’  
*bə‘āyli bəḳār* ‘cow-herders’ → def. *bə‘āyli abḳār* ‘the cow-herders’

47 On the translation ‘flintlock’, see the comment to text 64:9.

## Adjectives

### 5.1 Agreement

Mehri adjectives can be used attributively (as in ‘the good boy’) or predicatively (as in ‘the boy is good'). In either case, an adjective will always agree in gender and number with the noun it modifies (with the exception of dual nouns; see below). When used attributively, an adjective will also agree with the noun in definiteness. Adjectives follow the same rules as nouns when it comes to the appearance of the definite article *a-* (§ 4.4).<sup>1</sup> Attributive adjectives follow the noun. Following are some examples:

Attributive adjectives:

*hēt ġayg háywəl* ‘you are a crazy man’ (98:7)  
*hēt tēt həwəlīt* ‘you are a crazy woman’ (98:8)  
*wátxfəm bə-wōdī nōb* ‘they came in the evening to a big valley’ (42:15)  
*ħəbrátk hənōb* ‘your older [lit. big] daughter’ (97:34)  
*wbáysi bə-xəlōwək yədōn* ‘put on new clothes!’ (24:6)  
*wə-kō hēt ðəlámk aġġēn fəkáyr* ‘why were you unjust to the poor boy?’  
 (36:34)  
*šəndərk ð-əl-háwək aġáyð amhákbəl* ‘I promise that I’ll pay you next  
 summer [lit. the coming summer]’ (39:16)  
*aġāy sōx bə-ħəţár* ‘my big brother was in Qatar’ (34:20)

Predicate adjectives:

*háybi fəkáyr* ‘my father was poor’ (34:4)  
*aġáyg háywəl* ‘the man is crazy’ (55:7)  
*attēt rəháymat* ‘the woman was beautiful’ (38:11)  
*aġəgənōt bərs nōb* ‘the girl was already big’ (24:5)  
*aġġēn kəwáy wə-xfáyf* ‘the boy was strong and quick’ (42:2)  
*aməndáwəkək dəwáylat* ‘your rifle is old’ (39:3)

1 One adjective, *nōb* ‘big (f.)’, takes the lexical definite article *ħə-*, for reasons discussed in § 4.4. On possible etymologies of this word, see Kogan (2015: 577, n. 1501).

*hēt šahh* ‘you are alive’ (20:58)  
*ḥaláts al sē gádat lā* ‘its condition was not good’ (83:1)

The sentences *aǧáyg ḥáywāl* ‘the man is crazy’ (55:7) and *ḥáybi fākáyr* ‘my father was poor’ (34:4), which in isolation could be translated ‘the crazy man’ and ‘my poor father’, show that attributives and predicatives are not always distinguishable out of context.

The one exception to the agreement rule is a noun in the dual. Adjectives have only singular and plural forms, so a dual noun is modified by a plural adjective, for example:<sup>2</sup>

*šáwri trayt ṭalōfāf* ‘two flat stones’ (71A:1)

An adjective modifying the first member of a genitive phrase (see §12.4) will follow the entire phrase. Whether an adjective in such a position modifies the first or second member of the phrase, if not clear from gender/number agreement, must be gleaned from context. Examples are:

*ḥabrūt ḏ-ašayyōd ḥanōb* ‘the older [lit. big] daughter of the fisherman’  
 (97:33)  
*ḥabrē ḏa-ḥōkam aḥannáwn* ‘the younger [lit. small] son of the ruler’  
 (97:46)  
*ḥayb ḏ-aǧīgēn amaráyš* ‘the father of the sick boy’ (65:8)

In the first example above, the adjective *ḥanōb* is feminine and so must modify *ḥabrūt*. But in the other two examples, the adjective happens to have the same gender and number as both nouns. If context allowed it, these last two sentences could be translated instead as ‘the son of the young ruler’ and ‘the sick father of the boy’.

## 5.2 Declension

Adjectives normally have separate forms for masculine and feminine, though a small number (e.g., *rēḥaḥ* ‘far’) have only a common singular form. For those with a distinct feminine form, the feminine will end in either *-(ə)t*, *-it*, *-ēt*, or *-ūt* (with *-(ə)t* and *-it* being more common), but the choice of ending is not always predictable.

<sup>2</sup> More examples can be found in Watson (2012: 139).

Adjectives behave like nouns when it comes to forming plurals, in that one finds plurals of both the internal and external type. Adjective plurals are somewhat more predictable than noun plurals, however. In addition, external plurals are more common with adjectives than they are among nouns. Despite their similarity to nouns, adjectives need to be treated separately because of the variability one finds in the treatment of gender and number (i.e., whether or not gender is distinguished in the singular and plural, and whether number is distinguished at all). An adjective that distinguishes gender in the singular does not necessarily do so in the plural. As discussed in § 5.1, adjectives do not have dual forms. We can divide adjectives into four classes, based on the level of gender and number distinction:

**Type 1:** All genders and numbers distinct.

Examples: *kōmāh* 'bad, evil', fs *kam(ə)ht*, mp *kāmḥūn*, fp *kāmḥōt*  
*rəḥāym* 'beautiful', fs *rəḥāymət*, mp *rīḥōm*, fp *rəḥāmtən*

This includes adjectives of the common pattern *CəCáyC*: *bəráy* 'free (of debt); innocent', *bəxáyl* 'mean', *dəwáyl* 'worn out', *dəxáyl* 'forsworn', *ḏəráy* 'strange', *fəkáyr* 'poor',<sup>3</sup> *ǧəláyḏ* 'fat', *ǧəráyb* 'strange', *ǧəzáy* 'deep', *ḥəməyǧ* 'stupid', *ḥsáym* 'respectable', *kəráym* 'generous', *kəṣáy* 'short, low', *kəwáy* 'strong', *məráyṣ* 'sick', *nəǧáys* 'unclean', *nəkáyd* 'unpleasant',<sup>4</sup> *nəkáy* 'innocent; pure', *rəḥáym* 'beautiful; kind', *rəxáys* 'cheap', *səməyḥ* 'flat', *śədáy* 'tough; tiresome', *təḥáyr* 'pure', *təkáyl* 'heavy',<sup>5</sup> *təráy* 'fresh, damp', *təwáyl* 'long', *xəfayf* 'light; quick', *xəláy* 'unmarried; empty-handed', *zəḥáyb* 'prepared'

Other adjectives ending in *-áy* (many of which refer to a cultural group):

- 
- 3 In *ML* (s.v. *fkr*), the fs form is given as *fəkáyr*, identical to the ms form. This is obviously a mistake (cf. n. 5, below). The fs form should be *fəkáyrət*; cf. Jahn (1902: 177) for Yemeni Mehri. *HL* (s.v. *fkr*) also lists a distinct fs form for Ḥarsusi. Nakano (1986: 55; 2013: 111) does not list a distinct feminine form for Yemeni Mehri or for Hobyot, but this is likely just a lacuna.
- 4 In *ML* (s.v. *nkd*), no mp form is given. This is presumably just an oversight. Only the fp form occurs in the texts (87:4).
- 5 In *ML* (s.v. *tkl*), the fs form is given as *təkáyl*, identical to the ms form (cf. n. 3, above). This is certainly a mistake. We expect fs *təkáylət*, though I found a distinct fs form (*təklət*) recorded in one of Johnstone's handwritten notes (kindly loaned to me by Antoine Lonnet). For Yemeni Mehri, Jahn (1902: 231) has fs *təkéylət* and Nakano (1986: 149) has fs *tékilt*, both of which would support Omani *təkáylət*.

*ansáy* ‘human’, *amkáy* ‘middle’, *arbáy* ‘Arab’, *fəǵəsáy* ‘well-stocked in milk’, *ǵənnáy* ‘jinn’, *həndáy* ‘Indian’, *həbsáy* ‘Ethiopian’, *hərsáy* ‘Harsusi’, *hāwəłáy* ‘first; former’, *məhráy* ‘Mehri’

Adjectives of the pattern *CəCēC* (several of which refer to a physical imperfection; vars. *CəCāG*, *āCēC*): *āǵēm* ‘dumb’, *dəkēm* ‘blunt’, *ǵəłā* ‘crippled’, *fəṭā* ‘naked’, *ʃənēw* ‘deaf’, *šhāh* ‘sharp’, *tfēl* ‘lame’, *xəṛēs* ‘gap-toothed’, *xṭēm* ‘weak, sickly’ (exception: *āwēr* ‘blind’; see Type 2)

Adjectives of the pattern *CōCəC* (vars. *CōCi*, *CōCa*): *ōkəl* ‘wise’, *fōsəl* ‘lazy’, *ǵōli* ‘expensive’, *kōməh* ‘bad, evil’, *kōsi* ‘cruel’, *ʃōfi* ‘pure, clear’, *šōga* ‘brave’

Adjectives of the pattern *məCCīC* (var. *məCCáyC*): mainly passive participles (see §7.1.8), but also others, like *məškáyñ* ‘poor’ and *məsláym* ‘Muslim’<sup>6</sup>

And others: *āǵəz* ‘lazy’, *báydi* ‘untruthful, lying’, *háywəl* ‘crazy’, *kənnáwn* ‘small’,<sup>7</sup> *káyša* ‘dry’, *əlyōn* ‘soft’, *sēhəl* ‘easy’, *ʃahh* ‘alive, healthy’, *yədīn* ‘new’

It must be pointed out that adjectives with the same pattern in the masculine singular do not necessarily have the same feminine and plural forms. For example, most of the adjectives of the common pattern *CəCáyC* have fs forms of the shape *CəCáyCət* (e.g., *bəxáyłət*, *kəráymət*, *rəháymət*, *šədáyđət*), but from *həməyy*, we find fs *həmqūt*.<sup>8</sup> Most adjectives of this same pattern have mp forms of the shape *CīCōC* (e.g., *bīxōl*, *kīrōm*, *rīhōm*, *šīdōd*), but from *dəxáył*, we find mp *dəxəlē*, and from *məráyš*, mp *mərwōš*.<sup>9</sup>

**Type 2:** Gender distinction in the singular, but common gender in the plural.

6 Though the word *məsláym* is derived from an Arabic passive participle, I do not consider it so in Mehri, since it is a borrowing from Arabic, and since it does not decline like a passive participle. The fs form is *məsəwmēt*, while passive participles normally have fs forms ending in *-ōt*.

7 The fs form *kənnát* (< \**kənnátt* < \**kənnánt* < \**kənnáwn-t*) shows assimilation of *n*, as does the fp form *kənnáttən*, though the latter does not appear in the texts.

8 When the final root consonant is voiceless and non-glottalic (§2.1.2), we get \**CəCCáyCt* > *CəCCáCt*, as in *nəǵóst* < \**nəǵáyst* (ms *nəǵáys*) and *xǵəft* < \**xǵáyft* (ms *xǵáyf*).

9 Many of the fs and mp forms discussed in this paragraph are taken from *ML*, not from the texts, and so they need confirmation.

Example: *gīd* ‘good’, f. *gódāt*, cp. *gīyēd*

This includes basic color words: *ōfār* ‘red, brown’, *hašáwr* ‘green, yellow’, *ḥōwār* ‘black’, *əwbōn* ‘white’

And others: *āwēr* ‘blind’, *gīd* ‘good’, *ǰāhār* ‘other, another’, *māšēǰār* ‘second, other’, *mātálli* ‘second, other; later’

**Type 3:** Singular and plural are distinct, but both with common gender.

Example: *ṭəwfif* ‘flat’, cp. *ṭəlōfǰf*

Besides *ṭəwfif*, there are no other certain examples of this type. We find in *ML* words like *məǰráyb* ‘well-known’, *məsháyr* ‘famous’, and *məšwīb* ‘wounded’ with no fs, and only a single plural form given (in these cases, all of the shape *māCCōC*). But these are passive participles, which normally decline for gender in both singular and plural (see § 7.1.8). It is possible that some of these are gender specific (see below), or, more likely, that the lexicon entry is just incomplete.

Also included (by default) in this category of adjectives that have a single form for both singular and plural are those few adjectives that are used only with masculine or feminine nouns. Those that are used only with feminine nouns usually lack a feminine marker.

Feminine only: *āǰáwz* ‘old’ (of people only),<sup>10</sup> *dənyīt* ‘pregnant’, *mədnáy* ‘heavily pregnant’, *nōb* ‘big’

Masculine only: *hēxər* ‘old’ (of people only),<sup>11</sup> *šōx* ‘big’

Most interesting in this latter category is the fact that adjectives for ‘big’ are gender specific, as are the adjectives for ‘old’ (of people).<sup>12</sup>

10 This is nominal in origin, and it is most often used alone as a noun, ‘old woman’. Its adjectival use can be seen in *ḥāmásh āǰáwz* ‘his old mother’ (65:9).

11 Like *āǰáwz*, *hēxər* is normally used as a noun, ‘old man’. Its adjectival use can be seen in *ḥáybāh hēxər* ‘his old father’ (64:6).

12 For inanimate things, one can use the adjective *dəwáyl* ‘old, worn out’ for either gender. Interestingly, at least some Yemeni Mehri dialects have feminine forms of *šōx*, namely, fs *šáxt* (e.g., Sima 2009: 230, text 45:1) and fp *šyáxtan* (e.g., Sima 2009: 84, text 9:3). I have discussed the words for big in MSA elsewhere (Rubin 2014b: 130; 2015b: 331). On the etymologies of *šōx* and *nōb*, see Kogan (2015: 577, n. 1501).



**Type 4:** No inflection at all (one form for all genders and numbers).

This type includes: *ḵaráyb* ‘near’, *ḵāṣam* ‘cold’, *maṭḵ* ‘sweet’, *maḷḥāt* ‘salty, brackish’, *rēḥaḵ* ‘far, distant’, *ṣāḑar* ‘yellow, green’, *ṭayf* ‘bitter’, *waṭṭyōh* ‘inadequate, in poor condition’, *xalē* ‘empty, alone’

Most of the adjectives in this relatively small category are nominal in origin; cf. *ḵāṣam* ‘coldness’, *maḷḥāt* ‘salt’, *ṣāḑar* ‘brass’, *ṭayf* ‘*Aloe dhufarensis*’, and *xalē* ‘desert’. Several are connected to taste, as observed by Rood (2017: 205).<sup>13</sup> Comparative adjectives also fall in this category (see § 5.4). The form *rēḥaḵ* sounds very close to the Gb-Stem perfect *riḥaḵ* ‘be far away’, but several passages in the texts require that *rēḥaḵ* be an adjective and not a verb (e.g., 10:3; 36:27).

A final note on declension in general: The type of gender marking exhibited by an adjective is no indication of whether or not one finds an internal or external plural. So, for example, both *ḵōmāh* and *ḥāywal* are classed as Type 1, yet the former has an external masculine plural and the latter has an internal one.

### 5.3 Substantivization

An adjective can also be used on its own, functioning as a noun. A substantivized adjective can refer to a person, a thing, or an abstract concept, as in:

*āmūr aḵannáwn ... attōli kəlūt šōx* ‘the younger [lit. small] one said ...  
then the elder one told’ (74:15)

*yāmārām amḥaréh* ‘the Mehri (can) sing’ (84:5)

*šīnək ḥawrūt ḑār aḵōbār* ‘I saw something black by the grave’ (54:9)

*kāl ṭāṭ yāgōb yəḡrēb aḡīd mən aḵōmāh* ‘everyone wants to know the good  
from the bad’ (73:12)

*warāwd ḥamōh ḏēkamāh šōx w-aḵannáwn* ‘they went down to that water,  
the old and the young’ (95:12)

*fār ḡfār* ‘the red one jumped’ (37:15)

13 Rood (2017: 205), who worked with speakers of Eastern Yemeni Mehri, found two additional adjectives with no inflection that are not included in *ML*: *ḥēbār* ‘spicy’ (cf. Jibbali *ḥēr*, listed in *JL* under the root *hyr*) and *ḥāsm* (perhaps *ḥāṣam*) ‘unpleasant tasting’ (originally ‘phlegm’; cf. *ML*, s.v. *ḥsm*, which lists the meaning ‘unpleasant taste’ for Jibbali).

The numeral *tāt* ‘one’ can also be used with adjectives, as in English:

*tāt háywəl* ‘a certain crazy man’ (lit. ‘a crazy one’) (60:10)<sup>14</sup>  
*tāt ōfār, wə-tāt hōwər, wə-tāt əwbōn* ‘a red one, a black one, and a white one’ (37:14)

Just as adjectives can behave as nouns, so too can nouns look like adjectives. A noun can be used in apposition to another noun (or noun phrase), with the result that it looks like an attributive adjective. Examples are:

*aǰáyǰ ašáyf* ‘the guest’ (lit. ‘the man the guest’) (22:62)  
*aǰəyūǰ ašifōn* ‘the guests’ (4:3)  
*aǰəyūǰ adəllōlāt* ‘the guides’ (60:8)  
*tēt sáhrət* ‘a witch’ (6:9)  
*aǰəǰənōt aytəmūt* ‘the orphan girl’ (32:11)  
*wōz tərḳāš* ‘a spotted goat’ (25:13)  
*ǰayǰ bāl xayr* ‘a well-to-do person’ (47:12)

In each of the above examples, the first word of each phrase is seemingly superfluous. Cf. also the phrases with *kəlōn* in § 4.1, n. 2.

#### 5.4 Comparatives

Comparative adjectives in Mehri have the shape *aCCēC* or *aCCāC*; the latter shape is found when the second root consonant is guttural or glottalic, or when the first is *ḳ* or *ṭ* and the second is *r*, *l*, or *w*.<sup>15</sup> Comparatives do not decline for gender or number.

In the texts, only a handful of comparatives occur. These are:

*aktēr* ‘more’ (99:28; 103:2)<sup>16</sup>  
*aḳlāl* ‘less, smaller’ (41:8)

14 In the phrase *tāt háywəl*, *tāt* is acting as a noun, and *háywəl* is an attributive adjective modifying that noun. If *háywəl* were a substantive and *tāt* were a numeral, then the phrase would be *háywəl tāt*.

15 On the effect of glottalics or a glottalic plus *r/l/w*, see further in § 2.2.1 and § 2.2.3.

16 The two occurrences of *aktēr* in the texts both involve the same idiom, *l-ād k-X aktēr lā*, meaning ‘have no more (strength/energy)’. Watson (2012: 173, 212, 217, 364, 442) provides several examples of its use as a real comparative.

*aṭwāl* ‘longer’ (66:7)  
*axáyr* ‘better; more’ (see below)  
*xass* ‘worse; less’ (see below)

Other comparatives can be found in *ML* (undoubtedly of the same pattern, despite Johnstone’s transcriptions with initial *ə-*), e.g., *əḵṣām* ‘colder’, *əhrēḵ* ‘hotter’, and *əshēl* ‘easier’, and in Watson (2012: 50, 107), e.g., *aṣlēḥ* ‘fatter’, *arḥāḵ* ‘further’, and *arḥām* ‘prettier; nicer’.

The pattern has almost certainly been borrowed from the Arabic comparative pattern *ʾaCCaC* (traditionally called the elative), as have many of the base adjectives whose comparatives are used in Mehri. However, if we compare Mehri *aḵlāl* with Arabic *ʾaqallu*, we see that the pattern has been leveled to cover geminate roots in Mehri.

The most frequently occurring comparative in the texts, by far, is *axáyr* ‘better’, the comparative of *xayr* ‘good(ness)’. Though the base adjective *xayr* comes from Arabic *xayr* ‘good; better’, the form *axáyr* seems to be a Modern South Arabian innovation.<sup>17</sup> In addition to the basic meaning ‘better’, *axáyr* can also mean ‘more’, and can be used as an adverb ‘especially’ or ‘mostly’. It is also attested three times in the variant form *xār*.<sup>18</sup> Examples of its various meanings are:

*axáyr hūkam yāḵām asdāḵā* ‘it was better for them to be friends’ (50:5)  
*hōh axáyr mānkēm* ‘I am better than you’ (61:8)  
*aṣābār axáyr mān kāl šīyān* ‘patience is better than everything’ (61:9)  
*ḥáybi axáyr mānáy yōmār* ‘my father sings better than me’ (52:2)  
*yāxliḵ ḡāyūḡ ḏ-axáyr mānk* ‘men who are better than you will replace you’ (76:5)  
*xār hūk thētām* ‘it’s better for you to stay the night’ (31:3)  
*nāšáṣəh axáyr mān kāl šī* ‘we fear it more than anything’ (7:2)  
*axáyr āṣər ḏ-agāmāt* ‘especially on Friday night’ (7:7)

17 Some colloquial Arabic dialects do have a comparative form of *xayr*, e.g., Egyptian *axyar* ‘better’, though it is not normally the usual way to express the sense of ‘better’. Davey (2016: 92, n. 25) suggests that the increased use of *axēr* ‘better’ in Dhofari Arabic, in place of *xēr* ‘better’, is due to influence from Mehri *axáyr* and Jibbali *axér*.

18 In each of the three attested cases (31:3; 37:18; 42:14), *xār* is followed by the preposition *h-*, and the meaning is ‘it is better for *X* that’; that is, it is not found in a simple comparative phrase. However, there are seven examples of *axáyr* followed by *h-* used with the identical meaning (e.g., 28:19; 50:5). Jahn (1905: 69) also has *xār*.

Note again that comparative forms do not decline for gender or number (cf. the example above from 76:5), and that the preposition of comparison is *mən* (see § 8.13).<sup>19</sup>

The comparative form *xass*, meaning ‘worse’ or ‘less’ (cf. the Arabic verb *xassa* ‘become less’), is attested just three times in the texts:

*əl hē xass lā mən yəməšīh* ‘it was no worse than yesterday’ (26:4)  
*xass ‘áynət* ‘a little less’ (27:24)  
*wəzmáh sātáyət ḏəré’, xass mən adžérə’ ḏə-ḵənnáwn* ‘he gave him three cubits, minus a child-size cubit’ (66:4)<sup>20</sup>

Johnstone transcribed this word *xasš* in his transcriptions of the passages from 26:4 and 27:24, though Ali’s Arabic-letter manuscripts of the texts have *xass*; cf. also *xas* in *ML* (s.v. *xšš*). Jahn (1902: 197) lists the form *ħasš* (= *xasš*) ‘weniger, schlechter’, so it is possible that *xasš* exists as a variant.<sup>21</sup> I found no evidence for the form *axáss*, which Johnstone recorded in *ML* (s.v. *xss*).

Watson (2012: 108) reports that comparatives can also be made with a simple adjective (+ *mən*) or with an adjective followed by *axáyr* or *aktēr* (+ *mən*). Watson also points out that *axáyr*, *aklāl*, and *xass* are suppletives, since they correspond to adjectives from different roots: respectively, *gīd* ‘good’, *ḵənnáwn* ‘small’, and *ḵōməh* ‘bad’. There is a fourth suppletive, *ākār* ‘bigger’ (cf. *sōx* ‘big’), not found in the texts, but included in *ML* (s.v. *‘kr*), Jahn (1902: 163), and Watson (2012: 107).<sup>22</sup>

Finally, mention should be made here of the form *xəyōr*, which seems to be an internal plural form of *xayr* (cf. Arabic *xiyār*). It is attested only as a noun, in the form *xəyōrsən* ‘the best of them’ (lit. ‘their best’, 70:7).

19 An exception is with the noun *zōyəd* ‘more’, as in *zōyəd əl-faḵh* ‘more than half’ (69:6). On *zōyəd*, see § 13.2.7.

20 This translation was originally suggested to me by Antoine Lonnet. On this passage, see further in the comment to text 66:4.

21 We do find alternation of *s* and *š* elsewhere. For example, the verbal root *sdk* (e.g., 92:6; 93:7) alternates with *šdk* (e.g., 23:3; 82:2). On this root, see also the comment to text 20:6.

22 According to *ML*, *ākār* is used only for men (like the adjective *sōx* in Omani Mehri), but Watson compares it to both masculine *sōx* and feminine *nōb* ‘big’.

## 5.5 Quantifiers

### 5.5.1 ‘áynət ‘a little’

The word *áynət* means ‘a little (bit)’. It can be used on its own as a noun (e.g., 27:24), or as a quantifying adjective before another noun. In this latter use, we might describe *áynət* as a noun in the construct state (see § 4.6), but since the construct has essentially been lost in Mehri, it is more fitting in a synchronic description to classify *áynət* as a quantifier. All of the examples of *áynət* as a quantifier from the texts are:

*áynət ātārīt* ‘a little buttermilk’ (35:2)

*áynət tōmər* ‘a little bit of date; a few dates’ (24:21; 73:5)

*áynət təmbōku* ‘a little tobacco’ (94:33)

With a noun like *tōmər*, which can be used as a singular or a collective, *áynət* can mean either ‘a little (bit)’ or ‘a few’.

### 5.5.2 *bāš* ‘some’

The indeclinable word *bāš* (< Arabic *ba‘d*) means ‘some’. As a quantifying adjective, it occurs just three times in the texts, always following an indefinite plural or collective noun. The attestations are:

*rawn bāš* ‘some goats’ (26:6)

*xəlōwəḵ bāš* ‘some (other) clothes’ (37:6)

*bū bāš* ‘some people’ (38:10)

*Bāš* can also function as a noun, either used alone or in conjunction with a definite noun. In the latter case, *bāš* is followed by partitive *mən* (§ 8.13), though no examples occur in the texts. The examples of *bāš* used as a noun in the texts are:

*bāš məššənyūtən də-ktəbīn, wə-bāš yəráyb, wə-bāš yəðéram, wə-bāš yəfərsəm* ‘some were medicine men with [lit. of] books, some chanted, some measured, and some would cast stones’ (25:18)

*bāš šərūf* ‘some are at the end of lactation’ (26:8)

### 5.5.3 *kāl* ‘each, every; all’

The common word *kāl* is used with both nouns and pronominal suffixes, and has the meanings ‘each, every’, ‘all (of)’, and ‘the whole’. Before singular and 1cp pronominal suffixes, the base *káll-* is used, but *kál-* is used with the heavy (CVC) 2p and 3p suffixes.

Preceding an indefinite singular noun, *kāl* means ‘each, every’. Examples are:

- kāl wōz* ‘every goat’ (3:7)  
*kāl sanēt* ‘every year’ (32:13)  
*kāl āṣar* ‘every night’ (42:17)  
*kāl mārēš* ‘every illness’ (65:7)  
*bā-kāl mākōn* ‘anywhere’ (lit. ‘in every place’) (70:2)  
*kāl trōh aw kāl sātāyt* ‘each two or each three’ (71A:1)

Following a definite singular noun, and always with a resumptive pronominal suffix, *kāl* means ‘the whole’. For example:

- anhōr kállas* ‘the whole day’ (lit. ‘the day, all of it’) (10:16)  
*sēyāḥ kállah* ‘the whole desert’ (23:3)  
*xarf kállah* ‘the whole summer’ (25:5)  
*ḥayáwm kállas* ‘the whole day’ (36:27)  
*ḥálláyi kállah* ‘my whole night’ (85:27)  
*aḳæssēt kállas* ‘the whole story’ (91:28)

As the example from 85:27 shows, the noun can also take a possessive pronominal suffix in this construction.

Following a definite plural or collective noun, *kāl* means ‘all (of the)’. If the noun has a pronominal suffix, or is followed by a demonstrative, then *kāl* must have a resumptive pronominal suffix; otherwise it does not.

- sawēḥar kāl* ‘all the witches’ (2:8)<sup>23</sup>  
*ḥázihām kálsan* ‘all their goats’ (11:2)  
*ḥayrēm kāl* ‘all the roads’ (23:3)  
*ḥabēr kāl* ‘all the camels’ (29:5)  
*amōlas kállah* ‘all of her property’ (32:30)  
*ḥābū kāl* ‘all the people’ (63:1)  
*tāgēr kāl* ‘all the merchants’ (66:10)  
*arḥōyāb kāl* ‘all the towns’ (74:5)  
*ḥambārāwtan kāl* ‘all the boys’ (89:20)  
*tāywiḥam kállah* ‘all their meat’ (99:6)

23 This phrase is translated in Stroomer’s edition as ‘every witch’, following Johnstone’s own translation. This translation is proven incorrect not only by the fact that *kāl* follows the noun, but also because the following verb *yāṣṣ* is feminine plural.

*aṣáyǰət ḏákaməh kálləs* ‘all that jewelry’ (99:48)  
*ḥaynūt ḏ-arḥabēt kāl* ‘all the women of the town’ (37:11)<sup>24</sup>  
*bá‘áyli arḥabēt kāl* ‘all the inhabitants of the town’ (97:5)

The last two examples show that if *kāl* modifies a noun in a genitive phrase (whether the particle *ḏ-* or a construct is used), *kāl* must follow the entire phrase, like any other adjective (see §5.1).

The uses of *kāl* can be summarized as follows:

1. *kāl* + indefinite singular noun = ‘each, every’ (e.g., *kāl wōz* ‘every goat’)
2. Definite singular noun + *kāl* + suffix = ‘the whole *X*’ (e.g., *anhōr kálləs* ‘the whole day’)
3. Definite plural noun + *kāl* = ‘all of *X*’ (e.g., *ḥābū kāl* ‘all the people’)
4. Definite Plural Noun + possessive + *kāl* + suffix = ‘all of (his) *X*’ (e.g., *ḥāzihəm kálsən* ‘all their goats’)

In cases 2–4, the word *kāl* is clearly being used in an appositional relationship with the preceding noun. Similarly, we can find *kāl* used with a pronominal suffix in apposition to another pronoun (independent or suffixed), again meaning ‘all of’. Examples are:

*ḥabēsəm tihəm kálhəm* ‘imprison them all’ (lit. ‘imprison them, all of them’) (46:17)  
*kələti lay bə-kāl šīyən kálləh* ‘tell me absolutely everything [lit. everything all of it]’ (85:34)  
*ṣḥəṭáysən kálsən* ‘he slaughtered them all’ (99:39)

Related to the above is the use of *kāl* in apposition to the subject of a passive verb. There is one attested example of this in the texts:

*ksūt ḥāráwn ḏə-ṣḥəṭ kálsən* ‘and she found the goats all slaughtered [lit. having been slaughtered, all of them]’ (99:42)

<sup>24</sup> In Stroomer’s edition, the translation incorrectly reads ‘the women of the whole town’, which in Mehri would be *ḥaynūt ḏ-arḥabēt kálləs*. Earlier manuscript translations by Johnstone have the correct translation.

*Kāl* is also used in several pronominal compounds. On *kāl əhād* and *kāl tāt* ‘everyone; each one’, see § 3.5.3; on *kāl šīyən* ‘everything’, see § 3.5.4; and on *kāl ǝ-* ‘whoever’, see § 3.8.2.

#### 5.5.4 *l-ādēd ǝ-* ‘each, every’

The rare construction *l-ādēd ǝ-* also means ‘each, every’.<sup>25</sup> It is attested only twice in the texts, in both cases followed by a plural noun:

*ttéh tayt l-ādēd ǝ-āšáwr* ‘it should eat one each night’ (6:7)  
*yəwōka k-hārāwn l-ādēd ǝ-ḥayūm* ‘he was with the goats every day’  
 (17:11)

It also appears in one of the unpublished letters from Ali Musallam to T.M. Johnstone, written in 1970:

*ásōni ašáwrətk l-ādēd ǝ-ḥayūm* ‘I see your picture every day’

#### 5.5.5 *mēkən* ‘a lot, many’

The word *mēkən* ‘a lot (of), many, much’ can be used as either an adjective or a noun. When used as an adjective, it normally follows its head noun, which can be indefinite or, less often, definite. Examples of *mēkən* used as an adjective are:

*bū mēkən* ‘many people’ (54:1; 65:6) (but with definite *ḥābū* in 9:7)  
*amōl mēkən* ‘a lot of property’ (34:4; 58:1) (but with indefinite *mōl* in 7:3)  
*‘ayšē mēkən* ‘a lot of food’ (73:11)  
*ḵarāwš mēkən* ‘a lot of money’ (86:7)  
*ḥūtār mēkən* ‘a lot of (goat) kids’ (89:2)  
*rawn mēkən* ‘a lot of goats’ (99:36)

Some examples of *mēkən* used independently as a noun are:

*xəšámke mēkən* ‘your enemies are many’ (10:12)  
*lūtəǵ mēkən b-aškáyəh* ‘he killed many with his sword’ (69:7)  
*ḥārōsən, wə-xásrən mēkən* ‘we got married, and we spent a lot’ (72:2)

25 This is from Arabic ‘*adad*’ ‘number’ (pl. *a’dād*) or ‘*adīd*’ ‘numerous’. The prefix *l-* is the Arabic definite article.



## Verbs: Stems

Like other Semitic languages, Mehri verbal roots are mainly trilateral (that is, they have three root consonants), and appear in a variety of derived verbal stems, each characterized by particular vowel patterns and, in many cases, the addition of certain prefixed or infix elements. The basic stem is designated the G-Stem (for German *Grundstamm* ‘basic stem’), according to the conventions of Semitic linguistics. There are six derived verbal stems for trilateral roots: the D/L-Stem, the H-Stem, two Š-Stems (Š<sub>1</sub> and Š<sub>2</sub>), and two T-Stems (T<sub>1</sub> and T<sub>2</sub>). In addition, there are also quadrilateral and quinqueliteral verbs, though these—especially the latter—are very few in number. Each verbal stem will be treated in turn below, with regard to both its form and its function.

For the verbal paradigms given in this chapter, I have used data from the texts wherever possible, but have also had to rely in some cases on the paradigms found in *ML*. Occasional data from the fieldwork of Sabrina Bendjaballah, Julien Dufour, and Philippe Ségéral were used for comparison. In many places, the forms presented here differ from those found in *ML*, which contains many errors; not all of those errors are explicitly indicated. As for the sample verbs listed in the sections devoted to the meaning of the derived stems, nearly all of these come from the texts themselves.

The various verbal stems do not occur with equal frequency. Of the derived stems, the H-Stem is the most common, and the Š<sub>2</sub>-Stem is the least common. The G-Stem is more common than any of the derived stems.

### 6.1 G-Stem

In Mehri, the G-Stem is divided into two types, an A type (Ga-Stem) and a B type (Gb-Stem). There is also an internal passive of the Ga-Stem. The distribution of Ga and Gb verbs is often simply lexical, though in some cases the two types can be seen to have a different function. The meanings of Ga- vs. Gb-Stem verbs are taken up below (§ 6.1.4).

#### 6.1.1 Ga-Stem

The Ga-Stem is characterized by a shape *CəCūC* in the 3ms perfect, or *CCūC* if the first two root consonants are voiceless and non-glottalic (§ 2.1.2; § 7.2.12). The 3mp perfect of the strong verb is formed by ablaut, though a suffix *-əm* is

used instead for certain types of weak verbs.<sup>1</sup> Unlike in the Gb-Stem, there are distinct imperfect and subjunctive forms. Following are the full conjugations of the Ga-Stem verbs *bəgūd* ‘chase’ and *ktūb* ‘write’:

	Perfect	Imperfect	Subjunctive	Conditional
1cs	<i>bəgádḱ</i>	<i>əbūgəd</i>	<i>l-əbgēd<sup>2</sup></i>	<i>l-əbgēdān</i>
2ms	<i>bəgádḱ</i>	<i>təbūgəd</i>	<i>təbgēd</i>	<i>təbgēdān</i>
2fs	<i>bəgádš</i>	<i>təbēgəd</i>	<i>təbgēdi</i>	<i>təbgēdān</i>
3ms	<i>bəgūd</i>	<i>yəbūgəd</i>	<i>yəbgēd</i>	<i>yəbgēdān</i>
3fs	<i>bəg(ə)dūt</i>	<i>təbūgəd</i>	<i>təbgēd</i>	<i>təbgēdān</i>
1cd	<i>bəgádki</i>	<i>əbəgdōh</i>	<i>l-əbgədōh</i>	<i>l-əbgədáyyan<sup>3</sup></i>
2cd	<i>bəgádki</i>	<i>təbəgdōh</i>	<i>təbgədōh</i>	<i>təbgədáyyan</i>
3md	<i>bəg(ə)dōh</i>	<i>yəbəgdōh</i>	<i>yəbgədōh</i>	<i>yəbgədáyyan</i>
3fd	<i>bəgədtōh</i>	<i>təbəgdōh</i>	<i>təbgədōh</i>	<i>təbgədáyyan</i>
1cp	<i>bəgūdān</i>	<i>nəbūgəd</i>	<i>nəbgēd</i>	<i>nəbgēdān</i>
2mp	<i>bəgádḱəm</i>	<i>təbágdəm</i>	<i>təbgēdəm</i>	<i>təbgēdān</i>
2fp	<i>bəgádḱən</i>	<i>təbágdən</i>	<i>təbgēdān</i>	<i>təbgēdān</i>
3mp	<i>bəgáwd</i>	<i>yəbágdəm</i>	<i>yəbgēdəm</i>	<i>yəbgēdān</i>
3fp	<i>bəgūd</i>	<i>təbágdən</i>	<i>təbgēdān</i>	<i>təbgēdān</i>

3ms perfect base with object suffixes: *bəgd-*

Imperative: ms *bəgēd*, fs *bəgēdi*, mp *bəgēdəm*, fp *bəgēdān*

Future: ms *bəgdōna*, fs *bəgdīta*, md *bəgdōni*, fd *bəgdáwti*, mp *bəgyēda*, fp *bəgdūtān*

1 In Yemeni Mehri dialects, the suffix *-əm* is usually used with strong verbs as well, along with or in place of ablaut.

2 The initial *l-* of the 1cs and 1cd subjunctive and conditional can also be realized *əl-*, e.g., 1cs subjunctive *əl-b(ə)gēd* and 1cs subjunctive *əl-ktēb*.

3 Johnstone recorded a suffix *-áyən* for the dual conditional of all stems. No relevant forms occur in the texts, but Sabrina Bendjaballah and Philippe Ségéral recorded a geminate *y* in the course of their fieldwork. As Bendjaballah and Ségéral (2017b) observed, a suffix *-áyən*, with a short vowel in a stressed open syllable, should not be allowed (§ 2.2). See also the final note to the table of suffixes in § 7.1.2, as well as § 7.1.2, n. 6.

	<b>Perfect</b>	<b>Imperfect</b>	<b>Subjunctive</b>	<b>Conditional</b>
1cs	<i>ktábk</i>	<i>əkūtāb</i>	<i>l-əktēb</i>	<i>l-əktēbān</i>
2ms	<i>ktábk</i>	<i>tkūtāb</i>	<i>t(ə)ktēb</i>	<i>t(ə)ktēbān</i>
2fs	<i>ktábs̃</i>	<i>tkētāb</i>	<i>t(ə)ktēbi</i>	<i>t(ə)ktēbān</i>
3ms	<i>ktūb</i>	<i>yəkūtāb</i>	<i>yəktēb</i>	<i>yəktēbān</i>
3fs	<i>ktābūt</i>	<i>tkūtāb</i>	<i>t(ə)ktēb</i>	<i>t(ə)ktēbān</i>
1cd	<i>ktábki</i>	<i>əkātboh</i>	<i>l-əktāboh</i>	<i>l-əktābáyyan</i>
2cd	<i>ktábki</i>	<i>tkātboh</i>	<i>t(ə)ktāboh</i>	<i>t(ə)ktābáyyan</i>
3md	<i>ktāboh</i>	<i>yəkātboh</i>	<i>yəktāboh</i>	<i>yəktābáyyan</i>
3fd	<i>ktābtōh</i>	<i>tkātboh</i>	<i>t(ə)ktāboh</i>	<i>t(ə)ktābáyyan</i>
1cp	<i>ktūbān</i>	<i>nəkūtāb</i>	<i>nəktēb</i>	<i>nəktēbān</i>
2mp	<i>ktábkām</i>	<i>tkátbām</i>	<i>t(ə)ktēbām</i>	<i>t(ə)ktēbān</i>
2fp	<i>ktábkān</i>	<i>tkátbān</i>	<i>t(ə)ktēbān</i>	<i>t(ə)ktēbān</i>
3mp	<i>ktáwb</i>	<i>yəkátbām</i>	<i>yəktēbām</i>	<i>yəktēbān</i>
3fp	<i>ktūb</i>	<i>tkátbān</i>	<i>t(ə)ktēbān</i>	<i>t(ə)ktēbān</i>

3ms perfect base with object suffixes: *kātb-*

Imperative: ms *ktēb*, fs *ktēbi*, mp *ktēbām*, fp *ktēbān*

Future: ms *ktābōna*, fs *ktābīta*, md *ktābōni*, fd *ktābāwti*, mp *kt(ə)yēba*, fp *ktābūtān*

### 6.1.2 Ga Internal Passive

The Ga-Stem is the only stem for which there is good evidence of an internal passive. There are about forty attestations in the texts. The 3ms perfect has the basic pattern *CəCēC*, or *CCēC* if the first two root consonants are voiceless and non-glottalic (§ 2.1.2; § 7.2.12). Noteworthy in the passive is the 3fs perfect suffix *-ēt* and dual *-áh* (< *-ēh* < *\*ē*), corresponding to *-ūt* and *-ōh* in the active stem. Similar to the Gb-Stem, the imperfect and subjunctive forms have the same base, except in the plural. Following is the full passive conjugation of *ktūb* ‘write’:

	Perfect	Imperfect	Subjunctive	Conditional
1cs	<i>ktábk</i>	<i>aktōb</i>	<i>l-aktōb</i> <sup>4</sup>	<i>l-aktībən</i>
2ms	<i>ktábk</i>	<i>t(ə)ktōb</i> <sup>5</sup>	<i>t(ə)ktōb</i>	<i>t(ə)ktībən</i>
2fs	<i>ktábš</i>	<i>t(ə)ktáybi</i>	<i>t(ə)ktáybi</i> <sup>6</sup>	<i>t(ə)ktībən</i>
3ms	<i>ktēb</i>	<i>yaktōb</i>	<i>yaktōb</i>	<i>yaktībən</i>
3fs	<i>ktābēt</i> <sup>7</sup>	<i>t(ə)ktōb</i>	<i>t(ə)ktōb</i>	<i>t(ə)ktībən</i>
1cd	<i>ktábkī</i>	<i>aktábáh</i>	<i>l-aktábáh</i>	<i>l-aktábáyyən</i>
2cd	<i>ktábkī</i>	<i>t(ə)ktábáh</i>	<i>t(ə)ktábáh</i>	<i>t(ə)ktábáyyən</i>
3md	<i>ktábáh</i>	<i>yaktábáh</i>	<i>yaktábáh</i>	<i>yaktábáyyən</i>
3fd	<i>ktābtáh</i>	<i>t(ə)ktábáh</i>	<i>t(ə)ktábáh</i>	<i>t(ə)ktábáyyən</i>
1cp	<i>ktēbən</i>	<i>naktōb</i>	<i>naktēb</i>	<i>naktībən</i>
2mp	<i>ktábkəm</i>	<i>t(ə)ktīb</i>	<i>t(ə)ktēbəm</i>	<i>t(ə)ktībən</i>
2fp	<i>ktábkən</i>	<i>t(ə)ktōbən</i>	<i>t(ə)ktēbən</i>	<i>t(ə)ktībən</i>
3mp	<i>ktēbəm</i>	<i>yaktīb</i>	<i>yaktēbəm</i>	<i>yaktībən</i>
3fp	<i>ktēb</i>	<i>t(ə)ktōbən</i>	<i>t(ə)ktēbən</i>	<i>t(ə)ktībən</i>

Imperative: none

Future: none (but see §7.1.8)

Note the specialized meaning of passive *xələk* ‘be born’ vs. active *xəlūk* ‘create’ (cf. 38:12). Another lexical G passive may be *fəšāh* ‘be embarrassed’; see the comment to text 94:2. Also note that for some verbs the active and passive are identical in some forms, as a result of phonetic changes (see rule #14 in §2.2.2). For example, the 3ms perfect *shāt* can be either active or passive, though context normally removes potential ambiguity (e.g., 89:5).

4 The initial *lə-* of the 1cs and 1cd subjunctive and conditional can also be realized *əl-*, e.g., 1cs subjunctive *əl-ktōb*.

5 The *ə* of the prefix is only epenthetic here and in the other second- and third-person forms indicated in this paradigm, because the initial consonant is voiceless and non-glottalic. For a verb with an initial voiced or glottalic consonant, a phonemic *ə* would be present, e.g., *təwtōj* ‘you may be killed’ (< \**təltōj*, 94:25).

6 *ML* (p. xxii) gives the 2fs subjunctive form *tərkōz* (Johnstone used the paradigm root *rkz*), but I assume that this is a mistake. The expected form is *tərkáyzi*, identical with the imperfect. Cf. the Gb imperfect and subjunctive form *tətbáyri* (§6.1.3). Unfortunately, no relevant forms are attested in the texts.

7 The vowel after the second root consonant in this case is just epenthetic. The underlying pattern is *CəCCēt*; cf. *xəwķāt* ‘she was born’ (< \**xəlķēt*, 38:12).

For further discussion on the use of the G passive, see § 7.1.7. On the passive participle, see § 7.1.8.

### 6.1.3 *Gb-Stem*

The Gb-Stem has several characteristics that distinguish it from the Ga-Stem. These include a 3ms perfect pattern *CīCəC*; stress on the initial syllable in nearly all forms of the perfect; a 3fs perfect suffix *-ōt*, rather than *-ūt*; a 3mp perfect with a suffix *-əm*, rather than ablaut; ablaut in the 2mp and 3mp imperfect, rather than a suffixed *-əm*; and identical forms of the imperfect and subjunctive (except for the *l-* prefix of the 1cs and 1cd forms).<sup>8</sup> The Gb future is identical in shape to the Ga future. Following is the full conjugation of the Gb verb *nīšəz* ‘sip (something hot)’:

	<b>Perfect</b>	<b>Imperfect</b>	<b>Subjunctive</b>	<b>Conditional</b>
1cs	<i>nášzak</i>	<i>ənsōz</i>	<i>l-ənsōz</i> <sup>9</sup>	<i>l-ənsīzən</i>
2ms	<i>nášzak</i>	<i>tənsōz</i>	<i>tənsōz</i>	<i>tənsīzən</i>
2fs	<i>nášzəš</i>	<i>tənsáyzi</i>	<i>tənsáyzi</i>	<i>tənsīzən</i>
3ms	<i>nīšəz</i>	<i>yənsōz</i>	<i>yənsōz</i>	<i>yənsīzən</i>
3fs	<i>nášzōt</i>	<i>tənsōz</i>	<i>tənsōz</i>	<i>tənsīzən</i>
1cd	<i>nášzəki</i>	<i>ənsəzōh</i>	<i>l-ənsəzōh</i>	<i>l-ənsəzəyyən</i>
2cd	<i>nášzəki</i>	<i>tənsəzōh</i>	<i>tənsəzōh</i>	<i>tənsəzəyyən</i>
3md	<i>nəszōh</i>	<i>yənsəzōh</i>	<i>yənsəzōh</i>	<i>yənsəzəyyən</i>
3fd	<i>nəszətoh</i>	<i>tənsəzōh</i>	<i>tənsəzōh</i>	<i>tənsəzəyyən</i>
1cp	<i>nášzən</i>	<i>nənsōz</i>	<i>nənsōz</i>	<i>nənsīzən</i>
2mp	<i>nášzakəm</i>	<i>tənsīz</i>	<i>tənsīz</i>	<i>tənsīzən</i>
2fp	<i>nášzakən</i>	<i>tənsōzən</i>	<i>tənsōzən</i>	<i>tənsīzən</i>
3mp	<i>nášzəm</i>	<i>yənsīz</i>	<i>yənsīz</i>	<i>yənsīzən</i>
3fp	<i>nīšəz</i>	<i>tənsōzən</i>	<i>tənsōzən</i>	<i>tənsīzən</i>

3ms perfect base with object suffixes: *nəsz-*

8 The fact that the imperfect and subjunctive are identical is the result of a sound change internal to Mehri (and Ḥarsusi). Evidence from other MSA languages shows that the Gb imperfect and subjunctive were distinct in proto-MSA. See Rubin (2015b: 324–325) and Dufour (2016).

9 The initial *l-* of the 1cs and 1cd subjunctive and conditional can also be realized *əl-*, e.g., 1cs subjunctive *əl-nšōz*.

Imperative:<sup>10</sup> ms *nəsōz*, fs *nəsáyzi*, mp *nəsíz*, fp *nəsōzən*

Future: ms *nəszōna*, fs *nəszīta*, md *nəszōni*, fd *nəszáwti*, mp *nəsyēza*, fp *nəszūtən*

#### 6.1.4 *Ga vs. Gb Meaning*

Previous scholars have suggested that the Gb pattern is used for ‘middle’ or ‘stative’ verbs, but such a blanket statement is imprecise. It is true that a good number of Gb verbs are statives or middles, such as:

*áygab* ‘be/fall in love’  
*áywər* ‘be(come) blind’  
*dáyni* ‘become pregnant’  
*ǰáyma* ‘be(come) thirsty’  
*fīǰəl* ‘break (intrans.), get broken (of teeth)’  
*gīlu* ‘be(come) sick, feverish’  
*háybər* ‘be(come) cold’  
*mīla* ‘be(come) full’  
*mīrət* ‘be(come) red-hot’  
*mīrəs* ‘be(come) ill’  
*sīkər* ‘be(come) intoxicated’  
*sīləm* ‘be(come) healthy, safe’  
*sība* ‘be(come) satisfied’  
*tīgər* ‘be(come) rich’  
*wīka* ‘be, become; stay’

However, the Gb class also includes a number of transitive verbs. Some transitive Gb-Stem verbs are:

*áyməl* ‘do, make’  
*fītən* ‘remember’  
*háyləm* ‘dream’  
*ḵáybəl* ‘accept’  
*ḵáybəs* ‘sting’  
*lībəs* ‘wear, put on (clothes)’

10 Relatively few Gb-Stem imperatives are attested. The fs is normally of the shape *nəsáyzi*, but when an object suffix is added, the diphthong reduces to *a*, as expected (§ 2.2; § 3.2.3), e.g., *mətǰli* ‘be like me!’ (102:16). No plural Gb-Stem imperatives are attested in the texts.

*nīśəz* ‘sip (something hot)’  
*sīləb* ‘wait for’  
*śīni* ‘see’  
*wīda* ‘know’  
*wīṣəl* ‘arrive at, reach’  
*zīgəd* ‘seize (as booty)’

There are also Ga verbs that are intransitive or stative, such as *ākáwr* ‘grow up, become big’, *ǵəmūs* ‘disappear’, and *wəkáwf* ‘be(come) silent’. So, while it is true that many stative verbs fall into the Gb class, it is not accurate to say that all Gb verbs are statives or that all statives are Gb.

Some roots appear in both the Ga- and Gb-Stem. In such cases, the Gb normally functions as the medio-passive or intransitive counterpart of the Ga, as in:

Gb *bīṣək* ‘snap, tear (intrans.)’ vs. Ga *bəśáwk* ‘snap, tear (trans.)’  
 Gb *bīṣər* ‘tear (intrans.)’ vs. Ga *bəśáwr* ‘tear (trans.)’  
 Gb *fīkəs* ‘burst (intrans.), explode’ vs. Ga *fəkáws* ‘shatter (trans.)’  
 Gb *mīla* ‘be(come) full, fill (intrans.)’ vs. Ga *mūla* / *məlōh* ‘fill (trans.)’<sup>11</sup>  
 Gb *tībər* ‘break (intrans.), be broken’ vs. Ga *təbūr* ‘break (trans.)’

In some cases, the Ga- and Gb-Stems seem to be similar or identical in meaning. In addition to the common variants Ga *hūma* and Gb *hūma* ‘hear’, compare:

Ga *ḵərūb* and Gb *ḵáyərəb* ‘approach, be near’  
 Ga *zəǵūd* and Gb *zīgəd* ‘seize s.o.’s animals’

## 6.2 D/L-Stem

The D/L-Stem is characterized by a long vowel following the first root consonant in the 3ms perfect and subjunctive, and by a suffix *-ən* on all imperfect forms.<sup>12</sup> The base pattern of the strong verb in the perfect is *(a)CōCəC*. The prefix *a-* appears only when the initial root consonant is voiced or glottalic,

<sup>11</sup> On the Ga-Stem forms of this verb, see the comment to text 97:7.

<sup>12</sup> Watson (2012: 83) calls this stem simply the L-Stem, and still other terminology (Stem II, Ĥz-Stem, etc.) can be found in the works of other scholars. I use the term D/L-Stem for the historical reasons discussed in § 6.2.1, and because borrowed Arabic D- and L-Stems (Forms II and III) are both incorporated into this stem.

e.g., 3ms perfect *abōšar* 'he gave good news' and *aḵōbəl* 'he watched'. When the initial root consonant is voiceless and non-glottalic, then it is geminated; however, a geminate consonant is usually simplified in word-initial position, e.g., 3ms perfect *sōfār* or (ə)*ssōfār* 'he traveled' (but *wə-ssōfār* 'and he traveled'). When the first root consonant is *h* or *ḥ*, gemination is often very hard to detect, even when not word-initial. The distribution of this verbal prefix *a-* is very similar to that of the definite article (see § 4.4). Following are the full paradigms of two strong verbs in this stem (*arōkəb* 'put [a pot] on the fire' and (*s*)*sōfār* 'travel'):

	<b>Perfect</b>	<b>Imperfect</b>	<b>Subjunctive</b>	<b>Conditional</b>
1cs	<i>arákbək</i>	<i>arákbən</i>	<i>l-arōkəb</i>	<i>l-arákbən</i>
2ms	<i>arákbək</i>	<i>tarákbən</i>	<i>tarōkəb</i>	<i>tarákbən</i>
2fs	<i>arákbəš</i>	<i>tarákbən</i>	<i>tarəkəb</i>	<i>tarákbən</i>
3ms	<i>arōkəb</i>	<i>yarákbən</i>	<i>yarōkəb</i>	<i>yarákbən</i>
3fs	<i>arkəbēt</i>	<i>tarákbən</i>	<i>tarōkəb</i>	<i>tarákbən</i>
1cd	<i>arákbəki</i>	<i>arkəbáyyan</i>	<i>l-arkəbəh</i>	<i>l-arkəbáyyan</i>
2cd	<i>arákbəki</i>	<i>tarkəbáyyan</i>	<i>tarkəbəh</i>	<i>tarkəbáyyan</i>
3md	<i>arkəbəh</i> <sup>13</sup>	<i>yarkəbáyyan</i>	<i>yarkəbəh</i>	<i>yarkəbáyyan</i>
3fd	<i>arkəbtəh</i>	<i>tarkəbáyyan</i>	<i>tarkəbəh</i>	<i>tarkəbáyyan</i>
1cp	<i>arákbən</i>	<i>narákbən</i>	<i>narōkəb</i>	<i>narákbən</i>
2mp	<i>arákbəkəm</i>	<i>tarákbən</i>	<i>tarákbəm</i>	<i>tarákbən</i>
2fp	<i>arákbəkən</i>	<i>tarákbən</i>	<i>tarákbən</i>	<i>tarákbən</i>
3mp	<i>arákbəm</i>	<i>yarákbən</i>	<i>yarákbəm</i>	<i>yarákbən</i>
3fp	<i>arōkəb</i>	<i>tarákbən</i>	<i>tarákbən</i>	<i>tarákbən</i>

3ms perfect base with object suffixes: *arkəb*.<sup>14</sup>

Imperative: ms *arōkəb*, fs *arəkəb*, mp *arákbəm*, fp *arákbən*

Future: ms *marōkəb*, fs *markəbēta*, md *marákbī*, fd *markəbēti*, cp *markəbūtən*

13 The dual suffix *-əh* of the perfect and subjunctive is from an underlying *-ēh < -ē*; see § 2.2.4.

14 The subjunctive, which has the same base as the 3ms perfect, has the more predictable shape (*a*)*CáCC-* before suffixes, with the regular loss of ə (§ 2.2.5) and reduction of *ō > á* (§ 2.2), e.g., *tšášli* 'you embarrass me' (76:18; cf. *tšōšəl* 'you embarrass').



	<b>Perfect</b>	<b>Imperfect</b>	<b>Subjunctive</b>	<b>Conditional</b>
1cs	(s)sáfræk	æssáfræn	l-æssōfār <sup>15</sup>	l-æssáfræn
2ms	(s)sáfræk	t(s)sáfræn	t(s)sōfār	t(s)sáfræn
2fs	(s)sáfræš	t(s)sáfræn	t(s)sēfār	t(s)sáfræn
3ms	(s)sōfār	yæssáfræn	yæssōfār	yæssáfræn
3fs	(s)sfārēt <sup>16</sup>	t(s)sáfræn	t(s)sōfār	t(s)sáfræn
1cd	(s)sáfræki	æsfāráyyan	l-æsfāráh	l-æsfāráyyan
2cd	(s)sáfræki	tsfāráyyan	tsfāráh	tsfāráyyan
3md	(s)sfāráh	yæsfāráyyan	yæsfāráh	yæsfāráyyan
3fd	(s)sfartáh	tsfāráyyan	tsfāráh	tsfāráyyan
1cp	(s)sáfræn	næssáfræn	næssōfār	næssáfræn
2mp	(s)sáfrækam	t(s)sáfræn	t(s)sáfräm	t(s)sáfræn
2fp	(s)sáfrækæn	t(s)sáfræn	t(s)sáfræn	t(s)sáfræn
3mp	(s)sáfräm	yæssáfræn	yæssáfräm	yæssáfræn
3fp	(s)sōfār	t(s)sáfræn	t(s)sáfræn	t(s)sáfræn

3ms perfect base with object suffixes: *sfār-*

Imperative: ms (s)sōfār, fs (s)sēfār, mp (s)sáfräm, fp (s)sáfræn

Future: ms *mæssōfār*, fs *mæsfārēta*, md *mæssáfri*, fd *mæsfārēti*, cp *mæsfārūtæn*

### 6.2.1 D/L-Stem Variants

II-w/y verbs (§ 7.2.7) and geminate verbs (§ 7.2.11) look quite different in the D/L-Stem. They have the pattern (a)CCiC in the 3ms perfect, (a)CCiCæn in the 3ms imperfect, and yaCCiC in the 3ms subjunctive. This pattern likely reflects a stem that is historically different from the D/L-Stem, but synchronically it has taken the place of the D/L-Stem for geminate and II-w/y verbs.<sup>17</sup> At least one

15 The initial *l-* of the 1cs and 1cd subjunctive and conditional can also be realized *æl-*; cf. *æl-ssōfār* in text 40:9.

16 In the 3fs (and 3d) perfect, in which there is a cluster of two voiceless, non-glottalic consonants, it is possible that the prefix *a-* may be used; see the comment to text 97:6. This may also be possible in the dual imperfect and subjunctive, and fs, fd, and cp future, where the same cluster is found. But there are no relevant forms in the texts to check this. In recent fieldwork in Oman, Sabrina Bendjabllah recorded 3fs *sfārēt*, with no *a-*.

17 We might compare the *poel* stem in Biblical Hebrew, which takes the place of the *pi'el* (D-Stem) for most II-w/y and geminate roots.

II-h verb also has this pattern, namely, *azhīb* ‘dress up a woman in finery’ (but cf. *amōhāl* ‘ease, lighten’). In a synchronic description we can consider these D/L-Stems, as they share its characteristic features (e.g., the prefix *a-*, imperfect suffix *-ən*, 3fs perfect with *-ēt*), but in a historical perspective we should look for a different source.

Another variant of the D/L-Stem, represented in Mehri by a single verb, also has a different historical source. This is the verb *šēwār* ‘consult’, which does not appear in texts, but is listed in *ML* (pp. xxxv–xxxvi, 388).<sup>18</sup> This verb conjugates like a strong D/L-Stem, except with *ē* in place of *ō* in the first syllable of the perfect and subjunctive. When we look outside of Mehri, we find that there are a handful more verbs of this type in Jibbali, and abundant examples in Soqotri, and that verbs of this type are not restricted only to certain root types (like the *(a)CCiC* pattern in Mehri). Most importantly, Ḥarsusi regularly has the vowel *ē* in its D/L-Stem. We can conclude, following Dufour (2016: 265), that proto-MSA had two different stems corresponding to the D/L, one with the shape *\*(a)CōCəC* and one with the shape *\*(a)CēCəC*. In Mehri and Jibbali, the former has almost completely replaced the latter, while in Ḥarsusi, the latter has replaced the former. Perhaps *(a)CōCəC* reflects an original D-Stem (*\*CaC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>2</sub>aCa*), while *(a)CēCəC* reflects an original L-Stem (*\*CāCaCa*).

Finally, there is yet another rare type of D/L-Stem in Mehri, which includes only two known verbs: *(s)sād* ‘help’ (< *\*(s)sād*)<sup>19</sup> and *anḡāl* ‘sweat’. In Mehri, this pattern is similar to the one found with II-w/y and geminate verbs (with *ā* instead of *ī*), but in Jibbali there are some differences that suggest that this pattern is distinct. Like the pattern *(a)CCiC*, this one is restricted, in this case to II-guttural verbs, perhaps reflecting the fact that these gutturals were not geminated in the historical D-Stem.

### 6.2.2 *Origin of the D/L-Stem Prefix*

If the MSA D/L-Stem can indeed be traced back to the Semitic D- and/or L-Stem, the prefix *a-* remains to be explained. Unlike the H-Stem or the other derived stems, the Semitic D- and L-Stems have no prefixed or infix morpheme. Rather, they are characterized only by the lengthening of a root consonant (D-Stem) or theme vowel (L-Stem). The prefix *a-* that we find in Mehri (and similar prefixes in the other MSA languages) is very likely a copy of the prefixed morpheme that we find in the H-Stem, added in MSA in order to pro-

18 See § 6.5.4, n. 64 for a second possible example.

19 This verb, which occurs in text 43:11, is no doubt borrowed from the Arabic L-Stem *sā'ada* ‘help’.

vide symmetry to the system of derived verbal stems. So the D/L-Stem is the counterpart of the H-Stem in the way that the T<sub>2</sub>-Stem is the counterpart of the T<sub>1</sub>-Stem and the Š<sub>2</sub>-Stem is the counterpart of the Š<sub>1</sub>-Stem. The affixes associated with this symmetrical scheme can be represented as follows:

	D/L~H	T	Š
Type 1	* <i>h</i> (> <i>h</i> -)	<i>t</i>	<i>š</i>
Type 2	* <i>h</i> (> <i>a</i> -)	<i>t</i>	<i>š</i>

The question then remains why exactly the inherited prefix \**h*- remained *h*- in the Mehri H-Stem, but shifted to *a*- in the D/L-Stem. We can prove, at least, that the morpheme \**h*- has two reflexes in Mehri. The proof is in the Mehri H-Stem passive (§ 6.3.2), which has the prefix *a*- (e.g., *awḳā* ‘it was put’), as opposed to the H-Stem active, which has the prefix *h*- (e.g., *həwḳā* ‘he put’). That is to say, within the H-Stem itself, the inherited prefix \**h*- has two different reflexes, probably the result of differences in the historical vowels following the prefix (cf. Hebrew active *higgīd* ‘he told’ vs. passive *huggad* ‘it was told’). There is also support from within Ḥarsusi. While in Mehri the element *h*- of the H-Stem is present in all three major tenses (except in those verbs where the *h*- is absent for phonological reasons), in Ḥarsusi the affix is *a*- for the perfect and imperfect, but *h*- in the subjunctive. Compare the following Mehri and Ḥarsusi forms:<sup>20</sup>

	3ms perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.
Mehri	<i>hərkūb</i>	<i>yəhərkūb</i>	<i>yəhárkəb</i>
Ḥarsusi	<i>arkōb</i>	<i>yarkōb</i>	<i>yəhárkəb</i>

So in Ḥarsusi, like with the Mehri H-Stem active vs. passive, we see that the historical morpheme \**h*- has developed both a reflex *h*- and a reflex *a*-. Therefore, it is completely reasonable to suggest that the prefix *a*- of the MSA D/L-Stem can also be traced back to the prefix \**h*-, which was added to this stem in proto-MSA on analogy with the H-Stem, thus making the two stems part of a symmetrical system of derived verbal stems.

<sup>20</sup> The importance of the Ḥarsusi evidence, along with the entire idea that the prefix *a*- derives from \**h*-, comes from the analysis of Bendjaballah and Ségéral (2014a: 185–186) and Dufour (2016: 235–236).

### 6.2.3 D/L-Stem Meaning

It is not possible to assign a productive or consistent meaning to the D/L-Stem. Johnstone called it the intensive-conative stem (e.g., 1975a: 12), probably after Bittner's *Steigerungs- und Einwirkungsstamm* (1911: 28), but this designation is not justified. The two most common, meaningful types of D/L-Stem verbs are denominatives and causatives of intransitive verbs. A great many must simply be considered lexical. It is also important to recognize that a significant percentage of Mehri D/L-Stems have counterparts in the Arabic D-Stem (Form II, *fa'ala*) or L-Stem (Form III, *fā'ala*), and many or most of these are likely Arabic borrowings or calques. Among the verbs that are causatives of intransitives, we find:

- a'yīs* 'look after, keep alive' (cf. G *āyūs* 'live, survive'; Arabic G *āša* 'be alive', D *ayyaša* 'keep alive')
- abdīd* 'separate (trans.)' (no G attested in Mehri, but cf. Jibbali G *bedd* 'separate (intrans.); also cf. Arabic G *badda* 'disperse (intrans.)', D *baddada* 'disperse (trans.)')
- aġwīr* 'distract, keep occupied' (cf. Gb *ġáywər* 'be distracted, not pay attention')
- ōlək* 'hang (trans.)' (no G attested in Mehri, but cf. T1 *ātłək* 'be hung up', T2 *ātəlūk* 'hang (intrans.)'; also cf. Arabic G *aliqa* 'hang (intrans.)', D *allaqa* 'hang (trans.)')
- (*f*)*fōrəh* 'make happy' (cf. Gb *fīrəh* 'be happy')
- (*h*)*hōðər* 'warn s.o.' (cf. G *həðūr* 'be on one's guard', and the more common T2 *həðūr* 'be careful, take care (not to); look out for'; Arabic G *hadīra* 'be on one's guard', D *hadðara* 'warn')
- (*h*)*hyīl* 'trick s.o.' (cf. G *həyīl* 'be senile')
- (*k*)*kōməl* 'finish' (no G attested in Mehri, but cf. Arabic G *kamala* 'be finished', D *kammala* 'finish')
- aḵōdəm* 'put in front of, offer (food)' (cf. G *ḵədūm* 'come, go before'; Arabic G *qadama* 'come, go before', D *qaddama* 'put in front of, offer')
- aḵōšər* 'hold back in generosity; shorten' (cf. G *ḵəšáwr* 'be/fall short; run short of')
- (*s*)*sōləm* 'save, preserve; surrender' (cf. Gb *sīləm* 'be safe, be saved'; Arabic G *salima* 'be safe', D *sallama* 'save; surrender')
- ašyūk* 'make s.o. fed up, annoy' (= H *həšyūk*; cf. G *šəyūk* 'be fed up'; Arabic D *dayyaqa* and L *dāyaqa* 'harass, annoy')
- awōšəl* 'take, bring s.o.' (= H *həwšáwl*, though the H-Stem takes two direct objects; cf. Gb *wīšəl* 'arrive'; Arabic G *wašala* 'reach, get to', D *waššala* 'take, bring s.o.')

(*x*)*xōrāb* ‘spoil, damage’ (cf. Gb *xáyrāb* ‘be spoilt’; Arabic G *xariba* ‘be destroyed’, D *xarraba* ‘destroy’)

As for denominatives, we find:

(*h*)*hōni* ‘dye with henna’ (cf. *haynē* ‘henna’; Arabic D *hanna’a* ‘dye with henna’)

*aḵōfi* ‘go away’ (cf. *ḵāfē* ‘back’, so lit. ‘turn one’s back to’)

*arōba* ‘give s.o. protection’ (probably denominative from *rībáy* ‘companion, fellow tribesman’)

*ašyih* ‘shout’ (cf. *šayh* ‘voice’; Arabic D *šayyaḥa* ‘shout, cry out’)

*aṭōrāf* ‘put aside’ (cf. *ṭarēf* ‘side’)

*aṭyīf* ‘collect aloe’ (cf. *ṭayf* ‘aloe [*Aloe dhufarensis*]’)

(*x*)*xwīš* ‘collect *xawš* for basket-weaving’ (cf. *xawš* ‘palm leaves used for weaving baskets’)

A few D/L-Stem verbs are deadjectival:

*abōri* ‘free (from debt or guilt)’ (cf. *bāráy* ‘free’)

(*k*)*kōrām* ‘be generous to’ (cf. *kārāym* ‘generous’)

*aḵōmāḥ* ‘foil (plans), frustrate; disappoint’ (cf. *ḵōmāḥ* ‘bad’)

*azhīb* ‘dress up a woman in finery’ (cf. *zāhāyb* ‘prepared, ready’)

A great many D/L-Stems must simply be considered lexical, such as the following:

*ōbāl* ‘try, test’

*awōda* ‘see s.o. off’ (cf. Arabic D *wadda’a* ‘see s.o. off’)

*awōḏān* ‘call to prayer’ (cf. Arabic D *ʾaḏḏana* ‘call to prayer’)

*ōlām* ‘mark; teach’ (cf. Arabic D *ʾallama* ‘teach’)

*āwīḏ* ‘warn’

*āwīg* ‘delay, divert’

*āwīn* ‘help’ (cf. Arabic L *ʾāwana* ‘help’)

*a’yūt* ‘cry out; weep’ (cf. Arabic D *ʾayyaṭa* ‘cry out’)

*ōzār* ‘annoy, pester’

*abōrāk* ‘bless’ (cf. Arabic L *bāraka* ‘bless’)

*abōśār* ‘give good news’ (cf. Arabic D *baššara* ‘bring news’)

*admūm* ‘grope, feel about’ (cf. Q *adámḏam*, with the same meaning)

(*f*)*fāsk* ‘separate (people fighting)’

(*f*)*fōxār* ‘beautify, dress up’

- agōrəb* ‘try’ (cf. Arabic D *jarraba* ‘test, try’)  
*aǧyīǧ* ‘anger’ (cf. T1 *ǧátyǧǧ* ‘get angry’)  
*(h)hōdi* ‘divide, share’ (cf. Arabic L *hādā* ‘exchange gifts’)  
*(h)hōnəd* ‘feel sleepy’ (perhaps denominative from *hənūd* ‘drowsiness’)  
*(h)hōli* ‘describe; beckon’ (cf. *həlōt* ‘description’)  
*(h)hōməl* ‘load’ (cf. G *həmūl* ‘carry, bear’; Arabic D *hammala* ‘load’)  
*(h)hōrəm* ‘swear (not to do s.t.)’ (cf. Arabic D *harrama* ‘declare s.t. forbidden; refrain from s.t.’)  
*(h)hōšəl* ‘acquire, get’ (= G *həšáwl*; cf. Arabic G *hašala* and D *haššala* ‘obtain, get’)  
*aǧōbəl* ‘watch, keep an eye on’ (cf. Arabic L *qābala* ‘stand opposite, face’)  
*aǧwīn* ‘measure’  
*aǧyīs* ‘try s.t. (for size) on s.o.’ (cf. Arabic D *qayyasa* ‘measure’)  
*amōsi* ‘kiss’  
*arōtəb* ‘arrange, tidy up’ (cf. Arabic D *rattaba* ‘arrange’)  
*(s)sōfər* ‘travel’ (cf. Arabic L *sāfara* ‘travel’)  
*ašōli* ‘pray’ (cf. Arabic D *šallā* ‘pray’)  
*(š)šōbəh* ‘suspect; look like’ (cf. Arabic L *šābaha* ‘look like’)  
*(t)təwīb* ‘repent’  
*awdīd* ‘assign tasks’  
*awōləm* ‘prepare (trans.)’  
*awōkəl* ‘authorize, empower’ (cf. Arabic D *wakkala* ‘authorize, empower’)  
*awōšəf* ‘describe’ (= H *həwšáwf*)  
*awōši* ‘advise’ (cf. Arabic D *waššā* ‘advise’)  
*(x)xōbət* ‘cock (a gun)’  
*(x)xōtər* ‘endanger, risk’ (cf. *xətār* ‘danger’; Arabic L *xātara* ‘risk, endanger’)

### 6.3 H-Stem

The H-Stem is characterized by a prefixed *h* throughout the paradigm. The base pattern in the perfect has the shape *həCCūC*. However, if the initial root consonant is voiceless and non-glottalic (§ 2.1.2), and the second root consonant is not, then the prefix assimilates to the first root consonant.<sup>21</sup> An epenthetic *ə* is often added after the first root consonant of those verbs in which the prefix

21 The distribution of this prefix was first correctly explained in the very thorough study of Bendjaballah and Ségéral (2014a). There are about a dozen exceptions to the rule found in

*h-* has been assimilated. In initial position, the geminate consonant that results from the assimilation is usually simplified, e.g., *tāmūm* ‘he finished’ (< *ttāmūm* < *\*ttmūm* < *\*htmūm*) and *fārūk* or *frūk* ‘he frightened’ (< *\*ffrūk* < *\*hfrūk*). If both the first and second root consonants are voiceless and non-glottalic, then the prefix *h-* does appear, with or without an epenthetic *a*, e.g., *h(ə)thūm* ‘he imagined’ and *h(ə)ftūk* ‘he took out/off/away’.<sup>22</sup> Following is the full paradigm of a strong verb in this stem (*harkūb* ‘mount’):

	<b>Perfect</b>	<b>Imperfect</b>	<b>Subjunctive</b>	<b>Conditional</b>
1cs	<i>harkábk</i>	<i>aharkūb</i>	<i>al-hárkáb</i>	<i>al-hárkábən</i>
2ms	<i>harkábk</i>	<i>tharkūb</i>	<i>thárkáb</i>	<i>thárkábən</i>
2fs	<i>harkábsš</i>	<i>tharkáybi</i>	<i>thárkáb(i)</i> <sup>23</sup>	<i>thárkábən</i>
3ms	<i>harkūb</i>	<i>yaharkūb</i>	<i>yahárkáb</i>	<i>yahárkábən</i>
3fs	<i>harkábūt</i>	<i>tharkūb</i>	<i>thárkáb</i>	<i>thárkábən</i>
1cd	<i>harkábkki</i>	<i>aharkábōh</i>	<i>al-harkábáh</i>	<i>al-harkábáyyən</i>
2cd	<i>harkábkki</i>	<i>tharkábōh</i>	<i>tharkábáh</i>	<i>tharkábáyyən</i>
3md	<i>harkábōh</i>	<i>yaharkábōh</i>	<i>yaharkábáh</i>	<i>yaharkábáyyən</i>
3fd	<i>harkábtōh</i>	<i>tharkábōh</i>	<i>tharkábáh</i>	<i>tharkábáyyən</i>
1cp	<i>harkōbən</i>	<i>naharkūb</i>	<i>nahárkáb</i>	<i>nahárkábən</i>
2mp	<i>harkábkəm</i>	<i>tharkīb</i>	<i>thárkábəm</i>	<i>thárkábən</i>
2fp	<i>harkábkən</i>	<i>tharkūbən</i>	<i>thárkábən</i>	<i>thárkábən</i>
3mp	<i>harkīb</i>	<i>yaharkīb</i>	<i>yahárkábəm</i>	<i>yahárkábən</i>
3fp	<i>harkūb</i>	<i>tharkūbən</i>	<i>thárkábən</i>	<i>thárkábən</i>

3ms perfect base with object suffixes: *harkáb-*

Imperative: ms *hárkáb*, fs *hárkáb(i)*, mp *hárkábəm*, fp *hárkábən*

Future: ms *mahárkáb*, fs *maharkábēta*, md *mahárkabi*, fd *maharkábēti*, cp *maharkábūtən*

*ML* (out of more than 500 verbs), and these are listed by Bendjaballah and Ségéral. None of the exceptions occur in the texts, making them suspect.

22 The rules for the appearance of *h-* are essentially the same as those for the prefix *a-* of the D/L-Stem (§ 6.2) and the definite article *a-* (§ 4.4).

23 The 2fs subjunctive and fs imperative forms should correctly be without the suffix *-i*, but younger speakers now use forms like *thárkabi* (with the suffix and no ablaut) on analogy with other verb stems. See further in the comment to text 24:6.

Note that the 1cp perfect form has the vowel *ō*, while the 3ms has *ū*. This is in contrast with the G-Stem, which has *ū* in both forms, e.g., *həkfōdan* ‘we let down’ (60:10) vs. G-Stem *kəfūdan* ‘we went down’ (25:7). The Š1-Stem and T2-Stem also have *ō* in the 1cp perfect. This interesting phenomenon is confirmed not only by the data from our texts, but also by data collected by recent fieldwork.<sup>24</sup>

For verbs that lose the prefixed *h* in the perfect, the *h* reappears in the singular and plural forms of the subjunctive and conditional. Following is the complete paradigm of the verb (*f*)*fəruk* ‘frighten’:<sup>25</sup>

	Perfect	Imperfect	Subjunctive	Conditional
1cs	( <i>f</i> ) <i>fərákk</i>	<i>əffəruk</i>	<i>əl-háfraq</i>	<i>əl-háfərkən</i>
2ms	( <i>f</i> ) <i>fərákk</i>	<i>t(f)fəruk</i>	<i>tháfrək</i>	<i>tháfərkən</i>
2fs	( <i>f</i> ) <i>fərákš</i>	<i>t(f)fəráyki</i>	<i>tháfrək(i)</i>	<i>tháfərkən</i>
3ms	( <i>f</i> ) <i>fəruk</i>	<i>yəffəruk</i>	<i>yəháfraq</i>	<i>yəháfərkən</i>
3fs	( <i>f</i> ) <i>fərkáwt</i> <sup>26</sup>	<i>t(f)fəruk</i>	<i>tháfrək</i>	<i>tháfərkən</i>
1cd	( <i>f</i> ) <i>fərákki</i>	<i>əffərkōh</i>	<i>l-əffərkáh</i> <sup>27</sup>	<i>l-əffərkáyyən</i>
2cd	( <i>f</i> ) <i>fərákki</i>	<i>t(f)fərkōh</i>	<i>t(f)fərkáh</i>	<i>t(f)fərkáyyən</i>
3md	( <i>f</i> ) <i>fərkōh</i>	<i>yəffərkōh</i>	<i>yəffərkáh</i>	<i>yəffərkáyyən</i>
3fd	( <i>f</i> ) <i>fərkātōh</i>	<i>t(f)fərkōh</i>	<i>t(f)fərkáh</i>	<i>t(f)fərkáyyən</i>
1cp	( <i>f</i> ) <i>fərōkən</i>	<i>nəffəruk</i>	<i>nəháfraq</i>	<i>nəháfərkən</i>
2mp	( <i>f</i> ) <i>fərákkəm</i>	<i>t(f)fərik</i>	<i>tháfərkəm</i>	<i>tháfərkən</i>
2fp	( <i>f</i> ) <i>fərákkən</i>	<i>t(f)fərukən</i>	<i>tháfərkən</i>	<i>tháfərkən</i>
3mp	( <i>f</i> ) <i>fərik</i>	<i>yəffərik</i>	<i>yəháfərkəm</i>	<i>yəháfərkən</i>
3fp	( <i>f</i> ) <i>fəruk</i>	<i>t(f)fərukən</i>	<i>tháfərkən</i>	<i>tháfərkən</i>

24 I refer to the data of Sabrina Bendjaballah, Julien Dufour, and Philippe Ségéral. My thanks to Sabrina Bendjaballah for bringing this phenomenon to my attention.

25 As noted above, there is usually an epenthetic *ə* after the first root consonant. I have included it in the paradigm.

26 The underlying form is *\*(f)fərkūt* (from the pattern  $(C_1)C_1C_2əC_3ūt$ ), but there is metathesis of the *ə* and the liquid (§ 2.2.3). Cf. also (*f*)*fəwtūt* ‘she ran away’ (22:70) < *\*ffaltūt* < *\*fflatūt*. We see the same metathesis in the 3md perfect, dual imperfect, dual and plural subjunctive (except 1cp), conditional, plural imperatives, and future (except ms) forms. For verbs whose second root consonant is not a liquid, there is no metathesis; compare *háfəwtəm* ‘escape (mp)!’ (< *\*háfəwtəm*, 42:19) and *háfəbləm* ‘amuse (mp)!’ (84:6). 3fs (*f*)*fərkáwt* also has the expected diphthongization of *ū* > *áw* after a glottalic consonant (§ 2.2.1).

27 The subjunctive dual suffix is *-áh* instead of *-əh* (< *\*-əh*) for this verb because of the glottalic *k* (see § 2.2.1).



3ms perfect base with object suffixes: (f)ʃərək-

Imperative: ms *háʃrək*, fs *háʃrək(i)*, mp *háʃrəkəm*, fp *háʃrəkən*

Future:<sup>28</sup> ms *məháʃrək*, fs *məʃʃərəkāta*, md *məháʃrək(i)*, fd *məʃʃərəkāti*, cp *məʃʃərəkāwtən*

### 6.3.1 H-Stem Meaning

The primary function of the Mehri H-Stem is causative (cf. Hebrew *hiph'il*, Arabic *ʾafʿala*). The causative meaning is usually derived from a G-Stem verb. This includes causatives of some intransitive and stative verbs, meaning that the H-Stem has some overlap in function with the D/L-Stem. Some examples are:

*hāsūs* ‘rouse, wake up (trans.); bear (fruit)’ (cf. G *ʾásś* ‘rise, get up; grow’)

*hāwūr* ‘make blind’ (cf. Gb *áywər* ‘be blind’)

*həbhūl* ‘cook, prepare’ (cf. G *bəhēl* ‘be cooked, ready’)

*həbkōh* ‘make s.o. cry’ (cf. G *bəkōh* ‘cry’)

*həbkōh* ‘put aside, save’ (cf. Gb *báyki* ‘be left over, remain’)

*həbrūk* ‘make (camels) kneel’ (cf. G *bərūk* ‘kneel (of camels)’)

*həbáwr* ‘take out (animals) at night’ (cf. G *bār* ‘go out at night’)

*hādūg* ‘suckle’ (= D/L *ōdæg*; cf. G *ādūg* ‘suck (at the breast)’)

*hədlūl* ‘lead, guide’ (= G *dəll* ‘lead, guide’)

*hədxáwl* ‘make s.o. swear’ (cf. G *dəxāl* ‘swear, promise’)

*həðhūb* ‘flood (trans.)’ (cf. G *ðəhēb* ‘be flooded’)

*h(ə)ʃhūs* ‘boil (meat and potatoes)’ (cf. G *ʃhēs* ‘boil (intrans.)’)

(f)ʃərūd ‘frighten (animals)’ (cf. G *ʃərūd* ‘stampede, panic’)

(f)ʃərūk ‘frighten’ (cf. Gb *ʃirək* ‘be afraid’)

*h(ə)ʃtūk* ‘take out/off/away’ (cf. G *ʃtūk* ‘come/go out’)

*həgáwr* ‘knock down’ (cf. G *gār* ‘fall’)

*həglūl* ‘light a fire; boil (trans.)’ (cf. G *gəll* ‘be alight; boil (intrans.)’)

(h)həwōh ‘drop, make fall’ (cf. G *həwōh* ‘fall’)

*həkʃūd* ‘take/let down’ (cf. G *kəʃūd* ‘go down’)

*həkśés* ‘dry (trans.)’ (cf. Gb *káyśa* ‘be dry’)

(h)həwūb ‘warm by the fire’ (cf. Gb *həwəb* ‘get warm’)

(h)hənūt ‘make s.o. break an oath’ (cf. Gb *həyənət* ‘swear a lie, break an oath’)

28 The fs future suffix is *-āta* instead of *-ēta* for this verb because of the preceding glottalic *k* (see § 2.2.1). Likewise, the fd suffix is *-āti* < *-ēti*, and the cp suffix is *-āwtən* < *-ūtən*.

- (*h*)*hərūk* ‘burn (trans.)’ (cf. Gb *háyraḳ* ‘get burnt’)  
*həwbūs* ‘dress s.o.’ (cf. Gb *libəs* ‘wear’)  
*həwšáwḳ* ‘stick (trans.), attach’ (cf. Gb *liṣəḳ* ‘stick (intrans.), adhere’)<sup>29</sup>  
*həmlōh* ‘fill (trans.)’ (= Ga *mūla/məlōh*; cf. Gb *mīla* ‘be full’)<sup>30</sup>  
*həmlūk* ‘give s.o. legal possession of a woman in marriage’ (cf. G *məlūk* ‘possess’)  
*həmrūt* ‘heat red-hot’ (cf. Gb *mīrət* ‘be(come) red-hot’)  
*həmwūt* ‘kill’ (cf. G *mōt* ‘die’)  
*həndūr* ‘give milk; suckle’ (cf. G *nədūr* ‘drink milk (used of babies)’)  
*hənkáwb* ‘throw off (usually of a mount)’ (cf. Gb *nīḳəb* ‘fall off (a mount)’)  
*hərkūb* ‘mount s.o.’ (cf. G *rəkūb* ‘ride, mount’)  
*hərwōh* ‘give to drink’ (cf. Gb *ráywi* ‘drink to repletion’)  
(*š*)*šənōh* ‘show’ (cf. Gb *šīni* ‘see’)  
(*t*)*təmūm* ‘finish (trans.), complete’ (cf. Gb *təmm* ‘be finished, finish (intrans.)’)  
(*t*)*təwōh* ‘feed’ (cf. G *təwōh* ‘eat’)  
*həwkūb* ‘put in’ (cf. G *wəkūb* ‘enter’)  
*həwḳá’* ‘put, put down’ (cf. Gb *wīḳa* ‘be, become; stay’)  
*həwrūd* ‘take down to water’ (cf. G *wərūd* ‘go down to water’)  
*həwšáwl* ‘take s.o. somewhere’ (= D/L *awōšəl*, though the D/L-Stem takes just one direct object; cf. Gb *wīšəl* ‘arrive, reach’)  
(*x*)*xədūm* ‘employ, give work’ (cf. G *xədūm* ‘work’)  
(*x*)*xəlūs* ‘mislead’ (cf. G *xəlūs* ‘get lost’)  
*həzyūd* ‘increase (trans.); give more’ (cf. G *zəyūd* ‘increase (intrans.); be(come) more than’)

Some H-Stem causatives have extended or narrowed in meaning, but the derivation can still be seen, for example:

- həḏrōh* ‘let the blood of a goat run over a sick person’ (cf. Gb *ḏīra* ‘bleed (intrans.)’)<sup>31</sup>

29 *ML* (s.v. *lšk*) has *həwšūḳ*, but this is an error for *həwšáwḳ*; cf. the 3mp perfect *həwšáyḳ*, attested in text 17:9.

30 *ML* (s.v. *ml’/mly*) lists an H-Stem perfect *mlū*, but this is an error. The correct form *həmlōh* appears in text 48:8. On the variant forms of the Ga-Stem, see § 7.2.9.

31 *ML* (s.v. *ḏrv*) lists a 3ms perfect *ḏáyər*, clearly a typo for *ḏáyərə*, which is still very likely a error. The form should be *ḏīra* (like *wīḳa*); cf. *dīre* in Jahn (1902: 173), with *d* for *ḏ* in his Yemeni Mehri dialect.

*həǰfūl* ‘cheer s.o. up’ (cf. G *ǰəfūl* ‘be carefree’)  
*həǰwūš* ‘put down (e.g., feet) under water’ (cf. G *ǰōš* ‘dive’)  
*həqšáwɪm* ‘spend the afternoon (to avoid the heat)’ (cf. Gb *káyšəm* ‘be cool’)  
*həršōh* ‘reconcile with s.o. (usually a wife)’ (cf. Gb *ráyši* ‘be agreeable’)  
*həwšáwb* ‘hit (with a bullet)’ (cf. G *šōb* ‘be/go straight’)<sup>32</sup>

Some H-Stem verbs are not causatives derived from a G-Stem, but can still be seen as causative in meaning. Such are:

*hālūk* ‘light (trans.), kindle’ (cf. G *ālūk* ‘make a fire’)  
*həðnáwn* ‘imagine’ (cf. *ðann* ‘thought’)  
*(f)ʃəḵōh* ‘cover’ (cf. Š1 *šəḵōh* ‘cover oneself’)  
*(f)ʃūk* ‘give in marriage’ (cf. Š1 *šfūk* ‘get married (female subject only)’)<sup>33</sup>  
*həgnōh* ‘warm (trans.)’ (cf. Š1 *šəgnōh* ‘get warm’)<sup>34</sup>  
*həǰyūǰ* ‘bear young (of animals)’ (cf. *ǰayǰ* ‘man’)  
*(k)kawr* ‘(make s.t.) roll down’  
*(h)həḵōh* ‘give water to’ (cf. anomalous T2 *(t)təḵḵ* ‘drink’)  
*(h)həmōh* ‘call, name’ (cf. *hamm* ‘name’)  
*həndēx* ‘fumigate, perfume with incense smoke’ (cf. T1 *náddəx* ‘get smoke in one’s eyes, *nīdēx* ‘(incense-)smoke’)  
*hənhōh* ‘burn (trans.)’ (cf. Š1 *šənhōh* ‘get burnt’)  
*hərbá* ‘lift/pull/take up’ (cf. Š1 *šərbá* ‘climb to the top of s.t.’)  
*hərxōh* ‘release, let go’ (cf. Š1 *šərxōh* and T1 *rátxi* ‘be untied, be released’)  
*(š)šawḵ* ‘light (on fire), burn (trans.)’ (cf. T1 *sátwəḵ* ‘miss, long for’)<sup>35</sup>  
*hətláwḵ* ‘release, set (a horse) after’ (cf. T1 *tátləḵ* ‘be released’)  
*həwǰūs* ‘take out/bring home animals in the early evening’ (cf. Š1 *šəwǰūs* ‘go (in the early evening)’)  
*həwré* ‘keep away, hold back (trans.)’ (cf. Š1 *šəwré* ‘back off, stand down’)

32 The G-Stem 3ms perfect *šawb*, given in *ML* (s.v. *šwb*), is surely an error for *šōb*.

33 On this anomalous verb, see further in § 7.2.14.

34 See the comment to text 84:4.

35 The form *(š)šawḵ* (3ms subjunctive *yəháśaḵ*, 86:12) behaves as if its root were *š’ḵ* (cf. *(k)kawr*). The T1-Stem *sátwəḵ*, assuming it is connected (as Johnstone did), reflects a root *šwḵ*. If the root were originally *šwḵ*, as suggested in *ML* (s.v. *šwḵ*), we could perhaps argue for an anomalous change of 3ms perfect *\*həšwūk* > *\*həšūḵ* > *\*həšáwḵ* > *\*hšáwḵ* > *(š)šawḵ*. Jahn (1902: 242) also recorded 3ms perfect *šawḵ*.

Many H-Stems do not function as causatives, and must simply be considered lexical. Some have roots that appear in other stems, while others do not. Many of these verbs that do not function as causatives (and many of those that do, for that matter) are likely borrowings from Arabic, especially from the Arabic C-Stem (Form IV, *ʿafʿala*). Such are:

- hāmūn* ‘trust (in s.o.)’ (cf. Arabic C *ʿāmana* ‘trust (in s.o.)’)  
*hāmūr* ‘order’ (cf. Arabic G *ʿamara* ‘order’ vs. Mehri G *āmūr* ‘say’ [root ‘mr’])  
*hānōh* ‘intend, mean’ (cf. *mānē* ‘intent, intention’)  
*hārūs* ‘marry, get married’ (cf. Arabic G *ʿarasa* or D *ʿarrasa* ‘get married’)  
*hātūm* ‘spend the night’  
*həbǰáwš* ‘hate’ (cf. G *bəǰāš* ‘dislike’; Arabic C *ʿabǰaḍa* ‘hate’, but G *baǰiḍa* ‘be hated’)  
*həbšáwr* ‘see well’ (cf. Arabic C *ʿabšara* ‘see’)  
*həbšūr* ‘look forward to (s.t. good or bad); anticipate’ (cf. D/L *abōšar* ‘give good news’)  
*həbtá* ‘be late, be delayed’ (cf. *bəṭáy* ‘slow, late’; Arabic C *ʿabṭaʿa* ‘be late’)  
*(f)falūt* ‘escape, flee, run away’ (cf. Arabic C *ʿaflata* ‘escape’; Mehri D/L *fōlat* ‘free oneself’, T<sub>1</sub> *fátlət* ‘be untied’)  
*(f)faré* ‘begin’  
*(f)farūk* ‘recover from a fever’ (on the homophonous *(f)farūk* ‘frighten’, see above)<sup>36</sup>  
*h(ə)fsēh* ‘stop doing, leave off’  
*h(ə)ftōh* ‘advise; focus on’ (cf. Arabic C *ʿaftā* ‘give a (legal) opinion’)  
*həǰbūr* ‘give help’ (cf. Š<sub>1</sub> *šəǰbūr* ‘ask for help from’)  
*həǰdōh* ‘forget, lose’  
*həǰšáwb* ‘lose s.t. of importance’ (cf. G *ǰəšáwb* ‘disarm, take by force’, the meaning of which is more causative than the H-Stem)  
*(h)həkáwt* ‘give birth (used of camels)’ (cf. Arabic C *ʿasqata* ‘let fall, drop; have a miscarriage’)  
*(h)həwūl* ‘understand (a language)’ (probably cf. Arabic C *ʿahwala* ‘convert, translate’)  
*(k)kəbūr* ‘stay with s.o. to drink milk’  
*həkbūl* ‘arrive, draw near’ (cf. Arabic C *ʿaqbala* ‘draw near’)  
*həmrūš* ‘nurse, look after’ (this is the opposite of causative; cf. Gb *mīrəš* ‘be ill’)

36 This verb is considered an H-Stem in *ML* (based on the imperfect forms listed), but the forms in the texts (84:6, 84:7, 84:8) are ambiguous and could be either G- or H-Stems.

- hənfēx* ‘blow, breathe’ (seems to = G *nəfx*)  
*həngūd* ‘go to Najd (in Dhofar)’ (denominative from *nagd* ‘Najd’; cf. Arabic C *ʾanjada* ‘travel in the Najd’)  
*hənkūr* ‘feel; understand, realize’ (cf. Gb *nīkər* ‘understand, catch on’)  
*hənsūr* ‘have had enough sleep; feel refreshed’ (cf. Arabic C *ʾanšara* ‘resurrect from the dead’)  
*hərgūf* ‘shiver (with fever)’ (cf. Arabic C *ʾarjafa* ‘shiver’)  
*hərhūn* ‘pawn; leave s.t. as a pledge’ (cf. Arabic C *ʾarhana* ‘pawn; leave s.t. as a pledge’)  
*hərsōh* ‘cast anchor’ (cf. Arabic C *ʾarsā* ‘cast anchor’)  
*hərxáwš* ‘give permission to leave’ (cf. Š1 *šərxawš* ‘take/want leave’; Arabic D *raxxaša* ‘permit’)  
*həšbāh* ‘be/happen in the morning; become’ (cf. Arabic C *ʾašbaħa* ‘be/happen in the morning; become’; Mehri *k-sōbəh* ‘morning’;)  
*həšfūr* ‘whistle’ (cf. Arabic G *šafara* and D *šaffara* ‘whistle’, but Judeo-Arabic C *ʾašfara* ‘whistle’)  
*həšráwb* ‘be ill’  
*h(ə)thūm* ‘think, imagine, suspect’  
*(t)təlōh* ‘regret’  
*həwfōh* ‘pay a debt’ (perhaps cf. *wōfi* ‘honest’)  
*həwḥōh* ‘come to help’  
*həwlōh* ‘go back to, turn towards, direct oneself to’ (cf. Arabic C *ʾawlā* ‘turn back/towards’)  
*həwšáwš* ‘describe’ (= D/L *awōšəf*; cf. *wasf* ‘description’ [ $<$  Arabic])  
*(x)xəšáwb* ‘send; send for’  
*(x)xəwōh* ‘send s.o. confidentially’  
*həzbūr* ‘feel pleasure at s.o.’s misfortune’

### 6.3.2 H Internal Passive

An H-Stem internal passive exists in Mehri, but is very rare. In the texts there is just one attested form:

*ksūt agányat ber təhnēt təkáyk ḏ-awkā*, ‘she found the sack (of grain) already ground, (with) fine flour in it [lit. having been put in]’ (97:16)

The form *ḏ-awkā* must be a 3ms passive imperfect of the H-Stem *həwkā* ‘put, place’; the verbal prefix *ḏ-* indicates a circumstantial (§7.1.10.1).<sup>37</sup> It is inter-

37 Already Bittner (1915b: 11) analyzed the corresponding Yemeni Mehri verb (*hūqa*) in

esting that the characteristic *h-* of the H-Stem is not present in this passive form (see the discussion in § 6.2.2). As noted in the comment to this text, the manuscript originally had an *h* (*hawḳā*), which was then crossed out. Johnstone (1975a: 19) lists a passive 3ms perfect *awḳā* and 3ms imperfect/subjunctive *yawḳā*. He also lists one more H-Stem passive verb, namely, 3ms perfect *aglēl* (probably better *aglēl*) and 3ms imperfect/subjunctive *yaglōl*, from the H-Stem *haglūl* 'boil'. More data are needed on the H-Stem passive.

#### 6.4 Š-Stems

Mehri possesses two stems that are characterized by a prefixed *š*. The one which we will call the Š<sub>1</sub>-Stem is by far the more common of the two. It has the basic pattern *šəCCūC* in the 3ms perfect. The other Š-Stem, which we will call the Š<sub>2</sub>-Stem, has the basic pattern *šəCēCəC* in the 3ms perfect. The Š<sub>2</sub>-Stem, like the D/L- and T<sub>2</sub>-Stems, is characterized by a suffixed *-ən* on all imperfect forms. Bittner (1911: 51) and Johnstone (1975a: 13; *ML*, pp. xxi, lix) referred to both of the Š-Stems as causative-reflexive verbs, but this designation is not very accurate, as will be seen below.

The Mehri (and other MSA) Š-Stems do not derive from the Proto-Semitic C-Stem, which had a prefixed *\*s-*, and which is the source of the Š-Stem in Akkadian, Ugaritic, and some OSA languages (e.g., Qatabanic). The Semitic C-Stem is the source of the MSA H-Stem, which in Mehri exhibits the shift of the prefix *\*sV-* > *hV-* (and > *V-* elsewhere in MSA) that we see in most West Semitic languages. The Mehri prefix *š-* comes from an earlier *\*st-*, that is, from a Semitic Ct-Stem, corresponding to the Arabic *istaf'ala* (Form X). The MSA Ct-Stem split into two types, an Š<sub>1</sub>-type and an Š<sub>2</sub>-type, mirroring the two types of T-Stems (§ 6.5).<sup>38</sup> The developments in both the forms and meanings of the MSA Š-Stems have some limited similarities with developments of the Ct-Stem in Arabic dialects of the region, but these connections remain to be explored in detail.<sup>39</sup>

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Müller's version of the story (Müller 1902: 119) as an H-Stem passive. The Jibbali version (*JLO*, p. 562, text 97:16) also has an H-Stem passive.

38 Verbs with the pattern *istaf'a'ala* (a CtD-Stem) are also occasionally found in colloquial Arabic dialects, including outside of Southern Arabia, though it is not a productive stem like the MSA Š<sub>2</sub>-Stem.

39 Holes (2005) discusses some developments of the *istaf'ala* (Form X) in Gulf Arabic, but with no reference to MSA languages.

### 6.4.1 Š<sub>1</sub>-Stem Form

The basic pattern of the 3ms perfect is *šəCCūC*. When the first root consonant is voiceless and non-glottalic, but the second is voiced or glottalic, then the *ə* of the prefix is not present; instead, there is an epenthetic *ə* following the first root consonant, e.g., *šxəbūr* ‘ask’ and *škəlūt* ‘listen to a story’. The exception is if the first root consonant is *s* or *ś*, e.g., *šəsduḱ* ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (not *\*šəsduḱ*). If both the first and second root consonants are voiceless and non-glottalic, then we find a cluster of three consonants, which can optionally be broken up with an epenthetic *ə* after the prefix, e.g., *šftəḥ* or *šəftəḥ* ‘be mated (female animals)’.

The conjugation of the Š<sub>1</sub>-Stem is parallel to that of the H-Stem, with *š* where the H-stem has *h*. Following is the full paradigm of a strong verb in the Š<sub>1</sub>-Stem (*šəndūr* ‘vow, promise’):

	Perfect	Imperfect	Subjunctive	Conditional
1cs	<i>šəndərək</i>	<i>əšəndūr</i>	<i>əl-šándər</i>	<i>l-əšándərən</i>
2ms	<i>šəndərək</i>	<i>tšəndūr</i>	<i>tšándər</i>	<i>tšándərən</i>
2fs	<i>šəndərš</i>	<i>tšəndáyri</i>	<i>tšándər(i)</i> <sup>40</sup>	<i>tšándərən</i>
3ms	<i>šəndūr</i>	<i>yəšəndūr</i>	<i>yəšándər</i>	<i>yəšándərən</i>
3fs	<i>šəndərūt</i>	<i>tšəndūr</i>	<i>tšándər</i>	<i>tšándərən</i>
1cd	<i>šəndərki</i>	<i>əšəndərōh</i>	<i>l-əšəndərəh</i>	<i>l-əšəndəráyyan</i>
2cd	<i>šəndərki</i>	<i>tšəndərōh</i>	<i>tšəndərəh</i>	<i>tšəndəráyyan</i>
3md	<i>šəndərōh</i>	<i>yəšəndərōh</i>	<i>yəšəndərəh</i>	<i>yəšəndəráyyan</i>
3fd	<i>šəndərtōh</i>	<i>tšəndərōh</i>	<i>tšəndərəh</i>	<i>tšəndəráyyan</i>
1cp	<i>šəndōrən</i>	<i>nəšəndūr</i>	<i>nəšándər</i>	<i>nəšándərən</i>
2mp	<i>šəndərəkəm</i>	<i>tšəndūr</i>	<i>tšándərəm</i>	<i>tšándərən</i>
2fp	<i>šəndərəkən</i>	<i>tšəndūrən</i>	<i>tšándərən</i>	<i>tšándərən</i>
3mp	<i>šəndūr</i>	<i>yəšəndūr</i>	<i>yəšándərəm</i>	<i>yəšándərən</i>
3fp	<i>šəndūr</i>	<i>tšəndūrən</i>	<i>tšándərən</i>	<i>tšándərən</i>

3ms perfect base with object suffixes: *šəndər-*

Imperative: ms *šándər*, fs *šándər(i)*, mp *šándərəm*, fp *šándərən*

40 As with the H-Stem (§6.3, n. 23), some speakers today may add a final *-i* to the 2fs subjunctive and imperative, though the forms should correctly be without the suffix *-i*. In our texts, no final *-i* is used with these forms.

Future: ms *māšándar*, fs *māšandārēta*, md *māšándari*, fd *māšandārēti*, cp *māšandārūtān*

Like the H-Stem and T2-Stem, the 1cp perfect has the vowel *ō*, while the 3ms has *ū*. This is in contrast with the G-Stem, which has *ū* in both forms, e.g., *šakšōrān* ‘we ran short’ (91:13) vs. G-Stem *kāfūdān* ‘we went down’ (25:7).

#### 6.4.2 Š1-Stem Meaning

As mentioned above, Johnstone refers to the Š-Stems as causative-reflexive verbs. This designation applies only to a minority of Š1-Stems. Among the examples in the texts are:

- šāgūl* ‘hurry (oneself)’ (cf. H *hāgūl* ‘make s.o. hurry’)
- šābdūd* ‘separate oneself from’ (cf. D/L *abdūd* ‘separate (trans.)’)
- šhāwūb* ‘warm oneself by the fire’ (cf. H (*h*)*hāwūb* ‘warm by the fire (trans.)’)
- šākḫāwb* ‘play the harlot’ (cf. H *hākḫāwb* ‘turn a woman into a harlot; seduce’)
- šākwoh* ‘become strong’ (cf. Gb *kāywi* ‘be strong’, H *hākwoh* ‘strengthen’)
- šāwnēx* ‘rest, be(come) rested’ (cf. H *hāwnēx* ‘give s.o. rest’)
- šārbā* ‘climb (to the top)’ (cf. H *hārbā* ‘lift, pull up’)
- šāwré* ‘back off, stand down’ (cf. H *hāwré* ‘keep away, hold back (trans.)’)

There are a few verbs that might be called causative-passive, since they can be seen as the passive of a corresponding causative (H-Stem) verb. Such are:

- šādlūl* ‘be guided; need directions’ (cf. H *hādlūl* ‘lead, guide’)
- šfūk* ‘get married’ (used with a female subject only) (cf. H (*f*)*fūk* ‘give in marriage’)<sup>41</sup>
- šāmlūk* ‘be given legal possession of a woman in marriage’ (cf. H *hāmlūk* ‘give s.o. legal possession of a woman in marriage’)
- šārdūd* ‘get back; ask for s.t. back’ (cf. H *hārdūd* ‘give back’)
- šāwšāwb* ‘be wounded, be hit (with a bullet)’ (cf. H *hāwšāwb* ‘hit (with a bullet)’)
- šāšyūk* ‘get fed up; have trouble’ (cf. G *šāyūk* ‘be fed up’, D/L *ašyūk* and H *hāšyūk* ‘make s.o. fed up’)
- šāwfōh* ‘be revenged for s.o., avenge s.o.; be paid a debt’ (cf. H *hāwfōh* ‘pay a debt’)

41 On this anomalous verb, see further in § 7.2.14.



š(ə)xtūn ‘be circumcised’ (cf. G xtūn ‘circumcise’, H h(ə)xtūn ‘have a child circumcised’)

A few Š1-Stems have a meaning something like ‘believe s.o./s.t. is X’:

šabdōh ‘not believe, believe s.o. is lying’ (cf. G bədōh ‘lie, tell a lie’)  
 škəbūr ‘consider large’ (cf. Arabic Ct *istakbara* ‘consider large’)  
 š(ə)ktūr ‘be too much; think s.t. is too much’ (cf. Gb *kītar* ‘be abundant’,  
 H *haktūr* ‘say/give more’; Arabic Ct *istaktara* ‘think s.t. is too much’)  
 šəsdūk ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G *səsdūk* ‘tell the truth’)<sup>42</sup>  
 štəḳāwl ‘find guests unwelcome; (+ reflexive *hənōf-*) think oneself a  
 burden’ (cf. Gb *tīkal* ‘be heavy’, H (*t*)*təḳāwl* ‘put a heavy load on’;  
 Arabic Ct *istaḳala* ‘find s.t. annoying or burdensome’)<sup>43</sup>

However, most Š1-Stems can only be categorized as lexical. Examples are:

šādūr ‘refuse s.o.’ (cf. H *hādūr* ‘excuse, excuse oneself’)  
 šāfōh ‘recover, improve in health’ (cf. *āfyət* ‘health’)  
 šēmūn ‘believe; listen to, obey’ (cf. H *hēmūn* ‘trust’)  
 šēnūs ‘dare’  
 šāsūr ‘love, like, be keen on’  
 šāšōh ‘be/get worried about’  
 šōda ‘curse, insult’ (cf. *dāwēt* ‘complaint’)  
 šadhūk ‘look, look down’  
 šadrūk ‘survive’ (cf. G *dərūk* ‘come quickly to help’, D/L *adōrak* ‘save s.o.’s  
 life by giving water’)  
 š(ə)ftēh ‘be mated (female animals)’ (cf. G *fāth* ‘open’)  
 šaghūm ‘set off (in the morning)’ (cf. G *gahēm* ‘go, go in the morning’)  
 šaghāwd ‘be(come) convinced’ (cf. G *gəḥād* ‘deny, refuse; convince’)  
 šəgbūr ‘ask for help from, collect funds from’ (cf. H *həgbūr* ‘give help’)  
 šəglōh ‘buy s.t. at a high price’ (cf. H *həglōh* ‘sell s.t. at a high price’)  
 šəwǧáwr ‘raid’ (cf. Gb *ǧáywər* ‘be distracted, not pay attention’, D/L *aǧwīr*  
 ‘distract, keep occupied’)  
 šhamūm ‘be encouraged, be bold’

42 We also find *šəsdūk*. See further in the comment to text 20:6.

43 *ML* (s.v. *tkl*) gives an H-Stem *hətkāwl*, but we do not expect the prefix *h-* before the voiceless *t*. I assume it is an error, though this needs to be confirmed. (See also § 6.3, n. 21.) The unexpected prefix is also given in *JL* for the Jibbali cognate.

- šhagōh* 'stand firm; settle a difficulty'  
*šhəyūr* 'be paralyzed with fear' (cf. G *həyūr* 'be confused, get lost')  
*škəlūl* 'catch (in one's hands)' (cf. H (*k*)*kəlūl* 'catch (s.t. dropping)')  
*škəlūt* 'listen to a story' (cf. G *kəlūt* 'tell')  
*š(ə)ktūb* 'have s.o. write (a charm)' (cf. Arabic Ct *istaktaba* 'have s.o. write s.t.')
- šəkrōh* 'hide (intrans.), hide oneself' (cf. G *krōh* 'hide (trans.)') (reflexive, but there is no recorded H-Stem of this root)  
*šəkráwr* 'confess'  
*šəksáwr* 'run out of, run short of' (very close to G *kəšáwr* 'be/fall short; run short of')  
*šəksōh* 'be paid off, receive blood-money' (cf. G *kəšōh* 'pay off, pay blood-money')  
*šəktá* 'become despondent, tired (of a situation)' (cf. Gb *káyta* 'be tired')  
*šəmdūd* 'take s.t. (from s.o.)' (cf. H *həmdūd* 'give')  
*šəmrūs* 'fall ill; be ill' (cf. Gb *mūrəš* 'be ill'; H *həmrūs* 'nurse, look after' is not causative)  
*šəndūm* 'renege, ask for s.t. back' (cf. Gb *nūdəm* 'repent of s.t., be sorry about')  
*šəndūr* 'vow, promise' (H *həndūr* seems to have a similar meaning)  
*šənháwr* 'complain, lodge a complaint'  
*šənsáwr* 'be victorious' (cf. *nəšər* 'victory')  
*šərháwm* 'get rain (in a dry period)' (cf. *rəhmēt* 'rain')  
*šəsfōh* 'find out; gather news' (cf. *šəfōt* 'news')  
*šəšhāh* 'be (come) healthy' (cf. *šahh* 'alive, healthy', *šəhḥāt* 'health')  
*šəšháwr* 'be branded' (cf. G *šəhār* 'brand')  
*šəšyūm* 'run short of milk' (cf. *šáymət* 'shortage of milk')  
*šəwdé* 'keep safe' (cf. H *həwdé* 'give s.o. protection'; Arabic Ct *istawda'a* 'entrust, give for safekeeping')  
*šəwgūs* 'go (in the early evening)' (cf. H *həwgūs* 'take out/bring home animals in the early evening')  
*šəwkūf* 'sleep, fall asleep' (cf. H *həwkūf* 'let s.o. ill rest on one's shoulder; set up (a stone)')  
*šəxābūr* 'ask' (cf. Arabic tD *taxabbara* and Ct *istaxbara* 'inquire')

While a large number of D/L-Stems and H-Stems have clear Arabic counterparts, most Ši-Stems do not. And when there is an Arabic cognate, the Ši-Stem does not regularly correspond to any one Arabic verbal stem. For example, from the above lists, *šādūr*, *šənsáwr*, *š(ə)xtūn*, and probably *šōda* correspond to Arabic Gt-Stems (Form VIII, *ifta'ala*); *š(ə)ktūb*, *š(ə)ktūr*, *šəmdūd*, *šəkráwl*, and

*šəwdé'* correspond to Arabic Ct-Stems (Form X, *istaf'ala*); *šāgūl*, *šəmlūk*, *šəwfōh*, and *šəkəbūr* correspond to both tD- and Ct-Stems (Forms V and X, *tafa'ala* and *istaf'ala*); *šəyūr* corresponds either to a tD- or Gt-Stem (Form V or VIII, *tafa'ala* or *ifta'ala*); *šəwǧáwr* and *šəkráwr* to C-Stems (Form IV, *'af'ala*); *šēmūn* to both a C- and Gt-Stem (Forms IV and VIII, *'af'ala* and *ifta'ala*); *šāfōh* and *šəšyūk* to a tL-Stem (Form VI, *tafā'ala*); *šəkəbūr* to both a C- and Ct-Stem (Forms IV and X, *'af'ala* and *istaf'ala*); and *šəsdūk* to a D-Stem (Form II, *fa'ala*). This can be seen more clearly in the following table:

	D	C	tD	tL	Gt	Ct
<i>šōda</i>					×	
<i>šāḏūr</i>					×	
<i>šāfōh</i>				×		
<i>šāgūl</i>			×			×
<i>šēmūn</i>		×			×	
<i>šəwǧáwr</i>		×				
<i>šəyūr</i>			×		×	
<i>šəkəbūr</i>		×				×
<i>š(ə)ktūb</i>						×
<i>š(ə)ktūr</i>						×
<i>šəkráwr</i>		×				
<i>šəmdūd</i>						×
<i>šəmlūk</i>			×			×
<i>šənsáwr</i>					×	

<i>šəsdūk</i>	×					
<i>šəšyūk</i>				×		
<i>štəkáwl</i>						×
<i>šəwdē</i>						×
<i>šəwfōh</i>			×			×
<i>šxəbūr</i>			×			×
<i>š(ə)xtūn</i>					×	

As evident from the table, the Mehri Š1-Stems most often correspond to Arabic Ct- and Gt-Stems, but without the relative regularity or predictability that we see in the Mehri D/L- and H-Stems. As discussed in §6.4, the morpheme š, characteristic of the Š-Stems, comes from an earlier \*st, seen also in the Arabic Ct-Stem (Form X, *istafʿala*).

### 6.4.3 Š2-Stem Form

The basic pattern of the 3ms perfect is šəCēCəC, and like the D/L-Stem and T2-Stem, it is characterized by a suffixed -ən on all imperfect forms. If the first root consonant is voiceless and non-glottalic, then vowel ə of the prefix is lost, e.g., *šhēwəb* ‘think, figure’. Following is the full paradigm of a strong verb in the Š2-Stem (*šənēsəm* ‘sigh’):

	<b>Perfect</b>	<b>Imperfect</b>	<b>Subjunctive</b>	<b>Conditional</b>
1CS	<i>šənásmək</i>	<i>əšnásməṇ</i>	<i>l-əšnēsəm</i>	<i>l-əšnásməṇ</i>
2MS	<i>šənásmək</i>	<i>təšnásməṇ</i> <sup>44</sup>	<i>təšnēsəm</i>	<i>təšnásməṇ</i>
2FS	<i>šənásməš</i>	<i>təšnásməṇ</i>	<i>təšnēsəm</i>	<i>təšnásməṇ</i>
3MS	<i>šənēsəm</i>	<i>yəšnásməṇ</i>	<i>yəšnēsəm</i>	<i>yəšnásməṇ</i>
3FS	<i>šənsəmət</i>	<i>təšnásməṇ</i>	<i>təšnēsəm</i>	<i>təšnásməṇ</i>

44 Before š, the prefix should be t-, not tə-, but we usually find the latter in the Š2-Stem prefix-conjugations because of the following consonant cluster.

1cd	<i>šə́násməki</i> <sup>45</sup>	<i>əšnəsmáyyən</i>	<i>l-əšənsəməh</i>	<i>l-əšnəsmáyyən</i>
2cd	<i>šə́násməki</i>	<i>təšnəsmáyyən</i>	<i>təšənsəməh</i>	<i>təšnəsmáyyən</i>
3md	<i>šə́nsəməh</i>	<i>yəšnəsmáyyən</i>	<i>yəšənsəməh</i>	<i>yəšnəsmáyyən</i>
3fd	<i>šə́nsəmtōh</i>	<i>təšnəsmáyyən</i>	<i>təšənsəməh</i>	<i>təšnəsmáyyən</i>
1cp	<i>šə́násmən</i>	<i>nəšnásmən</i>	<i>nəšnēsəm</i>	<i>nəšnásmən</i>
2mp	<i>šə́násməkəm</i>	<i>təšnásmən</i>	<i>təšnásməm</i>	<i>təšnásmən</i>
2fp	<i>šə́násməkən</i>	<i>təšnásmən</i>	<i>təšnásmən</i>	<i>təšnásmən</i>
3mp	<i>šə́násməm</i>	<i>yəšnásmən</i>	<i>yəšnásməm</i>	<i>yəšnásmən</i>
3fp	<i>šə́nēsəm</i>	<i>təšnásmən</i>	<i>təšnásmən</i>	<i>təšnásmən</i>

3ms perfect base with object suffixes: *šə́nəsm-*

Imperative:<sup>46</sup> ms *šə́nēsəm*, fs *šə́nēsəm*, mp *šə́násməm*, fp *šə́násmən*

Future: ms *məšnēsəm*, fs *məšənsəməta*, md *məšnásmi*, fd *məšənsəməti*, cp *məšənsəmətən*

#### 6.4.4 Š<sub>2</sub>-Stem Meaning

Johnstone (*ML*, p. lxiii), wrote that many verbs of the Š<sub>2</sub> pattern have an implication of reciprocity, and this claim holds true. That is not to say that these are reciprocal verbs. For example, the verbs *šə́nēwəṣ* ‘wrestle with’ and *šə́gə́ləs* ‘quarrel with’ can be used with a singular subject and a direct object. However, the actions referred to (wrestling and quarreling) are reciprocal in nature. Likewise, *šə́ləbəd* means ‘shoot back at’ and takes a singular subject, but the implication is that shots are being fired in both directions. If these were true reciprocals, they would mean ‘wrestle with one another’ and ‘shoot at one another’, etc. This kind of explicit reciprocity is normally expressed with a T-Stem (see below, § 6.5). Attested Š<sub>2</sub>-Stem verbs with implied reciprocity are:

*šādəl* ‘bet s.o.’

*šə́dēyən* ‘borrow’ (cf. D/L *adyīn* ‘give credit; lend money’; Arabic Ct *istadāna* ‘borrow’)

45 *ML* (p. lxiii) has the 1/2 dual form *šə́nsámki*, but I assume this is an error, since we do not expect a stressed vowel between the second and third root consonants. This needs confirmation. My suggested *šə́násməki* would likely be pronounced *šə́násəmki*. Likewise, I expect that the 2mp/2fp forms would be pronounced with *-əm-* for *-mə-*.

46 The only Š<sub>2</sub>-Stem imperative attested in the texts is ms *šə́rēwəg* (56A:2), from a text that was not published by Stroomer.

*šagēlās* ‘quarrel with; tell s.o. off’ (cf. T<sub>1</sub> *gátlās* ‘quarrel with one another’)  
*šalēbād* ‘hit, shoot back at’ (cf. G *əwbūd* ‘hit, shoot’)  
*šənēwəš* ‘wrestle with, struggle with’ (cf. T<sub>2</sub> *əntəwūs* ‘wrestle with one  
 another’)  
*šərēwəg* ‘consult with’  
*šəwēd* ‘arrange a meeting; promise’ (cf. *wēd* ‘appointment, promise’)  
*šəzēfər* ‘struggle with s.t.’

Other Š<sub>2</sub> verbs have no implication of reciprocity, and must simply be considered lexical. Such are:

*šəgēmāl* ‘take all of s.t.’ (cf. G *gəmūl* ‘buy the whole of s.t.’, *gəmlēt* ‘total’)  
*šhēwəb* ‘think, figure’  
*šxārəg* ‘read; interpret’ (cf. Arabic D *xarraja* ‘interpret, deduce’ and Ct  
*istaxraja* ‘deduce’)

As already mentioned, and as is clear from the lists of Š<sub>1</sub>- and Š<sub>2</sub>-Stems above, Š<sub>2</sub> verbs are overall much less common than Š<sub>1</sub>-Stems. In fact, the Š<sub>2</sub>-Stem is the least common of the six trilateral derived stems.

## 6.5 T-Stems

Mehri possesses two derived verbal stems that are characterized by an infix *t*, which is inserted between the first and second root consonants. Both T-Stems occur fairly frequently. The one which we will call T<sub>1</sub> has the basic pattern *CátCəC* in the 3ms perfect. The other stem, which we will call T<sub>2</sub>, has the basic pattern *əCtəCūC* in the 3ms perfect. The T<sub>2</sub>-Stem, like the D/L- and Š<sub>2</sub>-Stems, is characterized by a suffixed *-ən* on all imperfect forms. Johnstone (1975a: 13; *ML*, pp. xxi, xlvi) refers to both of the T-Stems as reflexives, but this designation covers just a minority of T-Stem verbs. Besides reflexives, we find reciprocals, passives, and a number of verbs without a clear derivational meaning.

### 6.5.1 T<sub>1</sub>-Stem Form

The T<sub>1</sub>-Stem is characterized by an infix *t*, which is inserted between the first and second root consonants. It is distinguished from the T<sub>2</sub>-Stem by its vocalic patterns, and by the lack of the suffix *-ən* in the imperfect forms (save the 2fp and 3fp). The base pattern of the strong verb in the perfect is *CátCəC*. If the second and third root consonants are voiceless and non-glottalic, then the *ə* in the second syllable of the perfect is lost phonemically, though epenthetic *ə*

may be heard, e.g., *watxʃ* or *wátxʃ* ‘come (in the evening)’; see further on such verbs in § 7.2.12. Following is the full paradigm of a strong verb in the T1-Stem (*gátbər* ‘meet one another’):

	<b>Perfect</b>	<b>Imperfect</b> <sup>47</sup>	<b>Subjunctive</b>	<b>Conditional</b>
1cs	<i>gátbərək</i>	<i>əǵtabūr</i>	<i>l-əǵtibər</i>	<i>l-əǵtábrən</i>
2ms	<i>gátbərək</i>	<i>taǵtabūr</i>	<i>taǵtibər</i>	<i>taǵtábrən</i>
2fs	<i>gátbərəš</i>	<i>taǵtabáyri</i>	<i>taǵtibər</i> <sup>48</sup>	<i>taǵtábrən</i>
3ms	<i>gátbər</i>	<i>yəǵtabūr</i>	<i>yəǵtibər</i>	<i>yəǵtábrən</i>
3fs	<i>gátbərōt</i>	<i>taǵtabūr</i>	<i>taǵtibər</i>	<i>taǵtábrən</i>
1cd	<i>gátbərki</i>	<i>əǵtabrōh</i>	<i>l-əǵtabráh</i>	<i>l-əǵtabráyyən</i>
2cd	<i>gátbərki</i>	<i>taǵtabrōh</i>	<i>taǵtabráh</i>	<i>taǵtabráyyən</i>
3md	<i>gátbərōh</i>	<i>yəǵtabrōh</i>	<i>yəǵtabráh</i>	<i>yəǵtabráyyən</i>
3bfd	<i>gátbərōh</i>	<i>taǵtabrōh</i>	<i>taǵtabráh</i>	<i>taǵtabráyyən</i>
1cp	<i>gátbərən</i>	<i>nəǵtabūr</i>	<i>nəǵtibər</i>	<i>nəǵtábrən</i>
2mp	<i>gátbərəkəm</i>	<i>taǵtabūr</i>	<i>taǵtábrəm</i>	<i>taǵtábrən</i>
2bfp	<i>gátbərəkən</i>	<i>taǵtabūrən</i>	<i>taǵtábrən</i>	<i>taǵtábrən</i>
3mp	<i>gátbərəm</i>	<i>yəǵtabūr</i>	<i>yəǵtábrəm</i>	<i>yəǵtábrən</i>
3fp	<i>gátbər</i>	<i>taǵtabūrən</i>	<i>taǵtábrən</i>	<i>taǵtábrən</i>

3ms perfect base with object suffixes:<sup>49</sup> *gátbər-*

Imperative: ms *ǵatibər*, fs *ǵatibər*, mp *ǵatábrəm*, fp *ǵatábrən*

Future:<sup>50</sup> ms *məǵtibər*, fs *məǵtabrēta*, md *məǵtáberi*,<sup>51</sup> fd *məǵtabrēti*, cp *məǵtabrūtən*

47 If the second root consonant is voiceless and non-glottalic, then there is normally no vowel after the infix *t*. So from the verb *nátʃəz* ‘cut one’s foot’, we find 1cs imperfect *əntʃüz*, though this may also be pronounced *əntʃüz*.

48 The 2fs subjunctive and fs imperative are distinguished from the ms in verbs whose third root consonant is *y*, e.g., *ǵatáyri* ‘speak’, fs *ǵatáyri* (cf. 94:9, 94:10). It is likely that at least some other T1-Stem verbs have *-i* in the 2fs subjunctive and imperfect, especially among younger speakers.

49 Because T1-Stems are generally not transitive, they are rarely found with object suffixes. One example from the texts is *rətkyīs* ‘he read it’ (85:19).

50 Only about ten T1-Stem futures are attested in the texts.

51 The paradigmatic md form in *ML* (p. lxx) is the incorrect *məntátzīta* (root *nʃz*), a form

When the second root consonant is a sibilant, dental, or interdental (*s*, *š*, *ś*, *ṣ*, *ṣ̣*, *ṣ̥*, *ṣ̌*, *ṣ̍*, *ṣ̎*, *ṣ̏*, *ṣ̐*, *ṣ̑*, *ṣ̒*, *ṣ̓*, *ṣ̔*, *ṣ̕*, *ṣ̖*, *ṣ̗*, *ṣ̘*, *ṣ̙*, or *z*), then the infix *t* assimilates to that consonant in the perfect, for example, *nátṭəb* ‘he dropped’ < \**nátṭəb* and *fáṣšəḥ* ‘he was embarrassed’ < \**fáṭšəḥ*. For most of these same consonants, we see assimilation also in the imperfect (parallel to the assimilation we see in the T2-Stem perfect and subjunctive), e.g., *yənətṭáwb* ‘he drops’ (< \**yənətṭūb* < \**yəṇṭətṭūb* [or \**yənətṭūb*] < \**yəṇṭətṭūb*).<sup>52</sup> With geminate roots (§7.2.11), we find a geminate *t* in place of the second root consonant, e.g., *háṭtəm* ‘he was sad’, not \*\**háṭməm* (root *hmm*). More examples of these changes can be found in the next section.

### 6.5.2 T1-Stem Meaning

A number of T1-Stems are reciprocals. Since reciprocals occur only in the dual and the plural, the 3mp forms of the perfect are given below after the 3ms singular forms. These “singular” forms are actually valid forms, since the 3ms and 3fp are identical for all verbs in the perfect. Such are:

- báttəd* (pl. *báttədəm*) ‘part from one another’<sup>53</sup>  
*gátləs* (pl. *gátəwsəm*) ‘quarrel with one another’  
*gátbər* (pl. *gátbərəm*) ‘meet one another’ (cf. G *ǰəbūr* ‘meet s.o.’)  
*ǰátrəb* (pl. *ǰátrəbəm*) ‘know one another’ (cf. G *ǰərūb* ‘know’)  
*ḥátrəb* (pl. *ḥátrəbəm*) ‘be at war with one another’ (= T2 *əḥtərūb*; cf. D/L *(ḥ)ḥōrəb* ‘be at war with s.o.’; Arabic tL *taḥāra* and Gt *iḥtaraba* ‘be at war with one another’)  
*kátləṭ* (pl. *kátəwṭəm*) ‘talk to one another’ (cf. G *kəlūt* ‘tell’)  
*látbəd* (pl. *látbədəm*) ‘fight with one another’<sup>54</sup> (cf. G *ləbūd* ‘hit, shoot’)  
*láthək* (pl. *láthəkəm*) ‘catch up to one another’ (cf. G *ləḥāk* ‘catch up to, overtake’; Arabic tL *talāḥaqa* ‘catch up to one another’)  
*láttəǰ* (pl. *láttəǰəm*) ‘kill one another’ (cf. G *lūtəǰ* ‘kill’)  
*ṭátan* (pl. *ṭátənəm*) ‘stab one another’ (cf. G *ṭān* ‘stab’)

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clearly mangled by a typesetter. Luckily, there is one md form attested in the texts, namely, *məǰtəbəri* ‘we will meet’ (94:43). This form was incorrectly parsed by Johnstone; see § 3.2.3, n. 9.

52 See also § 2.1.8 and the comment to text 53:3.

53 The form *báddəd* is given in *ML* (s.v. *bdd*), but this is an error. The texts consistently have *báttəd* (12:9; 12:13; 82:5; 94:47), as does the paradigm section of *ML* (pp. xlviii–xlix).

54 In *ML* (s.v. *lbd*), this verb is translated as a passive ‘be hit’, but in a passage like 12:12, the meaning is clearly reciprocal.



Others can be loosely classified as passives, intransitives, or reflexives, most often with a corresponding G-Stem:

- fáttək* 'be released, set free' (cf. G *fəkk* 'release')
- fátkəh* 'break in half (intrans.); be half gone' (cf. D/L (*f*)*fökəh* 'break in half (trans.)')
- fásšəh* 'be embarrassed' (cf. G passive *fəšāh* 'be embarrassed', D/L (*f*)*föšəh* 'embarrass s.o.')
- gáthi* (pl. *gáthəyəm*) 'gather together (intrans.)' (always plural)
- gátma* (pl. *gátmam*) 'gather (intrans.)' (always plural; cf. G *gūma* 'gather (trans.)'; Arabic tD *tajamma'a* and Gt *ijtama'a* 'gather, come together')
- gátyəð* 'get angry' (cf. D/L *əgyið* 'anger')
- háltəm* 'be sad, be anxious' (cf. Arabic Gt *ihtamma* 'be grieved')
- hátrək* 'move (intrans.)' (= T2 *əhtərük*; cf. D/L (*h*)*hörək* 'move (trans.)'; Arabic tD *taḥarraka* 'move (intrans.)')
- kátta* 'be cut, be cut off' (cf. G *káwta* 'cut, cut off'; Arabic tD *taqatta'a* 'be cut off')
- káttəl* 'spill (intrans.)' (cf. G *kəll* 'spill (trans.)')
- kátləb* 'change form, change into (intrans.)' (cf. G *kəlīb* 'turn; turn into (another shape)')
- kátməh* 'despair, be disappointed' (cf. D/L *əkōməh* 'disappoint')
- máthən* 'be in trouble; be upset' (cf. G *məhān* 'give s.o. bad news; disturb s.o.')
- mátxək* 'come out, be pulled out (said of a dagger)' (cf. G *məxāk* 'draw, pull out (a dagger)')
- nátəb* 'fall off, drop (intrans.)' (cf. H *həntəwb* 'drop (trans.), let fall')
- ráttəš* 'be pressed, be compressed; be crowded' (cf. G *rəšš* 'press, compress')
- sátəb* 'crawl on one's belly' (cf. G *šāb* 'drag')
- wátkəð* 'wake up (intrans.)' (cf. D/L *awōkəð* 'wake up (trans.)')
- wátx(ə)f* 'come (in the evening)'
- xátləf* 'change (intrans.); be different' (cf. Gb *xáyəlf* 'succeed, come after; replace'; Arabic Gt *ixtalafa* 'be different, differ (intrans.)')
- xátyəb* 'be disappointed, be frustrated' (= T2 *əxtəyüb*; cf. Arabic G *xāba* and tD *taxayyaba* 'be disappointed, be frustrated')

Still others, including some transitive verbs, are probably best considered lexical, such as:

*ǰátri* ‘speak’ (can be reciprocal when used in the dual and plural)  
*ħátrəf* ‘move (trans. or intrans.), go away’ (cf. G *ħərūf* ‘move, remove’)  
*ħátwəǰ* ‘need’ (cf. *ħōǰat* ‘thing; need’; Arabic Gt *ih̄tāja* ‘need’)<sup>55</sup>  
*ǰátnəm* ‘collect fodder’ (= D/L *aḵōnəm* and T2 *əḵtənūm*)  
*mátrəḵ* ‘draw (a dagger)’ (takes a d.o.)  
*mátwi* ‘have leisure time’  
*rátḵi* ‘read’ (takes a d.o.)  
*śátwəḵ* ‘miss, long for’ (cf. H (*ś*)*śawḵ* ‘light (on fire), burn (trans.)’; Arabic  
tD *tašawwaqa* and Gt *ištāqa* ‘long for’)<sup>56</sup>

The verb *śītəm* ‘buy’ is historically a T-Stem of the root *śm* (cf. G *sōm* ‘sell’), but has come to behave completely as a Gb-Stem verb, as if from the root *śtm*.

Finally, note that T1-Stems can correspond to an Arabic tD-Stem (Form V, *tafā‘ala*), tL-Stem (Form VI, *tafā‘ala*), or Gt-Stem (Form VIII, *ifta‘ala*).

### 6.5.3 T2-Stem Form

Like the T1-Stem, the T2-Stem is characterized by an infix *t* between the first and second root consonants. The basic shape of the 3ms perfect is *əCtəCūC*, though the medial *ə* is normally lost if the second root consonant is voiceless and non-glottalic. If the first root consonant is also voiceless and non-glottalic, then there are no further changes, e.g., *əftkūr* ‘think, wonder’. Otherwise, the cluster resulting from the loss of the medial *ə* is usually resolved by shifting the initial syllable from *əC-* to *Cə-*, e.g., *wətxáwr* ‘stay behind, come late’ (< \**wətxūr* < \**əwtxūr*).<sup>57</sup>

In the T1-Stem, the infix *t* is adjacent to the second radical, where it is subject to regressive assimilation to dentals and interdental. In the T2-Stem, it is normally adjacent to the first radical, and is subject to a different assimilation. For example, while the infix *t* assimilates to the following *s* in the T1 form *kássi* (< \**kátsi*), it does not assimilate to the preceding *s* in the T2 form *əstəyūr*. There is, however, assimilation found with verbs whose second root consonant is *t*, *ḏ*, *d*, *ṣ*, or *ś* (and perhaps others), in which case we again see a shift of the initial syllable from *əC-* to *Cə-*, e.g., *ħəḏḏūr* ‘be careful’ (< \**ħətḏūr* < \**əħtəḏūr*) and *wəddáwd* ‘divide tasks among one another’ (< \**wətdáwd* <

55 See the comment to text 94:13.

56 See the comment to text 14:6. On the form of the H-Stem, see § 6.3.1, n. 35.

57 With certain first root consonants, there seems to be some free variation between the patterns *əCtəCūC* and *CətCūC*. See, for example, the comment to text 29:5.

\**əwtadáwd*).<sup>58</sup> As mentioned in § 6.5.1, the T<sub>1</sub>-Stem imperfect, which also has the underlying pattern (C)əCtəCūC, shows the same assimilation and shift in syllable structure. See also the discussion in § 2.1.8.

We also see irregular assimilation of an initial root consonant *h* in two T<sub>2</sub>-Stem verbs, namely, *əttōma* ‘listen’ (< \**əhtōma*, root *hm*‘) and the anomalous (*t*)*təkək* ‘drink’ (root *hk*‘).<sup>59</sup>

Following is the full paradigm of a strong verb in the T<sub>2</sub>-Stem (*əxtəlūf* ‘differ, be different; disappoint, let s.o. down’):

	Perfect	Imperfect	Subjunctive <sup>60</sup>	Conditional
1cs	<i>əxtəláfik</i>	<i>əxtəlīfən</i>	<i>l-əxtəlōf</i>	<i>l-əxtəlīfən</i>
2ms	<i>əxtəláfik</i>	<i>təxtəlīfən</i>	<i>təxtəlōf</i>	<i>təxtəlīfən</i>
2fs	<i>əxtəláfis</i>	<i>təxtəlīfən</i>	<i>təxtələyfi</i>	<i>təxtəlīfən</i>
3ms	<i>əxtəlūf</i>	<i>yəxtəlīfən</i>	<i>yəxtəlōf</i>	<i>yəxtəlīfən</i>
3fs	<i>əxtəlīfūt</i> <sup>61</sup>	<i>təxtəlīfən</i>	<i>təxtəlōf</i>	<i>təxtəlīfən</i>
1cd	<i>əxtələfki</i>	<i>əxtələfáyən</i>	<i>l-əxtələfəh</i>	<i>l-əxtələfáyən</i>
2cd	<i>əxtələfki</i>	<i>təxtələfáyən</i>	<i>təxtələfəh</i>	<i>təxtələfáyən</i>
3md	<i>əxtələfōh</i>	<i>yəxtələfáyən</i>	<i>yəxtələfəh</i>	<i>yəxtələfáyən</i>
3fd	<i>əxtələfōh</i>	<i>təxtələfáyən</i>	<i>təxtələfəh</i>	<i>təxtələfáyən</i>
1cp	<i>əxtələfən</i>	<i>nəxtəlīfən</i>	<i>nəxtəlōf</i>	<i>nəxtəlīfən</i>
2mp	<i>əxtələfkəm</i>	<i>təxtəlīfən</i>	<i>təxtəlīf</i>	<i>təxtəlīfən</i>
2fp	<i>əxtələfkən</i>	<i>təxtəlīfən</i>	<i>təxtələfən</i>	<i>təxtəlīfən</i>
3mp	<i>əxtəlīf</i>	<i>yəxtəlīfən</i>	<i>yəxtəlīf</i>	<i>yəxtəlīfən</i>
3fp	<i>əxtəlūf</i>	<i>təxtəlīfən</i>	<i>təxtələfən</i>	<i>təxtəlīfən</i>

58 Regarding the consonant *ʃ*, data in *ML* are mixed and probably wrong in some places. We find *həʃʃáwr* with assimilation (s.v. *hʃr*), but *kəʃʃáwr* (s.v. *kʃr*)—surely to be corrected to *kəʃʃáwr*—and *əxtəʃʃávʃ* (s.v. *xʃʃ*). However, text 55:16 clearly has *xəʃʃávʃ*. There is also mixed evidence for some of the other dentals and sibilants (e.g., *t*), at least some of which are likely also subject to assimilation. More data are needed.

59 On these verbs, see § 7.2.14 and the discussion in Bendjaballah and Ségéral (2017a).

60 That the subjunctive (and imperative) base has the vowel *ō*, and not *ū* (as in *ML*, pp. liv–lix), is proven by forms like 3fs *təntəkōl* ‘she should choose’ (15:21). If the underlying vowel were *ū*, then this form would have a diphthong (\*\**təntəkáwl*), following the rule described in § 2.2.1. However, this *ō* reduces to *ó*, e.g., *təjtəfənk* ‘she may cover her face for you’ (38:13) and *yəxtərəfʃ* ‘he may harvest it’ (77:5).

61 The 3fs perfect of the T<sub>2</sub>-Stem sometimes has the suffix *-ōt*.

3ms perfect base with object suffixes:<sup>62</sup> *axtəlf-*

Imperative: ms *axtəlōf*, fs *axtəlayfi*, mp *axtəlīf*, fp *axtəlōfān*

Future: ms *məxtəlīf*, fs *məxtəlfēta*, md *məxtəlīfi*, fd *məxtəlfēti*, cp *məxtəlfūtān*

It should be noted that evidence for some forms of the T2-Stem is rather meager. For example, there are just two T2-Stem futures attested in the texts (36:5 and 56:19), and only five different imperative forms; see also n. 58.

Like the H-Stem and Š1-Stem, the 1cp perfect has the vowel *ō*, while the 3ms has *ū*. This is in contrast with the G-Stem, which has *ū* in both forms, e.g., *əhtəwōlān* ‘we went crazy’ (4:15) vs. G-Stem *kaḥūdān* ‘we went down’ (25:7). Curiously, unlike the other derived verbal stems, the base of the future is not identical with that of the subjunctive and imperative (see § 7.1.6).<sup>63</sup>

#### 6.5.4 T2-Stem Meaning

Roots found in the T2-Stem are most often also attested in the D/L-Stem, though the derivational relationship between the two is not always obvious. When there is a clear relationship, the T2-Stem is usually a passive of the D/L-Stem, less often a reflexive. Many T2-Stems are borrowings from the Arabic tD-Stem (Form V, *tafa‘ala*) or tL-Stem (Form VI, *tafā‘ala*), which have a similar relationship with the Arabic D- and L-Stems. Examples of T2-Stem verbs that are passives or reflexives of the D/L-Stem are:

*wətxáwr* ‘stay behind, come late’ (cf. D/L *awōxər* ‘postpone’)

*ātəlūm* ‘learn’ (cf. D/L *ōlām* ‘teach’; Arabic D ‘*allama* ‘teach’, tD *ta‘allama* ‘learn’)

*ātəwūr* ‘be hurt’ (cf. D/L *āwūr* ‘hurt (trans.)’)

*ātōšī* ‘have dinner, eat’ (cf. D/L *ōšī* ‘give dinner’)<sup>64</sup>

62 Because T1-Stems are generally not transitive, they are very rarely found with object suffixes. No examples occur in the texts.

63 This is the case also in Yemeni Mehri; see Bittner (1911: 43–49). The paradigm in Jahn (1905: 93) is incorrect, and is contradicted by the data in Jahn (1902).

64 In ML and HL (s.v. *šy*), the Mehri D/L-Stem is given as *āšī*, but this is probably an error. The expected D/L-Stem is *ōšī*, and this is the form listed in Jahn (1902: 166). If *āšī* is indeed correct, it would be from an earlier *\*ēšī*, and it would be a rare D/L-Stem of the pattern that we see in the verb *sēwər* (see § 6.2.1). The Ḥarsusi cognate *āš*, given in ML and HL (s.v. *šy*) is from an earlier *\*ēš*, but in Ḥarsusi this is the regular pattern of the D/L-Stem.

- abtərūk* ‘be blessed’ (cf. D/L *abōrək* ‘bless’; Arabic L *bāraka* ‘bless’, tD *tabarraka* and tL *tabāraka* ‘be blessed’)
- əḡtfūn* ‘keep one’s face covered (of a woman); seclude oneself’ (cf. D/L *aḡōfən* ‘cover (the face); keep a woman in seclusion before marriage’)
- həððūr* ‘be careful, take care (not to); look out for’ (cf. D/L (*h*)*hōðər* ‘warn’; Arabic D *həððara* ‘warn’ and tD *taḡəððara* ‘be careful’)
- əḡtəlūb* ‘be upset, be worried’ (cf. D/L *aḡōləb* ‘upset’)
- ənthūl* ‘ease up, become easier’ (cf. D/L *amōhəl* ‘ease, lighten’)<sup>65</sup>
- əsthūl* ‘go safely, go with good fortune’ (cf. D/L (*s*)*sōhəl* ‘bid farewell to’)
- əwtəlūm* ‘be prepared, be ready (of person or thing)’ (cf. D/L *awōləm* ‘prepare’)
- xəşşáyş* ‘get one’s due; be brought to nought’ (cf. D/L (*x*)*xşáyş* ‘give s.o. his due; bring to nought’)<sup>66</sup>

A number of T2-Stems are reciprocals, again often with a corresponding D/L-Stem verb. Since these reciprocals occur only in the dual and plural, the 3mp forms of the perfect are given below after the singular forms. The forms of the 3ms perfect are still valid ones, since they are identical to the 3fp.

- əhtōdi* (pl. *əhtádyəm*) ‘divide amongst one another’ (cf. D/L (*h*)*hōdi* ‘divide, share out’)
- əhtəlūf* (pl. *əhtəlīf*) ‘make a pact/alliance with one another’ (cf. Šz *šhālāf* ‘make an alliance with s.o.’)
- əhtərūb* (pl. *əhtərīb*) ‘be at war with one another’ (= T1 *hátərəb*; cf. D/L (*h*)*hōrəb* ‘be at war with s.o.’; Arabic tL *taḡāraba* ‘be at war with one another’)<sup>67</sup>
- əntōwəh* (pl. *əntáwəhəm*) ‘fight with one another’
- ərtōwa* (pl. *ərtáwam*) ‘draw lots for portions’ (cf. D/L *arōwa* ‘divide s.t. into portions’, *ráwa* ‘lot, portion’)
- ərtəwūg* (pl. *ərtəwīg* or *ərtáwəgəm*) ‘plot against, make a plan (as a group)’ (cf. D/L *arwīg* ‘consult’, T1 *rátwəg* ‘consult one another’)<sup>68</sup>
- wəddáwd* (pl. *wədəwdəm*) ‘divide tasks among one another’ (cf. D/L *awdīd* ‘assign tasks’)

65 See the comment to text 29:5.

66 See the comment to text 55:16.

67 *ML* lists only the T1-Stem *hátərəb*, but the T2-Stem occurs in text 104:28. The T1-Stem occurs in text 104:29.

68 On the variant forms of the 3mp perfect, see the comment on *ərtáwəgən* in text 91:26.

Other T2-Stems must be considered lexical. Such are:

- ātəkáwd* ‘believe’ (cf. Arabic Gt *i‘taqada* ‘believe firmly’)  
*ātəwūd* ‘take refuge’ (cf. D/L *āwīd* ‘warn’; Arabic tD *ta‘awwada* ‘take refuge’)<sup>69</sup>  
*ātəyūn* ‘betray’  
*əbtōša* ‘make purchases’ (cf. Arabic tD *tabaḏḏa‘a* ‘shop, purchase’)  
*əftkūr* ‘think, wonder’ (cf. D/L (*f*)*fōkər* ‘think’; Arabic tD *tafakkara* and Gt *iftakara* ‘ponder, reflect’)  
*əftərūg* ‘watch, look at’ (cf. Arabic tD *tafarraja* ‘watch’)  
*əftōrəḥ* ‘be excited, look forward to’ (cf. Gb *fīrəḥ* ‘be happy’, D/L (*f*)*fōrəḥ* ‘make happy’)<sup>70</sup>  
*əftərūk* ‘dissipate, disperse (intrans.)’ (cf. G *fərūk* ‘distribute guests over various houses’, T1 *fātrək* ‘become separated’; Arabic tD *tafarraqa* and Gt *iftaraqa* ‘disperse, become separated’)<sup>71</sup>  
*əḡtfūk* ‘go astray (of women)’  
*əḡtərūb* ‘be away from home, be abroad; go down (of the sun)’ (cf. *ḡərāyb* ‘strange’; Arabic tD *taḡarraba* ‘be away from home, be abroad’)  
*(t)təkək* ‘drink’ (cf. H (*h*)*həkōh* ‘give water to’)  
*əttōma* ‘listen to’ (cf. G *hūma* ‘hear’; Arabic Gt *istama‘a* ‘listen to’)  
*əḥtəwül* ‘go crazy’ (cf. Gb *ḥáywəl* ‘be crazy’)  
*əktəwül* ‘panic, get upset’  
*kəddūm* ‘go before, precede’ (cf. G *kəddūm* ‘go before’; Arabic tD *taqaddama* ‘go before, precede’)  
*kəthō* ‘drink coffee’ (cf. *kəhwēt* ‘coffee’; Yemeni Arabic tQ *tigahwa* ‘have coffee’)<sup>72</sup>

69 See the comment on *ātəwūd* in text 70:2.

70 The attested 3ms imperfect form *yəftārḥən* ‘he was excited’ (89:35) is the paradigmatic form for a T2-Stem with a root-final *ḥ* (*ML*, p. lvii; see also § 2.2.2 and § 7.2.9). However, the attested 1cs imperfect form *əftərīḥən* ‘I was happy’ (89:21) looks like a paradigmatic T2 imperfect for a strong verb (i.e., as if from \**əftərūḥ*).

71 In *ML* (s.v. *fīrək*), it is claimed that this T2-Stem verb is always plural, which is inaccurate; cf. the 3fs perfect in text 98:1.

72 This verb, which is the only T2-Stem verb attested in the texts that is II-Guttural and III-w/y, is unusual in that the perfect and subjunctive have a final *-ō*, and not *-ōḥ*, like III-w/y verbs in the G-, H-, and Š1-Stems. Only with the Q-Stem *aḡasrō* ‘chat at night’ do we also see a final *-ō*. But the pattern of *kəthō* does not look like a Q-Stem, and *ML* lists an imperfect with a suffixed *-ən*, which can only be a T2-Stem form. See the comment to *kətəḥəwəyəm* in text 48:29, and additional forms in texts 59:14 and 85:15.

- əktōṭa* 'be helpless (from hunger or thirst)' (cf. Arabic tD *taqatṭa'a* 'be at the end of one's resources, be helpless')
- əmtōni* 'wish' (= T1 *mátni*; cf. Arabic tD *tamannā* 'wish, desire')
- əmtōrəḡ* 'roll around in the dust'
- əntəkáwl* 'choose' (apparently = G *nəkáwl* and D/L *anōkəl* 'choose')
- əstōmi* 'shout one's tribal war-cry'
- əstəwūd* 'be blackened'<sup>73</sup>
- əstəyūr* 'defecate, go to the bathroom' (cf. G *səyūr* 'go', and the equivalent idiom *səyūr k-ħənōf* 'go to the bathroom' [lit. 'go with oneself'])
- əštəyūd* 'fish, go fishing' (cf. *šayd* 'fish'; Arabic tD *tašayyada* and Gt *ištāda* 'hunt, catch')
- əstəláwl* 'wander aimlessly' (cf. G *šall* and T1 *šáttəl* 'migrate, move')
- əwtəkūl* 'rely on, trust' (cf. D/L *awōkəl* 'entrust with'; Arabic D *wakkala* 'entrust' and tD *tawakkala* 'rely on, trust')
- əwtōša* (also *əwtōši*) 'perform ritual ablutions before prayer' (cf. Arabic tD *tawaḏḏa'a* 'perform ritual ablutions before prayer')<sup>74</sup>
- əxtəlūf* 'differ, be different; disappoint, let s.o. down' (T1 *xátləf* can also have the latter meaning; cf. Arabic tL *taxālaf* and Gt *ixtalafa* 'be different')
- əxtərūf* 'gather, harvest (e.g., fruit, honey)' (cf. Gb *xáyraf* 'ripen, bloom')
- əxtəyūn* 'have an illusion; create an illusion for s.o.'

A number of roots seem to occur with the same meaning in both of the T-Stems. Such are:

- T1 *hátrəb* ~ T2 *əhtərūb* 'be at war with o.a.' (cf. Arabic tD and Gt)
- T1 *hátrək* ~ T2 *əhtərūk* 'move (intrans.)' (cf. Arabic tD)
- T1 *kátnəm* ~ T2 *əktənūm* 'collect fodder'
- T1 *láthəm* ~ T2 *əltəháwm* 'touch o.a.' (cf. Arabic Gt)
- T1 *mátni* ~ T2 *əmtōni* 'wish' (cf. Arabic tD)
- T1 *xátləf* ~ T2 *əxtəlūf* 'disappoint s.o., let s.o. down'
- T1 *xátyəb* ~ T2 *əxtəyūb* 'be disappointed' (cf. Arabic tD)

Of course, it is very possible that we are misled by the brief definitions in *ML* or the limited contexts in which these verbs occur, and that on closer inspection the T1 and T2 verbs have different nuances. But assuming that the data are accurate for at least some of these pairs of verbs, we can explain

73 See the comment on *əstəwūd* in text 99:46.

74 See the comment to text 48:11.

the identical meanings of the two stems quite easily. Most of these verbs are probably borrowed from Arabic, where the source verb is either a tD or a Gt. There is no rigid patterning for the borrowing of Arabic T-Stem verbs; we find some Arabic tD-, tL-, and Gt-Stems that correspond to Mehri T1-Stems, and some that correspond to Mehri T2-Stems. In these synonymous pairs, the verb was borrowed into both stems. In the case of *ḥátrəb* ~ *əhtərüb*, we see that already in standard Arabic this verb appears either in the tD- or Gt-Stems with the identical meaning.

## 6.6 Quadrilaterals

Quadrilateral verbs are relatively rare in the texts, with the exception of the verb *abárqa* 'run', which appears more than a dozen times. There are three types of quadrilaterals: a basic quadrilateral type (Q-Stem), an N-Stem quadrilateral type (NQ-Stem), and an Š-Stem quadrilateral type (ŠQ-Stem). These will be discussed in turn below. Quinqueliterals (Qw- and Qy-Stems) will be discussed separately in § 6.7.

### 6.6.1 Basic Quadrilaterals (Q-Stems)

Most quadrilateral verbs belong to the Q-Stem, for which there are two characteristic patterns for the perfect stem of the strong verb:  $(a)C_1aC_2C_3əC_4$  (true quadrilaterals) and  $(a)C_1aC_2C_1əC_2$  (reduplicated verbs). The prefixed *a-* of both patterns is the same prefix that is found in the D/L-Stem, and is present in the same environments, namely when the initial root consonant is voiced or glottalic (§ 6.2). Like the D/L-Stem (and H-Stem), if the initial root consonant is voiceless and non-glottalic, then that consonant is geminated; however, an initial geminate consonant is usually simplified in word-initial position. The conjugation of the perfect looks similar to the D/L-Stem. Compare:

	3ms perfect	3mp perfect	
Q-Stem (true)	<i>amárḥəb</i>	<i>amárḥəbəm</i>	'welcome'
Q-Stem (redup.)	<i>adámdəm</i>	<i>adámdəməm</i>	'grope'
D/L-Stem	<i>arōkəb</i>	<i>arákbəm</i>	'put on fire'
H-Stem	<i>həkfūd</i>	<i>həkfīd</i>	'let down'



However, in the imperfect and subjunctive, the conjugation of Q-Stems mirrors more closely that of H- and Š1-Stems, though the Q-Stem retains the prefix vowel *a*- like the D/L-Stem. Compare the following forms:

	3ms impf.	3mp impf.	3ms subj.	
Q-Stem (true)	<i>yamərḥáwb</i> ( <i>&lt; *yamərḥūb</i> )	<i>yamərḥáyb</i> ( <i>&lt; *yamərḥīb</i> )	<i>yamárḥəb</i>	'welcome'
Q-Stem (redup.)	<i>yadəmdūm</i>	<i>yadəmdīm</i>	<i>yadámɗəm</i>	'grope'
H-Stem	<i>yəhəkḥūd</i>	<i>yəhəkḥīd</i>	<i>yəhákfəd</i>	'let down'
Š1-Stem	<i>yəšəndūr</i>	<i>yəšəndūr</i>	<i>yəšánɗər</i>	'vow'
D/L-Stem	<i>yarákbən</i>	<i>yarákbən</i>	<i>yarōkəb</i>	'put on fire'

The Q-Stem verbs found in the texts are:

*abárka* 'run'<sup>75</sup>

*adámɗəm* 'grope' (= D/L *admīm*)

*aǧasrō* 'chat at night, chat all night' (cf. *ǧasráwwən* '(in) the early evening')<sup>76</sup>

(*k*)*kárbəl* 'crawl on one's knees'

*aǧálad* (*< \*aǧál'əd*) 'roll (trans.)'<sup>77</sup>

*amárḥəb* 'welcome' (cf. Arabic Q *marḥaba* 'welcome', denominative from *marḥaba* 'welcome!')

*amárkəḥ* 'tidy up; drink coffee'<sup>78</sup>

(*t*)*tárdəm* 'mumble'

75 The texts show that the 3ms imperfect is *yabárka* (e.g., 3:7), and not *yabráka*, as given in *ML* (s.v. *brk'* and p. lxix). See further in § 2.2.2 and § 7.2.9.

76 See the comment on *naǧásru* in text 48:29.

77 See the comment to text 67:4.

78 Text 59 deals with a misunderstanding based on the two very different meanings of this verb in Omani Mehri ('tidy up') and Yemeni Mehri ('drink coffee').

For the true quadriliteral type, the second root consonant is nearly always a liquid or glide (*r, l, w, or y*). The one exception in the above list is *aǧasrō*, which has a final weak consonant *w/y*.

### 6.6.2 *N-Stem Quadrilaterals (NQ-Stems)*

Quadriliteral roots can also be found in the NQ-Stem, with a prefixed morpheme *n-* that precedes the first root consonant in all tenses. As in some Ethiopian Semitic languages (e.g., Ge'ez), the N-Stem is not productive as a derivational stem in Mehri, but is found only with quadriliteral roots. N-Stem quadriliteral verbs can be of two types:  $\text{ənC}_1\text{əC}_2\text{C}_3\text{ūC}_4$  (true quadriliteral) and  $\text{ənC}_1\text{əC}_2\text{C}_1\text{ūC}_2$  (reduplicated). The N-Stem quadrilaterals attested in the texts are:

*ənfədfūd* 'have scabies, swellings' (cf. *fədfīd* 'scabies, ringworm')

*ənhətmūl* 'be smashed'

*ənkəwáwl* 'have swollen testicles'<sup>79</sup>

*ənsərxáwf* 'slip away, sneak away (intrans.)' (cf. Q *šərxáwf* 'sneak s.t. to s.o.')

The NQ-Stem is sometimes a passive or intransitive of a Q-Stem, as with *ənsərxáwf*, above; for other examples, see *ML* (s.v. *krbt* and *krfd*).

There is one non-quadriliteral N-Stem attested, namely, the future *mənkáyta* (root *kt'*, 99:28). This is undoubtedly a direct borrowing of the Arabic N-Stem (Form VII) *inqaṭa'a* 'expire'.<sup>80</sup> *ML* also includes a few NQw- and NQy-Stems, namely, *ənhəšībūb* 'become smart' (s.v. *hšbb*), *ənkəfirūr* 'pout' (s.v. *kfr*), and *ənsəhēwū(w)* '(camel) become fawn in color' (s.v. *šhw*).<sup>81</sup>

79 The verb appears in *ML* under the root *k'l*, but the root must be *kw'l*, and the underlying form \**ənkəwūl*; the first *w* of *ənkəwáwl* is the radical, while the second is the result of the shift *ū > áw*, caused by the underlying guttural (see § 2.2.2). *JL* presents the root as *k'l / kw'l*.

80 Another, pure Arabic verbal form in the texts is *tə'əggəb* 'he was delighted' (22:40) < Arabic *tə'əjjaba* (colloquial *tə'əjjab*).

81 Sabrina Bendjaballah and Philippe Ségéral confirmed *ənkəfirūr* and *ənsəhēwū(w)* in the course of their fieldwork in Oman, but their informants did not recognize *ənhəšībūb*. They also recorded NQw *ənzəhəwlūl* 'slide over a surface'; cf. Qw *zhəwlūl* in *ML* (s.v. *zhwll*), which their informants did not recognize.

### 6.6.3 Š-Stem Quadrilaterals (ŠQ-Stems)

Quadrilateral roots can in rare cases be found in an ŠQ-Stem, with a prefixed morpheme š-. The only such verb attested in the texts is:

šadárbaš ‘call a camel by flapping one’s lips’ (cf. Q adárbaš ‘flap one’s lips to make a camel come’)<sup>82</sup>

### 6.7 Quinqueliterals (Qw- and Qy-Stems)

All quinqueliteral verbs can really be taken from trilateral roots with an infix *w* or *y* after the second root consonant, and a reduplicated final root consonant. I call these Qw- and Qy-Stems. Only two Qw-Stems are attested in the texts, one of which is the very common verb *šxawlūl* ‘sit, stay’. Only a handful of Qy-Stems are attested, all of which are rather rare. The basic patterns of the 3ms perfect are  $C_1\partial C_2\partial w C_3\bar{u}C_3$  and  $C_1\partial C_2\partial y C_3\bar{u}C_3$ , though the latter usually surfaces as  $C_1\partial C_2\bar{i}C_3\bar{u}C_3$  (also  $C_1\partial C_2\bar{e}C_3\bar{u}C_3$  or  $C_1\partial C_2\partial y C_3\bar{u}C_3$ ).<sup>83</sup> The vowel *ə* between the first and second root consonants disappears when they are both voiceless and non-glottalic, as in *šxawlūl*.

Unlike the Q-Stems treated in § 6.6.1, Qw- and Qy-Stems have no prefixed *a-*, and the conjugation of all tenses mirrors that of the H-Stem. The complete conjugation of *šxawlūl* ‘sit, stay’ is as follows:

	<b>Perfect</b>	<b>Imperfect</b>	<b>Subjunctive</b>	<b>Conditional</b>
1cs	<i>šxawlēk</i> (< * <i>-ālk</i> )	<i>əšxawlūl</i>	<i>l-əšxáwwəl</i>	<i>l-əšxáwwələn</i>
2ms	<i>šxawlēk</i>	( <i>t</i> ) <i>šxawlūl</i>	( <i>t</i> ) <i>šxáwwəl</i>	( <i>t</i> ) <i>šxáwwələn</i>
2fs	<i>šxawlēš</i>	( <i>t</i> ) <i>šxawláyli</i>	( <i>t</i> ) <i>šxáwwəl</i>	( <i>t</i> ) <i>šxáwwələn</i>
3ms	<i>šxawlūl</i>	<i>yəšxawlūl</i>	<i>yəšxáwwəl</i>	<i>yəšxáwwələn</i>
3fs	<i>šxawallūt</i>	( <i>t</i> ) <i>šxawlūl</i>	( <i>t</i> ) <i>šxáwwəl</i>	( <i>t</i> ) <i>šxáwwələn</i>
1cd	<i>šxawlēki</i>	<i>əšxawallōh</i>	<i>l-əšxawláh</i>	<i>l-əšxawláyyan</i>
2cd	<i>šxawlēki</i>	( <i>t</i> ) <i>šxawallōh</i>	( <i>t</i> ) <i>šxawláh</i>	( <i>t</i> ) <i>šxawláyyan</i>
3md	<i>šxawallōh</i>	<i>yəšxawallōh</i>	<i>yəšxawláh</i>	<i>yəšxawláyyan</i>
3fd	<i>šxawallātōh</i>	( <i>t</i> ) <i>šxawallōh</i>	( <i>t</i> ) <i>šxawláh</i>	( <i>t</i> ) <i>šxawláyyan</i>

82 In the one place this occurs in the texts (76:15), Ali pronounced it *šadérbəš* on the audio recording.

83 Some prefer to transcribe  $C_1\partial C_2\bar{u}C_3\bar{u}C_3$  in place of  $C_1\partial C_2\partial w C_3\bar{u}C_3$ , e.g., *šxūlūl* for *šxawlūl*. In Ali Musallam’s speech, at least, *šxawlūl* is a more faithful transcription.

1cp	<i>šxawlūlan</i>	<i>nəšxawlūl</i>	<i>nəšxáwwəl</i>	<i>nəšxáwwələn</i>
2mp	<i>šxawlēkəm</i>	<i>(t)šxawlīl</i>	<i>(t)šxáwləm</i>	<i>(t)šxáwwələn</i>
2fp	<i>šxawlēkən</i>	<i>(t)šxawlūlan</i>	<i>(t)šxáwlən</i>	<i>(t)šxáwwələn</i>
3mp	<i>šxawlīl</i>	<i>yəšxawlīl</i>	<i>yəšxáwləm</i>	<i>yəšxáwwələn</i>
3fp	<i>šxawlūl</i>	<i>(t)šxawlūlan</i>	<i>(t)šxáwlən</i>	<i>(t)šxáwwələn</i>

Imperative: ms *šxáwwəl*, fs *šxáwwəli*, mp *šxáwləm*, fp *šxáwlən*

Future: ms *məšxáwwəl*, fs *məšxawlēta*, md *məšxáwwəli*, fd *məšxawlēti*, cp *məšxawlūtən*

The only other Qw-Stem verb attested in Johnstone's texts is *zəḥawlūl* 'slide across (a surface)', attested just once in a poetic text not included in this volume, but published by Stroomer (text 79:8). Qy-Stem verbs found in the texts include:

*āfirūr* 'be (come) red' (cf. *ōfər* 'red, brown')  
*ənhəybūb* 'low, shriek (of camels)'<sup>84</sup>  
*šəǧīrūr* or *šəǧayrūr* 'scream, shriek'  
*ənṭīrūr* 'flow (of blood)'  
*xəmilūl* '(tears) run silently, well up'<sup>85</sup>

Among others in *ML* are:

*əwbīnūn* 'become white' (< \**ləbīnūn*; cf. *əwbōn* 'white')  
*ḥəwīrūr* 'turn black' (cf. *ḥōwər* 'black')

The fact that several verbs of this type are derived from color words makes obvious the connection between this pattern and the Arabic stem *ifʿalla* (Form IX). This is not to say that the verbs are borrowed from Arabic.

As mentioned above, *ML* also includes several NQw- and NQy-Stems; see further in § 6.6.2.

84 We could, in theory, call this an NQ-Stem of a root *hybb*, but because of the reduplicated final root consonant it makes more sense as a Qy-Stem of a root *nḥbb*. The same can be said of *ənṭīrūr*.

85 This appears in Johnstone's text 79:1, not published in this volume, but included in Stroomer's edition.

## Verbs: Tenses and Forms

### 7.1 Verbal Tenses and Moods

#### 7.1.1 Perfect

All perfects are formed by attaching the following suffixes to the appropriate verbal base:

	sing.	dual	plural
1c	-k	-ki	-ən
2m	-k	-ki	-kəm
2f	-š		-kən
3m	—	-ōh / -óh	-əm / —
3f	-ūt / -ōt / -ēt	-tōh / -táh	—

Notes:

- The 1cs and 2ms perfects are identical for every verb in the language.
- The 3ms and 3fp perfects are identical for every verb in the language.
- The 1cd and 2cd perfects are identical for every verb in the language.
- When the 3mp form does not have the suffix *-əm*, it has an internal vowel change (ablaut) instead. As a general rule, this happens whenever the 3ms form has the vowel *ū* in the final syllable. The suffix *-əm* is used more frequently in Yemeni Mehri.
- 3mp forms with only ablaut (no suffix *-əm*) have an underlying final *-ə* (< \**-u*) when object suffixes are added. This is why we see no vowel reduction in a form like *wəzámhəm* ‘they gave them’ (35:2, < \**wəzámwə-həm*), rather than \*\**wəzámhəm* (< \*\**wəzámw-həm*).<sup>1</sup>

1 We know from other forms that the object suffixes themselves have no underlying vowel. Cf.

- The 3fs suffixes *-ūt* and *-ōt* are usually not free variants.<sup>2</sup> The suffix *-ōt* is found with Gb-Stems, T1-Stems, II-Guttural verbs, III-Guttural verbs, and II-w verbs.<sup>3</sup>
- The less common 3fs suffix *-ēt* and the 3d suffixes *-áh* and *-táh* are used only with G passives, D/L-Stems, Š2-Stems, and Q-Stems.
- The 3d suffixes *-áh* and *-táh* stem from an underlying *-ēh* and *-tēh* (< *-ē* and *-tē*). On the shift of *-ēh#* > *áh#*, see § 2.2.4.
- The allomorphs of the dual suffixes, *-ōh* and *-áh*, likely both come from an earlier *\*-ay*.

The basic use of the perfect is as a past tense, for example:

*səyáwr təwōli aǵáyǵ* ‘they went to the man’ (3:15)  
*hámakən* ‘did you hear?’ (20:8)  
*hēt əl matk lā* ‘didn’t you die?’ (20:69)  
*bərwōt tēt* ‘the woman gave birth’ (24:4)  
*mōn āmūr hūk* ‘who told you?’ (36:27)  
*šxəwlīl, wə-šəmruš* ‘they stayed, and he fell ill’ (48:6)  
*kəšš bīn šətəh w-abárka* ‘he flashed his buttocks to us and ran’ (91:4)  
*wə-kōh əl səyárs lā* ‘why didn’t you go?’ (97:22)  
*kəššəm hərəhs* ‘they cut off her head’ (97:52)

We also find the first person forms of the perfect—at least with the verbs *səyūr* ‘go’ and *ǵəhēm* ‘go’—used as an immediate future, for example:

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*wəzmátham* ‘she gave them’ (< *\*wəzəmūt-həm*); or *wəzáwmən* ‘they gave us’ (< *\*wəzáwmə-n*), but *wəzmátən* ‘she gave us’ (< *\*wəzəmūt-n*). On the object suffixes, see § 3.2.3. The same underlying final *-ə* is found in the Jibbali 3mp perfect (*JLO*, § 3.2.3), while in Baḥari, the original *-u* remains, e.g., *‘emōru* ‘they said’, *mātu* ‘they died’, *nōka’u* ‘they came’, and *rəkəbu* ‘they mounted’ (Fabio Gasparini, p.c.).

- 2 That is to say, there are verbs for which we must have an underlying *-ūt* or *-ōt*, which we can prove based on forms with a guttural or glottalic before the suffix; the vowel *ū* shifts to *aw* after a guttural or glottalic (see § 2.2.1 and § 2.2.2), while *ō* does not. Also, we can tell based on forms with reduced vowels, since when an object suffix is added, *-ūt* reduces to *-ət-*, while *-ōt* reduces to *-át-*. Having said that, with a small number of verb types (T2-Stems, and perhaps some geminate verbs), there seems to be some variation.
- 3 Sabrina Bendjaballah first brought my attention to the distribution of these 3fs suffixes, based on her own fieldwork data. Our text data confirm her findings.

*hōh səyárk* 'I'm off!' (56:16)

*hōh gəhémk* 'I'm off!' (102:10)

The particle *gədəwəwən* 'let's go', if it is in fact an archaic perfect form (see § 12.5.11), reflects the same usage.

The perfect can also have a performative function, usually with verbs of swearing, but also with verbs that have a legal implication. Examples are:

*hármač l-ād ədūbəh zōyəd tɛ əl-mēt* 'I swear I won't collect honey ever again until I die' (77:2)

*hələk lūk tšémni* 'I swear you will obey me' (90:9)

*wə-hōh šamk aməndáwč w-amhəzēm. wə-hōh šátmač* 'I (hereby) sell you the rifle and the cartridge-belt. And I (hereby) buy (it)' (39:6–7)

*əlhān fəšáwl əm-mənwīn hōh káblək* 'whatever they decide between us I will accept' (77:4)

Related to this is the use of the perfect in potential oaths, as in:

*xályək tēti, əl (t)taɣm mən hənīn šxōf* 'may I divorce my wife [= I swear], you won't taste any milk from us' (35:5)

The perfect also appears regularly after a variety of particles, including the conditional particles *hām*, *əðə*, and *lū* (see § 13.4), the temporal particles *mət*, *tɛ*, and *hīs* (see § 13.5.3), and the subordinating conjunction *ar wə-* 'unless' (§ 12.5.4). The combination of the particle *bər* plus the perfect can sometimes be translated with a pluperfect (see § 12.5.7). On the perfect combined with the verbal prefix *ð-*, see § 7.1.10.2.

### 7.1.2 *Imperfect*

All imperfects are formed by attaching a set of prefixes and suffixes to the appropriate verbal base. As discussed in Chapter 6, the D/L-, Š<sub>2</sub>-, and T<sub>2</sub>-Stems are categorized by the addition of a suffix *-ən* on all imperfect forms. For this reason, it is convenient to divide the set of imperfect affixes into two types. The prefixes are identical for both sets. Following are the prefixes and suffixes used with G-, H-, Š<sub>1</sub>-, and T<sub>1</sub>-Stems, as well as all quadrilaterals, and quinqueliterals:

	sing.	dual	plural
1c	<i>ə-</i>	<i>ə-...-ōh/-áh</i>	<i>n-</i>
2m	<i>t-</i>	<i>t-...-ōh/-áh</i>	<i>t-...(-əm)</i>
2f	<i>t-(...-i)</i>		<i>t-...-ən</i>
3m	<i>y-</i>	<i>y-...-ōh/-áh</i>	<i>y-...(-əm)</i>
3f	<i>t-</i>	<i>t-...-ōh/-áh</i>	<i>t-...-ən</i>

Following are the prefixes and suffixes used with D/L-, Š2-, and T2-Stems:

	sing.	dual	plural
1c	<i>ə-...-ən</i>	<i>ə-...-áyyən</i>	<i>n-...-ən</i>
2m	<i>t-...-ən</i>	<i>t-...-áyyən</i>	<i>t-...-ən</i>
2f	<i>t-...-ən</i>		<i>t-...-ən</i>
3m	<i>y-...-ən</i>	<i>y-...-áyyən</i>	<i>y-...-ən</i>
3f	<i>t-...-ən</i>	<i>t-...-áyyən</i>	<i>t-...-ən</i>

Notes to both sets of affixes:

- 2ms and 3fs imperfects are identical for every verb in the language. In the D/L-, Š2-, and T2-Stems, as with a few weak verb types in other stems, the 2fs is also identical to these two forms.
- 2cd and 3fd imperfects are identical for every verb in the language.
- 2fp and 3fp imperfects are identical for every verb in the language. In the D/L-, Š2-, and T2-Stems, the 2ms, 3fs, and 2mp are also identical to these two forms.



- In the D/L-, Š<sub>2</sub>-, and T<sub>2</sub>-Stems, the 3ms and 3mp imperfects are identical.<sup>4</sup>
- The 2fs form (except in the D/L-, Š<sub>2</sub>-, and T<sub>2</sub>-Stems) often has ablaut in addition to the suffix *-i*. In the Ga-Stem (except for most weak verb types), we find only ablaut (and no suffix). When an object suffix is added, the suffix *-i* is lost (see the discussion in § 3.2.3).
- In the Gb-, G passive, H-, and T<sub>1</sub>-Stems (except for some weak verb types), and for some weak verb types in the Ga-Stem, the 2mp and 3mp forms have ablaut in place of the suffix *-əm*.
- 2mp and 3mp forms with only ablaut (and no suffix *-əm*) have an underlying final *-ə* (< *\*-u*) when object suffixes are added. This is why we see no vowel reduction in forms like *yəkláwlah* ‘they pour it’ (10:17, < *\*yəkláwla-h*), rather than *\*yəkláləh* (< *\*yəkláwl-h*), or *tháymas* ‘you (mp) want her’ (65:9, < *\*tháymə-s*), rather than *\*tháms* (< *\*tháym-s*).<sup>5</sup>
- The prefix *t-* is usually lost before certain consonants (see § 2.1.6).
- The imperfect dual suffix *-əh* (< *-ēh*; see § 2.2.4) is used only with G passives.
- The allomorphs of the dual suffixes, *-ōh* and *-əh*, likely both come from an earlier *\*-ay*.
- The dual suffix *-áyən*, used with D/L-, Š<sub>2</sub>-, and T<sub>2</sub>-Stems, is made of a suffix *-ay* plus the imperfect suffix *-ən*. However, the sequence *-áyən* (syllabified *-á/yən*) would have a short vowel in a stressed open syllable, which is not allowed. Therefore, the whole suffix is realized *-áyən*.<sup>6</sup>

The imperfect can, in various contexts, indicate almost any tense or aspect. It can be used as a general, habitual, or immediate present; a habitual past; a future; a present or past progressive; or a circumstantial complement. This suggests that the imperfect is basically an imperfective, indicating incomplete action. However, the imperfect can also function as a narrative past tense, with a clear perfective meaning.

Following are examples of the imperfect used as a general, habitual, or immediate present:

4 In at least some Yemeni Mehri dialects, *-m* replaces *-n* in the 2mp and 3mp forms, and so they are distinct from their singular counterparts.

5 We know from other forms that the suffixes themselves have no underlying vowel, e.g., *tháms* ‘you want her’ (< *\*thōm-s*). On the object suffixes, see § 3.2.3. Note also that Baḥari retains a final *-u* in the 2/3mp imperfect, e.g., *thāmu* ‘you (mp) want’, *yəḥāmu* ‘they want’, and *txādāmu* ‘you work’ (Fabio Gasparini, p.c.).

6 The gemination in this form, along with the phonological problem of *-áyən* (the suffix recorded by Johnstone) was first recognized by Bendjaballah and Ségéral (2017b). No relevant forms are attested in Johnstone’s, but Bendjaballah and Ségéral recorded forms with gemination in the course of their fieldwork.

*ağōrāb axáyr mēnk* 'I know better than you' (19:20)  
*šīwōt, hām sē rēhəḵ, tənōfa* 'fire, if it is far away, is useful' (36:28)  
*mōn yasūkən bərk abáyt dīmāh* 'who lives in this house?' (38:11)  
*đōmah əl yəhūrəḵ lā* 'this (guy) doesn't steal' (47:14)  
*əl əkáwdər əl-ttəḵḵ zōyəd lā* 'I can't drink any more' (49:10)  
*ağərōyan yəxtəlūf* 'our language differs' (71:1)  
*hōh āgōb bə-ttēti, wə-sē tāgōb bay* 'I love my wife, and she loves me'  
 (94:4)  
*kāl šīyan yətmōm wə-yəxlōf* 'everything gets finished and is replaced'  
 (98:8)

Following are examples of the imperfect used as a past habitual, past continuous, or imperfective:

*xəṭərāt ṭayt sēkən yasūkən bə-wōdi* 'once a community was living in a valley' (11:1)  
*sənnáwrət thəbūb aǵáyg. yəwázmas əsxōf wə-yəltōf bīs* 'the cat loved the man. He would give her milk and was kind to her' (15:10)  
*fənōhən nātəḵáydan b-amšənyūtən* 'we used to believe in medicine men' (25:17)  
*kāl sənēt tfayd yəbīti trayt aw šhalit* 'every year she would redeem two or three camels' (32:13)  
*həmbəráwtən sōbər yəntáwhən* 'the boys would always fight' (50:1)  
*hōh əl əkáwdər l-əǵtáyr ənglízīyat lā* 'I couldn't speak English' (62:7)  
*kādēt l-ād yəšēnūs yəḵfəd arhəbēt lā* 'Kadet didn't yet dare to go down to town' (64:8)  
*kāl əšər yənōka bə-tāṭ* 'every night he would bring one in' (64:9)  
*mət ḥaynūt fəlūḵ əl-ḥūtār, əhūrəḵ amáws đə-ḥáybi w-əshōṭ ḥūtār* 'whenever the women let out the kids, I would steal my father's razor and slaughter the kids' (89:3)

A future tense is most often indicated by a future (see § 7.1.6), but the imperfect can also be used as either a simple or habitual future, as in:

*əl ənḵálak lā* 'we won't let you' (20:72)  
*mǵōrən hōh əšátš šay w-əhārūs bayš* 'then I will take you with me and marry you' (24:19)  
*əl ərdūd lā* 'I won't go back' (37:19)  
*šār; w-aǵāk yəǵárbək* 'stand (there), and your brother will know you' (40:17)

*mat shēk ḏōmah, əwəzmək amšēgər* ‘when you have finished with this, I will give you the other’ (55:5)  
*l-ād ədübəh zōyəd* ‘I won’t collect honey ever again’ (77:2)<sup>7</sup>  
*yəktəlīt bay aḳəbōyəl, hām fəlātək* ‘the tribes will talk (badly) about me if I run away’ (83:2)  
*hēt kənnáwn, w-əl əhād yəsényək lā ... əl əhād yənuḳəd lūk lā* ‘you are small, and no one will see you ... no one will fault you’ (91:15)

It can also be used to indicate a future relative to a past tense (English ‘would’), as in:

*ḳərōh táwyəh bərk dəhlil mən hāl əhād yəsényəh lā* ‘he hid his meat in a cave where no one would see it’ (13:7)  
*gəzámk l-ād əshōt ḥitār zōyəd* ‘I swore I would not slaughter kids anymore’ (89:10)<sup>8</sup>

In narrative contexts, the imperfect can sometimes be used as a simple past (perfective) tense. There are several dozen examples in the texts. Sometimes a perfect (or multiple perfects) will begin a narrative sequence, followed by one or more imperfects. But just as often, an imperfect is used as a narrative past tense without a preceding perfect. An imperfect used as a narrative past can also be followed by a perfect in the same sentence. Some examples are:

*yāsūs aǧáyg ḏə-ttēt, yəslul škáy, wə-yəlūtəǧ hāgūr wə-ttēt* ‘the woman’s husband got up, took out a sword, and killed the slave and the woman’ (5:17)  
*yənōka yəḏbīr, yəḳbási, wə-bákək* ‘a hornet came and stung me, and I cried’ (25:4)  
*xtul aǧáyg wə-šini wəl, wə-wəbdēh. yəhəšáwb ašāwər ḏə-fənwiḥ, wə-tənūtas təwōli aǧáyg, wə-tāwōr áynəh tayt* ‘the man went hunting and saw an ibex, and he shot at it. He hit the rock behind it, and (the bullet) ricocheted back to the man, and his one eye was blinded’ (30:8)  
*tə nūka, yəǧárbi, w-abárḳa təwálye* ‘then when he came, he recognized me, and he ran towards me’ (34:27)

7 But cf. *l-ād hōh dəbhōna zōyəd lā* in the next line (77:3), with the same meaning, using the future *dəbhōna*.

8 There is some discussion of this use of the imperfect in Wagner (1953: 44–47; 2001: 342–343).

*te bə-ħalláy aǧəyūg ber əð-šəwkīf, thūrək məndáwķ wə-təlūtəǧ aǧās* ‘then at night, when the men had fallen asleep, she stole a rifle and killed her brother’ (64:30)

*thháyw bə-kábs mən ǧār saħ, wə-bəkūt* ‘she let the lamb fall from the roof, and she cried’ (75:23)

*ħamáyh əššəráyf wə-ǧátəǧəð, wə-yəkáwǧəl aktōb* ‘the holy man heard him and got angry, and he closed the book’ (88:6)

The imperfect is also the most commonly met form in the apodosis of conditional sentences; see § 13.4 for discussion and examples.

In Mehri, a past or present progressive, as well as a circumstantial, is usually indicated by the imperfect in combination with the verbal prefix *ð-*, as discussed separately below (§ 7.1.10.1). However, because the verbal prefix *ð-* does not normally occur before the prefix *t-* (i.e., the prefix of all second person and third feminine imperfects), what looks like a bare imperfect can sometimes serve to indicate a progressive or circumstantial. In reality, however, these are underlyingly imperfects with the prefix *ð-*. An example is:

*kō hēt təbáyk* ‘why are you crying?’ (5:10) (*təbáyk* < \**ð-təbáyk*)

See § 7.1.10.1 for more examples.

### 7.1.3 Subjunctive

The subjunctive is constructed with nearly the same prefixes and suffixes that are used for the imperfect. The biggest differences are that the 1cs and 1cp forms have a prefix *l-*, and that the characteristic *-ən* of the D/L-, Š2-, and T2-Stems imperfect is absent. The full set of affixes is:

	sing.	dual	plural
1c	<i>l-</i>	<i>l...-əh/-ōh</i>	<i>n-</i>
2m	<i>t-</i>	<i>t...-əh/-ōh</i>	<i>t...(-əm)</i>
2f	<i>t(...-i)</i>		<i>t...-ən</i>
3m	<i>y-</i>	<i>y...-əh/-ōh</i>	<i>y...(-əm)</i>
3f	<i>t-</i>	<i>t...-əh/-ōh</i>	<i>t...-ən</i>

## Notes:

- The 1cs and 1cd prefix *l-* can be realized *lə-* or *əl-*.<sup>9</sup>
- 2ms and 3fs subjunctives are identical for every verb in the language. For a small number of verb types (Š2-Stems and some T1-Stems), 2fs forms are also identical.
- 2fp and 3fp subjunctives are identical for every verb in the language.
- 2cd and 3fd subjunctives are identical for every verb in the language.
- Where the imperfect has the dual suffix *-ōh* or *-áyyən* (except for G passives), the subjunctive of most verb types has *-šh* (< *-ēh*; see § 2.2.4). Only with G-Stem (Ga and Gb) active verbs is the dual suffix *-ōh* used in the subjunctive. Both *-ōh* and *-šh* likely come from an earlier *\*-ay*.
- In the D/L-, H-, and Š1-Stems, 2fs forms normally have ablaut instead of the *-i*. In some others verb types, like the Gb- and T2-Stems, we find both ablaut and the suffix. In contemporary speech, speakers often simply add an *-i* to the 2ms form, where historically there was just ablaut.<sup>10</sup> When an object suffix is added to a 2fs form with the suffix *-i*, the *-i* is dropped (see the discussion in § 3.2.3).
- Some verbs (mainly Gb- and T2-Stems) have ablaut in place of the suffix *-əm* for the 2mp and 3mp forms. The forms with only ablaut (and no suffix *-əm*) have an underlying final *-ə* (< *\*-u*) when object suffixes are added. This is why we see no vowel reduction in forms like *yəsháyətəs* ‘they may kill her’ (24:43, < *\*yəsháyətə-s*), rather than *\*yəsháts* (< *\*yəsháyət-s*).
- The prefix *t-* is usually lost before certain consonants (see § 2.1.6).

The verbal base to which these affixes attach is usually different than the base used for the imperfect. Only with Gb-Stems (including most G-Stem II-Guttural verbs; see § 7.2.5 and § 7.2.6) and G passives are the imperfect and subjunctive forms not distinct. Since all 1cs and 1cd subjunctives are preceded by a particle *l-*, this means that even for verbs that do not distinguish the forms of the imperfect and subjunctive, the 1cs and 1cd forms are always distinct. For example, the Gb-Stem 3ms form *yāmōl* (root ‘*ml*’) can be either imperfect or subjunctive, depending on context. But 1cs *āmōl* can only be imperfect, and *l-āmōl* can only be subjunctive.

9 In a very few places in the texts, 1cs subjunctives are missing the prefix *l-*. Such are *ənké*’ (18:4), *ərdéh* (20:27), *əklék* (20:37), *fréh* (33:5). See the comments to these examples in the texts.

10 For an example, see the comment to text 24:6 (*háftək*).

The subjunctive form can be used either independently or dependently, though the latter is far more common. When used independently in the third persons, it can express a number of things, including: 1. suggestion or obligation, equivalent to English 'should'; 2. a third person imperative, best translated with English 'let'; 3. a wish, like English 'may'; 4. uncertainty, like English 'might'. Examples are:

- yākšēf al-ḥanāfah* 'he should expose himself' (24:38)  
*kāl ḏa-yəḥōm xadmēt wə-məskēn, yānké'* 'whoever wants work and a dwelling-place, let him come!' (74:7)  
*šūk āmēl gīd ... əḥād yəḥáḥrək bəh* 'you have a good field ... someone should burn it' (91:9)  
*tāt yāká' k-ḥəbēr, wə-tāt yāka k-ḥārāwn, wə-tāt yəkḥəd arḥəbēt* 'one should be with the camels, one should be with the goats, and one should go down to town' (102:1)  
*yəhmámk šī lā* 'don't worry [lit. let nothing concern you]!' (75:3)  
*abēli yabōrək būk* 'may God bless you!' (33:5)  
*yəffārḥk abēli bə-xáyr* 'may God make you happy with good things!' (57:13)  
*wádan lā mayt yānké'* 'we don't know when it might come' (45:17)

Less often, we find a first or second person independent subjunctive, which likewise expresses suggestion, obligation, wishing, or uncertainty, as in:

- ḥībōh l-āmōl* 'what should I do?' (20:23)  
*ḥībōh əl-ḥəfəd mən ḏār ḥáyrī* 'why should I get down off my donkey?' (46:11)  
*əl-frēḥ bə-ḥəbráy* 'let me rejoice in my son!' (90:13)  
*wádak mayt l-əttákkəh ... wádak ḥēsən l-āmōl ḥəh* 'do you know when I should drink it? ... Do you know what I should do for it?' (101:8, 10)  
*ḏə-šmlək tī l-āká' dənyūt* 'I think I may be pregnant' (101:18)

As a simple statement—that is, not in a direct or indirect question or an exclamation—a first person cohortative ('let me, let's' or 'I/we should') is normally expressed with the verb *ḥōm* 'want' plus a subjunctive verb (see § 7.3.1). For cohortative 'let's go!', there is the particle *gədəwwən* (see § 12.5.11). Suggestion or obligation in the second person ('you should') is more often expressed with the particle *táww-* (§ 12.5.19).

A subjunctive verb can also be used dependently, as the complement of another verb. By far the most frequently occurring verb that takes a verbal

complement is *hōm* ‘want’, on which see § 7.3. In translation, a subjunctive verb used as a verbal complement often corresponds to an English infinitive. The subjunctive can share a subject with the preceding verb, as in:

*yāšāndūr h-arḥamōn yāhādḥab nēḥar ḏōrā’ wə-nēḥar šxōf* ‘he vowed to God to flood (one) wadi with blood and (one) wadi with milk’ (3:3)  
*hē šawēd sēkənəh yānkēham bād nəḥōri trayt* ‘he had promised his community that he would come back to them after two days’ (32:5)  
*əl aǧōrəb l-aǧtáyr arbáyyat lā* ‘I didn’t know how to speak Arabic’ (34:18)  
*əl aǧáwdar l-aǧtáyr lā* ‘I couldn’t speak’ (40:26)  
*āzámw yəhgēməm līn* ‘they intended to attack us’ (60:11)  
*kādēt l-ād yāšēnūs yəkfēd arḥabēt lā* ‘Kadet didn’t yet dare to go down to town’ (64:8)  
*l-ād ḥəbšárk əl-bār lā* ‘I couldn’t see well enough anymore to travel at night’ (80:6)  
*hōh sīrōna əl-šákf* ‘I will go to sleep’ (84:7)

Alternatively, and very often, the dependent subjunctive can have its own subject, which is the object of the preceding verb, as in:

*ṭalábk tik təklēt lay* ‘I ask you to tell me’ (20:38)  
*ḳəlēy l-əbkéh* ‘let me cry!’ (22:19)  
*ḳəlōna tik tərǧá’* ‘I will let you climb up’ (53:4)  
*ḥōkam xəšáwb ḥəmbəráwtən yəḥētəməm hāl tēt* ‘the ruler sent the boys to spend the night with the woman’ (74:13)  
*əl yāǧōb əḥād yāḳá’ hīs təh lā* ‘he didn’t like anyone to be like him’ (76:11)  
*ṭərəḥi əl-nékš’* ‘let me have intercourse with you!’ (99:46)

In all of the last six examples, the subject of the subjunctive is the direct object of the preceding verb; it can also be the indirect object, as the following examples show:

*ḥōkam āmūr háyni əl-syēr šīkən* ‘the ruler told me to sleep [lit. go] with you’ (20:25)  
*ktəbōna təwōli aǧáyyg yānké’ wə-yəšōt attétəh* ‘I’ll write to the man to come and take his wife’ (22:79)  
*təḏōfa ḥə-gərūt tháwḳa səm bərk a’isē ḏ-aǧās* ‘she paid a servant-girl to put poison in her brother’s food’ (24:46)  
*mōn āmūr ḥūk tāmōl wəṭōməh* ‘who told you to do like this?’ (36:27)

The example above from 22:79 shows that a verb can govern more than one dependent subjunctive.

Some verbs require a preposition before their verbal complement, including *ḥəḏḏūr* (*mən*) 'be careful, take care (not to)', *xəzōh* (*mən*) 'refuse', and *fəšāh* (*mən*) 'be shy, nervous, embarrassed'.<sup>11</sup> Examples are:

*ḥəḏḏōr mən təḏlēm ḥābū* 'be careful not to be unjust to the people' (74:4)  
*ab'áyr xəzōh mən yattákk ḥəmōh* 'the camel refused to drink up the  
 water' (49:16)  
*fəšáhk mən l-əghōm təwōli bū ḏərə'* 'I am embarrassed to go to strange  
 people' (94:2)

A similar construction is used with *yəšš* (*mən*) 'be afraid', which is treated in §13.5.1.

A dependent subordinate verb can also occur after a non-verbal phrase, and in such cases is also equivalent to an English infinitive. Some non-verbal phrases that can be followed by a subjunctive are *axáyr h-* (var. *xār h-*) 'it's better for *X* to',<sup>12</sup> and *ayb l-* 'it's a disgrace for *X* to'. Examples are:

*axáyr ḥūkəm tənkekēm tīn* 'it's better for you to come to us' (28:19)  
*xār ḥūk thētəm* 'it's better for you to stay the night' (31:3)  
*əl xār ḥūk təghōm šihəm lā* 'it's better for you not to go with them' (42:14)  
*ayb líkəm təntáwḥəm səbēb ḏə-ḥəmōh* 'it's a disgrace for you to fight  
 because of water' (10:6)

Compare the similar use of the subjunctive in the predicate of a non-verbal phrase:

*anyétəh bə-ḥəyétəh yəḥkēm ḥābū bə-ṭəyōb wə-mād* 'his goal in his life was  
 that he rule the people with goodness and intelligence' (67:1)

A dependent subjunctive can also indicate purpose. Sometimes these purpose clauses are best translated with English 'so that', while other times they are best translated with an infinitive, making them look identical to those cases where the subjunctive functions as a simple verbal complement. Some examples are:

<sup>11</sup> On the verb *fəšāh*, see the comment to text 94:2.

<sup>12</sup> When this is negated, it means 'it's better for *X* not to', as in the sample sentence from 42:14. On the variants *axáyr* and *xār*, see § 5.4, n. 18.



*anké əw-bōh l-əršánk* ‘come here so that I can tie you up!’ (24:26)  
*wəzmáh mōh yəttákk* ‘he gave him water to drink’ (13:9)  
*kāl tayt təntəkōl gayg tšəffkəh* ‘each one should choose a man to marry’  
 (15:21)  
*səyūr yəšné’ əsfōri* ‘he went to see the pots’ (36:24)

Sometimes a purpose clause is indicated by a particle *tə* or *l-agərē*, both of which are followed by a subjunctive; on purpose clauses, see further in §13.5.2.

The subjunctive is also used after a number of particles, including *lēzəm* ‘must’ (§12.5.14), *(ə)ndōh* ‘let me!’ (§12.5.17), *táww-* ‘ought to’ (§12.5.19), *wōgəb* ‘it is proper that; ought to’ (§12.5.20), *yámkən* ‘perhaps’ (§12.5.23), and the temporal conjunction *tə* ‘until’ (§13.5.3.2). On the use of the subjunctive in the apodosis of conditional sentences, see §13.4.1.

The subjunctive can also be found in a few idiomatic expressions, such as following the particle *yā rayt* ‘if only; would that!’. The subjunctive verb itself is the idiom in *l-əhməd* ‘how nice *X* must/would be!’ and *yəkləl b-* ‘there is no damned *X*!’:<sup>13</sup>

*wə-yā rayt l-əšné’ əhād mənḥēm* ‘would that I could see one of them!’  
 (94:32)  
*l-əhməd ašəfərəts* ‘how her braids must be!’ (lit. ‘let me praise her braids!’) (85:7)  
*nəḥər məxtīb yəkləl bəh kawt* ‘a barren wadi that there was no damned food in’ (26:15)

Subjunctives can also be used as part of a threat, promise, or oath, at least when in the apodosis of a conditional sentence. For discussion and examples, see §7.1.10.3 and §13.4.1.

A subjunctive form of the verb *wīqa* ‘be’ plus another verb in the perfect or imperfect, along with a preceding particle *ād*, has the meaning ‘perhaps’, ‘might be’, or ‘could it be that’, usually introducing a question. See §7.1.9.1 and §12.5.1 for examples. The subjunctive is also used for the negative imperative, on which see §7.1.5.

13 See further in the comments to texts 26:15 and 85:7.

### 7.1.4 *Conditional*

Conditional verbs, which are very restricted in their use, take the same set of prefixes as the subjunctive, including the prefix *l-* for 1cs and 1cd forms. The suffixes are different however, since the conditional is characterized by the presence of the suffix *-ən* on all forms.<sup>14</sup> In those stems characterized by a suffixed *-ən* in the imperfect—namely, the D/L-, Š2-, and T2-Stems—the conditional is identical to the imperfect, except for the prefixed *l-* of the 1cs and 1cd. In the other verbal stems, the conditional is formed by adding the suffix *-ən* to the subjunctive, with the result that conditional forms are distinct from the subjunctive, except, for most verbs, the 2fp and 3fp forms, since those subjunctive forms already end in *-ən*. In a few verb types, including all Gb-Stems and weak G-Stems with a guttural as the second root consonant, the conditional is distinguished also by ablaut of the stem; cf. 3fp subjunctive *təghōmən* ‘they go’ (= imperfect) with 3fp conditional *təghūmən*.

Conditional forms occur primarily in the apodosis of unreal conditional sentences introduced by *lū* (see § 13.4.3). All such examples from the texts are:

*lū ād šinək təh, əkūrən l-ənḫēh* ‘if only I saw him again, I would want to be helpful to him’ (43:9)

*lū əl hē ḥáywəl lā, əl yəšḥáyṭən ḥaybətəh lā* ‘if he wasn’t crazy, he would not have slaughtered his camel’ (55:7)

*lū əl ber lūtəg ərbōt mənīn lā, əl nəwtēgən təh lā* ‘if only he had not already killed four of us, we would not have killed him’ (83:7)

*lū amnēdəm yəḥāwsəb əlhān nəkōna təh b-aməstákbaləh, əl əḥād yākān yəškūf lā* ‘if man thought about all that will happen [lit. come] to him in his future, no one would sleep’ (98:10)<sup>15</sup>

*lū hōh kōrək akāwt ... hībōh yāmərən ḥābū? ... əl əḥād yāmərən, ‘l-āzīz fəlān’ lā* ‘if I had hidden the food ... what would the people say? ... No one would say, “Oh woe for so-and-so!”’ (98:12)

The verb *əkūrən* ‘I wish, would like’, used only in this form, is likely a conditional of the (uncommon) verb *kīwər* ‘love’, despite the missing prefix *l-*.<sup>16</sup> The form

14 All dual conditional forms have the suffix *-əyyən*; see § 6.1.1, n. 3.

15 This passage is repeated nearly verbatim in 98:11.

16 We would expect the form to be *l-əkūrən*, but Johnstone (*ML*, p. xxx) took this as a variant form. It could also be parsed as a D/L-Stem imperfect, though we would still not expect the loss of the *w*.

occurs three times in the texts, once in the apodosis of an unreal conditional sentence (see the passage from 43:9 above), and twice on its own. The other passages are:

*əkīrən bēri hāl hāmáy* ‘I wish I was with my mother!’ (42:23)  
*hōh ar əkīrən l-āmēr, wālākan aqárdi tfátk lā* ‘I would indeed like to sing,  
 but my voice won’t come out’ (52:4)

Because the conditional in many cases does not have a distinct form (that is, it often has the same form as an imperfect or subjunctive), there are many places where a verb form may look like a conditional. For example, the form *yaḵəbáláyyan* in text 94:41 could, in theory, be parsed as either a 3md imperfect or a 3md conditional of the D/L-Stem *aḵōbəl*. However, since an imperfect is expected here, and there is no reason to expect a conditional, this form is surely an imperfect. Similarly, in 96:1, the form *yətáxfən* could be parsed either as a 3ms subjunctive with a 1cp object suffix or as a 3ms conditional. But given the context, the form is unquestionably the former.

#### 7.1.5 Imperative

The imperative is conjugated for person and number. No dual imperatives are attested in the texts, and the plural is used in those few places where we might expect a dual (e.g., 74:22), so it is unclear if dual imperatives are used at all. The forms of the imperative are essentially those of the second person subjunctive forms minus the prefix *t-*, with the vowel *a* added where necessary for pronunciation (e.g., 2ms subjunctive *təklēt* ‘you may tell’ → ms imperative *kəlēt* ‘tell!’). Some examples are:

*ənké əw-bōh* ‘come here!’ (1:4)  
*əntēr lay* ‘untie me!’ (20:48)  
*aḵēfi ... w-āmēri hīsən əhōm l-ərmēs hənīsən* ‘go ... and tell them I want to  
 chat with them!’ (85:2)  
*śxáwwəl báwməh* ‘stay here!’ (75:6)  
*kəlētī lay* ‘tell me!’ (74:18)  
*ḵəṣāṣəm ḵərōhs* ‘cut off her head!’ (97:52)  
*həmē, ā ḵəbráy* ‘listen, my son!’ (22:77)  
*tīyan tī* ‘eat me!’ (2:4)  
*āzēməm tīn hōba mī* ‘give us seven hundred!’ (60:5)  
*əzámən həbérýan* ‘give us our camels!’ (32:21)  
*mələham mōh* ‘fill them with water!’ (97:7)

As in the subjunctive, when a fs imperative form has the suffix *-i*, that suffix is dropped when an object suffix is added. However, there can still be a distinction between the masculine and feminine forms with an object suffix. Compare the following forms of the ms and fs imperative of the verb *wəzūm* ‘give’, when object suffixes are added.<sup>17</sup>

	‘give!’ (ms)	‘give!’ (fs)
no object	<i>əzēm</i> (22:48)	<i>əzēmi</i> (22:60)
+ 1cs object	<i>əzémi</i> (34:15)	<i>əzámí</i> (32:19)
+ 1cp object	<i>əzémən</i> (91:24)	<i>əzámən</i> (32:21)

Also as in the subjunctive, the mp form, if it does not have the suffix *-əm*, has an underlying final *-ə* (< \**-u*) that is evident when suffixes are added. So we get forms like *sháyṭəs* (24:3, < \**sháyṭə-s*) and *sháyṭi* (37:23, < \**sháyṭə-y*), with no vowel reduction.

As in almost all other Semitic languages, the imperative form is not used in a negative phrase. Instead, a negative command is expressed by a negative subjunctive. As with most other negative phrases, the negative particles are variable. We find *əl ... lā*, *l-ād ... lā*, or simply *lā* (see further in §13.2.1). Some examples are:

- əl təḏbēri bay lā* ‘don’t nag me!’ (98:13)  
*əl təkṭalōb bəh lā* ‘don’t worry about it!’ (71:3)  
*təkṭalōb lā* ‘don’t worry!’ (102:3)  
*təktawōl lā* ‘don’t worry!’ (19:11)  
*əl tāšōš lā* ‘don’t be afraid!’ (34:25) (but *tāšōš lā* in 67:2)  
*əl təkī lā* ‘don’t cry!’ (75:23)  
*əl təkṭēti əl-ḥáybi lā* ‘don’t tell father!’ (89:18)  
*əl təḡtáyṛ ḡəṛōy kōmāḥ lā* ‘don’t use [lit. speak] bad language!’ (90:15)

17 There is variation with the initial vowel of the subjunctive and imperative forms of I-w verbs (see §7.2.3). So, for example, the ms imperative of *wəzūm* can be either *əzēm* or *āzēm*. I have used forms with initial *ə-*, but all of the forms given in the table could also have initial *ā-*.

*təklēm təh bāwməh lā* ‘don’t leave him here!’ (91:9)  
*l-ād təbkéh lā* ‘don’t cry anymore!’ (40:7)

Sometimes, because of the loss of the prefix *t-* before certain consonants (see § 2.1.6), it can sound like there is a negated imperative, e.g., *(t)šēšəm təh lā* ‘don’t worry about him’ (57:8) and *l-ād (t)səlābs* ‘don’t wait for her anymore’ (94:15).

### 7.1.6 Future

The future is an integral part of the Mehri verbal system, functioning mainly—but not exclusively—as a simple future tense. It has been called the active participle in most previous literature on Mehri, but this designation is not very useful. It is true that the future can be traced to a historical active participle, and that it still declines as a noun, but it functions very much like a verb.<sup>18</sup>

For the forms of the future, there is a major division between those of the G-Stem and the derived stems, as is typical of participial forms in Semitic. In the G-Stem, the future has the following basic forms, which can vary slightly for verbs with “weak” root consonants:<sup>19</sup>

ms	<i>CəCCōna</i>	md	<i>CəCCōni</i>	mp	<i>CəCyēCa</i>
fs	<i>CəCCīta</i>	fd	<i>CəCCáwti</i>	fp	<i>CəCCūtən</i>

Note that the masculine plural form has an internal plural pattern. We find a number of differences in Yemeni Mehri dialects: the mp form has an external plural suffix *-ēya* (*CəCCēya*), the dual future has been lost, and, in at least one Yemeni Mehri dialect, the feminine plural apparently has the variant form *CəCCátna*.<sup>20</sup>

In all of the trilateral derived stems (D/L-Stem, H-Stem, T-Stems, and Š-Stems) and with quadrilateral and quinqueliteral verbs (Q-, Qw-, and Qy-Stems), the future is characterized by a prefixed *m(ə)-*. With the exception of T2-Stems (see § 6.5.3), the base of the derived-stem future is identical to that of the subjunctive (i.e., the 3ms subjunctive form minus the prefix *y-*). The masculine singular future is simply the prefix *m(ə)-* plus the base, while the other forms are made from the masculine singular plus the following endings:

18 On the historical development of the future, both in form and function, see Rubin (2007). On its form, see also Lonnet (1994b).

19 There are no feminine dual futures in the texts, but the forms found in the paradigms in *ML* (pp. lxix–lxxi) have been confirmed by Watson (2012: 99).

20 On Yemeni future forms in general, see Jahn (1905: 84), Bittner (1911: 25–26), and Watson (2012: 99). On the feminine plural form *CəCCátna*, see Lonnet (1994b: 234).

fs *-ēta*    md *-i*    fd *-ēti*<sup>21</sup>    cp *-ūtən*

Paradigm forms for the various stems can be found in Chapter 6. Note that for all derived-stem futures in Omani Mehri, there is no gender distinction in the plural, and that the common plural form uses the historical feminine plural suffix (§ 4.3.2). In most, but not all, Yemeni dialects, there are distinct masculine and feminine plural forms of the future for the derived stems.<sup>22</sup>

It is curious that gender distinction was lost in the plural of the derived stems, but not for the G-Stem future. The issue of the loss of gender distinction in the derived-stem future may be related to the same phenomenon in the adjectival system. That is to say, some Mehri adjectives also do not exhibit gender distinction in the plural, for no apparent reason (e.g., *gīd* 'good', cp *gīyēd*; see § 5.2).

Of the approximately 350 attestations of the future in the texts (from about 125 different roots), nearly all are used with a straightforward future-tense function. A few representative examples are:

*l-ād hōh dābhōna zōyād lā* 'I will not collect honey ever again' (77:6)  
*agannáy hśārōna arhābēt* 'the jinn will wipe out the town' (42:20)  
*hābū ankiyē ... wə-skyēna bāwməh* 'people will come ... and they will  
 settle here' (74:5)  
*wəzmūtən tīk alhān thōm* 'we'll give you all that you want' (1:5)  
*hēt kənnāwn w-ādək əl hēt məhārəs lā* 'you are a child and you won't  
 marry yet' (8:8)  
*šāqōna hōkəm wə-mšāxbər təh* 'I'll call the ruler and ask him' (20:6)  
*məhāwšəl tīk tətək* 'it will lead you to your wife' (37:15)

When the subject is pronominal, the pronoun can be, and very often is, omitted, as the above examples show. Person, therefore, must frequently be gleaned from context.

In rare cases, the future is best translated with a present, as in:

21 Watson (2012: 99–100) recorded the fd suffix *-awti* for derived stems. I wonder if younger speakers have replaced older *-ēti* with *-awti* on analogy with the G-Stem, as the dual forms grow even more obscure.

22 There are some differences in other forms, as well, such as the use of the suffix *-a* for ms forms of the future of derived stems, and the lack of *-a* in the G-Stem. See further in Rubin (2011: 72), Watson (2012: 99–100), and especially Lonnet (1994b: 234–244).

*mawšayēta šūk b-anḳāt əlyōmah* ‘I advise you on these points’ (90:15)

Given the basic future-tense meaning of the future, it is not at all surprising to find it used in the apodosis of real conditional sentences, though more often an imperfect is used in this context (see further in §13.4). Examples with the future are:

*tḥōm xədmēt, āmlōna hūk* ‘(if) you want work, I will make (it) for you’  
(86:2)

*hām əl nākak biḥəm lā, ḳəššōna ḥərōhk* ‘if you don’t bring them, I will cut  
off your head’ (86:3)

*hām əl nākak bīs lā, šḥəṭōna tīk* ‘if you don’t bring her, I will kill you’  
(86:11)

*əḏə hē ḳáybəl ... bəgdōna tīḥəm* ‘if he accepts ... I’ll chase them out’ (22:93)

In some cases, a future in the apodosis corresponds to an English future perfect, as in:

*əḏə hē sayūr šay, hē śanyōna təh* ‘if he slept with me, he will have seen it’  
(55:10)

One example is not technically part of a conditional, but can be considered the equivalent of an unreal conditional. It serves as the answer to an interrogative conditional sentence with a conditional form in the apodosis (*yāmērən*):

*lū hōh ḳōrək aḳáwt ... hībōh yāmərən ḥābū? āmyēra, ‘gayg bəxáyl wə-káwb’*  
‘if I had hidden the food ... what would the people say? They would  
say, “A mean man and a dog!”’ (98:12)

In a few places, we also find the future in the protasis of a real conditional sentence. One example is:

*hām əl sēn wərdūtən lā, ḥōm əl-háwrəd ḥəbérye* ‘if they aren’t going to  
go down to the water, I want to take my camels down to the water’  
(27:3)

For other examples of the future in conditional sentences, see §13.4.1.

A very small number of future-tense forms retain a participial-adjectival function. One such adjective in the texts is *məháḳbəl* (from *həḳbūl* ‘arrive, draw near’), which is found used circumstantially, as a progressive tense relative to

a past tense verb, and as an attributive adjective meaning ‘coming; next’.<sup>23</sup> Another may be *məxtīb* ‘barren, empty’ (from *xátyəb* ‘be frustrated’), though this could be a passive participle (§ 7.1.8). Examples are:

- nəḥər məxtīb* ‘a barren wadi’ (26:15)  
*hámam bəh məhákbəl līhəm* ‘they heard he was headed towards them’  
 (32:6)  
*šənyōh akáwəm məhákbəl láhi* ‘they saw the raiding-party approaching  
 them’ (83:1)  
*šəndərk ǝ-əl-háwǝk akáyǝ amhákbəl* ‘I promise that I’ll pay you next  
 summer [lit. the coming summer]’ (39:16)

Watson (2012: 99) adds the example *məháfga* ‘frightening’. There are also a few nouns that derive from the old active participle, e.g., *məhīšən* ‘medicine man’.

### 7.1.7 Internal Passives

Internal passives occur in Mehri mainly in the G-Stem, but H-Stem passives also exist. There are about forty internal passive forms in the texts, all but one of which are G-Stem passives. Internal passives occur in the perfect, imperfect, subjunctive, and conditional, and both the perfect and imperfect forms can be preceded by the verbal particle *ǝ-* (§ 7.1.10). There is no future tense form, but there is a passive participle, on which see § 7.1.8. See § 6.1.2 for the full paradigm of a G-Stem passive verb, and § 6.3.2 on the H-Stem passive. Following are some of the attested passages with a G-Stem passive verb:

- yámkan hərək* ‘maybe it was stolen’ (23:4)  
*ǝd hē bəh əl-hīs aǝyūg, ǝtēm təsháyǝ. w-ǝd hē əl bəh fēḥəl lā, hē yəshōt* ‘if  
 he has (a penis) like (other) men, you will be killed. And if he doesn’t  
 have a penis, he will be killed’ (24:39)  
*hōh ǝ-ǝslōl* ‘I was being carried’ (25:15)  
*ǝd-xəwḳāt báwməh* ‘she was born here’ (38:12)  
*bər ḳəbēr* ‘he is already buried’ (40:10)  
*ǝd-ršánk h-arišūt* ‘I’ve been tied up for the serpent’ (42:17)  
*kəsk ḥābū ǝd-yəršáyš* ‘I found the people pressed together’ (53:3)  
*kādēt bər ǝwtēg* ‘Kadet has already been killed’ (64:29)  
*tāšós lā, ar wə-səbtāt bə-xəṭrək* ‘she won’t wake up unless she is hit with  
 a stick’ (65:11)

23 See § 9.3, n. 19. For other temporal adjectives of this type, see § 9.3.



*kəsk tīs bərk dəhlīl bər ǰ-ātmēt* ‘I found it in a cave already bandaged up’  
(81:3)

*ḥāmáy wəzmáthəm ḥōṭər bə-ḥáṭərḥəm ǰə-šāṭ* ‘my mother gave them a  
kid for their kid that was slaughtered’ (89:5)

*tḥōm təwtōǰ* ‘do you want to be killed?’ (94:25)

*ksūt aǰányət bər ṭəḥnēt* ‘she found the sack (of grain) already ground’  
(97:16)

*awteǰəm mənḥēm ṭəmənūt* ‘eight of them were killed’ (104:29)

### 7.1.8 *Passive Participles*

Passive participles do not seem to be very productive or common in Mehri, though the category does exist, even if neglected in most other grammatical treatments. Johnstone mentions in his *ML* (p. xix) that Mehri has both active and passive participles, but fails to mention the passive participle in his sketch of MSA (1975a). Simeone-Senelle (1997; 2011) makes no mention of either participle in her sketches. There is some discussion of passive participles in Bittner (1911: 24–25) and only a brief mention in Watson (2012: 49).

The basic forms of the passive participle have the following patterns for strong verbs:

ms	<i>məCCīC</i>	fs	<i>məCCəCūt</i> <sup>24</sup>
mp	<i>məCCōC</i> (or <i>məCáwCəC</i> )	fp	<i>məCCáCtən</i> <sup>25</sup>

This pattern is used not only for G-Stems, but also for H- and T-Stems. This fact was mentioned already by Bittner (1911: 24–25), and is supported by evidence from the texts.

Passive participles are used either as attributive or predicative adjectives. Some examples are:

*yāmərəm məšḥáyr* ‘they say (he is) bewitched’ (7:9) (cf. G *šḥār* ‘bewitch’)  
*məkōn məǰráyb bə-lándən* ‘a famous place in London’ (53:1) (cf. G *ǰərūb*  
‘know’)

*bə’áyr ǰfər, wə-məšḥáyr əl-ḥərōh ... wə-māšīm ḥayḏēnəḥ sáyṃəl* ‘a red [or  
brown] camel, branded on the head ... and its left ear is cut off’ (28:8)  
(cf. G *ṣəḥār* ‘brand’ and G *āšūm* ‘cut off’)

24 Some weak verbs types have the feminine suffix *-ōt* in place of *-ūt*.

25 The feminine plural *məšabbōt* in 99:56 (*ḥəbēr məšabbōt* ‘satisfied camels’) is an Arabized form.

*tāt məšwīb* 'one was wounded' (64:6) (cf. H *həwšáwb* 'hit (with a bullet)')  
*anšəlāt məǰəzzōt* 'the blade was loosened' (64:19) (cf. G *ǰəzz* 'loosen')  
*ənḥōm nədfēn aməlāwtəǰ* 'let's bury the dead' (64:26) (cf. G *lūtəǰ* 'kill')<sup>26</sup>  
*kūsəm ašəfərāts māsəmūt* 'they found her braid cut off' (75:15)  
*gēd məhmīš wə-mərdáy* 'a flayed and discarded animal skin' (99:3) (cf. G  
*ḥəmūš* 'skin an animal (by hand)' and G *rədōh* 'throw')<sup>27</sup>  
*rəwēǰəd ... məxláttən* 'pregnant camels ... all mixed up' (104:4) (cf. G  
*xəlūt* 'mix')

In one passage in the texts, a passive participle is used as a future passive, mirroring the use of the inherited active participle as the future tense:

*hōh məkšáyb aǰáti* 'I will have my head [lit. neck] cut off' (99:11)

Sometimes it is not so clear whether to classify these forms as passive participles or as lexicalized adjectives. Such is the case with *mawšáyf* 'famous' (76:1), which is clearly derivable from *həwšáwf* 'describe', but has a somewhat different connotation than the literal past participle. More complicated is the word *məšhūr* 'famous' (e.g., 64:1; pl. *məšhōr*). This has the pattern of a passive participle, but the only related verb from this root is the intransitive T2-Stem *əsthūr* 'be famous'. So *məšhūr* does not seem to be a passive participle in the productive sense. Moreover, *məšhūr* is almost certainly an adaptation of the Arabic passive participle *mašhūr*.

There appears to be at least one passive participle of a different pattern, in the following passage:

*amāray ḏār əssárf ḥáymlə təwáy* 'the grass on the right side was eaten'  
 (23:18)

Here, *təwáy* is likely an adjective with a pattern that corresponds historically to a passive participle (e.g., the Ge'ez pattern *CəCūC* or the Aramaic *CəCīC*). We also find the form *ktīb* 'written' (39:5), used in the fixed phrase *hām ktīb* 'if it is

26 In *MLO* (p. 28), I suggested that this form derived from *\*məlūtəǰ < \*məltüǰ*, but the fact that Jibbali has *mələbtəǰ* shows that the element *aw* is part of a broken plural pattern, not a diphthongized *ū*.

27 The word *məhmīš* is given as a noun in *ML* ('skin of a kid', s.v. *ḥmš*), but likely has its origins as a past participle.

written (i.e., God willing)'.<sup>28</sup> It is not clear if this is the same passive participle pattern as *təwáy*, or another pattern.

There are also a number of borrowed Arabic passive participles in the texts, including *məḥámməl* 'loaded' (3:11; Ar. *muḥammal*), *məḵáddər* 'preordained' (65:14; Ar. *muqaddar*), *mēsül* 'responsible' (91:28; Ar. *mas'ül*), and *məḥárrəm* 'forbidden' (94:28; Ar. *muḥarram*). On *mətárrəx* 'famous', see the comment to text 88:13.

### 7.1.9 Compound Tenses

Compound tenses, in which a form of a verb meaning 'to be' (*wiḵa* or *yəkün*) is used as an auxiliary, are quite rare in the texts. The number of examples of these compound tenses is in most cases so small that solid conclusions cannot be made about their productivity. Some are likely calques of Arabic compound tenses. On the two verbs *wiḵa* and *yəkün* in general, see § 13.1.1 and § 13.1.2.

#### 7.1.9.1 Compound Tenses with *wiḵa*

One of best attested compound tenses met in the texts (though still with just four attestations) consists of a subjunctive form of *wiḵa* 'be(come)' plus a perfect tense. This combination expresses a hypothetical or uncertainty that is past tense relative to the main verb in the sentence, i.e., a relative past subjunctive. The attested examples are:

*hōh šəṣdákək lā yāḵá' xəlūs* 'I don't believe he could have gotten lost' (23:3)  
*wə-lthámk təh yāḵá' šəwšáwb aǵátu* 'and I suspected he might have caught the implication' (82:4)  
*aǵáyǵ šhēwəb tétəh tāḵá' ber sīrūt mən ḍār ḥəmōh* 'the man figured his wife would have already gone from by the water' (94:20)  
*mət nákan, tāḵāy ber təḥánsǵ gányət wə-bér mōləš azəyáwrət* 'when we get back, you should have already ground the sack (of maize) and filled the jars' (97:7)

Once we find the subjunctive of *wiḵa* followed by the verb *ḥōm* 'want'. In this context, the verb 'want' is the complement of the verb *yəṣṣ* 'be afraid', and as such is a subjunctive. Presumably, since the irregular verb *ḥōm* (§ 7.3) has no subjunctive, the subjunctive of *wiḵa* is used before it. The passage is:

28 This Mehri phrase was recorded already by Thomas in the narrative of his journey in Southern Arabia (1932: 103). He also recorded a version of this phrase in Baḥari (1937: 274).

*ðə-yáʃʃək tīs mən tākákʼ thōm tātyōn līn* 'I am afraid that she might want to inform on us' (94:39)

Again just once, we find a conditional form of *wīka* followed by an imperfect. This is in the apodosis of a conditional sentence beginning with *lū* (§13.4.3):

*lū amnēdəm yəhāwəsəb əlhān nəkōna təh b-aməstákbaləh, əl əhād yākān yəškūf lā* 'if man thought about all that will happen [lit. come] to him in his future, no one would sleep' (98:10)

In 98:11, this same passage is repeated, though with the addition of the particle *ð-* before the final verb (*ðə-yəškūf*). The use of the auxiliary here may add a habitual sense, that is, 'no one would be able to sleep (habitually)', as opposed to a simple conditional *yəššəkʃən* 'no one would be able to fall asleep (on one occasion)':

And once we find the combination of an imperfect form of *wīka* plus a perfect tense, indicating a past habitual of a verb with a stative meaning. The compound tense in this passage follows a simple imperfect with the same past habitual function, but of an active verb.

*háybi wə-háybək mən zəbōn yāfədōh mən ðār ðīmāh, wə-yəwəkōh (ð-)šərōh bərk əmsəyōl* 'my father and your father used to jump from this (one), and land standing in the valley-bottom' (99:22)

In this case, *yəwəkōh* is not an auxiliary, but rather the main verb, while *(ð-)šərōh* is a circumstantial.

In one passage, *wīka* plus an imperfect seems to indicate an ingressive 'began to':

*məgāt wə-wīka hē yənšárxf* 'he stretched out and began to slip away' (69:4)

A subjunctive of *wīka* plus a verb in the perfect or imperfect is used in conjunction with the particle *ād* (§12.5.1), giving the sense of 'might be' or 'could be', always in a question. There are four examples in the texts:

*ād tākákʼ təbáyđ* 'might you be lying?' (34:16)  
*ād yākákʼ ar ðə-yəbáyđ* 'perhaps it was someone who was lying [or: lies]?' (57:11)  
*ād tākām lótgəkəm hāmáy* 'have you perhaps killed my mother?' (65:13)

*ād tāḳāy dānyīt* ‘could you perhaps be pregnant?’ (101:17)

The following table summarizes the attested uses of *wīḳa* in a compound tense:

<i>wīḳa</i>	Main Verb	Meaning
subjunctive	perfect or imperfect	relative past subjunctive
subjunctive	<i>ḥōm</i>	subjunctive of <i>ḥōm</i>
conditional	imperfect	habitual conditional
imperfect (as main verb)	ḏ- + perfect (as circumstantial)	past habitual of stative
perfect	imperfect	ingressive (‘began to’)
<i>ād</i> + subj.	perfect or imperfect	‘perhaps?’, ‘might be?’, ‘could it be that?’

### 7.1.9.2 Compound Tenses with *yāḳūn*

Compounds with the verb *yāḳūn* are very rare in the texts. Twice we find an imperfect form of *yāḳūn* followed by an imperfect indicating a present progressive. The auxiliary does not have a clear function.

*ḏāk tkūn tāḡtūri k-aḡannáwnse* ‘it’s just that she is conversing with her jinns’ (65:11)

*tōmār śātáyt ṭəwōr; w-aśháwd yāḳáwn ḏə-yāḥámam* ‘she says (this) three times, and the witnesses are listening’ (100:2)

It is very likely that *tāḡtūri* in 65:11, like the verb *yāḥámam* in 100:2, has an underlying prefixed *ḏ-*, which is suppressed because of the prefix *t-* (see § 2.1.7; § 7.1.10.1).

Twice we find *yāḳūn* plus a perfect, both times following a conditional clause, and both times indicating a future perfect. The examples are:

*hām əl nákak tīk šərōmah lā ... əkūn ráddək təwōli ḥábye* ‘if I don’t come back to you now ... I will have gone back to my parents’ (94:17)

*hām mešš āšáwš w-aqalé' bārk aqardís, tkáyni ḏ-ātéšyāš* 'if you expel the bones and the date-stones onto the ground, you will have eaten' (99:11)

A more literal translation of the compound tense would be 'it will be the case that' + past tense, e.g., 'it will be (the case that) I have gone back to my parents'.

### 7.1.10 The Verbal Prefix ḏ-

Perfect, imperfect, and subjunctive verbs can all be preceded by the particle ḏ-. This is to be distinguished synchronically from the relative pronoun ḏ- (§ 3.8.1) and the genitive exponent ḏ- (§ 12.4), though these all derive historically from the same source.<sup>29</sup>

#### 7.1.10.1 ḏ- + Imperfect

The combination of ḏ- plus the imperfect can indicate a past or present progressive, or a circumstantial clause. The verbal prefix ḏ- must have its origins in the relative pronoun ḏ-. In fact, there are numerous passages in which ḏ- plus an imperfect verb can be interpreted as indicating either a relative clause or a circumstantial progressive. Consider the following examples, each with two possible translations:

*ḵáwla aǵāh ḏa-yāšəwkūf* 'he left his brother who was sleeping' or 'he left his brother sleeping' (17:3)

*nūka ǵayǵ ḏa-yāsyūr ba-ḵáyk* 'a man came who was walking on the shore' or 'a man came walking on the shore' (20:32)

*ād fāṭnək hēxər ḏa-nkáyñ ḏa-yəbáyk* 'do you still remember the old man who came to us who was crying?' or 'do you still remember the old man who came to us crying' (22:73)

*hūma šayḥ ḏə-yōmər* 'he heard a voice that was saying' or 'he heard a voice saying' (40:5)

*hōh ǵayǵ ḏ-əǵáwlək mən yəbīt* 'I'm a man who is looking for a camel' or 'I'm a man looking for a camel' (63:4)

*šīni bū mēkən ḏa-yəwákbəm bayt ḏa-tōǵər* 'he saw many people who were going into a rich man's house' or 'he saw many people going into a rich man's house' (65:6)

<sup>29</sup> Pennacchiotti (2007) is an important study on the origin of the verbal prefix ḏ-, though the data available to him were limited. Other previous studies include Wagner (1953: 120–121) and Simeone-Senelle (2003: 247–250).

From such contexts, relative *ǝ-* plus an imperfect must have been reinterpreted as simply a circumstantial, referring to either the subject or object of the main verb. And indeed, we find many cases of this construction used as a circumstantial, where a relative clause does not fit. Thus, indicating circumstantial clauses is one common function of the verbal prefix *ǝ-*. Some examples are:

*aǵáyg radd tawōli sékanəh ǝ-yaǵtōməh wə-ǝ-yaǵtayūb* ‘the man returned to his settlement, despairing and disappointed’ (12:14)  
*səyáwr aǵīǵēn wə-ḥāmáh ǝ-yaǵbákyəm* ‘the boy and his mother went away crying’ (36:14)  
*áséniham ǝ-yaǵtáryəm* ‘I saw them speaking’ (40:24)  
*mayt hámak tī ǝ-ōmər* ‘when did you hear me singing?’ (52:11)  
*ksátəh ǝ-yaǵáwdəm* ‘she found him working’ (59:6)  
*śxəwlūl ǝ-yaǵtkīrən* ‘he sat down thinking’ (65:2)  
*ḥámam təh ḥābū ǝ-ya’yūṭən* ‘the people heard him yelling’ (77:2)

Now consider the following example, in which *ǝ-* plus an imperfect can be parsed as a relative clause, a circumstantial, or simply a main verb:

*xəṭarāt ǵayg ǝ-yaǵhōm bə-ḥōrəm* ‘once there was a man who was walking on the road’ or ‘once there was a man walking on the road’ or ‘once a man was walking on the road’ (46:1)

Most likely from contexts like the last example, the prefix *ǝ-* plus an imperfect came to indicate simply a progressive action, whether past or present. There are indeed many examples of this in the texts. Some of examples of *ǝ-* plus the imperfect indicating a present progressive are:

*ənḥāh ǝ-nhəwrūd* ‘we are taking (our) animals to the water’ (10:4)  
*ḥəxər ḥsəym, wəlākan ǝ-yaǵbáyk* ‘the man is respectable, but he’s crying’ (22:33)  
*bə-xáyr ḥē, wə-ǝ-yaǵáwdəm* ‘he is fine, and is working’ (57:8)  
*ḥābū ǝ-yaǵáwfləh. wə-ḥábhə ǝ-yaǵšəbūr* ‘the people are visiting him. And his parents are asking’ (65:7)  
*ḥəbūr ǝ-yaǵzyūd* ‘the cold is increasing’ (84:4)  
*ādəh ǝ-yaǵwdaǵ* ‘is he still breast-feeding?’ (101:15)

Even more common in the texts are examples of *ǝ-* plus the imperfect indicating a past progressive, some of which are:

- ǰāsūmān, wə-hōh ǰ-əslōl* ‘we set off at dawn, and I was being carried’  
(25:15)
- hōh ǰ-əbáyk, w-ənk’áy āskəráy* ‘I was crying, and a policeman came to me’ (34:21)
- hābū ǰə-yəšháyk mánəh* ‘the people were laughing at him’ (42:49)
- nəhāh ǰə-nəsyūr bə-hōrəm* ‘we were going on the road’ (46:15)
- hōh ǰ-əghōm bə-hármi* ‘I was going on my way’ (77:6)
- hīs əlyək ǰə-yəntáwhən, həwrūd házhe* ‘when [or: while] those guys fought, he brought his goats to the water’ (61:6)
- háybi ǰə-yəbáyđ būk* ‘father was lying to you’ (89:23)
- hīs ǰə-yəháwǰər, yəháýw ǰáyrah bath* ‘when he was digging, dirt would fall on him’ (48:17)

The final example above (48:17) illustrates nicely the difference between an imperfect with and without *ǰ-*. In this sentence, *ǰə-yəháwǰər* is a past progressive ‘was digging’ (i.e., ‘was in the process of digging’), while the bare imperfect *yəháýw* is a past continuous or habitual ‘would fall’ or ‘was falling (repeatedly)’.

As mentioned briefly above (§ 7.1.2), and as discussed in § 2.1.7, the verbal particle *ǰ-* normally does not occur before the prefix *t-*, i.e., before all second person and third feminine forms of the imperfect. It actually assimilates, but an initial geminate *tt* is usually simplified to *t*. This means that what looks like a bare imperfect can indicate a circumstantial, or a present or past progressive. Really these are cases of *ǰ-* plus the imperfect, in which the prefix *ǰ-* is suppressed. Examples are:

- mən hēsən təšhōk* ‘what are you laughing at?’ (5:4)
- hīs sən təǰtáryən, hənīsən sənnáwrət* ‘when they were talking, the cat was by them’ (15:7)
- kō tēm tháfrəm nəxāli abáyti* ‘why are you digging under my house?’  
(19:16)
- hōh ber hámak tik nəhōr təyt tōmər* ‘I heard you one day singing’ (52:10)
- sīrūt hāǰərūt təbáyk* ‘the slave-girl left crying’ (85:4)
- sē təšhōk* ‘she was laughing’ (89:9)
- ksūt hābū ǰə-yəftəriǰən wə-həynīt tənáhǰən* ‘she found the men watching and the women dancing’ (97:13)

In this last example, the phrases *hābū ǰə-yəftəriǰən* and *həynīt tənáhǰən* should have the exact same structure, showing that the prefix *ǰ-* must be present underlyingly.



The geminate cluster resulting from the assimilated particle is usually heard following the conjunction *wə-*. When word-initial, it can also be pronounced with an epenthetic initial *ə*. Examples are:

- kō hēt ət-təǵáwłək bay wə-t-təbáyk* ‘why are you looking at me and crying?’ (22:25)  
*ənkōt aríšit ət-tənhōk* ‘the snake came roaring’ (42:26)  
*hātəmūt ət-təǵōla aǵənēd* ‘it spent the night gnawing on the branches’ (42:30)  
*tétəh ət-təkáyn ǵīgēn* ‘his wife was nursing a boy’ (64:6)

#### 7.1.10.2 *ǵ-* + Perfect

When used with a verb in the perfect tense, the prefix *ǵ-* has a variety of related functions. One use of the perfect with *ǵ-* is to indicate a circumstantial. While an imperfect with *ǵ-* can indicate a circumstantial referring to simultaneous action, the perfect with *ǵ-* indicates a circumstantial referring to an action that has taken place, or it indicates a circumstantial stative. Often such a circumstantial can be translated with an English perfect participle (‘having done *X* ...’ or ‘having become *X* ...’), even if this is somewhat awkward. This is illustrated in the following examples:

- kūsa háybəh ǵ-áywər* ‘he found his father blind [lit. having gone blind]’ (24:50)  
*kūsəm həbrūt ǵə-hōkəm ǵə-ršənēt* ‘they found the daughter of the ruler tied up [lit. having been tied up]’ (42:15)  
*wátxfək əǵ-gáyak* ‘I’ve come back hungry [lit. I came having become hungry]’ (63:12)  
*kálak tīs sār abyūt əlyək ǵə-šəwǵfūt* ‘I left her behind those houses sleeping [lit. having fallen asleep]’ (65:9)  
*ráddəm ǵə-šənšáyr* ‘they came back having been victorious’ (69:8)  
*hātīm ǵə-həzīn* ‘they spent the evening sad [lit. having become sad]’ (74:14)  
*kəsk tīs bərk dəhlīl ber ǵ-ātēmēt* ‘I found it in a cave already bandaged up [lit. having been bandaged]’ (81:3)  
*sīrūt ǵār həməh ǵə-fərhōt* ‘she went to the water happy [lit. having become happy]’ (94:23)

Present-tense (or relative present-tense) statives tend to be expressed in Mehri with *ǵ-* plus a perfect, as can be seen from several of the circumstantial examples above. So for example, phrases like ‘I am/was hungry’ and ‘I am/was cold’

are expressed literally as ‘I have/had become hungry’ and ‘I have/had become cold’. This is true also when used as the main verb in a clause. We could say then that the *ǰ*- prefix indicates what in English would be called a present perfect or pluperfect, but is used to indicate the present tense of Mehri stative verbs. Examples are:

- hōh ǰǰ-ǰǰlwǰk wǰ-ǰǰ-ǰǰbrǰk* ‘I was sick and had chills’ (18:2)  
*ǰ-ǰhtǰwēk aw hībōh* ‘have you gone [or: are you] crazy or what?’ (20:5)  
*hēm ǰǰ-ǰǰzīn* ‘they were sad’ (23:1)  
*hōh ǰǰ-ǰǰšǰk mǰnš* ‘I am afraid of you’ (54:19)  
*ǰl hōh ǰǰ-ǰhtǰmk lǰ* ‘I’m not sure’ (57:10)  
*ǰǰbū ǰǰ-tǰbǰm wīyǰn* ‘the people were very weary’ (61:1)  
*ǰǰmbǰrǰwtǰn ǰǰ-ǰǰyǰm* ‘the boys were hungry’ (84:7)  
*hōh ǰǰ-hǰndǰk* ‘I’m sleepy’ (99:5) (but cf. *hōh hǰndǰk*, 84:9)  
*hōh ǰǰ-ǰǰyǰk* ‘I’m hungry’ (99:10)

The common verb *ǰǰrǰb* ‘know’ behaves as a stative verb when it comes to the use of *ǰ*-, as can be seen in the following examples:

- hēt ar ǰǰ-ǰǰrǰbk nǰhǰh wōǰǰb līn nǰshōǰ hūk* ‘you surely know that it is obligatory for us to slaughter for you’ (31:14)  
*hōh ǰǰ-ǰǰrǰbk tīk ǰǰr ašǰyǰa* ‘I know you are above the shelter’ (64:29)  
*hōh ǰǰ-ǰǰrǰbk hǰyǰlla tǰt ǰǰ-ǰǰnǰkē’ bǰwmǰh hǰrfōna tīs* ‘I know that whoever comes here will move it’ (67:5)  
*hōh ǰǰ-ǰǰrǰbk amǰnēh* ‘I knew his intention’ (71:2)  
*hēt ǰǰ-ǰǰrǰbk tǰh* ‘you know it’ (82:4)

We do also find the bare imperfect of *ǰǰrǰb* many times in the texts, e.g., *ǰǰǰrǰb axǰyǰr mǰnk* ‘I know better than you’ (19:20). It may be that the perfect with prefixed *ǰ*- has an aspectual nuance indicating knowledge at a particular moment, as opposed to general knowledge. Or perhaps the fact that an independent pronoun is used in all of these examples is relevant somehow.

Another verb that behaves like a stative is *hǰnōh* ‘intend, mean’, as in:

- ǰǰ-hǰnōh yǰftēk* ‘he intends to leave’ (57:8)  
*ǰl hōh ǰǰ-hǰnǰyǰk ǰwtōmǰh lǰ! ... ar ǰǰ-hǰnǰyǰš hēsǰn* ‘I didn’t mean (to do) thus ... then what did you mean?’ (59:10–11)  
*ǰǰ-hǰnǰyǰk ǰl-syēr h-ǰhǰd* ‘I intended to go to someone’ (77:5)

When used in the perfect, the verb *ǰyǰmǰl* ‘make, do’ sometimes has the meaning ‘think, believe, be of the opinion’. In the texts, this meaning occurs only

with the first person singular (*ʿamlək*).<sup>30</sup> In a few cases, it is found in conjunction with the prefix *ḏ-*:

*kəsk šəṭrāyr ... wə-ḏ-ʿamlək təh ḏ-ənsáy* ‘I found a rag ... and I think it was a human’s’ (63:9)

*ḏə-ʿamlək tīs tháflət mən ḏáyri* ‘I think she will run away from me’ (94:22)

*ḏə-ʿamlək tī l-āká’ danyit* ‘I think I may be pregnant’ (101:18)

For more on *ʿamlək* (and its shorter variant *ʿamk*), see §12.5.5.

With other verbs, *ḏ-* + perfect can indicate a present perfect, that is, a past action that still applies to the present, rather than a completed action. Examples are:

*ḏə-ḥəgórk ḥərōm ḏōmāh* ‘I have been guarding this tree’ (3:11)

*ənḥāh ḏə-šəšyōmən* ‘we’ve run short of milk’ (28:14)

*hōh ḏə-ḏəlámk* ‘I have been unjust’ (36:36)

*ḏə-xtáwn ḥəbānihəm* ‘they’ve circumcised their sons’ (99:37)

In other contexts it can indicate a pluperfect, as in:

*ḏ-áyəb bə-ttēt ḏōmāh* ‘he had fallen in love with this woman’ (22:74)

*hē šəbūr hīs, w-abēli ḏə-filāh mən xəyénts* ‘he was patient with her, and God had saved him from her betrayal’ (24:52)

*šəff anḥōr ḏəšəkmāh ḏə-mōt ḡayg, wə-ḏə-ḥəbáwrəh* ‘it so happened that that day a man had died, and they had buried him’ (54:7)

*ḥābū kāl ḏə-nšīw mən akā’ ḏəšəkmāh* ‘all the people had migrated from that region’ (63:1)

### 7.1.10.3 *ḏ-* + Subjunctive

The verbal prefix *ḏ-* appears before a subjunctive a handful of times in the texts. In each case the context is a threat or promise. Examples are:

*hām ād ḥəwrádk ḥəmōh ḏōmāh zōyəd, ḏə-nəwtáḡk* ‘if you bring (your) animals to this water ever again, we will kill you’ (10:9)

<sup>30</sup> For examples of *ʿamlək* meaning ‘I think’ (and its shorter variant *ʿamk*) without the prefix *ḏ-*, see texts 26:6, 28:2, 28:18, and 91:8. Watson (2012: 94) also recorded only 1cs forms, mainly with the prefix *ḏ-*.

*ber gəzūm hām əl wáʔak k-ħārāwn lā, ǰə-γəsbátʔk* ‘he swore that if you were not with the goats, he would hit you’ (33:1)  
*hām əḫād mənķēm ʔərbáy, ǰə-l-əwbádəh* ‘if any of you come near me, I will shoot him’ (47:11)  
*b-awághi, ǰ-əl-əzémk ħənōfi* ‘by my honor [lit. face], I will give myself to you’ (55:3)  
*kāl mənķēm ǰə-ħátrək mən amķōnəh ǰə-l-əwbádəh* ‘any one of you who moves from his place, I will shoot him’ (64:31)

The prefix *ǰ-* here is idiomatic, and probably stems from the use of *ǰ-* as a complementizer, with an implied verb of promising or swearing. This is the only way to explain both the particle *ǰ-* and the use of a subjunctive. So, for example, a phrase like *ǰə-nəwtáǰk* ‘we will kill you’ in text 10:9 may stand for a longer phrase like *šənǰərk ǰə-nəwtáǰk* ‘I vow that we will kill you’. There are also a couple of examples of a subjunctive used this way without the prefix *ǰ-* (54:18; 99:34). This is not problematic, because the complementizer *ǰ-* is sometimes absent (see §13.5.1.1).

The prefix *ǰ-* also appears before a subjunctive when *ǰ-* is part of the phrase *l-aǰərə ǰ-* ‘so that; in order to’. See further in §13.5.2.

## 7.2 Weak Verbs

The term “weak verb” refers to any verb whose conjugation differs from that of the basic paradigm of a particular stem (see Chapter 6) because of the presence of one or more particular root consonants that cause or have caused phonetic changes. Mehri, like all of the MSA languages, is particularly rich in weak verb types. In this section, I will provide an overview of the major weak verbs types and their characteristic features.

Following the conventions of Semitic linguistics, a Roman numeral is used to indicate the position of the root consonant. So, for example, I-w refers to roots in which *w* is the first root consonant, while III-Guttural refers to roots in which the third root consonant is a guttural.

In not a few cases, data are rather limited, and so some of the conclusions below may only be tentative. Moreover, there exists variation in the conjugation of some of these verb types, particularly among younger speakers. So some of the data below may not reflect the usage of all speakers, even within Omani Mehri. Johnstone’s *ML* provides about fifty pages of verbal paradigms, covering almost all weak verb types; unfortunately, as noted elsewhere, there are many errors therein. Still, it remains a very useful reference for the conjugation of

many verb types. In the following sections I have pointed out some of these errors, but I have not addressed every exceptional or suspicious form contained in *ML*.

### 7.2.1 I-Guttural and I-Glottalic Verbs

Verbs whose initial root consonant is a guttural (other than *ʕ*, *ħ*) or a glottalic are not weak, except for the fact that they are subject to the changes of *ī* > *ay* in the Gb-Stem perfect, and *ū* > *aw* in the Ga-Stem imperfect (see § 2.2.1 and § 2.2.2). I-h verbs behave as strong verbs, while I-ʕ and I-ħ verbs are weak verbs (see § 7.2.2). Compare:

	3ms perf.	3mp perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.	
Ga strong	<i>bəgūd</i>	<i>bəgáwd</i>	<i>yəbūgəd</i>	<i>yəbgēd</i>	‘chase’
Ga I-Gutt.	<i>xədūm</i>	<i>xədəwm</i>	<i>yəxáwdəm</i>	<i>yəxdēm</i>	‘work’
Ga I-Glott.	<i>ḵəbūr</i>	<i>ḵəbáwr</i>	<i>yəḵáwbər</i>	<i>yəḵbēr</i>	‘bury’
Gb strong	<i>tībər</i>	<i>tábrəm</i>	<i>yətbōr</i>	<i>yətbōr</i>	‘break’
Gb I-Gutt.	<i>ḥáyłəm</i>	<i>ḥálməm</i>	<i>yəḥlōm</i>	<i>yəḥlōm</i>	‘dream’
Gb I-Glott.	<i>ḵáyərəb</i>	<i>ḵərbəm</i>	<i>yəḵrōb</i>	<i>yəḵrōb</i>	‘approach’

As discussed already in § 2.2.1 and § 2.2.2, I-Glottalic and I-Guttural verbs also sometimes have *á* where we expect *á*, as in the 3mp imperfects *yəḵáfđəm* ‘they go down’ (58:6, for expected *yəḵáfđəm*), *yəḏábrəm* ‘they apologize’ (61:7, for expected *yəḏábrəm*), *yəxádməm* ‘they work’ (67:3, for expected *yəxádməm*), and *yəḥákrəm* ‘they were monopolizing’ (70:1, for expected *yəḥákrəm*).

An exceptional I-Guttural verb is *ǧərūb* ‘know’, which has the vowel *ō* in the imperfect, rather than *aw* (< \**ū*).<sup>31</sup> Other I-ǧ verbs, e.g., *ǧəbūr* ‘meet’, behave as

31 In Jibbali, the cognate *ǧarəb* also behaves differently than other I-Guttural verbs. See *JLO* (§ 7.4.2 and § 7.4.10). For an etymology of this verb, see Bulakh (2013), and for a semantic study, see Bulakh and Kogan (2014).

other I-Gutturals, as do other I-Guttural, II-r verbs, e.g., *ǰarūf* ‘fetch’ and *herūf* ‘move’. Compare the following forms:

	3ms perf.	3ms impf.	3mp impf.	3ms subj.	
Ga strong	<i>bəǰūd</i>	<i>yəbūǰəd</i>	<i>yəbǰǰdam</i>	<i>yəbǰēd</i>	‘chase’
Ga I-Gutt. (I-ǰ)	<i>ǰəbūr</i>	<i>yəǰǰwbər</i>	<i>yəǰǰbrəm</i>	<i>yəǰbēr</i>	‘meet’
Ga <i>ǰrb</i>	<i>ǰərūb</i>	<i>yəǰǰrəb</i>	<i>yəǰǰrbəm</i>	<i>yəǰrēb</i>	‘know’
Ga I-Gutt., II-r	<i>herūf</i>	<i>yəhǰwrəf</i>	<i>yəhǰrfəm</i>	<i>yəhrēf</i>	‘move’

When the third root consonant is a guttural (‘, *h*, *ǰ*, or *x*) or *h*, in which case the 3ms perfect has the base *CūCəG* (or *CūCa* for III-‘; see § 7.2.9), then I-Guttural and I-Glottalic verbs have the expected shift *ū > aw*. Verbs with a first and third guttural are very rare, however, and exist only when the third root consonant is ‘. I-Glottalic and III-Guttural is also a rather rare combination. Sample forms are:

	3ms perf.	3mp perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.	
Ga III-Gutt.	<i>sūməh</i>	<i>səmḥəm</i>	<i>yəsūməh</i>	<i>yəsmēh</i>	‘forgive’
Ga I-Glott., III-Gutt.	<i>tǰwrəh</i>	<i>tǰrḥəm</i>	<i>yətǰwrəh</i>	<i>yətrāh</i> <sup>32</sup>	‘leave’
Ga III-‘	<i>nūka</i>	<i>nákam</i>	<i>yənōka</i>	<i>yənké’</i>	‘come’
Ga I-Gutt., III-‘	<i>xáwda</i>	<i>xádam</i>	<i>yəxōda</i>	<i>yəxdé’</i>	‘dupe’
Gb I-Glott., III-‘	<i>ǰáwla</i>	<i>ǰálam</i>	<i>yəǰōla</i>	<i>yəǰlé’</i>	‘leave’

32 The Ga-Stem subjunctive of III-Guttural verbs can have either *ā* or *ē* (see § 7.2.9). The *ā* in *yətrāh* is because of the preceding glottalic + *r* (see § 2.2.3).

In the Š2-Stem of I-Glottalic and I-Guttural roots, we find the expected shift of  $\bar{e} > \bar{a}$  in the perfect and subjunctive, though examples are very rare.

	3ms perf.	3mp perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.	
Š2 strong	<i>šhēwəb</i>	<i>šhāwbəm</i>	<i>yəšnāsmən</i>	<i>yəšhēwəb</i>	‘think’
Š2 I-Gutt.	<i>šxārag</i>	<i>šxārgəm</i>	<i>yəšxārgəm</i>	<i>yəšxārag</i>	‘read’

### 7.2.2 I-’ and I-’ Verbs

In the Ga-Stem, verbs whose first root consonant is ʿ are characterized by having a long  $\bar{a}$  in the first syllable of the perfect, subjunctive (and hence imperative), and future, as a result of the shifts of  $*\bar{a} > \bar{a}$  and  $*\bar{a}' > \bar{a}$  (§ 2.1.3). In the imperfect, most I-’ Ga-Stem verbs (a half dozen of which occur in the texts) have the 3ms pattern  $yāwCəC$  (<  $*yā'ūCəC$ , with the expected diphthongization [§ 2.2.2] and loss of ʿ), and 3mp  $yāCəCəm$  (<  $*yā'əCCəm$ ). However, the very common verb *āmūr* ‘say’ has instead 3ms *yōmər*, 3mp *yāmərəm* (<  $*yā'əmərəm$ ), with the same imperfect pattern as the I-Guttural verb *ǧərūb* ‘know’.<sup>33</sup>

	3ms perf.	3fs perf.	1cs perf.	
Ga strong	<i>bəǧūd</i>	<i>bəǧədūt</i>	<i>bəǧádk</i>	‘chase’
Ga I-’	<i>āšūm</i>	<i>āšəmūt</i>	<i>āšámk</i>	‘cut’
Ga ʿmr	<i>āmūr</i>	<i>āmərūt</i>	<i>āmárk</i>	‘say’
Ga I-’, II/III-IG	<i>ākūs</i>	<i>āksūt</i>	<i>ākásk</i>	‘mix’

33 As with *ǧərūb* (see n. 31), the Jibbali cognate also behaves differently than other I-Guttural verbs; see *JLO* (§ 7.4.2). Also note that the root of this verb is ʿmr throughout MSA, though similar verbs elsewhere in Semitic have the root ʿmr. If the two roots are cognate, the sound correspondence is irregular; see Kogan (2015: 544).

	3ms impf.	3mp impf.	3ms subj.	ms fut.
Ga strong	<i>yəbūgəd</i>	<i>yəbágdəm</i>	<i>yəbgēd</i>	<i>bəgdōna</i>
Ga I- <sup>c</sup>	<i>yáwšəm</i>	<i>yāšəməm</i>	<i>yāšēm</i>	<i>āšmōna</i>
Ga <sup>c</sup> mr	<i>yōmər</i>	<i>yāmərəm</i>	<i>yāmēr</i>	<i>āmrona</i>
Ga I- <sup>c</sup> , II/III-IG	<i>yəʔáks</i>	<i>yəʔáksəm</i>	<i>yākēs</i>	<i>āksōna</i>

For the verb *ākūs* ‘mix’, listed in *ML* (s.v. ‘ks), the 3ms imperfect is *yəʔáks* (< \*yəʔūks), with loss of ə between the “idle glottis” root consonants (§ 2.1.2; § 7.2.12), reduction of ū to á in the doubly-closed final syllable (§ 2.2), and preservation of ʔ before the stressed á (§ 2.1.3).

In the Gb-Stem of I-<sup>c</sup> verbs, we see the expected shift of *ī* to *ay* in the 3ms perfect (§ 2.2.2), and the <sup>c</sup> is lost. As per the rules outlined in § 2.1.3, unstressed initial ʔ- shift to *ā* (3fs and 3d perfect), but stressed initial ʔ- is retained (first and second person, and 3mp perfect). In the imperfect, subjunctive, and future, Gb-Stems show the expected shift of ʔ<sup>c</sup> > *ā* that we see also in Ga-Stems.

	3ms perf.	3fs perf.	3mp perf.	1cs perf.	
Gb strong	<i>tībər</i>	<i>təbrōt</i>	<i>təbrəm</i>	<i>təbrək</i>	‘break’
Gb I- <sup>c</sup>	<i>áymal</i>	<i>āmlōt</i>	<i>ʔamləm</i>	<i>ʔmlək</i> <sup>34</sup>	‘do’
Gb I- <sup>c</sup>	<i>áygab</i>	<i>āgbōt</i>	<i>ʔgbəm</i>	<i>ʔgbək</i>	‘love’

34 This particular form has an irregular variant *ʔmk* when it has the meaning ‘I think’. See § 12.5.5 and the comments to texts 26:6 and 28:18.



	3ms impf./subj.	3mp impf./subj.	ms fut.
Gb strong	<i>yəṭbōr</i>	<i>yəṭbūr</i>	<i>ṭəbrōna</i>
Gb I- <sup>c</sup>	<i>yāmōl</i>	<i>yāmīl</i>	<i>āmlōna</i>
Gb I- <sup>c</sup>	<i>yāgōb</i>	<i>yāgīb</i>	<i>āgbōna</i>

The retention of stressed initial ʿə-, as well as the shift of unstressed initial ʿə- to ā, can also be seen in I-<sup>c</sup> geminate verbs. Compare:

	3ms perf.	3fs perf.	3mp perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.	
G gem.	<i>rədd</i>	<i>rəddūt</i>	<i>rəddəm</i>	<i>yərdūd</i>	<i>yərdəd</i>	‘go back’
G gem., I- <sup>c</sup>	ʿəśś	āśśūt	ʿəśśəm	yāśśūs	yāśśēs	‘get up’

As for I-<sup>2</sup> verbs, none occur in the G-Stem in the texts. *ML* (s.v. ʿsr) lists forms for one, *wəsūr* ‘hobble (an animal)’, with an initial *w* in both the perfect and imperfect, but the forms need to be verified.<sup>35</sup>

In the D/L-Stem, both I-<sup>2</sup> verbs and I-<sup>c</sup> verbs occur, and they behave differently. For I-<sup>2</sup> verbs, ʿ is replaced with *w*, while for I-<sup>c</sup> verbs, the first root consonant is simply lost. For I-<sup>c</sup>, II-y verbs, which use a variant type D/L-Stem (see § 6.2.1 and § 7.2.7), ʿ is retained. Some sample forms are:

	3ms perf.	3mp perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.	
D/L strong	<i>arōkəb</i>	<i>arákbəm</i>	<i>yarákbən</i>	<i>yarōkəb</i>	‘put on fire’
D/L I- <sup>2</sup>	<i>awōḏəṇ</i>	<i>awáḏməm</i>	<i>yawáḏnən</i>	<i>yawōḏəṇ</i>	‘call to prayer’

35 *ML* lists an Ši-Stem *šəwsūr*, but we expect *šāsūr* for a I-<sup>2</sup> verb, like *šāmūn*. There may be some mixing with a root *wsr*, perhaps because there is already a verb *šāsūr* ‘love’ from the root ʿsr. But in the Ga-Stem, if *wəsūr* were from a root *wsr*, then we would expect a 3ms imperfect *yəwūsər*, though *ML* gives *yəwsūr*. This is why the forms need to be checked.

D/L I- <sup>c</sup>	<i>ōzər</i>	<i>āzrəm</i>	<i>yāzərən</i>	<i>yōzər</i>	‘annoy’
D/L I- <sup>c</sup> , II-y	<i>a’yīṭ</i>	<i>a’yīṭəm</i>	<i>ya’yīṭən</i>	<i>ya’yīṭ</i>	‘cry out’

In the H- and Š<sub>1</sub>-Stems, I-<sup>c</sup> verbs show the expected shift *a’ > ā* in the first syllable of the perfect and imperfect; likewise in all tenses in the T<sub>2</sub>-Stem. In the H- and Š<sub>1</sub>-Stem subjunctive, as well as in the Š<sub>2</sub>-Stem imperfect, we find the expected shift *a’ > ē*. In the Š<sub>2</sub>-Stem perfect and subjunctive we find the expected shift *ē > ā*. Some representative forms are:

	3ms perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.	
H strong	<i>hərkūb</i>	<i>yəhərkūb</i>	<i>yəhárkəb</i>	‘mount’
H I- <sup>c</sup>	<i>hārūs</i>	<i>yəhārūs</i>	<i>yəhērəs</i>	‘marry’
Š <sub>1</sub> strong	<i>šəndūr</i>	<i>yəšəndūr</i>	<i>yəšánđər</i>	‘vow’
Š <sub>1</sub> I- <sup>c</sup>	<i>šāgūl</i>	<i>yəšāgūl</i>	<i>yəšēgəl</i>	‘hurry’
Š <sub>2</sub> strong	<i>šənēsəm</i>	<i>yəšnásmən</i>	<i>yəšnēsəm</i>	‘sigh’
Š <sub>2</sub> I- <sup>c</sup>	<i>šādəl</i>	<i>yəšēdələn</i>	<i>yəšādəl</i>	‘bet’
T <sub>2</sub> strong	<i>əxtəlūf</i>	<i>yəxtəlīfən</i>	<i>yəxtəlōf</i>	‘differ’
T <sub>2</sub> I- <sup>c</sup>	<i>ātəlūm</i>	<i>yātəlīmən</i>	<i>yātəlōm</i>	‘learn’

No T<sub>1</sub>-Stem I-<sup>c</sup> verbs occur in the texts, though a few are listed in *ML*. The forms listed are generally as we would expect (e.g., 3ms perfect *ātCəC*).

As for I-<sup>v</sup> verbs, *ML* includes one H-Stem, which does not occur in the texts, and a few Š<sub>1</sub>-Stems, two of which occur in the texts. In the Š<sub>1</sub>-Stem forms, the texts show the vowel *ē* in the perfect and imperfect. No subjunctive forms occur, but the ms future *məšēmən* (56:14; 90:12) confirms the vowel *ē* that appears in *ML*. The H-Stem forms below come from *ML*; the vowels of the perfect and imperfect are probably *ē*, like the Š<sub>1</sub>-Stem.

	3ms perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.	
H strong	<i>harkūb</i>	<i>yaharkūb</i>	<i>yahárkəb</i>	‘mount’
HI-’	<i>hēmūn</i>	<i>yahēmūn</i>	<i>yahēmən</i> <sup>36</sup>	‘trust’
ŠI I-’	<i>šēnūs</i>	<i>yəšēnūs</i>	<i>yəšēnəs</i>	‘dare’
ŠI I-’	<i>šēmūn</i>	<i>yəšēmūn</i>	<i>yəšēmən</i>	‘believe’
ŠI strong	<i>šəndūr</i>	<i>yəšəndūr</i>	<i>yəšándər</i>	‘vow’

*ML* (s.v. *ʿxr*) lists T2- and Š2-Stems of the root *ʿxr*, the forms of which have *w* as the first root consonant, like in the D/L-Stem. We could probably just consider these from a root *wxr* from a synchronic point of view.

### 7.2.3 *I-w and I-y Verbs*

Verbs whose first root consonant is *w* are regular in the Ga-Stem, with the exception of the Ga subjunctive (and hence imperative) forms, in which the *w* is lost.<sup>37</sup> The prefix vowel of the I-w subjunctive (and imperative) shows variation between *ā* and *ə*. Compare:

	3ms perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.	ms impv.	
Ga strong	<i>bəgūd</i>	<i>yəbūgəd</i>	<i>yəbgēd</i>	<i>bəgēd</i>	‘chase’
Ga I-w	<i>wəzūm</i>	<i>yəwūzəm</i>	<i>yəzēm/yāzēm</i>	<i>əzēm/āzēm</i>	‘give’
Ga I-w	<i>wəkūb</i>	<i>yəwūkəb</i>	<i>yəkēb/yākēb</i>	<i>əkēb/ākēb</i>	‘enter’

36 *ML* (s.v. *ʿmn*) actually has *yəhōmən*, but the long vowel of the H-Stem subjunctive should match that of the ŠI-Stem. I suspect an error in *ML*.

37 According to Bendjaballah and Ségéral (2017b), younger speakers produce a subjunctive with *w* preserved (e.g., 3ms *yəwzēm* ‘he gives’), which is obviously on analogy with strong verbs (including I-I verbs).

Most Ga-Stems whose first root consonant is *l* have a shift *l* > *w* in the perfect (§ 2.1.5), e.g., *əwbūd* ‘he hit’ (< \**ləbūd*), but do not behave like true I-w verbs; cf. 3ms subjunctive *yəwbēd* (< \**yəlbēd*).

In the Gb-, D/L-, H-, and Š1-Stems, I-w verbs generally follow the patterns of strong verbs. Some sample forms are:

	3ms perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.	
Gb strong	<i>tībər</i>	<i>yətbōr</i>	<i>yətbōr</i>	‘break’
Gb I-w	<i>wiṣəl</i>	<i>yəwṣōl</i>	<i>yəwṣōl</i>	‘arrive’
D/L strong	<i>arōkəb</i>	<i>yarákbən</i>	<i>yarōkəb</i>	‘put on fire’
D/L I-w	<i>awōṣəl</i>	<i>yawáṣlən</i>	<i>yawōṣəl</i>	‘bring’
H strong	<i>hərkūb</i>	<i>yəhərkūb</i>	<i>yəhárkəb</i>	‘mount’
H I-w	<i>həwkūb</i>	<i>yəhəwkūb</i>	<i>yəháwkəb</i>	‘put in’
Š1 strong	<i>šəndūr</i>	<i>yəšəndūr</i>	<i>yəšándər</i>	‘vow’
Š1 I-w	<i>šəwgūs</i>	<i>yəš(əw)gūs</i>	<i>yəšáwgəs</i>	‘go in evening’

The Š1-Stem imperfect has a variant with the pattern *yəCCūC*, with loss of the root consonant *w*; cf. 3ms imperfect *yəšgūs* (31:6), 3mp imperfect *yəšgīs* (54:3), and 3ms imperfect *yəškūf* ‘he sleeps’ (98:10, but *yəšəwkūf* in 2:2).<sup>38</sup> The H-Stem appears to have this variant as well, though evidence is slim; see the comment to text 30:8. I-w verbs that are also III-‘ have some distinct forms in others stems, most notably H-Stem; see further in § 7.2.9.

The only I-w Š2-Stem attested in the texts is *šəwēd* ‘arrange a meeting; promise’, which also happens to be the only II-‘ Š2-Stem attested in the texts. The forms are weak because of the ‘, which is lost, but the initial *w* behaves as a strong consonant:

38 Johnstone noted this variation in *ML* (p. lxi). For other examples, see the comments to texts 16:5 and 95:7.

	3ms perf.	3mp perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.	
Š2 strong	<i>šānēsəm</i>	<i>šānásməm</i>	<i>yəšnásmən</i>	<i>yəšnēsəm</i>	‘sigh’
Š2 I-w, II- <sup>c</sup>	<i>šəwēd</i>	<i>šəwēdəm</i>	<i>yəšwēdən</i>	<i>yəšwēd</i>	‘promise’

I-w verbs also seem to be regular in the T2-Stem, though data from the texts are extremely scarce; one attested form is the future *məwtəkīl* ‘(I’ll) have faith’ (36:5), which has the pattern of a strong T2-Stem.

In the T1-Stem, I-w verbs behave as strong verbs in the perfect, but the *w* is lost in the imperfect and subjunctive:

	3ms perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.	3mp subj.	
T1 strong	<i>gātəbər</i>	<i>yəgtəbūr</i>	<i>yəgtībər</i>	<i>yəgtəbrəm</i>	‘meet’
T1 I-w, II-Glott.	<i>wátəkəð</i>	<i>yətəkáwð</i>	<i>yətíkəð</i>	<i>yətákəðəm</i>	‘wake up’
T1 I-w, II/III-IG	<i>wátx(ə)f</i>	<i>yətxáwəf</i>	<i>yətáxf</i>	<i>yətáxfəm</i>	‘come’

There are no singular subjunctives or imperatives without suffixes in the texts, and *ML* gives conflicting forms. For the 3ms subjunctive of the verb *wátəkəð* ‘wake up’, *ML* gives both *yətákəð* (p. li) and *yətēkəð* (s.v. *wkđ*), while for the future, it gives both *mətákəð* (p. lxxi) and *mətēkəð* (s.v. *wkđ*). We expect the long vowel, which is most likely *ī*, as in other T1-Stem subjunctives. The 3ms subjunctive form (with a 1cp object suffix) *yətáxfən* (96:1) tells us nothing; because the final two root consonants are voiceless and non-glottalic (see § 7.2.12), we expect *yətáxf* from an underlying pattern *yəCiCəC*.<sup>39</sup> Confirmation is needed that 3ms subjunctive *yətíkəð*, ms imperative *tíkəð*, and ms future *mətíkəð* are the correct forms.

In short, I-w verbs show loss of the root consonant *w* only in the Ga-Stem subjunctive and imperative; the T1-Stem imperfect, subjunctive, imperative, and future; and sometimes in the H- and Š1-Stem imperfect. Elsewhere, the consonant *w* is strong.

39 Watson (2012: 263) lists the expected ms imperative *taxf* (*taxf* in her transcription).

Verbs whose first root consonant is *y* are exceedingly rare; *ML* lists only two such roots, *yṣṣ* and *ytm*, and only the geminate Gb-Stem verb *yṣṣ* ‘be afraid’ occurs in the texts. In the perfect *yṣṣ* behaves like any other geminate verb, but in the imperfect and subjunctive it behaves like a Gb-Stem. It is, in fact, one of only two Gb-Stem geminate verbs (see § 7.2.11). In the imperfect and subjunctive, *y* is lost and the prefix vowel is lengthened.

	3ms perf.	3ms impf.	3mp impf.	3ms subj.	
Gb strong	<i>tībər</i>	<i>yətbōr</i>	<i>yətbīr</i>	<i>yətbōr</i>	‘break’
Gb gem., I-y	<i>yṣṣ</i>	<i>yāṣōṣ</i>	<i>yāṣáyṣ</i> <sup>40</sup>	<i>yāṣōṣ</i>	‘be afraid’
Ga geminate	<i>rədd</i>	<i>yərdūd</i>	<i>yərdáwd</i>	<i>yərdēd</i>	‘go back’

*ML* (p. 462) lists H-Stems of both I-y roots, though they behave differently. Both roots lose the *y*, but *yṣṣ* has no subsequent vowel lengthening (unlike in the G-Stem imperfect and subjunctive). Because the H-Stem of *ytm* has a long vowel in the initial syllable, it looks in the perfect (no imperfect or subjunctive is given) as if it were from a root *ʾtm* or *ʾtm*. Neither H-Stem I-y verb is attested in the texts, and so the forms need to be verified.

	3ms perf.	3mp perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.	
H geminate	<i>həglūl</i>	<i>həglīl</i>	<i>yəhəglūl</i>	<i>yəhəggəl</i>	‘boil’
H I-y, gem.	<i>həṣáwṣ</i>	<i>həṣáyṣ</i>	<i>yəhəṣáwṣ</i> <sup>41</sup>	<i>yəháyṣ</i>	‘frighten’
H I-y	<i>hātūm</i>	<i>hātīm</i>	(unknown)	(unknown)	‘be orphaned’
H I-ʿ	<i>hātūm</i>	<i>hātīm</i>	<i>yəhātūm</i>	<i>yəhētəm</i>	‘spend night’

40 3mp *yāṣáyṣ* is also found in the texts, a form which stems from an analogy with Ga-Stem geminate verbs. See the comment to text 15:2.

41 *ML* (s.v. *yṣṣ*) actually has *yəhṣōṣ*, but this must be a mistranscription for *yəhṣáwṣ*. Confusion of *ō* and *aw* (and *ū*) is rampant in *ML*.

### 7.2.4 I-l, II-l, and III-l Verbs

Verbs that have *l* as one of their root consonants do not really form a separate class of weak verbs, in that they follow the strong verb patterns of conjugation. However, since the consonant *l* is subject to phonetic changes that can obscure the verbal pattern, verbs with *l* could be considered weak. The effects of *l* on verb forms have already been discussed in § 2.1.5, where numerous examples can be found.

One additional point to be mentioned concerns the form of the subjunctive of I-l verbs in the H- and Ši-Stems. By the rules outlined in § 2.1.5, the sequence *álC* in the subjunctive in these stems should shift to *ēC*. However, the very limited evidence found in *ML* (one subjunctive in each stem) suggests some variation. Compare the following forms:

	3ms perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.	
H strong	<i>harkūb</i>	<i>yəharkūb</i>	<i>yəhárkəb</i>	‘mount’
H I-l	<i>həwšūḳ</i>	<i>yəhəwšūḳ</i>	<i>yəháwšəḳ</i>	‘attach’
Ši strong	<i>šəndūr</i>	<i>yəšəndūr</i>	<i>yəšánḏər</i>	‘vow’
Ši I-l	<i>šəwbūd</i>	<i>yəšəwbūd</i>	<i>yəšēbəd</i>	‘be hit’

If the subjunctive form *yəháwšəḳ* that is listed in *ML* (s.v. *lšk*) is, in fact, correct, then it is probably an analogical form (as if from a root *wšk*).

There is also one verb form in which *l* is lost unexpectedly, namely the Gb-Stem 1cs perfect *ʿmlək*, which has the variant *ʿmk* when it has the meaning ‘I think’. See further in § 12.5.5 and in the comments to texts 26:6 and 28:18.

### 7.2.5 II-Guttural Verbs

Verbs whose second root consonant is one of the gutturals *g*, *h*, *ḥ*, or *x* are distinctive in the G-Stem (on ‘ and ‘, see § 7.2.6). All verbs whose second root consonant is *g*, *h*, or *x*, have the pattern *CəCāC* in the perfect.<sup>42</sup> First- and second-person forms have the base *CəCáC-* (except 1cp, which retains the long vowel, as we expect: *CəCāCən*). Verbs whose second root consonant

42 An exception, according to *ML* (s.v. *rḥk*), is *rīhək*, whose perfect looks like that of a strong Gb-Stem verb. The texts have only a Ga-Stem *rəhāk* (cf. 1cp perfect *rəhākən* in text 26:2).

is *h* follow this same pattern, except that the 3ms perfect has the pattern *CəCēC*, with *ē* rather than *ā*, and with *CəCéC-* (less often *CəCÁC-*) for the first and second persons. All II-Guttural verbs have *-ōt* in the 3fs perfect and *-əm* in the 3mp perfect, like Gb-Stems, and nearly all have the Gb-Stem 3ms imperfect/subjunctive pattern *yəCCōC*. A very few II-Guttural verbs (including *nəḥāg* ‘dance’ and *rəḥāš* ‘wash’) have Ga-type imperfects and subjunctives, except that the imperfect has the vowel *ō*, where the strong Ga-Stem has *ū*, and the subjunctive shows the expected shift of *ē > ā* after the guttural.<sup>43</sup>

	3ms perfect	3fs perf.	3mp perf.	1cs perf.	
Gb strong	<i>tībər</i>	<i>təbrōt</i>	<i>təbrəm</i>	<i>təbrək</i>	‘break’
Gb II-Gutt.	<i>šəḥāk</i>	<i>šəḥkōt</i>	<i>šəḥākəm</i>	<i>šəḥák(ə)k</i>	‘laugh’
G II-h	<i>gəhēm</i>	<i>gəhmōt</i>	<i>gəhēməm</i>	<i>gəhémk</i>	‘go’
Ga II-Gutt.	<i>nəḥāg</i>	<i>nəḥgōt</i>	<i>nəḥāgəm</i>	<i>nəḥágk</i>	‘dance’
Ga strong	<i>bəgūd</i>	<i>bəgādūt</i>	<i>bəgáwd</i>	<i>bəgdək</i>	‘chase’

	3ms impf.	3mp impf.	3fp impf.	3ms subj.	3mp subj.
Gb strong	<i>yəṭbōr</i>	<i>yəṭbīr</i>	<i>təṭbōrən</i>	<i>yəṭbōr</i>	<i>yəṭbīr</i>
Gb II-Gutt.	<i>yəšḥōk</i>	<i>yəšḥáyk</i>	<i>təšḥōkən</i>	<i>yəšḥōk</i>	<i>yəšḥáyk</i>
G II-h	<i>yəghōm</i>	<i>yəghīm</i>	<i>təghōmən</i>	<i>yəghōm</i>	<i>yəghīm</i>
Ga II-Gutt.	<i>yənōḥəg</i>	<i>yənáḥgəm</i>	<i>tənáḥgən</i>	<i>yənḥāg</i>	<i>yənḥāgəm</i>
Ga strong	<i>yəbūgəd</i>	<i>yəbágdəm</i>	<i>təbágdən</i>	<i>yəbgēd</i>	<i>yəbgēdəm</i>

43 These same II-Guttural verbs, as well as the Ga-type II-*ʿ* verb *gār* (see §7.2.6), are also exceptional in Jibbali, though in Jibbali they are more irregular compared to the Ga-Stem. See *JLO* (pp. 186–187).



Few II-Guttural verbs are attested in the D/L-Stem. At least two verbs (*anġāl* ‘sweat’ and the II-‘ verb (*s)šād* ‘help’) belong to one of the rare D/L-Stem subtypes. And at least one II-h verb (*azhib* ‘dress up a woman in finery’) is conjugated like one of the other rare subtypes, normally used for II-w/y and geminate roots. (On both of these subtypes, see § 6.2.1.) Other II-Guttural verbs seem to follow the pattern of strong verbs, e.g., *amōhal* ‘ease, lighten’, (*f)fōham* ‘make understand’, and (*f)fōxar* ‘pretty up s.o.’, but these strong-type verbs (all from *ML*) need to be confirmed.

In the H-, Š-, and T-Stems, the only characteristic features of II-Guttural (II-ḥ, II-ġ, and II-x) verbs are the sound changes  $\bar{u} > aw$  and  $\bar{i} > ay$  that we expect (§ 2.2.2). No II-Guttural Š2-Stems are attested in the texts, but the forms are as strong verbs. II-h verbs behave like strong verbs in all of these derived stems. Some sample forms are:

	3ms perf.	3mp perf.	1cp perf.	3ms impf.	
H strong	<i>harkūb</i>	<i>harkīb</i>	<i>harkōban</i>	<i>yaharkūb</i>	‘mount’
H II-Gutt.	<i>habġáwš</i>	<i>habġáyš</i>	<i>habġōšan</i>	<i>yahabġáwš</i>	‘hate’
H II-h	<i>habhūl</i>	<i>habhīl</i>	<i>habhōlan</i>	<i>yahabhūl</i>	‘cook’
Š1 strong	<i>šanḏūr</i>	<i>šanḏīr</i>	<i>šanḏōran</i>	<i>yəšanḏūr</i>	‘vow’
Š1 II-Gutt.	<i>šanḥáwr</i>	<i>šanḥáyr</i>	<i>šanḥōran</i>	<i>yəšanḥáwr</i>	‘complain’
Š1 II-h	<i>šadhūk</i>	<i>šadhīk</i>	<i>šadhōkan</i>	<i>yəšadhūk</i>	‘look down’
T1 strong	<i>ġátbər</i>	<i>ġátbərəm</i>	<i>ġátbərən</i>	<i>yəġtəbūr</i>	‘meet’
T1 II-Gutt	<i>máthən</i>	<i>máthənəm</i>	<i>máthənən</i>	<i>yəmtəháwn</i>	‘be in trouble’
T2 strong	<i>axtalūf</i>	<i>axtalīf</i>	<i>axtalōfan</i>	<i>yəxtalīfan</i>	‘differ’
T2 II-Gutt	<i>wətxáwr</i>	<i>wətxáyr</i>	<i>wətxōran</i>	<i>yəwtəxáyrən</i>	‘come late’
T2 II-h	<i>ənthūl</i>	<i>ənthīl</i>	<i>ənthōlan</i>	<i>yənthūlan</i>	‘ease up’

### 7.2.6 II-ʾ and II-ʿ Verbs

Verbs whose second root consonant is ʾ or ʿ form a special class of II-Guttural verbs, different enough to merit separate treatment. In the G-Stem, verbs that are II-ʿ behave like other II-Guttural verbs in that their forms are based on the pattern *CəCāC* for the 3ms perfect, and most have a Gb-type imperfect and subjunctive with 3ms *yəCCōC*. The difference is that the ʿ is lost, resulting in a monosyllabic base *CāC* for the perfect and 3ms imperfect and subjunctive form *yəCōC*.

Two exceptions are the verbs *gār* ‘fall’ and *bār* ‘go at night’, which happen to be the only II-ʿ verbs with *r* as the third root consonant. Like Ga-Stems, these two verbs have distinct imperfect and subjunctive forms.<sup>44</sup> Both verbs have a subjunctive with *ā*, namely, 3ms *yəgār* and *yəbār*, parallel to the verbs *nəḥāg* and *rəḥāš* that were discussed in § 7.2.5. We expect *ō* in the imperfect (cf. *yənōḥag*), but instead we find 3ms *yəgáwr* (< \**yəgʾūr* < \**yəgūʿar*?) and *yəbáwr*, though only the latter verb is attested in the texts in the imperfect.<sup>45</sup> Other sources, including *ML*, offer conflicting data.<sup>46</sup> All II-ʿ G-Stems have a 3fs perfect ending in *-ōt*.

As for verbs whose middle root consonant is ʾ (of which there are very few), they behave like II-ʿ verbs, except that they have the base *CōC* in the perfect. Some examples are:

	3ms perf.	3fs perf.	3mp perf.	1cs perf.	
Gb strong	<i>tībār</i>	<i>tābrōt</i>	<i>tābrəm</i>	<i>tābrək</i>	‘break’
Gb II-Gutt.	<i>šəḥāk</i>	<i>šəḥkōt</i>	<i>šəḥākəm</i>	<i>šəḥák(ə)k</i>	‘laugh’

44 Strangely, it is the verb *gār*, which goes against the pattern of nearly all other G-Stem II-ʿ verbs, that Johnstone chose for his paradigms in *ML* (pp. xxv–xxvi). Morris (2012: 484) has suggested that the root is *gʾr*, but this cannot be: It does not behave like a II-ʾ verb, and the root *gʾr* ‘fall’ is attested Jibbali (with ʾ preserved). Moreover, there are the parallel subjunctive forms of *bār*, whose root is certainly *bʾr*.

45 *ML* (s.v. *bʾr*) gives *yəbōr* for the 3ms imperfect and subjunctive, but in the texts we find 1cp impf. *nəbáwr* (82:1), 3ms subj. *yəbār* (69:4), 1cs subj. *əl-bār* (80:6), and fs impv. *bāri* (97:11).

46 Sabrina Bendjaballah confirmed *yəgáwr* in her fieldwork (and kindly shared with me the audio proof), but found *bār* to behave like other II-ʿ verbs, with *yəbōr* for both imperfect and subjunctive. Jahn’s Yemeni texts also have imperfect *yəbōr* (1902: 3, lines 23 and 26), and in his lexicon he lists imperfect *yəgōr* (1902: 180).

Gb II- <sup>c</sup>	<i>šāḵ</i>	<i>šāḵōt</i>	<i>šāḵəm</i>	<i>šák(ə)k</i>	'call out'
Gb II- <sup>2</sup>	<i>šōm</i>	<i>šāmōt</i>	<i>šōməm</i>	<i>šamk</i>	'sell'
Ga strong	<i>bəḡūd</i>	<i>bəḡədūt</i>	<i>bəḡáwd</i>	<i>bəḡádk</i>	'chase'
Ga II-Gutt.	<i>nəḥāḡ</i>	<i>nəḥḡōt</i>	<i>nəḥāḡəm</i>	<i>nəḥáḡk</i>	'dance'
Ga <i>gʿr</i>	<i>ḡār</i>	<i>ḡārōt</i>	<i>ḡārəm</i>	<i>ḡark</i>	'fall'
Ga <i>bʿr</i>	<i>bār</i>	<i>bārōt</i>	<i>bārəm</i>	<i>bark</i>	'go at night'

	3ms impf.	3mp impf.	3ms subj.	ms future
Gb strong	<i>yəṭbōr</i>	<i>yəṭbūr</i>	<i>yəṭbōr</i>	<i>ṭəbrōna</i>
II-Gutt.	<i>yəšḥōk</i>	<i>yəšḥáyk</i>	<i>yəšḥōk</i>	<i>šəḥkōna</i>
Gb II- <sup>c</sup>	<i>yəšōḵ</i>	<i>yəšáyḵ</i>	<i>yəšōḵ</i>	<i>šākōna</i>
Gb II- <sup>2</sup>	<i>yəšōm</i>	<i>yəšīm</i>	<i>yəšōm</i>	<i>šēmōna</i>
Ga strong	<i>yəbūḡəd</i>	<i>yəbáḡdəm</i>	<i>yəbḡəd</i>	<i>bəḡdōna</i>
Ga II-Gutt.	<i>yənōḥəḡ</i>	<i>yənáḥḡəm</i>	<i>yənḥāḡ</i>	<i>nəḥḡōna</i>
Ga <i>gʿr</i>	<i>yəḡáwr</i>	<i>yəḡáwrəm</i>	<i>yəḡār</i>	<i>ḡārōna</i>
Ga <i>bʿr</i>	<i>yəbáwr</i>	<i>yəbáwrəm</i>	<i>yəbār</i>	<i>bārōna</i>

In the G internal passive of II-<sup>2</sup> verbs, the second root consonant appears as *w*, at least according to the single form we find in the texts (3ms imperfect *yəswōl*); see further in the comment to text 4:1. Recall that *ʿ* is often replaced by *w* in derived-stem forms of I-<sup>2</sup> roots (§ 7.2.2). On II-<sup>c</sup>, III-w/y G-Stem verbs like *rōh* 'herd', see the end of § 7.2.10.

No II-<sup>2</sup> verbs are attested outside of the G-Stem, with the exception of *šītəm*

‘buy’. And though this verb is historically a T<sub>1</sub>-Stem of the root *śm*, it conjugates as if it were a Gb-Stem of the root *śtm*.

The only II-<sup>ˈ</sup>D/L-Stem is the verb (*s*)*sād* ‘help’, which is conjugated in one of the rare D/L-Stem subtypes. See further in § 6.2.1 and § 7.2.5.

In the H-Stem, II-<sup>ˈ</sup> verbs also show the loss of <sup>ˈ</sup>, as well as the expected shifts of *ū* to *aw* and *ī* to *ay* found with all II-Gutturals (§ 2.2.2). So in the perfect, we find 3ms (*hə*)*CáwC* < *\*(hə)CáwC* < *\*(hə)CūC*. In the subjunctive, we find the regular shift of the unstressed sequence *\*ə > ā* (or *a* in a closed, post-tonic syllable), e.g., 3ms *yəhábar* < *\*yəhábʿar*, and 3mp *yəhábarəm* < *\*yəhábʿarəm*:

	3ms perf.	3mp perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.	
H strong	<i>hərkūb</i>	<i>hərkīb</i>	<i>yəhərkūb</i>	<i>yəhárkəb</i>	‘mount’
H II-Gutt.	<i>həbgáwś</i>	<i>həbgáyś</i>	<i>yəhəbgáwś</i>	<i>yəhábgəś</i>	‘hate’
H II- <sup>ˈ</sup>	<i>həbáwr</i>	<i>həbáyr</i>	<i>yəhəbáwr</i>	<i>yəhábar</i>	‘take out at night’

As we expect, II-<sup>ˈ</sup> verbs in the Š<sub>1</sub>-Stem behave as in the H-Stem, though no such verbs are attested in the texts. Only one II-<sup>ˈ</sup> verb is attested in the Š<sub>2</sub>-Stem, namely *šəwēd* ‘arrange a meeting; promise’. In this case, the sequence *\*CēʿC* of the perfect and subjunctive and the sequence *\*CáʿC* of the imperfect both collapse to *CēC*:

	3ms perf.	3mp perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.	
Š <sub>2</sub> strong	<i>šənēsəm</i>	<i>šənásməm</i>	<i>yəšnásmən</i>	<i>yəšnēsəm</i>	‘sigh’
Š <sub>2</sub> II- <sup>ˈ</sup>	<i>šəwēd</i>	<i>šəwēdəm</i>	<i>yəšwēdən</i>	<i>yəšwēd</i>	‘promise’

Only one T<sub>1</sub>-Stem form is attested from a II-<sup>ˈ</sup> verb in the texts, namely, the T<sub>1</sub> 3mp perfect *šátānəm* ‘they stabbed one another’ (3:19; 4:17, < *\*šátʿənəm*; cf. strong *šátbərəm*). No II-<sup>ˈ</sup> verbs are attested in the T<sub>2</sub>-Stem.

### 7.2.7 II-w and II-y Verbs

Ga-Stem verbs whose second root consonant is *y* differ from strong verbs only in the imperfect, which has the 3ms base *yəCCūC* (3mp *yəCCáwC*). The imperfect looks like that of geminate verbs (§ 7.2.11). Unstressed *əy* (when not followed by a stressed vowel) is usually realized *ī* (§ 2.2). This affects the 3fs perfect, the future (except mp), and most dual forms, e.g., 3fs perfect *sīrūt* (< \**səyərūt*), 3md perfect *sīrōh* (< \**səyərōh*), 3ms imperfect and subjunctive *yəsīrōh* (< \**yəsəyrōh* < \**yəsəyərōh*), ms future *sīrōna* (< \**səyrōna*), and mp future *sīyēra* (< \**səyyēra*), but 1cs perfect *səyárk*. Compare the following forms of the verb *səyūr* ‘go’, the most common II-y G-Stem:

	3ms perf.	3mp perf.	3fs perf.	1cs perf.	
Ga strong	<i>bəgūd</i>	<i>bəgáwd</i>	<i>bəgədūt</i>	<i>bəgádk</i>	‘chase’
Ga II-y	<i>səyūr</i>	<i>səyáwr</i>	<i>sīrūt</i>	<i>səyárk</i>	‘go’
Ga gem.	<i>rədd</i>	<i>ráddəm</i>	<i>rəddūt</i>	<i>ráddək</i>	‘go back’

	3ms impf.	3mp impf.	3fp impf.	3ms subj.	ms fut.
Ga strong	<i>yəbūgəd</i>	<i>yəbágdəm</i>	<i>təbágdən</i>	<i>yəbgēd</i>	<i>bəgdōna</i>
Ga II-y	<i>yəsyūr</i>	<i>yəsyáwr</i>	<i>təsyūrən</i>	<i>yəsyēr</i> <sup>47</sup>	<i>sīrōna</i>
Ga gem.	<i>yərdūd</i>	<i>yərdáwd</i>	<i>tərdūdən</i>	<i>yərdēd</i>	<i>rəddōna</i>

II-w verbs behave as strong verbs in the Gb-Stem (e.g., *áywər* ‘become blind’, *kīwər* ‘love’), but in the Ga-Stem, they form a separate conjugation type. Like II-’ verbs, II-w verbs have a 3ms perfect of the shape *CōC*, but there are numerous differences in the conjugation; most notably, unlike all II-’ verbs (and nearly

47 The *y* may sometimes be lost in pronunciation in the subjunctive and imperative. See, for example, the comment to text 99:46 (*əl-néks̄š*).

all II-Guttural verbs), II-w Ga-Stems have distinct imperfect and subjunctive forms. Ga-Stem II-w verbs also have a 3fs perfect form in *-ōt* and a suffixed 3mp perfect (like II-Guttural verbs), while the strong verb has 3fs *-ūt* and a 3mp with ablaut. Compare:

	3ms perf.	3mp perf.	3fs perf.	1cs perf.	
Ga strong	<i>bəgūd</i>	<i>bəgáwd</i>	<i>bəgədūt</i>	<i>bəgdək</i>	‘chase’
Ga II-w	<i>mōt<sup>48</sup></i>	<i>mōtəm</i>	<i>matōt</i>	<i>matk</i>	‘die’
G II-ʾ	<i>šōm</i>	<i>šōməm</i>	<i>šāmōt</i>	<i>šamk</i>	‘sell’

	3ms impf.	3mp impf.	3fp impf.	3ms subj.	ms fut.
Ga strong	<i>yəbūgəd</i>	<i>yəbágdəm</i>	<i>təbágdən</i>	<i>yəbgēd</i>	<i>bəgdōna</i>
Ga II-w	<i>yəmūt</i>	<i>yəmáwt</i>	<i>təmūtən</i>	<i>yəmət</i>	<i>mətōna</i>
G II-ʾ	<i>yəšōm</i>	<i>yəšīm</i>	<i>tšōmən</i>	<i>yəšōm</i>	<i>šēmōna</i>

It is not clear that any II-y roots are used in the Gb-Stem. For a possible example, see the comment to text 24:23.

In the D/L-Stem, II-w and II-y verbs follow the same patterns. Both *w* and *y* remain present in the forms, but the stem itself is distinctive. Instead of the perfect/subjunctive pattern *(a)CōCəC*, II-w/y verbs have the pattern *(a)CCīC*. On this pattern, which is found also with geminate verbs (§ 7.2.11), see further in § 6.2.1. Examples are:

48 In the paradigms in *ML* (p. xxix), the verb *mōt* is mistakenly identified as a II-y verb.

	3ms perf.	3mp perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.	
D/L strong	<i>arōkəb</i>	<i>arákbəm</i>	<i>yarákbən</i>	<i>yarōkəb</i>	‘put on fire’
D/L II-w	<i>aḵwīn</i>	<i>aḵwīnəm</i>	<i>yaḵwīnən</i>	<i>yaḵwīn</i>	‘measure’
D/L II-y	<i>ašyīḥ</i>	<i>ašyīḥəm</i>	<i>yašyīḥən</i>	<i>yašyīḥ</i>	‘shout’
D/L gem.	<i>abdīd</i>	<i>abdīdəm</i>	<i>yabdīdən</i>	<i>yabdīd</i>	‘separate’

Sometimes the sequence *yī* is realized simply *ī*, e.g., *yaḡīḏən* ‘they will anger’ (< *yaḡyīḏən*, 90:15).

As discussed in § 6.2.1, the lone Mehri verb (*š*)*šēwər* ‘consult’ has an anomalous pattern in the D/L-Stem, with *ē* instead of *ō* as the theme vowel.<sup>49</sup> The fact that it has this unique pattern does not seem to be connected to the fact that it is a II-w verb, as shown by evidence of this verb type from other MSA languages. Some of the forms are:

	3ms perf.	3mp perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.	
D/L strong, I-IG	<i>(s)sōfər</i>	<i>(s)sáfrəm</i>	<i>yəssáfrən</i>	<i>yəssōfər</i>	‘travel’
D/L II-w, I-IG	<i>(t)təwīb</i>	<i>(t)təwībəm</i>	<i>yəttwībən</i>	<i>yəttwīb</i>	‘repent’
D/L <i>šwr</i>	<i>(š)šēwər</i>	<i>(š)šáwrəm</i>	<i>yəššáwrən</i>	<i>yəššēwər</i>	‘consult’

For the most part, II-w verbs follow strong verbs in the H-, Š-, and T-Stems, for example:

49 This verb does not occur in the texts, but is listed in *ML* (pp. xxxv–xxxvi and s.v. *šwr*).

	3ms perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.	
H strong	<i>harkūb</i>	<i>yaharkūb</i>	<i>yaharkəb</i>	‘mount’
H II-w	<i>həǵwūš</i>	<i>yahəǵwūš/yahəǵōš</i>	<i>yahəǵwəš</i>	‘put under water’
Š <sub>1</sub> strong	<i>škəbūr</i>	<i>yəšškəbūr</i>	<i>yəššəkəbər</i>	‘consider large’
Š <sub>1</sub> II-w	<i>šhəwūb</i>	<i>yəššhəwūb</i>	<i>yəššəhwəb</i>	‘warm by fire’
Š <sub>2</sub> strong	<i>šənəsəm</i>	<i>yəšnásəmən</i>	<i>yəšnəsəm</i>	‘sigh’
Š <sub>2</sub> II-w	<i>šənəwəš</i>	<i>yəšnəwəšən</i>	<i>yəšənəwəš</i>	‘wrestle’
T <sub>1</sub> strong	<i>ǵətbər</i>	<i>yəǵtəbūr</i>	<i>yəǵtībər</i>	‘meet’
T <sub>1</sub> II-w	<i>šətwək</i> <sup>50</sup>	<i>yəštəwūk</i>	<i>yəštīwək</i>	‘miss’
T <sub>2</sub> strong	<i>əxtəlūf</i>	<i>yəxtəlīfən</i>	<i>yəxtəlōf</i>	‘differ’
T <sub>2</sub> II-w	<i>əhtəwūl</i>	<i>yəhtəwīlən</i>	<i>yəhtəwōl</i>	‘go crazy’

Unstressed əw may be realized as ū in fast speech, and so we can hear forms like H-Stem 3fs perfect *həǵūšəwt* (< *həǵəwəšəwt* < \**həǵwəšəwt*; cf. strong *harkəbūt*). In the texts we find H-Stem imperfect 1cs *əhəǵōš* (103:2), rather than *əhəǵwūš*, but this just reflects a surface phonetic shift of *Cwū* > *Cō* (cf. the H-Stem of I-w, III-Guttural verbs in § 7.2.9). On some analogical variation in the T<sub>2</sub>-Stem perfect plural forms, see the comment to *ərtəwəgən* in text 91:26.

Though less common, II-y verbs are also basically regular in the H-, Š-, and T-Stems:

50 As mentioned in the comment to text 14:6, *ML* (*šwək*) includes both *šətwək* and *šətwək*. The latter is just an erroneous transcription of *šətwək* ‘miss’, which can sound close to *šətwək* in fast speech. Likewise, *ML* (s.v. *hwg*) includes separate entries for *hətwīg* and *hətwīg* ‘need’ (see the comment to text 94:13), but these are again just variant transcriptions of the same verb.



	3ms perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.	
H strong	<i>harkūb</i>	<i>yaharkūb</i>	<i>yahárkəb</i>	‘mount’
H II-y	<i>hazyūd</i>	<i>yahazyūd</i>	<i>yaházyəd</i>	‘increase’
Š1 strong	<i>šəndūr</i>	<i>yəšəndūr</i>	<i>yəšánďər</i>	‘vow’
Š1 II-y	<i>šəšyūk</i>	<i>yəšəšyūk</i>	<i>yəšášyək</i>	‘get fed up’
T1 strong	<i>ǧátbər</i>	<i>yǧtəbūr</i>	<i>yǧtībər</i>	‘meet’
T1 II-y	<i>ǧátyəď</i>	<i>yǧtəyūd</i>	<i>yǧtīď</i>	‘get angry’
Š2 strong	<i>šənəsəm</i>	<i>yəšnásmən</i>	<i>yəšnəsəm</i>	‘sigh’
Š2 II-y	<i>šədēyan</i>	<i>yəšdəynən</i>	<i>yəšdēyam</i>	‘borrow’

Note especially the T1 subjunctive *yǧtīď* (< \**yǧtīyəď*). Unfortunately, a subjunctive of *ǧátyəď* ‘get angry’ (the only II-y T1-Stem verb in the texts) is not attested in the texts, and so the form *yǧtīď*, which comes from *ML*,<sup>51</sup> needs confirmation.

In at least two II-w roots, we see a metathesis of the first two root consonants in the H- and Š1-Stems.<sup>52</sup> These are the roots *ǧwr* and *šwb*, from which we find Š1 *šəwǧáwr* ‘raid’, H *həwšáwb* ‘hit (with a bullet)’, and Š1 *šəwšáwb* ‘be wounded, be hit (with a bullet)’.<sup>53</sup> These verbs behave as if they were from the roots *wǧr* and *wšb*, i.e., they behave as I-w verbs (*wǧr* also II-Guttural, and *wšb* also II-

51 *ML* actually has the transcriptions *yǧtēď* (p. li) and *yǧətēď* (s.v. *ǧyď*).

52 H-Stem *həwnēx* ‘give rest’ and Š1-Stem *šəwnēx* ‘rest’ (99:15; *ML*, s.v. *mwx*) may also be examples, but this Semitic root appears to have been metathesized to *wnx* in MSA.

53 The root *ǧwr* can be seen in the Gb-Stem *ǧáywər* ‘be distracted, not pay attention’ and in the D/L-Stem *ǧáywīr* ‘distract, keep occupied’. The root *šwb* can be seen in the G-Stem *šōb* ‘go straight’, the passive participle *məšwīb* ‘wounded’, and in the noun *šawb* ‘direction’. The G-Stem 3ms perfect *šawb*, given in *ML* (s.v. *šwb*), is surely an error for *šōb*. Interestingly, *ML* (s.v. *šwb*) also gives a regular Š1-Stem form *šəšwīb* ‘be wounded deliberately’, though this form does not occur in the texts.

Glottalic).<sup>54</sup> In *ML* (p. xlv), there is a footnote to the paradigm of *həwšáwb* that reads “in many hollow [i.e., II-w/y] verbs of this kind the radicals occur in the order wCC”. However, both in the texts and in *ML*, I found no other roots that undergo metathesis like these two.<sup>55</sup> So either Johnstone’s footnote is incorrect, or the data in the texts (and *ML*) are not telling the whole story. The few other II-w roots that have a glottalic or guttural as the first root consonant seem to behave as expected (e.g., H (*h*)*həwūl* ‘understand (a language)’, H *həšwūr* ‘make stand’, and Ši *šəṭwūl* ‘think (the night) is long’).

On II-w, III-y verbs like *həwōh* ‘fall’ and *təwōh* ‘eat’, see § 7.2.10, § 7.2.13, and § 7.2.14.

**7.2.8 II-Glottalic and III-Glottalic Verbs**

Like the I-Glottalic verbs discussed in § 7.2.1, verbs whose second or third root consonant is a glottalic consonant are not really weak. However, for forms in which the glottalic should be followed by *ū*, *ī*, or *ē*, those vowels are subject to the changes described in § 2.2.1. Following are some sample forms of II-Glottalic verbs with diphthongization of *ū* or *ī*:

	3ms perf.	3mp perf.	3ms impf.	3mp impf.	
Ga strong	<i>bəgūd</i>	<i>bəgáwd</i>	<i>yəbūgəd</i>	<i>yəbágdəm</i>	‘chase’
Ga II-Glott.	<i>rəšáwn</i>	<i>rəšáwn</i>	<i>yərūšən</i>	<i>yərəšnəm</i>	‘tie up’
Gb strong	<i>tībər</i>	<i>tábrəm</i>	<i>yəṭbōr</i>	<i>yəṭbīr</i>	‘break’
Gb II-Glott.	<i>wīšəl</i>	<i>wášləm</i>	<i>yəwšōl</i>	<i>yəwšáyl</i>	‘arrive’
H strong	<i>hərkūb</i>	<i>hərkīb</i>	<i>yəhərkūb</i>	<i>yəhərkīb</i>	‘mount’
H II-Glott.	<i>həḳšáwm</i>	<i>həḳšáym</i>	<i>yəhəḳšáwm</i>	<i>yəhəḳšáym</i>	‘spend the afternoon’

54 For the 3ms imperfects, we find in the texts H-Stem *yəhəšáwb* (30:8) and Ši-Stem *yəššáwb* (95:7). See further in the comments to these passages in the texts.

55 Jibbali shows the same metathesis of *ḡwr* in the Ši-Stem (*šəbgér* ‘raid’, with *b* < \**w*), but not with *šwb* (*šəšbéb*). Harsusi is the same (*šəwḡōr*, but *šəšwōb*). On Mehri *šəšwūb*, see n. 53.

Š <sub>1</sub> strong	<i>šəndūr</i>	<i>šəndīr</i>	<i>yəšəndūr</i>	<i>yəšəndīr</i>	‘vow’
Š <sub>1</sub> II-Glott.	<i>šəḵšáwr</i>	<i>šəḵšáyř</i>	<i>yəšəḵšáwr</i>	<i>yəšəḵšáyř</i>	‘run short’
T <sub>1</sub> strong	<i>ǰátbər</i>	<i>ǰátbərəm</i>	<i>yəǰtəbūr</i>	<i>yəǰtəbīr</i>	‘meet’
T <sub>1</sub> II-Glott.	<i>rátḵəṣ</i>	<i>rátḵəṣəm</i>	<i>yərtəḵáwṣ</i>	<i>yərtəḵáyṣ</i>	‘get stuck’
T <sub>2</sub> strong	<i>əxtəlūf</i>	<i>əxtəlīf</i>	<i>yəxtəlīfən</i>	<i>yəxtəlīfən</i>	‘differ’
T <sub>2</sub> II-Glott.	<i>əntəḵáwl</i>	<i>əntəḵáył</i>	<i>yəntəḵáyłən</i>	<i>yəntəḵáyłən</i>	‘choose’

Note that in the Ga-Stem, the 3ms perfect shifts from *CəCūC* to *CəCáwC*, which makes it look identical to the 3mp perfect. Other forms that show diphthongization include the 2/3mp subjunctive and mp imperative forms of the Gb- and T<sub>2</sub>-Stems (e.g., T<sub>2</sub> *əntəḵáył* ‘choose (mp)’!, 102:1).

In some forms of the Ga subjunctive of II-Glottalic verbs, as well as in some forms of the perfect of the G internal passive, we find the regular shift  $\bar{e} > \bar{a}$ , for example:

	3ms perf.	3ms subj.	3mp subj.	
Ga strong	<i>bəǰūd</i>	<i>yəbǰēd</i>	<i>yəbǰēdəm</i>	‘chase’
Ga II-Glott.	<i>rəṣáwn</i>	<i>yərṣān</i>	<i>yərṣānəm</i>	‘tie up’
G pass. strong	<i>bəǰēd</i>	<i>yəbǰōd</i>	<i>yəbǰīd</i>	‘be chased’
G pass. III-Glott.	<i>rəṣān</i>	<i>yərṣōn</i>	<i>yərṣáyın</i>	‘be tied up’

For verbs whose third root consonant is a glottalic, the major forms affected are 3fs perfects, fs and fp futures (and fd for derived stems), where we see the expected diphthongization of  $\bar{u}$  and  $\bar{i}$  and shift of  $\bar{e} > \bar{a}$ .

	3ms perf.	3fs perf.	fs future	fp/cp future <sup>56</sup>	
Ga strong	<i>bəgūd</i>	<i>bəgədūt</i>	<i>bəgdīta</i>	<i>bəgdūtən</i>	‘chase’
Ga III-Glott.	<i>ḵərūṣ</i>	<i>ḵəršáwt</i>	<i>ḵəršáyta</i>	<i>ḵəršáwtən</i>	‘pinch’
Gb strong	<i>tībər</i>	<i>təbrōt</i>	<i>təbrīta</i>	<i>təbrūtən</i>	‘break’
Gb III-Glott.	<i>mīrāṣ</i>	<i>məršōt</i>	<i>məršáyta</i>	<i>məršáwtən</i>	‘become ill’
G pass. strong	<i>bəgēd</i>	<i>bəgdēt</i>	(none)	(none)	‘be chased’
G pass. III-Glott.	<i>səbēt</i>	<i>səbtāt</i>	(none)	(none)	‘hit’
D/L strong, I-IG	<i>(s)sōfər</i>	<i>(s)sfərēt</i>	<i>məsfərēta</i>	<i>məsfərūtən</i>	‘travel’
D/L III-Glott., I-IG	<i>(x)xōbət</i>	<i>(x)xəbtāt</i>	<i>məxbəṭāta</i>	<i>məxbəṭáwtən</i>	‘cock’
H strong	<i>hərkūb</i>	<i>hərkəbūt</i>	<i>məhərkəbēta</i>	<i>məhərkəbūtən</i>	‘mount’
H III-Glott.	<i>həmrūṣ</i>	<i>həməršáwt</i>	<i>məhəməršāta</i>	<i>məhəməršáwtən</i>	‘nurse’
Š <sub>1</sub> strong	<i>šəndūr</i>	<i>šəndərūt</i>	<i>məšəndərēta</i>	<i>məšəndərūtən</i>	‘vow’
Š <sub>1</sub> III-Glott.	<i>šədhūk</i>	<i>šədhəḵáwt</i>	<i>məšədhəḵāta</i>	<i>məšədhəḵáwtən</i>	‘look down’

The initial vowel of an object suffix attached to a 3ms or 3fp perfect is also affected by a final glottalic consonant, e.g., *šəḵáwk* ‘he called you’ (20:25) (< \*šāḵūk) and *šəṭáyh* ‘he slaughtered it’ (48:23) (< \*šəṭāḥ). See § 3.2.2 for more examples.

As noted in § 2.2.1, II-Glottalic verbs sometimes have *á* where we expect *á*, as in the 1cs perfect *həḵšámk* ‘I spent the day’, for expected *həḵšámk* (62:6).

56 Only the G-Stem distinguishes gender in the plural form of the future. See further in § 7.1.6.

### 7.2.9 III-Guttural Verbs (including III-<sup>ʾ</sup> and III-<sup>ʿ</sup> Verbs)

Verbs whose final root consonant is one of the six gutturals ʾ, ʿ, ġ, h, ḥ, or x are subject to a variety of sound changes, most of which have already been discussed (§ 2.2.2). The most characteristic feature of this verb type is the sound change  $CəCūG > CūCəG$  (where  $G = ʾ, ʿ, ġ, h, ḥ, \text{ or } x$ ), which affects Ga-Stem perfects, T2-Stem perfects and imperfects, H-Stem imperfects, and passive participles, among other forms.

In the Ga-Stem, in addition to a 3ms with the pattern  $CūCəG$ , we find a 3mp perfect with  $-əm$  in place of ablaut. For III-<sup>ʿ</sup> and III-<sup>ʾ</sup> verbs, the 3ms perfect has a final  $-a$  ( $< -əʿ$  or  $-əʾ$ ; see § 2.1.3). In the suffixed forms of III-<sup>ʾ</sup> verbs, the ʾ simply disappears. With III-<sup>ʿ</sup> verbs, the ʿ is lost, but is present in the underlying form; this is why we see a short vowel in an open syllable in a form like 1cs perfect  $nákak$  ( $< *nákʿək$ ). For the 3fs perfect, we find  $-ōt$  with III-ḥ, III-x, and III-<sup>ʿ</sup> verbs, but III-<sup>ʾ</sup> verbs have  $-ūt$  and III-ġ verb have  $-áwt$  ( $< *-ūt$ ).<sup>57</sup> No 3fs perfects of a III-h verb (of which there are very few in the language) are attested in the texts.

	3ms perf.	3fs perf.	3mp perf.	1cs perf.	
Ga strong	<i>bəġūd</i>	<i>bəġədūt</i>	<i>bəġáwd</i>	<i>báġdək</i>	‘chase’
Ga III-Gutt.	<i>sūməḥ</i>	<i>səmhōt</i>	<i>sámḥəm</i>	<i>sámḥək</i>	‘forgive’
Ga III- <sup>ʿ</sup>	<i>nūka</i>	<i>nəkōt</i>	<i>nákam</i>	<i>nákak</i>	‘come’
Ga III- <sup>ʾ</sup>	<i>kūsa</i>	<i>ksūt</i>	<i>kūsəm</i>	<i>kəsk</i> <sup>58</sup>	‘find’

When 1cs object suffixes are added to the 3ms and 3fp perfect of III-<sup>ʿ</sup> verbs, the ʿ remains, per the rules outlined in § 2.1.3 (see especially n. 4), e.g., *ənkʿáy* ‘he came to me’ (18:13), but *ənkáys* ‘he came to her’ ( $< *nəkʿīs$ , 48:19).

The Ga-Stem imperfect is normal for III-Guttural verbs, except that III-<sup>ʿ</sup> and III-<sup>ʾ</sup> verbs have the vowel  $\bar{o}$  in place of  $\bar{u}$ . III-<sup>ʿ</sup> and III-<sup>ʾ</sup> verbs also have a final  $-a$  ( $< -əʿ$  or  $-əʾ$ ); as in the perfect, ʿ is present in the underlying form. The subjunctive is regular, except that while most verbs have the vowel  $\bar{e}$ , a small number have  $\bar{a}$ .

57 The one example of a III-ġ verb in the texts is *wətgáwt* ‘she killed’ (29:7), but see also the comment to text 24:47.

58 The underlying form is  $*kūsək$ , but it shifts to *kəsk* because the second and third root consonants are voiceless and non-glottalic (§ 2.1.2; § 7.2.12).

Those with *ā* in the subjunctive usually have a glottalic or *r* as the first root consonant (see §2.2.3).<sup>59</sup> For III-<sup>ʿ</sup> verbs we find *-ē* or *-ā*, shortened in final position to *-é*' and *-á*', respectively (§2.2.4), e.g., 3ms subjunctive *yānké*' 'he may come', but 2fs *tānkēy*, 3mp *yānkēm*, and 3ms + 3ms object *yānkēh*. The subjunctive forms ending in *-é*' are clearly distinguished from the subjunctives of III-w/y verbs, which end in *-éh* (see §7.2.10). Examples are:

	3mp impf.	3mp impf.	3ms subj.	3mp subj.	
Ga strong	<i>yābūḡad</i>	<i>yābāḡdam</i>	<i>yābgēd</i>	<i>yābgēdam</i>	'chase'
Ga III-Gutt.	<i>yāsūmāh</i>	<i>yāsómḡam</i>	<i>yāsmēh</i>	<i>yāsmēḡam</i>	'forgive'
Ga I-Glott., II-r, III-Gutt.	<i>yāṭáwrāh</i>	<i>yāṭárḡam</i>	<i>yāṭrāh</i>	<i>yāṭrāḡam</i>	'leave'
Ga III- <sup>ʿ</sup>	<i>yānōka</i>	<i>yānákam</i>	<i>yānké'</i>	<i>yānkēm</i> <sup>60</sup>	'come'
Ga III- <sup>ʿ</sup>	<i>yārōfa</i>	<i>yāráfam</i>	<i>yār fá'</i>	<i>yār fām</i>	'climb'
Ga III- <sup>2</sup>	<i>yākōsa</i>	<i>yākōsam</i> <sup>61</sup>	<i>yāksé'</i>	<i>yāksēm</i>	'find'

III-<sup>2</sup> verbs are sometimes confused with III-w/y verbs, and so from the verb *kūsa* 'find' one also finds an imperfect *yākáys*, on the model of III-w/y forms like *yābáyk* (< *bākōh* 'cry').<sup>62</sup> *ML* (s.v. *ml'*) lists a similar imperfect for the III-<sup>2</sup>

59 Of course, when the second root consonant is glottalic, then *ē* shifts to *ā* by regular sound change (§2.2.1). The alternation between *ē* and *ā* is what we find also in the H-Stem perfect and subjunctive of III-Guttural verbs (see below).

60 *ML* (p. xxvi) gives 3mp *yānkáyam*, but there is no evidence for such a form. The texts consistently have the pattern *yāCCēm* for the 3mp subjunctive of III-<sup>ʿ</sup> verbs.

61 This form is not certain. The only imperfect of this verb that occurs with audio is 1cs *ākōsa* (34:11). Johnstone transcribed *ākōsa* also in text 94:25 and 94:29. In 104:2 we find 3mp *yāmōlām* (from the III-<sup>2</sup> verb *mūla*), but there is no audio to confirm this transcription made by Johnstone.

62 We also find 3ms perfect *ksūh/ksōh* in some Yemeni Mehri dialects (Jahn 1902:202; Sima 2009: 552, text 99:25), and even as a variant in Omani Mehri (Watson 2012: 86). Similar forms exist in Ḥarsusi and Hobyot. Jahn (1905: 109) gives *ksú* for the Yemeni dialect of al-Ghayḡah, but *kúsi* for the dialect of Qishn. The Omani Mehri speakers interviewed by

verb *mūla* ‘fill’.<sup>63</sup> Given that there are only a few III-<sup>2</sup> verbs, and that the root consonant ʾ is replaced by *w* in other environments (see §7.2.2), including in the H-Stem of III-Guttural roots (see below), it is not surprising to find such analogical forms. There is also some mixing of the forms of other III-Guttural verbs. For example, in the texts there is some confusion between *dūbāh* (III-Guttural) and *dābōh* (III-w/y) ‘collect honey’; see the comment to text 77:3.<sup>64</sup>

In the Gb-Stem, III-Guttural perfects (except III-<sup>2</sup> verbs) look just as they do in the Ga-Stem, except for the 3ms (and 3fp), which has the normal Gb-Stem vowel pattern; III-<sup>c</sup> and III-<sup>2</sup> verbs have the expected shift of final -ə<sup>c</sup> and -ə<sup>2</sup> to -a. The imperfect and subjunctive are distinguished, and they follow the patterns of Ga-Stems.

	3ms perf.	3mp perf.	3fs perf.	ics perf.	
Gb strong	<i>tībər</i>	<i>tábrəm</i>	<i>tábrōt</i>	<i>tábrək</i>	‘break’
Gb III-Gutt.	<i>fīrəh</i>	<i>fōrhəm</i>	<i>fōrhōt</i>	<i>fōrhək</i>	‘be happy’
Gb III- <sup>c</sup>	<i>śība</i>	<i>śábam</i>	<i>śəbōt</i>	<i>śábak</i>	‘be satisfied’
Gb I-w, III- <sup>c</sup>	<i>wīda</i>	<i>wádam</i>	<i>wədōt</i>	<i>wádak</i>	‘know’
Gb I-w, II-Glott. III- <sup>c</sup>	<i>wīka</i>	<i>wákam</i>	<i>wəḳōt</i>	<i>wáḳak</i>	‘be(come)’
Gb III- <sup>2</sup>	<i>mīla</i> <sup>65</sup>	<i>mīləm</i>	<i>məlōt</i>	<i>mīlək</i>	‘be full’

Sabrina Bendjaballah in 2017 recognized only *yəkáys* for the 3ms imperfect of *kūsa*, and also accepted *ksōh* for the 3ms perfect. For another example, cf. *gəśōh* ‘belch’ (*ML*, s.v. *gś*; cf. Arabic *jašaʾa*). In Jibbali, III-<sup>2</sup> verbs have, in most forms, merged with III-w/y verbs.

63 See the comment to text 97:7.

64 According to *ML* (s.v. *fth*), the Ga-Stem of the root *fth* ‘open’ can have the shape *fūtəh* or *fəth* (< \**fūtəh*); the former follows the pattern of other III-Guttural verbs, while the latter (which occurs in text 22:98) follows the pattern of “idle glottis” III-Guttural verbs (see §7.2.12). The existence of *fūtəh* as an acceptable variant needs confirmation.

65 Many of the forms of *mīla* given in *ML* (p. xxiv) are very suspect. Another certain III-<sup>2</sup> Gb-Stem is *káyna* (3ms imperfect *yəḳōna*, 76:11). A possible III-<sup>2</sup> Gb-Stem is *ḍīra* ‘bleed (trans.)’, for which *ML* (s.v. *ḍry*) lists the erroneous 3ms perfect *ḍáyər*. Jahn (1902: 173) lists a Gb-Stem 3ms perfect *dīre* (with the normal shift *ḍ > d* found in some Yemeni Mehri towns, e.g., Qishn).

	3ms impf.	3mp impf.	3ms subj.	3mp subj.
Gb strong	<i>yəṭbōr</i>	<i>yəṭbīr</i>	<i>yəṭbōr</i>	<i>yəṭbīr</i>
Gb III-Gutt.	<i>yəḫūrəḫ</i>	<i>yəḫārḫəm</i>	<i>yəḫrēḫ</i>	<i>yəḫrēḫəm</i>
Gb III- <sup>ʿ</sup>	<i>yəšōba</i>	<i>yəšábam</i>	<i>yəšbéʿ</i>	<i>yəšbēm</i>
Gb I-w, III- <sup>ʿ</sup>	<i>yəwōda</i>	<i>yəwádam</i>	<i>yēdéʿ</i>	<i>yēdēm</i>
Gb I-w, II-Glott. III- <sup>ʿ</sup>	<i>yəwōḳa</i>	<i>yəwáḳam</i>	<i>yāḳáʿ</i>	<i>yāḳām</i>
Gb III- <sup>ʾ</sup>	<i>yəmōla</i>	<i>yəmálam</i>	<i>yəmléʾ</i>	<i>yəmlēm</i>

The future forms of the G-Stems have the expected sound changes (§ 2.1.3; 2.2.2), though the mp form of III-<sup>ʿ</sup> verbs has an epenthetic *i*, which makes it look a bit unusual (*CəCīyē* < \**CəCyē* < \**CəCyēʿa*). For III-<sup>ʾ</sup> verbs, <sup>ʾ</sup> simply disappears.

	ms fut.	fs fut.	mp fut.	fp fut.	
G strong	<i>bəgdōna</i>	<i>bəgdīta</i>	<i>bəgyēda</i>	<i>bəgdūtən</i>	‘chase’
Ga III-Gutt.	<i>wəṭḡōna</i> <sup>66</sup>	<i>wəṭḡáyta</i>	<i>wətyēḡa</i>	<i>wəṭḡáwtən</i>	‘kill’
Ga III- <sup>ʿ</sup>	<i>nəkōna</i>	<i>nəkáyta</i>	<i>nəkiyē</i>	<i>nəkáwtən</i>	‘come’
Ga III- <sup>ʾ</sup>	<i>ksōna</i>	<i>ksīta</i>	<i>ksēya</i>	<i>ksūtən</i>	‘find’

III-Guttural roots are rather rare in the D/L-Stem, but they behave as strong verbs, except for a few expected sound changes, like *-ēt* > *-āt* (in the 3fs perfect) and final *-əʿ* > *-a* (for III-<sup>ʿ</sup> verbs).

66 These are the forms of the verb *lūtəḡ* ‘kill’. On the shift of *l* > *w*, see § 2.1.5.



	3ms perf.	3fs perf.	3mp perf.	
D/L strong	<i>arōkəb</i>	<i>arkəbēt</i>	<i>arákbəm</i>	‘put on fire’
D/L III-Gutt.	<i>aḵōməḥ</i>	<i>aḵəməḥāt</i>	<i>aḵámḥəm</i>	‘disappoint’
D/L III- <sup>c</sup>	<i>arōba</i>	<i>arəbāt</i>	<i>arábam</i>	‘give protection’

	3ms/3mp impf.	3ms subj.	3mp subj.
D/L strong	<i>yarákbən</i>	<i>yarōkəb</i>	<i>yarákbəm</i>
D/L III-Gutt.	<i>yaḵámḥən</i>	<i>yaḵōməḥ</i>	<i>yaḵámḥəm</i>
D/L III- <sup>c</sup>	<i>yarában</i>	<i>yarōba</i>	<i>yarábam</i>

III-Guttural verbs also exhibit various peculiarities in other stems. In the H- and ŠI-Stems, most III-Guttural verbs have the vowel *ē* in the final syllable (> *ē* for III-<sup>c</sup> verbs). If the second root consonant is a glottalic, then *ē* shifts to *ā* by regular sound change (§ 2.2.1), but a few other verbs have *ā*. Usually these other verbs with *ā* have a glottalic or *r* as the first root consonant. This situation is parallel to the variation between *ē* and *ā* in the Ga-Stem subjunctive (see above). Like with most G-Stems of III-Guttural roots, the 3fs perfect has the suffix *-ōt*, and the 3mp perfect has *-əm*. For III-<sup>c</sup> verbs, like in the G-Stems, the vowels *ē* and *-ā* are shortened to *-é* and *-á* when word-final. III-<sup>v</sup> roots (the few that there are) are treated as III-w/y.

	3mp perf.	3fs perf.	3mp perf.	
H strong	<i>hərkūb</i>	<i>hərkəbūt</i>	<i>hərkīb</i>	‘mount’
H III-Gutt.	<i>həndēx</i>	<i>həndəxōt</i>	<i>həndēxəm</i>	‘fumigate’
H III-Gutt.	<i>həṣbāḥ</i>	<i>həṣbəḥōt</i>	<i>həṣbāḥəm</i>	‘become’

H III- <sup>c</sup>	<i>həḳséʿ</i>	<i>həḳśōt</i>	<i>həḳśēm</i>	‘dry’
H III- <sup>c</sup>	<i>hərbáʿ</i>	<i>hərbōt</i>	<i>hərbām</i>	‘lift up’
H I-w, III- <sup>c</sup>	<i>həwréʿ</i>	<i>həwrōt</i>	<i>həwrēm</i>	‘keep away’
Š1 strong	<i>šəndūr</i>	<i>šəndərūt</i>	<i>šəndīr</i>	‘vow’
Š1 III-Gutt.	<i>šədlēx</i>	<i>šədəwxōt</i>	<i>šədlēxəm</i>	‘be despoiled’
Š1 III-Gutt.	<i>šəkrāḥ</i>	<i>šəḳərhōt</i>	<i>šəkrāḥəm</i>	‘get head shaved’
Š1 III- <sup>c</sup>	<i>šəḳséʿ</i>	<i>šəḳśōt</i>	<i>šəḳśēm</i>	‘get dry’
Š1 III- <sup>c</sup>	<i>šərbáʿ</i>	<i>šərbōt</i>	<i>šərbām</i>	‘climb’

In the imperfect of the H- and Š1-Stems, we see the shift *CəCūG > CūCəG* that we find also in the G perfect, except that III-<sup>c</sup> verbs have the vowel *ō*, as in the G-Stem imperfect. However, probably because III-Guttural verbs are relatively rare in these stems, we also find forms that behave like strong verbs. For verbs that are both I-w and III-Guttural, the *w* is lost, unlike other I-w H- and Š1-Stems (cf. the H-Stem of II-w verbs in §7.2.7).<sup>67</sup> The subjunctive forms pose no problems.

	3ms impf.	3mp impf.	3ms subj.	
H strong	<i>yəhərkūb</i>	<i>yəhərkīb</i>	<i>yəhárkəb</i>	‘mount’
H III-Gutt.	<i>yəhənūdəx</i> or <i>yəhəndūx</i>	<i>yəhənádəxəm</i> or <i>yəhəndīx</i>	<i>yəhándəx</i>	‘fumigate’

67 The forms in *ML* are incorrect on this point. See further in the comments to texts 42:28 and 88:2. Also note that the lost *w* is there underlyingly, since it comes back when the vowel *ō* is reduced to *á*, at least in the Š1-Stem. See the comment to text 27:25.

H III-Gutt.	<i>yahəṣáwbəḥ</i>	<i>yahəṣábḥəm</i>	<i>yaháṣbəḥ</i>	‘become’
H III- <sup>¢</sup>	<i>yahəkōśa</i>	<i>yahəkásam</i>	<i>yahákśa</i>	‘dry’
H III- <sup>¢</sup>	<i>yahərōba</i>	<i>yahərábam</i>	<i>yahárba</i>	‘lift up’
H I-w	<i>yahəwkūb</i>	<i>yahəwkīb</i>	<i>yaháwkəb</i>	‘put in’
H I-w, III- <sup>¢</sup>	<i>yahōra</i>	<i>yahōram</i>	<i>yaháwra</i>	‘keep away’
Š <sub>1</sub> strong	<i>yəšəndūr</i>	<i>yəšəndūr</i>	<i>yəšánďər</i>	‘vow’
Š <sub>1</sub> III-Gutt.	<i>yəšdūləx</i> <sup>68</sup>	<i>yəšdēxəm</i>	<i>yəšádləx</i>	‘be despoiled’
Š <sub>1</sub> III- <sup>¢</sup>	<i>yəšəkōśa</i>	<i>yəšəkásam</i>	<i>yəšákśa</i>	‘get dry’
Š <sub>1</sub> III- <sup>¢</sup>	<i>yəšrōba</i>	<i>yəšrábam</i>	<i>yəšárba</i>	‘climb’

In the T<sub>1</sub>-, T<sub>2</sub>-, and Š<sub>2</sub>-Stems, the forms show the same sort of changes as in the stems already described. The T<sub>2</sub>-Stem has 3fs perfects with *-ōt* and 3mp perfects with *-əm*, and we see final *-ə<sup>¢</sup>* > *-a* in all stems. In the T<sub>1</sub>-Stem imperfect and T<sub>2</sub>-Stem perfect, we find the shift *CəCūG* > *CūCəG* (but see the comment to text 12:14), and the T<sub>2</sub>-Stem subjunctive has the similar shift *CəCōG* > *CōCəG*. Unlike in other stems, T<sub>1</sub>-Stem imperfects of III-<sup>¢</sup> verbs do not have the vowel *ō*, but more evidence is needed to confirm this; see the comment to text 98:5 (*təktūṭa*).

	3mp perf.	3fs perf.	3mp perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.	
T <sub>1</sub> strong	<i>gátbər</i>	<i>gətbərōt</i>	<i>gátbərəm</i>	<i>yəgtəbūr</i>	<i>yəgtībər</i>	‘meet’
T <sub>1</sub> III-Gutt.	<i>fátkəḥ</i>	<i>ftəkḥōt</i>	<i>fátkəḥəm</i>	<i>yəftūkəḥ</i>	<i>yəftikəḥ</i>	‘break in half’

68 There are very few Š<sub>1</sub>-Stem III-Guttural verbs, and almost no forms in the texts. The imperfect and subjunctive forms given here are presumptive. It is possible that one can also use “strong” forms like 3ms imperfect *yəšədlūx* and 3mp *yəšədlīx*, as in the H-Stem.

T <sub>1</sub> III- <sup>c</sup>	<i>káṭṭa</i>	<i>kaṭṭōt</i>	<i>kaṭṭam</i>	<i>yaṭṭūṭa</i>	<i>yaṭṭīṭa</i> <sup>69</sup>	'be cut'
T <sub>2</sub> strong	<i>axtalūf</i>	<i>axtalfūt</i>	<i>axtalif</i>	<i>yaṭtalifan</i>	<i>yaṭtalōf</i>	'differ'
T <sub>2</sub> III-Gutt.	<i>aftōrəḥ</i>	<i>aftarḥōt</i>	<i>aftarḥam</i>	<i>yaftarḥan</i> <sup>70</sup>	<i>yaftōrəḥ</i>	'be excited'
T <sub>2</sub> III- <sup>c</sup>	<i>aftōra</i>	<i>aftarōt</i>	<i>aftarām</i>	<i>yaftarān</i>	<i>yaftōra</i>	'separate'
Š <sub>2</sub> strong	<i>šanēsam</i>	<i>šansamēt</i>	<i>šanásamam</i>	<i>yašnásman</i>	<i>yašnēsam</i>	'sigh'
Š <sub>2</sub> III-Gutt.	<i>šfēšəḥ</i>	<i>šfašḥūt</i>	<i>šfašḥam</i>	<i>yašfašḥan</i>	<i>yašfēšəḥ</i>	'gossip'
Š <sub>2</sub> III- <sup>2</sup>	<i>šagēsa</i>	<i>šagəsōt</i>	<i>šagásam</i>	<i>yašgásan</i> <sup>71</sup>	<i>yašgēsa</i>	'belch'

As in other stems, III-<sup>2</sup> roots (few that there are) are usually treated as III-w/y in the T<sub>1</sub>-, T<sub>2</sub>-, and Š<sub>2</sub>-Stems. For an example, see the comment to text 48:11.

Verbs from quadrilateral roots that are III-<sup>c</sup> and IV-<sup>c</sup> have sound changes similar to those that we see in various forms from trilateral III-<sup>c</sup> roots, e.g., 3ms perfect *aḳálad* (< \*aḳál'ad), and 3ms imperfect *yaḳaláwd* (< \*yaḳal'áwd < \*yaḳal'ūd).<sup>72</sup> 3ms imperfect *yabárḳa* derives from \*yabárḳa' < \*yabūrḳa' < \*yabərḳū' (with a shift CəCCūG > CūCCəG, similar to the shift CəCūG > CūCəG that we find in the G-Stem and elsewhere). Likewise, 3ms imperfect *yamarḳəḥ* derives from \*yamūrḳəḥ < \*yamərḳūḥ. Compare:

69 The 3mp imperfect and subjunctive is *yaḳtáṭam* (cf. *ML*, pp. l–li). Other III-Guttural verbs have *á* where III-<sup>c</sup> verbs have *á* in this form (cf. Ga-Stem *nákam* 'they came' vs. *sámḥam* 'they forgave').

70 See also § 6.5.4, n. 70.

71 The sample paradigm in *ML* (pp. lxiii–lxiv) lacks the suffix *-n* in the imperfect, but this is an error. Several entries in *ML* have the correct suffix (cf. s.v. *ḏw'*, *rw'*). The dictionary entry in *ML* (s.v. *gś'*) incorrectly has 3ms imperfect and subjunctive *yašgēsa*.

72 *ML* mistakenly lists this verb under the root *k'ld* rather than *kl'd*. See further in the comment to text 67:4.

	3mp perf.	3fs perf.	3mp perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.	
Q strong	<i>adámdəm</i>	<i>adəmdəmət</i>	<i>adámdəməm</i>	<i>yadəmdūm</i>	<i>yədəmdəm</i>	‘grope’
Q III-Gutt.	<i>amárhəb</i>	<i>amərhəbət</i>	<i>amárhəbəm</i>	<i>yamərháwb</i>	<i>yamárhəb</i>	‘welcome’
Q III- <sup>c</sup>	<i>aḳálad</i>	<i>aḳalādət</i>	<i>aḳáladəm</i>	<i>yaḳəláwd</i>	<i>yaḳálad</i>	‘roll’
Q IV-G	<i>amárḳəh</i>	<i>amərkəhət</i>	<i>amárḳəhəm</i>	<i>yamárḳəh</i>	<i>yamárḳəh</i>	‘tidy up’
Q IV- <sup>c</sup>	<i>abárḳa</i>	<i>abərkət</i>	<i>abárḳəm</i>	<i>yabərḳa</i>	<i>yabárḳa</i>	‘run’

On II-w/y, III-<sup>c</sup> verbs like *gūya* ‘be hungry’ and *ḏáwya* ‘smell’, see § 7.2.13.

### 7.2.10 III-w and III-y Verbs

Verbs whose final root consonant is historically *w* or *y* are characterized by the loss of that consonant in most forms. In the Ga-Stem, the 3ms perfect has the pattern *CəCōh*. In the Arabic-letter manuscripts of the texts, Ali consistently wrote the final *-h*, and it is clearly audible on the audio and among informants. The 3mp has ablaut, and *w* as the final root consonant, while the first- and second-person forms of the perfect have the base *CōCə-*. When the second root consonant is voiceless and non-glottalic (§ 2.1.2; § 7.2.12), the *ə* is not allowed before first- and second-person suffixes (except 1cp), and the long *ō* of the first and second persons is then reduced to *a* because of the closed syllable (e.g., *\*bōkk* > *bakk* ‘I cried’). Sample forms of the Ga-Stem perfect are:

	3ms perf.	3fs perf.	3mp perf.	1cs perf.	
Ga strong	<i>bəgūd</i>	<i>bəgədūt</i>	<i>bəgáwd</i>	<i>bágdək</i>	‘chase’
Ga III-w/y	<i>ḳənōh</i>	<i>ḳənūt</i>	<i>ḳənīw</i>	<i>ḳōnək</i>	‘raise’
Ga III-w/y, II-IG	<i>bəkōh</i>	<i>bəkūt</i>	<i>bəkīw</i>	<i>bakk</i>	‘cry’
Ga II-w, III-y	<i>həwōh</i>	<i>həwūt</i>	<i>həwīw</i>	<i>hōwək</i>	‘fall’

When a suffix is added to the 3ms perfect, the final root consonant comes back as *y*, e.g., *təwýáh* 'he ate it' (24:22, from *təwōh*), and *ķənyáy* 'he raised me' (74:15, from *ķənōh*; cf. strong *bəgdáh* and *bəgdáy*). A *y* also appears in all forms of the future, e.g., ms *ķəryōna* (71:3), fs *ķəryíta* (63:5), and mp *ķəryēya* (from *ķərōh* 'hide').

In the Ga-Stem imperfect, the base is *CáyC* throughout the singular and plural (except 2fs *təCēCi*). The subjunctive is very similar to that of strong verbs, except that the vowel *ē* is lowered to *ē̄* in the singular and 1cp. As with the 3ms perfect, there is a consistent final *-h* in the singular and 1cp subjunctive (except 2fs *təCCī*). The final syllable of the 3ms subjunctive pattern *yəCCéh* contrasts with that of Gb-Stems (see below) and that of III-<sup>6</sup> verbs (§7.2.9), both of which have *yəCCé'*. In the second and third person plural subjunctive, *y* appears as the final root consonant, and the preceding vowel is raised to *ī*. Verbs whose second root consonant is also a glide (i.e., II-w, III-y verbs) pattern with other III-w/y Ga-Stems (see also §7.2.14). Sample forms are:

	3ms impf.	3mp impf.	3ms subj.	3mp subj.	
Ga strong	<i>yəbūgəd</i>	<i>yəbágdəm</i>	<i>yəbgēd</i>	<i>yəbgēdəm</i>	'chase'
Ga III-w/y	<i>yəķáyñ</i>	<i>yəķáyñəm</i>	<i>yəķñéh</i>	<i>yəķñīyəm</i>	'raise'
Ga III-w/y, II-IG	<i>yəbáyķ</i>	<i>yəbáyķəm</i>	<i>yəbķéh</i>	<i>yəbķīyəm</i>	'cry'
Ga II-w, III-y	<i>yəháyw</i>	<i>yəháwyəm</i>	<i>yəhwéh</i>	<i>yəhwīyəm</i>	'fall'

In the singular and 1cp subjunctive forms (and ms imperative), unlike in the perfect, the final *h* remains even when suffixes are added. For example, from the verbs *təwōh* 'eat' and *ķəwōh* 'come at night', we find *əntéhķ* 'we may eat you' (2:3), *ttehəh* 'she may eat him' (15:6), *yətéhķəm* 'he may eat you' (42:19), *(t)tehš* 'she may eat you' (49:15), and *əttwéhi* 'she may come to me at night' (75:6). For more on the verb *təwōh*, which has some anomalies, see §7.2.14.

In the Gb-Stem, III-w and III-y verbs fall into three types. Some verbs reflect distinct III-w and III-y types, though there are very few of these attested in the texts. These look a lot like strong Gb-Stems, but with a final root consonant *w* or *y* (i.e., *CiCəw* and *CiCəy*). In the 3ms, the word-final sequences *-əw* and *-əy* become *-u* and *-i*, respectively (§2.2). We only find two such Gb-Stem III-w

verbs in the texts (*bīru* ‘give birth’<sup>73</sup> and *gīlu* ‘be ill’),<sup>74</sup> and only one such III-y verb (*śīni* ‘see’). The third, and much more common, type of III-w/y Gb-Stem, presumably reflecting a merger of the two root types, has a 3ms perfect of the shape *CáyCi*, e.g., *báyki* ‘remain’.

Both the *śīni* and *báyki* types can be considered III-y; they follow the same patterns, except that *báyki* has a diphthong where *śīni* has *ī*. The first-person, second-person, and 3mp perfect forms of the *śīni* and *báyki* types retain the long vowel in the first syllable, but the root consonant *y* is absent; for example, *śīni* has the base *śīn-* throughout the perfect, rather than *\*\*śāny-*, while *báyki* has the base *báyḵ-*. Otherwise, the perfects follow the pattern of strong verbs:

	3ms perf.	3fs perf.	3mp perf.	1cs perf.	
Gb strong	<i>tībār</i>	<i>tābrōt</i>	<i>tābrām</i>	<i>tābrāk</i>	‘break’
Gb III-w	<i>gīlu</i>	<i>gālwōt</i>	<i>gālwām</i> <sup>75</sup>	<i>gālwāk</i>	‘become sick’
Gb III-y	<i>śīni</i>	<i>śānyōt</i> <sup>76</sup>	<i>śīnām</i>	<i>śīnāk</i>	‘see’
Gb III-y	<i>báyki</i>	<i>bāḵyōt</i> <sup>77</sup>	<i>báyḵām</i>	<i>báyḵāk</i>	‘remain’

73 As discussed in the comment to text 85:31, this verb is erroneously listed in *ML* (s.v. *brw*) as a Ga-Stem.

74 A few others can be found in *ML* (s.v. *ktw*, *ngy*, *šmw*). The form *naywū* in *ML* (s.v. *n’w*) is reminiscent of this type, but this form is almost certainly a mistake; see the comment to text 75:22.

75 The 3mp perfect is presumptive and needs confirmation.

76 *ML* (p. xxxii) gives the 3fs perfect *śīnūt*, which may be a variant form made on analogy with the other forms of the perfect. The texts have *śānyōt* (49:19) and the base *śānyāt-* before object suffixes (15:13; 54:11). Sima (2009: 240, line 27) has *śnūt*, following the pattern of Ga-Stem *bākūt* ‘she cried’, but his texts are in Eastern Yemeni Mehri.

77 Likewise, from *dāyni* ‘become pregnant’, we find 3fs *dānyōt* (9:11). However, from a supposed Gb-Stem *rāyši* (*ML*, s.v. *ršy*), we find 3fs *rāšāwt* (8:2), with the Ga-Stem same pattern *CāCūt*, like Sima’s *śnūt* (see the previous note). See also the comment to text 8:2, and n. 80 below. Also note that Jahn (1902: 219) gives a Ga-Stem 3ms perfect *rāšōh* (*rđú* in his transcription) for Yemeni Mehri.

When an object suffix is added to a III-y Gb-Stem 3ms perfect, the root consonant *y* is retained, e.g., *śanyīs* ‘he saw her’ (15:10). The *y* of both types of III-y verbs and the *w* of III-w verbs appears in all forms of the future:

	ms future	fs future	mp future	
Gb strong	<i>t̄abrōna</i>	<i>t̄abrīta</i>	<i>t̄abyēra</i>	‘break’
Gb III-w	<i>ḡalwōna</i>	<i>ḡalwīta</i>	<i>ḡalyēwa</i>	‘become sick’
Gb III-y	<i>śanyōna</i>	<i>śanyīta</i>	<i>śanyēya</i>	‘see’
Gb III-y	<i>b̄akyōna</i>	<i>b̄akyīta</i>	<i>b̄akyēya</i>	‘remain’

In the Gb imperfect and subjunctive, III-w verbs follow the pattern of strong verbs. The III-y Gb-Stems are more remarkable, however. Unlike other Gb-Stems (except III-Guttural verbs), they have distinct imperfect and subjunctive forms, which have the same patterns as III-<sup>c</sup> verbs (§7.2.9): 3ms imperfect \**yāCōCəC* (> *yāCōCi* for III-y, and > *yāCōCa* for III-<sup>c</sup>) and 3ms *yāCCé’* (< *yāCCē*). In the subjunctive, the historical final \*-*ēC* is realized -*é’*, like III-<sup>c</sup> Ga-Stems, as compared to the Ga-Stem subjunctive of III-w/y verbs, which has -*éh*.

	3ms impf.	3mp impf.	3ms subj.	3mp subj.	
Gb strong	<i>yāt̄bōr</i>	<i>yāt̄bīr</i>	<i>yāt̄bōr</i>	<i>yāt̄bīr</i>	‘break’
Gb III-w	<i>yāglō(w)</i>	<i>yāglīw</i>	<i>yāglō(w)</i>	<i>yāglīw</i>	‘become sick’
Gb III-y	<i>yāsōni</i>	<i>yāsányam</i> <sup>78</sup>	<i>yásné’</i>	<i>yásnēm</i> <sup>79</sup>	‘see’
Gb III-y, II-Glott.	<i>yabōki</i>	<i>yabákyam</i>	<i>yabká’</i>	<i>yabkām</i>	‘remain’
G III- <sup>c</sup>	<i>yānōka</i>	<i>yánákam</i>	<i>yānké’</i>	<i>yānkēm</i>	‘come’

78 One also hears *yásényam*, which is only a phonetic variant.

79 There is no evidence at all for the form *yásnēham* that is given in *ML* (p. xxxii).



For III-y verbs, when a suffix is added to the singular imperfect, the final *y* is retained, e.g., *yašényək* ‘he sees you’ (91:15) and *áséniham* ‘I see them’ (40:24, < \**ásōny-həm*). When a suffix is added to the singular subjunctive, the final *’* is lost, e.g., *násnēs* ‘we may see it’ (81:2). Note also that there may be some mixing of the Ga- and Gb-Stems for III-y verbs. According to *ML* (s.v. *ršy*), the imperfect of the Ga- and Gb-Stems for III-y verbs. According to *ML* (s.v. *ršy*), the imperfect of *ráyši* ‘accept’ (a Gb-type perfect) is *yařáyš* (a Ga-type imperfect).<sup>80</sup> We also see mixing between III-’ and III-w/y Ga-Stems verbs (e.g., *kūsa* ‘find’; see § 7.2.9, especially n. 62).

In the D/L-Stem, III-w/y verbs are more or less regular. The final root consonant is always *y*, and the final unstressed sequence *ay* is realized *i*.

	3ms perf.	3mp perf.	1cs perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.	
D/L strong	<i>arōkəb</i>	<i>arákbən</i>	<i>arákbək</i>	<i>yařákbən</i>	<i>yařōkəb</i>	‘put on fire’
D/L III-w/y	<i>aķōfi</i>	<i>aķáfyəm</i>	<i>aķáfyək</i>	<i>yaķáfyən</i>	<i>yaķōfi</i>	‘go away’

In the H- and Š1-Stems, the third-person forms of III-w/y verbs are reminiscent of the Ga-Stem in the perfect. In the first and second persons, however, the patterns are different. Interestingly, the stressed vowel of the 1cp is unique, just as in H- and Š1-Stem strong verbs, though the vowel itself is *ī* rather than *ō*. If the second root consonant is guttural or glottalic, then the 1cp has the vowel *ā* in place of *ī*.<sup>81</sup>

	3ms perf.	3fs perf.	3mp perf.	1cs perf.	1cp perf.	
H strong	<i>hərkūb</i>	<i>hərkəbūt</i>	<i>hərkīb</i>	<i>hərkábk</i>	<i>hərkōbən</i>	‘mount’
H III-w/y	<i>həbkōh</i>	<i>həbkūt</i>	<i>həbkīw</i>	<i>həbkáyk</i>	<i>həbkīyən</i>	‘make cry’

80 In the texts, only forms of the perfect are attested: 1cp *ráyšən* (77:9), with a Gb-Stem pattern, and *rəšawt* (8:3), with a Ga-Stem pattern (see also n. 77, above).

81 On such 1cp forms, see Bendjaballah and Ségéral (2017b: 177–179).

H III-w/y, II-Gutt.	<i>hərxōh</i>	<i>hərxáwt</i>	<i>hərxáyw</i>	<i>hərxáyk</i>	<i>hərxāyən</i>	‘let go’
Š1 strong	<i>šəndūr</i>	<i>šəndərūt</i>	<i>šəndīr</i>	<i>šəndār̥k</i>	<i>šəndōrən</i>	‘vow’
Š1 III-w/y	<i>šəbdōh</i>	<i>šəbdūt</i>	<i>šəbdīw</i>	<i>šəbdáyk</i>	<i>šəbdīyən</i>	‘not believe’
Š1 III-w/y, III-Glott.	<i>šāšōh</i>	<i>šāšáwt</i>	<i>šāšáyw</i>	<i>šāšáyk</i>	<i>šāšāyən</i>	‘worry’

The imperfect of III-w/y verbs in the H- and Š1-Stems is also similar to the Ga-Stem of these roots. In the subjunctive, however, the situation is more complex. The H- and Š1-Stems show two different subjunctive patterns, 3ms *yəháCC/yəšáCC* (variants *yəháCC/yəšáCC*) and *yəhīCəC/yəšīCəC*. The pattern *yəháCC/yəšáCC* occurs mainly with verbs whose second root consonant is voiceless and non-glottalic, while *yəhīCəC/yəšīCəC* occurs almost exclusively with verbs whose second root consonant is voiced or glottalic. The forms *yəháCC/yəšáCC* can be derived from *yəhīCəC/yəšīCəC* by vowel reduction, but this is expected only where the first and second root consonants are voiceless and non-glottalic (e.g., *yəháft* < \**yəhīft* < \**yəhīfət*). Such a reduction is also reasonable to suggest for verbs whose initial root consonant is sonorant (e.g., *yəhánh* < \**yəhīnh* < \**yəhīnəh*). 3ms subjunctive *yəháwf* and *yəšáwf* (confirmed by several forms in the texts) can be derived from \**yəhīwəf* and \**yəšīwəf*, since there is a tendency for *š* > *á* before *w* (i.e., \**yəhīwəf* > \**yəhəwf* > *yəháwf*).<sup>82</sup> But several cases of *yəháCC/yəšáCC* listed in *ML* cannot be explained this way.<sup>83</sup>

82 Cf. 3fp *tháwlən* (63:3) ← 3ms *yəhīwəl* (90:2; 98:1; root *wly*), with *ī* reduced to *á*, rather than *ə*, before *w*. Occasionally we see the same shift with unstressed *ə*, e.g., *maṽšáyf* ‘famous’ (76:1, from the pattern \**məCCīC*). Also, it is because *hawf* is a reduced form of *hīwəf* that we do not see any reduction in a form like *háwf* ‘pay me’ (39:15); it comes from \**hīwəf*, not \**hawf*.

83 *ML* is probably unreliable for some verbs. Some of the forms in *ML* were likely assumed by Johnstone, and not actually heard. It is also possible that there is some mixing of the types. Also note that in some places where *ML* records the vowel *á* for subjunctives of the pattern *yəhVCC/yəšVCC*, the texts have the expected *š* for some of these. For example, *ML* (s.v. *nḥv*) has 3ms *yəhánh* (actually *yənánh*), but we find mp imperative *hənhəm* in text 20:61.

	3ms impf.	3mp impf.	3ms subj.	3mp subj.	
H strong	<i>yaharkūb</i>	<i>yaharkīb</i>	<i>yahárkəb</i>	<i>yahárkəbəm</i>	‘mount’
H III-w/y	<i>yahəḏáyṛ</i>	<i>yahəḏáryəm</i>	<i>yahīḏər</i>	<i>yahāḏrəm</i>	‘run blood over’
H III-w/y	<i>yahanáyḥ</i>	<i>yahanáhyəm</i>	<i>yahánḥ</i>	<i>yahánḥəm</i>	‘burn’
Š <sub>1</sub> strong	<i>yəšanḏūr</i>	<i>yəšanḏūr</i>	<i>yəšánḏər</i>	<i>yəšánḏərəm</i>	‘vow’
Š <sub>1</sub> III-w/y	<i>yəšbáyḏ</i>	<i>yəšbádyəm</i>	<i>yəšībəd</i>	<i>yəšábḏəm</i>	‘not believe’
Š <sub>1</sub> III-w/y	<i>yəšwáyḑ</i>	<i>yəšwáfyəm</i>	<i>yəšáwḑ</i>	<i>yəšáwḑəm</i>	‘avenge’

As expected, the imperative and future forms mirror the two different subjunctive types. So we find, for example, ms *məhīšən* ‘will show’ (65:8, from *(š)šənōh*) and ms *məšīkəš* ‘will accept compensation’ (65:14, from *šəkšōh*), but ms *məháwḑ* ‘will pay’ (39:4, from *həwḑōh*).

In the T<sub>1</sub>-Stem, the final root consonant is always *y*. The perfect is more or less regular, though the final unstressed sequence *əy* is realized *i*, as elsewhere.

	3ms perf.	3fs perf.	3mp perf.	1cs perf.	
T <sub>1</sub> strong	<i>gátbər</i>	<i>gətbərōt</i>	<i>gátbərəm</i>	<i>gátbərək</i>	‘meet’
T <sub>1</sub> III-w/y	<i>gátri</i>	<i>gətəryōt</i>	<i>gátəryəm</i>	<i>gátəryək</i>	‘speak’

The T<sub>1</sub> imperfect has a base \**yəCtūCəC* (> *yəCtūCi*), like III-Guttural verbs, and the subjunctive, though it looks different, may also have the same historical pattern as III-Guttural verbs.

	3ms impf.	3mp impf.	3ms subj.	3mp subj.	
T <sub>1</sub> strong	<i>yəḡtəbūr</i>	<i>yəḡtəbūr</i>	<i>yəḡtibər</i>	<i>yəḡtəbrəm</i>	‘meet’
T <sub>1</sub> III-w/y	<i>yəḡtūri</i>	<i>yəḡtəryəm</i>	<i>yəḡtəyr</i>	<i>yəḡtəyrəm</i> <sup>84</sup>	‘speak’
T <sub>1</sub> III-Gutt.	<i>yəftūkəḥ</i>	<i>yəftəkḥəm</i>	<i>yəftikəḥ</i>	<i>yəftəkḥəm</i>	‘break in half’

The few attested III-w/y T<sub>2</sub>-Stems have forms whose patterns align with III-Guttural verbs, with the final unstressed sequence *əy* realized *i*, as elsewhere.

	3ms perf.	3mp perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.	
T <sub>2</sub> strong	<i>əxtəlūf</i>	<i>əxtəlīf</i>	<i>yəxtəlīfən</i>	<i>yəxtəlōf</i>	‘differ’
T <sub>2</sub> III-w/y	<i>əmtōni</i>	<i>əmtányəm</i>	<i>yəmtányən</i>	<i>yəmtōni</i>	‘wish’
T <sub>2</sub> III-Gutt.	<i>əftōrəḥ</i>	<i>əftārḥəm</i>	<i>yəftārḥən</i>	<i>yəftōrəḥ</i>	‘be excited’

One exception is the verb *ḵəthō* ‘drink coffee’ (85:15), the only attested II-Guttural, III-w/y T-Stem, which has a 3ms perfect that patterns more like strong verbs.<sup>85</sup>

The verb (*t*)*təḵḵ* ‘drink’ is historically a T<sub>2</sub>-Stem of the root *hḵy*, though it has become anomalous, with irregular assimilation of both the first and third root consonants in most forms, and with the unexpected suffix *-ēt* in the 3fs perfect (cf. 3fs *əmtányūt* from *əmtōni*).<sup>86</sup> Following are some of its forms:

84 This form, listed in *ML* (p. liii), needs confirmation. We might expect *yəḡtəryəm*, like Ga-Stem 3ms imperfect *yəbáyḵ* ~ 3mp *yəbákyəm* (from *bəkōh* ‘cry’), though *yəḡtəyrəm* matches the III-Guttural pattern. No T<sub>1</sub>-Stem plural subjunctives from III-w/y roots occur in the texts.

85 See § 6.5.4, n. 72 and the comment to text 48:29.

86 For discussion, see Bendjaballah and Ségéral (2017a). Note that there is at least one other T<sub>2</sub>-Stem with a 3fs perfect in *-ēt*, at least according to *ML* (s.v. *ḵhl*), namely, *ḵəthəlēt* ‘she applied kohl (to the eyes)’, but this is suspect and needs confirmation.

3ms perf.	3fs perf.	3mp perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.	cp future
(t)təkk	(t)təkyēt	(t)təkkəm	yattákkən	yattákk	mattəkyūtən

III-w/y verbs whose middle root consonant is ‘ (e.g., *bōh* ‘give milk’, *rōh* ‘herd’, and *sōh* ‘collect’) form their own sub-type, which is a variation on the III-w/y type, rather than of the II-‘ type.<sup>87</sup> Following are some sample forms:

	3ms perf.	3fs perf.	3mp perf.	1cs perf.	1cp perf.
Ga strong	<i>bəgūd</i>	<i>bəgədūt</i>	<i>bəgáwd</i>	<i>bágdək</i>	<i>bágdən</i>
Ga III-w/y	<i>ḵənōh</i>	<i>ḵənūt</i>	<i>ḵənīw</i>	<i>ḵōnək</i>	<i>ḵōnən</i>
Ga III-w/y, II-IG	<i>bəkōh</i>	<i>bəkūt</i>	<i>bəkīw</i>	<i>bakk</i>	<i>bōkən</i>
Ga II-‘, III-w/y	<i>rōh</i>	<i>rawt</i>	<i>rayw</i>	<i>rayk</i>	<i>rāyən</i> <sup>88</sup>

	3ms impf.	3mp impf.	3ms subj.	ms future	
Ga strong	<i>yəbūgəd</i>	<i>yəbágdəm</i>	<i>yəbgēd</i>	<i>bəgdōna</i>	‘chase’
Ga III-w/y	<i>yəḵáyən</i>	<i>yəḵányəm</i>	<i>yəḵnéh</i>	<i>ḵənōna</i>	‘raise’
Ga III-w/y, II-IG	<i>yəbáyk</i>	<i>yəbákyəm</i>	<i>yəbkéh</i>	<i>bəkōna</i>	‘cry’
Ga II-‘, III-w/y	<i>yərə‘</i>	<i>yərə‘yəm</i>	<i>yərəh</i>	<i>rōna</i>	‘herd’

87 From the root *n‘w*, we expect *nōh* ‘mourn’. *ML* has *naywū*, which is certainly an error. See also the comment to text 75:22.

88 The long *ā* comes from \*ə‘, i.e., *rāyən* < \**rə‘yən*. If the underlying form were \**ráyən* (from a base *ray-*), then we might expect a surface form *ráyən* (see § 2.2). Although cf. H-Stem forms like *hərxāyən*, discussed above.

### 7.2.11 *Geminate Verbs*

Geminate verbs, i.e., verbs whose second and third root consonants are identical, are very common in Mehri; *ML* lists 174 different geminate verbal roots. The geminate root consonant is never a guttural (‘, ‘, ġ, h, ħ, x), with one known exception,<sup>89</sup> nor is it ever a glide (*w* or *y*).<sup>90</sup> They have a unique conjugation in all stems.

In the G-Stem, there is a distinction between Ga- and Gb-Stems, though only marginally, since just two Gb-Stem geminate verbs are attested (*yəṣṣ* ‘be afraid’ and *təmm* ‘be finished’).<sup>91</sup> Both Ga- and Gb-type geminates have the pattern *CəCC* in the 3ms perfect, though the final geminate cluster may be simplified in speech when word-final (i.e., when no suffixes are added). The 3mp perfect is formed by adding the suffix *-əm*, rather than by ablaut. The 3fs perfect suffix is *-ūt* for Ga-Stems and *-ōt* for Gb-Stems, as with strong verbs, though occasionally we find an exceptional form (e.g., *śəllōt* ‘she took’, 36:8). Like II-w and II-y verbs (§ 7.2.7), the Ga-Stem geminate imperfect and subjunctive are distinguished by the vowel alternation *ū ~ ē*. In fact, the imperfect and subjunctive forms are very close to those of II-y verbs, including having the same ablaut in the second and third person plural forms of the imperfect.

	3ms perf.	3mp perf.	1cs perf.	3ms impf.	3mp impf.
Ga strong	<i>bəḡūd</i>	<i>bəḡáwd</i>	<i>báḡdək</i>	<i>yəbūḡəd</i>	<i>yəbáḡdəm</i>
Ga gem.	<i>rədd</i>	<i>ráddəm</i>	<i>ráddək</i>	<i>yərdūd</i>	<i>yərdáwd</i>
Ga II-y	<i>səyūr</i>	<i>səyáwr</i>	<i>səyárk</i>	<i>yəsyūr</i>	<i>yəsyáwr</i>

89 This is the onomatopoeic *bəxx* ‘hiss’, used when referring to a snake or lizard (*ML*, s.v. *bxx*).

90 The root ‘yy, listed in *ML* (p. 37), is an error for ‘wy. Some other consonants are found only rarely as the geminate element. For example, only one root has a geminate *ḏ* (*kəḏḏ* ‘squeeze against; drag out’), and only one has a geminate *š* (*ḡəšš* ‘gulp [milk]’). There are also no geminate roots with initial *š* or *ṣ*.

91 *ML* and *HL* (s.v. *tmn*) list Ga-type imperfects and subjunctives for *təmm*, but the texts consistently have *-ōt* for the 3fs perfect, suggesting a Gb-Stem. Cf. *təmmōt* ‘it ran out’ vs. *təmmūt* ‘it irrigated’ in text 30:14. The one imperfect in the text (*yətmōm*, 98:8) was transcribed with *ō* by Johnstone, but unfortunately there is no audio for confirmation. The verb *təmm* is also attested with a Gb-type imperfect and subjunctive in Yemeni Mehri (Jahn 1902: 230) and in Hobyot (*HV*, p. 169).

	3ms subj.	3mp subj.	ms fut.	mp fut.	
Ga strong	<i>yābgēd</i>	<i>yābgēdam</i>	<i>bāgdōna</i>	<i>bāgyēda</i>	‘chase’
Ga gem.	<i>yārdēd</i>	<i>yārdēdam</i>	<i>rāddōna</i>	<i>rādyēda</i>	‘go back’
Ga II-y	<i>yāsyēr</i>	<i>yāsyērām</i>	<i>sīrōna</i>	<i>sīyēra</i>	‘go’

As noted above, the Gb-Stem perfect of geminate verbs differs from that of the Ga-Stem only in the 3fs.<sup>92</sup> The imperfect and subjunctive forms, however, follow the patterns of strong Gb-Stems.

	3ms perf.	3mp perf.	3ms impf./ subj.	3mp impf./ subj.	
Gb strong	<i>tībār</i>	<i>tābrām</i>	<i>yātbōr</i>	<i>yātbūr</i>	‘break’
Gb gem.	<i>tāmm</i>	<i>tāmmām</i>	<i>yātmōm</i>	<i>yātmīm</i>	‘be finished’
Gb gem., I-y	<i>yāṣṣ</i>	<i>yāṣṣām</i>	<i>yāṣōṣ</i>	<i>yāṣáyṣ</i> <sup>93</sup>	‘be afraid’

In the D/L-Stem, geminate verbs have the base *(a)CCiC*, again patterning with II-w and II-y verbs (§ 7.2.7). As noted in § 6.2.1, this perhaps reflects a stem that is historically different from the D/L-Stem, but synchronically has taken the place of the D/L-Stem for geminate and II-w/y verbs. Some sample forms are:

92 For the 3fs perfect of *yāṣṣ* ‘be afraid’, Sabrina Bendjaballah and her colleagues recently recorded *yāṣṣáwt* (< \**yāṣṣūt*), pronounced very clearly on their audio recording, but as a Gb-Stem we expect *yāṣṣōt*, as recorded in Watson (2012: 220). This may simply be an analogical form. The 3fs perfect is not attested in Johnstone’s texts, unfortunately.

93 Once in the texts we find 3mp imperfect *yāṣáyṣ*, following the Ga-Stem pattern. See also the previous note and the comment to text 16:2.

	3ms perf.	3mp perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.	
D/L strong	<i>arōkəb</i>	<i>arákbəm</i>	<i>yarákbən</i>	<i>yarōkəb</i>	'put on fire'
D/L gem.	<i>abdīd</i>	<i>abdīdəm</i>	<i>yabdīdən</i>	<i>yabdīd</i>	'separate'
D/L II-y	<i>ašyīḥ</i>	<i>ašyīḥəm</i>	<i>yašyīḥən</i>	<i>yašyīḥ</i>	'shout'

In the H- and Š<sub>1</sub>-Stems, geminate verbs behave as strong verbs in those forms in which the second and third root consonants are separated by a stressed vowel. So, for example:

	3ms perf.	3mp perf.	3ms impf.	3mp impf.	
H strong	<i>hərkūb</i>	<i>hərkīb</i>	<i>yəhərkūb</i>	<i>yəhərkīb</i>	'mount'
H gem.	<i>həglūl</i>	<i>həglīl</i>	<i>yəhəglūl</i>	<i>yəhəglīl</i>	'boil'
Š <sub>1</sub> strong	<i>šəndūr</i>	<i>šəndīr</i>	<i>yəšəndūr</i>	<i>yəšəndīr</i>	'vow'
Š <sub>1</sub> gem.	<i>šərdūd</i>	<i>šərdīd</i>	<i>yəšərdūd</i>	<i>yəšərdīd</i>	'get back'

But in the perfect, H- and Š<sub>1</sub>-Stem geminates are subject to the change  $C_2\partial C_2V > \partial C_2C_2V$  (§ 2.1.8). So in the 3fs perfect, we find forms like *həgəllūt* 'she boiled' < *\*həgləlūt* (94:41; cf. strong *hərkəbūt*), but in the 2ms perfect, there is no change, as in (*t*)*təməmk* 'I finished' (e.g., 18:10), since this form does not contain the sequence  $C_2\partial C_2V$ . Likewise, when suffixes are added to the 3ms/3fp perfect, we get forms like *hədəllīn* 'he guided us' (60:8, < *\*hədləlīn*) and *šməddāh* 'he took it from him' (73:6, < *\*šəmdədīh*).

In the dual forms of the H- and Š<sub>1</sub>-Stem imperfect, and in all forms of the H- and Š<sub>1</sub>-Stem subjunctive, imperative, and future, the sequence  $C_1C_2\partial C_2$ , becomes  $C_1C_1\partial C_2$ , turning the initial root consonant into the geminate element. Compare the forms in the previous table to the ones below:



	3md impf.	3ms subj.	3mp subj.	ms fut.	
H strong	<i>yaharkəbōh</i>	<i>yahárkəb</i>	<i>yahárkəbəm</i>	<i>məhárkəb</i>	‘mount’
H gem.	<i>yahaggəlōh</i>	<i>yahággəl</i>	<i>yahággələm</i>	<i>məhággəl</i>	‘boil’
Š <sub>1</sub> strong	<i>yəšəndərorōh</i>	<i>yəšándəər</i>	<i>yəšándəərəm</i>	<i>məšándəər</i>	‘vow’
Š <sub>1</sub> gem.	<i>yəšərrədōh</i>	<i>yəšárrəd</i>	<i>yəšárrədəm</i>	<i>məšárrəd</i>	‘get back’

In the T<sub>1</sub>-Stem, we also find the shift of  $C_1C_2əC_2$  to  $C_1C_1əC_2$ , e.g., 3ms perfect *káttəl* ‘it spilled’ < \**kátləl* (37:24). The imperfect of T<sub>1</sub>-Stem geminates seems to behave as with strong verbs. The same is true for the subjunctive, though with some sound changes, e.g., *yəktáll* < \**yəktüll* < \**yəktíləl* (cf. strong *yəgtībər*). As mentioned in § 6.5.1, when the second root consonant is a dental or sibilant, we find the same assimilation of the morpheme *t* that we find in the T<sub>2</sub>-Stem perfect and subjunctive (§ 6.5.3), e.g., *yərəššáwš* (< \**yərəššūs* < \**yərətšūs* or \**yərəšəšūs* < \**yərtəšūs*).

	3ms perf.	3mp perf.	3ms impf.	3mp impf.
T <sub>1</sub> strong	<i>gátbər</i>	<i>gátbərəm</i>	<i>yəgtəbūr</i>	<i>yəgtəbūr</i>
T <sub>1</sub> gem.	<i>káttəl</i>	<i>káttələm</i>	<i>yəktəlül</i>	<i>yəktəlül</i>
T <sub>1</sub> gem., II-š	<i>ráttəš</i>	<i>ráttəšəm</i>	<i>yərəššáwš</i>	<i>yərəššáyš</i>

	3ms subj.	3mp subj.	ms fut.	
T <sub>1</sub> strong	<i>yəgtībər</i>	<i>yəgtábrəm</i>	<i>məgtībər</i>	‘meet’
T <sub>1</sub> gem.	<i>yəktáll</i>	<i>yəktálləm</i>	<i>məktáll</i>	‘spill’
T <sub>1</sub> gem., II-š	<i>yərtášš</i>	<i>yərtáššəm</i>	<i>mərtášš</i>	‘be pressed’

There are only a few T<sub>2</sub>-Stem geminates, and data are very sparse. It seems that geminates behave as strong verbs in the perfect, except that we find *aw* between the identical root consonants where the strong verb has *ū* (3ms and 3fp) and *ī* (3mp), and the 3mp has the suffix *-əm* in place of ablaut.<sup>94</sup> Examples are 2ms subjunctive *əštəlāwl* ‘he wandered aimlessly’ (cf. strong *əxtəlūf*) and 3mp *wəddāwdəm* ‘they divided up tasks’ (37:25; cf. strong *əxtəlīf*).<sup>95</sup> In the imperfect, *ML* tells us that all geminate T<sub>2</sub>-Stems (the few that there are) have *aw* in place of expected *ī*, e.g., 3ms *yəštəlāwlən* (cf. strong *yəxtəlīfən*), but more data are needed to confirm this. The subjunctive has *aw* in place of *ō*, e.g., 2ms *təštəlāwl* (90:7; cf. strong *təxtəlōf*). No Š<sub>2</sub>-Stem geminate verbs are attested in the texts; just one is listed in *ML* (s.v. *wdd*: *šəwēdəd* ‘take one’s share of work’), but no other forms are provided.

### 7.2.12 “Idle Glottis” Verbs

As discussed elsewhere, voiceless, non-glottalic consonants can have various effects on verb conjugation. For example, the prefix *a-* of the D/L-Stem (§ 6.2) and the prefix *h-* of the H-Stem (§ 6.3) are not used before a single voiceless, non-glottalic consonant. When more than one root letter is voiceless and non-glottalic, we see other effects. For example, the Ga-Stem 3ms perfect pattern *CəCūC* (e.g., *bəgūd* ‘he chased’) becomes *CCūC* when the first two consonants are voiceless and non-glottalic (§ 6.1.1). This is because, as discussed in § 2.1.2, an unstressed phonemic *ə* cannot occur between two voiceless, non-glottalic consonants. It was the seminal article by Bendjaballah and Ségéral (2014a) that explained this rule and the associated verb forms. Since they referred to voiceless, non-glottalic consonants as “idle glottis”, I refer to verbs that show the effects of two or more idle glottis consonants as idle glottis verbs.

In Ga-Stem, verbs whose second and third root consonants are idle glottis (II/III-IG) have a 3ms imperfect of the shape *yəCáCC* (< \**yəCūCC*). There is nothing irregular about this form. The underlying pattern is the same as those we have seen elsewhere for strong verbs, except for the lack of *ə* between the two idle glottis consonants. The missing vowel creates a closed syllable that leads to the regular vowel reduction *ū* > *ə*. Compare the following forms:

94 As noted already in § 2.2.3, n. 28, there is some inconsistency in *ML* on this issue. From the root *frr*, *ML* lists the form *əftərūr* in one place (p. lv), and *əftərāwr* in another (s.v. *frr*).

95 On *š* in the form *əštəlāwl*, see the comment to text 90:7 (*təštəlāwl*). The geminate *d* of *wəddāwdəm* has nothing to do with the fact that it is a geminate verb, but rather is the result of an assimilation of the infix *t*. See further in § 6.5.3.

	3ms perf.	3fs perf.	1cs perf.	
Ga strong	<i>bəgūd</i>	<i>bəgədūt</i>	<i>bəgádk</i>	'chase'
Ga I/II-IG	<i>ktūb</i>	<i>ktəbūt</i>	<i>ktəbk</i>	'write'
Ga II/III-IG	<i>rəfūs<sup>96</sup></i>	<i>rəfsūt</i>	<i>rəfásk</i>	'kick'
Ga I/II/III-IG	<i>ftūk</i>	<i>ft(ə)kūt</i>	<i>ftəkk</i>	'leave'

	3ms impf.	3mp impf.	3ms subj.	ms fut.
Ga strong	<i>yəbūgəd</i>	<i>yəbágdəm</i>	<i>yəbgēd</i>	<i>bəgdōna</i>
Ga I/II-IG	<i>yəkūtəb</i>	<i>yəkátbəm</i>	<i>yəktēb</i>	<i>ktəbōna</i>
Ga II/III-IG	<i>yərəfəs</i>	<i>yərəfəsəm</i>	<i>yərfēs</i>	<i>rəfsōna</i>
Ga I/II/III-IG	<i>yəfátk</i>	<i>yəfátkəm</i>	<i>yəftək</i>	<i>ft(ə)kōna</i>

Most idle glottis roots also happen to be III-Guttural. Recall that in the Ga-Stem, III-Guttural verbs (§ 7.2.9) have a 3ms perfect pattern *CūCəC*. For II/III-IG verbs, the 3ms perfect is therefore *CəCC* (< \**CūCC*). Some sample Ga-Stem forms of III-Guttural idle glottis forms are:

	3ms perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.	
Ga III-Gutt.	<i>sūməḥ</i>	<i>yəsūməḥ</i>	<i>yəsmēḥ</i>	'forgive'
Ga III-Gutt., IG	<i>fəsh</i>	<i>yəfəsh</i>	<i>yəfsēḥ</i>	'let in'

96 Because of the initial liquid, one can also hear 3ms *ərfūs*, 3fs *ərfəsūt*, and 1cs *ərfásk*.

Ga III-Gutt., IG	<i>fəsx</i>	<i>yəfəsx</i>	<i>yəfsēx</i>	‘dash away’
Ga III-Gutt., IG	<i>fəth<sup>97</sup></i>	<i>yəfəth</i>	<i>yəftēh</i>	‘open’
Ga III-Gutt., IG	<i>nəfh</i>	<i>yənəfh</i>	<i>yənfēh</i>	‘recover’
Ga III-Gutt., IG	<i>nəfh</i>	<i>yənəfh</i>	<i>yənfēh</i>	‘anger’
Ga III-Gutt., IG	<i>nəfx</i>	<i>yənəfx</i>	<i>yənfēx</i>	‘blow’
Ga III-Gutt., IG	<i>nətx</i>	<i>yənətx</i>	<i>yəntēx</i>	‘pluck’

With III-w/y verbs, which have the base *CōCə-* for the forms of the first and second person perfect, the addition of the pronominal subject marker (except 1cp) results in an idle glottis cluster, as discussed already in § 7.2.10. The same holds true for the common III-<sup>2</sup> verb *kūsa*, which has the base *kūs-* for the forms of the first and second person perfect. Compare the following additional forms:

	3ms perf.	1cs perf.	2fs perf.	1cp perf.	
Ga strong	<i>bəgūd</i>	<i>bəgdək</i>	<i>bəgdəš</i>	<i>bəgdən</i>	‘chase’
Ga III-w/y	<i>ḵənōh</i>	<i>ḵōnək</i>	<i>ḵōnəš</i>	<i>ḵōnən</i>	‘raise’
Ga III-w/y, II-IG	<i>bəkōh</i>	<i>bakk</i>	<i>bakš</i>	<i>bōkən</i>	‘cry’
Ga III-w/y, I/II-IG	<i>fšōh</i>	<i>fəšk</i>	<i>fəšš</i>	<i>fōšən</i>	‘lunch’
Ga III- <sup>2</sup> , I/II-IG	<i>kūsa</i>	<i>kəsk</i>	<i>kəšš</i>	<i>kūsən</i>	‘find’

In the Gb-Stem, II/III-IG verbs show the expected vowel reduction in the perfect (*CīCəC > \*CīCC > CəCC*), though such verbs are rare.

97 According to *ML* (*fth*), *G fütəh* also occurs, but this needs confirmation. The form *yəftəth*, given in *ML* for the 3ms imperfect, is a typographical error.

	3ms perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.	
Gb strong	<i>tībar</i>	<i>yəṭbōr</i>	<i>yəṭbōr</i>	‘break’
Gb II/III-IG	<i>nəṭk</i>	<i>yəntōk</i>	<i>yəntōk</i>	‘bite’

D/L-Stem verbs whose second and third root consonants are idle glottis have unusual forms in the perfect and the subjunctive, both showing a change  $*C\bar{o}C\bar{a}C > *C\bar{o}CC > CaCC$ . The imperfect forms are not affected.

	3ms perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.	
D/L strong	<i>arōkəb</i>	<i>yarákbən</i>	<i>yarōkəb</i>	‘put on fire’
D/L II/III-IG	<i>anáfh</i>	<i>yanáfhən</i>	<i>yanáfh</i>	‘threaten’
D/L II/III-IG	<i>anáfx</i>	<i>yanáfxən</i>	<i>yanáfx</i>	‘be angry’
D/L strong, I-IG	<i>(s)sōfər</i>	<i>yəssáfrən</i>	<i>yəssōfər</i>	‘travel’
D/L I/II/III-IG	<i>(f)fask</i>	<i>yəffáskən</i>	<i>yəffásk</i>	‘separate’
D/L I/II/III-IG	<i>(f)fasx</i>	<i>yəffásxən</i>	<i>yəffásx</i>	‘take off’
D/L I/I/III-IG	<i>(f)fatš</i>	<i>yəffátšən</i>	<i>yəffátš</i>	‘examine’

Idle glottis (both I/II and II/III) forms can be found in other stems. For example, the 3ms subjunctive of the Š<sub>1</sub>-Stem I-w idle glottis verb *šəwkūf* ‘sleep’ has the shape *yəšákf*. This derives from  $*yəšáwkaf < *yəšáwkaʃ$ , with the loss of schwa and then the reduction of the diphthong *aw* to *a*. III-Guttural, idle glottis H- and Š<sub>1</sub>-Stems also show reduction  $*C\bar{u}C\bar{a}C > *C\bar{u}CC > C\bar{a}CC$  in the imperfect. In the T<sub>2</sub>-Stem of III-Guttural verbs, we see vowel reduction in both the perfect and subjunctive ( $*C\bar{o}C\bar{a}C > C\bar{a}CC$ ). Compare:

	3ms perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.	
H III-Gutt.	<i>həndēx</i>	<i>yəhənūdax</i> or <i>yəhəndūx</i>	<i>yəhándax</i>	‘fumigate’
H III-Gutt., II/III-IG	<i>hənfēx</i>	<i>yəhənáfɤ</i> or <i>yəhənfūx</i>	<i>yəhánfəx</i>	‘inflate’
Š <sub>1</sub> III-Gutt.	<i>šədlēx</i>	<i>yəšdūlax</i>	<i>yəšádlax</i>	‘be despoiled’
Š <sub>1</sub> III-Gutt., I/II-IG	<i>š(ə)ftēh</i>	<i>yəšfáth</i>	<i>yəšáfəh</i>	‘be mated’
Š <sub>1</sub> I-w	<i>šəwgūs</i>	<i>yəš(əw)gūs</i>	<i>yəšáwɤás</i>	‘go in evening’
Š <sub>1</sub> I-w, II/III-IG	<i>šəwkūf</i>	<i>yəš(əw)kūf</i>	<i>yəšákɤf</i>	‘sleep’
T <sub>1</sub> I-w	<i>wátkəð</i>	<i>yətkáwð</i>	<i>yətíkəð</i>	‘wake up’
T <sub>1</sub> I-w, II/III-IG	<i>wátɤ(ə)ɤ</i>	<i>yətxáwɤ</i>	<i>yətáɤɤ</i>	‘come’
T <sub>2</sub> III-Gutt.	<i>əftōrəh</i>	<i>yəftárhən</i>	<i>yəftōrəh</i>	‘be excited’
T <sub>2</sub> III-Gutt., II/III-IG	<i>əftásh</i>	<i>yəftáshən</i>	<i>yəftásh</i>	‘wander’

7.2.13 *Doubly and Triply Weak Verbs*

A significant percentage of Mehri verbs have more than one weak root consonant. Some discussion of doubly-weak roots—that is, verbs with two weak root consonants—can be found already in the preceding sections. Below are some additional representative forms of just some of the many possible combinations.

	Stem	3ms perf.	1cs perf.	3ms impf.	3ms subj.	
I- <sup>ʕ</sup> , geminate	Ga	‘əśś	‘əśśək	<i>yāśūs</i>	<i>yāśēs</i>	‘get up’
I- <sup>ʕ</sup> , II/III-IG	Ga	<i>ākūs</i>	<i>ākásk</i>	<i>yə‘áks</i>	<i>yākēs</i>	‘mix’

Gem., II-Glott.	Ga	<i>ʃəkḵ</i>	<i>ʃəkḵək</i>	<i>yaʃkákawḵ</i>	<i>yaʃkāk</i>	‘call’
II-w, III-y	Ga	<i>həwōh</i>	<i>hōwək</i>	<i>yaḥáyw</i>	<i>yaḥwéh</i>	‘fall’
II-w, III-y	T <sub>1</sub>	<i>mátwi</i>	<i>mátwayək</i>	<i>yəmtūwi</i>	<i>yəmtáyw</i>	‘have time’
I-Glott., II-w	G	<i>ʃōr</i>	<i>ʃark</i>	<i>yaʃáwr</i>	<i>yaʃār</i>	‘stand’
I-Glott., III-ʿ	Ga	<i>káwla</i>	<i>kálak</i>	<i>yaḵōla</i>	<i>yaḵléʿ</i>	‘leave’
I-Glott., III-ʿ	Gb	<i>ḍáyma</i>	<i>ḍáymək</i>	<i>yəḍōma</i>	<i>yəḍmeʿ</i>	‘be thirsty’
I-l, III-Gutt.	Ga	<i>lūtəǵ</i>	<i>látǵək</i>	<i>yalūtəǵ</i>	<i>yəwtəǵ</i>	‘kill’
II-w/y, III-ʿ	Ga	<i>gūya</i>	<i>gáyak</i>	<i>yəgyōʿ</i>	<i>yəgyéʿ</i>	‘be hungry’
I-Glott., II-w/y, III-ʿ	Ga	<i>ḍáwya</i>	<i>ḍáwyək</i>	<i>yəḍyōʿ</i>	<i>yəḍyéʿ</i>	‘smell’
I-w, II-Glott., III-ʿ	Gb	<i>wīka</i>	<i>wáka</i>	<i>yəwōka</i>	<i>yākáʿ</i>	‘be’
II-ʿ, III-w/y	G	<i>rōh</i>	<i>rayk</i>	<i>yərəʿ</i>	<i>yərəh</i>	‘herd’
I-ʿ, II-w/y	D/L	<i>aʿyīt</i>	<i>aʿyátk</i>	<i>yāyītən</i>	<i>yāyīt</i>	‘cry out’
I-ʿ, III-w/y	H	<i>hānōh</i>	<i>hānáyk</i>	<i>yaḥáyn</i>	<i>yaḥēn</i>	‘intend’
I-w, II-Glott., III-Gutt.	H	<i>həwḵáʿ</i>	<i>həwḵāk</i>	<i>yaḥōka</i> <sup>98</sup>	<i>yaḥáwka</i>	‘put’
II-ʿ, III-w	Š <sub>1</sub>	<i>šōda</i>	<i>šáda</i>	<i>yašōda</i>	<i>yašēda</i> <sup>99</sup>	‘curse’

Most of the time, forms of verbs with multiple weak root consonants are predictable, since the rules for the different weak types simply combine. For exam-

98 *ML* (p. xlvi and s.v. *wkʿ*) incorrectly has *yaḥəwḵā*. See further in the comment to text 42:28, and also § 7.2.9, n. 67.

99 The imperfect and subjunctive forms need confirmation. These are based on those given in *ML* (p. lxiii).

ple, the verb ʿáśś behaves like other geminate verbs, except that the sequence #Cəʿ becomes #Cā- in the 3ms imperfect (and elsewhere), as we expect with a I-ʿ verb.

Sometimes one weak type can take precedence over another. For example, II-Guttural verbs normally have the suffix -ōt in the 3fs perfect, while III-w/y verbs have the suffix -ūt. For verbs that are both II-Guttural and III-w/y, the latter takes precedence in the 3fs perfect, where we find -ūt, e.g., *ħarxáwt* ‘she released’ (< \**ħarxūt*, 89:10). Sometimes there are forms connected to both root types. For example, for the root *lhw/lhy*, there is evidence of both a II-h type (*alhē*) and III-w/y type (*lahōh*) in the G-Stem.<sup>100</sup>

Sometimes, however, combinations of weak consonants result in unexpected conjugations. For example, the H-Stem 3ms imperfects *yāhōḡa* (root *wḡʿ*) and *yāhōra* (root *wrʿ*) do not look like other I-w H-Stems or other III-ʿ H-Stems, in that the *w* is lost. The Š1-Stem *šōda* ‘curse’ (root *dʿw*) does not look like either a II-ʿ or III-w verb.<sup>101</sup> Another example is the G-Stem II-ʿ, III-w/y verb *rōh* ‘herd’ (§ 7.2.10). Based on other III-w/y verbs (e.g., *ḡarōh* ‘hide’, 1cs *ḡōrək*), we could not predict the 1cs perfect form *rayk*.

7.2.14 *Anomalous Verbs*

A number of verbs can only be called anomalous, as they exhibit irregularities that make their conjugation unique and unpredictable. For example, the Ga-Stem verb *tāwōh* ‘eat’ is anomalous in the subjunctive, in that other verbs of the same type do not lose the consonant *w*.<sup>102</sup> Compare:

	3ms perf.	1cs perf.	3ms impf.	3mp impf.	
Ga II-w, III-y	<i>ħawōh</i>	<i>hōwək</i>	<i>yāháyw</i>	<i>yāháywym</i>	‘fall’
Ga II-w, III-y	<i>tāwōh</i>	<i>tōwək</i>	<i>yātáyw</i>	<i>yātáywym</i>	‘eat’

100 See the comment to text 40:18.

101 It is possible that we should call this a II-w, III-ʿ verb, since it does have some features of a III-ʿ verb (e.g., 3ms *šōda*, 1cs *šádak*), but it still does not look like a typical III-ʿ verb or II-w verb in the Š1-Stem.

102 The subjunctive of the Hobyot, Jibbali, and Soqoṭri cognates of *tāwōh* also exhibit differences from other verbs of the same type in those languages. For the forms, see *HV* (p. 47), *JLO* (§ 7.4.15), and Naumkin et al. (2014: 679).



	3ms subj.	3mp subj.	ms fut.	
Ga II-w, III-y	<i>yəhwéh</i>	<i>yəhwīyəm</i>	<i>həwyōna</i>	'fall'
Ga II-w, III-y	<i>yətéh</i>	<i>yətīyəm</i>	<i>təwyōna</i>	'eat'

Also anomalous are the verbs *(f)fūk* 'give in marriage' and *šfūk* 'get married' (the latter used with a female subject only), which are, respectively, the H- and Š<sub>1</sub>-Stems of the root *hfκ*. In the H-Stem, the root consonant *h* shows irregular assimilation, e.g., 3ms *(f)fūk* < \**hhfūk*.<sup>103</sup> The Š<sub>1</sub>-Stem perfect may be derived directly from the H-Stem by analogy (i.e., H *(f)fūk* → Š<sub>1</sub> *šfūk*, like H *(h)həwūb* 'warm by the fire (trans.)' → Š<sub>1</sub> *šhəwūb* 'warm oneself by the fire'), rather than by sound change due to assimilation of *h* (\**šəhfūk* > \**šffūk* > *šfūk*). Following are some sample forms:

	3ms/3fp perf.	3fs perf.	3mp perf.	1cs perf.	
H strong	<i>(f)fārūk</i>	<i>(f)fārəkáwt</i>	<i>(f)fārūk</i>	<i>(f)fārək(ə)k</i>	'frighten'
H <i>hfκ</i>	<i>(f)fūk</i>	<i>(f)fəkáwt</i>	<i>(f)fūk</i>	<i>(f)fək(ə)k</i>	'give in marriage'
Š <sub>1</sub> strong	<i>šəndūr</i>	<i>šəndərūt</i>	<i>šəndūr</i>	<i>šəndərək</i>	'vow'
Š <sub>1</sub> <i>hfκ</i> <sup>104</sup>	<i>šfūk</i>	<i>šfəkáwt</i>	* <i>šfūk</i>	<i>šfəkək</i>	'get married'

<sup>103</sup> See further in the study of Bendjaballah and Ségéral (2017a).

<sup>104</sup> As noted above, the verb *šfūk* is only used with a feminine subject, but the masculine forms given in this table and the next are still illustrative of its conjugation (e.g., 3fs imperfect *təšfūk* can be inferred from 3ms *yəšfūk*). The 3ms form *šfūk* is not hypothetical, since the 3ms perfect is always identical to the 3fp, but the other masculine forms are not used (hence the asterisks).

	3ms impf.	3mp impf.	3ms subj.	ms fut.	fs fut.
H strong	<i>yaffarūk</i>	<i>yaffarīk</i>	<i>yaháfrək</i>	<i>maháfrək</i>	<i>maffərəkāta</i>
H <i>hfk</i>	<i>yaffūk</i>	<i>yaffīk</i>	<i>yaháffək</i>	<i>maháffək</i>	<i>maffəkāta</i>
Š1 strong	<i>yašəndūr</i>	<i>yašəndīr</i>	<i>yəšándər</i>	<i>məšándər</i>	<i>məšəndərēta</i>
Š1 <i>hfk</i>	* <i>yašfūk</i>	* <i>yašfīk</i>	* <i>yəšáffək</i>	* <i>məšáffək</i>	<i>məšfəkāta</i>

The same assimilation of *h* is seen in the T2-Stems (*t*)*təkək* ‘drink’ (root *hky*; discussed in § 7.2.10) and *əttōma* ‘listen’ (root *hmʿ*), both of which are well attested in the texts, as well the H-Stem (*f*)*fēh* ‘save; put aside (food) as distasteful’ and Š1-Stem *šfēh* ‘eat food put aside’, neither of which occurs in the texts.<sup>105</sup> All of these verbs are the subject of a thorough study by Bendjaballah and Ségéral (2017a).

It is unclear whether or not to call certain verbs anomalous. For example, the G-Stem of the historical root *šbt* has a 3ms perfect *šāt* ‘he took’, and 3ms imperfect subjunctive *yəšōt*, neither of which is predictable based on that root. We could call this anomalous or irregular, but in synchronic terms, it seems (based on the limited data in the texts) that the verb *šāt* simply behaves as if the root were *šʿt* (that is, like a II-ʿ verb), and the fact that its root is *šbt* is just a historical curiosity.<sup>106</sup>

Another example is the verb *šitəm* ‘buy’. As already noted above (§ 6.5.2 and § 7.2.6), this verb is historically a T1-Stem of the root *šʿm* (cf. G *sōm* ‘sell’), but it conjugates as if it were a regular Gb-Stem from the root *štm* (cf. the ms future *štəmōna*). Like *šāt*, *šitəm* is anomalous only if we consider its historical root.

On the verb (*š*)*šawək* ‘light (on fire), burn (trans.)’, see § 6.3.1, n. 35, and on the seemingly anomalous Š1 *šəwǧáwr* ‘raid’, H *həwšáwb* ‘hit (with a bullet)’, and Š1 *šəwšáwb* ‘be wounded, be hit (with a bullet)’, see § 7.2.7. The verb *yəkūn* (root *kwn*) is anomalous in that it is used only in the imperfect (see § 13.1.2), but its conjugation is as expected for a II-w Ga-Stem.

105 These last two verbs are listed in *ML* (s.v. *šh/fh*).

106 G-Stem forms of *šbt* with the *b* still present are attested in Yemeni Mehri. Cf. Jahn (1902: 174) and Watson (2012: 90).

The most common anomalous verb is *ḥōm* ‘want’, which will be discussed separately in the following section.

### 7.3 The Irregular Verb *ḥōm* ‘want’

The verb *ḥōm* ‘want’ is extremely common, appearing approximately 350 times in the texts.<sup>107</sup> The verb only conjugates like an imperfect, but can have both past-tense and present-tense meanings.<sup>108</sup> It can also be used where context requires a perfect, e.g., after a conditional particle (§13.4) or a temporal conjunction (§13.5.3), and can even be used (in conjunction with an auxiliary) in a context that requires a subjunctive (see §7.1.9.1). Its conjugation is irregular. In addition to containing vowel patterns that do not match other verb types, it normally lacks a prefix in the 1cs and 1cd forms.<sup>109</sup> Its forms are as follows:

	sing.	dual	plural
1c	<i>ḥōm</i>	<i>ḥamōh</i>	<i>naḥōm</i>
2m	<i>tḥōm</i>	<i>tḥamōh</i>	<i>tḥaym</i>
2f	<i>tḥáymi</i>		<i>tḥōman</i>
3m	<i>yəḥōm</i>	<i>yəḥamōh</i>	<i>yəḥáym</i>
3f	<i>tḥōm</i>	<i>tḥamōh</i>	<i>tḥōman</i>

There are several uses of this verb. The basic and most common meaning of the verb is ‘want’, followed by a direct object or by a dependent verb. Some examples with a nominal or pronominal direct object are:

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- 107 An abridged, and now outdated, version of this section and its sub-sections, with some additional comparative linguistic discussion, was published as Rubin (2009b).
- 108 A few perfect-tense forms seem to be attested in the older Yemeni material. Cf. Müller (1902: 2, Genesis 37:8) and Jahn (1902: 157, lines 19 and 28).
- 109 Twice in the texts (53:1; 85:2) we find *əḥōm*, but this is likely just a phonetic variant. In the Arabic-letter manuscripts of these two texts, Ali did not indicate the initial *ə*, as he normally would have for an initial phonemic *ə*.

- ḥōm attēti* 'I want my wife' (37:23)  
*ḥēsān thōm ... ḥōm káwzārati trayt* 'what do you want? ... I want two baskets of dates' (98:4)  
*ḥōm mōh* 'I want water' (99:28)  
*əl ḥámsān lā* 'I don't want them' (89:27)  
*ḥadalláy bə-wōrām tayt ḏ-əl sē ḥōrām ḏə-ḥáms lā* 'he directed me to a certain road that wasn't the road I wanted' (62:3)

A following dependent verb appears in the subjunctive, as in:

- ḥōm əl-hērās* 'I want to get married' (8:8)  
*thōm tāzémān ḥabrək* 'do you want to give us your son?' (2:3)  
*tháymi tšáškí* 'do you want to marry me?' (24:17)  
*əl ḥōm əl-hētām lā* 'I don't want to stay the night' (31:4)  
*yəḥōm yəṭāf layš* 'he wants to visit with you' (38:16)  
*thaym (t)šxáwlam aw lā* 'do you want to stay or not' (35:5)  
*nəḥōm nassōfər* 'we wanted to travel' (91:1)  
*thōmən attiyān tik* 'they wanted to eat you' (15:18)  
*ḥōm əl-háhrək b-āmēlak* 'I want to burn your field' (91:11)

In all of the above nine examples, the subject of *ḥōm* is the same as that of the following verb. But in Mehri, as in English and some Arabic dialects, the verb *ḥōm* can be followed by a nominal or pronominal direct object, which in turn can be the subject of a following verb. Consider the following examples:

- thaym attēt tərđəd* 'do you want the woman to come back?' (4:8)  
*hōh ḥōm aǧáyi (t)šáléli* 'I wanted my sister to carry me' (89:14)  
*nəḥámhəm yāsēsəm* 'we want them to wake up' (4:15)  
*ḥamk tsné' attēti* 'I want you to see my wife' (22:41)  
*tháyman əl-ḥō nəháxlaf* 'where do you want us to move to?' (29:8)  
*ḥáybhəm yəḥámhəm yāḳām asdəkā* 'their father wanted them to be friends' (50:1)  
*nəḥámkəm təfšāləm əm-mənwīn* 'we want you to mediate between us' (77:9)  
*ḥēsān thámi l-āmōl* 'what do you want me to do?' (90:14)

If this kind of *ḥōm* construction occurs in the protasis of a conditional sentence, and the same dependent verb should be repeated in the apodosis, then the verb is used only once, in the subjunctive. Examples of this are:

*hām thámən, nəsəlēl* ‘if you want us to (move), we’ll move’ (30:3)  
*hām ar thámki, l-āmərōh* ‘if you really want us both to (sing), let’s both  
 sing’ (52:6)

Used independently, without any object or dependent verb, *hōm* (in any form) is the equivalent of ‘want to’, ‘will’, ‘do’, or ‘be willing’. This use (especially when the form is a first person) often comes in response to a question or statement containing *hōm*. Examples are:

*thōm tsōm līn askáyin dōmāh ... hōm lā* ‘do you want to sell us this knife?  
 ... I don’t want to’ (4:10)  
*tháymi hōh əl-tāf?* *wa-ya-hōl, nəhōm* ‘do you want *me* to scout? Indeed,  
 we do’ (29:13–14)  
*hām ar ffkáwk, hōh hōm* ‘if he really lets you marry (me), I am willing’  
 (38:19)  
*hām əl tháymi lā, sīrīta təwōlī akəşşāb* ‘if you don’t want to [or: if you  
 won’t], I’ll go to the butcher’ (49:3)  
*āmūrən h-anōxədə, “sōm līn kəwt!” amūr, “hōm lā”* ‘we said to the captain,  
 “Sell us food!” He said, “I don’t want to [or: I won’t]”’ (91:14)

In one passage, *hōm* (plus a direct object) has the meaning ‘accept’. Another verb would probably use the perfect tense in this context (see § 7.1.1):

*nəhōm šerṭ dōmāh* ‘we accept this deal’ (24:39)

### 7.3.1 Cohortative *hōm*

The first-person forms *hōm*, *həmōh*, and *nəhōm* can have a cohortative meaning ‘let’s’ or ‘I/we should’. Dependent verbs, most always also first person, are subjunctive, as expected. 1cp cohortatives are by far the most common. Examples are:

*nəhōm nəháxləf məkōn* ‘let’s move away [lit. change place]’ (10:12)  
*nəhōm nəkfēl adakkōn wə-nsyēr abáyt* ‘we should close the store and go  
 home’ (22:7)  
*nəhōm nəşān tāṭidáyyan* ‘let’s tie each other up’ (24:25)  
*nəhōm nəghōm* ‘let’s go’ (94:2)  
*nəhōm nədfēn aməlāwtəg* ‘let’s bury the dead’ (64:26)  
*nəhōm nəktūləṭ* ‘let’s chat’ (74:14)

Only a few dual cohortatives are attested in the texts:

*ḥāmōh əl-sīrōh arḥābēt əl-fəlānīyyə* ‘let’s go to such and such town’ (66:2)  
*ḥāmōh əl-sīrōh bə-l-xəfē* ‘let’s go in disguise’ (66:3)  
*ḥāmōh l-əffəwtáh te ḏār aḥōn ḏēk w-əl-šḥəgyáh ḥəlákəməh* ‘let’s run away  
 up onto that peak and make a stand there’ (83:2)

A handful of 1cs cohortatives are also attested:

*ḥōm əl-šáwǵás* ‘I should leave’ (38:18)  
*ḏōməh aǵīǵēn wəḥōna axáyr mənáy mət ākáwr, wə-ḥōm l-əwtáǵəh* ‘this  
 boy will be better than me when he grows up, so I should kill him’  
 (76:12)  
*ḥōm əl-syēr ḏār ḥāmōh* ‘I should go to the water’ (94:19)  
*ḥōm, mət ḥābū šəwǵīs, l-ənkēs əl-āǵáwz ḏə-mtōt* ‘I should, when the  
 people leave, dig up the old woman who died’ (65:3)

This last example (65:3) is a nice illustration of how *ḥōm* (cohortative or not) is allowed to be separated from a dependent verb by another clause.<sup>110</sup>

In a few cases, a 1cp cohortative is followed by a third-person verb. Two examples are:

*ənḥōm ṭāt yāká’ ḥáywəl, wə-trōh yəmnēm təh* ‘let’s one of us be crazy, and  
 two should hold him back’ (91:6)  
*nəḥōm aǵāk yəḥērəs bīs* ‘we should have your brother marry her’ (97:44)

And in one case, a dependent verb is merely implied:

*nəḥōm əwtōməh* ‘we should (do) like this’ (29:11)

### 7.3.2 *Motion Verb ḥōm*

The verb *ḥōm* can also be used as a sort of pseudo-motion verb, best translated as ‘be heading to/for’. In this meaning, it is most often found in a circumstantial clause, preceded by a verb of motion (usually *səyūr* ‘go’, *ǵəhēm* ‘go’, or (*s*)*šōfər* ‘travel’). Sometimes it is followed by a preposition (*h-* or *təwōlí*), other times by a direct object, with no difference in meaning. The form of *ḥōm* is often separated from the motion verb by an adverbial phrase (or phrases). Consider the following examples:

110 A non-cohortative example occurs in text 45:11: *thámi, hām kəsk sékənək, l-əmēr hihəm hībōh* ‘if I find your community, what do you want me to say to them?’

*ssáfrak mən dabáy fənēmsīh bə-ṭayyāryah, ḥōm hə-lándən* ‘I traveled from Dubai the day before yesterday by plane, heading for London’ (18:1)  
*səyárki hōh wə-sadáyki ... nəḥōm təwōli amkōni* ‘we went, my friend and I ... heading to my place’ (18:8)  
*sīrōh aǵáyǵ wə-ḥəbráh, yəḥáym h-abáyt* ‘the man and his son left, heading for home’ (22:9)  
*ǵəhémk mən ašḥáyr, ḥōm šəlōt* ‘I went from the mountains, heading to Şelot’ (38:2)  
*xəṭarāt ḏ-əǵhōm, ḥōm təwōli sékəni* ‘once I was walking, heading towards my settlement’ (54:4)  
*ǵəhēm, yəḥōm h-arḥəbēt* ‘he went, heading for the town’ (65:4)  
*sáfrəm mən aḳāḥəm, yəḥáym hə-kā’ ṭāt* ‘they travelled from their country, heading for a certain country’ (74:1)  
*k-sōbəḥ ǵəhmōh, yəḥəmōh təwōli ḥaskənihəm* ‘in the morning they went off, heading for their settlements’ (76:13)  
*fṭūk ḥəbrē ḏə-ḥōkəm, yəḥōm h-aməsgəd* ‘the ruler’s son left, heading for the mosque’ (85:17)

This use of *ḥōm* is probably an extension of its use in the following type of sentence, where *ḥōm* is preceded by a verb of motion *and* followed by a dependent verb:

*ǵayǵ ǵəhēm, yəḥōm yəḳfəd arḥəbēt* ‘a man set out, intending to go down to town’ (98:1)  
*sīrūt təbráyn, ṭḥōm təmšéh* ‘the hyena went off, heading to defecate’ (99:12)  
*ǵayǵ sōfər bərk məkēb, yəḥōm yəbtōša mən rəḥbēt ṭayt* ‘a man traveled in a ship, intending to shop [or: trade] in a certain town’ (103:1)

The use of *ḥōm* to mean ‘be heading to’ following a verb of motion has led to its independent use with this meaning (i.e., without a preceding motion verb). In the half dozen or so attested examples of *ḥōm* used independently in this way in the texts, it is always followed by a preposition. Examples are:

*ḥədlili bə-səkən ḏə-ḥōm təwēhe* ‘they directed me to the settlement that I was heading to’ (38:7)  
*hē məhráy, yəḥōm h-aḳā’ ḏ-amḥəréh* ‘he was a Mehri, heading to the land of the Mehri’ (59:1)  
*əl šay ḥātəm lā yəḥáym əl-ḥō* ‘I am not sure where they were headed’ (73:1)

*tháyimi əl-hō ... hōm təwōli aǵátke* ‘where are you headed? ... I am headed to your sisters’ (85:3)

### 7.3.3 *Proximative and Avertative hōm*

Another use of *hōm* is in conjunction with the particle *ber* (§ 12.5.7), together with which it has a proximative meaning ‘be about to’ or an avertative meaning ‘nearly’.<sup>111</sup> This use is found about ten times in the texts. Some of these attestations are:

*bəri hōm l-əwbáds* ‘I was about to shoot her’ (or: ‘I nearly shot her’)  
(54:13)

*bərs thōm tháhḳəṭ* ‘(the camel) is about to give birth’ (63:15)

*bárhəm yəháyim yəšákḫəm* ‘they were about to go to sleep’ (75:17)

*bárah yəhōm yəmēt* ‘he was about to die’ (or: ‘he was nearly dead’) (75:18)

*kəsk aǵáyg ḏeh bərah yəhōm yəhwéh* ‘I found this man about to fall’ (77:6)

*bərah yəhōm yəsyēr* ‘he is about to go’ (91:26)

### 7.3.4 *Future hōm*

In Yemeni Mehri dialects, the verb *hōm* can indicate a future, as it can also in Ḥarsusi. There are a small number of places in the texts where we might consider *hōm* to be indicating a future, but it is normally not used as such in Omani Mehri, or at least not in our texts. An example where *hōm* could be interpreted either as ‘want’ or a future is:

*bə-kám thōm (t)šōm lay aməndáwḳək* ‘how much do you want to [or: will you] sell me your rifle for?’ (39:1)

For examples of *hōm* used to indicate the future in Yemeni Mehri, see Lonnet (1994b: 231) and Simeone-Senelle (1993: 262–263).

<sup>111</sup> The verb *əzūm* ‘decide; intend’ can also have the meaning ‘be about to; nearly’. Cf. text 64:9 and 64:26, and see also Watson (2012: 213).



## Prepositions

The Mehri prepositions found in the texts are:

<i>b-</i> ‘in, at; with; for; on’	<i>mən</i> ‘from’
<i>bād</i> ‘after’	<i>əm-mán</i> ‘between’
<i>bark</i> ‘in(to), inside; among’	<i>mən ǭār</i> ‘after’
<i>ǭār</i> ‘on; about’	<i>mən ǧayr</i> ‘without’
<i>fənōhən</i> ‘before; in front of; ago’	<i>mən kədē</i> ‘about’
<i>ǧayr</i> ‘except’	<i>nəxāli</i> ‘under’
<i>h-</i> ‘to; for’	<i>səbēb</i> ‘because of’
<i>hāl</i> ‘at, by, beside’	<i>sār</i> ‘behind’
<i>(əl-)hīs</i> ‘like, as’	<i>tē</i> ‘until, up to’
<i>k-</i> ‘with’	<i>təwōli</i> ‘to, towards’
<i>l-</i> ‘to; for’	

There are also two particles that cannot strictly be called prepositions, but that behave as such or are translated as such. Therefore, they are included in this chapter. These are:

<i>ar</i> ‘except, but’	<i>xā</i> ‘like, as ... as’
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Prepositions are of two types. The first type, those consisting of a single consonant, are prefixed to the noun. There are only four of these: *b-*, *h-*, *k-*, and *l-*. When a noun begins with a consonant, these prepositions are usually pronounced with the helping vowel *ə*. The voiceless *h-* and *k-* are pronounced without a following vowel when the following word begins with a single voiceless, non-glottalic consonant (§ 2.1.2), while an initial *lə-* is often realized *əl-*. A few examples are:

<i>b-anēḥar</i> ‘in the wadi’ (28:5)	<i>bə-ḥōrəm</i> ‘on the road’ (3:1)
<i>h-arḥəbēt</i> ‘to the town’ (22:37)	<i>hə-lándən</i> ‘to London’ (18:1)
<i>h-sawk</i> ‘to the market’ (22:2)	<i>kə-bā nəwās</i> ‘with Ba Newas’ (65:9)
<i>k-abkár</i> ‘with the cattle’ (15:5)	<i>k-həbēr</i> ‘with the camels’ (42:1)
<i>l-arḥəbēt</i> ‘to the town’ (65:5)	<i>əl-sékənəh</i> ‘to his settlement’ (9:10)

The second type, which includes all other prepositions, are treated as separate words. Each of the prepositions listed above will be treated in turn below. Some additional (and rare) compound prepositions will be treated together in § 8.22.

Pronominal objects of prepositions are indicated by suffixes, with the exception of *(al-)hīs* and *tē*. These suffixes are sometimes attached to a base that is different from the bare form of the preposition, and the suffixes themselves can differ slightly from those used with nouns and verbs (§ 3.2). A complete list of prepositions with pronominal suffixes appears in § 8.23.

### 8.1 *ar* ‘except, but’

The particle *ar* appears frequently in the texts and with a variety of meanings, most of which are discussed in § 12.5.4. One of the basic meanings of *ar* is ‘only’ (see § 12.5.4), and from this meaning we often find a preposition-like usage corresponding to the prepositional use of English ‘except’ or ‘but’. It can be followed by a noun or an independent pronoun. Examples are:

*al šay hūkəm mashaḥāwt lā ar tēti* ‘I have no slaughter-animal for you except my wife’ (4:4)

*l-ād aḥād yātakáydán bīhəm lā, ar hīxār* ‘no one believes in them anymore, except old men’ (25:19)

*al xəlūf wāléd lā ar gǧəgənōt* ‘he left behind no children except a girl’ (32:10)

*ādi al ōmər lā ar yəməšīh* ‘I have never sung except yesterday’ (52:15)

*hōh al əkádər l-əǧtáyr ənglīzīyət lā ar xawr* ‘I couldn’t speak English except for a little bit’ (62:7)

*al aḥād yəsūkən bəh lā ar aḥəyōy* ‘no one lived in it except spirits’ (76:11)

*al šīn dərəhəm lā ar xawr* ‘we didn’t have any money except a little’ (84:1)<sup>1</sup>

*al šīs wāléd lā ar hē* ‘she had no children except him’ (36:3)

*ādəh al aḥād yōmər háyni əhəšáwləh lā ar hēt* ‘no one ever has told me that I do (it) well except you’ (52:17)

<sup>1</sup> Compare this sentence with *hōh šay bēr ar xawr* ‘I have only a few camels’ (83:6). These two examples clearly show the overlap between the use of *ar* described here and the use described in § 12.5.4.

In the last two examples, *ar* is followed by an independent pronoun, rather than an object pronoun. This makes it clear that *ar* does not function grammatically as a true preposition. The particle *ar* in the use described above nearly always appears in a phrase negated with (*əl*) ... *lā*. The one exception in the texts, out of more than twenty examples, is found in text 29:6 (in a question). To express ‘except’ in a positive sentence, *ǧayr* is normally used (see § 8.7).

Just as English ‘except’ and ‘but’ can function both as prepositions and as conjunctions, so too can Mehri *ar*, with the same meanings. There are about ten examples in the texts, nearly always following a negative clause. When *ar* is followed by *hām* ‘if’ (§ 13.4.1), then the sequence *ar hām* is often best translated by ‘unless’, as in 36:29 below. Some examples are:

- šīwōṭ tənōfa lā ar hām sē ənḫāli ḥəmōh* ‘fire is not useful unless [lit. except if] it is under the water’ (36:29)  
*hōh əl ənōḥəg lā ar bə-xələwkye* ‘I will not dance without [lit. except with] my (own) clothes’ (37:9)  
*yəwāzməm tīsən ayd lā, ar hām wəḳōt sənēt ḳamḥt* ‘they don’t give them sardines, except if it is a bad year’ (58:7)  
*sē əl ḥāməh lā, ar ḥkāwm līs ḥābsə* ‘she didn’t love him, but her parents forced her’ (75:1)  
*əl əḥād yəḳāwdar yəšārbas lā ar bə-mšēb* ‘no one could climb up to it except with ladders’ (88:1)  
*a’isérye lā, ar xəšomye* ‘not my friends, but my enemies’ (94:32)

On the compound *ar w-* ‘unless’, see § 12.5.4.

## 8.2 *b-* ‘in, at; with; for; on’

The preposition *b-* has a variety of functions. It can indicate location ‘in’ or ‘at’, or an instrumental ‘with’ or ‘by’. It can also mean ‘with’ in its comitative sense (with some verbs of motion); ‘for’, in the sense of ‘in exchange for’; and even ‘on’, usually with reference to the body. The basic locative meaning ‘in, at’ is illustrated in the following examples:

- bə-wōdi, kūsa ḥəbēr* ‘in a valley, he found the camels’ (12:10)  
*yəsūkən bə-rḥəbēt* ‘he was living in a town’ (20:1)  
*hē bə-hānd* ‘he is in India’ (40:6)  
*h-arḥəbēt ḏə-bīs tēt* ‘to the town that the woman was in’ (22:37)  
*wəḳōna ber bīsən ašxōf* ‘maybe they have [lit. in them (is)] milk already’ (29:7)

The instrumental meaning of *b-* is illustrated in the following examples:

- əwbáds bə-məndáwķ* 'shoot it with a rifle' (6:10)  
*səbūt bəh tēt* 'he hit the woman with it' (4:9)  
*lūtəǵ məkən b-aškáyəh* 'he killed many with his sword' (69:7)  
*wəṭəmáh b-ārfīt* 'he struck him with the palm-leaf' (93:5)

With verbs of motion, *b-* has a comitative meaning 'with'. When combined with the verb *nūka* 'come', the sense is usually 'bring';<sup>2</sup> it can also sometimes have this sense with other motion verbs, like *səyūr* 'go'. Some examples are:

- ənkáyh bə-məšráwf* 'he brought him supplies' (8:7)  
*əwbáysi bə-xəlōwəķ yədōn nákak tik bīhəm* 'put on new clothes that I brought for you!' (24:6)  
*nəkēm tī bə-ayšē* 'bring me dinner!' (99:2)  
*səyūr b-abķərēt* 'he went with the cow' (1:12)  
*məḥámməd nūda bə-ḥārāwn* 'Muhammad went out with the goats' (14A:1)  
*səyūr bīs* 'he went away with her' (48:16)  
*ənhōm nəssōfər bəh* 'we want to travel with him' (91:8)

The common phrase *nūka b-* 'bring' merits some further comment. Its meaning 'bring', as stated above, comes from the use of *b-* as a comitative 'with' in conjunction with verbs of motion. A sentence like 'come to me with food' comes simply to mean 'bring me food!'. So what in English is the direct object of 'bring' (e.g., 'food' in the previous example) must be preceded by *b-* in Mehri. Moreover, the verb *nūka* as a motion verb normally takes a direct object, and so the English indirect object (whether a person or place) is normally the direct object in Mehri (cf. the first three examples above), though sometimes this object is indicated by a preposition *h-*, *təwōli*, or *hāl*, for example:

- ənkōt həh bə-ḥəmōh* 'she brought him [or: for him] water' (48:11)  
*nákam bīhəm təwálhe* 'they brought them to him' (48:13)  
*nūka bīs hāl ḥáybəh wə-ḥəmáh* 'he brought her to his father and mother' (48:19)

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Arabic *jā'a bi-* 'bring', from *jā'a* 'come'.

The phrase *nūka b-* can also have the idiomatic meaning ‘bear (a child)’ (e.g., 11:4; 85:31), which is obviously a more specific meaning derived from the broader ‘bring (forth)’. When referring to humans, at least, this idiom can have either a male or female subject; if the other partner with whom the subject has a child is mentioned, the partner is preceded by *mən*. Some examples are:

*nūka məns bə-ǰīgēn wə-ǰəǰənōt* ‘he had with her a boy and a girl’ (48:1)  
*ənkōt mánəh bə-ǰīgēn* ‘she bore with him a boy’ (75:25)

The preposition *b-* can also have the meaning ‘for, in exchange for’, as in:

*āmōl xōtəm b-alf dīnār* ‘make a ring for a thousand dinars’ (22:47)  
*wəzmōna tīk ǰənbáyəət b-aməndáwķək* ‘I will give you a dagger for your rifle’ (34:11)  
*ənhāh kəšyēya tīk bə-hāmēk* ‘we will compensate you for (the loss of) your mother’ (65:14)  
*bə-kám šēmōna tīs* ‘how much will you sell it for?’ (99:50)

And, finally, *b-* can have the meaning ‘on’, most often with reference to the body, but also with certain words like *wōrəm* ‘road’, *ķā* ‘ground’, and *ǰəzáyrət* ‘island’:

*ǰayǰ ǰə-yəsyūr bə-hōrəm* ‘a man was traveling on the road’ (3:1)  
*kəsk šətráyr b-aķā* ‘I found a rag on the ground’ (63:9)  
*aǰáyǰ ǰə-gūdəh bə-ǰzáyrət* ‘the man who washed up on an island’ (74:3)  
*bəh šēf mēkən* ‘he had a lot of hair’ (lit. ‘on him (was) a lot of hair’) (9:8)  
*ǰōmah əl bəh fēhəl lā* ‘this (man) has no penis’ (lit. ‘on him (there is) no penis’) (24:36)

The last two examples show how this meaning of *b-* can be used to indicate certain kinds of inalienable possession. For discussion and more examples of this, see §13.3.2.

The preposition *b-* is also used in conjunction with a large number of verbs, and it is probably this use of *b-* which is encountered most often. Such verbs are:

<i>áyǰəb b-</i> ‘love, be in love with’ (vs. <i>áyǰəb mən</i> ‘be delighted with’)	<i>áyməl b-</i> ‘do to s.o.’ (vs. <i>áyməl</i> ‘do s.t.’)
<i>ātəkáwd b-</i> ‘believe in’	<i>hāmūn b-</i> ‘trust s.o.’
<i>áylək b-</i> ‘run short for/of’	<i>hāmūr b-</i> ‘give an order for s.t.’ (vs. <i>hāmūr l-</i> ‘order s.o.’)

- hārūs b-* 'marry' (vs. *hārūs hāl* 'marry into s.o.'s family')
- āšáwb b-* 'tie to s.t.' (*b-*: thing tied to; d.o.: thing tied)
- āťáwř b-* 'seize (animals); spook (animals)'
- āwīđ b-* 'warn s.o.'
- āwīg b-* 'delay s.o.'
- āzūm b-* 'invite for' (*b-*: thing invited for; d.o.: s.o.; vs. *āzūm* 'decide', *āzūm l-* 'have designs on s.t.')
- ōzər b-* 'annoy s.o.'
- bədōh b-* 'lie to' (vs. *bədōh l-* 'tell a lie about s.o.')
- bəhēr b-* 'ask s.o. for help'
- abōrək b-* 'bless'
- həbšūr b-* 'look forward to'
- šōda b-* 'curse, insult s.o.'
- dəll b-* 'guide, lead s.o.'
- hədlül b-* 'lead, guide' (*b-*: to person or place; d.o.: person led)
- šəđərbəš b-* 'call (a camel) by flapping one's lips'
- đəbūr b-* 'nag; apologize to s.o.'
- fāl b-* 'hurt s.o.'
- əřtkūr b-* 'think about'
- (f)řəré' b-* 'begin s.t.'
- (f)řərūd b-* 'frighten (animals)'
- (f)řərūk b-* 'frighten'
- fīrəř b-* 'be happy with'
- h(ə)řsēř b-* 'stop doing s.t.'
- šəgēməl b-* 'take all of s.t.'
- ğəlūk b-* 'look at' (vs. *ğəlūk mən* 'look for')
- əğwīr b-* 'distract, keep s.o. occupied'
- hūma b-* 'hear about' (vs. *hūma* 'hear s.t.')
- (h)həwōh b-* 'drop, make fall'
- hədd b-* 'pull up, pull at'
- (h)hərūk b-* 'burn s.o. or s.t.'
- həđđūr b-* 'look out for [= on behalf of], guard' (vs. *həđđūr mən* 'take care not to, guard against')
- həss b-* 'be conscious of' (vs. *həss* 'feel')
- (h)hyil b-* 'trick s.o.'
- kəlūt b-* 'tell s.t.' (*l-*: to s.o.)
- kátłəř b-* 'talk to one another about'
- kəśś b-* 'expose oneself to s.o.'
- (k)kawr b-* 'make s.t. roll down (usually stones)' (*l-*: 'to')
- kəzz b-* 'shoot s.o. at close range'
- əřtəlīb b-* 'be worried about'
- əřálad b-* 'roll s.t.'
- əřōšər b-* 'hold back in generosity with s.o.'
- lībəs b-* 'put on' (vs. *lībəs* 'wear')
- əwğāz b-* 'to sneak/slip s.t.' (d.o.: to s.o.)
- lītəř b-* 'be kind to, look after'
- šəmlūk b-* 'be given legal possession of a woman in marriage'
- amárřəb b-* 'welcome s.o.'
- amōsi b-* 'kiss'
- həndēx b-* 'fumigate; perfume with incense smoke'
- šəndūr b-* 'vow on'
- nūřəğ b-* 'throw'
- hənfēx b-* 'breathe on'
- šənháwr b-* 'lodge a complaint against' (*hāl*: 'with')
- hənhōh b-* 'burn s.o. or s.t.'
- nūka b-* 'bring; bear (a child)' (vs. *nūka* 'come (to)'; *nūka bə-kəwřēt* 'tell a story')
- rədōh b-* 'throw s.t.' (vs. *rədōh l-* 'throw at')

<i>rəšáwn b-</i> ‘tie to/with’	<i>wəfūd b-</i> ‘ask for the hand of s.o. in marriage’ ( <i>hāl</i> : the person asked)
<i>ərtəwūg b-</i> ‘plot against’	<i>šəwfōh b-</i> ‘be revenged for s.o., avenge s.o.’
<i>ráyši b-</i> ‘be agreeable to, agree with s.t.’	<i>əxtəlūf b-</i> ‘let s.o. down’
<i>sūməh b-</i> ‘allow s.t.’ (vs. <i>sūməh l-</i> ‘allow s.o., give permission to; forgive’)	<i>xáyli b-</i> ‘be alone with s.o.’
<i>šūbəh b-</i> ‘suspect s.o.’ (vs. <i>šūbəh l-</i> ‘look like’)	<i>xəlūt b-</i> ‘mix s.t. (d.o.) with ( <i>b-</i> ) s.t. else’ (vs. <i>xəlūt l-</i> ‘join up with s.o.’)
<i>šūna b-</i> ‘be unkind to s.o., humiliate s.o.’	<i>(x)xəšáwb b-</i> ‘send s.t.’ ( <i>l-</i> : to s.o.; vs. <i>xəšáwb</i> ‘send s.o.’)
<i>(š)šawk b-</i> ‘light s.t. on fire, burn s.t.’	<i>(x)xōṭər b-</i> ‘endanger s.o.’
<i>aṭyīs b-</i> ‘terrify s.o.’	<i>xəyūn b-</i> ‘betray s.o.’
<i>wīda b-</i> ‘know about’	

One occasionally also finds *b-* with verbs that are not normally followed by this preposition, for example, *kaḫūd* ‘go down’ (with *wōdi* ‘valley’, e.g., 63:2), *šəll* ‘carry s.t.’ (e.g., 22:85; usually with d.o.), and *həwšəwəf* ‘describe s.t.’ (only 96:5; elsewhere d.o.). Also note the verbal idioms *šāḳ bə-šáwr* ‘call (s.o.) in consultation’ (22:92), *tūba bə-šaff/b-əsfūtən* ‘follow tracks’ (e.g., 32:8; also with *sār*), and *ṭáwla ašəfōt b-* ‘news go around about s.o.’ (74:5).

The preposition *b-* is also found in a number of non-verbal idiomatic phrases. Such are:

<i>b-abárr</i> ‘outside; ashore’	<i>bə-ḫáyḳ</i> ‘on the shore’
<i>b-āmḳ</i> (or <i>b-aámḳ</i> ) ‘halfway, in the middle’	<i>bə-ráxəš</i> ‘for cheap, cheaply’
<i>b-aḡərbēt</i> ‘abroad’	<i>bə-xōṭər</i> ‘down there, downstairs; below’
<i>b-arāyək</i> (pl. <i>b-arāyəkəm</i> ) ‘as you wish’	<i>bə-xáyr</i> ‘well’
<i>bə-ḫagdəke</i> ‘on your feet’	<i>dáwnək b-</i> ‘take!’ (see §12.5.8)
<i>bə-ḫáḳḳ</i> ‘justly’	<i>āká hal-hálla b-</i> ‘be careful with!’
<i>bə-ḫəlláy</i> ‘at night’	<i>yā ḫay b-</i> (or <i>yā ḫáyə b-</i> ) ‘welcome!’ (followed by a noun or pronominal suffix)
<i>bə-ḫənáfḳ</i> ‘by yourself’	
<i>bə-ḫəroḥk</i> ‘under your protection [lit. your head]’	

Also note the idiomatic expressions *bay ḫássi* ‘I am conscious’ (40:26) and *būk hēšən* ‘what’s (the matter) with you?’ (48:5) (see §13.3.2).

### 8.3 *bād* ‘after’

The preposition *bād* means ‘after’. It occurs a dozen times in the texts, though four of these are in the phrase *bād gēhaməh* ‘the day after tomorrow’. Twice it occurs in the compound preposition *mən bād*, in both cases with pronominal suffixes. The concept of ‘after’ is much more often expressed by *mən ǰār* (see § 8.5). Following are some of the examples found in the texts:

*wə-bād səwānōt, əwsūt anhōr kálləs* ‘and after a little while, it rained the whole day’ (10:16)

*hē šəwēd sékənah yənkēham bād nəhōri trayt* ‘he had promised his community that he would come back to them after two days’ (32:5)  
*agərbəm tāṭ bād tāṭ* ‘they tried, one after the other [lit. one after one]’ (50:3)

*syēr gēhaməh wə-rdēd bād gēhaməh* ‘go tomorrow and return the day after tomorrow’ (56:3)

*wə-bādīs, səddəm* ‘and after this [lit. it], they came to a truce’ (104:31)  
*hām matk, l-ād əḥād ya’yīsən tī lā mən bādūk* ‘if you die, no one will look after me after you (are gone)’ (36:4)

*səyūr šəwkūf, wə-sē šxəwəllūt bādēh* ‘he went to bed, and she stayed behind [lit. after him]’ (48:26)

*w-aḳáyšər, mən bādīham, gərōh ləh bəkōr* ‘and the leopard, after they (had gone), young camels passed by him’ (99:4)

*hōh səddōna bādīkən ḥārāwn* ‘I’ll be enough for the goats when you’re gone [lit. after you]’ (99:37)

Note that in the final four examples above, (*mən*) *bād* has the specific meaning ‘after s.o. is gone’. The preposition *sār* can also be used in this way; see below, § 8.18.

### 8.4 *bərk* ‘in(to), inside; among’

The preposition *bərk* is mainly used to indicate location inside or motion into. Examples from the texts are:

*te kūsa fōḳa bərk dəḥlīl, wə-wkūb bərk adəḥlīl* ‘then he found a pool of water in a cave, and he entered the cave’ (3:1)

*həwgūs bərk wōdi nōb* ‘he took (them) into a big valley’ (13:6)

*ašōyāg bərk adəkkōnəh* ‘the jeweler was in his shop’ (22:68)



*sēn bərk aǧərfēt ðayk* ‘they are in that room’ (22:97)  
*mōn ǧasūkən bərk abáyt ðīməh* ‘who lives in this house?’ (38:11)  
*əl hōh sūrōna lā bərk aməwsē ðīməh* ‘I won’t go in this rain’ (49:5)  
*wə-wbūd bərk həməh* ‘and he shot into the water’ (95:4)

By extension of its basic meaning ‘inside’, *bərk* can also be used to mean ‘among’, as in:

*bərk hərāwn* ‘among the goats’ (3:7)  
*bərk həbēr* ‘among the camels’ (28:9)  
*škəryōh bərk hərōm* ‘they hid among the trees’ (35:17)  
*kərbəlāh həmbəráwtən bərk abkār* ‘the boys crawled among the cows’  
 (35:18)

We also find in the texts the compound prepositions *tə bərk* ‘into’ and *mən bərk* ‘from inside’, though the latter is attested just once, and the former just four times. Some examples are:

*səyárk tə bərk rékəb* ‘went up onto a ledge’ (38:6)  
*aǧálad bə-šāwər nōb tə bərk amk ðə-hōrəm* ‘he rolled a big rock into the  
 middle of the road’ (67:4)  
*nátṭəbəm āšáwš w-agalé’ mən bərk šətš* ‘the bones and date-stones  
 dropped from inside her backside’ (99:12)

The preposition *bərk* is also used in a handful of idioms, including:

<i>bərk amǧərāb</i> ‘in the (late) evening’	<i>bərk šērə’</i> ‘on/into/along a street’
<i>bərk raht</i> ‘happy’ (lit. ‘in happiness’)	<i>bərk xədmēt</i> ‘at work, employed’
<i>bərk səyārəh</i> (or <i>máwtər</i> ) ‘in/by a car’	<i>ktūb bərk</i> ‘write on s.t.’ (also <i>ktūb b-</i> )

The lone use of *bərk* in an expression of time, *bərk amǧərāb* ‘in the evening’, is attested just twice (25:9; 37:17); the alternative *k-amǧərāb*, attested just once, is found in the same text (25:14).

8.5 *ḏār* 'on; about', *mən ḏār* 'after'

The preposition *ḏār* has the basic meaning of 'on, upon'. Before suffixes, it has the base *ḏayr-*. Illustrative examples are:

*hē yaślūl tōmər ḏār sárfəh sáymał w-ayś ḏār sárfəh háymał* 'it was carrying dates on its left side and rice on its right side' (23:16)

*hərkūb aǧətəh ḏār tayt, wə-hē rikəb ḏār tayt* 'he mounted his sister onto one (horse), and he rode on one' (24:11)

*sīnək tīsən ḏār kərmáym ḏayk* 'I saw them on that mountain' (28:2)

*wəzyēma tik arikábyən w-əlḥān ḏáyrən* 'we'll give you our riding-camels and all that is on them' (3:12)

*wə-ngūf ḏáyrən adəbbēt* 'and the flies set upon us' (29:4)

One also finds the combinations *mən ḏār* 'from upon, off of' and, less often, *te ḏār* 'up on to', for example:

*rəḏāw bəh mən ḏār dəhək* 'they threw him from a cliff' (20:53)

*ḵəfūd mən ḏār hərəm* 'he came down from the tree' (70:3)

*yəháyw ḏáyrəh baṭṭḥ, wə-sē tənūǧəf mən ḏáyrəh abátḥ* 'dirt would fall on him, and she would brush the dirt off of him' (48:17)

*sīrōni te ḏār adéhək ḏōməh* 'we'll go up onto this cliff' (35:10)

*səyūr bīs te ḏār bayr* 'they brought her to a well' (97:10)

In a few cases, usually in conjunction with a verb of running away (like *(f)falūt* 'escape, flee, run away', *fərr* 'jump; flee, run away', or *nəǧām* 'go away angry, storm off'), *mən ḏār* means 'from the presence of', for example:

*w-əffəlūt mən ḏār aǧáyǧ* 'I ran away from the man' (34:24)

*yásṣək tīs m-ād təfrēr mən ḏáyrən* 'I am afraid she might run away from us' (37:10)

*wə-nǧámk mən ḏáyrəhəm* 'and I went away angry from them' (89:26)

The compound *mən ḏār* can also mean 'about' or 'over', in the sense of 'concerning', though there are just a few examples in the texts:

*ǧəyūǧ ḏə-láttəǧəm bəwməh, w-əl wádał mən ḏār hēsən lā* 'men have killed each other here, and I don't know over what' (3:19)

*ǧátəwsəm aǧáwhə mən ḏār awért* 'his brothers argued over the inheritance' (32:11)

*antáwḥan nəḥāh w-bəḥarēt mən ḏār aməṭbāx* ‘we and the sailors would fight over the kitchen’ (91:23)

Far more often, however, the compound *mən ḏār* has the meaning ‘after’. Sometimes, in expressions of future time, this is better translated as ‘in’. Examples are:

*atté mən ḏār warx, mōt aḡáyg* ‘then after a month, the man died’ (2:7)  
*məḥáwḥ tī ar mən ḏār ass* ‘you will pay me only after (some) difficulty’  
 (39:13)  
*wə-gəḥémk mən ḏār ḥəlēb ḏə-ḥāráwn* ‘I went after the milking of the goats’ (47:2)  
*šxəwlil mən ḏār aḳəhwēt* ‘they stayed after the coffee’ (48:29)  
*nəkōna tik mən ḏār rība yūm* ‘I’ll come back to you in four days’ (56:6)  
*mən ḏār xəṭərāt ḏákəməh, wáḳam* ‘ayśōr’ ‘after that time, they were friends’ (61:9)

The compound *mən ḏār* is not attested with suffixes when it means ‘after’. Instead, *bād* (§ 8.3) or *sār* (§ 8.18) is used.

Simple *ḏār* also occurs in a few idioms, several of which involve either water or corpses:

<i>ḏār bayr</i> ‘at a well’	<i>ḏār amāray</i> ‘in the pasture’
<i>ḏār kōbər</i> ‘to/at a grave’	<i>ḏār (ḥə)mōh</i> ‘at/by/to (the) water’
<i>ḏār məḳəbrēt</i> ‘to/in a graveyard’	<i>ḏār sarf ḥáyməl (šáyməl)</i> ‘on the
<i>ḏār məláwtəḡ</i> ‘to/by [lit. over] dead bodies’	right (left) side’

On rare occasion, the compounds *mən ḏār* and *te ḏār* can also occur in these idioms (cf. 97:10, above). Two nice examples of the idiomatic usage of *ḏār* can be seen in the following passage:

*ḥəwrūd ḥabérḥe ḏār mōh, wə-kūsa bū ḏār ḥəmōh* ‘he took his camels down to water, but he found some people by the water’ (64:1)

Note also the verbal idioms *šedrūk mən ḏār* ‘survive s.t.’ (30:12), *ḥəftōh ḏār* ‘focus on’ (90:1), and *šəḡbūr ḏār* ‘get help from, collect funds from’ (e.g., 72:2).

### 8.6 *fānōhān* ‘before; in front of; ago’

The word *fānōhān* is most often met as an adverb meaning ‘before, previously’ or ‘first’ (see § 10.3), but it is also found used as a preposition ‘before’, with both temporal and spatial meanings. Its spatial use is often best translated as ‘in front of’ or ‘ahead of’. Before suffixes, it has the base *fānw-* (for the forms, see § 8.23). Examples are:

*wə-ssáfrān fānōhān aqzē* ‘and we traveled before sunset’ (60:1)  
*āmárk hīs, “syēri fānwáy!” wə-hōh səyárk mən sārīs* ‘I said to her, “Go in front of me!” And I went behind her’ (54:17)  
*fānwikəm mās-kōt* ‘Muscat is (just) ahead of you’ (91:14)  
*šīni hālāh fānwīh* ‘he saw his shadow in front of him’ (95:5)  
*āššūt fānwáy* ‘she got up before me’ (97:43)

As in many other languages (e.g., Arabic, Hebrew, German), the idea of ‘X ago’ is literally expressed in Mehri as ‘before X’. There are just a couple of examples in the texts:

*fānōhān ašráyn sənáyyn* ‘twenty years ago’ (2:1)  
*xəṭārāt fānōhān hōba sənáyyn* ‘once, seven years ago’ (14:1)

### 8.7 *ǧayr* ‘except’, *mən ǧayr* ‘without’

The basic meaning of *ǧayr* is ‘except’, ‘besides’, or ‘but’ (all in their prepositional senses). It occurs with this meaning only six times in the texts, and all of these are within positive phrases. This contrasts with *ar* ‘except, but’ (§ 8.1), which nearly always occurs in a negative context. Some examples of *ǧayr* are:

*mōn yəḳáwdar yərdéds šəḥháyt ǧayr arḥəmōn* ‘who can bring her back alive but God?’ (4:8)  
*ǧárkəm ḥābū ḏə-bərkīh, ǧayr aǧáyg w-aḏānəh* ‘the people who were in it drowned, except the man and his family’ (74:1)  
*adámməh bərəh k-əḥād ǧayrən* ‘he is probably with someone else [lit. someone besides us]’ (41:4)  
*ḏə-səyūr yəxlōf ǧayrəh* ‘something else [lit. besides it] will take the place of that which has gone’ (97:27)

In this last example, *ǧayr* with a suffix is functioning like an indefinite pronoun, with a meaning ‘someone/something else’. See further in § 3.5.7.

Much more common in the texts than *ǧayr* is the compound preposition *mən ǧayr*, which means ‘without’.<sup>3</sup> Examples are:

‘əśś aǧīǧēn śśōx mən ǧayr ḥass ‘the older [lit. big] boy got up without a sound’ (17:3)

ḥēsən nəkḏēr nāmōl mən ǧayr ab‘áyrən ‘what would we be able to do without our camel?’ (23:2)

ḥām kálan tīsən mən ǧayr ayd ‘if we leave them without sardines’ (27:16)

ḳālēḥəm śiləṭ yūm mən ǧayr ḳawt ‘leave them three days without food’ (37:14)

ḥáwfi mən ǧayr ǧərōy ‘pay me without a word [lit. talk]’ (39:15)

əwtáǧi mən ǧayr səbēb ‘kill me without a reason!’ (88:6)

In one passage we find the compound *bə-ǧáyr*, with the same meaning:

nəḥōr ṭayt ǧayg bāl ḥəbēr mōzəb bə-ǧáyr əḥād ‘one day there was a camel-herder herding alone, without anyone’ (13:1)

Like simple *ǧayr*, the compounds *mən ǧayr* and *bə-ǧáyr* are normally attested in positive phrases.

In our relatively limited amount of data, it seems that *ǧayr* is normally used with human objects, and *mən ǧayr* with non-human objects. And with pronominal suffixes, only *ǧayr-* is attested.

## 8.8 *h-* ‘to; for’

The preposition *h-* has the basic meanings of ‘to’ and ‘for’. It has the same general meanings as the preposition *l-*, yet in the majority of cases the two are not interchangeable. Comparison of the two prepositions will be taken up below, in § 8.12. In the texts, the preposition *h-* is most often encountered marking the indirect object of the verb *āmūr* ‘say’. Multiple examples can be found in practically every text. A few are:

3 In Stroemer’s edition of the texts, there were several passages with the transcription *mən ǧār*, and one with *mən xayr*. These were all errors, as confirmed by the manuscripts and the audio recordings.

*āmārūt həh* 'she said to him' (5:11)  
*yōmər háyni* 'he says to me' (18:18)  
*gēhəməh āmyēra háyni* 'tomorrow you will say to me' (33:4)  
*āmūr hīhəm ġayg* 'a man said to them' (35:3)  
*āmáwr h-aġəgənōt* 'they said to the girl' (42:40)

The verb *āmūr* is never followed by *l-*. On the other hand, the verb *kəlūt* 'tell, (rarely) talk', which has a very similar meaning, is nearly always followed by *l-* (see § 8.12 for examples).<sup>4</sup> Still, about fourteen times in the texts (five of these in text 22), *kəlūt* is followed by *h-*, as in:<sup>5</sup>

*əl hōh kəwṭōna hūk lā* 'I won't tell you' (12:7; cf. *kəlūt l-* in 12:8)  
*kəlūt həh* 'he told him' (22:27)  
*hōh kəwṭīta h-aġāy b-āgēbək* 'I'll tell my brother about your love' (38:21;  
 cf. *kəlāt k l-* earlier in the same line)  
*kəwṭūt h-abālāts* 'she told her mistress' (85:13)

The phrase *āmūr h-* can also be used impersonally to mean 'call', 'be named/called', as in:

*yāmərəm hīn bət bū zīd əl-həlāli* 'they call us the clan of Bu Zid al-Hilali'  
 (42:6)  
*xəṭərāt ġayg yāmərəm həh kādēt* 'once there was a man named [lit. they called him] Kadet' (64:1)

Following are examples of *h-* with the benefactive meaning 'for':

*śətmək ksəwēt h-āsəri* 'I bought clothes for my friend' (38:2)  
*əl šīn qəráwš lā h-anáwl* 'we didn't have money for the fare' (91:1)  
*lēzəm l-əshōt hūkəm* 'I must slaughter for you' (4:6)  
*ħfawr həh bayr* 'they dug a well for him' (20:73)  
*axáyr hūkəm tən kēm tīn* 'it's better for you to come to us' (28:19)

It is a curious feature of Mehri that some of the most common verbs of motion often do not govern a preposition. When they do, the preposition is only rarely *h-* (and even more rarely *l-*). We find *h-* used about two dozen times in the

4 Only with the future of *kəlūt* is *h-* more common than *l-* (four times versus one time in the texts), but this may just be coincidence.

5 See also the comment to text 94:36 (*kəlūt hīs (līs)*).

texts following a verb of motion (including, in a few cases, the pseudo-motion verb *hōm*, on which see § 7.3.3). In these cases, the object of *h-* is nearly always a place; only once is the object a person (77:5), and even then it is only an indefinite pronoun referring to a person. Some examples of *h-* following a motion verb are:

- səyūr h-abātəh* 'he went to his house' (20:64)  
*rāddəm h-aqāhəm* 'they went back to their country' (40:20)  
*gəhmōh h-arhəbēt* 'they went to the town' (75:4)  
*sáfrən bərk bədén, nəhōm hə-šáwr ... wə-hēm yəháyym yəssáfrəm h-xəlīg*  
 'we traveled in a *badan*, heading for Şur ... and they wanted to travel  
 to the Gulf' (84:1)  
*wə-ð-hānáyk əl-syēr h-əhād* 'and I intended to go to someone' (77:5)

Also relatively uncommon is the use of *h-* to mark other kinds of indirect objects, besides as a benefactive and with the verbs *āmūr* and *kəlūt*, as discussed above. The following verbs govern an object with the preposition *h-*:

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <i>dūfa h-</i> 'pay s.o.'                             | <i>(š)šanōh h-</i> 'make a diagnosis      |
| <i>h(ə)ftōh h-</i> 'advise s.o.' (vs. <i>h(ə)ftōh</i> | (by a medicine man); get a                |
| <i>ðār</i> 'focus on')                                | fortune told for' (vs. <i>(š)šanōh</i>    |
| <i>gəzūm h-</i> 'swear to'                            | 'show')                                   |
| <i>gəšš h-</i> 'wink at'                              | <i>axtəyūn h-</i> 'create an illusion for |
| <i>šanðūr h-</i> 'vow to s.o.'                        | s.o.'                                     |
| <i>nətáwək h-</i> 'kiss s.o. in greeting'             | <i>həzbūr h-</i> 'feel pleasure at s.o.'s |
| <i>rəgūz h-</i> 'sing to/for'                         | misfortune' ( <i>h-</i> : person being    |
| <i>šəbūr h-</i> 'have patience with s.o.'             | ridiculed)                                |
| (vs. <i>šəbūr mən</i> 'do without' and                |   |
| <i>šəbūr l-</i> 'give respite to')                    |   |

A few other verbs are found in the texts with an object preceded by *h-*. One is the verb *kəlüb* 'return' (24:32), which is usually followed by *l-*.<sup>6</sup> A second is with *gəzūm* 'swear' (47:11), which we find in one other passage followed by *l-* (31:5). And once we find *sūməh h-* (56A:9) with the same meaning as the usual *sūməh l-* 'allow, permit s.o.'.<sup>7</sup>

6 However, every case of *kəlüb l-* is in the idiom *kəlüb l-X (bə-)səlōm* 'send greetings to s.o.' (e.g., 20:70; 27:27).

7 It is possible that this text was mirroring the Jibbali version. In Jibbali, the verb is normally followed by *h-*.

The preposition *h-* is also found in a couple of non-verbal idioms, including *h-ašáyrəb* ‘in the autumn’ and *bər h-*, indicating an elapsed amount of time (see further in § 12.5.7). For the rare cases in which *h-* is translated as ‘have’, see § 13.3.2.

In sum, *h-* is met most often after the verb *āmūr* ‘say’. It is rare after verbs of motion, even rarer as an indirect object marker ‘to’. It is relatively common with the benefactive meaning ‘for’, and, unlike *l-* (see below, § 8.12), is used in rather few idiomatic phrases. Finally, recall that *h-* usually assimilates to a following *h* or *ḥ* (see § 2.1.4).

### 8.9 *hāl* ‘at, by, beside’

The basic meaning of *hāl* is roughly that of French *chez*. An appropriate English translation can be ‘at’, ‘by’, ‘beside’, ‘with’, or ‘at the place of’. Like *təwōli* (§ 8.20), the object of *hāl* is normally a human, or a noun denoting a human collective, like *səkən* ‘settlement; family’. Before pronominal suffixes, the base *hən-* is used (see § 8.23 for forms). Examples from the texts are:

*hātūm hāl hámhε* ‘he spent the night with his in-laws’ (10:10)  
*sənnáwrət šarōt hāl hərəhəh* ‘the cat stayed awake by his head’  
 (15:12)  
*xədūm hāl tōgər* ‘he got work with a merchant’ (24:33)  
*báyəkək hōh hāl hərəm* ‘I remained by the tree’ (25:3)  
*a’isək hənīn* ‘your dinner is at our place’ (22:56)  
*əklé’ hənūk ajənbáyyət dīməh* ‘I’ll leave this dagger with you’ (34:15)  
*həqšōmən hənīhəm* ‘we spent the day with them’ (38:10)  
*hənīs xabz wə-ḳáwt* ‘by her was bread and food’ (42:15)  
*ksōna hənūk ḳālēw* ‘you’ll find a bowl by you’ (63:16)

A related but slightly more idiomatic use refers to local customs or practices, as in:

*nəhāh hənīn nātəḳáydən bə-səhər* ‘we, in our region, believe in magic’  
 (7:2)  
*nəhāh hənīn nōmər ‘amárḳəh’* ‘we, around us, we say *amárḳəh*’ (59:11)

Mehri *hāl* can also be used after verbs of motion (most often *nūka* ‘come’), meaning ‘to’, ‘up to’. Examples are:



*nūka bīs hāl háybəh* ‘he brought her to his father’ (48:19)  
*nákam hāl āgáwz* ‘they came to the old woman’ (65:10)  
*səyūr hāl hōkəm* ‘he went to the ruler’ (36:5)  
*wátʃfək hāl sēkən* ‘I came in the evening to a settlement’ (38:7)  
*nūka hənīs hōba yənīt* ‘seven women came to her’ (97:22)

There are also several compound prepositions based on *hāl*. By far the most common of these is *mən hāl* ‘from (the presence/possession of)’. The compounds *əl-hāl* and *tə hāl* ‘to’ can substitute for simple *hāl* after a verb of motion. Examples are:

*hōh nákak mən hāl hóbə* ‘I came from my parents’ (20:70)  
*hōh gəhémk mən hāl səkəni* ‘I went from my settlement’ (38:1)  
*hēt tšhōl mən hənīn gəzē* ‘you deserve a reward from us’ (22:101)  
*aḳōfi əl-hāl ašōyǝǝǝ* ‘go over to the jeweler’s’ (22:47)  
*səyáwr əl-hāl hāmēs* ‘they went to her mother’ (97:46)  
*səyūr tə hāl āgáwz* ‘he went to an old woman’ (48:6)  
*nūka tə hənáy* ‘he came to me’ (71:2)

The compound *mən hāl* is also commonly used as a relative ‘where(ever)’, on which see further in § 3.8.4.

As for verbal idioms, note *wəfūd hāl* ‘ask s.o. for s.o.’s hand in marriage’ (*b-*: the person whose hand is asked for), and *hārūs hāl* ‘marry into s.o.’s family’, for example:

*wəfūd bīs hāl háybəs* ‘he asked her father for her hand in marriage’ (14:2)  
*hōm əl-hērəs hənūk* ‘I want to marry into your family’ (56A:1)

We also find *šəwkūf hāl* ‘sleep with’ (e.g., 85:29), *rəmūs hāl* ‘chat (at night) with’ (e.g., 85:35), *wəḳōt hāl* ‘became the wife of’ (74:10) (< *wiḳa* ‘be(come)’), and *šəmdūd mən hāl* ‘take s.t. from s.o.’ (73:6).

### 8.10 (əl-)hīs ‘like, as’

The preposition (əl-)hīs ‘like, as’ cannot take pronominal suffixes, but rather it indicates a pronominal object by using the direct object marker *t-*, e.g., (əl-)hīs *tī* ‘like me’, (əl-)hīs *tik* ‘like you’, etc. With nominal, pronominal, or adverbial objects, *hīs* is most often found in the compound *əl-hīs*. Examples from the texts are:

*hōh asényah əl-hīs háybi* ‘I see him like my father’ (18:18)  
*əl-hīs həbūn ḏ-təgēr* ‘like the sons of (other) merchants’ (22:35)  
*yəḳābəm həh fáhləh əl-hīs fənōhən* ‘they returned his penis to him as  
 before’ (24:32)  
*həbū əl-hīs abáḥ mən kētər* ‘the people are as numerous as grains of  
 sand [lit. like sand from their large amount]’ (29:17)  
*āḳərəh aḳlāl mən abḳərēt, hīs amḥələb* ‘its size is smaller than a cow, like  
 a calf’ (41:8)  
*hē hīs tīkəm* ‘he is like you’ (22:93)  
*əḥād əl-hīs tī* ‘is there anyone like me?’ (42:3)  
*əl-yāgōb əḥād yāḳá’ hīs təh lā* ‘he didn’t like anyone to be like him’  
 (76:11)

This preposition is normally followed by a noun, direct object pronoun (*t-*), or adverb, as in the examples above, but in a few cases it acts as a conjunction ‘like, as’ followed by a verbal phrase. All such examples from the texts are:

*‘əmlək əl-hīs āmárk háyni* ‘I did as you told me’ (20:18)  
*yəḳəwīlən, əl-hīs hām tāḥ xəlūs mən xōrəm* ‘he panics, like if someone  
 gets lost from the road’ (43:1)  
*yəhyūr wə-yəḥsūs əl-hīs šī ḏə-yəgrérəh xōṭər* ‘he would freeze up [or: get  
 dizzy] and feel like something was pulling him down’ (77:1)

On the temporal conjunction *hīs* ‘when’, see § 13.5.3.3.

## 8.11 *k-* (š-) ‘with’

The basic meaning of the preposition *k-* is ‘with’ in a comitative sense.<sup>8</sup> Before pronominal suffixes, the base is *š-*, which derives historically from a palatalized *k-* (§ 2.1). Some examples are:

*āḳá’ k-hārāwn* ‘stay with the goats!’ (33:1)  
*wə-wkūb k-āgāwz* ‘and he went in with the old woman’ (75:7)  
*syēr k-ajáwke* ‘go with your brothers!’ (91:11)  
*əl əḥād šəh lā* ‘no one was with him’ (14A:1)

<sup>8</sup> Some comparative and etymological discussion of this preposition can be found in Rubin (2009a), though the presentation of the data in this article is now outdated.

*hām thōm tsyēr šay* ‘if you want to go with me’ (55:2)  
*səbīw aǧáyg šihām* ‘they took the man prisoner with them’ (69:2)

It is also regularly used with the verb *ǧátri* ‘speak, talk’, as in:

*hōh maǧtáyr k-hāmáy ... wə-ǧátri šīs həbrēs* ‘I will speak with my mother  
 ... and her son spoke with her’ (9:2–3)  
*ǧátri aǧáyg k-xəlótah. āmūr hīs, “ǧətáyri k-həbrátš”* ‘the man spoke  
 with his mother-in-law. He said to her, “Talk with your daughter”’  
 (94:9)

Based on the meaning ‘with’, *k-* has come to be used in the possessive construction corresponding to English ‘have’, as in:

*əl šihām kawt lā* ‘they had no food’ (lit. ‘[there is] not with them food’)  
 (11:2)  
*šay naxlīt* ‘I have a date-palm’ (lit. ‘with me [is] a date-palm’) (77:5)

This construction is discussed further in §13.3.1. The preposition *k-*, with pronominal suffixes, is also used in a variety of expressions relating to physical or environmental conditions, for example:

*šəh hark* ‘it was hot’ (lit. ‘heat [is] with him’) (32:2)  
*hōh šay aktīw* ‘it was dark’ (lit. ‘the darkness [was] with me’) (91:16)

More examples, along with discussion, can be found in §13.3.1.2.

The preposition *k-* is also used idiomatically in a few expressions relating to time of day, namely:<sup>9</sup>

*k-sōbəh* ‘(in the) morning’  
*k-aǧáhr* ‘at noon; in the afternoon’  
*k-amǧarāb* ‘in the evening’

As noted in §8.4, *k-amǧarāb* is attested just once in the texts (25:14), as is the alternative *bərk amǧarāb* (25:9).

9 Watson (2012: 119) records several additional phrases, pertaining mostly to the seasons, e.g., *k-aǧáyð* ‘in the hot period (pre-monsoon)’.

The preposition *k-* seems also to be incorporated into the form *kaláyini* '(in the) evening'. With *k-sōbəḥ* 'in the morning', the *k-* is really likewise inseparable, despite the hyphenated transcription. Moreover, *k-sōbəḥ* is often best translated simply as 'morning'. Compare the following two sentences:

*tε k-sōbəḥ aǰáyyg šəwkūf* 'then, in the morning, the man went to sleep'  
(22:65) (*tε* = 'then')  
*hātūm tε k-sōbəḥ* 'he stayed the night until morning' (9:11) (*tε* = 'until')

As for other idioms, we find:

*səyūr k-* 'sleep with (sexually)' (lit. 'go with')  
*səyūr k-ḥənōf-* 'go to the bathroom' (lit. 'go (with) oneself')  
*wīka rəḥáym k-* 'be nice to'

### 8.12 *l-* 'to; for'

The preposition *l-* is usually translated into English as 'to' or 'for', just like the preposition *h-*. However, as already noted above (§ 8.8), the two are very rarely interchangeable. One very common use of *l-* is to mark the indirect object of the verb *kəlūt* 'tell; talk'. The verb *kəlūt* is usually followed by *l-* (about fifty times in the texts), though we also find *kəlūt* followed by *h-* about fifteen times in the texts (five of which are in text 22). However, the semantically similar verb *āmūr* (always followed by *h-*) is never found in combination with *l-*. Examples of *kəlūt* with *l-* are:

*kəlēt lay* 'tell me!' (5:11)  
*kəlátk līs b-aǰərōy ḏ-aǰās* 'I told her her brother's words' (38:21)  
*kəláwt lah ḥābū bīs* 'people told him about her' (40:14)  
*kəwtōna əl-ḥābū* 'I will tell the people' (55:6)  
*kəlūtən līhəm b-aḳəssēt kállas* 'we told them the whole story' (91:28)

In general, one cannot say that *l-* is regularly used to mark an indirect object. A number of verbs that we would expect to take an indirect object instead take a direct object in Mehri. The most notable example is the verb *wəzūm* 'give', which can take two direct objects, as in:

*wəzmōna tiš xəmsáyn qarš* 'I'll give you fifty dollars' (48:6)  
*əl wəzámk tīn tīhəm lā* 'you didn't give them to us' (91:30)

Verbs of motion in Mehri are also often followed by a direct object. And when they are followed by a preposition, it is very rarely *l-*. In fact, *l-* is never found after the common motion verbs *səyūr* ‘go’, *nūka* ‘come’, *wīṣal* ‘arrive’, or *gəhēm* ‘go’, except in the combinations *əl-ḥō* ‘to where?’ and *əw-bōh* ‘to here’ (§ 10.1).<sup>10</sup> Just six times *l-* follows *rədd* ‘return’ (after which *təwōli* is more common; see below, § 8.20), four times *kəfūd* ‘go down’ (after which a direct object is most common), and a handful of less common verbs only once. It is found regularly only with certain (semantically similar) motion verbs, such as *həḵbūl* ‘come near’, *ḵarūb* ‘approach’, and *ləḥāf* ‘come close to’ (see the list below). The only two motion verbs that are found used with both *h-* and *l-* in the texts are *rədd* ‘return’ and *kəfūd* ‘go down’.

With the benefactive meaning ‘for’, *l-* is found about twenty times in the texts, less than a third as often as *h-* in this function. And even though there is overlap in meaning, *h-* and *l-* largely occur in different contexts (i.e., after different verbs and nouns). Some of the examples in which *l-* means ‘for’ are:

*nəḥārəm ləh yəbīti trayt* ‘they sacrificed two camels for him’ (32:9)  
*yəkūn lūk śakk* ‘it will be an offense for you’ (33:3)  
*ḥāmēk hāwḵāwt lūk śīwōṭ* ‘your mother made a fire for you’ (36:11)

In one or two passages, it is not clear if *l-* is indicating motion or a benefactive. For example, *həḵfūd ləh ḵayd* (48:3) could mean either ‘they let down a rope to him’ or ‘they let down a rope for him’.

Although *l-* is relatively rare as a general preposition meaning ‘to’ or ‘for’, it is extremely common as an object marker following certain verbs. Some of these can surely be considered indirect objects (e.g., *gəzūm l-* ‘swear to’ and *sōm l-* ‘sell to’), but the majority can be considered idiomatic. Attested in the texts are:

<i>hāmūr l-</i> ‘order s.o.’ (vs. <i>hāmūr b-</i> ‘give an order for s.t.’)	<i>bədōh l-</i> ‘tell a lie about s.o.’ (vs. <i>bədōh b-</i> ‘lie to’)
<i>āyūb l-</i> ‘cheat s.o., break an oath to’	<i>šədhūḵ l-</i> ‘look down at’
<i>ātəyūn l-</i> ‘betray’	<i>dəkk l-</i> ‘spring on, pounce upon’
<i>āzūm l-</i> ‘have designs on s.t.’ (vs. <i>āzūm</i> ‘decide’, <i>āzūm b-</i> ‘invite for’)	<i>həḍrōh l-</i> ‘let the blood of a goat run over s.o.’ <i>(f)ḵəḵōh l-</i> ‘cover’ ( <i>b-</i> : with)

10 We find *əw-bōh* only with imperative verbs. When other tenses are used, we get *bāwməh* instead. Compare *ənḵé əw-bōh* ‘come here!’ (1:4) with *əl yənākam bāwməh lā* ‘they don’t come here’ (94:33).

- fəyūz l-* 'surpass s.o., beat'  
*gəroh l-* 'pass by s.o.; happen to'  
*gəzūm l-* 'swear to' (vs. *gəzūm mən*  
 'swear against')  
*həǧbūr l-* 'give help to s.o.'  
*ǧátyəǧ l-* 'get angry at'  
*šəwǧáwr l-* 'raid'  
*həǧūm l-* 'attack'  
*əttōma l-* 'listen to'  
*həǧg l-* 'refuse s.o. permission to  
 marry'  
*həkūm l-* 'force s.o.'  
*hátwəǧ l-* 'need s.o.'  
*həšáwr l-* 'persuade s.o.'  
*(k)kəbūr l-* 'stay with s.o. to drink  
 milk'  
*aǧōbəl l-* 'watch, keep an eye on'  
*həǧbūl l-* 'draw near to, come  
 towards'  
*aǧōdəm l-* 'offer s.o. (food)'  
*ǧədūr l-* 'manage against, get the  
 better of' (vs. *ǧədūr* 'can, be  
 able')  
*ǧəlūb l-* (*bə-*)*səlōm* 'send greetings  
 to s.o.; greet s.o.' (also *ǧəlūb*  
*səlōm l-*)  
*ǧərūb l-* 'get near, approach'  
*aǧyīs l-* 'try s.t. (for size) on (*l-*)  
 s.o.'  
*ləhāf l-* 'come close to, next to'  
*ləhāǧ l-* 'help' (vs. *ləhāǧ* 'catch up  
 to')  
*ləzz l-* 'press up against'  
*əmtūl l-* 'become easier for'  
*nəkūs l-* 'exhume'  
*nəǧáwd l-* 'blame, criticize'
- rədōh l-* 'throw at' (vs. *rədōh b-*  
 'throw s.t.')
- rūfa l-* 'climb (a rope); board (a  
 ship)'  
*rátǧi l-* 'read the Quran over s.o.'  
 (vs. *rátǧi* 'read s.t.')
- hərxōh l-* 'release, let go'  
*səll l-* 'attack'  
*sūməh l-* 'allow s.o., give permis-  
 sion to; forgive (rare)' (vs.  
*sūməh b-* 'allow s.t.'; d.o. 'for-  
 give')
- šəbūr l-* 'give respite to' (vs. *šəbūr*  
*mən* 'do without' and *šəbūr h-*  
 'have patience with s.o.')
- šəwšáwb l-* 'be wounded in'  
*sōm l-* 'sell to s.o.'  
*šūbəh l-* 'look like' (vs. *šūbəh b-*  
 'suspect s.o.')
- šədd l-* 'saddle'  
*šhəd l-* 'bear witness to/against'  
*šəráwǧ l-* 'sew up'  
*šátwəǧ l-* 'miss, long for'  
*šəhāk l-* 'make fun of' (vs. *šəhāk*  
*mən* 'laugh at')
- tōf l-* 'visit'  
*hətláwǧ šīwōt l-* 'open fire on' (lit.  
 'release fire')
- həwhōh l-* 'come to help s.o.'  
*wəkūb l-* 'go in (to see) s.o.; go into  
 (sexually)' (vs. *wəkūb* 'enter')
- xəlūt l-* 'join up with s.o.' (vs. *xəlūt*  
 'mix s.t. with [*b-*] s.t. else')
- (x)xəšáwb l-* 'send for; send to s.o.'  
*yəšš l-* 'be afraid for s.o.' (vs. *yəšš*  
*mən* 'be afraid of')

As with *b-*, one finds *l-* sometimes used with verbs where it is not expected, for example *kšūf* 'expose s.t.' (e.g., 24:38; elsewhere with d.o.), *ǧəfūd* 'go down to' (e.g., 64:18; usually d.o.), *rəkūb* 'mount' (e.g., 102:11; usually with *ǧār* or d.o.), *səlūb*

‘wait for’ (48:8; elsewhere with d.o.), *xtūl* ‘stalk, creep up on’ (10:14; elsewhere with d.o.), and *xəzōh* ‘refuse’ (94:4; elsewhere with *mən*).

The verb *šxəbūr* ‘ask’ is twice found with *l-*, meaning ‘ask about s.o.’ (20:46; 94:14). It is not clear whether this is really distinct from *šxəbūr mən* ‘ask about s.t.’, since in one place *šxəbūr mən* also means ‘ask about s.o.’ (32:6). A number of other verbs with *l-* are attested just once, and it is uncertain if the preposition is required when these verbs have these meanings. Such are *lətt l-* ‘bandage up s.t.’ (75:18), *látwi l-* ‘wrap (intrans.) around s.t.’ (49:11), *rəbb l-* ‘accept a tulchan, substitute for a lost calf’ (76:15), and *rəšáwn l-* ‘tie to’ (89:9; once also *rəšáwn b-*, 42:15, with the same meaning).<sup>11</sup> As noted already in § 8.8, we find *gəzūm l-* once (31:5) and *gəzūm h-* once (47:11), both meaning ‘swear to’. The verb *ǧərūf* ‘fetch water’ is attested in the same line with both *h-* and *l-*, with no difference in meaning (68:3). The phrase *āmōl l-X ǧərōy* ‘make trouble; give s.o. an argument’ (46:13) also seems to be an idiom; elsewhere (including earlier in 46:13) *āmōl* ‘make; do’ uses *h-* before an indirect object. Another idiom is *gəzōt lay həyáwm* ‘the sun went down on me’ (80:6).

The preposition *l-* also occurs in a number of non-verbal idioms. Some are:

*hāšē l-* ‘far be it from (s.o.)!’<sup>12</sup>

*ḵəráyb l-* ‘near, close to’

*l-aráwrəm* ‘along the sea(shore)’

*l-aráyḵ* ‘on an empty stomach; before/without breakfast’<sup>13</sup>

*l-āyōmən* ‘last year’

*əl-hōlət ḏīməh* ‘in this condition/way’

*əl-hōrəm* ‘by/on the road’ (vs. *bə-hōrəm* ‘on the road’)<sup>14</sup>

*l-aḵəssēt ḏəḵəməh* ‘like that [lit. that story]’

(*səyūr*) *l-aməráwḵəš* ‘(walk) on crutches’

*rēhəḵ l-* ‘far for s.o. (to go), far from’ (vs. *rēhəḵ mən* ‘far from’)<sup>15</sup>

11 The phrase *hátwəg l-* ‘need s.o.’, given in the list above, also only occurs once in the texts (94:13), but Ali Musallam used it again in a personal letter to me in 2010; for the text, see § 8.22, n. 25.

12 This is from Arabic *hāšā l-*.

13 This is from Arabic *‘alā r-rīq*.

14 E.g., *ǧəbūr ǧayg əl-hōrəm* ‘he met a man on/by the road’ (12:6), but *ǧayg ḏə-yəsyūr bə-hōrəm* ‘a man was traveling on the road’ (3:1).

15 Based on the few examples in the texts, *l-* is used after *rēhəḵ* with reference to how much distance a person has to cover, while *mən* simply indicates a statement of fact about two objects, human or not. Cf. *həməh rēhəḵ lihəm* ‘the water was far from them [or: far for them to go]’ (104:3) vs. *ǧəbrīsan rēhəḵ mən hārəwn* ‘he met them far away from the goats’ (99:40).

*əl-xāh ḏ-abáyt* ‘at the door of the house’  
*wōgəb l-* ‘it is proper for; ought to’ (see §12.5.20)

Several attested idioms have to do with parts of the body, as in:

*əl-ḥərōh* ‘on the head’ (28:8)  
*əl-fēm* ‘in/on the leg/foot’ (72:4)  
*əl-ḥáyḏ* ‘on the hand’ (75:16)  
*l-ārḵ ḏ-ansēm* ‘on an/the artery’ (75:18)

In cases where a verbal idiom or other kind of phrase containing *l-* is a loan from Arabic, Mehri *l-* can correspond to Arabic *‘alā* and *‘ilā*, as well as to Arabic *‘lī-*.

On the compounds *l-adəfēt ḏ-*, ‘by the side of, beside’ and *əl-sáyḏ ḏ-* ‘in the direction of’, see §8.22. And for the rare cases in which *l-* is translated as ‘have (time left)’, see §13.3.2.

In short, the use of the preposition *l-* is highly idiomatic, and we find that *l-* and *h-* have little overlap in function. The verb *kəlūt* ‘tell’, most often followed by *l-*, is sometimes found with *h-*. Both prepositions are found a handful of times after the motion verbs *rədd* and *ḵəfūd*. Very few other verbs are attested with both prepositions with no difference in meaning; among these are *gəzūm* ‘swear’ and *ḡərūf* ‘fetch water’. And finally, both prepositions can have a benefactive meaning ‘for’, though *h-* is far more common in this use.

### 8.13 *mən* ‘from’

The preposition *mən* has the basic meaning ‘from’, with reference to both location, time, and cause or reason. By extension, it is used in partitive constructions (‘of’) and in comparative constructions (‘than’); it also has a few other, less common uses. The following examples illustrate its basic meaning ‘from’ with respect to location:

*fṭawk ḥābū mən aməsgēd* ‘the people were coming out of the mosque’  
 (4:13)  
*nūka mən ḥəwōdi* ‘he came from the valley’ (10:1)  
*ḥəwōh mən dəhəḵ ḵənnáwn* ‘he fell from a small cliff’ (17:4)  
*ḥōm mənḵ ašáṭḵ* ‘I want the truth from you’ (22:89)  
*ḵərūt mən ḥābū* ‘she hid (her) from the people’ (24:4)



When *mən* indicates cause or reason, it can be translated as ‘from’ or ‘because of’. Examples are:

*šérə’ šəmrūš mən faṭx* ‘the judge fell ill from the head-wound’ (48:12)  
*ǧībūt mən ayəšáyt* ‘she fainted from fear’ (54:11)  
*ḥīṭār əl təwīw šī lā yəməh mən aḏəbbēt* ‘the kids didn’t eat anything today  
 because of the flies’ (26:13)  
*āǧáwz l-ād nəkáts šənēt lā mən ḥəbrēs* ‘the old woman could not sleep  
 [lit. sleep did not come to her] because of her son’ (36:8)  
*béri mōyət mən aǧəwé’* ‘I was dying from hunger’ (103:7)

Examples in which *mən* is used with reference to time are very rare in the texts. One is:

*mən k-sōbəḥ* ‘from the morning’ (10:3)

We also find *mən* used with a slightly different temporal meaning ‘since’ or ‘for’ (in the sense of ‘since ... ago’). In the latter meaning, *mən* is often used in a negative phrase in conjunction with the particle *l-ād* (§13.2.4). In one passage it means simply ‘ago’. Examples are:

*ādi əl šīnək tihəm lā mən warx* ‘I have not seen them for a month’ (20:41)  
*mən warxi troh l-ād xəšáwb bə-šī-lā* ‘he hasn’t sent anything at all for two  
 months’ (57:7)  
*mən mayt? mən wəḵōna áyšər yūm* ‘since when? since about ten days  
 (ago)’ (101:13–14)  
*ab’áyri ḏə-həǧšəbən təh mən áyšər yūm* ‘my camel that we lost ten days  
 ago’ (28:6)

In two passages, *mən* means ‘according to’, though this is clearly an extension of the meaning ‘from’. These are:

*ād əl əḥād yəšényəh lā ... mən akáwl ḏ-əǧəyūǧ əlyákəməh* ‘no one has ever  
 seen it again ... according to the report of those men’ (41:10)  
*mən ḥābū ḏə-škəlītəh, ādəh šəḥḥ* ‘according to the people who heard the  
 story from him, he was still alive’ (92:6)

Following are examples of the partitive use of *mən*, in which use *mən* is normally preceded by some sort of quantifier or pronoun:

*trōh mən attagēr* 'two of the merchants' (4:1)  
*šḥatōna tūt mən ḥabánše* 'I will kill one of your sons' (48:23)  
*ḏōmah mən ātakádhəm ḏa-sēḥar* 'this is some of their belief in magic'  
 (7:8)  
*kāl mənīn ḏa-bdōh* 'whichever of us has lied' (24:37)

Examples of the comparative use of *mən* are:

*al hē xass lā mən yəmših* 'it was no worse than yesterday' (26:4)  
*atēm axáy mənáy, aw hōh axáy mənķēm* 'you are better than me, or I  
 am better than you' (42:12)  
*ḥaybi axáy mənáy yōmər* 'my father sings better than me' (52:2)

For further discussion of comparatives, see § 5.4.

The preposition *mən* is also used idiomatically with a number of verbs, including:

<i>áygab mən</i> 'be delighted with' (vs. <i>áygab b-</i> 'love')	<i>šəktá' mən</i> 'become despondent, tired from'
<i>bəkōh mən</i> 'weep for/from'	<i>nūšəḥ mən</i> 'advise against'
<i>ḏáwla mən</i> 'be crippled in (a body part)'	<i>sədd mən</i> 'be able to do without; enable s.o. (d.o.) to do without'
<i>gəhēr mən</i> 'be dazzled by'	<i>šəbūr mən</i> 'do without' (vs. <i>šəbūr l-</i> 'give respite to' and <i>šəbūr h-</i> 'have patience with s.o.')
<i>gəzūm mən</i> 'swear against' (vs. <i>gəzūm l-</i> 'swear to')	<i>šəḥāk mən</i> 'laugh at' (vs. <i>šəḥāk l-</i> 'make fun of')
<i>ǰəff mən</i> 'lift s.o. up by'	<i>šəšyūk mən</i> 'get fed up with'
<i>ǰəlūk mən</i> 'look for' (vs. <i>ǰəlūk b-</i> 'look at')	<i>tāb mən</i> 'be tired of; have trouble with'
<i>ǰáyšən mən</i> 'feel sorry for s.o.'	<i>ṭəyūb mən</i> 'enjoy s.t., have one's fill of'
<i>həttəm mən</i> 'be sad about'	<i>šxəbūr mən</i> 'ask about s.t./s.o.'
<i>ḥəḏḏūr mən</i> 'take care not to, guard against' (vs. <i>ḥəḏḏūr b-</i> 'look out for [= on behalf of], guard')	<i>xəlūs mən</i> 'stray from, get lost from; miss (a target)'
<i>ḥəyūr mən</i> 'get confused about'	<i>xəzōh mən</i> 'refuse s.o. or s.t.'
<i>š(ə)ktüb mən</i> 'have s.o. write a charm against'	<i>yəšš mən</i> 'fear, be afraid of' (vs. <i>yəšš l-</i> 'be afraid for s.o.')
<i>ķáwṭa mən</i> 'be tired of'	

The preposition *mən* is also found in a number of other idiomatic expressions. Such are:

<i>gəmət mən gəmət</i> ‘every week [or: Friday]’	<i>mən xawr</i> ‘after a little while’
<i>kálləh mənək</i> ‘it’s all your fault’ (lit. ‘it’s all from you’)’	<i>mən azbōn hāwələy</i> ‘from/in former times’
<i>mən fənōhən</i> ‘before(hand)’	<i>məšhūr mən</i> ‘famous for’
<i>mən sēt</i> ‘a long time ago’	<i>məxwif mən</i> ‘afraid of’
<i>mən tawr</i> ‘sometimes’	<i>rēhək mən</i> ‘far from’ (also, less often, <i>rēhək l-</i> ) (see § 8.12, n. 15)
<i>mən tōdi</i> ‘at the breast’ (said of a baby)	<i>tōgər mən</i> ‘rich in’
	<i>xələ’ mən</i> ‘empty of, devoid of’

On the interrogative *hēsən mən*, see § 11.3. On the temporal conjunction *mən hīs* ‘since’, see § 13.5.3.3. On the prefixed form *əm-*, see § 8.15 and § 10.1.

#### 8.14 *mən kədē* ‘about, regarding’

The compound preposition *mən kədē* ‘about, regarding’ is not found in any of the texts included in this volume, but it happens to be attested a few times in the other texts recorded or written by Ali Musallam for Johnstone (see § 1.5). Examples of its use are:

*kələt līn mən kədē ašayd* ‘tell us about fishing!’  
*kəwtōna lūk mən kədē haynūt* ‘I’ll tell you about women’

#### 8.15 *əm-mán* ‘between’

The preposition *əm-mán* is a near homophone of the preposition *mən* ‘from’, distinguished in its unsuffixed form only by the sometimes difficult-to-hear initial element *əm-*. However, the two prepositions are historically unrelated. The form *əm-mán* derives from *\*əm-bán* (from an earlier *\*mən bayn*), as shown by the Yemeni Mehri forms *beyn*, *bīn*, or *bān*,<sup>16</sup> Hobyot *bīn*, Ḥarsusi *bēn*, and

16 On the Yemeni Mehri forms, see Watson (2012: 114). Jahn (1905: 125) and Bittner (1914a: 12) have *beyn*, while *bīn* is found in Sima (2009). Watson also lists an Omani Mehri form *mēn*.

Soqoṭri (*əm-*)*bín*,<sup>17</sup> and forms from other Semitic languages (e.g., Arabic *bayna*, Hebrew *bēn*). The shift of *b* > *m* in the Omani Mehri form is due not to the preceding *m*, but rather to the following *n*. On the sound change *bVn* > *mVn*, see § 2.1.8. The suffixed forms of *əm-mán* are made from the base *əm-mənw-* (see § 8.23 for forms). Examples from the texts are:

*dəhfāti əm-mán awəhōyən* ‘she smacked me between the shoulder blades’ (40:22)  
*hē šəwkūf əm-mán trōh* ‘he went to sleep between two (men)’ (69:3)  
*šerṭ əm-mənwáy w-əm-menwūk* ‘the deal between me and you’ (32:22)  
*tšəwkūf əm-mənwih w-əm-mán tētəh* ‘she would sleep between him and his wife’ (46:7)  
*alhān fəšáwl əm-mənwīn hōh káblək* ‘whatever they decide between us I will accept’ (77:4)  
*hádyəm adébaḥ əm-mənwáyhi* ‘they divided the honey between them’ (77:10)

In one passage *əm-mán* means ‘among’:

*gārəm amaláwtəg əm-mənwihəm* ‘dead fell among them’ (104:29)

It is worth mentioning that in his Arabic-letter manuscripts, Ali almost never indicated the initial *əm-* of *əm-mán*, but rather wrote simply *من* (*mn*) or *مان* (*mʾn*).<sup>18</sup> This is consistent with his overall system of orthography, in that he normally does not indicate an initial geminate, even if a schwa-vowel precedes. Probably because of this spelling, Johnstone normally transcribed simply *mən* in place of *əm-mán*, but the audio usually has a clear *əm-mán*.

17 The Hobyot form is given in *HV* (p. 250). The Ḥarsusi and Soqoṭri forms are given in *HL* (s.v. *byn*), and the latter is also found in Leslau (1938: 85). The more recent Soqoṭri glossary of Naumkin et al. (2014: 515) simply has *bin*.

18 Of the six passages with *əm-mán* in the texts, Ali use the spelling *من* in three and *مان* in three. For the fourteen suffixed forms (*əm-mənw-*), which bear stress on the suffixes, Ali always wrote *منو-* (*mnnw-*). Only in one place (77:4) did Ali transcribed an initial *alif* to indicate *əm-*.

8.16 *nəxāli* ‘under’

The preposition *nəxāli* (sometimes realized *ənəxāli*) means ‘under’.<sup>19</sup> For pronominal objects, it takes the suffixes used with plural nouns. The consonant *l* is lost in some of the suffixed forms, according to the rules outlined in § 2.1.5; see the full list of forms in § 8.23. Examples from the texts are:

*kaḫūdān b-abārr nəxāli dəhəḫ sōx* ‘we came down onto shore under a big cliff’ (60:10)

*aḡāyḡ šəkrōh nəxāli həddūt* ‘the man hid under the cradle’ (63:8)

*kūsa nəxāli hərōhs šātáyṯ həráwf* ‘he found under her head three (gold) coins’ (97:41)

*hēt ḏə-ḡābbək nəxāhə* ‘you are the one who defecated under it’ (3:18)

*əlhān kəsk nəxāse, hē ḏə-hōh* ‘whatever I find under it is mine’ (67:8)

The compound preposition *mən nəxāli* occurs three times in the texts. One of these means literally ‘from under, from below’. Another is ‘under’, used figuratively with the sense of ‘under the authority of’, while the third is used more idiomatically with the sense of ‘in the presence of, before’.<sup>20</sup> These are:

*šəḫ mən nəxāli həṣən* ‘he called out from below the castle’ (48:3)

*kaḡwla mən nəxāse ḡərtən* ‘he put under her (authority) servant-girls’ (24:45)

*šəndərk ... mən nəxāli ašhāwd* ‘I promise ... in the presence of the witnesses’ (39:5)

Twice in the texts we find the compound *tə nəxāli* ‘down to, to under’:

*həwōh sérə’ tə nəxāli həṣən* ‘the judge fell to the bottom of [lit. to below] the castle (wall)’ (48:5)

*səyūr bīhəm tə ənəxāli həṣən* ‘he brought them to below the castle’ (48:13)

19 On the etymology of *nəxāli*, see Rubin (2012a).

20 Johnstone recorded a fourth example that is suspect. See the comment to text 22:28.

8.17 *səbēb* ‘because of’

The preposition *səbēb* ‘because of’ only occurs three times in the texts: once with a prefix *əl-*, once with a following genitive *ǝ-*, and once on its own. The meaning ‘because of’ is more often conveyed by the preposition *mən* (see above, § 8.13), and *səbēb* as a preposition can probably be seen as an Arabism. Following are all attested cases of *səbēb* as a preposition in the texts:

- ayb līkəm təntáwḥəm səbēb ǝ-ḥəmōh* ‘it’s a disgrace for you to fight because of water’ (10:6)  
*əl əḥād yəḥōm yəxlēt līn lā əl-səbēbəh* ‘no one wants to join up with us because of him’ (89:32)  
*‘ššsəm səbēb ašáwt ǝ-ərhóh* ‘they woke up because of the voice of Berhoh’ (104:23)

We also find *səbēb* in the texts as a noun meaning ‘reason, cause’ (e.g., 22:94; 43:3).

8.18 *sār* ‘behind’

The preposition *sār* has the basic meaning of ‘behind’, with reference to location. There are also a few examples in which it seems to have a temporal meaning ‘after’. When suffixes are added, the base is usually the compound form *mən sər-*; the simple base *sər-* is found in contexts in which the prepositional phrase is used in a relative clause (with the relative pronoun *ǝ-* assimilated) and after certain verbs (e.g., *bəḳáwš* ‘run’). Some examples with the basic meaning ‘behind’ are:

- šəwkīf sār ḥərōm* ‘they went to sleep behind a tree’ (17:2)  
*ənḥōm nəšlél tē ḥəwōdi s-sərīn* ‘we should move to the valley behind us’ (30:2)  
*ənkēs mən sərīs wə-mné’ tádyəs* ‘come up to her from behind her and grab her breast(s)’ (40:15)  
*xəṭárkəm ād yənké’ máwsəm mən sərīh* ‘do you think another trading-boat will come again behind [or: after] it?’ (45:16)  
*āmárk hīs, “syēri fənwáy!” wə-hōh səyárk mən sərīs* ‘I said to her, “Go in front of me!” And I went behind her’ (54:17)

The verb *tūba* ‘follow’ is normally followed by a direct object (e.g., 22:11; 94:18), but it can also be followed by *sār*, either as part of an adverbial complement (cf. 15:9 below) or to mark the object of the verb (cf. 12:11 below), as in:

*təbátəh sənnáwrət mən sərih* ‘the cat followed him from behind [lit. from behind him]’ (15:9)  
*tábam sār əsfūtən ǰə-həbēr* ‘they followed the camels’ tracks’ (12:11)

This verb can also be followed by *b-* if the object is *šaff* (pl. *šfūtən*) ‘track(s)’ (e.g., 54:6). Additional verbal idioms are *bəḵawš sār* ‘run after’ and *bəḵōh sār* ‘cry over’, as in:

*bəḵáwš səris ḥəbrē ǰə-ḥōkəm* ‘the ruler’s son ran after her’ (97:15)  
*bəḵōh aǰáyǰ sār tətəh* ‘the man cried over his wife’ (19:5)  
*hēt təbēki sār kabš* ‘you are crying over a lamb’ (75:23)

In the verbal idioms *tūba sār* and *bəḵawš sār*, the preposition clearly has its basic meaning ‘behind’. In the idiom *bəḵōh sār*, the preposition seems to indicate cause, though we might think of *sār* as having a temporal meaning ‘after’; in both of the above passages (19:5; 75:23), the subject is crying because of someone or something that has gone away. There is one other passage in which *sār* appears to indicate cause, but again the underlying sense may be a temporal ‘after’:

*yáṣṣək tīs m-ād təfrēr mən ǰáyran, wə-mǰōrən ḥəbráy yəmēt səris, mən  
 əǰēbas* ‘I am afraid she might run away from us, and then my son will die because of her, out of love for her’ (37:10)

### 8.19 *tə* ‘until, up to’

The particle *tə* is most commonly used as a temporal conjunction meaning either ‘until’ or ‘(then) when’, and often also as an adverb ‘then’ (see § 13.5.3.2). However, in conjunction with nouns or adverbs, it functions as a simple preposition with either a temporal meaning ‘until’ or a spatial meaning ‘up to’. Examples are:

*səlōb tə bə-ḥəlláy* ‘wait until night’ (22:36)  
*ənḥōm nəsləl tə ḥəwōdi s-sərīn* ‘we should move to the valley behind us’  
 (30:2)

*wəzmōna tīham anáwlhəm mən šəfōr tē bāwməh* ‘I will give them their fare from Dhofar to here’ (91:32)  
*sáfrən bərk máwtər mən məskōt tē dábáy* ‘we traveled in a car from Muscat to Dubai’ (91:33)  
*səyáwr tē hərəš amšǧərēt* ‘they went to the next acacia’ (99:15)

The longer form *atté* (see § 13.5.3.2) is not attested in the texts as a preposition. As discussed in several sections above, *tē* also occurs in combination with a number of other prepositions. One finds *tē b-* ‘up on to’, *tē bərk* ‘up on to’, *tē ǧār* ‘up on to’, *tē hāl* ‘to (s.o.)’, and *tē nəxāli* ‘down to’, though all of these are quite rare. The most common of these is *tē ǧār*, which is found about ten times in the texts.

## 8.20 *təwōli* ‘to, towards’

The preposition *təwōli* ‘to, towards’ is very common, even more common in the texts than *h-* to indicate motion towards.<sup>21</sup> To mark pronominal objects, it takes the suffixes used with plural nouns. The consonant *l* is lost in some of the suffixed forms, according to the rules outlined in § 2.1.5; see the full list of forms in § 8.23.

The plurality of the occurrences of *təwōli* are following a form of the verb *səyūr* ‘go’, though it is also found with a number of other verbs of motion. Only rarely does it follow a non-motion verb (e.g., *ǧəlūk* ‘look’, *ktūb* ‘write’, *aʕyīt* ‘cry out’). Most notable is that, like *hāl* (§ 8.9), the object of *təwōli* is nearly always a person or group of people (or animals); when it is not, it is usually a noun denoting a human collective, like *səkən* ‘settlement; family’.<sup>22</sup> It is usually only when the object of *təwōli* is not a person or noun denoting a human collective that it is best translated ‘towards’. Examples are:

*səyūr hōkəm təwōli hənīt* ‘the ruler went to the women’ (20:24)  
*səyáwr təwōli šerēt w-aḥkáwmət* ‘they went to the judge and the government’ (24:38)

21 The preposition may derive from the root *thw* ‘follow’, as in Arabic *talā* ‘it followed’. If so, then it is connected to the adverb *tōli* (see § 10.3, n. 4).

22 This is not to say that a preposition is required when the object of verb of motion is a human. But a preposition is usual if the human object is nominal (rather than pronominal). For most verbs of motion, if the object is a place, then there is usually no preposition used.



*hōh sīrōna tawōli ḥáybi* ‘I will go to my father’ (24:49)  
*aǰáyǰ sayūr tawōli sékənəh* ‘he went to his settlement’ (31:15)  
*nūka ḥaynīt tawōli kəlōn* ‘the women came to the bride’ (9:7)  
*šálləm təh tawōli sékən* ‘they carried him to the settlement’ (17:9)  
*hē rədd tawōli abátəh* ‘he went back to his house’ (18:9)  
*a’yūt tawōli ḥābū* ‘he cried out to the people’ (17:6)  
*ǰəhōm tawōli sékənək* ‘go to your settlement!’ (38:21)  
*ktūb tawōli ašōyǰ xətt* ‘he wrote a letter to the jeweler’ (22:83)  
*xəšáwb bīs tawōli ḥōkəm* ‘he sent it to the ruler’ (48:14)  
*ǰəlákək tawōli aqōbər* ‘I looked towards the grave’ (54:13)  
*yəbdáwd kálhəm tawōli bədūn tāt* ‘all of them throw towards one *bədūn*’  
 (71A:1)

The distinction between human and non-human objects is illustrated very nicely by the following example in which the verb *sayūr* has two objects:

*w-əsyūr h-arḥəbēt tawōli aásər ḏə-ḥáybi* ‘I went to the town to my father’s friend’ (34:15)

There is also a noun *tawōli* which means ‘end part of the night’ (e.g., 42:25; 103:2).

## 8.21 *xā* ‘like, as ... as’

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, it is not certain that *xā* should be classified as a preposition, but it is included here for convenience because of its semantic function. In context, *xā* is often best translated into English as ‘like’ or ‘as ... as’. Literally, it means something more like ‘as if’. It is always followed by an independent subject pronoun. Consider the following examples:

*aǰīgēn rəḥáyym xā hē rīt* ‘the boy was beautiful like the moon’ (22:1)  
*xawr kəšəm xā hē fəlg* ‘the lagoon was cold as ice’ (36:1)  
*əwbōn xā hē šxōf, wə-xfáyf xā hē bark* ‘white like milk, and fast like lightning’ (41:8)  
*aǰīgēn, āmáwr, xā hē šār* ‘the boy, they said, was like a gazelle’ (83:3)

Literally, these examples translate as ‘beautiful as if he (were) a moon’, ‘cold as if it (were) ice’, etc., but it is unclear whether or not *xā* (or *xā hē*) has been grammaticalized and is considered (natively) as a true preposition. In all other occurrences of *xā* in the texts, however, *xā* does not function like a preposition.

In those cases, the meaning of *xā* is usually more transparent as ‘as if’, but it is still always followed by an independent subject pronoun. Following are all of the additional attestations of *xā*:

*nēḥar məxtīb yəkləl bəh kawt, məḳā xā sē nəkátəh arḥəmēt dīməh* ‘a barren wadi that there was no damned food in, as if this (recent) rain hadn’t come there [lit. to it]’ (26:15)

*əl xā hōh ḏ-əgüzəm lūk lā* ‘it’s not like I haven’t sworn to you’ (31:6)

*hōh ar ənōfa, wəlākan məḳā xā hōh ḏ-ənōfa šī hənīkəm* ‘I am indeed of use, but it’s as if I were of no use to you in anything’ (33:2)

*əsōni ḥābū xā hēm bərk ḥəmōh* ‘I saw people as if they were in water’ (40:23)

*wəlē məḳā xā hēm xələḳəm* ‘(it is) as if they were not born’ (90:8)

It is noteworthy that three of the five examples above use the negative particle *məḳā* (see §13.2.6). In fact, three of the four examples of *məḳā* in the texts are in combination with *xā*.

## 8.22 Additional Prepositions

There are a handful of phrases that might be considered compound prepositions, all of which occur just once or twice in the texts. Most of these can be analyzed as simple prepositions plus nouns. These are:

*l-adəfēt ḏ-* (with suffixes: *l-adəfēt-*) ‘by the side of, next to’ (cf. *daḥfēt* ‘body, side’)

*b-aḏōbəl ḏ-* (with suffixes: *b-aḏēbl-*) ‘beside’ (cf. *ḏōbəl* ‘side, edge’)<sup>23</sup>

*l-agərē ḏ-* ‘for the sake of, on account of’<sup>24</sup>

*ḳəyōs ḏ-* ‘like’ (cf. *ḳəyōs* ‘proportion; good fit, proper measure’)

*əl-sáyb ḏ-* ‘in the direction of’ (a word *sayb* ‘direction?’ is not attested)

*b-aṭərēf ḏ-* ‘beside’ (cf. *ṭərēf* ‘side’)

*mən aṭərēf ḏ-* ‘from among, out of’

23 For a literal example of *b-aḏōbəl ḏ-* ‘at the side of’, see text 37:20.

24 More often, *l-agərē* is used as a subordinating conjunction indicating purpose. See further in §13.5.2.

The attested contexts are:

*wə-wǰāz bəh aǰáyg ðə-l-adəfétəh* ‘and he slipped it to the man next to him’ (73:6)<sup>25</sup>

*tə b-aðébəli, həwǰáyh w-akōfi* ‘then when he was beside me, he put it down and left’ (92:2)

*hōh ðə-máthənək mánəh yəǰōla xədmátəh l-agərəy* ‘I was troubled that he had to leave his work on account of me’ (43:9)

*tḥōm (t)šōm āmark l-agərə ðə-təmbōku* ‘do you want to trade [lit. sell] your life for the sake of tobacco?’ (94:36)

*wə-nkōt bə-kəwtēt ðə-kəyōs ðə-kəwtēt ðīməh* ‘and she offered a story that was exactly like this story’ (48:31)

*səyárk əl-sáyb ðə-šīwōt* ‘I went in the direction of the fire’ (47:3)

*hīs bərsən b-aṭərəf ð-ašáyga, mánam wōz* ‘after they were by the pen, they took a goat’ (31:12)

*yəhwáfəyəm fakḥ ð-adəmmēt ðīməh mən aṭərəf ð-amōl ðə-hənīn b-ašháyr* ‘they pay half of this debt out of the livestock that is with us in the mountains’ (58:8)

The phrase *mən aṭərəf ð-* also occurs in text 75 (three times) in conjunction with the particle *ámma*. The combined phrase *w-ámma mən aṭərəf ð-* means something like ‘and now about’; see further in § 12.5.3.

The preposition *bəlá* ‘without’ occurs just one time in the texts, in the phrase *bəlá šak* ‘without a doubt’ (7:5). This is simply an Arabism, as is the related word *bəláš* ‘for nothing, gratis’ (22:48). The preposition *āwēš* ‘in place of, as a substitute for’ also occurs just one time (17:15). Its status in Mehri is unclear, though it is presumably borrowed from the Arabic preposition *‘iwaḍa*, which has the same meaning.

### 8.23 The Suffixed Forms of Prepositions

The prepositions can be categorized on the basis of their suffixed forms. The monoconsonantal prepositions *b-* ‘in, at; with; for’, *h-* ‘to; for’, *k-* ‘with’, and *l-* ‘to’;

25 Although this compound preposition occurs only here in the texts (repeated in text 73:7), Ali used it again in a letter to me in 2010. In the letter, he wrote (in Arabic letters), *hām hātəwəgək lī ... hōh l-adfētk* (‘if you need me [for help with Mehri] ... I am at your side’); above the final Mehri phrase, he added the English gloss “I am ready or I am beside you”.

for' (as well as the direct object marker *t-*; see § 3.3) form one group. These four are declined as follows:

	<i>b-</i>	<i>h-</i>	<i>k-</i>	<i>l-</i>
1cs	<i>bay</i>	<i>háyni</i>	<i>šay</i>	<i>lay</i>
2ms	<i>būk</i>	<i>hūk</i>	<i>šūk</i>	<i>lūk</i>
2fs	<i>baysš</i>	<i>haysš</i>	<i>šaysš</i>	<i>laysš</i>
3ms	<i>bəh</i>	<i>həh</i>	<i>šəh</i>	<i>ləh</i>
3fs	<i>bīs</i>	<i>hīs</i>	<i>šīs</i>	<i>līs</i>
1cd	<i>(báki)</i>	<i>(háki)</i>	<i>šiki</i>	<i>láki</i>
2cd				
3cd	<i>(báhi)</i>	<i>(háhi)</i>	<i>ših</i>	<i>láhi</i>
1cp	<i>bīn</i>	<i>hīn</i>	<i>šīn</i>	<i>līn</i>
2mp	<i>bikəm</i>	<i>hikəm</i>	<i>šikəm</i>	<i>likəm</i>
2fp	<i>bikən</i>	<i>hikən</i>	<i>šikən</i>	<i>likən</i>
3mp	<i>bīhəm</i>	<i>hīhəm</i>	<i>šīhəm</i>	<i>līhəm</i>
3fp	<i>bīsən</i>	<i>hīsən</i>	<i>šīsən</i>	<i>līsən</i>

The one exceptional form among these four prepositions is the 1cs form *háyni*. In addition, we can point out the following:

- The suffixes used with these prepositions look like the object suffixes used with 3ms/3fp perfects (§ 3.2.3).
- The underlying 3ms suffix is *-ih*, though it is realized as *-əh* or, less often, *-eh* or *-eh*, as per the rule discussed in § 2.2.4. In the texts, I have always

transcribed *-áh*. Cf. the variation in the 3ms object suffixes on 3ms perfects, discussed in § 3.2.3.

- The anomalous 1cs form *háyni*, though it does not conform with the rest of this group, does have parallels in the other MSA languages (e.g., Hobyot *hīni*, Jibbali *hīni*, Soqotri *énhi*).
- The vowel of the dual forms is a bit problematic. The two attestations of 3cd *láhi* with audio (74:16; 83:1) clearly have *á*. The two attestations of 3cd *šīhi* (4:13; 35:20) have *ī*, though Ali did not indicate the vowel in his Arabic-letter transcription (as he did, for example, for 3mp *šīham*, and usually for 3cd *tīhi*). The shift *ī > á* does not seem to be because of the following *h*, since we never find the shift before the 3mp suffix *-ham*, and because we find *-áki* as a 2cd verbal object suffix (see the comment to text 91:22); see also the note to the following table. So the vowels of the dual forms of *b-* and *h-* remain uncertain, as also with dual object suffixes on verbs (§ 3.2.3).

Another group consists of *bād* ‘after’, *bark* ‘in(to), inside’, *hāl* ‘at, by, beside’, *fānōhan* ‘before; in front of’, *əm-mān* ‘between’, and *sār* ‘behind’. These forms are:

	<i>bād</i>	<i>bark</i>	<i>fānōhan</i>	<i>hāl</i>	<i>əm-mān</i>	<i>sār</i>
1cs	<i>bādáy</i>	<i>barkáy</i>	<i>fānwáy</i>	<i>hánáy</i>	<i>əm-mānwáy</i>	<i>saráy</i>
2ms	<i>bādūk</i>	<i>barkūk</i>	<i>fānwūk</i>	<i>hānūk</i>	<i>əm-mānwūk</i>	<i>sārūk</i>
2fs	<i>bādáyš</i>	<i>barkáyš</i>	<i>fānwáyš</i>	<i>hánáyš</i>	<i>əm-mānwáyš</i>	<i>saráyš</i>
3ms	<i>bādīh</i>	<i>barkīh</i>	<i>fānwīh</i>	<i>hānīh</i>	<i>əm-mānwáh</i>	<i>sārīh</i>
3fs	<i>bādīs</i>	<i>barkīs</i>	<i>fānwīs</i>	<i>hānīs</i>	<i>(əm-mānwīs)</i>	<i>sārīs</i>
1cd	?	?	<i>(fānwáki)?</i>	?	<i>əm-mānwáyki</i>	<i>(sārīki)?</i>
2cd						
3cd	?	?	<i>(fānwáhi)?</i>	?	<i>əm-mānwáyhi</i>	<i>(sārīhi)?</i>
1cp	<i>bādīn</i>	<i>barkīn</i>	<i>fānwīn</i>	<i>hānīn</i>	<i>əm-mānwīn</i>	<i>sārīn</i>

2mp	<i>bādīkəm</i>	<i>bārkīkəm</i>	<i>fənwīkəm</i>	<i>hənīkəm</i>	<i>əm-mənwīkəm</i>	<i>sərikəm</i>
2fp	<i>bādīkən</i>	<i>bārkīkən</i>	<i>fənwīkən</i>	<i>hənīkən</i>	<i>əm-mənwīkən</i>	<i>sərikən</i>
3mp	<i>bādīhəm</i>	<i>bārkīhəm</i>	<i>fənwīhəm</i>	<i>hənīhəm</i>	<i>əm-mənwīhəm</i>	<i>sərihəm</i>
3fp	<i>bādīsən</i>	<i>bārkīsən</i>	<i>fənwīsən</i>	<i>hənīsən</i>	<i>əm-mənwīsən</i>	<i>sərisən</i>

## Notes:

- The suffixes used with these prepositions look like the object suffixes used with 3ms/3fp perfects (§ 3.2.3).
- The only attested dual form in this group is the 3cd *mənwāyhi* (77:10), though there is no audio confirmation of this form. In *ML* (p. xviii), Johnstone gives the forms *fənwāki* and *fənwāhi* as representative of this group. Watson (2012: 70) lists the dual forms *səriki* and *sərihi*. If Johnstone's forms are correct, or even if these are mistranscriptions for *fənwīki* and *fənwīhi* then it is very unclear whether the others pattern with *fənwāhi* or the attested *mənwāyhi*. Therefore, I have marked the unattested dual forms given above with a question mark. See also the final note to the previous table.

Another set includes *ḏār* 'on; about' and *ḡayr* 'except':

	<i>ḏār</i>	<i>ḡayr</i>
1cs	<i>ḏāyri</i>	<i>ḡāyri</i>
2ms	<i>ḏāyrək</i>	<i>ḡāyrək</i>
2fs	<i>ḏāyrəš</i>	<i>ḡāyrəš</i>
3ms	<i>ḏāyrəh</i>	<i>ḡāyrəh</i>
3fs	<i>ḏāyrəs</i>	<i>ḡāyrəs</i>

1cd	ðáyrki	ǵáyrki
2cd		
3cd	ðáyrhi	ǵáyrhi
1cp	ðáyrən	ǵáyrən
2mp	ðáyrkəm	ǵáyrkəm
2fp	ðáyrkən	ǵáyrkən
3mp	ðáyrhəm	ǵáyrhəm
3fp	ðáyrsən	ǵáyrsən

Note:

- The suffixes used with these prepositions look like the object suffixes used with singular nouns (§ 3.2.1). The vowel ə is part of the underlying suffix. The syllable rə is regularly metathesized to ər, e.g., \*ðáyrəsən > ðáy(ə)rsən. This is why we find the diphthong ay in what looks to be a closed syllable in the dual and plural forms.

The prepositions *təwōli* ‘to, towards’ and *nəxāli* ‘under’ are unlike other prepositions, in that they take the suffixes used with plural nouns (§ 3.2.2). This is due to the final *-i* of their bases, which was reinterpreted as part of the suffix in the plural forms. For example, the 3mp form *nəxālihəm* is etymologically made up of the base *nəxāli* plus the 3mp suffix *-həm*, i.e., *nəxāli-həm*. This was reinterpreted as a base *nəxāl* plus the suffix *-ihəm* that is found attached to plural nouns, i.e., *nəxāl-ihəm*, and subsequently the entire paradigm shifted to this pattern. The forms are:

	<i>təwōli</i>	<i>nəxāli</i>
1CS	<i>təwálye</i>	<i>nəxálye</i>
2MS	<i>təwēke</i>	<i>nəxāke</i>
2FS	<i>təwēše</i>	<i>nəxāše</i>
3MS	<i>təwēhe/təwálhe</i>	<i>nəxāhe</i>
3FS	<i>təwēse</i>	<i>nəxāse</i>
1CD	<i>təwáliki</i>	<i>nəxáliki</i>
2CD		
3MD	<i>təwálihi</i>	<i>nəxálihi</i>
1CP	<i>təwályən</i>	<i>nəxályən</i>
2MP	<i>təwálikəm</i>	<i>nəxálikəm</i>
2FP	<i>təwálikən</i>	<i>nəxálikən</i>
3MP	<i>təwálihəm</i>	<i>nəxálihəm</i>
3FP	<i>təwálisən</i>	<i>nəxálisən</i>

## Notes:

- The *l* of the bases *nəxál-* and *təwál-* is usually lost before suffixes beginning with a consonant other than *y*, i.e., all 2s and 3s forms. This is a result of the rule outlined in § 2.1.5. The 3ms is attested both with and without assimilation of the *l* (cf. 22:15 and 48:13), presumably because of the guttural *h*. It is possible *nəxāhe* also has a variant with the *l* preserved.
- The base *təwál-* has the free variant *təwél-*, e.g., *təwálhe* ~ *təwélhe* and *təwálikəm* ~ *təwélikəm*.



Finally, the preposition *mən* ‘from’ is unique. Its suffixed forms are:

	singular	dual	plural
1c	<i>məṇáy</i>	<i>məṇkáy</i>	<i>məṇīn</i>
2m	<i>məṇk</i>		<i>məṇkēm</i>
2f	<i>məṇš</i>		<i>məṇkēn</i>
3m	<i>máṇah</i>	<i>məṇháy</i>	<i>məṇhēm</i>
3f	<i>məṇs</i>		<i>məṇsēn</i>

The particles *ar* ‘except, but’, *tē* ‘until, up to’, and *xā* ‘like; as ... as’ cannot take suffixes. In fact, *tē* is not attested with a pronominal object at all, while *ar* and *xā* are followed by independent subject pronouns. The preposition *səbēb* ‘because of’ takes suffixes like any ordinary noun, though only 3ms *səbēbəh* is attested in the texts (89:32).

# Numerals

## 9.1 Cardinals

### 9.1.1 Numerals 1–10

Following are the numerals 1–10 in Omani Mehri:<sup>1</sup>

	Masculine	Feminine
1	<i>ṭāt</i> ( <i>ṭād</i> )	<i>ṭayt</i>
2	<i>ṭrōh</i>	<i>ṭrayt</i>
3	<i>ṣātáyṭ</i>	<i>ṣhəlīt</i>
4	<i>ərbōt</i>	<i>árba</i>
5	<i>xəmmōh</i>	<i>xáymaḥ</i>
6	<i>yəṭīt</i>	<i>hətt</i>
7	<i>yəbáyṭ</i>	<i>hōba</i>
8	<i>təməniṭ</i>	<i>təməni</i>
9	<i>ṣayṭ/sə'áyṭ</i>	<i>sē</i>
10	<i>āśarīt</i>	<i>ōśər</i>

As is characteristic of Semitic languages, the masculine numerals 3–10 (that is, those used in conjunction with masculine nouns) have the suffix *-t* (except *xəmmōh*), which is otherwise typically a feminine marker (§ 4.1).

The masculine numbers are used for counting. The numeral *ṭāt* (f. *ṭayt*) (which can also have the sense of ‘a certain’) normally follows the noun, but can sometimes precede it when referring to a person (e.g., 42:52, 60:10; 70:4; 88:1), in which case the noun can be considered appositional to the numeral. The more historically correct masculine form is *ṭād*,<sup>2</sup> but *ṭāt* is the form that Ali normally used; only once in his texts did he write *ṭād* (4:1). On *ṭāt* as an indefinite pronoun, see § 3.5.1 and § 3.5.3.

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- 1 For some variant Omani Mehri forms, and for Yemeni Mehri forms, see Watson (2012: 110). See also Bittner (1913a: 79–92) for a long discussion of the various Yemeni forms.
  - 2 Bittner (1913a: 82–84) derived *ṭād* from the Semitic root \**whd*. The form *ṭd* (vowels unknown) is also attested in Qatabanic, one of the Old (Epigraphic) South Arabian dialects. Watson (2012: 110, n. 91) seems to suggest that this connection with Qatabanic rules out the derivation from \**whd*, but this etymology and the connection with Qatabanic are not mutually exclusive.

The numeral *trōh* (f. *trayt*) usually follows a dual form of the noun, but can also precede, in which case the accompanying noun appears in the plural (e.g., 9:4). See further in § 4.2. The vowel of *trōh* corresponds to the dual suffix *-ōh*, used in a number of verb forms (§ 7.1.1, § 7.1.2, and § 7.1.3); as noted elsewhere, this *-ōh* likely derives from an earlier *\*ay*, which is still seen in the feminine form *trayt*.

The form *sātáy* derives not from *\*sāltáy* (which would give *sāwtáy* in Omani Mehri), but rather from *\*sā'táy*. Watson (2012: 110) recorded *sā'táy* in Eastern Yemeni Mehri. Western Yemeni Mehri has *sāfáy* or *sāg(a)tīt* (Jahn 1905: 74),<sup>3</sup> Ḥarsusi has *sāfáy* (*HL*, s.v. *śś*), Hobyot has *sā'tēt* (*HV*, p. 265), Jibbali (in which ' or *l* should remain) has *śōtēt* (*JLO*, § 9.1.1), and Soqoṭri has *sā'təh* (Johnstone 1975: 23). The *h* of the feminine form *śhalīt* is found in Yemeni Mehri dialects, as well as in Hobyot and Jibbali.<sup>4</sup>

Unlike 'one' and 'two', the numerals from 'three' to 'ten' normally precede the noun; however, they can sometimes follow when the phrase is definite (e.g., 64:33; cf. 66:5 for a counterexample), and always follow when the noun has a possessive suffix (e.g., 50:1).

In addition to the texts themselves, we hear numbers in various places on the audio recordings. Often Ali read the text number in Mehri, and in a couple of places he (and at least one other speaker) counted to ten. In those instances, we hear both *sayt* and *sā'áy* for 'nine (m.)'. The latter does sometimes sound more like *sā'áy*, which is probably where Johnstone got the transcription *sā'áy* in text 104:29 (see the comment to that passage).<sup>5</sup>

Following are some examples of numerals in context:

- 1m *gīgēn tād* 'one boy' (35:8), *kā' tāt* 'a certain place' (25:1), *tāt dallōl* 'one guide' (60:8)  
 1f *nəhōr tayt* 'one day' (24:5), *fāməs tayt* 'one of its legs [lit. its one leg]' (6:14), *wōdi tayt* 'a certain valley' (44:12)

3 There actually seems to be quite a bit of variation in Yemeni Mehri. In Hein (1909), for example, we find the transcriptions *daqtīt* (text 11:22), *taqśīs* (text 21:1), *taqtīt* (text 29:20), *daqśáy* (text 56:3), and *saqśáy* (text 57:1). My thanks to Antoine Lonnet for alerting me to these forms.

4 The root *\*ślt* is reconstructable for proto-MSA (cf. also the forms for 'three (days)', 'third', and 'one-third' in § 9.2, § 9.3, and § 9.4). Like *tād*, this root has parallels in Old South Arabian. A feminine form *ślt* (vowels unknown) is attested in Early Sabaic and in the other OSA languages (though later Sabaic has *ilt*), and a form *śhl* is attested a couple of times in Minaic.

5 The form *sāt* given in *ML* (s.v. *s'*) and Johnstone (1975a: 23) is likely an error. Watson (2012: 110) also recorded *sā'áy*.

- 2m *wárxi trōh* ‘two months’ (17:11), *ǰǰēni trōh* ‘two boys’ (35:1), *trōh ǰayw* ‘two brothers’ (40:1), *ṭáwri trōh* ‘two times, twice’ (37:11), *trōh ḏa-nḥāh* ‘two of ours’ (89:4), *trōh šhawd* ‘two witnesses’ (9:4), *trōh mən tagēr* ‘two of the merchants’ (4:1) (see also § 4.2)
- 2f *tēti trayt* ‘two women’ (2:1), *ǰarīti trayt* ‘two slave girls’ (97:31), *fərháyini trayt* ‘two horses’ (24:11) (see also § 4.2)
- 3m *šātáyť ǰayūǰ* ‘three men’ (60:4; but *ǰayūǰ šātáyť* ‘the three men’, 64:33), *šātáyť mahréh* ‘three Mehri’ (88:1), *šātáyť ambəráwřan* ‘three boys’ (91:1), *nəḥāh šātáyť* ‘we are three’ (42:24)
- 3f *šhalīt sənáyń* ‘three years’ (14:3), *šhalīt sāt* ‘three hours’ (18:10), *šhalīt ǰǰǰǰōřan* ‘three girls’ (37:3), *šhalīt aǰáthe* ‘his three sisters’ (37:6)
- 4m *ərbōť ǰayūǰ* ‘four men’ (88:7), *ərbōť āšáwř* ‘four nights’ (92:1), *ərbōť mənīn* ‘four of us’ (83:7)
- 4f *árba riǰād* ‘four pregnant camels’ (12:10)
- 5m *xəmmōh ṭəwōř* ‘five times’ (20:42), *xəmmōh wōřax* ‘five months’ (10:10)
- 5f *xáymaḥ sənáyń* ‘five years’ (14:5), *xáymaḥ řikōb* ‘five camel-loads’ (65:15)
- 6m *yəťit bū* ‘six people’ (71A:1), *yəťit wəšāḥ* ‘six times per day’ (93:3)
- 6f *ḥəťyūm* ‘six days’ (27:22) (see § 9.2)
- 7m *ḥəbānḥe yəbáyť* ‘(his) seven sons’ (50:1), *yəbáyť zəyáwřəť* ‘seven jars’ (97:7), *ḥēm yəbáyť* ‘they were seven’ (70:3)
- 7f *ḥōba yəńit* ‘seven women’ (97:16), *ḥōba sənáyń* ‘seven years’ (14:1)
- 8m *ṭəmənūt ḏəřé* ‘eight cubits’ (98:11)
- 8f *ṭəmōni sənáyń* ‘eight years’ (8:1)
- 9m *sayť mən ad-dəráw* ‘nine of the Duru’ (104:29)
- 10m *āšəřit ǰayūǰ* ‘ten men’ (104:6), *āšəřit dīnār* ‘ten dinars’ (22:40)
- 10f *ōšəř rawń* ‘ten goats’ (70:5), *ōšəř mən ḥázýe* ‘ten of my goats’ (81:4)

Interestingly, the numeral *ṭāť* (f. *ṭayť*) comes between a noun and its attributive adjective. In these cases (of which only a handful are attested), *ṭāť* / *ṭayť* is usually best translated with an indefinite article or the phrase ‘a certain’:

- šērə ṭāť sōx* ‘a certain big street’ (18:10)  
*səkān ṭāť řəḥəķ* ‘a certain settlement far away’ (64:32)  
*ǰǰǰəńōť ṭayť əřḥáymať* ‘a certain pretty girl’ (97:19)  
*řəšķ ṭāť yəđīn* ‘a new lot’ (98:9)  
*śawř ṭāť yəđīn* ‘a new plan’ (98:9)

Numerals with pronominal suffixes are not attested in the texts, though such constructions are possible (e.g., *šātáyťən* ‘we three’, *šātáťkəm* ‘you three’). We do,

however, find in the texts a suffix (dual, of course) attached to the noun *kəláyṭ* ‘both’: *kəláṭhi* ‘both of them’ (20:25).<sup>6</sup> In a partitive expression, the numeral is followed by the preposition *mən*, as in *ərbōt mənīn* ‘four of us’ (83:7).

There also exist diminutive forms of the numerals, but none are found in the texts. See further in Watson (2012: 111–112).

### 9.1.2 Numerals 11–19

The numerals 11 to 19 are made simply by saying ‘ten and one’, ‘ten and two’, etc., with both elements agreeing in gender with the noun. However, in the texts, we find most often that these forms are replaced by numerals borrowed from Arabic.<sup>7</sup> The following are all of the forms of the teens attested in the texts:

Native Mehri form:

15 *ōśər wə-xáyməh* ‘fifteen (dollars)’ (39:3)<sup>8</sup>

Arabic forms:

11 *həd’ášar ġayg* ‘eleven men’ (104:10, 104:25)

14 *arbātāšər zayr* ‘fourteen jars’ (97:21)

15 *xamstāšər yūm* ‘fifteen days’ (97:31)

16 *anhōr ḏə-səttāšər* ‘the sixteenth day’ (97:32) (see below, § 9.3)

The noun following a numeral 11 to 19 can either be singular (like *ġayg* and *zayr* above) or plural (like *yūm* above). As discussed in the comment to text 104:10, the Roman manuscript of that text includes the variant *āśərīt wə-tāṭ ġəyūg*, using the native Mehri number plus a plural noun. See also the comment to text 104:25.

### 9.1.3 Tens

The forms of the tens in Mehri have been borrowed from Arabic. Those attested in the texts are *ašráyn* ‘20’ (less often *ásráyn*), *śəlātáyn* ‘30’, *ərbə’áyn* ‘40’, and *xəmsáyn* ‘50’. The pattern of *śəlātáyn* ‘30’ derives from Arabic, but the initial *ś*

6 *Kəláyṭ* is the feminine form of ‘both’. The masculine counterpart, unattested in the texts, is *kəlōh*. These words have the same historically-dual suffixes that are found on the forms of the numeral ‘two’.

7 Speakers were using Arabic forms of the teens alongside native forms already at the turn of the 20th century, and probably earlier; cf. Jahn (1905: 75). Nevertheless, Watson (2012: 110) found the native Mehri forms still widely used in Oman.

8 In the context of text 39:3, *ōśər wə-xáyməh* could conceivably be translated ‘ten and five’.

is Mehri; the form is thus a hybrid, as is the variant *ašráyyn* for '20'. For numbers such as 21, 22, 23, etc., the digit usually follows the ten (but see '25' below) and is preceded by *wə-*, e.g., *ašráyyn wə-ṭāt* '21'. As with the teens, nouns following numerals twenty and above can be either singular or plural. Examples from the texts are:

- 20 *ašráyyn sənáyyn* '20 years' (2:1), *ašráyyn alf* '20,000' (4:1), *ašráyyn ḵaráwš* '20 dollars' (25:8)  
 21 *ašráyyn wə-ṭāt* '21 (men)' (104:21)  
 23 *ašráyyn wə-šātáyyt manāsīr* '23 Manasir (tribesmen)' (104:24)  
 25 *xams w-ašráyyn náfar* '25 people' (104:8), *xams w-ašráyyn ḡayg* '25 men' (104:10)  
 30 *šalātáyyn alf* '30,000' (65:15)  
 40 *ərbə'áyyn yūm* '40 days' (8:6), *ərbə'áyyn ḵaráwš* '40 dollars' (77:3), *ərbə'áyyn ḡayg* '40 men' (104:27)  
 50 *xəmsáyyn rawn* '50 goats' (20:32), *xəmsáyyn ḵarš* '50 dollars' (72:3)

#### 9.1.4 Hundreds

The numeral '100' is *myēt*, and '200' is the dual *myēti trayt*. For all other multiples of '100', the plural form *mī* is used, preceded by a feminine digit. Accompanying nouns are usually in the singular. In a few cases, the genitive exponent *ḏ-* (§ 12.4) is placed between the numeral and the noun.

- 100 *myēt bū* '100 people' (22:32), *myēt kīlo ḏ-ayš* '100 kilos of rice' (66:4), *myēt ḵarš* '100 dollars' (85:3), *myēt ḏə-ḵarš* '100 dollars' (85:5), *myēt ḡanīr* '100 guineas' (85:12)  
 200 *myēti trayt ḏə-ḵarš* '200 dollars' (64:11), *myēti trayt* '200' (85:8)  
 300 *šhəlīt mī* (69:5)  
 500 *xáyməh mī* (9:3)  
 700 *hōba mī* (60:5)

We also find a form with the Arabic dual suffix in one passage in the texts: *myētáyyn dīnār* '200 dinars' (22:50).

#### 9.1.5 Thousands and Above

The numeral '1000' is *ēf* in Mehri, but the Arabic form *alf* is usually found in the texts. As expected, '2000' is *ēfi trōh*. Multiples from '3000' up to '10,000' are made with a masculine numeral plus the plural *yəlēf* 'thousands'. Higher multiples normally use the singular form *alf*. Accompanying nouns can be singular or plural. The numbers attested in the texts are:

- 1000 *alf dīnār* ‘1000 dinars’ (22:47), *ēf kərawš* ‘1000 dollars’ (20:32)  
 4000 *ərbōt yalēf* ‘4000’ (22:48)  
 10,000 *āsārīt yalēf* ‘10,000’ (22:49)  
 20,000 *ašrāyn alf kəraš* ‘20,000 dollars’ (4:1), *ašrāyn alf* ‘the 20,000’ (4:10)  
 30,000 *śalātāyn alf* ‘30,000’ (65:15)  
 40,000 *ərbə‘āyn alf* ‘40,000’ (22:53)<sup>9</sup>

‘Million’ is *malyōn* (pl. *mālēyīn*). This is a borrowing from Arabic, as evidenced by the shared broken plural pattern.

- 1,000,000 *malyōn kəraš* ‘1,000,000 dollars’ (36:2), *bū mālēyīn* ‘millions of people’ (74:4)

## 9.2 Special Forms Used With ‘Days’

A peculiar feature of the numeral system of Mehri (though not unknown from some other Semitic languages) is the existence of a special set of numerals used for counting three or more days, all based on the pattern *CiCəC*. These are as follows (note that the forms from six to nine do not occur in the texts):

<i>nəhōr tayt</i> ‘one day’	<i>šidət yūm</i> ‘six days’ <sup>10</sup>
<i>nəhōri trayt</i> ‘two days’	<i>šiba yūm</i> ‘seven days’
<i>śilət yūm</i> ‘three days’	<i>tīmən yūm</i> ‘eight days’
<i>riba yūm</i> ‘four days’	<i>tīsa yūm</i> ‘nine days’
<i>xāyməh yūm</i> ‘five days’	<i>āyśər yūm</i> ‘ten days’

The form used for ‘five days’ is identical to the simple feminine ordinal *xāyməh*. The one occurrence in the texts of ‘six days’ uses the simple feminine numeral: *hatt yūm* ‘six days’ (27:22). This is perhaps on analogy with ‘five days’. (The cardinal feminine form of ‘six’ is used with ‘days’ also in Jibbali.) It is also worth pointing out that in order for one of the special forms to be used, the word *yūm* need not follow if it has been previously mentioned; cf. *nəhōri trayt aw śilət* ‘two or three days’ (99:52). Compare the use of the feminine numeral vs. the special form used with ‘days’ in the following passage:

9 As mentioned in the comment to this text, the manuscripts have *alf*, but the audio has *yalēf*.  
 10 The initial *š* of *šidət* and *šiba* does not match the initial *h* of the cardinal forms, though it does match the ordinals (used with ‘day’).

*mət təmm šhalit sənáyn, kələham šilət yūm* ‘when three years have elapsed, leave them three days’ (37:14)<sup>11</sup>

There are also special ordinal forms used with ‘days’, which will be covered in the next section.

### 9.3 Ordinals

Following are the forms of the ordinals 1–10. There are two feminine forms: those used in connection with the word ‘day’, and those used with all other feminine nouns.

	Masculine	Feminine	Form with ‘day’
1st	<i>hāwəláy</i> <sup>12</sup>	<i>hāwəlīt</i>	(no special form)
2nd	<i>məšəǵər</i> <sup>13</sup>	<i>məšəǵərīt</i>	(no special form)
3rd	<i>šōlət</i>	<i>šētət</i> <sup>14</sup>	<i>šəwtīt</i>
4th	<i>rōbəʾ / rōba</i>	<i>rābat</i>	<i>ərbáyit</i>
5th	<i>xōməs</i>	<i>xamst</i>	<i>xəmhūt</i>
6th	<i>sōdəs</i>	<i>sád(ə)st</i>	<i>šədtīt</i>
7th	<i>sōbəʾ / sōba</i>	<i>sābat</i>	<i>šəbáyit</i>
8th	<i>tōmən</i>	<i>tāmnət</i>	<i>təmnūt</i>
9th	<i>tōsəʾ / tōsa</i>	<i>tāsat</i>	<i>tsáyit</i>
10	<i>ōšər</i> <sup>15</sup>	<i>āsrət</i>	<i>āsrīt</i>

11 See the comment to this passage (*šilət yūm*) in the text section.

12 *ML* (s.v. *ʾwl* and *hwl*) translates *hāwəláy* only as ‘ancient’, but that is just a secondary meaning. *ML* translates *hāwəl* as ‘first’, but this appears to be a noun meaning ‘first part’. It is found in the phrase *hāwəl š-aášər* ‘the first part of the night’ (42:25), in parallel with *fakh š-aášər* ‘the middle part of the night’ and *təwōli š-aášər* ‘the last part of the night’, in the same passage.

13 Forms of ‘second’ without the definite article *a-* do not occur in the texts, and in the one place we expect an indefinite form *məšəǵər*, we get definite *amšəǵər* (65:12).

14 *ML* (s.v. *šlt*) gives the feminine of *šōlət* as *šəwtīt*, which is the form used only with ‘day’. We find the same with the ordinals ‘4th’ and higher in *ML*, none of which are attested in the texts. See further in the comment to text 37:20.

15 The ordinal forms of ‘10’ are not attested in the texts. Watson (2012: 113) claims that the forms are no longer used in Omani Mehri, but did find the expected forms *ōšər* and *āsrət* in the Yemeni dialect she studied; these match the forms found by earlier researchers (Jahn 1905: 76; Bittner 1913a: 96). Johnstone (1975a: 24; *ML*, s.v. *šr*) gives masculine ordinal *ášər*, which is an error; this is the cardinal form used with ‘days’ (§ 9.2). He also gives the



As evident from the above list, the ordinals for three through nine are all built on the same pattern: *CōCəC* for masculine and *CáCCət* for feminine. The ordinal forms used with ‘day’ have the pattern *CəCCīt* (essentially the feminine of the pattern *CīCəC* discussed in § 9.2). The words for ‘first’ and ‘second’ also have plural forms, namely, mp *ḥāwəlōy* (fp *ḥāwəláyṭən*) and cp *məšəǵərūtən*, though these do not appear in the texts.

For ‘second’, there are two other words besides *məšəǵər* attested in the texts. The first is *tōni* (48:23, 24), a form based on the regular ordinal pattern *CōCəC*. This can probably be considered a Yemeni Mehri form in the texts,<sup>16</sup> though Watson (2012: 113) did record *tōni* in very limited use in Omani Mehri. The second is *matállī* (64:19; fp *məṭalyōt* in 30:13), which is based on the same root as the word *tōli* ‘then’. Its basic meanings are something like ‘other, later, following’, meanings given in *ML* (s.v. *tl̥t* [sic]).<sup>17</sup> The adjective *məšəǵər* can also mean ‘other’, while the adjective *ḥāwəláy* can also mean ‘former’ or ‘previous’, as can be seen in some of the examples below.

Some examples of the ordinals in context are:

- 1m *aǵáyǵ ḥāwəláy* ‘the first man’ (73:9), *əwbūd ḥāwəláy* ‘he shot the first one’ (64:19), *aǵáyǵəs ḥāwəláy* ‘her first husband’ (22:77), *azbōn ḥāwəláy* ‘former times’ (99:1)
- 1f *tétəḥ ḥāwəlīt* ‘his first wife’ (22:102)
- 2m *ṭawr amšəǵər* ‘a second time’ (65:12), *kāl ṭāṭyāḥōm yəxbēr amšəǵər* ‘each one wanted to test the other’ (73:10)
- 2f *aǵátəḥ amšǵərēt* ‘his second sister’ (37:19), *ḥəwōdi amšǵərēt* ‘the next valley’ (92:4), *fēməs amšǵərēt* ‘its other leg’ (81:4)
- 3m *sōlāt ḏ-āšáwr* ‘the third (one) of the nights’ (22:68), *āšər sōlāt* ‘the third night’ (37:20), *lélāt ḏə-sšōlāt* ‘the third night’ (48:24)

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feminine ordinal *āsərēt*, which must be the ordinal used with ‘days’, and, as such, it is better transcribed with a final *-it*.

16 Text 48 is an Omani Mehri “translation” of a Yemeni Mehri text published in Jahn (1902: 7–14). It is not surprising, therefore, that the text contains this form, as well as several other Yemeni Mehri words (e.g., *ḥərmēt* ‘wife’, *dáwlat* ‘ruler’, and *məḥəḥōyət* ‘coffee shop’). Although, in the passage in Jahn (p. 12) that corresponds to text 48:23, we find *lilāt ṭaniyət*, with the feminine ordinal! Watson (2012: 133, n. 100) explains that *tōni* has a very restricted use in Omani Mehri. On the related adverb *ṭányən* ‘secondly’, see § 10.5.

17 Cf. also the month names *fəṭəráy amtállī* (Arabic *ḏū l-qa’dah*) and *ǵəməd mətállī* (Arabic *rabī t-ṭānī*). Johnstone (*ML*, s.v. *gmd*) wrote that *ǵəməd mətállī* corresponds to Arabic *jumādā l-āxirah*, but in Mehri this is *ǵəməd rōba*.

- 3f *anhōr šəwtīt* ‘the third day’ (22:49; 91:27), *anhōr ḏə-šəwtīt* ‘the third day’ (88:5), *aġātəh əśśētət* ‘his third sister’ (37:20)
- 4m *arōbə’ ḏ-āšáwr* ‘the fourth of the nights’ (37:16), *arōbə’* ‘the fourth (man)’ (73:8)
- 4f *anhōr ḏ-ərbáyt* ‘the fourth day’ (24:20)
- 5f *xəmhūt* ‘the fifth (day)’ (32:5)
- 6f *āšər ḏə-šədtīt* ‘the night of the sixth (day)’ (92:3)
- 16 *anhōr ḏə-səttāšər* ‘the sixteenth day’ (97:32)

As seen in the above examples, there are many cases in which the ordinal immediately follows the noun (e.g., *aġáyg hāwəláy* ‘the first man’, 73:9; *anhōr šəwtīt* ‘the third day’, 91:27), but we also find some examples in which the genitive exponent *ḏ-* comes between the noun and the ordinal (e.g., *anhōr ḏə-šəwtīt* ‘the third day’, 88:5). The construction of the type *X ḏə-ORDINAL* is met only when referring to days or times of the day, and in such cases the ordinal is being used substantively, not adjectivally. This is proven by a case like *āšər ḏə-šədtīt* (92:3). The form *šədtīt*, which is a feminine form used only in conjunction with *nəhōr* ‘day’ (explicitly or implicitly), cannot be modifying *āšər*, a masculine noun. Instead, *šədtīt* is substantivized form, agreeing with an implied *nəhōr* ‘day’, and the phrase can be translated literally ‘the night of the sixth day’ or more loosely as ‘the sixth night’. The phrase *nəhōr ḏə-šəwtīt* would then be literally ‘the daytime of the third (day)’, though a simple translation as ‘the third day’ is preferable. There are also examples of the ordinal preceding a plural noun, with the genitive exponent *ḏ-* between them, and in these cases the ordinal is also acting substantively (e.g., *šōlət ḏ-āšáwr* ‘the third (one) of the nights’, 22:68), but a translation using an attributive adjective is possible (e.g., ‘the third night’).

In the context of a past tense narrative, the idea of ‘next’ (i.e., ‘the following’) is expressed with *xáyəlf* (f. *xəwfīt*), as in *āšər xáyəlf* ‘the next night’ (69:3) and *anhōr xəwfīt* ‘the next day’ (30:8; 69:5).<sup>18</sup> Alternatively, *amšəġər* can mean ‘next’ (i.e., ‘the second’), as in *anhōr amšəġərēt* ‘the next day’ (89:31). In a future context, ‘next’ (i.e., ‘the coming’) is expressed with *məháqəbəl*, as in *aqáqəḏ amháqəbəl* ‘next summer’ (39:16).<sup>19</sup> The idea of ‘last’ (i.e., ‘the previous’) is expressed by the

18 The phrases *anhōr xəwfīt* and *anhōr amšəġərēt* tend to follow the conjunction *tə* ‘then’, in which case the definite article of *anhōr* is often elided, resulting in a pronunciation *tə n(ə)hōr xəwfīt/amšəġərēt*.

19 It seems likely that *məháqəbəl* in this usage is a calque of Arabic *muqbil*, which is the C-stem (‘af’ala) active participle from the cognate root.

verb *gərōh* ‘pass’ in a relative clause, as in *anhōr ḏ-agəmāt ḏə-gərūt* ‘last Friday’ (lit. ‘the Friday that passed’, 53:1).

The ordinals for ‘three’ and above can also be used as adverbs, while *fənōhən* is used for ‘first(ly)’ and *məǰōrən* for ‘second(ly)’. Evidence is slim, but we find a nice sequence of *fənōhən* ‘first(ly)’, *məǰōrən* ‘second(ly)’, and *sōlēt* ‘third(ly)’ in 90:15.

#### 9.4 Fractions

The following fractions are attested in the texts:

- 1/2 *fakḥ* (du./pl. *fākḥi*),<sup>20</sup> as in *fakḥ əs-sēt* ‘half an hour’ (53:6), *əffākḥ ḏə-ḥōz* ‘half of the goat’ (25:15), *fakḥ ḏə-wārɤ* ‘half a month’ (72:6), *fakḥ əḏ-həbēr* ‘half of the camels’ (69:8)
- 1/3 *šālēt* (du. *šaláyti*, pl. *šəhwōt*), as in *šālēt ḏ-aášər* ‘a third of the night’ (42:33)
- 1/4 *rəbáyɤ* (pl. *rəbōyε*), as in *šəlīt rəbōyε* ‘three-quarters’ (66:9)

#### 9.5 Days of the Week

The Mehri words for the days of the week all contain elements borrowed from Arabic. They are:

- anhōr ḏə-l-ḥād* ‘Sunday’ (105:1)  
*anhōr ḏə l-ətnēn* ‘Monday’  
*anhōr ḏə-təlūt* ‘Tuesday’  
*anhōr ḏ-ərbū* ‘Wednesday’  
*anhōr ḏə-xəmis* ‘Thursday’  
*anhōr ḏ-agəmāt* ‘Friday’ (53:1; 85:4)  
*anhōr ḏə-sábt* ‘Saturday’

The word *āšər* ‘the evening, night’ can be substituted for *anhōr* ‘the day’, in which case the night before is usually the intended reference, e.g., *āšər ḏ-agəmāt* ‘Thursday night’ (7:7) and *aášər ḏə-l-ətnēn* ‘Sunday night’ (37:2).<sup>21</sup> In

20 Sabaic also has *fkh* ‘half’, giving us another OSA-MSA connection in the numeral system. See above, notes 2 and 4. On the etymology of the root, see Kogan (2015: 566–567).

21 Morris (2012: 486). A younger informant confirmed this, but implied that there is some

48:2, the word *gāmāt* is used alone in the phrase *gāmāt mən gāmāt*, but it is unclear if it means 'every week' or 'every Friday'; both work in the context of the story. The word *gāmāt* undoubtedly means 'week' in the phrases *wəḵōna gāmāt* 'about a week' (91:13) and *šxəwlūl gāmāt* 'he rested a week' (93:7).

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variation in usage. In Johnstone's own translations, the passages from 7:7 and 37:2 were translated as 'Friday night' and 'Monday night', respectively, and it is possible that these may have been the intended meanings in Ali Musallam's texts. *ML* (s.v. *ṭny*), on the other hand, has 'Sunday night', with an explicit note that *āṣər* refers to the night before.

## Adverbs

As in many other Semitic languages, there are no productive means for creating adverbs in Mehri. In some places where we find an adverb in English, Mehri uses a prepositional phrase, for example:

*aršáni bə-ḥáys* ‘tie me up tightly [lit. with force]’ (24:28)  
*hēt hōkəm tháwkəm bə-ḥákk* ‘you are a ruler who rules justly [lit. with rightness]’ (74:20)  
*ḵáwṭa bə-ḥáys* ‘he cut (too) forcefully [lit. with force]’ (75:17)  
*ṭāt hargūf b-abēdi* ‘one fake-shivered [lit. shivered on pretense]’ (84:4)

Such examples are relatively uncommon in the texts. Even less common in the texts is the use of a modified cognate accusative as a substitute for an adverbial expression, as in:

*wə-šgəwsétəh ḥāmáh mǝglēs ḵəwáy* ‘and his mother gave [lit. scolded] him a severe scolding’ (or: ‘she scolded him severely’) (14A:8)  
*ǵəlūk b-aǵīgēn ǵáylək ḵəwáy* ‘he looked at the boy (with) an intense look’ (or: ‘he looked at the boy intensely’) (22:8)  
*ḵəṭáys mǝḵṭāt ḵənnát* ‘he gave her [lit. cut her] a small cut’ (or: ‘he cut her lightly’) (75:18)

Though there are no productive means of creating adverbs, there are numerous lexical adverbs. These are discussed below according to type.

### 10.1 Demonstrative Adverbs

The words for ‘here’ and ‘there’ pattern with the demonstratives, in that there are forms with and without the element *-mah* (see § 3.4). The longer forms (i.e., those with the element *-mah*) are far more common overall, though in combination with *-* ‘to’, only the shorter form of ‘here’ is used. Following are the forms, along with some sentences illustrating their use:

Here:	<i>bōh</i>	There:	<i>ḥaláwk</i>
	<i>báwməh</i>		<i>ḥalákəməh</i>

To here:	<i>əw-bōh</i> (< * <i>əl-bōh</i> ) <i>báwməh</i>	To there:	(no special form attested)
From here:	<i>əm-bōh</i> <i>əm-báwməh, mən báwməh</i>	From there:	(no short form attested) <i>mən həlákəməh</i>

The shorter forms *bōh* and *həláwk* (when not in combination with a preposition) are very rare in the texts, each occurring just two or three times. Each seems to have a much more restricted usage than their respective longer forms. The two attested cases of *bōh* (42:27, 42:35) are both in presentative statements ('here is ...'), while the three attested cases of *həláwk* (5:7, 5:8; 23:18) are in existential statements. For motion towards, *əw-bōh* is only attested with imperatives. When other tenses are used, we find *báwməh* used for motion instead. Compare the passages below from texts 1:4 and 94:33, both of which contain a form of the verb *nūka* 'come'. Examples are:

- kō hēt báwməh* 'why are you here?' (3:10)  
*skyēna báwməh* 'they will settle here' (74:5)  
*a'ísēš bōh* 'here is your dinner' (42:27)  
*ənké əw-bōh* 'come here!' (1:4)  
*əl yənákam báwməh lā* 'they don't come here' (94:33)  
*nákak əm-bōh* 'I come [or: came] from here' (80:2)  
*səyárk ... əm-báwməh* 'I went ... from here' (53:1)  
*hām ftakk mən báwməh* 'if I get out from here' (3:3)  
*əl əhād yəšēnūs yənké' həlákəməh* 'no one dared come there' (95:1)  
*həkšáwm həlákəməh* 'he spent the day there' (99:39)  
*həláwk tōmər* 'there are dates there' (5:8)  
*səyáwr mən həlákəməh* 'they went from there' (68:2)

## 10.2 Adverbs of Place

In addition to the demonstrative adverbs discussed in the previous section, some adverbs of place are:

- abárr* 'outside; ashore' (directional)  
*b-abárr* 'outside; ashore' (locational)  
*ajáwf* 'up, upwards, upstairs, uphill' (directional)  
*mən ajáwf* 'from above'  
*b-ajərbēt* 'abroad' (locational)

*bə-kāl məkōn* ‘everywhere, anyplace’  
*əl-ḥák* ‘inside; to the north; upstream’ (locational or directional)  
*mən ḥək* ‘from inside; from the north; from upstream’  
*əw-mšā* ‘down; downstream; to the south’ (< \**əl-məšā*)  
*xōṭar* ‘down, downward, downstairs; below’ (directional)  
*bə-xōṭar* ‘down there, downstairs; below’ (locational)

We can also add here the word *kīnəḥ* ‘back (towards)’, which seems to be used only with the verb *rədd* ‘go back, return’, as in *rədd kīnəḥ mən hāl nūka* ‘he went back towards where he had come from’ (12:10). The word is not historically an adverb, however, and can decline for gender and number in order to agree with the subject of a verb.<sup>1</sup>

### 10.3 Adverbs of Time

*ābdan* ‘never’ (see § 13.2.8)  
*bād gēhəməh* ‘day after tomorrow’  
*bə-ḥəlláy* ‘at night’<sup>2</sup>  
*ḏáwbən* ‘mid-morning’  
*fōnah* ‘before(hand), previously’ (less common than *fənōhən*)  
*fənōhən* ‘first(ly); before(hand); previously, formerly’  
*mən fənōhən* ‘before(hand)’<sup>3</sup>  
*fənēmšīh* ‘day before yesterday’  
*gēhəməh* ‘tomorrow; the next day (in narrative)’  
*ǧasráwwən* ‘(in) the early evening (or late afternoon)’  
*ḥayūm w-āšáwr* ‘day and night’  
*k-aḏáhr* ‘at noon; in the afternoon’  
*kaláyni* ‘in the evening’  
*k-sōbəḥ* ‘in the morning’  
*k-amǧarāb* ‘in the evening’ (rare)  
*l-āyōmən* ‘last year’

1 See *ML* (s.v. *knḥ*) and Watson (2012: 117).

2 The bare noun *ḥəlláy* is not attested in the texts without the preposition *bə-*. It is, however, attested with pronominal suffixes, in which case it has the irregular base *ḥəlláyw-*, as in *ḥəlláywi* ‘my night’ and *ḥəlláywəh* ‘his night’ (both in text 85:27).

3 In the phrase *mən fənōhən* ‘before(hand)’, the preposition *mən* has no clear meaning of its own. Other prepositions in combination with *fənōhən* do have meaning. Cf. *əl-hīs fənōhən* ‘as before’ (e.g., 24:32).

*məǰōrən* 'later; then; second(ly)'  
*mən sēt* 'a long time ago'  
*mən ɬawr* 'sometimes'  
*mən xawr* 'after a little while'  
*nəhōrən* '(at) midday'  
*sētən* 'a while ago'  
*sōbər* 'always'  
*səwānōt* '(for/in) a little while' (see § 4.5)  
*ʃərōməh* 'now'  
*tɛ* (+ adv.) 'then' (see § 13.5.3.2)  
*(ət)tōli* 'then'<sup>4</sup>  
*ɬawr* 'once'  
*ɬawri trōh* 'twice'  
*ɬányən* 'secondly'<sup>5</sup>  
*xəɬərāt* 'once' (lit. 'time')<sup>6</sup>  
*yəllōh* 'last night'  
*yəlliləh* 'tonight'  
*yəmōh* 'today'  
*yəmsīh* 'yesterday'

One can observe (following Lonnet 2003: 436) that several of these adverbs have a final element *-ən*, namely, *ǰáwbən*, *fəndəhən*, *ǰasráwwən*, *l-āyōmən*, *məǰōrən*, *nəhōrən*, *sētən*, and *ɬányən*. Cf. also *wiyən* and *xáʃʃən*, included in § 10.5.

#### 10.4 Adverbs of Manner

*fīsé* 'quickly'  
*fáxrə* 'together'  
*taw* 'well' (see below)  
*əl-xārxáwr* 'slowly, gently'

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- 4 The longer form *əttōli* comes either from *wə-tōli*, by an irregular assimilation, or from the Arabic definite form, as in the Arabic phrase *bi-t-tāli* 'then'. The forms *tōli* and *əttōli* are free variants. See the comment to text 35:5.
- 5 The adverb *ɬányən* 'secondly' (< Arabic *tanīyan*) occurs only once in the texts; see the comment to text 58:9. The same root is found in the ordinal *ɬōni*, discussed in § 9.3.
- 6 From the same root as *xəɬərāt* is *məxɬār* 'once', which is not attested in the texts. It is, however, attested in Johnstone's Jibbali texts (text SB2:2) and is recorded for Mehri by Watson (2012: 118).



*wəh̄s-* ‘by oneself’ (see § 3.6)

(*l-*)*əw̄tākəmäh*, *wətākəmäh* ‘thus, like that, in that way’ (see below)

*wəṭōmäh* ‘thus, like this, in this way’ (see below)

The word *taw* is found only once in the texts as an adverb, but the same word serves as the base of the particle *táww-* ‘must, ought to’ (§ 12.5.19), and as part of the exclamatory phrase *his-táw* ‘very good! ok!’ (§ 12.2). The adverbial example is:

*əhād yəhwēk taw lā* ‘no one will understand you well’ (80:19)

The forms *wəṭōmäh* ‘thus, like this, in this way’ and (*l-*)*əw̄tākəmäh* ‘thus, like that, in that way’ contain the same suffixed elements that we see in the near and far demonstrative pronouns *ḏōmäh* ‘this’ and *ḏékəmäh* ‘that’ (§ 3.4), and in the demonstrative adverbs *báwmäh* ‘here’ and *həlákəmäh* ‘there’ (§ 10.1). Corresponding to *bōh* ‘here’, the short form of the near demonstrative adverb, there also exists a short form *wəṭōh*, but it is not attested in the texts.<sup>7</sup> The phrases *əl-hōlāt ḏīmäh* ‘in this manner’ (24:15, 24:25) and *l-akəssēt ḏákəmäh* ‘in that way [lit. that story]’ (84:10) have meanings similar to *wəṭōmäh* and (*l-*)*əw̄tākəmäh*.

### 10.5 Adverbs of Degree

*wəḵōna* ‘about, approximately; perhaps, maybe’ (see below)

*wīyən* ‘very (much); well’ (see below)

*xāš* ‘especially’

*xáššən* ‘especially’ (see the comment to text 46:7)

The form *wəḵōna* ‘about, approximately; perhaps, maybe’ is the masculine singular future of the verb *wīka* ‘be, become’ (§ 13.1.1), but its two adverbial uses are relatively common. In the meaning ‘about, approximately’, *wəḵōna* is, as expected, most often followed by a number or time word like ‘month’ or ‘year’. When it means ‘perhaps, maybe’, it can be used either with a nominal or verbal phrase, or it can be used independently, as in text 26:7. The following examples illustrate these adverbial uses of *wəḵōna*:

<sup>7</sup> See *ML* (s.v. *wṭ*) and (Watson 2012: 119).

*ber ādamūt wəḵōna myēt bū* ‘she had already executed about a hundred people’ (22:32)  
*šxəwlil wəḵōna faḵḥ ḏə-wárx* ‘they stayed about a half a month’ (72:6)  
*šxəwlil wəḵōna áysər yūm* ‘he remained about ten days’ (74:3)  
*wəḵōna ber bīsən aśxōf* ‘maybe they have milk already’ (29:7)  
*hēt wəḵōna meśk wəlē ḏəḥāk* ‘perhaps you defecated or urinated’ (99:53)

The adverb *wīyan* is relatively rare in the texts, occurring just seven times. It occurs twice modifying an adjective, and five times modifying a verb.<sup>8</sup> Its basic meaning seems to be ‘very much’, as in:

*fōnah gād wīyan* ‘(it was) very good before’ (23:2)  
*gátyəḏəm lūk wīyan* ‘they are very angry at you’ (37:18)  
*ḥābū əḏ-tābəm wīyan* ‘the people were very weary’ (61:1)  
*hē yəḥbūb ḥābū wīyan* ‘he loved the people very much’ (67:1)  
*ḥəmōh rēḥəḵ līḥəm wīyan* ‘the water was very far from them’ (104:3)

In two places, *wīyan* is better translated as ‘very well’, though the original meaning ‘very much’ can be seen:

*hōh əl əḡōrəb ḥōrəm wīyan lā* ‘I didn’t know the road very well’ (47:2)  
*arībēy əl yəḥəḥšáwr wīyan lā* ‘my friend didn’t see very well’ (82:2)  
 (*ḥəḥšáwr* = ‘see well’)

8 This is assuming that *rēḥəḵ* is an adjective in text 104:3. We could also parse it as a Gb-Stem perfect (*rīḥəḵ*) in this context. There is no audio for this passage, and the Arabic-letter spelling would be the same for either form, so the transcription is open to interpretation.

## Interrogatives

The Mehri interrogatives are as follows:<sup>1</sup>

<i>mōn</i>	who?
<i>hēsān</i>	what? why? what for?
<i>hēsān mən</i>	which? what kind of?
<i>hō</i>	where?
<i>wə-kōh (kō)</i>	why?
<i>hībōh</i>	how? what?
<i>mayt</i>	when?
<i>kəm</i>	how many? how much?

Each of these interrogatives will be treated in turn below.<sup>2</sup> On turning a declarative sentence into an interrogative one, with or without the interrogative particle *wālē*, see § 12.5.21. On the interrogative *hān/hanna* ‘what? which?’, which does not occur in our material, see Watson (2012: 81).

### 11.1 *mōn* ‘who?’

The interrogative *mōn* ‘who?’ is fairly straightforward. The following sample passages from the texts illustrate its use in Mehri:

- mōn* ‘who?’ (97:34)  
*hēt mōn* ‘who are you?’ (20:68)  
*hēt bər mōn* ‘whose son are you?’ (lit. ‘you are the son of whom?’) (20:44)  
*atēm bət mōn* ‘what clan are you?’ (lit. ‘you are the house of whom?’)  
 (42:5)  
*mōn āmūr hūk* ‘who told you?’ (36:27)  
*mōn yəsūkən bərk abāyt dīməh* ‘who lives in this house?’ (38:11)

1 Rubin (2008b) includes some comparative and historical discussion of the interrogatives, though the presentation of the data in that article is now outdated.  
 2 We also find *kēf* ‘how?’ three times in text 23 (23:10, 23:15, and 23:16), but this is just an Arabism. Text 23 has additional Arabisms, including *ma* (23:3) and *bə-ḡḡābt* (23:15).

- mōn mǎnkēm yǎkǎwdār yǎtbēr ǎlyōmah* ‘which [lit. who] of you can break these?’ (50:2)  
*mōn mǎnkēm yǎhōm* ‘which [lit. who] of you wants?’ (95:2)  
*mōn ǎ-lūtǎǰ arīšīt* ‘who killed the serpent?’ (42:40)  
*mōn ǎ-yǎhōm yǎwtǎǰǎh* ‘who is the one who wants to kill him?’ (83:4)

In the final two examples, in both of which *mōn* is used as the subject of a verb, *mōn* appears in conjunction with the relative pronoun *ǎ-* (see §3.8.1). Comparing these with other passages above and in the texts, we can conclude that the use of the relative *ǎ-* is not obligatory (as it is in Jibbali, for example), since there are many verbal sentences in which *mōn* is used alone.

## 11.2 *hēsǎn* ‘what? why?’

The interrogative *hēsǎn* ‘what?’ can be used as the subject in a verbal or non-verbal sentence, as the direct object in a verbal sentence, or as the object of a preposition. In some contexts *hībōh* (see §11.6) corresponds to the English use of ‘what?’. Example of *hēsǎn* used as the subject of a verbal or non-verbal sentence are:

- hēsǎn ǎrōh* ‘what happened?’ (65:13)  
*būk hēsǎn* ‘what’s with you?’ (48:5)  
*hēsǎn šīkǎm* ‘what do you have?’ (104:17)  
*šǎyš hēsǎn* ‘what do you have?’ (94:45)  
*hēsǎn mǎrtǎyǎk* ‘what is (this word) *mǎrtǎyǎk*?’ (71:4)  
*hēsǎn hǎlǎtǎh* ‘what is its description?’ (28:7)

Examples of *hēsǎn* used as a direct or indirect object are:

- hēsǎn thōm* ‘what do you want?’ (10:5)  
*thōm hēsǎn* ‘what do you want?’ (70:6)  
*hēsǎn šīnǎk* ‘what did you see?’ (95:6)  
*hēsǎn tōmǎr* ‘what is she saying?’ (99:44)  
*hēsǎn l-āmōl* ‘what should I do?’ (101:12)  
*hēsǎn ǎkǎwdār l-āmōl* ‘what can I do?’ (67:2)  
*hēsǎn thǎmi l-āmōl* ‘what do you want me to do?’ (90:14)  
*hēsǎn ǎmlǎš b-ǎdǎnyē* ‘what have you done in this world?’ (68:6)  
*hēsǎn ǎtǎrikǎm* ‘what did you talk about?’ (74:21)  
*bǎ-hēsǎn kǎtwǎtki* ‘what did you two chat about?’ (74:22)

*mən hēsən təšhōk* ‘what are you laughing at?’ (5:4)  
*mən hēsən faṭx* ‘what is the head-wound from?’ (48:12)  
*hēt k-hēsən bāwməh* ‘what are you with here?’ (99:49)

It can also be used as an independent interrogative, as in:

*hēsən* ‘what?’ (82:4; 89:16)

It can be used in indirect questions, functioning as either subject or object, as in:

*kalēt lay hēsən ‘əmlək* ‘tell me what you did!’ (20:17)  
*šənyēya gēhəməh hēsən yāḳá* ‘we’ll see what happens tomorrow’ (75:11)  
*wádak hēsən l-āmōl* ‘do you know what I should do?’ (101:10)  
*hámaš ayəgráyb hēsən ḏə-yōmər* ‘did you hear what the crow was saying?’ (5:4)  
*ǧəyūg ḏə-láttəǧəm bāwməh, w-əl wádak mən ḏār hēsən lā* ‘men have killed each other here, and I don’t know over what’ (3:19)

The phrase \**h-hēsən*, literally ‘for what?’ also means ‘why?’ (cf. Jibbali *h-íné*), but because of the rule described in § 2.1.4, this phrase regularly surfaces simply as *hēsən*. And so *hēsən*, originally just meaning ‘what?’ has come to also mean ‘what for?’ or ‘why?’. Examples are:

*hēsən* ‘why?’ (27:2)  
*hēsən* ‘for what?’ (42:7)  
*tšəxbūr mənšən hēsən* ‘what you asking about them for?’ (28:5)  
*hēsən l-əzéməh* ‘why should I give him (a camel)?’ (89:32)  
*tḥáməh hēsən* ‘what do you want it for?’ (97:38)  
*hēsən nákak* ‘what did you come for?’ (99:36)

### 11.3 *hēsən mən* ‘which? what kind of?’

The interrogative *hēsən* is combined with the preposition *mən* ‘from’ to express ‘which?’ or ‘what kind of?’, a meaning also often carried by English ‘what?’. The position of *mən* is not fixed, and so a pronoun (personal or demonstrative) can intervene between *hēsən* and *mən*. Examples are:

- hēsān mən sáwr* ‘what kind of plan?’ (35:9)  
*hēsān mən bēdi* ‘what kind of con?’ (72:1)  
*hēsān mən šayáft dīmāh* ‘which wedding is this?’ (75:5)  
*hēsān mən háylat* ‘what kind of trick?’ (75:11)  
*hēsān mən ġīgēn dōmāh* ‘what kind of boy is this?’ (91:7)  
*hēt hēsān mən ġayg* ‘what kind of man are you?’ (42:50; 74:7)  
*hēsān hēt mən ġayg* ‘what kind of man are you?’ (63:4)  
*hēsān hēt mən tēt* ‘what kind of woman are you?’ (6:11)  
*hēsān hēt mən mənēdam* ‘what kind of person are you?’ (20:34)  
*hēsān dōmāh mən ġarōy šūk* ‘what kind of talk is this from [lit. with] you?’ (i.e., ‘what are you talking about?’) (20:13)

An example in an indirect question is:

*əl wīda hēsān mən mahrēt yāmōl lā* ‘he didn’t know what kind trick he might do’ (65:2)

#### 11.4 *hō* ‘where?’

The interrogative *hō* means ‘where?’ in both direct and indirect questions. Examples are:

- a’isēy hō* ‘where is my dinner?’ (42:26)  
*hō a’isēy* ‘where is my dinner?’ (42:34)  
*ar tēti hō* ‘so where is my wife?’ (37:12)  
*ħabrātš hō* ‘where is your daughter?’ (48:8)  
*hō sē* ‘where is she?’ (65:9)  
*hātāmk hō yallōh* ‘where did you spend the night last night?’ (80:3)  
*wādak tīsān hō hābēr bārūk* ‘do you know where the camels stopped?’  
 (lit. ‘do you know them where the camels kneeled?’) (28:4)

The interrogative can be combined with *l-* ‘to’ (realized as *əl-hō*) and *mən* ‘from’, when used with verbs of motion (or where motion is implied):

- əl-hō tsyawr* ‘where are you going to?’ (72:2)  
*əl-hō taghēm* ‘where are you going to?’ (72:5)  
*əl-hō sīrōna yāmōh* ‘where are you going today?’ (44:1)  
*mən hō nākak* ‘where did [or: do] you come from?’ (80:1)  
*hēt mən hō nākak* ‘where do you come from?’ (80:20)

*tháymi əl-ḥō* ‘where are you headed?’ (85:3)  
*l-ād wīda əl-ḥō yəhīwəl lā* ‘he didn’t know anymore which way [lit. to  
 where] to head’ (98:1)

Note that *ḥō* often appears in phrase-final position more often than do the other interrogatives. This is a tendency, but certainly not a rule, as evident from the examples above.

### 11.5 *wə-kōh (kō)* ‘why?’

The basic meaning of Mehri *wə-kōh* is ‘why?’, and this is the meaning which it nearly always carries. The prefixed conjunction *wə-* ‘and’ can be considered lexical, and need not have a conjunctive function. When followed by an independent personal pronoun, the shorter form *kō* is normally used in the texts, without the prefixed *wə-*. Moreover, *kō* and the pronoun form a single stress unit (i.e., a single word for stress purposes);<sup>3</sup> since the *ō* of *kōh* is not then strictly word-final, the phonetic final *-h* (see § 2.2.4) is not there. As noted in § 3.1, the second person plural pronouns *ətēm* and *ətēn* are shortened to *tēm* and *tēn* when they follow *kō*. Examples are:

*wə-kōh* ‘why?’ (36:26; 57:9; 97:3)  
*ḥáybi, wə-kōh əl hārásk lā* ‘Father, why haven’t you gotten married?’  
 (97:2)  
*kō hēt báwməh* ‘why are you here?’ (3:10)  
*kō tēm báwməh* ‘why are you (pl.) here?’ (82:4)  
*wə-kōh əl səyárs lā* ‘why didn’t you go?’ (97:22)  
*kō hēt təbáyk* ‘why are you (m.) crying?’ (5:10)  
*kō hēt təbēki* ‘why are you (f.) crying?’ (85:4)  
*kō tēm təbákyəm* ‘why are you (pl.) crying?’ (36:15)  
*kō tēm kəfádkəm* ‘why did you come down?’ (74:19)  
*kō hēt tábak tīn* ‘why did you follow us?’ (22:11)  
*wə-kōh ġərábk tī ōmər* ‘why do you know I (can) sing?’ (52:7)

3 In his Arabic-letter manuscripts, Ali normally wrote *kō* and the pronoun as one word as well. In such cases he spelled *kō* simply *كو*, but *wə-kōh* he spelled *وكوه*, with a final *-h*. Also compare Jibbali, in which the interrogative and a second-person pronoun form a contraction, e.g., *ket* ‘why are you ...?’ < *kə + het* (see *JLO*, § 11.5).

*wə-kōh əð-ǵarábk abkār tšábrən mən həmōh* ‘why do you think [lit. know] the cows would do without water?’ (27:4)<sup>4</sup>

In the last two examples, both of which contain a form of the verb *ǵarūb* ‘know’, Stroomer (following Johnstone) translated *kōh* as ‘how?’, which is an acceptable translation in context. In these cases, *kōh* is ‘why?’ meaning not ‘what is the purpose of your knowing?’, but rather ‘by what reason have you come to know?’. In another passage ‘how?’ (= ‘in what way?’) really is the only possible translation of *kōh*:

*wə-kōh əhād yəkáwdar yǵbēr hábhe* *ðə-bér mōtəm* ‘and how [lit. why] can someone meet his parents who have already died?’ (20:36)

When *kōh* precedes a noun subject, then an independent pronoun must immediately follow the interrogative, as in:

*kō hē aǵiggēn* *ðə-yəbáyk* ‘why is the boy crying?’ (63:10)  
*kō hēm hābū əlyēk* *ðə-yəwákbəm bərk abáyť* *ðayk?* ‘why are those people going into that house?’ (65:10)

Syntactically, we can consider the noun to be in apposition to the pronoun. But since the pronoun seems to be required, we need not translate the phrase literally (e.g., ‘why is he, the boy, crying?’).

It should be pointed out that Bittner (1914a: 30), following Jahn before him (1902: 235), gives the word for ‘why?’ only as *wukô* (= *wə-kō*). Wagner (1953: 60) follows suit. Watson (2012: 123) also has only *wkōh*. Johnstone (*ML*, s.v. *k*) notes only that *wə-kōh* appears more than *kōh*. We have seen that the default form is *wə-kōh*, but the form is *kō* when followed by a pronoun.

## 11.6 *hībōh* ‘how? what?’

The basic meaning of *hībōh* is ‘how?’, in the senses of ‘in what way/manner?’ and ‘in what condition?’. Examples are:

*hībōh wátxfəm hūtār* ‘how [i.e., in what condition] did the kids come back this evening?’ (26:12)

4 In the form *əð-ǵarábk*, the prefix is the verbal prefix *ð-* (§ 7.1.10.2), not the relative pronoun.



*hībōh atṭwáhi* ‘how will she come to me in the night?’ (75:6)  
*hībōh tetk* ‘how is your wife?’ (97:50)  
*hībōh al kálam tš tšákfi lā* ‘how did they not let you sleep?’ (74:17)  
*bā’áyli habēr, hībōh ḏa-wbáwd* ‘the camel-herders, how have they been  
 doing?’ (45:9)  
*hībōh ḥayr ḥáyraḥ* ‘how is the donkey your donkey?’ (46:12)  
*hībōh hānkárk* ‘how do you feel?’ (84:6)  
*hībōh tkōsa ḥanáfk* ‘how are you?’ (lit. ‘how do you find yourself?’) (84:8)  
*hībōh amātáymāk* ‘how was your night?’ (85:27)

In certain contexts, especially in combination with the verbs *āmūr* ‘say’, *áymal* ‘do’, and *šini* ‘see’, *hībōh* corresponds to English ‘what?’. It can also mean ‘what?’ when used independently. Examples are:

*hībōh sáwr* ‘what’s the plan?’ (6:6)  
*hībōh ḥām* ‘what is a dream?’ (19:21)  
*hībōh āmárk* ‘what did you say?’ (80:9)  
*atēm tāmarēm hībōh* ‘what do you say?’ (80:16)  
*hībōh āmlōna* ‘what will we do?’ (98:9)  
*hībōh l-āmōl* ‘what should I do?’ (37:15)  
*hībōh ’ámlam* ‘what did they do?’ (74:20)  
*hībōh ḏa-yōmār* ‘what was it saying?’ (5:4)  
*hībōh yāmarān ḥābū* ‘what would the people say?’ (98:12)  
*hībōh šināš* ‘what did you see?’ (98:13)  
*ḏ-ḥtawēk aw hībōh* ‘have you gone crazy or what?’ (20:5)  
*hībōh* ‘what?’ (80:13)  
*walākan hībōh* ‘but what?’ (42:3)

As can be seen from some of the examples given in § 11.2, the interrogative *hēsān* can also be used with the verbs *āmūr*, *áymal*, and *šini*. That is to say, *hībōh* and *hēsān* seem to be synonymous in some environments. We even find both used identically in the same text, in the mouth of the same speaker. For example, we find *hībōh ’ámlam* ‘what did they do?’ (74:20), followed shortly thereafter by *hēsān ’ámlakām* ‘what did you do?’ (74:21).

We also find *hībōh* meaning either ‘how’ or ‘what’ in indirect questions, as in:

*wádakām ḥābū hībōh sanēt ḏīmāh* ‘do you know how the people are this  
 year?’ (45:1)  
*aḡigēn l-ād wida hībōh yāmōl lā* ‘the boy didn’t know at all what to do’  
 (76:3)

In a couple of cases, *hībōh* means ‘why?’ or ‘how come?’. Just as *hēsān* ‘why?’ comes from *\*h-hēsān* (see § 11.2), it is possible that *hībōh* in such cases is from an underlying *\*h-hībōh*.

*hībōh əl-kəfəd mən ǰār háyri* ‘why should I get down off my donkey?’  
(46:11)  
*hībōh ʾamləš wəṭōmah* ‘why did you do that?’ (97:51)

### 11.7 *mayt* ‘when?’

Mehri *mayt* presents no complications in terms of meaning. It is used to mean ‘when?’ in both direct and indirect questions:

*mayt hámak tī ǰ-ōmər* ‘when did you hear me singing?’ (52:11)  
*mayt tərđəd lay* ‘when will you come back to me?’ (56:5)  
*wádan lā mayt yənkéʾ* ‘we don’t know when it might come’ (45:17)  
*wádak mayt l-əttákkəh* ‘do you know when I should drink it?’ (101:8)  
*mən mayt* ‘since when?’ (101:13)

On the temporal particle *mət*, which is derived from *mayt*, see § 13.5.3.1.

### 11.8 *kəm* ‘how many? how much?’

Mehri *kəm* is used for the question ‘how many?’ or ‘how much?’. The question ‘(for) how much?’, when used with regards to money, is *bə-kám*. Among the few examples in the texts are:

*kəm yūm (t)šábrən mən həmōh* ‘how many days will they do without water?’ (27:21)  
*həmáwlət bə-kám* ‘how much is a camel-load?’ (27:11)  
*bə-kám tḥōm (t)šōm lay aməndáwəkək* ‘how much do you want to sell me your rifle for?’ (39:1)  
*bə-kám šēmōna tīs* ‘how much will you sell it for?’ (99:50)

On the use of the preposition *b-* to mean ‘for, in exchange for’, see § 8.2.

### 11.9 *əl hē lā* ‘isn’t that so?’

In one passage, we find the interrogative phrase *əl hē lā*, which acts as a tag question, equivalent to English ‘isn’t that so?’ or ‘no?’ (French *n’est-ce pas*). The passage is:

*hēt sīrōna gēhāmāh, əl hē lā* ‘you’ll go tomorrow, won’t you?’ (56:1)

Watson (2012: 336) recorded *ahā lā*, which she interprets as *ahā* ‘yes’ (presumably the same as *ēhē* ‘yes’ in our texts) plus *lā* ‘no’, that is ‘yes no’. But the manuscript and audio of text 56:1 clearly have *əl hē lā*. We also find the same phrase used in Jibbali (*əl hē lā*); see *JLO*, § 11.11.

## Particles

### 12.1 Coordinating Conjunctions

Following is a list of the basic Mehri coordinating conjunctions:

- w-* ‘and’
- wəlākan* ‘but’
- aw* ‘or’
- wəlē* ‘or; or else’

Each of these will be discussed in turn below. On the use of *tε* as a coordinating conjunction, see § 13.5.3.2. For subordinating conjunctions, see § 13.4 and § 13.5. On the use of *ar* ‘except, but’ and *ar w-* ‘unless’ as subordinating conjunctions, see § 8.1 and § 12.5.4.

#### 12.1.1 *w-* ‘and’

The most common conjunction in Mehri is the clitic particle *w-*, which appears as *wə-* before a word beginning with a consonant. Sometimes in fast speech *wə-* is metathesized to *əw-*, resulting in a surface pronunciation *u*. This particle is used to join two elements within a clause, or to join two clauses. Examples of the former are:

- āgawz wə-ħəbántε* ‘the woman and her daughters’ (15:4)
- səyárki hōh wə-hē* ‘he and I went’ (18:13)
- tōmər w-ayś* ‘dates and rice’ (23:15)
- aməndáwki ar gádət wə-rxáyşət* ‘my rifle is good and cheap’ (39:4)
- aǵīggēn kəwáy wə-xfáyf* ‘the boy was strong and quick’ (42:2)
- tšəwkūf əm-mənwih w-əm-mán tétəh* ‘she would sleep between him and his wife’ (lit. ‘between him and between his wife’) (46:7)
- sē wə-ħáybəs w-aǵās w-aǵáyǵəs* ‘she and her father and her brother and her husband’ (48:33)
- šay məwsē wə-ħəbūr* ‘it was raining and I was cold’ (lit. ‘with me were rain and cold’) (53:6)
- hōh wə-ššōx mánan təh* ‘the big one and I held him back’ (91:7)
- xams w-ašráyñ ĵayǵ* ‘twenty-five men’ (lit. ‘five and twenty’) (104:10)

And some examples of *w-* used to join two clauses are:

- hēt kənnáwn w-ādk əl hēt məhērəs lā* ‘you are a child, and you won’t marry yet’ (8:8)  
*šōr wə-ǰəlūk b-aǰīgēn* ‘he stood and looked at the boy’ (22:8)  
*đōməh amftēh, wə-sēn bərk aǰərfēt đayk* ‘this is the key, and they are in that room’ (22:97)  
*yəǰárbi, w-abárka təwálye* ‘he recognized me, and he ran towards me’ (34:27)  
*ǰgbək bīs, wə-sē āgbōt bay* ‘I fell in love with her, and she fell in love with me’ (38:18)  
*šxəwlīl, wə-šəmrūs* ‘they stayed, and he became ill’ (48:6)

Anyone reading Mehri texts will quickly notice that the conjunction *w-* is used more frequently within a narrative context than ‘and’ is used in English, even at the beginning of a sentence. For this reason it is sometimes best left untranslated.

Sometimes in the texts, *w-* best corresponds to English ‘but’, though ‘and’ is usually possible as well. In such cases the contrastive sense is minimal. Examples are:

- šxəwəllūt bərk aláng, w-aǰáyǰ kəfūd wə-wkūb əl-ħōkəm* ‘she stayed on the boat, but the man went down and went to the ruler’ (74:12)  
*ħāǰūr bōyər, wə-ttēt tháǰsəh ašáṭkəh* ‘the slave was a liar, but the woman thought he was being truthful’ (5:12)  
*šəwkūf, wə-sənnáwrət šərōt hāl ħərōhəh* ‘he fell asleep, but the cat stayed awake by his head’ (15:12)  
*nəkak ašáyga, w-əl kəsk əħād lā* ‘I came to the shelter, but I didn’t find anyone’ (54:4)

On the sequence *əl ... w-əl* ‘neither ... nor’, see §13.2.1, and on the compound *ar w-* ‘unless’, see §12.5.4.

### 12.1.2 *wəlākan* ‘but’

The particle *wəlākan*,<sup>1</sup> clearly borrowed from Arabic *wa-lākin*, corresponds to English ‘but’. Examples of its use are:

<sup>1</sup> The short *a* in the final CVC syllable is unusual; see § 2.2.

*kūsən hārōm əð-báh hfül, wəlākan ðáyrəh yəðbōr mēkan* ‘we found a tree that had ripe figs on it, but there were a lot of hornets in it’ (25:3)

*hābū yātəkáydən bīhəm, wəlākan mən sənáyn əlyōməh l-ād əhād yātəkáydən bīhəm lā* ‘people used to believe in them, but in these years, no one believes in them anymore’ (25:19)

*hōh ar kənnáwn, wəlākan hámak* ‘I am only a child, but I have heard’ (48:30)

*šxəbīri, wəlākan hōh əl əkáwdər l-əǵtáyr ənglīzīyət lā* ‘they questioned me, but I couldn’t speak English’ (62:7)

*bəǵáwdəh, wəlākan l-ād əlhākəm təh lā* ‘they chased him, but they didn’t catch up to him’ (69:5)

*wəlākan hīs šīni aǵyūg hək̄bīl ləh, kərōh aqáth* ‘but when he saw the men approaching him, he hid his food’ (73:3)

Watson (2012: 131) mentions the variant forms *lākan*, *mākan*, *mākani*, and *mākanay*; neither *lākan* or *mākan* occurs in Johnstone’s texts, but on the other two forms, see § 12.5.15.

### 12.1.3 aw ‘or’

As a simple coordinating conjunction, *aw* means ‘or’. Examples are:

*mən ðār sənēt aw zōyəd* ‘after a year or more’ (16:1)

*ð-əhtəwēk aw hībōh* ‘have you gone crazy or what?’ (20:5)

*ətēm axáyr mənáy, aw hōh axáyr mənkēm* ‘you are better than me, or I am better than you’ (42:12)

*əl wádak lā hē yəhōm yəháxəwsi, aw hē əl yəǵōrəb hōrəm lā* ‘I didn’t know (if) he wanted to mislead me, or (if) he didn’t know the way’ (62:2)

*ərbōt aw yətīt bū* ‘four or six people’ (71A:1)

*hāl əhād aw wəhšūk* ‘with someone, or by yourself?’ (80:5)

*ətēm wəkiyə b-amkōnkəm, aw šəlyēla* ‘will you be in your (current) place, or will you move?’ (96:4)

*hámak tī aw lā* ‘did you hear me or not?’ (96:7)

*šəṭk aw bēdi* ‘true or false [lit. a truth or a lie]’ (99:1)

In some passages, *aw* functions as a subordinating conjunction ‘unless’, as in:

*əl hōh kəwṭōna hūk lā aw ber ǵərəbk tīk* ‘I won’t tell you unless I know you’ (12:7)

*ħaggūt lah tētāh m-ād yāhērās aw yāhōm yāxxōli* ‘his wife didn’t let him get married [to another woman] unless he wanted to get divorced’ (32:28)  
*al afāt̄k lā aw tāstōm hāȳni gānbāyyat* ‘I won’t go unless you buy me a dagger’ (34:33)

It is possible that *aw* in such contexts derives from *ar w-* (see § 12.5.4).

#### 12.1.4 *wālē* ‘or; or else’

The conjunction *wālē* (< Arabic *wa-’illā*) is occasionally used, like *aw*, to indicate simple ‘X or Y’. It seems to be used mainly in statements, while *aw* is often used in questions. The conjunction *wālē* can also be used in a negative context, as in the last example below. Examples are:

*yāshāȳt bē̄r wālē rawn* ‘they slaughter camels or goats’ (54:2)  
*ħāmāh wālē aġātāh wālē aġāh* ‘his mother or his sister or his brother’ (54:3)  
*hām šārōt wālē raddūt lay* ‘if she stops or comes back at me’ (54:18)  
*alāt̄mās b-ār̄fīt wālē bā-ryē* ‘I strike it with a palm-leaf or a lung’ (93:2)  
*a’isár̄ke wālē šī* ‘(are they) your friends or something?’ (94:32)  
*nāhāh wāq̄iyē b-amkōnān tē gēhāmāh wālē bād gēhāmāh* ‘we will be at our place until tomorrow or the next day’ (96:5)  
*al t̄ībār wālē ātawūr* ‘he didn’t get broken (bones) or get hurt’ (99:19)

In other contexts, *wālē* has the meaning ‘or else’, in which case it usually follows an imperative and precedes an imperfect or future tense verb:

*kālēt̄i lay b-ašāt̄k, wālē wāt̄gōna ħānōfi* ‘tell me the truth, or else I will kill myself!’ (37:13)  
*āzāmi ħānāf̄š, wālē šaḫtōna tāt̄ mən ħābānše* ‘give yourself to me, or else I will kill one of your sons!’ (48:23)  
*ōbāl, wālē yāx̄līfk ġāyūg ḏ-axāyr mānk* ‘try, or else men who are better than you will replace you!’ (76:5)  
*azémān xaḫāwr̄ḫyān, wālē māšanħarūtān bīkām* ‘give us our sticks, or else we’ll lodge a complaint against you!’ (91:24)  
*āmāyli hāȳni hāylāt, wālē mātōna šārōmāh* ‘make me a scheme, or else I’ll die now’ (99:29)

The sequence *wəlē ... wəlē* can mean ‘either ... or’, as in:<sup>2</sup>

*wəlē mazzōna bə-təmbōku wəlē bə-rṣōš* ‘either you’ll smoke tobacco or bullets’ (94:26)

The particle *wəlē* can be used at the beginning of a question, where it means something like ‘perhaps’. Since in this use it is not functioning as a conjunction, it is treated separately below in § 12.5.21.

### 12.1.5 *yā ... yā* ‘either ... or’

The particle *yā*, used before two or more different elements, has the meaning ‘either ... or’. There is just one example in the texts:

*yā yəlháqəh yā lā* ‘either he’ll catch him, or not’ (96:3)

Watson (2012: 297) gives additional examples. She also has examples of both *wəlē ... wəlē* and *aw ... aw* with this meaning.

### 12.1.6 *əð ... əð* ‘either ... or’

The particle *əð* can also be used to conjoin a set of two or more phrases, indicating uncertainty on the part of the speaker. This usage corresponds to English ‘either *X* or *Y*’ or ‘whether it be *X* or *Y*’. An example is:

*əð wəzūm qarš, wə-əð wəzūm kārši troh* ‘either (a person) gave a dollar or he gave two dollars’ (72:3)

On the conditional particle *əð*, see § 13.4.2.

## 12.2 Exclamations

There are numerous exclamatory particles found in the texts. These include:

*bass* ‘enough! that’s all’

*bass mən X* ‘enough of *X*!’

*ğədəwwən* ‘let’s go!’ (see § 12.5.11)

*his-tāw* ‘ok!’

*həlay* ‘let’s go!’ (see the comment to text 48:15)

*hāšē l-* ‘far be it from (s.o.)!’

*l-āziz X* ‘oh woe for *X*’

<sup>2</sup> A meaning ‘neither ... nor’ can be seen in the Arabic phrase used in text 46:19.



<i>ma yaxālaf</i> ‘nevermind!’	( <i>yā</i> ) <i>háy(yā) b-</i> ‘welcome!’
<i>asthōl</i> ‘goodbye!’ (lit. ‘go in good fortune!’)	(followed by suffix or noun)
<i>wə-hīh</i> ‘oh!’	<i>yā rayt</i> (+ subj.) ‘would that! I wish!’ (see § 7.1.3)
<i>wə-lū</i> ‘even so!’ (see § 13.4.4)	<i>yəxx</i> ‘ugh!’
<i>xáybən</i> ‘ok! fine!’	<i>yéye</i> ‘ok!’

Many of these can probably be considered Arabisms, like *bass*, *ḥāšē l-*, *ma yaxālaf*, *wə-lū*, *yā háy(yā)*, and *yā rayt*. No doubt other such Arabic words are used by Mehri speakers.

We also find the exclamatory particle *yā* used in a cry of lament or anger, as in:

*yā hāmáy*, *yā hāmáy* ‘oh my mother, my mother!’ (65:13)  
*yā āzīz*, *yā āzīz* ‘oh Aziz, oh Aziz!’ (75:23)  
*yā* ‘azzatáyin ‘oh, I’m so sorry!’ (85:24)  
*yā aytáy!* *yā báydi* ‘you fox! You liar!’ (99:47)

### 12.2.1 ‘Yes’ and ‘No’

The basic word for ‘yes’ in Mehri is *ēhē*, which is used to answer a direct question. A slightly more emphatic affirmative reply to a question is *ya-hōl* ‘yes indeed!’. The exclamations *yéye* ‘ok!’ and *his-táv* ‘ok!’, listed in § 12.2, indicate assent following a statement or command, rather than a reply to a question.

For ‘no’, the basic word is *lā*, but more common in the texts is *ábdan* ‘no! no way! never!’, which is a borrowing of Arabic *‘abadan* ‘never, not at all’. For a more emphatic negative reply to a question, one can use *bə-háw* ‘no way! not at all!’ or *barr* ‘no way! never!’.

The particle *lawb*, or its longer variant *wa-ya lawb*, can also be used for ‘no’, either when the intention is to contradict an earlier (positive) statement (as in the first two examples below), or in answer to a question with two alternatives (as in the last three examples below). It can mean ‘yes’ when contradicting a negative statement, as in the third, fourth, and fifth examples below.

*aməndáwəkək dəwáylat ... lawb*, *aməndáwķi ar gádət* ‘your rifle is old ... No, my rifle is good’ (39:3–4)  
*nəkōna tīkəm bād gēhəmāh. wa-ya lawb, ənķēn gēhəmāh* ‘I’ll come back to you the day after tomorrow. No, come back to us tomorrow’ (44:4–5)  
*hām əl sēn wərdūtən lā ... wa-ya lawb wərdūtən* ‘if they aren’t going to go down to the water ... Yes, they will indeed go down to the water’ (27:3–4)

*hēt al tənōfa lā. lawb, hōh ar ənōfa* '(Mother:) You are of no use. (Son:)

Yes, I am indeed of use!' (33:1–2)

*ḏək al hōh lā. wa-ya lawb* 'that wasn't me. Yes it was!' (52:13–14)

*tháyman nāslēl aw nābḵá' b-amkōnan? lawb, ənḥōm nāslēl* 'do you want us to move or remain in our place? No, let's move' (29:17–18)

*hāl əḥād aw wəḥsūk? wa-ya lawb wəḥsáy* 'with someone, or by yourself?

No, by myself' (80:5–6)

*ādəh ḏə-yáwdəg aw ber ārəšəš təh? lawb, ādəh ḏə-yáwdəg* 'is he still

breast-feeding, or have you already weaned him? No, he is still breast-feeding' (101:15–16)

See §12.5.13 for additional uses of the particle *lawb*.

### 12.3 Vocatives

The vocative particle in Mehri is *ā*, for example:

*ḥəḏḏōr, ā ḥəbráy* 'be careful, my son!' (22:44)

*ā ḥáybi, hōh kəsk šī* 'Father, I found something' (37:22)

*ḥəmēm, ā ḥəbánye* 'listen, my sons!' (50:4)

*ā ḡigēn, wəlē təḵáy* 'boy, can you read?' (71:2)

*ā dərwiš, thōm təḥōm* 'hey dervish, do you want to jump?' (42:48)

When the definite article *a-* is present (§4.4), the vocative particle is normally omitted. When the definite article *ḥ-* is present, the vocative particle can optionally be omitted. Both cases tend to involve kinship terms with a 1CS possessive suffix. Examples are:

*aḡáyti, fāš bay* 'Sister, you've hurt me' (24:27)

*aḡáy, amárḵəḥ* 'Brother, drink up!' (59:8)

*ḥáybi, wə-kōh əl hārəsk lā* 'Father, why haven't you gotten married?'

(97:2) (cf. 37:22, above)

There is one possible example of the Arabic vocative particle *yā* in the texts (*yā ḥaybi* 'father!', 97:42), but it is more likely that *yā* here is used as part of a cry of excitement, similar to the cases of anger or lament described above in §12.2.

## 12.4 Genitive Exponent *ǝ-* ('of')

The genitive exponent in Mehri is *ǝ-*, corresponding to English 'of'.<sup>3</sup> This particle, like the conjunction *w-* (see § 12.1.1) and the prepositions *b-*, *h-*, *k-*, and *l-* (see § 8), is prefixed to the noun and often has the helping vowel *ə*. Sometimes the consonant *ǝ* assimilates to a following dental or sibilant; see further in § 2.1.7. The particle *ǝ-* is, with few exceptions (see § 4.6), the only way to express a genitive relationship with another noun. (On pronominal possession, see § 3.2.1). The nouns preceding and following the genitive exponent can be either definite or indefinite. Examples are:

- ħabrūt ǝ-ħōkəm* 'the daughter of the ruler' or 'the ruler's daughter' (48:6)  
*brīt ǝ-tōgər* 'a daughter of a merchant' or 'a merchant's daughter' (75:1)  
*ħabrē ǝ-aǧāh* 'his brother's son' (76:1)  
*xāh ǝ-abáy* 'the door of the house' (75:8)  
*arħabēt ǝ-ħáybas* 'her father's town' (48:33)  
*aǧáy ǝ-ənsáy* 'the scent of a human' (63:8)  
*aǧáyg ǝ-aǧəgənōt* 'the girl's husband' (75:10)  
*tēt ǝ-ħabrē ǝ-ħōkəm* 'the ruler's son's wife' (85:28)  
*aǧōrə ǝ-ašōbə ǝ-aǧátəh* 'the blood from [lit. of] his sister's finger' (48:18)

As demonstrated by the last two examples above, a string of multiple genitives is possible.

Like English 'of' and similar particles in other languages, Mehri *ǝ-* can also be used to indicate the materials from which something is made, to describe the contents of something, or to specify the particular type of something. Examples are:

- fīgōn ǝ-mōh* 'a cup of water' (37:24)  
*ǧányət ǝ-ayś* 'a sack of rice' (98:4)  
*tōgər ǝ-ksəwēt* 'a cloth merchant' (66:2)  
*məstōn ǝ-nəxəl* 'an orchard of date-palms' (37:1)  
*abáy* 'the water well' (48:2)  
*ħalēb ǝ-ħarāwn* 'the milking of the goats' (47:2)

3 Watson (2009) is a study of the genitive exponent *ǝ-* and other genitive constructions in Yemeni Mehri. Further data and discussion can be found in Watson (2012).

As discussed in § 5.1, an adjective modifying the first member of a genitive phrase normally follows the entire phrase. Whether an adjective in such a position modifies the first or second member of the phrase, if not clear from gender/number agreement, must be gleaned from context. Examples are:

*ħabrīt ḏ-aṣṣayyōd ħanōb* ‘the older [lit. big] daughter of the fisherman’  
(97:33)

*ħabrē ḏa-ħōkām aḩannáwn* ‘the younger [lit. small] son of the ruler’  
(97:46)

*ħayb ḏ-aḩīqēn amaráyš* ‘the father of the sick boy’ (65:8)

In the first example above, the adjective *ħanōb* is feminine and so must modify *ħabrīt*. But in the other two examples, the adjective agrees in gender and number with both nouns in the phrase. If context allowed it, these last two sentences could be translated instead as ‘the son of the young ruler’ and ‘the sick father of the boy’.

As already discussed (§ 4.6), the genitive exponent is sometimes absent in partitive constructions. On the use of the genitive exponent *ḏ*- following certain numbers, see § 9.1.4 and § 9.3.

## 12.5 Miscellaneous Particles

### 12.5.1 ād

The temporal particle *ād* has a variety of meanings when used in a positive sentence, including ‘still’, ‘yet’, ‘again’, and ‘while’, though ‘still’ is the most common of these. When *ād* means ‘still’, it is often followed by a pronominal suffix, in which case it has the following forms:

	sing.	dual	plural
1c	<i>ādi</i>	<i>ādki</i>	<i>ādān</i>
2m	<i>ād(ə)k</i>	<i>ādki</i>	<i>ādkaṃ</i>
2f	<i>ādš</i>		<i>ādkaṃ</i>

3m	<i>ādāh</i>	<i>ādhi</i>	<i>ādham</i>
3f	<i>ādās</i>		<i>ā(d)sən<sup>4</sup></i>

Some examples with the meaning ‘still’ are:

*ād fǝṭnək hēxər ḏə-nkáyñ* ‘do you still remember the old man who came to us?’ (22:73)

*ādāh līsən fakħ ḏə-wárx* ‘they still had half a month (left)’ (30:9)

*hēt ādək ḵənnáwn* ‘you are still a child’ (34:8)

*ā(d)sən šīn wəḵōna ašráyñ rawn* ‘we still have about twenty goats’ (39:14)

*ādi ḏə-ttəláyk tīs* ‘I still regret it’ (53:6)

*ādi bay ayəšáyṭ* ‘I still had the fear’ (54:15)

*ber dáxləm, hīs ādhəm fáxrə, əl əḥād mənḥēm yəbáyḏ* ‘they had vowed, when they were still together, that neither of them would lie’ (74:2)

In about seventeen passages in the texts, *ād* (almost always followed by a suffix) is used in a dependent clause, where it has the meaning ‘while’ or ‘while still’. In a dozen of these cases, we simply find the set phrase *ād-* (+ suffix) *lə-wṭákəməh*, meaning something like ‘while like this’ or ‘while doing this’ (*lə-wṭákəməh* ‘thus, in that way’). Examples are:

*ādāh šxəwlūl, nūka məwsē* ‘while he was sitting, rain came’ (3:2)

*ādham lə-wṭákəməh, nákam aǵəyūg* ‘while they were like this, the men came’ (24:36)

*aḵōfi bə-ḥənáfḵ ādək ḥsəym* ‘turn your self around while you still have (some) respect!’ (37:23)

*ādāh lə-wṭákəməh, šīni šīwōṭ ḏ-akəyōy* ‘while he was doing this, he saw a fire of (some) spirits’ (76:9)

*ḥōm əl-ghōm ād šay aḵāšəm* ‘I want to go while it’s still cool out’ (94:35)

*āds taǵtūri šəh, šāḵáwt līs ḥəbráts* ‘while she was speaking with him, her daughter called to her’ (99:45)

In one passage (35:13), *ād*, without a suffix, is best translated as ‘yet’:

4 See the comment to text 39:14.

*ād wazyēma tīn šxōf šī* ‘will you give us any milk yet?’ (35:13)

In one passage, *ād* has the meaning ‘again’, a meaning that *ād* very often has in negative sentences (see § 13.2.4). It is used in combination with *zōyād*, as it often is in a negative sentence (§ 13.2.7):

*hām ād hawrādk hāmōh ḏōmāh zōyād, ḏə-nəwtáǵk* ‘if you bring (your) animals to this water ever again, we will kill you’ (10:9)

In a related use, *ād* can mean ‘another’ (in the sense of ‘an additional one’) or ‘one more’, though examples are few:

*xəṭárkəm ād yənké’ máwsəm mən sərīh* ‘do you think another trading-boat will come again behind it?’ (45:16)

*āmáwr ād lang ṭāṭ məháǵbəl* ‘they said one more boat was coming’ (45:17)

*hōh ād ar məhētəm həh* ‘I will only spend one more night (waiting) for it’ (45:18)

In conjunction with a subjunctive form of the verb *wīka* ‘be’ plus another verb, *ād* has the meaning ‘perhaps’, ‘might be’, or ‘could it be that’, always introducing a question. There are four examples in the texts:

*ād tāká’ təbáyd* ‘might you be lying?’ (34:16)

*ād yāká’ ar ḏə-yəbáyd* ‘perhaps it was someone who was lying [or: lies]?’ (57:11)

*ād tākām lótgəkəm hāmáy* ‘have you perhaps killed my mother?’ (65:13)

*ād tākāy dənyīt* ‘could you perhaps be pregnant?’ (101:17)

Another occurrence of *ād* in a question may also have the meaning ‘perhaps’, though the context also would allow for a meaning ‘yet’:

*ād əḥād šīni ḥázyən* ‘has anyone seen our goats?’ (31:2)

In a negative context, *ād* can mean ‘before’, a meaning which derives from the literal meaning ‘when not yet’. On this, and all other uses of *ād* in a negative context, see § 13.2.4.

### 12.5.2 *adámm-*

The particle *adámm-* is always used with a pronominal suffix, and it has the meaning ‘probably’. It is attested only once in the texts, with a 3ms suffix. The passage is:

*adámməh bərəh k-əhād gáyran* ‘he is probably with somebody else [lit. (someone) besides us]’ (41:4)

Forms of the other persons are as we expect, e.g., *adámmi* ‘I probably’, *adámməs* ‘she probably’, etc. See Watson (2012: 376) for some additional examples.

### 12.5.3 *ámma*

The particle *ámma*, borrowed from Arabic, has the meaning ‘as for’ or ‘but’, used to stress a contrasting subject.<sup>5</sup> Sometimes it can be omitted in translation. It appears about fifty times in the texts, often in combination with the conjunction *w-*. Examples are:

*w-ámma aǵáyǵ kəlōn, šəh məndáwḵ* ‘as for the groom, he had a rifle’ (9:8)  
*ámma hōh, hātámḵ, wə-hē rədd təwōli abətəh* ‘me, I spent the night, and he went back to his house’ (18:9)

*w-ámma bāl ḥārāwn, hīs əlyək də-yəntáwhən, həwrūd ḥázhe* ‘and as for the goat-herder, when [or: while] those guys fought, he brought his goats to the water’ (61:6)

*ámma tēt, šxəwəllūt bərk aláng, w-aǵáyǵ ḵəfūd* ‘the woman, she stayed on the boat, but the man went down’ (74:12)

In some of the attested passages, *ámma* appears more than once, contrasting two or more explicit subjects (*ámma ... w-ámma*), as in:

*ámma tayt šərōt, w-ámma tayt wəkəbūt bərk amkōn* ‘one stood (outside), and one entered the place’ (2:3)

*ámma ašōyǵ, šəwḵf ... w-ámma aǵáyǵ ašáyf, šxəwlül* ‘as for the jeweler, he went to sleep ... As for the guest, he remained’ (22:62)

*ámma ḥārāwn wə-həbēr, tkūnən bīsən šxōf lā ... w-ámma abḵār, tkūnən bīsən ašxōf* ‘as for the goats and the camels, they don’t have milk ... As for the cows, they do have milk’ (58:2)

<sup>5</sup> Watson (2012: 292) reports that Ali Musallam, the author of Johnstone’s texts, recognized *ámma* as an Arabism, and that he used it significantly more than her other informants.

*amma trōh rākbōh bārkēh, w-amma tāt rīkāb bārk aláng* ‘two rode in it [the canoe], and one rode in the boat’ (60:6)

In several texts (1, 2, 4, 71A), *amma* serves to indicate more generally the beginning of a story.

In text 75, *amma* occurs three times in conjunction with the phrase *mān aṭarēf ḏ-*. The phrase *mān aṭarēf ḏ-* (cf. *ṭarēf* ‘side’) is attested once meaning ‘from among’ (see § 8.22), but all together, *w-amma mān aṭarēf ḏ-* just means ‘and now as for’:

*w-amma mān aṭarēf ḏ-agáyig* ‘and now as for the man’ (75:10, 12, 14)

#### 12.5.4 ar

The very common particle *ar* has multiple meanings. It appears in *ML* under the root *ʿr* (p. 26), where it is glossed as ‘but; just, only; except; indeed’, and again under the root *ǧyr* (p. 147), where it is glossed as ‘except, only, just; certainly’. It can have all of these meanings, as well as others, like ‘so’ and ‘unless’. One of the most common meanings of *ar* is ‘only, just’, used most often in positive sentences, for example:

*šay ar hē* ‘I have only him’ (2:4)

*hōh ar tāt* ‘I am only one (person)’ (20:12)

*ar hōm al-šāxbārham mān ab’áyri* ‘I only wanted to ask them about my camel’ (28:6)

*nūka ar bā-hūṭār* ‘they bore only female kids’ (30:11)

*kūsa ar kabš* ‘he found only a lamb’ (37:13)

*māhāwf tī ar mān ḏār ass* ‘you will pay me only after (some) difficulty’ (39:13)

*hōh ar kənnáwn* ‘I am only a child’ (48:30)

*ḏékamāh ar hālāk* ‘that’s only your shadow’ (95:10)

On the combination *ḏāk ar*, see § 12.5.10. Sometimes *ar* meaning ‘only’ is used in conjunction with the negative element *al* (cf. French *ne ... que*). The meaning is no different from when *ar* is used in a positive phrase. Examples are:

*al šihām ar hēt* ‘they have only you’ (18:18)

*l-ād ar hōh* ‘only I am left’ (64:27) (*l-ād* < \**al ād*)

*hōh al šay ar ḏōmāh* ‘I have only this’ (73:5)

*hōh al šay ar hōṭari troh* ‘I only have two kids’ (89:8)

*hēt al ḡayābk ar mān bəṭōl* ‘you only fainted from fear’ (95:10)



*hftūk adašdástəh bərhóh, w-əl həbḱōh ar awzārəh* ‘Berhoh took off his robe, and left on only his waist-cloth’ (104:18)

Presumably from this use of *ar* meaning ‘only’ in combination with *əl*, *ar* has developed into a pseudo-preposition meaning ‘except’ or ‘but’ in a negative sentence (using *əl ... lā* or just *lā*). For example, the above sentence from 18:18 translates as ‘they have only you’, but this is semantically the same as ‘they do not have (anyone) except you’. We find that *ar* really does mean ‘except’ or ‘but’ in many cases; for example, a sentence like *əl šīs wəlēd lā ar hē* (36:3) really means ‘she had no children but him’, not the more literal ‘she had no children, only him’. However, that *ar* is grammatically not a preposition is proven by the fact that it can be followed by an independent pronoun or by another preposition. For further examples of *ar* used as a pseudo-preposition (and conjunction) ‘except’, see § 8.1.

Also very common in the texts is the use of *ar* to mean something like ‘really’, ‘surely’, ‘indeed’, or ‘certainly’. Some examples are:

*nəḥāh ar ənḥōm* ‘we would really like to’ (28:14)  
*hēt əl tənōfā lā. lawb hōh ar ənōfā* ‘(Mother:) You are of no use. (Son:) Yes, I am indeed of use!’ (33:1–2)  
*hām ar ffḱáwk, hōh ḥōm* ‘if he really lets you marry (me), I am willing’ (38:19)  
*hōh ar məháwf tīk* ‘I will indeed pay you’ (39:12)  
*hām ar máḥənək, məháwf tīk* ‘if you are really in trouble, I’ll pay you’ (39:14)  
*tšhōl ar gəzē* ‘you surely deserve payback’ (73:11)  
*ḏōməh ar ḏə-hōh* ‘this is really mine’ (77:3)  
*səlōmət yəmōh ar gályət lūk* ‘peace today (will be) expensive for you indeed’ (83:6)  
*hēt ar məzzōna yəmōh* ‘you will indeed smoke today’ (94:26)

In a few passages in the text, this use of *ar* can be a bit awkward in English, and so it is probably best untranslated. Examples are:

*aməndáwḱi ar gádət wə-rxáyəṣət* ‘my rifle is good and cheap’ (39:4)  
*ənḥāh ar bīn ašābər ādəh* ‘we have patience still’ (73:4)

At the beginning of an interrogative phrase (usually containing an interrogative pronoun or adverb), *ar* means something like ‘so’, ‘well’, or ‘but’. There are ten such occurrences in the texts. Some of these are:

*ar kō hēt at-təǵáwłəḵ bay* ‘so why are you looking at me?’ (22:25)  
*ar tēṭi ḥō* ‘so where is my wife?’ (37:12)  
*ar ḏə-hānáyš hēsən* ‘well what did you mean?’ (59:11)  
*ar hēsən mən bəhlit ‘báxəš ḏə-rōh’* ‘but what kind of word is *báxəš ḏə-rōh*?’ (80:15)  
*ar hēt ṭḥōm təksēr šəráfi* ‘but you wanted to damage my honor?’ (85:36)  
*ar ḥibōh ṭḥōm tāmōl* ‘so what do you want to do?’ (90:7)

Before a verbal phrase, the particle *ar* can also function as a subordinating conjunction meaning ‘unless’, in which case it is followed by the conjunction *w-* and a verb in the perfect. There are about a dozen examples in the texts. We also find *aw* used to mean ‘unless’, and it seems likely that this is a contraction of *ar w-*, rather than the conjunction *aw* (see § 12.1.3 for examples). Some of the attested examples of *ar w-* ‘unless’ are:

*ḏə-l-əwbádəh, ar wə-ṭḥáym tarábam tī* ‘I will shoot him, unless you want to give me safe passage’ (47:11)  
*əl thəwrūd lā ar wə-ṭḥōm bə-ḵəwwēt* ‘don’t bring (them) down unless you want (to do so) by force’ (64:3)  
*tāšōš lā, ar wə-səbṭāt bə-xəṭərūḵ táwri trōh* ‘she won’t wake up unless she is hit twice with a stick’ (65:11)  
*šēmīta təh layš lā, ar wə-ṭḥáymi tsákfi hāl aǵáygi* ‘I won’t sell it to you, unless you want to sleep with my husband’ (85:29)  
*əl ḵəḏárk əl-syēr lā ar wə-mázzək* ‘I can’t go on unless I smoke’ (94:26)

This last use is similar to the use of *ar* as a conjunction ‘except’, discussed in § 8.1.

### 12.5.5 ‘əmlək

The form ‘əmlək is a 1cs perfect of the verb ‘áymal ‘do, make’, and so its basic meaning is ‘I did’ (e.g., 20:18). However, in idiomatic usage, ‘əmlək or ḏə-‘əmlək means ‘I think’. In this use, the form is sometimes reduced to ‘əmk or ḏə-‘əmk, as noted already by Watson (2012: 94). The verb is followed by a direct object pronoun (see § 3.3), which serves as the subject or (less often) the object of the complement clause, even if that clause has an expressed nominal subject or an expressed object. Examples are:

‘əmlək təh aǵáygi ašəṭṭəḵəh ‘I believe the man is truthful’ (23:21)  
‘əmk tīsən mən hīs təwōh amāray ‘I think they are (this way) because they ate the grass’ (26:6)

- ʿamlək tīsən tərḥōḳən lā* ‘I think they are not far away’ (28:2)  
*ʿamlək tīsən tháǵyǵəḡən məstūḥəl awárx ḏōməḥ* ‘I think they will give birth  
 at the end of this month’ (28:18)<sup>6</sup>  
*ʿamlək təḥ nəḳlēḥ báwməḥ* ‘I think we’ll leave him here’ (91:8)  
*ḏə-ʿamlək tīs tháflət mən ḏáyrī təwélīkəm* ‘I think she will run away from  
 me to you’ (94:22)  
*ʿamlək təḥ bər ḡəḥēm* ‘I think he already left’ (94:42)

### 12.5.6 əbōb(ne)

The particle *əbōb(ne)* occurs just three times in the texts. It is used to make a plea or emphatic request, and means something like ‘please’ or ‘I beg you’. It is followed by a noun or independent pronoun, and then by a command. In the very limited evidence that we have, the longer form *əbōbne* is used before a pronoun, and the shorter *əbōb* is used before a noun.

- əbōbne tēm, háǵnəm ašáyya* ‘please warm up the pen’ (26:9)  
*əbōb ḥabráy, šémni* ‘please, my son, obey me!’ (90:11)  
*əbōbne tēm, təḳlēm təḥ báwməḥ lā* ‘please don’t leave him here!’ (91:9)

### 12.5.7 bər

The particle *bər* (sometimes pronounced *bār* in fast speech) is extremely common, appearing more than one hundred and seventy times in the texts. It occurs on its own, as well as with pronominal suffixes. The forms with suffixes are:

	sing.	dual	plural
1c	<i>béri</i>	<i>bárki</i>	<i>bárən</i>
2m	<i>bərk</i>	<i>bárki</i>	<i>bárkəm</i>
2f	<i>bərs̄</i>		<i>bárkən</i>
3m	<i>bárah</i>	<i>bárhi</i>	<i>bárhəm</i>
3f	<i>bərs</i>		<i>bársən</i>

6 Ali spelled this word *ʿmk* in the Arabic-letter manuscript of this text, but read *ʿamlək* on the audio recording.

This particle has several uses. In conjunction with a verb (nearly always a perfect), or in a non-verbal sentence, *ber* very often means 'already'. If the sentence is non-verbal, *ber* is used with a pronominal suffix, while if the sentence is verbal, there is usually no suffix. Examples with the meaning 'already' are:

- ber ṭayábk mānsēn* 'I already had my fill of them' (20:16)  
*hē ber karmūk waṭōmah* 'he has already been so generous to you' (22:52)  
*hōh ber amárk hūk man fanōhān* 'I already told you (that) before' (24:53)  
*aḡāk ber mōt wā-bér ḡabēr* 'your brother has already died and been buried' (40:10)  
*hōh bēri sātwaḡāk al-hábye* 'I already miss my parents' (20:63)  
*aḡaḡanōt bārs b-abáyṭ* 'the girl is already in the house' (48:9)  
*ber táḡḡāk aḡahwēt* 'have you already drunk the coffee?' (59:11)  
*hōh ber sábak* 'I am already full' (73:6)  
*māt awōḏān fēḡar, tāḡāy bārs al-xāh ḏ-abáyṭ* 'when they call [lit. he calls] the dawn prayer, you should already be at the door of the house' (75:8)  
*hēt bārk šebb šarōmah* 'you're a young man now already' (89:15)

Sometimes the word 'already' is superfluous in English, and the Mehri phrase containing *ber* is best translated with a simple perfect or pluperfect, as in:

- ber ḡawbūh kabś* 'they have turned him into a lamb' (40:7)  
*bēri ḏ-amtányān tūkām* 'I have been wishing for you (to come)' (42:6)

In the example from text 42:6, we see that the combination of *ber* and an imperfect with a prefixed *ḏ-* corresponds to an English perfect progressive.

If the verb preceded by *ber* refers to a past action relative to another verb in the sentence, then the former normally corresponds to an English pluperfect, but on occasion corresponds best to an English simple past. Examples are:

- hāḡūr ber ḡarōh mōh* 'the slave had already hidden water' (5:2)  
*hānkūr aḏ-sē fawtūt wā-bér šāṭōt amōlāh kállāh* 'he realized that she had run away, and had taken all his wealth' (22:70)  
*ber šāḡāk tūk, w-amárk háyni* 'I (had) called you, and you said to me' (20:19)

In combination with the preposition *h-*, *ber* refers to an elapsed duration of time, as in:

- ber háyni sēt mən sékəni* ‘I have already been (away) a long time from my family’ (31:4)
- ber háyni sēt mənkhēm* ‘I have been (away) a long time from them’ (44:2)
- ber hūk sēt wə-hēt b-əǵərbēt? ber háyni wəḵōna xáyməh sanáyn* ‘were you abroad for a long time? I was (away) for about five years’ (57:1–2)
- bér háyni āšəri trōh xalē* ‘I have been alone [or: hungry] for two nights’ (63:4)

A second very common use of *ber*, and one that seems to be an extension of the previous meaning, is its use in temporal clauses (§13.5.3), following *hīs*, *mət*, *tə*, or *tə hīs*. If a temporal clause is non-verbal and has a pronominal subject, then *ber* (with a suffix) is required as a placeholder for the subject. We find *ber* used in verbal temporal clauses as well, usually indicating a perfect or pluperfect. Some examples are:

- hīs béri bərk amərkēb, dahfāti tēt ǵaláyǵət* ‘after I was in the boat, a fat woman smacked me’ (40:25)
- abkār bār hīs ber ḥaláwbsən* ‘the cows went away after they had milked them’ (35:7)
- mət bársən bərk ḥəmōh, səlēl xaláwḵisən* ‘when they are (already) in the water, pick up their clothes’ (37:3)
- mət ber təwōh, šāḵəh* ‘after he has eaten, call him’ (22:88)
- tə bārḥəm šyēx, hámam bə-ḥōkəm ḏ-əǵzáyrət* ‘when they were big, they heard about the ruler of the island’ (74:8)
- tə āšər ber ḥābū šəwḵif, təwōh ǵayg yəšəwḵif* ‘then when the people had gone to sleep (one) night, they [witches] came to a man who was sleeping’ (2:2)
- sīrōh tə bārhi bə-ḵā’ tāt* ‘they went until they were in a certain place’ (72:3)
- tə hīs bārḥəm bə-ḥōrəm, kūsam ǵayg āwēr* ‘then when they were on the road, they found a blind man’ (46:9)

Further examples of *ber* in temporal clauses, along with additional discussion, can be found in §13.5.3 and its subsections.

In a very few cases, *ber* is found after other particles or expressions:

- adámməh bərəh k-əḥād ǵáyrən* ‘he is probably with somebody else [lit. (someone) besides us]’ (41:4)
- əkīrən béri hāl ḥāmóy* ‘I wish I was with my mother’ (42:23)

*śáfi béri bærk āmk̄ ḏ-abk̄ār* ‘as it happened, I was in the middle of the cows’ (47:5)

A third use of *bær* is in conjunction with the verb *ḥōm* ‘want’ (see §7.3.4), together with which it means ‘be about to’ or ‘nearly’. This combination is found only about eight times in the texts. Some of these attestations are:

*béri ḥōm l-əwbáds* ‘I was about to shoot her’ (54:13)

*bə-xáyr, wə-bərs thōm tháhkaṭ* ‘(the camel) is well, and it is about to give birth’ (63:15)

*bārəh yəḥōm yəmēt* ‘he was about to die’ (or: ‘he was nearly dead’) (75:18)

*kəsk aǰáyg ḏeh bārəh yəḥōm yəḥwéh* ‘I found this man about to fall’ (77:6)

*ḵalīyē təh te, bārəh yəḥōm yəsyēr, məšənhərūtən bəh* ‘we’ll leave it until, when he is about to go, we’ll lodge a complaint against him’ (91:26)

On the use of *bær* to express possibility, usually two contrasting possibilities, see Watson (2012: 373).

Finally, it should be mentioned that in Jibbali and Soqoṭri, the cognate *bær* is treated as a verb, rather than as a particle, and takes the suffixes of a verb in the perfect. This is one of the morphological isoglosses that distinguishes the Eastern and Western branches of the Modern South Arabian language family.<sup>7</sup>

### 12.5.8 *dáwn-*

The particle *dáwn-*, always used with a second person object suffix (e.g., 2ms *dáwnək*, 2mp *dáwnkəm*), can be translated as an imperative ‘take!’. The preposition *b-* is required before the object. Following are all of the examples in the texts:

*dáwnək bihən* ‘take them!’ (20:50)

*dáwnək hēt b-aḥkámət* ‘you take the kingdom!’ (20:78)

*dáwnək b-aḥkámti* ‘take my kingdom!’ (42:51)

The example from 20:50 comes in response to someone who used the command (*ə*)*ndōh* ‘give!’ (see below, §12.5.17). The form *dáwnək* is likely a borrowing of Arabic *dūnaka* ‘take! here you are!’ (with a 2ms object suffix).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> See the discussion, with a list of forms from four MSA languages, in Rubin (2015b: 325–326).

<sup>8</sup> Watson (2012: 135) seems to suggest that *dáwn-* a frozen imperative (her wording is ambiguous), but then the suffix *-k* would not make sense.

12.5.9 *ðe*

The particle *ðe* has relatively little function. It is found six times in the texts, three of these before an interrogative word, and always at the beginning of a phrase. In an interrogative sentence, it seems to correspond to English ‘well’ or ‘but’ as a sort of introductory particle in questions like ‘but why?’ or ‘well who?’. In a declarative statement, it seems only to add a slight emphasis. The attested examples are:

*ðe hōh šāgēk* ‘I’m in a hurry’ (27:27; 28:12)

*ðe mōn hābarkīsan h-aba’yōr ar hāmbārāwtān* ‘well, who would have made them kneel for the male camels except children?’ (29:6)

*ðe hōh ber gāzāmk fōnāh* ‘well, I already swore earlier!’ (31:13)

*ðe kō hēt wəṭōmāh* ‘but why are you (doing) like this?’ (59:6)

*ðe wā-kōh awṭākāmāh* ‘well, why (did you do) that?’ (71:3)

Watson (2012: 79), who gives an example in which *ðe* precedes the interrogative *hēšān* ‘what?’, equates this particle with the short form of the masculine singular demonstrative, *ðeh*. This might be true historically, but it is worth noting that Ali Musallam consistently spelled this particle ڤ (without a final *-h*), while the demonstrative he consistently spelled ڤه (with a final *-h*).

12.5.10 *ðək*

The particle *ðək*, which is probably to be connected with the far demonstrative *ðēk/ðək* (see § 3.4), can be used as an introductory particle, equivalent to English ‘it’s (just) that’ or ‘it’s because’. It occurs seven times in the texts with this meaning, all but once in combination with the particle *ar* ‘only, just’ (§ 12.5.4). Examples are:

*ðək ar əhād mənḵēm gəbb ənxāhe* ‘it’s because one of you defecated under it’ (3:16)

*ðək ar əlhəḵāysən həbūr* ‘it’s just that the cold has got to [lit. caught] them’ (26:9)

*ðək ar nəhāgkən* ‘it’s just that you were playing’ (26:16)

*ðək ar hēt thəṭnāyni* ‘it’s just that you’re suspicious [or: imagining (things)]’ (64:17)

*ðək tkūn təḡtūri k-agənnāwnse* ‘it’s just that she is conversing with her jinns’ (65:11)

*ðək ar yāššək* ‘it’s just that you’re afraid’ (91:19; 95:8)

There is an eighth occurrence of *ðək*, which seems to mean something like ‘just as’. It is not clear if it should be interpreted as the same particle *ðək* discussed above:

*lawb tōmər hēt ðək háybak yōmər* ‘truly, you sing just as your father sings’  
(52:1)

### 12.5.11 *ǰədəwwən*

The particle *ǰədəwwən* has the meaning ‘let’s go!’ or ‘come on!’. It can be used by itself, with a following prepositional phrase, or with a 1cp subjunctive verb. Some examples of its use are:

*āmūr hīhəm, “ǰədəwwən”* ‘he said to them, “Let’s go!”’ (19:13)  
*ǰədəwwən, məhīsən tik* ‘let’s go, I’ll show you!’ (65:8)  
*āmáwr, “ǰədəwwən təwōli šérə!”* *āmūr, “ǰədəwwən!”* ‘they said, “let’s go to the judge!” He said, “Let’s go!”’ (23:11)  
*ǰədəwwən hāl aḥkáwmət* ‘let’s go to the authorities!’ (46:14)  
*ǰədəwwən təwōli ḥābū* ‘let’s go to the people!’ (77:4)  
*ǰədəwwən təwēhe* ‘let’s go to him!’ (94:47)  
*ǰədəwwən nəsné’* ‘let’s go see!’ (3:16)  
*ǰədəwwən nətbēs* ‘let’s go follow her!’ (94:22)

There is also a singular form *ǰədəw* ‘go!’, attested once in the texts (106:3), and a dual form *ǰədəwki* ‘let’s go!’, which does not show up in the texts. Historically, *ǰədəwwən* and *ǰədəwki* appear to be 1cp and 1cd perfects, respectively, despite their unusual conjugations,<sup>9</sup> while *ǰədəw* may be an archaic imperative form (Watson 2012: 96, 135).

There is a related G-Stem verb *ǰədōh* (root *ǰdω*), but it has the more narrow meaning ‘die, perish’; it is missing from *ML*, but attested in Watson (2012: 83). The Jibbali cognate *aǰád* and the Soqotri cognate *ʿəd*, which come from the metathesized root *wǰd*, both have a more general meaning ‘go’.

The particle *ḥəláy*, used just once in the texts (48:15), seems to be a synonym of *ǰədəwwən*.

9 The form *ǰədəwwən* comes from *\*ǰədəwən*, that is, *ǰədəw* + the 1cp suffix *-ən*. However, the sequence *-əwən* (syllabified *-é/wən*) would have a short vowel in a stressed open syllable, which is not allowed. Therefore, the form is realized *ǰədəwwən*. See further in § 2.2.



**12.5.12 ḥāk**

The particle *ḥāk* means ‘here you are!’. The form is really *ḥā-* plus a 2ms object subject. To a woman, one would say *ḥāš*, and to a group, *ḥākəm* (m.) or *ḥākən* (f.).<sup>10</sup> In the texts, we find only the 2ms form *ḥāk* (83:6). It is unclear whether or not Mehri *ḥāk* is etymologically related to Jibbali *hūk* (*JLO*, §12.5.10), but a connection with Arabic *hāka* (mp *hākum*) seems likely.

**12.5.13 lawb**

As discussed in §12.2.1, *lawb* can be used as an interjection to contradict another statement, in which case it is usually translated as ‘yes’ or ‘no’. The particle *lawb* (or the longer form *wa-ya lawb*) can also be used at the beginning of a clause to mean ‘truly’, ‘indeed’, or ‘certainly’. Examples from the texts are:

*lawb tōmər hēt ḏək ḥáybək yōmər* ‘truly, you sing just as your father sings’

(52:1)

*lawb ffārḥk tīn* ‘you have truly made us happy’ (57:13)

*lawb yāmərəm amḥərəh* ‘truly, the Mehri (can) sing’ (84:5)

*lawb šūk amēl gīd* ‘indeed you have a good field’ (91:9)

*wə-hīh, lawb gəzəkəm xayr* ‘oh, thank you indeed’ (28:20)

*wə-hīh, lawb fəṭnək* ‘oh, I do indeed remember him’ (57:14)

In one passage, *lawb* is used within a clause, rather than at its beginning:

*ağəyūg lawb həbṭām ḥīṭār* ‘the men have certainly kept the kids away

(too) long’ (26:9)

The use of *lawb* as ‘indeed’ is certainly related historically to the use described in §12.2.1. In cases where *lawb* is used to contradict a negative statement (see §12.2.1 for examples), ‘indeed’ sometimes works as a translation just as well as ‘yes’.

**12.5.14 lēzəm**

The indeclinable particle *lēzəm* (< Arabic *lāzim*), has the meaning of ‘must’, ‘have to’, or ‘it is necessary that’. It is usually followed by a subjunctive verb or, to make explicit a future obligation (‘will have to’), a future. It can also be used simply on its own, with or without a following non-verbal phrase. Some examples from the texts are:

<sup>10</sup> Watson (2012: 135) transcribes the plural forms with a geminate *k*.

- lēzəm l-əshōṭ hūkəm* ‘I must slaughter for you’ (4:6)  
*lēzəm (l-)ərdéh bəh ráwrəm* ‘I must throw him into the sea’ (20:27)  
*lēzəm nəftək* ‘we must leave’ (34:31)  
*lēzəm tərtáyḱ háyni awərḱāt ḏīməh* ‘you must read this paper for me’  
 (85:18)  
*lēzəm amnēdəm yāḱáḱ’ šəh afkəráyyət* ‘a man has to have consideration’  
 (98:10)  
*lēzəm ḏəkyēra ḥaybátḱ* ‘they will have to mention your camel’ (63:6)  
*lēzəm a’ísēk hənūn* ‘your dinner must be at our place’ (22:57)  
*lēzəm afśēkəm hənáy* ‘you must have lunch with me’ (lit. ‘your lunch  
 must [be] by me’) (36:19)

In one passage we find *lēzəm* followed by the imperfect *yəkūn*. This anomalous verb has no subjunctive (§13.1.2), but we might have expected the subjunctive of *wīḱa* here instead (cf. the passage above from text 98:10).

*lēzəm yəkūn təmōm* ‘there must be an even number’ (71A:1)

### 12.5.15 *mākənnáy*

The particle *mākənnáy* occurs just four times in the texts,<sup>11</sup> and its exact transcription is somewhat uncertain. Of the four occurrences, two are from texts for which I found no audio, and a third has audio that is hard to hear, even at slow speed. Johnstone’s transcriptions in the Roman-letter manuscripts are also inconsistent, and do not seem to match the audio. Compare Johnstone’s transcriptions with the forms heard on the audio:

	Johnstone	audio
81:3	<i>makann(i)</i> <sup>12</sup>	<i>mākənnáy</i>
89:1	<i>mākánni</i>	<i>mākənáy?</i>
100:7	<i>mákənnáy</i>	(none found)
102:1	<i>makənnáy</i>	(none found)

Watson (2012: 292) lists the forms *mākan*, *mākani*, and *mākanay*, and adds (p. 289, n. 13) that she found no evidence of a geminate *n*.

11 The rarity of this particle in the texts seems to be due to the preference of Ali Musallam for *amma*, and it may not be typical of Mehri speakers in general. According to Watson (2012: 292), some speakers use it more frequently.

12 In the margin of the manuscript, above the *(i)*, Johnstone added the note “optional”.

Whatever its exact form in the texts, it can be used, like *amma* (see §12.5.3) to emphasize a contrastive subject, as in:

*atēm antəḳáył. mākənnáy hōh, wəḳōna k-həbēr* ‘you choose. As for me, I will be with the camels’ (102:1)

It can also be used to mark the beginning of a story, or a new section of a story, similar to *amma*. But while *amma* is normally followed by a noun, *mākənnáy* is followed by other types of words. The combination of *mākənnáy* plus *xəṭərāt* (*ṭayt*) ‘once’ can be translated as ‘now once ...’. In the texts, the adverb *xəṭərāt* is much more often used by itself at the beginning of a story, with little to no difference in meaning (e.g., 49:1; 74:1). The remaining examples of *mākənnáy* from the texts are:

*wə-mākənnáy xəṭərāt kəlūt līn ġayg* ‘now once a man told us’ (81:3)  
*mākənnáy xəṭərāt ṭayt ḏ-əwxāfən b-ašáyga ḏékəməh* ‘now once we were camped in that shelter’ (89:1)  
*wə-mākənnáy hām əḥād hārūs bə-ġəggīt* ‘now if someone marries a young girl’ (100:7)

It is perhaps passages like those we see in texts 100:7 and 102:1 that led Watson (2012: 131) to list *mākənnáy* as a variant of *wəlākan* ‘but’, though Watson also recognizes the other above meanings of the particle.

### 12.5.16 *mōh*

The particle *mōh* occurs just two times in the texts,<sup>13</sup> and it is hard to assign it an exact meaning. The attested examples are:

*āmēr mōh* ‘please sing!’ (52:3)  
*fṭōn mōh* ‘please remember!’ (57:13)

13 Another example of *mōh* appeared in Stroomer’s edition of text 60:13, based on Johnstone’s Roman-letter manuscript. That edition has *mō nhā šxəwlūlən* ‘we stayed indeed’. This line also appears in *ML* (s.v. *m’*), where it is translated ‘well we stayed’. That passage is also probably why *ML* has the definition ‘well; indeed’. In fact, as the original Arabic-letter manuscript and audio recording prove, the correct transcription here is *wə-nhāh šxəwlūlən* ‘and we stayed’.

In both of these examples, *mōh* follows an imperative. Based on the context of the stories, *mōh* seems to add emphasis or urgency to the imperative, and so I have suggested a translation ‘please’. It is also possible that it adds a sense of urgency rather than politeness, closer to something like ‘well, sing then!’. Overall, it seems that *mōh* has little semantic value.

In *ML* (s.v. *m*) it is suggested that Mehri *mōh* (which Johnstone transcribed *mō*) is cognate with Jibbali *mər* ‘ok’ (and its longer form *móǰər*). As mentioned already in *JLO* (p. 311), this idea is highly improbable. A more likely cognate is the Jibbali particle *ū/un* (*JLO*, §12.5.2).

### 12.5.17 (ə)ndōh

The particle (ə)*ndōh* is used like an imperative, and is historically probably a frozen imperative form, perhaps connected with the Semitic root *ndn/ntn* ‘give’. When followed by a noun or pronominal object suffix, it has the meaning ‘give here!’ or ‘give me!’, but when followed by a subjunctive verb, it has the meaning ‘let me!’. Unlike a regular imperative, however, it does not conjugate for gender or number. The examples of this particle from the texts are:

- əndōh adǧəráyti* ‘give me my bean!’ (1:6)  
*wə-ndōh mənš ašáyǧət* ‘give me your jewelry [lit. the jewelry from you]!’  
 (3:5)  
*wə-ndōh aməndáwǰ* ‘give me the rifle!’ (20:49)  
*əndōhəm* ‘give them to me!’ (24:7)  
*əndōh fəšmke* ‘give me your feet!’ (24:28)  
*wə-ndōh l-əǧtāš* ‘let me cut you!’ (75:18)  
*əndōh əl-šnéʿ xaṭṭ* ‘let me see the letter!’ (75:21)

### 12.5.18 šaf(f)

The particle *šaf(f)*, which occurs roughly twenty times in the texts, has the meaning ‘it (so) happened/turned out that’ or ‘as it (so) happened/turned out’ (or the present tense equivalents of these phrases). The bare form *šaff* is used when it is followed by a nominal subject, but it takes a pronominal suffix (with the base *šaf-*) when the subject precedes or is otherwise unexpressed. Following are some examples from the texts:

- wə-ħaynīt šáfsən səwēħər* ‘and it so happened that the women were  
 witches’ (15:4)  
*ðōməh bā nəwās. šáfəh šahħ* ‘this is Ba Newas. It turns out he’s alive’  
 (20:56)  
*wə-šáfħəm ǧənnáwn* ‘and it so happens they were jinns’ (37:7)

*wə-šáff šātáyh səwēhər* ‘it turned out that witches got hold of him’ (40:2)  
*wə-šáff tēt ḏə-hātəmūt ḏār akōbər ḏ-agās* ‘and it so happened that a  
 woman was spending the night by the grave of her brother’ (54:9)  
*šaff tēt, hīs šənyāti, ġibūt mən ayəšáyt* ‘it turns out the woman, when she  
 saw me, she fainted from fear’ (54:11)

In one example from the texts it has the meaning ‘probably’:

*šafk təġōrəb hōh əštáwṭ agáwfi* ‘you probably know I have pain in my  
 chest’ (101:10)

This particle *šaf(f)* is to be distinguished from the noun *šaff* (pl. *šfūtən*) ‘track, footprint’ (e.g., 32:7; 64:12), but it is possible that they are related.<sup>14</sup> On the audio recordings, the suffixed form *šáffəh* ‘his tracks’ (e.g., 32:7) is distinct from *šáfəh* ‘it turns out he’ (< *šafh*, e.g., 20:56).

### 12.5.19 *təww-*

The particle *təww-* occurs in the texts mainly with second-person pronominal suffixes, and is followed by a verb in the subjunctive.<sup>15</sup> It has the meaning of ‘must’, ‘ought to’, or ‘should’.

*təwwəkəm tsmēhəm tī* ‘you must excuse me’ (24:41)  
*təwwək (t)šəbər lay tē akáyḏ* ‘you need to give me respite until the  
 summer’ (39:12)  
*təwwək tāmōl háyni mārāwf* ‘you must do me a favor’ (46:2)  
*təwwəš təkfēdi mən ḏáyri* ‘you must get down off me’ (46:5)  
*təwwəkəm ar tsmēhəm lay* ‘you really ought to allow me’ (64:2)  
*təwwək tsāmi* ‘you should spare me’ (83:5)

In one case *təww-* is used independently, with the verb implied:

*āmərūt tētəh, “ḏə-yəššək tīs mən tāká’ thōm tātyōn līn.”* *āmūr agáyg,*  
*“təwwəs lā”* ‘his wife said, “I am afraid that she might want to inform  
 on us.” The man said, “She shouldn’t” (94:39–40)

14 Watson and Al-Mahri (2017: 96) report that native speakers make this connection, but I suspect a folk etymology. Antoine Lonnet (p.c.) suggests that *šaf(f)* could be a borrowing of colloquial Arabic *šāf* ‘he saw’.

15 Watson (2012: 130, 391) has a couple of examples with first-person suffixes.

The particle *táww-* is probably to be connected with the adverb *taw* ‘well’ (§10.4) and the second element of the exclamation *his-táw* ‘ok!’.<sup>16</sup>

The form *wətō-* listed in *ML* (s.v. *wt'*), and appearing once in Stroomer's edition of the texts (64:2) is a mistake. In fact, what Johnstone analyzed at *wətō-* is simply the conjunction *w-* plus the particle *táww*. Additional proof (besides the manuscript and audio evidence for the pronunciation of the form in text 64:2), is that the Jibbali parallel version to Mehri text 64:2 has *tōkum*, corresponding exactly to Mehri *táwwəkəm*.

### 12.5.20 *wōgəb*

The particle *wōgəb* (< Arabic *wājib*) is followed by a subjunctive verb and has the meaning ‘it is proper that’, ‘it is obligatory that’, ‘ought to’, or ‘should’. Person is indicated either with a suffixed pronoun attached directly to *wōgəb* (which has the base (*a*)*wágb-* before suffixes) or with the preposition *l-* plus a suffixed pronoun.<sup>17</sup> In the examples from the texts, the former is used exclusively in negative statements, and the latter exclusively in positive statements. The examples from the texts are:

*nəḥāh wōgəb līn nəšōṭ hūk* ‘it is obligatory for us to slaughter for you’  
(31:14)

*wōgəb līn ənkbēr amaláwtəǵ* ‘we should bury the dead’ (64:28)

*əl wágbəkəm lā təwtēǵəm məknáyw mən tōdi* ‘you shouldn’t kill a baby at the breast’ (64:25)

*əl wágbəkəm (t)šyērəm wə-təklēm amaláwtəǵ wəṭōməh lā* ‘you shouldn’t go and leave the dead like this’ (64:26)

*əl awágbəkəm lā tāṭāfəm lay bə-ḥázyən* ‘you shouldn’t frighten our goats on me’ (70:2)

*awágbək tsłébi lā wə-tfášli bərk ḥābū* ‘you shouldn’t disarm me and embarrass me among the people’ (76:18)

We see in the last four examples above that a clause with *wōgəb* can be negated in more than one way. In 76:18, *əl* is omitted. In 64:25 and 70:2, *lā* immediately follows the suffixed form of *wōgəb*. In 64:26 and 76:18, *lā* comes at the end of the clause.

16 See Lonnet (2003: 422–423) for discussion.

17 The use of *l-* with *wōgəb* in Mehri corresponds to the use of *alā* with *wājib* in Arabic.

### 12.5.21 wālē

The use of *wālē* as a conjunction ‘or; or else’ was treated above (§ 12.1.4). The same particle can also be used to mean ‘maybe’ or ‘perhaps’, though there are only a few examples in the texts. Among the clearest of these are:

*wālē əlhōk amáwsəm* ‘perhaps I’ll catch the trading-boat’ (45:12)  
*wālē rábbək yəsāmən tī* ‘perhaps the Lord will protect me’ (36:3)  
*wālē əkōsa əḥād yəmzūz* ‘perhaps I’ll find someone who smokes’ (94:25)

Presumably derived from this usage, *wālē* can also be used at the beginning of a phrase as a sort of interrogative particle, similar in use to Arabic *ʾa-* or Biblical Hebrew *hā-*. There are a dozen or so examples in the texts. We can ignore the particle in translation, or we can again use ‘maybe’ or ‘perhaps’, with no real change in meaning:

*wālē káskəm mətwē šī* ‘did you find any grazing?’ (26:14; 29:3)  
*wālē šī ayd* ‘are there any sardines?’ (27:9)  
*wālē əḥād ənkáykəm* ‘has anyone come to you?’ (45:5)  
*wālē amáwsəm nūka* ‘has the trading boat come?’ (45:14)  
*wālē šīnək ḥəbráy* ‘did you perhaps see my son?’ (57:5)  
*ā ġīgēn, wālē təḳáy* ‘boy, can you read?’ (71:2)

Far more often, however, a declarative is made into an interrogative simply by intonation of voice, with no special particle necessary. See further in § 13.6.

### 12.5.22 xāf

The particle *xāf* means something like ‘I think’, ‘maybe’, or ‘it might be’. Watson (2012: 375), who connects the particle with the Arabic verb *xāfa* ‘fear’, says that this particle “conveys the speaker’s hesitation in committing to the truth of a proposition”. Her description fits the one attested example in the texts:

*bə-xáy* *hē wə-ḏə-yaxáwdəm, wəlākan xāf hīs əl xəšáwb bə-šī lā, ḏə-hānōh*  
*yəftēk* ‘he is fine, and working, but I think maybe since he has not sent  
 anything, he intends to leave’ (57:8)

The above passage is parallel with Jibbali text 8:8, in which we find the Jibbali verb *ethúmk* ‘maybe; I think’. The same use of *xāf* is attested in Hobyot.<sup>18</sup>

18 Cf. *HV*, pp. 145, 177, 283, 284.

### 12.5.23 *yámkən*

The particle *yámkən* (< Arabic *yumkin*) means ‘perhaps’ or ‘maybe’. It is normally followed by a subjunctive verb or, when indicating a simple past, a perfect. It can also be used in a non-verbal sentence. Examples are:

*yámkən hārēḳ* ‘maybe it was stolen’ (23:4)

*yámkən taḡrēb aḡarōyāh* ‘maybe you know his language’ (34:26)

*yámkən yānké* ‘maybe he’ll come’ (41:4)

*yámkən hūk aməṭlāwbək lā* ‘maybe you don’t get what you want [lit. your desire]’ (43:4)

*yámkən xalāws mənīn* ‘maybe they couldn’t find us’ (64:15)

*yámkən l-ənké həh b-əḡād yədbéhəh* ‘maybe I would bring to it someone to collect it’ (77:4)



## Some Syntactic Features

### 13.1 Copular (Non-Verbal) Sentences

Mehri, like many other Semitic languages, does not make use of a verb 'be' in the present tense. Instead, subject and predicate are simply juxtaposed. Examples are:

- hōh ḡayg fəḵáyr* 'I am a poor man' (91:3)  
*hēt ḡayg ḥáywāl* 'you are a crazy man' (98:7)  
*ḏōmah amftēh, wə-sēn bərk aḡərfēt ḏayk* 'this is the key, and they are in that room' (22:97)  
*ḏīmāh tēti* 'this is my wife' (46:16)  
*əlyōmah ḥəbānyē, wə-hēt aḡáyi* 'these are my sons, and you are my husband' (74:23)  
*báwmāh kāl šýən ḡōli* 'here everything is expensive' (18:15)  
*aḡīḡēn ḵəwáy wə-xfáyf* 'the boy was strong and fast' (42:2)  
*wə-ttēt ḏə-kálatk lūk bīs ḥəbrūt ḏə-ḥōkəm* 'and the woman that I told you about is the daughter of the ruler' (22:31)  
*ḥábke bərk aḡənnēt* 'your parents are in Paradise' (20:70)  
*kō hēt báwmāh* 'why are you here?' (3:10)  
*hībōh sawr* 'what's the plan?' (6:6)  
*hēsən ḥalátah* 'what is its description?' (28:7)  
*ḥō a'šēy* 'where is my dinner?' (42:34)

In copular sentences, an interrogative can come in either the subject position, as in the last four examples above, or in the predicate, as in the following three examples (see also §13.6):

- hēt mōn* 'who are you?' (20:68)  
*tēti ḥō* 'where is my wife?' (37:12)  
*šayš hēsən* 'what do you have?' (94:45)

Occasionally, in place of a copula, we find a personal pronoun placed between the subject and predicate. This happens most often when the subject is an independent relative clause, when the predicate is modified by a relative clause, when an adverb separates the subject and predicate, or when the whole clause is negated, as in:

*alhān kask naxāse hē ḏā-hōh* ‘whatever I find under it is mine’ (67:8)  
*ḏōmah hē ašōyāǧ ḏā-wkūb* ‘that [lit. this] is the jeweler that has come in’  
 (22:87)  
*ḏōmah hē aǧīgēn ḏā-šāt tetk* ‘this is the boy who took your wife’ (22:89)  
*hāzikam yallōh sēn bā-hawōdi ḏih* ‘last night your goats were in this  
 valley’ (31:3)  
*ḏōmah al hē šāǧli lā* ‘this is not my intention’ (22:22)  
*aǧalēt al hē manāy lā* ‘the mistake is not from me’ (36:30)  
*ḏōmah hē amkəšāwdi* ‘this is my reason’ (22:30) (but cf. *ḏīmāh tēti* ‘this is  
 my wife’, 46:16)

A copula is normally missing from past tense contexts as well, for example:

*hāgūr bōyār* ‘the slave was a liar’ (5:12)  
*aǧīgēn rəhāym* ‘the boy was beautiful’ (22:1)  
*hāybi fəkáy* ‘my father was poor’ (34:4)  
*aǧāy šōx bā-kətar* ‘my big (older) brother was in Qatar’ (34:20)  
*arhābēt bis xawr, wə-xawr kəšəm* ‘the town had [lit: in it (was)] a lagoon,  
 and the lagoon was cold’ (36:1)  
*aǧāyǧ məhráy* ‘the man was a Mehri’ (69:2)  
*həlāts al sē gādət lā* ‘its condition was not good’ (83:1)

For more examples of the lack of a present or past copula in ‘have’ sentences (like the first half of the example from text 36:1, above), see § 13.3.1.

### 13.1.1 *The Verb wīka*

The verb *wīka* can mean ‘be’, however it is rarely used as a simple copula. Much more often, it has the sense ‘stay’, ‘become’, or ‘happen, take place’,<sup>1</sup> for example:

*wīka k-hārawn* ‘he stayed with the goats’ (14A:5)  
*hōh wəkōna k-hārawn* ‘I will stay with the goats’ (3:5)  
*hāybi yəwōka k-hārawn* ‘my father would stay with the goats’ (89:2)  
*atēm wəkiyē b-amkōnkəm, aw šalyēla? nəhāh wəkiyē b-amkōnan te*  
*gēhaməh* ‘will you be [or: stay] in your (current) place, or will you  
 move? We’ll be in our place until tomorrow’ (96:4–5)  
*wīka rəhāym k-hābū mən ḏār tāybər ḏ-akēdōr* ‘he was [or: became] nice  
 to people after the breaking of the pots’ (35:23)

1 In Arabic, the verb *waqa’a* has the basic meanings ‘fall’ and ‘happen, take place’. No doubt the Arabic semantics have influenced the usage in Mehri.

*wáḵak bə-xáyr* ‘I became well’ (25:16)  
*wəḵōna bə-xáyr* ‘he’ll get well’ (101:19)  
*mən ḏār xəṭarāt ḏəḵəməh, wáḵam ‘aysōr* ‘after that time, they were [or:  
 became] friends’ (61:9)  
*wīka lūk sí* ‘has something happened to you?’ (42:7)  
*ktēbəm háyni kāl síyən əḏ-wīka* ‘write down for me everything that  
 happens’ (66:1)  
*hīs wəḵōt həgmēt* ‘when the attack took place’ (69:7)  
*hēt wəḵōna mələk b-agzáyrət ḏīməh* ‘you’ll become king on this island’  
 (74:4)  
*ḏōməh aḡigēn wəḵōna axáyr mənáy mət āḵáwr* ‘this boy will be better  
 than me when he grows up’ (76:12)  
*lū amnēdam yəḥáwsəb əlhān wəḵōna ləh* ‘if man thought about all that  
 will happen to him’ (98:11)

In a past existential phrase (‘there was/were’), the presence or absence of the verb *wīka* is semantically predictable. For a true existential, when the phrase ‘there was/were’ can be replaced with ‘there existed’, no verb is needed:<sup>2</sup>

*xəṭarāt ḡayg* ‘once there was a man’ (15:1)  
*əl sí šáyga ḵəráyb lā* ‘there wasn’t any shelter nearby’ (17:12)  
*xəṭarāt ḥōkəm bə-rḥəbēt* ‘once there was a ruler in a town’ (36:1)  
*bərk sēkən ḏékəməh ḡayg* ‘in that community there was a man’ (93:1)

When an existential ‘there was/were’ can be replaced with ‘there happened/took place’, then *wīka* is used:

*te āšər ṭāt, wīka šarḥ b-arḥəbēt* ‘then one evening, there was a dance-  
 party in the town’ (37:9)  
*sənēt ṭayt wəḵōt háwrət* ‘one year there was a drought’ (61:1)  
*əl wīka ḥarḥ sí lā* ‘there hasn’t been any war’ (104:28)

The verb *wīka* is really only used as a copula in two environments. The first is when a subjunctive is required because of meaning (i.e., ‘should be’ or ‘might be’, as in the first three examples below) or syntax (i.e., functioning as a dependent verb, as in the last three examples below):

<sup>2</sup> On the use of *sí* in negative or interrogative existential phrases, see § 3.5.2.

*ṣarōmah hēt tākáká* ḏ-*awbádk* *ṭāt* ‘now you should (pretend to) be one who has shot someone’ (72:4)

*mət awōḏān fēgər, tākāy bərš* *əl-xāh* ḏ-*abáy*t ‘when they call [lit. he calls] the dawn prayer, you should already be at the door of the house’ (75:8)

*ād tākāy dānyūt* ‘might you be pregnant?’ (101:17)

*əl yāgōb əḥād yākáká* *hīs təh lā* ‘he didn’t like anyone to be like him’ (76:11)

*ənḥōm ṭāt yākáká* *ḥáywəl* ‘let’s one of us be crazy’ (91:6)

*hthámk təh yākáká* *mən xəšmāyən* ‘I think he might be from our enemies’ (94:42)

The second environment in which *wīka* is used as a copula is in the protasis or apodosis of a conditional sentence, although in these cases ‘become’ often fits the context. Examples are:

*wə-hōh, hām abēli yəḥōm, wəḵōna šəh rəḥáy*m ‘and I, if God wills, will be good to him’ (18:17)

*hām aḡərōyəs wīka* *ṣəṭṭk, akē’yōt amšgərēt, wəḵōna aḡərōyəs* *ṣəṭṭk* ‘if her words are true, (then) the second spirit-woman, her words will be true’ (68:13)

However, we can also find examples of a missing copula in a conditional sentence, such as:

*lū əl hē ḥáywəl lā, əl yəšḥáyṭən ḥaybətəh lā* ‘if he wasn’t crazy, he wouldn’t have slaughtered his camel’ (55:7)

The verb *wīka* is also attested with a few other meanings. In about a half dozen passages (three of them in text 99), *wīka* means something like ‘reach, get to’, ‘happen/come upon’, or ‘wind up (in/at/on)’, meanings the Arabic cognate *waqa’a* also has. A few of these passages are:

*te wákak ḏār āgərēzəh* ‘then I happened upon his testicle’ (91:16)

*fār akáyšər, wə-wīka ḏār ašāwər* ‘the leopard jumped, and he got to the (other) rock’ (99:20; cf. also 99:19)

*āfūd akáyšər ... wə-wīka bərək amsəyōl* ‘the leopard jumped ... and he wound up in the valley-bottom’ (99:24)

*wīka lūhəm həzáy*z ‘a strong wind came upon them’ (103:1)

In one place, followed by a dependent (subjunctive) verb, it means ‘begin’:

*wīka hē yānšārxāf* ‘he began to slip away’ (69:4)

And in one place we find the idiom *wīka hāl* ‘to become a wife to’:

*wākōt hāl ġayg* ‘she became the wife of a man’ (74:10)

The masculine singular future-tense form *wākōna* can mean ‘about, approximately’ or ‘perhaps, maybe’; see further in §10.5. On the use of *wīka* in compound verb tenses, see §7.1.9. And on the use of a subjunctive form of the verb *wīka* in conjunction with the particle *ād*, see §12.5.1.

### 13.1.2 *The Verb yākūn*

The verb *yākūn*, like *hōm* (see §7.3), only occurs in the imperfect. It is used as a copula meaning ‘be’ in places where a habitual aspect or general present-tense meaning is intended, or when a general future is intended. It is also found in the apodosis of conditional sentences. It seems almost to function as a suppletive to *wīka* in its (limited) use as a copula.<sup>3</sup> That is, we find *wīka* used as a copula in places where we need a subjunctive or future, and *yākūn* in places where we need an imperfect. It is not problematic that both *yākūn* and *wīka* are found in the apodosis of conditional sentences, since in this position we regularly find both imperfects and futures (see §13.4.1).

In *ML* (s.v. *kwn*), *yākūn* is glossed as ‘to be constantly, be all the time; be acceptable’, but this is somewhat imprecise. It is not that the verb means ‘be constantly, be all the time’, but rather that the verb is often used in contexts where the imperfect is used to indicate a habitual. The habitual aspect is indicated by the verbal form (the imperfect), not necessarily by the semantics of the verbal root itself. Some examples of *yākūn* in context are:

*yākūn lūk šakk, hām ġātaryak k-ħadáydaċ* ‘it will be an offense if you speak with your uncle (this way)’ (33:3)

*tkūn hāmáy bārk ħārāwn wə-ħabēr* ‘my mother would be (habitually) among the goats and camels’ (34:6)

3 It is not suppletive in a morphological sense, since *wīka* does have an imperfect (3ms *yəwōka*). But the imperfect is used with other meanings (‘become’, ‘stay’, ‘happen upon’, etc.), rather than as a copula. For a possible overlap in usage between the imperfects *yəwōka* and *yākūn*, see the comment to text 29:10.

*yāmārəm aśśērək yəkūn k-səwēḥər* ‘they say the *śērək* is (habitually) with witches’ (41:1)

*əḏ hē šḫāt ḥaybātəh, hē yəkūn ḥáywəl. w-əḏ hē əl šḫāt ḥaybātəh lā, hōh əkūn kəḥbēt* ‘if he slaughtered his camel, he is crazy. And if he didn’t slaughter his camel, I am a whore’ (55:9)

*ḥəbrē ḏə-dəsōs yəkūn dəsōs* ‘the son of a snake will be a snake’ (64:26)

In the apodosis of a conditional, as in 55:9, *yəkūn* is not required, as we can see from the following example:

*əḏ hē lūtəj attēt wə-ḥāgərīt, hē gəyḡ fērə* ‘if he kills the woman and the servant-girl, he is a brave man’ (22:94)

In one passage we find *yəkūn* following *lēzəm* ‘must’:

*lēzəm yəkūn təmōm* ‘there must be an even number’ (71A:1)

The particle *lēzəm* is normally followed by a subjunctive or, less often, a future (see §12.5.14). The imperfect form *yəkūn* is apparently substituting for the subjunctive here, since, as noted above, this verb only has imperfect forms.

Johnstone’s gloss of ‘be acceptable’ is appropriate only in one passage, for the phrase *ḏōməh əl yəkūn lā* ‘this will not do [lit. be]’ (94:5), an idiom also found in Yemeni Mehri.<sup>4</sup>

## 13.2 Negation

This section will cover a variety of negative particles in Mehri. The indefinite pronouns *əḥād* and *śī*, which respectively have the meaning ‘no one’ and ‘nothing’ in negative contexts, have been treated elsewhere (§ 3.5.1 and § 3.5.2).

### 13.2.1 əl ... lā

Verbal and non-verbal sentences are normally negated by the elements *əl ... lā*. Most often, both elements are used in tandem (cf. French *ne ... pas*), though there is some variation with the exact placement of these elements within the sentence. Before the particle *ād*, *əl* is reduced to *l-* (see § 13.2.4).

4 Cf. Sima (2009: 424, text 73:13).

In non-verbal sentences with a pronominal subject (including *əhād* ‘someone’ and *šī* ‘something’, but not demonstratives), the element *əl* precedes the entire phrase to be negated (including the subject), while the element *lā* follows the entire phrase. With pronouns (especially second person singular ones), there also is a tendency to add a fronted pronoun. When the grammatical subject is a noun, a demonstrative pronoun, or a relative pronoun, *əl* follows the subject, but is then followed by a resumptive pronoun. The result is that the nominal subject is essentially fronted. Examples of negated non-verbal sentences are:

- əl hōh hērək lā* ‘I am not a thief’ (47:8)  
*hōh əl hōh sənnáwrət lā* ‘I am not a cat’ (6:11) (cf. also 15:18)  
*hēt əl hēt hōkəm lā* ‘you are not the ruler’ (91:29)  
*hēt əl hēt axáy r mənīn lā* ‘you are not better than us’ (61:4)  
*əl hēm xəšáwm lā* ‘they aren’t enemies’ (64:15)  
*əl ətēm tīhōr lā* ‘you are not pure’ (4:11)  
*əl sē sənnáwrət lā* ‘it wasn’t a cat’ (6:2)  
*əl šīhəm kawt lā* ‘they didn’t have food’ (30:1)  
*đōmäh əl hē šáǵli lā* ‘this is not my intention’ (22:22)  
*aǵáyǵ đōmäh əl bəh fēhəl lā* ‘this man has no penis’ (24:36)  
*đōmäh əl hē šáwr gīd lā* ‘this is not good advice’ (90:6)  
*aǵələt əl hē mənáy lā* ‘the mistake is not from me’ (36:30)  
*amhəšáwl əl hē gīd lā* ‘the pay [lit. yield] was not good’ (57:4)  
*tēt əl sē mən akəbáylat đə-xəšámhē lā* ‘the woman was not from the tribe of his enemies’ (94:33)  
*šīn rawn bāš đ-əl sēn bə-xáy r lā* ‘we have some goats that are not well’ (26:6)  
*hədálláy bə-wōrəm tayt đ-əl sē hōrəm đə-háms lā* ‘he directed me to a certain road that wasn’t the road I wanted’ (62:3)

In verbal sentences *əl* usually comes after the subject (if there is an expressed subject) and directly before the verb, and *lā* still follows the entire verbal clause or sentence, including (usually) any objects of the verb. There are three qualifications to this rule. First, sentences with a future usually behave like non-verbal sentences, and so *əl* usually (but not always) precedes an expressed pronominal subject. Second, *əl* precedes the subject if it is an indefinite pronoun (like *šī* ‘something’ or *əhād* ‘someone’; see § 3.5.1 and § 3.5.2 for additional examples). Third, if the verb has the verbal prefix *đ-* (see § 7.1.10; but not relative *đ-*), then the element *əl* will also precede an expressed pronoun. Examples of negated verbal sentences (including futures) are:

- al rādīw būk ḥāgārōn bārċ aráwrām lā* ‘didn’t the slaves throw you into the sea?’ (20:59)  
*hēt al matk lā* ‘didn’t you die?’ (20:69)  
*ḥāybān al nūka lā* ‘our father hasn’t come back’ (20:74)  
*hē al tawýāh lā* ‘he didn’t eat it’ (24:22)  
*al ḥōm al-hētām lā* ‘I don’t want to stay the night’ (31:4)  
*al tāšōš lā* ‘don’t be afraid’ (34:25)  
*hōh al kask yanī lā* ‘I didn’t find (any) women’ (22:100)  
*abkār al tšábrān lā mēn ayd* ‘the cows won’t do without sardines?’ (27:15)  
*al təkáwdār lā ... aghōm mēn hāl al aḥād yanōka lā* ‘you can’t (come) ... I go where no one else goes’ (76:1)  
*al hōh ftkōna lā* ‘I won’t leave’ (34:32)  
*hām al hēt sīrōna lā* ‘if you won’t go’ (49:5)  
*al nāḥāh āmyēla bāh šī lā* ‘we won’t do anything to him’ (82:3)  
*anḥāh al māšawgāsūtān lā* ‘we won’t go’ (35:4)  
*al šī yādūm lā* ‘nothing lasts’ (98:15)  
*al aḥād ḥarfōna tīs lā* ‘no one will move it’ (67:5)  
*al hōh ḏ-aḥtawēk lā* ‘I haven’t gone crazy’ (20:6)  
*al hōh ḏa-hānáyċ awtōmāh lā* ‘I didn’t mean (to do) thus’ (59:10)

### 13.2.2 *al*

In certain environments, *al* is used without a following *lā*. We find this most commonly in combination with the particle *ar*, giving the sense of ‘only’ (cf. French *ne ... que*), as in:

- al štham ar hēt* ‘they have only you’ (18:18)  
*hōh al šay ar ḥōṭari troh* ‘I only have two kids’ (89:8)  
*hēt al ḡayābk ar mēn baṭōl* ‘you only fainted from fear’ (95:10)

For additional examples and more details on the particle *ar*, see §12.5.4.

With verbs of swearing or promising, *al* (or *l-* before *ād*) is used alone to negate a dependent verbal phrase, as in:

- daxlūtān l-ād annōka anáxalke zōyād* ‘we’ll promise we won’t come to your date-palms ever again’ (37:5)  
*ber dáxlām, hīs ādhām fáxrā, al aḥād mēnhēm yabáyċ* ‘they had promised, when they were still together, that neither of them would lie’ (74:2)  
*ḥármak l-ād adūbāh zōyād tē al-mēt* ‘I swear I won’t collect honey ever again until I die’ (77:2)  
*hē ḥōrām al yadūbāh* ‘he swore he would not collect honey’ (77:8)



*hēm gəzáwm əl yəšáyṭ bəh kəšáyṭət* ‘they swore they wouldn’t take compensation for it’ (89:5)  
*gəzámk l-ād əšhōṭ ḥīṭār zōyəd* ‘I swore I would not slaughter kids anymore’ (89:10)

This happens even in direct reports of swearing or promising, as in:

*gəzəmūt, “əl əšfōḵ”* ‘she swore, “I will not marry”’ (32:12)

The combination *ād-* (+ suffix) *əl* means ‘before’, with regards to a potential event that has not happened (and not ‘before’ simply indicating a prior activity in a past-tense narrative). Examples are:

*nəḥōm nəwbádəh, ādəh əl šəṛrīn* ‘let’s shoot him, before he bewitches us’ (82:2)  
*āmēr həh yətáxfən gēhəməh, āds əl gəzōt ḥəyáwm* ‘tell him to come to us tomorrow, before the sun goes down’ (96:1)

The sequence *ād- əl* is to be distinguished from *l-ād ... lā*, which usually means ‘not yet; still not’, but can also mean ‘before’ in a past tense context. See further in §13.2.4.

Finally, the sequence *əl ... w-əl* can also be used as the equivalent of English ‘neither ... nor’. Examples from the texts are:

*əl tēt šəh, w-əl ḥaybátəh šəh* ‘he had neither the woman nor his camel’ (55:16)  
*əl (t)ṭōm əl mōh w-əl kəwt* ‘she didn’t taste either water or food’ (75:22)  
*əl šihəm əl šīwōṭ w-əl mōh w-əl ḡērōb, w-aḵā’ ḡékəməh əl tkōsa bəh əl mōh w-əl ḡērōb w-əl šīwōṭ* ‘they didn’t have fire or water or firewood, and that place, you wouldn’t find in it water or firewood or fire’ (76:11)

There is one passage in which we find *əl* used alone unexpectedly. I suspect that the particle *lā* was simply forgotten in error. The passage in question is:

*wə-kōh hēt əl təḵōla ḥəbrək yəsyēr šūk h-sawḵ* ‘why don’t you let your son go with you to the market’ (22:2)

### 13.2.3 *lā*

It is not rare to find the element *lā* used without *əl*, as the equivalent of *əl ... lā* (cf. French *pas*), in both verbal and non-verbal sentences. Some examples are:

- ḥōm lā* 'I don't want to' (4:10)  
*kəwtōna ḥūk lā* 'I won't tell you' (20:37)  
*šīnək təh lā* 'I haven't seen it' (23:9)  
*ənḳáwdər nəsləl lā* 'we can't move' (28:12)  
*šátḱəlam ḥənfáykəm lā* 'don't think yourselves a burden' (28:15)  
*ḥáráwn bīsən šxōf mēkən lā* 'the goats didn't have much milk' (30:13)  
*kūsəm tīhi lā* 'they didn't find them' (35:17)  
*āgáwz āššūt lā* 'the old woman didn't wake up' (65:10)  
*tāšōš lā* 'don't be afraid!' (67:2)  
*ḥābū šīhəm ḳawt lā* 'the people had no food' (98:2)

There do not appear to be any rules governing when one uses only *lā*, as opposed to *əl ... lā*, unlike the use of just *əl*, which is restricted to certain environments. There are certain tendencies, however. For example, we find *ḥōm lā* 'I don't want to' a dozen times in the texts, but not once do we find *əl ḥōm lā*. On the other hand, in a negated possessive construction with *k-* (§ 13.3.1), we almost always find *əl ... lā*.

The particle *lā* can also be used as an interjection 'no!' (e.g., 28:15, 35:14; see also § 12.2.1), and it can be used independently, substituting for an entire phrase, as in *hámak tī aw lā* 'did you hear me or not?' (96:7).

### 13.2.4 *l-ād*

The form *l-ād* is simply a combination of the negative *əl* plus the particle *ād*, the positive uses of which were treated in § 12.5.1. In a negative sentence, *l-ād* can mean 'still not', 'not yet', 'before', 'never', or 'not at all'. When pronominal suffixes are attached to *l-ād* (see § 12.5.1 for the forms), the negative element *əl* follows *ād* (*ādi əl*, *ād(ə)k əl*, etc.).

Since one basic meaning of *ād* is 'still', it is unsurprising that one basic meaning of *l-ād ... lā* is 'still not' or 'not yet'. The particle *ād* may or may not have a pronominal suffix, as in:

- hēt ḳənnáwn w-ādək əl hēt məhērəs lā* 'you are a child and you won't marry yet' (8:8)  
*hōh l-ād əḳáwǰəd lā mən ǰáyrək* 'I will not get down off you yet' (46:4)  
*kādēt l-ād yəšēnūs yəḳfəd arḥəbēt lā* 'Kadet didn't yet dare to go down to town' (64:8)

*l-ād šəwrēm lā* ‘they still didn’t back off’ (70:3)  
*hōh ādi əl əǵərbəs lā* ‘I didn’t know it yet’ (38:9)  
*āmūr đək đ-ādəh əl ātōsi lā* ‘that one who hadn’t yet eaten dinner said’  
 (84:9)

Sometimes this use of *l-ād* (normally with a pronominal suffix) is best translated as ‘never’, meaning ‘not yet (still not) up until this point in time’. In these cases, the accompanying verb is always in the imperfect. Often this use is combined with a phrase including the particle *ar* ‘except’ (§ 12.5.4) or *mən hīs* ‘since’ (§ 13.5.3.3). Examples are:

*hōh, mən hīs xələkək, ādi əl əhūrək lā* ‘since I was born, I have never stolen’ (47:9)  
*ādi əl ǒmər lā ar yəmših* ‘I have never sung except yesterday’ (52:15)  
*ādəh əl əhād yǒmər háyni əhəšáwləh lā ar hēt* ‘no one ever has told me that I do (it) well except you’ (52:17)  
*ādəh əl yəsyūr təwáliham lā ar xəṭarāt đəkəməh* ‘he had never gone to them, except that time’ (59:1)  
*šīnən sí đ-ādən əl nəsényəh lā mən hīs xələkən* ‘we saw something that we have never seen since we were born’ (82:4)  
*ādi əl əsénisən lā* ‘I had never seen them’ (89:21)

When used along with an expression of time that has passed (using *mən (hīs)* or *bər h-*), the element *ād* (with a pronominal suffix) has no direct translation value in English, but it gives the sense of a present perfect or past perfect. This use is clearly connected with the uses described above. Examples are:

*ādi əl šīnək tihəm lā mən warx* ‘I haven’t seen them for a month’ (20:41)  
*ādi əl šīnək háybye lā mən hīs mǒtəm* ‘I haven’t seen my parents since they died’ (20:43)  
*bər həh xəmhūt ādəh əl šīni sékənəh lā* ‘it was already the fifth (day) that he hadn’t seen his community’ (32:5)  
*bər háyni sēt ādi əl šīnək təh lā* ‘I have not seen him for a long time’ (57:6)

Also related to this basic meaning of ‘still not’ or ‘not yet’ is the use of *ād- əl* as a temporal conjunction ‘before’, or more literally ‘when still not’. As discussed in § 13.2.2, in this usage only the negative element *əl* is used, as opposed to the others uses described above and below, which require also the following *lā*. The verb following *ād- əl* is in the perfect tense. A few examples are:

*ādah əl tāmūm lā, ġərbīh háybəh* 'before he finished [lit. he had not yet finished], his father recognized him' (74:23)  
*nəhōm nəwbádəh, ādāh əl šəərīn* 'let's shoot him, before he bewitches us' (82:2)  
*āmēr həh yətəxfən ġəhəməh, āds əl ġəzōt həyáwm* 'tell him to come to us tomorrow, before the sun goes down' (96:1)

A second, and more common, basic use of *l-ād ... lā* is to mean 'not anymore', 'not any longer', 'not again', or 'never (again)'. In this use, *l-ād* is not used with pronominal suffixes, and the following verb can be any tense. Examples are:

*ənkáthəm əġəllēt, wə-l-ād həbšáyr hōrəm lā* 'a mist came upon them, and they couldn't see the way anymore' (17:2)  
*hām səyárk, l-ād rəddōna līn lā* 'if you go, you won't come back to us again' (20:72)  
*l-ād təbkéh lā* 'don't cry anymore' (40:7)  
*hōh əġáwz đə-l-ād wəšəlak lā əl-syēr, wə-l-ād həbšárk lā* 'I am an old woman who can't manage to go anymore, and doesn't see well anymore' (46:2)  
*l-ād əhād đəlūm əhād lā* 'no one was unjust to anyone again' (66:10)<sup>5</sup>  
*hōh l-ād šay ġəməylət lā* 'I don't have any more strength' (83:4)  
*l-ād səbṭōna tiš lā* 'I won't hit you anymore' (89:18)  
*l-ād hámhəm šay lā* 'I don't want them with me anymore' (91:32)  
*l-ād tənkēy lā wárxi trōh* 'don't come back to me again for two months' (98:4)  
*l-ād šīnək hərbātye lā* 'I didn't see my companions again' (103:1)

While *l-ād ... lā* alone can mean 'not anymore', 'not again', etc., this negative construction is sometimes strengthened by another word. The most common is *zōyəd* 'more' (see further in §13.2.7), but once in the texts we find *ábdan* 'never' (see §13.2.8). These words reinforce, but do not alter, the meaning.

A third basic use of *l-ād ... lā* gives the idea of 'not at all', a negative sense stronger than that of simple *əl ... lā*, though sometimes a translation 'at all'

5 Compare this sentence, in which *l-* precedes both *ād* and *əhād*, with *ād əl əhād yəsényəh lā* 'nobody has ever seen it' (41:10), in which the negative element follows *ād*. The difference relates to the different uses of *ād*. When *ād* means 'never, not ever' it normally has a pronominal suffix (in text 41:10 it presumably does not because of the following indefinite pronoun *əhād*) and *əl* follows. When *ād* means 'not again', as in text 66:10, the element *l-* precedes.

seems superfluous in English (e.g., 69:5, cited below). In this use, *ād* does not take suffixes. Some examples of this are:

*l-ād káwla amōl yattákk mōh lā* ‘they didn’t let the (other) livestock drink any water at all’ (27:5)

*l-ād šarōt lā* ‘she didn’t stop at all’ (54:20)

*l-ād āśśūt lā* ‘she didn’t wake up at all’ (65:10)

*bəgáwdəh, wəlākan l-ād əlhākəm təh lā* ‘they chased him, but they didn’t catch up to him’ (69:5)

*mūna hādáthe, wə-l-ād kədūr yəhtirək lā* ‘he grabbed his hands, and he couldn’t move at all’ (75:10)

*aǧīgēn l-ād wīda hībōh yāmōl lā* ‘the boy didn’t know at all what to do’ (76:3)

*aǧáyǧ l-ād šēmūn tētəh lā* ‘the man didn’t listen to his wife at all’ (94:26)

Once in the texts this use is best translated ‘never (in the future)’ or ‘not ever’. The sense is different than the use of *ād* to mean ‘never (up to this point in time)’, as described above.

*nəhōm ... nəklēh fəkáyr l-aǧərə l-ād yəhēras lā* ‘we should ... leave him poor, so that he won’t ever get married’ (6:12)

Just as the negative *əl* can be combined with the particle *ar* to mean ‘only’ (see § 12.5.4 and § 13.2.2), so negative *l-ād* can combine with *ar* in this way, giving the meaning ‘only *X* is left’ (lit. ‘still only *X*’).

*bər təmūm aǧəǧgōtən ǰ-arhəbēt. l-ād ar hōh* ‘he has already used up the girls of the town. There is only me left’ (42:19)

*l-ād ar hōh, tēt* ‘only I am left, a woman’ (64:27, 29)

### 13.2.5 *m-ād*

The particle *m-ād*, which derives from *mən ād*,<sup>6</sup> occurs fourteen times in the texts. Its basic meaning is ‘lest’ or ‘so that not’, and it is not used in conjunction with any other negative particle. Some examples are:

6 Watson (2012: 394). Watson also says that the uncontracted form *mən ād* is still used. On *mən* as a negative marker in Jibbali, with a different function, see *JLO*, § 13.2.7.

*háfwatəm bə-ħənfáykəm, m-ād yənké' aǧənnáy wə-yatéhkəm* 'save [lit. escape with] yourselves, lest the jinn come and eat you!' (42:19)  
*aǧáyǧ dəfōna hīn m-ād nāṭlāh* 'the man will pay us so that we don't hold him up' (91:26)  
*ṭhōm taǧwīr b-aǧáyǧ m-ād yətbé' tēt* 'she wanted to keep the man occupied so that he did not follow the woman' (94:18)  
*āzāmi ašáyǧat l-ādǧəns mən aḳáwm, m-ād yəšáyṭəs* 'give me the jewelry so I can hide it from the raiding-party, lest they take it' (99:44)  
*ħəððōr mən tərḳōb əl-ʿaylīǧ yəfūrəd, m-ād yəhánḳəbək* 'be careful not to ride a young camel that bolts, lest it throw you off' (102:11)

When following the verb *yəšš* 'be afraid' (+ d.o.) and preceding a dependent (subjunctive) verb, *m-ād* is best translated simply as 'that', with the sense of 'that something (bad) will happen', or can even be omitted from translation. It does not indicate a negative clause. There are five examples from the texts:

*yəššək tīk m-ād talwāmi (l-)əḳlĕk bərk šətfēti* 'I am afraid that you will expect me to let you in my basket' (20:37)  
*yəššək tīk m-ād təḥtəwōl, hām kəlāṭk hūk* 'I am afraid you will go crazy if I tell you' (22:26)  
*yəššək tīs m-ād təfrēr mən ḏāyrən* 'I am afraid she might run away from us' (37:10)  
*yəššəm aǧáyǧəs m-ād yəḥtəwōl* 'they were afraid her husband might go crazy' (37:12)  
*yəššək aǧāy m-ād yāšōš* 'I was afraid that my brother would get scared' (106:5)

See further on the verb *yəšš* in § 13.5.1 and § 13.5.1.1. A similar construction is found once with the verb *ħəgg* 'refuse':

*ħəggūt ləh tētəh m-ād yəḥērəs aw yəḥōm yəxxōli* 'his wife didn't let him get married unless he wanted to get divorced' (32:28)

### 13.2.6 məḳā

The negative particle *məḳā* occurs just four times in the texts. In *ML* (s.v. *wk'*), it is defined as 'that not, not (a neg. particle, occurring us[ually] in oaths)'. However, as can be seen from the four examples below, this definition really only covers one of the attested passages (47:11). In the remaining three, *məḳā* means something like '(it is) as if not'. No other negative particle is used

in conjunction with *məḳā*. However, three of the attested examples are in combination with *xā* ‘as if’, on which see § 8.21. The four attestations are:

*nēḥar məxtīb yəklēl bəh ḳawt, məḳā xā sē nəḳátəh arḥəmēt dīməh* ‘a barren wadi that there was no damned food in, as if this (recent) rain hadn’t come there [lit. to it]’ (26:15)  
*wəlākan məḳā xā hōh ḏ-ənōfa sī hənīkəm* ‘but it’s as if I were of no use to you in anything’ (33:2)  
*hōh gəzmōna hīkəm məḳā hōh hērək* ‘I will swear to you that I am not a thief’ (47:11)  
*wəlē məḳā xā hēm xələḳəm* ‘it’s as if they had were never [lit. not] born’ (90:8)<sup>7</sup>

In the Roman manuscript of text 26, Johnstone added several other phrases with *məḳā*. These were later included in *ML* (s.v. *kl*); one of them also s.v. *šwl*). They are:

*məḳā əl šīs šəwáyil lā* ‘it’s as if she has no equal’<sup>8</sup>  
*yəklēl bīs məḳā šīs šəwáyil* ‘she has no bloody equal!’  
*yəklēl bay məḳā hē šay* ‘I damned well haven’t got it!’

As is evident from three of the above seven examples, *məḳā* is an essential part of idioms using the verb *yəklēl*, the 3ms subjunctive of the verb *ḳəll* (see also the comment to text 26:15).

Watson (2012: 337)—who provides a few other examples of *məḳā* in context—is certainly correct when she suggests that *məḳā* derives from negative *mən* plus *yāḳā*, the 3ms subjunctive of the verb *wīḳa* (§ 13.1.1). Already Johnstone took *məḳā* from the verb *wīḳa* (*ML*, s.v. *wḳ*). Cf. also *m-ād* < *mən ād*, discussed in § 13.2.5.

### 13.2.7 zōyəd

The word *zōyəd* can have the meaning ‘more’, as in:

<sup>7</sup> The function of *wəlē* (cf. § 12.1.4 and § 12.5.21) in this example is unclear.

<sup>8</sup> *ML* translated this phrase once (s.v. *kl*) as ‘she has no equal’, and once (s.v. *šwl*) as ‘there is nobody like her’, both times neglecting to translate *məḳā*. In the manuscript of text 26, the phrase was not given its own translation, but was clearly intended as the equivalent of *yəklēl bīs məḳā šīs šəwáyil*.

*mən ḏār sənēt aw zōyad* ‘after a year or more’ (16:1)  
*warx wə-zōyad* ‘a month and more’ (42:10)  
*awtáwǵ mənḥēm zōyad əl-fáǵḥ* ‘they killed more than half of them’ (69:6)

It is also attested as a noun meaning ‘surplus’ (66:7), and there is a corresponding verb *zayūd* ‘be(come) more; increase (intrans.)’ (e.g., 66:8; 84:4).

Most frequently—about twenty times in the texts—*zōyad* is met in conjunction with a negative particle (or particles), together with which it has the meaning ‘(not) anymore’ or ‘(not) any longer’. The negative particle is usually *l-ād ... lā*, but twice *zōyad* occurs with the simpler *əl ... lā*. As discussed in §13.2.2, the element *lā* is missing in the case of a verb of swearing or promising. Examples are:

*l-ād təḥfēr zōyad lā* ‘don’t dig anymore!’ (19:25)  
*l-ād əḵáwdər zōyad lā* ‘I couldn’t anymore’ (20:12)  
*l-ād ənfōna tīkəm zōyad lā* ‘I won’t be of use to you anymore’ (33:6)  
*l-ād ḥōh məšēmən tīk zōyad lā* ‘I won’t trust you anymore’ (56:14)  
*l-ād šīnən tīḥəm zōyad lā* ‘we didn’t see them ever again’ (60:8)  
*əl əḵáwdər əl-ttáǵḥ zōyad lā* ‘I can’t drink anymore’ (49:10)  
*dəxlūtən l-ād ənnōka anáxəlke zōyad* ‘we’ll promise we won’t come to  
 your date-palms ever again’ (37:5)  
*ḥármək l-ād əḏáwbər būk zōyad tē əl-mēt* ‘I swear I won’t nag you  
 anymore until I die’ (98:15)

Two similar passages from texts 56:9 and 56:10 show that the negatives *əl ... zōyad lā* and *l-ād ... zōyad lā* mean essentially the same thing:

*l-ād ḥōh səwbōna tīk zōyad lā* ‘I won’t wait for you any longer’ (56:9)  
*wə-kōh əl səwbōna tī zōyad lā* ‘why won’t you wait for me any longer?’  
 (56:10)

In just one passage in the texts, *zōyad* is used in a positive context, in conjunction with *ād*, to mean ‘again, anymore’:

*ḥām ād ḥəwrádk ḥəmōḥ ḏōməḥ zōyad, ḏə-nəwtáǵk* ‘if you bring (your)  
 animals to this water ever again, we will kill you’ (10:9)

### 13.2.8 ábdan

The word *ábdan* (< Arabic *ʿabadan*) can be used as an exclamation, meaning ‘never!’, ‘no way!’, or simply ‘no!’ (see §12.2.1). There are about three dozen



examples of *ábdan* used in this way in the texts, e.g., 1:5, 20:41, and 64:3. However, in a couple of cases, it is used in conjunction with a verb in a negative phrase as an adverb ‘never; not ever’ (a use it also has in Arabic).

*əl əhād yətáyw axáy r mən arībēh lā ábdan* ‘no one ever eats more than his companion’ (73:13)  
*arəšək əl yəktūtā lā ábdan ... wəlākan əššáraf; hām təmm, l-ād yəxlōf lā ábdan* ‘(our) lot will never be cut off ... But honor, if it is finished, is never replaced again’ (98:8)

In the first example above, and in the first half of the second example, *ábdan* follows a verb negated by *əl ... lā*, giving a generic sense ‘never’. In the second half of the second example, *ábdan* is combined with the negative *l-ād ... lā*, giving the sense ‘never again’.

### 13.3 Expressing ‘have’

As in most other Semitic languages, there is no verb ‘have’ in Mehri. Instead, the concept is expressed with a periphrastic construction with a preposition. Most often the preposition *k-* is used, but the prepositions *b-*, *h-*, and *l-* can also correspond to ‘have’ in certain contexts. Each of these will be discussed in turn.

#### 13.3.1 *The Preposition k-*

The basic meaning of the preposition *k-* is ‘with’, as described in § 8.11. With pronominal suffixes (using the base *š-*; see § 8.23 for a complete list of forms), it can express the equivalent of ‘have’. If the possessor is a noun, a resumptive pronominal suffix must be used with the preposition. Examples are:

*šay nəxlīt* ‘I have a date-palm’ (77:5)  
*šəh gīgēn wə-gəgənōt* ‘he had a boy and a girl’ (22:1)  
*šīs wōz* ‘she had a goat’ (49:1)  
*əl šihəm kawt lā* ‘they had no food’ (11:2)  
*əl šin qaráwš lā* ‘we didn’t have any money’ (91:2)  
*gəyg šəh rīkēb* ‘a man had a riding-camel’ (12:1)  
*hāmáy šīs amōl mēkən* ‘my mother had a lot of property’ (34:4)  
*sékəni əl šihəm məsráwf lā* ‘my family has no supplies’ (18:14)  
*hōh šay šawr* ‘I have a plan’ (35:8)  
*hōh əl šay ar dōməh* ‘I have only this’ (73:5)

As the last two examples show, an independent pronoun can be added for emphasis, or simply to make the logical subject explicit. Several of the examples above also show that an overt past tense marker is normally absent from this construction, and so tense must be gleaned from context. This agrees with what was said about copular sentences above (§ 13.1). There is just one example in the texts where the verb *wīka* ‘be, become’ makes the past tense explicit:

*abōki wīka šīsən arḥamēt* ‘the remainder (of the goats) had grazing’  
(17:15)

In contexts where a subjunctive is required, the verb *wīka* is also used, though there are just two examples in the texts:

*tāká’ šūk maws* ‘you should have a razor’ (75:11)<sup>9</sup>  
*lēzəm amnēdam yāká’ šəh afkəráyyət ḏə-ḥənáfəh* ‘man has to have  
consideration for himself’ (98:10)

### 13.3.1.1 Familial Possession

As in Jibbali and other MSA languages, when the object of possession in a ‘have construction’ is a noun indicating a close family member (father, mother, son, daughter, brother, sister, wife, brother-in-law), that noun must carry a redundant possessive suffix:

*šay ḥəbráyti* ‘I have a daughter’ (lit. ‘I have my daughter’) (48:7)  
*šəh ḥáyməh* ‘he had a brother-in-law’ (lit. ‘he had his brother-in-law’)  
(64:10)  
*šəh tétəh rəḥáymət* ‘he had a beautiful wife’ (19:1)  
*hōh šay ḥāmáy āgáwz* ‘I have an old mother’ (65:7)  
*šəh ḥəbánhε yəbáyt* ‘he had seven sons’ (50:1)  
*šəh šəlīt āgáthe* ‘he had three sisters’ (37:7)  
*šəh āgāh. w-āgāh šəh ḥəbrótəh* ‘he had a brother. And his brother had a  
daughter’ (85:1)

Note also the phrase *nūka bə-ḥəbánhε* ‘he had [or: bore] sons [lit. his sons]’ (12:16). The special treatment of familial terms in connection with possession

9 In a previous work (Rubin 2009a: 223), I incorrectly described *tāká’* as an imperfect of *wīka*, and gave the translation ‘you will have’. That erroneous translation, which is found in Stroomer’s edition of the texts, came ultimately from Johnstone’s manuscripts.

is often found in other languages, for example, in Italian, where one typically says, e.g., *la mia faccia* ‘my face’ and *la mia vicina* ‘my neighbor’, but *mia mamma* ‘my mother’. The difference in the case of Mehri is that we are dealing not with a possessive phrase of the type ‘my mother’, ‘your brother’, but rather with a pseudo-verbal ‘have’ construction.

### 13.3.1.2 Physical and Environmental Conditions

The suffixed forms of the preposition *k-* are also used in a variety of expressions relating to physical or environmental conditions. What in many languages is expressed by an impersonal expression is often expressed in Mehri with a personal one. So, for example, the equivalent of ‘it is raining’ will vary depending on context; specifically, its expression depends on who is experiencing the rain. If relating one’s own experience, one would say *šay aməwsē* ‘it’s raining (for me)’ (e.g., 62:1). But if relating a story in the third person plural, one would say *šihəm aməwsē* ‘it’s raining (for them)’ (e.g., 35:1). Following are several other examples to illustrate this use of *k-*:

- šəh hark* ‘it was hot’ (lit. ‘heat [was] with him’) (32:2)  
*šay aməwsē wə-ħəbūr* ‘it was rainy and cold’ (lit. ‘with me [were] rain and cold’) (53:6)  
*šay aǧəllēt* ‘there was mist’ (or: ‘it was misty’) (47:4)  
*šin hārīt* ‘there was moonlight’ (81:1)  
*hōh šay aktīw* ‘it was dark’ (91:16)  
*šəh awákt* ‘it was hot (at night)’ (91:19)  
*hām əl šīsən arīh lā* ‘if they don’t have [or: if there isn’t] a hot wind’ (27:22)  
*hōm əl-ǧəhōm ād šay aǧāšəm* ‘I want to go while it’s still cool’ (94:35)  
*šəh aǧəllēt w-aməwsē* ‘it was misty and rainy’ (98:1)  
*nəhāh šin aməwsē* ‘we’ve had rain’ (or: ‘it’s been rainy’) (98:3)  
*šin šəwəhēr* ‘there was a new moon’ (82:1)  
*šin həbūr* ‘it was cold’ (105:1)<sup>10</sup>

As can be seen from the examples above, in some passages we can translate either with an English impersonal construction (‘it is/was’ or ‘there is/was’) or with a ‘have’ construction.

There are sometimes other ways to express environmental conditions. For example, there is a G-Stem verb ‘rain’ from the root *lsw*, the same root of the

10 See also the comment to text 35:4.

word *məwsē* ‘rain’. This verb is used twice in the texts, both times impersonally in the feminine singular, *əwsūt* ‘it rained’ (10:16; 96:7).<sup>11</sup> We also find twice the verb *šərháwm* ‘have rain’, both times in the 3mp perfect *šərháyw* ‘they had/got rain’ (30:14; 44:14). However, in the texts, the constructions with *k-* are more common than the verbs.

These expressions of condition, like the ‘have’ construction discussed above (§ 13.3.1), lack any explicit reference to tense, which must be gathered from the context. So, just as *šəh kəwt* can mean ‘he has food’ or ‘he had food’, likewise *šəh hark* can mean ‘it is hot’ or ‘it was hot’.

### 13.3.2 Other Prepositions

The preposition *b-* can be used to express certain kinds of inalienable possession, in particular those involving parts of the body or bodily conditions (e.g., ‘have hair’, ‘have milk’), states of mind (e.g., ‘have patience’), or parts of plants (e.g., ‘have leaves’). Literally, *b-* is being used in these cases like English ‘on’ or ‘in’ (see § 8.2), but in English translation the verb ‘have’ usually works best. Following are some examples:

*bəh séf məkən* ‘he had a lot of hair’ (lit. ‘on him [was] a lot of hair’) (9:8)  
*aǰáyǰ ðōməh əl bəh fēhəl lā* ‘this man has no penis’ (24:36)  
*kūsən hərəm əð-bəh hful* ‘we found a tree that had ripe figs on it’ (25:3)  
*hārāwn bīsən əsxōf* ‘the goats have [lit. in them (is)] milk’ (31:10)  
*šəllōt ǰəwdīl ðə-bəh šəwōt* ‘she took a stick that had fire on it’ (36:8)  
*əl bay kətfōf lā* ‘I don’t have wings’ (56:8)  
*bəh kōni trōh* ‘it had two horns’ (88:7)  
*aǰáyǰ ðōməh əl bəh həsmēt lā* ‘this man has no honor [or: respect]’  
 (91:14)

In this same category, we can place the idiom *bay hāssi* ‘I was conscious’ (40:26), literally ‘in me (was) my consciousness’, and probably also the idiom *būk hēsən* ‘what’s (the matter) with you?’ (48:5; 80:7).

The preposition *h-* ‘to, for’ (§ 8.8) is translated by ‘have’ in a few places in the texts. In each case, *h-* really has a benefactive meaning ‘for’, but ‘have’ or ‘get’ makes for a smoother translation. The relevant passages are:

11 Other verbs denoting environmental phenomena are attested impersonally in the 3fs form, namely *həddūt* ‘it thundered’ and *bərkəwt* ‘it was lightning’ (both 10:16).

*hām haṣbāḥ ṣaḥḥ, haḥ mālyōn qarš* ‘if he makes it to morning alive, he’ll get [lit. for him is] a million dollars’ (36:2)  
*ṣarōmah al hūk sī lā* ‘now you get [or: have] nothing’ (36:11; cf. also 32:22)

Finally, in conjunction with *ād* ‘still’ (plus a pronominal suffix), *l-* can be used to express ‘have’, with regards to amount of time remaining. The two attested examples of this are:

*ādah lisan faḥḥ ḏa-wārḥ* ‘they still had half a month (left)’ (30:9)  
*ādah lūk masáyṛ sīlat yūm* ‘you still have a journey of three days’ (37:16)

### 13.4 Conditionals

There are three conditional particles in Omani Mehri: *hām*, *əḏ*, and *lū*, of which *hām* is by far the most common. These correspond in use superficially to Classical Arabic *ʾin*, *ʾiḏa*, and *law*, in that the first two normally indicate real conditionals, while the third normally indicates an unreal conditional. However, the difference in usage between *hām* and *əḏ* does not parallel that of Arabic *ʾin* and *ʾiḏa*. Each of these particles will be discussed in turn. Also treated below is the compound particle *te wə-lū* ‘even if’.

#### 13.4.1 *hām*

*Hām* (corresponding to *hān*, *hən*, or *ām* in Yemeni Mehri dialects) is the particle normally used to introduce a real conditional. It is by far the most common Mehri word for ‘if’, occurring nearly 200 times in the texts. If *hām* introduces a verbal clause, the verb or verbs in this clause are nearly always in the perfect tense (remembering that the imperfect of *hōm* can also function as its perfect; see § 7.3); there are about a dozen exceptions in the texts, which are discussed below. If the apodosis of a conditional *hām*-clause is a verbal clause (which it is in all but about eight cases in the texts), then the verb in the apodosis can be an imperfect (most commonly), a future, an imperative, or (least often) a subjunctive. The *hām*-clause can precede or follow the main clause, and in a few cases it is even found embedded within the main clause. Some examples of conditional sentences with *hām* are:

*hām raṣáwt, xtyēna tik* ‘if she consents, we’ll circumcize you’ (8:2)  
*hām sayárk, l-ād raddōna līn lā* ‘if you go, you won’t come back to us again’ (20:72)

*hām tāt gīlu, yasyūr hāl amšənyūtən* ‘if someone was sick, he would go to the medicine men’ (25:17)

*hām šīsən arīh, tšábrən rība yūm* ‘if they have a hot wind, they do without (water) for four days’ (27:22)

*hām hārāwn nūka ar bə-ḥūtār, w-əl nūka b-ārōḏ lā, šhayt ḥūtār* ‘if the goats bear only female kids, and don’t bear (any) male kids, kill the female kids’ (30:12)

*hām əl šhātən həh lā, yənákdəm līn ḥābū* ‘if we don’t slaughter for him, people will criticize us’ (31:11)

*hām həšbāh šahh, həh məlyōn qarš* ‘if he makes it to morning alive, he’ll get [lit. for him is] a million dollars’ (36:2)

*šīwōt, hām sē rēhək, tənōfa* ‘fire, if it is far away, is useful’ (36:28)

*yəktəlīt bay aḳəbōyəl, hām fəlátk wə-ḳálak tīk* ‘the tribes will talk (badly) about me if I run away and leave you’ (83:2)

*hām əl nákak tīk šərōməh lā, əl (t)šəši lā* ‘if I don’t come back to you now, don’t think I’m late’ (94:17)

*hām hādógəš təh wə-hēt dənyīt, yəmūt* ‘if you suckle him and you are pregnant, he will die’ (101:19)

There are seven cases in the texts in which *hām* is directly followed by an imperfect, instead of by a perfect; in each case the reference is to an event taking place at the moment of speech.<sup>12</sup> There are also five cases in which *hām* is followed by a future.<sup>13</sup> When the *hām*-clause has an imperfect, the apodosis can have an imperative, non-verbal clause, imperfect, or subjunctive. When the *hām*-clause has a future, the apodosis usually has a future or, in one case (37:23), an imperative. Some of the relevant passages are:

*hām thámay, ƙəfəd līn əw-bōh* ‘if you hear me, come down here to us’ (64:29)

*hām təgtūri k-agənnáwnse, tāsós lā* ‘if she is conversing with her jinns, she won’t wake up’ (65:11)

*hām thámay, hōh arībək, w-ənké əw-bōh* ‘if you hear me, I am your friend, so come here!’ (76:12)

*hām əl ətəm wəzyēma tī tēti lā, šháyti* ‘if you won’t give me my wife, kill me!’ (37:23)

12 These are found in texts 21:12 (not included in this volume, but included in Stroomer 1999), 64:29, 65:7, 65:11, 75:3, 76:12, and 92:2. I am not including forms of the verb *hōm*, whose imperfect is used for all tenses (§ 7.3).

13 These are found in texts 34:9, 37:23, 39:4, 49:5, and 56:11.

*hōh šēmōna lūk, hām hēt məháwƒ tī házye h-ašáyrəb* ‘I’ll sell it to you if you pay me my goats in the autumn’ (39:4)  
*hām əl hēt sīrōna lā, sīrīta təwōli həddōd* ‘if you won’t go, I’ll go to the blacksmith’ (49:5)

As already noted in § 7.3, if *hōm*, followed by a direct object, occurs in the protasis of a conditional sentence, and the dependent verb should be repeated in the apodosis, the verb is used only once, in the subjunctive. Examples of this are:

*hām thámən, nəslēl* ‘if you want us to (move), we’ll move’ (30:3)  
*hām ar thámki, l-āmərōh* ‘if you really want us both to (sing), let’s both sing’ (52:6)

Besides this special construction with *hōm*, and not counting a subjunctive used as a negative imperative (see the example from 94:17, above), there are just eight other cases in which we find a subjunctive in the apodosis of a conditional sentence. Three of these have a real subjunctive meaning, best translated with English ‘should’:

*hībōh l-āmōl, hām hāmárk lay* ‘what should I do, if you command me?’ (20:23)  
*hām əhād yəğōrəb šī, yədáwyəh* ‘if anyone knows anything, he should treat him’ (65:7)  
*hām əl kəsk təh lā, hībōh l-āmōl* ‘if I don’t find him, what should I do?’ (96:2)

In four others, a subjunctive is used as part of a threat, promise, or oath (on this use of the subjunctive, see § 7.1.10.3):

*hām ād həwrádk həmōh đōməh zōyəd, đə-nəwtáǵk* ‘if you bring (your) animals to this water ever again, we will kill you’ (10:9)  
*hām əhād mənķēm kərbáy, đə-l-əwbádəh* ‘if any of you come near me, I will shoot him’ (47:11)  
*hām šərōt wəlē raddūt lay, l-əwbáds* ‘she stops or turns back to me, I’ll [or: I should] shoot her’ (54:18)<sup>14</sup>

14 As noted in the comment to this text, Ali read the imperfect *əlbáds* on the audio (with the same meaning), but his original manuscript has the subjunctive *l-əwbáds*.

*hām nəkōt ġallēt ... wə-ftákk hōh šaḥḥ, əl-háðḥəb nēḥər ðōrə* ‘if a mist comes ... and I get out alive, I’ll flood a wadi with blood’ (99:34)

The eighth additional case of a subjunctive in the apodosis is in a poetic text not included in this volume (text 21:11). This passage also contains the only example in which a subjunctive occurs in the protasis, following *hām*:

*hām hayš əl-kalēt, l-ənkēs awrēk* ‘if I were to tell you, I would destroy the papers’ (21:11)<sup>15</sup>

Finally, it should be pointed out that there are a few examples where a conditional particle is missing. Each of these are before a form of the verb *ḥōm*, and each of these are in the same text (86:1, 86:2, 86:6), which lists conditionals out of context. There are nearly thirty examples where we do find the expected *hām* before a form of *ḥōm* (e.g., 4:10; 100:1). These examples from text 86 may, in their original contexts, be part of contrasting conditionals, in which case the lack of a conditional particle is expected (see the end of the next section).

#### 13.4.2 əð

The particle *əð*, perhaps a borrowing of Arabic *ʾiðā*, occurs eleven times in the texts. Like *hām*, *əð* normally indicates real conditions. However, it seems to be used exclusively to indicate two contrasting conditionals. As with *hām*, if *əð* precedes a verbal clause, the verb will be in the perfect. Following are all the occurrences of *əð* in the texts:

*əð hē šēmūn, hōh nəkōna tīkəm ... w-əð hē xəzōh, šáxbər mən aqáşdəh* ‘if he agrees, I will come to you ... and if he refuses, ask him his goal’ (22:17–18)

*əð hē káybəl, hē hīs tīkəm ... w-əð hē lūtəġ əttēt wə-ḥāġərīt, hē ġayġ fērə* ‘if he accepts, he is like you ... but if he kills the woman and the servant-girl, he is a brave man’ (22:93–94)

*əð hē bəh əl-hīs aġəyūġ, ətēm təsháyṭ. w-əð hē əl bəh fēḥəl lā, hē yəshōṭ* ‘if he has (a penis) like (other) men, you will be killed. And if he doesn’t have a penis, he will be killed’ (24:39)

15 Although text 21 is not included in this volume, I have checked the original manuscripts and audio recordings. The translation ‘destroy’ for the verb *nəkūs* is Johnstone’s. That meaning is not in *ML*, and elsewhere in the texts it means ‘dig up’ (37:13; 65:3).



*əð hē šhāt haybátəh, hē yəkūn háywəl. w-əð hē əl šhāt haybátəh lā, hōh əkūn kəhbēt* ‘if he slaughtered his camel, he is crazy. And if he didn’t slaughter his camel, I am a whore’ (55:9)

*əð hē səyūr šay, hē sənyōna təh, w-əð hē bədōh, əl kəwtōna b-awásfəh lā* ‘If he slept with me, he will have seen it, and if he lied, he will not (be able to) give [lit. tell] its description’ (55:10)

*əð sē kəwtūt layš, šəlēli kəmkēm mən ðār hərəhš ... wə-sē gəhdátš, əl thērək kəmkəməš lā* ‘if she tells you, lift your headcloth off your head ... but (if) she denies you (any knowledge), don’t touch your headcloth’ (94:42–43)

In this last example, the expected *əð* is missing from the second conditional. It may have been assimilated to the following *s* (i.e., *əð-sē > əs-sē*). Unfortunately, I found no audio for that text. Regardless, the first *əð* still occurs in a context in which there are two contrasting conditionals.

Interestingly, when there are two contrasting conditionals, both of which have the verb *hōm* in the protasis, then the conditional particle is omitted. There are four sets of examples of this in the texts. In all of the examples, the apodosis has either a form of the imperative *əntəkōl* ‘choose!’ or a form of the exclamation *b-arāyək* ‘as you wish’. Two of the examples are:

*thaym tháhəntəm təh, b-arāyəkəm. wə-tháyym təklēm təh, b-arāyəkəm* ‘if you want to make him break his oath, as you wish. And if you want to leave him alone, as you wish’ (31:10)

*thōm txxōli, əntəkōl. wə-thōm (t)šxáwwəl, əntəkōl* ‘if you want to get divorced, choose (so). And if you want to remain, choose (so)’ (32:25)

As mentioned at the end of the last section (§13.4.1), it is possible that the conditionals in 86:1, 86:2, and 86:6 are contrasting conditionals taken out of context, since we find *hōm* in the protasis of these phrases, with no preceding conditional particle.

As discussed already in §12.1.6, the particle *əð* can also be used to conjoin a set of two or more phrases, indicating uncertainty on the part of the speaker. This usage corresponds to English ‘either *X* or *Y*’ or ‘whether it be *X* or *Y*’. An example is:

*əð wəzūm kərs, wə-ð wəzūm kərsi troh* ‘either (a person) gave a dollar or he gave two dollars’ (72:3)

13.4.3 *lū*

The particle *lū* introduces an unreal conditional. As with *hām* and *əð*, if *lū* is followed by a verbal clause, the verb will usually appear in the perfect. If the apodosis contains a verb, that verb will be in the conditional tense (§ 7.1.4). In fact, this is the only environment in which the conditional tense occurs. The examples found in the texts are:

*lū ād šinək təh, əkīrən l-ənfēh* ‘if only I saw him again, I would want to be helpful to him’ (43:9)

*lū əl hē háywəl lā, əlyəšháyṭən háybətəh lā* ‘if he wasn’t crazy, he would not have slaughtered his camel’ (55:7)

*lū šəbūrən, axáyr hūn* ‘if only we had been patient, it would have been better for us’ (61:7)

*lū əl ber lūtəg ərbōt mənīn lā, əl nəwtēgən təh lā* ‘if only he had not already killed four of us, we would not have killed him’ (83:7)

*lū zəhédk hībōh l-āmēr hābū rīhōm* ‘if only I had known what to say to the nice people’ (43:11)

*lū hōh kōrək akáwt ... hībōh yāmərən hābū? amyēra, “gəyg bəxáyl wə-káwb!” w-əl əhād yāmērən, “l-āzīz fəlān’ lā!”* ‘if I had hidden the food ... what would the people say? They will say, “A mean man and a dog!” No one would say, “Oh woe for so-and-so!”’ (98:12)

This last two examples are interesting. In text 43:11, there is no apodosis. And in text 98:12, in addition to the actual apodosis that is part of the question, the reply has what can be considered two more apodoses: one with a future tense (*amyēra*), indicating the real outcome (of this hypothetical situation), and one with a conditional form (*yāmərən*), indicating the unreal outcome.

In just one place in the texts, *lū* introduces an unreal non-past conditional and is followed by an imperfect. The apodosis still contains a conditional tense, though it is a compound tense made up of a conditional form of *wīka* ‘be(come)’ plus an imperfect:

*lū amnēdəm yəhāwsəb əlhān nəkōna təh b-aməstákbələh, əl əhād yāqān yəškūf lā* ‘if man thought about all that will happen [lit. come] to him in his future, no one would sleep’ (98:10)

In 98:11, this same passage is repeated nearly verbatim, though with a different verb in the relative clause (*wəkōna ləh* for *nəkōna təh*) and the addition of the particle *ð-* before the final verb (*ðə-yəškūf*).

### 13.4.4 *tə wə-lū*

The phrase *tə wə-lū* means ‘even if’ (cf. Arabic *hattā wa-law*). It occurs about ten times in the texts, and it does not govern the use of the conditional tense like the bare particle *lū* does (§13.4.3). Some examples of *tə wə-lū* are:

- əl ərdūd lā, tə wə-lū əmūt* ‘I won’t go back, even if I’ll die’ (37:19)  
*tə wə-lū fōnəh fērə’, yəhəšəwbəh nōðəl, tə wə-lū əl hē nōðəl lā* ‘even if he was brave before, he becomes a coward, even if he is not a coward’ (43:2)  
*tə wə-lū bərah mōyət mən agəwé’, yəšəwbər əl-hīs arībēh* ‘even if he is dying of hunger, he is patient like his companion’ (73:13)  
*əl nəhāh āmyēla bəh šī lā, tə wə-lū ðə-rikəb ðār təbráyn* ‘we won’t do anything to him, even if he was riding on a hyena’ (82:3)  
*āká’ əð-fərhək, tə wə-lū ðə-máthənək* ‘be (like) you’re happy, even if you’re sad [or: in trouble]’ (90:15)  
*kāl əhād yəhātūm hāl xəšməh, tə wə-lū ð-əwtáwǧ háybəh wə-həbráh* ‘everyone spends the night with his enemy, even if (they are) the ones who killed his father and his son’ (104:39)

In one case, *wə-lū* (without *tə*) is used on its own as an exclamation ‘even so!’ (89:33).<sup>16</sup>

## 13.5 Subordination

### 13.5.1 *Complement Clauses*

The term ‘complement clause’ is fairly broad and covers a variety of sentence types. For the present purposes, we will distinguish three types of complement clauses, illustrated by the following English sentences:

- (a) I want to speak Mehri.
- (b) I want you to speak Mehri.
- (c) I know (that) you speak Mehri.

Types (a) and (b), containing an infinitive in English, correspond in Mehri to constructions involving a dependent subjunctive verb, as in the following examples:

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Arabic *wa-law*, which can have the same usage.

*yəḥōm yəṭāf layš* 'he wants to visit you' (38:16)  
*əl əǰōrəb l-əǰtāyər arbáyyət lā* 'I didn't know how to speak Arabic' (34:18)  
*ḥamk tsné' attēti* 'I want you to see my wife' (22:41)  
*ṭalábk tik təklet̄ lay* 'I ask you to tell me' (20:38)

These types of sentences have been treated already in § 7.1.3 and § 7.3. Sometimes these subjunctive constructions can be translated with an English type (c) complement clause, instead of with an infinitive. For example, the last sentence above could be translated 'I ask that you tell me'. And, in fact, there are a few places where a subjunctive construction is best translated, or can *only* be translated, with an English type (c) complement clause. Such cases nearly always involve verbs of thinking, like (*ḏə-*)*ʿəmlək* 'I think',<sup>17</sup> *ḥəǰūs* 'think', *h(ə)thūm* 'think, imagine, suspect', *šhēwəb* 'think, figure', and *šəsdūk/šəšdūk* 'believe s.o. is telling the truth'.<sup>18</sup> One can sometimes translate with an infinitive, though usually this is awkward. Some examples are:

*ʿəm(lə)k tīsən tháǰyagən* 'I think (that) they will give birth' (28:18)  
*ḏə-ʿəmlək tī l-āḳá' dənyūt* 'I think (that) I may be pregnant' (101:18)  
*əl nəḥágsəh yəsyēr lā* 'we didn't think (that) he would go' (89:35)  
*hōh šəsdákk lā yāḳá' xəlūs* 'I don't believe (that) it could have gotten lost'  
 (23:3)  
*aǰáyg šhēwəb tétəh tāḳá' ber sīrūt* 'the man figured (that) his wife would  
 have already gone' (94:20)  
*wə-hthámk təh yāḳá' mən xəšəmyən* 'and I think (that) he might be from  
 our enemies' (94:42)

On occasion, these verbs of thinking can be followed by a perfect, rather than a subjunctive, as will be discussed in § 13.5.1.1.

Similarly, the verb *yəšš* 'be afraid' is normally followed by a subjunctive, though this construction can only be translated with an English type (c) complement clause. However, the verb *yəšš* uses the preposition *mən* before the subordinate clause (see § 7.1.3 for other such verbs), as it normally does before an object (e.g., 47:5; 54:17). Examples are:

17 As noted in § 7.1.10.2, the verb *əyməl* 'make, do' sometimes has the meaning 'think, believe, be of the opinion' (cf. 28:2; 91:8), at least in the ics perfect. When used with prefixed *ḏ-*, it seems to always have this meaning. Conversely, when it means 'think', it usually has the prefix *ḏ-*.

18 On the variation found in the forms of the verb *šəsdūk*, see the comment to text 20:6.

- yáṣṣək mən əhād ya'yénəh* 'I am afraid (that) someone will look at him with the evil eye' (22:3)  
*ḏə-yáṣṣək mən yəsləl līsən kawb yəmōh* 'I am afraid (that) a wolf might snatch (one) from them today' (26:9)  
*yáṣṣək mən aḱənyāwn yəḡṣābəm tī təh* 'I am afraid that the children will snatch it from me' (37:22)  
*ḏə-yáṣṣək tīs mən tháflət mən ḏáyri h-aṣáyga* 'I am afraid (that) she might run away from me to the shelter' (94:16)

The verb *yáṣṣ* is sometimes, but not always, followed by an anticipatory pronominal direct object, as in 94:16, above. It is curious that *yáṣṣ* in this case takes a direct object, since when not in a complement construction, a pronominal object of *yáṣṣ* requires *mən* (e.g., 54:17). See also § 13.2.5, on the use of *yáṣṣ* with the particle *m-ād*.

### 13.5.1.1 Complementizer *ḏ-*

Complement clause type (c) involves, in English, an optional complementizer 'that'. In Mehri, the particle *ḏ-* serves as an optional complementizer, but it is not clear if there are rigid rules governing its use. The following verbs are attested in the texts only with the complementizer *ḏ-*: *áylam* 'learn, know',<sup>19</sup> *htūm* 'be sure', *šəkráwr* 'confess', *shēd* 'witness', and *šəṣfōh* 'find out'. However, it must be stressed that the evidence is so meager (essentially just one example per verb in the texts) that it cannot be taken as proof that these verbs must be followed by the complementizer *ḏ-*. Some examples are:

- kēf ʿēmək ḏə-hē ḏáyrah tōmər* 'how did you know that it has on it dates?' (23:15)  
*hōh ḏə-htámk ḏə-hē aḡáyḡ ḏə-ríkəb ḏār təbráyn* 'I was sure that the man was riding on a hyena' (82:2)  
*šəkrárk bə-ḥənōfi əḏ-hōh ḏəlámk* 'I confess of myself that I was unjust' (19:24)  
*təshūd ḏə-hē hārūs bə-fəlānə ... wə-tshūd ḏə-hē, aḱfáyləs, awkəláy hōh ...* 'do you bear witness that he has married so-and-so? ... And do you bear witness that he, her custodian, has authorized me ...?' (100:4–5)  
*šəṣfōh amkwáyraṣ ḏə-sē, amkəwrətəh, šfəḱáwt* 'her beloved found out that she, his beloved, was betrothed' (75:2)

19 As mentioned in the comment to text 23:15, the Gb-Stem verb *áylam* (likely from Arabic *ʿalīma*) is not included in *ML*.

The following verbs are never attested in the texts with the complementizer  $\delta$ -. *daxāl* 'promise', *gəzūm* 'swear', *háylam* 'dream', (*h*)*hōram* 'swear', and *həss* 'feel'. Again, the evidence is so slim (one to three examples per verb in the texts) that more data are needed to prove that these verbs cannot ever be followed by the complementizer  $\delta$ -. Some of these examples are:

*hēmək yallōh xəznēt δə-háybi ənxāli abátk* 'I dreamt last night (that) my father's treasure was under your house' (19:17)  
*dəxlūtən l-ād ənnōka anáxəlke zōyəd* 'we'll promise (that) we won't come to your date-palms ever again' (37:5)<sup>20</sup>  
*həssək təwyáy bə-həlláy* 'I felt them come to me [lit. I felt (that) they came to me] in the night' (40:22)  
*hē hōram əlyədūbəh* 'he swore (that) he would not collect honey' (77:8)  
*hēm gəzāwm əlyəšáyət bəh kəšáyəyət* 'they swore (that) they wouldn't take compensation for it' (89:5)

If we compare those passages above in which a complementizer is used and those passages in which it is not, we notice that the complementizer  $\delta$ - is always followed by an independent pronoun, in all but one case (19:24), a third-person pronoun. In the examples in which  $\delta$ - is absent, there is never an independent pronoun beginning the complement clause. If we are to derive a rule from this, are we to say that  $\delta$ - occurs because of the following third-person pronoun, or that the pronoun is used because of the complementizer  $\delta$ -?

A handful of verbs are attested both with and without a following complementizer. Among these verbs are: *āmūr* 'say', *gərūb* 'know', and *hənkūr* 'feel; understand, realize'. For *gərūb* and *hənkūr*, the data follow a similar pattern to what was already observed: the complementizer is normally used when the complement clause begins with a third-person independent pronoun, but it is normally absent if the subject of the complement clause is a first- or second-person pronoun, or if no pronoun is present. Some examples of *gərūb* and *hənkūr* with the complementizer are:

*gərabk təh δə-hē sədəyki máxləš šay* 'I knew that my friend was sincere with me' (18:17)

20 We might expect *daxāl* 'promise' to take a following subjunctive, as *šəwēd* 'promise' does in 32:5, 55:3, and 91:30. The verb *daxāl* is followed by the imperfect here (and in 68:16) because it is a general promise involving a sustained action (with *l-ād... zōyəd* 'never again'), rather than the promise of a one-time activity. Cf. also the imperfect following verbs of swearing, as in the example from 77:8 above.

*ǧarūb aǧáyyg əð-hē bərkáh ǧəyūr* ‘the man knew that it had something harmful in it’ (24:48)

*ǧarūb ðə-hē zərūk ar azēmal* ‘he knew that he had stabbed only the camel-load’ (76:12)

*ǧarāwb ḥābū ðə-hē əl sí lā ðār ḥəmōh, wə-ǧarāwb ðə-hē, mət tāt yəšš, yəsōni kāl šīyan fənwih ðə-yəffərūk bəh* ‘the people knew that there was nothing at the water, and they knew that whenever someone is afraid, he’ll see anything in front of him that will frighten him’ (95:11)

*ḥənkárk ðə-hē əḥād ðə-mōt* ‘I realized that someone had died’ (54:13)

Some examples of *ǧarūb* and *ḥənkūr* without the complementizer are:

*hōh əǧōrəb ḥəmbəráwtən yəbádyəm lā ā* ‘I know (that) the boys don’t lie’ (74:20)

*hē ðə-ǧarūb əl šīḥəm əl šīwōt w-əl mōh* ‘he knew (that) they didn’t have fire or water’ (76:11)

*hōh ar bər ḥənkárk məḥáwf tī* ‘I already suspect (that) you will pay me’ (39:13)

In the examples from 74:20 and 76:11, in which the subordinate clauses have third-person subjects, we might wonder why we do not find *ð-* plus a third-person pronoun. The environment in 76:11 (with a negative existential in the complement clause) is the same as that of the first part of 95:11.

Other questions still remain. For example, compare the following two sentences, which have a very similar structure:

*ǧarāwb āskēr ðə-hē āwēr báydi* ‘the officers knew that the blind man was a liar’ (46:20)

*tēt ð-aǧáyyg ǧərbáts ðə-sē sádḳət (sədáyyḳət)* ‘the man’s wife knew that she was a friend’ (94:46)

In both examples, the verb in the main clause has a nominal subject, and the complement clause is non-verbal. Both mean ‘X knew that Y was Z’, where X and Z are nouns and Y is a pronoun. But in 94:46, the verb has an anticipatory object suffix (lit. ‘he knew her that she was a friend’). Why do we not find the same suffix in 46:20? The suffix is presumably optional.<sup>21</sup>

21 Compare Dhofari Arabic *a’raf innak mā kunt fi l-bēt* ‘I know that you weren’t at home’ (Davey 2016: 221) and *mā ḥad min tuggār is-sūq yi’rafiš inniḥ bint xālī* ‘none of the market

We find the same variation when the complementizer is absent, in sentences with first- and second-person pronouns. Compare the following two sentences:

*aġárbæk hēt bōyār* ‘I know (that) you are a trickster’ (lit. ‘I know you, you are a trickster’) (99:26)  
*šafk taġōrāb hōh ašṭāwt aġāwfi* ‘you probably know (that) I have pain in my chest’ (101:10)

Why does the verb in 99:26 have a suffix, but not in 101:10? The pronoun immediately follows the verb in both cases. Again, perhaps an object suffix is simply optional, or perhaps it has to do with first- vs. second-person pronouns. More data are needed.

The verbs of thinking or believing discussed above (§13.5.1) are normally followed by a subjunctive if the subordinate clause has a present, future, or past conditional meaning. But if the subordinate clause is a simple past tense, then we find either a perfect (sometimes with *ḏ-*, as described in §7.1.10.2) or a non-verbal clause. In these cases, we sometimes find the complementizer *ḏ-*, the appearance of which seems roughly to follow the pattern found with the verb *ġarūb* ‘know’, outlined above. That is, when *ḏ-* is used, it is followed by a third-person pronoun. The verbs *ʿamlāk* ‘I think’ and *hagūs* ‘think’ are often followed by an direct object, which anticipates the subject of the complement clause, as in the examples in §13.5.1. Following are some additional examples:

*ʿamlāk tāh ber ġahēm* ‘I think (that) he already left’ (94:42)  
*ḥābū šasdiḵ ḏā-hē sērāk ṣaṭḵ* ‘the people believed that the *sērāk* is real [lit. true]’ (41:9)  
*ahūġas šxabaráy ar mán anʿāl* ‘I thought he just asked me about the sandals’ (20:26)  
*yahūġas maġfēš ḏā-ḵáwt* ‘he thought (that it) was a package of food’ (91:20)  
*yahūġas aġīġēn ḏā-šawkūf* ‘he thought that the boy was sleeping’ (76:12)

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traders know that you are my cousin’ (Davey 2016: 193). In the second example, the verb (*yīʿrafīš*) has a 2fs object suffix, while in the first example, the verb (*aʿraf*) has no such suffix. Incidentally, the use of complementizer *ḏā-* plus an independent pronoun is likely a calque of the colloquial Arabic complementizer *inna* plus a pronominal suffix, as in the above examples.



*aħágsəh ðə-rikəb ðār təbráyn* ‘I thought that he was riding on a hyena’  
(or: ‘I thought him (to be) riding ...’) (82:1)

*aħágsəš mən ašətkəš ħəšárš lay* ‘I thought (that) you were persuading me truthfully [lit. from your truth]’ (94:8)

Now whereas we see some patterns regarding the use of the complementizer *ð-* with *gərüb* and *hənkūr*, and probably also for the various verbs of thinking, the verb *āmūr* ‘say’ is more problematic, since no clear rules govern the use of a following complementizer. All we can say is that it is more often absent than present. Compare the following sentences:

*mōn āmūr ħūk ðə-hōh ōmər* ‘who told you that I sing?’ (52:9)

*hámak ħābū āmáwr hē bərk xədmēt* ‘I heard people say (that) he was employed’ (57:6)

*āmáwr yəštōm kāl šīyən* ‘they said (that) he buys everything’ (74:11)

*yāmərəm ðə-səwēħər tāmōlən h-təbrəyən xtūm* ‘they say that witches make rings for the hyenas’ (81:2)

*āmáwr ħəgūm əl-səkən ðeh* ‘they say (that) it attacked this settlement’ (102:4)

In cases where the complementizer is missing, the following clause can probably be considered a direct quotation.

In a couple of cases, both involving the verb *šəndūr* ‘vow, promise’ we find a complementizer *ð-* used in conjunction with a subjunctive, as in:

*šəndərk ðə-l-əklək thákšəm mən hāl thōm* ‘I promise that I’ll let you spend the day wherever you want’ (33:3)

*šəndərk ð-əl-ħáwfək* ‘I promise that I’ll pay you’ (39:16)

This is probably connected with the independent use of the subjunctive as part of a threat, promise, or vow (see § 7.1.10.3). An example of *šəndūr* followed by a subjunctive without the complementizer can be seen in text 3:3, in which case it is perhaps relevant that the verbs are in the third person, while the examples with *ð-* above have first-person verbs.

### 13.5.1.2 Complementizer *ð-* vs. Circumstantial or Relative *ð-*

In § 7.1.10.1 and § 7.1.10.2, we saw a number of examples of the verbs *ħūma* ‘hear’, *kūsa* ‘find’, and *šūni* ‘see’ followed by a circumstantial-marking particle *ð-*. A representative example is:

*áséniham ḏə-yaǵtáryam* ‘I saw them speaking’ (40:24)

Could this not be a complement clause, literally meaning ‘I saw (them) that they were speaking’? Perhaps, but we saw in § 13.5.1.1 that the complementizer *ḏ-* is normally followed by a third-person pronoun (or, with *āmūr*, by a pronoun or noun). Other examples with these verbs show more clearly that *ḏ-* in such passages is not a complementizer, for example:

*kāsk tīs bərk dəhlīl bər ḏ-ātmēt* ‘I found it in a cave already bandaged up  
[lit. having been bandaged]’ (81:3)

In this passage, if *ḏ-* were a complementizer, rather than a marker of a circumstantial verb, we would expect it to occur earlier in the phrase, or at least before *bər*. But it is safe to say that the various uses of the particle *ḏ-* (relative, complementizing, and circumstantial) are not always totally distinct.

The verbs *hūma* ‘hear’, *sīni* ‘see’, and *həǵūs* ‘think’ regularly take a circumstantial phrase in contexts where English has a complement clause. Following are some examples, where a circumstantial phrase in Mehri is best translated with a complement clause in English. Where the particle *ḏ-* is used, it is the construction described in § 7.1.10.2.

*hāmam bəh məhákbəl lihəm* ‘they heard he was headed towards them’  
(lit. ‘they heard about him heading towards them’) (32:6)  
*sīnak tīn ḏə-ǵáyan* ‘you saw we were hungry’ (73:11)  
*ásōni āfōr ǵáwla mən aráwrəm* ‘I see a cloud has come up from the sea’  
(96:7)<sup>22</sup>

There is one example in the texts of *hūma* ‘hear’ followed by a complementizer *ḏ-* (plus a third-person pronoun), perhaps because the subject of the complement clause is a noun plus a relative clause:

*hámak ḏə-hēm təǵēr ḏə-bīs ḏəláwm hābū* ‘I heard that the merchants  
who are in it are unjust to the people’ (66:2)

22 The particle *ḏ-* in this example is either suppressed because of the following *t*, or has been assimilated (*əṭ-ǵáwla*).

### 13.5.2 Purpose Clauses

Purpose clauses in Mehri can be either marked or unmarked, though unmarked ones are more common in the texts. An unmarked purpose clause simply includes a subjunctive verb. Some examples are:

- wəzmáh mōh yattákk* ‘he gave him water to drink’ (13:9)  
*ǝ-artəwūg būk (t)tiyən tūk* ‘they have plotted against you to eat you’ (15:17)  
*kāl tayt tantəkōl gayg tšéffkəh* ‘each one should choose a man to marry’  
 (15:21)  
*ənké əw-bōh l-ərsánk* ‘come here so I can tie you up!’ (24:26)  
*səyūr yəsne’ əsfōri* ‘he went to see at the pots’ (36:24)  
*hōm l-ərfá’ aǵáwǵ əl-šné’* ‘I wanted to climb upstairs to see’ (53:3)  
*ənkáyǵn bə-fəndēl, əntōm fəndēl* ‘he brought us back sweet potatoes, so  
 that we could taste sweet potato’ (89:11)  
*āzami ašáyǵat l-ədféns mən aǵáwm* ‘give me the jewelry so I can hide it  
 from the raiding-party’ (99:44)

A purpose clause can also be introduced by *te* (cf. Arabic *hattā*), which is followed by a subjunctive verb in a non-past context or a perfect verb in a past tense context. Examples are:

- əl hē ǵəǵǵīt lā te tāšōš ləh* ‘he is not a girl so that you should be afraid for  
 him’ (22:4)  
*āmēli həh wōrəm te nəmnēh* ‘find [lit. make for him] a way for us to  
 capture him!’ (24:19)  
*rədyōni aǵēdōr əǝ-bərkīham ašxōf, te yətbīr* ‘we’ll pelt the pots that the  
 milk is in, so that they break’ (35:10)  
*əl bay kətfōf lā te l-əfrēr* ‘I don’t have wings to fly (with)’ (56:8)  
*əl hōh hāǵáwrək lā, te l-ədbéh hūk* ‘I am not your slave, that I should  
 collect honey for you’ (77:4)

The particle *l-agərə* (*ǝ-*), which before a noun means ‘for the sake of, on behalf of’ (see § 8.22), can also introduce a purpose clause. There is no clear difference between *l-agərə* (*ǝ-*) and *te* in this function. As expected, the verb of the purpose clause will be in the subjunctive. There are ten such examples with *l-agərə* (*ǝ-*) in the texts:

- nəhōm nətbēr abkárhe te nəklēh fəǵáyǵr l-agərə l-ād yəhērəs lā* ‘we should  
 break his cows in order to leave him poor, so that he’ll never marry’  
 (6:5; repeated in 6:12)

- sháyṭ hītār l-agarē ḥābū yašádarkam man ḏār aḡawé* 'kill the female kids, so that the people might survive the famine' (30:12)
- ftēhi xās l-agarē ḏā-l-ākēb* 'open your mouth so I can come in' (42:27)
- bā'áyli habēr wā-ḥārāwn yāhābyam al-bā'áyli abkār l-agarē ḏā-yāšxáyf* 'the camel- and goat-herders come to the cow-herders in order to drink milk' (58:4)
- šxabarātah ... l-agarē ḏ-agáyg yāhmé* 'she questioned him ... so that the man would hear' (63:13)
- hē al šah sí lā l-agarē ḏā-yāstōm mašráwf* 'he didn't have anything (with which) to buy supplies' (65:1)
- nūka kē'yōti trayt l-agarē tarḥāšān* 'two spirit-women came to bathe' (68:6)
- nākōt ḥāmáy l-agarē (t)šáti* 'my mother came to get me' (89:31)
- yaḡīḏān tik l-agarē txalēs* 'they will anger you so that you will go astray' (90:15)

Of the ten examples of *l-agarē* in a purpose clause, four have the particle *ḏ-* following *l-agarē* (42:27, 58:4, 63:13, and 65:1). However, in three of the remaining six cases (68:6, 89:31, and 90:15), the verb following *l-agarē* has (or should have) the prefix *t-*, before which the particle *ḏ-* is usually suppressed (see §7.1.10.1). Therefore, it is not really clear whether *l-agarē* or *l-agarē ḏ-* is more common in a purpose clause.

### 13.5.3 Temporal Clauses

There are three main markers of temporal subordination in Omani Mehri, *māt*, *hīs*, and *tē*. Each of these can be translated by English 'when', though each has its own special functions. That is, the three are usually not interchangeable in meaning. These three particles will be treated in turn.

#### 13.5.3.1 *māt*

The particle *māt*, which is a reduced form of the interrogative *mayt* 'when?' (§11.7),<sup>23</sup> has two basic functions as a marker of temporal subordination. It can refer to an event that has not yet happened (i.e., a future or relative future), or, rather less commonly, it can refer to a habitual action. In either usage, *māt* is followed by either a verb in the perfect tense (remembering that the imperfect

23 For *māt* as the reduced (unstressed) form of *mayt*, we can compare *bāt*, the frozen construct form of *bayt* 'house' (§4.6).

of the verb *hōm* can also function as its perfect; see §7.3) or by a non-verbal clause. Some examples of *mət* referring to an event that has not happened yet are:

*mət nūka aḳáyð, háwfi* ‘when the summer comes, pay me’ (39:15)  
*mət shēk ðōmah, əwázmak amšēgər* ‘when you have finished with this, I  
 will give you the other’ (55:5)  
*ðōmah aḡīgēn wəḳōna axáyr mənáy mət āḳáwr* ‘this boy will be better  
 than me when he grows up’ (76:12)  
*wəzmōna tikəm fəndēl mət nákakəm* ‘I’ll give you sweet potatoes when  
 you come back’ (89:12)  
*mət tháymi tftēki, skēbi aḡayrōrat ð-dərēham* ‘when you want to leave,  
 pour the bag of money’ (97:24)

In six passages in the texts (out of the fifty or so times *mət* is attested referring to a future event), the combination *mət ber* in a verbal clause has the meaning ‘after’. This use of *ber* derives from its basic meaning ‘already’ (see §12.5.7). A few examples of this are:

*háwrəd bə-hálláy, mət ber abḳār šəwgūs mən ðār hāmōh* ‘take (the  
 camels) down to the water at night, after the cows have come home  
 from the water’ (27:6)  
*mət ber ḳəbáwr, yəsháyṭ bər wəlērawn* ‘after they bury (him), they  
 slaughter camels or goats’ (54:2)  
*mət ber šhēdəm ašháwd, yəhəmlūk sérə aḡáyg* ‘after the witnesses have  
 borne witness, the judge gives legal possession to the man’ (100:6)

As discussed in §12.5.7, if the temporal clause is non-verbal and has a pronominal subject, then the particle *ber*, which carries no meaning in this case, is required to hold the subject. Examples are:

*mət bársən bərk hāmōh, šəlēl xəláwḳisən* ‘when they are in the water, pick  
 up their clothes’ (37:3)  
*mət bərk ḳəráyb əl-hāšən, ənfēg b-əsfēt sərūk* ‘when you are near the  
 castle, throw the hair behind you’ (86:9)

Once, we find *ber* in the main clause, indicating a time prior to the temporal *mət*-clause, i.e., a future perfect (on the compound future perfect tense, see §7.1.9):

*mət nákan, tākāy ber ʔəháns gányət wə-bér mōlaš azəyáwrət* ‘when we get back, you should have already ground the sack (of maize) and filled the jars’ (97:7)

As mentioned above, the second basic use of *mət* is to refer to a habitual action, whether past or present. In these cases, *mət* can be translated as ‘when’ or ‘whenever’. There are about a dozen such passages in the texts, some of which are:

*mət hābū šīnam tīs, yāšáwš* ‘when people see it, they are afraid’ (16:2)

*mət gəzōt həyáwm, yəšgīs hābū* ‘when the sun goes down, the people go home’ (54:3)

*mət gūya, yətáyw mən amāray* ‘when(ever) he got hungry, he ate from the vegetation’ (74:3)

*mət hāynīt fālūk əl-hūtār, əhūrək amáws ʔə-háybi w-əshōt hūtār* ‘whenever the women let out the kids, I would steal my father’s razor and slaughter the kids’ (89:3)

*mət ʔāt yəšš, yəšōni kāl šīyan fənwih ʔə-yəffərūk bəh* ‘whenever someone is afraid, he’ll see anything in front of him that will frighten him’ (95:11)

The particle *mət* also means ‘after’ in the idiom *mət səwānōt* ‘after a little while’, which can be used in the context of a past narrative. Examples are:

*mət səwānōt, yəhftūk ʔāt* ‘after a little while, he would take one off’ (42:32)

*mət səwānōt, yəwōka ʔār ʔāt mən əl-manāsīr* ‘after a little while, he happened upon one of the Manasir’ (104:19)

In two passages we find *mət* + ʔ-.<sup>24</sup> In both cases, the particle ʔ- comes between *mət* and a verb. Here, the particle ʔ- should be parsed as the verbal prefix ʔ- (§ 7.1.10), indicating a continuous or progressive. Normally we would expect ʔ- + an imperfect to indicate a continuous or progressive, but in one case we find a perfect, since *mət* requires a following perfect; the other cases have a form of *hom*, whose imperfect is used in place of the perfect (§ 7.3). The passages are:

*ʔāt yəkēb bərk aǵáyg mət ʔə-šərbá’ kərmáym, wə-ʔāt yəkēb bərkīh mət təwōh aba’yōr* ‘one (jinn) should go into the man when he is climbing

24 A third example, which I believe is an error, is found in the manuscripts. See the comment to text 40:17.

the mountain, and one should go into him when he eats the camels'  
(37:25)<sup>25</sup>

*māt ḏa-yahōm yašákf hāl tétah, tšawkūf am-mānwih w-am-mán tétah*  
'whenever he wanted to sleep with his wife, she would sleep between  
him and his wife' (46:7)

### 13.5.3.2 *tε*

The very common particle *tε* (sometimes *atté*) has a variety of functions and meanings. It can be used as a preposition 'until' (see § 8.19) and as a subordinating conjunction 'so that', indicating purpose (§ 13.5.2), but it is most frequently encountered as a marker of temporal subordination. It is used as such in narration of past events, and carries a nuance of sequential action. That is, it has the meaning of 'then when', though a translation 'when' is often sufficient, and sometimes even preferable. Because it has this nuance of 'then', a temporal 'when'-clause with *tε* always precedes the main clause. The temporal conjunction *tε* can be followed by a verb in the perfect or by a non-verbal phrase. Examples from the texts are abundant. Some are:

*tε wásalam, kūsam ḥamōh* 'then when they arrived, they found the water'  
(5:5)

*tε gəzōt ḥayáwm, ḥarōh táwyah bərk dəhlil* 'then when the sun went  
down, he hid his meat in a cave' (13:7)

*nūka hēxər ... tε wišəl hāl aǵáyg wə-ḥəbrəh, šōr wə-ǵəlūk b-aǵīgēn* 'an  
old man came ... When he got to the man and his son, he stood and  
looked at the boy' (22:8)

*tε šawkūf, šallūt xəláwḳhe* 'then when he went to sleep, she took his  
clothes' (48:26)

*tōli ḳəfdōh təwōli ḥōkəm. tε ənkōh, āmūr ḥōkəm, "kō tēm ḳəfədkəm"* 'then  
they went down to the ruler. When they came, the ruler said, "Why  
did you come down?"' (74:19)

*tε nákak, kəsk aǵáyg ḏeh bərəh yahōm yahwéh* 'then when I came, I found  
this man about to fall' (77:6)

*tōli šəhkōt attēt ... tōli gəhmōh ... tε ḳərbōh əl-səkən ḏa-xəšámhe, āmūr h-  
tétah* 'then the woman laughed ... then they went ... then when they  
got near the settlement of his enemies, he said to his wife' (94:24)

25 The verb *təwōh* might also be preceded here by *ḏ*- underlyingly, in which case it has assimilated to the following *t*- (see § 2.1.7).

*te kaláyni nūka abáyt, ksīs xaláyγat* ‘then when he came home in the evening, he found it empty’ (22:69)  
*te k-sōbəḥ ḵəlūb ḥass, šxəbīrah ḥābū* ‘then in the morning when he regained consciousness, the people questioned him’ (95:6)

As the last two examples show, we sometimes find an adverb of time in the subordinate clause, in addition to the verb phrase.

A pronominal subject is rarely expressed after *te*. Both *mət* (§13.5.3.1) and *hīs* (§13.5.3.3) can express a following pronominal subject with the help of the particle *ber*, but *te* must be followed by *hīs ber*. There are just a few examples of this, including:

*te hīs bārham bə-ḥōrəm, kūšəm ḡayg āwēr* ‘then when they were on the road, they found a blind man’ (46:9)  
*te hīs bəri b-aámḵ əḏ-ḥōrəm, ənkōt aməwsē* ‘then when I was in the middle of the journey, the rain came’ (47:2)

The same restriction applies when *ber* is being used in combination with the verb *ḥōm* to mean ‘be about to’ (see §7.3.4), or when *ber* is being used with the subordinator to give the clear sense of ‘after’ (see §13.5.3.3):

*te hīs bārham yəḥáym yəšákfəm, aḡáyγ kəlōn ḥftūk amáws* ‘then when they were about to go to sleep, the groom took out the razor’ (75:17)  
*te hīs ber ašályəm, šīnəm ḥābū awərḵāt* ‘after they had prayed, the people saw the paper’ (85:17)

In rare cases, *te* is combined with *hīs* for no apparent reason, as in:

*te hīs wəšələn báwməḥ, āmūr* ‘then when we got here, he said’ (46:16)<sup>26</sup>

In many passages, *te* is simply followed by an adverb or adverbial phrase. Such adverbs or adverbial phrases are nearly always temporal in nature, like *k-sōbəḥ* ‘in the morning’, *bə-ḥəlláy* ‘at night’, *kaláyni* ‘in the evening’, *nəḥōr tayt* ‘one day’, etc. In this case, we could parse *te* as a temporal conjunction preceding a non-verbal clause, or we can parse *te* as a simple adverb. For example, a phrase like *te bə-ḥəlláy* could be read literally as ‘then when (it was) at night’ or simply as

26 Cf. text 46:15, where we find simply *te wəšələm* ‘then when they arrived’.



‘then at night’, though the latter is preferable as a translation. Some examples from the texts are:

*tē mən ḏār sənēt, səyūr təwōli ḥáybas* ‘then after a year, he went to her father’ (9:1)

*tē bə-ḥálláy ḥəbáwr aǵáyg abkárhe* ‘then at night the man took out his cows’ (15:9)

*tē nəhōr ṭayt nákam təh sātáyť səbōb* ‘then one day, three young men came to him’ (37:7)

*tē nəhōr ṭayť kaláyni, kəṭōť abōkər* ‘then one day in the evening, the camel got tired’ (37:17)

*tē mǵōrən, ḥīs yəḥōm yəbār, mǵāť* ‘then later, when he wanted to leave, he stretched out’ (69:4)

*tē k-sōbəḥ, ḥīs bīšər abšār, kəfdōh ḥəmbəráwtən* ‘then in the morning, when the dawn broke, the boys got off (the ship)’ (74:17)

*tē b-aámk ḏə-ḥōrəm, kūšəm ǵayg ḏə-yəsyūr* ‘then in the middle of the way, they found a man traveling’ (70:7)

The last example shows that the adverbial phrase need not be temporal, though it nearly always is.

The adverbial *tē* differs from its near synonym (*ət*)*tōli*, in that (*ət*)*tōli* cannot be directly followed by another adverb. Instead, the conjunction *ḥīs* must intervene, as in:

*tōli ḥīs bə-ḥálláy, ḥəwḳá’ šəff šəh bərk šīwōť* ‘then, at night, he put the hairs he had in the fire’ (37:25)

In addition to having the meaning ‘(then) when’, the conjunction *tē* is also often found with the meaning ‘until’, a meaning it also has as a preposition (see §8.19). In this case, the subordinate clause follows the main clause, and the verb following *tē* is a perfect if the reference is to the past, or subjunctive if the reference is to the future. Examples are:

*ḥābū ǵáláwḳ mənḥēm tē káťam* ‘the people looked for them until they got tired’ (35:17)

*tē ǵəzōť ḥəyáwm, səyūr aǵīgēn tē wīšəl xawr* ‘then when the sun went down, the boy went until he reached the lagoon’ (36:6)

*səyárk tē wášələk abáyť* ‘I went until I got to the house’ (62:4)

*dáwnək ḥēt b-aḥkámət tē nənkək* ‘you take the kingdom until we come back to you’ (20:78)

- ṣābēri lay tē al-háftak abəráwka əlyōmah* ‘wait for me until I take off these veils’ (42:31)  
*ḥármak l-ād əḏáwbər būk zōyad tē al-mēt* ‘I swear I won’t nag you ever again until I die’ (98:15)  
*mənēy aytáyl tē l-ənkēs* ‘hold the fox until I get to you!’ (99:43)

There are some passages in which it is somewhat ambiguous whether *tē* is functioning as ‘until’ or ‘then when’. For example, in text 20:54, we find the words *bā nəwās səyūr tē wīšəl abátəh šxəwlūl*. Depending on punctuation (in writing) or natural pauses and stress (in speech), this could be translated either ‘Ba Newas went until he reached his house. He stayed’ or ‘Ba Newas went. Then when he reached his house, he stayed’. (The audio recording supports the former translation.) One can easily see how these two uses of *tē* overlap syntactically.

Sometimes Mehri uses *tē* (probably based on its meaning ‘until’) where English would use a simple conjunction ‘and’, for example:

- ḥəgəmūt līs tē həməwtáts* ‘he attacked her and [lit. until] he killed her’ (15:13)  
*šálləm təh tē rəḏīw bəh mən ḏār déhək* ‘picked him up and threw him from a cliff’ (20:53)  
*səyūr ašōyəg tē fəth abōb* ‘the jeweler went and he opened the door’ (22:98)  
*səyūr tē kəbūn ḏār nəxlīt* ‘he went and he hid in a palm-tree’ (37:4)  
*šállis tē nūka bīs hāl ḥáybəh wə-ḥāmáh* ‘he took her and brought her to his father and his mother’ (48:19)  
*ḥəwrūd ḥázhe tē hərwōh* ‘he brought his goats to the water and let (them) drink [lit. until he had let (them) drink]’ (61:6)

### 13.5.3.3 *hīs*

The particle *hīs* can function as a preposition meaning ‘like’, in which case it is usually found in the compound *al-hīs* (see § 8.10). It is encountered most often, however, as a marker of temporal subordination ‘when’. Of the three such markers—*mət*, *tē*, and *hīs*—*hīs* is the one that appears most frequently in the texts. Unlike *mət*, but like *tē*, *hīs* is used in the context of a past narrative, and a following verb appears in the perfect. But while the *tē*-clause (when it means ‘when’) must precede the main clause, the *hīs*-clause can precede, follow, or be embedded within the main clause. And while *tē* carries a sequential nuance ‘then when’, *hīs* is simply ‘when’. This is not to say that *hīs* cannot be used in a context where ‘then when’ is appropriate; it can, and in such cases it is

optionally preceded by the adverb (*ət*)*tōli* ‘then’. *Hīs* also has other meanings not found with *tē*, as will be outlined below. Following are some examples of *hīs* meaning ‘when’:

- ššs aǰáyg hīs hūma ašáwt šə-ḥaybīt* ‘the man got up when he heard the sound of the camel’ (13:3)  
*šəroməh, hīs hēm kāl tāṭ wəḥših, wákam sīhōl* ‘now, when they were each alone, they were easy (to break)’ (50:4)  
*aǰáyg, hīs šəwkūf, ādūl abīrākhe* ‘the man, when he went to sleep, had raised his knees’ (69:4)  
*əttōli aǰāh, hīs hūma aǰəroyəh, ǰərbīh* ‘then his brother, when he heard his words, recognized him’ (74:16)  
*əttōli hīs nūka, hftūk xəlōwəḵ* ‘then, when he came, he took off the clothes’ (75:7)  
*hīs hámak tīs ǰətəryōt wəṭákəməh, rōdək b-abəráyḵ* ‘when I heard her talk like this, I threw the kettle’ (89:24)  
*hīs sənyīn ḥāgūr, yašš* ‘when the slave saw us, he got scared’ (91:3)  
*hīs əlhākən təh, bəkōh. hīs bəkōh, ǰəšnək mənəh* ‘when we caught up to him, he started to cry. When he cried, I felt compassion for him’ (91:5)

As with the other temporal conjunctions, a pronominal subject in a non-verbal *hīs*-clause is nearly always expressed as a suffix on the particle *bər*, as in:

- hīs bərhəm ḏār ḥəmōh, nūka aǰáwm* ‘when they were at the water, the raiding-party came’ (10:8)  
*hīs bərah bə-ḥəwōdi, ḥəgūm ləh kawb* ‘when he was in the valley, a wolf attacked him’ (14A:2)  
*hīs bəri bər ošər sənáyyn, āmārk ḥáybi* ‘when I was ten years old, I said to my father’ (34:7)  
*hīs bəran b-aámḵ, ǰəbūrən gūr* ‘when we were on the way [lit. in the middle], we met a slave’ (91:2)  
*hīs bərah rēḥəḵ, kəšš bīn šətəh* ‘after he was far away, he flashed his buttocks to us’ (91:4)

However, there are a few examples of *hīs* followed by an independent pronoun, as in:

- hīs hēm fáxrə, əl ḵadárkəm lihəm lā* ‘when they were together, you couldn’t manage them’ (50:4)

*ādi al ōmar lā ar yamših, hīs hōh wəhšáy* ‘I have never sung except yesterday, when I was alone’ (52:15)

In one passage, we twice find *hīs* followed by an imperfect (with a suppressed prefix *ḏ-*), indicating a past progressive. *Hīs* can be translated here as ‘when’ or ‘while’:

*hīs sēn taḡtóryən, hanīsən sənnáwrət, wə-hamátsən hīs taḡtóryən* ‘when they were talking, the cat was by them, and she heard them when they were talking’ (15:7)

In many, if not most, passages in which *hīs* means ‘when’, it can also be translated as ‘after’ or ‘as soon as’. But to make the sense of ‘after’ or ‘as soon as’ more explicit, it is combined with the particle *ber*. Only very rarely does *ber* take a pronominal suffix in this usage. Some examples are:

*hīs ber fšōh, šəwkūf* ‘after he ate lunch, he fell asleep’ (12:4)

*hīs ber təwīw, ámma aḡáyḡ aḏaráy ḡəhēm* ‘after they had eaten, the strange man went away’ (13:11)

*abḡār bār hīs ber ḡaláwbsən* ‘the cows went away after they had milked them’ (35:7)

*hīs bārham šxəwlil, šāḡōt əttēt aḡās* ‘after they sat down, the woman called to her brother’ (64:29)

*hīs ber təmūm wə-bér ḡəfūd xōḡər, əmūr aḡáyḡ ḏə-ksēh fənōhan* ‘after he finished (collecting honey) and came down, the man who found it first said’ (77:3)

*aḡáyḡ mōt hīs ber təmūm kəwḡétəh* ‘the man died as soon as he finished his story’ (92:6)

The combination *mən hīs* has the meaning ‘since’, in the temporal sense of ‘from the time when’. Examples are:

*mən hīs ḡábye mōtəm, ber sīnak tīham xəmmōh ḡəwōr* ‘since my parents died, I have already seen them five times’ (20:42)

*ādi al sīnak ḡábye lā mən hīs mōtəm* ‘I haven’t seen my parents since they died’ (20:43)

*mən hīs xəláḡək, ādi al kəsk əḡād əl-hīs tīham lā* ‘since I was born, I never met [lit. found] anyone like them’ (62:13)

In a few places, *hīs* has the meaning ‘since’, in the causal sense, or ‘because’:

*kálləh mənək, hīs kálak təh yəsyēr mən hənīn* ‘it’s all your fault [lit. it’s all from you], since you let him go away from us’ (17:7)  
*hīs hēt həbrē ḏə-fəlān, kəlōna tik tsyēr* ‘since you are the son of so-and-so, I will let you go’ (20:47)  
*hīs ber bəhərs̄ bay, məšēmən tīs̄* ‘since you have asked me for help, I will obey you’ (90:12)

And in a few passages, nearly all in text 99, *hīs* functions as a relative ‘when’, ‘at the time when’:

*kəwtēt mən azbōn hāwəláy, hīs sáfrəm, aytáyl wə-káwb w-akáyšər wə-təbráyn w-ayəgráyb w-axəmūt* ‘a story from former times, when the fox, the wolf, the leopard, the hyena, the raven, and the vulture traveled’ (99:1)  
*kəwtōna b-abšōrət ḏ-aytáyl ... hīs āds adənyē təgtūri* ‘I’ll tell about the cleverness of the fox ... (at the time) when the (whole) world still spoke’ (99:2)  
*kəwtōna bə-kəwtēt ḏ-əl-harsīs mən azbōn hāwəláy, fənōhan šárkəh, hīs āds əl ənkōt lā* ‘I’ll tell you a story of the Ḥarasis from former times, before the Company, before (the time when) they had come’ (104:1)  
*həbye wə-hábikəm, mən hīs šəxtīn, yāfədəm mən ḏār ašāwər ḏayk te ašāwər ḏayk* ‘my forefathers and your forefathers, from (the time) when they were circumcised, would jump from that rock to that rock’ (99:17)

In this final example (99:17), *mən* is functioning the same way as in the idiom *mən zəbōn hāwəlay* ‘long ago’ in 104:1.

The compound *əl-hīs*, usually met as a preposition meaning ‘like, as’ (see § 8.10), also functions as a subordinator in a few places, for example:

*šmlək əl-hīs āmárk háyni* ‘I did as you told me’ (20:18)  
*əl-hīs ber āmlōt b-əgáyəgəs hāwəláy, āmlīta bük wətakəməh* ‘as she has done to her first husband, thus will she do to you’ (22:77)  
*yəhsūs əl-hīs šī ḏə-yəgrérəh xōtər* ‘he would feel like something was pulling him down’ (77:1)

In one passage, *əl-hīs* as a subordinator has either a causal or temporal meaning. It is perhaps an error for *hīs*, since *əl-hīs* 'like' occurs just two words earlier in the same passage:

*hōh əsényəh əl-hīs ḥáybi, əl-hīs hē yənáṣḥi mən ḥayrēm aḳamḥōt* 'I see him like my father, since [when?] he advises me against bad ways' (18:18)

### 13.5.3.4 *mən dēm*

Once in the texts we find *mən dēm* 'as long as, while', where it is used with a pronominal suffix. It is clearly connected with Arabic *mā dāma* 'as long as, while'. The passage is:

*ḳərbōna tik lā mən dēmək ṣahḥ* 'I won't come near you as long as you are alive' (99:26)

## 13.6 Interrogative Clauses

A declarative is most often made into an interrogative simply by intonation of voice, with no special particle necessary. Representative examples are:

*hēt əḥtəwēk* 'have you gone crazy?' (40:10)  
*wīḳa lūk śī* 'has something happened to you?' (42:7)  
*bass* 'that's it?' (42:53)  
*ṥḥáymi təzámī* 'do you want to give me?' (48:24)  
*hámak əḥād āmūr ftkōna* 'did you hear somebody say he will [or: would] leave?' (57:9)  
*ḳáskən ḥābū* 'did you find the people?' (99:41)

Several particles can also be used in conjunction with interrogative clauses. The particle *wālē* can be used at the beginning of a question, where it means something like 'perhaps'; see further in § 12.5.21. The particle *ar* at the beginning of an interrogative clause (usually containing an interrogative pronoun or adverb) means something like 'so', 'well', or 'but'; see further in § 12.5.4. On the phrase *əl hē lā*, used as a tag question (like English 'isn't that so?'), see § 11.9.

Interrogative pronouns or adverbs usually come at the beginning of a clause, but they can sometimes come at the end, especially *hō* 'where?' (§ 11.4). Compare the following examples:

*a'ísēy ḥō* 'where is my dinner?' (42:26)

*ḥō a'ísēy* 'where is my dinner?' (42:34)

*hēsān nákak* 'what did you come for?' (99:36)

*thámah hēsān* 'what do you want it for?' (97:38)

*hībōh āmárk* 'what did you say?' (80:9)

*atēm tāmārām hībōh* 'what do you say?' (80:16)

See further on the interrogative pronouns and adverbs in Chapter 11.

**PART 2**

*Texts*







## Johnstone's Texts from Ali Musallam

As described in §1.1 and §1.5, Johnstone's primary informant for Mehri, and the source of nearly all of his texts, was Ali Musallam (born ca. 1945), a native speaker from the mountains near Jibjāt (about 30km northeast of Ṭaqah). All of the Mehri texts remained unpublished at the time of Johnstone's death in 1983, but Harry Stroomer performed a great service by publishing them in 1999. However, that edition was based on Johnstone's own Roman-letter transcriptions and translations of the texts, rather than the informants own Arabic-letter versions or the audio recordings. Because Johnstone's transcriptions and translations were only rough drafts, and because the grammar of Mehri had not yet been fully described, his own manuscripts contain a large number of errors. Stroomer's printed edition, which follows Johnstone's inconsistent system of transcription, also has many typographical errors. Stroomer often made use of Johnstone's posthumously published *Mehri Lexicon*, which has an inordinate amount of errors. In short, a new edition of Johnstone's texts is needed. The decision to re-edit the texts is in no way a criticism of Johnstone's or Stroomer's work. It is simply the case that now our understanding of the Mehri language puts us in a much better position to parse the texts accurately.

The texts published in this volume are based on the Arabic-letter manuscripts (the autographs of the author of the texts) and, when available, the audio versions (mainly read by the author from his written copies). One text (106) is based only on an audio recording. There are very many differences between the texts printed herein and those printed in Stroomer (1999), and most of these differences are presented without comment. Many reflect the correction of errors, but others are due to the fact that Johnstone's Roman-letter manuscripts sometimes differ in content from the Arabic-letter originals and the audio. Sometimes, a difference is as minor as the presence or absence of the conjunction *wə*- 'and', while in other cases words, phrases, or even sentences were added or removed in Johnstone's transcribed version.<sup>1</sup>

The table below shows kinds of manuscripts that are extant for each text (not including some of the unpublished manuscripts), as well as which texts have Jibbali parallels,<sup>2</sup> which texts have audio versions, and which texts have

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1 See further in Rubin (2017).

2 Twenty-nine of the Mehri texts in this volume have parallel Jibbali versions, of which Ali

word-lists and translations. All of the manuscripts are in the collection of Johnstone's papers housed at the Durham University Library. Unless otherwise noted, the Mehri texts can be found in Box 6, files A–D, and Johnstone's English translations can be found in Box 6, files E–F. Copies of most of the translations from Box 6 can also be found in Box 1, file F. Some of the translations exist in multiple versions (handwritten and/or typed), but I have not indicated this in the table below. Manuscripts found elsewhere (i.e., in other boxes of Johnstone's papers at Durham) are indicated in the final column.

M text	J text	Included	Audio	Roman ms	Arabic ms	Eng. trans.	Other info
1	23	yes	yes	yes (3)	yes	yes	typed Roman manuscript in 6F; last two lines missing from the Arabic manuscript and audio
2	none	yes	yes	yes (3)	yes	yes	typed Roman manuscript in 6F; one Roman manuscript includes translation by Johnstone
3	22	yes	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	typed Roman manuscript in 6F; translation in 1F is incomplete
4	none	yes	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	
5	none	yes	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	one English translation by Johnstone in 6A
6	none	yes	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	
7	none	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	
8	none	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	
9	none	yes	no	yes (2)	yes	yes	

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Musallam was also the author. Some texts are nearly verbatim translations of the Jibbali version or vice versa (e.g., texts 86, 89, 93, and 94), while others are different versions of the same story, with varying degrees of similarity (e.g., texts 1, 3, 37, and 42). Three texts (97, 99, and 104) also have parallel Ḥarsusi versions, and a few are versions of Yemeni Mehri texts found in the editions of Jahn (1902) and Müller (1907). All parallel versions are noted in the headers to each text.

M text	J text	Included	Audio	Roman ms	Arabic ms	Eng. trans.	Other info
10	none	yes	no	yes (2)	yes	yes	
11	none	yes	no	yes (2)	yes	yes	
12	none	yes	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	first four lines missing from audio; two English translations by Johnstone in 6A
13	none	yes	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	
14	none	yes	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	
14A	none	yes	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	
15	none	yes	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	
16	none	yes	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	
16A	none	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	appended to manuscript of text 16; not in Stroomer
17	none	yes	yes	yes (3)	yes	yes	
18	none	yes	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	
19	none	yes	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	
20	none	yes	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	
21	none	no	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	poem
21A	none	no	yes	no	yes	no	poem; not in Stroomer
22	none	yes	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	
23	none	yes	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	
24	17	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	one page of a second Roman manuscript also extant (lines 40- end); one English translation by Johnstone in 6A
25	none	yes	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	

M text	J text	Included	Audio	Roman ms	Arabic ms	Eng. trans.	Other info
26	none	yes	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	
27	none	yes	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	
28	none	yes	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	
29	none	yes	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	
30	none	yes	yes	yes (3)	yes	yes	
31	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
32	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
33	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
34	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
35	none	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	yes	short word-list included; one audio version cuts off in line 18
36	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
37	30	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
38	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
39	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
40	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
41	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
42	54	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
43	none	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	Roman manuscript has only first five lines; translation only through line 9
44	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
45	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
46	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	similar in content to Jahn (1902: 117)

M text	J text	Included	Audio	Roman ms	Arabic ms	Eng. trans.	Other info
47	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
48	36	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	translated from Jahn (1902: 7-14)
49	none	yes	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	
50	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
51	none	no	yes	yes	yes	yes	poem
52	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
53	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	loose English translation by Ali in 6B
54	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
55	2	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
56	3	yes	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	a third Roman manuscript (with this text and text J3) is owned by A. Lonnet
56A	7	yes	yes	no	yes	no	Arabic manuscript in Box 6A; not in Stroemer
57	8	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
58	9	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
59	34	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
60	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
61	20	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
62	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
63	33	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
64	25	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	partial English translation by Ali in 6C
65	18	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	

M text	J text	Included	Audio	Roman ms	Arabic ms	Eng. trans.	Other info
66	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
67	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
68	19	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	based on Müller (1907: 59–63); parallel Jibbali text unpublished
69	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
70	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
71	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
71A	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
72	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
73	21	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
74	none	yes	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	
75	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
76	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
77	none	yes	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	
78	none	no	no			yes	poem (from Müller?)
79	none	no	yes			yes	poem
80	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
81	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
82	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	English translation by Ali in 6A
83	83	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
84	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
85	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	translated from Jahn (1902: 14–21)

M text	J text	Included	Audio	Roman ms	Arabic ms	Eng. trans.	Other info
86	86	yes	no	yes (2)	yes	yes	one Roman manuscript includes an English translation by Johnstone
87	none	no	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	poem; Roman manuscript includes English translation by Johnstone
88	none	yes	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	
89	49	yes	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	
90	57	yes	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	
91	none	yes	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	the second Roman manuscript contains only lines 1–2
92	none	yes	yes	yes	yes	yes	
93	55	yes	yes	yes (2)	yes (2)	yes	
94	60	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	
95	39	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	
96	none	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	
97	97	yes	partial	yes	yes	yes	translated from Müller (1907: 34–45); audio has only lines 44–end; word-list in Box 11A
98	none	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	
99	48	yes	no	yes (2)	yes	no	the second Roman manuscript contains only lines 1–2
100	none	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	
101	none	yes	no	yes	yes	yes	
102	47	yes	no	yes (2)	yes	yes	
103	none	yes	yes	yes (2)	yes	yes	



M text	J text	Included	Audio	Roman ms	Arabic ms	Eng. trans.	Other info
104	none	yes	no	yes (2)	yes	no	Arabic manuscript in Box 6A; Roman manuscripts from Stroomer
105	none	yes	yes	no	yes	no	Arabic manuscript in Box 6A; not in Stroomer
106	16	yes	yes	no	no	no	Audio is natural speech; not in Stroomer

The transcriptions and translations of the texts below are my own, but are necessarily close in many places to those of Johnstone and Stroomer. (Nearly all of the translations in Stroomer's edition are based on Johnstone's manuscript translations, though he sometimes made changes based on *ML* or Johnstone's manuscript notes.) Four of the texts (16A, 56A, 105, and 106) are not included in Stroomer's edition, nor are occasional portions of some other texts (e.g., the last seven lines of text 43). In order to facilitate comparison with Stroomer's edition, I have largely kept the same numbering of lines, though in a handful of places I have altered a line break. An asterisk (\*) before a text number means that I did not find any audio for that text, and so the transcription is less reliable. In the transcription, a consonant in parentheses (e.g., *(t)šémah* in text 3:12 or *(ð-)šāfor* in text 59:4), unless otherwise noted, indicates that it is not present in the Arabic-letter manuscript and is not pronounced; I include the parenthetical consonant as an aid to comprehension. I have aimed for consistency in transcription, but allow for variation where there exists variation in pronunciation.



## Text 1 (= J23, but a shorter variant): Ba Newas and the Bean

- 1 *w-amma kawtēt ḏa-bā nawās, nahōr tayt ḏa-yasyūr, wə-šāh dagarīt tayt.*  
 2 *te kūsa ḡagəṇáwtən kə-mḥalōb wə-thaglūlən dēgər. āmūr hīsən, “ḥōm əl-xəlēt bikən adgəráyti.” āmūr aḡəggōtən, “adgərátk əl tənōfa lā, wəlākan šxáwwəl wə-téh šīn.”*  
 3 *āmūr, “lā. ḥōm əl-xəlēt bikən adgəráyti.” āmūr həh, “xəlēt.” həwḳá’ adgərátəh bərk aḳādər wə-šxəwlūl atté həbhīl.*  
 4 *āmūr həh aḡəṇáwtən, “ənké əw-bōh. tēh šīn.”*  
 5 *āmūr, “ḥōm adgəráyti.” āmūr həh, “wəzmūtən tīk əlhān thōm.” āmūr, “ábdan. ḥōm adgəráyti.” wə-bəköh.*  
 6 *wəzmáh fakḫ. āmūr, “ábdan. əndōh adgəráyti.” tē wəzmáh aḳādər w-əlhān bərkīh.*  
 7 *wə-šáll aḳādər tē mən hāl ḥāráwn thəḳšáwmən, wə-həwḳá’ aḳādər. tē nūka ḥāráwn, yəṇōka dərḥīs, yəṭūbər aḳādər ḏa-bā nawās.*  
 8 *tōli bəköh bā nawās. wəzáwməh ḳādər, wə-xəzōh. āmūr, “ḥōm aḳādəri.”*  
 9 *āmáwr həh ḥābū, “aḳādərək ber tībər. wəzyēma tīk ḳādər ḏ-axáyər mən aḳādərək.” āmūr, “lā. ḥōm ar aḳādəri.” tōli wəzáwməh adərḥīs.*  
 10 *wə-səyūr. atté əršáwn adərḥásəh mən hāl abḳār thəḳšáwmən, tənōka bəḳərēt, tṭūbər adərḥīs ḏa-bā nawās.*  
 11 *bəköh bā nawās. āmáwr həh ḥābū, “wəzyēma tīk dərḥīs ḏ-axáyər mən adərḥásk.” āmūr, “lā. ḥōm ar adərḥáysi.” wə-hē ḏa-yəbáyk.*  
 12 *əttōli wəzáwməh abḳərēt. məḡōrən səyūr b-abḳərēt, wə-ḳaláys mən hāl həbēr. tē tábárkən, tənōka yəbīt, tṭūbər abḳərēt.*  
 13 *bəköh bā nawās. wəzáwməh bəḳərēt, wə-xəzōh. tōli wəzáwməh ḥaybīt ḏə-təbərūt abḳərəth.*

12 *mən hāl həbēr. tē tábárkən:* It is unusual that there is no verb following *həbēr*. I wonder if the intended text was *mən hāl həbēr tábárkən* ‘where the camels were kneeling’. Unfortunately, the last two lines of the text (except the first few words of line 12) are missing from both the audio and the Arabic manuscript.

12 *tábárkən:* Johnstone transcribed *tábárkən*, but the form should be *tábárkən*.

**Translation of Text 1**

- 1 As for the story of Ba Newas, one day he was traveling, and he had one bean.
- 2 Then he found (some) girls with young camels, and they were boiling beans. He said, "I want to mix my bean with yours [lit. with you]." The girls said, "Your bean won't be of use, but sit and eat with us."
- 3 He said, "No. I want to mix my bean with yours." They said to him, "Mix (it)." He put his bean into the pot and sat until they cooked (the beans).
- 4 The girls said to him, "Come here, eat with us!"
- 5 He said, "I want my bean." They said to him, "We'll give you all that you want." He said, "No, I want my bean." And he cried.
- 6 They gave him half. He said, "No, give me my bean!" Then they gave him the pot and all that was in it.
- 7 And he took the pot to where the goats spend the day, and he put down the pot. Then when the goats came, a kid came and broke Ba Newas's pot.
- 8 Then Ba Newas cried. They gave him a pot, but he refused. He said, "I want my pot."
- 9 The people said to him, "Your pot has been broken. We'll give you a pot that's better than your pot." He said, "No, I only want my pot." Then they gave him the kid.
- 10 And he went. Then he tied up his kid where the cows spend the day. A cow came and broke Ba Newas's kid.
- 11 Ba Newas cried. The people said to him, "We'll give you a kid that is better than your kid." He said, "No, I only want my kid." And he was crying.
- 12 And then they gave him the cow. Then he went with the cow and left it where the camels were. Then when they knelt, a camel came and broke the cow.
- 13 Ba Newas cried. They gave him a cow, but he refused. Then they gave him the camel that broke his cow.

## Text 2 (no J): Two Witches

- 1 *w-ámma káwtēt amšǵarēt, fānōhan ašrāyn sánáyn, yāmarəm tēti trayt*  
*sawēhər, wə-kāl ʔayt šīs rəmḥāt Ǳ-Ǳahēb.*
- 2 *te āšər ber ḥābū šawkif, ʔawōh ǵayg yāšawkūf.*
- 3 *ámma ʔayt šərōt, w-ámma ʔayt wəkəbūt bərk amkōn. wə-hāššátəh mən*  
*šənēt, w-āmarūt həh, “ʔhōm tāzəmən ḥəbrək əntéhəh, aw ʔḥámən əntéhk*  
*hēt?”*
- 4 *āmūr aǵáyg, “tīyən tī, wə-ḵəlēn ḥəbrá. šay ar hē.” tōli ʔānáh.*
- 5 *wə-ḥəšbāh šahḥ. wə-Ǳ-ǵərūb ḥaynūt, wə-kəlūt əl-ḥābū.*
- 6 *w-āmáwr hīsən ḥābū, “ḥām ətēn nəḵəyōt, ǵəzəmən wəlē šámərtən.” āmūr,*  
*“ənhāh məšəmərtūtən wəlē ǵəzmūtən.”*
- 7 *ətté mən Ǳār warx, mōt aǵáyg. wə-ḥaynūt səyūr tšámərtən. wə-hīs wīšəl,*  
*šəmrūt, wəlākan ǵáyməg. wə-hīs rədd, wətáwǵsən.*
- 8 *wə-mǵōrən sawēhər kāl yəšš, wə-l-ād ḥəǵūm l-əḥād lā. wə-šāfīw ḥābū*  
*w-aḵənyáwn.*

**Translation of Text 2**

- 1 As for the second story, twenty years ago, they say (there were) two women, witches, and each one had a spear of gold.
- 2 Then when the people had gone to sleep (one) night, they came to a man who was sleeping.
- 3 One stood (outside), and one entered the place. And she woke him up from sleep and said to him, "Do you want to give us your son so we can eat him, or do you want us to eat *you*?"
- 4 The man said, "Eat me, and leave my son alone. I have only him." Then they stabbed him.
- 5 And in the morning he was alive. He knew the women, and he told the people.
- 6 And the people said to them, "If you are innocent, swear or be tried by ordeal." They said, "We will be tried by ordeal or swear."
- 7 Then after a month, the man died. And the women went to be tried by ordeal. And when they arrived, they were tried by ordeal, but they failed. And when they returned, they killed them.
- 8 And then all the witches were afraid, and they didn't attack anyone again. And the people and the children recovered.

## Text 3 (= J22, but a variant version): The Jewelry Tree

- 1 *xəṭarāt gayg ḏə-yəsyūr bə-ḥōrəm. əttōli ḏáyma. tē kūsa fōka bərk dəhlil, wə-wkūb bərk adəhlil, wə-ttáḳḳ tē ráywi.*
- 2 *w-ādəh əs-šxəwlil, nūka məwsē, wə-tháyw šāwər wə-thədūd xāh ḏ-adəhlil. w-aǵáyg bərk adəhlil.*
- 3 *yəšəndūr h-arḥəmōn yəháḏhəb nēḥər ḏōrə' wə-nēḥər šxōf, "hām ftəkk mən bāwməh."*
- 4 *əttōli ftkūt ašāwər, wə-ftūk aǵáyg.*
- 5 *wə-səyūr ətté kūsa tēt k-ḥārāwn wə-šis šáyǵət. āmūr hīs, "əlḥáyḳi! nūka tōgər, wə-ḏ-yəhádyən ḥaynit šáyǵət kāl ḏ-əl šis šáyǵət lā. wə-ndōh məns ašáyǵət. wə-hēt aḳēfi, wə-hōh wəḳōna k-ḥārāwn."*
- 6 *sirūt əttēt. wə-hīs ber ǵəmsūt, ḥəlūb aǵáyg ḥārāwn bərk nēḥər ḳənnāwn tē ḏəhəb. wə-mǵōrən šḥāt ḥārāwn bərk nēḥər tāt tē ḏəhəb.*
- 7 *wə-ḳáwla tégəh šəḥḥ. wə-mət tēt šədhəḳáwt, tsōni tégəh ḏə-yabərḳa bərk ḥārāwn. wə-ḳáwla kāl wōz ḏār hārōm.*
- 8 *tōmər tēt, "ḥārāwn ḏ-āmūk." w-aǵáyg səyūr ətté šxəwlil əl-ḥōrəm. wə-ḳáwla ašáyǵət ḏār hārōm, wə-ǵább ənxāli hārōm.*
- 9 *wə-šxəwlil tē nkáyh məḳtūr ašráyn rīkōb, wə-ḏáyrsən ḳawt wə-ksəwət.*
- 10 *tōli šxəbīrəh, āmáwr ḥəh, "kō hēt bāwməh?"*
- 11 *āmūr, "ḏə-ḥəǵárk hārōm ḏōməh. kāl səbū' yəḥəšəwbəḥ məḥámməl šáyǵət."*

5 *əlḥáyḳi*: The verb *əlḥāḳ* here (fs imperative *əlḥáyḳi*) must mean something like 'hurry' or 'run', meanings not listed in *ML* (s.v. *lḥḳ*), but not that far off from the attested meaning 'catch up' (e.g., 48:22; 69:5; 76:10, 16). The same meanings are attested for the Jibbali cognate (*JLO*, p. 666).

7 *wə-ḳáwla*: At the beginning of line 7, the Roman manuscripts have *wə-mūla* 'and he filled' (transcribed *u mωωlə*' in the earlier manuscript) before *wə-ḳáwla*, but this is not on the audio or in the Arabic manuscript.

7 *wə-mət*: The Roman manuscripts have *wə-hīs*, against the audio and the Arabic manuscript.

8 *tōmər tēt, "ḥārāwn ḏ-āmūk"*: This whole phrase is missing from the Roman manuscripts, and there is no corresponding English phrase in Johnstone's manuscript translation. Stroomer, who very rarely included anything not in one of Johnstone's Roman-letter manuscripts, has here *tōmər tēt, "ḥārāwn sənūk"*, either based on the audio or another manuscript that I

### Translation of Text 3

- 1 Once a man was traveling on the road. Then he got thirsty. Then he found a pool of water in a cave, and he entered the cave, and he drank until he was satisfied.
- 2 While he was sitting (in the cave), rain came, and a rock fell onto the mouth of the cave. And the man was in the cave.
- 3 He vowed to God to flood (one) wadi with blood and (one) wadi with milk, "if I get out from here."
- 4 Then the rock fell away, and the man got out.
- 5 And he went on, and then he found a woman with the goats, and she had jewelry. He said to her, "Hurry [or: run]! A rich man has come, and he is giving out jewelry to women, whoever doesn't have any jewelry. Give me your jewelry [lit. the jewelry from you]. You go, I will stay with the goats!"
- 6 The woman went. And after she had disappeared, the man milked the goats in a small wadi until it flooded. And then he slaughtered the goats in (another) wadi until it flooded.
- 7 And he left a male goat alive. And when the woman looked down, she saw the male goat running among the goats. And he left each goat on a tree.
- 8 The women said, "The goats are pasturing." And the man went and sat by the road. And he left the jewelry on a tree, and he defecated under the tree.
- 9 And he sat until a caravan of twenty riding-camels came to him, and on them were food and clothes.
- 10 Then they asked him, they said to him, "Why are you here?"
- 11 He said, "I have been guarding this tree. Every week it becomes loaded with jewelry."

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have not seen. The Arabic manuscript and audio do include this phrase, and the final word is clearly *ḏ-āmūḵ* (written اذاموق). The verb *āmūḵ*, here a 3fp perfect, is not in *ML*. It means 'pasture in the valley', as confirmed by an informant. Related verbs are attested in Jibbali (Bittner 1917b: 16) and Soqoṭri (Leslau 1938: 315). The verb preserves the original meaning of the noun \**amḵ* (cf. Hebrew *'emeq* 'valley'), which has come to mean only 'middle' in the MSA languages.



- 12 *āmáwr həh, “tḥōm (t)śéməh?” āmūr, “lā.” āmáwr, “wəzyēma tik arikábyən w-əlḥān ḏáyrən. wə-śəlél aśáyǵət əḏ-ḏār hərəm, wə-nḥāh ḥəgyēra hərəm.”*
- 13 *āmūr, “yéye. wəlākan ḥəḏḏūr mən əḥād yəǵbēb ənxāhe. hām əḥād ǵəbb ənxāhe, l-ād yāmōl śáyǵət lā.”*
- 14 *āmáwr, “yéye.” səyūr aǵáyǵ k-arikōb təwōli sékənəh. w-aǵəyūǵ śxəwlīl ənxāli hərəm. tē nūka səbū, ḥəṣbāḥ xəláy hərəm.*
- 15 *səyáwr təwōli aǵáyǵ. āmáwr həh, “hēt bōdək bīn. hərəm əl ḥəṣbāḥ ḏáyrəh śī lā.”*
- 16 *āmūr, “ḏək ar əḥād mən kēm ǵəbb ənxāhe.” āmūr, “ǵədəwwən nəśné!” səyáwr. ətté wəśələm hərəm, ǵəláwḵ tē kūsəm aǵōb ənxāli hərəm.*
- 17 *āmūr aǵáyǵ, “əl ber āmárk ḥikəm lā, ‘ḥəḏḏūr mən əḥād yəǵbēb ənxāli hərəm?’”*
- 18 *tōli ǵátəwsəm aǵəyūǵ ḏə-śətməm hərəm. kāl ṭāṭ āmūr, “hēt ḏə-ǵəbbək nəxāhe.”*
- 19 *əttōli ṭátānəm bə-jənōbi tē láttəǵəm. wə-səyūr aǵáyǵ w-a’yīṭ ḥābū. āmūr, “ǵəyūǵ ḏə-láttəǵəm bāwməh, w-əl wádak mən ḏār ḥēsən lā.”*
- 20 *wə-nákam ḥābū wə-ḵəbáwr aǵəyūǵ. wə-təmmōt ḥáylat ḏ-aǵáyǵ abōyər.*

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12 *əḏ-ḏār*: The Arabic manuscript has just *ḏār*, but the expected relative pronoun is heard on the audio. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone transcribed *aḏār*.

- 12 They said to him, "Do you want to sell it?" He said, "No." They said, "We'll give you our riding-camels and all that is on them. And take the jewelry on the tree, and we'll guard the tree."
- 13 He said, "Ok. But be careful that no one defecates under it. If anyone defecates under it, it won't make jewelry anymore."
- 14 They said, "Ok." The men went with the riding-camels to his settlement. And the men stayed under the tree. Then when a week came, the tree was empty.
- 15 They went to the man. They said to him, "You lied to us. The tree, nothing appeared on it."
- 16 He said, "It's because one of you defecated under it." He said, "Let's go see!" They went. Then when they reached the tree, they looked until they found the excrement under the tree.
- 17 The man said, "Didn't I already tell you, 'Be careful that no one defecates under the tree'?"
- 18 Then the men that bought the tree argued. Each one said, "You are the one who defecated under it!"
- 19 And then they stabbed each other with daggers until they killed one another. And the man went and called out to the people, he said, "Men have killed each other here, and I don't know over what."
- 20 And the people came and buried the men. And the trick of the cunning man is finished.

## Text 4 (no J): Ba Newas and the Merchants

- 1 *w-amma kawtēt tayt ḏa-bā nawās, šah tētah wə-šihām rawn. wə-yəswōl wəḵōna ašrāyn alf mən hāl tægēr. te āšar ṭād nākam təh ṭrōh mən attægēr yəsīlāh ašrāyn alf ḵarš.*
- 2 *amārḥəb bihām wə-hənšāwf hihām. wə-shāt wōz mən hāl attægēr yəsényəm təh lā.*
- 3 *wə-mūla aḵīrōd ḏa-ḥōz ḏōrə', w-āšəbīsən b-aḡōṭi ḏa-ttētah. wə-sīrōh te hāl aḡəyūg ašīfōn.*
- 4 *āmūr hihām bā nawās, “ḥāzyən xṭəmūtən, w-əl šay hikām məshəṭāwt lā ar tētī.”*
- 5 *āmáwr həh aḡəyūg, “əl əḥād yəshōṭ əḥād lā, wə-nḥāh əl ənḥōm məshəṭāwt lā.”*
- 6 *āmūr, “lēzəm l-əshōṭ hikām.” wə-yāsūs wə-yəshōṭ tētəh. wə-gārōt tēt bə-bəyōrət, wə-nṭīrūr aḏōrə' mən aḵīrōd ḏa-ḥōz.*
- 7 *āmáwr həh aḡəyūg, “hēt əl hēt məxliḵ lā! hēt ar bəláys!” wə-šōrəm aḡəyūg ḏə-yəbákyəm mən tēt.*
- 8 *əttōli āmūr hihām bā nawās, “təbkīyəm lā! ṭḥaym əttēt tərdəd səḥḥáyṭ?” āmáwr həh, “mōn yəḵáwdər yərdéds səḥḥáyṭ ḡayr arḥəmōn?”*
- 9 *āmūr hihām, “nākam tī məláykət wə-wzáwmi askáyn ḏōməh.” wə-hənḑəx bəh wə-səbūt bəh tēt ṭáwri ṭrōh. tōli ḥtərkōt. tōli āsšūt.*
- 10 *āmáwr həh aḡəyūg, “ṭḥōm tsōm līn askáyn ḏōməh?” āmūr hihām, “ḥōm lā.” āmáwr həh, “hām ṭḥōm təzémən askáyn ḏōməh, məbəryūtən tik mən ašrāyn alf.” āmūr, “ḥōm lā.”*
- 11 *tōli wəzáwməh ašrāyn alf w-abáryəm təh mən ašrāyn alf wəlākan āmūr hihām, “hām šəátkəm bəh w-əl ətəm ṭihōr lā, yənoḑa lā.”*
- 12 *wə-ḵəfdōh tægēr h-arḥəbēt wə-šihām askáyn.*
- 13 *te anḥōr ḏ-aḡəmāt ftawk ḥābū mən aməsgəd. wə-šihī aḡáwihī wə-yəmnōh ṭāt wə-shəṭáyəh, wə-mənōh amšēḡər wə-shəṭáyəh.*
- 14 *nākam ḥābū ḏə-ya'yūtən. āmáwr, “aḡáwgi əḥtəwəlōh, šḥāṭəm aḡáwihī.”*

1 *wə-yəswōl*: The audio has *wə-yəswīl*, but the manuscripts have *wə-yəswōl*. The forms are, respectively, the 3mp and 3ms imperfect G passives of the root *s'l*.

6 *l-əshōṭ*: The Roman manuscripts have the 1cs subjunctive *l-əshōṭ* here, which is what we expect. The audio has the future *shəṭōna*, which is grammatically acceptable (cf. text 63:6), but less suited to the context. The Arabic manuscript has the ungrammatical *əl-shəṭōna*, which was no doubt simply an error on Ali's part.

### Translation of Text 4

- 1 And as for one story of Ba Newas: He had a wife, and they had goats. And he owed about twenty thousand to (some) merchants. Then one night, two of the merchants came to him to collect twenty thousand dollars from him.
- 2 He welcomed them and spread out (a carpet) for them. And he slaughtered a goat where the merchants couldn't see him.
- 3 And he filled the gullet and windpipe with the blood of the goat, and he tied them to his wife's neck. And they went back to the guests.
- 4 Ba Newas said to them, "Our goats are sickly, and I have no slaughter-animal for you except my wife."
- 5 The men said to him, "No one slaughters anyone, and we don't want a slaughter-animal."
- 6 He said, "I must slaughter for you." And he got up and slaughtered his wife. The woman pretended to fall down, and the blood flowed out of the gullet and windpipe of the goat.
- 7 The men said to him, "You are not a human being! You are just the devil!" And the men stood crying over the woman.
- 8 And then Ba Newas said to them, "Don't cry! Do you want the woman to come back alive?" They said to him, "Who can bring her back alive but God?"
- 9 He said to them, "Angels came to me and gave me this knife." And he blew on it and hit the woman with it two times. Then she moved. Then she got up.
- 10 The men said to him, "Do you want to sell us this knife?" He said to them, "I don't want to." They said to him, "If you want to give us this knife, we will release you of the twenty thousand." He said, "I don't want to."
- 11 Then they gave him twenty thousand, and released him from the (other) twenty thousand. But he said to them, "If you slaughter with it and you are not pure, it won't be of use."
- 12 And the merchants went town to the town, and they had the knife.
- 13 Then on Friday, the people were coming out of the mosque. And they had their brothers with them, and they grabbed one and slaughtered him, and grabbed the second and slaughtered him.
- 14 The people came crying. They said, "The two men have gone crazy. They slaughtered their brothers."

- 15 *attōli āmáwr hīhəm, “nəhāh əl əhtəwōlən lā. tháymhəm yāsēsəm?” āmáwr hībū, “nəhámhəm yāsēsəm.”*
- 16 *hənfxōh tē āgáwz. əl əhād ‘əsś lā.*
- 17 *attōli āmārōh hə-ṭāṭīdáyhi, “hēt əngáys!” āmūr amšēgər, “hēt əngáys!” attōli ṭátānəm bə-jənōbi w-əlttəgōh. wə-təmmōt kəwtēt ḏə-bā nəwās.*

- 15 Then they said to them, "We haven't gone crazy. Do you want them to wake up?" The people said, "We want them to wake up."
- 16 They blew until they were unable. No one woke up.
- 17 And then they said to one another, "You are impure!" The second one said, "You are impure!" Then they stabbed each other with daggers and killed each other. And the story of Ba Newas is finished.

## Text 5 (no J): The Slave and His Mistress

- 1 *xəṭərāt ʔayt tēt wə-ḥāgáwrəs ǰə-yəsūrōh.*  
 2 *wə-ḥāgūr ber kərōh mōh məkōn ʔāt wə-táwywi məkōn ʔāt wə-tōmər məkōn ʔāt.*  
 3 *wə-səyáwr. tɛ kərbəm, hámam yəǰráyb ǰə-yōmər, “ǰǎ, ǰǎ!” tōli ʃəḥāk ḥāgūr.*  
 4 *ámərūt həh abālátəh, “mən həsən təʃhōk?” ámūr, “hámaš ayəǰráyb həsən ǰə-yōmər?” ámərūt, “ḥībōh ǰə-yōmər?”*  
 5 *ámūr, “ǰə-yōmər, ‘bərək amkōn ǰə-fəlāni mōh.” ʃəḥkōt abālátəh. tɛ wəʃələm, kūsəm ḥəmōh.*  
 6 *wə-səyáwr. tōli hámam ayəǰráyb.*  
 7 *ámūr ḥāgūr, “ayəǰráyb ámūr, ‘ḥəláwk táwywi ǰə-kəráyb.” sīrōh. tɛ wəʃələm, kūsəm táwywi. wə-sīrōh. tōli hámam ayəǰráyb.*  
 8 *ámūr ḥāgūr, “ámūr ayəǰráyb, ‘ḥəláwk tōmər.” sīrōh. tɛ wəʃələm, kūsəm tōmər.*  
 9 *wə-sīrōh tɛ məkōn ʔāt, hámam ayəǰráyb. bəkōh ḥāgūr.*  
 10 *ámərūt abālátəh, “kō hēt təbáyk?” ámūr ḥāgūr, “kələy l-əbkéh!”*  
 11 *ámərūt həh, “kələt lay!” ámūr, “əkáwdər lā. ǰōmah sī fəʃḥāt lay.”*  
 12 *wə-ḥāgūr bōyər, wə-ttēt thágsəh ašəṭkəh.*  
 13 *tōli ámūr ḥāgūr, “ámūr háyni ayəǰráyb, ‘ḥām əl səyárk k-abalátk lā, təmūt.”*  
 14 *tōli ámərūt həh, “nəkə əw-bōh, syēr šay.” wə-ráddəm təwōli səkən.*  
 15 *tɛ gəḥəməh aǰáyǰ ǰə-ttēt šxəwlúl. ámūr ḥāgūr, “abālayti, ḥōm əl-hīs yəmših.”*  
 16 *ámərūt həh, “həsən əl-hīs yəmših?” ámūr, “ḥōm əl-syēr šays.”*  
 17 *yāšūs aǰáyǰ ǰə-ttēt, yəslúl škáy, wə-yəlütəǰ ḥāgūr wə-ttēt. wə-təmmōt kəwtēt ǰ-aǰáwgi.*

3 *səyáwr*: The audio has the dual form *sīrōh*, but the manuscripts have 3mp *səyáwr*.

12 *ašəṭkəh*: Although Johnstone always transcribed this word *šədk* (which is etymologically correct), both in his manuscripts and in *ML* (s.v. *šdk*), Ali consistently (for all twenty occurrences in the texts) wrote and read *šəṭk*.

13 *səyárk*: The Roman manuscripts have *nəyákek* here, from the verb *nəyūk* ‘have intercourse with’, but the Arabic manuscript and audio have *səyárk*. Likewise, in line 16, the Roman manuscripts have *əl-nákš* (cf. 99:46) in place of *əl-syēr šays*.

17 *ǰ-aǰáwgi*: The Roman manuscripts have instead *ǰə-ḥāgūr* ‘of the slave’.

**Translation of Text 5**

- 1 Once a woman and her slave were traveling.  
2 And the slave had already hidden water in one place, meat in one place,  
and dates in one place.  
3 And they went. When they got close, they heard a crow saying, "Ca, ca!"  
Then the slave laughed.  
4 His mistress said to him, "What are you laughing at?" He said, "Did you  
hear what the crow was saying?" She said, "What was it saying?"  
5 He said, "It was saying, 'In such-and-such a place is water.'" The mistress  
laughed. Then when they arrived, they found the water.  
6 And they went on. Then they heard the crow.  
7 The slave said, "The crow said, 'There is meat is there, close by.'" They went.  
When they arrived, they found the meat. And they went on. Then they  
heard the crow.  
8 The slave said, "The crow said, 'There are dates there.'" They went. When  
they arrived, they found the dates.  
9 And they went on to a certain place. They heard the crow. The slave cried.  
10 His mistress said, "Why are you crying?" The slave said, "Let me cry!"  
11 She said to him, "Tell me!" He said, "I can't. This is an embarrassment for  
me."  
12 And the slave was a liar, but the woman thought he was being truthful.  
13 Then the slave said, "The crow said to me, 'If you don't sleep [lit. go] with  
your mistress, you will die.'"  
14 Then she said to him, "Come here, go with me." And they returned to the  
settlement.  
15 Then the next day the woman's husband was sitting. The slave said, "My  
mistress, I want like yesterday."  
16 She said to him, "What like yesterday?" He said, "I want to sleep [lit. go]  
with you."  
17 The woman's husband got up, took out a sword, and killed the slave and  
the woman. And the story of the two people is finished.



## Text 6 (no J): The Jinn Cat

- 1 *xəṭərāt sēkən, bə'ályi abkār. ʔənīw sənnáwrət.*  
 2 *wəlākan sənnáwrət sáħrət, əl sē sənnáwrət lā. ar təšhōr ʔənáfš sənnáwrət.*  
 3 *te nəhōr ʔayt əktəwbōt tēt, wə-rəkbōt ǰār təbráyn bə-ħálláy wə-bārōt xawr.*  
 4 *te wəšəlōt, ksūt ħāmē ǰ-əǰáyg bāl abkār w-əǰátəh təktəlūtən.*  
 5 *w-āmūr, “nəħōm nətbēr abkárhe te nəǰlēh fəǰáyr l-agərē l-ād yəħērəs lā.”*  
 6 *āmərūt əǰátəh, “ħībōh sáwr?”*  
 7 *āmərūt ħāmáh, “ǰəláwtən ʔayt mən təbráyényən bərk dəħlīl, wə-mət gəzōt*  
 8 *ħəyáwm, tsyēr təwōli abkār wə-ttéh ʔayt l-ādéd ǰ-āšáwr.*  
 9 *wəlākan ħām əǰáyg kūsə əttəbráyn wə-wətǰáys, təmōtən abkárýən*  
 10 *nəħāh.”*  
 11 *ǰōməh əǰərōy ǰə-ħaynūt, wə-sənnáwrət thámasən. wəlākan sē ǰə-ǰtəwbōt*  
 12 *tēt sáħrət.*  
 13 *te bə-ħálláy sīrūt sənnáwrət təwōli əǰáyg bərk amkōnəh, wə-sē tēt. wə-*  
 14 *ħāššátəh mən šənēt w-āmərūt ħəh, “aǰōfi təwōli adəħlīl ǰēk. ksōna təbráyn*  
 15 *bərkəh. wə-wbáds bə-məndáwǰ wə-wtáǰs!”*  
 16 *āmūr əǰáyg, “ħēsən ħēt mən tēt?”* *āmərūt, “hōh sənnáwrət əǰ-ǰōnək tī,*  
 17 *wəlākan hōh əl hōh sənnáwrət lā.*  
 18 *hōh tēt sáħrət. wə-ħámak ħāmēk w-əǰátk tāmərən, ‘nəħōm əntéh abkār*  
 19 *ǰ-əǰáyg wə-nəǰlēh fəǰáyr l-agərē l-ād yəħērəs lā.’*  
 20 *wə-ǰ-āmūr h-təbráyn tsyēr bərk adəħlīl wə-kāl āšər əttéh bəǰərēt mən*  
 21 *abkárke.”*  
 22 *səyūr əǰáyg wə-kūsə təbráyn wə-təbūr fāməs ʔayt.*  
 23 *wə-ħīs gəzōt ħəyáwm, təbərūt abkərēt ǰə-ħāmáh.*  
 24 *w-āmūr ħīsən, “hōh bəri ǰərəbk tīkən.” wə-ħārūs bə-tēt, wə-bəǰūd ħāmáh*  
 25 *w-əǰátəh.*

2 *sáħrət*: Ali missed the word *sáħrət* on the audio, but it is in the manuscripts.

4 *ħāmē*: The audio has instead *tēt* ‘wife’. The Arabic manuscript also has *tēt*, but *ħāmē* was added above it as a correction.

12 *nəħōm*: Everything following *nəħōm* in lines 12 and 13 is quite different in the Roman manuscripts than in the Arabic manuscript and on the audio. The version from the Arabic manuscript and audio is given here, while Stroomer, as always, followed the Roman manuscripts. Lines 14–16 are totally absent from the Arabic manuscript and the audio.

**Translation of Text 6**

- 1 Once there was a community, cow-herders. They raised a cat.  
2 But the cat was a witch, it wasn't a cat. She just showed herself as a cat.  
3 Then one day she changed into a woman, and she rode on a hyena at night  
and came to a lagoon.  
4 When she arrived, she found the mother of the man, the cow-herder, and  
his sister chatting.  
5 And they said, "We should break his cows in order to leave him poor, so  
that he'll never marry."  
6 His sister said, "What's the plan?"  
7 His mother said, "We'll leave one of our hyenas in a cave, and when the  
sun goes down, it should go to the cows and eat one each night.  
8 But if the man finds the hyena and kills it, our own cows will die."  
9 This was the talk of the women, and the cat heard them. But she changed  
into a witch.  
10 Then in the evening, the cat went to the man in his place, and she was  
a woman. And she woke him up from sleep and said to him, "Go to that  
cave. You'll find a hyena in it. Shoot it with a rifle and kill it!"  
11 The man said, "What kind of woman are you?" She said, "I am the cat that  
you raised, but I am not a cat.  
12 I am a witch. And I heard your mother and your sister saying, 'We should  
eat the man's cows and leave him poor, so that he won't ever get married'.  
13 And they said to the hyena that it should go into the cave and every night  
eat a cow from your cows."  
14 The man went and found the hyena and broke one of its legs.  
15 And when the sun went down, it broke his mother's cow.  
16 And he said to them, "I know about you." And he married a woman, and  
chased away his mother and his sister.

## \*Text 7 (no J): Magic

- 1 *sēḥar bəh mēkən ḏərūr, xās ha-ḵənyáwn.*  
 2 *nəḥāh hənīn nātəḵáydan bə-sēḥar, wə-nāšáṣəh axáyr mən kāl sí.*  
 3 *wə-hənīn anáhs. hām ʔaʔ šəh mōl mēkən aw ḥəbūn mēkən, yāšōš mən*  
*səwēḥar lánhən ttáwyən aḵənyáwn wə-ḥáśrən amōl, wə-xās b-aḵāʔ*  
*ḏ-amhəréh wə-šāfūr.*  
 4 *wə-hām tēt bərwōt, ḥənūdax bə-sēḥəz ḏ-amḡərāt. wə-yāmərəm hām sēḥar*  
*ḏáywa séḥəz, l-ād yənoḵa lā.*  
 5 *wə-ḏōməh yātəḵáydan bəh bəʔyli aḡəbəl axáyr, wə-bəlá šakk sēḥar mēkən*  
*bə-šāfūr.*  
 6 *wə-ḥābū yāšáṣəh axáyr mən ḏār adənyē.*  
 7 *wə-bə-šāfūr xawr hámməh ariri. yāmərəm tkūnən ḏáyrəh səwēḥar*  
*bə-ḥəlláy, w-axáyr āšər ḏ-agəmət.*  
 8 *ḏōməh mən ātəḵādhəm ḏə-sēḥar.*  
 9 *wə-hām əḥād gilū, yāmərəm məšáyr wə-yəśśényəm həh hāl*  
*aməṭawwəʔáyn.*

- 
- 2 *sī*: While the Arabic manuscript has *sī*, the Roman manuscript has *sīən* (= *sīyən*), suggesting a possible later correction.
- 3 *lánhən*: This is an Arabic particle, with an Arabic 3fp suffix. The form *lánhən* is transcribed in the Roman manuscript, but the form in the Arabic manuscript, apparently *الآن اول*, is very difficult to interpret.
- 3 *ttáwyən*: While the Roman manuscript has the 3fp form *tawyən* (= *ttáwyən*), which fits the context following the Arabic particle *lánhən*, the Arabic manuscript has the 3mp imperfect *yəṭáyw*. The 3mp *yəṭáyw* was added above *tawyən* in the margin of the Roman manuscript, and a superscript *t* was added to the beginning of *tawyən*.
- 3 *ḥáśrən*: Where the Roman manuscript has the 3fp imperfect *ḥáśrən*, the Arabic manuscript has *ḥáwsər* (حاشر), which perhaps was a mistake for 3ms imperfect *yəḥáwsər*.
- 5 *bəlá šakk*: This is Arabic.
- 7 *āšər ḏ-agəmət*: See § 9.5, n. 17.
- 9 *aməṭawwəʔáyn*: This must be from Arabic *muṭawwiʿ* or *muṭāwiʿ*. The translation ‘healer’ comes from Johnstone’s own manuscript translations (found in Box 6F).

**Translation of Text 7**

- 1 Magic has much harm in it, especially for children.
- 2 We, in our region, believe in magic, and we fear it more than anything.
- 3 And we have ill-fortune. If one has a lot of property or many children, he is afraid of witches that they will eat the children and destroy the property, especially so in the land of the Mahra and Dhofar.
- 4 And if a woman gives birth, she fumigates with frankincense resin. And they say if a wizard smells the frankincense, he won't come.
- 5 And this the inhabitants of the mountains believe in more, and without a doubt there is much magic in Dhofar.
- 6 And the people fear it more than (anything) in the world.
- 7 And in Dhofar there is a lagoon whose name is (Khawr) Rawri. They say that there are witches by it at night, and especially on Thursday night.
- 8 This is some of their belief in magic.
- 9 And if someone is sick, they say (he is) bewitched and they get a diagnosis for him from the healer.

## \*Text 8 (no J): Circumcision

- 1 *xəṭarāt ġīgēn āmərəh təmōni sənáyin.*  
 2 *tōli āmūr ḥáybah, “ḥōm əl-šáxtən.” āmūr, “šáxbər ḥāmēk. ḥām rəšáwt, xtyēna tik.”*  
 3 *tōli šxəbūr ḥāmēk wə-rəšáwt wə-nákam bə-ġáyġ ḏə-yəkhōl yəxtēn.*  
 4 *tōli rəḥāš wə-šárr aġəyēgēn wə-ḱaláyḥ səwānōt wə-xtəniḥ.*  
 5 *wə-šamləm šarḥ. wə-nəḥəgōt aġətəḥ wə-ḥāmáḥ wə-šḥāṭəm məsəwmūt.*  
 6 *wə-šəmrūs ərbəʿáyn yūm, wə-ḥāmáḥ təshōr ḏáyrəḥ wə-təltōf bəḥ.*  
 7 *wə-ḥáybah ḱəfūd arḥəbēt wə-nkáyh bə-məšráwf; wəlākan aġīgēn yəḥəšráwb wə-yəbáyḱ mən ašəṭáyṭ.*  
 8 *te wīḱa bə-xáyr, āmūr, “ḥōm əl-ḥērəs.” wəlākan ḥəbhə xəzēw, w-āmáwr, “ḥēt ḱənnáwn w-ādək əl ḥēt məḥērəs lā.”*

- 
- 2 *rəšáwt*: If the 3ms perfect is the Gb-Stem *ráyši*, as in *ML* (s.v. *ršy*), then we expect a 3fs perfect *rəšyōt*, both in this line and the next. The 3fs form *rəšáwt* follows the pattern used for the Ga-Stem (cf. *bəkūt* ‘she cried’), and it is noteworthy that *ML* (s.v. *ršy*) lists an imperfect *yəráyš*, also of the Ga-type, rather than a Gb-type imperfect *yərōši*. Johnstone transcribed a final *-šáwt* both lines, while the Arabic manuscript has *رضوت* in line 2 (for *rəšáwt* or *rəšōt*), but *رضيوت* in line 3 (presumably for *rəšyōt*). Unfortunately, I did not find audio for this text. See also § 7.2.10, notes 76, 77, and 80.
- 4 *tōli rəḥāš*: This phrase is absent from the Arabic manuscript.
- 5 *məsəwmūt*: In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘slaughtered animal for party’. *ML* (s.v. *slm*) has ‘animal slaughtered for votive purposes’.

**Translation of Text 8**

- 1 Once there was a boy who was eight years old [lit. his age was eight years].
- 2 Then he said to his father, "I want to get circumcised." He said, "Ask your mother. If she consents, we'll circumcise you."
- 3 Then he asked his mother and she consented, and they brought a man who was able to circumcise.
- 4 Then he washed and tied the boy's foreskin, and left him for a little while and (then) circumcised him.
- 5 And they made a party. His sister and mother danced, and they slaughtered a sacrificial animal.
- 6 And he was sick for forty days. His mother stayed awake over him and treated him.
- 7 And his father went down to the town and brought him supplies, but the boy was ill and cried from the pain.
- 8 Then when got better, he said, "I want to get married." But his parents refused him and said, "You are a child, and you won't marry yet."

## \*Text 9 (no J): Love and Marriage

- 1 *xəṭərāt gayg áygəb bə-tēt āgēb kəwáy. te mən ḡār sənēt, sayūr təwōli ḡáybəš wə-wfūd hanīh, wə-ffəkáyh. wəlākan ḡāmē ḡə-ttēt ṡáməh lā, wə-xəzūt mánəh.*
- 2 *wə-ttōli sayūr aǵáyg wə-nūka hāl aǵās sóx, wə-kəlūt ləh b-aḡəssətəh. w-āmūr aǵā ḡə-tēt, “hōh maǵtáyr k-hāmáy.”*
- 3 *wə-sayūr təwōli āǵáwz. wə-ǵátri šis ḡəbrəs, wə-ffəkátəh, wəlākan kəlūt ləh xáyməh mī.*
- 4 *wə-šáll aǵáyg axsōrət wə-nūka bə-trōh šhawd, wə-šəmlūk.*
- 5 *wə-kəfáwd arḡəbēt wə-šəmlūk mən hāl sérə’. wə-šitəm ašəyáft, ašráyn kəwōzər.*
- 6 *wə-ḡḡámləm ašəyáft ḡār arikōb, wə-səyáwr təwōli səkən. te nákam k-sōbəḡ ḡə-yəlbədam wə-ḡə-yərgzəm, wə-həḡšáym.*
- 7 *wə-ǵəbáwr ḡəbū məkən ašəyáft. wə-nūka ḡaynīt təwōli kəlōn w-azḡīb tēt kəlōn.*
- 8 *w-amma aǵáyg kəlōn, šəh məndáwḡ wə-jənbáyyət wə-šəbīgət, wə-báh séf məkən. wə-hē šəbb rəḡáym.*
- 9 *wə-ttēt šis šáyǵət ḡ-ḡəhēb wə-fəššūt.*
- 10 *te ǵasráwwən hádyəm tōmər, wə-šəwǵiš ḡəbū kāl əḡād əl-səkənəh. w-aǵáyg kəlōn hātūm hāl ḡámhə, wə-šḡātəm həh.*
- 11 *te bə-ḡəlláy wəkūb əl-tēt kəlōn, wə-hātūm te k-sōbəḡ. wə-dənyōt tēt mən āšərəs.*

3 *šis*: The Roman manuscripts have *hīs* ‘to her’, while the Arabic manuscript has *šis* ‘with her’. In one Roman manuscript (the earlier of the two), it appears that *šis* was corrected to *hīs*. Both options are possible, though *ǵátri k-* ‘speak with’ is used also in line 2.

7 *ašəyáft*: This word is missing from the Roman manuscripts.

**Translation of Text 9**

- 1 Once a man loved a woman greatly [lit. a strong love]. Then after a year, he went to her father and ask him (for her hand), and he gave him (her hand). But the woman's mother didn't want him, and she refused him.
- 2 And then the man went away and came to her older [lit. big] brother, and he told him his story. And the woman's brother said, "I will talk with my mother."
- 3 And he went to the old woman. Her son spoke with her, and she gave him (her hand), but she put on him (a bride-price of) five hundred.
- 4 And the man raised the bride-price and brought two witnesses, and he got legal possession.
- 5 And they went down to the town, and he got legal possession from the judge. And he bought the wedding food, twenty date-baskets.
- 6 And they loaded the wedding food onto the riding-camels, and they went to the settlement. They came in the morning, shooting (guns) and singing, and they spent the day.
- 7 And many people came together for the wedding feast. And the women came to the bride and made up the bride.
- 8 And as for the groom, he had a rifle, a dagger, and an indigo robe, and he had a lot of hair. He was a handsome young man.
- 9 And the woman had jewelry of gold and silver.
- 10 Then in the evening, they shared out the dates, and the people, each one went home to his settlement. And the groom spent the night with his in-laws, and they slaughtered for him.
- 11 Then at night, he went into (his) bride, and stayed the night until morning. And the woman got pregnant from her night.



## \*Text 10 (no J): A Camel-Herder and His Wife (1969)

- 1 *ǰayǰ bāl habēr ḏa-yahawrūd. nūka mən ḥawōdi, wə-šáh qəṭāt ḏa-bēr,  
wə-šáh tētəh.*
- 2 *w-əl šihəm wələd lā, wəlākan tēt danyit.*
- 3 *wə-ǰahēməm mən k-sōbəh. tɛ wəšəlam rēḥəq mən ḥawōdi, kūsam bāl  
ḥārāwn.*
- 4 *w-āmūr hihəm, “əl tháwrədam ḥəmōh lā! anḥāh ḏa-nhawrūd w-əl nahōm  
habēr tārədən ḥəmōhən lā. wəlākan hām hawrədkəm ḥəmōhən, dəryēma  
habérikəm.”*
- 5 *āmūr aǰáyǰ bāl habēr, “anḥāh maháwrədūtən habéryən. hēsən thōm?”*
- 6 *āmārūt tēt ḏ-aǰáyǰ bāl habēr, “ayb líkəm tantáwḥəm səbēb ḏa-ḥəmōh.”*
- 7 *tōli aǰáyǰ bāl ḥārāwn a’yūt, wə-bə’áyli habēr hawrūd.*
- 8 *hīs bərhəm ḏār ḥəmōh, nūka aqáwm təwōli bāl habēr.*
- 9 *wə-səbáwṭ aǰáyǰ bāl habēr fátxi trōh wə-ǰəzáwm, “hām ād hawrədk  
ḥəmōh ḏōməh zōyəd, ḏa-nəwtáǰk.”*
- 10 *wə-ṭəlāwbəh šalh xəmmōh wōrəx, wə-wəzmihəm šalh.*
- 11 *wə-həwǰūs habérhe, hē wə-tētəh.*
- 12 *w-āmārūt həh tētəh, “nahōm nəháxləf məkōn mən amkōn ḏōməh. hēt ǰayǰ  
wəḥáyǰd, wə-xəšəmke mēkən.”*
- 13 *āmūr, “gēhəməh məxxəwfūtən məkōn.”*
- 14 *ādhəm ḏa-yəǰtəryəm, šínəm awə’yōl, w-abárka aǰáyǰ wə-xtül l-awə’yōl.*
- 15 *w-əwbūd wə-həwšáwb wəl wə-šhāt, wə-səllih təwōli habēr wə-ttēt. wə-  
hātīm.*
- 16 *tɛ k-sōbəh, táwla āfōr, wə-həddūt wə-bərǰáwt. wə-bād səwānōt, əwsūt  
anhōr kálləs, wə-ttē ḏəhēb ḥəwdáy h-aráwrəm.*
- 17 *wə-šxəwlil ḥābū ḏār arḥəmət wə-həbēr áyməl ašxōf ḏa-yəkláwłəh aqā’.*
- 18 *wə-səddəm hē wə-xəšəmhe, w-əhtəlíf. wə-ḥārāwn həǰyūǰ wə-həbēr həqáwṭ.*
- 19 *wə-təmmōt kəwṭēt ḏ-aǰáyǰ.*

8 *aqáwm*: The word *qawm* most often means ‘raiding-party’ (cf. 83:1), but it can also refer more generally to a group of men of fighting age, as fits the context here. Cf. *JL* (s.v. *qwm*).

15 *wəl*: We expect *wəl* for ‘ibex’ (cf. 30:5 and 30:8), but Johnstone transcribed here *wəl*, and the Arabic manuscript has *ويل*. In text 30, Ali wrote *وال*, for *wəl*.

**Translation of Text 10**

- 1 A camel-herder was bringing (his) animals to water. He came from the valley, and with him were some camels, and with him was his wife.
- 2 And they didn't have children, but the wife was pregnant.
- 3 And they walked from the morning. Then when they got far away from the valley, they found a goat-herder.
- 4 And he said to them, "Don't take (your) animals to the water! We are taking (our) animals to the water, and we don't want the camels going down to our water. But if you take (them) to our water, we will hamstring your camels."
- 5 The camel-herder said, "We will take our camels to the water. What do you want?"
- 6 The camel-herder's wife said, "It's a disgrace for you to fight because of water."
- 7 Then the goat-herder cried out, and the camel-herders took the animals to the water.
- 8 When they were at the water, the group came to the camel-herder.
- 9 And they hit the camel-herder twice (on the head) and swore, "If you bring (your) animals to this water ever again, we will kill you."
- 10 And they requested of him a truce of five months, and he gave them a truce.
- 11 And he brought home his camels, he and his wife.
- 12 And his wife said to him, "Let's move away from this place. You are a lone man, and your enemies are many."
- 13 He said, "Tomorrow we'll move location."
- 14 While they were speaking, they saw (some) ibexes, and he ran and stalked the ibexes.
- 15 And he shot and hit an ibex and slaughtered (it), and he took it to the camels and the woman. And they spent the night.
- 16 Then in the morning, clouds came up, and it thundered and was lightning. And after a little while, it rained the whole day, and until the wadis flooded into the sea.
- 17 And the people stayed by the vegetation (from the rain), and the camels made (so much) milk that they could pour it onto the ground.
- 18 And he and his enemies reconciled, and they allied with one another. And the goats gave birth, and the camels gave birth.
- 19 And the story of the man is finished.

**\*Text 11 (no J): A Community**

- 1 *xəṭərāt ʔayt sēkən yəsūkən bə-wōdi, wə-šihəm arḥəmēt.*  
 2 *wəlākan ḥázihəm kálsən mādōni, w-əl šihəm ʔawt lā.*  
 3 *wə-hēm əḏ-gáyam. te āšər ʔāt ḥəgyəgūt wōz.*  
 4 *wə-hīs zəhrōt, ənkōt b-ārīḏ. wə-nūka aḡáyg wə-šhāt ārīḏ.*

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3 *gáyam*: The Arabic manuscript and the earlier Roman manuscript have *gáyam*, while the later Roman manuscript has *gáwyəm*. As I have shown elsewhere (Rubin 2017), the 3ms form of this verb is *gūya*, and so we expect 3mp *gáyam*.

**Translation of Text 11**

- 1 Once a community was living in a valley, and they had pasturage [lit. vegetation after rain].
- 2 But all their goats were pregnant, and they had no food.
- 3 And they were hungry. Then one night a goat gave birth.
- 4 And when it squealed, it bore a male kid. And the man came and slaughtered the kid.

## Text 12 (no J): A Ḥarsusi Raider

- 1 *xəṭərāt ǰayg šəh rīkēb, wə-gəzōh mən aǰəddēt ḏ-əl-ḥarsīs.*  
 2 *wə-yəḥōm yəǰōrəb amsáyrah. tē k-sōbəḥ, šədd l-arīkēbəh šədéḏ wə-rīkēb,*  
*wə-gəhēm.*  
 3 *wə-šəh ḥəmōh wə-zəwōd, wəlākan ḥəmōh əl hē mēkən lā.*  
 4 *tē k-aḏāhr əyməl əfšēh wə-ḥəqšáwm ənxāli ḥərōš. wə-hīs ber fšōh, šəwkūf.*  
*tē l-‘āšər, šəwgūs.*  
 5 *tē wátxəf əl-sēkən, amárḥəbəm bəh, wə-šḥātəm həh wōz.*  
 6 *tē k-sōbəḥ, gəhēm wə-ǰəbūr ǰayg əl-ḥōrəm, wə-šxəbəriḥ mən həbēr.*  
 7 *wəlākan aǰáyǰ šxəbəriḥ mən hámməh wə-mən aqəbētəh, w-āmūr həh, “ə*  
*hōh kəwṭōna ḥūk lā aw ber ǰərəbk tük.”*  
 8 *kəlūt ləh, wəlākan bəḏōh bəh. wə-hīs kəlūt ləh, hədalləh bə-həbēr.*  
 9 *wə-bəttəḏōh kəl əḥād məkōn.*  
 10 *tē bə-ḥəlláy bə-wōḏi, kūsa həbēr wə-zīgəḏ árba rīgād wə-ráḏḏ kīnəḥ mən*  
*ḥāl nūka.*  
 11 *tē k-sōbəḥ, fəqáwd bə‘áyli həbēr, wə-tábam sār əsfūtən ḏə-həbēr.*  
 12 *tē nəḥōrən, šīnəm aǰáyǰ wə-látəḏəm. wə-nūka ṭāt, w-arōba aǰáyǰ*  
*l-amráḏḏ ḏə-həbēr.*  
 13 *wə-báttəḏəm kəl əḥād bə-ḥárməh.*  
 14 *əlyək rəḏḏəm həbəriḥəm, w-aǰáyǰ rəḏḏ təwōli sékənəh ḏə-yəktüməḥ*  
*wə-ḏə-yəxtəyūb.*  
 15 *wə-mən ḏār xəṭərāt ḏəškəməh, āmūr, “mətōna mən əḏənyē w-ādi əl-zəǰḏək*  
*ḥəbēr ḏə-ḥābū lā.”*  
 16 *wə-ttəwīb wə-ḥārūs wə-nūka bə-ḥəbənḥe, wə-wīqa oḑəl, wə-ḥəgōh amōl,*  
*wə-wīqa məḏkīr. wə-ḥəbbəm təh ḥābū.*

1 *ḏ-əl-ḥarsīs*: The Roman manuscripts have *ḥarāsīs*, but there is no evidence of the long *ā* in the Arabic manuscript. There is no audio evidence for this line of the text. See further in the comment to text 104:1.

4 *l-‘āšər*: This is Arabic *al-‘ašr* ‘afternoon prayer’, not Mehri *āšər* ‘night’. It corresponds to about four o’clock in the afternoon (Davey 2016: 172). Cf. also 62:6.

5 *əl-sēkən*: The manuscripts have the preposition *əl-*, but it is absent from the audio.

12 *ḏə-həbēr*: The Roman manuscripts have *bə-həbēr*, but this is a mistake. The Arabic manuscript and audio have *ḏə-həbēr*.

14 *yəktüməḥ*: Johnstone transcribed *yəktōməḥ* here, and it is indeed very difficult to decide whether the audio has *yəktüməḥ* or *yəktōməḥ*. It is often

### Translation of Text 12

- 1 Once a man had a riding-camel, and he went raiding from the Jiddat al-Ḥarasis.
- 2 And he wanted to try a journey [lit. his journey]. Then in the morning, he saddled up his camels and went off.
- 3 And he had water and supplies, but the water was not much.
- 4 Then in the afternoon, he made his lunch, and he spent the afternoon under an acacia tree. And after he ate lunch, he fell asleep. Then in the late afternoon, he went on.
- 5 Then when he arrived at a settlement, they welcomed him, and they slaughtered a goat for him.
- 6 Then in the morning, he went, and he met a man by the road, and he asked him about the camels.
- 7 But the man asked him his name and his tribe, and he said to him, "I won't tell you unless I know you."
- 8 He told him, but he lied to him. And when he told him, he directed him to the camels.
- 9 And they each went to (their own) place.
- 10 Then at night in a valley, he found the camels and he swiped four pregnant camels, and he went back towards where he had come from.
- 11 Then in the morning, the camel-herders missed (the camels), and they followed the camels' tracks.
- 12 Then at noon, they saw the man and the exchanged shots. And one came and gave the man safe conduct for the return of the camels.
- 13 And they all went their (separate) ways.
- 14 Those (men) returned their camels, and the man returned to his settlement, despairing and disappointed.
- 15 And after that time, he said, "I will die from this world before I again swipe people's camels."
- 16 And he repented, got married, and had sons. And he became wise, amassed property, and became well-known. And people loved him.

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the case that *ū* and *ō* are hard to distinguish. We expect *yəktūməḥ*. Since there are so few T1-Stem imperfects of III-Guttural roots attested in the texts, some further research is needed to confirm the vowel in such forms.

- 16 *məḏkīr*: The Roman manuscripts have *mən ḏəkīr*, but this is another mistake. The Arabic manuscript and audio have *məḏkīr*.

- 17 *te mōt l-āyōmān wə-xxəlūf ġīgēn wə-ġəgənōt. abēli yərḥáməh wə-sékənah b-aqənnēt.*

---

17 *yərḥáməh*: The Arabic manuscript and audio have *rḥáməh*. On its own, this could only be from a ms imperative (*rəḥōm*), which does not fit the context. And if it were from a 3ms perfect *rəḥām*, the suffixed form would be *ərḥəməh*. The Roman manuscripts have the expected 3ms subjunctive *yərḥáməh*. Actually, the earlier Roman manuscript originally had *rḥáməh*, but was corrected to *yərḥáməh*. The loss of *yə-* seems to be connected to the preceding *abēli*; cf. the comments to texts 27:25 and 75:18.

- 17 Then he died last year, and left behind a boy and a girl. May God have mercy on him and his family in Paradise.



## Text 13 (no J): A Camel-Herder

- 1 *nəhōr t̄ayt ǰayg bāl həbēr mōzəb bə-ǰáyr əḥād wə-šáh t̄əḥōb ḏə-bēr.*  
 2 *wə-hātūm bə-msəyōl. t̄e bə-ḥəlláy, nūka aǰáyšər yəḵáwšəf yəbīt, xəyōrsən*  
*kāl.*  
 3 *wə-ʾáss aǰáyg hīs hūma ašáwt ḏə-ḥaybīt, wə-šáll aməndáwḵəh w-əwbūd,*  
*wəlākan xəlūs.*  
 4 *wə-šhāt̄ ḥaybūt wə-šáll əttáywi ḏār bəʾáyr, wə-həwrūd həbérhe ḏār ḥəmōh.*  
 5 *wə-kūsa ḥābū ḏār ḥəmōh. wəzmīhəm táywi, wə-ḥəlūb hīhəm šxōf.*  
 6 *wə-hīs ber ḥəlūb, həwgūs bərk wōdi nōb, wə-kūsa arḥəmēt w-amāray.*  
 7 *t̄e ǰəzōt ḥayáwm, ḵərōh táwyəh bərk dəhlil mən hāl əḥād yəšényəh lā.*  
 8 *wə-həbrūk həbérhe bərk nēḥər ḵənnáwn. wəlākan anēḥər bəh amətwē*  
*həbēr.*  
 9 *t̄e bə-ḥəlláy, t̄əwyš ǰayg əḏ-ḏáyma wə-ḏ-gūya. wəzmáh táywi, wə-ḥəlūb*  
*həh šxōf, wə-wəzmáh mōh yəttáḵḵ.*  
 10 *wə-šəwkīf. t̄e k-sōbəḥ, ašályəm fēǰər wə-ḥəláwb, wə-šxāfəm, wə-ḥfhīs táywi.*  
 11 *wə-hīs ber təwīw, ámma aǰáyg aḏəráy ǰəhēm, w-ámma aǰáyg bāl həbēr*  
*tūba həbérhe.*

- 
- 1 *t̄əḥōb*: According to *ML* (s.v. *t̄ḥb*), this is a herd of about a hundred camels.  
 2 *yəḵáwšəf*: The Roman manuscripts have *wə-ḵəšáwf* (3ms perfect), while the Arabic manuscript and audio have *yəḵáwšəf* (3ms imperfect). In the earlier Roman manuscript (the later one was typed), the form *yəḵáwšəf* was added in the margin.  
 7 *əḥād*: We usually find the negative particle *əl* used when *əḥād* means ‘no one’, which Ali would have written as part of the same word. The Arabic manuscript has just *əḥād* here. It is possible that *mən hāl l-əḥād* (with a geminate *l* in speech) was written just *mən hāl əḥād* because the word *hāl* ends with *l*.  
 10 *k-sōbəḥ*: In the Arabic manuscript, Ali wrote *k-šōbəḥ*, with ص (*š*), probably under the influence of Arabic. The audio has *k-sōbəḥ*. Out of 80 times in the texts, he spelled the word *k-sōbəḥ* with ص (*š*) just 12 times; elsewhere he used س (*s*).

**Translation of Text 13**

- 1 One day there was a camel-herder herding alone, without anyone, and he had about a hundred camels.
- 2 And he spent the night in a valley-bottom. Then at night, a leopard came and broke (the neck of) a female camel, the best one of them all.
- 3 And the man got up when he heard the sound of the camel, and he took his rifle and shot, but he missed.
- 4 And he slaughtered the camel and carried the meat on a male camel, and he took his camels down to the water.
- 5 And he found people at the water. He gave them (some) meat, and he milked for them (some) milk.
- 6 And after he milked, he took (them) into a big valley, and he found vegetation and pasturage.
- 7 Then when the sun went down, he hid his meat in a cave where no one would see it.
- 8 And he made his camels kneel in a small wadi. But the wadi had pasturage for the camels.
- 9 Then at night, a man came to him hungry and thirsty. He gave him meat, and he milked (some) milk for him, and he gave him water to drink.
- 10 And they went to sleep. Then in the morning, they prayed the dawn prayer, they milked, they drank the milk, and they boiled (some) meat.
- 11 And after they had eaten, the strange man went away, and the camel-herder followed his camels.

## Text 14 (no J): A Journey to Marry

- 1 *xəṭərāt fənōhən hōba sənáyn gəyg hámməh fəlān səyūr mən anágd xōṭər.*  
 2 *wə-hīs wīšəl səkən, kūsa tēt, w-áygəb bīs wə-wəfūd (bīs) hāl háybəš,*  
*wə-ffəkáyh. wə-hārūs bīs wə-xáysər məndáwḵ wə-jənbáyyət wə-bə'áyr.*  
 3 *wə-šxəwlül šīs šhəlīt sənáyn wə-mgōrən áygəb bə-tēt ṭəyt.*  
 4 *wə-xxōli ttétəh wə-hārūs b-əmkəwrətəh. wə-hīs bər hārūs, ssōfər wə-ḵáwla*  
*ttétəh danyīt.*  
 5 *wə-ttēt nəkōt bə-gīgēn wə-háybəh əgtərüb bə-sfēr xáyməh sənáyn w-ādəh*  
*əl šīni səkənəh lā.*  
 6 *wə-xədūm bə-šərtəh, wəlākan hōšəl šī lā. wə-hē bərəh sátwəḵ əl-səkənəh.*  
 7 *wə-mgōrən nəkáyh gəyg ssədáyḵəh ənglīzī w-āmūr həh, "ḥəmk tāmi gərōy*  
*məhráy."*

- 
- 1 *fəlān*: The Roman manuscripts have *məhámmed*, as did originally the Arabic manuscript. However, the word was crossed out on the Arabic manuscript, and replaced with *fəlān*. The audio has *fəlān*.
- 2 *wəfūd (bīs) hāl*: The Roman manuscripts have *wəfūd bīs hāl*, while the Arabic manuscript and audio have just *wəfūd hāl*.
- 2 *háybəš*: The Roman manuscripts have the plural *həbse* 'her parents'.
- 2 *ffəkáyh*: While the Arabic manuscript has *ffəkáyh* (3ms perfect (*f*)*fūḵ* plus a 3ms object suffix), the Roman manuscripts have *fīḵəh* (3mp perfect (*f*)*fīḵ* plus a 3ms object suffix). *ML* (s.v. *šfḵ*) cites this passage with the forms found in the Roman manuscripts (*wəfūd bīs hāl həbse wə-fīḵəh*).
- 6 *šərtəh*: Though this word is transcribed *sərtəh* in the Roman manuscripts, the audio clearly has *šərtəh*. The word is just a borrowing of Arabic *šurṭah* 'police'.
- 6 *sátwəḵ*: *ML* (s.v. *šwḵ*) lists both a verb *sátwəḵ* 'long for' and a verb *sátūk* 'long for'. These are in fact two variant transcriptions of the same T1-Stem verb. The correct form is *sátwəḵ*, but in fast speech the sequence *wə* sounds very close to *ū*.

### Translation of Text 14

- 1 Once, seven years ago, a man whose name was so-and-so went down from the Najd.
- 2 And when he reached a settlement, he found a woman. He fell in love with her, and he asked her father for her hand in marriage. And he gave him her hand, and he married her, and he paid as a bride-price a rifle, a dagger, and a male camel.
- 3 And he stayed with her for three years, and then he fell in love with a certain (other) woman.
- 4 And he divorced his wife and married his beloved. And after he got married, he went away and left his wife pregnant.
- 5 And the woman had a boy. His father was away on a journey for five years, and he didn't see his family at all [or: hadn't yet seen his family].
- 6 And he worked with [lit. in] the police, but he didn't earn (a lot). And he already missed his family.
- 7 And then a man, his English friend, came to him and said, "I want you to teach me Mehri language."

- 
- 7 *ssədaykəh*: In both the Roman and Arabic manuscripts, the initial consonant is written *ş*. Ali did the same in text 18 (lines 3, 8, 13), but correctly wrote *s* in 105:1. Were *ş* correct, we would expect the definite article *a-*. On the audio we hear a geminate *ss*, with the gemination of the voiceless consonant representing the article. The mistake with this word is based on confusion between the roots *sdk* (e.g., *şəsdūk* 'believe s.o. is telling the truth'; see the comment to text 20:6) and *şdk* (e.g., *şədk* or *şətk* 'truth'; see the comment to text 5:12), both of which derive historically from *şdk*.
  - 7 *tāmi*: The Arabic has here تَامِي *tāmi*, which matches the audio. The Roman manuscripts have *ta'āmi*, but there is no audible glottal stop. The form derives from *\*tālmi*, which in turn derives from the 2ms D/L subjunctive *tōlam* (root 'lm) plus a 1cs object suffix.

## Text 14A (no J): Muḥammad Loses a Kid

- 1 *məḥámməd nūda bə-ḥārāwn w-əl əḥād šəh lā.*  
 2 *wə-hīs bārəh bə-ḥəwōdi, ḥəgūm ləh kawb wə-sáll bə-ḥōṭər. wə-bəgdīh*  
*wə-lḥāḳ, wəlākan ḥōṭər mōt.*  
 3 *wə-šḥāṭ wə-sáll ḥōṭər bərk ḳəzūt wə-ḥəṭāwb ḏīrōb wə-šəbōh.*  
 4 *wə-hīs ber ḥəbhūl, ḥōdi fáḳḥi. hē təwōh faḳḥ wə-ḳāwla faḳḥ.*  
 5 *wə-wīḳa k-ḥārāwn wə-bārəh əḏ-ḥəḏḏūr mən kawb.*  
 6 *wəlākan šəh wōz təḏāwla, wə-ḏə-yəsyūr līs əl-xārxāwr. tē gəzōt ḥəyáwm,*  
*ḳəlōh təwōli ašáyga.*  
 7 *wə-hīs ḳəlōh, ḳəlūt əl-ḥābū.*  
 8 *wə-šgəwsétəh ḥāmáh məglēs ḳəwáy. āmərūt, “ḥēt šəwkáfk wə-ḳalak ḥázke*  
*h-ḳəlōb.”*  
 9 *háttəm məḥámməd mən amgəlēs ḏə-ḥāmáh, wəlākan wəḳáwf mən fášḥāt*  
*ḏə-ḥābū.*

(Note: a tenth line appears in the Roman manuscripts and in Stroomer’s edition. It is not clear that this line belongs with text 14A. The Arabic version of the line appears on a separate page from the rest of text 14A, and the previous lines of 14A are written as if the text ends after line 9. The line is also not on the audio recording. Therefore, I have not included that line here.)

- 
- 2 *sáll*: The manuscripts all have *šəll*, but this must be an error, as *šəll* ‘he ran fast’ does not fit the context. The verb here is clearly *sáll* ‘drag away’, as on the audio, and as fits the context; cf. also the use of *sáll* in text 22:85. See also the comment to text 26:5.
- 9 *wəḳáwf*: The manuscripts have *wəḳáwf*, but the audio has *ḏə-wəḳáwf*.

**Translation of Text 14A**

- 1 Muḥammad went out with the goats, and no one was with him.
- 2 And when he was in the valley, a wolf attacked him and dragged away a kid. He chased it and caught up, but the kid was dead.
- 3 He slaughtered (it) and took the kid into a shallow cave. He collected firewood, and roasted (it).
- 4 After he had cooked (it), he divided (it) into halves. He ate half, and left half.
- 5 And he stayed with the goats, and was looking out for wolves.
- 6 But he had a goat that was limping, and he was going slowly for her. Then when the sun went down, he brought (the animals) into the pen.
- 7 And when he had brought in (the animals), he told the people (what happened).
- 8 And his mother gave him a severe scolding. She said, "You fell asleep and left your goats for the wolves."
- 9 Muḥammad was sad from his mother's scolding, but he kept quiet from shame in front of the people.

## Text 15 (no J): The Jinn Cat and the Witch Mother

- 1 *xəṭarāt ǰayg wə-ḥāmáh w-aǰáthe trayt, wə-šihəm bəḳār.*  
 2 *wə-šihəm sənnáwrət, wə-šáff sənnáwrət kē'yōt.*  
 3 *w-aǰáyg sōbər yāǰōb wəḥših, hē wə-sékənah.*  
 4 *wə-ḥaynūt šáfsən səwēḥər, āǰáwz wə-ḥəbántse.*  
 5 *te nəḥōr ṭayt, aǰáyg wīḳa k-abḳār, wə-ḥaynūt ḏə-ḥəḳšáwm. āmərūt āǰáwz,*  
*“aǰáyg ḏōmah ōzar bi. sōbər yāǰōb wəḥših.*  
 6 *nəḥōm ṭayt mənūn təḳtiləb həh rīsīt wə-ttéhəh, wə-nəftákk mónəh.”*  
 7 *wəlākan hīs sən təǰtáryən, hənīsən sənnáwrət, wə-ḥamátsən hīs təǰtáryən.*  
 8 *tōli āmūr, “bə-ḥálláy, aǰáyg yəḥəbáwr abḳār, wə-mət bār bə-ḥálláy, ṭayt*  
*təbáyta təh wə-məḳtəwbəta həh rīsīt.”*  
 9 *te bə-ḥálláy ḥəbáwr aǰáyg abḳárhe, w-āšər ktīw wə-məwsē. te ḥəbáwr,*  
*təbátəh sənnáwrət mən sərih.*  
 10 *əttōli šənyīs wə-bǰadīs, wəlākan sənnáwrət xəzūt. sənnáwrət ṭəḥəbūb aǰáyg.*  
*yəwázmas əsxōf wə-yəḷtōf bīs.*  
 11 *əttōli ǰaláys (t)šyēr šəh.*  
 12 *te bə-ḥálláy, šəwkūf, wə-sənnáwrət šərōt hāl ḥərōhəh. te faḳḥ ḏ-āšər nəkōt*  
*āǰáwz ḏə-ḳtəwbōt rīsīt ḥəwrūt, ṭhōm əttéh ḥəbrēs.*  
 13 *te ənkōt, šənyáts sənnáwrət, wə-ḥəǰəmūt līs te ḥəmwatátəs.*  
 14 *w-aǰáyg šəwkūf, šəh šəfōt lā.*  
 15 *te mtōt āǰáwz, nəkōt sənnáwrət wə-ḳəṭəwbōt tēt rəḥáymət.*  
 16 *wə-ḥāššūt aǰáyg wə-ḳəwṭūt ləh bə-ḥāmáh w-aǰáthe.*  
 17 *āmərūt, “ḏīməh ḥāmək sáḥrət w-aǰátke səwēḥər, wə-ḏ-ərtəwūg būk (t)tīyən*  
*tik.*  
 18 *wəlākan hōh əl hōh sənnáwrət lā. hōh kē'yōt. wə-hámak tīsən ṭhōmən*  
*əttīyən tik.*  
 19 *wə-šərōmah hōh sīrīta wə-l-ād əsūkən bāwməh lā. wə-hēt ber šūk əšəfōt.”*  
 20 *wə-sīrūt sənnáwrət w-aǰáyg ǰəbūr ḥāmáh.*  
 21 *w-āmūr h-aǰáthe, “kāl ṭayt təntəḳōl ǰayg tséffḳəh, wə-hōh ber əḏ-ǰərabk kāl*  
*šīyən.”*

14 *šəwkūf*: The Arabic manuscript and audio have just *šəwkūf* (3ms perfect), but the Roman manuscripts have *yəšəwkūf* (3ms imperfect).

21 *šīyən*: The Roman manuscripts have *šī*, but the Arabic manuscript and audio have *šīyən*.

**Translation of Text 15**

- 1 Once there was a man, his mother, and his two sisters, and they had cows.  
2 And they had a cat, but it so happened that the cat was a spirit-woman.  
3 And the man always liked (to be) by himself, he and his family.  
4 And it so happened that the women were witches, the old woman and her daughters.  
5 Then one day, the man was with the cows, and the women were passing the day (together). The old woman said, "This man annoys [lit. annoyed] me. He always likes (to be) by himself.  
6 Let's one of us change into a snake and eat him, so we can be rid of him."  
7 But when they were talking, the cat was by them, and she heard them when they were talking.  
8 Then they said, "At night, the man takes out the cows. When he goes out at night, one (of us) will follow him and change into a snake for him."  
9 Then at night the man took out his cows, and the night was dark and rainy [lit. darkness and rain]. When he took (the animals) out, the cat followed him from behind [lit. behind him].  
10 Then he saw her and chased her away, but the cat refused. The cat loved the man. He would give her milk and was kind to her.  
11 Then he let her go with him.  
12 Then at night, he fell asleep, but the cat stayed awake by his head. And at midnight, the old woman came and changed into a black snake, wanting to eat the her son.  
13 When she came, the cat saw her, and he attacked her and [lit. until] he killed her.  
14 And the man slept, he didn't have (any) knowledge (of what happened).  
15 Then when the woman was dead, the cat came and changed into a beautiful woman.  
16 And she woke the man and told him about his mother and his sisters.  
17 She said, "This mother of yours was a witch, and your sisters are witches, and they have plotted against you to eat you.  
18 But I am not a cat. I am a spirit-woman. I heard them wanting to eat you.  
19 And now I will go away and not live here anymore. You now [lit. already] have knowledge (of what happened)."  
20 And the cat went away, and the man buried his mother.  
21 And he said to his sisters, "Each one should choose a man to marry. I already know everything."



## Text 16 (no J): A Lunar Eclipse

- 1 *mən ǰār sənēt aw zōyad, təmūt ḥārīt.*  
 2 *wə-mət ḥābū sīnəm tīs, yāšáwš, wə-yəṭkákək ašəwáyr ʔayt ǰār ʔayt, wə-*  
*yəḥəbákyəm aytôm, te arḥəmôn yəǰšôn mənḥēm, wə-təḫtīləb ḥārīt hīs*  
*fənōḥən.*  
 3 *wə-yāmərəm, “ḥārīt təwīwəs kəlōb. wə-hām al kəṭəwbōt hīs fənōḥən lā,*  
*təḫyūm aḫáymat.”*  
 4 *wə-yəbákyəm, wə-kāl əḥād yəšənǰūr bə-msəlámten, hām kəṭəwbōt ḥārīt*  
*hīs fənōḥən.*  
 5 *wə-yəškīf lā te təḫtīləb šáfyət wə-yāká’ abšār.*

- 
- 2 *yāšáwš*: The audio here clearly has *yāšáwš*, but this form is unexpected. The expected 3mp imperfect is *yāšáyš*, as confirmed by recent fieldwork in Oman by Sabrina Bendjaballah (cf. also text 7:6). This is probably a variant plural, formed on analogy with other geminate imperfects (like the following verb, *yəṭkákək*), since *yəšš* is one of just two attested Gb-Stem geminates (§ 7.2.11). See also the comment to text 53:3.
- 2 *yəǰšôn*: Johnstone had difficulty parsing this verb. In the earlier Roman manuscript, Johnstone transcribed *yəǰǰō*, while in the later one he transcribed *yəkǰō*. He added the gloss ‘make pass’ in the earlier Roman manuscript, and perhaps saw a connection with the Arabic verb *qaḍā* ‘finish, put an end to’. However, if indeed *yəǰǰō* or *yəkǰō* came from this root, it is not clear what verb form it would be. The Arabic manuscript and audio make clear that the form is *yəǰšôn*, a 3ms subjunctive of the Gb-Stem *ǰáyšən* ‘have compassion’.
- 3 *aḫáymat*: On the audio, Ali read this as *aǰáymat*.
- 5 *yəškīf*: The Arabic manuscript and audio clearly have *yəškīf*, which is a variant of *yəšəwkīf*; see *ML* (p. lxi, n. 1) and § 7.2.3.

**Translation of Text 16**

- 1 After a year or more, the moon disappears [lit. dies].
- 2 And when people see it, they are afraid, and they pound rocks on one another (i.e., rock upon rock), and they make orphans cry, so that God will have compassion for them, and the moon will change back as (it was) before.
- 3 And they say, "The moon, wolves ate it. And if it doesn't change back as (it was) before, Judgment Day has come."
- 4 And they cry, and everyone makes vows with sacrificial animals, if the moon changes back as (it was) before.
- 5 And they don't sleep until it (the moon) becomes clear again, and the dawn comes.

**\*Text 16A (no J): A Brief Quarrel**

- 1 *ǵayūg ǰa-yasyáwr ba-ḥōram, wə-ǵabáwr ǵayg wə-tēt̄ ǰa-yaghīm.*
- 2 *attōli gátawsəm. āmūr aǵáyg, “atēm əwbádkəm aǵāy, wə-hōh əwbádk xáylakəm yəmših.*
- 3 *wə-šarōməh axáyr hīn nəsdēd.” wə-sáddəm.*

**Translation of Text 16A**

- 1 Some men were traveling on the road, and they met a man and a woman going.
- 2 Then they quarreled. The man said, "You shot my brother, and I shot your uncle yesterday.
- 3 And now it's better for us to come to terms." And they came to terms.

## Text 17 (no J): An Injured Brother

- 1 *xəṭərāt ġigēni trōh hātīm hāl sēkan. tē bə-ḥalláy, bārəm yaḥáym təwōli sékanhəm.*
- 2 *tē b-aámk əḏ-hōrəm, ənkáthəm aǵallēt, wə-l-ād həbšáyr ḥōrəm lā, wə-xaláws mən ḥōrəm. tōli šəwkíf sār hərəm.*
- 3 *hīs ber šəwkíf, ‘ásš aǵigēn šsōx mən ġayr ḥass. wə-bār wə-ḵáwla aǵāh ḏə-yašəwkūf.*
- 4 *tē həwōh mən déhəḵ ḵənnáwn wə-təbrōt fēməh wə-fiḏəl amšárhhe wə-bəkōh tē k-sōbəh.*
- 5 *w-ámma aǵigēn aḵənnáwn, hīs k-sōbəh, ‘ásš, ġəlūḵ mən aǵāh, wə-l-ād ksēh lā.*
- 6 *a’yiṭ təwōli ḥābū w-āmūr, “aǵāy, təwīwəh kəlōb!”*
- 7 *wə-səyáwr ḥābū wə-ḥəbhe əḏ-yaǵāḵəm. wə-ḥāmáh təbáyk wə-tšəgēsən aǵáyǵəs, wə-tōmər həh, “kálləh mənḵ, hīs ḵállak təh yašyēr mən hənīn.”*
- 8 *əttōli kūšəm təh ḏə-ǵəyūb. əl bəh ḥass lā.*
- 9 *wə-sálləm təh təwōli sēkan, wə-ḥəmrišəh w-āiməm təh. wə-šəṭəm həh yaḅit. wə-həwšáyḵ amšárhhe l-aḏōrə’.*
- 10 *tē mən ḏār warx, səyūr l-amaráwḵəs, wə-támm ḏə-yaḏūr ḵəráyb əl-sēkan.*
- 11 *tē mən ḏār wárxi trōh, nəḵáwš mánəh a’iṭēm, wə-wiḵa bə-xáy, wə-yaḵwōḵa k-ḥāráwn l-ādēd ḏə-ḥayūm.*

1 *hātīm*: Most of the 3mp verbs and 3mp suffixes in lines 1 and 2 (1: *hātīm*, *bārəm*, *yaḥáym*, *sékanhəm*; 2: *ənəkáthəm*, *həbšáyr*) were written as such in the Arabic manuscript and the earlier Roman manuscript, and are read as such on the audio. The forms were later corrected in the earlier Roman manuscript to 3md forms (1: *hātəmōh*, *bārōh*, *yaḥəmōh*, *sékanhi*; 2: *ənəkáthi*, *həbšəroh*). The remaining 3mp forms in lines 2 and 3 (2: *xaláws*, *šəwkíf*; 3: *šəwkíf*) were transcribed as duals already in the earlier Roman manuscript (2: *xəwsōh*, *šəwkfōh*; 3: *šəwkfōh*), though the 3mp forms are used in the Arabic manuscript and on the audio. These dual forms constitute useful data, especially given the relative rarity of duals elsewhere, but they were not part of the author’s original story.

2 *həbšáyr*: In addition to the comments regarding this verb in the previous note, it should be mentioned that in all of the Roman manuscripts, this verb is transcribed without an initial *h*-. This is clearly an error, since the verb is an H-Stem. The *h*- appears in the Arabic manuscript and is audible on the audio.

### Translation of Text 17

- 1 Once two boys spent the night by a settlement. Then at night, they went out, heading to their settlement.
- 2 Then in the middle of the journey, a mist came upon them, and they couldn't see the way anymore [or: at all], and they got lost from the way. Then they went to sleep behind a tree.
- 3 After they had gone to sleep, the older [lit. big] boy got up without a sound. He went off and left his brother sleeping.
- 4 Then he fell from a small cliff. He broke his leg and his teeth got broken. And he cried until morning.
- 5 As for the younger [lit. small] boy, when it was morning, he got up, he looked for his brother, but he didn't find him at all.
- 6 He cried out to the people and said, "My brother, wolves have eaten him!"
- 7 And the people and his parents went looking. His mother was crying and rebuking her husband, saying to him, "It's all your fault [lit. it's all from you], since you let him go away from us!"
- 8 Then they found him passed out. He was not conscious [lit. in him was not consciousness].
- 9 And they carried him to the settlement, and they nursed him and put him in a cast. They slaughtered a camel for him, and they stuck his teeth back in with the blood.
- 10 Then after a month, he walked on crutches, and he continued walking around near the settlement.
- 11 Then after two months, they took off his cast from him, and he was better. And he was with the goats every day.

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7 *hənīn*: The audio has *hənīn* 'with us', but the Roman manuscript has *hənáy* 'with me' (correctly *hənáy*). The Arabic manuscript probably also has *hənīn*, though in Ali's handwriting *hənīn* and *hənáy* can look identical.

10 *tamm*: The gloss 'kept on' was added by Johnstone in the margin of the Roman manuscript. The verb is defined in *ML* (s.v. *tmm*) only as 'to be finished; to finish', but Arabic *tamma* 'be finished' can also have the meaning 'continue, persist'.

11 *wə-yəwōka*: The manuscripts all have *wə-wīka*, but the audio has *wə-yəwōka*, which fits the context.

- 12 *te ənhōrən nəkōt aməwsē, w-əl sī šáyga kəráyb lā.*
- 13 *tōli hārāwn šəršá, wə-hē ḏə-yáwtəf bə-hārāwn.*
- 14 *tōli nákam təh gəyūg wə-sálləm hārāwn təwōli ašáyga, wə-šhātəm wəḵōna fəḵḵ.*
- 15 *wəlākan abōḵi wīḵa šīsən arḥəmēt. wə-šftēḥ hārāwn wə-nūka bə-ḥəbónisən āwēš (ḏ-)əlyēk ḏə-mōt. wə-təmmōt.*

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12 *aməwsē*: The manuscripts have indefinite *məwsē*, but the audio has definite *aməwsē*.

15 *āwēš (ḏ-)əlyēk*: The audio has *āwēš ḏ-əlyēk*, but the manuscripts all have just *āwēš əlyēk*.

- 12 Then one day, rain came, and there wasn't any shelter nearby.
- 13 Then the goats were dying of exposure, and he was urging the goats on.
- 14 Then (some) men came to him and took the goats to the shelter, and they slaughtered about half.
- 15 But the remainder had grazing. And the goats mated and bore their children in place of those that died. And it is finished.



## Text 18 (no J): A Journey to London (October, 1969)

- 1 *ssáfrak mən dabáy fənēmših bə-ṭayyāryəh, ḥōm hə-lándən.*  
 2 *wə-hōh ḏə-góltwək wə-ḏə-ḥábrək, wə-šáy ġayg hámməh fəlān. wə-nákan*  
*abátəh wə-šəwkáfk.*  
 3 *te k-sōbəḥ, ənk'áy tələfōn mən hāl sədáyki.*  
 4 *wə-ṭəwbáy (l-)ənké' təwōli amdərsət.*  
 5 *wə-nákak təh, wə-səyūr bay təwōli táxtər.*  
 6 *wə-wəzmáy ḥəbábwb, wə-rəddən təwōli amdərsət. wə-šxəwlūlən səwānōt.*  
 7 *wə-səyūrən təwōli amṭām, wə-fōsən šayd, wə-ftūkən.*  
 8 *wə-məġōrən səyərki hōh wə-sədáyki bərk aráyil ənxāli aḳā', nəḥōm təwōli*  
*amkōni.*  
 9 *te kaláyni nákan. ámma hōh, hātámk, wə-hē rədd təwōli abátəh.*  
 10 *məġōrən hōh səyərki l-əsné' šəwārə' šyēx, wə-kásk šērə' ṭāt sóx, wə-səyərki*  
*bərkīh šhalīt sāt, w-əl təmámk təh lā.*  
 11 *te bə-ḥəlláy, rəddək təwōli abáyti. wə-šəwkáfk.*  
 12 *te k-sōbəḥ, səyərki təwōli amṭām wə-ḳáṭak aráyik bə-ḳáwhəl əd-dəgōg*  
*wə-fīgōn ḳəhwēt.*  
 13 *wə-šxəwlək te ənk'áy sədáyki, wə-səyərki hōh wə-hē təwōli amdərsət.*  
 14 *wə-məġōrən āmárk həh, "sékəni əl šihəm məšrəwf lā, wə-ḥōm dərēhəm*  
*əl-háxsəb bīhəm."*  
 15 *w-āmūr, "əl hōh məḳōšər lā, wəlākan āḳá' ġayg ḥəšbēb. bāwməh kāl šiyən*  
*ġōli.*  
 16 *wə-hām ənháġk, məġōrən tālōk bə-ḥənáfk."*  
 17 *wə-hīs āmūr háyni wəṭōməh, ġərábk təh ḏə-hē sədáyki máxləš šay, wə-hōh,*  
*hām abēli yəḥōm, wəḳōna šəh rəḥáym.*  
 18 *wə-hōh əsényəh əl-hīs háybi, əl-hīs hē yənášhi mən ḥayrēm aḳamḥōt. wə-*  
*yōmər háyni, "ḥəḏḏōr bə-ḥənáfk. hēt šūk səkən wə-ḳənyáwn, w-əl šihəm ar*  
*hēt."*

4 (l-)ənké': The manuscripts and audio have *ənké'*, but this is probably a mistake. The prefix *l-* was added to the later Roman manuscript. The expected form *l-ənké'* occurs in 20:12 and 77:4.

7 *amṭām*: This word is not in *ML*, but it is clearly a borrowing of Arabic *maṭ'am* 'restaurant'.

10 *šəwārə'/šērə'*: Although listed in *ML* (s.v. *šr'*) with an initial *š*, the words *šērə'* 'street' and *šəwārə'* 'streets' are clearly pronounced on the audio with an initial *š*. Both are simply Arabic forms (*šāri'*, pl. *šawāri'*), which is also why the consonant ' is preserved.

### Translation of Text 18

- 1 I traveled from Dubai the day before yesterday by plane, heading for London.
- 2 And I was sick and had chills, and with me was a man whose name was so-and-so. We came to his house and I went to sleep.
- 3 Then in the morning, a phone (call) came to me from my friend.
- 4 He asked me to come to the school.
- 5 And I came to him, and he went with me to a doctor.
- 6 And he gave me (some) pills, and we went back to the school. And we stayed a little while.
- 7 And we went to a restaurant and had fish for lunch, and we left.
- 8 And then my friend and I went in the subway [lit. rail under the ground], heading to my place.
- 9 We came in the evening. Me, I spent the night, and he went back to his house.
- 10 Then I went to see the big streets. I found a certain big street, and I walked on it for three hours, and I didn't come to the end of it.
- 11 Then at night, I went back to my house, and I went to sleep.
- 12 Then in the morning, I went to a restaurant and had breakfast with chicken eggs and a cup of coffee.
- 13 And I stayed until my friend came to me, and he and I went to the school.
- 14 And then I said to him, "My family has no supplies, and I want money to send (to my family)."
- 15 And he said, "I won't hold back (in generosity), but be a smart guy. Here everything is expensive.
- 16 And if you play around (with money), then you'll run yourself short."
- 17 And when he spoke to me like that, I knew that my friend was sincere with me, and I, if God wills, will be good to him.
- 18 And I see him like my father, since he advises me against bad ways and says to me, "Watch out for yourself! You have a family and children, and they have only you."

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10 *šyēx*: Although *ML* (s.v. *šyx*) gives the plural form *šyāx*, which is what Johnstone transcribed in the Roman manuscript of this text (and also in 74:8), the audio clearly has *šyēx* (also in 74:8). The spelling in the Arabic manuscript (شياخ) also makes clear that *šyēx*, and not *šyāx*, is correct. Jahn (1902: 240) lists the plural *šyāx* (var. *šēx*), which matches the form in Johnstone's texts.

17 *hām abēli yaḥōm*: This phrase corresponds to Arabic *ʿin šāʿa llāh*.

## Text 19 (no J): Ba Newas and the Judge

- 1 *xəṭarāt gayg fəḵáyṛ, wə-šáh tétəh rəḥáymət. wə-yāgōb bīs séra' ḏ-arḥabēt.*  
 2 *te nəḥōr ṭayt, nəkáyh aǵáyḡ ḏə-ttēt.*  
 3 *āmūr həh, "yállōh həməḵ hənōfi xályəḵ tētī."*  
 4 *āmūr həh, "tətḵ ftkūt mən amélkək."*  
 5 *bəkōh aǵáyḡ sār tétəh.*  
 6 *tōli yaǵáyṛ ləh bā nəwās. āmūr həh, "kō hēt təbáyḵ?"*  
 7 *āmūr həh, "əsséərə' hftūk əttētī. yəḥōm yəḥērəs bīs."*  
 8 *āmūr həh, "kələt lay b-aḵəssətk."*  
 9 *āmūr həh, "yállōh həməḵ xályəḵ tētī, wə-šxəbərək hāl séra'.*  
 10 *w-āmūr háyni, 'tətḵ ftkūt.'*  
 11 *āmūr həh bā nəwās, "təktəwōl lā. wə-gēḥəməḵ awēdək bāwməḵ."*  
 12 *te gēḥəməḵ, gátbərəm w-āmūr bā nəwās, "nəḥōm əḥād yəxdēm šīn."*  
 13 *wə-šát xəddōmət. wəzmihəm kə-ṭāt ḥayb. w-āmūr hihəm, "ǵədəwwan!"*  
 14 *te wəšəlam nəxāli abáyṭ ḏə-sséərə', āmūr hihəm, "ḥfērəm nəxāli abáyṭ*  
*ḏīməḵ."*  
 15 *ḥfawr nəxāli abáyṭ. tōli šədhūk lihəm séra'.*  
 16 *āmūr hihəm, "kō tēm ṭḥáfrəm nəxāli abáyṭi?"*  
 17 *āmūr bā nəwās, "ḥēməḵ yállōh xəznēt ḏə-ḥáybi ənxāli abátḵ."*  
 18 *āmūr séra', "hēt əl šūk 'ilm lā ar ḥām."*  
 19 *āmūr bā nəwās, "il-ḥilm 'ilm."*  
 20 *āmūr séra', "hōh séra', w-əǵōrəb axáyṛ mənḵ."*  
 21 *āmūr bā nəwās, "hibōh ḥām?"*  
 22 *āmūr séra', "il-ḥilm miš 'ilm!"*  
 23 *āmūr bā nəwās ḥābū, "šhid ləh." āmūr bā nəwās, "ar kō hēt ḥəftákk tēt*  
*ḏ-aǵáyḡ ḏōməḵ?"*  
 24 *āmūr, "šəkrárk bə-ḥənōfi əḏ-hōh ḏəlámḵ, wə-ttēt tərdəd l-aǵáyḡəs.*  
 25 *wə-hēt, bā nəwās, l-ād təḥfēr zōyəd lā."*  
 26 *wə-təmmōt kəwtēt ḏ-aǵáyḡ.*

12 *gátbərəm*: The Roman manuscript has a 3md dual perfect *gátbərōh* (written *gátibro*), but the Arabic manuscript and audio have 3mp *gátbərəm*.

19 *il-ḥilm 'ilm*: This phrase is Arabic, as is the word *'ilm* in line 18, and the quote in line 22.

25 *l-ād*: Line 25 is completely absent from the Arabic manuscript and the audio. In the Roman manuscript it appears within brackets. The Roman manuscript has *la təḥfēr*, which is undoubtedly an error for *l-ād təḥfēr*.

**Translation of Text 19**

- 1 Once there was a poor man, and he had a beautiful wife. And the judge of the town loved her.
- 2 Then one day, the woman's husband came to him.
- 3 He said to him, "Last night I dreamt that I divorced my wife."
- 4 He said to him, "Your wife has left your possession."
- 5 The man cried over his wife.
- 6 Then Ba Newas happened by him. He said to him, "Why are you crying?"
- 7 He said to him, "The judge took away my wife. He wants to marry her."
- 8 He said to him, "Tell me your story."
- 9 He said to him, "Last night I dreamt I divorced my wife, and I inquired with the judge.
- 10 And he said to me, 'Your wife has left.'"
- 11 Ba Newas said to him, "Don't worry. Tomorrow meet me [lit. your meeting-place] here."
- 12 Then the next day, they met, and Ba Newas said, "We'll want someone to work with us."
- 13 And he got workers. He gave them each a crow-bar [or: shovel]. And he said to them, "Let's go!"
- 14 Then when they arrived at [lit. under] the house of the judge, he said to them, "Dig under this house."
- 15 They dug under the house. Then the judge looked out [or: down] at them.
- 16 He said to them, "Why are you digging under my house?"
- 17 Ba Newas said, "I dreamt last night that my father's treasure was under your house."
- 18 The judge said, "You have no knowledge of it except a dream."
- 19 Ba Newas said, "Dreaming is knowing."
- 20 The judge said, "I am a judge, and I know better than you."
- 21 Ba Newas said, "What is a dream (then)?"
- 22 The judge said, "Dreaming is not knowing!"
- 23 Ba Newas said to the people, "Bear witness against him." Ba Newas said, "So why did you take away this man's wife?"
- 24 He said, "I confess of myself that I was unjust, and the woman should return to her husband.
- 25 And you, Ba Newas, don't dig anymore."
- 26 And the story of the man is finished.

## Text 20: Ba Newas and the Sandals

- 1 *xəṭərāt bā nəwās yəsūkən bə-rḥəbēt wə-ḏə-yəxáwədam hāl ḥōkəm ḏ-arḥəbēt.*
- 2 *te nəhōr ṭayt, āmūr həh ḥōkəm, “ənkēy b-an’álye mən hāl ḥaynūt.”*
- 3 *āmūr, “yéye.” aḳōfi.*
- 4 *te wīṣəl ḥaynūt, āmūr, “āmūr ḥíkən ḥōkəm, ‘əzēmən tī əl-syēr šíkən.”*
- 5 *āmūr, “hibōh aǧərōy ḏōmah? ḏ-əḥtəwēk aw hibōh?”*
- 6 *āmūr, “lā, əl hōh ḏ-əḥtəwēk lā, wəlākan ḥōkəm yəḥōm mənáy ḏəráyyət. wəlākan hām əl šəsdáḳkən tī lā, šāḳōna ḥōkəm wə-mšáxbər təh.”*
- 7 *āmūr həh ḥaynūt, “šáḳəh!” tōli šáḳ, āmūr, “ṭayt aw kəláyť?”*
- 8 *āmūr ḥōkəm, “kāl.” āmūr, “hámakən?”*
- 9 *tōli wəzmīh, w-aḳōfi bā nəwās.*
- 10 *te nūka hāl ḥōkəm, w-əl nəkáyh b-an’álhe lā,*
- 11 *āmūr, “kō hēt əl nákak b-an’álye lā?”*
- 12 *āmūr, “l-ād əḳáwdər zōyəd lā. hōh ar ṭāṭ, wə-sən ṭrayt. l-ād əḳáwdər l-ənké’ zōyəd lā.”*
- 13 *āmūr ḥōkəm, “hēsən ḏōmah mən ǧərōy šūk?”*
- 14 *āmūr, “hēt əl āmárk háyni, ‘ənkēy b-an’álye’ lā?” āmūr, “ya-hōl!”*
- 15 *āmūr, “səyárk wə-nákak tīsən kəláyť.” āmūr, “ḥō sən?”*
- 16 *āmūr, “bərk abátsən, wə-bér ṭəyábk mənsən.”*
- 17 *āmūr, “kəlēt lay hēsən ‘əmlək!”*
- 18 *āmūr, “‘əmlək əl-hīs āmárk háyni. səyárk te wáṣələk ḥaynūt. āmárk hīsən, ‘āmūr ḥíkən ḥōkəm, «əzēmən tī əl-nəkēkən»,’ wə-wzəməy.*
- 19 *wə-bér šáḳək tīk, w-āmárk háyni, ‘kəláyť’. wə-šərōmah ber ṭəyábk.”*
- 20 *āmūr, “hēsən ‘nákak?”*
- 21 *āmūr, “nəḥāh hənīn b-arḥəbētən, ‘nákak’, ‘yəsýūr k-ḥaynūt.’”*

2 *ənkēy*: Part of the play on words here is the phonological similarity of the verb *nūka* ‘come’ with the verb *nəyūk* ‘have intercourse’ (used in 99:46). Compare, for example, 1cs perfect *nákak* vs. *nəyákek*, 1cs subjunctive *l-ənké’* vs. *l-ənyēk*.

6 *šəsdáḳkən*: Ali is inconsistent with the spelling of various forms of this verb. The root is *sdḳ* (cf. *ML*, s.v. *sdḳ*), as also in the noun *sədayḳ* ‘friend’ (e.g., 14:7; 18:3). But here, as well as in 41:9 and 67:4, Ali spelled the word with *t* in place of *d*. Elsewhere he spelled it with *d* (23:3; 92:6; 93:7) or *t* (82:2; 99:38; 99:45). In 23:3 and 82:2 he also has *ṣ* in place of *s*. See also the comment to text 5:12, on the noun *ṣəṭḳ* ‘truth’.

## Translation of Text 20

- 1 Once Ba Newas was living in a town and working for the ruler of the town.  
 2 Then one day, the ruler said to him, "Bring me my sandals from the women."  
 3 He said, "Ok." He left.  
 4 Then when he got to the women, he said, "The ruler said to you, 'Let me sleep [lit. go] with you'."  
 5 They said, "What is this talk? Have you gone crazy or what?"  
 6 He said, "No, I haven't gone crazy, but rather he wants offspring from me. But if you don't believe me, I'll call the ruler and ask him."  
 7 The women said to him, "Call him!" Then he called, he said, "One or both?"  
 8 The ruler said, "All." He said, "Did you hear?"  
 9 Then they let [lit. gave] him, and Ba Newas went back.  
 10 Then when he came to the ruler, and he didn't bring him his sandals,  
 11 he said, "Why didn't you bring my sandals?"  
 12 He said, "I couldn't anymore. I am only one, and they are two. I couldn't bring anymore."  
 13 The ruler said, "What kind of talk is this from [lit. with] you?"  
 14 He said, "Didn't you say to me, 'Bring me my sandals?'" He said, "Indeed!"  
 15 He said, "I went and I brought them both." He said, "Where are they?"  
 16 He said, "In their house, and I already had my fill of them."  
 17 He said, "Tell me what you did!"  
 18 He said, "I did as you told me. I went until I got to the women. I said to them, 'The ruler said to me (to say), «Let me go with you», and they let [lit. gave] me.  
 19 And I called you, and you said to me, 'Both'. And now I have had my fill."  
 20 He said, "What does *nákak* ('come/bring') mean?"  
 21 He said, "By us, in our town, *nákak* is 'sleep [lit. go] with women.'"

8 *kāl*: The Roman manuscripts have *kālayt* 'both', but the Arabic manuscript and audio have *kāl* 'all'. See also the comment on *kāl* in line 25.

10 *an'ālhe*: *ML* (s.v. *n'l*) rightly considers *nə'āl* an Arabic word (< *nī'āl*), which is why the consonant ' is preserved. Cf. also the unsuffixed form *an'āl* in line 26.

16 *abátsən*: Though all the manuscripts have *abátsən* 'their house', the audio has *abyótisən* 'their houses'.

- 22 *āmūr*, “*wə-hēt šərōmah ber sayárk k-ḥaynūt?*”  
 23 *āmūr*, “*hībōh l-āmōl, hām hāmárk lay?*”  
 24 *tōli sayūr ḥōkam tawōli ḥaynūt wə-šxəbərīsən.*  
 25 *āmūr ḥaynūt*, “*nəkáyn bā nəwās w-āmūr hīn, ‘ḥōkam āmūr háyni əl-syēr šīkən,’ wə-nḥāh šəbdīyən təh. tōli šākáwk w-āmūr, ‘ṭayt aw kāl?’ amárk, ‘káláyt.’ wə-bér sayūr šīn.*”  
 26 *āmūr ḥōkam*, “*hōh amárk həh, ‘ənkēy ar b-an’álye.’ wə-hīs šxəbəráy, əhūgəs šxəbəráy ar mən an’āl, w-āmárk həh, ‘káláyt.’*  
 27 *wəlākan lēzəm (l-)ərdéh bəh ráwrəm.*”  
 28 *tōli mánam bā nəwās wə-ḥaláwbəh bərk šətfēt wə-šaráwg ləh bərkīs.*  
 29 *w-āmūr ḥāgərōn*, “*šəléləm təh ráwrəm.*” *wə-šálləm təh ḥāgərōn.*  
 30 *te wášəlam ḥayk, kūsəm aráwrəm šéhək. kálam təh bə-ḥáyk wə-səyáwr yəfsīyəm,*  
 31 *te aráwrəm tkaléh wə-yərdīyəm bəh mən ḏār déhək.*  
 32 *tōli nūka gəyḡ ḏə-yəsyūr bə-ḥáyk, wə-šáh xəmsáyn rawn, wə-šáh ēf kəráwš, wə-məndáwk wə-jənbáyət.*  
 33 *te kūsa šətfēt. tōli ləhmīs, tōli ḥátrək bā nəwās.*  
 34 *tōli āmūr həh aḡáyḡ, “hēsən hēt mən mənédəm?”*  
 35 *āmūr*, “*hōh gəyḡ əḏ-ḥōm əl-ḡabēr ḥábye ḏə-bér mōtəm.*”  
 36 *āmūr*, “*wə-kōh əḥād yəḡáwdər yəḡbēr ḥábhə ḏə-bér mōtəm?”*  
 37 *āmūr*, “*kəwtōna hūk lā. yəššək tīk m-ād talwámi (l-)əḡlək bərk šətfēti.*”  
 38 *āmūr*, “*ṭalábk tīk təklēt lay.*”  
 39 *āmūr*, “*hām əḥād sayūr bərk šətfēt ḏīməh, yəḡáwbər ḥábhə. wə-hōh ḥášələk šətfēt ḏīməh mən hāl mələk.*”

25 *kāl*: The Roman manuscripts have *káláyt* ‘both’, but the Arabic manuscript and audio have *kāl* ‘all’. See also the comment to line 8.

25 *káláyt*: The Roman manuscripts have *káláthi* ‘both of them’, but the Arabic manuscript and audio have *káláyt* ‘both’.

27 *(l-)ərdéh*: The manuscripts and audio have *ərdéh* (probably < \**əl-rdéh*), but we expect *l-ərdéh*. The expected form *l-ərdéh* occurs in 64:22 and 89:25.

28 *šaráwg*: The form here is the 3mp perfect. *ML* (s.v. *šrg*) lists *šarawg* as the 3ms perfect, but this is an error for *šarūg*. In the English-Mehri word-list at the back of *ML* (p. 588), the verb ‘sew up’ is transcribed *šarōg*.

35 *ḥábye*: The Roman manuscripts have *ḥábyən* ‘our parents’, but the audio has *ḥábye* ‘my parents’. The latter seems to fit the context better. The Arabic manuscript is unclear, and could read either *حي* (the expected spelling for *ḥábye*, as in lines 41, 42, 43, 47, 60, 63, and 70) or *حبين* (the expected

- 22 He said, "And now you slept with the women?"
- 23 He said, "What should I do, if you command me?"
- 24 Then the ruler went to the women and asked them.
- 25 The women said, "Ba Newas came to us and said to us, 'The ruler told me to sleep [lit. go] with you,' and we thought he was lying. Then he called you and said, 'One or all?' You said, 'Both.' And we slept with him."
- 26 The ruler said, "I said to him, 'Just bring me my sandals.' And when he asked me, I thought he just asked me about the sandals, and I said to him, 'Both'.
- 27 But I must throw him into the sea."
- 28 Then they grabbed Ba Newas and put him into a basket and sewed him up in it.
- 29 And he said to the slaves, "Take him to the sea." And the slaves took him.
- 30 Then when they got to the shore, they found the sea at ebb-tide. They left him on the shore and went to have lunch,
- 31 until the tide [lit. the sea] came in and they could throw him from a cliff.
- 32 Then a man came walking on the shore, and he had fifty goats, and he had a thousand dollars, a rifle, and a dagger.
- 33 And he found the basket. Then he touched it, and Ba Newas moved.
- 34 Then the man said to him, "What kind of person are you?"
- 35 He said, "I am a man that wants to meet his [lit. my] parents who have died."
- 36 He said, "And how [lit. why] can someone meet his parents who have already died?"
- 37 He said, "I won't tell you. I am afraid that you will expect me to let you in my basket."
- 38 He said, "I ask you to tell me."
- 39 He said, "If someone goes in this basket, he will meet his parents. I acquired this basket from an angel."

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spelling for *ḥábyān*). I presume that Ali's reading of *ḥábye* on the audio reflects his intended spelling.

- 37 *talwámi*: The Arabic manuscript and audio clearly have *talwámi*, which must be a D/L-Stem subjunctive *talwīm* plus a 1cs object suffix. *ML* (s.v. *lwm*) defines the G-Stem *lōm* as 'expect', but the D/L-Stem *alwīm* only as 'blame'. However, as noted in *ML*, the Jibbali D/L-Stem cognate is recorded with the meaning 'expect'.
- 37 (*l-*)*əklēk*: The manuscripts and audio have *əklēk*, but we expect *l-əklēk*. The expected form *l-əklēk* occurs in 33:3.



- 40 *āmūr*, “*táwwək tháxəwfi!*”
- 41 *āmūr*, “*ábdan! hōh sátwəḵək əl-hábye. ādi əl sīnək tīhəm lā mən warx. sīnək tīhəm wə-ráddək bərk šətfēti.*”
- 42 *wə-mən hīs hábye mōtəm, ber sīnək tīhəm xəmmōh ʔəwōr.*”
- 43 *āmūr*, “*táwwək təḵlēy hōh əl-syēr. ādi əl sīnək hábye lā mən hīs mōtəm.*”
- 44 *āmūr*, “*hēt bər mōn?*”
- 45 *āmūr*, “*hōh bər fəlān bər fəlān.*”
- 46 *āmūr*, “*háybək bə-xáyr hē wə-bárk aḡənnēt, wə-ḏə-yəšxəbūr lūk. wəlākan hōh əḡárbək lā mən fənohən.*”
- 47 *wə-hīs hēt həbrē ḏə-fəlān, ḵəlōna tīk tsyēr, wəlākan thábtə lā. hōh sátwəḵək əl-hábye.*”
- 48 *āmūr*, “*ábdan.*” *tōli āmūr həh, “əntēr lay!”*
- 49 *wə-nəṭūr ləh, w-āmūr*, “*əkēb fisé’ wə-ndōh aməndáwḵ w-əjənbáyyət wə-ḵāráwn!*”
- 50 *āmūr*, “*dáwnək bīhən.*”
- 51 *āmūr bā nəwās*, “*hām nákam tīk ḵābū ḏə-yḵáyym yərdīyəm būk, ḵəḏḏōr mən təḡtáyr. yəḡárbəm aḵárdək, wə-yənáṭrəm lūk wə-yəkētəm h-hōkəm.*”
- 52 *wə-ḵōkəm yənuḵəd lay. hē ber ʔəwbáy l-əḵlēh bərk šətfēti, wə-hōh xōzək.*”
- 53 *āmūr*, “*yéye.*” *te nákam ḵāḡərōn wə-sálləm təh te rəḏīw bəh mən ḏār déhəḵ.*
- 54 *wə-bā nəwās səyūr te wīṣəl abátəh. šxəwlūl.*
- 55 *te mən ḏār warx, libəs b-aməndáwḵ w-əjənbáyyət wə-ksəwēt ḡádat. wə-šát ḵāráwn h-sawḵ, wə-sōm ḵāráwn.*
- 56 *tōli amáwr ḵābū*, “*ḏōməh bā nəwās. sáfəh šəḵḵ!*”
- 57 *tōli šəṣfōh ḵōkəm wə-xxəšáwb əl-bā nəwās te ənkáyh.*
- 58 *āmūr*, “*hēt šəḵḵ?*” *āmūr*, “*ya-ḵōl!*”
- 59 *āmūr*, “*əl rəḏīw būk ḵāḡərōn bərk aráwrəm lā?*”
- 60 *āmūr*, “*ya-ḵōl, wəlākan ḡəbárk hábye bərk aḡənnēt, wə-ráddək. wəzáwmi xəmsáyn rawn wə-məndáwḵ wə-jənbáyyət.*”

49 *wə-ḵāráwn*: The Roman manuscripts add *w-aḵəráwš* ‘and the money’, but this is missing from the Arabic manuscript and audio.

50 *bīhən*: The Roman manuscripts have *bīhəm*, with the 3mp suffix, but the Arabic manuscript and audio have *bīhən*, with the 3fp suffix. The 3fp suffix is correct, since it refers to *aməndáwḵ w-əjənbáyyət wə-ḵāráwn* ‘the rifle, the dagger, and the goats’, all three of which are grammatically feminine. If *w-aḵəráwš* ‘and the money’ is added, as in the Roman manuscripts, then *bīhəm* would be correct, since *ḵəráwš* is masculine.

- 40 He said, "You must change places with me!"
- 41 He said, "No way! I miss my parents. I haven't seen them for a month. I saw them, and I came back in the basket.
- 42 And since my parents died, I have already seen them five times."
- 43 He said, "You ought to let *me* go! I haven't seen my parents since they died."
- 44 He said, "Whose son are you?"
- 45 He said, "I am the son of so-and-so, son of so-and-so."
- 46 He said, "Your father is well and in Paradise, and he was asking about you. But I didn't know you before.
- 47 Since you are the son of so-and-so, I will let you go, but don't be long. I miss my parents."
- 48 He said, "Never." Then he said to him, "Untie me!"
- 49 He untied him, and he said, "Get in quickly, and give me the rifle, the dagger, and the goats!"
- 50 He said, "Take them!"
- 51 Ba Newas said, "If people came to you wanting to throw you, be careful not to speak. They'll recognize your voice, and they'll untie you and tell the ruler.
- 52 And the ruler will reprimand me. He already asked me to let him in the basket, and I refused."
- 53 He said, "Ok." Then the slaves came and picked him up and [lit. until] they threw him from a cliff.
- 54 And Ba Newas went until he reached his house. He stayed.
- 55 Then after a month, he put on the rifle, the dagger, and good clothes. And he took the goats to the market and sold the goats.
- 56 Then the people said, "This is Ba Newas. It turns out he's alive!"
- 57 Then the ruler found out and sent for Ba Newas, and he came to him.
- 58 He said, "You're alive?" He said, "Indeed!"
- 59 He said, "Didn't the slaves throw you into the sea?"
- 60 He said, "Indeed, but I met my parents in Paradise, and I came back. They gave me fifty goats, a rifle, and a dagger."

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51 *h-ḥōkām*: It is unclear on the audio recording if the *h* is really pronounced here, but it is written in the Arabic manuscript.

- 61 *āmūr*, “*hēt bōdak*.” *w-āmūr hōkām hāgārōn*, “*hfērām bayr, wə-ḵalēm bā nəwās bərkēh, wə-hánhəm bəh šīwōt*.”
- 62 *āmáwr*, “*yéye!*” *hfawr hāgārōn bayr wə-bā nəwās hfūr mən abátəh tē wīṣəl abáyr*.
- 63 *tōli amáwr hə-bā nəwās*, “*ḵəfəd bərk abáyr!*” *āmūr*, “*gəzəkəm xayr! hōh bəri šátwəḵək əl-hábye*.”
- 64 *wə-ḵəfūd bā nəwās wə-šáh lāwḵət wə-ḵaláys bərk abáyr, wə-hē wəkūb bərk adəhlīl wə-səyūr h-abátəh*.
- 65 *wə-hābū həwīw b-aḏērōb mən aǧáwf, tē mīla abáyr šəbbəm ǧāz wə-šxātəm bīhəm*.
- 66 *wə-hābū šōrəm. əttōli nəḵbōt aláwḵət. amáwr*, “*həmé, hərəh ḏə-bā nəwās fiḵás*.” *w-aḵáfyəm*.
- 67 *wə-hē šxəwlīl warx*.
- 68 *tōli lībəs ksəwēt ǧádat, wə-səyūr tē wīṣəl hōkəm. amūr*, “*hēt mōn?*”
- 69 *āmūr*, “*hōh bā nəwās*.” *āmūr*, “*hēt əl matk lā?*”
- 70 *āmūr*, “*lā. hōh nákak mən hāl hábye wə-hábke bərk aǧənnēt wə-ḏə-yəḵābəm lūk bə-ssəlōm*.”
- 71 *āmūr*, “*hōm əl-syēr hōh!*”
- 72 *āmūr bā nəwās*, “*ábdan! əl ənḵálak lā. hām səyárk, l-ād rəddōna līn lā, mət kəsk hábke w-aǧənnēt*.”
- 73 *āmūr*, “*hōm əl-syēr*.” *tōli hfawr həh bayr, wə-hhəriḵ bəh*.
- 74 *wə-šxəwlīl wárxi trōh. tōli nákam həbūn ḏə-hōkəm təwōli bā nəwās. amáwr*, “*háybən əl nūka lā*.”
- 75 *āmūr*, “*háybəkəm l-ād hē nəkōna lā mən hāl hábhe w-aǧənnēt*.”

61 *hfērām ... wə-ḵalēm ... wə-hánhəm*: The audio has the three mp imperative forms *hfērām* ‘dig!’, *ḵalēm* ‘leave!’, and *hánhəm* ‘burn!’, but the manuscripts all have the 3mp subjunctives *yəhfērəm*, *yəḵlēm*, and *yəhánhəm*. The subjunctives reflect indirect speech (‘he told the servants to dig ... to leave ... and to burn’), while the imperative forms must be direct speech.

63 *gəzəkəm*: The word *gəzē* ‘reward, payback’ (< Arabic *jazā* ‘repayment, recompense’) is absent from *ML* (cf. also Jibbali *gəzē* ‘reward’). It is most often used in the phrase *gəzək xayr* ‘thank you!’ (pl. *gəzəkəm xayr*), as here and in 28:20 and 39:14. The bare form *gəzē* is found in 22:101 and 73:11. On the lack of the expected definite article in this phrase, apparently part of the idiom, see the comment to text 36:3 (*rābbək*).

65 *šxātəm*: *ML* (s.v. *šxt*) lists this verb with an initial *ś*, and Johnstone transcribed *ś* in the Roman manuscripts, but the audio clearly has *š*. (In Ali’s

- 61 He said, "You are lying [lit. lied]." And the ruler said to the slaves, "Dig a well, put Ba Newas in it, and burn him with fire."
- 62 They said, "Ok!" The slaves dug a well, and Ba Newas dug from his house until he reached the well.
- 63 Then they said to Ba Newas, "Get down into the well!" He said, "Thank you! I already miss my parents."
- 64 And Ba Newas went down. He had a bottle, and he left it in the well. And he entered the tunnel and went to his house.
- 65 And the people dropped in firewood from above. Then when the well was full, they poured in gas and lit it.
- 66 And the people stood (to watch). Then the bottle cracked. They said, "Listen, Ba Newas' head exploded." And they went away.
- 67 And he stayed a month.
- 68 Then he put on good clothes, and he went until he got to the ruler. He said, "Who are you?"
- 69 He said, "I am Ba Newas." He said, "Didn't you die?"
- 70 He said, "No. I came from my parents and your parents in Paradise, and they send you greetings."
- 71 He said, "I want to go!"
- 72 Ba Newas said, "No way! We won't let you. If you go, you won't come back to us again, when you find your parents in Paradise."
- 73 He said, "I want to go." Then they dug a well for him, and they burned him.
- 74 And they waited two months. Then the ruler's sons came to Ba Newas. They said, "Our father hasn't come back."
- 75 He said, "Your father won't come back from his parents in Paradise."

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Arabic-letter transcription, *ś* and *š* are both transcribed ش *š*.) The root may show some free variation, or perhaps dialectal variation.

- 71 *hōh*: In place of *hōm al-syēr hōh* 'I want to go!', which is what the Arabic manuscript and audio have, the Roman manuscripts have *hōm al-syēr tawélihām* 'I want to go to them'. The earlier Roman manuscripts add *hōh* above *tawélihām*, indicating the variant text.
- 72 *al nḳálak*: The Arabic manuscript has the negative particle *al*, while the Roman manuscript does not. The audio sounds like *anḳálak*, probably from *\*alnḳálak*.

- 76 *āmáwr ḥəbūn ḏə-ḥōkəm, “nəḥōm nəsyēr təwélhe!” āmūr, “yéye.”*  
 77 *k-sōbəḥ, ḥənḥáyw bə-ḥəbūn ḏə-ḥōkəm w-awzáyrhəm.*  
 78 *w-āmáwr ḥə-bā nəwās, “dáwnək hēt b-aḥkáwmat te nənkēk.”*  
 79 *wə-ḥkūm bā nəwās aṭáwl ḏ-azəbōn. wə-təmmōt kəwtēt.*

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77 *w-awzáyrhəm*: The manuscripts have *w-awzáyrhəm*, but the audio has *wə-b-awzáyrhəm*.

- 76 The ruler's sons said, "We want to go to him!" He said, "Ok."
- 77 In the morning, they burned the ruler's sons and their vizier.
- 78 And they said to Ba Newas, "You take the kingdom until we come back to you!"
- 79 And Ba Newas ruled from then on [lit. the length of the time]. And the story is finished.

## Text 22 (no J): The Merchant's Handsome Son

- 1 *xəṭarāt tōgər bə-rḥabēt wə-šáh gīgēn wə-ǧəgənōt. w-aǧīgēn rəḥáym xā hē rīt.*
- 2 *te nəhōr ʔayt āmarūt hāmē ǧ-aǧīgēn h-aǧáygəs, “wə-kōh hēt əl təkōla ḥəbrək yəsyēr šūk h-sawḵ, wə-yātalōm əttəgōrət əl-hīs ḥəbūn əttəgēr?”*
- 3 *āmūr aǧáyg, “yáṣṣək mən əḥād ya’yénəh.”*
- 4 *āmarūt tēt, “əl hē ǧəgīt lā te tāsōṣ ləh.”*
- 5 *te nhōr xəwfit šāṭáyh h-sawḵ.*
- 6 *te wəšəlam adəkkōnəh nákam ḥābū yəftəriǧən aǧīgēn te mūlam sawḵ.*
- 7 *tōli āmūr aǧáyg, “nəḥōm nəkfəl adəkkōn wə-nsyēr abáy. ǧōməh sawr əǧ-hāmək.”*
- 8 *ādhəm lə-wṭákəməh, nūka hēxər ftūk mən aməsgəd. te wīšəl hāl aǧáyg wə-ḥəbrəh, šōr wə-ǧəlūk b-aǧīgēn ǧáyłək kəwáy.*
- 9 *əttōli sīrōh aǧáyg wə-ḥəbrəh, yəḥáym h-abáy. tōli təbáyhəm hēxər.*
- 10 *te wəšəlam xāh ǧ-abáy, šōr ḥayb ǧ-aǧīgēn wə-šxəbūr hēxər.*
- 11 *āmūr həh, “kō hēt tábak tīn?”* *āmūr, “ḥōm l-āká’ ašáyfək yəməh.”*
- 12 *āmūr, “áhlən wə-sáhlən!”* *tōli nákam təh bə-fšē, w-āmūr həh, “fšeh!”*
- 13 *tōli káwla afšē’ wə-ǧəlūk b-aǧīgēn wə-yəbáyk.*
- 14 *tōli āmūr aǧīgēn ḥáybəh, “aǧáyg əl fšōh lā, wə-ǧə-yəǧáwłək bay wə-ǧə-yəbáyk. w-əl wádak hēsən šáǧləh lā.”*
- 15 *āmūr həh ḥáybəh, “akōfi təwēhe wə-šxáwwəl hənēh wə-lḥáməh. wə-ḵələ’ ḥənáfək ṭḥáməh h-šáǧəl kōməh.*
- 16 *wə-hām xəzōh, əwšəṣ ləh. wə-hōh maḵōbəl līkəm.*
- 17 *əǧ hē šēmūn, hōh nəkōna tīkəm wə-wtǧōna aǧáyg.*
- 18 *w-əǧ hē xəzōh, šáxbər mən akáṣdəh.”* *āmūr aǧīgēn, “yéye.”*
- 19 *səyūr aǧīgēn təwōli hēxər w-āmūr həh, “kō hēt təbáyk?”* *āmūr həh, “ḵələy l-əbkéh!”*

2 *əttəgēr*: The Arabic manuscript has *əl-təgēr* (التجیر), which is probably just an Arabized spelling, using the Arabic definite article (which would be pronounced *ət-* anyway). The audio does not have *əl-*, nor did Johnstone transcribe it in the Roman manuscripts.

4 *tēt*: As with *tagēr* in line 2, Ali wrote *əl-tēt* (التيث) in the Arabic manuscript, again using the Arabic article. The audio has just *tēt*.

4 *te*: Though *te* is in the manuscripts, Ali missed it on the audio.

18 *šáxbər*: The Roman manuscripts have *šáxbərəh* ‘ask him’, but the Arabic manuscript and audio have simply *šáxbər* ‘ask’.

### Translation of Text 22

- 1 Once there was a rich man [or: merchant] in a town, and he had a boy and a girl. And the boy was beautiful like the moon.
- 2 Then one day, the mother of the boy said to her husband, "Why don't you let your son go with you to the market, so he can learn business like the sons of (other) merchants?"
- 3 The man said, "I am afraid that someone will look at him with the evil eye."
- 4 The woman said, "He is not a girl so that you should be afraid for him."
- 5 Then the next day, he took him to the market.
- 6 Then when they got to his store, people came to look at the boy, and [lit. until] they filled the market.
- 7 Then the man said, "We should close the store and go home. This was your mother's idea."
- 8 While they were still like this, an old man came who had come out of the mosque. When he got to the man and his son, he stood and looked at the boy (with) an intense look.
- 9 Then the man and his son left, heading for home. Then then old man followed them.
- 10 Then when they got to the door of the house, the boy's father stopped and asked the old man.
- 11 He said to him, "Why did you follow us?" He said, "I want to be your guest today."
- 12 He said, "Welcome!" Then they brought him lunch, and he said to him, "Eat!"
- 13 Then he ignored [lit. left] the lunch, and he looked at the boy and cried.
- 14 Then the boy said to his father, "The man didn't eat lunch. He is looking at me and crying. I don't know what his intention is."
- 15 His father said to him, "Go back to him and sit next to him and touch him. And pretend [lit. leave yourself] that you want him for a bad purpose.
- 16 And if he refuses, press against him. And I'll be watching you.
- 17 If he agrees, I will come to you and kill the man.
- 18 And if he refuses, ask him his goal." The boy said, "Ok."
- 19 The boy went to the old man and said to him, "Why are you crying?" He said to him, "Let me cry!"

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18 *aḳáṣdah*: The manuscripts have *aḳáṣdah* 'his goal', but on the audio Ali read *aḳəssótah* 'his story'.



- 20 *tōli nūka aǧīgēn wə-lhām aǧáyǧ. attōli āmūr hēxər, “kō hēt təlḥámi?”*  
 21 *āmūr, “ḥamk tsyēr šay.”*  
 22 *āmūr aǧáyǧ, “astáǧfər aǧǧáh! ḏōmah əl hē šáǧli lā.”*  
 23 *āmūr həh aǧīgēn, “hām əl ‘əmlək bay lā, šākōna ḥáybi w-āmrōna, ‘aǧáyǧ*  
*həǧūm lay’, wə-shəṭōna tik ḥáybi.”*  
 24 *āmūr, “šákəh! ḏōmah əl hē šáǧli lā.” wə-ḥáyb ḏ-aǧīgēn ḏə-yǧáwłək bīham.*  
 25 *tōli āmūr aǧīgēn, “ar kō hēt ət-tǧáwłək bay wə-t-təbáyk?”*  
 26 *tōli āmūr hēxər, “kəwtōna hūk, wəlākan yəššək tik m-əd təhtəwōl hām*  
*kəlǧtk hūk.”*  
 27 *āmūr, “ábdan.” tōli kəlūt həh.*  
 28 *āmūr, “hōh nákak mən rəhbēt əl-fəlānīya. te nəhōr, ǧōrək nəxāli ḥāšən,*  
*wə-šínək tēt šədhəkáwt mən xəwfēt.*  
 29 *wə-‘əǧbək bīs. wə-sē (t)šsábħən lūk bəḏ-ḏábṭ.*  
 30 *wə-hīs šínək tik, fəṭnək tīs. wə-ḏōmah hē amkəšáwdi.*  
 31 *wə-ttēt ḏə-kəlǧtk lūk bīs ḥəbrīt ḏə-ḥōkəm. (w-aǧáyǧəs šōyǧ tōǧər.)*  
 32 *wə-hām əḥād šōr nəxāli ḥāšən, tə‘ədməh. wə-bér ādamūt wəḳōna myēt bū.*  
*wə-ḥəḏḏōr mən (t)šhēǧəs ḥənáfk tsyēr.”*  
 33 *āmūr, “yéye.” tōli aǧīgēn ftūk mən hāl hēxər wə-nūka ḥáybəh. āmūr həh,*  
*“hēxər ḥsəym, wəlākan ḏə-yəbáyk. əl šəh wəléd lā, wə-hīs sənyáy, bəkōh.”*  
 34 *tōli wəzáməh kərəwš, wə-səyūr hēxər.*  
 35 *te nhōr xəwfīt, āmūr aǧīgēn ḥāmáh, “ḥōm kərəwš w-əl-syēr əl-sōm*  
*wə-l-əstōm əl-hīs ḥəbūn ḏ-təǧēr, wə-ḥáybi əl kəl‘áy lā.”*  
 36 *āmərūt həh, “yéye. səlob te bə-ḥəlláy. mət ḥáybək šəwkūf, wəzmīta tik*  
*kərəwš.”*  
 37 *sōfər aǧīgēn ḏə-yəḥōm yəsyēr h-arḥəbēt ḏə-bīs tēt.*

22 *astáǧfər aǧǧáh*: This is Arabic *astaǧfir aǧǧáh*, lit. ‘I ask God’s forgiveness’.

26 *m-əd*: The Roman manuscripts have *mən*, but the Arabic manuscript and audio have *m-əd*.

28 *nəxāli*: The Roman manuscripts have *mən nəxāli*, but the Arabic manuscript and audio have just *nəxāli*.

31 *w-aǧáyǧəs šōyǧ tōǧər*: This is an addition found only in the Roman manuscripts. It is not in the Arabic manuscript or on the audio. Cf. line 43.

32 *tə‘ədməh ... ādamūt*: These must be, respectively, the 3fs imperfect (plus 3ms object suffix) and 3fs perfect of a Ga-Stem verb *ādūm* ‘execute’. *ML* (s.v. ‘*dm*’) lists a D/L-Stem with this meaning, but neither of these forms can be a D/L-Stem.

- 20 Then the boy came and touched the man. Then the old man said, "Why are you touching me?"
- 21 He said, "I want you to go with me."
- 22 The boy said, "God forbid! This is not my intention."
- 23 The boy said to him, "If you don't do (anything) with me, I will call my father and will say, 'The man attacked me', and my father will kill you."
- 24 He said, "Call him! This is not my intention." And the boy's father was watching them.
- 25 Then the boy said, "So why are you looking at me and crying?"
- 26 Then the old man said, "I will tell you, but I am afraid you will go crazy if I tell you."
- 27 He said, "Never." Then he told him.
- 28 He said, "I came from such-and-such town. One day, I passed under a castle, and I saw a woman looking down from the window.
- 29 And I fell in love with her. And she looks like you exactly.
- 30 And when I saw you, I remembered her. This is my reason.
- 31 And the woman that I told you about is the daughter of the ruler. (And her husband is a rich jeweler.)
- 32 And if anyone stands under the castle, she executes him. She has already executed about a hundred people. And be careful not to think about yourself going."
- 33 He said, "Ok." Then the boy left the old man and came to his father. He said to him, "The man is respectable, but he's crying. He has no children, and when he saw me, he cried."
- 34 Then they gave him (some) money, and the old man left.
- 35 Then the next day, the boy said to his mother, "I want (some) money, so I can go buy and sell like the sons of (other) merchants, but my father wouldn't let me."
- 36 She said to him, "Ok. Wait until night. When your father goes to sleep, I'll give you (some) money."
- 37 And the boy traveled, intending to go to the town that the woman was in.

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32 (*t*)*šhēgās*: This verb, an Š2-Stem of the root *hgs*, is not in *ML* (s.v. *hgs*), though the G-Stem *hagūs* 'think' is listed. The Jibbali equivalent *šhēgās* 'think' is listed in *JL* (s.v. *hgs*).

35 *ḵal'áy*: The manuscripts have a perfect *ḵal'áy* (a form found also in 89:6), but the audio has the imperfect *yəḵálay*.

- 38 *te bə-ħalláy wəzmátəh kəráwš mēkən. wə-səyūr te wīšəl arħəbēt ðə-bīs əttēt.*  
 39 *wəkūb hāl ħallāk, w-āmūr həh, “ħələk ħáyni!”*  
 40 *wə-ħəlūk həh, wə-wəzmáh āsərit dīnār. tōli ħallāk tə’əggəb mən sšebb.*  
 41 *w-āmūr həh, “ħamk tšné’ əttēti.” wə-šākáys te nəkōt tētəh āgáwz.*  
 42 *wəzmīs xəmsáyn kəřš. tōli šxəbərátəh mən akášdəh.*  
 43 *āmūr, “hōh ‘əgbək bə-tēt, ħəbrīt ðə-ħōkəm, w-ağáygəs šōyəğ.”*  
 44 *āmərūt həh, “ħəððōr, ā ħəbráy!”*  
 45 *āmūr hīs, “ħamš tāmáyli ħáyni wōrəm əl-šnéš.”*  
 46 *āmərūt āgáwz, “šūk mēkən kəráwš?”*  
 47 *āmūr, “šəy mēkən.” āmərūt həh, “akōfi əl-hāl ašōyəğ, w-āmōl xōtəm b-alf*  
*dīnār. wə-mət təmmáh, āmēr həh, ‘ðōməh kənnáwn, wə-šəláləh hēt ħənáfik’*  
*wə-səlōb.*  
 48 *te nhōr xəwfīt, āmōl xōtəm b-ərbōt yələf. wə-mət təmmáh, āmēr, ‘ðōməh*  
*kənnáwn, wəzmōna tik təh hədəyyət.’ w-əzēm xəddōmət mən āsərit dīnār*  
*bəláš.*  
 49 *w-anhōr səwtīt, āmōl xōtəm b-āsərit yələf, w-āmēr, ‘ðōməh kənnáwn.’*  
*w-əzéməh təh.”*  
 50 *tōli áyməl wəťákəməh wə-yəwūzəm xəddōmət ð-ašōyəğ (m-)mán myēt*  
*w-əm-mán myētáyn dīnār.*  
 51 *tōli ašōyəğ šáll axtūm təwōli tētəh. wə-kəlūt hīs bə-kkərōmət ð-ağīgēn.*  
 52 *tōli āgbōt bəh əttēt w-āmərūt h-ağáygəs, “hēt sáfələh! wə-kōh əl tawzəm*  
*ağáyg ħənūk b-a’išē, wə-hē ber kərmūk wəťōməh?”*  
 53 *te nhōr ðə-rbáy, nūka aqīgēn, wə-šáh gáwhərət b-ərbə’áyn alf akámts.*

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- 38 *arħəbēt*: Similar to the errors in lines 2 and 4, Ali wrote *əl-rəħbēt* (الرحبيت), using the Arabic article. The audio clearly has *arħəbēt*.
- 40 *tə’əggəb*: This is an Arabic verb form (standard *ta’ajjaba*, colloquial *tə’ajjab*).
- 46 *mēkən kəráwš*: The Roman manuscripts have *kəráwš mēkən*, but the Arabic manuscript and audio have *mēkən kəráwš*.
- 50 *(m-)mán myēt*: We expect *əm-mán myēt*, but on the audio Ali read *mən*. However, he stumbled several times on the following *w-əm-mán*, so it is possible he just made a mistake in reading, since he does not always distinguish *mən* and *əm-mán* in his Arabic-letter spelling; both can be simply من (see § 8.15, n. 18).
- 50 *myētáyn*: This is an Arabic dual form.
- 51 *axtūm*: Although *ML* (s.v. *x<sub>tm</sub>*) lists the plural form *xətōwəm*, the audio clearly has *axtūm*, as do all the manuscripts (with some variation in the transcription in the Roman manuscripts). The same form appears in texts

- 38 Then at night, she gave him a lot of money. And he went until he reached the town that the woman was in.
- 39 He went in to a barber's, and he said to him, "Cut (my hair) for me!"
- 40 And he cut (his hair) for him, and he gave him ten dollars. Then the barber took a liking to the lad.
- 41 And he said to him, "I want you to see my wife." And he called her and [lit. until] his old wife came.
- 42 He gave her fifty dollars. Then she asked him his purpose.
- 43 He said, "I love a woman, the daughter of the ruler, and her husband is a jeweler."
- 44 She said to him, "Be careful, my son!"
- 45 He said to her, "I want you to make me a way to see her."
- 46 The old woman said, "Do you have a lot of money?"
- 47 He said, "I have a lot." She said to him, "Go over to the jeweler's, and make a ring for a thousand dinars. And when he finishes it, say to him, 'This is small. You take it for yourself!' And wait.
- 48 Then the next day, make a ring for four thousand. And when he finishes it, say, 'This is small. I will give it to you (as) a present.' And give the workers ten dinars for nothing.
- 49 And the third day, make a ring for ten thousand, and say, 'This is small.' And give it to him."
- 50 Then he did this, and he gave the jeweler's workers between a hundred and two hundred dinars.
- 51 Then the jeweler took the rings to his wife. And he told her about the generosity of the boy.
- 52 Then the woman fell in love with him, and she said to her husband, "You are low! Why don't you invite the man to your place for dinner, and he has already been so generous to you?"
- 53 Then the fourth day, the boy came, and he had a jewel whose value was forty thousand.

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81:2 and 88:5; cf. also the Jibbali plural *axtúm*. Jahn (1902: 91, line 23) has *xtóum*, which could match either *xtúm* or *xtōwam*.

- 52 *h-agáyǵas*: All the manuscripts have *h-agáyǵas* 'to her husband', but the audio has *h-aşōyǵǵ* 'to the jeweler'.
- 53 *alf*: All the manuscripts have *alf* 'thousand', but the audio has the plural *yǵlēf* 'thousands'.
- 53 *aǵámts*: This word is not in the Roman manuscript, nor is it listed in *ML*. It comes from Arabic *qīmat* 'value, worth'.

- 54 *āmūr h-ašōyāǧ, “ḥamk tāmōl háyni ḏīmāh aǧáwharət xōtəm.”*  
 55 *āmūr, “yéye.” te tammīs, āmūr, “ḏīmāh əl bīs sēni lā. wə-šəlēs ḥənáf̄k.”*  
 56 *tōli āmūr həh, “a’isēk hənīn!” āmūr, “ábdan.”*  
 57 *āmūr, “lēzəm a’isēk hənīn!”*  
 58 *te nákam, šxəwlīl bərk amǧələs w-ātésyəm.*  
 59 *te bə-ḥalláy, āśśūt tēt w-āmlōt mōh bərk fiǧōni trōh. ámma ṭāṭ, bərkēh*  
*məsákkər ḏə-šənēt, w-ámma ṭāṭ, bərkēh šī lā.*  
 60 *w-āmərūt ḥāǧərāts, “āzēmi fiǧōn əḏ-bərkēh adīwē aǧáyǧi. wə-bāl ḥəmōh*  
*āzómāh aǧáyǧ aśáyf̄.”*  
 61 *əttōli wəzmáthəm ḥāǧərīt, wə-ttəkkəm.*  
 62 *ámma ašōyāǧ, šəwkūf, w-əl ḥəss bə-šī lā. w-ámma aǧáyǧ aśáyf, šxəwlīl.*  
 63 *te nkōt tēt, wə-šxəwəllūt, wə-šxəbərətəh. wə-kəlūt hīs bə-kāl štyən.*  
 64 *tōli āmərūt həh, “ḥōm l-əǧhōm šūk.” āmūr, “yéye!”*  
 65 *ḥātəmōh fáxrə. te k-sóbəḥ, aǧáyǧ šəwkūf wə-ttēt sīrūt h-amkōnəs.*  
 66 *wə-səyūr aǧáyǧ aśáyf. tōli āmərūt əttēt h-aǧáyǧəs, “lēzəm tazémāh sātáyṭ*  
*āšáwr.”*  
 67 *āmūr, “yéye.” wə-hēm yāmīl wəṭákəmāh.*  
 68 *te nūka sōləṭ ḏ-āšáwr, fəwtōh aǧáyǧ wə-ttēt ḏ-ašōyāǧ. w-ašōyāǧ bərk*  
*adəkkōnəh.*  
 69 *te kaláyni nūka abáyṭ, ksīs xəláyṭ.*  
 70 *ḥənkūr əḏ-sē fəwtūt wə-bér šāṭōt amōlāh kálləh.*  
 71 *wə-səyáwr te wəšələn arḥəbēt ḏ-aǧīgēn. wə-nūka ḥāl ḥáybəh, wə-šáh əttēt*  
*wə-ḥāǧərāts.*  
 72 *tōli šxəbərəh, āmūr, “mən ḥō hūk əttēt wə-ḥāǧərīt?”*  
 73 *tōli kəlūt ləh, w-āmūr, “ād fəṭnək ḥəxər ḏə-nkáyṅ ḏə-yəbáyk?” āmūr,*  
*“fəṭnək.”*  
 74 *āmūr, “ḏ-áyǧəb bə-ttēt ḏīmāh. wə-hīs kəlūt lay, ‘əǧbək bīs, wə-ǧəhémk*  
*təwēse, wə-nákak bīs.”*  
 75 *āmūr həh ḥáybəh, “ṭáyṭəb! əttēt šīs aǧáyǧəs aw lā?”*  
 76 *āmūr, “šīs aǧáyǧəs, wə-bér əḥsəmáy, wəlākan ‘əǧbək bə-ttēt.”*  
 77 *āmūr, “əl ənūṭək hūk lā ḥām ḥārəsk bīs. ḥəmé’, ā ḥəbráy! əl-hīs ber āmlōt*  
*b-aǧáyǧəs ḥāwəláy, āmlīta bük wəṭákəmāh.*  
 78 *wə-ḥām ḥārəsk bīs, awáǧhi əl yəlḥōm awáǧhək lā.*  
 79 *w-amōl ḏ-aǧáyǧ, ḥsábəh, wə-nəḥōm nəḥfáḏəh. wə-ktəbōna təwōli aǧáyǧ*  
*yənké’ wə-yəšōṭ əttétəh wə-ḥāǧərətəh w-amōlāh.”*

70 *əḏ-sē*: All the manuscripts have just *sē*, but the audio has *əḏ-sē*.

79 *w-amōlāh*: The phrase *w-amōlāh* ‘and his property’ is not in the Arabic manuscript or on the audio, but appears in the Roman manuscripts.

- 54 He said to the jeweler, "I want you to make this jewel into a ring for me."  
55 He said, "Ok." Then when he finished it, he said, "This doesn't look good  
[lit. doesn't have appearance]. Take it for yourself."  
56 And then he said to him, "Your dinner is at our place!" He said, "Never."  
57 He said, "Your dinner must be at our place!"  
58 Then when he came, they sat in the salon and had dinner.  
59 Then at night, the woman got up and put [lit. made] water in two cups.  
One, in it was a sleeping drug, and the other, in it was nothing.  
60 And she said to her servant-girl, "Give the cup with the medicine in it to  
my husband. And the one with (just) water, give it to the guest."  
61 Then she gave them to the servant-girl, and they drank.  
62 As for the jeweler, he went to sleep, and wasn't aware of anything. As for  
the guest, he remained.  
63 Then the woman came, and she sat down, and she questioned him. And  
he told her everything.  
64 Then she said to him, "I want to go with you!" He said, "Ok!"  
65 They spent the night together. Then in the morning, the man went to  
sleep, and the woman went to her place.  
66 And the man, the guest, left. Then the woman said to her husband, "You  
must invite him for three nights."  
67 He said, "Ok." And they did so.  
68 Then when the third (one) of the nights came, the man and the jeweler's  
wife ran away. And the jeweler was in his shop.  
69 Then when he came home in the evening, he found it empty.  
70 He realized that she had run away, and had taken all his wealth.  
71 And they went until they reached the boy's town. And he came to his  
father, and with him was the woman and her servant-girl.  
72 Then he asked him, he said, "Where did you get [lit. from where do you  
have] the woman and the servant-girl?"  
73 Then he told him, and he said, "Do you still remember the old man who  
came to us crying?" He said, "I remember."  
74 He said, "He had fallen in love with this woman. And when he told me, I  
fell in love with her, and I went to her, and I brought her back."  
75 His father said to him, "Good! Does the woman have a husband, or not?"  
76 He said, "She has a husband, and he respected me, but I love the woman."  
77 He said, "I will not kiss you (in greeting) if you marry her. Listen, my son!  
As she has done to her first husband, thus will she do to you.  
78 And if you marry her, my face will not touch your face.  
79 And the man's property, count it, and let's keep it safe. And I'll write to the  
man to come and take his wife and his servant-girl and his property."

- 80 *āmūr həh aġġġēn, “əl əkálás lā!”*
- 81 *āmūr həh háybəh, “ðūməh xáyɲət, wə-xōyən mánəh xayr lā. wə-hēt xōyən, wə-xánk b-arībək ð-āzmūk.”*
- 82 *tōli āmūr aġġġēn, “yéye.”*
- 83 *hāmūr əttōgər bə-hábs ðə-ttēt wə-hāgərūt, wə-ktüb təwōli ašōyəġ xaṭṭ.*
- 84 *w-āmūr, “ila haḍrat əl-məḍayyif əl-məhtaram, taḥyāh ṭayyibah,” wə-baʿd:*
- 85 *“wəšəlam tīn kawb ðə-yəslūl bə-kəwbīt. wə-hām ṭhōm kəwbīt, nəkéʿ. nəḥāh b-amkōn əl-fəlāni.”*
- 86 *əttōli hārūs həbrē ðə-ttōgər bərt həḍáydəh. tē nhōr ð-ašəyāft nūka ašōyəġ.*
- 87 *tōli āmūr aġġġēn háybəh, “ðōməh hē ašōyəġ ðə-wküb.”*
- 88 *āmūr həh, “kəlēh fənōhən yətéh, wə-mət ber təwōh, šəkəh, wə-hōh məšəxbər təh.”*
- 89 *tōli šəkəm təh w-āmūr həh tōgər, “ðōməh hē aġġġēn ðə-šāṭ tətək. wəlākan ḥōm mənək ašəṭk. mōn ðə-xəyūn būk, əttēt aw həbrəy?”*
- 90 *āmūr, “əttētī xīnūt baɲ, wə-həbrək lā, wəlākan ġərrətəh əttēt.”*
- 91 *āmūr həh, “tətək wə-hāgərətək w-amōlək hənīn bərk amān.”*
- 92 *tōli tōgər šək həbrəh bə-sáwr. āmūr, “hōh məḍhōna əttēt ð-ašōyəġ, w-āmrona h-ašōyəġ, ‘ḥaynūt təġṭfūkən, wə-sméhs’.*
- 93 *əð hē káybəl, hē hīs tīkəm, wə-yəšhōl sí lā, wə-bəġdōna tīhəm.*
- 94 *w-əð hē lūtəġ əttēt wə-hāgərūt, hē ġayġ fēraʿ, wə-məháffək təh aġətək mən ġayr sí, wə-yəkūn əssəbēb mənək.”*
- 95 *āmūr aġġġēn, “yéye.” wə-rəddəm təwōli ašōyəġ. āmūr həh tōgər, “nəḥámək təsméh tətək, wə-ḥaynūt təġṭfūkən.”*
- 96 *āmūr, “yéye, wəlākan ḥōm əl-šnéсэн.”*
- 97 *āmūr həh, “ðōməh amftéh, wə-sən bərk aġərfēt ḍayk.”*
- 98 *wə-səyūr ašōyəġ tē fəth abōb, wə-šəh skayn. wə-tān əttētəh wə-tān hāgərūt, wə-ftūk.*

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81 *xánk*: This must be from a verb *xōn* (II-w G-Stem). *ML* (s.v. *xwn*) lists only *xəyūn* (II-y G-Stem), a verb which occurs elsewhere in the texts, including in this story (22:89, 22:90; 74:10, 74:13, 74:17). *HL* (s.v. *xwn*) does list Mehri (and Ḥarsusi) *xōn*.

84 *‘ila ... ṭayyibah*: This entire phrase is Arabic.

92 *təġṭfūkən*: This form can be parsed either as a 3fp imperfect of a T1-Stem *ġəṭfək* or as a 3fp subjunctive of a T2-Stem *əġṭfūk*. *ML* lists both verbs, but only the T2-Stem with the meaning ‘go astray’. Since we expect an imperfect in this context, we can probably give the same meaning to the T1-Stem *ġəṭfək*. Note that the Jibbali T1-Stem *ġəṭfək* can also mean ‘go astray’ (*JL*, s.v. *ġfk*).

- 80 The boy said to him, "I won't leave her!"
- 81 His father said to him, "This (woman) is a traitor, and nothing good comes from a traitor. And you are a traitor. You betrayed your friend who invited you (to his home)."
- 82 Then the boy said, "Ok."
- 83 The merchant ordered the imprisonment of the woman and the servant-girl, and he wrote a letter to the jeweler.
- 84 And he said, "To the honorable giver of hospitality," and afterwards:
- 85 "There has come to us a dog carrying a bitch. And if you want the bitch, come. We are in such-and-such place."
- 86 Then the merchant's son married his cousin. Then on the day of the wedding, the jeweler came.
- 87 Then he said to his father, "That [lit. this] is the jeweler that has come in."
- 88 He said to him, "Let him eat first, and after he has eaten, call him, and I will ask him."
- 89 Then they called him, and the merchant said to him, "This is the boy who took your wife. But I want the truth from you. Who betrayed you, the woman or my son?"
- 90 He said, "The woman betrayed me, not your son. Rather, the woman deceived him."
- 91 He said to him, "Your wife and your servant-girl and your property are with us in safe-keeping."
- 92 Then the merchant called his son for consultation. He said, "I will praise the jeweler's wife, and I'll say to the jeweler, 'Women go astray, and so forgive her'.
- 93 If he accepts, he is like you, and he deserves nothing, and I'll chase them out.
- 94 But if he kills the woman and the servant-girl, he is a brave man, and I'll give him for nothing [lit. without anything] your sister in marriage, and this [lit. the reason] will be because of you."
- 95 The boy said, "Ok." And they went back to the jeweler. The merchant said to him, "We want you to forgive your wife. Women go astray."
- 96 He said, "Ok, but I want to see them."
- 97 He said to him, "This is the key, and they are in that room."
- 98 And the jeweler went and [lit. until] he opened the door. And he had a knife. He stabbed his wife and stabbed the servant-girl, and he came out.



- 99 *āmūr hah tōgər, “ḥaynūt ḥō?”*  
 100 *āmūr, “hōh əl kəsk yənūt lā. kəsk kəlábtən.”*  
 101 *tōli ‘ásś tōgər w-amōsi bəh, w-āmūr, “hēt tšhōl mən hənīn gəzē, wəlākan məháfḥək tīk ḥəbráyti.”*  
 102 *wə-ffəkáyh ḥəbrátəh, wə-sē axáy r mən əttétəh ḥāwəlīt.*  
 103 *wə-šxəwlūl sənēt wə-mgōrən āmūr ašōyag, “ḥōm l-ərdəd akāy.”*  
 104 *āmūr hah tōgər, “ḏōməh məkēb šḥān, w-alyōməh gərōn wə-gərtən. wə-ḏīməh tətək. wə-ghīm!”*  
 105 *wə-gəhēm ašōyag bərah tōgər mən mōl wə-gərōn. wə-təmmōt.*

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101 *tōgər*: This word appears in both Roman manuscripts, but is absent from the Arabic manuscript and the audio. It was probably added later in order to make clear who the subject is.

104 *šḥān*: We should perhaps transcribe here *əs-šḥān*, with an assimilated relative pronoun. Although since *məkēb* is indefinite, a relative is not necessary. It is hard to tell from the audio if there is a geminate *ś*.

- 99 The merchant said to him, "Where are the women?"
- 100 He said, "I didn't find any women. I found bitches."
- 101 Then the merchant got up and kissed him, and he said, "You deserve a reward from us, and I will give you my daughter in marriage."
- 102 And he gave him his daughter in marriage, and she was better than his first wife.
- 103 And they stayed for a year, and then the jeweler said, "I want to go back to my country."
- 104 The merchant said to him, "This is a ship that's loaded, and these are slaves and servant-girls. And this is your wife. Go!"
- 105 And the jeweler went, already rich in wealth and slaves. And it is finished.

## Text 23 (no J): A Lost Camel

- 1 *xəṭarāt sātáyṭ tagēr šxawlīl ḏār amāray, wə-hēm ḏə-həzīn.*  
 2 *āmūr ḥāwəláy, “hēsən nəkdēr nāmōl mən ġayr ab’áyrən? ab’áyrən fōnəh*  
*gīd wīyən, wə-yəslūl tēkəl, wə-ḵəwáy.”*  
 3 *āmūr sōlət, “ma amhōrət ḏ-ab’áyr, wə-hē āwēr áynəh ṭayt, wəlākan hē*  
*yəġōrəb ḥayrēm kāl, yənké’ sēyəḥ kálləh. wəlākan hōh šəṣdákḵ lā yāḵá’*  
*xəlūs.”*  
 4 *āmūr, “yámkən hərəḵ.”*  
 5 *ādham lə-wṭákəməh, nəkáyhəm ġayg. tōli šxəbīrəh.*  
 6 *āmūr, “taġáḵəm mən bə’áyr āwēr áynəh sáyməl?” amáwr, “ēhē!”*  
 7 *āmūr, “ḏáyrəh tōmər w-ayś?” amáwr, “ēhē!”*  
 8 *āmūr, “xərəs amšárḥəh amḵyūt?” amáwr, “ēhē!”*  
 9 *āmūr, “sīnək təh lā.”*  
 10 *amáwr, “kēf ḥályək təh līn wə-ṣərōməh amárk, ‘(əl) sīnək təh lā’? hēt*  
*ḏə-hərəḵək ab’áyrən!”*  
 11 *āmūr, “ábdan!” tōli səyūr yaḵōfi mən hēm. tōli mánam təh. amáwr,*  
*“ġədəwwən təwōli sēra’!” amūr, “ġədəwwən!”*  
 12 *səyáwr te wəṣəlam sēra’.*  
 13 *kəláwt tagēr əl-sēra’. wə-məġōrən šxəbūr sēra’ aġayg. amūr həh, “ḥə ab’áyr*  
*ḏə-həbū əlyōməh?”*  
 14 *āmūr, “əl sīnək təh lā.”*  
 15 *āmūr, “wəlākan hēt awásfk təh bə-ḏḏábt. wə-kēf ‘emək ḏə-hē ḏáyrəh tōmər*  
*w-ayś, wə-xərəs amšárḥəh amḵyūt?*  
 16 *wə-kēf ‘emək ḏə-hē yəslūl tōmər ḏār sárfəh sáyməl w-ayś ḏār sárfəh*  
*ḥáyməl?”*  
 17 *āmūr, “ḥīs bəri bə-hōrəm, sīnək ākāb ḏār əssárf ḏə-ḥáyməl (t) táwyən ayś,*  
*wə-ḏār əssárf sáyməl sīnək nəwəb (t) táwyən tōmər.*

2 *tēkəl*: This word is not in *ML*, though its root is well known. In the earlier Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘heavy loads’.

3 *ma*: The use of this particle is an Arabism. The following word, *məhōrət*, also ultimately derives from Arabic (< *mahārat* ‘cleverness, skillfulness’).

3 *sēyəḥ*: The Arabic manuscript has *سبح*, and Johnstone transcribed *sēh* in both Roman manuscripts. *ML* (s.v. *syh*) has *sayh*. The audio has *sēyəḥ* (perhaps < *sēyəḥ* < *sayh*), though Ali did stumble a bit when reading this word. The Jibbali cognate has *ṣ* (*JL*, s.v. *syh*; Nakano 1986: 109). For Ḥarsusi, *HL* has *sēh*, but listed under the root *syh* (!), suggesting a possible typo.

### Translation of Text 23

- 1 Once there were three merchants sitting in the pasture, and they were sad.
- 2 The first one said, "What might we be able to do without our camel? Our camel was very good before, and it carried heavy loads, and was strong."
- 3 The third said, "Oh the cleverness of the camel! It was blind in one eye, but it knew all the roads, so it could travel the whole desert. But I don't believe it could have gotten lost."
- 4 He said, "Maybe it was stolen."
- 5 While they were like this, a man came to them. Then they questioned him.
- 6 He said, "Are you looking for a camel that is blind in its left eye?" They said, "Yes!"
- 7 He said, "On it are dates and rice?" They said, "Yes!"
- 8 He said, "Its middle tooth is missing?" They said, "Yes!"
- 9 He said, "I haven't seen it."
- 10 They said, "How did you describe it to us and now you say, 'I haven't seen it'? You are the one who stole our camel!"
- 11 He said, "No way!" Then he went to turn away from them. Then they grabbed him. They said, "Let's go to the judge!" He said, "Let's go!"
- 12 They went until they got to the judge.
- 13 The merchants told the judge. And then the judge questioned the man. He said to him, "Where is these people's camel?"
- 14 He said, "I haven't seen it."
- 15 He said, "But you described it exactly. And how did you know that it has on it dates and rice, and is missing its middle tooth?"
- 16 And how did you know that it was carrying dates on its left side and rice on its right side?"
- 17 He said, "When I was on the road, I saw birds on the right side eating rice, and on the left side, I saw bees eating dates.

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3 *šəsdəkk*: Ali spelled this *šəštəkk* in the Arabic manuscript. See further in the comment to text 20:6.

10 *əl*: In the Arabic manuscript, Ali wrote *əl*, but omitted it on the audio. It can be omitted freely, with no change in meaning. Compare lines 9 and 14.

15 *ʿemək*: This is from a Gb-Stem *ʿyləm* 'know, learn', which is missing from *ML*. It is presumably a borrowing of Arabic *ʿalima*. The Gb-Stem *éləm* is also found in Jibbali, and is likewise missing from *JL*.

- 18 *wə-ħəláwk māray. amāray ḏār əssárf sáyǵməl séfəʾ, w-amāray ḏār əssárf ħáyǵməl təwáy, wə-kál wəḵəmət bərk aámḵəs séfəʾ.*
- 19 *wə-ǵərábk əḏ-hē xərəs amšárhəh āmkyūt.*"
- 20 *əttōli séraʾ āmūr ħābū, "aḵáfyəm, ǵəlēḵəm mən ab'áyrkəm. wə-ħām əl káskəm təh lā, ħəbyəsa aǵáyyg.*
- 21 *wəlākan 'əmlək təh aǵáyyg ašəṭṭəh, wəlākan aǵáyyg ōḵəl."*
- 22 *wə-səyáwr əttəǵər wə-ǵəláwk mən ab'áyr, wə-kūsəm təh. wə-təmmōt.*

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18 *séfəʾ*: This word is not in *ML*, but in the earlier Roman manuscript, Johnstone also added the gloss 'untouched, uneaten'. The Jibbali cognate *séfəʾ* 'untouched, uncropped grass' is listed in *JL* (s.v. *śf*).

- 18 And there was grass there. The grass on the left side was uneaten, but the grass on the right side was eaten, and every mouthful was uneaten in the [lit. its] middle.
- 19 And I recognized that it was missing its middle tooth.”
- 20 Then the judge said to the people, “Go back (and) look for your camel. If you don’t find it, we’ll put the man in prison.
- 21 I think the man is truthful, but the man is (too) clever.”
- 22 And the merchants went and looked for the camel, and they found it. And it is finished.

Text 24 (= J17; the Mehri version was translated from Jibbali, but not exactly): The Unfaithful Sister

- 1 *xəṭərāt ḥōkəm bə-rḥəbēt. tē nəḥōr ʔayt šənōḥ ḥənáfəḥ.*  
 2 *w-āmūr həḥ amhəsni, “ənkōna bə-ǰəǰənōt, wə-xīnīta būk.”*  
 3 *tōli əssōfər ḥōkəm, wə-káwla əttétəḥ dənyūt. w-āmūr, “hām nákaš bə-ǰəǰənōt, šḥáyṭəs!”*  
 4 *tōli bərwōt tēt wə-nkōt bə-ǰəǰənōt, wəlākan kərūt mən ḥābū. w-āmərūt, “nákak bə-ǰīgēn.”*  
 5 *tē nəḥōr ʔayt nūka ḥōkəm, w-aǰəǰənōt bərs nōb. tōli āmūr ḥáybəs, “ḥōm əl-šné’ aǰīgēn.”*  
 6 *tōli nəkōt aǰəǰənōt wə-ḏə-wbsōt labs ḏə-ǰīgēn. tōli āmūr ḥīs ḥáybəs, “ḥáftək xəlōwəḵ əlyōməḥ, wə-wbáysi bə-xəlōwəḵ yədōn nákak tīk bīḥəm.”*  
 7 *āmərūt aǰəǰənōt, “əndōḥəm wə-wbsōna əl-ḥáḵ.”*  
 8 *āmūr aǰáyǰ, “hēt əl hēt ǰəǰənōt lā ʔaftīšəḥ. ḥōm əl-šnēk.”*  
 9 *tōli kšfīs aǰáyǰ, wə-ǰərūb əḏ-sē ǰəǰənōt, wə-gəzūm ḏə-“nəwtáǰs gēḥəməḥ.”*  
 10 *tē bə-ḥálláy, sīrūt aǰəǰənōt təwōli aǰās, wə-kəwṭūt həḥ. āmərūt, “ḥáybi āmūr wətyēga tī gēḥəməḥ.”*  
 11 *tōli ‘əss aǰās, wə-ḥftūk fərháyni trayt, wə-šádd līsən, wə-šáll əzwōdḥəm, wə-ḥərkūb aǰátəḥ ḏār ʔayt, wə-hē rīkəb ḏār ʔayt.*  
 12 *bārəm tē wəšəlam ḏār mōḥ. ḥātīm.*  
 13 *tē k-sōbəḥ aǰīgēn yəsyūr yəǰlək mən ašáyur.*

- 2 *būk*: The audio has *būk* ‘you (ms)’, but the manuscripts have *bīkəm* ‘you (mp)’.
- 3 *šḥáyṭəs*: The form *šḥáyṭəs* is the mp imperative *šḥayṭ* plus the 3fs object suffix. If it were the fs imperative, we would expect vowel reduction (see § 3.2.3, especially n. 13). A mp imperative does not seem to fit the context, but the Jibbali version of this story (17:3) also has a mp imperative.
- 6 *ḥáftək*: The vowel in the first syllable makes clear that this is the fs imperative form. No final *-i* is written in the Arabic manuscript, nor is one heard on the audio. In 75:8, we find the form *ḥáftki* (in the Arabic manuscript and on the audio), showing that the final *-i* of the fs imperative is optional. Sabrina Bendjaballah has found in recent fieldwork that younger speakers of Mehri normally use a suffix *-i* in the H-Stem subjunctive/imperative (though with the stem vowel *a*, without any ablaut), while older speakers do not. The variation we find in the texts (*ḥáftək* here and *ḥáftki* in text 75:8) attests to variation within Ali Musallam’s own speech.

### Translation of Text 24

- 1 Once there was a ruler in a town. And one day he had his fortune read.  
 2 And the fortune-teller said to him, "You will beget a girl, and she will  
 betray you."  
 3 Then the ruler traveled, and left his wife pregnant. He said, "If you bear a  
 girl, kill her!"  
 4 Then the woman gave birth to a girl, but she hid (her) from the people.  
 And she said, "I had a boy."  
 5 Then one day the ruler came back, and the girl was already big. Then her  
 father said, "I want to see the boy."  
 6 Then the girl came, and she was wearing boys clothes. Her father said to  
 her, "Take off those clothes and put on new clothes that I brought for you."  
 7 The girl said, "Give them to me, and I'll put (them) on inside."  
 8 The man said, "You are not a girl that you should be embarrassed. I want  
 to see you."  
 9 Then the man uncovered her, and he knew that she was a girl, and he  
 swore that "we will kill her tomorrow."  
 10 Then at night, the girl went to her brother, and she told him. She said, "My  
 father said they will kill me tomorrow."  
 11 Then her brother got up and took out two horses, saddled them, and took  
 their supplies. And he mounted his sister onto one, and he rode on one.  
 12 They went until they got to (some) water. They spent the night.  
 13 In the mornings, the boy would go look for gazelles.

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6 *wbáysi*: The final *-i* is not heard on the audio, though it is written in the Arabic manuscript. With or without the final *-i*, the form must be feminine, since the ms imperative is *awbōs*. The suffix *-i* is part of the underlying paradigm, unlike in the form *háftək* discussed in the previous comment.

6 *tīk*: The manuscripts have *tīk* 'you (ms)' here, while on the audio Ali first said *tīš* 'you (fs)', but then corrected himself to *tīk*. In the story, the character is speaking to a girl that he thinks is a boy. Nevertheless, the two imperatives in this same line are fs forms, and so *tīš* fits in that context.



- 14 *wə-hām əl kūsa ašáyŕ lā, yəgōma aħfūl. wə-yatáyw fərēr wə-yəslūl h-aǧátəh aħfūl.*
- 15 *wə-šxəwlīl wəḵōna warx, wə-hēm əl-ḥōlat ðīməh. tɛ nəḥōr ʔayt, nūka ḥəbrē ðə-ḥōkəm ðə-ḥkūm ḥəmōh ðékəməh.*
- 16 *tōli šīni aǧəǧənōt w-áygəb bīs, wə-sē āgbōt bəh.*
- 17 *tōli ǧátri šīs. āmūr, “tḥáymi tšášfki?”*
- 18 *āmərūt aǧəǧənōt, “hōh šay aǧāy, w-əl yəḵálay əl-šáffək lā.”*
- 19 *āmūr, “āmēli həh wōrəm tɛ nəmnēh, wə-mǧōrən hōh əšáʔš šay w-əhārūs bayš.”*
- 20 *āmərūt, “yéye. nəkēm tīn anḥōr ð-ərbáyŕ, wə-ksiyē tī ber ðə-ršánk aǧāy.”*
- 21 *aḵáfyəm aǧəyūǧ, w-aǧīgēn nūka təwōli aǧátəh. šəh ‘áynət tōmər h-aǧátəh mən hāl ǧayǧ.*
- 22 *wə-hē əl təwyáh lā. yəḥáməh h-aǧátəh.*
- 23 *tōli āmərūt həh, “aǧāy, ənhāh šáyḵən wə-nəḥōm nənhāǧ.”*
- 24 *āmūr, “hēsən mən néhəǧ tḥámən?”*
- 25 *āmərūt, “nəḥōm nərsān tǧātidáyyan.” āmūr, “yéye.” wə-hēm əl-ḥōlat ðīməh.*
- 26 *tɛ nəḥōr ð-ərbáyŕ, anḥōr awēd ð-aǧəyūǧ, āmərūt həh, “ənké əw-bōh l-ərsánk.”*
- 27 *nūka wə-ršənátəh, wə-ršənátəh bə-ḥáys. tōli āmūr hīs, “aǧáyti, fāš bay. ərsáni əl-xərxáwr.”*
- 28 *āmərūt həh, “məǧōrən hēt ərsáni bə-ḥáys, wəlākan əndōh fə‘ámke!”*
- 29 *wə-wzəmīs fə‘ómhe w-ərsənátəh tɛ həwtḵáwt. nákam aǧəyūǧ.*
- 30 *āmərūt hīhəm, “ənkēm əw-bōh. aǧáyǧ bərah ð-ərsān.”*
- 31 *tōli nákam aǧəyūǧ w-āšáwm fēḥəl ð-aǧīgēn wə-šáʔəm aǧəǧənōt w-aḵáfyəm.*

14 *aħfūl*: *ML* (s.v. *ħfīl*) lists only *ħəfəlīt*, of which *ħfūl* is the plural.

15 *ḥōlat*: This noun is not listed in *ML*, which lists only *ḥōl* (s.v. *ḥwl*). This word comes from Arabic *ḥālat*, just as *ḥōl* comes from the Arabic synonym *ḥāl*. The word *ḥolt* is attested in Jibbali texts TJ4:57 and AK1:3, but is likewise missing from *JL*. See also the comment to text 28:7.

17 *tšášfki*: Ali struggled a bit when reading this word, which he read *tšášfki*, as if the root were *šfk* instead of *ħfk*. The Arabic manuscript has just one š. Ali’s use of š in place of *h* was perhaps due to the Jibbali cognate (cf. the 2fs subjunctive (*t*)šīšfək used in Jibbali text 17:17). The intended Mehri form was likely *tšə(f)ħki*. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone transcribed *təšiffəkáy*, while *ML*, which cites this passage, has *təšəffəkáy*, but the object suffix should not be stressed.

- 14 And if he didn't find gazelles, he would gather ripe figs. And he would eat unripe fruit, and take the ripe figs for his sister.
- 15 And they stayed about a month in this condition. Then one day, the son of the ruler of that water came.
- 16 Then he saw the girl and fell in love with her, and she fell in love with him.
- 17 Then he spoke to her. He said, "Do you want to marry me?"
- 18 The girl said, "I have a brother, and he won't let me get married."
- 19 He said, "Find [lit. make for him] a way for us to capture him, and then I will take you with me and marry you."
- 20 She said, "Ok. Come to us on the fourth day, and you'll find that I have already tied up my brother."
- 21 The men left, and the boy came to his sister. He had a few dates for his sister (that he got) from a man.
- 22 But he didn't eat it. He wanted it for his sister.
- 23 Then she said to him, "Brother, we've become bored. Let's play."
- 24 He said, "What kind of game do you want us (to do)?"
- 25 She said, "Let's tie each other up." He said, "Ok." And they (did) like this.
- 26 Then on the fourth day, the day of the meeting with the men, she said to him, "Come here so I can tie you up!"
- 27 He came, and she tied him up. And she tied him up tightly [lit. with force]. Then he said to her, "Sister, you've hurt me. Tie me up gently!"
- 28 She said to him, "Later you tie me up tightly, but give me your feet!"
- 29 And he gave her his feet, and she tied him up until she had secured (him). The men came.
- 30 She said to them, "Come here. The man has already been tied up."
- 31 Then the men came and cut off the boy's penis, and they took the girl and left.

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23 *šáykən*: *ML* (s.v. *zyk*) lists a Ga-Stem *šəyūk*, the 1cp of which should be *šəyūkən*. It is hard to see how *šáykən* derives from *šəyūk*. The form *šáykən* (from an underlying *šáykən*) could be the 1cp perfect of a Gb-Stem *šáyγək* (< \*šȳəḡək), though if there is indeed a Gb-Stem verb of the root *šyk*, this would be the only attested Gb-Stem of a II-y root. The form *šáykən* could also be from Gb-Stem *šáyki* (root *škw* or *šky*), or at least is being conjugated as if from a verb *šáyki*. Since there are several other semantically similar verbs attested from the root *šyk* (e.g., D/L *ašīk* 'annoy' and Š1 *šəšyūk* 'get fed up'; 40:4–5), it is doubtful that there is really a verb *šáyki*. Cf. also the Arabic root *dyq*, e.g., *dāqa* 'be fed up'.

- 32 *tōli nəkōt rīsīt nōb wə-lātūt fēḥəl ð-aġġēn tē wīka bə-xáyr. wə-yənákam təh mālēki trōh wə-yəḳābəm həh fēḥləh əl-hīs fənōhən.*
- 33 *wə-gəhēm tē wīʒəl arḥəbēt ðə-bīs aġátəh, wə-xadūm hāl tōgər.*
- 34 *əttōli āgbōt bəh ḥəbrīt ðə-tōgər, wə-hē áyġəb bīs.*
- 35 *tōli wəfūd hāl ḥáybəs, wə-ffəḳáyh.*
- 36 *ādhəm lə-wṭákəməh, nákam aġəyūġ ð-āšáwm fēḥləh w-āmáwr, “aġáyġ ðōməh əl bəh fēḥəl lā.”*
- 37 *tōli āmūr, “məšādəl tikəm. wə-kāl mənīn ðə-bdōh, yəḳšōš ḥərōhəh.”*
- 38 *āmáwr, “yéye.” tōli səyáwr təwōli šerēt w-əḥkáwmət. w-āmūr, “gēhəməh syērəm bərk amīdēn wə-yəḳšēf əl-ḥənáfəh.*
- 39 *əð hē bəh əl-hīs aġəyūġ, ətēm təšháyt. w-əð hē əl bəh fēḥəl lā, hē yəšhōt.”*
- 40 *āmáwr, “nəḥōm šerṭ ðōməh.”*
- 41 *tē k-sōbəḥ, ġátbərəm bərk amīdēn. w-āmáwr həh, “kšēf ḥənáfk!”*
- 42 *āmūr hūhəm, “təwəwəkəm tsmēḥəm tī!”* *āmáwr, “ábdan! ənsómḥk lā!”*
- 43 *tōli kšūf ḥənáfəh, wə-nákam ašháwd, wə-kūsəm təh əl-hīs aġəyūġ.*
- 44 *wə-šḥāṭəm aġəyūġ. wə-nákam b-aġátəh, yəḥáyym yəšháytəs.*
- 45 *əttōli sūməḥ aġátəh mən séḥət, wə-bəġdīs ḥōkəm, ḥáyb ð-aġáyġəs.*
- 46 *wə-šáṭáys aġās, wə-xədmīs ḥənóh, wə-ḳáwla mən nəxāse ġertən txədəmən tīs.*
- 47 *tōli tədōfa ḥə-ġərīt tháwka səm bərk a‘ísē ð-aġās.*
- 48 *wə-hīs bərəh nəxāhe, tənōka sənnáwrət wə-tslūl ašāḥən ðə-bərkəh a‘ísē*
- 49 *wə-təráyd (wə-nfəġáwt) bəh bərk bayr.*
- 48 *tōli ġərūb aġáyġ əð-hē bərkəh ġəyūr.*
- 49 *tē k-sōbəḥ, āmūr ḥ-aġátəh, “hēt šxəwwəli bərk abáyt. wə-hōh sīrōna təwōli ḥáybi.”*

32 *nəkōt ... lātūt*: The audio has the perfects *nəkōt* and *lātūt*, while the manuscripts have the imperfects *tənōka* and *təlōt*.

37 *yəḳšōš*: The earlier Roman manuscript has *yəġšōš* (the later Roman manuscript is incomplete and lacks this line), and *ML* includes a root *gšš* with entries for G- and T1-Stem verbs. However, the Arabic manuscript has *yəḳšōš* here. *ML* also includes the root *ḳšš*, which has cognates with *ḳ* in Ḥarsusi (*HL*, s.v. *ḳš(š)*), Jibbali (*JL*, s.v. *ḳšš*), Hobyot (*HV*, p. 166), and Soqoṭri (Leslau 1938: 381; Naumkin et al. 2014: 595). Either *gšš* is a biform of *ḳšš*, or, more likely, it is an erroneous entry in *ML*.

38 *šerēt*: The more common word for ‘judge’ is *šérə’* (e.g., 9:5; 23:11), a borrowing of Arabic *šāri’* ‘lawgiver’. The form *šerēt*, which is not in *ML* (but was recorded by Jahn 1902: 242), is from Arabic *šir‘at* ‘law’. Here it could also mean ‘court’.

- 32 Then a big snake came and licked the boy's penis until it got better. And two angels came to him and returned his penis to him as before.
- 33 And he went until he reached the town that his sister was in, and he got work with a merchant.
- 34 Then the merchant's daughter fell in love with him, and he fell in love with her.
- 35 Then he asked her father for her hand in marriage, and he gave him her hand.
- 36 While they were like this, the men who had cut off his penis came and said, "This man has no penis."
- 37 Then he said, "I'll bet you. And whichever of us has lied, his head will be cut off."
- 38 They said, "Ok." Then they went to the judge and the government. And he (the judge) said, "Tomorrow, go to the town square, and he should expose himself.
- 39 If he has (a penis) like (other) men, you will be killed. And if he doesn't have a penis, he will be killed." They said, "We accept this deal."
- 40 Then in the morning, they met in the town square. And they said to him, "Expose yourself!"
- 41 He said to them, "You must excuse me!" They said, "Never! We won't excuse you!"
- 42 Then he exposed himself, and the witnesses came, and they found him (to be) like (other) men.
- 43 And they killed the men. And they brought his sister, intending to kill her.
- 44 Then he excused his sister from execution. And the ruler, her husband's father, threw her out.
- 45 And her brother took her, and gave her work with him, and put under her (authority) servant-girls to work for her.
- 46 Then she paid a servant-girl to put poison in her brother's food.
- 47 And when it was in front of [lit. under] him, a cat came and picked up the dish that had the food in it, and threw it into a well.
- 48 Then the man knew that it had something harmful in it.
- 49 Then in the morning, he said to his sister, "You stay in the house, and I will go to my father."

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47 *taráyd*: The Arabic manuscript and audio have *taráyd* 'it threw' (3fs imperfect). The Roman manuscripts both have *nfəǧáwt* 'it threw' (3fs perfect), though in the earlier manuscript, Johnstone added *taráyd* in the margin. Both options fit the context.

- 50 *wə-gəhēm tē wīṣəl arḥəbətəh, kūsa ḥáybəh ḏ-áywər.*  
 51 *wə-nkáyh bə-dīwē tē wīḳa bə-xáy.*  
 52 *wə-mgōrən kəlūt lah b-aḳəssēt ḏə-ḥəbrətəh, alhān āmlōt bəh, wə-hē ṣəbūr*  
*hīs, w-abēli əḏ-fīláh mən xəyénts.*  
 53 *āmūr həh ḥáybəh, “ā ḥəbráy, ḏəḳəməh əl mənəṣ fáydət lā. wə-hōh ber āmárk*  
*hūk mən fənōhən.”*  
 54 *wə-šxəwlūl aǵīgēn wə-ḥkūm arḥəbətəh. wə-təmmōt kəwtēt.*

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51 *dīwē*: The manuscripts have singular *dīwē* ‘medicine’, but on the audio, Ali read the plural *dīwūtən* ‘medicines’. Note that *ML* (s.v. *dwy*) lists a plural *dəwyōtən*, matching (more or less) the plural *duyūtən* listed by Nakano (1986: 41). The form Ali read looks similar to the Yemeni Mehri form *dīwūt* listed by Jahn (1902: 173).

51 *tē wīḳa*: The manuscripts have *tē wīḳa*, but the audio has *wə-wīḳa*.

52 *fīláh*: The form *fīláh* is from an underlying \**fəylīh*.

- 50 And he went, and when he got to his town, he found his father blind [lit. having gone blind].
- 51 And he brought him medicine and [lit. until] he became well.
- 52 And then he told him the story of his daughter, all that she had done to him, (how) he was patient with her, and (how) God had saved him from her betrayal.
- 53 His father said to him, "My son, this (girl) is no good [lit. no benefit from her]. I already told you (that) before."
- 54 And the boy stayed and ruled his town. And the story is finished.

## Text 25 (no J): Medicine Men

- 1 *hōh hīs ādi kənnáwn məśárrək, wə-ḥábye yašāsīri. te sənēt ʔayt, nōsən kə*  
*ʔāt, wə-šxəwlūlən bəh wárxi trōh.*
- 2 *wə-məǵōrən kəlūbən te nákan śáyga. wə-səyūrən nḥāh kənyáwn ḏə-*  
*nǵáwłək mən aḥfūl.*
- 3 *tōli kūsən hərəm əḏ-báh ḥfūl, wəlākan ḏáyrah yaḏbōr mēkən. wə-ffəlīt*  
*ḥəmbəráwtən wə-báyəkək hōh hāl hərəm.*
- 4 *yənōka yaḏbūr, yaḳbási, wə-bákək wə-səyárk təwōli ḥábye.*
- 5 *wə-mǵōrən gəlwək mənəh wə-nfədfədk. wə-təmm bay amrēs xarf kálləh te*  
*aśáyərb.*
- 6 *āmáwr ḥábye, “nəḥōm nəḥīsən həh.”*
- 7 *wə-ḳəfūdən arḥəbēt te nákan hāl amḥīsən. wə-śśnōh háyni.*
- 8 *wə-wəzməḥ ḥáybi xəmmōh kərəwš wə-śálləm həh aśráyn kərəwš hām*  
*wáḳək bə-xáyrb.*
- 9 *w-āmūr amḥīsən, “ḥáḏrəm ləh bə-wōz ḥəwrūt mən ḏār məḳəbrēt bərk*  
*amǵərāb.”*
- 10 *wə-ḥəḏrēw lay, w-əl wáḳək bə-xáyrb lā. tōli āmáwr, “nəḥōm nəḥīsən həh hāl*  
*aḥād ḏə-yərōb.”*
- 11 *wə-nákam bə-həxər ḏə-yərōb, wə-rāb lay, wə-həwśáwf háyni wōz āfrūt.*
- 12 *wə-ḥəḏrēw lay bīs, w-əl wáḳək bə-xáyrb lā.*
- 13 *tōli səyūrən hāl ʔāt ḏə-yəḏōra w-āmūr, “syērəm bəh te hāl hərəm mən hāl*  
*ḳəbśəḥ ayəḏbūr, wə-ḥáḏrəm ləh bə-wōz tərḳāś.”*
- 14 *wə-səyūrən te wəśələn amkōn mən ḏār nəḥōri ʔrayt. te nákan k-amǵərāb,*  
*ḥəḏrēw lay wə-hātōmən.*

1 *məśárrək*: In the earlier Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘spoilt because alone’. The word is not in *ML*.

8 *wəzməḥ ḥáybi*: The Arabic manuscript and earlier Roman manuscript have *wzáwməḥ ḥábye* ‘my parents gave him’, and the later Roman manuscript has just *wzáwməḥ* ‘they gave him’, but the audio has *wəzməḥ ḥáybi* ‘my father gave him’.

8 *aśráyn*: Ali normally used the form *aśráyn* in the texts, but here used *aśráyn*.

10 *ḏə-yərōb*: In *ML* (s.v. *r’b*), the verb *rāb* is defined as ‘be possessed by a spirit (healer)’, but in the earlier Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘one who chants (nonsense) under possession in presence of a sick person who sits before him with a cloth over head’. My translation ‘one who chants’ does not capture all of this cultural information.

### Translation of Text 25

- 1 When I was little, I was spoiled, and my parents loved me. One year, we migrated to a certain place, and we stayed there for two months.
- 2 And then we came back until we came to cave. And we children went looking for ripe figs.
- 3 Then we found a tree that had ripe figs on it, but there were a lot of hornets in it. And the boys ran away, but *I* remained by the tree.
- 4 A hornet came and stung me, and I cried and went to my parents.
- 5 And then I got sick from it, and I got swollen. And the illness stayed with me the whole monsoon season until the fall.
- 6 My parents said, "We should show him to a medicine man."
- 7 And we went down to town and [lit. until] we came to a medicine man. And he examined me.
- 8 And my father gave him five dollars, and promised him [lit. took for him] twenty dollars if I got better.
- 9 And the medicine man said, "Pour the blood of a black goat over him, in a graveyard in the evening."
- 10 And they poured the blood over me, but I didn't get better. Then they said, "We should show him to a medicine man who chants."
- 11 And they brought an old man who chanted, and he chanted over me, and he prescribed for me a red goat.
- 12 And they poured its blood over me, but I didn't get better.
- 13 Then we went to one who measures for possession, and he said, "Bring him to the tree where the hornet stung him, and pour the blood of a spotted goat over him."
- 14 And we went until we got to the place, after two days. Then when we came in the evening, we spent the night.

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13 *ḏā-yāḏḏōra*: In the earlier Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss 'measures with spread fingers and can tell from span if ginn is in'. At the end of the earlier Roman manuscript, Johnstone also added the explanation 'measures with finger span on self saying he'll die he'll get better. If he has a measure left over he'll die'. The form must be a G-Stem 3ms imperfect, from a 3ms perfect *ḏūra* (root *ḏr'*); no such verb is in *ML*. The 3mp imperfect *yāḏéram* occurs in line 18 of this text.



- 15 *w-āmūr amhīsən, “kəbērəm affákh ḏə-hōz.” wə-kəbūrən fakḥ ḏə-hōz. tē k-sōbəḥ gəsūmən, wə-hōh ḏ-əslōl.*
- 16 *tē k-aḏáhr səyárk bə-ḥənōfi. wə-wáḳak bə-xáyr.*
- 17 *wə-nḥāh fənōhən nātəḳáydən b-amsənyūtən. wə-hām ṭāṭ gīlu, yəsyūr hāl amśənyūtən.*
- 18 *bāš māsśənyūtən ḏə-ktəbīn, wə-bāš yəráyb, wə-bāš yəḏéram, wə-bāš yəfərsəm wə-yāmərəm, “nəgōrəb.”*
- 19 *wə-ḥābū yātəḳáydən bihəm, walākan mən sənáyn əlyōməh l-ād əḥād yātəḳáydən bihəm lā, ar hīxār ḏə-mən azbōn ḥāwəláy. wə-təmmōt.*

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18 *yəfərsəm*: In the earlier Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘throw pebbles or small shells & tell a fortune’. *ML* (s.v. *frś*) has the gloss ‘cas[t] pebbles for a fortune reading’ for a G-Stem *fəruś*. The 3mp imperfect *yəfərsəm* (written *يفارشم* by Ali) is from an underlying *yəfərsəm*.

- 15 And the medicine man said, "Bury half of the goat." And we buried half of the goat. Then in the morning, we set off at dawn, and I was being carried.
- 16 Then at noon, I walked by myself. I became well.
- 17 We used to believe in medicine men. And if someone was sick, he would go to the medicine men.
- 18 Some were medicine men with [lit. of] books, some chanted, some measured, and some would cast stones and say, "We know."
- 19 And people used to believe in them, but in these years, no one believes in them anymore, except old men from the olden days [lit. former times]. And it is finished.

## Text 26 (no J): A Conversation

- 1 A: “*hō ráykəm yəmōh?*”  
 2 B: “*rāyən atīfēh əlyōmah, wə-rəhākən lā.*”  
 3 A: “*káskəm mətwē sí yəmōh?*”  
 4 B: “*əl hē xass lā mən yəmših. bah hərmēyēn wə-mārāy, wəlākan hægūm līn kawb, w-aqámhən təh.*”  
 5 A: “*wəḵōna ar ber səll bə-sí?*”  
 6 B: “*bə-háw! šīnək təh gəmus mən ašənáyf ḏə-kərmáym, wə-hē xaláy. wəlākan šīn rawn bāš ḏ-əl sēn bə-xáyr lā. ‘əmk tīsən mən hīs təwōh amāray.*”  
 7 A: “*wəḵōna. wālē watxf ḏə-hskūr hārāwn?”*  
 8 B: “*állah ḏə-hōh šīnək tīsən ḏ-āfērūr anáytisən, wəlākan bāš šərūf.*”  
 9 A: “*ḏək ar əlhəkáysən həbūr. əbōbne tēm, hágnəm ašáyga. aǵəyūg lawb həbṭām hīṭār wə-ḏə-yáššək mən yəslēl līsən kawb yəmōh.*”  
 10 B: “*nákam hīṭār. həḏḏīr mən hārāwn thəlābən. məǵōrən nālōḵ b-ašīfōn. hərəram hīṭār!*”  
 11 C: “*səlōm aláykəm!*”  
 12 A: “*w-aláykəm səlām! hībōh wátxfəm hīṭār?”*  
 13 C: “*wə-hīh! əl šīnən bədēl lā mən hīs həbēr ənkáyn. əngūf ḏáyrən aḏəbbēt wə-hīṭār əl təwīw sí lā yəmōh mən aḏəbbēt.*”  
 14 A: “*xáybən. wālē káskəm mətwē sí?*”

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- 4 *mārāy*: As noted in *ML* (s.v. *mr’y*), this is a diminutive of *māray*.  
 5 *səll*: The Arabic manuscript and audio have *səll*, but Johnstone mistakenly transcribed an initial *ś* in the Roman manuscripts, as also line 9. See the comment to text 14A:2.  
 6 ‘*əmk*’: This is from ‘*əmlək*’, but in this idiom it is often reduced to ‘*əmk*’ (Watson 2012: 94). This is the only certain such example of reduction from Johnstone’s corpus. See also § 12.5.5, and the comment to text 28:18.  
 8 *állah*: Johnstone added the gloss ‘indeed’ in the margin of the first Roman manuscript. It is, of course, an Arabism.  
 8 *šərūf*: According to *ML* (s.v. *zrf*), this verb means ‘(animals) to have recently conceived’, but according to Miranda Morris (p.c.) it refers to an animal at the end of lactation, which may or may not be because the animal is newly pregnant.  
 9 *yəslēl*: The Arabic manuscript and audio have *yəslēl*, but Johnstone mistakenly transcribed *yəslēl* in both Roman manuscripts. Cf. also line 5.

## Translation of Text 26

- 1 A: "Where did you herd today?"  
 2 B: "We herded on those mountain-slopes, but we didn't go far."  
 3 A: "Did you find any pasturage today?"  
 4 B: "It was no worse than yesterday. It had shrubs and a little grass, but a wolf attacked us, and we foiled it."  
 5 A: "Maybe he really has snatched something away?"  
 6 B: "No way! I saw him disappear behind the corner of the mountain, and it was empty-handed. But we have some goats that are not well. I think they are (this way) because they ate the grass."  
 7 A: "Maybe. Did the goats come back with a lot of milk?"  
 8 B: "Indeed, I saw them with red udders [lit. their udders having become red], but some are at the end of lactation."  
 9 A: "It's just that the cold has got to [lit. caught] them. Please warm up the pen. The men have certainly kept the kids away (too) long, and I am afraid that a wolf might snatch (one) from them today."  
 10 B: "The kids came back. Be careful that the goats don't give too much milk (to the kids). Then we'll run short for the guests. Put the kids in the pen!"  
 11 C: "Hello!"  
 12 A: "Hello! How did the kids come back this evening?"  
 13 C: "Oh! We haven't seen an improvement since the camels came to us. The flies have set upon us, and the kids didn't eat anything today because of the flies."  
 14 A: "Fine. Did you find any grazing?"

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- 10 *thalābān*: This is a 3fp subjunctive of the H-Stem verb *halāwb* '(goats) give too much milk to kids' (root *l'b*). The *h* in Stroomer's edition is a misprint or a mistake; perhaps, given the meaning, the verb was parsed by him as coming from the root *h'lb*, which has to do with milking. All of the manuscripts and the audio have *h*.
- 10 *nālōḳ*: This is the 1cp imperfect of the Gb-Stem *áy'ləḳ*. The audio has the 2mp imperfect *tāliḳ* 'you will run short', but all the manuscripts have *nālōḳ* 'we will run short'.

- 15 C: “*lā. wálla nēḥar mæxtīb yəklēl bəh ƙawt, məḳā xā sē nəkátəh arḥəmēt*  
*ḏīməh.*”
- 16 A: “*lā. ḏək ar nəḥágkən wə-ƙáalakən ḥīṭárikən.*”

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- 15 *mæxtīb*: *ML* (s.v. *xyb*) gives the meaning ‘exhausted (wadi)’, but since this is a participle from the verb *xátyəb* ‘be disappointed, be frustrated’ (§ 7.1.6), I assume that it means something closer to ‘barren’ or ‘stunted’, rather than ‘exhausted’. In either case, the point of the story is clear, which is that there was no pasturage to be found in that wadi.
- 15 *yəklēl*: At the end of the earlier Roman manuscript, Johnstone included the following phrases, with their translations: *yəklil bay məḳā hē šay* ‘I bloody well haven’t got it!’ and *yəklil bīs məḳā šīs šəwáyl* ‘there’s nobody bloody like her’. *ML* (s.v. *kll*) includes both of these phrases, with only slightly different translations, and with the correct subjunctive form *yəklēl* (as opposed to *yəklil*) in both phrases. Note that the verb *yəklēl* in these expressions is always followed by the preposition *b-*, and that the negative element *məḳā* (see § 13.2.6) serves in place of the more common elements *əl... lā*. *ML* (s.v. *kll*) defines the verb *kəll* as ‘be fed up; find (a place) unpleasant’. Given this idiomatic usage of subjunctive *yəklēl*, we might compare the Hebrew verb *qillēl* ‘curse’, though the consonant correspondence is irregular.

- 15 C: "No. Just a barren wadi that there was no damned food in, as if this  
(recent) rain hadn't come there [lit. to it]!"
- 16 A: "No. It's just that you were playing and left your kids."

## Text 27 (no J): Two Conversations

- 1 A: “wáðakəm abkār wərdūtən aw lā yəmōh?”  
 2 B: “hēsən?”  
 3 A: “hām əl sən wərdūtən lā, hōm əl-háwrəd həbérye.”  
 4 B: “wa-ya lawb wərdūtən. wə-kōh əð-ğarəbk abkār tşábrən mən həməh?”  
 5 A: “yaghōm tayf abkār! ōzər bīn. l-ād káwla amōl yəttákk mōh lā.”  
 6 B: “háwrəd bə-ħəlláy, mət ber abkār šəwgūs mən ðār həməh.”
- [Second conversation]
- 7 B: “hēt nákak mən hō?”  
 8 A: “hōh nákak mən arhəbēt.”  
 9 B: “wələ sí ayd?”  
 10 A: “ayd mēkən, wəlākan gályət.”  
 11 B: “həmáwlət bə-kəm?”  
 12 A: “həmáwlət wəşəlōt āsərūt kərəwš.  
 13 wə-kōh, əl šīkəm ayd lā?”  
 14 B: “bə-háw! āds səddīta yəlliləh.”  
 15 A: “hībōh? abkār əl tşábrən lā mən ayd?”  
 16 B: “ábdan. (t)şábrən lā. wə-hām kálan tīsən mən ğayr ayd, əl thəndūrən  
 aḳənyáwn lā. ábdan.  
 17 thūğəs əl-hīs tīkəm, bə’áyli həbēr wə-ħāráwn? nəhāh bə’áyli abkār tábən  
 mən abkār əlyōməh, w-ámma ətēm, l-ād tštīm ayd lā.”  
 18 A: “kəm yūm (t)şábrən mən həməh abkār?”  
 19 B: “nəhōr tayt.”  
 20 A: “bass?”  
 21 B: “bass. wə-kōh? həbēr, kəm yūm (t)şábrən mən həməh?”  
 22 A: “xáyməh yūm aw hətt yūm, hām əl šīsən arīh lā. wə-hām šīsən arīh,  
 (t)şábrən rība yūm.”  
 23 B: “wə-ħāráwn? kəm yūm (t)şábrən mən həməh?”  
 24 A: “wəḳōna wəṭōməh, wələ xass ‘áynət.”

2 *hēsən*: This is for underlying \**h-hēsən*. See § 2.1.4.

5 *ōzər*: The form *ōzər*, which is in the Arabic manuscript and on the audio, is the D/L-Stem 3fp perfect of the root ‘*zr*, agreeing with *abkār* (cf. lines 1 and 2, with clear feminine agreement). The Roman manuscripts have *āzərəm*, which is the 3mp perfect.

6 *mət ber*: The manuscripts have *mət ber*, though the audio has only *mət*.

### Translation of Text 27

- 1 A: "Do you know, will the cows go down to the water today or not?"  
 2 B: "Why?"  
 3 A: "If they aren't going to go down to the water, I want to take my camels down to the water."  
 4 B: "Yes, they will indeed go down to the water. Why do you think [lit. know] the cows would do without water?"  
 5 A: "Damn the cows! They've annoyed us. They didn't let the (other) livestock drink any water at all."  
 6 B: "Take (them) down to the water at night, after the cows have come home from the water."  
 [Second Conversation]  
 7 B: "Where did you come from?"  
 8 A: "I came from town."  
 9 B: "Are there any sardines?"  
 10 A: "Many sardines, but expensive."  
 11 B: "How much is a camel-load?"  
 12 A: "A camel-load has reached ten dollars.  
 13 Why, don't you have sardines?"  
 14 B: "Not at all! There's just enough for tonight."  
 15 A: "What? The cows won't do without sardines?"  
 16 B: "Not at all. They won't do without. And if we leave them without sardines, they won't suckle the young ones. Not at all."  
 17 Do you think (we are) like you, the camel-herders and goat-herders? We cow-herders have trouble with these cows, while you, you don't buy sardines at all."  
 18 A: "How many days will the cows do without water?"  
 19 B: "One day."  
 20 A: "That's it?"  
 21 B: "That's it. Why? The camels, how many days will they do without water?"  
 22 A: "Five days or six days, if they don't have a hot wind. And if they have a hot wind, they do without for four days."  
 23 B: "And the goats? How many days will they do without water?"  
 24 A: "About the same, perhaps a little less."



- 25 B: “*abēli šwádakəm!*”  
 26 A: “*āzámk (t)s(y)ēr?*”  
 27 B: “*ēhē, ðε hōh šāgēk. ʔalēb (bə-)səlōm əl-sékənak!*”  
 28 A: “*wə-hēt səlōm!*”

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- 25 *šwádakəm*: The Arabic manuscript has *yəšwádakəm*, while the audio and Roman manuscripts have just *šwádakəm*. *ML* (s.v. *wd'*) has the incorrect *šəwədə[k]əm*, which is where the form in Stroomer's edition must come from. The form *yəšwádakəm* is the Š<sub>1</sub>-Stem 3ms imperfect *yəš(w)ōda* (root *wd'*) plus a 2mp object suffix (cf. *ənōka* 'I come', *ənákakəm* 'I come to you'). In the shortened form *šwádakəm*, perhaps the elision of the initial *yə-* was precipitated by the fact that *abēli* ends in *-i*. The Mehri expression is clearly connected to Arabic *astawdi'ukumū llāha* 'farewell' (lit. 'I entrust you to God'), although in Arabic 'God' is the object, and the verb (from the same root) is 1cs. See also text 75:18, where there is evidence for forms both with and without the initial *yə-*. Cf. also the comment to text 12:17.
- 27 *ðε hōh*: The audio has *ðə-hōh*, but the Arabic manuscript has *ðε* (لذ). The same phrase occurs in text 28:12, where the audio clearly has *ðε*.
- 27 *(bə-)səlōm*: The expected *bə-* (cf. 44:11) is not written in either manuscript, perhaps because of the preceding *b*. However, it is audible (barely) on the audio. Cf. also 94:31, where the *b-* is absent for sure.

- 25 B: "Goodbye [lit. God will keep you]!"  
26 A: "You decided to go?"  
27 B: "Yes, I'm in a hurry. Send greetings to your settlement!"  
28 A: "And you, greetings!"

## Text 28 (no J): A Conversation

- 1 A: “wáðakəm həbēr ħō bərūk?”  
 2 B: “kaláyni sīnək tīsən ðār kərmáym ðayk, wə-ʔmlək tīsən tərĥōḵən lā.”  
 3 C: “tšxəbūr mən həsən?”  
 4 A: “ð-əšxəbūr mən həbēr: wáðak tīsən ħō həbēr bərūk?”  
 5 C: “b-anēḥər ðeh s-sərīn. tšxəbūr mənsən həsən?”  
 6 A: “sī lā. ar ħōm əl-šáxbərĥəm mən abʔyri ðə-ħəğšōbən təh mən áysər  
 yūm, w-əl kəsk mónəh šəfōt lā.”  
 7 C: “həsən ħəlátəh, abʔyr?”  
 8 A: “bəʔyr ōfər, wə-məšḥáyr əl-ħərōh šāb wə-ħáḵf wə-māšīm ḥayðēnəh  
 sáyməl.”  
 9 B: “sīnək bəʔyr yəšsábĥən ləh kaláyni bərĥ həbēr. wəlākan hēt hētəm  
 ħənīn, tē k-sōbəḥ tšəghōm həbēr. bəʔyli həbēr šəšyīm. əḥād yətxəfĥəm lā.  
 həbēr kāl rīgād.”  
 10 A: “wə-kōh ħārāwn ðə-wbūd ħībōh?”  
 11 B: “ħārāwn bə-xáyr wə-bīsən xayr. ħārāwn ðə-ħəğyūg awáḵt ðōməh,  
 wə-šīsən amāray.”  
 12 A: “ðe ħōh šāgēk, ħōm l-ərdəd. əl káðak əḥād ħāl sékəni lā, wə-nĥōm nəsləl,  
 wəlākan ənḵáwdər nəsləl lā ar b-abʔyrən.”  
 13 B: “xáybən. hēt hētəm yálliləh ħənīn. sátwəḵən lūk. tē k-sōbəḥ, tšəghōm  
 həbēr. wəlē tĥaym txələtəm līn?”  
 14 A: “nəḥāh ar ənĥōm, wəlākan štəḵōlən ħənfáyyən. ənĥāh ðə-šəšyōmən.”  
 15 B: “lā. šátḵələm ħənfáykəm lā! fəḵəm əfyət!”

4 *ħəbēr bərūk*: Johnstone took *ħəbēr bərūk* as the beginning of line 5, but on the audio Ali read it as part of line 4. The Arabic manuscript has no line breaks, and so is ambiguous.

8 *šāb wə-ħáḵf*: In the earlier Roman manuscript, Johnstone bracketed off these two words, and added below them the symbol †, obviously meaning ‘cross’. Neither word is in *ML*, and in Johnstone’s manuscript translation of this text, he does not translate *ħáḵf*. According to Miranda Morris (p.c.), *ħáḵf* is a horizontal brand mark, while *šāb* is a perpendicular brand-mark. A *šab wə-ħəḵf* is a cross with arms of equal length (+), and is a widely used brand-mark. The word *šāb*, not in *ML* is presumably cognate with (or borrowed from) the Arabic root *šlb* ‘cross’.

10 *wə-kōh*: The exact function of *wə-kōh* here is unclear. Its usual meaning

### Translation of Text 28

- 1 A: "Do you know where the camels have stopped [lit. knelt]?"
- 2 B: "This evening I saw them on that mountain, and (so) I think they are not far away."
- 3 C: "What are you asking about?"
- 4 A: "I am asking about the camels. Do you know where the camels stopped?"
- 5 C: "In this wadi behind us. What are you asking about them for?"
- 6 A: "Nothing. I only wanted to ask them about my camel that we lost ten days ago, and I have found no news about it."
- 7 C: "What is its description, the camel?"
- 8 A: "A red [or brown] camel, branded on the head is a cross, and its left ear is cut off."
- 9 B: "I saw a camel that looks like it this evening among the (other) camels. But stay the night with us, and in the morning you'll go to the camels. The camel-herders are short of milk. No one (can) stay the night with them. All the camels are pregnant."
- 10 A: "How have the goats been doing?"
- 11 B: "The goats are well and have well [i.e., have milk]. The goats have recently given birth, and they have pasturage."
- 12 A: "I am in a hurry, I want to get back. I didn't leave anyone with my family, and we want to move, but we can't move without [lit. except with] our (male) camel."
- 13 B: "Ok. You stay tonight with us. We've missed you. And in the morning, you'll go to the camels. Maybe you (all) want to join up with us?"
- 14 A: "We would really like to, but we'd think ourselves a burden. We've run short of milk."
- 15 B: "No. Don't think yourselves a burden! We insist!"

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'why?' is not a great fit for the context. Johnstone translated it as 'well then'.

- 15 *fākām āfyāt*: This idiom means literally something like 'swear (by your) health!', and is used when one is insisting that someone do something. A similar expression is *fākām abēli* 'swear (by) God!'. The element *fākām* is here masculine plural; when speaking to one man, one says *fūk āfyāt*. The Roman manuscripts have instead here *mānkēm ar fāydat* 'from you is only good'.

- 16 A: “xáyban, nəhōm. wə-hōh k-sōbəh məšághəm həbēr. wə-hām kəsk ab’áyri, rəddōna təwōli sékəni wə-šəlyēla təwálikəm.”
- 17 B: “yā hay bīkəm! wəlē házikəm mədōni?”
- 18 A: “ya-ḥōl mədōni, wə-’əm(lə)k tīsən thágyəgən məstīhal awárx dōmah. wəlākan házyən tyábtən mən ḍār háwrət.”
- 19 B: “axáyr hīkəm tənkēm tīn. báwməh amāray.”
- 20 A: “wə-hīh, lawb gəzəkəm xayr. w-abásərkəm tī b-ab’áyri ḍə-šəḫtāk mánəh.”
- 21 k-sōbəh səyūr aǵáyǵ tē šəghūm həbēr, wə-kūsa ab’áyrəh bərk həbēr. wəlākan ksēh ḍə-səbēt. səbáwṭəh bə’áyli həbēr. ab’áyr ḡələm wə-yáwrəḫ həbēr.
- 22 B: “wəlē kəsk ab’áyrək?”
- 23 A: “ya-ḥōl kəsk təh, wəlākan ḍə-səbēt. səbáwṭəh bə’áyli həbēr.”
- 24 wə-támm kētī ḍ-aǵáyǵ wə-ssəkən.

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- 18 ‘əm(lə)k: Ali spelled this word ‘əmk in the Arabic manuscript, but read ‘əmlək on the audio. See also § 12.5.5, and the comment to text 26:6.
- 18 tyábtən: The manuscripts have tyábtən, which must be a fp adjective. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added Arabic تعب in parentheses in the margin. *ML* (s.v. t‘b) lists an adjective tə‘ēb ‘weak (people)’ (probably better transcribed tə‘áyb), but gives no other forms. On the audio, Ali mistakenly read what sounds like tābənt.
- 21 ḡələm: This word is not in *ML*. It could either be a noun or a G passive 3ms perfect from the root ḡlm. We can compare the Jibbali Gb-Stem ḡələm ‘(camels) run wild (after summer)’ (*JL*, s.v. ḡlm). Miranda Morris (p.c.) recorded ḡələm as a noun meaning ‘male camel in rut (i.e., in its mating period)’.

- 16 A: "Fine, we would like to. And in the morning I'll go to the camels. And if I find my camel, I'll go back to my settlement, and we'll move to you."
- 17 B: "Welcome to you! Are your goats pregnant?"
- 18 A: "Pregnant indeed, and I think they will give birth at the end of this month. But our goats are weak from the drought."
- 19 B: "It's better for you to come to us. There is pasturage here."
- 20 A: "Oh, thank you indeed! And you have given me good news about my camel, which I was nervous about."
- 21 In the morning the man went and came to the camels, and he found his camel among the camels. But he found it had been beaten. The camel-herders had beaten it. The camel was in rut and had fought with the (other) camels.
- 22 B: "Did you find your camel?"
- 23 A: "Indeed I found it, but it had been beaten. The camel-herders beat it."
- 24 And the story of the man and the settlement is finished.

## Text 29 (no J): A Conversation

- 1 A: “*hō kəbáskəm yəmōh?*”  
 2 B: “*mən hāl yəmših.*”  
 3 A: “*wālē káskəm mətwe sí yəmōh?*”  
 4 B: “*kūsən mətwe, wəlākan nūka abkār wə-ngūf ḏáyrən aḏabbēt. wə-habēr ākūš, w-əl tām kəwt lā.*  
 5 *te gəsáwwən əmthəlūt līsən aḏabbēt wə-təwōh. wəlākan habēr kāl liḳəh.*”  
 6 A: “*ḏe mōn habərkīsən h-aba’yōr ar həmbəráwtən, bə’áyli aṭāba aḳōmāh. māḡōrən ālyēka b-andēr ḏ-akənyáwn.*  
 7 *nəhōm nəháxəb əl-bə’áyli aḥfōy yənkēm tīn. wəḳōna ber bīsən aśxōf. wālē nəhōm nəháxləf mən amkōn ḏōmāh. aḏabbēt wətḡáwt hābēr.*”  
 8 B: “*tḥáymən əl-hō nəháxləf?*”  
 9 A: “*nəhōm nəhángəd bərk həwōdi ḏīmāh əw-mšā.*”  
 10 B: “*xáybən. nəhōm yəmōh b-amkōnən, w-əḥād yəṭf həwōdi ḏīmāh. hām kūsa bīs mətwe, nəxxəlūf. wə-hām əl kūsa mətwe lā, nəkūn (nəwōka) ādən b-amkōnən.*”  
 11 A: “*sáwrək ḡid. nəhōm əwṭōmāh.*”  
 12 B: “*mōn mənkēm ṭəfōna?*”  
 13 A: “*b-arāykəm, tḥáymi hōh əl-tāf?*”  
 14 B: “*wa-ya-hōl, nəhōm!*”  
 15 *ṭof aḡáyḡ, wə-kūsa amətwe, wəlākan kūsa ḥābū ḏə-škátṛəm bərk həwōdi, rawn wə-bēr, wəlākan abkār sí lā.*  
 16 *wə-rádd təwōli hābérhe, wə-kəlūt əl-hābū. āmūr,*

5 *əmtḥəlūt*: Johnstone transcribed *məthəlōt*, and *ML* (s.v. *mhl*) lists the 3ms perfect *məthūl*, but the audio here clearly has *əmtḥəlūt*. And in the Arabic manuscript, Ali spelled this word *امتهلوت*, clearly indicating the initial vowel. When the second root consonant is voiceless and non-glottalic, then the T<sub>2</sub>-Stem pattern *əCtCūC* often shifts to *CətCūC* in order to avoid a cluster of three consonants, but in this case, a cluster of the sonorant *m* plus two voiceless, non-glottalic consonants is acceptable.

6 *bə’áyli aṭāba aḳōmāh*: The phrase literally means ‘owners of bad manners’. In the earlier Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘those with manners, bad’, and Stroemer adopted this translation in his edition. I prefer the translation ‘ill-bred people’, given in *ML* (s.v. *ṭb’*), since the story is referring improper treatment of camels, not impoliteness.

6 *ālyēka*: While the Arabic manuscript has the mp future *ālyēka*, Ali read

## Translation of Text 29

- 1 A: "Where did you herd (the camels) today?"  
 2 B: "Where (they were) yesterday."  
 3 A: "Did you find any grazing today?"  
 4 B: "We found grazing, but the cows came, and the flies set upon us. And the camels crowded together, and they didn't taste any food.  
 5 Then in the evening, the flies eased up on us, and they ate. But all the camels have conceived."  
 6 A: "Well, who would have made them kneel for the male camels except children, ill-bred people? Then they'll run short of the children's milk."  
 7 A: "We should send for the herders with suckling mothers to come to us. Maybe they have milk already. Or else we should move from this place. The flies are killing [lit. killed] the camels."  
 8 B: "Where do you want us to move to?"  
 9 A: "We should go to the Najd, in this valley to the south [or: downstream]."  
 10 B: "Ok. We should (stay) today in our place, and someone should scout out this valley. If he finds grazing in it, we'll move. And if he doesn't find grazing, we'll still be in our place."  
 11 A: "Your advice is good. We should (do) like this."  
 12 B: "Which of you will scout?"  
 13 A: "As you wish. Do you want *me* to scout?"  
 14 B: "Yes indeed, we do [lit. want]!"  
 15 The man scouted, and he found grazing, but he found people had gathered in great numbers in the valley, (with) goats and camels, but not any cows.  
 16 And he came back to his camels, and he told the people. He said,

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the 3mp imperfect *yālīk* on the audio. The meaning is the same. In the Roman manuscripts, Johnstone transcribed *alyēka*, probably reflecting *alyēka*.

- 10 *nākūn* (*nəwōka*): The Arabic manuscript and audio have *nākūn*. In the older Roman manuscript, Johnstone indicated that *nəwōka* was the equivalent of *nākūn*. In his later manuscript, he wrote only *nəwōka*, which does seem to be a better fit in this context. On the difference between these two verbs, see § 13.1.1 and § 13.1.2.



- 17 A: *“hōh ʔafk, wə-kásk amətwē, wəlākan ḥābū əl-hīs abáṭḥ mən kētər.  
ʂərōmah tḥáymən nəslēl aw nəbqáʾ b-amkōnən?”*
- 18 B: *“lawb, ənhōm nəslēl mən aḏbēb ḏ-abqār.”*
- 19 *wə-təmmōt aqəssēt ḏə-bəʾáyli ḥəbēr.*

- 17 A: "I scouted, and I found grazing, but the people are as numerous as grains of sand [lit. like sand from their large amount]. Now do you want us to move or remain in our place?"
- 18 B: "No, let's move from [or: because of] the cows' flies."
- 19 And the story of the camel-herders is finished.

## Text 30 (no J): The Sharpshooter

- 1 *xəṭarāt sēkən ḏə-skáwn bə-wōdi, wə-ḏ-gáyam, w-al šihəm ʔawt lā. wə-  
ḥázihəm mādōni, wə-hēm ḏār rəḥmēnōt ḏ-al sē mēkən lā.*
- 2 *əttōli āmūr hihəm aǧáyǧ, “ənhōm nəslēl tē ḥəwōdi s-sarīn. bis awə’yōl,  
wə-nšxáwwəl tē ḥázǧən tháǧǧəǧən.”*
- 3 *āmáwr, “b-arāyək. hām thámən, nəslēl. tābən mən ḥəwōdi ḏīməh.”*
- 4 *tōli sálləm. tē wəšəlam ḥəwōdi, kūšəm tīs háwrət, wəlākan bis awə’yōl.*
- 5 *w-aǧáyǧ ləbbūd. yáwšəm xyēṭ. tē nəhōr ʔayt, xtūl wə-nūka bə-wēl sōx.*
- 6 *w-anhōr xəwfit, xtūl wə-nūka bə-trōh.*
- 7 *tōli āmərūt tēt ʔayt, “aǧáyǧ ḏōməh səddōna tīn mən amšəráwf ḏ-arḥəbēt.”  
w-al āmərūt “xōb áyni” lā.*
- 8 *tē nəhōr xəwfit, xtūl aǧáyǧ wə-šīni wēl, wə-wəbdēh. yəḥəšáwb ašāwər ḏə-  
fənwih, wə-tənūṭəs təwōli aǧáyǧ, wə-tāwōr áynəh ʔayt. wə-rádd təwōli  
sēkən, bərəh āwēr.*
- 9 *wə-šxəwlil. wə-rádd lihəm šáddəhəm ḏ-agəwé’, wəlākan ḥərəáwn ʔáyǧrəb  
tháǧǧəǧən. ādəh līsən fəḫḫ ḏə-wárx.*
- 10 *wə-šəmrūš aǧáyǧ. tōli gáyam wə-šḥāṭəm wōz. w-anhōr xəwfit, šḥāṭəm ʔayt.*

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- 1 *skawn*: The three Roman manuscripts have *skawn*, the 3mp perfect, matching the other 3mp verbs in this line. On the audio, Ali read 3ms *skūn*. The 3ms also works, since *sēkən* is really singular. The Arabic manuscript is ambiguous, since both *skūn* and *skawn* would be written سكون.
- 1 *rəḥmēnōt*: The diminutive *rəḥmēnōt* here could be translated ‘a little rain’ or ‘a little vegetation (that comes after rain)’. The latter fits better after the preposition *ḏār* ‘over’.
- 5 *ləbbūd*: The Arabic manuscript and audio have just *ləbbūd* here. *ML* defines this as ‘good shot’, and I take this as a description of the man (i.e., ‘he is a good shot’), rather than of the shooting (i.e., ‘he shot a good shot’). The Roman manuscripts, as well as *ML* (s.v. *lbd*), all have *yəlūbəd ləbbūd* ‘he could shoot a good shot’.
- 8 *yəḥəšáwb*: This is the 3ms imperfect of the Š1-Stem *ḥəwšáwb* ‘be hit’. The root is historically *šwb*, but *wšb* in the H- and Š1-Stems. According to *ML* (p. xlv and s.v. *šwb*), the 3ms imperfect is *yəḥəwšáwb*, which is what we expect for a I-w, II-Glottalic verb. For this text, Ali’s Arabic manuscript has يهصوب, while Johnstone’s earlier Roman manuscript has *yəḥəšəoob*, and his later manuscript has *yəḥəšəwōb*. The audio clearly has *yəḥəšáwb*.

### Translation of Text 30

- 1 Once a community was living in a valley. They were hungry, and they didn't have food. Their goats were pregnant, and they were by a little vegetation that was not a lot.
- 2 Then the man said to them, "We should move to the valley behind us. In it are ibexes. We should stay there until our goats give birth."
- 3 They said, "As you wish. If you want us to, we'll move. We are tired of this valley."
- 4 Then they moved. When they got to the valley, they found it parched, but there were ibexes in it.
- 5 And the man was a good shot. He could cut threads (with his shots). Then one day, he went hunting and brought back a big ibex.
- 6 And the next day, he went hunting and brought back two.
- 7 Then a certain woman said, "This man will be sufficient for us (more than) provisions from town." But she didn't say *xōb áyni* (to ward off the evil eye).
- 8 Then the next day, the man went hunting and saw an ibex, and he shot at it. He hit the rock behind it, and (the bullet) ricocheted back to the man, and his one eye was blinded. And he went back to the settlement, already blind (in one eye).
- 9 And they stayed. And their burden of hunger returned to them, but the goats were close to giving birth. They still had half a month (left).
- 10 And the man became ill. Then they got hungry, and they slaughtered a goat. And the next day they slaughtered one (more).

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It appears, then, that like we find for I-w verbs in the Š1-Stem, the H-Stem also has two variant imperfects, *yəhəwCūC* and *yəhəCūC*. See further in the comment to text 95:7, and in § 7.2.3.

- 8 *bārah āwēr*: On the audio, Ali read *ber áywər*, using a verbal phrase rather than a non-verbal one. The manuscripts all have *bārah āwēr*.
- 9 *šáddəhəm*: In the Roman manuscripts, Johnstone transcribed *ś*, as also in *ML* (s.v. *śdd*). However, the audio clearly has *š*, no doubt reflecting a simple Arabism (cf. Arabic *šadd*). The Arabic manuscript is ambiguous, since Ali wrote both *š* and *ś* with the Arabic letter ش. In the earlier Roman manuscript, it looks like an original *š* was corrected to *ś*.

- 11 *tōli ffārē' ḥārāwn b-agīg, wālākan nūka ar bə-ḥiṭār.*
- 12 *əttōli āmūr agáyg, "hām ḥārāwn nūka ar bə-ḥiṭār, w-əl nūka b-ārōḍ lā, šhayṭ ḥiṭār l-agərē ḥābū yašádarkəm mən ḏār agəwé'."*
- 13 *tōli ffārē' ḥārāwn amətalyōt b-ārōḍ, wālākan ḥārāwn bīsən šxōf mēkən lā.*
- 14 *təmmōt līsən arḥəmēt, wə-rəddəm ḥəwádihəm ḥāwəlīt. tōli šərḥáym wə-təmmūt aḵā' kálləh.*
- 15 *wə-ḥārāwn áyməl ašxōf, wə-mkáwr. wáqam fəǵəsōy ḏə-yəkláwl, mən ḏār ašáymat əḏ-fənōhən.*
- 16 *wə-təmmōt kəwtēt.*

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11 *agīg*: This word is not in *ML*. In the earliest Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss 'in birth'. It is clearly a noun from the root *gyg* (cf. H-Stem *həgyūg* 'give birth').

- 11 Then the goats began birthing, but they bore only female kids.
- 12 Then the man said, "If the goats bear only female kids, and don't bear (any) male kids, kill the female kids, so that the people might survive the famine."
- 13 Then the later goats began (to bear) male kids, but the goats didn't have much milk.
- 14 The vegetation ran out on them, and they returned to their earlier valley. Then they got rain, and it irrigated the whole land.
- 15 And the goats made milk, and they bagged (it for butter-making). They became milk-rich, so that they could spill (it) out, after the previous shortage.
- 16 And the story is finished.

## Text 31 (no J): An Uncle's Visit

- 1 *gəyɡ ðə-wátʃf aɡátəh ðə-ʃfʰáwt. wə-bér ʃis həbánsə mən aɡáyɡəs.*  
 2 *tōli əmūr, “ād əhād ʃini həzyən?”*  
 3 *āmərūt aɡátəh, “házikəm yəllōh sēn bə-həwōdi ðih, wəlākan ðə-yāmərəm*  
*yəslēləm. w-əl wádan lā hēm sólləm aw lā, wəlākan ɡətərbūt həyáwm,*  
*wə-xār hūk thētəm.”*  
 4 *“əl hōm əl-hētəm lā. ber háyni sēt mən sékəni.”*  
 5 *“ber ɡəzámk lūk thētəm!”*  
 6 *tōli aqōfi aɡáyɡ. əmərūt tēt, “əl xā hōh ð-əɡüzəm lūk lā. ərdəd əw-bōh! əhād*  
*yəʃɡūs lā ʃərōməh. ɡəzōt həyáwm, wə-báni aɡátk sátwəkəm lūk.”*  
 7 *“xáybən, hōh məhētəm. wəlākan ber ɡəzámk mən əmʃəʔáwt.”*  
 8 *“əl hōh ʃəʔáyta hūk lā.”*  
 9 *te wátʃf hāráwn wə-ʃisən həmbərəwtən. tōli ɡəbərəthəm hāmēhəm*  
*w-āmərūt hīhəm,*  
 10 *“xáylkəm hənūn, wəlākan ber ɡəzūm mən əmʃəʔáwt. ʃərōməh thəym*  
*thəhəntəm təh, b-arāykəm. wə-thəym təklēm təh, b-arāykəm. hāráwn*  
*bīsən əsʰōf, wə-ʃxəfōna.”*  
 11 *ámáwr həmbərəwtən, “yəhōm yəgzēm aw lā, nəhāh ʃəyēʔa h-axáylan.*  
*məǵōrən yəʃxəbūrəh həbū, ‘ʃhāʔəm hūk báni aɡátk aw lā?’, wə-hām əl*  
*ʃhāʔən həh lā, yənəkdəm līn həbū.”*  
 12 *te kəlōh hāráwn wə-hīs bársən b-aʔərəf ð-aʃáyɡa, mánam wōz wə-ʃhāʔəm*  
*tīs.*  
 13 *te nákam həmbərəwtən hāl xáylhəm, əmūr hīhəm xáylhəm, “ðe hōh ber*  
*ɡəzámk fōnəh!”*  
 14 *ámáwr həmbərəwtən, “hēt ar ðə-ǵərəbk nəhāh wōgəb līn nəʃōʔ hūk.”*  
 15 *wə-hātīm. te k-sōbəh aɡáyɡ səyūr təwōli sékənəh. wə-təmmōt.*

6 *yəʃɡūs*: The manuscripts and audio all have *yəʃɡūs* here. *ML* (p. lxi, n. 1) gives 3ms imperfect *yəʃ(ə)ɡūs* as a variant of the more regular-looking *yəʃəwɡūs*. The form *yəʃɡūs* was also produced by informants. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added “(əw)” in the margin above *yəʃɡūs*, indicating the variant *yəʃəwɡūs*. See also 54:3 and § 7.2.3.

**Translation of Text 31**

- 1 A man came to his sister who had gotten married. And she already had sons from her husband.
- 2 Then he said, "Has anyone seen our goats?"
- 3 His sister said, "Last night your goats were in this valley, but they were saying they would move. And we don't know if they moved or not, but the sun has gone down, and it's better for you to stay the night."
- 4 "I don't want to stay the night. I have already been (away) a long time from my family."
- 5 "I have already sworn to you that you'll stay the night!"
- 6 Then the man turned away. The woman said, "It's not like I haven't sworn to you. Come back here! No one is going now. The sun has gone down. And your nephews have missed you."
- 7 "Ok, I'll stay the night. But I already swore against (having any) slaughtered animal."
- 8 "I won't slaughter for you."
- 9 Then the goats came, and with them the boys. Then their mother met them and said to them,
- 10 "Your uncle is with us, but he already swore against (having any) slaughtered animal. Now if you want to make him break his oath, as you wish. And if you want to leave him alone, as you wish. The goats have milk, and he will drink milk."
- 11 The boys said, "Whether he wants to swear or not, we will slaughter for our uncle. Later people will ask him, 'Did your nephews slaughter for you, or not?' And if we don't slaughter for him, people will criticize us."
- 12 Then when the goats came home, and after they were by the pen, they took a goat and slaughtered it.
- 13 Then when the boys came to their uncle, their uncle said to them, "Well, I already swore earlier!"
- 14 The boys said, "You surely know that it is obligatory for us to slaughter for you."
- 15 And they spent the night. Then in the morning, the man went to his settlement. And it is finished.



**Text 32 (no J): A Man Who Died of Thirst, and His Orphaned Daughter**

- 1 *xəṭərāt gáyg ḏə-yəgáwłəḵ mən sékənəh, wə-šəh bə'áyr. wə-hē əl yağōrəb ḥōrəm lā.*
- 2 *wə-šəh ḥarḵ. tē wīšəl b-aámḵ əḏ-ḥōrəm, ḏáyma. wə-l-ād ḵədūr yəsyēr lā, wə-l-ād gārūb ḥōrəm lā.*
- 3 *ḥəḵšáwm nəxáli ḥərōš. tē nəhōrən, l-ād ḵədūr yəgtáyr lā.*
- 4 *šḥāt ab'áyrəh wə-ḥftūk kērəs ḏ-ab'áyr, w-āšáwr fərt. wə-ttəḵḵ mən ḥəmōh ḏə-kērəs.*
- 5 *wə-hē šəwəd sékənəh yənkēhəm bād nəhōri trayt, wə-bér ḥəh xəmhūt ādəh əl šīni sékənəh lā.*
- 6 *tōli šāšáywəh sékənəh wə-šxəbīr mánəh. wə-hámam bəh məháḵbəl līhəm, wəlākan nūka lā.*
- 7 *wə-ğáláwḵ mánəh. tōli kūšəm šáffəh.*
- 8 *wə-tábam bə-šáffəh, tē kūšəm təh ber mōt mən ḏáwma. wə-hē bərk amğafūt ḏ-ab'áyrəh.*
- 9 *nəḥārəm ləh yəbīti trayt.*
- 10 *w-ağáyg xəlūf ašráyin bēr, w-əl xəlūf wəléd lā ar gəgəḡnōt.*
- 11 *tōli gátəwsəm ağáwhə mən ḏār awért ḏ-ağáyg, wə-ḏəláwm ağəgəḡnōt aytəmūt.*
- 12 *tōli āḵərūt ağəgəḡnōt, wə-xədəmūt amğār. wə-gəzəmūt, “əl əšfōḵ tē l-əfdéh ḥəbēr əḏ-ḥáybi.”*
- 13 *əttōli ağəgəḡnōt ḥəšəlēt séḥəz. wə-kāl sənēt tfayd yəbīti trayt aw šəlīt, tē ber šīs ḥəbēr kāl mən ḥāl ḥədəydas.*
- 14 *tōli wəfūd bīs bər ḥədəydas.*
- 15 *āmərūt, “məšfəḵāta lā ar kāl ḏə-yəḥōm yəzəmi séḥzi ḏə-bér xədəmk təh mən ḥāl ḥədəydi.”*
- 16 *āmūr ağıgēn, “wəzyēma tīš séḥzəs.”*
- 17 *wəzáməs séḥzəs. ḥīs bārəh šīs, šfəḵətəh.*
- 18 *wə-šxəwəllūt šəh nəhōr tayt, wə-xəzūt mánəh.*
- 19 *tōli āmūr, “ḥām əl thámi lā, əzəmi séḥzi.”*
- 20 *āmərūt, “séḥəz ḏékəməh ar xədmēt ḏə-ḥáydi.”*

14 *bər ḥədəydas*: The manuscripts have *bər ḥədəydas*, but on the audio, Ali read instead the synonymous phrase *ḥəbrē ḏə-ḥədəydas*.

20 *ḏékəməh*: The manuscripts have *ḏékəməh* ‘that’, but Ali read *ḏōməh* ‘this’ on the audio. Likewise in line 22, the manuscripts have *əlyəkəməh* ‘those’, but Ali read *əlyōməh* ‘these’.

**Translation of Text 32**

- 1 Once a man was looking for his community, and he had a camel. And he didn't know the way.
- 2 And it was hot. When he got halfway, he got thirsty. He couldn't go anymore, and he didn't know the way.
- 3 He spent the day under an acacia tree. Then at midday, he couldn't speak anymore.
- 4 He slaughtered his camel. He took out the camel's stomach, and he squeezed out the undigested food. And he drank some of the water from the stomach.
- 5 He had promised his community that he would come back to them after two days, and it was already the fifth (day) that he hadn't seen his community.
- 6 Then his community got worried about him, and they inquired about him. They heard he was headed towards them, but he didn't come.
- 7 And they looked for him. Then they found his tracks.
- 8 And they followed his tracks until they found him already dead from thirst. And he was in the chest cavity of his camel.
- 9 They sacrificed two camels for him.
- 10 And the man left behind twenty camels, but he left behind no children except a girl.
- 11 Then his brothers argued over the man's inheritance, and they were unfair to the orphaned girl.
- 12 Then the girl grew up, and she worked the frankincense trees. And she swore, "I will not marry until I redeem my father's camels."
- 13 Then the girl acquired frankincense. And every year she would redeem two or three camels, until she had all of the camels (back) from his uncle.
- 14 Then her cousin asked for her hand in marriage.
- 15 She said, "I will not marry, except to whoever wants to give me my frankincense that I have worked for from my uncle."
- 16 The boy said, "We will give you your frankincense."
- 17 They gave her her frankincense. After she had it, she married him.
- 18 And she stayed with him one day, and she refused him.
- 19 Then he said, "If you don't want me, give me my frankincense."
- 20 She said, "That frankincense is surely the product [lit. work] of my (own) hand."

- 21 *āmūr*, “xáybən, əzámən hərbéryən.”
- 22 *āmarūt*, “həbēr əlyákəməh ar mən sār hıáybi. wə-šérť əm-mənwáy w-əm-mənwük əl-šəffək, wə-bér šfəkək tük. şərōməh əl hūk sí lā.”
- 23 *āmūr*, “ğədəwwən təwōli sérə’, ənšáxbər.”
- 24 *səyáwr təwōli sérə’ wə-šxəbīr. w-āmūr sérə’*, “şərōməh əl hūk sí lā ar aməwkēt đə-ttēt, wə-bér šük aməwkáts.
- 25 *şərōməh t̄hōm txxōli, əntəqōl. wə-t̄hōm (t)šxáwwəl, əntəqōl.*”
- 26 *āmūr*, “əl hōm əl-xōli lā.”
- 27 *šxəwlül sənēti trayt, w-ādəh əl xōli lā.*
- 28 *tōli aqáyğ yəhōm yəhērəs wə-ħəggūt ləh tétəh m-əd yəhērəs aw yəhōm yəxxōli.*
- 29 *tōli šəşyūk aqáyğ wə-xxōli.*
- 30 *wə-šfəkáwt řāt wə-bér šīs amōləs kálləh. wə-nkōt bə-ħəbánsə. wə-təmmōt.*

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30 *wə-nkōt bə-ħəbánsə*: This sentence is missing from the audio, but it is in the manuscripts.

- 21 He said, "Ok, give us our camels."
- 22 She said, "Those camels are surely from my father. The deal between me and you was that I marry you, and I already married you. Now you are owed nothing."
- 23 He said, "Let's go to the judge to ask."
- 24 They went to the judge and they asked. And the judge said, "Now you are owed nothing except marital possession of the woman, and you already have marital possession of her."
- 25 Now if you want to get divorced, choose (so). And if you want to remain, choose (so)."
- 26 He said, "I don't want to get divorced."
- 27 He remained two years, and he didn't get divorced.
- 28 Then the man wanted to get married (to someone else), but his wife didn't let him get married unless he wanted to get divorced.
- 29 Then the man got fed up, and he divorced (her).
- 30 And she married someone, and she already had all of her property. And she bore sons. It is finished.

## Text 33 (no J): A Boy Who Didn't Like to Work

- 1 Mother: *āmūr hūk ḥadáydak*, “*āká’ k-ḥāráwn*,” *wə-bér gəzūm hām əl wáḳak k-ḥāráwn lā*, *ðə-yəsbátk. hēt əl tənōfa lā*.
- 2 Son: *lawb, hōh ar ənōfa*, *wəlākan məḳā xā hōh ð-ənōfa sí hənīkəm!*
- 3 Mother: *bass, ḳəl’é’ aǰərōy! yəkūn lūk śakk, hām ǰátəryək k-ḥadáydak. āḳá’ k-ḥāráwn yəmōh*, *wə-gēhəməh šəndərk ðə-l-əḳlĕk tháḳşəm mən hāl tḥōm*.
- 4 Son: *lawb, hōh əð-ǰərabk tikəm. gēhəməh āmyēra háyni*, “*āká’ k-ḥāráwn. wə-hēt əl tənōfa lā!*”
- 5 Mother: *xáybən. śné’*, (*əl-*)*frēḥ hōh bə-ḥəbráy. abēli yabōrək bük!*
- 6 Son: *xáybən. hōh wəḳōna k-ḥāráwn yəmōh*, *wəlākan hām gēhəməh əl ḳalakəm tī əl-háḳşəm lā*, *l-ād ənfōna tikəm zōyəd lā*.
- 7 Mother: *yéye. aḳōfi sār ḥázke*, *wə-ḥəððōr mən kawb!*

5 (*əl-*)*frēḥ*: The expected ics subjunctive prefix *l-* is absent from the Arabic manuscript and the audio. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone included the prefix *lə-*, but circled it and added the note “can be dropped”. Part of this line is reproduced in *ML* (s.v. *frḥ*), where the verb is transcribed *l-fərəḥ*. The expected form *əl-frēḥ* occurs in text 90:13.

**Translation of Text 33**

- 1 Mother: Your uncle told you, "Stay with the goats!" And he swore that if you were not with the goats, he would hit you. You are of no use.
- 2 Son: Yes, I am indeed of use, but it's as if I were of no use to you in anything!
- 3 Mother: Enough, stop [lit. leave] the talk! It will be an offense for you if you speak with your uncle (this way). Be with the goats today, and tomorrow I promise that I'll let you spend the day wherever you want.
- 4 Son: No, I know you. Tomorrow you will say to me, "Be with the goats. You are of no use!"
- 5 Mother: Fine. Look, let me be happy with my son. May God bless you!
- 6 Son: Fine. I will be with the goats today, but if tomorrow you don't let me spend the day (where I want), I won't be of use to you anymore.
- 7 Mother: Ok. Go after your goats, and watch out for wolves!

## Text 34 (no J): A Journey to Dubai (Autobiographical)

- 1 *ḥāmáy əl səwmēt əḥād lā ar hōh wə-ǧəǧənōt.*  
 2 *wə-bér ənkōt b-ərbōt əmbəráwtən wə-ǧəǧənōt wə-mōtəm.*  
 3 *w-amma ḥáybi, šəh ǧǧēn mən tēt tayt, wəlākan əmtōt tēt, w-aǧǧēn bə-*  
*ttōdi. wə-məǧōrən hārūs bə-ḥāmáy. wəlākan əl səwmēt əḥād lā ar hōh*  
*wə-ǧəǧənōt.*  
 4 *wə-ḥāmáy šis amōl mēkən, wəlākan ḥáybi fəḳáy r wəlākan xəddōmi.*  
 5 *wə-mǧōrən áyməl dəkkōn mən amōl ðə-ḥāmáy, wə-xədūm bərkīh.*  
 6 *wə-nḥāh kənyáwn. tkūn ḥāmáy bərk ḥāráwn wə-həbēr, wə-ḥáybi bərk*  
*adəkkōn.*  
 7 *wə-hīs bəri bər ōsər sənáy n, āmárk ḥáybi, “štōm háyni məndáwḱ!”*  
 8 *āmūr ḥáybi, “ā ḥəbráy, hēt ādək kənnáwn, w-əl ḥáwməl səlēb lā.”*  
 9 *āmárk həh, “ḥām əl hēt štəmōna háyni məndáwḱ lā, hōh məssōfər.”*  
 10 *wə-məǧōrən šitəm háyni məndáwḱ. wə-ǧəhémk, wə-mən hāl nákak,*  
*yəšḥáyk mənáy ḥābū. yāmərəm, “hēt kənnáwn wə-tśəlul məndáwḱ!”*  
 11 *wə-mǧōrən əkōsa ǧáyǧ. āmūr háyni, “wəzmōna tik ǧənbáyyət b-*  
*aməndáwḱək.”*  
 12 *wə-hōh kənnáwn. əǧōrəb təmən ð-aməndáwḱ lā. wə-sállək əjənbáyyət*  
*wə-səyárk təwōli ḥāmáy wə-kəlátk līs.*  
 13 *āmarūt ḥāmáy, “šándəm aməndáwḱək, wəlē ḥáybək səbṭōna tik.”*  
 14 *āmárk hīs, “yéye. sīrōna.”*  
 15 *w-əsyūr h-arḥəbēt təwōli aásər ðə-ḥáybi, w-āmárk həh, “āmūr hūk ḥáybi,*  
*‘əzēmi ərbə‘áyn kəráwš, w-əl-kələ’ hənūk əjənbáyyət ðīməh.”*  
 16 *āmūr, “ād tāká’ təbáyð?” āmárk, “əbáyð lā hōh.”*  
 17 *wəzmáy ərbə‘áyn kəráwš, wə-səyárk şəlōlat. wə-şátk ǧəwəz wə-ssáfrək.*  
*wə-ḥəbye əl wádam bay lā.*  
 18 *te wəşələk kəṭár, wə-kəfədk. w-əl əǧōrəb l-əǧtáyrərbáyyət lā.*

- 6 *tkūn ḥāmáy*: The Arabic manuscript and audio have *tkūn ḥāmáy* ‘my mother was’, in which case the preceding phrase *nḥāh kənnáwn* must be part of a separate sentence. The Roman manuscript, however, has *nkūn k-ḥāmáy* ‘we were with my mother’, in which case the phrase *nḥāh kənnáwn* ‘we kids’ would be the subject of the verb *nkūn*.
- 11 *ǧənbáyyət*: On the audio, Ali read *ǧənbáyyət* here, but *jənbáyyət* in lines 12 and 15. The same variation is found elsewhere in the texts.
- 15 *w-əl-kələ’*: The manuscripts lack the prefix *əl-*, but it is heard on the audio.

### Translation of Text 34

- 1 My mother didn't keep alive any children [lit. anyone] except me and a girl.
- 2 She had had four boys and a girl, but they (three boys) died.
- 3 As for my father, he had a boy from a (different) wife, but the woman died when the boy was at the breast. And then he married my mother. But she didn't keep alive any children except me and a girl.
- 4 And my mother had a lot of property, while my father was poor, but hard-working.
- 5 And then he made a shop from my mother's property, and he worked in it.
- 6 And we were kids. My mother would be among the goats and camels, and my father would be in the shop.
- 7 And when I was ten years old, I said to my father, "Buy me a rifle!"
- 8 My father said, "My son, you are still a child, and you don't carry arms."
- 9 I said to him, "If you won't buy me a rifle, I will go away."
- 10 And then he bought me a rifle. And I went, and wherever I came to, people would laugh at me. They would say, "You are a child and you're carrying a rifle!"
- 11 And then I found a man. He said to me, "I will give you a dagger for your rifle."
- 12 And I was a child. I didn't know the value of the rifle. And I took the dagger to my mother and told her.
- 13 My mother said, "Ask for your rifle back, or else your father will beat you."
- 14 I said to her, "Ok, I'll go."
- 15 I went to the town to my father's friend, and I said to him, "My father says to you, 'Give me forty dollars', and I should leave this dagger with you."
- 16 He said, "Might you be lying?" I said, "I don't lie."
- 17 He gave me forty dollars, and I went to Şalalah. And I got a travel pass and went away. And my parents didn't know about me.
- 18 Then I reached Qatar, and I got off. And I didn't know how to speak Arabic.

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17 *şalōlat*: According to *ML* (s.v. *şll*), the Mehri form for Şalalah is *şalōt*, but this is an error (Miranda Morris, p.c.). The correct name in Mehri is *şalōlat*. There is, in fact, a place called *şalōt*, on which see the comment to text 38:2.



- 19 *tōli gəzōt həyáwm, wə-bákk.*  
 20 *w-al kásk əhād lā ð-əǵárbəh. w-aǵāy sōx bə-kaǵár bərk āskəráyyət.*  
 21 *tōli hōh ð-əbáyk, w-ank'áy āskəráy. āmūr háyni, "kō hēt tabáyk?"*  
 22 *āmárk həh, "hōh kənnáwn, w-al əǵōrəb arhəbēt ðīməh lā." wə-hōh ð-əǵtūri*  
*šəh məhráyyət, tōli aǵáyǵ əl həwūl əǵəróyi lā.*  
 23 *tōli h̄hōli háyni. āmūr, "nəké əw-bōh!"*  
 24 *wə-səyárk šəh. te sīnək amərkēz ð-āskēr, yáşşək w-əffəlūt mən ðār aǵáyǵ*  
*bərk šērə'.*  
 25 *wə-bəǵdáy aǵáyǵ te mən'áy, wə-hē ðə-yōmər, "əl tāsōš lā." mən'áy wə-tərráy*  
*təwōli amərkēz. wə-ǵaláwḵ mən əhād ðə-yəǵōrəb əǵəróyi.*  
 26 *te kūsəm aǵāy, āmáwr həh, "báwməh ǵīgēn kənnáwn ðə-yəbáyk, w-al*  
*ǵərubən əǵəróyəh lā. yámkən təǵrēb əǵəróyəh."*  
 27 *te nūka, yəǵárbi, w-abárḵa təwálye. wə-hīs sīnək təh abárḵa təwálye,*  
*əffəlūt.*  
 28 *yáşşək mánəh. w-al ǵərabk təh lā. wə-hē ðə-yōmər, "hōh aǵāk!"*  
 29 *te lhəkáy w-amōsi bay, wə-ðə-ybáyk mən aǵəşnāti. wə-şxəbərəy, wə-hōh*  
*ð-əbáyk mən fərhāt. wə-hē ðə-ybáyk mənáy, wə-yəşxəbəri.*  
 30 *wə-kəlátḵ ləh. āmárk, "hōh ðə-ffəlótḵ mən həbye."*  
 31 *wə-yəkūtəb xaṭṭ təwōli həbye. wə-şxəwlūlən warx tāṭ. w-āmūr aǵāy, "hōh*  
*ðə-ǵəşnək mən xəláwti, l-ánha təşáwbər mənək lā. wə-lēzəm nəftək."*  
 32 *āmárk həh, "əl hōh ftkōna lā." āmūr, "lēzəm. ftkōna, wə-hōh šūk."*  
 33 *āmárk, "əl əfətk lā aw təstōm háyni ǵənbáyyyət." āmūr, "yéye."*  
 34 *te wəşələn dəbáy, āmūr háyni, "thōm jənbáyyyət, əntəkōl. wə-thōm skayn*  
*ǵīd, əntəkōl."*  
 35 *āmárk, "hōm skayn ǵīd." wə-şītəm háyni skayn, wə-ftūkən aḵān. wə-*  
*təmmōt kəwtēt.*

27 *w-abárḵa*: The audio has the 3ms perfect *abárḵa*, while both manuscripts have the 3ms imperfect *yabárḵa*.

29 *şxəbərəy*: This form appears twice in this line, both written identically in the Arabic manuscript. On the audio, Ali read 3ms perfect *şxəbərəy* for the first occurrence, but 3ms imperfect *yəşxəbəri* for the second. Oddly, both verbs are absent from the Roman manuscript.

31 *həbye*: Ali wrote *háybi* 'my father' in his Arabic manuscript, but read *həbye* 'my parents' on the audio. The Roman manuscript also has *həbye*.

31 *l-ánha*: The Arabic manuscript has لَـٰنْهَا, which is the Arabic particle *li-ánna* with the Arabic 3fs pronominal suffix (cf. the Dhofari Arabic form *li-annhā* given by Davey 2016: 205). The Roman manuscript has *linneha*

- 19 Then the sun went down, and I cried.
- 20 And I didn't find anyone that I knew. And my big brother was in Qatar, in the police.
- 21 Then I was crying, and a policeman came to me. He said to me, "Why are you crying?"
- 22 I said to him, "I am a child, and I don't know this town." And I was speaking Mehri with him, so the man didn't understand my language.
- 23 Then he beckoned me. He said, "Come here!"
- 24 And I went with him. Then when I saw the police station, I got scared and I ran away from the man into the street.
- 25 And the man chased me and [lit. until] he caught me, and he was saying, "Don't be afraid." He caught me and led me to the station. And they looked for someone who knew my language.
- 26 Then when they found my brother, they said to him, "There's a young boy here who is crying, and we don't know his language. Maybe you know his language."
- 27 Then when he came, he recognized me, and he ran towards me. And when I saw him run towards me, I ran away.
- 28 I was afraid of him. And I didn't recognize him. And he was saying, "I'm your brother!"
- 29 Then he caught up with me and kissed me, and he was crying out of compassion for me. And he questioned me, and I was crying out of happiness. And he was crying for me, and he questioned me.
- 30 And I told him. I said, "I've run away from my parents."
- 31 And he wrote a letter to my parents. And we stayed for a month. And my brother said, "I feel sorry for my step-mother, because she can't do without you. We must leave."
- 32 I said to him, "I won't leave." He said, "We must. We'll leave, and I'll (go) with you."
- 33 I said, "I won't leave unless you buy me a dagger." He said, "Ok."
- 34 Then when we got to Dubai, he said to me, "If you want a dagger, choose. Or if you want a good knife, choose."
- 35 I said, "I want a good knife." And he bought me a knife, and we left for our place. And the story is finished.

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(but cf. the transcription *l-ánha* in *ML*, s.v. *ʾnn*). On the audio, Ali hesitated several seconds before reading instead the negative particle *al*.

## Text 35 (no J): Boys Who Were Refused Hospitality

- 1 *xəṭərāt ġīgēni trōh wátxfəm əl-bə'áyli abkār, wə-šihəm aməwsē.*  
 2 *te nákam kaláyni ħōkəb, wəzáwmhəm 'áynət ātarīt.*  
 3 *w-āmūr hihəm ġayg, "šáwǧəśəm! l-ād thētəməm lā."*  
 4 *āmáwr ħəmbəráwtən, "ənhāh əl nəǧōrəb ħōrəm lā, wə-(šīn) ħəbūr*  
*wə-məwsē. wə-nhāh əl məšəwǧəśūtən lā."*  
 5 *tōli āmūr aǧáyg, "xályək tēti, əl (t)ṭaym mən hənīn šxōf yalliləh. ṭhaym*  
*(t)šxáwlm aw lā?"*  
 6 *tōli nūka abkār wə-ħəláwb wə-yəšbáwb bərk aḳēdōr (aḳədōwər) wə-*  
*šxāfəm. wə-ħəmbəráwtən šxəwlīl.*  
 7 *əttōli gəwūt aməwsē. w-abkār bār hīs ber ħəláwbsən.*  
 8 *tōli āmūr ġīgēn ṭāt, "hōh šay sawr."*  
 9 *āmūr amšēǧər, "hēsən mən sawr?"*  
 10 *āmūr, "sīrōni te ḏār adéħəḳ ḏōməh, wə-šəllōni kə-tāṭ šāwər. wə-rədyōni*  
*aḳēdōr əḏ-bərkūhəm əsxōf, te yəṭbīr. wə-məħáfəwti."*  
 11 *āmūr, "yéye, wəlākan ħābū ləhyēka tiki."*

- 
- 2 *ħōkəb*: ML (s.v. *ħkk* [sic]) has *ħākəb* (pl. *ħəkōb*), but *ħākəb* is likely a misprint for *ħōkəb*. A short word-list that Johnstone made for this text has *ħōkəb* (pl. *ħkūb*) 'cow-village, community'. Cf. also *JL* (s.v. *ħkb*) and *HV* (p. 110).
- 4 *wə-(šīn) ħəbūr*: The Roman manuscript has *wə-šīn ħəbūr*, but both the Arabic manuscript and the audio lack the expected *šīn*. In the second audio version, Ali stumbled a bit and said *wə-ħəbūr ... wə-šīn ... wə-ħəbūr wə-məwsē*.
- 5 *tōli*: On the second audio version (this text was recorded twice), Ali said *əttōli* here. On the other hand, in line 7, he said *tōli*, while the first audio version has *əttōli*. This only underscores the fact that *tōli* and *əttōli* are free variants.
- 6 *yəšbáwb*: The form *səkáwb* in Stroomer's edition was simply a misreading of the Roman manuscript, which has the ungrammatical form *šəbáwb* (with the prefix *y-* added in the margin above). The Arabic manuscript and both audio versions have *yəšbáwb*.
- 6 *aḳēdōr*: Though the manuscripts have *aḳēdōr*, on the audio Ali read *aḳədōwər* in the first audio recording of this story. In the second recording, he read *aḳēdōr*. Likewise in lines 10 and 16. (Line 23 is missing from the first audio version, but the second has *aḳēdōr*.) The Roman manuscript has

## Translation of Text 35

- 1 Once two boys came in the evening to (some) cow-herders, and it was raining.
- 2 Then when they came to the camp, they gave them a little buttermilk.
- 3 And a man said to them, "Go! Don't spend the night."
- 4 The boys said, "We don't know the way, and it's cold and raining. We won't go."
- 5 Then the man said, "May I divorce my wife [= I swear], you won't taste any milk from us tonight. Do you want to stay or not?"
- 6 Then the cows came, and they milked (them) and poured (the milk) into the pots, and they drank. And the boys sat there (without milk).
- 7 Then the rain stopped. And the cows went away after they had milked them.
- 8 Then one boy said, "I have a plan."
- 9 The other said, "What kind of plan?"
- 10 He said, "We'll go up onto this cliff, and we'll each pick up a rock. And we'll pelt the pots that the milk is in, so that they break. And we'll run away."
- 11 He said, "Ok, but the people will catch us."

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*eḵeedúur* throughout, with *eḵduwwar* added in the margin at line 6 only. *ML* (s.v. *ḵdr*) lists only the plural *ḵaydōr*, but cf. the Ḥarsusi plural *ḵadāwr* (*HL*, s.v. *ḵdr*).

- 7 *gəwūt*: On the first audio version, Ali read *gəwūt*, the expected 3fs perfect of the III-w/y verb *gəwōh*, while on the second he clearly read *gəwōt*. The latter form looks like the 3fs perfect of a Gb-Stem or a III-<sup>c</sup> verb (e.g., *nūka*). The two root types are sometimes mixed up, and Ali's mistake may be a reflection of that tendency. The confusion may also stem from the fact that this verb is rarely, if ever, used in the masculine. We know that the root is *gwy* from comparative evidence (e.g., Jibbali *gē*). The Roman manuscript has *gəwūt*, and a short word-list that Johnstone made for this text also has *gəwūt*, along with the 3fs imperfect *təgwū*. In *ML* (s.v. *gwy*), the 3fs imperfect is transcribed *təgwō*. We expect a 3fs imperfect *təgáyw*, following verbs like *həwōh* 'fall' (§7.2.13) and *təwōh* 'eat' (§7.2.14). An imperfect *təgwō*, if correct, must be a Gb-Stem form.
- 10 *tə ḵār*: The first audio version and the manuscripts have *tə ḵār*, but the second audio version has just *ḵār*.

- 12 *āmūr*, “*mat gəməski, məšákri. wə-mgōrən məháfərđi b-abkār. l-ād kəlōni tīsən (t)tīyən lā.*”
- 13 *tōli āmūr tāt h-aǵáyǵ*, “*ād wəzyēma tīn šxōf sī?*”
- 14 *āmūr*, “*lā. wəzyēma tīkəm sī lā.*”
- 15 *āmūr*, “*xáybən, abēli šwádakəm. ənḥāh bāyēra.*”
- 16 *wə-sīrōh ḥəmbəráwtən te ḏār aḵəššāt ḏ-aśáyǵa. šadhəḵōh wə-sənyōh aḵēdōr ən xálihəm.*
- 17 *wə-rədyáyhəm b-ašəwáyǵ, wə-təbrōh ḵādari trōh. wə-ffəwtōh wə-šḵəryōh bərk hərəm. wə-ḥābū ḡəlāwḵ mənhēm te ḵátəm. kūsəm tīhi lā.*
- 18 *tōli rəddəm ḥābū. wə-hīs ber rəddəm, kərbəlāh ḥəmbəráwtən bərk abkār, wə-ffrīd bīsən.*
- 19 *te faḵḵ ḏ-aášə, sənyōh sīwōṭ ḏə-bə‘áyli həbēr. wə-bārōh te ḵəráyb əl-həbēr. šxəwəllōh.*
- 20 *wə-šīhi ənīt. tōli āmūr tāt*, “*nəḥōm nəḥlēb ḥənfáyyən.*”
- 21 *āmūr ḏək*, “*yéye.*” *tōli ḥəwbōh bərk ənīt, wə-šxəfōh. wə-šəwḵfōh.*
- 22 *te k-sōbəḥ sīrōh təwōli ḥaskánihi.*
- 23 *wə-mgōrən aǵáyǵ bāl abkār, hām nəkáyh əḥād, yəwəzməh šxōf. wə-wīḵa rəḥáyǵm k-ḥābū mən ḏār táybər ḏ-aḵēdōr. wə-təmmōt kəwtēt.*

15 *abēli šwádakəm*: On this phrase, see the comment to text 27:25.

17 *rədyáyhəm*: On the first audio recording, Ali read *rəđīwhəm* (3mp perfect + 3mp object), but on the second, he read *rədyáyhəm* (3md perfect + 3mp object). The manuscripts have the dual form.

18 *kərbəlāh*: Though Stroomer’s edition has *kərbəlē*, which matches the expected dual based on the paradigms in *ML* (cf. p. lxvi), the Roman manuscript has *kerbəlē* (*kərbəlē* in *ML*, s.v. *frd*), and the Arabic manuscript has  $\text{كربلح}$ . The second audio version clearly has *kərbəlāh*, while the first audio version cuts off immediately before this word. This reflects the change *-ēh* > *-āh* discussed in § 2.2.4.

20 *ənīt*: See the comment to text 84:5.

22 *ḥaskánihi*: The manuscripts have the dual possessive suffix *-hi*, but the audio has *ḥaskánihəm*, with the 3mp suffix.

- 12 He said, "When we disappear, we'll hide. And then we'll frighten the cows. We won't let them eat."
- 13 Then one said to the man, "Will you give us any milk yet?"
- 14 He said, "No. We won't give you anything."
- 15 He said, "Fine, may God keep you. We will go."
- 16 And the boys went up onto the ledge of the cave. They looked down and saw the pots below them.
- 17 And they threw the rocks at them, and they broke two pots. And they ran away and hid among the trees. And the people looked for them until they got tired. They didn't find them.
- 18 Then the people came back. And after they came back, the boys crawled among the cows, and they frightened them.
- 19 Then at midnight, they saw the fire of the camel-herders. And they went until (they were) near the camels. They sat down.
- 20 And they had a water-skin. Then one said, "Let's milk for ourselves."
- 21 The other one [lit. that one] said, "Ok." Then they milked into the water-skin, and they drank. And they stayed.
- 22 Then in the morning they went to their settlements.
- 23 And later, the man, the cow-herder, if anyone came to him, he would give him milk. And he was nice to people after the breaking of the pots. And the story is finished.

## Text 36 (no J): Ba Newas and the Poor Boy

- 1 *xəṭərāt ḥōkəm bə-rḥəbēt. w-arḥəbēt bīs xawr, wə-xáwr kāsəm xā hē fēlg.*  
 2 *te āšər ʔāt, āmūr ḥābū, “mōn ḏə-yəḥōm yəḥētəm bərk xawr ʔəʔā’ te k-sōbəḥ?  
 wə-hām ḥəšbāḥ šaḥḥ, ḥəḥ məlyōn ʔarš.”*
- 3 *kāl ḏə-nūka xəzōh. əttōli šəšfōh ġīgēn ʔəʔáyr. wə-šəḥ ḥāmáḥ āgáwz, w-əl šīs  
 wələd lā ar hē. əttōli āmūr ḥāmáḥ, “əḥōm əl-hētəm bərk xawr. wələ rābbək  
 yəsāmən tī, wə-nə’yūs.”*
- 4 *āmərūt ḥāmáḥ, “ā ḥəbráy, ənḥōm lā. wə-hēt, ḥām matk, l-ād əḥād ya’yīsən  
 tī lā mən bādūk.”*
- 5 *āmūr aġīgēn, “hōh məwtəkil.” wə-səyūr ḥāl ḥōkəm, w-āmūr ḥəḥ, “hōh ḥōm  
 əl-hētəm bərk xawr.” āmūr, “yéye.”*
- 6 *te gəzōt ḥəyáwm, səyūr aġīgēn te wīšəl xawr.*
- 7 *ḥəftūk xəláwḳhe, wə-ḳəfūd bərk ḥəmōh.*
- 8 *ətté bə-ḥəlláy, āgáwz l-ād nəkáts šənēt lā mən ḥəbrēs. səllōt gəwdil ḏə-báḥ  
 šīwōṭ.*
- 9 *wə-sīrūt te bə-gərdīs. ḥāwḳáwt šīwōṭ wə-šxəwallūt.*
- 10 *te k-sōbəḥ, ḥəšbāḥ aġīgēn šaḥḥ. wə-sīrōh hē wə-ḥāmáḥ təwōli ḥōkəm.*
- 11 *tōli āmūr ḥōkəm, “ḥāmək ḥāwḳáwt lūk šīwōṭ, wə-šəroməḥ əl ḥūk sí lā.”*
- 12 *āmūr aġīgēn, “ḥāmáy əl ʔərbátí lā. wə-šīnək šīwōṭ mən məšné ḏ-əyn.”*
- 13 *āmūr, “ábdan. wəzmōna tik sí lā.”*
- 14 *səyáwr aġīgēn wə-ḥāmáḥ ḏə-yəbákyəm.*
- 15 *tōli kūsəm bā nəwās. āmūr ḥīḥəm, “kō tēm təbákyəm?”*
- 16 *kəláwṭ ḥə b-aḳəssēt kálləs. āmūr, “əl təktəwīl lā. ḥōh məḥáʔtək līkəm  
 aḳərášīkəm.”*
- 17 *te nəḥōr xəwʔit, āzūm ḥōkəm w-askérhe bə-ʔšē’.*

3 *rābbək*: It is unclear why this word does not have a definite article, and why it has a 2ms possessive suffix. It appears to be an idiomatic frozen form. Cf. *gəzək(əm)* in texts 20:63 and 39:14, which also lacks the expected definite article in combination with a possessive suffix.

3 *nə’yūs*: *ML* (s.v. *yūs*) gives the imperfect *yāyūs*, but the *‘* is preserved both in the Arabic manuscript and on the audio, as we expect from the rules outlined in § 2.1.3. The form is pronounced with an epenthetic vowel after the *‘*, so it sounds closer to *nə’ayūs*. But the correct form is *nə’yūs*, like *nəsyūr* ‘we go’ (§ 7.2.7).

8 *gəwdil*: *ML* (s.v. *gdl* and *gwdl*) gives the form *gōdēl*, but the existence of a pattern *CōCēC* or *CōCīC* seems very unlikely. In fact, this word is *gəwdil* as

### Translation of Text 36

- 1 Once there was a ruler in a town. And the town had a lagoon, and the lagoon was cold as ice.
- 2 Then one evening, he said to the people, "Who wants to spend the night in the lagoon naked until morning? And if he makes it to morning alive, he'll get a million dollars."
- 3 Everyone who came refused. Then a poor boy found out. And he had an old mother, and she had no children except him. Then he said to his mother, "I want to spend the night in the lagoon. Perhaps the Lord will protect me, and we'll survive."
- 4 His mother said, "O my son, let's not. You, if you die, no one will look after me after you (are gone)."
- 5 The boy said, "I will have faith." And he went to the ruler, and he said to him, "I want to spend the night in the lagoon." He said, "Ok."
- 6 Then when the sun went down, the boy went until he reached the lagoon.
- 7 He took off his clothes, and he went down into the water.
- 8 Then at night, the old woman could not sleep [lit. sleep did not come to her] because of her son. She took a stick that had fire on it.
- 9 And she went to the dry ground (near the lagoon). She made a fire and she sat down.
- 10 Then in the morning, the boy was alive. And he and his mother went to the ruler.
- 11 Then the ruler said, "Your mother made a fire for you, and so now you get nothing."
- 12 The boy said, "My mother didn't come near me. I saw the fire only from afar [lit. from view of the eye]."
- 13 He said, "No way. I won't give you anything."
- 14 The boy and his mother went away crying.
- 15 Then they found Ba Newas. He said to them, "Why are you crying?"
- 16 They told him the whole story. He said, "Don't worry. I will get you your money."
- 17 Then the next day, he invited the ruler and his soldiers for lunch.

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proven by the audio (also in 76:9) and by the Jibbali cognate *gəbdél* (with *b* < \**w*). The nominal pattern *CəCCiC* is well attested (e.g., *darhīs* 'kid', *dəhlil* 'cave', and *məndil* 'kerchief').



- 18 *āmáwr həh, “nəhāh šīn xədmēt, w-əl mátwəyən lā.”*  
 19 *āmūr, “lēzəm afšēkəm hənáy. wə-hōh šay aḏērōb. w-əl məhábta lā.”*  
 20 *āmáwr, “yéye.” te nákam təh, həglül, wə-ḵáwla šīwōṭ rēhəḵ mən asfōri.*  
 21 *wə-həḵšáym. əttōli āmūr ḥōkəm, “həbhēk lā?” āmūr, “səwānōt.”*  
 22 *wə-hēm lə-wṭákəməh te gəzōt həyáwm. āmūr ḥōkəm hə-bā nəwās, “həbhēk lā?” āmūr, “səwānōt.”*  
 23 *tōli fátḵəḥ aáşər, wə-ḥəmōh əl şəbb lā.*  
 24 *əttōli gátyəḏ ḥōkəm, wə-səyūr yaśné’ asfōri. tōli kūsa ḥəmōh əl şəbb lā.*  
 25 *āmūr hə-bā nəwās, “hēt ar (t)şḥōk līn?”*  
 26 *āmūr, “wə-kōh? hōh əl hōh ḏ-əhəglül lā?”*  
 27 *āmūr, “wə-kōh ḏə-ğərəbk šīwōṭ tənōfa hām sē rēhəḵ? həyáwm kálləs wə-fáḵḵ ḏ-aáşər wə-ḥəmōh əl şəbb lā. mōn āmūr hūk tāmōl wəṭōmah?”*  
 28 *āmūr, “nəhāh nətōba şawr ḏə-ḥákmən, wə-nəhūgəs aşəṭḵəh. āmūr, ‘šīwōṭ, hām sē rēhəḵ, tənōfa.’”*  
 29 *āmūr ḥōkəm, “šīwōṭ tənōfa lā ar hām sē ənḵāli ḥəmōh!”*  
 30 *āmūr bā nəwās, “ağələṭ əl hē mənáy lā. ağələṭ ar mənḵ.”*  
 31 *āmūr ḥōkəm hə-bā nəwās, “ḵələ’ mənḵ amzēḥ! wə-kōh ḏə-ğərəbk šīwōṭ, hām sē rēhəḵ, tənōfa ḥəmōh?”*  
 32 *āmūr bā nəwās, “lā, wəlākan hámak tīk āmárk tənōfa.”*  
 33 *āmūr ḥōkəm, “tənōfa ḥəmōh lā ar hām sē nəḵāli aşəfəráyyət.”*  
 34 *āmūr bā nəwās, “w-ətēm şhawd l-ağərōyəh. wə-kō hēt ḏəlámḵ ağıgēn fəḵáyr wə-ḥāmáh?”*  
 35 *ḏə-bér hātūm bərk xawr te k-sōbəḥ w-āgáwz şəllōt gəwdül b-ağərdīs w-āmárk, ‘hēt həwábs əl-ḥəbrēš!’”*  
 36 *āmūr ḥōkəm, “hōh ḏə-ḏəlámḵ wə-şərōməh wəzmōna tīhəm aḵəráşihəm.”*  
 37 *wə-xxəşáwb l-ağıgēn. wəzmáh aḵəráşhe, məlyōn ḵarş. wə-tīgər ağıgēn wə-ḥāmáh. wə-təmmōt.*

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27 *ḥəyáwm*: This word normally means ‘sun’, as it does everywhere else in the texts (over twenty times). Here it has the meaning ‘daytime’.

- 18 They said to him, "We have work, and we aren't free."  
19 He said, "You must have lunch with me. I have the wood. And I won't keep you long."  
20 They said, "Ok." Then when they came to him, he lit (the fire), but he left the fire far from the pots.  
21 And they passed the afternoon. Then the ruler said, "Haven't you cooked (it)?" He said, "In a little while."  
22 And they were like this until the sun went down. The ruler said to Ba Newas, "Haven't you cooked (it)?" He said, "In a little while."  
23 Then it was midnight, and the water hadn't gotten warm.  
24 Then the ruler got angry, and he went to see the pots. Then he found the water hadn't (even) gotten warm.  
25 He said to Ba Newas, "Are you just making fun of us?"  
26 He said, "Why? Aren't I cooking?"  
27 He said, "Why did you think fire is useful if it is far away? The whole day and half the night, and the water didn't (even) get warm. Who told you to do like this?"  
28 He said, "We follow the advice of our ruler, and we think he tells the truth. He said, 'Fire, if it is far away, is useful.'"  
29 The ruler said, "Fire is not useful unless [lit. except if] it is under the water!"  
30 Ba Newas said, "The mistake is not from me. The mistake is from you."  
31 The ruler said to Ba Newas, "Quit the joking! Why did you think fire, if it is far away, is useful for water?"  
32 Ba Newas said, "No, but I heard you said it was useful."  
33 The ruler said, "It is not useful for water unless [lit. except if] it is under the pot."  
34 Ba Newas said, "You are witnesses to his words. And why were you unjust to the poor boy and his mother?"  
35 The one who spent the night in the lagoon until morning, and the old woman took a burning stick to the dry-ground, and you said, 'You warmed your son!'"  
36 The ruler said, "I have been unjust, and now I will give them their money."  
37 And he sent for the boy. He gave him his money, a million dollars. And the boy and his mother were rich. It is finished.

## Text 37 (= J30, but a variant version): A Man and His Jinn Wife

- 1 *xəṭarāt gayg tōgər bə-rhəbēt, wə-šáh məstōn ḏə-nēxəl, tōmər. wəlākan mət káyraḅ txarōfən, thašábhən ḏə-xərēt.*
- 2 *tōli səyūr təwōli amhīsən wə-kəlūt ləh b-aḱəssátəh. tōli āmūr həh, “aḱōfi aášər ḏə-l-ətnēn, wə-kəbēn ḏār nəxlīt. wə-ḥəḏḏōr mən (t)šəkf!*
- 3 *te bə-ḥálláy, ənkáwtən tik šhəlīt gəggōtən gənnáyten wə-rəḥšáwtən bərk ḥawš. məḥftkūtən xəláwḱisən. wə-ḱalēsən. mət bərsən bərk ḥəmōh, šáləl xəláwḱisən wə-mənēhəm.*
- 4 *wə-sēn əl (t)syūrən lā ar bə-xəláwḱisən. wə-ḥəḏḏōr mən tāsōš.” āmūr, “yéye.” tōli səyūr te kəbūn ḏār nəxlīt, wə-hātūm. te fátḱəḥ aášər, nūka aḱəggōtən wə-ḥftūk xəláwḱisən, wə-ḱəfūd bərk ḥəmōh.*
- 5 *wə-hīs bərsən bərk ḥəmōh, nūka aḱáyg wə-šáll xəláwḱisən. tōli ənkáyh w-āmūr həh, “təwwək tstérən! wə-dəxlūtən l-ād ənnōka anáxəlke zōyəd.” āmūr, “ábdan. wəlākan hōh mənōna xəlōwəḱ əlyōməh, wə-ətēn aḱáfyən!”*
- 6 *āmūr həh, “nəḥāh əl ənḱáwdər lā nəḱōfi ar bə-xəláwḱyən.” tōli wəzūm trəyt xəláwḱisən, wə-mūna ṭəyt rəḥáymət. wə-šāṭáys h-abátəh. wə-ḱərōh xəláwḱse, wə-wəzmīs xəlōwəḱ bāš. əttōli áygəḅ bīs wə-hārūs bīs.*
- 7 *wə-šáh šhəlīt aḱáthe. te nəḥōr ṭəyt nákam təh sātáyṭ səbōḅ, wə-wfáwd ḥənáh. wə-hē əl yəḱərbḥəm lā. tōli ffəḱáyhəm. wə-šáfḥəm gənnáwn. wə-šxəwlūl sənēt. wə-mḱōrən sōfər ḥə-rhəbēt ṭəyt, wə-ḱáwla tétəh ḥāl ḥāmáh.*
- 8 *wə-mərūḏ ḥāmáh, āmūr hīs, “ḥəḏḏáyri mən təzēmi əttēti xəláwḱse. məḥḥəylēta bayš, wəlākan ḥəḏḏáyri mən txədəš.” āmərūt, “taḱtəlōb lā!” wə-gəḥēm aḱáyg.*
- 9 *te aášər ṭət, wīka šarḥ b-arḥəbēt. w-āmáwr ḥābū, “nəḥōm əttēt ḏə-fəlān tənḥāg.” wə-ḱátəryəm šīs. tōli āmərūt, “hōh əl ənōḥəg lā ar bə-xəláwḱye. wəlākan ḱátəryəm k-xəláwti təzēmi xəláwḱye, wə-hōh nəḥḱta.” tōli ḱátəryəm ḥābū k-āḱáwz, wə-ḱátri šīs ḥōkəm.*

2 *aášər ḏə-l-ətnēn*: See § 9.5, n. 21.

5 *tstérən*: The footnote in Stroomer's edition suggests that this verb comes from the root *srr*, but it is clearly a 2ms subjunctive *tstēr* (from *stūr* 'cover', root *str*) with a 1cp object suffix.

7 *gənnáwn*: *ML* (s.v. *gnn*) lists the plural *gənnáwni*, but the audio clearly has *gənnáwn* (likewise in line 18). The Arabic manuscript has جنوي in both lines, though line 25 has جنوني. Cf. also 65:11.

**Translation of Text 37**

- 1 Once there was a rich man in a town, and he had an orchard of date-palms, dates. But whenever they were close to ripening, they would be stripped of fruit in the morning.
- 2 Then he went to the medicine man and told him his story. Then he said to him, "Go on Sunday night and hide in [lit. on] a palm-tree. And be careful you don't fall asleep!
- 3 Then at night, three jinn girls will come to you and bathe in the pool. They'll take off their clothes. Let them. When they are in the water, pick up their clothes and keep them.
- 4 And they won't go away without [lit. except with] their clothes. And don't be afraid." He said, "Ok." Then he went and [lit. until] he hid in a palm-tree, and he spent the night. Then in the middle of the night, the girls came and took off their clothes, and they went down into the water.
- 5 And after they were in the water, the man came and took their clothes. Then they came to him and said to him, "You must cover us! We'll promise we won't come to your date-palms ever again." He said, "No way. I will keep these clothes, and you go away!"
- 6 They said to him, "We cannot go without [lit. except with] our clothes." Then he gave two their clothes, and he kept one who was beautiful. And he took her to his house. He hid her clothes, and he gave her some (other) clothes. Then he fell in love with her and married her.
- 7 And he had three sisters. Then one day, three young men came to him and asked him permission to marry. And he didn't know them. Then he let them marry. And it so happens they were jinns. And they stayed a year. And then he traveled to a certain town, and he left his wife with his mother.
- 8 And he instructed his mother, he said to her, "Be careful not to give my wife her clothes. She'll (try to) trick you, so be careful she doesn't dupe you!" She said, "Don't worry!" And the man went away.
- 9 Then one evening, there was a dance-party in the town. And the people said, "We want the wife of so-and-so to dance." And they spoke with her. Then she said, "I will not dance without [lit. except with] my (own) clothes. So speak with my mother-in-law so she'll give me my clothes, and I'll dance." Then the people spoke with the old woman, and the ruler spoke with her.

- 10 *āmūr*, “*anhōm nəsne’ attēt dīmāh māt nəhagōt.*” *āmārūt*, “*yāššək tīs m-ād təfrēr mən ḏáyran, wə-mgōrən həbráy yamēt sərīs, mən āgēbəs.*” *āmáwr hābū*, “*al sē sīrīta lā.*”
- 11 *tōli hylām b-āgáwz te wəzəmūt xəlōwək. wə-nhagōt tawri trōh, wə-ḵəmarūt haynūt ḏ-arhəbēt kāl. wə-fərráwt.*
- 12 *tōli yāššəm aǧáyǧəs m-ād yəhtəwōl. ḵəbáwr kabś, w-āmáwr*, “*māt aǧáyǧ nūka, āmyēra həh, ‘tēt əmtōt.’*” *te mən ḏār waqt, nūka aǧáyǧ. āmūr hē*, “*ar tēti ḥō?*”
- 13 *āmārūt*, “*ā həbráy, əttétk əmtōt, wə-ǧələḵ aḵábrəs.*” *šxəwlul wə-bəḵōh. tōli nəkūs aḵōbər wə-kūsa ar kabś. tōli āmūr hāmáh*, “*kalēti lay b-ašáṭṭ, wələ wətgōna hənōfi!*”
- 14 *tōli kəwtūt lah b-aḵəssēt kálləs. əttōli səyūr təwōli amhəsni wə-šxəbarih. tōli āmūr həh amhəsni*, “*ḵənəh šātáyt fəroś, tāt ōfər, wə-tāt ḥōwər, wə-tāt əwbōn, wə-ḵələhəm bərk məhḏərūt. w-əzémhəm aḵāšəb, wə-ḵələhəm šhalīt sənáyyn. wə-mat təmm šhalīt sənáyyn, ḵələhəm šilət yūm mən ǧayr ḵawt.*
- 15 *wə-mgōrən ḵələ’ aḵāšəb sār amḥəḏərūt, wə-kāl mənḥēm əḏ-fərr amḥəḏərūt təwōli aḵāšəb ḏəkəməh məháwşəl tik tətḵ.*” *áyməl wəṭákəməh. te təmm šhalīt sənáyyn, fərr ōfər, wə-səyūr aǧáyǧ te nūka hāl amhəsni. āmūr həh*, “*fəráyś ōfər fərr. şərōməh hībōh l-āmōl?*”
- 16 *āmūr həh*, “*ǧəhōm l-aḵāṭər ḏə-ḥayáwm te təḵṭá’ abōkər. wə-mən hāl ḵəṭōt, ḵələs. w-ādəh lük məsáyr šilət yūm bə-ḥagdəke. wə-ksōna bū təǧərbhəm šātáyt əšáwr. w-arōbə’ ḏ-əšáwr, nəkōna səkən ḏə-ttétḵ.*”
- 17 *tōli ǧəhēm aǧáyǧ sənēt. te nəḥōr tayt kaláyyni, ḵəṭōt abōkər. wə-ḵələyś wə-šəwgūs. te bərk amǧərəb, šīni ḥāráwn wə-šīni əttēt. te nūka, kūsa aǧátəh. āmārūt*, “*yā ḥay b-aǧāy!*” *tōli nákam ašáyǧa wə-kūsa ḥayməh.*

13 *nəkūs*: The verb *nəkūs* ‘dig up, exhume; rummage around for’ is a bit difficult to find in *ML*, since the heading *nks* is erroneously printed as an entry under the root *nks* (p. 296), and written together with the verb *nəkūs* (i.e., *nksnəkūs*).

14 *amhəsni*: Both occurrences of this word in this line appear as such in the Arabic manuscript. On the audio, Ali read the synonymous *amhīsən* for both (cf. line 2), though for the second he corrected himself to *amhəsni*. He read the word correctly in line 15.

14 *ōfər*: I have translated this as ‘red’, but ‘brown’ is also a possibility.

14 *šilət yūm*: The manuscripts have *šilət yūm*, but on the audio Ali mistakenly read *šhalīt yūm*.

- 10 He said, "We want to see this woman when she dances." She said, "I am afraid she might run away from us, and then my son will die because of her, out of love for her." The people said, "She won't go."
- 11 Then they tricked the old woman and [lit. until] she gave (her) the clothes. And she danced two times, and she surpassed all the women of the town. And she fled.
- 12 Then they were afraid her husband might go crazy. They buried a lamb, and they said, "When the man comes, we'll tell him, 'The woman died.'" Then after a time, the man came. He said, "So where is my wife?"
- 13 She said, "O my son, your wife died, and (go) look at the grave." He sat down and cried. Then he dug up the grave and found only a lamb. Then he said to his mother, "Tell me the truth, or else I will kill myself!"
- 14 Then she told him the whole story. Then he went to a medicine man and questioned him. Then the medicine man said to him, "Rear three young she-camels, a red one, a black one, and a white one, and leave them in a pen. And give them alfalfa (lucerne), and leave them for three years. And when three years have elapsed, leave them three days without food.
- 15 And then leave the alfalfa behind the pen, and whichever of them jumps out of the pen to the alfalfa will lead you to your wife." He did thus. Then when three years had elapsed, the red one jumped, and the man went until he came to the medicine man. He said to him, "The red she-camel jumped. Now what should I do?"
- 16 He said to him, "Go in the direction of the sun until the camel gets tired. And wherever the camel gets tired, leave it. And you still have a journey of three days by foot [lit. on your feet]. And you'll find people you know for three nights. And on the fourth of the nights, you'll come to your wife's settlement."
- 17 Then he went for a year. Then one day in the evening, the camel got tired. He left it and kept going. Then in the late evening, he saw goats and he saw a woman. Then when he got there, he found his sister. She said, "Welcome, my brother!" Then they came to the shelter, and he found his brother-in-law.

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15 *fərr amḥəðərūt*: The Roman manuscript has *fərr mən amḥəðərūt*, but the preposition *mən* is absent from the Arabic manuscript and the audio.

- 18 *wə-šhāt həh wə-šxəbəriḥ mən aḳášdəh. āmūr, “ð-ətōba attēti.” āmūr həh, “həððōr bə-ḥənáfik mən yəṭtyəm tik aḡənnáwn, ḥawb ðə-ttēt. ðə-ǧátyəðəm lūk wīyən ðə-mának ḥəbráthəm sənēti trəyt. wə-xār hūk tərdəd.”*
- 19 *āmūr, “ábdan. əl ərdūd lā, tə wə-lū əmūt.” tōli wəzmáh śfēt mən alḥyétəh, w-āmūr, “hōh əl šay hūk mə’awnət lā ar ðūməh. mət šəšyáḳək, ḳəlēs bərk šīwōt, wə-hōh ənákak.” tə k-sōbəh, səyūr. wátxəf hāl aǧátəh amšǧərēt.*
- 20 *wə-wəzmīh ḥáyməh śfēt mən alḥyétəh. w-āšər sōlət, wátxəf hāl aǧátəh əśśētət, wə-wəzmáh ḥáyməh śfēt mən alḥyétəh. tə k-sōbəh, səyūr. tə nūka kaláyni b-aðōbəl ðə-səkən, kəbūn.*
- 21 *tōli šīni tétəh sīrūt təðhōl, wə-xtəlīs tə mənáyis. wə-ǧərbátəh. attōli āmərūt həh, “ḥábye wətyəǧa tik. wəlākan əkēb bərk xəlēki, wə-sīrōni təwōli ḥábye.” wə-wkūb bərk xəlēkəs, wə-sīrōh tə nkōh hāl ḥáybəs.*
- 22 *āmərūt ḥáybəs, “ā ḥáybi, hōh kəsk šī, wəlākan yəššək mən aḳənyáwn yəǧšəbəm tī təh. wə-hōh bə-ḥərōhk bəh.” āmūr, “ḥərəzt, tə wə-lū šayš aǧáyǧ əð-bér mən’áyš sənēti trəyt.” āmərūt, “ðōməh hē!”*
- 23 *hātīm. tōli āmūr, “hōm attēti.” āmáwr, “nəḥāh, ber ḥyalēt bīn tətḳ tə arában tik. šərōməh aḳōfi bə-ḥənáfik ādək ḥsəym!” āmūr, “ábdan. hām əl ətəm wəzyēma tī tēti lā, šḥáyti.”*
- 24 *āmáwr, “hām gáراك xawr ðōməh, wə-hām šərbāk əkkərmáyim ðayk wə-hēt tabárḳa wə-ðáyrak fiǧōn ðə-mōh, wə-šədráyk tīs w-əl ḳáttəl lā, wə-hām tōwək bə’áyri trōh, wəzyēma tik tēt.” āmūr, “yéye. šəbərəm lay tə k-sōbəh.”*

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- 19 *śfēt*: *ML* (s.v. *śf*) lists *śəft* ‘hair’, pl. *śēf*, but I suspect that *śəft* is a mistake. The other MSA languages have a singular form closely corresponding to Mehri *śfēt*. See also the comment to *śəff* in line 25.
- 20 *əśśētət*: Ali stumbled on this word, but eventually read *əśśētət*. This matches what he wrote in the Arabic manuscript (شائت), what Johnstone transcribed in the Roman manuscript (*śéēt*), and what Watson (2012: 113) recorded for Omani Mehri (*śātat*). *ML* (s.v. *ślt*) lists only *śəwtīt* as the feminine form of the ordinal *sōlət*, but that form is used only with ‘day’ (cf. texts 22:49, 88:5 and 91:27; see also § 9.3).
- 22 *ḥərōhk*: There is an audible *h* in this word, though Ali did not transcribe it in the Arabic manuscript. Still, the underlying form must be *ḥərōk*, since *ḥərōhk* should become *ḥəráhk*. Cf. also 42:52.

- 18 And he slaughtered for him and asked him about his objective. He said, "I am following my wife." He said to him, "Watch out for yourself that the jinns, the woman's parents, don't eat you. They are very angry at you that you kept their daughter for two years. It's better for you to go back."
- 19 He said, "No way. I won't go back, even if I'll die." Then he gave him a hair from his beard [or: chin], and he said, "I don't have any help except this. When you get in trouble, put it in the fire, and I'll come to you." Then in the morning, he left. He came in the evening to his second sister.
- 20 And his brother-in-law gave him a hair from his beard. And on the third night, he came to his third sister, and his brother-in-law gave him a hair from his beard. Then in the morning, he left. Then when he came in the evening to the edge of a settlement, he hid.
- 21 Then he saw his wife go to urinate, and he snuck up to her and grabbed her. And she recognized him. Then she said to him, "My parents will kill you. But go inside my dress, and we'll go to my parents." And he went inside her dress, and they went and [lit. until] they came to her father.
- 22 She said to her father, "Father, I found something, but I am afraid that the children will snatch it from me. And I (am putting) it under your protection." He said, "It's guaranteed, even if you have the man who took you for two years." She said, "It is him!"
- 23 They spent the night. Then he said, "I want my wife." They said, "Us, your wife has already tricked us so that we gave you protection. Now turn yourself around while you still have (some) respect!" He said, "No way. If you won't give me my wife, kill me!"
- 24 They said, "If you drink up this lagoon, and if you climb that mountain while running with a cup of water on you, and you get to the top and don't spill (the cup), and if you eat two camels, we will give you the woman." He said, "Ok. Give me respite until morning."



- 25 *tōli hīs bə-ħalláy, həwķá' śaff śəh bərk śīwōt. wə-nákam təh ħámħe agənnáwn, wə-kəlūt līħəm. attōli wəddáwdəm. ámma tāt yəgré' xawr, wə-tāt yəkēb bərk aǵáyǵ mət đə-šərbá' kərmáym, wə-tāt yəkēb bərkīh mət təwōh aba'yōr.*
- 26 *te k-sōbəħi nūka śert, wə-'ámləm əwṭákəməh. wə-nūgəħ aǵáyǵ, wə-šāt tétəh. wə-təmmōt.*

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- 25 *śaff*: The audio clearly has *śaff*, as do the manuscripts. As noted above in the comment to line 19, *ML* (s.v. *śf*) lists a singular form *śaft*, but this must be an error either for *śfēt* or *śaff*, both of which occur in this text with the meaning 'hair'. In this line, *śaff* could be taken as a collective noun. Jahn (1902: 240) lists *śfit* 'hair' (pl. *śēf*) and *śuff* 'mane' (pl. *śōf*). The plural form *śēf* occurs in texts 9:8 and 86:9. See also the comment to *śáfsə* text 75:15.
- 25 *šəh*: We expect *đə-šəh*, with a relative pronoun, but there is no evidence in the manuscripts. It is certainly possible that the relative pronoun was assimilated to the following sibilant (see § 2.1.7), but there is no clear gemination on the audio.
- 25 *agənnáwn*: The Arabic manuscript has اجنوني, but the audio has *agənnáwn*. See the comment to line 7, above.

- 25 Then, at night, he put the hairs he had in the fire. And his jinn brothers-in-law came to him, and he told them. Then they divided up the tasks. One should drink up the lagoon, and one should go into the man when he is climbing the mountain, and one should go into him when he eats the camels.
- 26 Then in the morning, the conditions were set, and they did thus. And the man succeeded, and he got his wife. And it is finished.

## Text 38 (no J): Love and Marriage (Autobiographical)

- 1 *xəṭərāt hōh gəhémk mən hāl sékəni, ḥōm əl-ṭāf əl-ğayg āsəri. hámak bəh*  
*ḏə-gīlu.*
- 2 *wə-gəhémk mən ašháyr, ḥōm şəlōt. əttōli kəfədk arḥəbēt, wə-śátmək ksəwēt*  
*h-āsəri. wə-gəhémk, te kaláyni nákak bə-wōdi, w-əl kəsk bīs əḥād lā.*
- 3 *wə-gəzōt ḥəyáwm. əttōli ḏáymək, wə-səyárk bərk ḥəwōdi əw-mşā’.*
- 4 *tōli hámak ḥass, wə-səyárk te kəsk bə’áyr.*
- 5 *mának ab’áyr wə-rákbək ləh. te wəşələk wōdi ṭayt, kəsk bīs əḥād lā.*
- 6 *əttōli kálak ab’áyr wə-səyárk te bərk rékəb, şəwkəfk.*
- 7 *te k-səbəḥ gəhémk, wə-wátxfək hāl sékən. hātámk hənīhəm. te k-səbəḥ*  
*hədlili bə-səkən ḏə-ḥōm təwēhe.*
- 8 *te kaláyni wátxfək wə-kásk aásəri bə-xáyr. wəzámk təh aksəwēt, wə-şḥāt*  
*háyni.*
- 9 *wə-hātámk. te k-səbəḥ āmūr, “nəḥōm ənəkəfəd arḥəbēt, sədh.” wə-hōh ādi əl*  
*əğərbəs lā.*
- 10 *te wəşələn arḥəbēt, āzáwmən bū bās, wə-ḥəkşōmən hənīhəm. te*  
*ğasráwwən ftükən mən abáyt.*
- 11 *tōli əsōni tēt şadhəkáwt mən xəwfēt, wə-ttēt rəḥáymət. tōli şxəbárk aásəri,*  
*āmárk, “mōn yəsükən bərk abáyt ḏīməh?”*
- 12 *āmūr, “tēt məhráyyət, wəlākan ḏə-xəwqāt báwməh.” āmárk, “ḥōm əl-şnēs.”*
- 13 *āmūr, “yámkən təğtfənk.”*
- 14 *āmárk, “bədəh bīs. āmēr, ḏōməh mən aḥəbētkəm nūka yəṭāf layš.”*
- 15 *səyūr əğáyyg. te nkáys, āmūr, “şay gəygy yəḥōm yəṭāf layš.”*
- 16 *āmarūt, “hōh şinək təh. wə-hē gəygy ḏəráy, wə-fáş(ş)ḥək təh.” āmūr, “əğáyyg*  
*ḏōməh mən aḥəbētkəm. yəḥōm yəṭāf layš.”*

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- 2 *şəlōt*: In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added a marginal note that this referred to ‘district; mtns near Sidḥ’. Miranda Morris (p.c.) confirms that Şelot is the name for the area of land that runs from the sea to the foot of the mountains, from Taqaḥ to east of Mirbaṭ. Since Ali was from Jibjat, it makes sense that he would head this way before heading further east to Sadḥ (see line 9). As discussed in the comment to text 34:17, the identification of *şəlōt* as Şalalah in *ML* (s.v. *şll*) is a misprint for *şəlōlət*.
- 9 *arḥəbēt, sədh*: The Arabic manuscript has *arḥəbēt sədh*, while the Roman manuscript has just *sədh*, and the audio has just *arḥəbēt*.
- 16 *fáş(ş)ḥək*: The Arabic manuscript has فاشحك, the Roman manuscript has *fášḥək*, and the audio has *fášḥək*. The form can be either D/L *fášḥək*

### Translation of Text 38

- 1 Once I went from my settlement, heading to visit a man, my friend. I heard he was sick.
- 2 I went from the mountains, heading to Şelot. Then I went down to the town, and I bought clothes for my friend. And I went, until I came in the evening to a valley, and I didn't find anyone in it.
- 3 And the sun went down. Then I got thirsty, and I went downstream in the valley.
- 4 Then I heard a noise, and I went and [lit. until] I found a camel.
- 5 I grabbed the camel and I rode it. Then when I reached another valley, I didn't find anyone in it.
- 6 Then I left the camel and went up onto a ledge, (and) I went to sleep.
- 7 Then in the morning I left, and I came in the evening to a settlement. I spent the night with them. Then in the morning, they directed me to the settlement that I was heading to.
- 8 Then in the evening I came and found my friend well. I gave him the clothes, and he slaughtered for me.
- 9 And I spent the night. Then in the morning, he said, "Let's go down to the town, to Sadḥ." And I didn't know it yet.
- 10 Then when we got to the town, some people invited us, and we spent the day with them. Then in the evening we left the house.
- 11 Then I saw a woman look down from a window, and the woman was beautiful. Then I asked my friend, I said, "Who lives in this house?"
- 12 He said, "A Mehri woman, but she was born here." I said, "I want to see her."
- 13 He said, "It's possible she'll cover her face for you."
- 14 I said, "Lie to her. Say, 'This (man) from your tribe has come to visit with you.'"
- 15 The man went. When he came to her, he said, "I have a man who wants to visit with you."
- 16 She said, "I saw him. He is a stranger [lit. strange man], and I am embarrassed by him." He said, "This man is from your tribe. He wants to visit with you."

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'I embarrassed' or T<sub>1</sub> *fáṣ(ṣ)ḥək* (< *fáṣṣəḥək*) 'I was/am embarrassed'. The latter seems correct based on the context, though it is surprising that it takes a direct object.

- 17 *tōli səmhōt lay. wə-wəkábk. tɛ nákak, āmlōt hīn šēhi.*
- 18 *tōli 'ágbək bīs, wə-sē āgbōt bay. tōli āmárk, "hōm əl-šáwǵás." āmārūt, "ábdan, hētəm."*
- 19 *tōli hātámk, wə-ǵátəryək šis hārs. āmārūt, "ǵátáyr k-aǵāy, wə-hām ar ffkáwk, hōh hōm."*
- 20 *tɛ nəhōr xəwfūt, ǵátəryək k-aǵās. āmūr, "nəhāh əl nəǵárbək lā, w-əl maffkáwtən tīk lā."*
- 21 *əttōli kalátk līs b-aǵəroý ð-aǵās. āmārūt, "hēt şəroməh ǵahōm təwōli sékənək, wəlākan nəkēn mən ðār warx. wə-hōh kəwītā h-aǵāy b-āǵēbək, wə-mxxəwyēta təwēhe haynīt tāmērən həh."*
- 22 *wə-səyárk wə-ráddək mən ðār warx. wə-xəzōh mən yəháffki. wə-səyárk bə-sənēt xəmmōh təwōr. wə-šāðəráy tɛ kkámlək sənēt. wə-ffəkáy. wə-təmmōt.*

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21 *nəkēn*: The audio has *nəké'* 'come back', while the Arabic manuscript has *nəkēn* 'come back to us'.

21 *wə-hōh kəwītā*: The remainder of the text given in the manuscripts, beginning with *wə-hōh kəwītā* in line 21, is missing from the audio. Instead, the audio has a shorter (and different) ending: *wə-nákak mən ðār warx wə-wfǵdk, wə-ffiki, wə-hārásk. wə-təmmōt* 'and I came back after a month, and asked for her hand, and they let me marry, and I got married. And it is finished'.

- 17 Then she allowed me. And I came in. When I came, she made us tea.
- 18 Then I fell in love with her, and she fell in love with me. Then I said, "I should leave." She said, "No, stay the night."
- 19 Then I spent the night, and I talked marriage with her. She said, "Speak with my brother, and if he really lets you marry (me), I am willing."
- 20 Then the next day, I spoke with her brother. He said, "We don't know you, and we won't permit you to marry (her)."
- 21 Then I told her her brother's words. She said, "You go to your settlement now, but come back to us in a month. And I'll tell my brother about your love, and I'll send the women to him confidentially to tell him."
- 22 And I went and came back after a month. And he refused to let me marry. And I went five times in a year. And he refused me until I had spent a year. And he let me marry. And it is finished.

## Text 39 (no J): Pawning a Rifle

- 1 A: “*bə-kám t̥hōm (t)šōm lay aməndáw̥kək?*”  
 2 B: “*bə-ʿašráyn rawn hāšə̄r.*”  
 3 A: “*wəzmōna tik ősər wə-xáyməh. ősər hāšə̄r, wə-xáyməh h-ašáyɾəb. hām šərxōt wə-n̥təlūt, wə-hōh štəmōna, tɛ wə-lū šəǵláyk tīs. aməndáw̥kək dəwáylat, wəlākan hōh məxwif, wə-ħōm məndáw̥k.*”  
 4 B: “*lawb, aməndáw̥ki ar gádət wə-rxáyšət, wə-hōh šēmōna lūk, hām hēt məháw̥f tī házye h-ašáyɾəb.*”  
 5 A: “*əl hōh ǰəwmōna tik lā, hām ktīb. xáybən, šəndə̄rk b-ősər rawn hāšə̄r, wə-xáyməh h-ašáyɾəb, wə-mən nəxāli ašháwd.*”  
 6 B: “*wə-hōh šamk aməndáw̥k w-am̥həzēm.*”  
 7 A: “*wə-hōh šótmaq.*”  
 8 B: “*tawōfək ašəh̥hátk!*”  
 9 A: “*wə-hēt səlōm!*”  
 10 *tōli nūka ašáyɾəb. amūr aǵáyǵ əs-šōm aməndáw̥kəh,*  
 11 B: “*ād məháw̥f tī házye?*”  
 12 A: “*hōh ar məháw̥f tik, wəlākan tówwək (t)šəbər lay tɛ aǵáyǰ. házyən ǰə-mōt sənēt dīməh.*”  
 13 B: “*hōh ar bər hənkərk məháw̥f tī ar mən ǰār ass.*”  
 14 A: “*təktəwōl lā. hām ar máthənak, məháw̥f tik. ā(d)sən šin wəḵōna ašráyn rawn ǰə-yəšxáyf mənsən aḵənyáwn. wəzmōna tik xáyməh mənsən. wə-šəbərk lay, ǵəzək xayr.*”

3 *šərxōt*: *ML* (s.v. *srx*) lists the verb *sáwrax* ‘make a bang; fire, be fired’ with non-glottalic *s*, noting that this is in contrast to the Arabic cognate with *š* (*šaraxa* ‘bellow, roar’). In the Arabic manuscript, however, Ali wrote *š*. The initial consonant *š* must be glottalic, since otherwise we would expect *sūrax*, not *sáwrax* (cf. *sūməh* ‘forgive’). *JL* (p. 242) gives the root as *srx*, but *HL* (p. 112) has *srx*.

3 *šəǵláyk*: Stroomer’s edition has *šəǵəláykk* here, but this is an error. Neither the manuscripts nor the audio have evidence of a *k*. The form *šəǵláyk* is a 1cs perfect of the Š1-Stem *šəǵlōh* ‘buy at a high price’ (*ML*, s.v. *ǵly*). Johnstone lists in *ML* (s.v. *ǵlk*) an Š2-Stem verb *šəǵālək* ‘buy s.t. expensive’, which is surely what misled Stroomer. It is likely that the verb *šəǵālək*, though listed in *ML*, does not really exist, as the meaning ‘buy s.t. expensive’ is unexpected for the root  $\sqrt{ǵlk}$ . Even if it did exist, the 1cs perfect would be *šəǵākək* (< \**šəǵállək*), not *šəǵəláykk*.

5 *hām ktīb*: Although I have translated this here as ‘God willing’, the literal

## Translation of Text 39

- 1 A: "How much do you want to sell me your rifle for?"  
 2 B: "For twenty goats up front."  
 3 A: "I'll give you fifteen. Ten up front, and five in the autumn. If it fires and ejects, I'll buy (it), even if I buy it at a high price. Your rifle is old, but I am afraid, and I want a rifle."  
 4 B: "No, my rifle is good and cheap, and I'll sell it to you if you pay me my goats in the autumn."  
 5 A: "I won't do you wrong, God willing. Ok, I promise ten goats up front, and five in the autumn, in the presence of the witnesses."  
 6 B: "And I (hereby) sell you the rifle and the cartridge-belt."  
 7 A: "And I (hereby) buy (it)."  
 8 B: "May it suit your health!"  
 9 A: "And well-being to you!"  
 10 Then the autumn came. The man who had sold his rifle said,  
 11 B: "Will you still pay me my goats?"  
 12 A: "I will indeed pay you, but you need to give me respite until the summer. Our goats have died this year."  
 13 B: "I already suspect you will pay me only after (some) difficulty."  
 14 A: "Don't worry. If you are really in trouble, I'll pay you. We still have about twenty goats that the children are getting milk from. I'll give you five of them. But (if) you (can) give me a respite, thank you."

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translation is 'if (it is) written'. This Mehri phrase was recorded already by Thomas in the narrative of his journey (1932: 103) and a version of this phrase was recorded by him for Baḥḥari (1937: 274).

- 6 *amḥazēm*: This is the definite form of *məḥzēm*, which is a borrowing of Arabic *mihzām* 'belt'. The word is not in *ML*, though *ML* (s.v. *hzm*) lists Central Jibbali *maḥzém* 'cartridge-belt' (also in *JL* and *HL*, s.v. *hzm*). *HL* includes Ḥarsusi and Mehri *məḥzēm* 'cartridge-belt'.
- 12 *aḳáyǝ*: I have translated this as 'summer' here, but it really refers to the hot months before the monsoon that comes in July and August.
- 14 *ā(d)sən*: In the Arabic manuscript, Ali spelled this word *أسن*, without the expected *d*. There has been a partial assimilation here; on the audio, Ali read *ásən*. In Soqoṭri and Jibbali, the *d* is regularly lost before first- and second-person suffixes (except 1cp). This is the only such example from the texts of *ād* plus a 3fp suffix.



- 15 B: “*ṣabrōna lūk ṣarōmah, wālākan mət nūka aḳáyḏ, háwfi man ḡayr ḡarōy.*”  
 16 A: “*šanḏárk ḏ-əl-háwḑak aḳáyḏ amháḳbal.*”

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16 *šanḏárk*: The Roman manuscript has the 1cs perfect *šanḏárk*, but the Arabic manuscript and audio have the ms imperative *šánḏar*. Ali stumbled on this word, reading first 3ms perfect *šanḏūr*, then (after a prompt by Johnstone) the ms imperative *šánḏar*. If *šánḏar* is correct, then the whole line must still be from the mouth of speaker B, and the translation would be “promise, ‘I will pay you next summer!’”.

- 15 B: "I'll give you a respite now, but when the summer comes, pay me without a word [lit. talk]."
- 16 A: "I promise that I'll pay you next summer."

## Text 40 (no J): Kidnapped by Witches

- 1 *xəṭərāt trōh gəyw. əttōli mīrəš ʔāt xəmmōh wōrəx. tōli mōt.*  
 2 *wə-sáʔf šāṭáyh səwēhər mən xawr, wə-ḵəbáwrəh.*  
 3 *w-əgāh sōbər yəsyūr ʔār aḵōbər ʔ-əgāh wə-yəbáyk.*  
 4 *əttōli šəšīḵ mánəh aməyṭáyn.*  
 5 *əttōli hūma šayḥ əḏ-yōmər, “ašīḵk b-amḵəbrēt.*  
 6 *əgāk əl mōt lā. əgāk šāṭáyh səwēhər, wə-hē bə-hánd.*  
 7 *wə-bér ḵəwbīh kabś. wə-hēt, l-ād təbkéh lā!”*  
 8 *əttōli aḵōfi əgáyg wə-kəlūt ḥābū b-əlhān həmáyh.*  
 9 *w-āmūr, “hōm əl-ssōfər hənd.”*  
 10 *āmáwr həh ḥābū, “hēt əhtəwēk? əgāk ber mōt wə-bér ḵəbər, wə-ḵalé’*  
*ḥəwē!”*  
 11 *āmūr, “hōh ar gəhmōna.”*  
 12 *əttōli ssōfər əgáyg, w-āmáwr ḥābū, “əgáyg əhtəwūl.”*  
 13 *wə-ssōfər əgáyg tē wīšəl hənd.*  
 14 *šxəbūr mən həndyūt, wə-kəláwt ləh ḥābū bīs.*  
 15 *w-āmáwr, “hām ṭhōm tənkēs, ənkēs mən sərīs wə-mné’ ṭádyəs.”*  
 16 *tōli áyməl əwtákəməh. tē mənáyəs wə-kəlūt līs.*  
 17 *əttōli əmərūt, “mət ḥāráwn kəlōh, šār, w-əgāk yəgərbək.”*  
 18 *tōli áyməl wəṭákəməh, wə-kəlōh ḥāráwn. əlhē kabś hīs šīni əgāh, wə-nūka*  
*əgāh wə-mənáyh.*

5 *ašīḵk*: This is the D/L-Stem 2ms perfect of the root *šyḵ*. The underlying form is *ašyīḵk*, just as in line 4 the Š1-Stem 3mp perfect *šəšīḵ* comes from *šəšyīḵ*. Johnstone glossed this verb in the Roman manuscript as ‘I’m fed up’, a translation followed by Stroomer in the printed edition. Such a translation must assume that the form is a 1cs G-Stem perfect, but the context and the initial preformative *a-* makes it clear that it is a D/L-Stem. The form *ašūḵək* in Stroomer’s edition is based on a misreading of Johnstone’s transcription *ašūḵik*. On this root, see also the comment to text 24:23.

8 *ḥābū*: We might expect here *əl-ḥābū*. In fact, the Arabic manuscript originally had *əl-ḥābū*, but the prefix was crossed out. Neither the Roman manuscript or the audio has *əl-*. The form *ḥābū* here must represent an underlying *h-ḥābū*, since the indirect object of *kəlūt* requires the preposition *l-* or *h-*.

15 *ṭádyəs*: The audio has *ṭádyəs*, based on the singular *tōdi*, while the Roman manuscript has *tīdáyse*, based on the plural *tīdáy*. The Arabic manuscript

## Translation of Text 40

- 1 Once there were two brothers. Then one got sick for five months. Then he died.
- 2 It turned out that witches got hold of him after a little while. And they buried him.
- 3 And his brother would always go to his brother's grave and cry.
- 4 Then the dead got fed up with him.
- 5 Then he heard a voice saying, "You have annoyed the graveyard.
- 6 Your brother is not dead. Your brother, witches took him, and he is in India.
- 7 They have turned him into a lamb. And you, don't cry anymore!"
- 8 Then the man went back and told the people all that he had heard.
- 9 And he said, "I want to travel to India."
- 10 The people said to him, "Have you gone crazy? Your brother has already died and been buried. Stop [lit. leave] the craziness!"
- 11 He said, "I am really going."
- 12 Then the man traveled, and the people said, "The man went crazy."
- 13 And the man traveled until he got to India.
- 14 He asked about a (certain) Indian woman, and the people told him about her.
- 15 And they said, "If you want to get to her, come up to her from behind her and grab her breast(s)."
- 16 Then he did thus. Then he grabbed her and told her.
- 17 Then she said, "When the goats come, stand (there), and your brother will know you."
- 18 Then he did thus, and the goats came home. The lamb bleated when he saw his brother, and his brother came and took him.

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has تديس, which could represent either *tádyas* or *tīdáyse*, but most likely represents *tádyas*.

- 17 *mat ḥārāwn*: Although both manuscripts have *mat ḍ-ḥārāwn*, the prefix *ḍ-* is unexpected. The audio lacks the prefix *ḍ-*.
- 18 *alhē*: *ML* (s.v. *lhv*) lists the G-Stem *lahū* 'bleat' (for which *lahōh* is a better transcription), which is the expected G-Stem form of a III-w/y root (§7.2.10). However, the manuscripts and audio for this passage have *alhē*, which follows the pattern of II-h verbs (§7.2.5). This looks like a Jibbali form (cf. Jibbali *alhē*), however, Jahn (1902: 208) lists Mehri *lehéy* 'bleat' (*meckern*).

- 19 *w-āmūr, “ðōmah hē.” wə-ḱəwbətəh tɛ ɳátlab hīs fənōhən.*  
 20 *wə-ráddəm h-aḱāhəm, wə-sīləm wəḱōna ōsər sənáyɳ.*  
 21 *wə-mǵōrən šxəbīrəh ḱābū, āmáwr həh, “ḱássək bə-ḱnáfɳ hīs sállūk səwēḱər?”*  
 22 *āmūr, “ya-ḱō! ḱássək təwyáy bə-ḱálláy. wə-nkōt tət mənsən wə-dəḱfāti əm-mán awəhōyən, w-aǵyábɳ ḱass.*  
 23 *wə-sálláy bə-ḱálláy mən xawr, w-əsōni ḱābū xā hēm bərk ḱəmōh.*  
 24 *w-əsénihəm ðə-yəǵtóryəm, wəlākan əl əhámahəm lā.*  
 25 *wə-hīs bəri bərk amərkēb, dəḱfāti tēt ǵəláyḱət wə-ḱátəwbək kabś.*  
 26 *wə-hōh bay ḱássi kálləh, wəlākan əl əḱáwdər l-əǵtáyɳ lā.” wə-təmmōt.*

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20 *ōsər*: The manuscripts have the correct feminine cardinal form *ōsər*, but Ali mistakenly read *áysər* on the audio, which is the form used only with ‘days’ (§ 9.2).

26 *wə-təmmōt*: The Roman manuscript has about ten additional words before *wə-təmmōt*, printed in Stroomer’s edition as lines 27–28. I would transcribe these as *wə-mǵōrən sīləm aǵáyɳ wəḱōna ōsər sənáyɳ. mǵōrən mōt ðə-šátɳ* ‘and then the man remained healthy [or: safe] for about ten years. Then he died for real.’

- 19 And he said, "This is him." And she changed him back, and [lit. until] he changed back as (he was) before.
- 20 And they went back to their country, and he remained healthy [or: safe] for about ten years.
- 21 And then the people asked him, they said to him, "Were you aware of yourself when the witches took you?"
- 22 He said, "Yes indeed! I felt them come to me in the night. And one of them came and smacked me between the shoulder blades, and I lost consciousness.
- 23 And they took me at night after a little while, and I saw people as if they were in water.
- 24 And I saw them speaking, but I didn't hear them.
- 25 And after I was in the boat, a fat woman smacked me and I turned into a lamb.
- 26 And I had complete consciousness, but I couldn't speak." And it is finished.

Text 41 (no J): A Demon Called *śērək*

- 1 *yāmarəm aśśērək yəkūn k-sawēḥar, wə-ḥābū yašbādyəm kēt̄.*  
 2 *te nəhōr ṭayt, gəyūg ḏə-yasyáwr bə-ḥōrəm. tōli śīnəm yanīt̄ šxawlūl,*  
*wə-śáfsən sawēḥar.*
- 3 *tōli āmarūt ṭayt, “aǧáyti, wə-kō hē śśērək l-ād nūka lā awákt̄ ḏōmah?”*  
 4 *āmarūt ṭayt, “adamməh bərah k-əḥād gáyran. wəlākan nəḥōm nəsyēr bark*  
*amərgāt ḏayk wə-nəmtōrəǧ, wə-məḥəsfərūtən. wə-yámkan yanké’.”*
- 5 *w-aǧəyūg ḏə-kəbáwn, wə-ḏə-yəḥámam tīsən b-əlhān āmūr.*  
 6 *tōli sayūr ḥaynīt̄. te wišəl amərgāt, əmtōrəǧ wə-ḥəsfūr.*  
 7 *əttōli nūka ḏə-yabárqa. wəlākan aǧəyūg ašyīḥəm, wə-ffəlūt.*  
 8 *w-āmáwr, “əl ankáwdər nawásfəh lā. əwbōn xā hē šxōf, wə-xfáyf xā hē*  
*bark. w-ākərah aklāl mən abkərēt, hīs amḥalēb.”*
- 9 *tōli ḥābū šəsdīk̄ ḏə-hē śērək šəṭk̄. yəkūn k-sawēḥar.*  
 10 *w-ād əl əḥād yəsényəh lā ar xəṭərūt̄ ḏákəməh, mən aqáwl ḏ-aǧəyūg*  
*əlyákəməh. wə-təmmōt.*

8 *bark*: Although the Roman manuscript has *bōrək*, the audio has *bark*. The spelling *برق* in the Arabic manuscript suggests that *bark* was intended, since Ali would likely have written *بورق* for *bōrək*. *ML* (s.v. *brk*) lists only *bōrək* for ‘lightning’, though Jahn (1902: 170) lists both *bark* and *bōrək*; cf. also Hobyot *bark* (*HV*, p. 196) and Jibbali *berk* (*JL*, s.v. *brk*).

**Translation of Text 41**

- 1 They say the *šērək* is (habitually) with witches, but (some) people don't believe the talk.
- 2 One day, (some) men were going on the road. Then they saw women sitting, and it so happened they were witches.
- 3 Then one (witch) said, "My sister, why is it that the *šērək* has not come yet in this time?"
- 4 The (other) one said, "He is probably with someone else [lit. (someone) besides us]. But let's go into that dusty area and roll around, and we'll whistle. And maybe he'll come."
- 5 And the men had hidden, and they heard all that they were saying.
- 6 Then the women went. Then when they got to the dusty area, they rolled around and whistled.
- 7 Then he (the *šērək*) came running. But the men shouted, and it ran away.
- 8 And they said, "We can't describe it. White like milk, and fast like lightning. And its size is smaller than a cow, like a calf."
- 9 Then the people believed that the *šērək* is real [lit. true]. It is with witches.
- 10 And no one has ever seen it again, except that time, according to the report of those men. And it is finished.



**Text 42 (= J54, but a variant version; see also Johnstone 1978): Bu Zid al-Hilali**

- 1 *xəṭərāt jayg wə-ḥāmáh k-həbēr bə-šáyḥ, w-əl yásényəm əḥād lā.*  
 2 *w-aǧīgēn yáwlaḥ ḥənáfəh bə-šxōḥ wə-táywi. w-aǧīgēn kəwáy wə-xfáyḥ.*  
*yəráyd bə-xətrákəh, wə-yabárka tē yəšákkəh.*  
 3 *tē nəḥōr ṭayt, āmūr ḥāmáh, “əḥād əl-hīs tī?” āmərūt, “bə-háw, wəlākan*  
*āmáwr ...” āmūr, “wəlākan ḥībōh? kəlētī lay ašótḥ!”*  
 4 *āmərūt, “yāmərəm bət bū zīd əl-həlāli axáyr mənək.” āmūr, “šəndərk*  
*bə-yəbīt məsəwmūt, ḥām šīnək bət bū zīd əl-həlāli.”*  
 5 *tē āšər, šīnəm aǧyūg məḥəkbəlūtən līḥəm. tē wəšələm, āmūr aǧīgēn, “ətēm*  
*bət mōn?”*  
 6 *āmáwr, “ənḥāh yāmərəm ḥīn bət bū zīd əl-həlāli.” āmūr, “yā ḥáyya bīkəm!*  
*béri ḏ-əmtányən tīkəm.”*  
 7 *āmáwr, “ḥēsən? wīka lūk sī?” āmūr, “ábdan, wəlākan ḥōm l-əxtār šīkəm.”*  
 8 *wə-ḥātīm, wə-šḥəṭ yəbīt. wə-ḥḥádyəm tīs xəmmōh ḥəḏáwḏ. h-aǧīgēn*  
*wə-ḥāmáh ḥəḏḏī trōh. wə-ḥēm šātáyt, wə-kāl ṭəṭ ḥəḏḏ.*  
 9 *tōli bət bū zīd əl-həlāli shēləm, w-aǧīgēn wə-ḥāmáh təwyoḥ xawr.*  
 10 *āmáwr, “ḥām ḥēt ṭḥōm təxtār šīn, shōl ḥəḏḏək!” āmūr, “əl əkáwdər lā.*  
*ḏōməh yəsdádkī, ḥōh wə-ḥāmáy, warx wə-zōyəd.”*  
 11 *āmūr bū zīd əl-həlāli, “xáybən, əl ṭšáwləḥ (t)syēr šīn lā. wə-nḥāh šīn*  
*səláwb: kāl ḏ-əl shēl ḥáḏḏəh lā, nəlátgəh.”*  
 12 *āmūr, “ḥōm šīkəm əl-šné’ fər’áytəkəm, ətēm axáyr mənáy, aw ḥōh axáyr*  
*mənəkəm.”*  
 13 *tē k-sōbəḥ šáddəm əl-fərhəyéniḥəm, wə-ḥē šádd əl-fərháyneh.*  
 14 *āmərūt ḥəh ḥāmáh, “əl xār ḥūk təghōm šīḥəm lā. əlyōməh ḥəbū bərhəm*  
*məǧrōb.” āmūr, “ḥōh axáyr mənḥēm.”*  
 15 *wə-səyáwr. tē wátxfəm bə-wōdi nōb, kūsəm ḥəbrīt ḏə-ḥōkəm ḏə-ršənēt*  
*bə-gəndēt. wə-ḥənīs xabz wə-ḥáwt.*  
 16 *tōli šxəbīrəs, āmáwr, “kō ḥēt báwməh?”*  
 17 *āmərūt, “ḏə-ršánk h-arišīt bərk ḥəwōdi ḏīməh, gənnáy. wə-kāl āšər*  
*yəwəzməm (təh) ǧəggūt wə-ḥáwt a’isēh.*

11 *ṭšáwləḥ*: This 2ms imperfect form (used also in text 76:3) is based on a Ga-Stem perfect *šūləḥ*. Such a verb is not listed in *ML* (s.v. *šlh*), though other forms of this root are listed. The Ga-Stem must be based on Arabic *šalaḥa* ‘be suitable, proper, righteous, fitting’. Cf. also Jibbali *šələḥi* ‘be suitable, fine’, used in the Jibbali version of this story (J54:9); see also *JL* (s.v. *šlh*).

### Translation of Text 42

- 1 Once a man and his mother were with the camels on a desert plain, and they didn't see anyone.
- 2 And the boy looked after himself with milk and meat. And the boy was strong and fast. He would throw a stick, and run to catch it.
- 3 Then one day, he said to his mother, "Is there anyone like me?" She said, "No way, but they've said ..." He said, "But what? Tell me the truth!"
- 4 She said, "They say that the clan of Bu Zid al-Hilali is better than you." He said, "I vow a sacrificial camel, if I see the clan of Bu Zid al-Hilali."
- 5 Then (one) night, they saw men approaching them. When they arrived, the boy said, "What clan are you [lit. you are the clan of whom]?"
- 6 They said, "Us, they call us the clan of Bu Zid al-Hilali." He said, "Welcome to you! I have been wishing for you (to come)."
- 7 They said, "For what? Has something happened to you?" He said, "Not at all, but I want to travel with you."
- 8 They spent the night, and he slaughtered a camel. And they divided it up into five shares. For the boy and his mother, two shares. And they were three, and each one (got) a share.
- 9 Then the clan of Bu Zid al-Hilali finished, but the boy and his mother ate (only) a little.
- 10 They said, "If you want to travel with us, finish your share!" He said, "I can't. This would be enough for us, me and my mother, for a month and more."
- 11 Bu Zid al-Hilali said, "Ok, you are not fit to go with us. We have a custom: Whoever doesn't finish his share, we kill him."
- 12 He said, "I want (to go) with you to see your bravery, (and to see if) you are better than me, or I am better than you."
- 13 Then in the morning, they saddled their horses, and he saddled his horse.
- 14 His mother said to him, "It's better for you not to go with them. These are people already famous." He said, "I am better than them."
- 15 And they went. Then when they came in the evening to a big valley, they found the daughter of the ruler tied up to a tree trunk. And by her was bread and food.
- 16 Then they asked her, they said, "Why are you here?"
- 17 She said, "I've been tied up for the serpent in this valley, a jinn. Every night they give it a girl and food (for) its dinner.

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17 *tah*: The expected object *tah* is in the Roman manuscript, but is missing from the Arabic manuscript and the audio.

- 18 *wə-hām əl wəzēm šī lā, yaḥáwśər arḥəbēt.*
- 19 *wə-bér tāmūm aǧəǧǧōtən ð-arḥəbēt. l-ād ar hōh, ḥəbrūt ðə-ḥōkəm. w-ətēm, háfəwtəm bə-ḥənfáykəm, m-ād yənké' aǧənnáy wə-yətéhkəm!"*
- 20 *tōli nətáwr l-aǧəǧənnōt, wə-təwīw aḳáwt ðə-ḥənīs. āmərūt, "aǧənnáy ḥśərōna arḥəbēt!"*
- 21 *āmáwr, "əl tāšáyši lā. nəḥāh ḥənáyš." tɛ bə-ḥəlláy, hámam ašáwt ð-aríšīt mən ḥəḳ.*
- 22 *tōli ḥīs hámam ašáts, nəṭṭ ḥəbrē ðə-ttēt əs-səyūr šihəm.*
- 23 *əttōli əffəḳáyw ləh bə-fḳəyūtən, wə-hē ðə-yəbáyk mən abṭōl wə-ð-yōmər, "əḳīrən bəri ḥāl ḥāmáy!"*
- 24 *əttōli awəddihəm bū zīd. āmūr, "ənhāh sātáy, wə-kāl tāt yəšōt səlēt ð-aášər."*
- 25 *āmūr tāt, "hōh ḥōm ḥāwīl ð-aášər." w-āmūr tāt, "hōh ḥōm fəḳḥ ð-aášər." wə-bū zīd təwōli ð-aášər.*
- 26 *əttōli ənḳōt aríšīt ət-tənhōḳ, wə-tōmər, "a'ísēy ḥō?"*
- 27 *āmūr ḥīs tāt, "a'ísēš bōh, wəlākan fteḥi xāš l-aǧərə ðə-l-ākēb, wə-ǧəməšī āyéntšɛ!"*
- 28 *fḥōt xās wə-ǧəməšáwt āyéntšɛ, wə-šáll ǧəndēti trayt, wə-yəhōḳa tət, wə-ḥəhōḳa tət,*

28 *yəhōḳa*: This is the H-Stem 3ms imperfect of the root *wḳ'*. According to *ML* (p. xlvi and s.v. *wḳ'*), the 3ms imperfect is *yəhəwḳā*. However, there is no reason why the form should be so different from other H-Stem verbs whose third root consonant is *'* (e.g., *ḥərbá'*, 3ms imperfect *yəḥərbəba*). That is, we expect *yəh(ə)wōḳa*, which is what Jahn (1902: 235) recorded (*yehuwōqa*); this becomes *yəhōḳa* (see § 7.2.9, especially n. 67). Cf. also the Ḥarsusi 3ms imperfect *yawōḳa*, from *awḳā*, and the Jibbali 3ms imperfect *yōḳa'*, from *əbḳa'*. The audio has *yəhōḳa* here, which is what Johnstone transcribed in the Roman manuscript, and what Ali wrote in the Arabic manuscript (قح). See also the comment to text 88:2.

28 *šəǧbīs*: This must be from a Ga-Stem verb *šəǧūb*, meaning something like 'put across', though no such verb is listed in *ML*. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added a form *šəǧáwbəh* in the margins, which can only be a Ga-Stem 3mp perfect plus a 3ms object. He also added a form *šīǧəb*, a Gb-Stem perfect, which would mean something like 'lie across (intrans.)'. We can compare the Arabic noun *mišjab* 'a rack (for clothes, guns, etc.)', and several words listed in *JL* (s.v. *šǧb*). *ML* (s.v. *šǧb*) lists a form *šəǧōb* 'across' as if it were a preposition, including the form *šəǧəbīs* 'across her', which was likely taken from this text (Johnstone added the gloss 'across it' in the margin of the Roman manuscript). I suspect the entry in *ML* is based on a misanalysis of this passage.

- 18 And if it is not given anything, it will wipe out the town.  
 19 And it has already used up the girls of the town. There is only me left, the daughter of the ruler. And you, save [lit. escape with] yourselves, lest the jinn come and eat you!"  
 20 Then they untied the girl, and they ate the food that was by her. She said, "The jinn will wipe out the town!"  
 21 They said, "Don't be afraid. We are with you." Then at night, they heard the sound of the serpent from upstream.  
 22 Then when they heard its sound, the woman's son who had gone with them trembled.  
 23 Then they covered him with bedclothes, and he was crying from cowardice and saying, "I wish I was with my mother!"  
 24 Then Bu Zid gave them assignments. He said, "We are three, and each one should take a third of the night."  
 25 One said, "I want the first part of the night." And one said, "I want the middle part of the night." And Bu Zid (took) the last part of the night.  
 26 Then the serpent came roaring, and it said, "Where is my dinner?"  
 27 One said to it, "Here is your dinner, but open your mouth so I can come in, and close your eyes!"  
 28 It opened its mouth and closed its eyes, and he took two tree branches

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28 *sádkās əwxáyw ... ðēk hə-ðēk*: This whole piece of text is missing on the audio, but appears in the manuscripts. Ali seems just to have stumbled in the reading of the text. What he said instead on the audio is *wə-šəgbīsən mən hənnūk h-hənnūk* 'and he put them from palate to palate'.

28 *əwxáyw*: This is an adjective ('lower') from the root *lxγ/lxw*. I did not find this root in *ML*, but a cognate form occurs in Johnstone's Jibbali text 6:13, namely the fs adjective *elxét*. (Jibbali text 54 is a parallel version of this Mehri text, but the relevant passage is not in the Jibbali version.) The Jibbali word is missing from *JL*, but Bittner (1916a: 58; 1917b: 48) has *(e)lxē*, fs *elxét* 'lower'. Soqotri has *ləhé* 'below; downwards' (Leslau 1938: 231; Naumkin et al. 2014: 602), and Morris (2012: 486) cites additional cognates from Baḥari and Hobyot.

28 *ālēw*: This is an adjective ('upper') from the root *'ly/'lw*. Johnstone (*ML*, s.v. *'lv*) took the word as an adverb 'at the top', and listed also a Central Jibbali form *a'alé* 'the highest one'. However in his Jibbali texts (6:13 and TJ3:19), the Jibbali word is an adjective. The word is missing from *JL*, but Bittner (1916a: 58; 1917b: 16) included it.

- wə-šəgbīs mən sádķəs əwxáyw h-sádķəs ālēw, wə-ṭayt mən sádķəs ḏēk hə-ḏēk.
- 29 wə-həwķá' aǵáwbəh ḏār aǵənēd. w-āmūr hīs. "sháyli fənōhən aǵənēd, wə-mǵōrən hōh."
- 30 hātəmūt ət-təǵōla aǵənēd ətté təmm šəlēt ḏ-aášər. āmərūt, "ḏōməh əl hē a'ísēy lā. ftēk mən xāhi!"
- 31 wə-xáyľaf ľis ṭāṭ. wə-hē rəháyym—anáwrəh əl-hīs hārīt—w-áyməl bəráwķa. w-āmūr, "šəbəri lay tē əl-háftək abəráwķa əlyōməh."
- 32 āmərūt, "yéye." mət səwānōt, yəhftúk ṭāṭ, wə-yərūǵəz hīs.
- 33 əttōli skərōt mən aráwǵəz ḏ-aǵáyǵ tē təmm šəlēt ḏ-aášər. āmərūt, "ḏōməh əl hē a'ísēy lā. háftək abərkā?"
- 34 həftúk abərkā', wə-ǵəwķáwt bəh. tōli ǵəhrōt mən əwbənēt ḏ-aǵáyǵ. w-āmərūt, "hō a'ísēy?"
- 35 nūka bū zīd. āmūr, "a'ísēš bōh. mədēdi xāhš!" wə-məddūt xāhs, wə-wəbdīs b-ašķáy. wə-ffəlīt m-ād yəǵháfham aḏhib ḏ-aḏōrə'.
- 36 w-aššūm hərəh ḏ-arīsīt wə-šálláh, wə-šāṭ aǵəǵənōt. wə-bār hē w-aǵəǵənōt tē wəkáwb arhəbēt.
- 37 āmūr h-aǵəǵənōt, "həḏḏáyri mən tkəlētī l-əhād!" wə-həwķəbīs abáts.
- 38 wə-fərr mən aķā' tē həwķá' hərəh ḏ-arīsīt ḏār saṭh, wə-ṭáwbəx aḏōrə' b-aámķ ḏə-hāšən.
- 39 wə-rádd tē wīšəl aǵáwhē. šəwķif. tē k-sōbəh həšbāh hərəh ḏ-arīsīt ḏār hāšən, w-ālōmət ḏ-aḏōrə' bə-fáķh ḏə-hāšən. w-aǵəǵənōt hāl hābse.
- 40 āmáwr h-aǵəǵənōt, "mōn ḏə-lūtəǵ arīsīt?" āmərūt, "əl wádak lā."
- 41 tōli xxəšáwb hōkəm əl-bə'áyli arhəbēt. āmūr, "mōn ḏə-lūtəǵ arīsīt?"
- 42 kāl ḏə-nūka yōmər, "hōh!" əttōli āmūr hihəm, "kāl ḏə-wətgáys məháfǵək təh həbráyti mən ǵayr šī."

29 həwķá': This word is in the manuscripts, but Ali skipped it on the audio.

29 aǵənēd: For the first occurrence of this word, the manuscripts have *aǵənēd*, but Ali mistakenly read the singular *aǵəndēt* on the audio. For the second, he also read *aǵəndēt*, but then corrected himself to *aǵənēd*.

30 *təǵōla*: *ML* (s.v. *gl'*) lists the imperfect form *yəǵáwla*, but this is an error. The correct 3ms imperfect of the verb *ǵūla* 'gnaw' is *yəǵōla* (like *nūka*, *yənōka*).

31 *bəráwķa*: This is the plural of *bərkā* 'veil' (used in lines 33 and 34). I did not find the word in *ML*, but it is given in *HL* (s.v. *brķ'*). It is ultimately derived from Arabic *burqa'* or *birqa'*.

- and put one in from his lower cheek to his upper cheek, and one in the (other) cheek from that (side) to that one.
- 29 And he put his shield on the branches. And he said to it, "First finish the branches, and then me."
- 30 It spent the night gnawing on the branches until a third of the night was finished. It said, "This is not my dinner! Get out of my mouth!"
- 31 And (another) one took (his) place with it. And he was handsome—his beauty [lit. light] was like the moon—and he put on [lit. made] veils. And he said, "Wait for me until I take off these veils."
- 32 It said, "Ok." After a little while, he would take one off, and he was singing to it.
- 33 Then it became intoxicated by the man's singing, until a third of the night was finished. It said, "This is not my dinner. Take off the veil!"
- 34 He took off the veil, and it looked at him. Then it was dazzled by the man's whiteness. And it said, "Where is my dinner?"
- 35 Bu Zid came. He said, "Here is your dinner. Open your mouth!" And it opened its mouth, and he struck it with a sword. And they fled, lest the torrent of blood wash them away.
- 36 And he cut off the serpent's head and picked it up, and he took the girl. And he went, he and the girl, until he entered the town.
- 37 He said to the girl, "Be sure not to tell anyone!" And he brought her into her house.
- 38 And he jumped from the ground and [lit. until] he put the serpent's head on the roof, and he made a mark with the blood in the middle of (the wall of) the castle.
- 39 And he went back until he got to his kinsmen. They went to sleep. Then in the morning, the serpent's head was on top of the castle, and the mark of blood was in the middle of the wall. And the girl was with her parents.
- 40 They said to the girl, "Who killed the serpent?" She said, "I don't know."
- 41 Then the ruler sent for the people of the town. He said, "Who killed the serpent?"
- 42 Everyone that came said, "Me!" Then he said to them, "Whoever killed it, I will give him my daughter in marriage for free [lit. without anything]."

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35 *xāhš/xāhs*: In these two words, the *h* is audible on the audio, and Ali wrote *h* in his Arabic transcriptions. We can compare these to *xās* in line 29, which has no *h* on the audio or in Ali's transcription. Cf. also the comment to line 52.

- 43 *kāl āmáwr*, “*hōh ḏā-látǧək tīs!*” *āmūr hūham hōkəm*, “*kāl mənkekəm ḏā-wəṭǧáys*, *yəfrēr wə-nké’ bə-hərōh ḏ-arisīt mən hāl ḏ-ālēk.*”
- 44 *kāl ḏā-nūka fərr te káyta. əl kədáwr lā.*
- 45 *əttōli nūka bū zīd ḏā-lībəs labs ḏā-fkáy, te šōr hāl hābū ḏā-yəlḥáym.*
- 46 *əttōli šədhəkáwt aǧəǧǧūt mən xəwfēt wə-sənyétəh.*
- 47 *w-āmərūt ḥáybəs*, “*ā ḥáybi, āmēr h-aǧáyǧ ḏēk yəlḥōm k-hābū.*” *āmūr*, “*yəxx! ḥəšbōb əl kədáwr yəlḥáym lā. ḏékəməh yəḵdēr?*”
- 48 *āmərūt*, “*aǧōrəb! yəmkən yāká’ hē.*” *əttōli āmūr hōkəm*, “*ā dərwiš, tḥōm təlḥōm?*” *āmūr*, “*ēhē, ḥōm.*”
- 49 *tōli ləḥām tawr*, *wə-gār bə-bēdi. wə-hābū ḏā-yəšḥáyk mánəh. wə-lḥām amšǧərēt, wə-nūka bəh.*
- 50 *tōli āmūr həh hōkəm*, “*hēt hēsən mən ǧayǧ?*” *āmūr*, “*hōh abū zīd əl-həlāli.*”
- 51 *āmūr*, “*dáwnək b-aḥkámti, wə-mháffək tīk ḥəbráyti.*”
- 52 *āmūr*, “*ḥərōhk sōləm. hōh əl əsōm fər’áyti lā. wəlākan šīn tāt nōḏəl, wə-nḥōm təzēməm tīn əḥād yəḥáwšələh ḥāmáh.*”
- 53 *āmūr*, “*bass?*” *āmūr*, “*bass.*” *wə-təmmōt kəwtēt.*

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- 43 *ālēk*: This appears to be a G internal passive of the root ‘*lk*. *ML* lists the D/L-Stem *ōlək* with meaning ‘hang (trans.)’, but compare the Arabic G ‘*aliqa* ‘hang (intrans.)’ vs. D ‘*allaqa* ‘hang (trans.)’.
- 44 *fərr te káyta*: The manuscripts have the 3ms forms *fərr* and *káyta*. On the audio, Ali read, “*fərr te káyta ... te kátam ... fərrəm te kátam*”. The forms *fərrəm* and *kátam* are 3mp. Both singular and plural forms work in this context.
- 52 *ḥərōhk sōləm*: In the Roman manuscript, after the gloss ‘let your head be safe’, Johnstone added the parenthetical comment ‘I don’t want anything from you’. In *ML* (s.v. *slm*), Johnstone translated this idiom as ‘you are quite safe’. Note also that I have transcribed *ḥərōhk*, since the *h* is audible on the audio, although Ali did not indicate *h* in the Arabic manuscript (as also in text 37:22).

- 43 They all said, "I am the one who killed it!" Then the ruler said to them, "Whichever of you killed it, he should jump and bring back the head of the serpent from where it was hung."
- 44 Everyone who came jumped until he got tired. They weren't able.
- 45 Then Bu Zid came, dressed in the clothes of a poor man, and [lit. until] he stood by the people who were jumping.
- 46 Then the girl looked down from the window and saw him.
- 47 And she said to her father, "Father, tell that man to jump with the people." He said, "Ugh! The young men can't jump. Might that one be able?"
- 48 She said, "Try! Maybe it will be him." Then the ruler said, "Hey dervish, do you want to jump?" He said, "Yes, I want to."
- 49 Then he jumped once, and he pretended to fall [lit. fell on pretense]. And the people were laughing at him. And he jumped the second time and brought it back.
- 50 Then the ruler said to him, "What kind of man are you?" He said, "I am Abu Zid al-Hilali."
- 51 He said, "Take my kingdom, and I will give you my daughter in marriage."
- 52 He said, "Your head is safe. I don't sell my bravery. But we have a certain coward with us, and we want you to give us someone to take him to his mother."
- 53 He said, "That's it?" He said, "That's it." And the story is finished.



## \*Text 43 (no J): Looking for Rooms

- 1 *amnēdam, hām hē b-agərbēt, sōbər yəktəwīlan, əl-hīs hām tāt xəlūs mən  
ḡōrəm.*
- 2 *te wə-lū fōnəh fērəʾ, yəhəşáwbəh nōðəl, te wə-lū əl hē nōðəl lā.*
- 3 *ðīməh səbēb ðə-ḡáşdi ðə-yəllōh wə-ðə-yəməh.*
- 4 *wə-hōh ar kəsk bī rīhōm, wəlākan yámkan hūk amətláwbək lā.*
- 5 *sētən ftəkk təwálihəm, ḡōm əl-şáxbər mən bayt.*
- 6 *wəlākan hīs nákak, kəsk yəniṭ bərk abáyt təkətbən, wə-şxabərk tīsən mən  
məkōn.*
- 7 *w-āmūr háyni, “şxáwwəl.” wə-şxəwlēk wə-həbṭāk. tōli wəzəməy wərkāt,  
w-āmūr háyni, “ktübən hūk awásf ḡ-amkōn.”*
- 8 *rəddək te nákak arībēy. wəzámk təh awərkāt. w-āmūr, “ðīməh əl tsədūd lā.  
wə-hōh sīrōna təwálihəm, wə-nkōna mən hənīhəm b-agəwōb ḡ-aşəṭṭk”*
- 9 *wə-hōh ðə-máthənək mánəh yəḡōla xədmátəh l-agərēy, wəlākan lū ād  
şinək təh, əkīrən l-ənfēh əl-hīs ber nəfʾáy ṭáyyəb.*
- 10 *hēt āmárk fənōhən ḡābū bāwməh rīhōm. wə-kō hēm əl yənáfam tīk  
wə-yəḡklēm arībək yəxdēm? hēm əl ḡərūb aḡərōyi lā wə-ttē yənfēm tī.*
- 11 *hēt əl zəhédk lā. wə-lū zəhédk hībōh l-āmēr ḡābū rīhōm wəlākan yāḡīb  
yəssādəm ṭāṭīdáyhəm. əl hēm əl-hīs tīn lā. nədhōs ṭāṭīdáyən.*
- 12 *ḡābū ðə-ḡəráwb kāl síyən. tāt ātəlüm yəḡōrəb hībōh yəssād hərbāthē.*

**Translation of Text 43**

- 1 A person, if he is abroad, always panics, like if someone gets lost from the road.
- 2 Even if he was brave before, he becomes a coward, even if he is not a coward.
- 3 This is the reason for my objective of last night and today.
- 4 And I have found only nice people, but maybe you don't get what you want [lit. your desire].
- 5 After a little while, I went out to (see) them, wanting to inquire about a house.
- 6 But when I came, I found women in the house writing, and I asked them about the place.
- 7 And they said to me, "Sit." And I sat and waited a long time. Then they gave me a piece of paper, and they said to me, "We've written for you the description of the place."
- 8 Then I went back until I came to my friend. I gave him the piece of paper. And he said, "This will not be enough. I'll go to them, and bring back from them the true answer."
- 9 And I was troubled that he had to leave his work on account of me. If only I saw him again, I would want to be helpful to him, as he had helped me so well.
- 10 You said before that the people here were nice. Why weren't they helpful to you and let your friend work? They didn't know my language in order to be of use to me.
- 11 You didn't know. If only I had known what to say to the nice people, but they love to help each other. They are not like us. We annoy each other.
- 12 The people know everything. One learned to know how to help his friends.

## Text 44 (no J): Visiting Uncles

- 1 A: “*əl-ħō sīrōna yəməh?*”  
 2 B: “*sīrōna əl-ṭāf əl-xəlye. ber háyni sēt mənhēm.*”  
 3 A: “*xáybən. thábtə lā. əl səddən mənk lā.*”  
 4 B: “*yéye. əl hōh məhábṭə lā. nəkōna tīkəm bād gēhəməh.*”  
 5 A: “*wə-ya lawb, ənkēn gēhəməh. l-ād āḏər lā.*”  
 6 B: “*hām ar qálam tī xəlye l-ərdəd gēhəməh, nəkōna tīkəm.*”  
 7 A: “*šəwādək. xáybən.*”  
 8 *tōli gəhēm tē wīšəl xálhe. hātūm hənīhəm āšər ṭāṭ. w-āmūr h-xálhe, “hōm əl-gəhōm təwōli sékəni.”*  
 9 *āmáwr həh, “ábdan. əl (t)syūr lā. ādən sátwəkan lūk.”*  
 10 *āmūr, “sékanī məmṭhənūtən, w-əl qálak əḥād lā mən səráy ar yəniṭ wə-ḥənyáwn. w-əl yəsdáwd mənáy lā. wə-ḥámkəm tsmēhəm lay.”*  
 11 *āmáwr həh, “xáybən, gəhōm! wə-ḥələb līhəm bə-səlōm.” “w-ətēm səláy!”*  
 12 *tōli səyūr aǵáyg. tē wīšəl sékənəh, ksīhəm ber sálləm mən amkōnhəm ḥāwəláy. təbáyhəm tē ksīhəm bə-wōdi ṭayt.*  
 13 *wəlākan ḥəwōdi háwrət, wə-bīs kawb. yəhūgəm līhəm mən ṭáwri trōh b-anhōr.*  
 14 *wəlākan aǵáyg šəh məndáwḵ, wə-yələbdəh. wə-məǵōrən šərḥáy.*

3 *thábtə lā*: The manuscripts have *thábtə lā* ‘don’t be long’, but the audio has *əl thábtə līn lā* ‘don’t be long (coming back) to us’.

6 *l-ərdəd*: The manuscripts have the 1cs subjunctive *l-ərdəd*, but the audio has the ms future *rəddōna*. A subjunctive would have to be dependent verb that is part of the protasis (‘if they let me return’), while a future would have to be part of the apodosis (‘if they let me, I will return’).

11 *w-ətēm səláy*: It is not clear if this phrase is meant to go in the mouths of the uncles or in the mouth of the man. I have opted for the latter.

**Translation of Text 44**

- 1 A: "Where are you going today?"
- 2 B: "I am going to visit my uncles. I have been (away) a long time from them."
- 3 A: "Fine. Don't be long. We can't manage without you."
- 4 B: "Ok. I won't be long. I'll come back to you the day after tomorrow."
- 5 A: "No, come back to us tomorrow. There is no excuse."
- 6 B: "If indeed my uncles let me return tomorrow, I'll come back to you."
- 7 A: "You've promised. Fine."
- 8 Then he went until he reached his uncles. He spent one night with them. And he said to his uncles, "I want to go back to my settlement."
- 9 They said to him, "No, don't go. We still miss you."
- 10 He said, "My settlement will be in trouble; I left no one (there) behind me except women and children. They won't manage without me. I want you to excuse me."
- 11 They said to him, "Fine, go! And give them greetings." "And may you be well!"
- 12 Then the man left. When he got to his settlement, he found they had already moved from their previous place. He followed them and [lit. until] he found them in a certain valley.
- 13 But the valley was dry, and there was a wolf in it. It attacked them twice in a day.
- 14 But the man had a rifle, and he shot it. And then they had rain.

## Text 45 (no J): Getting the News

- 1 A: “wáðakəm ḥābū ḥībōh sənēt ḏīməh?”  
 2 B: “āmáwr ḥābū bə-xáyr wə-šihəm aśxōf.”  
 3 A: “wələ rəḥmēt śī šihəm sənēt ḏīməh?”  
 4 B: “šihəm təsōś, wəlākan aḳā’ bəh amətwē, kəṭōrət gádat.”  
 5 A: “wələ əḥād ənkáykəm mən hāl bə’áyli abḳār?”  
 6 B: “əḏ-nákam ḥābū w-āmáwr abḳār ḏə-wbūd wəṭiyōh mən aḳáll ḏə-śśēr.”  
 7 A: “wələ šihəm ayd sənēt ḏīməh?”  
 8 B: “āmáwr awəddōt, wəlākan gályət.”  
 9 A: “wə-bə’áyli ḥəbēr, ḥībōh ḏə-wbáwd?”  
 10 B: “ḏə-wbáwd bə-xáyr. ḥərōm bəh amətwē, wə-ḥəbēr ḏə-ḥhəḳáwt.”  
 11 A: “wə-hīh! abásrək abēli bə-xáyr. xáybən, ḥōh gəhmōna təwōli bə’áyli ḥəbēr. thámi, hām kəsk sékənək, l-āmēr ḥihəm ḥībōh?”  
 12 B: “āmēr ḥihəm ḥōh ḳəfdōna arḥəbēt. wələ əlhōḳ amáwsəm l-əstōm məšrāwf h-xárf, w-əl ḥōh məhábṭa lā.”  
 13 A: “šəwāðək, xáybən. āmrōna ḥihəm. əl təḳtəlōb lā.”  
 14 B: “wələ amáwsəm nūka?”  
 15 A: “yállōh nūka lang əḏ-bərkīh ays wə-tōmər, wə-ḏə-yəśōm bə-ráxəs, wəlākan sētən aḳōfi.”  
 16 B: “xəṭárkəm ād yənké’ máwsəm mən sərīh?”  
 17 A: “āmáwr ād lang ṭāṭ məhákəbəl, wəlākan wádan lā mayt yənké’.”  
 18 B: “ḥōh ād ar məḥētəm ḥəh yálliləh tē gəḥəməh. wə-hām əl nūka lā, rəddōna.”  
 19 A: “b-arāyək! xáybən.”

4 *təsōś*: The transcription here is uncertain. The Arabic manuscript has طشوش, the Roman manuscript has *təsəwwəs*, and *ML* (s.v. *ṭśś*) has *təsōwəs*, but the audio has *təsōś* (or perhaps *təwsōś*). *ML* records the Jibbali form *ṭśś*.

4 *kəṭōrət*: This word is not in *ML*, but Johnstone adds the gloss ‘half-dry’ in the Roman manuscript. Johnstone transcribed the initial consonant as *k*, but Ali wrote ق (*k*). The audio seems to support the latter, but it is not totally clear.

8 *awəddōt*: This is the singular diminutive of *áydat* ‘sardine’. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘a little qty of sardines’. I assume his translation is correct, though a translation ‘small sardines’ may be possible.

### Translation of Text 45

- 1 A: "Do you know how the people are this year?"  
 2 B: "They've said that the people are well and they have milk."  
 3 A: "Have they had any rain this year?"  
 4 B: "They've had some light showers, but the place has fodder, good half-dry (grass)."  
 5 A: "Has anyone come to you from the cow-herders?"  
 6 B: "People have come to us and said that the cow-herders continue to be in poor condition from the scarcity of straw."  
 7 A: "Do they have sardines this year?"  
 8 B: "They say a small amount of sardines, but (they are) expensive."  
 9 A: "And the camel-herders, how have they been doing?"  
 10 B: "They've been well. The trees have fodder, and the camels have given birth."  
 11 A: "Oh! God brought you good news. Ok, I will go to the camel-herders. If I find your community, what do you want me to say to them?"  
 12 B: "Tell them I will go down to the town. Perhaps I'll catch the trading-boat to buy supplies for the summer monsoon, and I won't be long."  
 13 A: "I promise, ok. I'll tell them. Don't worry."  
 14 B: "Has the trading-boat come?"  
 15 A: "Last night a boat came that had in it rice and dates, and it was selling for cheap, but it turned around a little while ago."  
 16 B: "Do you think another trading-boat will come again behind it?"  
 17 A: "They said one more boat was coming, but we don't know when it might come."  
 18 B: "I will only spend one more night (waiting) for it tonight, until tomorrow. And if it doesn't come, I'll go back."  
 19 A: "As you wish! Ok."

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16 *xəṭārkəm*: This must be connected with Arabic *xatāra*, which can have the meaning 'occur to, come to mind, recall'. Second-person forms of the verb occur also in texts 52:14, 99:18, and 99:23. The particle *məxáṭṭər* 'probably', included in Watson (2012: 373), but not found in our texts, is from the same root.

**Text 46 (no J; similar in content to Jahn 1902, p. 117): The Rewards of Virtue**

- 1 *xəṭarāt ǰayg ðə-yəghōm bə-ḥōrəm. tɛ wīʃəl b-aámk, kūsa āǰáwz ʃxəwəllūt. tōli ʃxəbərīs, āmūr, “kō hēt bāwməh?”*
- 2 *āmərūt, “hōh āǰáwz ðə-l-ād wáʃələk lā əl-syēr, wə-l-ād həbʃárk lā. wə-təwwək tāmōl háyni mārāwf wə-(t)ʃəléli.”*
- 3 *āmūr, “yéye.” ʃállīs. tōli káyta, w-āmūr, “nəḥōm ənʃáwnəx.”*
- 4 *āmərūt, “hōh l-ād əkəwʃəd lā mən ðáyrək.” wə-ʃáfs ǰəbrē.*
- 5 *əttōli āmūr, “təwwəʃ təkfēdi mən ðáyri!” āmərūt, “ábdan.”*
- 6 *tōli rátki līs, wə-həwūt mən ðáyrəh.*
- 7 *wəlākan tənákah, xáʃʃən mət ðə-yəḥōm yəʃákf hāl tətəh, tʃəwkūf əm-mənwīh w-əm-mán tətəh.*
- 8 *əttōli səyūr təwōli amhīsən, wə-ʃktüb ktüb məns. wə-l-ād nəkátəh lā.*
- 9 *tɛ nəḥōr ʃayt, kəfūd arḥəbət wə-ʃáh tətəh, wə-ʃihəm ḥayr. tɛ hīs bərhəm bə-ḥōrəm, kūsəm ǰayg əwēr.*
- 10 *w-āmūr hīhəm, “awáʃələm tī h-arḥəbət!” wə-ʃálləm təh ḍār ḥayr tɛ wáʃələm arḥəbət.*
- 11 *āmūr həh, “wáʃələn, wə-ʃərōməh kəfəd!” āmūr, “hībōh əl-kəfəd mən ḍār ḥáyri?”*
- 12 *ðōməh ḥáyri, wə-ttēt tēti.” āmūr aǰáyg, “hībōh ḥayr ḥáyrek wə-ttēt tətək?”*
- 13 *nəḥāh ðə-ʃmlən hūk mārāwf wə-ʃállən tik mən ḥōrəm. wə-ʃərōməh āmlōna līn ǰərōy?”*
- 14 *āmūr, “ya-ḥōl! hēt thōm təǰʃábi tēti wə-ḥáyri. wəlākan ǰədəwwən hāl aḥkəwmət!” səyáwr təwōli aḥkəwmət.*
- 15 *tɛ wáʃələm, ʃənháwr aǰáyg əwēr. āmūr, “aǰáyg ðōməh ǰəʃbáy tēti wə-ḥáyri.” w-āmūr aǰáyg ðə-ttēt, “nəḥāh ðə-nəsyūr bə-ḥōrəm. tōli kūsən təh bə-ḥōrəm, wə-ʃmləm həh mārāwf wə-ʃállən təh.*

1 *kūsa*: The verb *kūsa* ‘he found’ is missing in the Arabic manuscript and on the audio.

2 *wə-(t)ʃəléli*: Since there is no initial *t* on the audio or in Ali’s Arabic manuscript, this form could be parsed two ways. It could be from a 2ms subjunctive *(t)ʃələl* (plus the 1cs object suffix *-i*), with the *t* suppressed because of the initial *ʃ* (see §2.1.6). This is how I have parsed it in my translation. Alternatively, it could be read as from a ms imperative *ʃələl* (plus the 1cs object suffix *-i*) ‘carry me!’. The audio lacks the conjunction *wə-*, though it is in the manuscripts.

### Translation of Text 46

- 1 Once a man was walking on the road. Then when he was in the middle (of his journey), he found an old woman sitting. Then he asked her, she said, "Why are you here?"
- 2 She said, "I am an old woman who can't manage to go anymore, and doesn't see well anymore. You must do me a favor and carry me."
- 3 He said, "Ok." He carried her. Then he got tired, and he said, "Let's rest."
- 4 She said, "I will not get down off you yet." And it turned out she was a jinn.
- 5 Then he said, "You must get down off me!" She said, "Never."
- 6 Then he read the Quran against her, and she fell off of him.
- 7 But she kept coming to him, especially whenever he wanted to sleep with his wife, she would sleep between him and his wife.
- 8 Then he went to the medicine man, and he had a charm written against her. And she didn't come to him ever again.
- 9 Then one day, he went down to the town, and he had his wife, and they had a donkey. Then when they were on the road, they found a blind man.
- 10 And he said to them, "Take me to the town!" And they carried him on the donkey until they got to the town.
- 11 He said to him, "We have arrived, so now get down!" He said, "Why should I get down off my donkey?"
- 12 This is my donkey, and the woman is my wife." The man said, "How is the donkey your donkey and the woman your wife?"
- 13 We did you a favor and picked you up off the road. And now you are going to make trouble [lit. words] for us?"
- 14 He said, "Indeed! You want to snatch my wife and my donkey. So let's go to the authorities!" They went to the authorities.
- 15 Then when they arrived, the blind man lodged a complaint. He said, "This man snatched from me my wife and my donkey." And the woman's husband said, "We were going on the road. Then we found him on the road, and we did him a favor and carried him.

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7 *xáṣṣan*: The form *xāṣṭan* given in *ML* (and used in Stroemer's edition of this line) is probably an error. The Arabic manuscript has *خاصاً*, and there is no *t* heard on the audio. The Roman manuscript appears to have had *xaassan*, later altered to *xas'an*. The form *xáṣṣan* is clearly borrowed from Arabic *xaṣṣan*. Cf. also *xāṣ* in 7:1 and 7:3.



- 16 *te hīs wáṣələn báwməh, āmūr, ‘dīməh tētī, wə-ḏōməh ḥáyri!’ tōli bəkōh  
āwēr, w-āmūr, “atēm tḥaym təḏlēmən tī!”*
- 17 *tōli āmūr ḥōkəm, “ḥəbēsəm tihəm kálhəm, wə-ḵəlēm tihəm kāl ṭāṭ bərk  
dəhriz, w-attámam līhəm.”*
- 18 *əttōli ‘šmləm əwṭákəməh wə-ttámam līhəm. tōli āmūr aǵáyg ḏə-ttēt, “mən  
yəsawwi fəḏlələh, yərga‘ fī zīlələh!”*
- 19 *əttōli āmūr āwēr, “ma šī xsārəh, wəlē l-ḥərməh wəlē l-ḥəmārəh!”*
- 20 *tōli ǵəráwb āskēr ḏə-hē āwēr báydi. wə-ḥftik l-aǵáyg wə-ttétələh, w-āwēr  
báyki bərk ḥabs. wə-təmmōt.*

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18 *wə-ttámam*: Johnstone transcribed here *wəttamam*, exactly as he did in line 17. However, the form in line 18 is a 3mp perfect, while the form in line 17 is a mp imperative. According to *ML* (p. lvi), the 3mp perfect of the anomalous verb *əttōma* has the form *támam*, while *əttámam* is the expected mp imperative (cf. 46:17). The 3mp perfect is actually *ttámam*, though the geminate is often not heard in initial position; after a particle like *wə-* it is heard more clearly. On the audio, the imperative in 46:17 and the perfect in 46:18 sound identical.

18 *mən yəsawwi ... zīlələh*: This sentence is all Arabic. My translation is rather loose.

19 *ma ... l-ḥəmārəh*: This sentence is all Arabic.

- 16 Then when we got here, he said, "This is my wife, and this is my donkey!"  
Then the blind man cried, and said, "You want to persecute me!"
- 17 Then the ruler said, "Imprison them all, and leave them each in a (separate) cell, and listen to them."
- 18 Then they did thus, and they listened to them. Then the woman's husband said, "Whoever tries to do good, it comes back in his face!"
- 19 Then the blind man said, "No loss, neither the woman nor the donkey!"
- 20 Then the officers knew that the blind man was a liar. And they released the man and his wife, and the blind man stayed in prison. And it is finished.

## Text 47 (no J): Mistaken for a Thief

- 1 *xəṭarāt gəhémk mən hāl sékəni, hōm əl-tāf kə ʔāt āmáwr bəh arḥəmət.*  
 2 *wə-gəhémk mən ǧār ḥalēb ǧə-hāráwn. tɛ hīs bəri b-aámk əǧ-hōrəm, ənkōt*  
*aməwsə w-aǧəllət, wə-hōh əl əǧōrəb ḥōrəm wiyən lā.*
- 3 *wə-gəhémk. tōli ḥəyárk mən ḥōrəm, wə-l-ād wádak əl-ḥō əl-syēr lā. tōli*  
*ǧáwyak šīwōt əǧ-bəʔyli abkār, wə-səyárk əl-sáyb ǧə-šīwōt.*
- 4 *wə-sáff ber gəzōt ḥəyáwm, wə-šáy aǧəllət. thəbšáwr ǧə-wṭəmük lā.*  
 5 *wə-ḥābū ǧə-yəššəm mən hark, wə-sáfi bəri bərk əmk ǧ-abkār.*  
 6 *tōli ʔəhásk wə-gárk, wə-ffərūd abkār. wə-nákam ḥābū ǧə-yabərəkam.*  
 7 *tɛ šīnəm tī, āmáwr, “hērək!” w-aʔyṭəm.*  
 8 *tōli āmárk ḥihəm, “əl hōh hērək lā! hōh ǧayg ǧə-xəlásk ḥōrəm, wə-gárk*  
*wə-ffərūd abkār.”*
- 9 *āmáwr, “barr! hēt ar hērək!” āmárk, “hōh, mən hīs xəlákək, ādi əl əhūrək*  
*lā!”*
- 10 *āmáwr, “hēt ar hērək, wə-hábsər b-ōrək!” tōli šīnək tihəm āzáwm lay.*  
*xábṭək aməndáwki, wə-gəzómk,*
- 11 *“hām əḥād mənkekəm kərbáy, ǧə-l-əwbádəh, ar wə-tháym tarábam tī. hōh*  
*ǧəzmōna hikəm məkə hōh hērək.*
- 12 *wə-hōh ǧayg bāl xayr, w-əl ətáyw ḥərōm lā!”*
- 13 *tōli hīs yəššəm, arábam tī. wə-nákak tihəm wə-šxəbīri.*
- 14 *tōli nūka ǧayg wə-ǧərbáy, w-āmūr ḥihəm, “ǧōməh əl yəhūrək lā.” wə-*  
*hātámk hənūhəm, wə-ḥḥásməm tī. tɛ k-sōbəḥ, rəddək təwōli sékəni.*  
*wə-təmmōt.*

4 *ǧ-əwṭəmük lā:* In Stroomer’s edition, the phrase *əl thəbšáwr ḥáydak mən fēmək lā* ‘you couldn’t tell your hand from your foot’ appears in parentheses at the end of line 4. This may have been taken directly from *ML* (s.v. *bšr*), since it is not in either manuscript, nor on the audio.

11 *ǧə-l-əwbádəh:* Stroomer’s transcription *ǧ-əlubádəh*, based on *ǧəluubádəh* in Johnstone’s Roman manuscript, seems to suggest that he took it as an imperfect, but this form would be impossible. The G-Stem verb *əwbūd* (< \**labūd*) ‘shoot’ does have a 1cs imperfect *əlubəd*. However, the 1cs imperfect with a suffix would be *əlábdəh* (cf. 3ms *yəlábdəh* in texts 44:14, 70:3, and 95:4). The form on the audio and in the Arabic manuscript is *ǧə-l-əwbádəh* (spelled *ذلو باده* in the Arabic manuscript), which is the 1cs subjunctive *l-əwbəd* plus a 3ms object suffix. Compare the same subjunctive uses of this verb, in very similar contexts, in texts 54:18 and 64:31.

**Translation of Text 47**

- 1 Once I was going from my settlement, heading to visit a certain place that they said had rain.
- 2 And I went after the milking of the goats. Then when I was in the middle of the journey, the rain and mist came, and I didn't know the road very well.
- 3 And I went. Then I got confused about the way, and I didn't know anymore where to go. Then I smelled the fire of the cow-herders, and I went in the direction of the fire.
- 4 As it happened, the sun had already gone down, and there was mist. You couldn't (even) see the one who slapped you [i.e., right in front of you].
- 5 And the people were afraid of theft, and as it happened, I was in the middle of the cows.
- 6 Then I slipped and fell, and the cows panicked. And the people came running.
- 7 Then when they saw me, they said, "Thief!" And they yelled.
- 8 Then I said to them, "I am not a thief! I am a man who lost the road, and I fell, and the cows panicked."
- 9 They said, "No way! You are indeed a thief!" I said, "Since I was born, I have never stolen!"
- 10 They said, "You are indeed a thief, so look forward to your disgrace!" Then I saw them intending (to move) against me. I cocked my rifle, and I swore,
- 11 "If any of you come near me, I will shoot him, unless you want to give me safe passage. I will swear to you that I am not a thief.
- 12 I am a well-to-do person, and I don't eat forbidden [e.g., stolen] food!"
- 13 Then, since they were afraid, they gave me safe passage. And I came to them, and they questioned me.
- 14 Then a man came and recognized me, and he said to them, "This (guy) doesn't steal." And I spent the night with them, and they treated me with respect. Then in the morning, I returned to my settlement. And it is finished.

**Text 48 (= J36, but a variant version; translated from Jahn 1902, pp. 7–14): The Ruler’s Daughter**

- 1 *ħōkəm bə-rħəbēt hārūs bə-tēt, wə-nūka məns bə-ġġġēn wə-ġəgənōt.*  
*wə-mətōt tēt, wə-šxəwlīl. wə-šīhəm ġərīt.*
- 2 *əttōli ħōkəm wə-ħəbrāš āzāwm yəghīm ħagg, wə-ħəbrātəh wə-ħāġərīt bərk*  
*ħāšən. āmūr hīsən ħáybəs, “tftēkən lā! aməšráwfkən hənīkən, w-abáyř đə-*  
*ħəmōh hənīkən. wə-ġəmāt mən ġəmāt, mərđōna sērə’ yənkēkən bə-táywi*  
*wə-xəđōri.”*
- 3 *hīs nəhōr đ-agəmət k-sōbəh, nūka sērə’, wə-šáh zənbīl đ-táywi wə-xəđōri.*  
*wə-sāķ mən nəxāli ħāšən, wə-ħəķfūd ləh ķayd. w-āšáwb azənbīl w-āmūr*  
*hīsən, “hárban!” wə-hē šxəwlīl bərk azənbīl.*
- 4 *ħərbōt ħāġərīt, əttōli ħəssətəh təkáył. tōli āməřūt h-abāláts, “əlħáyķi lay!”*  
*wə-ħəķōt līs, wə-ħərbātōh. ətté ķáyřəb xəwfēt, šīni sērə’ bərk azənbīl. əttōli*  
*nūka b-askáyñ w-āšūm aķáyđ.*
- 5 *wə-ħəwōh sērə’ te nəxāli ħāšən. ‘əśś sērə’. te nūka b-abátəh, āmáwr həh*  
*ħābū, “būk hēsən?” āmūr, “hōwək mən đār ħayř.”*
- 6 *šxəwlīl, wə-šəmrūš. te wīķa bə-xáyř, səyūr te hāl āġáwz. āmūr hīs,*  
*“wəzmōna tīš xəmsáyñ ķarš, wə-nkēy bə-ħəbrīt đə-ħōkəm.” āməřūt, “yēye.”*
- 7 *sīrūt te ənkōt hāl ħəbrīt đə-ħōkəm. āməřūt hīs, “hōh ħādátš, wə-hēt əl*  
*tənáķay lā! šəřōməh ħamš tənkēy. šay ħəbráyti, tħōm (t)šnēš.” āməřūt hīs,*  
*“ġəhəməh ənkáyta tīš k-sōbəh.”*
- 8 *hīs k-sōbəh, sīrūt təwēse. te ənkáts, wə-wkəbūt bərk abáyř, aməřħəbēt bīs*  
*wə-ħənšəfūt hīs. w-āməřūt hīs, “ħəbrátš ħō?” āməřūt, “ħəbráyti xəšəbk tīs*  
*h-sawķ. səláybi lay wə-hōh sīřita šāķáyta tīs.”*
- 9 *ftkūt āġáwz wə-sīrūt təwōli sērə’. āməřūt həh, “āġəgənōt bərs b-abáyř.”*  
*səyūr əśśérə’ te nūka hənīs. šxəwlīl.*
- 10 *tōli āġəgənōt āzəmūt tāśés, wə-mənáyys sērə’ mən ħáyđəs. āmūr hīs,*  
*“šxáwwəli!” wə-šxəwəllūt, wə-ġátəřyəm hē wə-sē.*

2 *hīsən ħáybəs, “tftēkən:* The Arabic and Roman manuscripts have *hīs* ‘to her’, but 2fp *tftēkən* ‘(do not) go out’. The audio has *hīsən* ‘to them’, but 2fs *tftēki* ‘(do not) go out’.

2 *aməšráwfkən hənīkən ... hənīkən:* For these three words, which each have the expected 2fp suffix *-kən* ‘your’ in the Arabic manuscript, Ali mistakenly read 3fp *-sən* on the audio. The Roman manuscript has *-sən* for each, with *-kən* in brackets in the margins.

### Translation of Text 48

- 1 A ruler in a town married a woman, and he had with her a boy and a girl.  
And the woman died, and they stayed. And they had a servant-girl.
- 2 Then the ruler and his son decided to go on the Hajj, and his daughter and  
the servant-girl (remained) inside the castle. Her father said to her, "Don't  
go out! Your supplies are by you, and the water well is by you. And every  
week [or: Friday] I'll instruct the judge to bring you meat and produce."
- 3 Then on Friday morning, the judge came, and he had a basket of meat  
and produce. And he called out from below the castle, and they let down  
a rope to him. And he tied on the basket and said to them, "Pull up!" And  
he was sitting in the basket.
- 4 The servant-girl pulled up, and she found it heavy. Then she said to her  
mistress, "Help me!" And she helped her, and they pulled up. Then when  
he got near the window, they saw the judge in the basket. Then they  
brought a knife and cut the rope.
- 5 And the judge fell to the bottom of [lit. to below] the castle (wall). The  
judge got up. Then when he got to his house, the people said to him,  
"What's with you?" He said, "I fell off of a donkey."
- 6 They stayed, and he fell ill. Then when he got better, he went to an old  
woman. He said to her, "I'll give you fifty dollars, and bring me the ruler's  
daughter." She said, "Ok."
- 7 She went and [lit. until] she came to the ruler's daughter. She said to her,  
"I am your aunt, and you don't come to (see) me. Now I want you to come  
to me. I have a daughter, she wants to see you." She said to her, "Tomorrow  
I'll come to you in the morning."
- 8 Then in the morning, she went to her. When she came to her and entered  
the house, she welcomed her and laid out (a rug) for her. And she said to  
her, "Where is your daughter?" She said, "My daughter, I sent her to the  
market. Wait for me, and I'll go call her."
- 9 The old woman left and went to the judge. She said to him, "The girl is  
already in the house." The judge went and came to her. He sat down.
- 10 Then the girl decided to get up, and the judge grabbed her by her hand.  
He said to her, "Sit down!" And she sat down, and he and she talked.

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2 *xəḏḏōri*: The manuscripts have *xəḏḏōri*, but the audio has *xəḏḏāro* (or possibly *xəḏḏārə*), perhaps reflecting Arabic *xuḏāra* 'greens'. In line 3, the word on the audio sounds more like *xəḏḏārwi*.

- 11 *attōli āgáwz ftkūt mənḥēm. gátri šis ḥanáfs. w-āmarūt ḥəh, “his-táw! wəlākan mən ḡār aṣəlōt ḡ-aḡáhr.” wəgbōt aḡáhr. ənkōt ḥəh bə-ḥəmōh w-āmarūt ḥəh, “wətōši. nəḥōm naṣōli.” wətōši, wə-šallūt abərayk wə-ltəmátəh bəh l-awághəh. w-āmlōt bəh faṭx. wə-sīrūt h-abáts. tē ənkōt ḥāṣən, fḥōt līs ḥāḡaráts, wə-wkəbūt. wə-ṣəkktoḥ abōb wə-šxəwallətōh.*
- 12 *wə-ššérə’ šəmrūš mən faṭx. šxəbīrəh ḥābū. āmáwr, “mən ḥēṣən faṭx?” āmūr, “gark mən ḡār bə’áyur.”*
- 13 *wə-šəmrūš. tē wīka bə-xáyur, səyūr gūma kənyáwn, āmūr ḥīḥəm, “gəməm háyni mən amkōhi ḥərráwəkət ḡə-təmbōku wə-réga əḡ-ḳəḥwēt.” wə-gámam ḥəh aḳənyáwn, wə-nákam bīḥəm təwálhe, wə-šəllīḥəm. tē bə-ḥəlláy səyūr bīḥəm tē ənxāli ḥāṣən ḡə-ḥōkəm wə-ḡərráyḥəm əl-ḥāṣən dār ma dār.*
- 14 *wə-rádd h-abátəh wə-ktüb wərkāt wə-xxəšáwb bīs təwōli ḥōkəm bə-ḥəgg. wəṣəlōt awərkāt əl-hāl adáwlat. šxərgīs wə-kūsa bərkīs, “ḥəbrátk ḳəḥbēt, w-abátk məḳḥōyət.”*
- 15 *āmūr əḥ-ḥəbráh, “gəḥōm wə-šḥōṡ aḡátk, w-ənkēy b-aḡōrəs bərk lówəkət.” gəḥēm tē nūka ḥāl aḡátəh. āmūr ḥīs, “ḥəláy! ḡədéwwə!”*
- 16 *wə-ḥərbáys šəh ḡār fərháyyn, wə-səyūr bīs. tē bə-ḥəlláy nákam nəxāli ḥərōm, wə-šxəwlīl. wə-ḥfūr aḡīgēn, yəḥōm yəṣḥáts wə-yədfáns wə-yəšlél aḡōrəs bərk lówəkət təwōli ḥáybəh.*
- 17 *ḥīs ḡə-yəḥáwfər, yəḥáyw ḡáyərəh baṭḥ, wə-sē tənūḡəf mən ḡáyərəh abáṭḥ əlhān wīka ḡār aḡmátəh. attōli ḡáyṣən məns w-əl ḡərūb əssəbēb ḡə-látḡəṣ lā.*

- 11 *wətōši*: Both occurrences of *wətōši* in this line reflect T2-Stem forms of the root *wṣʕ*. The first use of this word is the ms imperative. The Arabic manuscript has *وتوشي*, and on the audio Ali first read *wətōši*, then corrected himself to *wətōša*. The second use of this word is the 3ms perfect. Again the Arabic manuscript has *وتوشي*, and on the audio Ali read just *wətōši*. The historically correct form for both the ms imperative and 3ms perfect is *wətōša* (< \**wətōšə*’), following the pattern of other III-Guttural verbs (see § 7.2.9), and this is the form given in *ML* (s.v. *wṣʕ*’). The form *wətōši* (for both the ms imperative and 3ms perfect) is analogical with III-w/y verbs, and reflects the general falling together of III-ʕ and III-w/y verbs (as well as ʕ and *w* in other root positions).
- 13 *dār ma dār*: This is an Arabic phrase.
- 14 *adáwlat*: This word (*dáwlat* < Arabic *dawlat*) is used in Jahn’s version of the story. Elsewhere, Ali’s Omani Mehri version normally uses *ḥōkəm*.

- 11 Then the old woman left them. He spoke with her by herself. And she said to him, "Ok! But after the afternoon prayers." The afternoon came. She brought him water and said to him, "Make your ablutions. Let's pray." He made his ablutions, and she took the pitcher and smacked him with it on his face. And she gave [lit. made] him a head-wound. And she went to her house. Then when she got to the castle, her servant-girl opened up for her, and she went in. And they shut the door and stayed.
- 12 And the judge fell ill from the head-wound. The people questioned him. They said, "What is the head-wound from?" He said, "I fell off of a camel."
- 13 And he was ill. Then when he got better, he went (and) he gathered (some) children, and he said to them, "Collect for me from the coffee-houses cigarette [lit. tobacco] butts and coffee-grounds." And the children collected for him, and they brought them to him, and he took them. Then at night he brought them to below the castle of the ruler, and spread them all around the castle.
- 14 And he went back to his house and wrote a note and sent it to the ruler on the Hajj. The note reached the ruler. He read it and found in it, "Your daughter is a whore, and your house is a coffee-house."
- 15 He said to his son, "Go and kill your sister, and bring me her blood in a bottle." He went until he came to his sister. He said to her, "Let's go!"
- 16 And he lifted her onto a horse, and he went away with her. Then at night they came to some trees, and they stayed. And the boy dug, intending to kill her and bury her and take her blood in a bottle to his father.
- 17 When he was digging, dirt would fall on him, and she would brush the dirt off of him, all that was on his back. Then he had compassion for her, and he didn't know the reason for killing her.

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14 *məkhōyət*: On the audio, Ali mistakenly read *kəhwēt* (قهويت) instead of *məkhōyət* (مقهويت). Both words can mean 'coffee-house'. See also the first comment to line 27.

15 *ḥəláy*: The Arabic manuscript has *ḥəláy ḡədəwwən*, but on the audio Ali read first *ḥəláy ḡədəwwən*, but then *ḥəláy aw ḡədəwwən*, adding *aw* 'or'. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone put *ḡədəwwən* in parentheses. So it seems that the two are synonymous here. The word *ḥəláy* is otherwise unattested in Mehri.



- 18 *attōli* ‘ásś wə-wbūd šār, wə-šəṭáyh wə-ḵəlūb aḏōrə’ bərk aláwḵət. wəlākan aḏōrə’ xawr. wə-bəsūṭ ašōbə’ ḏ-aǵátəh. te həmlōh aláwḵət mən aḏōrə’ ḏ-ašōbə’ ḏ-aǵátəh, wə-śáll aláwḵət wə-gəhēm. wə-ṭərháys ḵalákəməh l-awágəh ḏ-abēli. wə-ḵáwla hīs bəráyḵ əḏ-mōh. təḵyēt mánəh, w-abōḵi ašályēt mónəh.
- 19 *hīs nəhōri* ṭrayt, ənkáys ḵəbrē ḏə-ḵōkəm mən arḵəbēt aǵərḥūt, wə-śállis te nūka bīs hāl ḵáybəh wə-ḵāmáh. amárḵəbəm bīs. āmūr hīhəm, “ḵōm əl-hērəs bīs.” wə-hārūs bīs wə-śxəwlūl, wə-nkōt mánəh bə-śātáyt ḵənyáwn.
- 20 *attōli* āzūm yəghōm ḵāgg. āmūr hīs, “hōh gəhmōna ḵagg.” āmərūt həh, “hōh šūk.” āmūr, “his-táw!”
- 21 *w-awálməm* asfēr. ətté nəhōr ḏə-yəḵáym yəghūm, nákam bū hāl ḵáybəh. āmūr h-askēr, “ḵadēməm (ḵəddīm)!” wə-śáh gūr wəzūr. āmūr həh, “ḵadēm (ḵəddōm) k-askēr!”
- 22 *w-aḵáflət* wə-ḵərmēt wə-ḵəbónse šihəm, wə-hē wətxáwr. āmūr hīhəm, “əlḵəḵōna tīkəm.”
- 23 *wə-səyáwr*. ətté bərhəm bə-ḵōrəm, təwōh ḵāgūr hāl tēt. āmūr hīs, “āzəmi ḵənáfš, walē šəṭōna ṭāt mən ḵəbónše!” āmərūt həh, “šḵátəh!” wə-šəṭáyh wə-dfənáh. wə-səyáwr te lələt ṭōni.
- 24 *āmūr* hīs, “ṭḵáymi təzəmi? walē šəṭōna əttōni mən ḵəbónše!” āmərūt həh, “šḵátəh!” wə-šəṭáyh wə-dfənáh. wə-səyáwr te lələt ḏə-śšōlət.
- 25 *āmūr* hīs, “ṭḵáymi təzəmi? walē šəṭōna śōlət mən ḵəbónše!” āmərūt həh, “šḵátəh!” wə-šəṭáyh wə-dfənáh. wə-səyáwr ətté nəhōr ḏ-arbáyt. āmūr hīs, “ṭḵáymi təzəmi? walē šəṭōna tīš!”
- 26 *āmərūt* həh, “ṭəráḥi te ḵābū yəśáḵfəm.” wə-səyūr šəwkūf, wə-sē śxəwallūt bādēh. te šəwkūf, śállūt xəláwḵhe wə-ḵəslábhe, wə-rkəbōt ḏār fərháynəh wə-bārōt.
- 27 *hīs* ‘ásś bə-ḵálláy, l-ād kūsa əḵād lā. wə-sē sīrūt l-aḵāṭərəs ətté wəśəlōt ḵagg. wəḵəbūt hāl ṭāt bāl ḵəhwēt, w-āmlōt ḵənáfš ǵayg. āmərūt h-aməḵhōyi, “ḵōm l-əxdēm hənūk.” xədəmūt hənēh bərk məḵhōyət.

21 *bū*: The Arabic manuscript and audio have *ḵābū*, but the Roman manuscript has *bū*, and the initial *ḵā*- was later crossed out on the Arabic manuscript.

21 *ḵadēməm (ḵəddīm)*: Though the manuscripts have the Ga-Stem mp imperative *ḵadēməm*, on the audio Ali read the T2-Stem mp imperative *ḵəddīm* (< \**ḵətdīm*).

21 *ḵadēm (ḵəddōm)*: Though the manuscripts have the Ga-Stem ms imperative *ḵadēm*, on the audio Ali read the T2-Stem ms imperative *ḵəddōm* (< \**ḵətdōm*)

- 18 Then he got up and shot a gazelle, and he killed it and put the blood into the bottle. But the blood was a small amount. And he pricked his sister's fingers. Then he filled the bottle with the blood from his sister's fingers, and he took the bottle and left. He left her there in God's care. And he left for her a pitcher of water. She drank from it, and the remainder she prayed with.
- 19 When she was there two days, the son of the ruler of another town came to her, and he took her and [lit. until] brought her to his father and his mother. They welcomed her. He said to them, "I want to marry her." And he married her and stayed, and she had with him three children.
- 20 Then he decided to go on the Hajj. He said to her, "I will go on the Hajj." She said to him, "I am (going) with you." He said, "Fine!"
- 21 And they prepared the trip. Then on the day that they intended to go, people came to his father. He said to the soldiers, "Go ahead!" And he had a slave vizier. He said to him, "Go ahead with the soldiers!"
- 22 And the caravan, the woman, and her sons were with them, and he was delayed. He said to them, "I'll catch up to you."
- 23 And they left. Then when they were on the road, the slave came at night to the woman. He said to her, "Give yourself to me, or else I will kill one of your sons!" She said to him, "Kill him!" And he killed him and buried him. And they went on until the second night.
- 24 He said to her, "Do you want to give me? Or else I will kill the second of your sons!" She said to him, "Kill him!" And he killed him and buried him. And they went on until the third night.
- 25 He said to her, "Do you want to give me? Or else I will kill the third of your sons!" She said to him, "Kill him!" And he killed him and buried him. And they went on until the fourth day. He said to her, "Do you want to give me? Or else I will kill you!"
- 26 She said to him, "Wait [lit. allow] until the people go to sleep." And he went to bed, and she stayed behind [lit. after him]. Then when he went to sleep, she took his clothes and his weapons, and mounted his horse and left.
- 27 When he got up in the night, he didn't find anyone at all. And she went on her way until she reached the Hajj. She went in to certain coffee-house owner, and she pretended she was a man. She said to the coffee-man, "I want to work with you." She worked with him in the coffee-house.

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27 *bāl kəhwēt*: The manuscripts have *bāl kəhwēt*, but the audio has *bāl məḵhōyāt*. See also the comment on *məḵhōyāt* in line 14.

27 *aməḵhōyi*: The Arabic manuscript and audio have *aməḵhōyi*, but the Roman manuscript has *amḵāhwi*.

- 28 *wə-nūka aǧáyǧas wə-ḥāǧáwrəḥ wə-ḥáybəs w-aǧās wə-ššéráʾ, wə-šaryéthəm. wə-nákam bərk amḵəḥōyət, wə-ǧərbáthəm. wə-ḥáybəs əl yəǧōrəb aǧáyǧas lā, w-aǧáyǧas əl yəǧōrəb ḥáybəs lā. əttōli əmərūt ḥə-bāl amḵəḥōyət, “ḥōm l-āzēm ḥābū əlyək.” əmūr hīs, “his-táw!”*
- 29 *əzmáthəm, w-əmlōt hīhəm aʾisē. w-ətésyəm, wə-nkáthəm bə-ḵəhwēt. wə-ḵtéhəwyəm, wə-šxəwlīl mən ḍār aḵəhwēt. əmərūt hīhəm, “ḥáyya bīkəm! wəlākan nəḥōm naǧásru, wə-kāl tāṭ yənkéʾ bə-kəwtēt.” əmáwr, “his-táw!”*
- 30 *kəlūt ḥáybəs tē ttəmūm. wə-kəlūt šéráʾ tē ttəmūm. wə-kəlūt aǧās tē ttəmūm. wə-kəlūt aǧáyǧas tē ttəmūm. wə-kəlūt ḥāǧáwrəḥ tē ttəmūm. wə-kəlūt bāl amḵəḥōyət tē ttəmūm. əttōli əmáwr hīs, “ḥənūk!” əmərūt, “ḥōh ər ḵənnáwn, wəlākan hámak ...”*
- 31 *əmáwr hīs, “kalēt līn bə-kəwtēt ḍə-hámak bīs.” əmərūt, “hámak ḥābū ...” wə-nkōt bə-kəwtēt ḍə-ḵəyōs ḍə-kəwtēt ḍīməḥ. əmərūt hīhəm, “ḍəḥ aǧáyǧi, wə-ḍéḥ ḥāǧáwrəḥ, wə-ḍéḥ ḥáybi, wə-ḍéḥ aǧāy. wə-ḍéḥ šéráʾ ḍōməḥ ḍ-əyməl aḵəssēt ḍīməḥ.”*
- 32 *ʾəsš səltān w-amōsi bīs, wə-ʾəsš aǧās w-amōsi bīs. wə-ḵəššəm ḥərōḥ ḍə-ššéráʾ. w-aǧáyǧas ḵəšš ḥərōḥ ḍə-ḥāǧáwrəḥ.*
- 33 *wə-ǧəḥēməm sē wə-ḥáybəs w-aǧās w-aǧáyǧas tē nákam b-arḥəbēt ḍə-ḥáybəs. šxəwlīl sənēt, wə-ǧəḥēməm sē w-aǧáyǧas ḥ-arḥəbēt ḍ-aǧáyǧas. wə-šxəwlīl. wə-təmmōt.*

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29 *ḵtéhəwyəm*: This form, which Ali read on the audio, is a bit strange. For the root is *ḵhw*, we do not expect both *w* and *y*. From the 3ms perfect T2-Stem *ḵəthōʾ*, we might expect 3mp *ḵəthīw* (like a strong T2-Stem), or *əḵtéhəyəm* (like a III-y T2-Stem). The manuscripts suggest that the intended form was *wə-ḵtéhəwəm*, which would pattern with the latter, but with III-w in place of III-y. In Yemeni Arabic (and presumably also Dhofari), the verb *tigahwa* is quadriliteral (root *ghwy*), so there must be some interference here. The fact that the 3ms perfect ends in *ōʾ* rather than *-ōh*, as is typical for III-w/y, roots is striking. See also § 6.5.4, n. 72.

29 *naǧásru*: *ML* (s.v. *ǧsrw*) lists 3ms perfect *aǧsəro* and 3ms subjunctive *yəǧsəro*. For a Q-Stem, however, we expect *aǧasrōʾ* and *yəǧásru* (< \**yəǧásrəw*). Indeed, the audio confirms the 1cp subjunctive *naǧásru* here and 3ms perfect *aǧasrōʾ* in 85:15.

33 *b-arḥəbēt*: The preposition *b-* is unexpected here, but is present in the manuscripts and on the audio. It is likely an error.

- 28 And her husband came, and his slave, her father, her brother, and the judge, and she saw them. And they came into the coffee-house, and she recognized them. But her father didn't know her husband, and her husband didn't know her father. Then she said to the coffee-house owner, "I want to invite those men." He said to her, "Fine!"
- 29 She invited them, and she made dinner for them. They ate dinner, and she brought them coffee. And they drank coffee, and they stayed after the coffee. She said to them, "Welcome to you! But we should spend the night, and each one should offer [lit. bring] a story." They said, "Fine!"
- 30 Her father told (a story) until he finished. And the judge told (a story) until he finished. And her brother told (a story) until he finished. And her husband told (a story) until he finished. And his slave told (a story) until he finished. And the coffee-house owner told (a story) until he finished. Then they said to her, "It's with you!" She said, "I am only a child, but I have heard ..."
- 31 They said to her, "Tell us a story that you have heard." She said, "I have heard people ..." And she offered a story that was exactly like this story. She said to them, "This is my husband, and this is his slave, and this is my father, and this is my brother, and this is the judge, the one who made this story."
- 32 The Sultan got up and kissed her, and her brother got up and kissed her. And they cut off the judge's head. And her husband cut off the head of his slave.
- 33 And she, her father, her brother, and her husband went until they came to her father's town. They stayed a year, and she and her husband went to her husband's town. And they stayed. And it is finished.

## Text 49 (no J): The Angry Old Woman

- 1 *xəṭərāt āgáwz, wə-šīs wōz bərk šáyga. əttōli nūka məwsē kəwáy wə-xxəlul ašáyga.*
- 2 *əttōli āmərūt āgáwz hōz, “nəhōm nəkfēd bərk abáyr.” āmərūt hōz, “hōm lā.”*
- 3 *āmərūt āgáwz, “hām əl tháymi lā, sīrīta təwōli aqəššāb yəsháṭš.” āmərūt hōz, “xáybən, syēri!”*
- 4 *tōli sīrūt āgáwz tē ənkōt hāl aqəššāb. āmərūt həh, “syēr təwōli hōzi wə-sháṭš!”*
- 5 *əttōli bəgdīs aqəššāb. āmūr, “əl hōh sīrōna lā bərk aməwsē ḏīməh.” āmərūt āgáwz, “hām əl hēt sīrōna lā, sīrīta təwōli həddōd yətbēr askáwnətkē.” āmūr hīs, “xáybən, syēri!”*
- 6 *sīrūt āgáwz təwōli həddōd. āmərūt həh, “syēr təwōli aqəššāb wə-tbēr askáwnəthe!” āmūr həddōd, “hōm lā.” wə-bəgdīs.*
- 7 *tōli āmərūt, “sīrīta təwōli həmōh w-āmərīta həh yəqšām šīwōṭək.” āmūr, “xáybən, syēri!”*
- 8 *sīrūt tē nəkōt həmōh. āmərūt, “aḳōfi wə-kšām šīwōṭ əḏ-həddōd!” āmūr hīs həmōh, “hōm lā. aḳēfi!” wə-bəgdīs.*
- 9 *āmərūt, “hām əl thōm lā, sīrīta təwōli ab’áyr yəttáḳḳək.” āmūr hīs, “aḳēfi!”*
- 10 *wə-sīrūt āgáwz tē wəṣəlōt hāl ab’áyr. āmərūt həh, “aḳōfi w-əttáḳḳək həmōh ḏēk!” āmūr hīs, “hōh ḏə-həbrək w-əl əḳáwdər əl-ttáḳḳək zōyəd lā bərk aməwsē ḏīməh.” wə-bəgdīs.*
- 11 *āmərūt āgáwz, “xáybən, sīrīta təwōli aḳáyđ yəltáyw əl-aḡátyək tē yəwtáḡk.” āmūr hīs, “aḳēfi!”*
- 12 *wə-sīrūt təwōli aḳáyđ w-āmərūt həh, “aḳōfi təwōli ab’áyr wə-ltáyw əl-aḡátyəh wə-wtáḡəh!”*
- 13 *āmūr hīs, “aḳēfi! əl hōh sīrōna lā.” āmərūt, “xáybən, sīrīta təwōli ārḳáyb təḳšāk.” āmūr, “xáybən, syēri!”*
- 14 *wə-sīrūt tē ənkōt hāl ārḳáyb. āmərūt hīs, “aḳēfi təwōli aḳáyđ wə-kəšāh!” āmərūt ārḳáyb, “hōm lā. syēri!”*
- 15 *āmərūt āgáwz, “xáybən, sīrīta təwōli sənnáwrət (t)tehš.” āmərūt, “xáybən, aḳēfi!” w-aḳəfyēt āgáwz təwōli sənnáwrət.*

3 *aqəššāb*: The word *qəššāb* ‘butcher’ (< Arabic *qaššāb*) is missing from *ML*.  
 11 *yəltáyw*: In *ML* (s.v. *lwy*), the T<sub>1</sub>-Stem *látwi* is defined only as ‘get bent, bend’. The Jibbali cognate *lútbi* is given the additional definition ‘turn a corner; hang around’ (*JL*, s.v. *lwy*). In the first Roman manuscript, John-

### Translation of Text 49

- 1 Once there was an old woman, and she had a goat in a shelter. Then a strong rain came and caused the shelter to leak.
- 2 Then the old woman said to the goat, "Let's go down into the well." The goat said, "I don't want to."
- 3 The old woman said, "If you don't want to, I'll go to the butcher so he can kill you." The goat said, "Fine, go!"
- 4 Then the old woman went until she came to the butcher. She said to him, "Go to my goat and slaughter it!"
- 5 Then the butcher chased her away. He said, "I won't go in this rain." The old woman said, "If you won't go, I'll go to the blacksmith so he can break your knives." He said to her, "Fine, go!"
- 6 The old woman went to the blacksmith. She said to him, "Go to the butcher and break his knives!" The blacksmith said, "I don't want to." And he chased her away.
- 7 Then she said, "I'll go to the water and tell it to put out your fire." He said, "Fine, go!"
- 8 She went until she came to the water. She said, "Go and put out the blacksmith's fire!" The water said to her, "I don't want to. Go away!" And it chased her away.
- 9 She said, "If you don't want to, I'll go to the camel so he can drink you up." He said, "Go away!"
- 10 And the old woman went until she got to the camel. She said to him, "Go and drink up that water!" He said to her, "I am cold and I can't drink any more in this rain." And he chased her away.
- 11 The old woman said, "Fine, I'll go to the rope so it can wrap itself around your neck until it kills you." He said to her, "Go away!"
- 12 And she went to the rope and said to it, "Go to the camel and wrap yourself around its neck and kill him!"
- 13 It said to her, "Go away! I won't go." She said, "Fine, I'll go to the mouse to chew through you." It said, "Fine, go!"
- 14 And she went until she came to the mouse. She said to her, "Go to the rope and chew through it!" The mouse said, "I don't want to. Go!"
- 15 The old woman said, "Fine, I'll go to the cat so she can eat you." She said, "Fine, go away!" And the old woman went to the cat.

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stone added the gloss 'be wrapped around'; and in the second he added the gloss 'wrap o.s. around'.

- 16 *te wəʃəlōt, āmərūt hīs, “aḳēfi təwōli ārḳáyb wə-tīyəs! ārḳáyb xəzūt mən təḳśá’ aḳáyd, w-aḳáyd xəzōh mən yəwtēg ab’áy, w-ab’áy xəzōh mən yattáḳḳ ḥəmōh,*
- 17 *wə-ḥəmōh xəzōh mən yəḳṣām śīwōṭ ḏə-ḥəddōd, wə-ḥəddōd xəzōh mən yətbēr askáwnət ḏ-aḳəṣṣāb,*
- 18 *w-aḳəṣṣāb xəzōh mən yəʃhōṭ ḥōzi, wə-ḥōzi xəzūt mən təḳfēd bərk abáy.”*
- 19 *əttōli sīrūt sənnáwrət təwōli ārḳáyb. tōli ārḳáyb, hīs śənyōt sənnáwrət, abərḳāt təwōli aḳáyd. w-aḳáyd abárḳa təwōli ab’áy, w-ab’áy abárḳa təwōli ḥəmōh, wə-ḥəmōh abárḳa təwōli śīwōṭ ḏə-ḥəddōd, wə-ḥəddōd abárḳa təwōli aḳəṣṣāb,*
- 20 *w-aḳəṣṣāb abárḳa təwōli ḥōz, wə-ḥōz abərḳāt bərk abáy. wə-kāl tāt áyməl b-a’āmər ḏ-āgáwz. wə-təmmōt.*

- 16 Then when she arrived, she said to her, "Go to the mouse and eat it! The  
mouse refused to chew through the rope, and the rope refused to kill the  
camel, and the camel refused to drink up the water,  
17 and the water refused to put out the blacksmith's fire, and the blacksmith  
refused to break the butcher's knives,  
18 and the butcher refused to kill my goat, and my goat refused to go down  
into the well."  
19 Then the cat went to the mouse. Then the mouse, when it saw the cat, ran  
to the rope. And the rope ran to the camel, and the camel ran to the water,  
and the water ran to the blacksmith's fire, and the blacksmith ran to the  
butcher,  
20 and the butcher ran to the goat, and the goat ran into the well. And  
everyone did according to the command of the old woman. And it is  
finished.



## Text 50 (no J): The Seven Brothers

- 1 *xətərat̪ ǰayg, wə-šəh həbáhnε yəbáyť, wəlākan həmbəráwtən sōbər  
yəntáwħən. wə-ħáybhəm yəħámhəm yākām asdəkāʾ.*
- 2 *te nəhōr ʧayť, səyūr həyábhəm wə-nūka bə-yəbáyť ǰērōb, w-āšbīhəm fáxrə.  
w-āmūr hīhəm, “mōn mənķēm yəkáwdər yəťbēr əlyōmah?”*
- 3 *agárbəm ʧāť bād ʧāť, wəlākan əl əkədəwr lā. əttōli nəťrīhəm wə-wəzmīhəm  
kāl ʧāť ǰarb, w-āmūr hīhəm, “kāl ʧāť yəťbēr aǰárbəh.” kāl ʧāť ʧəbūr aǰárbəh  
mən ǰayr tēb.*
- 4 *əttōli əmūr hīhəm həyábhəm, “həmēm, ā həbánye! fənōhən, hīs hēm fáxrə,  
əl əkədərkəm līhəm lā. wə-šərōmah, hīs hēm kāl ʧāť wəħsīh, wáķam sīhōl.  
šərōmah, ā həbánye, āķām fáxrə, w-əl əħād yəkáwdər līkəm lā!”*
- 5 *tōli fhēməm həmbəráwtən, wə-wáķam asdəkāʾ, wə-wķōť həyádhəm ʧayť.  
wə-ǰəráwb əǰ-hēm axáyř hīhəm yākām asdəkāʾ. wə-təmmōť.*

- 
- 2 *ǰērōb*: The Roman manuscript has the near-synonym *xəťáwrək* in parentheses after *ǰērōb*.
- 2 *w-āšbīhəm*: The Roman manuscript has instead *wə-ršənihəm*, which means the same thing.
- 2 *yəkáwdər*: In the Roman manuscript, the relative pronoun *ǰ-* was added in parentheses in the margin.
- 3 *ǰarb*: The Roman manuscript has *xəťrāk* in place of *ǰarb*.
- 3 *tēb*: The noun *tēb* ‘trouble’ is not in *ML* (s.v. *tʿb*), though other forms of the root are listed. Cf. also Jibbali *taʿb* ‘trouble’ (*JL*, s.v. *tʿb*).

**Translation of Text 50**

- 1 Once there was a man, and he had seven sons, but the boys would always fight. And their father wanted them to be friends.
- 2 Then one day, their father went and brought seven sticks, and he tied them together. And he said to them, "Which [lit. who] of you can break these?"
- 3 They tried, one after the other [lit. one after one], but they couldn't. Then he untied them and gave them each a stick, and he said to them, "Each one should break his stick." Each one broke his stick without trouble.
- 4 Then their father said to them, "Listen, my sons! Before, when they were together, you couldn't manage them. And now, when they were each alone, they were easy. Now, my sons, be together, and no one will manage against you!"
- 5 Then the boys understood, and they became friends, and their hands [lit. hand] became one. And they knew that it was better for them to be friends. And it is finished.

## Text 52 (no J): The Reluctant Reciter

- 1 A: “*lawb tōmər hēt ðak ḥáybak yōmər.*”  
 2 B: “*lawb, ḥáybi axáyṛ mənáy yōmər.*”  
 3 A: “*āmēr mōh! háǧǧələn!*”  
 4 B: “*hōh ar əkīrən l-āmēr, wəlākan aǧárdi tǧatk lā.*”  
 5 A: “*xáybən, āmēr əl-xār-xáwr!*”  
 6 B: “*hōh əl ōmər axáyṛ mənk lā. hām ar tḥámki, l-āmərōh. aǧərōy bə-xāk. wə-hōh təbōna tīk.*”  
 7 A: “*wə-kōh ðə-ǧərəbk tī ōmər?*”  
 8 B: “*wa-ya-ḥōl, tōmər wə-thəšáwłəḥ.*”  
 9 A: “*mōn āmūr hūk ðə-hōh ōmər?*”  
 10 B: “*ḥābū āmáwr háyni, wə-hōh ber hámak tīk nəhōr ʔayt tōmər.*”  
 11 A: “*mayt hámak tī ð-ōmər?*”  
 12 B: “*yəmšīh mən ḥayūm kāl.*”  
 13 A: “*ðak əl hōh lā.*”  
 14 B: “*wa-ya lawb! hēt xəṭárkəm əl əǧōrəb aǧárdək lā?*”  
 15 A: “*xáybən. ādi əl ōmər lā ar yəmšīh, hīs hōh wəḥsáy.*”  
 16 B: “*hēt ar thəšáwłəḥ, wəlākan tḥōm tāmēr lā.*”  
 17 A: “*ādəh əl əḥād yōmər háyni əḥəšáwłəḥ lā ar hēt. tḥōm təmdéḥi.*”  
 18 B: “*hōh əl ḥōm əmdéḥk lā. ar mən ašəṭṭki.*”

1 *tōmər*: This verb normally means ‘say’, but it can also have the sense of ‘recite or sing (a poem)’. Cf. also text 84.

8 *thəšáwłəḥ*: In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘you do well’, a meaning not listed in *ML* (s.v. *šlh*). The meaning ‘do well’ is listed, however, in *JL* (s.v. *slh*) for the Jibbali cognate *ešláh*. On the G-Stem *šuləḥ*, which has a similar meaning, see the comment to text 42:11.

14 *xəṭárkəm*: See the comment to text 45:16.

**Translation of Text 52**

- 1 A: "Truly, you sing just as your father sings."  
2 B: "No, my father sings better than me."  
3 A: "Please sing! Cheer us up!"  
4 B: "I would indeed like to sing, but my voice won't come out."  
5 A: "Fine, sing slowly!"  
6 B: "I don't sing better than you. If you really want us both to (sing), let's both sing. The words are in your mouth. And I will follow you."  
7 A: "Why do you know I (can) sing?"  
8 B: "Indeed, you sing and you do (it) well."  
9 A: "Who told you that I sing?"  
10 B: "People told me, and I heard you one day singing."  
11 A: "When did you hear me singing?"  
12 B: "Yesterday of all days."  
13 A: "That wasn't me."  
14 B: "Yes it was! Do you think I don't know your voice?"  
15 A: "Fine. I have never sung except yesterday, when I was alone."  
16 B: "You do (it) well indeed, but you don't want to sing."  
17 A: "No one ever has told me that I do (it) well except you. You want to flatter me."  
18 B: "I don't want to flatter you. It's only the truth."

## Text 53 (no J): A Visit to St. Paul's

- 1 *səyárk anhōr ḏ-agəmət ḏə-gərūt əm-báwməh, əḥōm əl-šné' məkōn ṭāt*  
*hámak ḥābū kāl (ḏə-)nūka. yōmər məkōn məgráyb bə-lándən.*
- 2 *wə-səyárk, wə-šáy aməwsē. te wəšələk amkōn, kəsk məkōn ḏə-l-ād šəh*  
*šəwáyil lā.*
- 3 *wəkábk wə-kásk ḥābū ḏə-yraššáyš mən kətərhəm. wə-wəkábk. tōli ḥōm*  
*l-ərfá' aǵáwf əl-šné'.*
- 4 *səyárk te nákak hāl ǵayg, wə-šxəbárk təh mən ḥōrəm. tōli āmūr háyni,*  
*"āzémi šəlāngi trōh, wə-ḥəlōna tik tərǵá'." wəzámk təh wə-ráfak.*
- 5 *te wəšələk, ǵəlákək xōtər. əttōli ḥəyárk wə-ḥəfədk.*
- 6 *w-ādi ḏə-ttáláyk tīs, wəlākan šay aməwsē wə-ḥəbūr, w-əl ḥəbṭāk lā bərkīs,*  
*wəḥōna faḥḥ əs-sēt.*
- 7 *wə-ftákk wə-rəddək h-abáyti. wə-təmmōt.*

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- 1 (*ḏə-)nūka*: It is not clear what form was intended here. The Arabic manuscript has ك و ن, which is a mistake. If we assume that *n* was missing by accident in the spelling, which seems likely, then this could represent *ḏə-yənōka* (though Ali most often indicated the *y* in such forms in his spelling) or *ḏə-nūka*. Alternatively, if Ali accidentally wrote *ḏ* in place of *n*, then this would represent just *nūka*. The Roman manuscript has *ḏə-nūka*. Ali stumbled on the audio, and seems to have settled on *nūka*.
- 2 *ḏə-l-ād*: The manuscripts have *ḏə-l-ād*, but the audio has just *ḏ-əl*.
- 3 *ḏə-yraššáyš*: The form *yraššáyš* is the 3mp imperfect of the T<sub>1</sub>-Stem *ráttaš*. *ML* (s.v. *ršš*) gives a 3mp imperfect *yərtəšáyš*, which is either a regularized variant or a mistake. As discussed at the end of § 6.5.1, a dental or sibilant second root consonant is subject to assimilation in the T<sub>1</sub>-Stem perfect, just as in the T<sub>2</sub>-Stem perfect and subjunctive (all of which have the underlying pattern (C)əCtəCūC).
- 5 *ḥəyárk*: According to *ML* (s.v. *hyr*), the verb *ḥəyūr* means something like 'got dizzy from a height'. In Ali's own English version of this story, which is not an exact translation of his Mehri version, he wrote 'I nearly falling myself' [sic]; Johnstone later crossed out 'falling myself' and replaced it with the more grammatical 'fell'. Miranda Morris (p.c.) has recorded Baḥari *ḥəyōr* and Hobyot *hēyər*, both with the meaning 'be(come) dizzy on heights'.

**Translation of Text 53**

- 1 I went last Friday from here, wanting to see a certain place that I heard everyone comes to. They say it is a famous place in London.
- 2 And I went, and I had rain. Then when I got to the place, I found (it was) a place that has no equal.
- 3 I went in and found the people pressed together from their great number. And I went in. Then I wanted to climb upstairs to see.
- 4 I went until I came to a man, and I asked him the way. Then he said to me, "Give me two shillings, and I will let you climb up." I gave him and I climbed up.
- 5 Then when I got there, I looked down. Then I got dizzy and I went down.
- 6 And I still regret it, but it was rainy and cold, and (so) I didn't stay long in it (the church), maybe half an hour.
- 7 And I left and returned to my house. And it is finished.

## Text 54 (no J): A Grave Encounter

- 1 *b-aḱān, hām ʕāt mōt yanáyśah wə-yəlḥáyḱəh bū mēkən, ġayūg wə-yənūt.*  
 2 *wə-ḥaynūt təbákyən wə-tənáyən təh. wə-mət ber ʕəbáwr, yəšḥáyṭ bēw wəlē*  
*rawn, wəlē bəḱār yənháyir ləh.*
- 3 *wə-ḥaynūt təwákan ḏār aḱōbər. wə-mət gəzōt ḥayáwm, yəšgīs ḥābū kāl*  
*əḥād əl-sékənah. wə-mən ʕawr əḥād yəhātūm ḏār aḱōbər, ḥāmáh wəlē*  
*aġátəh wəlē aġāh.*
- 4 *xəʕərāt ḏ-əghōm, ḥōm təwōli sékəni. te kaláyini nákak aśáyga, w-əl kəsk*  
*əḥād lā.*
- 5 *ḥābū ber śálləm bərk ḥəwōdi. wə-ḥəśásḱ.*
- 6 *wə-kəsk aśfūtən ḏə-ḥābū, wə-tábak b-aśfūtən ḏə-ḥābū bərk ḥəwōdi*  
*əw-mšāʔ.*
- 7 *wə-bərk ḥəwōdi ḏəkəməh məḱəbrət. wə-śáff anḥōr ḏəkəməh ḏə-mōt ġayg,*  
*wə-ḏə-ḱəbáwrəh.*
- 8 *wə-səyárk. wə-bér gəzōt ḥayáwm. te nákak hāl amḱəbrət, wə-hōh ḏə-yəśśək.*  
*yāməərəm ḥābū aḱəyōy yəkáwn hāl amḱəbrət.*
- 9 *wə-śáff tēt ḏə-hātəmūt ḏār aḱōbər ḏ-aġās. tōli śīnək ḥəwrūt ḏār aḱōbər,*  
*wəlakən əhūgəs səḱəft.*
- 10 *tōli śīnək tīs ḥtərkōt, tōli xábṭək aməndáwḱi. wə-səyárk ʕəráyb l-aḱōbər.*  
*ḥármī tənōka hāl aḱōbər.*

1 *yanáyśah*: This is the 3mp imperfect of the verb *nās* (root *nʕs*), with a 3ms object attached. It is not the imperfect of *nāsōh* (root *nśw/y*), whose 3ms imperfect is *yanáyś*. The 3mp form *yanáyś* (< *yanáyś*) follows the pattern of other II-Guttural G-Stems (cf. *yəlḥáyḱəh* in this line, and see further in § 7.2.6).

1 *yəlḥáyḱəh*: In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘come’. Elsewhere, the verb *ləḥāḱ* with a direct object means ‘catch up with, overtake’ (e.g., 35:11), and with *l-* it means ‘help’ (e.g., 48:1). I have suggested ‘follow’ in place of ‘come’ since it is closer to the basic meaning ‘catch up with’.

2 *tənáyən*: This is the G-Stem 3fp imperfect of the root *nʕw*. It has the same pattern as the *təbákyən* just before it. *ML* (s.v. *nʕw*) has the 3ms perfect *naywū*, but this is surely an error. See further in the comment to text 75:22.

3 *yəšgīs*: The manuscripts and audio all have *yəšgīs* here. *ML* (p. lxi, n. 1) gives 3ms imperfect *yəš(ə)gūs* as a variant of the more regular-looking *yəšəwgūs*. The form *yəšgīs* was also produced by informants. See also text 31:6 and § 7.2.3.

### Translation of Text 54

- 1 In our country, if someone dies, they carry him on a bier and many people follow, men and women.
- 2 And the women cry and mourn him. And after they bury (him), they slaughter camels or goats, or else they sacrifice cows for him.
- 3 And the women stay by the grave. And when the sun goes down, the people go home, everyone to his (own) settlement. And sometimes someone spends the night by the grave, his mother or his sister or his brother.
- 4 Once I was walking, heading towards my settlement. Then in the evening I came to the shelter, but I didn't find anyone.
- 5 The people had moved into the valley. And I looked for tracks.
- 6 And I found the people's tracks, and I followed the people's tracks down into the valley.
- 7 And in that valley was a graveyard. And it so happened that that day a man had died, and they had buried him.
- 8 And I went. And the sun had already gone down. Then I came to the graveyard, and I was afraid. People say that spirits live [lit. are] in the graveyard.
- 9 And it so happened that a woman was spending the night by the grave of her brother. Then I saw something black by the grave, but I thought it was a grave column.
- 10 Then I saw her move, and I cocked my rifle. And I went near the grave. My path came by the grave.

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5 *ḥəššək*: This appears to be the 1cs perfect of an H-Stem (*ḥ*)*ḥəššūš*, but *ML* (s.v. *ḥšš*) lists only a G-Stem *ḥəšš* 'track down'. The G-Stem 1cs perfect is *ḥəššək*.

9 *ḥəwrīt*: Both manuscripts and the audio have *ḥəwrīt*. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone glossed this as 's.t. black'. This is either a noun or a variant feminine form of the adjective *ḥōwər* 'black'. *ML*, s.v. *ḥwr*, lists only the feminine *ḥəwrīt*, which is used in texts 15:12 and 25:9.

9 *əhūgəs*: The manuscripts have the 1cs imperfect *əhūgəs*, but on the audio Ali read the 1cs perfect *ḥəgəsk*.



- 11 *attōli l-ād sīnak sī hātrāk lā. šaff tēt, hīs šənyāti, ġībūt mən ayəšəyət.*  
 12 *attōli te nākak hāl aḳōbər wə-kásk tēt ḏə-ġībūt. əhūgəs ġəbrē taxtyīnən*  
*háyni.*  
 13 *bəri ḥōm l-əwbáds. tōli ġaláḳək təwōli aḳōbər, wə-sīnak təh yədīn. hənkárk*  
*ḏə-hē əḥād ḏə-mōt anhōr ḏákəməh.*  
 14 *attōli hāsásk attēt w-āmárk, “hām hēt məsəwmēt, hōh ġayg məsláym.*  
*w-āsēsī!”*  
 15 *tōli āssūt. wə-nākak tīs wə-ġərbək tīs. wəlākan ādi bay ayəšəyət mən tāká’*  
*ar ġəbrē, wə-ḏ-əḳtəwbōt háyni əl-hīs tēt ḏákəməh.*  
 16 *attōli āmárk hīs, “šərōməh əl əḥād yəhātūm bāwməh lā. wə-ġədəwwən*  
*təwōli sékəni. wə-k-sōbəḥ tərdáydi hām tháyimi.”*  
 17 *tōli sīrūt šay, wəlākan hōh ḏə-yəššək mən. w-āmárk hīs, “syəri fənwáy!”*  
*wə-hōh səyárk mən sərīs. wə-ḏ-xábṭək aməndáwḳi.*  
 18 *bərk aḳābi, “hām šərōt wəlē rəddūt lay, l-əwbáds.”*  
 19 *w-āmárk hīs, “hām hēt məsəwmēt, ḥəḏḏáyri mən (t)šāri. hōh ḏə-yəššək*  
*mənš, wə-hām šarš, əwbəḏōna tīš.”*  
 20 *attōli l-ād šərōt lā. wə-səyūrən te wəšələn sékəni. wə-hātōmən.*  
 21 *te k-sōbəḥ sē rəddūt təwōli aḳōbər, wə-hōh báyḳək hāl sékəni. wə-təmmōt.*

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- 11 *l-ād sīnak sī hātrāk lā*: This is what the manuscripts have, but on the audio Ali stumbled and read *l-ād sīnak tīs hātrāk ... tīs ḥṭərkōt lā* ‘I didn’t see her move’ (cf. line 10). The difficulty was that he misread شي *sī* ‘something’ as تيس *tīs* ‘her’.
- 18 *l-əwbáds*: Ali stumbled with this form (a 1cs subjunctive plus 3fs object suffix) and read the imperfect *əlbəds* ‘I’ll shoot her’. The Arabic manuscript has *l-əwbáds*. On this use of this subjunctive, see § 7.1.10.3.
- 20 *səyūrən*: The Arabic manuscript has *sīrōna* (سيرونا) ‘we will go’, which must be a mistake for *səyūrən* (سيورن) ‘we went’, which is what the audio has. The Roman manuscript has *sīrūt* ‘she went’, which is ok, though *səyūrən* fits the context better.

- 11 Then I didn't see anything move. It turns out the woman, when she saw me, she fainted from fear.
- 12 Then I came to the grave and I found the woman passed out. I thought (she was) a demon (possessing a human body) creating an illusion for me.
- 13 I was about to shoot her. Then I looked towards the grave, and I saw that it was new. I realized that someone had died that day.
- 14 Then I roused the woman and I said, "If you are a Muslim, I am a Muslim man. Get up!"
- 15 Then she got up. I went up to her and I recognized her. But I still had the fear that she might really be a demon, and that she had taken the form of that woman for me.
- 16 Then I said to her, "Now no one spends the night here. Let's go to my settlement. And in the morning you can go back if you want."
- 17 Then she went with me, but I was afraid of her. And I said to her, "Go in front of me!" And I went behind her. And I had cocked my rifle.
- 18 In my mind (I thought), "If she stops or turns back to me, I'll [or: I should] shoot her."
- 19 And I said to her, "If you are Muslim, be sure not to stop. I am afraid of you, and if you stop, I'll shoot you."
- 20 Then she didn't stop at all. And she went until we got to my settlement. And we spent the night.
- 21 Then in the morning she went back to the grave, and I remained with my settlement. And it is finished.

## Text 55 (= J2): A Lecherous Man

- 1 *xəṭarāt gajg wə-tēt̄ ḏə-yəsyáwr, wə-hīs bārḥəm b-aámk̄ əḏ-hōrəm. āmūr aǧáyg, “hōm əl-syēr šayš.”*
- 2 *āmārūt tēt̄, “hām thōm tsyēr šay, shōṭ ḥaybátk, wə-mǧōrən sīrōna šay!”*
- 3 *āmūr, “daxáyli tazámi ḥənáfš!” āmārūt, “b-awághi, ḏ-əl-əzémk̄ ḥənōfi.”*
- 4 *yəsyūr aǧáyg, yəshōṭ ḥaybátəh. wə-hīs ber shāt, āmūr, “āzámi ḥənáfš!”*
- 5 *wəzmátəh aǧətk̄áts. āmārūt, “mət shēk̄ ḏōməh, əwázmək̄ amšəǧər.”*
- 6 *həq̄šáwm aǧáyg ḏār aǧətk̄áyṭ ḏə-ttēt̄. tōli l-ād shēl lā. āmūr aǧáyg, “hām əl tháymi tazámi aǧábrəs̄ lā, kəwṭōna əl-ḥābū.”*
- 7 *āmārūt tēt̄, “hām kalátk̄, āmrīta, ‘aǧáyg ḥáywəl. wə-lū əl hē ḥáywəl lā, əl yəsháyṭən ḥaybátəh lā.”*
- 8 *wə-sīrōh tē wəṣəlōh ḥābū. tōli kalūt̄ aǧáyg. āmūr, “hōh səyárk k-fəlāna.”*
- 9 *āmārūt tēt̄, “aǧáyg ḥáywəl. šəh yəbīt wə-shəṭáys. wə-məǧōrən yəḥōm yəbdéh̄ laj. wəlākan syērəm ḥármən wə-šnēm. əḏ hē shāt̄ ḥaybátəh, hē yəkūn ḥáywəl. w-əḏ hē əl shāt̄ ḥaybátəh lā, hōh əkūn kəḥbēt.*
- 10 *wəlākan hōh bay sī bərk̄ fiṭā’i. əḏ hē səyūr šay, hē sənyōna təh, w-əḏ hē bədōh, əl kəwṭōna b-awáṣfəh lā.*
- 11 *wə-hōh məššənyēta təh ḥaynūt̄. wəlākan fənōhən syērəm ḥármən wə-šnēm ḥaybátəh!”*
- 12 *səyáwr ḥābū wə-kūsəm ḥaybátəh shəṭāt̄. wə-sīrūt tēt̄ wə-(š)šənyūt̄ ḥaynūt̄. wə-šáff̄ šīs arḥəšāt̄.*
- 13 *tōli šxəbīr aǧáyg mən awáṣf̄ ḏə-ttēt̄. āmūr, “ḏ-əntəfūt̄ aǧábrəs̄, wə-ṭəḥáyrət̄.”*
- 14 *wə-ḥaynūt̄ kūsa əttēt̄ bīs amənsōb, wə-līs arḥəšāt̄.*
- 15 *(tōli kūsəm) aǧáyg bədōh əl-tēt̄. wə-wbáwdəh aǧáwse b-ərbōṭ fəṭōwəx.*

2 *sīrōna*: The audio has the future *sīrōna*, though the manuscripts have the 2ms imperfect *tsyūr*.

3 *ḏ-əl-əzémk̄*: The prefix *ḏ-* is not heard on the audio, though it appears in both manuscripts.

12 *(š)šənyūt̄*: We expect the H-Stem 3fs perfect *ššənyūt̄*, distinct from the G-Stem 3fs perfect *šənyōt̄* (49:19), though they are not distinguished in spelling in the Arabic script. Unfortunately, Ali stumbled a bit on the audio when he read this word, and his reading sounds like *šənyōt̄*; perhaps he mistook it for the G-Stem. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone did transcribe *šənyūt̄* here, but *šənyōt̄* for the Gb-Stem in 49:19.

### Translation of Text 55

- 1 Once a man and woman were walking, and when they were in the middle of the journey, the man said to the woman, "I want to sleep [lit. go] with you."
- 2 The woman said, "If you want to sleep with me, slaughter your camel, and then you'll sleep with me."
- 3 He said, "Swear you will give yourself to me!" She said, "By my honor [lit. face], I will give myself to you."
- 4 The man went (and) slaughtered his camel. And after he had slaughtered (it), he said, "Give yourself to me!"
- 5 She gave him the back of her knee. She said, "When you have finished with this, I will give you the other."
- 6 The man spent the day on the back of the woman's knee. Then he still had not had enough. The man said, "If you don't give me your privates, I will tell the people."
- 7 The woman said, "If you tell, I will say, 'The man is crazy. And if he wasn't crazy, he wouldn't have slaughtered his camel!'"
- 8 And the two went until they reached the people. Then the man told (them). He said, "I slept [lit. went] with so-and-so."
- 9 The woman said, "The man is crazy. He had a camel and he slaughtered it. And then he wanted to lie about me. But go to our road and see! If he slaughtered his camel, he is crazy. And if he didn't slaughter his camel, I am a whore.
- 10 And I have something in my privates. If he slept with me, he will have seen it, and if he lied, he will not (be able to) give [lit. tell] its description.
- 11 And I will show the women. But first go to our road and see his camel."
- 12 The people went and found his camel slaughtered. And the woman went and showed the women. And it so happened that the woman had her period.
- 13 Then they asked the man for a description of the woman. He said, "She has plucked her privates, and she is clean [i.e., not menstruating]."
- 14 And the women found that the woman had pubic hair and had her period.
- 15 The man lied about the woman, and her brothers hit him four times (on the head).

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15 *tōli kūṣam*: These words are missing from the audio, present in the Roman manuscript, and present but crossed out in the Arabic manuscript.

- 16 *wə-səyūr ǰə-xəṣṣáwš. əl tēt šəh, w-əl ḥaybátəh šəh.*  
 17 *ǰōməh mən ḥáylat ǰə-ḥaynī. wə-təmmōt kəwtēt.*

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16 *ǰə-xəṣṣáwš*: This is the T2-Stem of the root *xṣṣ*. In *ML* (s.v. *xṣṣ*), the T2-Stem is given as *əxtəṣáwš*, following the pattern of a strong verb. But *t* assimilates to *š* in the T2-Stem. In the Jibbali version of this story, which is told nearly verbatim, Ali used the T2-Stem *ǰ-əxtəšés*.

- 16 And the man went away having gotten his due; he had neither the woman nor his camel.
- 17 This is about [lit. from] the cunning of women. And the story is finished.

## Text 56 (= J3): A Conversation

- 1 A: *“hēt sīrōna gēhaməh, əl hē lā?”*  
 2 B: *“hōh sīrōna wə-hthámk tī əl-hábta.”*  
 3 A: *“wə-kōh thábtə? syēr gēhaməh wə-rdēd bād gēhaməh.”*  
 4 B: *“əl əkáwdər lā. aḳā` rēhəḳ.”*  
 5 A: *“xáybən. bərk aḳābək, mayt tərđəd lay?”*  
 6 B: *“nəkōna tik mən đār rība yūm.”*  
 7 A: *“hēt sīrōna h́ágtək aw sīrōna tənḥāg?”*  
 8 B: *“sīrōna h́ágti, wəlākan əl bay ḳəṭfōf lā tē l-əfrēr.”*  
 9 A: *“xáybən, b-arāyək. hām əl nákak tī bād gēhaməh lā, l-ād hōh səwbōna tik zōyəd lā.”*  
 10 B: *“wə-kōh əl səwbōna tī zōyəd lā?”*  
 11 *xáybən, hām l-ād hēt səwbōna tī lā, l-ād hōh sīrōna lā.*  
 12 *wə-mḡōrən, hām əl kəsk tik lā, əl əḡōrəb ḥōrəm lā.”*  
 13 A: *“xáybən, səwbōna tik. syēr wə-ḥəđđōr mən thábtə.”*  
 14 B: *“xáybən, hōh sīrōna. wə-hām rəddək w-əl kəsk tik lā, l-ād hōh məšəmən tik zōyəd lā.”*  
 15 A: *“hōh əmárk hūk səwbōna tik, hām nákak l-awādək.”*  
 16 B: *“xáybən. txəláfī āfyət. hōh səyárk.”*  
 17 A: *“əsthōl! ḳəlēb səlōm mən hāl nákak.”*  
 18 B: *“ḥəđđōr mən tsyēr wə-tḳalēy!”*  
 19 A: *“təḳtəlōb lā. məxtəlīf bük lā.” wə-təmmōt.*

**Translation of Text 56**

- 1 A: "You'll go tomorrow, won't you?"  
2 B: "I'll go, and I think I'll be a while."  
3 A: "Why will you be a while? Go tomorrow and return the day after tomorrow."  
4 B: "I can't. The place [lit. land] is far."  
5 A: "Ok. When do you think you will [lit. in your heart when will you] come back to me?"  
6 B: "I'll come back to you in four days."  
7 A: "Will you go for necessity [lit. your need] or will you go to have fun?"  
8 B: "I'll go for necessity [lit. my need], but I don't have wings to fly (with)."  
9 A: "Ok, as you wish. If you don't come back to me the day after tomorrow, I won't wait for you any longer."  
10 B: "Why won't you wait for me any longer?"  
11 Ok, if you won't wait for me any longer, I won't go.  
12 (Because) then if I don't find you, I won't know the road (you took)."  
13 A: "Ok, I'll wait for you. Go and be careful not to be long."  
14 B: "Ok, I'll go. And if I return and I don't find you, I won't trust you anymore."  
15 A: "I said to you I'll wait for you, if you come at your promised time."  
16 B: "Ok, be well [lit. may health come after me]! I'm off."  
17 A: "Goodbye! Send greetings to wherever you get to."  
18 B: "Be sure not to go and leave me!"  
19 A: "Don't worry. I won't let you down." And it is finished.



## Text 56A (= J7): A Betrothal and Marriage

- 1 *xəṭərāt gəyγ səyūr mən anágd, yəḥōm ašháyγ. hīs wīšəl ašháyγ, kūsa gəyγ. āmūr, “ḥōm əl-hērəs hənūk, hām hēt məháffək tī.”*
- 2 *āmūr, “hōh məháffək tīk, hām wəzmōna tī aməndáwəkək.” āmūr, “wəzmōna tīk aməndáwəki.” āmūr, “xáybən, syēr šərēwəg ḥaynūt. hām sən firəḥ bük, məháffək tīk.”*
- 3 *āmūr, “xáybən. mayt əl-šnēk?” āmūr, “gēhəməh.” səyūr aǵáyγ təwōli ḥaynūt wə-ǵátri šīsən.*
- 4 *āmərūt aǵáwz, ḥāmē ḏ-tēt, “nəḥāh šīn ǝdət. nəkūn rīḥōm k-ḥámyən, hām hēt wəḵōna rəḥáym šīn. məffkáwtən tīk.” wə-sádd hē wə-ḥaynūt.*
- 5 *wə-səyūr təwōli aǵáyγ, ḥayb ḏə-ttēt, wə-kəlūt lah. wə-wəzmáh aməndáwəkəh. wə-sīrōh təwōli sēkən.*
- 6 *wə-šát təwkalēt mən hāl tēt. wə-ḵəfáwd hē w-ašháwd arḥəbēt, hē w-ašhádhe arḥəbēt, təwōli šérəʾ, wə-šəmlūk. wə-sītəm ašəyáft tōmər, wə-ráfam.*
- 7 *te k-səbəḥ, nákam sēkən wə-wbáwd, wə-ffərūd ḥārāwn mən sēkən. wə-həbrīk arīkōb, wə-šxəwlīl wəḵōna sāh.*
- 8 *məǵōrən nákam ḥābū ḏə-yəǵábrəm ašəyáft. wə-nákam rəǵzīt. wə-nūka bər ḥədīd ḏə-ttēt ḏə-yəxōla. əl əḥād yəḥārūs bərt ḥədáydəh lā.*
- 9 *tōli wəzmáh aǵáyγ ḏə-hārūs əsərīt ḵərəwš wə-sūməḥ ḥəḥ yəḥērəs. wə-wkūb aášər ḏəkəməh. wə-šxəwlīl šīs wəḵōna warx.*
- 10 *tōli āmūr hīs, “nəḥōm nəfrēš təwōli ḥábye.” āmərūt həḥ, “əl əsyūr lā mən hāl ḥábye.” tōli āmūr ḥáybəs, “hōh ḥōm əttētī təfrēš šay.” āmūr həḥ, “xáybən, syērəm.”*
- 11 *āmūr, “əttēt xəzūt mən təfrēš.” tōli nūka ḥáybəs, wə-gzūm līs. tōli əttēt āmərūt, “əl hōh sīrīta lā.”*

2 *šərēwəg*: As noted in § 6.4.3, n. 46, this form provides the only example of an Š2-Stem imperative in all of the texts.

4 *ḥámyən*: This appears to be the plural ‘our sons-in-law’, though a singular would fit the context a bit better. The Jibbali parallel (7:4) also seems to have the suffix used with plural nouns; see the comment in *JLO* (p. 407).

4 *sədd*: We expect 3mp *səddəm* here, not 3ms *sədd*.

8 *yəǵábrəm*: According to *ML* (s.v. *ǵbr*), the G-Stem *ǵəbūr* only has the meaning ‘meet, come to meet’, but here it must mean something like ‘contribute, give help’, which is the meaning associated with the H-Stem

### Translation of Text 56A

- 1 Once a man went from the Najd, heading for the mountains. When he reached the mountains, he found a man. He said, "I want to marry into your family, if you will let me."
- 2 He said, "I will let you marry if you give me your rifle." He said, "I will give you my rifle." He said, "Ok, go consult the women. If they are happy with you, I will let you marry."
- 3 He said, "Ok. When might I see you?" He said, "Tomorrow." The man went to the women and spoke with them.
- 4 The old woman, the mother of the woman (he wanted to marry), said, "We have a custom. We will be nice to our sons-in-law, if you will be nice to us. We will let you marry." And he and the women made an agreement.
- 5 And he went to the man, the father of the woman, and told him. And he gave him the rifle. And they (the two of them) went to the settlement.
- 6 And he took possession of the woman in marriage. And he and the witnesses went down to town, he and his witnesses to the town, to the judge, and he got legal possession. And he bought dates for the wedding feast, and they went back.
- 7 Then in the morning, they came to the settlement and they fired shots, and they frightened the goats away from the settlement. They made the riding-camels kneel, and they stayed about an hour.
- 8 Then people came contributing to the wedding-feast. And they came (with) songs. And the woman's unmarried cousin came. No one (else should) marry his cousin.
- 9 Then the man who got married gave him ten dollars, and he permitted him to marry. And he consummated [lit. entered] that night. And he stayed with her about a month.
- 10 Then he said to her, "Let's go home to my parents." She said to him, "I will not go from my parents." Then he said to her father, "I want my wife to go home with me." He said to him, "Fine, go."
- 11 He said, "The woman has refused to go." Then her father came and swore to her. Then the woman said, "I won't go."

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*həǧbūr*. The verb in the parallel Jibbali version (7:8) is an H-Stem. It is conceivable that Ali confused the Mehri G- and H-Stems.

- 8 *yəxōla*: This must be the 3ms imperfect of the Gb-Stem *xáyli* (root *xl'*). Johnstone neglected to list the meaning 'be unmarried' in *ML*, as also for the cognate Jibbali verb in *JL*; see the comment in *JLO* (p. 408).

- 12 *tōli āmūr h́áybəs, “tēt̄ xəzūt mən (t)syēr. t̄hōm (t)šxáwwəl, b-arāyək. wə-t̄hōm txxōli, wəzyēma t̄ik aməndáwķək.” āmūr, “hām əl sē s̄ir̄ita šay lā, məxxōli.” tōli xōli aǵáyg, wə-šāṭ aməndáwķəh. wə-təmmōt.*

- 12 Then her father said, "The woman has refused to go. If you want to stay, please do. And if you want to get divorced, we will give you your rifle." He said, "If she won't go with me, I will get divorced." Then the man got divorced, and he took his rifle. And it is finished.

## Text 57 (= J8): A Conversation

- 1 A: “ber hūk sēt wə-hēt b-aǰərbēt?”  
 2 B: “ber háyni wəḵōna xáyməh sanáyyn.”  
 3 A: “xáybən. hášlək sí?”  
 4 B: “hášlək aráški. fənōhən xədámk sí lā. wə-mən tōli xədámk xədmēnōt, wəlākan amḥəšáwl əl hē gīd lā.”  
 5 A: “wəlē šīnək ḥəbráy?”  
 6 B: “ber háyni sēt ādi əl šīnək təh lā, wəlākan hámak ḥābū āmáwr hē bərk xədmēt. wə-kōh, əl xəšáwb líkəm bə-sī lā sənēt ḍīməh?”  
 7 A: “wa-ya lawb ḍə-yəxxəšáwb, wəlākan mən wárxi trōh l-ād xəšáwb bə-sī lā, wə-l-ād nūka mánəh gəwōb lā. wə-nḥāh ḍə-šāšāyən təh.”  
 8 B: “(t)šēšəm təh lā. bə-xáyr hē, wə-ḍə-yəxáwdəm, wəlākan xāf hīs əl xəšáwb bə-sī lā, ḍə-hānōh yəftək.”  
 9 A: “wə-kōh? hámak əḥād āmūr ftkōna?”  
 10 B: “hámak ǰərōy, wəlākan əl hōh ḍə-ḥtámk lā mōn ḍ-āmūr háyni.”  
 11 A: “ād yāká’ ar ḍə-yəbáy?”  
 12 B: “bə-háw! kəlūt lay mənēdəm ḍ-əlyəbáy lā, wəlākan əl fəṭnək hámməh lā.”  
 13 A: “fṭōn mōh! lawb ffárḥk tīn. yəffárḥk abēli bə-xáyr!”  
 14 B: “wə-hīh, lawb fəṭnək. fəlān ḍ-āmūr háyni, ḍək əlyəbáy lā.”

4 *amḥəšáwl*: The word *məḥšáwl* is absent from *ML*, just as the word *maḥšól* (used in the parallel Jibbali version) is absent from *JL*. The noun is clearly from the same root as the D/L-Stem verb (*h*)*ḥōšəl* ‘earn’, used in lines 3 and 4; cf. also Arabic *maḥšūl* ‘result; yield, gain’.

7 *ḍə-šāšāyən*: The prefix *ḍə-*, which we expect here, is heard clearly on the audio, but is not in either manuscript.

8 *xāf*: On this word, which is not in *ML*, see §12.5.22.

**Translation of Text 57**

- 1 A: "Were you abroad for a long time?"  
2 B: "I was (away) for about five years."  
3 A: "Ok. Did you earn anything?"  
4 B: "I earned my lot. First I didn't work at all. And then I worked a little job, but the pay [lit. yield] was not good."  
5 A: "Did you perhaps see my son?"  
6 B: "I have not seen him for a long time, but I heard people say that he was employed. Why, didn't he send you anything this year?"  
7 A: "Yes, he has been sending, but he hasn't sent anything at all for two months, and a letter hasn't come from him at all. We have been worried about him."  
8 B: "Don't worry about him. He is fine, and is working, but I think maybe since he has not sent anything, he intends to leave."  
9 A: "Why? Did you hear somebody say he will [or: would] leave?"  
10 B: "I heard (some) talk, but I'm not sure who told me."  
11 A: "Perhaps it was someone who was lying [or: lies]?"  
12 B: "No way! A person who doesn't lie told me, but I don't remember his name."  
13 A: "Please remember! You have truly made us happy. May God make you happy with good things!"  
14 B: "Oh, I do indeed remember him. So-and-so who told me, that guy doesn't lie."

## Text 58 (= J9, with slight variations): About Animals

- 1 *hānīn b-ašhāyṛ amōl mēkən, ḥārāwn wə-həbēr w-abkār.*  
 2 *amma ḥārāwn wə-həbēr, tkūnən bīsən šxōf lā bərk aməwsē ḏə-xārf.*  
*w-amma abkār, tkūnən bīsən ašxōf.*  
 3 *wə-γəməkrəm wə-γəgāmam améḥḥ.*  
 4 *wə-bəʿāyli həbēr wə-ḥārāwn γəhābyəm əl-bəʿāyli abkār l-aḡərē ḏə-γəšxāyf*  
*tə təšrōb.*  
 5 *bəʿāyli abkār γəkāwn wəṭīyōh, w-amma bəʿāyli həbēr wə-ḥārāwn,*  
*γəhābyəm līhəm bəʿāyli abkār.*  
 6 *γəkāfdəm b-améḥḥ h-arḥəbēt, wə-γəšīməh b-ayd h-abkār. abkār, hām əl*  
*təwōh ayd lā, γəmáwt w-əl yāmūl šxōf lā.*  
 7 *w-amma ḥārāwn wə-həbēr, γəwəzməm tīsən ayd lā, ar hām wəkōt sənēt*  
*kamḥt. w-amma bəʿāyli abkār, sōbər hēm ḏə-γswīl mən arḥəbēt.*  
 8 *wəlākan hām šərbōt, γəhwāfyəm faḵḥ ḏ-aḏəmmēt ḏīməh mən aṭərēf*  
*ḏ-amōl ḏə-hānīn b-ašhāyṛ.*  
 9 *wə-tānyən, abkār təšəbrən lā mən ḥəmōh. wə-təmmōt.*

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2 *tkūnən*: The 3fp imperfect *tkūnən* is perhaps unexpected here. It is agreeing with the logical subject *ḥārāwn wə-həbēr* in its first appearance, and *abkār* in its second, even though the grammatical subject is *šxōf* ‘milk’ in both cases. The same 3fp verb form appears in the Jibbali version (J9:2).

4 *təšrōb*: This must be a Gb-Stem subjunctive, though no G-Stem is listed in *ML* (cf. also the Gb-Stem 3fs perfect *šərbōt* in line 8). Note that the noun *šāyṛəb* ‘autumn; post-monsoon period’ has the same form as the 3ms Gb-Stem perfect of this root. On the Jibbali parallel, see further in Appendix D (correction to *JLO*, p. 412).

7 *hēm*: The manuscripts have *wə-hēm*, but the audio has just *hēm*.

8 *aḏəmmēt*: The manuscripts have *aḏəmmēt*, but the audio has *adáyṛn* (< Arabic *ḏayn* ‘debt’); cf. the noun *dun* used in the Jibbali version.

9 *tānyən*: This is an Arabism, from Arabic *tāniyan*. Ali even used the Arabic spelling *تانيان*.

**Translation of Text 58**

- 1 We have in the mountains a lot of livestock: goats, camels, and cows.
- 2 As for the goats and the camels, they don't have milk in the rain of the summer monsoon. As for the cows, they do have milk.
- 3 And they (people) store milk and collect clarified butter.
- 4 The camel- and goat-herders come to the cow-herders in order to drink milk until it becomes autumn.
- 5 (Then) the cow-herders do poorly. And the camel- and goat-herders, the cow-herders go to them for milk.
- 6 They (the cow-herders) bring the clarified butter down to town, and they sell it for sardines for the cows. The cows, if they don't eat sardines, they die and they don't make milk.
- 7 And as for the goats and the camels, they don't give them sardines, except if it is a bad year. And the cow-herders, they are always in debt to the town.
- 8 But when autumn has come, they pay half of this debt out of the livestock that is with us in the mountains.
- 9 And moreover, the cows will not do without water. And it is finished.



## Text 59 (= J34, but a variant version): A Miscommunication

- 1 *xəṭərāt gajyg gəhēm mən anágd əð-şəfōr. wə-hē məhráy, yəhōm h-aḱā*  
*ð-amhərəh. w-ādəh əl yəsyūr təwálihəm lā ar xəṭərāt ðákəməh.*
- 2 *te nūka b-arhəbət ð-amhərəh wə-wkūb bərk bayt, kūsa tēt. amərəbət bəh*  
*w-āmlōt həh kəhwēt.*
- 3 *wə-hē šxəwlūl bərk aǧərfət. te nəkátəh b-aḱəhwēt, āmərūt həh, “hēt*  
*amárkəh, wə-hōh āmlīta afšē.”*
- 4 *āmūr aǧáyg, “his-táv!” w-aǧáyg əl yəǧōrəb abhəlūt ðīməh lā. abhəlūt ðīməh*  
*b-anágd (ð-)şəfōr, ‘amárkəh, ‘arōtəb amkōn’ aw ‘anōðəf amkōn’.*
- 5 *hīs attēt sīrūt, ‘əss aǧáyg wə-şáll aḱərmōs w-artəbihəm. wə-şáll aḱəhwēt*  
*wə-ḱaláys əl-sárf tāt, w-arōtəb amkōn.*
- 6 *əttōli ənkōt tēt. ksátəh ðə-yəxáwdəm. āmərūt həh, “ðe kō hēt wəṭōməh?”*  
*āmūr, “hēt āmərš háyni ‘amárkəh, wə-hōh amárkəhk.”*
- 7 *āmərūt həh, “aǧāy, amárkəh ar aḱəhwēt!” āmūr, “his-táv!”*
- 8 *wə-sīrūt tēt təwōli amətbāx. w-aǧáyg şáll aḱəhwēt wə-ḱaláys b-abárr*  
*wə-şxəwlūl. te ənkátəh attēt, āmərūt həh, “ber amárkəhk?”*
- 9 *āmūr, “ēhē, ber şállək aḱəhwēt abárr.” āmərūt, “aǧāy, əl hōh ðə-hānáyḱ*  
*wəṭōməh lā!”*
- 10 *āmūr, “ar ðə-hānáyš hēsən?” āmərūt, “ber táḱḱək aḱəhwēt?” āmūr, “lā.”*  
*āmərūt əttēt, “nəhāh hənīn nōmər ‘amárkəh.”*
- 11 *āmūr aǧáyg, “nəhāh hənīn ‘amárkəh’ ‘arōtəb amkōn.”*
- 12 *āmərūt, “xáybən, sméhi! hōh ðə-hānáyḱ əttáḱḱ aḱəhwēt. wəlākan kəlēt lay,*  
*hənīkəm tāmərəm hībōh hām wəzámkəm tāt kəhwēt?”*
- 13 *āmūr, “nōmər həh, ‘əḱthō!” tōli fhēhəm tātīdayhəm. wə-təmmōt.*

11 *táḱḱək*: The manuscripts have *táḱḱək*, but on the audio, Ali first read *nászək*, then corrected himself to *táḱḱək*. Both mean ‘you drank’, but the Gb-Stem *nīšəz* has a more restricted meaning of ‘sip (something hot)’. The Jibbali version of the story uses the cognate of *nászək*.

13 *wəzámkəm tāt*: Ali stumbled on the audio here, and eventually read *wəz-mīkəm tāt* ‘someone gives you’. The manuscripts have *wəzámkəm tāt* ‘you give someone’, which fits the context best and is certainly what was intended. Johnstone added *wəzmīkəm* in the margin of the Roman manuscript.

14 *əḱthō*: The underlying form here is \**əḱthōw*, the ms imperative of the T2-Stem *ḱəthō*. On this verb, see § 6.5.4, n. 72.

### Translation of Text 59

- 1 Once a man went from the Najd of Dhofar. He was Mehri, heading to the land of the Mehris. And he had never gone to them, except that time.
- 2 Then when he came to a town of the Mehris and entered a house, he found a woman. She welcomed him, and she made coffee for him.
- 3 And he sat in the room. Then when she brought him the coffee, she said to him, "You drink up (*amárkəh*), and I'll make lunch."
- 4 The man said, "Ok!" But the man didn't know this word. This word in the Najd of Dhofar, *amárkəh*, is 'clean the place' or 'tidy up the place'.
- 5 After the woman went out, the man got up and picked up the things and cleaned them. He took the coffee and put it to one side, and he cleaned the place.
- 6 Then the woman came. She found him working. She said to him, "But why are you (doing) like this?"
- 7 He said, "You said to me, 'clean up' (*amárkəh*), and I cleaned up."
- 8 She said to him, "Brother, drink up (*amárkəh*) just the coffee!" He said, "Ok!"
- 9 And the woman went to the kitchen. And the man took the coffee and put it outside and sat down. Then when the woman came, she said to him, "Have you already drunk up (*amárkəhk*)?"
- 10 He said, "Yes, I already took the coffee outside." She said, "My brother, I didn't mean (to do) like that!"
- 11 He said, "Well what did you mean?" She said, "Have you already drunk the coffee?" He said, "No." The woman said, "We, around us, we say *amárkəh*."
- 12 The man said, "We, around us, *amárkəh* is 'to clean the place'."
- 13 She said, "Ok, forgive me! I meant you should drink the coffee. But tell me, around you [or: in your region], what do you say if you give someone coffee?"
- 14 He said, "We say to him, *əkt̪hō*!" Then they understood one another. And it is finished.

## Text 60 (no J): A Shipwreck

- 1 *xəṭarāt sáfrən mən dabáy bərk lang mən şawr, wə-bərkēh bī məxāsəráyn.  
wə-ssáfrən fənōhən aǧzēʿ. nəḥōm nərdēd aḳān.*
- 2 *te wəşələn ǧəbbēt yāmərəm hīs ǧəbbēt səlāməh. wəşələn tīs k-sōbəḥ. tōli  
ənkáyn həzáyz w-aməwsē.*
- 3 *te nákan rəḥbēnōt, hərsīyan bīs. tōli həzáyz ǧərūs aláng aǧəbbēt.*
- 4 *ādən l-wṭákəməh, nákam tīn sātáy t ǧəyūǧ, bəʿáyli arḥəbēt. āmūr hīhəm  
anōxəðē, “háddələm tīn məkōn ǧōna!”*
- 5 *āmáwr, “hām tháyman nəháddəlkəm bə-mkōn ǧōna, āzēməm tīn hōba mī,  
wə-məháddəlütən tīkəm.” āmūr anōxəðē, “yéye.”*
- 6 *wə-šīhəm háwri. ámma trōh rəkbōh bərkēh, w-ámma ṭəṭ rīkəb bərk aláng.  
wə-səyūrən.*
- 7 *tōli həzáyz l-ād kəláyn lā naṭōbəḳ abárr, wə-tībər adkāl. wə-rōdən bə-fáḳḥ  
ðə-ḥəmáwlat ráwrəm.*
- 8 *tōli bīşək aḳáy d ə-ḥáwri ðə-bərkēh aǧəyūǧ adəllōlət, wə-l-ād šīnən tīhəm  
zōyəd lā. wəlākan šīn ṭəṭ dəllōl, wə-hədəllīn b-amkōn.*
- 9 *te wəkūbən bərk xawr kənnáwn, ftūkən. wə-l-ḥámdu li-llāh sēmən. l-ād  
həǧūsən əl-səlōmət lā.*
- 10 *wə-šīn ṭəṭ ḥáywəl. te kəfūdən b-abárr nəxāli déhəḳ šōx, wə-həḳfōdən əlhān  
bərk aláng mən ḥāmal. əttōli āmūr ḥáywəl, “əl tšxáwlam báwməh lā!  
ašḥáwḥ nəkiyē wə-mkkārütən līkəm b-aşəwáyr.”*
- 11 *əttōli səyūrən wə-xxəlōfən məkōn ṭəṭ. ādən šxəwlülən, nákam ašḥáwḥ  
wə-kkáy r b-aşəwáyr mən aǧáwf. w-āzámw yəḥǧēməm līn.*
- 12 *wəlākan əwbáwdhəm aǧəyūǧ təhəráyb. wə-hīs yəşşəm, fəlīt.*
- 13 *wə-nḥāh šxəwlülən. te nəḥōr xəwfīt sáfrən. wə-l-ḥámdu li-llāh l-ād wīka līn  
šī lā te wəşələn aḳān. wə-təmmōt.*

10 *ašḥáwḥ*: The Arabic-speaking Šīḥūḥ (or Šahūḥ; adjective *šīḥī* or *šəḥḥī*) are the main tribe of Oman’s mountainous Ras al-Musandam Peninsula. Up until at least the 1970s, they had a reputation for being hostile to outsiders. The term Šīḥūḥ can also be used more broadly to include the Kumzari population of the Ras al-Musandam Peninsula, who speak an Iranian language.

12 *təhəráyb*: Johnstone (*ML*, s.v. *hrb*) parsed this word as a verbal noun of the D/L-Stem (*h*)*ḥōrəb* ‘put to flight, force to flee’ (no doubt from Arabic *harraba*, with the same meaning). There is a vowel audible after the *t*. It

### Translation of Text 60

- 1 Once we traveled from Dubai in a boat from Şur, and in it were all kinds of people. And we traveled before sunset, intending to go back to our country.
- 2 Then we reached a deep area that is called *ǧabbēt salāmāh*. We reached it in the morning. Then a strong wind and rain came upon us.
- 3 Then when we got to a small village, we anchored by it. Then the strong wind pushed the boat to the deep area.
- 4 While we were like this, three men, residents of the town, came to us. The captain said to them, "Guide us to a sheltered place!"
- 5 They said, "If you want us to guide you to a sheltered place, give us seven hundred, and we'll guide you." The captain said, "Ok."
- 6 And they had a canoe. Two rode in it, and one rode in the boat. And we went.
- 7 Then the strong wind didn't let us stay alongside the shore, and the mast broke. And we tossed half of the load into the sea.
- 8 Then the rope of the canoe that the guides were in snapped, and we didn't see them ever again. But we had one guide, and he guided us to the place.
- 9 Then when we entered a small lagoon, we got off. And, praise God, we were safe. We hadn't thought (we would find) safety.
- 10 And we had with us a certain crazy man. Then we came down onto shore under a big cliff, and we took down all the baggage that was in the boat. Then the crazy man said, "Don't stay here! The Šiḥūḥ will come and roll rocks down on you."
- 11 Then we went and moved on to another place. While we were sitting, the Šiḥūḥ came and rolled down rocks from above. And they intended to attack us.
- 12 But the men shot at them to scare them off. And when they got scared, they fled.
- 13 And we stayed. Then the next day we left. And, praise God, nothing more happened to us until we reached our country. And it is finished.

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is possible that the particle *te* 'until' was intended, though Ali regularly wrote this is a separate word, and the Arabic manuscript has *تهريب*. If *te* were intended, then the verb would have to be a 3mp perfect (*h*)*ḥarīb*, from an (otherwise unattested) H-Stem (*h*)*ḥarūb*, which would mean that Ali made a mistake on the audio.

## Text 61 (= J20): An Argument over Water

- 1 *sənēt ʕayt wəḳōt háwrat, wə-ḥābū əð-tābəm wīyan. wə-ḥəmōh xawr.*  
 2 *te nəhōr ʕayt həwrīd bəʕáyli ḥārāwn wə-bəʕáyli həbēr wə-bəʕáyli abḳār ǭār*  
*ḥəmōh.*
- 3 *əttōli āmūr aǧáyg ǭə-k-abḳār, “fənōhən abḳáryan məttəkyütən, wə-*  
*məǧōrən ətēm.”*
- 4 *āmūr aǧáyg bāl həbēr, “āḳāf! hēt əl hēt axáyr mənīn lā.”*  
 5 *tōli əntəwḥōh, wə-nákam ḥābū wə-ffáskəm tīhi mən ʕāṭīdáyhi. wəlākan bāl*  
*həbēr əwbūd məndáwḳ bərk abḳār wə-ffərūd.*
- 6 *w-ámma bāl ḥārāwn, hīs əlyēk ǭə-yəntáwḥən, həwrūd ḥázhe te hərwōh.*  
 7 *wəlākan šxəwlil faḳḥ ǭə-wárx, w-ənkáthəm aməwsē. wə-ǧátbərəm*  
*ǭə-yəǭábrəm bə-ʕāṭīdáyhəm, wə-yāmərəm, “lū šəbūrən, axáyr hīn.”*
- 8 *w-ámma bāl ḥārāwn, ǭə-yəšḥōḳ mənhēm, w-āmūr, “hōh axáyr mənḳēm.*  
*hīs ətēm əntáwḥkəm, hōh həwrádk ḥázye.”*
- 9 *wə-mən ǭār xəṭərāt ǭəḳəməh, wáḳam ʕaysōr. w-āmáwr, “ašābər axáyr mən*  
*kāl šýən!” wə-təmmōt kəwtéthəm.*

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5 *tīhi mən ʕāṭīdáyhi*: Ali clearly read the 3md form *tīhi* on the audio (twice, actually), but then read 3mp *ʕāṭīdáyhəm*. The Arabic manuscript has the 3md suffix *-hi* in both forms. The Roman manuscript has the 3mp suffix *-həm* in both forms.

6 *ǭə-yəntáwḥən*: The prefix *ǭ-* is in the Arabic manuscript, but is not audible on Ali's recording. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the prefix in parentheses in the margin.

7 *ǭə-yəǭábrəm*: The prefix *ǭ-* is in the manuscripts, but is not audible on the recording.

**Translation of Text 61**

- 1 One year there was a drought, and the people were very weary. And the water was scarce.
- 2 Then one day goat-herders, camel-herders, and cow-herders brought (their animals) down to the water.
- 3 Then the man who was with the cows said, "First our cows will drink, then you."
- 4 The camel-herder said, "Be quiet! You are not better than us."
- 5 Then the two fought, and people came and separated them from each other. But the camel-herder shot his rifle into the cows, and they panicked.
- 6 As for the goat-herder, when [or: while] those guys fought, he brought his goats to the water and let (them) drink [lit. until he had let (them) drink].
- 7 They stayed half a month, and (then) the rain came. And they came together apologizing to one another, and they said, "If only we had been patient, it would have been better for us."
- 8 As for the goat-herder, he was laughing at them, and he said, "I am better than you. When [or: while] you fought, I brought my goats to the water."
- 9 And after that time, they were friends. They said, "Patience is better than everything." And their story is finished.

## Text 62 (no J): A Visit with Friends in London

- 1 *yamših sayárk hōm tawōli bū a'ísérye. (hámmaḥam smit̄ w-aḏānāh.) wə-šáy aməwse, wə-hōh əl əgōrəb ḥōrəm lā.*
- 2 *wəlākan sayárk əl-dəlōlət. te wəšəlak bərk šērə' tāt, šxəbārk gəyg mən ḥōrəm.*
- 3 *tōli hədalláy bə-wōrəm tət̄t̄ ḏ-əl sē ḥōrəm ḏə-ḥáms lā. w-əl wádak lā hē yəḥōm yəḥáxəwsi, aw hē əl yəgōrəb ḥōrəm lā.*
- 4 *əttōli sayárk te wəšəlak wōrəm tət̄t̄. kəsk gəyg tāt, wə-šxəbārk təh. tōli hədalláy bə-ḥōrəm, wə-sayárk te wəšəlak abáyť.*
- 5 *kəsk tihəm (ḏ-)šxəwlil ḏə-sēbəm tī. wə-hīs šinəm tī, gəbáwri əl-xāh ḏ-abáyť w-amárhəbəm bay.*
- 6 *wə-həqšámk hənihəm. ətté l-āšər, āmūr aǵáyg, “gədəwwən nəhásnək bayť tət̄t̄.”*
- 7 *wə-sayūrən te wəšələn abáyť, wə-kūsən a'ísérhe. w-amárhəbəm bīn wə-šxəbīri, wəlākan hōh əl əqáwdər l-əǵtáyr ənglīzīyət lā ar xawr.*
- 8 *wəlākan hēm, mən kētər ḏ-arḥámthəm, yāmərəm, “ḥəwōlən tīk.”*
- 9 *wə-ftūkən mən abáyť ḏákməh wə-rəddən h-abáthəm, w-aqádməm līn 'ayse. w-ātésyən, wə-mǵōrən āmárk, “ḥōm əl-syēr h-abáyťi.”*
- 10 *āmūr aǵáyg, “ənhāh məhəwšəlūtən tīk h-abát̄k bərk sayārəh.” āmárk, “ábdan!” tōli hōh gəzámk.*
- 11 *tōli āmūr, “xáybən, syēr bərk táksi, w-ənhāh āmyēla tələfōn.” wə-šmləm tələfōn, wə-nkōt sayārəh, wə-šəlláy bāl sayārəh.*
- 12 *te wəšəlak abáyťi, wəzəmk bāl sayārəh kəráwš. āmūr háyni, “āsərak ber wəzmáy kəráwš mən ḏáyrək.”*
- 13 *wə-gəhēm, wə-hōh ḏ-əftkīrən b-arḥōmət ḏə-ḥābū əlyōməh. mən hīs xələqək, ādi əl kəsk əḥād əl-hīs tihəm lā. wə-təmmōt.*

1 *hámmaḥam smit̄ w-aḏānāh*: This sentence is absent from the audio, but was added to the Arabic manuscript in the margin. The Roman manuscript has just *smiṭ̄ w-aḏānāh*. I do not know to whom Ali was referring, but it was not G. Rex Smith (according to him), Johnstone's colleague, who later prepared *ML* for publication.

4 *wōrəm*: The audio has *ḥōrəm*, but this is a mistake. The indefinite form *wōrəm* is required before the following *tət̄t̄* 'one'. The manuscripts have the correct indefinite form *wōrəm*, though in the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added *ḥ* above the *w* of *wōrəm*, no doubt because of the audio.

### Translation of Text 62

- 1 Yesterday I went out, heading to some people, my friends. (Their name was Smith, and his family.) And it was raining, and I didn't know the way.
- 2 But I went by directions. Then when I got into a certain street, I asked a man about the way.
- 3 Then he directed me to a certain road that wasn't the road I wanted. And I didn't know (if) he wanted to mislead me, or (if) he didn't know the way.
- 4 Then I went until I got to another [lit. one] road. I found a man, and I asked him. Then he directed me to the road, and I went until I got to the house.
- 5 I found they had been sitting waiting for me. And when they saw me, they met me at the door of the house and welcomed me.
- 6 And I spent the day with them. Then in the late afternoon, the man said, "Let's go (and) we'll show you another [lit. a] house."
- 7 And we went until we got to the house, and we found his friends. They welcomed me and questioned me, but I couldn't speak English except for a little bit.
- 8 But they, out of their great kindness, said, "We understand you."
- 9 And we left that house and went back to their house, and they offered me dinner. We had dinner, and then I said, "I want to go back to my house."
- 10 The man said, "We will take you to your house in the car." I said, "No way!" Then I swore.
- 11 Then he said, "Ok, go in a taxi, and we'll make the phone call." And they telephoned, and the taxi came, and the driver took me.
- 12 Then when I got to my house, I gave the driver money. He said to me, "Your friend gave me money on your behalf."
- 13 And he left, and I was thinking about the kindness of these people. Since I was born, I never met [lit. found] anyone like them. And it is finished.

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5 (*ð*-)śxəwlil: On the audio Ali read *wə-śxəwlil*, then stumbled and read, most likely, *əś-śxəwlil*. The manuscripts lack *ð*-.

6 *l-āṣar*: See the comment to text 12:4.

11 *syēr*: The Arabic manuscript has the ms imperative *syēr* 'go!', while the Roman manuscript has *syīre*, which surely is meant to represent the mp future *sīyēra* (< \**səyyēra*). Ali stumbled a bit on the audio, but read the mp future *sīyēra* 'we'll go'. Since Ali travels in the taxi alone in the story, I assume that the imperative was intended.



## Text 63 (= J33, but a variant version): A Visit with Some Jinn

- 1 *xəṭərāt ǰayg ǰə-yəǰáwlaḵ mən yəbīt. wə-gəhēm. w-aḵā' xələ' mən ḥābū. ḥābū kāl ǰə-nšw mən aḵā' ǰékəməh.*
- 2 *te kaláyni, ǰəfūd bə-wōdi wə-sīni ḥəbēr. yəḥūgəs bū, wə-sáff ǰəyōy.*
- 3 *šxəwliw w-aḵōbəl əl-ḥəbēr əl-ḥō tháwlan. te sənyīsən ḥəwlōh bərk ḥəwōdi əl-ḥáḵ, wə-təbáysən.*
- 4 *te mən ǰār aǰzé', nūka ḥāl tēt təǰáyn. tōli āmərūt ḥəh, "ḥēsən ḥēt mən ǰayg?" āmūr, "ḥōh ǰayg ǰə-ǰáwlaḵ mən yəbīt ǰə-nzōt. wə-bér ḥáyni āšəri trōh xələ'."*
- 5 *āmərūt tēt, "yā ḥáyya būk! wəlākan nəḥāh bū ǰəyōy, w-əl yāǰīb b-ansōy lā. wəlākan ḥōh ǰəryūta tik ənxāli ḥəddūt, wə-ḥəððōr mən təḥtīrək wə-ḥəððōr mən tāšōš!*
- 6 *wə-ttōma əl-ḥābū mət nákam. lēzəm ǰəkyēra ḥaybátk. wə-nḥāh l-ād nəḥəšáwbəḥ lā, wəlākan k-sōbəḥ ksōna ǰālēw əs-šxōf ḥənūk.*
- 7 *šxōf, wə-sənyōna yəǰráybi trōh. w-ərdéh lihəm b-aḵālēw wə-gəhōm! wə-ksōna ḥaybátk."*
- 8 *āmūr, "yéye." te kaláyni kəlōh ḥəbēr, w-aǰáyg šəǰrōh nəxāli ḥəddūt. əttōli āmáwr ḥābū, "aǰáy ǰə-ənsáy! mən ḥō aǰáy ǰə-ənsáy?"*
- 9 *āmərūt tēt, "kaláyni kəsk šətráyr b-aḵā', wə-sállək təh. wə-ǰ-šámlək təh ǰə-ənsáy."*
- 10 *tōli ǰərsáwt ḥəbrīs te bəkōh. āmūr ḥáybəh, "kō ḥē aǰiggēn ǰə-yəbáyk?" āmərūt tēt, "ǰūya. ḥələb ḥəh!"*
- 11 *tōli ḥəlūb aǰáyg bərk ǰālēw te məlōt, wə-wzūm əttēt. wə-ttēt wəzmátəh aǰáyg.*
- 12 *te bə-ḥálláy, ḥələwb ḥābū. w-āmərūt tēt ḥ-aǰáygəs, "ḥələb məkən! wátxfək əð-gáyak." wə-ḥəlūb aǰáyg, wə-wzəmátəh aǰáyg ǰə-ənxāli ḥəddūt.*
- 13 *tōli kátəwṭəm ḥābū. āmūr ṭāt, "sīnək yəbīt ənsáyyaṭ bərk ḥəwōdi ǰīməh əw-mšā'." əttōli šxəbərətəh tēt ət-təǰáyn l-agərē ǰə-ǰáyg yəḥmē'.*
- 14 *āmərūt, "xáybən, ḥaybīt sīnək tīs bə-xáy? axáy mən ḥəbéryan?"*
- 15 *āmūr, "bə-xáy, wə-bárs ṭhōm tháḥḵət." əttōli tēt ǰərsáwt aǰáyg. āmərūt ḥəh, "ḥámak?" āmūr, "ḥámak."*
- 16 *āmərūt, "šəǰf, te k-sōbəḥ ksōna ḥaybátk. wə-ksōna ḥənūk ǰālēw. wə-šxōf, wə-mət bərs šəǰf, sənyōna yəǰráybi trōh. rədəh lihəm b-aḵālēw!"*

3 *əl-ḥáḵ*: This word literally means 'inside', but can also be used to mean 'north' or 'upstream'.

**Translation of Text 63**

- 1 Once a man was looking for his camel. And he went. And the region was empty of people. All the people had migrated from that region.
- 2 Then in the evening, he went down into a valley, and he saw some camels. He thought (they were) people, but it so happened that (they were) spirits.
- 3 He sat and watched where the camels were heading to. Then he saw them head north [or: inside] into a valley, and he followed them.
- 4 Then after sunset, he came to a woman who was nursing. She said to him, "What kind of man are you?" He said, "I'm a man looking for a camel that has strayed. And I have been alone [or: hungry] for two nights."
- 5 The woman said, "Welcome to you! But we are spirit-people, and they don't like humans. But I will hide you under the cradle, but be sure not to move, and be sure not to be afraid!"
- 6 And listen to the people when they come. They will have to mention your camel. We will no longer be here in the morning, but in the morning you'll find a bowl of milk by you.
- 7 Drink, and you'll see two ravens. Throw the bowl at them and go! And you'll find your camel."
- 8 He said, "Ok." Then in the evening, the camels came home, and the man hid under the cradle. Then the people said, "The scent of a human! From where is the scent of a human?"
- 9 The woman said, "This evening I found a rag on the ground, and I picked it up. I think it was a human's."
- 10 Then she pinched her son and [lit. until] he cried. His father said, "Why is the boy crying?" The woman said, "He's hungry, milk for him!"
- 11 Then he milked into a bowl until it was full, and he gave (it) to the woman. And the woman gave it to the man.
- 12 Then at night, the people milked. And the woman said to her husband, "Milk a lot! I've come back hungry [lit. I came having become hungry]." And the man milked, and she gave it to the man who was under the cradle.
- 13 Then the people chatted. One man said, "I saw a human camel in this valley to the south." Then the woman who was nursing questioned him so that the man would hear.
- 14 She said, "Ok, is the camel that you saw well? Better than our camels?"
- 15 He said, "It is well, and it is about to give birth." Then the woman pinched the man. She said to him, "Did you hear?" He said, "I heard."
- 16 She said, "Go to sleep, and in the morning you'll find your camel. You'll find a bowl by you. Drink, and after you have drunk, you'll see two ravens. Throw the bowl at them!"

- 17 *wə-šəwkūf aǧáyg. te k-sōbəh kūsā aśxōf. šxāf wə-šīni yaǧráybi trōh.  
wə-rdōh lihəm b-aḳālēw wə-gəhēm.*
- 18 *te kūsā ḥaybátah ḏə-həḳtáwt, wə-šīs fəráyś. wə-gəhēm təwōli sékənah.  
wə-təmmōt.*

- 17 And the man went to sleep. Then in the morning, he found the milk. He drank and saw two ravens. He threw the bowl at them and he left.
- 18 Then he found his camel had given birth, and it had a she-calf. And he went back to his settlement. And it is finished.

## Text 64 (= J25, but a variant version): Kadet

- 1 *xəṭarāt gajyg yāmərəm həh kādēt, wə-hē bərah məšhūr mən šəgēt wə-maddēt wə-ləbbūd. tē nəhōr ʔayt həwrūd həbərhe ǰār mōh, wə-kūsa bū ǰār həmōh.*
- 2 *tōli āmáwr həh, “əl tháwrəd həbérke lā!” āmūr, “həbérye məḵəṭáwtən mən həlákət. wə-táwwəkəm ar tsmēḵəm lay!”*
- 3 *āmáwr, “ábdan! əl thəwrūd lā ar wə-ṭhōm bə-ḵəwwēt!” āmūr, “ábdan!” tōli həwré’ həbərhe.*
- 4 *əttōli ənḥəybūb həbēr. əstōmi kādēt. āmūr, “tənáqdan lay, hām həwrək tīsən mən ǰār həmōh.” əttōli həwrūd.*
- 5 *wə-hīs bərsən ǰār həmōh, nūka aǰáyg ǰə-yəḥáwkər əl-ḥəmōh. šəh škay. yəḍūrəm ʔayt mən həbərhe. wə-fərr kādēt wə-xxōbəṭ aməndáwḵəh, wə-wbūd aǰáyg əḍ-dərūm ḥəybətəh, wə-wəṭǰáyh.*
- 6 *wə-mánam təh trōh, wə-kādēt šəh jənbáyyət, wə-ṭān ʔəṭ mənḥēm, wə-ṭāṭ məšwīb. wə-ḵáwla həbərhe (t)ṭáḵḵən tē ráywi. w-āṭáwf tē nūka aǰānəh, tétəh wə-ḥáybəh hēxər. wə-tétəh ət-təḵáyn ǰīgēn.*
- 7 *tōli kəlūt līhəm, w-āṭáwf tē bərhəm rēḥəḵ b-anáqđ, mən hāl xəšəmhə əl yəǰərbəm lā.*
- 8 *šxəwlīl. wə-həbēr əl bīsən šxōf lā, wə-kādēt l-ād yəšənūs yəḵfəd arḥəbēt lā. w-aḵáthəm ar mən abērīt. yəxáwtəl awə’yōl, wə-kāl āsər yənōka bə-ṭāṭ. wə-šəh bālīt aḵāma, w-āzūm yəḥáttəm azōnət. wəlākan yəṭḵáwḵ aməllḥāt wə-yāmēs bāráwt.*
- 10 *wə-šəh ḥáyməh. wə-yənákahəm wə-yəsyūr. tē mən ǰār waḵt təwáyl, səyūr ḥáyməh tē nūka xəšáwm ǰə-kādēt. āmūr, “hām ṭḥaym tədfēm háyni, dəllōna bikəm təwōli kādēt.”*
- 11 *āmáwr, “wəzyēma tik myēti ʔrayt ǰə-ḵárš, hām hədlək tīn bəh wə-ləṭǰən*

1 *məšhūr*: *ML* (s.v. *šhr*) has *məšháyr*, but the Roman manuscript of this text and the audio have *məšhūr*.

2 *məḵəṭáwtən*: The audio has *məḵəṭáwt*, though Ali seemed to hesitate with his reading of this word. The manuscripts have *məḵəṭáwtən*, which must be a fp passive participle. If the cp future of the T2-Stem *əḵtōṭa* was intended, then we would expect *məḵtəṭáwtən*.

4 *tənáqdan*: We expect *tənáqđan* here, but the audio seems to have *tənáqdan*. Perhaps the vowel is colored by the following glottalic. On *ə* > *á* after a glottalic, see § 2.2.1.

6 *jənbáyyət*: On the audio, Ali began to say *gənbáyyət* (cf. 34:11), but corrected himself to *jənbáyyət*.

6 *ráywi*: The audio has *tē ráywi* ‘until they drank their fill’ (with 3fp per-

### Translation of Text 64

- 1 Once there was a man named [lit. they called him] Kadet, and he was famous for bravery, generosity, and marksmanship. Then one day he took his camels down to water, but he found some people by the water.
- 2 Then they said to him, "Don't bring your camels down!" He said, "My camels are exhausted from thirst. So you really ought to allow me!"
- 3 They said, "No way! Don't bring (them) down unless you want (to do so) by force!" He said, "No way!" Then he held back his camels.
- 4 Then the camels lowed. Kadet shouted his tribal war-cry. He said, "They get annoyed with me if I hold them back from the water." Then he brought (them) down.
- 5 And after they were by the water, the man who had been refusing access to the water came. He had a sword. He hamstringed one of his camels. And Kadet jumped up and cocked his rifle, and he shot the man who hamstrung his camel, and he killed him.
- 6 And two (men) grabbed him, but Kadet had a dagger, and he stabbed one of them, and one was wounded. And he let his camels drink until they had their fill. And he hurried off until he got to his family, his wife and his old father. And his wife was nursing a boy.
- 7 Then he told them, and they hurried off until they were far away in the Najd, to a place where his enemies didn't know.
- 8 They stayed. And the camels didn't have milk, and Kadet didn't yet dare to go down to town.
- 9 And their food was only from wild game. He would stalk ibexes, and every night he would bring one in. He had a flintlock, but he had nearly used up the ammunition. So he would grind saltpeter and make it into gunpowder.
- 10 And he had a brother-in-law. He would come to them and go [i.e., come back and forth]. Then after a long time, his brother-in-law went until he got to Kadet's enemies. He said, "If you want to pay me, I will lead you to Kadet."
- 11 They said, "We'll give you two hundred dollars if you lead us to him and

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fect *rāywi*), but the manuscripts have *te tarwēn* (تا تروين) 'so they could drink their fill' (with 3fp subjunctive *tarwēn*). Both possibilities fit the context and are grammatically correct. On these uses of *te*, see §13.5.2 and §13.5.3.2.

- 9 *bālīt aḳāma*: Johnstone (*ML* and *JL*, s.v. *ḳm'*) translates this as 'flintlock', but this may not be the correct term, since *ḳāma* means 'percussion cap', a feature lacking on a flintlock. Still, it clearly refers to an older type of rifle.

- təh.*” *āmūr*, “*his-táv!*” *wə-gəhēməm te nákam kərmáym mən hāl kādēt yəsūkən.*
- 12 *wə-kādēt* *ðə-yaxáwtəl awə’yól. tōli kūsa asfútən ðə-gəyūg. wə-gərūb əssaff* *ðə-ḥáyməh, w-abōki əl gərbīhəm lā.*
- 13 *wəlākan əl yašš lā hīs kūsa šaff* *ðə-ḥáyməh. te kaláyni nūka hāl aḏānəh.* *āmūr h-tétəh, “əḥād nəkáykəm?”*
- 14 *āmərūt əttēt, “lā, wə-kōh?”* *āmūr, “ḥáššək šaff* *ð-aḡāš. wə-šáh gəyūg,* *wəlākan əl gərabk tīhəm lā.”*
- 15 *āmərūt tēt, “ḥəððōr bə-ḥənáfik! əlyōməh xəšáwm.”* *āmūr, “ábdan, šīhəm* *fəlān, aḡāš, w-əl hēm xəšáwm lā. wəlākan yəmkən xəláws mənīn.”*
- 16 *āmərūt tēt, “ōmər hūk, ḥəððōr bə-ḥənáfik! əḡōrəb aḡāy hōh: sōkəṭ wə-* *yədlōm.”*
- 17 *āmūr kādēt, “ḥāšē əl-ḥáymi! əl ḥayrámhe əlyōməh lā. ðək ar hēt* *thəḏnáyni.”*
- 18 *wə-kādēt əl wátxəf šəh zōnət lā ar məxbāt tāt. ādhəm lə-wtákkəməh, kəfáwd* *līhəm aḡəyūg mən amərkáyit ð-ašáyga. wə-gərbīhəm ðə-hēm xəšámhe.* *əttōli āwīð bīhəm, wəlākan əl šəwrēm lā.*
- 19 *wə-wbūd ḥāwəláy wə-ḥəḡārēh. wəlākan təmūm amxáwbət. wə-ṭān amtállī,* *wə-hīs məxāk əjnəbáyəṭ mən aḡáwf ð-aḡáyg, mátxək šəh akōn, w-anšəlāt* *bəkýōt bərk aḡáwf ð-aḡáyg. šaff anšəlāt məḡəzzōt.*
- 20 *wə-ffəlūt kādēt. wə-wbədəh tāt, wə-šəwšáwb əl-fēm. wə-ffəlūt bərk təfḥ,* *w-atáfḥ māyər.*
- 21 *ber lūtəḡ trōh, w-ādhəm ərbōt. bəḡáwdəh. əttōli l-ād kədūr yəháflət lā.* *səyūr te b-aḡōbi ð-akəššāt. gār w-áyməl ḥənáfəh ber mōt.*
- 22 *tōli šīnəm təh aḡəyūg w-āmáwr, “nəḥōm tāt mənīn yənkēh wə-yərdéh bəh* *mən akəššāt.”* *āmūr tāt, “hōh ḥōm l-ərdéh bəh!”*
- 23 *səyūr te nūka hāl kādēt. hīs wīšəl, fərr kādēt wə-yəḡfáfəh mən fawm,* *wə-yəhháyw bəh mən aḡōt. wə-hē həwōh šəh, wə-mōtəm.*

23 *yəḡfáfəh*: The Arabic manuscript suggests *yəḡfáfəh*, a 3ms imperfect plus a 3ms object, while the Roman manuscript has *ḡaffəh* (transcribed as *ḡaffəh* in ML, s.v. *ḡff*), the 3ms perfect plus a 3ms object. Either fits the context. On the audio, Ali read a totally different verb, which sounds like *xəšfəh* ‘he pierced him’.

23 *yəhháyw*: The manuscripts have the 3ms imperfect *yəhháyw*. Ali stumbled on the audio, but ultimately read the 3ms perfect (*h*)*həwōh*. Either form fits the context. I assume that the idiom (*h*)*həwōh b-* ‘throw down’ is from the H-Stem (*h*)*həwōh* ‘make fall’, not the G-Stem *həwōh* ‘fall’. This and the other attested forms (20:65; 75:23; 76:15; 88:8, 11) could be from either stem, since the only difference between the stems (in the attested

- we kill him." He said, "Ok!" And they went until they got to the mountains where Kadet was living.
- 12 And Kadet was stalking ibexes. Then he found his brother-in-law's tracks. He recognized his brother-in-law's tracks, but the rest he didn't recognize.
- 13 But he wasn't afraid when he found his brother-in-law's tracks. Then in the evening, he came to his family. He said to his wife, "Has anyone come to you?"
- 14 The woman said, "No, why?" He said, "I found your brother's tracks. And there were men with him, but I didn't recognize them."
- 15 She said, "Watch out for yourself! These are enemies." He said, "No way, so-and-so, your brother, is with them, so they aren't enemies. But maybe they couldn't find us."
- 16 The woman said, "I am telling you, watch out for yourself! I know my own brother: vile and greedy."
- 17 Kadet said, "Far be it from my brother-and-law! These aren't his ways. It's just that you're suspicious [or: imagining (things)]."
- 18 And Kadet by the evening had no ammunition except one cartridge. While they were like this, the men came down to them from the corner of the shelter. And he recognized that they were his enemies. Then he warned them, but they didn't back off.
- 19 And he shot the first one and felled him. But he used up the cartridges. And he stabbed the second one, but when he pulled out the dagger from the man's chest, the hilt came out, but the blade stayed in the man's chest. It turned out the blade was loose.
- 20 Kadet ran away. One (of the men) shot at him, and he was wounded in the leg. And he ran away to the mountain-side, and the mountain-side was steep [or: rough].
- 21 He had already killed two, and there were still four. They chased him. Then he couldn't run away any more. He went up to the ledge of the cliff. He fell and pretended he had died.
- 22 Then the men saw him and said, "One of us should go up to him and throw him off the cliff." One said, "I want to throw him off!"
- 23 He went until he got to Kadet. When he got there, Kadet jumped up and lifted him by the legs, and he threw him off of the ledge. He fell with him, and they died.

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forms) would be a geminate *h* that is barely distinguishable from single *h* (e.g., *G yəháyw* vs. *H yəhháyw*), if distinguished at all. An H-Stem causative fits the meaning, and causatives that require *b-* before an object are not unknown (see § 8.2).



- 24 *wə-ráddəm sātáyť təwōli ađān. lóťgəm hēxər, Һayb đə-kādēt, wə-lóťgəm Һəbráh mən Һəddūt.*
- 25 *āmarūt hihəm əttēt, “əl wágəbkəm lā təwtēgəm məknáyw mən tōdi! đōmah əl hē šágəl đ-akəbōyəl lā.”*
- 26 *āmáwr, “Һəbrē đə-dəsōs yəkūn dəsōs.” wə-wtáwǵəh. w-āzáwm yəghīm. əttōli āmarūt hihəm əttēt, “əl wágəbkəm (t)syērəm wə-təklēm aməláwťǵ wəťōmah lā! wə-hōh tēt wəhsáy. hētəməm, wə-šəyēťa yəbūt. wə-nhōm nədfēn aməláwťǵ.*
- 27 *w-əťēm ber lóťgəkəm sóx w-akənnáwn. l-ād ar hōh, tēt, w-akā' xalē' mən Һābū. wə-gēhəmah gəhmūta šíkəm təwōli Һərbáťye.”*
- 28 *āmūr ťāť, “wōgəb līn ənkbēr aməláwťǵ, wə-nhētəm hāl tēt.” w-agās đə-kəbūn đār aśáyga.*
- 29 *hīs bərhəm šxəwlīl, šākōť əttēt agās. āmarūt, “hōh đə-ǵəróbk tik đār aśáyga. wə-hām thámay, kəfēd līn əw-bōh! kādēt ber əwtēǵ, wə-Һáybəh ber əwtēǵ, wə-Һəbráy đə-mən tōdi ber əwtēǵ. wə-l-ād ar hōh, tēt, wə-kəfēd əw-bōh!”*
- 30 *kəfūd agáyǵ tē nūka hāl agəyūǵ w-agótəh, wə-hātīm. tē bə-Һəlláy agəyūǵ ber əđ-šəwkīť, thūrək məndáwķ wə-təlūtəǵ agās.*
- 31 *fərrəm agəyūǵ, yəҺáyym yəmnēm əttēt. təǵūzəm, “kāl mənkekəm đə-Һátrək mən amkōnəh, đə-l-əwbádəh. hōh lóťgək agāy, w-əl hikəm Һakķ lā.”*
- 32 *wə-bārōť. tē təwūt sékən ťāť rēhək, kəwťūt hihəm. w-a'yūtəm, wə-Һəwháyw Һābū tē đār aməláwťǵ. kəbáwrhəm.*
- 33 *w-agəyūǵ sātáyť, hīs əttēt ber ǵəšəbáthəm aməndáwķhəm wə-bārōť mən đáyrhəm, ffəlūt.*
- 34 *wə-Һābū nákam đār aməláwťǵ anhōr xəwfīt, wə-kəbáwrhəm.*
- 35 *wə-kādēt wə-tétəh, kəwťétəhəm ǵádət, wə-Һáyym əđ-kādēt, kəwťétəh kəmhť. wə-təmmōť.*

25 *məknáyw*: The manuscripts have *məknáyw* ‘baby’, but Ali stumbled on the audio and read *kənnáwn* ‘child’.

- 24 And the three went back to the family. They killed the old man, Kadet's father, and they killed his son in the cradle.
- 25 The woman said to them, "You shouldn't kill a baby at the breast! This is not the way of the tribes."
- 26 They said, "The son of a snake will be a snake." And they killed him. And they decided to leave. Then the woman said to them, "You shouldn't go and leave the dead like this! I am a woman by myself. Spend the night, and we'll slaughter a camel. And let's bury the dead.
- 27 You have already killed an adult and a child. Only I am left, a woman, and the area is empty of people. Tomorrow I'll go with you to my tribesmen."
- 28 One said, "We should bury the dead, and spend the night with the woman." And her brother had been hiding above the shelter.
- 29 After they sat down, the woman called to her brother. She said, "I know you are above the shelter. And if you hear me, come down here to us! Kadet has already been killed, his father has been killed, and my son who was at the breast has been killed. And only I am left, a woman, so come down here!"
- 30 The man came down and [lit. until] he came to the men and his sister, and they passed the evening. Then at night, when the men had fallen asleep, she stole a rifle and killed her brother.
- 31 The men jumped up, intending to grab the woman. She swore, "Any one of you who moves from his place, I will shoot him. I killed my brother, and you have no right."
- 32 And she left. Then when she got to a certain settlement far away, she told them. They wept, and the people went to help the dead. They buried them.
- 33 And the three men, after the woman had taken their rifle and left them, they fled.
- 34 And the people came to the dead the next day, and they buried them.
- 35 Kadet and his wife, their story is good, but Kadet's brother-in-law, his story is bad. And it is finished.

## Text 65 (= J18, with slight variations): Ba Newas and the Old Lady

- 1 *xəṭarāt bā nəwās ḏə-yəghōm, yəghōm yəkfēd arhəbēt. wə-ḵáwla aḏānəh  
mən ġayr ḵawt. wə-hē əl šəh sī lā l-aḡarē ḏə-yəstōm məṣrāwf h-aḏānəh.*
- 2 *te wiṣəl ḏar məḵəbrēt, kūsa ḥābū ḏə-yəḵábrəm āḡáwz. šxəwlūl ḏə-yəftkīrən.  
əl wīda hēsən mən məhrēt yāmōl lā.*
- 3 *w-əl šəh sī lā, hām ḵəfūd arhəbēt. əttōli əftkūr bə-fēkar ḵōməh. āmūr, “ḥōm,  
mət ḥābū šəwḡīs, l-ənkēs əl-āḡáwz ḏə-mtōt.”*
- 4 *šxəwlūl bā nəwās te ḥābū šəwḡīs. nəkūs əl-āḡáwz wə-ḵəláys bərk aṣbáḡtəh.  
wə-sállis wə-ḡəhēm, yəghōm h-arhəbēt.*
- 5 *wə-səyūr ətté wiṣəl ḵəráyb l-arhəbēt. ḵáwla āḡáwz, wə-ffḵōh līs b-aṣbáḡtəh,  
wə-nūka arhəbēt.*
- 6 *tōli sīni bū mēkən ḏə-yəwákbəm bayt ḏə-tōḡər. tōli šxəbūr ġayḡ, āmūr, “kō  
hēm ḥābū əlyək ḏə-yəwákbəm bərk abáyt ḏayk?”*
- 7 *āmūr, “ḥəbrē ḏə-tōḡər məráyś, wə-ḥābū ḏə-yəṭáwf ləh. wə-ḥábbhe ḏə-  
yəšxəbīr, ‘hām əḥād yəḡōrəb sī, yadáwyəh.’” āmūr bā nəwās, “hōh šay  
ḥāmáy āḡáwz wə-təḡōrəb kāl mərəś.”*
- 8 *āmūr aḡáyḡ, “ḡədəwwən, məhīsən tik ḥayb ḏ-aḡīḡēn aməráyś. wə-ḥābū  
təḡərēt. wəzyēma tik əlhān tḥōm.” əttōli sīrōh ətté ənkōh hāl ḥayb ḏ-aḡīḡēn  
aməráyś.*
- 9 *āmūr aḡáyḡ ḏə-nūka kə-bā nəwās, “aḡáyḡ ḏōməh šəh ḥāmáh āḡáwz, wə-  
təḡōrəb kāl mərəś.” āmūr tōḡər, “ḥō sē?” āmūr bā nəwās, “ḵálak tīs sār  
abyūt əlyək ḏə-šəwḵfūt. wə-hām tḥáyməs, háxṣəb ḡūri tṛōh yənkēm bīs.”*
- 10 *əttōli xxəśáwb ḡūri tṛōh yənkēm bīs. əttōli sīrōh ḥāḡərōn. te nákam hāl  
āḡáwz, ḥāśīsəs. tōli l-ād əśśūt lā. rəddōh təwōli ḥābū. āmáwr, “āḡáwz əśśūt  
lā.”*

- 2 *məhrēt*: This word is not in *ML*, but must be related to *məháyr* ‘clever’ and *məhōrət* ‘cleverness, skill’ (< Arabic *mahārat*). It is equivalent in meaning to Jibbali *ḥilt* ‘trick’, used in line 3 of the Jibbali parallel version (J18:3). The form *məḥnēt* in Stroomer’s edition is an error. The manuscripts and audio clearly have *məhrēt*. Al-Aidarooos (1996: 44) includes the word *məhrēt* ‘job’, and gives the Ḥadrami Arabic equivalent *mihreh*.

### Translation of Text 65

- 1 Once Ba Newas was going, intending to go down to the town. And he left his family without food. He didn't have anything (with which) to buy supplies for his family.
- 2 Then when he reached a graveyard, he found people burying an old woman. He sat down thinking. He didn't know what kind of trick he might do.
- 3 And he didn't have anything, if he went down to the town. Then he thought up a wicked idea. He said, "I should, when the people leave, dig up the old woman who died."
- 4 He stayed until the people left. He dug up the old woman, and put her into his robe. And he took her and went, heading for the town.
- 5 And he went until he got close to the town. He left the old woman, covered her with his robe, and he went into the town.
- 6 Then he saw many people going into a rich man's house. Then he asked a man, he said, "Why are those people going into that house?"
- 7 The man, "The rich man's son is sick, and people are visiting him. And his parents are asking, 'If anyone knows anything, he should treat him.'" Ba Newas said, "I have an old mother, and she knows about every illness."
- 8 The man said, "Let's go, I'll show you the sick boy's father. The people are rich. They will give you whatever you want." Then they went until they got to the father of the sick boy.
- 9 The man who came with Ba Newas said, "This man has an old mother, and she knows about every illness." The rich man said, "Where is she?" Ba Newas said, "I left her behind those houses sleeping. If you want her, send two slaves to bring her."
- 10 Then he sent two slaves to bring her. The slaves went. When they came to the old woman, they roused her. Then she didn't wake up at all. They returned to the people. They said, "The old woman didn't wake up."

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3 *fēkār*: This word is not in *ML*, though its meaning is obvious both from the context and based on the common T2-Stem verb *ʾftkūr*. We can probably also compare Arabic *fikr* 'thought, idea'.

3 *l-ankēs*: On the verb *nākūs*, see the comment to text 37:13.

- 11 *āmūr bā nāwās, “ðak tkūn taġtūri k-agannáwnse, wə-hām taġtūri k-agannáwnse, tāsūs lā, ar wə-səbtūt bə-xətrāḳ ṭáwri trōh. wə-syērəm wə-səbētəm tīs ṭáwri trōh, wəlākan həððīr mən təwtēgəm ḥāmáy!”*
- 12 *āmáwr ḥāgərōn, “yéye.” wə-sīrōh ṭawr amšēgər. tē nākam hənīs, səbtáyys ṭáwri trōh. əttōli ftəḳḥōt fáḳḥi.*
- 13 *rəddōh ḥāgərōn ðə-γəbákyəm. āmūr bā nāwās, “hēsən gərōh? ād tākām látgəkəm ḥāmáy?” āmáwr, “āgáwz mətōt!” bəkōh bā nāwās, āmūr, “yā ḥāmáy, yā ḥāmáy!”*
- 14 *tōli āmūr tōgər, “ðōməh sī məkáddər. wə-nḥāh kəšyēya tīk bə-ḥāmēk. wəzyēma tīk ḥāgərōn ðə-látgəm tīs.” āmūr, “hōm lā. əl məšīkəš bə-ḥāmáy gərōn lā!”*
- 15 *ādhəm lə-wṭákəməh, ssədīd ḥābū hə-bā nāwās bə-səlātáyn əlf wə-ḥəmáwlət ðə-xáyməh rīkōb ḳawt. wə-səyūr təwōli aḏānəh bārəh tōgər. wə-təmmōt agəráymət ðə-bā nāwās.*

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- 11 *taġtūri*: It is likely that *taġtūri* (like *ðə-γəhámam* in 100:2, which also follows the auxiliary *γəkūn*) has an underlying prefixed *ð-*, which is suppressed because of the prefix *t-* (see § 7.1.10.1).
- 11 *agannáwnse*: *ML* (s.v. *gnn*) lists a plural *gənnáwni*. In the Arabic manuscript, Ali spelled this word with a final *-يس* (for both occurrences), suggesting an ending *-ise*. The Roman manuscript also has *-ise*. However, the audio clearly has *gənnáwnse*, with no *i*. Cf. also text 37:7.
- 12 *sīrōh*: The manuscripts have 3mp *səyáwr*, though the transcription *sīrō* was added later to the Roman manuscript. The audio has 3md *sīrōh*. Either form works here.
- 14 *məkáddər*: This is Arabic *mukáddar* ‘preordained, predestined decree’.

- 11 Ba Newas said, "It's just that she is conversing with her jinns, and if she is conversing with her jinns, she won't wake up unless she is hit with a stick two times. Go, hit her two times, but be careful you don't kill my mother!"
- 12 The slaves said, "Ok." And they went a second time. Then when they reached her, they hit her twice. Then she broke in half.
- 13 The slaves came back crying. Ba Newas said, "What happened? Have you perhaps killed my mother?" The slaves said, "The old woman died!" Ba Newas cried, and said, "Oh my mother, my mother!"
- 14 Then the rich man said, "This is something preordained. We will compensate you for your mother. We will give you the slaves who killed her." He said, "I don't want (that). I will not accept slaves as compensation (blood-payment) for my mother!"
- 15 While they were like this, the people got (them) to agree that he would get [lit. for him (was)] thirty thousand (dollars) and five camel-loads of food. And he went back to his family already a rich man. And (the story of) Ba Newas's crime is finished.

## Text 66 (no J): The Just Ruler

- 1 *xəṭərāt ḥōkəm bə-rḥəbēt. tɛ nəhōr ʔayt, āmūr h-aktəbthe, “ktəbəm həyni kəl śīyan əð-wīka b-arḥōyab ð-əḥəkəmsən.” əttōli ktawb ḥayūm w-āšáwr, w-awáşfəm bə-rḥəbēt ʔayt ðə-həm təgərēt ðəláwm ḥābū.*
- 2 *tōgər ðə-ksəwēt yəwūzəm ḥābū adǝrəʔ kōşər, wə-ttōgər ð-āyś yəwūzəm ḥābū mīzūn kōşər. tōli gátyəð ḥōkəm, wə-şāq awzáyrəh w-āmūr, “ḥəmōh əl-sīrōh arḥəbēt əl-fəlānīyya. hámak ðə-həm təgər ðə-bīs ðəláwm ḥābū, wə-ḥōm l-ēdeʔ şəṭq aw bēdi.”*
- 3 *āmūr awzūr, “yéye, wəlākan ḥəmōh əl-sīrōh bə-l-xəfē.” tōli sīrōh ḥōkəm w-awzáyrəh. tɛ nákam arḥəbēt, wəkəbōh hāl bāl aksəwēt. āmūr ḥōkəm, “āzəmi śātáyət ðərəʔ!”*
- 4 *wə-wəzməh śātáyət ðərəʔ, xass mən adǝrəʔ ðə-ḵənnáwn. əttōli sīrōh təwōli bāl āyś, w-āmūr, “āzəmi myēt kīlo ð-ayś!” wə-wəzməh wəḵōna ərbōt kīlo. tōli sayūr təwōli ēmūr ð-arḥəbēt, w-āmūr həh, “ğadéwwən, wə-şəṭ şūk āskēr!”*
- 5 *wə-səyáwr təwōli bāl aksəwēt. āmūr həh, “āzəmi śātáyət ðərəʔ. śātáyət adǝrəʔ ðə-fənōhən əl wáqam məndīl ðə-ḵənnáwn lā.” tōli wəzməh, wəlākan əl-hīs fənōhən.*
- 6 *əttōli āmūr h-āskēr, “śīnkəm?” amáwr, “śīnən.” amūr ḥōkəm, “aḵwīnəm adǝrəh, w-adǝrəʔ ðə-yəðōra bəh əl-ḥābū, wə-śnēm!”*
- 7 *tōli aḵwīnəm adǝrəh b-adǝrəʔ ð-aksəwēt. tōli amáwr, “adǝrəh aṭwāl mən adǝrəʔ ð-aksəwēt.” əttōli āmūr ḥōkəm, “āşəməm azōyəd ðə-zəyūd mən adǝrəʔ ð-aksəwēt!”*

1 *aktəbthe*: *ML (ktb)* lists the noun *kōtəb* ‘clerk’, but no plural form. Presumably, *aktəbthe* is from a plural *ktáwbət* (cf. *ḥōkəm* ‘ruler’, pl. *ḥkámwət*).

1 *ð-əḥəkəmsən*: On the audio, Ali stumbled and read the 1cs perfect *ḥkámk tīsən* ‘that I ruled’, though the manuscripts have the 1cs imperfect *əḥəkəmsən* ‘that I rule’. (The Roman manuscript actually has *əḥəkəmsən*.)

3 *bə-l-xəfēʔ*: This is Arabic *bi-l-xafāʔ* (or *fi l-xafāʔ*), with the Arabic definite article *l*.

4 *xass mən adǝrəʔ ðə-ḵənnáwn*: This phrase is difficult, in part because the manuscript and audio evidence is unclear. First, *xass* ‘less’ is missing from the audio, though it is in the manuscripts. Second, it is unclear if the phrase following *mən* is *adǝrəʔ* (sg.), *ðə-ḵənnáwn* (sg.), *adǝrəʔ* (pl.) *ðə-ḵənyáwn* (pl.), or some combination of singular and plural forms; the spellings in the Arabic manuscript suggest *adǝrəʔ* (pl.) and *ḵənnáwn* (sg.).

### Translation of Text 66

- 1 Once there was a ruler in a town. Then one day, he said to his clerks, "Write down for me everything that happens in the towns that I rule." So they wrote day and night, and they described one town where the merchants were unjust to the people.
- 2 A cloth merchant would give the people a short cubit, and the rice merchant would give the people a short measure. Then the ruler got angry, and he called his vizier and said, "Let's go to such-and-such town. I heard that the merchants who are in it are unjust to the people, and I want to know if it's the truth or a lie."
- 3 The vizier said, "Ok, but let's go in disguise." Then the ruler and his vizier went. When they got to the town, they went in to the cloth merchant. The ruler said, "Give me three cubits!"
- 4 And he gave him three cubits, minus a child-size cubit. Then they went to the rice merchant, and he said, "Give me a hundred kilos of rice!" And he gave him about four kilos (less). Then he went to the Emir of the town, and he said to him, "Come on, and bring soldiers with you!"
- 5 And they went to the cloth merchant. He said to him, "Give me three cubits. The three cubits from earlier did not even make [lit. become] a child's kerchief." Then he gave him, but as before.
- 6 Then he said to the soldiers, "Did you see?" They said, "We saw." The ruler said, "Measure his forearm, and the cubit that he measures with for the people, and see!"
- 7 Then they measured his forearm against the cubit for the cloth. Then they said, "His forearm is longer than the cubit for the cloth." Then the ruler said, "Cut off the surplus (of his arm) that is more than the cubit for the cloth!"

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Ali stumbled with both words on the audio. The precise meaning of the phrase is also unclear. Since the basic meaning of *ḏérā'* (Arabic *ḏirā'*) is 'forearm', the literal meaning is most likely '(three cubits) minus the (length of) a child's forearm', i.e., 'a little less than three cubits'. Or, if *xass* should be omitted, a more literal translation would be '(three cubits) from the forearm (size) of a child [i.e., a shorter cubit than normal]'.<sup>6</sup>

- 6 *yəḏōra*: This must be the imperfect of a verb *ḏūra*, related to the noun *ḏérā'* 'forearm; cubit', though it is not in *ML*. It is no doubt borrowed from Arabic *ḏara'a* 'measure'.



- 8 *w-āšáwm kāl əz-zəyūd mən háyədəh. wə-səyūr təwōli bāl āys. āmūr həh, “āzēmi myēt kīlo!” wə-wəzmáh wəḵōna rəbōt kīlo. āmūr, “əlyōməh myēt kīlo.” əttōli āmūr ḥōkəm h-āskēr, “aḵáfyəm wə-nkēm tī bə-kīlo mən aməḥkəmēt!” wə-səyáwr wə-nákam bə-kīlo.*
- 9 *w-āmūr, “ḵəlēm kīlo ḏə-ttōgər bərk keff tāt, wə-kīlo ḏ-aməḥkəmēt bərk keff tāt!” tōli ‘əmləm əwtákəməh, wə-kūsəm kīlo ḏə-ttōgər ḵəšáwr wəḵōna šhəlīt rəbōyə. āmáwr āskēr, “ḵəšáwr šhəlīt rəbōyə.”*
- 10 *āmūr ḥōkəm, “ḵəšāšəm mən abdēnəh wə-ḵəlēm mən təwyəh ḏār kīlo tə yāḵá’ əl-hīs kīlo ḏ-aməḥkəmēt.” wə-‘əmləm əwtákəməh. wə-mən ḏār xəṭərāt ḏákəməh, yəššəm təgər kāl, wə-l-ād əḥād ḏəlüm əḥād lā. wə-təmmōt.*

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8 *kāl əz-zəyūd*: The Arabic manuscript has *kāl zəyūd* (as usual, with no indication of *əz- < əḏ-*), while the Roman manuscript has *kall zəyūd*, with *zōyəd* written in the margin above *zəyūd*. The audio has *kāl əz-zōyəd*, though Ali stumbled on the reading. Stroomer has *kāl zōyəd ḏə-zəyūd*, using the phrase from the previous line. I suggest that the manuscripts (ignoring the marginal correction to the Roman manuscript) are correct. The noun *zōyəd* does not fit the context, since ‘all the surplus’ should be *azōyəd kāl*, not *kāl zōyəd* (see § 5.5.3).

8 *aməḥkəmēt*: The noun *məḥkəmēt* ‘court’ is absent from *ML*. It is clearly from Arabic *maḥkamat*.

9 *keff*: *ML* (s.v. *kff*) defines this word only as ‘palm of the hand’ (its common Semitic meaning), but it can also refer to a pan on a balance scale (as Arabic *kaffa* also can).

- 8 And they cut off from his hand all that was more. And he went to the rice merchant. He said to him, "Give me a hundred kilos!" And he gave him about four kilos (less). He said, "This is a hundred kilos." Then the ruler said to the soldiers, "Go back and bring me a kilo from the court!" And they went and brought a kilo.
- 9 And he said, "Put the merchant's kilo on one side (of a scale), and the court's kilo on one side!" Then they did so, and they found the merchant's kilo fell short, at about three-quarters. The soldiers said, "It fell short at three-quarters."
- 10 The ruler said, "Cut (pieces) from his body, and put from his flesh onto the kilo until it is like the court's kilo." And they did so. After that time, all the merchants were afraid, and no one was unjust to anyone again. And it is finished.

## Text 67 (no J): The Kind Ruler

- 1 *xəṭarāt hōkəm rəḥáym, wə-‘ayūs zəbōn təwáył. w-anýétəh bə-ḥəyétəh yəḥkēm ḥābū bə-ṭəyōb wə-mād. hē yəḥbūb ḥābū wiyən, wə-sōbər yəftkīrən hēsən yəqḏēr yāmōl ḥābū aréḥthəm.*
- 2 *te nəḥōr ṭayt šāk awzáyrəh wə-šxəbərəh. āmūr, “hēsən əḳáwdər l-āmōl ḥābū aréḥthəm?” awzáyrəh ḏə-wḳáwf. əttōli āmūr həh, “ənké əw-bōh! gətáyɾ, təšōš lā! ḥōm əl-gəreb hēsən ḥābū yəftkīrən b-aḥkámti.”*
- 3 *āmūr awzīr, “hēt ‘əmlək ḥābū mēkən rəḥt. wə-ḥābū āgzēt. hām kūšəm šī ḏə-yəḥtəwūg xədmēt, əl yəxádməm təh lā.” āmūr hōkəm, “hēsən amānēk hīs təḏmūm ḥābū?”*
- 4 *āmūr awzīr, “hām əl šəsədəkək tī lā, gədəwwən, wə-məḥišən tik!” tōli sīrōh. te bərk āmḳ əḏ-ḥōrəm, səyūr awzīr w-aḳálad bə-šāwər nōb te bərk āmḳ əḏ-ḥōrəm. āmūr hōkəm, “kō hēt wəṭákəməh?”*
- 5 *āmūr, “šné! əl əḥād ḥərfōna tīs lā.” āmūr hōkəm, “bōdək! hōh ḏə-gərabk ḥəyállə ṭəṭ ḏə-yənké’ bāwməh ḥərfōna tīs.” āmūr awzīr, “xáybən. hām hēt ḏə-šāsərk ḥābū, ḳələ’ nəxāli ašāwər ḏīməh hədəyyət! wə-kāl mənḥəm ḏə-ḥərfīs ksōna hədəyyət.”*
- 6 *tōli ḥftūk hōkəm gəyrorət, wə-bərkīs gáwhərət. wə-ḳaláys bərk dəḥlīl ḏ-ašāwər. wə-ktüb bərk wəḳāt, “kāl ḏə-ḥərūf ašāwər ḏīməh mən ḥōrəm, həh agáwhərət.”*
- 7 *tōli āmūr awzīr, “gədəwwən! wə-mən ḏār warx, ksiyē ašāwər ḏīməh b-amkōnəs.” sīrōh. te mən ḏār warx, kūšəm ašāwər b-amkōnəs. əttōli əxxšáwb əl-ḥābū.*

3 *mēkən rəḥt*: Since *mēkən* normally follows the noun that it modifies, it is possible that *mēkən* modifies *ḥābū*, in which case the translation would be ‘you have given many people happiness’. The fact that *ḥābū* is definite does not disqualify it from connection with *mēkən*; even though *mēkən* more often qualifies an indefinite noun, we find *ḥābū mēkən* in text 9:7. Johnstone’s own translation has ‘much happiness’, which appears to fit the context better.

3 *xədmēt*: The Arabic manuscript has *h-xədmēt*, but this is probably an error. Cf. line 9, where the Arabic manuscript has just *xədmēt*.

4 *aḳálad*: Johnstone transcribed this verb *aḳálad* in the Roman manuscript (and *aḳálad* in line 8), but *ML* (s.v. *ḳ’ld*), and hence Stroomer’s edition, have *aḳāləd*. The audio clearly has *a* in the final syllable (also in line 8), which derives from an underlying form *\*aḳál’əd* (root *ḳ’ld*), rather than *\*\*aḳá’ləd* (root *ḳ’ld*). The imperfect *yəḳəláwd* given in *ML* must derive

### Translation of Text 67

- 1 Once there was a kind ruler, and he lived a long time. His goal in his life was that he rule the people with goodness and intelligence. He loved the people very much, and he always was thinking what could make the people happy [lit. make the people their happiness].
- 2 Then one day he called his vizier and questioned him. He said, "What can I do to make the people happy?" His vizier was silent. Then he said to him, "Come here! Speak, don't be afraid! I want to know what the people think about my rule."
- 3 The vizier said, "You give [lit. make] the people much happiness. But the people are lazy. If they find something that needs work, they don't work at it." The ruler said, "What is your intention when you insult the people?"
- 4 The vizier said, "If you don't believe me, let's go, I'll show you!" Then they went. Then in the middle of the road, the vizier went and rolled a big rock into the middle of the road. The ruler said, "Why did you (do) this?"
- 5 He said, "Look! No one will move it." The ruler said, "You lie! I know that whoever comes here will move it." The vizier said, "Fine. If you love the people, leave a gift under this rock! And whichever of them moves it will find the gift."
- 6 Then the ruler took out a pouch, and in it was a jewel. And he put it into a hole in the rock. And he wrote on a piece of paper, "Whoever moves this rock from the road, the jewel is for him."
- 7 Then the vizier said, "Let's go! In a month, you'll find this rock (still) in its place." They went. Then after a month, they found the rock in its (same) place. Then he sent for the people.

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from \**yakəl'ūd*. Having the liquid *l* in second root position, rather than third, is typical for a quadriliteral verb (§ 6.6.1).

- 5 *ḥayálla*: On the audio, Ali stumbled and read *hām tāṭ* 'if someone' for *ḥayálla tāṭ* 'whoever'. In the Arabic manuscript, it looks like Ali originally wrote *ḥayálla*, crossed it out and wrote *hām*, and then crossed that out and wrote *ḥayálla* again. The Roman manuscript has *ḥayálla*, with *hām* added in the margin. This is the only attested example of the word *ḥayálla* in all the texts. For more on this word, see § 3.5.6.
- 6 *gáwharət*: For the first occurrence of this word in this line, Ali read the plural *gəwōhər* 'jewels', though the Arabic manuscript has *gáwharət*. For the second occurrence, he stumbled, first reading *gəwōhər*, but then correcting himself to *gáwharət*.

- 8 *te nákam təh, āmūr hīhəm, “wə-kōh al tāt mənķēm yəhávwrəf ašāwər đīməh mən amkōnəs? wəlākan hōh hərəfōna tīs, w-əlhān kəsk nəxāse hē đə-hōh.” w-aqálad b-ašāwər wə-hftūk aǵayrōrat đə-bərkīs aǵáwhərat. wə-śśənyīs tihəm.*
- 9 *tōli ǵəráwb kāl śīyən kálləh, wə-hām śīnəm śī đə-yəhtəwūǵ xədmēt, yəxádməm təh. wə-təmmōt.*

- 8 When they got to him, he said to them, “Why didn’t one of you move this rock from its place? Now I will move it, and whatever I find under it is mine.” And he rolled the rock and took out the pouch that the jewel was in. And he showed it to them.
- 9 Then they realized everything, and (now) if they see something that needs work, they work at it. And it is finished.

**Text 68 (= J19 [unpublished], but missing the last few lines; based on Müller 1907: 59–63 = Bittner 1917: 16–23): The Deceitful One and the Honest One**

- 1 *hēm trōh ḏa-yāsīrōh fáxra, tāt xōyən wə-tāt akābəh šōfi.*  
 2 *hīs bārham bə-ḥōram, kūsəm məšār ḏa-mūla dārēham. wə-səyáwr mən ḥalákəməh.*  
 3 *te wəšaləm bayr, āmūr tāt h-agāh, “kəfəd wə-gərəf līn bərk ḥənīd mōh!” kəfūd bərk abáy, wə-gərūf ḥənfáyham mōh bərk ḥənīd ḏékəməh.*  
 4 *agáyg əḏ-ḏār abáy dalōh ḥənīd b-aqáy, wə-sáll ḥənīd w-amšār ḏ-adārēham w-aqáy, wə-səyūr.*  
 5 *w-agáyg šəh šxawlūl bərk abáy, w-al ḥəmm yəšárba lā. kūsa ḥənáfəh məkōn, wə-kəfūd bərkīh.*  
 6 *wə-nūka kē’yōti trayt l-agərə tərḥāšən bərk abáy. wə-mən ḏār arḥáwš, āmərūt tayt mənšən, “ḥēsən ‘əmləš b-adənyē?” āmərūt, “wəkəbk bərk ḥəbrīt ḏə-səltān, wə-sē ta’yūtən.”*  
 7 *tōli āmərūt amšgərət, “ḥēsən yəkálaš mən ḥəbrīt ḏə-səltān?” āmərūt hīs, “tīfər ḏə-ḥáy. ḥām əḥād šəllīsən bərk məgəmrət wə-bərkīs šīwōt, wə-ḥəndəx naxāse, əfátk mənš.”*  
 8 *əttōli āmərūt amšgərət, “ḥēsən ‘əmləš b-adənyē?” āmərūt, “šay xīzōnət bə-ḥádd əl-fəlāni.”*  
 9 *w-āmərūt hīs, “ḥēsən yəfátḥs?” āmərūt hīs, “ḥām šḥatš ḏáyərəs bəqərət əfərūt, wə-ḥḥərəkš bə-gəd əḏ-káwb ḏār xīzōnət, təftkūk xīzōnət, wə-(t)šəlūlən mənš xəmsáy n rīkōb dārēham wə-xəmsáy n zənbōl.”*  
 10 *w-agīgən bərk abáy ḏə-yəttāman līsən. āmərūt tayt mənšən, “gəzōt ḥəyáwm, wə-sīrūtən.” wə-səyūr.*  
 11 *wə-rūfa l-aqáy, wə-ḥəgdōh akáy ḏə-mən sərīsən. wə-rūfa agáy l-aqáy, wə-səyūr mən ḥalákəməh. te wīšəl arḥəbət, kūsa ḥəbrīt ḏə-ḥōkəm ta’yūtən.*  
 12 *wə-sáll tḥərīt ḏə-ḥáy bərk amtəmnétəh. wə-nūka ḥāl ḥōkəm. w-āmūr ḥəh, “təgōrəb šī?” āmūr, “əgōrəb.” āmūr ḥəh, “məḥáfək tik ḥəbráyti, ḥām ḥəftákk mənš əfərīt ḏīməh.”*  
 13 *wə-wkūb līs w-āmūr, “ḥām agərōyəs wīka šətk, aḥē’yōt amšgərət, wəkōna agərōyəs šətk.”*

9 (t)šəlūlən: I take this as a 3fp passive imperfect. It could also be an active imperfect (2fp or 3fp), but it is not clear then who the subject would be in the context of the story. For the passive we expect *ō* in place of *ū*. Also, the *š* is pronounced geminate on the audio, from assimilation of the prefix *t*.

### Translation of Text 68

- 1 They were two traveling together, one deceitful and one whose heart was pure.
- 2 When they were on the road, they found a turban that was full of money. And they went from there.
- 3 Then when they reached a well, one said to his companion [or: brother], "Go down and get water for us in the water-skin!" He went down into the well, and he got water for themselves in that water-skin.
- 4 The man who was over the well pulled up the water-skin by the rope, and he took the water-skin, the turban of money, and the rope, and went off.
- 5 And his companion [lit. the man with him] sat in the well, and he wasn't able to climb up. He found a spot for himself, and he went down into it.
- 6 And two spirit-women came to bathe in the well. And after the bath, one of them said, "What have you done in this world?" She said, "I entered the sultan's daughter, and (now) she screams."
- 7 Then the other one said, "What will keep you from the Sultan's daughter?" She said to her, "The dung of a donkey. If someone left it in an incense-burner and (there was) fire in it, and he fumigated under her, I would leave her."
- 8 Then the other one said, "What have you done in this world?" She said, "I have a treasure-chest in such-and-such place."
- 9 And she said to her, "What will open it?" She said to her, "If you slaughter a red [or: brown] cow over it, and you burn the skin of a wolf over the treasure-chest, the treasure-chest will be unlocked, and fifty riding-camels in money and fifty baskets would be loaded from it."
- 10 And the boy was in the well listening to them. One of them said, "The sun has gone down, so we'll go." And they went.
- 11 And they climbed up the rope, but they forgot the rope behind them. And the man climbed up the rope, and he went away from there. Then when he got to the town, he found the daughter of the ruler screaming.
- 12 He carried dung of a donkey in his waistband. And he came to the ruler. He said to him, "Do you know anything?" He said, "I do know." He said to him, "I will marry you to my daughter, if you remove this demon from her."
- 13 And he went in to (see) her and said, "If her words are true, (then) the second spirit-woman, her words will be true."

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This is the only example in the texts (with audio) of a lost prefix *t*-preceded by the conjunction *wā*-.



- 14 *w-āmūr ḥāgarīt, “āzāmi maḡamrēt wə-bərkīs šīwōṭ.” wə-wzəmətəh ḥāgarīt maḡamrēt wə-šīwōṭ.*
- 15 *wə-ḵəfūl xəlōyəḡ, wə-fətt atfərit bərk amḡamrēt wə-šīwōṭ. wə-həndēx bə-ḥəbrīt ḏə-ḥōkəm.*
- 16 *wə-ḡtəryōt məns aḵēʿyōt. wə-hədxəlīs l-ād tənákas zōyəd te təmēt mən adənyē. wə-təmmōt.*

- 14 He said to the slave-girl, "Give me an incense-burner and (put) fire in it."  
And the slave-girl gave him an incense-burner and fire.
- 15 And he closed the windows, and crumbled the dung into the incense-burner and fire. And he fumigated the ruler's daughter.
- 16 And the spirit-woman spoke from (inside) her. And he made her swear to never come to her again until she passes [lit. dies] from this world. And it is finished.

## Text 6g (no J): The Ṣay‘ar Raid

- 1 *xəṭərāt kəbáylat yāmərəm hīs aṣāyər gəzīw, yəháyw təwōli anágd, šəfōr.  
wə-səyáwr, hēm wəḵōna myēti ṭrayt. tē kəfáwd bə-wōdi b-anágd, kūsəm  
rīgād, wə-zógdəm tīsən.*
- 2 *wə-səyáwr wōdi ṭayt. kūsəm həbēr, wə-šīsən ar gəyḡ ṭāt, w-əl šəh səlēb lā.  
āṭáwf bə-həbēr kāl, wə-səbīw aḡáyḡ šīhəm. w-aḡáyḡ məhráy.*
- 3 *tē āṣər xáylaf hātīm, wə-ḥābū kāl b-ašháyr. tē fakḥ ḏ-aášər ənšərxáwf, hīs  
ber ḥābū šəwkīf. wə-hē šəwkūf əm-món trōh. wə-ḏə-ffəḵáyw ləh bə-kámbəl,  
wə-ḏə-šəwkfōh kāl ṭāt ḏār sərōḵəs ṭāt.*
- 4 *wəlākan aḡáyḡ, hīs šəwkūf, ādūl abīrākhe. tē mḡōrən, hīs yəhōm yəbār,  
məḡāt wə-wīka hē yənšərxəf. wə-hərūk yəbīt mən həbérhe ḏə-yəḡərbəs,  
wə-bār.*
- 5 *tōli fəḵáwdəh wə-bəḡáwdəh, wəlākan l-ād əlhāḵəm təh lā. wə-bār aḡáyḡ.  
tē nəhōr xəwfūt, nūka ašháyr. kūsə aḡəyūḡ wə-həbēr. wə-gátmam wəḵōna  
šhəlīt mī. wə-gəzīw sār aṣāyər. tē āṣər ḏ-ərbáyṭ, láthəḵəm bə-ḥəlláy.  
w-aṣāyər bərhəm ḏə-šēnīs, bərhəm kəráyb l-aḵāham.*
- 6 *wə-həbrīk həbérihəm bərk wōdi wə-ḏə-hātīm. tē šəwkīf, həḡáwm əmhəréh,  
wə-həṭláyḡ līhəm šīwōṭ mən kāl əmkōn. w-əwtáwḡ mənhēm zōyəd əl-fáḵḥ,  
w-abōḵi ffəlīt.*
- 7 *w-ámma əmhəréh, əwtēḡ mənhēm aḡáyḡ ḏə-səbīwəh aṣāyər fənōhən, wə-  
ḏə-ffəlūt mənhēm. hē əl šəh məndáwḵ lā. šəh škáy, wə-hīs wəḵōt həḡmēt,  
həḡūm b-aškáyəh. wə-lūtəḡ məkən b-aškáyəh, wəlākan əwtēḡ.*
- 8 *wəlākan hē ḏə-ḥərkōt šəbdátəh fənōhən. fakḥ əḏ-həbēr əz-zəḡəd həbérhe.  
wə-ráddəm həbēr kāl w-arīkōb ḏ-aṣāyər, wə-ráddəm ḏə-šənšáyṭ. wə-l-ād  
ḡəzīw zōyəd lā aṣāyər təwōli əmhəréh.*
- 9 *wə-məḡōrən sáddəm, wə-mən ḏār xəṭərāt ḏəḵəməh l-ād ḡəzīw zōyəd lā.  
wə-təmmōt.*

1 *aṣāyər*: Although Ali wrote *aṣāyər* in the Arabic manuscript, he said *kəbáylat ḏə-fəlān* ‘such-and-such tribe’ on the audio. In line 5, he said *aḵəbáylat* ‘the tribe’ in place of *aṣāyər* (twice), while in line 7 he simply omitted *aṣāyər* on the audio. In line 8, he said *aḵáwm* ‘the raiding party’ instead of *aṣāyər* (twice). The Ṣay‘ar tribe (sometimes called the Saar in English) are from the Ḥadramawt region of Yemen.

2 *məhráy*: Although Ali wrote *məhráy* in the Arabic manuscript, he said *mən kəbáylat ḏə-fəlān* ‘from such-and-such tribe’ on the audio.

3 *ənšərxáwf*: In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the verb *sáthəb* ‘he crawled away’ in brackets after *ənšərxáwf* ‘he slipped away’, presumably just recording a near-synonym.

### Translation of Text 69

- 1 Once a tribe that is called the Şay'ar went raiding, heading for the Najd, Dhofar. And they went, about two hundred (men). Then when they came down to a valley in the Najd, they found some pregnant camels, and they stole them.
- 2 And they went down to a valley. They found some camels, and with them only one man, and he had no weapon. They seized all the camels, and they took the man prisoner with them. And the man was a Mehri.
- 3 Then the next night, they spent the night, and all the people were in the mountains. Then in the middle of the night, he slipped away, after the people went to sleep. He went to sleep between two (men). They had covered him with a blanket, and they had gone to sleep each on one side of it.
- 4 But the man, when he went to sleep, had raised his knees. Then later, when he wanted to leave, he stretched out and began to slip away. And he stole a camel from his own camels that he recognized, and he left.
- 5 Then they noticed him missing and chased him, but they didn't catch up to him. And the man traveled at night. Then the next day, he came to the mountains. He found the men and the camels. And about three hundred gathered. And they went raiding after the Şay'ar. On evening of the fourth day, they caught up with them at night. And the Şay'ar had been without fear, (since) they were already close to their country.
- 6 And they (the Mehris) made their camels kneel in a valley and settled in for the night. Then when they (the Şay'ar) were sleeping, the Mehris attacked, and they opened fire on them from every direction [lit. place]. And they killed more than half of them, and the rest fled.
- 7 As for the Mehris, the man who the Şay'ar had taken prisoner previously, and who had escaped from them, was killed. He had no rifle. He had a sword, and when the attack took place, he attacked with his sword. And he killed many with his sword, but he was killed.
- 8 He had been in a rage [lit. his liver had been burning] earlier. Half of the camels that were stolen were his camels. And they returned all the camels and riding-camels of the Şay'ar, and they came back having been victorious. And the Şay'ar never again raided the Mehris.
- 9 And then they reconciled, and after that time, they didn't go raiding again. And it is finished.

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8 *əz-zagēd*: The relative pronoun *ǧ*- is not indicated in the manuscripts, but there is a trace of it on the audio, as *əz-zagēd* or *z-zagēd*.

**Text 70 (no J): An Encounter Between Camel-Herders and Goat-Herders**

- 1 *xətərāt sēkən ðə-bə'ályi rawn kəfáwd bə-wōdi. wə-ħəwōdi ðákəmäh bis matwē, wəlākan bis bə'ályi bēr. wə-yəħákrəm līs mən əħād yəwbəd hərmáyt mən hāl tənákan həbēr.*
- 2 *te nəhōr tət, kūsəm gəyg bāl hāráwn ðə-yəlübəd hərōm. tōli átáwfw ləh bə-ħázhe. tōli āmūr hihəm, "átwið mən šitān! əl awágəbkəm lā tātāfəm lay bə-ħázyən! wə-hōh gəyg əl-hīs tīkəm. wəlākan hām əl tháyimi bāwməh lā, āmērəm háyni, wə-nħāh šəlyēla. wə-ħázyən 'ayšūtən bə-kāl məkōn."*
- 3 *tōli l-ād šəwrēm lā. wə-hēm yəbáyt, w-əgáyg bāl hāráwn əl əħād šəh lā. kəfūd mən ðār hərōm ðə-yələbdəh, w-āmūr, "hōh səyərək, wə-ħələm həzye!" āmáwr, "ábdan!"*
- 4 *tōli səyūr tāt bāl həbēr wə-yəráyd wōz, wə-yətəbrəs. yədkük ləh bāl hāráwn wə-yələbdəh bə-fátxi trōh. wə-nákam bə'ályi həbēr wə-ħəgáwm l-əgáyg. w-əntáwħəm, wəlākan kədáwr ləh lā.*
- 5 *wə-wbáwdəh bə-xəmmōh fətōwəx, wə-wbədihəm bə-xəmmōh fətōwəx. w-ādħəm lə-wtəkəmäh, ənkōt tétəh. wə-wbədūt tāt bə-fátxi trōh. tōli fásskəm. wəlākan bə'ályi həbēr šātəm ošər rawn bə-gásəb.*
- 6 *əttōli šálləm bə'ályi hāráwn, yəħáym əgáwfw. te wəsəlam ðār həwōdi mən əgáwfw, āmūr əgáyg h-tétəh, "hēt əkáy k-hāráwn, wə-hōh kəfdōna bərk həwōdi mən hāl nákan." āmərūt tēt, "tħōm hēsən?" āmūr, "həgdáyk hōgət, wə-ħōm l-ərdəd hīs." āmərūt, "yéye."*
- 7 *tōli səyūr əgáyg te wīsəl həwōdi. kūsə həbēr, wə-yəšōt yəbūt ðə-xəyōrsən kāl, wə-gəhēm te nūka hāl tétəh, wə-gəhēməm. te b-aámk ðə-ħōrəm, kūsəm gəyg ðə-yəsyūr, yəħōm h-ħəwōdi mən hāl nákam.*

- 2 *átwið*: Johnstone tells us that this is a first person singular form (*ML*, *JL*, and *HL*, s.v. 'wð'), and he translated it as 'I seek refuge'. If correct, then it would have to be a T2-Stem imperfect, minus the characteristic suffix *-ən*. If it were a T1-Stem subjunctive, we would expect *l-átiwəð*. I suggest that it must instead be a T2-Stem masculine plural imperative 'take refuge!', in which case the form is exactly as we would expect. This also explains why we find Jibbali equivalent *a'téd* in text J25:12, but *a'tōð* in *JL*; the former must be a plural imperative, and the latter a singular. It also makes more sense in this context that the attacker is warning his victims to seek refuge. The MSA T2-Stem has surely been borrowed from the Arabic tD-Stem *ta'awwada* 'take refuge'.

### Translation of Text 70

- 1 Once a community of goat-herders went down into a valley. And that valley had pasturage, but there were camel-herders in it. And they were refusing access to it so that no one could beat a tree (for fodder) where the camels roamed.
- 2 Then one day, they found a man, a goat-herder, beating a tree. Then they spooked his goats on him. Then he said to them, "Seek refuge from the devil! You shouldn't frighten our goats on me! I am a man just like you. So if you don't want me here, tell me, and we'll move. Our goats can survive anywhere [lit. in every place]."
- 3 But they still didn't back off. And they were seven, and the goat-herder had no one with him. He came down from the tree that he was beating, and he said, "I am off, so leave my goats!" They said, "Never!"
- 4 Then one camel-herder pelted a goat and broke its leg [lit. broke it]. The goat-herder pounced on him and hit him with two blows. And the camel-herders came and attacked the man. They fought, but they couldn't overpower him.
- 5 They hit him with five blows, and he hit them with five blows. And while they were like this, his wife came. And she hit one with two blows. Then they separated from each other. But the camel-herders took ten goats by force.
- 6 Then the goat-herders moved, headed uphill. Then when they got up above the valley, the man said to his wife, "You stay with the goats, and I will go down into the valley where we came from." She said, "What do you want?" He said, "I forgot something, and I want to go back for it." She said, "Ok."
- 7 Then he went until he got to the valley. He found some camels, and he took a camel that was the best of them all, and he went back until he got to his wife, and they went. Then in the middle of the way, they found a man traveling, headed to the valley that they had come from.

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2 *ayšūtān*: Ali spelled this word with ʿ in the Arabic manuscript, but the ʿ is not heard on the audio. See §2.1.3, rule #2.

5 *ǧāṣab*: This is Arabic *ǧasb* 'forcible seizure'. It is missing from *ML*, though several verb forms from the root *ǧsb* are listed.

- 8 *tōli mārḏāyh aǧāyg bāl ḥārāwn, āmūr, “aḳōfi wə-nké’ bə’āyli ḥəbēr; w-āmēr hīham, ‘ḥaybátkəm šīn, wə-hām tháymas, háxšəbəm līn bə-ḥázyan!” attōli xxəšáyb līham bə-ḥázihəm, wə-hēm xəšáyb līham bə-ḥaybáthəm. w-əḥtalīf; wə-wáḳam asdāḳā. wə-təmmōt.*

- 8 Then the goat-herder instructed him, he said, "Go off and get to the camel-herders, and say to them, 'Your camel is with us, and if you want it, send us our goats!'" Then they sent them their goats, and they sent them their camel. And they made a deal, and they became friends. And it is finished.



## Text 71 (no J): A Dialectal Misunderstanding

- 1 *xəṭarāt šxəwlək bərk dəkkōn, wə-ḵəráyb lay gəyγ məhráy. wə-hē mən aḵā' əl-gənuḅi, w-aḡəroḡən yəxtəlūf.*
- 2 *tōli nəkáyh xaṭṭ mən hāl hərbāthe, wə-hē əl yərtūki lā. tōli nūka te hənáy, āmūr háyni, "ā ġīgēn, wəlē təḵáyγ?" amānēh, "wəlē tərtūki xaṭṭ?" amárk, "ya-ḵōl, əḵáyγ." wə-hōh ḏə-ḡərabk amānēh.*
- 3 *wəlākan ḥōm əl-šḥōk ləh, wə-ḵəlábk xaṭṭ bərk amxəbáy. əttōli āmūr aḡáyγ, "ḏe wə-kōh əwtákəməh?" amárk həh, "hēt amárk háyni, 'wəlē təḵáyγ?'; wə-hōh amárk hūk, 'ya-ḵōl, hōh əḵáyγ.' šəroməh əl təḵtəlōb bəh lā! ḵəryōna təh."*
- 4 *āmūr, "hōh amárk hūk wəṭōməh lā." tōli hīs šīnək təh háttəm, amárk həh, "ma yəxāləf! mərtáyḵ hūk xátṭək." amūr, "hēsən mərtáyḵ?" amárk, "ḵəryōna hūk xátṭək." wə-šəḥākəm ḥābū ḏə-hənīn mən aḡáyγ. wə-təmmōt.*

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2 *təḵáyγ*: In Omani Mehri, the verb for 'read' is *rátḵi*. In the Yemeni Mehri dialect of the man in the story, the verb 'read' is *ḵəroḥ* (cf. Arabic *qaraʾa*); cf. Jahn (1902: 205). In Omani Mehri, *ḵəroḥ* means 'hide'. The root of Omani Mehri *rátḵi* (*rḵy*) is probably a metathesized version of the root *ḵr'/ḵry*.

4 *ma yəxāləf*: This is Arabic *ma yəxālif* 'it doesn't matter; it's all right'.

### Translation of Text 71

- 1 Once I was sitting in a shop, and near me was a Mehri man. He was from the southern area, and our language differs.
- 2 Then a letter came to him from his friends, but he couldn't read. Then he came up to me, he said to me, "Boy, can you read (*təḳáyr*)?" His intention was, "Can you read (*tərtūḳi*) a letter?" I said, "Sure, I can read [or: hide]." And I knew his intention.
- 3 But I wanted to make fun of him, and I put the letter into my pocket. Then the man said, "Well, why (did you do) that?" I said to him, "You said to me, 'Can you read?', and I said to you, 'Sure, I can read [or: hide].'" Now don't worry about it! I'll read [or: hide] it."
- 4 He said, "I didn't tell you [to do] like that." Then when I saw him become anxious, I said to him, "It's all right! I'll read (*mərtáyḳ*) you your letter." He said, "What is *mərtáyḳ*?" I said, "I'll read (*ḳəryōna*) you your letter." And the people that were by us laughed at the man. And it is finished.

## Text 71A (no J): A Children's Game

- 1 *wə-ámma anéhəg ð-abdūn, yəkáwn ərbōt aw yətīt bū. lēzəm yəkūn təmōm, wə-yəkáwn kāl trōh aw kāl sātáyť fáxrə. wə-kāl řāt yəslūl řáwri trayť řəlōřəř, wə-yəbdáwd kálhəm təwōli bəđūn řāt.*
- 2 *wə-kāl mənĥēm ðə-xəlūs mən abdūn, w-ařáwrəh wəřōť rēřəř mən ĥərbāthe, yərōka řáwri trōh əl-fēməh řayť mən abdūn řēk ĥə-řēk. řōməh awářř ð-anéhəg ð-abdūn. wə-təmmōť.*

- 
- 1 *bəđūn*: The exact meaning of *bəđūn* is not clear, but it must mean something like 'target, marker'. In this game, as clear from the story and from a drawing made by Johnstone in the Roman manuscript, there are two markers placed at some distance apart, not unlike the English game of horseshoes. *ML* takes *bəđūn* from the root *bdd*; cf. the verb *bədd* 'throw a stone', used later in line 1.
- 1 *təmōm*: This word is glossed in *ML* (s.v. *tmm*) as 'completeness; completely' (< Arabic *tamām*), but Johnstone added the gloss 'even' in the Roman manuscript.

**Translation of Text 71A**

- 1 And as for the game of the *bādūn*, there are four or six people. There must be an even number, and each two or each three are together (as a team). And each one takes two flat stones, and all of them throw towards one *bādūn*.
- 2 And whoever of them misses the *bādūn*, and whose stone is farthest away from (those of) his companions, he hops on one foot from this *bādūn* to that one. This is the description of the game of the *bādūn*. And it is finished.

## Text 72 (no J): Collecting Money

- 1 *xəṭarāt trōh ḏə-yasīrōh bə-ḥōrəm. te wəʃəlōh b-aámkḥ ḏə-ḥōrəm, āmūr*  
*ṭāṭ mənḥēm, “nəḥōm nəxdēm bēdi.” āmūr ṭāt, “hēsən mən bēdi?” āmūr,*  
*“nəḥōm yāká’ ṭāṭ mənkáy hārūs, wə-nšáǵbər ḥābū.”*
- 2 *sīrōh te wátʃfəm sēkən. hātīm. tōli šxəbīrhəm, āmáwr, “əl-ḥō tsyawr?”*  
*āmārōh, “hārōsən, wə-xásrən mēkən. wə-nəšǵəbūr ḏār ḥābū.”*
- 3 *tōli həǵbīr lihəm. əḏ wəzūm ʔarš, wə-ḏ wəzūm ʔarši trōh. wə-háy lə-*  
*wṭákəməh te ḥásələm wəḵōna xəmsáyn ʔarš. sīrōh te bārhi bə-kā’ ṭāṭ. āmūr*  
*ṭāṭ, “šərōməh nəḥōm nəháxləf mən hārsūt.*
- 4 *wə-šərōməh hēt tāká’ ḏə-wbádk ṭāṭ əl-fēm wə-ḏə-nḵáyš. hōh, ber təmm*  
*adáwri. ber wáʔak hōh ḏə-hārásk fənōhən. šərōməh hēt tāká’ ət-təʔáyš.”*  
*āmūr, “yéye.”*
- 5 *sīrōh te watʃfōh sēkən. āmáwr hūhəm, “əl-ḥō təǵhēm?” āmārōh, “ḏə-nḵáyš.*  
*aǵīgēn ḏeh ḏə-wbūd ṭāṭ əl-fēm. wə-šərōməh ḏə-nḵáyš, wə-ḏə-nəšǵəbūr ḏār*  
*ḥābū.” wəzáwmhəm, wə-ǵəhmōh atté wəʃəlōh hāl ḥaskənihəm.*
- 6 *wə-šxəwlil wəḵōna faḵḥ ḏə-wárx. ámma ḏək ḏ-āmūr “hārásk”, hārūs.*  
*w-ámma ḏək ḏ-āmūr “əwbádk ṭāṭ əl-fēm”, əwbūd ṭāṭ.*
- 7 *wə-wīʔa lihəm əlhān əmtányəm təh. wə-kāl sýən mən təʔdáyr ḏ-arḥəmōn.*  
*w-āmūr ḥāwəláy, “əmtōni ḥənáfik bə-xáy, w-əl təmtōni ḥənáfik šarr lā.”*  
*wə-təmmōt.*

- 
- 1 *mənkáy*: The manuscripts have *mənkáy*, with the 1cd pronominal suffix, but the audio has *mənīn*, with the 1cp suffix.
- 5 *aǵīgēn*: The manuscripts have *aǵīgēn* ‘the boy’, but the audio has *aǵáyǵ* ‘the man’.
- 7 *šarr*: On the audio, Ali clearly read Arabic *šarr*, and not the Mehrized borrowing *šarr* (*ML*, s.v. *šrr*).

**Translation of Text 72**

- 1 Once two (men) were traveling on the road. When they were in the middle of the journey [lit. the road], one of them said, "We should play a con [lit. work a lie]." (The other) one said, "What kind of con?" He said, "Let's have it be that one of us got married, and we'll collect funds from the people."
- 2 They went until they came to a settlement. Then they asked them, they said, "Where are you going to?" They said, "We got married, and we spent a lot (as a bride-price). So we are collecting funds from people."
- 3 Then they gave them assistance. Either (a person) gave a dollar or he gave two dollars. And they (did) thus until they earned about fifty dollars. They went until they were in a certain place. One said, "Now let's move away from the marriage."
- 4 Now you should (pretend to) be one who has shot someone in the leg [or: foot], and we are paying compensation. Me, my turn is over. I was already the one who got married before. Now you be the one who is paying compensation." He said, "Ok."
- 5 They went until they got to a settlement. They said to them, "Where are you going to?" They said, "We are paying compensation. This guy shot someone in the leg. Now we have to pay compensation, and we are collecting funds from people." They gave to them, and they went back to their settlements.
- 6 And they stayed about a half a month. As for the one who said "I got married", he got married. And as for the one who said "I shot someone in the leg", he shot someone.
- 7 And all that they wished for happened. Everything is by the decree of God. And the ancient one said, "Wish yourself well, and don't wish for yourself evil." And it is finished.

## Text 73 (= J21, with slight variations): Four Hungry Men and a Date

- 1 *xəṭərātərbōt gəyūg ðə-yəsyáwr xəṭáwr, wəlākan əl šay hātəm lā yəháyym əl-ħō. wəlākan həláthəm səyáwr rēhək.*
- 2 *tōli šəḳšáyır azəwōd, wə-bér hīhəm āšəri trōh mən gəyr kəwt. wə-bárhəm tābəm, wəlākan gəyūg məšhōr mən šābər wə-šəgē‘ət wə-‘ázzət ən-náfs. tē kaláyni kəfáwd bə-wōdi. kūsəm gəyg, w-agáyg ðékəməh šəh kəwt.*
- 3 *wəlākan hīs šini aǵəyūg həḳbīl ləh, kərəh aḳáth. yəhōm yəxbər aǵəyūg mōn mən hēm ðə-yətéh wə-yəklé‘ hərbáthe.*
- 4 *hātīm hənīh, w-āmūr hīhəm, “hōh gəyg ð-əl əfyádkəm mən sí lā. əl šay kəwt lā.” əmáwr aǵəyūg, “ənhāh ar bīn ašābər ādəh.” wə-hātīm.*
- 5 *tē bə-ħalláy, bərhəm šəwkif, ‘ásš aǵáyg ðə-wátxfəm təh aǵəyūg, wə-ħftūk ‘áyənət tōmər. wə-səyūr tē əlhāf əl-ṭāṭ mən aǵəyūg, wə-wǵəzēh bə-tōmər. w-āmūr həh, “hōh əl šay ar ðōməh, wə-ħáməh hūk. wə-téh wə-ḳələ‘ ašáyh!”*
- 6 *šməddáh aǵáyg mən hənáh, wə-wǵāz bəh aǵáyg ðə-l-adafētəh. əmūr, “hōh bər šábak, w-ādi həbḳáyk ðōməh. ħáməh hūk. tēh wə-ḳələ‘ ašáyh!”*
- 7 *šməddáh mən hənáh, wə-wǵāz bəh aǵáyg ðə-l-adafētəh. əmūr həh, “hōh bər šábak, w-ādi həbḳáyk ðōməh. ħáməh hūk. tēh wə-ḳələ‘ ašáyh!”*
- 8 *šməddáh mən hənáh, wə-wǵāz bəh arōbə‘. w-āmūr həh əl-hīs aǵáwhə.*
- 9 *əttōli šməddáh mən hənáh, wə-‘ásš. əyməl hənáfəh yəhōm yəḏhōl, wə-səyūr tē ləzz l-aǵáyg həwəláy. wə-wəzmáh tōmər. əmūr həh, “hōh bər šábak, wə-ḳálak hūk ðōməh.”*
- 10 *əttōli šməddáh mən hənáh, wə-rədōh bəh l-aṭáwl ðə-ħáydəh. w-aǵəyūg kāl ṭāṭ yəhōm yəxbər əmšəǵər, wəlākan mánam mən ṭāṭidáyhəm.*
- 11 *əttōli ‘ásš aǵáyg əḏ-hātīm hənáh aǵəyūg, wə-ħftūk lihəm ‘ayšə mēkən. wə-hāššīhəm, əmūr, “āsēsəm, ātésyəm!” əmáwr aǵəyūg, “tšhōl ar gəzē! ṭhōm txəbərən hīs šinək tīn ðə-gáyan.”*

2 *šəgē‘ət wə-‘ázzət ən-náfs:* These are Arabic *šagā‘at* and *‘izzat an-nafs*.

6 *mən hənáh:* The manuscripts have *mən hənáh*, but on the audio Ali read *mən háydəh* ‘from his hand’.

11 *gəzē:* On this word, see the comment to text 20:63. The phrase *tšhōl gəzē* is found also in 22:101. The parallel Jibbali version has *xázé*, an otherwise unattested noun that (based on other forms of the root) must mean something like ‘shame’. Curiously, the Arabic manuscript of the Mehri version has *خز*, which is either a mistake for *جز* (which is how Ali spelled the word *gəzē* in 22:101), or represents a word cognate with Jibbali *xázé*. The audio clearly has *gəzē*, as does the Roman manuscript. It is also

### Translation of Text 73

- 1 Once there were four men going, traveling, but I am not sure where they were headed. But it was said of them that they traveled far.
- 2 Then they ran short of supplies. And they were already without food for two nights. They were weary, but (they were) men famous for patience [or: endurance], bravery, and strength of spirit. Then in the evening, they went down into a valley. They found a man, and the man had food.
- 3 But when he saw the men approaching him, he hid his food. He wanted to test the men, (to see) which [lit. who] of them would eat and let down his companions.
- 4 They spent the evening with him, and he said to them, "I am a man who is of no use to you for anything. I have no food." The men said, "We have patience still." And they spent the evening.
- 5 Then at night, when they had fallen asleep, the man that the men had come to got up and took out a little bit of date. He went and [lit. until] he pressed up against one of the men, and he slipped him the date. And he said to him, "I have only this. I want it (to be) for you. Eat and keep quiet [lit. leave (your) voice]!"
- 6 He took it from him and slipped it to the man next to him. He said, "I am already full, and I have this leftover still. I want it (to be) for you. Eat and keep quiet!"
- 7 He took it from him and slipped it to the man next to him. He said to him, "I am already full, and I have this leftover still. I want it (to be) for you. Eat and keep quiet!"
- 8 He took it from him and slipped it to the fourth (man). And he said to him what [lit. as] his brothers (had said).
- 9 Then he took it from him, and he got up. He pretended that he was going to urinate, and he pressed up to the first man. And he slipped him the date. He said to him, "I am already full, and I've left this for you."
- 10 Then he took it from him, and he threw it as far as he could [lit. the length of his arm]. And the men, each one wanted to test the other, and so they withheld from one another.
- 11 Then the man who the men had spent the night with got up, and he took out a lot of food for them. He woke them up, he said, "Wake up, have dinner!" The men said, "You surely deserve payback! You wanted to test us, when you saw we were hungry."

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possible that *xázé* in the Jibbali version was a mistake for *gázé* (both in the manuscripts and on the audio).



- 12 *āmūr*; “*smēḥəm lay! kāl ṭāt yāgōb yəḡrēb agīd mən aḳōməḥ. wəlākan atēm, əl əḥād yəḳáwdər líkəm lā.*” *wə-təmmōt.*
- 13 *nəḥāh hənīn amsáyrət gódat. əl əḥād yətáyw axáyr mən arībēh lā ábdan. tē wə-lū bārəh mōyət mən agəwé’, yəḣáwbər əl-hīs arībēh. wə-təmmōt.*

- 12 He said, "Forgive me! Everyone wants to know the good from the bad. But you, no one can beat you." And it is finished.
- 13 Among us, the journey is fair [lit. good]. No one ever eats more than his companion. Even if he is dying of hunger, he is patient like his companion. And it is finished.

## Text 74 (no J): A Desert Island Kingdom

- 1 *xəṭarāt gayg wə-ttétəh wə-ḥəbənihəm, gūgēni trōh, sáfrəm mən aḳāhəm, yəḥáyim hə-kā' tāt. wə-ssáfrəm. tē bərhəm bə-gəbbēt, tībər amərkēb, wə-gərkəm ḥābū ḏə-bərkīh, gəyr aḡáyg w-aḏānəh.*
- 2 *wəlākan kāl tāt wīka ḏār lawḥ, wə-táffəm bīhəm. ámma aḡáyg, gūdəh bə-gəzáyrət. w-ámma ttēt, gədhōt bə-rəḥbēt. wə-ḥəmbəráwtən kāl tāt gūdəh bə-rəḥbēt. w-aḡáyg dáyyən, wə-ttétəh ka-ḏālik. wə-bér dáxləm, his ádhəm fáxrə, əl əḥād mənḥəm yəbáyd.*
- 3 *ámma aḡáyg ḏə-gūdəh bə-gzáyrət, šxəwlūl wəḳōna áysər yūm b-agzáyrət ḏákəməh. w-agzáyrət əl bis əḥād lā, wə-mət gūya, yatáyw mən amāray. tē āšər tāt, ənkáyh mələk.*
- 4 *āmūr həh, “aḳōfi bə-ḥádd əl-fəlāni, wə-sənyōna šāwər āfərūt. wə-ḥfər ənxāse ḏérə', wə-ksōna xəznēt. wə-hēt wəḳōna mələk b-agzáyrət ḏīməh. w-ənkīyē tik bū mələyīn, wə-hēt wəḳōna amələkhəm. wəlākan ḥəḏḏōr mən təḏlēm ḥābū.*
- 5 *wə-gēhəməh nəkiyē tik ərbōt mərəáwkəb. məhərsūtən bāwməh, wə-bərkīhəm bəšāt. wə-štōm amərəáwkəb w-əlhān bərkīhəm. wə-ḥābū məšāsərūtən tik, wə-ṭəláyta būk ašəfōt b-arḥōyəb kāl. wə-ḥābū ənkīyē tik mən arḥōyəb kāl, wə-skyēna bāwməh.”*
- 6 *āmūr, “yéye.” tē gēhəməh səyūr wə-sīni ašāwər āfərūt. wə-ḥfūr ənxāse, wə-kūsa ḏəḥēb wə-fəššāt wə-gəwēhər. tē nəḥōrən ḥəḳbīl ləh ərbōt mərəáwkəb tē hərsīw. əttōli kəfáwd ḥābū, wə-gəbrīhəm aḡáyg wə-sītəm amərəáwkəb w-əlhān bərkīhəm.*

2 *dáyyən*: This word, borrowed from Arabic *dayyin* ‘religious’, is missing from *ML*.

2 *ka-ḏālik*: This is an Arabism (< Arabic *ka-ḏālika* ‘also’). Another word meaning ‘also’ is *táwrən* (*ML*, s.v. *ṭwr*), which is also an Arabism (< Arabic *ṭawran*).

2 *dáxləm*: The transcription *dáxləm* is uncertain. The Roman manuscripts have *dáx<sup>x</sup>aləm*, while the audio has *dáx(x)ələm* (it is not certain that the *x* is geminate), or perhaps *dáx(x)ələm*. The (mistaken) intention was probably *dáxləm*, with the verb conjugated as a strong Gb-Stem, rather than as a II-Guttural verb, since II-Guttural verbs pattern with the Gb-Stem in many ways (see § 7.2.5). The Arabic manuscript has *دخل*, with no indication of the intended vowels. Ali’s spelling could reflect *dəxāləm* (as

### Translation of Text 74

- 1 Once a man, his wife, and their sons, two boys, traveled from their country, heading for a certain country. And they traveled. Then when they were in deep waters, the ship broke apart, and the people who were in it drowned, except the man and his family.
- 2 But each one was on a (separate) board, and they kept them afloat. As for the man, he washed up on an island. As for the woman, she washed up at a town. And the boys, each one washed up at a (different) town. And the man was religious, and his wife too. And they had promised, when they were still together, that neither of them would lie.
- 3 As for the man who washed up on an island, he remained about ten days on that island. And the island had no one on it, and when he got hungry, he ate from the vegetation. Then one evening, an angel came to him.
- 4 He said to him, "Go to such-and-such a place, and you'll see a red rock. Dig a cubit under it, and you'll find a treasure. And you'll become king on this island. Millions of people will come to you, and you'll be their king. But be careful not to be unjust to the people.
- 5 And tomorrow four ships will come to you. They'll anchor here, and in them are goods. Buy the ships and all that is in them. The people will love you, and the news about you will go around in all the towns. People will come to you from all the towns, and they will settle here."
- 6 He said, "Ok." Then the next day he went and saw the red rock. And he dug under it, and he found gold, silver, and jewels. Then at noon, four ships approached him and [lit. until] they anchored. Then the people got off, and he met them and bought the ships and all that was in them.

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Stroemer wrote), the expected (correct) 3mp perfect of the well-attested G-Stem *daxāl*. However, Ali normally spelled forms like this with an *alif* indicating the long *ā*; cf. *شخافم* for *šxāfām* (13:10 and 35:6), *ضحاكم* for *šahākām* (71:4), and *شخانم* for *šhānām* (74:24). We also find *دخال* for 3ms *daxāl* in 99:31. While there is good evidence that the spelling *دخلم* would not have been used to represent *daxālām*, it is equally possible that this atypical spelling (and Ali's spellings often varied) is what caused Ali to misread it on the audio.

- 5 *bəšāt*: This word, borrowed from Arabic *biḍā'at*- 'goods', is missing from *ML*.

- 7 *āmáwr häh hābū, “hēsən hēt mən ġayg?” āmūr, “hōh hōkəm ð-agzáyrət ðīməh. wə-kāl ðə-yəhōm xədmēt wə-məskēn, yənké!” tōli šəšftw hābū mən xəbēr ðōməh, wə-nákam hābū tē bārham malēyīn. wə-wīḡa malēk ð-agzáyrət ðákəməh.*
- 8 *w-amma həmbəráwtən, kāl tāt kənīwəh bū, w-ātəlīm. tē bārham šyēx, hámam bə-hōkəm ð-agzáyrət, wə-hámam bə-xədmēt b-agzáyrət. wə-kāl tāt sōfər mən hāl hābū əð-kənīwəh tē nákam agzáyrət ðə-bis háybhəm.*
- 9 *wə-nákam hāl hōkəm, wə-hēm əl ġátərbəm lā. āmáwr, “nəhōm xədmēt.” āmūr, “yéye.” kāl tāt kəláyh mēsül əs-sī. əmma tāt, mēsül ðə-xəznēt. w-amma tāt, kōtab hənáh. wə-šxəwlīl, w-əl ġátərbəm lā.*
- 10 *w-amma əttēt, hāmēhəm ðə-gədhōt b-arhəbēt əmšġərēt, wəkōt hāl ġayg, wə-dxəlōh əl bīhəm yəxyūn b-əmsġəgər. wə-mən hāl aġáyġ əssōfər, tssáfrən šəh. w-aġáyġ tōgər.*
- 11 *tōli hūma bə-hōkəm ð-agzáyrət yəstōm kāl šīyən. āmūr h-tēt, “nəhōm nəssōfər h-agzáyrət. hámak bə-hōkəm yədīn, w-āmáwr yəstōm kāl šīyən.” āmarūt, “yéye.”*
- 12 *sáfrəm tē nákam b-agzáyrət. əmma tēt, šxəwəllūt bərk aláng, w-aġáyġ kəfūd wə-wkūb əl-hōkəm. wə-šītəm əlhān šəh. əttōli aġáyġ tōgər āmūr, “hōm əl-ssōfər.” āmūr hōkəm, “ábdan! yəllīləh ə-šēk hənīn.”*
- 13 *āmūr, “hōh šay tēt, aribēti, ð-əl əxyūn bis lā. w-əl əhmūm l-əklēs wəšīs lā yəllīləh.” āmūr hōkəm, “hōh šay əmbəráwtən əmēnyayn, wə-məháxšəb tīhəm yəhētəməm hənīs bərk aláng tē k-sōbəhī. āmūr tōgər, “his-táw!” əttōli hōkəm xəšəwb həmbəráwtən yəhētəməm hāl tēt, wə-ttōgər hātūm hāl hōkəm.*
- 14 *tē bə-həlláy həmbəráwtən əl ənkáthəm šənēt lā. wə-šáff kāl tāt mən hēm fiṭən aášər ðə-ġárkəm. wə-ġəráwb aġəbbēt, wəlākan həmbəráwtən əl ġátərbəm lā. wə-hātīm ðə-həzīn. tōli āmūr tāt mən hēm, “əl ənkátən šənēt lā, wə-nəhōm nəktīlət.”*

7 *məskēn*: This word, almost certainly from Arabic *maskan* ‘dwelling, residence’, is missing from *ML*.

8 *šyēx*: See the comment to text 18:10.

9 *hənáh*: The Arabic manuscript and audio have *hənáh* ‘with him’, but the Roman manuscript has *hənáy* ‘with me’ (correctly *hənáy*).

12 *hənīn*: The audio has *hənīn* ‘with us’, but the Roman manuscript has *hənáy* ‘with me’ (correctly *hənáy*). The Arabic manuscript probably also has *hənīn*, though in Ali’s handwriting *hənīn* and *hənáy* can look identical.

- 7 The people said to him, "What kind of man are you?" He said, "I am the ruler of this island. And whoever wants work and a dwelling-place, let him come!" Then the people heard about this news, and people came until they were millions. And he became king on that island.
- 8 And as for the boys, people raised each one, and they got an education. When they were big, they heard about the ruler of the island, and they heard about the work on the island. And each one traveled from the people that raised him until they came to the island that their father was on.
- 9 And they came to the ruler, and they didn't recognize one other. They said, "We want work." He said, "Ok." Each one, he made him responsible for something. One was responsible for the treasury, and one was a clerk with him. And they remained, but they didn't recognize one other.
- 10 And as for the woman, their mother who washed up at the other town, she became the wife of a man, and they promised that neither of them would betray the other. And wherever the man traveled, she traveled with him. And the man was a merchant.
- 11 Then he heard about the ruler of the island who would buy everything. He said to the woman, "Let's travel to the island. I heard about a new ruler, and they said he buys everything." She said, "Ok."
- 12 They traveled until they got to the island. The woman, she stayed on the boat, but the man went down and went to the ruler. And he bought all that he had. Then the merchant man said, "I want to go." The ruler said, "No! Tonight your dinner is with me."
- 13 He said, "I have a wife, my companion, whom I will not betray. And I cannot leave her by herself tonight." The ruler said, "I have two trustworthy boys, and I'll send them to spend the night with her on the boat until morning." The merchant said, "Ok!" Then the ruler sent the boys to spend the night with the woman, and the merchant spent the night with the ruler.
- 14 Then at night, sleep wouldn't come to the boys. It turned out each of them remembered the night that they (almost) drowned. And they knew the (place in the) deep waters, but the boys didn't know each other. And they spent the evening sad. Then one of them said, "Sleep hasn't come to us, so let's chat with one another."

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13 *amēnyáyn*: This must be a colloquial Arabic dual adjective *ʿamīnáyyn*. The word is missing from *ML*.

- 15 *āmūr aḳənnáwn, “hēt kəlēt fənōhən!” wə-ḥāmēham tattáman lihəm. əttōli kəlūt sōx, āmūr, “xəṭərāt hōh wə-ḥábye w-agāy aḳənnáwn sáfrən mən rəḥbēt, nəḥōm hə-rəḥbēt ʔayt. wə-hīs bəran b-agəbbēt ḏīməh, ʔībər bīn amərəkēb, wə-gərkəm ḥábye w-agāy wə-ḥābū kāl. wə-báyḳək hōh ḏār lawḥ, wə-ʔəff bay te gədhək bə-rəḥbēt ʔayt. wə-kásk gəyḡ, wə-ḳənyáy wə-həwkəbáy amdərsēt.”*
- 16 *əttōli aḡāh, hīs hūma aḡərōyəh, gərbīh. w-amōsi bəh w-āmūr, “hōh aḡāk!” wə-bəkw te k-sōbəh mən fərḥāt. wə-ḥāmēhi tattáman láhi, wəlākan šəbərūt.*
- 17 *te k-sōbəh, hīs bīšər abšār, ʔəfdōh ḥəmbəráwtən, w-agáyḡ tōgər rūfa. tōli āmərūt tēt h-tōgər, “hēt xəyánk bay, wə-ḳálak hənáy əmbəráwtən. wə-yəllōh əl ʔálam tī əl-šáḳf lā.” āmūr, “ḥībōh əl ʔálam tīš ʔšáḳfi lā? həgáwm layš?”*
- 18 *āmərūt, “lā, wəlākan ḥōm əl-šánḥər bīhəm.” āmūr aḡáyḡ, “kəlēti lay!” āmərūt, “ábdan, wəlākan hēt (t)tōma l-agərōyi wə-l-aḡərōyḥəm.”*
- 19 *tōli ʔəfdōh təwōli ḥōkəm. te ənkōh, āmūr ḥōkəm, “kō tēm ʔəfədkəm?” āmūr aḡáyḡ, “əttēt ḏīməh tḥōm ʔšánḥər bə-ḥəmbəráwtən ḏə-yəllōh hātīm hənīs.”*
- 20 *āmūr ḥōkəm, “ḥībōh ‘əmləm?” āmərūt tēt, “hām hēt ḥōkəm tḥáwkəm bə-ḥáḳḳ, šōḳ ḥəmbəráwtən wə-šáxbərḥəm əlhān gátəryəm yəllōh.” āmūr, “his-táw. wəlākan hōh aḡōrəb ḥəmbəráwtən yəbádyəm lā.” tōli šəḳáyḥəm.*
- 21 *āmūr ḥōkəm, “hēsən ‘əmləkəm yəllōh bə-ttēt ḏīməh?” āmərōh, “əl ‘əmlən šī lā.” āmərūt tēt, “šáxbərḥəm əlhān gátəryəm yəllōh.” āmūr, “hēsən gátərikəm yəllōh?” āmərōh, “əl ənkátki šənēt lā, wə-kátwəṭki.”*
- 22 *āmūr ḥōkəm, “bə-hēsən kátwəṭki?” āmərōh, “əkáy gəyḡ, wə-gátərbki yəllōh.” āmūr ḥōkəm, “wə-kōh gəyḡ? kəlētəm lay b-aḳəssátki!” əttōli kəlūt sōx bə-kəwtēt kálləs.*
- 23 *ədəh əl təmūm lā, gərbīh ḥáybəh, ḥōkəm, wə-bəkōh. w-āmūr, “ətáy ḥəbánye!” āmərūt tēt, “əlyōməh ḥəbánye, wə-hēt aḡáyḡi!”*
- 24 *əttōli kāl ʔāt kəlūt b-aḳəssátəh, wə-gátərbəm. wə-šḥānəm h-agáyḡ ḏə-nūka bə-ttēt alángəh ḏəḥēb wə-fəššāt. wə-šxəwlil fáxrə te mōtəm, wə-hēm bərk raḥt. wə-təmmōt.*

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15 *hōh wə-ḥábye*: On the audio, Ali read *hōh wə-ḥáybi* ‘me and my father’. The manuscripts have *hōh wə-ḥábye* ‘me and my parents’.

- 15 The younger [lit. small] one said, "You tell (a story) first!" And their mother was listening to them. Then the older [lit. big] one told, he said, "Once me and my parents and my little brother traveled from a town, heading for a certain town. And when we were in this deep water, the ship broke apart on us, and my parents and my brother and all the people drowned. But I stayed on a board, and it kept me afloat until I washed up at a certain town. And I found a man, and he raised me and put me in school."
- 16 Then his brother, when he heard his words, recognized him. And he kissed him and said, "I am your brother!" And they cried until morning out of happiness. And their mother was listening to them, but she waited.
- 17 Then in the morning, when the dawn broke, the boys got off (the ship), and the merchant man climbed on. Then the woman said to the merchant, "You betrayed me, and you left boys with me. Last night they didn't let me sleep." He said, "How did they not let you sleep? Did they attack you?"
- 18 She said, "No, but I want to lodge a complaint against them." The man said, "Tell me!" She said, "No, but listen to my words and to their words."
- 19 Then they went down to the ruler. When they came, the ruler said, "Why did you come down?" The man said, "This woman wants to lodge a complaint against the boys that spent the night with her last night."
- 20 The ruler said, "What did they do?" The woman said, "If you are a ruler who rules justly, call the boys and ask them what they talked about last night." He said, "Ok. But I know that the boys don't lie." Then he called them.
- 21 The ruler said, "What did you do to this woman last night?" They said, "We didn't do anything." The woman said, "Ask them what they talked about last night." He said, "What did you talk about last night?" They said, "Sleep wouldn't come to us, and so we chatted with one another."
- 22 The ruler said, "What did you two chat about?" They said, "We are brothers, and we recognized each other last night." He said, "Why brothers? Tell me your story!" Then the older one told the whole story.
- 23 Before he finished, his father, the ruler, recognized him, and he wept. And he said, "You are my sons!" The woman said, "These are my sons, and you are my husband!"
- 24 Then each one told his story, and they knew each other. They loaded up for the man who brought the woman, his boat, with gold and silver. And they remained together until they died, and they were happy. And it is finished.



## Text 75 (no J): Aziz

- 1 *xətarāt gəyγ yāgōb bə-gəggūt, brūt ðə-tōgər, wə-sē tāgōb bəh, wəlākan hābse xəzōw mən yəhāffkəm təh. tē mən ðār waqt, fiḳəs bər hədəydəs. wə-sē əl thāməh lā, ar həkawm līs hābse.*
- 2 *əttōli šəşfōh amkwáyərəs ðə-sē, amkəwrətəh, šfəḳáwt, wə-wəḳáyta ašəyáfts mən ðār áysər yūm. w-aḳā' rēhəḳ. əttōli səyūr aǵáyγ tē nūka hāl gəyγ əsərah. əmūr həh, "hībōh sáwr?"*
- 3 *əmūr, "hēsən gərōh?" əmūr aǵáyγ, "amkəwráwti šfəḳáwt. wə-hām ād təkáwdər háyni bə-háyłət, kəlēt lay!" əmūr həh əsərah, "yəhmámk sí lā. ǵədəwwən!"*
- 4 *šəddōh l-arikábihi wə-gəhmōh h-arhəbēt ðə-bīs aǵəgənōt. w-aḳā' rēhəḳ. tē mən ðār áysər yūm, wətxfōh arhəbēt, wə-wəkbōh hāl āǵáwz. w-aásər ðəkəməh wəḳōt ašəyáft ð-aǵəggūt.*
- 5 *əttōli aǵəyūg šxəbūr āǵáwz. əmáwr, "hēsən mən šəyáft ðīməh?" əmərūt āǵáwz, "ašəyáft ðə-həbrūt ðə-fəlān. hārūs bīs bər hədəydəs. wə-sē əl thāməh lā. tāgōb bə-gáyγ bədəwáy, wə-hābse əl yəháyməh lā."*
- 6 *tōli əmáwr hīs aǵəyūg, "wəzyēma tiš myēt ðə-ḳárs, wə-tháwkbəhən līs." əmərūt, "yéye." tōli əmūr aásər ð-aǵáyγ ðə-yāgōb b-aǵəggūt, "amma hēt, šxáwwəl bāwməh, w-aǵəggūt təwyūta tik." əmūr, "hībōh əttwéhi, wə-sē kəlōn?" əmūr həh, "yəhmámk sí lā!"*
- 7 *tōli libəs bə-xəlōwəḳ ðə-tēt, wə-wkūb k-āǵáwz tē ənkōh hāl aǵəggūt kəlōn bərk aḳāšər. w-aǵəggūt təǵōrəb aásər ð-amkwáyərəs. əttōli hīs nūka, hftūk xəlōwəḳ (ð-)ðáyrah, w-əməūr h-aǵəggūt, "hām tháyimi təsnēy amkwáyərəš, bə-hádd əl-fəlāni hē ðə-səwbáyš."*
- 8 *əmərūt, "hībōh sáwr?" əmūr, "háftki lay xəláwḳše. wə-hēt syēri bərk xəlōwəḳ ðə-hōh nákak bərkīhəm, w-əl yəhmámš sí lā! wəlākan mət awōðən fēgər, tāḳəy bərs əl-xāh ð-abáyť."*
- 9 *əmərūt, "yéye." wə-wəzmátəh xəláwḳše, wə-sē wəbəsūt bə-xəlōwəḳ ðə-nūka bərkīhəm. wə-ftkūt. tē ənkōt hāl amkwáyərəs, hātəmūt hənəh tē k-sōbəh.*

1 *həkawm*: *ML* (s.v. *hkm*) lists various meanings for the G-Stem *həkūm*, but not 'force', which is the meaning here. The meaning 'force' is also attested for the Jibbali cognate *həkum* (cf. text J51:20), as well as for the Hobyot cognate *həkūm* 'force' (*HV*, p. 148).

7 *aḳāšər*: *ML* (s.v. *ḳšr*) defines *ḳāšər* only as 'first-floor or top-floor room', but in the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss 'big house'. Cf. also Jibbali *ḳəšər* 'palace' (e.g., text TJ4:2).

8 *háftki*: See the comment to text 24:6.

**Translation of Text 75**

- 1 Once a man loved a girl, the daughter of a rich man [or: merchant], and she loved him, but her parents refused to let him marry (her). After a while, they married her to her cousin. She didn't want him, but her parents forced her.
- 2 Then her beloved found out that she, his beloved, was betrothed, and that her wedding would be in ten days. And the place was far away. Then the man went until he came to a man, his friend. He said to him, "What's the plan?"
- 3 He said, "What happened?" The man said, "My beloved is betrothed. And if you can perhaps (devise) for me a trick, tell me!" His friend said to him, "Don't worry [lit. let nothing concern you]. Let's go!"
- 4 They saddled up their riding-camels and went to the town that the girl was in. And the place was far away. Then after ten days, they came to the town, and they went in to an old woman's (place). And that evening was the girl's wedding.
- 5 Then the men questioned the old woman. They said, "Which wedding is this?" The old woman said, "The wedding of the daughter of so-and-so. Her cousin married her. But she doesn't love him. She loves a Bedouin man, but her parents don't want him."
- 6 Then the men said to her, "We'll give you a hundred dollars, and you should get us in to (see) her." She said, "Ok." Then the friend of the man who loved the girl said, "You stay here, and the girl will come to you in the night." He said, "How will she come to me in the night, when she is a bride?" He said to him, "Don't worry!"
- 7 Then he put on women's clothes, and he went in with the old woman until they came to the girl, the bride, inside the mansion. And the girl recognized the friend of her beloved. Then, when he came, he took off the clothes that were on him, and he said to the girl, "If you want to see your beloved, in such-and-such place he is waiting for you."
- 8 She said, "What's the plan?" He said, "Take off your clothes for me. And you go out in the clothes that I came in, and don't worry! But when they call [lit. he calls] the dawn prayer, you should already be at the door of the house."
- 9 She said, "Ok." And she gave him her clothes, and she put on the clothes that he came in. And she left. Then when she came to her beloved, she stayed with him until morning.

- 10 *wə-ámma mən aṭarēf ḏ-aǵáyg, hīs wəkūb ləh aǵáyg ḏ-aǵəgənōt wə-yəḥōm yəlháməh, mūna ḥādáthe, wə-l-ād kədūr yəhtírək lā tē k-sōbəh. wə-səyūr aǵáyg kəlōn tē nūka ḥāl ḥayb ḏ-aǵəggīt. āmūr, “hēt əlfəḳək tī ar gənnáy. mən’áy bə-ḥáydaḥ ṭayt tē k-sōbəh.”*
- 11 *āmūr, “ma yəxāləf! ənhāh yəlliləh āmyēla ḥáylat, wə-šənyēya gēhəməh ḥēsən yāká’.” āmūr aǵáyg kəlōn, “ḥēsən mən ḥáylat?” āmūr, “tāká’ šūk maws, wə-mət ḏə-wəkábk līs, āšēm ṭayt mən ašəfártse. wə-nḥāh, k-sōbəh, šənyēya aǵəggīt.” āmūr aǵáyg, “yéye.”*
- 12 *w-ámma mən aṭarēf ḏ-aǵáyg ḏ-áyməl ḥənáfḥ ǵəggīt, ftūk, áyməl ḥənáfəh yəḥōm yəḏḥōl, wə-ǵəbūr aǵəggīt əl-xāh ḏ-abáy. ámma aǵáyg, səyūr təwōli āsərah. w-ámma aǵəggīt, sīrūt təwōli amkōnəs. tē bə-ḥəlláy, aǵáyg lībəs b-alábs ḏə-ttēt wə-səyūr tē wəkūb ḥāl aǵəggīt, w-aǵəggīt ftkūt tē ənkōt amkwáyrəs.*
- 13 *w-aǵáyg ḥātūm b-amkōn ḏ-aǵəggīt. tē bə-ḥəlláy ṭəwōh aǵáyg yəḥōm təwōli tētəh, wə-šəh maws. tē nūka w-aǵáyg ḏ-áyməl šəfártən. tōli aǵáyg kəlōn yáwšəm ṭayt mən ašəfárthe, wə-šəwkūf.*
- 14 *tē k-sōbəh ftūk aǵáyg təwōli ḥədáydaḥ w-āmūr, “hōh ber āšámk ṭayt mən ašəfártse. wə-syērəm, šnēm tīs!” w-ámma mən aṭarēf ḏ-aǵáyg ḏ-áyməl ḥənáfḥ tēt, ftūk tē ǵəbūr aǵəggīt əl-xāh ḏ-abáy, w-āšūm ṭayt mən ašəfártse. w-āmūr hīs, “syēri fisé’!”*
- 15 *wə-sīrūt tē wəkəbūt amkōnəs. əttōli nákam ḥábse, wə-sīnəm šəfse, wə-kūsəm ašəfəráts māšəmūt. tōli āmáwr ḥ-aǵáyg, “ḏīməh tətək.” āmūr, “ábdan! kəwwēt əl sē kəwwēt ḏə-tēt lā. kəwwēt kəwwēt ar ḏə-ǵáyg!”*

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- 10 *əlfəḳək*: The *əl* was crossed out in the Arabic manuscript, but it is heard on the audio.
- 11 *ašəfártse*: *ML* (s.v. *zfr*) lists *šəfir*, pl. *šəfarūtən* with the meaning ‘plait of hair’, and *šəfrīt*, pl. *šəfártən* with the meaning ‘leaf with a scent like thyme ... used by women in their hair’. However, it is only the latter term that occurs in the texts (this text and text 85) meaning ‘braid, plait (of hair)’. The unsuffixed plural form *šəfártən* occurs in line 13 of this text, as well as in 85:10; cf. also the Jibbali plural *šəförtə* listed in both *ML* and *JL* (s.v. *zfr*), the Ḥarsusi plural *šəfártən* listed in *HL* (s.v. *zfr*), and the Hobyot plural *šiförtə* listed in *HV* (p. 1). On the singular form, see the comment to line 15.
- 14 *ḥədáydaḥ*: The word *ḥədīd* is defined in *ML* (s.v. *dwd*) only as ‘paternal uncle, father’s brother or cousin’ (cf. 32:15). It also clearly has the meaning ‘uncle’ in the compound *bər(t) ḥədīd* ‘cousin’. In the context of this story, since the man has married his cousin, *ḥədīd* could mean either ‘uncle’ or

- 10 Now as for the man, when the girl's husband came to him and wanted to touch him, he grabbed his hands, and he couldn't move at all until morning. And the groom went until he came to the girl's father. He said, "You only married me to a jinn! She repelled me with one hand until morning."
- 11 He said, "It's all right! Tonight we'll play [lit. do] a trick, and we'll see what happens tomorrow." The groom said, "What kind of trick?" He said, "You should have a razor, and when you have gone in to (be with) her, cut off one of her braids. And we, in the morning, will look at the girl." The man said, "Ok."
- 12 Now as for the man who had made himself into a girl, he left, pretending he wanted to urinate, and he met the girl at the door of the house. The man, he went to his friend. And the girl, she went to her place. Then at night, the man put on the clothes of a woman and went until he got to the girl, and the girl left and [lit. until] she came to her beloved.
- 13 And the man spent the night in the girl's place. Then at night, the man came in, wanting to (be with) his wife, and he had a razor. And he came, and the man had made braids. Then the groom cut off one of his braids, and he went to sleep.
- 14 Then in the morning the man went out to his uncle [or: father-in-law] and said, "I have cut off one of her braids. Go and see it!" And as for the man who had made himself a woman, he went out and [lit. until] he met the girl at the door of the house, and he cut off one of her braids. And he said to her, "Go quickly!"
- 15 And she went until she got in to her place. Then her parents came, and they looked at her hair, and they found her braid cut off. Then they said to the husband, "This is your wife." He said, "No way! The strength is not the strength of a woman. The strength is really the strength of a man!"

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'father-in-law'. *JL* (s.v. *dwd*) lists 'father-in-law' as an additional meaning of *did* 'paternal uncle'. And in *HV* (p. 103), we find the following Hobyot sentence: *hō a'ōmār har hīmi 'a dīdī* 'I call my father-in-law *dīdī* (uncle)'.

- 15 *śáfse*: The underlying form of this noun is either *śaff* or *śēf*, though if the latter, we would expect *śáfse*. See further in the comment to text 37:25.
- 15 *aśafarāts*: This must reflect an underlying *śafarūt* or *śafarūt*. As noted above in the comment to line 11, the form *śafarūt* appears in *ML* (s.v. *zfr*), though not with this meaning. This seems to be an oversight. Cf. also Jibbali *śafarēt* (*JL*, s.v. *zfr*), Hobyot *śfirūt* (*HV*, p. 1), and Ḥarsusi *śafarōt* (*HL*, s.v. *zfr*).

- 16 *āmūr*, “xáybən. yálliləh, hām ād mənátk, kəṭās əl-háyđ. wə-k-sōbəh, śənyēya.” te bə-həlláy, kāl tāt səyūr təwōli amkōnəh. aǵáyǵ xáyłəf aǵəǵǵūt, w-aǵəǵǵūt sīrūt təwōli amkwáyrəs.
- 17 te fakḥ ḏ-aásə, nūka aǵáyǵ təwōli tétəh, wə-śáh maws. te hīs bārham yəháym yəśákfəm, aǵáyǵ kəlōn hftük amáws wə-yəköṭa aǵáyǵ əl-háyđ. wə-śáff káwṭa bə-háys te āšūm ārk ḏ-ansēm.
- 18 wəlākan aǵáyǵ lətt ləh. te k-sōbəh bārəh yəḥōm yəmət. ftük wə-ǵəbūr aǵəǵənoṭ əl-xāh ḏ-abáy, w-āmūr hīs, “hōh bəri ḥōm əl-mēt. aǵáyǵ kəṭáy l-ārk ḏ-ansēm. wə-ndōh l-əḳṭās!” wə-kəṭáys məḳṭāt kənnát, w-āmūr hīs, “hōh matōna yəməh. w-abēli yəšwádaš!”
- 19 w-aǵáyǵ hámməh āziz. səyūr aǵáyǵ. te wīšəl hāl āsərəh, kəlūt ləh, wə-ǵəhmōh. te bārhi b-aámk, mōt aǵáyǵ. kəbrīh aásərəh wə-ǵəhēm. te kūsa ǵáyǵ ḏə-yəkáwṭəd arḥəbət, wə-wəzmáh xaṭṭ təwōli aǵəǵǵūt.
- 20 wə-səyūr aǵáyǵ te wīšəl arḥəbət. śənyétəh aǵəǵǵūt mən xəwfət. tōli śāḳátəh. āmərūt, “wələ ǵəbárk əḥād əl-ḥármək?” āmūr, “ǵəbárk ǵayǵ, wə-wəzmáy xaṭṭ təwōli ǵəǵǵūt b-arḥəbət ḏīməh, wə-hōh əl əǵərbəs lā.”
- 21 āmərūt aǵəǵǵūt, “əndōh əl-śné’ xaṭṭ!” tōli āmərūt, “ḏōməh ḏə-hōh!” w-ərtəkyétəh, wə-ksūt xəbər ḏ-aǵáyǵ əḏ-mōt. tōli təlūtəm aǵáyǵ ḏə-nūka bə-xáṭṭ, wə-thāwūr áynəh.
- 22 wə-śxəwəllūt. əl (t)ṭōm əl mōh w-əl kəwt. wə-kənūt kabś wə-hḥəmətəh āziz. wə-sē ṭḥōm təbkéh wə-tənēh aǵáyǵ, wəlākan šənsūt lā.
- 23 tōli thḥáyw bə-kábś mən ḏār saṭḥ, wə-bəkūt ḥayūm w-āšáwr. tōmər, “yā āziz, yā āziz!” āmūr ḥáybə, “ḥət təbēki sār kabś, wə-hōh ǵənáy. śáyṭi mən amōli əlhān ṭḥáymi, w-əl təbkī lā!”

18 *məḳṭāt*: Johnstone (followed by Stroemer) mistakenly transcribed *mən kaṭāt*, but the Arabic manuscript and audio clearly have a single noun *məḳṭāt*. The meaning is obviously ‘a cut’, from the verb *káwṭa* ‘cut’. *ML* (s.v. *ḳṭ*) does list a noun *məḳṭāt*, but only with the meaning ‘waterless desert’ (likewise the cognates listed in *JL* and *HL*).

18 *yəšwádaš*: The Arabic manuscript has *šwádaš*. The Roman manuscript had *šwədəš*, but an initial *yə-* was later added, probably to match the audio, which has *yəšwádaš*. See further in the comment to text 27:25, where we find the opposite forms attested in the manuscripts and audio. Cf. also the comment to text 12:17.

22 *tənēh*: This is a G-Stem subjunctive of the root *n’w*. In *ML* (s.v. *n’w*), Johnstone defines the verb only as ‘mew’, though he gives the meaning ‘keen over the dead’ for the Jibbali cognate. As for the form, Johnstone gives the 3ms perfect *naywū*, but this is surely incorrect. All other II-ʿ, III-w/y

- 16 He said, "Fine. Tonight, if she repels you again, cut her on the hand. And in the morning, we'll see." Then at night, each one went to his place. The man replaced the girl, and the girl went to her beloved.
- 17 Then in the middle of the night, the man came to his wife, and he had a razor. Then when they were about to go to sleep, the groom took out the razor and cut the man on the hand. But it so happened that he cut (too) forcefully and [lit. until] he cut an artery.
- 18 But the man bandaged it. Then in the morning, he was about to die. He went out and met the girl at the door of the house, and he said to her, "I am about to die. The man cut me on an artery. Let me cut you!" And he gave her [lit. cut her] a small cut, and he said to her, "I will die today. Farewell [lit. may God keep you safe]!"
- 19 And the man, his name was Aziz. The man left. Then when he got to his friend, he told him (what happened), and they went. Then in the middle of the way, the man died. His friend buried him and went on. Then he met a man going down to the town, and he gave him a letter for the girl.
- 20 And the man went until he got to the town. The girl saw him from the window. Then she called to him. She said, "Did you perhaps meet anyone on your way?" He said, "I met a man, and he gave me a letter for a girl in this town, but I don't know her."
- 21 The girl said, "Let me see the letter!" Then she said, "This is mine!" And she read it and found the news that the man had died. Then she slapped the man who brought the letter, and she blinded his eye.
- 22 And she stayed. She didn't taste either water or food. And she reared a lamb, and named it Aziz. She wanted to cry and grieve for the man, but she didn't dare.
- 23 Then she let the lamb fall from the roof, and she cried day and night. She would say, "Oh Aziz, oh Aziz!" Her father said, "You are crying over a lamb, and I am rich. Take whatever you want from my property, and don't cry!"

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verbs have the shape *Cōh* in the 3ms perfect (cf. *ML*, s.v. *b'w*, *r'w*, and *s'v*). Moreover, the subjunctive form *tənēh* in this line looks like the subjunctive of other such verbs, which in turn follow the pattern of other III-w/y verbs in the Ga-Stem. The 3fp imperfect appears in text 54:2.

- 23 *ḥayūm w-āšáwr*: On the audio, Ali mistakenly read the singular *ḥayáwm* 'the sun', which has the same spelling (in Arabic characters) as *ḥayūm*. The Roman manuscript has the plural *ḥayūm*. The plural must be correct, since *āšáwr* is plural.

- 24 *āmārūt, “ábdan, ar wə-təḵābəm āzīz ṣahḥ, wəlē tḥīki amkwáyri abədawáy.  
w-aǵáygi yəxxályi, wəlē əlūtəǵ ḥənōfi.”*
- 25 *əttōli āmáwr h-aǵáyǵəs, “xōli!” wə-xxōli aǵáyǵəs, wə-hārūs bīs amkwáyraš.  
w-ənkōt mánəḥ bə-ǵīgēn, wə-ḥəmətəḥ āzīz. wə-təmmōt.*

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24 *ar wə-*: Though *ar wə-* is in both manuscripts, Ali skipped *ar wə-* on the audio.

- 24 She said, "No, unless you bring Aziz back alive, or else you should marry me to my Bedouin beloved. And my husband should divorce me, or else I'll kill myself."
- 25 Then they said to her husband, "Divorce (her)!" And her husband divorced (her), and she married her beloved. And she bore with [lit. from] him a boy, and she named him Aziz. And it is finished.



## Text 76 (no J): A Brave Man and His Nephews

- 1 *xəṭarāt ǰayg šōga bārāh mawšáyf. tē nəhōr tayt āmūr, “ḥōm əl-ǰəhōm əl-xəṭār.” āmūr ḥəbrē ḏ-aǰāh, “ḥōm əl-ǰəhōm šūk.” āmūr həh, “əl təḳáwdər lā. hōh ǰayg sādáyđ, w-əǰhōm mən hāl əl əḥād yəñōka lā.” āmūr, “ábdan! ḥōm šūk.”*
- 2 *ǰəhmōh. tē mən ḏār waqt, wəšəlōh ǰəddēt ḏ-əl bīs əḥād lā ar ǰəyōy. w-əl bīs ḏērōb lā, w-əl bīs mōh lā. əttōli āmūr aǰáyǰ hə-bər-ǰāh, “hōh məššəkf. wə-hēt ənké’ əm-mōh wə-ḏērōb, w-āmōl hīn ‘ayšē!”*
- 3 *āmūr aǰīgēn, “yéye.” tōli aǰáyǰ šəwkūf, w-aǰīgēn l-ād wīda hībōh yāmōl lā. əl kūsa əl mōh, w-əl kūsa ḏērōb, w-əl kūsa šīwōt. tōli hāsūs ḥədáyđəh. āmūr, “hōh əl wádak hībōh l-āmōl lā.” āmūr həh, “ma yəxələf. hēt əl tšáwłəḥ šay lā. rəddōna tīk təwōli ḥábke.”*
- 4 *tōli rəddōh. tē wəšəlōh hāl ḥaskənihəm, āmūr aǰáyǰ, “hōh ǰəhmōna.” āmūr aǰāh aǰənnáwn, “hōh ḥōm šūk.” āmūr həh, “əl təḳáwdər lā.” āmūr, “ábdan, ḥōm šūk!”*
- 5 *ǰəhmōh. tē wəšəlōh amkōn ḥāwəláy, āmūr aǰáyǰ, “hōh məššəkf. wə-hēt āmōl hīn ‘ayšē.” āmūr aǰīgēn, “ḥō aḏērōb? wə-ḥō ḥəmōh? wə-ḥō šīwōt?” āmūr aǰáyǰ, “ōbəl, wələ yəxlīfk ǰəyūǰ ḏ-axáyr mənk!” āmūr, “yéye.”*
- 6 *aǰáyǰ šəwkūf, w-aǰīgēn l-ād wīda hībōh yāmōl lā. hāsūs aǰāh, w-āmūr həh, “əl wádak hībōh l-āmōl lā.” āmūr, “hēt əl tšáwłəḥ šay lā.” wə-rəddəh təwōli ḥábhe.*

2 *ǰəddēt*: I did not find this word in *ML*, but in the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘waterless, treeless desert’. The word is cognate with the first word of the Arabic place-name *Jiddat al-Ḥarāsīs*, the region in Oman to the east of Dhofar.

2 *hə-bər-ǰāh*: On the audio, Ali misread this phrase as *hə-bər-ǰətəh*.

2 *əm-mōh*: We expect *bə-mōh*, but the *b* has assimilated to the following *m*. The same assimilation is attested in Jibbali (e.g., J39:2). See also texts 94:37 and 97:34.

3 *əl kūsa əl mōh*: The *əl* before *mōh* is probably an error. It would be correct if other objects followed, but instead additional verbs are used, each with their own objects. Cf. *əl mōh* in line 11.

3 *tšáwłəḥ*: On this verb, see the comment to text 42:11.

4 *ḥaskənihəm*: The manuscripts have *ḥaskənihəm*, with a 3mp possessive suffix, but Ali read *ḥaskənihi*, with a 3md suffix. Johnstone corrected the Roman manuscript to reflect the audio.

### Translation of Text 76

- 1 Once a brave man was already famous. Then one day he said, "I want to go traveling." His brother's son said, "I want to go with you." He said to him, "You can't. I am a tough man, and I go where no one else goes." He said, "No! I want (to go) with you!"
- 2 They went. Then after a while, they came to a barren area that had no one in it except spirits. And there was no water in it. Then the man said to his nephew, "I'm going to sleep. But you bring water and firewood, and make us dinner!"
- 3 The boy said, "Ok." Then the man went to sleep, and the boy didn't know at all what to do. He didn't find water, and he didn't find firewood, and he didn't find fire. Then he woke up his uncle. He said, "I don't know at all what to do." He said to him, "It doesn't matter. You aren't fit (to be) with me. I will take you back to your parents."
- 4 Then they went back. When they got to their settlements, the man said, "I am going." His younger [lit. little] brother said, "I want (to go) with you." He said to him, "You can't." He said, "No, I want (to go) with you!"
- 5 They went. Then when they got to the same [lit. previous] place, the man said, "I'm going to sleep. But you make dinner for us!" The boy said, "Where is the firewood? And where is the water? And where is the fire?" The man said, "Try, or else men who are better than you will replace you." He said, "Ok."
- 6 The man went to sleep, and the boy didn't know at all what to do. He woke up his brother, and he said to him, "I don't know what to do." He said, "You won't do well with me." And he took him back to his parents.

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5 *ōbəl*: *ML* (s.v. 'bl) defines the D/L-Stem verb *ōbəl* (here the ms imperative) as 'test s.t. or s.o.; look after', but in the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss 'try, maybe he'll succeed maybe not'. The content here clearly requires the meaning 'try'. Johnstone also added in the manuscript the phrase *ōbəl b-* 'look after a sick animal'.

5 *yəxlifk*: As discussed in § 7.1.2, because the 3mp imperfect has an underlying final -ə, we normally do not see vowel reduction when an object suffix is added. And as discussed in § 2.1.2, this underlying ə is present even between two voiceless and non-glottalic consonants, i.e., in an environment where unstressed phonemic ə is not usually allowed. On the audio, Ali read first *yəxláfk*, then corrected himself to *yəxlifk*. The manuscripts also both have a long *ī*.

- 7 *te wəʃəlōh, āmūr aǧáyǧ, “hōh ǧəhmōna.” āmūr həbrē ǧ-ǧátəh, “hōh hōm šūk.” āmūr həh, “əl tʃáwłəh ʃay lā.” tōli āmūr, “ábdan, hōm šūk!”*
- 8 *sīrōh. te wəʃəlōh b-ǧəddət hāwəlīt, āmūr, “hēt āmōl hīn ‘ayšē, wə-hōh maǧōlām arikōb.” āmūr aǧīgēn, “yéye.” hīs xáyłəh ǧəmūs, aǧōfi aǧīgēn ǧə-ǧǧáwłəx mən aǧērōb.*
- 9 *ādəh lə-wtáxəməh, šīni šīwōt ǧ-aǧəyōy. wə-xtəlīhəm. te nūka, kūsa nīd ǧə-mōh wə-šīwōt. wə-šáll ǧəwđūl, wə-šáll hənīd ǧə-bərkáh həmōh, wə-ffəlūt.*
- 10 *wə-bəǧáwdəh aǧəyōy, wəlākan əlhākəm təh lā. te wīʃəl hāl amhátt, əl kūsa ǧērōb lā. nəhāʃ mən aǧtáwbət ǧ-arikōb te áyməl əlhān ǧəsdūd a‘išəhəm. áyməl xabz. te həbhūl, káwla xabz ǧār aǧényət, wə-káwla hənīd ǧə-həmōh ǧə-mīla.*
- 11 *wə-ffəǧōh l-azēməl. áyməl hənáfəh ʃəwkūf. wə-hē ʃəyūr wə-ʃəkrōh, ǧə-ǧərūb xáyłəh ǧəxōna, w-əl ǧāǧōb əhād ǧāká’ hīs təh lā. te nūka xáyłəh bə-həlláy, šīni xabz, wə-šīni həmōh, wə-šīni šīwōt. wə-hē ǧə-ǧərūb əl šīhəm əl šīwōt w-əl mōh w-əl ǧērōb, w-aǧā’ ǧékəməh əl tkōsa bəh əl mōh w-əl ǧērōb w-əl šīwōt, w-əl əhād ǧəsūkən bəh lā ar aǧəyōy.*
- 12 *tōli āmūr xáyłəh, “ǧōməh aǧīgēn wəxōna axáyur mənáy mət əkáwr, wə-hōm l-əwtáǧəh.” əttōli šīni azēməl, wə-ǧəhūǧəs aǧīgēn ǧə-šəwkūf. wə-zərkáyh b-aǧənátəh. tōli ǧərūb ǧə-hē zərūx ar azēməl. əttōli ʃáx, āmūr, “hām thámay, hōh aribək, w-ənké əw-bōh!”*
- 13 *əttōli ənkáyh, wə-hātəmōh. te k-sōbəh ǧəhmōh, ǧəhəmōh təwōli həkənīhəm. te bārhi b-aámk, ksəyōh bayr. āmūr aǧáyǧ hə-bər-ǧátəh, “kəfəd wə-ǧərēf līn mōh. wə-hōh dəlyōna tik b-aǧáyđ.” āmūr aǧīgēn, “yéye.” kəfūd aǧīgēn wə-ǧərūf mōh.*
- 14 *w-ǧáyǧ həǧōh arikōb, wə-mūla hənīd. wə-šáll aǧáyđ, wə-káwla aǧīgēn bərk abáyur. wə-šáǧx másmər bərk xaff ǧə-həybətəh, wə-ǧəhēm.*

8 *wəʃəlōh*: The Arabic manuscript originally has *wīʃəl bəh* ‘he arrived with him’ (or ‘he brought him’). The verb *wīʃəl* (ويصل) was later changed to *wəʃəlōh* ‘they arrived’ (the *ي* was crossed out, and a final *و-* added). However, the following *bəh* was not crossed out, as it should have been. On the audio, Ali read *wəʃəlōh*, but stumbled as he read the (now ungrammatical) following *bəh* ‘with him’.

9 *ādəh*: The Arabic manuscript has only *ād*, but this seems to be an error. The audio and Roman manuscript have *ādəh*, as we expect.

10 *amhátt*: This word, which I did not find in *ML*, is glossed by Johnstone in the Roman manuscript as ‘station, night-camp for camels only; camel saddle place’. Cf. Arabic *mahatt* ‘stopping-place’.

10 *aǧtáwbət*: The word *ǧətáwbət* is the plural of *ǧətēb* (*ML*, s.v. *ǧtb*), which is

- 7 Then when they arrived, the man said, "I am going." His sister's son said, "I want (to go) with you." He said to him, "You won't do well with me." Then he said, "No, I want (to go) with you!"
- 8 They went. Then when they arrived at the same [lit. previous] barren area, he said, "You make us dinner, and I will take out the riding-camels." The boy said, "Ok." When his uncle disappeared, the boy went looking for firewood.
- 9 While he was doing this, he saw a fire of (some) spirits. He snuck up to them. When he got there, he found a skin of water and fire. And he took a fire-log, and he took the skin that had water in it, and he ran off.
- 10 And the spirits chased him, but they didn't catch him. Then when he got to the camp, he didn't find any firewood. He took slices off the riding-camels' (wooden) harnesses, until he made what their dinner required. He made bread. Then when he cooked (it), he put down the bread on the sack, and he put down the water-skin that was full.
- 11 And he covered the camel-load. He pretended he was sleeping (under there). And he went and hid, knowing that his uncle was jealous and didn't like anyone to be like him. Then when his uncle came at night, he saw the bread, and he saw the water, and he saw the fire. And he knew that they didn't have fire or water or firewood, and (he knew that) that place, you wouldn't find in it water or firewood or fire, and no one lived in it except spirits.
- 12 Then his uncle said, "This boy will be better than me when he grows up, so I should kill him." Then he saw the camel-load, and he thought the boy was sleeping. And he stabbed him with his spear. Then he knew that he had stabbed only the camel-load. Then he called out, he said, "If you hear me, I am your friend, so come here!"
- 13 Then he came to him, and they spent the night. Then in the morning, they went off, heading for their settlements. When they were on the way [lit. in the middle], they found a well. The man said to his nephew, "Go down and fetch us water. I'll pull you up with the rope." The boy said, "Ok." He went down and fetched water.
- 14 And the man gave water to the riding-camels, and he filled the water-skin. And he took the rope, and left the boy in the well. And he hammered a nail into the foot of his camel, and he left.

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a harness made of hard wood, placed under the *māzamlēt*, the soft, grass-filled bags on which the camel's load is laid (*ML*, s.v. *zml*).

- 13 *ksəyōh*: The manuscripts have *ksōh*, but the audio has *ksəyōh* (cf. also 99:2). This is another example of a III-<sup>7</sup> verb falling together with III-w/y verbs.

- 15 *w-aġġġen báyki bærk abáyr, hīs ġamūs xáylah. ħaybátah bīs maħtáyym, wə-tərbüb ləh. tōli šadərbəš bīs, wə-ħəkfədūt (həwūt) ləh b-aməħtáyym. wə-mūna b-aməħtáyym, wə-ħaybūt ħəddūt bəh aġáwfw.*
- 16 *te wīšəl hənīs, kūsa bə-xáffəs másmər. əttōli šəll sātáytt məsáwmmər, wə-ťákk kāl tāt bə-xáff. wə-ríkəb đār ħaybátah, wə-ġəhēm te əlhākk xáylah.*
- 17 *əttōli hīs šīni bər-ġátah ħəkbūl ləh, zərġáyh b-aġənáth. wə-škəllīs aġġġen bə-ħáydaħ. wə-ġəhēm wə-šəh aġənūt đə-xáylah.*
- 18 *əttōli əmūr həh, “awágbək tsłébi lā wə-ťášli bærk ħābū. wə-hēt fəyázk lay bə-kāl šyən. wə-hōh arībək te təmət, wə-rdəd lay aġənēti.” tōli wəzmīh aġənátah, wə-səddōh. w-aġġġen wīka axáyr mən xáylah. wə-təmmōt.*

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- 15 *tərbüb*: In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone mistakenly transcribed *təlbüb*, and added the gloss ‘loved’. No such verb is otherwise attested, but perhaps he thought this was connected to the word *ħəwbīb* ‘heart’ (root *lbb*; dialectal *ħəlbēb*). In fact, the Arabic manuscript and audio make clear that the intended form was *tərbüb*, from the verb *rəbb* (root *rbb*), used only with regard to female camels (and perhaps other animals) to mean ‘accept a tulchan, substitute for a lost calf’. (On this practice, see text TJ2 in *JLO*.) The sense here is that the camel has taken the boy for its calf, and so it loves him.
- 15 *ħəkfədūt*: The audio has *ħəkfədūt* ‘it let down’, while the Roman manuscript has *həwūt* ‘it made fall’. Both H-Stem verbs fit the context very well. The form in the Arabic manuscript is very unclear. Ali wrote هفوت, with three dots over the second letter, a letter not found anywhere else in the texts. (The letter is used for *v* in some adapted Arabic scripts, like Kurdish and Uyghur.) It is almost certain that Ali simply made an error in writing, and, in fact, he stumbled several times in his reading before settling on *ħəkfədūt*.
- 18 *ťášli*: This is a D/L-Stem (*f*)*fōšəl* (from the Arabic D-Stem *faššala*), which, besides its basic meaning of ‘thwart, cause to fail’, can mean ‘embarrass’ (in both Mehri and Arabic). Johnstone transcribed here *ś* in place of *š*, but the audio clearly has *š*. In *ML*, the verb (misprinted as *sōšəl* instead of *fōšəl*) has *š*, but it is listed under the root *fšl* (which itself is alphabetized as if it were *fšl*). *ML* defines the verb as ‘confound, surpass’.

- 15 And the boy remained in the well, after his uncle disappeared. His camel had a lead-rope, and it loved him. Then he called it, and it let down the rope to him. And he grabbed the rope, and the camel pulled him up.
- 16 Then when he got to it, he found a nail in its foot. Then he took three nails, and he hammered each one into a foot. And he mounted his camel, and he went until he caught up to his uncle.
- 17 Then when he saw his nephew approaching him, he thrust at him with his spear. But the boy caught it with his hand. And he went on, his uncle's spear with him.
- 18 Then he said to him, "You shouldn't disarm me and embarrass me among the people. You have surpassed me in everything. I am your friend until you die, so give me back my spear." Then he gave him his spear, and they made a pact. And the boy became better than his uncle. And it is finished.

## Text 77 (no J): Collecting Honey

- 1 *xəṭərāt ǰayǰ śīni məǰrīr bərk aámḵ əḏ-déhəḵ. əttōli rūfa, yəḥōm yədbéh amǰarīr. te wišəl ǰarəyb l-amǰarīr, l-ād əwfoh məkōn lā. hām yəḥōm yəǰlēḵ xōṭər, yəhyūr wə-yəḥsūs əl-hīs śī ḏə-yəǰrérəh xōṭər. wə-hām ǰəlūḵ aǰáwǰ, anwəb təwəkbən bərk əyénthe. wə-šḥəyūr ḥəlákəməh, l-ād yəḥūǰəs əl-səlōmat lā.*
- 2 *əttōli a'yīṭ, wə-hámam təh ḥābū ḏə-ya'yīṭən. wə-həwḥáyw ləh wə-wbáwd məsēb wə-ḵəfūd līsən te wišəl bə-xōṭər. w-āmūr, "ḥármək l-ād ədūbəh zōyəd te əl-mēt." əmūr, "ber śīnək amáywət bərk əyéntye. te wə-lū adébəh ǰōli wə-dīwē!"*
- 3 *əttōli šərbá' tāt əl-ḵəyūd. ətté wišəl amǰarīr, wə-dūbəh wə-ḥḥōšəl mánəh təmən ḏ-ərbə'áyn ǰaráwš. hīs ber təmūm wə-bér ǰəfūd xōṭər, əmūr aǰáyǰ ḏə-ksēh fənōhən, "ḏōməh ar ḏə-hōh! wə-hōh əḏ-kásk təh fənōhən." əmūr aǰáyǰ ḏə-dūbəh, "hēt əmárk, 'l-ād hōh dəbhōna zōyəd lā. wə-hīs ber ǰəzámḵ, 'l-ād ədūbəh zōyəd, hōh dəbhək."*
- 4 *əmūr, "ábdan! amǰarīr amǰaráyri, wə-hōh ḏə-kásk təh. wə-yámkən l-ənké' ḥəh b-əḥād yədbéhəh. wəlākan hēt, hām tḥōm mən hənáy śī, əl hōh məḵōšər bük lā." əmūr aǰáyǰ ḏə-dūbəh, "əl hōh ḥəǰáwrək lā, te l-ədbéh hūk." əmūr aǰáyǰ ḏə-kūsa amǰarīr, "xáybən, ǰədəwəwən təwōli ḥābū. w-əlhān fəšáwl əm-mənwīn hōh ǰáblək."*
- 5 *sīrōh te wəšəlōh ḥāl ḥābū, wə-kūsəm ǰəyūǰ əḏ-šxəwlīl. əttōli šxəbūr ḥāl aǰəyūǰ, wə-wzáwm mānē. šxəbūr aǰáyǰ ḏə-kūsa amǰarīr, əmūr, "hōh šay nəxlīt ḏə-bér xərfoṭ, wəlākan əl lafk tīs lā. wə-ḏ-hānáyḵ əl-syēr h-əḥād yəxtərəfs háyni. ādi lə-wtākəməh, nūka aǰáyǰ ḏəh w-əxtərūf anxələtytī, wə-šáll əlhān bis mən xərēf, wə-mǰōrən əmūr, 'əl wəzmōna tik śī lā.' wə-hībōh təmərəm ḥəšáwrət?"*

2 *məsēb*: See the comment to text 88:1.

3 *dūbəh*: On the audio, Ali read *dəbōh* for both occurrences of *dūbəh* in this line, even though the Arabic manuscript has دوبه (likewise in line 4 and twice in line 6, but not in lines 8 or 10). In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone transcribed *dəbūh* for the first occurrence of *dūbəh* in line 3 (but not the second, or in line 4). In fact, *dəbōh* is an acceptable variant of *dūbəh*. On the mixing of III-Guttural verbs and III-w/y verbs, see further in § 7.2.10. *ML* lists the two variants under different roots (*dbh* and *dby*), but the correct root for both is *dbh*.

### Translation of Text 77

- 1 Once a man saw a beehive in the middle of a cliff. The he climbed up, intending to collect honey from the hive. Then when he got close to the hive, he couldn't climb anymore [lit. anywhere]. If he wanted to look down, he would get dizzy and feel like something was pulling him down. And if he looked up, the bees would get into his eyes. And he was trapped there, thinking (he wasn't) safe at all.
- 2 Then he yelled out, and the people heard him yelling. And they came to help him, and they knocked together ladders, and he went down on them and [lit. until] he got down. And he said, "I swear I won't collect honey ever again until I die." He said, "I have seen death in my eyes. Even if honey is expensive and (can be) medicine!"
- 3 Then someone climb up with ropes. Then he got to the hive, and he collected honey and got from it forty dollars' worth. After he finished and came down, the man who found it first said, "This is really mine! I am the one who found it first." The man who collected the honey said, "You said, 'I won't collect honey ever again'. And after you swore, 'I won't collect honey ever again', I collected the honey."
- 4 He said, "No way! The hive is my hive, and I am the one who found it. Maybe I would bring to it someone to collect it. But you, if you want any from me, I won't hold back (in generosity)." The man who collected the honey said, "I am not your slave, that I should collect honey for you." The man who found the hive said, "Fine, let's go to the people. Whatever they decide between us I will accept."
- 5 They went until they got to the people, and they found men sitting around. Then they questioned the men, and they gave an explanation. The man who found the hive asked, he said, "I have a date-palm that has borne fruit, but I wasn't able to climb it. And I intended to go to someone to harvest it for me. While I was thus, this man came and harvested my date-palm, and took all that it had in fruit, and then he said, 'I won't give you anything.' And what do you present say?"

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5 *xərēf*: This word is not in *ML*, but it is obviously connected with the verbs *xáyraf* 'bear fruit' and *axtarūf* 'harvest fruit', both used in this line. Johnstone transcribed *xərēf*, but on the audio it sounds closer to *xəráyf*.



- 6 *attōli šxəbūr aǵáyg ðə-dūbəh. āmūr aǵáyg ðə-dūbəh, “hōh ð-əghōm bə-  
hármi. attōli hámak ta’yēṭ, wə-həwḥáyk. tē nákak, kəsk aǵáyg ðeḥ bārəh  
yəhōm yəhwéh, wə-fəyēk təh mən amáywət. attōli āmūr háyni, ‘hōh  
kəsk məgrīr, wəlākan əl lafk lā.’ wə-l-ād hōh dəbhōna zōyəd lā.’ w-āmūr,  
‘hármaḥ l-ād ədūbəh zōyəd.’*
- 7 *wə-hīs hámak təh gəzūm, hōh xátrək bə-ḥənōfi wə-dábhək. wə-hīs sənýáy  
ḥáṣələk adébəh, āmūr, ‘ðōməh amǵaráyri, wə-ðōməh adébəh ðə-hōh.’  
wə-hē əs-šxəwlūl. wə-hībōh tāmərəm ḥəṣáwrət?”*
- 8 *āmáwr aǵəyūg ðə-ḥəṣáwr, “yómkan yəsyēr wə-yənké’ həh b-əḥād yədbéhəh  
həh.” w-āmūr aǵáyg əð-dūbəh, “hē ber ḥərmáh.” āmáwr aǵəyūg, “hē ḥōrəm  
əl yədūbəh. šərōməh ṭḥáyman nəṣṣāl əm-mənwīkəm, əntəkáyl! wə-ṭḥáym  
tagtəsəm, əntəkáyl!”*
- 9 *āmáwr, “nəḥámkaḥ təṣṣāləm əm-mənwīn.” āmáwr aǵəyūg, “ráyškəm  
bə-ḥəṣələn?” āmərōh, “ráyṣən.”*
- 10 *attōli fəṣáwl aǵəyūg əm-mənwīhəm yəhhádyəm adébəh fáḫḫi, fakḫ h-  
aǵáyg əð-dūbəh, wə-fakḫ h-aǵáyg ðə-kūsa amǵarīr. wə-ḥhádyəm adébəh  
əm-mənwáyhi wə-səddōh. wə-təmmōt.*

10 *yəhhádyəm ... hhádyəm*: Though the manuscripts have the D/L-Stem forms *yəhhádyəm* ‘they should divide’ and *hádyəm* ‘they divided’, Ali read on the audio the T2-Stem forms *yəhtádyəm* ‘they should divide amongst one another’ and *əhtádyəm* ‘they divided amongst one another’.

10 *əm-mənwáyhi*: Though the manuscripts have *əm-mənwáyhi*, with the 3md suffix, Ali read on the audio *əm-mənwīhəm*, with the 3mp suffix.

- 6 Then they asked the man who collected the honey. The man who collected the honey said, "I was going on my way. Then I heard a cry for help, and I went to help. Then when I came, I found this man about to fall, and I saved him from death. Then he said to me, 'I found a hive, but I couldn't climb (to it). And I will not collect honey ever again.' And he said, 'I swear I won't collect honey ever again.'
- 7 And when I heard him swear, I endangered myself and collected the honey. And when he saw me get the honey, he said, "This is my hive, and this honey is mine.' But he had sat down. And what do you present say?"
- 8 The men who were present said, "Maybe he would have gone and brought to it someone to collect it for him." And the man who collected the honey said, "He already swore it." The men said, "He swore he would not collect honey. Now if you want us to mediate between you, choose! Or if you want to quarrel, choose!"
- 9 They said, "We want you to mediate between us." The men said, "Do you accept our judgment?" They said, "We accept."
- 10 Then the men decided between them that they should divide the honey into halves, half for the man who collected the honey, and half for the man who found the hive. And they divided the honey between them and made up. And it is finished.

## Text 80 (no J): A Misunderstanding

- 1 A: “*mən hō nákak?*”  
 2 B: “*nákak əm-bōh, mən mārīb.*”  
 3 A: “*hātámk hō yállōh?*”  
 4 B: “*hātámk bə-həwōdi ðih s-sərīn.*”  
 5 A: “*hāl əhād aw wəhšūk?*”  
 6 B: “*wa-ya lawb wəhšáy. gəzōt lay həyáwm, wə-l-ād həbšárk əl-bār lā. w-əl hōh bə-xáyr lā.*”  
 7 A: “*būk hēsən?*”  
 8 B: “*bay báyxəs ðə-rōh.*”  
 9 A: “*hībōh āmárk?*”  
 10 B: “*āmárk, bay báyxəs ðə-rōh.*”  
 11 A: “*həwək tik lā.*”  
 12 B: “*āmárk hūk, bay báyxəs ðə-rōh. bay báyxəs ðə-rōh.*”  
 13 A: “*hībōh? šáttək hərəhk?*”  
 14 B: “*ēhē.*”  
 15 A: “*ar hēsən mən bəhlīt ‘báyxəs ðə-rōh?’*”  
 16 B: “*nəhāh nōmər ‘báyxəs ðə-rōh’. ətēm tāmərəm hībōh?*”  
 17 A: “*nəhāh nōmər ‘šáttək hərəhī.’*”  
 18 B: “*xáybən, hōh šáttək hərəhī.*”  
 19 A: “*hām āmárk ‘bay báyxəs ðə-rōh’, əhād yəhwək taw lā.*”  
 20 B: “*hēt mən hō nákak?*”  
 21 A: “*hōh nákak mən məškáyş.*”  
 22 B: “*abhəl təxtəlūfən!*” *wə-təmmōt.*

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8 *báyxəs*: The root *bxs*, not understood by the other speaker in this story, is attested with the meaning ‘pain’ in several Yemeni Mehri sources (cf. Jahn 1902: 167; Nakano 1986: 41; Sima 2009, texts 32:18 and 82:8). It is a metathesized version of the root *şxb* found in Jibbali (*JL*, s.v. *şxb*) and Hobyot (*HV*, p. 89). This correspondence was pointed out already by Lonnet (1985: 54). The MSA root has a general meaning ‘be in pain, ache’, and is perhaps related to Arabic *şaxiba* ‘shout, clamor’.

21 *məškáyş*: In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘sunrise’. See further on this word in the comment to text 104:5.

### Translation of Text 80

- 1 A: "Where did [or: do] you come from?"  
 2 B: "I came [or: come] from here, from Marib."  
 3 A: "Where did you spend the night last night?"  
 4 B: "I spent the night in this valley behind us."  
 5 A: "With someone or by yourself?"  
 6 B: "No, by myself. The sun went down on me, and I couldn't see well enough anymore to travel at night. And I was not well."  
 7 A: "What's the matter with you?"  
 8 B: "I have a headache (*báxəṣ ḏə-rōh*)."  
 9 A: "What did you say?"  
 10 B: "I said, I have a headache."  
 11 A: "I don't understand you."  
 12 B: "I said to you, I have a headache. I have a headache."  
 13 A: "What? Your head hurts you?"  
 14 B: "Yes."  
 15 A: "But what kind of word is *báxəṣ ḏə-rōh*?"  
 16 B: "We say *báxəṣ ḏə-rōh* ('an ache of the head'). What do you say?"  
 17 A: "We say *ṣáṭṭək ḥə-rōhi* ('I have pain in my head')."  
 18 B: "Fine, I have pain in my head."  
 19 A: "If you say *bay báxəṣ ḏə-rōh*, no one will understand you well."  
 20 B: "Where do you come from?"  
 21 A: "I come from the east."  
 22 B: "Words differ!" And it is finished.

## Text 81 (no J): Hyenas

- 1 *xəṭərāt ḏ-əwxāfən bə-wōdi. xxəṭōlən (h-)aḳā' ḏékəməh. tē āšər ṭāt bə-  
ḥəlláy, nəkōt təbráyn tē ḳəráyb əl-ḥāráwn wə-ffərdūt bīsən. wə-šin ḥārīt,  
wə-sīnən tīs. wə-wbədīs aḡāy wə-ḥəwšáwb.*
- 2 *tē k-sōbəḥ sīnən tīs əḏ-gārōt b-amsəyōl, wə-səyūrən nəsnēs. wə-kūsən  
xōtəm bə-ḥayḏēnəs. wə-yāmərəm ḏə-səwēḥər tāmōlən h-təbrəyən xtūm.*
- 3 *wə-mākənnáy xəṭərāt kəlūt līn ḡayg, āmūr, “əwbádk təbráyn wə-təbárk  
fēməs, wə-ḳálak tīs. tē nəḥōr ṭayt,” āmūr, “kəsk tīs bərk dəḥlīl bər ḏ-āt̄mēt.”  
āmūr, “wə-təbárk fēməs əmšḡərēt wə-ḳálak tīs.*
- 4 *tē mən ḏār wəḳētēn,” āmūr, “ṭafk līs wə-kásk bər ḏə-āt̄əmēt fēməs  
əməšḡərēt.” āmūr, “wə-mōt ōsər mən ḥázye awáḳt ḏékəməh.”*
- 5 *w-aḡáyḡ ḏékəməh əlyəbáyḏ lā. wə-təmmōt.*

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1 *xxəṭōlən*: The Arabic manuscript has a prefix *ḏ-* before this verb, but there is no prefix in the Roman manuscript or on the audio. As for the verb itself, the root *xtl* is absent from *ML*. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘come down from mts.’ *JL* (s.v. *xtl*) gives a Jibbali a G-Stem *xəṭól* ‘go with o’s animals to a place after the monsoon rains where no others have been yet for pasture’ and an H-Stem *axṭél* ‘bring o’s animal to uncropped pasture after the monsoon rains’. Miranda Morris (p.c.) has also recorded a Jibbali noun *xəṭəlít* ‘the time, marked by celebrations, of moving from the lower to the higher pastures, especially taking the camels from the coastal areas up to the mountains to feed on the fresh new grazing brought up by the monsoon’. The Mehri form *xxəṭōlən* must be an H-Stem 1cp perfect; the G-Stem would be *xəṭáwlən*.

1 *(h-)aḳā'*: On the audio, Ali clearly read *h-aḳā'*, though *h-* is absent from the manuscripts.

2 *xtūm*: See the comment to text 22:51.

**Translation of Text 81**

- 1 Once we were camping in a valley. We had come to that place (to graze). Then one night, at night, a hyena came close to the goats and frightened them. There was moonlight [lit. the moon was with us], and we saw it. My brother shot at it and hit (it).
- 2 Then in the morning we saw it had fallen in the valley bottom, and we went to see it. And we found a ring in its ear. They say that witches make rings for the hyenas.
- 3 Now once a man told us, he said, "I shot a hyena and broke its leg, and I left it. Then one day," he said, "I found it in a cave already bandaged up." He said, "And I broke its other leg and left it.
- 4 Then after a little while," he said, "I visited it, and I found its other leg bandaged up." He said, "And ten of my goats died at that time."
- 5 And that man doesn't lie. And it is finished.

## Text 82 (no J): A Man on a Hyena

- 1 *xəṭarāt hōh wə-tāṭ ḏə-nbáwr bə-ḥōram bə-ḥalláy. wə-šin səwahēr. attōli*  
*šinək mənēdam mən rēḥəḵ. əhəgsəh ḏə-rikəb ḏār təbráyn. amárk h-arībēy,*  
*“šxáwwəl! ǵələḵ aǵáyǵ ḏə-rikəb ḏār təbráyn!”*
- 2 *āmūr arībēy, “kələ’ abēdi!” amárk, “hām əl šəšdák k tī lā, šxáwwəl wə-šné’!”*  
*wəlākan arībēy əl yəhəbšáwr wīyən lā. wə-hōh ḏə-ḥtám k ḏə-hē aǵáyǵ ḏə-*  
*rikəb ḏār təbráyn. wə-šinək təh hīs kəfūd mən ḏáyrəs, wə-nkáy n. amárk*  
*h-arībēy, “nəḥōm nəwbádəh, ādəh əl šərin!”*
- 3 *āmūr arībēy, “kələ’ ḥəwəl! hēt əl hēt ḏə-ḥtám k lā. w-əl nəḥāh amyēla bəh*  
*šī lā, tɛ wə-lū ḏə-rikəb ḏār təbráyn. əl hūn ḥəḵḵ bəh lā.” wə-ǵəḥdáy arībēy*  
*b-əl-ḥəḵḵə. šəǵḥádk bə-ttōli.*
- 4 *wəlākan hīs ənkáy n aǵáyǵ, amūr hūn, “kō tēm báwməh?” amárk, “šinən šī*  
*ḏ-ādən əl nəšényəh lā mən hīs xələḵən.” amūr aǵáyǵ, “hēsən?” amárk, “hēt*  
*ḏə-ǵərabk təh.” tōli šinək awáǵəh ḏ-āfērūr, wə-hthám k təh yāḵá’ šəwšáwb*  
*aǵáṭu, w-əl wádad lā.*
- 5 *amnēdam ādəh yəmut. w-arībēy ǵəḥdáy. wə-báttədən nəḥāh w-aǵáyǵ, wə-*  
*hē ḏə-yəšǵəsən tīn wə-ḏə-yəšōda bīn. wə-hōh ber hámak ḥābū yāmarəm,*  
*“səwəḥər tər kōbən ḏār təbrayən bə-ḥalláy.” wə-təmmōt.*

- 
- 1 *śəwahēr*: Stroomer’s edition has *śəwəḥər*, following *ML* (s.v. *śhr*), but the form in *ML* is an error. The manuscripts and audio clearly have *śəwahēr*. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘new moon’, and ‘new moon’ appears also in the English translation of the text made by Ali.
- 2 *aǵáyǵ*: The manuscripts have *aǵáyǵ*, but the audio has *ǵayǵ*. If the latter was intended, then the translation of the sentence should be ‘but I was sure that he was a man riding on a hyena’.
- 3 *əl-ḥəḵḵə*: This is Arabic *al-ḥəḵḵə* ‘the truth’. Ali wrote الحقيقه in the Arabic manuscript, but pronounced it *əl-ḥəǵīǵə* on the audio.
- 4 *ḏ-āfērūr*: The audio has *ḏ-āfērūr* (3ms perfect), but the Roman and Arabic manuscripts have *ḏə-yāfērūrən*. It is not clear how to parse the form *yāfērūrən* in the manuscripts, since the expected 3ms imperfect is *yāfērūr*.
- 4 *šəwšáwb*: In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘catch’. *ML* (s.v. *šwb*) defines the verb *šəwšáwb* only as ‘be hit, wounded’ (cf. 64:20 and

### Translation of Text 82

- 1 Once someone and I were traveling at night on the road. And there was a new moon. Then I saw a person far away. I thought he was riding on a hyena. I said to my friend, "Stop! Look at the man riding on a hyena!"
- 2 My friend said, "Stop lying [lit. leave the lie]!" I said, "If you don't believe me, stop and see!" But my friend didn't see very well. But I was sure that the man was riding on a hyena. And I saw him get down off of it, and he came towards us. I said to my friend, "Let's shoot him, before he bewitches us!"
- 3 My friend said, "Stop the craziness! You aren't sure. We won't do anything to him, even if he was riding on a hyena. We have no right against him." And my friend convinced me of the truth. I was convinced in the end.
- 4 But when the man came to us, he said to us, "Why are you here?" I said, "We saw something we have never seen since we were born." The man said, "What?" I said, "You know." Then I saw his face turn red, and I suspected he might have caught the implication, but I didn't know.
- 5 A person will still die [i.e., whether he tells the truth or not]. And my friend convinced me (again). We and the man separated from each other, and he was telling us off and cursing us. But I have heard people say, "Witches ride on hyenas at night." And it is finished.

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83:3). I am following Johnstone in the translation 'caught', but it is possible that it does mean 'be wounded' here, meaning that the man was offended or insulted.

- 4 *aġātu*: In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss 'implication'. The word is not in *ML*, and it is perhaps connected with Arabic *ġaṭw* 'cover'. In Ali's English translation, he did not translate the phrase *šawšāwb aġātu*.
- 5 *amnēdām ādāh yāmūt*: The meaning of this idiom is clearly stated in Ali's English translation, in which he wrote 'a man will one day day [sic] whither [sic] he tells the truth or not'.



## Text 83 (= J83): A Brave Boy

- 1 *xəṭarāt gayg wə-həbráh k-həbēr b-anágd. w-awákt ḏékəmäh akəwōm yəgázyəm hə-ṭāṭidáyhəm. tē nəhōr šənyōh akáwm məhákbəl láhi. wə-hēxər əl šəh məndáwķ lā. w-aǵīgēn šəh məndáwķ, wəlākan həláts əl sē gódət lā, w-amxáwbəṭ xáybat.*
- 2 *wə-hēxər ḏə-yəḏōla mən fēmäh. əttōli āmūr hēxər həbráh, “bə-hənáfķ, wə-ḵələy bávwmäh!” āmūr aǵīgēn, “yəktəlīt bay akəbōyəl, hām fəlátķ wə-ḵálak tik. wəlākan həmōh l-əffəwtáh tē ḏār akōn ḏək w-əl-šhəgyáh həlákəmäh.” wə-ffəwtōh.*
- 3 *aǵīgēn, āmáwr, xā hē šār, wə-yəffəlūt. wə-mət bārəh rəwāhək, yəšlábđən əl-háybəh tē yəwšáləh. əttōli wəşəlōh akōn, wə-šalēbəd aǵīgēn mən ḏār akōn. wə-bér həgáwr trōh. əttōli šəwšáwb həybəh, w-aǵīgēn həgáwr šōləṭ. wə-ttəmūm amxáwbəṭ. ādəh šəh ṭāṭ bass.*
- 4 *əttōli āmūr hīhəm, “hōh l-ād šay gəməylət lā. təmámķ amxáwbəṭye, wə-ssēmək hənōfi.” wə-bér šhān aməndáwķəh. əttōli āmáwr akáwm, “mōn ḏə-yəḥōm yəwtáǵəh?” tōli āmūr ṭāṭ mən hēm, “hōh. aǵāy əwtēǵ, wə-ḥōm əl-šáwf bəh.”*
- 5 *āmáwr həh, “xáybən, akōfi təwēhe! ber təmūm amxáwbəṭhe.” w-akōfi tē həḵbül l-aǵīgēn. āmūr həh aǵīgēn, “táwwək tsāmi!”*
- 6 *āmūr aǵáyǵ, “səlōmət yəmōh ar gályət lūk. ber látǵək sātáyt ḏə-hēm xayōr, w-ādk ṭháwsəb əl-səlōmət? fənōhən háddəli bə-həbēr, ādk şahh.” āmūr aǵīgēn, “ād āḏər?” āmūr aǵáyǵ, “barr!” āmūr aǵīgēn, “hōh šay bér ar xawr, wəlākan wəzmōna tik amgəháwdi. hək!”*

1 *həlátəh*: *ML* (s.v. *hlv*) defines *həlōt* only as ‘description’ (e.g., 28:7; cf. also the D/L-Stem verb (*h*)*hōli* ‘describe’, used in 23:10), but here, a better definition is ‘condition’. Perhaps the word has been influenced by the word *hōlət* ‘condition’ (e.g., 24:15).

### Translation of Text 83

- 1 Once a man and his son were with the camels in the Najd. And at that time the raiding-parties were raiding each other. Then one day they saw the raiding-party approaching them. And the old man didn't have a rifle. The boy had a rifle, but its condition was not good, and the cartridges were few.
- 2 And the old man was lame in his foot [or: leg]. Then the old man said to his son, "(Save) yourself, and leave me here!" The boy said, "The tribes will talk (badly) about me if I run away and leave you. But let's run away up onto that peak and make a stand there." And they fled.
- 3 The boy, they said, was like a gazelle, and he fled. And as he got a little further away, he would fire back past his father, so he could get to it [the peak]. Then they reached the peak, and the boy fired from atop the peak. He had already brought down two (men). Then his father was wounded, and the boy brought down a third. And he used up his cartridges. He had only one left.
- 4 Then he said to them, "I don't have any more strength. I've finished my cartridges, and I hereby surrender myself." And he had already loaded his rifle. Then the raiding-party said, "Who wants to kill him?" Then one of them said, "I do. My brother has been killed, and I want to avenge him."
- 5 They said to him, "Ok, go to him! He has already finished his cartridges." And he went until he got near the boy. The boy said to him, "You should spare me!"
- 6 The man said, "Peace today (will be) expensive for you indeed. You already killed three who were the best, and you're still counting on peace? First direct me to the camels, while you're still alive." The boy said, "Is there still (a chance for) a pardon?" The man said, "Never!" The boy said, "I have only a few camels, but I will give you my best effort. Here you are!"

- 7 *wə-káz̄z bəh wə-wtəǵáyh. wə-nákam aḵáwm wə-látǵəm aǵīgēn, wə-gəhēməm aḵáwm. wə-ṭāt mən aḵáwm ḏə-yəḵūləṭ ḥābū bə-fər'áyṭ ḏə-aǵīgēn, w-āmūr, "lū əl ber lūtəǵ ərbōt mənīn lā, əl nəwtēǵən təh lā. əl əḥād yəhəǵōza bəh lā, wəlākan ber həǵáwr ərbōt bāni dáydi." wə-təmmōt.*

- 
- 7 *yəhəǵōza*: The layout of the entry for the verb *həǵzōh* in *ML* (s.v. *gzy*) makes it appear that *yəhəǵōza* is the 3ms subjunctive form. In fact, this can only be a variant 3ms imperfect. The correct 3ms imperfect is *yəhəǵáyṣ*, while *yəhəǵōza* would be the 3ms imperfect of a root *ǵz'* or *ǵz'*. The 3ms subjunctive is *yəhīgəz*.
- 7 *bāni dáydi*: The phrase *bāni dáydi*, in which *bāni* is the construct plural of 'son' (see § 4.6), is actually realized as *bən idáydi*. In Ali's Arabic-letter transcription, and on the audio, the final *-i* is clearly part of the second word, with a pause between *bən* and *i-*. This is the same phenomenon that is found with the dual, where the suffix *-i* is usually considered by the speaker to be connected to the following numeral *trōh*, rather than suffixed to the noun (see § 4.2).

- 7 And he shot him and killed him. And the raiding-party came and killed the boy, and the raiding-party left. And one of the raiding-party told people about the bravery of the boy, and he said, "If only he had not already killed four of us, we would not have killed him. No one can make up for his absence, but he had already brought down my four cousins." And it is finished.

## Text 84 (no J): Singing for their Supper

- 1 *kālūt lay tāt mən sādḱāye, “xəṭərāt sáfrən.” hēm sātáyt əmbəráwtən. āmūr, “sáfrən bərk bədén, nəḥōm hə-šáwr.” āmūr, “əl šīn dərēhəm lā ar xawr.” wə-hēm yəḥáyym yəssáfrəm h-xəlīg, wə-ssáfrəm bərk abdén. tē wəšələm aḡōzər, wə-wbədáthəm abalēt, wə-hərsīw wəḱōna xáyməh yūm.*
- 2 *əttōli bə’áyli abdén l-ād wəzáwmhəm ḱawt tənōfa lā. əttōli āmūr tāt mənḥēm, “hībōh sawr?” āmūr tāt, “hōh šay sawr. səlyēba tē bə-ḥálláy. ámma trōh yəsīrōh təwōli ḥābū wə-yāmərōh, w-ámma tāt yāmōl ḥənáfḥ ḏə-gīlu wə-ḏə-ḥáybər.*
- 3 *wə-yəḱfəd bərk xan wə-yəhrək līn ḱawt. wə-trōh ḏə-yāmərōh, hām sənyōh əḥād ḱəfūd xan, ‘ḥəḏḏōr bə-ḥənáfḥ, aməwḡēt nəḱōt!’”*
- 4 *tē bə-ḥálláy, tāt ḥərgūf b-abēdi, wə-trōh sīrōh təwōli anōxəḏē w-āmərōh. āmūr anōxəḏē, “ḥēsən b-arībēkəm?” āmərōh, “ḥərgūf wə-ḥáybər.” əttōli ḱəfūd bərk xan, wə-trōh āmərōh. aḡwəráh bə-ḥābū. wə-mət sənyōh əḥād mən aḡyūḡ ḥátrək, “hīgən ḥənáfḥ, ḥəbūr ḏə-yəzyūd!”*
- 5 *yāmərəm bə’áyli abdén, “lawb yāmərəm amḥərəh!” wə-hēm lə-wṭákəməh, tē ftūk arībēhəm mən xan. ber mūla ānīt tōmər, wə-ḡayrōrət ayś, wə-šərbá’ mən xan. wə-ktīw, ōḏəl ḏ-awárx. wə-ḱərōh aḱáwt ḏə-ḥərkáys b-amḱōnhəm.*
- 6 *əttōli sənyáyəh ḥərbāthe w-āmərōh ḥəh, “hībōh ḥənkárk?” āmūr, “fəróḱḱ şərōməh.” āmərōh trōh (ḏ-)šxəwallōh ḥāl anōxəḏē wə-ḥərbāthe, “smēḥəm līn. ḥəmōh əl-sīrōh təwōli arībēki.” āmūr anōxəḏē, “ábdan, háḡfələm tīn səwānōt!”*

1 *bədén*: This is Arabic *badan*, a type of small dhow common in Oman.

1 *aḡōzər*: This is the Mehri name for al-Jāzīr, a coastal area in the southern part of the al-Wuṣṭā governorate of Oman. It lies roughly a third of the way from Şalalah to Şur.

2 *yāmərōh*: See the comment to text 52:1.

3 *aməwḡēt*: *ML* (s.v. *mwg*) has the form *máwḡət*, comparable to Jibbali *mébgət* (*JL*, s.v. *mwg*), but the manuscripts and audio clearly have *aməw-gēt* in this story. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone did later add the form *amáwḡət* in the margin.

4 *hīgən*: This form must be an H-Stem ms imperative from a root *gnw* or *gny*. It is perhaps etymologically *gn’* (cf. *JL*, s.v. *gn’*). The form *ḥəgnē* listed in *ML* (s.v. *gn’*) is likely an error. We expect a 3ms perfect *ḥəgnōh*, and, in fact, Johnstone included *ḥəgnō* in the margin of the Roman manuscript of this text.

### Translation of Text 84

- 1 One of my friends told me, "Once we traveled." They were three boys. He said, "We traveled in a *badan*, heading for Şur." He said, "We didn't have any money except a little." And they wanted to travel to the Gulf, and they traveled in a *badan*. Then when they got to al-Jāzir, the north wind hit them, and they anchored for about five days.
- 2 And the owners of the *badan* didn't give them enough food at all. Then one of them said, "What's the plan?" One said, "I have a plan. We'll wait until night-time. Two will go to the people and sing, and one will pretend he has a fever and chills.
- 3 And he should go down to the hold and steal food for us. And the two that are singing, if they see anyone go down to the hold, (they'll say,) 'Watch out for yourself, the wave has come!'"
- 4 Then at night, one fake-shivered [lit. shivered on pretense], and two went to the captain and sung. The captain said, "What's with your friend?" They said, "He's shivering (with fever) and has chills." Then he went down to the hold, and the two sang. They distracted the people. And when they saw one of the men move, (they said,) "Warm yourself, the cold is increasing!"
- 5 The owners of the *badan* said, "Truly, the Mehri (can) sing!" And they were like this, until their friend came out of the hold. He had filled a waterskin with dates, and a bag with rice, and he climbed out of the hold. And it was dark, the moonless part of the month. And he hid the food that he had stolen in their place.
- 6 Then his friends saw him and said to him, "How do you feel?" He said, "I have recovered now." The two that were sitting by the captain and his friends said, "Excuse us. We want to go to our friend." The captain said, "No, amuse us for a little while!"

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5 *ānīt*: *ML* (s.v. *n(t)*) defines this word as 'large-mouthed waterskin'. However, in the Roman manuscript, Johnstone glossed the word as 'small waterskin' (underlining his), and suggests that it is the diminutive of *nīd* 'waterskin' (used, e.g., in 76:9). However, the two words have different roots (*ny* or *nt* and *nyd* or *nwd*). Miranda Morris (p.c.) confirms that an *ānīt* is normally smaller than a *nīd*.

- 7 *wə-ħəmbəráwtən əð-gáyam. tōli āmūr ʔāt mənhēm, “hōh káʔak mən a‘áymər; wə-hōh sīrōna əl-šákʃ. w-āmrōna h-fəlān yaxláfī. ber ffrūk ʃərōmah.”* attōli səyūr təwōli arībēh, wə-ksēh ber síba. āmūr həh, “hēt ʃərōmah aqōfi. āmēr k-fəlān, wə-hōh təwyōna. wə-mət sábak, nəkōna tik, wə-fəlān yəsyēr wə-yātōsí.” āmūr, “yéye.”
- 8 *səyūr ðək ðə-gīlu, wə-nūka aqəyūg hāl arībēh. w-āmáwr həh, “hībōh tkōsa hənáfk?”* āmūr, “fərákʃk, wə-ħōm əl-āmēr.” w-āmərōh.
- 9 *wə-ðək ātōsí. tē síba, nūka hāl hərbāthe. āmūr, “hōh hənsárk.”* āmūr ðək ð-ādəh əl ātōsí lā, “hōh hándək, wə-sīrōna əl-šákʃ.” wə-səyūr w-ātōsí. wə-~~tt~~ərōh āmərōh hāl aqəyūg tē šhəwbáh arībēhi ber síba.
- 10 *āmərōh h-aqəyūg, “nəħāh hándən. smēħəm līn.”* wə-sīrōh. wə-hēm l-aqəssēt ðəkəmah tē wəʃələm şawr. wə-təmmōt.

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7 *yəsyēr wə-yātōsí:* While the manuscripts have the expected subjunctives *yəsyēr* and *yātōsí*, on the audio Ali mistakenly read the imperfects *yəsyūr* and *yātésyən*, but then corrected the latter to *yātōsí*.

- 7 But the boys were hungry. Then one of them said, "I am tired from the singing, and I will go to sleep. But I'll tell so-and-so to replace me. He has already recovered now." Then he went to his friend, and he found him already full. He said to him, "You go now. Sing with so-and-so, and I'll eat. And when I am full, I'll come to you, and so-and-so can come and have dinner." He said, "Ok."
- 8 That guy that was sick went and came to the men by his friend. And they said to him, "How are you [lit. how do you find yourself]?" He said, "I have recovered, and I want to sing." And they sang.
- 9 And that (other) one had dinner. Then when he was full, he came to his friends. He said, "I am refreshed." That one who hadn't yet eaten dinner said, "I'm sleepy, and I'll go to sleep." And he went and had dinner. And the two sang by the men until they imagined that their friend was already full.
- 10 They said to the men, "We're sleepy, excuse us!" And they went away. And they did like this [lit. this story] until they got to Şur. And it is finished.



## Text 85 (no J; translated from Jahn 1902: 14–21): Ḥusn Mabda

- 1 *xəṭarāt ḥōkəm bə-rəḥbēt, wə-šəḥ aḡāh. w-aḡāh šəḥ ḥəbrətəh, wə-nḥəbōt āḡāwl ḏə-ḡəyūg. əttōli āmūr ḥōkəm h-aḡāh, “ḥəbrətək nəḥəbōt āḡāwl ḏə-ḡəyūg, wə-ḥəbrətək məšḡəḥbēta.” əttōli šītəm ḥīs ḡərīt ḥəbšəyḡət, wə-ḡəlāyəs ḥənīs.*
- 2 *te nəḥōr ṭayt, āmərūt ḥīs abālāts, “aḡēfi təwōli ḥəbántən ḏə-ḥədáydi, w-āmēri ḥīsən əḥōm l-ərmēs ḥənīsən.” sīrūt ḥāḡərīt. te wəşəlōt xāh ḏə-ḥāşən, ḡəbrīs ḥəbrē ḏə-ḥōkəm.*
- 3 *āmūr ḥīs, “tḥáymi əl-ḥō?” āmərūt, “ḥōm təwōli aḡótke.” āmūr ḥīs, “ərdēdi təwōli abālāts, w-āmēri ḥīs, ‘bər ḥədáydas ḡəḥōm ḡəşné’ káffəş, wə-ḡəzámş myēt ḡarş.”*
- 4 *sīrūt ḥāḡərīt təbáyk. ətté wəşəlōt abālāts, āmərūt ḥīs, “kō ḥēt təbēki?” āmərūt ḥīs, “bər ḥədáydas āmūr, ‘ḥōm əl-şné’ əkkáffəş; wə-ḡəzámş myēt ḡarş.” āmərūt ḥīs, “aḡēfi təwēhe wə-nkēy b-adərəḥəm. w-āmēri ḥəḥ anḥōr ḏə-aḡəmət ḡəḡrēḥ nəxāli xəwfēt, wə-məşşənyēta təḥ káffi.”*
- 5 *sīrūt ḥāḡərīt təwōli ḥəbrē ḏə-ḥōkəm w-āmərūt ḥəḥ, “āzēmi myēt ḏə-ḡarş, w-anḥōr ḏə-aḡəmət ḡərēḥ ənxāli xəwfēt.” wə-wzəmīs adərəḥəm. wə-sīrūt ḥāḡərīt təwōli abālāts wə-wzəməts adərəḥəm.*
- 6 *wə-sīrūt aḡəḡənōt təwōli aməstōn ḏə-ḥáybəs, wə-şəllūt şarx mən zaytūn. wə-nḥfətəh w-āmlōt ḥəḥ şōbə’ wə-ḥḥənyétəh.*
- 7 *te nəḥōr ḏə-aḡəmət, ḡərōḥ bər ḥədáydas nəxāli xəwfēt, wə-şşənyétəh anáḥf əḏ-zaytūn. āmūr, “l-əḥmēd aşəfərəts!”*
- 8 *te nəḥōr xəwfīt, āmūr ḥāḡərəts, “āmēri h-abālāts wəzmōna tīs myēti ṭrayt wə-l-şné’ aşəfərəts.”*
- 9 *sīrūt ḥāḡərīt təbáyk. te nəkōt ḥāl abālāts, āmərūt ḥīs, “kō ḥēt təbēki?” āmərūt, “bər ḥədáydas āmūr, ‘ḥōm əl-şné’ aşəfərəts mən xəwfēt’. wəzmōna tīş myēti ṭrayt.”*

1 *ḥəbrətəh*: In Jahn’s version of the story (in the Yemeni Mehri dialect of al-Ghayḏah), from which Johnstone’s version was loosely translated, the daughter is identified immediately as Ḥusn Mbadā [sic].

2 *xāh*: The audio and Roman manuscript have *axāh*.

7 *l-əḥmēd*: This 1cs subjunctive form of the verb *ḥəmūd* ‘praise’ is used idiomatically to mean something like ‘how X would/must be (if I could only experience it)!’. See *ML* (s.v. *ḥmd*) for more examples, nearly all of which were recorded by Johnstone in the Roman manuscript of this text.

### Translation of Text 85

- 1 Once there was a ruler in a town, and he had a brother. And his brother had a daughter, and she carried away the minds of men. So the ruler said to his brother, "Your daughter has carried away the minds of men, and she will become a whore." Then he bought her an Ethiopian slave-girl, and he left her with her.
- 2 Then one day, her mistress said to her, "Go to my uncle's daughters, and tell them I want to chat with them." The slave-girl went. Then when she got to the door of the castle, the son of the ruler met her.
- 3 He said to her, "Where are you headed?" She said, "I am headed to your sisters." He said to her, "Go back to your mistress, and tell her, 'Your cousin wants to see your hand, and he'll give you a hundred dollars'"
- 4 The slave-girl left crying. When she got to her mistress, she said to her, "Why are you crying?" She said to her, "Your cousin said, 'I want to see your hand', and he'll give you hundred dollars." She said to her, "Go to him and bring back the money. And tell him on Friday he should pass under the window, and I'll show him my hand."
- 5 The slave-girl went to the ruler's son and said to him, "Give me a hundred dollars, and on Friday, pass under the window." And he gave her the money. And the slave-girl went back to her mistress and gave her the money.
- 6 And the girl went to her father's plantation, and she took the branch of an olive tree. She sliced it and made fingers for it, and she put henna on it.
- 7 Then on Friday, her cousin passed under the window, and she showed him the slice from the olive tree. He said, "How her braids must be!"
- 8 Then the next day, he said to her slave-girl, "Tell your mistress I will give her two hundred dollars so I can see a braid of her hair."
- 9 The slave-girl left crying. Then when she got to her mistress, she said to her, "Why are you crying?" She said, "Your cousin said, 'I want to see a braid of your hair from the window'. He'll give you two hundred dollars."

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7 *aṣḥfaráts*: See the comments to 75:11 and 75:15.

9 *aṣḥfaráts*: Ali read *aṣḥfaráts* 'her braid' on the audio, but the manuscripts have *aṣḥfaráts* 'your braid'.

- 10 *āmārūt, “aḳēfi wə-nkēy b-adārēham, w-āmēri həh anhōr ḏ-agamāt yaḡrēh anxāli xəwḑēt.” sīrūt hāḡarīt wə-nkōt b-adārēham. wə-sīrūt aḡaggīt wə-bəṣārūt səb’áyyat ḏə-háybas, w-āmlōt ṣəfártən. wə-həndəxōt bīsən, w-āmlōt hīs ḏəyōtən ḡiyēd.*
- 11 *te nəhōr ḏ-agamāt, ḡarōh bər hədáydas, wə-śśənyétəh tīsən mən xəwḑēt. āmūr, “l-əhmēd arəmsáts!”*
- 12 *te nəhōr xəwḑūt, āmūr hāḡarīt, “āmēri h-abāláts, ‘wəzmōna tiš myēt ḡanī’, wə-l-ərmēs hənīs yalliləh.”*
- 13 *sīrūt hāḡarīt wə-kəwḑūt h-abāláts. āmārūt hīs, “aḳēfi wə-nkēy b-aḏəhēb, w-āmēri həh mən ḏār a’ísē yənké’.”*
- 14 *sīrūt hāḡarīt, wə-‘ádd līs aḏəhēb. wə-sīrūt təwōli abāláts. tōli azhəbēt həbsáyyat wə-həwbəsáts ṣáyḡət w-āmlōt hīs āṭōwər. wə-sē šəḳráwt.*
- 15 *te nūka həbrē ḏə-ḥōkəm, šxəwlūl hāl həbsáyyat. wə-wzəmətəh ḳəhwēt, wə-ḳəthō’ w-aḡasrō’.*
- 16 *te bə-halláy bārham šəwkīf, sīrūt aḡəḡənōt wə-ktəbūt bə-wərḳāt. āmārūt, “kaḑḑ əz-zaytūn, wə-ṣəfártən ḏə-səb’áyyəh. wə-rəmsēt ḏə-həbsáyyat, wə-bárt hədáydak ftkūt bəráyyat!” w-āṣbátəh b-aməndáyləh.*
- 17 *te k-sōbəḣ ftk həbrē ḏə-ḥōkəm, yəḥōm h-aməsgēd. te hīs bər əśályəm, sīnəm hābū awərḳāt b-aməndil ḏə-həbrē ḏə-ḥōkəm, w-əl əḣād yəšēnūs yəḡtáyṛ šəh lā. te həybəh yāšōš mánəh.*
- 18 *əttōli āmáwr hābū, “hēsən mən wərḳāt b-aməndáylək?” əttōli ḡəlūk wə-śənyīs, wə-ḣftkīs mən aməndáyləh. wə-hē əl yərtūki lā. tōli wəzmīs sēra’, w-āmūr həh, “lēzəm tərtáyḳ həyni awərḳāt ḏīməh.”*
- 19 *rəḳyīs sēra’. kūsa bərkīs, “kaḑḑ əz-zaytūn, wə-ṣəfártən ḏə-səb’áyyəh. wə-rəmsēt ḏə-həbsáyyat, wə-bárt hədáydak ftkūt bəráyyat!”*
- 20 *əttōli aḳōfi təwōli hədáydəh w-āmūr, “ḣamk tháḑḑki həbrátk.” səyūr hədáydəh təwōli həbrátəh w-āmūr hīs, “bər hədáydəš yəḥōm yəḣērəs bayš.”*
- 21 *āmārūt həybəs, “háḑḑki!” wə-ḑḑkáys.*

10 *səb’áyyat*: It is interesting that Ali used the Arabic construct form here in this genitive construction, even though he follows it with the Mehri genitive exponent *ḏə*-. Elsewhere in this text he read the word as *səb’áyyəh* (e.g., line 16). In his Arabic manuscript, he always wrote the word with its Arabic spelling, سبعية.

15 *aḡasrō’*: See the comment on *naḡásru* in 48:29.

16 *əz-zaytūn*: The Arabic manuscript has just *zaytūn*, but the audio has *əz-zaytūn* (< *ḏ-zaytūn*), as does the Roman manuscript (likewise in lines 19 and 35).

- 10 She said, "Go and bring back the money, and tell him on Friday he should pass under the window." The slave-girl went and brought back the money. And the girl went and tore a shawl of her father's, and she made braids. And she fumigated them (with incense), and she gave [lit. made for] it good scents.
- 11 Then on Friday, her cousin passed by, and she showed him them from the window. He said, "How her conversation must be!"
- 12 Then the next day, he said to the slave-girl, "Tell your mistress, 'I'll give you a hundred guineas', so I can chat with her tonight."
- 13 The slave-girl went and told her mistress. She said to her, "Go and bring back the gold, and tell him he should come after dinner."
- 14 The slave-girl went, and he counted out the gold for her. And she went back to her mistress. Then she dressed up the Ethiopian girl, put jewelry on her, and made perfumes for her. And she hid.
- 15 Then when the ruler's son came, he sat with the Ethiopian girl. And she gave him coffee, and he drank coffee and passed the evening.
- 16 Then at night when they had gone to sleep, the girl went and wrote on a piece of paper. She said, "The hand of an olive tree, and the braids of a shawl. A chat with an Ethiopian girl, and your cousin got away guilt-free!" And she tied it to his kerchief.
- 17 Then in the morning the ruler's son left, heading for the mosque. After they had prayed, the people saw the paper on the ruler's son's kerchief, but no one dared speak with him. Even his father was afraid of him.
- 18 Then the people said, "What kind of paper is on your kerchief?" Then he looked and saw it, and he took it off his kerchief. But he didn't read. So he gave it to the judge, and he said to him, "You must read this paper for me."
- 19 The judge read it. He found in it, "The hand of an olive tree, and the braids of a shawl. A chat with an Ethiopian girl, and your cousin got away guilt-free!"
- 20 Then he went to his uncle and said, "I want you to marry me to your daughter." His uncle went to his daughter and said to her, "Your cousin wants to marry you."
- 21 She said to her father, "Marry me off!" And he married her off.

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18 *tartáyk*: On the audio Ali read *tartáykas* 'read it', which does not fit the context, since the direct object (*awarkāt dīmāh*) is specified.

- 22 *te aášar xáylaf, wəküb aǵáyg. wə-sē āmlōt nūd débəh, wə-ffəkáwt lah bə-ǵəfnūtən. w-āmlōt ǵáyrah āṭar, wə-sē šəkráwt.*
- 23 *te nūka aǵáyg, bə-ḥáydah rəmḥāt. wə-ṭānis. wə-fərráwt antəfēt mən adébəh bərk xāhəh.*
- 24 *āmūr, “yā ‘azzatáyn! ađōrəs débəh!” wə-šxəwlül səwānōt. wə-nkōt mən sərīh wə-mənōt aǵənbáyyətəh w-āmərūt, “hām əl tḥōm tśléli b-awághək lā, wətǵáyta tük.” attōli šállis b-awághəh mən alūtəǵ.*
- 25 *wə-səyūr gēhəməh wə-hārūs bə-tēt aǵarhūt. wə-kəlyīs h-abáyət đə-ḥədáydah, wə-hərbáys aǵáwf. wə-ḥásən məbdé, həkəfdīs xōṭar bərk məxzēn. wə-wzəmis ḥāǵáwrəh. wə-šəmlük bīs wə-šxəwlül.*
- 26 *wə-ḥásən məbdé’ āmlōt məḥfərūt, wə-kəwbūt bərkīs zayr bəšār. hīs bə-ḥəlláy təwōh ḥāǵūr, āmərūt həh, “hām tḥámi, mələ’ azáy r mōh!”*
- 27 *wə-hātūm ḥāǵūr đə-yəzǵuf, ḥəlláywəh kálləh tē k-sōbəh. wə-sē šəwkǵūt. hīs k-sōbəh kəǵud ḥəbrē đə-ḥōkəm wə-šxəbūr ḥāǵūr, āmūr həh, “ḥībōh amātáymək?” āmūr ḥāǵūr, “ḥəlláywi kálləh ‘zəfē! zəfē!’” wə-wkəáwf mənəh.*
- 28 *wə-ttēt đə-ḥāǵūr šīs xəṭrək. āmərūt hīs tēt đə-ḥəbrē đə-ḥōkəm, “tḥáymi tśéməh lay?”*

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- 22 *ǵəfnūtən*: *ML* (*ǵfn*) gives the definition ‘coloured sheet used as a sari’, but in the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘wedding clothes (women’s clothes)’. He also added the Arabic word عبايه ‘*abāya*, the traditional robe worn by Muslim women.
- 22 *āṭar*: The manuscripts have the singular *āṭar*, but Ali read the plural *āṭōwər* on the audio (cf. line 14). The Roman manuscript has *āṭōwər* in parentheses in the margin.
- 24 *yā ‘azzatáyn*: The word ‘*azzatáyn*’ is not in *ML*, and it is obviously an Arabic form. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘I’m sorry’.
- 25 *məxzēn*: This word, a borrowing of Arabic *maxzan* ‘storeroom’, is not in *ML* (s.v. *xzn*), though we do find related words like *xəzūn* ‘store; seclude in a special room’ and *xəznēt* ‘treasury’ (better ‘treasure’ in texts 19:17 and 74:4). In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘down to [sic] hall’. I have translated it as ‘basement’, used in the sense of ‘storage room’.
- 26 *kəwbūt*: The Arabic manuscript and audio clearly have *kəwbūt*, the 3f perfect of the G-Stem verb *kəlūb* ‘return’. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone first missed this word completely, but then added *wkubuut* (with *k* instead of *k*) in parentheses in the margin. Stroemer’s edition has *həwkə-*

- 22 Then the next night, the man came in. She made a skin of honey, and she covered it with her clothes. And she put [lit. made] perfume on it, and she hid.
- 23 Then when the man came, in his hand was a spear, and he stabbed her. And a drop of the honey flew into his mouth.
- 24 He said, "Oh, I'm so sorry! Her blood is (like) honey!" And he sat for a little while. And she came up behind him and grabbed his dagger, and she said, "If you don't want to take me under your protection, I will kill you." Then he took her under his protection from being killed.
- 25 And he went the next day and married another woman. And he brought her to his uncle's house and took her upstairs. And (as for) Ḥusn Mabda, he took her downstairs into the basement. And he gave her to his slave. And he took marital possession of her, and they remained.
- 26 And Ḥusn Mabda made a pit, and she put a broken jar in it. When the slave came at night, she said to him, "If you want me, fill the jar with water!"
- 27 And the slave spent the night carrying water, his whole night until morning. And she went to sleep. When in the morning the ruler's son came down and questioned the slave, he said to him, "How was your night?" The slave said, "My whole night was 'Carry water! Carry water!'" And he was [or: they were] silent about it.
- 28 And the slave's wife had a stick. The ruler's son's wife said to her, "Do you want to sell it to me?"

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*būt* 'she put in', which fits the context, but is not supported by the manuscripts or audio. Jahn's version has *ḵalbōt* (= Omani *ḵəwbūt*), and Jahn (1902: 204) gives *lassen* ('leave') as a possible definition of this verb.

- 26 *mālē'*: This is the ms imperative of the G-Stem *mūla* (root *ml'*). We might expect *mālē'* (see §7.2.9), but the audio and Roman manuscript have *mālē'*. The Arabic manuscript has the spelling 𐤎, which suggests phonemic *mālē'*. Cf. also 97:7 and 97:21.
- 27 *ḥalláywəh*: The word *ḥalláy* 'night' has the base *ḥalláyw-* when suffixes are added. The non-suffixed form appears in the texts only in the compound *bə-ḥalláy*.
- 27 *amātáymək*: This word is not in *ML*, but it is from the same root (*'tm*) as the common verb *hātūm* 'spend the night'.
- 27 *zəfēf*: On the audio, Ali read *zəff* (perhaps an Arabism) in place of both occurrences of *zəfēf*.

- 29 *āmārūt, “śēmīta təh layš lā, ar wə-θáyimi tšákfi hāl aǵáygi, wə-hōh əl-šákf hāl aǵáygaš.”* *āmārūt, “yéye.”*
- 30 *te kaláyini, əttēt̄ ḏə-ḥəbrē ḏə-ḥōkəm kəfədūt hāl ḥāgūr, wə-ttēt̄ ḏə-ḥāgūr rəfot̄ hāl ḥəbrē ḏə-ḥōkəm. wə-šəwkif, wə-dáyini ḥaynūt̄ mən āšərsən. te k-sōbəh, ǵəhēməm ḥəbrē ḏə-ḥōkəm wə-ḥāǵáwrəh ḥagg, wə-ḥaynūt̄ šxəwlil.*
- 31 *tōli bīru. ámma ttēt̄ ḏə-ḥōkəm, nəkōt̄ bə-ǵīgēn ḥōwər, ǵūr. wə-ttēt̄ ḏə-ḥāgūr nəkōt̄ bə-ǵīgēn əwbōn.*
- 32 *əttōli nákam aǵəyūg mən ḥagg, wə-ḥəmbəráwtən bərhəm ḏə-yəsyáwr. əttōli xəšbīhəm ḥaynūt̄ yəǵbērəm ḥəbihəm bə-fəřšāt.*
- 33 *wə-səyáwr ḥəmbəráwtən te ǵəbáwr ḥəbihəm. ḥəbrē ḏə-ḥōkəm ḥōwər, ǵūr, wə-ḥəbrē ḏə-ḥāgūr əwbōn. əttōli fáššəh ḥəbrē ḏə-ḥōkəm, wəlākan wəkəwf.*
- 34 *te nákam abáy, āmūr ḥə-ttēt̄əh, “kalēti lay bə-kāl šiyən kálləh, wəlē wətgōna tīš!”* *āmārūt, “(ḥəsən məbdé’) šis xətrək, w-āmərk hīs, ‘śēməh lay!’* *āmārūt, ‘ḥōm lā, ar wə-θáyimi (t)šákfi hāl aǵáygi, wə-hōh əl-šákf hāl aǵáygaš’. wə-hōh šəwkəfk hāl ḥāgūr, wə-sē šəwkfūt̄ hənūk, wə-dáyənən mən āšərsən.”*
- 35 *tōli səyūr ḥəbrē ḏə-ḥōkəm te nūka hāl ḥəsən məbdé’. āmūr, “əlyəsdádš šǵǵəl ḏə-‘əmləš təh fənōhən lā? fənōhən ‘əmləš ḥáyini kəff əz-zaytūn, wə-mǵōrən ‘əmləš ḥáyini šəfártən ḏə-səb‘áyyəh, wə-mǵōrən kálaš tī l-ərmēs hāl ḥəbsáyyət. wə-mǵōrən ḥəyēš bə-ttēt̄i, wə-šəwkfūt̄ hāl ḥāgūr!”*
- 36 *āmārūt, “ar hēt̄ ḥōm təksēr šəráfi, θáffki ǵūr, wə-hōh bərt̄ ḥədáyək!”*
- 37 *āmūr, “hēt̄ b-awághi, wə-ḏéh ḥəbráy.”* *wə-təmmōt.*

31 *bīru*: *ML* (s.v. *brw*) lists a 3ms Ga-Stem perfect *bəro* (non-existent, since this verb is used only in the feminine), which would be equivalent to a 3fp *bəro*, since the 3ms perfect is always identical to the 3fp perfect. However, the audio here clearly has *bīru*, and the Arabic manuscript has *بيرو*. Jahn's version also has the form *bīru* (cf. also the discussion in Bittner 1911: 108). Rather than a Ga-Stem, as Johnstone's *bəro* suggests, this verb is actually a Gb-Stem. This is one of two Gb-Stems that preserve the original root consonant *w* (*bīru* < \**bīrəw*); the other is *ǵilu* 'be ill' (see § 7.2.10). The Jibbali cognate of this verb is also a Gb-Stem (*biri*).

34 (*ḥəsən məbdé'*): Ali read *ḥəsən məbdé'* on the audio, but it is not in the manuscripts.

36 *təksēr*: According to *ML* (s.v. *ksr*), the G-Stem *ksūr* means 'overcome, get the upper hand'. In this passage, the meaning is that of Arabic *kasara* 'break, destroy; violate'.

- 29 She said, "I won't sell it to you, unless you want to sleep with my husband, and I'll sleep with your husband." She said, "Ok."
- 30 Then in the evening, the wife of the ruler's son went down to the slave, and the wife of the slave went up to the ruler's son. And they went to bed, and the women got pregnant from their night. Then in the morning, the ruler's son and his slave went on the Hajj, and the women stayed.
- 31 Then they gave birth. As for the ruler's wife, she bore a black boy, a slave. And the slave's wife bore a white boy.
- 32 Then the men came back from the Hajj, and the boys were already walking. Then the women sent them to meet their fathers at the harbor.
- 33 And the boys went and [lit. until] they met their fathers. The son of the ruler was black, a slave, and the son of the slave was white. Then the ruler's son was embarrassed, but he kept quiet.
- 34 Then when they came to the house, he said to his wife, "Tell me absolutely everything [lit. everything all of it], or I'll kill you!" She said, "She (Ḥusn Mabda) had a stick, and I said to her, 'Sell it to me!' She said, 'I don't want to, unless you want to sleep with my husband, and I'll sleep with your husband.' So I slept with the slave, and she slept with you, and we got pregnant from our night."
- 35 Then the ruler's son went until he got to Ḥusn Mabda. He said, "The stuff that you did before wasn't enough for you? First you made me a hand from an olive tree, then you made me braids from a shawl, and then you left me to chat with an Ethiopian girl. And then you tricked my wife, and she slept with a slave!"
- 36 She said, "But you wanted to damage my honor, to marry me to a slave, and I am your cousin!"
- 37 He said, "You are under my protection, and this is my son." And it is finished.



## \*Text 86 (= J86): Conditionals

- 1 *thōm xsōrət, xəsrona.*  
 2 *thōm xədmēt, āmlōna hūk.*  
 3 *hām əl nākak bihəm lā, kəşşōna hərəhək.*  
 4 *hām šhəwābk ləh, (t)šhōl šī lā.*  
 5 *hām 'əmlək təh, hūk šī lā.*  
 6 *thōm təwtāgi, əwtāgi mən gayr səbēb!*  
 7 *hām šūk kərəwš mēkən, təwwək tházīdi.*  
 8 *hām šūk dərēhəm šī lā, əwəzmək (wəzmōna tīk).*  
 9 *mət bərk kərəyib əl-hāşən, ənfēg b-əsfēt sərūk!*  
 10 *hām əl gátri lā, kəşyēša (kəşāş) hərəhəh.*  
 11 *hām əl nākak bis lā, şəṭōna tīk.*  
 12 *hām šī gərəh lūk, hásaq bə-şəṭráyr!*

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- 7 *təwwək tházīdi*: The protasis *təwwək tházīdi* 'you ought to give me more' matches that of the Jibbali version of this sentence. However, in the Arabic manuscript and in the original Roman manuscript (the rougher draft), there are two options given for the protasis. In addition to *təwwək tházīdi*, we find also simply the imperative *házīdi* 'give me more!'. The transcription *təhzīdi*, found in Stroomer's edition (Johnstone had *thezīdi* in one Roman manuscript, and *thəzīdi* in the other), is an error for *tházīdi* (< *tházyədi*).
- 8 *əwəzmək*: In the older (rougher) Roman manuscript, there is only the imperfect *əwəzmək*, with the added word *sōbər* (in parentheses) and the translation 'I'll give you (always)'. The word *sōbər* is included in the later Roman manuscript without parentheses. In the Arabic manuscript, however, there is both *əwəzmək* and *wəzmōna tīk*, given as variant possibilities. After *əwəzmək* is added the Arabic word *dā'iman* ('forever, always', indicating a habitual future), and after *wəzmōna tīk* is added the word *mustaqbal* ('future', indicating a one-time event). Therefore, the word *sōbər* in the Roman manuscript (in parentheses) was intended only to clarify the sentence (like *dā'iman* in the Arabic manuscript).
- 10 *kəşyēša (kəşāş)*: The Arabic manuscript has *kəşyēša* 'we will cut off', which matches what is found in the Jibbali version of this sentence. However, both Roman manuscripts have instead the ms imperative *kəşāş* 'cut off!'. Both forms work in this context. In the Arabic manuscript, there is another (less violent) variant, *həbyēsa təh* 'we will imprison him'.

**Translation of Text 86**

- 1 (If) you want a bride-price, I will pay a bride-price.
- 2 (If) you want work, I will make (it) for you.
- 3 If you don't bring them, I will cut off your head.
- 4 If you warm yourself by it, you don't deserve anything.
- 5 If you do it, there is nothing for you [or: you will get nothing].
- 6 (If) you want to kill me, kill me without a reason!
- 7 If you have a lot of money, you ought to give me more.
- 8 If you don't have any money, I will give you (some).
- 9 When you are near the castle, throw the hair behind you!
- 10 If he doesn't speak, we will cut off his head.
- 11 If you don't bring her, I will kill you.
- 12 If anything happens to you, burn the rag!

## Text 88 (no J): A Treasure Trove

- 1 *xəṭərāt ǰəyüǰ hámam bə-ṭəmā' bərk kəzūt. w-aḱəzūt ḏákəməh, əl əḥād*  
*yəḱáwdər yəšárbas lā ar bə-mšəb. wə-yāmərəm aṭəmā' ḏə-ḥəǰrəh ǰənnáy.*  
*həm sātáyət məhréh wə-ṭət əfōri.*
- 2 *əttōli nəkáyhəm ǰəyǰ. əmūr, "hōh šay ktōb ḏə-yəhōra ans wə-ǰáns. wə-hām*  
*ṭəyım tsyērəm təwōli aṭəmā', hōh mərtáyḱ wə-mháwra mənkəm aǰənnáy."*
- 3 *ámáwr, "ənhōm." əmūr, "wəlākan háyni faḱḱ ḏ-aṭəmā'." əmáwr, "yéye."*
- 4 *səyáwr aǰəyüǰ, wə-hē šihəm. te nákam, əwbáwd məšəb, wə-šərbām te*  
*wəšəlam.*
- 5 *aǰəyüǰ ḥfawr, wə-ššəráyḱ rátḱi hūhəm nəhōri trayt. w-anhōr ḏə-šəwtūt,*  
*šínəm əlōmət ḏ-aṭəmā'. kūsəm xtüm ḏ-ḏəhēb, wə-kūsəm fəššát.*
- 6 *tōli əmūr əfōri, "aǰáyǰ ḏə-yəttərḏüm bə-xōṭər wəḱōna ar əl-hīs ḥābū." əttōli*  
*həməyh əššəráyḱ wə-ǰátvəḏ, wə-yəḱáwḱəl aktōb.*
- 7 *ədḥəm lə-wṭákəməh, nūka aǰənnáy. yāmərəm aǰəyüǰ, "aǰénsəh əl-hīs*  
*arīšūt, wəlākan aǰəwḏəyənəh əl-hīs ərbōt ǰəyüǰ, wə-báh ḱōni trōh."*
- 8 *amma aǰəyüǰ əmhərəh, ḱəfáwd əmsəb. w-amma əfōri, həwōh bə-ḥənáfəh*  
*te wīḱa b-amsəyōl ḥəšyōs.*
- 9 *wə-ḱəfáwd aǰəyüǰ wə-nāsəm təh. yāmərəm, "ṭət mən əfōri mōt, tūbər*  
*əkərmōt. wə-šələləm təh aǰáwḱ, te ḏər kərəmōt."*
- 10 *wə-ḱəbáwrəh. te šərōməh əḱábrəh ədəh šəhər.*
- 11 *w-amma aǰənnáy, dəḱáwl bə-ḥərōhəh ǰəzəl nōb, wə-həwōh bīs bərk*  
*əmhḱərūt mən hāl aǰəyüǰ ḥfawr.*
- 12 *ḏīməh kəwtēt şəṭḱ. wə-ḥáybi bər šīni əmkōn əḏ-báh aṭəmā', wə-bér ḥḱūr k-*  
*ḥābū. w-əmūr, "kūsən ḱālēw." w-əmkōn bə-ḥəwōdi ḏə-nšáwr, wə-hámm*  
*ḏ-aḱəzūt əḱərbāti.*

1 *ḱəzūt*: *ML* (s.v. *ḱwṣ/ḱwz*) gives the form *ḱəzūt*, while the English-Mehri word-list in *ML* (p. 501, 'cave') has *ḱəšōt*. The manuscript and audio evidence for this text has *ḱəzūt*. *ML* defines *ḱəzūt* as 'little, shallow, overhung mountain ledge', while in the Roman manuscript Johnstone added the gloss 'by cave, ledge'.

1 *məšəb*: Stroomer commented in a footnote in his edition of this text that *məšəb* was absent from *ML*, s.v. *šbb*. This is true, but the word appears (correctly) under the root *š'b*.

1 *əfōri*: According to Bakhit (1982: 55), the 'fār speak Ḥarsusi, and are closely connected with the Ḥarāsīs. See also J. Carter (1977: 24).

2 *yəhōra*: Ali clearly read *yəhōra*, and not *yəháwra* (the H-Stem 3ms subjunctive of *wr'*), *yəhəwré'* (what *ML*, s.v. *wr'*, lists as the H-Stem 3ms imperfect), or *yəháwra* (as in Stroomer's edition). Johnstone transcribed

### Translation of Text 88

- 1 Once some men heard about a treasure in a mountain-cave. And this cave, no one could climb up to it except with ladders. And they said the treasure was guarded by a jinn. They were three Mehris and one 'Ifari.
- 2 Then a man came to them. He said, "I have a book that keeps away men and jinn. And if you want to go to the treasure, I will read and keep the jinn away from you."
- 3 They said, "We want to." He said, "But I get [lit. for me is] half the treasure." They said, "Ok."
- 4 The men went, and he was with them. Then when they got there, they knocked together ladders, and they climbed up until they reached (it).
- 5 The men dug, and the holy man (*šarīf*) read for them for two days. And on the third day, they saw an indication of the treasure. They found rings of gold, and they found silver.
- 6 Then the 'Ifari said, "The man who is mumbling down there will be just like (other) people [i.e., will get a share]." Then the holy man heard him and got angry, and he closed the book.
- 7 While they were like this, the jinn came. The men said, "Its shape was like a snake, but its width was like four men, and it had two horns."
- 8 The Mehris, they went down the ladders. But the 'Ifari, he jumped off [lit. made himself fall] and [lit. until] he wound up on the valley-bottom all smashed (in his bones).
- 9 And the men went down and carried him on a bier. They said [or: sang], "One of the 'Ifar has died, his little pelvis shattered. So carry him up, up onto the little mountain."
- 10 And they buried him. Even now, his grave is still visible.
- 11 And as for the jinn, it butted a big boulder with its head, and made it fall into the hole where the men had dug.
- 12 This story is true. My father saw the place where the treasure was, and he dug with some people. And he said, "We found a milk-bowl." And the place is in the Wadi Nəšawr, and the name of the mountain-cave is Aḳərbāti.

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*yəhōre* in the Roman manuscript. In fact, *yəhōra* is the correct H-Stem 3ms imperfect of the root *wrʿ*. See also the comment on *yəhōka* in text 42:28.

5 *xtūm*: See the comment to text 22:51.

5 *kūsəm*: The manuscripts have *kūsəm fəššāt*, but Ali read *xtūm fəššāt*.

12 *aḳərbāti*: On the audio, Ali read *aḡəbrāti*. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone put "Negd" in the margin.

- 13 *wə-yāmərəm əngrīz ber śīnəm tīs, wəlākan əl wádak şəţķ aw bēdi. w-ámma amkōn, bəh ʧəmā' mətárrəx, wəlākan əl əḥād yəšənūs yəkrábəh lā.*
- 14 *đīməh aqəssēt təmmōt, wə-sē şəţķ.*

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13 *mətárrəx*: This is perhaps from an Arabic *mutārrix* (root ʾrx; cf. Arabic *taʾrīx* 'history'), though I have not found such a form attested.

- 13 And they say Englishman have seen it, but I don't know if it's true or a lie.  
And as for the place, there is a famous treasure in it, but no one dares to  
go near it.
- 14 This story is finished, and it is true.

## Text 89 (= J49): A Naughty Boy and Sweet Potatoes

- 1 *mākənnáy xəṭərət ʔayt ð-əwxāfən b-aşáyga ðékəməh, mən ǧār amáywət ð-aǧāy. wə-hōh məktáyli. wə-hārāwn ðə-həǧyūg, wə-hābū ðə-xəlāwṭ līn.*
- 2 *wə-šin hīṭār məkən, wə-háybi yəwōka k-hārāwn aw k-amōl.*
- 3 *wə-mət ḥaynīt fəlūk əl-hīṭār, əhūrək amáws ðə-háybi w-əshōṭ hīṭār. tōli ḥaynīt śənyáy, wə-mət thōmən təfləkən, ʔayt mənsən (t)śxəwlul ǧār śawər mən hāl takáblən lay.*
- 4 *wə-bér şatək sātáyṭ hīṭār, trōh ðə-nhāh wə-ṭāṭ ðə-hədádye.*
- 5 *wəlākan ḥāmáy wəzmáthəm hōṭər bə-háṭərham ðə-şhāt, wə-hēm gəzáwm əl yəşáyṭ bəh kəşáyṭat.*
- 6 *əttōli kərīw mənáy amáws ðə-háybi, wə-ḥaynīt l-ād kəl'áy əl-syər təwōli hīṭār lā.*
- 7 *te nəhōr ʔayt, wəkábk bərk aşáyga wə-kásk hōṭəri trōh, śkūl ðə-hādáyti, wə-xənákək ṭāṭ mənhēm.*
- 8 *wə-ḥaynīt hūma aşǧəráyṭ ðə-hōṭər wə-nūka. āmərūt hādáyti, “ā ḥəbráy, hōh əl śay ar hōṭəri trōh. wə-kō hēt həmwátk ṭāṭ?”*
- 9 *wə-sē təşhōk. āmárk, “ā hādáyti, ar śékəl!” əttōli səbtáti ḥāmáy wə-rşənáti əl-gəndēt te kaláyni.*
- 10 *wə-gəzámk l-ād əshōṭ hīṭār zōyəd, wə-hərxáwṭ lay.*
- 11 *wə-śxəwlulən. te mən ǧār wəkt, kəfūd ḥáybi arḥəbēt wə-nkáy n bə-fəndəl, ənṭōm fəndəl. wə-nhāh aḳənyáwn ādən əl nəǧərəb fəndəl lā.*
- 12 *w-āmūr háyni ḥáybi, “hām thōm hēt w-aǧátk (t)syərəm ǧār həməh, wəzmōna tikəm fəndəl mət nəkakəm.*
- 13 *wəlākan həððōr mən (t)sbēt aǧátk! wə-hām səbátk aǧátk, əl wəzmōna tik śi lā.” āmárk, “yéye.”*
- 14 *səyürən. tōli hōh hōm aǧáyti (t)śəléli te ǧār həməh. āmárk, “aǧáyti, śəléli!”*
- 15 *āmərūt, “hēt bərk səbb şərōməh, w-əl əkádər əl-ślék lā.”*
- 16 *tōli səyárk l-əsbáts. āmərūt háyni, “fəṭnək śi?” āmárk, “hēsən?”*
- 17 *āmərūt, “fṭon!” āmárk hōh, “fəndəl!” āmərūt, “āmūr hūk ḥáybi, ‘hām səbátk aǧátk, əl wəzmōna tik śi lā.”*
- 18 *tōli āmárk, “l-ād səbtōna tīş lā. w-əl təklēti əl-háybi lā.” āmərūt, “yéye.”*
- 19 *səyürən. te wəşələn ǧār həməh, məlūt lay bəráyık mōh.*

1 *aǧāy*: Jibbali text 51 (included in *JLO*) tells of the death of Ali's brother.

8 *ā ḥəbráy*: The manuscripts have *ā ḥəbráy*, but the audio has *yā ḥəbráy*, with the Arabic vocative particle.

**Translation of Text 89**

- 1 Now once we were camped in that shelter, after the death of my brother.  
And I was naughty. The goats had given birth, and people had joined with us.
- 2 And we had a lot of (goat) kids, and my father would stay with the goats or with the livestock.
- 3 And whenever the women let out the kids, I would steal my father's razor and slaughter the kids. Then the women saw me, and when they wanted to let out (kids), one of them would sit on a rock where she could watch me.
- 4 I had already killed three kids, two of ours and one of my uncles'.
- 5 But my mother gave them a kid for their kid that was slaughtered, but they swore they wouldn't take compensation for it.
- 6 Then they hid my father's razor from me, and the women didn't let me go by the kids anymore.
- 7 Then one day, I went into the shelter and found two kids, twins of my aunt. And I strangled one of them.
- 8 And the women heard the squealing of the kid and came. My aunt said, "My son, I only have two kids, so why did you kill one?"
- 9 And she was laughing. I said, "Aunt, (it was) only a twin." Then my mother hit me and tied me to a tree-trunk until the evening.
- 10 And I swore I would not slaughter kids anymore, and she let me go.
- 11 And we remained. Then after a while, my father went down to town and brought us back sweet potatoes, so that we could taste sweet potato. We children didn't yet know sweet potato.
- 12 And my father said to me, "If you want to go with your sister to the water, I'll give you sweet potatoes when you come back.
- 13 But be sure not to hit your sister! If you hit your sister, I won't give you anything." I said, "Ok."
- 14 We went. Then I wanted my sister to carry me up to the water. I said, "Sister, carry me!"
- 15 She said, "You're a young man now already, and I can't carry you."
- 16 Then I went to hit her. She said to me, "Do you remember something?" I said, "What?"
- 17 She said, "Remember!" I said, "Sweet potatoes." She said, "Father said to you, 'If you hit your sister, I won't give you anything'."
- 18 Then I said, "I won't hit you anymore. And don't tell father." She said, "Ok."
- 19 We went. Then when we reached the water, she filled a kettle with water for me.



- 20 *w-āmārūt háyni, “śálēl, w-āmrita háybi, ‘āli axáyr mən hambəráwtən kál!’*  
 21 *śállak abəráyḳ wə-ḏ-əftərīḥən bə-fəndēl. ādi əl əśénisən lā.*  
 22 *te kərbən əl-səkən, āmárk h-agáyti, “fəṭnaš sí?” āmārūt, “lā.” āmárk,*  
*“fəndēl!”*  
 23 *āmārūt, “háybi ḏə-yəbáyd būk. yəhámk (t)syēr ḏār hāmōh.”*  
 24 *hīs hámak tīs gətəryōt wəṭákəməh, rōdak b-abəráyḳ ḏə-bərkáh hāmōh,*  
*wə-śállak šāwər.*  
 25 *səyárk l-ərdéh agáyti. tōli šəgəyrráwt, wə-həwḥáyw hābū.*  
 26 *wə-nkōt hāmáy wə-səbtáti. wə-nḡámk mən ḏáyrhəm. āmūr háyni háybi,*  
*“ənké əw-bōh! wəzmōna tūk fəndēl.”*  
 27 *āmárk, “əl hámsən lā. sīrōna təwōli əxxálye.” wə-səyárk təwōli əxxálye. hēm*  
*ḳəráyb līn.*  
 28 *te nákak ḏ-əbáyḳ, āmūr xáyli, “ā bər-ḡáyti, kō hēt təbáyḳ?” āmárk, “səbtáti*  
*hāmáy, wə-hōh nəḡámk təwēke.”*  
 29 *tōli āmūr əxxáyli, “xáybən, ā bər-ḡáyti, ənké!” šxəwlēk hāl xáyli.*  
 30 *te kaláyni kəlōh hārāwn, wə-‘ásś xáyli wə-šḥāṭ wōz.*  
 31 *āmūr, “bər-ḡáyti ber nəḡām təwálye. šḥəṭōna hah.” te anhōr amšḡarēt,*  
*nəkōt hāmáy l-agərē (t)śáti.*  
 32 *āmūr xáyli, “əl yəsyūr lā, ar wə-tháymi təzáməh yəbūt.” āmārūt, “hēsən*  
*l-əzéməh? aḡīgēn məktáyli, w-əl əḥād yəḥōm yəxlēt līn lā əl-səbēbəh.*  
 33 *wə-səbūt hambəráwtən, wə-yəsübəṭ aḡáth.” āmūr xáyli, “wə-lū!”*  
 34 *əttōli wəzmáti yəbūt, wə-l-syēr šīs. āmūr xáyli, “kō tēm ḳálakəm təh yəsyēr*  
*wəḥših yəməših?”*  
 35 *āmārūt hāmáy, “əl nəḥágsəh yəsyēr lā. ḏə-ḡərábk təh ḏə-yəftərḥən bə-*  
*fəndēl, wəlākan aḡīgēn, aḳābəh šəff kōsi.” wə-səyárk k-hāmáy. wə-təmmōt.*

26 *nḡámk*: *ML* (s.v. *nḡm*) lists the 3ms perfect *nəḡm*, but this is just a mistake for *nəḡām*. The correct form *nəḡām* appears in the English-Mehri index, and in line 31 of this text. Also, the definition in *ML* suggests that the verb is used only for women, but this is not the case. A better definition is ‘go away angry; storm off’ (with *mən ḏār* ‘from’) or ‘come angry’ (with *təwōli* ‘to’).

31 *bər-ḡáyti*: The manuscripts have *ā bər-ḡáyti*, but we do not expect a vocative particle *ā* here, and there is no *ā* on the audio. It is possible that, instead of a vocative, Ali wrote the definite article *a-*, but that would also be unexpected.

32 *hēsən l-əzéməh*: The translation in Stroomer’s edition reads ‘why should I give it (to him)?’. The verb *wəzūm* ‘give’ takes a double direct object (see

- 20 And she said to me, "Carry (this) and I will say to father, 'Ali is better than all the (other) boys!'"
- 21 I carried the kettle and was excited about the sweet potatoes. I had never seen them.
- 22 Then when we got close to the settlement, I said to my sister, "Do you remember something?" She said, "No." I said, "Sweet potatoes!"
- 23 She said, "Father was lying to you. He wanted you to go to the water."
- 24 When I heard her talk like this, I threw the kettle that had the water in it, and I picked up a rock.
- 25 I went to pelt my sister. Then she shrieked and people came to help.
- 26 And my mother came and hit me. And I went away angry from them. My father said to me, "Come here! I'll give you sweet potatoes."
- 27 I said, "I don't want them. I am going to my uncles." And I went to my uncles. They were close to us.
- 28 Then when I came crying, my uncle said, "Nephew, why are you crying?" I said, "My mother hit me, so I've come to you angry."
- 29 Then my uncle said, "Ok, nephew, come." I stayed with my uncle.
- 30 Then in the evening, the goats came home, and my uncle got up and slaughtered a goat.
- 31 He said, "My nephew has come to me angry. I will slaughter for him." Then the next day, my mother came to get me.
- 32 My uncle said, "He won't go unless you want to give him a camel." She said, "Why should I give him (a camel)? The boy is naughty, and no one wants to join up with us because of him.
- 33 He's hit the boys and he hits his sister." My uncle said, "Even so!"
- 34 Then she gave me a camel so I would go with her. My uncle said, "Why did you all let him go by himself yesterday?"
- 35 My mother said, "We didn't think he would go. I knew he was excited about the sweet potatoes, but the boy, it turns out his heart is hard." And I went with my mother. And it is finished.

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§ 8.12), and so an object suffix on the verb can in theory refer to either the patient (English d.o.) or recipient (English i.o.). However, in this passage the suffix must refer to 'him', since the object being given is feminine (*yābīt* 'camel'). The verb 'I should give it (f.)' would be *l-əzém̄s*.

- 32 *līn*: Though the audio has *līn*, the Arabic manuscript has *bīn* (cf. 1:2). The corresponding Jibbali version has *ben* in this line (but *len* in line 1!).

## Text 90 (= J57): A Mother's Advice

- 1 Mother: "kələ' āzāwm alyōmah! haft ðār sawr tāt!"  
 2 Boy: "əl wadak əl-ħō əl-hīwəl lā."  
 3 M: "fisé! tāká' dəháys lā!"  
 4 B: "xáybən, háfti háyni!"  
 5 M: "hām thāmi əl-háft hūk, āká' hal-hállā b-amōlak."  
 6 B: "ðōmah əl hē sawr gīd lā."  
 7 M: "lawb mālēz aġigēn ðōmah. xáybən, ar hībōh thōm tāmōl? thōm təštəlāwl? əl əħād yənáfak lā ar amōlak. yəšháyk šūk bərk awághək, wə-mġōrən yəðmáwmək. yāmarəm, 'šīnkəm həbrē ðə-bat fəlān?"  
 8 B: "līham hēsən mənáy? wələ məkā xā hēm xələkəm."  
 9 M: "hələk lūk tšémni."  
 10 B: "xáybən bəháryi bay!"  
 11 M: "xáybən əbōb həbráy, šémni!"  
 12 B: "hīs ber bəhéřš bay, məšēmən tīš."  
 13 M: "əl-frēh bə-həbráy!"  
 14 B: "hēsən thāmi l-āmōl?"  
 15 M: "fənohən āká' hal-hállā b-amhəgək. wə-mġōrən əl təġtáyř ġəřōy kōmah lā bərk həgēr. wə-sōlət, āká' əð-fərhək, te wə-lū ðə-máthənək. aġəyūg yəghilək hákəkək, hām ġátyəðək. wə-yəġiðən tik l-agərē txələs wə-tərkábk hōrəm. məwşəyəta šūk b-anġāṭ alyōmah." wə-təmmōt.

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- 5 *hal-hállā*: Though this word appears in *ML* under the root *hl*, see *JL* (s.v. 'lhl') on the Arabic source of the word and its possible etymology.
- 7 *təštəlāwl*: It is unclear if we should transcribe *təštəlāwl* or *təštəlāwl*. The Roman manuscript and *ML* (s.v. *šll*) have *ś*, but Ali spelled the word with ض in the Arabic manuscript, suggesting *š*, and the audio seems to support this. Cf. Arabic *ḍalla* 'go astray, lose one's way', which may be the source of (or cognate with) the Mehri verb, or which may at least be the source of Ali's spelling. In the Jibbali version of the text (J57:7) we have the same problem, in that the Roman manuscript (and the accompanying word-list) and *JL* have *ś*, but Ali spelled the word with ض. Cf. also Mehri *šəll* 'disappear, go away' (*ML*, s.v. *šll*).
- 7 *yəšháyk*: On the audio, Ali mistakenly read *yəšháykəm*, though he had correctly written *yəšháyk* in the Arabic manuscript.
- 9 *hələk*: This is an H-Stem perfect of the root *hl*, which *ML* (s.v. *hl*) defines only as 'adjure'. In the earlier Roman manuscript, Johnstone glossed the verb as 'I swear; promise; adjure'. The corresponding passage in the Jibbali

## Translation of Text 90

- 1 Mother: "Leave these plans aside. Focus on one plan!"  
 2 Boy: "I don't know where I should direct myself."  
 3 M: "Hurry up! Don't be stubborn!"  
 4 B: "Ok, advise me!"  
 5 M: "If you want me to advise you, be mindful of your livestock."  
 6 B: "That is not good advice."  
 7 M: "Truly, this boy is sickening. Ok, so what do you want to do? Do you want to drift around aimlessly? No one will be of use to you except your livestock. They will laugh with you to your face, and then they will criticize you. They'll say, 'Have you seen the son of such-and-such house [or: clan]?'"  
 8 B: "What are they to me? It's as if they were never [lit. not] born."  
 9 M: "I swear you *will* obey me!"  
 10 B: "Ok, ask me for help!"  
 11 M: "Ok, please, my son, obey me!"  
 12 B: "Since you have asked me for help, I will obey you."  
 13 M: "Let me rejoice in my son!"  
 14 B: "What do you want me to do?"  
 15 M: "First, be mindful of your family property. And then don't use [lit. speak] bad language in public. And third, be (like) you're happy, even if you're sad [or: in trouble]. People will steal from you your right, if you get angry. They will anger you so that you will go astray and put yourself in the wrong. I advise you on these points." And it is finished.

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version has *xalák*, which seems to be an H-Stem of the root *xl'*. The verbs are probably related, despite the irregular sound correspondence *x~h*. One Jibbali speaker that I met, whose English was weak, glossed *xalák* as 'I swear'. Another explained that this word is used (or was used; the word is old-fashioned), usually by a parent or family member, with the sense of 'you must obey!'.

- 15 *amḥagēk*: The word *məḥgē* 'family property, household' is not in *ML*, though the Jibbali cognate *məḥgē* 'family; family property' appears in *JL* (s.v. *ḥgv*). In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss 'property'. Related in meaning is the verb *ḥátgi*, defined in *ML* (s.v. *ḥgw*) as 'stay at home', and in *HL* (s.v. *ḥgw*) as 'stay with one's family'.
- 15 *tərkábk ḥōrəm*: This idiom means literally something like 'the road will ride you'.

## Text 91 (no J): A Journey to Dubai

- 1 *xəṭərāt anḥāh sātáyť əmbəráwtən, nəḥōm nəssōfər. wə-gəhēmən mən hāl ḥaskányən, w-əl šīn kəráwš lā h-anáwl. wəlākan ṭāť mənīn, sōx, šəh məndáwķ. wə-sállən təh nəhárhənəh b-anáwl.*
- 2 *wəlākan ḏə-fflōtən mən ḏār ḥábyən, w-əl šīn kəráwš lā. wə-gəhēmən ḏə-nsyūr l-aráwrəm, nəḥōm rəḥbət ṭayť nəhárhən bīs aməndáwķən. hīs bərən b-aámķ, ğəbūrən ğūr. wə-šáh kəráwš, wə-šáh sā'ah bərk ḥáydəh.*
- 3 *əttōli əmūrən, “nəḥōm nəġsábəh aķərəšhe wə-sā'ətəh.” hīs sənyīn ḥāġūr, yəšš, wə-xəšš bərk aráwrəm. wə-tában təh, wə-tōli bəhər bīn. əmūr, “hōh ğayġ fəķáyř, wə-táwwəķəm təķlēm tī.”*
- 4 *hīs hámak təh wəťákəməh, ğášnək mánəh, w-āmárk hərbātye, “nəḥōm nəķlēh.” wə-ķálan təh, wə-səyūr ḥāġūr. hīs bərəh rəḥəķ, kəšš bīn šətəh w-abárķa.*
- 5 *əttōli ğátyəḏən ləh, wə-bəġūdən təh te ləḥāķən. hīs əlḥāķən təh, bəkōh. hīs bəkōh, ğášnək mánəh w-arábak təh. w-aķáfyən.*
- 6 *te ķərbən l-arḥəbət, kūsən hēxər ḏə-ḥəġūr fəndəl. hīs ķərbən ləh, əmūrən, “ənḥōm ṭāť yāķá' ḥáywəl, wə-trōh yəmnēm təh.”*
- 7 *wə-wīķa ṭāť mənīn ḥáywəl, wə-hōh wə-ššōx mánən təh. te nákan bəh hāl hēxər, šxəbərīn. əmūr, “hēsən mən ğīgēn ḏōməh?”*
- 8 *əmūrən, “hē ğīgēn ḥáywəl, wə-nḥōm nəssōfər bəh. wə-hām hərxāyən ləh, yəššən təh mən yəháḥrəķ b-āmáwlət ḏə-ḥābū. wəlākan šərōməh l-ād ķədūrən ləh lā. wə-šmlək təh nəķlēh bəwməh.”*
- 9 *əmūr hēxər, “ábđan, əbōbne tēm, təķlēm təh bəwməh lā! wə-hōh wəzmōna tikəm azwōdkəm.” əmūr ḥáywəl, “lawb šūk əmēl ġid! his-táw, əḥād yəháḥrəķ bəh!”*
- 10 *əmūr hēxər, “áywa! hámakəm? əzūm l-əmēli!” əmūrən həh, “əzéməh šī wə-yəķlēk. nəḥáməh yəsyēr šīn.”*
- 11 *əmūr hēxər h-ḥáywəl, “hēsən ṭḥōm?” əmūr, “ḥōm əl-háḥrəķ b-əmēlək.” əmūr hēxər, “syēr k-aġáwķe!” əmūr ḥáywəl, “ḥōm lā, ar wə-ṭḥōm təzēmi aġədáyli fəndəl.”*
- 12 *əmūr, “wəzmōna tik. wə-syēr mənáy!” wə-wzəmáh, wə-səyūrən te nákan hāl ğayġ bə-rḥəbət. hərhōnən aməndáwķən hənáh.*

10 *áywa*: The Roman manuscript has *áywa* (Arabic ‘yes’), and the transcription in the Arabic manuscript (أىوا) seems to support this. On the audio, Ali read something like *iyōh*, a reading which the Arabic manuscript also supports.

**Translation of Text 91**

- 1 Once we were three boys, wanting to travel. We went from our families, but we didn't have money for the fare. But one of us, the big [or: oldest] one, had a rifle. And we took it to pawn it for the fare.
- 2 So we ran away from our parents, and we didn't have any money. And we went, going along the sea, heading for a certain town in which we could pawn our rifle. When we were on the way [lit. in the middle], we met a slave. He had money, and he had a watch in his hand.
- 3 Then we said, "We should snatch his money and his watch." When the slave saw us, he got scared, and he waded into the sea. We followed him, and then he pled with us. He said, "I am a poor man, and you ought to leave me alone."
- 4 When I heard him like this, I felt compassion for him, and I said to my companions, "We should leave him alone." And we left him alone, and the slave went on. After he was far away, he flashed his buttocks to us and ran.
- 5 Then we got angry at him, and we chased him and [lit. until] we caught up. When we caught up to him, he started to cry. When he cried, I felt compassion for him, and I gave him protection. And we left.
- 6 Then when we got near the town, we found an old man guarding sweet potatoes. When we got near him, we said, "Let's one of us be crazy, and two should hold him back."
- 7 And one of us became crazy, and the big one and I held him back. Then when we came to the old man, he questioned us. He said, "What kind of boy is this?"
- 8 We said, "He is a crazy boy, and we want to travel with him. And if we let him go, we're afraid he will burn people's fields. But now we can't manage him anymore. I think we'll leave him here."
- 9 The old man said, "No way, please don't leave him here! I will give you your supplies." The crazy one said, "Indeed you have a good field! Surely someone should burn it!"
- 10 The old man said, "Ah, did you hear? He has designs on my field!" We said to him, "Give him something, and he'll leave you alone. We want him to go with us."
- 11 The old man said to the crazy one, "What do you want?" He said, "I want to burn your field." The old man said, "Go with your brothers!" The crazy one said, "I won't, unless you want to give me my bundle of sweet potatoes."
- 12 He said, "I will give you. But go away from me!" And he gave him (some), and we went until we got to a man in a town. We pawned our rifle with him.

- 13 *wə-šxawlülən. te mən ǰār nəhōri ʔrayt, nūka lang yəhōm h-xəlīg. sáfrən bərkūh. nəḥāh nəhōm məskōt. te mən ǰār nəhōri ʔrayt, əwbədatən ǰərbēt, wə-hərsīyən bə-gzáyrat wəḵōna gəmət. wə-nḥāh əl ʔədūrən nəssōfər lā. wə-šəḵšōrən azəwōd.*
- 14 *əttōli əmūrən h-anōxəðē, “sōm līn ʔawt!” əmūr, “hōm lā. fənwikəm məskōt.” tōli əmūrən, “aǰáyǰ ǰōməh əl bəh ḥəsmēt lā, w-əl bihəm ǰ-əwəwīn lā.”*
- 15 *te bə-ḥalláy, əmərōh háyni hərbātye, “hēt ʔənnáwn, w-əl əḥād yəsényək lā. wə-ʔəfəd bərk xan wə-nkēn bə-tōmər w-ayś. wə-hām əḥād ksūk, hēt ʔənnáwn, əl əḥād yənwūḵəd lūk lā. wə-nḥāh əmyēra, wə-hām šīnən əḥād yəhōm yəḵfəd bərk xan, məḥəððərūtən tūk.” əmárk, “yéye.”*
- 16 *te bə-ḥalláy, ʔəfədk. wə-šáff hēxər šəwkūf bərk xan. wə-hōh šay aktīw, w-əl həbšárk lā. wə-ǰ-admīmən bə-ḥáydi. te wáḵak ǰār əgrēzəh, wəḵōna əl-hīs rōh ǰə-mnēdam.*
- 17 *wə-fərr ǰə-yəšǰīrūr, wə-hōh ftəkk mən xan. te nákak hərbātye ǰ-əšḥōk, əmáwr, “ar a’isē ḥō?” əmárk hūhəm, “hōh kəsk ‘ayśē, wəlākan əlhāḵək təh lā. ǰār raff.”*
- 18 *wəlākan ʔəṭ mənəkēm əð-hē ʔəwáyyl yəsyēr yəḵfəd bərk xan, wə-yəkēb əl-ḥáydəh sáyməl mən ǰayr šayḥ. wə-yədámdəm bə-ḥáydəh. ksōna ʔáwzərət ǰ-tōmər wə-skēr w-ayś bərk məǰfēs ǰār raff.”*
- 19 *tōli ‘ásś ʔəṭ wə-səyūr, wə-ǰə-yəḍáwbər. wə-yōmər, “ǰək ar yəsšək!” wə-ʔəfūd. te wīšəl, adámdəm bə-ḥáydəh. wə-hēxər amənkáwəl əð-šəwkūf. wə-šəḥ awákt, wə-ǰáyrah fīkā lā.*
- 20 *te wīka ǰār əgrēz ǰə-hēxər, wə-ḥádd bīs. yəhūgəs məǰfēs ǰə-ʔáwt. wə-šǰayrūr hēxər wə-yōmər, “ā kəlob! ʔəlyē tī əl-šəḵf lā!” əttōli a’yūt aǰīgēn. yōmər, “mənkáwəl! mənkáwəl!”*
- 21 *əmūr hēxər, “āḵāf! wə-wəzmōna tīk əlhān thōm, wə-ʔələś’ aǰəroý!” əmūr, “xáybən, əzēmi ayś wə-skēr wə-šēhi wə-tōmər, azwōdən te məskōt, w-əl kəwtōna h-əḥād lā.”*

- 16 *te wáḵak*: The Arabic manuscript has (ك)قا و. The final ك in parentheses may have been added by a different hand. On the audio, Ali stumbled a bit, then read *te wōka* (for *te əwōka*, the 1cs imperfect). Perhaps an original قا و, was simply an error for كقا و (*wáḵak*), which was later corrected. That is, perhaps قا و was simply a nonsensical (erroneous) *wáka*, rather than an imperfect *əwōka*. Both *wáḵak* and *əwōka* fit the context, but though the imperfect tense generally is found quite often used as a narrative past, the imperfect of the verb *wīka* is very rare in Johnstone’s texts; it is attested just once as a narrative past (104:19) and twice as a habitual (17:11; 89:2).

- 13 And we stayed. Then after two days, a boat headed for the Gulf came. We traveled in it. We were heading for Muscat. Then after two days, a wind-storm hit us, and we anchored at an island for about a week. So we couldn't travel. And we ran short of supplies.
- 14 Then we said to the captain, "Sell us food!" He said, "I don't want to. Muscat is (just) ahead of you." Then we said, "This man has no honor [or: respect], and there is no one among them that has helped us."
- 15 Then at night, my friends said to me, "You are small, and no one will see you. So go down into the hold and bring us back dates and rice. And if anyone finds you, you are small, so no one will fault you. And we will sing, and if we see anyone wanting to go down into the hold, we'll warn you." I said, "Ok."
- 16 Then at night, I went down. And it turned out an old man was sleeping in the hold. It was dark, and I couldn't see well. And I was feeling around with my hand. Then I happened upon his testicle, (which was) about like (the size of) a person's head.
- 17 And he jumped up shrieking, and I ran out of the hold. Then when I got to my friends laughing, they said, "So where is the dinner?" I said to them, "I found dinner, but I didn't get it. It's on a shelf."
- 18 But one of you who is tall should go walk down into the hold, and enter into the left side without a sound. And he should feel around with his hand. He'll find a basket of dates, sugar, and rice in a package on a shelf."
- 19 Then one got up and went, and he was grumbling. He was saying, "It's just that you're afraid!" And he went down. Then when he got there, he felt around with his hand. And the old man with swollen testicles was sleeping. And it was hot, so he had no covering on him.
- 20 Then he happened upon the old man's testicle, and pulled on it. He thought it was a package of food. And the old man shrieked and said, "You dogs! You won't let me sleep!" Then the boy yelled. He said, "Swollen testicle! Swollen testicle!"
- 21 The old man said, "Be quiet! I'll give you whatever you want, but stop the talking!" He said, "Ok, give me rice, sugar, tea, and dates, our provisions until Muscat, and I won't tell anyone."

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19 *awákt*: The manuscripts have *awákt* 'heat', but on the audio Ali read *aktīw* 'darkness' (cf. line 16).



- 22 *wəzmáh, wə-səyūr aǵīgēn tē ʔnkáyn. ksáki, hōh w-aribēy, ðə-nəšhōk. hōh kəlátk l-aǵáyg ðə-hənáy, hīs aǵīgēn aqōfi bərk xan.*
- 23 *wə-nhāh šin təkáwšəʔ, w-əntáwhən nəhāh w-bəhərēt mən ðār aməṭbāx. w-əl šēnīs yəkráybən lā. tē bə-ħálláy, āmūr hīhəm anōxəðē, “məṭ ħəmbəráwtən šəwkif, ərdīyəm bə-xəṭáwrkihəm aráwrəm!” tē bə-ħálláy bərán šəwkōfən, hərəwək xəṭáwrkyən wə-rədīw bīhəm ráwrəm. tē k-sōbəh l-ād kūsən xəṭáwrkyən lā.*
- 24 *āmūrən h-anōxəðē, “ar xəṭáwrkyən hō?” āmūr, “əl wádak lā.” āmūrən, “ətēm səlábkəm tīn, wə-ðōməh b-aqān ayb. əzémən xəṭáwrkyən, wələ məšənhərūtən bīkəm əm-məškōt.*
- 25 *w-aħkámtn təǵōrəb səláwbən. fənōhən xōzək mən (t)šōm līn kəwt, wə-mǵōrən xōzkəm l-aməṭbāx wə-hərəkəkəm tīn xəṭáwrkyən.”*
- 26 *āmūr, “šénhərəm!” səyūrən tē wəšələn məškōt. ərṭáwǵən. āmūrən, “əl məšənhərūtən bəh šərōməh lā. kəlīyē təh tē, bərəh yəhōm yəsyēr, məšənhərūtən bəh. w-aǵáyg dəfōna hīn m-ād nəṭləh.”*
- 27 *tē wəšələn məškōt, šxəwlūlən nəhōri trəyt. tē anhōr šəwtīt, bərəh yəhōm yəghōm, ráfam līn āskēr yəhárxəšəm tīn. əttōli šənháwrən hənīhəm.*
- 28 *wə-kəlūtən līhəm b-aqəssēt kálləs. āmáwr āskēr, “ðīməh gərəymət.” w-anōxəðē bərəh yəhōm yəssōfər. āmáwr həh āskēr, “wə-kōh əl (t)šōm līhəm kəwt lā? wə-hām mōtəm mən aǵəwéʔ bərk amħəmələk, mōn mēsūl? wə-məǵōrən hərəkəkəm tīhəm xəṭáwrkihəm.”*
- 29 *āmūr anōxəðē, “hōh əl əsūməh bə-xəṭáwrək bərk amħəməli lā.” āmūrən nəhāh, “ādən bərk aħkámtn, w-aħkámtn tsūməh bə-xəṭáwrək. wə-hēt əl hēt hōkəm lā.”*

22 *ksáki*: We might expect the suffix *-iki*, but the manuscripts and audio have *ksáki*. The vowel *á* cannot just be because of the III-ʔ root, because we find the expected vowel *ī* in other forms of this verb with an object suffix, e.g., *ksīs* ‘he found it’ (22:69) and *ksīhəm* ‘he found them’ (44:12). Unfortunately, this is the only example in our texts of a 3ms perfect plus a dual object suffix. We also find the 3cd suffix *-əhi* with prepositions, and *ML* (p. xvii) also records *-áki*. See the comments to the first two tables in § 8.23.

23 *xəṭáwrkihəm*: The underlying form is *\*xəṭáwrkihəm*. The *áw* must be in an open syllable, otherwise it would be reduced to *á* (e.g., *\*xəṭárkihəm*). Likewise for the other seven occurrences of this suffixed noun in this text.

24 *əm-məškōt*: This is for *b-məškōt*, but the *b-* was not written in the Arabic manuscript. The initial gemination is very slight on the audio.

26 *ərṭáwǵən*: The T2-Stem 3ms perfect *ərṭawūg* ‘he plotted, made a plan’ should have a 3mp *ərṭəwīg* and 1cp *ərṭəwōǵən* (cf. *əhtəwōlən* in 4:15). Here

- 22 He gave him (them), and the boy went until he got to us. He found us, me and my friend, laughing. I told the guy that was with me, when the boy went into the hold.
- 23 And we had clubs, and we and the sailors would fight over the kitchen. And they didn't dare get near us. Then at night, the captain said to them, "When the boys go to sleep, throw their sticks into the sea!" Then at night, when we had fallen asleep, they stole our sticks and threw them into the sea. In the morning, we didn't find our sticks anymore.
- 24 We said to the captain, "So where are our sticks?" He said, "I don't know." We said, "You've disarmed us, and this is a disgrace in our country. Give us our sticks, or else we'll lodge a complaint against you in Muscat!
- 25 And the government knows our custom. First you refused to sell us food, and then you refused us the kitchen and stole our sticks from us."
- 26 He said, "Lodge a complaint!" We went until we reached Muscat. We made a plan. We said, "We won't lodge a complaint against him now. We'll leave it until, when he is about to go, we'll lodge a complaint against him. And the man will pay us so that we don't hold him up."
- 27 Then when we got to Muscat, we remained for two days. Then on the third day, when he was about to go, soldiers boarded us to allow us to leave. Then we lodged a complaint with them.
- 28 And we told them the whole story. The soldiers said, "This is a crime." And the captain had wanted to [or: was about to] leave. The soldiers said to him, "Why wouldn't you sell them food? And if they died of hunger on your ship, who would be responsible? And then you stole their sticks from them."
- 29 The captain said, "I don't allow sticks on my ship." We said, "We are still in our own jurisdiction, and our jurisdiction allows sticks. You are not the ruler."

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we find 1cp *ərtáwgən*, and *ML* (s.v. *rwg*) gives both *ərtəwīg* and *ərtáwgəm* for the 3mp perfect. The forms *ərtáwgəm* and *ərtáwgən* must be analogical with II-w, III-Guttural verbs like *əntōwəḥ* (3mp *əntáwḥəm*).

- 26 *nāṭlah*: This form is a 1cp subjunctive plus a 3ms object suffix. The audio clearly has *nāṭlah*, the Roman manuscript has *naa'aaṭ<sup>o</sup>lah*, and the Arabic manuscript has the unusual spelling *ناطله*. *ML* lists a G-Stem *āṭáwl* 'delay', but the G-Stem subjunctive form here would be *nāṭálah* (< 1cp subjunctive *nāṭōl* + 3ms *-h*). In line 31, the G-Stem has an intransitive meaning 'be delayed'. The form *nāṭlah* in line 26 must be from a D/L-Stem *ōṭal* (1cp subjunctive *nōṭal*). Cf. also Arabic D *'aṭṭala* 'hinder'.

- 30 *attōli āmūr anōxəðē, “wə-kōh əl šənháyir hīs wəšələn?” āmūrən, “hēt šəwēdək tīn təzəmən xəṭáwrkyən, wə-l-ād nəšánhər lā. wə-šəroməh əl wəzámk tīn tīhəm lā.”*
- 31 *āmáwr āskēr, “šəroməh əl šūk sfēr lā. b-arāyək mən tatyábhəm wə-yəsmēhem tīk, wə-b-arāyək mən təkfēd šīn təwōli aḥkáwmət wə-tāṭōl yəmōh.”*
- 32 *āmūr anōxəðē, “l-ād ḥámhəm šay lā. wəzmōna tīhəm anáwlhəm mən šəfōr tē báwməh, wə-fkēkəm tī mənḥēm!” āmáwr āskēr, “b-arāyək, nəḥāh əl nəḥáwkəm lūk lā.” āmūr anōxəðē, “ḥōm.”*
- 33 *attōli wəzmīn anáwlən ḏə-mən šəfōr tē məškōt, wə-sámḥən təh mən xəṭáwrək. wə-ḵəfūdən, wə-hē əssōfər. wə-nḥāh sáfrən bərk máwtər mən məškōt tē dəbáy. wə-təmmōt aḵəssēt.*

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30 *šənháyir*: Though the Arabic manuscript and audio have 3mp *šənháyir*, the Roman manuscript originally had 2mp *šənhárkəm* ‘(why didn’t) you lodge a complaint’.

31 *tatyábhəm*: Ali stumbled on this word on the audio, and in the end read something that sounds closer to *tatyībhəm*. We expect *tatyábhəm* (< *tatyīb-həm*), with reduction of *ī* > *é* in the closed non-final syllable.

- 30 Then the captain said, "So why didn't they lodge a complaint when we arrived?" We said, "You promised us you'd give us our sticks, and we wouldn't lodge a complaint. But now you didn't give them to us."
- 31 The soldiers said, "Now you don't have (permission to) travel. Either you can appease them and they can forgive you, or you can come down with us to the authorities and be held up today."
- 32 The captain said, "I don't want them with me anymore. I will give them their fare from Dhofar to here, and rid me of them!" The soldiers said, "If you wish, we won't prosecute you." The captain said, "I do [lit. I want]."
- 33 Then he gave us our fare from Dhofar to Muscat, and we forgave him for the sticks. And we got down, and he left. And we traveled in a car from Muscat to Dubai. And the story is finished.

## Text 92 (no J): A Saint's Tomb

- 1 *fənoħan hābū hənīn yātəkáydan bə-gáyg əð-ķəbēr bə-nšáwr, bə-wōdi  
b-anágd. wə-yāmərəm (həh) wəláy. tē āšər ʔāt, ǵayg ðə-yəxxwīšən  
ħəlákəməh. wə-háh ərbōt āšáwr. tōli šəķšáwr aķáwt, wə-səyūr tē ðār aķōbər  
ð-aǵáyg ðékəməh. ðōməh mən aǵərōyāh.*
- 2 *āmūr, “w-āmárk, ‘hām thámaɣ, hōh ǵayg ð-əl šay ķawt lā.” āmūr, “wə-  
ráddək. tē kaláyni,” āmūr, “šīnək yəʔáyl həkḅūl lay, wə-bárk xāhəh šāħən  
ðə-mīla ķáwt. tē b-aðébəli, həwķáyh w-aķōfi.”*
- 3 *āmūr, “šállək təh w-ātésyək.” āmūr, “šxəwlək xáyməh yūm. w-aytáyl, mət  
ǵəzōt ħəyáwm, yənákay bə-šāħən ðə-mīla.” tē āšər ðə-šədtīt, aǵáyg yəħōm  
yəghōm. āmūr, “ātésyək tē sábak.” āmūr, “šállək ašāħən šay.”*
- 4 *wə-səyūr aǵáyg. tē wīšəl ħəwōdi amšǵərēt, ħəǵūm ləh aryés wə-ķəbšáyh.  
wə-ħātūm aǵáyg bərhəh ðə-yəšnázan amáywət. tē nəħōr xəwfīt, kūsəm təh  
bū ðə-yəxátərəm ādəh šaħħ.*
- 5 *šxəbūrəh, wə-ķəlūt līħəm bə-ķəwtēt ðīməh. wə-mən xəʔərāt ðékəməh,  
ħābū ātəkáyđ b-aķōbər ðékəməh. wə-hām əħəd wərūd ħəmōh ðékəməh  
ðə-bə-ħəwōdi, yəbtərīkən bəh ðōməh mən aķáwl ð-aǵáyg ðə-ķəbēs.*
- 6 *wə-mən hābū ðə-škalītəh, ādəh šaħħ. w-aǵáyg mōt ħīs ber təmūm  
ķəwtétəh. əħəd yəšbáyđ, w-əħəd yəšəsduķ, w-əħəd yōmər ðə-yəħlōm.  
wə-təmmōt.*

1 *yāmərəm (həh)*: The word *həh* is missing from the audio, and was also originally missing from the manuscripts. In both manuscripts, *həh* was added later in the margins. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘they used to call him’, a translation which would require *həh*.

4 *aryés*: According to *ML* (s.v. *ršš*), the plural form of *rīšīt* ‘snake’ is *rīyēs*, but Johnstone transcribed *aryés* in the Roman manuscript (from an indefinite *rəyēs*), and the audio seems to confirm this. For the plural pattern *CəCēC*, we can compare nouns like *nəwēb* ‘bees’ and *bəķār* ‘cows’ (the latter with *ē > ā* after the glottalic *ķ*).

4 *ðə-yəšnázan*: In the Arabic manuscript, Ali wrote ذشنزن, which can be read in various ways. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone transcribed *ð-išnášašán* (and added the gloss ‘fighting’), an odd form that could perhaps be an Š2-Stem imperfect from a root *nš*<sup>ʕ</sup>. Ali stumbled on the audio, but ultimately read *ðə-yəšnézan* or *ðə-yəšnězan*, which could be interpreted

### Translation of Text 92

- 1 Before, people among us believed in a man who was buried in Nəṣawr, in a valley in the Najd. They say he was a saint. One night, a man was collecting palm-leaves there. He was away four nights. Then he ran short of food, and he went to the grave of that man. This (story) is according to his words.
- 2 He said, "And I said, 'If you hear me, I am a man who has no food.'" He said, "And I went back. Then in the evening," he said, "I saw a fox approaching me, and in its mouth was a dish full of food. Then when he was beside me, he put it down and left."
- 3 He said, "I took it and ate dinner." He said, "I stayed five days. And the fox, whenever the sun went down, he would bring me a full dish." Then on the sixth night [lit. the night of the sixth (day)], the man wanted to go. He said, "I ate dinner until I was full." He said, "I took the dish with me."
- 4 And the man went. Then when he reached the second valley, the snakes attacked him and bit him. And he spent the night wrestling with death. Then the next day, people who were traveling found him still alive.
- 5 They questioned him, and he told them this story. And after that time, the people believed in that grave. And if someone went down to that water in the valley, this (person) would be blessed by it because of the words of the man who was bitten.
- 6 And according to the people who heard the story from him, he was still alive. But the man died as soon as he finished his story. Some disbelieved, and some believed, and some said he was dreaming. And it is finished.

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as an Š2-Stem imperfect from a root *nʕz*. None of these roots are attested in *ML*, but I suggest that Ali intended *yəšnāzan*, the expected Š2-Stem imperfect of the root *nzʕ*, which is attested in Arabic with the meaning 'wrestle' in several stems (e.g., L-Stem *nāzaʕa*). The form *yəšnāwṣən* in Stroemer's edition comes from *ML* (s.v. *nwṣ*), but I see no other evidence for this form.

- 5 *ḏə-bə-ḥəwōdi*: The Arabic manuscript has *ḏə-bə-ḥəwōdi*, but the Roman manuscript and audio have just *bə-ḥəwōdi*.

## Text 93 (= J55): Healing a Sick Man

- 1 *xəṭərāt ǧayg ǧə-yəghōm. tē bə-ħalláy, ʔəwōh sēkan, wə-bárk sēkan ǧékəməh ǧayg əð-báh aməwṭáwmat. tē nūka hāl ḥābū, kūsa hənīhəm ǧáyg.*
- 2 *āmūr, “hōh əlūtəm aməwṭáwmat.” tōli šxəbəriḥ aǧáyg ǧə-wátxf. āmūr, “təláṭməs bə-hēsən?” āmūr, “əláṭməs b-ārfit wəlē bə-ryē.”*
- 3 *āmūr, “tōmər ḥībōh?” āmūr, “əláṭməs yəṭit wəšāḥ. wə-hēt (t)tōma lay mat bər əšályən a’isē.”*
- 4 *hātīm. tē mən ǧār əšəlōt ǧ-a’isē, nūka aǧáyg ǧə-yəlūtəm aməwṭáwmat, wə-bárk ḥáydəh ārfit.*
- 5 *wə-xtūl aǧáyg ǧə-báh aməwṭáwmat, wə-hē əð-ǧáywər. əttē wəṭəmáḥ b-ārfit. w-aǧáyg ǧə-ʔəwōh ǧə-yattáman lihəm.*
- 6 *yōmər aǧáyg ǧə-yəlūtəm, “ǧ-əwṭámk tiš, aməwṭáwmat. šay bayš sarr. hēt ǧayg, hōh ǧayg. hēt tēt, hōh tēt. hēt əngást, hōh əngáys. hēt ʔəháyərət, hōh ʔəháyər.”*
- 7 *wə-šxəwlūl ǧəmət aǧáyg ǧə-báh aməwṭáwmat, wə-wīka bə-xáyr. əttōli šəsdiḥ ḥābū aǧáyg ǧékəməh ǧ-āmūr, “əlūtəm aməwṭáwmat.” wə-hām əḥād bəh aməwṭáwmat, yəxxšáyb ləh. wə-wīka məǧráyb yəḥḥəyū aməwṭáwmat. wə-təmmōt.*

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- 1 *aməwṭáwmat*: In one Roman manuscript, Johnstone glossed this as ‘wry-face’, while in the other he glossed it as ‘facial paralysis, wry-faced lips drawn to one side’. *ML* (s.v. *lṭm*) has the definition ‘stroke, wry-mouth’. The Jibbali version (which was translated from the Mehri) has the word *axét-hés*, which is variously glossed in the manuscripts and *JL* (s.v. *ʔy* and *hs*) as ‘wry-mouth’, ‘possession by jinn’, or ‘St. Vitus dance (?) [= Sydenham’s chorea]; possession by a spirit when s.o. babbles nonsense’. I have chosen to leave the word untranslated, but it is clearly some sort of medical condition involving paralysis or twitching of the face or mouth, perhaps caused by a stroke.
- 2 *ārfit*: This is the desert palm (*Nannorrhops ritchieana*). See further on the uses of this plant in Miller and Morris (1988: 224).
- 6 *əngáys*: On the audio, Ali mistakenly read the feminine *əngást* again.
- 7 *ḥābū*: This word is missing from one of the two Arabic manuscripts and from the audio.

### Translation of Text 93

- 1 Once a man was traveling. In the night, he came to a community, and in that community there was a man who had *məwṭáwmət*. When he came to the people, he found with them a man.
- 2 He said, "I (can) strike out *məwṭáwmət*." Then the man who had come questioned him. He said, "With what do you strike it out?" He said, "I strike it with a palm-leaf or a lung."
- 3 He said, "What do you do [lit. say]?" He said, "I strike it six times per day. Listen to me after we have made [lit. prayed] the evening prayer."
- 4 They passed the evening. Then after the evening prayer, the man who strikes out *məwṭáwmət* came, and in his hand was a palm-leaf.
- 5 He snuck up on the man who had *məwṭáwmət*, and he was not paying attention. Then he struck him with the palm-leaf. And the man who had come was listening to them.
- 6 The man who strikes said, "I have struck you, *məwṭáwmət*. I have a secret about you. You are man, I am a man. You are a woman, I am a woman. You are unclean, I am unclean. You are clean, I am clean."
- 7 And the man who had *məwṭáwmət* rested a week, and he became well. Then people believed that man who said, "I (can) strike out *məwṭáwmət*." And if someone has *məwṭáwmət*, they send for him. And he became famous (for) curing *məwṭáwmət*. And it is finished.

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7 *yəḥḥəyū*: This H-Stem, perhaps from a historical root *hyw*, behaves as if from the root *hy'*. 3ms perfect (*h*)*hyē'* and 3ms subjunctive *yəḥáhyə'*, listed in *ML* (s.v. *ḥwy*), follow the patterns of other of III-Guttural verbs. 3ms imperfect *yəḥḥəyū* follows the pattern of strong verbs (cf. strong *yəffəlūt*), but III-Guttural verbs can sometimes behave as strong verbs in the H-Stem; see § 7.2.9.



\*Text 94 (= J60): With a Wife and a Mother-in-Law in Enemy Territory

- 1 *xətərāt ǰayg ǰəhēm mən aḳāh, ǰəhōm ḳā' tāt ǰə-hārūs b-aḳā' ǰəkəmäh. w-aḳā' ǰəkəmäh bəh xəšəmhe. wə-səyūr te wətɬf hāl səkən ǰə-ttətəh. hātūm.*
- 2 *te k-sōbəh, āmūr h-tétəh, "nəhōm nəghōm!" āmərūt, "hōh ādi ḳənnát, wə-fəšáhk mən l-əghōm təwōli bū ǰərə'. wə-təwwək təḳlĕy hāl ḥəbye sənət ǰīmäh."*
- 3 *āmūr aǰáyg, "hōh ǰayg məxwif mən aḳā' ǰəmäh, w-əl əḳáwdər l-əšxáwwəl bávwmäh lā." tōli āmərūt ḥāmēs, "əl nəsdūd məns lā." āmūr aǰáyg, "ətēm ber fəḳkəm, w-əl šikəm ar (t)sdēdəm."*
- 4 *āmərūt ḥāmēs, "ábdan!" te nəhōr xəwfit, səyūr aǰáyg te hāl ḥābū. kalūt lihəm, w-āmūr, "hōh ǰayg ǰ-əl əḳáwdər l-əšxáwwəl b-aḳā' ǰəmäh lā, w-āǰáwz xəzūt əl-ḥəbráts. wə-hōh āǰōb bə-ttētī, wə-sē tāǰōb bay, w-āǰáwz tḥōm tabdádən."*
- 5 *tōli səyáwr ḥābū təwōli āǰáwz w-āmáwr hīs, "ǰəmäh əl ǰəkūn lā, tabdīdi əm-mán aǰáyg wə-ttətəh." tōli āmərūt āǰáwz, "hōh ḥams tsyēr k-aǰáygəs, wəlākan sē xəzūt."*
- 6 *tōli āmáwr hīs ḥābū, "xáybən, ǰəzēmi, 'əl ədūr əm-mənwihəm, ḥām tēt tḥōm (t)syēr." ǰəzəmūt āǰáwz, "əl ədūr əm-mənwihəm." wə-sirūt təwōli*

- 2 *fəšáhk*: Johnstone's transcription in the Roman manuscript (*fízhák*) must be an error. If *fəšáhk* was intended, then it is either from a G passive *fəšáh*, which is the form listed in *ML* (s.v. *fžh*), or a Ga-Stem *fəšáwh*. If the latter, then the verb is conjugated as a strong verb, rather than as a III-Guttural verb (cf. the variants *məšáwǰ* and *mūšəǰ*, listed in *ML*, s.v. *mžǰ*). I wonder if Ali may have intended either *fəšhək*, from a Gb-Stem *fīšəh*, or *fáš(šə)hək* from the T1-Stem *fáššəh* (found in 85:33). The Arabic manuscript has *فضح*, which tells us nothing (cf. *فضح* for *fáššəh* in 85:33).
- 3 *(t)sdēdəm*: This is almost certainly a 2mp subjunctive *sədēdəm* < *tsdēdəm*, though it could also be a mp imperative *sədēdəm*. The form in the Jibbali version (*snid*) is equally ambiguous.
- 5 *tabdīdi*: Both manuscripts have *tabdīdi*, with a final *-i*. The D/L-Stem 2fs subjunctive should not have a final *-i*, as pointed out already by Wagner (2001: 345); cf. § 6.2 and the paradigm of this verb in *ML* (p. xxxiv). The form here is likely analogical, since the 2fs subjunctive of many other verb types do exhibit a final *-i*. With this particular verb type, the 2fs is otherwise identical to the 2ms, so it is not surprising that the 2fs attracts

### Translation of Text 94

- 1 Once a man went from his land, heading to a certain land in which he got married. And in that land were his enemies. And he went until he came to his wife's community. He spent the night.
- 2 Then in the morning, he said to his wife, "Let's go!" She said, "I am still young [lit. little], and I am embarrassed to go to strange people. You should leave me with my parents this year."
- 3 The man said, "I am a man afraid of this land, and I cannot stay here." Then her mother said, "We won't manage without her." The man said, "You've already given (her) in marriage, and you have (no choice but) to manage."
- 4 Her mother said, "No way!" Then the next day, the man went to the people. He told them, and he said, "I am a man who cannot stay in this land, and the old woman refused her daughter. I love my wife, and she loves me. And the old woman wants to separate us."
- 5 Then the people went to the old woman and said to her, "This will not do [lit. be], that you would separate a man and his wife." Then the old woman said, "I want her to go with her husband, but she refused."
- 6 Then the people said to her, "Ok, swear, 'I will not come between them if the woman wants to go.'" The old woman swore, "I won't come between

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the suffix *-i*. For a similar phenomenon in the H-Stem, see the comment to text 24:6.

- 6 *gəzēmi, 'əl ədūr*: Stroomer's edition has *lā tədōr* '(swear) you will not come between'. The *lā* is a mistake, based on Johnstone's erroneous transcription in the Roman manuscript. As for the verb, Johnstone transcribed *'duur*. While it is true that Ali's transcription *لور* could stand for *əl (t)dūr*, with the *t*- not realized because of the initial *d*- of the verbal base, the form *(t)dūr* is not the correct 2fs subjunctive. As noticed already by Wagner (2001: 345), the 2fs subjunctive should be *(t)dāyri*. Therefore, unless Ali simply made an error of conjugation, the only way to parse Ali's transcription is as a 1cs subjunctive *ədūr*.
- 6 *gəzəmūt āgāwz, 'əl ədūr*: I have translated this as direct speech here, parsing the verb as a 1cs imperfect (G-Stem, root *dwr*). However, since the *t* is not written or pronounced, Ali's transcription *لور* may also be parsed as a 3fs imperfect *(t)dūr*, in which case the translation of the phrase would be 'she swore she wouldn't come between them'. A clear example of *gəzūm* followed by direct speech can be found in line 38.

- ħabrátš w-āmārūt, “hōh əl əkáwdər l-əǵtáyř šayš lā, wəlākan mət aǵáyǵəs ğátri šayš, xəzī, wə-hōh ħəšrīta layš (t)syēri.” āmārūt, “yéye.”*
- 7 *hātīm. tē bə-ħálláy, attēt kəwtūt h-aǵáyǵəs b-aǵərōy ḏə-ħāmēs. āmūr hīs aǵáyǵəs, “xáybən. hēt xəzī ġēhaməh mən (t)syēri, wə-mət ħəšrūt layš ħāmēš, āmēri, ‘yéye, sīrīta.’*
- 8 *wə-mət āmārūt ħayš ħāmēš, ‘kō hēt šāmánš?’, āmēri, ‘əħáǵsəš mən ašətǵəš ħəšárš lay.’ w-āǵáwz bərs dəxáylat l-ād təǵtūri šayš ħāl ħābū. wə-mət šīnəš āǵáwz thōm txalé’ bayš, əħtīraf məns. āmáyli ħənáfš tāmáyli ħōǵət tē nəǵhōm.”*
- 9 *āmārūt, “yéye.” hātīm. tē k-sōbəħ, ğátri aǵáyǵ k-xəlátəh. āmūr hīs, “ǵətáyri k-ħabrátš təǵhōm šay. hōh əl əkáwdər l-əšxáwwəl bávwməh lā. w-ašálħ təmm lay. āds šay yəmōh mən ašálħ.”*
- 10 *āmārūt āǵáwz, “hōh əl kədárk līs lā, wəlākan hēt ǵətáyř šīs.” āmūr aǵáyǵ, “hōh ǵátəryək šīs yállōh, w-āmārūt, ‘sawr ar k-ħāmáy.’”*
- 11 *tōli hīs āǵáwz ħəmōt aǵərōy ḏ-aǵáyǵ, šħəmmūt. w-āmáwr hīs ħābū, “layš šakk, ħām xərbəš attēt ḏ-aǵáyǵ m-ād (t)syēr səh.”*
- 12 *āmārūt āǵáwz, “hōh əl xərbək tīs lā.” āmáwr ħābū, “xáybən, ħām əl xərbəš tīs lā, ǵətáyri šīs!” āmārūt āǵáwz, “ā fəlānə, syēri k-aǵáyǵəš!”*
- 13 *āmārūt tēt, “yéye.” āmārūt āǵáwz, “nəkēy əw-bōh! ħátwəǵək layš.” āmārūt tēt, “mátwəyək lā šərōməh.” wə-sē lə-wtáəkəməh tē səyáwr aǵáyǵ wə-ttétəh.*
- 14 *hīs ġəmáwəs, šīnəm āǵáwz mən səriħəm. āmūr aǵáyǵ, “ǵələk əǵáwz! hēt syēri ḏār ħəmōh, wə-hōh səwbōnə āǵáwz wə-maǵwīr bīs. wə-ħām šxəbərūt layš, āmrōnə, ‘sīrūt hīn hə-mōh’.*

8 *txalé’*: For the Gb-Stem verb *xáyli*, ML (s.v. *xlw*) lists a subjunctive *yəxlē*, and Johnstone transcribed *txalē* in the Roman manuscript. But since similar Gb-Stem subjunctives have *é* (e.g., *yəšné’ < šīni*), which Johnstone also often transcribed as *ē*, and since the Arabic manuscript has لا تَ، I assume that *txalé’* is correct here.

13 *ħátwəǵək*: Johnstone transcribed this form as *ħatōǵək* in the Roman manuscript, and he listed the 3ms form *ħātūǵ* in ML (s.v. *ħwg*). My transcription *ħátwəǵək* is based on the parallel form *sátwəǵək* ‘I missed’, which Johnstone mistranscribed as *sátōǵək* in several places (e.g., 20:41). Unfortunately, I found no audio to confirm the transcription *ħátwəǵək* here, but there are several examples of *sátwəǵək* on the audio recordings.

- them." And she went to her daughter and said, "I cannot speak with you, but when your husband speaks with you, refuse, and I will (pretend to) persuade you to go." She said, "Ok."
- 7 They passed the evening. In the night, the woman told her husband what her mother had said [lit. the words of her mother]. Her husband said to her, "Ok. You refuse to go tomorrow, and when your mother persuades you, say 'Ok, I'll go.'"
- 8 And when your mother says to you, 'Why did you agree?', say, 'I thought you were persuading me truthfully [lit. from your truth]'. The old woman is already forsworn that she won't speak with you anymore in front of the people. And when you see the old woman wants to be alone with you, move away from her. Pretend you are doing something until we go."
- 9 She said, "Ok." They passed the night. Then in the morning, the man spoke with his mother-in-law. He said to her, "Talk with your daughter so she'll go with me. I can't stay here. The truce is over for me. I still have (just) today (left) of the truce."
- 10 The old woman said, "I have no control over her, but you speak with her." The man said, "I spoke with her last night, and she said, 'The decision [lit. opinion] (rests) only with my mother.'"
- 11 Then when the old woman heard the man's words, she was encouraged. And the people said to her, "It's a sin for you if you prevent [lit. spoil] the man's wife so she won't go with him."
- 12 The old woman said, "I didn't prevent her." The people said, "Ok, if you didn't prevent her, speak with her!" The old woman said, "So-and-so, go with your husband!"
- 13 The woman said, "Ok." The old woman said, "Come here! I need you." The woman said, "I don't have time now." And she (did) thus until the man and his wife left.
- 14 When they departed [lit. disappeared], they saw the old woman behind them. The man said, "Look, the old woman! You go to the water, and I will wait for her and keep her occupied. And if she asks for you, I will say, 'She went for water for us.'"

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14 *ǧālēk*: Stroomer has *ǧālēki* here, which is what we expect for the fs imperative, but the manuscripts both have *ǧālēk*. The Jibbali version here has the special imperative form *ǧālǧkūn* (discussed in the comment to text J16:3 in *JLO*).

- 15 *wə-hōh maǵwīr bīs. wə-mət šhāwbək tīš ber sayārš mən ḡār ḥəmōh, āmrōna hīs, ‘hām tháymi tawēda fālānə, ksīta tīs ḡār ḥəmōh.’ wə-hēt šēgəl, l-ād (t)šəlābs ḡār ḥəmōh lā. w-awēdaš nəxāli aṭáyḵ ḡēk.”*
- 16 *āmūrūt tēt, “yéye.” sīrūt tēt, w-aǵáyḡ siləb xəlótəh. te ənkōt āmūrūt, “ar fālānə ḡō?” āmūr aǵáyḡ, “sīrūt ḡār ḥəmōh wə-nkáyta tīn bāwməh. wəlākan ḡə-yáššək tīs mən tháflət mən ḡáyri h-ašáyḡa.”*
- 17 *āmūrūt āǵáwz, “wə-kōh, hámak tīs ḡətəryōt sī?” āmūr aǵáyḡ, “hámak tīs āmūrūt, ‘hām əl nákak tik šərōməh lā, əl (t)šēši lā. əkūn rəddək təwōli ḡəbye.”*
- 18 *tōli fərhōt āǵáwz. thūgəs aǵáyḡ mən ašəṭṭəkəh. tōli šxəwəllūt āǵáwz, thōm taǵwīr b-aǵáyḡ m-ād yətbé’ tēt.*
- 19 *āmūr aǵáyḡ, “hōm əl-syēr ḡār ḥəmōh.” āmūrūt āǵáwz, “šxáwwəl ḥənáy səwānōt. sətəwəḡək lūk.” sē thōm taǵwīr b-aǵáyḡ, w-aǵáyḡ yəḡhōm yaǵwīr bə-ttēt.*
- 20 *šxəwəllōh. tōli aǵáyḡ šhēwəb tētəh tāká’ ber sīrūt mən ḡār ḥəmōh. āmūr, “ḡəbṭōt fālānə. əl āmārk ḡayš lā məffəwtəta mən ḡáyri? hōh ḡəhmōna. l-ād səwbōna tīs zōyəd lā.”*
- 21 *āmūrūt āǵáwz, “xáybən, hōh sīrīta ḡār ḥəmōh, wə-hām kəsk tīs, āmrīta hīs (t)təbək.” ḡəhēm aǵáyḡ te kūsa əttétəh ber šxəwəllūt nəxāli aṭáyḵ.*
- 22 *āmūrūt, “kō hēt ḡəbṭək?” āmūr aǵáyḡ, “hōh šxəwlək ḡāl ḡāmēs. wə-hīs ənkāti, əl thōm (t)šxáwwəl lā. thōm (t)təbēš. tōli āmārk hīs, ‘fālānə ḡə-šmlək tīs tháflət mən ḡáyri təwélíkəm, wə-ḡədəwwən nətbēs!”*
- 23 *hīs ḡəmōt āǵáwz aǵərōy ḡōməh, fərhōt w-āmūrūt, ‘nəḡhōm nəšxáwwəl səwānōt.’ sē thōm taǵwīr bay, wə-hōh ḡōm l-aǵwīr bīs. wə-sē šərōməh sīrūt ḡār ḥəmōh ḡə-fərhōt, thəǵsəš rəddəš təwəlīḡəm.”*
- 24 *tōli šəḡkōt əttēt w-āmūrūt h-aǵáyḡəs, “ḡəyək bə-ḡāmáy!” tōli ḡəhmōh. w-aǵáyḡ yəməzūz. te ḡərbōh əl-səkən ḡə-xəšəmhə, āmūr h-tētəh,*
- 25 *“ḡēt šxáwwəli bāwməh wə-hōh sīrōna təwōli səkən ḡōməh. wəlē əkōsa əḡād yəməzūz.” āmūrūt əttēt, “thōm təwtōǵ? əl axáyir ḡūk (t)syēr lā.”*

15 *tawēda*: This is the 2fs subjunctive of a D/L-Stem *awōda* (root *wd'*) ‘see s.o. off’. The verb, no doubt borrowed from Arabic *wadda'a* ‘see s.o. off’, is missing from *ML*, but the Jibbali cognate appears in *JL* (s.v. *wd'*). The Jibbali verb is also used in the parallel Jibbali version of this line. The form *təšwēdən* that appears in Stroomer’s version of this story, which does not even fit grammatically, seems to be based on Stroomer’s own idea, since both manuscripts clearly have *tawēda*.

- 15 And I will keep her occupied. And when I think you have already gone from by the water, I will say to her, 'If you want to see so-and-so off, you'll find her at the water'. And you hurry up, don't wait for her anymore at the water. Your meeting-place is under that fig tree."
- 16 The woman said, "Ok." The woman went, and the man waited for his mother-in-law. Then when she came, she said, "So where is so-and-so?" The man said, "She went to the water and will come back to us here. But I am afraid she might run away from me to the shelter."
- 17 The old woman said, "Why, did you hear her say something?" The man said, "I heard her say, 'If I don't come back to you now, don't think I'm late. I will have gone back to my parents.'"
- 18 Then the woman was happy. She thought the man was being truthful. Then the old woman stayed, wanting to keep the man occupied so that he did not follow the woman.
- 19 The man said, "I should go to the water." The old woman said, "Stay with me a little while. I've missed you." She wanted to keep him occupied, and the man wanted to keep the old woman occupied.
- 20 They stayed. Then the man figured his wife would have already gone from by the water. He said, "So-and-so is late. Didn't I tell you she would run away from me? I'll go. I won't wait for her any longer."
- 21 The old woman said, "Ok. I'll go to the water, and if I find her, I'll tell her to follow you." The man went until he found the woman already sitting under the fig tree.
- 22 She said, "Why are you late?" The man said, "I was sitting with your mother. When she came to me, she didn't want to stay. She wanted to follow you. Then I said to her, 'So-and-so, I think she will run away from me to you. Let's go follow her!'"
- 23 When the old woman heard these words, she became happy and said, 'Let's stay a little while'. She wanted to keep me occupied, and I wanted to keep her occupied. And now she went to the water happy. She thinks you've gone back to them."
- 24 Then the woman laughed and said to her husband, "You tricked my mother!" Then they went. And the man smoked (habitually). Then when they got near a settlement of his enemies, he said to his wife,
- 25 "You stay here, and I'll go to this settlement. Perhaps I'll find someone who smokes." His wife said, "Do you want to be killed? It's not good for you to go."

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15 *ṭayk*: *ML* (s.v. *ṭyḳ*) glosses this only as 'wild fig tree', but according to Miller and Morris (1988: 208) this is *Ficus vasta*.

- 26 *āmūr*, “*əl qədārk əl-syēr lā ar wə-məzzək.*” *āmərūt attēt*, “*hēt ar məzzōna yəmōh. wālē məzzōna bə-təmbōku wālē bə-ršōš.*” *tōli aǧáyǧ l-ād šēmūn tētāh lā, wə-səyūr.*
- 27 *wəlākan aǧáyǧ yaǧōrəb aǧərōyhəm. xōbəṭ aməndáwqəh wə-səyūr. tē nūka, kūsa yəniṭ ḏə-həqšáwm. tōli āmūr ḥayniṭ*, “*hēt bər mōn?*”
- 28 *āmūr*, “*hōh məšēxi.*” *āmūr ḥayniṭ*, “*amšēxət əl yəsláwl səlēb lā.*” *āmūr aǧáyǧ*, “*kāl ḏə-šáh dərēhəm yaqáwdər yəslēl səlēb. əl hē məhárəram lihəm lā.*” *w-aǧáyǧ ḏə-yaǧtūri k-ḥayniṭ b-aǧərōyhəm.*
- 29 *āmūr ḥayniṭ*, “*hēsən thōm?*” *āmūr aǧáyǧ*, “*hōh ǧayǧ əmzūz, wə-shēk təmbōku. wə-nákak tükəm wālē əkōsa əḥād yəmzūz.*”
- 30 *āmərūt tēt*, “*akōfi āršāt ḏayk. ksōna hēxər yəmzūz, wālē yəwázmək šī.*” *səyūr aǧáyǧ. tē nūka, kūsa hēxər (ḏ-)šxəwliṭ.*
- 31 *qəlūb ləh səlōm wə-šxəwliṭ. āmūr hēxər*, “*hēt bər mōn?*” *āmūr*, “*hōh məšēxi.*” *āmūr hēxər*, “*bōdək. aḏōrək əl hē məšēxi lā.*” *āmūr aǧáyǧ*, “*əl bōdək lā.*”
- 32 *tōli āmūr hēxər*, “*təǧōrəb bət fəlān?*” *āmūr aǧáyǧ*, “*əǧárbhəm, wə-kōh?*” *āmūr*, “*šī lā.*” *āmūr aǧáyǧ*, “*a’isérke wālē šī?*” *āmūr hēxər*, “*a’isérye lā, ar xəšəmye. wə-yā rayt l-əšné’ əḥād mənḥēm!*”
- 33 *āmūr aǧáyǧ*, “*əl yənákam báwməh lā.*” *tōli ‘əss hēxər wə-wəzmūh ‘áynət təmbōku. ādhəm lə-wṭákəməh, tənōka tēt, wə-ttēt ḏákəməh təǧōrəb aǧáyǧ. wəlākan attēt əl sē mən aqəbáylət ḏə-xəšəmhē lā, wəlākan ḏə-šfəqáwt ṭət mənḥēm.*
- 34 *tōli āmərūt attēt*, “*ā fəlān, kō hēt báwməh?*” *tōli ǧəšš hīs, wə-wəqəfūt. āmūr hēxər h-tēt*, “*təǧárbəh?*” *āmərūt*, “*lā, sábhək bəh əl-ǧáyǧ, wə-xəlásk.*”
- 35 *tōli ‘əss aǧáyǧ wə-səyūr. āmūr həh hēxər*, “*thōm tháqšəm lā? əmyēla hūk fšē?*” *āmūr aǧáyǧ*, “*lā, ḏ-əǧáwłək mən yəbiṭ, wə-hámak bīs b-anihār əlyōməh. wə-ḥōm əl-ǧəhōm ād šay aqāšəm.*”

28 *məšēxi*: On the Mashāyikh, who are believed to have special powers, see Bakhit (1982: 55).

28 *aǧərōyhəm*: The manuscripts both confirm that this word has the 3mp suffix *-həm*. So the reference seems to be to the people of the area, and not the women he is addressing. The Jibbali version also has the mp suffix here.

30 *āršāt*: *ML* (s.v. *ʿrš*) has only the definition ‘house of, clan of’, but in the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘hut’.

- 26 He said, "I can't go on unless I smoke." The woman said, "You will indeed smoke today. Either you'll smoke tobacco or bullets." Then the man didn't listen to his wife at all, and he went.
- 27 But the man spoke their language. He cocked his rifle and went. When he came, he found women passing the day. Then the women said to him, "Who [lit. son of who] are you?"
- 28 He said, "I am a Mashaykhi." The women said, "The Mashāyikh do not carry arms." The man said, "Whoever has money can carry arms. It is not forbidden for them." And the man was speaking with the women in their language.
- 29 The women said, "What do you want?" The man said, "I am a man who smokes, and I have used up (my) tobacco. I came to you (thinking) perhaps I would find someone who smokes."
- 30 A woman said, "Go to that hut. You'll find an old man who smokes, and perhaps he'll give you something." The man went. When he came, he found an old man sitting.
- 31 He greeted him and sat down. The old man said, "Who [lit. son of who] are you?" He said, "I am a Mashaykhi." The old man said, "You lied. Your blood is not Mashaykhi." The man said, "I did not lie."
- 32 Then the old man said, "Do you know the house of so-and-so?" The man said, "I know them, why?" He said, "(It's) nothing." The man said, "(Are they) your friends or something?" The old man said, "Not my friends, but my enemies. Would that I could see one of them!"
- 33 The man said, "They don't come here." Then the old man got up and gave him a little tobacco. While they were like this, a woman came, and that woman knew the man. The woman was not from the tribe of his enemies, but she had married one of them.
- 34 Then she said, "So-and-so, why are you here?" Then the man winked at her, and she shut up. The old man said to the woman, "Do you know him?" She said, "No, I thought he was (another) man, but I was mistaken."
- 35 Then the man got up and went (to leave). The old man said to him, "You don't want to spend the day? We'll make lunch for you." The man said, "No, I am looking for a camel, and I heard it is in these wadis. I want to go while it's still cool [lit. while I still have the cold (weather)]."

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35 *ād*: The Arabic manuscript has *ād*, but the Roman manuscript unexpectedly has *ādah*.



- 36 *wə-ftūk mən ārsāt, wə-lhəqátəh tēt̄ ḏə-təǵárbəh. āmarūt həh, “hēt háywəl? thōm (t)šōm āmark l-agarē ḏə-təmbōku?” tōli kəlūt̄ hīs (līs) aǵáyǵ.*
- 37 *āmarūt əttēt̄, “šarōmah həǵərūt həyáwm, w-al əḥād yasyūr lā. w-al šī mōh fənwikəm lā. wəlākan hēt syēr təwōli tet̄k, wə-hōh məhəǵǵəlēta hīkəm fšē. wə-nkáyta tīkəm nəxāli hārōm ḏək, wə-nkáyta šay əm-mōh, hām hāmānk bay.”*
- 38 *āmūr aǵáyǵ, “hāmānk bayš, wəlākan nəḥōm nəǵhōm.” tōli ǵəzəmūt tēt̄, “əl (t)syūr tē ber tafšīyām.”* *āmūr aǵáyǵ, “his-táw, ma yaxāləf. səlyēba tīš.”*
- 39 *aǵáyǵ səyūr təwōli tēt̄əh wə-kəlūt̄ līs bə-ttēt̄ ḏə-ǵəzəmūt, “əl (t)syūr tē ber tafšīyām.” tōli āmarūt tēt̄əh, “ḏə-yáššək tīs mən tāká’ thōm tātyōn līn.”*
- 40 *āmūr aǵáyǵ, “táwwəs lā. wə-nḥāh səlyēba tīs, wəlākan əl məšxəwlūtən b-awēdəs lā. məḥtərfūtən wə-məḥəbəlūtən līs. wə-hām šīnan šīs əḥād, sīyēra.”*
- 41 *tōli sīrōh aǵáyǵ wə-ttēt̄əh tē ḏār kərəmōt, mən hāl yaḥəbəláyǵən səkən. šxəwəllōh, wə-ttēt̄ həǵəllūt w-āmlōt bərk bərayk šēhi. tē həbhəlūt, sīrūt, w-aǵáyǵ wə-ttēt̄əh šənyáys hīs ftkūt mən səkən wəḥšīs.*
- 42 *tōli āmūr aǵáyǵ h-tēt̄əh, “ǵəbárs w-āmēri hīs, ‘hōh bərt fəlān,’ mən xəšəmye, ‘wə-šīnək ǵayǵ sētən bāwməh. w-aǵáyǵ xā hē ḏəráy, wə-hthámk təh yāká’ mən xəšəmyən, wəlākan ‘əmlək təh ber ǵəhēm’. əḏ sē kawtūt layš, šəlēli kəmkēm mən ḏār ḥərōhš, wə-hōh məhānkər.*

36 *l-agarē ḏə-*: The Roman manuscript lacks *ḏə-* in this phrase, but it is present in the Arabic manuscript.

36 *kəlūt̄ hīs (līs)*: The Roman manuscript has *kəlūt̄ hīs*, and then in parentheses “better *kəlūt̄ līs*”. In the Arabic manuscript, *hīs* was crossed out and replaced by *līs*. Cf. line 46, which has only *hīs*.

37 *həǵərūt*: The Roman manuscript has *həǵərūt*, as does *ML* (s.v. *hgr*). If *ML* is correct that this comes from a Gb-Stem *hīgər*, then we would expect the 3fs perfect to be *həǵrōt*. So the transcription here is questionable.

37 *əm-mōh*: Since we expect the preposition *bə-* here following the verb *nkáyta*, I assume an assimilation *\*b-mōh > m-mōh*. Since I found no audio for this text, I have no evidence that the *əm-* was pronounced. However, the same change is found in text 76:2, for which there is indeed supporting audio evidence, as well as in the parallel Jibbali version of this line.

40 *məšxəwlūtən*: Johnstone transcribed *məšxəwəlūtən*, and this could be for either *məšxəwlūtən* or *məšxəwwəlūtən*. Unfortunately, this is the only future of the verb *šxəwlūl* (or any other Qw-Stem) in all the texts.

- 36 And he left the hut, and the woman who knew him caught up with him. She said to him, “Are you crazy? You want to trade [lit. sell] your life for the sake of tobacco?” Then he told the woman (what happened).
- 37 The woman said, “The sun is at midday now, and no one is traveling. And there is no water ahead of you. So you go to your wife, and I’ll boil you lunch. I’ll bring (it) to you under that tree, and I’ll bring some water with me, if you trust me.”
- 38 The man said, “I trust you, but we want to go.” Then the woman swore, “You won’t go until after you’ve had lunch.” The man said, “Ok, it’s fine. We’ll wait for you.”
- 39 The man went to his wife and told her about the woman who swore, “You won’t go until after you’ve had lunch.” Then his wife said, “I am afraid that she might want to inform on us.”
- 40 The man said, “She shouldn’t. We’ll wait for her, but we won’t stay in her meeting-place. We’ll move and keep an eye on her. And if we see anyone with her, we’ll go.”
- 41 Then the man and his wife went up onto a hill, where they could keep an eye on the settlement. They stayed, and the woman boiled and made tea in a kettle. Then when she was done cooking, she went, and the man and his wife saw her when she left the settlement alone.
- 42 Then the man said to his wife, “(Go) meet her and say to her, ‘I am the daughter of so-and-so’, from my enemies, ‘and I saw a man here earlier. And the man (seemed) like a stranger, and I think he might be from our enemies, but I think he already left’. If she tells you, lift the head-cloth up off your head, and I will understand.

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41 *yaḵābəlāyyən*: Johnstone did not record gemination in his transcription, and recorded a suffix *-āyən* for the dual forms of the D/L-Stem imperfect in *ML*. No audio was found for this text. On the presumed transcription with gemination, see the final note to the table of suffixes in §7.1.2 (and n. 6).

42 *kəmkēm*: The Arabic manuscript has just *kəmkēm* ‘the head-cloth’, while the Roman manuscript (like the Jibbali version) has *kəmkēmāš* ‘your head-cloth’.

- 43 *wə-hōh gəhmōna, wə-hēt šábdas, wə-məǵtábari ḏār kərmáym ḏayk. wə-sē gəhdátš, əl thērək kəmkēmaš lā.*"
- 44 *āmarūt, "yéye." sūrūt attēt. tē gəbaráts, āmarūt tēt təslūl afšē, "hēt bərt mōn?" āmarūt, "hōh bərt fəlān. wə-sīnak ġayg sētən bāwməh, wə-hthámk təh yāká' mən xəšəmyən."*
- 45 *āmarūt attēt, "ḏékəməh mən hərbātyən ḏə-yəǵáwłəḵ mən yəbūt. wə-bér gəhēm." āmarūt attēt ḏ-əǵáyǵ, "šayš hēsən bərk abəráyḵ w-ašəfəráyyət?" āmarūt, "šay mōh. ḥōm l-ərhāš."*
- 46 *āmarūt tēt ḏ-əǵáyǵ, "ḥōm əl-syēr šayš." āmarūt tēt, "hōh ḥōm l-ərhāš. wə-kōh (t)syēri šay?" tōli tēt ḏ-əǵáyǵ ġərbáts ḏə-sē sádḵət (sədáyḵət). wə-kəwṭūt hīs.*
- 47 *āmarūt, "hōh attēt ḏə-fəlān. wə-ǵadéwwən təwēhe!" sīrtōh tē ənkətōh əǵáyǵ. wə-šxəwlīl wə-fšīw. tē ġasráwwən, bāttədəm.*
- 48 *attēt rəddūt təwōli sékənəs, w-əǵáyǵ wə-ttétəh šəwǵəsōh tē watxfōh hāl sékən ḏ-əǵā ḏ-əǵáyǵ. 'əss əǵā ḏ-əǵáyǵ w-shāt ḥəmátəh, wə-hātīm.*
- 49 *tē k-səbəh, gəhmōh əǵáyǵ wə-ttétəh tē nəkam hāl sékənəhəm. wə-təmmōt.*

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43 *šábdas*: This is the Š1-Stem fs imperative *šábbəd* (root *bdd*) plus a 3fs object suffix *-s*.

43 *məǵtábari*: See § 3.2.3, n. 9.

43 *thērək*: In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone transcribed *tháyrək*. If the D/L-Stem 2fs subjunctive has an underlying *ē* (as in *ML*, p. xxxiv, and as in § 6.2), then we expect here *thērək*. If the underlying vowel is *ī*, then we expect *tháyrək*. In any case, *tháyrək* and *thērək* would be pronounced almost the same.

46 *sádḵət (sədáyḵət)*: The Roman manuscript has *sádḵət*, with a marginal note that says "corr. to *sdáyḵət*". The Arabic manuscript originally had سادقت (= *sádḵət*), but this was crossed out and replaced with سديقت (= *sədáyḵət*).

- 43 And I'll go, and you detach yourself from her, and we'll meet on that mountain. And if she denies (it) to you, don't move your head-cloth."
- 44 She said, "Ok." The woman went. Then when she met her, the woman carrying the lunch said, "Who [lit. daughter of who] are you?" She said, "I am the daughter of so-and-so. I saw a strange man here earlier, and I think he might be from our enemies."
- 45 The woman said, "That was one of our friends [or: fellow tribesmen] who was looking for a camel. He already left." The man's wife said, "What do you have in the kettle and the pot?" She said, "I have water. I want to wash up."
- 46 The man's wife said, "I want to go with you." The woman said, "I want to wash up. Why would you go with me?" Then the man's wife knew that she was a friend, and she told her.
- 47 She said, "I am the wife of so-and-so. Let's go to him!" They went until they got to the man. And they sat and had lunch. Then in the evening, they parted ways.
- 48 The woman went back to her settlement, and the man and his wife went until they got to the man's brother's settlement. The man's brother got up and slaughtered for his sister-in-law, and they spent the night.
- 49 Then in the morning, the man and his wife went until they came to their settlement. And it is finished.

## \*Text 95 (= J39, but a variant version): A Man and His Shadow

- 1 *xəṭarāt sēkan ḏə-wxāf bə-wōdi, wə-bərk ḥəwōdi ḏəkaməh mōh bərk gōt. wə-  
kərayb əl-ḥəmōh məkəbrēt. w-əl əḥād yəšənūs yənkə' ḥəlákəməh lā b-aášər,  
ar wə-hē b-anhōr.*
- 2 *te āšər tāt āmūr ǰayg, "mōn mənķēm yəḥōm l-əzəmāh wōz, wə-yəsyēr ḏār  
ḥəmōh wə-yərḥāš, wə-yəšxáwwəl sēt tət?"*
- 3 *āmūr tāt, "hōh hōm." wə-səyūr. te wīšəl ḥəmōh, šadhūk bərk agōt wə-sini  
hāləh. yəhūgəs mənēdam bərk ḥəmōh.*
- 4 *tōli xōbət aməndáwķəh wə-wbūd bərk ḥəmōh. wə-hē, mət ḥátrəf məkōn,  
yəsōni hāləh yəbágdəh, wə-hē yəlábdəh. tōli fəlūt wə-yəsōni hāləh, tawr  
mən sərih wə-táwr mən fənwih.*
- 5 *te káyraḅ əl-ḥābū, sini hāləh fənwih. wə-mátrəķ əjənbáyyət wə-tān, wə-  
təǰķōt əjənbáyyət b-agərdīs. yəhūgəs sí mənáys, wə-ǰəyūb mən ayəšáyt.*
- 6 *tōli ḥābū šāšáywəh, wə-səyáwr ǰəlávķ mánəh. te kūsəm təh ḏə-ǰəyūb,  
šállam təh. te k-sōbəḥ kəlūb ḥass, šxəbīrəh ḥābū. amáwr, "hēsən šinək?"*
- 7 *āmūr, "šinək gənnáy bərk ḥəmōh, wə-wbódək təh, wəlākan əl yəššáwb lā.  
wə-mǰōrən fəlátk wə-bǰədáy. tōli šinək təh fənwáy wə-tánk təh, wəlākan  
mūna əjənbáyyət, wə-l-ād kədərk līs lā."*
- 8 *amáwr ḥābū, "ḏək ar yəššək! wəlākan nəḥōm gēḥəməh bə-ḥəlláy nəsyēr  
ḏār ḥəmōh, wə-hásnən mən hāl šinək təh." amūr, "yéye."*
- 9 *te gēḥəməh bə-ḥəlláy, səyáwr. te nákam ḏār ḥəmōh, amáwr ḥəh, "šádhək!"  
tōli šadhūk w-āmūr, "ǰəlákəh! ǰəlákəh!"*
- 10 *nákam aǰəyūg ḏə-yabərkam. te nákam təh, amáwr, "ḥō?" amūr, "ǰəlákəh!"  
tōli šinəm hāləh. amáwr, "ḏékəməh ar hālək, wə-hēt əl ǰəyəbk ar mən  
bətōl."*

1 *gōt*: This word is listed in *ML* (s.v. *gww*), though the footnote in Stroomer's edition (p. 262, n. 1) seems to suggest that it is missing from *ML*.

7 *yəššáwb*: This is the 3ms imperfect of the Š1-Stem *šəwšáwb* 'be hit'. The root is historically *šwb*, but *wšb* in the H- and Š1-Stems. According to the entry for this verb in *ML* (s.v. *šwb*), the 3ms imperfect is *yəšəwšáwb*, which is probably where Stroomer got the form used in his edition of this text. Among the verbal paradigms in *ML* (p. lxi), the 3ms imperfect is given as *yəšəwšōb*. Ali's Arabic manuscript has *يشصوب*, while Johnstone's Roman manuscript has *iššəsoob*, both of which reflect an imperfect *yəššáwb*. I-w verbs in the Š1-Stem have two variant imperfects, as already noted in *ML* (lxi), and as evidenced elsewhere in the texts. The imperfects

### Translation of Text 95

- 1 Once a community was camped in a valley, and in that valley there was water in a hole. And close to the water was a graveyard. And no one dared come there at night, only if it was daytime.
- 2 Then one night a man said, "Which [lit. who] of you wants me to give him a goat, and will go to this water and bathe, and stay one hour?"
- 3 One guy said, "I want to." And he went. Then when he got to the water, he looked down into the hole and he saw his shadow. He thought it was a person in the water.
- 4 Then he cocked his rifle and shot into the water. And he, whenever he changed places, would see his shadow following him, and he shot at it. Then he ran away and saw his shadow, sometimes behind him and sometimes in front of him.
- 5 Then when he got near the people, he saw his shadow in front of him. And he pulled out his dagger and stabbed (it), and the dagger got stuck in the dirt. He thought something had taken hold of it, and he fainted from fear.
- 6 Then the people got worried about him, and they went (and) looked for him. Then when they found him passed out, they picked him up. Then in the morning when he regained consciousness, the people questioned him. They said, "What did you see?"
- 7 He said, "I saw a jinn in the water, and I shot at it, but it didn't get hit. And then I ran away, and it chased me. Then I saw it in front of me and I stabbed it, but it took hold of my dagger, and I couldn't overpower it."
- 8 The people said, "It's just that you were afraid! But let's go tomorrow night to the water, and show us where you saw it." He said, "Ok."
- 9 Then the next night, they went. When they got to the water, they said to him, "Look down!" Then he looked down and said, "Look at it! Look at it!"
- 10 The men came running. Then when they got to him, they said, "Where?" He said, "Look at it!" Then they saw his shadow. They said, "That's only your shadow, and you only fainted from fear."

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*yāšəwšáwb/yāššáwb* show the same exact variation as *yāšəwgūš/yāšgūš*. See further in the comment to text 30:8, and in § 7.2.3.

- 10 *bəṭōl*: In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss 'fear (cowardice?)'. *ML* (s.v. *bṭl*) defines the word as 'fear', but probably based on this story. It also has the word *bōṭal* 'cowardly'. I also wonder if *mən bəṭōl* could mean here something like 'for no reason'; cf. Arabic *bāṭil* 'baseless, false, groundless'.

- 11 *tōli ġarāwb hābū ða-hē al sí lā ðār ħamōh, wə-ġarāwb ða-hē, mat tāt yəṣṣ,  
yəsōni kāl síyən fənwīh ða-yəffərūk bəh.*
- 12 *maġōrən wəráwd ħamōh ðékəməh, sóx w-aḳənnáwn. wə-təmmōt.*

- 11 Then the people knew that there was nothing at the water, and they knew that whenever someone is afraid, he'll see anything in front of him that will frighten him.
- 12 Then they went down to that water, the old and the young. And it is finished.



## \*Text 96 (no J): A Conversation

- 1 A: “*gəhōm wə-ǧəbérəh, w-āmēr həh yətáxfən gēhəməh, āds əl ǧəzōt  
həyáwm.*”
- 2 B: “*wə-hām əl kəsk təh lā, hībōh l-āmōl?*”
- 3 A: “*háwka həh mərǧáyət hāl əhād. āmēr həh, fəlān ǧīlu. yā yəlháqəh yā lā.  
wə-šēǧəl, həððōr mən təǧwōr.*”
- 4 B: “*ətēm wəǧiyē b-amkōnkəm, aw śalyēla?*”
- 5 A: “*nəhāh wəǧiyē b-amkōnən tē gēhəməh wəlē bād gēhəməh. wə-hām  
śállən, āmyēla hīkəm ālōmət. xətyēta hīkəm mən hāl həwlīyən. wə-  
hēt háwşəf bəh. āmēr həh, ‘āmáwr hūk həbke, <hām tərōh hərōhəh, əl  
yəhəqásəh ar hanīn>.*”
- 6 B: “*yéye.*”
- 7 A: “*əsōni āfōr táwla mən aráwrəm. wə-hām əwsūt, məhərşáwtən. šēǧələm  
līn! hámak tī aw lā?*”
- 8 B: “*hámak tīk. əl tāwīǧ bay lā! āmēr háyni ‘əsthōl!’*”
- 9 A: “*xáybən, əsthōl!*” *wə-təmmōt.*

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1 *gēhəməh*: In margin of the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘tonight’, but the word normally means ‘tomorrow’.

3 *háwka*: The Arabic manuscript has only *háwka* ‘put, place!’, but the Roman manuscript has both *háwka* and the alternative *qələ* ‘leave!’. Both mean essentially the same thing here.

5 *hīkəm*: In the Arabic manuscript, Ali wrote *hīhəm* ‘to them’.

5 *háwşəf*: In the Arabic manuscript, Ali mistakenly wrote *həwsəf* (حوسف). He almost never confused *h* and *ħ* or *s* and *ş* elsewhere.

5 *yəhəqásəh*: This is the H-Stem 3ms imperfect of the root *qś* (*yəhəqōsa*) plus a 3ms object suffix *-h*.

**Translation of Text 96**

- 1 A: "Go and meet him, and tell him to come to us tomorrow, before the sun goes down."
- 2 B: "And if I don't find him, what should I do?"
- 3 A: "Leave a message for him with someone. Tell him, 'So-and-so got sick.' Either he'll catch him, or not. But hurry, be sure not to linger."
- 4 B: "Will you be in your (current) place, or will you move?"
- 5 A: "We'll be in our place until tomorrow or the next day. And if we move, we'll make you an indicator. We'll mark out where we headed. And you, give (him) a description of it. Tell him, 'Your parents said to you, «If his head is wet, he should dry it only with us»!'"
- 6 B: "Ok."
- 7 A: "I see a cloud has come up from the sea. So if it rains, we'll lose animals to exposure. Hurry back to us! Did you hear me or not?"
- 8 B: "I heard you. Don't hold me up! Tell me 'goodbye!'"
- 9 A: "Fine, goodbye!" And it is finished.

**Text 97 (= J97 = H9 = Müller 1907: 34–45, from which it was translated = Bittner 1917a: 92–107): A Cinderella Tale**

- 1 *ǰayg sōbār yaštəyūd ašáyđ (šəyyōđ) wə-hārūs bə-tēt̄ wə-nūka məns bə-ǰəǰənōt. wə-mtōt hāmēs, wə-ḵənōh aǰəǰənōt te āḵərūt. wə-yaḵálas b-abáyť wə-hē yašyūr yaštəyūd ašáyđ.*
- 2 *te nəhōr ṭayť āmarūt həh ḵəbrátəh, “ḵáybi, wə-kōh əl hārásk lā?” āmūr hīs, “hōh əl ḵōm əl-hērəs lā.”*
- 3 *āmarūt həh, “wə-kōh?” āmūr hīs, “məǰōrən tsánan bayš.” āmarūt həh, “lā, hērəs!” wə-hārūs bə-tēt̄ wə-nūka bīs h-abáyť hāl ḵəbrátəh. wə-šxəwəllūt šəh.*
- 4 *wə-nūka məns bə-ǰəǰənōt wə-ḵənáts te āḵərūt. wə-šxəwlil, wə-(t)šāsūr ḵəbráts wə-thəbǰáwš ḵəbrīt ḵə-ášərēt (ḵə-ášəyyōđ).*
- 5 *te nəhōr ḵəbrē ḵə-ḵōkəm yaḵōm yašáxtən, wə-šmləm həh šarḵ. wə-ṭəláwb bə-áyli arḵəbēt kál, wə-nákam.*
- 6 *wə-ttēt̄ ḵə-ášəyyōđ affxarēt (azīnēt) ḵəbráts. wə-ḵəbrīt ḵə-ášəyyōđ, wəzmáts ǰányəť ḵə-bárr. āmarūt hīs, “ṭəḵónəh!”*

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- 1 *ǰayg sōbār yaštəyūd ašáyđ (šəyyōđ)*: Ali’s Arabic manuscript has *ǰayg sōbār yaštəyūd ašáyđ*, matching what he wrote in the Jibbali version (*ǰeyg sōbār yaḵtérən ešód*). However, he later added *šəyyōđ* in the margin. Johnstone’s Roman manuscript has only *ǰayg šəyyōđ* ‘a man, a fisherman’. The latter more accurately reflects Müller’s Mehri version, on which Ali’s Mehri version was based, and which has *ǰayǰ hawwōt*.
  - 3 *tsánan*: This is either the 3fp imperfect of a Ga-Stem *šūna* (*ML*, s.v. *šn’*), or the 3fs imperfect of an otherwise unattested D/L-Stem (*š*)*šōna* (cf. Arabic D *šanna’a* ‘slander; revile’). The latter fits the context best, and the other versions also have 3fs verbs.
  - 4 *ḵə-ášərēt*: The Arabic manuscript has *ḵəbrīt ḵə-ášərēt ḵə-ášəyyōđ*, but the word *ḵə-ášərēt* has been put in square brackets. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone transcribed *ḵəbrīt ḵə-ášərēt ḵə-ášəyyōđ*, but put *ḵə-ášəyyōđ* in parentheses; above *ḵə-ášərēt* he added ‘better’, and above *ḵə-ášəyyōđ* he added ‘or!’. Ali’s Jibbali version has here just *ešérēt*. The Mehri word *šərēt* means ‘other wife’. *ML* includes it only in the English-Mehri word-list (p. 619), defined as ‘wife other than the first in a polygamous marriage’, *JL* (*šrr*) gives the same meaning for the Jibbali cognate. But it seems, based on this context (in which *ášərēt* refers to the deceased first wife), that the meaning is just ‘other wife’. In a word-list for this text (found among Johnstone’s papers, Box 11A), Johnstone defined *šərēt* (pl. *šəwárra*) as ‘co-wife’.

### Translation of Text 97

- 1 A man was always catching fish (was a fisherman), and he married a woman and had a girl with her. Her mother died, and he raised the girl until she grew up. He would leave her in the house and go fishing.
- 2 Then one day his daughter said to him, "Father, why haven't you gotten married?" He said to her, "I don't want to get married."
- 3 She said to him, "Why?" He said to her, "Then she would mistreat you." She said to him, "No, get married!" So he married a woman and brought her into the house with his daughter. And she remained with him.
- 4 And he had a girl with her, and she raised her until she grew up. They remained, and she loved her daughter and hated the daughter of the other wife (of the fisherman).
- 5 Then one day the ruler's son wanted to get circumcised, and they made a party for him. And they invited all the inhabitants of the town, and they came.
- 6 And the fisherman's wife prettied up her daughter. And the daughter of the fisherman, she gave her a sack of grain. She said to her, "Grind it!"

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- 6 *affxarēt* (*azīnēt*): Both manuscripts present *affxarēt* and *azīnēt* as alternatives. The transcription *affxarēt* is a bit uncertain. As a D/L-Stem with an initial voiceless, non-glottalic consonant we expect *(f)fxarēt* (or variant *(f)fxarēt* because of the guttural *x*). The Arabic manuscript has اشخریت (as also in line 20), and this spelling could indicate *afxarēt*. If the prefix *a-* is present, then it must be because of the cluster of two voiceless, non-glottalic consonants, just as we get the definite article *a-* in the same environment (§ 4.4). The Roman manuscript originally had *efxarēt*, which matches this reading. (Johnstone transcribed *ε-* for the prefix also in *εzīnēt*; it is just a variant transcription for *a-*.) However, the initial *ε-* was later crossed out, and *ə* was added above it, indicating a reading *əfxarēt*. The same is true for line 20. An initial *ə-* makes best sense if we have an initial geminate, i.e., *əffxarēt*. The Arabic spelling could also represent *ə(f)fxarēt*, though Ali most often did not indicate an initial epenthetic *ə-* in his spelling. Nowhere else do we find the prefix *a-* before a voiceless consonant cluster in the D/L-Stem, so it remains unclear if *afxarēt* or *affxarēt* was intended. In recent fieldwork, Sabrina Bendjaballah recorded ʒfs *sfə-rēt* 'she traveled', with no *a-*.

- 7 *wəzmáts yəbáyť zəyáwrəť wə-āmarūt hīs, “mələhəm mōh! məť nákan, tākāy ber təhánš gányəť wə-bér mōlaš azəyáwrəť.”*
- 8 *wə-bārōť, sē wə-ħabrəťs, təwōli šarħ, wə-ħabrīt ð-aşəyyōđ b-abáyť. wə-ťəwyīs hōba āgzōn.*
- 9 *āmūr hīs, “wə-kōh əl barš lā təwōli šarħ?” āmarūt hīsən, “mátwəyək lā. šəy məħnēt.” āmūr hīs, “āsésí!” w-āsśūt.*
- 10 *wə-səyūr bīs te đār bayr wə-ħərbá’ mōh, wə-rħəşáys wə-həwbəsis xəlōwəķ wə-şáyğəť.*
- 11 *w-āmūr hīs, “bāri!” wə-wzəmīs ġayrōrəť ðə-dərəhəm wə-wzəmīs ġayrōrəť ðə-ķəbáwnəť.*
- 12 *w-āmūr hīs, “syēri təwōli šarħ wə-nħāgi te, məť kánaš wə-tháyimi tťtēki, skēbi aġayrōrəť ðə-dərəhəm bərk amdōrəť wə-skēbi aġayrōrəť ð-aķəbáwnəť đār əttēt ð-aşəyyōđ (ðə-ħáybəš) wə-ħabrəťs.” āmarūt, “his-táw.”*
- 13 *sīrūt. te nkōť, ksūt ħābū ðə-yəťtəriğən wə-ħaynīt tənáħğən. wə-ħəbrē ðə-ħōkəm ðə-şōr hāl ħābū. wə-sē wəkəbūt bərk amdōrəť.*
- 14 *wə-nħəğōť. te šəbōť, skəbūt aġayrōrəť ðə-dərəhəm bərk amdōrəť, wə-skəbūt aġayrōrəť ð-aķəbáwnəť đār tēt ðə-ħáybas wə-ħabrəťs, wə-ftkūt.*
- 15 *wə-bəķáwš sərīs ħəbrē ðə-ħōkəm, w-əl əlhəķáys lā. wə-rədd təwōli ħābū. āmūr ħaynīt, “bass mən šarħ te ġəhəməh bə-ħəlláy.” wə-bārəm ħābū.*
- 16 *wə-sē sīrūt. te nkōť abáyť, ksūt aġányəť ber təħnēt təķáyķ ð-awķā, w-azəyáwrəť ðə-mīləm mōh, wə-hōba yənīt ðə-şxəwlūl.*

7 *mələhəm*: The Arabic manuscript has the spelling ملاهم, which could reflect *mələhəm* or *mələhəm*, but the same form in line 21 is spelled ملاهم, which must be for *mələhəm*. Johnstone transcribed *mələhəm* in both lines. The fs imperative must be a III-<sup>2</sup> form (from *mūla*), and not a III-w/y form (from *mələh*), since the latter would be *məlī*. The 2fs *mōlaš*, if Johnstone transcribed the vowel *ō* correctly, looks like a III-w/y form (see below). See also the comment to text 85:26 (*mələē*).

7 *gányəť*: We expect the definite form *aġányəť* here (cf. line 16), but the manuscripts both have *gányəť*. This may just be an error.

7 *mōlaš*: If Johnstone’s transcription *mōlaš* is correct (also in line 18), then it reflects a III-w/y type perfect (as if from a 3ms *mələh*). It is possible that the correct transcription is *mūlaš*, in which case it reflects a III-<sup>2</sup> type perfect. Elsewhere in the texts we find forms of the III-<sup>2</sup> type (e.g., *mūləm* in 22:6). The 3ms perfect *mōlə’*, listed in *ML* (s.v. *ml’*) should be corrected to *mūla*.

8 *bārōť*: The manuscripts have 3fs *bārōť* here (like the Jibbali version), but in the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the 3fd form *bārtōh* in the margin, as an option.

- 7 And she gave her seven jars and said to her, "Fill them with water! When we come back, you should have already ground the sack (of grain) and already filled the jars."
- 8 And she went out, she and her daughter, to the party, and the fisherman's daughter was in the house. And seven old women came to her.
- 9 They said to her, "Why didn't you go out to the party?" She said to them, "I don't have time. I have work." They said to her, "Get up!" And she got up.
- 10 And they brought her to a well and drew water, and they washed her and dressed her in clothes and jewelry.
- 11 And they said to her, "Go out!" And they gave her a bag of money and a bag of scorpions.
- 12 And they said to her, "Go to the party and dance until, when you have had enough [or: get tired] and want to leave, pour the bag of money onto the dance-floor, and pour the bag of scorpions over the fisherman's (your father's) wife and her daughter." She said, "Ok."
- 13 She went. Then when she came, she found the men watching and the women dancing. And the ruler's son was standing with the people. And she went onto the dance-floor.
- 14 And she danced. Then when she had enough, she poured the bag of money onto the dance-floor, and poured the bag of scorpions over her father's wife and her daughter, and she left.
- 15 And the ruler's son ran after her, but he didn't catch up to her. And he returned to the people. He said to the women, "Enough partying until tomorrow night." And the people left.
- 16 And she went. Then when she got home, she found the sack (of grain) already ground, (with) fine flour in it [lit. having been put in], and the jars filled with water, and seven women sitting.

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9 *tawōli šarḥ*: In the Arabic manuscript, Ali added *al-hāl šarḥ* as an alternative to *tawōli šarḥ*.

12 *ḏ-ašayyōd* (*ḏa-ḥáybaš*): Both manuscripts give *tēt ḏa-ḥáybaš* 'your father's wife' as an alternative to *tēt ḏ-ašayyōd* 'the fisherman's wife'.

15 *ḥaynūt*: In the Arabic manuscript, Ali wrote *h-āgzōn* 'to the old women'. The Roman manuscript has *ḥaynūt* 'to the women', which matches the Jibbali version.

16 *ḏ-awḳā*: This is an H-Stem passive form (see § 7.1.7). In the Arabic manuscript, Ali had written ذوقاء (*ḏa-hawḳá*), but crossed it out and wrote ذوقا (*ḏ-awḳā*) above it. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone had *ḏa-(h)áwḳá*, but then crossed out the *h*.

- 17 *āmūr hīs, “nəḥágəs?” āmarūt hīsən, “nəḥágək, wə-bəḳáwš səráy ḥəbrē ḏə-ḥōkəm.” āmūr hīs, “ləḥəḳáyš?” āmarūt, “lā.” āmūr hīs, “his-táw.” wə-šəll mənš ašáyǵət wə-xəlōwəḳ, wə-səyūr, wə-sē šəwḳfūt.*
- 18 *wə-nkōt tēt ḏə-ḥáybəs wə-ḥəbráts wə-hāššóts. āmarūt hīs, “bər təḥánš?” āmarūt, “ēhē.” “wə-bér mōləš azəyáwrət mōh?” āmarūt, “ēhē.” wə-šxəwłl.*
- 19 *āmarūt hīs aǵáts, “əl wádaš lā bə-ǵəǵənōt tayt ərháymat təwūt šarḥ wə-nḥəǵōt wə-skəbūt ǵayrōrət ḏə-dərəḥəm bərk amdōrət wə-bārōt, wə-bəḳáwš sərīs ḥəbrē ḏə-ḥōkəm w-əl ləḥəḳáys lā?” wə-šxəwłl.*
- 20 *te ǵəḥəməḥ bə-ḥəlláy, səyáwr ḥābū wə-ḥaynūt. wə-ttēt ḏ-ašəyyōd əffxarēt ḥəbráts.*
- 21 *wə-wzəmūt ḥəbrīt ḏ-ašəyyōd ǵányəti trayt ḏə-bárr ḥəḫāt. āmarūt hīs, “təḥánəḥ!” wə-wzəmáts arbātāšər zayr. āmarūt hīs, “maləḥəm mōh!” wə-sē sīrūt, sē wə-ḥəbráts, təwōli šarḥ.*
- 22 *wə-ḥəbrīt ḏ-ašəyyōd, nūka ḥənīs ḥōba yənūt. āmūr hīs, “wə-kōḥ əl səyórš lā təwōli šarḥ?” āmarūt, “əl mátwəyək lā.” āmūr hīs, “ásēši!” w-ásšūt wə-sīrūt šīsən te nūka ḥəl abáy.*
- 23 *ḥərbá’ mōḥ wə-rḥəšáyš, wə-ḥəwbəsis xəlōwəḳ wə-šáyǵət. w-āmūr hīs, “syəri təwōli šarḥ!”*
- 24 *wə-wzəmīs ǵayrōrət ḏə-dərəḥəm wə-ǵayrōrət ḏə-ḫəbáwnət. āmūr hīs, “nəḥāǵi te təḫnēy, wə-mət tháyimi tftēki, skēbi aǵayrōrət ḏ-dərəḥəm bərk amdōrət, wə-skēbi aǵayrōrət ḏə-ḫəbáwnət ḏār tēt ḏ-ašəyyōd wə-ḥəbráts.”*
- 25 *sīrūt. te nkōt ḥəl šarḥ, ksūt ḥābū (ḏ-)šōrəm wə-ksūt ḥaynūt tənəḥǵən. wə-wkəbūt bərk šarḥ. wə-ḥəbrē ḏə-ḥōkəm ḏ-əwtəlüm ḏār fərháy.*
- 26 *wə-sē nəḥəǵōt. te kənōt mən anéḥəǵ, skəbūt aǵayrōrət ḏ-adərəḥəm bərk amdōrət, wə-skəbūt aǵayrōrət ḏ-aḫəbáwnət ḏār tēt ḏə-ḥáybəs wə-ḥəbráts, wə-ftkūt.*
- 27 *wə-ḥəḫlávḳ sərīs fərháy ḥəbrē ḏə-ḥōkəm. te məkōn nəḫəbōt ḥəǵáwłəts. āmūr hīs, “ḥəǵáwłəts!” āmarūt, “ḏə-səyūr yəxlōf ǵáyrah.”*
- 28 *wə-rádd ḥəbrē ḏə-ḥōkəm, wə-ḥəǵáwłət šəḥ. səyūr te nūka ḥəl bə’áyli šarḥ, āmūr, “bass! ḥáfsəḥən bə-šarḥ!” wə-bərəm ḥābū kə-ḫāt ḥ-abətəḥ.*

27 *ḥəǵáwłəts: ML (s.v. ḥǵl) defines ḥəǵáwłət as ‘bracelet of iron or silver’, but it can also refer to an anklet. According to Morris and Shelton (1997: 184–187, 355), Omani Arabic ḥəǵūla also has both meanings.*

- 17 They said to her, "Did you dance?" She said to them, "I danced, and the ruler's son ran after me." They said to her, "Did he catch up to you?" She said, "No." They said to her, "Ok." And they took the jewelry and clothes from her, and went. And she went to sleep.
- 18 And her father's wife came back with her daughter and woke her up. She said to her, "Did you already do the grinding?" She said, "Yes." "And did you already fill the jars with water?" She said, "Yes." And they stayed.
- 19 Her sister said to her, "Do you not know a certain pretty girl who went to the party and danced and poured a bag of money onto the dance-floor and left, and the ruler's son ran after her and didn't catch up to her?" And they stayed.
- 20 Then the next evening, the men and women went (back). And the fisherman's wife prettied up her daughter.
- 21 And she gave the daughter of the fisherman two sacks of grain. She said to her, "Grind them!" And she gave her fourteen jars. She said to her, "Fill them up with water!" And she went, she and her daughter, to the party.
- 22 And the daughter of the fisherman, seven women came to her. They said to her, "Why didn't you go to the party?" She said, "I don't have time." They said to her, "Get up!" And she got up and went with them until they got to the well.
- 23 They drew water and washed her, and dressed her in clothes and jewelry. And they said to her, "Go to the party!"
- 24 And they gave her a bag of money and a bag of scorpions. They said to her, "Dance until you've had enough, and when you want to leave, pour the bag of money onto the dance-floor, and pour the scorpions over the fisherman's wife and her daughter."
- 25 She went. Then when she came to the party, she found the men standing and she found the women dancing. She entered the party. And the ruler's son was ready on a horse.
- 26 And she danced. Then when she had enough of the dancing, she poured the bag of money onto the dance-floor, and she poured the bag of scorpions over her father's wife and her daughter, and she left.
- 27 And the ruler's son set the horse after her. Then at (one) place, her bracelet fell. He said to her, "Your bracelet!" She said, "Something else [lit. besides it] will take the place of that which has gone."
- 28 And the ruler's son returned, the bracelet with him. He went until he got to the people at the party. He said, "Enough! Stop the party!" And the people went home, each to his own house.



- 29 *wə-sē sīrūt. tē ʔnkōt b-abáyť, ksūt aǵwōni bǎrsən ʔəǵáyǵ, wə-ksūt azəyáwrət ǰə-miləm mōh, w-āǵzōn (ǰ-)šxəwlūl. šəll mǎns ašəyǵəť wə-xəlōwəǵ.*
- 30 *āmārūt hīsən, “haʔlǎwǵ sərəy hǎbrē ǰə-ǰōkəm fərháyn.” āmūr hīs, “lǎhəǵáyš?” āmārūt, “lā, wəlǎkan hǵǵáwlti naʔǰəbōť, wə-šəllis. āmūr háyni, ‘hǵǵáwlatš!’, āmǎrk hǎh, ‘ǰə-səyūr yəxlōf ǵáyrah.’”*
- 31 *wə-hǎbrē ǰə-ǰōkəm šāʔ hǵǵáwlat wə-wzəmīs ǵərīti ʔrayť. āmūr hīsən, “dēran bə-hǵǵáwlat ǰīmǎh w-ǵyīsən tīs əl-haynūt w-ǵǵəǵənáwtən. kǎl ǰə-wǵkōť līs səwē, kǎlētən lay!” wə-dǎrtōh hǵǵərtən bǎrk arhǎbēt xamstāšər yūm, w-əl ksītōh əhǎd lā.*
- 32 *anhōr ǰə-sattāšər, wəšəltōh b-abáyť ǰ-ašəyyōd. w-ǵyīs əl-tétəh, w-əl wīǵa lā. w-ǵyīs əl-hǎbrǎts, w-əl wīǵa lā. w-ǵyīs əl-hǎbrūt ǰ-ašəyyōd, wə-wīǵa ǵəyōs.*
- 33 *sīrtōh hǵǵərtən təwōli abēlsən w-āmǎrtōh hǎh, “hǎbrūt ǰ-ašəyyōd hənōb.” wə-xxəšǎwb l-ašəyyōd, wə-nūka ašəyyōd.*
- 34 *w-āmūr hǎh hǎbrē ǰə-ǰōkəm, “ǵōm əl-hērəs hənūk.” āmūr hǎh, “(m-)mōn?” āmūr hǎh hǎbrē ǰə-ǰōkəm, “bə-hǎbrǎtk hənōb.” āmūr, “his-táw!” wə-sǎddəm yəhērəs, wə-hārūs.*
- 35 *tē nəhōr ǰə-kǎbkēb, ǎttēt ǰə-háybəs wəzmǎts bǎrk šəfǎryyət dēǵər. āmārūt hīs, “tīyǎh!” wə-təwátəh.*
- 36 *wə-šxəwəllūt wə-nkǎys hōba yənūt wə-hftūk əlhān bǎrk háfǎləs. w-áyml hīs hǎráwf bǎrk háfǎləs.*
- 37 *āmūr hīs, “mǎt nūka ǵǵáyǵəš wə-ʔháymi (t)syēri k-hǎnǎfš, āmēri h-ǵǵáyǵəš, ‘ǎzēmi amšǎrrǎk l-ǎstəyūr bǎrkīh!’” wə-šxəwəllūt.*
- 38 *tē nūka ǵǵáyǵəš, āmārūt hǎh, “ǎzēmi amšǎrrǎk!” āmūr hīs, “ʔhǎmǎh hēšən?” āmārūt hǎh, “ǵōm l-ǎstəyūr bǎrkīh.” wə-wzəmīs wə-sīrūt k-hǎnǎfs.*
- 39 *wə-ksūt tēt ǰə-háybəs ǰə-šərōť bǎrk hǎmmām. āmārūt hīs, “kō hēt bǎwmǎh? syēri wǎlē šərōmǎh šǵǵáyǵa əl-hǎbrē ǰə-ǰōkəm.”*
- 40 *ftkūt, wə-sē šxəwəllūt w-ǎstəryūt bǎrk amšǎrr, wə-nkōť. āmārūt hǎh, “syēr w-ǎnké b-amšǎrrǎk!” səyūr wə-kūsa bǎrkīh xəmmōh hǎráwf, wə-šəllihəm.*
- 41 *wə-šəwkīf. tē k-sōbəh, ǎššūt fǎnwīh. wə-ǎšš hē wə-kūsa nəxǎli hǎrōhs sǎťáyť hǎráwf.*

34 *(m-)mōn*: This must be underlyingly \**b-mōn*. The manuscripts give no indication of the initial doubled *m*, but it seems likely that *əm-mōn* was intended, as we find in the Jibbali version of this text. The preposition *b-* is required before the object of the G-Stem verb *hārūs*, as evidenced by *bə-hǎbrǎtk* in the reply. See also the comments to texts 76:2 (*əm-mōh*) and 94:37 (*əm-mōh*).

- 29 And she went. When she got to the house, she found the sacks already ground, and she found the jars already filled with water, and the old women sitting. They took the jewelry and clothes from her.
- 30 She said to them, "The ruler's son set a horse after me." They said to her, "Did he catch up to you?" She said, "No, but my bracelet fell, and he picked it up. He said to me, 'Your bracelet!'. I said to him, 'Something else [lit. besides it] will take the place of that which has gone!'"
- 31 And the ruler's son took the bracelet and gave it to two servant-girls. He said to them, "Go around with this bracelet and try it on the women and girls. And whoever is a match for it, tell me." And the (two) servant-girls went around in the town for fifteen days, and they found no one.
- 32 On the sixteenth day, they came to the fisherman's house. They tried it on his wife, and it didn't fit. They tried it on her daughter, and it didn't fit. And they tried it on the fisherman's daughter, and it fit exactly.
- 33 The servant-girls went to their master and said to him, "The fisherman's older [lit. big] daughter." And he sent for the fisherman, and the fisherman came.
- 34 And the ruler's son said to him, "I want to marry into your family." He said to him, "Who?" The ruler's son said to him, "Your older [lit. big] daughter." He said, "Ok!" And they agreed he could marry, and he married.
- 35 Then on the wedding day, her father's wife gave her beans in a pot. She said to her, "Eat it!" And she ate it.
- 36 She waited, and seven women came to her and took out everything that was in her stomach. And they put [lit. made] for her (gold) coins in her stomach.
- 37 They said to her, "When your husband comes and you want to go to the bathroom, say to your husband, 'Give me your turban so I can defecate in it!'" And she waited.
- 38 Then when her husband came, she said to him, "Give me your turban!" He said to her, "What do you want (it) for?" She said to him, "I want to defecate in it." He gave (it) to her, and she went to the bathroom.
- 39 And she found her father's wife standing in the bathroom. She said to her, "Why are you here? Go, or else now I'll call the ruler's son."
- 40 And she left, and she sat down and defecated in the turban, and she came back. She said to him, "Go and bring back your turban!" He went and he found in it five (gold) coins, and he took them.
- 41 And they went to sleep. Then in the morning, she got up before him. And he got up and found under her head three (gold) coins.

- 42 *wə-səyūr wə-kəlūt əl-ḥáybəh. āmūr, “yā ḥáybi, hō ... tēt, wəkábk hənīs bə-ḥəlláy, w-āmərūt háyni ‘āzēmi amšárrək!’ wə-wzámk tīs təh.*
- 43 *wə-sūrūt bəh ḥəmōh, wə-nkōt w-āmərūt háyni, ‘syēr h-amšárrək!’ wə-səyárk həh, wə-kásk bərkīh xəmmōh ḥəráwf (ð-)ðəhēb. wə-nákak, wə-šəwkōfən te k-sōbəh. w-āššūt fənwáy. wə-‘áššək hōh wə-kásk sātáyt ḥəráwf (ð-)ðəhēb nəxāli ḥərōhs.”*
- 44 *āmūr ḥáybəh, “la-bádd ḥáybəs mələk.” āmūr həh, “ādəh šəh gəgənōt tayt.” āmūr, “nəḥōm aḡāk yəhēras bīs.”*
- 45 *sūrūt ašəfōt bərk arḥəbēt ðə-hē, ḥəbrē ðə-ḥōkəm, tétəh təstəyīrən ḥəráwf. wə-səyáwr əl-hāl ḥáybəs w-āmáwr həh, “nəḥōm ənhēras bə-ḥəbrátk.” āmūr hīhəm, “sáwrəs hāl ḥāmēs.”*
- 46 *səyáwr əl-hāl ḥāmēs, w-āmərūt hīhəm, “his-táw.” wə-hārūs ḥəbrē ðə-ḥōkəm aḡənnáwn bīs.*
- 47 *te nəḥōr ðə-kəbkēb, ḥəgəllūt hīs ḥāmēs bərk šəfəráyyət dēgər, w-āmərūt hīs, “tī!” wə-təwūt.*
- 48 *hīs bə-ḥəlláy, nūka ḥəbrē ðə-ḥōkəm wə-šxəwlīl hənīs. āmərūt həh, “āzēmi amšárrək!” wə-wzəmīs (təh), wə-sūrūt bəh təwōli ḥəmmām. wə-məlátəh gōb w-ənkátəh.*
- 49 *wə-səyūr aḡīgēn, yəḥōm amšárrəh, wə-ksīh kálləh gōb. wə-bār wə-šəwkūf hāl ḥāmáh.*
- 50 *te k-sōbəh nūka hāl ḥáybəh. āmūr həh, “hībōh tetk?” āmūr həh, “tənofa lā. ḡəššūt xəláwkye.”*
- 51 *səyáwr əl-hāl aḡəgənōt. āmáwr hīs, “hībōh ‘əmləš wəṭōməh?” āmərūt, “ðōməh mən ḥāmáy. təwāti dēgər.”*
- 52 *xəšáyb līs wə-nkōt. āmūr ḥōkəm, “ḡəšəšəm ḥərōhs!” wə-ḡəšəšəm ḥərōhs wə-šxəwlīl. wə-təmmōt.*

42 *kəlūt əl-ḥáybəh*: The Roman manuscript has *kəlūt əl-* ‘he told (to)’, with *ḡátri k-* ‘he spoke with’ in the margin above. The Arabic manuscript has *ḡátri ḥáybəh*, with *kəlūt* in the margin above. The word *ḥáybəh* in the Arabic manuscript is for an underlying *\*h-ḥáybəh* (see § 2.1.4).

44 *la-bádd*: This is from Arabic *lā budda* ‘it must be that’.

48 *wzəmīs (təh)*: The direct object *təh* is absent from the Roman manuscript and the audio, but is in the Arabic manuscript, albeit added in the margin. The Jibbali and Ḥarsusi versions have the equivalent direct object here, though it is absent from Müller’s version. It is not required, as shown by *wzəmīs* in line 38 (and similarly in the Jibbali and Ḥarsusi versions).

- 42 And he went and told his father. He said, "Father, I ... the woman, I went to her at night, and she said to me, 'Give me your turban!', and I gave it to her.
- 43 And she took it to the water, and she came back and said to me, 'Go get [lit. for] your turban!'. And I went for it, and I found five gold coins in it. And I came back, and we went to sleep until morning. And she got up before me. And I got up and found three gold coins under her head."
- 44 His father said, "Her father must be an angel." He said to him, "He still has one more daughter." He said, "We should have your brother marry her."
- 45 The news went around in the town that he, the ruler's son, his wife defecated coins. And they went to her father and said to him, "We want to marry your daughter." He said to them, "The decision [lit. her plan] (rests) with her mother."
- 46 They went to her mother, and she said to them, "Ok." And the ruler's younger [lit. small] son married her.
- 47 Then on the wedding day, her mother cooked beans for her in pot, and she said to her, "Eat!" And she ate.
- 48 When it was night, the ruler's son came and stayed by his wife. She said to him, "Give me your turban!" And he gave it to her, and she went with it to the bathroom. She filled it with excrement and came back to him.
- 49 And the boy went, heading for his turban, and he found all of it (full of) excrement. And he went home and slept at his mother's.
- 50 Then in the morning he came to his father. He said to him, "How is your wife?" He said to him, "She is no use. She dirtied my clothes."
- 51 They went to the girl. They said to her, "Why did you do that?" She said, "It is [lit. this is from] my mother. She fed me beans."
- 52 They sent for her and she came. The ruler said, "Cut off her head!" And they cut off her head, and they remained. And it is finished.

## \*Text 98 (no J): The Man Who Gave Away His Supplies

- 1 *xəṭərət ǰayg ǰəhēm, yəḥōm yəḵfēd arḥəbēt, wə-šəh aǰəllēt w-aməwsē. tōli ḥəyūr. l-ād wīda əl-ḥō yəḥīwəl lā. wə-hē ǰəhēm anḥōr kálləs. tē kaláyini, əftərḵáwt aǰəllēt, wə-šīni sékənəh mən hāl ǰəhēm.*
- 2 *k-sōbəh, āmáwr həh, “kō hēt nákak xəláy?” āmūr, “hōh ḥəyərək, wə-l-ād dállək ḥōrəm lā.” wə-ḥəbū šīhəm ǰəwt lā. wə-hātīm. tē k-sōbəh, ḥəšbəh aǰəwō.*
- 3 *wə-ǰəhēm. tē nūka arḥəbēt, wəkūb hāl ǰayg əsərəh wə-kəlūt ləh bə-ḥātəh. āmūr həh, “nəḥāh šīn aməwsē, w-amōl əl bəh šəxōf lā, wə-hōh əl šəy ḥāšər lā. wə-ḥámk təḵbéli məšráwf. wə-mət amōl áyməl əsəxōf wə-ḥáyim thákbərəm līn, b-arāykəm.”*
- 4 *āmūr, “hēsən thōm?” āmūr, “ḥōm ǰáwzərəti trəyt wə-ǰónyət ḏ-ayś.” āmūr aǰáyg, “ma yəxələf, wəlākan l-ād tənkyē lā wárxi trōh. nəḥāh šəḵšōrən, w-amáwsəm ādəh ḏə-ḥəbətá. šərəfəm əlyōməh tē amáwsəm yənké. hēt ǰayg kəráym.”*
- 5 *āmūr aǰáyg, “təktūta ləh ar kāl ḏə-ḵətáyis!” tōli ǰəhēm aǰáyg təwōli sékənəh. wə-yəǰáwbər ḥəbū əl-ḥōrəm, wə-yənōza līhəm. wə-hē lə-wṭákəməh.*
- 6 *tōli təmūm ǰáwzərət təyt, w-aṭōrəf təyt wə-ttəmūm. tōli aṭōrəf əyś, wə-hē lə-wṭákəməh. tē watx f hāl sékənəh, ād šəh a'isəhəm ḏ-əšəri trōh.*
- 7 *tōli amərūt həh tətəh, “hēt ǰayg ḥáywəl! (t)šədáyənən amōl ḏə-ǰəyūg, wə-təwəzməh əl-ḥayrēm. wə-mǰōrən, l-ād əḥād wəzmōna tīk šī lā.”*

2 *aǰəwō*: The noun *ǰəwō* ‘rainless, clear weather’ is missing from *ML* (s.v. *ǰwy*), just as the Jibbali cognate *ǰo* (heard from an informant) is missing from *JL*. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone (who transcribed the form *egwuuw*) added the gloss ‘rainless’.

3 *ḥātəh*: The form *ḥāləh* in Stroomer’s edition is a mistake. The manuscripts both have *ḥātəh*. The form *ḥātəh* comes from \**ḥáltəh*, which is a suffixed form of *ḥōlət* ‘condition’. The noun *ḥōlət* is missing from *ML*, but is used in text 24:15; see further in the comment to that passage.

3 *təḵbéli*: Johnstone glosses this verb as ‘give me an advance’ in his manuscript translations. Based on the form, it could be either a Ga- or Gb-Stem subjunctive. No Ga-Stem is listed in *ML*, and the Gb-Stem *ḵáybəl* means ‘accept; find acceptable’ (cf. 22:93).

5 *təktūta*: It is not certain whether we should transcribe *təktūta* or *təktōta* here. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone transcribed *təktūta*, but 3ms *yəktōta* in line 8. No T1-Stem imperfects from III-<sup>c</sup> roots are attested in the

### Translation of Text 98

- 1 Once a man set out, intending to go down to town, and it was misty and rainy. Then he got lost. He didn't know anymore which way [lit. to where] to head. And he walked the whole day. Then in the evening, the mist dissipated, and he saw the settlement he had set out from.
- 2 In the morning, they said to him, "Why did you come back empty-handed?" He said, "I got lost, and I didn't know the way anymore." And the people had no food. They spent the night. Then in the morning, it was clear weather.
- 3 And he set out. Then when he got to the town, he went into his friend's place and told him about his condition. He said to him, "We've had rain, but animals have no milk, and I have no cash. I want you to advance me supplies. And when the animals make milk and you want to come to us for milk, you're welcome."
- 4 He said, "What do you want?" He said, "I want two baskets of dates and a sack of rice." The man said, "That's fine, but don't come back to me again for two months. We have run short, and the trading-boat is still late. Be sparing with these until the trading-boat comes. You are a generous man."
- 5 The man said, "It will be cut off only to the one who has cut it off!" Then the man went towards his settlement. But he met people on the road, and he donated to them. And he (continued) thus.
- 6 Then he finished one date-basket, and moved to another and finished (it). Then he moved to the rice, and he (continued) thus. Then when he came to his settlement, he had left (only) their dinner for two nights.
- 7 Then his wife said to him, "You are a crazy man! You borrow men's property on credit, and you give it away on the roads. Afterwards, no one will give you anything again."

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texts with audio. *ML* is also inconsistent (as is often the case) regarding this form. For example, in the paradigms in *ML* (pp. 1–1i) we find 3ms imperfect *yärtūfan* (an obvious mistake for *yärtūfa*) and *yəktūta*, but in the individual entries we find *yəktōta* (s.v. *kt'*) and *yärtōfa* (s.v. *rf'*). During fieldwork in Oman, Julien Dufour (p.c.) recorded both *yärtūfa* and *yärtōfa*, which is either reflective of free variation or the fact that *ō* and *ū* can be very hard to distinguish.

- 5 *yənōza*: In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone has the following note regarding lines 5 and 6: "People used to side [sic] by the road waiting for folk to come up from town with civil. supplies". He adds later on that this is a true story.

- 8 *āmūr aǧáyg, “hēt tēt hawəlīt. arášk əl yəktūta lā ábdan. wə-kāl śīyan yətmōm wə-yəxlōf. wəlākan əššáraf, hām təmm, l-ād yəxlōf lā ábdan.”*
- 9 *āmərūt tēt, “šarōmah hibōh āmlōna mət shelan?” āmūr, “ādan šin a’isē ḏə-yəlliləh, w-ādi əl əftkárk lā tē gēhaməh, mət shelən. kāl śīyan yənōka kəyōs. hēt wádaš hām gēhaməh yəhášbəh rəšk tāt yədīn? wələ ḏə-yəhōm yəktān mən aqáwt yəhášbəh šəh sawr tāt yədīn mən sáwrəh hāwəlay?”*
- 10 *āmərūt tēt, “əl wádak lā, wəlākan lēzəm amnēdam yāká’ šəh afkəráyyət ḏə-hənáfəh.” āmūr aǧáyg, “lū amnēdam yəháwsəb əlhān nəkōna təh b-aməstákbələh, əl əḥād yāqān yəškūf lā.”*
- 11 *āmərūt tēt, “wə-kōh?” āmūr aǧáyg, “əl wádaš lā?” āmərūt tēt, “lā.” āmūr aǧáyg, “amnēdam mətōna wə-kəlōna adənyē wə-kəlōna amōləh wə-kəlōna kāl śīyan kálləh, wə-sīrōna nəxāli aṭáyn bə-təmənūt ḏərə’ ḏə-dérg. wə-lū amnēdam yəháwsəb əlhān wəkōna ləh, əl əḥād yāqān ḏə-yəškūf lā.*
- 12 *hēt əktələbš b-amšəráwfən. wə-kōh əl təktəlībən b-amáywət? lū hōh kōrək aqáwt mən hābū ḏə-gáyam, wə-nákak bəwməh wə-mátk, hibōh yāmərən hābū? amyēra, ‘ǧayg bəxáyl wə-káwb!’ w-əl əḥād yāmērən, ‘l-āziz fəlān’ lā!”*
- 13 *ādhəm lə-wtákaməh, nūka aǧāh mən amxəṭār wə-ḏə-yəháwməl rikēbi trəyt kəwt. āmūr aǧáyg h-tétəh, “hibōh šinəs? arášk kátta aw lā?” āmərūt, “lā.” āmūr, “xáybən, əl təḏbəri bay lā hām wəzámk.”*
- 14 *wə-nūka ǧáyg mən hāl āsərah, wə-šəh məṭḏáyt mən hənūh. āmūr həh, “hām thōm kəwt, kəfəd līn. amáwsəm nūka.”*
- 15 *āmərūt tēt, “əl śī yədūm lā, hām thōm thəḏḏōr bə-hənáfəh. wəlākan hārmək l-ād əḏáwbər bük zōyəd tē əl-mēt. wə-hēt bə-káyfək!” wə-təmmōt.*

9 *yəktān*: The Roman manuscript has *yəktá’an*, while the Arabic manuscript has *تقطان*, suggesting the expected *yəktān*.

15 *yədūm*: This must be from a G-Stem *dōm*, borrowed from Arabic *dāma* ‘last, go on, persist’. The verb is absent from *ML*, but *JL* (s.v. *dwm*) has the Jibbali cognate *dēm* ‘last a long time’. Cf. also the comment to text 99:26.

- 8 The man said, "You are a crazy woman. (Our) lot will never be cut off. Everything gets finished and is replaced. But honor, if it is finished, is never replaced again."
- 9 The woman said, "Now what will we do when we finish?" He said, "We still have tonight's dinner, and I won't think about it until tomorrow, when we've finished. Everything will work out [lit. come] accordingly. Do you know if tomorrow there will be a new lot? Or (if) the one who wants to cut us off from food will have a newer plan than his former plan?"
- 10 The woman said, "I don't know, but man has to have consideration for himself." The man said, "If man thought about all that will happen [lit. come] to him in his future, no one would sleep."
- 11 The woman said, "Why?" The man said, "You don't know?" The woman said, "No." The man said, "A man will die and leave the world, leave his property, and leave absolutely everything, and will go under the dirt with eight cubits of white cloth. And if man thought about all that will happen to him, no one would sleep."
- 12 You were worried about our supplies. Why don't you worry about death? If I had hidden the food from the people who were hungry, and I came here and died, what would the people say? They will say, 'A mean man and a dog!' No one would say, 'Oh woe for so-and-so!'"
- 13 While they were like this, his brother came from a trip, carrying two camel-loads of food. The man said to his wife, "What did you see? Was (our) lot cut off, or not?" She said, "No." He said, "Ok, don't nag me if I give."
- 14 And a man came from his friend, and he had a message from him. He said, "If you want food, come down to us. The trading-boat has come."
- 15 The woman said, "Nothing lasts, if you (only) want to look out for yourself. So I swear I won't nag you ever again until I die. And (do) as you like!" And it is finished.



\*Text 99 (= H2, from which it was translated = J48, but a longer, variant version): Fox and Friends

- 1 *kəwtēt mən azbōn hāwəláy, hīs sáfrəm, aytáyl wə-káwb w-akáyšər w-  
təbráyn w-ayəgráyb w-axəmūt. sáfrəm. kəwtēt əl əhād yəwōda lā sē šətk  
aw bēdi.*
- 2 *wə-kəwtōna b-abšōrət ð-aytáyl wə-káwb w-akáyšər wə-təbráyn w-ayəgráyb  
w-axəmūt, hīs āds adənyē təgtūri. wə-səyáwr wə-xəťáwr. hīs āšər  
ğasráwwən wátxfəm, āmūr hīham akáyšər, “šáwgəšəm nəkēm tī bə-‘ayšē,  
wə-hōh məhētəm.” wə-šəwgīs. šəwgūs kawb wə-šəwgəšūt təbráyn wə-  
šəwgəšūt axəmūt w-ayəgráyb w-aytáyl. axəmūt šəwgəšūt, w-ayəgráyb  
w-aytáyl kəťərōh. tē bə-ħálláy, ksəyōh šī lā.*
- 3 *w-aytáyl xáylaf b-amxáwłaf ðə-ħəfrūk. kūsa gēd məhmīš wə-mərdáy bəh,  
wə-šálləh. wə-təbráyn šəwgəšūt kərmáym. ksūt gəzəlēt ðə-gūrōb məršəfēt  
bə-kərmáym. wə-ksūt aməršəfēt. wə-káwb šəwgūs wə-šīni bālīt hārāwn.  
wə-šəwğáwr līs wə-dūłax līs dərhīs, wə-šáll bəh.*
- 4 *w-akáyšər, mən bādīham, gərōh ləh bəkōr ħəlákəməh. wə-fərr wə-wīka ðār  
ašāhər (ð-)ťáyt mənsən, wə-ħəgārīs wə-wtəğáys. wátxfəm wə-gátmam  
ħābū, wə-ħālīk šīwōť.*
- 5 *wəťxfōt təbráyn ðə-ťťōt mən šəll ð-agzəlēt. āmərūt, “hōh ðə-ħándək.  
məšəwłfēta tē yəbhōl a‘išəkəm. wə-mğōrən təkđəm tī.”*
- 6 *wə-hēm hālīk šīwōťham. wə-šəráwf wə-ħəwķām ħəšš bərk šīwōť. wə-šĥātəm  
ħaybáthəm wə-rđīw b-agēdəs. wə-dəħākəm ħōzhəm wə-šəbđw táywīhəm  
kálləh.*

- 
- 2 *ð-aytáyl ... w-axəmūt*: This passage is crossed out in the Arabic manu-  
script, but appears in both Roman manuscripts.
  - 3 *wə-mərdáy bəh*: There may be a mistake here. The Jibbali version has *gōd  
məhmīs ðə-rđīēš* ‘an animal skin that someone threw away’ (*rđīēš* is for  
*rđī beš*), while the Harsusi version has *gōd məhəmīs mərdī* ‘a thrown away  
animal skin’. Mehri *mərdáy* and Harsusi *mərdī* are passive participles,  
functioning as adjectives. As such, *mərdáy* should not take an object *bəh*;  
*bəh* would be expected (like Jibbali *beš*) after an active verb. It is possible  
that Mehri *bəh* means ‘in it’, referring to one of the camps.
  - 3 *məršəfēt*: I have translated this simply as ‘cached’, but it literally means  
‘hidden under stones’. Cf. the G-Stem *rəšáwf* ‘cache, hide under stones’  
(*ML*, s.v. *rźf*).
  - 4 *ħəgārīs*: This derives from \**ħəg‘ərīs*, which is based on the 3ms perfect  
*ħəgáwr* (< \**ħəg‘ūr*).

### Translation of Text 99

- 1 A story from former times, when the fox, the wolf, the leopard, the hyena, the raven, and the vulture traveled. They traveled. A story that no one knows if it is true or false [lit. a truth or a lie].
- 2 And I'll tell about the cleverness of the fox, the wolf, the leopard, the hyena, the raven, and the vulture, when the (whole) world still spoke. And they went and traveled. When one night, at evening-time, they arrived (somewhere), the leopard said to them, "Go out (and) bring me dinner, and I'll spend the evening (here)." And they went out. The wolf went out, the hyena went out, the vulture went out, and raven and the fox. The vulture went out, and the raven and fox looked around. By night, they had found nothing.
- 3 And the fox moved on to the deserted camps of the flocks. He found a flayed and discarded animal skin, and he pick it up. And the hyena went to the mountains. She found half a *jarab*-measure of dates cached in the mountains. She found the cache. And the wolf went and saw a goat-herdswoman. And he raided her and snatched a kid from her, and he carried it back.
- 4 And the leopard, after they (had gone), young camels passed by him there. And he jumped and set upon the back of one of them, and he felled it and killed it. They came back and gathered, and lit a fire.
- 5 The hyena came back tired from carrying the dates. She said, "I'm sleepy. I'll go to sleep until your dinner is cooked. Wake me up then."
- 6 And they lit their fire. They heated stones and put stones onto the fire. And they slaughtered their camel and threw away its skin. And they skinned their goat and roasted all their meat.

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- 5 *táḵḏām*: This is the mp imperative of the D/L-Stem verb *(t)tōḵāḏ* 'wake up (trans.)', from a root *tḵḏ*, which is a secondary root based on the root *wḵḏ*. *ML* (s.v. *tḵḏ*) lists the 3ms subjunctive as *yātīḵāḏ*, from which we can derive a ms imperative *tīḵāḏ* and mp imperative *táḵḏām*. However, the D/L-Stem 3ms subjunctive should be *yattōḵāḏ*, and the mp imperative should be *táḵḏām* (see § 6.2). If *ML* is incorrect, and the subjunctive is indeed as expected, then the vowel *á* that Johnstone transcribed here is suspect. If *ML* is correct, then the subjunctive is perhaps borrowed from the related T1-Stem *wátḵāḏ* 'wake up (intrans.)'. The secondary root *tḵḏ* is found in other MSA languages (at least Ḥarsusi, Jibbali, and Soqotri), and comparative evidence suggests that the forms of the subjunctive are indeed anomalous. But see the comment to line 7, below.

- 7 *w-əhtádyəm. w-əhtádyəm támərham. w-ə-təbráyn šəwƙfūt. w-ərtáwam. w-ə-hīs ərtáwam, kāl əhād šáṭ aráwaw. w-āmūr hihəm aytáył, “āzēməm tī həḏḏə ḏə-təbráyn, wə-mǧōran hōh məttōkəḏ tīs.”*
- 8 *wə-wzáwm həḏḏə ḏə-təbráyn, w-ātōsí mən táywi aǧīd wə-tōmər aǧīd. wə-ṭáwrəh āšáwš w-agalé’. wə-sē ḏə-šəwƙfūt, wə-həwƙəbihəm bərk šəts. wə-sē šəwƙfūt w-əl həssūt lā.*
- 9 *wə-šəwƙif te k-sōbəh. hīs k-sōbəh, wəṭkəḏōt təbráyn. āmərūt, “yálla, hō həḏḏə!?” wə-hōh yəllōh ātēsýək lā.”*
- 10 *āmáwr hīs, “həḏḏəš k-aytáył.” āmūr hīs aytáył, “ātēsýəš həḏḏəš. hēt wátkəḏəš lā?” āmərūt, “lā, hōh ṭamk sí lā, wə-hōh ḏə-gáyak.”*
- 11 *āmūr hīs, “syēri wə-msí ḏār aǧərdīs. wə-hām əl məšš āšáwš w-agalé’ lā, hōh məkšáyb aǧāti. wə-hām məšš āšáwš w-agalé’ bərk aǧərdīs, tkáyni ḏ-ātēsýəš, w-əkūn ašəṭki hōh, w-əkšáwš hərōhš.”*
- 12 *wə-šhədəm lihəm aǧəmāt lə-wṭákəməh. wə-sīrūt təbráyn, ṭhōm təməšéh. āds lə-wṭákəməh nátṭəbəm āšáwš w-agalé’ mən bərk šəts. āmáwr, “ašəṭkəh aytáył. šaff hēt əl wátkəḏəš lā!”*
- 13 *səmháys mən séhəṭ. wə-gəhēməm, wə-səyáwr. āmūr hīs aytáył, “hēt šaláli te hərōš ḏayk, wə-mən həlákəməh hōh šəllōna tīs.”*
- 14 *wə-səyáwr te wəšəlam hərōš. āmūr hīs, “ādš te hərōš ḏayk.”*
- 15 *wə-səyáwr te hərōš amšǧərēt. aytáył ḏə-šəwnēx, wə-təbráyn kəṭōṭ mən šəll ḏ-aytáył. rədōh bə-ḥənáfəh mən ḏəyərəs w-āmūr, “təbráyn kəṭōṭ! təbráyn kəṭōṭ!”*
- 16 *tōli rəddəm līs, wə-sē ḏə-ǧaybūt. w-abərkāt w-āmərūt, “bədōh aytáył!” wə-nákam tīs wə-təwīwəs.*

7 *məttōkəḏ*: This form, which Johnstone transcribed as *məttūkəḏ*, looks like a D/L-Stem future. It follows the regular D/L-Stem vowel pattern, which is normally identical to that of the subjunctive and imperative. But the subjunctive itself may be irregular (see the previous comment). If Johnstone’s transcription with *ū* is correct, then the form of the future is anomalous, but the reduced vowel *ə* of the imperative *təkḏəm* in line 5 would be expected.

11 *məkšáyb*: Johnstone transcribed here *magšáyb*, and Ali wrote مقشيب, which could stand for *məkšáyb*, *məkšáyb*, or *məkšáyb*. However, it is likely that the root *kšb* was intended. As for the form, it looks like a G-Stem passive participle, being used as a future passive. (The normal future derives from the historical active participle; see § 7.1.6.) Unfortunately, there is no parallel to this verb in the Jibbali version.

- 7 And they divided up. They divided up their dates. And the hyena had gone to sleep. And they drew lots. When they drew lots, each one got his lot. And the fox said to them, "Give me the hyena's portion, and then I'll wake her up."
- 8 And they gave (him) the hyena's portion, and he ate the good meat and the good dates. And he left the bones and the date-stones. She was sleeping, and he put them in her backside. She was sleeping and didn't notice.
- 9 And they went to sleep until morning. When it was morning, the hyena woke up. She said, "Hey, where is my portion? I didn't eat dinner last night."
- 10 They said to her, "Your portion is with the fox." The fox said to her, "You ate dinner last night. Didn't you wake up?" She said, "No, I didn't taste anything, and I'm hungry."
- 11 He said to her, "Go and defecate on the ground. And if you don't expel the bones and the date-stones from your backside, I will have my head [lit. neck] cut off. But if you expel the bones and the date-stones onto the ground, you will have eaten, and I will be (proven) truthful, and I will cut off your head."
- 12 And the group bore witness to them like this. And the hyena went off, heading to defecate. While she was thus, the bones and the date-stones dropped from inside her backside. They said, "The fox was truthful. It turns out you didn't wake up!"
- 13 He excused her from being killed. And they set off, and they went. The fox said to her, "Carry me up to that acacia tree, and from there I'll carry you."
- 14 And they went until they reached the acacia tree. He said to her, "You still have until that acacia."
- 15 And they went to the next acacia. The fox was rested, but the hyena was tired from carrying the fox. He threw himself off of her and said, "The hyena is tired! The hyena is tired!"
- 16 Then they came back to her, and she had fainted. But she ran away and said, "The fox lied!" But they came to her and ate her.

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13 *ḥarōš*: Johnstone (*ML*, s.v. *ḥrẓ*) believed this tree to be *Acacia mellifera*, also known as a blackthorn tree, though in *HL* (s.v. *ḥrẓ*) he indicated his uncertainty with a question mark. Miller and Morris (1988: 177; likewise Morris 2002: 57) maintain that this is *Acacia tortilis*, also known as the umbrella thorn acacia.

- 17 *wə-gəhēməm te šāwər nōb. āmūr hīhəm aytáył, “hábbye wə-hábiķəm, mən hīs šəxtün, yāfədəm mən ðār ašāwər ðayk te ašāwər ðayk.”*
- 18 *āmáwr, “hām ar ašətķək xətark, tāfēd!” wə-hē xfayf, w-āfūd.*
- 19 *fərr mən ðār ašāwər ðih te wiķa ðār ašāwər ðək, w-əl wiķa bəh šī lā. əl tībər wəlē ātəwūr.*
- 20 *wə-fərr kawb mən ašāwər ðih te ašāwər ðək, wə-tībər. wə-fərr akáyşər, wə-wiķa ðār ašāwər wə-siləm.*
- 21 *wə-ráddəm əl-káwb wə-təwīwəh. wə-gəhēməm hē w-akáyşər, wə-gəhmōh te ənkōh gōt bə-kərmáyym.*
- 22 *wə-hīs nəkōh agōt, āmūr aytáył, “háybi wə-háybək mən zəbōn yāfədōh mən ðār ðīməh, wə-yəwķōh (ð-)şərōh bərk amsəyōl.” w-amkōn rēhək láhi bərk agōt.*
- 23 *āmūr həh, “hēt báydi. hām hēt ašətķək xətárk, tagōrəb!”*
- 24 *āfūd aytáył mən ðār agōt, wə-wiķa bəh šī lā. w-āfūd akáyşər mən amkōn ð-aytáył, wə-wiķa bərk amsəyōl ðə-tībər kálləh w-ənhəţəmül, wəlākan ādəh şahh.*
- 25 *w-āmūr h-aytáył, “ķərōb lay wə-téh sabbh ð-āyéntyə, wə-mən āgōrəz, wə-mən táywi agīd, ādi şahh! axáyrr hūk mən l-āká’ fōtūt.”*
- 26 *āmūr həh, “əğárbək hēt böyər. ķərbōna tik lā mən dēmək şahh. axáyrr amáwtək!”*
- 27 *wə-ţərháyh te mōt. wə-hīs mōt, rədd lah wə-təwōh abğáyətəh.*
- 28 *wə-gəhēm aytáył te kūsa hīrīt. wə-hē mənķáyta mən ađáwma. tōli hīs kūsa hīrīt, āmūr hīs, “hōh mənķáyta mən ađáwma, wə-l-ād şay aktēr lā mən ađáwma. hām təkēdər tsēmi, hōm mōh.”*
- 29 *āmərūt həh, “şī lā mōh bāwməh ķəráyb.” āmūr hīs, “āmáyli háyni háylət, wəlē matōna şərōməh.”*
- 30 *āmərūt həh, “həmōh bərk háfəli. wəlākan hām həwkəbbk tik bərk háfəli, hēt mağōrən ‘aybōna lay wə-təwyōna tī.”*

18 *xətárk*: See the comment to text 45:16.

22 *(ð-)şərōh*: No prefix *ð-* is indicated in either manuscript, but I suggest it is present underlyingly.

26 *mən dēmək*: The form *dēm-* must come from Arabic *dāma* ‘last, continue’, as used in the phrase *mā dāma* ‘as long as’.

27 *abğáyətəh*: If this is indeed from a noun *bəğáyət*, as *ML* suggests (s.v. *bğy*), then the possessed form should be *abğátəh*.

28 *mənķáyta*: Curiously, Ali spelled this word (twice in this line) as two: من غايطا. (His use of *غ* for *ķ* is not unusual.) The form *mənķáyta* is unique, and may be a borrowing of the Arabic N-Stem (Form VII) *inqaṭa‘a* ‘expire’.

- 17 And they went up to a big rock. The fox said to them, "My forefathers and your forefathers, from when they were circumcised, would jump from that rock to that rock."
- 18 They said, "If you really recall truthfully, then jump!" And he was swift, so he jumped.
- 19 He jumped from this rock and [lit. until] he got to that rock, and nothing happened to him. He didn't get broken (bones) or get hurt.
- 20 And the wolf jumped from this rock to that rock, and he got broken (bones). And the leopard jumped, and he got to the (other) rock and was unharmed.
- 21 And they came back to the wolf and ate him. And he and the leopard went off. They went until they came to a chasm in the mountain.
- 22 And when they got to the chasm, the fox said, "My father and your father used to jump from this (one), and land standing in the valley-bottom." And the place was far away from them in the chasm.
- 23 He said to him, "You're a liar. If you recall truthfully, then try it!"
- 24 The fox jumped from the chasm ledge, and nothing happened to him. And the leopard jumped from the fox's place, and he wound up in the valley-bottom, broken and smashed. But he was still alive.
- 25 And he said to the fox, "Come up to me and eat the fat of my eyes, and my testicles, and the good meat, while I am still alive! It's better for you than (if) I should be a carcass."
- 26 He said to him, "I know you are a trickster. I won't come near you as long as you are alive. Better your death!"
- 27 And he left him until he died. And when he died, he went back to him and ate what we wanted [lit. his desire].
- 28 And the fox went on until he found a donkey. And he was dying of thirst. Then when he found the donkey, he said to her, "I am dying of thirst, and I have no more (strength) left because of thirst. If you can save me, I want water."
- 29 She said to him, "There is no water here nearby." He said to her, "Make me a scheme, or else I'll die now."
- 30 She said to him, "There is water in my stomach. But if I let you into my stomach, then you'll betray me and eat me."

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30 *ʿaybōna*: Ali spelled this word with ʿ in the Arabic manuscript. Cf. the comment to text 70:2, and see § 2.1.3, rule #2.

- 31 *āmūr*, “*hēsən tháyimi mən wágəh? wə-hōh wəzmōna tış wágəh.*” *wə-dəxāl hīs b-awághəh, wə-həwkəbətəh bərk šəts.*
- 32 *w-āmərūt həh*, “*ksōna mōh tāt maṭṭ wə-tāt məlḥāt. aḳəráyb məlḥāt, arēḥəḳ maṭṭ.*” *wəkūb aytáył bərk šit ḏə-ḥīrīt. wə-wkūb bərk háfəlas, wə-kūsa ḥəmōh amátṭṭ wə-ḥəmōh aməlḥāt. wə-ttáḳḳ mən ḥəmōh amátṭṭ. təḳḳ tē ráywi.*
- 33 ‘*ásš wə-gəlūk aǵáwḥ bərk háfəlas, wə-nátx šəbdáts wə-kəlyáts wə-ḥəwbáybas, wə-təwyihəm.*
- 34 *hīs təwyihəm, mətōt ḥīrīt, wə-hē bərk háfəlas. šənḏūr h-abēli, “hām nəkōt ǵəllēt wə-tərūt šit ḏə-ḥīrīt wə-ftákk hōh šəḥḥ, əl-háḏḥəb nəḥər ḏōrə’ wə-nēḥər šxōḥ.”*
- 35 *wə-hīs k-sōbəḥ, ḥəšbəḥōt ləh aǵəllēt ṭall, wə-tərūt šit ḏə-ḥīrīt, wə-ftūk aytáył.*
- 36 *wə-ǵəḥēm k-sōbəḥ. wə-ǵəḥēm tē wə-ḥəbráts. šīsən rawn məkən, w-āmərtōh həh, “hēsən nákak? wə-mən ḥō nákak?”*
- 37 *āmūr*, “*nákak mən skūn, wə-xxəšáyb līkən tənəkən. hēm šihəm šarḥ. wə-ḏə-xtáwn ḥəbániḥəm, wə-xxəšáyb līkən tənəkən tihəm. wə-hōh səddōna bādīkən ḥāráwn.*”
- 38 *wə-sən šəsəḏəḳəḥ. wə-ǵəḥēm tēt wə-ḥəbráts, wə-ṭərháyḥ k-ḥāráwn.*
- 39 *səyūr aytáył wə-ḥəlūb ḥāráwn bərk nəḥər tē ḏəḥēb. w-abárḳa əl-ḥāráwn. šḥətáyəsən kálsən tē ḥəḏḥūb anēḥər ḏōrə’, wə-ttəmūm anéḏərəḥ. wə-ṭáwrəḥ ḥāráwn (ḏ-)sūna ḏər ḥarš. wə-sən ber mōt kál. wə-ḥəḳšáwm ḥəlákəməḥ.*
- 40 *tē ǵəḥəməḥ, nūka ḥaynīt, tēt wə-ḥəbráts. wə-hīs nūka, ǵəbrīsən rēḥəḳ mən ḥāráwn, wə-ḳəlūb līsən səlōm.*
- 41 *āmūr aytáył, “kəskən ḥābū?”* *āmūr ḥaynīt, “nəḥāḥ əl kūsən əḥād lā. hēt bōḏək bīn!”* *āmūr, “hōh ašətṭi, ar ətēn dálləkən lā!”*
- 42 *wə-sīrūt ḥəbrīt ḏə-ttēt təwōli ḥāráwn, wə-ksūt ḥāráwn ḏə-šḥət kálsən.*
- 43 *w-āǵáwz šxəwəllūt hál aytáył. w-āǵáwz šənwiṭ, thōma lā. wə-šāḳōt ḥəbráts, āmərūt, “ā ḥāmáy, mənēy aytáył tē l-ənkēš!”*

33 *təwyihəm*: Johnstone transcribed *təwihəm* here and in the next line. I assume that this was an error for the expected *təwyihəm*, since in similar forms elsewhere (e.g., *ṭəwyīta* in text 75:6), the *y* is a bit difficult to hear on the audio.

38 *šəsəḏəḳəḥ*: See the comment to text 20:6.

39 *ḥarš*: The plural *ḥarš* (sg. *ḥərōš*; cf. line 13) is not listed in *ML* (s.v. *ḥrš*), but the Ḥarsusi plural *ḥarš* (sg. *ḥərōš*) is listed in *HL* (s.v. *ḥrš*).

- 31 He said, "What kind of guarantee do you want from me? I'll give you a guarantee." And he swore to her by his honor, and she let him into her backside.
- 32 And she said to him, "You'll find sweet water and salt-water. The near one is the salty, and the far one is the sweet." The fox went into the donkey's backside. And he went into her stomach, and found the sweet water and the salt-water. And he drank from the sweet water. He drank until he was satisfied.
- 33 He stood and looked up into her stomach, and he plucked her liver, her kidney, and her heart, and he ate them.
- 34 After he ate them, the donkey died, and he was in her stomach. He vowed to God, "If a mist comes and moistens the donkey's backside and I get out alive, I'll flood a wadi with blood and a wadi with milk."
- 35 And when it was morning, the mist came with dew, and it moistened the donkey's backside, and the fox got out.
- 36 And he went in the morning. He went until he found a woman and her daughter. They had a lot of goats. And they said to him, "What did you come for? And where did you come from?"
- 37 He said, "I came from some settlements, and they sent for you to come. They are having a party. They've circumcised their sons, and they sent for you to come to them. And I'll be enough for the goats when you're gone [lit. after you]."
- 38 And they believed him. The woman and her daughter went, and left him with the goats.
- 39 The fox went and milked the goats in a wadi until it was flooded. And he ran to the goats. He slaughtered them all until he flooded the wadi with blood, and he completed his vow. And he left the goats standing against acacia trees. They had all died. And he spent the day there.
- 40 Then the next day, the women came back, the woman and her daughter. And when they came, he met them far away from the goats, and he greeted them.
- 41 The fox said, "Did you find the people?" The women said, "We didn't find anyone. You lied to us!" He said, "I was truthful, you just didn't know the way!"
- 42 And the woman's daughter went to the goats, and she found the goats all slaughtered.
- 43 But the old woman sat by the fox. And the old woman was deaf, she couldn't hear. And her daughter called out, she said, "Hey mother, hold the fox until I get to you!"



- 44 *āmārūt āgáwz, “hēsən tōmər?” āmūr aytáył, “āmārūt, ‘aḳáwm šəghīm,’ w-āzámī ašáyġət l-ədfēns mən aḳáwm, m-ād yašáyṭəs.”*
- 45 *w-āgáwz šəsdəḳáwt. wəzmátəh ašáyġət kálləs, wə-hē mənáyəs. w-āds taġtūri šəh, šāḳōt līs ḥəbráts wə-tōmər, “mənēy aytáył, wə-hōh nəkáyṭa tiš!”*
- 46 *w-āgáwz tōmər, “hēsən tōmər?” āmūr aytáył, “āmārūt, ṭərəḥi əl-néks!” wə-hīs āmūr hīs əwtákəməh, fərráwt āgáwz, “əstəwōd awághəḳ! yā sawād əl-wíyəh! yā aytáył!”*
- 47 *wə-hē fəlūt məns. “yā aytáył! yā báydí!” wə-hē fəlūt məns, wə-šəh ašáyġət. w-abárḳa məns. wə-bəgdīh ḥaynūt, w-ə(l) lḥəḳáyh lā.*
- 48 *wə-səyūr te nūka məḳsōt ḳəsəyṭ əl-xáṭṭ ḏə-ḥōrəm. oləḳ bīs ašáyġət ḏəkəməh kálləs, wə-ġább nəxāse wə-dəfūn amésyāh. wə-nḳáyh ṭāṭ mən amḳəṭār. šəh rīkōb, wə-šxəwlūl.*
- 49 *āmūr həh, “hēt k-hēsən báwməh?” āmūr həh, “šxəwlək l-amḳəsōt ḏīməh səbū‘ te hāsšūt háyni ašáyġət ḏīməh.”*
- 50 *āmūr həh, “məḳsōt thāsūs hūk šáyġət wəṭōməh?” āmūr həh, “ēhē.” āmūr həh, “bə-kəm šēmōna tīs?” āmūr həh, “hōh šēmōna tīs məkən.” wə-štəmīs aġáyġ ḏékəməh b-arīkábhe wə-ḥmáwlišən. wə-hē ḥəġūr ḥərōš.*
- 51 *āmūr həh, “ḥəḏḏōr mən təmséh ḳərəyb līs, w-əl təḏḥōl ḳərəyb līs lā. wə-hām ḏəḥāḳ ḳərəyb līs wəlē məsk ḳərəyb līs, əl thāsūs sí lā.”*
- 52 *w-aytáył səbūk arīkōb əl-ṭaytīdáyəsən wə-səyūr, w-aġáyġ šxəwlūl. ḥəġūr ḥərōm nəḥōri trayt aw šīləṭ, w-amḳəsōt hāsšōt sí lā.*

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44 *l-ədfēns*: Stroomer translated this as ‘to pay’, as if from the verb *dūfa* ‘pay’, rather than the verb *dəfūn* ‘bury’. Were that correct, there would be no way to explain the *n* in the form, and the following preposition *mən* would be unexpected.

46 *əl-néks*: Johnstone (and hence Stroomer) transcribed here *əl-nákš’*. In the Appendix to *MLO* (p. 329), I suggested that this form was an error, but it is not. This is the 1cs subjunctive of the verb *nəyūk* ‘have intercourse’ (*əl-n(y)ək*) combined with the 2fs object suffix. The same form occurs in Johnstone’s Roman transcription of text 5:16; see the comment to text 5:13.

46 *əstəwōd*: *ML* (s.v. *swd*) lists only a T<sub>1</sub>-Stem verb *sátwəd* ‘be disgraced; be blackened’, and under it includes the imperative *stəwōd*. In fact, *əstəwōd* can only be the imperative of a T<sub>2</sub>-Stem verb *əstəwūd*. The form here could also be analyzed as a perfect *əstəwūd*.

46 *yā sawād əl-wíyəh*: This is an Arabic idiom, from Arabic *sawād* ‘black’ and colloquial *wíyəh* ‘face’. Both colloquial Arabic *wíyəh* and Mehri *wághəh* stem from Classical Arabic *wajh*, although Dhofari Arabic normally has

- 44 The old woman said, "What is she saying?" The fox said, "She said, 'The raiding party has come,' so give me the jewelry so I can hide it from the raiding-party, lest they take it."
- 45 The old woman believed (him). She gave him all the jewelry, and he took it. And while she was speaking with him, her daughter called to her and said, "Hold the fox, and I'll come to you!"
- 46 And the old woman said, "What is she saying?" The fox said, "She said, let me have intercourse with you!" And when he talked to her like this, the old woman jumped up (saying), "May your face be blackened! You disgrace [lit. black-face]! You fox!"
- 47 And he ran away from her. "You fox! You liar!" And he escaped from her, but he had the jewelry. And he ran away from her. The women chased him, but they didn't catch him.
- 48 He went until he came to a dry dead tree (used) for a marker in the road. He hung all that jewelry on it, and he defecated under it and buried his excrement. And someone came to him from the caravan. He had riding-camels, and he sat down.
- 49 He said to him, "What are you with here?" He said to him, "I sat by this dead tree for a week, until it grew for me this jewelry."
- 50 He said to him, "A dead tree grew for you jewelry like that?" He said to him, "Yes." He said to him, "How much will you sell it for?" He said to him, "I'll sell it for a lot." And that man bought it for his riding-camels and their loads. And he guarded the acacia.
- 51 He said to him, "Be sure not to defecate near it, and don't urinate near it. If you urinate near it or defecate near it, it won't grow anything."
- 52 And the fox tied his camels to one another (in a line). And he left, and the man stayed. He guarded the tree for two or three days, but the dead tree didn't grow anything.

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*wigh* (cf. Davey 2016: 154; 269). On the realization of Arabic *j* as *y*, see Johnstone (1965, especially 239–240). In *HL* (s.v. *wgh*), Johnstone translates the idiom as 'you disgraceful fellow!', while Holes (2001: 553) translates the feminine version of the idiom in Gulf Arabic (*sōdat il-wēh*) as 'you naughty girl!'.

- 50 *ḥmāwlišən*: The base of this form is probably *ḥāmōwāl*, the plural of *ḥāmāl* 'load'. *ML* (s.v. *ḥml*) lists only the singular, but Jahn (1902: 192) gives the plural of *ḥāmāl* as *ḥāmōwāl*. Johnstone transcribed *ḥmōlišən*, but since an *ō* would be reduced to *á* before the possessive suffix *-isən*, his transcription cannot be correct.

- 53 *bəgūd aytáyl te əlhəkáyh. hīs əlhəkáyh, āmūr, “əm-mənwáy w-əm-mənwūk šert. hēt wəqōna mešk wəlē ḏəhāk.”*
- 54 *āmūr həh, “lā!” tōli rəddōh təwōli amḵəsōt. te ənkōh, nəkūs aytáyl ḥəlákəməh. ḏə-ǧrūb ḥənáfəh ḏə-mśōh nəxāli amḵəsōt.*
- 55 *nəkūs amésyəh. āmūr həh aytáyl, “ḏōməh amésyək!” āmūr həh aǧáyǧ, “lā, hēt bōdək. ḏékəməh əl amési lā.” “lā, hēt bōdək!” āmūr, “lā, hōh bōdək lā. hōh əmáys rēhək, wəlākan hēt mešk!” wə-səyūr aytáyl b-arikábhə, wə-ḏək səyūr.*
- 56 *səyūr aytáyl te təwōh hāl səkən. hīs təwōh hāl səkən, rəšawn arikábhə. wə-ḥəlákəməh həbēr məsabbōt wə-fərhəyən məsabbōt.*
- 57 *āmáwr h-aytáyl, “əl təršān arikábke ḥəlákəməh lā, mən həbēr wə-fərhəyən təḵšālən tīsən.”*
- 58 *āmūr, “lā.” wə-hīs k-sōbəḥ, həšbāḥ arikōb ḏ-aytáyl ḏə-mōt kálsən, ḏə-təbūr, ḏə-rəkūt ḏáysən həbēr wə-fərhəyən.*
- 59 *tōli a’yīṭ aytáyl. wə-hīs a’yīṭ, dáfam həh rikōb. wə-k-sōbəḥ, səbḵáysən. wə-təmmōt.*

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53 *əm-mənwáy w-əm-mənwūk*: I assume the presence of the initial *əm-*, though Johnstone’s transcribed just *mənwáy wə-mənwūk* in the Roman manuscript. We would not expect the Arabic transcription to indicate the initial *əm-*, and it does not.

54 *nəkūs*: See the comment to text 37:13.

55 *amési*: The Roman manuscript has *emésie*. I suspect that Ali said *amési* (< *amésyi*; from *məsi* ‘excrement’). Johnstone’s *s* (instead of *ś*) was just an oversight, but the final *ε* that he heard was perhaps just an epenthetic vowel linking this word to the following *lā*. Or, he may have heard *amésyε*, with the suffix *-yε*. If so, then *-yε* (the suffix regularly used with plural nouns) was perhaps used because the base of the noun ends in *-i*; but elsewhere this noun is treated as singular (cf. *amésyəh* and *amésyək* in this line). The spelling *لشي* in the Arabic manuscript supports an underlying *əl amésyi*. Cf. also *aǧāti* ‘my neck’ (from *ǧōti* ‘neck’) in line 11 (spelled *اغتي*), not *\*\*aǧátyε*.

58 *kálsən*: It is possible that *kálsən* is connected more closely with the following verb. I have translated ‘the fox’s camels had all died, having been broken’, but perhaps it should be ‘the fox’s camels had died, all of them having been broken’.

- 53 He chased after the fox until he caught up with him. When he caught up with him, he said, "There was a deal between me and you. Perhaps you defecated or urinated."
- 54 He said to him, "No!" Then they went back to the dead tree. When they came back, the fox dug there. He knew that he himself had defecated under the dead tree.
- 55 He dug up his excrement. The fox said to him, "This is your excrement!" The man said to him, "No, you lied. That is not my excrement." "No, you lied!" He said, "No I didn't lie. I defecated far away, but you defecated!" And the fox went off with his riding-camels, and that (guy) went off.
- 56 The fox went until he came to a settlement (at night). When he came to the settlement, he tied up his camels. And there were sated camels and sated horses there.
- 57 They said to the fox, "Don't tie up your camels there, or the camels and horses will kill [lit. snap] them."
- 58 He said, "No." And in the morning, it turned out that the fox's camels had all died, having been broken, the camels and horses having stepped on them.
- 59 Then the fox cried out. And when he cried out, they paid him some riding-camels. And in the morning, he tied them in a line. And it is finished.

## \*Text 100 (no J, but cf. J45): Marriage

- 1 *hām tāṭ yaḥōm yaḥērās bə-tēt, fənōhan yaḡtūri šīs, wə-mḡōrən yaḡtūri k-akfáylas. wə-hām fikəh, yənōka bə-trōh šhawd. wə-yōmər akfáyl ḏə-ttēt, “ā fəlānə, hōh wəkáyil l-əháfḡkəs fəlān?”*
- 2 *tōmər, “hēt wəkáyil tháfḡki fəlān.” tōmər sātáyt ṭəwōr, w-asháwd yəkáwn ḏə-yahámam. mḡōrən akfáyl ḏə-ttēt yōmər, “ḏ-awáklək séra’ fəlān yahámlək aḡáyḡ ḏōmah fəlānə bərt fəlān.” w-asháwd yəkáwn ḏə-yahámam.*
- 3 *wə-yəsyáwr aḡáyḡ ḏə-hārūs, hē w-ashádhe, təwōli séra’. mət nákam, yōmər aḡáyḡ ḏə-hārūs, “hōh hārásk bə-fəlānə, wə-ḥōm təwkəlēt.” yōmər séra’, “šūk šhawd ḏə-hēt hārásk?”*
- 4 *yōmər, “ashádye, alyōmah hēm.” yōmər séra’ h-asháwd, “təshīd ḏə-hē hārūs bə-fəlānə bərt fəlān? wə-sē awkəlēt akfáylas?”*
- 5 *yāmərəm, “nəshōd.” yōmər séra’ h-asháwd, “wə-tshīd ḏə-hē, akfáylas, awkəláy hōh, séra’, fəlān bər fəlān, əl-hámlək aḡáyḡ ḏōmah fəlānə?” yāmərəm asháwd, “nəshōd.”*
- 6 *mət ber šhədəm asháwd, yaḥəmlūk séra’ aḡáyḡ. wə-yəstōm ašəyáftəh, wə-yəsyūr təwōli səkən. wə-mən ḏār ašəyáft bə-ḥálláy, yəwūkəb aḡáyḡ əl-tétəh. wə-yāmərəm həh ‘ašər ḏə-kəbkəb’. təmm awásf ḏə-hārsūt ḏə-ttēt.*
- 7 *wə-mākənnáy hām əḥād hārūs bə-ḡəḡgūt, ḥáybəš yəsdūd yawáklən séra’ yaḥámlək aḡáyḡ ḏə-hārūs.*
- 8 *wəlākan hām aḡəḡgūt yətəmūt mən ḥáybəš, wə-šīs aḡās, lēzəm b-aršās. wə-sē təwáklən aḡās, əl-hīs tēt. ḏōmah awásf ḏə-hārsūt. wə-təmmōt.*

7 séra’: The Roman manuscript has *bə-séra’*, but this is likely a mistake. The Arabic manuscript has just *séra’*, and nowhere else in this text does the verb *awōkəl* have an object followed by *b-* (cf. lines 2, 5, 7, and 8).

**Translation of Text 100**

- 1 If one wants to marry a woman, first he speaks with her, and then he speaks with her custodian. And if they allow him to marry, he brings two witnesses. And the woman's custodian said, "So-and-so, am I authorized to marry you off to so-and-so?"
- 2 She says, "You are authorized to marry me to so-and-so." She says (this) three times, and the witnesses are listening. Then the woman's custodian says, "I authorize judge so-and-so to give this man legal possession of so-and-so daughter of so-and-so." And the witnesses are listening.
- 3 And the man who has gotten married goes, he and his witnesses, to the judge. When they come, the man who has gotten married says, "I have married so-and-so, and I want legal (spousal) possession." The judge says, "Do you have witnesses that you have gotten married?"
- 4 He says, "My witnesses are these [lit. these are they]." The judge says to the witnesses, "Do you bear witness that he has married so-and-so, daughter of so-and-so? And has she authorized her custodian?"
- 5 They say, "We bear witness." The judge says to the witnesses, "And do you bear witness that he, her custodian, has authorized me, the judge, so-and-so son of so-and-so, to give this man legal possession of so-and-so?" The witnesses say, "We bear witness."
- 6 After the witnesses have borne witness, the judge gives legal possession to the man. And he buys his wedding-feast, and goes to his settlement. And after the wedding-feast, at night, he goes into his wife. And they call it 'the wedding [lit. entering] night'. The description of the marrying of a woman is finished.
- 7 Now if someone marries a young girl, her father is sufficient to authorize the judge to give legal possession to the man who has gotten married.
- 8 But if the girl is orphaned from her father, and she has a brother, it must be by her consent. And she authorizes her brother, like a (grown) woman. This is the description of marriage. And it is finished.

## \*Text 101 (no J): A Doctor's Advice

- 1 Doctor: “*tḥámi al-ṣḥárk?*”  
 2 Patient 1: “*b-arāyák!*”  
 3 Doctor: “*b-arāyák hēt!*”  
 4 Patient 1: “*xáybən, hámrət amáṣḥər.*”  
 5 Doctor: “*mīrət amáṣḥər. ālēm mən hāl tḥōm (t)šáṣḥər.*”  
 6 Patient 1: “*hámak ḥābū āmáwr aṭáyf dāwē.*”  
 7 Doctor: “*xáybən, āmrōna ḥə-ṭáyṭ mən ḥaynīt tatyīf.*”  
 8 Patient 1: “*wádak mayt l-attákkəh?*”  
 9 Doctor: “*əttákkəh l-aráyk.*”  
 10 Patient 2: “*šafk təgōrəb hōh əṣṭáwṭ agáwfi. wádak hēsən l-āmōl ḥəh?*”  
 11 Doctor: “*ya-ḥōl wádak. mət k-sōbəḥ, əttákkə gayd wə-bəḳāš te təḳṭá'. wə-mət nákak, āšāb agáwḥək bə-štəráyr šiləṭ yūm. wəḳōna bə-xáyṛ.*”  
 12 Patient 3: “*ḥəbráy yəṣṭáwṭ háfələh. hēsən l-āmōl ḥəh?*”  
 13 Doctor: “*mən mayt?*”  
 14 Patient 3: “*mən wəḳōna áyśər yūm.*”  
 15 Doctor: “*ādəh ḏə-yáwdəg əw bər ārəšəš təh?*”  
 16 Patient 3: “*lawb, ādəh ḏə-yáwdəg.*”  
 17 Doctor: “*ād tāḳāy dənyūt?*”  
 18 Patient 3: “*ḏə-‘ámlək tī l-āḳá’ dənyūt.*”  
 19 Doctor: “*ḥəḏḏáyri! ārēši agīgēn. hām hādəgəš təh wə-hēt dənyūt, yəməūt. hēt l-ād bayš šxōf lā. bayš gayd, wə-hām ārəšəš təh, wəḳōna bə-xáyṛ.*”

6 *aṭáyf*: *ṭayf* is *Aloe dhufarensis*. It is the juice that is used as medicine; see Miller and Morris (1988: 182).

**Translation of Text 101**

- 1 Doctor: "Do you want me to brand you?"
- 2 Patient 1: "As you wish!"
- 3 Doctor: "As *you* wish!"
- 4 Patient 1: "Ok, heat up the branding-iron."
- 5 Doctor: "The branding-iron is heated. Mark where you want to be branded."
- 6 Patient 1: "I've heard people say that aloe is a medicine."
- 7 Doctor: "Ok, I'll tell one of the women to collect aloe."
- 8 Patient 1: "Do you know when I should drink it?"
- 9 Doctor: "Drink it on an empty stomach (before breakfast)."
- 10 Patient 2: "You probably know I have pain in my chest. Do you know what I should do for it?"
- 11 Doctor: "Sure I know. In the morning, drink colostrum and run until you get tired. And when you come back, tie up your chest with cloth for three days. You [or: It] will get well."
- 12 Patient 3: "My son has pain in his stomach. What should I do for him [or: it]?"
- 13 Doctor: "Since when?"
- 14 Patient 3: "Since maybe ten days ago."
- 15 Doctor: "Is he still breast-feeding, or have you already weaned him?"
- 16 Patient 3: "No, he is still breast-feeding."
- 17 Doctor: "Could you perhaps be pregnant?"
- 18 Patient 3: "I think I may be pregnant."
- 19 Doctor: "Be careful! Wean the boy. If you suckle him and you're pregnant, he will die. You don't have milk anymore. You have colostrum, and if you wean him, he'll get well."



**\*Text 102 (= J47, with slight variations): A Conversation**

- 1 A: “*nəḥōm nəwəddáwd. tāt yāqá’ k-həbēr, wə-tāt yāka k-hārāwn, wə-tāt yəkfēd arḥəbēt ḏār arikōb. wə-ḥaynūt təgrēfən ašīgē’ wə-ḥəmbəráwtən yəktánməm l-arikōb. hām nūka mən amxəṭār, tənákān ḏə-gūya. w-ətēm əntəkáy. mākənnáy hōh, wəḵōna k-həbēr.*”
- 2 B: “*xáyban, hēt āqá’ k-həbēr. wə-ḵəbēš ḥəwōdi ḏīməh, wə-ḥəḏḏōr bə-həbēr mən tənzēn. wə-ḥaybətək bərs tḥōm tháḥkəṭ.*”
- 3 A: “*yéye, təkətəlob lā!*”
- 4 B: “*wə-hēt āqá’ k-hārāwn. wə-ḥəḏḏōr mən kawb! āmáwr ḥəgūm əl-səkən ḏəh (s-)sərīn yəllōh.*”
- 5 C: “*yéye.*”
- 6 B: “*wə-hōh ḵəfdōna arḥəbēt ḏār arikōb, w-ətēm ḥəmbəráwtən ḵətánməm l-arikōb.*”
- 7 *āmáwr ḥəmbəráwtən, “nəḥōm lā, ar wə-nkōna tīn bə-ḵəsmēt.”*
- 8 B: “*nəkōna tīkəm bə-ḵəsmēt.*”
- 9 Boys: “*yéye.*”
- 10 B: “*xáyban, hōh gəhémk.*”
- 11 Wife: “*ḥəḏḏōr mən tərəkōb əl-‘aylīg yəfūrəd, m-ād yəḥánḵəbək.*”
- 12 B: “*lawb, hōh ar rəḵbōna ləh!*”
- 13 Wife: “*axáyr ḥūk lā.*”
- 14 B: “*lā, ḥōm l-əḥmérəh!*” *tōli rikəb l-a’īlīg, w-a’īlīg rēf. wə-tōli fərūd bəh wə-hənḵəbūh. tōli šəḥkōt mánəh tētəh.*
- 15 *āmərūt, “lawb ḥəmárk!”*
- 16 *āmūr aqáyg, “ḥəzbárs ḥáyni hīs nəkḵək. mətáli!”*
- 17 *āmərūt tēt, “kō hēt šádak bay?”*
- 18 *āmūr, “bass.”*
- 19 *āmərūt tēt, “xáyban, āqá’ ḥáyni əl-hīs ḥáybi ar bə-ršəwē!”*

11 ‘aylīg: Johnstone transcribed ‘eelīk, and ML (s.v. ‘lg) has ‘ēlīg. However, since we expect initial ‘ to be preserved before ay (see § 2.1.3), and since Watson (2012) consistently transcribed ‘aylīg (e.g., pp. 14 and 59), I assume that ‘aylīg is correct. The k in Johnstone’s manuscript is definitely incorrect; Ali spelled the word عيليج in the Arabic manuscript.

14 a’īlīg: Johnstone transcribed the two occurrences in this line as ‘eylīk and a’aylīk. I transcribe a’i- based on the definite forms of other words with initial ‘ay- (see § 2.1.3).

16 hīs nəkḵək: It is not clear whether this phrase goes with what precedes or what follows. That is, the line could be *ḥəzbárs ḥáyni hīs nəkḵək. mətáli!*

### Translation of Text 102

- 1 A: "Let's divide up work among one another. One should be with the camels, one should be with the goats, and one should go down to town on the riding-camels. And the women should sweep out the dwellings, and the boys should collect fodder for the riding-camels. When they come back from a trip, they come back hungry. You choose. As for me, I will be with the camels."
- 2 B: "Ok, you be with the camels. Herd in this valley, and watch out that the camels don't wander off. And your camel is about to give birth."
- 3 A: "Ok, don't worry!"
- 4 B: "And you be with the goats. And watch out for a wolf! They said it attacked this settlement behind us last night."
- 5 C: "Ok."
- 6 B: "I'll go down into town on the riding-camels, and you boys collect fodder for the riding-camels."
- 7 The boys said, "We won't, unless you'll bring us a gift."
- 8 B: "I'll bring you a gift."
- 9 Boys: "Ok."
- 10 B: "Ok, I'm off."
- 11 Wife: "Be careful not to ride a young camel that bolts, lest it throw you off."
- 12 B: "No, I *will* ride it!"
- 13 Wife: "You'd better not [lit. it's not good for you]."
- 14 B: "No, I want to tame it!" Then he rode the young camel, and the camel was unbroken. Then it bolted with him on, and it threw him. Then his wife laughed at him.
- 15 She said, "Indeed you tamed (it)!"
- 16 The man said, "You enjoyed my pain when I fell. Be like me!"
- 17 The woman said, "Why did you curse me?"
- 18 He said, "(I) just (did)."
- 19 The woman said, "Ok, be to me like my father, unless you offer [lit. except with] a reconciliation!"

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'you enjoyed my pain when I fell. Be like me!' or *həzbārš háyni. hīs nákbək, mətáli!* 'you enjoyed my pain. When I fall, be like me!'. Johnstone's punctuation in the Roman manuscript favors the former, but his punctuation in the Roman manuscript of the Jibbali version favors the latter. Unfortunately, I found no audio for either version of this story.

- 20 *wə-sīrūt (t)šalēl aḳərmásse tawōli ḥábse. tōli həšyīs faḳḥ ḏə-yəbūt,  
wə-sáddəm. wə-hē ḳəfūd arḥəbēt. te āšəx xáylyf, watxf mən arḥəbēt.  
wə-tammōt.*

- 20 The woman left, carrying her things to her family. Then he offered her a half a camel as a reconciliation, and they agreed. And the man went down into town, and (then) came back up from the town. And it is finished.

## Text 103 (no J): A Version of Gulliver's Travels

- 1 *xəṭərāt gajy sōfər bərk məkēb, yəḥōm yəbtōša mən rəḥbēt tayt. tē bārḥəm b-aámk, wīka līḥəm həzáyz, wə-tībər amərkēb. āmūr aǵáy, “l-ād šínək hər bātýe lā.”*
- 2 *āmūr, “wə-səbhək tē təwōli ḏ-aášər.” āmūr, “l-ād šay aqtēr lā.” āmūr, “əhəǵōš fēmi, wəlākan əlhámk akā’ lā. tē təwēli ḏ-aášər,” āmūr, “ləḥmōt fēmi akā’.” āmūr, “wə-xəššək bərk ḥəmōḥ wəḵōna məsáyṛ ḏə-sāti trayt.”*
- 3 *āmūr, “tē gódhək ḥayk bə-gzáyṛət ḏ-əl bīs əḥād lā. ráfak abárr wə-kásk rīdīt ḏə-bīs māráy. wə-šəwkáfk w-əl ḥássək bə-sī lā tē gēḥəməḥ nəḥōrən. ḥássək bə-ḥárk ḏə-ḥəyáwm šəhdōt əyéntýe. ḥōm l-āšēs, wəlākan kədárk lā.”*
- 4 *āmūr, “w-əḥsūs sī ḏə-yərsūs ḏáyri, wəlākan əl əḵáwdər əl-ḥōrək ḥərōḥi lā. tōli ḥássək sī ḏə-yəsyūr ḏār aǵáwfi, wə-šərbá’ tē ḏār əlḥyēti.”*
- 5 *āmūr, “əttōli ǵəlákək xōṭər. šínək mənēdəm ḏ-əl ḥē sēbər lā, wə-bórk ḥáydəḥ mənšəbēt, wə-ḏār āḏəmátəḥ šīm.”*
- 6 *āmūr, “tōli šəǵayrárk. ḥīs ḥīma ašǵəráyṛ, kəfūd wə-ffəlūt. wə-sínək wəḵōna myēt mən aǵénsəḥ kəráyb lay, wəlākan ffəlīt.”*
- 7 *āmūr, “bəri möyət mən aǵəwé’ w-aḏáwma, wəlākan šínək məkēb ḥərsōḥ b-aǵzáyṛət ḏákəməḥ mən aḏərbēt.” wə-səyūr təwēḥe, wə-sálləm təḥ. wə-təmmōt.*

2 *āmūr*: In recounting this story, Ali inserted *āmūr* ‘he said’ multiple times in each line. For simplification, I have removed all but the first use of *āmūr* in lines 3 through 7. I have left them all in line 2 just to show how often he used them.

2 *əhəǵōš*: This is from *əhəǵwūš* (§ 7.2.7). We find the shift of *Cwū > Cō* also in some other verb types; cf. § 7.2.9.

2 *təwēli*: Though we find *təwōli ḏ-aášər* earlier in this line (both in the manuscripts and on the audio), the Arabic manuscript and audio clearly have *təwēli ḏ-aášər* the second time. The form *təwēli* is perhaps a diminutive.

5 *ḏ-əl ḥē*: It is not clear if this should be parsed *ḏ-əl ḥē* (with the independent pronoun *ḥē*) or *ḏ-əl ḥəḥ* (with the 3ms suffixed form of the preposition *ḥ-*).

5 *šīm*: Johnstone transcribed *sahm* in the Roman manuscripts and in *ML* (s.v. *shm*), and *sehəm* in the margin of the Arabic manuscript, but the Arabic manuscript and audio clearly have the plural *šīm*. The plural of *sahm* ‘arrow’ is actually missing from *ML*, but cf. Arabic *sahm* ‘arrow’, pl. *sihām*.

**Translation of Text 103**

- 1 Once a man traveled in a ship, intending to shop [or: trade] in a certain town. Then when they were on the way [lit. in the middle], a strong wind came upon them, and the ship was broken. The man said, "I didn't see my companions again."
- 2 He said, "And I swam until the end of the night." He said, "I had no more (strength) left." He said, "I would put down my foot, but I didn't touch the ground. Then at the very end of the night," he said, "my foot touched the ground." He said, "And I waded in the water for a period of about two hours."
- 3 He said, "Then I washed up on the beach on an island that had no one on it. I climbed ashore and found a plain that had pasturage. And I fell asleep, and didn't notice anything until the next day at midday. I felt the heat of the sun prick at my eyes. I wanted to stand up, but I couldn't."
- 4 He said, "And I felt something crawling on me, but I couldn't move my head. Then I felt something walking on my chest, and it climbed up onto my chin."
- 5 He said, "Then I looked down. I saw a person who wasn't (even) a finger-span, and in his hand was a bow, and on his back were arrows."
- 6 He said, "Then I screamed. When he heard the scream, he got down and ran away. And I saw about a hundred of his kind near me, but they ran away."
- 7 He said, "I was dying from hunger and thirst, but I saw a ship anchor at that island from the wind-storm." And he went towards it, and they took him. And it is finished.

## \*Text 104 (= H3): Ḥarsusi Tribal History

- 1 *kəwtōna bə-kəwtēt ḏ-əl-ḥarsīs mən azbōn ḥāwəlāy, fənōhən šārkəh, hīs āds  
əl ənkōt lā. wə-xəṭərāt ḏəkəməh əl šihəm mōh lā.*
- 2 *wə-ḥəmōhəm rēhək, məsáyř síləṭ yūm aw rība yūm ḏār rikēb, ar w-  
ənkáyhəm məwsē b-agəddēt, yəmōləm məns ḥənédihəm wə-yəhákýəm  
ḥázihəm w-arikébihəm.*
- 3 *wə-ḥəmōh rēhək lihəm wīyən. xəṭərāt ḏəkəməh, ḥābū šəṣḥāhəm wə-bə-  
xáyř, axáyř mən šərōməh. wə-ḥátərbəm, hēm w-amanāsīř. wə-šəwǵáyř  
lihəm amanāsīř b-agəddēt. wə-kūsəm agəddēt xəláyýət.*
- 4 *wə-zágdəm həbēr, əlhān kūšəm mən bēr, rəwégəd ḥəřsáyřtən wə-gənyəbyōt  
wə-ʿəfrəyēt məxláttən.*
- 5 *wə-kūsəm ǵáygi trōh wə-wtáwǵhəm, mən əl-ḥarsīs. wə-səyáwr əl-manāsīř  
məškáyş. wə-ḥámam bihəm, wə-gáthəyəm wə-tábam tihəm.*
- 6 *wə-xəṭərāt ḏəkəməh əl-ḥarsīs xáybat, wəlākan ǵayǵ mənḥēm əl-hīs āsəřit  
ǵəyūǵ. əl hēm šərōməh lā. wə-bəǵáwd amanāsīř. hēm xams w-ašřáyn.*
- 7 *wə-l-ḥarsīs rəkbəm. wə-šihəm əl-ʿəfār sātáyt, wə-l-ḥarsīs təmənīt.*
- 8 *wə-lḥākəm tihəm bə-ḥərūn ḏ-əl-ʿalāmah ḏ-əl-ʿəmáyri. wə-láthəkəm hēm  
wə-hēm bə-ḥəlláy. w-amanāsīř ḏə-hātīm. hēm xams w-ašřáyn náfar.*
- 9 *wə-təwīw tihəm əl-ḥarsīs. wə-hīs bərhəm ḥəřáyb lihəm, əmūr hihəm  
bərhóh, “mənēm bəhlīt ṭayt mən txələsəm bə-ṭāṭidáykəm wə-təwtégəm  
ṭāṭidáykəm, ətēm əl-ḥarsīs wə-l-ʿəfār.”*
- 10 *wə-hēm həd’ásər ǵayǵ, wə-fənwihəm xams w-ašřáyn ǵayǵ.*

1 *əl-ḥarsīs*: Johnstone consistently transcribed *ḥarāsīs* in his Roman manuscripts. However, in the Arabic manuscript there is no evidence for the long *ā*, and the audio of the Ḥarsusi version consistently has *ḥarsīs*, despite the fact that the printed text also has *ḥarāsīs*. The initial *əl-* is the Arabic definite article. See also the comment to text 12:1.

3 *amanāsīř*: Johnstone consistently transcribed *manāsīř*, with glottalic *ş*, but the Arabic manuscript always has the word with *s*. Sometimes (e.g., line 5) we also find *əl-manāsīř*, with the Arabic definite article, in place of *amanāsīř*.

3 *xəláyýət*: In the Roman manuscripts, after *xəláyýət* we find the phrase *əl bīs əḥād lā* ‘there was no one in it’, but this phrase is not in the Arabic manuscript. The phrase is present in the published Ḥarsusi version.

5 *məškáyş*: The word *məškáyş* is given in *ML* (s.v. *şkş*) as *məškayş* (with a non-glottalic *k*), but the Arabic manuscript has *ḵ*, as do the Roman

### Translation of Text 104

- 1 I'll tell you a story of the Ḥarasis from former times, before the Company, before they had come. And at that time they had no water.
- 2 Their water was far away, a journey of three days or four days on a camel, unless if rain came to them on the Jiddat (al-Ḥarasis), they would fill from it their water-skins, and give water to their goats and their riding-camels.
- 3 But the water was very far from them. At that time the people were healthy and well, better than now. But they clashed, they and the Manasir. The Manasir raided them on the Jiddat. And they found the Jiddat empty.
- 4 They seized the camels, all the camels they could find, pregnant camels, Ḥarsusi, Janaybi, and 'Ifari mixed together.
- 5 And they found two men and killed them, from the Ḥarasis. And the Manasir went to the east. And they (the Ḥarasis) heard about them, and they gathered together and followed them.
- 6 At that time the Ḥarasis were few, but one of them was like ten men. They are not now. And they chased the Manasir. They (the Manasir) were twenty-five (men).
- 7 And the Ḥarasis mounted up. They had with them three 'Ifaris and eight Ḥarasis.
- 8 They caught up with them at Qarun al-'Alamah in al-'Amayri. They caught up with one another at night. The Manasir had stopped for the night. They were twenty-five people.
- 9 And the Ḥarasis came to them. When they were near them, Berhoh said to them, "Take a word lest you mistake one another and kill each other, you Ḥarasis and 'Ifaris."
- 10 And they were eleven men. And facing them were twenty-five men.

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manuscripts. The translation given by Stroomer is 'eastwards', Johnstone added the gloss 'going east' in one Roman manuscript, while *ML* has the translation 'sunrise, east'. Interestingly, the corresponding passage in the Ḥarsusi version of this text (Stroomer 2004: 18, text 3:5) has *mağarrabīn* 'westwards' (though this word is not in *HL*). According to Miranda Morris (p.c.), however, Ḥarsusi *mağarrab* actually means 'inland, to the north'. Cf. also text 80:21.

- 10 *ḥad'āšar ġayg*: The Arabic manuscript has *ḥad'āšar ġayg* (هداعشر غيغ; likewise in line 25), while one Roman manuscript has *āšarīt wa-tāt ġayūg*, and the other Roman manuscript has both phrases as variants (but with *ḥad'āšar* in place of *ḥad'āšar*). The published Ḥarsusi version has *ḥadāšar ġayg*.



- 11 *wə-mánam abəhlīt ḏə-təbráyn, “lah, lah, ábsəri b-əl-‘əšā’, m-ād txələsəm bə-tāṭīdíykəm.”*
- 12 *hīs bārham qaráyb, bərhóh, mánam təh b-aməhṭóm. ḏə-ḥərḳōt šəbdátəh mən aǵáyḏ.*
- 13 *wə-xəṭərāt ḏəkəməh səlēbhəm aškáyyət. mənádḳət sí lā. w-abárḳam lihəm, wə-wtáwǵ mənḥēm əlhān əwtáwǵ.*
- 14 *wə-báyḳəm mənḥēm yəbáyət bərk ḥōṭəl, yəbáyət mən amanāsīr, wə-rbōt bārəm. fəlīt mənḥēm.*
- 15 *wə-bəgdīhəm bərhóh, wə-lḥāḳ ṭāṭ mənḥēm wə-wtəǵáyh. wə-sātáyt bārəm.*
- 16 *hīs rədd bərhóh, kūsa əl-‘əfār wə-l-ḥarsīs ḏə-yəḳáṭrəm hāl ḥōṭəl. w-əl əḥād šēnūs yəḳrōb ḥōṭəl lā wə-yəḥéftkəm tīhəm.*
- 17 *āmūr bərhóh, “hēsən šíkəm?” amáwr, “šīn yəbáyət manāsīr ḏə-xásśəm bərk ḥōṭəl ḏōməh, w-əl əḥād ḳədūr yəḳrābhəm lā.”*
- 18 *hftūk adəšdástəh bərhóh, w-əl həbḳōh ar awzārəh.*
- 19 *wə-həwkūb ḥādáthe bərk abáṭh, wə-sfōh bərk ḥōṭəl. wə-rdōh bə-ḥənáfəh bərk ḥōṭəl wə-wkūb. wə-mət səwānōt, yəwōḳa ḏār ṭāṭ mən əl-manāsīr. wə-wkūb wə-mūna ṭāṭ bə-ḥáydəh, wə-yəráyd bəh. yōmər hīhəm, “a’ísēkəm!”*
- 20 *wə-kāl ḏə-ftūk mən ḥōṭəl, wə-lótǵəm təh. əwtáwǵ yəbáyət ḥəlákəməh.*
- 21 *wə-wtáwǵ mənḥēm ašráyn wə-ṭāṭ, wə-báyḳəm mənḥēm sātáyt ḏə-fəyáwəl, wə-ḏə-ffəlīt əm-báwməh tē nákam aḳāhəm.*
- 22 *wə-hīs nákam aḳāhəm, šəwkīf. wə-wátḳəḏəm, wə-ḥáss ḏə-bərhóh bərk ḥayḏántihəm, abəhlīt ḏə-təbráyn, “lah, lah, ábsəri b-əl-‘əšā’!”*

11 *lah, lah:* The Arabic manuscript has here one word الاحلح, and in line 22 it is spelled الاحلحه. However, the audio of the Ḥarsusi version has *lah, lah*, pronounced clearly as two words. Miranda Morris (p.c.) has recorded the verbal root *lhllh* in Jibbali and Hobyot, meaning ‘(snake) to flicker its tongue’.

11 *ábsəri:* Stroomer’s edition has *hábsəri*, but there is no *h-* in any of the manuscripts. In fact, this is just an Arabic imperative form, just as *b-əl-‘əšā’* is Arabic. In a note to the Ḥarsusi text, Stroomer says that the final *-i* is a problem, but, in fact, this is just the suffix of the *fs* imperative. The feminine is used because *təbráyn* is feminine. The quote in this line contains both this pass-phrase, and a repeat of the reasoning used by the leader, “lest you mistake one another”.

- 11 And they took the word of the hyena, "Come, come, rejoice at the dinner, lest you mistake one another!"
- 12 When they were close, Berhoh, they restrained him with camel-ropes. He [lit. his liver] burned with anger.
- 13 At that time their weapons were swords. There were no rifles. And they ran to them, and they killed from them all that they (could) kill.
- 14 And there remained of them seven in a tamarisk tree, seven of the Manasir. And four got away. They escaped from them.
- 15 Berhoh chased them, and he caught up to one of them and killed him. But three got away.
- 16 When Berhoh came back, he found the 'Ifaris and Ḥarasis walking around the tamarisk. But no one dared approach the tamarisk and get them out.
- 17 Berhoh said, "What do you have?" They said, "We have seven Manasir who have gone into this tamarisk, and no one can get near them."
- 18 Berhoh took off his robe, and left on only his waist-cloth.
- 19 And he stuck his hand in the dirt, and threw (it) into the tamarisk. And he threw himself into the tamarisk and went in. After a little while, he happened upon one of the Manasir. He went in and grabbed one with his hand, and he threw him out. He said to them, "Your dinner!"
- 20 And each one that came out of the tamarisk, they killed him. They killed seven there.
- 21 And they killed twenty-one of them, and three remained of them who were safe, and who ran away from there until they got to their country.
- 22 And when they got to their country, they went to sleep. But they woke up, and the voice of Berhoh was in their ears, the word of the hyena, "Come, come, rejoice at the dinner!"

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19 *wə-yar'áyd*: In the Arabic manuscript, before *wə-yar'áyd*, there is another word, the reading of which is uncertain. The word is spelled *وهفيوه*, or perhaps *وهغيوه*. It was omitted in the Roman manuscript, and there is no equivalent in the published version of the parallel Ḥarsusi story.

21 *əm-báwməh*: The Roman manuscripts have the synonymous phrase *mən báwməh*, but the Arabic manuscript has *مبومه*, which almost surely was intended to be read *əm-báwməh*. The Arabic manuscript of text 53:1 has *əm-báwməh* spelled the same way.

- 23 *wə-šəwkīf wə-ššsəm səbēb ašáwt ðə-bər hóh ādah bərk hayðántihəm yəstádhən bəh. ber atyís bihəm.*
- 24 *wə-l-ħarsīs ráddəm bə-həbərihəm wə-həbēr ðə-amanāsīr; arīkōb ðə-gəzīw ðáyrən, wə-ħaslébihəm, wə-həbēr ðə-bərkīsən. w-ašráyn wə-sātáyt manāsīr ðə-əwtégəm həlákəməh.*
- 25 *əl-ħarsīs ráddəm, wə-šihəm sātáyt əl-‘afār wə-təmənūt mən əl-ħarsīs, kálhəm həd‘ásər gəyg. w-əl əhād mən hēm əwtég lā.*
- 26 *wə-ráddəm h-aḱāhəm, wə-sēməm hēm w-amōlhəm. wə-kāl ðə-wīda bihəm gərūb kəwtēt ðīməh. agénbət wádám bīs, wə-d-daráw‘ wádám bīs, wə-l-wəháyah wádám bīs, kəwtēt ðīməh mən sət.*
- 27 *wə-xəṭərāt ðákəməh əl-ħarsīs xáybat, ərbə‘áyn gəyg kálhəm. wəlākan ərbə‘áyn gəyg axáyr mən myēti trayt šərōməh.*
- 28 *šərōməh bərhəm mēkən, wəlākan əl yənáfam mən šī lā. ħarb l-ād wīka šī lā əm-mənwihəm w-əm-mán aḱəböyəl. šərōməh hīs əl wīka ħarb šī lā ... əhtərib hēm wə-d-daráw‘.*
- 29 *hátərbəm šhəlīt sənáyn, wə-gārəm aməláwtəg əm-mənwihəm. əl-ħarsīs, əwtégəm mən hēm təmənūt. w-əwtáwghəm əd-daráw‘. wə-l-ħarsīs əwtáwğ sayt mən əd-daráw‘.*

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- 23 *yəstádhən*: This verb form is difficult to parse. It looks like a T2-Stem 3ms or 3mp imperfect of a root *sdh*. Allowing for misspelling, the root could be *sdh*, *šdh*, or even something else. (In one or two other places, Ali did write *s* for *š* or *h* for *ħ*; cf. the comment to line 10.) In Stroomer’s edition, the verb is translated ‘demoralizing?’, perhaps just from the context, or perhaps taking it as some form of the verb *əstəwūd* ‘be disgraced’ (see the comment to text 99:46). In one Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘imagining it’.
- 23 *atyís*: This must be a D/L-Stem 3ms perfect from the root *tys*. Cf. Arabic G *ṭāša* ‘be unsteady; be helpless; be reckless’. In one Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘terrify’. Miranda Morris (p.c.) has recorded cognate D/L-Stem verbs in Hobyot and Jibbali, with the meanings ‘to startle, alarm s.o.; to terrify s.o.; to make a sudden noise; to tell s.o. sth. terrible, terrifying; to upset s.o. with frightening tales’, and which likewise are attested with the preposition *b-* before the object.
- 25 *həd‘ásər gəyg*: As in line 10, the Roman manuscripts have the initial consonant transcribed as *ħ-*. In one, Johnstone added in parentheses “or *gəyūg*”; in the other, *gəyg* was crossed out and *gəyūg* added. After the teens, nouns can be singular or plural (see § 9.1.2).

- 23 They fell asleep and woke up because of the voice of Berhoh still in their ears ?? with it. He had terrified them.
- 24 And the Ḥarasis brought back their camels and the Manasir's camels, the camels upon which they had made the raid, and their weapons, and the camels that were among them. And there were twenty-three Manasir who were killed there.
- 25 The Ḥarasis went back, and they had three 'Ifaris and eight Ḥarasis, altogether [lit. all of them] eleven men. And none of them were killed.
- 26 They got back to their country, and they were safe, they and their property. And whoever knows about them knows this story. The Janaba know about it, the Duru' know about it, and the Wahaybah know about it, this story from a long time ago.
- 27 At that time the Ḥarasis were few, forty men altogether. But forty men (then) were better than two hundred now.
- 28 Now they are many, but they aren't of use for anything. There isn't any war anymore between them and the tribes. Now when there hasn't been any war ... They and the Duru' fought.
- 29 They fought for three years, and dead fell among them. The Ḥarasis, eight of them were killed. The Duru' killed them. And the Ḥarasis killed nine of the Duru'.

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26 *agénbət*: According to *ML* (s.v. *gnb*), the definite form is *ḥagánbət*, but here the article is clearly *a-*.

28 *əm-mənwīḥəm w-əm-mán*: The presence of the initial *əm-* before *mənwīḥəm* is assumed, but there is no direct evidence. There is no evidence from the Arabic manuscript for either prefixed *əm-*, but then none is expected. In one Roman manuscript, Johnstone did transcribe *w-əm-mən* (the other has *u mən*).

29 *əm-mənwīḥəm*: The Roman manuscripts have *mən mənwīḥəm*, which is surely an error. There is no evidence for *mən* in the Arabic manuscript. As for the prefixed *əm-*, see the previous comment.

29 *səyt*: It is likely that the spelling سائت in the Arabic manuscript was intended to be read *səyt* or *sə'áyt*. Johnstone's Roman manuscripts have *sā'áyt*. It is true that Ali's pronunciation of *sə'áyt* (heard in other recordings) sounded more like *sā'áyt* (with no ' or ').

- 30 *wə-ḥátərbəm hēm wə-bə'áyli 'ábri, w-əwtáwǵ mən əl-ḥarsīs yətīt. əwtáwǵhəm bə'áyli 'ábri wə-l-ḥarsīs əwtáwǵ mən hēm yəbáyit. yāmərəm ḥābū wə-kāl əḥād ḏə-ǵərbihəm.*
- 31 *wə-bādīs, səddəm. wə-səddəm b-aşálh ḏə-ḥákəm ḏə-səltān, wə-wáqam asdəkā'.*
- 32 *yāmərəm mən azbōn ḥāwəláy, əl-ḥarsīs, wə-šəwǵáyur lihəm amhərəh, bə'áyli agbēl. ḏáyram ar şəbōyəǵ, wə-kāl tāt bə-ḥáydəh şkay, wə-wtáwǵ.*
- 33 *wə-kūsəm ḥarsáyətən şisən rawn. w-āṭáwǵ bə-ḥārāwn wə-ǵálam ḥaynī. wə-ḥārāwn, ǵarāwşsən.*
- 34 *hīs āşər, hātīm bə-kərmáyim. bərhəm bə-kərmáyim ḏ-aşháyur, əlhāqəm əl-ḥarsīs, wə-şərdūd ḥázihəm kálsən, ǵayr ḏə-bér şhātəm tīsən amhərəh, bə'áyli agbēl. wə-wtáwǵ mən amhərəh sātáyit, wə-ffəlīt kərmáyim.*
- 35 *wəlākan ḏəkaməh awáqtən ǵayr, wə-şərōməh ǵayr.*
- 36 *şərōməh wáqam ḥābū şihəm səlēb, mənádqət. wə-şihəm ǵənōbi, wə-şihəm kāl şiyən. wə-sələb axáyur mən arībēh. ḥābū şəḳwīyəm. w-aqəbōyəl kāl şihəm fənōhan ar şkáyit wə-ǵənōbi.*
- 37 *wə-fənōhan əl-ḥarsīs ərbə'áyn ǵayg, wə-kāl qəbáyli yəḥḥərbən təh w-əl qədáwr lā.*
- 38 *wə-şərōməh aqəbōyəl kāl yəşēmīn aḥkáwmət, w-əl əḥād yəqáwdər yəlhōm əḥād lā.*
- 39 *kāl əḥād yəhātīm hāl xásməh, tē wə-lū ḏ-əwtáwǵ ḥáybəh wə-ḥəbráh. yəhātīm fáxrə. əl əḥād yəqáwdər yəḥḥárfəkəh lā.*

36 *şəḳwīyəm*: As a III-w/y verb, we expect a 3mp perfect *şəḳwīw*. The manuscripts have *şəḳwīyəm*, but one Roman manuscript has *şəḳwīw* indicated as a variant in the margin above. (The other Roman manuscript is missing this line.).

37 *qəbáyli*: This word is absent from *ML*, though *HL* (s.v. *qbl*) has *qəbāyli* 'tribesman'.

- 30 They and the people of 'Ibri fought, and they killed six of the Ḥarasis. The people of 'Ibri killed them, and the Ḥarasis killed seven of them. People and everyone who knew them say (this).
- 31 And after this [lit. it], they came to a truce. They came to a truce by the safe-conduct of the Sultan, and they became friends.
- 32 They say in former times, the Ḥarasis, (they say that) the Mehris, the mountain-dwellers, raided them. On them were only indigo-dyed robes, and each one had a sword in his hand, and they killed (people).
- 33 And they found Ḥarsusi women who had goats. And they seized the goats and left the women. The goats, they stole them.
- 34 When it was night, they spent the night in the mountains. When they were in the Šḥayr (Dhofari) mountains, the Ḥarasis caught up to them, and they got back all of their goats, except those that the Mehris, the mountain-dwellers, had already slaughtered. And they killed three of the Mehris, and they fled to the mountains.
- 35 But that time of ours was different, and now is different.
- 36 Now the people have weapons, rifles. And they have daggers, and they have everything. And (a man's) weapons are better than (having) his companion. The people have become strong. Before, all the tribes had only swords and daggers.
- 37 And before the Ḥarasis were forty men. And every tribesman fought them, but they couldn't overpower them.
- 38 But now all the tribes obey the government, and no one can touch anyone.
- 39 Everyone spends the night with his enemy, even if (they are) the ones who killed his father and his son. They spend the night together. No one can move him.

## Text 105 (no J): At the Airport

- 1 *səyárk h-aməṭār anhōr ḏə-l-ḥād, wə-šay sədáyki. wə-šəryáḥk, walākan šīn ḥəbūr. wə-səyūrən te wəšələn məkōn ṭāṭ.*
- 2 *ḵəfádk mənhēm. bay gəwēlēw. wə-hēm gərīw háyni, wə-šəwēdək tīhəm məkōn ṭāṭ.*
- 3 *wə-səyárk wə-ṭáfk amkōn ḏə-šəwēdəm tī bəh, wə-kásk tīhəm ḏ-šəxəwlīl. ḏə-sēbəm tī.*
- 4 *wə-ftūkən mən amkōn, wə-rákbən bərk máwtər. wə-təmmōt.*

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1 *məṭār*: This is Arabic *maṭār* 'airport'.

2 *gəwēlēw*: This is probably the diminutive of *gōləw* 'fever'. It is absent from *ML*.

**Translation of Text 105**

- 1 I went to the airport on a Sunday, and my friend was with me. I was happy, but it was cold. And we went until we got to a certain place.
- 2 I went away from them. I had a little fever. They went ahead of me, and I arranged a meeting with them at a certain place.
- 3 And I went on and looked for them at the place they arranged to meet me at, and I found them sitting. They had been waiting for me.
- 4 And we left that place, and we rode in a car. And it is finished.



## Text 106 (= J16, but a variant version): Seeing Ghosts

- 1 *xəṭərāt hōh w-aḡāy aḡáfyən mən anágd, mən hāl həbēr, ənhōm ašháyr.  
wə-nákan adəkkōn b-anágd. dəkkōn ḏə-yəštōm séhəz.*
- 2 *wə-śátmən tōmər w-ayś w-skēr. wə-gəhēmən te wəşələn ... te kaláyni  
báran bə-həwōdi, hōh káatak wə-l-ād wəşələk lā, w-āmárk həh, “ənhōm  
ənsxáwwəl.”*
- 3 *wə-hē ḏə-yōmər háyni, “ḡədəw, hām tḥōm təwōli ḥāmēk!” wə-hīs ādən  
l-əwtákəməh, śīnən ḥārāwn. wə-šxəwlūlən.*
- 4 *ətté kaláyni kərbōt ḥəyáwm, aḡáfyən ḡəlūḡən ḥārāwn te āḡūzən. kūsən  
əḥād lā. āmūr háyni aḡāy, “ḡədəwwən. ənhámhəm lā. kələhəm.”*
- 5 *wəkūbən bərk ḥəwōdi te əl-həḡ. hātōmən. ətté k-sōbəḡ gəhēmən, wə-ráfan  
ašháyr, wə-kūsən ḥázyən. wə-mḡōrən aḡāy yəkūləṭ əl-ḥābū, āmūr, “ḥābū  
əḏ-śīnəm tūhəm yəlliləh hēm kəyōy. wə-yəşşək aḡāy m-ād yəşōş, w-l-ād  
kəlátk ləh lā.”*

- 
- 5 *wə-kūsən*: The audio is very difficult here, and I found no written version of this story. What we hear is *wə-kū<sup>d</sup>n aḡān ḥázyən*. The first word is surely a fast pronunciation of *wə-kūsən*. The (unpublished) variant Jibbali version of Jibbali text 16, which comes after this Mehri text on the audio recording, clearly has *késén érunén* ‘we found our goats’. The Mehri version has what sounds like *aḡān* ‘our brother’, between *kūsən* ‘we found’ and *ḥázyən* ‘our goats’, but this may just be an error. It should be noted that neither of the Jibbali versions are identical with the Mehri one.

**Translation of Text 106**

- 1 Once my brother and I went from the Najd, from where the camels were, heading for the mountains. And we came to a store in the Najd, a store that sold frankincense.
- 2 And we bought dates and rice and sugar. And we went and got to ... Then in the evening when we were in a valley, I got tired and I didn't make it, and said to him, "Let's sit."
- 3 And he was saying to me, "Let's go, if you want to (go) to your mother!" And while we were like this, we saw the goats. We stayed.
- 4 Then in the evening, when the sun was close (to setting), we went and looked for the goats until we got worn out. We found no one. My brother said to me, "Let's go. We don't want them. Leave them."
- 5 And we entered the valley to the north. We spent the night. Then in the morning, we went and ascended the mountains, and we found our goats. And then my brother told the people, he said, "The people that we saw last night were spirits. And I was afraid that my brother would get scared, and I didn't tell him."



## Texts 54 and 65 with Morpheme Glossing

For the benefit of general linguists and other non-specialists, two texts with full morpheme glossing are included below.<sup>1</sup> Such glossing would no doubt be useful for all of the texts, but would make the entire volume far too long and unwieldy. In the presentation below, I have retained the punctuation of the text, but have slightly modified the use of hyphens in the transcription to reflect certain morpheme boundaries. The following abbreviations are used for the glossing:

1	first person	IMPF	imperfect
2	second person	IMPV	imperative
3	third person	M	masculine
C	common gender	NEG	negator
CIRC	circumstantial particle	OBJ	object
CHRT	cohortative particle	P	plural
CONJ	conjunction	PASS	passive
D	dual	PERF	perfect
DEF	definite article	PN	proper name
DEM	demonstrative	POSS	possessive
DO	direct object	PREP	preposition (idiomatic)
EXCL	exclamatory particle	PROG	progressive
F	feminine	REL	relative pronoun
FUT	future particle	S	singular
GEN	genitive exponent	SUBJ	subjunctive

When citing gender and number, the respective abbreviations are combined (CS, MD, FP, etc.). The gloss PREP is used only when a preposition is idiomatic and has no translation value; otherwise, a preposition is glossed with its English equivalent. I gloss the particle *ǝ-* (§7.1.10) with its different functions, though this does not mean that each use necessarily reflects a separate Mehri morpheme. The gloss CIRC is used very loosely with regard to its use with a perfect (see §7.1.10.2). Finally, I have not indicated definiteness if no definite article is present. For example, the word *tēt* in 54:11 and 54:12 is clearly definite, but the definite article *a-* is not used before words beginning with the voiceless consonant *t-* (§4.4); since there is no definite morpheme present in the surface form, none is glossed. For commentary to the texts, see Chapter 14.

<sup>1</sup> An abridged version of Text 5 with morpheme glossing can be found in Rubin (forthcoming).

## A Text 54 (no J): A Grave Encounter

- (1) *b-a-kā-n, hām tāt mōt yānāyśā-h*  
 in-DEF-land-1CP.POSS if one die.PERF.3MS carry.IMPF.3MP-3MS.OBJ  
 In our country, if someone dies, they carry him (on a bier)

*wə-yəlḥáykə-h bū mēkən, gəyūg wə-yānūt.*  
 CONJ-follow.IMPF.3MP-3MS.OBJ people many men CONJ-women  
 and many people follow, men and women.

- (2) *wə-ḥa-ynūt təbákyən wə-taná'yən tə-h.*  
 CONJ-DEF-women cry.IMPF.3FP CONJ-mourn.IMPF.3FP DO-3MS  
 And the women cry and mourn him.

*wə-mət ber kəbáwr, yəsháyṭ bēr wālē*  
 CONJ-when already bury.PERF.3MP kill.IMPF.3MP camels or  
 And after they bury (him), they slaughter camels or

*rawn, wālē baḳār yənháyr l-əh.*  
 goats or cows sacrifice.IMPF.3MP for-3MS.OBJ  
 goats, or else they sacrifice cows for him.

- (3) *wə-ḥa-ynūt təwákan ḏār a-ḳōbər. wə-mət gəzōt*  
 CONJ-DEF-women stay.IMPF.3FP over DEF-grave CONJ-when set.PERF.3FS  
 And the women stay by the grave. And when the sun goes down,

*ḥə-yáwm, yəšgīs ḥā-bū kāl əḥād əl-sékən-əh.*  
 DEF-sun go.IMPF.3MP DEF-people every someone to-settlement-3MS.POSS  
 the people go home, everyone to his (own) settlement.

*wə-mən ṭawr əḥād yəhātūm ḏār a-ḳōbər,*  
 CONJ-from time someone spend.night.IMPF.3MS over DEF-grave  
 And sometimes someone spends the night by the grave,

*ḥāmá-h wālē a-ḡát-əh wālē a-ḡā-h.*  
 mother-3MS.POSS or DEF-sister-3MS.POSS or DEF-sister-3MS.POSS  
 his mother or his sister or his brother.

- (4) *xəṭərāt* *ḏ-əghōm*, *hōm* *təwōli səkən-i*.  
 once PROG-go.IMP.F.1CS want.IMP.F.1CS to settlement-1CS.POSS  
 Once I was walking, heading towards my settlement.

*te kaláyini nákak a-šáyga, w-əl kəsk*  
 then in.evening come.PERF.1CS DEF-shelter CONJ-NEG find.PERF.1CS  
 Then in the evening I came to the shelter, but I didn't find

*əhād lā.*  
 someone NEG  
 anyone.

- (5) *hā-bū ber sálləm bərk hə-wōdi*.  
 DEF-people already migrate.PERF.3MP in DEF-valley  
 The people had moved into the valley.

*wə-həšəšk.*  
 CONJ-look.for.tracks.PERF.1CS  
 And I looked for tracks.

- (6) *wə-kásk a-šfūtən ḏə-hā-bū, wə-tábak*  
 CONJ-find.PERF.1CS DEF-tracks GEN-DEF-people CONJ-follow.PERF.1CS  
 And I found the people's tracks, and I followed

*b-a-šfūtən ḏə-hā-bū bərk hə-wōdi əw-mšā'.*  
 PREP-DEF-tracks GEN-DEF-people in DEF-valley below  
 the people's tracks down into the valley.

- (7) *wə-bərk hə-wōdi ḏákəməh məkəbrēt. wə-šáff*  
 CONJ-in DEF-valley DEM.REMOTE.FS graveyard CONJ-so.happens  
 And in that valley was a graveyard. And it so happened that

*a-nhōr ḏákəməh ḏə-mōt gəyg,*  
 DEF-day DEM.REMOTE.FS CIRC-die.PERF.3MS man  
 that day a man had died,

*wə-ḏə-ḱəbáwrə-h.*  
 CONJ-CIRC-bury.PERF.3MP-3MS.OBJ  
 and they had buried him.

- (8) *wə-səyárk. wə-bér gəzōt hə-yáwm. te*  
 CONJ-go.PERF.1CS CONJ-already set.PERF.3FS DEF-sun then  
 And I went. And the sun had already gone down. Then

*nákak hāl a-mkəbrēt, wə-hōh də-yəşşək.*  
 come.PERF.1CS by DEF-graveyard CONJ-I CIRC-be.afraid.PERF.1CS  
 I came to the graveyard, and I was afraid.

*yāmərəm hā-bū a-kəyōy yəkáwn hāl a-mkəbrēt.*  
 say.IMPFF.3MP DEF-people DEF-spirits be.IMPFF-3MP by DEF-graveyard  
 People say that spirits live [lit. are] in the graveyard.

- (9) *wə-sáff tēt də-hātəmūt đār a-kōbər*  
 CONJ-so.happens woman CIRC-spend.night.PERF.3FS over DEF-grave  
 And it so happened that a woman was spending the night by the grave

*đ-a-gā-s. tōli šīnək həwrīt đār a-kōbər,*  
 GEN-DEF-brother-3FS.POSS then see.PERF.1CS black.FS over DEF-grave  
 of her brother. Then I saw something black by the grave,

*wəlākan əhūgəs səkəft.*  
 but think.IMPFF.1CS column  
 but I thought it was a (grave) column.

- (10) *tōli šīnək tī-s htərkōt, tōli xábtək*  
 then see.PERF.1CS DO-3FS move.PERF.3FS then cock.PERF.1CS  
 Then I saw her move, and I cocked

*a-məndáwķ-i. wə-səyárk kəráyb l-a-kōbər. hārm-i*  
 DEF-rifle-1CS.POSS CONJ-go.PERF.1CS near to-DEF-grave way-1CS.POSS  
 my rifle. And I went near the grave. My path

*tənōka hāl a-kōbər.*  
 come.IMPFF.3FS by DEF-grave  
 came by the grave.

- (11) *əttōli l-ād šīnək sī hātrək lā. šaff*  
 then NEG see.PERF.1CS anything move.PERF.3MS NEG so.happens  
 Then I didn't see anything move. It turns out

*tēt, hīs sanyát-i, ġībūt mən a-yəšáyť.*  
 woman when see.PERF.3FS-1CS.OBJ faint.PERF.3FS from DEF-fear  
 the woman, when she saw me, she fainted from fear.

- (12) *əttōli te nákak hāl a-ķōbər wə-ķásk tēt*  
 then when come.PERF.1CS by DEF-grave CONJ-find.PERF.1CS woman  
 Then I came to the grave and I found the woman

*ðə-ġībūt. əhūgəs ġəbrē təxtýnən h-áyni.*  
 CIRC-faint.PERF.3FS think.IMPV.1CS demon trick.IMPV.3FS PREP-1CS.OBJ  
 passed out. I thought (she was) a demon (possessing a human body) playing a  
 trick on me.

- (13) *bér-i hōm ləwbád-s. tōli ġəlákək*  
 already-1CS want.IMPV.1CS shoot.SUBJ.1CS-3FS.OBJ then look.PERF.1CS  
 I was about to shoot her. Then I looked

*təwōli a-ķōbər, wə-šīnək tə-h yədīn. hənķárk*  
 towards DEF-grave CONJ-SEE.PERF.1CS DO-3MS new.MS realize.PERF.1CS  
 towards the grave, and I saw that it was new. I realized

*ðə-hē əħād ðə-mōt a-nhōr ðákəməh.*  
 REL-he someone CIRC-die.PERF.3MS DEF-day DEM.REMOTE.FS  
 that someone had died that day.

- (14) *əttōli hāsášk ət-tēt w-āmárk, "hām hēt*  
 then rouse.PERF.1CS DEF-woman CONJ-say.PERF.1CS if you.FS  
 Then I roused the woman and I said, "If you

*məsəwmēt, hōh ġayg məsláym. w-āsésí!"*  
 Muslim.FS I man Muslim.MS CONJ-get.up.IMPV.FS  
 are a Muslim, I am a Muslim man. Get up!"

- (15) *tōli āśšūt. wə-nákak tī-s wə-ġərbək*  
 then get.up.PERF.3FS CONJ-come.PERF.1CS DO-3FS CONJ-know.PERF.1CS  
 Then she got up. I went up to her and I recognized

*tī-s. wəlākan ād-i b-ay a-yəšáyť mən tāķá' ar*  
 DO-3FS but still-1CS in-1CS.OBJ DEF-fear from be.SUBJ.3FS indeed  
 her. But I still had the fear that she might really be



*ǰabrē, wə-ǰ-əktəwbūt* *h-áyni* *əl-hīs tēt*  
 demon CONJ-CIRC-take.form.PERF.3FS for-1CS.OBJ like woman  
 a demon, and that she had taken the form of that woman for me.

*ǰákaməh.*

DEM.REMOTE.FS

- (16) *əttōli āmárk* *h-īs,* *“šərōməh əl əḥād*  
 then say.PERF.1CS to-3FS.OBJ now NEG someone  
 Then I said to her, “Now no one

*yəḥātūm* *báwməh lā. wə-ǰədéwwən təwōli*  
 spend.night.IMPF.3MS here NEG CONJ-CHRT.1CP to  
 spends the night here. Let’s go to

*sékən-i.* *wə-ksōbəḥ* *tərdáydi* *hām θáymi.”*  
 settlement-1CS.POSS CONJ-in.morning return.IMPF.2FS if want.IMPF.2FS  
 my settlement. And in the morning you can go back if you want.”

- (17) *tōli sīrūt* *š-ay,* *wəlākan hōh ǰə-yáššək*  
 then go.PERF.3FS with-1CS.OBJ but I CIRC-be.afraid.PERF.1CS  
 Then she went with me, but I was afraid

*mən-s.* *w-āmárk* *h-īs,* *“syēri fənw-áy!”*  
 from-3FS.OBJ CONJ-say.PERF.1CS to-3FS.OBJ go.IMPV.FS before-1CS.OBJ  
 of her. And I said to her, “Go in front of me!”

*wə-hōh səyárk* *mən sər-īs.* *wə-ǰ-xábtək*  
 CONJ-I go.PERF.1CS from behind-3FS.OBJ CONJ-CIRC-cock.PERF.1CS  
 And I went behind her. And I had cocked

*a-məndáwḵ-i.*

DEF-rifle-1CS.POSS

my rifle.

- (18) *bərk a-ḵāb-i,* *“hām šərōt* *wəlē rəddūt*  
 in DEF-heart-1CS.POSS if stand.PERF.3FS or return.PERF.3FS  
 In my mind (I thought), “If she stops or turns back

*l-ay, ləwbád-s.*  
 to-1CS.OBJ shoot.SUBJ.1CS-3FS.OBJ  
 to me, I'll [or: I should] shoot her."

- (19) *w-āmárk h-īs, "hām hēt masəwmēt, həððáyri*  
 CONJ-say.PERF.1CS to-3FS.OBJ if you.FS Muslim.FS beware.IMPV.FS  
 And I said to her, "If you are Muslim, be sure

*mən (t)šāri. hōh ðə-yəššək mən-š, wə-hām*  
 from stand.SUBJ.2FS I CIRC-be.afraid.PERF.1CS from-2FS.OBJ CONJ-if  
 not to stop. I am afraid of you, and if

*šarš, əwbədōna tī-š.*  
 stand.PERF.2FS shoot.FUT.MS DO-2FS  
 you stop, I'll shoot you."

- (20) *əttōli l-ād šərōt lā. wə-səyūrən te wəšələn*  
 then NEG stand.PERF.3FS NEG CONJ-go.PERF.1CP until arrive.PERF.1CP  
 Then she didn't stop at all. And she went until we got to

*sékən-i. wə-hātōmən.*  
 settlement-1CS.POSS CONJ-spend.night.PERF.1CP  
 my settlement. And we spent the night.

- (21) *te ksōbəh sē rəddūt təwōli a-kōbər, wə-hōh*  
 then in.morning she return.PERF.3FS to DEF-grave CONJ-I  
 Then in the morning she went back to the grave, and I

*báyəkək hāl sékən-i. wə-təmmōt.*  
 remain.PERF.1CS by settlement-1CS.POSS CONJ-end.PERF.3FS  
 remained with my settlement. And it is finished.

## B Text 65 (= J18): Abu Newas and the Old Lady

- (1) *xəṭrāt bā nəwās ðə-yəghōm yəhōm*  
 once PN PROG-go.IMPV.3MS want.IMPV.3MS  
 Once Ba Newas was going, intending

*yəkfēd a-rhəbēt. wə-ḳáwla a-ḏān-əh*  
 go.down.SUBJ.3MS DEF-town CONJ-leave.PERF.3MS DEF-family-3MS.POSS  
 to go down to the town. And he left his family

*mən-ǧáyr ḳawt. wə-hē əl š-əh sí lā*  
 without food CONJ-he NEG with-3MS.OBJ something NEG  
 without food. He didn't have anything (with which)

*l-agərē ḏə- yəstōm məšráwf h-a-ḏān-əh.*  
 in.order.to buy.SUBJ.3MS supplies for-DEF-family-3MS.POSS  
 to buy supplies for his family.

- (2) *te wīṣəl ḏar məḳəbrēt, kūsa ḥā-bū*  
 CONJ arrive.PERF.3MS over graveyard find.PERF.3MS DEF-people  
 Then when he reached a graveyard, he found people

*ḏə-yəḳábrəm āǧáwz. šxəwlūl ḏə-yəftkīrən.*  
 CIRC-bury.IMPF.3MP old.woman sit.PERF.3MS CIRC-think.IMPF.3MS  
 burying an old woman. He sat down thinking.

*əl wīda hēšən mən məhrēt yāmōl lā.*  
 NEG know.PERF.3MS what from trick do.SUBJ.3MS NEG  
 He didn't know what kind of trick he might do.

- (3) *w-əl š-əh sí lā, ḥām ḳəfūd*  
 CONJ-NEG with-3MS.OBJ something NEG if go.down.PERF.3MS  
 And he didn't have anything, if he went down to

*a-rhəbēt. əttōli əftkūr bə-fəkər ḳōməḥ. āmūr*  
 DEF-town then think.PERF.3MS about-thought bad.MS say.PERF.3MS  
 the town. Then he thought up a wicked idea. He said,

*“ḥōm, mət ḥā-bū šəwǧīs,*  
 want.IMPF.1CS when DEF-people go.in.evening.PERF.3MP  
 “I should, when the people leave,

*lənkēs əl-āǧáwz ḏə-mtōt.”*  
 dig.up.SUBJ.1CS PREP-old.woman REL-die.PERF.3FS  
 dig up the old woman who died.”

- (4) *šxəwlūl bā nəwās tɛ hā-bū šəwgiš.*  
 sit.PERF.3MS PN until DEF-people go.in.evening.PERF.3MP  
 He stayed until the people left.

*nəkūs əl-āgáwz wə-kəl-áys bərk*  
 dig.up.PERF.3MS PREP-old.woman CONJ-leave.PERF.3MS-3FS.OBJ in  
 He dug up the old woman, and put her into

*a-šbágt-əh. wə-šəll-īs wə-gəhēm*  
 DEF-robe-3MS.POSS CONJ-carry.PERF.3MS-3FS.OBJ CONJ-go.PERF.3MS  
 his robe. And he took her and went,

*yəhōm h-a-rhəbēt.*  
 want.IMPF.3MS to-DEF-town  
 heading for the town.

- (5) *wə-səyūr atté wīšəl kəráyb l-a-rhəbēt.*  
 CONJ-go.PERF.3MS until arrive.PERF.3MS near to-DEF-town  
 And he went until he got close to the town.

*káwla āgáwz, wə-ffkōh l-īs*  
 leave.PERF.3MS old.woman CONJ-cover.PERF.3MS PREP-3FS.OBJ  
 He left the old woman, covered her

*b-a-šbágt-əh, wə-nūka a-rhəbēt.*  
 in-DEF-robe-3MS.POSS CONJ-come.PERF.3MS DEF-town  
 with his robe, and he went into the town.

- (6) *tōli šīni bū mēkən ḏə-yəwákbəm bayt*  
 then see.PERF.3MS people many CIRC-enter.IMPF.3MP house  
 Then he saw many people going into a house

*ḏə-tōgər. tōli šxəbūr gəyγ, āmūr; “kō hēm,*  
 GEN-rich.MS then ask.PERF.3MS man say.PERF.3MS why they.M  
 of a rich man. Then he asked a man, he said, “Why are

*hā-bū əlyək, ḏə-yəwákbəm bərk*  
 DEF-people DEM.REMOTE.CP REL-enter.IMPF.3MP in  
 those people going into

*a-báyť*      *ďayk?*"

DEF-house DEM.REMOTE.FS  
that house?"

- (7) *āmūr,*              *‘hə-brē*    *ďə-tōgər*    *məráyś,*    *wə-hā-bū*  
say.PERF.3MS DEF-son GEN-rich.MS sick.MS CONJ-DEF-people  
The man, "The rich man's son is sick, and people

*ďə-yəťáwť*              *l-əh.*              *wə-háb-he*  
PROG-visit.IMP.F.3MP PREP-3MS.OBJ CONJ-parents-3MS.POSS  
are visiting him. And his parents

*ďə-yəśxabūr,*              *‘hām əhād*    *yəgōrəb*              *śī,*  
PROG-ask.IMP.F.3MP if someone know.IMP.F.3MS something  
are asking, 'If anyone knows anything,

*yadáwy-əh."*              *āmūr*              *bā nəwās,*    *‘hōh ś-ay*  
treat.SUBJ.3MS-3MS.OBJ say.PERF.3MS PN I with-1CS.OBJ  
he should treat him!" Ba Newas said, "I have

*hāmá-y*              *āgáwz*    *wə-təgōrəb*              *kāl*    *mərəś."*  
mother-1CS.POSS old.FS CONJ-know.IMP.F.3FS every illness  
an old mother, and she knows about every illness."

- (8) *āmūr*              *a-ǵáyg,*    *‘ǵadəwwən,*    *məhīsən*    *tī-k*  
say.PERF.3MS DEF-man CHRT.1CP show.FUT.MS DO-2MS  
The man said, "Let's go, I'll show you

*həyb*    *ď-a-ǵīgēn*    *a-məráyś.*    *wə-hā-bū*              *təgərēt.*    *wəzyēma*  
father GEN-DEF-boy DEF-sick.MS CONJ-DEF-people rich.CP give.FUT.MP  
the sick boy's father. The people are rich. They will give

*tī-k*              *əlhān tħōm."*              *əttōli*    *sīrōh*              *ətté*  
DO-2MS REL want.IMP.F.2MS then go.PERF.3MD until  
you whatever you want." Then they went until

*ənkōh*              *hāl*    *həyb*    *ď-a-ǵīgēn*    *a-məráyś.*  
arrive.PERF.3MD by father GEN-DEF-boy DEF-sick.MS  
they got to the father of the sick boy.

- (9) *āmūr a-ǧáyǧ ǰə-nūka kə-bā nəwās,*  
 say.PERF.3MS DEF-man REL-come.PERF.3MS with-PN  
 The man who came with Ba Newas said,

*“a-ǧáyǧ ǰōməh š-əh hāmá-h āǧáwz,*  
 DEF-man DEM.NEAR.MS with-3MS.OBJ mother-3MS.POSS old.FS  
 “This man has an old mother,

*wə-təǧōrəb kāl mərəš.” āmūr tōgər,*  
 CONJ-know.IMPV.3FS every illness say.PERF.3MS rich.MS  
 and she knows about every illness.” The rich man said,

*“hō sē?” āmūr bā nəwās, “kálak tī-s*  
 where she say.PERF.3MS PN leave.PERF.ICS DO-3FS  
 “Where is she?” Ba Newas said, “I left her

*sār a-byūt əlyək ǰə-šəwkwūt. wə-hām*  
 behind DEF-houses DEM.REMOTE.CP CIRC-sleep.PERF.3FS CONJ-if  
 behind those houses sleeping. If

*tháymə-s, háxšəb gūr-i trōh yənkēm*  
 want.IMPV.2MP-3FS.OBJ send.IMPV.MS slave-D two.M come.SUBJ.3MP  
 you want her, send two slaves to bring

*b-īs.”*  
 with-3FS.OBJ  
 her.”

- (10) *əttōli xxašáwb gūr-i trōh yənkēm b-īs.*  
 then send.PERF.3MS slave-D two.M come.SUBJ.3MP with-3FS.OBJ  
 Then he sent two slaves to bring her.

*əttōli sīrōh hā-gərōn. tē nākam hāl āǧáwz,*  
 then go.PERF.3MD DEF-slaves when come.PERF.3MP by old.woman  
 The slaves went. When they came to the old woman,

*hāsísə-s. tōli l-ād āśśūt lā. rəddōh*  
 rouse.PERF.3MP-3FS.OBJ then NEG wake.PERF.3FS NEG return.PERF.3MD  
 they roused her. Then she didn't wake up at all. They returned

*təwōli hā-bū. āmáwr, “āgáwz āśśūt lā.”*  
 to DEF-people say.PERF.3MP old.woman wake.PERF.3FS NEG  
 to the people. They said, “The old woman didn’t wake up.”

- (11) *āmūr bā nəwās, “ðək tkūn təğtūri*  
 say.PERF.3MS PN just be.IMPV.3FS talk.IMPV.3FS  
 Ba Newas said, “It’s just that she is conversing

*k-a-gənnáwn-se, wə-hām təğtūri k-a-gənnáwn-se,*  
 with-DEF-jinns-3FS.POSS CONJ-if talk.IMPV.3FS with-DEF-jinns-3FS.POSS  
 with her jinns, and if she is conversing with her jinns,

*tāśūs lā, ar wə- səbtāt bə-xətrāk*  
 get.up.IMPV.3FS NEG unless hit.PERF.PASS.3FS with-stick  
 she won’t wake up unless she is hit with a stick

*ṭáwr-i trōh. wə-syērəm wə-səbētəm tī-s*  
 time-D two.M CONJ-go.IMPV.MP CONJ-hit.IMPV.MP DO-3FS.OBJ  
 two times. Go, hit her

*ṭáwri trōh, wələkən həððīr mən təwtēgəm*  
 time-D two.M but be.careful.IMPV.MP from kill.SUBJ.2MP  
 two times, but be careful you don’t kill my

*hāmá-y!”*  
 mother-1CS.POSS  
 mother!”

- (12) *āmáwr hā-gərōn, “yéye.” wə-sīrōh ṭáwr amšēgər.*  
 say.PERF.3MP DEF-slaves ok CONJ-go.PERF.3MD time second.MS  
 The slaves said, “Ok.” And they went a second time.

*tə nákam hən-īs, səbt-áys ṭáwr-i trōh.*  
 when arrive.PERF.3MP by-3FS.OBJ hit.PERF.3MD-3FS.OBJ time-D two.M  
 Then when they reached her, they hit her twice.

*əttōli ftəkhōt fákh-i.*  
 then split.PERF.3FS half-D  
 Then she broke in half.

- (13) *rəddōh*            *ḥā-gərōn*    *ḏə-yəbákyəm.*      *āmūr*  
 return.PERF.3MD DEF-slaves CIRC-cry.IMP.F.3MP say.PERF.3MS  
 The slaves came back crying.

*bā nəwās,* “*ḥēsən gərōh?*                      *ād*      *tākām*  
 PN            what happen.PERF.3MS perhaps be.SUBJ.2MP  
 Ba Newas said, “What happened? Have you perhaps

*látgəkəm*      *ḥāmó-y?”*            *āmáwr,*            “*āgáwz*      *mətót!”*  
 kill.PERF.2MP mother-1CS.POSS say.PERF.3MP old.woman die.PERF.3FS  
 killed my mother?” The slaves said, “The old woman died!”

*bəkōh*            *bā nəwās,* *āmūr,*            “*yā*    *ḥāmó-y,*  
 cry.PERF.3MS PN            say.PERF.3MS EXCL mother-1CS.POSS  
 Ba Newas cried, and said, “Oh my mother,

*yā*    *ḥāmó-y!”*  
 EXCL mother-1CS.POSS  
 my mother!”

- (14) *tōli*    *āmūr*            *tōgər,*    *ḏōmah*            *šī*            *məkáddər.*  
 then say.PERF.3MS rich.MS DEM.NEAR.MS something preordained  
 Then the rich man said, “This is something preordained.

*wə-nḥāh*    *ḵəšyēya*                      *tī-k*            *bə-ḥāmē-k.*  
 CONJ-we compensate.FUT.MP DO-2MS for-mother-2MS.POSS  
 We will compensate you for your mother.

*wəzyēma*    *tī-k*      *ḥā-gərōn*    *ḏə-látgəm*            *tī-s.”*  
 give.FUT.MP DO-2MS DEF-slaves REL-kill.PERF.3MP DO-3FS  
 We will give you the slaves who killed her.”

*āmūr,*            “*ḥōm*            *lā.*    *əl*    *məšīkəš*  
 say.PERF.3MS want.IMP.F.1CS NEG NEG be.compensated.with.FUT.MS  
 He said, “I don’t want (that). I will not accept as compensation (blood-payment)

*bə-ḥāmó-y*            *gərōn*    *lā!”*  
 for-mother-1CS.POSS slaves NEG  
 slaves for my mother!”



- (15) *ād-hām lə-wṭákəməh, ssədīd* *ḥā-bū*  
 still-3MP PREP-thus make.agree.PERF.3MP DEF-people  
 While they were like this, the people got (them) to agree

*ḥə-bā nəwās bə-šəlātáyn alf wə-ḥəməáwlat ḏə-xáyməh*  
 for-PN PREP-thirty thousand CONJ-load GEN-five.F  
 that he would get [lit. for him (was)] thirty thousand (dollars) and five

*rikōb ḥawt. wə-səyūr təwōli a-ḏān-əh*  
 riding.camels food CONJ-go.PERF.3MS to DEF-family-3MS.POSS  
 camel-loads of food. And he went back to his family

*bár-əh tōgər. wə-təmmōt a-gəráymət ḏə-bā nəwās.*  
 already-3MS rich.MS CONJ-end.PERF.3FS DEF-crime GEN-PN  
 already a rich man. And (the story of) Ba Newas's crime is finished.

## Texts 54 and 65 in Arabic Script

When native speakers write Mehri, they naturally do so using Arabic letters, since Arabic is their primary means of written communication. Given this fact, and the fact that most of the texts from Ali Musallam were made as written texts before recording them on tape, it is important to include a sample of Mehri in Arabic characters. The texts below reflect the manuscripts exactly as written by their author, Ali Musallam. Ali did not use punctuation, so I have not added any. I have added only the line breaks and numbering, to facilitate reference to the transcribed versions included in Chapter 14 and Appendix A.

Ali's spelling (like that of other speakers) can be variable. So, for example, in these texts we find *tawōli* 'to' spelled both تولي and توالي, the former of which is identical with the spelling of *tōli* 'then'. We also find ناكك and نكك for *nákak*, and جبا and جبوا for *hābū*, to cite just a few examples.

Among different speakers, transcriptions of Mehri into Arabic letters can also vary, especially with regard to the vowels and to those consonants that do not occur in Arabic. For example, the consonants *ś* and *š* are transcribed by Ali with the Arabic letter ش *š* (often with the diacritic upside down, i.e., ˘ in place of ˆ). For *ś*, some other speakers use the Arabic letter ث *t*. Ali sometimes mixed up the consonants *ǰ* and *k* in spelling (e.g., قيبوت for *ǰībūt* in 54:11).

Like any other literate human being would do, Ali occasionally made spelling errors when writing Mehri. For example, in text 54:12, Ali wrote قيوب for *ǰībūt* (cf. the more correct spelling قيبوت in 54:11); in 65:3 he wrote النكيس for *l-ənkēs*, instead of النكيش;<sup>1</sup> and in 65:12, he wrote اموار for *āmáwr*, instead of اماور.<sup>2</sup> In a couple of places, errors were crossed out, either by Ali himself or by Johnstone. For example, at the beginning of 54:14, Ali had written توالي, but he crossed out the *alif* so that it correctly read تولي *tōli*. In 54:16, for *al əhād*, Ali first wrote لا, but crossed out the second stroke and then wrote لحاد, a spelling found in other texts. In text 54:20, he mistakenly wrote سيرونا (*sirōna*), though he clearly intended سيرون *sayūrən* (see further the comment to that line in Chapter 14).

It is errors like these, along with the ambiguities inherent in using Arabic letters to write Mehri, that make the audio recordings and Johnstone's Roman-letter transcrip-

1 Note also that the audio clearly has *l-ənkēs*, though the spelling suggests *əl-nkēs*.

2 This word could also be spelled امور, a spelling which is also used for 3ms *āmūr*. Cf. سيور for *səyáwr* 'they went' in text 65:12.

tions invaluable in understanding these texts. It is also for such reasons that I have not published in this volume several texts from Johnstone's collection that are preserved only in Arabic-letter versions, without either audio or Roman-letter transcriptions.

## A Text 54 (no J): A Grave Encounter

1. بقان هام طاط موت ينايشه ويلحقه بو ميكن غيوج وينيث
2. وحايينيث تبكين وتنعين ته ومت بار قبور يسحاط بار ولا رون ولا بقار بخير لاه
3. وحايينيث تواقن ضار اقوبر ومت جزوت حيوم يشجيش حبو كال احاد لسكنه ومنطور احاد يهتوم ضار  
اقوبر جمه ولا غته ولا اغه
4. خطرت ذجهوم حوم توالي سكاني تا كليني ناكل اشايچ وكسك احاد لا
5. حبو بار شلم برك حودي وحشيشك
6. وكسك اشفوتن ذحبو وتابك بشفوتن ذحبو برك حودي ومصاء
7. وبرك حودي ذكه مقبريت وشف انهور ذكه ذموت غايچ وذقبوره
8. وسيرك وبار جزوت حيوم تا نكك هل امقبريت وهوه اذيصك يرم جوا اقبوي يكون هل امقبريت
9. وشف تيث ذهتومت ضار اقوبر ذغس تولي شينك حوريت ضار اقوبر ولكن اهو جس سققت
10. تولي شينك تيس حتركوت تولي خبطك امدوقي وسيرك قريب لقوبر حرمي تنوكا هل اقوبر
11. تولي لاد شينك شي حترك لا شف تيث هيس شنيقي قيبوت من ايصيت
12. تولي ناكل هل اقوبر وكسك تيث ذقيوت اهو جس غبرا تختين هاني
13. باري حوم الوبدس تولي قلقك توالي اقوبر وشينك تاه يدين هنرك ذهه احاد ذموت انهور ذكه
14. تولي هشيشك تيث وامرك هام هيت مسوميت هوه غايچ مسلم واشيشي
15. تولي اشوت وناكل تيس وغربك تيس ولكن ادي باي ايصيت منتقا ار غبرا وذقتوبوت هاني لهيس  
تيث ذكه
16. تولي امرك هيس صرومه لحاد يهاتوم باومه لا وغدون توالي سكاني وكسويچ ترديدي هام تحيمي
17. تولي سيروت شاي ولكن هوه ذيصك منس وامرك هيس سيري فنوي وهوه سيرك من سريس وذخبطك  
امدوقي
18. برك اقابي هام صروت ولا ردوت لي لاوبدس
19. وامرك هيس هام هيت مسوميت حذيري من صاري هوه ذيصك منس وهام صرش وبدونا تيش
20. تولي لاد صروت لا وسيرونا تا وصلن سكاني وهاتومن
21. تا كسويچ سيه ردوت توالي اقوبر وهوه بايقك هل سكاني وتموت

**B Text 65 (= J18, with Slight Variations) in Arabic Letters: Ba Newas and the Old Lady**

1. خطرت بنواس ذيجهوم يحوم يقفيد ارحبيت وقاولا اضانه من غير قوت وهه الشه شيلا لاجر ذبشتوم  
مصروف هضانه
2. تا ويصل ضار مقبريت كوسا جبو ذيقبرم اجوز شخولول ذيفتكيرن الويدا هاشن من مهريت يمولا لا
3. ولشه شيلا هام قفود ارحبيت تولى افتكور بفيكر قوح امور حوم مت حبو شو جيش النكيس لاجوز ذمتوت
4. شخولول بنواس تا حبو شو جيش نكوش لاجوز وقلايس برك اصبعته وشليس وجهم يحوم هرحبيت
5. وسيور تا ويصل قريب الربيت قاولا اجوز وفقوه ليس باصبعته ونوكا ارحبيت
6. تولى شيني بوا ميكن ذيوكم بيت ذتوجر تولى شخور غايچ امور كوهيم حبوا ليك ذيوكم برك ابيت ذايك
7. امور حبرا ذتوجر مريض وحبو ذيطوف لاه وحبها ذيشخير هام احاد يغورب شي يدويه امور بنواس هوه  
شاي حمي اجوز وغورب كال مريض
8. امور اغايچ غدون مهيشن تيك حيب ذغيجن امريض وحبوا تجريت وزيما تيك الهان تموم تولى سيروه تا  
نكوه هل حيب ذغيجن امريض
9. امور اغايچ ذنوكا كابنواس اغايچ ذومه شه همه اجوز وغورب كال مريض امور توجر حوسه امور بنواس  
قلك تيس سارا بيوت ليك ذشوكفوت وهام تحاميس هنصب جور يثروه ينكام بيس
10. تولى خصوب جور يثروه ينكام بيس تولى سيروه حجرون تا نكم هل اجوز هشيشس تولى لاد اشوت لا  
ردوه تولى حبوا امور اجوز اشوت لا
11. امور بنواس ذك تكون تغتوري كا جنونيس وهام تغتوري كا جنونيس تشوش لا ار وسبطات بخطراق  
طاور يثروه وسيرم وسبيطم تيس طاور يثروه ولكن حذير من توتاقم احمي
12. امور حجرون يابه وسيور طاور امشيغر تا نكم هنيس سبطيس طاور يثروه تولى فتحتوت فالقي
13. ردوه حجرون ذبيكم امور بنواس هاشن جروه اد تقام التقم حمي امور اجوز متوت بكوه بنواس امور يا  
حمي يا حمي
14. تولى امور توجر ذومه شي مقدر ونحه قشيا تيك بحميك وزيما تيك حجرون ذلتقم تيس امور حوملا المشيغش  
بحمي جرون لا
15. ادهيم لوطا كه سديد حبوا هبنواس شلثين الف وحملت ذخيمه ريكوب قوت وسيور توالي اضانه بره  
توجر وتموت اجرمت ذبنواس

حضرت بنو اس ذبيحهم بموم يقيد اربيت وعامله افا نه  
 من غار موت وفعه الشه ~~سول~~ سيناك لاهر ذبيحهم  
 مصروف هظانه لثا وصيل خار مقبريت كوا هيو ذبيحهم اجوز  
 تحولول ذبيحتين المو الوريا هانن من مررتت سمول للافولكه سيناك  
 هام تفود اربيت تولى ~~المتك~~ المتكولور ~~بفك~~ بفيار قومح امور هوم  
 مت هه هيو شوليتك المتكولور ذموت ~~المتكولور~~ المتكولور بنواك تاهيو  
 شوجيت تلووت لاجوز وقلدين برك اصيقته ومثلت ومبريم  
 يعوم هر هيبته ~~المتكولور~~ المتكولور تا وصيل قريبت الرهبتت قاملا اجوز  
~~المتكولور~~ المتكولور وبقوه ليه با صيقته ونوسا اربيت تلوول ~~المتكولور~~ المتكولور سيناك بوا  
 قنين ذبيحهم بيت ذنوبر تولى هه شجبور غايغ امور كوهيم  
 هيو ايك ذبيحهم برك ايت ذابك امور هيرا ذنوبر  
 مريض ولبوز يظون لاه ولبيرا ذينخير هام اها ذنوبر  
 شي يدوج امور بنواس هه هوه شارب هه همي اجوز  
 ذنوبر سال مريض امور اغايغ غدون مريض بيت هيب  
 ذنوبر مريض ولبوا تجريت وزيمما شيك الرهان تخوم تولى  
 سيروه تا قلوه هل هيب ذنوبر مريض امور اغايغ  
 ذنوبر سا بنواس اغايغ ذومع شه همه اجوز ذنوبر سال  
 مريض امور توب هوسه امور بنواس قلك تيب \*  
 سار ابوت ليد ذنوبروت دهام تخايمت ~~المتكولور~~ المتكولور جور شره  
 نيكام بيت ~~المتكولور~~ المتكولور لخصوب جور شره نيكام بيت تولى سيره  
 لجرودا تا ناي هل اجوز هيبتي تولا لدا موت هل  
~~المتكولور~~ المتكولور رده تولى هيو امور اجوز اشوت ~~المتكولور~~ المتكولور امور بنواس  
 ذك تلوون نقتوربا ~~المتكولور~~ المتكولور جنونيت وهام نقتوربا  
 جنونيت تلووت لا رو ~~المتكولور~~ المتكولور سبطات بخطراق طاور شره  
 ميروم ولبليم تيب لاور سيره وكن هذير م توتاقر  
~~المتكولور~~ المتكولور امور لجرودن يا با سير طاور اشير تا ناي

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هنيئاً سبقت طاور شروه تولى فتعوت فاقمى <sup>(13)</sup> ربه  
 هجرون ذبيليم امور بلوات هاشم جروه اد تقام  
 التعلق هم امور اجوز ~~تقوت~~ تقوت بلوات  
 امور يا همى <sup>(14)</sup> تولى افور نوهر ذمه شى  
 مقدر وغمه قنيا نيك بيمك ورجا نيك هجرون  
 ذلتقم تيس امور لوملا ~~هو~~ الملتقى بيم جرون  
~~الف~~ <sup>(15)</sup> نصليم نوطا كنه \* نديد لبوا هنبوات ~~ب~~ شتت  
 الف و لمولت ذهيمه رتوي قوت و سور توال افازه  
~~ط~~ بره نوهر و تموت اجرمت ذبلوات

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65

xafarāat be nswaan ḡ-iqshaom yghoom <sup>his family</sup>  
 ysk. fūd erhbeēt wa kaula sbaansh <sup>murder is</sup>  
 mm yayr kāwt w hee sl jeh jē-la, be qree <sup>for for home</sup>  
 ḡ-istoom mḡḡāwḡ ḡadāansh. te wīḡal <sup>for</sup>  
 ḡaar mkabrēet, kuusa ḡaabum ḡ-ikāḡabsum <sup>buying</sup>  
 aagawz. ḡxawslum ḡ-iftskūrom, sl wīda <sup>eat thinking</sup> <sup>know</sup>  
 ḡessn msn mḡhrēt <sup>mḡhrēt?</sup> yaamool laḡ. w sl jeh  
 ḡe-laḡ, haam k. fūd erhbeēt. tooḡi <sup>walk (i.e.)</sup> <sup>whif he were to go (so he could not go)</sup>  
 ḡtskum bfeeker <sup>the night</sup> koomḡ. ḡsmoor: ḡoom, mst  
 ḡaabum <sup>learn</sup> fuwḡiḡ, msn ḡ <sup>ding</sup> nskēes <sup>ḡ</sup> aagawz <sup>stays</sup>  
 ḡmtunt. ḡxawslum bḡ. la ḡaabum  
 fuwḡiḡ, nskūis l-aagawz w kalāys  
 buk ḡaḡbāyḡeh. m-ḡeḡiis u qḡheem  
<sup>in his clothes ḡbiḡat</sup>  
 ḡshoom erhbeēt. ḡ smur te wīḡal karayb

Roman-letter Manuscript of Text 65, p. 1, transcribed by T.M. Johnstone  
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## Supplement to Johnstone's *Mehri Lexicon*

The following are words, or meanings of words, that are not included in Johnstone's *Mehri Lexicon*. I have, for the most part, not included variant forms of words listed in *ML*, though I sometimes mention such forms in the comments to the texts. This is not an attempt to correct the multitude of errors in *ML*, though many corrections are included in this appendix and throughout this volume.

In the presentation below, a reference to the texts or the grammar is given where appropriate, but the list of text references is not necessarily exhaustive for each entry. There is, in many cases, a longer comment in the text commentary. In the root headers, I follow Johnstone's practice of using the consonant *v* to stand for either *w* or *y*. I have also kept his letter *ẓ* in the root headers, but not in the transcriptions of words, in which I use *š*, as elsewhere in this book. If an entry below is followed by a colon, then it means that the entry exists in *ML*, and what follows the colon is a correction or addition to that entry. If an entry has no colon, then the entire entry is an addition to *ML*.

### **'mm:**

*ḥām* 'mother': No form *ḥām* is attested, only *ḥāmē*.

### **'wl:**

*ḥāwīl*: The meaning is 'first part' (see §9.3, n. 12).

*ḥāwāláy*: Add the meanings 'first', 'former', and 'previous'. The correct feminine singular form is *ḥāwālīt*. See §9.3.

### **'bl:**

*ōbal* (D/L): Add the meaning 'try, attempt' (76:5).

### **'dm:**

*ādūm* (Ga) 'execute' (22:32).

### **'lk:**

*ālēk* (G passive?) 'be hung' (42:43).

### **'lm:**

*áylam* (Gb) 'know, learn' (23:15).

**'lv:**

*ālēw*: The definition 'at the top' is incorrect. This is an adjective 'upper' (42:28). Cf. Jibbali *'alé* (*JLO*, pp. 401, 656). The opposite is *əwxáyw* 'lower' (root *ly*).

**'mk:**

*āmūk* (Ga) 'pasture in the valley' (3:8).

**'mr:**

*āmōr* (Ga): The correct transcription is *āmūr*. Add the meaning 'recite or sing (a poem)' (52:1; 84:2).

**'n(t):**

*ānēt*: The correct transcription is *ānīt*, and it refers to a small water-skin. See further in the comment to text 84:5.

**'rṣ:**

*ārṣāt*: Add the meaning 'hut' (94:30).

**'śy:**

*'āśi* (D/L): The correct 3ms perfect is probably *ōśi*. See § 6.5.4, n. 64.

**'tm:**

*mātáym* 'spending the night', found in the phrase *hibōh amātáymək* 'how was your night?' (85:27).

**'tl:**

*ōṭəl* (D/L) 'delay' (91:26).

**'wḏ:**

*'t-wḏ*: This is referring to a T2-Stem *ātawūḏ* 'take refuge', which has a mp imperative *ātwiḏ* (70:2).

***bnv*:**

*hə-bōn* 'sons': This entry suggests that there is an indefinite *bōn*, and the entry *hə-būn* (s.v. *brw*) suggests that there is an indefinite *būn*. In fact, the form *həbūn* is attested in the texts as both definite and indefinite (7:3).

***brk*:**

*barḵ* 'lightning' (41:8).

**brkʿ:**

*abárka* (Q): The 3ms imperfect is *yabárka*, not *yabráka* (3:7).  
*barkāʿ* (pl. *báráwka*) ‘veil’ (< Arabic *burqaʿ* or *birqaʿ*) (42:31, 33).

**brw:**

*bārō* (Ga) ‘bear, give birth’: The form *bārō* does not exist. Instead, there is a Gb-Stem  
*bīru*, 3fs *bārōt* (7:4; 24:4). See also the comment to text 85:31.  
 See also s.v. *bnv*.

**bzʿ:**

*bāṣāt* ‘goods, merchandise’ (< Arabic *biḍāʿat-*) (74:5).

**dwm:**

*dōm* ‘last (a long time), go on, persist’ (< Arabic *dāma*) (98:15).  
*mān dēm-* ‘as long as’ (99:26; § 13.5.3.4).

**dwy:**

*dīwē*: The plural found in the texts is *dīwūtān* (24:51).

**dyn:**

*dāyyān* ‘religious’ (< Arabic *dayyin*) (74:2).

**ḏrʿ:**

*ḏūra* (Ga) ‘measure’ (< Arabic *ḏaraʿa*) (66:6). The verb can also have a more specialized  
 meaning ‘measure with spread fingers to check for jinn possession’. See further in  
 the comment to text 25:13.

*ḏarʿ* ‘forearm’: The attested forms are *ḏérəʿ*, pl. *ḏərəʿ* (cf. Arabic pl. *ḏirāʿ*), and the  
 meaning can also be ‘cubit’ (66:3–7).

**fkr:**

*fēkər* ‘thought, idea’ (65:3).

**fkr:**

*fəkáyr*: The fs form should correctly be *fəkáyrət*. See § 5.2, n. 3.

**frk:**

*əftərūk* (T2): This verb can also be used in the singular (98:1).

**fšl:**

*sōšāl* (D/L): The root is alphabetized in *ML* as *fšl*, but is misprinted as *fšl* (separate from the root *fšl* earlier on the same page). The form *sōšāl* is a misprint for (*f*)*fōšāl* (< Arabic *faššāla*), and the meaning 'embarrass' should be added (76:18).

**gdd:**

*gōddēt* 'waterless, treeless desert' (76:2).

**gdl:**

See *gwdl*.

**gn':**

*hāgnē* (H) 'warm': It is doubtful that this form exists. The correct H-Stem 3ms perfect is *hāgnōh*, 3ms subjunctive *yāhīgān* (root *gnw/gny*, perhaps < earlier *gn'*) (84:4).

**gnb:**

*hā-gānbət*: The one attestation in the texts is *agēnbət*, with the definite article *a-* rather than *hā-* (104:26). We also find in the texts the fp adjective *gānāybāyōt* (104:4), presumably from a ms *gānāybi*.

**gšs:**

This seems to be a non-existent root. See the comment to text 24:37.

**gwdl:**

*gōdēl* 'stick': The correct transcription is *gōwdīl* (36:8; 76:9).

**gwy:**

*gāwō* 'rainless, clear weather' (98:2).

**gz':**

*gāzē* 'reward, payback' (22:101; 73:11); used also in the phrase *gāzēk xayr* 'thank you!' (pl. *gāzēkam xayr*) (20:63; 28:20; 39:14).

**gzy:**

*hāgzō* (H): The correct 3ms forms are perfect *hāgzōh*, imperfect *yāhāgāyz* or *yāhāgōza*, subjunctive *yāhīgāz*, conditional *yāhāgzān*. The variant imperfect *yāhāgōza* is the only one attested in the texts (83:7).

**ǰlk:**

*šāǰālāk* (Š2) 'buy s.t. expensive': It is highly doubtful that this verb exists. See the comment to text 39:3.

**ǧlm:**

*ǧələm* ‘male camel in rut’ (28:21).

**ǧsrw:**

*aǧsarō* (Q) ‘chat at night, chat all night’: The correct forms are 3ms perfect *aǧsarōh* and 3ms subjunctive *yaǧásru* (48:29; 85:14).

**ǧšb:**

*ǧáṣəb* ‘forcible seizure’ (< Arabic *ǧasb*) (70:5).

**ǧṭw:**

*ǧátu* ‘implication?’ (82:4).

**ǧyg:**

*ǧīg* ‘birthing’ (30:11).

**hgs:**

*šhēgəs* (Š2) ‘think’ (22:32).

**hrm:**

*harmáyṭ/harōm*: The plural form *harōm* is often used as a singular ‘tree’. See further in § 4.3, n. 11.

**hgw:**

*məhǧē* ‘family property, household’ (90:15).

**hkf:**

*həkf* ‘horizontal brand-mark’ (28:8).

**hfl:**

*həfəlīt* ‘ripe (wild) fig’: The plural is *hful* (24:14; 25:2), and the singular is correctly *həfəlīt*.

**hgl:**

*həǧáwlat*: Add the meaning ‘anklet’. See the comment to text 97:27.

**hkk:**

*həkəb* ‘cow-rearing community’: The correct form is *hōkəb* (pl. *hkūb*), and it should be listed under the root *hkb*. A better definition is ‘camp of cow-herders’ (35:2).

**ḥkm:**

*ḥākūm* (Ga): The 3ms perfect is properly *ḥkūm*. Add the meaning *ḥkūm l-* 'force s.o.' (75:1).

*məḥkāmēt* 'court' (< Arabic *maḥkamat*) (66:8).

**ḥlv:**

*ḥəlāt* 'description' (with suffixes *ḥəlāt-*): Add the secondary meaning 'condition' (83:1), which is perhaps due to the influence of *ḥōlāt* (see below, s.v. *ḥwl*).

*ḥəlláy* 'night': Any final glottal stop heard is just phonetic. When suffixes are added, the base is *ḥəlláyw-* (85:27).

*ḥəláy* 'let's go!' (48:15).

**ḥml:**

*ḥāməl* 'load': The plural is *ḥəmōwəl* (99:50).

**ḥrb:**

*əḥtərüb* (3mp *əḥtərīb*) (T2) 'be at war with one another' (= T1 *ḥátrəb*) (104:28).

**ḥrʒ:**

*ḥərōš* 'Acacia mellifera': Probably instead *Acacia tortilis* (umbrella thorn acacia). The plural is *ḥarś* (99:13, 39).

**ḥʃl:**

*məḥʃáwl* 'yield, pay, gain' (< Arabic *maḥʃūl*) (57:4).

**ḥtt:**

*məḥátṭ* 'camp, stopping-place' (< Arabic *maḥatt*) (76:10).

**ḥwg:**

There should not be separate entries for *ḥātūg* and *ḥátwəg*. The T1-Stem 3ms perfect is correctly *ḥátwəg*. See the comment to 94:13 and § 7.2.7, n. 50.

**ḥwl:**

*ḥōlāt* 'condition' (< Arabic *ḥālat*) (24:15; 98:3).

*ḥāwīl*: See under *ʔwl*, above.

*ḥāwəláy*: See under *ʔwl*, above.

**ḥwr:**

*ḥəwrīt* 'something black' (54:9).

**ḥzm:**

*māḥzēm* ‘cartridge-belt’ (< Arabic *mīḥzām*) (39:6).

**ḥz̄z̄:**

(*h*)*ḥz̄z̄ūš* (H) ‘look for tracks’ (54:5).

**kff:**

*kaf* ‘palm (of the hand)’: This can also refer to a pan on a balance scale (as Arabic *kaffā* also can). The form is better transcribed *kεff* (66:9).

**ksr:**

*ksūr* (Ga) ‘overcome’: This verb (correctly *ksūr*) can also have the meaning ‘break, damage’ (cf. Arabic *kasara*) (85:36).

**ktb:**

*kōtāb* ‘clerk’: The plural is probably *ktāwbāt* (66:1).

*ktīb* ‘written’, used in the phrase *hām ktīb* ‘if it is written; God willing’ (39:5; § 7.1.8).

**ḵʾd:**

*aḵālād* (Q) ‘roll’: The root is actually *ḵlʾd*, and the correct 3ms perfect is *aḵālad* (67:4, 8).

**ḵbl:**

*ḵbāyli* ‘tribesman’ (104:37).

**ḵdr:**

*ḵādār* ‘pot’: The plural is either *ḵēdōr* or *ḵādōwār* (see the comment to text 35:6).

*māḵāddār* ‘preordained, predestined decree’ (< Arabic *muḵāddar*) (65:14).

**ḵhw(y):**

*māḵhōyāt* ‘coffee-shop’ (48:14, 27, 28, 30).

**ḵšb:**

*ḵāššāb* ‘butcher’ (< Arabic *qaššāb*) (49:3).

**ḵšr:**

*ḵāšār*: Add the meaning ‘big house’ (75:7).

**ḵtʾ:**

*māḵtāt* ‘a cut’ (75:18).

**ḵtr:**

ḵəṭōrət 'half-dry (grass)?' (45:4).

**ḵwm:**

ḵawm: Add the meaning 'group of men of fighting age' (10:8).

**lbd:**

lātbəd (T1): Add the meaning 'fight with one another'. See the comment to § 6.5.2, n. 54.

**lhḵ:**

alhāḵ (G): The verb can also mean 'hurry; run' (3:5).

**lwm:**

alwīm (D/L): Add the meaning 'expect' (20:37).

**lwy:**

lātwi (T1): Add the meaning 'wrap around (intrans.), wrap oneself around' (49:11).

**lxy:**

awxáyw 'lower' (42:28). Cf. Jibbali *elxé* (*JLO*, pp. 401, 667). The opposite is *ālēw* 'upper'.

**mhr:**

māhrēt 'trick' (65:2).

**ml'/mly:**

mōlā' (Ga) 'fill': The 3ms is correctly *mūla* (III-'). Some attested forms look as if they derive from a 3ms *mālōh* (III-w/y), though that 3ms form is not attested (4:3; 22:6; 76:14; 84:5; 97:7).

**mwg:**

māwḡət 'wave': The one occurrence in the texts has the form *māwḡēt* (84:3), which in the context can only be singular. (Cf. Arabic *mawjat* 'wave', pl. *mawjāt*.)

**n'w:**

naywū (G) 'mew': The form must be an error. We expect 3ms *nōh*. The meaning can also be 'mourn (over) s.o.' (54:2; 75:22).

**nḡm:**

nāḡm (G) 'be angry': The form in *ML* is an error. The correct 3ms perfect is *nāḡām* (89:31). Add the meanings 'go away angry; storm off' (with *mən ḡār* 'from') and 'come angry' (with *təwōli* 'to') (89:26, 28, 31).



***nz'***

*šəneza* (Š<sub>2</sub>) 'wrestle with' (92:4).

***r'b***

*rāb* (G): Add the definition 'one who chants (nonsense) under possession in the presence of a sick person who sits before him with a cloth over head' (25:10; 25:18).

***ršš'***

*rēšūt* 'snake': *ML* lists a plural *rīyēš*, but in the texts we find *rəyēš* (92:4). The singular is correctly *rīšūt*. The root is probably *ryš*.

***sdk***

*šəsdūk* (Š<sub>1</sub>): See the comment to text 20:6, and below, s.v. *šdk*.

***shm***

*sahm* 'arrow': The plural is *shīm* (103:5).

***skn***

*səkən* 'community': The plural is *skūn* (99:37) and the definite plural is *haskūn*, not *həskōn* (35:22; 72:5). Add the meanings 'settlement', 'family'.  
*məskēn* 'dwelling-place, residence' (probably < Arabic *maskan*) (74:7).

***srx***

The root is probably *šrx*. See the comment to text 39:3.

***swd***

*əstəwūd* (T<sub>2</sub>) 'be blackened, disgraced' (99:46). It is not clear if the T<sub>1</sub>-Stem *sátwəd* (given in *ML*) exists.

***šdk***

*šadk* 'truth': In the texts, this word, which occurs more than twenty times, is always *šətk* (5:12). See also the comment to text 20:6.

***šll***

*šəlōt*: The Mehri name for the city of Šalalah is *šəlōlat* (34:17). There is, in fact, a different place called *šəlōt*, on which see the comment to text 38:2.

***šlb***

*šāb* 'type of brand-mark' (probably < Arabic *šalb*). See the comment to text 28:8.

**šlh:**

šūlāh (Ga) 'be suitable, be fit' (42:11; 76:3).

hāšlēh (H): Add the meaning 'do well' (52:8).

**šrb:**

šāyrāb (Gb) 'become autumn (post-monsoon)' (58:4, 8).

**šyh:**

šayh 'desert': Perhaps sēyāh. See the comment to text 23:3.

**šbb:**

šab 'youth': The forms in the texts are šēbb (9:8; 22:40; 89:15), pl. šābōb (37:7), def. pl. hāšbōb (42:47).

**šf:**

šāft 'hair': Correct this to šfēt or šāff, both of which exist as singular nouns (37:19; 37:25).

**šf?:**

šēfā' 'untouched, uneaten grazing' (23:18).

**šgb:**

šāgūb (Ga) 'put across' (42:28). The verb probably has a limited semantic function. See the entries for the Ga-Stem šāgōb and the noun šāgb in *JL*.

**šhr:**

māshāyr 'famous': The correct form is māshīr (64:1).

**škš:**

māškāyš: The correct form is māškāyš, root škš (80:21; 104:5).

**šll:**

āštālāwl (T2) 'wander aimlessly': Evidence from the texts suggests that the verb is āštālāwl, root šll (90:7).

**šn':**

(š)šōna (D/L) 'be hostile to, mistreat' (97:3).

**šr':**

šārēt 'court, judge' (< Arabic šir'at) (24:38).

**šrg:**

*šaráwg* (Ga): The correct 3ms perfect is *šarūg*. The form *šaráwg* is 3mp (20:28).

**šwķ:**

There should not be separate entries for *šátwəķ* and *šatūķ*. The T1-Stem 3ms perfect is correctly *šátwəķ*. See the comment to text 14:6 and § 7.2.7, n. 50.

**šxt:**

*šxāt* (G): Perhaps *šxāt*. See the comment to text 20:65.

**šyx:**

*šōx*: The plural form attested in the texts is *šyēx* (18:10; 74:8).

**t'b:**

*tēb* 'trouble' (in the sense of 'a lot of effort, difficulty') (50:3).

**tmm:**

*təm* (G): Add the meaning 'continue' (17:10). A better transcription is *təmm*.

*təməm*: Add the meaning 'even (number)' (71A:1).

**ṭ'm:**

*məṭām* 'restaurant' (< Arabic *maṭ'am*) (18:7).

**ṭśś:**

*ṭāśś* 'light shower': In the texts we find the plural *ṭāśōś* (45:4).

**ṭyķ:**

*ṭayķ* 'wild fig tree': This is *Ficus vasta* (94:15).

**ṭyr:**

*məṭār* 'airport' (< Arabic *maṭār*) (105:1).

**ṭyś:**

*atyiś* (D/L) 'terrify (*b*- s.o.)' (104:23). See the comment to text 104:23.

**tbr:**

*təbərəyn* 'hyena': The correct plural is *təbrəyēn* (81:2; 82:5), and the singular is better transcribed *təbráyn* (6:3; 81:1). Cf. *fərháyn* 'horse', pl. *fərhəyēn*.

***tkt:***

*təkáyl:* The fs form should almost certainly be *təkáylət*. See § 5.2, n. 5.  
*tēḳəl* 'heavy loads' (23:2).

***wd:***

*awōda* (D/L) 'see s.o. off' (94:15).

***wk<sup>c</sup>***

*həwkā* (H) 'put': The 3ms imperfect is *yəhōka*, not *yəhəwkā* (42:28). The incorrect *yəhəwkā* also appears on p. xlvi of *ML*. See also § 7.2.9, n. 67.

***wr:***

*həwrē* (H) 'turn; keep away': The 3ms imperfect is *yəhōra*, not *yəhəwrē* (88:2).

***xl:***

*xályli* (Gb): Add the meaning 'be unmarried' (56A:8).

***xrf:***

*xərəf* (possibly *xəráyf*) 'yield, fruit' (77:5).

***xss:***

*axass* 'less': The texts have only *xass* (see § 5.4).

***xšš:***

*xaš* 'less': The texts have only *xass* (see § 5.4).

*xāštən* 'especially': Correct to *xáššən* (46:7).

***xtm:***

*xōtəm* 'ring': The plural is *xtūm* (22:51; 81:2; 88:5). There is no evidence in the texts for a plural *xətōwəm*.

***xtl:***

(*x*)*xəṭáwl* (H) 'bring animals to graze' (81:1)

***xtr:***

*xəṭáwr* (Ga) 'think; recall' (cf. Arabic *xaṭara* 'occur to, come to mind, recall'). Only second person perfect forms are found in the texts (45:16; 52:14; 99:18; and 99:23).

***xwf:***

*xāf* 'I think; maybe; it might be' (57:8). See § 12.5.22.

**xwn:**

*xōn* (G) 'betray' (22:81). This seems to be a bi-form of *xəyūn* (root *xyn*).

**xzn:**

*xəznēt* 'treasury': Add the meaning 'treasure' (19:17; 74:4).  
*məxzēn* 'storeroom, basement' (< Arabic *maxzan*) (85:25).

**ytm:**

*yətūm* 'orphan' (pl. *yətōm*): The texts show definite forms with *a-*, not *hə-*, e.g., pl. *aytōm* (16:2) and fs *aytəmūt* (32:11).

**ywm:**

*həyáwm*: This can also have the meaning 'daytime' (contrasting with 'night'), at least in the phrase *həyáwm kálləs* (36:27).

**zfr:**

*šəfrūt* (pl. *šəfártən*): Add the meaning 'braid, plait of hair' (75:11; 75:15).

**zrr:**

*šərēt* 'co-wife, other wife' (97:4).

**zrk:**

*məšárrək* 'spoiled' (25:1).

**zyk:**

*šáyyaḵ* (Gb)? 'become bored, fed up'. See the comment to text 24:23.

## Additions and Corrections to *The Jibbali (Shahri) Language of Oman: Grammar and Texts*

The extensive changes to my transcription of Mehri in this book, as compared to my 2010 grammar, are due both to an improved understanding of MSA phonology that came out of writing my Jibbali grammar and text edition (*JLO*), and, more importantly, to the excellent work of my colleagues in the field. Re-editing the Mehri texts, and additional work by those same scholars, especially Julien Dufour, has made me re-think many details of my Jibbali transcription in *JLO*. Some of these are rather minor. For example, I would probably remove acute accents over most non-stressed vowels, and there are some forms in which I would now transcribe a phonetic final *-h*, as I have in this volume on Mehri. Other details are more consequential. For example, there needs to be a re-examination of gemination in the texts, which I likely missed in certain contexts (especially D/L- and H-Stems). Of course, there are also errors, both typographical and others. I offer the following corrections and additional comments to *JLO*:

- p. 33, § 2.1.4: *mərḳá'* is not an example of *bVn > mVn*, since there is no *n*. With *mástún*, the *n* is in a different position, not *mVn*.
- p. 85, line 8: The indefinite form of 'town' should be *širét*.
- p. 105: In the paradigm at the bottom of the page, the subjunctive forms of the verb *ḳéré* should all have *ḳ* (e.g., *l-éḳar* → *l-éḳər*).
- p. 124, § 6.4.3, fourth line: The verb *šəḳéšər* does not mean 'run out of s.t.', but rather 'bargain with o.a.'
- p. 155, middle: In the example from text 97:16: change *ṭḳík* to *ṭəḳík*.
- p. 167, bottom: Regarding the use of *ber* illustrated in the example from TJ2:19, we can compare the similar use in Mehri observed by Watson (2012: 373).
- p. 323, § 12.5.18: Every occurrence of *əthúmk* should be changed to *əthúmk*, both in this section and throughout the grammar. The shorter, variant form *thumk* can remain as is. Also correct *əthúmk* to *əthúmk* in texts 8:8, 28:1, 34:11, 39:10, 40:6, 60:42, 97:44, and in the comment to TJ4:65; correct *bə-thúmk* to *b-əthúmk* in texts 10:4, 32:8, 33:9, and 60:42; and correct *bə-ḏə-thúmk* to *bə-ḏ-thúmk* in text 60:44.
- p. 368, last line: Correct *ḏhakk* to *ḏəhakk*.
- p. 412, comment to text 9:5, *ṭsrób*: This form must be a Gb-Stem subjunctive, like the form in the Mehri parallel (text 58:5). No Gb-Stem is listed in *ML* or *JL*,

though the noun ‘autumn’ (Mehri *šáyrəb*, Jibbali *šerb*) looks identical to the Gb 3ms perfect. Line 8 in both versions also has the Gb-Stem 3fs perfect. The phrase *tə tšrób* probably goes at the end of line 4, and should be translated ‘until autumn comes’. In this case, the subjunctive is expected. If *tə tšrób* was intended to go with what follows, we would expect a perfect.

- p. 418, text 13:8: Correct *žəhakk* to *žəhákk* (twice).
- p. 432, text 17:23: Correct *žəkən* to *žəkən*.
- p. 454, text 25:4: There should be an opening quotation mark before *tənúkədan*, and a closing quotation mark after *emih*.
- p. 455, text 25:4: The closing quotation mark should be after ‘water’, not after ‘down’.
- p. 456, text 24:12: The form *a'téd* is likely a T2-Stem mp imperative. See the discussion in the comment to Mehri text 70:2 in this volume. Also, the correct English translation on p. 457 should be ‘Take refuge from the devil!’.
- p. 506, text 46:14: Correct *žəhak* to *žəhákk*.
- p. 509, text 47:5: The translation of *mənhínəm* should be ‘last night’, not ‘yesterday’.
- p. 515, text 48:15: The translation of *a'élí* should be ‘my forefathers’ not ‘my forefather’.
- p. 516, text 49:4: *edídi* ‘my uncle’ should be corrected to *edidi* ‘my uncles’. There is no audio of the text, but the correction is confirmed by Johnstone’s transcription in the Roman manuscript, and by the parallel *hədádye* ‘my uncles’ in the Mehri version of this story (which is nearly identical to the Jibbali version).
- p. 516, text 49:7: *edídi* ‘my uncle’ should be corrected to *edíti* ‘my aunt’. This is confirmed by the Arabic-letter manuscript and by the parallel *hādáyti* in the Mehri version of this story (which is nearly identical to the Jibbali version).
- p. 549, text 60:20: The translation for *he dha-l-ǧád* ‘I’ll go’ is missing.
- p. 518, text 49:34: In the phrase *bə-l-ǧád*, I analyzed *b-* as the preposition *b-*, used here as a subordinator to indicate purpose. Antoine Lonnet, on the other hand, had suggested (in a personal communication) that this was instead the coordinating conjunction *b-* (< \*w-). The fact that the parallel Mehri passage (89:34) has *wə-l-əsyēr* is strong evidence that Lonnet was correct. This may also be the case for text 36:6, though in that passage Jibbali has *b-* plus a subjunctive, while the Mehri parallel (text 48:6) has *w-* plus an imperative.
- p. 552, text 60:33: Correct *yəzhīm* to *yəzhīm*.
- p. 562, text 97:16: Correct *tǧík* to *tǧík*.
- p. 567, comment to text 97:34: Change “the underlyingly” to “underlyingly”.

Several new bibliographic items relating to Jibbali can be found in the Bibliography of this volume. Some additional items are:

- Bellem, Alex, and Janet C.E. Watson. 2017. South Arabian Sibilants and the Šherēt š ~ ṣ̌ Contrast. In *To the Madbar and Back Again: Studies in the Languages, Archaeology, and Cultures of Arabia Dedicated to Michael C.A. Macdonald*, ed. Laila Nehmé and Ahmad al-Jallad, pp. 622–644. Leiden: Brill.
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# Index of Passages

The text numbers below refer to the Mehri texts published in this volume, with the exception of texts 21, 79, and 87, which were published in Stroomer (2009). All of the references below are to paragraph numbers in this volume. Not included in this index are passages in the grammar where it simply says “see the comment to text *X*” or any reference to texts made in the commentary in Chapter 14.

<b>Text 1</b>		11	2.2.1; 13.2.1
4	8.12, n. 10; 10.1 (2×)	12	4.2
5	7.1.6; 13.2.8	13	8.13; 8.23
6	12.5.17	14	4.2 (2×)
7	3.8.4	15	6.5.3; 7.3
12	8.2	17	2.1.5; 3.7; 7.2.6
<b>Text 2</b>		<b>Text 5</b>	
1	3.5.3; 4.2; 8.6; 9.1.1; 9.1.3	2	12.5.7
2	3.8.1; 7.2.3; 12.5.7	4	7.1.10.1; 11.2 (2×); 11.6
3	3.1; 3.2.3; 4.3.2; 7.2.10; 7.3; 12.5.3	5	13.5.3.2
4	7.1.5; 12.5.4	7	10.1
7	8.5	8	10.1 (2×)
8	5.5.3	10	2.1.7; 2.2.1, n. 22; 7.1.2; 11.5
<b>Text 3</b>		11	8.8; 8.12
1	8; 8.2; 8.4; 8.12, n. 14	12	12.1.1; 13.1
2	12.5.1	17	4.2; 7.1.2
3	7.1.3; 10.1; 13.5.1.1	<b>Text 6</b>	
5	2.2.1; 12.5.17; 13.1.1	2	13.2.1
7	5.5.3; 6.6.1, n. 75; 8.4	5	13.5.2
8	2.2.3	6	11.6; 13.1
10	3.2.3; 10.1; 11.5; 13.1	7	5.5.4
11	7.1.8; 7.1.10.2	8	3.1
12	2.1.6; 8.5	9	5.3
15	7.1.1	10	2.1.9; 3.2.3; 8.2
16	12.5.10; 12.5.11	11	3.8.1; 11.3; 13.2.1
18	3.8.1 (2×); 8.16	12	13.2.4; 13.5.2
19	3.7; 4.3.3, n. 26; 7.2.6; 8.5; 11.2	14	9.1.1
<b>Text 4</b>		<b>Text 7</b>	
1	4.3.3, n. 23; 8.13; 9.1.1 (2×); 9.1.3; 9.1.5	1	4.1, n. 3
2	3.8.4	2	3.5.4; 5.4; 8.9
3	2.2.1; 4.3.1; 5.3	3	4.1, n. 3; 4.4, n. 37; 5.5.5
4	8.1	4	4.1, n. 3
6	8.8; 12.5.14	5	4.1, n. 3; 8.22
8	7.3; 8.7	7	3.8.1 (2×); 4.1, n. 3; 5.4; 9.5; 9.5, n. 21
9	3.2.3; 4.3.3, n. 27; 8.2	8	4.1, n. 3; 8.13
10	7.3; 9.1.5; 13.2.3; 13.4.1	9	7.1.8

- Text 8**
- 1 9.1.1
- 2 7.2.10, n. 77; 13.4.1
- 3 7.2.10, n. 80
- 4 4.5
- 6 9.1.3
- 7 2.1.9; 8.2
- 8 7.1.6; 7.3; 12.1.1; 13.2.4
- Text 9**
- 1 13.5.3.2
- 2 8.11
- 3 8.11
- 3 9.1.4
- 4 4.2; 9.1.1 (2×)
- 7 4.1, n. 2; 5.5.5; 8.20
- 8 4.1, n. 2; 4.3.3, n. 26; 8.2; 12.5.3; 13.3.2
- 10 3.5.3; 8
- 11 7.2.10, n. 77; 8.11
- Text 10**
- 1 8.13
- 3 5.2; 8.13
- 4 7.1.10.1
- 5 11.2
- 6 7.1.3; 8.17
- 8 13.5.3.3
- 9 7.1.10.3; 12.5.1; 13.2.7; 13.4.1
- 10 3.2.3; 8.9; 9.1.1
- 12 3.4; 3.5.1, n. 21; 5.5.5; 7.3.1
- 14 8.12
- 15 2.2.3
- 16 5.5.3; 8.3; 13.3.1.2; 13.3.1.2, n. 11
- 17 7.1.2
- Text 11**
- 1 7.1.2
- 2 5.5.3; 8.11; 13.3.1
- 4 8.2
- Text 12**
- 1 13.3.1
- 3 4.3.1, n. 15
- 4 13.5.3.3
- 6 8.12, n. 14
- 7 3.2.3; 8.8; 12.1.3
- 8 8.8
- 9 3.5.3; 6.5.2, n. 53
- 10 8.2; 9.1.1; 10.2
- 11 8.18
- 12 6.5.2, n. 54
- 13 3.5.3; 6.5.2, n. 53
- 14 3.4; 7.1.10.1
- 16 13.3.1.1
- Text 13**
- 1 8.7
- 3 13.5.3.3
- 6 8.4
- 7 3.2.1; 3.8.4; 7.1.2; 13.5.3.2
- 8 2.1.4
- 9 7.1.3; 13.5.2
- 11 13.5.3.3
- Text 14**
- 1 8.6; 9.1.1
- 2 8.9
- 3 9.1.1
- 5 9.1.1
- Text 14A**
- 1 8.2; 8.11
- 2 3.2.3; 13.5.3.3
- 5 13.1.1
- 8 10
- Text 15**
- 1 4.2; 4.3.2; 13.1.1
- 2 2.2.1
- 3 3.6
- 4 4.3.2; 12.1.1; 12.5.18
- 5 8
- 6 2.1.6; 7.2.10
- 7 7.1.10.1; 13.5.3.3
- 9 3.2.3; 8.18; 13.5.3.2
- 10 2.1.5; 3.2.3; 7.1.2; 7.2.10
- 12 8.9; 12.1.1
- 13 3.2.3; 7.2.10, n. 76; 13.5.3.2
- 17 2.1.6; 3.4; 13.5.2
- 18 2.1.6; 7.3; 13.2.1
- 21 3.5.3; 6.5.3, n. 60; 7.1.3; 13.5.2
- Text 16**
- 1 12.1.3; 13.2.7
- 2 3.7; 4.4, n. 34; 13.5.3.1
- 4 3.5.3

**Text 17**

2	3.2.3; 8.18; 13.2.4
3	7.1.10.1; 8.7
4	8.13
6	8.20
7	13.5.3.3
9	6.3.1, n. 29; 8.20
11	4.2; 5.5.4; 9.1.1
12	3.5.2; 13.1.1
15	8.22; 13.3.1

**Text 18**

1	7.3.2; 8
2	3.5.5; 3.8.1; 7.1.10.2
4	7.1.3, n. 9
6	3.2.3; 4.5
8	4.2, n. 7; 7.3.2
9	8.20; 12.5.3
10	7.2.11; 9.1.1 (2×)
12	2.1.7; 4.6
13	7.2.9; 12.1.1
14	13.3.1
15	3.5.4; 13.1
17	13.1.1; 13.5.1.1
18	3.6; 4.3.2; 8.8; 8.10; 12.5.4 (2×); 13.2.2; 13.5.3.3

**Text 19**

1	13.3.1.1
5	8.18
6	3.1
11	7.1.5
13	3.5.3; 4.3.3, n. 28; 12.5.11
14	2.2.3; 4.6
16	2.1.7; 7.1.10.1
17	13.5.1.1
20	7.1.2; 7.1.10.2
21	11.6
24	13.5.1.1
25	13.2.7

**Text 20**

1	8.2
4	3.2.3
5	7.1.10.2; 11.6; 12.1.3
6	7.1.6; 13.2.1
8	7.1.1
12	12.5.4; 13.2.7
13	11.3

16	12.5.7
17	11.2
18	8.10; 12.5.5; 13.5.3.3
19	12.5.7
23	7.1.3; 13.4.1
24	8.20
25	2.2.3; 3.2.3 (2×); 7.1.3; 7.2.8; 9.1.1
26	13.5.1.1
27	7.1.3, n. 9; 12.5.14
31	3.3
32	7.1.10.1; 9.1.3; 9.1.5
34	11.3
35	3.8.1
36	11.5
37	7.1.3, n. 9; 13.2.3; 13.2.5
38	7.1.3; 13.5.1
41	8.13; 13.2.4; 13.2.8
42	9.1.1; 13.5.3.3
43	3.1; 13.2.4; 13.5.3.3
44	11.1
45	3.5.5; 4.6
46	3.2.3; 8.12
47	3.5.5; 13.5.3.3
48	7.1.5
49	12.5.17
50	12.5.8
51	2.1.4
53	8.5; 13.5.3.2
54	13.5.3.2
56	12.5.18 (2×)
58	5.1
59	13.2.1
61	7.2.10, n. 83
63	12.5.7
64	8.8
68	11.1; 13.1
69	7.1.1; 13.2.1
70	8.8, n. 6; 8.9; 13.1
72	7.1.2; 13.2.4; 13.4.1
73	8.8
74	13.2.1
78	12.5.8; 13.5.3.2

**Text 21**

11	13.4.1
12	13.4.1, n. 12

**Text 22**

1	8.21; 13.1; 13.3.1
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2 8; 13.2.2  
 3 2.1.3; 13.5.1  
 4 13.5.2  
 7 7.3.1  
 8 10; 12.1.1; 13.5.3.2  
 9 7.3.2  
 11 8.18; 11.5  
 15 8.23  
 17 13.4.2  
 18 13.4.2  
 19 7.1.3  
 20 3.2.3  
 22 13.1; 13.2.1  
 24 3.2.3  
 25 2.1.7; 7.1.10.1; 12.5.4  
 26 13.2.5  
 27 8.8  
 28 3.5.5  
 30 13.1  
 31 13.1  
 32 2.1.6; 9.1.4; 10.5  
 33 7.1.10.1  
 35 8.10  
 36 8.19  
 37 8; 8.2  
 40 6.6.2, n. 80; 9.1.1  
 41 7.3; 13.5.1  
 44 12.3  
 47 3.6; 8.2; 8.9; 9.1.5  
 48 7.1.5; 8.22; 9.1.5  
 49 9.1.5; 9.3  
 50 9.1.4  
 52 12.5.7  
 53 9.1.5  
 54 3.4  
 56 8.9  
 57 12.5.14  
 60 3.2.3 (2×); 4.6; 7.1.5  
 62 5.3; 12.5.3  
 65 8.11  
 66 3.2.3  
 68 8.4; 9.3 (2×)  
 69 13.5.3.2  
 70 6.3, n. 26; 12.5.7  
 73 3.8.1; 7.1.10.1; 12.5.1  
 74 7.1.10.2  
 77 7.1.5; 9.3; 13.5.3.3  
 79 7.1.3  
 81 3.2.3

83 8.20  
 85 3.5.5; 8.2  
 87 13.1  
 88 12.5.7  
 89 3.8.1 (2×); 8.13; 13.1  
 92 8.2  
 93 7.1.6; 8.10; 13.4.2  
 94 8.17; 13.1.2; 13.4.2  
 97 3.4; 8.4; 12.1.1; 13.1  
 98 7.2.9, n. 64; 13.5.3.2  
 100 13.2.1  
 101 8.9  
 102 9.3  
 104 4.3.1

**Text 23**

general 11, n. 2  
 1 7.1.10.2  
 2 8.7; 10.5  
 3 5.4, n. 21; 5.5.3 (2×); 7.1.9.1; 11, n. 2;  
 13.5.1  
 4 7.1.7; 12.5.23  
 9 13.2.3  
 10 11, n. 2; 3.8.1  
 11 12.5.11  
 14 3.1  
 15 11, n. 2; 12.1.1; 13.5.1.1  
 16 8.5; 11, n. 2  
 18 7.1.8; 10.1  
 21 12.5.5

**Text 24**

1 3.6  
 2 2.2.2; 3.1  
 3 7.1.5  
 4 7.1.1; 8.13  
 5 5.1; 9.1.1  
 6 3.8.1; 5.1; 8.2  
 7 12.5.17  
 9 2.1.2; 3.2.3  
 11 4.2; 4.3.1, n. 15; 8.5; 9.1.1  
 15 10.4  
 16 3.1  
 17 7.3  
 19 3.2.3; 7.1.2; 13.5.2  
 20 9.3  
 21 5.5.1  
 22 7.2.10; 13.2.1  
 24 3.2.3

- |                |   |                |   |
|----------------|---|----------------|---|
| 25             | 3.7; 7.3.1; 10.4                              | 14             | 12.5.21                                     |
| 26             | 7.1.3; 13.5.2                                 | 15             | 7.1.3; 7.1.6; 8.21; 13.2.6                  |
| 27             | 12.3  | 16             | 12.5.10                                     |
| 28             | 2.1.3; 3.2.3; 10; 12.5.17                     |                |   |
| 32             | 8.8; 8.10; 10.3, n. 3                         | <b>Text 27</b> |   |
| 33             | 8.9   | 2              | 2.1.4; 11.2                                 |
| 36             | 8.2; 12.5.1; 13.2.1; 13.3.2                   | 3              | 7.1.6; 12.2.1                               |
| 37             | 3.8.2; 8.13                                   | 4              | 11.5; 12.2.1                                |
| 38             | 7.1.3; 8.12; 8.20                             | 5              | 13.2.4                                      |
| 39             | 2.1.2; 7.1.7; 7.3; 13.4.2                     | 6              | 13.5.3.1                                    |
| 41             | 2.1.6; 12.5.19                                | 9              | 3.5.2; 12.5.21                              |
| 42             | 3.6   | 11             | 11.8  |
| 43             | 7.1.3   | 15             | 13.2.1                                      |
| 45             | 8.16  | 16             | 8.7   |
| 46             | 7.1.3   | 21             | 11.8  |
| 47             | 3.8.1   | 22             | 9.1.1; 9.2; 13.3.1.2; 13.4.1                |
| 48             | 13.5.1.1                                      | 23             | 2.1.6                                       |
| 49             | 8.20  | 24             | 5.4; 5.5.1                                  |
| 50             | 7.1.10.2                                      | 27             | 8.8, n. 6; 12.5.9                           |
| 52             | 7.1.10.2                                      |                |   |
| 53             | 12.5.7  | <b>Text 28</b> |   |
| <b>Text 25</b> |   | 2              | 7.1.10.2, n. 30; 8.5; 12.5.5; 13.5.1, n. 17 |
| 1              | 9.1.1   | 4              | 11.4  |
| 3              | 4.3, n. 11; 8.9; 12.1.2; 13.3.2               | 5              | 2.1.7; 8; 11.2                              |
| 4              | 7.1.2   | 6              | 3.2.3; 8.13; 12.5.4                         |
| 5              | 5.5.3   | 7              | 11.2; 13.1                                  |
| 7              | 6.3; 6.4.1; 6.5.3                             | 8              | 7.1.8; 8.12                                 |
| 8              | 9.1.3   | 9              | 8.4   |
| 9              | 8.4; 8.11                                     | 12             | 12.5.9; 13.2.3                              |
| 13             | 3.8.4; 5.3                                    | 14             | 7.1.10.2; 12.5.4                            |
| 14             | 8.4; 8.11                                     | 15             | 7.1.5; 13.2.3 (2×)                          |
| 15             | 7.1.7; 7.1.10.1; 9.4                          | 18             | 7.1.10.2, n. 30; 12.5.5; 13.5.1             |
| 16             | 3.6; 13.1.1                                   | 19             | 5.4, n. 18; 7.1.3; 8.8                      |
| 17             | 3.5.1; 7.1.2; 13.4.1                          | 20             | 12.5.13                                     |
| 18             | 4.3.1; 5.5.2                                  |                |   |
| 19             | 8.1; 12.1.2                                   | <b>Text 29</b> |   |
| <b>Text 26</b> |   | 3              | 12.5.21                                     |
| 2              | 7.2.5, n. 42                                  | 4              | 4.3; 8.5                                    |
| 3              | 3.5.2   | 5              | 5.5.3                                       |
| 4              | 4.5 (2×); 5.4; 8.13                           | 6              | 4.6; 8.1; 12.5.9                            |
| 6              | 3.8.1; 5.5.2; 7.1.10.2, n. 30; 12.5.5; 13.2.1 | 7              | 2.2.2; 4.3; 7.2.9, n. 57; 8.2; 10.5         |
| 7              | 10.5  | 8              | 7.3   |
| 8              | 5.5.2   | 11             | 7.3.1                                       |
| 9              | 12.5.6; 12.5.10; 12.5.13; 13.5.1              | 13             | 3.1; 3.2.3, n. 13; 7.3                      |
| 12             | 11.6  | 14             | 7.3   |
| 13             | 8.13  | 15             | 3.5.2                                       |
|                |   | 17             | 8.10; 12.2.1                                |
|                |   | 18             | 4.3; 12.2.1                                 |

- Text 30**
- 1 3.8.1; 4.5; 13.2.1  
 2 2.1.7; 8.18; 8.19  
 3 7.3; 13.4.1  
 8 7.1.2; 9.3  
 9 12.5.1; 13.3.2  
 11 12.5.4  
 12 8.5; 13.4.1; 13.5.2  
 13 4.3.2; 9.3; 13.2.3  
 14 3.2.1; 7.2.11, n. 91; 13.3.1.2
- Text 31**
- 1 2.1.2  
 2 12.5.1  
 3 3.1; 3.4; 5.4; 5.4, n. 18; 7.1.3; 13.1  
 4 7.3; 12.5.7; 13.2.1  
 5 8.8; 8.12  
 6 4.6, n. 46; 7.2.3; 8.21  
 9 2.1.2  
 10 2.2.3; 13.3.2; 13.4.2  
 11 13.4.1  
 12 8.22  
 13 12.5.9  
 14 7.1.10.2; 12.5.20  
 15 8.20
- Text 32**
- 2 8.11; 13.3.1.2  
 5 7.1.3; 8.3; 9.3; 13.2.4; 13.5.1.1, n. 20  
 6 7.1.6; 8.12; 13.5.1.2  
 7 12.5.18 (2×)  
 8 8.2  
 9 4.2; 8.12  
 10 8.1  
 11 2.2.3; 4.4, n. 34; 5.3; 8.5  
 12 13.2.2  
 13 5.5.3; 7.1.2  
 19 3.2.3 (2×); 7.1.5  
 21 3.2.3; 7.1.5 (2×)  
 22 8.15; 13.3.2  
 25 13.4.2  
 28 12.1.3; 13.2.5  
 30 5.5.3
- Text 33**
- 1 7.1.10.3; 8.11; 12.2.1; 12.5.4  
 2 8.21; 12.2.1; 12.5.4; 13.2.6  
 3 8.12; 13.1.2; 13.5.1.1  
 4 8.8
- 5 7.1.3; 7.1.3, n. 9  
 6 13.2.7
- Text 34**
- 4 4.3.3, n. 28; 5.1 (2×); 5.5.5; 13.1;  
 13.3.1  
 6 13.1.2  
 7 13.5.3.3  
 8 12.5.1  
 9 13.4.1, n. 13  
 10 3.8.4  
 11 2.1; 4.3.3, n. 26; 7.2.9, n. 61; 8.2  
 12 2.1  
 15 7.1.5; 8.9; 8.20  
 16 3.1; 7.1.9.1; 12.5.1  
 18 7.1.3; 13.5.1  
 20 3.8.1; 5.1; 13.1  
 21 7.1.10.1  
 24 8.5  
 25 3.8.1; 7.1.5; 13.2.1  
 26 12.5.23  
 27 7.1.2; 12.1.1  
 28 3.1  
 31 12.5.14  
 32 13.2.1  
 33 12.1.3
- Text 35**
- 1 4.2 (2×); 9.1.1; 13.3.1.2  
 2 2.1.2; 4.6; 5.5.1; 7.1.1  
 3 8.8  
 4 3.1; 13.2.1  
 5 2.1.6; 7.1.1; 7.3  
 7 3.2.3; 12.5.7; 13.5.3.3  
 8 9.1.1; 13.3.1  
 9 11.3  
 10 2.2.3; 3.5.3; 4.2; 8.5; 13.5.2  
 12 2.1.6  
 13 3.5.2; 12.5.1  
 14 3.5.2; 13.2.3  
 16 4.2  
 17 3.2.3, n. 10; 3.3; 4.2; 8.4; 13.2.3;  
 13.5.3.2  
 18 8.4  
 20 2.1.4; 3.6; 8.23  
 23 13.1.1

**Text 36**

1	8.21; 13.1; 13.1.1
2	9.1.5; 13.3.2; 13.4.1
3	3.8.2; 8.1; 12.5.4; 12.5.21
4	8.3
5	6.5.3; 7.2.3; 8.9
6	13.5.3.2
8	7.2.11; 8.13; 13.3.2
11	8.12; 13.3.2
12	3.2.3
14	7.1.10.1
15	3.1; 11.5
19	12.5.14
21	4.5
24	7.1.3; 13.5.2
25	2.1.6
26	11.5
27	5.2; 5.5.3; 7.1.1; 7.1.3; 11.1
28	7.1.2; 13.4.1
29	8.1
30	13.1; 13.2.1
34	5.1
36	7.1.10.2

**Text 37**

1	12.4
2	9.5; 9.5, n. 21
3	9.1.1; 12.5.7; 13.5.3.1
4	13.5.3.2
5	3.4; 13.2.2; 13.2.7; 13.5.1.1
6	5.5.2; 9.1.1
7	3.1; 12.5.18; 13.3.1.1; 13.5.3.2
9	8.1; 13.1.1
10	8.5; 8.18; 13.2.5
11	2.2.3; 5.5.3; 9.1.1
12	11.4; 12.5.4; 13.1; 13.2.5
13	2.2.3; 12.1.4; 12.5.4; 13.4.1, n. 15
14	3.2.3; 5.3; 8.7; 9.2
15	5.3; 7.1.6; 11.6
16	3.8.1; 9.3; 13.3.2
17	8.4; 13.5.3.2
18	4.2; 5.4, n. 18; 10.5
19	7.1.2; 9.3; 13.4.4
20	8.22, n. 23; 9.3 (2×)
22	3.3; 3.4; 3.5.2; 12.3; 13.5.1
23	7.1.5; 7.3; 12.5.1; 13.4.1 (2×); 13.4.1, n. 13
24	7.2.11; 12.4
25	7.2.11; 13.5.3.1; 13.5.3.2

**Text 38**

1	8.9
2	3.5.1; 7.3.2; 8.8
6	8.4
7	7.3.2; 8.9
9	13.2.4
10	3.2.3; 5.5.2; 8.9
11	5.1; 7.1.2; 8.4; 11.1
12	6.1.2; 6.1.2, n. 7; 7.1.7
13	6.5.3, n. 60
15	3.8.1
16	2.1.5; 7.3; 13.5.1
18	7.3.1; 12.1.1
19	7.3; 12.5.4
21	8.8; 8.12; 8.20

**Text 39**

1	3.1; 7.3.4; 11.8
3	5.1; 9.1.2; 9.1.2, n. 8; 12.2.1
4	7.2.10; 12.1.1; 12.2.1; 12.5.4; 13.4.1; 13.4.1, n. 13
5	7.1.8; 8.16
6	7.1.1
7	7.1.1
10	2.1.7
12	3.4; 12.5.4; 12.5.19
13	8.5; 12.5.4; 13.5.1.1
14	12.5.1; 12.5.4
15	7.2.10, n. 82; 8.7; 13.5.3.1
16	5.1; 7.1.6; 9.3; 13.5.1.1

**Text 40**

1	4.2; 9.1.1
2	12.5.18
4	2.2.1; 4.3.1
5	7.1.10.1
6	2.1.10; 8.2
7	3.1; 7.1.5; 12.5.7; 13.2.4
8	3.2.3; 3.8.3
9	6.2, n. 15
10	7.1.7; 12.5.7; 13.6
14	8.12
15	3.2.1; 8.18
17	7.1.2
20	8.8
22	8.15; 13.5.1.1
23	3.2.3; 8.21
24	7.1.10.1; 7.2.10; 13.5.1.2
25	12.5.7
26	7.1.3; 8.2; 13.3.2

- Text 41**
- |    |                                     |    |                           |
|----|-------------------------------------|----|---------------------------|
| 1  | 13.1.2                              | 2  | 13.4.4                    |
| 4  | 3.5.7; 8.7; 12.5.2; 12.5.7; 12.5.23 | 3  | 8.17                      |
| 8  | 5.4; 8.10; 8.21                     | 4  | 2.2; 12.5.23              |
| 9  | 13.5.1.1                            | 9  | 7.1.4; 8.22; 13.4.3       |
| 10 | 3.4; 8.13; 13.2.4, n. 5             | 11 | 6.2.1, n. 19; 13.4.3 (2×) |
- Text 42**
- |         |   |  |  |
|---------|---|--|--|
| general | 1.1, n. 11                              |  |  |
| 1       | 8                                       |  |  |
| 2       | 5.1; 12.1.1; 13.1                       |  |  |
| 3       | 2.1.4; 3.5.1; 8.10; 11.6                |  |  |
| 5       | 4.6; 11.1                               |  |  |
| 6       | 8.8; 12.5.7                             |  |  |
| 7       | 3.5.2; 11.2; 13.1.1; 13.6               |  |  |
| 10      | 3.1; 3.2.3; 13.2.7                      |  |  |
| 12      | 8.13; 12.1.3                            |  |  |
| 14      | 5.4, n. 18; 7.1.3; 7.1.3, n. 12         |  |  |
| 15      | 5.1; 7.1.10.2; 8.9; 8.12                |  |  |
| 17      | 3.4; 5.5.3; 7.1.7                       |  |  |
| 19      | 3.6; 6.3, n. 26; 7.2.10; 13.2.4; 13.2.5 |  |  |
| 20      | 7.1.6                                   |  |  |
| 22      | 2.1.7                                   |  |  |
| 23      | 7.1.4; 12.5.7                           |  |  |
| 24      | 9.1.1                                   |  |  |
| 25      | 8.20; 9.3, n. 12                        |  |  |
| 26      | 2.1.7; 7.1.10.1; 11.4; 13.6             |  |  |
| 27      | 2.1.3, n. 7; 4.3.2; 10.1 (2×); 13.5.2   |  |  |
| 28      | 2.1.3, n. 7                             |  |  |
| 29      | 3.1                                     |  |  |
| 30      | 2.1.7; 7.1.10.1                         |  |  |
| 31      | 13.5.3.2                                |  |  |
| 32      | 13.5.3.1                                |  |  |
| 33      | 9.4                                     |  |  |
| 34      | 11.4; 13.1; 13.6                        |  |  |
| 35      | 10.1                                    |  |  |
| 40      | 8.8; 11.1                               |  |  |
| 42      | 3.5.2; 3.5.3                            |  |  |
| 43      | 3.5.3; 3.8.1; 3.8.2; 3.8.4              |  |  |
| 47      | 3.4 (2×); 4.4                           |  |  |
| 48      | 12.3                                    |  |  |
| 49      | 7.1.10.1                                |  |  |
| 50      | 11.3                                    |  |  |
| 51      | 12.5.8                                  |  |  |
| 52      | 9.1.1                                   |  |  |
| 53      | 13.6                                    |  |  |
- Text 43**
- |   |      |  |  |
|---|------|--|--|
| 1 | 8.10 |  |  |
|---|------|--|--|
- Text 44**
- |    |          |  |  |
|----|----------|--|--|
| 1  | 11.4     |  |  |
| 2  | 12.5.7   |  |  |
| 4  | 12.2.1   |  |  |
| 5  | 12.2.1   |  |  |
| 9  | 2.1.6    |  |  |
| 12 | 9.1.1    |  |  |
| 14 | 13.3.1.2 |  |  |
- Text 45**
- |    |                     |  |  |
|----|---------------------|--|--|
| 1  | 11.6                |  |  |
| 3  | 3.5.2               |  |  |
| 5  | 3.5.1; 12.5.21      |  |  |
| 8  | 4.5                 |  |  |
| 9  | 11.6                |  |  |
| 11 | 7.3.1, n. 110       |  |  |
| 12 | 12.5.21             |  |  |
| 14 | 12.5.21             |  |  |
| 15 | 2.1.10              |  |  |
| 16 | 8.18; 12.5.1        |  |  |
| 17 | 7.1.3; 11.7; 12.5.1 |  |  |
| 18 | 12.5.1              |  |  |
- Text 46**
- |    |                           |  |  |
|----|---------------------------|--|--|
| 1  | 7.1.10.1                  |  |  |
| 2  | 3.8.1; 12.5.19; 13.2.4    |  |  |
| 4  | 13.2.4                    |  |  |
| 5  | 12.5.19                   |  |  |
| 7  | 8.15; 12.1.1; 13.5.3.1    |  |  |
| 9  | 12.5.7; 13.5.3.2          |  |  |
| 11 | 7.1.3; 11.6               |  |  |
| 12 | 3.4; 11.6                 |  |  |
| 13 | 8.12                      |  |  |
| 14 | 12.5.11                   |  |  |
| 15 | 7.1.10.1; 13.5.3.2, n. 26 |  |  |
| 16 | 3.4; 13.1 (2×); 13.5.3.2  |  |  |
| 17 | 3.5.3; 5.5.3              |  |  |
| 19 | 12.1.4, n. 2              |  |  |
| 20 | 13.5.1.1                  |  |  |
- Text 47**
- |   |                                |  |  |
|---|--------------------------------|--|--|
| 2 | 4.1; 8.5; 10.5; 12.4; 13.5.3.2 |  |  |
| 3 | 8.22                           |  |  |



- 4 2.1.5; 13.3.1.2  
 5 12.5.7; 13.5.1  
 8 3.8.1; 13.2.1  
 9 13.2.4  
 11 3.5.1; 7.1.10.3; 8.8; 8.12; 12.5.4;  
 13.2.6; 13.4.1  
 12 4.6; 5.3  
 14 7.1.2
- Text 48**  
 general 9.3, n. 16  
 1 8.2  
 2 9.5; 12.4  
 3 8.12; 8.16  
 5 8.2; 8.16; 11.2; 13.3.2  
 6 7.1.1; 8.9; 8.12; 12.1.1; 12.4  
 7 2.1.6; 13.3.1.1  
 8 8.12; 11.4  
 9 2.1.2; 12.5.7  
 11 2.1.5; 3.6; 8.2  
 12 8.13; 11.2  
 13 2.2.3; 4.3, n. 9; 8.2; 8.16; 8.23  
 14 4.3, n. 9; 8.20  
 15 2.1.4; 12.5.11  
 16 8.2  
 17 7.1.10.1; 8.5  
 18 6.3.1, n. 30; 12.4  
 19 7.2.9; 8.2; 8.9; 13.5.3.2  
 22 1.2, n. 22  
 23 3.2.3; 3.6; 7.2.8; 8.13; 9.3; 9.3, n. 16;  
 12.1.4  
 24 9.3 (2×); 13.6  
 26 8.3; 13.5.3.2  
 27 3.6  
 28 3.2.3  
 29 3.5.3; 8.5  
 30 12.1.2; 12.5.4  
 31 3.4; 8.22  
 33 12.1.1; 12.4
- Text 49**  
 1 4.1; 12.5.15; 13.3.1  
 3 7.3  
 5 8.4; 13.2.1; 13.4.1; 13.4.1, n. 13  
 10 7.1.2; 13.2.7  
 11 2.1.5; 3.2.1; 8.12  
 15 2.1.6; 7.2.10  
 16 7.1.3  
 19 7.2.10, n. 76
- Text 50**  
 1 7.1.2; 7.3; 9.1.1 (2×); 13.3.1.1  
 2 11.1  
 3 3.7; 8.3  
 4 3.5.3; 12.3; 13.5.3.3 (2×)  
 5 5.4; 5.4, n. 18
- Text 52**  
 1 12.5.10; 12.5.13  
 2 5.4; 8.13  
 3 3.2.3, n. 8; 12.5.16  
 4 7.1.4  
 6 7.3; 13.4.1  
 7 11.5  
 9 13.5.1.1  
 10 7.1.10.1  
 11 7.1.10.1; 11.7  
 13 12.2.1  
 14 12.2.1  
 15 8.1; 13.2.4; 13.5.3.3  
 17 8.1; 13.2.4  
 18 3.2.3
- Text 53**  
 1 7.1.8; 7.3, n. 109; 9.3; 9.5; 10.1  
 3 7.1.7; 13.5.2  
 4 3.2.3; 3.3; 7.1.3  
 6 2.1.7 (2×); 9.4; 12.1.1; 12.5.1; 13.3.1.2
- Text 54**  
 1 3.5.1; 5.5.5  
 2 12.1.4; 13.5.3.1  
 3 3.5.1; 3.5.3; 7.2.3; 12.1.4; 13.5.3.1  
 4 7.3.2; 12.1.1  
 6 8.18  
 7 3.4; 7.1.10.2  
 9 5.3; 12.5.18  
 11 2.2.2; 7.2.10, n. 76; 8.13; 12.5.18  
 13 7.3.3; 8.20; 12.5.7; 13.5.1.1  
 15 12.5.1  
 17 8.6; 8.18; 13.5.1 (2×)  
 18 7.1.10.3; 12.1.4; 13.4.1  
 19 2.1.6; 7.1.10.2  
 20 13.2.4
- Text 55**  
 2 8.11  
 3 7.1.10.3; 13.5.1.1, n. 20  
 5 7.1.2; 13.5.3.1

- 6 8.12  
 7 5.1 (2×); 7.1.4; 13.1.1; 13.4.3  
 9 13.1.2; 13.4.2  
 10 7.1.6; 13.4.2  
 16 6.5.3, n. 58; 13.2.2
- Text 56**  
 1 11.9  
 3 8.3  
 5 11.7  
 6 8.5  
 8 13.3.2; 13.5.2  
 9 13.2.7  
 10 13.2.7  
 11 13.4.1, n. 13  
 14 7.2.2; 13.2.7  
 16 7.1.1  
 19 6.5.3
- Text 56A**  
 1 8.9  
 2 6.4.3, n. 46  
 9 8.8
- Text 57**  
 1 12.5.7  
 2 12.5.7  
 4 4.5; 13.2.1  
 5 12.5.21  
 6 13.2.4; 13.5.1.1  
 7 8.13  
 8 7.1.5; 7.1.10.1; 7.1.10.2; 12.5.22  
 9 11.5; 13.6  
 10 7.1.10.2  
 11 7.1.9.1; 12.5.1  
 12 3.5.7  
 13 7.1.3; 12.5.13; 12.5.16  
 14 3.4; 12.5.13
- Text 58**  
 1 5.5.5  
 2 12.5.3  
 4 13.5.2  
 6 2.2.1; 7.2.1  
 7 8.1  
 8 8.22  
 9 2.1.6
- Text 59**  
 general 1.2, n. 23; 6.6.1, n. 78  
 1 7.3.2; 13.2.4  
 6 7.1.10.1; 12.5.9  
 8 12.3  
 10 7.1.10.2; 13.2.1  
 11 7.1.10.2; 8.9; 12.5.4; 12.5.7  
 13 3.5.1  
 14 3.7; 6.5.4, n. 72
- Text 60**  
 1 4.3.1, n. 13; 8.6  
 3 4.5  
 4 3.3; 9.1.1  
 5 3.2.3; 3.2.3, n. 13; 7.1.5; 9.1.4  
 6 4.2; 12.5.3  
 8 3.2.3; 4.3.1; 5.3; 7.2.11; 9.1.1; 13.2.7  
 10 5.3; 6.3; 8.16; 9.1.1  
 11 7.1.3  
 13 12.5.16, n. 13
- Text 61**  
 1 2.1.7; 7.1.10.2; 10.5; 13.1.1  
 4 3.1; 13.2.1  
 5 3.7  
 6 7.1.10.1; 12.5.3; 13.5.3.2  
 7 2.2.1; 7.2.1; 13.4.3  
 8 5.4  
 9 3.5.4; 5.4; 8.5; 13.1.1
- Text 62**  
 1 13.3.1.2  
 2 12.1.3  
 3 7.3; 13.2.1  
 4 3.2.3; 13.5.3.2  
 6 2.2.1; 7.2.8  
 7 7.1.2; 8.1; 12.1.2  
 13 3.4; 13.5.3.3
- Text 63**  
 1 3.4; 5.5.3; 7.1.10.2  
 2 8.2  
 3 3.2.3; 7.2.10, n. 82  
 4 7.1.10.1; 11.3; 12.5.7  
 5 7.2.10  
 6 2.1.7; 12.5.14  
 8 8.16; 12.4  
 9 7.1.10.2; 8.2  
 10 11.5

- |                |  |                |   |
|----------------|--|----------------|---|
| 12             | 7.1.10.2   | 12             | 3.2.3; 3.2.3, n. 10; 4.2; 9.3; 9.3, n. 13         |
| 13             | 2.1.7; 2.2.3; 3.7; 13.5.2                                | 13             | 7.1.9.1; 11.2; 12.2; 12.5.1                       |
| 15             | 7.3.3; 12.5.7  | 14             | 3.4; 3.5.2; 7.1.8; 7.2.10; 8.2                    |
| 16             | 2.2.3; 8.9   | 15             | 4.6; 9.1.1; 9.1.3; 9.1.5                          |
| <b>Text 64</b> |  | <b>Text 65</b> |   |
| 1              | 7.1.8; 8.5; 8.8  | 1              | 3.5.4; 3.8.1; 4.3.3, n. 23; 13.1.1                |
| 2              | 12.5.19 (2×)   | 2              | 7.3.1; 12.4; 13.5.1.2                             |
| 3              | 12.5.4; 13.2.8   | 3              | 4.2; 7.3.1  |
| 6              | 2.1.6; 2.1.7; 5.2, n. 11; 7.1.8; 7.1.10.1                | 4              | 5.4; 9.1.4  |
| 8              | 7.1.2; 7.1.3; 13.2.4                                     | 5              | 9.1.1   |
| 9              | 4.6; 7.1.2; 7.3.3, n. 111                                | 7              | 5.4; 13.2.7                                       |
| 10             | 3.2.3; 13.3.1.1  | 8              | 2.1.7; 13.2.7                                     |
| 11             | 3.8.4; 9.1.4   | 9              | 9.4   |
| 12             | 12.5.18  | 10             | 3.5.1; 4.3.3, n. 23; 5.5.3; 13.2.4; 13.2.4, n. 5  |
| 15             | 12.5.23; 13.2.1  | <b>Text 67</b> |   |
| 16             | 3.1  | 1              | 7.1.3; 10.5                                       |
| 17             | 12.5.10  | 2              | 7.1.5; 11.2; 13.2.3                               |
| 18             | 3.1; 8.12  | 3              | 2.2.2; 7.2.1                                      |
| 19             | 7.1.8; 9.3 (2×)  | 4              | 8.4   |
| 21             | 3.6  | 5              | 3.5.1; 3.5.6; 3.8.2; 7.1.10.2; 13.2.1             |
| 25             | 12.5.20 (2×)   | 6              | 3.8.2   |
| 26             | 3.6; 7.1.8; 7.3.1; 7.3.3, n. 111; 12.5.20 (2×); 13.1.2   | 8              | 3.1; 3.3; 3.8.3; 8.16; 13.1                       |
| 27             | 12.5.4; 13.2.4   | 9              | 3.5.4   |
| 28             | 12.5.20  | <b>Text 68</b> |   |
| 29             | 7.1.7; 7.1.10.2; 13.2.4; 13.4.1; 13.4.1, n. 12; 13.5.3.3 | 1              | 4.2   |
| 30             | 7.1.2  | 2              | 3.8.1; 10.1                                       |
| 31             | 3.8.2; 7.1.10.3  | 3              | 3.6; 8.12   |
| 32             | 9.1.1  | 4              | 2.1.7   |
| 33             | 9.1.1 (2×)   | 6              | 2.1.5; 4.2; 11.2; 13.5.2                          |
| <b>Text 65</b> |  | 9              | 2.1.6   |
| 1              | 3.5.2; 13.5.2  | 13             | 13.1.1  |
| 2              | 7.1.10.1; 11.3   | 14             | 2.1.4, n. 9                                       |
| 3              | 7.3.1; 13.4.1, n. 15                                     | 16             | 13.5.1.1, n. 20                                   |
| 4              | 7.3.2  | <b>Text 69</b> |   |
| 5              | 8  | 2              | 8.11; 13.1  |
| 6              | 3.4; 5.5.5; 7.1.10.1                                     | 3              | 8.15; 9.3   |
| 7              | 3.5.2; 5.5.3; 7.1.10.1; 13.3.1.1; 13.4.1; 13.4.1, n. 12  | 4              | 7.1.9.1; 7.2.6, n. 45; 13.1.1; 13.5.3.2; 13.5.3.3 |
| 8              | 3.8.3; 4.3.3, n. 23; 5.1; 7.2.10; 12.4; 12.5.11          | 5              | 9.1.4; 9.3; 12.1.2; 13.2.4 (2×)                   |
| 9              | 3.1; 3.2.3, n. 13; 5.2, n. 10; 7.1.2; 7.1.10.2; 8; 11.4  | 6              | 5.4, n. 19; 13.2.7                                |
| 10             | 4.2; 8.9; 11.5; 13.2.3; 13.2.4                           | 7              | 5.5.5; 8.2; 13.1.1                                |
| 11             | 7.1.7; 7.1.9.2; 12.5.4; 13.4.1, n. 12; 12.5.10; 13.4.1   | 8              | 2.1.7; 7.1.10.2; 9.4                              |

- Text 70**
- 1 2.2.2; 4.3; 7.2.1
- 2 4.3, n. 11; 5.5.3; 12.5.20 (2×)
- 3 4.3, n. 11; 8.5; 9.1.1; 13.2.4
- 4 3.7; 9.1.1
- 5 9.1.1
- 6 3.5.7; 3.8.4; 11.2
- 7 2.1.4; 5.4; 13.5.3.2
- Text 71**
- general 1.2, n. 23.
- 1 7.1.2
- 2 7.1.10.2; 8.9; 12.3; 12.5.21
- 3 7.1.5; 7.2.10; 12.5.9
- 4 3.8.1; 11.2
- Text 71A**
- 1 3.5.3; 4.2 (2×); 5.1; 5.5.3; 8.20; 9.1.1; 12.1.3; 12.5.14; 13.1.2
- Text 72**
- 1 4.2; 11.3
- 2 3.2.3; 4.2; 5.5.5; 8.5; 11.4
- 3 9.1.3; 12.1.6; 12.5.7; 13.4.2
- 4 3.8.1; 8.12; 13.1.1
- 5 4.4; 11.4
- 6 9.4; 10.5
- Text 73**
- 1 7.3.2
- 3 12.1.2
- 4 3.8.1; 12.5.4
- 5 3.1; 3.8.1; 4.6; 5.5.1; 12.5.4; 13.3.1
- 6 7.2.11; 8.9; 8.22; 12.5.7
- 7 8.22, n. 25
- 8 9.3
- 9 9.3 (2×)
- 10 9.3
- 11 3.8.1; 5.5.5; 12.5.4; 13.5.1.2
- 12 3.1; 3.5.3; 5.3
- 13 13.2.8; 13.4.4
- Text 74**
- 1 7.3.2; 8.7; 12.5.15
- 2 12.5.1; 13.2.2
- 3 3.4; 8.2; 10.5; 13.5.3.1
- 4 3.5.5; 7.1.3; 9.1.5; 13.1.1
- 5 5.5.3; 7.1.6; 8.2; 10.1
- 6 3.8.3
- 7 3.8.2; 7.1.3; 11.3
- 8 12.5.7
- 9 3.7
- 10 3.8.4; 8.9; 13.1.1
- 11 13.5.1.1
- 12 3.8.3; 12.1.1; 12.5.3
- 13 3.6; 7.1.3
- 14 7.1.10.2; 7.3.1
- 15 5.3; 7.2.10
- 16 8.23; 13.5.3.3
- 17 11.6; 13.5.3.2
- 18 7.1.5
- 19 11.5; 13.5.3.2
- 20 3.8.1; 3.8.3; 10; 11.6 (2×); 13.5.1.1
- 21 2.2.3; 11.2; 11.6
- 22 2.2.3; 3.1; 7.1.5; 11.2
- 23 3.1; 3.4; 13.1; 13.2.4
- 24 2.1.10; 2.2.3; 3.5.3
- Text 75**
- general 1.1, n. 11
- 1 4.6, n. 46; 8.1; 12.4
- 2 13.5.1.1
- 3 7.1.3; 13.4.1, n. 12
- 4 3.8.1; 8.8
- 5 11.3
- 6 2.1.6; 3.2.3; 3.8.1; 4.1, n. 2; 7.1.5; 7.2.10; 11.6
- 7 3.2.3; 3.5.5; 4.1, n. 2; 8.11; 13.5.3.3
- 8 3.8.1; 12.4; 12.5.7; 13.1.1
- 10 4.1, n. 2; 4.3.2; 12.4; 12.5.3; 13.2.4
- 11 4.3.2, n. 17; 11.2; 11.3; 13.3.1
- 12 12.5.3
- 13 4.3.2, n. 17
- 14 4.3.2; 12.5.3
- 15 4.3.2, n. 17; 7.1.8
- 16 8.12
- 17 7.3.3; 10; 13.5.3.2
- 18 2.1.3, n. 4; 7.3.3; 8.12 (2×); 10; 12.5.7; 12.5.17
- 21 3.1; 12.5.17
- 22 2.1.6; 7.2.10, n. 87; 13.2.2
- 23 2.2.1, n. 22; 7.1.2; 7.1.5; 8.18; 12.2
- 24 3.6
- 25 8.2
- Text 76**
- general 1.1, n. 11
- 1 3.8.4; 7.1.8; 7.2.10, n. 82; 12.4; 13.2.1

- 2 2.1.9; 4.6, n. 46
- 3 11.6; 13.2.4
- 4 3.1
- 5 2.1.2; 3.1; 3.8.1; 5.4; 12.1.4
- 7 3.1
- 9 12.5.1
- 11 7.1.3; 7.2.9, n. 65; 8.1; 8.10; 13.1.1;  
13.2.2; 13.5.1.1 (2×)
- 12 3.4; 7.3.1; 13.1.1; 13.4.1; 13.4.1, n. 12;  
13.5.1.1 (2×); 13.5.3.1
- 13 4.6, n. 46; 7.3.2
- 15 6.6.3, n. 82; 8.12
- 16 3.5.3
- 18 2.1.6; 3.5.4; 6.2, n. 14; 12.5.20 (2×)
- Text 77**
- 1 2.1.3, n. 7; 8.10; 13.5.3.3
- 2 7.1.1; 7.1.2; 7.1.10.1; 13.2.2
- 3 3.8.1; 7.1.2, n. 7; 9.1.3; 12.5.4;  
13.5.3.3
- 4 3.5.2; 7.1.1; 8.15; 8.15, n. 18; 12.5.11;  
12.5.23; 13.5.2
- 5 3.4; 6.5.3, n. 60; 7.1.10.2; 8.8 (2×);  
8.11; 13.3.1
- 6 7.1.6; 7.1.10.1; 7.3.3; 12.5.7; 13.5.3.2
- 7 2.1.7; 3.1
- 8 3.7; 13.2.2; 13.5.1.1; 13.5.1.1, n. 20
- 9 7.2.10, n. 80; 7.3
- 10 4.2; 8.15; 8.23
- Text 79**
- 1 6.7, n. 85
- 8 6.7
- Text 80**
- general 1.2, n. 23
- 1 11.4
- 2 10.1
- 3 11.4
- 4 2.1.7, n. 12
- 5 3.6; 12.1.3; 12.2.1
- 6 7.1.3; 7.2.6, n. 45; 8.12; 12.2.1
- 7 13.3.2
- 9 11.6; 13.6
- 13 11.6
- 15 12.5.4
- 16 11.6; 13.6
- 19 10.4
- 20 11.4
- Text 81**
- 1 13.3.1.2
- 2 7.2.10; 13.5.1.1
- 3 7.1.7; 7.1.10.2; 12.5.15 (2×); 13.5.1.2
- 4 4.5; 9.1.1; 9.3
- Text 82**
- 1 4.5; 7.2.6, n. 45; 13.3.1.2; 13.5.1.1
- 2 5.4, n. 21; 10.5; 13.2.2; 13.2.4; 13.5.1.1
- 3 2.2.2; 3.1; 13.2.1; 13.4.4
- 4 2.2.3; 7.1.9.1; 7.1.10.2; 11.2; 11.5;  
13.2.4
- 5 6.5.2, n. 53
- Text 83**
- 1 5.1; 7.1.6; 8.23; 13.1
- 2 2.1.4; 7.1.2; 7.3.1; 13.4.1
- 3 4.5; 8.21
- 4 11.1; 13.2.4
- 5 2.1.6; 12.5.19
- 6 8.1, n. 1; 12.5.4; 12.5.12
- 7 4.6, n. 46; 7.1.4; 9.1.1 (2×); 13.4.3
- Text 84**
- 1 8.1; 8.8
- 2 3.6
- 4 4.2; 7.1.10.1; 10; 13.2.7
- 5 3.8.1; 5.3; 12.5.13
- 6 3.2.3; 3.2.3, n. 10; 6.3, n. 26; 6.3.1,  
n. 36; 11.6
- 7 6.3.1, n. 36; 7.1.3; 7.1.10.2
- 8 3.6; 6.3.1, n. 36; 11.6
- 9 7.1.10.2; 13.2.4
- 10 10.4
- Text 85**
- 1 13.3.1.1
- 2 7.1.5; 7.3, n. 109
- 3 7.3.2; 9.1.4; 11.4
- 4 7.1.10.1; 9.5; 11.5
- 5 3.2.3; 9.1.4
- 7 7.1.3
- 8 9.1.4
- 10 4.3.2, n. 17
- 12 9.1.4
- 13 8.8
- 15 6.5.4, n. 72; 7.2.10
- 16 2.1.7
- 17 7.3.2; 13.5.3.2

- 18 12.5.14  
 19 6.5.1, n. 49  
 22 3.6  
 24 2.1.6; 12.2  
 25 3.2.3  
 26 3.2.3  
 27 5-5.3; 10.3, n. 2; 11.6  
 28 2.1.6; 12.4  
 29 2.1.6; 8.9; 12.5.4  
 31 2.1.6; 8.2  
 34 2.1.6; 3.5.4; 5.5.3  
 35 8.9  
 36 12.5.4
- Text 86**  
 1 13.4.1; 13.4.2  
 2 7.1.6; 13.4.1; 13.4.2  
 3 7.1.6  
 4 3.6  
 6 13.4.1; 13.4.2  
 7 5.5.5  
 8 3.5.2  
 9 13.5.3.1  
 11 7.1.6  
 12 6.3.1, n. 35
- Text 87**  
 1 3.1  
 4 5.2, n. 4
- Text 88**  
 1 8.1; 9.1.1 (2×)  
 5 9.3 (2×)  
 6 7.1.2; 8.7  
 7 4.2; 9.1.1; 13.3.2  
 9 4.5 (2×)  
 11 3.8.4  
 14 3.4
- Text 89**  
 1 12.5.15 (2×)  
 2 5.5.5; 13.1.1  
 3 3.8.4; 7.1.2; 13.5.3.1  
 4 3.1; 9.1.1  
 5 6.1.2; 7.1.7; 13.2.2; 13.5.1.1  
 8 12.5.4; 13.2.2  
 9 2.1.7; 7.1.10.1; 8.12  
 10 7.1.2; 7.2.13; 13.2.2  
 11 3.1; 13.5.2
- 12 2.1.6; 13.5.3.1  
 13 2.1.6  
 14 7.3  
 15 12.5.7  
 16 11.2  
 18 7.1.5; 13.2.4  
 20 5.5.3  
 21 6.5.4, n. 70; 13.2.4  
 23 7.1.10.1  
 24 13.5.3.3  
 26 8.5  
 27 7.3  
 31 9.3; 13.5.2  
 32 8.17; 8.23; 11.2  
 33 13.4.4  
 34 3.6  
 35 6.5.4, n. 70; 13.5.1
- Text 90**  
 1 8.5  
 2 7.2.10, n. 82  
 6 3.4; 13.2.1  
 7 7.2.11; 12.5.4  
 8 8.21; 13.2.6  
 9 7.1.1  
 11 12.5.6  
 12 7.2.2; 13.5.3.3  
 13 7.1.3  
 14 7.3; 11.2  
 15 2.2.2; 7.1.5; 7.1.6; 7.2.7; 9.3; 13.4.4; 13.5.2
- Text 91**  
 1 7.3; 8.8; 9.1.1  
 2 3.8.1; 13.3.1; 13.5.3.3  
 3 3.1; 13.1; 13.5.3.3  
 4 2.1.4; 7.1.1; 13.5.3.3  
 5 13.5.3.3  
 6 7.3.1; 13.1.1  
 7 4.2, n. 7; 11.3; 12.1.1  
 8 3.1; 7.1.10.2, n. 30; 8.2; 12.5.5; 13.5.1, n. 17  
 9 7.1.3; 7.1.5; 12.5.6; 12.5.13  
 10 3.2.3; 3.5.2  
 11 2.1.4; 7.3; 8.11  
 13 6.4.1; 9.5  
 14 3.8.1; 7.3; 8.6; 13.3.2  
 15 7.1.2; 7.2.10  
 16 8.11; 13.1.1; 13.3.1.2

- 18 3.8.1
- 19 12.5.10; 13.3.1.2
- 20 13.5.1.1
- 22 3.1
- 23 2.2.3; 8.5
- 24 2.1.9; 3.2.3; 7.1.5; 12.1.4
- 26 7.3.3; 12.5.7; 13.2.5
- 27 9.3 (2×)
- 28 5.5.3; 7.1.8; 8.12
- 29 13.2.1
- 30 3.3; 8.12; 13.5.1.1, n. 20
- 32 8.19; 13.2.4
- 33 8.19
- Text 92**
- 1 9.1.1
- 2 3.8.1; 8.22; 13.4.1, n. 12
- 3 9.3 (2×)
- 4 3.2.3; 9.3
- 6 2.1.2; 3.5.1; 5.4, n. 21; 8.13;  
13.5.3.3
- Text 93**
- 1 13.1.1
- 2 12.1.4
- 3 9.1.1
- 5 8.2
- 6 3.1
- 7 5.4, n. 21; 9.5
- Text 94**
- 2 7.1.3; 7.3.1
- 4 3.8.1; 7.1.2; 8.12
- 5 13.1.2
- 8 3.5.7; 3.6; 13.5.1.1
- 9 6.5.1, n. 48; 8.11
- 10 6.5.1, n. 48
- 12 3.5.5
- 13 8.12, n. 11
- 14 8.12
- 15 7.1.5
- 16 13.5.1 (2×)
- 17 3.5.2; 7.1.9.2; 13.4.1 (2×)
- 18 8.18; 13.2.5
- 19 4.5; 7.3.1
- 20 7.1.9.1; 13.5.1
- 22 7.1.10.2; 12.5.5; 12.5.11
- 23 7.1.10.2
- 24 13.5.3.2
- 25 3.8.1; 6.1.2, n. 5; 7.1.7; 7.2.9, n. 61;  
12.5.21
- 26 12.1.4; 12.5.4 (2×); 13.2.4
- 28 3.8.2; 7.1.8
- 29 3.8.1; 7.2.9, n. 61
- 32 3.5.2; 4.6; 7.1.3; 8.1; 12.1.4
- 33 4.6; 5.5.1; 8.12, n. 10; 10.1 (2×);  
13.2.1
- 34 3.2.3
- 35 12.5.1; 13.3.1.2
- 36 3.1; 3.2.3; 8.22
- 37 2.1.9; 3.4; 3.5.2; 4.3, n. 11
- 39 7.1.9.1; 12.5.19
- 40 12.5.19
- 41 3.2.3, n. 10; 4.5; 7.1.4; 7.2.11
- 42 4.6; 12.5.5; 13.1.1; 13.4.2; 13.5.1;  
13.5.1.1
- 43 3.2.3, n. 9; 3.6; 6.5.1, n. 51; 13.4.2
- 45 11.2; 13.1
- 46 13.5.1.1
- 47 3.5.5; 6.5.2, n. 53; 12.5.11
- 48 2.1.4
- Text 95**
- 1 10.1
- 2 11.1
- 4 3.2.3; 8.4
- 5 8.6
- 6 11.2; 13.5.3.2
- 8 3.8.4; 12.5.10
- 10 12.5.4 (2×); 13.2.2
- 11 3.5.2; 13.5.1.1 (2×); 13.5.3.1
- 12 5.3
- Text 96**
- 1 7.1.4; 7.2.3; 13.2.2; 13.2.4
- 2 13.4.1
- 3 3.5.5; 12.1.5
- 4 12.1.3; 13.1.1
- 5 8.2; 12.1.4; 13.1.1
- 7 12.1.3; 13.2.3; 13.3.1.2; 13.5.1.2
- Text 97**
- 2 11.5; 12.3
- 3 11.5
- 5 5.5.3
- 7 7.1.5; 7.1.9.1; 9.1.1; 13.5.3.1
- 8 4.3.1
- 10 8.5

11 7.2.6, n. 45  
 13 7.1.10.1  
 15 8.18  
 16 6.3.2; 7.1.7; 9.1.1  
 19 9.1.1  
 21 9.1.2  
 22 3.1; 7.1.1; 8.9; 11.5  
 24 13.5.3.1  
 27 3.5.7; 3.8.1; 8.7  
 28 3.5.3  
 31 4.2; 9.1.1; 9.1.2  
 32 9.1.2; 9.3  
 33 5.1; 12.4  
 34 2.1.9; 5.1; 11.1  
 37 3.6  
 38 11.2; 13.6  
 41 8.16  
 42 12.3  
 43 3.1; 8.6  
 44 7.3.1  
 46 5.1; 8.9; 12.4  
 48 3.3  
 50 11.6  
 51 11.6  
 52 7.1.1; 7.1.5

**Text 98**

1 3.8.4; 6.5.4, n. 71; 7.2.10, n. 82;  
 7.3.2; 11.4; 13.3.1.2  
 2 13.2.3  
 3 13.3.1.2  
 4 7.3; 12.4; 13.2.4  
 6 4.2  
 7 5.1; 13.1  
 8 5.1; 7.1.2; 7.2.11, n. 91; 13.2.8  
 9 3.8.1; 9.1.1 (2×); 11.6  
 10 7.1.4; 7.1.9.1; 7.2.3; 12.5.14 (2×);  
 13.3.1; 13.4.3  
 11 3.5.4; 7.1.4, n. 15; 7.1.9.1; 9.1.1; 13.1.1;  
 13.4.3  
 12 7.1.4; 7.1.6; 11.6; 13.4.3 (2×)  
 13 4.6; 7.1.5; 11.6  
 15 3.5.2; 13.2.1; 13.2.7; 13.5.3.2

**Text 99**

1 9.3; 12.1.3; 13.5.3.3  
 2 8.2; 13.5.3.3  
 3 7.1.8  
 4 8.3

5 7.1.10.2  
 6 3.2.1; 5.5.3  
 7 2.2.3; 3.5.3  
 10 7.1.10.2  
 11 3.2.1; 7.1.8; 7.1.9.2  
 12 7.3.2; 8.4  
 15 7.2.7, n. 52; 8.19  
 17 13.5.3.3  
 19 3.4; 12.1.4; 13.1.1  
 20 13.1.1  
 22 7.1.9.1  
 24 13.1.1  
 26 13.5.1.1; 13.5.3.4  
 28 2.2.1; 5.4; 6.6.2; 7.3; 13.2.9  
 29 3.5.2; 12.1.4  
 30 3.3  
 34 7.1.10.3; 13.4.1  
 36 5.5.5; 11.2; 13.6  
 37 7.1.10.2; 8.3  
 39 3.1; 3.5.3; 5.5.3; 10.1  
 40 3.2.3; 8.12, n. 15  
 41 3.1; 13.6  
 42 5.5.3  
 43 13.5.3.2  
 44 11.2; 13.2.5; 13.5.2  
 45 12.5.1  
 46 7.1.3  
 47 12.2  
 48 5.5.3  
 49 11.2  
 50 8.2; 11.8  
 52 3.7; 3.7, n. 26; 9.2  
 53 10.5  
 55 3.2.1  
 56 7.1.8, n. 25

**Text 100**

1 4.2; 13.4.1  
 2 3.2.3; 7.1.9.2  
 4 3.5.5; 13.5.1.1  
 5 3.1; 13.5.1.1  
 6 13.5.3.1  
 7 12.5.15 (2×)

**Text 101**

2 3.1  
 3 3.1  
 8 7.1.3; 11.7  
 10 7.1.3; 11.2; 12.5.18; 13.5.1.1



12	11.2	8	9.1.3
13	8.13; 11.7	9	3.7
14	8.13	10	9.1.2; 9.1.3; 12.1.1
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