Omani Mehri
Ali Musallam al-Mahri, circa 1976
PHOTO COURTESY OF FAISAL AL-MAHRI
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 Soqotri 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 Ségréral, and Janet Watson.
Acknowledgements

Antoine Lonnet introduced me to Mehri in the summer of 2006, during a conference held in the beautiful Catalan 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 though 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.

Completion of this book during the academic year 2016–2017 was greatly assisted by the fellowship granted by the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation.

As usual, the staff at Brill were a pleasure to work with, and the very talented folks at TAT Zetwerk did an excellent job in preparing the volume for publication.

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 piʾel, Arabic faʿʿala)
D/L D/L-Stem (see § 6.2)
def. definite
dimin. diminutive
do. direct object
du. dual
f. feminine
fd feminine dual
fp feminine plural
fs feminine singular
G guttural consonant (ʾ, ʿ, ġ, h, ḥ, or x); G-Stem (see § 6.1)
gem. geminate
glott. glottalic
gutt. guttural
H H-Stem (see § 6.3)
HV Ḥolobyot Vocabulary, Nakano 2013 (see Bibliography)
Ḥ# Ḥarsusi text # (as published in Stroomer 2004)
HL Ḥarsūsi Lexicon, 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)
JL Jibbāli Lexicon, Johnstone 1981 (see Bibliography)
JLO The Jibbali (Shaḥri) Language of Oman, Rubin 2014 (see Bibliography)
L L-Stem (Arabic faʿʿala)
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<td>m</td>
<td>masculine</td>
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<td>md</td>
<td>masculine dual</td>
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<td>mp</td>
<td>masculine plural</td>
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<td>ms</td>
<td>masculine singular; manuscript</td>
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<tr>
<td>Š1</td>
<td>Š1-Stem (see § 6.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š2</td>
<td>Š2-Stem (see § 6.4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T1</td>
<td>T1-Stem (see § 6.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2</td>
<td>T2-Stem (see § 6.5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trans.</td>
<td>transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>var(s).</td>
<td>variant(s)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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) ǝ, allophonic a/ɛ, and allophonic final -ǝ́h, -īh, and -ēh. 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-)ṣ́afōr 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Johnstone</th>
<th>This Book</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>ǝ</td>
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<tr>
<td>ḏ</td>
<td>ḏ̣</td>
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<tr>
<td>ḥ̣</td>
<td>ḥ̣̣</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ẓ́</td>
<td>ṣ́</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In earlier works, including my 2010 grammar of Mehri and my 2014 grammar of Jibbali, I used the symbol ẓ́ or ṣ́ instead of ś, 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
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 Shahri, Šheri, or Šherēt), Ḥarsusi, Soqoṭri, Hobyot, and Baṭhari. 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. However, it was Fulgence Fresnel, the French consul in Jeddah, writing on Jibbali in 1838, who...
first recognized the existence of a new branch of the Semitic language family.\(^3\) 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.\(^4\) 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).\(^5\) 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.\(^6\) 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.\(^7\) 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). From this material also came the grammar of Jahn (1905), the important four-part grammatical study of Bittner (1909–1914a), 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. 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. Thomas does have one significant distinction, in that he was the first to collect and publish data on Ḥarsusi and Baṭḥari, 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 Baṭḥari language.

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 Baṭḥari 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. 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 (Ḫarsusi, Jibbali, and Mehri), a number of important articles, and three posthumously published text collections, on Mehri, Ḫarsusi, 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. 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 Ḫarsusi 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 Ḫarsusi 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 Soqoṭri, published in 1986. Later visits led to his Hobyot lexicon—the first ever significant publication on that language—which was published posthumously in 2013.\(^{15}\) 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, Soqoṭri, 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.

\(^{15}\) 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). 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, 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 Soqotra, 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 Soqotri 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-Aidaroos (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-luḡah al-mahriyyah 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.18 In Omani Mehri, the language is natively called *mähráyyat*, and in the local Arabic it is called *mahrıyya*. 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 *sharqiyya*) dialect around the town of Ḥawf, near the border with Oman.19 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

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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 *mährāyyat*, while in Hawf it is referred to as *mahrâyōt*. 
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. 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, ’ 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 ţ, ð, and ð̣ have merged with t, d, and t, 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’ – āmāwr ‘they said’; yaghōm ‘he goes’ – yaghīm ‘they go’), Yemeni Mehri normally has a suffix -ǝm (e.g., āmōr ~ āmōrǝm; yaghōm ~ yaghīmǝm); 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 tēṯ, but in Yemeni dialects it is harmāt or harmēt. Sometimes words have different meanings, like the verb ḳǝrōh, which means ‘hide’ in Omani Mehri, but ‘read’ in Yemeni.

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

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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 -ǝm, 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. There is no doubt that the influence of Arabic has become much more pervasive in the last forty years.

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, Soqotri, 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 Soqotri 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 Soqotri that leave no doubt that these two languages share a common ancestor within MSA. Shared innovations between Jibbali and Soqotri 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 *ʿad and *ber; and use of the preposition *ʿan ‘from; than’.

Within Western MSA, it is clear that Ḩarsusi and Baṭṭari—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 Soqotri has no such development. Still the paucity of published material in Baṭṭari precludes making more definite conclusions about the exact relationship of these three languages.

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24 No study has been made of diachronic differences in the available Mehri material, but see the comment to text 24.6 (ḥäftak). 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 Ḩarsusi 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 Baṭḥari, 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:

```
Proto-MSA
     /     \
Western MSA   Eastern MSA
     /           /
Mehri, Ḥarsusi, Baṭḥari  Hobyot  Jibbali  Soqoṭri
```

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-/ɛ- (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 ḍ 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 [dj] 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.29

and that there is some degree of mutual intelligibility between Ḥarsusi and Baṭḥari. On the other hand, Mehri speakers find Baṭḥari 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. 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 *yaqattǝl*; 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.

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. Both groups are attested in Southern Arabia; both groups preserve the three Proto-Semitic sibilants (*s, š, ść*), in con-
contrast 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.\(^3\) J. Huehnergard has since given further evidence in favor of the classification of the OSA languages as Central Semitic.\(^4\)

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’.\(^3\)

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 δ, each of which are distinct in the modern languages,\(^3\) 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.\(^3\)

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

\(^3\) Nebes (1994). Nebes also provides discussion of the history of the debate.

\(^4\) Huehnergard (2005).

\(^3\) 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).

\(^3\) Beeston (1984: 68). The interdentals and dental/ alveolar stops have fallen together in the Yemeni Mehri dialect of Qishn and in Soqoṭri (i.e., t > t and ẓ > ḍ), but these are internal developments.

\(^3\) For example, the MSA word for ‘one’, reflected in Mehri ṭād (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.38 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.39

Harry Stroomer performed a very admirable and valuable service by publishing 106 of Johnstone’s Mehri texts in 1999.40 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 2010.41 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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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 105.42 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.43

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.44

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.

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 “M8Ś2” (i.e., Mehri 8, Śḥeri [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 Şālıḥ. 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 Şālıḥ 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.\textsuperscript{45}

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 C\textsubscript{733}), 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

\textsuperscript{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
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.46

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-

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 ǝnǝ as a marker of the future tense. Nevertheless, I use this form regularly in my own native American English dialect, as in I'm ǝnǝ go home or he's ǝnǝ call me later (ǝnǝ < gonna < going to). I might include the form gonna in my grammar, but certainly not ǝnǝ, 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.


## Chapter 2

**Phonology**

### 2.1 Mehri Consonants

The following table illustrates the phonemic inventory of Omani Mehri:

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<th>Dental/Alveolar</th>
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**Notes:**

- The historical consonant ʾ is lost. See below, § 2.1.3 and § 2.2.4.
- In Yemeni dialects, ɣ is realized as a palatal [j] or [dʒ].
- The phoneme ɬ 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 \( j\text{anbáyyat} \) ‘dagger’ (from Arabic \( j\text{anbíyyat-} \)), but \( g\text{anbáyyat} \) is also found (cf. 34:11 and 34:12).

• The pronunciation of the fricative \( ġ \) can be velar (IPA [ɣ]) or uvular (IPA [ʁ]). It can also be pronounced as a glottalic fricative \([x']\) (Dufour 2016: 23). This explains why Ali Musallam sometimes confuses \( k \) and \( ġ \) in his spelling.

• The consonant ‘ is lost in most environments, unlike in Yemeni dialects. See below, § 2.1.3.

• Johnstone described the phoneme \( š \) 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: \( š\text{ōba} \) ‘fingers’, \( m\text{aš}\text{ābēt} \) ‘bow’, \( š\text{anáyf} \) ‘corner’, and the verb \( k\text{ašawl} \) ‘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 \( *-ki\), while the verbal prefix \( š- \) (§ 6.4) comes from \( *st- \) (the Semitic Ct- or Št-Stem). Lexical \( š \) often occurs in loanwords (e.g., \( k\text{šuf} \) ‘uncover, expose’ < Arabic \( k\text{ašafa} \); \( a\text{šráyn} \) ‘twenty’ < Arabic), but in at least one noun it is derived from a historical \( *k \) (\( š\text{abdīt} \) ‘liver’, from the Semitic root \( k\text{bd} \)). 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., \( a\text{šūm} \) ‘cut off’, root \( Š\text{m} \)).

2.1.1 Glottalic Consonants

The consonants \( ð̣, k, s, t, š, \) 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.

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

2 Cf. also the roots \( k\text{š}, x\text{šl}, \) and \( x\text{šy} \). This is not to say that the presence of another guttural always blocks this shift. Cf. \( m\text{e\text{ḥḥ} } \) ‘clarified butter’ < \( *m\text{aḥḥ} < *m\text{aḥḥ} \) (Jibbali \( m\text{aḥḥ} \)).
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 ḳ normally have a pharyngeal realization, rather than a glottalic one, though she also recognized glottalic ṣ and ṭ 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 ḍ, ḥ, and ḫ are transcribed by some scholars as ḧ, č, and ż (or ḡ), respectively. The symbols ż or ẓ for ḫ (used by Johnstone and in both MLO and JLO) do not make it clear that this phoneme is the glottalic counterpart of ṣ. Johnstone believed this phoneme to be the voiced counterpart of ḡ, rather than a glottalic, which explains his use of ż in ML. The consonant ḍ does seem to be voiced in Omani Mehri. As noted above, č in place of ż 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., ḳ’ and ṡ’ for ḳ and ṭ. 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 \( f, \ t, \ s, \ š, \ ŝ, \ k, \ x, \ h, \) and \( h \)—what Bendjaballah and Ségéral (2014a) have termed "idle glottis" consonants—behave differently than the voiced and glottalic consonants.

Unstressed phonemic \( ǝ \) does not occur between two idle glottis consonants.\(^3\) This has an effect on various morphological patterns. For example, the Ga-Stem 3ms perfect pattern \( CaČuĆ \) becomes \( CCuĆ \) when the first two consonants are idle glottis (e.g., \( ġarūb \) ‘he knew’, but \( ktūb \) ‘he wrote’).

Lack of \( ǝ \) between two idle glottis consonants also has an effect on syllable structure, which in turn has an effect on vowels. Cf. \( aģáygǝs \) ‘her husband’ (< \( *aģáyg+ǝs \) vs. \( abâts \) ‘her house’ (< \( *abâyt+s \)). The presence of \( ǝ \) in \( aģáygǝs \) means that the diphthong \( ay \) is in an open syllable, but the lack of \( ǝ \) in \( *abâyt-s \) means that \( ay \) is in a doubly-closed syllable, and so is reduced to \( â \). (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) \( ǝ \) may intervene to break up a cluster of three, e.g., \( wátxǝf \) (31:9) and \( tǝsḥáyṭ \) ‘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 -ǝm have an underlying final -ǝ (< *-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 \( wǝzáwmhǝm \) ‘they gave them’ (35:2) must be from \( *wǝzáwmiǝ-hǝm \); if the underlying form were \( **wǝzáwm-ǝm \), then we would expect a surface form \( **wǝžǝm-hǝm \). The lack of vowel reduction applies even when the underlying \( ǝ \) should not be present between two idle glottis consonants.

---

\(^3\) This rule applies across the MSA languages.
nants. So we find 3mp perfect škǝlīṯǝh 'they heard the story from him' (92:6), not **škǝlāṯh, and 3mp imperfect yǝxlīfk 'they will replace you' (76:5), not **yǝxláfk.

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 ‘ 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 ṣ in a closed syllable, e.g., ʿāymǝl ‘he did’ (cf. áymǝl ‘he did’), ‘aṣš ‘he got up’ (cf. āssūt ‘she got up’), and ʃǝʾımke ‘your feet’ (24:28; cf. ʃawm ‘feet’ < ʃawm or ‘ʃawm).
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, e.g., ʾayšē ‘dinner’, ʿāynǝt ‘a little’, ʿáymǝr ‘singer’, ʿaylīg ‘young camel’, ʃǝʾàyli ‘owners of’, ʃǝʾàyr ‘male camel’, and ʃǝʾāy ‘he let me’. The major exceptions to this are monosyllabic nouns of the shape CVC, e.g., ʾay ‘eye’, ʾayd ‘sardines’, and ʾayb ‘disgrace’ (including derived forms like ʿaynǝh ‘his eye’). When unstressed, initial ‘ay is hard to distinguish from ay on the audio, but Ali regularly spelled such words with ʾ in his manuscripts. When the definite article is added to a word beginning with unstressed ‘ay-, the sequence aʿay- (both vowels unstressed) is normally realized aʾi-, e.g., aʾišǝk ‘your dinner’. Again the ‘ is often hard to hear, though it is regularly written in the Arabic-letter manuscripts.
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., ʾaʾyīṭ ‘he cried out’ and ʾaʾyīś ‘he kept alive’; in some forms of I-ʿ, II-y verbs and II-ʿ, III-w/y verbs, e.g., yaʾyɛ́nǝh ‘he may look at him with the evil eye’ (22:3); and in a very few nouns, e.g., ʃaʾyōr ‘male camels’, waʾyōl ‘ibexes’, and ʃēʾyōt ‘female spirit.’

4. This refers only to an original ay. A diphthong ay that arises from the shift of i > ay after ‘ (§ 2.2.2) does not count. Examples are ʃəṭʿay ‘he cut me’ (75:8), but ʃəṭay ‘he cut her’ (75:8, < ʃəṭīs); 3ms Gb-Stem perfects of I-ʿ verbs, e.g., áymǝl ‘he did’ (< *ʿīmǝl) and áygǝb ‘he loved’ (< *ʿīgǝb); and the numeral áyśǝr ‘ten (days)’ (< *ʿīśǝr; see § 9.2).
5. The pronunciation of ʃǝʾàyli tends towards ʃǝʾɛli. On ʾaylīg, see the comment to text 102:11.
6. On the other hand, the exceptional cases where we do not find ‘ before stressed ay (like áygǝb ‘he loved’ and ʾay ‘eye’) are regularly spelled by Ali with \ (without ʾ).
7. Where Vʿy comes from Vʾay, we normally find ā, e.g., ʾayɛ́nthɛ ‘his eyes’ < *a-ʿayɛ́nthɛ (77:3).
In other environments, ʿ is lost, e.g., ŏšǝr ‘ten’ (< *ōšǝr) and ād ‘still, yet’ (< *ād). The sequences ʿǝ, ʿá, and ʿē 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’ (< *šāʾāk). The sequence ǝʿ also becomes ā, e.g., hāšūš ‘he roused’ (< *hǝʿšūš), but word-final -ǝʿ becomes -ā (sometimes phonetically -ǝ or -a”), e.g., nūka ‘he came’ (< *nūkǝ). Word-final -ēʿ and -āʿ become -ē and -ā, respectively, which are pronounced -ē’ and -ā’ unless suffixes are added, e.g., 3ms subjunctive yǝnkǝ ‘he comes’ (< *yǝnkǝ’), but yǝnkǝh ‘he comes to him’ (< *yǝnkǝ’h); see also § 2.2.4. The sequence ʿǝ also becomes ē in yǝhērǝs ‘he may marry’ (< ʾyǝhāʾrǝs).

Where ʿ is lost, it remains present in the underlying phonological form. So, for example, the underlying ʿ causes diphthongization in the form āygǝb ‘he loved’ (< ʾīgǝb), even though it is lost in pronunciation. Likewise, we find nákak ‘I came’ (< nōkǝk; if the ʿ were not present in the underlying form, we would not see reduction of ŏ > ā in the closed syllable. On the other hand, the underlying ʿ is not relevant for the sound rule CvlC > ČČ (see § 2.1.5). Hence we find 3fs subjunctive thálǝb ‘she may over-milk’ (< *thálʾǝb), 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., āṣǝr or aāṣǝr ‘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’ < *faʾm | rōh ‘head’ < *raʾh |
| sāk ‘he called’ < *šaʾāk | sōl ‘demand payment of a debt’ < *saʾal |

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

1. *aʾ(a) > *ā (e.g., *sāʾal > *sāl)
2. *ā > ŏ (e.g., *sāl > sōl)

However, while Ali normally spelled forms of ‘eyes’ with the Arabic letter ٠, he once wrote it with ظ (42:27; but with ٠ in 42:28).
3. *a'(a) > ě or ā (e.g., *šaʿāk > šāk) (cf. also the examples of *ə > ā and *a’ > 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 ḥ. That is,

\[ hC > CC \quad (C = h, \ḥ) \]

One common word affected by this rule is the preposition h- ‘to; for’ (§8.8). In most cases, the initial geminate h or ḥ 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:

\[ \text{amatwē hābēr ‘pasturage for the camels’ (13:8)} \]
\[ \text{hēsān ‘why?’ (27:2) (lit. ‘for what?’; see §11.2)} \]
\[ \text{nahōm nahēlēh ḥeṅfāyyn ‘let’s milk for ourselves’ (35:20)} \]
\[ \text{āmūr hāmāh ‘he said to his mother’ (42:3)} \]
\[ \text{āmūr hēxār ḥeḇrāh ‘the old man said to his son’ (83:2)} \]
\[ \text{āmārk hərbaṭye ‘I said to my companions’ (91:4)} \]
\[ \text{ṣḥāṭ həmāṭah ‘he slaughtered for his sister-in-law’ (94:48)} \]

Sometimes the geminate resulting from the assimilation is clearly audible, as in:\textsuperscript{8}

\[ \text{āmūr ǝḥ-ḥeḇrāh ‘he said to his son’ (48:15)} \]

Individual words can also be affected by this rule, e.g., meḥḥ ‘clarified butter’ < *mahḥ < *mašḥ (Jibbali mašḥ). There are also exceptions in the texts,

\textsuperscript{8} Watson (2012: 18) usually recorded a geminate, e.g., ǝḥ-ḥeṅōfī ‘to myself’, while Johnstone’s texts have just ḥeṅōfī. See §3.6 for examples.
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 \( ĕ \) (\( ā \) after a guttural or glottalic). That is to say:

\[
CVlC > CēC \text{ or } CāC \quad (V = \acute{\text{a}} \text{ or } \text{ā})
\]

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

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

We also find the change in the phrase \( kā-ṭāṭ \) ‘each one’, which is a variant of \( kāl ṭāṭ \) (§ 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 \( h-ḥāgǝrīt \) (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, Harsusi kawb/kōb, Jibbali kəb, 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., yəlēf ‘thousands’, hələwm ‘dreams’, and kəlōb ‘dogs, wolves’.

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

\[ CVlC > CVwC \ (V = \varepsilon \ or \ a) \]

We find this change, for example, in marked feminine nouns of the pattern CVCC̄t, as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ḥəwkāt} & \ ‘\text{ring}’ \ (< *\text{ḥəlkāt}) \\
\text{kəwʧēt} & \ ‘\text{story}’ \ (< *\text{kəltēt}) \\
\text{kəwståt} & \ ‘\text{button}’ \ (< *\text{kəlsēt}) \\
\text{məwkēt} & \ ‘\text{possession of a woman in marriage}’ \ (< *\text{məlkēt}) \\
\text{xəwʧīt} & \ ‘\text{window}’ \ (< *\text{xəlfīt}) \\
\text{xəwkāt} & \ ‘\text{mole (on skin)}’ \ (< *\text{xəlkāt})
\end{align*}
\]

As with the previous set of nouns, the l is present in the plural forms, e.g., kələbtan ‘female dogs’ and xəlōyəf ‘windows’. The loss of l can also be seen in a few nouns of other patterns, for example, məwstå ‘rain’ (root lsw), masawmət ‘sacrificed animal’ (root slm), and səwståt ‘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., kəbåylət ‘tribe’, but aĸəbɛ̇tkəm ‘your tribe’ (38:16, < *aĸəbə́ltkəm).

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 al-. Consequently, the initial sequence al- often shifts to aw-. This affects a small number of nouns and adjectives, like awbadət ‘noise’ (< *labdət) and awbōn ‘white’ (< *labōn). 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 ī/ā throughout the paradigms of most stems, for example:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{awbūd} & \ ‘\text{he hit, shot}’ \ (< *\text{labūd}, \ cf. \ yəlūbad \ ‘he hits, shoots’) \\
yawbōs & \ ‘\text{he wears}’ \ (< *\text{yəlbōs}, \ cf. \ lības \ ‘he wore’) \\
həwbūs & \ ‘\text{he dressed (s.o.)}’ \ (< *\text{həlbūs}, \ cf. \ lības \ ‘he wore’) \\
\end{align*}
\]
 surgeons ‘they were killed’ (< *altēg < *latēg, cf. lūtaq ‘he killed’)

watţōna ‘will kill (ms)’ (< awtţōna < *altţōna < *latţōna)\(^\text{10}\)

From verbs whose second root consonant is \(l\), we find forms like:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{ḥēmāk ‘I dreamt’ (< *hālmāk, cf. háyām ‘he dreamt’)} \\
& \text{ḡawkāwt ‘she looked’ (< *galkāwt, cf. gālūk ‘he looked’)} \\
& \text{kawṭūt ‘she told’ (< *kalṭūt, cf. kalūt ‘he told’)} \\
& \text{ḥawbōh ‘they (two) milked’ (< *ḥalbōh, cf. ḥalūb ‘he milked’)} \\
& \text{tāqākām ‘you (mp) look’ (< *tāqālṭām, cf. yāgālwāk ‘he looks’)} \\
& \text{yakṭēm ‘they tell’ (< yakālṭām, cf. yakūlāt ‘he tells’)} \\
& \text{tšāqēsān ‘she argues with’ (< *tšāqālsān, cf. šāqēlas ‘he argued with’)} \\
& \text{sawbōna ‘will wait (ms)’ (< *sālībōna, cf. sīlāb ‘he waited’)}
\end{align*}
\]

And from verbs whose final root consonant is \(l\), we find forms like:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{aḥtawēk ‘I went crazy’ (< *aḥtawāḻk, cf. aḥtawūl ‘he went crazy’)} \\
& \text{sāxelēk ‘I sat’ (< *sāxawlāḻk, cf. sāxawlūl ‘he sat’)} \\
& \text{sālēs ‘take it!’ (< *sālēs, cf. sālēlī ‘take me!’)}
\end{align*}
\]

The loss of \(l\) and shift of \(l > w\) is blocked before some guttural consonants (at least \(h, ‘, and \(h\)), as in ᵣaḥ ‘truce’, ᵣaḥāk ‘he caught up’, ᵣaḥlāwk ‘he rounded up’, ᵣaḥlāy ‘he let me’, and ᵣaḥē ‘it bleated’. The form tawēhē ‘to him’ has the variants tawālēh and tawelhe (see §8.23). Loss of \(l\) is also blocked before \(y\) and \(w\), as in ᵣaḷyēba ‘will wait (mp)’, ᵣaṭelēye ‘to me’, ᵣaḷwēm ‘he expected’, and ᵣaḷhwāk ‘I got ill’; and when \(l\) is followed by another \(l\), as in ᵣallōna ‘will guide (ms)’ and ᵣallāk ‘I guided’. There is also a tendency to preserve \(l\) before the glottalic \(t\), as in yaltōf ‘he was kind’ (15:19), ᵣa-ṭlmātēh ‘and she slapped him’ (48:31), and the noun ᵣaltān ‘ruler, sultan’ (e.g., 68:6), though these words are all probably Arabic loans. There is also some variation; cf. ᵣa-ṭlmūk ‘the one who slapped you’ (47:4, < ᵣa-ṭlmūk), 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., yaltāyw ‘it may wrap’ (49:11) and alṭaṭōh ‘they killed each other’ (4:17).

\(^\text{10}\) As noted above, initial la- (like ra- and na-) is usually realized al-, which is why we see the shift al- > aw- in these last two examples. Then we see the shift awCC- > waCC- in watţōna 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 \( t, t, s, \dot{s}, \dot{s}, \) or \( š \). In such cases in the texts, I have transcribed the underlying prefix in parentheses. Examples are:

\[
\begin{align*}
(t)tɛhš (49:15) \\
(t)tάkkǝn (64:6) (< \text{*t-tάkkǝn}) \\
(t)tǝ́ḳḳǝn (64:6) \\
(t)tόm (75:22) \\
(t)sbǝ́t (89:3) \\
(t)syūr (44:9) \\
(t)sábrǝn (27:23) \\
(t)sāri (54:19) \\
(t)salulǝn (68:9) \\
(t)šǝ́mǝh (3:12) \\
(t)šhǝ́k (36:25) \\
(t)šǝ́t (89:31) \\
(t)šhǝ́gas (22:32) \\
(t)šǝ́kfi (85:34)
\end{align*}
\]

When not word initial (e.g., after the conjunction \( wǝ- \)) 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 \( s, \dot{s}, \dot{s}, š \) in the texts are:

\[
\begin{align*}
tslɛ́bi (76:18) \\
tsǝ́mi (83:5) \\
tsmǝ́hǝn (24:41) \\
tǝ́sǝ́bǝ́n (58:9) \\
tšǝ́lǝ́ (85:24) \\
tšǝ́mǝ́h (85:28) (\text{cf. 3:12 above}) \\
tšǝ́kǝ́ (85:29) (\text{cf. 85:34 above}) \\
atiwɛ́hi (75:6)
\end{align*}
\]

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 \( (t)tɨ́yan (15:17; 35:12) \), with only a simple \( t \) pronounced, but also \( attiɨ́yan (15:18) \) (< \text{*tɨ́yan}). When there is a prefixed conjunction, the gem-
inate is preserved, as in \textit{wa-ttēhah} (15:6). When preserved before \textit{t}, we find an initial epenthetic schwa, as in \textit{āttwēhi} (75:6).

As a general rule, when the prefix \textit{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 \textit{t-} in the manuscript, but it is not heard on the audio, e.g., \textit{(t)śnēš} (48:7) and \textit{(t)syērām} (89:12).

It should be added that the Mehri numeral ‘9’ (see §9.1.1 for the forms) exhibits this same loss of historical \textit{t-} before \textit{s}, and that the loss of the \textit{t-} prefix has parallels in the other MSA languages.\footnote{See further in Testen (1998) and the references therein. On Jibbali, see \textit{JLO} (§2.1.9).}

### 2.1.7 Assimilation of \textit{ð}

The particle \textit{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 \textit{ð-} regularly assimilates to a following \textit{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 \textit{ǝ}, as in the remainder of the examples below.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{kō hēt tābāyk} ‘why are you crying?’ (5:10) \textit{(tābāyk < *ð-tābāyk)}
\item \textit{kō tēm thāfrām naxāli abāyi} ‘why are you digging under my house?’ (19:16) \textit{(thāfrām < *ð-thāfrām)}
\item \textit{sē tāšhōk} ‘she was laughing’ (89:9) \textit{(tāšhōk < *ð-tāšhōk)}
\item \textit{kō hēt at-tāqāwlak bay wa-t-tābāyk} ‘why are you looking at me and crying?’ (22:25)
\item \textit{ankōt arīśīt at-tanḥāk} ‘the serpent came roaring’ (42:26)
\item \textit{hātṃūṭ at-tagōla agānēd} ‘it spent the night gnawing on the branches’ (42:30)
\item \textit{tētah at-tāqāyn ġīgēn} ‘his wife was nursing a boy’ (64:6)
\item \textit{hē ǝś-ṣxāwlūl} ‘he was sitting down’ (77:7)
\end{itemize}

For more examples, see §7.1.10.1. Note that the particle \textit{ð-} is apparently not suppressed before \textit{t-} when it is part of the verbal root, though evidence for this
is not abundant. Cf. ðǝ-ttәlәyk 'I regret' (53:6, root tly) and ød-tәbәm ‘they were weary’ (61:1, root t'b); 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
  b-\text{anәhәr} & \ dә s-sәrәn \ ‘\text{in this wadi behind us}’ \ (28:5) \\
  \text{әnәhәm} & \ nәsәlә \ te \ hәwәđә s-sәrәn \ ‘\text{we should move to the valley behind us}’ \ (30:2) \\
  \text{әgәyg} & \ aә-sәm \ aмәnәwәkәh \ ‘\text{the man who sold his rifle}’ \ (39:10) \\
  hәbrә & \ dә-тtәtә \ aә-sәyүәr \ sииhәm \ ‘\text{the woman’s son who had gone with them}’ \ (42:22) \\
  \text{әxәbәrәtәh} & \ tәt \ a-tәkәyн \ ‘\text{the woman who was nursing questioned him}’ \ (63:3) \\
  kәl & \ aә-zәyүәd \ ‘\text{all that was more}’ \ (66:8) \\
  \text{әgәyg} & \ aә-әәr \ aәbәyәr \ ‘\text{the man who was over the well}’ \ (68:4) \\
  \text{fakәh} & \ aә-hәbәr \ aә-zәgәdә \ ‘\text{half of the camels that were stolen}’ \ (69:8)
\end{align*}
\]

And examples of assimilation with the genitive exponent are:

\[
\begin{align*}
  \text{kәwәhәl} & \ aә-dәgәgә \ ‘\text{chicken eggs}’ \ (18:12) \\
  \text{fakәh} & \ aә-sәt \ ‘\text{half an hour}’ \ (53:6) \\
  \text{kәlәw} & \ aә-sәxәf \ ‘\text{a bowl of milk}’ \ (63:6) \\
  \text{kәff} & \ aә-zәyәtәn \ ‘\text{the hand of an olive tree}’ \ (85:6)
\end{align*}
\]

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 ɡәggәt ‘girl’, ɡәggәtәn ‘girl’, bә-әllәyә ‘(at) night’, sәnәwәtәt ‘cat’, әmma ‘as for’ (§12.5-3), kәnәwәt ‘small’, and xәmәh ‘five’.

There are a number of nouns with the pattern CǝCCәC or CǝCCәC that designate occupations. One might suggest that in this pattern the gemination is a feature of derivational morphology. However, these words are most likely
just borrowings from Arabic. At best, they are part of a noun pattern that is no longer very productive. Examples are ḥāllāḳ ‘barber’, ṣayyōd ‘fisherman’, kāṣṣāb ‘butcher’, dallōl ‘guide’, and ḥaddōd ‘blacksmith’.

Some nouns exhibit gemination in the plural, but not in the singular. An example is xaddōmat ‘workers’ (sg. xōdam). 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, hamm ‘name’ may be pronounced ham, and radd ‘he came back’ may be pronounced rād. 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., kāllah ‘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 a. So, for example, tēṭ ‘the woman’ is pronounced either tēṭ or attēṭ. When a prefixed preposition or conjunction is added, the initial geminate is usually heard, e.g., wā-ttēṭ ‘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 ssōfār ‘he traveled’ and H ffiṟūḳ ‘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 sōfār or assōfār ‘he traveled’ (but wā-ssīfār ‘and he traveled’). Gemination is also found in T1-Stem verbs whose second root consonant is a sibilant, dental, or interdental (e.g., nāṭṭāb ‘fall off, drop (intrans.)’, < *nattāb; see further below and in § 6.5.1) and in T2-Stem verbs whose second root consonant is a dental or sibilant (e.g., ḡāddūr ‘he was careful’, < *aṭṭādur; see further below and in § 6.5.3). Occasional irregular assimilation also causes gemination, as in the verbs attōma ‘hear’ and (t)tekk ‘drink’ (see § 6.5.3 and § 7.2.14).

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

\[ C_1aC_1V > aC_1C_1V \quad (C_1 = \text{identical consonants}; a \text{ is unstressed}) \]

The effects of this rule are seen in three places in the verbal system:
Various forms of geminate verbs are affected, e.g., H-Stem 3fs perfect *hagallūt 'she boiled' (< haglallūt) and G-Stem 3md imperfect *yadallōh (< *yadallāh). See further in §7.2.11. Comparable changes occur also in Qw- and Qy-Stems (§6.7), e.g., *sxawallūt 'she sat' (< *sxawalallūt).

2. In the Ti-Stem imperfect (§6.5.1), the infixed 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 *yanattāwb 'he drops' (< *yanatūb < *yanatūb) and 3mp imperfect *yarassáys 'they press together' (< *yarassīs < *yarassīs < *yartassīs).

3. In the T2-Stem perfect and subjunctive (§6.5.3), the infixed morpheme assimilates to dentals and interdentals, resulting in a geminate consonant that is then subject to the abovementioned rule. Examples are 3ms perfect *ḥadūr 'he was careful' (< *ḥadūr < *ḥadūr) and 3ms perfect *xassāwṣ 'he got his due' (< *xassūṣ < *axassūṣ < *axtassūṣ).

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 *yarassăys 'they press together' (< *yarassīs < *yarassīs < *yartassīs) and *ḥadūr (< *ḥadūr < *ḥadūr).

On the sound change $C_1C_2\rightarrow C_1C_2$, 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:

- *am-mán 'between' < am-bán < *mán bayn (§8.15)
- *mandāwk 'rifle' < Arabic bunduq
- *mānedam 'person' < *bānedam (lit. 'son of Adam')
- *mandēr 'port' < Arabic bandar
- *mandāyrah 'flag' < Arabic bandēra
- *mangārāy 'bracelet, bangle' < bangrī (cf. Hindi bangrī)
- *zābōn 'time' < Arabic ẓāmān

We also occasionally find the shift in a word with n in a different position within the word, as in *mastōn '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 *bin '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., *bǝnōh* ‘build’, *kǝbūn* ‘hide’), and there are also many noun exceptions, e.g., *ḥǝbūn* ‘sons’ (construct *báni*). Sometimes doublets exist. For example, *ML* lists both *bǝnnāy* (s.v. *bnv*) and *mǝnnōy* (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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ǝm-mǝskōt} & < \text{b-mǝskōt} \quad \text{‘in Muscat’ (91:24)} \\
\text{ǝnkɛ́ʾ ǝm-mōh} & < \text{ǝnkɛ́ʾ b-mōh} \quad \text{‘bring water’ (76:2; cf. also 94:37)} \\
(m-)mōn & < \text{b-mōn} \quad \text{‘(with) who?’ (97:34)}
\end{align*}
\]

This change is not universal, as can be seen from phrases like *bǝ-mǝndáwḳ* ‘with a rifle’ (6:10) and *bǝ-mǝṣráwf* ‘with supplies’ (8:7). It is not clear how regular the change is before the words *mōn* ‘who?’, *mōh* ‘water’, and *mǝskōt* ‘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:

\[
\text{nC}_{\text{voice}^#} > \text{nC}_{\text{voice}^#}
\]

So, for example, on the audio recordings of Ali Musallam made by Johnstone, *hǝnd* ‘India’ is pronounced *hǝnt* (e.g., 40:6). Likewise, the word *lang* ‘boat’ is pronounced *lank* (e.g., 45:15), though the suffixed form *alángǝh* ‘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. We find

---

13 Curiously, Mehri *kǝbūn* 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 Ė ī ō ū
Short vowels: a e ǝ i u
Diphthongs: ay aw ǝy ǝw

We also find the nasals ḏ and ḗ, 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 ʾ, ʿ, or contraction of a non-final sequence ǝw or ǝy.

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 ʾ, e.g., āmūr ‘he said’ < *ʿamūr; see §2.1.3. Unstressed long ī is often met in the broken plural pattern ĆĆōĆ, e.g., rīḥōm ‘nice (mp)’ (43:4, < *rayḥōm).

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 /nākʿǝk/; see further in §2.1.3. Word-finally, unstressed long vowels are shortened, with no change in quality. Examples are:

nūka ‘he came’ (< *nūkā < *nūkǝ́)
abáyi ‘my house’ (< *abáyi)
šīnī ‘he saw’ (< *šīnī < *šīnay)
gīlu ‘he was sick’ (< *gīlū < *gīlǝw)

Word-final long vowels normally attract a final -h or -ʾ 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 (< ǝy) in noun plural and other patterns, see Diem (1979: 64–75).
The reduced vowel \( a \) has the allophone \( \varepsilon \), which is especially common in a doubly-closed syllable and in the reduced form of the noun pattern \( \text{CēC}a\text{C} \) (base \( \text{CēCC} \)), except before \( x \) or \( ġ \).\(^{18}\) Examples are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ġarūb} & \text{ ‘he knew’ } \rightarrow \text{ġárábk} \text{ ‘I knew’} \\
\text{súmāḥ} & \text{ ‘he forgave’ } \rightarrow \text{sámḥak} \text{ ‘I forgave’} \\
\text{rikāb} & \text{ ‘he mounted’ } \rightarrow \text{rákbk} \text{ ‘I mounted’} \\
\text{xāšāwm} & \text{ ‘enemies’ } \rightarrow \text{xāšōmhe} \text{ ‘his enemies’} \\
\text{abáyt} & \text{ ‘the house’ } \rightarrow \text{abótś} \text{ ‘her house’} \\
\text{thōm} & \text{ ‘you want’ } \rightarrow \text{tháms} \text{ ‘you want her’} \\
\text{nākōt} & \text{ ‘she came’ } \rightarrow \text{nākáts} \text{ ‘she came to her’} \\
\text{bār} & \text{ ‘he went out’ } \rightarrow \text{bark} \text{ ‘I went out’} \\
\text{tēt} & \text{ ‘woman, wife’ } \rightarrow \text{tētk} \text{ ‘your wife’} \\
\text{nawtēg} & \text{ ‘we may kill’ } \rightarrow \text{nawtāgs} \text{ ‘we may kill her’} \\
\text{yārdēd} & \text{ ‘he may return’ } \rightarrow \text{yārdēds} \text{ ‘he may return her’} \\
\text{sēkān} & \text{ ‘settlement’ } \rightarrow \text{sékān} \text{ ‘your settlement’}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^{16}\) 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 \( ö \), as in \( xəlāwkye \text{ ‘my clothes’ } < *xəlōw̱kye ← xəlōwɔk \text{ ‘clothes’}. \)

\(^{18}\) Nouns of the pattern \( \text{CēC}a\text{C} \) are equivalent to the Hebrew segholate type and the Arabic pattern \( fāl \).
The default short vowel is ǝ. 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 CǝCCōna (see § 7.1.6), and in the conjunction wǝlākan ‘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 ǝdeh (§ 3.4) or the preposition te (§ 8.19). The short vowels i and u are mainly found word-finally, as allophones of unstressed ɨ and ĕ, 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 ɨ. 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., háziham ‘their goats’ < *házyham). On short i in the sequence a’i-, see § 2.1.3. An exceptional short i is found in the exclamatory particle his-táw ‘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 ay, except when followed by a stressed vowel, is usually realized ɨ, or word-finally as i. Similarly, the unstressed sequence aw can be realized ĕ when not followed by a stressed vowel, though in this book I have maintained the transcription aw, except word-finally. See § 7.2.7 and § 7.2.10 for examples.

The vowels ə (often pronounced closer to an open [ɛ]) and ĕ rarely contrast, and sometimes the pronunciation of the two are difficult to distinguish. A case of contrast is the Ga-Stem 3fs perfect ζəb(ə)rūt ‘she broke (trans.)’ vs. Gb-Stem źəbrōt ‘she/it broke (intrans.).’ Another example is G active yǝślūl ‘he carries’ vs. G passive yǝślōl ‘he is carried’. Likewise, i and ē rarely contrast and can be hard to distinguish. A minimal pair is xǝwfīt ‘next (f.)’ and xǝwfēt ‘window’. Since the vowels i and ē 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 ĕ or ū, i or ē. (See also § 3.2.1 on the diphthongization of i and ē 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. bɛr ‘camels’.

When a word-final or stem-final diphthong -ay or -aw is combined with the suffix -ǝn, the subsequent syllabification (á/ýǝn or á/wǝn) results in a stressed
short vowel in an open syllable. Because this situation is not allowed, the glide is geminated in order to keep the proper syllable structure.20 Examples are the 1cp reflexive pronoun hanfáyyan (§ 3.6), the 1p reciprocal pronouns tātídáyyan and ṭaytídáyyan (§ 3.7), the dual imperfect of certain verbal stems (§ 7.1.2), all dual conditionals (§ 6.1.1, n. 3), and the words gadéwwən ‘let’s go’ (§ 12.5.11) and gasrəwwən ‘evening’.

Nasalized long vowels occur in Mehri in a very few words, and are of doubtful phonemic status. The vowel ő occurs in just a single word, ḥõ ‘where?’, which plainly derives from *ḥōn (cf. Ḥarsusi ḥōnəh, Jibbali hun), which in turn comes from Semitic *ān (cf. Hebrew ān ‘where?’). We can find a near minimal pair, ḥõ ‘where?’ vs. hōh ‘I’, but given that ő occurs in no other words, we can hardly call it phonemic. A nasalized ɛ̃ is used in the particle ɛ̃hɛ̃ ‘yes’ (§ 12.2.1) and in the interrogative particle hɛ̃ (§ 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 ǝ, but indicate the variation between ī and ē, ō and ū, a and ɛ only in cases where it is very clear.21

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 ð̣, Ṭ, ṣ, ṭ, and ṱ 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 āy, e.g., káyrəb ‘he approached’, ḏáýma ‘he was thirsty’ (cf. tibər ‘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 āy, e.g., zərkəyəh ‘he stabbed him’ (cf. 20 This gemination was first recognized and explained by Bendjaballah and Ségéral (2017b).

21 For example, if it was difficult to determine whether the audio recording had ő or ū, I transcribed the vowel that was expected based on the morphological pattern or evidence from elsewhere. But if we expected ő, and the audio very clearly had ū, I transcribed ū.
3. The vowel ī that occurs in the 3mp perfect and imperfect of many H- and Šı-Stem verbs becomes áy, e.g., H hapṣāym ‘they spent the afternoon’ (cf. hãnsim ‘they breathed’). The same goes for the 3mp perfect and most plural imperfect and subjunctive forms of T2-Stems, e.g., T2 antakāyīl ‘they chose’ (cf. afṭarīg ‘they watched’).

4. The suffix -īta of the G-Stem fs future becomes -áyta, e.g., šahātāta ‘will slaughter (fs)’ (cf. kāwṭīta ‘will tell [fs]’).

For ā > aw:

5. The vowel ā that follows the second root consonant in Ga-, H-, Šı-, and T2-Stem 3ms/3fp perfects, becomes áw, e.g., G raṣāwn ‘he tied up’ (cf. ḥalūk ‘he looked’) and H hapṣāwr ‘he saw well’ (cf. ḥafīl ‘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 -āwt, e.g., G ġawkāwt ‘she looked’ (cf. kawṭūt ‘she told’) and Šī šahkāwt ‘she looked down’ (cf. šaxhārūt ‘she asked’). (The suffix -ōt remains unaffected, e.g., šāṭōt ‘she took’.)

7. The vowel ā in the first syllable of Ga perfects whose final root consonant is ‘, ġ, h, or x (see § 2.2.2) becomes áw, e.g., kāwla ‘he let’, root kl’ (cf. nūka ‘he came’, root nk’), and tāwrk ‘he left’ (cf. sūbakh ‘he swam’).

8. The vowel ā that follows the first root consonant in the Ga imperfect becomes áw, e.g., akāwdar ‘I can’ (cf. akūtah ‘I write’).

9. The vowel ā that follows the second root consonant in H-, Šı-, and Tı-Stem imperfects becomes áw, e.g., yawḥābṣāwr ‘he sees well’ (cf. yawḥabbul ‘he arrives’).

10. The vowel ā that occurs before a 2ms object suffix when attached to a 3ms or 3fp perfect (see § 3.2.3) becomes áw, e.g., šākwk ‘he called you’ (cf. ksūk ‘he found you’).

11. The plural suffix -ūtan, most commonly found attached to plural futures (§ 7.1.6), becomes -āwtan, e.g., rāḥṣāwťan ‘will bathe (fp)’ (cf. gāzmūtan ‘will swear [fp]’).

For ē > ā:

12. The feminine suffix -ēt becomes -āt. This applies to nouns, e.g., ġoṣṭăt ‘silver’, warḵat ‘note, paper’, and to the 3fs perfect of G passives, D/L-, Š2-, and Q-Stems, e.g., G passive xawkāt ‘she was born’ and sabṭāt ‘she was hit’.
13. The vowel ē of Ga subjunctives and imperatives becomes ā, e.g., yāḏšāš ‘he winks’ (cf. yāḏlēl ‘he guides’), yāṭāf ‘he may visit’ (cf. yāmēt ‘he may die’), and ākāf ‘be quiet!’ (cf. āzēm ‘give!’).

14. The vowel ē after the second root consonant in forms of the G passive perfect becomes ā, e.g., rašān ‘he was tied up’ (cf. kābēr ‘he was buried’).

15. The suffix -ēta of the fs future of derived stems becomes -āta, e.g., māšā-kāta ‘will marry (fs)’ (cf. mašāndōrēta ‘will vow [fs]’).

16. The vowel ē of Š2-Stem perfects and subjunctives becomes ā, e.g., šākādām ‘he preceded’ (cf. šāgēlas ‘he quarreled with’). (There are no examples in the texts.)

17. The dual suffix -āh (< -ēh) of certain perfect, imperfect, and subjunctive verb forms becomes -āh (< -ēh), e.g., H yēḥāwšākāh ‘they (two) may attach’ (cf. yēḥārkābāh ‘they two may mount’) (There are no examples in the texts.)

There is at least one exception, which is that the ē of the 2fs imperfect, subjunctive, and fs imperative of at least some stems does not change, as in the Ga-Stem imperfect takēdar ‘you can’ (99:28) and the D/L-Stem imperative akēfi ‘go back!’ (e.g., 3:5). This suggests that this ē is from an earlier ay.22

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 ā, ī, and ē only take place when these vowels bear stress. So we find, for example, šīfōn ‘guests’ (4:3), tīhōr ‘pure (mp)’ (4:11), and kēˈyōt ‘female spirit’ (15:2), with stress on the final syllable.23

Anyway, where ī or ē occur in unstressed syllables, they are only the surface representation of an underlying źy or źw, as in šīfōn ‘guests’ < *šīyfōn.

On rare occasion we do find stressed ī following a glottalic, but in such cases ī is only the surface representation of an underlying ū, e.g., šāšīk ‘they got annoyed’ (40:4, < šašyūk).

A glottalic consonant followed by a liquid (r or l) or w, can also trigger diphthongization or the shift ē > ā. See § 2.2.3 for examples.

We also sometimes find that a stressed ź can be realized ź when following a glottalic, e.g., yākāfām ‘they go down’ (58:6), for expected yākāfām; yaḏābrām

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22 In support of this argument, cf. also 2ms imperfect tabāyk ‘you cry’ (e.g., 5:10) and 2fs tabēki ‘you cry’ (e.g., 75:23), from the III-w/y verb bakōh.

23 A possible exception, according to ML (s.v. kṣr), is kaysōr ‘short (mp)’ (< *kisōr). If this form is correct, unstressed ī perhaps became ay because there are two glottalics in this word.
‘they apologize’ (61:7), for expected yǝð̣ǝ́brǝm; and hǝḳšǝ́mk ‘I spent the day’, for expected hǝḳšǝ́mk (62:6).

2.2.2 The Effects of Guttural Consonants on Vowels

The guttural (velar, pharyngeal, and glottal fricative) consonants ‘, ȝ, h, ḥ, 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 (‘, ȝ, h, and x) all cause the same changes to a following vowel as the glottalics, that is, ı > ay, ū > aw, and ĕ > ā, when these vowels carry stress. Even though the consonant ‘ is most often lost in pronunciation, it remains phonologically present in underlying forms. As with glottalics, diphthongization does not normally occur when ı is a surface representation of an underlying ay (e.g., xınīta ‘she will betray’ < xǝynīta, 24:2; ǧībūt ‘she passed out’ < ḡǝ ybūt, 54:11; or the nouns ḥīṭār ‘(g oat) kids’ and ḥīrīt ‘donkey’), in which case ı is unstressed anyway. Following are the most commonly met changes:

For ı > ay:

1. The vowel ı in the first syllable of Gb-Stem 3ms and 3fp perfects becomes áy, e.g., ḥáybǝr ‘he was cold’ (cf. ṭībǝr ‘he broke’).
2. The vowel ı that occurs before certain object suffixes attached to 3ms and 3fp perfects (see § 3.2.3) becomes áy, e.g., ṡǝmḥāys ‘he excused her’ (cf. bǝgdīs ‘he chased her’) and nǝkáyhǝm ‘he came to them’ (< *nǝk’áyhǝm; cf. bǝgdīhǝm ‘he chased them’).
3. The vowel ı that occurs in the 3mp perfect and imperfect of many H- and Š1-Stem verbs becomes áy, e.g., ḥǝbġáyṣ́ ‘they hated’ (cf. hǝnsīm ‘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., wǝtģáyta ‘will kill (fs)’ (< *ǝwtģīta < *ǝltģīta < *lǝtģīta; cf. kǝwṯīta ‘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 āw, e.g., ḥabāwr ‘he took out (animals) at night’ (< *habáwr) and ḥabğāwš ‘he hated’ (cf. hǝqfūl ‘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 (lūtaġ ‘kill’ and nūtaġ ‘throw’) use -āwt < -ūt, e.g., wǝtgáwt ‘she killed’ (29:7; cf. wǝzamūt ‘she gave’). We also find -āwt with II-Guttural, III-w/y verbs, e.g., hǝrxáwt ‘she let go’ (root rxw or rxy; cf. habkūt ‘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 ʿ (see § 2.2.2) becomes āw, 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. xdʿ), 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 āw, e.g., nağāwlak ‘we look’ (cf. nagūzam ‘we swear’).

9. The vowel ū that follows the second root consonant in H-, Š1-, and T1-Stem imperfects becomes āw, e.g., yǝhǝbgāwš ‘he hates’ (cf. yǝhkābūl ‘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 āw, e.g., şǝmhāwk ‘he excused you’. (There are no examples in the texts.)

11. The plural suffix -ūtan, most commonly found attached to plural futures, becomes -āwtan, e.g., kǝlāwtan ‘will leave (fp)’ (< *kǝlʿāwtan; cf. gǝzmūtan ‘will swear [fp]’).

For ē > ā:

12. The feminine suffix -ēt becomes -āt. This applies to nouns, e.g., fǝrhāt ‘happiness’, marjāt ‘dusty area’, and to the 3fs perfect of G passives, D/L-, Ş2-, 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 yǝgār ‘he falls’ (< *yǝgʿār) and yǝnhāg ‘he dances’ (cf. yǝbgēd ‘he chases’). However, the subjunctives and imperatives of most II-Guttural verbs have the vowel ə 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., sḥāṭ ‘it (m.) was slaughtered’ (cf. kǝbēr ‘he was buried’).

15. The suffix -ēta of the fs future of derived stems becomes -āta, e.g., mǝhas-
phonology

bǝḥāta ‘will become (fs)’ (cf. mǝḥǝrkǝbēta ‘will mount [fs]’). (There are no examples in the texts.)

16. The vowel ē of Š2-Stem perfects and subjunctives becomes ā, e.g., šxārǝg ‘he interpreted’ (cf. šhēwǝb ‘he thought’).

17. The dual suffix -ǝ́h (< -ēh) of certain perfect, imperfect, and subjunctive verb forms becomes -áh, e.g., H yǝḥǝşbǝḥáh ‘they (two) may become’ (cf. yǝḥǝrkǝbǝ́h ‘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 i following a guttural, but in such cases it is only the surface representation of an underlying yī, e.g., yaġīḍǝn ‘they will anger’ (90:15, < yaġyīḍǝn).

In addition to the sound changes outlined above, verbs whose second or third root consonant is a guttural (including h and etymological ’) 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:

\[ CǝCūG > CūCǝG \ (G = \’, ’, ĕ, ĕ, ŕ, or x) \]

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 CūCǝC in the 3ms perfect, while strong verbs have the pattern CǝCūC (§ 6.1.1). So there exist such Ga-Stem verbs as dūbǝh ‘collect honey’,24 dūlǝx ‘seize’, gūdǝḥ ‘drift to shore’, lūtǝg ‘kill’, nūfǝq ‘throw’, nūqǝḥ ‘succeed’, nūsǝḥ ‘advise’, sūbǝḥ ‘swim’, sūmǝḥ ‘forgive’, sāwrǝx ‘make a bang, fire (intrans.)’,25 tāwbǝx ‘make a mark’, and tāwrǝḥ ‘leave, let’.

When the final root consonant is ’ or ′, the final -ǝ‘ or -ǝ’ becomes -a (see § 2.1.3), as in the III-’ verbs kūsa ‘find’ and mūla ‘fill’,26 and the III-‘ verbs hūma ‘hear’, kāwla ‘let, leave’, kāwta ‘cut’, mūna ‘hold’, nūka ‘come, bring’, rūfa ‘go up’, and tūba ‘follow’.

24 However, dǝbōh seems to be an acceptable variant. See the comment to text 77:3.
25 ML (s.v. srx) has the form sāwrǝx, but this is likely an error. See further in the comment to text 39:3.
26 III-’ 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 yǝḥaṣáwbǝḥ 'he becomes'), and the perfect of the T2-Stem (e.g., afturǝḥ 'he was delighted'). For more examples, see § 7.2.9. A similar shift CǝCCūG > CūCCǝG > Cǝ́CCǝG affects Q-Stems, as in yabǝ́rḳa (< *yabǝ́rḳa’ < *yabǝ́rḳǝʿ < *yabǝ́rḳūʿ) and yamǝ́rḳǝḥ 'he tidies up' (< *yamʾurḳǝḥ < *yamǝ́rḳūḥ; cf. yamǝ́rḥáwb 'he welcomes').

We also sometimes find that a stressed a can be realized a when following a guttural, e.g., yǝxǝ́dǝmbǝm ‘they work’ (67:3), for expected yǝxǝ́dǝmb; yǝḥǝ́krǝm ‘they were refusing access’ (70:1), for expected yǝḥákram; and šǝgḥǝ́dǝk ‘I was convinced’ (82:3), for expected šǝgḥǝ́dk.

2.2.3 The Effects of Liquids, w, and n on Vowels
In several places, we find that the changes ũ > aw, i > ay, and e > 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 hatṭlāwḵ ‘he released’, hašrǝ́wβ ‘he became ill’, and šǝkrǝ́w ‘she hid’ (< *šǝkrūþ); a few comparative adjectival forms (e.g., ak-lat ‘less, smaller’ and atwāl ‘taller’; see § 5.4);27 subjunctive forms of III-Guttural verbs in the G-Stem (e.g., 3ms yatrāḥ ‘he may leave’); perfect and subjunctive forms of III-Guttural verbs in the H- and Š1-Stems (e.g., 3ms šǝkrǝ́h ‘he had his head shaved’; see further in § 7.2.9); Gb-Stem forms like 3mp subjunctive yǝkrǝ́yb ‘they might get near’; and some nouns (e.g., šǝṭrǝ́yr ‘rag, strip of cloth’).

Examples with a guttural plus a liquid are the passive participle mašrǝ́yb ‘well-known’ (< *mašrib) and the noun yašrǝ́yb ‘crow, raven’. The roots rb and rf both have subjunctive forms with a (< *a) in place of the expected e (< *e) 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 fǝrrǝ́yβ ‘she fled’ (37:11, < *fǝrrǝ́t) and in the 3ms suffixed perfect ḏǝrrǝ́yham ‘he spread them’ (48:13, < *ḏǝrrǝ́iham).28

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

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

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 aftǝ́rūr (p. lv) and aftǝ́rǝ́wr (s.v. frr). Unfortunately, this verb does not occur in the texts.
This includes the prefixed preposition l- (§ 8.12), which is normally realized ǝl- 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:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{tháḥǝntǝm} ‘you (mp) make break an oath’ (31:10, < *tháḥnǝtǝm; cf. 2ms tháḥnǝt)
\item \textit{gátrǝbki} ‘we recognized one another’ (74:22, < *gátrǝbki, cf. 3fp gátrǝb)
\item \textit{gátrǝbǝm} ‘they recognized one another’ (74:24, < *gátrǝbǝm)
\item \textit{támrǝhǝm} ‘their dates’ (99:7, < *támrǝhǝm)
\end{itemize}

In fact, the metathesis regularly triggers the shift of \textit{l} > \textit{w} discussed in § 2.1.5, for example:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{ǝwbūd} ‘he shot’ (10:15, < *ǝlbūd < *lǝbūd)
\item \textit{gátwǝ́sǝm} ‘they argued’ (32:11, < *gátlǝsǝm < *gátlǝsǝm)
\item \textit{maháflǝti} ‘we’ll run away’ (35:10, *maháflǝti < *maháflǝti)
\end{itemize}

Sometimes the sequence \textit{ǝw} is itself metathesized to \textit{wǝ}, as in:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{ǝwtǝ̱giōna} ‘will kill (ms)’ (37:13, < ǝwtǝ̱giōna < *altǝ̱giōna < *lǝtǝ̱giōna)
\item \textit{kátǝwǝ́tǝm} ‘they chatted’ (63:13, < kátǝwǝ́tǝm < *kátǝltǝm < *kátlǝ́tǝm)
\item \textit{kátǝ́wǝtki} ‘we chatted’ (74:21, < kátǝwǝtki < *kátǝltǝki < *kátlǝ́tǝki)
\end{itemize}

\subsection*{2.2.4 Word-final Vowels, -h, and -ʾ}

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

\[ Vh# > ǝ̣h# \quad (V = ǝ̣, ĕ) \]

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 -ǝ used with a 3ms possessive suffix, e.g., ǝ̣mǝ́h ‘his mother’ (← ǝ̣mǝ́ē ‘mother’; cf. ǝ̣mǝ́ēk ‘your mother’) and ǝ̣brǝ́h ‘his son’ (← ǝ̣brǝ́ē ‘son’; cf. ǝ̣brǝ́ēk ‘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 \( dīh \) ‘this’ (§ 3.4) or the adverb \( yəmšīh \) ‘yesterday’.

Word-final -\( ō \) almost invariably attracts a final -\( h \).²⁹ We find this in various dual verb forms (see § 7.1.1 and § 7.1.3), in the masculine numeral \( ṭrōh \) ‘2’, in the 3ms/3fp perfect of III-w/y verbs (e.g., \( bəkōh \) ‘he cried’; see § 7.2.10), and in several other words (e.g., \( kōh \) ‘why’, \( hībōh \) ‘how?’, and \( yəmōh \) ‘today’).³⁰ 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 \( ō \) and \( ō \) contrast. The final -\( h \) of the dual forms and of III-w/y perfects is extant only when word-final.³¹ 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, -\( ēh > -\dot{ā}h \).

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 \( h \) is heard. In both cases (as with -\( ōh \), -\( ūh \), and -\( ēh \)), the vowels are shortened. As a result, final -\( āh \) and -\( ēh \) contrasts with final -\( ā \) and -\( ē \). Compare the 3ms subjunctive verbs \( yəbkēh \) ‘he cries’ (root \( bky \)) and \( yənkēr \) ‘he comes’ (root \( nkʾ \)), the 3ms imperfect \( yarē \) ‘he herds’ and 3ms subjunctive \( yarēh \) ‘he may herd’ (both root \( rʿw \)), or the nouns \( xāh \) ‘mouth’ and \( ḫaʾ \) ‘place’.

When a suffix is added, both -\( h \) and -\( h \) are lost, as in 3mp subjunctive \( yənkēm \) ‘they come’, 3ms subjunctive (+ 3ms object) \( yənkēh \) ‘he may come to him’, or the noun \( aḵāhm \) ‘their place’.³² Because the vowel length is noticeably longer when a suffix is added, I have indicated the shortening of -\( āh/-ēh \) and -\( ā/-ē \) in the transcription. For the transcription of -\( ōh \) there is no such need, since -\( ō \) and -\( ō \) 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 -\( āh \).

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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 -ʾ is sometimes heard, but since it is not contrastive and has no effects, it is not normally transcribed.

2.2.5 The Loss of ǝ
In the environment V̄CǝC#, a phonemic ǝ 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:

- śēḥǝz ‘frankincense’ → śɛ́ḥzi ‘my frankincense’
- sēkǝn ‘settlement’ → sɛ́k(ǝ)nǝk ‘your settlement’ (see also § 3.2.1)
- hōrǝm ‘road’ → hármi ‘my road’
- hōkǝm ‘ruler’ → húkmǝh ‘his ruler’
- hkwâmǝt ‘kingdom’ → ahkâmti ‘my kingdom’

Verb examples are ubiquitous. Some are:

- yabūgǝd ‘he chases’ → yabǝ́gdǝm ‘they chase’ (Ga-Stem imperfect)
- yabūgǝd ‘he chases’ → yabǝ́gdah ‘he chases him’ (Ga-Stem imperfect)
- yağōrǝb ‘he knows’ → yağárbas ‘her knows her’ (Ga-Stem imperfect)
- nīsǝ ‘he sipped’ → nášǝk ‘I sipped’ (Gb-Stem perfect)
- agōrǝb ‘he tried’ → agârbǝk ‘I tried’ (D/L-Stem perfect)
- tfōšǝl ‘you may embarrass’ → tfášli ‘you may embarrass me’ (D/L-Stem subjunctive)
- śhēwǝb ‘he thought’ → śhâwbǝk ‘I thought’ (Š2-Stem perfect)
- yaşhēwǝb ‘he may think’ → yaşhâwbǝm ‘they may think’ (Š2-Stem subjunctive)
- maxtılǝf ‘will change (ms)’ → mxatâlfǝta ‘will change (fs)’ (T1-Stem future)

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

- rǝḥbǝt ‘town’ → arǝḥbǝt ‘the town’, bǝ-rǝḥbǝt ‘in a town’

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Watson (2012: 46) observed that word-final vowels are usually glottalized in sentence-final position.
məḥlōb ‘young camels’ → amḥalōb ‘the young camels’, kə-mḥalōb ‘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 ay or aw.

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 *nákʾak < *nōkʾak). 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 man ‘from’ (§ 8.13), bar ‘son of’ (§ 4.6), and ber ‘already’ (§ 12.5.7).

Where we find a stressed short vowel, it often stems from a reduced long vowel, e.g., ġəbərə́thəm ‘she met them’ (← ġəbərūt ‘she met’) and gəzəmk ‘I swore’ (← gəzūm ‘he swore’). In verbal patterns, the position of stress normally remains fixed, unless a suffix with a long vowel is added, e.g., sāṭḥəb ‘he crawled’, sāṭḥəbək ‘you (ms) crawled’, sāṭḥəbkəm ‘you (mp) crawled’, but səṭḥəbōt ‘she crawled’; yəhūbhəl ‘he may cook’, yəhūbhəlam ‘they (mp) may cook’, but yəhəb-halə́h ‘they (md) may cook’ (< *yəḥəbhaləḥ).
CHAPTER 3

Pronouns

3.1 Independent Personal Pronouns

Following are the independent forms of the Mehri personal pronouns:

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</table>

Notes:

• The final -h of 1cs hōh and 1cp nāḥāh is heard most clearly at the end of a clause of phrase, or when it is stressed. Ali Musallam consistently included it in his Arabic-letter transcriptions. The 1cp form is often pronounced ēnḥāh 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 ĕ. Since the vowels of ĕhē 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 hūt exists in Eastern Yemeni Mehri (Watson 2012: 66).

• The initial ĕ- of the 2p forms is lost after the interrogative kō ‘why?’ (§11.5) and the particle abōnē ‘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 fǝḳáyr 'I am a poor man' (91:3)
- hōh aġāk 'I am your brother' (34:28)
- hēt ġaywǝ́l 'you are crazy' (94:36)
- hēt ġayg 'you are a man' (93:6)
- hē ġīgēn ġaywǝ́l 'he is a crazy boy' (91:8)
- hō sē ‘where is she?’ (65:9)
- nǝḥāh kǝnyáwn ‘we were children’ (89:11)
- akáy ġayw ‘we (two) are brothers’ (74:22)
- atáy ḥǝbǝ́nyɛ ‘you (two) are my sons’ (74:23)
- hēm xašómhe ‘they are his enemies’ (64:8)
- sēn ba-ḥawōdī 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 ḥōn šūk ‘I want (to go) with you’ (76:4) (cf. hōn šūk, 76:7)
- kō ħēt tǝbáyk ‘why are you crying?’ (19:6)
- hēn aɫyağárbbhǝ́m lā ‘he didn’t know them’ (37:7)
- sīni aɡǝgnǝ́yt w-āygǝ́ bīs, wǝ-sē āgbōt bǝh ‘he saw the girl and fell in love with her, and she fell in love with him’ (24:16)
- nǝḥāh al nǝɡôrǝ́b hōrǝ́m lā ‘we don’t know the way’ (35:4)
- sēn bɛr mōt kāl ‘they had all died’ (99:39)
- hōh aṣǝ́ṭḳi, ar ǝtēn dǝ́llǝkǝ́n lā ‘I was truthful, you just didn’t know the way’ (99:41) (Note that the phrase hōh aṣǝ́ṭḳi is non-verbal.)
- ǝbáyd lā hōh ‘I don’t lie’ (34:16)
- ǝssā́t fanwāy, wǝ-‘ǝssǝ́k 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, “al śınǝk tah lā” ‘he said, “I haven’t seen it”’ (23:14)
änkōna bǝ-ǵǝğǝnōt, wǝ-xīnīta būk ‘you will beget a girl, and she will
betray you’ (24:2)
bǝ-kōm thōm (t)šōm lay amândáwǝk ‘how much do you want to sell me
your rifle for?’ (39:1)
wǝ-kōh ǝl sayórš 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 al hēt dǝ-ḥtǝ́mk lā ‘you aren’t sure’ (82:3)
hēt al hēt axáyr manin lā ‘you are not better than us’ (61:4)
wǝ-hēt, l-ád tặkéh lā ‘and you, don’t cry anymore!’ (40:7)
hōh mǝšǝ́kf. wǝ-hēt źōm lā ‘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):

wǝlākan ātēm, ǝl ǝḥād yǝḳáwdǝr likǝm lā ‘but you, no one can beat you’
(73:12)
hōh ǝl šay ar ǝmōh ‘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:

ksǝ́ki, hōh w-aribēy, ǝn-ǝnšōk ‘he found us, me and my friend, laughing’
(91:22)
dōmǝh yǝsdákki, hōh wə-hāmǝy, warx wǝ-zōyǝd ‘this would be enough for
us, me and my mother, for a month and more’ (42:20)
sháyli fǝnōhǝn agǝnēd, wǝ-mǝnōn 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:

abkāryǝn nǝ̄hāh ‘our own cows (as opposed to his)’ (6:8)
\textit{ag̱orab aḡ̱ay hōh} ‘I know my own brother’ (64:16)
\textit{b-aráyǝk hēt} ‘(no,) as you wish!’ (101:3) (in response to \textit{b-aráyǝk} ‘as you wish’, 101:2)
\textit{thōm tāẕemǝn həbrēk nǝtēẖǝh, aw thāmǝn aṉtēẖk hēt} ‘do you want to give us your son so we can eat him, or do you want us to eat you!’ (2:3)
\textit{tawaẖw̱ǝk takḻēy hōh əl-syēr} ‘you ought to let me go’ (20:43)
\textit{thāy̱mi hōh əl-ṯaf} ‘do you want me to scout?’ (29:13)
\textit{tšẖūd da-hē akf̱aylas awḵeḻāy hōh, šēṟa} ‘do you bear witness that he, her custodian, has authorized me, the judge?’ (100:5)

Finally, the independent pronouns can follow the genitive exponent \(\ddot{d}-\) (§ 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:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{dōm̱ah da-hōh} ‘this is mine’ (75:21)
  \item \textit{dōm̱ah adēḇah da-hōh} ‘this honey is mine’ (77:7)
  \item \textit{tṟōh da-nḥ̱ah} ‘two of ours’ (89:4)
  \item \textit{hē da-hōh} ‘it’s mine’ (67:8)
\end{itemize}

In text 87:1 (a poetic text published in Stroomer 1999, but not included in this collection), we find \textit{da-ẖoh}, translated as ‘what was his’. As transcribed in the text, we can analyze the \(ẖoh\) in this phrase as the preposition \(h-\) ‘to; for’ (see § 8.8) plus the 3ms object suffix, i.e., ‘to/for him’. But perhaps \textit{ẖoh} is a mistaken transcription for the independent pronoun \textit{hē} (Ali normally spelled both the same way in Arabic script, and the audio is inconclusive), in which case we would have \textit{da-hē} ‘his’, paralleling \textit{da-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).\(^1\) 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-әk*</td>
<td>-әn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>-әк</td>
<td>-әкәm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>-әш*</td>
<td>-әкәn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>-әх*</td>
<td>-әхәm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>-әә</td>
<td>-әәәn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ә, this ә 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 ә 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 ḫayb ‘father’ and әbә ‘brother’:
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 ǝ 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 ǝ cannot come between two voiceless, non-glottalic consonants. When this loss of ǝ 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 abǝ́tk ‘your house’ (< *abáytk), with reduction of ay to ǝ in the doubly-closed final syllable. The noun bayt has the same structure as ḥayb ‘father’ or ġayg ‘man; husband’ (CayC), but compare abáyti ‘my house’ and abǝ́tk ‘your house’ with the forms of ḥayb given above, or with aģāygi ‘my husband’ and aģāygǝk ‘your husband’. Below are some additional suffixed forms of bayt, and forms of tēṭ ‘woman’. Note that before the 3ms -h an epenthetic ǝ is often heard, but this has no bearing on the underlying syllable structure.

Nouns of more than one syllable with an unstressed ǝ 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 sēkǝn ‘settlement’ has the base sɛ́kn- (< *sēkn-), e.g., sɛ́kni ‘my settlement’, sɛ́knǝk ‘your settlement’, sɛ́knǝh ‘his settlement’, etc., and the noun hōkǝm ‘ruler’ has the base hákm- (< *hōkm-), e.g., hákmi ‘my ruler’, hâkmaš ‘her ruler’, hâkmǝn ‘our ruler’, etc. We sometimes find an epenthetic ǝ added back before a stem-final liquid or nasal, e.g., sɛ́kǝni ‘my settlement’, sɛ́kǝnǝk ‘your settlement’, and tāmǝrhǝm ‘their dates’ (← tōmǝr ‘dates’). With these bases that end in a consonant cluster, the dual, 2p, and 3p suffixes have an initial ǝ, as noted

2 As already noted, the ǝ is usually not heard in the dual, 2p, and 3p forms (e.g., ḥâybhǝm ‘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 ḥâyb(ǝ)kǝm.

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

4 The suffixed forms of tēṭ may also have an initial geminate t (e.g., (ǝ)tēṭi ‘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., sékǝnham (< *sēknaham).

sēkǝn: sék(ǝ)ni, sék(ǝ)nǝk, sék(ǝ)naš, sék(ǝ)nah, sék(ǝ)nas, etc., sékǝnsǝn

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 ā in most forms. Compare the following sample forms of the nouns gūr ‘slave’ (def. ḥāgūr), did ‘uncle’ (def. ḥǝdīd), brīt ‘daughter’ (def. ḥǝbrīt), and xalūt ‘paternal aunt; mother-in-law; step-mother’:

\[
gūr: \quad Ûhågåwri, Ûhågåwrǝk, Ûhågåwraš, Ûhågåwras, etc., Ûhågåwr(ǝ)sǝn
did: \quad Ûhådåydi, Ûhådåydaš, Ûhådåyas, Ûhådåyas, etc., Ûhådåyd(ǝ)sǝn
brīt: \quad Ûhǝbråyti, Ûhǝbråtš, Ûhǝbråts, Ûhǝbråts, etc., Ûhǝbråtsǝn
xalūt:5 xalåwti, xalåtk, xalåtš, xalåt(ǝ)h, xalåts, etc., xalåtsǝn
\]

The nouns hámē ‘mother’ and ḥǝbrē ‘son’ both have the 1cs suffix -ǝ́y, and the 3ms forms in -ēh are usually realized -ǝ́h, following the rule described in § 2.2.4:

\[
hámē: \quad Ûhámǝ́y, Ûhámēk, Ûhámēš, Ûhámǝ́h(< Ûhåmēh), Ûhámǝ́s, etc., Ûhámǝ́sǝn
ḥǝbrē: \quad Ûhǝbrǝ́y, Ûhǝbrǝ́k, Ûhǝbrǝ́š, Ûhǝbrǝ́h(< Ûhǝbrēh), Ûhǝbrǝ́s, etc., Ûhǝbrǝ́sǝn
\]

When a noun ends in -i (< *-ay), it becomes y before suffixes (except dual, 2p, and 3p suffixes), e.g., táwyǝh ‘his meat’ (13:7), from táywi ‘food’; tádyǝs ‘her breast’ (40:15), from tōdi ‘breast’; agåtyǝk ‘your neck’ (49:31), from gōtı ‘neck’; and amēsǝy ‘your excrement’ (99:55), from mēsì ‘excrement’. Before the 1cs suffix -i, the y may be lost in pronunciation, but is still present underlyingly, e.g., agåti ‘my neck’ (99:11, < *agåti).6 Before the dual, 2p, and 3p (-CV and -CVC) suffixes, -i may remain, e.g., táywihammer ‘their meat’ (99:6), but note the reduction in ḥawādigǝm ‘their valley’ (30:14, < *ḥawódy-ǝm). The shift of i > y in the examples above reflects the loss of a in the underlying ay, by the rule described in § 2.2.5, e.g., *táwyǝy > táywi ‘meat’, but *táwyǝy-ǝh > táwyǝh ‘his meat’.

5 The suffixed forms of xalūt may also have an initial geminate x (e.g., (ǝ)xalåwti ‘my mother-in-law’), reflecting the definite article (§ 2.1.8; § 4.4).
6 On the noun mēsì ‘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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>-ye</td>
<td>-iki</td>
<td>-yan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>-kɛ</td>
<td>-iki</td>
<td>-ikam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>-šɛ</td>
<td>-iki</td>
<td>-ikan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>-hɛ</td>
<td>-ihi</td>
<td>-iham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>-sɛ</td>
<td>-ihi</td>
<td>-isam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 \( hâzihamster \) ‘their goats’ \(<\ hõzyham \) (not \( hõziham \)). 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., \( hâbûn \) ‘sons’ > \( hâbûn- \)). Or, if the final syllable has an unstressed \( a \), this can be lost (see § 2.2.5), with the result that a preceding open syllable with a long vowel becomes closed (e.g., \( xalôwak \) ‘clothes’ > \( xalâwk- \)). Following are all the suffixed forms of these two sample nouns:

\( hâbûn: \quad hâbûnye, hâbânke, hâbânse, hâbânse, hâbâniki, hâbâniki, hâbânih, hâbânih, hâbâniham, hâbânisan \)
The final -ǝn of external feminine plurals (see § 4.3.2) is dropped before adding suffixes. For example, from āyɛ̄ntǝn 'eyes', ġáwtǝn 'sisters', and ḥādūtǝn 'hands', we find:

āyɛ̄ntǝn:  āyɛ̄ntyɛ, āyɛ̄ntkɛ, āyɛ̄ntšɛ, āyɛ̄ntɛ, āyɛ̄ntsɛ, āyɛ̄ntiki, āyɛ̄ntiki, āyɛ̄ntihi, āyɛ̄ntyǝn, āyɛ̄ntikǝm, āyɛ̄ntikǝn, āyɛ̄ntihǝm, āyɛ̄ntisǝn

ġáwtǝn:  āgǝ́tyɛ, āgǝ́tkɛ, āgǝ́tšɛ, āgǝ́tisǝn

ḥādūtǝn:  ħādǝ́tyɛ, ħādǝ́tkɛ, ħādǝ́tšɛ, ħādǝ́tisǝn

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. The future tense and conditional forms of the verb cannot take object suffixes.

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>-áy</td>
<td>-óki</td>
<td>-ín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>-úk</td>
<td>-óki</td>
<td>-ikǝm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>-áyš</td>
<td>-óki</td>
<td>-ikan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

7 In the suffixed forms, aw is allowed in a non-final closed syllable because aw is already the reduced form of āw (that is, the reduced form of ā 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 mağtábari (94:43) was translated by Johnstone as ‘meet me’, i.e., as an
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 -ēh, as per the rule described in § 2.2.4.
- The initial ī and ē 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., wazūm ‘he gave’ > wazm-). 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 -ēki. ML (p. xvii) also has -ēki and -ēhi. See the comment to text 91:22 and the comments to the first two tables in § 8.23.

Some examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3m</th>
<th>-īh</th>
<th>-īhäm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>-īs</td>
<td>-īsän</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

- ṣāḳāwk ‘he called you’ (20:25) (< *ṣāḳūk)
- ḥamáyh ‘he heard it’ (40:8) (< *ḥamīh)

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’.
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>-i/-y</td>
<td>-ki</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td>-ki</td>
<td>-kam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td>-ki</td>
<td>-kən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>-h</td>
<td>-hi</td>
<td>-həm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>-s</td>
<td>-hi</td>
<td>-sən</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:

- Unlike the suffixes used with 3ms and 3fp perfects, these suffixes are unstressed.
- An epenthetic ǝ 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., wǝzmáti 'she gave me' < *wǝzmûty, not *wǝzmûti). But the suffix surfaces as -i (< *-ay, with epenthetic ǝ), unless the verbal base ends in a vowel, e.g., kǝlǝy 'let me!' (< kǝlǝ 'let!')< kalǝ).
- The suffixes can attach to a 3mp perfect verb only if the form ends in the final root consonant (e.g., wǝzáwm 'they gave', 3mp of wǝzûm). Suffixes do not attach to those 3mp perfects with suffixed -(ǝ)m (e.g., tábam 'they followed', 3mp of tǝba); see further in § 3.3.
- 3mp perfects and 2mp/3mp imperfects, subjunctives, and imperatives with only ablaut (no suffixed -m) have an underlying final -ǝ (< *-u) that affects the syllable structure when suffixes are added, e.g., wǝzáwmhǝm (< *wǝzáwma-
$hǝm < *wazáwmu-hǝm$). 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 -$ǝn$).$^{10}$
- 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:

$kǝrbáti$ ‘she came near me’ (36:12)
$šxǝbīrǝh$ ‘they asked him’ (3:10)
$tabáṭañh$ ‘she followed him’ (15:9)
$šǝnyáts$ ‘she saw her’ (15:13)
$ǝnkáthi$ ‘it (f.) came to them’ (17:2)
$gǝrbáthǝm$ ‘she knew them’ (48:28)
$sǝbṭâys$ ‘they (two) hit her’ (65:12)$^{11}$
$šǝnyáyah$ ‘they (two) saw him’ (84:6)
$wazáwmi$ ‘they gave me’ (4:9)
$gǝbáwri$ ‘they met me’ (62:4)
$âzâwman$ ‘they invited us’ (38:10)
$šxǝbûrhǝm$ ‘they asked them’ (72:2)
$ḥǝláwbsǝn$ ‘they milked them’ (35:7)

Some examples of imperfects with object suffixes are:

$tǝlḥâmi$ ‘you (ms) touch me’ (22:20)
$ǝġárbǝk$ ‘I know you’ (20:46)
$ǝṣ́áṭš$ ‘I will take you’ (24:19)
$yǝbǝ́gdǝh$ ‘it was following him’ (95:4)
$yǝsdǝ́dki$ ‘it would be enough for us (two)’ (42:10)
$yǝnákahǝm$ ‘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 ($< *sǝbṭǝs$), but a dual fits the context.
Finally, some examples of imperatives with object suffixes are:

\[\begin{align*}
arsəni & \text{‘tie (ms) me up!’ (24:28)} \\
šakəh & \text{‘call (ms) him!’ (22:24)} \\
awbads \ldots w-wətəqs & \text{‘shoot (ms) her ... and kill her!’ (6:10)} \\
w-əzəməhm & \text{‘give (ms) them!’ (37:14)}
\end{align*}\]

The addition of a suffix to an imperfect or imperative can sometimes result in the loss of gender distinction. For example, the forms tagərab ‘you (ms) know/she knows’ and tagərab ‘you (fs) know’ both have the base tagərb- when suffixes are added. We find tagərab ‘you (fs) know him’ in 94:34, which is identical to tagərab ‘she knows him’ (e.g., 94:36).\(^\text{12}\)

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 thəm ‘you want’ and thəymi ‘you want’ have the bases thəm- and thəm- before suffixes, respectively, with the expected vowel reductions (ō > a and ay > ə). Compare thəmi ‘you (ms) want me’ (e.g., 85:26) and thəman ‘you (ms) want us’ (e.g., 2:3) with thəmi ‘you (fs) want me’ (e.g., 32:19) and thəman ‘you (fs) want us’ (24:24).\(^\text{13}\) To cite another example, the simple fs imperative āzəmi ‘give!’ (22:60) has the base āzəm- before suffixes, e.g., āzəmi ‘give (fs) me!’ (32:19) and āzəmah ‘give (fs) it!’ (22:60). Curiously, the base is actually different from that of the ms imperative, which is āzəm-, e.g., āzəmi ‘give (ms) me!’ (53:4) and āzəmah ‘give (ms) it!’ (91:10), even though the unsuffixed ms imperative form āzəm has

\[\text{\textsuperscript{12} Since all Mehri 2ms and 3fs imperf... impfes are identical, we can use tagərahah ‘she knows him’ as evidence for tagərahah ‘you (ms) know him’, to make the point that the gender distinction of these 2s imperfects is lost when suffixes are added.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{13} Note that while the diphthong ay of 2fs thəymi is reduced to ə in the suffixed base thəm-, the vowel of 2mp thəym (< *thəyμa) is unaffected. Cf. thəymi ‘you (mp) want me’ (29:13), thəyman ‘you (mp) want us’ (60:5), and thəymas ‘you (mp) want her’ (65:9).}\]
the same vowel ē of the fs imperative.\textsuperscript{14} Compare also the fp imperative and the singular imperative forms with a 1cp suffix: \textit{ażēmān tī} (20:4) ‘give (fp) me!’, \textit{ażēmān} ‘give (ms) us!’ (91:24), and \textit{ażāmān} ‘give (fs) us!’ (32:21).\textsuperscript{15} 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., \textit{wəzūm} ‘give’ and \textit{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 \textit{wəzūm} ‘give’:

\begin{quote}
\textit{wə-wəzəmīs adərēhəm} ‘and he gave her the money’ (85:5) \\
\textit{wə-wəzəmīs ḥāgāwrəh} ‘and he gave her to his slave’ (85:25)\textsuperscript{16}
\end{quote}

3.3 Direct Object Pronouns (\textit{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 \textit{t-} plus pronominal suffixes.\textsuperscript{17} This particle \textit{t-} occurs only with suffixes, never independently. The full set of forms is as follows:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|}
\hline
 & sing. & dual & plural \\
\hline
1c & tī & tīki & tīn \\
\hline
2m & tik & tiki & tikəm \\
\hline
2f & tiš & tiki & tikən \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{14} The reduced vowel ē of the fs base suggests an underlying \textit{ay} (i.e., *āzáymi), but we clearly hear ē in the unsuffixed form \textit{ażēmi}.

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

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

\textsuperscript{17} We could say that the base is \textit{tī} in Omani Mehri, since the vowel ī appears in all forms
Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3m</th>
<th>tǝh</th>
<th>3f</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3m</td>
<td>tīh</td>
<td></td>
<td>tīs ₳</td>
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<td></td>
<td>3f</td>
<td>tǝh</td>
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<td>tis ₳</td>
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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 *tah* comes from an underlying */tīh*. See § 2.2.4.

In Omani Mehri (but not all Mehri dialects),\(^{18}\) 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:

- *wozāmk tǝh* 'I gave him' (53:4)
- *kūsam tīhi lā* 'they didn’t find them' (35:17)
- *yǝrdīyǝm tǝh* 'they will throw him' (20:31)
- *háddǝlam tın* 'show (3mp) us!' (60:4)
- *tǝwyōna 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:

- *yássǝk man aḳǝnyáwn yaqšāhǝm tī tǝh* 'I am afraid that the children will snatch it from me' (37:22)
- *ǝl wozāmk tın tīhäm lā* 'you didn’t give them to us' (91:39)

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:

\[ \text{wa-śśanyīs tīḥam} \] ‘and he showed it to them’ (67:8)
\[ \text{wa-wzamīs tah} \] ‘and he gave it to her’ (97:48)

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 (\( (ś)śǝnōh \) ‘show’) is doubly transitive. That is, \( \text{wa-śśanyīs tīḥam} \) 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 \( (a\text{-})hīs \) ‘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 \(-mǝh\)) and a set of shorter forms. The forms are:

Near demonstratives (‘this, these’):

- ms. \( ðōmǝh \)
- fs. \( ðīmǝh \)
- cp. \( ǝlyōmǝh \)

- ms. \( ðɛh \)
- fs. \( ðīh \)
- cp. (none attested)

Far demonstratives (‘that, those’):

- ms. \( ðɛ́kǝmǝh \)
- fs. \( ðǝ́kǝmǝh \)
- cp. \( ǝlyákǝmǝh \)

- ms. \( ðēk / ðǝk \)
- fs. \( ðayk \)
- cp. \( ǝlyēk \)

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.

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 ɗékmǝh and ɗǝkmǝh are not easy to distinguish in fast speech. As for the shorter forms of the far demonstratives, ɗék is much more common in the texts than ɗok. (On the use of ɗok as an introductory particle, see § 12.5.10.)

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

ɗōmǝh hē ‘it [lit. this] is him’ (37:22)
ɗōmǝh ɬ hē śawr gid lâ ‘that [lit. this] is not good advice’ (90:6)
ɗōmǝh háyri ‘this is my donkey’ (46:12)
ɗēh háybi wǝ-ɗēh aŋāy ‘this is my father and this is my brother’ (48:31)
ɗimǝh tēti ‘this is my wife’ (46:16)
ɗékmǝh yǝkder ‘might that one be able?’ (42:47)
ɗak ɬ yǝbáyd lâ ‘that (guy) doesn’t lie’ (57:14)
ǝlyōmǝh hǝbánye ‘these are my sons’ (74:23)
ǝlyék rǝddǝm hǝbɛ́rihǝm ‘those (men) returned their camels’ (12:14)

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

amkōn ɗōmǝh ‘this place’ (10:12)
tōgǝr ɗōmǝh ‘this rich man’ (65:14)
ḥawōdi ɗōmǝh ‘this valley’ (42:17)
sanēt ɗōmǝh ‘this year’ (39:12)
aŋāyg ɗēh ‘this man’ (77:5)
ḥawōdi ɗih ‘this valley’ (31:3)
ḥābū ǝlyōmǝh ‘these people’ (62:13)
xǝlōwaq ǝlyōmǝh ‘these clothes’ (37:5)
aŋa’ ɗékmǝh ‘that land’ (63:1)
anhōr ɗákǝmǝh ‘that day’ (54:7)
agzāyrǝt ɗákǝmǝh ‘that island’ (74:3)
aŋāyg ɗék ‘that man’ (42:47)
ḥawǝm ɗék ‘that tree’ (94:37)
ašāwar ɗak ‘that rock’ (99:19)
aŋǝrfēt dayk ‘that room’ (22:97)
aŋǝrýʊg ǝlyákǝmǝh ‘those men’ (41:10)
ḥābū ǝlyék ‘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:

- ḏōmǝh aḡīgēn ‘this boy’ (76:12)
- ḏīmǝh hāmēk ‘this mother of yours’ (15:17)
- ḏīmǝh agáwhǝrǝt ‘this jewel’ (22:54)
- ḏīmǝh akǝssēt ‘this story’ (88:14)
- ḏǝ́kǝmǝh awáktǝn ‘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 ǝḥād and ṭāṭ ‘someone’

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

- ǝḥād ǝl-hīs tī ‘is anyone like me?’ (42:3)
- wǝl ǝḥād ǝnkáykǝm ‘has anyone come to you?’ (45:5)
- hām ǝḥād mǝnkēm kǝrbāy ‘if any one of you come near me’ (47:11)
- mǝn tawr ǝḥād yahātum ǝqr ǝkōbǝr ‘sometimes someone spends the night by the grave’ (54:3)
- ǝl kǝsk bīs ǝḥād lā ‘I didn’t find anyone in it’ (38:2)
- ǝl ǝḥād ǝhrfōna tis lā ‘no one will move it’ (67:5)
- w-ǝl-ād ǝḥād ǝlām ǝḥād lā ‘and no one was unjust to anyone again’ (66:10)
- w-ǝl ǝḥād yǝkawdǝr ǝỵḥōm ǝḥād lā ‘no one can touch anyone’ (104:38)

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

- ǝḥād yǝšbāyd, w-ǝḥād yǝšǝsdǝk, w-ǝḥād yōmǝr ǝdq-yǝhlom ‘some disbelieved, and some believed, and some said he was dreaming’ (92:6)

Note that ǝḥād, which is clearly derived from the common Semitic numeral ‘one’, is not used in the Mehri numeral system (§ 9.1.1).²¹

---

²¹ It is possible that ǝḥād is a borrowing of Arabic ḥād rather than a retention from earlier Semitic. The adjective wǝḥāyd ‘solitary, lone’ (10:12) is from Arabic wahīd.
The Mehri numeral ṭāṭ ‘one’ can sometimes be used in to mean ‘someone’, as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ḥām ṭāṭ ĝīlu} & \text{ ‘if someone was sick’ (25:17)} \\
\text{ḥām ṭāṭ mōt} & \text{ ‘if someone dies’ (54:1)} \\
\text{tāmǝrǝm hībōh hām wǝzōmkǝm ṭāṭ kǝhwēt} & \text{ ‘what do you say if you give someone coffee?’ (59:13)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

3.5.2 ści ‘something, any(thing)’ and ści lā ‘nothing, not any(thing)’

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ḥōh kǝsk ści} & \text{ ‘I found something’ (37:22)} \\
\text{wiḳa lǝk ści} & \text{ ‘has something happened to you?’ (42:7)} \\
\text{mahāffǝk tah ḥǝbrǝýtī mǝn ġayr ści} & \text{ ‘I will give my daughter to him in marriage for free [lit. without anything]’ (42:42)} \\
\text{ḥām ǝḥād yǝġōrǝb ści} & \text{ ‘if anyone knows anything’ (65:7)} \\
\text{dǝmǝh ści mǝkāddar} & \text{ ‘this is something preordained’ (65:14)} \\
\text{ḥām thǝm mǝn hǝnây ści} & \text{ ‘if you want any from me’ (77:4)} \\
\text{āzǝmǝh ści} & \text{ ‘give him something!’ (91:10)} \\
\text{ḥāmak tıs gǝtǝryêt ści} & \text{ ‘did you hear her say something?’ (94:17)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wǝzyǝma tıkam ści lā} & \text{ ‘we won’t give you anything’ (35:14)} \\
\text{al śah ści lā} & \text{ ‘he didn’t have anything’ (65:3)} \\
\text{al ści yadūm lā} & \text{ ‘nothing lasts’ (98:15)} \\
\text{al hāssǝk bǝ-ści lā} & \text{ ‘I didn’t notice anything’ (103:3)} \\
\text{āmūr, “ści lā” he said, “(It’s) nothing”’} & \text{ (94:32)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kǝskǝm mǝtwē ści yǝmōh} & \text{ ‘did you find any pasturage today?’ (26:3)} \\
\text{rawn wǝ-bǝr, wǝlākan abkǝr ści lā} & \text{ ‘goats and camels, but not any cows’ (29:15)} \\
\end{align*}
\]
ād wǝzyēma tīn šxōf šī ‘will you give us any milk yet?’ (35:13)
wolē rǝhmēt ši ści̞m sante̞n démah ‘have they had any rain this year?’ (45:3)
hām šūk darēhēm ši lā ‘if you don’t have any money’ (86:8)
æl wi̞ka ḥarb ši lā ‘there hasn’t been any war’ (104:28)

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

wolē šī ayd ‘are there any sardines?’ (27:9)
æl šī šayga kǝráyb lā ‘there wasn’t any shelter nearby’ (17:12)
æl šī lā ḍār hamōh ‘there was nothing at the water’ (95:11)
æl šī mōh fənwīkǝm lā ‘there is no water ahead of you’ (94:37)
šī lā mōh bəwmah kǝráyb ‘there is no water here nearby’ (99:29)

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

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

3.5.3  kāl øhād and kāl ṭāṭ ‘everyone; each one’
The phrase kāl øhād means ‘everyone’ or ‘each one’. It is normally treated as grammatically singular. Examples are:

kāl øhād yəsəndûr bə-msələmtən ‘everyone makes vows with sacrificial animals’ (16:4)
kāl øhād šat arəwäh ‘each one got his lot’ (99:7)
yəmarəm ḥābû wə-kāl øhād ḍə-ɡərbīhəm ‘people and everyone who knew them say (this)’ (104:30)
kāl øhād yəḩätəm hāl xásəməh ‘everyone spends the night with his enemy’ (104:39)

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

šawgiś ḥābû kāl øhād æl-sékənəh ‘the people, each one went home to his settlement’ (lit. ‘the people went, each one to his community’) (910)
bətədōh kāl øhād məkōn ‘they each went to (their own) place [lit. each one to a place]’ (12:9)
battādam kāl ǝḥād ba-ḥármaḥ ‘they all went their (separate) ways [lit. each one on his way]’ (12:13)
mot gaẓōt hayāwm yəšawgiś hābū kāl ǝḥād al-šəkanah ‘when the sun goes down, the people go home, everyone to his (own) settlement’ (54:3)

The phrase kāl ṭāṭ (sometimes reduced to kā-ṭāṭ 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 ǝḥād in the texts. The examples from the texts suggest that kāl ǝḥād is more often used to refer to a whole group (‘everyone’), while kāl ṭāṭ 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 ṭayt. Examples of kāl ṭāṭ are:

kāl ṭāṭ yənkɛ́ʾ bə-kəwṭēt ‘each one should offer [lit. bring] a story’ (48:29)
kāl ṭāṭ yə́šlūl ᵃ́swri ṭrayt ᵃ́lofāf ‘each one carries two flat stones’ (71A:1)
kāl ṭāṭ kə́lūt b-akassātah ‘each one told his story’ (74:24)
sə̀l šátáyt mə́swəmər, wə-ṭàkk kə́l ṭāṭ bə-xàff ‘he took three nails, and he hammered each one into a foot’ (76:16)
kāl ṭāṭ bə-ḥə̄ydəh škay ‘each one (had) a sword in his hand’ (104:32)
kāl ṭāṭ yə́gōb yə́ğrēb ɑ́gīd mə́n əkə́məh ‘everyone wants to know the good from the bad’ (73:12)
kāl ṭayt sī̂̄s rə̄mhət d-ə̄shə̀b ‘each one (witch) had a spear of gold’ (2:1)
kāl ṭayt təntəkōl̃ ġayg tšɛ́ffkə́h ‘each one should choose a man to marry’ (15:21)

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

bārum ḥābū kə-ṭāṭ h-ə̀bə̀táh ‘the people went home, each to his own house’ (97:28)
wəzmnīham kə-ṭāṭ hə̀yb ‘he gave them each a crow-bar [or: shovel]’ (19:13)
sə̀lə́nī kə-ṭāṭ səwər ‘we’ll each pick up a rock’ (35:10)
kalə̈m tı̄ham kə́l ṭāṭ bə̀rk də̀hrīz ‘leave them each in a (separate) cell’ (46:17)
həm kə́l ṭāṭ wə́shīh ‘they were each alone’ (50:4)

The last example shows that while kāl ṭāṭ is used appositionally with the plural həm, it is still grammatically singular, as shown by the 3ms suffix of wə́shīh.
A few times in the texts, we also find *kāl* used by itself meaning ‘all’ or ‘everyone’, for example:

- *kāl də-nūka yōmər* ‘everyone that came said’ (42:42)
- *kāl āmāwr* ‘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 śīyǝn* ‘everything’

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

- *bāwmǝh kāl śīyǝn ġōli* ‘here everything is expensive’ (18:15)
- *ašābar axáyr mən kāl śīyǝn* ‘patience is better than everything’ (6:9)
- *ktēbəm hāyni kāl śīyǝn də-wika* ‘write down for me everything that happens’ (66:1)
- *hēt fəyǝ́zk lay ba-kāl śīyǝn* ‘you have surpassed me in everything’ (76:18)
- *šīhǝm kāl śīyǝn* ‘they have everything’ (104:36)

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

- *nāṣāṣǝh axáyr mən kāl śi* ‘we fear it more than anything’ (7:2)

The use of *śi* 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.\(^{22}\)

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

- *tōli ġǝráwb kāl śīyǝn kállǝh* ‘then they realized everything’ (67:9)
- *kalēti lay ba-kāl śīyǝn kállǝh* ‘tell me everything!’ (85:34)
- *ḳǝlōna kāl śīyǝn kállǝh* ‘he will leave absolutely everything’ (98:11)

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

\(^{22}\) As noted in the comment to this passage in the texts, Johnstone transcribed *kāl śīyǝn* in his Roman-letter transcription, suggesting a possible later correction.
3.5.5  falān(ǝ), al-falānī, ḥadd al-falānī

The noun *falān* (f. *falānǝ*), 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{šay ġayg hámмǝh falān} & \text{ ‘with me was a man whose name was so-and-so’} \\
(18:2) \\
\text{hōh bǝr falān bǝr falān} & \text{ ‘I am the son of so-and-so, son of so-and-so’} \\
(20:45) \\
\text{hēt ḥǝbrē} & \text{ ‘you are the son of so-and-so’} & (20:47) \\
\text{falān} & \text{gilu} & \text{‘so-and-so got sick’} & (96:3) \\
\text{hōh attēt} & \text{dǝ-falān} & \text{‘I am the wife of so-and-so’} & (94:47) \\
\text{ā falānǝ, syēri k-agýgyǝś} & \text{‘so-and-so, go with your husband!’} & (94:12) \\
\text{hē hārūs bǝ-falānǝ bǝrt falān} &\text{ ‘he has married so-and-so, daughter of so-}
\text{and-so’} & (100:4)
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hōh nákak mǝn rǝḥbēt} & \text{ al-fǝlānīyyǝ} & \text{‘I came from such-and-such town’} \\
(22:28) \\
\text{naḥāh} & \text{b-amkōn al-falānī} & \text{‘we are in such-and-such place’} & (22:85)
\end{align*}
\]

The phrase *bǝ-ḥadd al-falānī*, borrowed from Arabic, means ‘in/to such-and-such place’, as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{akōfi} & \text{ bǝ-ḥādd al-falānī} & \text{‘go to such-and-such a place’} & (74:4) \\
\text{bǝ-ḥādd al-fǝlänī} & \text{hē dǝ-sawbāyš} & \text{‘in such-and-such place he is waiting for you’} & (75:7)
\end{align*}
\]

3.5.6  ḥǝyálla tāṭ ‘whoever’

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

\[
\text{hōh dǝ-ġǝrābk ḥǝyálla} \text{ tāṭ dǝ-yǝnkɛ́ʾ bǝwmǝh ḥǝrfōna tīs} & \text{‘I know that whoever comes here will move it’} & (67:5)
\]
The word ḥǝyálla ‘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 ḥǝyálla can also be used as an exclamation meaning something like ‘it is good (news) that’, e.g., ḥǝyálla āgāyg gahēm ‘it is good news that the man went!’.

### 3.5.7 Other Indefinite Pronouns

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

- adámmǝh bǝ́rǝh k-ǝḥād ġáyrǝn ‘he is probably with somebody else [lit. (someone) besides us]’ (41:4)
- ķō-sǝyūr yǝxlōf ġáyrǝh ‘something else [lit. besides it] will take the place of that which has gone’ (97:27)

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

- ḥǝgdá yak ḥōgǝt ‘I forgot something’ (70:6)
- āmáyli ḥǝnáfš tāmáyli ḥōgǝt ‘pretend you are doing something!’ (94:8)

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

- kalūṯ lay mǝnēdam ķ-ǝl yǝbáyd 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 šakrǝwīt ‘she hid (herself)’ (85:22) (Š1-Stem)
- hām šhawǝmb ‘if you warm yourself (by the fire)’ (86:4) (Š1-Stem)
- šābdǝs ‘detach (yourself) from her!’ (94:43) (Š1-Stem)
See further in § 6.4 and § 6.5. However, more often, Mehri employs a reflexive pronoun based on suffixed forms of the noun ḥanōf- (du./pl. ḥǝnfáy-). This is historically the definite form of a noun nōf, based on the Semitic root *nfs ‘soul,’ but the noun is never used without suffixes. Following are the forms of the reflexive pronoun:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>ḥǝnōfi</td>
<td>ḥǝnfáyki</td>
<td>ḥǝnfáyyǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>ḥǝnáfk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>ḥǝnáfs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>ḥǝnáf(ǝ)h</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>ḥǝnáfs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

- ǝlūtǝġ ḥǝnōfi ‘I will kill myself’ (75:24)
- ḥǝddōr ba-ḥanáfk ‘watch out for yourself!’ (18:18)
- ǝlalǝh hēt ḥanáfk ‘you take it for yourself!’ (22:47)
- hibōh tkōsa ḥanáfk ‘how do you find yourself?’ (i.e., ‘how are you?’) (84:8)
- āzǝmē ḥanáfš ‘give yourself to me!’ (48:23)
- kšūf ḥǝnáfs ‘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 enuf (pl. enfǝf), suggesting a root nff, while Soqotri has some forms with a metathesized root nhf (< *nsf).
The reflexive pronoun is also used in the idiom áymǝl ḥǝnfǝ- ‘pretend’ (lit. ‘make oneself’), which occurs about a half-dozen times in the texts. A few of the passages are:

āmlōt ḥǝnáfs ɡayg ‘she pretended to be a man’ (lit. ‘she made herself a man’) (48:27)
gār w-áymǝl ḥǝnáfǝh ber mōt ‘he fell and pretended he had died’ (64:21)
tāt yāmōl ḥǝnáfǝh ɡa-ɡīlu ‘one will pretend he has a fever’ (84:2)
āmáyli ḥǝnáfs tāmáyli ḥōgǝt ‘pretend you are doing something!’ (94:8)

Other idioms that use the reflexive pronoun are sayür k-ḥǝnōf- ‘go to the bathroom’ (lit. ‘go with oneself’) (cf. 97:37), sayür b-ḥǝnōf- ‘be oneself again, recover’ (cf. 25:16), and (š)sǝnōh ḥǝnōf- ‘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 wǝḥś- 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 wǝḥśáy, 2ms wǝḥśūk, 3ms wǝḥśīh, and 3fs wǝḥśīs. There are about ten examples in the texts, among which are:

aġáyg sōbǝr yāgōb wǝḥśīh ‘the man always liked (to be) by himself’ (15:3)
hōh tēt wǝḥśáy ‘I am a woman by myself’ (64:26)
āl aḥmūm l-ǝklēs wǝḥśīs lā ‘I cannot leave her by herself’ (74:13)
hāl ǝḥād aw wǝḥśūk ‘with someone, or by yourself?’ (80:5)
kō tēm ǝklōk tǝh yǝsyēr wǝḥśīh yǝmšīh ‘why did you all let him go by himself yesterday’ (89:34)

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

ġátri šīs ḥǝnáfs ‘he spoke with her by herself’ (48:11)

---

25 This is not to say that the idiom is verbal in origin. No G-Stem verb (which would give a base wǝḥś-) is attested, though ML lists an Š1-Stem šǝwḥáwś ‘feel lonely’. Cf. also the Arabic C-Stem ʾawḥaša ‘be deserted; be lonely’.
3.7 Reciprocals

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

\[
\text{kátwatm hâbû ‘the people chatted (with one another)’ (63:13) (T1-Stem)}
\]
\[
\text{antáwhám ‘they fought (with one another)’ (70:4) (T2-Stem)}
\]
\[
\text{hêm al gâtərbm lâ ‘they didn’t recognize one another’ (74:9) (T1-Stem)}
\]
\[
\text{t̄həym tągtəsəm ‘you want to quarrel (with one another)’ (77:8) (T1-Stem)}
\]

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 tâṭîdáy- for masculine forms, and tâytîdáy- for feminine forms.26 This pronoun is derived from the numeral tât/tâyt ‘one’. Following is the complete set of forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1m</td>
<td>tâṭîdáyki tâṭîdáyyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1f</td>
<td>tâytîdáyki tâytîdáyyən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>tâṭîdáyki tâṭîdáykəm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>tâytîdáyki tâytîdáykən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>tâṭîdáyhi tâṭîdáyhm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>tâytîdáyhi tâytîdáysən</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

---

26 The only feminine reciprocal form that occurs in the texts is tâytîdáysən (99:52). This was mistranscribed by Johnstone (and hence by Stroomer) as tâṭîdáysən, 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 țāṭidáy- can be preceded by a preposition where the context requires it. There are about ten occurrences of țāṭiday- in the texts, some of which are:

āmǝrōh ha-țāṭidáyhi, “hēt ǝngáys” ‘they said to one another, “You are impure’ (4:17)

nǝhōm nǝrsān țāṭidáyyən ‘let’s tie each other up’ (24:25)

tōli fhēmǝm țāṭidáyəhm ‘then they understood one another’ (59:14)

nākam ḥābū wə-ffāskəm tiḥi mən țāṭidáyhi ‘people came and separated them from each other’ (61:5)

aytāyl ǝbūk arîkōb ăl-țayṭidáysən ‘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 lūtəğ + reciprocal pronoun, as well as the T1-Stem láttəğ, both meaning ‘kill one another’, for example:

	awtēğəm țāṭidáykəm ‘(lest) you kill one another’ (104:9) (G-Stem)

láttəğəm ‘they killed one another’ (3:19) (T1-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:

yatkáwkw așǝwáyr tayt ḍar tayt ‘they pound rocks on one another’ (lit. ‘one upon one’) (16:2)

agárbəm tāt bād tāt ‘they tried, one after the other’ (50:3)

3.8 Relative Pronouns

3.8.1 Relative ə-
The basic relative pronoun in Mehri is ə(ǝ)- (var. əd-) ‘who, that, which’. It does not decline for gender or number, and it does not matter if the antecedent is human or non-human.27 Sometimes the consonant ə assimilates to a following

---

27 A plural relative pronoun la- 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:

\[
gátəwsem aɣəyg ə-ʃətməm hərōm 'the men that bought the tree argued' (3:18)
\]
\[
fātnak hēxər ə-ŋkάyən 'do you remember the old man who came to us?' (22:73)
\]
\[
dōməh hē aɣugən ə-šət tēt 'this is the boy who took your wife' (22:89)
\]
\[
kūsəm maʃər ə-ʃə-məla dərēhəm 'they found a turban that was full of money' (68:2)
\]
\[
ʃəkəm həbū ə-hαnūn mən aɣəyg 'the people that were by us laughed at the man' (71:4)
\]
\[
āmūr aāsər ə-ɣəyg ə-yəgōb b-əgəggīt 'the friend of the man who loved the girl said' (75:6)
\]
\[
yəxīf ɣəyūg ə-axəyr mənk 'men who are better than you will replace you' (76:5)
\]

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:

\[
śīnən rawn bās ə-l sēn bə-xəyr lā 'I saw some goats that were not well' (26:6)
\]
\[
hēm ə-dər rəmənət ə-l sē mēkən lā 'they were on vegetation that was not much' (30:1)
\]
\[
tāt mənkəm ə-d-hē təwəyl ɣəsyər ɣətif bərk xan 'one of you who is tall should go walk down into the hold' (91:18)
\]

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:28

\[
əl kəsk əḥād lā ə-ɣərəbah 'I didn't find anyone that I knew' (lit. ‘that I knew him’) (34:20)
\]
\[
b-arḥoyəb ə-ʃəkəmsən 'in the towns that I rule' (66:1)
\]

---

28 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. kəl ḳəbəyi yəḥărən təh ‘they fought any tribesman’ (104:37).
A resumptive pronoun must also be used if the relative is in a prepositional relationship with the antecedent, as in:

\[ ašāhən \pa \barkhə \a'isē 'the dish that had the food in it' (24:47) \]
\[ 'əss aġyəg \a-hätim hənóh aġyəg 'the man with whom the men had spent the night got up' (73:11) \]
\[ gəhməh h-arḥəbət \pa-bis aġəganət 'they went to the town that the girl was in' (75:4) \]
\[ hêt syərə \bark \xələwək \pa-hōh nākak bərkikət 'you go out in the clothes that I came in' (75:8) \]
\[ arikəb \pa-gəznə wəyərsən 'the camels upon which they had made the raid' (104:24) \]

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:

\[ təwəh gəyg yəsəwkūf 'they came to a man who was sleeping' (2:2) \]
\[ bə-ṣəfūr xawr hammad ariri 'in Dhofar there is a lagoon whose name is (Khawr) Rawri' (7:7) \]
\[ wbəysi bə-xələwək γədon nākak tīk bīhəm 'put on new clothes that I brought for you' (24:6) \]
\[ gələwək aḥad yəgorəb aɣərovi 'they looked for someone who spoke my language' (34:25) \]
\[ šay gəyg yəhəm yətəf layš 'I have a man who wants to visit with you' (38:15) \]
\[ nəhəm rəhəbət təyət nəhərhən bəs aməndəwkən '(we were) heading for a certain town in which we could pawn our rifle' (91:2) \]
\[ wələ skəsa aḥad yəməmız 'perhaps I will find someone who smokes' (94:25) \]
\[ ksəna bū təgərbəm 'you will meet people that you know' (37:16) \]

---

29 The verb wátʃ(ə)f 'come to (in the evening)' takes a direct object.
In the last example above, it is possible that the relative ð- is missing for phonological reasons, since ð- 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 ð- 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:

- *el bīhǝm ð-āwǝnīn lá* ‘there is no one among them [lit. not among them one] that has helped us’ (91:14)
- *ðǝ-sayûr yaxlōf ɡāyrǝh* ‘something else [lit. besides it] will take the place of that which has gone’ (97:27)
- *ðǝ-yahōm yaktān* ‘the one who wants to cut us off’ (98:9)
- *šǝrdīd ḥāzihǝm kālsǝn, ġayr ðǝ-bɛ́r sḥāṭǝm tīsǝn amhǝrɛ́h* ‘they got back all of their goats, except for those that the Mehris had already slaughtered’ (104:34)

Keeping with the above use, the relative ð- 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 ðǝ-ɡābbǝk naxāhe* ‘you are the one who defecated under it’ (318)
- *hēt ðǝ-harǝ́qǝk ab’āyrons* ‘you are the one who stole our camel’ (2310)
- *hōh ðǝ-lǝ́tɡǝk tīs* ‘I am the one who killed it’ (42:43)
- *hōh ðǝ-kǝ́sk tǝh fǝnōhǝn* ‘I am the one who found it first’ (77:3)
- *mōn ðǝ-xǝyūn 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 ðǝ-kǝ́sk* ‘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.

30 Note also the resumptive pronoun *tīsǝn* 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hōh ḡayg ǝdh-hōm ǝl-ġəbə́r hābyə́ } & \text{‘I am a man that wants [lit. I want] to meet his [lit. my] parents’ (20:35)} \\
\text{hōh ġagāwz ǝl-l-ād wāšələk lā ǝl-syēr, wə-l-ād həbșə́rk lā } & \text{‘I am an old woman who can't manage to go anymore, and doesn't see well anymore’ (46:2)} \\
\text{hōh ḡayg ǝ-šəlāsk hə́rə́m } & \text{‘I am a man who lost the road’ (47:8)} \\
\text{hēt tākā́ ǝ-l-wbā́d tā́t ǝl-fḗm } & \text{‘you should be one who has shot someone in the leg [or: foot]’ (72:4)} \\
\text{hōh ḡayg ǝ-ʃə ǝfyə́dkə́m mə́n śi lā́ } & \text{‘I am a man who is of no use to you for anything’ (73:4)} \\
\text{hēt hōkə́m tḥāwkə́m bə-ḥā́kk } & \text{‘you are a ruler who rules justly’ (74:20)} \\
\text{hōh ḡayg ǝ-ʃə šay kawt lā́ } & \text{‘I am a man who has no food’ (92:2)} \\
\text{hōh ḡayg ǝ-ʃə ǝkā́wdə́r l-əśxā́wwə́l b-əkā́́ dəmə́h lā́ } & \text{‘I am a man who cannot stay in this land’ (94:4)} \\
\text{hōh ḡayg ǝmzū́z } & \text{‘I am a man who smokes’ (94:29)}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\text{hōh sənnə́wrə́t ǝdh-kōnə́k tī́ } \text{‘I am the cat that you raised [lit. that you raised me]’ (6:11)}
\]

On the use of ǝ- 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 ǝ- ‘whoever’

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kāl ǝ-ʃə̱-nū́kə́ kəzə́h } & \text{‘everyone who came refused’ (36:3)} \\
\text{kāl ǝ-ḥə́riʃ əsā́wə́r dīmə́h mə́n hōrə́m, hā́h agā́wərə́t } & \text{‘whoever moves this rock from the road, the jewel is for him’ (67:6)}
\end{align*}
\]
kāl ḏ-yaḥōm xadmēt wa-maskēn, yənkē’ ‘whoever wants work and a dwelling-place, let him come’ (74:7)
kāl ḏ-šāh dərēhām yəkāwdaṛ yəaslēl səlēb ‘whoever has money can carry arms’ (94:28)

With an interceding man, this construction can also have the meaning ‘whoever/whichev-er/any (one) of’, as in:

kāl manīn ḏ-ḥdōh, yəksōṣ hərōhah ‘whichever of us has lied, his head will be cut off’ (24:37)
kāl mənkēm ḏ-wətqāyās, yəfrēr ‘whichever of you killed it, he should jump’ (42:43)
kāl mənkēm ḏ-ḥātrāk man amkənəh, ḏ-l-wəbādəh ‘any one of you who moves from his place, I will shoot him’ (64:31)
kāl mənhēm ḏ-ḥərəfīs ksōnə xədəyyət ‘whichever one of them moves it will find the gift’ (67:5)

3.8.3 ǝlhān
Mehri possesses a special relative pronoun ǝlhān (known also from elsewhere in MSA; cf. Jibbali ǝlhín, Hobyot ǝlhīn, Ḥarsusi hən), meaning ‘all that’, ‘every-thing (that)’, or ‘whatever’. It can be followed by a verbal or non-verbal clause. Examples of its use are:

waṣyēma tīk ǝlhān tḥōm ‘they will give you whatever you want’ (65:8)
ǝlhān kəsk naxāsə hə ḏ-hōh ‘whatever I find under it is mine’ (67:8)
šītəm amərwakəb w-ǝlhān bərkihəm ‘he bought the ships and all that was in them’ (74:6)
šītəm ǝlhān šəh ‘he bought all that he had’ (74:12)
šaxbərham ǝlhān gətəryəm yəllōh ‘ask them what they talked about last night’ (74:20)
kalūṭ həbū b-ǝlhān həmāyəh ‘he told the people all that he had heard’ (40:8)

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

31 Watson (2012: 401–402) also recorded a shorter form hān in Omani Mehri.
3.8.4 Relative  ámb hāl

The phrase ámb hāl has two meanings. 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:

\[
\text{idōh tōwyh ámb dawūl ámb hāl ámb ahād yašényah lā ‘he hid his meat in a cave where no one would see it’ (13:7)}
\]

\[
\text{ṣyərm ámb te hāl hərəm ámb hāl kəbə́h ayədbīr ‘bring him to the tree where the hornet stung him’ (25:13)}
\]

\[
\text{nākən kərməym ámb hāl kədət yašukən ‘they got to the mountains where Kadet was living’ (64:11)}
\]

\[
\text{bārk amhmərət ámb hāl ágə́yug həfəwr ‘into the hole where the men had dug’ (88:11)}
\]

\[
\text{ṭəyt mənsən (t)ʃəwlūl dər əsəfər ámb hāl takabələn lay ‘one of them would sit on a rock where she could watch me’ (89:3)}
\]

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

\[
\text{ʃət wəz ámb hāl aṭtəqər yašényam tah lā ‘he slaughtered a goat (in a place) where the merchants couldn’t see him’ (4:2)}
\]

\[
\text{ ámb hāl nəkək, yaʃhək mənəy həbə ‘wherever I came to, people would laugh at me’ (34:10)}
\]

\[
\text{ ámb hāl ágə́yəg əssəfər, tssəfən əə ‘wherever the man traveled, she traveled with him’ (74:10)}
\]

\[
\text{əgəhm ámb hāl ámb ahād yaŋəka lā ‘I go where no one else goes’ (76:1)}
\]

\[
\text{həsnən ámb hāl ʃənək tah ‘show us where you saw it’ (95:8)}
\]

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

\[
\text{ḥəh kəfdənə ámb həwədī ámb hāl nəkan ‘I will go down into the valley where we came from’ (70:6)}
\]

\[
\text{ʃəni səkənəh ámb hāl ɡəhəm ‘he saw the settlement he had set out from’ (98:1)}
\]

---

32 Watson (2012: 387, 401) also recorded the particle hən used with the functions of relative ámb hāl in Omani Mehri.
'bring back the head of the serpent from where it was hung' (42:43)

In this last example, the passive verb ḏ-ālēk has the verbal prefix ḏ- (§ 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':

'sál akādar te mən hāl ḥārāwn thɔksāwmən ‘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 -īt, -ēt, -āt, or -ōt,1 or unstressed suffix -ǝt. 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:


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

A very few nouns seem to be of variable gender, such as mawsǝ ‘rain’ (cf. 47:2 and 49:1), and kǝlǝn ‘bride/groom’.2 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 kǝlǝn can be qualified to remove ambiguity, and so we find tēt kǝlǝn ‘bride’ (9:7),
it seems that the feminine noun sawēḥǝr serves as the plural of both masculine sēḥǝr ‘warlock, wizard’ and feminine sáḥrǝt ‘witch’.3

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ġīgēn ‘boy’</td>
<td>ġǝgǝnōt ‘girl’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥābrē ‘son’</td>
<td>bǝt ‘daughter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gūr ‘male servant’</td>
<td>gǝrıt ‘female servant’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bāl ‘master’</td>
<td>bǝlīt ‘mistress’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>did ‘paternal uncle’</td>
<td>dīt ‘maternal aunt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xayl ‘maternal uncle’</td>
<td>xalīt ‘paternal aunt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥaym ‘brother-in-law’</td>
<td>ḥǝmǝyǝt ‘sister-in law’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥayr ‘male donkey’</td>
<td>hırit ‘female donkey’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kawb ‘dog, wolf’</td>
<td>kǝwbot ‘bitch’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sēḥǝr ‘wizard’</td>
<td>sáḥrǝt ‘witch’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ġayg ‘man’</td>
<td>tēt ‘woman’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥayb ‘father’</td>
<td>hǝmē ‘mother’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba’áyr ‘male camel’</td>
<td>yǝbıt ‘female camel’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɛ́yǝh ‘male goat’</td>
<td>wǝz ‘female goat’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hǝxǝr ‘old man’</td>
<td>āgawz ‘old woman’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Not all nouns referring to female animals are feminine in gender. For example, the nouns dǝrhīs ‘one-year old female (goat) kid’, fǝráyṣ́ ‘young she-camel’, and ḥōṭǝr ‘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 bǝhlīt ‘word’, nōbēt ‘bee’, and rīśīt ‘snake’ are, respectively, bǝhēl, nǝwēb, and rǝyēś, all of which lack

---

3 In 7:4, the masculine singular sēḥǝr must refer to one of the people referred to as sawēḥǝr elsewhere in this text (7:3, 7:7), though sawēḥǝr is grammatically feminine. The word sēḥǝr 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 mǝndáwḳ 'rifle', pl. mǝndákǝt, 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:

- warx 'month', du. wárxi
- káwzǝrǝt 'date-basket', du. káwzǝrǝti
- tēt 'woman', du. tēti
- ġığēn 'boy', du. ġīgēni

In actual use, the dual form of the noun is nearly always followed by the numeral 'two' (m. ṯrōḥ, f. ṯrayt). Examples from the texts are:

- ġáygi ṯrōḥ 'two men' (104:5)
- kōni ṯrōḥ 'two horns' (88:7)
- wárxi ṯrōḥ 'two months' (17:11)
- āṣǝri ṯrōḥ 'two nights' (98:6)
- kādǝri ṯrōḥ 'two pots' (35:17)

In speech, this dual ending -i is interpreted by Mehri speakers as part of the following numeral (e.g., warx iṯrōḥ). In fact, in Ali Musallam's Arabic-letter transcriptions, he nearly always wrote i- prefixed to the numeral ṯrōḥ, rather than suffixed to the noun. However, speakers do not use the form iṯrōḥ 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:

- ṯrōḥ ġayw 'two brothers' (40:1)
- ṯrōḥ śhawd 'two witnesses' (9:4; 100:1)

Johnstone (1975a: 21) cites two nouns that exhibit a unique, unpredictable dual, namely, ġayg 'man' (dual ġáwgi) and ġǝggīt 'girl' (dual ġǝggáwti), 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 aġáwgi ‘the two men’ (4:14; 5:17) confirm this. Also note the unusual case of fakhir ‘half’, whose dual form fakhir serves also as its plural, a use which is quite logical semantically. Dual fakhir 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:

ṣāwri ṭrayt ṭeloraf ‘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:

aġóthe ṭrayt ‘his two sisters’ (15:1)
ḥobánye ṣatáyt ‘my three sons’
ḥobánsɛ ṭróh ‘her two sons’

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:

ġīgēni ṭróh wáttxfam ‘two boys came’ (35:1)
nūka ḳēʿyōti ṭrayt ‘two female spirits came’ (68:6)

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

kafdōh tagēr ‘the (two) merchants went down’ (4:12)
sirōh ḫambarāwten ‘the (two) boys went’ (35:16)
sirōh ḥāqarōn ‘the (two) slaves went’ (65:10)
dörtōh ḥāqērtēn ‘the (two) slave girls went around’ (97:31)

---

4 More examples can be found in Watson (2012: 139).
5 In this example, the base gät- could derive either from the singular gāyt or the plural gāwten, but the suffix -he clearly shows that this is a plural form (cf. aḡōstah ‘his sister’ and aḡōthe ‘his sisters’).
6 These last two examples were elicited from Saeed al-Qumairi, a native speaker of Yemeni Mehri.
An exception is aġáwgi aḥtawalōh ‘the two men have gone crazy’ (4:14); surely it is not a coincidence that aġáwgi 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.?

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ṯrōh rākbōh bārkēh} & \text{ ‘two (men) rode in it’ (6:6)} \\
\text{ṯrōh dā-yasūrōh} & \text{ ‘two were traveling’ (68:1; 72:1)} \\
\text{ṯrōh sīrōh} \ldots \text{wā-ṯrōh āmārōh} & \text{ ‘two went \ldots and two sang’ (84:4)}
\end{align*}
\]

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 (sallőñi), 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.8 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.

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7 We see this order preference too when there is a compound subject that is semantically dual. Cf. hōh wā-śśōx mānan təh ‘the big one and I held him back’ (91:7, with the semantically dual compound subject first, followed by a plural verb) and sayr̩ki hōh wə-sədəykī ‘my friend and I went’ (18:8, with the dual verb first, followed by the semantically dual compound subject).

8 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 ġīgēn ‘boy’, pl. āmbarāwtn; yābīt ‘female camel’, pl. bēr; nāhōr ‘day’, pl. yūm; manēdam ‘person’, pl. bū; and kahwēt ‘coffee-shop’, pl. mākōhi. The noun tēt ‘woman’ (pl. yanīt) falls into this category from a synchronic perspective, but historically both forms are from the same root, ňt.

Some singular nouns can have both a singular and collective meaning, e.g., śāygat ‘ornament; jewelry’, tōmar ‘date; dates’, and wōz ‘female goat; goats’. A collective noun may be treated as grammatically singular or plural. For example, the collective dhabbēt ‘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 harōm ‘tree’ can also be used with a singular meaning, and in fact is much more commonly used in the texts than singular hārmāyt, which is found just once (70:1). The plural nouns bēr ‘camels’ and rawn ‘goats’ can also be used as collectives.

4.3.1 Masculine External Plurals

Nouns with the masculine external plural marker -īn are quite rare in Mehri, and are exceedingly rare in the texts. Two examples are ktōbin ‘books’ (25:18, sg. ktōb), and, with the allomorph -āyn, māytāyn ‘dead (people)’ (40:4, sg. mōyāt). Other examples not occurring in the texts can be found in ML, such as ḏōnbēb

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9 The word bū (def. ħābū) is likely historically connected with Semitic *āb(w)- ‘father’ (Kogan 2015: 547). If so, then this means that it is related to the Mehri singular ħayb ‘father’, but the plural of the latter is ḫawb.

10 Mākōhi (attested in 48:13) is the broken plural of mākhōyat, the Yemeni Mehri word for ‘coffee-shop’, which occurs in text 48:14 (though the audio has kahwēt here). ML (s.v. khw(y)) says that it is also the plural of the Omani Mehri word kahwēt ‘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 ḥārāwn ḏa-yālābdah harōm, 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 harōm ḏa-yālābdah ‘the tree that he was beating (it)’, where the 3ms resumptive object suffix makes it clear that harōm is singular. Similarly, we can cite kūsēn harōm őδ-bǐh ḥfül, wālākan ḏāyrāh yāḥōr mēkān ‘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 harōm on both bēh and ḏāyrāh. In 94:37, harōm is modified by the ms demonstrative ḏēk.

12 Though bēr is the generic word for ‘camels’, it also serves as the plural of yābīt ‘female camel’. The word bēr has the same root as baʿyōr ‘male camel’ (pl. baʿyōr).

13 The mp form maxāšärāyn ‘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. ḏanābūn; gafōn ‘eyelash, eyelid’, pl. gafanūn;14 ḡōb ‘excrement’, pl. ḡabbūn; ḫarōṣ ‘mosquito’, pl. ḫaraṣīn; and zawōd ‘supplies’, pl. zawādīn.15 Note that almost all of these words have the singular pattern CaCōC. 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., ġulām ‘boy’, pl. ġilmān).

In addition to the rare suffix -īn, we find the likewise rare masculine plural morpheme -ōn. Examples from the texts are qarōn ‘slaves’ (e.g., 22:104, sg. ġūr), and ṣ́īfōn ‘guests’ (e.g., 4:3, sg. ṣ́ayf). We also find this morpheme in the feminine plural āgzōn ‘old women’ (e.g., 97:8, sg. āgāwz).16

The most common suffix found with masculine plurals is -ǝt, though this is nearly always used in conjunction with an internal plural pattern (see § 4.3.3). An example of -ǝt used independently is dēllōlēt ‘guides’ (60:8, sg. dēllōl); cf. also ḥēddōdat ‘blacksmiths’, sg. ḥēddōd, 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 -tǝn/-ōtǝn/-ūtǝn/-āwtǝn. The form -tǝn is especially common with adjectives, including most of those based on the pattern CaCāyC (see § 5.2), while -ūtǝn 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. āyentǝn ‘eye’
- (ḥa)būt, pl. (ḥa)bantǝn ‘daughter’
- dāy, pl. dāyōtan ‘scent’ (masculine?)
- fīkā, pl. fikyūtǝn ‘cover’ (masculine?)
- gonyōt, pl. gannāytǝn ‘female jinn’
- gōvit, pl. gērtan ‘slave-girl’
- gāyfèn, pl. gafanūtan ‘dress’ (masculine?)

14 Johnstone (1975a: 20) has the definition ‘eyebrow’ for gafōn, 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. ‘gz’) gives āgōyǝz as the plural of āgawz, and lists āgzōn as a collective. In the texts, only āgzōn is used for the plural.
Unfortunately, the attestations of the nouns ɗay, ɗika, and ɗayfen are not in contexts that allow us to determine whether they are masculine or feminine, so ɗmbəráwtan is the only certain masculine noun in the list above with a feminine external plural suffix. The plural of hamm 'name' is ɗamūtən (ML, s.v. hmy), and this is also likely masculine.18

Some masculine nouns with the prefix ma- have plurals in -ūtən (e.g., mahešən 'soothsayer', pl. massənyūtən), 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 -ūtən (see § 7.1.6).

Before possessive suffixes (§ 3.2.2), the element -ən of the feminine plural marker (presumably historical nunation) is lost, as in ɦəbəntəse 'her daughters' (15:4), āgəthe 'his sisters' (15:1), āyẹntəse 'your (f.) eyes' (42:27), ɦədəthe 'his hands' (75:10), and așəfərtəse 'her braids' (75:14).

An external feminine plural suffix -ōt is attested with a small number of adjectives, e.g., kōməh 'bad', fp kamḥōt (18:18); nəkəy 'innocent; pure', fp nəkəyōt (2:3); and mətaləli 'second, other; later', cp matalyōt (30:13). On the suffix -ōn, found in the form āgzōn 'old women' (sg., āgəwz), 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

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17 ML (s.v.  CHARSET “źfr”) lists šəfr, pl. šəfarūtən, with the meaning 'plait of hair', and šəfir, pl. šəfərtən, 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 ɗəyt 'one' (75:13) and fp bissən '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. hēxǝr, pl. hīxār; sg. nēḥǝr, pl. nīḥār), there would be dozens of such groups.\textsuperscript{19}

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.


And others: āṣ́āyṣ́ (pl. āṣ́āwṣ́) ‘bone’, fǝráyṣ́ (pl. fǝrōṣ́) ‘young she-camel’, nīd (pl. nūd) ‘(water-)skin’, rīkēb (pl. rīkōb) ‘riding-camel’

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


\begin{footnotes}
\item[19] See, for example, the extensive coverage of Jahn (1905: 35–63).
\item[20] This also includes passive participles; see § 7.1.8.
\item[21] It is sometimes unclear from the audio evidence whether the plural is really āṣawr or āṣar.
\item[22] Both forms are given in ML. Watson (2012) has only the former.
\end{footnotes}

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


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


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


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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, *hərəm* is often grammatically singular in the texts.

26 Besides *jənbəyyat*, pl. *jənəbbi* (e.g., 9:8; 3:19), the texts also have *gonbəyyat*, pl. *gonəbi* (e.g., 34:11; 104:36).

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

28 The singular *xədəm* is according to ML (s.v. *xdm*), since only the plural form occurs in the texts (e.g., 19:33). Based on other nouns of this plural pattern, e.g., *dəllōl* (pl. *dəllōlət*) ‘guide’ and *həddōd* (pl. *həddōdat*) ‘blacksmith’, we might expect a singular *xədəm*. An adjective
A feminine example is: mǝndáwḳ (pl. mǝnádḳǝt) ‘rifle’

Among diminutive plurals, we also find some internal plurals with an infixed y (in the suffix -ɛ̄yēn), as well as plurals that show partial reduplication (e.g., naḥrāḥōr ‘little wadis’, sg. dimin. nawāḥār). 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 ḥabrē (pl. ḥabrūn) ‘son’, ġā (pl. ġayw) ‘brother’, tēt (pl. yānīt), ‘woman’, and wōram (pl. ayrēm) ‘road’ (def. ḥōrām, ḥayrēm). 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. The productive form of the definite article is an unstressed prefixed a- (sometimes pronounced e-), 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:

1. The definite article a- is found before the voiced and glottalic consonants b, d, ḍ, g, ġ, j, k, l, m, n, r, ś, š, t, w, y, and z. Examples are baḥt ‘house’ (def. abāḥt), dēbḥaḥ ‘honey’ (def. adēbḥaḥ), ḏāḥbēt ‘flies’ (def. aḏābḥbēt), ḏāwma ‘thirst’ (def. aḏāwma), gāzāyraḥ ‘island’ (def. qgāzāyraḥ), ġayg ‘man’ (def. aḡāyq), ḏānḏāyraḥ ‘dagger’ (def. aḏānḏāyraḥ), kāḥ ‘place’ (def. aḵāḥ), lang ‘launch’ (def. aḷāṅg), māḵōn ‘place’ (def. aṃkōn), nōḥōr ‘day’ (def. anhōr), rōḥbēt ‘town’ (def. arōḥbēt), šāwār ‘rock’ (def. aṣāwār), śāyga

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xǝddōm ‘hard-working’ is also attested (34:4). Jahn (1902: 1905) lists sg. xōdǝm, pl. xadēm (cf. Arabic xādim, pl. xuddām).

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. aṣáyga), ṣōbǝʾ 'fingers' (def. aṣōbǝʾ), ṭayḳ 'fig tree' (def. aṭáyḳ), wərēḳ 'papers' (def. awrēḳ), yəğráyb 'raven, crow' (def. ayəğráyb), zənbīl 'basket' (def. azənbīl).

b. The definite article is found before a cluster of voiceless, non-glottalic consonants (§ 2.1.2). Examples are: fśēʾ 'lunch' (def. afśēʾ), ḥfūl 'ripe (wild) figs' (def. aḥfūl), ḥkáwmǝt 'government' (def. aḥkáwmǝt), ksǝwēt 'clothes' (def. aksǝwēt), ktōb 'book' (def. aktōb), śxōf 'milk' (def. aśxōf), 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 āšǝr 'night', we may hear definite aāšǝr or āšǝr 'the night'. When initial ʿ is preserved (see § 2.1.3), then the article appears as expected before this voiced consonant, e.g., aʿiśē 'the dinner' and aʿáymǝr 'the singing'.

d. The definite article a- does not occur before the voiceless, non-glottalic consonants f, h, ḥ, k, s, ś, t, š, 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 Ø). For example, the definite form of tēṯ 'woman' can be simply tēṯ, or it can be ttēṯ or ǝttēṯ. An initial geminate is heard more often, but not always, with a prefixed preposition or the conjunction wə-, e.g., wə-ttēṯ 'and the woman'.

An unstressed ǝ is often deleted in the syllable following the definite article a-.

For example:

\-bǝḳār 'cattle' → def. abkār
\-gəzəyrǝt 'island' → def. aqəzəyrǝt
\-mənēdǝm 'human being' → def. amnēdǝm
\-nəhōr 'day' → def. anhōr
\-wərēḳ 'papers' → def. awrēḳ

But not:

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.
"mǝwsē ‘rain’ → def. amǝwsē
mǝndáwḳ ‘rifle’ → def. amǝndáwḳ
kǝrǝwš ‘money’ → def. akǝrǝwš

Cases like amǝwsē and amǝndáwḳ retain the ǝ to avoid a cluster of three consonants, while in a case like akǝrǝwš the ǝ is retained because of the preceding glottalic consonant.

As already mentioned, words with the definite article ḥ- or h- are lexical, and for the most part it is unpredictable (synchronically, at least) which nouns use these article. The article h- 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 h-:

a. The default form is ḥǝ-. Examples are: brīt ‘daughter’ (def. ḥǝbrīt), dīd ‘paternal uncle’ (def. ḥǝdid), mōh ‘water’ (def. ḥǝmōh), nōb ‘big (f.)’ (def. ḥanōb), nūd ‘(water-)skin’ (def. ḥǝnūd), nōf ‘self’ (def. ḥǝnōf),31 rōh ‘head’ (def. ḥǝrōh), wōdī ‘valley’ (def. ḥǝwōdī).

b. Where the historical root has an initial glottal stop, the form is ḥā- (ḥa- in a closed syllable). Examples are: arnāyb ‘hare’ (def. ḥarnāyb), bū ‘people’ (def. ḥǝbū), gūr ‘slave’ (def. ḥǝgūr), rīt ‘moon’ (def. ḥǝrit), rawn ‘goats’ (def. ḥǝrǝw).

c. Before a voiceless, non-glottalic consonant or before y the form is ḥa-. Examples are: frŌḳ ‘flocks, camps’ (def. ḥǝfrōḳ), skūn ‘settlements’ (def. ḥǝskūn), sǝlōb ‘arms, weapons’ (def. ḥǝsǝlob), sǝbōb ‘young men’ (def. ḥǝsǝbōb), yǝbīt ‘female camel’ (def. ḥǝyǝbīt), yǝnīṯ ‘women’ (def. ḥǝyǝnīṯ), yUbuntu ‘days’ (def. ḥUbuntu).

d. In a couple of words in which an initial glottal stop was replaced by w, the form is ḥ-, which replaces the w: wǝrǝm ‘road’ (def. ḥǝrǝm), wōz ‘female goat; goats’ (def. ḥǝwōz).33

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

31 The form ḥǝnōf- 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 in the MSA form has undergone some mutation in Modern South Arabian (§ 3.6, n. 24).
32 An exception is ḥǝyǝdīm ‘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 ʾanaz, Hebrew ʾez, etc., but the proto-MSA form can be reconstructed with ʾ.
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 ājūr and Akkadian agru ‘laborer’; rīt is probably cognate with Hebrew òr ‘light’; and rawn is cognate with Syriac ʿarnā ‘mountain goat’. Definite plurals like ḥafrok ‘flocks, camps’ (sg. fark) and ḥaslōb ‘arms, weapons’ (sg. salēb) must reflect a broken plural pattern *aCCāC. The word yābīt ‘female camel’ derives from the root ‘bl, while yənīṭ ‘women’ derives from the root ‘nt.

Some other nouns with an initial y also take the definite article ḥa-, like yūm ‘days’, while others do not, like yəḏbīr ‘hornet’ (def. ayəḏbīr) and yəḏrāyb ‘crow’ (def. ayəḏrāyb).34 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 ‘ 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 ‘b), ḥāmē ‘mother’ (historical root ‘m), and ḥaym ‘brother-in-law’.35 The feminine dīt ‘maternal aunt’ has a definite ḥādīt, rather than the expected **ḥ̄ādīt, 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 ‘, an initial h has become part of the base of the noun, rather than simply the article. This includes the words ḥayb ‘father’, ḥāmē ‘mother’,36 ḥəbrē ‘son’ (but construct bər; see § 4.6),37 hōzāl ‘tamarisk’, (bə-)həllāy ‘night’, ḥaydēn ‘ear’, and ḥāyməl

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34 Some nouns with initial y- vary by dialect, and even Johnstone’s own data are inconsistent on occasion. For example, for yatūm ‘orphan’ (pl. yatōm), ML (s.v. ytm) lists the definite forms ḥaṭyām and ḥayṭyōm. But in the texts we find the definite plural form ayṭyōm (16:2), as well as the fs definite ayṭyāmūt (32:11). See further in Sima (2002a).

35 In the case of ḥaym ‘brother-in-law’, the initial h is etymological.

36 ML (s.v. ‘mm’) gives a form ‘m ‘mother’ as the indefinite of ḥām (correctly ḥāmē), but Johnstone indicates that it is very rare; it is not in the texts.

37 Though ‘ is not strictly etymological in the noun ḥəbrē, it could be from an initial prosthetic syllable, as in Arabic ‘ibn. Or, perhaps the initial ḥəbrē is analogical, as I suggest for the forms ḥədīd and ḥādīt. According to ML (s.v. brv), the plural ḥəbūn has an indefinite form būn, but ḥəbūn 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 ḥ, a change which is seen elsewhere, in words like ḥō ‘where’ (< *ān; cf. Hebrew ān ‘where?’) and ḥāwəlāy ‘first’ (cf. Arabic āwwal). In words like ḥayb ‘father’, therefore, it is not correct to parse the prefix ḥ- as the definite article, since it does not have this specific function with these words.

The article h- is far less common than h-, occurring with only a few words, all of them plural. The most commonly met words with h- are bēr ‘camels’ (def. hābēr) and arbāt ‘companions’ (def. hārbāt). 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 h-, as proven by the Arabic-letter manuscripts of the texts and the audio. Among such cases are ḥaskə́nḥəm ‘their communities’ (72:5)38 and ḥašbōb ‘the young men’ (42:47).

It should be pointed out that the article h- or h- need not appear on both the singular and plural forms of a noun. For example the definite form of sēkən ‘settlement; family’ is simply sēkən (or ssēkən), 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bēr ‘camels’} & \rightarrow hābērəh ‘his camels’ \\
\text{bayt ‘house’} & \rightarrow abətk ‘your house’ \\
\text{ṭəyt ‘sister’} & \rightarrow aḡāyti ‘my sister’ \\
\text{kādər ‘pot’} & \rightarrow akādərəh ‘his pot’ \\
\text{wōz ‘goats’} & \rightarrow ḥāzyən ‘our goats’ \\
\text{rōh ‘head’} & \rightarrow ḥərōhi ‘my head’
\end{align*}
\]

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).
ākērmōt ‘little pelvis’, dimin. of ākermōt ‘pelvis’ (88:9)
awəddōt ‘small (amount of) sardines’, dimin. of ayd ‘sardines’ (45:8)
gawelēw ‘little fever’, dimin. of gōlaw ‘fever’ (105:2)
gaygēn ‘boy’, dimin. of gayg ‘man’ (8:4)
harmēyēn ‘bushes’, dimin. of harōm ‘tree(s)’ (26:4)
kērmōt ‘hill, little mountain’, dimin. of kērmaym ‘mountain’ (88:9; 94:41)
māray ‘a little grass’, dimin. of māray ‘grass, pasturage’ (26:4)
rahbēnōt ‘small village place’, dimin. of rahbēt ‘town’ (60:3)
rahnēnōt ‘little vegetation’, dimin. of rahmēt ‘vegetation; rain’ (30:1)
sēwēhǝr ‘new moon; first part of the first crescent of the moon’, dimin. of sēhara ‘first crescent of the moon’ (82:1)
sawānōt ‘a little while’, dimin. of sēt ‘long period of time’ (18:6; 36:21; 94:49)
wakētēn ‘a little time’, dimin. of wakt ‘time’ (8:14)
xadmnēnōt ‘little job’, dimin. of xadmēt ‘work, job’ (57:4)

One diminutive adjective is attested in the texts, namely, rəwāhāk ‘a little ways away’ (83:3, dimin. of rēhak ‘far’). In addition, it is likely that the common nouns ągēn ‘boy’ and ągənōt ‘girl’ are historically diminutive forms, though are not recognized as such by native speakers today, and at least the latter has its own diminutive (see below). Lonnet (2003: 436) has suggested that ągasrāwwən ‘(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. 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:

ālgɛ̄yēn (pl. dimin. of ‘aylīg ‘young camel’)
bakərēnawtn (pl. dimin. of bakərēt ‘cow’)

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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 gayg ‘man’, ągənōt ‘girl’, manēdăm ‘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: gaygēn, harmēyēn, and māray. I have included rahbēnōt, even though it occurs in the texts, since the list also has the plural form. The word sawrēnōt appears twice in the list, but I have listed it here just once. I have also re-arranged the list alphabetically.
42 Ali actually wrote and read mağrēnawtn (pl. dimin. of mağrāt ‘frankincense tree’), but he undoubtedly meant to write bakərēnawtn, since the words before and after this one (in
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, -ɛ̄nōt, and ɛ̄Cēn, and the infixation of w between the first and second root consonants. Plural diminutives sometimes show partial reduplication, as in ḥǝṭǝrɛ̄ṭōr, nǝḥrāḥōr, and ṣ́ǝgāgōʾ.

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–

43 On the audio recording, Ali read ṭǝḥmɛ̄nōt, pl. ṭǝḥmɛ̄náwtǝn (from ṭǝḥmēt ‘vegetation; rain’).

44 I assume that Ṽawdɛ̄yēn is the diminutive of Ṽōdī, and this assumption is supported by the fact that Ṽawdɛ̄yēn appears in the list just after nǝwāḥār, and the plural Ṽawdɛ̄yáwtǝn appears (a few words later) just after nǝhrāḥōr. In Johnstone (1973: 103) and ML (s.v. wdy) the singular diminutive is given as Ṽawdī, which is either a variant or an error.
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 ð- to express a genitive relationship (see § 12.4). 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:

- **bǝr** (cstr. pl. bǝ́ni) ‘son of’; **bǝrt** ‘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 *falān* ‘so-and-so’, as in *hōh bǝr* (bǝrt)*falān* ‘I am the son (daughter) of so-and-so’ (e.g., 20:45; 94:42). The second use is with compound family words like **bǝr** (bǝ́ni) *did* ‘cousin(s)’ (lit. ‘son(s) of an uncle’), **bǝr-ġā** ‘nephew’ (lit. ‘son of a brother’), and their feminine equivalents.46

- **bǝt** ‘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 *abáyt ð-*, e.g., 19:14).

- **bāl** (cstr. pl. bǝ́yli; 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. bǝ́yli rawn), **bāl bēr** ‘camel-herder’, **bāl baḵār** ‘cow-herder’, **bāl ḫfōy** ‘herder of suckling mother-camels’, **bāl aṣy** ‘rice merchant’, and **bāl ksǝwēt** ‘clothing merchant’. The construct is also productive in the meaning of ‘owner of’, as in **bāl kǝhwēt** ‘coffee seller’

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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., **bǝr ḫadāydǝs** ‘her cousin’ (75:1). On the other hand, **bǝr-ġā** does not, e.g., **bǝr-ġāh** ‘his nephew (from his brother)’ (76:2) and **bǝr-ġātah** ‘his nephew (from his sister)’ (76:3). When the words are plural, we find the exact opposite: **bǝ́ni dáydi** ‘my cousins’ (83:7), but **bǝ́ni aḡǝ́tk** ‘your nephews’ (31:6). See also the comment to **bǝ́ni dáydi** in text 83:7.
chapter 4

(also bāl mǝḳǝhōyat), bāl hǝwri ‘owner of the canoe’, bāl sayǝrǝh ‘(car) driver’, and ba’yli abdēn ‘the badan (boat) owners’; and in the meaning ‘people of’, as in ba’yli arḥabēt ‘the people of the town’, ba’yli šarh ‘party-goers’, and ba’yli aqǝl ‘the people of the mountains’. Note also the more idiomatic bālxayr ‘a well-to-do person’ (47:12), ba’yli aṭāba aḳōmǝḥ ‘those with bad manners’ (29:6), bāl ḥǝmōh ‘the one (cup) with water (in it)’ (22:60), and bālīt akǝma ‘a flintlock rifle’ (64:9).

In addition, a construct phrase is sometimes used in phrases involving quantities (partitives), most commonly with ‘áynat ‘a little (bit)’ (see also § 5.5.1). Examples are:

‘áynat ātǝrīt ‘a little buttermilk’ (35:2)
‘áynat tōmǝr ‘a little bit of date; a few dates’ (73:5)
‘áynat tambōku ‘a little tobacco’ (94:33)
figōn kǝhwēt ‘a cup of coffee’ (18:12)
xáymǝh rīkōb kawt ‘five camel-loads of food’ (65:15)
rikēbi trayt kawt ‘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 hāráwn ‘the goat-herder’
ba’yli bǝḳǝr ‘cow-herders’ → def. ba’yli abḳǝr ‘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).\(^1\) Attributive adjectives follow the noun. Following are some examples:

Attributive adjectives:

\[
\begin{align*}
  hēt \; ǵayg \; ȟáywá̀l & \text{name = 'you are a crazy man' (98:7)} \\
  hēt \; ẗët\; ȟàwàlìt & \text{name = 'you are a crazy woman' (98:8)} \\
  \; wàtxfàm \; bà-wɔ̀dì \; nòb & \text{name = 'they came in the evening to a big valley' (42:5)} \\
  ḡábròk \; hàñòb & \text{name = 'your older [lit. big] daughter' (97:34)} \\
  \; wàyyst \; bà-xàlwàk \; yàdòn & \text{name = 'put on new clothes!' (24:6)} \\
  \; wà-kò \; hët \; dàlòmk \; âjìgèn \; fàkàiyr & \text{name = 'why were you unjust to the poor boy?' (36:34)} \\
  ñànôrk \; ð-ɔl-hàwòk \; akàyàq \; amhàkbaòl & \text{name = 'I promise that I'll pay you next summer [lit. the coming summer]' (39:16)} \\
  \; âjày \; sòx \; bà-ñàtàr & \text{name = 'my big brother was in Qatar' (34:20)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

Predicate adjectives:

\[
\begin{align*}
  \; hâybi \; fàkàiyr & \text{name = 'my father was poor' (34:4)} \\
  aġàyg \; ȟáywá̀l & \text{name = 'the man is crazy' (55:7)} \\
  \; attët \; rañàymàt & \text{name = 'the woman was beautiful' (38:11)} \\
  aģângòt \; ñàròc \; nòb & \text{name = 'the girl was already big' (24:5)} \\
  \; aģìgèn \; kàwày \; wà-ñfàyf & \text{name = 'the boy was strong and quick' (42:2)} \\
  \; amàndàwɔ̀k \; dàwàylàt & \text{name = 'your rifle is old' (39:3)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\(^1\) One adjective, *nòb* 'big (f.)', takes the lexical definite article *hà-* for reasons discussed in § 4.4. On possible etymologies of this word, see Kogan (2015: 577, n. 1501).
The sentences *aġáyg ḥáywǝl* ‘the man is crazy’ (55:7) and *ḥáybi ḥǝkāyr* ‘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:\textsuperscript{2}

\[
\text{sáwr } t\textit{rayt tələfəf} \text{ ‘two flat stones’ (71A:1)}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ḥǝbrīt } & \text{addresses } t\textit{rayt } \text{ḥǝnōb} \text{ ‘the older [lit. big] daughter of the fisherman’} \\
(97:33) \\
\text{ḥǝbrē } & \text{addresses } t\textit{rayt akənnåwn} \text{ ‘the younger [lit. small] son of the ruler’} \\
(97:46) \\
\text{hayb } & \text{addresses } t\textit{rayt amərāyś} \text{ ‘the father of the sick boy’} \\
(65:8)
\end{align*}
\]

In the first example above, the adjective *ḥǝnōb* is feminine and so must modify *ḥǝbrīt*. 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., *rēḥǝk* ‘far’) have only a common singular form. For those with a distinct feminine form, the feminine will end in either -(a)t, -īt, -ēt, or -ūt (with -(a)t and -īt being more common), but the choice of ending is not always predictable.

\textsuperscript{2} 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: ḳōmǝḥ ‘bad, evil’, fs kam(a)ḥt, mp ḷamḥin, fp ḷamḥot
raḥáym ‘beautiful’, fs raḥáymat, mp riḥom, fp raḥámton


Other adjectives ending in -áy (many of which refer to a cultural group):

---

3 In ML (s.v. ḷkr), the fs form is given as ḷakáyrr, identical to the ms form. This is obviously a mistake (cf. n. 5, below). The fs form should be ḷakáyrat; cf. Jahn (1902: 177) for Yemeni Mehri.  
HL (s.v. ḷkr) also lists a distinct fs form for ḷarsus. 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. ḷkl), the fs form is given as ḷakáyl, identical to the ms form (cf. n. 3, above). This is certainly a mistake. We expect fs ḷakáylat, though I found a distinct fs form (ṭakáylat) recorded in one of Johnstone’s handwritten notes (kindly loaned to me by Antoine Lonnet). For Yemeni Mehri, Jahn (1902: 231) has fs ṭakéylat and Nakano (1986: 149) has fs ṭkált, both of which would support Omani ṭakáylat.


Adjectives of the pattern *mǝCCīC* (var. *mǝCCáyC*): mainly passive participles (see § 7.1.8), but also others, like maskāyn ‘poor’ and maslāym ‘Muslim’


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 *CaCāyC* have fs forms of the shape *CaCāyt* (e.g., baxāytlat, kāraymat, ṭahāymat, šēdāyt), but from hāmāyg, we find fs hāmgīt. Most adjectives of this same pattern have mp forms of the shape *CīCōC* (e.g., bīxōl, kīrōm, rīḥōm, šīdōd), but from dāxāyl, we find mp dēxēʾ, and from mārāyš, mp mərwōs.

**Type 2:** Gender distinction in the singular, but common gender in the plural.

---

6 Though the word *maslāym* 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 *maswēmēt*, while passive participles normally have fs forms ending in -ōt.

7 The fs form ḱannēt (< *kannānt < *kannānt < *kannāwn-*t) shows assimilation of n, as does the fp form ḱannētan, 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 *CaCCāyCt > CaCCāCt*, as in nagāṣt < *nagāyst* (ms nagāys) and xfāṣt < *xfāyft* (ms xfāyf).

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: *gid* ‘good’, f. *gádat*, cp. *gýēd*

This includes basic color words: *öfor* ‘red, brown’, *hášáwr* ‘green, yellow’, *hōwār* ‘black’, *əwbon* ‘white’

And others: *āwēr* ‘blind’, *gid* ‘good’, *gāhar* ‘other, another’, *mášēgar* ‘second, other’, *matálli* ‘second, other; later’

**Type 3:** Singular and plural are distinct, but both with common gender.

Example: *ṭawfīf* ‘flat’, cp. *ṭəlōsaf*

Besides *ṭawfīf*, there are no other certain examples of this type. We find in *ML* words like *mágréyb* ‘well-known’, *mášhāyr* ‘famous’, and *máswīb* ‘wounded’ with no fs, and only a single plural form given (in these cases, all of the shape *məCCōC*). 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: *āgáwz* ‘old’ (of people only),10 *danyīt* ‘pregnant’, *mádnáy* ‘heavily pregnant’, *nōb* ‘big’

Masculine only: *hēxār* ‘old’ (of people only),11 *sōx* ‘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).12

---

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 *hāmsh ágawz* ‘his old mother’ (65:9).

11 Like *āgawz*, *hēxār* is normally used as a noun, ‘old man’. Its adjectival use can be seen in *hāyboh hēxar* ‘his old father’ (64:6).

12 For inanimate things, one can use the adjective *dawāyl* ‘old, worn out’ for either gender. Interestingly, at least some Yemeni Mehri dialects have feminine forms of *sōx*, namely, fs *saxt* (e.g., Sima 2009: 230, text 451) and fp *siyáxtan* (e.g., Sima 2009: 84, text 93). I have discussed the words for big in MSA elsewhere (Rubin 2014b: 130; 2015b: 331). On the etymologies of *sōx* and *nōb*, see Kogan (2015: 577, n. 1501).
Type 4: No inflection at all (one form for all genders and numbers).


Most of the adjectives in this relatively small category are nominal in origin; cf. kāṣǝm ‘coldness’, malḥāt ‘salt’, ṣaﬅǝr ‘brass’, ṭayf ‘Aloe dhufarensis’, and xǝlē ‘desert’. Several are connected to taste, as observed by Rood (2017: 205).13 Comparative adjectives also fall in this category (see § 5.4). The form rēḥǝḳ sounds very close to the Gb-Stem perfect rīḥǝḳ ‘be far away’, but several passages in the texts require that rēḥǝḳ 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 ḳōmǝḥ and ḥāywǝl 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 aḳǝnnáwn ... ǝttōli kǝlūṯ śōx ‘the younger [lit. small] one said ... then the elder one told’ (74:15)  
yāmǝrǝm amhǝrɛ́h ‘the Mehris (can) sing’ (84:5)  
šīnǝk ḥǝwrīt ð̣ār aḳōbǝr ‘I saw something black by the grave’ (54:9)  
kāl ṭāṯ yāgı́b yǝɣrēb aģı́d man aḳōmǝḥ ‘everyone wants to know the good from the bad’ (73:12)  
wǝráwd ḥǝmōh dēḵǝmǝh śōx w-aḳǝnnáwn ‘they went down to that water, the old and the young’ (95:12)  
fǝrr  ödér ‘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: hēbǝr ‘spicy’ (cf. Jibbali hêr, listed in JL under the root hyr) and haʃm (perhaps haʃǝm) ‘unpleasant tasting’ (originally ‘phlegm’; cf. ML, s.v. haʃm, which lists the meaning ‘unpleasant taste’ for Jibbali).
The numeral ṭāṭ ‘one’ can also be used with adjectives, as in English:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ṭāṭ ḥāywǝl} & \quad \text {'a certain crazy man' (lit. ‘a crazy one’) (60:10)} \\
\text{ṭāṭ āfǝr, wə-ṭāṭ ḥōwər, wə-ṭāṭ əwbōn} & \quad \text {'a red one, a black one, and a white one’ (37:14)}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aġáyg aṣ́āyf} & \quad \text {'the guest' (lit. ‘the man the guest’) (22:62)} \\
\text{aġǝyūg aṣ́īfōn} & \quad \text {'the guests’ (4:3)} \\
\text{aġǝyūg adǝllōlǝt} & \quad \text {'the guides’ (60:8)} \\
\text{tēṯ sāḥrǝt} & \quad \text {'a witch’ (6:9)} \\
\text{aġǝqǝnōt aytǝmūt} & \quad \text {'the orphan girl’ (32:11)} \\
\text{wōz tǝrḳāṣ́} & \quad \text {'a spotted goat’ (25:13)} \\
\text{gǝyg bāl xayr} & \quad \text {'a well-to-do person’ (47:12)}
\end{align*}
\]

In each of the above examples, the first word of each phrase is seemingly superfluous. Cf. also the phrases with kalōn 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 ƙ or ṭ and the second is r, l, or w.\(^{15}\) Comparatives do not decline for gender or number.

In the texts, only a handful of comparatives occur. These are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{akṯēr} & \quad \text {'more’ (99:28; 103:2)} \\
\text{aklāl} & \quad \text {'less, smaller’ (41:8)}
\end{align*}
\]

---

\(^{14}\) In the phrase ṭāṭ ḥāywǝl, ṭāṭ is acting as a noun, and ḥāywǝl is an attributive adjective modifying that noun. If ḥāywǝl were a substantive and ṭāṭ were a numeral, then the phrase would be ḥāywǝl ṭāṭ.

\(^{15}\) 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 akṯēr in the texts both involve the same idiom, l-ād k-X akṯēr lā, meaning ‘have no more (strength/energy).’ Watson (2012: 173, 212, 217, 364, 442) provides several examples of its use as a real comparative.
**chapter 5**

*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 ǝ-), e.g., ǝḳṣām ‘colder’, ǝḥrēḳ ‘hotter’, and ǝshēl ‘easier’, and in Watson (2012: 50, 107), e.g., ǝslēḥ ‘fatter’, ǝrhāk ‘further’, and ǝrhām ‘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 *aḳlāl* with Arabic ʾaqqallu, 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.17 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*.18 Examples of its various meanings are:

*axáyr ħīkǝm yāḳām asdǝḳāʾ* ‘it was better for them to be friends’ (50:5)

*hōh axáyr mǝnkēm* ‘I am better than you’ (61:8)

*aṣābǝr axáyr mǝn kāl śīyǝn* ‘patience is better than everything’ (61:9)

*ḥāybi axáyr mǝnây yōmar* ‘my father sings better than me’ (52:2)

*yaxlifyğ ġǝyūg ð-axáyr mǝnk* ‘men who are better than you will replace you’ (76:5)

*xār hūk thɛ̄tǝm* ‘it’s better for you to stay the night’ (31:3)

*nāṣāṣǝh axáyr mǝn kāl śi* ‘we fear it more than anything’ (7:2)

*axáyr āṣǝr ð-agǝmāt* ‘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 *axāyr* 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 *mǝn* (see § 8.13). 19

The comparative form *xass*, meaning ‘worse’ or ‘less’ (cf. the Arabic verb *xassa* ‘become less’), is attested just three times in the texts:

\[ al hē xass lā mǝn yəmšīh ‘it was no worse than yesterday’ (26:4) \]
\[ xass ‘áynat ‘a little less’ (27:24) \]
\[ wozmāh šāṯáyt dǝrǝ’, xass mǝn aðɛ́rǝ’ dǝ-kǝnnáwn ‘he gave him three cubits, minus a child-size cubit’ (66:4) 20 \]

Johnstone transcribed this word *xaṣṣ* 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 *xaš* in *ML* (s.v. *xss*). Jahn (1902: 197) lists the form *ḥaṣṣ* (= *xaṣṣ*) ‘weniger, schlechter’, so it is possible that *xaṣṣ* exists as a variant. 21 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 (+ *mǝn*) or with an adjective followed by *axáyr* or *akṯēr* (+ *mǝn*). Watson also points out that *axáyr*, *aklāl*, and *xass* are suppletives, since they correspond to adjectives from different roots: respectively, *gīd* ‘good’, *kǝnnáwn* ‘small’, and *kōmǝḥ* ‘bad’. There is a fourth suppletive, *āḳār* ‘bigger’ (cf. *šōx* ‘big’), not found in the texts, but included in *ML* (s.v. *ḳr*), Jahn (1902: 163), and Watson (2012: 107). 22

Finally, mention should be made here of the form *xaṿōr*, which seems to be an internal plural form of *xayr* (cf. Arabic *xiyār*). It is attested only as a noun, in the form *xayōrsan* ‘the best of them’ (lit. ‘their best’, 70:7).

---

19 An exception is with the noun *zōyǝd* ‘more’, as in *zōyǝd al-faḳḥ* ‘more than half’ (69:6). On *zōyǝd*, 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 *ṣ* elsewhere. For example, the verbal root *sdḳ* (e.g., 92:6; 93:7) alternates with *ṣdk* (e.g., 23:3; 82:2). On this root, see also the comment to text 20:6.

22 According to *ML*, *āḳār* is used only for men (like the adjective *šōx* in Omani Mehri), but Watson compares it to both masculine *šōx* and feminine *nōb* ‘big’.
5.5  Quantifiers

5.5.1 ʿáynǝt ‘a little’
The word ʿáynǝt 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 ʿáynǝt 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 ʿáynǝt as a quantifier. All of the examples of ʿáynǝt as a quantifier from the texts are:

ʿáynǝt ātǝrīt ‘a little buttermilk’ (35:2)
ʿáynǝt tōmǝr ‘a little bit of date; a few dates’ (24:21; 73:5)
ʿáynǝt tǝmbōku ‘a little tobacco’ (94:33)

With a noun like tōmǝr, which can be used as a singular or a collective, ʿáynǝt can mean either ‘a little (bit)’ or ‘a few’.

5.5.2 bāṣ́ ‘some’
The indeclinable word bāṣ́ (< Arabic baʿḍ) 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 bāṣ́ ‘some goats’ (26:6)
xǝlōwǝḳ bāṣ́ ‘some (other) clothes’ (37:6)
bū bāṣ́ ‘some people’ (38:10)

Bāṣ́ can also function as a noun, either used alone or in conjunction with a definite noun. In the latter case, bāṣ́ is followed by partitive mǝn (§ 8.13), though no examples occur in the texts. The examples of bāṣ́ used as a noun in the texts are:

bāṣ́ mǝsśǝnyūtǝn ðǝ-ktǝbīn, wǝ-bāṣ́ yǝráyb, wǝ-bāṣ́ yǝðɛ́ram, wǝ-bāṣ́ yafɛ́rśǝm ‘some were medicine men with [lit. of] books, some chanted, some measured, and some would cast stones’ (25:18)
bāṣ́ ʃǝrūf ‘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 kāll- is used, but kāl- 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 sənēt* ‘every year’ (32:13)
- *kāl āṣǝr* ‘every night’ (42:17)
- *kāl mərēš* ‘every illness’ (65:7)
- *ba-kāl makōn* ‘anywhere’ (lit. ‘in every place’) (70:2)
- *kāl ṯrōh aw kāl śāṭāyt* ‘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 kāllǝs* ‘the whole day’ (lit. ‘the day, all of it’) (10:16)
- *sēyǝḥ kāllǝh* ‘the whole desert’ (23:3)
- *xarf kāllǝh* ‘the whole summer’ (25:5)
- *ḥayáwm kāllǝs* ‘the whole day’ (36:27)
- *ḥalláywī kāllǝh* ‘my whole night’ (85:27)
- *aḳassēt kāllǝs* ‘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.

- *səwēḥǝr kāl* ‘all the witches’ (2:8)
- *ḥāzihammad kālsən* ‘all their goats’ (11:2)
- *ḥayrēm kāl* ‘all the roads’ (23:3)
- *ḥabǝr kāl* ‘all the camels’ (29:5)
- *amōlas kāllǝh* ‘all of her property’ (32:30)
- *ḥābū kāl* ‘all the people’ (63:1)
- *tagēr kāl* ‘all the merchants’ (66:10)
- *arḥoyab kāl* ‘all the towns’ (74:5)
- *ḥāmbǝrawtan kāl* ‘all the boys’ (89:20)
- *tăywihǝm kāllǝh* ‘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 *yəṣṣ* is feminine plural.
The last two examples show that if kāl modifies a noun in a genitive phrase (whether the particle ḍ- 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 kāllōs ‘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., ḥāziham kālsan ‘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:

ḥābēsǝm tīham kālham ‘imprison them all’ (lit. ‘imprison them, all of them’) (46:17)
kolēti lay ba-kāl šīyăn kāllah ‘tell me absolutely everything [lit. everything all of it]’ (85:34)
shatáysan kālsan ‘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 ḥārāwn ḍa-shāt kālsan ‘and she found the goats all slaughtered [lit. having been slaughtered, all of them]’ (99:42)

24 In Stroomer’s edition, the translation incorrectly reads ‘the women of the whole town’, which in Mehri would be ḥaynīṯ ḍ-arḥǝbēt kāllōs. Earlier manuscript translations by Johnstone have the correct translation.
Kāl is also used in several pronominal compounds. On kāl ǝḥād and kāl ṭāṭ ‘everyone; each one’, see § 3.5.3; on kāl śīyǝn ‘everything’, see § 3.5.4; and on kāl ḏ- ‘whoever’, see § 3.8.2.

5.5.4 l-ādēd ḏ- ‘each, every’
The rare construction l-ādēd ḏ- also means ‘each, every’. It is attested only twice in the texts, in both cases followed by a plural noun:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ttēh ṭayt l-ādēd ḏ-āṣāwr} & \quad \text{‘it should eat one each night’ (6:7)} \\
yωwōkā k-ḥāráwn l-ādēd ḏ-ḥayūm & \quad \text{‘he was with the goats every day’ (17:11)}
\end{align*}
\]

It also appears in one of the unpublished letters from Ali Musallam to T.M. Johnstone, written in 1970:

\[
\text{aśōni aṣāwrǝtk l-ādēd ḏ-ḥayūm} \quad \text{‘I see your picture every day’}
\]

5.5.5 mēkǝn ‘a lot, many’
The word mēkǝn ‘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 mēkǝn used as an adjective are:

\[
\begin{align*}
bū mēkǝn & \quad \text{‘many people’ (54:1; 65:6) (but with definite ḥābū in 9:7)} \\
amōl mēkǝn & \quad \text{‘a lot of property’ (34:4; 58:1) (but with indefinite mōl in 7:3)} \\
‘ayšē mēkǝn & \quad \text{‘a lot of food’ (73:11)} \\
ḳǝráwš mēkǝn & \quad \text{‘a lot of money’ (86:7)} \\
ḥīṭār mēkǝn & \quad \text{‘a lot of (goat) kids’ (89:2)} \\
rawn mēkǝn & \quad \text{‘a lot of goats’ (99:36)}
\end{align*}
\]

Some examples of mēkǝn used independently as a noun are:

\[
\begin{align*}
xαṣάmke mēkǝn & \quad \text{‘your enemies are many’ (10:12)} \\
lūtǝq mēkǝn b-aškāyah & \quad \text{‘he killed many with his sword’ (69:7)} \\
hārōsǝn, wα-xǝ́srǝn mēkǝn & \quad \text{‘we got married, and we spent a lot’ (72:2)}
\end{align*}
\]

---

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 triliteral (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 infixed 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 triliteral roots: the D/L-Stem, the H-Stem, two Š-Stems (Š1 and Š2), and two T-Stems (T1 and T2). In addition, there are also quadriliteral 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 Š2-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 $CaC\acute{u}C$ in the 3ms perfect, or $CC\acute{u}C$ 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 -ǝm is
used instead for certain types of weak verbs. Unlike in the Gb-Stem, there are distinct imperfect and subjunctive forms. Following are the full conjugations of the Ga-Stem verbs *bǝgūd* ‘chase’ and *ktūb* ‘write’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td><em>bǝgǝ́dk</em></td>
<td><em>ǝbūgǝ́d</em></td>
<td><em>l-ǝbgēd</em></td>
<td><em>l-ǝbgēdǝn</em></td>
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<td><em>tǝbgǝ́d</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
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<td><em>tǝbgǝ́dǝ́</em></td>
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<td><em>(bǝ)g(ǝ)dūt</em></td>
<td><em>tǝbǝ́gǝ́d</em></td>
<td><em>tǝbgǝ́d</em></td>
<td><em>tǝbgǝ́dǝn</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cd</td>
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<td><em>ǝbǝgǝ́dǝ́h</em></td>
<td><em>l-ǝbgǝ́dǝ́h</em></td>
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<td><em>tǝbgǝ́dǝ́n</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3ms perfect base with object suffixes: *bǝgd-*

**Imperative:** ms *bǝgǝ́d*, fs *bǝgǝ́dǝ́*, mp *bǝgǝ́dǝ́m*, fp *bǝgǝ́dǝ́n*

**Future:** ms *bǝgdǝ́n*, fs *bǝgdǝ́ta*, md *bǝgdǝ́n*, fd *bǝgdǝ́wti*, mp *bǝgyǝ́da*, fp *bǝgdǝ́tǝ́n*

---

1 In Yemeni Mehri dialects, the suffix *-ǝm* 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 *ǝl-* , e.g., 1cs subjunctive *ǝl-ǝbǝ́gǝ́dǝ́* and 1cs subjunctive *ǝl-ktǝ́b*.

3 Johnstone recorded a suffix *-ǝ́yǝ́n* 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 *-ǝ́yǝ́n*, 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.
### Perfect

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<th>Number</th>
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<th>Conditional</th>
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<td>tkātbān</td>
<td>t(ǝ)ktēban</td>
<td>t(ǝ)ktēban</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3ms perfect base with object suffixes: *kath-*

**Imperative:** ms *ktēb*, fs *ktēbi*, mp *ktēbam*, fp *ktēban*

**Future:** ms *ktēbōna*, fs *ktēbīta*, md *ktēbōni*, fd *ktēbāwti*, mp *kt(ǝ)yēba*, fp *ktēbūtān*

### 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 *CaCēC*, 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 *-ēh* (*-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’:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>ktábk</td>
<td>aktób</td>
<td>l-aktób⁴</td>
<td>l-aktībān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>ktábk</td>
<td>t(a)któb⁵</td>
<td>t(a)któb</td>
<td>t(a)ktībān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>ktábš</td>
<td>t(a)ktāyi bi</td>
<td>t(a)ktāyi bi⁶</td>
<td>t(a)ktībān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>ktēb</td>
<td>yaktób</td>
<td>yaktób</td>
<td>yaktībān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>ktābēt⁷</td>
<td>t(a)któb</td>
<td>t(a)któb</td>
<td>t(a)ktībān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cd</td>
<td>ktábkī</td>
<td>aktabā́h</td>
<td>l-aktabā́h</td>
<td>l-aktabāyyān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cd</td>
<td>ktābkī</td>
<td>t(a)ktabā́h</td>
<td>t(a)ktabā́h</td>
<td>t(a)ktabāyyān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3md</td>
<td>ktābā́h</td>
<td>yaktabā́h</td>
<td>yaktabā́h</td>
<td>yaktabāyyān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fd</td>
<td>ktābtā́h</td>
<td>t(a)ktabā́h</td>
<td>t(a)ktabā́h</td>
<td>t(a)ktabāyyān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cp</td>
<td>ktēban</td>
<td>naktób</td>
<td>naktēb</td>
<td>naktībān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2mp</td>
<td>ktābkam</td>
<td>t(a)ktib</td>
<td>t(a)ktēbam</td>
<td>t(a)ktīban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fp</td>
<td>ktābkan</td>
<td>t(a)ktēban</td>
<td>t(a)ktēban</td>
<td>t(a)ktīban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3mp</td>
<td>ktēbam</td>
<td>yaktib</td>
<td>yaktēban</td>
<td>yaktīban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fp</td>
<td>ktēb</td>
<td>t(a)ktēban</td>
<td>t(a)ktēban</td>
<td>t(a)ktīban</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imperative: none

Future: none (but see § 7.1.8)

Note the specialized meaning of passive xalēk ‘be born’ vs. active xalūk ‘create’ (cf. 38:12). Another lexical G passive may be fašāh ‘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 sḥāṭ can be either active or passive, though context normally removes potential ambiguity (e.g., 89:5).

---

4 The initial la- of the 1cs and 1cd subjunctive and conditional can also be realized al-, e.g., 1cs subjunctive al-ktōb.

5 The a 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 a would be present, e.g., tawtōg ‘you may be killed’ (< *taltōg, 94:25).

6 ML (p. xxii) gives the 2fs subjunctive form tarkōz (Johnstone used the paradigm root rkz), but I assume that this is a mistake. The expected form is tarkāyi, identical with the imperfect. Cf. the Gb imperfect and subjunctive form tathāyri (§ 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 CaCCēt; cf. xawkāt ‘she was born’ (< *xalkēt, 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 CīCǝC; 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 -ǝm, rather than ablaut; ablaut in the 2mp and 3mp imperfect, rather than a suffixed -ǝm; and identical forms of the imperfect and subjunctive (except for the l- prefix of the 1cs and 1cd forms). The Gb future is identical in shape to the Ga future. Following is the full conjugation of the Gb verb nīsǝz ‘sip (something hot)’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>nāszǝk</td>
<td>anšǝz</td>
<td>l-ǝnšǝz⁹</td>
<td>l-ǝnšizǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>nāszǝk</td>
<td>tanšǝz</td>
<td>tanšǝz</td>
<td>tanšizǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>nāszǝš</td>
<td>tanšǝyi</td>
<td>tanšǝyi</td>
<td>tanšizǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>nīsǝz</td>
<td>yǝnšǝz</td>
<td>yǝnšǝz</td>
<td>yǝnšizǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>nǝszȫt</td>
<td>tanšǝz</td>
<td>tanšǝz</td>
<td>tanšizǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cd</td>
<td>nǝszǝki</td>
<td>anšǝzōh</td>
<td>l-ǝnšǝzōh</td>
<td>l-ǝnšizǝyyǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cd</td>
<td>nǝszǝki</td>
<td>tanšǝzōh</td>
<td>tanšǝzōh</td>
<td>tanšizǝyyǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3md</td>
<td>nǝszǝh</td>
<td>yǝnšǝzōh</td>
<td>yǝnšǝzōh</td>
<td>yǝnšizǝyyǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fd</td>
<td>nǝszǝtōh</td>
<td>tanšǝzōh</td>
<td>tanšǝzōh</td>
<td>tanšizǝyyǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cp</td>
<td>nǝszǝn</td>
<td>nǝnšǝz</td>
<td>nǝnšǝz</td>
<td>nǝnšizǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2mp</td>
<td>nǝszǝkǝm</td>
<td>tanšiz</td>
<td>tanšiz</td>
<td>tanšizǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fp</td>
<td>nǝszǝkan</td>
<td>tanšǝzǝn</td>
<td>tanšǝzǝn</td>
<td>tanšizǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3mp</td>
<td>nǝsǝm</td>
<td>yǝnšiz</td>
<td>yǝnšiz</td>
<td>yǝnšizǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fp</td>
<td>nīsǝz</td>
<td>tanšǝzǝn</td>
<td>tanšǝzǝn</td>
<td>tanšizǝn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3ms perfect base with object suffixes: naśz-

---

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 lǝ- of the 1cs and 1cd subjunctive and conditional can also be realized al-, e.g., 1cs subjunctive al-nšǝz.
Imperative:10 ms nǝśōz, fs nǝśáyzi, mp nǝśīz, fp nǝśōzǝn

Future: ms nǝśzōna, fs nǝśzīta, md nǝśzōni, fd nǝśzátıtı, mp nǝşyēza, fp nǝśzūtǝn

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:

áygǝb ‘be/fall in love’
áywǝr ‘be(come) blind’
dáyni ‘become pregnant’
ð̣áyma ‘be(come) thirsty’
fīḍal ‘break (intrans.), get broken (of teeth)’
gīlu ‘be(come) sick, feverish’
háybar ‘be(come) cold’
mīlǝ ‘be(come) full’
mīrǝt ‘be(come) red-hot’
mīrǝʃ ‘be(come) ill’
sıkǝr ‘be(come) intoxicated’
siłǝm ‘be(come) healthy, safe’
śiba ‘be(come) satisfied’
tigǝr ‘be(come) rich’
wıkǝ ‘be, become; stay’

However, the Gb class also includes a number of transitive verbs. Some transitive Gb-Stem verbs are:

áymǝl ‘do, make’
fitǝn ‘remember’
ḥáylǝm ‘dream’
ḳáybal ‘accept’
ḳáybas ‘sting’
lības ‘wear, put on (clothes)’

10 Relatively few Gb-Stem imperatives are attested. The fs is normally of the shape nǝśáyzi, but when an object suffix is added, the diphthong reduces to a, as expected (§ 2.2; § 3.2.3), e.g., mǝṯǝ́li ‘be like me!’ (102:16). No plural Gb-Stem imperatives are attested in the texts.
nīšǝz ‘sip (something hot)’
sīlǝb ‘wait for’
śīni ‘see’
wīda ‘know’
wīšǝl ‘arrive at, reach’
zīgǝd ‘seize (as booty)’

There are also Ga verbs that are intransitive or stative, such as āḳáwr ‘grow up, become big’, ǧǝmūs ‘disappear’, and wǝḳáwf ‘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 bīṣǝk ‘snap, tear (intrans.)’ vs. Ga bǝṣ́áwk ‘snap, tear (trans.)’
Gb bīṣǝr ‘tear (intrans.)’ vs. Ga bǝṣ́áwr ‘tear (trans.)’
Gb fīḳǝś ‘burst (intrans.), explode’ vs. Ga fǝḳáwś ‘shatter (trans.)’
Gb mīla ‘be(come) full, fill (intrans.)’ vs. Ga mūla / mǝlōh ‘fill (trans.)’
Gb ṭībǝr ‘break (intrans.), be broken’ vs. Ga ṭǝbūr ‘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 hīma ‘hear’, compare:

Ga ṭǝbūr ‘break (intrans.), be broken’ vs. Ga ṭǝbūr ‘break (trans.)’

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 -ǝn on all imperfect forms. The base pattern of the strong verb in the perfect is (a)CōCǝC. The prefix a- appears only when the initial root consonant is voiced or glottalic,
e.g., 3ms perfect *abōšar* ‘he gave good news’ and *akōbǝl* ‘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 *sōfǝr* or *(ǝ)sōfǝr* ‘he traveled’ (but *wǝ-ssōfǝr* ‘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 (*arōkǝb* 'put [a pot] on the fire' and *(s)sōfǝr* ‘travel’):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>arākbǝk</td>
<td>arākbǝn</td>
<td>l-arōkǝb</td>
<td>l-arākbǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>arākbǝk</td>
<td>tarākbǝn</td>
<td>tarōkǝb</td>
<td>tarākbǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>arākbǝš</td>
<td>tarākbǝn</td>
<td>tarēkǝb</td>
<td>tarākbǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>arōkǝb</td>
<td>yarākbǝn</td>
<td>yarōkǝb</td>
<td>yarākbǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>arkǝbēt</td>
<td>tarākbǝn</td>
<td>tarōkǝb</td>
<td>tarākbǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cd</td>
<td>arākbǝki</td>
<td>arkbǝ́h</td>
<td>l-arkǝbáh</td>
<td>l-arkǝbáyyǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cd</td>
<td>arākbǝki</td>
<td>tarkǝbǝ́h</td>
<td>tarkǝbáh</td>
<td>tarkǝbáyyǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3md</td>
<td>arkbǝ́h13</td>
<td>yarkǝbǝ́h</td>
<td>yarkǝbáh</td>
<td>yarkǝbáyyǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fd</td>
<td>arkbǝ́h</td>
<td>tarkǝbǝ́h</td>
<td>tarkǝbáh</td>
<td>tarkǝbáyyǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cp</td>
<td>arākbǝn</td>
<td>narākbǝn</td>
<td>narōkǝb</td>
<td>narākbǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2mp</td>
<td>arākbǝkm</td>
<td>tarākbǝn</td>
<td>tarākbǝm</td>
<td>tarākbǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fp</td>
<td>arākbǝkm</td>
<td>tarākbǝn</td>
<td>tarākbǝn</td>
<td>tarākbǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3mp</td>
<td>arākbǝm</td>
<td>yarākbǝn</td>
<td>yarākbǝm</td>
<td>yarākbǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fp</td>
<td>arōkǝb</td>
<td>tarākbǝn</td>
<td>tarākbǝn</td>
<td>tarākbǝn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3ms perfect base with object suffixes: *arkǝb*-14

Imperative: ms *arōkǝb*, fs *arēkǝb*, mp *arākbǝm*, fp *arākbǝn*

Future: ms *marōkǝb*, fs *markǝbēta*, md *marákbi*, fd *markǝbēti*, cp *markǝbū-tǝn*

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13 The dual suffix -ǝ́h 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)/CaC*- before suffixes, with the regular loss of *a* (§ 2.2.5) and reduction of *ō* > *á* (§ 2.2), e.g., *tfāšli* ‘you embarrass me’ (76:18; cf. *tfōšǝl* ‘you embarrass’).
Perfect Imperfect Subjunctive Conditional

1cs (s)sáfrǝk ǝssáfrǝn l-ǝssǝfrǝn l-ǝssǝfṛn
2ms (s)sáfrǝk t(s)sáfrǝn t(s)sǝfrǝn t(s)sǝfṛn
2fs (s)sáfrǝš t(s)sáfrǝn t(s)sǝfrǝn t(s)sǝfṛn
3ms (s)sǝfr tǝssǝfrǝn yǝssǝfrǝn yǝssǝfṛn
3fs (s)sfǝṛṭ16 t(s)sǝfṛn t(s)sǝfr t(s)sǝfṛn

1cd (s)sǝfṛki ǝsfǝráyyǝn l-ǝsfǝṛh l-ǝsfǝráyyǝn
2cd (s)sǝfṛki tǝsfǝráyyǝn tǝsfǝṛh tǝsfǝráyyǝn
3md (s)sǝfṛh yǝsfǝráyyǝn yǝsfǝṛh yǝsfǝráyyǝn
3fd (s)sfǝṛh tǝsfǝráyyǝn tǝsfǝṛh tǝsfǝráyyǝn

1cp (s)sǝfṛn nǝssǝfṛn nǝssǝfr nǝssǝfṛn
2mp (s)sǝfṛkǝm t(s)sǝfṛn t(s)sǝfrm t(s)sǝfṛn
2fp (s)sǝfṛkan t(s)sǝfṛn t(s)sǝfṛn t(s)sǝfṛn
3mp (s)sǝfṛm yǝssǝfṛn yǝssǝfṛm yǝssǝfṛn
3fp (s)sǝfr t(s)sǝfṛn t(s)sǝfṛn t(s)sǝfṛn

3ms perfect base with object suffixes: sfǝr-

Imperative: ms (s)sǝfr, fs (s)sǝfr, mp (s)sǝfṛm, fp (s)sǝfṛn

Future: ms massǝfr, fs mǝsfǝṛtǝ, md massǝfṛ, fd mǝsfǝṛt, cp mǝsfǝṛṭn

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)CCīC in the 3ms perfect, (a)CCīCǝn in the 3ms imperfect, and yaCCīC 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.17 At least one

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15 The initial lǝ- of the 1cs and 1cd subjunctive and conditional can also be realized ǝl-; cf. al-ssǝfr 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 sfǝṛt, with no a-.

17 We might compare the polel stem in Biblical Hebrew, which takes the place of the pĕel (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. *amōḥal ‘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 -ǝn, 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 *śēwǝr ‘consult’, which does not appear in texts, but is listed in ML (pp. xxxv–xxxvi, 388). 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)CCīC 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)CōCǝC and one with the shape *(a)CēCǝC. In Mehri and Jibbali, the former has almost completely replaced the latter, while in Ḥarsusi, the latter has replaced the former. Perhaps *(a)CōCǝC reflects an original D-Stem (*CaC2C2aCa), while *(a)CēCǝC reflects an original L-Stem (*CaCaCa).

Finally, there is yet another rare type of D/L-Stem in Mehri, which includes only two known verbs: *(s)sād ‘help’ (< *(s)sʿād) and anġāl ‘sweat’. In Mehri, this pattern is similar to the one found with II-w/y and geminate verbs (with ā instead of ŭ), but in Jibbali there are some differences that suggest that this pattern is distinct. Like the pattern (a)CCīC, 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 infixed 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-

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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 *sāʿada ‘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 T2-Stem is the counterpart of the T1-Stem and the Š2-Stem is the counterpart of the Š1-Stem. The affixes associated with this symmetrical scheme can be represented as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type 1</th>
<th>Type 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D/L~H</td>
<td>T</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*h (&gt; h-)</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*h (&gt; a-)</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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., awkā ‘it was put’), as opposed to the H-Stem active, which has the prefix h- (e.g., hawkā ‘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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mehri</td>
<td>harkūb</td>
<td>yəharkūb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥarsusi</td>
<td>arkōb</td>
<td>yarkōb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

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, *faʿala*) or L-Stem (Form III, *fāʿala*), and many or most of these are likely Arabic borrowings or calques. Among the verbs that are causatives of intransitives, we find:

  *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.)’*  
  *aḡwīr ‘distract, keep occupied’* (cf. Gb *gāywər ‘be distracted, not pay attention’)  
  *ōlǝḳ ‘hang (trans.)’* (no G attested in Mehri, but cf. T1 *ātlǝḳ ‘be hung up’, T2 *ātəlūḳ ‘hang (intrans.)’; also cf. Arabic G *‘aliqa ‘hang (intrans.)’; D *‘allaqa ‘hang (trans.)’*  
  *(f)fōrǝḥ ‘make happy’* (cf. Gb *fīrəḥ ‘be happy’)  
  *(h)ḥoḥǝr ‘warn s.o.’* (cf. G *ḥədūr ‘be on one’s guard’, and the more common T2 *ḥəddūr ‘be careful, take care (not to); look out for’; Arabic G *ḥədira ‘be on one’s guard’, D *ḥəddara ‘warn’*)  
  *(h)ḥyīl ‘trick s.o.’* (cf. G *ḥəyūl ‘be senile’)  
  *(k)kōmǝl ‘finish’* (no G attested in Mehri, but cf. Arabic G *kamala ‘be finished’, D *kammala ‘finish’*)  
  *aḳōdǝm ‘put in front of, offer (food)’* (cf. G *kədūm ‘come, go before’; Arabic G *qadama ‘come, go before’, D *qaddama ‘put in front of, offer’*)  
  *aḳōṣǝr ‘hold back in generosity; shorten’* (cf. G *kəsāwr ‘be/fall short; run short of’)  
  *(s)sōlǝm ‘save, preserve; surrender’* (cf. Gb *silǝm ‘be safe, be saved’; Arabic G *salima ‘be safe’, D *sallama ‘save; surrender’*)  
  *ašyık ‘make s.o. fed up, annoy’* (= H *həşyūk;* cf. G *şəyūk ‘be fed up’; Arabic D *dəyyaqạ and L *dəyyaqạ ‘harass, annoy’)  
  *awōṣǝl ‘take, bring s.o.’* (= H *hwəsəwl,* though the H-Stem takes two direct objects; cf. Gb *wīṣǝl ‘arrive’; Arabic G *waṣala ‘reach, get to’, D *waʃəla ‘take, bring s.o.’*  


(x)xōrǝb ‘spoil, damage’ (cf. Gb xáyrǝb ‘be spoilt’; Arabic G xariba ‘be destroyed’, D xarraba ‘destroy’)

As for denominatives, we find:

(ḥ)ḥōni ‘dye with henna’ (cf. ḥaynē ‘henna’; Arabic D ḥanna’a ‘dye with henna’)
akōfi ‘go away’ (cf. kafē ‘back’, so lit. ‘turn one’s back to’)
arōba ‘give s.o. protection’ (probably denominative from ribāy ‘companion, fellow tribesman’)
asyiḥ ‘shout’ (cf. ṣayḥ ‘voice’; Arabic D ṣayyaḥa ‘shout, cry out’)
atōraf ‘put aside’ (cf. ταρέφ ‘side’)
attyīf ‘collect aloe’ (cf. ταύφ ‘aloe [Aloe dhufarensis]’)
(x)xwīṣ ‘collect xawṣ for basket-weaving’ (cf. xawṣ ‘palm leaves used for weaving baskets’)

A few D/L-Stem verbs are deadjectival:

abōri ‘free (from debt or guilt)’ (cf. bǝráy ‘free’)
(k)kōrum ‘be generous to’ (cf. kǝráym ‘generous’)
akōməḥ ‘foil (plans), frustrate; disappoint’ (cf. kōməḥ ‘bad’)
azhīb ‘dress up a woman in finery’ (cf. zǝhāyb ‘prepared, ready’)

A great many D/L-Stems must simply be considered lexical, such as the following:

ōbǝl ‘try, test’
awōda ‘see s.o. off’ (cf. Arabic D wadda’a ‘see s.o. off’)
awōðǝn ‘call to prayer’ (cf. Arabic D ʾaḍḍana ‘call to prayer’)
ōlom ‘mark; teach’ (cf. Arabic D ʿallama ‘teach’)
āwīd ‘warn’
āwig ‘delay, divert’
āwín ‘help’ (cf. Arabic L ṣawana ‘help’)
a’yɨt ‘cry out; weep’ (cf. Arabic D ʾayyaṭa ‘cry out’)
ōzǝr ‘annoy, pester’
abōrǝk ‘bless’ (cf. Arabic L bāraka ‘bless’)
abōśǝr ‘give good news’ (cf. Arabic D baššara ‘bring news’)
admım ‘g grope, feel about’ (cf. Q adámdǝm, with the same meaning)
(f)fask ‘separate (people fighting)’
(f)fōxǝr ‘beautify, dress up’
verbs: stems

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agörǝb ‘try’ (cf. Arabic D jarraba ‘test, try’)
ağyiḏ ‘anger’ (cf. T1 ġátyaḏ ‘get angry’)
(h)hōdi ‘divide, share’ (cf. Arabic L hādā ‘exchange gifts’)
(h)hōnǝd ‘feel sleepy’ (perhaps denominative from hǝnūd ‘drowsiness’)
(h)hōl ‘describe; beckon’ (cf. holot ‘description’)
(h)hōm ‘load’ (cf. G hǝm ‘carry, bear’; Arabic D hǝmmala ‘load’)
(h)hōrǝm ‘swear (not to do s.t.)’ (cf. Arabic harrama ‘declare s.t.
    forbidden; refrain from s.t.’)
(h)hōsol ‘acquire, get’ (= G hǝsǝl; cf. Arabic G hǝsala and D hǝssala
    ‘obtain, get’)
akōbǝl ‘watch, keep an eye on’ (cf. Arabic L qābala ‘stand opposite, face’)
akwīn ‘measure’
akyis ‘try s.t. (for size) on s.o.’ (cf. Arabic D qayyasa ‘measure’)
amōsi ‘kiss’
arōtǝb ‘arrange, tidy up’ (cf. Arabic D rattaba ‘arrange’)
(s)sōfǝr ‘travel’ (cf. Arabic L sǝfara ‘travel’)
asōli ‘pray’ (cf. Arabic D šallā ‘pray’)
(š)šōbǝh ‘suspect; look like’ (cf. Arabic L šabha ‘look like’)
(t)tawīb ‘repent’
awdīd ‘assign tasks’
awōl ‘prepare (trans.)’
awōkǝl ‘authorize, empower’ (cf. Arabic D wakkala ‘authorize, empo-
    wer’)
awōṣ ‘describe’ (= H hawsuif)
awōshi ‘advise’ (cf. Arabic D waṣṣa ‘advise’)
(x)xōhǝt ‘cock (a gun)’
(x)xōṭǝr ‘endanger, risk’ (cf. xatār ‘danger’; Arabic L xatara ‘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 haCUC. However, if the initial root con-
sonant is voiceless and non-glottalic (§ 2.1.2), and the second root consonant
is not, then the prefix assimilates to the first root consonant. An epenthetic ǝ
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 Ségér (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., *tmūm ‘he finished’ (< *ttmūm < *ttmūm) and *frūk or frūk ‘he frightened’ (< *frūk < *frūk). If both the first and second root consonants are voiceless and non-glottalic, then the prefix h- does appear, with or without an epenthetic ǝ, e.g., *thūm ‘he imagined’ and h(ǝ)ftūk ‘he took out/off/away’.22 Following is the full paradigm of a strong verb in this stem (ḥǝrkūb ‘mount’):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>hǝrkǝ́bk</td>
<td>ahǝrküb</td>
<td>al-ḥǝrkāb</td>
<td>al-ḥǝrkābān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>hǝrkābk</td>
<td>thǝrküb</td>
<td>thārkāb</td>
<td>thārkābān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>hǝrkābš</td>
<td>thǝrkāybi</td>
<td>thǝrkāb(i)</td>
<td>thǝrkābān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>hǝrkūb</td>
<td>yahǝrküb</td>
<td>yahārkāb</td>
<td>yahārkābān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>hǝrkǝbūt</td>
<td>thǝrküb</td>
<td>thārkāb</td>
<td>thārkābān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cd</td>
<td>hǝrkâbki</td>
<td>ahǝrkâbōh</td>
<td>al-ḥǝrkâbāh</td>
<td>al-ḥǝrkâbâyyăn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cd</td>
<td>hǝrkâbki</td>
<td>thǝrkâbōh</td>
<td>thǝrkâbâh</td>
<td>thǝrkâbâyyän</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3md</td>
<td>hǝrkǝbōh</td>
<td>yahǝrkǝbōh</td>
<td>yahǝrkǝbâh</td>
<td>yahǝrkǝbâyyän</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fd</td>
<td>hǝrkǝbtōh</td>
<td>thǝrkǝbōh</td>
<td>thǝrkǝbâh</td>
<td>thǝrkǝbâyyän</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cp</td>
<td>hǝrkōbān</td>
<td>nǝhǝrküb</td>
<td>nǝhārkāb</td>
<td>nǝhārkābān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2mp</td>
<td>hǝrkâbkam</td>
<td>thǝrkāb</td>
<td>thǝrkābām</td>
<td>thǝrkābān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fp</td>
<td>hǝrkâbkən</td>
<td>thǝrkübàn</td>
<td>thǝrkābàn</td>
<td>thǝrkābān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3mp</td>
<td>hǝrkūb</td>
<td>yahǝrküb</td>
<td>yahǝrkābām</td>
<td>yahǝrkābān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fp</td>
<td>hǝrküb</td>
<td>thǝrkübàn</td>
<td>thǝrkābān</td>
<td>thǝrkābān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3ms perfect base with object suffixes: hǝrkǝb-

Imperative: ms hârkǝb, fs hârkǝb(i), mp hǝrkābām, fp hǝrkābān

Future: ms mahârkâb, fs mahǝrkǝbēta, md mahârkǝbī, fd mahǝrkǝbēti, cp mahǝrkǝbūtǝn

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 thârkâbi (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., ḥǝḳfōdǝn ‘we let down’ (60:10) vs. G-Stem kafūdan ‘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.\(^{24}\)

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)fǝrūḳ ‘frighten’:\(^{25}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>(f)fǝrākk</td>
<td>afferāuk</td>
<td>al-hāfrāk</td>
<td>al-hāfrākan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>(f)fǝrākk</td>
<td>t(f)fǝrāuk</td>
<td>thāfrāk</td>
<td>thāfrākan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>(f)fǝrāḳš</td>
<td>t(f)fǝrāyḳi</td>
<td>thāfrāk(i)</td>
<td>thāfrākan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>(f)fǝrūḳ</td>
<td>yǝffǝrūḳ</td>
<td>yahāfrāk</td>
<td>yahāfrākan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>(f)fǝrkáwt(^{26})</td>
<td>t(f)fǝrūḳ</td>
<td>thāfrāk</td>
<td>thāfrākan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cd</td>
<td>(f)frǝ́ḳki</td>
<td>affǝrḳōh</td>
<td>l-affǝrḳāh(^{27})</td>
<td>l-affǝrḳāyyǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cd</td>
<td>(f)frǝ́ḳki</td>
<td>t(f)frǝ́ḳh</td>
<td>t(f)fǝrkāh</td>
<td>t(f)fǝrkāyyǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3md</td>
<td>(f)fǝrkōh</td>
<td>yǝffǝrḳōh</td>
<td>yǝffǝrḳāh</td>
<td>yǝffǝrḳāyyǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fd</td>
<td>(f)fǝrkōh</td>
<td>t(f)fǝrkōh</td>
<td>t(f)fǝrkāh</td>
<td>t(f)fǝrkāyyǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cp</td>
<td>(f)fǝrōḳǝn</td>
<td>nǝffǝrūḳ</td>
<td>nǝhāfrǝḳ</td>
<td>nǝhāfrǝḳan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2mp</td>
<td>(f)fǝrǝ́ḳkǝm</td>
<td>t(f)fǝrık</td>
<td>thāfrǝḳǝm</td>
<td>thāfrǝḳan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fp</td>
<td>(f)fǝrǝ́ḳkǝn</td>
<td>t(f)fǝrẹḳan</td>
<td>thǝfrǝḳan</td>
<td>thǝfrǝḳan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3mp</td>
<td>(f)fǝṟık</td>
<td>yǝffǝṟık</td>
<td>yǝhǝfrǝḳǝm</td>
<td>yǝhǝfrǝḳan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fp</td>
<td>(f)fǝṟık</td>
<td>t(f)fǝṟǝḳan</td>
<td>thǝfrǝḳan</td>
<td>thǝfrǝḳan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{24}\) 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 ǝ after the first root consonant. I have included it in the paradigm.

\(^{26}\) The underlying form is *(f)fǝrkūt (from the pattern (C\(_{1}\)C\(_{2}\)C\(_{3}\)ǝC\(_{4}\)ūt), but there is metathesis of the ǝ and the liquid (§ 2.2.3). Cf. also *(f)fǝwtūt ‘she ran away’ (22:70) < *(f)fǝltūt < *(f)fǝltūt. We see the same metathesis in the 3nd 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 ḥǝḳfǝltǝm ‘escape (mp)’ (< *ḥǝflǝtǝm, 42:19) and ḥǝflǝtǝm ‘amuse (mp)’! (84:6). 3fs *(f)fǝrkāyt also has the expected diphthongization of ū > āw after a glottalic consonant (§ 2.2.1).

\(^{27}\) The subjunctive dual suffix is -āh instead of -āḥ (< *ēḥ) for this verb because of the glottalic k (see § 2.2.1).
3ms perfect base with object suffixes: (f)fǝrk-

Imperative: ms háfрак, fs háfрак(i), mp háfракǝm, fp háfракǝn

Future:28 ms mǝhǝfɾǝk, fs mǝffǝɾkǝta, md mǝhǝfǝɾki, fd mǝffǝɾkǝti, cp mǝffǝɾkǝwǝn

6.3.1 H-Stem Meaning
The primary function of the Mehri H-Stem is causative (cf. Hebrew hiphʿil, Arabic ʿafʿala). 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:

hāšūś ‘rouse, wake up (trans.); bear (fruit)’ (cf. G ʿǝss ‘rise, get up; grow’)
ḥāwūr ‘make blind’ (cf. Gb áywǝr ‘be blind’)
ḥabbūl ‘cook, prepare’ (cf. G bǝhēl ‘be cooked, ready’)
ḥabkōh ‘make s.o. cry’ (cf. G bǝkōh ‘cry’)
ḥabkōh ‘put aside, save’ (cf. Gb bǝyǝki ‘be left over, remain’)
ḥabrūk ‘make (camels) kneel’ (cf. G bǝrūk ‘kneel (of camels)’)
ḥabǝwǝr ‘take out (animals) at night’ (cf. G bǝr ‘go out at night’)
ḥǝdūg ‘suckle’ (= D/L ǝdǝg; cf. G ǝdūg ‘suck (at the breast)’)
ḥǝdlul ‘lead, guide’ (= G dǝl ‘lead, guide’)
ḥǝdxǝwl ‘make s.o. swear’ (cf. G dǝxml ‘swear, promise’)
ḥǝdǝhǝb ‘flood (trans.)’ (cf. G ǝdǝhēb ‘be flooded’)
ḥ(ǝ)fhǝs ‘boil (meat and potatoes)’ (cf. G fǝsh ‘boil (intrans.)’)
(f)fǝrūd ‘frighten (animals)’ (cf. G fǝrūd ‘stampede, panic’)
(f)fǝrǝk ‘frighten’ (cf. Gb fīrǝk ‘be afraid’)
ḥ(ǝ)ftǝk ‘take out/off/away’ (cf. G fǝtk ‘come/go out’)
ḥogǝwr ‘knock down’ (cf. G gǝr ‘fall’)
ḥaglǝl ‘light a fire; boil (trans.)’ (cf. G gǝll ‘be alight; boil (intrans.)’)
(h)hǝwǝh ‘drop, make fall’ (cf. G hǝwǝh ‘fall’)
ḥǝkfǝd ‘take/let down’ (cf. G ǝhfǝd ‘go down’)
ḥǝkfǝ ‘dry’ (trans.) (cf. Gb kǝyǝsǝ ‘be dry’)
(h)hǝwǝb ‘warm by the fire’ (cf. Gb hıwǝb ‘get warm’)
(h)hǝnǝt ‘make s.o. break an oath’ (cf. Gb hıynǝt ‘swear a lie, break an oath’)

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28 The fs future suffix is -āta instead of -ēta for this verb because of the preceding glottalic =q (see § 2.2.1). Likewise, the fd suffix is -āti < -ēti, and the cp suffix is -áwtǝn < -ūtǝn.
(ḥ)ḥǝrūḳ ‘burn (trans.)’ (cf. Gb ḥāyrǝḳ ‘get burnt’)
hǝwbūs ‘dress s.o.’ (cf. Gb lības ‘wear’)
hǝwsáwk ‘stick (trans.), attach’ (cf. Gb līṣǝk ‘stick (intrans.), adhere’)\(^{29}\)
hǝmlōh ‘fill (trans.)’ (= Ga mūla/mǝlōh; cf. Gb mūl ‘be full’)\(^{30}\)
hǝmlūk ‘give s.o. legal possession of a woman in marriage’ (cf. G mǝlūk ‘possess’)
hǝmrūt ‘heat red-hot’ (cf. Gb mīrǝt ‘be(come) red-hot’)
hǝmwūt ‘kill’ (cf. G mōt ‘die’)
hǝndūr ‘give milk; suckle’ (cf. G nādur ‘drink milk (used of babies)’)
hǝnkáwb ‘throw off (usually of a mount)’ (cf. Gb nīḳǝb ‘fall off (a mount)’)
hǝrkūb ‘mount s.o.’ (cf. G rǝkūb ‘ride, mount’)
hǝrwōh ‘give to drink’ (cf. Gb rāywi ‘drink to repletion’)
(ś)šǝnōh ‘show’ (cf. Gb śīni ‘see’)
(t)tǝmūm ‘finish (trans.), complete’ (cf. Gb tǝmm ‘be finished, finish (intrans.)’)
(t)tǝwōh ‘feed’ (cf. G tǝwōh ‘eat’)
hǝwkūb ‘put in’ (cf. G wǝkūb ‘enter’)
hǝwkáʾ ‘put, put down’ (cf. Gb wika ‘be, become; stay’)
hǝwrūd ‘take down to water’ (cf. G wǝrūd ‘go down to water’)
hǝwsáwl ‘take s.o. somewhere’ (= D/L awōṣǝl, though the D/L-Stem takes just one direct object; cf. Gb wǝsǝl ‘arrive, reach’)
(x)xǝdūm ‘employ, give work’ (cf. G xǝdūm ‘work’)
(x)xǝlūs ‘mislead’ (cf. G xǝlūs ‘get lost’)
hǝzyūd ‘increase (trans.); give more’ (cf. G zayūd ‘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:

haḍrōh ‘let the blood of a goat run over a sick person’ (cf. Gb di’ra ‘bleed (intrans.)’)\(^{31}\)

\(^{29}\) ML (s.v. lṣk) has hǝwsūk, but this is an error for hǝwsáwk, attested in text 179.

\(^{30}\) ML (s.v. ml’a/ml’y) lists an H-Stem perfect mlǝ, but this is an error. The correct form hǝmlōh appears in text 48:8. On the variant forms of the Ga-Stem, see §7.2.9.

\(^{31}\) ML (s.v. dǝr) lists a 3ms perfect dǝyar’, clearly a typo for dǝyra’, which is still very likely an error. The form should be dǝra (like wika); cf. dǝre in Jahn (1902: 173), with d for ḏ in his Yemeni Mehri dialect.
hağfül 'cheer s.o. up’ (cf. G ḡafūl ‘be carefree’)
hağwūṣ 'put down (e.g., feet) under water’ (cf. G ḡūṣ ‘dive’)
haksāwnm 'spend the afternoon (to avoid the heat)’ (cf. Gb ḫyāsām ‘be cool’)
harsōh ‘reconcile with s.o. (usually a wife)’ (cf. Gb ṭayṣi ‘be agreeable’)
hawsāwbd 'hit (with a bullet)’ (cf. G 畬 ‘be/go straight’)32

Some H-Stem verbs are not causatives derived from a G-Stem, but can still be seen as causative in meaning. Such are:

hālūḳ ‘light (trans.), kindle’ (cf. G ālūḳ ‘make a fire’)
haḍnáwn ‘imagine’ (cf. ḡann ‘thought’)
(f)fēkōh ‘cover’ (cf. Š1 šfēkōh ‘cover oneself’)
(f)fūḳ ‘give in marriage’ (cf. Š1 šfūḳ ‘get married (female subject only)’)
hağnōh ‘warm (trans.)’ (cf. Š1 šagnōh ‘get warm’)
hağyūg ‘bear young (of animals)’ (cf. ḡayg ‘man’)
(k)kawr ‘(make s.t.) roll down’
(h)hēkōh ‘give water to’ (cf. anomalous T2 tēkk ‘drink’)
(h)hēmōh ‘call, name’ (cf. hamm ‘name’)
handēx ‘fumigate, perfume with incense smoke’ (cf. T1 nāddax ‘get smoke in one’s eyes’, nūdēx ‘(incense-)smoke’)
hanḥōh ‘burn (trans.)’ (cf. Š1 šānḥōh ‘get burnt’)
harbā’ ‘lift/pull/take up’ (cf. Š1 šarbā’ ‘climb to the top of s.t.’)
horxōh ‘release, let go’ (cf. Š1 šārxōh and T1 ṭātxi ‘be untied, be released’)
(ś)šawḳ ‘light (on fire), burn (trans.)’ (cf. T1 śātwēk ‘miss, long for’)35
hatlāwk ‘release, set (a horse) after’ (cf. T1 ṭātxi ‘be released’)
hawqūṣ ‘take out/bring home animals in the early evening’ (cf. Š1 šawqūṣ ‘go (in the early evening)’)
hawrē’ ‘keep away, hold back (trans.)’ (cf. Š1 šawrē’ ‘back off, stand down’)

32 The G-Stem 3ms perfect sawb, given in ML (s.v. swb), is surely an error for 畬.
33 On this anomalous verb, see further in §7.2.14.
34 See the comment to text 84:4.
35 The form (ś)šawḳ (3ms subjunctive yahdāšak, 86:12) behaves as if its root were šk (cf. (k)kawr). The T1-Stem šātwēk, assuming it is connected (as Johnstone did), reflects a root ūwk. If the root were originally ūwk, as suggested in ML (s.v. ūwk), we could perhaps argue for an anomalous change of 3ms perfect *hāšwūk > *hāšūk > *hāståwēk > *hståwēk > (ś)šawwk. Jahn (1902: 242) also recorded 3ms perfect sawwk.
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, ʾafʿala). Such are:

\(\text{hāmūn}\) ‘trust (in s.o.)’ (cf. Arabic C ʾāmana ‘trust (in s.o.)’)
\(\text{hāmūr}\) ‘order’ (cf. Arabic G ʾamara ‘order’ vs. Mehri G ʾāmūr ‘say’ [root ‘mr’])
\(\text{hānōh}\) ‘intend, mean’ (cf. mānē ‘intent, intention’)
\(\text{hāris}\) ‘marry, get married’ (cf. Arabic G ʾarasa or D ʿarrasa ‘get married’)
\(\text{ḥātūm}\) ‘spend the night’
\(\text{ḥābgāwš}\) ‘hate’ (cf. G baḡāš ‘dislike’; Arabic C ʾaḡada ‘hate’, but G baḡida ‘be hated’)
\(\text{ḥābsāwr}\) ‘see well’ (cf. Arabic C ʾaḥsara ‘see’)
\(\text{ḥābsūr}\) ‘look forward to (s.t. good or bad); anticipate’ (cf. D/L ʾabūsār ‘give good news’)
\(\text{ḥaḥtā}\) ‘be late, be delayed’ (cf. baṭāy ‘slow, late’; Arabic C ʾaḥtāa ‘be late’)
\(\text{ḥfūlūt}\) ‘escape, flee, run away’ (cf. Arabic C ʾafītata ‘escape’; Mehri D/L ḥfīlūt ‘free oneself’, Tī ḥfīltāt ‘be untied’)
\(\text{ḥfūrāk}\) ‘recover from a fever’ (on the homophonous ḥfūrāk ‘frighten’, see above)36
\(\text{ḥ(ǝ)fsēḥ}\) ‘stop doing, leave off’
\(\text{ḥ(ǝ)ftōh}\) ‘advise; focus on’ (cf. Arabic C ʾaftā ‘give a (legal) opinion’)
\(\text{ḥaḡbūr}\) ‘give help’ (cf. Šī ʾaḡbūr ‘ask for help from’)
\(\text{ḥaḡdōh}\) ‘forget, lose’
\(\text{ḥaḡsāwb}\) ‘lose s.t. of importance’ (cf. G ʾaḡsāwb ‘disarm, take by force; the meaning of which is more causative than the H-Stem)
\(\text{ḥḥkāwṭ}\) ‘give birth (used of camels)’ (cf. Arabic C ʾasqata ‘let fall, drop; have a miscarriage’)
\(\text{ḥḥwūl}\) ‘understand (a language)’ (probably cf. Arabic C ʾaḥwala ‘convert, translate’)
\(\text{kḥabūr}\) ‘stay with s.o. to drink milk’
\(\text{ḥakbūl}\) ‘arrive, draw near’ (cf. Arabic C ʾaqbala ‘draw near’)
\(\text{ḥamṛūš}\) ‘nurse, look after’ (this is the opposite of causative; cf. Gb mīrāš ‘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.
hǝnfēx ‘blow, breathe’ (seems to = G nǝfx)
hǝngūd ‘go to Najd (in Dhofar)’ (denominative from nagd ‘Najd’; cf. Arabic C anjada ‘travel in the Najd’)
hǝnkür ‘feel; understand, realize’ (cf. Gb nikon ‘understand, catch on’)  
hǝnsür ‘have had enough sleep; feel refreshed’ (cf. Arabic C anšara ‘resurrect from the dead’)
hǝrgūf ‘shiver (with fever)’ (cf. Arabic C arjafa ‘shiver’)
hǝrhūn ‘pawn; leave s.t. as a pledge’ (cf. Arabic C arhana ‘pawn; leave s.t. as a pledge’)
hǝrsōh ‘cast anchor’ (cf. Arabic C ʿarsā ‘cast anchor’)
hǝrxáwṣ ‘give permission to leave’ (cf. Š1 šǝrxawṣ ‘take/want leave’; Arabic D raxxaṣa ‘permit’)
hǝṣbāḥ ‘be/happen in the morning; become’ (cf. Arabic C ʿaṣbaḥa ‘be/happen in the morning; become’; Mehri k-sōbǝḥ ‘morning’;)
hǝṣfür ‘whistle’ (cf. Arabic G ʿafara and D šaffara ‘whistle’, but Judeo-Arabic C ʿəsfara ‘whistle’)
hǝṣ́ráwb ‘be ill’
h(ǝ)thūm ‘think, imagine, suspect’
(t)tǝlōh ‘regret’
hǝwfōh ‘pay a debt’ (perhaps cf. wōfi ‘honest’)
hǝwḥōh ‘come to help’
hǝwlōh ‘go back to, turn towards, direct oneself to’ (cf. Arabic C ʾawlā ‘turn back/towards’)
hǝwṣáwf ‘describe’ (= D/L awōṣǝf; cf. waṣf ‘description’ [< Arabic])
(x)xǝṣáwb ‘send; send for’
(x)xǝwōh ‘send s.o. confidentially’
hǝzbūr ‘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 agónyat ber ṭahnēt ṭakáykh ḏ-awḳā, ‘she found the sack (of grain) already ground, (with) fine flour in it [lit. having been put in]’ (97:16)

The form ḏ-awḳā must be a 3ms passive imperfect of the H-Stem hǝwkā ‘put, place’; the verbal prefix ḏ- indicates a circumstantial (§ 7.1.10.1).37 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 $h$ (hawkā), which was then crossed out. Johnstone (1975a:19) lists a passive 3ms perfect awkā and 3ms imperfect/subjunctive yawkā. 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 Š1-Stem is by far the more common of the two. It has the basic pattern šǝCCūC in the 3ms perfect. The other Š-Stem, which we will call the Š2-Stem, has the basic pattern šǝCēCǝC in the 3ms perfect. The Š2-Stem, like the D/L- and T2-Stems, is characterized by a suffixed -ǝn 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 istaʃ`ala (Form X). The MSA Ct-Stem split into two types, an Š1-type and an Š2-type, mirroring the two types of T-Stems (§ 6.5). 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.39

38 Verbs with the pattern istaffa’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 Š2-Stem.

39 Holes (2005) discusses some developments of the istaʃ`ala (Form X) in Gulf Arabic, but with no reference to MSA languages.

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.
6.4.1 Št-Stem Form

The basic pattern of the 3ms perfect is šǝCCūC. When the first root consonant is voiceless and non-glottalic, but the second is voiced or glottalic, then the š of the prefix is not present; instead, there is an epenthetic š following the first root consonant, e.g., šxǝbūr 'ask' and škǝlūt 'listen to a story'. The exception is if the first root consonant is s or š, e.g., šǝsdūk 'believe s.o. is telling the truth' (not *šsǝdūk). 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 š after the prefix, e.g., šftēh or šǝftēh 'be mated (female animals).

The conjugation of the Št-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 Št-Stem (šǝndūr 'vow, promise'):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>šǝndǝrk</td>
<td>ašǝndǝr</td>
<td>ǝl-šǝndǝr</td>
<td>l-ǝšǝndǝrǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>šǝndǝrk</td>
<td>tšǝndǝr</td>
<td>tšǝndǝr</td>
<td>tšǝndǝrǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>šǝndǝrš</td>
<td>tšǝndǝryr</td>
<td>tšǝndǝr(ı)</td>
<td>tšǝndǝrǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>šǝndǝr</td>
<td>yašǝndǝr</td>
<td>yašǝndǝr</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>l-ǝšǝndǝrǝ́yǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cd</td>
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<td>tšǝndǝrǝh</td>
<td>tšǝndǝrǝh</td>
<td>tšǝndǝrǝ́yǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>yašǝndǝrǝh</td>
<td>yašǝndǝrǝh</td>
<td>yašǝndǝrǝ́yǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cp</td>
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<td>našǝndǝr</td>
<td>našǝndǝr</td>
<td>našǝndǝrǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2mp</td>
<td>šǝndǝrkǝm</td>
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<tr>
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<td>tšǝndǝrǝn</td>
<td>tšǝndǝrǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>tšǝndǝrǝn</td>
<td>tšǝndǝrǝn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3ms perfect base with object suffixes: šǝndǝr-

Imperative: ms šǝndǝr, fs šǝndǝr(ı), mp šǝndǝrǝm, fp šǝndǝrǝn

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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 mǝšǝndǝr, fs mǝšǝndǝrēta, md mǝšǝndǝrēri, fd mǝšǝndǝrēti, cp mǝšǝndǝrūtǝn

Like the H-Stem and T2-Stem, the 1cp perfect has the vowel ŏ, while the 3ms has ŭ. This is in contrast with the G-Stem, which has ŭ in both forms, e.g., šǝksǝrǝn ‘we ran short’ (91:13) vs. G-Stem kǝfǝdǝn ‘we went down’ (25:7).

6.4.2 Š-Stem Meaning
As mentioned above, Johnstone refers to the Š-Stems as causative-reflexive verbs. This designation applies only to a minority of Š-stems. Among the examples in the texts are:

šāgūl ‘hurry (oneself)’ (cf. H hāgūl ‘make s.o. hurry’)  
šǝbdūd ‘separate oneself from’ (cf. D/L abdīd ‘separate (trans.)’)  
šhǝwūb ‘warm oneself by the fire’ (cf. H (h)hǝwūb ‘warm by the fire (trans.)’)  
šǝkhǝwb ‘play the harlot’ (cf. H hǝkhǝwb ‘turn a woman into a harlot; seduce’)  
šǝkwōh ‘become strong’ (cf. Gb kāywi ‘be strong’, H hǝkwōh ‘strengthen’)  
šǝwnēx ‘rest, be (come) rested’ (cf. H hǝwnēx ‘give s.o. rest’)  
šǝrbāʾ ‘climb (to the top)’ (cf. H hǝrbāʾ ‘lift, pull up’)  
šǝwrɛ́ʾ ‘back off, stand down’ (cf. H hǝwrɛ́ʾ ‘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:

šǝdлūl ‘be guided; need directions’ (cf. H hǝdлūl ‘lead, guide’)  
šfūk ‘get married’ (used with a female subject only) (cf. H (f)fūk ‘give in marriage’)  
šǝmlūk ‘be given legal possession of a woman in marriage’ (cf. H hǝmlūk ‘give s.o. legal possession of a woman in marriage’)  
šǝrdūd ‘get back; ask for s.t. back’ (cf. H hǝrdūd ‘give back’)  
šǝwṣǝwb ‘be wounded, be hit (with a bullet)’ (cf. H hǝwǝsǝwb ‘hit (with a bullet)’)  
šǝṣ́yūk ‘get fed up; have trouble’ (cf. G šǝyūk ‘be fed up’, D/L aṣ́yīk and H hǝṣ́yūk ‘make s.o. fed up’)  
šǝwfōh ‘be revenged for s.o., avenge s.o.; be paid a debt’ (cf. H hǝwfǝh ‘pay a debt’)

41 On this anomalous verb, see further in §7.2.14.
A few Š1-Stems have a meaning something like ‘believe s.o./s.t. is X’:

šǝbdōḥ ‘not believe, believe s.o. is lying’ (cf. G bǝdōḥ ‘lie, tell a lie’)
škǝbūr ‘consider large’ (cf. Arabic Ct istakbara ‘consider large’)
š(ǝ)ktūr ‘be too much; think s.t. is too much’ (cf. Gb kīṯǝr ‘be abundant, H haktūr ‘say/give more’; Arabic Ct istaktara ‘think s.t. is too much’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
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šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
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šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
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šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
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šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’ (cf. G sǝdūḳ ‘tell the truth’)
šǝsdúrk ‘survive’ (cf. G darūk ‘come quickly to help’, D/L adōrk ‘save s.o.’s life by giving water’)
š(ǝ)ftēḥ ‘be mated (female animals)’ (cf. G fǝtḥ ‘open’)
šagḥūm ‘set off (in the morning)’ (cf. G gǝhēm ‘go, go in the morning’)
šagḥāwd ‘be(come) convinced’ (cf. G gǝḥād ‘deny, refuse; convince’)
šagḥūr ‘ask for help from, collect funds from’ (cf. H haḡbūr ‘give help’)
šaglōh ‘buy s.t. at a high price’ (cf. H haḡlōh ‘sell s.t. at a high price’)
šawgāwr ‘raid’ (cf. Gb ġáywǝr ‘be distracted, not pay attention’, D/L aḡwīr ‘distract, keep occupied’)
šǝmūm ‘be encouraged, be bold’

However, most Š1-Stems can only be categorized as lexical. Examples are:

šādūr ‘refuse s.o.’ (cf. H hāḍūr ‘excuse, excuse oneself’)
šāfōḥ ‘recover, improve in health’ (cf. āfyǝt ‘health’)
šemmūn ‘believe; listen to, obey’ (cf. H hemmūn ‘trust’)
šēnūs ‘dare’
šāsūr ‘love, like, be keen on’
šāṣ́ōh ‘be/get worried about’
šōda ‘curse, insult’ (cf. dāwēt ‘complaint’)
šadhūk ‘look, look down’
šadrūk ‘survive’ (cf. G darūk ‘come quickly to help’, D/L adōrk ‘save s.o.’s life by giving water’)
š(ǝ)ftēḥ ‘be mated (female animals)’ (cf. G fǝtḥ ‘open’)
šagḥūm ‘set off (in the morning)’ (cf. G gǝhēm ‘go, go in the morning’)
šagḥāwd ‘be(come) convinced’ (cf. G gǝḥād ‘deny, refuse; convince’)
šagḥūr ‘ask for help from, collect funds from’ (cf. H haḡbūr ‘give help’)
šaglōh ‘buy s.t. at a high price’ (cf. H haḡlōh ‘sell s.t. at a high price’)
šawgāwr ‘raid’ (cf. Gb ġáywǝr ‘be distracted, not pay attention’, D/L aḡwīr ‘distract, keep occupied’)
šamūm ‘be encouraged, be bold’

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42 We also find šǝsdūḳ. See further in the comment to text 20:6.
43 ML (s.v. ṭḳl) gives an H-Stem haṯḳāwl, 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.
śḥǝgōh ‘stand firm; settle a difficulty’
śḥǝyūr ‘be paralyzed with fear’ (cf. G ḥayūr ‘be confused, get lost’)
škǝlîl ‘catch (in one’s hands)’ (cf. H (k)kalîl ‘catch (s.t. dropping)’)  
škǝlūt ‘listen to a story’ (cf. G kalūt ‘tell’)
š(ǝ)ktūb ‘have s.o. write (a charm)’ (cf. Arabic Ct istaktaba ‘have s.o. write
s.t.’)
šǝkrōh ‘hide (intrans.), hide oneself’ (cf. G ḱǝrōh ‘hide (trans.)’) (reflexive, but there is no recorded H-Stem of this root)
šǝkrǝw ‘confess’
šǝksǝwr ‘run out of, run short of’ (very close to G kǝsǝwr ‘be/fall short; run short of’)  
šǝskōh ‘be paid off, receive blood-money’ (cf. G kǝsǝh ‘pay off, pay blood-money’)  
šǝkτa ‘become despondent, tired (of a situation)’ (cf. Gb kǝyta ‘be tired’)  
šǝmdūd ‘take s.t. (from s.o.)’ (cf. H ǝmdūd ‘give’)  
šǝmrūs ‘fall ill; be ill’ (cf. Gb mūras ‘be ill’; H hamrūš ‘nurse, look after’ is not causative)
šǝndūm ‘renege, ask for s.t. back’ (cf. Gb nǝḏǝm ‘repent of s.t., be sorry
about’)  
šǝndūr ‘vow, promise’ (H hǝndūr seems to have a similar meaning)
šǝnhǝw ‘complain, lodge a complaint’
šǝnsǝw ‘be victorious’ (cf. nǝṣǝr ‘victory’)  
šǝrǝhm ‘get rain (in a dry period)’ (cf. rahmǝt ‘rain’)  
šǝfḥ ‘find out; gather news’ (cf. ǝfǝt ‘news’)  
šǝsḥ ‘be(come) healthy’ (cf. saḥḥ ‘alive, healthy’, ṣǝḥḥat ‘health’)  
šǝs’haw ‘be branded’ (cf. G ǝṣ’hǝr ‘brand’)  
šǝsǝym ‘run short of milk’ (cf. ǝsǝyǝt ‘shortage of milk’)  
šǝwdǝ ‘keep safe’ (cf. H ḡǝwdǝ ‘give s.o. protection’; Arabic Ct istawda’a ‘entrust, give for safekeeping’)  
šǝwqǝ ‘go (in the early evening)’ (cf. H hǝwqǝ ‘take out/bring home animals in the early evening’)  
šǝwkǝ ‘sleep, fall asleep’ (cf. H hǝwkǝ ‘let s.o. ill rest on one’s shoulder; set up (a stone)’)  
šxǝbū ‘ask’ (cf. Arabic tD tǝxabbara and Ct tǝxǝbara ‘inquire’)  

While a large number of D/L-Stems and H-Stems have clear Arabic counterparts, most Š1-Stems do not. And when there is an Arabic cognate, the Š1-Stem does not regularly correspond to any one Arabic verbal stem. For example, from the above lists, šǝdǝr, šǝnsǝw, š(ǝ)xǝtǝn, and probably šoda correspond to Arabic Gt-Stems (Form VIII, ʃǝtǝ’ala); š(ǝ)ktǝb, š(ǝ)xǝtǝr, šǝmdǝd, šǝxǝw, and
šəwdéʾ correspond to Arabic Ct-Stems (Form X, istafʿala); šągūl, šɔmlük, šɔwfɔh, and šɔxbúr correspond to both tD- and Ct-Stems (Forms V and X, tafaʿala and istafʿala); šḥayūr corresponds either to a tD- or Gt-Stem (Form V or VIII, tafaʿala or iftaʿala); šɔwʒáwr and šɔkráwr to C-Stems (Form IV, ʾafʿala); šɛ̄mūn to both a C- and Gt-Stem (Forms IV and VIII, ʾafʿala and iftaʿala); šafōh and šɔʃyʊk to a tL-Stem (Form VI, tafāʿala); škɔbúr to both a C- and Ct-Stem (Forms IV and X, ʾafʿala and istafʿala); and šɔsdúk to a D-Stem (Form II, faʿala). This can be seen more clearly in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>D</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>tD</th>
<th>tL</th>
<th>Gt</th>
<th>Ct</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>šōda</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šāḏūr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šafōh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>šągūl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šɛ̄mūn</td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šwʒáwr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šḥayūr</td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>škɔbúr</td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>š(ə)ktūb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>š(ə)ktūr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šɔkráwr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šɔmdūd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šɔmlük</td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šɔnsáwr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šǝsdūk</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šǝšyūk</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šǝqǝkawl</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šǝwdē</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šǝwfōh</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šǝxbūr</td>
<td>×</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š(ǝ)xtūn</td>
<td>×</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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, istaʕala).

6.4.3 Š2-Stem Form
The basic pattern of the 3ms perfect is šǝCēCǝC, and like the D/L-Stem and T2-Stem, it is characterized by a suffixed -ǝn on all imperfect forms. If the first root consonant is voiceless and non-glottalic, then vowel a of the prefix is lost, e.g., šhēwǝb ‘think, figure’. Following is the full paradigm of a strong verb in the Š2-Stem (šǝnēsǝm ‘sigh’):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>šǝnǝsmǝk</td>
<td>ašnǝsman</td>
<td>l-ašnǝsman</td>
<td>l-ašnǝsman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>šǝnǝsmǝk</td>
<td>təšnǝsman</td>
<td>təšnǝsman</td>
<td>təšnǝsman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>šǝnǝsmǝš</td>
<td>təšnǝsman</td>
<td>təšnǝsman</td>
<td>təšnǝsman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>šǝnǝsǝm</td>
<td>yǝšnǝsman</td>
<td>yǝšnǝsman</td>
<td>yǝšnǝsman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>šǝnsǝmǝt</td>
<td>təšnǝsman</td>
<td>təšnǝsman</td>
<td>təšnǝsman</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

44 Before š, the prefix should be t-, not tǝ-, but we usually find the latter in the Š2-Stem prefix-conjugations because of the following consonant cluster.
6.4.4 Š2-Stem Meaning

Johnstone (ML, p. lxiii), wrote that many verbs of the Š2 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 šǝnēwǝṣ ‘wrestle with’ and šǝgēlǝs ‘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, šǝlēbǝd 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 Š2-Stem verbs with implied reciprocity are:

šādǝl ‘bet s.o.’
šǝdēyǝn ‘borrow’ (cf. D/L adyīn ‘give credit; lend money’; Arabic Ct istadāna ‘borrow’)

45 ML (p. lxiii) has the 1/2 dual form šǝnsámki, 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 šǝnásmǝki would likely be pronounced šǝnásǝmki. Likewise, I expect that the 2mp/2fp forms would be pronounced with -ǝm- for -mǝ-.

46 The only Š2-Stem imperative attested in the texts is ms šǝrēwǝg (56A:2), from a text that was not published by Stroomer.
Šǝgēłǝs ‘quarrel with; tell s.o. off’ (cf. T1 gátǝs ‘quarrel with one another’)
Šǝlēbǝd ‘hit, shoot back at’ (cf. G ǝwbūd ‘hit, shoot’)
Šǝnēwǝṣ ‘wrestle with, struggle with’ (cf. T2 ǝntǝwūṣ ‘wrestle with one another’)
Šǝrǝwǝq ‘consult with’
Šǝwɛ̄d ‘arrange a meeting; promise’ (cf. wɛ̄d ‘appointment, promise’)
Šǝzēfǝr ‘struggle with s.t.’

Other Š2 verbs have no implication of reciprocity, and must simply be considered lexical. Such are:

Šǝgǝmǝl ‘take all of s.t.’ (cf. G ǝgǝmūl ‘buy the whole of s.t.’, ǝgǝmlēt ‘total’)
Šhǝwǝb ‘think, figure’
Šxārǝg ‘read; interpret’ (cf. Arabic D xarraja ‘interpret, deduce’ and Ct ǝstaxraja ‘deduce’)

As already mentioned, and as is clear from the lists of Š1- and Š2-Stems above, Š2 verbs are overall much less common than Š1-Stems. In fact, the Š2-Stem is the least common of the six triliteral derived stems.

6.5  T-Stems

Mehri possesses two derived verbal stems that are characterized by an infixed t, which is inserted between the first and second root consonants. Both T-Stems occur fairly frequently. The one which we will call T1 has the basic pattern ČǎtČǝC in the 3ms perfect. The other stem, which we will call T2, has the basic pattern ǝCtǝCūC in the 3ms perfect. The T2-Stem, like the D/L- and Š2-Stems, is characterized by a suffixed -ǝn on all imperfect forms. Johnstone (1975a: 13; ML, pp. xxi, xlvii) 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  T1-Stem Form

The T1-Stem is characterized by an infixed t, which is inserted between the first and second root consonants. It is distinguished from the T2-Stem by its vocalic patterns, and by the lack of the suffix -ǝn in the imperfect forms (save the 2fp and 3fp). The base pattern of the strong verb in the perfect is ČǎtČǝC. If the second and third root consonants are voiceless and non-glottalic, then the ǝ in the second syllable of the perfect is lost phonemically, though epenthetic ǝ
may be heard, e.g., *watxǝf* or *wátxǝf* ‘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 (*ġátbar* ‘meet one another’):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>ġátbarak</td>
<td>āgtābūr</td>
<td>l-āgtībār</td>
<td>l-āgtābrān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>ġátbarak</td>
<td>taġtābūr</td>
<td>taġtībār</td>
<td>taġtābrān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>ġátbarǝs</td>
<td>taġtābǝyr</td>
<td>taġtībǝyr</td>
<td>taġtābrān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>ġátbar</td>
<td>yaṅtābūr</td>
<td>yaṅtībār</td>
<td>yaṅtābrān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>ġátbarōt</td>
<td>taṅtābūr</td>
<td>taṅtībār</td>
<td>taṅtābrān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ġátbǝrki</td>
<td>āgtǝbrōh</td>
<td>l-āgtǝbrāh</td>
<td>l-āgtǝbrāyyǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cd</td>
<td>ġátbǝrki</td>
<td>taġtǝbrōh</td>
<td>taġtǝbrāh</td>
<td>taġtǝbrāyyǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>yaṅtǝbrōh</td>
<td>yaṅtǝbrāh</td>
<td>yaṅtǝbrāyyǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>taṅtǝbrāyyǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cp</td>
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<td>naṅtǝbūr</td>
<td>naṅtībǝr</td>
<td>naṅtǝbrān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>taṅtǝbǝr</td>
<td>taṅtǝbrǝm</td>
<td>taṅtǝbrān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>taṅtǝbǝrun</td>
<td>taṅtǝbrǝn</td>
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<td>ġátbǝram</td>
<td>yaṅtǝbǝr</td>
<td>yaṅtǝbrǝm</td>
<td>yaṅtǝbrǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fp</td>
<td>ġátbǝr</td>
<td>taṅtǝbǝrun</td>
<td>taṅtǝbrǝn</td>
<td>taṅtǝbrǝn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3ms perfect base with object suffixes:49 *ġǝtbǝr-*

**Imperative:** ms *ġatibǝr*, fs *ġatibǝr*, mp *ġatábǝrǝm*, fp *ġatábrǝn*

**Future:**50 ms *mǝgtibǝr*, fs *mǝgtǝbrēta*, md *mǝgtǝbǝri*,51 fd *mǝgtǝbrǝti*, cp *mǝgtǝbrütǝn*

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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 *nátfǝz* ‘cut one’s foot’, we find 1cs imperfect *ǝntfūz*, though this may also be pronounced *ǝntǝfūz*.

48 The 2fs subjunctive and fs imperative are distinguished from the ms in verbs whose third root consonant is *y*, e.g., *ġǝtáyr* ‘speak’, fs *ġǝtáyri* (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 *ratkǝys* ‘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 *mǝntǝ́tzīṭa* (root *nfz*), a form
When the second root consonant is a sibilant, dental, or interdental (s, š, ʂ, ʃ, t, d, ɗ, ʒ, or z), then the infix t assimilates to that consonant in the perfect, for example, náṭṭǝb ‘he dropped’ < *nátṭǝb and fáṣ́ṣǝḥ ‘he was embarrassed’ < *fáṭšḥ. 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., yǝnǝṭṭāwb ‘he drops’ (< *yǝnǝṭṭūb < *yǝnǝṭṭūb [or *yǝnǝṭṭūb] < *yǝntǝṭūb). 52 With geminate roots (§ 7.2.11), we find a geminate t in place of the second root consonant, e.g., háttǝm ‘he was sad’, not **hátmǝm (root hmm).

More examples of these changes can be found in the next section.

6.5.2 Tr-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:

báttǝd (pl. báttǝdǝm) ‘part from one another’

ɡátlǝs (pl. ɡátwǝsǝm) ‘quarrel with one another’

ɡátbǝr (pl. ɡátbǝɾǝm) ‘meet one another’ (cf. G ɡǝbūɾ ‘meet s.o.’)

ɡátrǝb (pl. ɡátrǝbǝm) ‘know one another’ (cf. G ɡǝrūb ‘know’)

hátrǝb (pl. hátǝrǝbǝm) ‘be at war with one another’ (= T2 ǝḥtǝrūb; cf. D/L (h)ḥǝɾ ‘be at war with s.o.; Arabic tL taḥāraba and Gt iḥtaraba ‘be at war with one another’)

kátlǝt (pl. kátǝwɬǝm) ‘talk to one another’ (cf. G kǝlūt ‘tell’)

látbǝd (pl. látbǝdǝm) ‘fight with one another’

láthǝk (pl. láṭhǝkǝm) ‘catch up to one another’ (cf. G lǝḥǝk ‘catch up to, overtake’; Arabic tL talâḥaqa ‘catch up to one another’)

láttaq (pl. láttǝqǝm) ‘kill one another’ (cf. G lутtaq ‘kill’)

tátan (pl. tátanǝm) ‘stab one another’ (cf. G tǝn ‘stab’)

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52 See also § 2.1.8 and the comment to text 53:3.
53 The form báddǝd is given in ML (s.v. bdd), but this is an error. The texts consistently have báttǝd (12:9; 12:13; 82:5; 94:47), as does the paradigm section of ML (pp. xlviii–xl ix).
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:

- **fattak** ‘be released, set free’ (cf. G *fakk* ‘release’)
- **fatkoh** ‘break in half (intrans.); be half gone’ (cf. D/L *(f)fökh* ‘break in half (trans.)’)
- **fassoh** ‘be embarrassed’ (cf. G passive *föah* ‘be embarrassed’, D/L *(f)föah* ‘embarrass s.o.’)
- **gáthi** (pl. *gáthâyam*) ‘gather together (intrans.)’ (always plural)
- **gátma** (pl. *gátmam*) ‘gather (intrans.)’ (always plural; cf. G *gūma* ‘gather (trans.)’; Arabic tD *tajamma’a* and Gt *jitama’a* ‘gather, come together’)
- **gatyah** ‘get angry’ (cf. D/L *aqyid* ‘anger’)
- **háttam** ‘be sad, be anxious’ (cf. Arabic Gt *ihitamma* ‘be grieved’)
- **hátrak** ‘move (intrans.)’ (= T2 *ḥṭārūk*; cf. D/L *(h)hōrak* ‘move (trans.)’; Arabic tD *taḥarraka* ‘move (intrans.)’)
- **káttta** ‘be cut, be cut off’ (cf. G *kawta* ‘cut, cut off’; Arabic tD *taqaṭṭa’a* ‘be cut off’)
- **kättal** ‘spill (intrans.)’ (cf. G *kal* ‘spill (trans.)’)
- **kättabh** ‘change form, change into (intrans.)’ (cf. G *kalūb* ‘turn; turn into (another shape)’)
- **kätmah** ‘despair, be disappointed’ (cf. D/L *akōmah* ‘disappoint’)
- **mátham** ‘be in trouble; be upset’ (cf. G *māhān* ‘give s.o. bad news; disturb s.o.’)
- **mátxak** ‘come out, be pulled out (said of a dagger)’ (cf. G *maxāk* ‘draw, pull out (a dagger)’)
- **náttab** ‘fall off, drop (intrans.)’ (cf. H *həntāwb* ‘drop (trans.), let fall’)
- **ráttaθ** ‘be pressed, be compressed; be crowded’ (cf. G *rəss* ‘press, compress’)
- **sáthab** ‘crawl on one’s belly’ (cf. G *shāb* ‘drag’)
- **wátkəθ** ‘wake up (intrans.)’ (cf. D/L *awōkəθ* ‘wake up (trans.)’)
- **wát(x)əff** ‘come (in the evening)’
- **xáltaf** ‘change (intrans.); be different’ (cf. Gb *xāylaf* ‘succeed, come after; replace’; Arabic Gt *ixtalafa* ‘be different, differ (intrans.)’)
- **xátyah** ‘be disappointed, be frustrated’ (= T2 *axtayūb*; cf. Arabic G *xāba* and tD *taxayyaba* ‘be disappointed, be frustrated’)

Still others, including some transitive verbs, are probably best considered lexical, such as:
verbs: stems

ġátri ‘speak’ (can be reciprocal when used in the dual and plural)
ḥátraf ‘move (trans. or intrans.), go away’ (cf. G ḥarrūf ‘move, remove’)
ḥátwag ‘need’ (cf. ḥogat ‘thing; need'; Arabic Gt ihtāja ‘need’)
ḳátnǝm ‘collect fodder’ (= D/L akōnǝm and T2 ǝktǝnūm)
mátrǝḳ ‘draw (a dagger)’ (takes a d.o.)
mátwi ‘have leisure time’
rátḳi ‘read’ (takes a d.o.)
sátwǝḳ ‘miss, long for’ (cf. H (š)šawḳ ‘light (on fire), burn (trans.)'; Arabic tD tašawwaqa and Gt ʾištāqa ‘long for’)

The verb ʾšītǝm ‘buy’ is historically a T-Stem of the root ʾšm (cf. G ʾšōm ‘sell’), but has come to behave completely as a Gb-Stem verb, as if from the root ʾstm.

Finally, note that T1-Stems can correspond to an Arabic tD-Stem (Form V, tafaʿala), tL-Stem (Form VI, tafāʿala), or Gt-Stem (Form VIII, ġ̣ftaʿala).

6.5.3 T2-Stem Form

Like the T1-Stem, the T2-Stem is characterized by an infixed t between the first and second root consonants. The basic shape of the 3ms perfect is ǝCtǝCūC, though the medial ǝ 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., ʾafkūr ‘think, wonder’. Otherwise, the cluster resulting from the loss of the medial ǝ is usually resolved by shifting the initial syllable from ǝC- to Cǝ-, e.g., wǝtxáwr ‘stay behind, come late’ (< *wǝtxūr).57

In the T1-Stem, the infixed t is adjacent to the second radical, where it is subject to regressive assimilation to dentals and interdentals. In the T2-Stem, it is normally adjacent to the first radical, and is subject to a different assimilation. For example, while the infixed t assimilates to the following s in the T1 form kāssi (< *kātsi), it does not assimilate to the preceding s in the T2 form ʾastayūr. There is, however, assimilation found with verbs whose second root consonant is t, ḏ, ḏ, or ʾ (and perhaps others), in which case we again see a shift of the initial syllable from ǝC- to Cǝ-, e.g., ʾhadādūr ‘be careful’ (< *ḥadādūr) and ʾaddādawd ‘divide tasks among one another’ (< *wadādawd <

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 ǝCTaCūC and CāCūC. See, for example, the comment to text 29:5.
As mentioned in § 6.5.1, the T1-Stem imperfect, which also has the underlying pattern (C)ǝCtǝCūC, 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 T2-Stem verbs, namely, āttōma 'listen' (< *ǝhtōma, root hm') and the anomalous (t)tǝḳḳ 'drink' (root hky).

Following is the full paradigm of a strong verb in the T2-Stem (ǝxtǝlūf 'differ, be different, disappoint, let s.o. down'):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>ǝxtǝlǝ́fk</td>
<td>ǝxtǝlīfǝn</td>
<td>l-ǝxtǝlǝ́f</td>
<td>l-ǝxtǝlīfǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>ǝxtǝlǝ́fk</td>
<td>tǝxtǝlīfǝn</td>
<td>tǝxtǝlǝ́f</td>
<td>tǝxtǝlīfǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>ǝxtǝlǝ́fš</td>
<td>tǝxtǝlīfǝn</td>
<td>tǝxtǝlǝ́yfi</td>
<td>tǝxtǝlīfǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>ǝxtǝlǝ́f</td>
<td>yǝxtǝlīfǝn</td>
<td>yǝxtǝlǝ́f</td>
<td>yǝxtǝlīfǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>ǝxtǝlfūt61</td>
<td>tǝxtǝlīfǝn</td>
<td>tǝxtǝlǝ́f</td>
<td>tǝxtǝlīfǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cd</td>
<td>ǝxtǝlǝ́fki</td>
<td>axtǝlfǝ́yyan</td>
<td>l-ǝxtǝlfɭ</td>
<td>l-ǝxtǝlfǝ́yyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cd</td>
<td>ǝxtǝlǝ́fki</td>
<td>tǝxtǝlfɭyyan</td>
<td>tǝxtǝlfɭ</td>
<td>tǝxtǝlfɭyyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3md</td>
<td>ǝxtǝlfɭh</td>
<td>yǝxtǝlfɭyyan</td>
<td>yǝxtǝlfɭ</td>
<td>yǝxtǝlfɭyyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fd</td>
<td>ǝxtǝlǝftɭh</td>
<td>tǝxtǝlfɭyyan</td>
<td>tǝxtǝlfɭ</td>
<td>tǝxtǝlfɭyyan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cp</td>
<td>ǝxtǝlǝ́fǝn</td>
<td>nǝxtǝlīfǝn</td>
<td>nǝxtǝlǝ́f</td>
<td>nǝxtǝlīfǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2mp</td>
<td>ǝxtǝlǝ́fkǝm</td>
<td>tǝxtǝlīfǝn</td>
<td>tǝxtǝlɭf</td>
<td>tǝxtǝlīfǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fp</td>
<td>ǝxtǝlǝ́fkɭn</td>
<td>tǝxtǝlɭfǝn</td>
<td>tǝxtǝlɭfɭn</td>
<td>tǝxtǝlīfǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3mp</td>
<td>ǝxtǝlɭf</td>
<td>yǝxtǝlɭfǝn</td>
<td>yǝxtǝlɭf</td>
<td>yǝxtǝlɭfǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fp</td>
<td>ǝxtǝlɭf</td>
<td>tǝxtǝlɭfǝn</td>
<td>tǝxtǝlɭfɭn</td>
<td>tǝxtǝlīfɭfɭn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

58 Regarding the consonant ş, data in ML are mixed and probably wrong in some places. We find ḥassáwr with assimilation (s.v. ksr), but katsáwr (s.v. ksr)—surely to be corrected to kassáwr—and axtasáws (s.v. xss). However, text 55:6 clearly has xassáws. 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 ǝ, and not ü (as in ML, pp. liv–lix), is proven by forms like 3fs tǝntǝḳol ‘she should choose’ (15:21). If the underlying vowel were ü, then this form would have a diphthong (**tǝntǝḳáwl), following the rule described in § 2.2.1. However, this ǝ reduces to å, e.g., tǝgtǝfnk ‘she may cover her face for you’ (38:33) and yǝxtǝrǝ́fs ‘he may harvest it’ (77:5).

61 The 3fs perfect of the T2-Stem sometimes has the suffix -ōt.
3ms perfect base with object suffixes: 62 axtəlf-

Imperative: ms axtələf, fs axtələyfi, mp axtəlif, fp axtələfon

Future: ms məxtəlfə, fs məxtəlfəta, md məxtəlifi, fd məxtəlfəti, cp məxtəlfətən

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 Št-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., ǝḥtəwəlon ‘we went crazy’ (4:15) vs. G-Stem kafūdan ‘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). 63

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, tafaʿʿala) or tL-Stem (Form VI, tafaʿala), 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:

wətxəwr ‘stay behind, come late’ (cf. D/L awəxər ‘postpone’)
ətələm ‘learn’ (cf. D/L ələm ‘teach’; Arabic D ’allama ‘teach’, tD ta’allama ‘learn’)
ətəwər ‘be hurt’ (cf. D/L əwər ‘hurt (trans.)’)
ətəši ‘have dinner, eat’ (cf. D/L əši ‘give dinner’) 64

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. ʿšy), the Mehri D/L-Stem is given as ʾaši, but this is probably an error. The expected D/L-Stem is əši, and this is the form listed in Jahn (1902: 166). If əši is indeed correct, it would be from an earlier *ʾeši, and it would be a rare D/L-Stem of the pattern that we see in the verb šewər (see § 6.2.1). The Ḥarsusi cognate əš, given in ML and HL (s.v. ʿšy) is from an earlier *eš, but in Ḥarsusi this is the regular pattern of the D/L-Stem.
Abturūk ‘be blessed’ (cf. D/L abōrak ‘bless; Arabic L bāraka ‘bless’, tD tabarraka and tL tabāraka ‘be blessed’)

Agfūn ‘keep one’s face covered (of a woman); seclude oneself’ (cf. D/L aġōfǝn ‘cover (the face); keep a woman in seclusion before marriage’)

Haddīr ‘be careful, take care (not to); look out for’ (cf. D/L (h)hōdǝr ‘warn’; Arabic D ḥaddara ‘warn’ and tD taḥaddara ‘be careful’)

Akṭalūb ‘be upset, be worried’ (cf. D/L akōlǝb ‘upset’)

Amthūl ‘ease up, become easier’ (cf. D/L amōhǝl ‘ease, lighten’)

Asthūl ‘go safely, go with good fortune’ (cf. D/L (s)sōhǝl ‘bid farewell to’)

Awtalūm ‘be prepared, be ready (of person or thing)’ (cf. D/L awōlǝm ‘prepare’)

Xassaws ‘get one’s due; be brought to nought’ (cf. D/L (x)xšāyṣ ‘give s.o. his due; bring to nought’)

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.

Ahtōdi (pl. ahtādyǝm) ‘divide amongst one another’ (cf. D/L (h)hōdi ‘divide, share out’)

Ahtalūf (pl. ahtalif) ‘make a pact/alliance with one another’ (cf. Š2 šḥālaf ‘make an alliance with s.o.’)

Ahtarūb (pl. ahtarīb) ‘be at war with one another’ (= T1 ḥātrǝb; cf. D/L (h)hōrab ‘be at war with s.o.;’ Arabic tL taḥāraba ‘be at war with one another’)

Antōwḥ (pl. antāwḥam) ‘fight with one another’

Artōwa (pl. artāwam) ‘draw lots for portions’ (cf. D/L arōwa ‘divide s.t. into portions’, ráwa ‘lot, portion’)

Artωwīg (pl. artωwīg or artωwam) ‘plot against, make a plan (as a group)’
( cf. D/L arwīg ‘consult’, Ti rātwag ‘consult one another’)

Waddawd (pl. waddawdǝm) ‘divide tasks among one another’ (cf. D/L awdīd ‘assign tasks’)

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65 See the comment to text 29:5.
66 See the comment to text 55:16.
67 ML lists only the T1-Stem ḥātrǝb, 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 artawg in text 91:26.
Other T2-Stems must be considered lexical. Such are:

ātǝkwād ‘believe’ (cf. Arabic Gt ʾitaqada ‘believe firmly’)
ātǝwūd ‘take refuge’ (cf. D/L āwīd ‘warn’; Arabic tD taʾawwaḍa ‘take refuge’)
ātǝyuṅ ‘betray’
ǝbtōṣ́a ‘make purchases’ (cf. Arabic tD tabaḍḍaʿa ‘shop, purchase’)
ǝftkūr ‘think, wonder’ (cf. D/L (f)fōkǝr ‘think’; Arabic tD tafakkara and Gt īftakara ‘ponder, reflect’)
ǝftǝrūg ‘watch, look at’ (cf. Arabic tD tafarrajǝ ‘watch’)
ǝftǝrǝḥ ‘be excited, look forward to’ (cf. Gb ʾfirǝh ‘be happy’, D/L (f)fǝrǝh ‘make happy’)
ǝftǝrūḳ ‘dissipate, disperse (intrans.)’ (cf. G ʾfarūk ‘distribute guests over various houses’, T1 fātrǝk ‘become separated’; Arabic tD tafarraqa and Gt īftaraqa ‘disperse, become separated’)
ǝftǝrūḳ ‘go astray (of women)’
ǝftǝrūb ‘be away from home, be abroad; go down (of the sun)’ (cf. ʾgǝrdīb ‘strange’; Arabic tD ʾtağarraba ‘be away from home, be abroad’)
(t)tǝḳḳ ‘drink’ (cf. H (h)ḥǝḳōh ‘give water to’)
ǝttǝwūl ‘go crazy’ (cf. Gb ʾḥǝywǝl ‘be crazy’)
ǝktǝwūl ‘panic, get upset’
ǝttǝ ḋūm ‘go before, precede’ (cf. G ʾḥǝdūm ‘go before’; Arabic tD taqad-dama ‘go before, precede’)
ǝkthōʾ ‘drink coffee’ (cf. ʾkǝhwēt ‘coffee’; Yemeni Arabic tQ tigahwa ‘have coffee’)

69 See the comment on ātwīd in text 70:2.
70 The attested 3ms imperfect form ʾyāftǝ́rḥǝn ‘he was excited’ (89:35) is the paradigmatic form for a T2-Stem with a root-final $h$ (ML, p. lvii; see also §2.2.2 and §7.2.9). However, the attested 1cs imperfect form ʾǝftǝ́rīḥǝn ‘I was happy’ (89:21) looks like a paradigmatic T2 imperfect for a strong verb (i.e., as if from *ǝftǝrūḥ).
71 In ML (s.v. ḥrīk), 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 -ōʾ, and not -ōh, like III-w/y verbs in the G-, H-, and Št-Stems. Only with the Q-Stem ʾagēsāʾrōʾ ‘chat at night’ do we also see a final -ōʾ. But the pattern of kāthōʾ ‘drink coffee’ does not look like a Q-Stem, and ML lists an imperfect with a suffixed -ǝn, which can only be a T2-Stem form. See the comment to kthōyom in text 48:29, and additional forms in texts 59:14 and 85:15.
the end of one's resources, be helpless')

ǝmtōni 'wish' (= T1 mātni; cf. Arabic tD tamannā 'wish, desire')

ǝmtōrǝ 'roll around in the dust'

ǝntǝkāwl 'choose' (apparently = G nakāwl and D/L anōḳǝl 'choose')

astōmi 'shout one's tribal war-cry'

astwōd 'be blackened'

aṣtayūr 'defecate, go to the bathroom' (cf. G sāyūr 'go', and the equivalent idiom sāyūr k-ḥānōf- 'go to the bathroom' [lit. 'go with oneself'])

aṣtayūd 'fish, go fishing' (cf. sayd 'fish'; Arabic tD taṣayyada and Gt īstāda 'hunt, catch')

aṣtǝlāwl 'wander aimlessly' (cf. G šell and T1 sāttǝl 'migrate, move')

awtakūl 'rely on, trust' (cf. D/L awōkǝl 'entrust with'; Arabic D wakkala 'entrust' and tD taawkakala 'rely on, trust')

awtōs:i (also awtōsi) 'perform ritual ablutions before prayer' (cf. Arabic tD tawaqqada'a 'perform ritual ablutions before prayer')

axtalūf 'differ, be different; disappoint, let s.o. down' (T1 xātlaf can also have the latter meaning; cf. Arabic tL taqāla and Gt īxtalafa 'be different')

axtarūf 'gather, harvest (e.g., fruit, honey)' (cf. Gb šayrǝf 'ripen, bloom')

axtayūn '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 ḥátrǝb ~ T2 āḥtarūb 'be at war with o.a.' (cf. Arabic tD and Gt)

T1 ḥátrak ~ T2 āḥṭarūk 'move (intrans.)' (cf. Arabic tD)

T1 ḫátnam ~ T2 ǝḳtınum 'collect fodder'

T1 láthım ~ T2 ǝltahāwım 'touch o.a.' (cf. Arabic Gt)

T1 mātni ~ T2 ǝmtōni 'wish' (cf. Arabic tD)

T1 xātlaf ~ T2 axtalūf 'disappoint s.o., let s.o. down'

T1 xāṭyəb ~ T2 astayūb '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 aštawōd 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 Ti-Stems, and some that correspond to Mehri T2-Stems. In these synonymous pairs, the verb was borrowed into both stems. In the case of ḥátrǝb ~ ǝḥtǝrūb, we see that already in standard Arabic this verb appears either in the tD- or Gt-Stems with the identical meaning.

6.6 Quadriliterals

Quadriliteral verbs are relatively rare in the texts, with the exception of the verb .abärka ‘run’, which appears more than a dozen times. There are three types of quadriliterals: a basic quadriliteral type (Q-Stem), an N-Stem quadriliteral type (NQ-Stem), and an Š-Stem quadriliteral 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 Quadriliterals (Q-Stems)

Most quadriliteral verbs belong to the Q-Stem, for which there are two characteristic patterns for the perfect stem of the strong verb: \((a)C_1aC_2C_3aC_4\) (true quadriliterals) and \((a)C_1aC_2C_1aC_2\) (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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3mp perfect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q-Stem (true)</td>
<td>amárhǝb</td>
<td>amárhǝbǝm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-Stem (redup.)</td>
<td>adámdǝm</td>
<td>adámdǝmǝm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L-Stem</td>
<td>arōkǝb</td>
<td>arākbǝm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H-Stem</td>
<td>hǝkfūd</td>
<td>hǝkfūd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3mp impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q-Stem (true)</td>
<td>yǝmǝrḥāwb (&lt; *yamǝrḥūb)</td>
<td>yǝmǝrḥāyb (&lt; *yamǝrḥīb)</td>
<td>yǝmǝrḥǝb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-Stem (redup.)</td>
<td>yǝdǝmdūm</td>
<td>yǝdǝmdīm</td>
<td>yǝdǝmdǝm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H-Stem</td>
<td>yǝhǝḳfīd</td>
<td>yǝhǝḳfīd</td>
<td>yǝhǝḳfǝd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š-Stem</td>
<td>yǝšǝnðūr</td>
<td>yǝšǝnðīr</td>
<td>yǝšǝnðǝr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L-Stem</td>
<td>yǝråkbǝn</td>
<td>yǝråkbǝn</td>
<td>yǝråkǝb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Q-Stem verbs found in the texts are:

- **abárkı** 'run'
- **adámdǝm** 'grop[e] (= D/L admīm)
- **aḡasrǝ̀** 'chat at night, chat all night' (cf. ġasráwwǝn '(in) the early evening')
- **(k)kárbǝl** 'crawl on one’s knees'
- **akálǝd** (< *akálǝd) ‘roll (trans.)’
- **amǝrḥǝb** ‘welcome’ (cf. Arabic Q marḥaba ‘welcome’, denominative from marḥaba ‘welcome!’)
- **amǝrḳǝḥ** ‘tidy up; drink coffee’
- **(t)tárðǝm** ‘mumble’

75 The texts show that the 3ms imperfect is yabǝ́rḳa (e.g., 3:7), and not yabrǝ́ḳa, as given in ML (s.v. brḳʿ and p. lxix). See further in § 2.2.2 and § 7.2.9.
76 See the comment on naḡásru 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 \( (r, l, w, \text{ or } y) \). The one exception in the above list is *aġasrō*, which has a final weak consonant \( w/y \).

6.6.2 **N-Stem Quadriliterals (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: \( ǝnC_1ǝC_2C_3ūC_4 \) (true quadriliteral) and \( ǝnC_1C_2C_1uC_2 \) (reduplicated). The N-Stem quadriliterals attested in the texts are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ǝnFDAjd} & \text{ ‘have scabies, swellings’} \quad (\text{cf. } ǝFDAfd \text{ ‘scabies, ringworm’}) \\
\text{ǝnHwDum} & \text{ ‘be smashed’} \\
\text{ǝnKwAww} & \text{ ‘have swollen testicles’}^{79} \\
\text{ǝnSArAwf} & \text{ ‘slip away, sneak away (intrans.)’} \quad (\text{cf. } Q ǝSArAwf \text{ ‘sneak s.t. to s.o.’})
\end{align*}
\]

The NQ-Stem is sometimes a passive or intransitive of a Q-Stem, as with \( ǝnSArAwf \), above; for other examples, see *ML* (s.v. \( ḳrbt \) and \( ḳfḍ \)).

There is one non-quadriliteral N-Stem attested, namely, the future \( ṃaṇḳáyta \) (root \( ḳṭ ‘ \), 99:28). This is undoubtedly a direct borrowing of the Arabic N-Stem (Form VII) *inqaṭa* ‘expire’.{70} *ML* also includes a few NQw- and NQy-Stems, namely, \( ǝnḤṣiḅūb \) ‘become smart’ (s.v. \( ḥ̣ṣbb \)), \( ǝnḲf̣ṛūr \) ‘pout’ (s.v. \( ḳf̣ṛr \)), and \( ǝnṢḥeḥẉū(w) \) ‘(camel) become fawn in color’ (s.v. \( ʃ̣hẉw \)).{81}

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79 The verb appears in *ML* under the root \( ḳḷ ‘ \), but the root must be \( kẉḷ ‘ \), and the underlying form \( *änḳẉ̣ẉǔḷ ‘ \); the first \( w \) of \( ānḳẉ̣ẉ̣ẉ̣ḷ \) is the radical, while the second is the result of the shift \( ̣ụ > ̣̀ẉ \), caused by the underlying guttural (see § 2.2.2). *JL* presents the root as \( ḳḷ / kẉḷ ‘ \).

80 Another, pure Arabic verbal form in the texts is \( ṭẉ̣ạq̣̣g̣̣̣ḥ̣̣ḅ̣ ‘ \) he was delighted’ (22:40) < Arabic \( ṭẉ̣ạq̣̣g̣̣̣̣ḥ̣̣ḅ̣ ‘ \). *ML* (s.v. \( ṭẉ̣ạq̣̣g̣̣̣ḥ̣̣ḅ̣ ‘ \)).

81 Sabrina Bendjabballah and Philippe Ségéral confirmed \( ǝnḲf̣ṛūr \) and \( ǝnṢḥeḥẉẉū(w) \) in the course of their fieldwork in Oman, but their informants did not recognize \( ǝnḤṣiḅūb \). They also recorded NQw \( ǝnẓḥẉḷūḷ ‘ \) slide over a surface’; cf. *Qw ẓ̣ḥẉḷūḷ in *ML* (s.v. \( ẓ̣hẉẉḷ ‘ \)), which their informants did not recognize.
6.6.3 Š-Stem Quadriliterals (ŠQ-Stems)

Quadriliteral 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:

\[ \text{šǝdárbaš} \text{ \textquote{call a camel by flapping one\'s lips}} \text{ (cf. Q} \text{ adárbaš} \text{ \textquote{flap one\'s lips to make a camel come}}) \text{\textsuperscript{82}} \]

6.7 Quinqueliterals (Qw- and Qy-Stems)

All quinqueliteral verbs can really be taken from triliteral roots with an infixed \(w\) 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 \(\text{šxǝwlūl} \text{ \textquote{sit, stay}}\). Only a handful of Qy-Stems are attested, all of which are rather rare. The basic patterns of the 3ms perfect are \(C_1\alpha C_2\omega C_3\ddot{u} C_3\) and \(C_1\alpha C_2\omega y C_3\ddot{u} C_3\), though the latter usually surfaces as \(C_1\alpha C_2\ddot{i} C_3\ddot{u} C_3\) (also \(C_1\alpha C_2\dddot{e} C_3\ddot{u} C_3\) or \(C_1\alpha C_2\dddot{a} y C_3\ddot{u} C_3\)).\textsuperscript{83} The vowel \(\ddot{a}\) between the first and second root consonants disappears when they are both voiceless and non-glottalic, as in \(\text{šxawlūl}\).

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 \(\text{šxawlūl} \text{ \textquote{sit, stay}}\) is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>(\text{šxǝwlɛ́k} (&lt; *-álk}))</td>
<td>(\text{ašxǝwlūl})</td>
<td>(l-\text{ašxǝwwal})</td>
<td>(l-\text{ašxǝwwalan})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>(\text{šxǝwlɛ́k})</td>
<td>(\text{t}\text{šxǝwlūl})</td>
<td>(\text{t}\text{šxǝwwal})</td>
<td>(\text{t}\text{šxǝwwalan})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>(\text{šxǝwlɛ́š})</td>
<td>(\text{t}\text{šxǝwláyli})</td>
<td>(\text{t}\text{šxǝwwal})</td>
<td>(\text{t}\text{šxǝwwalan})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>(\text{šxǝwlūl})</td>
<td>(\text{yašxǝwlūl})</td>
<td>(\text{yašxǝwwal})</td>
<td>(\text{yašxǝwwalan})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>(\text{šxǝwǝllūt})</td>
<td>(\text{t}\text{šxǝwǝllūl})</td>
<td>(\text{t}\text{šxǝwǝllωl})</td>
<td>(\text{t}\text{šxǝwǝllǝ́n})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cd</td>
<td>(\text{šxǝwlɛ́ki})</td>
<td>(\text{ašxǝwǝlloh})</td>
<td>(l-\text{ašxǝwǝllh})</td>
<td>(l-\text{ašxǝwǝllhyan})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cd</td>
<td>(\text{šxǝwlɛ́ki})</td>
<td>(\text{t}\text{šxǝwǝlloh})</td>
<td>(\text{t}\text{šxǝwǝllh})</td>
<td>(\text{t}\text{šxǝwǝllhyan})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3md</td>
<td>(\text{šxǝwǝllh})</td>
<td>(\text{yašxǝwǝllh})</td>
<td>(\text{yašxǝwǝllh})</td>
<td>(\text{yašxǝwǝllhyan})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fd</td>
<td>(\text{šxǝwǝllatoh})</td>
<td>(\text{t}\text{šxǝwǝlloh})</td>
<td>(\text{t}\text{šxǝwǝllh})</td>
<td>(\text{t}\text{šxǝwǝllhyan})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{82} In the one place this occurs in the texts (76a15), Ali pronounced it \(\text{šǝdérbaš}\) on the audio recording.

\textsuperscript{83} Some prefer to transcribe \(C_1\alpha C_2\dddot{u} C_3\ddot{u} C_3\) in place of \(C_1\alpha C_2\omega C_3\ddot{u} C_3\), e.g., \(\text{šxudił} \) for \(\text{šxawlūl}\). In Ali Musallam’s speech, at least, \(\text{šxawlūl}\) is a more faithful transcription.
The only other Qw-Stem verb attested in Johnstone’s texts is ẓǝḥǝwlūl ‘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:

- āfīrūr ‘be(come) red’ (cf. ẓǝfǝr ‘red, brown’)
- ǝnḥǝybūb ‘low, shriek (of camels)’
- ǝnṭīrūr or ǝsǝqayrūr ‘scream, shriek’
- xǝmīlūl ‘(tears) run silently, well up’

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.

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84 We could, in theory, call this an NQ-Stem of a root ḥybb, 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 ǝntīrūr.

85 This appears in Johnstone’s text 79a, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td>-ki</td>
<td>-ǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td>-ki</td>
<td>-kǝm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>-š</td>
<td>-ki</td>
<td>-kǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>-ǝ́h/-ōh</td>
<td>-ǝ́m/-ǝ́h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>-ǝ́t/-ōt/-ēt</td>
<td>-tōh/-tāh</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -ǝm, 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 -ǝm is used more frequently in Yemeni Mehri.
- 3mp forms with only ablaut (no suffix -ǝm) have an underlying final -ǝ (< *-u) when object suffixes are added. This is why we see no vowel reduction in a form like wǝzáwmhǝm ‘they gave them’ (35:2, < *wǝzáwma-ǝm), rather than **wǝzámḥam (< **wǝzáwm-ḥam).¹

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. The suffix -ōt is found with Gb-Stems, T1-Stems, II-Guttural verbs, III-Guttural verbs, and II-w verbs.

• The less common 3fs suffix -ēt and the 3d suffixes -āh and -tāh are used only with G passives, D/L-Stems, Š2-Stems, and Q-Stems.

• The 3d suffixes -āh and -tāh stem from an underlying -ēh and -tēh (< -ē and -tē). On the shift of -ēh# > āh#, see § 2.2.4.

• The allomorphs of the dual suffixes, -ōh and -ēh, likely both come from an earlier *-ay.

The basic use of the perfect is as a past tense, for example:

.sayáwr tawöli ağayg ‘they went to the man’ (3:15)
.ḥámakən ‘did you hear?’ (20:8)
.ḥēt al matk lā ‘didn’t you die?’ (20:69)
.bərwōt tēt ‘the woman gave birth’ (24:4)
.mōn āmūr hūk ‘who told you?’ (36:27)
.śxawlīl, wə-šəmrūş ‘they stayed, and he fell ill’ (48:6)
.kəs s bin šátaħ w-abārka ‘he flashed his buttocks to us and ran’ (91:4)
.wa-kōh al sayárš lā ‘why didn’t you go?’ (97:22)
.kəssəm ḥərohs ‘they cut off her head’ (97:52)

We also find the first person forms of the perfect—at least with the verbs sayūr ‘go’ and gəhem ‘go’—used as an immediate future, for example:

.wəzməṯəm ‘she gave them’ (< *wəzəmət-həm); or wəzəwən ‘they gave us’ (< *wəzəwəmən), but wəzəmən ‘she gave us’ (< *wəzəmət-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 Baṭhari, the original -u remains, e.g., ’eməru ‘they said’, mātu ‘they died’, noka’u ‘they came’, and rēkəbu ‘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 ə shifts to aw after a guttural or glottalic (see § 2.2.1 and § 2.2.2), while ə 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 -āt. 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 sayärk 'I'm off!' (56:16)

hōh gâhemk 'I'm off!' (102:10)

The particle ґadèwwan '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:

hārmøk l-ād ədùbah zōyəd te āl-mēt 'I swear I won't collect honey ever again until I die' (77:2)

holêk lûk tšêmni 'I swear you will obey me' (90:9)

wa-hōh šamk amandàwk w-amhəzēm. wa-hōh šátmaq 'I (hereby) sell you the rifle and the cartridge-belt. And I (hereby) buy (it)' (39:6–7)

əlḥān fəsəwl əm-mənwīn hōh kəblək 'whatever they decide between us I will accept' (77:4)

Related to this is the use of the perfect in potential oaths, as in:

xâlyək têti, al (t)ṭaym mən ḥənīn 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, ədə, and lû (see §13.4), the temporal particles mat, te, and hīs (see §13.5.3), and the subordinating conjunction ar wə- 'unless' (§12.5.4). The combination of the particle ber plus the perfect can sometimes be translated with a pluperfect (see §12.5.7). On the perfect combined with the verbal prefix ʒ-, 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-, Š2-, and T2-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-, Š1-, and T1-Stems, as well as all quadriliterals, and quinqueliterals:
Following are the prefixes and suffixes used with D/L-, Š2-, and T2-Stems:

<table>
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<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>ǝ-</td>
<td>ǝ- ...-ǝ́h/-ǝ́h</td>
<td>n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>t- ...-ǝ́h/-ǝ́h</td>
<td>t-...(-ǝ́m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>t-(...-i)</td>
<td></td>
<td>t-...ǝ́n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>y-</td>
<td>y- ...-ǝ́h/-ǝ́h</td>
<td>y-...(-ǝ́m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>t- ...-ǝ́h/-ǝ́h</td>
<td>t-...ǝ́n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-, Š2-, and T2-Stems, the 3ms and 3mp imperfects are identical.4
• The 2fs form (except in the D/L-, Š2-, and T2-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 T1-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 -ǝm.
• 2mp and 3mp forms with only ablaut (and no suffix -ǝm) have an underlying final -ǝ (< *-u) when object suffixes are added. This is why we see no vowel reduction in forms like yǝkláwlǝh ‘they pour it’ (10:17, < *yǝkláwlǝ-h), rather than **yǝklǝlah (< **yǝklǝwl-h), or tháymǝs ‘you (mp) want her’ (65:9, < *tháymǝ-s), rather than **tháms (< **tháym-s).5
• The prefix t- is usually lost before certain consonants (see § 2.1.6).
• The imperfect dual suffix -ǝ́h (< -ēh; see § 2.2.4) is used only with G passives.
• The allomorphs of the dual suffixes, -ōh and -ǝ́h, likely both come from an earlier *-ay.
• The dual suffix -áyyǝn, used with D/L-, Š2-, and T2-Stems, is made of a suffix -ay plus the imperfect suffix -ǝn. However, the sequence -áyǝn (syllabified -á/yǝn) would have a short vowel in a stressed open syllable, which is not allowed. Therefore, the whole suffix is realized -áyyǝn.6

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 Baṭḥari retains a final -u in the 2/3mp imperfect, e.g., thâmu ‘you (mp) want’, yǝḥâmu ‘they want’, and txâdǝmu ‘you work’ (Fabio Gasparini, p.c.).
6 The gemination in this form, along with the phonological problem of -áyyǝn (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.
verbs: tenses and forms

Following are examples of the imperfect used as a past habitual, past continuous, or imperfective:

xǝṭǝrāt ṭayt sēkǝn yasũkǝn bǝ-wōdi ‘once a community was living in a valley’ (11:1)
sǝnnáwrǝt tḥǝbūb aġáyg. yǝwǝ́zmǝs aśxōf wǝ-yǝlṭōf bīs ‘the cat loved the man. He would give her milk and was kind to her’ (15:10)
fǝnōhan nātakáydan b-ǝmšǝnyütǝn ‘we used to believe in medicine men’ (25:23)
kāl sǝnēt tfayd yǝbīti ṭrayt aw śhǝlît ‘every year she would redeem two or three camels’ (32:13)
ḥǝmbǝráwtǝn sōbǝr yǝntāwḥǝn ‘the boys would always fight’ (50:1)
kādēt l-ād yǝšɛ̄nūs yǝḳfēd arḥǝbēt lā ‘Kadet didn't yet dare to go down to town’ (64:8)
kāl āṣǝr yǝnōka bǝ-ṭāṭ ‘every night he would bring one in’ (64:9)
mat ḥaynūt fǝlūḳ ǝl-ḥīṭār, ǝhūrǝḳ amáws ġa-ḥǝybi w-ǝsḥōṭ ḥīṭār ‘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:

al ǝnkālak lā ‘we won't let you’ (20:72)
mġōrǝn hōh ašāṭš šay w-ǝhārūs bayš ‘then I will take you with me and marry you’ (24:9)
al ardūd lā ‘I won't go back’ (37:9)
šǝr, w-ǝjāk yǝğārǝk ‘stand (there), and your brother will know you’ (40:17)
mat shék dômeh, ǝzwámǝk amšēɡǝr ‘when you have finished with this, I will give you the other’ (55:5)
l-ād ǝdūbǝh zōyǝd ‘I won’t collect honey ever again’ (77:2)\(^7\)
yaktalit bay akǝbøyal, hám fǝlǝtk ‘the tribes will talk (badly) about me if I run away’ (83:2)
hēt kǝnñǝwn, w-ǝl ǝhād yǝsényǝk lā ... ǝl ǝhād yanûkǝd lük 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kǝrōh tǝ́wyǝh bǝrk dǝhlǝl man hǝl ǝhād yǝsényǝh lǝ} & \text{ ‘he hid his meat in a cave where no one would see it’} (13:7) \\
gǝzǝ́mk l-ǝd aʃhøt hıtǝr zōyǝd & \text{ ‘I swore I would not slaughter kids anymore’ (89:10)} \text{\(^8\)}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
yǝšǝš aɡáyg dø- ttēt, yǝšlǝl škǝy, wǝ-yǝlʊğa hǝɡur wǝ- ttēt & \text{ ‘the woman’s husband got up, took out a sword, and killed the slave and the woman’ (5:17)} \\
yǝnoka yǝdǝbǝr, yǝkbǝsi, wǝ-bâkǝx & \text{ ‘a hornet came and stung me, and I cried’ (25:4)} \\
xtʊl aɡáyg wǝ- ̃sɪni wɛl, wǝ-wǝbdǝh. yǝhǝsawb ašawǝr dø- fonwɪh, wǝ- tønʊtøs tawɔlɪ aɡáyg, wǝ-tawɔr ̃monyø tɔy & \text{‘the man went hunting and saw an ibex, and he shot at it. He hit the rock behind it, and (the bullet) ricocheted back to the man, and his one eye was blinded’ (30:8)} \\
tǝ nükǝ, yaɡǝrbi, w-abǝrka tɔwɔlye & \text{‘then when he came, he recognized me, and he ran towards me’ (34:27)}
\end{align*}
\]

\(^7\) But cf. l-ǝd høh dǝbhǝna zōyǝd lǝ in the next line (77:3), with the same meaning, using the future dǝbhǝna. 

\(^8\) There is some discussion of this use of the imperfect in Wagner (1953: 44–47; 2001: 342–343).
te ba-holláy ağayūg ber aḏ-šawkīf, thūrǝk mǝndáwḳ wa-talúṭeq ağās ‘then at night, when the men had fallen asleep, she stole a rifle and killed her brother’ (64:30)

thháyw ba-kábś mǝn ḏār saṭḥ, wa-bǝkūt ‘she let the lamb fall from the roof, and she cried’ (75:23)

ḥamáyah aššradaf wǝ-ḡátyeq, wǝ-yǝḵawfǝl 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 ḏ-, as discussed separately below (§7.1.10.1). However, because the verbal prefix ḏ- 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 ḏ-. An example is:

kō hēt tabáyk ‘why are you crying?’ (5:10) (tabáyk < *ḏ-tabáyk)

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 t-, and that the characteristic -ǝn of the D/L-, Š2-, and T2-Stems imperfect is absent. The full set of affixes is:

<table>
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<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>l-</td>
<td>l-...-ǝ́h/-ōh</td>
<td>n-</td>
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<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>t-...-ǝ́h/-ōh</td>
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<td>2f</td>
<td>t-(...-i)</td>
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<td>t-...-ǝn</td>
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<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>y-</td>
<td>y-...-ǝ́h/-ōh</td>
<td>y-...(-ǝm)</td>
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<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>t-...-ǝ́h/-ōh</td>
<td>t-...-ǝn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Notes:

- The 1cs and 1cd prefix l- can be realized la- or al-.  
- 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 -áyyǝn (except for G passives), the subjunctive of most verb types has -ǝ́h (< -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 -ǝ́h 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. 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 -ǝm for the 2mp and 3mp forms. The forms with only ablaut (and no suffix -ǝm) have an underlying final -ǝ (< *-u) when object suffixes are added. This is why we see no vowel reduction in forms like yǝsháyṭǝs ‘they may kill her’ (24:43, < *yǝsháyṭ-s), rather than **yǝsháṭs (< *yǝsháyṭ-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 yǝmǝl (root ʿml) can be either imperfect or subjunctive, depending on context. But 1cs ǝmǝl can only be imperfect, and l-ǝmǝl can only be subjunctive.

---

9 In a very few places in the texts, 1cs subjunctives are missing the prefix l-. Such are ǝnkɛ́ʾ (18:4), ardɛ́h (20:27), aklɛ̄k (20:37), frēḥ (33:5). See the comments to these examples in the texts.

10 For an example, see the comment to text 24:6 (hǝ́ftǝk).
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:

\[ \text{yəkšēf əl-hənāfəh 'he should expose himself'} (24:38) \]
\[ \text{kāl də-yaḥōm xadmēt wa-maskēn, yənkē 'whoever wants work and a dwelling-place, let him come!' (74:7) } \]
\[ \text{šūk āmēl gīd ... əḥād yəhāḥrēk bəh 'you have a good field ... someone should burn it' (91:9) } \]
\[ \text{tāt yākā k-həbər, wə-tāt yākə k-hārāwn, wə-tāt yəkfēd arhābēt 'one should be with the camels, one should be with the goats, and one should go down to town' (102:1) } \]
\[ \text{yəhmāmk ši lā 'don't worry [lit. let nothing concern you]!' (75:3) } \]
\[ \text{abēl yəbōrək būk 'may God bless you!' (33:5) } \]
\[ \text{yəffārḥk abēl ba-xāyr 'may God make you happy with good things!' (57:13) } \]
\[ \text{wādan lā mayt yənkē 'we don't know when it might come' (45:17) } \]

Less often, we find a first or second person independent subjunctive, which likewise expresses suggestion, obligation, wishing, or uncertainty, as in:

\[ \text{hībōh l-āmōl 'what should I do?' (20:23) } \]
\[ \text{hībōh əl-kəfēd mən dər ḥāyri 'why should I get down off my donkey?' (46:11) } \]
\[ \text{al-frēḥ bə-həbrāy 'let me rejoice in my son!' (90:13) } \]
\[ \text{wādak mayt l-attākkəh ... wādak hēsən l-āmōl həh 'do you know when I should drink it? ... Do you know what I should do for it?' (101:8, 10) } \]
\[ \text{də-ʻəmlək ṭī l-ākā dənyît 'I think I may be pregnant' (101:18) } \]

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 hōm ‘want’ plus a subjunctive verb (see § 7.3.1). For cohortative ‘let’s go!’, there is the particle əgdēwən (see §12.5.11). Suggestion or obligation in the second person (‘you should’) is more often expressed with the particle tōww- (§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 *ḥōm* ‘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:

\[
\text{yǝšǝnðūr h-arḥǝmōn yǝhádhǝb nēḥǝr ċōrǝ’wǝ-nēḥǝr śxǝf} \ ‘\text{he vowed to God to flood (one) wadi with blood and (one) wadi with milk’ (3:3)}
\]

\[
\text{hē šǝwēd sǝkǝnǝh yǝnkɛ̄hǝm bād nǝhōri tǝrayt} \ ‘\text{he had promised his community that he would come back to them after two days’ (32:5)}
\]

\[
\text{aḷ aġǝrǝb l-āglądǝr hǝbšǝr l-ād lā} \ ‘\text{I didn’t know how to speak Arabic’ (34:18)}
\]

\[
\text{aḷ akáwdǝr l-āméd yǝhɛ̄tǝm hāl tēt} \ ‘\text{Kadet didn’t yet dare to go down to town’ (64:8)}
\]

\[
\text{l-ād hǝbšǝr ǝl-bār lā} \ ‘\text{I couldn’t see well enough anymore to travel at night’ (80:6)}
\]

\[
\text{hōh sırōna ǝl-sākf} \ ‘\text{I will go to sleep’ (84:7)}
\]

Alternatively, and very often, the dependent subjunctive can have its own subject, which is the object of the preceding verb, as in:

\[
\text{ṭǝlǝ́bk tīk tǝklēt lay} \ ‘\text{I ask you to tell me’ (20:38)}
\]

\[
\text{kǝlēy l-ǝbkɛ́h} \ ‘\text{let me cry!’ (22:19)}
\]

\[
\text{ḥōkǝm xǝṣáwb ḥǝmbǝráwtǝn yǝhɛ̄tǝm hāl tēt} \ ‘\text{the ruler sent the boys to spend the night with the woman’ (74:13)}
\]

\[
\text{̑ ǝl yāgōb ǝḥād yāḳāʾ hīs tǝh lā} \ ‘\text{he didn’t like anyone to be like him’ (76:11)}
\]

\[
\text{ṭǝrɛ́ḥi ǝl-nɛ́kš’} \ ‘\text{let me have intercourse with you!’ (99:46)}
\]

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:

\[
\text{ḥōkǝm ǝmūr ċāyni ǝl-syēr śikan} \ ‘\text{the ruler told me to sleep [lit. go] with you’ (20:25)}
\]

\[
\text{kǝbōna tǝwōli aġāyg yǝnkɛ́ʾ wǝ-yǝṣ́ōṭ ǝttɛ́t} \ ‘\text{I’ll write to the man to come and take his wife’ (22:79)}
\]

\[
\text{tǝdōfa h-aḥār thɑwǝkǝ ǝm bǝrk a’išē ɗ-āgǝs} \ ‘\text{she paid a servant-girl to put poison in her brother's food’ (24:46)}
\]

\[
\text{mǝn ǝmūr huk tǝmōl wǝtɒməh} \ ‘\text{who told you to do like this?’ (36:27)}
\]
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 ḥǝḍḍūr (mǝn) ‘be careful, take care (not to)’, xǝzōh (mǝn) ‘refuse’, and fǝsāh (mǝn) ‘be shy, nervous, embarrassed’. Examples are:

- ḥǝḍḍōr mǝn tǝḍlēm hābū ‘be careful not to be unjust to the people’ (74:4)
- abʿáyr xǝzōh mǝn yǝttākk hǝmōh ‘the camel refused to drink up the water’ (49:16)
- fǝsāhk mǝn l-ǝghōm tǝwōli bū dǝrē ‘I am embarrassed to go to strange people’ (94:2)

A similar construction is used with yǝṣṣ (mǝn) ‘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’, and ayb l- ‘it’s a disgrace for X to’. Examples are:

- axáyr hıkam tǝnkɛ̄m tīn ‘it’s better for you to come to us’ (28:19)
- xār hük tǝḥtam ‘it’s better for you to stay the night’ (31:3)
- al xār hük tǝgħōm šīhǝm lā ‘it’s better for you not to go with them’ (42:14)
- ayb lıkam tǝntāwḥam sǝbēb dǝ-ḥamōh ‘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:

- anyɛ́tǝh bǝ-ḥayɛ́tǝh yǝḥkēm hābū bǝ-ṭǝyōb wǝ-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:

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11 On the verb fǝsāh, see the comment to text 94:2.
12 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.
Come here so that I can tie you up!' (24:26)

'he gave him water to drink' (13:9)

'each one should choose a man to marry'

(15:21)

'he went to see the pots' (36:24)

Sometimes a purpose clause is indicated by a particle te or l-agärē, 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 lēzam 'must' (§12.5.14), ḫndōh 'let me!' (§12.5.17), tōww- 'ought to' (§12.5.19), wōgab 'it is proper that; ought to' (§12.5.20), yāmkān 'perhaps' (§12.5.23), and the temporal conjunction te '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-ǝḥmēd 'how nice X must/would be!' and yǝklēl b- 'there is no damned X!':

'would that I could see one of them!' (94:32)

'how her braids must be!' (lit. 'let me praise her braids!') (85:7)

'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 §7.1.9.3 and §13.4.1.

A subjunctive form of the verb wīḳa '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.

— See further in the comments to texts 26:15 and 85:7.
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 -ǝn on all forms. In those stems characterized by a suffixed -ǝn 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 -ǝn 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 -ǝn. 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 taghōǝn ‘they go’ (= imperfect) with 3fp conditional taghīnǝn.

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 šinǝk tǝh, akīrǝn l-ǝnfɛ̄h* ‘if only I saw him again, I would want to be helpful to him’ (43:9)
*lū al hē ḥāywǝl lā, al yǝshǝyǝn ḥaybǝtǝh lā* ‘if he wasn’t crazy, he would not have slaughtered his camel’ (55:7)
*lū al ber lūtag arbōt mǝnin lā, al nǝwtēgan tǝh lā* ‘if only he had not already killed four of us, we would not have killed him’ (83:7)
*lū amnēdam yahawsǝb alhān nǝkōna tǝh b-amastākbǝlǝh, al ǝḥād yākān yǝskuf lā* ‘if man thought about all that will happen [lit. come] to him in his future, no one would sleep’ (98:10)
*lū hōh kōrǝk aḵawt … hībōh yǝmǝrǝn ḥābū? … al ǝḥād yāmērǝn, ‘l-āzīz fǝlǝn’ lā* ‘if I had hidden the food … what would the people say? … No one would say, “Oh woe for so-and-so!”’ (98:2)

The verb akīrǝn ‘I wish, would like’, used only in this form, is likely a conditional of the (uncommon) verb kīwǝr ‘love’, despite the missing prefix l. The form

---

14 All dual conditional forms have the suffix -ǝyyǝn; 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-ǝkwīrǝn, 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:

\[ \text{ǝkīrǝn béri hāl hāmāy} \] ‘I wish I was with my mother!’ (42:23)
\[ \text{hōh ar ǝkīrǝn l-āmēr, wǝlākan aḳārdi tfōtk lā} \] ‘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 \[ \text{yaḳǝbǝláyyǝn} \] in text 94:41 could, in theory, be parsed as either a 3md imperfect or a 3md conditional of the D/L-Stem \[ \text{aḳōbǝl} \]. 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 \[ \text{yǝtǝ́xfǝn} \] 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 \( ǝ \) added where necessary for pronunciation (e.g., 2ms subjunctive \[ \text{tǝklēṯ} \] ‘you may tell’ → ms imperative \[ \text{kǝlēṯ} \] ‘tell!’). Some examples are:

\[ \text{ǝnkɛ́ ǝw-bōh} \] ‘come here!’ (1:4)
\[ \text{ǝntēr lay} \] ‘untie me!’ (20:48)
\[ \text{aḳēfi … w-āmēri hīsǝn aḥōm l-ǝrmēs hǝnīsǝn} \] ‘go … and tell them I want to chat with them!’ (85:2)
\[ \text{sxáwwal báwmah} \] ‘stay here!’ (75:6)
\[ \text{kǝlēti lay} \] ‘tell me!’ (74:18)
\[ \text{ḳǝṣāṣǝm ḥǝrōhs} \] ‘cut off her head!’ (97:52)
\[ \text{hǝmɛ́, ā ḥǝbrǝ́y} \] ‘listen, my son!’ (22:77)
\[ \text{tīyǝn tī} \] ‘eat me!’ (2:4)
\[ \text{āzēmǝm tìn hōba mī} \] ‘give us seven hundred!’ (60:5)
\[ \text{számǝn hǝbrǝ́yǝn} \] ‘give us our camels!’ (32:21)
\[ \text{mǝlēhǝm mōh} \] ‘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 \( wazūm \) ‘give’, when object suffixes are added.\(^{17}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>'give!' (ms)</th>
<th>'give!' (fs)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no object</td>
<td>ǝzēm (22:48)</td>
<td>ǝzēmi (22:60)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ 1cs object</td>
<td>ǝzɛ́mi (34:15)</td>
<td>ǝzami (32:19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>+ 1cp object</td>
<td>ǝzɛ́mǝn (91:24)</td>
<td>ǝzǝ́mǝn (32:21)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also as in the subjunctive, the mp form, if it does not have the suffix -ǝm, has an underlying final -ǝ (< *-u) that is evident when suffixes are added. So we get forms like \( shâyṭas \) (24:3, < *\(shâyṭa-s\)) and \( shâyṭi \) (37:23, < *\(shâyṭa-y\)), 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 \( ǝl \ldots lā, l-ād \ldots lā, \) or simply \( lā \) (see further in §13.2.1). Some examples are:

\begin{align*}
& al tāḏbēri bay lā ‘don’t nag me!’ (98:13) \\
& al taktalōb bah lā ‘don’t worry about it!’ (71:3) \\
& taktalōb lā ‘don’t worry!’ (102:3) \\
& taktawōl lā ‘don’t cry!’ (19:11) \\
& al tāsōṣ lā ‘don’t be afraid!’ (34:25) (but tāsōṣ lā in 67:2) \\
& al tabki lā ‘don’t cry!’ (75:23) \\
& al takleiṭi al-ḥāybi lā ‘don’t tell father!’ (89:18) \\
& al tājtāyr ġarōy kōmah lā ‘don’t use [lit. speak] bad language!’ (90:15)
\end{align*}

\(^{17}\) 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 \( wazūm \) can be either \( ǝzēm \) or \( ǝzēm. \) I have used forms with initial ǝ-, but all of the forms given in the table could also have initial ā-.
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)šɛ̄ṣ́ǝm tǝh lā ‘don’t worry about him’ (57:8) and l-ād (t)sǝlǝ́bs ‘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.18

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:19

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ms} & \quad CǝCCōna \\
\text{md} & \quad CǝCCōni \\
\text{mp} & \quad CǝCyēCa \\
\text{fs} & \quad CǝCCīta \\
\text{fd} & \quad CǝCCáwti \\
\text{fp} & \quad CǝCCūtǝn
\end{align*}
\]

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 (CǝCCēya), the dual future has been lost, and, in at least one Yemeni Mehri dialect, the feminine plural apparently has the variant form CǝCCátına.20

In all of the triliteral derived stems (D/L-Stem, H-Stem, T-Stems, and Š-Stems) and with quadriliteral and quinqueliteral verbs (Q-, Qw-, and Qy-Stems), the future is characterized by a prefixed m(ǝ)-. 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(ǝ)- 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).

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.22

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., gīḍ ‘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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{l-ād hōh dabhōna zōyad lā} & \text{ ‘I will not collect honey ever again’ (77:6)} \\
\text{agənnay hšərōna arḥabēt} & \text{ ‘the jinn will wipe out the town’ (42:20)} \\
\text{ḥābū ənkiyē ... wa-skyēna báwməh} & \text{ ‘people will come ... and they will settle here’ (74:5)} \\
\text{wəzmūtən tīk əlhān thōm} & \text{ ‘we’ll give you all that you want’ (1:5)} \\
\text{hēt kənnəwn w-ādak al hēt məhəras lā} & \text{ ‘you are a child and you won’t marry yet’ (8:8)} \\
\text{ṣāḳōna ḥōkəm wə-mšəxbər təh} & \text{ ‘I’ll call the ruler and ask him’ (20:6)} \\
\text{məhəwsəl tīk tətək} & \text{ ‘it will lead you to your wife’ (37:15)}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{l-ād hōh dabhōna zōyad lā} & \text{ ‘I will not collect honey ever again’ (77:6)} \\
\text{agənnay hšərōna arḥabēt} & \text{ ‘the jinn will wipe out the town’ (42:20)} \\
\text{ḥābū ənkiyē ... wa-skyēna báwməh} & \text{ ‘people will come ... and they will settle here’ (74:5)} \\
\text{wəzmūtən tīk əlhān thōm} & \text{ ‘we’ll give you all that you want’ (1:5)} \\
\text{hēt kənnəwn w-ādak al hēt məhəras lā} & \text{ ‘you are a child and you won’t marry yet’ (8:8)} \\
\text{ṣāḳōna ḥōkəm wə-mšəxbər təh} & \text{ ‘I’ll call the ruler and ask him’ (20:6)} \\
\text{məhəwsəl tīk tətək} & \text{ ‘it will lead you to your wife’ (37:15)}
\end{align*}
\]

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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).
məwsayēta šūk b-ankāṭ ǝlyōməh ‘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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tḥōm xǝdmēt, āmlōna hūk} & \quad \text{‘(if) you want work, I will make (it) for you’} \\
& \quad (86:2)\\
\text{hām ǝl nákak bīhəm lā, ƙəssōna ḥərōhk} & \quad \text{‘if you don’t bring them, I will cut off your head’} \\
& \quad (86:3)\\
\text{hām ǝl nákak bīs lā, sḥəṭōna tīk} & \quad \text{‘if you don’t bring her, I will kill you’} \\
& \quad (86:11)\\
\text{ǝd hē kāybal ... bǝgdōna tihəm} & \quad \text{‘if he accepts ... I’ll chase them out’} \\
& \quad (22:93)
\end{align*}
\]

In some cases, a future in the apodosis corresponds to an English future perfect, as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ǝdǝ hē səyūr šay, hē ʂənyōna təh} & \quad \text{‘if he slept with me, he will have seen it’} \\
& \quad (55:10)
\end{align*}
\]

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):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{lū hōh kōrək aḳāwt ... hibōh yəmərən hābū? ʂmyəra, 'gayg bəxāyl wə-kəwb'} & \quad \text{‘if I had hidden the food ... what would the people say? They would say, “A mean man and a dog!”’} \\
& \quad (98:12)
\end{align*}
\]

In a few places, we also find the future in the protasis of a real conditional sentence. One example is:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hām ǝl sēn wərdūtan lā, hōm ǝl-hāwrad habērye} & \quad \text{‘if they aren’t going to go down to the water, I want to take my camels down to the water’} \\
& \quad (27:3)
\end{align*}
\]

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 məhāḳbəl (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’. Another may be *mæxtīb* ‘barren, empty’ (from *x̱atýa̱b* ‘be frustrated’), though this could be a passive participle (§7.1.8). Examples are:

- **nēẖər mæxtīb** ‘a barren wadi’ (26:15)
- **hāmam bəh mæhākbəl lîhəm** ‘they heard he was headed towards them’ (32:6)
- **šənyōh aḵawm mæhākbəl ləhi** ‘they saw the raiding-party approaching them’ (83:1)
- **šəndərk d-əl-həwʃək aḵaɣəm aṃhəkβəl** ‘I promise that I’ll pay you next summer [lit. the coming summer]’ (39:16)

Watson (2012: 99) adds the example *məhāfbagai* ‘frightening’. There are also a few nouns that derive from the old active participle, e.g., *məhîʃən* ‘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 *d*- (§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:

- **yəmkən hərək** ‘maybe it was stolen’ (23:4)
- **əd hə bəh al-hîs əgəyǔg, ətəm təʃəyt. w-əd hə al bəh fəhal lə, hə yəʃət** ‘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)
- **həh d-əʃləl** ‘I was being carried’ (25:15)
- **də-xəwkət bəwmaŋ** ‘she was born here’ (38:12)
- **bər kəbər** ‘he is already buried’ (40:10)
- **də-rṣãŋk h-arîšišt** ‘I’ve been tied up for the serpent’ (42:17)
- **kəsk həḇū də-yəɾsə̱s̱yə** ‘I found the people pressed together’ (53:3)
- **kədët bər aətəg** ‘Kadet has already been killed’ (64:29)
- **təsɔs lə, ar wə-səḇtət bə-xəɾəɾɑ̱k** ‘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.
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** $mǝCCīC$
- **fs** $mǝCCǝCūt^{24}$
- **mp** $mǝCCōC$ (or $mǝCáwCǝC$)
- **fp** $mǝCCáCtǝn^{25}$

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:

- **yāmǝrǝm mǝsḥáyr** ‘they say (he is) bewitched’ (7:9) (cf. G $šār$ ‘bewitch’)
- **makōn mǝgrāybh bǝ-lândǝn** ‘a famous place in London’ (53:1) (cf. G $ğǝrūb$ ‘know’)
- **bǝ́ˈayr őfǝr, wǝ-ма́սḥāyr ǝl-ḥǝrōh ... wǝ-ма́şīm ʰaydǝnǝh šáymǝl** ‘a red [or brown] camel, branded on the head ... and its left ear is cut off’ (28:8) (cf. G $şǝhǝr$ ‘brand’ and G $āšūm$ ‘cut off’)

---

24 Some weak verbs types have the feminine suffix -ōt in place of -ūt.
25 The feminine plural *masabbōt* in 99:56 (*ḥabǝr masabbōt* ‘satisfied camels’) is an Arabized form.
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:

\[
\text{hōh mēḵsāybh aḡāṭi ‘I will have my head [lit. neck] cut off’ (99:11)}
\]

Sometimes it is not so clear whether to classify these forms as passive participles or as lexicalized adjectives. Such is the case with \textit{mawṣāyf} ‘famous’ (76:1), which is clearly derivable from \textit{hawṣāwf} ‘describe’, but has a somewhat different connotation than the literal past participle. More complicated is the word \textit{mēšīr} ‘famous’ (e.g., 64:1; pl. \textit{mēšōr}). This has the pattern of a passive participle, but the only related verb from this root is the intransitive T2-Stem \textit{ēsṭūr} ‘be famous’. So \textit{mēšīr} does not seem to be a passive participle in the productive sense. Moreover, \textit{mēšīr} is almost certainly an adaptation of the Arabic passive participle \textit{mašhūr}.

There appears to be at least one passive participle of a different pattern, in the following passage:

\[
\text{amāray ād āssārf ḥāymel tawāy ‘the grass on the right side was eaten’ (23:18)}
\]

Here, \textit{tawāy} is likely an adjective with a pattern that corresponds historically to a passive participle (e.g., the Ge’ez pattern \textit{CaCūC} or the Aramaic \textit{CaCᾱC}). We also find the form \textit{ktīb} ‘written’ (39:5), used in the fixed phrase \textit{hām ktīb} ‘if it is

\footnote{In \textit{MLO} (p. 28), I suggested that this form derived from \textit{malēbtāj} < \textit{malētuaj}, but the fact that Jibbali has \textit{malēbtāj} shows that the element \textit{aw} is part of a broken plural pattern, not a diphthongized \textit{ū}.}

\footnote{The word \textit{maḥmīṣ} is given as a noun in \textit{ML} (‘skin of a kid’, s.v. \textit{ḥmṣ}), but likely has its origins as a past participle.}
written (i.e., God willing). It is not clear if this is the same passive participle pattern as *təwôy*, or another pattern.

There are also a number of borrowed Arabic passive participles in the texts, including *məhəmməl* 'loaded' (3:11; Ar. *muḥammal*), *məkāddər* ‘preordained’ (65:14; Ar. *muqaddar*), *məśîl* ‘responsible’ (91:28; Ar. *mas‘îl*), and *məhārrəm* ‘forbidden’ (94:28; Ar. *muḥarram*). On *mətārəx* ‘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’ (*wīkə* or *yəkūn*) 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 *wīkə* and *yəkūn* in general, see § 13.1.1 and § 13.1.2.

7.1.9.1 **Compound Tenses with *wīkə***

One of best attested compound tenses met in the texts (though still with just four attestations) consists of a subjunctive form of *wīkə* ‘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 šəșdəkk lā yākə’ xələs* ‘I don’t believe he could have gotten lost’ (23:3)
- *wa-hṭəmk təh yəkə’ šəwərb aģətu* ‘and I suspected he might have caught the implication’ (82:4)
- *aģəy šəwəb tətəh təkə’ ber sərüt mən ḍər ḥəməh* ‘the man figured his wife would have already gone from by the water’ (94:20)
- *mət nəkən, təkəy ber ṭəhənəš gənəyt wa-bər mələš azəyəwrət* ‘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 *wīkə* followed by the verb *ḥəm* ‘want’. In this context, the verb ‘want’ is the complement of the verb *yaʃə* ‘be afraid’, and as such is a subjunctive. Presumably, since the irregular verb *ḥəm* (§ 7.3) has no subjunctive, the subjunctive of *wīkə* 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 Baṭhāri (1937: 274).
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\( \ddot{\text{d}}\text{-yə̄ssək tīs mən təkā’ thōm tətəyōn līn} \) ‘I am afraid that she might want to inform on us’ (94:39)

Again just once, we find a conditional form of \( wīkə \) followed by an imperfect. This is in the apodosis of a conditional sentence beginning with \( lū \) (§ 13.4.3):

\[
lū \text{ amnēdəm yəhāwsəb əlhān nəkōnə təh əm-məsətkbələh, əl əhād yəkān yəškūf lā} \text{ ‘if man thought about all that will happen [lit. come] to him in his future, no one would sleep’ (98:10)}
\]

In 98:11, this same passage is repeated, though with the addition of the particle \( \ddot{d} \)- before the final verb (\( \ddot{d}\text{-yəśkūf} \)). 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 \( yəśəkfən \) ‘no one would be able to fall asleep (on one occasion)’.

And once we find the combination of an imperfect form of \( wīkə \) 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.

\[
\ddot{\text{həybi wə-həybək mən zəbōn yəfədəh mən ən dər dīməh, wə-yəwkoḥ (d-)ṣəɾōh bərk amsyəl}} \text{ ‘my father and your father used to jump from this (one), and land standing in the valley-bottom’ (99:22)}
\]

In this case, \( yəwkoḥ \) is not an auxiliary, but rather the main verb, while \( (d-)ṣəɾōh \) is a circumstantial.

In one passage, \( wīkə \) plus an imperfect seems to indicate an ingressive ‘began to’:

\[
məğət wə-wīkə hē yənšārxəf ‘he stretched out and began to slip away’ (69:4)
\]

A subjunctive of \( wīkə \) 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\quad & ād tākā’ təbāyd ‘might you be lying?’ (34:16) \\
\quad & ād yəkā’ ar də-yəbāyd ‘perhaps it was someone who was lying [or: lies]?’ (57:11) \\
\quad & ād təkām lōtəgəkəm həməy ‘have you perhaps killed my mother?’ (65:13)
\end{align*}
\]
ād tāḵāy danyīt ‘could you perhaps be pregnant?’ (101:17)

The following table summarizes the attested uses of wīḳa in a compound tense:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wīḳa</th>
<th>Main Verb</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>subjunctive</td>
<td>perfect or imperfect</td>
<td>relative past subjunctive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>subjunctive</td>
<td>ḥōm</td>
<td>subjunctive of ḥōm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>conditional</td>
<td>imperfect</td>
<td>habitual conditional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperfect</td>
<td>ḍ- + perfect (as circumstantial)</td>
<td>past habitual of stative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfect</td>
<td>imperfect</td>
<td>ingressive (‘began to’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ād + subj.</td>
<td>perfect or imperfect</td>
<td>‘perhaps?’, ‘might be?’, ‘could it be that?’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.1.9.2 Compound Tenses with yǝkūn

Compounds with the verb yǝkūn are very rare in the texts. Twice we find an imperfect form of yǝkūn followed by an imperfect indicating a present progressive. The auxiliary does not have a clear function.

ðǝk tkūn taġtūri k-agǝnnkwɛ ‘it’s just that she is conversing with her jinns’ (65:11)
tōmor šāṭáyt ṭwōr, w-ashāwd yǝkáwn ḍǝ-yǝhámam ‘she says (this) three times, and the witnesses are listening’ (100:2)

It is very likely that taġtūri in 65:11, like the verb yǝhámam in 100:2, has an underlying prefixed ḍ-, which is suppressed because of the prefix t- (see § 2.1.7; § 7.1.10.1).

Twice we find yǝkūn plus a perfect, both times following a conditional clause, and both times indicating a future perfect. The examples are:

ḥām al nákak tīk ṣarômah lä ... yǝkūn rāddak ṭwōli ŵáhye ‘if I don’t come back to you now ... I will have gone back to my parents’ (94:17)
hām meṣš āṣáwṣ w-agǝlɛ́ʾ bǝrk agǝrdīś, tkáyni ð-ātɛ́śyǝš ‘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 ð-
Perfect, imperfect, and subjunctive verbs can all be preceded by the particle ð-. This is to be distinguished synchronically from the relative pronoun ð- (§ 3.8.1) and the genitive exponent ð- (§ 12.4), though these all derive historically from the same source.29

7.1.10.1 ð- + Imperfect
The combination of ð- plus the imperfect can indicate a past or present progressive, or a circumstantial clause. The verbal prefix ð- must have its origins in the relative pronoun ð-. In fact, there are numerous passages in which ð- 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:

káwla aġāh ðǝ-yǝšǝwkūf ‘he left his brother who was sleeping’ or ‘he left his brother sleeping’ (17:3)
nūka ġayg ðǝ-yǝsyūr bǝ-ḥáyḳ ‘a man came who was walking on the shore’ or ‘a man came walking on the shore’ (20:32)
ād fǝ́ṭnǝk hēxǝr ðǝ-nkáyn ðǝ-yǝbáyk ‘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 ṣayḥ ǝð-yōmǝr ‘he heard a voice that was saying’ or ‘he heard a voice saying’ (40:5)
hōh ġayg ð-ǝġáwlǝḳ mǝn yǝbīt ‘I’m a man who is looking for a camel’ or ‘I’m a man looking for a camel’ (63:4)
śīni bū mēkǝn ðǝ-yawǝ́kbǝm bayt ðǝ-tōgǝr ‘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)

---

29 Pennacchietti (2007) is an important study on the origin of the verbal prefix ð-, 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 ð- 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 ð-. Some examples are:

\[ \text{ağayg rədd təwoli səkənəh ðə-yaqtəməh wə-ðə-yaxtəyüb} \] ‘the man returned to his settlement, despairing and disappointed’ (12:14)  
\[ \text{sayəwər ağıgən wə-həməh ðə-yaɓəkyəm} \] ‘the boy and his mother went away crying’ (36:14)  
\[ \text{așənəm ðə-yaqtəryəm} \] ‘I saw them speaking’ (40:24)  
\[ \text{mayɨt həmək tī ð-òmər} \] ‘when did you hear me singing?’ (52:11)  
\[ \text{ksətəh ðə-yaaxəwdam} \] ‘she found him working’ (59:6)  
\[ \text{șxəwləl ðə-yəftkərən} \] ‘he sat down thinking’ (65:2)  
\[ \text{həməm təh həbū ðə-ya’yițən} \] ‘the people heard him yelling’ (77:2)

Now consider the following example, in which ð- plus an imperfect can be parsed as a relative clause, a circumstantial, or simply a main verb:

\[ \text{xəṭərət gəy gə-yaqhəm ba-hərəm} \] ‘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 ð- 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 ð- plus the imperfect indicating a present progressive are:

\[ \text{ənḥəh ðə-nhəwrəd} \] ‘we are taking (our) animals to the water’ (10:4)  
\[ \text{həxər həsəm, wələkən ðə-yəbəy} \] ‘the man is respectable, but he’s crying’ (22:33)  
\[ \text{bə-xəy hə, wə-ðə-yaaxəwdam} \] ‘he is fine, and is working’ (57:8)  
\[ \text{həbū ðə-yəṭawf ləh. wə-həbəh ðə-yaaxəbir} \] ‘the people are visiting him. And his parents are asking’ (65:7)  
\[ \text{həbər ðə-yaayəyūd} \] ‘the cold is increasing’ (84:4)  
\[ \text{ādəh ðə-yəwədag} \] ‘is he still breast-feeding?’ (101:15)

Even more common in the texts are examples of ð- plus the imperfect indicating a past progressive, some of which are:
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The final example above (48:17) illustrates nicely the difference between an imperfect with and without ð-. In this sentence, ðǝ-yǝḥáwfǝr is a past progressive ‘was digging’ (i.e., ‘was in the process of digging’), while the bare imperfect yǝháyw 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 ð- 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 ð- plus the imperfect, in which the prefix ð- is suppressed. Examples are:

mǝn hɛ̄śǝn tǝṣ́ḥōk ‘what are you laughing at?’ (5:4)
hīs sën taštɔ́ryǝn, hǝnišǝn sǝnna:wrat ‘when they were talking, the cat was by them’ (15:7)
kō tēm ṭháfrǝm naxâli abâyti ‘why are you digging under my house?’ (19:16)
hōh ber hâmak tık nəhɔr tɔyt tɔmɔr ‘I heard you one day singing’ (52:10)
sirüt hâgarit tɔbáyk ‘the slave-girl left crying’ (85:4)
sè tǝṣ́ḥōk ‘she was laughing’ (89:9)
ksút hæbû ðæ-yǝftǝrîgǝn wɔ-haynüt tɔnâhɡǝn ‘she found the men watching and the women dancing’ (97:13)

In this last example, the phrases hæbû ðæ-yǝftǝrîgǝn and haynüt tɔnâhɡǝn should have the exact same structure, showing that the prefix ð- must be present underlyingly.
The geminate cluster resulting from the assimilated particle is usually heard following the conjunction wa-. When word-initial, it can also be pronounced with an epenthetic initial a. Examples are:

\[
kō hēt at-taqâwâlak bay wâ-t-tâbâyk ‘why are you looking at me and crying?’ (22:25)
\]

\[
ənkōt arīśit at-tanhôk ‘the snake came roaring’ (42:26)
\]

\[
hâtamût at-taqâlâ agânêd ‘it spent the night gnawing on the branches’
\]

(42:30)

\[
tētâh at-taḵâyn ġîgên ‘his wife was nursing a boy’ (64:6)
\]

7.1.10.2  \(ð-\) + Perfect

When used with a verb in the perfect tense, the prefix \(ð-\) has a variety of related functions. One use of the perfect with \(ð-\) is to indicate a circumstantial. While an imperfect with \(ð-\) can indicate a circumstantial referring to simultaneous action, the perfect with \(ð-\) 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:

\[
kūsa ḥâybâh ð-áywâr ‘he found his father blind [lit. having gone blind]’
\]

(24:50)

\[
kūsam ḥâbrît ðə-ḥôkam ðə-rṣânêt ‘they found the daughter of the ruler tied up [lit. having been tied up]’
\]

(42:15)

\[
wâtxfâk ðə-gâyak ‘I’ve come back hungry [lit. I came having become hungry]’
\]

(63:12)

\[
kûlak tîs sâr abyût âlyêk ðə-šôwkfût ‘I left her behind those houses sleeping [lit. having fallen asleep]’
\]

(65:9)

\[
râddam ðə-šônsâyr ‘they came back having been victorious’
\]

(69:8)

\[
hâtûm ðə-ḥazîn ‘they spent the evening sad [lit. having become sad]’
\]

(74:14)

\[
kôsk tîs bôrk dahlîl ber ð-âtmêt ‘I found it in a cave already bandaged up [lit. having been bandaged]’
\]

(81:3)

\[
sîrût dîr hâmîh ðə-fîrhôt ‘she went to the water happy [lit. having become happy]’
\]

(94:23)

Present-tense (or relative present-tense) statives tend to be expressed in Mehri with \(ð-\) 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 ð- 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:

\[ hōh \ d̩-g̩lwak \ wə-ð̩-h̩brak \ ‘I was sick and had chills’ \ (18:2) \]
\[ d̩-ah̩tw̩k \ aw \ hibōh \ ‘have you gone [or: are you] crazy or what?’ \ (20:5) \]
\[ hēm \ d̩-h̩zūn \ ‘they were sad’ \ (231) \]
\[ hōh \ d̩-yiš̩k \ mən̩s \ ‘I am afraid of you’ \ (54:19) \]
\[ al \ hōh \ d̩-ht̩m̩k \ lā \ ‘I’m not sure’ \ (57:10) \]
\[ hābū \ d̩-t̩b̩m \ w̩yan \ ‘the people were very weary’ \ (61:1) \]
\[ hōh \ d̩-h̩nd̩k \ ‘I’m sleepy’ \ (99:5) \]
\[ hōh \ d̩-g̩yak \ ‘I’m hungry’ \ (99:10) \]

The common verb ġərb ‘know’ behaves as a stative verb when it comes to the use of ð-, as can be seen in the following examples:

\[ hēt \ ar \ d̩-ğ̩rbk \ nəh̩h \ wəgb \ līn \ nəshōt \ hūk \ ‘you surely know that it is obligatory for us to slaughter for you’ \ (31:14) \]
\[ hōh \ d̩-ğ̩rbk \ tīk \ d̩r \ aš̩yga \ ‘I know you are above the shelter’ \ (64:29) \]
\[ hōh \ d̩-ğ̩rbk \ həyalla \ t̪at \ d̩-yankē \ hārm̩h \ hav̪fōn̪a \ tīs \ ‘I know that whoever comes here will move it’ \ (67:5) \]
\[ hōh \ d̩-ğ̩rbk \ amānēh \ ‘I knew his intention’ \ (71:2) \]
\[ hēt \ d̩-ğ̩rbk \ təh \ ‘you know it’ \ (82:4) \]

We do also find the bare imperfect of ġərb many times in the texts, e.g., āğ̩rab \ ax̣yr \ mənk \ ‘I know better than you’ \ (19:20). It may be that the perfect with prefixed ð- 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 hānōh ‘intend, mean’, as in:

\[ d̩-hānōh \ yəft̪ēk \ ‘he intends to leave’ \ (57:8) \]
\[ al \ hōh \ d̩-hān̪yək \ awt̪̩m̪h \ lā! \ … \ ar \ d̩-hān̪y̪s \ hēs̪ən \ ‘I didn’t mean (to do) thus … then what did you mean?’ \ (59:10–11) \]
\[ d̩-hān̪yək \ al-sỵr \ h-əh̪d \ ‘I intended to go to someone’ \ (77:5) \]

When used in the perfect, the verb āymal ‘make, do’ sometimes has the meaning ‘think, believe, be of the opinion’. In the texts, this meaning occurs only
with the first person singular (ʿǝ́mlǝk). In a few cases, it is found in conjunction with the prefix  депут: 

\[
\text{\textit{kǝsk ǝntrayr ... wǝ- депут-ʿǝ́mlǝk tǝh депут-ǝnsǝy}} \text{‘I found a rag ... and I think it was a human’s’ (63:9)}
\]

\[
\text{ депут-ʿǝ́mlǝk tıs thúflət mǝn ǝ̣áyri} \text{‘I think she will run away from me’ (94:22)}
\]

\[
\text{ депутат-ʿǝ́mlǝk tı l-ǝ̣ákǝ́ ǝnyit} \text{‘I think I may be pregnant’ (101:18)}
\]

For more on ʿǝ́mlǝk (and its shorter variant ʿǝmk), see § 12.5.5.

With other verbs,  депут + perfect can indicate a present perfect, that is, a past action that still applies to the present, rather than a completed action. Examples are:

\[
\text{ депут-ḥǝqǝrk hǝrόm депутат hǝmǝh} \text{‘I have been guarding this tree’ (3:11)}
\]

\[
\text{ǝnḥäh депут-šǝṣ́yōmǝn} \text{‘we’ve run short of milk’ (28:14)}
\]

\[
\text{ḥöh депут-ǝ̣alǝ́mk} \text{‘I have been unjust’ (36:36)}
\]

\[
\text{ депут-xtáwn ḥǝbǝ́nihǝm} \text{‘they’ve circumcised their sons’ (99:37)}
\]

In other contexts it can indicate a pluperfect, as in:

\[
\text{ депут-ǝ̣ygǝb bǝ-ttēt депутат dı̣mǝh} \text{‘he had fallen in love with this woman’ (22:74)}
\]

\[
\text{ḥē ṣǝbūr hıs, w-ǝ̣bēli депут-filaḥ mǝn xayǝnts} \text{‘he was patient with her, and God had saved him from her betrayal’ (24:52)}
\]

\[
\text{saff anhɔr депут-kǝmǝh депут-mǝt ǝ̣yɡ, wǝ- депут-ǝ̣bǝ́wrǝh} \text{‘it so happened that that day a man had died, and they had buried him’ (54:7)}
\]

\[
\text{ḥǝbù kāl депутат-nǝ́w mǝn ǝ̣kǝ́ ǝ̣kǝmǝh} \text{‘all the people had migrated from that region’ (63:1)}
\]

7.1.10.3  депут + Subjunctive
The verbal prefix  депут appears before a subjunctive a handful of times in the texts. In each case the context is a threat or promise. Examples are:

\[
\text{ḥǝm ǝ̣d hawrǝ́dk ǝ̣mǝ́h депутат zǝ̣yǝ́d, депут-nǝ̣wtǝ́ık ‘if you bring (your) animals to this water ever again, we will kill you’ (10:9)}
\]

30 For examples of ʿǝ́mlǝk meaning ‘I think’ (and its shorter variant ʿǝmk) without the prefix  депут, see texts 26:6, 28:2, 28:18, and 91:8. Watson (2012: 94) also recorded only 1cs forms, mainly with the prefix  депут.
ber gǝzūm hām al wákak k-ḥárówn lā, ðǝ-yǝsbátk ‘he swore that if you were not with the goats, he would hit you’ (33:1)
hām ǝḥād mǝnkēm ḳǝrbáy, ðǝ-l-ǝwbádǝh ‘if any of you come near me, I will shoot him’ (47:11)
b-awághi, ð-ǝl-ǝzɛ́mk ḥǝnōfi ‘by my honor [lit. face], I will give myself to you’ (55:3)
kāl mǝnkēm ðǝ-ḥátrǝk mǝn amkōnǝh ðǝ-l-ǝwbádǝh ‘any one of you who moves from his place, I will shoot him’ (64:31)

The prefix ð- here is idiomatic, and probably stems from the use of ð- as a complementizer, with an implied verb of promising or swearing. This is the only way to explain both the particle ð- and the use of a subjunctive. So, for example, a phrase like ðǝ-nǝwtáġk ‘we will kill you’ in text 10:9 may stand for a longer phrase like šǝnðǝ́rk ðǝ-nǝwtáġk ‘I vow that we will kill you’. There are also a couple of examples of a subjunctive used this way without the prefix ð- (54:18; 99:34). This is not problematic, because the complementizer ð- is sometimes absent (see § 13.5.1.1).

The prefix ð- also appears before a subjunctive when ð- is part of the phrase l-agaðǝ ð- ‘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 ʾ, ʿ, h) or a glottalic
are not weak, except for the fact that they are subject to the changes of ʾ > ay
in the Gb-Stem perfect, and ʿ > aw in the Ga-Stem imperfect (see § 2.2.1 and
§ 2.2.2). I-h verbs behave as strong verbs, while I-ʾ and I-ʿ verbs are weak verbs
(see § 7.2.2). Compare:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3mp perf.</th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga strong</td>
<td>ṣagūd</td>
<td>ṣagāwād</td>
<td>ʾyaṣūwād</td>
<td>ʾyaṣgēd</td>
<td>‘chase’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga I-Gutt.</td>
<td>xadūm</td>
<td>xadāwām</td>
<td>ʾyaṣáwām</td>
<td>ʾyaṣdēm</td>
<td>‘work’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga I-Glott.</td>
<td>ʾkabūr</td>
<td>ʾkabāwr</td>
<td>ʾyaṣkāwr</td>
<td>ʾyaṣkēr</td>
<td>‘bury’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb strong</td>
<td>ṭibār</td>
<td>ṭābrām</td>
<td>ʾyaṭbōr</td>
<td>ʾyaṭbōr</td>
<td>‘break’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb I-Gutt.</td>
<td>ḫāyām</td>
<td>ḫālmām</td>
<td>ʾyāḥlōm</td>
<td>ʾyāḥlōm</td>
<td>‘dream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb I-Glott.</td>
<td>ʾkāyrāb</td>
<td>ʾkārbām</td>
<td>ʾyākrōb</td>
<td>ʾyākrōb</td>
<td>‘approach’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As discussed already in § 2.2.1 and § 2.2.2, I-Glottalic and I-Guttural verbs also
sometimes have ā where we expect ā, as in the 3mp imperfects ʾyaṣkāfūm ‘they
go down’ (58:6, for expected ʾyaṣkāfūm), ʾyaṭābrām ‘they apologize’ (61:7, for
expected ʾyaṭābrām), ʾyaṣādmām ‘they work’ (67:3, for expected ʾyaṣādmām), and
ʾyaḥākram ‘they were monopolizing’ (70:1, for expected ʾyaḥākram).

An exceptional I-Guttural verb is ʾgārūb ‘know’, which has the vowel ŏ in the
imperfect, rather than aw (< ʿu).31 Other I-ğ verbs, e.g., ʾgābūr ‘meet’, behave as

---

31 In Jibbali, the cognate ʾgarōb 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., ḡǝrūf ‘fetch’ and herūf ‘move’. Compare the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3mp impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
<th>'verb'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga strong</td>
<td>bǝgūd</td>
<td>yǝbūgǝd</td>
<td>yǝbǝ́gdǝm</td>
<td>yǝbgēd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga I-Gutt. (I-ġ)</td>
<td>ḡǝbūr</td>
<td>yǝġáwbǝr</td>
<td>yǝġábrǝm</td>
<td>yǝġbēr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga ġrb</td>
<td>ġǝrūb</td>
<td>yǝģórǝb</td>
<td>yǝģárǝm</td>
<td>yǝģrēb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga I-Gutt., II-r</td>
<td>herūf</td>
<td>yǝħáwrf</td>
<td>yǝħǝ́rǝf</td>
<td>yǝħrēf</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the third root consonant is a guttural (ʿ, h, ġ, or x) or h, in which case the 3ms perfect has the base CūCǝG (or CūCa for III-ʿ; 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 ʿ. I-Glottalic and III-Guttural is also a rather rare combination. Sample forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3mp perf.</th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
<th>'verb'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-Gutt.</td>
<td>sūmǝḥ</td>
<td>sǝ́mḥǝm</td>
<td>yǝsūmǝḥ</td>
<td>yǝsmēḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga I-Glott., III-Gutt.</td>
<td>tǝwǝḥ</td>
<td>tǝ́rḥǝm</td>
<td>yǝtǝwǝḥ</td>
<td>yǝtrǝḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-ʿ</td>
<td>nûka</td>
<td>nákam</td>
<td>yǝnôka</td>
<td>yǝnkɛ́ʾ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga I-Gutt., III-ʿ</td>
<td>xǝwda</td>
<td>xǝdam</td>
<td>yǝxǒda</td>
<td>yǝxɛ́ʾ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb I-Glott., III-ʿ</td>
<td>kawla</td>
<td>kālam</td>
<td>yǝkɔla</td>
<td>yǝklɛ́ʾ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

32 The Ga-Stem subjunctive of III-Guttural verbs can have either ā or ē (see § 7.2.9). The ā in yǝtrǝḥ 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 ē > ā in the perfect and subjunctive, though examples are very rare.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3mp perf.</th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Š2 strong</td>
<td>šhēwāb</td>
<td>šhāwbām</td>
<td>yāšnāsmān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š2 I-Gutt.</td>
<td>šxārag</td>
<td>šxārgām</td>
<td>yāšxārgām</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 7.2.2 I-ʾ and I-ʿ Verbs

In the Ga-Stem, verbs whose first root consonant is ʿ are characterized by having a long ā in the first syllable of the perfect, subjunctive (and hence imperative), and future, as a result of the shifts of *ʾǝ > ā and *ǝʿ > ā (§ 2.1.3). In the imperfect, most I-ʾ Ga-Stem verbs (a half dozen of which occur in the texts) have the 3ms pattern yāwCǝC (< *yǝʿūCǝC, with the expected diphthongization [§ 2.2.2] and loss of ʾ), and 3mp yāCǝCǝm (< *yǝʿǝ́Cǝm). However, the very common verb āmūr ‘say’ has instead 3ms yōmǝr, 3mp yāmǝrǝm (< *yǝʿāmrǝm), with the same imperfect pattern as the I-Guttural verb ġǝrūb ‘know’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3fs perf.</th>
<th>1cs perf.</th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3fs perf.</th>
<th>1cs perf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga strong</td>
<td>bǝgūd</td>
<td>bǝgōdūt</td>
<td>bǝgōdk</td>
<td>‘chase’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga I-ʾ</td>
<td>āšūm</td>
<td>āšǝmūt</td>
<td>āšǝmk</td>
<td>‘cut’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga ‘mr’</td>
<td>āmūr</td>
<td>āmǝrūt</td>
<td>āmǝrk</td>
<td>‘say’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga I-ʾ, II/III-IG</td>
<td>ākūs</td>
<td>āksūt</td>
<td>ākōsk</td>
<td>‘mix’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

33 As with ġǝrūb (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 ‘mr throughout MSA, though similar verbs elsewhere in Semitic have the root ʾmr. If the two roots are cognate, the sound correspondence is irregular; see Kogan (2015: 544).
For the verb ḥkūs ‘mix’, listed in ML (s.v. ‘ks), the 3ms imperfect is yǝʿǝks (< *yǝʿūks), with loss of ǝ between the “idle glottis” root consonants (§ 2.1.2; § 7.2.12), reduction of ū to ǝ in the doubly-closed final syllable (§ 2.2), and preservation of ʿ before the stressed ǝ (§ 2.1.3).

In the Gb-Stem of I-ʿ verbs, we see the expected shift of ī to ay in the 3ms perfect (§ 2.2.2), and the ʿ is lost. As per the rules outlined in § 2.1.3, unstressed initial ʿә- shift to ā (3fs and 3d perfect), but stressed initial ʿә- is retained (first and second person, and 3mp perfect). In the imperfect, subjunctive, and future, Gb-Stems show the expected shift of ǝ’ > ā that we see also in Ga-Stems.

---

34 This particular form has an irregular variant ʿǝmk when it has the meaning ‘I think’. See § 12.5.5 and the comments to texts 26:6 and 28:18.
The retention of stressed initial ʿǝ-, as well as the shift of unstressed initial ʿǝ-to ā, can also be seen in I-ʿ geminate verbs. Compare:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3fs perf.</th>
<th>3mp perf.</th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G gem.</td>
<td>rǝdd</td>
<td>rǝddūt</td>
<td>rǝ́ddǝm</td>
<td>yǝrdūd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G gem., I-ʿ</td>
<td>ʿǝśś</td>
<td>āśśūt</td>
<td>ʿǝ́śśǝm</td>
<td>yāśūś</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As for I-ʾ verbs, none occur in the G-Stem in the texts. *ML* (s.v. ʾsr) lists forms for one, wǝsūr ‘hobble (an animal)’, with an initial w in both the perfect and imperfect, but the forms need to be verified.35

In the D/L-Stem, both I-ʾ verbs and I-ʿ verbs occur, and they behave differently. For I-ʾ verbs, ʾ is replaced with w, while for I-ʿ verbs, the first root consonant is simply lost. For I-ʿ, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3mp perf.</th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D/L strong</td>
<td>arōkǝb</td>
<td>arákǝm</td>
<td>yarákǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L I-’</td>
<td>awōdǝn</td>
<td>awádmǝm</td>
<td>yawádnǝn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

35 *ML* lists an Š1-Stem šǝwǝsūr, but we expect šāsūr for a I-ʾ verb, like šǝmūn. There may be some mixing with a root wǝsr, perhaps because there is already a verb šāsūr ʿlove’ from the root ʿsr. But in the Ga-Stem, if wǝsūr were from a root wǝsr, then we would expect a 3ms imperfect yǝwūsǝr, though *ML* gives yǝwsūr. This is why the forms need to be checked.
In the H- and Š1-Stems, I-ʿ verbs show the expected shift ʾaʾ > ā in the first syllable of the perfect and imperfect; likewise in all tenses in the T2-Stem. In the H- and Š1-Stem subjunctive, as well as in the Š2-Stem imperfect, we find the expected shift āʾ > ē. In the Š2-Stem perfect and subjunctive we find the expected shift ē > ā. Some representative forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H strong</td>
<td>ḥarkūb</td>
<td>ʾyaharkūb</td>
<td>ʾyahárkab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H I-ʿ</td>
<td>ḥārūs</td>
<td>ʾyahārūs</td>
<td>ʾyahērās</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 strong</td>
<td>šǝndūr</td>
<td>ʾyašǝndūr</td>
<td>ʾyašǝndār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 I-ʿ</td>
<td>ṣāgūl</td>
<td>ʾyašāgūl</td>
<td>ʾyašēgāl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š2 strong</td>
<td>šǝnēsǝm</td>
<td>ʾyašnāsmǝn</td>
<td>ʾyašnēsǝm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š2 I-ʿ</td>
<td>šādǝl</td>
<td>ʾyašǝdǝlǝn</td>
<td>ʾyašādǝl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2 strong</td>
<td>ʾaxtǝlūf</td>
<td>ʾyaxtǝlīfǝn</td>
<td>ʾyaxtǝlōf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2 I-ʿ</td>
<td>ʾātǝlūm</td>
<td>ʾyaṭǝlīmǝn</td>
<td>ʾyaṭǝlōm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No T1-Stem I-ʿ 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 ʾātCāC).

As for I-ʾ verbs, ML includes one H-Stem, which does not occur in the texts, and a few Š1-Stems, two of which occur in the texts. In the Š1-Stem forms, the texts show the vowel ē in the perfect and imperfect. No subjunctive forms occur, but the ms future mǝšēmǝn (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 Š1-Stem.
ML (s.v. ʾxr) lists T2- and Š2-Stems of the root ʾxr, 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. The prefix vowel of the I-w subjunctive (and imperative) shows variation between ā and ǝ. Compare:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
<th>ms impv.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga strong</td>
<td>bǝgūd</td>
<td>yǝbūgǝd</td>
<td>yǝbgǝd</td>
<td>bǝgǝd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga I-w</td>
<td>wazūm</td>
<td>yǝwūzǝm</td>
<td>yǝzēm/yāzēm</td>
<td>azēm/āzēm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga I-w</td>
<td>wǝkūb</td>
<td>yǝwǝkǝb</td>
<td>yǝkēb/yākēb</td>
<td>ǝkēb/ākēb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

36 ML (s.v. ʾmn) actually has yǝhōmǝn, but the long vowel of the H-Stem subjunctive should match that of the Š1-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 yawsēm ‘he gives’), which is obviously on analogy with strong verbs (including I-l verbs).
Most Ga-Stems whose first root consonant is *l* have a shift *l* > *w* in the perfect (§ 2.1.5), e.g., ǝwbūd ‘he hit’ (< *labūd*), but do not behave like true I-w verbs; cf. 3ms subjunctive ǝwbēd (< *yalbēd*).

In the Gb-, D/L-, H-, and Š1-Stems, I-w verbs generally follow the patterns of strong verbs. Some sample forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gb strong</td>
<td>ǝtibǝr</td>
<td>ǝyatbǝr</td>
<td>ǝyatbǝr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb I-w</td>
<td>ǝwiṣǝl</td>
<td>ǝyawǝl</td>
<td>ǝyawǝl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L strong</td>
<td>ǝarökǝb</td>
<td>ǝyarǝkǝn</td>
<td>ǝyarǝkǝb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L I-w</td>
<td>ǝawosǝl</td>
<td>ǝyawaslǝn</td>
<td>ǝyawosǝl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H strong</td>
<td>ǝhǝrkub</td>
<td>ǝyahǝrkub</td>
<td>ǝyahǝrkub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H I-w</td>
<td>ǝhǝwkub</td>
<td>ǝyahǝwkub</td>
<td>ǝyahǝwkub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 strong</td>
<td>ǝsandǝr</td>
<td>ǝyasandǝr</td>
<td>ǝyasandǝr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 I-w</td>
<td>ǝsyawgus</td>
<td>ǝyas(ǝw)gus</td>
<td>ǝyasawgǝs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Š1-Stem imperfect has a variant with the pattern yaCCüC, with loss of the root consonant *w*; cf. 3ms imperfect ǝyasgus (31:6), 3mp imperfect ǝyasgis (54:3), and 3ms imperfect ǝyaskuf ‘he sleeps’ (98:10, but ǝyǝwkuf in 2:2).38 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-ʿ 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 ǝswǝd ‘arrange a meeting; promise’, which also happens to be the only II-ʿ Š2-Stem attested in the texts. The forms are weak because of the *ʿ*, which is lost, but the initial *w* behaves as a strong consonant:

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38 Johnstone noted this variation in ML (p. lxi). For other examples, see the comments to texts 16:5 and 95:7.
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 *mawtākul* ‘(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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
<th>3mp subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Š2 I-w, II-‘</td>
<td>šəwèd</td>
<td>šəwèdəm</td>
<td>yə:šwèdən</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are no singular subjunctives or imperatives without suffixes in the texts, and *ML* gives conflicting forms. For the 3ms subjunctive of the verb *wátkəd* ‘wake up’, *ML* gives both *yətikəd* (p. li) and *yətékəd* (s.v. *wḳd*), while for the future, it gives both *matákəd* (p. lxxi) and *matékəd* (s.v. *wḳd*). We expect the long vowel, which is most likely *i*, as in other T1-Stem subjunctives. The 3ms subjunctive form (with a 1cp object suffix) *yətixəf* (96:1) tells us nothing; because the final two root consonants are voiceless and non-glottalic (see § 7.2.12), we expect *yətixf* from an underlying pattern *ya:CiCaC*.39 Confirmation is needed that 3ms subjunctive *yətikəd*, ms imperative *tikəd*, and ms future *matikəd* 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 \( yǝṣṣ \) ‘be afraid’ occurs in the texts. In the perfect \( yǝṣṣ \) 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3mp impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gb gem., I-y</td>
<td>GetObjectProperty(317, 58)</td>
<td>GetObjectProperty(317, 58)</td>
<td>GetObjectProperty(317, 58)</td>
<td>GetObjectProperty(317, 58)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga geminate</td>
<td>GetObjectProperty(317, 97)</td>
<td>GetObjectProperty(317, 97)</td>
<td>GetObjectProperty(317, 97)</td>
<td>GetObjectProperty(317, 97)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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 ‘\( tm \) or ‘\( tm \). Neither H-Stem I-\( y \) verb is attested in the texts, and so the forms need to be verified.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3mp perf.</th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H I-( y )</td>
<td>GetObjectProperty(317, 119)</td>
<td>GetObjectProperty(317, 119)</td>
<td>(unknown)</td>
<td>(unknown)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{40} \) 3mp \( yāṣāwš \) 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 \( yḥṣāwš \), but this must be a mistranscription for \( yḥṣâwš \). Confusion of \( ɔ \) 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 Š1-Stems. By the rules outlined in § 2.1.5, the sequence áłC in the subjunctive in these stems should shift to ĚC. However, the very limited evidence found in ML (one subjunctive in each stem) suggests some variation. Compare the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H strong</td>
<td>harkūb</td>
<td>yaharkūb</td>
<td>yahárkəb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H I-l</td>
<td>hawsūḳ</td>
<td>yahawsūḳ</td>
<td>yaháwṣəḳ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 strong</td>
<td>šəndūr</td>
<td>yəšəndūr</td>
<td>yəšándər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 I-l</td>
<td>ūwbūd</td>
<td>yəšəwbūd</td>
<td>yəšəbəd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘mount’
‘attach’
‘vow’
‘be hit’

If the subjunctive form yaháwṣəḳ that is listed in ML (s.v. lṣḳ) is, in fact, correct, then it is probably an analogical form (as if from a root wṣḳ).

There is also one verb form in which \( l \) is lost unexpectedly, namely the Gb-Stem 1cs perfect ḍamlak, which has the variant ḍəmk 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 ġ, ĥ, ḥ, or x are distinctive in the G-Stem (on ‘ and ‘, see § 7.2.6). All verbs whose second root consonant is ġ, ĥ, or x, have the pattern ġCaC in the perfect.\(^{42}\) First- and second-person forms have the base ġCaC- (except 1cp, which retains the long vowel, as we expect: ġCaCan). Verbs whose second root consonant

\(^{42}\) An exception, according to ML (s.v. ṭḥḳ), is rīḥǝḳ, whose perfect looks like that of a strong Gb-Stem verb. The texts have only a Ga-Stem rḥāḳ (cf. 1cp perfect rḥāḳan in text 26:2).
is $h$ follow this same pattern, except that the 3ms perfect has the pattern $CaCēC$, with $ē$ rather than $ā$, and with $CaCēC$- (less often $CaCāC$-) 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 $yaCCōC$. A very few II-Guttural verbs (including $nəhāg$ ‘dance’ and $rəḥāṣ$ ‘wash’) have Ga-type imperfектs and subjunctives, except that the imperfect has the vowel $ā$, where the strong Ga-Stem has $ū$, and the subjunctive shows the expected shift of $ē > ā$ after the guttural.43

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3fs perf.</th>
<th>3mp perf.</th>
<th>1cs perf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gb strong</td>
<td>$tībār$</td>
<td>$tābrōt$</td>
<td>$tābrəm$</td>
<td>$tābrak$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb II-Gutt.</td>
<td>$səhāk$</td>
<td>$səhkōt$</td>
<td>$səhākəm$</td>
<td>$səhāk(ə)k$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G II-h</td>
<td>$gəhēm$</td>
<td>$gəhmōt$</td>
<td>$gəhēməm$</td>
<td>$gəhēmk$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga II-Gutt.</td>
<td>$nəhāg$</td>
<td>$nəhgōt$</td>
<td>$nəhāgəm$</td>
<td>$nəhāgk$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga strong</td>
<td>$bəgūd$</td>
<td>$bəgədūt$</td>
<td>$bəgəwd$</td>
<td>$bəgdak$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3mp impf.</th>
<th>3fp impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
<th>3mp subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gb strong</td>
<td>$yətbōr$</td>
<td>$yətbūr$</td>
<td>$tətbōran$</td>
<td>$yətbōr$</td>
<td>$yətbūr$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb II-Gutt.</td>
<td>$yəshōk$</td>
<td>$yəshāyk$</td>
<td>$təshōkən$</td>
<td>$yəshōk$</td>
<td>$yəshāyk$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G II-h</td>
<td>$yəghōm$</td>
<td>$yəghūm$</td>
<td>$təghōman$</td>
<td>$yəghōm$</td>
<td>$yəghūm$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga II-Gutt.</td>
<td>$yənōhag$</td>
<td>$yənəhγəm$</td>
<td>$tənəhγən$</td>
<td>$yənḥāg$</td>
<td>$yənḥāγəm$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga strong</td>
<td>$yəbūgəd$</td>
<td>$yəbəgdəm$</td>
<td>$təbəgdən$</td>
<td>$yəbōd$</td>
<td>$yəbədəm$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

43 These same II-Guttural verbs, as well as the Ga-type II-‘ 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 (*anḡāl* ‘sweat’ and the II-ʿ verb *(s)sād* ‘help’) belong to one of the rare D/L-Stem subtypes. And at least one II-h verb (*azhīb* ‘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., *amōḥǝl* ‘ease, lighten’, *(f)fōḥǝm* ‘make understand’, and *(f)fōxǝr* ‘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 *ū* > *aw* and *ī* > *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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3mp perf.</th>
<th>1cp perf.</th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>H strong</strong></td>
<td>hǝrkūb</td>
<td>hǝrkīb</td>
<td>hǝrkōhǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>H II-Gutt.</strong></td>
<td>hǝbḡáwʃ</td>
<td>hǝbḡáyʃ</td>
<td>hǝbḡōʃǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>H II-h</strong></td>
<td>hǝbhūl</td>
<td>hǝbhīl</td>
<td>hǝbhōlǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Š1 strong</strong></td>
<td>šǝndūr</td>
<td>šǝndūr</td>
<td>šǝndōran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Š1 II-Gutt.</strong></td>
<td>šǝnhāwr</td>
<td>šǝnḥāyr</td>
<td>šǝnḥōrǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Š1 II-h</strong></td>
<td>šǝdḥūk</td>
<td>šǝdḥīk</td>
<td>šǝdḥōkǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>T1 strong</strong></td>
<td>ɡāṭbǝr</td>
<td>ɡāṭbǝrǝm</td>
<td>ɡāṭbǝrǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>T1 II-Gutt</strong></td>
<td>máṭhǝn</td>
<td>máṭhǝnǝm</td>
<td>máṭhǝnǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>T2 strong</strong></td>
<td>ǝxtǝlūf</td>
<td>ǝxtǝlīf</td>
<td>ǝxtǝlōfǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>T2 II-Gutt</strong></td>
<td>wǝtxáwr</td>
<td>wǝtxáyr</td>
<td>wǝtxōrǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>T2 II-h</strong></td>
<td>ǝmthūl</td>
<td>ǝmthīl</td>
<td>ǝmthōlǝn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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-ʾ behave like other II-Guttural verbs in that their forms are based on the pattern CāC for the 3ms perfect, and most have a Gb-type imperfect and subjunctive with 3ms yǝCCōC. The difference is that the ʿ is lost, resulting in a monosyllabic base CāC for the perfect and 3ms imperfect and subjunctive form yǝCōC.

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. Both verbs have a subjunctive with ā, namely, 3ms yǝgār and yǝbār, parallel to the verbs nǝḥāg and rǝḥāṣ that were discussed in § 7.2.5. We expect ŏ in the imperfect (cf. yanōḥǝg), but instead we find 3ms yǝgāwr (< *yagʿūr < *yagūʿǝr?) and yǝbāwr, though only the latter verb is attested in the texts in the imperfect.

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3fs perf.</th>
<th>3mp perf.</th>
<th>1cs perf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gb strong</td>
<td>tibǝr</td>
<td>tǝbrōt</td>
<td>tǝ́brǝm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb II-Gutt.</td>
<td>šəhāk</td>
<td>šəhkōt</td>
<td>šǝhǝkǝm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

44 Strangely, it is the verb gār, which goes against the pattern of nearly all other G-Stem II-ʾ 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 ʿ preserved). Moreover, there are the parallel subjunctive forms of bār, whose root is certainly bʿr.

45 ML (s.v. bʿr) gives yǝbɔ́r for the 3ms imperfect and subjunctive, but in the texts we find 1cp impf. nǝbāwr (82:1), 3ms subj. yǝbār (69:4), 1cs subj. al-bār (80:6), and fs impv. bāri (97:31).

46 Sabrina Bendjaballah confirmed yagāwr in her fieldwork (and kindly shared with me the audio proof), but found bār to behave like other II-ʿ verbs, with yǝbɔ́r for both imperfect and subjunctive. Jahn’s Yemeni texts also have imperfect yǝbɔ́r (1902: 3, lines 23 and 26), and in his lexicon he lists imperfect yagɔ́r (1902: 189).
In the G internal passive of II-ʾ verbs, the second root consonant appears as ʾ, at least according to the single form we find in the texts (3ms imperfect ʾyaʾswōl); see further in the comment to text 4:1. Recall that ʾ is often replaced by ʾ in derived-stem forms of I-ʾ roots (§ 7.2.2). On II-ʾ, III-w/y G-Stem verbs like ṛōh ‘herd’, see the end of § 7.2.10.

No II-ʾ verbs are attested outside of the G-Stem, with the exception of ʾšɪtֵm.
verbs: tenses and forms

‘buy’. And though this verb is historically a T1-Stem of the root šm, it conjugates as if it were a Gb-Stem of the root stm.

The only II- D/L-Stem is the verb (š)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- verbs also show the loss of ‘, as well as the expected shifts of ū to aw and ū to ay found with all II-Gutturals (§ 2.2.2). So in the perfect, we find 3ms (hə)CāwC < *(hə)C’āwC < *(hə)C’ūC. 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 yəḥābār < *yəḥāb’ər, and 3mp yəḥābārəm < *yəḥāb’ərəm:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3mp perf.</th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H strong</td>
<td>hərkūb</td>
<td>hərkūb</td>
<td>yəḥarkūb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H II-Gutt.</td>
<td>həbġāw’s</td>
<td>həbġāy’s</td>
<td>yəḥəbġāw’s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H II-‘</td>
<td>həbáwr</td>
<td>həbāy’r</td>
<td>yəḥəbáw’r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘mount’

‘hate’

‘take out at night’

As we expect, II-‘ verbs in the Š1-Stem behave as in the H-Stem, though no such verbs are attested in the texts. Only one II-‘ verb is attested in the Š2-Stem, namely šǝwɛ̄d ‘arrange a meeting; promise’. In this case, the sequence *Cē’ǝC of the perfect and subjunctive and the sequence *Cά’əC of the imperfect both collapse to ĔC:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3mp perf.</th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Š2 strong</td>
<td>šənēsəm</td>
<td>šənásməm</td>
<td>yəšnásmən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š2 II-‘</td>
<td>šəwɛ̄d</td>
<td>šəwɛ̄dəm</td>
<td>yəšwɛ̄dən</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘sigh’

‘promise’

Only one T1-Stem form is attested from a II-‘ verb in the texts, namely, the T1 3mp perfect tātānəm ‘they stabbed one another’ (3:19; 4:17, < *tāt’ənəm; cf. strong ġātboɾəm). No II-‘ verbs are attested in the T2-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 \( y{\text{CC}}{\text{ūC}} \) (3mp \( y{\text{CC}}{\text{āwC}} \)). The imperfect looks like that of geminate verbs (§ 7.2.11). Unstressed \( ay \) (when not followed by a stressed vowel) is usually realized \( ĩ \) (§ 2.2). This affects the 3fs perfect, the future (except mp), and most dual forms, e.g., 3fs perfect \( s\text{īrūt} \) (< *\( s\text{ayərūt} \)), 3md perfect \( s\text{īrōh} \) (< *\( s\text{ayərōh} \)), 3ms imperfect and subjunctive \( y\text{སīrōh} \) (< *\( y\text{asəyərōh} \) < *\( y\text{asyərōh} \)), ms future \( s\text{īrōna} \) (< *\( s\text{ayrōna} \), and mp future \( s\text{īyēra} \) (< *\( s\text{ayyēra} \)), but 1cs perfect \( s\text{ayəɾk} \). Compare the following forms of the verb \( s\text{ayūɾ} \) ‘go’, the most common II-y G-Stem:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3mp perf.</th>
<th>3fs perf.</th>
<th>1cs perf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga strong</td>
<td>( b\text{ġūd} )</td>
<td>( b\text{ġāwд} )</td>
<td>( b\text{ġədūt} )</td>
<td>( b\text{ġādк} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga II-y</td>
<td>( s\text{ayūɾ} )</td>
<td>( s\text{ayəɾwɾ} )</td>
<td>( s\text{īɾūt} )</td>
<td>( s\text{ayəɾk} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga gem.</td>
<td>( r\text{ədд} )</td>
<td>( r\text{ədдəм} )</td>
<td>( r\text{ədдūt} )</td>
<td>( r\text{ədдк} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3mp impf.</th>
<th>3fp impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
<th>ms fut.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga strong</td>
<td>( y\text{əbūgд} )</td>
<td>( y\text{əbōгдəм} )</td>
<td>( τ\text{əbədгдәn} )</td>
<td>( y\text{əbəɾdəd} )</td>
<td>( b\text{əɾdōнa} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga II-y</td>
<td>( y\text{ǝsəyūɾ} )</td>
<td>( y\text{ǝsəyəɾwɾ} )</td>
<td>( τ\text{ǝsyəɾən} )</td>
<td>( y\text{ǝsəyəɾn̩} )</td>
<td>( s\text{īɾōнa} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga gem.</td>
<td>( y\text{əɾдūд} )</td>
<td>( y\text{əɾдəwɾд} )</td>
<td>( τ\text{əɾдūдəɾн} )</td>
<td>( y\text{əɾдēд} )</td>
<td>( ɾ\text{əɾdōнa} )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II-w verbs behave as strong verbs in the Gb-Stem (e.g., \( ā\text{ywəɾ} \) ‘become blind’, \( k\text{ōвəɾ} \) ‘love’), but in the Ga-Stem, they form a separate conjugation type. Like II-ʾ verbs, II-w verbs have a 3ms perfect of the shape \( C\text{ōC} \), but there are numerous differences in the conjugation; most notably, unlike all II-ʾ 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 (\( ǝl-нɛ́к̱ʃ \)).
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3mp perf.</th>
<th>3fs perf.</th>
<th>1cs perf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga strong</td>
<td>bǝgūd</td>
<td>bǝgáwd</td>
<td>bǝgǝdūt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga II-w</td>
<td>mōt</td>
<td>mǝtōm</td>
<td>mǝtōt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G II-ʾ</td>
<td>śōm</td>
<td>śōmǝm</td>
<td>śāmōt</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘chase’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3mp impf.</th>
<th>3fp impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
<th>ms fut.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga strong</td>
<td>yǝbūgǝd</td>
<td>yǝbǝ́gdǝm</td>
<td>tǝbǝ́gdǝn</td>
<td>yǝbgēd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga II-w</td>
<td>yǝmūt</td>
<td>yǝmáwt</td>
<td>tǝmūtǝn</td>
<td>yǝmēt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G II-ʾ</td>
<td>yǝsōm</td>
<td>yǝsım</td>
<td>tǝsǝmǝn</td>
<td>yǝsōm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘die’

‘sell’

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)CǝCaC, II-w/y verbs have the pattern (a)CČČČ. 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.
Sometimes the sequence yī is realized simply ī, e.g., yaġīːān ‘they will anger’ (< yaġyīːān, 90:15).

As discussed in § 6.2.1, the lone Mehri verb (š)šēwèr ‘consult’ has an anomalous pattern in the D/L-Stem, with ē instead of ō as the theme vowel.49 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3mp perf.</th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D/L strong</td>
<td>arōkab</td>
<td>arākbam</td>
<td>yarākbān</td>
<td>yarōkāb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘put on fire’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L II-w</td>
<td>aḵwīn</td>
<td>aḵwīnem</td>
<td>yāḵwīnān</td>
<td>yāḵwīn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘measure’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L II-y</td>
<td>asyīḥ</td>
<td>asyīḥem</td>
<td>yasyīḥān</td>
<td>yasyīḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘shout’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L gem.</td>
<td>abdīd</td>
<td>abdīdēm</td>
<td>yabdīdān</td>
<td>yabdīd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘separate’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the most part, II-w verbs follow strong verbs in the H-, Š-, and T-Stems, for example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3mp perf.</th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D/L strong, I-IG</td>
<td>(š)sōfèr</td>
<td>(š)sáfêm</td>
<td>yassāfēn</td>
<td>yassōfèr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘travel’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L II-w, I-IG</td>
<td>(t)təwīb</td>
<td>(t)təwībēm</td>
<td>yattwībān</td>
<td>yattwīb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘repent’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L šwr</td>
<td>(š)šēwèr</td>
<td>(š)šāwrēm</td>
<td>yəssšāwrēn</td>
<td>yəssšēwèr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘consult’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

49 This verb does not occur in the texts, but is listed in ML (pp. xxxv–xxxvi and s.v. šwr).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>H strong</strong></td>
<td>hǝrkūb</td>
<td>yǝhǝrkūb</td>
<td>yǝhárkǝb</td>
<td>‘mount’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>H II-w</strong></td>
<td>hağwūs</td>
<td>yǝhağwūs/yǝhağōs</td>
<td>yǝhağwǝs</td>
<td>‘put under water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Š1 strong</strong></td>
<td>škǝbūr</td>
<td>yǝškǝbūr</td>
<td>yǝšákbǝr</td>
<td>‘consider large’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Š1 II-w</strong></td>
<td>šhǝwūb</td>
<td>yǝšhǝwūb</td>
<td>yǝšáhwǝb</td>
<td>‘warm by fire’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Š2 strong</strong></td>
<td>šanēsǝm</td>
<td>yǝšnásmǝn</td>
<td>yǝšnēsǝm</td>
<td>‘sigh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Š2 II-w</strong></td>
<td>šanēwǝs</td>
<td>yǝšnáwǝsǝn</td>
<td>yǝšanēwǝs</td>
<td>‘wrestle’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>T1 strong</strong></td>
<td>ǝxtǝlūf</td>
<td>yǝxtǝlīfǝn</td>
<td>yǝxtǝlōf</td>
<td>‘differ’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>T1 II-w</strong></td>
<td>ǝḥtǝwūl</td>
<td>yǝḥtǝwīlǝn</td>
<td>yǝḥtǝwōl</td>
<td>‘go crazy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>T2 strong</strong></td>
<td>ǝxtǝlūf</td>
<td>yǝxtǝlīfǝn</td>
<td>yǝxtǝlōf</td>
<td>‘differ’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>T2 II-w</strong></td>
<td>ǝxtǝlūf</td>
<td>yǝxtǝlīfǝn</td>
<td>yǝxtǝlōf</td>
<td>‘differ’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unstressed aw may be realized as ū in fast speech, and so we can hear forms like H-Stem 3fs perfect hağūṣáwt (< hağǝw̱sáwt < *hağwasáwt; cf. strong hǝrkǝbūt). In the texts we find H-Stem imperfect 1cs ahağōs (103:2), rather than ahağwūs, 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 T2-Stem perfect plural forms, see the comment to ǝrtáwgǝn 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 (šw̱k) includes both šátaw̱k and šatūk. The latter is just an erroneous transcription of šátaw̱k ‘miss’, which can sound close to šatūk in fast speech. Likewise, ML (s.v. hw̱g) includes separate entries for hātūg and hātw̱g ‘need’ (see the comment to text 94:13), but these are again just variant transcriptions of the same verb.
Note especially the T₁ subjunctive yǝġtīð̣ (< *yǝġtīy̥e̥ḍ). Unfortunately, a subjunctive of ġálṭ̄y̥ḁḍ ‘get angry’ (the only II-y T₁-Stem verb in the texts) is not attested in the texts, and so the form yǝġtīð̣, which comes from ML, 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. These are the roots ġwr and swana, from which we find Š₁ šawwjáwr ‘raid’, H hawšáwb ‘hit (with a bullet)’, and Š₁ šawšáwb ‘be wounded, be hit (with a bullet)’.

The root ġwr can be seen in the Gb-Stem ġáywǝr ‘be distracted, not pay attention’ and in the D/L-Stem āgǝwır ‘distract, keep occupied’. The root swab can be seen in the G-Stem sôb ‘go straight’, the passive participle maswib ‘wounded’, and in the noun sawb ‘direction’. The G-Stem 3ms perfect sawb, given in ML (s.v. swab), is surely an error for sôb. Interestingly, ML (s.v. swab) also gives a regular Š₁-Stem form šawšwib ‘be wounded deliberately’, though this form does not occur in the texts.
Glottalic).\textsuperscript{54} In \textit{ML} (p. xliv), there is a footnote to the paradigm of \textit{ḥawsáwb} 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 \textit{ML}, I found no other roots that undergo metathesis like these two.\textsuperscript{55} So either Johnstone’s footnote is incorrect, or the data in the texts (and \textit{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 \textit{(ḥ)ḥǝwūl} ‘understand (a language)’; H \textit{ḥǝswūr} ‘make stand’, and Šı \textit{ṣawwūl} ‘think (the night) is long’).

On II-w, III-y verbs like \textit{ḥawōh} ‘fall’ and \textit{tawōh} ‘eat’, see § 7.2.10, § 7.2.13, and § 7.2.14.

\textbf{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 ā, 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 ā or ī:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3mp perf.</th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3mp impf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Ga strong | \textit{bǝgūd} | \textit{bǝgáwd} | \textit{yǝbūgǝd} | \textit{yǝbágdǝm} | 'chase'  
| Ga II-Glott. | \textit{rǝsáwn} | \textit{rǝsáwn} | \textit{yǝrūsǝn} | \textit{yǝrǝ́snǝm} | 'tie up'  
| Gb strong | \textit{tībǝr} | \textit{tǝ́brǝm} | \textit{yǝtǝbǝr} | \textit{yǝtǝbīr} | 'break'  
| Gb II-Glott. | \textit{wīsǝl} | \textit{wǝ́slǝm} | \textit{yǝwǝsǝl} | \textit{yǝwǝsǝ́yl} | 'arrive'  
| H strong | \textit{hǝrkūb} | \textit{hǝrkīb} | \textit{yǝhǝrkūb} | \textit{yǝhǝrkīb} | 'mount'  
| H II-Glott. | \textit{ḥǝḵsǝw̄m} | \textit{ḥǝḵsǝym} | \textit{yǝhǝḵsǝw̄m} | \textit{yǝhǝḵsǝ́ym} | 'spend the afternoon'  

\textsuperscript{54} For the 3ms imperfects, we find in the texts H-Stem \textit{yǝḥǝṣáwb} (30:8) and Šı-Stem \textit{yǝšǝsw̄w̄b} (957). See further in the comments to these passages in the texts.

\textsuperscript{55} Jibbali shows the same metathesis of \textit{ġwr} in the Šı-Stem (\textit{šǝbgér} ‘raid’, with \textit{b} < *\textit{w}), but not with \textit{sw̄b} (\textit{šǝs̄bēb}). Ḥarsusi is the same (\textit{šaw̄ḡor}, but \textit{šaw̄w̄b}). On Mehri \textit{šaw̄w̄b}, see n. 53.
Note that in the Ga-Stem, the 3ms perfect shifts from \( Ca\dot{C}uC \) to \( Ca\dot{C}wC \), 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 T2-Stems (e.g., T2 \( \text{antakál}’y \) ‘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 \( ē > ā \), for example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
<th>3mp subj.</th>
<th>Action</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga strong</td>
<td>( bāgūd )</td>
<td>( yābgēd )</td>
<td>( yābgēdām )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga II-Glott.</td>
<td>( rāṣāwn )</td>
<td>( yārsān )</td>
<td>( yārsānām )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G pass. strong</td>
<td>( bāgēd )</td>
<td>( yābgōd )</td>
<td>( yābgīd )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G pass. III-Glott.</td>
<td>( rāṣān )</td>
<td>( yārsōn )</td>
<td>( yārsāyn )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 \( ē \) and \( ā \) and shift of \( ē > ā \).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Stem</th>
<th>Base Form</th>
<th>Subject Form</th>
<th>Object Form</th>
<th>Future Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga strong</td>
<td>$bǝgūd$</td>
<td>$bǝgǝdūt$</td>
<td>$bǝgdīta$</td>
<td>$bǝgdūtǝn$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-Glott.</td>
<td>$kǝrūs$</td>
<td>$kǝrsáwt$</td>
<td>$kǝrsáyta$</td>
<td>$kǝrsáwǝnt$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb strong</td>
<td>$tiβǝr$</td>
<td>$ṭαbṛöt$</td>
<td>$ṭαbṛīta$</td>
<td>$ṭαbṛūtǝn$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb III-Glott.</td>
<td>$mūra$</td>
<td>$mǝṛṣ̌ōt$</td>
<td>$mǝṛṣ̌āyta$</td>
<td>$mǝṛṣ̌aẉṭǝn$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G pass. strong</td>
<td>$bǝged$</td>
<td>$bǝgdēt$</td>
<td>(none)</td>
<td>(none)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G pass. III-Glott.</td>
<td>$sǝbēt$</td>
<td>$sǝḅṭāt$</td>
<td>(none)</td>
<td>(none)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L strong, I-IG</td>
<td>(s)sōfǝr</td>
<td>(s)sfǝrēt</td>
<td>masfǝrēta</td>
<td>masfǝrūtǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L III-Glott., I-IG</td>
<td>(x)xōbǝṭ</td>
<td>(x)xǝbṭ̣āt</td>
<td>mǝxbǝṭ̣āta</td>
<td>mǝxbǝṭ̣aẉṭan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H strong</td>
<td>hǝrkūb</td>
<td>hǝrkǝbūt</td>
<td>mǝhǝrkǝbēta</td>
<td>mǝhǝrkǝbūtǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H III-Glott.</td>
<td>hǝmrǝṣ́</td>
<td>hǝmṛṣ̌aẉt</td>
<td>mǝhmǝṛṣ̌aẉta</td>
<td>mǝhmǝṛṣ̌aẉṭan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 strong</td>
<td>šǝnḍūr</td>
<td>šǝnḍṛūt</td>
<td>mǝṣ̌ǝnḍṛēta</td>
<td>mǝṣ̌ǝnḍṛūṭan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 III-Glott.</td>
<td>šǝdhūk</td>
<td>ṣ̌ǝdḥḳaẉt</td>
<td>ṃǝsḥḍḥḳaẉṭa</td>
<td>ṃǝsḥḍḥḳaẉṭan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The initial vowel of an object suffix attached to a 3ms or 3fp perfect is also affected by a final glottalic consonant, e.g., $sāḳaẉk$ ‘he called you’ (20:25) (< *sākūk) and $shǝṭ̣aẉh$ ‘he slaughtered it’ (48:23) (< *shǝṭ̣īh). See § 3.2.2 for more examples.

As noted in § 2.2.1, II-Glottalic verbs sometimes have á where we expect ā, as in the 1cs perfect $hǝḳ̣ṣaẉm$ ‘I spent the day’, for expected $hǝḳ̣ṣǝ́m$ (62:6).

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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-ʾ and III-ʿ 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 CaCuguG > CuguCuguG (where G = ʾ, ʿ, ġ, h, ḥ, 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 CuguCuguG, we find a 3mp perfect with -ǝm in place of ablaut. For III-ʿ and III-ʾ verbs, the 3ms perfect has a final -a (< -ǝʿ or -ǝʾ; see § 2.1.3). In the suffixed forms of III-ʿ verbs, the ʿ simply disappears. With III-ʾ verbs, the ʾ 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 (< *nákʾǝk). For the 3fs perfect, we find -ōt with III-h, III-x, and III-ʿ verbs, but III-ʾ verbs have -ūt and III-ġ verb have -áwt (< *-ūt). No 3fs perfects of a III-h verb (of which there are very few in the language) are attested in the texts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3fs perf.</th>
<th>3mp perf.</th>
<th>1cs perf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga strong</td>
<td>bǝgūd</td>
<td>bǝgǝdūt</td>
<td>bǝgáwd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-Gutt.</td>
<td>sūmǝḥ</td>
<td>sǝmḥōt</td>
<td>sǝ́mḥǝm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-ʿ</td>
<td>nūka</td>
<td>nǝkōt</td>
<td>nákam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-ʾ</td>
<td>kūsa</td>
<td>ksüt</td>
<td>kǝsk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When 1cs object suffixes are added to the 3ms and 3fp perfect of III-ʿ verbs, the ʿ remains, per the rules outlined in § 2.1.3 (see especially n. 4), e.g., ǝnkʿáy ‘he came to me’ (18:13), but ǝnkáys ‘he came to her’ (< *nǝkʾīs, 48:19).

The Ga-Stem imperfect is normal for III-Guttural verbs, except that III-ʿ and III-ʾ verbs have the vowel ǝ in place of ā. III-ʿ and III-ʾ verbs also have a final -a (< -ǝʿ or -ǝʾ); as in the perfect, ʿ is present in the underlying form. The subjunctive is regular, except that while most verbs have the vowel ǝ, a small number have ā.

---

57 The one example of a III-ġ verb in the texts is watɡáwt ‘she killed’ (29:7), but see also the comment to text 24:47.

58 The underlying form is *kǝsk, but it shifts to kǝsk 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). For III-‘ verbs we find -ē or -ā, shortened in final position to -ē’ and -ā’, respectively (§ 2.2.4), e.g., 3ms subjunctive yankē ‘he may come’, but 2fs tānkēy, 3mp yankēm, and 3ms + 3ms object yankēh. The subjunctive forms ending in -ē’ are clearly distinguished from the subjunctives of III-w/y verbs, which end in -ēh (see § 7.2.10). Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3mp impf.</th>
<th>3mp impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
<th>3mp subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga strong</td>
<td>yabūgad</td>
<td>yabgdám</td>
<td>yābgēd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-Gutt.</td>
<td>yasūmah</td>
<td>yasómham</td>
<td>yāsmēh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga I-Glott., II-r, III-Gutt.</td>
<td>yətáwrəḥ</td>
<td>yətárḥam</td>
<td>yəṭrəh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-‘</td>
<td>yənōka</td>
<td>yənákam</td>
<td>yənkē’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-‘</td>
<td>yərōfa</td>
<td>yərāfam</td>
<td>yərfā’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-‘</td>
<td>yəkōsa</td>
<td>yəkōsam 61</td>
<td>yəksē’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

III-‘ verbs are sometimes confused with III-w/y verbs, and so from the verb kūsa ‘find’ one also finds an imperfect yakāys, on the model of III-w/y forms like yabāyk (< bakōh ‘cry’). ML (s.v. ml’) lists a similar imperfect for the III-‘

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 yankąyam, but there is no evidence for such a form. The texts consistently have the pattern yəCCēm for the 3mp subjunctive of III-‘ verbs.

61 This form is not certain. The only imperfect of this verb that occurs with audio is 1cs əkōsa (34:11). Johnstone transcribed əkōsa also in text 94:25 and 94:29. In 104:2 we find 3mp yəmolam (from the III-‘ verb múla), 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 Harsusi and Hobyot. Jahn (1905: 109) gives ksū for the Yemeni dialect of al-Ghayḍah, but kūsi for the dialect of Qishn. The Omani Mehri speakers interviewed by
verb *mūla* ‘fill’. Given that there are only a few III-ʾ 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 *dūbǝh* (III-Guttural) and *dǝbōh* (III-w/y) ‘collect honey’; see the comment to text 77:3.

In the Gb-Stem, III-Guttural perfects (except III-ʾ 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-ʿ and III-ʾ verbs have the expected shift of final -ǝʿ and -ǝʾ to -a. The imperfect and subjunctive are distinguished, and they follow the patterns of Ga-Stems.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3mp perf.</th>
<th>3fs perf.</th>
<th>1cs perf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gb strong</td>
<td>ʾtībǝr</td>
<td>ʾtábrǝm</td>
<td>ʾtábrōt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb III-Gutt.</td>
<td>ʾfīrǝḥ</td>
<td>ʾfǝ́rḥǝm</td>
<td>ʾfǝ́rḥōt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb III-ʿ</td>
<td>ʾšība</td>
<td>ʾšǝbǝm</td>
<td>ʾšǝbōt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb I-w, III-ʿ</td>
<td>ʾwīda</td>
<td>ʾwǝdǝm</td>
<td>ʾwǝdōt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb I-w, II-Glott. III-ʿ</td>
<td>ʾwīḳa</td>
<td>ʾwǝḳam</td>
<td>ʾwǝḳōt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb III-ʾ</td>
<td><em>mīla</em></td>
<td><em>mīlǝm</em></td>
<td><em>mǝlōt</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sabrina Bendjaballah in 2017 recognized only *yǝkāys* for the 3ms imperfect of *kūsa*, and also accepted *ksōh* for the 3ms perfect. For another example, cf. *gǝśōh* ‘belch’ (*ML, s.v. gš*; cf. Arabic *jašaʿa*). In Jibbali, III-ʾ verbs have, in most forms, merged with III-w/y verbs.

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63 According to *ML* (s.v. *fḥ*), the Ga-Stem of the root *fḥ* ‘open’ can have the shape *fūtǝḥ* or *fǝtḥ* (< “*fūtah*”; 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 *fūtah* as an acceptable variant needs confirmation.

64 Many of the forms of *mīla* given in *ML* (p. xxiv) are very suspect. Another certain III-ʾ Gb-Stem is *káyna* (3ms imperfect *yǝḳōna*, 76:11). A possible III-ʾ Gb-Stem is *dīra* ‘bleed (trans.)’, for which *ML* (s.v. *dry*) lists the erroneous 3ms perfect *dǝyǝrʾ*. Jahn (1902: 173) lists a Gb-Stem 3ms perfect *dīre* (with the normal shift ʿ > d found in some Yemeni Mehri towns, e.g., Qishn).
verbs tenses and forms 221

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3mp impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
<th>3mp subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gb strong</td>
<td>yǝṭbǝr</td>
<td>yǝṭbǝr</td>
<td>yǝṭbǝr</td>
<td>yǝṭbǝr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb III-Gutt.</td>
<td>yǝfǝrǝh</td>
<td>yǝfǝrǝḥam</td>
<td>yǝfǝrǝh</td>
<td>yǝfǝrǝḥam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb III-ʿ</td>
<td>yǝsǝba</td>
<td>yǝsǝbǝm</td>
<td>yǝsǝbǝ</td>
<td>yǝsǝbǝm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb I-w, III-ʿ</td>
<td>yǝwǝdǝ</td>
<td>yǝwǝdǝm</td>
<td>yǝdǝ</td>
<td>yǝdǝm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb I-w, II-Glott. III-ʿ</td>
<td>yǝwǝkǝ</td>
<td>yǝwǝkǝm</td>
<td>yǝkǝ</td>
<td>yǝkǝm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb III-ʾ</td>
<td>yǝmǝlǝ</td>
<td>yǝmǝlǝm</td>
<td>yǝmǝlǝ</td>
<td>yǝmǝlǝm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The future forms of the G-Stems have the expected sound changes (§ 2.1.3; 2.2.2), though the mp form of III-ʿ verbs has an epenthetic i, which makes it look a bit unusual (CǝCiyɛ̄ < *CǝCyɛ̄ < *CǝCyēʿa). For III-ʾ verbs, ʾ simply disappears.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ms fut.</th>
<th>fs fut.</th>
<th>mp fut.</th>
<th>fp fut.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G strong</td>
<td>bǝgdǝnǝ</td>
<td>bǝgdǝta</td>
<td>bǝgyǝdǝ</td>
<td>bǝgdǝtǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-Gutt.</td>
<td>wǝtǝgǝnǝ</td>
<td>wǝtǝgayta</td>
<td>wǝtyǝgǝ</td>
<td>wǝtǝgaytǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-ʿ</td>
<td>nǝkǝnǝ</td>
<td>nǝkǝyta</td>
<td>nǝkiyǝ</td>
<td>nǝkǝytǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-ʾ</td>
<td>kǝsǝnǝ</td>
<td>kǝsǝta</td>
<td>kǝsǝya</td>
<td>kǝsǝtǝn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -ǝʿ > -a (for III-ʿ verbs).

---

These are the forms of the verb .luṭaŋ ‘kill’. On the shift of l > w, see § 2.1.5.
III-Guttural verbs also exhibit various peculiarities in other stems. In the H- and Šı-Stems, most III-Guttural verbs have the vowel ē in the final syllable (> ē for III-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 -ǝm. For III-verbs, like in the G-Stems, the vowels ē and -ā are shortened to -ě́ʾ and -áʾ when word-final. III-roots (the few that there are) are treated as III-w/y.
In the imperfect of the H- and Š1-Stems, we see the shift $CaCūG > CūCəG$ that we find also in the G perfect, except that III-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).\(^{67}\) The subjunctive forms pose no problems.

\[\begin{array}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
& 3ms impf. & 3mp impf. & 3ms subj. \\
\hline
H strong & $yəhərkūb$ & $yəhərkūb$ & $yəhərkəb$ \\
\hline
H III-Gutt. & $yəhənūdəx$ or $yəhənūdûx$ & $yəhənədəxəm$ or $yəhənədûx$ & $yəhəndəx$ \\
\hline
\end{array}\]

---

\(^{67}\) 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.
In the T1-, T2-, and Š2-Stems, the forms show the same sort of changes as in the stems already described. The T2-Stem has 3fs perfects with -ōt and 3mp perfects with -ǝm, and we see final -ǝʿ > -a in all stems. In the T1-Stem imperfect and T2-Stem perfect, we find the shift CǝCūG > CūCǝG (but see the comment to text 12:14), and the T2-Stem subjunctive has the similar shift CǝCōG > CōCǝG. Unlike in other stems, T1-Stem imperfects of III-ʿ verbs do not have the vowel ŏ, but more evidence is needed to confirm this; see the comment to text 98:5 (tǝḳtūṭa).

| H III-Gutt. | yǝhǝṣáwbǝḥ | yǝhǝṣǝ́bḥǝm | yǝhǝṣǝḥ | ‘become’ |
| H III-ʿ | yǝhǝḵōśa | yǝhǝḵåśam | yǝhǝḵša | ‘dry’ |
| H III-ʿ | yǝhǝrōba | yǝhǝråbǝm | yǝhǝrǝba | ‘lift up’ |
| H I-w | yǝhǝwküb | yǝhǝwkib | yǝhåwkǝb | ‘put in’ |
| H I-w, III-ʿ | yǝhǝra | yǝhǝram | yǝhåwra | ‘keep away’ |
| Š1 strong | yǝšǝndǝr | yǝšǝndǝr | yǝšǝndǝr | ‘vow’ |
| Š1 III-Gutt. | yǝšdūlǝx | yǝšdɛ̄xǝm | yǝšdɔ̅lx | ‘be despoiled’ |
| Š1 III-ʿ | yǝškōśa | yǝškåśam | yǝšåśša | ‘get dry’ |
| Š1 III-ʿ | yǝšrōba | yǝšråbǝm | yǝšårǝba | ‘climb’ |

| 3mp perf. | 3fs perf. | 3mp perf. | 3ms impf. | 3ms subj. |
| T1 strong | ġåtbǝr | ġǝtbǝrōt | ġåtbǝrǝm | yaňtǝbūr | yaňtibǝr | ‘meet’ |
| T1 III-Gutt. | ŋtǝkǝh | ŋtǝkhōt | ŋtǝkåbǝm | yaňtukǝh | yaňtikǝh | ‘break in half’ |

---

68 There are very few Š1-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 yǝšǝdlux and 3mp yǝšǝdlīx, as in the H-Stem.
As in other stems, III-ʿ roots (few that there are) are usually treated as III-w/y in the T1-, T2-, and Š2-Stems. For an example, see the comment to text 48:11.

Verbs from quadriliteral roots that are III-ʿ and IV-ʿ have sound changes similar to those that we see in various forms from triliteral III-ʿ roots, e.g., 3ms perfect akālad (< *akālʿad), and 3ms imperfect yakālāwīd (< *yakālʿāwīd < *yakālʿūd). 72 3ms imperfect yabārkā derives from *yabārkāʿ < *yabūrkāʿ < *yabārkūʿ (with a shift CǝCūG > ĈūCǝG, similar to the shift CǝCūG > ĈūCǝG that we find in the G-Stem and elsewhere). Likewise, 3ms imperfect yamārkāh derives from *yamūrkāh < *yamārkūh. Compare:

69 The 3mp imperfect and subjunctive is yaktātam (cf. ML, pp. l–li). Other III-Guttural verbs have ʾ where III-ʿ verbs have ā in this form (cf. Ga-Stem nākam ‘they came’ vs. sāmḥam ‘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. ḏwʾ, rwʾ). The dictionary entry in ML (s.v. gšʾ) incorrectly has 3ms imperfect and subjunctive yasgēsa.

72 ML mistakenly lists this verb under the root kʿld rather than kʿlʾd. See further in the comment to text 67:4.
### 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 CǝCōh. 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 CōCǝ-. When the second root consonant is voiceless and non-glottalic (§ 2.1.2; § 7.2.12), the ǝ is not allowed before first- and second-person suffixes (except 1cp), and the long ǝ 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3mp perf.</th>
<th>3fs perf.</th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>1cs perf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ga strong</td>
<td>bǝgūd</td>
<td>bǝgǝdūt</td>
<td>bǝgáwd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga III-w/y</td>
<td>ḳǝnōh</td>
<td>ḳǝnūt</td>
<td>ḳǝnīw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga III-w/y, II-IG</td>
<td>bǝkōh</td>
<td>bǝkūt</td>
<td>bǝkōw</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ga II-w, III-y</td>
<td>hǝwōh</td>
<td>hǝwūt</td>
<td>hǝwīw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When a suffix is added to the 3ms perfect, the final root consonant comes back as y, e.g., tǝwɒh ‘he ate it’ (24:22, from tǝwōh), and kǝnyáy ‘he raised me’ (74:15, from kǝnōh; cf. strong bǝgdāh and bǝgdáy). A y also appears in all forms of the future, e.g., ms kǝryōna (71:3), fs kǝryīta (63:5), and mp kǝryēya (from kǝrōh ‘hide’).

In the Ga-Stem imperfect, the base is CǝyC throughout the singular and plural (except 2fs tǝCǝCi). The subjunctive is very similar to that of strong verbs, except that the vowel ê is lowered to ɛ̄ in the singular and 1cp. As with the 3ms perfect, there is a consistent final -h in the singular and 1cp subjunctive (except 2fs tǝCCi). The final syllable of the 3ms subjunctive pattern yǝCCēh contrasts with that of Gb-Stems (see below) and that of III-‘ verbs (§ 7.2.9), both of which have yǝCCɛ́. In the second and third person plural subjunctive, y appears as the final root consonant, and the preceding vowel is raised to i. 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3mp impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
<th>3mp subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga strong</td>
<td>yabūgǝd</td>
<td>yabǝ́gdǝm</td>
<td>yǝbgēd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-w/y</td>
<td>yǝkǝyn</td>
<td>yǝkǝnyǝm</td>
<td>yǝknēh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-w/y, II-IG</td>
<td>yǝbǝ́yk</td>
<td>yǝbǝ́kyǝm</td>
<td>yǝbkǝh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga II-w, III-y</td>
<td>yǝhǝ́yw</td>
<td>yǝhǝ́wyǝm</td>
<td>yǝhwǝ́h</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 tǝwōh ‘eat’ and tǝwōh ‘come at night’, we find antέhk ‘we may eat you’ (2:3), ttέhǝh ‘she may eat him’ (15:6), yǝtékǝm ‘he may eat you’ (42:19), (t)tέhš ‘she may eat you’ (49:15), and attwéh ‘she may come to me at night’ (75:6). For more on the verb tǝwōh, 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., CiCǝw and CiCǝy). In the 3ms, the word-final sequences -ǝw and -ǝy become -u and -i, respectively (§ 2.2). We only find two such Gb-Stem III-w
verbs in the texts (bīru ‘give birth’\(^{73}\) and ĝīlu ‘be ill’\(^{74}\)) and only one such III-y verb (śīnī ‘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 CāyCi, e.g., bāykī ‘remain’.

Both the śīnī and bāykī types can be considered III-y; they follow the same patterns, except that bāykī has a diphthong where śīnī has ī. The first-person, second-person, and 3mp perfect forms of the śīnī and bāykī types retain the long vowel in the first syllable, but the root consonant y is absent; for example, śīnī has the base śīn- throughout the perfect, rather than **śǝny-, while bāykī has the base bāyk-. Otherwise, the perfects follow the pattern of strong verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3fs perf.</th>
<th>3mp perf.</th>
<th>1cs perf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gb strong</td>
<td>tībǝr</td>
<td>tǝbrot</td>
<td>tǝbram</td>
<td>tǝbrak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb III-w</td>
<td>ĝīlu</td>
<td>ĝǝlwot</td>
<td>ĝǝlwam(^{75})</td>
<td>ĝǝlwak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb III-y</td>
<td>śīnī</td>
<td>śǝnyōt(^{76})</td>
<td>śǝnǝm</td>
<td>śǝnak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb III-y</td>
<td>bāykī</td>
<td>bǝkyōt(^{77})</td>
<td>bǝykǝm</td>
<td>bǝykǝk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘break’

‘become sick’

‘see’

‘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, šnw). 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 śnūt, which may be a variant form made on analogy with the other forms of the perfect. The texts have śǝnyōt (49:19) and the base śǝnyát- before object suffixes (15:13; 54:11). Sima (2009: 240, line 27) has śnūt, following the pattern of Ga-Stem bǝkūt ‘she cried’, but his texts are in Eastern Yemeni Mehri.

\(^{77}\) Likewise, from dāynī ‘become pregnant’, we find 3fs dǝnyōt (9:11). However, from a supposed Gb-Stem ráyši (ML, s.v. rǝy), we find 3fs rǝsăwt (8:2), with the Ga-Stem same pattern CǝCūt, 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 rǝsōh (rd̮ū 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., \( śǝnyīs \) '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ms future</th>
<th>fs future</th>
<th>mp future</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gb strong</strong></td>
<td>( ṯǝbrōna )</td>
<td>( ṯǝbrīta )</td>
<td>( ṯǝbyēra )</td>
<td>'break'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gb III-w</strong></td>
<td>( gǝlwōna )</td>
<td>( gǝlwīta )</td>
<td>( gǝlyēwa )</td>
<td>'become sick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gb III-y</strong></td>
<td>( śǝnyōna )</td>
<td>( śǝnyīta )</td>
<td>( śǝnyēya )</td>
<td>'see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gb III-y</strong></td>
<td>( bǝkyōna )</td>
<td>( bǝkyīta )</td>
<td>( bǝkyēya )</td>
<td>'remain'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-ʿ verbs (§ 7.2.9): 3ms imperfect *\( yǝCōCǝC \) (> \( yǝCōCi \) for III-y, and > \( yǝCōCa \) for III-ʿ) and 3ms \( yǝCCɛ́ʾ \) (< \( yǝCCɛ̄ \)). In the subjunctive, the historical final *-\( ēC \) is realized -\( ɛ́ʾ \), like III-ʿ Ga-Stems, as compared to the Ga-Stem subjunctive of III-w/y verbs, which has -\( ēh \).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3mp impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
<th>3mp subj.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gb strong</strong></td>
<td>( yǝṭbōr )</td>
<td>( yǝṭbīr )</td>
<td>( yǝṭbōr )</td>
<td>( yǝṭbīr )</td>
<td>'break'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gb III-w</strong></td>
<td>( yǝglō(w) )</td>
<td>( yǝglīw )</td>
<td>( yǝglō(w) )</td>
<td>( yǝglīw )</td>
<td>'become sick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gb III-y</strong></td>
<td>( yǝsōni )</td>
<td>( yǝsányǝm)(^{78})</td>
<td>( yǝsńé)</td>
<td>( yǝsńɛ́m)(^{79})</td>
<td>'see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gb III-y, II-Glott.</strong></td>
<td>( yǝbōki )</td>
<td>( yǝbákyǝm )</td>
<td>( yǝbkâ )</td>
<td>( yǝbkām )</td>
<td>'remain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>G III-ʿ</strong></td>
<td>( yǝnōka )</td>
<td>( yǝnákm )</td>
<td>( yǝnkɛ́ )</td>
<td>( yǝnkɛ̄m )</td>
<td>'come'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{78}\) One also hears \( yǝsɛ́nỳǝm \), which is only a phonetic variant.

\(^{79}\) There is no evidence at all for the form \( yǝsnēhǝm \) 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., \( yǝśɛ́nyǝk \) ‘he sees you’ (91:15) and \( ǝśɛ́nihǝm \) ‘I see them’ (40:24, \(< ǝsöny-ḥǝm \)). When a suffix is added to the singular subjunctive, the final \( ʾ \) is lost, e.g., \( nǝśnɛ̄s \) ‘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. \( rš́y \)), the imperfect of \( ráyši \) ‘accept’ (a Gb-type perfect) is \( yarányš \) (a Ga-type imperfect).\(^{80}\) We also see mixing between III-ʾ 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 \( ǝy \) is realized \( i \).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3mp perf.</th>
<th>1cs perf.</th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>D/L strong</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>arōkǝb</strong></td>
<td><strong>arákboh</strong></td>
<td><strong>arákboh</strong></td>
<td><strong>yarákboh</strong></td>
<td><strong>yarōkǝb</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘put on fire’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3fs perf.</th>
<th>3mp perf.</th>
<th>1cs perf.</th>
<th>1cp perf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>H strong</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hǝrkūb</strong></td>
<td><strong>hǝrkǝbūt</strong></td>
<td><strong>hǝrkib</strong></td>
<td><strong>hǝrkibk</strong></td>
<td><strong>hǝrkoban</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘mount’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3fs perf.</th>
<th>3mp perf.</th>
<th>1cs perf.</th>
<th>1cp perf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>H III-w/y</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>habkōh</strong></td>
<td><strong>habkut</strong></td>
<td><strong>habkōw</strong></td>
<td><strong>habkayk</strong></td>
<td><strong>habkōran</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘make cry’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{80}\) In the texts, only forms of the perfect are attested: 1cp \( rāyšan \) (77:9), with a Gb-Stem pattern, and \( rǝsawt \) (8:3), with a Ga-Stem pattern (see also n. 77, above).

\(^{81}\) On such 1cp forms, see Bendjaballah and Ségéral (2017b: 177–179).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>H III-w/y, II-Gutt.</th>
<th>hǝrxōh</th>
<th>hǝrxáwt</th>
<th>hǝrxáyw</th>
<th>hǝrxáyk</th>
<th>hǝrxáyan</th>
<th>‘let go’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Št strong</td>
<td>šǝndūr</td>
<td>šǝndǝrūt</td>
<td>šǝndūr</td>
<td>šǝndǝrk</td>
<td>šǝndǝ́rǝn</td>
<td>‘vow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Št III-w/y</td>
<td>šǝbdōh</td>
<td>šǝbdūt</td>
<td>šǝbdǝ́w</td>
<td>šǝbdǝ́yk</td>
<td>šǝbdǝ́yǝn</td>
<td>‘not believe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Št III-w/y, III-Glott.</td>
<td>šǝsōh</td>
<td>šǝsǝ́w</td>
<td>šǝsǝ́yw</td>
<td>šǝsǝ́yk</td>
<td>šǝsǝ́yǝn</td>
<td>‘worry’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The imperfect of III-w/y verbs in the H- and Št-Stems is also similar to the Ga-Stem of these roots. In the subjunctive, however, the situation is more complex. The H- and Št-Stems show two different subjunctive patterns, 3ms yǝhǝ́CC/yǝšǝ́CC (variants yǝháCC/yǝsháCC) and yǝhīCaC/yǝshīCaC. The pattern yǝhǝ́CC/yǝshǝ́CC occurs mainly with verbs whose second root consonant is voiceless and non-glottalic, while yǝhīCaC/yǝshīCaC occurs almost exclusively with verbs whose second root consonant is voiced or glottalic. The forms yǝhǝ́CC/yǝshǝ́CC can be derived from yǝhīCaC/yǝshīCaC by vowel reduction, but this is expected only where the first and second root consonants are voiceless and non-glottalic (e.g., yǝhǝ́ft < *yǝhīft < *yǝhīfǝt). Such a reduction is also reasonable to suggest for verbs whose initial root consonant is sonorant (e.g., yǝhǝ́nḥ < *yǝhīnḥ < *yǝhīnǝ́nḥ). 3ms subjunctive yǝhǝ́wǝf and yǝshǝ́wǝf (confirmed by several forms in the texts) can be derived from *yǝhīwǝf and *yešīwǝf, since there is a tendency for á > ǝ́ before w (i.e., *yǝhīwǝf > *yǝhǝ́wǝf > yǝhǝ́wǝf).82 But several cases of yǝhǝ́CC/yǝshǝ́CC listed in ML cannot be explained this way.83

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82 Cf. 3fp tháwlǝn (63:3) ← 3ms yǝhǝ́wǝl (9:2; 9:8; root wly), with i reduced to á, rather than á, before w. Occasionally we see the same shift with unstressed á, e.g., mawsǝ́yf ‘famous’ (76:3, from the pattern *mǝCCǝ́C). Also, it is because hǝwǝf is a reduced form of hīwǝf that we do not see any reduction in a form like hǝwǝf ‘pay me’ (39:5); it comes from *hīwǝ́f, not *hawfǝ́y.

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 yǝhVCC/yǝshVCC, the texts have the expected á for some of these. For example, ML (s.v. ǝ́nḥ) has 3ms yǝhǝ́nḥ (actually yǝnǝ́nḥ), but we find mp imperative hǝ́nḥǝ́m in text 20:61.
As expected, the imperative and future forms mirror the two different subjunctive types. So we find, for example, ms *mahšan ‘will show’ (65:8, from *(š)šǝnōh) and ms *maškas ‘will accept compensation’ (65:14, from šǝḳṣ́ōh), but ms *mahǝwf ‘will pay’ (39:4, from hǝwfōh).

In the T1-Stem, the final root consonant is always *y. The perfect is more or less regular, though the final unstressed sequence ay is realized i, as elsewhere.

The T1 imperfect has a base *yaCtuCaC (> yaCtuCi), like III-Guttural verbs, and the subjunctive, though it looks different, may also have the same historical pattern as III-Guttural verbs.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Tenses and Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3ms impf.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T1 strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T1 III-w/y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T1 III-Gutt.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The few attested III-w/y T2-Stems have forms whose patterns align with III-Guttural verbs, with the final unstressed sequence ay realized i, as elsewhere.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Tenses and Forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3ms perf.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2 strong</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2 III-w/y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2 III-Gutt.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One exception is the verb kǝthō ‘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.85

The verb (t)tǝkk ‘drink’ is historically a T2-Stem of the root hky, 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 amtwyūt from amtı́nı́).86 Following are some of its forms:

---

84 This form, listed in ML (p. liii), needs confirmation. We might expect yǝġtǝ́ryam, like Ga-Stem 3ms imperfect yǝbı́yk ~ 3mp yǝbı́Kyam (from bǝkə́h ‘cry’), though yǝġtǝ́ryam matches the III-Guttural pattern. No T1-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 T2-Stem with a 3fs perfect in -ēt, at least according to ML (s.v. khl), namely, kǝthǝ́lēt ‘she applied kohl (to the eyes)’; but this is suspect and needs confirmation.
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. Following are some sample forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3fs perf.</th>
<th>3mp perf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
<th>cp future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(t)takk</td>
<td>(t)takyēt</td>
<td>(t)takkam</td>
<td>yāttakkən</td>
<td>yāttakk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3fs perf.</th>
<th>3mp perf.</th>
<th>1cs perf.</th>
<th>1cp perf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga strong</td>
<td>bagūd</td>
<td>bagēdūt</td>
<td>bagawd</td>
<td>bagdak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-w/y</td>
<td>kānōh</td>
<td>kanūt</td>
<td>kāniw</td>
<td>kōnak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-w/y, II-IG</td>
<td>bākōh</td>
<td>bākūt</td>
<td>bākiw</td>
<td>bakk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga II-‘, III-w/y</td>
<td>rōh</td>
<td>rawt</td>
<td>rayw</td>
<td>rayk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3mp impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
<th>ms future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga strong</td>
<td>yabūgad</td>
<td>yābāgdam</td>
<td>yābgēd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-w/y</td>
<td>yēkāyn</td>
<td>yēkānyəm</td>
<td>yēknēh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-w/y, II-IG</td>
<td>yēbāyk</td>
<td>yēbākyəm</td>
<td>yēbkēh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga II-‘, III-w/y</td>
<td>yarē’</td>
<td>yārā’yəm</td>
<td>yārēh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

87 From the root nʿw, we expect nōh ‘mourn’. ML has naywū, which is certainly an error. See also the comment to text 75:22.

88 The long ą comes from *ə’, i.e., rāyən < *ra’yən. If the underlying form were *rāyən (from a base ray-), then we might expect a surface form rāyən (see § 2.2). Although cf. H-Stem forms like haxrāyən, 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 (‘, ʾ, g, h, ḥ, x), with one known exception, nor is it ever a glide (w or y). 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 (yāṣṣ ‘be afraid’ and tǝmm ‘be finished’). Both Ga- and Gb-type geminates have the pattern CǝCC 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 -ǝm, 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., śallōt ‘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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3mp perf.</th>
<th>1cs perf.</th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3mp impf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga strong</td>
<td>bǝgūd</td>
<td>bǝgáwd</td>
<td>bǝ́gdǝk</td>
<td>yabūgǝd</td>
<td>yabágdǝm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga gem.</td>
<td>rǝdd</td>
<td>ráddǝm</td>
<td>ráddǝk</td>
<td>yǝrdūd</td>
<td>yǝrdáwd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga II-y</td>
<td>sǝyūr</td>
<td>sǝyáwr</td>
<td>sǝyǝ́rk</td>
<td>yǝsyūr</td>
<td>yǝsyáwr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

89 This is the onomatopoetic bǝxx ‘hiss’, used when referring to a snake or lizard (ML, s.v. bǝxx).
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 Ġ (kǝdād ‘squeeze against; drag out’), and only one has a geminate ŝ (ġašš ‘gulp [milk]’). There are also no geminate roots with initial š or ŝ.
91 ML and HL (s.v. tmm) list Ga-type imperfects and subjunctives for tǝmm, but the texts consistently have -ōt for the 3fs perfect, suggesting a Gb-Stem. Cf. tǝmmōt ‘it ran out’ vs. tǝmmūt ‘it irrigated’ in text 30:14. The one imperfect in the text (yǝtmōm 98:8) was transcribed with ō by Johnstone, but unfortunately there is no audio for confirmation. The verb tǝmm is also attested with a Gb-type imperfect and subjunctive in Yemeni Mehri (Jahn 1902: 230) and in Hobyot (HV, p. 169).
As noted above, the Gb-Stem perfect of geminate verbs differs from that of the Ga-Stem only in the 3fs.\textsuperscript{92} The imperfect and subjunctive forms, however, follow the patterns of strong Gb-Stems.

In the D/L-Stem, geminate verbs have the base \(\text{(a)C}C\text{C}\text{I}C\), 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:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|l|l|}
\hline
& 3ms subj. & 3mp subj. & ms fut. & mp fut. \\
\hline
Ga strong & \(\text{yǝbgēd}\) & \(\text{yǝbgēdǝm}\) & \(\text{bǝgdōna}\) & \(\text{bǝgyēda}\) \\
Ga gem. & \(\text{yǝrdēd}\) & \(\text{yǝrdēdǝm}\) & \(\text{rǝddōna}\) & \(\text{rǝdyēda}\) \\
Ga II-y & \(\text{yǝsyēr}\) & \(\text{yǝsyērǝm}\) & \(\text{sirōna}\) & \(\text{sīyēra}\) \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|l|}
\hline
& 3ms perf. & 3mp perf. & 3ms impf./ subj. & 3mp impf./ subj. \\
\hline
Gb strong & \(\text{ṯībǝr}\) & \(\text{ṭābrǝm}\) & \(\text{yatbōr}\) & \(\text{yatbūr}\) \\
Gb gem. & \(\text{tǝmm}\) & \(\text{tǝmmǝm}\) & \(\text{yatmōm}\) & \(\text{yatmīm}\) \\
Gb gem., I-y & \(\text{yah}s\) & \(\text{yah}sǝm}\) & \(\text{yāsōs}\) & \(\text{yāsāys}\)\textsuperscript{93} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{92} For the 3fs perfect of \(\text{yǝss}\) ‘be afraid’, Sabrina Bendjaballah and her colleagues recently recorded \(\text{yǝssǝwt}\ (< \text{yǝssūt})\), pronounced very clearly on their audio recording, but as a Gb-Stem we expect \(\text{yǝssōt}\), as recorded in Watson (2012: 220). This may simply be an analogical form. The 3fs perfect is not attested in Johnstone’s texts, unfortunately.

\textsuperscript{93} Once in the texts we find 3mp imperfect \(\text{yāsaws}\), following the Ga-Stem pattern. See also the previous note and the comment to text 16:2.
In the H- and Š1-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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3mp perf.</th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3mp impf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H strong</td>
<td>hǝrküb</td>
<td>hǝrkib</td>
<td>yǝhǝrküb</td>
<td>yǝhǝrkib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H gem.</td>
<td>hǝglūl</td>
<td>hǝglīl</td>
<td>yǝhǝglūl</td>
<td>yǝhǝglīl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 strong</td>
<td>šǝndūr</td>
<td>šǝndīr</td>
<td>yǝšǝndūr</td>
<td>yǝšǝndīr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 gem.</td>
<td>šǝrdūd</td>
<td>šǝrdīd</td>
<td>yǝšǝrdūd</td>
<td>yǝšǝrdīd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But in the perfect, H- and Š1-Stem geminates are subject to the change C₂ǝC₂V > aC₂C₂V (§ 2.1.8). So in the 3fs perfect, we find forms like hǝglǝlūt ‘she boiled’ < *hǝglǝlūt (94:41; cf. strong hǝrkǝbūt), but in the 2ms perfect, there is no change, as in (t)tǝmǝ́mk ‘I finished’ (e.g., 18:10), since this form does not contain the sequence C₂ǝC₂V. Likewise, when suffixes are added to the 3ms/3fp perfect, we get forms like hǝdǝllīn ‘he guided us’ (60:8, < *hǝdlǝlīn) and šmǝddīh ‘he took it from him’ (73:6, < *šǝmdǝdīh).

In the dual forms of the H- and Š1-Stem imperfect, and in all forms of the H- and Š1-Stem subjunctive, imperative, and future, the sequence C₁C₂ǝC₂, becomes C₁C₁ǝC₂, turning the initial root consonant into the geminate element. Compare the forms in the previous table to the ones below:
In the T₁-Stem, we also find the shift of $C₁C₂$ to $C₁C₁$, e.g., 3ms perfect káttal ‘it spilled’ < *káttal (37:24). The imperfect of T₁-Stem geminates seems to behave as with strong verbs. The same is true for the subjunctive, though with some sound changes, e.g., yaktáll < *yaktīll < *yaktīlal (cf. strong yagtībar). 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 T₂-Stem perfect and subjunctive (§6.5.3), e.g., yarasáwṣ (< *yarasṣūṣ < *yaratṣūṣ or *yarsasūṣ < *yartasūṣ).
There are only a few T2-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 i (3mp), and the 3mp has the suffix -am in place of ablaut.94 Examples are 2ms subjunctive aštaláwl ‘he wandered aimlessly’ (cf. strong axtalíf) and 3mp waddáwdám ‘they divided up tasks’ (37:25; cf. strong axtalíf).95 In the imperfect, ML tells us that all geminate T2-Stems (the few that there are) have aw in place of expected ū, e.g., 3ms yǝstaláwlan (cf. strong yǝxtǝlifǝn), but more data are needed to confirm this. The subjunctive has aw in place of ŏ, e.g., 2ms taštaláwl (90:7; cf. strong tǝxtǝlǝf). No Š2-Stem geminate verbs are attested in the texts; just one is listed in ML (s.v. wdd: šǝwēdǝd ‘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 CǝCūC (e.g., bǝgūd ‘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 a 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 yaCǝCC (< *yǝCūCC). 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 a between the two idle glottis consonants. The missing vowel creates a closed syllable that leads to the regular vowel reduction ū > ŏ. 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 aftarü in one place (p. lv), and aftarár in another (s.v. frr).
95 On § in the form aštaláwl, see the comment to text 90:7 (taštaláwl). The geminate d of woddáwdám has nothing to do with the fact that it is a geminate verb, but rather is the result of an assimilation of the infixed t. See further in § 6.5.3.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3fs perf.</th>
<th>1cs perf.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga strong</td>
<td>bagūd</td>
<td>bagǝdūt</td>
<td>bagǝ́dk</td>
<td>‘chase’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga I/II-IG</td>
<td>ktüb</td>
<td>ktǝbūt</td>
<td>ktǝbk</td>
<td>‘write’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga II/III-IG</td>
<td>rafūs⁹⁶</td>
<td>r afsüt</td>
<td>r afsk</td>
<td>‘kick’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga I/II/III-IG</td>
<td>ftük</td>
<td>ft(ǝ)küt</td>
<td>ftǝkk</td>
<td>‘leave’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3mp impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
<th>ms fut.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga strong</td>
<td>yabūgǝd</td>
<td>yabǝgdam</td>
<td>yǝbgǝd</td>
<td>bagdōna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga I/II-IG</td>
<td>yakūtǝb</td>
<td>yakǝtham</td>
<td>yaktǝb</td>
<td>ktǝbōna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga II/III-IG</td>
<td>yǝrǝ́fs</td>
<td>yǝrǝ́fǝm</td>
<td>yǝrfǝs</td>
<td>r afsōna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga I/II/III-IG</td>
<td>yǝfǝ́tk</td>
<td>yǝfǝ́tkǝm</td>
<td>yǝftk</td>
<td>ft(ǝ)kōna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 CūCǝC. For II/III-IG verbs, the 3ms perfect is therefore CǝCC (< *CūCC). Some sample Ga-Stem forms of III-Guttural idle glottis forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-Gutt.</td>
<td>sumǝḥ</td>
<td>yǝsumǝḥ</td>
<td>yǝsmǝḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-Gutt., IG</td>
<td>fǝsh</td>
<td>yǝfǝsh</td>
<td>yǝfsǝḥ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

⁹⁶ Because of the initial liquid, one can also hear 3ms arfūs, 3fs arfsüt, and 1cs arfsk.
With III-\(w/y\) verbs, which have the base \(C\ddot{o}C\alpha\) 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 \S\ 7.2.10. The same holds true for the common III-\(^{\prime}\) verb \(k\ddot{u}sa\), which has the base \(k\ddot{u}s\) for the forms of the first and second person perfect. Compare the following additional forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>III-(w/y), II-IG</th>
<th>(\text{3ms perf.})</th>
<th>(\text{1cs perf.})</th>
<th>(\text{2fs perf.})</th>
<th>(\text{1cp perf.})</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(\text{Ga strong})</td>
<td>(\text{bagud})</td>
<td>(\text{bagdak})</td>
<td>(\text{bagdos})</td>
<td>(\text{bagdan})</td>
<td>(\text{chase})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{Ga III-}(w/y))</td>
<td>(\text{kanoh})</td>
<td>(\text{konak})</td>
<td>(\text{konas})</td>
<td>(\text{kolan})</td>
<td>(\text{raise})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{Ga III-}(w/y), II-IG)</td>
<td>(\text{bakoh})</td>
<td>(\text{bakk})</td>
<td>(\text{baks})</td>
<td>(\text{boken})</td>
<td>(\text{cry})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{Ga III-}(w/y), I/II-IG)</td>
<td>(\text{fsoh})</td>
<td>(\text{fask})</td>
<td>(\text{fass})</td>
<td>(\text{fosan})</td>
<td>(\text{lunch})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(\text{Ga III-}^{\prime}, I/II-IG)</td>
<td>(\text{kusa})</td>
<td>(\text{kask})</td>
<td>(\text{kass})</td>
<td>(\text{kusan})</td>
<td>(\text{find})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the Gb-Stem, II/III-IG verbs show the expected vowel reduction in the perfect (\(C\ddot{i}C\alpha\ddot{C} > ^{*}C\ddot{i}CC > C\alpha CC\)), though such verbs are rare.

---

\(^{97}\) According to \textit{ML} (\(f\ddot{t}h\)), \(G f\ddot{u}ta\ddot{h}\) also occurs, but this needs confirmation. The form \(yaf\ddot{t}a\ddot{h}\), given in \textit{ML} for the 3ms imperfect, is a typographical error.
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 *CōCaC > *CōCC > CaCC. The imperfect forms are not affected.

Idle glottis (both I/II and II/III) forms can be found in other stems. For example, the 3ms subjunctive of the Š1-Stem I-w idle glottis verb šawkūf ‘sleep’ has the shape yǝšǝ́kf. This derives from *yǝšáwkf < *yǝšáwkǝf, with the loss of schwa and then the reduction of the diphthong aw to a. III-Guttural, idle glottis H- and Š1-Stems also show reduction *CūCaC > *CūCC > CaCC in the imperfect. In the T2-Stem of III-Guttural verbs, we see vowel reduction in both the perfect and subjunctive (*CōCaC > CáCC). Compare:
verbs: tenses and forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>1cs perf.</th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H III-Gutt.</td>
<td>handex</td>
<td>yəḥənudax or yəḥendux</td>
<td>yəḥandax</td>
<td>‘fumigate’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H III-Gutt., II/III-IG</td>
<td>hanfex</td>
<td>yəḥənafx or yəḥənfux</td>
<td>yəḥənfax</td>
<td>‘inflate’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 III-Gutt.</td>
<td>šədləx</td>
<td>yəšdələx</td>
<td>yəšədləx</td>
<td>‘be despoiled’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 III-Gutt., I/II-IG</td>
<td>š(ə)fēh</td>
<td>yəʃfəh</td>
<td>yəʃəftəh</td>
<td>‘be mated’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 I-w</td>
<td>šəwqǔś</td>
<td>yəš(əw)qǔś</td>
<td>yəšəwqǔś</td>
<td>‘go in evening’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 I-w, II/III-IG</td>
<td>šəwkuf</td>
<td>yəš(əw)kuf</td>
<td>yəšək</td>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T1 I-w</td>
<td>wətkad</td>
<td>yətkəwəd</td>
<td>yətikəd</td>
<td>‘wake up’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T1 I-w, II/III-IG</td>
<td>wətx(ə)f</td>
<td>yətxəfw</td>
<td>yətxəf</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2 III-Gutt.</td>
<td>aftərəḥ</td>
<td>yəftərəhan</td>
<td>yəftərəḥ</td>
<td>‘be excited’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2 III-Gutt., II/III-IG</td>
<td>aftəsh</td>
<td>yəftəshən</td>
<td>yəftəsh</td>
<td>‘wander’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>1cs perf.</th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I-‘, geminate</td>
<td>Ga</td>
<td>‘əss</td>
<td>‘əssək</td>
<td>yəśūś</td>
<td>yəśēś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-‘, II/III-IG</td>
<td>Ga</td>
<td>ākūs</td>
<td>ākāsk</td>
<td>yə’aks</td>
<td>yəkēs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. xlvii and s.v. *wk*) incorrectly has *yǝhǝwḳā*. 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 ‘ǝśś behaves like other geminate verbs, except that the sequence \#Ca’- becomes \#Ca- in the 3ms imperfect (and elsewhere), as we expect with an I- 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., harxáwt ‘she released’ (< *harxūt, 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 (alhe) and III-w/y type (lahoh) in the G-Stem.\(^{100}\)

Sometimes, however, combinations of weak consonants result in unexpected conjugations. For example, the H-Stem 3ms imperfects yǝhōkə (root wḳʿ) and yǝhōrə (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.\(^{101}\) 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., kǝrōh ‘hide’, 1cs kōrak), 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 tǝwōh ‘eat’ is anomalous in the subjunctive, in that other verbs of the same type do not lose the consonant w.\(^{102}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>1cs perf.</th>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3mp impf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga II-w, III-y</td>
<td>háwōh</td>
<td>hōwak</td>
<td>yaháyw</td>
<td>yaháwyam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga II-w, III-y</td>
<td>tǝwōh</td>
<td>tōwak</td>
<td>yátáyw</td>
<td>yátáwyam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{100}\) 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 sōda, 1cs sādak), 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 Soqotri cognates of tawōh 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).
Also anomalous are the verbs (f)fuḵ ‘give in marriage’ and šfuḵ ‘get married’ (the latter used with a female subject only), which are, respectively, the H- and Š1-Stems of the root hfḳ. In the H-Stem, the root consonant h shows irregular assimilation, e.g., 3ms (f)fuḵ < *hhfűk.103 The Š1-Stem perfect may be derived directly from the H-Stem by analogy (i.e., H (f)fuḵ → Š1 šfuḵ, like H (h)ḥawūb ‘warm by the fire (trans.)’ → Š1 šḥawūb ‘warm oneself by the fire’), rather than by sound change due to assimilation of h (*šḥuḵ > *šfuḵ > šfuḵ).

Following are some sample forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
<th>3mp subj.</th>
<th>ms fut.</th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3fp perf.</th>
<th>3fs perf.</th>
<th>3mp perf.</th>
<th>1cs perf.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga II-w, III-y</td>
<td>yahwēh</td>
<td>yahwīyam</td>
<td>hawōna</td>
<td>(f)fērūḵ</td>
<td>(f)fērkāwťt</td>
<td>(f)fērīḵ</td>
<td>(f)fērēḵ(ə)k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga II-w, III-y</td>
<td>yētēh</td>
<td>yētiyam</td>
<td>tawōna</td>
<td>(f)fūk</td>
<td>(f)fēkāwťt</td>
<td>(f)fīk</td>
<td>(f)fēk(ə)k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 strong</td>
<td>šēndūr</td>
<td>šēndērūt</td>
<td>šēndūr</td>
<td>šēndārk</td>
<td>šēndārk</td>
<td>šēndārk</td>
<td>šēndārk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 hfḳ104</td>
<td>šfuḵ</td>
<td>šēkāwťt</td>
<td>*šfuḵ</td>
<td>šēkāk</td>
<td>šēkāk</td>
<td>šēkāk</td>
<td>šēkāk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

103 See further in the study of Bendjaballah and Ségéral (2017a).
104 As noted above, the verb šfuḵ 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 tašfuḵ can be inferred from 3ms yasfuḵ). The 3ms form šfuḵ is not hypothetical, since the 3ms perfect is always identical to the 3fp, but the other masculine forms are not used (hence the asterisks).
verbs: tenses and forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms impf.</th>
<th>3mp impf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
<th>ms fut.</th>
<th>fs fut.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H strong</td>
<td>yǝffǝrǝk</td>
<td>yǝffǝrik</td>
<td>yǝháfrǝk</td>
<td>mǝháfrǝk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H hǝk</td>
<td>yǝffǝk</td>
<td>yǝffǝk</td>
<td>yǝháffǝk</td>
<td>mǝháffǝk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 strong</td>
<td>yǝšǝndǝr</td>
<td>yǝšǝndǝr</td>
<td>yǝšándǝr</td>
<td>mǝšándǝr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 hǝk</td>
<td>*yǝšǝfǝk</td>
<td>*yǝšǝfǝk</td>
<td>*yǝšáffǝk</td>
<td>*mǝšáffǝk</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same assimilation of h is seen in the T2-Stems (t)tǝḳḳ ‘drink’ (root hky; discussed in § 7.2.10) and attómǝ ‘listen’ (root hm’), both of which are well attested in the texts, as well the H-Stem (f)ǝḥ ‘save; put aside (food) as distasteful’ and Š1-Stem šfǝḥ ‘eat food put aside’, neither of which occurs in the texts. 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 š́bṭ has a 3ms perfect š́āt ‘he took’, and 3ms imperfect subjunctive yǝṣ́ōt, 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 š́āt simply behaves as if the root were š́t (that is, like a II-’ verb), and the fact that its root is š́bṭ is just a historical curiosity.

Another example is the verb šıtǝm ‘buy’. As already noted above (§ 6.5.2 and § 7.2.6), this verb is historically a T1-Stem of the root š́m (cf. G šōm ‘sell’), but it conjugates as if it were a regular Gb-Stem from the root š́m (cf. the ms future š́mōna). Like š́t, šıtǝm is anomalous only if we consider its historical root.

On the verb (š)šawκ ‘light (on fire), burn (trans.)’; see § 6.3.1, n. 35, and on the seemingly anomalous Š1 šǝwɟawr ‘raid’, H hǝwšǝwb ‘hit (with a bullet)’, and Š1 šǝwšǝwb ‘be wounded, be hit (with a bullet)’, see § 7.2.7. The verb yǝkūn (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. šfḥ/fḥ).
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. The verb only conjugates like an imperfect, but can have both past-tense and present-tense meanings. 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. Its forms are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>ḥōm</td>
<td>ḥǝmōh</td>
<td>nǝḥōm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>tḥōm</td>
<td>tḥǝmōh</td>
<td>tḥaym</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>tḥáymi</td>
<td>tḥǝmōh</td>
<td>tḥōmǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>yǝḥōm</td>
<td>yǝḥǝmōh</td>
<td>yǝḥáym</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>tḥōm</td>
<td>tḥǝmōh</td>
<td>tḥōmǝn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

---

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 ǝḥōm, but this is likely just a phonetic variant. In the Arabic-letter manuscripts of these two texts, Ali did not indicate the initial ǝ-, as he normally would have for an initial phonemic ǝ.
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:

**tḥaym attēṭ tārdēd** ‘do you want the woman to come back?’ (4:8)  
**ḥōm ḥôm aḡāyti (t)šalēli** ‘I wanted my sister to carry me’ (89:14)  
**nahāmham yāšēšam** ‘we want them to wake up’ (4:15)  
**ḥamk tšnē’ attēṭi** ‘I want you to see my wife’ (22:41)  
**thāymaṭn al-hô naḥāxlaf** ‘where do you want us to move to?’ (29:8)  
**ḥayhəm yəḥāmham yāḵām asdəkā’** ‘their father wanted them to be friends’ (50:1)  
**nahāmkəm tafsāləm am-mənwən** ‘we want you to mediate between us’ (77:9)  
**hészən 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 thámǝn, naślēl ‘if you want us to (move), we’ll move’ (30:3)
hām ar thámki, l-āmǝrōh ‘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 tśōm līn askáyn dōmǝh ... hōm lā ‘do you want to sell us this knife?
... I don’t want to’ (4:10)
tháymi hōh ǝl-ṭāf? wa-ya-hōl, nəhōm ‘do you want me to scout? Indeed, we do’ (29:13–14)
hām ar f_fkāwk, hōh hōm ‘if he really lets you marry (me), I am willing’ (38:19)
hām ǝl tháymi lā, sīrīta tawōli akəssāb ‘if you don’t want to [or: you won’t], I’ll go to the butcher’ (49:3)
ämūrǝn h-anōxǝdē, “śōm līn kawt!”ämūr, “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 šert dōmǝh ‘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 nəháxlǝf makōn ‘let’s move away [lit. change place]’ (10:12)

nəhōm nəkfēl adakkōn wə-nsyēr abāyt ‘we should close the store and go home’ (22:7)

nəhōm nərṣān tātīdāyyǝn ‘let’s tie each other up’ (24:25)

nəhōm nəghōm ‘let’s go’ (94:2)

nəhōm nədfēn amalāwtaŋ ‘let’s bury the dead’ (64:26)

nəhōm nəktīlǝt ‘let’s chat’ (74:14)

Only a few dual cohortatives are attested in the texts:
verbs: tenses and forms

ḥǝmōh al-sīrōh arḥabēt al-falānōyya ‘let’s go to such and such town’ (66:2)
ḥǝmōh al-sīrōh bā-l-xafē ‘let’s go in disguise’ (66:3)
ḥǝmōh l-ǝffawtāh te ḏār akōn ḏēk w-ǝl-šḥagyāh halákǝmǝh ‘let’s run away up onto that peak and make a stand there’ (83:2)

A handful of 1cs cohortatives are also attested:

ḥōm al-šăwgǝś ‘I should leave’ (38:18)
dōmǝh aģīgēn wǝkōna axāyr mǝnāy mǝt ākâwr, w-ḥōm l-ǝwtāgǝh ‘this boy will be better than me when he grows up, so I should kill him’ (76:12)
ḥōm al-syēr ḏār ḥǝmōh ‘I should go to the water’ (94:19)
ḥōm, mǝt ḥābū šǝwgīś, l-ǝnkēś ǝl-āgáwz ḏǝ-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.110

In a few cases, a 1cp cohortative is followed by a third-person verb. Two examples are:

ǝnḥōm ṭāṭ yāḳāʾ ḥáywǝl, w-ṯrōh yǝmnɛ̄m tǝh ‘let’s one of us be crazy, and two should hold him back’ (91:6)
nǝḥōm aģāk yǝhɛ̄rǝs bīs ‘we should have your brother marry her’ (97:44)

And in one case, a dependent verb is merely implied:

nǝḥōm ǝwṭōmǝh ‘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 sǝyūr ‘go’, gǝhēm ‘go’, or (s)sōfǝr ‘travel’). Sometimes it is followed by a preposition (ḥ- or tǝwōli), 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: thāmī, hām kǝsk sɛ́kǝnǝk, l-āmēr hīhǝm hībōh ‘if I find your community, what do you want me to say to them?’
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:

- ḡayg gahem, yahom yakfēd arḥabēt ‘a man set out, intending to go down to town’ (98:1)
- sīrūt ṭebrāyn, thōm tamsēh ‘the hyena went off, heading to defecate’ (99:12)
- ḡayg sōfē bark mērkēb, yahom yabtōśa man raḥbēt 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:

- haddilī ba-sēkān ḍē-hōm tawēhe ‘they directed me to the settlement that I was heading to’ (38:7)
- hē māhārāy, yahōm h-akā’ ḍē-amḥorēh ‘he was a Mehri, heading to the land of the Mehris’ (59:1)
- sl sāy ḡātām lā yahāy ysl-hō ‘I am not sure where they were headed’ (73:1)
verbs: tenses and forms

\[ \text{tháymi al-hō ... hōm tawōli ağákte} \] ‘where are you headed? ... I am headed to your sisters’ (85:3)

7.3.3 **Proximative and Avertative ḥōm**

Another use of ḥōm 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’. This use is found about ten times in the texts. Some of these attestations are:

- \[ bérí ḥōm l-ǝwbáds \] ‘I was about to shoot her’ (or: ‘I nearly shot her’) (54:23)
- \[ bǝrs tḥōm tháhḳǝṭ \] ‘(the camel) is about to give birth’ (63:15)
- \[ báraham yaháym yašákfam \] ‘they were about to go to sleep’ (75:17)
- \[ bárah yahōm yǝmēt \] ‘he was about to die’ (or: ‘he was nearly dead’) (75:18)
- \[ kǝsk aġáyg ðɛh bǝ́rǝh yǝḥōm yəhwɛ́h \] ‘I found this man about to fall’ (77:6)
- \[ bǝ́rǝh yǝḥōm yǝsyēr \] ‘he is about to go’ (91:26)

7.3.4 **Future ḥōm**

In Yemeni Mehri dialects, the verb ḥōm can indicate a future, as it can also in Ḥarsusi. There are a small number of places in the texts where we might consider ḥōm 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 ḥōm could be interpreted either as ‘want’ or a future is:

- \[ bǝ-kǝ́m tḥōm (t)šōm lay amǝndáwḳǝk \] ‘how much do you want to [or: will you] sell me your rifle for?’ (39:1)

For examples of ḥōm used to indicate the future in Yemeni Mehri, see Lonnet (1994b: 231) and Simeone-Senelle (1993: 262–263).

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111 The verb āzūm ‘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:

- **b-** ‘in, at; with; for; on’
- **bād** ‘after’
- **bork** ‘in(to), inside; among’
- **ḍār** ‘on; about’
- **fǎnōhan** ‘before; in front of; ago’
- **ġayr** ‘except’
- **h-** ‘to; for’
- **hāl** ‘at, by, beside’
- (ǝl-)**hīs** ‘like, as’
- **k-** ‘with’
- **l-** ‘to; for’
- **mǝn** ‘from’
- **ǝm-mǝ́n** ‘between’
- **mǝn ḡār** ‘after’
- **mǝn ḡayr** ‘without’
- **mǝn ḵadē** ‘about’
- **naxāli** ‘under’
- **sabēb** ‘because of’
- **sār** ‘behind’
- **te** ‘until, up to’
- **tǝwōli** ‘to, towards’

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:

- **ar** ‘except, but’
- **xā** ‘like, as ... as’

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 ǝ. 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 **lǝ-** is often realized **ǝl-**. A few examples are:

- **b-anēḥǝr** ‘in the wadi’ (28:5)
- **b-aḥram** ‘on the road’ (3:1)
- **h-arḥabēt** ‘to the town’ (22:37)
- **h-landen** ‘to London’ (18:1)
- **h-sawk** ‘to the market’ (22:2)
- **k-bā nǝwās** ‘with Ba Newas’ (65:9)
- **k-ḥabēr** ‘with the camels’ (42:1)
- **l-arḥabēt** ‘to the town’ (65:5)
- **al-šekanah** ‘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 (ǝl-)hīs and te. 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:

- ǝl šay hıkǝm mǝʃhǝtǝwǝt là ar tǝtɬ ‘I have no slaughter-animal for you except my wife’ (4:4)
- l-ād ǝʃhǝd yâtxâydan bihǝm là, ar hixâr ‘no one believes in them anymore, except old men’ (25:19)
- ǝl xǝluf wǝlɛd là ar ġǝɡǝnǝt ‘he left behind no children except a girl’ (32:10)
- ǝdi al ɔmɬ là ar yəmʃih ‘I have never sung except yesterday’ (52:15)
- hōh al ǝkáwdr l-ǝɡtâyɾ ǝnɡlîziyat là ar xawr ‘I couldn’t speak English except for a little bit’ (62:7)
- ǝl ǝʃhâd yosûkən bəh là ar aʃjəy ‘no one lived in it except spirits’ (76:11)
- ǝl šin dǝɾɛhǝm là ar xawr ‘we didn’t have any money except a little’ (84:1)
- ǝl šis wǝlɛd là ar hɛ ‘she had no children except him’ (36:3)
- ādəh ǝl ǝʃhâd yɔmɔr hâyni həʃáwələh là ar hêt ‘no one ever has told me that I do (it) well except you’ (52:17)

---

1 Compare this sentence with hōh šay bɛ̄r 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 *(ǝl) ... 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, *gayr* 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{šīwōṭ tǝnōfa lā ar hām sē ǝnxāli ḥǝmōh ‘fire is not useful unless [lit. except if] it is under the water’ (36:29)} \\
hōh al ǝnōḥag lā ar bɔ-xláwkyɛ ‘I will not dance without [lit. except with] my (own) clothes’ (37:9) \\
yawǝzəman tısın ayt lā, ar hām wəkōt sənət kamht ‘they don’t give them sardines, except if it is a bad year’ (58:7) \\
ǝs al thámǝh lā, ar əkāwmy līs əbəse ‘she didn’t love him, but her parents forced her’ (75:1) \\
ǝl əρād yəkāwddar yəsərbas lā ar bɔ- mšɛb ‘no one could climb up to it except with ladders’ (88:1) \\
a’išɛ́ryɛ lā, ar əxəmyɛ ‘not my friends, but my enemies’ (94:32)
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
bɔ-wōdī, kūsa hǝbɛr ‘in a valley, he found the camels’ (12:10) \\
yəsəkən bɔ- rḥabɛt ‘he was living in a town’ (20:1) \\
hɛ bɔ-hɔnd ‘he is in India’ (40:6) \\
h-arḥabɛt dɔ-bis tət ‘to the town that the woman was int’ (22:37) \\
wəkōnə bər  biện aʃxəf ‘maybe they have [lit. in them (is)] milk already’ (29:7)
\end{align*}
\]
The instrumental meaning of *b-* is illustrated in the following examples:

- *әwbáds bә-mәndәwk* ‘shoot it with a rifle!’ (6:10)
- *әbәt bәh tәt* ‘he hit the woman with it’ (4:9)
- *lәtәq mәkәn b-ašәkәyәh* ‘he killed many with his sword’ (69:7)
- *wәtәmәh b-әrфәt* ‘he struck him with the palm-leaf’ (93:5)

With verbs of motion, *b-* has a comitative meaning ‘with’. When combined with the verb *nәәkә* ‘come’, the sense is usually ‘bring’; it can also sometimes have this sense with other motion verbs, like *sәyәr* ‘go’. Some examples are:

- *әnkәyһ bә-mәәsәrәwf* ‘he brought him supplies’ (8:7)
- *әwbәyѕi bә-xәlәwәk yәdәn nәkәk тик bihәm* ‘put on new clothes that I brought for you!’ (24:6)
- *nәәkәm ти bә-әyәʃә ‘bring me dinner!’* (99:2)
- *sәyәr b-әбәkәrәt* ‘he went with the cow’ (1:12)
- *mәәhәmәd nәdә bә-әhәrәwn* ‘Muhammad went out with the goats’ (14А:1)
- *sәyәr бис* ‘he went away with her’ (48:16)
- *әnhәm nәssәfәr bәh* ‘we want to travel with him’ (91:8)

The common phrase *nәәkә 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 *nәәkә* 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-, tәwәли, or hәl*, for example:

- *әnkәt hәh bә-әhәmәh* ‘she brought him [or: for him] water’ (48:11)
- *nәәkәm bihәm тәwәләhe ‘they brought them to him’* (48:13)
- *nәәkә бис hәl хәyәbәh wә-әhәmәh* ‘he brought her to his father and mother’ (48:19)

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2 Cf. Arabic *jәәә bә- ‘bring’, from jәәә ‘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 *mǝn*. Some examples are:

*nūka* mans *bǝ-ğīgēn* wǝ-ğəgənōt ‘he had with her a boy and a girl’ (48:1)
*ēnkōt* mōnāh *bǝ-ğīgēn* ‘she bore with him a boy’ (75:25)

The preposition *b-* can also have the meaning ‘for, in exchange for’, as in:

*āmōl* xōtǝm *b-*alf *dīnār* ‘make a ring for a thousand dinars’ (22:47)
*wǝzmōna* tik *gǝnbaayar* *b-*amǝndǝwǝkǝk ‘I will give you a dagger for your rifle’ (34:11)
*ēnhāh* kǝšyeya *tik* *bǝ-hāmēk* ‘we will compensate you for (the loss of) your mother’ (65:14)
*bǝ-kōm* 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 *wōrǝm* ‘road’, *kā* ‘ground’, and *gǝzáyrǝt* ‘island’:

*ɡayg* dǝ-yǝsyūr *b-ḥōrǝm* ‘a man was traveling on the road’ (3:1)
*kǝsk* sǝtṛāyr *b-aḳā* ‘I found a rag on the ground’ (63:9)
*aɡáyg* dǝ-gūdah *bǝ-gǝzáyrǝt* ‘the man who washed up on an island’ (74:3)
*bah* sēf mēkǝn ‘he had a lot of hair’ (lit. ‘on him (was) a lot of hair’) (9:8)
*dōmah* ǝl *bah* fēhǝl 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:

*āygǝb* b- ‘love, be in love with’ (vs. *āygǝb* mǝn ‘be delighted with’)
*āymǝl* b- ‘do to s.o.’ (vs. *āymǝl* ‘do s.t.’)
*āyglǝk* b- ‘run short for/of’
*āylǝk* b- ‘run short for/of’
*āyglǝk* b- ‘run short for/of’
*āylǝk* b- ‘run short for/of’

*āykǝb* b- ‘trust s.o.’
*hāmūn* b- ‘give an order for s.t.’ (vs. *hāmūn* b- ‘give an order for s.t.’ (vs. *hāmūn* l- ‘order s.o.’)
hārūs b- ‘marry’ (vs. hārūs hāl
‘marry into s.o.’s family’)
āšāwb b- ‘tie to s.t.’ (b-: thing tied
to; d.o.: thing tied)
ātāwf b- ‘seize (animals); spook (animals)’
āwūd b- ‘warn s.o.’
āwig 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.’)
ōzar b- ‘annoy s.o.’
bǝdōh b- ‘lie to’ (vs. bǝdōh l- ‘tell a
lie about s.o.’)
bǝhēr b- ‘ask s.o. for help’
abōrǝk b- ‘bless’
hǝbsūr b- ‘look forward to’
sōda b- ‘curse, insult s.o.’
dǝll b- ‘guide, lead s.o.’
hadlūl b- ‘lead, guide’ (b-: to person
or place; d.o.: person led)
šadārbǝš b- ‘call (a camel) by
flapping one’s lips’
čǝbur b- ‘nag; apologize to s.o.’
fal b- ‘hurt s.o.’
aftkūr b- ‘think about’
(f)fǝrē’ b- ‘begin s.t.’
(f)fǝrūd b- ‘frighten (animals)’
(f)fǝrūk b- ‘frighten’
firḥ b- ‘be happy with’
h(ǝ)fsēḥ b- ‘stop doing s.t.’
šǝgǝmlǝt b- ‘take all of s.t.’
ĝǝlūk b- ‘look at’ (vs. ġǝlūk mǝn
‘look for’)
ağwır b- ‘distract, keep s.o.
occupied’
hōma b- ‘hear about’ (vs. hōma
‘hear s.t.’)
(h)ǝwǝh b- ‘drop, make fall’
ḥǝdd b- ‘pull up, pull at’
(h)ḥǝrūk b- ‘burn s.o. or s.t.’
ḥǝddūr b- ‘look out for [= on behalf
of], guard’ (vs. ħǝddūr mǝn ‘take
care not to, guard against’)
ḥǝss b- ‘be conscious of’ (vs. ħǝss
‘feel’)
(h)ḥyil b- ‘trick s.o.’
kǝlūt b- ‘tell s.t.’ (l-: to s.o.)
kátlaṭ b- ‘talk to one another
about’
kǝss b- ‘expose oneself to s.o.’
(k)kawr b- ‘make s.t. roll down
(usually stones)’ (l-: to s.o.)
kǝzz b- ‘shoot s.o. at close range’
aktsălb b- ‘be worried about’
akalad b- ‘roll s.t.’
akšǝr b- ‘hold back in generosity
with s.o.’
lības b- ‘put on’ (vs. lības ‘wear’)
awjāz b- ‘to sneak/slip s.t.’ (d.o.: to
s.o.)
lītaf b- ‘be kind to, look after’
šǝmlück b- ‘be given legal posses-
sion of a woman in marriage’
amārhǝb b- ‘welcome s.o.’
amōsi b- ‘kiss’
handēx b- ‘fumigate; perfume with
incense smoke’
šǝndūr b- ‘vow on’
nufǝq b- ‘throw’
ḥǝnʕex b- ‘breathe on’
šǝnhawr b- ‘lodge a complaint
against’ (ḥal: ‘with’)
ḥǝnhōh b- ‘burn s.o. or s.t.’
nūka b- ‘bring; bear (a child)’ (vs.
nūka ‘come (to); nūka bǝ-kawtēt
‘tell a story’)
rǝdōh b- ‘throw s.t.’ (vs. rǝdōh l-
‘throw at’)

rašáwn b- ‘tie to/with’
artywūg b- ‘plot against’
ṛdyśi b- ‘be agreeable to, agree with s.t.’
śuməḥ b- ‘allow s.t.’ (vs. śuməḥ l- ‘allow s.o., give permission to; forgive’)
šübəh b- ‘suspect s.o.’ (vs. śübəh l- ‘look like’)
šūna b- ‘be unkind to s.o., humiliate s.o.’
(š)śawḳ b- ‘light s.t. on fire, burn s.t.’
āṭiyīs b- ‘terrify s.o.’
wīda b- ‘know about’
wǝfūd b- ‘ask for the hand of s.o. in marriage’ (ḥāl: the person asked)
śawfōh b- ‘be revenged for s.o., avenge s.o.’
axtalūf b- ‘let s.o. down’
xāyli b- ‘be alone with s.o.’
xelūt b- ‘mix s.t. (d.o.) with (b-) s.t. else’ (vs. xalūt l- ‘join up with s.o.’)
(x)xǝṣáwb b- ‘send s.t.’ (l-: to s.o.; vs. xǝṣáwb ‘send s.o.’)
(x)xōṭǝr b- ‘endanger s.o.’
xǝyūn b- ‘betray s.o.’

One occasionally also finds b- with verbs that are not normally followed by this preposition, for example, ḳǝfūd ‘go down’ (with wōdi ‘valley’, e.g., 63:2), šall ‘carry s.t.’ (e.g., 22:85; usually with d.o.), and ḥawsāwf ‘describe s.t.’ (only 96:5; elsewhere d.o.). Also note the verbal idioms ṣāḳ bǝ-śǎwr ‘call (s.o.) in consultation’ (22:92), tūba bǝ-śaff/b-aśfūtǝn ‘follow tracks’ (e.g., 32:8; also with sār), and táwla aṣfōt 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:

b-âbârr ‘outside; ashore’
b-āmk (or b-aâmk) ‘halfway, in the middle’
b-āqerbēt ‘abroad’
b-arâyak (pl. b-arâykam) ‘as you wish’
b-aḥagdēke ‘on your feet’
b-ḥākk ‘justly’
b-ḥallāy ‘at night’
b-ḥanāfk ‘by yourself’
b-ḥarōhk ‘under your protection [lit. your head]’
b-ḥâyjk ‘on the shore’
b-ḥâxas ‘for cheap, cheaply’
b-xōṭar ‘down there, downstairs; below’
b-xây ‘well’
dáwnǝk b- ‘take!’ (see § 12.5.8)
ākâ hal-hālla b- ‘be careful with!’
yâ hāy b- (or yâ hâyyǝ b-) ‘welcome!’ (followed by a noun or pronominal suffix)

Also note the idiomatic expressions ḯay ḥâssi ‘I am conscious’ (40:26) and bük ḡešın ‘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 gēhǝmǝh* ‘the day after tomorrow’. Twice it occurs in the compound preposition *mǝn bād*, in both cases with pronominal suffixes. The concept of ‘after’ is much more often expressed by *mǝn ɗār* (see § 8.5). Following are some of the examples found in the texts:

- *wǝ-bād sǝwānōt, ǝwsūt anhōr kállas* ‘and after a little while, it rained the whole day’ (10:16)
- *hē šǝwɛ̄d sɛ́kǝnǝh yǝnkɛ̄hǝm bād nǝhōri trayt* ‘he had promised his community that he would come back to them after two days’ (32:5)
- *agárðam tät bād tät* ‘they tried, one after the other [lit. one after one]’ (50:3)
- *syēr gēhǝmǝh wǝ-rdēd bād gēhǝmǝh* ‘go tomorrow and return the day after tomorrow’ (56:3)
- *wǝ-bādīs, sóddam* ‘and after this [lit. it], they came to a truce’ (104:31)
- *hām mǝtka, l-ād ǝḥād yaʿyīšǝn tī lā mǝn bādūk* ‘if you die, no one will look after me after you (are gone)’ (36:4)
- *sayūr šǝwkūf, wa-sē šxǝwɔllüt bādēh* ‘he went to bed, and she stayed behind [lit. after him]’ (48:26)
- *w-aḳáyṣ́ǝr, mǝn bādīhǝm, gǝrōh lǝh bǝkōr* ‘and the leopard, after they (had gone), young camels passed by him’ (99:4)
- *hōh sǝddōna bādīkǝn ḥāráwn* ‘I’ll be enough for the goats when you’re gone [lit. after you]’ (99:37)

Note that in the final four examples above, *(mǝn) 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  **bǝrk ‘in(to), inside; among’**

The preposition *bǝrk* is mainly used to indicate location inside or motion into. Examples from the texts are:

- *te kūsa fōḳa bǝrk dǝḥlīl, wǝ-wkūb bǝrk adǝḥlīl* ‘then he found a pool of water in a cave, and he entered the cave’ (3:1)
- *hawqūs bǝrk wōdi nōb* ‘he took (them) into a big valley’ (13:6)
- *ašōyağ bǝrk adǝkkōnǝh* ‘the jeweler was in his shop’ (22:68)
sēn bǝrk aġǝrfēt ɗayk ‘they are in that room’ (22:97)
mōn yǝsūkǝn bǝrk ɗabāt dīmǝh ‘who lives in this house?’ (38:11)
al hōh sīrōna ɗā bǝrk amawsē dīmǝh ‘I won't go in this rain’ (49:5)
wa-wbūd bǝrk ɗamōḥ ‘and he shot into the water’ (95:4)

By extension of its basic meaning ‘inside’, bǝrk can also be used to mean ‘among’, as in:

bǝrk ḥārāwn ‘among the goats’ (3:7)  
bǝrk ɗabēr ‘among the camels’ (28:9)  
šḳǝryōh bǝrk hǝrōm ‘they hid among the trees’ (35:17)  
kǝrbǝlǝ́h ḥǝmbǝráwtǝn bǝrk abḳār ‘the boys crawled among the cows’ (35:18)

We also find in the texts the compound prepositions tɛ bǝrk ‘into’ and mǝn bǝrk ‘from inside’, though the latter is attested just once, and the former just four times. Some examples are:

sǝyǝ́rk tɛ bǝrk rɛ́ḳǝb ‘went up onto a ledge’ (38:6)  
akálad bǝ-ṣāwǝr nōb tɛ bǝrk āmḳ ɗǝ-ḥōrǝm ‘he rolled a big rock into the middle of the road’ (67:4)  
náṭṭǝbǝm ɗāṣ́āwṣ́ w-agǝlɛ́ʾ mǝn bǝrk šatš ‘the bones and date-stones dropped from inside her backside’ (99:12)

The preposition bǝrk is also used in a handful of idioms, including:

bǝrk amɡarāb ‘in the (late) evening’  
bǝrk šǝrǝ ‘on/into/along a street’  
bǝrk xǝdmēt ‘at work, employed’  
bǝrk raḥt ‘happy’ (lit. ‘in happiness’)  
ktūb bǝrk ‘write on s.t.’ (also ktūb b-)  
bǝrk sayārah (or máwtar) ‘in/by a car’

The lone use of bǝrk in an expression of time, bǝrk amɡarāb ‘in the evening’, is attested just twice (25:9; 37:17); the alternative k-amɡarāb, attested just once, is found in the same text (25:4).
8.5 ḏār ‘on; about’, ṭe ḏār ‘after’

The preposition ḏār has the basic meaning of ‘on, upon’. Before suffixes, it has the base ḏayr-. Illustrative examples are:

\[ hē yəšlūl tömōr ḏār sāṛfəh šáyməlx ḏayr sāṛfəh šáyməlx ‘it was carrying dates on its left side and rice on its right side’ (23:16) \]
\[ hərkūb aḡə́təh ḏār təyt, wə-hē rikəh ḏār təyt ‘he mounted his sister onto one (horse), and he rode on one’ (24:11) \]
\[ sīnək tīsən ḏār kərməy’m dəyək ‘I saw them on that mountain’ (28:2) \]
\[ wəzəyəma tık arikəbyən w-əlhān dəyərsən ‘we’ll give you our riding-camels and all that is on them’ (3:12) \]
\[ wə-ngūf dəyərən aḏəbbət ‘and the flies set upon us’ (29:4) \]

One also finds the combinations ṭe ḏār ‘from upon, off of’ and, less often, ṭe ḏār ‘up on to’, for example:

\[ rədīw bəh ṭe ḏār dəhək ‘they threw him from a cliff’ (20:53) \]
\[ kəfûd ṭe ḏār ḥərəm ‘he came down from the tree’ (70:3) \]
\[ yəhədyə dəyərh bəθ, wə-sə tənūgaʃ ṭe dəyərh abəθ ‘dirt would fall on him, and she would brush the dirt off of him’ (48:17) \]
\[ sīrənə tə ḏār aḏəhək dəməh ‘we’ll go up onto this cliff’ (35:10) \]
\[ səyūr bīs tə ḏār bəyr ‘they brought her to a well’ (97:10) \]

In a few cases, usually in conjunction with a verb of running away (like (f)fəlūt ‘escape, flee, run away’, fərər ‘jump; flee, run away’, or nəğəm ‘go away angry, storm off’), ṭe ḏār means ‘from the presence of’, for example:

\[ w-əffəlūt ṭe ḏār aḡəγ ‘I ran away from the man’ (34:24) \]
\[ yəssək tis m-əd təfərə ṭe ḏəyən ‘I am afraid she might run away from us’ (37:10) \]
\[ wə-ngəmək ṭe ḏəyəhm ‘and I went away angry from them’ (89:26) \]

The compound ṭe ḏār can also mean ‘about’ or ‘over’, in the sense of ‘concerning’, though there are just a few examples in the texts:

\[ ɡ̣əỵəɡ ɡ̣ə-ləttaɡ̣əm bəwməh, w-əl wādak ṭe ḏār həsən lə ‘men have killed each other here, and I don’t know over what’ (3:19) \]
\[ ɡ̣ətəwəm aɡ̣əwə mən ḏār awərt ‘his brothers argued over the inheritance’ (32:11) \]
\textit{\textipa{antáw\textipa{h}̞n na\textipa{h}̞\textipa{h} w-ba\textipa{h}rēt m\textipa{a}n ̨\textipa{d}̞r amøtbäx}} ‘we and the sailors would fight over the kitchen’ (91:23)

Far more often, however, the compound \textit{m\textipa{a}n ̨\textipa{d}̞r} has the meaning ‘after’. Sometimes, in expressions of future time, this is better translated as ‘in’. Examples are:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{\textipa{a\textipa{t}t\textipa{é} m\textipa{a}n ̨\textipa{d}̞r warx, mōt a\textipa{g}̞\textipa{y}̞g}} ‘then after a month, the man died’ (2:7)
  \item \textit{\textipa{m\textipa{a}hawf ti ar m\textipa{a}n ̨\textipa{d}̞r ass}} ‘you will pay me only after (some) difficulty’ (39:13)
  \item \textit{\textipa{w\textipa{o}-gahēm\textipa{k} m\textipa{a}n ̨\textipa{d}̞r ḥalēb ̨\textipa{d}̞-hārāw\textipa{n}}} ‘I went after the milking of the goats’ (47:2)
  \item \textit{\textipa{stå\textipa{w}l\textipa{m} m\textipa{a}n ̨\textipa{d}̞r ak\textipa{h}̞\textipa{w}̞\textipa{t\textipa{é}}} ‘they stayed after the coffee’ (48:29)
  \item \textit{\textipa{nakō\textipa{n}a t\textipa{i}k m\textipa{a}n ̨\textipa{d}̞r rība yūm}} ‘I’ll come back to you in four days’ (56:6)
  \item \textit{\textipa{m\textipa{a}n ̨\textipa{d}̞r x\textipa{t}̞\textipa{a}rāt dōkømøh, w\textipa{ā}k\textipa{m} a\textipa{y}̞\textipa{s}̞\textipa{r}} ‘after that time, they were friends’ (61:9)
\end{itemize}

The compound \textit{m\textipa{a}n ̨\textipa{d}̞r} is not attested with suffixes when it means ‘after’. Instead, \textit{bād} (§ 8.3) or \textit{sār} (§ 8.18) is used.

Simple \textit{̨\textipa{d}̞r} also occurs in a few idioms, several of which involve either water or corpses:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{̨\textipa{d}̞r b\textipa{y}̞r} ‘at a well’
  \item \textit{̨\textipa{d}̞r kō\textipa{b}̞r} ‘to/at a grave’
  \item \textit{̨\textipa{d}̞r m\textipa{k}̞\textipa{b}̞\textipa{rēt}} ‘to/in a graveyard’
  \item \textit{̨\textipa{d}̞r m\textipa{l}̞\textipa{d}̞\textipa{w}̞t\textipa{a}g} ‘to/by [lit. over] dead bodies’
  \item \textit{̨\textipa{d}̞r amār\textipa{y}̞ ‘in the pasture’}
  \item \textit{̨\textipa{d}̞r (h\textipa{a})mōh‘at/by/to (the) water’}
  \item \textit{̨\textipa{d}̞r s\textipa{r}̞f h\textipa{y}̞\textipa{m}̞\textipa{t} (ś\textipa{y}̞\textipa{m}̞\textipa{t}) ‘on the right (left) side’}
\end{itemize}

On rare occasion, the compounds \textit{m\textipa{a}n ̨\textipa{d}̞r} and \textit{t\textipa{e} ̨\textipa{d}̞r} can also occur in these idioms (cf. 97:10, above). Two nice examples of the idiomatic usage of \textit{̨\textipa{d}̞r} can be seen in the following passage:

\textit{h\textipa{w}rûd h\textipa{b}hēr\textipa{h} ̨\textipa{d}̞r mōh, w\textipa{o}-kū\textipa{s}̞a bū ̨\textipa{d}̞r h\textipa{m}øh ‘he took his camels down to water, but he found some people by the water’ (64:1)

Note also the verbal idioms \textit{śe\textipa{d}̞\textipa{r}̞ūk m\textipa{a}n ̨\textipa{d}̞r ‘survive s.t.’ (30:12), h\textipa{a}ft\textipa{h} ̨\textipa{d}̞r ‘focus on’ (90:1), and ś\textipa{a}gbūr ̨\textipa{d}̞r ‘get help from, collect funds from’ (e.g., 72:2).
8.6  \textit{fənōhən} 'before; in front of; ago'\

The word \textit{fənōhən} 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 \textit{fənw-} (for the forms, see § 8.23). Examples are:

\begin{quote}
\textit{wə-ssáfrən fənōhən agzɛ́ʾ} 'and we traveled before sunset' (60:1)
\textit{āmārk hīs, “syēri fənwāy!” wə-hōh sayərk man səris} 'I said to her, “Go in front of me!” And I went behind her' (54:17)
\textit{fanwikəm məskōt} 'Muscat is (just) ahead of you' (91:14)
\textit{šini hālah fənwīh} 'he saw his shadow in front of him' (95:5)
\textit{āssūt fənwāy} 'she got up before me' (97:43)
\end{quote}

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:

\begin{quote}
\textit{fənōhən ašrəyn sənəyn} 'twenty years ago' (2:1)
\textit{xətərət fənōhən hōba sənəyn} 'once, seven years ago' (14:1)
\end{quote}

8.7  \textit{ġayr} 'except', \textit{mən ġayr} 'without'\

The basic meaning of \textit{ġayr} 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 \textit{ar} 'except, but' (§ 8.1), which nearly always occurs in a negative context. Some examples of \textit{ġayr} are:

\begin{quote}
\textit{mən yəkwədər yərdědə ṣənháyt ġayr arḥəmən} 'who can bring her back alive but God?' (4:8)
\textit{ġərkəm həbū də-barbəh, ġayr ağıyɣ w-ədənəh} 'the people who were in it drowned, except the man and his family' (74:1)
\textit{adəmənə hərək k-əhəd ġəyrən} 'he is probably with someone else [lit. someone besides us]' (41:4)
\textit{də-sayūr yəxtəf 𝑔əyrən} 'something else [lit. besides it] will take the place of that which has gone' (97:27)
\end{quote}
In this last example, *ġayr* 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 *ġayr* is the compound preposition *mǝn ġayr*, which means ‘without’. Examples are:

> ʿǝśś aġīgēn śsōx mǝn ġayr ḥass ‘the older [lit. big] boy got up without a sound’ (17:3)
> hēšān nakder nāmōl mǝn ġayr abʿāyrēn ‘what would we be able to do without our camel?’ (23:2)
> hām kālan tīsēn mǝn ġayr ayd ‘if we leave them without sardines’ (27:16)
> kālēhām šilāt yūm mǝn ġayr kawt ‘leave them three days without food’ (37:14)
> hāwfi mǝn ġayr ġǝrōy ‘pay me without a word [lit. talk]’ (39:15)
> ǝwtāġi mǝn ġayr sēbē ‘kill me without a reason!’ (88:6)

In one passage we find the compound *bǝ-ġáyr*, with the same meaning:


> nǝhōr ṭayt ġayg bāl hābēr mōzh bǝ-ġāyr ǝḥād ‘one day there was a camel-herder herding alone, without anyone’ (13:1)

Like simple *ġayr*, the compounds *mǝn ġayr* and *bǝ-ġáyr* are normally attested in positive phrases.

In our relatively limited amount of data, it seems that *ġayr* is normally used with human objects, and *mǝn ġayr* with non-human objects. And with pronominal suffixes, only *ġayr*- 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 Stroomer’s edition of the texts, there were several passages with the transcription *mǝn ġār*, and one with *mǝn xayr*. These were all errors, as confirmed by the manuscripts and the audio recordings.
āmarūt hǝh ‘she said to him’ (5:11)
yōmǝr hāyni ‘he says to me’ (18:8)
gehǝmah āmyēra hāyni ‘tomorrow you will say to me’ (33:4)
āmūr hīkǝm ġayg ‘a man said to them’ (35:3)
āmāwr h-aġagǝnōt ‘they said to the girl’ (42:40)

The verb āmūr is never followed by l-. On the other hand, the verb kalūṯ ‘tell, (rarely) talk’, which has a very similar meaning, is nearly always followed by l- (see § 8.12 for examples). Still, about fourteen times in the texts (five of these in text 22), kalūṯ is followed by h-, as in:

al hōh kǝwṭōna hūk lā ‘I won’t tell you’ (12:7; cf. kǝlūṯ l- in 12:8)
kǝlūṯ hah ‘he told him’ (22:27)
hōh kǝwṭīta h-aḡāy b-āgēbǝk I’ll tell my brother about your love’ (38:21; cf. kalātk l- earlier in the same line)
kǝwṭīt h-ābāḷāts ‘she told her mistress’ (85:13)

The phrase āmūr h- can also be used impersonally to mean ‘call’, ‘be named/called’, as in:

yāmǝrǝm hīn bǝt bū zīd ǝl-hǝlāli ‘they call us the clan of Bu Zid al-Hilali’ (42:6)

Following are examples of h- with the benefactive meaning ‘for’:

sǝ́tmǝk ksǝwēt h-āšǝri ‘I bought clothes for my friend’ (38:2)
al šīn kǝráwš lā h-anāwl ‘we didn’t have money for the fare’ (91:1)
lǝzam l-ǝşḥōt hīkǝm ‘I must slaughter for you’ (4:6)
hfawr hah b ayr ‘they dug a well for him’ (20:73)
axáyr hīkǝm tǝnkɛ̄m 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
texts following a verb of motion (including, in a few cases, the pseudo-motion verb ḥōm, 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:

sayūr h-abāṭah ‘he went to his house’ (20:64)  
rāddām h-aḵāḥam ‘they went back to their country’ (40:20)  
gǝhmōh h-arḥēbēt ‘they went to the town’ (75:4)  
sāfrən bǝrk bǝdēn, nǝḥōm h-aṣāwr ... wǝ-hēm yǝḥāym yǝssāfrəm h-xalūg  
‘we traveled in a badan, heading for Şur ... and they wanted to travel to the Gulf’ (84:1)  
wǝ-ḏ-hānāyḳ al-syēr h-ǝḥād ‘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 kǝlūt, as discussed above. The following verbs govern an object with the preposition h-:

dūfa h- ‘pay s.o.’  
(š)sănōh h- ‘make a diagnosis  
(h)ftōh h- ‘advise s.o.’ (vs. h(ǝ)ftōh  
[dīr ‘focus on’)  
gǝzūm h- ‘swear to’  
(š)sǝnōh h- ‘make a diagnosis (by a medicine man); get a  
fortune told for’ (vs. (š)sănōh  
‘show’)  
ğǝss h- ‘wink at’  
axtayūn h- ‘create an illusion for  
s.o.’  
natāwḳ h- ‘kiss s.o. in greeting’  
hǝzbūr h- ‘feel pleasure at s.o.’s  
misfortune’ (h-: person being  
ridiculed)  
şǝbūr h- ‘have patience with s.o.’  
( vs. šǝbūr man ‘do without’ and  
šǝbūr l- ‘give respite to’)

A few other verbs are found in the texts with an object preceded by h-. One is the verb ḵalūb ‘return’ (24:32), which is usually followed by l-6. A second is with gǝzūm ‘swear’ (47:11), which we find in one other passage followed by l- (31:5). And once we find sūməḥ h- (56A:9) with the same meaning as the usual sūməḥ  
l- ‘allow, permit s.o.’7

---

6 However, every case of ḵalūb l- is in the idiom ḵalūb l-X (bǝ-)ṣalōm ‘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-aṣáyrǝb* ‘in the autumn’ and *ber 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 *tǝwōli* (§8.20), the object of *hāl* is normally a human, or a noun denoting a human collective, like *sēkǝn* ‘settlement; family’. Before pronominal suffixes, the base *han-* is used (see §8.23 for forms). Examples from the texts are:

- *hātūm hāl ḥǝ́mhɛ* ‘he spent the night with his in-laws’ (10:10)
- *sǝnnáwrǝt sharōt hāl ḥǝrōhǝh* ‘the cat stayed awake by his head’ (15:12)
- *xǝdūm hāl tōgǝr* ‘he got work with a merchant’ (24:33)
- *bāykǝk hōh hāl ḥǝrōm* ‘I remained by the tree’ (25:3)
- *aʿiśēk hǝnīn* ‘your dinner is at our place’ (22:56)
- *aklǝ’ hanük ajǝnbáyyǝt dımah* ‘I’ll leave this dagger with you’ (34:15)
- *hakǝśoman hanīham* ‘we spent the day with them’ (38:10)
- *hanis xabz wa-ḳáwt* ‘by her was bread and food’ (42:15)
- *ksōna hanük kālǝw* ‘you’ll find a bowl by you’ (63:16)

A related but slightly more idiomatic use refers to local customs or practices, as in:

- *nǝḥāh hanin nātakáydan bǝ-sēhǝr* ‘we, in our region, believe in magic’ (7:2)
- *nǝḥāh hanin nōmǝ n’amǝrkaḥ* ‘we, around us, we say amárkaḥ’ (59:11)

Mehri *hāl* can also be used after verbs of motion (most often *nūka* ‘come’), meaning ‘to’, ‘up to’. Examples are:
\(nůka\ bīs\ hāl\ hāybəh\) ‘he brought her to his father’ (48:19)
\(nākam\ hāl\ āgāwz\) ‘they came to the old woman’ (65:10)
\(səyər\ hāl\ hōkəm\) ‘he went to the ruler’ (36:5)
\(wātxfək\ hāl\ sēkən\) ‘I came in the evening to a settlement’ (38:7)
\(nūka\ hənəs\ hōba\ yənət\) ‘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 \(tɛ\ hāl\) ‘to’ can substitute for simple \(hāl\) after a verb of motion. Examples are:

\(hōh\ nākak\ mən\ hāl\ hōbyə\) ‘I came from my parents’ (20:70)
\(hōh\ gəhɛ́mk\ mən\ hāl\ sɛkəni\) ‘I went from my settlement’ (38:1)
\(hēt\ tšhōl\ mən\ hənīn\ gəzɛ\) ‘you deserve a reward from us’ (22:101)
\(aḵōf\ əl-hāl\ aṣoŋəj\) ‘go over to the jeweler’s’ (22:47)
\(səyəwr\ əl-hāl\ həməs\) ‘they went to her mother’ (97:46)
\(səyər\ tɛ\ hāl\ āgəwz\) ‘he went to an old woman’ (48:6)
\(nūka\ te\ hənəy\) ‘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:

\(wəfūd\ bīs\ hāl\ hāybəs\) ‘he asked her father for her hand in marriage’ (14:2)
\(hōm\ əl-hərəs\ hənūk\) ‘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), \(wəkōt\ hāl\) ‘became the wife of’ (74:10) (< \(wīkə\) ‘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., \((əl-)hīs\ tɨ\) ‘like me’, \((əl-)hīs\ tɨk\) ‘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 aosènyah al-hīs ẖāybi ‘I see him like my father’ (18:18)
al-hīs ẖabûn ẖ-tagêr ‘like the sons of (other) merchants’ (22:35)
yakâbám hâh fâhlâh al-hīs fônîhûn ‘they returned his penis to him as before’ (24:32)
ẖâbû al-hīs abâṭl mên kēṯâr ‘the people are as numerous as grains of sand [lit. like sand from their large amount]’ (29:17)
ākârah âkłâl mân âbârēt, hīs âmâlēb ‘its size is smaller than a cow, like a calf’ (41:8)
hê hīs tîkêm ‘he is like you’ (22:93)
âḥād al-hīs tî ‘is there anyone like me?’ (42:3)
al yāgōb âḥād yâkâ’hīs tâh lâ ‘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:

‘âmlâk al-hīs âmârk háwni ‘I did as you told me’ (20:18)
yaktwîlân, al-hīs hâm tâṭ xâlûs mân xûm ‘he panics, like if someone gets lost from the road’ (43:1)
yâyûr wâ-yâhsûs al-hīs âi dâ-yâgrêrâh xôrâr ‘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. Before pronominal suffixes, the base is š-, which derives historically from a palatalized k- (§ 2.1). Some examples are:

ākâ’ k-ḥârâwn ‘stay with the goats!’ (33:1)
wâ-wkûb k-āgâwz ‘and he went in with the old woman’ (75:7)
syêr k-āgâwke ‘go with your brothers!’ (91:11)
al aḥâd šâh lâ ‘no one was with him’ (14A:1)

8 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)
sǝbīw aġáyg šīhǝm ‘they took the man prisoner with them’ (69:2)

It is also regularly used with the verb ġátri ‘speak, talk’, as in:

hōh maġtáyr k-ḥāmǝ́y ... wa-ġátri šīs ḥǝbrēs ‘I will speak with my mother ... and her son spoke with her’ (9:2–3)
ġátri aġáyg k-xǝlǝ́tǝh. āmūr hīs, “ġǝtáyri k-ḥǝbrǝ́ṭš” “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:

ǝl šīhǝm ḳawt lā ‘they had no food’ (lit. ‘[there is] not with them food’) (11:2)
šay nǝxlīt ‘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:

šǝh ḥarḳ ‘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:9

k-sōbāh ‘(in the) morning’
k-aḏāhr ‘at noon; in the afternoon’
k-amḡǝrāb ‘in the evening’

As noted in §8.4, k-amḡǝrāb is attested just once in the texts (25:14), as is the alternative bǝrk amḡǝrāb (25:9).

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9 Watson (2012: 119) records several additional phrases, pertaining mostly to the seasons, e.g., k-aḵāyd ‘in the hot period (pre-monsoon)’.
The preposition *k-* seems also to be incorporated into the form *kaláyni* ‘(in the) evening’. With *k-sōbǝḥ* ‘in the morning’, the *k-* is really likewise inseparable, despite the hyphenated transcription. Moreover, *k-sōbǝḥ* is often best translated simply as ‘morning’. Compare the following two sentences:

\[
\begin{align*}
tə k-sōbǝḥ\ aģáyg\ šǝwkūf\ &\text{ ‘then, in the morning, the man went to sleep’ } \\
(22:65) &\text{ (}tə\text{ = ‘then’)}\\
hātūm\ tə k-sōbǝḥ\ &\text{ ‘he stayed the night until morning’ } (9:11) \text{ (}tə\text{ = ‘until’)}
\end{align*}
\]

As for other idioms, we find:

\[
\begin{align*}
sǝyūr\ k- &\text{ ‘sleep with (sexually)’ (lit. ‘go with’) } \\
\text{sayūr}\ k-hǝnōf &\text{ ‘go to the bathroom’ (lit. ‘go (with) oneself’) } \\
wīḳa\ rǝḥāym\ k- &\text{ ‘be nice to’ }
\end{align*}
\]

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 *kǝlūṯ* ‘tell; talk’. The verb *kǝlūṯ* is usually followed by *l-* (about fifty times in the texts), though we also find *kǝlūṯ* 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 *kǝlūṯ* with *l-* are:

\[
\begin{align*}
kǝlēṯ\ &\text{ ‘tell me!’ } (5:11) \\
kǝlǝ́ṯk\ līs\ b-aġǝrōy\ d-ajās &\text{ ‘I told her her brother’s words’ } (38:21) \\
kǝlawt\ lāh\ hābū\ bīs &\text{ ‘people told him about her’ } (49:14) \\
kawtōna\ ǝl-ḥābū &\text{ ‘I will tell the people’ } (55:6) \\
kǝlūtǝn\ lihǝm\ b-akassēt\ kāllas &\text{ ‘we told them the whole story’ } (91:28)
\end{align*}
\]

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 *wǝzūm* ‘give’, which can take two direct objects, as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
wǝzmōna\ tīš\ xǝmsáyn\ kars &\text{ ‘I’ll give you fifty dollars’ } (48:6) \\
ǝl\ wǝzǝ́mk\ tīn\ tūhǝm\ lā &\text{ ‘you didn’t give them to us’ } (91:30)
\end{align*}
\]
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 \(-\). In fact, \(-\) is never found after the common motion verbs \(\text{sayūr} \ ‘\text{go}', \text{nūka} \ ‘\text{come}', \text{wīṣal} \ ‘\text{arrive}', \text{or} \text{gəhēm} \ ‘\text{go}', \) except in the combinations \(\text{a}l-\text{hō} \ ‘\text{to where'}\) and \(\text{aw-} \text{bōh} \ ‘\text{to here'}\) (§ 10.1). Just six times \(-\) follows \(\text{radd} \ ‘\text{return}'\) (after which \(\text{tawōli} \) is more common; see below, § 8.20), four times \(\text{kafūd} \ ‘\text{go down}'\) (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 \(\text{hākbūl} \ ‘\text{come near}', \text{karūb} \ ‘\text{approach}', \) and \(\text{ləhāf} \ ‘\text{come close to}'\) (see the list below). The only two motion verbs that are found used with both \(\text{h-} \) and \(\text{-l-} \) in the texts are \(\text{radd} \ ‘\text{return}'\) and \(\text{kafūd} \ ‘\text{go down}'\).

With the benefactive meaning ‘for', \(-\) is found about twenty times in the texts, less than a third as often as \(\text{h-}\) in this function. And even though there is overlap in meaning, \(\text{h-} \) and \(-\) largely occur in different contexts (i.e., after different verbs and nouns). Some of the examples in which \(-\) means ‘for' are:

\[
\begin{align*}
nəhāram \text{lah yaḥiti trayt} & \ ‘\text{they sacrificed two camels for him'} \ (32:9) \\
yəkūn \ lūk šakk & \ ‘\text{it will be an offense for you'} \ (33:3) \\
hāmēk həwkāwṭ lūk šiwoff & \ ‘\text{your mother made a fire for you'} \ (36:11)
\end{align*}
\]

In one or two passages, it is not clear if \(-\) is indicating motion or a benefactive. For example, \(\text{həkfūd} \text{lah kayd} \ (48:3)\) could mean either ‘they let down a rope to him' or ‘they let down a rope for him'.

Although \(-\) 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., \(\text{gəzūm} \text{-l-} ‘\text{swear to}'\) and \(\text{šōm} \text{-l-} ‘\text{sell to}')\), but the majority can be considered idiomatic. Attested in the texts are:

\[
\begin{align*}
hāmūr \ - & \ ‘\text{order s.o.}' \ (\text{vs. həmūr b-} ‘\text{give an order for s.t.}') \\
āyūb \ - & \ ‘\text{cheat s.o., break an oath to}' \\
ātayūn \ - & \ ‘\text{betray}' \\
āzūm \ - & \ ‘\text{have designs on s.t.}' \ (\text{vs. } \text{āzūm ‘decide, āzūm b- ‘invite for'}) \\
bədōh \ - & \ ‘\text{tell a lie about s.o.}' \ (\text{vs. } \text{bədōh b- ‘lie to'}) \\
̣ədhūk \ - & \ ‘\text{look down at}' \\
dəkk \ - & \ ‘\text{spring on, pounce upon}' \\
hədərhōh \ - & \ ‘\text{let the blood of a goat run over s.o.}' \\
(f)̣əkōh \ - & \ ‘\text{cover}' \ (b-: \text{with})
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\text{We find } \text{aw-} \text{bōh} \ only \ with \ imperative \ verbs. \ When \ other \ tenses \ are \ used, \ we \ get } \text{bāwmah} \ instead. \ Compare \text{ənkē a} \text{w-} \text{bōh} ‘\text{come here!}' \ (1:4) \ with } \text{əl yənākam bāwmah lā ‘they don’t come here'} \ (94:33).
\]
fǝyūz l- ‘surpass s.o., beat’
gǝroh l- ‘pass by s.o.; happen to’
gǝzūm l- ‘swear to’ (vs. gǝzūm mǝn ‘swear against’)
haqǝr l- ‘give help to s.o.’
gǝtǝyǝd l- ‘get angry at’
šawjǝw l- ‘raid’
hǝqum l- ‘attack’
attǝma l- ‘listen to’
hǝgbǝr l- ‘give help to s.o.’
ɡátyǝð̣ l- ‘get angry at’
šawġǝwr l- ‘raid’
hǝqum l- ‘attack’
ǝttōma l- ‘listen to’
ḥǝgg l- ‘refuse s.o. permission to marry’
hǝqu b- ‘force s.o.’
ḥǝtwag l- ‘need s.o.’
ḥǝṣ́áwr l- ‘persuade s.o.’
(k)kǝbūr l- ‘stay with s.o. to drink milk’
ako bh l- ‘watch, keep an eye on’
ḥǝqbul l- ‘draw near to, come towards’
ako dh l- ‘offer s.o. (food)’
ḥǝdur l- ‘manage against, get the better of’ (vs. ḋǝdur ‘can, be able’)
kalub l- (b-)salōm ‘send greetings to s.o.; greet s.o.’ (also kalub salōm l-)
karub l- ‘get near, approach’
akyiś l- ‘try s.t. (for size) on (l-) s.o.’
lǝhaj l- ‘come close to, next to’
lǝhak l- ‘help’ (vs. lǝhak ‘catch up to’)
lazz l- ‘press up against’
amthuhl l- ‘become easier for’
nakǝš l- ‘exhume’
nakawd l- ‘blame, criticize’
ratdōh l- ‘throw at’ (vs. ratdōh ḋ- ‘throw s.t.’)
rufa l- ‘climb (a rope); board (a ship)’
ratki l- ‘read the Quran over s.o.’ (vs. ṭratki ‘read s.t.’)
hǝrxōh l- ‘release, let go’
sall l- ‘attack’
suqah l- ‘allow s.o., give permission to; forgive (rare)’ (vs. suneh b- ‘allow s.t.; d.o. forgive’) ḍǝbūr l- ‘give respite to’ (vs. ḍǝbūr man ‘do without’ and ḍǝbūr h- ‘have patience with s.o.’)
šawšawk l- ‘be wounded in’
šōm l- ‘sell to s.o.’
šu bh l- ‘look like’ (vs. šu bh- ‘suspect s.o.’)
shad l- ‘saddle’
šēd l- ‘bear witness to/against’
šarawg l- ‘sew up’
šatawk l- ‘miss, long for’
šahak l- ‘make fun of’ (vs. šahak man ‘laugh at’) tōf l- ‘visit’
hǝtlawk šiwōt l- ‘open fire on’ (lit. ‘release fire’)
hawhōh l- ‘come to help s.o.’
wakub l- ‘go in (to see) s.o.; go into (sexually)’ (vs. wakub ‘enter’)
xalut l- ‘join up with s.o.’ (vs. xalut ‘mix s.t. with [b-] s.t. else’)
(x)xawshawk l- ‘send for; send to s.o.’
yass l- ‘be afraid for s.o.’ (vs. yass man ‘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.), kǝfūd ‘go down to’ (e.g., 64:18; usually d.o.), rǝkub ‘mount’ (e.g., 102:11; usually with ð̣ār or d.o.), salub
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'wait for' (48:8; elsewhere with d.o.), *xtūl* 'stalk, creep up on' (10:14; elsewhere with d.o.), and *xǝzōh* 'refuse' (94:4; elsewhere with *mǝn*).

The verb *šxǝbūr* '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 *šxǝbūr mǝn* 'ask about s.t.', since in one place *šxǝbūr man* 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 *lǝtt* *l-* 'bandage up s.t.' (75:18), *látwi* *l-* 'wrap (intrans.) around s.t.' (49:11), *rǝbb* *l-* 'accept a tulchan, substitute for a lost calf' (76:15), and *rǝṣáwn* *l-* 'tie to' (89:9; once also *rǝṣáwn b-* 42:15, with the same meaning).11 As noted already in § 8.8, we find *gǝzūm* *l-* once (31:5) and *gǝzūm* *h-* once (47:11), both meaning 'swear to'. The verb *ğǝrūf* '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* ġǝrōy '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 *gǝzōt* lay ḥǝyáwm '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.)!’12
- *kǝrāyb* *l-* ‘near, close to’
- *l-arāwrǝm* ‘along the sea(shore)’
- *l-āryk* ‘on an empty stomach; before/without breakfast’13
- *l-āyōman* ‘last year’
- *aḥ̥olat* ḫǝma ‘in this condition/way’
- *aḥ̥oram* ‘by/on the road’ (vs. *bǝ-ḥōram* ‘on the road’)14
- *l-akassǝt* dǝkama ‘like that [lit. that story]’
- (sǝyūr) *l-amǝráwḳǝṣ* ‘(walk) on crutches’
- *rēḥǝḳ* *l-* ‘far for s.o. (to go), far from’ (vs. *rēḥǝḳ* *mǝn* ‘far from’)15

11 The phrase *ḥātwǝg* *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 ḥāšā li-.
13 This is from Arabic ‘aḥ̥a r-rīq.
14 E.g., ġǝbūr ġayg ǝl-ḥōrǝm ‘he met a man on/by the road’ (12:6), but ġayg ḫǝȳyûr bǝ-ḥōram ‘a man was traveling on the road’ (31).
15 Based on the few examples in the texts, *l-* is used after *rēḥǝḳ* with reference to how much distance a person has to cover, while *mǝn* simply indicates a statement of fact about two objects, human or not. Cf. ḡǝmōh rēḥǝḳ līhǝm ‘the water was far from them [or: far for them to go]’ (104:3) vs. ġabrīsǝn rēḥǝḳ mǝn ḥāráwn ‘he met them far away from the goats’ (99:40).
"al-xāḥ ḏ-ʿabāyt 'at the door of the house'

wōḡab ḏ- ‘it is proper for; ought to’ (see §12.5.20)

Several attested idioms have to do with parts of the body, as in:

"al-ḥǝrōh 'on the head' (28:8)

"al-fɛ̄m ‘in/on the leg/foot’ (72:4)

"al-ḥáyd ‘on the hand’ (75:16)

l-ārḳ 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 ʿalā and ʾilā, as well as to Arabic li-.

On the compounds l-adǝfēt ḏ-, ‘by the side of, beside’ and al-sáyb 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 kǝlūṯ ‘tell’, most often followed by l-, is sometimes found with h-. Both prepositions are found a handful of times after the motion verbs rǝdd and Ḧǝf. Very few other verbs are attested with both prepositions with no difference in meaning; among these are gǝzūm ‘swear’ and ḡǝrūf ‘fetch water’. And finally, both prepositions can have a benefactive meaning ‘for’, though h- is far more common in this use.

8.13 mǝn ‘from’

The preposition mǝn 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:

ftawk ḥābū mǝn amǝsgēd ‘the people were coming out of the mosque’ (4:13)

nūka mǝn ḥawōdī ‘he came from the valley’ (10:1)

ḥawōh mǝn déhǝḳ kǝnnāwn ‘he fell from a small cliff’ (17:4)

ḥōm mǝn ḥaḥṭ ‘I want the truth from you’ (22:89)

kǝrūt mǝn ḥābū ‘she hid (her) from the people’ (24:4)
When *mǝn* indicates cause or reason, it can be translated as ‘from’ or ‘because of’. Examples are:

- śērǝ’ šəmrūš *mǝn* faṭx ‘the judge fell ill from the head-wound’ (48:12)
- ġibīt *mǝn* ayəsāyṭ ‘she fainted from fear’ (54:11)
- ḥīṭār al ṭəwōw šī lā yəmōh *mǝn* aḥəbbēt ‘the kids didn’t eat anything today because of the flies’ (26:13)
- āgāwz l-ād nəkāts šənēt lā *mǝn* ḥəbōs ‘the old woman could not sleep [lit. sleep did not come to her] because of her son’ (36:8)
- bērī mōyat *mǝn* agəwē ‘I was dying from hunger’ (103:7)

Examples in which *mǝn* is used with reference to time are very rare in the texts. One is:

- *mǝn* k-sōbəḥ ‘from the morning’ (10:3)

We also find *mǝn* used with a slightly different temporal meaning ‘since’ or ‘for’ (in the sense of ‘since ... ago’). In the latter meaning, *mǝn* 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 al śīnək tīhəm lā *mǝn* warx ‘I have not seen them for a month’ (20:41)
- *mǝn* warxi troh l-ād xəsāwb ba-śi-lā ‘he hasn’t sent anything at all for two months’ (57:7)
- *mǝn* mayt? *mǝn* wəkōnə əyər yūm ‘since when? since about ten days (ago)’ (101:13–14)
- ab’āyri də-ḥaqsəbən təh *mǝn* əyər yūm ‘my camel that we lost ten days ago’ (28:6)

In two passages, *mǝn* means ‘according to’, though this is clearly an extension of the meaning ‘from’. These are:

- ād al əḥād yəsənəyəh lā ... *mǝn* akāwl d-əgəyyūɡ əlyakəməh ‘no one has ever seen it again ... according to the report of those men’ (41:10)
- *mǝn* ḥābū də-škətəḥ, ādəh ṣahḥ ‘according to the people who heard the story from him, he was still alive’ (92:6)

Following are examples of the partitive use of *mǝn*, in which use *mǝn* is normally preceded by some sort of quantifier or pronoun:
Examples of the comparative use of *mān* are:

\[\text{al hē xass lā mān yāmšīh ‘it was no worse than yesterday’} (26:4)\]
\[\text{ätēm axāyr mānāy, aw hōh axāyr mānkēm ‘you are better than me, or I am better than you’} (42:12)\]
\[\text{ḥāybi axāyr mānāy yōmār ‘my father sings better than me’} (52:2)\]

For further discussion of comparatives, see § 5.4.

The preposition *mān* is also used idiomatically with a number of verbs, including:

\[\text{áygāb mān ‘be delighted with’} (vs. áygāb b- ‘love’)\]
\[\text{bākōh mān ‘weep for/from’}\]
\[\text{ḍāwla mān ‘be crippled in (a body part)’}\]
\[\text{gāhēr mān ‘be dazzled by’}\]
\[\text{gazūm mān ‘swear against’} (vs. gazūm l- ‘swear to’)\]
\[\text{gaff mān ‘lift s.o. up by’}\]
\[\text{gālūk mān ‘look for’} (vs. gālūk b- ‘look at’)\]
\[\text{gāyṣān mān ‘feel sorry for s.o.’}\]
\[\text{ḥāttam mān ‘be sad about’}\]
\[\text{ḥaddūr mān ‘take care not to, guard against’} (vs. ḥaddūr b- ‘look out for [= on behalf of], guard’)\]
\[\text{ḥayūr mān ‘get confused about’}\]
\[\text{š(ā)ktūb mān ‘have s.o. write a charm against’}\]
\[\text{kāwṭa mān ‘be tired of’}\]

\[\text{šakṭā’ mān ‘become despondent, tired from’}\]
\[\text{nūṣāh mān ‘advise against’}\]
\[\text{sādd mān ‘be able to do without; enable s.o. (d.o.) to do without’}\]
\[\text{šābūr mān ‘do without’} (vs. šābūr l- ‘give respite to’ and šābūr h- ‘have patience with s.o.’)\]
\[\text{šāḥāk mān ‘laugh at’} (vs. šāḥāk l- ‘make fun of’)\]
\[\text{šāṣyūk mān ‘get fed up with’}\]
\[\text{tāb mān ‘be tired of; have trouble with’}\]
\[\text{ṭṣyūb mān ‘enjoy s.t., have one’s fill of’}\]
\[\text{šxābūr mān ‘ask about s.t./s.o.’}\]
\[\text{xālus mān ‘stray from, get lost from; miss (a target)’}\]
\[\text{xzōh mān ‘refuse s.o. or s.t.’}\]
\[\text{yāṣṣ mān ‘fear, be afraid of’} (vs. yāṣṣ l- ‘be afraid for s.o.’)\]
The preposition *mǝn* is also found in a number of other idiomatic expressions. Such are:

- *gǝmāt mǝn gǝmāt* 'every week [or: Friday]
- *kállah mǝnk* 'it’s all your fault' (lit. ‘it’s all from you’)
- *mǝn ḍawr* 'before(hand)'
- *mǝn ṭawr* 'sometimes'
- *mǝn xawr* 'after a little while'
- *mǝn azbōn hāwālāy* 'from/in former times'
- *mǝśhīr mǝn* 'famous for'
- *mǝxwīf mǝn* 'afraid of'
- *rēḥǝḳ mǝn* 'far from' (also, less often, *rēḥǝḳ l-*) (see § 8.12, n. 15)
- *tōgǝr mǝn* 'rich in'
- *xǝlēʾ mǝn* 'empty of, devoid of'

On the interrogative *hɛ̄šǝn mǝn*, see § 11.3. On the temporal conjunction *mǝn hīs* ‘since’, see § 13.5.3.3. On the prefixed form *ǝm-*, see § 8.15 and § 10.1.

### 8.14  *mǝn kâdē* ‘about, regarding’

The compound preposition *mǝn kâdē* ‘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:

- *kalēṭ līn mǝn kâdē aṣāyd* ‘tell us about fishing!’
- *kǝwṯōna lūk mǝn kâdē ḥaynū* ‘I’ll tell you about women’

### 8.15  *ǝm-mǝ́n* ‘between’

The preposition *ǝm-mǝ́n* is a near homophone of the preposition *mǝn* ‘from’, distinguished in its unsuffixed form only by the sometimes difficult-to-hear initial element *ǝm*. However, the two prepositions are historically unrelated. The form *ǝm-mǝ́n* derives from *ǝm-bǝ́n* (from an earlier *mǝn bayn*), as shown by the Yemeni Mehri forms *beyn*, *bīn*, or *bān*, Hobyot *bīn*, Harsusi *bēn*, and

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16 On the Yemeni Mehri forms, see Watson (2012: 114). Jahn (1925: 125) and Bittner (1914a: 12) have *beyn*, while *bīn* is found in Sima (2009). Watson also lists an Omani Mehri form *mēn*. 
Soqoṭri (ǝm-)bín, 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 ǝm-mán are made from the base ǝm-mǝnw-(see § 8.23 for forms). Examples from the texts are:

*dahfáti ǝm-mán awǝhōyan* 'she smacked me between the shoulder blades' (40:22)

*hē šǝwkūf am-mán ṯrōh* 'he went to sleep between two (men)' (69:3)

*šɛrṭ am-mǝnẁy w-ǝm-menwūk* ‘the deal between me and you’ (32:22)

*tšǝwkūf am-mǝnwīh w-ǝm-màn tɛ́ṯah* 'she would sleep between him and his wife' (46:7)

*ǝlhān fǝṣáwl ǝm-mǝnwīn hōh ḳǝ́blǝk* ‘whatever they decide between us I will accept’ (77:4)

*hádyǝm adɛ́bǝh ǝm-mǝnwáyhi* ‘they divided the honey between them’

(77:10)

In one passage ǝm-mán means ‘among’:

*ɡǝ́rǝm amǝlwátq ǝm-mǝnwihǝm* ‘dead fell among them’ (104:29)

It is worth mentioning that in his Arabic-letter manuscripts, Ali almost never indicated the initial ǝm- of ǝm-mán, but rather wrote simply مان (mn) or مان (m’n). 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 ǝm in place of ǝm-mán, but the audio usually has a clear ǝm-mán.

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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 ǝm.

18 Of the six passages with ǝm-mán in the texts, Ali use the spelling مان in three and مان in three. For the fourteen suffixed forms (ǝm-mǝnw-), which bear stress on the suffixes, Ali always wrote مان (mnw-). Only in one place (77:4) did Ali transcribed an initial alif to indicate ǝm-.
8.16  **nǝxāli** ‘under’

The preposition **nǝxāli** (sometimes realized **ǝnxāli**) means ‘under’.¹⁹ 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:

- *kǝfūdǝn b-abárr nǝxāli déhǝk śōx* ‘we came down onto shore under a big cliff’ (60:10)
- *ağáyg šǝkrōh nǝxāli hǝddūt* ‘the man hid under the cradle’ (63:8)
- *kūsa nǝxāli ḥǝrōhs śāṯáyt hǝrǝwf* ‘he found under her head three (gold) coins’ (97:41)
- *hēt ǝ-d-gǝ́bbǝk nǝxāhe* ‘you are the one who defecated under it’ (3:18)
- *ǝlhān kǝsk nǝxāsɛ, hē ǝ-d-hōh* ‘whatever I find under it is mine’ (67:8)

The compound preposition *mǝn nǝxāli* 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’.²⁰ These are:

- *ṣāḳ mǝn nǝxāli ḥāṣǝn* ‘he called out from below the castle’ (48:3)
- *kǝwla mǝn nǝxāse gērtǝn* ‘he put under her (authority) servant-girls’ (24:45)
- *šǝnðǝ́rk ... mǝn nǝxāli ašhāwd* ‘I promise ... in the presence of the witnesses’ (39:5)

Twice in the texts we find the compound *tɛ nǝxāli* ‘down to, to under’:

- *hǝwōh śɛ́rǝʾ tɛ nǝxāli ḥāṣǝn* ‘the judge fell to the bottom of [lit. to below] the castle (wall)’ (48:5)
- *sǝyūr bīhǝm tɛ ǝnxāli ḥǝsǝn* ‘he brought them to below the castle’ (48:13)

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¹⁹ On the etymology of **nǝxāli**, see Rubin (2012a).
²⁰ Johnstone recorded a fourth example that is suspect. See the comment to text 22:28.
The preposition *sǝbēb* ‘because of’ only occurs three times in the texts: once with a prefix *ǝl-*, once with a following genitive *ð-*, and once on its own. The meaning ‘because of’ is more often conveyed by the preposition *mǝn* (see above, § 8.13), and *sǝbēb* as a preposition can probably be seen as an Arabism. Following are all attested cases of *sǝbēb* as a preposition in the texts:

- *ayb liḵǝm tǝntāwhǝm sǝbēb ǝ-hǝmōh* ‘it’s a disgrace for you to fight because of water’ (10:6)
- *al ǝḥād yǝḥōm yaxlēt līn ǝl-sǝbēbǝh* ‘no one wants to join up with us because of him’ (89:32)
- *ʿōśsam sǝbēb aṣáwt ǝ-ðǝhrōh* ‘they woke up because of the voice of Berhoh’ (104:23)

We also find *sǝbēb* in the texts as a noun meaning ‘reason, cause’ (e.g., 22:94; 43:3).

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 *mǝn sǝr-*; the simple base *sǝr-* is found in contexts in which the prepositional phrase is used in a relative clause (with the relative pronoun *ð-* assimilated) and after certain verbs (e.g., *bǝkáwš* ‘run’). Some examples with the basic meaning ‘behind’ are:

- *šǝwkīf sār hǝrōm* ‘they went to sleep behind a tree’ (17:2)
- *ǝnḥōm nǝślēl te hazišdi s-sǝrīn* ‘we should move to the valley behind us’ (30:2)
- *ǝnkɛ̄s mǝn sǝrīs wǝ-mnɛ́ʾ ṭádyas* ‘come up to her from behind her and grab her breast(s)’ (40:15)
- *xǝṭárkǝm ād yǝnkɛ́ʾ máwšam mǝn sǝrīh* ‘do you think another trading-boat will come again behind [or: after] it?’ (45:16)
- *āmǝ́rk hīs, “syēri fǝnwāy!” wǝ-hōh sǝyǝ́rk mǝn sǝrīs* ‘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:

\[ tabá tah sannáwrat man sərīh 'the cat followed him from behind [lit. from behind him]' (15:9) \]

\[ tábam sār ašfūtan ðə-həbēr 'they followed the camels' tracks' (12:11) \]

This verb can also be followed by *b*- if the object is *šaff* (pl. *šfūtan*) ‘track(s)’ (e.g., 54:6). Additional verbal idioms are *bəkawš sār* ‘run after’ and *bəkōh sār* ‘cry over’, as in:

\[ bəkawš sərīs ḥəbrē ðə-həkəm 'the ruler's son ran after her' (97:15) \]

\[ bəkōh agáyg sār tɛ́təh 'the man cried over his wife' (19:5) \]

\[ hēt tabəki sār kəbə 'you are crying over a lamb' (75:23) \]

In the verbal idioms *tūba sār* and *bəkawš sār*, the preposition clearly has its basic meaning ‘behind’. In the idiom *bəkōh 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’:

\[ yəssak tīs m-ūd tafrēr man ðāyran, wa-mjōran ḥəbrə́y yamēt sərīs, man āgēbas 'I am afraid she might run away from us, and then my son will die because of her, out of love for her' (37:10) \]

### 8.19  *te* ‘until, up to’

The particle *te* 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:

\[ salōb te ba-ḥəllāy 'wait until night' (22:36) \]

\[ anhōm našlēl te ḥəwōdī s-sərīn 'we should move to the valley behind us' (30:2) \]
wozmôna tîhâm anáwlhâm man ʃafôr te bâwmôh ‘I will give them their fare from Dhofar to here’ (91:32)
sâfrôn bark máwтар mon maskôt te dabây ‘we traveled in a car from Muscat to Dubai’ (91:33)
sâyawr te hârōs amşgarēt ‘they went to the next acacia’ (99:15)

The longer form attê (see § 13.5.3.2) is not attested in the texts as a preposition. As discussed in several sections above, te also occurs in combination with a number of other prepositions. One finds te b- ‘up on to’, te bark ‘up on to’, te ʃâr ‘up on to’, te hâl ‘to (s.o.)’, and te naxâli ‘down to’, though all of these are quite rare. The most common of these is te ʃâr, which is found about ten times in the texts.

8.20  tawõî ‘to, towards’

The preposition tawõî ‘to, towards’ is very common, even more common in the texts than h- to indicate motion towards. 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 tawõî are following a form of the verb sayûr ‘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., ʃalûk ‘look’, ktûb ‘write’, a’yît ‘cry out’). Most notable is that, like hâl (§ 8.9), the object of tawõî 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 sêkan ‘settlement; family’. It is usually only when the object of tawõî is not a person or noun denoting a human collective that it is best translated ‘towards’. Examples are:

sayûr hôkêm tawõî haynît ‘the ruler went to the women’ (20:24)
sâyawr tawõî ʃerēt w-ahkâwmat ‘they went to the judge and the government’ (24:38)

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21 The preposition may derive from the root tlw ‘follow’, as in Arabic talâ ‘it followed’. If so, then it is connected to the adverb tôtî (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.
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-asyūr h-arḥēbet tawōli aāśēr ḏā-ḥāybi ‘I went to the town to my father’s friend’ (34:15)

There is a also 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:

aġīgēn rɔḥāym xā hē rīt ‘the boy was beautiful like the moon’ (22:1)

xawr kāṣm xā hē felg ‘the lagoon was cold as ice’ (36:1)

ǝwbōn xā hē ʃxōf, wɔ-ʃfāyf xā hē bark ‘white like milk, and fast like lightning’ (41:8)

aġīgēn, ǝmāwr, xā hē ʃār ‘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:

nēḥǝr maxṭīb yaklĕl bǝh kawt, mǝkā xǝ sē nǝkâtǝh arḥamēt dîmēh ‘a barren wadi that there was no damned food in, as if this (recent) rain hadn’t come there [lit. to it]’ (26:15)

əł xā hōh ḏ-agūzǝm lūk lâ ‘it’s not like I haven’t sworn to you’ (31:6)

hōh ar ənōfâ, wałâkan mǝkā xā hōh ḏ-ənōfâ sī hənîkǝm ‘I am indeed of use, but it’s as if I were of no use to you in anything’ (33:2)

əsōnī hâbû xā hĕm bǝrk həmōh ‘I saw people as if they were in water’ (40:23)

wəlê mǝkâ xā hĕm xəlēkǝm ‘(it is) as if they were not born’ (90:8)

It is noteworthy that three of the five examples above use the negative particle mǝkâ (see § 13.2.6). In fact, three of the four examples of mǝkâ in the texts are in combination with xâ.

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-adafêt ɖ- (with suffixes: l-adafɛ́t-) ‘by the side of, next to’ (cf. dafêt ‘body, side’)

b-aðōbâl ɖ- (with suffixes: b-aðɛ́bl-) ‘beside’ (cf. ðōbâl ‘side, edge’)

l-agorē ɖ- ‘for the sake of, on account of’

kəyōs ɖ- ‘like’ (cf. kəyös ‘proportion; good fit, proper measure’)

əl-əsayb ɖ- ‘in the direction of’ (a word sayb ‘direction?’ is not attested)

b-əṭərēf ɖ- ‘beside’ (cf. ṭərēf ‘side’)

mən aṭərēf ɖ- ‘from among, out of’

23 For a literal example of b-aðōbâl ɖ- ‘at the side of’, see text 37:20.

24 More often, l-agorē is used as a subordinating conjunction indicating purpose. See further in § 13.5.2.
The attested contexts are:

\[ wǝ-wjāz \ bǝh \ aqāyg \ dǝ-l-\text{-}adafētǝh \ ‘and he slipped it to the man next to him’ (73:6) \]
\[ te \ b-\text{-}adēbhǝl, \ hakwāyh \ w-\text{-}akōfī \ ‘then when he was beside me, he put it down and left’ (92:2) \]
\[ hōh \ dǝ-\text{-}māthǝnak \ mǝnǝh \ yǝkōla \ xǝdmátǝh \ l-agǝrēy \ ‘I was troubled that he had to leave his work on account of me’ (43:9) \]
\[ thōm \ (t)\text{-}sōm \ āmǝrk \ l-agǝrē \ dǝ-\text{-}tǝmbōku \ ‘do you want to trade [lit. sell] your life for the sake of tobacco?’ (94:36) \]
\[ wǝ-nkōt \ bǝ-kǝwthēt \ dǝ-\text{-}kəyōs \ dǝ-kawtēt \ dīmǝh \ ‘and she offered a story that was exactly like this story’ (48:31) \]
\[ sǝyǝrk \ āl-\text{-}sāyb \ dǝ-\text{-}śōwət \ ‘I went in the direction of the fire’ (47:3) \]
\[ hīs \ bǝršǝn \ b-\text{-}atǝrēf \ d-\text{-}aṣyga, \ mǝnǝm \ wōz \ ‘after they were by the pen, they took a goat’ (31:12) \]
\[ yǝhwāfyǝm \ fǝkḫ \ d-\text{-}adəmmət \ dīmǝh \ mǝn \ atǝrēf \ d-\text{-}amōl \ dǝ-\text{-}hǝnīn \ b-\text{-}as hijo \ ‘they pay half of this debt out of the livestock that is with us in the mountains’ (58:8) \]

The phrase \textit{mǝn \ atǝrēf \ d-} also occurs in text 75 (three times) in conjunction with the particle \textit{ámma}. The combined phrase \textit{w-ámma \ mǝn \ atǝrēf \ d-} means something like ‘and now about’; see further in § 12.5.3.

The preposition \textit{bǝlá} ‘without’ occurs just one time in the texts, in the phrase \textit{bǝlá \ šak} ‘without a doubt’ (7:5). This is simply an Arabism, as is the related word \textit{bǝláš} ‘for nothing, gratis’ (22:48). The preposition \textit{āwēs} ‘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 ‘\textit{iwada}, 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 \textit{b-} ‘in, at; with; for’, \textit{h-} ‘to; for’, \textit{k-} ‘with’, and \textit{l-} ‘to;

\[ \text{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 hətwogak li ... hōh l-adjētk (‘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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>$b$-</th>
<th>$h$-</th>
<th>$k$-</th>
<th>$l$-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>bay</td>
<td>háyni</td>
<td>šay</td>
<td>lay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>būk</td>
<td>hūk</td>
<td>šūk</td>
<td>lūk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>bayš</td>
<td>hayš</td>
<td>šayš</td>
<td>layš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>bǝh</td>
<td>hǝh</td>
<td>šǝh</td>
<td>lǝh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>bīs</td>
<td>hīs</td>
<td>šīs</td>
<td>līs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cd</td>
<td>(bǝ́ki)</td>
<td>(hǝ́ki)</td>
<td>šīki</td>
<td>lǝ́ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cd</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3cd</td>
<td>(bǝ́hi)</td>
<td>(hǝ́hi)</td>
<td>šīhi</td>
<td>lǝ́hi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cp</td>
<td>bīn</td>
<td>hīn</td>
<td>šīn</td>
<td>līn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2mp</td>
<td>bikǝm</td>
<td>hikǝm</td>
<td>šikǝm</td>
<td>likǝm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fp</td>
<td>bikǝn</td>
<td>hikǝn</td>
<td>šikǝn</td>
<td>likǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3mp</td>
<td>bikǝm</td>
<td>hikǝm</td>
<td>šikǝm</td>
<td>likǝm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fp</td>
<td>bīsǝn</td>
<td>hīsǝn</td>
<td>šīsǝn</td>
<td>līsǝn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -īh, though it is realized as -āh or, less often, -ēh or -eh, as per the rule discussed in §2.2.4. In the texts, I have always
transcribed -\textipa{\texttilde{h}}. Cf. the variation in the 3ms object suffixes on 3ms perfects, discussed in §3.2.3.

- The anomalous 1cs form \textipa{hāni}, though it does not conform with the rest of this group, does have parallels in the other MSA languages (e.g., Hobyot \textipa{hīni}, Jibbali \textipa{hīni}, Soqotri \textipa{ēnīi}).

- The vowel of the dual forms is a bit problematic. The two attestations of 3cd \textipa{līhi} with audio (74:16; 83:1) clearly have \textipa{ā}. The two attestations of 3cd \textipa{šīhi} (4:13; 35:20) have \textipa{i}, though Ali did not indicate the vowel in his Arabic-letter transcription (as he did, for example, for 3mp \textipa{šīhām}, and usually for 3cd \textipa{tihi}). The shift \textipa{i} > \textipa{ā} does not seem to be because of the following \textipa{h}, since we never find the shift before the 3mp suffix -\textipa{hām}, and because we find -\textipa{āki} 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 \textipa{b}- and \textipa{h}- remain uncertain, as also with dual object suffixes on verbs (§3.2.3).

Another group consists of \textipa{bād} ‘after’, \textipa{bark} ‘in(to), inside’, \textipa{hāl} ‘at, by, beside’, \textipa{fanōhān} ‘before; in front of’, \textipa{am-mān} ‘between’, and \textipa{sār} ‘behind’. These forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>\textipa{bād}</th>
<th>\textipa{bark}</th>
<th>\textipa{fanōhān}</th>
<th>\textipa{hāl}</th>
<th>\textipa{am-mān}</th>
<th>\textipa{sār}</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>bādāy</td>
<td>bārkāy</td>
<td>fānwāy</td>
<td>hānāy</td>
<td>am-mānwāy</td>
<td>sārāy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>bādūk</td>
<td>bārkūk</td>
<td>fānwūk</td>
<td>hānūk</td>
<td>am-mānwūk</td>
<td>sārūk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>bādāyš</td>
<td>bārkāyš</td>
<td>fānwāyš</td>
<td>hānāyš</td>
<td>am-mānwāyš</td>
<td>sārāyš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>bādīh</td>
<td>bārkīh</td>
<td>fānwīh</td>
<td>hānīh</td>
<td>am-mānwīh</td>
<td>sārīh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>bādis</td>
<td>bārkīs</td>
<td>fānwīs</td>
<td>hānīs</td>
<td>(am-mānwīs)</td>
<td>sārīs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cd</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>(fānwāki)?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>am-mānwāyki</td>
<td>(sārīki)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cd</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>(fānwāhi)?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>am-mānwāyhi</td>
<td>(sārīhi)?</td>
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<tr>
<td>3cd</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>(fānwāhi)?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>am-mānwāyhi</td>
<td>(sārīhi)?</td>
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<td>hānīn</td>
<td>am-mānwīn</td>
<td>sārīn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 $\text{mǝnwáyhi}$ (77:10), though there is no audio confirmation of this form. In ML (p. xviii), Johnstone gives the forms $\text{fanwáki}$ and $\text{fanwáhi}$ as representative of this group. Watson (2012: 70) lists the dual forms $\text{sǝrίki}$ and $\text{sǝrίhi}$. If Johnstone’s forms are correct, or even if these are mistranscriptions for $\text{fanwáki}$ and $\text{fanwáhi}$ then it is very unclear whether the others pattern with $\text{fanwáhi}$ or the attested $\text{mǝnwáyhi}$. Therefore, I have marked the unattested dual forms given above with a question mark. See also the final note to the previous table able.

Another set includes $\text{ð̣ār} ‘on; about’$ and $\text{ġayr} ‘except’$:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1cs</th>
<th>2ms</th>
<th>2fs</th>
<th>3ms</th>
<th>3fs</th>
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<tr>
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<td>$\text{ð̣áyrǝk}$</td>
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<td>Case</td>
<td>Preposition</td>
<td>Object Suffix</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cd</td>
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<td>ǝ́ýrki</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ǝ́ýrhi</td>
<td>ǝ́ýrhi</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3cd</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2mp</td>
<td>ǝ́yrkǝm</td>
<td>ǝ́yrkǝm</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fp</td>
<td>ǝ́yrkǝn</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fp</td>
<td>ǝ́yrsǝn</td>
<td>ǝ́yrsǝn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:

- The suffixes used with these prepositions look like the object suffixes used with singular nouns (§ 3.2.1). The vowel ǝ is part of the underlying suffix. The syllable ǝr is regularly metathesized to ar, e.g., *ǝ́ýrǝsǝn > ǝ́y(ǝ)rsǝn. This is why we find the diphthong ay in what looks to be a closed syllable in the dual and plural forms.

The prepositions ǝ́wōli ‘to, towards’ and ǝ́xāli ‘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 ǝ́xāl-ihǝm is etymologically made up of the base ǝ́xāli plus the 3mp suffix -hǝm, i.e., ǝ́xāl-ihǝm. This was reinterpreted as a base ǝ́xāl plus the suffix -ihǝm that is found attached to plural nouns, i.e., ǝ́xāl-ihǝm, and subsequently the entire paradigm shifted to this pattern. The forms are:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Morpheme</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>tǝwálye</td>
<td>nǝxálye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>tǝwêke</td>
<td>nǝxâke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>tǝwēše</td>
<td>nǝxâše</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>tǝwêhe/tǝwálhe</td>
<td>nǝxâhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>tǝwēše</td>
<td>nǝxâše</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cd</td>
<td>tǝwáliki</td>
<td>nǝxáliki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3md</td>
<td>tǝwálhi</td>
<td>nǝxálhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cp</td>
<td>tǝwályen</td>
<td>nǝxályen</td>
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<td>nǝxálikǝm</td>
</tr>
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<td>nǝxálikǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3mp</td>
<td>tǝwálhǝm</td>
<td>nǝxálhǝm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fp</td>
<td>tǝwálisǝn</td>
<td>nǝxálisǝn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:

- The $l$ of the bases nǝxâl- and tǝwâl- 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 nǝx āhɛ also has a variant with the $l$ preserved.
- The base tǝwâl- has the free variant tǝwɛ́l-, e.g., tǝwâlhe ~ tǝwɛ́lhe and tǝwâlikǝm ~ tǝwɛ́likǝm.
Finally, the preposition *mǝn* ‘from’ is unique. Its suffixed forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>mǝnǝy</td>
<td>mǝnǝkǝy</td>
<td>mǝnǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>mǝnk</td>
<td>mǝnkǝy</td>
<td>mǝnkǝm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>mǝnš</td>
<td></td>
<td>mǝnkên</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>mǝnǝh</td>
<td>mǝnħǝy</td>
<td>mǝnħǝm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>mǝns</td>
<td></td>
<td>mǝnsǝn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The particles *ar* ‘except, but’, *tǝ* ‘until, up to’, and *xǝ* ‘like; as ... as’ cannot take suffixes. In fact, *tǝ* is not attested with a pronominal object at all, while *ar* and *xǝ* are followed by independent subject pronouns. The preposition *sǝbǝb* ‘because of’ takes suffixes like any ordinary noun, though only 3ms *sǝbǝbǝh* is attested in the texts (89:32).
CHAPTER 9

Numerals

9.1 Cardinals

9.1.1 Numerals 1–10

Following are the numerals 1–10 in Omani Mehri:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 ṭāṭ (ṭād)</td>
<td>ṭayt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 ṭrōh</td>
<td>ṭrayt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 šāṭāyt</td>
<td>šhaliṭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 ārbōt</td>
<td>ārba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 xǝmmōh</td>
<td>xáymǝh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 yatīt</td>
<td>hatt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 yǝbāyt</td>
<td>hōba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 tamǝnīt</td>
<td>tamōni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 sayt/sa’āyt</td>
<td>sē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 āśǝrīt</td>
<td>ōśǝr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 xǝmmōh), which is otherwise typically a feminine marker (§ 4.1).

The masculine numbers are used for counting. The numeral ṭāṭ (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, but ṭāṭ is the form that Ali normally used; only once in his texts did he write ṭād (4:1). On ṭāṭ as an indefinite pronoun, see § 3.5.1 and § 3.5.3.

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 *wḥd. 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 *wḥd, but this etymology and the connection with Qatabanic are not mutually exclusive.
The numeral ṭrōh (f. ṭrayt) 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 ṭrōh 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 ṭrayt.

The form sāṭáyt derives not from **šalṭáyt (which would give šawtāyt in Omani Mehri), but rather from *šaʾṭáyt. Watson (2012: 110) recorded šaṭáyt in Eastern Yemeni Mehri. Western Yemeni Mehri has šáfáyt or šaʾag(a)tīt (Jahn 1905: 74), Ĥarsusi has šāfāyt (HL, s.v. šls), Hobyot has šaṭēt (HV, p. 265), Jibbali (in which ‘ or l should remain) has šotēt (JLO, § 9.1.1), and Soqoṭri has šáṭah (Johnstone 1975: 23). The h of the feminine form šhālīt is found in Yemeni Mehri dialects, as well as in Hobyot and Jibbali.4

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 saʾät for ‘nine (m.)’. The latter does sometimes sound more like sāṭят, which is probably where Johnstone got the transcription sāʾat in text 104:29 (see the comment to that passage).5

Following are some examples of numerals in context:

1m ġigēn ṭād ‘one boy’ (35:8), ḫāʾ ṭāṭ ‘a certain place’ (25:1), tāṭ dällōl ‘one guide’ (60:8)
1f ṅakhir ṭayt ‘one day’ (24:5), fāmǝs ṭayt ‘one of its legs [lit. its one leg]’ (6:14), wōdi ṭayt ‘a certain valley’ (44:12)

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3 There actually seems to be quite a bit of variation in Yemeni Mehri. In Hein (1909), for example, we find the transcriptions daḡtīt (text 11:22), tağašiš (text 21:1), tağaštīt (text 29:20), dağašāyt (text 56:3), and šağašāyt (text 57:1). My thanks to Antoine Lonnet for alerting me to these forms.

4 The root *šlt 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 ṭād, this root has parallels in Old South Arabian. A feminine form šlt (vowels unknown) is attested in Early Sabaic and in the other OSA languages (though later Sabaic has ṭlt), and a form šlīt is attested a couple of times in Minaic.

5 The form sāṭ given in ML (s.v. s’) and Johnstone (1975a: 23) is likely an error. Watson (2012: 110) also recorded saʾät.
Interesting, the numeral ţṭ (f. ţyt) comes between a noun and its attributive adjective. In these cases (of which only a handful are attested), ţṭ / ţyt is usually best translated with an indefinite article or the phrase 'a certain':

šērā’ ţṭ šōx ‘a certain big street’ (18:10)
seḵān ţṭ rēḥāk ‘a certain settlement far away’ (64:32)
ğogānōt ţyt ṣrḥāymat ‘a certain pretty girl’ (97:19)
rəšk ţṭ yadīn ‘a new lot’ (98:9)
sawr ţṭ yadīn ‘a new plan’ (98:9)

Numerals with pronominal suffixes are not attested in the texts, though such constructions are possible (e.g., šāṭāyən ‘we three’, šāṭātkəm ‘you three’). We do,
however, find in the texts a suffix (dual, of course) attached to the noun *kaláyt* ‘both’: *kaláthi* ‘both of them’ (20:25). In a partitive expression, the numeral is followed by the preposition *mǝn*, as in *arbōt mǝnin* ‘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. The following are all of the forms of the teens attested in the texts:

**Native Mehri form:**

15  *ōśǝr wǝ-xáymǝh* ‘fifteen (dollars)’ (39:3)

**Arabic forms:**

11  *hǝdʿášar ġayg* ‘eleven men’ (104:10, 104:25)

14  *arbātāšǝr zayr* ‘fourteen jars’ (97:21)

15  *xamstāšǝr yūm* ‘fifteen days’ (97:31)

16  *anhōr ṃ-ǝ-sattāšǝr* ‘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 *āśǝrīt wǝ-ṭāṭ ġǝyūg*, 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 *aśráyn*), *śǝlāṯáyn* ‘30’, *ǝrbǝʿáyn* ‘40’, and *xǝmsáyn* ‘50’. The pattern of *śolāṭáyn* ‘30’ derives from Arabic, but the initial *š*...
is Mehri; the form is thus a hybrid, as is the variant \textit{ašráyn} for ‘20’. For numbers such as 21, 22, 23, etc., the digit usually follows the ten (but see ‘25’ below) and is preceded by \textit{wə-}, e.g., \textit{ašráyn wə-tāṭ} ‘21’. As with the teens, nouns following numerals twenty and above can be either singular or plural. Examples from the texts are:

20 \ ašráyn sənáyn ‘20 years’ (2:1), \ ašráyn \textit{alf} ‘20,000’ (41:4), \ ašráyn \textit{kərāwš} ‘20 dollars’ (25:8)
21 \ ašráyn wə-tāṭ ‘21 (men)’ (104:21)
23 \ ašráyn wə-səẓāyt manāsir ‘23 Manasir (tribesmen)’ (104:24)
25 \ xams \textit{w-ašráyn náfar} ‘25 people’ (104:8), \ xams \textit{w-ašráyn ġayg} ‘25 men’ (104:10)
30 \ səlaštāyn \textit{alf} ‘30,000’ (65:15)
40 \ ērbə‘āyn yūm ‘40 days’ (8:6), \ ērbə‘āyn \textit{kərāwš} ‘40 dollars’ (77:3),
40 \ ērbə‘āyn ġayg ‘40 men’ (104:27)
50 \ xəmsāyyn rawn ‘50 goats’ (20:32), \ xəmsāyyn \textit{karš} ‘50 dollars’ (72:3)

9.1.4 \ \textbf{Hundreds}

The numeral ‘100’ is \textit{myēt}, and ‘200’ is the dual \textit{myēti trayt}. For all other multiples of ‘100’, the plural form \textit{mī} is used, preceded by a feminine digit. Accompanying nouns are usually in the singular. In a few cases, the genitive exponent \textit{ð-} (§ 12.4) is placed between the numeral and the noun.

100 \ myēt bū ‘100 people’ (22:32), \ myēt kilo \textit{ð-aś} ‘100 kilos of rice’ (66:4),
\textit{myēt karš} ‘100 dollars’ (85:3), \ myēt \textit{də-ḵarš} ‘100 dollars’ (85:5), \ myēt \textit{gənī} ‘100 guineas’ (85:12)
200 \ myēti trayt \textit{də-ḵarš} ‘200 dollars’ (64:11), \ myēti trayt ‘200’ (85:8)
300 \ səlāt mī (69:5)
500 \ xəyμoh mī (9:3)
700 \ hōba mī (60:5)

We also find a form with the Arabic dual suffix in one passage in the texts: \textit{myētāyn dīnār} ‘200 dinars’ (22:50).

9.1.5 \ \textbf{Thousands and Above}

The numeral ‘1000’ is \textit{ɛ̄f} in Mehri, but the Arabic form \textit{alf} is usually found in the texts. As expected, ‘2000’ is \textit{ɛ̄fi tɾōh}. Multiples from ‘3000’ up to ‘10,000’ are made with a masculine numeral plus the plural \textit{yəlēf} ‘thousands’. Higher multiples normally use the singular form \textit{alf}. Accompanying nouns can be singular or plural. The numbers attested in the texts are:
1000  alf dinār ‘1000 dinars’ (22:47), ɛf kərawš ‘1000 dollars’ (20:32)
4000  ārbōt yəlēf ‘4000’ (22:48)
10,000  āšarīt yəlēf ‘10,000’ (22:49)
20,000  ašráyn alf kərš ‘20,000 dollars’ (4:1), ašrāyn alf ‘the 20,000’ (4:10)
30,000  sōlātāyn alf ‘30,000’ (65:15)
40,000  ārba’āyn alf ‘40,000’ (22:53)

‘Million’ is məlyōn (pl. məleyīn). This is a borrowing from Arabic, as evidenced by the shared broken plural pattern.

1,000,000 məlyōn kərš ‘1,000,000 dollars’ (36:2), bū məleyīn ‘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 CīCǝC. These are as follows (note that the forms from six to nine do not occur in the texts):

nahōr tayt ‘one day’

nahōri ṯrayt ‘two days’

sīlāt yūm ‘three days’

riba yūm ‘four days’

xāymāh yūm ‘five days’

šīdət yūm ‘six days’

šība yūm ‘seven days’

tīman yūm ‘eight days’

tīsa yūm ‘nine days’

āyšar yūm ‘ten days’

The form used for ‘five days’ is identical to the simple feminine ordinal xāymah. 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. nahōri ṯrayt aw sīlāt ‘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 yəlēf.

10  The initial š of šīdət and šība does not match the initial h of the cardinal forms, though it does match the ordinals (used with ‘day’).
mat tamm šhalīt sənāyn, kalēham šilət yūm ‘when three years have elapsed, leave them three days’ (37:14)\textsuperscript{11}

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
<th>Form with ‘day’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st ḥāwoláy\textsuperscript{12}</td>
<td>ḥāwolit</td>
<td>(no special form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd mašēgar\textsuperscript{13}</td>
<td>mašēgarit</td>
<td>(no special form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd šōlət</td>
<td>šētət\textsuperscript{14}</td>
<td>šawt̩it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4th rōba’/ rōba</td>
<td>rābat</td>
<td>ərbāyt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5th xōmas</td>
<td>xamst</td>
<td>xamhūt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6th sōdas</td>
<td>sād(a)st</td>
<td>šadt̩it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7th sōba’/ sōba</td>
<td>sābat</td>
<td>šabāyt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8th ţōman</td>
<td>ţāmnat</td>
<td>ţāmnit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9th tōsa’/ tōsa</td>
<td>tāsat</td>
<td>tsāyt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 ōśar\textsuperscript{15}</td>
<td>āśr̩at</td>
<td>āśr̩it</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{11} See the comment to this passage (šilət yūm) in the text section.

\textsuperscript{12} ML (s.v. ‘wl and ḥwl’) translates ḥāwoláy only as ‘ancient’, but that is just a secondary meaning. ML translates ḥāwil as ‘first’, but this appears to be a noun meaning ‘first part’. It is found in the phrase ḥāwil ḍ-āāsar ‘the first part of the night’ (42:25), in parallel with faḳḥ ḍ-āāsar ‘the middle part of the night’ and tawōli ḍ-āāsar ‘the last part of the night’, in the same passage.

\textsuperscript{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 mašēgar, we get definite amšēgar (65:12).

\textsuperscript{14} ML (s.v. šlt) gives the feminine of šōlət as šawt̩it, 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.

\textsuperscript{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 ōśar and āśr̩at 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. ‘śr’) gives masculine ordinal āyśar, 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: CōCǝC for masculine and CāCCǝt for feminine. The ordinal forms used with ‘day’ have the pattern CaCCıt (essentially the feminine of the pattern CiCǝC discussed in § 9.2). The words for ‘first’ and ‘second’ also have plural forms, namely, mp ħāwəlỳ (fp ħawalátan) and cp mašəgarütan, though these do not appear in the texts.

For ‘second’, there are two other words besides mašēġər attested in the texts. The first is tōni (48:23, 24), a form based on the regular ordinal pattern CōCǝC. This can probably be considered a Yemeni Mehri form in the texts, though Watson (2012: 113) did record tōni in very limited use in Omani Mehri. The second is matálλi (64:19; fp matalyôt 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. tlt [sic]). The adjective mašēġər can also mean ‘other’, while the adjective ħawalỳ 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 aḡáyg ħawəlỳ ‘the first man’ (73:9), awbūd ħawəlỳ ‘he shot the first one’ (64:19), aḡáygɔs ħawəlỳ ‘her first husband’ (22:77), aẓbōn ħawəlỳ ‘former times’ (99:1)
1f tēתah ħawalıt ‘his first wife’ (22:102)
2m tawr amšēɡər ‘a second time’ (65:12), kāl tāṭ yuhom yəxbēr amšēɡər ‘each one wanted to test the other’ (73:10)
2f aḡətah amšğərēt ‘his second sister’ (37:19), ḥəwōdi amšɡərēt ‘the next valley’ (92:4), ʃemas amšɡərēt ‘its other leg’ (81:4)
3m sólət d-āsǎwər ‘the third (one) of the nights’ (22:68), āsər sólət ‘the third night’ (37:20), lēlat də-ssólat ‘the third night’ (48:24)

feminine ordinal ʰāsərēt, which must be the ordinal used with ‘days’, and, as such, it is better transcribed with a final -ît.

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’, dāwlət ‘ruler’, and maḳahōyət ‘coffee shop’). Although, in the passage in Jahn (p. 12) that corresponds to text 48:23, we find līlət tənìyət, with the feminine ordinal! Watson (2012: 133, n. 100) explains that tōni has a very restricted use in Omani Mehri. On the related adverb tənŋyən ‘secondly’, see § 10.5.

17 Cf. also the month names fəṭrəyəm amtaləli (Arabic dū l-qaʿdah) and gəmēd matallī (Arabic rabiʿ t-tānī). Johnstone (ML, s.v. gmd) wrote that gəmēd matallī corresponds to Arabic jumādā l-ʾāxirah, but in Mehri this is gəmēd rōba.
3f anhōr šǝwṯīt ‘the third day’ (22:49; 91:27), anhōr ɗ-šǝwṯīt ‘the third day’ (88:5), aġáyg ḥāwǝlāy ‘the first man’ (73:9)

4m arōba’ ɗ-āṣáwr ‘the fourth of the nights’ (37:16), arōba’ ‘the fourth (man)’ (73:8)

4f anhōr ɗ-arbáyt ‘the fourth day’ (24:20)

5f xǝmhīt ‘the fifth (day)’ (32:5)

6f āṣǝr ɗ-šǝdṯīt ‘the night of the sixth (day)’ (92:3)

16 anhōr ɗ-ǝttāšǝr ‘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 ḥāwǝlāy ‘the first man’, 73:9; anhōr šǝwṯīt ‘the third day’, 91:27), but we also find some examples in which the genitive exponent ɗ- comes between the noun and the ordinal (e.g., anhōr ɗ-šǝwṯīt ‘the third day’, 88:5). The construction of the type X ɗ-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 āṣǝr ɗ-šǝdṯīt (92:3). The form šǝdṯīt, which is a feminine form used only in conjunction with nǝhōr ‘day’ (explicitly or implicitly), cannot be modifying āṣǝr, a masculine noun. Instead, šǝdṯīt is substantivized form, agreeing with an implied nǝhōr ‘day’, and the phrase can be translated literally ‘the night of the sixth day’ or more loosely as ‘the sixth night’. The phrase nǝhōr ɗ-šǝwṯīt 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 ɗ- between them, and in these cases the ordinal is also acting substantively (e.g., šōlǝṯ ɗ-āṣáwr ‘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 xáylǝf (f. xǝwfīt), as in āṣǝr xáylǝf ‘the next night’ (69:3) and anhōr xǝwfīt ‘the next day’ (39:8; 69:5).18 Alternatively, amšēġǝr can mean ‘next’ (i.e., ‘the second’), as in anhōr amšġǝrēt ‘the next day’ (89:31). In a future context, ‘next’ (i.e., ‘the coming’) is expressed with mǝháḳbǝl, as in akáyð ǝmháḳbǝl ‘next summer’ (39:16).19 The idea of ‘last’ (i.e., ‘the previous’) is expressed by the

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18 The phrases anhōr xǝwfīt and anhōr amšġǝrēt tend to follow the conjunction tɛ ‘then’, in which case the definite article of anhōr is often elided, resulting in a pronunciation tɛ n(ǝ)hōr xǝwfīt/amšġǝrēt.

19 It seems likely that ǝmháḳbǝl in this usage is a calque of Arabic muqbil, which is the C-stem (ʾafʿaḥala) active participle from the cognate root.
verb *garōh ‘pass* in a relative clause, as in *anhōr ḏ-agǝmāt ḏǝ-gǝrūt* `last Friday’ (lit. ‘the Friday that passed’; 53:1).

The ordinals for ‘three’ and above can also be used as adverbs, while *fanōhan* is used for ‘first(ly)’ and *maḡōran* for ‘second(ly)’. Evidence is slim, but we find a nice sequence of *fanōhan* ‘first(ly)’, *maḡōran* ‘second(ly)’, and *šōlǝṯ ‘third(ly)’ in 90:15.

### 9.4 Fractions

The following fractions are attested in the texts:

$\frac{1}{2}$ *faḳḥ* (du./pl. *fákḥi*),

as in *faḳḥ ǝs-sɛ̄t* `half an hour’ (53:6), *affḥ kh ḏǝ-hōz* `half of the goat’ (25:15), *faḳḥ ḏǝ-ḥōz* `half a month’ (72:6), *faḳḥ ḏǝ-ḥāber* `half of the camels’ (69:8)

$\frac{1}{3}$ *šǝlēṯ* (du. *šǝlāyti*, pl. *šǝlwōṯ*), as in *šǝlēṯ ḏ-aáṣǝr* `a third of the night’ (42:33)

$\frac{1}{4}$ *rǝbāyt* (pl. *rǝbōyɛ*), as in *šhǝlīṯ rǝbōye* `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 ḏǝ-l-ḥād* `Sunday’ (105:1)

*anhōr ḏǝ l-ǝṯnēn* `Monday’

*anhōr ḏǝ-tolūṯ* `Tuesday’

*anhōr ḏǝ-arbū’* ‘Wednesday’

*anhōr ḏǝ-xǝmīs* `Thursday’

*anhōr ḏ-agǝmāt* `Friday’ (53:1; 85:4)

*anhōr ḏǝ-sábt* `Saturday’

The word *āṣǝr* ‘the evening, night’ can be substituted for *anhōr* ‘the day’, in which case the night before is usually the intended reference, e.g., *āṣǝr ḏ- agǝmāt* `Thursday night’ (7:7) and *aāṣǝr ḏǝ-l-ǝṯnēn* `Sunday night’ (37:2). In

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20 Sabaic also has *fḳḥ* ‘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 *gǝmāt* is used alone in the phrase *gǝmāt mǝn gǝmāt*, but it is unclear if it means ‘every week’ or ‘every Friday’; both work in the context of the story. The word *gǝmāt* undoubtedly means ‘week’ in the phrases *wǝḳōna gǝmāt* ‘about a week’ (91:13) and *śxǝwlūl gǝmāt* ‘he rested a week’ (93:7).

 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 *āṣǝr* refers to the night before.
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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ǝrṣánibǝ-ḥáys} & \text{ ‘tie me up tightly [lit. with force]’ (24:28)} \\
\text{hēt ḥōkǝm tháwkǝm ba-hákk} & \text{ ‘you are a ruler who rules justly [lit. with rightness]’ (74:20)} \\
\text{káwta ba-háys} & \text{ ‘he cut (too) forcefully [lit. with force]’ (75:17)} \\
\text{ṭāṭ hārgūf b-abēdi} & \text{ ‘one fake-shivered [lit. shivered on pretense]’ (84:4)}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wǝ-šgǝwsɛ́tǝhḥāmǝ́hmǝglēsḳǝwáy} & \text{ ‘and his mother gave [lit. scolded] him a severe scolding’ (or: ‘she scolded him severely’) (14A:8)} \\
\text{ġǝlūḳb-aġīgēnġáylǝḳḳǝwáy} & \text{ ‘he looked at the boy (with) an intense look’ (or: ‘he looked at the boy intensely’) (22:8)} \\
\text{ḳǝṭáysmǝḳṭātḳǝnnǝ́t} & \text{ ‘he gave her [lit. cut her] a small cut’ (or: ‘he cut her lightly’) (75:18)}
\end{align*}
\]

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 \(-māh\) (see §3.4). The longer forms (i.e., those with the element \(-māh\)) are far more common overall, though in combination with \(l\)- ‘to’, only the shorter form of ‘here’ is used. Following are the forms, along with some sentences illustrating their use:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Here:} & \quad \text{bōh} \\
& \quad \text{báwmāh} \\
\text{There:} & \quad \text{ḥaláwk} \\
& \quad \text{ḥalákmāh}
\end{align*}
\]
To here: $\text{aw-bōh} \ (< \text{*al-bōh})$  
To there:  
(no special form attested)

From here: $\text{am-bōh}$  
From there:  
(no short form attested)

$\text{am-báwmǝh, mǝn báwmǝh}$  
$mǝn \text{ halákǝmǝh}$

The shorter forms $\text{bōh}$ and $\text{ḥǝláwk}$ (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 $\text{bōh}$ (42:27, 42:35) are both in presentative statements ('here is ...'), while the three attested cases of $\text{ḥǝláwk}$ (5:7, 5:8; 23:18) are in existential statements. For motion towards, $\text{aw-bōh}$ is only attested with imperatives. When other tenses are used, we find $\text{báwmǝh}$ used for motion instead. Compare the passages below from texts 1:4 and 94:33, both of which contain a form of the verb $\text{nūka} \ '\text{come}'. $Examples are:

- $\text{kō hēt báwmǝh} \ 'why are you here?' \ (3:10)$
- $\text{skyēna báwmǝh} \ 'they will settle here' \ (74:5)$
- $\text{aʿiśēš bōh} \ 'here is your dinner' \ (42:27)$
- $\text{ankē \ aw-bōh} \ 'come here!' \ (1:4)$
- $\text{al yanákam báwmǝh lā} \ 'they don't come here' \ (94:33)$
- $\text{nákak \ am-bōh} \ 'I come [or: came] from here' \ (80:2)$
- $\text{sayárk ... am-báwmǝh} \ 'I went ... from here' \ (53:1)$
- $\text{ḥām ftǝkk mǝn báwmǝh} \ 'if I get out from here' \ (3:3)$
- $\text{al \ ǝḥād yǝšɛ̄nūs yǝnkɛ́ʾ \ halákǝmǝh} \ 'no one dared come there' \ (95:1)$
- $\text{hǝḳṣáwm \ halákǝmǝh} \ 'he spent the day there' \ (99:39)$
- $\text{ḥǝláwk \ tōmǝr} \ 'there are dates there' \ (5:8)$
- $\text{sǝyáwr mǝn \ halákǝmǝh} \ 'they went from there' \ (68:2)$

### 10.2 Adverbs of Place

In addition to the demonstrative adverbs discussed in the previous section, some adverbs of place are:

- $\text{abárr} \ 'outside; ashore' \ (directional)$
- $\text{b-abárr} \ 'outside; ashore' \ (locational)$
- $\text{aġáwf} \ 'up, upwards, upstairs, uphill' \ (directional)$
- $\text{mǝn aġáwf} \ 'from above'$
- $\text{b-aġǝrbēt} \ 'abroad' \ (locational)$
Chapter 10

\textit{bə-kāl makōn} ‘everywhere, anyplace’

\textit{al-hāk} ‘inside; to the north; upstream’ (locational or directional)

\textit{mən hək} ‘from inside; from the north; from upstream’

\textit{aw-mšā} ‘down; downstream; to the south’ (< *\textit{al-mašā}*)

\textit{xōtar} ‘down, downward, downstairs; below’ (directional)

\textit{ba-xōtar} ‘down there, downstairs; below’ (locational)

We can also add here the word \textit{kīnəh} ‘back (towards)’, which seems to be used only with the verb \textit{rədd} ‘go back, return’, as in \textit{rədd kīnəh 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.\footnote{See ML (s.v. \textit{knḥ}) and Watson (2012: 117).}

10.3 Adverbs of Time

\textit{ābdan} ‘never’ (see §13.2.8)

\textit{bād gēhamah} ‘day after tomorrow’

\textit{bə-halláy} ‘at night\footnote{The bare noun \textit{halláy} is not attested in the texts without the preposition \textit{bə}. It is, however, attested with pronominal suffixes, in which case it has the irregular base \textit{halláyw}-, as in \textit{halláywī} ‘my night’ and \textit{halláywah} ‘his night’ (both in text 85:27).}

\textit{dāwbañ} ‘mid-morning’

\textit{fənəh} ‘before(\textit{hand}), previously’ (less common than \textit{fənəhan})

\textit{fənəhan} ‘first(ly); before(\textit{hand}); previously, formerly’

\textit{mən fənəhan} ‘before(\textit{hand})\footnote{In the phrase \textit{mən fənəhan} ‘before(\textit{hand})’, the preposition \textit{mən} has no clear meaning of its own. Other prepositions in combination with \textit{fənəhan} do have meaning. Cf. \textit{al-his fənəhan} ‘as before’ (e.g., 24:32).}

\textit{fənəmsiḥ} ‘day before yesterday’

\textit{gēhamah} ‘tomorrow; the next day (in narrative)’

\textit{gəsrəwən} ‘(in) the early evening (or late afternoon)’

\textit{hayūm w-əsəwər} ‘day and night’

\textit{k-aḏāhr} ‘at noon; in the afternoon’

\textit{kaldəni} ‘in the evening’

\textit{k-sōbañ} ‘in the morning’

\textit{k-amgərəb} ‘in the evening’ (rare)

\textit{l-əyōmən} ‘last year’

---

1 See ML (s.v. \textit{knḥ}) and Watson (2012: 117).
mağōran ‘later; then; second(ly)’
mann sēt ‘a long time ago’
mann tawr ‘sometimes’
mann xawr ‘after a little while’
nahōran ‘(at) midday’
sētan ‘a while ago’
sōbar ‘always’
sawānōt ‘(for/in) a little while’ (see § 4.5)
sərōməh ‘now’
tε (+ adv.) ‘then’ (see § 13.5.3.2)
(at)tōli ‘then’
ṭawr ‘once’
ṭawri ṭrōh ‘twice’
tányan ‘secondly’
xatārāt ‘once’ (lit. ‘time’)6
yəllōh ‘last night’
yəllīləh ‘tonight’
yəmōh ‘today’
yəmsūh ‘yesterday’

One can observe (following Lonnet 2003: 436) that several of these adverbs have a final element -ǝn, namely, dāwban, fənōhan, ġasráwwan, l-āyōman, mağōran, nahōran, sētan, and tányan. Cf. also wīyan and xāssan, included in § 10.5.

10.4 Adverbs of Manner

fisé ‘quickly’
fāxrə ‘together’
taw ‘well’ (see below)
al-xārxáwr ‘slowly, gently’

4 The longer form attōli comes either from wo-tōli, by an irregular assimilation, or from the Arabic definite form, as in the Arabic phrase bi-t-tāli ‘then’. The forms tōli and attōli are free variants. See the comment to text 35:5.

5 The adverb tányan ‘secondly’ (< Arabic taniyan) occurs only once in the texts; see the comment to text 58:9. The same root is found in the ordinal tōni, discussed in § 9.3.

6 From the same root as xatārāt is maksūr ‘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: n18).
wǝḥś- ‘by oneself’ (see § 3.6)
(l-)ǝwṭákǝmǝh, waṭákǝmǝh ‘thus, like that, in that way’ (see below)
waṭōmǝh ‘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 tóww- ‘must, ought to’ (§ 12.5.19), and as part of the exclamatory phrase his-táw ‘very good! ok!’ (§ 12.2). The adverbial example is:

ǝḥād yǝḥwɛ̄k taw lā ‘no one will understand you well’ (80:19)

The forms waṭōmǝh ‘thus, like this, in this way’ and (l-)ǝwṭákǝmǝh ‘thus, like that, in that way’ contain the same suffixed elements that we see in the near and far demonstrative pronouns ðōmǝh ‘this’ and ðɛ́kǝmǝh ‘that’ (§ 3.4), and in the demonstrative adverbs báwmǝh ‘here’ and ḥǝlákǝmǝh ‘there’ (§ 10.1). Corresponding to bōh ‘here’, the short form of the near demonstrative adverb, there also exists a short form waṭōh, but it is not attested in the texts. The phrases ǝl-ḥōlǝt ðīmǝh ‘in this manner’ (24:15, 24:25) and l-aḳǝssēt ðǝ́kǝmǝh ‘in that way [lit. that story]’ (84:10) have meanings similar to waṭōmǝh and (l-)ǝwṭákǝmǝh.

10.5 Adverbs of Degree

wǝḳōna ‘about, approximately; perhaps, maybe’ (see below)
wīyan ‘very (much); well’ (see below)
xāṣ ‘especially’
xaṣṣǝn ‘especially’ (see the comment to text 46:7)

The form wǝḳōna ‘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’, wǝḳōna 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 wǝḳōna:

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7 See ML (s.v. ḡt’) and (Watson 2012: 119).
The adverb *wīyən* is relatively rare in the texts, occurring just seven times. It occurs twice modifying an adjective, and five times modifying a verb. Its basic meaning seems to be ‘very much’, as in:

- *fōnəh gīd wīyən* ‘(it was) very good before’ (23:2)
- *gátyədəm lūk wīyən* ‘they are very angry at you’ (37:18)
- *ḥābū əd-tābəm wīyən* ‘the people were very weary’ (61:1)
- *ḥē yəḥbūb ḥābū wīyən* ‘he loved the people very much’ (67:1)
- *ḥəməh rēḥək līhəm wīyən* ‘the water was very far from them’ (104:3)

In two places, *wīyən* is better translated as ‘very well’, though the original meaning ‘very much’ can be seen:

- *hōh əl əgōrəb ḥōrəm wīyən lā* ‘I didn’t know the road very well’ (47:2)
- *arībēy əl yəḥbəṣəwr wīyən lā* ‘my friend didn’t see very well’ (82:2)
  
  (*ḥəbəṣəwr* = ‘see well’)

---

8 This is assuming that *rēḥək* is an adjective in text 104:3. We could also parse it as a Gb-Stem perfect (*rīḥək*) 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.
CHAPTER 11

Interrogatives

The Mehri interrogatives are as follows:1

- mōn ‘who?’
- hēśän mên ‘which? what kind of?’
- hō ‘where?’
- wə-kōh (kō) ‘why?’
- hībōh ‘how? what?’
- mayt ‘when?’
- kəm ‘how many? how much?’

Each of these interrogatives will be treated in turn below.2 On turning a declarative sentence into an interrogative one, with or without the interrogative particle wəlɛ̄, 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 bar mōn ‘whose son are you?’ (lit. ‘you are the son of whom?’) (20:44)
- atēm bar mōn ‘what clan are you?’ (lit. ‘you are the house of whom?’) (42:5)
- mōn āmūr hūk ‘who told you?’ (36:27)
- mōn yasūkan bērk abāyt dīmāh ‘who lives in this house?’ (38:11)

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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 ba-ḥḥābt (23:15).
mōn mǝnkēm yǝḵāwdar yǝṭbēr aʎomah ‘which [lit. who] of you can break these?’ (50:2)
mōn mǝnkēm yǝḥōm ‘which [lit. who] of you wants?’ (95:2)
mōn ḏǝ-lūtaḡ arīṣit ‘who killed the serpent?’ (42:40)
mōn ḏǝ-yǝḥōm yawtāḡah ‘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 ḏ- (see § 3.8.1). Comparing these with other passages above and in the texts, we can conclude that the use of the relative ḏ- is not obligatory (as it is in Jibbali, for example), since there are many verbal sentences in which mōn is used alone.

11.2 hēšǝn ‘what? why?’

The interrogative hēšǝn ‘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 hibōh (see § 11.6) corresponds to the English use of ‘what?’. Example of hēšǝn used as the subject of a verbal or non-verbal sentence are:

hēšǝn gǝrōh ‘what happened?’ (65:13)
būk hēšǝn ‘what’s with you?’ (48:5)
hēšǝn šiḵǝm ‘what do you have?’ (104:17)
šayš hēšǝn ‘what do you have?’ (94:45)
hēšǝn martāyḵ ‘what is (this word) martayḵ?’ (71:4)
hēšǝn hǝlātah ‘what is its description?’ (28:7)

Examples of hēšǝn used as a direct or indirect object are:

hēšǝn thōm ‘what do you want?’ (10:5)
ṯōm hēšǝn ‘what do you want?’ (70:6)
hēšǝn šiṅak ‘what did you see?’ (95:6)
hēšǝn tômǝr ‘what is she saying?’ (99:44)
hēšǝn l-āmōl ‘what should I do?’ (101:12)
hēšǝn aḵāwdar l-āmōl ‘what can I do?’ (67:2)
hēšǝn thāmı̄ l-āmōl ‘what do you want me to do?’ (90:14)
hēšǝn ʾımlaš b-adonyē ‘what have you done in this world?’ (68:6)
hēšǝn ʾātarkaḵ ‘what did you talk about?’ (74:21)
bǝ-hēšǝn kātwaḵki ‘what did you two chat about?’ (74:22)
\textit{man hēšən tā̀shōk} ‘what are you laughing at?’ (5:4)
\textit{man hēšən fātx} ‘what is the head-wound from?’ (48:12)
\textit{hēt k-hēšən bāwməh} ‘what are you with here?’ (99:49)

It can also be used as an independent interrogative, as in:

\textit{hēšən} ‘what?’ (82:4; 89:16)

It can be used in indirect questions, functioning as either subject or object, as in:

\textit{kəlēt} lay hēšən ‘āmlək ‘tell me what you did!’ (20:17)
\textit{sənyēya gēhamah} hēšən yākə ‘we’ll see what happens tomorrow’ (75:11)
\textit{wādak hēšən l-āmol} ‘do you know what I should do?’ (101:10)
\textit{hāmaš ayağrəyb} hēšən də-yəmor ‘did you hear what the crow was saying?’ (5:4)
\textit{gəyūg də-ūttəgəm} bāwməh, w-əl wādak mən dər hēšən lā ‘men have killed each other here, and I don’t know over what’ (3:19)

The phrase *h-hēšən, literally ‘for what?’ also means ‘why?’ (cf. Jibbali \textit{h-ínə}), but because of the rule described in § 2.1.4, this phrase regularly surfaces simply as \textit{hēšən}. And so \textit{hēšən}, originally just meaning ‘what?’ has come to also mean ‘what for?’ or ‘why?’. Examples are:

\textit{hēšən} ‘why?’ (27:2)
\textit{hēšən} ‘for what?’ (42:7)
\textit{təxəbür mənsən hēšən} ‘what you asking about them for?’ (28:5)
\textit{hēšən l-azēməh} ‘why should I give him (a camel)?’ (89:32)
\textit{thəməh hēšən} ‘what do you want it for?’ (97:38)
\textit{hēšən nākək} ‘what did you come for?’ (99:36)

11.3 \textit{hēšən mən} ‘which? what kind of?’

The interrogative \textit{hēšən} is combined with the preposition \textit{mən} ‘from' to express ‘which?’ or ‘what kind of?’, a meaning also often carried by English ‘what?’. The position of \textit{mən} is not fixed, and so a pronoun (personal or demonstrative) can intervene between \textit{hēšən} and \textit{mən}. Examples are:
hēsān mən sǝwɔr ‘what kind of plan?’ (35:9)
hēsān mən bədì ‘what kind of con?’ (72:1)
hēsān mən ʃyâfɔt dɔməh ‘which wedding is this?’ (75:5)
hēsān mən həyəlat ‘what kind of trick?’ (75:11)
hēsān mən ɡiɡiɡ dɔməh ‘what kind of boy is this?’ (91:7)
hēt hēsān mən ɡayɡ ‘what kind of man are you?’ (42:50; 74:7)
hēsān hēt mən ɡayɡ ‘what kind of man are you?’ (63:4)
hēsān hēt mən tət ‘what kind of woman are you?’ (6:11)
hēsān hēt mən mənɛdəm ‘what kind of person are you?’ (20:34)
hēsān dɔməh mən ɡəry ʃük ‘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:

ǝl wīdə hēsān mən məhrēt yəmōl 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’iʃēy hō ‘where is my dinner?’ (42:26)
hō a’iʃēy ‘where is my dinner?’ (42:34)
ar tēti hō ‘so where is my wife?’ (37:12)
həbrətʃ hō ‘where is your daughter?’ (48:8)
hō sè ‘where is she?’ (65:9)
hātəmık hō yəllōh ‘where did you spend the night last night?’ (80:3)
wādak tisən hō həbər bərūk ‘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 ǝl-hō) and mən ‘from’, when used with verbs of motion (or where motion is implied):

ǝl-hō tsyawɔr ‘where are you going to?’ (72:2)
ǝl-hō təɡʰɛm ‘where are you going to?’ (72:5)
ǝl-hō sìɾɔnə yaməh ‘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)
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**tháymi al-hó** ‘where are you headed?’ (85:3)

**l-ād wīda al-hó yahīwal lā** ‘he didn’t know anymore which way [lit. to where] to head’ (98:1)

Note that **hó** 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 **wa-kōh (kō)** ‘why?’

The basic meaning of Mehri **wa-kōh** is ‘why?’, and this is the meaning which it nearly always carries. The prefixed conjunction **wa-** ‘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 **wa-**. Moreover, **kō** and the pronoun form a single stress unit (i.e., a single word for stress purposes); 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 **ǝtēm** and **ǝtēn** are shortened to **tēm** and **tēn** when they follow **kō**. Examples are:

- **wa-kōh** ‘why?’ (36:26; 57:9; 97:3)
- **ḥáybi, wa-kōh al hārāsk lā** ‘Father, why haven’t you gotten married?’ (97:2)
- **kō hēt bāwmah** ‘why are you here?’ (3:10)
- **kō tēm bāwmah** ‘why are you (pl.) here?’ (82:4)
- **wa-kōh al sayárš lā** ‘why didn’t you go?’ (97:22)
- **kō hēt tabāyk** ‘why are you (m.) crying?’ (5:10)
- **kō hēt tabēki** ‘why are you (f.) crying?’ (85:4)
- **kō tēm tābākam** ‘why are you (pl.) crying?’ (36:15)
- **kō tēm kaďákm** ‘why did you come down?’ (74:19)
- **kō hēt tābāk tīn** ‘why did you follow us?’ (22:11)
- **wa-kōh ġārābk tī ōmar** ‘why do you know I (can) sing?’ (52:7)

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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 **wa-kōh** he spelled وَكُو, 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 ...?’ < كَ + *het* (see JLO, § 11.5).
wa-kōh aḏ-ġarābk abkār tsābān mān ḥāmōh ‘why do you think [lit. know] the cows would do without water?’ (27:4)

In the last two examples, both of which contain a form of the verb ġarūb ‘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:

wa-kōh ahād yakáwdar yağbēr hábbe ḍā-bér mōtām ‘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:

kōhē aġiggēn ḏā-yēbāyk ‘why is the boy crying?’ (63:10)

kōhēm ḥābū alyēk ḏā-yawākbām bārk abāyt ḏayk? ‘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 wukō (= wa-kō). Wagner (1953: 60) follows suit. Watson (2012: 123) also has only wkōh. Johnstone (ML, s.v. ḏ) notes only that wa-kōh appears more than kōh. We have seen that the default form is wa-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 wātxfām ḥīṭār ‘how [i.e., in what condition] did the kids come back this evening?’ (26:12)

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4 In the form aḏ-ġarābk, the prefix is the verbal prefix ḏ- (§ 7.1.10.2), not the relative pronoun.
hībōh ǝttwáhi ‘how will she come to me in the night?’ (75:6)
hībōh tɛtk ‘how is your wife?’ (97:50)
hībōh al kālām tīś tśōkti lā ‘how did they not let you sleep?’ (74:17)
bə’ayli habēr, hībōh ḍā-wbāwd ‘the camel-herders, how have they been doing?’ (45:9)
hībōh hayr háyrək ‘how is the donkey your donkey?’ (46:12)
hībōh hankərk ‘how do you feel?’ (84:6)
hībōh tkōsa ḥənāfk ‘how are you?’ (lit. ‘how do you find yourself?’) (84:8)
hībōh amātáymək ‘how was your night?’ (85:27)

In certain contexts, especially in combination with the verbs āmūr ‘say’, áyməl ‘do’, and šīni ‘see’, hībōh corresponds to English ‘what?’. It can also mean ‘what?’ when used independently. Examples are:

hībōh šawr ‘what’s the plan?’ (6:6)
hībōh hām ‘what is a dream?’ (19:21)
hībōh āmərk ‘what did you say?’ (80:9)
ətəm təməram hībōh ‘what do you say?’ (80:16)
hībōh āmləna ‘what will we do?’ (98:9)
hībōh l-āmə ‘what should I do?’ (37:15)
hībōh ‘āmləm ‘what did they do?’ (74:20)
hībōh ḍə-yōmər ‘what was it saying?’ (5:4)
hībōh yəmərən hābū ‘what would the people say?’ (98:12)
hībōh šinaš ‘what did you see?’ (98:13)
ḍ-əktəwɛk aw hībōh ‘have you gone crazy or what?’ (20:5)
hībōh ‘what?’ (80:13)
wələkan hībōh ‘but what?’ (42:3)

As can be seen from some of the examples given in §11.2, the interrogative hɛ̄śən can also be used with the verbs āmūr, áyməl, and šīni. That is to say, hībōh and hɛ̄śən 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 ‘āmləm ‘what did they do?’ (74:20), followed shortly thereafter by hɛ̄śən ‘āmləkəm ‘what did you do?’ (74:21).

We also find hībōh meaning either ‘how’ or ‘what’ in indirect questions, as in:

wādəkəm hābū hībōh sənət dīmə ‘do you know how the people are this year?’ (45:1)
ağğən l-ād wīda hībōh yāməl lā ‘the boy didn’t know at all what to do’ (76:3)
In a couple of cases, *hibōh* means ‘why?’ or ‘how come?’. Just as *hēśan* ‘why?’ comes from *h-hēśan* (see §11.2), it is possible that *hibōh* in such cases is from an underlying *h-hibōh*.

\[ \text{*hibōh* al-kafēd mēn ār ḥāyri ‘why should I get down off my donkey?’} \]
\[ (46:11) \]
\[ \text{*hibōh* ‘āmlaš wətōməh ‘why did you do that?’} \]
\[ (97:51) \]

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:

\[ \text{*mayt* hāmak tī ā-ōmar ‘when did you hear me singing?’} \]
\[ (52:11) \]
\[ \text{*mayt* tārēd lay ‘when will you come back to me?’} \]
\[ (56:5) \]
\[ \text{wādan lā mayt yankē ‘we don’t know when it might come’} \]
\[ (45:17) \]
\[ \text{wādak mayt l-attività ‘do you know when I should drink it?’} \]
\[ (101:8) \]
\[ \text{mēn mayt ‘since when?’} \]
\[ (101:33) \]

On the temporal particle *mat*, 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 *ba-kám*. Among the few examples in the texts are:

\[ \text{kəm yum (t)sābран mēn ḥomōh ‘how many days will they do without water?’} \]
\[ (27:21) \]
\[ \text{ḥamāwlat ba-kám ‘how much is a camel-load?’} \]
\[ (27:11) \]
\[ \text{ba-kám thōm (t)sōm lay amandāwkē ‘how much do you want to sell me your rifle for?’} \]
\[ (39:1) \]
\[ \text{ba-kám śēmōna tīs ‘how much will you sell it for?’} \]
\[ (99:50) \]

On the use of the preposition *b-* to mean ‘for, in exchange for’, see §8.2.
11.9  *ǝl hɛ̃ lâ* ‘isn’t that so?’

In one passage, we find the interrogative phrase *ǝl hɛ̃ lâ*, 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 gēhǝmǝh, ǝl hɛ̃ lâ* ‘you’ll go tomorrow, won’t you?’ (56:1)

Watson (2012: 336) recorded *ahā lâ*, which she interprets as *ahā* ‘yes’ (presumably the same as *ɛ̃hɛ̃* ‘yes’ in our texts) plus *lā* ‘no’, that is ‘yes no’. But the manuscript and audio of text 56:1 clearly have *ǝl hɛ̃ lâ*. We also find the same phrase used in Jibbali (*ɔł hɛ̃ lɔ*); see *JLO*, §11.11.
Chapter 12

Particles

12.1 Coordinating Conjunctions

Following is a list of the basic Mehri coordinating conjunctions:

- *w-* ‘and’
- *wǝlākan* ‘but’
- *aw* ‘or’
- *wǝlɛ* ‘or; or else’

Each of these will be discussed in turn below. On the use of *te* 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 *wǝ-* before a word beginning with a consonant. Sometimes in fast speech *wǝ-* is metathesized to *ǝw-* , 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 wǝ-ḥǝbántse* ‘the woman and her daughters’ (15:4)
- *sayárki hōh wǝ-hē* ‘he and I went’ (18:13)
- *tōmǝrw-ayś* ‘dates and rice’ (23:15)
- *amǝndawkı ar gádat wǝ-rxáyṣat* ‘my rifle is good and cheap’ (39:4)
- *aḡuggēn kǝwáy wǝ-xʃáyf* ‘the boy was strong and quick’ (42:2)
- *tʃǝwkuf ǝm-mǝnwih w-ǝm-mǝ́n tɛ́ṯǝh* ‘she would sleep between him and his wife’ (lit. ‘between him and between his wife’) (46:7)
- *sǝ w-ḥǝybas w-aḡās w-aḡáygǝs* ‘she and her father and her brother and her husband’ (48:33)
- *šay mawsē wǝ-ḥǝbūr* ‘it was raining and I was cold’ (lit. ‘with me were rain and cold’) (53:6)
- *hōh wǝ-ss̄ōx mánǝn t̄ah* ‘the big one and I held him back’ (91:7)
- *xams w-ǝšrâyn ḡayg* ‘twenty-five men’ (lit. ‘five and twenty’) (104:10)
And some examples of w- used to join two clauses are:

- $hēt̂ kān̄āwn w-ādk̂ āl hēt̂ m̄aḥēr̄s lā$ ‘you are a child, and you won’t marry yet’ (8:8)
- $sōr w-ā-j̄al̄ūk b-āq̄ūq̄ēn$ ‘he stood and looked at the boy’ (22:8)
- $dōm̄āh am̄f̄ēh, w-ās̄ān b̄ārk āḡōr̄f̄ēt̄ ḏ̄aȳk$ ‘this is the key, and they are in that room’ (22:97)
- $yāq̄ār̄b̄i, w-āb̄ār̄k̄a t̄āw̄āl̄ye$ ‘he recognized me, and he ran towards me’ (34:27)
- $‘āgb̄āk bīs, w-ā-s̄ē āgb̄ōt̄ b̄ay$ ‘I fell in love with her, and she fell in love with me’ (38:18)
- $s̄x̄w̄l̄l̄, w-ā-s̄ām̄r̄ūs$ ‘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:

- $s̄x̄w̄l̄l̄ūt b̄ārk āl̄āng, w-āḡāyḡ k̄af̄ūd w-ā-w̄k̄ūb̄ āl̄-h̄ōk̄ām$ ‘she stayed on the boat, but the man went down and went to the ruler’ (74:12)
- $hāḡūr bōyar, w-ā-t̄ēṯ thāḡs̄āh ās̄āţ̄āh$ ‘the slave was a liar, but the woman thought he was being truthful’ (5:12)
- $s̄w̄k̄ūf̄, w-ā-s̄s̄ān̄n̄w̄r̄āt̄ sh̄ār̄ōt h̄āl̄ h̄ār̄ōh̄āh$ ‘he fell asleep, but the cat stayed awake by his head’ (15:12)
- $n̄āk̄ūk̄ ās̄āȳga, w-āl̄ k̄ēsk̄ āḥ̄ād lā$ ‘I came to the shelter, but I didn’t find anyone’ (54:4)

On the sequence āl̄ ... w-āl̄ ‘neither ... nor’, see §13.2.1, and on the compound ar w- ‘unless’, see §12.5.4.

### 12.1.2 walākan ‘but’

The particle walākan, clearly borrowed from Arabic wa-lākin, corresponds to English ‘but’. Examples of its use are:

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1 The short $a$ in the final CVC syllable is unusual; see §2.2.
particles

kūsan harōm ṣā́b-bōh ḥfūl, wəlākən ᶠáyrəh ṣə́bə́r mēkən ‘we found a tree that had ripe figs on it, but there were a lot of hornets in it’ (25:3)

ḥābū yātkə́ydan bīhəm, wəlākən mən sənə́yn əlyōməh l-ād ə́hə́d yātkə́ydan bīhəm lə ‘people used to believe in them, but in these years, no one believes in them anymore’ (25:19)

hōh ar kə́nə́yn, wəlākən hə́mək ‘I am only a child, but I have heard’ (48:30)

šxə́bīri, wəlākən hōh əł əkə́wdař l-ə́gtə́y əngližiyə lə ‘they questioned me, but I couldn’t speak English’ (62:7)

bə́gə́wdař, wəlākən l-ād ə́hə́kəm tə́h lə ‘they chased him, but they didn’t catch up to him’ (69:5)

wəlākən hīs śə́nə́y aγə́yə́g hə́kəl lə, ḳə́rə́h ákə́θ ‘but when he saw the men approaching him, he hid his food’ (73:3)

Watson (2012: 131) mentions the variant forms lə́kən, mə́kən, mə́kəni, and mə́kənə; neither lə́kən or mə́kən 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:

mə́n ə́rə́n sə́nə́t aw zə́yə́d ‘after a year or more’ (16:1)

d-ə́hə́tə́wə́k aw hə́bōh ‘have you gone crazy or what?’ (20:5)

ə́tem axə́yə́r mə́nə́yə́, aw hōh ə́xə́yə́r mə́nkə́m ‘you are better than me, or I am better than you’ (42:12)

ə́l wə́dək lə hə́ yə́hə́m yə́hə́xə́wsi, aw ə́l yə́γə́rə́b hə́rə́m lə ‘I didn’t know (if) he wanted to mislead me, or (if) he didn’t know the way’ (62:2)

ə́rbə́t aw yə́tə́t bə́ ‘four or six people’ (71A:1)

hə́l ə́hə́d aw wə́hə́sə́k ‘with someone, or by yourself?’ (80:5)

ə́tem wə́kiyə́ b-ə́mə́nkə́m, aw ə́lə́yə́lə ‘will you be in your (current) place, or will you move?’ (96:4)

hə́mək tə́ aw lə ‘did you hear me or not?’ (96:7)

ə́ʃə́k aw bə́di ‘true or false [lit. a truth or a lie]’ (99:1)

In some passages, aw functions as a subordinating conjunction ‘unless’, as in:

ə́l hōh kə́wə́tə́nə hūk lə aw ber ə́rə́bə́k tə́k ‘I won’t tell you unless I know you’ (12:7)
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ḥǝggūt lǝh tētāh m-ād yahēras aw yǝhōm yaxxōli ‘his wife didn’t let him get married [to another woman] unless he wanted to get divorced’ (32:28)
ał al fōt lā aw tǝstōm hāyni ɡənbāyyat ‘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  wǝlɛ̄ ‘or; or else’
The conjunction wǝlɛ̄ (< Arabic wa-ʾillā) 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 wǝlɛ̄ can also be used in a negative context, as in the last example below. Examples are:

yǝsháyṭ bɛ̄r wǝlɛ̄ rawn ‘they slaughter camels or goats’ (54:2)
ḥāmāh wǝlɛ̄ aģāta hǝn ‘his mother or his sister or his brother’ (54:3)
hām șarōt wǝlɛ̄ rǝddūt lay ‘if she stops or comes back at me’ (54:38)
alātmǝs b-ǝřfīt wǝlɛ̄ ba-ryē’ ‘I strike it with a palm-leaf or a lung’ (93:2)
a’išārke wǝlɛ̄ ši ‘(are they) your friends or something?’ (94:32)
nǝḥāh wǝḳiyɛ̄ b-amkōnǝn te gēhǝmǝh wǝlɛ̄ bād gēhǝmǝh ‘we will be at our place until tomorrow or the next day’ (96:5)
al ʈibar wǝlɛ̄ ātawūr ‘he didn’t get broken (bones) or get hurt’ (99:39)

In other contexts, wǝlɛ̄ has the meaning ‘or else’, in which case it usually follows an imperative and precedes an imperfect or future tense verb:

kǝlēt lay b-ǝṣāṭk, wǝlɛ̄ wǝtɡōna hǝnɔfi ‘tell me the truth, or else I will kill myself!’ (37:13)
āzāmī hǝnάfš, wǝlɛ̄ sʰǝtōna tāt mǝn hǝbɔnšɛ ‘give yourself to me, or else I will kill one of your sons!’ (48:23)
obal, wǝlɛ̄ yaxlisf ɡyũɡ ɔ-axāy mǝnk ‘try, or else men who are better than you will replace you!’ (76:5)
ǝzémǝn xaṭawrkyan, wǝlɛ̄ mǝsɔnhrutǝn bikam ‘give us our sticks, or else we’ll lodge a complaint against you!’ (91:24)
ǝməyli hāyni hāyla, wǝlɛ̄ mətōna sɔrɔməh ‘make me a scheme, or else I’ll die now’ (99:29)
The sequence \textit{wǝlɛ̄ ... wǝlɛ̄} can mean ‘either ... or’, as in:

\textit{wǝlɛ̄ mazzōna bə-təmbōku wǝlɛ̄ bə-rṣōs} ‘either you’ll smoke tobacco or bullets’ (94:26)

The particle \textit{wǝlɛ̄} 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 \textit{yā ... yā ‘either ... or’}
The particle \textit{yā}, used before two or more different elements, has the meaning ‘either ... or’. There is just one example in the texts:

\textit{yā yǝlḥákah yā lā} ‘either he'll catch him, or not’ (96:3)

Watson (2012: 297) gives additional examples. She also has examples of both \textit{wǝlɛ̄ ... wǝlɛ̄} and \textit{aw ... aw} with this meaning.

12.1.6 \textit{ǝð ... ǝð ‘either ... or’}
The particle \textit{ǝð} 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 \textit{X} or \textit{Y}’ or ‘whether it be \textit{X} or \textit{Y}’. An example is:

\textit{ǝð wǝzūm ḳarš, wǝ-ð wǝzūm ḳárshi ṱroh} ‘either (a person) gave a dollar or he gave two dollars’ (72:3)

On the conditional particle \textit{ǝð}, see § 13.4.2.

12.2 Exclamations

There are numerous exclamatory particles found in the texts. These include:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{bass} ‘enough! that’s all’
  \item \textit{bass mǝn X} ‘enough of \textit{X}!’
  \item \textit{ğadèwwan} ‘let’s go!’ (see § 12.5.11)
  \item \textit{ḥis-tāw} ‘ok!’
  \item \textit{ḥalāy} ‘let’s go!’ (see the comment to text 48:15)
  \item \textit{ḥāšē l} ‘far be it from (s.o.)!’
  \item \textit{l-āzīz} \textit{X} ‘oh woe for \textit{X}’
\end{itemize}

\footnote{A meaning ‘neither ... nor’ can be seen in the Arabic phrase used in text 46:19.}
Many of these can probably be considered Arabisms, like bass, ḥāšē l-, ma yǝxālǝf, wǝ-lū, yā ḥāy(ya), 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 ḥāmǝ́y, yā ḥāmǝ́y ‘oh my mother, my mother!’ (65:13)
- yā āzīz, yā āzīz ‘oh Aziz, oh Aziz!’ (75:23)
- yā ʿazzǝtáyn ‘oh, I'm so sorry!’ (85:24)
- yā ayṯáyl! yā báydi ‘you fox! You liar!’ (99:47)

### 12.2.1 ‘Yes’ and ‘No’

The basic word for ‘yes’ in Mehri is ɛ̃hɛ̃, which is used to answer a direct question. A slightly more emphatic affirmative reply to a question is ya-ḥōl ‘yes indeed!’ The exclamations yɛ́yɛ ‘ok!’ and his-táw ‘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 ābdan ‘no! no way! never!’, which is a borrowing of Arabic ʾabadan ‘never, not at all’. For a more emphatic negative reply to a question, one can use bǝ-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.

- amǝndáwḳǝk dǝwáylǝt ... lawb, amǝndáwki ar gádot ‘your rifle is old ...
  No, my rifle is good’ (39:3–4)
- nǝkōna tīkǝm bād gēhǝmǝh. wa-ya lawb, ǝnkɛ̄n gēhǝmǝh ‘I’ll come back to you the day after tomorrow. No, come back to us tomorrow’ (44:4–5)
- hām ǝl sēn wordütǝn lā ... wa-ya lawb wordütǝn ‘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 tonōfa lā. lawb, hōh ar anōfa ‘(Mother:) You are of no use. (Son:) Yes, I am indeed of use!’ (33:1–2)

ðǝk al hōh lā. wa-ya lawb ‘that wasn’t me. Yes it was!’ (52:13–14)

센터 nasiel aw nəbkā’ b-amk온? lawb, anhōm nasiel ‘do you want us to move or remain in our place? No, let’s move’ (29:17–18)

hāl ǝḥād aw wəhsūk? wa-ya lawb wəhsāy ‘with someone, or by yourself? No, by myself’ (80:5–6)

ǝdǝh ǝ-yaýdǝg aw ber arıṣǝs təh? lawb, ǝdǝh ǝ-yaýdǝg ‘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:

ḥaððōr, ā ḥabrǝ́y ‘be careful, my son!’ (22:44)

ā ḥáybi, hōh kǝsk sı ‘Father, I found something’ (37:22)

ḥǝmǝm, ā ḥǝbǝ́nyɛ ‘listen, my sons!’ (50:4)

ā ġīgǝ́n, wǝlɛ̄ tǝqǝyr ‘boy, can you read?’ (71:2)

ā darwiš, tḥōm tǝlḥōm ‘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 h- is present, the vocative particle can optionally be omitted. Both cases tend to involve kinship terms with a 1cs possessive suffix. Examples are:

aġáyti, fāš bay ‘Sister, you’ve hurt me’ (24:27)

aġáy, amárḳǝḥ ‘Brother, drink up!’ (59:8)

ḥaýbi, wǝ-koh al hǝrǝsk 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 ḏ- (‘of’)

The genitive exponent in Mehri is ḏ-, corresponding to English ‘of’. 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 ǝ. Sometimes the consonant ḏ assimilates to a following dental or sibilant; see further in § 2.1.7.

The particle ḏ- 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ḥǝbrīt ḏǝ-ḥōkǝm} & \quad \text{‘the daughter of the ruler’ or ‘the ruler’s daughter’ (48:6)} \\
\text{brīt ḏǝ-tōgǝr} & \quad \text{‘a daughter of a merchant’ or ‘a merchant’s daughter’ (75:1)} \\
\text{ḥǝbrē ḏ-ǝqāh} & \quad \text{‘his brother’s son’ (76:1)} \\
\text{xāh ḏ-ǝbāyt} & \quad \text{‘the door of the house’ (75:8)} \\
\text{arḥǝbēt ḏ-ḥāyḥǝs} & \quad \text{‘her father’s town’ (48:33)} \\
\text{aḍāy ḏ-ǝnṣāy} & \quad \text{‘the scent of a human’ (63:8)} \\
\text{aḍāyg ḏ-ǝqawānōt} & \quad \text{‘the girl’s husband’ (75:10)} \\
\text{tēṯ ḏ-ḥǝbrē ḏ-ḥōkǝm} & \quad \text{‘the ruler’s son’s wife’ (85:28)} \\
\text{aḍōrǝ ḏ-ǝsōbǝ ḏ-ǝqātǝh} & \quad \text{‘the blood from [lit. of] his sister’s finger’ (48:18)}
\end{align*}
\]

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 ḏ- 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{fīgōn ḏǝ-mōh} & \quad \text{‘a cup of water’ (37:24)} \\
\text{gōnyǝt ḏ-ayš} & \quad \text{‘a sack of rice’ (98:4)} \\
\text{tōgǝr ḏǝ-ksǝwēt} & \quad \text{‘a cloth merchant’ (66:2)} \\
\text{mǝstōn ḏ-ǝnēxǝl} & \quad \text{‘an orchard of date-palms’ (37:1)} \\
\text{abāyr ḏ-ḥǝmōh} & \quad \text{‘the water well’ (48:2)} \\
\text{ḥǝlēb ḏ-ḥārāwn} & \quad \text{‘the milking of the goats’ (47:2)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[3\] Watson (2009) is a study of the genitive exponent ḏ- 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:

\[ \text{ḥǝbrīt ฎ-اسل ýości ḥǝnōb} \text{ ‘the older [lit. big] daughter of the fisherman’} \]
\[ (97:33) \]
\[ \text{ḥǝbrē ฎ-ḥōkǝm aḳǝnnáwn} \text{ ‘the younger [lit. small] son of the ruler’} \]
\[ (97:46) \]
\[ \text{ḥayb ฎ-ᵃḡiḡēn amǝráyš} \text{ ‘the father of the sick boy’} \]
\[ (65:8) \]

In the first example above, the adjective ḥǝnōb is feminine and so must modify ḥǝbrīt. 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 ฎ-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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>ādi</td>
<td>ādkı</td>
<td>ādǝn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>ād(ǝ)k</td>
<td>ādkı</td>
<td>ādkǝm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>ādš</td>
<td>ādkı</td>
<td>ādǝn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Some examples with the meaning ‘still’ are:

\[
\text{ād fōtnak hēxǝr dō-نظযন ‘do you still remember the old man who came to us?’ (22:73)}
\]

\[
\text{ādǝh līsǝn fakh dō-वारx ‘they still had half a month (left)’ (30:9)}
\]

\[
\text{ḥēt ādǝk ḳǝnnāw ‘you are still a child’ (34:8)}
\]

\[
\text{ā(d)sǝn šīn wǝḳōna rawn ‘we still have about twenty goats’ (39:14)}
\]

\[
\text{ādi dō-ttalǝy tis ‘I still regret it’ (53:6)}
\]

\[
\text{ādi bay ayǝṣāyt ‘I still had the fear’ (54:15)}
\]

\[
\text{bɛr dǝ́xlǝm, hīs ādhǝm fāxrǝ, ǝl ǝḥād mǝnhēm yǝbáyd ‘they had vowed, when they were still together, that neither of them would lie’ (74:2)}
\]

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) lǝ-wṭákǝmǝh, meaning something like ‘while like this’ or ‘while doing this’ (lǝ-wṭákǝmǝh ‘thus, in that way’). Examples are:

\[
\text{ādǝh śxǝwlūl, nūka mǝwǝs ‘while he was sitting, rain came’ (3:2)}
\]

\[
\text{ādhǝm lǝ-wṭákǝmǝh, nākam ǝğǝyğ ‘while they were like this, the men came’ (24:36)}
\]

\[
\text{aḳōfi bǝ-ḥǝnáfk ādǝk ḫǝaym ‘turn your self around while you still have (some) respect!’ (37:23)}
\]

\[
\text{ādǝh lǝ-wṭákǝmǝh, sīnī ǝwōt ɬ-ǝkǝyoy ‘while he was doing this, he saw a fire of (some) spirits’ (76:9)}
\]

\[
\text{ḥōm ǝl-ghōm ād šay aḳāsǝm ‘I want to go while it’s still cool out’ (94:35)}
\]

\[
\text{āds tǝġtūri šǝh, ǝškǝwɨt lǝs hǝbrǝ́ts ‘while she was speaking with him, her daughter called to her’ (99:45)}
\]

In one passage (35:13), ād, without a suffix, is best translated as ‘yet’:

\[\text{See the comment to text 39:14.} \]
ād wǝzyēma tīn ǝxǝf ǝsī ‘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 zōyǝd, as it often is in a negative sentence (§13.2.7):

hām ād hǝwrǝ́dk hǝmōh dōmōh zōyǝd, dǝ-nǝwtāġk ‘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:

xǝṭárkǝm ād yǝnkɛ́ʾ máwsǝm mǝn sǝrīh ‘do you think another trading-boat will come again behind it?’ (45:16)
āmāwr ād lang tāt mǝhāḳbǝl ‘they said one more boat was coming’ (45:17)
ḥōh ād ar mǝhētm hǝh ‘I will only spend one more night (waiting) for it’ (45:18)

In conjunction with a subjunctive form of the verb wīḳa ‘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 tāḳáʾ tǝbáyd ‘might you be lying?’ (34:16)
ād yāḳáʾ ar dǝ-yǝbáyd ‘perhaps it was someone who was lying [or: lies]?’ (57:11)
ād tākǝm lǝ́tġǝkǝm ḥāmǝ́y ‘have you perhaps killed my mother?’ (65:13)
ād tākǝy dǝnyīt ‘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 ǝḥād śīni ḥázyǝn ‘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 adám⋅m-

The particle adám⋅m- 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:

\[
\text{adám}\text{m}\text{ǝh bárǝh k-ǝḥəd ġáyɾǝn } '\text{he is probably with somebody else [lit. (someone) besides us]}' \quad (41:4)
\]

Forms of the other persons are as we expect, e.g., adámːi ‘I probably’, adámːǝs ‘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.\(^5\) Sometimes it can be omitted in translation. It appears about fifty times in the texts, often in combination with the conjunction w-. Examples are:

\[
w-\text{ámma ağıyǝg kǝlōn, šǝh mǝndāwk } '\text{as for the groom, he had a rifle}' \quad (9:8)
\]
\[
\text{ámma hōh, hātǝ́mk, w-ǝ-hē radd tǝwōlī abātah } '\text{me, I spent the night, and he went back to his house}' \quad (18:9)
\]
\[
w-\text{ámma bāl ḥāráwn, ǝlyēk ðǝ-yǝntáwẖǝn, hǝwrūd ḥāzhe } '\text{and as for the goat-herder, when [or: while] those guys fought, he brought his goats to the water}' \quad (61:6)
\]
\[
\text{ámma tēṯ, śxǝwǝllūt bǝrk alāŋg, w-aġáyg kǝfūd } '\text{the woman, she stayed on the boat, but the man went down}' \quad (74:12)
\]

In some of the attested passages, ámma appears more than once, contrasting two or more explicit subjects (ámma ... w-ámma), as in:

\[
\text{ámma tǝyt šǝrōt, w-ámma tǝyt wǝkǝhūt bǝrk amkōn } '\text{one stood (outside), and one entered the place}' \quad (2:3)
\]
\[
\text{ámma aʃǝyǝg, śxwékf ... w-ámma aġáyg aʃǝyf, śxǝwlül } '\text{as for the jeweler, he went to sleep ... As for the guest, he remained}' \quad (22:62)
\]
\[
\text{ámma ḥāráwn wǝ-hǝbǝr, tkūnǝn bīsǝn śxǝf lā ... w-ámma abkǝr, tkūnǝn bīsǝn ašxǝf } '\text{as for the goats and the camels, they don’t have milk ... As for the cows, they do have milk}' \quad (58:2)
\]

---

\(^5\) 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.
ámma ṭōh ṭārkōh bērkēh, w-ámma ṭāt rīkēb bērk alāng ‘two rode in it [the canoe], and one rode in the boat’ (60:6)

In several texts (1, 2, 4, 71A), ámma serves to indicate more generally the beginning of a story.

In text 75, ámma occurs three times in conjunction with the phrase món aṭārēf ḏ-. The phrase món aṭārēf ḏ- (cf. ṭārēf ‘side’) is attested once meaning ‘from among’ (see § 8.22), but all together, w-ámma món aṭārēf ḏ- just means ‘and now as for’:

w-ámma món aṭārēf ḏ-āgāyg ‘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 ‘r’ (p. 26), where it is glossed as ‘but; just, only; except; indeed’, and again under the root ḡyr (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)
ḥōh ar ṭāt ‘I am only one (person)’ (20:12)
ar ḥōm ʾl-sāxbōrkēm món ābʿāyri ‘I only wanted to ask them about my camel’ (28:6)
nūka ar ḏō-ḥīṭār ‘they bore only female kids’ (30:11)
kūsa ar kābṣ ‘he found only a lamb’ (37:13)
mōhāwefs tī ar món ḏār ass ‘you will pay me only after (some) difficulty’ (39:13)
ḥōh ar ḱannāwn ‘I am only a child’ (48:30)
dēkōmāh ar hāls ‘that’s only your shadow’ (95:10)

On the combination ḏēk ar, see § 12.5.10. Sometimes ar meaning ‘only’ is used in conjunction with the negative element ʾal (cf. French ne … que). The meaning is no different from when ar is used in a positive phrase. Examples are:

ʾal šīhām ar hēt ‘they have only you’ (18:18)
l-ād ar hōh ‘only I am left’ (64:27) (l-ād < *ʾl ād)
ḥōh ʾl šay ar dōmāh ‘I have only this’ (73:5)
ḥōh ʾl šay ar hōṭārī ṭōh ‘I only have two kids’ (89:8)
hēt ʾl gāyāb k ar món bāṭol ‘you only fainted from fear’ (95:10)
chapter 12

*hftūk adōṣdāštēh bərhōh, w-ǝl həbḳōh ar awzārēh* ‘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 *ǝl, ar* has developed into a pseudo-preposition meaning ‘except’ or ‘but’ in a negative sentence (using *ǝl ... 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 *ǝl 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{naḥāh} & \text{ ar ǝnḥōm ‘we would really like to’ (28:14)} \\
\text{ḥēt} & \text{ al tənōfa lā. lawb hōh ar ǝnōfa ‘(Mother:) You are of no use. (Son:) Yes, I am indeed of use!’ (33:1–2)} \\
\text{ḥām} & \text{ ar ffḳáwk, hōh ḥōm ‘if he really lets you marry (me), I am willing’ (38:19)} \\
\text{ḥōh} & \text{ ar məhāwf tīk ‘I will indeed pay you’ (39:12)} \\
\text{ḥām} & \text{ ar məṭḥənək, məhāwf tīk ‘if you are really in trouble, I’ll pay you’ (39:14)} \\
\text{tʃhōl} & \text{ ar gəzē’ ‘you surely deserve payback’ (73:1)} \\
\text{dōməh} & \text{ ar də-hōh ‘this is really mine’ (77:3)} \\
\text{səlōmat yəmōh} & \text{ ar ɡālyət lūk ‘peace today (will be) expensive for you indeed’ (83:6)} \\
\text{ḥēt} & \text{ ar məzzōna yəmōh ‘you will indeed smoke today’ (94:26)}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aṃändāwki} & \text{ ar gədət wə-rxāyṣət ‘my rifle is good and cheap’ (39:4)} \\
\text{ǝnḥāh} & \text{ ar bīn așābər ādəh ‘we have patience still’ (73:4)}
\end{align*}
\]

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:
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:

- *ðǝ-l-ǝwbádǝh, ar wǝ-tháym tǝraˈbam tı* ‘I will shoot him, unless you want to give me safe passage’ (47:11)
- *ǝl thǝwrūd lā ar wǝ-thóm ba-keˈwweÊt* ‘don’t bring (them) down unless you want (to do so) by force’ (64:3)
- *tāsōs lā, ar wa-sәbˈtāt bǝ-xәtarāk tәwri trōh* ‘she won’t wake up unless she is hit twice with a stick’ (65:11)
- *šɛ̄mīta tǝh layš lā, ar wǝ-tháymi tʃәkfi hāl aɡāyɡi* ‘I won’t sell it to you, unless you want to sleep with my husband’ (85:29)
- *ǝl ḳәdәrk ǝl-syәr lā ar wǝ-mәzzǝk* ‘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 ʿǝ́mlǝk

The form *ʿǝ́mlǝk* is a 1cs perfect of the verb *ʿáymǝl* ‘do, make’, and so its basic meaning is ‘I did’ (e.g., 20:18). However, in idiomatic usage, *ʿǝ́mlǝk* or *ðǝ-ʿǝ́mlǝk* means ‘I think’. In this use, the form is sometimes reduced to *ʿǝmk* or *ðǝ-ʿǝ́mk*, 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:

- *ʿǝ́mlǝk tǝh aɡáyg aʃ抗生素* ‘I believe the man is truthful’ (23:21)
- *ʿǝmk tıson mәn hıs tawōh amāray* ‘I think they are (this way) because they ate the grass’ (26:6)
12.5.6 ǝbōb(nɛ)

The particle ǝbōb(nɛ) 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 ǝbōbnɛ is used before a pronoun, and the shorter ǝbōb is used before a noun.

ǝbōbnɛ tēm, hāgnǝm aṣ́áyga ‘please warm up the pen’ (26:9)
ǝbōb ḥabrǝy, šɛ́mni ‘please, my son, obey me!’ (90:11)
ǝbōbnɛ tēm, taklɛ̄m tǝh bāwmǝh lā ‘please don’t leave him here!’ (91:9)

12.5.7 ǝr

The particle ǝr (sometimes pronounced ǝr 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>bēri</td>
<td>bārki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>bark</td>
<td>bārki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>barš</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>bārǝh</td>
<td>bārhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>bars</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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6 Ali spelled this word ʿǝmk in the Arabic-letter manuscript of this text, but read ʿǝmlǝk 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:

\textit{ber ṭayóbk mансёn} ‘I already had my fill of them’ (20:16)
\textit{hē ber kǝrmük wǝřǝ́mǝ́n} ‘he has already been so generous to you’ (22:52)
\textit{hōh ber āmǝ́rk huk mǝ́n fǝño̱hēn} ‘I already told you (that) before’ (24:53)
\textit{ağǝ́k ber mǝ́t ṭǝ́-bǝ́́r kǝ́bḗr} ‘your brother has already died and been buried’ (40:10)
\textit{hōh bǝ́ri śǝ́twǝ́kǝ́k al-ḥā́bye} ‘I already miss my parents’ (20:63)
\textit{ağǝ̝mǝ́nō tǝ́s b-ǝ́bā́y̫} ‘the girl is already in the house’ (48:9)
\textit{bǝ́r tǝ́kkǝ́k aḥǝ́hwḗt} ‘have you already drunk the coffee?’ (59:11)
\textit{hōh ber śǝ́bak} ‘I am already full’ (73:6)
\textit{mat awṓdǝ́n fе̝gǝ́r, tả́kǻy bǝ́rš al-xа́h d-ǝ́bǻy̫t} ‘when they call [lit. he calls] the dawn prayer, you should already be at the door of the house’ (75:8)
\textit{ẖēt bǝ́rk śǝ́bb ʂ̱ǝ́rό̱mǝ́h} ‘you’re a young man now already’ (89:35)

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:

\textit{ber ṭǝ́wṓtk kǝ́bš} ‘they have turned him into a lamb’ (40:7)
\textit{bǝ́rī d-ǝ́mtǻnǻn tīkǻm} ‘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 d- 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:

\textit{ḥǝ́gū̱r ber kǝ́rṓh mǝ́h} ‘the slave had already hidden water’ (5:2)
\textit{ḥǝ́nkǻr ǝ́d-sḗ fǝ́wtǻt w-ǝ́bǝ́́r ʂ̱ǻtṓt aм̱ṓlǝ́h kǻlǻh} ‘he realized that she had run away, and had taken all his wealth’ (22:70)
\textit{bǝ́r šǝ́ūk tı́k, w-ǝ́mǝ́rк hǻy̫nī} ‘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 sɛ̄t man sɛ́kǝni ‘I have already been (away) a long time from my family’ (31:4)
ber háyni sɛ̄t manhēm ‘I have been (away) a long time from them’ (44:2)
ber hūk sɛ̄t wa-hēt b-ağerbēt? ber háyni wəkōna xáymah səndyn ‘were you abroad for a long time? I was (away) for about five years’ (57:1–2)
bér háyni āṣǝri 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, māt, te, or te 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 bérì bərk amǝrkēb, dǝhfáti tēt gǝláỵḍɔt ‘after I was in the boat, a fat woman smacked me’ (40:25)
abḳār bār hīs ber ḥələwbsən ‘the cows went away after they had milked them’ (35:7)
mat bōrson bərk ḥəmōh, șalēl xaləwkisən ‘when they are (already) in the water, pick up their clothes’ (37:3)
mat ber təwōh, șaƙə ‘after he has eaten, call him’ (22:88)
te bōrhem șyēx, hámam bə-ḥōkəm d-ągząyrət ‘when they were big, they heard about the ruler of the island’ (74:8)
te āșər ber ḥābū șəwkīf, țəwōh ągay șəwəwkūf ‘then when the people had gone to sleep (one) night, they [witches] came to a man who was sleeping’ (2:2)
sīroh te bərhī bə-kā’ tət ‘they went until they were in a certain place’ (72:3)
te hīs bōrhem bə-hōrəm, kusam ągay ąwər ‘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:

adāmməh bərh k-ąhəd ągyərən ‘he is probably with somebody else [lit. (someone) besides us]’ (41:4)
əkərən bérì hāl ḥəməy ‘I wish I was with my mother’ (42:23)
A third use of *ber* 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:

- **bɛ́ri ḥōm l-ǝwbáds** ‘I was about to shoot her’ (54:13)
- **bǝ-xáyr, ǝb-órs thōm tháhkət** ‘(the camel) is well, and it is about to give birth’ (63:15)
- **bǝ́rǝh yǝḥōm yǝmēt** ‘he was about to die’ (or: ‘he was nearly dead’) (75:18)
- **kǝsk aġáyg ðɛh bǝ́rǝh yǝḥōm yǝhwɛ́h** ‘I found this man about to fall’ (77:6)
- **kǝliyɛ̄ tǝh tɛ, bǝ́rǝh yǝḥōm yǝsyɛr, məšǝnḥərütən ǝb+h** ‘we’ll leave it until, when he is about to go, we’ll lodge a complaint against him’ (91:26)

On the use of *ber* to express possibility, usually two contrasting possibilities, see Watson (2012: 373).

Finally, it should be mentioned that in Jibbali and Soqoṭri, the cognate *ber* 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.7

12.5.8 **dáwn-**

The particle *dáwn-*, always used with a second person object suffix (e.g., 2ms *dáwnǝk*, 2mp *dáwnkǝm*), can be translated as an imperative ‘take!’ The preposition *b-* is required before the object. Following are all of the examples in the texts:

- **dáwnǝk bīhǝn** ‘take them!’ (20:50)
- **dáwnǝk hēt b-aḥkǝ́wmǝt** ‘you take the kingdom!’ (20:78)
- **dáwnǝk b-aḥkǝ́məti** ‘take my kingdom!’ (42:51)

The example from 20:50 comes in response to someone who used the command (ǝ)ndōh ‘give!’ (see below, § 12.5.17). The form *dáwnǝk* is likely a borrowing of Arabic *dūnaka* ‘take! here you are!’ (with a 2ms object suffix).8

---

7 See the discussion, with a list of forms from four MSA languages, in Rubin (2015b: 325–326).
8 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  \( \text{ðɛ} \)

The particle \( \text{ðɛ} \) 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ðɛ hōh šāgēk} & \text{ ‘I’m in a hurry’ (27:27; 28:12)} \\
\text{ðɛ mōn hābārkīsan h-aba’yōr ar ħāmrāwtōn} & \text{ ‘well, who would have made them kneel for the male camels except children?’ (29:6)} \\
\text{ðɛ hōh ber gāzāmk fōnəh} & \text{ ‘well, I already swore earlier!’ (31:13)} \\
\text{ðɛ kō hēt wətōməh} & \text{ ‘but why are you (doing) like this?’ (59:6)} \\
\text{ðɛ wə-kōh awtākəməh} & \text{ ‘well, why (did you do) that?’ (71:3)}
\end{align*}
\]

Watson (2012: 79), who gives an example in which \( \text{ðɛ} \) precedes the interrogative hēşən ‘what?’, equates this particle with the short form of the masculine singular demonstrative, \( \text{ðɛh} \). This might be true historically, but it is worth noting that Ali Musallam consistently spelled this particle \( \text{اذ} \) (without a final -h), while the demonstrative he consistently spelled \( \text{هذ} \) (with a final -h).

12.5.10  \( \text{ðǝk} \)

The particle \( \text{ðǝk} \), which is probably to be connected with the far demonstrative \( \text{ðēk/ðǝk} \) (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 \( \text{ar} \) ‘only, just’ (§ 12.5.4). Examples are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ðǝk ar aḥād mənkēm ġəbb ānxāhe} & \text{ ‘it’s because one of you defecated under it’ (3:16)} \\
\text{ðǝk ar aḥəkāysən ḥəbūr} & \text{ ‘it’s just that the cold has got to [lit. caught] them’ (26:9)} \\
\text{ðǝk ar nəḥąkən} & \text{ ‘it’s just that you were playing’ (26:16)} \\
\text{ðǝk ar hēt thəḍn̄äyni} & \text{ ‘it’s just that you’re suspicious [or: imagining (things)]’ (64:17)} \\
\text{ðǝk tkūn təṭṭūri k-agənnənwse} & \text{ ‘it’s just that she is conversing with her jinns’ (65:11)} \\
\text{ðǝk ar yəssək} & \text{ ‘it’s just that you’re afraid’ (91:19; 95:8)}
\end{align*}
\]
There is an eighth occurrence of ḏǝk, which seems to mean something like ‘just as’. It is not clear if it should be interpreted as the same particle ḏǝk discussed above:

lawb tōmər hēt ḏǝk ḥāybǝk yōmər ‘truly, you sing just as your father sings’
(52:1)

12.5.11 ḡǝdɛ́wwǝn

The particle ḡǝdɛ́wwǝn 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 hīhǝm, “ḡǝdɛ́wwǝn” ‘he said to them, “Let’s go!”’ (19:13)
ḡǝdɛ́wwǝn, mǝhišǝn tīk ‘let’s go, I’ll show you!’ (65:8)
āmāwr, “ḡǝdɛ́wwǝn tawōli śéra!” āmūr, “ḡǝdɛ́wwǝn!” ‘they said, “let’s go to
the judge!” He said, “Let’s go!”’ (23:11)
ḡǝdɛ́wwǝn hāl aḥkāwmat ‘let’s go to the authorities!’ (46:14)
ḡǝdɛ́wwǝn tawōli hābū ‘let’s go to the people!’ (77:4)
ḡǝdɛ́wwǝn tawēhe ‘let’s go to him!’ (94:47)
ḡǝdɛ́wwǝn naśnǝ’ ‘let’s go see!’ (3:16)
ḡǝdɛ́wwǝn nathǝs ‘let’s go follow her!’ (94:22)

There is also a singular form ḡǝdɛ́w ‘go!’, attested once in the texts (106:3), and a dual form ḡǝdɛ́wki ‘let’s go!’, which does not show up in the texts. Historically, ḡǝdɛ́wwǝn and ḡǝdɛ́wki appear to be 1cp and 1cd perfects, respectively, despite their unusual conjugations,9 while ḡǝdɛ́w may be an archaic imperative form (Watson 2012: 96, 135).

There is a related G-Stem verb ḡǝdōh (root ḡdw), but it has the more narrow meaning ‘die, perish’; it is missing from ML, but attested in Watson (2012: 83). The Jibbali cognate aḡād and the Soqotri cognate ʿɔd, which come from the metathesized root wḡd, both have a more general meaning ‘go’.

The particle ḡalāy, used just once in the texts (48:15), seems to be a synonym of ḡǝdɛ́wwǝn.

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9 The form ḡǝdɛ́wwǝn comes from *ḡǝdɛ́wǝn, that is, ḡǝdɛ́w + the 1cp suffix -ǝn. However, the sequence -ɛ́wǝn (syllabified -ɛ́/wǝn) would have a short vowel in a stressed open syllable, which is not allowed. Therefore, the form is realized ḡǝdɛ́wwǝn. 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, ḥāḳǝm (m.) or ḥāḳǝn (f.).¹⁰ 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 hũk (JLO, §12.5.10), but a connection with Arabic ḥāka (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:

\[
\text{lawb tōmǝr hēt dǝk hāybk yōmǝr ‘truly, you sing just as your father sings’ (52:1)}
\]
\[
\text{lawb ffārḥk tīn ‘you have truly made us happy’ (57:13)}
\]
\[
\text{lawb yāmǝram amhǝrĕh ‘truly, the Mehris (can) sing’ (84:5)}
\]
\[
\text{lawb šūk āmēl gīd ‘indeed you have a good field’ (91:9)}
\]
\[
\text{wa-hīh, lawb gǝzēkǝm xayr ‘oh, thank you indeed’ (28:20)}
\]
\[
\text{wa-hīh, lawb fātnak ‘oh, I do indeed remember him’ (57:14)}
\]

In one passage, lawb is used within a clause, rather than at its beginning:

\[
\text{aġǝyūg lawb hǝbṭām ḥīṭār ‘the men have certainly kept the kids away (too) long’ (26:9)}
\]

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 lɛ̄zǝm
The indeclinable particle lɛ̄zǝm (< 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:

¹⁰ Watson (2012: 135) transcribes the plural forms with a geminate k.
lɛ̄zǝm l-ǝshōt hīkǝm ‘I must slaughter for you’ (4:6)
lɛ̄zǝm (l-)ǝrdɛ́h bǝh ráwrum ‘I must throw him into the sea’ (20:27)
lɛ̄zǝm naftek ‘we must leave’ (34:31)
lɛ̄zǝm tartáyḳ háyni awǝrkát dımǝh ‘you must read this paper for me’ (85:18)
lɛ̄zǝm annèdǝm yāká’ šeh afkwáyyat ‘a man has to have consideration’ (98:10)
lɛ̄zǝm ḥǝkyēra ḥaybǝ́tk ‘they will have to mention your camel’ (63:6)
lɛ̄zǝm a’išēk hǝnîn ‘your dinner must be at our place’ (22:57)
lɛ̄zǝm afśēkǝm hǝnáy ‘you must have lunch with me’ (lit. ‘your lunch must [be] by me’) (36:19)

In one passage we find lɛ̄zǝm followed by the imperfect yǝkūn. This anomalous verb has no subjunctive (§ 13.1.2), but we might have expected the subjunctive of wīḳa here instead (cf. the passage above from text 98:10).

lɛ̄zǝm yǝkūn tǝmōm ‘there must be an even number’ (71Aα)

12.5.15 mākǝnnáy
The particle mākǝnnáy occurs just four times in the texts,11 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Johnstone</th>
<th>audio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>81:3</td>
<td>makann(ître)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89:1</td>
<td>mākণnī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100:7</td>
<td>mākǝnnány</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102:1</td>
<td>makǝnnány</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ámma, 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 (ître), Johnstone added the note “optional”.

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Whatever its exact form in the texts, it can be used, like ámma (see §12.5.3) to emphasize a contrastive subject, as in:

ǝtēm ǝntǝkāyl. mākǝnnáy hōh, wǝḵōna k-hǝbɛ̄r ‘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 ámma. But while ámma is normally followed by a noun, mākǝnnáy is followed by other types of words. The combination of mākǝnnáy plus xǝṭǝrāt (tayt) ‘once’ can be translated as ‘now once …’. In the texts, the adverb xǝṭǝrāt 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 mākǝnnáy from the texts are:

wa-mākǝnnáy xǝṭǝrāt kǝlūṯ līn ġayg ‘now once a man told us’ (81:3)
mākǝnnáy xǝṭǝrāt tayt d-ǝwxǝfǝn b-ašáyga dékǝmǝh ‘now once we were camped in that shelter’ (89:1)
wa-mākǝnnáy hām ǝḥād hārūs bǝ-ġǝggīt ‘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 mākǝnnáy as a variant of wǝlākan ‘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, and it is hard to assign it an exact meaning. The attested examples are:

āmër mōh ‘please sing!’ (52:3)
ftōn mōh ‘please remember!’ (57:13)

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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 nḥā śxǝwlūlǝn ‘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 wǝ-nḥāh śxǝwlūlǝn ‘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 *mɔr* ‘ok’ (and its longer form *máŋɔr*). As mentioned already in *JLO* (p. 311), this idea is highly improbable. A more likely cognate is the Jibbali particle *ū/um* (*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:

*andōh adgɔrhɔty ‘give me my bean!’ (1:6)*
*wa-ndōh mɔnɔ sɔsɔgyɔ ‘give me your jewelry [lit. the jewelry from you]!’ (3:5)*
*wa-ndōh amndɔwɔk ‘give me the rifle!’ (20:49)*
*andōhm ‘give them to me!’ (24:7)*
*andōh fa’smɔk ‘give me your feet!’ (24:28)*
*wa-ndōh l-ɔkɔɔ ‘let me cut you!’ (75:18)*
*andōh ɔl-snɛ xaṭṭ ‘let me see the letter!’ (75:21)*

12.5.18 śaf(f)

The particle *śaf(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 *śaff* is used when it is followed by a nominal subject, but it takes a pronominal suffix (with the base *śaf*) when the subject precedes or is otherwise unexpressed. Following are some examples from the texts:

*wa-ḥaynît śáfɔsn sɔwɛhɔ ‘and it so happened that the women were witches’ (15:4)*
*dõmah bɔ nɔwɔs. șafɔh șahh ‘this is Ba Newas. It turns out he’s alive’ (20:56)*
*wa-śafɔhm ɔnnɔwn ‘and it so happens they were jinns’ (37:7)*
In one example from the texts it has the meaning ‘probably’:

śafk taġōrǝb hōh əstáwṭ 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. šfūtǝn) ‘track, footprint’ (e.g., 32:7; 64:12), but it is possible that they are related.¹⁴ On the audio recordings, the suffixed form śáfǝh ‘his tracks’ (e.g., 32:7) is distinct from sáfah ‘it turns out he’ (< śafh, e.g., 20:56).

12.5.19  tǝ́ww-

The particle tǝ́ww- occurs in the texts mainly with second-person pronominal suffixes, and is followed by a verb in the subjunctive.¹⁵ It has the meaning of ‘must’, ‘ought to’, or ‘should’.

táwwǝkǝm tsmēḥǝm tī ‘you must excuse me’ (24:41)
táwwǝk (t)šabǝr lay te aĸâyǝ ‘you need to give me respite until the summer’ (39:12)
táwwǝk tǝ́mōl háyni mārwf ‘you must do me a favor’ (46:2)
táwwǝʃ takfǝdi mǝn ɟáyri ‘you must get down off me’ (46:5)
táwwǝkǝm ar tsmēḥǝm lay ‘you really ought to allow me’ (64:2)
táwwǝk tsǝ́mi ‘you should spare me’ (83:5)

In one case tǝ́ww- is used independently, with the verb implied:

āmǝrūt tɛ́ṯǝh, “ðǝ-yǝ́ṣṣǝk tīs mǝn tāḳáʾ tḥōm tātyŏn līn.” āmūr aġáyg, “tǝ́wwǝs 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 śaf(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 \textit{t̓aww-} is probably to be connected with the adverb \textit{taw} ‘well’ (§10.4) and the second element of the exclamation \textit{his-t̓aw} ‘ok!’\textsuperscript{16}

The form \textit{wat̓o-} listed in \textit{ML} (s.v. \textit{wt̓}), and appearing once in Stroomer’s edition of the texts (64:2) is a mistake. In fact, what Johnstone analyzed at \textit{wat̓o-} is simply the conjunction \textit{w-} plus the particle \textit{t̓aww}. 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 \textit{t̓okum}, corresponding exactly to Mehri \textit{t̓awwαk̓am}.

\section*{12.5.20 \textit{w̓og̱b}}

The particle \textit{w̓og̱b} (< Arabic \textit{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 \textit{w̓og̱b} (which has the base (a)\textit{wāgb-} before suffixes) or with the preposition \textit{l-} plus a suffixed pronoun.\textsuperscript{17} 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:

\begin{quote}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{nah̓aḥ w̓og̱b lìn nash̓ọt h̓ūk} ‘it is obligatory for us to slaughter for you’\hfill (31:14)
\item \textit{w̓og̱b lìn an̓k̑ebb̓ ar̓am̓al̓aw̓taŋ} ‘we should bury the dead’\hfill (64:28)
\item \textit{ał w̓ág̱b̓k̓aṃ l̓ā t̓aw̓t̓e̓g̱aṃ m̓aŋn̓aw̓ m̓an t̓ōdi} ‘you shouldn’t kill a baby at the breast’\hfill (64:25)
\item \textit{ał w̓ág̱b̓k̓aṃ (t)syērm w̓a-t̓akl̓ēm am̓al̓aw̓taŋ w̓aṣ̓om̓ah l̓ā} ‘you shouldn’t go and leave the dead like this’\hfill (64:26)
\item \textit{ał aw̓ág̱b̓k̓aṃ l̓ā t̓at̓a̓f̓am lay b̓a-h̓āzyan} ‘you shouldn’t frighten our goats on me’\hfill (70:2)
\item \textit{aw̓ágb̓k̓al̓ t̓s̓l̓e̓bi l̓ā w̓a-t̓f̓ẵsli b̓ark h̓āb̓ū} ‘you shouldn’t disarm me and embarrass me among the people’\hfill (76:18)
\end{itemize}
\end{quote}

We see in the last four examples above that a clause with \textit{w̓og̱b} can be negated in more than one way. In 76:18, \textit{ał} is omitted. In 64:25 and 70:2, \textit{l̓ā} immediately follows the suffixed form of \textit{w̓og̱b}. In 64:26 and 76:18, \textit{l̓ā} comes at the end of the clause.

\textsuperscript{16} See Lonnet (2003: 422–423) for discussion.

\textsuperscript{17} The use of \textit{l-} with \textit{w̓og̱b} in Mehri corresponds to the use of \textit{ʿalā} with \textit{wājib} in Arabic.
12.5.21  **walê**

The use of *walê* 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:

- *walê alhôk amáwsam* ‘perhaps I’ll catch the trading-boat’ (45:12)
- *walê rábbak yasâmân ti* ‘perhaps the Lord will protect me’ (36:3)
- *walê akôsa āhâd yəmzûz* ‘perhaps I’ll find someone who smokes’ (94:25)

Presumably derived from this usage, *walê* 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 hâ-. 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:

- *walê kâskâm mâtweši* ‘did you find any grazing?’ (26:14; 29:3)
- *walê ši ayd* ‘are there any sardines?’ (27:9)
- *walê āhâd ankâykm* ‘has anyone come to you?’ (45:5)
- *walê amáwsam nûka* ‘has the trading boat come?’ (45:14)
- *walê šînak ābrây* ‘did you perhaps see my son?’ (57:5)
- *ā ġîgèn, wâle tákâyr* ‘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  **xâf**

The particle *xâf* means something like ‘I think’, ‘maybe’, or ‘it might be’. Watson (2012: 375), who connects the particle with the Arabic verb *xâfa* ‘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:

- *bâ-xâyr hê wâ-dâ-yəxâwðêm, wəlâkan xâf his al xəwâb bə-ši lâ, də-hânôh yâftêk* ‘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 *ɛthûmk* ‘maybe; I think’. The same use of *xâf* is attested in Hobyot.18

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18  Cf. *HV*, pp. 145, 177, 283, 284.
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 hərēk* ‘maybe it was stolen’ (23:4)
*yámkən təğrəb aqərōyəh* ‘maybe you know his language’ (34:26)
*yámkən yənkə* ‘maybe he’ll come’ (41:4)
*yámkən hūk amatlawbək lā* ‘maybe you don’t get what you want [lit. your desire]’ (43:4)
*yámkən xəlwəs mənən* ‘maybe they couldn’t find us’ (64:15)
*yámkən l-ənkə* həh b-əhăd yədbēhəh ‘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 ɣayg ʧāɣr ‘I am a poor man’ (91:3)
- hēt ɣayg ʰāywal ‘you are a crazy man’ (98:7)
- dōmah ʷmfēh, wa-šēn bērk ʔəːrfēt ʿayk ‘this is the key, and they are in that room’ (22:97)
- dīmah těti ‘this is my wife’ (46:16)
- /MPL-thermal ʰabónye, wa-hēt ʔaːgygi ‘these are my sons, and you are my husband’ (74:23)
- bāwmah kāl šiyān gōli ‘here everything is expensive’ (18:15)
- aɡīɡēn ʔawāy wa-ːfāyf ‘the boy was strong and fast’ (42:2)
- wa-tīt ʔa-malak ɫuk bīs habrit ʔa-hōkām ‘and the woman that I told you about is the daughter of the ruler’ (22:31)
- ʰābkē bērk ʔagūttē ‘your parents are in Paradise’ (20:70)
- kō hēt bāmwah ‘why are you here?’ (3:10)
- hībōh ʃawr ‘what’s the plan?’ (6:6)
- ʰēsān ʰalātah ‘what is its description?’ (28:7)
- ʰō ʔaːʃiʃ ‘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)
- těti ʰō ‘where is my wife?’ (37:12)
- ʃayš 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:
some syntactic features

A copula is normally missing from past tense contexts as well, for example:

- ḥāgūr bōyǝr ‘the slave was a liar’ (5:12)
- aġīgēn rəháym ‘the boy was beautiful’ (22:1)
- ḥāybi fōkāyr ‘my father was poor’ (34:4)
- aġāy sóx ba-kaṭár ‘my big (older) brother was in Qatar’ (34:2)
- arḥābēt bīs xawr, wə- Kháwr ḳaṣəm ‘the town had [lit: in it (was)] a lagoon, and the lagoon was cold’ (36:1)
- aġāyg məhrāy ‘the man was a Mehri’ (69:2)
- ḥəlāts al sə gəđət 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 wīḳa

The verb wīḳa 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’, for example:

- wīḳa k-ḥārawn ‘he stayed with the goats’ (14A:5)
- hōh wəkōna k-ḥārawn ‘I will stay with the goats’ (3:5)
- ḥāybi yəwōka k-ḥārawn ‘my father would stay with the goats’ (89:2)
- atēm wəkīyē b-amkōnən, aw səlyēła? nəḥāh wəkīyē b-amkōnən te gəhaməh ‘will you be [or: stay] in your (current) place, or will you move? We’ll be in our place until tomorrow’ (96:4–5)
- wīḳa rəhāym k-ḥābū mən dər təyər d-əkēdōr ‘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.
wáḳak bǝ-xáyr ‘I became well’ (25:16)
wǝḳōna bǝ-xáyr ‘he’ll get well’ (101:19)

man ḍār xǝṭǝrāt dōkǝmǝh, wáḳam ‘ayśōr ‘after that time, they were [or: became] friends’ (61:9)
wīḳa lūk świ ‘has something happened to you?’ (42:7)

ktēbǝm háyni kāl śiyon ǝd-wīḳa ‘write down for me everything that happens’ (66:1)

hīs wǝḳōt hǝgmēt ‘when the attack took place’ (69:7)

hēt wǝḳōna malēk b-agzáyrǝt dīmah ‘you’ll become king on this island’ (74:4)

dīmah aḡīgēn wǝḳōna axáyr mănány mat āḵāwr ‘this boy will be better than me when he grows up’ (76:12)

lū amnēdǝm yǝḥáwsǝb ǝlhān wǝḳōna lāh ‘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 wīḳa is semantically predictable. For a true existential, when the phrase ‘there was/were’ can be replaced with ‘there existed’, no verb is needed:2

xǝṭǝrāt gāyg ‘once there was a man’ (15:1)

ǝl śi ǝdýag ǝrāyb lā ‘there wasn’t any shelter nearby’ (17:12)

xǝṭǝrāt ḥōkm bǝ-ṟḥabēt ‘once there was a ruler in a town’ (36:1)

bǝrk sēkǝn dēkǝmǝh gāyg ‘in that community there was a man’ (93:1)

When an existential ‘there was/were’ can be replaced with ‘there happened/taked place’, then wīḳa is used:

te āṣǝr ্tāt, wīḳa ǝrḥ ́b-ǝrḥabēt ‘then one evening, there was a dance-party in the town’ (37:9)

sǝnēt ́tayt wǝḳōt hāwrǝt ‘one year there was a drought’ (61:1)

ǝl wīḳa ̲harb swith lā ‘there hasn’t been any war’ (104:28)

The verb wīḳa 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):

2 On the use of swith in negative or interrogative existential phrases, see § 3.5.2.
ṣǝrōmǝh hēt tākā’ð-awbádk tāt ‘now you should (pretend to) be one who has shot someone’ (72:4)
mat awōðǝn fēgar, tākāy barš ǝl-xāh ǝd-abáyt ‘when they call [lit. he calls] the dawn prayer, you should already be at the door of the house’ (75:8)
ād tākāy donyūt ‘might you be pregnant?’ (101:17)
ǝl yāgōb ǝḥād yāká’ his tǝh lā ‘he didn’t like anyone to be like him’ (76:11)
ǝnḥōm tāt yāká’ hāywǝl ‘let’s one of us be crazy’ (91:6)
hthǝ́mk tǝh yāká’ mǝn xǝşǝ́myǝn ‘I think he might be from our enemies’ (94:42)

The second environment in which wīḳa 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:

wǝ-hōh, hām abēli yǝḥōm, wǝḳōna šǝh rǝḥāym ‘and I, if God wills, will be good to him’ (18:17)
hām aġǝrōyǝs wīḳa ṣǝṭḳ, aḳēʿyōt amšġǝrēt, wǝḳōna aġǝrōyǝs ǝṭḳ ‘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 ǝl hē ḥāywǝl lā, ǝl yǝsḥāyṭǝn ḥaybǝ́tǝh lā ‘if he wasn’t crazy, he wouldn’t have slaughtered his camel’ (55:7)

The verb wīḳa is also attested with a few other meanings. In about a half dozen passages (three of them in text 99), wīḳa means something like ‘reach, get to’, ‘happen/come upon’, or ‘wind up (in/at/on)’, meanings the Arabic cognate waqaʿa also has. A few of these passages are:
te wáḳak ǝḥar ǝgǝrēzǝh ‘then I happened upon his testicle’ (91:16)
fǝrr aḳáyṣ́ǝr, wǝ-wīḳa ǝḥar aṣāwǝr ‘the leopard jumped, and he got to the (other) rock’ (99:20; cf. also 99:19)
ǝfühl aḳáyṣ́ǝr … wǝ-wīḳa ǝrǝk amsǝyǝl ‘the leopard jumped ... and he wound up in the valley-bottom’ (99:24)
wīḳa līhǝm hǝzáyz ‘a strong wind came upon them’ (103:1)
In one place, followed by a dependent (subjunctive) verb, it means ‘begin’:

\[
\text{wīka hē yənšārxaf ‘he began to slip away’ (69:4)}
\]

And in one place we find the idiom \(\text{wīka hāl ‘to become a wife to’}\):

\[
\text{wəkōt hāl ġayg ‘she became the wife of a man’ (74:10)}
\]

The masculine singular future-tense form \(\text{wəkōna}\) can mean ‘about, approximately’ or ‘perhaps, maybe’; see further in §10.5. On the use of \(\text{wīka}\) in compound verb tenses, see §7.1.9. And on the use of a subjunctive form of the verb \(\text{wīka}\) in conjunction with the particle \(\text{ād}\), see §12.5.1.

13.1.2 The Verb \(\text{yəkūn}\)

The verb \(\text{yəkūn}\), like \(\text{ḥōm}\) (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 \(\text{wīka}\) in its (limited) use as a copula. That is, we find \(\text{wīka}\) used as a copula in places where we need a subjunctive or future, and \(\text{yəkūn}\) in places where we need an imperfect. It is not problematic that both \(\text{yəkūn}\) and \(\text{wīka}\) are found in the apodosis of conditional sentences, since in this position we regularly find both imperfects and futures (see §13.4.1).

In \(\text{ML (s.v. kwn)}\), \(\text{yəkūn}\) 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 \(\text{yəkūn}\) in context are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yəkūn lūk șakk, hām ǵātoryak k-ḥədāyδək ‘it will be an offense if you speak with your uncle (this way)’ (33:3)} \\
\text{tkūn hāmāy bərk ʰārāwn wə-həbəɾ ‘my mother would be (habitually) among the goats and camels’ (34:6)}
\end{align*}
\]

---

3 It is not suppletive in a morphological sense, since \(\text{wīka}\) does have an imperfect (3ms \(\text{yəwōkə}\)). 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 \(\text{yəwōkə}\) and \(\text{yəkūn}\), see the comment to text 29:10.
yāmāram ʾāssērāk yākūn k-sēwēḥ ʾar ‘they say the sērak is (habitually) with witches’ (41:1)

ād hē šāṭ haybāṭah, hē yākūn ḥāywāl. w-ād hē al shāṭ haybāṭah lā, hōh
akūn kēḥbēt ‘if he slaughtered his camel, he is crazy. And if he didn’t
slaughter his camel, I am a whore’ (55:9)

ḥābrē ḍa-dāsōs yākūn dāsōs ‘the son of a snake will be a snake’ (64:26)

In the apodosis of a conditional, as in 55:9, yākūn is not required, as we can see
from the following example:

ād hē lūtāg attēṯ wā-hāgārīt, hē ġayg fērā ‘if he kills the woman and the
servant-girl, he is a brave man’ (22:94)

In one passage we find yākūn following lēzām ‘must’:

lēzām yākūn tamōm ‘there must be an even number’ (71A:1)

The particle lēzām is normally followed by a subjunctive or, less often, a future
(see §12.5.14). The imperfect form yākūn 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 dōmah al yākūn lā ‘this will not do [lit. be]’ (94:5), an idiom also found
in Yemeni Mehri.4

13.2 Negation

This section will cover a variety of negative particles in Mehri. The indefinite
pronouns ʾaḥād and ʾsī, which respectively have the meaning ‘no one’ and ‘noth-
ing’ in negative contexts, have been treated elsewhere (§3.5.1 and §3.5.2).

13.2.1 al ... lā

Verbal and non-verbal sentences are normally negated by the elements al ... 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, al is reduced to l- (see §13.2.4).

In non-verbal sentences with a pronominal subject (including ǝḥād ‘someone’ and śī ‘something’, but not demonstratives), the element al 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, al 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:

\[
al \ hōh \ hērāk \ lā \ ‘I \ am \ not \ a \ thief’ \ (47:8)
\]
\[
hōh \ al \ hōh \ sənnawrat \ lā \ ‘I \ am \ not \ a \ cat’ \ (6:11) \ (cf. \ also \ 15:18)
\]
\[
hēt \ al \ hēt \ hōkām \ lā \ ‘you \ are \ not \ the \ ruler’ \ (91:29)
\]
\[
hēt \ al \ hēt \ axāyr \ manūn \ lā \ ‘you \ are \ not \ better \ than \ us’ \ (61:4)
\]
\[
al \ hēm \ xasāwm \ lā \ ‘they \ aren’t \ enemies’ \ (64:15)
\]
\[
al \ atēm \ tīhōr \ lā \ ‘you \ are \ not \ pure’ \ (4:11)
\]
\[
al \ sē \ sənnawrat \ lā \ ‘it \ wasn’t \ a \ cat’ \ (6:2)
\]
\[
al \ šīhām \ kawt \ lā \ ‘they \ didn’t \ have \ food’ \ (30:1)
\]
\[
dōmah \ al \ hē \ šāgī \ lā \ ‘this \ is \ not \ my \ intention’ \ (22:22)
\]
\[
ağāyg \ dōmah \ al \ bāh \ fēhāl \ lā \ ‘this \ man \ has \ no \ penis’ \ (24:36)
\]
\[
dōmah \ al \ hē \ šawr \ gīd \ lā \ ‘this \ is \ not \ good \ advice’ \ (90:6)
\]
\[
ağelēt \ al \ hē \ manāy \ lā \ ‘the \ mistake \ is \ not \ from \ me’ \ (36:30)
\]
\[
amhaṣāwet \ al \ hē \ gīd \ lā \ ‘the \ pay \ [lit. \ yield] \ was \ not \ good’ \ (57:4)
\]
\[
tēt \ al \ sē \ mān \ aḵābyālī \ dā-xasāmhe \ lā \ ‘the \ woman \ was \ not \ from \ the \ tribe \ of \ his \ enemies’ \ (94:33)
\]
\[
šīn \ rawn \ bāṣ \ ɗ-al \ sēn \ bə-xāyr \ lā \ ‘we \ have \ some \ goats \ that \ are \ not \ well’ \ (26:6)
\]
\[
hadallāy \ bə-wōram \ tayt \ ɗ-al \ sē \ hōram \ də-hāms \ lā \ ‘he \ directed \ me \ to \ a \ certain \ road \ that \ wasn’t \ the \ road \ I \ wanted’ \ (62:3)
\]

In verbal sentences al 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 al usually (but not always) precedes an expressed pronominal subject. Second, al precedes the subject if it is an indefinite pronoun (like śī ‘something’ or ǝḥād ‘someone’; see §3.5.1 and §3.5.2 for additional examples). Third, if the verb has the verbal prefix ð- (see §7.1.10; but not relative ð-), then the element al will also precede an expressed pronoun. Examples of negated verbal sentences (including futures) are:
In certain environments, \textit{al} is used without a following \textit{lā}. We find this most commonly in combination with the particle \textit{ar}, giving the sense of ‘only’ (cf. French \textit{ne ... que}), as in:

\begin{quote}
\textit{al} šı̂ham \textit{ar} hēt ‘they have only you’ (18:18)
\textit{hōh} \textit{al} šay \textit{ar} hōṭāri troch ‘I only have two kids’ (89:8)
\textit{hēt} \textit{al} gāyābk \textit{ar} mān baṭōl ‘you only fainted from fear’ (95:10)
\end{quote}

For additional examples and more details on the particle \textit{ar}, see §12.5.4.

With verbs of swearing or promising, \textit{al} (or \textit{l-} before \textit{ād}) is used alone to negate a dependent verbal phrase, as in:

\begin{quote}
dāxlūtān \textit{l-ād} ənnōka anáxalke zōyād ‘we’ll promise we won’t come to your date-palms ever again’ (37:5)
bēr dāxlah, hīṣ ādham fāxra, \textit{al} ṣhād mānḥēm yōbāyd ‘they had promised, when they were still together, that neither of them would lie’ (74:2)
ḥārmak \textit{l-ād} adūbāh zōyād te \textit{al-}mēt ‘I swear I won’t collect honey ever again until I die’ (77:2)
\textit{hē} ḥōrām \textit{al} yōdūbah ‘he swore he would not collect honey’ (77:8)
\end{quote}
They swore they wouldn't take compensation for it’ (89:5)

‘I swore I would not slaughter kids anymore’ (89:10)

This happens even in direct reports of swearing or promising, as in:

‘she swore, “I will not marry”’ (32:12)

The combination ād- (+ suffix) al 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:

‘let’s shoot him, before he bewitches us’ (82:2)

‘tell him to come to us tomorrow, before the sun goes down’ (96:1)

The sequence ād-al 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 al ... w-al can also be used as the equivalent of English ‘neither ... nor’. Examples from the texts are:

‘he had neither the woman nor his camel’ (55:16)

‘she didn’t taste either water or food’ (75:22)

‘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 al used alone unexpectedly. I suspect that the particle lā was simply forgotten in error. The passage in question is:

‘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 ǝl, as the equivalent of ǝl ... lā (cf. French pas), in both verbal and non-verbal sentences. Some examples are:

- ḥōm lā ‘I don’t want to’ (410)
- kəwʧōna hūk lā ‘I won’t tell you’ (20:37)
- ʃīnak təh lā ‘I haven’t seen it’ (23:9)
- ǝńkāwdar naślēl lā ‘we can’t move’ (28:12)
- šātkwalams hənfāykwəm lā ‘don’t think yourselves a burden’ (28:15)
- hārōn bīsan ʃxōf mēkan lā ‘the goats didn’t have much milk’ (30:13)
- kūsəm tīhǐ lā ‘they didn’t find them’ (35:17)
- āgawz əśśūt lā ‘the old woman didn’t wake up’ (65:10)
- tāsōs lā ‘don’t be afraid!’ (67:2)
- ḥābū ʃihəm kawt 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 ǝl ... lā, unlike the use of just ǝl, 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 ǝl hōm lā. On the other hand, in a negated possessive construction with k- (§ 13.3.1), we almost always find ǝl ... 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 hāmak 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 ǝl 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 ǝl follows ād (ādi ǝl, ād(ǝ)k ǝl, 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 ənnwwn w-ādak ǝl hēt məhēros lā ‘you are a child and you won’t marry yet’ (8:8)
- hōh l-ād əkāwʃəd lā mən ŋəyrək ‘I will not get down off you yet’ (46:4)
- kādēt l-ād əsənūs əyʃəd ərəbễt lā ‘Kadet didn’t yet dare to go down to town’ (64:8)
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l-ād šəwrɛ̄m lā ‘they still didn’t back off’ (70:3)
hōh ādi əl ǝǧárbo ǝl ‘I didn’t know it yet’ (38:9)
āmūr dēk ṭ-ādəh əl ātōsɨ 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 mǝn hīs ‘since’ (§ 13.5.3.3). Examples are:

hōh, mǝn hīs xalākə, ādi əl ǝhūrək lā ‘since I was born, I have never stolen’ (47:9)
ādi əl ǝlmər ɬər ɬəməsɨh ‘I have never sung except yesterday’ (52:15)
ādəh əl ḥādə ɬōmər hānɨ ɬənəsəwələ hā lər ɬət hɛnt ‘no one ever has told me that I do (it) well except you’ (52:17)
ādəh əl ɬənəsɨr təwəlɨhə lər ɬət ɬətərət ɬəkəməh ‘he had never gone to them, except that time’ (59:1)
shire ʃɨ d-ɬədən mən hīs ɬəkən ‘we saw something that we have never seen since we were born’ (82:4)
ādi əl ɬəsɛnəsɨn lə ‘I had never seen them’ (89:21)

When used along with an expression of time that has passed (using mən (hīs) or ber h-), the element ǝd (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 ɬɨnək ɬiɦəm lə rən warx ‘I haven’t seen them for a month’ (20:41)
ādi əl ɬɨnək ɬəbəɨ lə rən hɨs ɬətsɨm ‘I haven’t seen my parents since they died’ (20:43)
ber həh ɬəmɨh ɬədəh əl ʃĩnɨ ɬəkənəh lə ‘it was already the fifth (day) that he hadn’t seen his community’ (32:5)
ber hənɨ ɬɛt ɬə ɬɨnək ɬəh lə ‘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 ɬə. The verb following ād- əl is in the perfect tense. A few examples are:
ādah ǝl tǝmūm lā, ḡǝrbīh ḥâybǝh ‘before he finished [lit. he had not yet finished], his father recognized him’ (74:23)
nahōm nawbādǝh, ādah ǝl ǝʃǝrin ‘let’s shoot him, before he bewitches us’ (82:2)
āmǝr hah yotáxǝn gēhamah, ǝds ǝl gǝzōt ḥǝyawm ‘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:

ǝnkáthǝm aġǝllēt, wǝ-l-ād habsâyr ʰōrem lā ‘a mist came upon them, and they couldn’t see the way anymore’ (17:2)
ham sayǝrk, l-ād rǝddōna lín lā ‘if you go, you won’t come back to us again’ (20:72)
l-ād tǝbkɛ́h lā ‘don’t cry anymore’ (40:7)
hoḥ āgāwz ǝd-ǝ-ād wǝsǝlak lā ǝl-ʃyër, wǝ-l-ād habsârk lā ‘I am an old woman who can’t manage to go anymore, and doesn’t see well anymore’ (46:2)
l-ād ǝḥâd ɡǝlüm ǝḥâd lā ‘no one was unjust to anyone again’ (66:10)
hoḥ l-ād šay gǝmâylat lā ‘I don’t have any more strength’ (83:4)
l-ād ǝbṭǝnâ tış lā ‘I won’t hit you anymore’ (89:18)
l-ād ɦámhǝm ʃay lā ‘I don’t want them with me anymore’ (91:32)
l-ād tǝnkɛ̄y lā wǝ́rxi ʈrōh ‘don’t come back to me again for two months’ (98:4)
l-ād šinak ʰerbâtyɛ 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 zōyǝd ‘more’ (see further in § 13.2.7), but once in the texts we find ābdan ‘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 ǝl ... lā, though sometimes a translation ‘at all’

5 Compare this sentence, in which l- precedes both ǝd and ǝḥâd, with ǝd ǝl ǝḥâd yǝʃɛ́nyǝh lā ‘nobody has ever seen it’ (41:10), in which the negative element follows ǝd. The difference relates to the different uses of ǝd. When ǝd means ‘never, not ever’ it normally has a pronominal suffix (in text 41:10 it presumably does not because of the following indefinite pronoun ǝḥâd) and ǝl follows. When ǝd 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:

\[ l-ād kāwla amōl yəttākk mōh lā 'they didn't let the (other) livestock drink any water at all' (27:5) \]
\[ l-ād sərōt lā 'she didn't stop at all' (54:20) \]
\[ l-ād āssūt lā 'she didn't wake up at all' (65:10) \]
\[ bəğāwdəh, wəlākan l-ād əlḥākəm təh lā 'they chased him, but they didn't catch up to him' (69:5) \]
\[ mūna ḥädəthe, wə-l-ād kədūr yəḥtūrək lā 'he grabbed his hands, and he couldn't move at all' (75:10) \]
\[ ağığən l-ād wīda hībōh yəmōl lā 'the boy didn't know at all what to do' (76:3) \]
\[ ağıyəg l-ād šəmūn tɛ́ṯəh lā 'the man didn't listen to his wife at all' (94:26) \]

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.

\[ nəhōm ... nəkḷēh fəkəyr l-agərē l-ād yəhērəs lā 'we should ... leave him poor, so that he won't ever get married' (6:12) \]

Just as the negative ǝl 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’).

\[ bər təmūm ağıggōtən ər-ərəbēt. l-ād ar hōh 'he has already used up the girls of the town. There is only me left' (42:19) \]
\[ l-ād ar hōh, tət 'only I am left, a woman' (64:27, 29) \]

13.2.5  m-ād
The particle m-ād, which derives from mən ād,\(^6\) 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.
When following the verb \(\text{yǝṣṣ} \) 'be afraid' (+ d.o.) and preceding a dependent (subjunctive) verb, \(\text{m-ād} \) 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:

\[
yǝ́ṣṣǝk tīk m-ād talwōmī (l-)ǝkǝ́l bǝrk šatfēti \quad \text{I am afraid that you will expect me to let you in my basket} \quad (20:37)
\]
\[
yǝ́ṣṣǝk tīk m-ād tǝḥtawōl, hām kǝlǝ́t hūk \quad \text{I am afraid you will go crazy if I tell you} \quad (22:26)
\]
\[
yǝ́ṣṣǝk tǝ́s m-ād tǝfrēr mǝn ð̣áyrǝn \quad \text{I am afraid she might run away from us} \quad (37:10)
\]
\[
yǝ́ssǝm aġāyǝs m-ād yǝḥtawōl \quad \text{they were afraid her husband might go crazy} \quad (37:12)
\]
\[
yǝ́ssǝk aġāy m-ād y-aos̥ \quad \text{I was afraid that my brother would get scared} \quad (106:5)
\]

See further on the verb \(\text{yǝṣṣ} \) in §13.5.1 and §13.5.1.1. A similar construction is found once with the verb \(\text{ḥǝgg} \) 'refuse':

\[
\text{ḥǝggūt lǝh tḗṣah m-ād yǝhērəs aw yǝḥōm yǝxxōli} \quad \text{his wife didn't let him get married unless he wanted to get divorced} \quad (32:28)
\]

13.2.6 \text{ mǝḳā}

The negative particle \(\text{mǝḳā} \) occurs just four times in the texts. In \(\text{ML} \) (s.v. \(\text{wḳʿ} \)), 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, \(\text{mǝḳā} \) means something like '(it is) as if not'. No other negative particle is used.
in conjunction with ṁekā. However, three of the attested examples are in combination with xā ‘as if’, on which see § 8.21. The four attestations are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nēhār məxtib yəklēl bəh kawt, məkā xā sē nəkātah arhəmēt dīnəh ‘a barren} \\
\text{wadi that there was no damned food in, as if this (recent) rain hadn’t} \\
\text{come there [lit. to it]’ (26:15)} \\
\text{walākan məkā xā hōh d-ənōfa sī hənəkəm ‘but it’s as if I were of no use to} \\
\text{you in anything’ (33:2)} \\
\text{hōh gəzmōnə hikəm məkā hōh hərək ‘I will swear to you that I am not a} \\
\text{thief’ (47:11)} \\
\text{walē məkā xā hēm xəlēkəm ‘it’s as if they had were never [lit. not] born’} \\
\text{(90:8)}
\end{align*}
\]

In the Roman manuscript of text 26, Johnstone added several other phrases with ṁekā. These were later included in ML (s.v. kll; one of them also s.v. šwl). They are:

\[
\begin{align*}
məkā al šīs șəwāyl lā ‘it’s as if she has no equal’\textsuperscript{8} \\
yəklēl bīs məkā šīs șəwāyl ‘she has no bloody equal!’ \\
yəklēl bay məkā hē šay ‘I damned well haven’t got it!’
\end{align*}
\]

As is evident from three of the above seven examples, ṁekā is an essential part of idioms using the verb yəklēl, the 3ms subjunctive of the verb kəll (see also the comment to text 26:15).

Watson (2012: 337)—who provides a few other examples of ṁekā in context—is certainly correct when she suggests that ṁekā derives from negative man plus yākā, the 3ms subjunctive of the verb wīka (§ 13.1.1). Already Johnstone took ṁekā from the verb wīka (ML, s.v. wk’). Cf. also m-ād < man ād, discussed in § 13.2.5.

13.2.7 zōyəd

The word zōyəd can have the meaning ‘more’, as in:

\text{\textsuperscript{7} The function of walē (cf. § 12.1.4 and § 12.5.21) in this example is unclear.}
\text{\textsuperscript{8} ML translated this phrase once (s.v. kll) as ‘she has no equal’, and once (s.v. šwl) as ‘there is nobody like her’, both times neglecting to translate ṁekā. In the manuscript of text 26, the phrase was not given its own translation, but was clearly intended as the equivalent of yəklēl bīs məkā šīs șəwāyl.}
Some syntactic features

men ġār sanēt aw zōyād ‘after a year or more’ (16:1)
warx wa-zōyād ‘a month and more’ (42:10)
awtawg mānhēm zōyād al-fāḵ ‘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—zōyād 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 ... lä, but twice zōyād occurs with the simpler al ... lä. As discussed in § 13.2.2, the element lä is missing in the case of a verb of swearing or promising. Examples are:

l-ād tahfēr zōyād lä ‘don’t dig anymore!’ (19:25)
l-ād akāwḏar zōyād lä ‘I couldn’t anymore’ (20:12)
l-ād ṣūfānā tik zōyād lä ‘I won’t be of use to you anymore’ (33:6)
l-ād hōḥ māšēmān tik zōyād lä ‘I won’t trust you anymore’ (56:6)
l-ād šīnān tīḥām zōyād lä ‘we didn’t see them ever again’ (60:8)
al akāwḏar al-ttāḵk zōyād lä ‘I can’t drink anymore’ (49:10)
daxlūṭān l-ād ṣūnākān ānāxalxē zōyād ‘we’ll promise we won’t come to your date-palms ever again’ (37:5)
ḥārmāk l-ād ḍāwābār būk zōyād te al-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 al ... zōyād lä and l-ād ... zōyād lä mean essentially the same thing:

l-ād hōḥ sāwōbānā tik zōyād lä ‘I won’t wait for you any longer’ (56:9)
wo-kōḥ al sāwōbānā ti zōyād lä ‘why won’t you wait for me any longer?’ (56:10)

In just one passage in the texts, zōyād is used in a positive context, in conjunction with ād, to mean ‘again, anymore’:

ḥām ād hawrādk hāmōh dōmōh zōyād, ḏaw-ṇawtāḵ ‘if you bring (your) animals to this water ever again, we will kill you’ (10:9)

13.2.8 ábdan

The word ábdan (< Arabic 'ābadan) 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).

\( \text{āl ǝḥād yǝtáyw axáyr mǝn arībēh lā ábdan} \) ‘no one ever eats more than his companion’ (73:13)

\( \text{arǝ́ṣḳ ǝl yǝḳtūṭa lā ábdan ... wǝlākan aššāraf, hām tǝmm, l-ād yǝxlōf lā ábdan} \) ‘(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 ǝl ... 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:

\( \text{šay nǝxlīt} \) ‘I have a date-palm’ (77:5)

\( \text{šǝh ġīgēn wǝ-ġǝgǝnōt} \) ‘he had a boy and a girl’ (22:1)

\( \text{šīs wōz} \) ‘she had a goat’ (49:1)

\( \text{ǝl šīhǝm kawt lā} \) ‘they had no food’ (11:2)

\( \text{ǝl šīn kǝráwš lā} \) ‘we didn’t have any money’ (91:2)

\( \text{ġayg šǝh rīkēb} \) ‘a man had a riding-camel’ (12:1)

\( \text{ḥāmǝ́y šīs amōl mēkǝn} \) ‘my mother had a lot of property’ (34:4)

\( \text{sɛ́kǝni ǝl šīhǝm mǝṣráwf lā} \) ‘my family has no supplies’ (18:14)

\( \text{ḥōh šay šawr} \) ‘I have a plan’ (35:8)

\( \text{ḥōh al ǝl šay ar ēmōmah} \) ‘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 *wiqa* ‘be, become’ makes the past tense explicit:

*abōki wiqa ṣisən arḥəmēt* ‘the remainder (of the goats) had grazing’

(17:15)

In contexts where a subjunctive is required, the verb *wiqa* is also used, though there are just two examples in the texts:

*tāḳáʾ šūk maws* ‘you should have a razor’ (75:11)

*lēzəm amnēdəm yākāʾ shəh afkərāyyat də-ḥəndəfəh* ‘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 ḥəbrəyti* ‘I have a daughter’ (lit. ‘I have my daughter’) (48:7)

*šəh ḥāyməh* ‘he had a brother-in-law’ (lit. ‘he had his brother-in-law’) (64:10)

*šəh téʃəh raḥəymat* ‘he had a beautiful wife’ (19:1)

*hōh šay ḥəməy əɡəzw* ‘I have an old mother’ (65:7)

*šəh ḥəbənne yəbəy t* ‘he had seven sons’ (50:1)

*šəh šalit əɡəthe* ‘he had three sisters’ (37:7)

*šəh əɡəh. w-əɡəh šəh həbrətəh* ‘he had a brother. And his brother had a daughter’ (85:1)

Note also the phrase *nūka bə-ḥəbənne* ‘he had [or: bore] sons [lit. his sons]’ (12:16). The special treatment of familial terms in connection with possession

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9 In a previous work (Rubin 2009a: 223), I incorrectly described *tāḳáʾ* as an imperfect of *wiqa*, 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 amǝwsē* ‘it’s raining (for me)’ (e.g., 62:1). But if relating a story in the third person plural, one would say *šīhǝm amǝwsē* ‘it’s raining (for them)’ (e.g., 35:1). Following are several other examples to illustrate this use of *k*:-

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{šǝh ħark} & \text{ ‘it was hot’ (lit. ‘heat [was] with him’) (32:2)} \\
\text{šay amǝwsē w-ḥǝbūr} & \text{ ‘it was rainy and cold’ (lit. ‘with me [were] rain and cold’) (53:6)} \\
\text{šay aġallēt} & \text{ ‘there was mist’ (or: ‘it was misty’) (47:4)} \\
\text{šīn hārīt} & \text{ ‘there was moonlight’ (81:1)} \\
\text{ḥōh šay aktīw} & \text{ ‘it was dark’ (91:16)} \\
\text{šǝh awákt} & \text{ ‘it was hot (at night)’ (91:39)} \\
\text{hām ǝl šīsǝn arīḥ lā} & \text{ ‘if they don’t have [or: if there isn’t] a hot wind’ (27:22)} \\
\text{ḥōm ǝl-gǝhōm ād šay aḳāṣǝm} & \text{ ‘I want to go while it’s still cool’ (94:35)} \\
\text{šǝh aģallēt w-amǝwsē} & \text{ ‘it was misty and rainy’ (98:1)} \\
\text{nǝḥāh šīn amǝwsē} & \text{ ‘we’ve had rain’ (or: ‘it’s been rainy’) (98:3)} \\
\text{šīn ǝwǝhēr} & \text{ ‘there was a new moon’ (82:1)} \\
\text{šīn ḥǝbūr} & \text{ ‘it was cold’ (105:1)}^{10}
\end{align*}
\]

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

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\(^{10}\) See also the comment to text 35:4.
word *mawsē* ‘rain’. This verb is used twice in the texts, both times impersonally in the feminine singular, *ǝwsūt* ‘it rained’ (10:16; 96:7).11 We also find twice the verb *šǝrḥáwm* ‘have rain’, both times in the 3mp perfect *šǝrḥáym* ‘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 *šǝh ḳawt* can mean ‘he has food’ or ‘he had food’, likewise *šǝh ḥark* 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:

- *bǝh śef mēkǝn* ‘he had a lot of hair’ (lit. ‘on him [was] a lot of hair’) (9:8)
- *aġáyg dōmah al bǝh feḥal là* ‘this man has no penis’ (24:36)
- *kūsǝn harōm ǝd-bǝ́h ḥfūl* ‘we found a tree that had ripe figs on it’ (25:3)
- *ḥārǝwn bīsǝn aśxōf* ‘the goats have [lit. in them (is)] milk’ (31:10)
- *śǝllōt gǝwdīl ǝd-bǝ́h šīwōt* ‘she took a stick that had fire on it’ (36:8)
- *ǝl bay қǝṭfōf lā* ‘I don’t have wings’ (56:8)
- *bǝh ḳōni ṯrōh* ‘it had two horns’ (88:7)
- *aġáyg dōmah al bǝh ḥǝsmēt lā* ‘this man has no honor [or: respect]’ (91:14)

In this same category, we can place the idiom *bay ḥássi* ‘I was conscious’ (40:26), literally ‘in me (was) my consciousness’, and probably also the idiom *būk hɛ̄šǝn* ‘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:

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11 Other verbs denoting environmental phenomena are attested impersonally in the 3fs form, namely *haddūt* ‘it thundered’ and *bǝrkǝ́wt* ‘it was lightning’ (both 10:16).
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:

ādǝh lūsǝn fakh ðǝ-wárx ‘they still had half a month (left)’ (30:9)
ādǝh lūk mǝsáyr śīlǝṯ yūm ‘you still have a journey of three days’ (37:16)

13.4 Conditionals

There are three conditional particles in Omani Mehri: hām, ād, and lū, of which hām is by far the most common. These correspond in use superficially to Classical Arabic ʾin, ʾiḍa, 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 ād does not parallel that of Arabic ʾin and ʾiḍa. 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, hǝn, 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 ḥōm 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 rašáwt, xtyēna tīk ‘if she consents, we’ll circumcise you’ (8:2)
hām sayórk, l-ād rǝddōna līn lā ‘if you go, you won’t come back to us again’ (20:72)
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.12 There are also five cases in which hām is followed by a future.13 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, ḱafēd līn ǝw-bōh ‘if you hear me, come down here to us’ (64:29)
hām tağtūri k-agannánse, tāsōš lā ‘if she is conversing with her jinns, she won’t wake up’ (65:11)
hām thámay, hōh arībēk, w-ǝnkē ǝw-bōh ‘if you hear me, I am your friend, so come here!’ (76:12)
hām al ǝtēm wǝzzyēma ti tēti lā, šhāyti ‘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 ḥōm, 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 śemothānā lūk, hām hēt mahawf ʾī ḥāzye h-aṣāyrēb ‘I’ll sell it to you if you pay me my goats in the autumn’ (39:4)
hām ʾī hēt sīrōnā lā, sīrīta tawōlī ḥaddōd ‘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 thāmōn, naṣēl ‘if you want us to (move), we’ll move’ (30:3)
hām ar thāmī, l-āmērōh ‘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’:

hibōh l-āmōl, hām hāmārk lay ‘what should I do, if you command me?’ (20:23)
hām ʾḥād yagōrah šī, yadāwyēh ‘if anyone knows anything, he should treat him’ (65:7)
hām ʾl kask tah lā, hibōh 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 ḥawrādāk hāmōh dōmah zōyād, ḍō-ṇawtāḡ īf you bring (your) animals to this water ever again, we will kill you’ (10:9)
hām ʾḥād monkēm kārbāy, ḍō-l-ʾawbādāh ‘if any of you come near me, I will shoot him’ (47:11)
hām ʾṭāḥōt wēlē raddūṭ lāy, l-ʾawbāds ‘she stops or turns back to me, I’ll [or: I should] shoot her’ (54:18)14

14 As noted in the comment to this text, Ali read the imperfect alābdas on the audio (with the same meaning), but his original manuscript has the subjunctive l-ʾawbāds.
hām nākōt ġallēt ... wa-ftíkk hōh šaḥḥ, al-hádhāb nēhar dōrā’ ‘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 āl-kalēt, l-ānkēš awrēk ‘if I were to tell you, I would destroy the papers’ (21:11)*

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 ǝð
The particle ǝð, perhaps a borrowing of Arabic ʾiḍa, occurs eleven times in the texts. Like hām, ǝð normally indicates real conditions. However, it seems to be used exclusively to indicate two contrasting conditionals. As with hām, if ǝð precedes a verbal clause, the verb will be in the perfect. Following are all the occurrences of ǝð in the texts:

ǝð hē šēmūn, hōh nakōna tīkəm ... w-ǝð hē xαẕōh, šāxbər mən akāsdəh ‘if he agrees, I will come to you ... and if he refuses, ask him his goal’ (22:17–18)

ǝð hē kāybał, hē hīs tīkəm ... w-ǝð hē lūtāq attēt wa-hāqərit, hē ɡayg fēra’ ‘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)

ǝð hē bəh al-hīs aɡayūɡ, atēm təsḥāyt. w-ǝð hē al bəh fēhəl lū, hē yashōt ‘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 nakūš is Johnstone’s. That meaning is not in ML, and elsewhere in the texts it means ‘dig up’ (37:13; 65:3).
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ǝð hē shāṭ ḥaybātah, hē yākūn háywol. w-ǝð hē ǝl shāṭ ḥaybātah lá, hōh ǝkūn kəḥbēt ‘if he slaughtered his camel, he is crazy. And if he didn’t slaughter his camel, I am a whore’ (55:9)

ǝð hē səyūr ǝsay, hē ǝqyōna tah, w-ǝð hē bədōh, ǝl kəwṭōna b-awāsfaḥ lá ‘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)

ǝð sē kəwṭūt layš, ǝlēli kəmkēm mən ǝdār ḥəroḥš … w-sē gəḥdātš, ǝl ǝṭrək kəmkēmaš lá ‘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 ǝð is missing from the second conditional. It may have been assimilated to the following s (i.e., ǝd-sē > ǝs-sē). Unfortunately, I found no audio for that text. Regardless, the first ǝð 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 ǝntəkōl ‘choose!’ or a form of the exclamation b-arāyǝk ‘as you wish’. Two of the examples are:

thaym tháḥəntəm tah, b-arāyəkəm. wə-thaym təkləm tah, 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, ǝntəkōl. wə-thōm (t)šxawwəl, ǝntəkōl ‘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 ǝd 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:

ǝd wəzūm karš, wə-ǝd wəzūm kərši 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 ǝd, 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 śinak tǝh, akirǝn l-ǝnʃēh ‘if only I saw him again, I would want to be helpful to him’ (43:9)
lū al hē ḥāywal lā, al yǝshāytaŋ haybōtah lā ‘if he wasn’t crazy, he would not have slaughtered his camel’ (55:7)
lū ǝxbūrǝn, axaỳr hın ‘if only we had been patient, it would have been better for us’ (61:7)
lū al ber lütag arböt mǝnin lā, al nǝwtiɡan tǝh lā ‘if only he had not already killed four of us, we would not have killed him’ (83:7)
lū zǝhēdk hibōh l-ǝmēr ḥābū rihōm ‘if only I had known what to say to the nice people’ (43:11)
lū hōḥ kōrak aḵāwt … hibōh yāmǝrǝn ḥābū? āmyēra, “gayγ bǝxāyl wǝkāw!” w-al ǝḥād yāḳān yēskūf 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 (āmyēra), indicating the real outcome (of this hypothetical situation), and one with a conditional form (yāmēran), 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 wīkâ ‘be(come)’ plus an imperfect:

lū amnēdǝm yǝhāwsəb ǝlhān nǝkōna tǝh b-amastakbǝləh, al ǝhād yākān yaškūf 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 (wǝkōna ǝh for nǝkōna tǝh) and the addition of the particle ǝ- before the final verb (ǝ-yaškūf').
The phrase *te wa-lū* means ‘even if’ (cf. Arabic ḥattā 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 *te wa-lū* are:

- *ǝl ǝrdūd lā, te wa-lū ǝmūt* ‘I won't go back, even if I'll die’ (37:19)
- *te wa-lū fōnǝh fɛ́rǝʾ, yǝḥǝṣáwbǝh nōðǝl, te wa-lū al hé nōðǝl lā* ‘even if he was brave before, he becomes a coward, even if he is not a coward’ (43:2)
- *te wa-lū bárǝh mōyǝt mǝn agǝwɛ́ʾ, yǝṣáwbǝr al-hīs arībɛ̄h* ‘even if he is dying of hunger, he is patient like his companion’ (73:13)
- *al nǝḥāh āmyēla bǝh ⱥī lā, te wa-lū dǝ-rıkǝb dǝr ṯǝbráyn* ‘we won't do anything to him, even if he was riding on a hyena’ (82:3)
- *āká’ ad-fǝ́rḥǝk, te wa-lū dǝ-māthǝnǝk* ‘be (like) you're happy, even if you're sad [or: in trouble]’ (90:15)
- *kāl ǝḥād yǝhātūm hāl xāsmǝh, te wa-lū d-ǝwtáwġ ḥāybǝh wǝ-ḥǝbrǝ́h* ‘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, *wa-lū* (without *te*) is used on its own as an exclamation ‘even so!’ (89:33).

### 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:

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16 Cf. Arabic wa-law, which can have the same usage.
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 (ðǝ-)ʿǝ́mlǝk ‘I think’, hǝgūs ‘think’, h(ǝ)thūm ‘think, imagine, suspect’, šhēwǝb ‘think, figure’, and šǝsdūḳ/šǝṣdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’.18 One can sometimes translate with an infinitive, though usually this is awkward. Some examples are:

‘ām(lǝ)k tīsǝn thágyagən ‘I think (that) they will give birth’ (28:18)
ðǝ-ʿǝ́mlǝk tī l-āḳá’ danyūt ‘I think (that) I may be pregnant’ (101:18)
al nahágsək yasyər là ‘we didn’t think (that) he would go’ (89:35)
hōh šǝsdǝ́kk lā yāḳáʾ xalūs ‘I don’t believe (that) it could have gotten lost’ (23:3)
agaṃg šhēwǝb tɛ́ṯəh tāḳáʾ bɛr sīrūt ‘the man figured (that) his wife would have already gone’ (94:20)
wə-hthomk təh yāḳáʾ man xaṣǝmyən ‘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 yǝṣṣ ‘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 yǝṣṣ uses the preposition man 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 áymǝl ‘make, do’ sometimes has the meaning ‘think, believe, be of the opinion’ (cf. 28:2; 91:8), at least in the 1cs perfect. When used with prefixed ð-, it seems to always have this meaning. Conversely, when it means ‘think’, it usually has the prefix ð-.18 On the variation found in the forms of the verb šǝsdūḳ, see the comment to text 20:6.
yə́ṣṣ mǝn aḥād yaʿyɛ́nǝh ‘I am afraid (that) someone will look at him with the evil eye’ (22:3)
ðǝ-yə́ṣṣ mǝn yaslḗ līsǝn kawb yǝmōh ‘I am afraid (that) a wolf might snatch (one) from them today’ (26:9)
yə́ṣṣ mǝn aḳǝnyáwn yǝɡṣābǝm tī tǝh ‘I am afraid that the children will snatch it from me’ (37:22)
ðǝ-yə́ṣṣ tīs mǝn thāflǝt mǝn ḥ-aṣ́āyga ‘I am afraid (that) she might run away from me to the shelter’ (94:16)

The verb yə́ṣṣ is sometimes, but not always, followed by an anticipatory pronominal direct object, as in 94:16, above. It is curious that yə́ṣṣ in this case takes a direct object, since when not in a complement construction, a pronominal object of yə́ṣṣ requires mǝn (e.g., 54:17). See also § 13.2.5, on the use of yə́ṣṣ with the particle m-ād.

13.5.1.1 Complementizer ð-
Complement clause type (c) involves, in English, an optional complementizer ‘that’. In Mehri, the particle ð- 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 ð-: áylǝm ‘learn, know’, ḥtūm ‘be sure’, šekrǝ́wr ‘confess’, ṣhēd ‘witness’, and šǝṣfōh ‘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 ð-. Some examples are:

kēf ʿɛ̄mǝk ðǝ-hē ḥ-aṣ́āyga tōmǝr ‘how did you know that it has on it dates?’ (23:15)
hōh ðǝ-ḥtǝ́mk ðǝ-hē aģāyg ðǝ-rīkǝb ṭǝbrāyn ‘I was sure that the man was riding on a hyena’ (82:2)
šǝkrǝ́rk bǝ-ḥǝnōfi ǝð-hōh ð̣ǝlǝ́mk ‘I confess of myself that I was unjust’ (19:24)
tǝśhīd ðǝ-hē hārūs be-fǝlānǝ … wǝ-tśhīd ðǝ-hē, akfǝ́ylas, awkǝ́lāy 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)
šǝṣfōh amkwáyrǝs ðǝ-sē, amkǝwrǝ́tǝh, šfǝ́káwt ‘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 ‘áylǝm (likely from Arabic ‘alima) is not included in ML.
The following verbs are never attested in the texts with the complementizer \( \ddot{\text{d}} \)-: \textit{daxāl} ‘promise’, \textit{gazūm} ‘swear’, \textit{hāylām} ‘dream’, \( (h)hōram \) ‘swear’, and \textit{ḥass} ‘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 \( \ddot{\text{d}} \)-. Some of these examples are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\ddot{\text{ḥ}}\text{mək yallōh xaznēt } \ddot{\text{d}}\text{-hāybi } & \text{ənxāli } \text{əbātk} \text{ ‘I dreamt last night (that) my father’s treasure was under your house’ (19:17)} \\
d\ddot{\text{xlūt}}\text{an } l\text{-ād } & \text{ənnōka } \text{ānāxalke } \text{zōyad } \text{we’ll promise (that) we won’t come to your date-palms ever again’ (37:5)}^{20} \\
\ddot{\text{h}}\ddot{\text{s}}\ddot{\text{s}}\ddot{\text{k} } & \text{ṭwyāy ba-hallāy } \text{ ‘I felt them come to me [lit. I felt (that) they came to me] in the night’ (40:22)} \\
\ddot{\text{h}}\ddot{\text{e}} & \text{hōram } \text{al } \text{yədūbah } \text{ ‘he swore (that) he would not collect honey’ (77:8)} \\
\ddot{\text{h}}\ddot{\text{e}}\ddot{\text{m}} & \text{gazāwm } \text{al } \text{yəʃāyt } \text{bəh } \text{kəʃāyyət } \text{they swore (that) they wouldn’t take compensation for it’ (89:5)}
\end{align*}
\]

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 \( \ddot{\text{d}} \)- is always followed by an independent pronoun, in all but one case (19:24), a third-person pronoun. In the examples in which \( \ddot{\text{d}} \)- 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 \( \ddot{\text{d}} \)- occurs because of the following third-person pronoun, or that the pronoun is used because of the complementizer \( \ddot{\text{d}} \)?

A handful of verbs are attested both with and without a following complementizer. Among these verbs are: \textit{āmūr} ‘say’, \textit{ğarūb} ‘know’, and \textit{ḥankūr} ‘feel; understand, realize’. For \textit{ğarūb} and \textit{ḥankūr}, 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 \textit{ğarūb} and \textit{ḥankūr} with the complementizer are:

\[
\ddot{\text{ğ}}\ddot{\text{ʁ}}\ddot{\text{b}}\ddot{\text{k} } & \text{tah } \ddot{\text{d}}\text{-hē } \text{sədāyki } \text{məxlaṣ } \text{ṣay } \text{‘I knew that my friend was sincere with me’ (18:17)}
\]

\[^{20}\text{ We might expect } \text{daxāl ‘promise’ to take a following subjunctive, as } \text{šəwɛ̄d ‘promise’ does in 32:5, 55:3, and 91:30. The verb } \text{daxāl is followed by the imperfect here (and in 68:16) because it is a general promise involving a sustained action (with } l\text{-ād ... zōyad ‘never again’), rather than the promise of a one-time activity. Cf. also the imperfect following verbs of swearing, as in the example from 77:8 above.}\]
Some examples of ġǝrub and hǝnkūr without the complementizer are:

- hōh āġōrǝb ūmbráwtǝn yǝbádyǝm lā ā ‘I know (that) the boys don’t lie’ (74:20)
- hē ā-gǝrub al ǝšham al ǝšwōt w-ǝl mōh ‘he knew (that) they didn’t have fire or water’ (76:11)
- hōh ar ber hǝnkǝrk mǝhawf 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 ḏ- 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:

- ġǝráwb āskēr ṭǝ-hē āwēr báydi ‘the officers knew that the blind man was a liar’ (46:20)
- tēṯ ḏ-aġáyg ġǝrbǝ́ts ṭǝ-sē sádkǝt (sǝdáyḳǝt) ‘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.  

21 Compare Dhofari Arabic a’rafb innak mā kunt fī l-bēt ‘I know that you weren’t at home’ (Davey 2016: 221) and mā ḥad min tuggār is-sūq yi’rafiś inniš bint xāli ‘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:

\[ \textit{agárba}k \ hēt \ \textit{bōyar} \ 'I know (that) you are a trickster' \ (\textit{lit.} \ 'I know you, you are a trickster') \ (99:26) \]
\[ \textit{sājf \ tājōrab} \ hōh \ \textit{aštāwṭ agáwfi} \ 'you probably know (that) I have pain in my chest' \ (101:10) \]

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 \(\partial\), as described in § 7.1.10.2) or a non-verbal clause. In these cases, we sometimes find the complementizer \(\partial\), the appearance of which seems roughly to follow the pattern found with the verb \(\textit{gārūb} \ 'know', \ outlined above. That is, when \(\partial\) is used, it is followed by a third-person pronoun. The verbs \(\textit{ʻāmlōk} \ 'I think' \ and \(\textit{hāgūs} \ '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:

\[ \textit{ʻāmlōk} \ tāh \ ber \ gōhēm \ 'I think (that) he already left' \ (94:42) \]
\[ \textit{ḥābū} \ šasdīk \ \textit{dā-hē} \ šērōk \ šaṭk \ 'the people believed that the šērōk is real [\textit{lit. true}]' \ (41:9) \]
\[ \textit{əhūgəs} \ šxəbəráy \ \textit{ər} \ \textit{mən} \ \textit{an'āl} \ 'I thought he just asked me about the sandals' \ (20:26) \]
\[ \textit{yəhūgəs} \ məəjfeś \ \textit{də-šəwkūf} \ 'he thought (that it) was a package of food' \ (91:20) \]
\[ \textit{yəhūgəs} \ aqūgən \ \textit{də-şəwkůf} \ 'he thought that the boy was sleeping' \ (76:12) \]

traders know that you are my cousin’ (Davey 2016: 193). In the second example, the verb (\(\textit{yərafiš} \)) has a 2fs object suffix, while in the first example, the verb (\(\textit{a'raf} \)) has no such suffix. Incidentally, the use of complementizer \(\partial\)- plus an independent pronoun is likely a calque of the colloquial Arabic complementizer \(\textit{inna} \) plus a pronominal suffix, as in the above examples.
\textit{əhāgsəh ə-rikəb ər təbrəyn} ‘I thought that he was riding on a hyena’
(or: ‘I thought him (to be) riding ...’) (82:1)
\textit{əhāgsəš mon əsətkəs həsərəš 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 ə- with ə̱rūb and ənkūr, 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:

\begin{itemize}
  \item ṃon āmūr hūk ə-hōh əmər ‘who told you that I sing?’ (52:9)
  \item hāmak hābū āmawr hē bərk xədmēt ‘I heard people say (that) he was employed’ (57:6)
  \item āmawr yəstəm kāl sīyən ‘they said (that) he buys everything’ (74:11)
  \item yəmarəm ə-ənwəχər təmələn h-təbrəyən xətūm ‘they say that witches make rings for the hyenas’ (81:2)
  \item āmawr həgūm al-sēken əx ‘they say (that) it attacked this settlement’ (102:4)
\end{itemize}

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 ə- used in conjunction with a subjunctive, as in:

\begin{itemize}
  \item šəndərk ə-ɐkəl kək thākṣəm mən həl təhəm ‘I promise that I’ll let you spend the day wherever you want’ (33:3)
  \item šəndərk ə-əl-həwəx ‘I promise that I’ll pay you’ (39:16)
\end{itemize}

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 ə- above have first-person verbs.

13.5.1.2 Complementizer ə- vs. Circumstantial or Relative ə-
In § 7.1.10.1 and § 7.1.10.2, we saw a number of examples of the verbs hūma ‘hear’, kūsa ‘find’, and sīni ‘see’ followed by a circumstantial-marking particle ə-. A representative example is:
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>`ašeníhəm ɗə-yaqtaryəm ‘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 ɗ- 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 ɗ- in such passages is not a complementizer, for example:

>`kəsə tīs bərk dəhlīl bɛr ɗ-āṯmēt ‘I found it in a cave already bandaged up [lit. having been bandaged]’ (81:3)

In this passage, if ɗ- 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 bɛr. But it is safe to say that the various uses of the particle ɗ- (relative, complementizing, and circumstantial) are not always totally distinct.

The verbs hūma ‘hear’, șini ‘see’, and həgūs ‘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 ɗ- is used, it is the construction described in §7.1.10.2.

>`hāmam bəh məhāḳbəl līhəm ‘they heard he was headed towards them’ (lit. ‘they heard about him heading towards them’) (32:6)
>`sīnək tīn ɗə-gāyan ‘you saw we were hungry’ (73:11)
>`aśəni ḏəfər țawla mən arəwrəm ‘I see a cloud has come up from the sea’ (96:7)

There is one example in the texts of hūma ‘hear’ followed by a complementizer ɗ- (plus a third-person pronoun), perhaps because the subject of the complement clause is a noun plus a relative clause:

>`hāmək ɗə-hēm təgər ɗə-bis ɗələwəm hābū ‘I heard that the merchants who are in it are unjust to the people’ (66:2)

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22 The particle ɗ- in this example is either surpressed because of the following t, or has been assimilated (ət-tawla).
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:

- wǝzmáh mōh yǝttákk ‘he gave him water to drink’ (13:9)
- d-ǝrtawīg būk (t)tyān tik ‘they have plotted against you to eat you’ (15:17)
- kāl tayt tantōkōl ɡayg tšēffkāh ‘each one should choose a man to marry’ (15:21)
- ǝnkē ǝw-bōh l-ǝršānk ‘come here so I can tie you up!’ (24:26)
- sǝyūr yǝśnɛ́ʾ aṣfōri ‘he went to see at the pots’ (36:24)
- ḥōm l-ǝrfā’ aqāw f-al-šnɛ́ ‘I wanted to climb upstairs to see’ (53:3)
- ǝnkāyn b-ǝndɛ̄l, aŋtōm ǝndɛ̄l ‘he brought us back sweet potatoes, so that we could taste sweet potato’ (89:11)
- ǝnzāmì aqāyqɔt l-ǝdfɛ́ns mǝn aqāwm ‘give me the jewelry so I can hide it from the raiding-party’ (99:44)

A purpose clause can also be introduced by tɛ (cf. Arabic ḥattā), which is followed by a subjunctive verb in a non-past context or a perfect verb in a past tense context. Examples are:

- al hē ḡaggīt lā te tāsōṣ lāh ‘he is not a girl so that you should be afraid for him’ (22:4)
- ǝmēli hah wǝrəm te ǝnmnēh ‘find [lit. make for him] a way for us to capture him!’ (24:19)
- rǝdyōni akēdōr ǝd-bǝrkāham ašxōf, te yǝṯbīr ‘we’ll pelt the pots that the milk is in, so that they break’ (35:10)
- al bay ḳafōf lā te l-ǝfrēr ‘I don’t have wings to fly (with)’ (56:8)
- al hōh ḡagawrak lā, te l-ǝdbɛ́h hūk ‘I am not your slave, that I should collect honey for you’ (77:4)

The particle l-agǝrē (ð-), 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-agǝrē (ð-) and tɛ in this function. As expected, the verb of the purpose clause will be in the subjunctive. There are ten such examples with l-agǝrē (ð-) in the texts:

- nǝḥōm nǝṯbēr abkǝrhe te nǝklēh fokāyr l-agǝrē l-ād yahēras lā ‘we should break his cows in order to leave him poor, so that he’ll never marry’ (6:5; repeated in 6:12)
Of the ten examples of *l-agǝrē* in a purpose clause, four have the particle `ð-` following *l-agǝrē* (42:27, 58:4, 63:3, and 65:1). However, in three of the remaining six cases (68:6, 89:31, and 90:15), the verb following *l-agǝrē* has (or should have) the prefix `t-`, before which the particle `ð-` is usually suppressed (see §7.1.10.1). Therefore, it is not really clear whether *l-agǝrē* or *l-agǝrē`ð-`is more common in a purpose clause.

### 13.5.3 Temporal Clauses

There are three main markers of temporal subordination in Omani Mehri, *mat*, *hīs*, and *te*. 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 *mat*

The particle *mat*, which is a reduced form of the interrogative *mayt* ‘when?’ (§11.7), 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, *mat* is followed by either a verb in the perfect tense (remembering that the imperfect

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23 For *mat* as the reduced (unstressed) form of *mayt*, we can compare *bat*, the frozen construct form of *bayt* ‘house’ (§4.6).
of the verb ḥōm can also function as its perfect; see §7.3) or by a non-verbal clause. Some examples of mǝt referring to an event that has not happened yet are:

\[
\text{mǝt nūka aḳáyð̣, hāwfi 'when the summer comes, pay me' (39:15)} \\
\text{mǝt shēk dōməh, ǝwòzmək amšēgər 'when you have finished with this, I will give you the other' (55:5)} \\
\text{dōməh aģigən wəkōna axbaɾ mənəy mǝt āḳəwr 'this boy will be better than me when he grows up' (76:12)} \\
\text{wəzmōna tikəm fəndəl mǝt nákakəm 'I'll give you sweet potatoes when you come back' (89:12)} \\
\text{mǝt thāymi ftēki, skēbi aγəyrōrət ə-dərēhəm 'when you want to leave, pour the bag of money' (97:24)}
\]

In six passages in the texts (out of the fifty or so times mǝt is attested referring to a future event), the combination mǝt bɛr 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:

\[
\text{hāwrəd bə-həlləy, mǝt ber abkər ʃəwqūs mən əfər ɦəməh 'take (the camels) down to the water at night, after the cows have come home from the water' (27:6)} \\
\text{mǝt ber kəbəwər, yəʃəyt bər wələ rawn 'after they bury (him), they slaughter camels or goats' (54:2)} \\
\text{mǝt ber ʃhēdəm əsəwəd, yəhəmlū kərə əqəyg 'after the witnesses have borne witness, the judge gives legal possession to the man' (100:6)}
\]

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:

\[
\text{mǝt bərsən bərk ɦəməh, ʃaləl ʃələwkwisən 'when they are in the water, pick up their clothes' (37:3)} \\
\text{mǝt bərk kərəyəb əl-ɦəsən, ənfəɡ b-aʃəfət səɾək 'when you are near the castle, throw the hair behind you' (86:9)}
\]

Once, we find ber in the main clause, indicating a time prior to the temporal mǝt-clause, i.e., a future perfect (on the compound future perfect tense, see §7.1.9):
\textit{mat nàkan, tākšy ber təhāns ḡányot wə-bér məlsə ḡəyəwət} ‘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 \textit{mat} is to refer to a habitual action, whether past or present. In these cases, \textit{mat} can be translated as ‘when’ or ‘whenever’. There are about a dozen such passages in the texts, some of which are:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{mat ḥābū šinam tīs, yāšaws} ‘when people see it, they are afraid’ (16:2)
\item \textit{mat gəzōt ḡayawm, yəşgiš ḡābū} ‘when the sun goes down, the people go home’ (54:3)
\item \textit{mat giyə, yatāyw mən aməray} ‘when(ever) he got hungry, he ate from the vegetation’ (74:3)
\item \textit{mat ḥaynit falək al-ḥiṭār, aḫūrak amāws də-ḫəıybi w-əshōt ḥiṭār} ‘whenever the women let out the kids, I would steal my father’s razor and slaughter the kids’ (89:3)
\item \textit{mat tāt yasṣ, yəsənlı kāl šiyan fənwīh də-yaffarūk bəh} ‘whenever someone is afraid, he’ll see anything in front of him that will frighten him’ (95:11)
\end{itemize}

The particle \textit{mat} also means ‘after’ in the idiom \textit{mat sawānōt} ‘after a little while’, which can be used in the context of a past narrative. Examples are:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{mat sawānōt, yəhftūk tāt} ‘after a little while, he would take one off’ (42:32)
\item \textit{mat sawānōt, yəwōkə dər tāt mən al-manāsır} ‘after a little while, he happened upon one of the Manasir’ (104:19)
\end{itemize}

In two passages we find \textit{mat} + \textit{də}.\textsuperscript{24} In both cases, the particle \textit{də} comes between \textit{mat} and a verb. Here, the particle \textit{də} should be parsed as the verbal prefix \textit{də-} (§ 7.1.10), indicating a continuous or progressive. Normally we would expect \textit{də-} + an imperfect to indicate a continuous or progressive, but in one case we find a perfect, since \textit{mat} requires a following perfect; the other cases have a form of \textit{ḥom}, whose imperfect is used in place of the perfect (§ 7.3). The passages are:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{tāt yəkēb bərk aqāyg mat də-šərbā’ kərmāyım, wə-tāt yəkēb bərkīh mat təwōh aba’yər} ‘one (jinn) should go into the man when he is climbing
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{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)

mat do-yəḥōm yašāḵf hāl tēţah, tšəwkūf am-manwīh w-am-món tēţah
‘whenever he wanted to sleep with his wife, she would sleep between him and his wife’ (46:7)

13.5.3.2 tɛ
The very common particle te (sometimes attē) 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 te always precedes the main clause. The temporal conjunction te can be followed by a verb in the perfect or by a non-verbal phrase. Examples from the texts are abundant. Some are:

te wāsaləm, kūsam ḥəmōh ‘then when they arrived, they found the water’ (55)

tē gəzōt hayāwəm, kərōh təwyəh bərk dəhlil ‘then when the sun went down, he hid his meat in a cave’ (13:7)

nūka hēxər … tē wīsəl hāl aġəyg wə-həbrəh, sör wə-gəlūk b-ağıgēn ‘an old man came … When he got to the man and his son, he stood and looked at the boy’ (22:8)

tē šəwkūf, šəllūt xələwkhe ‘then when he went to sleep, she took his clothes’ (48:26)

tōli kaḏōh təwōlī hōkəm. tē ankōh, āmūr hōkəm, “kō tēm kaʃaḵəm” ‘then when they went down to the ruler. When they came, the ruler said, “Why did you come down?”’ (74:19)

tē nākak, kəsk aģəyg dēh bərəh yəḥōm yəhwēh ‘then when I came, I found this man about to fall’ (77:6)

25 The verb təwōh might also be preceded here by ə- underlyingly, in which case it has assimilated to the following t- (see § 2.1.7).
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 \textit{te}. Both \textit{mat} (§ 13.5.3.1) and \textit{hīs} (§ 13.5.3.3) can express a following pronominal subject with the help of the particle \textit{bɛr}, but \textit{te} must be followed by \textit{hīs bɛr}. There are just a few examples of this, including:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{te hīs bɔ́rham ɓ-ḥōrəm, kūsam ɡayg āwēr} ‘then when they were on the road, they found a blind man’ (46:9)
  \item \textit{te hīs bɛ́ri b-aámḳ ād-ḥōrəm, ǝnkōt aməwsē} ‘then when I was in the middle of the journey, the rain came’ (47:2)
\end{itemize}

The same restriction applies when \textit{ber} is being used in combination with the verb \textit{ḥōm} to mean ‘be about to’ (see § 7.3.4), or when \textit{ber} is being used with the subordinator to give the clear sense of ‘after’ (see § 13.5.3.3):

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{te hīs bɔ́rham yəḥáym yə̆skfəm, ągáyg kalōn hftūk aməws} ‘then when they were about to go to sleep, the groom took out the razor’ (75:17)
  \item \textit{te hīs ber asályəm, ʃinəm ḥābu awərkət} ‘after they had prayed, the people saw the paper’ (85:17)
\end{itemize}

In rare cases, \textit{te} is combined with \textit{hīs} for no apparent reason, as in:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{te hīs wə́ṣələm bə́wəmə, ąmūr} ‘then when we got here, he said’ (46:16)
\end{itemize}

In many passages, \textit{te} is simply followed by an adverb or adverbial phrase. Such adverbs or adverbial phrases are nearly always temporal in nature, like \textit{k-sōbəh} ‘in the morning’, \textit{ba-ḥəlləy} ‘at night’, \textit{kaláyni} ‘in the evening’, \textit{nəhōr təyt} ‘one day’, etc. In this case, we could parse \textit{te} as a temporal conjunction preceding a non-verbal clause, or we can parse \textit{te} as a simple adverb. For example, a phrase like \textit{te ba-ḥəlləy} could be read literally as ‘then when (it was) at night’ or simply as

\footnote{Cf. text 46:15, where we find simply \textit{te wə́ṣələm ‘then when they arrived’}.}
‘then at night’, though the latter is preferable as a translation. Some examples from the texts are:

\[tɛ \ màn \ ʒār \ sənît, \ səyūr \ təwōli \ ḥáybas\] ‘then after a year, he went to her father’ (9:1)
\[tɛ \ bə-ḥəllāy \ həbāwr \ aɡáyg \ abkärhe\] ‘then at night the man took out his cows’ (159)
\[tɛ \ nəhōr \ ǯayt \ nākam \ təh \ sətāy təbōb\] ‘then one day, three young men came to him’ (37:7)
\[tɛ \ nəhōr \ ǯayt \ kəlāy ni, kətōt \ abōkər\] ‘then one day in the evening, the camel got tired’ (37:17)
\[tɛ \ mjōrən, hīs \ yəhōm \ yəbər, \ məgət\] ‘then later, when he wanted to leave, he stretched out’ (69:4)
\[tɛ \ k-sōbəh, hīs \ bīsər \ absər, kəfədōh \ ɧəmbərəwtn\] ‘then in the morning, when the dawn broke, the boys got off (the ship)’ (74:17)
\[tɛ \ b-aāmək \ də-hörəm, kūsəm \ ɟayg \ də-yəsyūr\] ‘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 \textit{tɛ} differs from its near synonym \textit{(at)tōli}, in that \textit{(at)tōli} cannot be directly followed by another adverb. Instead, the conjunction \textit{hīs} must intervene, as in:

\[tōli \ hīs \ bə-ḥəllāy, \ həwḳā’ ʂəff \ ʂəh \ bərk \ ʂəwōʔ\] ‘then, at night, he put the hairs he had in the fire’ (37:25)

In addition to having the meaning ‘(then) when’, the conjunction \textit{tɛ} 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 \textit{tɛ} is a perfect if the reference is to the past, or subjunctive if the reference is to the future. Examples are:

\[ɦābū ɡəlawk \ mənḥēm \ tɛ \ kətəm\] ‘the people looked for them until they got tired’ (35:17)
\[tɛ \ gəzət \ həyəwm, \ səyūr \ aɡiğen \ tɛ \ wəsəl \ xawr\] ‘then when the sun went down, the boy went until he reached the lagoon’ (36:6)
\[səyərk \ tɛ \ wəsələk \ abayt\] ‘I went until I got to the house’ (62:4)
\[dəwənək \ hēt \ b-aḥkəwəmat \ tɛ \ nənkək\] ‘you take the kingdom until we come back to you’ (20:78)
ṣǝbēri lay te al-háftǝk abǝráwka ǝlyōmǝh ‘wait for me until I take off these veils’ (42:31)
ḥármǝk l-ād ǝð̣áwbǝr būk zōyad te al-mêտ ‘I swear I won’t nag you ever again until I die’ (98:15)
manǝy aytâyl te l-ǝnkǝş ‘hold the fox until I get to you!’ (99:43)

There are some passages in which it is somewhat ambiguous whether te is functioning as ‘until’ or ‘then when’. For example, in text 20:54, we find the words bā nǝwās sayūr te wîşal abâtǝh śxǝwlūl. 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 te overlap syntactically.

Sometimes Mehri uses te (probably based on its meaning ‘until’) where English would use a simple conjunction ‘and’, for example:

hǝgǝmūt lis te hǝmǝwtǝ́ts ‘he attacked her and [lit. until] he killed her’ (15:13)
sállǝm tǝh te rǝdîw bǝh mǝn ǝhr déhǝk ‘picked him up and threw him from a cliff’ (20:53)
sayūr aṣøyǝğ te fǝtḥ abōb ‘the jeweler went and he opened the door’ (22:98)
sayūr te kǝbūn ǝhr naxlît ‘he went and he hid in a palm-tree’ (37:4)
sǝllıs te nûka bıs hâl hâybǝh wa-hámǝ́h ‘he took her and brought her to his father and his mother’ (48:19)
hǝwrūd ḥâzhɛ te hǝrwōh ‘he brought his goats to the water and let (them) drink [lit. until he had let (them) drink]’ (61:6)

13:5:3: 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—mat, te, and hīs—hīs is the one that appears most frequently in the texts. Unlike mat, but like te, hīs is used in the context of a past narrative, and a following verb appears in the perfect. But while the te-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 te 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 (at)tōli ‘then’. Hīs also has other meanings not found with te, as will be outlined below. Following are some examples of hīs meaning ‘when’:

‘āśś aġáyg hīs hūma aṣáwt ḏo-haybīt ‘the man got up when he heard the sound of the camel’ (13:3)
ṣərōməh, hīs hēm kāl ṭāt wəḥšīh, wāḵam sūḥōl ‘now, when they were each alone, they were easy (to break)’ (50:4)
agáyg, hīs šəwkūf, ādūl abirākhe ‘the man, when he went to sleep, had raised his knees’ (69:4)
attōli aġāh, hīs hūma aġərōyəh, ʒərbīh ‘then his brother, when he heard his words, recognized him’ (74:16)
attōli hīs nūka, hftūk xalōwək ‘then, when he came, he took off the clothes’ (75:7)

hīs hāmak tīs ḏətəryōt wəṭákəməh, rōdək b-əbərəyək ‘when I heard her talk like this, I threw the kettle’ (89:24)

hīs šənyīn ḥāgūr, yəsṣ ‘when the slave saw us, he got scared’ (91:3)

hīs əlḥākən təh, bəkōh. hīs bəkōh, ģəsənək 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 ber, as in:

hīs bərəhm ʒər ʒəməh, nūka akəwəm ‘when they were at the water, the raiding-party came’ (10:8)

hīs bərəḥ ʒə-ḥəwōdə, ḥəgūm ɬə kəwəb ‘when he was in the valley, a wolf attacked him’ (14A:2)

hīs ɬərī bər əsər sənəyəm, əmərk ɬəyəbi ‘when I was ten years old, I said to my father’ (34:7)

hīs bərən b-aəmək, ʒəbərən gər ‘when we were on the way [lit. in the middle], we met a slave’ (91:2)

hīs bərəḥ rəhək, kəsəʃ ɬən ʒətəh ‘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 fəxəra, əl kədərkəm līhm lə ‘when they were together, you couldn’t manage them’ (50:4)
ādi al ʿomar lā ar yāṃšīh, hīs hōh wāhsāy ‘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 ḍ-), indicating a past progressive. Hīs can be translated here as ‘when’ or ‘while’:

hīs sēn tāgṭārīyən, hānīṣan sānnāwrət, wə-həmātsən hīs tāgṭārįyən ‘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 bɛr. Only very rarely does bɛr take a pronominal suffix in this usage. Some examples are:

hīs bɛr fśōh, šəwkūf ‘after he ate lunch, he fell asleep’ (12:4)

hīs bɛr təwīw, ʿəmma aγāyg aθərəy ɡəhēm ‘after they had eaten, the strange man went away’ (13:31)

abkār bār hīs bɛr hələwbsən ‘the cows went away after they had milked them’ (35:7)

hīs bərḥəm śxəwlīl, šākōt aṭṭēt aγās ‘after they sat down, the woman called to her brother’ (64:29)

hīs bɛr təmūm wə-bɛr kafūd xōṭər, ʾəmūr aγāyg də-kṣēh fənōhən ‘after he finished (collecting honey) and came down, the man who found it first said’ (77:3)

aγāyg mōt hīs bɛr təmūm kəwtɛtəh ‘the man died as soon as he finished his story’ (92:6)

The combination man hīs has the meaning ‘since’, in the temporal sense of ‘from the time when’. Examples are:

mən hīs hābye mōtəm, bɛr śīnək tīhəm xəmmōh ɭəwər ‘since my parents died, I have already seen them five times’ (20:42)

ādi al śīnək hābye lā mən hīs mōtəm ‘I haven’t seen my parents since they died’ (20:43)

mən hīs xələkək, ʿādi al kask əhād al-hīs tīhəm lā ‘since I was born, I never met [lit. found] anyone like them’ (62:13)
In a few places, \textit{hīs} has the meaning ‘since’, in the causal sense, or ‘because’:

\begin{quote}
\textit{kāllōh mank, hīs kālak tāh yasyēr mən hänīn} ‘it’s all your fault [lit. it’s all from you], since you let him go away from us’ (17:7)
\textit{hīs hēt ḥabrē də-falān, kəlōna tik tseyēr} ‘since you are the son of so-and-so, I will let you go’ (20:47)
\textit{hīs ber bəhēr̥s bay, məšəmən tīš} ‘since you have asked me for help, I will obey you’ (90:12)
\end{quote}

And in a few passages, nearly all in text 99, \textit{hīs} functions as a relative ‘when’, ‘at the time when’:

\begin{quote}
\textit{kəw̄tēt mən azbōn ḥaw̄alāy, hīs sāfrəm, aytāȳ wə-kāzw̄ w-akāȳsar wə-tə̣br̄ȳn w-ayagr̄ȳb w-arx̄mūt} ‘a story from former times, when the fox, the wolf, the leopard, the hyena, the raven, and the vulture traveled’ (99:1)
\textit{kəw̄tōna b-absōṛat ḍ-ayt̄āȳ ... hīs āds adanȳe taq̄t̄ūri} ‘I’ll tell about the cleverness of the fox ... (at the time) when the (whole) world still spoke’ (99:2)
\textit{kəw̄tōna bə-kəw̄tēt ḏ̣-əl-ḥarsīs mən azbōn ḥaw̄alāy, fənōhən šārk̄əh, 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)
\textit{ḥābye wə-ḥābikəm, mən hīs šəxtīn, yāfədam mən dār aṣāwər dāyk te aṣāwər dāyk} ‘my forefathers and your forefathers, from (the time) when they were circumcised, would jump from that rock to that rock’ (99:17)
\end{quote}

In this final example (99:17), \textit{mən} is functioning the same way as in the idiom \textit{mən zəbōn ḥaw̄alay} ‘long ago’ in 104:1.

The compound \textit{əl-hīs}, usually met as a preposition meaning ‘like, as’ (see §8.10), also functions as a subordinator in a few places, for example:

\begin{quote}
\textit{‘āmlak əl-hīs āmārk ḥāyni} ‘I did as you told me’ (20:18)
\textit{əl-hīs ber āmlọt b-agāȳgəs ḥaw̄alāy, āmlīta būk wətākəməh} ‘as she has done to her first husband, thus will she do to you’ (22:77)
\textit{yəḥsūs əl-hīs ści də-yagr̄érəh xōt̄ər} ‘he would feel like something was pulling him down’ (77:1)
\end{quote}
In one passage, al-hīs as a subordinator has either a causal or temporal meaning. It is perhaps an error for hīs, since al-hīs ‘like’ occurs just two words earlier in the same passage:

\[hōh ǝsényah al-hīs ħāybi, al-hīs ħē ǝnayaхи mǝn ħayrēm akamḥōt ‘I see him like my father, since [when?] he advises me against bad ways’ (18:18)\]

13.5.3.4 mǝn dɛ̄m
Once in the texts we find mǝn dɛ̄m ‘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:

\[korbōna tik lā mǝn dɛ̄mǝk ǝșḥ ‘I won’t come near you as long as you are alive’ (99:26)\]

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:

\[hēt ǝḥtǝwɛ̄k ‘have you gone crazy?’ (40:10)\]
\[wīḳa lūk śī ‘has something happened to you?’ (42:7)\]
\[bass ‘that’s it?’ (42:53)\]
\[thāymi tǝzǝ́mi ‘do you want to give me?’ (48:24)\]
\[hámak ǝḥād āmūr ftkōna ‘did you hear somebody say he will [or: would] leave?’ (57:9)\]
\[kǝ́skǝn ḥābū ‘did you find the people?’ (99:41)\]

Several particles can also be used in conjunction with interrogative clauses. The particle wǝlɛ̄ 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 al hɛ̃ 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:
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.1

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,2 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.

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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.
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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-)šafór 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.

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Text 1 (= J23, but a shorter variant): Ba Newas and the Bean

1 w-ámma kawtét ḍā-bā nēwās, nēhōr tāyt ḍē-yāsyūr, wā-sīh dagārīt tāyt.
4 ḍəmūr həh aḡəgənawtən, “ānkə ḍw-bōh. tēh šīn.”
6 wəzmēh fəkh. ḍəmūr, “ābdān. əndōh adgərəyti.” te wəzmēh əkādər w-əlḥān bərkīh.
7 wə-ʃâll akādər te mən hāl hārāwn thəxšəwman, wə-ḡəwkə’ akādər. te nūka hārāwn, yənōka ərhrīs, yətūbər akādər ə-ə-bā nəwās.
8 təlī bəkōh bā nəwās. wəzəwəməh kədər, wə-xəzōh. ḍəmūr, “ḥōm əkādəri.”
10 wə-sayūr. əttè ərṣəwən ədəhrəshəh mən hāl abkər thəxšəwman, tənōka bəkərət, tṭubər ədəhrīs ə-ə-bā nəwās.
12 tətəlī wəzəwəməh abkərət. məʒərən sayūr b-abkərət, wə-kəlāys mən hāl ḫəbēr. te təbərkən, tənōka yəbūt, tṭubər abkərət.
13 bəkōh bā nəwās. wəzəwəməh bəkərət, wə-xəzōh. təlī wəzəwəməh ḥaybūt ðə-ṭəbərət abkərət.

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12 mən hāl ḫəbēr. te təbərkən: It is unusual that there is no verb following ḫəbēr. I wonder if the intended text was mən hāl ḫəbēr təbərkən ‘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 təbərkən: Johnstone transcribed təbərkən, but the form should be təbərkən.
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 kawtēt amšjarēt, fanōhān ašrāyn sēnāyn, yāməram tēti ṭrayt sēwēḥər, wə-kāl ṭayt sīs rəmḥāt d-dēhēb.

2. tə āṣər ber ḥābū səwkif, ṭəwōh ġayg yəsəwkif.

3. āmma ṭayt sərōt, w-ámma ṭayt wəkəbūt bərk amkēn. wə-hāssātəh mən sənēt, w-āmərūt həh, "təhm təzəmən ḥəbrək əntəhəh, aw thāmən əntəhk hēt?"


5. wə-həsbāh səh. wə-d-ğərūb ḥaynū, wə-kəlūt əl-ḥābū.

6. w-āmāwr hīsən ḥābū, "hām ətēn nəkəyôt, gəzəmən wəlē šəmərtən." āmūr, "ənḥəh məshəmərtūtən wəlē gəzmūtən."

7. əttē mən dər warx, mət ağâyg. wə-ḥaynūt səyūr təsəmərtən. wə-hūs wəșəl, ʃəmrūt, wəlākan ɡāyəmag. wə-hūs rədd, wətəwəsən.

8. wə-məgərən səwēḥər kāl yəss, wə-l-əd həgūm l-əhād lā. wə-şəfīw ḥābū w-əkənyəwn.
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. xətarāt ġayg ðə-yǝsyūr ba-hōram. āttōli ġāyma. te kūsa fōkə bərk dəhlīl, wə-wkūb bərk adəhlīl, wa-ṭtākk te rāywi.

2. w-ādäh as-śxawūlī, nūka mawsē, wə-thāyw sāwar wə-thədyūd xāh ð-ədəhlīl. wə-agāyg bərk adəhlīl.

3. yəsândür h-arḥamōn yahāddhāb nəḥər dōrə’wə-nēhər sā漪f, “hām fṭakk mən bāwməh.”

4. āttōli fktūt aṣāwər, wə-فتūk agāyg.


6. sīrūt āttēt, wə-hūs ber gamsūt, ḥalūb agāyg hāráwn bərk nēhər kənnəwn te dəhēb. wə-mərən shāt hāráwn bərk nēhər tāt te dəhēb.

7. wə-kāwla tēyəh sāhəh. wə-mat tēt šadḥākwət, tōsīnī tēyəh ɗ-a-yabərkə bərk hāráwn. wə-kāwla kāl wōz ũər hərmōm.


9. wə-šxawūlē te nkāyəh makṭūr aṣhrāyn rīkōb, wə-ḏ-yəyrsən kəw tə-ksəwēt.

10. tōlī šxəbīrəh, āmāwr hāh, “kō hēt bāwməh?”

11. āmūr, “ɗə-ḥəgərk hərmōm dəməh. kāl səbū’ yəhaṣawbəh məhāmməl sāiyāt.”

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5. alḥāykī: The verb alḥāk here (fs imperative alḥāyki) must mean something like ‘hurry’ or ‘run’, meanings not listed in ML (s.v. ɪ hakk), 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-kāwla: At the beginning of line 7, the Roman manuscripts have wə-mūla ‘and he filled’ (transcribed u mɷɷləʾ in the earlier manuscript) before wə-kāwla, but this is not on the audio or in the Arabic manuscript.

8. tōmar tēt, “hāráwn ɗ-əmūk”. 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 tōmar tēt, “hāráwn šənūk”, 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.”

have not seen. The Arabic manuscript and audio do include this phrase, and the final word is clearly ð-āmūḳ (written اموموق). The verb āmūḳ, 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 *ʿamḳ (cf. Hebrew ʿemeq ‘valley’), which has come to mean only ‘middle’ in the MSA languages.

āmūr, “yɛ́yɛ. wəlākan ḥəddər mən əḥād yəğbəb ənxāhe. hām əḥād əġbb ənxāhe, l-ād yāməl šāyət lā.”

āmāwr, “yɛ́yɛ.” səyı́r əġāyg k-arīkōb təwōlī səkənəh. w-əġəyūg šxəwlīl ənxəlı hərōm. te nūka səbū’, həşbəh xalāy hərōm.

səyı́r təwōlī əġāyg. āmāwr həh, “hēt bōdək bīn. hərōm əl həşbəh ədāyah śi lā.”

āmūr, “dək ar əḥād mənkēm əġbb ənxāhe.” āmūr, “ʒədəwwən nəsni?”

səyı́r. ətté wəsələm hərōm, ʒələwk te kəsəm əğer ənxəlı hərōm.

āmūr əģāyg, “əl ber āmərk hikəm lā, ‘ḥəddər mən əḥād yəğbəb ənxəlı hərōm?’”

təlī gətəwsəm əġəyūg ədə-šətməm hərōm. kəl tət āmūr, “hēt ədə-ğəbbək nəxəhe.”

əttəlī tətənəm bə-jənəbi te lātətəqəm. wə-səyı́r əģāyg w-ə’yīt ḥəbū. āmūr, “ʒəyūg ədə-lattaqəm bəwməh, w-əl wədak mən ədə həsən lā.”

wə-nəkəm ḥəbū wə-kəbəwər əģəyūg. wə-təmmət həytət ə-dəyəg abəyər.

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12 **ʔād-ʔār**: The Arabic manuscript has just ʔār, but the expected relative pronoun is heard on the audio. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone transcribed ʔədār.
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.”

He said, “Ok. But be careful that no one defecates under it. If anyone defecates under it, it won’t make jewelry anymore.”

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.

They went to the man. They said to him, “You lied to us. The tree, nothing appeared on it.”

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.

The man said, “Didn’t I already tell you, ‘Be careful that no one defecates under the tree’?”

Then the men that bought the tree argued. Each one said, “You are the one who defecated under it!”

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.”

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-ámma kawtét tayt ḏa-ba nawás, šěh tětěh wa-šiham rawn. wa-yəswól wəköña ašrāŷn alf mən hāl tągér. te æsər źad nákam təh źröh mən əttəgér yasīlah ašrāŷn alf kərš.

2 amāḥbar bīhəm wa-ḥansāŵf hīhəm. wa-šhāt wəz mən hāl əttəgér yəsənỳəm təh lā.

3 wə-mūla akirod ḏa-ḥoz ŋərə, w-əsəbīsən b-aq̄ōti ḏa-ttětəh. wa-sirŏh te hāl aq̄ayūg aṣfīn.

4 āmūr hīhəm bə nawás, “ḥāzyən xṭəmūtən, w-əl ʂay hikəm məsḥətəwt là ar tēt.”

5 āməwr həh aq̄ayūg, “əl əḥąd yəşhōt əḥād lá, wə-nhāh əl ənhom məsḥətəwt là.”


7 āməwr həh aq̄ayūg, “hēt əl hēt məxlîk lā! hēt ar bəlāys!” wə-sōram aq̄ayūg ḏa-yəbəkəm mən tēt.

8 attəli āmūr hīhəm bə nawás, “təbkīyən là! əḥaym attət tərdəd ʂəḥhāŷt?” āməwr həh, “mən yəxəwərər yərdəds ʂəḥhəŷt ʂay ar həmən?”


11 tōli wəzəmməh ašrəyn alf w-əbārəm təh mən ašrəyn alf. wələkan āmūr hīhəm, “hām şəṭkəm bəh w-əl ətɛm ʔıhər lā, ɣənəfə là.”

12 wə-ʔafədəh təgər h-arḥəbət wə-šiham askəyən.

13 te anhōr ɖ-əq̄əmət ftauwk ʔhəbū mən əməsgəd. wə-ʃihi aq̄aŵihi wə-əmənəh tət ʔwə-ʃətəyəhə, wə-əmənəh əməʃəgər ʔwə-ʃətəyəhə.

14 nákam ʔhəbū ḏə-yaʔiʔən. āməwr, “aq̄aŵi əhṭəwələh, ʂhətəm aq̄aŵihi.”

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1 wə-yəswól: The audio has wə-yəswul, but the manuscripts have wə-yəswól. The forms are, respectively, the 3mp and 3ms imperfect G passives of the root s’l.

6 l-əshōt: The Roman manuscripts have the 1cs subjunctive l-əshōt here, which is what we expect. The audio has the future ʂhətənə, which is grammatically acceptable (cf. text 63:6), but less suited to the context. The Arabic manuscript has the ungrammatical əl-ʂhətənə, 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.”
(attōli āmáwr hīh, “nəhāh əl əḥtəwōlən lā. thāyməm yāšēsəm?” āmáwr ḥābū, “nəḥāmhəm yāšēsəm.”

ḥənxōh te āgawz. al əhād ʾəss lā.

(attōli āmərōh hə-ṭətudāyhi, “hēt əngāys!” āmūr amšēɡər, “hēt əngāys!” attōli ṭātənəm bə-jənəbī w-əlttəgōh. wə-təmmət kəwṭət də-bā nəwās.)
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.”

They blew until they were unable. No one woke up.

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. ḥāgūr ṭāt ṭāt wā-ḥūğārwās ḏā-yāsīrōh.

2. wā-ḥūğūr ṭāt ṭāt wā-tāywī mākōn ṭāt wā-ḥūğūr ṭāt.


6. wā-sūyāw. tādī hāmām yāyārāb.


9. wā-sūrō ṭā jākwān ṭāt, ṭājābām yāyārāb. ṣāḥāk ḥāgūr.

10. āmārūt ṭāblāštām, “kō ḥē ṭābāy?” āmūr ḥāgūr, “ḥalāy l-ḥākē!”

11. āmārūt ḥā ṭālāy!?” āmūr, “ḥāwādār ṭā. ḍōmāh ṭī ḍōḥāt ṭāy.”


13. ṭādī āmārūt ṭāh, “āmūr ḥāyī yāyārāb, ‘ḥām əl jāyık k-ṭābālātk ṭā, tāmūt.”


15. te gēmāhā ḡāyāq ḏā-ṭāt ṭā-ḥāy jāwāl. āmūr ḥāgūr, “ḥām ṭā jāyık yāmūn.”


17. yāsūs ḡāyāq ḏā-ṭāt ṭāj jāyık, ṭā-ḥāy jāyık ḥāgūr ṭā-ṭāt. wā-ṭāmām jā ṭāj jāwāl jā ḏā-ṭāwāl jā.

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3. sūyāw: The audio has the dual form sūrōh, but the manuscripts have 3mp sūyāw.

12. ṣāḥkāh: Although Johnstone always transcribed this word ṣāḏk (which is etymologically correct), both in his manuscripts and in ML (s.v. ṣāḏk), Ali consistently (for all twenty occurrences in the texts) wrote and read ṣāṭkāh.

13. jāyık: The Roman manuscripts have nayākāh here, from the verb nayāk ‘to have intercourse with’, but the Arabic manuscript and audio have jāyık. Likewise, in line 16, the Roman manuscripts have al-nākṣ (cf. 99:46) in place of al-jāyık.

17. ḏā-ṭāwāl jā: The Roman manuscripts have instead ḏā-ḥāgūr ‘ofi the slave’.
Translation of Text 5

Once a woman and her slave were traveling.
And the slave had already hidden water in one place, meat in one place, and dates in one place.
And they went. When they got close, they heard a crow saying, “Ca, ca!” Then the slave laughed.
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?”
He said, “It was saying, ‘In such-and-such a place is water.’” The mistress laughed. Then when they arrived, they found the water.
And they went on. Then they heard the crow.
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.
The slave said, “The crow said, ‘There are dates there.’” They went. When they arrived, they found the dates.
And they went on to a certain place. They heard the crow. The slave cried.
His mistress said, “Why are you crying?” The slave said, “Let me cry!”
She said to him, “Tell me!” He said, “I can’t. This is an embarrassment for me.”
And the slave was a liar, but the woman thought he was being truthful.
Then the slave said, “The crow said to me, ‘If you don’t sleep [lit. go] with your mistress, you will die.’”
Then she said to him, “Come here, go with me.” And they returned to the settlement.
Then the next day the woman's husband was sitting. The slave said, “My mistress, I want like yesterday.”
She said to him, “What like yesterday?” He said, “I want to sleep [lit. go] with you.”
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. xǝṭǝrāt sēkǝn, baʿáyli abkār: ƙanīw sǝnnáwrǝt.

2. wǝlākan sǝnnáwrǝt sáḥrǝt, al sê sǝnnáwrǝt lâ. ar taʃhōr ƙanīfs sǝnnáwrǝt.

3. te naʃhōr tǝyt aktwbōt tēt, wa-rakbōt dǝr tǝbbrﺎyn ba-ḥallāy wa-bārōt xawr.

4. te waʃalōt, ksüt ƙāmē d-ajāyyg bâl abkār w-ajātah taktalütǝn.

5. w-имвr, “naḥōm naṭbēr abkârke te naklēh fǝkāyr l-agārè l-âd yǝhēras lâ.”

6. ǝmǝrūt ajātah, “hībōh sawr?”

7. ǝmǝrūt ƙâmāh, “kalawtn tǝyt mǝn tǝbbrâyènyan bǝrk dǝhlil, w-ǝmat geʒōt ƙhayāwm, tseyr tawōli abkār w-ttēh tǝyt l-âdèd d-âsawr.

8. wǝlākan hăm ajāyyg küsa ǝttǝbrﺎyn w-ǝwwtjâys, tǝmōtǝn abkârǝn nǝhāh.”

9. dômâh ajârōy ɖ-haṃṇit, wǝ-sǝnnáwrǝt thâmasǝn. wǝlākan sè ḍ-ktəwbōt tēt sâḥrât.

10. te ba-ḥallāy siri tǝnnáwrǝt tawōli ajâyyg bǝrk amkōnǝh, w-sè tēt. w-ǝ-hāssâtah mǝn shṇet w-ǝmǝrūt hah, “akoʃī tawōli adəhlil ḍèk. ksōna tǝbbrAy bǝrkèh. waw-bâds ba-mandāwk wa-wtâys!”

11. ǝmūr ajâyyg, “hēṣn hêt mèn tēt?” ǝmǝrūt, “hōh sǝnnáwrǝt ǝḍ-kōṇk tī, wǝlākan hōh al hōh sǝnnáwrǝt lâ.

12. hōh tēt sâḥrât. wǝ-hāmâk ƙâmêk w-ajâtt tâmârân, ‘naḥōm ǝntēh abkâr ɖ-ajâyyg w-naklēh fǝkâyr l-agārè l-âd yǝhēras lâ.’

13. wa-ɖ-имвr h-tǝbbrﺎyn tsyër bǝrk adəhlil w-ǝ-kâl āʃǝr ǝttēh bakoʃrèt mǝn abkârke.”

14. sâyûr ajâyyg wǝ-kûsa tǝbbrAy wǝ-ʃɔbûr fâmas tǝyt.

15. w-a-ʃis geʒōt ƙhayāwm, tǝbbrūt abkârèt ɖa-ḥâmâh.

16. w-имвr hisǝn, “hōh bēri ɡərâbl tīkǝn.” w-ɔḥrūs ɓ-ʈēt, w-ɓagūd ƙâmâh w-ajâtah.

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2. sâḥrât: Ali missed the word sâḥrât on the audio, but it is in the manuscripts.

4. ƙâmē: The audio has instead tēt ‘wife’. The Arabic manuscript also has tēt, but ƙâmē was added above it as a correction.

12. naḥōm: Everything following naḥōm 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. sēḥǝr bǝh mēkǝn ḍ̣ǝrūr, xāṣ ḥa-ḳǝnyáwn.
2. nāḥah ḥanin nātǝḵāydan bǝ-sēḥǝr, wǝ-nāsāšǝh axâyr mǝn kāl śi.
3. wǝ-hanin anāhs. häm taṭ šah möl mēkǝn aw ḥabün mēkǝn, yāsos mǝn sǝwēhǝr lânḥan ttâwyǝn ǝḵǝnyáwn wǝ-thâśrǝn amōl, wǝ-xāš b-akāʾ d-ahmherēh wǝ-ṣāfūr.
4. wǝ-ḥâm tēt bǝrwōt, thanūdax bǝ-ṣ̣ēḥǝh d-ḥmârât. wǝ-yâmǝrǝm hâm sēḥǝr dâywa sēḥǝs, l-ād yǝnōkâ lâ.
5. wǝ-dōmah yâtǝḵāydan bǝh bǝʿâyli agǝbēl axâyr, wǝ-bǝlā šakk sēḥǝr mēkǝn bǝ-ṣ̣āfūr.
6. wǝ-ḥâbū yâsāysǝh axâyr mǝn ẓâr adǝnyē.
7. wǝ-boa-ṣāfūr xawr hâmmeh arîr. yâmǝrǝm tkūn/en dâyrah sǝwēhǝr bǝ-ḥallây, w-axâyr ǝṣar d-ǝgamât.
8. dōmah mǝn ātǝḵādhǝm d-ǝ-sēḥǝr.
9. wǝ-hâm ǝḥād gīlu, yâmǝrǝm mǝshâyr wǝ-yaśsényǝm hǝh hâl amǝtawwaʿāyn.

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2. śī: While the Arabic manuscript has śī, the Roman manuscript has ʃīn (= šīyǝn), suggesting a possible later correction.
3. lânḥan: This is an Arabic particle, with an Arabic 3fp suffix. The form lânḥan is transcribed in the Roman manuscript, but the form in the Arabic manuscript, apparently ًلا ان أول, is very difficult to interpret.
3. ttâwyǝn: While the Roman manuscript has the 3fp form tawyǝn (= ttâwyǝn), which fits the context following the Arabic particle lânḥan, the Arabic manuscript has the 3mp imperfect yatâyw. The 3mp yatâyw was added above tawyǝn in the margin of the Roman manuscript, and a superscript t was added to the beginning of tawyǝn.
3. thâśrǝn: Where the Roman manuscript has the 3fp imperfect thâśrǝn, the Arabic manuscript has hâwšar (حاوشر), which perhaps was a mistake for 3ms imperfect yahâwšar.
5. bǝlā šakk: This is Arabic.
9. amǝtawwaʿāyn: 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 xǝṭarat ġīgēn āmǝrah tǝmōni sǝnây.
3 tǝli šxǝbûr hâmēk wǝ-rüw tǝ-šânm ǝn-ĝâyg dǝ-yâkhôl yâxtǝn.
4 tǝli râhâs wǝ-sârr ağiygēn wǝ-kâlâyh sâwânôt wǝ-xṭǝnh. wǝ-šâbtthankah wǝ-šâbt wǝ-dâw wǝ-xṭǝnh.
5 wǝ-šmrmûs arba’d内在 yım, wǝ-hâmâh tâshôr dâyrâh wǝ-tâltôf bǝh.
6 wǝ-ḥâybah kafûd arhèbèt wǝ-ndâw hǝ-mǝsrâw, wǝlakan ağiğēn yahèsrâw wǝ-yâbyk man aṣâlāt. wǝ-ḥâybah kafûd arhèbèt wǝ-ndâw hǝ-mǝsrâw, wǝlakan ağiğēn yahèsrâw wǝ-yâbyk man aṣâlāt.

rǝşáwt: If the 3ms perfect is the Gb-Stem râyši, as in ML (s.v. ršy), then we expect a 3fs perfect rašyōt, both in this line and the next. The 3fs form rašáwt follows the pattern used for the Ga-Stem (cf. bâkût ‘she cried’), and it is noteworthy that ML (s.v. ršy) lists an imperfect yǝrâyš, also of the Ga-type, rather than a Gb-type imperfect yǝrōš. Johnstone transcribed a final -sáwt both lines, while the Arabic manuscript has -sawt in line 2 (for rašáwt or rašōt), but -sawt in line 3 (presumably for rašyōt). Unfortunately, I did not find audio for this text. See also § 7.2.10, notes 76, 77, and 80.

tǝli râhâs: This phrase is absent from the Arabic manuscript.

masawmât: 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 ġayg áygǝb bə-tēṯ āgēb kəwáy. te mən ġār sənēt, səyür təwōli ḥāyəs wə-wfūd hənīh, wə-ffəkáy. wəlåkān hāmē ḏə-ttēṯ thāməh lā, wə-xəzūt mənāh.

2. wə-ttōli səyūr āgāyg wə-nūka hāl ągās sōx, wə-kəlūt ləh b-əkəssātəh. w-āmūr āgā ḏə-tēṯ, “hōh maqṭāyr k-ḥāmāy.”

3. wə-səyūr təwōli āgāwz. wə-ġātri šīs ḥəbrēs, wə-ffəkátəh, wəlåkān kəlūt ləh xāyməh mī.

4. wə-śāll āgāyg axsōrət wə-nūka bə-ṭrōh shawd, wə-šəmlūk.

5. wə-ḵəʃəwd arḥəbēt wə-šəmlūk mən hāl šērə’. wə-șītəm ašṣyāft, ašrāyn kəwəzər.

6. wə-ḥhāməm ašṣyāft ġār arīkōb, wə-səyāwr təwōli sēkən. te nākəm k-sōbəh ḏə-yələbdəm wə-ḍə-yərəğzəm, wə-ḥəḵsəyəm.

7. wə-ğabəwr ġābū mēkən ašṣyāft. wə-nūka hāynīt təwōli kəlōn w-əzhib tēṯ kəlōn.

8. w-āmma aqāyg axsōrət wə-nūka bə-ṭrōh ʃhəwəd, wə-ʃəmlūk.


10. tɛ ġasrəwwən ġaḏyəm tōmər, wə-ʃəwqīš ġābū kāl əhād əl-sēkənəh. w-āqāyg kəlōn hātūm hāl hāmhe, wə-ʃətəm hāh.

11. te bə-ḥələy wəkūb əl-tēṯ kəlōn, wə-ḥātūm te k-sōbəh. wə-dənyōt tēṯ mən āṣərəs.

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3. šīs: The Roman manuscripts have hīs ‘to her’, while the Arabic manuscript has šīs ‘with her’. In one Roman manuscript (the earlier of the two), it appears that šīs was corrected to hīs. Both options are possible, though ġātri k- ‘speak with’ is used also in line 2.

7. ašṣyāft: This word is missing from the Roman manuscripts.
Translation of Text 9

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.

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."

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.

And the man raised the bride-price and brought two witnesses, and he got legal possession.

And they went down to the town, and he got legal possession from the judge. And he bought the wedding food, twenty date-baskets.

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.

And many people came together for the wedding feast. And the women came to the bride and made up the bride.

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.

And the woman had jewelry of gold and silver.

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.

Then at night, he went into (his) bride, and stayed the night until morning. And the woman got pregnant from her night.

1 ḡayg bāl ḫābīr ḏā-yāḥawrūd. nūka mān ḥāwōdī, wā-ṣāḥ kāṭūt ḏā-bīr, wā-ṣāḥ tēṯāh.
2 w-āl šiḥām wāläd lā, wālākan tēṯ dānīṣūt.
3 wā-ḡāḥāmām mān k-sōbāh. tē wāṣālām rēḥāk mān ḥāwōdī, kūṣām bāl ḥāṟāwān.
4 w-āmūr ḡiḥām, “al thāwraḍām ḥāmōh lā! ṣṇāḥā ḏā-yāḥawrūd w-āl nāḥōm ḥābīr tārēḍān ḥāmōhān lā. wālākan hām āḥwāḍkām ḥāmōhān, dārīyāmā ḥābērīkām.”
5 āmūr ḡāyγ bāl ḫābīr, “ṇḥāḥ māḥāwārādūṭān ḥābērīyān. ḡīṣān thōm?”
6 āmūrūt tēṯ ḏ-ḡāyγ bāl ḫābīr, “ayb līkām tāntāwām sābēb ḏā-ḥāmōh.”
7 tōlī ḡāyγ bāl ḥāṟāwān a’yīṭ, wā-bā’āyli ḥābīr ḥāwūdān.
8 ḥis bāḥrām ḏār ḥāmōh, nūka ḡāwām tāwōlī bāl ḥābīr.
9 w-ṣābāwṭ ḡāyγ bāl ḫābīr fāṭxi trōh wā-ḡazāwām, “ḥām ād āḥwāḍk ḥāmōh ḏōmāh zāyād, ḏā-nēwṭāgīk.”
10 w-ḡāyγ bāl ḥāṟāwān wāḥāwāt ṣalām ṣalāh, wā-wāzāmīhām ṣalāḥ.
11 wā-ḥāwqūṣ ḥābērē, ḡē wā-tēṯāh.
12 w-āmūrūt ḡah tēṯāh, “nāḥōm nāḥāxlafl makōn mān ḍōmāh. ḡī ḡayg ḡāwāyīd, ḡē-ḡaṣāmīk ḡēmān.”
13 āmūr, “ḡeḥāmāḥ māxāwfsūṭān makōn.”
14 āḏhām ḏā-yāḡṭārīyām, ṣīnām awā’yōl, w-ābārḳa ḡāyγ wā-xtūl l-awā’yōl.
15 w-āwūbūd wā-ḥāwṣāwāw wēl ḡā-shāṭ, ḡā-ṣālīh tāwōlī ḥābīr wā-ttēṭ. wā-hāṯāmīm.
16 te k-sōbāh, ṭāwla ḧāfīr, ḡō ḡādādūt ṣawānāt, ṣawāt ānhrō kāllās, ḡō-ttēṭ ḡāḥēb ḡāwāyīd ḡ-hārāwāmām.
17 wā-ṣāxawūl ḡāḥū ēḏār ḡāmāmī ṣawā-ḥābīr āmāl asxōf ḏā-yāḵlāwāl kā’āmā.
18 wā-sāddām ḡē wā-ḡaṣāmīhē, ḡē-ḥāṯālīf. ḡā-ḥārāwān ḡāyγūḡ ṣawā-ḥābīr ḡēḵāwīt.
19 ṣawānāt kawṭēṭ ḏ-ḡāyγ.

8 ḡāwām: The word ḡawm 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. ḡwm).
15 wēl: We expect ḡēl for ‘ibex’ (cf. 30:5 and 30:8), but Johnstone transcribed here wēl, and the Arabic manuscript has ınd. In text 30, Ali wrote وَال for ḡēl.
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  xǝṭarāt ṭayt sēkǝn yǝsūkǝn bǝ-wōdi, wǝ-šīhǝm arḥamēt.
2  wǝlākan ḥázihǝm kálsǝn mǝdōni, w-ǝl šīhǝm kawt lā.
3  wǝ-hēm ǝḏ-gāyam. te āṣer źāț haḡyaḡūt wōz.
4  wǝ-hīs zǝhrōt, ǝnkōt b-ārīd. wǝ-nūka aḡάyg wǝ-shāt ārīd.

3  gāyam: The Arabic manuscript and the earlier Roman manuscript have gāyam, while the later Roman manuscript has gāwyām. As I have shown elsewhere (Rubin 2017), the 3ms form of this verb is gūya, and so we expect 3mp gāyam.
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. xǝṭarāt gayg šah rīkēb, wǝ-gazōh mәn aqaddēt  ámb - ħarsīs.

2. wǝ-yahōm yǝgōrēh ansāyrah. te k-ṣobāh, ṣadd l-arīkēbāh ṣādēd wǝ-rikēb, wǝ-gahēm.

3. wǝ-šāh ħamōh wǝ-zawōd, wǝlākan ħamōh āl ħe mékān lā.

4. te k-āḏāhr dymal afšēh wǝ-hāksáw mnxāli ḥārōs. wǝ-his ber fšōh, šawkūf. te l-āšar, šawkūs.

5. te wātxaf al-sēkān, amārhēm bǝh, wǝ-šhāṭam hah wōz.

6. te k-ṣobāh, gahēm wǝ-ḏabūr gayg al-ḥōram, wǝ-šxavārīh mǝn ḥabēr.

7. wǝlākan agāyg šxavārīh mǝn ḥāmmah wǝ-mǝn ḥabētah, w-āmūr ḥah, “al ḥōh kawtōna hūk lā aw ber ḡārābk tīk.”

8. kālūt lah, wǝlākan badōh bǝh. wǝ-his kālūt lah, hadallāh bǝ-ḥabēr.

9. wǝ-battādōh kāl ḥād makōn.

10. te ba-ḥallāy bǝ-wōdī, kūsa ḥabēr wǝ-zīgād ārba rīğād wǝ-rādd kīnǝh mǝn hāl nūka.

11. te k-ṣobāh, fākwād bǝ-ʿayli ḥabēr, wǝ-tābām sār aṣfūtān ḏa-ḥabēr.

12. te nḥōran, sīnem agāyg wǝ-lātēbdām. wǝ-nūka tāt, w-arōba agāyg l-amarād ḏa-ḥabēr.

13. wǝ-battādam kāl ḥād bǝ-ḥārmāh.

14. ǝlyēk rāddam ḥabēriḥām, w-agāyg radd tawōli sēkānah ḏa-yaktūmah wa-ḏa-yāxṭayūb.

15. wǝ-mǝn ḏa nḥār nḥār nḥał kādah bǝ-ḥamāh, “mātōna mǝn aw-dēnē w-ādī ǝl-zāgdāk ḥabēr ḏa-ḥābū lā.”

16. wǝ-ttawīb wa-hārūs wa-nūka bǝ-ḥābānhe, wǝ-wika ʾokēl, wa-hēgōh amōl, wǝ-wika mādkīr. wa-ḥabbām tāh ḥābū.

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1. ð-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 1041.

4. l-ʿaṣr: This is Arabic al-ʿaṣr ‘afternoon prayer’, not Mehri ʿaṣr ‘night’. It corresponds to about four o’clock in the afternoon (Davey 2016: 172). Cf. also 62:6.

5. al-sēkān: The manuscripts have the preposition al-, but it is absent from the audio.

12. ḏa-ḥabēr: The Roman manuscripts have ba-ḥabēr, but this is a mistake. The Arabic manuscript and audio have ē-ḥabēr.

14. yaktūmah: Johnstone transcribed yaktōmah here, and it is indeed very difficult to decide whether the audio has yaktūmah or yaktōmah. 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.

the case that ū and ŏ are hard to distinguish. We expect yaktūmāḥ. 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.

mədkīr: The Roman manuscripts have man ḏakīr, but this is another mistake. The Arabic manuscript and audio have mədkīr.
17 te mōt l-āyōmān wā-xxaluf ġīgēn wā-ĝagōnōt. abēli yərḥāmāh wā-ṣēkanāh b-agaṇnēt.

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yərḥāmāh: The Arabic manuscript and audio have ṭḥāmāh. On its own, this could only be from a ms imperative (ṛḥōm), which does not fit the context. And if it were from a 3ms perfect ṭḥām, the suffixed form would be ṭhrāmāh. The Roman manuscripts have the expected 3ms subjunctive yərḥāmāh. Actually, the earlier Roman manuscript originally had ṭḥāmāh, but was corrected to yərḥāmāh. The loss of ya- seems to be connected to the preceding abēli; cf. the comments to texts 27:25 and 75:18.
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. *nǝhōr tǝyt ǝgayg bål hǝbêr mōzǝb bǝ-ğayr ǝḥād wǝ-šáh tǝhōb dǝ-bēr.*

2. *wa-hātūm bǝ-msǝyōl. tǝ bǝ-hǝllǝy, nũkǝ aḵâyǝr yǝkâwǝsf yǝbīt, xǝyôrǝn kâl.*

3. *wǝ-ˈáss agâyg hīs hũma ašāw tǝ-ḥaybīt, wǝ-šâll amandâwkǝh w-ǝwbûd, wǝlâkâna xalus.*


5. *wǝ-kâsa hâbû târ hǝmōh. wǝzmûhâm tâywî, wǝ-ḥalûb hûhâm šxof.*

6. *wǝ-his bǝr ǝ hôlûb, hâwqûs bǝrk wôdî nôb, wǝ-kûsa arḥamêt w-ǝmârây.*

7. *te gâzôt hâyāwm, ̣kərôh tâwyâh bâr dəhlîl mân hâl ̣aḥâd yasènyah lâ.*

8. *wǝ-habrûk hǝbêrhe bâr kənâwàn. wǝlâkâna anèhâr bâh a'poste hǝbêr.*

9. *te bǝ-hǝllây, tâwyâh ǝgayg ̣a-dâyma w-ǝ-d-gûya. wǝzmâh tâywî, wǝ-ḥalûb hâh šxôf, wǝ-wazmâh mÔh yâtâkK.*

10. *wǝ-sawkif. te k-sôba, ašâlyàm fêgâr wǝ-ḥalâwî, wǝ-şxâfàm, wǝ-hfiîs tâywî.*

11. *wǝ-his bǝr tawîw, ámma ağıây aôrây gahêm, w-âmma ağıây bål hǝbêr tûba hǝbêrhe.*

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1. *tǝhōb:* According to ML (s.v. *ṭḥb*), this is a herd of about a hundred camels.

2. *yǝkâwǝsf:* The Roman manuscripts have *wa-kišâwef* (3ms perfect), while the Arabic manuscript and audio have *yǝkâwǝsf* (3ms imperfect). In the earlier Roman manuscript (the later one was typed), the form *yǝkâwǝsf* was added in the margin.

7. *aḥād:* We usually find the negative particle *al* used when *aḥād* means ‘no one’, which Ali would have written as part of the same word. The Arabic manuscript has just *aḥād* here. It is possible that *mân hâl l-aḥâd* (with a geminate *l* in speech) was written just *mân hâl aḥâd* because the word *hâl* ends with *l*.

10. *k-sôba:* In the Arabic manuscript, Ali wrote *k-sôba, with ص* (ṣ), probably under the influence of Arabic. The audio has *k-sôba*. Out of 80 times in the texts, he spelled the word *k-sôba* with ص (ṣ) just 12 times; elsewhere he used ص (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. xǝṭǝrāt fǝnōhǝn hōba sǝnāyn ġayg hámmah fǝlān sǝyūr mǝn anágd xōṭǝr.
2. wǝ-hīs wīṣǝl sēkǝn, küsa tēt, w-āygǝb bıs wǝ-wǝfūd (bīs) hāl hāybǝs, wǝ-ffǝḳáyh. wǝ-hārūs bıs wǝ-xāysǝr mǝndákʷk wǝ-jǝnbáyyǝt wǝ-bǝ́ˈayr.
3. wǝ-śxǝwlūl šis šǝlīṯ sǝnāyn wǝ-mǝńgǝran ġayg bǝ-tēt ṭayt.
4. wǝ-xxōli ttɛ́ṭǝh wǝ-hārūs b-amkǝwrǝ́tǝh. wǝ-hīs ber hārūs, ssōfǝr wǝ-kāwla ttɛ́ṭǝh dǝnýit.
5. wǝ-ttēt nǝkōt bǝ-ġīɡēn wǝ-hāybǝh ġǝtǝrub bǝ-sfǝr xáymǝh sǝnāyn w-ādǝh ġal sǝnāyn w-ādǝh šīni sǝkǝnǝh lā.
6. wǝ-xǝdūm bǝ-sártǝh, wǝlākan hōṣal sī lā. wǝ-hē bōrah šǝtáwǝk al-sékǝnǝh.
7. wǝ-ńgǝran nǝkāyh ġayg ssǝdáyḳǝh ġǝnɡlīzī w-āmūr hǝh, “ḥamk tǝmi ǧǝrøy mǝhráy.”

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1. *fǝlān*: The Roman manuscripts have *mǝḥάmmǝd*, as did originally the Arabic manuscript. However, the word was crossed out on the Arabic manuscript, and replaced with *fǝlān*. The audio has *fǝlān*.
2. *wǝfūd* (bīs) hāl: The Roman manuscripts have *wǝfūd bīs hāl*, while the Arabic manuscript and audio have just *wǝfūd hāl*.
3. *hāybǝs*: The Roman manuscripts have the plural *hābǝse* ‘her parents’.
4. *ffǝḳáyh*: While the Arabic manuscript has *ffǝḳáyh* (3ms perfect *ffjůk* plus a 3ms object suffix), the Roman manuscripts have *fǝkǝh* (3mp perfect *ffjůk* plus a 3ms object suffix). *ML* (s.v. *šfjk*) cites this passage with the forms found in the Roman manuscripts (*wǝfūd bīs hāl hǝbǝse wǝ-ffǝkǝ*).
5. *šártǝh*: Though this word is transcribed *šártǝh* in the Roman manuscripts, the audio clearly has *šártǝh*. The word is just a borrowing of Arabic *šurṭah* ‘police’.
6. *šǝtáwǝk*: *ML* (s.v. *šwクト*) lists both a verb *šǝtáwǝk* ‘long for’ and a verb *šatūḳ* ‘long for’. These are in fact two variant transcriptions of the same T1-Stem verb. The correct form is *šǝtáwǝk*, but in fast speech the sequence *wǝ* sounds very close to *ǔ*. 
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.”

ssǝdáyḳǝh: In both the Roman and Arabic manuscripts, the initial consonant is written š. Ali did the same in text 18 (lines 3, 8, 13), but correctly wrote s in 105:1. Were s 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 sdık (e.g., šsdūḳ ‘believe s.o. is telling the truth’; see the comment to text 20:6) and ṣdık (e.g., ṣǝdḳ or ṣǝṭḳ ‘truth’; see the comment to text 5:12), both of which derive historically from ṣdık.

tâmi: The Arabic has here َبُت tâmi, which matches the audio. The Roman manuscripts have taʿâmi, but there is no audible glottal stop. The form derives from *tálmı, which in turn derives from the 2ms D/L subjunctive tōlm (root ʿlm) plus a 1cs object suffix.
Text 14A (no J): Muḥammad Loses a Kid

1 məḥāmməd nūda bə-ḥāráwn w-əl əḥād šəh lä.
2 wə-his bórəh bə-ḥəwədī, həğıṃm ləh kəwb wə-sáll bə-ḥətər. wə-bəgdīh wə-θhāk; wələkən hətər mōt.
3 wə-θhāt wə-sáll hətər bərk kəzūt wə-ḥətəwəb dərəb wə-ɬəbəh.
4 wə-his ber ɦəbhūl, hōdi ʃəkhə. hē təwōh fəkə əw-ɬəwələ fəkə.
5 wə-wiğə k-ḥāráwn wə-bərəh əd-ḥədədər mən kəwb.
6 wələkən šəh wōz təʤəwələ, wə-ɬə-ɣəsyūr līs əl-xərwəkwər. tɛ gəzət ɦəyəwəm, kəlōh təwələ əʃəyγə.
7 wə-his kəlōh, kəlūt al-ɬəbū.
8 wə-ʃəwsətəh ɦəməh məgləs ɬəwəy. āmərət, “hēt ɬəwəkəf wə-kələk ɦəzəkə h-ɬəlōb.”
9 hăttəm məḥāmməd mən amgələs ɬə-ɦəməh, wələkən ɰəkəwf mən ʃəʃət ɬə-ɬəbū.

(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.)

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2 șəll: The manuscripts all have șəll, but this must be an error, as șəll ‘he ran fast’ does not fit the context. The verb here is clearly șəll ‘drag away’, as on the audio, and as fits the context; cf. also the use of șəll in text 22:85. See also the comment to text 26:5.

9 ɰəkəwf: The manuscripts have ɰəkəwf, but the audio has ɬə-ɰəkəwf.
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. xǝṭarāt ġayg wǝ-ḥāmāh w-ağāthǝ ṭrayt, wǝ-šihǝm bǝkār.
2. wǝ-šihǝm sǝnnáwrǝt, wǝ-ṣâff sǝnnáwrǝt kǝ’yǝt.
3. w-ağāyg sǝbǝr yǝgōb wǝḥshih, hē wǝ-sékǝnāh.
4. wǝ-ḥaynūt sāfǝn sǝwēḥǝr, āgǝwz wǝ-ḥǝbǝntǝse.
5. te nǝhōr ṭayt, aḡaɣy wika k-ǝbkār, wǝ-ḥaynūt dǝ-hǝksǝwǝm. āmǝrūt āgǝwz, “aḡaɣyg dǝmǝh ǝzǝr bı. sǝbǝr yǝgōb wǝḥshih.
6. nǝhōm ṭayt mǝnnı nǝktılǝb hǝh rıśīt wǝ-ṭtēhah, wǝ-nǝfǝkk mǝnaḥ.”
7. walâkǝn hıs sǝn tǝqtašırǝn, hǝnsǝn sǝnnǝwrǝt, wǝ-hǝmátsǝn hıs tǝqtašırǝn.
8. tǝbûl āmūr, “bǝ-ḥǝllāy, aḡaɣy yǝsǝbǝr ǝbkār, wǝ-ǝmt bār bǝ-ḥǝllāy, ṭayt tǝbdıtya tǝh wǝ-ṃǝktawbǝtǝ hǝh rıśīt.”
9. te bǝ-ḥǝllāy hǝbǝwǝr aḡaɣy ǝbkārhe, w-ǝsǝr ktiw wǝ-mǝwsǝ. te hǝbǝwǝr, tǝbâtǝh sǝnnǝwrǝt mǝn sǝrīh.
10. āmǝrūt “aḡaɣy thǝbub aḡaɣyg. yǝwǝ́zmǝs ǝsǝwkūf wǝ-yǝlṭǝf bīs.”
11. tǝbâtǝh tǝsǝn sǝnnǝwrǝt wǝ-ḥǝmwaṭǝs.
12. w-aḡaɣyg ǝsǝwkūf, šah šafǝt lǝ.
13. te ǝnkōt, sǝnỳâts sǝnnǝwrǝt, wǝ-ḥagǝmtǝn lıs te hǝmwǝtǝs.
14. w-aḡaɣyg sǝnỳâs wǝ-bqadıs, walâkǝn sǝnnǝwrǝt xǝxǝt. sǝnnǝwrǝt thǝbub aḡaɣyg.
15. tǝqtašırǝn, sǝnỳâts sǝnnǝwrǝt wǝ-ḥagǝmtǝn lıs te hǝmwaṭǝs.
16. tǝqtašırǝn, tǝbâtǝh sǝnnǝwrǝt ıs te hǝmwaṭǝs.
17. w-ǝsǝrwât aḡaɣy wǝ-kawtǝt bǝ-ḥǝmǝh w-aḡaɣe. āmǝrūt, “dımaḥ hǝmǝk sâhrǝt w-aḡǝtke sǝwēḥǝr, wǝ-d-ǝrtǝwâg bük (t)tıyǝn tık.
18. wǝ-hǝmâk tısan thǝmǝn attıyǝn tık.
19. wǝ-ḥǝmâk wǝ-t-ǝd ǝsǝkǝn bǝwǝmǝh lǝ. wǝ-ḥet ber ǝsǝfǝt.”
20. wǝ-ḥǝmâk wǝ-t-ǝd ǝsǝkǝn bǝwǝmǝh lǝ.
21. w-ǝmūr h-aḡǝthǝ, “kāl ṭayt tǝntǝkǝl ǝgayg tǝṣeqǝkǝ, wǝ-hoh ber ǝd-ǝ yaşama kâl ǝsıyǝn.”

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14. ǝsǝwkūf: The Arabic manuscript and audio have just ǝsǝwkūf (3ms perfect), but the Roman manuscripts have yašǝwkūf (3ms imperfect).
21. ǝsıyǝn: The Roman manuscripts have ǝ, but the Arabic manuscript and audio have ǝsıyǝn.
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 mǝn ɖɔr ʂanɛt əw ẓɔyɔd, ˈtɔmʊt ɦɑrɪt.
2 wɔ-ˈmɔt ɦɑbʊ ʂɪnɛm tɪs, ɣɔsɔw, ɔ-ɣɔtɔkw əʃɔwɔr ʈɔyt ɖɔr ʈɔyt, wɔ-ɣɔbɔkɪəm əytɔm, te ɜrɔmɔn ɣɔşıɔn ɔmʊhɛm, wɔ-ʈɔktɪlɔba hɔrɪt ɦɪs ʃʊnɔh.ah.
3 wɔ-ɣɔmɔrəm, “hɔrɪt tɔwɪwɔs ɫɔləb. wɔ-həm əl <!--[Image]-->kətwɔb ɦɪs ʃʊnɔh ɭæ, tɔkʊm əkɑyɔm.”
4 wɔ-ɣɔbɔkɪəm, wɔ-ˈkəl əhəd yəʃɛnˈdʊɾ bə-mɔsɔləmən, ɦɪm kətwɔb ɦɔrɪt ɦɪs ʃʊnɔh.
5 wɔ-ɣɔʃɪf ɭæ ʈɔktɪlɔb şɑfʊət wɔ-ɣəkə’ əbšər.

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2 ɣɔsɔw: The audio here clearly has ɣɔsɔw, but this form is unexpected. The expected 3mp imperfect is ɣɔsɔɣ, 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, ɔtɔkw), since ɣɛʃ is one of just two attested Gb-Stem geminates (§ 7.2.11). See also the comment to text 53:3.

2 ɣɔşıɔn: Johnstone had difficulty parsing this verb. In the earlier Roman manuscript, Johnstone transcribed ɣɔdə, while in the later one he transcribed ɣəkə. He added the gloss ‘make pass’ in the earlier Roman manuscript, and perhaps saw a connection with the Arabic verb qaḍ ‘finish, put an end to’. However, if indeed ɣədə or ɣəkə 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 ɣɔʃɪn, a 3ms subjunctive of the Gb-Stem ɣəyɔsən ‘have compassion’.

3 əkɑyɔm: On the audio, Ali read this as əɡɑyɔm.

5 ɣəʃɪf: The Arabic manuscript and audio clearly have ɣəʃɪf, which is a variant of ɣəʃəkwf; see ML (p. lxii, 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 ḡayūg ḍa-yəṣyáwr bə-hōrəm, wə-ḡəbáwr ḡayg wə-tēṯ ḍə-yəghīm.
2 āttōlī gātēwsəm. āmūr aḡāyg, “ətēm əwbədkəəm aḡāy, wə-hōh əwbədk xāyləkəm yəməxəh.
3 wə-šərōməh axāyr hīn nəsə.dx.” wə-ʃəddəm.
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 xǝṭarāt ġijēni trōh hātım hāl sēkǝn. te bǝ-ḥallày, bārǝm yǝḥāym tǝwōli sēkǝnham.
2 te b-aāmık ǝd-hōrǝm, ǝnḵāthǝm āgallēt, wǝ-1-ād hǝbšǝy ǝrōm lā, wǝ-xǝλáws mǝn hōram. tǝlī šǝwkif sǝr hǝrǝm.
3 hîs bǝ-šǝwkif, ʾāss āgįgēn śsŏx mǝn ɡayr ġass. wǝ-bār wǝ-ḵāwla āgāh dǝ-yǝşǝwkif.
4 te hǝwōh mǝn dēh kǝnnāwn wǝ-tǝbrōt fǝmǝh wǝ-īdǝl amšârḫe wǝ-hǝkōh te k-sōbēh.
5 w-ǝmǝm aģįgēn aḳǝnnāwn, hîs k-sōbēh, ʾāss, ġalîk mǝn āgāh, wǝ-l-ād ksēh lā.
6 aʿiyīt tǝwōli ḥābū w-āmûr, “āgāy, tawīwēh kǝlōbi!”
7 wǝ-syǝywr ḥābū wǝ-ḥâbhe ǝd-yağākām. wǝ-ḥâmāh tǝbâyk wǝ-tǝšǝq̣sǝn āgāyg̣s, wǝ-tǝmâr hah, “kâllah mānk, hîs kâlak tǝh yasýēr mǝn hǝnīn.”
8 ʾattōlī kúsam tǝh dǝ-ɡyûb. ǝl bǝh ġass lā.
9 wǝ-šallǝm tǝh tawâlī sēkǝn, wǝ-ḥamrīšah w-āṯmǝm tǝh. wǝ-šâṭǝm hah yǝbit. wǝ-hawsâyk amšârḫe l-aḏōrǝ’.
10 te mǝn ʾḏ âr warx, ẓyûr l-amarâwkâs, wǝ-tǝmâm ǝ-d-yaṭdûr kǝrâyb ǝl-sēkǝn.
11 te mǝn ʾḏ âr wârxi trōh, nǝkâwš mǝn hâi ʾaʾītēm, wǝ-wika bǝ-χâyr, wǝ-yǝwōka k-hârâwn l-ādēd ǝd-ḥayûm.

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hātım: Most of the 3mp verbs and 3mp suffixes in lines 1 and 2 (1: hātım, bārǝm, yǝḥāym, sēkǝnham; 2: ǝnḵāthǝm, hǝbšǝy) 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: hâtım, bârım, yəḥ̣āyım, sêkənəm; 2: ənḵâthəm, həbšəyr). The remaining 3mp forms in lines 2 and 3 (2: xǝḷaws, šǝwkif; 3: šǝwkif) were transcribed as duals already in the earlier Roman manuscript (2: xǝwṣọh, šǝwḳfəh; 3: šǝwḳfəh), 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.

hǝbšǝy: 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. *hanîn:* The audio has *hanîn* ‘with us’, but the Roman manuscript has *hanîy* ‘with me’ (correctly *hanîy*). The Arabic manuscript probably also has *hanîn*, though in Ali’s handwriting *hanîn* and *hanîy* 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. *wa-ywōka:* The manuscripts all have *wa-wîka*, but the audio has *wa-ywōka*, which fits the context.
12 *te ǝnhōren nǝkōt amǝwsē,* w-ǝl śí ǝšáyga kǝráyb lā.
13 *tōli ġarāwn šǝršá,* wǝ-ħe dǝ-yáwṭǝf bǝ-ġarāwn.
14 *tōli nákam tǝh ɡǝyūg wǝ-šállǝm ġarāwn tǝwōli ašáyga,* wǝ-shâtǝm wǝkōna faḥ. wǝlākan abōki wīkǝ šīsǝn arḥǝmēt. wǝ-šftēḥ ġarāwn wǝ-nūka bǝ-ħobānisǝn āwēš (ð-)ǝlyēk ǝm-mōt. wǝ-tǝmmōt.

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12 *amǝwsē:* The manuscripts have indefinite *mǝwsē,* but the audio has definite *amǝwsē.*
15 *āwēš (ð-)ǝlyēk:* The audio has *āwēš ǝlyēk,* but the manuscripts all have just *āwēš ǝlyēk.*
Then one day, rain came, and there wasn't any shelter nearby.
Then the goats were dying of exposure, and he was urging the goats on.
Then (some) men came to him and took the goats to the shelter, and they slaughtered about half.
But the remainder had grazing. And the goats mated and bore their children in place of those that died. And it is finished.
\textbf{Text 18 (no J): A Journey to London (October, 1969)}

1. ssáfrak man dabáy fänemših bǝ-ṭayyāryah, hōm hǝ-lândon.
2. wǝ-hōh dǝ-gålǝwǝk wǝ-đa-hǝbrǝk, wǝ-šāy ġayg hāmmǝh fǝlân. wǝ-nákan abátah wǝ-ǝšwǝ́kff.
3. te k-sōbǝh, ǝnkʿáy tǝlafr man hǝl sǝdǝ́yki.
4. wǝ-tǝwbáy (l-)ǝnkɛ́ʾ tǝwōli amdǝrsēt.
5. wǝ-nákkah tǝh, wǝ-sayur bay tǝwōli táxtǝr.
6. wǝ-ǝwzmǝy hабáwb, wǝ-ráddan tǝwōli amdǝrsēt. wǝ-šǝwlǝ́n sǝwǝ́nǝt.
7. wǝ-sayúran tǝwōli amtǝm, wǝ-fōsǝn šayd, wǝ-ftúkǝn.
8. wǝ-majǝrǝn sayárk hōh wǝ-sǝdǝ́yki bǝrk aráyl ǝnxāli ačā, nǝhom tǝwōli ankǝnì.
9. te kalǝ́yni nákan. ámma hōh, hātάmk, wǝ-hē rǝdd tǝwōli abátah.
10. majǝrǝn hōh sayýrk l-ǝṣṇé̄ʾ šawāraʾ šyēx, wǝ-kásk šêraʾ ṭāt sŏx, wǝ-sayárk bǝrkìh shālit sāt, w-ǝl tǝmāmk tǝh lā.
11. te ba-ḥǝlláy, ráddak tǝwōli abáyti. wǝ-šǝwkǝ́fk.
12. te k-sōbǝh, sayárk tǝwōli amtǝm wǝ-âxšša bǝ-ša-káwht ad-dagóg w-afigǝn kahwēt.
13. wǝ-šǝwlǝ́k te ǝnkʿáy sǝdǝ́yki, wǝ-sayárki hōh wǝ-hē tǝwōli amdǝrsēt.
15. w-ámmǝr, “ǝl hōh makosǝr lā, wǝlākǝn ákā’ ġayg ḥǝsbēb. bāwmǝh kāl šiyan ḡōli.
16. wǝ-hām ǝnḥágk, majǝrǝn táloq bǝ-ḥǝnāfk.”
17. wǝ-his ámmur ḡdǝ́y ni wǝtǝ́mâh, ḡurāk tǝh dǝ-hē sǝdǝ́yki máxlaš šay, wǝ-hōh, hǝm abǝli yǝḥōm, wǝköna šah rǝḥāym.
18. wǝ-hōh ǝśṇeqâh al-his ǝ́ybi, al-his hē yanášhi mǝn hǝyrēm akamhōt. wǝ-ỵōmǝr háyni, “ḥǝdḍōr bǝ-ḥǝnāfk. hēt ŕük sékǝn wǝ-κǝnyányn, w-ǝl šihǝm ar hēt.”

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4. \(l-\)ǝnkɛ́ʾ: The manuscripts and audio have ǝnkɛ́ʾ; but this is probably a mistake. The prefix \(l-\) was added to the later Roman manuscript. The expected form \(l-\)ǝnkɛ́ʾ occurs in 20:12 and 77:4.

7. amtǝm: This word is not in \(ML\), but it is clearly a borrowing of Arabic mať’am ‘restaurant’.

10. šawāra'/šêra’: Although listed in \(ML\) (s.v. šr’) with an initial š, the words šêra ‘street’ and šawāra ‘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.”

10 śyēx: Although ML (s.v. śyx) gives the plural form śiyax, which is what Johnstone transcribed in the Roman manuscript of this text (and also in 74:8), the audio clearly has śyēx (also in 74:8). The spelling in the Arabic manuscript (شخ) also makes clear that śyēx, and not śiyax, is correct. Jahn (1902: 240) lists the plural śyāx (var. šēx), which matches the form in Johnstone’s texts.

17 hām abēli yəḥōm: This phrase corresponds to Arabic ʿin šāʾa ʿllāh.
Text 19 (no J): Ba Newas and the Judge

1. ħatrat ġayg fakāyr, wa-šāh tēṯah raḥāymat. wa-yāgōb būs sērə’ ḏ-arḥābēt.
2. te nāḥōr tāyt, nakāyh aḡāyg ḏ-a-tēṯ.
3. āmūr hāh, “yllōh ḥēmak ḥanōfī xālyak tēṯi.”
4. āmūr hāh, “teṭk ḳtēt mən ḍamēlkəh.”
5. bəkōh aḡāyg sār tēṯaḥ.
6. tōli yagāyr laḥ bā nəwās. āmūr hāh, “kō hēt tabāyk?”
7. āmūr hāh, “aṣṣērə’ ḫṭuk ṣṭēṯi. yəḥōm yəḥēras būs.”
8. āmūr hāh, “kalēṯ lay b-āгадsātk.”
9. āmūr hāh, “yllōh ḥēmak xālyak tēṯi, wa-ṣΧabārk hāl sērə’.
10. w-āmūr ḍāyni, ‘teṭk ḳtēt.’”
11. āmūr ḍāyni bā nəwās, “taktwōl lā. wa-ḡēhməh awēdak bāwəm.”
12. te ḡēhməh, ġāṯbərəm w-āmūr bā nəwās, “nəḥōm aḥād yəxdēm šin.”
13. wa-ṣΧāt xaṭdəmət. waẓmihəm kā-ṭaṭ ḥayb. w-āmūr hīhəm, “ṣəḏēwwən!”
15. ḡfawr nəxāli abāyt. tōli ḡədhɨ̀k lihəm sērə’.
16. āmūr hīhəm, “kō tēm ṭhāfrəm nəxāli abāytı?”
17. āmūr bā nəwās, “ḥēmak yəllōh xəznēt ḏ-ḥāybi ənxāli abətk.”
18. āmūr sērə’, “ḥēt ał ŕūk ‘ilm lā ar ɦām.”
19. āmūr bā nəwās, “il-ḥilm ‘ilm.”
20. āmūr sērə’, “ḥōh sērə’, w-əḡərəb axāyr mənək.”
21. āmūr bā nəwās, “hibōh ḥām?”
22. āmūr sērə’, “il-ḥilm miʃ ‘ilm!”
23. āmūr bā nəwās ḡābū, “ṣḥūd lāh.” āmūr bā nəwās, “ar kō hēt ḡafəkt tēṯ ḏ-əɣāyg dōmah?”
25. wa-ḥēt, bā nəwās, l-ād təhfər zəyəd lā.”
26. wə-ṭammōt kəwət tē ḏ-əɣāyg.

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12. ġāṯbərəm: The Roman manuscript has a 3md dual perfect ġāṭbərōh (written ġāṭibro), but the Arabic manuscript and audio have 3mp ġāṯbərəm.
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 təhfər, which is undoubtedly an error for l-ād təhfər.
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 xǝṭǝrāt bā nǝwās yǝsūkǝn bǝ-ðǝ-yaxǝwǝdǝm hāl hökǝm ǝ-ðǝ-yarḥǝbēt.
2 te nhǝh ǝtayt, āmūr hǝh hökǝm, “ǝnked b-an’álye mǝn hāl hǝyni.”
3 āmūr, “yǝye.” aḳōfi.
4 te w✐sǝl hǝyni, āmūr, “āmūr hikan hökǝm, ‘ǝzǝmǝn ti ǝl-syǝr ġikan’.”
5 āmūr, “hiboh aģǝrɔ yǝsın ǝ-hiboh?”
6 āmūr, “lā, ǝl hoh ǝ-ǝltǝwêk lā, wǝlākǝn hökǝm yǝhöm mǝnày ǝdǝrâyǝyǝt.
wǝlākǝn hăm al šǝsd EQkkan tī lā, šākōn hökǝm wǝ-mšaxbǝr tǝh.”
7 āmūr hǝh hǝyni, “sákh!” tōli šāk, āmūr, “tayt aw kǝldayt?”
8 āmūr hökǝm, “kāl.” āmūr, “hımakǝn?”
9 tōli wazmīh, w-aḳōfi bā nǝwās.
10 te nūka hāl hökǝm, w-ǝl nǝkányh b-an’alhe lā,
11 āmūr, “kō hēt al nākak b-an’alhe lā?”
12 āmūr, “l-ād ǝkawdı wǝ-yoyǝd lā. hoh ar tät, w-ǝs-sen ǝtayt. l-ād ǝkawdı l-ǝnkı”
13 zoyǝd lā.”
14 āmūr hökǝm, “hĕšǝn dımah mǝn ǝqǝrɔ yǝq?”
16 āmūr, “sayǝrk wǝ-nākak tısan kǝldayt.” āmūr, “hō sın?”
17 āmūr, “bǝrk abǝtsǝn, w-ǝbɛr ǝtyǝbk mǝnsǝn.”
18 āmūr, “kalät lay hĕšǝn ǝmlǝk!”
20 wa-μér sākak tık, w-ǝmǝrk hāyni, ‘kǝldayt. w-ǝs-rımǝh ber ǝtyǝbk.”
21 āmūr, “hĕšǝn ǝnǝkak?”
22 āmūr, “nǝhah hǝnin b-arḥǝbētǝn, ‘nākak, ‘yǝsyur k-ǝhaynt’.”

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2 ǝnked: Part of the play on words here is the phonological similarity of the verb nūk ‘come’ with the verb nayük ‘have intercourse’ (used in 99:46). Compare, for example, 1cs perfect nākak vs. nayök, 1cs subjunctive l-ǝnked vs. l-ǝnyēk.

6 šǝsd EQkkan: Ali is inconsistent with the spelling of various forms of this verb. The root is sdq (cf. ML, s.v. sdq), as also in the noun sǝd EQk yǝq ‘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; 99:18; 99:45). In 23:3 and 82:2 he also has s in place of s. See also the comment to text 5:12, on the noun šǝtk ‘truth’. 
Once Ba Newas was living in a town and working for the ruler of the town. Then one day, the ruler said to him, “Bring me my sandals from the women.” He said, “Ok.” He left. Then when he got to the women, he said, “The ruler said to you, ‘Let me sleep [lit. go] with you’.” They said, “What is this talk? Have you gone crazy or what?” 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.” The women said to him, “Call him!” Then he called, he said, “One or both?” The ruler said, “All.” He said, “Did you hear?” Then they let [lit. gave] him, and Ba Newas went back. Then when he came to the ruler, and he didn’t bring him his sandals, he said, “Why didn’t you bring my sandals?” He said, “I couldn’t anymore. I am only one, and they are two. I couldn’t bring anymore.” The ruler said, “What kind of talk is this from [lit. with] you?” He said, “Didn’t you say to me, ‘Bring me my sandals’?” He said, “Indeed!” He said, “I went and I brought them both.” He said, “Where are they?” He said, “In their house, and I already had my fill of them.” He said, “Tell me what you did!” 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. And I called you, and you said to me, ‘Both’. And now I have had my fill.” He said, “What does nákak (‘come/bring’) mean?” He said, “By us, in our town, nákak is ‘sleep [lit. go] with women.’

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8 kāl: The Roman manuscripts have kālāyt ‘both’, but the Arabic manuscript and audio have kāl ‘all’. See also the comment on kāl in line 25.
10 anʿālḥɛ: ML (s.v. nʿl) rightly considers nǝʿāl an Arabic word (< niʿāl), which is why the consonant ‘ is preserved. Cf. also the unsuffixed form anʿāl in line 26.
16 abǝ́tsǝn: Though all the manuscripts have abǝ́tsǝn ‘their house’, the audio has abyǝ́tisǝn ‘their houses’.
āmūr, “wā-hēt šarōmah ber sayōrk k-haynīṯ?”
āmūr, “hībōh l-āmōl, hām hāmōrk lay?”
tōli sayūr hōkām ṭawōlī hayaṅīt wā-šəxābərīsən.
wələkən ɫəzəm (l-)ərdɛ̄h əh rəwərəm."
tōli mánam bə nəwəs wə-kləwəbəh bərk šətfət wə-ʃərəwəg ləh bərkəs.
w-āmūr həgərən, “ənələm təh rəwərəm.” wə-şəlləm təh həgərən.
te wəʃəlləm ˈhayk, kusəm arəwərəm ʃəhək. kələm təh bə-ˈhəyk wə-səyəwər ʃəffətəm,
ər wə ərəwərəm tkələh wə-ʃərəbəh bərk šətfət wə-ʃəkwəg ləh bərkəs.
w-āmūr ḥəgarən, “şələləm təh rəwərəm.” wə-ʃəlləm təh ḥəgarən.
25 kələyt: The Roman manuscripts have kələyt ‘botl’, but the Arabic manuscript and audio have kəl ‘all’. See also the comment to line 8.
25 kələyt: The Roman manuscripts have kələthi ‘both of them’, but the Arabic manuscript and audio have kələyt ‘both’.
(l-)ərdɛ̄h: The manuscripts and audio have ərdɛ̄h (probably < *əl-rdɛ̄h), but we expect l-ərdɛ̄h. The expected form l-ərdɛ̄h occurs in 64:22 and 89:25.
štəlwəg: The form here is the 3mp perfect. ML (s.v. šrng) lists šərwəg as the 3ms perfect, but this is an error for šərwəg. In the English-Mehri word-list at the back of ML (p. 588), the verb ‘sew up’ is transcribed šərwəg.
həbəye: The Roman manuscripts have həbəyan ‘our parents’, but the audio has həbəye ‘my parents’. The latter seems to fit the context better. The Arabic manuscript is unclear, and could read either ʃəbīn (the expected spelling for həbəye, as in lines 41, 42, 43, 47, 60, 63, and 70) or ʃəbīn (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."

spelling for ḥábyan). I presume that Ali’s reading of ḥábye on the audio reflects his intended spelling.
37 talwāmī: The Arabic manuscript and audio clearly have talwāmī, which must be a D/L-Stem subjunctive talwām plus a 1cs object suffix. ML (s.v. lwām) defines the G-Stem lōm as ‘expect’, but the D/L-Stem alwām only as ‘blame’. However, as noted in ML, the Jibbali D/L-Stem cognate is recorded with the meaning ‘expect’. (l-)ǝḳlɛ̄k: The manuscripts and audio have ǝḳlɛ̄k, but we expect l-ǝḳlɛ̄k. The expected form l-ǝḳlɛ̄k occurs in 33:3.
āmūr, “tāwwāk thāxawfi!”
āmūr, “ābdan! hōh sātwāḳ  al-ḥābye. ādi al śīṇ ak tīḥ ām lā mān warx. śīṇ ak tīḥ ām wa-rāddak bārk šatfēti.
wa-mān hīs ḥābye mōtām, ber śīṇ ak tīḥ ām xammōh ṭawōr.”
āmūr, “tāwwāk tākley hōh al-syēr. ādi al śīṇ ak ḥābye lā mān hīs mōtām.”
āmūr, “hēt bār mōn?”
āmūr, “hōh bār falān bār falān.”
wa-hīs hēt ḥābrē dā-falān, ḫalōna tīk tsyēr, wālākan thābta lā. hōh sātwāḳ al-ḥābye.”
āmūr, “tāwwēk tēkly hōh ʾal-syēr. ādi śīṇ ak ḥābyē lā mān hīs mōtām.”
āmūr, “hēt bār mōn?”
āmūr, “hōh bār falān bār falān.”
wa-hīs hēt ḥābrē dā-falān, ḫalōna tīk tsyēr, wālākan thābta lā. hōh sātwāḳ al-ḥābye.”

wā-ḥārāwn: The Roman manuscripts add w-akrāwš ‘and the money’, but this is missing from the Arabic manuscript and audio.
bīhān: The Roman manuscripts have bīhām, with the 3mp suffix, but the Arabic manuscript and audio have bīhān, with the 3fp suffix. The 3fp suffix is correct, since it refers to amēndāwk w-ajēnbáyyat wā-ḥārāwn ‘the rifle, the dagger, and the goats’, all three of which are grammatically feminine. If w-akrāwš ‘and the money’ is added, as in the Roman manuscripts, then bīhām would be correct, since kāwarš is masculine.
He said, “You must change places with me!”

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.

And since my parents died, I have already seen them five times.”

He said, “You ought to let me go! I haven’t seen my parents since they died.”

He said, “Whose son are you?”

He said, “I am the son of so-and-so, son of so-and-so.”

He said, “Your father is well and in Paradise, and he was asking about you. But I didn’t know you before.

Since you are the son of so-and-so, I will let you go, but don’t be long. I miss my parents.”

He said, “Never.” Then he said to him, “Untie me!”

He untied him, and he said, “Get in quickly, and give me the rifle, the dagger, and the goats!”

He said, “Take them!”

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.

And the ruler will reprimand me. He already asked me to let him in the basket, and I refused.”

He said, “Ok.” Then the slaves came and picked him up and [lit. until] they threw him from a cliff.

And Ba Newas went until he reached his house. He stayed.

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.

Then the people said, “This is Ba Newas. It turns out he’s alive!”

Then the ruler found out and sent for Ba Newas, and he came to him.

He said, “You’re alive?” He said, “Indeed!”

He said, “Didn’t the slaves throw you into the sea?”

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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\( h-h\text{\-}\text{h\-k\text{\-}ām} \): It is unclear on the audio recording if the \( h \) is really pronounced here, but it is written in the Arabic manuscript.

āmâwr, “yēy!” ḥfawr ḥāgǝrōn bayr w-ḥa bǝnawās ḥfur mǝn abǝtáh te wīsǝl abâyr.


w-ḳafūd bā nǝwās wǝ-ʃāh lāwkt w-ḳalāyǝs bǝrk abâyr, w-ḥē ǝwake bǝrk adǝhlil w-ṣayr h-ǝbâtah.

w-ḥābū hǝwīw b-ǝdērōb mǝn ǝgāwf, tɛ mīla abâyr ǝsabbǝm ǝgz w-šxātǝm bîhǝm.

w-ḥàbú šōrǝm. attōli nǝkбот alāwkt. āmâwr, “hǝmɛ́ʾ, ḥǝrōh ðǝ-bā nǝwās fīkǝs.” w-ǝkâfýǝm.

w-ḥē șxâlwul wǝ-šxâlwul. ǝttōli nǝḳbōt alâwkt. āmâwr, “hēt mōn?”

āmâwr, “ḥōh bā nǝwās.” āmâwr, “hēt ǝl mǝtt lā?”

āmâwr, “lā. hōh nákak mǝn hâl ḥêbye w-ḥâbke bǝrk ǝgànnêt w-ǝ-ḍǝ-yaḥâbom lük ba-salâlm.”

āmâwr, “ḥōm ǝl-šyēr hōh!”

āmâwr bā nǝwās, “ābdan! ǝl ǝnkâlak lā. hàm sǝyǝrk, l-ǝd râddōna lîn lā, mǝt kǝsk hōbke w-ǝgànnêt.”

āmâwr, “ḥōm ǝl-šyēr.” tōli ḥfawr hǝh bayr, w-ḥǝrēb bǝh.

w-șxâwlul wǝrxi ṯroh. tōli nákam ḥabun ǝ-ḥōkǝm tǝwōli bā nǝwâs. āmâwr, “ḥâyǝn ǝl nûka lā.”

āmâwr, “ḥâybkǝm l-ǝd hē nǝkôna lā mǝn hâl hâbke w-ǝgànnêt.”

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ḥfērǝm ... ṭ-ḳalēm ... ṭ-ḥānḥǝm: The audio has the three mp imperative forms ḥfērǝm ‘dig!’, ṭ-ḳalēm ‘leave!’, and ṭ-ḥānḥǝm ‘burn!’; but the manuscripts all have the 3mp subjunctives ṭ-ḥfērǝmn, ṭ-ḳalēmn, and ṭ-ḥānḥǝmn. The subjunctives reflect indirect speech (‘he told the servants to dig ... to leave ... and to burn’), while the imperative forms must be direct speech.

gàṣèkǝm: The word gâzè ‘reward, payback’ (< Arabic jazā‘ ‘repayment, recompense’) is absent from ML (cf. also Jibbali gâzɛ́ ‘reward’). It is most often used in the phrase gàṣèk xayr ‘thank you!’ (pl. gàṣèkǝm xayr), as here and in 28:20 and 39:14. The bare form gâzè 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 (râbbǝk).

šxâtǝm: ML (s.v. šxt) lists this verb with an initial š, and Johnstone transcribed š 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.”

Arabic-letter transcription, š and š are both transcribed ش. (ش, š.) The root may show some free variation, or perhaps dialectal variation.
71 hōh: In place of ḥōm ǝl-ṣyēr hōh ‘I want to go!’, which is what the Arabic manuscript and audio have, the Roman manuscripts have ḥōm ǝl-ṣyēr tawēlīḥām ‘I want to go to them’. The earlier Roman manuscripts add hōh above tawēlīḥām, indicating the variant text.
72 ǝl nḳālak: The Arabic manuscript has the negative particle ǝl, while the Roman manuscript does not. The audio sounds like ǝnkālak, probably from *ǝlnḳālak.
āmāwr ḥǝbūn ɗ̓-hōkǝm, “nəhōm nəsyēr tawélhǝ!” āmūr, “yéye.”

k-sōbǝh, hənḥáyw bə-ḥəbūn ɗ̓-hōkǝm w-awzáyrhǝm.

w-āmāwr hə-bā nəwās, “dáwnək hēt b-ahkáwmət te nənkək.”

wə-hkūm bā nəwās atáwl ɗ-azəbən. wə-təmmət kəwțət.

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w-awzáyrhǝm: The manuscripts have w-awzáyrhǝm, but the audio has wə-b-awzáyrhǝm.
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. ḥaṭṭarāt tōgār bə-rḥəbēt wə-šəḥ ǧiḡēn wə-ǧəḡə̣nōt. w-aqīḡə́n rəḥāym xā hē rīt.

2. te nəḥōr ˈtəy təmərūt hāmē d-aqīḡə́n h-aqīḑgas, “wə-kōh hēt əl təkōla ḥəbrək yəsəyər ʂūk h-sawk, wə-yəṭəlōm atṭaqərət əl-his ḥəbūn atṭaqə́r?”

3. ʾāmūr aqīɣ, “yəşṣək mən əḥād  ya-yənəh.”

4. ʾāmərūt tɛt, “əl hē ʒəqqət lə te təsəs ləh.”

5. te nəhr xəwfi tətāy h-sawk.

6. te wəsələm adəkkənəh nəkəm ḩəbū yəʃərəgən aqīḡə́n te məlmə sawk.

7. tōli ʾāmūr aqīɣə́, “nəhōm ənkəəl adəkkən wə-nsəyər abəyət. dōmah ʃəwr əd-ḥəmək.”

8. ādəhm ə-wtəkəməh, nūkə hēkər ʃtuk mənə mənsəgəd. te wəʃəl hāl aqīɣə́ wə-ʒələk b-aqīḡə́n ʒəylək kəwəy.

9. attołi ʂūrəq aqīɣə́ wə-həbrək, yəhəyəm h-abəyət. tōli təbəyəhəm hēkər.

10. te wəsələm xāh d-abəyət, şr həyəb d-aqīɣə́n wə-ʃəbūr hēkər.


12. ʾāmūr, “əhlən wa-səhələn!” tōli nəkəm təh bə-fʃə́, w-ʾāmūr həh, “ʃəh!”

13. tōli kəwəla aʃə́ ə-wə-ʒələk b-aqīɣə́n wə-yəbəyək.

14. tōli ʾāmūr aqīɣə́n ḥəbyəh, “aqīɣə́l fʃəh ləh, wə-ʒə-ʃəbəlwək bəyə wə-ʒə-ʃəbəyək. w-əl wədək həʃən ʃəqələh lə.”


16. wə-ḥəm xəzəh, əwʃəs ləh. wə-ḥəh məkəbəl likəm.

17. əd hē ʃəmən, hōh nəkənə təkm wə-wtəjnəna aqīɣə́.

18. w-əd hē xəzəh, ʃəxəbə mən akəsadəh.” ʾāmūr aqīɣə́n, “yəyə.”

19. səyər aqīɣə́n təwəli hēkər w-ʾāmūr həh, “kō hēt təbəyək?” ʾāmūr həh, “kələy l-əbbəkəh!”

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2. atṭaqə́r: The Arabic manuscript has əl-tagə́r (التجر), 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. tɛt: As with tagə́r in line 2, Ali wrote əl-tɛt (التئ) in the Arabic manuscript, again using the Arabic article. The audio has just tɛt.

4. te: Though te is in the manuscripts, Ali missed it on the audio.

18. şəxəbə: The Roman manuscripts have ʃəxəbərəh 'ask him', but the Arabic manuscript and audio have simply ʃəxəbər '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 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. And if he refuses, press against him. And I’ll be watching you.
16. If he agrees, I will come to you and kill the man.
17. And if he refuses, ask him his goal.” The boy said, “Ok.”
18. The boy went to the old man and said to him, “Why are you crying?” He said to him, “Let me cry!”

18 aḵāsḏah: The manuscripts have aḵāsḏah ‘his goal’, but on the audio Ali read aḵass̱aṯah ‘his story’. 
tōli nūka aġīgēn ǝwa-lhām aģāyg. ǝttōli āmūr hēxǝr, “kō hēt təlḥāmī?”

āmūr, “ḥamk tseyr šay.”

āmūr aġāyg, “astāḡfər əllāh! dōməh ǝl hē šāqli lā.”

āmūr həh aġīgēn, “hām ǝl ‘āmlak bay lā, ʂākōna ḥāybi w-ǝmroña, ‘aġāyg ḥagüm lay; wǝ-sḥətôna tik hēybi.”


tōli āmūr aġīgēn, “ar kō hēt ǝt-təqāwlək bay wə-t-təbāyk?”

tōli āmūr hēxər, “kəwṭənə hūk, wəlākan yəṣṣək tik ə-məd təhəwol həm kələt hūk.”

āmūr, “’abdən.”

āmūr, “hōh nākak mən rəhəbət əl-fələnəyyə. te ənəhər, gərək nəxəlī həšən, wə-ʃīnək tət ʃədəkəwət mən xəwət.”

wə-ʔəgbək bıs. wə-sə (t)ʃəbəhan lık bəd-ʒəbt.

wə-his ʃīnək tık, fətnək tıs. wə-ṭəməh hē amkasawədı.

wə-ṭıt ə-ʃə-kəlaʃt lık bıs habrut ə-ɦəkəm. (w-aġāygəs ʂəyəq təɡər.)

wə-hām əhəd ʃər nəxəlī həšən, tə’dəməh. wə-bər ədəmət ʃəkənən myət bū. wə-ḥadədər mən (t)ʃəgəs ʃənafək tseyr.”


tōli wəздравəh ʃəɾəwəʃ, wə-ʃəyər hēxər.

te nhər xəwət, āmūr aģīgēn həməh, “hōm ʃəɾəwəʃ w-əl-ʃəyər əl-ʃəm wə-l-əʃəm əl-his ʃəbən ə-ʃəɡər, wə-ʃəyəbəl əl ʃələy lā.”

āmərüt hah, “yəye. saləb te bə-ʃələyə. mət ɦəyək ʃəkwəf, wəzəmita tik ʃəɾəwəs.”

səfər aģīgēn ə-d-əyəhəm yəsəyər h-əɾəbət ə-d-bıs tət.

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22 astaḡfər əlləh: This is Arabic astaḡfir əlləh, lit. ‘I ask God’s forgiveness’.
26 m-əd: The Roman manuscripts have mən, but the Arabic manuscript and audio have m-əd.
28 nəxəlī: The Roman manuscripts have mən nəxəlī, but the Arabic manuscript and audio have just nəxəlī.
31 w-aġāygəs ʂəyəq təɡər: 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’dəməh ... ədəmət: These must be, respectively, the 3fs imperfect (plus 3ms object suffix) and 3fs perfect of a Ga-Stem verb ədəm ‘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)šhēgǝs: This verb, an Š2-Stem of the root hgs, is not in ML (s.v. hgs), though the G-Stem hǝgūs ‘think’ is listed. The Jibbali equivalent šhégas ‘think’ is listed in JL (s.v. hgs).
35 kal’áy: The manuscripts have a perfect kal’áy (a form found also in 89:6), but the audio has the imperfect yakálay.
38 te bə-halláy wazmátaḥ қaráwš mēkan. wə-sayûr te wîsâl arḥabêt ḏə-bîs atṭêt.
39 wâkûb hâl ḥallâk, w-âmûr hâh, “ḥalâk ḥâyîni!”
40 w-ḥalûk hâh, w-wazmâh âsârît dînâr: tîlî ḥallâk tāʾāggâb mən sșêbb.
41 w-âmûr hâh, “hamk tșnê’ atṭêti.” w-ṣâkâys te nākô têtâh ągâwz.
42 wazmîs xamsâyń karş. tîlî śxâbarâtah mən akâsdâh.
43 āmûr, “ hôk ągbak bâ-têt, ḥâbrît ḏə-hâkəm, w-ągâygas şoṣyâg.”
44 āmarût hâh, “ḥaddîr, ā ḥâbrây!”
45 āmûr hîs, “ḥams tâmâyllî hâyîni wôram al-şnêś.”
46 āmarût ągâwz, “şük mēkan қarâwś?”
48 te nhôr xəwft, âmôl xôtəm b-ârbôt yəlêf. wə-mat tammâh, âmêr, ‘ţômâh ƙannâwn, wəzəmôna tîk təh ḥâdâyyət.’ w-əzêm xəddômat mən âsârît dînâr bâlâş.
49 w-əngûr şwft̪, âmôl xôtəm b-âsârît yəlêf, w-əmêr, ‘ţômâh ƙannâwn.’ w-əzêməh təh.”
50 tîlî âyməl wəṭákəməh wə-yəwûzəm xəddômat ə-asoyəg (m-)mən myêt w-əm-mən myêtâyn dînâr.
51 tîlî asoṣyâg şâl axtûm təwôlî têtəh. wə-kəłût hîs bə-kərhômat ə-ağîgên.
52 tîlî âgbôt bəh atṭêt w-âmarût h-ağîygas, “hêt səfələh! wə-koh al tawzəm ağıygas hənûk b-a’îsê, wə-hê bər kərmûk wətōməh?”
53 te nhôr ḏə-rbây, nûkə ağıgên, wə-sâh gâwhərət b-ârbə’âyn alf âkâmts.
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.

81:2 and 88:5; cf. also the Jibbali plural axtúm. Jahn (1902: 91, line 23) has
xtóum, which could match either xtūm or xtōwǝm.
52 h-ağáygǝs: All the manuscripts have h-ağáygǝs ‘to her husband’, but the
audio has h-aṣōyǝq ‘to the jeweler’.
53 alf: All the manuscripts have alf ‘thousand’, but the audio has the plural
yelǝf ‘thousands’.
53 aḳǝ́mts: This word is not in the Roman manuscript, nor is it listed in ML.
It comes from Arabic qîmat ‘value, worth’.
āmūr h-aṣōyǝġ, “hamk tāmōl háyni dîmǝh agáwyarǝt xōtǝm.”
56  tōli āmūr hǝh, “a’išèk hǝnīn!” āmūr, “ābdan.”
57  āmūr, “lēzmǝ a’išèk hǝnīn!”
58  te nákam, šxǝwlūl bǝrk amgǝlēs w-ätésyam.
59  te ba-hǝllāy, āsšút tēt w-āmlōt mōh bǝrk fígoni trōh. āmma tât, bǝrkēh masakkar ǝk-šanēt, w-āmma tât, bǝrkēh ǝi lā.
60  w-āmarūt hăgǝṛašt, “āzēmī fígōn ǝd-bǝrkēh adīwè agáygi. wǝ-bāl hǝmoh āzǝmoh agáyg aṣágyf.”
61  attōli wǝzmâthom hăgǝrıt, w-ttākkǝm.
62  āmma aṣōyǝġ, šwkūf, w-ǝl hǝss ǝr-šī lā. w-āmma agáygen agáyf; šxǝwlūl.
63  te nkōt tēt, w-šxǝwallūt, w-šxǝboratǝh. w-ǝkluṭ his ǝr-kāl šiyan.
64  tōli āmarūt hah, “hōm l-aghōm śuk.” āmūr, “yēye!”
65  hătamoh fāxra. te k-sōbǝh, agáyg šwkūf w-ttēt sīrūt h-ǝm KṆ.nas.
66  w-ǝsuyur agáyg aṣágyf. tōli āmarūt attēt h-agáygas, “lēzm到底是 sātayt āsawr.”
67  āmūr, “yēye.” w-ḥēm yāmil wǝtâkǝmǝh.
68  te nukǝ sōlǝt ǝd-āsawr, fwtōh agáyg w-ttēt ǝd-āsoyag. w-ǝsöyag bǝrk adakkanakǝh.
69  te kalāyni nukǝ abayt, ksıs xalāyvat.
70  hǝnkūr ǝd-sē fwtût w-ǝr-šatot amoloh kâllǝh.
71  w-ǝsuyawr te wâsəlǝn arhəbet ǝ-d-aĝigen. w-ǝnukǝ hâl hāyəh, w-šâh attēt w-ǝ-hągərəts.
72  tōli šxǝborat hô, āmūr, “man hō huk attēt w-ǝ-hągərıt?”
73  tōli kalūt lah, w-âmarūr, “ǝd fâtnak həxør ǝd-nkəyn ǝd-yəbāyk?” āmūr, “fâtnak.”
74  āmūr, “ǝd-ágəǝ hâ-ttēt ǝd-umǝ. w-ǝ-hüs kalūt lay, ǝgǝk ǝs, w-ǝ-γəhmek təswǝ, w-ǝ-nakak ǝs.”
75  āmūr hoh hâyəh, “tâyəh! attēt šis agáygas aw ālā?”
76  āmūr, “šis agáygas, w-ǝr-ışammam, wəlakaq ǝgǝk hâ-ttēt.”
77  āmūr, “ǝl mətək hük lā hâm hârâsk ǝs. hāmê; ǝ həbrây! ǝl-ış ber âmlōt b-agáygəs həwəldy, âmletâ hək wətəkaməh.
78  w-ǝ-hâm hârâsk ǝs, awâghi ǝl-yəlhōm awâghək lā.
79  w-ǝmöl ǝd-agáyg, həsâbəh, w-ǝ-həmoh nəhfüdəh. w-ktəbəna təwəlî agáyg yankəv w-ǝ-yəsof attētəh w-ə-hągərətəh w-ǝmöləh.”

70  ǝd-sē: All the manuscripts have just sē, but the audio has ǝd-sē.
79  w-ǝmöləh: The phrase w-ǝmöləh ‘and his property’ is not in the Arabic manuscript or on the audio, but appears in the Roman manuscripts.
He said to the jeweler, “I want you to make this jewel into a ring for me.”

He said, “Ok.” Then when he finished it, he said, “This doesn’t look good [lit. doesn’t have appearance]. Take it for yourself.”

And then he said to him, “Your dinner is at our place!” He said, “Never.”

He said, “Your dinner must be at our place!”

Then when he came, they sat in the salon and had dinner.

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.

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.”

Then she gave them to the servant-girl, and they drank.

As for the jeweler, he went to sleep, and wasn’t aware of anything. As for the guest, he remained.

Then the woman came, and she sat down, and she questioned him. And he told her everything.

Then she said to him, “I want to go with you!” He said, “Ok!”

They spent the night together. Then in the morning, the man went to sleep, and the woman went to her place.

And the man, the guest, left. Then the woman said to her husband, “You must invite him for three nights.”

He said, “Ok.” And they did so.

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.

Then when he came home in the evening, he found it empty.

He realized that she had run away, and had taken all his wealth.

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.

Then he asked him, he said, “Where did you get [lit. from where do you have] the woman and the servant-girl?”

Then he told him, and he said, “Do you still remember the old man who came to us crying?” He said, “I remember.”

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.”

His father said to him, “Good! Does the woman have a husband, or not?”

He said, “She has a husband, and he respected me, but I love the woman.”

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.

And if you marry her, my face will not touch your face.

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.”
āmūr hǝh aġīgēn, “ǝl ǝkálalā lā!”
āmūr hǝh háyəbəh, “ ámbх хаьнат, wə-xəyən mánəh xayr lā. wə-hént xəyən, wə-xánk b-əribēk d-əzmuk.”
təli āmūr aģīgēn, “yéye.”
ḥámúr əttəġər bə-hábs də-əttē wə-háɡərīt, wə-ktubit təwəli aṣōyəq xaṭṭ.
w-āmūr, “iła ḥadрат əl-mədayyif əl-məhtaram, táhyəh táyyibah, ”wə-bə:’
“wəşəłam tən kəwəb də-xəslül bə-kəwbət, wə-hám thəm kəwəbət, nəkə’. nəḥāh b-amkən əl-fələnt.”
atəlli hərūs ḥəbrə də-təżəɾ bət ḥədəṯ ətə tətər, wə-xəyən bə-əţəb də-əzəyəf nʊka aṣəyəq.
təli āmūr aģīgēn háyəbəh, “dəməḥ hə aṣəyəq də-wkūb.”
āmūr həh, “kəlèh fənəhən yətəḥə, wə-mat ber təwəh, səkəh, wə-hōh məsəxbər təh.”
təli səkəm təh w-āmūr həh təţər, “dəməḥ hə aģīgən də-şət tətək. wələkən həm mənk aṣətək. mən də-xəyun bək, əttēt əw ḡəbrəy?”
āmūr, “əttētì xənət bəy, wə-ḥəbrək lə, wələkən əARRANT aTTēT.”
āmūr həh, “tətək wə-háɡərət k-wəməlkən hənin bərk amən.”
təli təţər sək ḥəbrək bə-şəwər. āmūr, “hōh mədhənə əttēt d-əsəyəq, w-āmrəna h-əsəyəq, ‘həinii təţək, wələkən hənin hənim.”
əd hə kəyəbəl, hə hiṣ tıkəm, wə-yəshələ sə lə, wə-bəgdənə tıhəm.
w-əd hə lətaq əttēt wə-háɡərət, hə gəyəg fərə’, wə-məhəfək təh əgətək mən əgayə səi, wə-yəkən əssəbəb mənək.”
āmūr, “yéye, wələkən həım əl-şnəsən.”
āmūr həh, “dəməḥ amftēh, wə-əsən bərk aɡərəfət dəyk.”
wə-səyər aṣəyəq te fəth abəb, wə-şəh skəyn. wə-ṭən əttētəh wə-ṭən həɡərət, wə-fətk.

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xánk: This must be from a verb xōn (II-w G-Stem). ML (s.v. xwn) lists only xəyun (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 Harsusi) xənən.

‘ila … táyyibah: This entire phrase is Arabic.
təţək: This form can be parsed either as a 3fp imperfect of a T1-Stem ɡətʃək or as a 3fp subjunctive of a T2-Stem ɡətʃək. 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 ɡətʃək. Note that the Jibbali T1-Stem ɡətʃək can also mean ‘go astray’ (JL, s.v. ɡʃk).
The boy said to him, "I won't leave her!"

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)."

Then the boy said, "Ok."

The merchant ordered the imprisonment of the woman and the servant-girl, and he wrote a letter to the jeweler.

And he said, "To the honorable giver of hospitality," and afterwards:

"There has come to us a dog carrying a bitch. And if you want the bitch, come. We are in such-and-such place."

Then the merchant's son married his cousin. Then on the day of the wedding, the jeweler came.

Then he said to his father, "That [lit. this] is the jeweler that has come in."

He said to him, "Let him eat first, and after he has eaten, call him, and I will ask him."

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?"

He said, "The woman betrayed me, not your son. Rather, the woman deceived him."

He said to him, "Your wife and your servant-girl and your property are with us in safe-keeping."

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'.

If he accepts, he is like you, and he deserves nothing, and I'll chase them out.

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."

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."

He said, "Ok, but I want to see them."

He said to him, "This is the key, and they are in that room."

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.
āmūr ḥah tōgǝr, “ḥaynīṯ ḥō?”

āmūr, “ḥōh ǝl kǝsk yǝnīṯ lā. kǝsk kǝlábtǝn.”

tōli ‘aśś tōgǝr w-amōsi bǝh, w-āmūr, “hēt tšhōl mǝn hǝnīn gǝzē, wǝlǝkan mǝhāffǝk tık ḥǝbrǝ́yti.”

wǝ-ffakāyḥ ḥǝbrǝ́tǝh, wǝ-sè axāyr mǝn ǝttɛ́tḥ ħāwalīt.

wǝ-śxawlul sanēt wǝ-mǝgōrǝn āmūr asōyǝ́g, “ḥōm l-ǝrdēd akåy.”

āmūr hǝh tōgǝr, “dōmǝh mǝrkēb šḥān, w-ǝlyōmǝh gǝrōn wǝ-gērtǝn.

wǝ-đimǝh tɛṯk. wǝ-ghīm!”

wǝ-gahēm asōyǝ́g bāṛah tōgǝr mǝn mǝl wǝ-gǝrōn. wǝ-tǝmmōt.

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**tōgǝr:** 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.

**šḥān:** We should perhaps transcribe here ǝś-šḥān, with an assimilated relative pronoun. Although since mǝrkēb is indefinite, a relative is not necessary. It is hard to tell from the audio if there is a geminate š.
The merchant said to him, “Where are the women?”
He said, “I didn't find any women. I found bitches.”
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.”
And he gave him his daughter in marriage, and she was better than his first wife.
And they stayed for a year, and then the jeweler said, “I want to go back to my country.”
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!”
And the jeweler went, already rich in wealth and slaves. And it is finished.
Text 23 (no J): A Lost Camel

1. ʾxtārat šāṭāyt ṣaqīr šxawīl ḏār amārān, ʿd-hēm ḏā-ḥawīn.
2. ʿámūr ḥāwālāy, “ḥēsān nakdēr nāmōl mān ḡāyr ʾabʾāyrān? ʾabʾāyrān fōnāh gūd wīyān, ʿa-ṣaḥīl ʾtēkāl, ʿa-ḥawālāy.”
3. ʿámūr šōlāt, “ma ʾḥābūrāt ḏā-ʾabʾāyr, ʿa-hē ṣāwēr ṣāyēh ṣayt, wālākān ḏē ṣāyōrāb ḥāyēm kāl, yānkēʾ sēyāh kāllāh. wālākān ḏō ṣāḥdākk lā yākāʾ xalūs.”
4. ʿámūr, “yūnkēn ḥārīk.”
5. ādham lə-wṭākāmāh, nakā́yāhm ṣayyāg. tōli šxawīrāh.
7. ʿámūr, “ṭāyrāh tōmār ṣa-ʾayṣ?” āmāwr, “ʾēḥē!”
8. ʿámūr, “xarēs amṣārḥāh ṣāmkyūt?” āmāwr, “ʾēḥē!”
9. ʿámūr, “ṣīnāk ṣah lā.”
10. āmāwr, “kēf ḥālyāk tah līn wā-ṣərōmāh āmārāk, (ʾal) ʿsināk tah lā’? hēt ḏā-ḥarākāk ʾabʿāyrān!”
12. ʿaywār te ḡwālām ṣērāʾ.
13. kalāwṭ ṣaqīr ʾa-l-ṣērāʾ. ʿa-māqōrān šxawīr šērāʾ āḥāyg. āmūr ḥāh, “ḥō ṣa-bʾāyr ḏa-ḥābū ṣa-yōmāh?”
14. ʿámūr, “ʾa-ṣīnāk tah ṣah lā.”
15. ʿámūr, “wālākān ḥēt awāṣīk tah ba-ḥḏābṭ. ʿa-ḵēf ʾemāk ḏa-hē ḡāyrāh tōmār ṣa-ʾayṣ, ʿa-ḥarēṭ amṣārḥāh ṣāmkyūt?”
16. ʿa-ḵēf ʾemāk ḏa-hē ṣaylūl tōmār ḏār sārīfḥ šāyymāl ṣa-ʾayṣ ʾaṣīr ṣa-rīfḥ ḥāymāl?”
17. ʿámūr, “hīs bēri ʾa-hōrēm, ʿsināk ṣākāb ḏār ṣa-sārīf ḏa-haīyāl (t)tawwān ṣayyā, ʿa-ḵār ṣa-sārīf šāyymāl ʿsināk ṣawēb (t)tawwān tōmār.”

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2. ʾtēkāl: 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, mahōrāt, also ultimately derives from Arabic (< mahārat ‘cleverness, skillfulness’).

3. sēyāh: The Arabic manuscript has سمح, and Johnstone transcribed sēh in both Roman manuscripts. ML (s.v. syh) has says. The audio has sēyāh (perhaps < sēyāh < syh), though Ali did stumble a bit when reading this word. The Jibbali cognate has s (JL, s.v. syh; Nakano 1986: 109). For Harsusi, 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 is 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.

šǝṣdǝ́ḳk: Ali spelled this šǝṣṭǝ́ḳk in the Arabic manuscript. See further in the comment to text 20:6.
10 ǝl: In the Arabic manuscript, Ali wrote ǝl, but omitted it on the audio. It can be omitted freely, with no change in meaning. Compare lines 9 and 14.
15 ʿemak: This is from a Gb-Stem áy lǝm ‘know, learn’, which is missing from ML. It is presumably a borrowing of Arabic ʿalima. The Gb-Stem élǝm is also found in Jibbali, and is likewise missing from JL.
wǝ-hǝláwk mǝray. amǝray ḍǝr ǝssárf šáymǝl šéfǝ', w-amǝray ḍǝr ǝssárf háymǝl tǝwǝ́y, wǝ-kál wǝkǝmǝt bǝrk aámkǝs šéfǝ'.

wǝ-ġarǝ́bk ǝd-he xǝrēs amšárhǝh āmkyi(fieldName="footnoteRef";fnVal="18";refValue="šéfǝ': This word is not in ML, but in the earlier Roman manuscript, Johnstone also added the gloss 'untouched, uneaten'. The Jibbali cognate šɛ̀fɛ́ 'untouched, uncropped grass' is listed in JL (s.v. šf').")

ǝttōli śɛ́rǝʾ āmūr ḥābū, "akᶠ́yǝm, ɡǝlékǝm mǝn aḫ'áyrkǝm. wǝ-ḥām ǝl kǝ́skǝm tǝh lā, ḥǝbyēsa aģǝyg.

wǝlākan ʿǝ́mlǝk tǝh aģǝyg aṣɛ́ṭḳǝh, wǝlākan aģǝyg ǝkǝl."

wǝ-sǝyáwr ǝttǝgēr wǝ-ġǝláwḳ mǝn aḫ'áyr, wǝ-kusǝm tǝh. wǝ-tǝmmǝt.
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 xǝṭǝrāt hōkǝm bǝ-rḥǝbēt. te nǝhōr ʈayt ʃǝnōh հենափհ.
2 w-āmūr hah amhēshni, “ankōna bǝ-ɡḥanōt, wǝ-xｉnūta būk.”
3 tōli assǝfǝr hōkǝm, w-ǝ-kāwla ʔattētǝh dǝnyit. w-āmūr, “hām nākak bǝ-ɡḥanōt, ʃḥāyatǝs!”
4 tōli bǝrwöt têt w-ǝnkōt bǝ-ɡḥanōt, wǝlākan ʃǝrūt mǝn ʰābū. w-āmǝrūt, “nākak bǝ-ɡḥèn.”
5 te nǝhōr ʈayt nūka hōkǝm, w-ǝɡḥanōt bǝrǝs nōb. tōli āmūr ʰâybas, “ʰōm aɫ-sné’ ǟjīgèn.”
6 tōli nawkōt ǟɡḥanōt w-ǝ-ða-wbsōt labs dǝ-ɡḥèn. tōli āmūr hîs ġâybas, “hāftak xalōwak alyōmah, w-ǝbḥâyṣi bǝ-xalōwak yadon nākak tük bīhām.”
7 āmǝrūt ǟɡḥanōt, “ǝndōhâm w-ǝbwsōna aɫ-hâk.”
8 āmūr ġâygyg, “hêt aɫ hēt ɡḥanōt la tafṭṣ̀h. ʰōm aɫ-snék.”
9 tōli kšfis ġâygyg, w-ǝ-ɡrūb ǝd-šè ɡḥanōt, w-ǝɡazûm ǝd-“nawtâgs gēḥmah.”
10 te bǝ-hallây, sīrūt ǟɡḥanōt tawōli ġâyṣ, w-ǝ-kâwṭūt hâh. āmǝrūt, “hâybī āmûr wâṭyēga tî gēḥmah.”
11 tōli ‘ǝssī ġâyṣ, w-ǝ-hüßt kârḥâyinī ʈrayt, w-ǝ-sâdd lîsân, w-ǝ-sâl azwōdham, w-ǝ-hərkûb ġâyṭah อำนวยความสะดวก, w-ǝ-hē rīkâb Ԁăr ʈayt.
12 bârm te wâṣâlam Ԁǝr mōh. hâṭûm.
13 te k-ǝsîbâh ġ滨州 yasyūr yəɡlêk mǝn ɑsâyɾ.

būk: The audio has būk ‘you (ms), but the manuscripts have bikǝm ‘you (mp).
shâyṭas: The form shâyṭas is the mp imperative shayṭ 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.
ḥâftak: 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 ḥâftki (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 (ḥâftak here and ġâyṭki in text 75:8) attests to variation within Ali Musallam’s own speech.
Translation of Text 24

Once there was a ruler in a town. And one day he had his fortune read.

And the fortune-teller said to him, “You will beget a girl, and she will betray you.”

Then the ruler traveled, and left his wife pregnant. He said, “If you bear a girl, kill her!”

Then the woman gave birth to a girl, but she hid (her) from the people. And she said, “I had a boy.”

Then one day the ruler came back, and the girl was already big. Then her father said, “I want to see the boy.”

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.”

The girl said, “Give them to me, and I’ll put (them) on inside.”

The man said, “You are not a girl that you should be embarrassed. I want to see you.”

Then the man uncovered her, and he knew that she was a girl, and he swore that “we will kill her tomorrow.”

Then at night, the girl went to her brother, and she told him. She said, “My father said they will kill me tomorrow.”

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.

They went until they got to (some) water. They spent the night.

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 *háftak* 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 wǝ-hām al küsa aṣāyr lā, yəgōma ahfūl. wǝ-yəṭāyw fərēr wǝ-yəšlūl h-aḡāṭah ahfūl.

15 wǝ-ʃxǝwlīl wəkōna warx, wǝ-hēm al-ḥōlāt dîmāh. te nəhōr tayt, nūkā ḫabrē də-ḥəkəm də-ḥkūm ḫəmōh ʤəkəmāh.

16 tōli ʃini aġαγαṇōt w-āyɡəb bīs, wǝ-sē aġboṭ bəh.

17 tōli ʤātri ʃis. āmūr, “tʰāymi tʃəʃkə?”

18 āmərūt aģαγαṇōt, “hōh šay aǰāy, w-əl yəkāləy al-ʃəʃkə lə.”

19 āmūr, “āmēli hah wəɾəm te nəmnēh, wə-mģōrən hōh əʃətʃ ʃay w-əhərūs bəyʃ.”

20 āmərūt, “yēye. nəkēm tīn anhōr ʤ-ərbaṭy, wə-ksiyē tī ber ʤə-rəŋk aǰāy.”

21 akafȳəm aǰayūg, w-aǰiğer nūkā təwōli aģəṭəh. ʂəh ˈəyət tōmər h-aģəṭəh mən ｈəl ʤayg.

22 wə-ḥ-e al təwəy-h lā, yəhəməh h-aġəṭəh.

23 tōli āmərūt həh, “aǰāy, ənkəh ʃəyənən wə-nəhəm nənhaq.”

24 āmūr, “ḥeʃən mən ʃəhəq ʧəmən?”


26 te nəhōr ʤ-ərbaṭy, anhōr awəd ʤ-ərjəyūg, āmərūt həh, “ənkə ʃw-นโย h-l-əɾʃən.”


28 āmərūt həh, “məjəɾən hēt əɾʃənə bə-ʃāyəs, wələkən əndəh fə-ʃəmək!”

29 wə-wəmūʃ fə-ʃəməh w-əɾəɾnətəh te həwɨtʃəkwət. nəkam aǰayūg.

30 āmərūt hɪhəm, “ənkəm ʃw-นโย. aǰayyɡ bəɾəh ʤ-əɾʃən.”

31 tōli nəkam aǰayyūg w-əʃəwəm ʃeʃəl ʤ-əɾjəyən wə-ʃətəm aģαγαṇōt w-akafȳəm.

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14 *ahfūl:* ML (s.v. *ḥfl*) lists only *ḥafəlit*, of which *ḥfūl* is the plural.

15 *ḥōlāt:* 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 *ḥōl* 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 *tʃəʃkə:* Ali struggled a bit when reading this word, which he read *tʃəʃkə*, as if the root were *ʃfk* instead of *hfk*. The Arabic manuscript has just one ʃ. Ali’s use of ʃ in place of h was perhaps due to the Jibbali cognate (cf. the 2fs subjunctive *(t)*ʃəʃk used in Jibbali text 17:17). The intended Mehri form was likely *tʃəʃk*. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone transcribed *tʃəʃkə*, while ML, which cites this passage, has *təʃəʃkə*, 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.

\[\text{ṣ́aykan: }\text{ML (s.v. źyk) lists a Ga-Stem šayūk, the 1cp of which should be šayūk\text{ān. It is hard to see how šaykan derives from šayūk. The form šaykan (from an underlying ša\text{\small y\text{\textsuperscript{kan}}}) could be the 1cp perfect of a Gb-Stem ša\text{\small yy\text{\textsuperscript{a\text{\small k}}} (< *ši\text{\small y\text{\textsuperscript{a\text{\small k}}}}), though if there is indeed a Gb-Stem verb of the root šyk, this would be the only attested Gb-Stem of a II-y root. The form šaykan could also be from Gb-Stem ša\text{\small y\text{\textsuperscript{k}}} (root škw or šky), or at least is being conjugated as if from a verb ša\text{\small y\text{\textsuperscript{k}}}i. Since there are several other semantically similar verbs attested from the root šyk (e.g., D/L ašîk ‘annoy’ and Š1 ša\text{\small ś\text{\small y\text{\textsuperscript{u}}}k ‘get fed up’; 40:4–5), it is doubtful that there is really a verb ša\text{\small y\text{\textsuperscript{k}}}i. Cf. also the Arabic root dyq, e.g., ḏāqa ‘be fed up’.}\]
32 tōli nakōt rīśit nōb wə-lāṭūt fēḥal ḏ-ā-qūgēn te wiḵa bə-xāyr. wə-ynākam tən məlēkī trōh wə-yəkābəm hah fēḥlah al-hīs fənōhən.
33 wə-gəhēm te wišal arḥabēt də-bīs aģātəh, wə-xadīm hāl tōgər. attōli aģbōt bəh ḥəbrīt də-tōgər, wə-hə ayəgə bīs.
34 tōli wəfūd hāl háybas, wə-ffəkāyəh. ãdhəm lə-wtākəməh, nākən aģəyūg də-āsəwəm fēḥəh w-əməwər, “aģāyg dōmah al bəh fēḥəł lā.”
35 tōli āmūr, “məšādəl tikəm. wə-kāl mənūn də-bdəh, yəkəsəš ẖərōhəh.”
37 əd hē bəh al-hīs aģəyūg, atəm təshkəyət. w-əd hē al bəh fēḥəł lā, hē yaḥshət.” āməwər, “nəhōm šerət dōmah.”
38 te k-sōbəh, gətəbəm bərk amüdən. w-əməwər hah, “kəʃ hənəfək!”
39 āmūr hīhəm, “təwəwəkəm təməh ẗil” āməwər, “abdən! ənsəməh kəl!”
40 tōli kṣāf ḥənəfəh, wa-nākən əshəwəd, wa-kūsəm təh al-hīs aģəyūg. wa-ʃətəm aģəyūg. wə-nākəm h-aģətəh, yaḥəyəm əyəhəyətəs.
41 attōli sūməh aģətəh mən ʃēhət, wə-baɡdīs həkəm, ḥəyəb ḏ-āqəyəgəs. wa-ṣtəyəs aģəs, wə-xədmis hənəh, wə-kəwələ mən nxəssə gərtən təxədəmən tis.
42 tōli kədəfə hə-ɡərət thəwəkə səm bərk a’išē ḏ-əqęgəs.
43 wə-hīs bərəh nxəsəh, tənōka ʃənnəwərət wə-təlūl əsəhən də-ərəkəh a’išē wə-tərəyəd (wə-nfəgəwət) bəh bərk bəyr.
44 tōli ɡərəbə uģəyəg əd-hē bərkəh əyəyər. te k-sōbəh, āmūr h-aģətəh, “hēt šəwəwələ bərk aḥəyt. wə-hōh sīrōnə təwəli ḥəyəb.”

nakōt ... lāṭūt: The audio has the perfects nakōt and lāṭūt, while the manuscripts have the imperfects tənōka and talōt.

yəkəsəš: The earlier Roman manuscript has yəgəsəš (the later Roman manuscript is incomplete and lacks this line), and ML includes a root ḡss with entries for G- and T1-Stem verbs. However, the Arabic manuscript has yəkəsəš here. ML also includes the root kss, which has cognates with k in Ḥarsusi (HL, s.v. kṣ(ṣ)), Jibbali (JL, s.v. kṣṣ), Hobyot (HV, p. 166), and Soqotri (Leslau 1938: 381; Naumkin et al. 2014: 595). Either ḡss is a biform of kss, or, more likely, it is an erroneous entry in ML.

šerət: The more common word for ‘judge’ is šərə’ (e.g., 9:5; 23:11), a borrowing of Arabic šari‘ ‘lawgiver’. The form šerət, which is not in ML (but was recorded by Jahn 1902: 242), is from Arabic širʿat ‘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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*taráyd*: The Arabic manuscript and audio have *taráyd* ‘it threw’ (3fs imperfect). The Roman manuscripts both have *nfağáwt* ‘it threw’ (3fs perfect), though in the earlier manuscript, Johnstone added *taráyd* in the margin. Both options fit the context.
$wə-gəhɛm\ tɛ\ wɨsəl\ arəbətəh\ kūsə\ həybəh\ ð-áywər$.

$wə-nkəyə\ ba-dɄəwə\ tɛ\ wɪkə\ bə-xəyə$.

$wə-mgərən\ kələt\ ləh\ b-əkəssət\ də-həbrətəh\ ələhən\ əmlət\ bəh\ wə-hə\ şəbər\ hıs\ w-əbəli\ əd-fıləh\ mən\ xəyənts$.

$əmər\ həh\ həybəh\ “ə\ həbrəy\ dəkəməh\ əl\ mən\ fəydət\ lə.\ wə-həh\ bər\ āmərk\ hūk\ mən\ fənəhən.”$

$wə-ʃxəwlə\ ağiğən\ wə-ḥkūm\ arəbətəh.\ wə-təmmət\ kəwətət.$

$dəwē$: The manuscripts have singular $dəwē$ ‘medicine’, but on the audio, Ali read the plural $dəwətən$ ‘medicines’. Note that $ML$ (s.v. $dwy$) lists a plural $dəwyətən$, matching (more or less) the plural $duyətən$ listed by Nakano (1986: 41). The form Ali read looks similar to the Yemeni Mehri form $dəwǔt$ listed by Jahn (1902: 173).

$tɛ\ wɪkə$: The manuscripts have $tɛ\ wɪkə$, but the audio has $wə-wɪkə$.

$filəh$: The form $filəh$ is from an underlying $ʃəyləh$. 
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 kən纳hn məshărrək, wə-hə́bye yoəšəsiri. te sənət ɬəyt, nəsən kə' tət, wə-ʃəwələn bah wərxi ɬrəh.
2. wə-mə̀gərən kəłəbən te ɬəkan səyəgə. wə-səyərən nəhə hadnənən də- njəwlək mən əhəñəf. 
3. təli kəsən hərəm əd-bə́h həfəł, wələkan ḥəyərh ədəbər məkən. wə-ʃəflət ḥəmbərawətən wə-bəyəkək hōh həl hərəm. 
4. yənəkə ədəbər, yaʁbəsi, wə-bəkək wə-səyərk təwəli ɬhə́bye. 
5. wə-mə̀gərən gəlwək mənəh wə-ʃədəfdək. wə-ʃəməm bay aməf xəf kəlləh te əʃəyərəb. 
6. āməwər ɬhə́bye, "nəhəm nəhəșən həh." 
7. wə-ʃəfədən ərəbət te ɬəkan həl anhəșən. wə-ʃənəñə ɬhən. 
8. wə-wəzməh ɬhəyə bi xəməməh əɾəwəʃ wə-səlləm həh əʃrəyn əɾəwəʃ həm wəkək ə-bəxəy. 
9. w-əmər anhəșən, "hədərəm ləh əə-wəzə həwərət mən əər əməbəøt əər kəməpərət əər kəməpərət." 
10. wə-hədərw ɬay, w-əl wəkək ə-bəxəy ɬə. təli āməwər, "nəhəm nəhəșən həh həl əhəd əə-əyorə." 
11. wə-ənkəm əə-həxər əə-əyorə, wə-rəb ɬay, wə-əwəʃəwəf ɬhənə wəzə əfrət. 
12. wə-hədərw ɬay əi, w-əl wəkək ə-bəxəy ɬə. 
13. təli səyərən həl tət əə-ədərə ə-əmər, "ʃərəm bəə te həl hərəm mən həl əəbəxə əyədəbər, wə-hədərm ləh əə-wəzə təbəxə." 
14. wə-səyərən te wəʃəłən amkən mən əər nəhərər ʃərət. te ɬəkan k-əməpərəb, ʃədərw ɬay wə-hətəmən. 

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1. məshărrək: In the earlier Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss 'spoil because alone'. The word is not in ML.

8. wəzməh ɬhəyəbi: The Arabic manuscript and earlier Roman manuscript have wzəwəmah ɬhə́bye 'my parents gave him', and the later Roman manuscript has just wzəwəmah 'they gave him', but the audio has wəzməh ɬhəyəbi 'my father gave him'.

8. əʃrəyn: Ali normally used the form əʃrəyn in the texts, but here used əʃrəyn.

10. əə-əyorə: In ML (s.v. rəb), the verb rəb 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-yədōra: 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 ḍr’); no such verb is in ML. The 3mp imperfect yədēram occurs in line 18 of this text.
15  "كَبُرَ المَّغْرِبِ ٱلْحَرِيمِ." وَكَبُرَ فَكِّحْ ٱلْحَرِيمِ. تَمْكَنَ ٱلْمَغْرِبِ ٱلْحَرِيمِ.

16  قَبْعُ السَّمَّاَمَ ٱلْحَرِيمِ. وَقَبْعُ ٱلْحَرِيمِ.

17  وَهَلَّ ٱلْحَمِيْلُ ٱلْمَغْرِبِ ٱلْحَرِيمِ. وَهَلَّ ٱلْحَمِيْلُ ٱلْمَغْرِبِ ٱلْحَرِيمِ.

18  بَشَّرْسَانِيْنِ ٱلْحَرِيمِ. وَبَشَّرْسَانِيْنِ ٱلْحَرِيمِ. وَبَشَّرْسَانِيْنِ ٱلْحَرِيمِ. وَبَشَّرْسَانِيْنِ ٱلْحَرِيمِ. وَبَشَّرْسَانِيْنِ ٱلْحَرِيمِ. وَبَشَّرْسَانِيْنِ ٱلْحَرِيمِ. وَبَشَّرْسَانِيْنِ ٱلْحَرِيمِ.

19  وَهُبْعُ ٱلْجَازِمُ ٱلْحَرِيمِ. وَهُبْعُ ٱلْجَازِمُ ٱلْحَرِيمِ. وَهُبْعُ ٱلْجَازِمُ ٱلْحَرِيمِ. وَهُبْعُ ٱلْجَازِمُ ٱلْحَرِيمِ. وَهُبْعُ ٱلْجَازِمُ ٱلْحَرِيمِ. وَهُبْعُ ٱلْجَازِمُ ٱلْحَرِيمِ. وَهُبْعُ ٱلْجَازِمُ ٱلْحَرِيمِ.

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18  *yaféršam*: In the earlier Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘throw pebbles or small shells & tell a fortune’. *ML* (s.v. *frš*) has the gloss ‘cas[t] pebbles for a fortune reading’ for a G-Stem *fərūš*. The 3mp imperfect *yaféršam* (written مشرافت by Ali) is from an underlying *yafáršam*. 
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. Then at noon, I walked by myself. I became well.

We used to believe in medicine men. And if someone was sick, he would go to the medicine men. Some were medicine men with [lit. of] books, some chanted, some measured, and some would cast stones and say, “We know.”

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: “ḥō ráykǝm yǝmōh?”
2. B: “rāyǝn atifēh alyōmǝh, wǝ-rǝḥāκǝn lā.”
3. A: “kāskǝm matwę śi yǝmōh?”
4. B: “al hē xass lā mǝn yamšiḥ. bǝh hǝrmēyǝn wǝ-rawer, wǝlākan hǝgüm lın kawb, w-akâmḥǝn tǝh.”
5. A: “wǝkōnǝ ar ber sell bǝ-śi?”
7. A: “wǝkōnǝ. wǝlɛ̄ watxf đǝ-hśkūr hāráwn?”
10. B: “nākǝm hитет. ǝḥḍīr mǝn hāráwn thǝlåbǝn. maƣ̄rǝn nālōk b-aʃfǝn. ḥǝrērǝm hитет!”
11. C: “salōm alāykǝm!”
13. C: “w-ǝ-hūh! al śinǝn badēl lā mǝn his hābēr ǝnkâyn. ǝngūf ǝ́yǝn aδǝbbēt wǝ-ḥитет al tǝwīw śi lā yǝmōh mǝn aδǝbbēt.”

4. mǝray: As noted in ML (s.v. mr’y), this is a diminutive of mǝray.
5. sell: The Arabic manuscript and audio have sell, but Johnstone mistakenly transcribed an initial š in the Roman manuscripts, as also line 9. See the comment to text 14A:2.
6. ‘ǝmk: This is from ‘ǝmlǝk, but in this idiom it is often reduced to ‘ǝmk (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. āllah: Johnstone added the gloss ‘indeed’ in the margin of the first Roman manuscript. It is, of course, an Arabism.
8. šəruf: According to ML (s.v. źrf), 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. yaslǝl: The Arabic manuscript and audio have yaslǝl, but Johnstone mistakenly transcribed yaslǝl 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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thǝlābǝn: This is a 3fp subjunctive of the H-Stem verb hǝláw b (goats) give too much milk to kids’ (root lʿb). 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 ḥlb, which has to do with milking. All of the manuscripts and the audio have ʰ.

nālâḳ: This is the 1cp imperfect of the Gb-Stem áy lǝḳ. The audio has the 2mp imperfect tālīḳ ‘you will run short’, but all the manuscripts have nālōḳ ‘we will run short’.
məxtīb: ML (s.v. xyb) gives the meaning ‘exhausted (wadi)’, but since this is a participle from the verb xātyǝb ‘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.

yǝklēl: At the end of the earlier Roman manuscript, Johnstone included the following phrases, with their translations: yǝklīl bay mǝḳā hē šay ‘I bloody well haven’t got it!’ and yǝklīl bīs mǝḳā šīs śǝwåyl ‘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 yǝklēl (as opposed to yǝklīl) in both phrases. Note that the verb yǝklēl in these expressions is always followed by the preposition b-, and that the negative element mǝḳā (see § 13.2.6) serves in place of the more common elements ǝl ... lā. ML (s.v. kll) defines the verb kǝll as ‘be fed up; find (a place) unpleasant’. Given this idiomatic usage of subjunctive yǝklēl, 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: “wádakǝm abḳār wǝrdūtǝn aw lā yǝmōh?”
2  B: “hɛ̄śǝn?”
3  A: “hām al sēn wǝrdūtǝn lā, hōm al-hāwrǝd hǝbɛ́rye.”
4  B: “wa-ya lawb wǝrdūtǝn. wǝ-kōh ǝd-𝑔ǝrǝ́bk abḳār tṣábrǝn mǝn ḥǝmōh?”
5  A: “yagḥōm ṭayf abḳār! őzǝr bīn. l-ād káwlǝ amǝl yattǝ́kk moh ǝdā.”
6  B: “ḥāwrǝd ba-ḥelláy, mǝt ber abḳār šǝwgūs mǝn ǝð ḥǝmōh.”

[Second conversation]

7  B: “hēt nákak mǝn hō?”
8  A: “hōh nákak mǝn arḥǝbēt.”
9  B: “wǝlē sì ayd?”
10 A: “ayd mēkǝn, wǝlākan ġályǝt.”
11 B: “ḥǝmáwlǝt ba-kám?”
12 A: “ḥǝmáwlǝt wa-šalōt āšǝrit ƙarāwš.
13 wǝ-kōh, al ǝlkw n tayf lā?”
14 B: “bǝ-hāw! ǝdǝ saddita ʎallilǝ.”
15 A: “hibōh? abḳār al tṣábrǝn lā mǝn ayd?”
16 B: “ābdan. (t)sábrǝn lā. wǝ-hām ƙalàn tısän mǝn ġayr ayd, al thǝndûrǝn akǝnyawm lā. ābdan.
17 thūgas al-ḥis tıkǝm, bǝ-áyli hǝbɛ́r wǝ-harāwn? nǝhāh bǝ-áyli abḳār tǝbǝn mǝn abḳār alsywǝn, w-ǝmmǝ ǝtēm, l-ād tštım ayd lā.”
18 A: “kǝm yūm (t)sábrǝn mǝn ḥǝmōh abḳār?”
19 B: “nǝhǝr ˈtayt.”
20 A: “bass?”
21 B: “bass. wǝ-kōh? hǝbɛ́r, kǝm yūm (t)sábrǝn mǝn ḥǝmōh?”
22 A: “xǝmawh yūm aw hǝtt yūm, hǝm al šısq ǝrîh lā. wǝ-hām šısq ǝrîh, (t)sábrǝn riba yūm.”
23 B: “wǝ-harāwn? kǝm yūm (t)sábrǝn mǝn ḥǝmōh?”
24 A: “wǝkōna wǝṭǝmǝh, wǝlē xass ˈāynǝt.”

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2  hɛ̄śǝn: This is for underlying *h-hɛ̄śǝn. See § 2.1.4.
5  őzǝr: The form őzǝr, which is in the Arabic manuscript and on the audio, is the D/L-Stem 3 fp perfect of the root ‘zr, agreeing with abḳār (cf. lines 1 and 2, with clear feminine agreement). The Roman manuscripts have āzǝrem, which is the 3 mp perfect.
6  mǝt ber: The manuscripts have mǝt ber, though the audio has only mǝt.
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: “\textit{abēli šwádakǝm}!”
26 A: “\textit{āzόmk (t)s(y)ēr}?”
27 B: “\textit{ɛ̃hɛ̃, ɗe hōh šāgɛ̄k. kǝlēb (bǝ-)sǝl̊ōm ǝl-sɛ̄kǝnǝk}!”
28 A: “\textit{wǝ-hēt sǝl̊ōm}!”

\textit{šwádakǝm}: The Arabic manuscript has \textit{yǝšwádakǝm}, while the audio and Roman manuscripts have just \textit{šwádakǝm}. ML (s.v. \textit{wd’}) has the incorrect \textit{šǝwǝdɛ̄[k]ǝm}, which is where the form in Stroomer’s edition must come from. The form \textit{yǝšwádakǝm} is the Š1-Stem 3ms imperfect \textit{yǝš(w)ōda} (root w̄dʿ) plus a 2mp object suffix (cf. \textit{ǝnōka} ‘I come’, \textit{ǝnákakǝm} ‘I come to you’). In the shortened form \textit{šwádakǝm}, perhaps the elision of the initial \textit{yǝ-} was precipitated by the fact that \textit{abēli} ends in -\textit{i}. The Mehri expression is clearly connected to Arabic \textit{astawdiʿukumu 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 \textit{yǝ-}. Cf. also the comment to text 12:17.

\textit{ðe hōh}: The audio has \textit{dǝ-hōh}, but the Arabic manuscript has \textit{dǝ} (\textit{l̄z}). The same phrase occurs in text 28:12, where the audio clearly has \textit{dǝ}.

\textit{(bǝ-)sǝl̊ōm}: The expected \textit{bǝ-} (cf. 44:11) is not written in either manuscript, perhaps because of the preceding \textit{b}. However, it is audible (barely) on the audio. Cf. also 94:31, where the \textit{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: “wadayakam haber hoh baruk?”
2 B: “kalayni sinak tisan dahr karmaym dayk, wa-amlayk tisan tahrkew nol la.”
3 C: “tsaxabur man hesan?”
4 A: “d-aaxabur man haher, wadayak tisan hoh haber baryk?”
5 C: “b-anenhar deh s-sarin. tsaxabur mansen hesan?”
6 A: “si la. ar hom al-shaxbarham man ab’ayri da-hagshoban teh man ayshar yoom, w-al kask mohn shafot la.”
7 C: “hesan halatah, ab’ayr?”
8 A: “ba’ayr ofar, wa-mashayr al-haroh sib waha-kaf woh-mashin hahdenah saymal.”
9 B: “sinak ba’ayr yassabban lah kalayni bark haher. walakan het heam hanin, te k-soba tshaghohm haber. ba’ayli haber sa’yin. ahad yatxahem la. haber kal rigad.”
10 A: “wa-koh harawdn woh-wbudd hiboh?”
11 B: “hara.vn ba-xayr woh-bisan xayr: harawn da-haguyug awhakt dohew, wa-sisun amaray.”
12 A: “de hoh saged, hom l-arded. al kalkal ahad hoh sawkuri la, wa-nhom naslel, walakan ankawdar naslel la ar b-ab’ayren.”
13 B: “xayban. het heam yallalah hanin. satwakan luk. te k-soba, tshaghohm haber. wal phrase xalqtom lih?”
14 A: “nakhah ar enhom, walakan stakolun enhayyen. enhah da-shazyomn.”
15 B: “la. shatkelam enhaykem la! jokom afyat!”

haher baryk: Johnstone took haher baryk 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.

sib wa-hakf: 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 hakf. According to Miranda Morris (p.c.), hakf is a horizontal brand mark, while sib is a perpendicular brand-mark. A sab wa-hekf is a cross with arms of equal length (+), and is a widely used brand-mark. The word sib, not in ML is presumably cognate with (or borrowed from) the Arabic root slb ‘cross’.

wa-koh: The exact function of wa-koh 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!”

‘why?’ is not a great fit for the context. Johnstone translated it as ‘well then’.

fākam āfyat: 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 fākam abēli ‘swear (by) God!’. The element fākam is here masculine plural; when speaking to one man, one says fūk āfyat. The Roman manuscripts have instead here mankēm ar fāydēt ‘from you is only good’.
16 A: “xánybn, nhōm. wə-hōh k-sōbh mašāgham ḥābēr. wə-hām kəsk abʿáyri, rəddōna təwōli sékəni wə-šəlyēla təwālikəm.”

17 B: “yā ḥay bikəm! wālə ḥāzikəm mədənī?”

18 A: “ya-ḥōl mədənī, wə-ʾʔm(lə)k təsan thāgyəγən məstihəl awārəx dōməh. wəlākən hāzyan tyābtən mən dər ḥāwət.”

19 B: “axāyr hikəm tənkəm tūn. bāwəməh amāray.”

20 A: “wə-hīh, lawb gəzəkəm xayr. wə-ʿəm(lə)k tīsən thəgyəγən məstihəl awārəx dōməh.”

21 k-sōbəh səyūr aḡāyg tɛ šəghūm ḥəbər, wə-kūsa abʿáyri rərk ḥəbər. wəlākən ksēh də-ṣəbēt. səbəwțəh bəʿəyli ḥəbər. abʿāyr əgləm wə-yawrək ḥəbər.

22 B: “wələ kəsk abʿāyɾək?”

23 A: “ya-ḥōl kəsk təh, wəlākən də-ṣəbēt. səbəwțəh bəʿəyli ḥəbər.”

24 wə-təmm kɛ̄t ḏ-agāyy wə-ssəkən.

18 ʾʔm(lə)k: Ali spelled this word ʾəmk in the Arabic manuscript, but read ʾəmlək on the audio. See also §12.5.5, and the comment to text 26:6.

18 tyābtən: The manuscripts have tyābtən, which must be a fp adjective. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added Arabic تب in parentheses in the margin. ML (s.v. t'b) lists an adjective tə'eb ‘weak (people)’ (probably better transcribed tə'āyb), but gives no other forms. On the audio, Ali mistakenly read what sounds like tābənt.

21 əgləm: This word is not in ML. It could either be a noun or a G passive 3ms perfect from the root əglm. We can compare the Jibbali Gb-Stem əglməm ‘(camels) run wild (after summer)’ (JL, s.v. əglm). Miranda Morris (p.c.) recorded əgləm 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

A: “ḥõ ḳǝbǝ́ṣ́kǝm yǝmōh?”
B: “mǝn ħāl yǝmšīh.”
A: “kūsǝn mǝtwē, wǝlākan nūka abkār wǝ-ngūf ɟáyran aṭǝbbēt. wǝ-ḥǝbǝr ākūš, w-ǝl ǝ́t ħam kawt ǝl.”
B: “gǝsǝ́r wǝn ǝmthǝlōt ęsǝn aṭǝbbēt wǝ-tǝwōh. wǝlākan ḥǝbǝr kāl ɬikǝh.”
A: “dǝ mǝn ḥǝbǝrkısǝn h-aba’yǝr ar ɬambo rāwtǝn, bo’àyli atāba ǝkόmǝh. mǝɡōrǝn ālýǝkǝ b-ǝnder ɟ-ɑk̪ɔn̪̄yaw̪n.”
B: “hǝk̪ɔn ǝmthǝlōt ǝmthǝlūt ǝmthǝlūt ǝmthǝlūt.”
A: “nǝḥōm nǝhángǝd bǝrk ɬǝwōdi ɬımǝh ǝw-mǝs.”
B: “kâybo. nǝḥōm yǝmōh b-amkōnǝn, w-ǝhād ṭat̪̄ ɬǝwōdi ɬımǝh. hām kusa bıs mǝtwē, naxx̪̄luf. w-ḥam ǝl kusa mǝtwē ɬa, nǝkun (nøwøkø) ǝdøn b-amkōnǝn.”
A: “sǝwɔr̪̄ k̪id. nǝḥōm ǝwṭomǝh.”
B: “møn mǝnk̪e ɬɔfɔna?”
A: “b-ǝɾryk̪ɔm, ɬɔ̆y ɬo ɬ-tǝf̪?”
B: “w-ya-høl, nǝ́høm!”
Tøf ǝǵ̪ ɬy, w-ɬkusa ɬamtwē, wǝlākan kusa ɬh̪̄bù ᲆ-ʃk̪ɔtrǝm bǝrk ɬĕwødi, rawn w-ɬbèr, wǝlākan abk̪̄ ɬi ɬa.
B: “w-ɬrødø tǝwöl̪i ɬh̪èr̪e, w-ɬk̪lùt ɬ-ɬh̪̄bù. ɬmùr,”

5 ǝmth̪alōt: Johnstone transcribed m̪̄th̪aløt, and ML (s.v. m̪hÌ) lists the 3ms perfect m̪̄th̪al̪, but the audio here clearly has ǝmth̪al̪ūt. And in the Arabic manuscript, Ali spelled this word m̪̄t̪̄løt̪, clearly indicating the initial vowel. When the second root consonant is voiceless and non-glottalic, then the T2-Stem pattern ǝCt̪CūC often shifts to Cat̪C̪u̪C 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 bo´yli ataba akόmøh: The phrase literally means ‘owners of bad manners’. In the earlier Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘those with manners, bad’, and Stroomer adopted this translation in his edition. I prefer the translation ‘ill-bred people’, given in ML (s.v. tb,’), since the story is referring improper treatment of camels, not impoliteness.

6 ālýèkøa: While the Arabic manuscript has the mp future ālýèkøa, 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 yālik on the audio. The meaning is the same. In the Roman manuscripts, Johnstone transcribed ǝlyēka, probably reflecting alyēka.

nakūn (nawōka): The Arabic manuscript and audio have nakūn. In the older Roman manuscript, Johnstone indicated that nawōka was the equivalent of nakūn. In his later manuscript, he wrote only nawōka, 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.
A: “ḥōh ṭafk, wə-kāsk amatwē, wəlākan hābū al-hūs abāṭḥ mən kēтвор. šərōməh thāymən nəsələn aw nəbkə’ h-amkōnən?”

B: “lawb, enhōm nəsələn mən aðbēb ḏ-abkār.”

wə-təmmōt akəssēt ḏ-ḥə’āyli həbēr.
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. *xǝṭǝrāt sēkǝn ḍa-skáwn bǝ-wōdi, wǝ-ḍ-ḡāyam, w-ǝl ʃihǝm kǝw t lā. wǝ-háziham mǝdənī, w-ǝ-hēm ġār rǝḥmɛ̄nōt ǝl sē mēkǝn lā.*
2. *ʔttołī ʾumūr ḥihǝm ġāy̱g, "ʔnḥōm nāsλēl te ḥaw̱ūdī s-sārīn. bı̱s awa’yōl, wǝ-nsxawwəl te ḥāzy̱n thāgy̱yən."*
3. *āmāwr, "b-ārāy̱k. ḥām ṭhāmən, nāsλēl. tābən mən ġaw̱ūdī dīməh."*
4. *tōlī șōlam. te wāsλəm ḥaw̱ūdī, kūsəm tīs ġaw̱weł, wələkan bı̱s awa’yōl.*
5. *w-ą̱g̱ą̱y̱g ləbbūd. yāw̱sam xyeł. te nəhōr ṭyət, xτul wə-nūkə bǝ-w̱ēl šōx.*
6. *w-ənhṟ xawfıt, xτul wə-nūkə bə-tṟōh.*
7. *tōlī ąmərūt tēt ṭyət, "ąg̱ą̱y̱g dōməh səddōnə tın mən am̱srərw̱f ġ-arḥəḇēt." w-ǝl ąmərūt "x̱ōb āynı" lā.*
8. *te nəhōr xawfıt, xτul ġąg̱y̱g wə-ʃīn wēl, wə-wəbdēh. yaẖəsəw̱b əsaw̱r ḡa-fənw̱i̱h, wə-tənuțəs təwōlī ġąg̱y̱g, wə-təwōr āyṉəh ṭyət. wə-rədd təwōlī sēkən, bərəh āwēr.*
9. *wə-ʃəwəl. wə-rədd liẖam səddəhəm ḡ-agəwə", wələkan ḥərəw̱n kəyəb thāgyəŋən. ādəh lišən fəkə ḡə-w̱ərx.*
10. *wə-ʃəmrus̱ ġąg̱y̱g. tōlī ġąyam wə-ʃhətəm wōz. w-ənhṟ xawfıt, ʃhətəm ᵗyət.*

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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 نوكس.
2. rǝḥmɛ̄nōt: The diminutive rǝḥmɛ̄nōt here could be translated ‘a little rain’ or ‘a little vegetation (that comes after rain)’. The latter fits better after the preposition ð̣ār ‘over’.
3. 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’.
4. yaẖəsəw̱b: This is the 3ms imperfect of the Š1-Stem həwəswəb ‘be hit’. The root is historically swb, but wəb in the H- and Š1-Stems. According to ML (p. xliiv and s.v. swb), the 3ms imperfect is yahəwsəw̱b, which is what we expect for a I-w, II-Glottalic verb. For this text, Ali’s Arabic manuscript has يصوب, while Johnstone’s earlier Roman manuscript has yahəswəb, and his later manuscript has yahəswəb. The audio clearly has yahəsəw̱b. 
Translation of Text 30

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.

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.”

They said, “As you wish. If you want us to, we’ll move. We are tired of this valley.”

Then they moved. When they got to the valley, they found it parched, but there were ibexes in it.

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.

And the next day, he went hunting and brought back two.

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).

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).

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).

And the man became ill. Then they got hungry, and they slaughtered a goat. And the next day they slaughtered one (more).

It appears, then, that like we find for I-w verbs in the Št-Stem, the H-Stem also has two variant imperfects, yǝhǝwCūC and yǝhǝCūC. See further in the comment to text 95:7, and in § 7.2.3.

bǝ́rǝh āwēr: On the audio, Ali read ber áywǝr, using a verbal phrase rather than a non-verbal one. The manuscripts all have bǝ́rǝh āwēr.

šáddǝhǝm: In the Roman manuscripts, Johnstone transcribed š, 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 ș with the Arabic letter ش. In the earlier Roman manuscript, it looks like an original š was corrected to š.
11 tōlī ffrēʿ hāráwn b-āgīg, wəlākan nūka ar bə-hīṯār.
12 ǝttōlī āmūr aġāyg, “hām hāráwn nūka ar bə-hīṯār, w-əl nūka b-ārōḏ lä, ǝlayt hīṯār l-āgīrē hābū yəšāḏərkəm mən ẓār agəwē.”
13 tōlī ffrēʿ hāráwn amətalyōt b-ārōḏ, wəlākan hāráwn bīsən sḫōf mēkən lä.
14 təmmōt lišən arḥəmēt, wə-роdəm həwādihəm həwəlit. tōlī šərhɑyım wə-тəmmʉt ɑkɑ’ kālləh.
15 wə-hārāwn ɑyməł ɑsxōf, wə-mkəw. wākəm fə sócɔy ə-yəkləwl, mən ẓār əsəmət əd-fənəhən.
16 wə-тəmmət kəwtfət.

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11 aġīg: 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 $qyg$ (cf. H-Stem ḥəqyūg ‘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.
An Uncle’s Visit

1. ġag̓ag ðo-wátxf aǧáyəh ḏa-šfkáwt. wə-bér šis ḥəbánse mən aǧáyəgəs.
2. tōli ţmər, “ād aḥād ʃini ḥāzyən?”
3. āmarūt aǧáyəh, “ḥāşıkəm yələh sën bə-ḥəwəd̬i ḏəh, wələkan ḏa-Υ̩əməɾəm yəsɬəɬəm. wəl wádan ɬə hëm səɬɬəm aw ɬə, wələkan ɭəʔəɾbət ɭəyəwəm, wə-xər huk ḥətəm.”
5. “ber ɡəzəmək ɭuk ḥətəm!”
7. “xəyənən, hoh məətəm. wələkan ber ɡəzəmək mən amsətəwət.”
8. “al hoh ʂətəya huk ɬə.”
9. te wátxəf hərəwən wə-ʃiʃən ɭəmbərəwətən. tōli ɭəbərəthəm həməhəm w-əmarūt hiihm, “xəyəlkəm ɬəhənən, wələkan ber ɡəzəmən mən amsətəwət. səɾəməh ɭəyəm thəhətəm thəh, b-ərəyəkəm. wə-θəyəm təkləm thəh, b-ərəyəkəm. hərəwn bənən aʃəxəf, ɬw-ɭəxfənə.”
11. te kəɬəh hərəwn wə-hısı bərəɬən b-ətərəf ɗ-əsəyəga, mənəm wəz ɬw-ʃətəm tis.
12. te nəkəm ɭəmbərəwətən həl xəyələhən, āmər ɬiihm xəyələhm, “de hoh ber ɡəzəmək fənəh!”
13. āməwr ɭəmbərəwətən, “hət ar ɗə-ɣərəbk nəhə ɬəyəɬə ɬin nəʃət hük.”
14. wə-ɬətəm. te k-səbəən aɣəyg səyər ɭəwələ səkənəh. wə-təmmət.

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6. yəşgūs: The manuscripts and audio all have yəşgūs here. ML (p. lxi, n. 1) gives 3ms imperfect yəʃ(ə)gūs as a variant of the more regular-looking yəʃəwəgūs. The form yəşgūs was also produced by informants. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added “(əw)” in the margin above yəşgūs, indicating the variant yəʃəwəgūs. See also 54:3 and § 7.2.3.
A man came to his sister who had gotten married. And she already had sons from her husband.

Then he said, "Has anyone seen our goats?"

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."

"I don't want to stay the night. I have already been (away) a long time from my family."

"I have already sworn to you that you'll stay the night!"

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."

"Ok, I'll stay the night. But I already swore against (having any) slaughtered animal."

"I won't slaughter for you."

Then the goats came, and with them the boys. Then their mother met them and said to them,

"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."

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."

Then when the goats came home, and after they were by the pen, they took a goat and slaughtered it.

Then when the boys came to their uncle, their uncle said to them, "Well, I already swore earlier!"

The boys said, "You surely know that it is obligatory for us to slaughter for you."

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. xɔtərət ɡáyg ɗə-yəɣáwλək mən sɛkənəh, ɗə-ʃáh bəˈayr. ɗə-hè əl ɣàɣɔɾəb hɔrəm lə.
2. ɗə-ʃáh hark. te wɨʃəl b-áamk ɗə-ɦɔrəm, ɗāyma. ɗə-l-ád kədəɾ yəʃəɾ ɗə, ɗə-l-ád gəɾǔ hɔrəm lə.
3. həcksəwən naxəli ɦəɾəʃ. te nhɔrən, l-ád kədəɾ yəɡtəyɾ lə.
4. shət abˈayraḥ ɗə-hftək kəɾəʃ ɗ-aˈbəyɾ, w-əsəwər fəɾt. w-τɔk mən ḥəməh də-kəɾəʃ.
5. ɗə-hè səwɛ̄d sɛkənəh yənkəhəm bəd nəhɔri ʈrayt, ɗə-bəɾ həx əxmlət ɗəəh əl ʃini sɛkənəh lə.
6. ʔolı səsəˈyuəhə sɛkənəh ɗə-ʃəbəɾ mànəh. ɗə-hàməm bəh məhəkəl ɬihəm, wələkan nūkə lə.
7. ɗə-ɡələwk mànəh. ʔolı kúsəm səʃəh.
8. wə-təbəm bə-ʃəfəh, te kúsəm təh bəɾ mət mən ɬəwə. ɗə-hè bəɾk əmgəʃət ɗ-aˈbəyɾəh.
9. nhərəm ləh yəbiṭi ʈrayt.
10. w-əgəyɡ xəlif aʃəɾən bər, w-əl xəlif wəldə lə ar ɡəɡənət.
11. ʔolı ɡətəwəm ɡəwəhə mən ɗəɾ əwɛɾt ɗ-əɡəyɡ, wə-ʃələwəm ɡəɡənət əyəmət.
12. ʔolı ɑkəɾət ɡəɡənət, wə-xədəmət əmgər. wə-gəzəmət, “əl əʃfək te l-əfədəh həbəɾ əd-ɦəybi.”
13. əttəl ɡəɡənət ɦəsələt səhəz. ɗə-kəl sənət tjəyd yəbiṭi ʈrayt aw ʂəlɨt, te ber ʂis həbəɾ kəl mən həl ɦədəyəs.
14. ʔolì wəʃɨd bɨs ɓəɾ ɦədəyəs.
15. əməɾūt, “məʃəkətə lə ar kəl ɗə-yəɬəm ɣəzəmə səhəz ɗə-bəɾ xədəmək təh mən həl ɦədəyədi.”
16. əmɨɾ ɑɡɨɡɛn, “wəzyəmə tɨʃ səhəz.”
17. wəzəwəməs səhəzə. hɨs bəɾəh ʂis, ʂʃəkətəh.
18. wə-ʃəxəwələt ʂəh nəhɔr ʈrayt, wə-xəzət mànəh.
19. ʔolı əmɨɾ, “həm əl ɬəmə ɬə, ɬəzəmə səhəz.”
20. əməɾūt, “səhəz ɗəkəməɬ ar ɬədmət ɗə-ɦəyədi.”

bəɾ ɦədəyəs: The manuscripts have bəɾ ɦədəyəs, but on the audio, Ali read instead the synonymous phrase həbrə ɗə-ɦədəyəs.

ɗəkəməɬ: The manuscripts have ɗəkəməɬ ‘that’, but Ali read dəməɬ ‘this’ on the audio. Likewise in line 22, the manuscripts have əlyəkəməɬ ‘those’, but Ali read əlyəməɬ ‘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.”
āmūr, "xáybǝn, azáman haberyan."

āmǝrūt, "ḥǝbër alyákǝmǝh ar mǝn sǝr ḥǝybi. wǝ-šérǝt ǝm-mǝnwǝy w-ǝm-
mǝnwük al-šéffkǝk, wǝ-bér šfɔ̣kǝk tik. šǝrōmah al hük sī lā."

āmūr, "gǝdɛ́wwǝn tǝwōli šǝrǝ’, emšáxbǝr."

sǝyáwr tǝwōli šǝrǝ’ wa-šxǝbûr. w-āmūr šǝrǝ’, “šǝrōmah al hük sī lā ar
amǝwkêt da-ttêt, wǝ-bér šük amǝwkûts.

šǝrōmah thȍm txxōli, antakûl. wǝ-thȍm (t)ślǝwɔwɔl, antakûl.”

āmûr, “ǝl hʊm al-xōli lā.”

ståwɔlul sɛnɛtti trat, w-ǝdah al xōli lā.

tǝli ağıyg yǝhȍm yǝhɛ̀rǝs wǝ-ḥaggût ləh tɛ̀th m-åd yǝhɛ̀rǝs aw yǝhôm
yaxxōli.

tǝli šǝsýük ağıyg wǝ-xxōli.

wǝ-šfɔ̣kawt tät wǝ-bér šis amōlas kàllah. wǝ-nkòt bǝ-ḥabánse. wǝ-tǝmmòt.

wǝ-nkòt bǝ-ḥabánse: 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


2 Son: lawb, hōh ar ǝnōfa, wəlākan məkā ǝx hōh ̄-ənōfa sī hənīkəm!

3 Mother: bass, ̣qalē’ aq̣ə르y! yəkūn lūk ̣səkk, hām ̣gətəryək k-ḥədáydək. ̣ākā’ k-ḥāráwn yəmōh, wə-ğəhməh ̣sənərk ̣də-l-əkłēk thāʾkəm mən hāl thōm.

4 Son: lawb, hōh ̣əd-̣qə르b tıkəm. ̣gəhməh ̣əməyərə həyəni, “ākā’ k-ḥāráwn. wə-hēt ǝl tənōfa lā!”

5 Mother: xəyən. ̣şənə, (əl-) fɾēḥ hōh bə-ḥəbrəy. əbēli yəbərək bük!

6 Son: xəyən. hōh wəkənə k-ḥəráwn ̣yəmōh, wəlākan hām ̣gəhməh ̣əl kələkəm tänd-əl-həḳʃəm ̣lā, l-âd ənfənə tıkəm ζəyəd lā.

7 Mother: yēye. aḳəfi sər həzəks, wə-ḥəddər mən kəwb!

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5 (əl-) fɾēḥ: The expected 1cs 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. fɾēḥ), where the verb is transcribed l-fəɾēḥ. The expected form əl-fəɾēḥ 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. ḥāmży al ǝzwmt ǝẖād lā ar hōh wa-ǝjǝqənōt.
2. wa-bér ǝnkōt b-ǝrbōt ǝmbǝrāwtǝn wa-ǝjǝqǝnōt wa-mōtǝm.
3. w-āmma ḥāybi, ǝsh ɡīgən ǝn tēt tǝyat, walakān ǝmtōt tēt, w-ajīgən bǝ-ttōdi. wa-majōrən hāɾūs b-ḥāmży. walakān ǝl ǝzwmt ǝẖād lā ar hōh wa-ǝjǝqǝnōt.
4. wa-ḥāmży ǝs amōl mēkǝn, walakān ǝhaybi ʃaḱywr walakān xǝddōmi.
5. wa-majōrən āymal dǝkkōn mǝn amōl ǝ-ḥāmży, wa-xadum bǝrkiḥ.
6. wa-ɲhāh kǝnyaw. tkūn ḥāmży bərk hārāw ǝn-haběr, wa-ḥāybi bərk adǝkkōn.
7. wa-his bəri bər ǝsər sənāyn, ǝmärk ǝhaybi, “stóm ḥāyni məndəwk!”
8. āmūr ḥāybi, “a ḥəbrəy, hēt ǝdǝk kənnəwn, w-ǝl thəwəmal səlēb lā.”
9. āmärk hâḥ, “hâm ǝl hēt štəmənə hâyni məndəwk lā, hōh məssəfən.”
10. wa-majōrən štəm hâyni məndəwk, w-əgəhəm, w-ǝnən hâl nəkək, yaʃhəyɡ mənəy ħâbû. yâmərəm, “hēt kənnəwn w-ǝsɭələl məndəwk!”
11. wa-majōrən əkosə ɡâyg. āmūr ḥâyni, “wazmənə tık ɡənbəyyət b-əməndəwkək.”
12. wa-hōh kənnəwn. əgərəb ɭəmēn ɖ-əməndəwk lā. wa-sâlək ajənbəyyət wa-səyərk təwəli ḥāmży wa-ɭəltək lîs.
13. āmərət hâmzy, “šândəm əməndəwkək, wələ hâyբək səbətənə tık.”
14. āmärk ɦɪs, “yęye. sɨrōnə.”
15. w-əsɨyr h-ərəbət təwəli ɑːsər ɖ-əhâybi, w-āmärk hâh, “āmūr hūk ḥâybi, ‘əzɛ́mi ərəbəy nərəwə, w-ǝl-ɭəlɛ́’ hənʊk ajənbəyyət dɪməh.”
17. wazməy ərəbəy nərəwə, w-əsəyərk ʃələlət. wə-ʃəlɛ́k ɡəwəz wə-ssəfək. wə-ḥâbəy ǝl wədəm ｂay lā.
18. tɛ wəsələk ɭətər, wə-ʃəfədk. w-ǝl əgərəb l-əgətəyər ərbəyyət lā.

6. tkūn ḥâmży: The Arabic manuscript and audio have tkūn ḥâmży ‘my mother was’, in which case the preceding phrase nḥāh kənnəwn must be part of a separate sentence. The Roman manuscript, however, has nkūn k-ḥāmży ‘we were with my mother’, in which case the phrase nḥāh kənnəwn ‘we kids’ would be the subject of the verb nkūn.

11. gənbəyyət: On the audio, Ali read gənbəyyət here, but jənbəyyət in lines 12 and 15. The same variation is found elsewhere in the texts.

15. w-əl-ɭəlɛ́: The manuscripts lack the prefix ɭə-, 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 Ṣalalah. 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.

ṣǝlōlat: According to ML (s.v. šll), the Mehri form for Ṣalalah is ṣǝlōt, but this is an error (Miranda Morris, p.c.). The correct name in Mehri is ṣǝlōlat. There is, in fact, a place called ṣalōt, on which see the comment to text 38:2.
19 *toli* gaz̄ōt ḥayāwm, wa-bákk.
20 w-al kós k̄āh̄d lā d̄-ağārab̄. w-ağāy sōx b̄-k̄āṭ̄ūr b̄ark āsk̄arāyȳat.
21 *toli* hōh ḃ̄-aḅ̄ȳk, w-an̄k̄ āy āsk̄arāy. āmūr ḥāyni, “k̄ō h̄ēt tab̄āȳk?”
22 ām̄ārk h̄āh, “hōh ḫ̄ānn̄āwn, w-al ağı̄rab̄ ar̄ḥ̄āb̄ēt d̄īm̄āh lā.” w-ḥōh ḃ̄-aḥ̄t̄ūrī š̄h m̄āhr̄āyȳat, *toli* ağı̄ȳg al h̄aw̄ūl ağ̄r̄ōȳi lā.
23 *toli* ḥ̄h̄ōli ḥāȳni. āmūr, “n̄̄k̄ē aw-b̄ōh!”
24 w̄-ṣa-ȳārk š̄h. te s̄īn̄āk am̄érk̄ēz ḃ̄-aṣ̄k̄ēr, ȳāss̄̄k w̄-aﬄ̄ūt m̄ ān ḍ̄ār aġ̄āyg b̄r̄k s̄ēr̄a.’
25 w̄-bāgd̄āȳg aģ̄āȳg te m̄ān̄’āy, w̄-hē ḍ̄-ȳōm̄ār, “al t̄ās̄̄s̄ōs lā.” m̄ān̄’āy w̄-t̄ārr̄āy t̄aw̄ōli am̄érk̄ēz. w̄-ḡl̄āw̄k̄ m̄ān aḥ̄ād ḍ̄-ȳāḡōr̄ āḡr̄ōȳi.
26 te k̄ūs̄ām aģ̄āy, ām̄āwr h̄āh, “b̄āw̄m̄āh gīğ̄ēn ḫ̄ānn̄āwn ḍ̄-ȳāb̄yk, w-al ġ̄ār̄ūb̄ān aģ̄r̄ōȳah lā. ȳām̄k̄ān t̄āḡr̄ēb aģ̄r̄ōȳēh.”
27 te nūk̄a, yaḡ̄ār̄bi, w̄-aḇār̄k̄a t̄āw̄ālȳe. w̄-h̄īs sīn̄āk t̄ah aḇār̄k̄a t̄āw̄āȳe, aﬄūt.
28 ȳāss̄̄k mān̄āh. w-āl ġ̄ār̄ābk̄ t̄ah lā. w-ḥē ḍ̄-ȳōm̄ār, “hōh aġ̄āk!”
29 te l̄ḥ̄k̄āȳ w̄-a-m̄ōs̄i b̄ay, w̄-d̄-ȳb̄āyk m̄ān aġ̄s̄ān̄āt̄i. w̄-ṣ̄x̄āb̄ār̄ȳ, w-ḥōh ḃ̄-aḅ̄ȳk m̄ān f̄aṛh̄āt. w-ḥē ḍ̄-ȳb̄āyk m̄ān̄āy, w-ya-ȳāb̄ār̄i.
30 w-āk̄āṭ̄ l̄h. ām̄ārk, “ḥ̄ōh ḃ̄-f̄āl̄āšt̄k m̄ān Ḥ̄āȳe.”
31 w̄-ȳāk̄ūt̄ āṭ̄ l̄ṭ̄ h̄āȳe. w̄-ṣ̄x̄w̄l̄ūl̄ān warx t̄āt̄. w-āmūr aģ̄āy, “hōh ḍ̄-ḡās̄n̄āk m̄ān x̄láw̄t̄i, l-ān̄h̄a taṣ̄āw̄bar mān̄k̄ lā. w-Ī-l̄z̄ām naf̄ēk.”
32 ām̄ārk h̄āh, “al hōh f̄tk̄ōn̄a lā.” ām̄ūr, “l̄z̄ām.f̄tk̄ōna, w-ḥōh ś̄ūk.”
33 ām̄ārk, “al aǰ̄āt̄k̄ lā aw taš̄ōm h̄āȳn̄i ḡān̄b̄āyȳat.” āmūr, “ȳēye.”
34 te w̄ās̄ālān dāb̄āy, āmūr hāȳn̄i, “ṯ̄ōm j̄an̄b̄āyȳat, ānt̄k̄ōl. w-ṯ̄ōm sk̄āȳn g̣īd, ānt̄k̄ōl.”
35 ām̄ārk, “ḥ̄ōm sk̄āȳn g̣īd.” w̄-ṣ̄īt̄ām h̄āȳn̄i sḳāȳn, w-ṇ̄f̃ūḳ āḳān. w̄-t̄āmṃōṭ ḳẉṭēṭ.

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27 *w-ābār̄k̄a*: The audio has the 3ms perfect *abār̄k̄a*, while both manuscripts have the 3ms imperfect *yab̄r̄k̄a*.
29 *ṣ̄x̄āb̄ār̄ȳ*: This form appears twice in this line, both written identically in the Arabic manuscript. On the audio, Ali read 3ms perfect *ṣ̄x̄āb̄ār̄ȳ* for the first occurrence, but 3ms imperfect *yāṣ̄x̄āb̄ār̄ī* for the second. Oddly, both verbs are absent from the Roman manuscript.
31 ḥ̄āȳe: Ali wrote ḥ̄āȳbi ‘my father’ in his Arabic manuscript, but read ḥ̄āȳe ‘my parents’ on the audio. The Roman manuscript also has ḥ̄āȳe.
31 l-ān̄h̄a: The Arabic manuscript has ʼīn, which is the Arabic particle li-ʼāanna with the Arabic 3fs pronominal suffix (cf. the Dhofari Arabic form li-ʼān̄n̄ā given by Davey 2016: 205). The Roman manuscript has linnehā
Then the sun went down, and I cried.
And I didn't find anyone that I knew. And my big brother was in Qatar, in the police.
Then I was crying, and a policeman came to me. He said to me, “Why are you crying?”
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.
Then he beckoned me. He said, “Come here!”
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.
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.
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.”
Then when he came, he recognized me, and he ran towards me. And when I saw him run towards me, I ran away.
I was afraid of him. And I didn't recognize him. And he was saying, “I'm your brother!”
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.
And I told him. I said, “I've run away from my parents.”
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.”
I said to him, “I won't leave.” He said, “We must. We'll leave, and I'll (go) with you.”
I said, “I won't leave unless you buy me a dagger.” He said, “Ok.”
Then when we got to Dubai, he said to me, “If you want a dagger, choose. Or if you want a good knife, choose.”
I said, “I want a good knife.” And he bought me a knife, and we left for our place. And the story is finished.

(but cf. the transcription l-ônha in ML, s.v. ‘nn). On the audio, Ali hesitated several seconds before reading instead the negative particle al.
Text 35 (no J): Boys Who Were Refused Hospitality

1 xǝṭarāt ġīgēnī trōh wátǝfom ǝl-hә’āyli abkәr, wa-šihәm amǝwsә.
2 te nákam kalәyni hðkәb, wǝzawmḥam ʾāynәt ʿatәriṭ.
3 w-әmūr hihәm ɡayg, “šawqәşәm! l-әd thәtәmәm ła.”
4 āmәw әmәnәrәwәtәn, “әnәhәh әl nәgorәb әhәrmәn lә, w-ә-(sәn) ḥәbәr wә-әmәwsә. w-әnәhәh әl mašәwqәsȋtәn ła.”
5 tōli әmūr әqәyɡ, “xәlyәk tәtә, әl (t)tәy姆 mәn ḥәnәn śxәʃә yәlәlәh. thәyム (t)ʃxәwәlәm әw ła?”
6 tōli nūkә abkәr wә-ḥәrәwәb wә-yaʃbәwәb bәrk aʃәdәr (aʃәdәwәr) wә-ʃxәʃәm. wә-ḥәmәnәrәwәtәn ʃxәwәlә.
7 әttōli ɡәwәtәm amәwәsә. w-әbкәr bәr hәs әr hәlәwbsәn.
8 tōli әmūr ġīgәn tәt, “ḥoh ʃәy әʃәr.”
9 әmūr ṣmәʃәɡәr, “hәʃәn mәn әʃәr?”
10 әmūr, “sәrәnә tә ʒәdә adәhәk әdәmәh, wә-әsәllәnә kә-әtәt ʃәwәr. wә-rәdyәnә aʃәdәr әd-әbәrkәhәm әʃәʃә, tә yәtәbәr. wә-mәhәʃәwәtә.”
11 әmūr, “yәye, wәlәkәn ḥәbә lәhyәkә tiki.”

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2 ḥðkәb: ML (s.v. hkk [sic]) has ḥәkәb (pl. ḥәkәb), but ḥәkәb is likely a misprint for ḥðkәb. A short word-list that Johnstone made for this text has ḥðkәb (pl. hкhәb) ‘cow-village, community’. Cf. also JL (s.v. hkb) and HV (p. 110).
4 wә-(sәn) ḥәbәr: The Roman manuscript has wә-әsәn ḥәbәr, but both the Arabic manuscript and the audio lack the expected әsәn. In the second audio version, Ali stumbled a bit and said wә-ḥәbәr ... wә-әsәn ... wә-ḥәbәr wә-әmәwәsә.
5 tōli: On the second audio version (this text was recorded twice), Ali said әttōli here. On the other hand, in line 7, he said tōli, while the first audio version has әttōli. This only underscores the fact that tōli and әttōli are free variants.
6 yaʃbәwәb: The form sәkәwәb in Stroomer’s edition was simply a misreading of the Roman manuscript, which has the ungrammatical form sәbәwәb (with the prefix y- added in the margin above). The Arabic manuscript and both audio versions have yaʃbәwәb.
6 aʃәdәr: Though the manuscripts have aʃәdәr, on the audio Ali read aʃәdәwәr in the first audio recording of this story. In the second recording, he read aʃәdәr. Likewise in lines 10 and 16. (Line 23 is missing from the first audio version, but the second has aʃәdәr.) 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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eḳeedúur throughout, with eḳduwwar added in the margin at line 6 only. ML (s.v. ḳdr) lists only the plural ḳaydōr, but cf. the Ḥarsusi plural ḳǝdáwr (HL, s.v. ḳdr).

7 gǝwūt: On the first audio version, Ali read gǝwūt, the expected 3fs perfect of the III-w/y verb gǝwōh, while on the second he clearly read gǝwōt. The latter form looks like the 3fs perfect of a Gb-Stem or a III-ʿ 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 gwǝy from comparative evidence (e.g., Jibbali gǝ). The Roman manuscript has gǝwūt, and a short word-list that Johnstone made for this text also has gǝwūt, along with the 3fs imperfect tagwū. In ML (s.v. gwǝy), the 3fs imperfect is transcribed tagwō. We expect a 3fs imperfect tagǝyw, following verbs like hǝwōh ‘fall’ (§ 7.2.13) and tǝwōh ‘eat’ (§ 7.2.14). An imperfect tagwō, if correct, must be a Gb-Stem form.

10 te ḷār: The first audio version and the manuscripts have te ḷār, but the second audio version has just ḷār.
āmūr, “mat ḡəməskı, maşkri. wə-mğörən məhəfərdi b-abḵār. l-ād ḳələnī tīsən (t)tiyən lā.”

tōli āmūr tāt h-ağāyq, “ād wəzyēma tin śxōf śi?”

āmūr, “lā. wəzyēma tikəm śi lā.”

āmūr, “xāyban, abēli śwādakəm. ənhāh bāyēra.”


wə-radəyəyəm b-asəwəyr, wə-ṭəbrōh kādari ṭrōh. wə-ffəwtōh wə-škəryōh bər kərōm. wə-ḥābə əgalāw mənhēm te kātəm. kūsom tīl lā.

tōli rāddəm ḡābū. wə-ḥīs ber rāddəm, ḡərbałɔh ḡəməbərəwtn bərk abkār, wə-ffrīd bīsən.

te fəkə ḡ-əsər, śənyōh śōwōt ḡ-əbəyli həbēr. wə-bərōh te kərəyə bəl-ḥəbēr. əxəwələhəm.

wə-šīhi ənit. tōli āmūr tāt, “nəḥōm nəhlēb ənʃəfayaan.”


tei ḡ-sōbəh sūrōh təwōli ḡəskənəhi.

wə-mğörən ağəgy bāl abkār, hām nəkəyəh əḥād, əwəzəməh śxōf. wə-wika ṭəḥ̄āym k-ḥābū mən ẓār tāyər ḡ-əkədər. wə-ṭəmmət kəwətə.

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15 abēli śwādakəm: On this phrase, see the comment to text 27:25.
17 radəyəyəm: On the first audio recording, Ali read radīwhaṃ (3mp perfect + 3mp object), but on the second, he read radəyəyəm (3md perfect + 3mp object). The manuscripts have the dual form.
18 ḡərbałɔh: Though Stroomer’s edition has ḡərbałə, which matches the expected dual based on the paradigms in ML (cf. p. lxvi), the Roman manuscript has kerbałə (kerbałə in ML, s.v. frd), and the Arabic manuscript has ɬ. The second audio version clearly has kerbałəh, while the first audio version cuts off immediately before this word. This reflects the change -ēh > -əh discussed in § 2.2.4.
20 ənūn: See the comment to text 84:5.
22 ḡəskənəhi: The manuscripts have the dual possessive suffix -hi, but the audio has ḡəskənəhiḥəm, 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 xǝṭǝrǝt hōkǝm ba-rḥabǝt. w-arḥabǝt bīs xawr, w-ǝxawr kāsǝm xǝ hē felg.
2 te āṣǝr tāṭ, āṃūr hābū, “mōn dɔ-yəhōm yahētǝm bǝrk xawr fǝṭa’ te k-sōbǝḥ?
   w-ḥām hāsbāh saḥḥ, hah malyōn kārš.”
3 kāl dɔ-nūka xazōh. əttōli šǝsfōh ɡīfǝn fǝkāyǝ. w-šōḥ ɦāmāh āɡāwz, w-ǝl šis
   walēd lā ar hē. əttōli āṃūr ɦāmāh, “əhōm al-hētǝm bǝrk xawr. wǝlē rābbǝk
   yasāmǝn tī, w-ənə’yūś.”
4 āmǝrūt ɦāmāh, “hōḥ mawtakīl.” w-ǝsayūr hāl hōkəm, w-əmūr hǝh, “hōḥ hōm
   al-hētǝm bǝrk xawr.” āmūr, “yɛ́yɛ́.”
5 te gəzōt hɔyāwm, sayūr aqīgən te wısǝl xawr.
6 ḥǝftūk xəlāwkhe, w-ḥaʃfūd bǝrk ɦaṃoḥ. aqīgən, “ɜhōm ɛł-hɛ̄tǝm bǝrk xawr. wǝlɛ̄ rabbǝk
   yǝsāmǝn tī, w-nǝʿyūš.”
7 āmūr aqīgən, “hōh mawtakīl.” w-ǝsayūr hāl hōkəm, w-əmūr hǝh, “hōḥ hōm
   al-hētǝm bǝrk xawr.” āmūr, “yɛ́yɛ́.”
8 əttē ba-ḥallāy, āɡāwz l-ād nǝkātš əsnɛt lā mən ɦabrēs. sallǝt gəwdīl ɬə-bāh
   ʃwōt. ənema hǝb ɬən ɦāwkt ɬəlāwkw. āmūr ɬəl ɦaṃoḥ. w-hām ɬən təxawr.
9 te k-sōbǝḥ, hāsbāh aqīgən saḥḥ. w-əmūr hē hām təwōli hōkəm.
10 ɬtōli āmūr hōkəm, “hāmēk hāwkt lūk ʃwōt, ɬa-ʃārōmə hə ɬuk sī lā.”
11 āmūr aqīgən, “hāməy əl ʃərbəti lā. w-ənema ʃwōt ɬən mən wənən d-əyn.”
12 āmūr, “åbdan. wɔzmōna tək sī lā.”
13 ɬayawr aqīgən wə-ɦāməh ɬə-yabəkiəm.
14 ɬtōli ɬəsəm ɬə nəwās. āmūr hīhəm, “kō ɬem tabəkiəm?”
15 ɬaləwɛ lah b-əkəssɛt ɬaʃla. āmūr, “əl təktəwil lā. hōḥ məhəftək likəm
   akərəšikəm.”
16 te nəhɔr ʃəwfit, ɬəzum hōkəm w-əskərhe ba-fšə’.

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. ɡəzék(əm) in texts 20:63 and 39:14, which also lacks the expected
   definite article in combination with a possessive suffix.
3 nə’yūś: ML (s.v. ˈyʃ) gives the imperfect yāyūś, but the ᵏ 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 ᵏ, so it sounds closer to nə’yūś. But the correct form is nə’yūś, like
   nəsyūr ‘we go’ (§ 7.2.7).
8 gəwdīl: ML (s.v. gdl and gwdl) gives the form gōdēl, but the existence of a
   pattern CōCēC or CōCıC seems very unlikely. In fact, this word is gəwdīl 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 *gabdél* (with b < *w). The nominal pattern *CǝCCīC* is well attested (e.g., *dǝrhīs* ‘kid’, *dǝḥlīl* ‘cave’, and *mǝndīl* ‘kerchief’).
āmāwr hǝh, “nəḥāh ʃin xədmēt, w-əl mátwayan lā.”
āmūr, “ləzəm aʃfəkəm hənəy, wə-höh šay aḏərōb. w-əl məhābta lā.”
wə-həm la-wtəkəma te gəzōt əhayəm. āmūr hōkəm hə-bə nawəs, “həbhek lā?” āmūr, “səwənōt.”
tōli jātkəh aḑər, wə-ḥəmōh al ʃəbb lā. əttoli jətyaḏ hōkəm, wə-səyər yəsənε’ aʃfəri. tōli kūsa ḥəmōh al ʃəbb lā.

27 əhayəm: This word normally means ‘sun’, as it does everywhere else in the texts (over twenty times). Here it has the meaning ‘daytime’.
They said to him, “We have work, and we aren’t free.”

He said, “You must have lunch with me. I have the wood. And I won’t keep you long.”

They said, “Ok.” Then when they came to him, he lit (the fire), but he left the fire far from the pots.

And they passed the afternoon. Then the ruler said, “Haven’t you cooked (it)?” He said, “In a little while.”

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.”

Then it was midnight, and the water hadn’t gotten warm.

Then the ruler got angry, and he went to see the pots. Then he found the water hadn’t (even) gotten warm.

He said to Ba Newas, “Are you just making fun of us?”

He said, “Why? Aren’t I cooking?”

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?”

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.’”

The ruler said, “Fire is not useful unless [lit. except if] it is under the water!”

Ba Newas said, “The mistake is not from me. The mistake is from you.”

The ruler said to Ba Newas, “Quit the joking! Why did you think fire, if it is far away, is useful for water?”

Ba Newas said, “No, but I heard you said it was useful.”

The ruler said, “It is not useful for water unless [lit. except if] it is under the pot.”

Ba Newas said, “You are witnesses to his words. And why were you unjust to the poor boy and his mother?

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!’”

The ruler said, “I have been unjust, and now I will give them their money.”

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 (= J3ο, but a variant version): A Man and His Jinn Wife

1. xaṭarat ḡayg tōgār b-aḥwēbēt, w-ṣāḥ mastūn ḍa-nēxal, tōmār. walākan mat kāyrab txərōfān, thəsābḥən ḍa-xaṛēt.

2. tōli ṣyūr tawōlī amhīsān w-kaḷūt ṭah b-akassaṭāh. tōli ḍāmr ḥah, “ākōfi aāsār ḍa-l-āṭnēn, w-kaḇēn ḡār naxlīt. w-ḥəddōr man (t)ṣəkt!

3. te b-aḥllāy, ankāwtan tīk shalīṭ ḡaggōtān gannāytn w-rahshāwtn bark hawš. maḥaftkūṭan xalawkisān. w-kaḷēsān. mat bōrsān bark ḥamōh, șālēl xalāwkisān w-μανēhām.

4. w-ṣēn el (t)ṣyūrān lā ar b-ḥalawkisān. w-ḥəddōr man tāsōs.” ḍāmr, “ṭyē.” tōli ṣyūr te kābūn ḡār naxlīt, w-ḥātūm. te fātkō aāsār, nūka ajaggōtān w-hftūk xalawkisān, w-kaʃūd bark ḥamōh.

5. w-his bōrsān bark ḥamōh, nūka ajāyy w-ṣāl xalawkisān. tōli ᵐk̡āy̡h w-āmr ḥah, “tawwak tstērān! w-daxlūtān l-ud ṣnnōkā anāxalke zōyd.” ḍāmr, “ābdan. walākan ḥōh manōna xalōwak ṣlyōmah, w-ṣētān akāfyān!”

6. ḍāmr ḥah, “nāχāh āl ᵽkāwθar lā nakōfi ar b-xalawkyən.” tōli wâzūm ʤayt xalawkisān, w-mūnā ʤayt ᵇābâṭâh. w-ṣāṭaṣ h-ahāṣ. w-ḥarōh xalawkse, w-wazwîs xalōwak bâš. âttōli ajâyy bâs w-ḥârūs bîs.

7. w-ṣâḥ shalīt ajāthhe. te nākōr ʤayt nākām tâh šāṭayt šâbāb, w-wfawd ḥāmâh. w-hē āl yağârbhâm lâ. tōli ffēkâyēhah. w-ṣâfâm gannāwn. w-ṣaxwîl lōnēt. w-m̡g̡ōrān sôfār ha-rḥōbēt ʤayt, w-ḥâwâla tētāh hâl ḥāmâh.


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5. tstērān: 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. gannāwn: ML (s.v. gnn) lists the plural gannāwnī, but the audio clearly has gannāwn (likewise in line 18). The Arabic manuscript has اجنو in both lines, though line 25 has اجنو. 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.

tōli ēyīlom b-āgâwz tǝ wəzəṃūt xalōwǝk. w-aḥhâgōt tawrī țēr, wə- kâmārūt ēyântī ḏ-ārəḥəbēt kâl. wə-fərəwət.

tōli ēyəṣṣam ēgâygəs m-ād ỹəhtəwəl. ɬəbâw kâb să, w-āməwər, “mət ēgâyg nûk, ānyèrə ḥəh, țēt ǝmtōt.” ”tǝ mən țâr wakkt, nûkā ēgâyg. āmūr ēh, “ar têti hō?”

āmārūt, “ā ɦəbrây, ęttēt ǝmtōt, w-ğəlēk akâbrəs.” sxâwlūl wə-bəkôh. tōli nəkūs akəbər w-κūsə ar kâb. tōli ēmûr ēhâmāh, “kəlèti lay b-aşāt, wəlē wətəjōna ḥənfə!”

tōli ㄡwətūt ləh b-əkəssēt ƙâllas. əttōli səyûr təwōli amhəsni wə-şxəbərīh. tōli ēmûr ḣən amhəsni, "kənèhr ʂətəyt forōš, tät ọfər, wə-tət ḡəwər, wə-tət əwbən, w-əkələhəm bərk ʍədərūt. w-azăməhm akəsəb, w-əkələhəm shəlīt səndyn. w-əməm təmm shəlīt səndyn, əkələhəm sələt yûm ʍən ɡəyər ƙawt.

wə-məgərən kəlè’ akəsəb sər amhədərūt, w-kâl ʍənəm əd-fərr amhədərūt təwōli akəsəb dəkəməh mahəwozəl tük tət.” āyəl wətəkəməh. təmm shəlīt səndyn, fərər ọfər, wə-səyûr ēgâyg tə nûkə həl amhəsni. ēmûr ḣəḥ, “fərōsɨ ọfər fərər. sərəməh hıbōh l-əmōl?”

āmûr ɬəh, “gəhōm l-əkətər ɖa-ɦəyəwn tə təkɔt’ abōkər. wə-ʍən ɦəl ƙətət, kəlès. w-ədəh lûk məsəyr sələt yûm ɓə-➊haqdeke. wə-ksōnə bû ʈəjərbəm ʂətəyt əsawr. w-ərəbə’ ɖ-əsawr, nəkōnə səkən ɖə-tətət.”


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nəkūs: The verb nəkūs ‘dig up, exhume; rummage around for’ is a bit difficult to find in ML, since the heading nkś is erroneously printed as an entry under the root nks (p. 296), and written together with the verb nəkūs (i.e., nkšnəkūs).

amhəsni: Both occurrences of this word in this line appear as such in the Arabic manuscript. On the audio, Ali read the synonymous amhīșən for both (cf. line 2), though for the second he corrected himself to amhəsni. He read the word correctly in line 15.

ọfər: I have translated this as ‘red’, but ‘brown’ is also a possibility.

šilət yûm: The manuscripts have šilət yûm, but on the audio Ali mistakenly read šəlīt yûm.
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.”

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.

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?”

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!”

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.

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?”

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.”

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.


20  wô-wôzmêm hâyâmâmhfêt mân alhyêtâtah. w-âsÎr sôlât, wâtcaf hêt alagâtah asêêt, wô-wôzmêm hâyâmâmhfêt mân alhyêtâtah. te k-sôbh, sayûr. te nûka kûldyâni b-adôbêt Ï-dî-sêkàn, kôbûn.

21  tôli shînî têtêh sîrût têdêmûl, wê-xtalis te mânâys. w-ô-gêrbâtêh, âttôli âmûrût hêh, “hâbye wôtêyêga tîk. walâkân akêm bêrk xalêki, wà-sîrônî towôli hâbye.” wê-wkûb bêrk xalêkês, wà-sîrôn te nkôh hêt hâyêbûs.


24  âmàwr, “hâm gûrak xawr dômàh, wà-hâm şarbâk akkàyênâmêm ãyak wà-hêt têbárêka wà-ûyayîk fîgûn Ïô-môh, wà-şèdrôyûk ûs w-êl kêtêm lê, wà-hâm tôwûk Ïô-yûrî trôh, wàzyêma tôk têt.” âmûr, “yêye. şêbêrêm lay te k-sôbh.”

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19  *šêt: ML (s.v. *šf*) lists *šaft* ‘hair’, pl. *šêf*, but I suspect that *šaft* is a mistake. The other MSA languages have a singular form closely corresponding to Mehri *šêt*. See also the comment to *šaff* in line 25.

20  *asêêt: Ali stumbled on this word, but eventually read *asêêt*. This matches what he wrote in the Arabic manuscript (شائعت), what Johnstone transcribed in the Roman manuscript (šâyît), and what Watson (2012: 113) recorded for Omani Mehri (šâṭat). ML (s.v. *šût*) lists only *šawûtât* as the feminine form of the ordinal *šolât*, but that form is used only with ‘day’ (cf. texts 22:49, 88:5 and 91:27; see also § 9.3).

22  *ḥarôhk*: There is an audible ë in this word, though Ali did not transcribe it in the Arabic manuscript. Still, the underlying form must be *ḥarôk*, since *ḥarôhk* should become *ḥarâhk*. Cf. also 42:52.
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.”

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.

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.

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.

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!”

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!”

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.”
tōli his bə-ḥalláy, hawká’ šaff šah bǝrk šiwōt. wa-nákam tǝh hámhe aġannáwn, wa-kəlūt līhəm. ǝttōli wǝddáwdam. ámma ǝt-tǝḥ yǝğrɛ́ʾ xawr, wǝ-tǝṭ yǝkēb bǝrk aġáyg mǝt də-šǝ́rbá’ karmáym, wǝ-tǝṭ yǝkēb bǝrkīh mǝt təwōh aba’yər.

te k-sōbəh nūka šert, wa-ˈəmləm əwţákəməh. wa-nūgəh aģáyg, wǝ-šaudit téta. wǝ-tammıt.

\[25\]

šaff: The audio clearly has šaff, as do the manuscripts. As noted above in the comment to line 19, ML (s.v. šf) lists a singular form šaft, but this must be an error either for šfēt or šaff, both of which occur in this text with the meaning ‘hair’. In this line, šaff could be taken as a collective noun. Jahn (1902:240) lists šfīt ‘hair’ (pl. šēf) and šuff ‘mane’ (pl. šfōf). The plural form šēf occurs in texts 9:8 and 86:9. See also the comment to šǝ́fsɛ text 7515.

\[25\]

šəh: We expect də-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.

\[25\]

aġannáwn: The Arabic manuscript has اجنون، but the audio has aġən-

нáwn. See the comment to line 7, above.
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.

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. xǝṭǝrāt hōh gahémk mǝn hāl sēkǝn, hōm al-ṭāf al-ğayg āsǝri. hāmak bāh ḏa-gılū.
2. wǝ-gahémk mǝn ašhāyr, hōm šalōt. ǝttōli kǝfādk arḥǝbēt, wǝ-şátmak ksǝwêt h-âsǝri. wǝ-gahémk, te kalāyni nākak bǝ-wōdi, w-ǝl kǝsk bīs ǝḥād lā.
3. wǝ-gǝzōt hayāwım. ǝttōli ġâymǝk, wǝ-sǝyârk bǝrq hawōdī aw-mšā'.
4. tōli hāmak ġass, wǝ-sǝyârk te kǝsk bǝ-áyr.
5. mánaq ab-áyr wa-rákbaq lah. te wǝṣǝlǝk wōdi ҭayt, kǝsk bīs ǝḥād lā.
6. ǝttōli kâlak ab-áyr wǝ-sǝyârk te bǝrq rékǝb, šawkáfk.
7. te k-šөbǝh gahémk, wǝ-wâtxfǝk ḡâl sēkǝn. hâtǝmk hǝnīhǝm. te k-šөbǝh hadǝlīli bǝ-sēkǝn ḏa-hôm tawēh.
8. te kalâyni wâtxfǝk wǝ-kâsk aâsǝri bǝ-xâyr. wazâmk tǝh aksǝwēt, wǝ-shât hâyni.
10. te wǝṣǝlalan arḥǝbēt, āzáwman bā bāš, wǝ-ḥǝksǝmǝn hǝnīhǝm. te ġasarâwwe nhukǝn ma nbaýt.
11. tōli ǝsɔnni têt šadhaḳâwt ma xawfēt, wǝ-ttêt rǝḥâymǝt. tōli ǝxǝbârk aâsǝri, āmârk, “mòn yasǝkkan bǝrk abâyt dîmâh?”
13. āmûr, “yomkǝn taqtaʃk.”
14. āmârk, “baʃé bıs. āmâr, ‘dɔmâh maṇ aʃɛbɛkɔm nûka yǝṭâf lâys’?”
15. sayûr ačâyg. te nkâys, āmûr, “sây ɡayg ɓahôm yǝṭâf lâys.”

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2. šalōt: In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added a marginal note that this referred to ‘district; mtns near Sidḥ’. Miranda Morris (p.c.) confirms that Šelot is the name for the area of land that runs from the sea to the foot of the mountains, from Ṭaqah 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 šalòt as Šalalah in ML (s.v. šll) is a misprint for šalòlat.

9. arḥǝbēt, sadro: The Arabic manuscript has arḥǝbēt sadro, while the Roman manuscript has just sadro, and the audio has just arḥǝbēt.

16. fâʃ(ʃ)hâk: The Arabic manuscript has فاشك, the Roman manuscript has fâʃhâk, and the audio has fâʃhâk. The form can be either D/L fâʃhâk.
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 Ṣelot. 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.”

‘I embarrassed’ or T1 fāṣ(s)ḥǝk (< fāssḥǝk) ‘I was/am embarrassed’. The latter seems correct based on the context, though it is surprising that it takes a direct object.
tōli səmḥōt lay. wə-wəkābk. te nākak, āmlōt hīn šēhi.


tōli hātəm, wə-ḡātəryək šis ħārs. āmərūt, “ḡətəyə k-āgəy, wə-hām ar fffkāwk, hōh ḥōm.”

te nəhōr xəwfīt, ḡātəryək k-āgəs. āmūr, “nəḥāh əl nəgərbək lā, w-əl məffkəwtn tīk lā.”

əttōli kəlōt kis b-āɡərəy ə-āgəs. āmərūt, “hēt ʂərəməh ɡahōm təwōli sēkənək, wələkən nəkən mən ẓər warx. wə-hōh kəwətītə h-āgəy b-āɡəbək, wə-məxəwəyəta təwēhe ɬəynt təmərən ɬəh.”

wə-sayərk wə-rəddək mən ẓər warx. wə-xəzōh mən yəhəffkī. wə-sayərk bə-
sənət xəmmōh ɬəwər. wə-ʃədərəy te kkəmlək sənət. wə-ffəkəy, wə-təmmət.

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21 nəkən: The audio has nəkəʾ ‘come back’, while the Arabic manuscript has nəkən ‘come back to us’.

21 wə-hōh kəwətītə: The remainder of the text given in the manuscripts, beginning with wə-hōh kəwətītə in line 21, is missing from the audio. Instead, the audio has a shorter (and different) ending: wə-nākak mən ẓər warx wə-wfədək, wə-ffəkī, wə-hārəsk. wə-təmmət ‘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: “bǝ-kǝ́m thôm (t)šōm lay amǝndáwḳǝk?”
2 B: “bǝ-ʿašríayn rawn hāṣǝr.”
3 A: “wǝzmōna tīk ōśǝr wǝ-xáymǝn. ōśǝr hāṣǝr, wǝ-xáymǝn h-ǝš́āyrǝb. hām šǝrxōt wǝ-nṭalāt, wǝ-hōh štǝmōna, te wǝ-lü šǝgláyk tīs. amǝndáwḳǝk dawálāt, wǝlākan hōh məxwǐf, wǝ-hōm mǝndáwḳ.”
4 B: “lawb, amǝndáwḳi ar gǝ́dǝt wǝ-rxáyṣǝt, wǝ-hōh šǝmōna lük, hām hēt məháwf tī házyǝ h-ǝš́āyrǝb.”
5 A: “ol hōh ǝwəmōna tīk lā, hām ktīb. xáybǝn, šǝndǝrk b-ōśǝr rawn hāṣǝr, wǝ-xáymǝn h-ǝš́āyrǝb, wǝ-mǝn naxáltı ašhāwd.”
6 B: “wǝ-hōh šamk amǝndáwḳ w-amẖezēm.”
7 A: “wǝ-hōh sātmak.”
8 B: “tawōfǝḳ aṣǝḥḥátk!”
9 A: “wǝ-hēt səlōm!”
10 tōli nūka ašáyrǝb. āmūr aḡáyg ǝś-šōm amǝndáwḳǝh,
11 B: “ād mǝháwf tī ktiḥ.”
12 A: “hōh ar mǝháwf tīk, wǝlākan tǝ́wwǝk(t)ṣǝbēr lay tɛ aḳáyð. házyǝn ṭǝ-mōt sanēt Türkiye.”
13 B: “hōh ar bɛrk hǝnkǝ́rk mǝháwf tī ar mǝn ǝṭær ass.”
14 A: “tǝktǝwōl lā. hām ar máθanek, mǝháwf tīk. ā(d)šǝn śhın wǝkōna ašrāyn rawn ṭǝ-yə́sə́xǝyf mənsēn ašřāwyn. wǝzmōna tīk xáymǝn mplural. wǝ-ṣǝbǝ́rk lay, gǝzēk xayr.”

3 šǝrxōt: ML (s.v. srx) lists the verb sǝwrǝx ‘make a bang; fire, be fired’ with non-glottalic ɹ, noting that this is in contrast to the Arabic cognate with ʂ (ṣaraxa ‘bellow, roar’). In the Arabic manuscript, however, Ali wrote ʂ. The initial consonant ʂ must be glottalic, since otherwise we would expect sūrǝx, not sǝwrǝx (cf. sūmǝḥ ‘forgive’). JL (p. 242) gives the root as srx, but HL (p. 112) has srx.

3 šǝgláyk: Stroomer’s edition has šǝɡalǝyk here, but this is an error. Neither the manuscripts nor the audio have evidence of a k. The form šǝgláyk is a 1cs perfect of the Š1-Stem šǝglōh ‘buy at a high price’ (ML, s.v. ɟɪy). Johnstone lists in ML (s.v. ɟɪk) an Š2-Stem verb šǝɡalǝk ‘buy s.t. expensive’, which is surely what misled Stroomer. It is likely that the verb šǝɡalǝk, though listed in ML, does not really exist, as the meaning ‘buy s.t. expensive’ is unexpected for the root ɟɪk. Even if it did exist, the 1cs perfect would be šǝɡalǝk (< *šǝɡalǝk), not šǝɡalǝyk.

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.”

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 Baḥṭari (1937: 274).

6. amḥǝzēm: This is the definite form of mǝḥzēm, which is a borrowing of Arabic miḥzām ‘belt’. The word is not in ML, though ML (s.v. ḥzm) lists Central Jibbali maḥzɛ́m ‘cartridge-belt’ (also in JL and HL, s.v. ḥzm). HL includes Ḥarsusi and Mehri mǝḥzɛ́m ‘cartridge-belt’.
12. aḳáyḍ̣: 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)sǝn: In the Arabic manuscript, Ali spelled this word ُسن, without the expected d. There has been a partial assimilation here; on the audio, Ali read ássən. 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 šarbōməh, wəlākan mət nūka əkāyə, ḥawfi mən jayr jərōy.”

16 A: “šəndərk ɗ-al-hawk akāyə amhākbəl.”

šəndərk: The Roman manuscript has the 1cs perfect šəndərk, but the Arabic manuscript and audio have the ms imperative šánḍər. Ali stumbled on this word, reading first 3ms perfect šəndūr, then (after a prompt by Johnstone) the ms imperative šánḍər. If šánḍər 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 xǝṭǝrāt trōh ġayw. āttōli mūrǝš žaṭ ǝxǝmmōh wōrǝx. tōli mōt.
2 wǝ-śáfī šǝtāyah sǝwēhr mǝn xawr, wǝ-kǝbawrǝh.
3 w-aġāh sōbār yǝsyūr āḍ ākōbǝr ā-ḍ-aġāh wǝ-yǝbǝyk.
4 āttōli šǝšāk mōnǝh amaytāyn.
5 āttōli hūmā sāỵh āḍ-yōmǝr, “ašīkk b-amkǝbrēt.
6 aģāk ǝl mōt lā. aģāk šǝtāyah sǝwēhr, wǝ-hē bǝ-hând.
7 w-ǝ-bér kawbīh kabš. w-ǝ-hēt, l-ād tǝbkɛ̄h lā!”
8 āttōli akōfī agāyg w-ǝ-kalūt ḡābū b-ǝlhān hǝmāyḥ.
9 w-āmūr, “hōm ǝl-ssōfǝr hǝnd.”
10 āmawr ḡah ḡābū, “hēt ahtawēk? aģāk ber mōt w-ǝ-bér kǝbēr, w-ǝ-kalē’ hǝwɛl!”
11 āmūr, “hōh ar gǝhmōna.”
12 āttōli ssōfǝr agāyg, w-āmawr ḡābū, “agāyg ahtawül.”
13 w-ssōfǝr agāyg te wisi hǝnd.
14 šxǝbūr man hǝndyūt, w-ǝ-kalawt lǝh ḡābū bīs.
15 w-āmawr, “hām thōm tǝnkɛ̄s, ἀṅkēs man saris wǝ-mnē’ tádyas.”
16 tōli āymǝl awtákǝmǝh. te mǝnáys w-ǝ-kalūt lıs.
17 āttōli āmaru, “mǝt hārāwn kalāh, sār, w-ǝ-agāk yagārbǝk.”
18 tōli āymǝl waṭakamah, w-ǝ-kalōh ḡārāwn. alhē kabš hıs ǝnī agāh, w-ǝ-nūka agāh w-ǝ-mǝnāyḥ.

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5 ašīkk: This is the D/L-Stem 2ms perfect of the root slaught. The underlying form is ašīkk, just as in line 4 the Š1-Stem 3mp perfect šasīk comes from šasīk. 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 ašīkk in Stroomer's edition is based on a misreading of Johnstone's transcription ašīkk. On this root, see also the comment to text 24:23.

8 ḡābū: We might expect here ǝl-ḡābū. In fact, the Arabic manuscript originally had ǝl-ḡābū, but the prefix was crossed out. Neither the Roman manuscript or the audio has ǝl-. The form ḡābū here must represent an underlying h-ḡābū, since the indirect object of kalūt requires the preposition l- or h-.

15 tádyas: The audio has tádyas, based on the singular tôdī, while the Roman manuscript has ǝtdâys, based on the plural ǝtdây. 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.

17 *mat ḥāráwn:* Although both manuscripts have *mat ḏ-ḥāráwn*, the prefix ḏ- is unexpected. The audio lacks the prefix ḏ-.

18 *ǝlhē:* MLP (s.v. *lhv*) lists the G-Stem *lḥū* ‘bleat’ (for which *lḥōh* 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 *ǝlhē*, which follows the pattern of II-h verbs (§7.2.5). This looks like a Jibbali form (cf. Jibbali *alḥē*), however, Jahn (1902: 208) lists Mehri *leḥéy* ‘bleat’ (*meckern*).
w-āmūr, “dîmāh hē.” wə-kawbátəh te kátəb hîs fənəhən.
wa-ráddəm h-əkāhəm, wə-siləm wəkōna əśər sənāyn.
wa-mģōrən səbərəh ḥābū, ŋəməwər həh, “həssək bə-ẖənfək hîs šəllək səwēhər?”
wa-şəlləy bə-ḥəlləy mən xəwər; w-əsənə həbū xā hēm bərk ḥəməh.
wa-şənəhəm ḑə-yağtəryəm, wəlākən əl əhəmahəm ẖā.
wa-hūs bərək əmərkəb, dəhətī tət ẖələyət wə-ẖətəwbək kəbəs.
wə-hōh bəy ẖəssək kəlləh, wəlākən əl əkəwədər l-əɣtəyr ẖā.” wə-təmmət.

ōśər: The manuscripts have the correct feminine cardinal form ōśər, but Ali mistakenly read ăyśər on the audio, which is the form used only with ‘days’ ($9.2$).

wə-təmmət: The Roman manuscript has about ten additional words before wə-təmmət, printed in Stroomer’s edition as lines 27–28. I would transcribe these as wə-mģōrən sələm ağıyəg wəkōna əśər sənāyn. məģərən mət ʤə-șətk ‘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 śērǝk

1 yāmǝrǝm ǝssērǝk yǝkūn k-sawēḥǝr, wǝ-ḥābū yašbādyam kēt.
2 te nǝhōr ǝṭay, ɡāyūɡ dǝ-yǝsyáwr ba-horrǝm. tōli ǝnimb ǝnɪt šxǝwlül, wǝ-šafǝn sawēḥǝr.
3 tōli ǝmǝrūt ǝṭay, “aġayti, wǝ-ǝko hē šsērǝk l-ǝd nūka lā awākt ǝḥom?”
4 ǝmǝrūt ǝṭay, “adǝmmǝh bǝrǝh k-ǝḥad gáyrǝn. wǝlākan nǝhöm nǝsyēr bǝrk amǝrgǝt dǝyk wǝ-nǝmtǝrǝg, wǝ-mǝhsǝrǝtǝn. wǝ-yǝmkǝn yankē’.”
5 w-aġǝyūɡ ǝd-ḥǝbâwn, wǝ-ǝd-yǝyahamǝn tısǝn b-ǝlhān āmūr.
6 tōli ǝsyǝr ḥaynić. te wīsǝl ǝmǝrgǝt, ǝmtǝrǝg wǝ-ḥǝsfǝr.
7 ǝttōli nūka dǝ-yǝbǝrka. wǝlākan aġayūɡ asy hôm, wǝ-ffalût.
8 w-ǝmāwr, “ǝl ǝnḳawdǝr nawāsftǝh lā. ǝwbôn xā hē šxōf, wǝ-xfayf xā hē bǝrk. w-ǝkǝrǝh aklâl mân akbarēt, hīs amḥalēb.”
9 tōli ḥabû šsadık dǝ-hē šǝrǝk ǝṭt. yǝkūn k-sawēḥǝr.
10 w-ǝd ǝl ǝḥâd yǝśɛ́n肴 lā ar xǝrtǝr ǝd-kǝmǝh, mǝn ǝkawl d-ǝgayūɡ ǝlyâkǝmǝh. wǝ-temmôt.

8 bark: Although the Roman manuscript has bōrǝḳ, the audio has bark. The spelling قروب in the Arabic manuscript suggests that bark was intended, since Ali would likely have written قروب for bōrǝḳ. ML (s.v. br ḳ) lists only bōrǝḳ for ‘lightning,’ though Jahn (1902: 170) lists both bark and bōrǝḳ; cf. also Hobyt bark (HV, p. 196) and Jibbali bǝrk (JL, s.v. brk).
Translation of Text 41

1. They say the śērak 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 śērak 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 śērak) 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 śērak 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 xǝṭrǝt ǝgay wǝ-ḥǝmǝ́h k-hǝbǝr bǝ-şǝyɣ, w-ǝl yǝxǝnýǝm ǝḥād lā.  
2 w-ǝqīgǝn yǝwǝlɔ fnǝfǝn bǝ-šǝfɔ b-ǝ-tayw. w-ǝqīgǝn kǝwǝdy w-ǝxfǝyf.  
3 yarǝyd b-ǝ-ǝxtrakǝh, w-yǝbǝrka te yǝxakklǝh.  
4 te nǝhǝr ɬǝg, ǝmǝ́r ḥǝmǝ́h, "ǝḥād ǝl-his tǝ?" ǝmǝrǝt, "bǝ-ħāw, wǝlākan ǝmǝwr ...", ǝmǝr, "wǝlākan hibōh? kǝlẽti lay ǝšakt!"  
5 ǝmǝrǝt, "yǝmǝrǝm bǝt bû zīd ǝl-hǝlāli axáyr mǝnk." ǝmǝr, "šǝnḍǝrk b-ǝ-yəbît mǝxawmüt, hām šinak bǝt bû zīd ǝl-hǝlāli."  
6 ǝmǝwr, "ǝnhǝh ǝyǝmǝrǝm hûn bǝt bû zīd ǝl-hǝlāli." ǝmǝr, "yā ḥāyyo ɓikǝm! bǝrī ɗ-ǝmtǝnyǝn ɓikǝm."  
7 ǝmǝwr, "hǝsǝn? wiça ɬuk ɬi?" ǝmǝr, "ablǝn, wǝlākan ĕǝm l-axtār šikǝm."  
8 w-ǝ-ḥātım, w-ǝ-ʃhǝt yǝbbīt. w-ǝ-ḥahǝyam tıs xǝmmoḥ ɦǝqǝwdo. h-ǝqīgǝn w-ǝ-ḥǝmǝ́h ɦǝdqo tɾoḥ. w-ǝ-hēm šatǝy, w-ǝ-kal tát ɦoq.  
9 tɔli bǝt bû zīd ǝl-hǝlāli shǝłǝm, w-ǝqīgǝn w-ǝ-ḥǝmǝ́h tǝwyoḥ xawr.  
10 ǝmǝwr, "ḥam hêt tımız taxtår šin, shol ědǝqo!" ǝmǝr, "ǝl ǝkwadǝr łā. ɗǝmǝh yasǝddǝki, hōh w-ǝ-ḥǝmǝ́y, warx w-ǝ-zyoḥ."  
11 ǝmǝr bû zîd ǝl-hǝlāli, "xâyboń, al tšawłǝh (t)ʃyɛ́r šin łā. w-ǝn-ňήh šin səlɔw;b: kâł ɗ-ǝl shēl ɦąqetoł łā, nǝlɔtqeq."  
12 ǝmǝr, "hōm šikǝm al-šǝně fǝɾtǝytkem, ǝtǝm ǝxǝyǝr ǝmǝnåy, aw hōh ǝxǝyǝr ɱǝnkeł."  
13 te k-ǝsɔbǝ́h šdǝddǝm al-ʃorhǝyênɨhǝm, w-ǝ-ħē ʃadǝl al-ʃorhâynǝh.  
14 ǝmǝrǝt hâh ḥâmǝ́h, "al xâr hük tǝqhoð ʃihoł łā. ǝlyømø ɦabû bârhrǝm majeł." ǝmǝr, "hōh axǝyǝr ɱǝnhɛ̄m."  
15 w-ǝ-syaïwr. te wâtxfǝm b-a-wōdî nôb, kusǝm ɦǝbriš ɗa-ηkøm ɗa-rǝʃeñêt bø-gøndǝt. w-ǝ-hunis xabz w-ǝ-kawt.  
16 tølî ʃ̣aβiɾǝs, ǝmǝwr, "kø hêt bâwɔməh?"  
17 ǝmǝrǝt, "dǝ-ɾǝʃank h-arisît bǝrk ɦǝwɔdî dǝmøh, ɡənɔnɔ. w-ǝ-kâł əʃǝr yǝwɔzmɔm (tøh) ɡagqit w-ǝ-kawt a'ıseh.

11 tšawłǝh: This 2ms imperfect form (used also in text 76:3) is based on a Ga-Stem perfect ʃaløh. Such a verb is not listed in ML (s.v. ʃlḥ), though other forms of this root are listed. The Ga-Stem must be based on Arabic ʃalaḥa 'be suitable, proper, righteous, fitting'. Cf. also Jibbali ʃɛlɔh 'be suitable, fine', used in the Jibbali version of this story (J54:9); see also JL (s.v. ʃlḥ).
Once a man and his mother were with the camels on a desert plain, and they didn't see anyone.

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.

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!”

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.”

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]?”

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).”

They said, “For what? Has something happened to you?” He said, “Not at all, but I want to travel with you.”

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.

Then the clan of Bu Zid al-Hilali finished, but the boy and his mother ate (only) a little.

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.”

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.”

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.”

Then in the morning, they saddled their horses, and he saddled his horse.

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.”

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.

Then they asked her, they said, “Why are you here?”

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.

\[tah\]: The expected object \(tah\) is in the Roman manuscript, but is missing from the Arabic manuscript and the audio.
chapter 14

18 wa-hām al wazēm sī lā, yahawsaḥ arḥabēt.
19 wa-bēr tomūm ağağgoṭen ḍ-arḥabēt. l-ād ar hōh, ḥabrūt ḍa-hōkam. w-atēm, háfawtman ba-hanfūykam, m-ād wānykē’ ağaṇnāy wa-yatēkham!
20 tōli nēṭāwr l-ağağgoṭot, wa-tawīw akāwt ḍa-hanūs. āmārūt, ‘agaṇnāy ḥṣorōna arḥabēt!’
21 āmāwr, ‘al tāṣāysi lā. nēḥāh ḥenāyš.’ te ba-hallāy, hāmam aṣāwt ḍ-ariṣit mān ḫāk.
22 tōli hīs hāmam aṣāts, nātṭ ḥabrē ḍa-ṭtēt əs-sayūr šīhām.
23 əttōli affēkāw yah be-fkayūtān, wa-hē ḍa-yābāyk mān abtōl wa-ḍ-yōmār, “akīrēn béri hāl ḥāmāy!”
24 əttōli awaddīhām bū zīd. āmūr, “ənkēḥ sāṭāyt, wa-kāl tāt yəṣōt šalēt ḍ-āṣēr.”
26 əttōli ankōt arīṣēt at-tanhēk, wa-tōmār, “a’iśē ḥō?”
27 āmūr hīs ṭāṭ, “a’iśēs ḥōh, wēlākān ftēhī xaš l-agērē ḍa-l-ākēb, wa-ḡemēṣi āyēntsē!”
28 fṭōt xās wa-ḡemēšāw taynt, wā-sāl gondētī taynt, wa-yahōka ṭaynt,

28 yahōka: This is the H-Stem 3ms imperfect of the root wḵ’. According to ML (p. xlvii and s.v. wḵ’), the 3ms imperfect is yahawwkā. However, there is no reason why the form should be so different from other H-Stem verbs whose third root consonant is ‘ (e.g., hARBā’; 3ms imperfect yaharōba). That is, we expect yah(ə)wōka, which is what Jahn (1902: 235) recorded (yehuwōqa); this becomes yahōka (see § 7.2.9, especially n. 67). Cf. also the Ḥarsusi 3ms imperfect yawōka, from awkā, and the Jibbali 3ms imperfect yōka’, from ebka’. The audio has yahōka here, which is what Johnstone transcribed in the Roman manuscript, and what Ali wrote in the Arabic manuscript (قوهي). See also the comment to text 88:2.

28 šagbīs: This must be from a Ga-Stem verb šagūb, meaning something like ‘put across’, though no such verb is listed in ML. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added a form šagawbah in the margins, which can only be a Ga-Stem 3mp perfect plus a 3ms object. He also added a form šigāb, a Gb-Stem perfect, which would mean something like ‘lie across (intrans.)’. We can compare the Arabic noun miṣjab ‘a rack (for clothes, guns, etc.)’, and several words listed in JL (s.v. šgb). ML (s.v. šgb) lists a form šagōb ‘across’ as if it were a preposition, including the form šagabīs ‘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 cow-
ardice 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 śá دق ṣwxáyw ... دق ḥa-دق: 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 

\[ \text{wa-ṣagbisan} \]
\[ \text{man ḥannūk h-ḥannūk} \]

‘and he put them from palate to palate’.

28 ṣwxáyw: This is an adjective (‘lower’) from the root lxy/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
\( e )lxe, \) fs elxét ‘lower’. Soqoṭri has \( l̥ahé \) ‘below; downwards’ (Leslau 1938:
231; Naumkin et al. 2014: 602), and Morris (2012: 486) cites additional
cognates from Baṭḥari and Hobyot.

28 ʾaléw: This is an adjective (‘upper’) from the root ʾly/ʾlw. Johnstone (ML, s.v.
ʾlw) took the word as an adverb ‘at the top’, and listed also a Central Jibbali
form aʾalé ‘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.
wǝ-šaqbīs mǝn šadkǝs awxayw h-šadkǝs ālēw, wǝ-tayt mǝn šadkǝs dēk ha-dēk.

29 wǝ-hawkā’ agawbǝh dār agonēd. w-āmūr hīs. “shāyli fǝnōhǝn agonēd, wǝ-mgōrǝn hōh.”

30 hātmtūt at-tagōla agonēd attē tǝmm šalēt d-āasǝr. āmārūt, “dōmǝh al hē aʾisēy lā. ftēk mǝn xāhīl!”

31 wǝ-xāyalaf lūs ūt. w-hē ṭahāym—anāwra h-ḥēs hārūt—w-āymal ḥorawka. w-āmūr, “ṣābēri lāy ʃe al-hāftak abarawkǝ horymah.”

32 āmārūt, “yēye.” mat sawānōt, yahfūt ūt, wǝ-yarūgaz hīs.

33 attōli skorōt mǝn arāwgaq d-āgāyg te tǝmm šalēt d-āasǝr. āmārūt, “dōmǝh al hē aʾisēy lā. hāftak abarqā’!”

34 haftūk abarqā’, wǝ-ḡawkwānt bah. toli gǝhrōt mǝn awbǝnēt d-āgāyg. w-āmārūt, “ḥō aʾisēy?”

35 nūka bū zūt. āmūr, “aʾisēs bōh. mǝdēdi xāhīl!” w-ǝmaddūt xāhs, w-ǝwbdīs b-ʾaskāy. w-ffalīt m-ād yǝqhayhawm adhīb d-ādora’.

36 w-āsūm ḥorōd d-ārisīt wǝ-sallāh, w-ṣūt ağıgǝnōt. wǝ-bār hē w-ǝgǝgǝnōt te wakābw arhābēt.

37 āmūr h-ǝgǝgǝnōt, “ḥǝddāyri mǝn tǝkalēti l-ḥādīl!” wǝ-hawkabīs abāts.

38 wǝ-ʃōr mǝn akā’ te hawkā’ ḥorōd d-āriṣīt dār sath, w-ǝtáwbax adora’ b-ʾamk ḥ-ḥasān.

39 w-ǝrādd te wišal agawhe. šawkif. te k-sobah hǝbsdah ḥorōd d-āriṣīt dār ḥasān, w-ʾalomat d-ādora’ b-ʾalkh ʾb-ḥasān. w-ǝgǝgǝnōt hāl hābšē.

40 āmāwr h-ǝgǝgǝnōt, “mōn dǝ-luatag arisēt?” āmārūt, “al wādak lā.”

41 toli xxǝsaww hokawm al-baʾyli arhabēt. āmūr, “mōn dǝ-luatag arisēt?”


29 hawkā’: This word is in the manuscripts, but Ali skipped it on the audio.

29 aganēd: For the first occurrence of this word, the manuscripts have aganēd, but Ali mistakenly read the singular agandēt on the audio. For the second, he also read agandēt, but then corrected himself to aganēd.

30 tagōla: ML (s.v. gl’) lists the imperfect form yagawla, but this is an error. The correct 3ms imperfect of the verb gula ‘gnaw’ is yagola (like nūka, yanoka).

31 ḥorawka: This is the plural of ḥorqā ‘veil’ (used in lines 33 and 34). I did not find the word in ML, but it is given in HL (s.v. brqd’). 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].”

kāl āl-nūka fərr te kāyta. al ḋdawr lā.

ēttōli nūka bū zīd ā-lības labs ā-mapkāyr, te sōr hāl ħābū ā-ḥəjlāyym.

ēttōli sādḥəkawt ağağgūt mān xəwftet wə-ṣənỳētsh.

w-āmərūt ḥāybas, “ā ḡāybi, āmēr h-ağaγg ḏēk yəlḥōm k-ḥābū.” āmūr, “yaxx! ḥaṣbōb al ḋdawr yəlḥāyym lā. ḏekəmah yəḳdēr?”


tōli ləḥām ṭawr, wə-gār bə-bēdī. wə-ḥābū āl-əshḥāyk mānəh. wə-ləḥām amšəɡərēt, wə-nūka bəh.

tōli āmūr həh ḥōkəm, “hēt hēsən mən qayg?” āmūr, “hōh abū zīd əl-ḥəlālī.”

āmūr, “dəvnək b-əhəkəmti, wə-məhāffək tık ḥəhrəyti.”

āmūr, “ḥərōhk səlmən. hōh al əsəm fərəyti lā. wələkən sən tət nədəl, wə-ləhəm təzəməm tın əhəd yəhəwəshələh hamster.”


ālēk: This appears to be a G internal passive of the root ‘lk. ML lists the D/L-Stem əlok with meaning ‘hang (trans.)’, but compare the Arabic G ‘aliqa ‘hang (intrans.)’ vs. D ‘allaqa ‘hang (trans.).’

fərr te kāyta: The manuscripts have the 3ms forms fərr and kāyta. On the audio, Ali read, “fərr te kāyta ... te kətəm ... fərəm te kətəm”. The forms fərəm and kətəm are 3mp. Both singular and plural forms work in this context.

ḥərōhk səlmən: 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).
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.”

Everyone who came jumped until he got tired. They weren’t able.

Then Bu Zid came, dressed in the clothes of a poor man, and [lit. until] he stood by the people who were jumping.

Then the girl looked down from the window and saw him.

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?”

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.”

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.

Then the ruler said to him, “What kind of man are you?” He said, “I am Abu Zid al-Hilali.”

He said, “Take my kingdom, and I will give you my daughter in marriage.”

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.”

He said, “That’s it?” He said, “That’s it.” And the story is finished.
*Text 43 (no J): Looking for Rooms

1 amnēdǝm, hām hē b-agōrbēt, sōbar yaktawīlǝn, al-hīs hām tāt xalūs man hōrǝm.
2 te wə-lū fōnah fērah, yahqawwəb nōdəl, te wə-lū al hē nōdəl lā.
3 dīməh sabēb də-kāṣdi də-yāllōh wa-də-yəmōh.
4 wə-hōh ar kəsk bū rīhōm, walākan yəmkən hūk amatlawbək lā.
5 sētən ftkk tawalīhəm, hōm al-şāxbər mən bəyt.
6 walākan hīs nākak, kəsk yənɨt hərk abāyt təkāṭhən, wə-şxəbərk tisən mən məkōn.
8 raddak te nākak aribēy. waẓamk təh awərkət. w-āmūr, “dīməh al tsədūd lā. wə-hōh sīrōna tawalīhəm, wa-ŋənən man hənihəm b-agəwəb d-əʃətk”
9 wə-hōh də-mətənək mənəh yəkələ xaşmətəh l-agərəy, walākan lū ād śinak təh, akirən l-ənfəh al-hīs bər nafˈay təyyəb.
10 hēt āmərk fənəhən həbū bəwma hərīhəm. wə-kō hēm al yənəfəm tik wə-yakləm aribēy xədəmən? hēm al ḡərūb aɣəroyi lā wə-ttē yənfəm tī.
11 hēt al zahēdək lā. wə-lū zahēdk hibōh l-əmər həbū rīhōm walākan yəjib yəssādəm tət̥idāyham. al hēm al-hīs tūn lā. nəddōs tət̥idāyyən.
12 həbū də-ɣərəwb kəl śiyən. tāt ətələm yəgərəb hibōh yəssād hərbəθə.
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: "ǝl-ḥõ sīrōna yǝmōh?"
2 B: "sīrōna ǝl-ṭāf ǝl-xǝ́lye. ber háyni sēt mǝnḥēm."
3 A: "xáybǝn. thábta lā. al sǝ́ddan mǝnk lā."
4 B: "yéye. ǝl hõh mǝḥāḇta lā. nǝkōna tikǝm bād gēhǝmǝh."
5 A: "wa-ya lawb, ǝnkēn gēhǝmǝh. l-ād ādōr lā."
6 B: "hām ar kālam tī xǝ́lye l-ǝrdēd gēhǝmǝh, nǝkōna tikǝm."
7 A: "šǝwādak. xáybǝn."
8 tōli gǝhēm te wīṣǝl xǝ́lhɛ. hātūm hǝnîhǝm aṣǝr tāt. w-ǝmûr h-xǝ́lhke, “ḥôm ǝl-gǝhōm tawōlī sékǝnî.”
9 ǝmâwr hǝh, “ābdan. ǝl (t)syūr lā. ādōn šátwǝḵǝn lûk.”
10 ǝmûr, “sékǝnī mǝmṯanūta, w-ǝl kālak ǝḥād lā mǝn sǝ́rāy ar yǝnīt wa-κǝnyawk. w-ǝl yasdaqd wǝnây lā. wa-ḥámkǝm tsmēhǝm lây.”
11 ǝmâwr hǝh, “xáybǝn, gahōm! w-ǝl kālēb lışǝm ba-salōm.” “w-ǝtēm salāyım!”
12 tōli sǝyūr aġáyg. te wīṣǝl sékǝnǝh, ksıhǝm ber sǝ́lām mǝn amkònḥǝm hāwalay. tabyxǝm te ksıhǝm ba-wǝdi tǝyt.
13 wǝlākǝn hǝwōdi hāwrǝt, w-ǝlis kawb. yǝhugǝm lışǝm mǝn tāwri tröh b-anhōr.
14 wǝlākǝn aģáyg ǝsh mǝndāwk, w-ǝyəlábđah. w-ǝməgǝrn ǝrḥayım.

3 thábta lā: The manuscripts have thábta lā ‘don’t be long’, but the audio has ǝl thábta lın lā ‘don’t be long (coming back) to us’. 
6 ǝl-ǝrdēd: The manuscripts have the 1cs subjunctive ǝl-ǝrdēd, but the audio has the ms future raddóna. 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-ǝtēm salāyım: 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

A: “wādakǝm ḥābū hībōh sǝnēt dīmǝh?”
B: “āmāwr ḥābū bǝ-χāyr wǝ-šihǝm ašxōf.”
A: “wǝlē ḥǝmēt sī šihǝm sǝnēt dīmǝh?”
B: “šihǝm ṯašös, wǝlākan aḵǝ’ bǝn amatwe, ︒kǝṭōrat gȯdǝt.”
A: “wǝlē aḥād ǝnkāykǝm mǝn hāl bǝ’āylı abkār?”
B: “ǝd-nákam hābū w-āmāwr abkär dǝ-wbūd wǝṭiyōh mǝn aḵall dǝ-śśēr.”
A: “wǝlē šihǝm ayd sǝnēt dīmǝh?”
B: “āmāwr awǝddōt, wǝlākan gâlyǝt.”
A: “wǝ-ḥa’̄yli hǝbɛ̄r, hībōh dǝ-wbáwd?”
B: “dǝ-wbāwd bǝ-χāyr. hǝrǝm bǝn amatwe, wǝ-hǝbɛ̄r dǝ-hhǝkâw ﹡t.”
A: “wǝ-hıg! abásrak abelı bǝ-χāyr. xǝybǝn, hōh gahmǝna tawolı bǝ’āylı hǝbɛ̄r. thǝmı, hǝm kǝsk sēkǝnǝk, .'.$-āmǝr hıhǝm hıbōh?”
B: “āmǝr hıhǝm hōh kǝfdǝna arhǝbɛ̄t. wǝlē alhık amáwsǝm l-ǝstǝm mǝsrǝw f-h-xarf, w-ǝl hōh mahâbṭa lâ.”
A: “šǝwadǝk, xǝybǝn. āmrǝn a hıhǝm. ǝl tǝktǝlōb lâ.”
B: “wǝlē amáwsǝm nûka?”
A: “yǝllōh nûka lang ǝd--toolbar aıy wǝ-tomǝr, wǝ-dǝ-yǝsom bǝ-raxǝs, wǝlākan sētan aḵfı.”
B: “xǝtǝrkam ād yǝnkɛ́ʾ mǝwǝsm mǝn sǝrih?”
A: “āmár ǝd lang tǝt mahâkbal, wǝlǝkan wâdan lâ mayt yǝnkɛ́ʾ.”
B: “hōh ǝd ar mǝhɛ̄tǝm hǝh yolllǝh te gehǝmǝh. wǝ-hǝm a l nûka lâ, rǝddǝnǝ.”
A: “b-arâyǝk! xǝybǝn.”

4 ṯašös: The transcription here is uncertain. The Arabic manuscript has طشروش, the Roman manuscript has ṭašawwas, and ML (s.v. ṭǝš) has ṭašowas, but the audio has ṭašös (or perhaps ṭaowös). ML records the Jibbali form ṭǝšös.
4 ḵǝṭǝrǝt: 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 awǝddōt: This is the singular diminutive of ǝydat ‘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.”

\textit{xaṭárkom}: This must be connected with Arabic \textit{xaṭara}, 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 \textit{maxáṭtar} ‘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. xǝṭǝrāt ġayg dǝ-yǝḡhōm bǝ-ḥōrǝm. te wīsāl b-aāmk, kūsa ġāgwz šxǝwǝllüt. tōlī šxǝbarīs, āmūr, “kō hēt bāwmǝh?”
2. āmǝrūt, “hōh ġāgwz dǝ-l-ād wǝsǝlak lā ġ-ǝ-yǝr, wǝ-l-ād habsǝrk lā. wǝ-tǝwāw tāmŏl háynī mārǝwf wǝ-(t)šǝlēlī.”
3. āmūr, “yĕye.” šallis. tōlī kāyta, w-āmūr, “nǝḥōm anšawnǝx.”
5. ǝttōlī āmūr, “tǝwwaš tǝkfēdī mǝn ǝgyr!” āmǝrūt, “ābdan.”
6. tōlī rātki līs, w- ġawwüt mǝn ġayg āwēr.
7. wǝlākan tǝnákah, xāssan mǝt dǝ-yǝḡhōm yǝsǝkf h ġ-tēṭǝh, tšǝwkuf ǝm- mǝnwīh w-ǝm-mán tēṭǝh.
8. ǝttōlī sǝyūr tawōlī amhīšǝn, w-šktūb ktüb mǝns. w- ǝ-l-ād nǝkātah lā.
9. te nǝhōr ǝṭyte, kǝfj̄d arḥabēt w-š̄ah tēṭǝh, w-š̄iham ǝhr. te hīs bārham bǝ-ḥōrǝm, kūsǝm ġayg āwēr.
10. w-āmūr hīhǝm, “awāsǝlam tı h-arḥabēt!” w- ǝ-sǝllam tah ġār ǝhr te wǝsǝlam arḥabēt.
11. āmūr hah, “wǝsǝlam, w- ǝ-sǝrōmǝh kafēd!” āmūr, “hibōh al-kafēd mǝn ġār ġayrī?
12. dōmah ġayrī, w- ǝ-ttēṭ tēṭī.” āmūr ajǝyg, “hibōh ǝhr ǝhrǝk w- ǝ-ttēṭ tēṭk?
13. nāḥāh dǝ-ǝmłan hik mārǝwf w- ǝ-sǝllǝn tık mǝn hōrǝm. w- ǝ-sǝrōmǝh āmlōna lın ġeroy?”

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1. kūsa: The verb kūsa ‘he found’ is missing in the Arabic manuscript and on the audio.

2. w- (t)šǝlēlī: 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)šelēl (plus the 1cs object suffix -i), with the t- suppressed because of the initial s (see §2.1.6). This is how I have parsed it in my translation. Alternatively, it could be read as from a ms imperative šalēl (plus the 1cs object suffix -i) ‘carry me’. The audio lacks the conjunction w-, 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 *xāṣṣan*: The form *xāṣṭan* given in ML (and used in Stroomer's edition of this line) is probably an error. The Arabic manuscript has خاصَةٌ, and there is no *t* heard on the audio. The Roman manuscript appears to have had *xaassan*, later altered to *xas'bn*. The form *xāṣṣan* is clearly borrowed from Arabic *xaṣṣan*. Cf. also *xāš* in 7:1 and 7:3.
te hıs wásalan báwmaḥ, āmūr, ‘ūmāḥ tēṯī, wā-ḥōmāḥ ḥáyri!” tōli hākōḥ āwēr, w-āmūr, “atēm thaym təḏlēman til!”

tōli āmūr hōkam, “ḥabēsṭām tīhām kūlāhām, wā-ḥalām tīhām kāl ṭāṭ bērk dāhrīz, w-əttāmam līhām.”

əttōli ʿəmlam əwtākamah wə-ɔttāmam līhām. tōli āmūr aġāyg ət-tṭēt, “mən yəsawwi fəḏilāh, yər qaʿ fī zīlāh!”

əttōli āmūr āwēr, “mā ʃī xsārəh, wəlē l-ḥərmah wəlē l-ḥəmārah!”

tōli ʒəráwb āskēr ət-hē āwēr bāydi. wə-hftik l-əağāyg wə-ttętəh, w-əwēr bāyki bərk habs. wə-təmmōt.

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18  wa-ɔttāmam: 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 tāmam, while əttāmam is the expected mp imperative (cf. 46:17). The 3mp perfect is actually ttāmam, 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 ... zīlāh: This sentence is all Arabic. My translation is rather loose.

19  ma ... l-ḥəmārah: 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. xǝṭarāt gǝhɛ́mk mǝn hāl sèkǝni, hōm al-ṭāf kā’ tāt āmawr bǝh arḥǝmēt.
2. wǝ-gǝhɛ́mk mǝn ɡār ḥalēb ḍə-ḥārāwn. te hıs bǝrí b-aámk əd-ḥōrǝm, ənkōt amǝwšē w-ağallēt, wǝ-hōh al aḡorab hōrǝm wīyan lā.
4. wǝ-šāff ber ɡezōt ḥayāwm, w-šāy aģallēt. thabsawr dǝ-wṭǝmûk lā.
5. wǝ-hābū də-yāssəm mǝn hark, wǝ-sāfì bēri bēri ānk d-əbkār.
6. tōli ṭhāsk wǝ-gärk, w-ffǝrūd abkār. wǝ-nákam ḥābū də-yabɔrkam.
7. te śinǝm tī, āmawr, “ḥērǝk!” w-ɑ’yiṭəm.
8. tōli āmǝ́rk hīhǝm, “əl hōh hērǝk lā! hōh ġayg də-xalâsk hōrǝm, w-ġärk wa-ffǝrūd abkār.”
9. āmawr, “barr! hēt ar hērǝk!” āmǝ́rk, “hōh, mǝn hıs xalâkak, ăđi də əhûrək lā!”
10. āmawr, “ḥet ar hērək, w-ə-hābsər b-örək!” tōli śinak tīḥam əzəwmy lāy. xábṭək aməndawk, wa-gaζəmk,
12. wə-hōh ġayg bāl xayr, w-al ətəyw Ḫərəm lā!”
13. tōli hıs yəssəm, arəbəm tī. wə-nákak tīḥam wə-šəbərī.

4. də-wṭəmûk lā: In Stroomer’s edition, the phrase al thəbsawr ġaydək mən fəmək lā ‘you couldn’t tell your hand from your foot’ appears in parenthesses at the end of line 4. This may have been taken directly from ML (s.v. bṣr), since it is not in either manuscript, nor on the audio.
5. də-l-əwβədəh: Stroomer’s transcription də-lùbádəh, based on dəluubádəh 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 əlùbəd. However, the 1cs imperfect with a suffix would be əlābdəh (cf. 3ms yəlābdəh in texts 44:14, 70:3, and 95:4). The form on the audio and in the Arabic manuscript is də-l-əwβədəh (spelled طلأربة in the Arabic manuscript), which is the 1cs subjunctive l-əwβɛd 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 done, 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 ḥōkǝm bǝ-ḥǝbēt hārūs bǝ-tēṭ, wǝ-nūka mǝn bǝ-ğiğǝn wǝ-ğǝgǝnōt. wǝ-mǝtōt tēṭ, wǝ-şxawül. wǝ-şūḵǝm ɡarit.

2 ʾattōli ḥōkǝm wǝ-ḥǝbrā́h āźawm yaghim hagg, wǝ-ḥǝbrā́tah wǝ-ḥāgǝrīt bǝrk ḥāṣan. āmūr ḫisәn ḥāybaš, “tfēkən lâ! amaʃɾawfən hәnîkən, w-әbdyɾ ә-ḥәmोh hәnîkən. w-ɡәmәt mәn ɡәmәt, mәɾdәna ᵇәɾa’yәnkən bә-ṯәwyi wә-χәdәr.”


4 hәrbәt hәgәrәt, ʾattōli ḥәssәtah ṯәkә’il. tlә hәmәɾt h-әbәlәts, “әlәhәy ki lәy!” wә-ɬәhәkət ɬis, wә-hәrәbәtәh. attә kәyɾәb xәwфәt, ʃәɾi šәɾә’ bәrk әzәnbәl. ʾattōli nüka b-әskәyәn w-әsәmәn әkәyәd.

5 wә-ɬәwәhә ᵇәɾa’ te naxәli ḥәṣәn. ʿәsә ᵇәɾa’. te nüka b-әbәtәh, әmәwәr hәθ hәbә, “bүk hәςәn?” әmәɾ, “hәwәk mәn ɡәɾ ḥәyɾ.”


8 ḥis k-sәbәh, sиɾәt tәwәsә. te әnkәtәs, wә-wkәbәt bәrk әbәyt, әmәɾәhәbәt bиs wә-hәnʃәfәt hәs. w-әmәɾәt hәs, “ḥәbәrәtʃ hәʔ?” әmәɾәt, “ḥәbәrәyti xәsәbк tïs h-әsәwк. ʃәlәbәyи lәy wә-hәhә sиɾәtә ʃәkәyәtә tïs.”


10 тәli әɡәgәnәt әzәmәt tәsәsә, wә-әmәnәs ʃәɾә’ mәn hәyәsә. әmәɾ hәs, “ʃәxәwәlә!“ wә-ʃәxәwәlәt, wә-ɬәtәrәyәm hәә wә-sә.”

2 ʾhәsәn ḥәybaš, “tfēkәn: The Arabic and Roman manuscripts have ʾhәs ‘to her’, but 2fп tfēkәn ‘(do not) go out’. The audio has ʾhәsәn ‘to them’, but 2fs tfēkі ‘(do not) go out’.

2 ʾaмаʃɾәwфən hәnîкәn ... hәnîкәn: For these three words, which each have the expected 2fп suffix -kәn ‘your’ in the Arabic manuscript, Ali mista-kәnly read 3fп -sәn on the audio. The Roman manuscript has -sәn for each, with -kәn in brackets in the margins.
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.

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.”

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.

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.

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.”

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.”

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.”

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.”

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.

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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\(\text{xǝðōrī}::\) The manuscripts have \(\text{xǝðōrī}\), but the audio has \(\text{xǝðāro}\) (or possibly \(\text{xǝðārǝ}\)), perhaps reflecting Arabic \(\text{xuḍāra}\) ‘greens’. In line 3, the word on the audio sounds more like \(\text{xǝðārwi}\).
attóli āgāw ftkūt manhēm. ǧátri šis ḡānāfs. w-āmarūt ḥah, "his-tāw! w-lākān man ǧār ašolot ǧ-ādāhr." wağbōt aḏāhr. ankōt ḥah ba-ḥamōh w-āmarūt ḥah, "watōší. nāhōm nasōli." watōší, wa-sâllît abarâyk wa-štəmātəḥ bāh l-awāghəh. w-âmlōt bāh faṭx. wa-sīrūt h-əbāts. te ankōt ḡâsan, fthōt lâs ḡāgarâts, wa-wkabūt. wa-ṣâkkṭōh abōb wa-šxawllətōh.

wa-śsērə ʃəmrūs man faṭx. šxābūrə ḡūb. āmāwr, "mən ħesən faṭx?" āmūr, "gark man ǧār ba’āyr.”

wa-sâmrūs. te wïka b-w-xâyr, sayûr gïma kənyəwn, āmūr ḡiḥâm, "gəmēm hâyni man amkōhi harrâwkət ʃ-ə́mbə́ku w-rēga əd-kəhwət." wï-gəmâm ḡaḥ akənyəwn, wa-nâkəm bûhəm təwâls, wï-sâlləhəm. te b-w-əllây sayûr bûhəm te ənxâlî ḡâsan ʃ-ə-hôkəm wï-ədəráyənəm al-ḥâsan də-ma dâr.

wa-rådd h-əbâtəh wï-ktûb wârkət wï-xaşâwəb bîs tâwōli hôkəm b-w-hagg. wəsəlôt awərkət al-hâl adâwâlt. ʃxərgîs wï-kïsə bərkîs, "həbrâtk kəhət, w-əbâtə makhoməyt.”

āmûr əh-ḥəbrâh, "gəhôm w-ə-shôt aǧāt, w-ənkïy b-ədərəs bərk ləwkət.” gahôm te nûkâ hâl aġətən. āmûr hîs, "həlây! ɡədəwwən!”

wï-ḥarbâys ʃəh ʃər farhâyn, wï-sayûr bîs. te b-ə-hîlləy nâkəm naxâlî ḡərəm, wï-ʃxəwəl. wï-hîlîr ağiiqən, yəhôm yəshâts wï-yədfâns wï-yəsələl aðərəs bərk ləwkət təwōli ḡâyəh.

his ʃə-yaḥâwəfər, yəhâyw ʃəyərə bəθ, wï-së tənûqəf mən ḡâyrə bəbəḥ al-hân wïkâ dâr ḡəmâtəh. attōli ģâysən ʃəns wïl ɡərûb əssəbəb ʃə-əltəqəs lâ.

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11 *watōsi*: Both occurrences of *watōsi* in this line reflect T2-Stem forms of the root *ws*: The first use of this word is the ms imperative. The Arabic manuscript has وتوشي، and on the audio Ali first read *watōsi*, then corrected himself to *watōsha*. The second use of this word is the 3ms perfect. Again the Arabic manuscript has وتوشي، and on the audio Ali read just *watōsi*. The historically correct form for both the ms imperative and 3ms perfect is *watōsa* (< *watōsa’*), following the pattern of other III-Guttural verbs (see §7.2.9), and this is the form given in ML (s.v. *ws*'). The form *watōsi* (for both the ms imperative and 3ms perfect) is analogical with III-w/y verbs, and reflects the general falling together of III-’ and III-w/y verbs (as well as ‘ and w in other root positions).

13 *dâr ma dâr*: This is an Arabic phrase.

14 *adâwâlt*: This word (*dâwâlt* < Arabic *dawlat*) is used in Jahn's version of the story. Elsewhere, Ali's Omani Mehri version normally uses ḡôkäm.
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.

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.”

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.

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.”

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!”

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.

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.

\textit{məkhōyat}: On the audio, Ali mistakenly read \textit{k̑hwēt} instead of \textit{məkhōyat}. Both words can mean ‘coffee-house’. See also the first comment to line 27.

\textit{ḥalāy}: The Arabic manuscript has \textit{ḥalāy ḡadēwwān}, but on the audio Ali read first \textit{ḥalāy ḡadēwwān}, but then \textit{ḥalāy aw ḡadēwwān}, adding \textit{aw} ‘or’. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone put \textit{ḡadēwwān} in parentheses. So it seems that the two are synonymous here. The word \textit{ḥalāy} is otherwise unattested in Mehri.


21 w-awālñām ṣafēr. ṭttē nāḥōr ṭa-ʾyāḥāym yāghūn, nākām bū ḥāl ḥāybāh. ṭamūr ḥ-ʾaṣḵēr, “ḳādēmām (ḳāddīm).” ṭa-šēḥ gūr wāzūr. ṭamūr ṭīh, “ḳādēm (ḳāddīm) k-ʾaṣḵēr!”

22 w-aḵāflat ṭa-hārmēt ṭa-ʾḥōbānse sīḥām, ṭa-hē wātxāwār. ṭamūr ḥīhām, “aḥšākōna tīḵām.”


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21 bū: The Arabic manuscript and audio have ḥābū, but the Roman manuscript has bū, and the initial ḥā- was later crossed out on the Arabic manuscript.

21 ʾkādēmām (ʾkāddīm): Though the manuscripts have the Ga-Stem mp imperative ʾkādēmām, on the audio Ali read the T2-Stem mp imperative ʾkāddīm (< *ʾkādtīm).

21 ʾkādēm (ʾkāddīm): Though the manuscripts have the Ga-Stem ms imperative ʾkādēm, on the audio Ali read the T2-Stem ms imperative ʾkāddīm (< *ʾkādtīm).
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.

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.

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!”

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!”

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.”

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.

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.

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!”

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.

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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*bāl kāhwēt*: The manuscripts have *bāl kāhwēt*, but the audio has *bāl māḵ-ḥōyat*. See also the comment on *māḵhōyat* in line 14.

*amāḵhōyi*: The Arabic manuscript and audio have *amāḵhōyi*, but the Roman manuscript has *amḵāhwī*. 
chapter 14


29 ǝzǝmâthǝm, w-âmlǝt hıhǝm a’išê. w-âtǝsyyǝm, w-ǝnkâthoh ba-kaḥwet. wǝ-ktéhwîwım, wǝ-şxawlîl mǝn ǝjā akǝhwet. ǝmǝrūt hıhǝm, “hâyya bıkâm! wǝlâkan nǝhôm nágǝsrǝw, wǝ-kâl tǝt yǝnké’ ba-kaıtêt.” ǝmâwr, “his-tâw!”

30 kǝluṯ hâybas te tǝmmüm. wǝ-kǝluṯ séřa’ te tǝmmüm. wǝ-kǝluṯ aγâs te tǝmmüm. wǝ-kǝluṯ aγáygǝs te tǝmmüm. wǝ-kǝluṯ hágáwrǝh te tǝmmüm. wǝ-kǝluṯ bǝl amkǝhoyǝt te tǝmmüm. ǝttōli ǝmâwr hıs, “hǝnûk!” ǝmǝrūt, “hōh ar kǝnnâwn, wǝlâkan hámak ...”


32 ‘ǝss saltân w-amǝsı bı̀s, wǝ-’ǝss aγâs w-amǝsı bı̀s. wǝ-kǝssım hǝrōh dǝ-śšéřa’. w-aγáygǝs kǝss hǝrōh dǝ-hágáwrǝh.

33 wǝ-gǝhêmǝm sē wǝ-háybǝs w-aγâs w-aγáygǝs te nákam b-ǝrḥǝbêt dǝ-háybǝs. šxawlîl sǝnêt, wǝ-gǝhêmǝm sē w-aγáygǝs h-ǝrḥǝbêt d-aγáygǝs. wǝ-şxawlîl. wǝ-tǝmmât.

29 ktéhwîwım: This form, which Ali read on the audio, is a bit strange. For the root is khw, we do not expect both w and y. From the 3ms perfect T2-Stem kǝthōʾ, we might expect 3mp kǝthīw (like a strong T2-Stem), or ǝktéhwım (like a III-y T2-Stem). The manuscripts suggest that the intended form was wǝ-ktéhwım, 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 ǝrô rather than -ǝh, as is typical for III-w/y, roots is striking. See also § 6.5.4, n. 72.

29 nágǝsrǝw: ML (s.v. ġsrw) lists 3ms perfect ağısǝrō and 3ms subjunctive yağı-sǝrō. For a Q-Stem, however, we expect ağısrô and yağı-sǝru (< *yağısrǝw). Indeed, the audio confirms the 1cp subjunctive nágǝsrǝ here and 3ms perfect ağısǝrō in 85:15.

33 b-ǝrḥǝbêt: 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. xǝṭarāt āgáwz, wǝ-šis wōz bǝrk šáygǝ. áttōli nūka mǝwǝsē kǝwáy wǝ-xxǝlül ašáyga.
3. ámǝrūt āgáwz, “hām ǝl thāymi lā, sīrīta tǝwōli ākǝṣṣāb yǝsháthš.” ámǝrūt höz, “xáybǝn, syēri!”
4. tōli sīrūt āgáwz te ṣnktēt hāl ākǝṣṣāb. ámǝrūt hǝh, “syēr tǝwōli hōzi wǝ-šátyš!”
6. ámērūt hǝh, “xáybǝn, syēri!”
7. tōli ámǝrūt, “sīrīta tǝwōli hǝmoh w-āmērīta hǝh yǝṣḥǝṭš.” ámēr, “xáybǝn, syēri!”
12. wǝ-sīrūt tǝwōli akāyd w-āmērūt hǝh, “ǝkōfi tǝwōli abˈáyr w-ǝltāyw al-ajátyaʊ wǝ-wtāɡah!”

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3. ākǝṣṣāb: The word kasšāb ‘butcher’ (< Arabic qaššāb) is missing from ML.
11. yǝltáYW: In ML (s.v. lwy), the T1-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

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.

Then the old woman said to the goat, "Let's go down into the well." The goat said, "I don't want to."

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!"

Then the old woman went until she came to the butcher. She said to him, "Go to my goat and slaughter it!"

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!"

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.

Then she said, "I'll go to the water and tell it to put out your fire." He said, "Fine, go!"

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.

She said, "If you don't want to, I'll go to the camel so he can drink you up." He said, "Go away!"

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.

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!"

And she went to the rope and said to it, "Go to the camel and wrap yourself around its neck and kill him!"

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!"

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!"

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.

stone added the gloss 'be wrapped around', and in the second he added the gloss 'wrap o.s. around'.
tɛ wǝṣǝlōt, āmarūt hīs, “akēfī tawōli ārkāyb wa-tīys! ārkāyb xǝzūt mǝn tǝksá’ akāyd, w-akāyd xǝzōh mǝn yǝwteg ab’ây, w-ab’ây xǝzōh mǝn yǝttôkk hǝmōh,
w-ḥamōh xǝzōh mǝn yǝksām šiwōt dǝ-ḥaddōd, w-ḥaddōd xǝzōh mǝn yǝṭbēr askáwmat d-akāssāb,
w-akāssāb xǝzōh mǝn yǝshōt ḥozi, w-ḥozi xǝzūt mǝn tǝkfebd bǝrk abāyr.”
ǝttōli sīrūt sǝnnāwrǝt tǝwōli ārkāyb. tōli ārkāyb, hīs şǝnyōt sǝnnāwrǝt, abǝrḳat tawōli akāyd. w-akāyd abārka tawōli ab’ây, w-ab’âyr abārka tawōli hǝmōh, w-ḥamōh abārka tawōli šiwōt dǝ-ḥaddōd, w-ḥaddōd abārka tawōli akāssāb,
w-akāssāb abārka tawōli ḥōz, w-ḥōz abǝrḳat bǝrk abāyr. w-ḳāl tăt áymǝl b-a’āmar d-اغاىز. w-temmōt.
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, and the water refused to put out the blacksmith’s fire, and the blacksmith refused to break the butcher’s knives, and the butcher refused to kill my goat, and my goat refused to go down into the well.”

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, 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. xǝṭarāt ḡayg, wǝ-šāh ḡabânhe yǝbáyt, wǝlākan ḡambǝrāwtǝn sōbǝr yǝntawḥǝn. wǝ-ḥāybǝm yǝḥámǝhǝm yǝkǝm asdǝkā.’

2. te nǝhōr ṭayt, sayur ḡāybǝm wǝ-nūka bǝ-yǝbáyt ʒerōb, w-āsbīhǝm fāxrǝ. w-āmūr hīhǝm, “mōn mǝnkēm yǝkawdǝr yaṯbǝr aƚyomǝh?”

3. agārbǝm tāt bād tāt, wǝlākan al kǝdāwr lā. ættōli mǝṭrihǝm wǝ-wazmīhǝm kāl tāt ʒarb, w-āmūr hīhǝm, “kāl tāt yǝṭbǝr aḏārabǝh.” kāl tāt ʒubbǝr aḏārabǝh mǝn 旰y r ǝb.

4. ættōli ɑmūr hīhǝm ḡāybhǝm, “hǝmēm, ą ḡǝbǝ́nyɛ! fǝnōhǝn, hīs hēm fāxrǝ, al kǝdɔrkǝm līhǝm lā. w-șǝrɔmǝh, hīs hēm kāl tāt wǝḥsīh, wākam sīhōl. šarψmǝh, ą ḡebǝ́nyɛ, ąkam fāxrǝ, w-ǝl ǝḥād yǝkawdǝr likam lā!”


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2. ġerōb: The Roman manuscript has the near-synonym xǝṭawrǝk in parentheses after ġerōb.

2. w-āsbīhǝm: The Roman manuscript has instead wǝ-rǝnīhǝm, which means the same thing.

2. yǝkawdǝr: In the Roman manuscript, the relative pronoun ġ- was added in parentheses in the margin.

3. ġarb: The Roman manuscript has xǝṭrǝk in place of ġarb.

3. tēb: The noun tēb ‘trouble’ is not in ML (s.v. t’b), though other forms of the root are listed. Cf. also Jibbali ta'b ‘trouble’ (JL, s.v. t’b).
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

A: “lawb tōmær hēt ḏǝk háybǝk yōmǝr.”
B: “lawb, háybi axáyr mǝnáy yōmǝr.”
A: “āmēr mōh! hāǰfolǝn!”
B: “hōh ar aḵīrǝn l-āmēr, wǝlākan aḵardī tʃǝtk lā.”
A: “xáyban, āmēr al-xārxáwr!”
B: “hōh al ōmær axáyr mǝnk lā. hām ar thámki, l-āmǝrōh. aḡǝrōy hǝ-xāk. wǝ-hōh tǝbōna tik.”
A: “wǝ-kōh ḏǝ-ġǝrǝ́bk tī ōmǝr?”
B: “wǝ-yǝ-hōl, tōmǝr wǝ-thǝṣáwlǝḥ.”
A: “mōn āmūr hūk ḏǝ-hōh ōmǝr?”
B: “hābū ámawr hāyni, wǝ-hōh ber hámak tī nǝhōr tǝyt tōmǝr.”
A: “mayt hámak tī ḏ-ōmǝr?”
B: “yǝmšīh mǝn ḥayūm kāl.”
A: “ḏǝk al hōh lā.”
B: “wa-yǝ lawb! hēt xǝṭárkmǝn al aḡǝrǝb aḵardak lā?”
A: “xáybǝn. ādi al ōmǝr lā ar yǝmšīh, hīs hōh wǝḥǝy.”
B: “hēt ar thǝṣáwlǝḥ, wǝlākan thōm tǝmér lā.”
A: “uḏah al aḥād yōmǝr hāyni aḥǝṣáwlǝḥ lā ar hēt. thōm tǝmdǝḥī.”
B: “hōh al hōm ǝmdǝhk lā. ar mǝn aṣāṭḳi.”

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tōmær: This verb normally means ‘say’, but it can also have the sense of ‘recite or sing (a poem)’. Cf. also text 84.

thǝṣáwlǝḥ: In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘you do well’, a meaning not listed in ML (s.v. ṣlḥ). The meaning ‘do well’ is listed, however, in JL (s.v. slḥ) for the Jibbali cognate ɛṣláḥ. On the G-Stem ʃulḥ, which has a similar meaning, see the comment to text 42:11.

xǝṭárkmǝn: 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.”
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 sayǝrk anhōr ð-ǝqamǝt ð-ǝ-garūt ǝm-bǝwmaḥ, ǝhōm al-ǝnē’ makǝn tâṭ hâmak ḥābû kâl (ð-ǝ-)nûka. yômǝr makǝn mağrâyb bǝ-lândǝn.

2 wǝ-sayǝrk, wǝ-shây amǝwssē. te wǝʂâlǝk amk̓̓on, kesktop makǝn ð-ǝ-l-âd šǝh šawâyl lâ.

3 wǝkâbǝk wǝ-ksâsk ḥâbû ð-ǝ-yarəssâys ǝm ǝk̓̓ ǝr̓ ān̓ ǝm. wǝ-wakâbk. tōli hōm l-ǝr̓ fā’ ǝqāw̓ f al-ǝnē’.

4 sayǝrk te nâkak hâl ʲ̄āy-g, wǝ-ʃxâbârk tǝh mǝn ḥûr̓ ǝm. tōli ǝmûr  _______, “azēmi šâlângi trôh, w-ǝ-kalōn̓  t̑ i̥k tǝrfâ’.” wǝzmâk t̑ e w-ǝ-CAF.  

5 te wâslǝk, ʃ̓ ̓ ǝk̓ ̓ xōt̓ ̓ r. t̑ o̥ll ̓ ı hayǝrk w-ǝ-kâfd̓ k.

6 w-âdī ð-ǝ-ttâlây k̓ ̓ t̑ s̑ , wâlâkân ʃ̓ ̓ y̓ ̓ ǝy amâwss̑ ̓ e w-ǝ-hâbûr, w-ǝl ḥâbṭāk lâ ǝr̓ kûs, wâkôna ʃ̓ ̓ aʃ ̓ ̓ h̓ ̓ k s-ǝt̓ ̓ .

7 w-ʃtâkk w-ǝ-râddâk h-ábâyti. w-ǝ-tɔmmôt.

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1 (ð-ǝ-)nûka: It is not clear what form was intended here. The Arabic manuscript has ʃ̓ ̓ kɔɾ, which is a mistake. If we assume that n was missing by accident in the spelling, which seems likely, then this could represent ð-ǝ-yɔnn̓ ɔk (though Ali most often indicated the y in such forms in his spelling) or ð-ǝ-nûkâ. Alternatively, if Ali accidentally wrote ð in place of n, then this would represent just nûka. The Roman manuscript has ð-ǝ-nûka.

2 ð-ǝ-l-âd: The manuscripts have ð-ǝ-l-âd, but the audio has just ð-ǝl.

3 ð-ǝ-yarəssâys: The form ʃ̓ ̓ ər̓ ɔs̓ əs̓ əs̑ ̓ ɔs̓  is the 3mp imperfect of the T1-Stem râttəs. ML (s.v. rɔs̓ ) gives a 3mp imperfect ʃ̓ ̓ ər̓ ɔts̓ əs̓ əs̑ ̓ ɔs̓ , 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 T1-Stem perfect, just as in the T2-Stem perfect and subjunctive (all of which have the underlying pattern (C)ɔCtɔCûC).

5 hayǝrk: According to ML (s.v. hyr), the verb hayûr 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 Baṭḥari hayər 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 it. 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-akān, hām tāt mōt yanāyšah wa-yènlháykəh bū mèkən, ṣayūg wa-yənīṯ.

2. wa-ḥaynīṯ tabákyan wa-tanā’yən təh. wa-mət ber ᱵbəwər, yəshàyṯ bər wələ rawn, wələ bɔkər yanhāyr ləh.

3. wa-ḥaynīṯ təwākan dār aḵōbər. wa-mət gəzōt ḥayəwm, yəšgīš hābū dāl əḥād əl-səkwənəh. wa-mən təwər əḥād yənətum dār aḵōbər, həməh wələ ağıštəh wələ ağıəḥ.

4. xətərət ᱨ-aŋhəm, hőm təwəli səkwəni. te kələymi nəkək aṣəyґa, w-əl kəsk əḥəd lə.

5. həbū ber sı ámbəm bərk ḥəwödə. wə-ḥəsəşək.


7. wə-բərk ḥəwödə dəkəməh məkəбрət. wə-ṣəff anhər dəkəməh də-mət ɣəyg, wə-ɖə-κəbəwəhrəh.


9. wə-ṣəff tət də-ɦətəmət dər aḵəbər ə-dəɣəs. təli ɕənək ɦəwət dər aḵəbər, wələkən həɣəsə səkəft.

10. təli ɕənək tis ɬtərkət, təli xaβətək əməndəwəκi. wə-səyərk ɬərəyb l-əkəbər. ɬhərəm tənəka həl aḵəbər.

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1. yanāyšəh: This is the 3mp imperfect of the verb nāš (root n’s), with a 3ms object attached. It is not the imperfect of nəsōh (root n’sw/y), whose 3ms imperfect is yanəš. The 3mp form yanāyš (< yan’āyš) follows the pattern of other II-Guttural G-Stems (cf. yənlhəyəkəh in this line, and see further in § 7.2.6).

2. yənlhəyəkəh: In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘come’. Elsewhere, the verb ləhək 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’.

3. tanə’yən: This is the G-Stem 3fp imperfect of the root n’w. It has the same pattern as the tabákyaŋ just before it. ML (s.v. n’w) has the 3ms perfect nəywə, but this is surely an error. See further in the comment to text 75:22.

4. yaşıgīš: The manuscripts and audio all have yaşıgīš here. ML (p. lxi, n. 1) gives 3ms imperfect yaś(ə)güś as a variant of the more regular-looking yaşəwgüś. The form yaşıgīš 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.

ḥǝṣ́ǝ́ṣ́k: This appears to be the 1cs perfect of an H-Stem (ḥ)ḥǝṣ́ūṣ́, but ML (s.v. ḥǝţ̱) lists only a G-Stem ḥǝṣ́ ṣ́ ‘track down’. The G-Stem 1cs perfect is ḥǝ́ṣ́ṣ́ǝk.

ḥǝwrīt: Both manuscripts and the audio have ḥǝwrīt. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone glossed this as ‘s.t. black’. This is either a noun or a variant feminine form of the adjective ḥōwǝr ‘black’. ML, s.v. ḥwr, lists only the feminine ḥǝwrūt, which is used in texts 15:12 and 25:9.

ǝhūgǝs: The manuscripts have the 1cs imperfect ǝhūgǝs, but on the audio Ali read the 1cs perfect hǝgǝ́sk.
11 (attōli l-ād śinak šī ḥātrak lā. šaff tēt, hūs śonyāti, ḡībūt mēn ayəşāyt.
12 (attōli te nākak hāl akōbər wə-kāsk tēt də-ḡībūt. əhūgas ḡəbrē txtyínən ḥāynī.
13 bēri hōm l-əwbāds. tōli Ɋələkək təwəli akəbər, wə-śinak təh yədən. ḥəŋkərk ḡə-hē ḡəd də-mət anhōr ḡəkəməh.
14 (attōli hāsəśk əttēt w-āmrək, “hām hēt maşəwmət, hōh ḧagw məsələm. w-əsəsī!”
15 tōli āssūt. wə-nākak tīs wə-Ɋərəbək tīs. wəlākan ādi bāy ayəşāyt mēn tākə’ ar ḡəbrē, wə-Ɋ-əktəwbōt hāynī Ɋ-al-Ḥūs tēt ḡəkəməh.
16 (attōli əmərk hīs, “sərəməh al ḡād yəhātəm baəməh lā. wə-Ɋədəwən təwəli səkənə. wə-k-səbəh tərdəydi hām thəyin.”
18 bərk aḵābī, “hām ʃərət wələ rəddūt lay, l-əwbāds.”
19 w-əmərk hīs, “hām hēt maşəwmət, ḥəddəyəri mən (t)ʃāri. hōh də-yəssək mənš, wə-Ɋ-hām ʃərə, əwbədəνə tīs.”
20 (attōli l-ād ʃərət lā. wə-səyərən te wəsələn səkənə. wə-ḥətəmən.
21 te k-səbəh sē rəddūt təwəli akəbər, wə-Ɋ-hōh bəyəkək hāl səkənə. wə-təmmət.

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11 l-ād śinak šī ḥātrak lā: This is what the manuscripts have, but on the audio Ali stumbled and read l-ād śinak tīs ḥātrak ... tīs ḥtərkət lā ‘I didn’t see her move’ (cf. line 10). The difficulty was that he misread ʃī ‘something’ as ʃīs tīs ‘her’.
18 l-əwbāds: Ali stumbled with this form (a 1cs subjunctive plus 3fs object suffix) and read the imperfect aləbdəs ‘I’ll shoot her’. The Arabic manuscript has l-əwbāds. On this use of this subjunctive, see § 7.1.10.3.
20 sayərən: The Arabic manuscript has sərōnə (Siroyan) ‘we will go’, which must be a mistake for sayərən (Siroyan) ‘we went’, which is what the audio has. The Roman manuscript has sərət ‘she went’, which is ok, though sayərən fits the context better.
Then I didn't see anything move. It turns out the woman, when she saw me, she fainted from fear.  
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.  
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.  
Then I roused the woman and I said, “If you are a Muslim, I am a Muslim man. Get up!”  
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.  
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.”  
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.  
In my mind (I thought), “If she stops or turns back to me, I'll [or: I should] shoot her.”  
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.”  
Then she didn't stop at all. And she went until we got to my settlement. And we spent the night.  
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. xǝṭǝrāt ġayg wǝ-tēt ķa-yǝsyáwr, wǝ-hīs bárḥam b-aámk ǝd-ḥōrǝm. āmūr ágáyg, “hōm ǝl-syēr šayš.”
2. āmūrít tēt, “hām thōm tseyēr šay, šḥōt ḥaybātk, wa-mjōrǝn sīrōna šay!”
4. yǝsyūr ágáyg, yǝshōt ḥaybātkǝh. wǝ-hīs ber shāt, āmūr, “ażâmi ḥanāfs!”
5. wǝzmátkah ágǝtktâts. āmūrūt, “mat shēk dōmēh, awâzmak amšēqr.”
8. wǝ-sīrōh te wǝsaloh ḥâbū. tōli kелūt ágáyg. āmūr, “hōh sayârk k-falâna.”
9. āmūrūt tēt, “ágâyg hâywal. ǝsh yǝbūt wǝ-šaṭâys. wǝ-mjōrǝn yǝhōm yabdēh ǝxay. wa-lâkàn syǝrǝm hârmǝn wǝ-šnêm. ǝd hē shāt ḥaybātkǝh, hē yǝkûn hâywal. w-ǝd hē ǝl shât ḥaybātkah lā, hōh ǝkûn kâhêt.”
10. wa-lâkàn hōh bay ǝi bârk fīṭâ’i. ǝd hē sayûr šay, hē śǝnỳôna ǝx, w-ǝd hē bǝdōh, ǝl kwâtkah b-awâsfa ǝx lā.
11. wǝ-hōh maśšǝnỳêta thâ hayniṭ. wa-lâkàn fǝnōhǝn syǝrǝm hârmǝn wǝ-šnêm ḥaybātkah!”
12. sayâwr hâbû wǝ-kusǝm ḥaybātkah šḥōtâ. wǝ-sirūt tēt wǝ-(š)šǝnyūt hayniṭ. wa-ṣâf ǝs arḥaṣât.
13. tōli šxabīr ágâyg mǝn awâsf ḏ-ttēt. āmûr, “d-ǝntaṣfât ágâbrǝs, wǝ-ṭhâyṛt.”
14. wǝ-hayniṭ kûsa atṭēt bīs amǝnsōb, wǝ-lis arḥaṣât.
15. (tōli kusǝm) ágâyg bǝdōh ǝl-tēt. wǝ-wbâwdah ágâwse b-ǝrbōt ǝfâtōwax.

2. sīrōna: The audio has the future sīrōna, though the manuscripts have the 2ms imperfect tseyür.
3. ǝ-ǝl-ǝzǝmék: The prefix ǝ- is not heard on the audio, though it appears in both manuscripts.
12. (š)šǝnyūt: We expect the H-Stem 3fs perfect šǝnyūt, distinct from the G-Stem 3fs perfect śǝnyōt (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 śǝnyōt; perhaps he mistook it for the G-Stem. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone did transcribe śǝnyūt here, but śǝnyōt 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).

15 tōli kūsǝm: These words are missing from the audio, present in the Roman manuscript, and present but crossed out in the Arabic manuscript.
16  wǝ-sayūr ðǝ-xǝṣṣáwṣ. ǝl tēt šah, w-ǝl ḥaybātah šah.

17  dōmǝh mǝn ḥāylǝt dǝ-ḥaynīt. wǝ-tǝmmōt ǝwthēt.

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16  ðǝ-xǝṣṣáwṣ: This is the T2-Stem of the root xˢˢ. In ML (s.v. xˢˢ), the T2-Stem is given as axṭǝṣáwṣ, following the pattern of a strong verb. But t assimilates to s in the T2-Stem. In the Jibbali version of this story, which is told nearly verbatim, Ali used the T2-Stem ḏ-axṭasēs.
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 gēḥǝməh, ǝl hē lā?”
2 B: “hōh sīrōna wə-hthāmw tī ǝl-hāḇtə.”
3 A: “wə-kōh thábṭa? syēr gēḥǝməh wə-rdēd bād gēḥǝməh.”
4 B: “aɬ ǝkāwdr lā. ǝkā’ rēḥək.”
5 A: “xāyban. bǝrk akābək, mayt tاردēd lay?”
6 B: “nakōna tīk mən ǝqär riba yūm.”
7 A: “hēt sīrōna hāgtək aw sīrōna tanhāg?”
8 B: “sīrōna hāgti, wəlākan ǝl bay kətfəf lā t ǝfrēr.”
9 A: “xāyban, b-arāyək. hām ǝl nākak tī bād gēḥǝməh lā, l-ād hōh səwbōna tīk zōyəd lā.”
10 B: “wə-kōh ǝl səwbōna tī zōyəd lā?
11 xāyban, hām l-ād hēt səwbōna tī lā, l-ād hōh sīrōna lā.
12 wə-mjörən, hām ǝl kəsk tīk lā, ǝl ǝğƏrəb hōrm lā.”
13 A: “xāyban, səwbōna tīk. syēr wə-həddər mən thábṭa.”
14 B: “xāyban, hōh sīrōna. wə-hām rəddək w-ǝl kəsk tīk lā, l-ād hōh məšəmən tīk zōyəd lā.”
15 A: “hōh ǝmərk hūk səwbōna tīk, hām nākak l-awādək.”
16 B: “xāyban. txələfı qəyət. hōh səyərk.”
17 A: “əsthōl! qəlēb səłōm mən hāl nākak.”
18 B: “həddər mən tsyər wə-tḵələy!”
Translation of Text 56

A: “You’ll go tomorrow, won’t you?”
B: “I’ll go, and I think I’ll be a while.”
A: “Why will you be a while? Go tomorrow and return the day after tomorrow.”
B: “I can’t. The place [lit. land] is far.”
A: “Ok. When do you think you will [lit. in your heart when will you] come back to me?”
B: “I’ll come back to you in four days.”
A: “Will you go for necessity [lit. your need] or will you go to have fun?”
B: “I’ll go for necessity [lit. my need], but I don’t have wings to fly (with).”
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.”
B: “Why won’t you wait for me any longer?
Ok, if you won’t wait for me any longer, I won’t go.
(Because) then if I don’t find you, I won’t know the road (you took).”
A: “Ok, I’ll wait for you. Go and be careful not to be long.”
B: “Ok, I’ll go. And if I return and I don’t find you, I won’t trust you anymore.”
A: “I said to you I’ll wait for you, if you come at your promised time.”
B: “Ok, be well [lit. may health come after me]? I’m off.”
A: “Goodbye! Send greetings to wherever you get to.”
B: “Be sure not to go and leave me!”
A: “Don’t worry. I won’t let you down.” And it is finished.
Text 56A (= J7): A Betrothal and Marriage

1 xǝṭarāt ġayg sǝyūr mǝn anágd, yǝḥōm ašhāyr. hīs wīsǝl ašhāyr, kūsǝ ġayg. āmūr, “ḥōm al-hèras hanūk, hām hēt mǝhāffǝk tī.”
5 wa-sǝyūr tǝwōli aġáyg, ḥayb ð-ǝ-ttēṯ, wǝ-kelas lǝh. wa-wǝzmǝ́h amandāwkǝh. wa-sırǝh tǝwōlī sēkǝn.
6 wa-šāt tawkǝlēt mǝn hāl tēt. wa-kaʃǝw hē w-ǝshǝwad arḥabǝt, hē w-ǝshǝdhe arḥabǝt, tǝwōli śǝrǝ’, wǝ-šǝmlük. wǝ-šitǝm aṣǝyāft tǝmr, wǝ-ráfǝm.
7 te k-šǝbǝh, nákam sēkǝn wǝ-wbǝwād, wǝ-ʃǝrmǝ́d hārāwn mǝn sēkǝn. wa-ḥǝbrīk arīkǝb, wa-ʃxǝwlīl wǝ-ǭnha sāh.
8 maʃǝrǝn nákam hābū dǝ-yagǝ́brǝm ašayǝft. wa-nákam ragšiz. wa-nuķa bǝr ḥadid dǝ-ttǝt dǝ-yaxolǝ. ǝl ǝḥād yahārūs bǝrt ḥaddadǝh lā.
9 tōli wǝzmǝ́h aġáyg dǝ-ḥārūs ašǝrīt kǝrāwš wǝ-sümǝh hǝh yahǝrǝs. wa-wkūb aṣǝr dǝkǝmǝh. wa-ʃxǝwlič ǝs ǝkǝn wa-rx.

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2 šǝrēwǝg: 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 ḥόmyǝn: 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 sadǝ: We expect 3mp sǝddǝm here, not 3ms sǝdd.
8 yağǝ́brǝm: According to ML (s.v. ġbr), the G-Stem ġǝbūr 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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 hağbūr. 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 yaxāla: This must be the 3ms imperfect of the Gb-Stem xáyli (root xlʾ). 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).
"tēt xəzūt mən (t)ṣyēr. thōm (t)ṣxāwwəl, b-arāyək. wə-thōm txöli, wəzyēma tik aməndāwkək." āmūr, "hām əl sē sūrīta šay lā, məxxōli." tōli xōli ağaγ, wə-ṣāt aməndāwkəh. 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-ağarbēt?”
2 B: “ber háyni wəkōna xáymǝh sənāyn.”
3 A: “xáyban. hāslak sī?”
4 B: “hāslak arōški. fənōhən xədāmk sī lā. wə-mən tōli xədāmk xədmēnōt, wəlākan amhəsəwəł al hē gīd lā.”
5 A: “wəlē sīnək ḥəbrəy?”
6 B: “ber háyni sēt ādi al sīnək təh lā, wəlākan hāmak ḥābū āmāwr hē bərk xədmēt. wə-kōh, al xəsəwb likam bə-sī lā sənēt dīməh?”
7 A: “wa-ya lawb də-yəxəsəwəb, wəlākan mən wərxı troh l-ād xəsəwb bə-sī lā, wə-l-ād nūka máınə həwob lā. wə-nhāh də-šəsəyən təh.”
8 B: “(t)šęsəm təh lā. bə-xəyr hē, wə-də-yəxəwədəm, wəlākan xāf hīs al xəsəwb bə-sī lā, də-hānəh yaftək.”
9 A: “wa-kōh? hāmak aḥād āmūr ftkōna?”
10 B: “hāmak ġərōy, wəlākan əl hōh də-ḥtəmk lā mōn d-āmūr háyni.”
11 A: ‘ād yākə’ ar də-yəbəyd?”
12 B: “bə-hāw! kołt lay mənədəm d-əl yəbəyd lā, wəlākan al fətnək ħa序列 lā.”
13 A: “ftōn mōh! lawb ffərḥək tın. yəffərḥək abēli bə-xəyr!”
14 B: “wə-hūh, lawb fətnək. falān d-āmūr háyni, dək al yəbəyd lā.”

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4 amhəsəwəł: The word maḥsəwəł is absent from ML, just as the word maḥṣūl (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)ḥōṣəl ‘earn’, used in lines 3 and 4; cf. also Arabic maḥṣūl ‘result; yield, gain’.

7 də-šəsəyən: The prefix də-, 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. hǝnīn b-ašḥāyr amōl mēkǝn, ḥāráwn w-ǝ-hǝbēr w-ǝbǝkǝr.
2. ámma ḥāráwn w-ǝ-hǝbēr, tkūnǝn bisǝn śxōf lā bǝrk amǝwsē dǝ-xǝrf.
3. w-ǝmmǝ akbǝr, tkūnǝn bisǝn ašxōf.
4. wǝ-yamākram wǝ-yagámam amēḥh.
5. wǝ-bǝ́yli habēr wǝ-ḥāráwn yǝhǝbǝm ǝl-bǝ́yli abkǝr l-agǝrē dǝ-yǝsǝxǝyf te tǝxǝb.
6. wǝbǝ́yli abkǝr yakāwn wǝtīyōh, w-ǝmmǝ bǝ́yli habēr w-ǝ-ḥāráwn, yǝhābǝm līhǝn bǝ́yli abkǝr.
7. yǝkǝ́fdǝm b-amēḥh h-arḥǝbēt, w-ǝ-yǝsǝhm b-ǝyhd h-ǝbǝkǝr. abkǝr, hǝm ǝl tǝwōh ayt lā, yǝmǝw t-ǝl yǝmsil ǝl tǝwōh ayt lā.
8. w-ǝmmǝ ḥāráwn w-ǝ-hǝbēr, yǝwɔzmǝn tisǝn ayt lā, ar hǝm waqǝt sǝnēt kǝmh. w-ǝmmǝ bǝ́yli abkǝr, sōbǝr hǝm dǝ-yswılı mǝn arḥǝbēt.
9. wǝlākan hǝm sǝrbōt, yǝkwāfı̈yı̈m fǝk̑h d-ǝdǝmm̑ēt dı̈mǝh mǝn aṭǝrēf d-ǝmōl dǝ-ḥǝnīn b-ǝšǝhāyr.

2. tkūnǝn: The 3fp imperfect tkūnǝn is perhaps unexpected here. It is agreeing with the logical subject ḥǝrǝwn w-ǝ-hǝbēr in its first appearance, and abkǝr in its second, even though the grammatical subject is śxōf ‘milk’ in both cases. The same 3fp verb form appears in the parallel Jibbali version (J9:2).

4. tǝxǝb: This must be a Gb-Stem subjunctive, though no G-Stem is listed in ML (cf. also the Gb-Stem 3fs perfect sǝrbōt in line 8). Note that the noun sǝyrab ‘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 JŁO, p. 412).

7. hǝm: The manuscripts have wǝ-hǝm, but the audio has just hǝm.

8. ađǝmm̑ēt: The manuscripts have ađǝmm̑ēt, but the audio has adǝyın (< Arabic dayın ‘debt’); cf. the noun dun used in the Jibbali version.

9. tǝn̄y̆́n̄: This is an Arabism, from Arabic tǝn̄y̆́n̄. Ali even used the Arabic spelling tǝn̄y̆́n̄.
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.
A Miscommunication

1 xǝṭarāt ġayg gahém mǝn anáqd ǝd-ǝšfǝr. wǝ-hë mǝhráy, yahöm h-akā’ d-ǝmhrǝ̀rē. w-ǝdáh ǝl yǝsyr tǝwálìñhǝm lā ar xǝṭarāt dǝkmǝñh.
2 te nükɑ ár-ǝhæbèt d-ǝmhrǝ̀rē wǝ-wkūb bǝrk bayt, kúsǝ tèt. ámǝhrǝbèt bǝh w-ǝ̀młòt hah kǝhwèt.
3 wǝ-ḥè sxeswıl bǝrk ǝqǝrfè. te nǝkâtø b-akǝhwèt, ámǝrût hah, “hèt ámárkèh, wǝ-hóh ámltà aʃsè’.”
4 ámür aġáyg, “his-tàw!” w-aġáyg al yǝgòrøb ahǝlèt dûmø lā. ahǝlèt dûmø b-anáqø (d-)ǝʃfø, ‘amårkèh, ‘aròtør amkøn’ aw ‘aŋoðøf amkøn’.
5 his ǝttèt sèrùt, ‘aʃs aġáyg wǝ-ʃál akǝrmòs w-ǝrtǝbìhǝm. wǝ-ʃál akǝhwèt wǝ-ʃâlýs al-sàrf tàt, w-aròtøb amkøn.
6 ǝttòli ankøt tèt. kšøðø dà-yaʃ bèm. ámørùt hah, “di kò hèt wǝtòmøh?”
7 ámür, “hèt ámàrš háyini ‘amårkèh’, wǝ-hóh amårkèh.”
8 ámørùt hah, “aġày, amårkèh ar akǝhwèt!” ámür, “his-tàw!”
9 wǝ-sèrùt tèt tøwøli amɔtbøx. w-aġáyg sàłl akǝhwèt wǝ-ʃâlýs b-abàrr wǝ-ʃèxwèl. te nǝkâtø ǝttèt, ámørùt hah, “bèr amårkèh?”
10 ámür, “èhè, bèr sàllø akǝhwèt abàrr.” ámørùt, “aġày, øl hòh dà-hànàyøk wátømøh là!”
12 ámørùt ǝttèt, “nøhàh hønøn nòmør ‘amårkèh!’
13 ámùr aġàyg, “nøhàh hønøn ‘amårkèh’ ‘aròtør amkøn’.”
14 ámørùt, “xàyøn, sméhø! hòh dà-hànàyøk ǝttøkk akǝhwèt. wèlàkøn kælèt lay, hànìkøm tâmørøm hòbøò høm wàzmøkøm tàt kǝhwèt?”
11 tàkkøk: The manuscripts have tàkkøk, but on the audio, Ali first read nàsøzak, then corrected himself to tàkkøk. Both mean ‘you drank’, but the Gb-Stem nàsøz has a more restricted meaning of ‘sip (something hot)’. The Jibbali version of the story uses the cognate of nàsøzak.
13 wàzmøkøm tàt: Ali stumbled on the audio here, and eventually read wàzmøkøm tàt ‘someone gives you’. The manuscripts have wàzmøkøm tàt ‘you give someone’, which fits the context best and is certainly what was intended. Johnstone added wàzmøkøm in the margin of the Roman manuscript.
14 økthø: The underlying form here is *økthòw, the ms imperative of the T2-Stem økthò. On this verb, see § 6.5.4, n. 72.
Translation of Text 59

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.

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.

And he sat in the room. Then when she brought him the coffee, she said to him, “You drink up (amárḳǝḥ), and I’ll make lunch.”

The man said, “Ok!” But the man didn’t know this word. This word in the Najd of Dhofar, amárḳǝḥ, is ‘clean the place’ or ‘tidy up the place’.

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.

Then the woman came. She found him working. She said to him, “But why are you (doing) like this?”

He said, “You said to me, ‘clean up’ (amárḳǝḥ), and I cleaned up.”

She said to him, “Brother, drink up (amárḳǝḥ) just the coffee!” He said, “Ok!”

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 (amárḳǝḥk)?”

He said, “Yes, I already took the coffee outside.” She said, “My brother, I didn’t mean (to do) like that!”

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 amárḳǝḥ.”

The man said, “We, around us, amárḳǝḥ is ‘to clean the place’.”

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?”

He said, “We say to him, ǝḳthōʾ!” Then they understood one another. And it is finished.
Text 60 (no J): A Shipwreck

1. سَفَرَنَّمَنْ ذَبَّةَ بَرْكٍ لَّانَصَوْر، وَبَرْكَهُ مَنْ صَأْفَنْ. وَسَفَرَنَّمَنْ عَظِيمٌ. نَهُومُ نَردَدَ أَكَان.

2. تَوَسَّلَتِ لَاْجَبَتِ يَامَارَم هَبَ جَابَتِ سُلَايْمَان. تَوَسَّلَتْ تُسْكَبَاهُ. تُلَى كَأَنْ تَحْزَيْزَ يَزْ، وَاِمْكَرَ وَأَمْؤَسِ.

3. كَأَنَّ رَجْبَنَّ فَسَيْ، قَرْيَانْ بَيْنَهَا. تُلَى الْهَزَيْزَ قَرْيَةِ الْأَلْجَابَتِ. أَكَانَ أَنْمُرُ هَيْمِ أَنْؤَخَدَ. "خَلْدَالَمْ تُنَكَّةِ مَكْنَةِ!

4. أَمَاورَ، "هَامُ ثَآمَانَ نَهَادْدَلَكَم بَمَكْنَةِ مَكْنَة، أَزْهَمَمْ تُنَيْحَبِ مَي، وَاِمْكَرَ وَأَمْؤَسِ."

5. "أَيْهَا! أَمَاورُ، "هَا مُكَثَّامَ نَحَدَلَكَم بِمَا، أَكَانَ أَنْؤَخَدَ، "ئِرْيَ إِلَيْكُمْ.

6. قَبَّةِ بَرْكَهُ، وَقَبْلَا تَأْتِيَكَ أَخْبَرَ بَرْكَهُ الْأَلْجَابَتِ، وَقَبْلَةِ تَأْتِيَكَ. قَبَّةِ أَكَانَ.

7. تُلَى الْهَزَيْزَ لِلْأَدَ كُلَّمَتُ لَا نَطَّبَهُ بَأَبَر، وَتَبَسَّرَكَ دُكَلَّ. وَاِمْكَرَ وَأَمْؤَسْ.

8. تُلَى بَيْنَهَا أَكَانَ الْأَلْجَابَتِ أَجْيَعْ أَدْلَلَةُ، وَاِمْكَرَ لِلْأَدَ شَيْنَنْ تِحَمُ. زُوَادْ لَا، وَاِمْكَرَ لِلْأَدَ شَيْنَنْ دَلْلَ، وَاِمْكَرَ وَاِمْكَرَ حَمَلَ.

9. تَوَسَّلَتِ لَاْجَبَتِ الْأَلْجَابَتِ، وَاِمْكَرَ وَاِمْكَرَ حَمَلَ. لِلْأَدَ وَلَا فَكَرْتُ لَا. وَاِمْكَرَ وَاِمْكَرَ حَمَلَ.

10. قَبَّةِ بَرْكَهُ، وَاِمْكَرَ وَاِمْكَرَ حَمَلَ. تَوَسَّلَتِ لَاْجَبَتِ حَمَلَ. لِلْأَدَ وَلَا فَكَرْتُ لَا. وَاِمْكَرَ وَاِمْكَرَ حَمَلَ.

11. تُلَى الْهَزَيْزَ حَمَلَ. وَاِمْكَرَ وَاِمْكَرَ حَمَلَ. لِلْأَدَ وَلَا فَكَرْتُ لَا. وَاِمْكَرَ وَاِمْكَرَ حَمَلَ.

12. قَبَّةِ بَرْكَهُ، وَاِمْكَرَ وَاِمْكَرَ حَمَلَ. لِلْأَدَ وَلَا فَكَرْتُ لَا. وَاِمْكَرَ وَاِمْكَرَ حَمَلَ.

13. أَشْحَأْحُ: الْأَلْجَابَتِ حَمَلَ. لِلْأَدَ وَلَا فَكَرْتُ لَا. وَاِمْكَرَ وَاِمْكَرَ حَمَلَ.

14. أَشْحَأْحُ: الْأَلْجَابَتِ حَمَلَ. لِلْأَدَ وَلَا فَكَرْتُ لَا. وَاِمْكَرَ وَاِمْكَرَ حَمَلَ.
Translation of Text 60

1 Once we traveled from Dubai in a boat from Ṣur, 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 ġabbēt salāmah. 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.

is possible that the particle tɛ ‘until’ was intended, though Ali regularly wrote this is a separate word, and the Arabic manuscript has تیریپ. If tɛ were intended, then the verb would have to be a 3mp perfect (h)ḥarūb, 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. sanēt ṭayt wəkōt hāwrət, wə-ḥāᵇū əḏ-tābəm wəyən. wə-ḥəmōh xawr.
2. te nahōr ṭayt həwrid baʻāyi li ḥārabw wə-baʻāyi li ḥabēr wə-baʻāyi abkār ḍar ḥəmōh.
3. əttōli ţəmr āğıyg ʒ-w-k-abkār, “fənōhən abkāryən məttəkyütən, wə-məjərən atəm.”
4. ţəmr āğıyg bəl ḥabēr, “ākəf! hēt əl hēt axāyr mənən lā.”
5. tōli antəwōh, wə-nākəm hābū wə-ffəskəm tihi mən tətitha. wələkan bəl ḥabēr əwbūd məndəwək bərk abkər wə-ffərūd.
6. w-əmmə bəl hərəwən, his əlyēk ʒ-wəntəwən, həwrid həzəte te hərwəh.
7. wələkan ʒəwəl ʃəkh ʒ-wərəx, w-ənkətəm aməwsə. wə-ʒətətəm ʒ-wəntəwəm ʒ-wəntəwəm tətitha, wə-γəməm, “lű ʒəbūrən, axāyr hən.”
8. w-əmmə bəl hərəwən, ʒ-wəʃhək mənəm, w-əmrū, “hōh axāyr mənkēm. his atəm əntəwhəm, hōh əwrədk həzyə.”

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5. tīhi mən tətitha: Ali clearly read the 3md form tīhi on the audio (twice, actually), but then read 3mp tətitham. The Arabic manuscript has the 3md suffix -hi in both forms. The Roman manuscript has the 3mp suffix -həm in both forms.

6. ʒ-wəntəwən: The prefix ʒ- 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. ʒ-wəntəwaʁəm: The prefix ʒ- 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.
A Visit with Friends in London

Text 62 (no J)

1. yǝmšīh sayǝrk hōm tawōli bū a’išērǝ. (hāmməḥəm smiṭ w-aḏānəh.) wə-šāy aməwsē, wə-hōh al aḡərəb hōrəm lā.

2. wǝlākən sayǝrk al-dǝlōlat. te wəsələk bǝrk šērə’ tāt, šxəbərk gəyg man hōrəm.

3. tōlī hədəlləy ba-wərəm təyt d-əl sē hōrəm də-ḥāmʃ lā. w-əl wādak lā hē yahōm yahāxəwsi, aw hē al yəɣərəb hōrəm lā.

4. əttōlī sayərk te wəsələk wərəm təyt. kəsk gəyg tāt, wə-šxəbərk təh. tōlī hədəlləy ba-hōrəm, wə-sayərk te wəsələk abāyt.

5. kəsk tīhəm (d-)sxəwl lə-səbəm tī. wə-hīs šınəm tī, gəbəwri al-xāh də-bəyt w-amərḥəbəm bəy.

6. wə-hakṣəmək hənɪhəm. att l-‘aʃər, əmūr əgəyq, “gədəwwən nəhəsnək bəyt təyt.”

7. wə-səyurən te wəsələn abāyt, wə-kūsən a’išërhe. w-amərḥəbəm būn wə-šxəbəri, wələkən hōh al əkəwddər l-əghtāyr əŋləzıyət lā ar xawr.

8. wələkən həm, man kētər d-arḥəmthəm, yəmərm, “həwələn tık.”


12. te wəsələk abəty, wəzəmk bəl səyərəh əʃrəw. əmūr həyəni, “əšərək ber wəzməy kərəwəs man əʃrər.”


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1. hāmməḥəm smiṭ w-aḏānəh: This sentence is absent from the audio, but was added to the Arabic manuscript in the margin. The Roman manuscript has just smiṭ w-aḏānəh. 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. wərəm: The audio has hōrəm, but this is a mistake. The indefinite form wərəm is required before the following təyt ‘one’. The manuscripts have the correct indefinite form wərəm, though in the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added h above the w of wərəm, no doubt because of the audio.
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. But I went by directions. Then when I got into a certain street, I asked a man about the way. 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. 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. 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. 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.” 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. But they, out of their great kindness, said, “We understand you.” 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.” The man said, “We will take you to your house in the car.” I said, “No way!” Then I swore. 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. Then when I got to my house, I gave the driver money. He said to me, “Your friend gave me money on your behalf.” 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.

5  (ð-)śxawlīl: On the audio Ali read ṃ-śxawlīl, then stumbled and read, most likely, ʾas-śxawlīl. The manuscripts lack ð-.
6  l-ʿāṣer: See the comment to text 12:4.
11 syēr: The Arabic manuscript has the ms imperative syēr ‘go!’, while the Roman manuscript has syēr, which surely is meant to represent the mp future sīyēra (< *syyēra). 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. /lists 63 (= J33, but a variant version): A Visit with Some Jinn

2. 622

3. CHAPTER 14


5. Te kalâyni, čaft ponible wǝ-šini ḥabâr. Yǝḡágas bû, w-šâff kâyôy.

6. Śxǝwlâl w-akôbâl al-ḥâbâr al-ḥô thâwlân. Te ʃânyisân ḥwôlhô børk -hashôdi al-ḥâk, w-a-tabâysân.


8. Âmârût têt, “yâ hâyyǝ bûk! Wâlâkân nâhâh bû kâyôy, w-al yágîb b-ansôy lâ. Wâlâkân hîh kâryita tîk anfâlî haddût, W-ḥôdôôr mân təhîrîk w-a-hôddôôr mân tāšôs!”


10. Śxôf, w-ʃânyôna yagráybi ṯrôh. W-ərdêh lïhâm b-a-kâålêw w-ğahôm! W-ksôna ḥaybâtk.”


17. Âmûrût, “xâyban, ḥâybît sînak tis bə-xâyr? Axâyr môn hâbêryan?”


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3. əl-hâk: This word literally means ‘inside’, but can also be used to mean ‘north’ or ‘upstream’. 
Translation of Text 63

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.

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.

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.

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.”

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!

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. Drink, and you'll see two ravens. Throw the bowl at them and go! And you'll find your camel.”

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?”

The woman said, “This evening I found a rag on the ground, and I picked it up. I think it was a human's.”

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!”

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.

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.

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.

She said, “Ok, is the camel that you saw well? Better than our camels?”

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.”

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 וֹ-שְׂוָקֵן אָגָ֑י. תֵּ א-סֹֽבְּאָ֑ה קֻֽסָּא אָֽשׁוֹאֵ֑ף. סֹֽףּ וֹ-שְׁנַֽיִּי יָאַֽרְּייִ֑י תֹֽרוֹح. וֹ-רַדְּוֹ לִהֵֽם ב-אָכָֽלְוּ וֹ-גָֽהֶמ. 18avig. te k-sobah kusa asxof. sxaf wa-shini yagraybi troh. wrdoh lihem baakalaw wagahem. te kusa haybatah da-hakhtawt, wa-shis faraysh. wagahem towoli sekanah. wGMT.
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.
Chapter 14

Text 64 (= J25, but a variant version): Kadet

1. xǝṭarāt gǝyg yǝmǝrēm hāh kādēt, wǝ-hē bārah mǝşhūr mǝn šagēt wǝ-
mǝddēt wǝ-labbūd. te nǝhōr tayt hǝwrūd hǝbérhe ǝdǝr mōh, wǝ-kūsa bū ǝdǝr ḥǝmōh.
2. tōli ämawr hǝh, “al thawrēd hǝbérke lā!” amūr, “hǝbérxe mǝkǝtawtn mǝn hǝlākt. wǝ-tawwakam ar tsmēhm lay!”
4. ǝttōli ǝnhǝybūb hǝbér. astomī kādēt. amūr, “tanǎkdǝn lay, hām hawrēk tisǝn mǝn ǝdǝr ḥǝmōh.” ǝttōli hawrūd.
6. wǝ-mánam tah trōh, wǝ-kādēt ǝsḥ jǝnbāyyǝt, wǝ-ʃən ǝt tǝnt mən̥hēm, wǝ-ʃət mǝşwīh. wǝ-kwola hǝbérhe (t)k̥kkǝn te røywī. w-ǝtáwf te nūkā aqânəh, tětah wǝ-hāyabah hɛxar. w-ǝtɛ́tah at-takāyn ġīqen.
7. tōli kalūṯ līhǝm, w-ǝtáwf te bǝrhǝm rēḥak b-anagd, mǝn hāl xaşǝmhe ǝl yagārǝm lā.
8. ǝx̱w̱l. wǝ-hǝbēr al bīsǝn ǝx̱f lā, wǝ-kādēt l-ǝdq yaʃēnus yətfed arḥǝbēt lā. w-akātham ar mǝn abēri. yaʃawtal awa’yōl, wǝ-kāl ǝʃar yanōka ba-ʃət. wǝ-šah bălit ak̥ama, w-ǝzum yahättǝm az̥onǝt. wǝlākan yeqkawk amahat wǝ-yamēs bárāwt.
10. ämawr, “waʃ̥yəma tık myèti tr̥ayt dǝ-kār̥, hām hǝdlēk tīn bah wǝ-lát̥gən

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1. mǝşhūr: ML (s.v. šhr) has mǝşhányr, but the Roman manuscript of this text and the audio have mǝşhūr.
2. mǝkǝtawtn: The audio has mǝkǝtawt, though Ali seemed to hesitate with his reading of this word. The manuscripts have mǝkǝtawtn, which must be a fp passive participle. If the cp future of the T2-Stem aktōta was intended, then we would expect mǝktǝtawtn.
3. tanǎkdǝn: We expect tanǎkdǝn here, but the audio seems to have tǝnǎkdǝn. Perhaps the vowel is colored by the following glottalic. On ǝ > ǝ after a glottalic, see § 2.2.1.
4. jǝnbāyyǝt: On the audio, Ali began to say gǝnbāyyat (cf. 34:11), but corrected himself to jǝnbāyyat.
5. røywī: The audio has te røywī ‘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 hamstrung 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 ráywî), but the manuscripts have te tɔrwɔn (تا تروين) ‘so they could drink their fill’ (with 3fp subjunctive tɔrɔwɔn). Both possibilities fit the context and are grammatically correct. On these uses of te, see §13.5.2 and §13.5.3.2.

bálît aḵāma: Johnstone (ML and JL, s.v. kɔm') translates this as 'flintlock', but this may not be the correct term, since k̄àma means 'percussion cap', a feature lacking on a flintlock. Still, it clearly refers to an older type of rifle.


tah." "his-tāw!" wa-gəhēmām te nākam kərmāyn mən hāl kədēt yasūkan.

12 wa-kədēt də-yaxāwtal awa'yol. tōli kūsə asfūtən də-gəyūg. wa-ʒərūb əssəff də-hāyəməh, w-əbōki əl ʒərbiyəm lə.

13 wələkən əl yaʃə lə hīs kūsə ʃəf də-hāyəməh. te kaləyni nūkə həl ədənəh. əmūr h-tətəh, "əhəd nəkəyəm?"

14 əmərūt əttət, "lə, wə-kəhə?" əmūr, "həssək ʃəf əd-əgəs. wə-ʃəh ʒəyūg, wələkən əl ʒərbiyək təhm lə."

15 əmərūt tət, "həddər əd-ənək! əlyəməh xəsəwən." əmūr, "əbdən, əhəm fələn, əgəs, w-əl həm xəsəwən lə. wələkən yəmənən xələws mənən."

16 əmərūt tət, "əmər əxə́k, həddər əd-ənək! əgərəb əgəyə həh: səkət wə-yədəlm."

17 əmūr kədēt, "həςə əl-həyəm! əl əhərəməh xəsəməh lə. ənkə hət thənəyən."

18 wa-kədēt əl ʒətəxəf ʃəh zənət lə ar əmərət tət. ədəm lə-ʒətəkəməh, əfəwdu ləhəm əgəyəgən mən əmərəkəyt əd-əsəya. wə-ʒərbiyəm əd-əhəm xəsəmə. əttəli əwəl əhəm, wələkən əl əsərəm lə.

19 wa-wəbəd ’həwələy wa-ə-gərərəh. wələkən təməm aməxəwət. wə-tən aməttəli, wa-hīs məxək əjənəbəytən mən əgəwəf əd-əgəyə, mətəxək əsəh əkoən, w-ənəsələt əkəyət ərbək əgəwəf əd-əgəyə. ʃəfənənən ənəsələt mağəzzət.

20 wa-ffələt kədēt. wa-wəbədəh tət, wə-ʃəwəsəwəb ə-ləfəm. wa-ffələt ərbək təfəh, w-ətəfəh əmər. əttəli lətəh ədəm, w-ədəm ərəbət. əhəgəwdəh. əttəli l-əd əkədər yəhəflət lə. sayər te b-əgəbəi əd-əkəsəsət. ərəb w-əyəməl ənəfəfəh ber əmoṭ. əttəli ənəm təh əgəyəgən ə-wəmərən, “nəhəm tət mənən yənkəh wə-ərədəh bəh mən əkəsəsət.” əmūr tət, “həh həm l-ərədəh bəh!”

21 sayər te nəkə həl kədət. hīs əwisə, fərər kədət wa-əgəfəfəh mən fəwəm, wə-əhəhəyəw bəh mən əgətən. wə-həh həwəh ʃəh, w-əmətəm.

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\[yağfəfəh\]: The Arabic manuscript suggests yağfəfəh, a 3ms imperfect plus a 3ms object, while the Roman manuscript has əgəfəh (transcribed as əgəffəh in ML, s.v. əff), the 3ms perfect plus a 3ms object. Either fits the context. On the audio, Ali read a totally different verb, which sounds like xəsəfəh ‘he pierced him’.

\[yəhəhəyəw\]: The manuscripts have the 3ms imperfect yəhəhəyəw. Ali stumbled on the audio, but ultimately read the 3ms perfect (h)əhwəh. Either form fits the context. I assume that the idiom (h)əhwəh b- ‘throw down’ is from the H-Stem (h)əhwəh ‘make fall’, not the G-Stem həwəh ‘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.

forms) would be a geminate h that is barely distinguishable from single h (e.g., G yǝháyw vs. H yǝhháyw), 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 wa-raddem sətə́yt təwoli ağan. lətə́m həxor, həyə də-kədət, wə-lətə́m ḫəbrə́h mən həddūt.

25 āmarūt həhom aṭṭet, “al wəgəmbəkm ła təwətellə̆m məknəyw mən ʃədl! dəmə́h al hə ʃəgə́l d-əkəbəyə́l ła.”

26 āməw, “ẖəbrə̀ də-θəsə́s yakın dəsə́s.” wə-wtəwğə. wə-əzə́wɔ̃m yəqım. aṭtolī āmarūt həhom aṭṭet, “al wəgəmbəkm (t)ʃyərm wə-təkləm amələwtăg wətəmə́h ła! wə-hoh tēt wəhsə́y. hətomə́m, wə-ʃəyə́tə yaəbit. wə-nhə́m nədfən amələwtăg.”

27 w-ətə́m ber lətə́gəkəm sɔx w-əkənnə́wn. l-əd ar hoh, tēt, w-əkə̀ xəlé’ mən ḫəbə. wə-ɡehə́mə́ ɡəhmə́ta ʃıkəm təwoli hərbətə́y.”

28 āmə́r tə́t, “wogəb lə́n ənkə́r amələwtăg, wə-nhə́tə́m həl tēt.” w-əgə́s ʤə-kə́bə́n ʤə́r așə́yga.

29 hīs bə́rhom ʃəwə́lə, səktor aṭṭet ağaś. āmarūt, “hoh də-ɡərə́bk tīk ʤə́r așə́yga. wə-həhm thəmə́y, ʃəfə́d lə́n əw-bə́h! kədət ber əwə́tə́g, wə-ʃəybə́h ber əwə́tə́g, wə-ḥəbrə́y ʤə-mə́n ʃədə́i ber əwə́tə́g. wə-l-əd ar hoh, tēt, wə-ʃəfə́d əw-bə́h!”

30 ʃəfə́d əgə́yə́g te nūkə həl əgə́yə́g w-əgə́tə́h, wə-hə́tə́m. te ə̆-ḥəllə́y əgə́yə́g ber əd-ʃəwkə́f, thəɾə́k mandə́awk wa-tələwtăg ağaś.

31 ʃə́rə́m əgə́yə́g, yə́hə́yə́m yəmə́nm aṭṭet, taguzə́m, “kə́l mənkə́m də-ḥətrə́k ʃən əmkə́nə́h, də-l-əwbádə́h. hoh lətə́gə́k əgə́yə́, w-ə́l hikə́m ḫəkə̀ lə́.”

32 wə-ḥə́rə́t. te ʃəwə́t ʃekə́n tə́t rə́hə́k, kəwə́tə́t həhom. w-ə́yiə́m, wə-ʃəhwə́yə́w ḫə́bə́ te ʤə́r amələwtăg. kəbəwə́rmə́.

33 w-əgə́yə́g sətə́yə́t, hīs aṭṭet ber ɡə̆ʃəbə́θə́m aməndə́wɔ́kə́m wə-ḥə́rə́t ʃən ʤə́yə́rmə́, fʃə́lə́t.

34 wə-ḥə́bə́ niʃə́kə́m ʤə́r amələwtăg anhɔ́r xəwfə́t, wə-ʃəbə́wə́rmə́.

35 wə-kə́də́t wə-τə́tə́h, kəwə́tə́kə́m ɡə́dam, wə-ʃə́yə́m əd-kə́də́t, kəwə́tə́kə́ kəmʃə́t. wə-tə́mmə́t.

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25 məknə́yw: The manuscripts have məknə́yw ‘baby’, but Ali stumbled on the audio and read kənnə́wn ‘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.
chapter 14

Text 65 (= J18, with slight variations): Ba Newas and the Old Lady

1 וַיִּתְנַרְתָּ בָּא נְוָּאָס דָּ-יָּגְהוֹמ, יִפְהֹמְ יָּקָפְד אָרֶּהֹבֶּת. וַּ-קָוָלָה עָגָּנֶּה מֵּאָנ גָיַר כָּווֹט. וַּ-הֵּל שֵּׁהָ שִׂיְּ לָא ל-אַגּוֹרֶ דָּ-יָּשְׁטְוָּמ מַשְׁרָּם ה-אָגָּנֶּה. וַּ-יֵּלֵּיָּ זוֹמ מַהְרֶּּת יָּמֹּל לָא.

2 וַּ-יָּשָׁל דָּ-צָהֲבֶּרֶט, קְסָע הָבּוֹ דָּ-יָּשָׁקָבְרָּמ אָגָּוּז. וַּ-שָׁכָּלָל דָּ-יָּשְׁקְרַקְרֶּנ. וַּ-וּדְאָ הֶשְּׁאָנ מַהְרֶּּת יָּמֹּל לָא.

3 וַּ-לְּ שֵּׁהָ שִׂיְּ לָא, הָמּ קְשָׁפְד אָרֶּהֹבֶּת. וָ-טְלִי אֶּמָּךְרָּר בָּ-פָּקְרַק קְוָּמְא. אָמְר, “הָמַּ, מֵאָת הָבּוֹ שָוְגִּיָּ, ל-אֶּנָּקְסָשׁ בָּ-אָגָּוְז דָּ-מְ-תְּסְ.”

4 וַּ-שָׁכָּלָל בָּא נְוָּאָס תְּ הָבּוֹ שָוְגִּיָּ. נַּקְעָשׁ בָּ-אָגָּוְז וָ-קָלָּּעָּס בָּּרֶק אָּשָבְגֶּתָּ. וַּ-יָּסְלִיָּ וָּ-גָּוְהֶמ, יִפְהֹמְ ה-אָרֶּהֹבֶּת.

5 וַּ-שָּׁעְר ַּטְּלִי מֵאָנ בָּוָּעָם בָּהָיַּט דָּ-תוֹגְּאָר. וָ-טְלִי שָׁבְּרָּ גָּיַג, אָמְר, “קְוָּה הָמַּ, הָבּוֹ שָוְגִּי, לָנְ-אֶּן הָמְּרַס.”

6 וָּל שֵּׁהָ שִׂיְּ לָא, הָמְּ קְשָׁפְד אָרֶּהֹבֶּת. וָ-טְלִי אֶּמָּךְרָּר בָּ-פָּקְרַק אָמְר, “עַהֲרָוְאָי, דָּ-יָּשְׁקְרַק מַאָרְאָיָשׁ.”

7 אָמְר, “לָעִבְרַא דָּ-תוֹגְּאָר מַרְאָיָשׁ, וָּ-הָבּוֹ דָּ-יָּשְׁקְרַק לָה. וָּ-הָבּוֹ הָבּוֹ דָּ-יָּשָׁקְרָּב. ‘הָמְּ קְשָׁ נָדְּוַגְוְרָב שִׁ, יַדְּאָווּיָא.’ אָמְר בָּא נְוָּאָס, ‘הָוְּה שָׁי הָמוֹּיָּ אָגָּוְז אוֹ-תָּגְוָרָב קָל מְרַס.’

8 אָמְר אָגָּיָג, “עַדְּאָּוְוָנ, מָהָּסְסְּעָן תִּק הָּיַּבְדָּ-אָגְיְּגֶנְּ אָמְרַאָיָשׁ. וָּ-הָבּוֹ תָּגְוָרָּט. וָּזְּסִيمְאָ תִּק אָלָהָנְ הָּטָּבְ.” וָּ-טְלִי אֶּמְרַהֶמְ אָּטְהָוְאָס הָוְּל הָּיַּבְדָּ-אָגְיְּגֶנְּ אָמְרַאָיָשׁ.

9 אָמְר אָגָּיָג דָּ-נְוָּאָס קְוָּ-בָּא נְוָּאָס, “אָגָּיָג דָּומְאָ שֶׁאָ הָמ̄וֹאָ אָגָּוְז, וָּ- תָּגְוָרָּב קָל מְרַס.” אָמְרַהֶמְ, “הָוְּה שֵׁפֶד?” אָמְר בָּא נְוָּאָס, “קְּּלָּק תִּסְּאר אָבְיִיַּ טֶלְּ יָּעָקְדָּ שָוְגָּפְּעָ. וָּ-הָמְּ הָּמ̄ כִּמְאָס, הָבְּסְאָבְ גָּרְיָּה תְּרָאְווֹנְ יָּנְקָפ̆ בִּס.”

10 וָּ-טְלִי וָּקְסָּאָבְ גָּרְיָּה תְּרָאְווֹנְ יָּנְק̆ בִּס. וָּ-טְלִי אֶּמְרַהֶמְ הָּג̄וֹרְנ. טָ-נָּאָקְמ הָּל̄ אָג̄וֹז, הָּס̄יָס̄וֹ. וָּ-ל ְ-אָד אָסָּ̄ס ְּוָּ בָּא. רָדָּד̄ ְתָּוָּלוֹ הָּבּוֹו. אָמ̄ אָוְּר, “אָג̄וֹז אָסָּ̄ס ְּוָּ.”

2 mahrēt: This word is not in ML, but must be related to mahāyr ‘clever’ and mahōrat ‘cleverness, skill’ (< Arabic mahārat). It is equivalent in meaning to Jibbali hilt ‘trick’, used in line 3 of the Jibbali parallel version (J18:3). The form mahnēt in Stroomer’s edition is an error. The manuscripts and audio clearly have mahrēt. Al-Aidaroos (1996: 44) includes the word mahrēt ‘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 **fēkǝr:** This word is not in *ML*, though its meaning is obvious both from the context and based on the common T2-Stem verb *ǝftkūr*. We can probably also compare Arabic *fikr* ‘thought, idea'.

3 **l-ǝnkēś:** On the verb *nǝkūś*, see the comment to text 37:13.
āmūr bā nǝwās, “ðǝk tkūn tǝɡtūri k-agǝnnáwnse, wǝ-hām tǝɡtūri k-agǝnnáwnse, tāsīš lā, ar wǝ-sǝbṭāt bǝ-xǝṭrāk tǝwri trōh. wǝ-syērm wǝ-sǝbēṭam tīs tǝwri trōh, wǝlākan hǝddīr mǝn tawtēgǝm hāmǝ́y!”


tōli āmūr tōgǝr, “dōmḥ ši mǝkāddar. wǝ-nḥāh kǝşyǝya tīk bǝ-hāmēk. wǝzyēma tīk hāgǝrōn ðǝ-lǝ́tḡom tīs.” āmūr, “hōm lā. ǝl mǝšīḳǝṣ bǝ-hāmǝ́y gǝrōn lā!”

ādhǝm lǝ-wṭākǝmǝh, ssǝdīd hābū ha-bā nǝwās bǝ-sǝlātyn alf wǝ-hamáwlǝt ðǝ-xáymǝh rīkōb ṭaw. wǝ-sǝyūr tǝwōli aḏǝnāh bǝrǝh tōgǝr. wǝ-tǝmmōt agǝráymǝt ðǝ-bā nǝwās.

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11 tǝɡtūri: It is likely that tǝɡtūri (like ḍǝ-yǝhāmam in 100:2, which also follows the auxiliary yǝkūn) has an underlying prefixed ḍ-, which is suppressed because of the prefix t- (see § 7.1.10.1).

11 aɡǝnnáwnsɛ: ML (s.v. gnn) lists a plural gǝnnáwni. In the Arabic manuscript, Ali spelled this word with a final ɣis (for both occurrences), suggesting an ending -ise. The Roman manuscript also has -ise. However, the audio clearly has gǝnnáwnse, with no i. Cf. also text 37:7.

12 sīrōh: The manuscripts have 3mp sǝyawr, though the transcription sīrō was added later to the Roman manuscript. The audio has 3md sīrōh. Either form works here.

14 mǝkāddar: This is Arabic mukāddar ‘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


3. āmūr awzər, “yēye, wəlākən həməh əl-sirōh bə-l-xəfə’.” tōli sırōh hōkəm w-awzərəh. te nəkəm arḥəbət, wəkəbōh həl bāl aksəwət. āmūr hōkəm, “āzəmə sətəyt dərə’!”


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1. aktəbthɛ: ML (ktb) lists the noun kōtəb ‘clerk’, but no plural form. Presumably, aktəbthɛ is from a plural ktawbət (cf. hōkəm ‘ruler’, pl. hkəwmat).

2. əhəkəmsən: On the audio, Ali stumbled and read the 1cs perfect əkəmsən ‘that I ruled’, though the manuscripts have the 1cs imperfect əhəkəmsən ‘that I rule’. (The Roman manuscript actually has əhəkəmsən.)

3. bə-l-xəfə’: This is Arabic bi-l-xafā’ (or fi l-xafā’), with the Arabic definite article l.

4. xass mən aḏərə’ ə-də-kənnəwən: 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 aḏərə’ (sg.), ə-də-kənnəwən (sg.), aḏərə’ (pl.) ə-də-kənɔyəwn (pl.), or some combination of singular and plural forms; the spellings in the Arabic manuscript suggest aḏərə’ (pl.) and kənnəwən (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!”

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!”

Ali stumbled with both words on the audio. The precise meaning of the phrase is also unclear. Since the basic meaning of ْدْرَة’ (Arabic ديراة) 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].’

6 ْدِرُؤَة: This must be the imperfect of a verb دُوْرَة, related to the noun ْدْرَة ‘forearm; cubit’, though it is not in ML. It is no doubt borrowed from Arabic دارًا ‘measure’.

8 kāl az-zayūd: The Arabic manuscript has kāl zayūd (as usual, with no indication of az-<əd-), while the Roman manuscript has kəll zayūd, with zəyəd written in the margin above zayūd. The audio has kāl az-zəyəd, though Ali stumbled on the reading. Stroomer has kāl zəyəd də-zayūd, using the phrase from the previous line. I suggest that the manuscripts (ignoring the marginal correction to the Roman manuscript) are correct. The noun zəyəd does not fit the context, since ‘all the surplus’ should be azəyəd kāl, not kāl zəyəd (see §5.5.3).

9 aməhkəmət: The noun məhkəmət ‘court’ is absent from ML. It is clearly from Arabic məhkəmat.

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 kaffā 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. xǝṭǝrāt hōkǝm rǝḥāym, wǝ-ˈayūs zǝbōn tǝwāy. w-anylətah ｂ-ḥayətah yǝḥkǝm hâbû bǝ-təyôb wǝ-ｍād. hē yǝḥbū hâbû wîyn, wǝ-sôbər yǝftkîrən hēson yədēr yâməl hâbû arêhtəm.


3. āmūr awzîr, “hēt ˈəmlək hâbû mēkən reht. w-htable hageh. hâm kusəm ʃi ｄ-ｙəhtəwūg xadmēt, əl yəxâdməm təh lâ.” āmūr hōkəm, “hēson amānək hîs tədəmən hâbû?”

4. āmūr awzîr, “hâm əl ʃasdəkək tì lâ, ɡədəwwən, wə-məhışən tük!” tōli sīrōh. te bərk əmk əd-hōrm, sayûr awzîr w-akâlad bə-şəwaɾ nöb te bərk əmk əd-hōrm. āmūr hōkəm, “kō hēt wət̄ąkəməh?”


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3. ｍēkən reht: Since mēkən normally follows the noun that it modifies, it is possible that mēkən modifies hābû, in which case the translation would be ‘you have given many people happiness’. The fact that hābû is definite does not disqualify it from connection with mēkən; even though mēkən more often qualifies an indefinite noun, we find hābû mēkən in text 9:7. Johnstone’s own translation has ‘much happiness’, which appears to fit the context better.

3. xadmēt: The Arabic manuscript has h-xadmēt, but this is probably an error. Cf. line 9, where the Arabic manuscript has just xadmēt.

4. akâlad: Johnstone transcribed this verb akâlad in the Roman manuscript (and akâlad in line 8), but ML (s.v. k’ld), and hence Stroomer’s edition, have akâlad. The audio clearly has a in the final syllable (also in line 8), which derives from an underlying form *akâl’əd (root k’ld), rather than **akâl’əd (root k’ld). The imperfect yakalâwd 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.

from *yakalûd. Having the liquid l in second root position, rather than third, is typical for a quadriliteral verb (§ 6.6.1).

5 ḥayalla: On the audio, Ali stumbled and read hām ṭāt ‘if someone’ for ḥayalla ṭāt ‘whoever’. In the Arabic manuscript, it looks like Ali originally wrote ḥayalla, crossed it out and wrote hām, and then crossed that out and wrote ḥayalla again. The Roman manuscript has ḥayalla, with hām added in the margin. This is the only attested example of the word ḥayalla in all the texts. For more on this word, see § 3.5.6.

6 gāwharāt: For the first occurrence of this word in this line, Ali read the plural gawōhar ‘jewels’, though the Arabic manuscript has gāwharāt. For the second occurrence, he stumbled, first reading gawōhar, but then correcting himself to gāwharāt.

9 tōli ɡərāwb kāl śiyn källǝh, wǝ-hām śınm sī dǝ-yǝktǝwūg xǝdmēt, yǝxádmǝm tǝh. wǝ-tǝmmōt.
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 dā-yaśūŏh fāxrā, tāt xōyān wā-tāt akābah šōfi.
2 hīs bāhrām bā-hōrām, kūsām mašār dā-mūla dārēhmā. wā-sayāwr mān ḫalāḵmāh.
3 te wāšālām bāyr, āmūr tāt h-aḡāh, “kāfīd wā-ḡārif līn bārk ḥānīd mōh!” kāfūd bārk abāyr, wā-ḡārūf ḥānūfāyām mōh bārk ḥānīd dēḵmāh.
4 ṣāqāq aḏ-ḏār abāyr dālōh ḥānīd b-akāyād, wā-sāl ḥānīd w-amṣār dā-adārēhmā w-akāyād, wā-sayūr.
5 w-ṣāqāq šāh šxāwlūl bārk abāyr, w-āl hāmm yašārba lā. kūsā ḥānāfāh mākān, wā-kāfūd bārkīh.
8 ṭīṭōli āmārūt ṣāmḡārēt, “ḥēsān ʿōmlāš b-adānyē?” āmārūt, “ṣay xīzōnāt bā-ḥadd al-falānī.”
9 w-āmārūt āsī, “ḥēsān yāfātshs?” āmārūt āsī, “ḥām ʿḥātš ḍāyrās bāḵērēt āfārūt, wā-ḥārāḵš bā-gēḏ aḏ-ḵāw ḡār xīzōnāt, tafṭkūū xīzōnāt, wā-(t)šalūnān māns xamsfāyn rīkōb ḡarēhmā wā-xamsēyn zānbl.”
11 w-ḏārūfā l-ḵāyād, wā-ḥaḏdōh ḡāyād ḍa-mān sarīsān. wā-ḏārūfā ṣāqīgēn l-ḵāyād, wā-sayūr mān ḫalāḵmāh. wīṣāl arḥābēt, kūsā ḥabrīt ḫa-hēḵmā tā-yīṭān.
13 wā-wḵūb līs w-āmūr, “ḥām ṣāmḡārēys wīḵa šātk, aḵē’yōt amṣḡārēt, ṭāḵōnā ṣāmḡārēys šātk.”

(t)šalūn: 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 ŏ 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.”

This is the only example in the texts (with audio) of a lost prefix t- preceded by the conjunction ṭaː-. 
w-āmūr ḥāgǝrīt, "āzāmi məgəmrēt wə-bərkīs śīwōt." wə-wəmätah ḥāgərīt məgəmrēt wə-śīwōt.

wə-ḳəful xəloyaf, wə-fātt atfərīt bərk amgəmrēt wə-śīwōt. wə-həndēx bə-ḥəbrit də-ḥōkəm.

wə-ġtərýōt məns aḵēʾyōt. wə-hədxəlis l-ād tənākas 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 69 (no J): The Ṣayʿar Raid

1. Although Ali wrote ṣāyār in the Arabic manuscript, he said ṣāyār (such-and-such tribe) on the audio. In line 5, he said ṣāyār (the tribe) in place of ḥābīr (twice), while in line 7 he simply omitted ṣāyār (twice). The Ṣayʿar tribe (sometimes called the Saar in English) are from the Ḥadramawt region of Yemen.

2. Although Ali wrote mahraḍ in the Arabic manuscript, he said mahraṭ (from such-and-such tribe) on the audio.

3. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the verb sāthāb (he crawled away) in brackets after anshār (he slipped away), presumably just recording a near-synonym.
Translation of Text 69

1 Once a tribe that is called the Ṣayʿar 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 Ṣayʿar. On evening of the fourth day, they caught up with them at night. And the Ṣayʿar 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 Ṣayʿar) 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 Ṣayʿar 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 Ṣayʿar, and they came back having been victorious. And the Ṣayʿar never again raided the Mehris.

9 And then they reconciled, and after that time, they didn't go raiding again. And it is finished.

8 ǝz-zǝgēd: The relative pronoun ǝ- is not indicated in the manuscripts, but there is a trace of it on the audio, as ǝz-zǝgēd or z-zǝgēd.
An Encounter Between Camel-Herders and Goat-Herders

Text 70 (no J): An Encounter Between Camel-Herders and Goat-Herders

1. xǝṭǝrāt sēkǝn da-baʾyli rawn kafāwd ba-wōdi. wa-ḥawōdi dākamah bis matwē, wǝlakan bis baʾyli bēr. wa-yahākrǝm līs mǝn aḥād yawbēd ġarmayt mǝn hāl tənākan hǝbɛr.


3. tōli l-ād səwrem lā. wa-hēm yəbāyt, w-ajagy bāl hārāwn al hād šah lā. kafūd mən ʾār hərōm da-yalābdah, w-āmūr, “hōh sayörk, wa-ḵelêm ʰăzye!” āmāwr, “ābdan!”

4. tōli səyūr tāt bāl hāber wə-yərāyd wōz, wə-yətābras. yədkūk lāh bāl hārāwn wa-yalābdah ba-fāṭxi ṭrōh. wa-nākam baʾyli hāber wə-ḥagawm l-ağagyg. w-antāwḥam, wəlakan kədāwr lā.

5. wa-wbāwdah ba-xəmmōh faṭōwax, wa-wbədiham ba-xəmmōh faṭōwax. w-ādham la-wtəkamah, ənkōt tētah. w-əbdūd tāt ba-fāṭxi ṭrōh. tōli fāsskəm. wəlakan baʾyli hāber šātəm əsər rawn ba-gāsəb.


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ātwīd: Johnstone tells us that this is a first person singular form (ML, JL, and HL, s.v. ‘wď), and he translated it as ‘I seek refuge’. If correct, then it would have to be a T2-Stem imperfect, minus the characteristic suffix -ǝn. If it were a T1-Stem subjunctive, we would expect l-ātīwǝd. 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 aʿtēd in text J25:12, but aʿtɔ́d 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 taʾawwaḍa ‘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. ʿayšūṭan: 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. ġáṣǝb: This is Arabic ġasb ‘forcible seizure’. It is missing from ML, though several verb forms from the root ġsb are listed.
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. xǝṭarāt śxawlɛ̄k bǝrk dǝkkōn, wǝ-ḳǝrāyb lay ɟayg mǝhrāy. wǝ-hē mǝn aḳā’ al-gǝnūbi, w-ağǝrōyǝn yaxtəluf.

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2. tǝḳáyr: In Omani Mehri, the verb for ‘read’ is rātkti. In the Yemeni Mehri dialect of the man in the story, the verb ‘read’ is ḵǝrōh (cf. Arabic qara’a); cf Jahn (1902: 205). In Omani Mehri, ḵǝrōh means ‘hide’. The root of Omani Mehri rātki (rk) is probably a metathesized version of the root kr’/kry.
4. ma yəxālaf: 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 (tǝḳáyr)?” His intention was, “Can you read (tǝrtūḳi) 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 (mǝrtáyḳ) you your letter.” He said, “What is mǝrtáyḳ?” I said, “I’ll read (kǝryōna) you your letter.” And the people that were by us laughed at the man. And it is finished.
A Children’s Game

1 wǝ-ámma anéḥǝg ð-abdūn, yǝkáwn ǝrbōt aw yǝtīt bū. lēzǝm yǝkün tǝmōm, wǝ-yǝkáwn kāl ṭrōh aw kāl šāṯāyt fāxrǝ. wǝ-kāl tǝt yǝślūl šawri ṭrayt tǝlōfǝ, wǝ-yǝbdáwd kāl hǝm tǝwōli bǝdūn tǝt.

2 wǝ-kāl mǝnhēm ðǝ-xǝlūs mǝn abdūn, w-ǝsawrǝh wǝḳōt rēḥǝk mǝn hǝrbāthǝ, yǝrōka táwri ṭrōh ǝl-fɛ̄mǝh ǝl-tayt mǝn abdūn ǝk hǝ-ǝk. dŏmǝh awāsf ð-anéḥǝg ð-abdūn. wǝ-tǝmmōt.

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1 *bǝdūn*: The exact meaning of *bǝdūn* 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 *bǝdūn* from the root *bdd*; cf. the verb *bǝdd* ‘throw a stone’, used later in line 1.

1 *tǝmōm*: 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 *badūn*, 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 *badūn*.

2 And whoever of them misses the *badūn*, and whose stone is farthest away from (those of) his companions, he hops on one foot from this *badūn* to that one. This is the description of the game of the *badūn*. And it is finished.
chapter 14

Text 72 (no J): Collecting Money


3. tōli əhəbūr līhəm. əd wəzūm ʃār, əw-ə wəzūm ʃārī trōh. wə-hāy lə-wtəkəməh te hāsələm wəkōnə xəmsəyən ʃərəh te bərhi ə-kə’ tāt. āmūr tāt, “ʃərōməh nəḥōm nəhāxləf mən hārsūt.”


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1. mənkəy: The manuscripts have mənkəy, with the 1cd pronominal suffix, but the audio has manūn, with the 1cp suffix.

5. aɿɨɣɛn: The manuscripts have aɿɨɣɛn ‘the boy’, but the audio has aɿəyəg ‘the man’.

7. ʃərə: On the audio, Ali clearly read Arabic ʃərə, and not the Mehrized borrowing ʃərə (ML, s.v. šrə).
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. ʾx̂atarāt ʾarbūt ʿgayūg ʾdā-yəṣyāwṛ ʾx̂aẘwṛ, wəlākān ʾal ʾšay ḥātəm lā yəḥāẙm ʿal-hə. wəlākān ḥalātham sayāwṛ rəḥək.

2. tōli šəkšəy rəzəwəd, ʿa-bər hīhəm ʿaṣərī ṭrhō nən ʿgayr kəwət. ʿa-bərhəm təbəm, wəlākān ʿgayūg məshər nən ʿsəbər ʿwə-ṣəgəʾət ʿwə-ʿazzət ʾən-nəfl. te ḳalədni kəfəwd ʾə-wədə. kəsəm ʿgayg, ʿw-ʿagəy ʾdəkəməh ʾsəh kəwət.

3. wəlākān ʾhi sənī aġəyūg ḥəkbīl ləh, ḳərōh əkəth. yəḥəm ʿyəxbər aġəyūg mən ʾmənəhəm ʾdə-yətəh ʿwə-yəklələʾ hərəbəθəe.


5. tə ba-ḥəlləy, bərhəm šəwkīf, ʾəsəs ʿagəy ʾdə-wətʃəm təh ʿagəyūg, ʿwə-ḥəftūk ʾʿaynət ʾtəmər. wə-ṣəyūr tələhəf ʾal-ṭət nən ʿagəyūg, ʿwə-ʿwəzəhə bə-ṭəmər. w-ʿəmūr ʾhəh, “hōh ʾəl ʾšay ar ʾdəməh, ʿwə-ḥəməh hək. ʿwə-ṭəh ʾwə-kələʾ ʾəsəyəh!”

6. ʾsəmmədəh ʿagəy nən ʾhənəh, ʿwə-ʿwəzə bəh ʿagəy ʾdə-l-ʿadaʃəh. ʿəmūr, “hōh bər ʿsəbək, w-ʾədī həbkək ʾdəməh. ʾhəməh hək. ṭəh wə-kələʾ ʾəsəyəh!”

7. ʾsəmmədəh nən ʾhənəh, ʿwə-ʿwəzə bəh ʾarəbə. w-ʿəmūr ʾhəh ʾəl-ʾhıs ʿgəwəhə.

8. ʾṭələli ʾsəmmədəh nən ʾhənəh, ʿwə-ʾʾəsə. ʾəyməl ʾhənəfəh yəḥỏm yəḥəl, ʿwə-ṣəyūr tə ləzə l-ʿagəy həwələy. ʿwə-ʿwəzməh ʾtəmər. ʿəmūr ʾhəh, “hōh bər ʿsəbək, ʿwə-ʾkələk hək ʾdəməh.”

9. ʾṭələli ʾsəmmədəh nən ʾhənəh, ʿwə-ʾrədəh bəh l-ṭəwəl ʾdə-həyədəh. ʿwə-ʿagəyūg kəl ʾtət yəḥəm ʿyəxbər ʾaṃsəgər, wələkən ʾmənəm nən ʾtəṭıdəyəm.


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2. ʿsəgəʾət ʿwə-ʿazzət ʾən-nəfl: These are Arabic ʾṣaqaʿat and ʾizzat ʾən-nəfl.

6. nən ʾhənəh: The manuscripts have nən ʾhənəh, but on the audio Ali read nən ʾḥəyədəh ‘from his hand’.

11. gəzə: On this word, see the comment to text 20:63. The phrase tʃəl gəzə is found also in 22101. The parallel Jibbali version has xəzə, 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 ʃənə, which is either a mistake for ʃənə (which is how Ali spelled the word gəzə in 22101), or represents a word cognate with Jibbali xəzə. The audio clearly has gəzə, 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.”

possible that xázé in the Jibbali version was a mistake for gázé (both in the manuscripts and on the audio).
āmūr, “smēḥǝm lay! kāl ūt yāgōb yǝğrück agīd mǝn aḵōməh. wǝlākan ǝtēm, ǝl ǝẖād yǝḵawdǝr likam lā.” wǝ-tǝmmǝt.

nēhāh hǝnin amsáyrǝt gǝ́dǝt. ǝl ǝẖād yatáyw axáyr mǝn arībēh lā ābdǝn. tǝ wǝ-ɬu bárəh moyǝt mǝn agǝwɛ́, yǝṣáwbǝr ǝl-ḥis arībēh. wǝ-tǝmmǝt.
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 xǝṭarât ġaqg wǝ-ttētah wǝ-ḥabôniham, ġiğêni ṭôh, sâfrâm mǝn akâhâm, yâhâym hâ-kâ’ tât. wǝ-sâfrâm. te bârhâm ba-ğabbêt, tîbâr amârkêb, wǝ-gârkêm hâbû ða-bârkîh, ġayr agâyg w-âdînah.

2 wâlâkan kâl tât wiqâ ðâr lawh, wǝ-tâffêm bîhâm. āmma agâyg, ġudâh bâ-gazâyrât. w-âmma têt, ġadôhôt bâ-raḥbêt. w-ħamبارâwtan kâl tât ġudâh ba-raḥbêt. w-agâyg dâyyn, w-łûtât w-[k]â-ðâlik. w-bèr dâxlôm, hîs âdhêm fâxra, al ahâd mânhêm yâbâyêd.

3 ámma agâyg ða-ḡudâh ba-gazâyrât, âxwâlûl wâkôna âysâr yüm b-agzâyrat dôkamah. w-agzâyrât al bîs ahâd lâ, w-âm분 güya, yâtâyêm wǝn amâray. te âsêr têt, ânkîyê mâlêk.


5 wâ-ḡéhamah nâkiyê tôk ârbôt mârâwkab. mâharsûtan bâwmah, wâbârkîhâm bâsât. wǝ-štêm amârâwkab w-âlhân bârkîhâm. w-ḥâbû mäṣâsarûtan tôk, wǝ-ṭâlýta bûk âṣafôt b-arḥôyab kâl. w-ḥâbû ânkîyêt tôk mên arḥôyab kâl, w-ṣâynêna bâwmah.”

6 âmûr, “yêye.” te ġéhamah sayûr wǝ-ṣînî aṣâwêr āfûrût. w-ḥfêr anxâsê, wǝ-kûsa ðêhêb wǝ-fâssât wǝ-gawêhâr. te nähôrôn hâkîb lâh ârbôt mârâwkab te harsîw, âttôli ḳêfâwd hâbû, wâ-ḡâbrîhâm agâyg wǝ-štêm amârâwkab w-âlhân bârkîhâm.

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2 dâyyên: This word, borrowed from Arabic dayyîn ‘religious’, is missing from ML.

2 ka-ðâlik: This is an Arabism (< Arabic ka-ðâlika ‘also’). Another word meaning ‘also’ is ṭâwran (ML, s.v. twr), which is also an Arabism (< Arabic āwran).

2 dâxlôm: The transcription dâxlôm is uncertain. The Roman manuscripts have dâxâlôm, while the audio has dâx(ç)xâlôm (it is not certain that the x is geminate), or perhaps dâx(ç)xâlôm. The (mistaken) intention was probably dâxlôm, 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 dâxâlôm (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.

Stroomer wrote), the expected (correct) 3mp perfect of the well-attested G-Stem dǝxǝl. However, Ali normally spelled forms like this with an alif indicating the long ā; cf. مخافم for šxǝfǝm (13:10 and 35:6), مخام for šǝxǝkǝm (71:4), and مناحم for šḥǝnǝm (74:24). We also find دخال for 3ms dǝxǝl in 99:31. While there is good evidence that the spelling مخد would not have been used to represent dǝxǝlǝm, it is equally possible that this atypical spelling (and Ali’s spellings often varied) is what caused Ali to misread it on the audio.

bǝṣṭǝt: This word, borrowed from Arabic biḍā’at- ‘goods’, is missing from ML.

w-āmma ḫāmbārāwten, kāl tāt kānūwah bū, w-ātalām te bāḥrām šyēx, hāmām bā-hōkām ḍ-ḥagzáyrāt, wā-hāmām bā-xādmēt b-ḥagzáyrāt. wā-kāl tāt sōfār mān hāl ḥābū ḍā-kānūwah te nākām ḡagzáyrāt ḍā-bēs ḡāybhām.


w-āmma tāt, kōtēb hānāh. wā-šxwālīl, w-ēl ḡāṭrēbām lā.

w-āmma tēt, ūmēm ē-gādḥōt b-ārēhātēt amšērēt, wēkōt hāl ḡayg, wā-dxālōh ēl bīhām yāyūn b-amšērēr. wā-mēn hāl aḡāyg aṣṣōfēr, tssāfrēn ōh. w-aḡāyg tōgār.


**Notes:**

7 maskēn: This word, almost certainly from Arabic maskan ‘dwelling, residence’, is missing from ML.

8 šyēx: See the comment to text 18:10.

9 hanāh: The Arabic manuscript and audio have hanāh ‘with him’, but the Roman manuscript has hanāy ‘with me’ (correctly hanāy).

10 hanēn: The audio has hanīn ‘with us’, but the Roman manuscript has hanāy ‘with me’ (correctly hanāy). The Arabic manuscript probably also has hanīn, though in Ali’s handwriting hanīn and hanāy can look identical.
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.

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.

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.

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.

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.”

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.”

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.

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.”

\[\text{amēnyáyn}:\] This must be a colloquial Arabic dual adjective \(\text{ʾamīnáyn}\). The word is missing from \(ML\).
āmūr akannáwn, “hēt kalēt fanōhēn!” wə-hāmēham tattāman liham.  
attōli kālūt šāx, āmūr, “xatrat hōh wə-hābye w-ağıay akannáwn sāfrān 
man raḥbēt, nahōm ha-rḥabēt tayt. wə-his bāran b-ağābbēt āmoh, ṭibr 
bīn amarkēb, wə-ğārkam hābye w-aġāy wa-ḥābū kāl, wə-bāykak hōh 
dār lawh, wa-taff bay te gādḥak bə-raḥbēt tayt. wə-ḵāsk ɣaɣaɣ, wə-ḵənyāy 
wa-ḥawkabāy amdarsēt.”

16 attōli aġāh, āmūr amsī bəw-w-āmūr, “hōh aġāk!” wə-bəkīw te k-sōbāh man fərhāt. wə-ḥāmēhi tattāman lāhi, wəlākaṇ šəbārūt.

tə k-sōbah, āmūr, hīs īmsī abṣār, kəfdōh ḥəmḥərāwtn, w-ağıyag təgər rūfà. tōli 
āmərūt tēt hət təgər, hēt xayaŋk bay, wə-kālak hanāy ḥəmḥərāwtn. wə-
yallōh al kālam tī al-šākf lā.” āmūr, “hibōh al kālam tī tšākf lā? həgāwm 
layš?”

āmərūt, “ābdan, wəlākaṇ hēt (t)təmə l-aġəroyī wə-l-aġəroyḩam.”

tōli kəfdōh təwōli ḥōkəm. te ankōh, āmūr hōkəm, “kō tēm kəfədkəm?” āmūr 
ağıyag, “attēt dīmah thōm tšānḥar bə-ḥəmḥəråwtn də-yālloḥ hātîm hānīs.”

20 āmūr hōkəm, “hibōh ‘əmləm?” āmərūt tēt, “hām hēt hōkəm thāwkəm bə-

āmūr hōkəm, “hēsən ‘əmlakəm yəlloḥ bə-ttēt dīmah?” āmərōh, “aḷ ‘əmlən 
si lā.” āmərūt tēt, “sāxbařəm əl-hān ɣataryəm yālloḥ.” āmūr, “hēsən 
ɡətərikəm yəlloḥ?” āmərōh, “aḷ ankətki şənət lā, wə-ḵətwətki.”

22 āmūr hōkəm, “ba-hēsən kətəwətki?” āmərōh, “skay ɣayw, wə-ɣətərbək 
yəlloḥ.” āmūr hōkəm, “wə-koḥ ɣayw? kəltəm ləy b-əkəssάṭkǐ!” attōli kəlūt 
ʃāx bə-kəwətk Lêləs.

23 ādah al təmūm lā, ɡərbīh hāybaḥ, ḥōkəm, wə-bəkōḥ. w-āmūr, “ətəy 
ḥəbənye!” āmərūt tēt, “əlyəməh ḡəbənye, wə-hēt aġəyɡ!”

24 attōli kāl tāt kəlūt b-əkəssάṭh, wə-ɣətərbəm. wə-ʃənəm h-ağıyag də-nūkə 
bə-ttēt aləŋaḥ dəḥēb wə-fəʃəṭ. wə-ʃəwəlîl ḡuʃər te mətəm, wə-hēm bərk 
ɾəh. wə-təməmət.

hōh wə-hābye: On the audio, Ali read hōh wə-hāybi ‘me and my father’. The manuscripts have hōh wə-hābye ‘me and my parents’.
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.”

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.

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?”

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.”

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.”

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.

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.”

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.

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!”

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.
chapter 14

Text 75 (no J): Aziz

1 xǝṭǝrāt ġayg yāgōb bǝ-ġaggĭt, britis ḏǝ-tōgǝr, wǝ-sē tágōb bǝh, wǝlāukan ġhǝ́bse xǝziw mǝn yǝháffkǝm tǝh. te mǝn ñar wǝkt, fikas bǝr ḥǝdáydǝs. wǝ-sē al thǝmǝh lā, ar hkwzm līs ġhǝ́bse.

2 attōli šasfōh amkwáyrs do-sē, amkǝwrátah, šfǝkáwt, wǝ-wkǝ́yta ašyǝ́yfts mǝn ñar áysh yum. w-akā' rēhǝk. attōli saýur ağı̇ỵg̣ te nūkā hāl ġayg āsēṛ. āmūr ḥh, "hibōh šawr?"

3 āmūr, "hēšǝn gorōh?" āmūr ağı̇ỵg̣, "amkǝwráwti šfǝkáwt. wǝ-ḥām ād tǝkawdǝr hânyi bo-hâylot, kǝlèt lay!" āmūr ḥh āsǝṛ, "yahmāmk šī lā. ɣǝdewwan!"

4 šaddōh l-arīkābīhi wǝ-ğ̣awṃh h-arḥǝbēt ḏ̣-bīs aği̇g̣ṇṇt. w-akā' rēhǝk. te mǝn ñar áysh yum, watxfoh arḥǝbēt, wǝ-wkábōh hāl ġâwzw. w-âāṣər dēkṃań wǝkọt ašyə́f̣t ḏ-âğı̇g̣g̣t.

5 attōli aği̇ỵg̣ șx̣əḅūr āğı̇ẉz. āmâwr, "hēṣ̌ən mǝn šayaft ġiṃ̣h?" āməṛùt āğı̇ẉz, "ašyə́f̣t ḏ̣-ḥabṛit ḏ-ʃalān. ġhârūs bīsh bǝr ḥǝdáydǝs. w-sē al thǝṃań lā. tágōb bǝ-gâwg̣ badawây, w-ğ̣awṃh al ɣhámmah lā."

6 tōlí āmâwr ḥis ağı̇ỵg̣, "wazỵ̣ma tîš myêt ḏ̣-kāṛš, w-ṭḥawkẉḅ̣ṇ līs."

7 āməṛùt, "ỵẹye." tōlí āmûr āâșər ḏ-âğı̇ỵg̣ ḏ-yağōb b-aği̇g̣t, "āmâma hēt, šx̣awẉal bawṃh, w-aği̇g̣t ʧwỵiț̣ tīk." āmūr, "hibōh ʔṭṭwēḥi, w-sē kâlôn?" āmūr ḥh, "yahmāmk šī lā!"

8 tōlí lības b-ə-xḷóẉḳ ḏ-/tcp, w-wkúb b-āğı̇ẉz te ənkŏh hāl âği̇g̣t kâlôn bərk âḳaśər. w-aği̇g̣t taq̣ɔ̰ṛ̣ḅ āâšər ḏ-əmkẉáyrs. attōli ḥis nūkâ, hftůk xḷóẉḳ (ɖ̣)-ʃ̣âyrc̣, w-āmûr h-âği̇g̣t, "ḥâm thâỵmi ʔaṣṇ̣ỵ amkẉáyrṣ, bɔ̎-ṭḥadd al-falānî ḏ̣ bə-ʃɔ́ẉḅâỵ." āməṛùt, "hiḅ̣ḥọḥ ʔsaẉr?" āmûr, "hāfṭki lay xaḷẉkẉṣ̣e. w- şarṭş̣ỵṛ bərk xḷóẉḳ ḏ̣-hōḥ nâkak bərkîhâm, w-əl yahmâṃ ʔsī lā! wəḷ̣aḳan mət aẉḍən fēg̣̣, tâḳỵ bōṛs əl-x̣âh ḏ-ʔabḍỵt." āməṛùt, "ỵeye." ẉ-wəṃṃṭań xaḷẉkẉṣ̣e, w-sē wəbəsūt bɔ̎-xḷóẉḳ ḏɔ̎-ṇụḳa bərkîhâm. w-")f̣kūt. te ənkŏt hāl amkẉáyrṣ, hāṭṃmṭ həṇḥ te k-sōḅḥ.

hkawm: ML (s.v. hkm) lists various meanings for the G-Stem hkūm, but not ‘force’, which is the meaning here. The meaning ‘force’ is also attested for the Jibbali cognate hkm (cf. text J51:20), as well as for the Hobyot cognate hkūm ‘force’ (HV, p. 148).

akâş̣r: ML (s.v. kṣr) defines kāṣr only as ‘first-floor or top-floor room’, but in the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘big house’. Cf. also Jibbali kēṣr ‘palace’ (e.g., text TJ4:2).

ḥäftki: 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.
wa-ʿamma man ataref ḍ-ağáyg, ḥis wəkūb lah ağáyg ḍ-ağənött ə-wə-yəhōm yalhāməh, mūna ḥādāthe, ə-w-l-ād Ḵədūr yəḥtūrək lā te k-sōbəh. ə-w-səyür ağáyg kəlōn te nūkə hāl ʰáyəb ḍ-ağəgət. əmūr, “hēt əl fəkə tı ar gənnəv. mənʿay ə-hāydaḥ təyt te k-sōbəh.”


w-əmmə man ataref ḍ-ağáyg ḍ-āyməl ḥənəfh əgəgət, ʃtuk, āyəməl ḥənəfaḥ yəhōm yədəhəl, ə-w-ʃəbər uğəgət al-xāḥ ḍ-əbəy. ámma ağáyg, əsəyür təwōli əsərəh. w-əməma ağəgət, ʃrūt təwōli amkōnas. te ba-həlləy, aɣəyg šəbəh b-ələbəs ḏə-ttēt ə-w-səyər te wəkəb hāl ağəgət, w-əgəgət ʃtkūt te ənkōt amkəwəyəs.

w-əgəyg hātūm b-amkōn ḍ-əgəgət. te ba-həlləy təwōh aɣəyg yəhōm təwōli tətəh, ə-w-ʃəh maws. te nūkə w-əgəyg ḍ-əyəməl şəfərənt. tōlī aɣəyg kələn yəwəm təyt mən aʃəfərtəse, ə-w-ʃəkwəf.

te k-sōbəh ʃtk aɣəyg təwōli ḡədəyahəw ə-w-əmmər, “hōh ber əşəmk təyt mən aʃəfərətəse. ə-w-səyərm, ʃnēm tis!” w-əmmə man ataref ḍ-ağəyg ḍ-āyməl ḡənəfh tət, ʃtk te əbər uğəgət al-xāḥ ḍ-əbəy, w-əsəm təyt mən aʃəfərətəse. w-əmūr hīs, “ṣyərī ʃisē!”


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10 al fəkə: The al was crossed out in the Arabic manuscript, but it is heard on the audio.

11 aʃəfərətəse: ML (s.v. źʃr) lists źʃir, pl. źʃərətən with the meaning ‘plait of hair’, and źʃir, pl. źʃərətən 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 źʃərətən occurs in line 13 of this text, as well as in 85:10; cf. also the Jibbali plural źʃərəta listed in both ML and JLI (s.v. źʃr), the Ḥarsusi plural źʃərəntə listed in HL (s.v. źʃr), and the Hobyot plural źʃərətə listed in HV (p. 1). On the singular form, see the comment to line 15.

14 ḡədəyədəh: The word ḡədəd 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) ḡədəd ‘cousin’. In the context of this story, since the man has married his cousin, ḡədəd 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!”

‘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 ǝʾōmǝr har ḥīmi ‘a dīdi’ ‘I call my father-in-law didi (uncle)’.

sáfse: The underlying form of this noun is either saf or sēf, though if the latter, we would expect sáfse. See further in the comment to text 37:25.

ašafurts: This must reflect an underlying šafurit or šafurut. As noted above in the comment to line 11, the form šafurit appears in ML (s.v. zfr), though not with this meaning. This seems to be an oversight. Cf. also Jibbali šafret (JL, s.v. zfr), Hobyot šfirit (HV, p. 1), and Ḥarsusi šafrot (HL, s.v. zfr).
āmūr, “xāyban. yallīḥ, hām ād mənātk, kəṭās əl-hāyd. wə-k-sōbəh, sənyəya.” te bə-ḥəllāy, kāl tət sayūr təwōlī amkənəh. ağāyg xāyəf ağəgət, w-əğəgət sərūt təwōlī amkwəyərs.

16 te fəkəd də-əsər, nūkə ağāyg təwōlī tətəh, wə-şəh maws. te hīs bərəm yahāyım yəşəfəm, ağāyg kələn hətük amāwəs wə-yəkəta ağāyg əl-hāyd. wə-səff kəwətə bə-ḥāys te āsəm ārk d-ənsəm.

17 wələkən ağāyg latt ləh. te k-sōbəh bərəh yəhəm yəmət. fətük wə-əğəbər ağəgənət əl-xəh d-əbdəyt, w-əmūr hīs, “hōh bərī həm əl-mət. ağāyg kət’äy l-ārk d-ənsəm. wə-nədəh l-əkəs!” wə-kətəs məkətət kənnət, w-əmūr hīs, “hōh mətōnə yəməh. w-əbələ yəswədəs!”

18 w-əğəyəg həməməh əzīz. səyər ağāyg. te wəsəl həl əsərəh, kələt ləh, wə-ɡəhməh. te bərhi b-aəmək, mət ağəyəg. kəbərih əsərəh wə-ɡəhəm. te kəsəa ɡəyəg ər-yaqəwədərərəbət, wə-wəzməh xətət təwōlī ağəgət.


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18 makṭāt: Johnstone (followed by Stroomer) mistakenly transcribed mən kətət, but the Arabic manuscript and audio clearly have a single noun makṭāt. The meaning is obviously ‘a cut’, from the verb kəwətə ‘cut’. ML (s.v. kət’) does list a noun makṭāt, but only with the meaning ‘waterless desert’ (likewise the cognates listed in JL and HL).

18 yəswədəs: The Arabic manuscript has ʃwədəs. The Roman manuscript had ʃwədəs, but an initial yə- was later added, probably to match the audio, which has yəswədəs. 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 tənəh: 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-ˀ, III-w/ʃ
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.

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.

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]!”

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.

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.”

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.

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.

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!”

verbs have the shape Cōh in the 3ms perfect (cf. *ML*, s.v. bʿw, rʿw, and sʿv). Moreover, the subjunctive form tanēh 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.

*hayūm w-āṣāwr*: On the audio, Ali mistakenly read the singular *hayáwm* ‘the sun’, which has the same spelling (in Arabic characters) as *hayūm*. The Roman manuscript has the plural *hayūm*. The plural must be correct, since āṣāwr is plural.
24 āmērūt, “ābdan, ar wē-təkābəm āzīs śaḥ, wēlē tfīkī amkwáyri abədəwəy. wə-gāygi yəxxālyi, wēlē əlūtağ ḥənəfi.”
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.
A Brave Man and His Nephews


2. גאמה. תמא גאיל וואק, וואסל אבדה ו-אל ביס אוד לאר קיויי. ו-אל ביס דרבור ל, ו-אל ביס מוה ל. אתול אומר אגאיג ה-בר-גאה, "הוה מושקף. ו-הEta אנקי' אום-מוה ו-דרורב, ו-أمؤول הר' יוהי!"


4. תולי ראדה. תמא וואסל הול חסוניה, אומן אגאיג, "הוה גאמונה." אומן אגלא אקארואינ, "הוה הום שוק." אומן הוה, "אל תקאודאר ל." אומן, "אבדן, הום שוק!"


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2. אבדה: 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-Harasis, the region in Oman to the east of Dhofar.

2. ה-בר-גא: On the audio, Ali misread this phrase as ה-בר-גאתה.

2. אום-מוה: We expect ב-מוה, but the ב has assimilated to the following מ. The same assimilation is attested in Jibbali (e.g., J39:2). See also texts 94:37 and 97:34.

3. אל קוזה אל מוה: The אל before מוה is probably an error. It would be correct if other objects followed, but instead additional verbs are used, each with their own objects. Cf. אל מוה in line 11.

3. תואוויה: On this verb, see the comment to text 42:11.

4. חסוניה: The manuscripts have חסוניה, with a 3mp possessive suffix, but Ali read חסוניה, 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 **ōbal**: ML (s.v. ‘bl’) defines the D/L-Stem verb **ōbal** (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 **ōbal b-** ‘look after a sick animal’.

5 **yaxlįfk**: As discussed in § 7.1.2, because the 3mp imperfect has an underlying final -ǝ, we normally do not see vowel reduction when an object suffix is added. And as discussed in § 2.1.2, this underlying ǝ is present even between two voiceless and non-glottalic consonants, i.e., in an environment where unstressed phonemic ǝ is not usually allowed. On the audio, Ali read first **yaxlįfk**, then corrected himself to **yaxlįfk**. The manuscripts also both have a long 𝒊.


9 ạdǝh wa-wtákəməh, sīnī šiwōt ʤ-akəyōy. wǝ-xtalīhəm. te nūka, kūsa nūd ʤ-mōh wǝ-šiwōt, wǝ-șall gawdīl, wǝ-șall ḥənūd ʤ-ǝbǝrkōh ḥəmōh, wǝ-ffalūt.

10 wǝ-hǝqawdəsh akəyōy, wäləkan ǝlḥəkəm tḥ lā. te wıșəl hāl amhātt, ǝl kūsa ʤerōb lā. nəhāš man akțawbət ʤ-ərikōb te ạymal alḥan ỳasūd əišēhəm. ạyməl xabz. te həbbūl, kāwla xabz ġər ar agəŋyət, wǝ-kəwałə hənūd ʤ-əhəmōh ʤ-əmōla.

11 wǝ-fʃəkəh l-azəməl. ạyməl ḥənəfəh šəwkūf. wǝ-hē səyūr wǝ-ʃəkrōh, ʤə-γərəb xáylah yəkōna, w-əl ụyaqəb  ṣhād yəkāh ḥis tah lā. te nūka xáylah b-ʃ BUILD 350 , sīnī xabz, wǝ-ʃini ḥəmōh, wǝ-ʃini šiwōt. wǝ-hē ʤ-əγərəb əl ʃihəm al šiwōt w-əl ṭəm  w-əl ḧerōb, w-akänge ʤ-kəməm al tkəsə bəh əl ṭəm w-əl ḧerōb w-əl šiwōt, w-əl  ṣhād yəsūkən bəh lā ar akəyōy.

12 tōlī āmūr xáylah, “dōmah aģīgēn ṭəkōna  axāy mənāy mət akāw, wǝ-hōm l-awtāgəh.” ạttōli sīnī azəməl, wǝ-yəhugas aģīgēn ʤ-ə-ʃəkwuf. wǝ-zərkəyəh b-akənətəh. tōlī  γərəb əd-hē zərəkər ar azəməl. ạttōli  sək, āmūr, “hām thāməy,  ḥōh ạrtək, w-ənkək  əw-bōh!”


14 w-aʤəyək həkōh arıkōb, wə-mūlə hənūd. wə-ʃall akəyəd, wə-kəwəla aģīgən  bərk abəyr. wə-ṭakk məsamər bərk xəff ʤ-ə-həybəthəh, wə-γəhəm.

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8 wǝṣǝlōh: The Arabic manuscript originally has wīṣəl bəh ‘he arrived with him’ (or ‘he brought him’). The verb wīṣəl ( وئس) was later changed to wǝṣǝlōh ‘they arrived’ (the ي was crossed out, and a final هو - added). However, the following bəh was not crossed out, as it should have been. On the audio, Ali read wǝṣǝlōh, but stumbled as he read the (now ungrammatical) following bəh ‘with him’.

9 ạdəh: The Arabic manuscript has only ād, but this seems to be an error. The audio and Roman manuscript have ādəh, as we expect.

10 amhātt: 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 akțawbət: The word kətawbət is the plural of kətəb ( ML, s.v. ktb), 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 mazəmlēt, the soft, grass-filled bags on which the camel’s load is laid (ML, s.v. zml).

ksəyōh: The manuscripts have ksōh, but the audio has ksəyōh (cf. also 99:2). This is another example of a III-ʾ verb falling together with III-w/y verbs.
w-aġiġēn bāykī bǝrk abāy; hīs ǧamūs xāyl̢ah. haybāh bīs maḥṭāym, wǝ-tarbūb lah. tōli šadērbaš bīs, wǝ-ḥǝkfadūt (ḥawūt) lah b-amāḥṭāym. wǝ-mūna b-amāḥṭāym, wǝ-haybūt ḥaddūt bah aġāwf.

te wīṣal hānis, kūsa b-xāff̢as màsmtar. ǝttōli śall šātāyt masāwm̢ar, wǝ-ṭākk kāl ˈt̢a b-xāff̢. wǝ-rikb̢ dār ḥaybāh, wǝ-gahêm tǝ elḥāk xāyl̢ah.

ǝttōli hīs ñ̢ini b-wā-ğaṭah ḥakbûl lah, z̢arkây̢h b-akănāth. wǝ-škallîs aģiģēn b-wā-Xaydah. wǝ-gahêm wǝ-şāh aknīt də-Xaydah.

ǝttōli ʾāmūr ḥah, “awâgbak tšēbī lā wǝ-tf̢āslī bǝrk ḥābū. wǝ-ḥēt fayôzk lay b-kâl ˈsyxan. wǝ-hōh arib̢ek te t̢amēt, wǝ-rdēd lay akănēt.” tōli wəzmīh aḳanāt̢ah, wǝ-sxdd̢ōh. w-aģiģēn wīk̢a axâyr mən xāyl̢ah. wǝ-təmm̢ōt.

tarbūb: In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone mistakenly transcribed talbūb, and added the gloss ‘loved’. No such verb is otherwise attested, but perhaps he thought this was connected to the word ḥawbīb ‘heart’ (root lbb; dialectal ḥelbēb). In fact, the Arabic manuscript and audio make clear that the intended form was tarbūb, from the verb ḥabb (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.

hǝkfadūt: The audio has ḥakfadūt ‘it let down’, while the Roman manuscript has ḥawūt ‘it made fall’. Both H-Stem verbs fit the context very well. The form in the Arabic manuscript is very unclear. Ali wrote تفهط, 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 ḥakfadūt.

tf̢āslī: This is a D/L-Stem (fʃōšāl (from the Arabic D-Stem faʃšala), which, besides its basic meaning of ‘thwart, cause to fail’, can mean ‘embarrass’ (in both Mehri and Arabic). Johnstone transcribed here ʃ in place of š, but the audio clearly has š. In ML, the verb (misprinted as sōšāl instead of fʃōšāl) has š, but it is listed under the root fʃl (which itself is alphabetized as if it were fʃl). 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. 

2. 

3. 

4. 

5. 

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masēb: See the comment to text 88:1.

dūbōh: On the audio, Ali read ḏabōh for both occurrences of ḏūbōh in this line, even though the Arabic manuscript has ḏabīy (likewise in line 4 and twice in line 6, but not in lines 8 or 10). In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone transcribed ḏabūh for the first occurrence of ḏūbōh in line 3 (but not the second, or in line 4). In fact, ḏabōh is an acceptable variant of ḏūbōh. 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 xǝrēf: This word is not in ML, but it is obviously connected with the verbs xáyraf ‘bear fruit’ and axtǝrūf ‘harvest fruit’, both used in this line. Johnstone transcribed xǝrēf, but on the audio it sounds closer to xǝráyf.

7 wə-hīs hámak təh gəzūm, hōh xātər bə-hənəjī wə-dəbhək. wə-hīs sənyāy həsələk adəbəh, āmúr, dəməh amərəyərī, wə-duhməh adəbəh ǝ- hôh.’ wə-hē aš-šxəwlūl. wə-hībōh təmərəm həsəwərət?”


10 attöli fəsavəl aġəyūg əm-mənwəkəm yəhhādyəm adəbəh faḵhi, faḵ h-ağāyg əd-ǝdūbəh, wə-faḵ h-ağāyg ǝd-küsa amərərī. wə-hhādyəm adəbəh əm-mənwəyhi wə-səddōh. wə-təməmət.

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10 yəhhādyəm ... hādyəm: Though the manuscripts have the D/L-Stem forms yəhhādyəm ‘they should divide’ and hādyəm ‘they divided’, Ali read on the audio the T2-Stem forms yahtādyəm ‘they should divide amongst one another’ and ahtādyəm ‘they divided amongst one another’.

10 əm-mənwəyhi: Though the manuscripts have əm-mənwəyhi, with the 3md suffix, Ali read on the audio əm-mənwəkəm, 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.
A: “mǝn hō nákak?”
B: “nákak ǝm-bōh, man mārib.”
A: “hātǝ́mk hō yǝllōh?”
B: “hātǝ́mk bǝ-ḥǝwōdi dīh s-sǝrīn.”
A: “hāl ǝḥād aw wǝhšūk?”
B: “wa-ya lawb wǝhšáy, gǝzōt lay hǝyáwm, wǝ-l-ǝd hǝbsând ǝl-bār lā.  w-ǝl hōh ǝ-xáyr lā.”
A: “būk hɛ̄śǝn?”
B: “bay báxaß dǝ-röh.”
A: “hibōh āmǝ́rk?”
B: “āmǝ́rk, bay báxaß dǝ-röh.”
A: “hǝwɛ̄k tīk lā.”
B: “āmǝ́rk hūk, bay báxaß dǝ-röh. bay báxaß dǝ-röh.”
A: “hibōh? sáṭṭǝk ǝhrǝh?”
B: “ēhē.”
A: “ar hǝsǝn mǝn bǝhlīt ‘báxaß dǝ-röh’?”
B: “nǝḥāh nǝmr ‘báxaß dǝ-röh’: ǝtēm tǝmǝm hibōh?”
A: “nǝḥāh nǝmr ‘sáṭṭǝk ǝhrǝh’?”
B: “xǝyban, hōh sáṭṭǝk ǝhrǝh.”
A: “hām āmǝ́rk ‘bay báxaß dǝ-röh’, ǝḥād yǝhǝwēk taw lā.”
B: “hēt mǝn hō nákak?”
A: “hōh nákak mǝn bǝhlīt ‘báxaß dǝ-röh’.”
B: “abhēl txatɔlufan!” wǝ-tǝmmōt.

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8 báxaß: The root bxṣ, 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 sxb found in Jibbali (JL, s.v. sxb) 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 ṣaxiba 'shout, clamor'.

21 mǝśḳáyṣ: 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 (báxǝṣ ɗǝ-ᵝᵽh).”
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.”
15. A: “But what kind of word is báxǝṣ ɗǝ-ᵝᵽh?”
16. B: “We say báxǝṣ ɗǝ-ᵝᵽh (‘an ache of the head’). What do you say?”
17. A: “We say sáttǝk ɗǝᵽōhi (‘I have pain in my head’).”
18. B: “Fine, I have pain in my head.”
19. A: “If you say bay báxǝṣ ɗǝ-ᵝᵽh, 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. *xatrât ḍ*-awxân b-wōdî. *xxatolôn (h-)*aḵā’ dékmâmâh. te ṣṣâr tâṭ bâ-hollây, nakôt têbrâyn te kârâyb al-hârâwn w-affîdât bîsân. wa-ṣîn ḥârît, wa-ṣînân tîs. wa-wbâdîs aḡây wa-hâwṣâwb.

2. Te k-sōbâh šînân tîs ad-gârôt b-amsâyîl, wa-sayîyân nāsînâs. wa-kûsân xôtam bê-haydênâs. wa-yâmâram dâ-sâwêhâr tâmâlân h-têbrâyên xtûm.


5. W-aḡâyg dékmâmâh al yêbâyîd là. wa-tammût.

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1. *xxatolôn*: The Arabic manuscript has a prefix ḍ- before this verb, but there is no prefix in the Roman manuscript or on the audio. As for the verb itself, the root *xṭl* is absent from *ML*. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘come down from mts’. *JL* (s.v. *xṭl*) gives a Jibbali a G-Stem *xɔṭɔ́l* ‘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 *xǝṭǝlít* ‘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 *xxatolôn* must be an H-Stem 1cp perfect; the G-Stem would be *xǝṭáwlôn*.

2. *(h-)*aḵā’: On the audio, Ali clearly read h-aḵā’, though h- is absent from the manuscripts.

3. *xtûm*: See the comment to text 22:51.
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).

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.

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.

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.”

And that man doesn’t lie. And it is finished.
Text 82 (no J): A Man on a Hyena

1 xǝṭārāt hōh wǝ-tāt ḍā-nbāwr bǝ-ḥōrǝm bǝ-ḥǝlláy. wǝ-šīn šǝwēhǝr. ǝttōli šīnǝk mǝnɛdǝm mǝn rēḥǝk. ǝhāqsǝh ḍā-rikǝb ǝr ǝ̮̄ Ǝb ǝ-ḥǝlláy. āmǝr Ġ-ǝribēy, “sxawwal! ḡalék ǝqāyg ḍā-rikǝb ǝr ǝ-ḥǝlláy!”

2 āmûr ǝribēy, “kǝlɛ’ abëdî!” āmǝrk, “hām ǝl šǝsdǝkk ǝl ṭā, ṣxawwal wǝ-šnē!”
    wolǝkǝn ǝribēy ǝl ǝyhasbǝw ǝt ǝmann. wǝ-hōh ḍā-ḥtámk ḍā-ḥẹ ǝqāyg ḍā-rikǝb ǝr ǝ-ḥǝlláy. wǝ-šīnǝk tǝh hıs ǝsɛd ǝm ǝýrǝs, wǝ-ductory. āmǝrk ġ-ǝribēy, “nhōm ǝnwbǝdah, ǝdah ǝl šǝrēn!”


4 ǝl-ḥaḳīḵa: This is Arabic ǝl-ḥaḳīḵa ‘the truth’. Ali wrote ǝl-haḳīh in the Arabic manuscript, but pronounced it ǝl-haḳīg on the audio.

5 amnēdǝm ġ-ǝribēy, w-amūr ǝribēy ǝqâdhǝy. w-ǝbátǝdǝn nǝnâh w-ǝqâyg, w-ǝ-ḥẹ ṣ̱-ǝqāw ǝs ǝ-ǝ-yaqâda bùn. w-ǝ-hōh ǝr hâmâk ǝhǝbû ǝyâmrǝm, “sǝwēhǝr ǝrkōbǝn ǝr ǝ-ḥǝlláy.” w-ǝ-tǝmmōt.
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 āgāṭu: In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘implication’. The word is not in ML, and it is perhaps connected with Arabic ǧatw ‘cover’. In Ali’s English translation, he did not translate the phrase šawsāwb aġāṭu.

5 ammēdām ādah yomūt: 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’. 
1 $\text{xǝṭarāt gǝy wǝ-ḥǝbrǝ́h k-ḥǝbɛ̄r b-anágd. w-avwk tǝ́ddǝ̄m akwǝ́m}
$ $\text{yagǝ́yǝ́m hǝ-tǝ́tīdǝ́ỵhǝ̄m. te nǝ́hɔr šyǝ̀nɔ́h a kéwɔ́m məhɒ́kə́l lə́h. w-ḥefsɔ́r}
$ $\text{ǝ́l sǝ́h məndawk lə́. w-ağıgǝ́n sǝ́h məndawk, wələkə́n hələ́ts ǝ́l sè gǝ́dǝt lə́,}
$ $\text{w-amxə́wɔ́t xə́yə́t.}$

2 $\text{w-ḥefsɔ́r də-yaqə́də́lə́ mən fə́mə́h. əttə́li ə́mūr hə́xə́r həbrə́h, “bə-ḥəną́f, wə-}
$ $\text{kə́lə́y bə́wɔ́m!” ə́mūr ağıgə́n, “yəktə́lît bə́y a kèbɔ́yə́l, hə́m fə́lɔ́t kə́-kə́lə́k}
$ $\text{tık. wələkə́n həmə́h l-ə́fə́wtə́hé te ã́r əkə́n ə́k w-ə́l-šə́gyə́h həlákmə́h.”}
$ $\text{wə-ffə́wttə́h.}$

3 $\text{ağıgə́n, ə́mə́wr, xà hə́ sə́r, wə-yaʃfə́lù́t. wə-mə́t bə́rə́h rə́wə́hə́k, yə́ʃlə́bdə́n}
$ $\text{ə́l-ḥə́yə́h te yə́wɔ́sə́lə́h. əttə́li wə́ʃə́lə́h əkə́n, wə-ʃə́lɛ́bə́d ağıgə́n mə́n ə́r}
$ $\text{əkə́n. wə-bér hə́qə́wə́r tə́r. əttə́li ʃə́wɔ́sə́w hə́yə́hə́, wə́-ağıgə́n hə́qə́wə́r sə́lə́t.}
$ $\text{wə-tə́mə́m amxə́wɔ́t. ə́də́h sə́h tə́ tə́ bass.}$

4 $\text{əttə́li ə́mūr hə́hə́m, “hə́h l-ə́d sə́y gə́mə́yə́lə́t lə́. tə́mə́m akɔ́m amxə́wɔ́tə́ye, wə-}
$ $\text{ssə́mə́k hə́nə́fʒ.” wə́-bér ʃhə́n amə́nə́də́kə́h. əttə́li ə́mə́wr akə́wə́m, “mə́n}
$ $\text{də-yaʃə́m yə́wɔ́tə́gə́h?” tə́lə́li ə́mūr tə́ mə́nhə́m, “hə́h. ağı́yə́ ə́wə́tə́e, wə́-hə́m}
$ $\text{ə́l-ʃə́wə́f bə́h.”}$

5 $\text{ə́mə́wr hə́h, “xə́yə́nə́, akıfə́ tə́wɛ́hɛ́! bə́r tə́mə́m amxə́wɔ́tə́he.” w-ə́kə́fə́ te}
$ $\text{hə́kbə́l l-ağıgə́n. ə́mə́r hə́h ağıgə́n, “tə́wɔ́wə́k tsə́mɪ́!”}$

6 $\text{ə́mūr ağı́yə́g, “sə́lə́mə́t yə́mə́h ar ə́gyə́t lə́k. bə́r lə́tɡə́k sə́tə́yə́t ḃə-ḥə́m xə́yə́r,}
$ $\text{w-ə́də́k tə́wɔ́sə́b ə́l-sə́lə́mə́t? fə́nə́hɔ́n hə́ddə́lə́ bə-ḥə́bɛ́r, ə́də́k ʃə́h.” ə́mūr}
$ $\text{ağıgə́n, “ə́d ə́də́r?” ə́mūr ağı́yə́g, “barr!” ə́mūr ağıgə́n, “hə́h sə́y bə́r ar xə́wə́r,}
$ $\text{wələkə́n wə́zə́mə́nə́ tık amə́gə́hə́wdi. hazi!”}$

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1 $\text{hə́lə́ts: ML (s.v. hlv) defines hə́lə́t only as ‘description’ (e.g., 28:7; cf. also}
$ $\text{the D/L-Stem verb (h)ə́lə́ ‘describe’, used in 23:10), but here, a better}
$ $\text{definition is ‘condition’. Perhaps the word has been influenced by the}
$ $\text{word hə́lə́t ‘condition’ (e.g., 24:15).}$
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!"
wǝ-kǝ́zz bǝh wǝ-wtǝġǝ́y. wǝ-nákam akáwm wǝ-lǝ́tɡǝm aģīgǝ́n, wǝ-gǝhēmǝ́m akáwm. wǝ-ṭāṭ mǝn akáwm dǝ-yǝkū́lǝ́t ḥ ā bū bǝ-fǝ́r ᾱ́yt d-aģīgǝ́n, w-āmū́r, “lū al ber lūtǝ́g ĩrǝ́b t mǝnīn lā, al nǝ́w tḗgən t ā h lā. al ǝ́kā́d yǝ́hǝgṓza bǝh lā, wǝ́lākan ber hǝgǝ́wr ĩrǝ́b t bǝ́ni dáydī.” wǝ-tǝ́mmṓt.

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7 **yǝ́hǝgṓza**: The layout of the entry for the verb ḥǝgz ōh in ML (s.v. gzy) makes it appear that yǝ́hǝgṓza is the 3ms subjunctive form. In fact, this can only be a variant 3ms imperfect. The correct 3ms imperfect is yǝ́hǝgá́yz, while yǝ́hǝgṓza would be the 3ms imperfect of a root gzʾ or gzʿ. The 3ms subjunctive is yǝ́hīgǝ́z.

7 **bǝ́ni dáydī**: The phrase bǝ́ni dáydī, in which bǝ́ni is the construct plural of ‘son’ (see § 4.6), is actually realized as bǝ́n idáydī. In Ali’s Arabic-letter transcription, and on the audio, the final -i is clearly part of the second word, with a pause between bǝ́n 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 trṓh, rather than suffixed to the noun (see § 4.2).
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.
Chapter 14

Text 84 (no J): Singing for their Supper


3 wə-yəkféd bərk xan wə-yəhrēk līn kawt. wə-trōh də-yəmərəh, hām sənyōh əhād kəfūd xan, ʰəddōr bə-hənəf, aməwə́gt nakōt!”


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 Ṣur.” 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 Mehris (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!”

\[\text{ānīt: ML (s.v. 'n(t))}\] 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 ānīṭ is normally smaller than a nīd.

8  sayūr dēk də-gīlu, w-ə-nūka aq解ūg hāl arībèh. w-āmāwr həh, “hībōh tkōsə hənāfək?” āmūr, “fərōkk, w-ə-hōm al-əmēr.” w-āmərōh.


10  āmərōh h-əqēyūg, “nəhəh händən. səmēhəm līn.” w-ə-sūrōh. w-ə-hēm l-əkəssēt dəkəməh te wəsələm šawər. w-ə-təmmət.

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7  yəsyər wə-yātōsī: While the manuscripts have the expected subjunctives yəsyər and yātōsī, on the audio Ali mistakenly read the imperfects yəsyūr and yətəsəyən, but then corrected the latter to yətōsī.
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.”

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.

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.

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 Ṣur. And it is finished.
Text 85 (no J; translated from Jahn 1902: 14–21): Ḥusn Mabda

1. xǝṭarât hōkam ba-raḥbēt, wa-šāh aģāh. w-ajāh šāh habrātah, w-ahābōt ākāwl dō-ğayūg. attōlī āmūr hōkam h-ajāh, “ḥabrāt nhaḥbōt ākāwl dō-ğayūg, w-ḥabrāt maškâhît.” attōlī sitām hīs gērīt ḡabsâyyah, wa-ğalâys ḡânis.


5. sīrūt ḡagortex tabāyk. sīrūt ḡâgārēt tawōli ḡabrē dā-hōkam w-āmūrūt hāh, “āzēmi myēt ḡa-kārš, w-āmēri d-ʾaqâmât gōrē nxālī xwōfēt.” w-ṣaṣṣənyēta ṭaḥ adâreḫam. w-ṣaṣsrūt ḡagortex tabāyk. āmūrūt, “āzēmi ṭrayt dā-hōkam w-ṣaṣṣənyēta ṭaḥ.”

6. wa-ṣaṣsrūt ağağaṇōt tawōli amastōn dā-hāybas, wa-ṣallēt ṣarx mēn zaytūn. w-ṣaṣṣənyēta w-āmēri h-āmēri hāh ṭrayt dā-hāybas. w-ṣaṣṣənyēta w-āmēri h-āmēri hāh ṭrayt dā-hāybas.

7. te nāhōr d-ʾaqâmât, gērōh bār ḡadâydas nxālī xwōfēt, w-ṣaṣṣənyēta anāḥf ṭaḥ-adâreḫam. āmūr, “l-ʾḥmēd aṣṣarātś!”

8. te nāhōr xawōfēt, āmūr ḡagortex, “āmēri h-ābālātś waqzōnā tīs myēti ṭrayt wa-l-sné’ aṣṣarātś.”


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1. ḡabrātah: In Jahn’s version of the story (in the Yemeni Mehri dialect of al-Ghayḍah), 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.

3. l-ʾḥmēd: This 1cs subjunctive form of the verb ḡamūd ‘praise’ is used idiomatically to mean something like ‘how X would/must be (if I could only experience it)!’. See ML (s.v. ḡmd) 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.”

7 aṣafarāts: See the comments to 75:11 and 75:15.

9 aṣafarātš: Ali read aṣafarāts ‘her braid’ on the audio, but the manuscripts have aṣafarātš ‘your braid’.
āmērūt, “aḳēfi ṭ-ɐnkɛ́y b-ədařēhəm, w-əmēɾi həh anhōr ᵇ-aqəmət yəgréh ənxəlī xəwfeť.” sărūt hāgarūt ṭ-ɐnkət b-ədařēhəm. w- sărūt aḏəggīt ṭ-bəsatūt sabˈāyyat ᵇ-ḥāybaš, w-əmlōt ᵇ-šəfərtən. ṭ-əhəndaxət bısan, ṭ-w-əmlōt hıṣ ʰəyətan gyyəd.

te nəhōr ᵇ-aqəmət, garōh bər ᵇ-ədəydaš, w-əsənəyətən tısan mən xəwfeť. əmür, “l-əhməd arəmsəts!”

te nəhōr xəwfeť, əmür hāgarūt, “əmēri h-əbələtš, ‘wəzmōna tıš  Affero gənə’, wə-l arəmsəs hənəs yəllələh.”

sārūt hāgarūt wə-kəwətūt h-əbələtəs. əmərūt hīs, “aḳēfi wə-skəy b-ədəhēb, w-əmēri hah mən dər a’isə yankə’.”

sārūt hāgarūt, wə-ʔədd līs aḏəhēb. w-sārūt tawōlī əbələtəs. tōlī aṣəhabət ḥabs‘əyyət wə-həwbaʃət səyət w-əmlōt hısı ətəwər. wə-sə ʃəkrəwət.

tə nūkə həbrē ᵇ-ħōkəm, ʃəcəwūl hāl ᵇ-ḥabs‘əyyət. wə-wəzəmətəh ʃəwət, wə-kəθəw ’w-əgasrö’.


kə k-səbəh ftuk həbrē ᵇ-ħōkəm, yəhəm h-aməsgəd. te hıṣ bər aṣələyəm, ʃınəm ḥəbū awərkət b-əməndəl ᵇ-əbrē hə-ḥōkəm, w-al əhəd yəsənəs yəqətər ʃəh lā. te hāybaʃ yəsəs mənəh.


əttōlī aqəfi tawōli əhədəyəh w-əmūr, “həmk thəʃɪkə həbrəkt.” səyər əhədəyəh tawōlī həbrətəh w-əmūr hısı, “bər əhədəyəʃ yəhəm yəhərəs bəyəş.”

āmərūt hāybaʃ, “həfəkkəl” wə-ʃʃkəys.

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sabˈāyyət: 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 ᵇ-ə. Elsewhere in this text he read the word as sabˈāyyəh (e.g., line 16). In his Arabic manuscript, he always wrote the word with its Arabic spelling, سبط.

ağasrö: See the comment on naɣāsrゥ in 48:29.

az-zaytūn: The Arabic manuscript has just zaytūn, but the audio has az-zaytūn (< dzaytūn), 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 *tartāyk*: On the audio Ali read *tartāykas* ‘read it’, which does not fit the context, since the direct object (*awarkāt dimah*) is specified.
22 te aāsər xāyləf, wə-kūb agāyq. wə-sə āməłōt nūd dēbəh, wə-fəkəwət ləh ba-gəfənütən. w-āməłōt abeth ətər, wə-sə səkʁəwət.

23 te nūkə agāyq, ba-hāyədəh rəmḥāt. wə-tənīs. wə-fərəwət əntəfət mən adəbəh bərk xāhəh.


26 wə-həsən məbdə’ āməłōt məhərət, wə-ƙəwəbūt bərkəs zəyər bəsər. hīs bə-həlləy əwəh həgər, āmərət hāh, “hām əhməh, mələ’ azəyr mōh!”


28 wə-tətə də-həgər sës xətərək. āmərət hīs tēt də-həbrē də-həkəm, “təhəymi təsəməh ləy?”

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22 əfənətən: ML (əfən) 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 عباية ʿabāya, the traditional robe worn by Muslim women.

22 ətər: The manuscripts have the singular ətər, but Ali read the plural ətəwər on the audio (cf. line 14). The Roman manuscript has ətəwər in parentheses in the margin.

24 yā ‘azzətāyn: The word ‘azzətāyn is not in ML, and it is obviously an Arabic form. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘I’m sorry’.

25 məxzən: This word, a borrowing of Arabic maxzan ‘storeroom’, is not in ML (s.v. xzn), though we do find related words like xəzən ‘store; seclude in a special room’ and xəzənɛt ‘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 ƙəwəbūt: The Arabic manuscript and audio clearly have ƙəwəbūt, the 3fs perfect of the G-Stem verb ƙəlūb ‘return’. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone first missed this word completely, but then added wkubuut (with k instead of ƙ) in parentheses in the margin. Stroomer’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 *kalbôt* (= Omani *kwĕbūt*), and Jahn (1902: 204) gives *lassen* (‘leave’) as a possible definition of this verb.

26 *malē*: This is the ms imperative of the G-Stem *muša* (root *mlʾ*). We might expect *malē* (see § 7.2.9), but the audio and Roman manuscript have *malē*. The Arabic manuscript has the spelling *mala*, which suggests phonemic *malē*. Cf. also 97:7 and 97:21.

27 *ḥalláywāh*: The word *ḥalláy* ‘night’ has the base *ḥallāyw-* when suffixes are added. The non-suffixed form appears in the texts only in the compound *ba-ḥalláy*.

27 *amātaymāk*: This word is not in ML, but it is from the same root (*tm*) as the common verb *ḥatūm* ‘spend the night’.

27 *zafēf*: On the audio, Ali read *zaфф* (perhaps an Arabism) in place of both occurrences of *zafēf*. 


tōli bīru. āmūmān tttē ḏā-hōkām, nākōt bα-ɡīğēn ḥōwār, gūr. wā-ttēt ḏā-ḥāgūr nākōt bα-ɡīğēn ṣawbēn.

āttōli nākām aģayeug mān ḥagg, wā-ḥāmbērāwtan bōrēm ḏā-mayyāwir. āttōli xasbīhām ḥaynūt yagbērām bābihām bα-farsēt.

wā-sayyarī hāmbērāwtan te ḏōyāwr hābīhām. ḥabrē ḏā-hōkām ḥōwār, gūr, wā-ḥabrē ḏā-ḥāgūr awbōn. āttōli jāṣšāh ḥabrē ḏā-hōkām, wālākan wēkawf.


āmārūt, “ar hēt thōm taksēr ṣarrāfī, thāffkī gūr, wā-hōh bαrt ḥadāydak!”


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bīru: ML (s.v. brw) lists a 3ms Ga-Stem perfect bǝrō (non-existent, since this verb is used only in the feminine), which would be equivalent to a 3fp bǝrō, since the 3ms perfect is always identical to the 3fp perfect. However, the audio here clearly has bīru, and the Arabic manuscript has bīru. Jahn’s version also has the form bīru (cf. also the discussion in Bittner 1911: 108). Rather than a Ga-Stem, as Johnstone’s bǝrō suggests, this verb is actually a Gb-Stem. This is one of two Gb-Stems that preserve the original root consonant w (bīru < *bīrǝw); the other is gīlu ‘be ill’ (see § 7.2.10). The Jibbali cognate of this verb is also a Gb-Stem (bīri).

(ḥāsān mabdé’): Ali read ḥāsān mabdé’ on the audio, but it is not in the manuscripts.

taksēr: 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’.
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.”

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.”

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!”

She said, “But you wanted to damage my honor, to marry me to a slave, and I am your cousin!”

He said, “You are under my protection, and this is my son.” And it is finished.
*Text 86 (= J86): Conditionals

1. thōm xsōrat, xeralsōna.
2. thōm xəmdēt, āmlōna hūk.
3. hām ʾl nākak biḥam lā, koṣṣōna ḥərōh.
4. hām ʃəwābk lāh, (t)ʃhōl śī lā.
5. hām ʾōmlək təh, hūk śī lā.
6. thōm təwtáği, əwtáği mən ɣayr sərēb!
7. hām šūk kərəwš mēkən, təwəwk tházidi.
8. hām šūk dərēhəm śī lā, əwəzmək (wəzmōna tīk).
9. mat bərk kərəyə l-ḥāṣən, ənfəğ b-aʃət sərēk!
10. hām ʾl ʒətrə lā, koʃyēṣa (kəʃās) ʒərōhəh.
11. hām ʾl nākak bəs lā, ʃətōna tīk.
12. hām śī ʒərōh lūk, hāʃək b-ʃətrāyr!

7. təwəwk tházidi: The protasis təwəwk tházidi ‘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 təwəwk tházidi, we find also simply the imperative házidi ‘give me more!’ The transcription təhzīdi, found in Stroomer’s edition (Johnstone had thɛzīdi in one Roman manuscript, and thəzīdi in the other), is an error for tházidi (< tházyədi).

8. əwəzmək: In the older (rougher) Roman manuscript, there is only the imperfect əwəzmək, with the added word səbar (in parentheses) and the translation ‘I’ll give you (always).’ The word səbar 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 səbar in the Roman manuscript (in parentheses) was intended only to clarify the sentence (like dā’iman in the Arabic manuscript).

10. koʃyēṣa (kəʃās): The Arabic manuscript has koʃyēṣa ‘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 kəʃās ‘cut off’. Both forms work in this context. In the Arabic manuscript, there is another (less violent) variant, ʃəbyēṣa 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 xǝṭarāt ğayūg hámam bǝ-ṭǝmāʾ bǝrk kǝzūt. w-akzūt dǝkǝmǝh, al ǝḥād yǝkāwdoɾ yǝsārbas lā ar bǝ-mśēb. w-ǝyāmām ǝtǝmāʾ ɗǝ-ḥǝgrǝ́h gǝnnāy. hǝm sāṭāt mēhrǝh wǝ-tǝt ǝfɔrī.


3 sǝyǝwr ągǝyūg, wǝ-ḥe šīhǝm. te nākǝm, ǝwbāw ǝm̥sēb, wǝ-šǝrbǝm te wǝșalǝm.

4 ągǝyūg hǝfawr, wǝ-ššǝrāyf rátki hıḥom nahōrı ʁatr. w-ǝnḥǝr dǝ-šawfıt, sīnǝm ǝłomǝt ɗ-ǝtǝmāʾ. kusǝm xtüm ɗ-ǝhēwǝb, w-ǝyakǝwfol aktob.

5 ǝttǝlī ǝmūr ǝfɔrī, “aɡǝyug dǝ-yaṭtørdım ɓǝ-χoțar ʍkọnǝ ar ǝł-ḥı̈s ƙǝb." ǝttǝlī hamǝy̥h ǝssǝrǝ́yf wǝ-ɡǝtyǝd, w-ǝyakǝwfol aktob.

6 ădḥǝm lǝ-wtǝkǝmǝh, nı́kǝ agǝnnāy. yǝnǝm ǝgǝyug, “ agré̥ns ǝł-ḥı̈s ari̥sıt, wǝlǝkǝn ațewlajynah ǝł-ḥı̈s ǝrbọt ɡayug, wǝ-bǝh kınì tø̥h.”

7 ăm̥mǝ ag̥yug amhǝr̥ēh, kaf̥awd am̥sēb. w-ăm̥ma ǝfɔrī, hı́wı́h ɓǝ-ḥǝnafı̥h te wı́kǝ b-ǝmsayọ́l hazi̥yọ́s.

8 w-ǝkaftı̥d ąg̥yug w-ı̥n̥sǝm tah. yǝmǝr̥em, “tət mǝn ǝfɔrī mọt, tibǝr ăkērmọt. w-ǝsǝl̥em tah ag̥awf, te ɖar kǝr̥amọt.”

9 w-ǝkaftı̥d ąg̥yug w-ı̥n̥sǝm tah. yǝmǝr̥em, “tət mǝn ǝfɔrī mọt, tibǝr ăkērmọt. w-ǝsǝl̥em tah ag̥awf, te ɖar kǝr̥amọt.”

10 w-amn̥n̥y ąg̥n̥n̥y, ąkaww ɓǝ-ḥǝr̥ohı̥h ɡęzal ǝn̥b, w-ǝh̥oh̥em ɓıs bǝrk amnhari̥t man hăr ąg̥yug hﬁwır. ąm̥̥n̥y ąg̥yug, ḳ̥ęjs̥n̥ ąkaww. w-ida bi ʃi̥ni ąmkon ǝd-bı̥h ątǝmă, w-ǝbèr hﬁr k- ɔhı̥b. w-ı̥n̥m, “kı̥san ƙalı̥w.” w-ı̥món ɓǝ-ḥǝw̥odı̥ ɗ-ę ęsaw̥r, w-ḥam̥m ɗ-akzūt ąkərb̥tí.

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1 kǝzūt: ML (s.v. kws/kwz) gives the form kǝzūt, while the English-Mehri word-list in ML (p. 501, ‘cave’) has kǝsôt. The manuscript and audio evidence for this text has kǝzūt. ML defines kǝzūt as ‘little, shallow, overhung mountain ledge’, while in the Roman manuscript Johnstone added the gloss ‘by cave, ledge’.

2 mašēb: Stroomer commented in a footnote in his edition of this text that mašēb was absent from ML, s.v. šbb. This is true, but the word appears (correctly) under the root šb.

3 ǝfɔrī: According to Bakhit (1982: 55), the ‘Ifār speak Ḥarsusi, and are closely connected with the Ḥarāsīs. See also J. Carter (1977: 24).

4 yahōra: Ali clearly read yahōra, and not yahawra (the H-Stem 3ms subjunctive of wr’), yahawrǝ (what ML, s.v. wr’, lists as the H-Stem 3ms imperfect), or yahawra (as in Stroomer’s edition). Johnstone transcribed
Translation of Text 88

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.

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.”

They said, “We want to.” He said, “But I get [lit. for me is] half the treasure.” They said, “Ok.”

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).

The men dug, and the holy man (ṣarīf) 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.

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.

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.”

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).

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.”

And they buried him. Even now, his grave is still visible.

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.

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 Naṣāwr, and the name of the mountain-cave is Aḵarbāṭī.

yahōre in the Roman manuscript. In fact, yāḥōra is the correct H-Stem 3ms imperfect of the root wrʿ. See also the comment on yāḥōka in text 42:28.

xtūm: See the comment to text 22:51.

kūsam: The manuscripts have kūsam faṣṣāt, but Ali read xtūm faṣṣāt.

aḵarbāṭī: On the audio, Ali read aḡabrāṭī. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone put “Negd” in the margin.
13 *w-ǝ-yāmǝrǝm ǝngrīz ber  śīnǝm tīs, wǝlākan  al  wǝdak  šǝt k aw  bēdī. w-ámma
  amkōn, bǝh  tǝmā’  mǝtárrǝx, wǝlākan  al  ǝhād  yǝshēnūs  yǝkrābǝh  lā. *
14  ðīmǝh  ākǝssēt  tǝmmōt,  wǝ-sē  šǝt k.

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*matárrax*: This is perhaps from an Arabic *mutārrix* (root ‘rx; cf. Arabic
ta’rīx ‘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

makannay xatarat tayt 3-awxafan b-asayga dekmah, men dar amaywat 3-agay. wa-hoh maktaqli. wa-htarn w-3-hagyug, wa-habu 3-xalawt lin.
wa-sin hitar mekan, wa-haybi yawoka k-harawn aw k-amol.
wa-mat haynit faluk 3-htar, aharak amaws 3-haybi w-ashot hitar. toli haynit sanaya, wa-mat thomen taflekan, tayt mansen (t)sxwulul dar sawar men hal takablan lay.
wa-bér shakt satayt hitar, tröh 3-nhah waa-tat 3-hadadye.
walakan hamay wazmathem hotor b-3-hatwrhem 3-shat, waa-hem gazaum al yasayt bah kaasyarat.
atoli karw manay amaws 3-haybi, wa-haynit la-3-3al ay al-syer tawoli hitar la.
te nahor tayt, wakob bark asayga wa-kask hotori tröh, skul 3-haddayti, wa-xanakak tat manhem.
waa-haynit huma asgarayr 3-hotor wa-nuka. amarut haddayti, “a habray, hooh al sayar hoortroh. wa-koh het hamwakt tat?”
waa-se ta3hok. amark, “a hadayti, ar s3kal!” attolii sabtati hamay waa-rs3nati al-gandet te kalayni.
waa-gazaamk l-3ad ashot hitar zoyad, wa-harxawt lay.
waa-sxwulun. te man dar wakt, ka3fud haybi arhabet waa-nkayn baa-fandel, antom fandel. wa-nhah akanyawn uaan al naqorab fandel la.
w-aamur hayni haybi, “ham thom het w-agakt (t)sy3ram dar hamoh, wazmona tikam fandel mat nakakem.
walakan hadدور man (t)sbeet agakt! waa-ham sab3tk agakt, al wazmona tik si la.” amark, “ye3e.”
sayuran. toli hooh hom agayti (t)sal3li te dar hamoh. amark, “agayti, saloll!”
amarut, “het bork seb sharomah, w-al akawdar al-3leq la.”
toli say3rk l-asbaats. amarut hayni, “3otnak si?” amark, “hesan?”
amarut, “f3on!” amark hooh, “fandel!” amarut, “amur huk haybi, ham sab3tk agakt, al wazmona tik si la.”
toli amark, “l-ad sab3t3na ti3 la. w-al taklethi al-haybi la.” amarut, “ye3e.”
sayuran. te waa3lan dar hamoh, malut lay bera3k moh.
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.
w-āmērūt háyni, “šalēl, w-āmērtā háybi, ‘āli axāyr mən ḡambarāwtn kāl!’”

dällak abārāyq wə-ḑ-aftārihən bə-fəndēl. ādī əl əsēnisan là.
āmērūt, “hāybi ḍā-yəbāydy būk. yəhāmk (t)ʃyər ḍār ḡəmōh.”
his hàmək tīs ɣataryōt wətakəməh, rōdək b-abārāyq ḍā-bərkəh ḡəmōh, wə-sällak səwər.
səyārk l-arədēh aqəyti. tōli ʃəgayrráwt, wə-həwəhəy ḡəbū.
te nəkək ɖ-əbəyq, āmūr xəyli, “₉ bər-ɡəyti, kō hēt təbəyq?” āmērk, “səbtəti həməy, wə-həh nəgəm təwəkə.”
tōli āmūr xəxəyli, “xəyən, ₉ bər-ɡəyti, ənkə?!” ʃəxələk hāl xəyli.
te kaləni kəłəh həraən, wə-ˈəsə xəyli wə-ʃət wəz.
āmūr, “bər-ɡəyti ber nəgəm təwələ. ʃətənə həh.” te anhōr əmʒərət, nəkōt həməy l-agərə (t)ʃətəti.
wə-səbūt ɭambarəwtn, wə-yəsəba əqəθə. āmūr xəyli, “wə-lū!”
əttōli wəzmətə yəbət, wə-l-syər ʃīs. āmūr xəyli, “kō təm kələkəm təh yəsər wəhsəh yəmsəh?”

26 nəgəm: ML (s.v. nəgm) lists the 3ms perfect nəɣm, but this is just a mistake for nəgām. The correct form nəɣəm 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 ɭər ‘from’) or ‘come angry’ (with təwōli ‘to’).

31 bər-ɡəyti: The manuscripts have ə bər-ɡəyti, but we do not expect a vocative particle ə here, and there is no ə on the audio. It is possible that, instead of a vocative, Ali wrote the definite article ə-, but that would also be unexpected.

32 hēʃən l-əzəməh: 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.

§ 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 (yǝbīt ‘camel’). The verb ‘I should give it (f.)’ would be l-ǝzɛ́ms.
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 96 (= J57): A Mother’s Advice

Mother: “ḳǝlɛ́ʾ āzáwm ǝlyōmǝh! hǝft ð̣ār śawr ṭāṭ!”

Boy: “ǝl wádak ǝl-hō ǝl-hīwǝl lá.”

M: “fîsɛ́ʾ! tāḳáʾ dǝḥáys lā!”

B: “xáybǝn, hófti háyni!”

M: “hám thâmi ǝl-hǝ́ft hûk, āḳâ’ hal-hâlla b-amôlǝk.”

B: “dômǝh ǝl hē ǝwɔr gid lā.”


B: “lihǝm hɛ̄šən mənəy? wǝlɛ̄ məkâ xâ həm xäləkəm.”

M: “həlɛ̄k lük tšɛ́mni.”

B: “xáybǝn bəhâyri bay!”

M: “xáybǝn abôb həbrɔ́y, şɛ́mni!”

B: “hıs ber bəhɛ́rš bay, məšɛ̄mən tš.”

M: “ǝl-frēḥ bɔ-ḥəbrɔ́y!”

B: “hɛ̄šən thâmi l-ǝmôl?”

M: “fɔnohɔn ǝkâ’ hal-hâlla b-amɔḥagēk. wə-mgɔrɔn ǝl tɔjtɔyr ɡɔrɔ́y kɔmɔ́h lâ bɔrk həgər. wə-ʃɔlɔ́t, ǝkâ’ ǝd-fəɾhɔ́k, te wə-lù ǝa-mâthɔnɔ́k. aɡɔ́yyǝɡ yaghišɔ́k hɔkkɔ́k, hɔm ɡətyədɔ́k. wə-yagijɔ́n tɪk l-agɔ́rɛ txalɛ́s wə-tərkɔ́bk hɔrmə. mɔwɔ̀yɛ́tə šuk b-ǝnkɔ́t ǝlyɔməh.” wə-təmmɔ́t.

5 hal-hâlla: Though this word appears in ML under the root hl, see JL (s.v. ’hl’) on the Arabic source of the word and its possible etymology.

7 tɔstɔlɔwl: It is unclear if we should transcribe tɔstɔlαwɔl or tɔstɔlɔwl. The Roman manuscript and ML (s.v. šll) have š, but Ali spelled the word with ض in the Arabic manuscript, suggesting š, and the audio seems to support this. Cf. Arabic ԁάλλα ‘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 š, but Ali spelled the word with ض. Cf. also Mehri šall ‘disappear, go away’ (ML, s.v. żll).

9 yaʃhâyɔk: On the audio, Ali mistakenly read yaʃhâyɔ́kəm, though he had correctly written yaʃhâyɔk in the Arabic manuscript.

9 həlɛ́k: 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 xlʿ. 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!’.

amḥǝgēk: The word maḥgē ‘family property, household’ is not in ML, though the Jibbali cognate mahu ‘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’.

tǝrkábk ḥōrm: This idiom means literally something like ‘the road will ride you’.
Text 91 (no J): A Journey to Dubai

1 xǝṭarát ǝnḥāh sátáyt ǝmbaráwtǝn, ǝnḥōm nassōfar. wa-gǝhéman mǝn hâl ḥǝskónyǝn, w-ǝl ǝn ḳarâwš lâ h-ǝnáwl. wǝlákǝn tǝğ mǝnín, sôx, ǝʃh mǝndâwk. wa-sâllan tǝh nǝhârǝhǝn b-anáwl.

2 wǝlákǝn ǝ-ffâłötǝn mǝn ǝqar ḥâbyǝn, w-ǝl ǝn ḳarâwš lâ. wa-gǝhémen ǝ-nsyûr l-ǝrâwrǝm, ǝnḥōm râḥbêt tǝy tǝnâhâr hın bı̊s aмǝndâwkǝn. hıs bâran b-âmâk, ǝgbâuran ɣur. wǝ-šâh ḳarâwš, wǝ-šâh sâaḥ bǝrk hâydǝh.

3 ǝttôli ǝmûrǝn, “nǝḥôm nǝqâštah akârâšhe ǝ-w-ǝsâ’ta.” hıs ǝnôyın hâgûr, ǝyss, wǝ-ǝxǝss bǝrk arâwrǝm. wǝ-tâbǝn tǝh, wǝ-tōli bǝhǝr bın. ǝmûr, “hâh Ǐâyg ǝskâyr, wǝ-tâwawǝkǝm tǝklɛ̄m tī.”

4 hıs hâmak tǝh wǝtâkǝmǝh, ǝgǝn nak ǝn maccion, w-ǝmârk hǝrbâtye, “nǝḥôm nâkley.” wǝ-kanalan tǝh, wǝ-sâyûr hâgûr. hıs bârah rēḥak, ǝsaas bın ǝtâh w-ǝbârka.

5 ǝttôli ǝdatyǝḍǝn lâh, wǝ-bâguðan tǝh te lahâkǝn. hıs ǝlḥâkǝn tah, bǝkôh. hı̊s bǝkôh, ǝgǝn nak w-ǝrâbâk tǝh. w-ǝkâfyon.

6 te kârban l-arâhabet, küsal hêxar ǝ-ħagûr fǝndêl. hıs kârban lâh, ǝmûrǝn, “ǝnḥôm tǝt ǝykâ’ háywal, wǝ-trōh yǝmnêm tǝh.”

7 wǝ-wíka tǝt mániñ háywal, w-ǝhôh wǝ-sôx mánan tǝh. te nâkan bâh hâl hêxar, şxǝbǝrīn. ǝmûr, “hǝšǝn ǝn ġîgên dómâh?”

8 ǝmûrǝn, “hē ġîgên háywal, wǝ-nḥōm nassôfah bâh. wǝ-hâm hǝrxâyan lâh, yâssañ tah mǝn yahâhrâk b-ǝmâwlat ǝ-ħâbü. wǝlákǝn šǝrômah l-âd kǝdûrân lâh.lâh. wǝ-’ǝmlak tǝh nâkley bâwma.”

9 ǝmûr hêxar, “âbdan, ǝbôbne tǝm, tǝklêm tǝh bâwma lâ! wǝ-hôh wǝzmôna tikǝm azwâdkǝm.” ǝmûr háywal, “lawb šûk āmêl gîd! his-tâw, ǝhâd yahâhrâk bâh!”


12 ǝmûr, “wǝzmôna tik. wa-seyr mây!” wǝ-wzmâh, wǝ-sâyûrǝn te nâkan hâl ġayg bǝ-rhâbêt. hǝr hôon amǝndâwkǝn hǝnâh. 

10 âywa: The Roman manuscript has âywa (Arabic ‘yes’), and the transcription in the Arabic manuscript (إياوة) seems to support this. On the audio, Ali read something like iyɔ̄h, 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.
wa-š̱awwalūn. te man ḏār nəḥōri ṭrayt, nūka lang yahōm x-āliq. sāfrān barked. nəhāh nəhōm maskōt. te man ḏār nəḥōri ṭrayt, əwbədātān ḏərbēt, wa-harsiyān bə-gzāyṛat wəkōna gamāt. wa-nəhāh əl kədurən nəssōfər lā. wa-šāksōrən azəwōd.


tə bə-hallāy, āmərōh ḣayı hərbətye, “hēt kənənnən, w-əl aḥəd yəsənən lā. wa-kəfed bərk xan wə-nekn bə-təmor w-ayş. wə-hām aḥəd ksük, hēt kənnənən, əl aḥəd yənəkəd lūk lā. wə-nəhāh āmyēra, wə-hām ənən aḥəd yahōm yəkféd bərk xan, məḥəddərūtən tīk.” āmərk, “yēye.”

16 te bə-hallāy, kəfədk. wə-ṣāff həxər əwkəf bərk xan. wə-hōh əyə aktīw, w-əl həbsərīk lā. wə-d-adəmnən bə-hāydi. te wəkak ər əqrəzəh, wəkōna əl-his rōh də-mənedəm.


walākan tət mənkən əd-hē təwəyl yəsəyər yəkféd bərk xan, wə-yəkēb al-hāyḍəh səyəməl mən əgay şəyəh. wə-yədəmdəm bə-hāydyəh. kəsənə kəwəẓərət d-təmor wə-skér w-əys bərk məjfeʃ də rəff.”


17 te wəka ər əqrəz də-həxər, wə-hədd bəs. yahügəs məjfeʃ əd-kəwət. wə-şəgəyrər həxər wə-yəmər, “ək kaləb! kəliyə tə al-ʃək ləl” attōlə a’yət ağığən. yəmər, “mənkəwəl! mənkəwəl!”

18 āmūr həxər, “əkəf! wə-wəzmənə tık əhən thəm, wə-əkal’ əɡərəy!” āmūr, “xəyən, əzəmə ayš wə-skér wə-şəhí wə-təmor, azəwədən te məskōt, w-əl kəwətnən h-əḥəd lā.”

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16 te wəkak: The Arabic manuscript has ًب وق (ًب). The final ًب in parentheses may have been added by a different hand. On the audio, Ali stumbled a bit, then read te wōka (for te wəkak, the 1cs imperfect). Perhaps an original َوَق was simply an error for َوَقَل (wəkak), which was later corrected. That is, perhaps َوَقَل was simply a nonsensical (erroneous) wōka, rather than an imperfect wəkak. Both wəkak and wōka fit the context, but though the imperfect tense generally is found quite often used as a narrative past, the imperfect of the verb wōka 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).
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.

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.”

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.”

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.

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.

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.”

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.

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!”

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.”

\[awákt\]: The manuscripts have \textit{awákt} ‘heat’, but on the audio Ali read \textit{aktīw} ‘darkness’ (cf. line 16).
wəzmáh, wə-sayúr aģiĝen te ənkáyn. ksáki, hōh w-aribēy, də-nəşhōk. hōh kalāṭk l-ağáyg də-hənəy, hīs aģiĝen aḵōfi bərk xan.

wə-nəhāh šın takaŵəsə, w-əntəwəhan nəhəh w-bəhərət mən dər amətbäx. w-al šenis yəkʁəbyən lə. te bə-χəlləy, āmūr hīhəm aņoxədə, “mət ḥəmbərwəntən şəwkəf, ərdıyəm ba-xətəwɜkəham aməɾwərəm!” te ba-χəlləy bərən şəwkəfən, əɾəwəx xətəwərəykan wə-rədəw bīhəm rəwərm. te k-sōbə l-əd kūsən xətəwərəykan lə.


w-əhəkəmtən təʒəɾəb sələwəbən. fənəhən xəzək mən (t)šəm lın kəw, wə-məgərən xəzəkəm l-əmaṭbäx wə-χəɾəkəkəm tīn xətəwərəykan.”

āmūr, “Șənəhərəm!” sayūrən te wəsələn maskət. arəwəgan. āmūrən, “əl məsənəɾətətən bəh šəɾəməh lə. kəliyə təh te, bəɾəh yəhəm yəsəyər, məsənəɾətətən bəh. w-əgərəy dəfnə hın m-əd nətələh.”

te wəsələn maskət, śxəwləən nəhərə tɾəyt. te anhər śəwətət, bəɾəh yəhəm yəgəhəm, rəfəm lın āskər yəhərəxəsəm tıν. attəl śənəhərən hənəhəm.


ksáki: We might expect the suffix -iki, but the manuscripts and audio have ksáki. The vowel ə cannot just be because of the III-root, because we find the expected vowel i in other forms of this verb with an object suffix, e.g., ksis ‘he found it’ (22:69) and kṣiham ‘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 -ǝhi with prepositions, and ML (p. xvii) also records -ǝki. See the comments to the first two tables in § 8.23.

xətəwərəkəham: The underlying form is *xətəwəɾəkəham. The əw must be in an open syllable, otherwise it would be reduced to ə (e.g., **xətəɾəkəham). Likewise for the other seven occurrences of this suffixed noun in this text.

əm-maskət: This is for b-maskət, but the b- was not written in the Arabic manuscript. The initial gemination is very slight on the audio.

arəwəgan: The T2-Stem 3ms perfect əɾəwəg ‘he plotted, made a plan’ should have a 3mp əɾəwəg and 1cp əɾəwəgən (cf. əɾəwələn in 415). Here
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.

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.

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!

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.”

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.”

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.

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.”

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.”

we find 1cp ʾartāwḡan, and ML (s.v. rwḡ) gives both ʾartāwḡ and ʾartāwḡām for the 3mp perfect. The forms ʾartāwḡām and ʾartāwḡan must be analogical with II-w, III-Guttural verbs like ʾantōwḥ (3mp ʾantāwḥām).

nāṭlḥ: This form is a 1cp subjunctive plus a 3ms object suffix. The audio clearly has nāṭlḥ, the Roman manuscript has nāaʿaṭlḥ, and the Arabic manuscript has the unusual spelling ناطله. ML lists a G-Stem ʾāṭāwl ‘delay’, but the G-Stem subjunctive form here would be nāṭālḥ (< 1cp subjunctive nōṭāl + 3ms -ḥ). In line 31, the G-Stem has an intransitive meaning ‘be delayed’. The form nāṭlḥ in line 26 must be from a D/L-Stem Ṽṭal (1cp subjunctive nōṭal). Cf. also Arabic D ʿaṭṭala ‘hinder’.
30 ṣ̄eḥ̄āyr: Though the Arabic manuscript and audio have 3mp ṣ̄eḥ̄āyr, the Roman manuscript originally had 2mp  ṣ̄eḥ̄ārk̄em ‘(why didn’t) you lodge a complaint’.

31 tatyeḥb̄am: Ali stumbled on this word on the audio, and in the end read something that sounds closer to tatyeḥb̄am. We expect tatyeḥb̄am (< tatyeḥ-h̄am), with reduction of i > ă in the closed non-final syllable.
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.”

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.”

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].”

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  
fanōhǝn ħābū ḥanīn yātɔkáydyǝn bǝ-ġáyg að-ḵabǝr bǝ-nsǝwr, bǝ-wōdi b-anágd. wǝ-yāmarǝm (hǝh) wâldy. te āsǝr tāt, ġayg dǝ-yǝxxwisen ḥǝlākmah. wǝ-hāh arbot āsåwr: tōlī ǝškš�wv akawt, wǝ-səyûr te ār akōbǝr d-āygāyg dękəmah. dōmah mǝn ǝġəroyəh. 2
wə-səyûr aģâyg. te wîṣəl həwədi amşərəṭ, hágəm ləh aɣəś wə-kâhsəyəh. wə-hâtūm aģâyg bərâh də-yaşnəzən amâyət. te nəhôr xəwfit, kûsəm təh bû də-əyəxâtarəm ədəh ʂâh. 5
šxəbîrəh, wə-kəlût lîhəm bə-kəwətət dîməh. wə-mən xətərət dəkəməh, ħâbû ətəkâyd b-əkôbər dəkəməh. wə-hâm əhâd wərûd həmoh dəkəməh də-bə-əhəwədi, yəbərəkaŋ həh dōməh mən akəwəl d-āygəyg də-əkəbəs. 6
wə-mən ħâbû ədə-şkəlîtəh, ədəh ʂâhəh. w-əğâyg mət hîs ber təmîm kəwətətəh. əhâd yaşbâyd, w-əhâd yəšəsədk, w-əhâd yəmər də-yaḥləm. wə-təmmət.

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1  
yāmarəm (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  
aryēś: According to ML (s.v. rśś), the plural form of rśś ‘snake’ is riyeš, but Johnstone transcribed aryēś in the Roman manuscript (from an indefinite rayēś), and the audio seems to confirm this. For the plural pattern CaCēC, we can compare nouns like nəwəb ‘bees’ and bəḳər ‘cows’ (the latter with ē > ā after the glottalic ḳ).  
4  
ɗə-yaşnəzən: In the Arabic manuscript, Ali wrote əfəšnən, which can be read in various ways. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone transcribed ɗ-əʃnəsən (and added the gloss ‘fighting’), an odd form that could perhaps be an Š2-Stem imperfect from a root ns’. Ali stumbled on the audio, but ultimately read ɗə-yaşnəzən or ɗə-yaşnəzən, which could be interpreted
Translation of Text 92

1 Before, people among us believed in a man who was buried in Naşawr, 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 peopled 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 nʿz. None of these roots are attested in ML, but I suggest that Ali intended yǝšnázan, the expected Š2-Stem imperfect of the root nzʿ, which is attested in Arabic with the meaning ‘wrestle’ in several stems (e.g., L-Stem nāzaʿa). The form yǝšnáwṣan in Stroomer’s edition comes from ML (s.v. mws), but I see no other evidence for this form.

5 ðǝ-bǝ-ḥǝwōdi: The Arabic manuscript has ðǝ-bǝ-ḥǝwōdi, but the Roman manuscript and audio have just bǝ-ḥǝwōdi.
Text 93 (= J55): Healing a Sick Man

1 xǝṭarāt ġayg dà-yǝghôm. te bə-hallây, tǝwôh sêkən, wə-bôrk sêkən dêkəməh ġayg əd-bôh aməwṭâwmat. te nûka hâl hâbû, kûsâ hənîhəm ġayg.

2 āmûr, “hōh əlûtəm aməwṭâwmat.” tōlî šxəbərîh agâyq də-wâtxf. āmûr, “tələţməs b-ərfît wəlē bə-ryē’.”

3 āmûr, “tômər hîbôh?” āmûr, “ələţməs yətît wəsâh. wə-hēt (t)tôma lay əm ər așâlyən a’išē.”

4 hâtîm. te mən ḡər așəlôt d-ə’išē, nûka agâyq də-yəlûtəm aməwṭâwmat, wə-bôrk ɦâydəh ərfît.

5 wə-xtul agâyq də-bôh aməwṭâwmat, wə-hē əd-ğâywr. əttê wətəməh b-ərfît. w-agâyq də-twôh də-yətəţâman lîhəm.

6 yömər agâyq də-yəlûtəm, “ʔə-wətâmək tîš, aməwṭâwmat. šay baỹš sarr. hēt ġag, hōh ġag. hēt têṭ, hōh têṭ. hēt əŋgh, hōh əŋghs. hēt ʔəhâyrət, hōh ʔəhâyr.”


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1 aməwṭâwmat: 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-hês, which is variously glossed in the manuscripts and JL (s.v. ‘xy 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 ārfît: This is the desert palm (Nannorrhops ritchieana). See further on the uses of this plant in Miller and Morris (1988: 224).

6 əŋghs: On the audio, Ali mistakenly read the feminine əŋgüst again.

7 ɦâbû: 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 *mawtawmat*. When he came to the people, he found with them a man.

2 He said, “I (can) strike out *mawtawmat*.” 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 *mawtawmat* came, and in his hand was a palm-leaf.

5 He snuck up on the man who had *mawtawmat*, 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, *mawtawmat*. 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 *mawtawmat* rested a week, and he became well. Then people believed that man who said, “I (can) strike out *mawtawmat*.” And if someone has *mawtawmat*, they send for him. And he became famous (for) curing *mawtawmat*. And it is finished.

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*yahhayū*: This H-Stem, perhaps from a historical root *hyw*, behaves as if from the root *hy*’. 3ms perfect *(h)hyê* and 3ms subjunctive *yaháhya*, listed in *ML* (*s.v. hwy*), follow the patterns of other of III-Guttural verbs. 3ms imperfect *yahhayū* follows the pattern of strong verbs (cf. strong *yaffalût*), 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 xǝṭǝrāt ġayg gǝhēm mǝn aḳāh, ǝyḥōm kā' tāt dā-ḥārūs b-akā' dékəməh. w-akā' dékəməh bǝh xašámhe. ǝw-sayūr te watxf ħāl sēkǝn dā-ṯtētǝh. ḥātūm.
2 te k-sōbǝh, ămūr h-ṯtētǝh, “nǝḥōm naghōm!” āmərūt, “ḥōh ādi ǝnūn, wa-ǝsǝyūr ḥāl ḥəlye sēkən dǝ-ttētǝh.”
4 āmərūt hāməs, “ābdan!” te nəhōr xawfıt, ǝsəyūr aģāyg te ħāl həbyə. kəlūt lıhəm, w-āmūr, “ḥōh ǝw-akawdar l-ǝśxāwwal b-akā’ dōməh lā, w- āgawz xəzūt al-ḥəbrət. w-ḥōh āgōb ǝt-ttēt, w-ǝsē tāgōb bəy, w-āgawz thōm tabdədən.”
5 tōli səyəwr hābū təwōli āgawz w-əməwər hīs, “dōməh ǝl yəkūn lā, tabdidi əm-ṃon aģāyg wa-ṯtētəh.” tōli āmərūt āgawz, “ḥōh hams tsyēr k-āgāygəs, wələkan sē xəzūt.”
6 tōli əməwər hīs hābū, “xāybən, gəzəmə, ’ǝl ədūr ǝm-ṃənuhəm, hām tēt thōm (t)syēr!” gəzəmūt āgawz, “ǝl ədūr əm-ṃənuhəm.” w-əsirūt təwōli

2 fəsḥah: Johnstone’s transcription in the Roman manuscript (fazhâk) must be an error. If fəsḥah was intended, then it is either from a G passive fəsḥah, which is the form listed in ML (s.v. fēh), or a Ga-Stem fəsāw. If the latter, then the verb is conjugated as a strong verb, rather than as a III-Guttural verb (cf. the variants məsawg and μuṣäg, listed in ML, s.v. mzg). I wonder if Ali may have intended either fəshək, from a Gb-Stem fəšəh, or fāṣ(ə)səh from the T1-Stem fāssəh (found in 85:33). The Arabic manuscript has fəshək, which tells us nothing (cf. fāssəh in 85:33).

3 (t)sədədam: This is almost certainly a 2mp subjunctive sədədam < tədə-dam, though it could also be a mp imperative sədədam. The form in the Jibbali version (snid) is equally ambiguous.

5 tabdidi: Both manuscripts have tabdidi, 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 ɡǝzǝmī, ‘ǝl ǝdūr: Stroomer’s edition has lā tǝdōr ‘(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 tduur. While it is true that Ali’s transcription لدور could stand for al (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 ǝdūr.

6 ɡǝzǝmūt āgáwz, “ǝl ǝdūr: 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 لدور 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 ɡǝzǝm followed by direct speech can be found in line 38.
ḥǝbrǝ́ts w-āmǝrūt, “ḥōh ǝl ǝkáwdǝr l-ाgetJSON šayš lā, wǝlākan mǝt ǝgaygǝs ǧátri šayš, ǝxǝ́t, wǝ-hōh ḥǝsǝ́rta layš (t)syǝ́r.” āmǝrūt, “yǝ́ye.”

hātīm. te bǝ-ḥǝllāy, ǝttēṯ kǝw̱tūh ǝl-ǝgaygǝs b-ǝgayrǝy ्dh-ǝhāmēs. āmūr his ǝgaygǝs, “xåybǝn. ḥēt ǝxǝ́t gēhmǝ́h mǝn (t)syǝ́r, w-ǝmat ǝhsrūt layš ḥāmēs, āmēri, ‘yǝ́ye, siriṭa.’

w-ǝmat āmǝrūt hayš ḥāmēs, ‘kō hēt šāmółəś?’, āmēri, ‘shå̧gsə́s mǝn ǝsšṯkə́s ḥasēs ǝz ǝqāyɬay.’ w-āgayw rǝrs daxāyɬa t-ǝqāyɬay tǝşturi šayš hāl ḥābu. w-ǝmat ǝnəs āgayw thôm txalē’ bays, ǝḥtīɾəf mǝns. āmåyli ḥǝnəfs tāmåyli hōɡat te naghōm.”

āmǝrūt, “yǝ́ye.” hātīm. te k-sōbə́, ǧåtrı āgayg k-xalə́tə. āmūr his, “ʒətəyri k-ḥəbrə́ts təq̱hōm šay. ḥōh ǝl ǝkawdər l-ǝsəkawdəl båwmah lā. w-əsə́l th:mm lay. āds šay yamoh mǝn əsə́lth.”

āmǝrūt āgayw, “ḥōh al kədərk lısı lā, wələkan hēt ɬətəyri ʃis.” āmūr āgayg, “ḥōh ʒətərəyək ʃis ʃəllıh, w-əmərūt, ‘ʃawr ar k-ḥəmə́y!’”

toldt ħis āgayw ɬəmɔ́t ɬəgərəy ɗ-āgayg, ʃəmmuṭ. w-əmərw ħis ɬəbū, “layş ʃakk, hăm xərbaś ɬett ɬ-ɬəgəy m-âd (t)syə́r ʃə.”


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8 txalē’: For the Gb-Stem verb ʃəyli, ML (s.v. ʃəyvw) lists a subjunctive ʃəyxlə, and Johnstone transcribed txalē in the Roman manuscript. But since similar Gb-Stem subjunctives have ɛ́ (e.g., ʃəşnɛ́ < ʃini), which Johnstone also often transcribed as ə, and since the Arabic manuscript has للاخ, I assume that txalē is correct here.

13 重组: Johnstone transcribed this form as ʃatəgək in the Roman manuscript, and he listed the 3ms form ʃatəg in ML (s.v. ʃəg). My transcription 重组 is based on the parallel form ʃatəgək ‘I missed’, which Johnstone mistranscribed as ʃətək in several places (e.g., 20:41). Unfortunately, I found no audio to confirm the transcription 重组 here, but there are several examples of 重组 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.”

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.’

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.”

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.”

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.’”

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.”

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!”

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.

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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*ğǝléḳ:* Stroomer has *ğǝléḳi* here, which is what we expect for the fs imperative, but the manuscripts both have *ğǝléḳ.* The Jibbali version here has the special imperative form *ğǝléḳũn* (discussed in the comment to text J16:3 in *JLO*).
15 wa-hōh mağwîr bīs. wa-mat šhâwbak tūš ber sâyârš man ḍâr ḥomôh, āmrôna hîs, 'hám thâyymi tawêda falâna, kîtâ tis ḍâr ḥomôh'. wa-hêt šêgal, l-âd (t)saḥâbs ḍâr ḥomôh là. w-awêdas naxâli âtâyḵ ðêk.


17 āmrôt ağâwz, “wa-köh, hâmâk tîs gâtôryšt sû?” āmûr ağâyg, “hâmâk tîs āmrôt, ‘hâm al nákak tik šərômâh là, al (t)šêśi là. ëkân râddak tôtôli hâbye:”

18 tôli fâṙhût ağâwz. thûgas ağâyg mân âsoṭkâh. tôli šxwàllût ağâwz, thôm tağwîr b-ağâyg m-âd yatzêt têt.


21 āmrôt ağâwz, “xàyban, hôh sîrûta ḍâr ḥomôh, wà-hâm kask tîs, âm̀rîta hîs (t)tabêk.” gahêm ağâyg te kûsa âttêtâh ber šxwàllût naxâli âtâyḵ.

22 âmrôt, “kô hêt hâbtak?” āmûr ağâyg, “hôh šxâwlsk hûl hâmês. wà-his ânkâti, al thôm (t)šxàwwal là. thôm (t)tabês. tôli âmörk hîs, falâna dà-’ômîlak tîs thâflat mân ḍâyri tôtôlikam, wà-ğadéwwan nêtês!”

23 hîs hâmôt ağâwz ağərûy dômâh, fârôh w-âmrôt, ‘nêhôm nàšxàwwal sawânôt’. sê thôm tağwîr bây, wa-hôh hôm l-ağwûr bîs. wa-sê šərômâh sîrût ḍâr ḥomôh dà-fârôh, thôgsâs râddas tôtôlîham.“


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15 tawêda: This is the 2fs subjunctive of a D/L-Stem awôda (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 tašwêdan 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 tawêda.
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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$tayk$: $ML$ (s.v. $tyk$) glosses this only as ‘wild fig tree’, but according to Miller and Morris (1988: 208) this is $Ficus vasta$. 

waləkan aḡəyg yaḡərəb aḡəroyəhm. xōbaṭ aməndəwəkəh wə-səyūr. te nūka, kūsa yənū ḍə-ḥəksəwən. tōli amūr ḥaynūt, “hēt bər mən?”


āmūr ḥaynūt, “hēsən thōm?” āmūr aḡəyg, “hōh jəyəm əmzūz, wə-šēk təmbōku. wə-nəkək tıkəm wəlē əkəsə əhəd yamzūz.”

āmərūt tēt, “aḳəfi ārṣət dəyək. kəsənə həxər yamzūz, wəlē yəwəzmək əti.” səyūr aḡəyg. te nūka, kūsa həxər (ḍ-) sxəwləl.


28 mašēxi: On the Mashāyikh, who are believed to have special powers, see Bakhit (1982: 55).

28 aḡəroyəhm: The manuscripts both confirm that this word has the 3mp suffix -əhm. 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 ārṣət: ML (s.v. ‘ṛṣ) 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.


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)].”

ād: The Arabic manuscript has ād, but the Roman manuscript unexpectedly has ādǝh.

37 āmarūt attēt, “ṣǝrōmah ḥagārūt ḥayāwām, w-ǝl ǝḥād yasyr lā. w-ǝl ǝsī mōh fǝnwikām lā. walākan hēt syēr twōlī tēṭk, w-ǝhōh mǝhaggalēta hikām fšē’. w-ǝnkāyta tikām naxālī ḥarōm dēk, w-ǝnkāyta šay ǝm-mōh, hām hāmānk bay.”


39 agāyg sayūr twōlī tēṭah w-ǝkalūt līs b-ǝttēt h-ǝ-gaẓamūt, “al (t)syūr te ber tafṣīyām.” tōli āmarūt tēṭah, “dā-yyāsak tīs mǝn tākā’ thōm tātyōn īn.”

40 āmūr agāyg, “tāwwas lā. w-ǝnḥāh sālyēba tīx, walākan al mǝśxǝwlūtān b-awēdās lā. maḥtǝrfūtān w-ǝm-kǝbǝlūtān līs. w-ḥām šīnān šīs ǝḥād, siyēra.”

41 tōli sīrōh agāyg wa-ttēṭah te ǝḏā karamōt, mǝn hāl yaḵbalāyyān sēkan. ǝxawllōh, wa-ttēt hagallūt w-ǝmlōt bǝrk bǝrāyk šēh. te ḥabhalūt, sīrūt, w-agāyg wa-ttēṭah sanyāys hīs ftkūt mǝn sēkan wǝḥsīs.

42 tōli āmūr agāyg h-tēṭah, “ḥabārs w-āmēri hīs, ‘hōh bǝrt fǝlān,’ mǝn xaṣmye, ‘w-ǝsinak ǝgay ǝṭeṇ bāwmāh. w-agāyg xā hē ḥarāy, w-ḥṭhāmkt tah yakā’ mǝn xaṣmyan, wǝlākan ‘ǝmlak tah ber ǝgēm’. ǝd sē kǝwṯūt layš, ǝlēli kǝmkēm mǝn ǝḏā ḥǝrōhš, w-ḥōh mǝhānkār.

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36 l-agārē ð-ē-: The Roman manuscript lacks ð-ē- in this phrase, but it is present in the Arabic manuscript.

36 kalūt hīs (līs): The Roman manuscript has kalūt hīs, and then in parentheses “better kalūt līs”. In the Arabic manuscript, hīs was crossed out and replaced by līs. Cf. line 46, which has only hīs.

37 ḥagārūt: The Roman manuscript has ḥagārūt, as does ML (s.v. hgr). If ML is correct that this comes from a Gb-Stem hīgara, then we would expect the 3fs perfect to be ḥagrot. So the transcription here is questionable.

37 ǝm-mōh: Since we expect the preposition b-ē- here following the verb nkāyta, I assume an assimilation *b-mōh > m-mōh. Since I found no audio for this text, I have no evidence that the ǝm- 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 mǝšxǝwlūtān: Johnstone transcribed mǝšxǝwlūtān, and this could be for either mǝšxǝwlūtān or mǝšxǝwlǝlūtān. Unfortunately, this is the only future of the verb ǝxawlūl (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 yakwabala yan: Johnstone did not record gemination in his transcription, and recorded a suffix -áyǝn 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 kǝmkēm: The Arabic manuscript has just kǝmkémon ‘the head-cloth’, while the Roman manuscript (like the Jibbali version) has kǝmkémonǝʃ ‘your head-cloth’.
wa-hōh gahmōna, wa-hēt šābdas, wa-maģtābēri ġār kārmāyım ḍayk. wa-sē gahdātš, al thērāk kamkēmah lā.”


āmārūt, “hōh attēt dā-falān. wa-ġādēwwān tāwēhel” sīrūt te ġēnkātōh aqāy. wa-śxawūl wa-fīsw. te gassrāwwān, bāttadam.

attēt raddūt tawōli sēkānas, w-aqāy wā-ttētāh šawgāsōh te watxfōh hāl sēkān dī-aqā dī-aqāy. ʿāsī aqā dī-aqāy w-shāt ḥamātah, wa-hātīm.

te k-sōbēh, gēhmōh aqāy wā-ttētāh te nākam hāl sēkānḥām. wa-tāmmōt.
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. ūṭārāt sēkēn dē-wxāf bā-wōtī, wa-bārk hawōdī dākamāh mōh bārk gōt. wa-kārdyh ol-ḥamōh mākābret. w-āl aḥād yāšēnūs yānkē’ ḫalākamāh lā b-aāṣar, ar wa-ḥē b-anhōr.

2. tē āṣar tāt āmūr āgyg, “mōn mānkēm yāhōm l-āzēmāh wōz, wa-āwyēr ẓār ḥamōh wa-yārēhās, wa-yaṣṣāwwal sēt tāyt?”


4. tōli xōbēt amāndāwḵ tē-wbūd bārk ḥamōh. wā-hē, mē ḥāṭrēf mēkōn, yašōnī hālāh yābāḏāh, wa-hē yālābdāh. tōli fālūt wā-yāsōnī hālāh, tawr mān sārīh wā-tāwr mān fānwīh.

5. tē kāyrēb ol-ḥābū, sīnī hālāh fānwīh. wā-māṭrāk ajanbāyyat wā-ṭān, wā-taġkōt ajanbāyyat b-ագարդիս. yāḥūgas sī mēnāys, wā-γēyūb mān ayaṣāyīt.

6. tōli ḥābū šāṣḍāywāh, wa-sayāwr ḡālāk mānāh. tē kūsōm tāh ժա-γեյւ, šālām tāh. tē k-sōbēl šālū ḥass, šaxbīrāh ḥābū. ūmāwr, “ḥēṣen sīnāk?”


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gōt: This word is listed in *ML* (s.v. gow), though the footnote in Stroomer’s edition (p. 262, n. 1) seems to suggest that it is missing from *ML.*

7. ṣaṣṣāwbd: This is the 3ms imperfect of the Šī-Stem Šaṣṣāwbd ‘be hit’. The root is historically ŠWB, but ṣwb in the H- and Šī-Stems. According to the entry for this verb in *ML* (s.v. ŠWB), the 3ms imperfect is ṣaṣṣaṣṣāwbd, which is probably where Stroomer got the form used in his edition of this text. Among the verbal paradigms in *ML* (p. lxii), the 3ms imperfect is given as ṣaṣṣāwbd. Ali’s Arabic manuscript has ԥصopicb, while Johnstone’s Roman manuscript has ӯςsoob, both of which reflect an imperfect ṣaṣṣāwbd. I-w verbs in the Šī-Stem have two variant imperfects, as already noted in *ML* (lxii), 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.”

_yǝšǝwṣáwb/yǝšṣáwb_ show the same exact variation as _yǝšǝwgūś/yǝšgūš_. See further in the comment to text 30:8, and in § 7.2.3.

_ḥǝṭōl_: In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘fear (cowardice?)’. _ML_ (s.v. ḫṭl) defines the word as ‘fear’, but probably based on this story. It also has the word _bōṭǝl_ ‘cowardly’. I also wonder if man ḫṭōl could mean here something like ‘for no reason’; cf. Arabic _bāṭil_ ‘baseless, false, groundless’.
tōli ġərāwb hābū ḏə-hē ǝl śī lā ḏahr ɦəmōh, wa-ġərāwb ḏə-hē, mat ūṭ yəpp, yəsōnī kāl śīyən fənwiḥ ḏə-yəffərūk bəh.

magōrən wərāwd ɦəmōh dēkəməh, əx w-akənnəwn. wa-ṭəmmōt.
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.

Then they went down to that water, the old and the young. And it is finished.
*Text 96 (no J): A Conversation

1 A: “gǝhōm wǝ-ğǝbɛ́rǝh, w-āmēr hǝh yatǝxǝn gēhǝmǝh, āds ǝl ɡǝzōt ḥayawm.”
2 B: “wǝ-hām ǝl kǝsk tah lā, hībōh l-āmōl?”
3 A: “hāwḳa hǝh mǝrḍáyt hāl ǝḥād. āmēr hǝh, ‘fǝlān gīlu.’ yā yǝlḥāḳǝh yā lā. wǝ-šɛ̄gǝl, ḥǝdðōr mǝn tǝḡwŏr.”
4 B: “stēm wǝkiyi b-amkōnkam, aw śǝlyēla?”
5 A: “nǝḥāh wǝkiyi b-amkōnǝn te gēhǝmǝh wǝlē bād gēhǝmǝh. wǝ-hām sāllǝn, āmyēla hikǝm álōmat. xatỳǝṭa hikǝm mǝn hāl hǝwliyǝn. wǝ-hēt hāwṣaf bǝh. āmēr hǝh, ‘āmāwr hūk hǝ́bkǝ, «hām tǝrōh hǝrōhǝh, ǝl yahǝkāsah ar hǝnīn».’”
6 B: “vēye.”
7 A: “ǝsǝnī āfōr tāwla mǝn aráwrǝm. wǝ-hām ǝwsūt, mǝhǝrṣ́áwtǝn. šɛ̄gǝlǝm līn! hǝmak tī aw lā?”
8 B: “hǝmak tīk. ǝl tāwīg bay lā! āmēr hǝyni ‘ǝsthōl!’”

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1 **gēhǝmǝh**: In margin of the Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘tonight’, but the word normally means ‘tomorrow’.

3 **hāwḳa**: The Arabic manuscript has only hāwka ‘put, place!’ but the Roman manuscript has both hāwḳa and the alternative ḳǝlɛ́ʾ ‘leave!’. Both mean essentially the same thing here.

5 **hikǝm**: In the Arabic manuscript, Ali wrote hīhǝm ‘to them’.

5 **hāwṣaf**: In the Arabic manuscript, Ali mistakenly wrote ḥāwsǝf (حَوْسَف). He almost never confused h and ḥ or s and š elsewhere.

5 **yǝhǝkāsah**: This is the H-Stem 3ms imperfect of the root ḵš́ (yahǝkṓśa) 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?”
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».»”
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 ġayg sōbǝr yəʃṭəyūd aʃāyd (ṣayyōd) wa-hārūs bə-tət wə-nūka məns bə-ğəganōt. wə-mtōt hāmēs, wə-kanōh ağağəganōt te ākərt. wə-yəkālas b-abāyt wa-hē yasyūr yəʃṭəyūd aʃāyd.

2 te nəhōr təyt āmərūt hə ḥəbrətəh, “ḥāybi, wə-kōh əl hārəsk lā?” āmūr hīs, “hōh əl hōm əl-hērəs lā.”


4 wə-nūka məns bə-ğəganōt wə-kanāts te ākərt. wə-ʃxəwlil, wə-(t)ʃāsər ḥəbrətəs wa-thəbğawəs ḥəbrət ə-asərēt (ə-asəyyōd).

5 te nəhōr ḥəbrē də-hōkam yəhōm yəʃāxtən, wə-ʃmləm həh šarḥ. wə-ṭəlabə ba-yəli arḥəbet kāl, wə-nəkəm.

6 wə-ttēt ə-asəyyōd aʃfərxēt (əznēt) ḥəbrətəs. wə-ḥəbrət ə-asəyyōd, wəzməts gənyət də-bārr. āmərūt hīs, “ṭəḥənəh!”

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1 ġayg sōbər yəʃṭəyūd aʃāyd (ṣayyōd): Ali’s Arabic manuscript has ġayg sōbər yəʃṭəyūd aʃāyd, matching what he wrote in the Jibbali version (ġeyg sɔ́bǝr yəbṭərən ɛṣód). However, he later added ṣayyōd in the margin. Johnstone’s Roman manuscript has only ġayg ṣayyōd ‘a man, a fisherman’. The latter more accurately reflects Müller’s Mehri version, on which Ali’s Mehri version was based, and which has ġayj ḥawwōt.

3 təsnān: This is either the 3fp imperfect of a Ga-Stem sūna (ML, s.v. sn’), 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 ə-asərēt: The Arabic manuscript has ḥəbrət ə-asərēt ə-asəyyōd, but the word ə-asərēt has been put in square brackets. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone transcribed ḥəbrət ə-asərēt ə-asəyyōd, but put ə-asəyyōd in parentheses; above ə-asərēt he added ‘better’, and above ə-asəyyōd he added ‘or!’. Ali’s Jibbali version has here just esērēt. 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 əsərēt 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. šwārra’a) 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 ǝffxarēt (azīnēt): Both manuscripts present ǝffxarēt and azīnēt as alternatives. The transcription ǝffxarēt is a bit uncertain. As a D/L-Stem with an initial voiceless, non-glottalic consonant we expect (f)fxǝrēt (or variant ǝffxǝrēt because of the guttural x). The Arabic manuscript has افرية (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 ǝfxarēt, which matches this reading. (Johnstone transcribed ɛ- for the prefix also in ɛzīnēt; it is just a variant transcription for a-) However, the initial ɛ- was later crossed out, and ǝ was added above it, indicating a reading ǝffxarēt. The same is true for line 20. An initial ǝ- makes best sense if we have an initial geminate, i.e., ǝffxarēt. The Arabic spelling could also represent ǝ(f)fxarēt, though Ali most often did not indicate an initial epenthetic ǝ- 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 ǝffxarēt was intended. In recent fieldwork, Sabrina Bendjaballah recorded 3fs sfǝrēt ‘she traveled’, with no a-.
where yǝbáyt zǝyáwrǝt wǝ-āmǝrūt hīs, “malǝhǝm mōh! mǝt nākan, tākāy ber tǝhānš gányat wǝ-bér mōlǝš azayáwrǝt.”

where bārōt, sǝ wǝ-habrâts, tǝwōli šarḥ, wǝ-ḥabrıt ċ-ǝsǝyyōd h-ǝbáyt. wǝ-ṭǝwyīs hōba āɡzōn.


where sayūr hīs te ḡar bayr wǝ-ḥarba’ mōh, wǝ-ḥašāys wǝ-hawbasīs xalōwak wǝ-šaγāt.

w-āmūr hīs, “bārī!” w-ǝ-wzǝmīs gayrōrǝt ǝ-ǝrēhǝm w-ǝ-wzǝmīs ǝyayrǝt ǝ-ḥǝbawǝt.


sirūt. te nkōt, ksüt hâbū ǝ-yaftarīgǝn wǝ-ḥaynūt tanâḥgǝn. wǝ-ḥabrē ǝ-ḥôkam ǝ-ǝrō ǝl hâbū. wǝ-sē wakǝbūt bǝrk amdǝrǝt.

w-ǝ-nḥagōt. te sbâb, skǝbūt aγayrōrǝt ǝ-ǝrēhǝm bǝrk amdǝrǝt, wǝ-skǝbūt aγayrōrǝt ǝ-ḥǝbawǝt tēt ǝ-ḥâybas wǝ-ḥabrâts, wǝ-fkilūt.

w-ǝ-bâkâwš sǝrīs ḥabrē ǝ-ḥôkam, w-ǝl ǝlḥâkâys lâ. wǝ-râdd tawōli hâbū. āmūr ḡaynūt, “bass mǝn šarḥ te gēhamah ba-hâllây.” w-bâram hâbū.

w-ǝ-sē sirūt. te nkōt abâyt, ksüt agányat ber tǝhānš tǝkāyḳ ǝ-awkâ, w-azayáwrǝt ǝ-μîlǝm mōh, w-ḥōba yaṇīt ǝ-šxawlûl.

malǝhǝm: The Arabic manuscript has the spelling ملاهم, which could reflect malǝhǝm or malǝhǝm, but the same form in line 21 is spelled ملاهم, which must be for malǝhǝm. Johnstone transcribed malǝhǝm in both lines. The fs imperative must be a III-ʾ form (from mūla), and not a III-w/y form (from mǝlōh), since the latter would be mǝlī. The 2fs mōlǝš, if Johnstone transcribed the vowel ō correctly, looks like a III-w/y type perfect (as if from a 3ms mǝlōh). It is possible that the correct transcription is mūlǝš, in which case it reflects a III-ʾ type perfect. Elsewhere in the texts we find forms of the III-ʾ type (e.g., mūlǝm in 22:6). The 3ms perfect mōlaʾ, listed in ML (s.v. mlʾ) should be corrected to mula.

gányat: We expect the definite form agányat here (cf. line 16), but the manuscripts both have gányat. This may just be an error.

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 mǝlōh). It is possible that the correct transcription is mūlaš, in which case it reflects a III-ʾ type perfect. Elsewhere in the texts we find forms of the III-ʾ type (e.g., mūlǝm in 22:6). The 3ms perfect mōlaʾ, listed in ML (s.v. mlʾ) should be corrected to mula.

bārōt: The manuscripts have 3fs bārōt 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 ḍ-ḥāyyōd (ḍ-ḥāybāš): Both manuscripts give tēṯ ḍ-ḥāybāš ‘your father’s wife’ as an alternative to tēṯ ḍ-āṣyyōd ‘the fisherman’s wife’.

15 ḥaynīṯ: In the Arabic manuscript, Ali wrote h-āgzōn ‘to the old women’. The Roman manuscript has ḥaynīṯ ‘to the women’, which matches the Jibbali version.

16 ḍ-ḥāwkā: This is an H-Stem passive form (see §7.1.7). In the Arabic manuscript, Ali had written ḏ-wāqāt (ḏ-ḥawkā), but crossed it out and wrote ḏ-ḥawkā (ḏ-awkā) above it. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone had ḏ-ḥawkwā, but then crossed out the $h$. 


te gəhəmək bə-əllələy, səyəwər həb˚u wə-həy̲ənit. wə-tət də-əsəyyəd əfdərət həbrət̲s.

wə-wəzmət həbrət ֻdə-əsəyyəd gənyətı tərayt ֻdə-bərr ḥətət. āmərūt hīs, “təhən̲ən̲!” wə-wəzməts arbətəsər zayr. āmərūt hīs, “məłəhəm məh!” wə-şə sərūt, sə wə-həbrət̲s, təwəlī šər̲h.


ḥərbə’ məh wə-ḥəsəsəs wə-xələwək wə-ṣəyəξət wə-āmūr hīs, “syeɾi təwəlī šər̲h!”


sərūt. tə nkət həl šər̲h, ksət həb˚u (ֻd-)sərəm wə-ksət əhən̲it tənəhən̲. wə-wəkbət bərk šər̲h. wə-ḥəbrē ֻdə-həkəm ֻdə-wətaləm dər fər̲həy̲ən.

wə-sə ənəh̲ag. tə kənət mən anəhag, skəbət əgəy̲ərət ֻdə-dərəḥəm bərk amdərət, wə-skəbət əgəy̲ərət ֻdə-κəbəwənət dər tət ֻdə-həy̲əbəs wə-ḥəbrət̲s, wə-fkət."
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.

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.

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.

Then the next evening, the men and women went (back). And the fisherman's wife prettied up her daughter.

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.

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.

They drew water and washed her, and dressed her in clothes and jewelry. And they said to her, “Go to the party!”

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.”

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.

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.

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.”

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.
wa-se siri. te ankot b-abayt, ksu agawin barson tsekik, we-ksut azyawrat da-milam moh, w-agzun (d-)sxawulu. sall nans asayyot wa-xalowak.

amurit hisan, "hatlak saray habre da-hokam farhain." amur his, "lahekaysh?" amurit, "la, walekan hagawlit neftob, wa-sellis. amur Hayni, 'hagawlati', amark hah, 'da-sayur yaxlof gayerah.'

wa-habre da-hokam sat hagawlat wa-wzamis gariti trayt. amur hisan, "deryn ba-hagawlat dimah w-akyisan tiw al-haynit w-agaganawatan. kal da-wakot lisi sawe, kaleten lay!" wa-dortoh hagertan bork arhabet xamstaswar yun, w-al kgitoh akhad la.

anhor da-seattasar, wasaltah b-abayt da-asayyot. w-akyis al-tetah, w-al wika la. w-akyis al-habrats, w-al wika la. w-akyis al-habri d-asayyot, wa-wika kayos.


tenahor da-kakbeh, attet da-haybaws wazmats bork sarayyat degar. amurit his, "tiyah!" wa-tawath.

wa-sxawallut wa-nkays hoba yanit wa-hftuk alhane bork hafalas. w-aymal his harawf bork hafalas.

amur his, "mat nuka agaygas wa-thaymi (t)issyri k-hanafs, ameri h-agaygas, 'azemi amzarrak l-astayur barkih!' wa-sxawallut.

tenuka agaygas, amurat hah, "azemi amzarrak!" amur his, "thameh heson?" amurat hah, "hom l-astayur barkih." wa-wzamis wa-sirut k-hanafs.

wa-ksut tet da-haybas da-sarot bork hamam. amurat his, "ko hett bawmah? sissyri valare sa ROMAH sakayta al-habre da-hokam."

fikut, wa-sese sxawallut w-astaryut bork amssar, wa-nkot. amurat hah, "syer w-ankel b-amssarrak!" sayur wa-kusa borkih xammos harawf, wa-salihum.

wa-swikif: te k-sobaah, assut fnwih. wa-'ass he wa-kusa naxali harohis satayt harawf.

(m-)mon: This must be underlyingly *b-mon. The manuscripts give no indication of the initial doubled m, but it seems likely that am-moh 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 harus, as evidenced by ba-habrakt in the reply. See also the comments to texts 76:2 (am-moh) and 94:37 (am-moh).
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.
wa-sayūr wa-kalūṭ al-hāybāh. āmūr, “yā hāybī, hō ... tēt, wakābk hānis ba-ḥallāy, w-āmarūt āhni ʿazēmi āmsārāk!”, w- wa-wzāmīk tīs tāh. 
wa-sūrūt bāḥ ḥāmōh, w-nkōt w-āmarūt āhni, ’syēr h-āmsārāk!, w-sayārk hāh, w-kāsk bārkhīn xammōh ḥārawf (ð-)ðēhēb. w-nākak, w-šāwkōfīn te k-sōbāh. w-āssūt fānwwāy. w-āssāk hōh wa-kāsk sāṭāyīt ḥārawf (ð-)ðēhēb naxālī ḥārōhīn."
sayāwr al-hāl hāmēs, w-āmarūt hīhām, “his-tāw.” w-hārūs ḥābrē ḥā-ḥōkām akānnāwn bī. 
te nḥōr ḥā-kābkēb, hagāllūt hīs hāmēs bārk ṣafārāyyēt dēgār, w-āmarūt hīs, “tī!” w-tawūt. 
hīs ba-ḥallāy, nūkā ḥābrē ḥā-ḥōkām w-şxwālāl hānis. āmarūt āḥēh, “āzēmi āmsārāk!” w-wzēmīs (tāh), w-sūrūt bāḥ tawōlī ḥāmmām. w-malātāh jōb w-ankātah. 
w-sayūr āgīgēn, yāḥōm āmsārrāh, w-kīshī kāllaḥ jōb. w-bār w-šāwkūf hāl hāmōh. 
te k-sōbāh nūkā hāl hāybāh. āmūr hāh, “ḥībōh tēt?” āmūr hāh, “tēnōfa lā. ḡōsūt xalāwkye.”
xsāyēb līs w-nkōt. āmūr ēkām, “kəsāsəm ḥərōh!” w-kəssəm ḥərōhs w-şxwālīl. w-tammōt.

42 kālūt al-hāybāh: The Roman manuscript has kālūt al- ‘he told (to)’, with ġātri k- ‘he spoke with’ in the margin above. The Arabic manuscript has ġātri hāybāh, with kālūt in the margin above. The word hāybāh in the Arabic manuscript is for an underlying *h-hāybāh (see § 2.1.4).
44 la-bādd: This is from Arabic lā budda ‘it must be that’.
48 wzēmīs (tāh): The direct object tāh 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 wzēmīs 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.
The Man Who Gave Away His Supplies

1 xǝṭarāt ġayg gǝhēm, yǝḥōm yǝkfēd arhabēt, wǝ-šāh agǝllēt w-amǝwsē. tōli ḥayūr. l-ād wida ǝl-ḥō yahwōl lā. wǝ-hē gǝhēm anhōr kāllas. te kalāyni, aftarkāwt agǝllēt, wǝ-šīnī sēkanah man hāl gǝhēm.


3 wǝ-gahēm. te nūka arhabēt, wǝkūb hāl ġayg āśǝrēh wǝ-kǝlūṯ lah bǝ-hātah. āmūr hāh, “nǝḥāh śin amǝwsē, w-amōl ǝl bēh sxāf lā, wǝ-hōh ǝl šay ḥāṣār lā. wǝ-hām kǝxbleh mǝsrǝwef. wǝ-mat amōl āmōl ašxōf wǝ-thāym thākmām līn, b-arāykem.”


5 āmūr agâyq, “tǝktūṭa lah ar kāl ḳa-katāy!” tōli gahēm agâyq tawōli sēkanah. wǝ-yagâwbow ḥābū ǝl-ḥōrēm, wǝ-yawōza līhām. wǝ-hē la-wtākəmāh.

6 tōli tamēm kawzərət tayt, w-ǝṭōرف tayt wǝ-ttanmūm. tōli atôrəf ǝys, wǝ-hē lə-wtākəmāh. te watxf hāl sēkanah, ād šāh ā‘išēm ǝ-d-āsāri trōh.

7 tōli āmarūt hēh tētəh, “hēt ġayg ḥāywol! (t)šēdāyēn amōl ḳa-ɡayqūg, wǝ-tawāzməh ǝl-ḥayrēm. wǝ-mjərən, l-ād ǝḥād wǝzmōna tīk ši lā.”

2 agwō: The noun gǝwō ‘rainless, clear weather’ is missing from ML (s.v. gwyo), just as the Jibbali cognate go (heard from an informant) is missing from JL. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone (who transcribed the form ɛgwuuw) added the gloss ‘rainless’.

3 ḥātah: The form ḥālah in Stroomer’s edition is a mistake. The manuscripts both have ḥātah. The form ḥātah comes from *ḥáltah, 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 ṭakbēli: 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 ḳāybal means ‘accept; find acceptable’ (cf. 22:93).

5 tǝktūṭa: It is not certain whether we should transcribe tǝktūṭa or taktōta here. In the Roman manuscript, Johnstone transcribed taktūṭa, but 3ms yaktōta in line 8. No Ti-Stem imperfects from III-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. l–li) we find 3ms imperfect *yərtūfan* (an obvious mistake for *yərtūfa*) and *yəktūta*, but in the individual entries we find *yəktōta* (s.v. *ḳṭʿ*) and *yərtōfa* (s.v. *rfʿ*). During fieldwork in Oman, Julien Dufour (p.c.) recorded both *yərtūfa* and *yərtōfa*, which is either reflective of free variation or the fact that *ō* and *ū* can be very hard to distinguish.

*yanāza*: 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.
āmūr aḡāyg, “hēt tēṯ ḥawalīt. arāṣḵ ǝl yǝktūta lā ábdan. wa-kāl šīyǝn yətmōm wa-ǝxrlōf, wəlakan ǝshšāraf, hām təmm, l-ād ǝxrlōf lā ábdan.”

āmərūt tēṯ, “ṣərōmah hibōh āmlōna maṭ shēlan?” āmūr, “ādan šin aʾišē ḏə-yallīləh, w-ādī ǝl ǝftkərk lā te gēhəməh, maṭ shēlan. kāl šīyən ǝyənəkə kəyōs. hēt wādās hām gēhəməh yahəsbəh rəšk ṭāt yədīn? wəlē ḏə-yəhōm yəktən mən akəw təhəsβəh šəh swər tət yədīn mən səwərəh ḥəwələy?”


wə-nūka ɡāyəg mən ɡələ əsərəh, wə-ʃōh məɾdəyən mən hənən. āmūr əhəh, “hām thəm kawt, kəfed lən. aməwəsəm nūka.”

āmərūt tēṯ, “al ʃî yədūm lā, hām thəm ṭədədər ə-hənəfək. wəlakan hərmək l-ād ədəwəbər bük zəyəd te al-mət. wə-ḥēt əb-kəyəfəl’! wə-təməmət.”

9 yəktən: The Roman manuscript has yəktə’an, while the Arabic manuscript has یکطان, suggesting the expected yəktən.

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 dɛ̄m ’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.
Chapter 14

*Text 99 (= Ḥ2, from which it was translated = J48, but a longer, variant version): Fox and Friends

1 kəwṯēt man azbōn ḥāwēlāy, ḥīs sāfrām, aytāyl wə-kāwb w-akāyʃər wə-ṭəbrāyn w-ayəɣrāyəb w-arxəmət. sāfrām. kəwṯēt al aḥād yəwōda lā sē šət kaw bədī.

2 wə-ka𝑤tōna b-əbsɔrət ɖ-aytəyl wə-kāwb w-akāyʃər wə-ṭəbrāyn w-ayəɣrāyəb w-arxəmət, ḥīs āds adənyeq taqtūr. wə-sayaqr wə-xətəwr. ḥīs āʃər ɡaʃrawwən wātxəm, āmūr hīhəm akəyʃər, “ṣəwqaʃəm nəkəm tı bə-ʿayʃə, we-hōh məhətəm.” wə-ṣəwɡūs. ṣəwɡūs kəwɔb wə-ṣəwɡəʃūt təbrəyn wə-ṣəwɡəʃūt axrəmət w-ayəɣrəyəb w-aytəyl. axrəmət ṣəwɡəʃūt, w-ayəɣrəyəb w-aytəyl kəʃərəh. te bə-həllələy, kəwəyəh sī lə.


4 w-akāyʃər, mən bədīhəm, ɡəroh lah bəkər hələkəməh. wə-fərr wə-wiʃə ʤər aʃəhər (ɖ-)təyt mənən, wə-həɡərəs wə-wtəqəyas. wātxəm wə-ɡətəməm həbə, wə-hələk ʃwət.

5 wətxfət təbrəyn ɖə-kəʃət mən səll ɖə-agzələt. əmərət, “hōh ɖə-həndək. məʃəwkətə tə ɣəbələ a'isəkəm. wə-məʃəren təkəm tı.”

6 wə-həm hələk ʃwətəm. wə-ʃərəwf wə-hawkwəm ʰəss bərk ʃwət, wə-ʃətəm ḥəbəθəm wə-rdəw b-əqədəs. wə-dəhəkəm ḥəzəhm wə-ʃəbəw təwɨθəm kəlləh.

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2 ɖ-aytəyl ... w-arxəmət: This passage is crossed out in the Arabic manuscript, but appears in both Roman manuscripts.

3 wə-mərdāy bəh: There may be a mistake here. The Jibbali version has gəd məhəmış ɖə-rdəʃ ‘an animal skin that someone threw away’ (rdəʃ is for rdə beʃ), while the Harsusi version has gəd məhəmış mərdə ‘a thrown away animal skin’. Mehri mərdəy and Harsusi mərdə are passive participles, functioning as adjectives. As such, mərdəy should not take an object bəh; bəh would be expected (like Jibbali beʃ) after an active verb. It is possible that Mehri bəh means ‘in it’, referring to one of the camps.

3 mərʃəʃət: I have translated this simply as ‘cached’, but it literally means ‘hidden under stones’. Cf. the G-Stem raʃəwf ‘cache, hide under stones’ (ML, s.v. rəʃəf).

4 həɡərəs: This derives from *həɡ’arəs, which is based on the 3ms perfect həɡəwr (< *həɡ’ur).
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].

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.

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.

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.

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.”

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.

\[t\dot{a}k\ddot{a}m\]: This is the mp imperative of the D/L-Stem verb \((t)t\ddot{o}k\ddot{a}d\) ‘wake up (trans.)’, from a root \(tk\ddot{a}\), which is a secondary root based on the root \(wkd\). \(ML\) (s.v. \(tk\ddot{a}\)) lists the 3ms subjunctive as \(y\ddot{a}t\ddot{u}k\ddot{a}d\), from which we can derive a ms imperative \(t\ddot{i}k\ddot{a}d\) and mp imperative \(t\dot{a}k\ddot{a}m\). However, the D/L-Stem 3ms subjunctive should be \(y\ddot{a}tt\ddot{o}k\ddot{a}d\), and the mp imperative should be \(t\dot{a}k\ddot{a}m\) (see §6.2). If \(ML\) is incorrect, and the subjunctive is indeed as expected, then the vowel \(\dot{i}\) that Johnstone transcribed here is suspect. If \(ML\) is correct, then the subjunctive is perhaps borrowed from the related T1-Stem \(w\ddot{a}t\ddot{k}\ddot{a}d\) ‘wake up (intrans.).’ The secondary root \(tk\ddot{a}\) 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-ǝhtádyam, w-ǝhtádyam támərkan, wə-təbráyn šawkfüt, w-ərtáwam, wə-
his ərtáwam, kəl əḥəd ʃət əraوية. w-əmūr əhiəm əytəyl, “əəzəmən tə əədə
ðə-təbráyn, wə-məɾən həh məttəkəd təs.”
8 wə-wəzəwəm əədə ə-əbrəyn, w-ətəsən mən ətæwii əgiəd wə-təmər əgiəd, wə-
tawrah əşəwəs w-əgalə’. wə-sə əə-əswəkət, wə-əwkəbənəm bərk əʃət. wə-sə
šawkfüt w-stəhəst lə.
9 wə-šəkwif ṣə kəsəbəh, hıș k-kəsəbəh, wətkəθət təbrəyn. əməɾət, “yəllə, hə
həδə δι? wə-həh yəlləh ətəsəyək lə.”
10 əməwər hıș, “həδəδəs k-ətəyəl.” əmūr hıș ətəyəl, “ətəsyəs həδδəs əs hət
wətkəθəs lə?” əməɾət, “lə, həh təmək ʂl lə, wə-həh ə-wə-gəyək.”
11 əmūr hıș, “ṣyəri wə-məsəi əər əɡərdəsi. wə-həm al məssə əsəwə ə-gələ’lə, həh məksəyəb əqəti, wə-həm məssə əsəwə ə-gələ’ bərk əɡərdəsi, tkəni
d-ətəsyəs, w-əkən əṣətkəi həh, w-əkəsəwə əɾəhəs.”
12 wə-ʃədəm liəm əgamət lə-wtəkəməh, wə-səɾət təbrəyn, əθəm τəməşəh.
əds lə-wtəkəməh nətətəbəm əsəwə ə-gələ’ bərk ətənəs. əməwər, “əətəkəθ ə
ətəyəl. əfəf hət al wətkəθəs lə!”
13 səmədəs mən əʃət, wə-gəheməm, wə-səyəwər. əmūr hıș ətəyəl, “hət ələlı ə
həroʃ ədəyk, wə-mən ələkəməh həh ələlənə təış.”
14 wə-səyəwər te wəsələm həroʃ, əmūr hıș, “ədəs te həroʃ ədəyk.”
15 wə-səyəwər te həroʃ əməʃəɾət. ətəyəl də-əswənəx, wə-təbrəyn ətətət mən əλə
d-ətəyəl. rədəh bə-ənəfənəə mən əɟərəs ə-amūr, “təbrəyn ətətət! təbrəyn
ətətət!”
16 təli rədədəm lıs, wə-sə əə-əgəyət. wə-abəɾkət w-əməɾət, “hədəh ətəyəl!” wə-
ənəkəm təs wə-ətəwəwəs.

7 məttəkəd: This form, which Johnstone transcribed as məttəkəd, 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 sub-
junctive 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 təkədən in line 5 would be expec-
ted.

11 məksəyəb: Johnstone transcribed here magṣ́āyb, and Ali wrote مغشيب,
which could stand for məksəyəb, məksəyəb, or məksəyəb. However, it is likely
that the root kəb 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.
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.”

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.

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.”

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.”

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.”

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!”

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.”

And they went until they reached the acacia tree. He said to her, “You still have until that acacia.”

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!”

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.

ḥǝrōṣ́: Johnstone (ML, s.v. ḫrẓ) believed this tree to be Acacia mellifera, also known as a blackthorn tree, though in HL (s.v. ḫrẓ) 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 wa-gahēməm te šāwər nōb. āmūr hīhəm ayṭāyl, “ḥābye wa-hābikəm, mən hīs šəxtin, yāfədəm mən dər asāwər ḏayk te asāwər ḏayk.”

18 āmāwr, “hām ar aṣāṭkək xətərk, təfēd!” wa-hē ʃəfayf, w-āfūd.

19 fər mən dər asāwər dih te wiكا dər asāwər dək, w-əl wika bəh ʃi lə. əl tībər wəlë ātəwūr.

20 wa-fər kawb mən asāwər dih te asāwər dək, wə-tibər. wə-fər akāyʃər, wə-wišə dər asāwər wə-sɪlm.

21 wa-r¿ddəm al-kawb wa-twəwəwəh. wa-gahēməm hə w-akāyʃər, wa-gəhməh te ŋəkōh göt bo-kərməyəm.

22 wa-his nəkōh agōt, āmūr ayṭāyl, “ḥāybi wa-ḥāybək mən zəbōn yāfədəhm mən dər dīməh, wa-yəwkəh (d-)ṣərōh bərk amszyōl.” w-amkōn rēhək lāhi bərk agōt.

23 āmūr həh, “ḥēt bāydi. hām ḥēt aṣəṭkək xətərk, tagōrəb!”

24 əfūd ayṭāyl mən dər agōt, wə-wišə bəh ʃi lə. w-əfūd akāyʃər mən amkōn də-ayṭāyl, wə-wišə bərk amszyōl də-ṭibər kālləh w-ənəṭəməl, wələkan ədəh šəh.


26 āmūr həh, “əgərbək hēt bōyər. ərbōnə lay lə mən dəmək šahə. axəyr amwətək!”

27 wa-təxətəh te mōt. wə-his mōt, rədd ləh wə-twōh abgāytaṭəh.

28 wa-gəhēm ayṭāyl te küsa hirit. wə-hē mənkəyta mən aḏəwma. tōli hīs küsa hirit, āmūr hīs, “ḥōh mənkəyta mən aḏəwma, wə-l-əd šay akʷər lə mən aḏəwma. hām təḳēdər tśeəm, ḥōm mōh.”


30 āmərūt həh, “ḥəmōh bərk hafšəl. wələkan hām həwkəb tīk bərk hafšəl, hēt məgərən əyəbōnə lay wə-twəwən tī.”

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18 xətərk: See the comment to text 45:16.

22 (d-)ṣərōh: No prefix d- is indicated in either manuscript, but I suggest it is present underlyingly.

26 mən dəmək: The form dəm- must come from Arabic dāma ‘last, continue’, as used in the phrase mā dāma ‘as long as’.

27 abgāytaṭəh: If this is indeed from a noun baqāyta, as ML suggests (s.v. bəy), then the possessed form should be abgāytaṭəh.

28 mənkəyta: Curiously, Ali spelled this word (twice in this line) as two: من غاطة. (His use of ʃ for k is not unusual.) The form mənkəyta is unique, and may be a borrowing of the Arabic N-Stem (Form VII) ʃəntə’a ‘expire’.
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.”

They said, “If you really recall truthfully, then jump!” And he was swift, so he jumped.

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.

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.

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.

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.

He said to him, “You’re a liar. If you recall truthfully, then try it!”

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.

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.”

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!”

And he left him until he died. And when he died, he went back to him and ate what we wanted [lit. his desire].

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.”

She said to him, “There is no water here nearby.” He said to her, “Make me a scheme, or else I’ll die now.”

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.”

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.
āmūr, “hēṣān thāymi mǝn wágǝh? w-ḥōh wǝzmōna tiš wágǝh.” w-đaxāl
his b-awághah, w-ḥawkábátah bǝrk šats.

w-āmarūt ḥah, “kōnā mōh tät matk w-ét-tat məlhāt. akərdāb məlhāt,
arēhak matk.” wıküb aytáyl bǝrk sât də-ḥirūt. w-วกüb bǝrk hāfəlas, w-kwargs
həmōh amâṭk w-ḥamōh amolhāt. w-ttákk mǝn həmōh amâṭk. tək tê râywi.

‘əss w-ɡalüük aqáwff bǝrk hāfəlas, w-nātx ǝabdāts w-kałyâts w-ḥawbdâybas, w-ṭawiyām.

his tawiyām, matôt hûrit, w-ḥē bǝrk hāfəlas. šǝndûr h-əbēli, “hām nəköt
ɡallēt w-ṭarūt sât də-ḥirūt w-ṭâkk hōh şaḥh, al-hâdhab nēhār dōrə’
w-nēhār śxōf.”

w-ḥis k-soɓah, ḥaṣbəhōt lāh aqallēt tâll, w-ṭarūt sât də-ḥirūt, w-ṭâk taydāy.

w-ɡəhêm k-soɓah. w-ɡəhêm tê kuśa têt w-ḥabrâts. ʂışan rawn mēkən,
w-əmərtōh ḥah, “ḥēṣān nākak? w-μan hō nākak?”

āmūr, “nākak mān skûn, w-xqâşây bîk tanķēn. hēm šiḥam šarh. w-ə-
xå-tāwn ɦəbənǐkmən, w-xqəqây bîk tanķēn tihm. w-ḥōh əddōna
bâdkan hârâw.”

w-ṣên șdasqaḥ. w-ɡəhêm têt w-ḥabrâts, w-ṭərhây k-ḥârâwn.

sayûr aytäy əl-ḥalûb hârâwn bârk nēhər tē ṣaḥēb. w-əbârka al-ḥârâwn.
șətâysan kâlsan te ḥəhûb anēhər dōrə’, w-ţəmmûm anēdərah. w-ţâwrah
ḥârâwn (d-)ş̣ūna dər ħârš. w-sên bēr ət ʃāl. w-ḥâkşâw məl-kâmən.

tė gēhəmah, nûka ḥaynrūt, têt w-ḥabrâts. w-ḥis nûka, əbrâsən rēhək mən
ḥârâwn, w-xalûb lisan ṣalâm.

āmūr aytäy, “kâskən hâbû?” āmūr ḥaynrūt, “nəḥàḥ al kûsən əhâd lâ. hēt
bōdak bîn!” āmūr, “hōh əsâtʃi, ar ətên dâllâkan lâ!”

w-sîrūt ḥəbrît də-ttêt tawîlî hârâwn, w-ksût hârâwn də-ʃâṭ kâlsan.

w-ągâwō ʃxəwâllût hâl aytây. w-ągâwə ʃəmûț, thômə lâ. w-əkət ɦəbrâts,
āmərūt, “a hâmây, mənən əytəy tē ɭ-ənkêś!”

tawiyām: Johnstone transcribed tawiyām here and in the next line. I
assume that this was an error for the expected tawiyām, since in similar
forms elsewhere (e.g., tawiyāta in text 75:6), the y is a bit difficult to hear
on the audio.

śdasqaḥ: See the comment to text 20:6.

ħarš: The plural hărš (sg. hârōs; cf. line 13) is not listed in ML (s.v. ħrż), but
the Ĥarsusi plural hărš (sg. hârōs) is listed in HL (s.v. ħrż).
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.

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.

He stood and looked up into her stomach, and he plucked her liver, her kidney, and her heart, and he ate them.

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.”

And when it was morning, the mist came with dew, and it moistened the donkey’s backside, and the fox got out.

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?”

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].”

And they believed him. The woman and her daughter went, and left him with the goats.

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.

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.

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!”

And the woman’s daughter went to the goats, and she found the goats all slaughtered.

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!”
āmūrūt āgáwz, “hēsān tōmār?” āmūr aytāyl, “āmūrūt, ‘akáwm šaghūm,’ w-āzāmī asāyğat l-ǝdfēns mən akāwm, m-ād yəṣāytas.”

w-āgáwz šāsakāwet. wəzmātah asāyğat kāllas, wə-hē mnadys. w-āds təgtüri şəh, şāköt līs ḥabrāts wə-tōmār, “mənēy aytāyl, wə-hōh nákayta tīś!”


wə-hē fəlūt məns. “yā aytāyl! yā bāydil!” wə-hē fəlūt məns, wə-şāh asāyğət. w-əbārka məns. wə-ʔağdīh ġaynūt, w-ə(l) ləhəkəy lā.

wə-səyür te nūka məksōt kəsəy təl-xált də-ḥōrem. ələk bīs asāyğət dəkəmamah kəllas, wə-gəbəx naxūsə wə-dəfūn aməsyaḥ. wə-nkəy tət mən amkətər. ʃəh rīkōb, wə-ʃxəwlūl.


āmūr hah, “ḥəddər mən təmsəh kərəy lɪs, w-al tədjhol kərəy lɪs lə. wə-həm dəhək kərəy lɪs wələ məsk kərəy lɪs, al thāṣuṣ sə lə.”

w-əytəy ləbūk ərikəb təl-taṭiyədəysən wə-səyür, w-əgəyq ʃxəwlūl. həgər hərəm nəhərı trəyt aw ʃilət, w-aməkəsət ḡəsət sə lə.

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44 l-ǝdfēns: 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 al-nēkš: Johnstone (and hence Stroomer) transcribed here al-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’ (al-n(y)ēk) 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 T1-Stem verb sətwəd ‘be disgraced; be blackened’, and under it includes the imperative əstəwōd. In fact, əstəwōd can only be the imperative of a T2-Stem verb əstəwūd. The form here could also be analyzed as a perfect əstəwūd.

46 yā sawād al-wīyəh: This is an Arabic idiom, from Arabic sawād ‘black’ and colloquial wīyəh ‘face’. Both colloquial Arabic wīyəh and Mehri wágəh stem from Classical Arabic wajh, although Dhofari Arabic normally has
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.”

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!”

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!”

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.

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.

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.”

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.

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.”

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.

*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!’.

*ḥmawlisān*: The base of this form is probably *ḥamōwāl*, the plural of *ḥāmal* ‘load’. *ML* (s.v. *hml*) lists only the singular, but Jahn (1902: 192) gives the plural of *ḥāmal* as *ḥamōwāl*. Johnstone transcribed *ḥmōlisān*, but since an $ō$ would be reduced to $ā$ before the possessive suffix -isān, his transcription cannot be correct.
bǝgūd aytáyl te alhǝkây. hīs alhǝkây, āmūr, “ǝm-ǝmǝnwáy w-ǝm-ǝmǝnwūk ǝrt. hēt wǝkōna mešk wǝlē ḏǝhák.”

āmūr hǝh, “lā!” tōli raddōh tawōli amkǝsōt. te ankōh, nǝkūs aytáyl ḥalákǝmǝh. ðǝ-ʒǝrūb ḥǝnafǝh ðǝ-mǝhōn nǝxǝli amkǝsōt.


sǝyūr aytáyl te tawōh hāl sēkǝn. hīs tawōh hāl sēkǝn, rǝşáwn arikâbhe. wǝ-ḥalákǝmǝh hǝbǝr mǝsabbōt wǝ-fǝrhǝyēn mǝsabbōt.

āmawr h-aytáyl, “al tǝršǝn arikâbke ḥalákǝmǝh lā, mǝn hǝbǝr wǝ-fǝrhǝyēn tǝkšal tısan.”


tōli a’yıt aytáyl. wǝ-hīs a’yıt, dáfam hǝh rık̬ōb. wǝ-k-sōbǝh, ǝbkbáysǝn. wǝ-tǝmmōt.

amǝnwáy w-ǝm-ǝmǝnwūk: I assume the presence of the initial am-, though Johnstone’s transcribed just mǝnwáy w-ǝm-ǝmǝnwūk in the Roman manuscript. We would not expect the Arabic transcription to indicate the initial am-, and it does not.

nǝkūs: See the comment to text 37:13.

amēśi: The Roman manuscript has ǝmēśi. I suspect that Ali said amēśi (< ǝmēśi; from mēśi ‘excrement’). Johnstone’s s (instead of ǝ) was just an oversight, but the final ǝ that he heard was perhaps just an epenthetic vowel linking this word to the following lā. Or, he may have heard amēśye, with the suffix -ye. If so, then -ye (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. ǝmēśyǝh and ǝmēśyǝk in this line). The spelling ܐܡܝš in the Arabic manuscript supports an underlying ǝl ǝmēśyi. Cf. also āq̱āṭi ‘my neck’ (from göti ‘neck’) in line 11 (spelled āq̱āṭi), not **āq̱āṭye.

kálsǝn: It is possible that kálsǝn 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’.
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.”

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.

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.

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.

They said to the fox, “Don't tie up your camels there, or the camels and horses will kill [lit. snap] them.”

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.

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 tāt yahōm yahēras bā-tēt, fansōḥān yāqūtir sīs, wā-mūrān yāqūtir k-
   akfāyūr. wā-hām fīkā, yānōkā bā-trōh shawd. wā-yōmār akfāyū dā-tēt, “ā
   fālānā, hōh wakāyī l-ahāffkōs fālān?”

   agāyg dōmah fālānā bār fālān.” w-āshāw dā-yāhāmān.

3. wā-yāsīyāw agāyg dā-hārūs, hē w-āshādhe, tāwōlī sērā’. māt nākam, yōmār
   agāyg dī-hārūs, “hōh hārāsk ḏā-fālānā, wā-hōm tawkwēt.” yōmār sērā’, “šūk
   shawd dī-hēt hārāsk?”

4. yōmār, “asḥādye, ālyōmēḥ hēm.” yōmār sērā’ h-āshāw, “tāshīd dā-hē hārūs
   bā-fālānā bār fālān? wā-sē awkwēlēt akfāyūs?”

5. yāmām, “nāshōd.” yōmār sērā’ h-āshāw, “wā-tāshīd dā-hē, akfāyūs,
   awkwēlī hōh, sērā’, fālān bār fālān, al-hāmlak agāyg dōmah fālānā?”
   yāmām asḥāw, “nāshōd.”

6. māt ber shēdām asḥāw, yahāmlīk sērā’ agāyg. wā-yāstōm āṣayātah, wā-
   yāsīyūr tāwōlī sēkān. wā-mān dār āṣayāft bā-hāllāy, yawūkāb agāyg al-tētah.
   wā-yāmām hāḥ ‘aāṣār ḏō-kābkēb’. tāmm awāṣf ḏō-hārsūt dā-tēt.

7. wā-mākānnāy hām Видео hārūs bā-kāygin, ḥāyōs yāsdūd yawākān sērā’
   yahāmlak agāyg ḏō-hārūs.

8. wālākan hām kāygin yātāmūt mān ḥāyōs, wā-sīs kāyūs, lēzām b-arštās.

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7 sērā’: The Roman manuscript has bā-sērā’, but this is likely a mistake. The
Arabic manuscript has just sērā’, and nowhere else in this text does the
verb awōkāl 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 girls 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: “thámi al-ṣẖárk?”
2. Patient 1: “b-ārayǝk!”
3. Doctor: “b-ārayǝk hēt!”
4. Patient 1: “xâyban, hámrat amâšǝr.”
6. Patient 1: “hâmak hâbû âmâwr atâyf dîwē.”
7. Doctor: “xâyban, âmrōna hǝ-tâyt mǝn ḥaynît tatyîf.”
8. Patient 1: “wâdak mayt l-âttâkkâh?”
10. Patient 2: “ṣâfk tâgoráb hôh âştâw̌t agâwfi. wâdak ḥêsàn l-âmöl hēh?”
12. Patient 3: “ḥǝbrǝ́y yaštâw̌t hâfâlaḥ. ḥêsàn l-âmöl hēh?”
13. Doctor: “mǝn mayt?”
15. Doctor: “âdah ǝ-yaźwɒg aw ber ârāšǝš tǝh?”
17. Doctor: “âd tâḵây danyît?”

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6 atâyf: tayf 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: “nahōm nəwəddáwd. tət yəká’ k-həbər, wə-ṭət yəkəd arhəbət ər arikəb. wə-ḥaynɪt təgrəʃən aṣɨq e’wə-hənbərawtən yaktánəməm l-arikəb. hām nūkə mən amxətər, tənəkən ə-ɡuyə. w-ətəm əntəkəyəl. məkənnəy hōh, wəkōnə k-həbər.”

2 B: “xəyən, hēt əkə’ k-həbər. wə-xəbəʃ həwədə dəməh, wə-ḥəddər bə-həbər mən tənən. wə-ḥəyəbətk ərəs thəm thāhkət.”

3 A: “yēye, təkələb lā!”

4 B: “wə-hēt əkə’ k-ḥārəwn. wə-ḥəddər mən kəwb! āməwr həqūm əl-sēkən dēh (s-)sərən yəllōh.”

5 C: “yēye.”

6 B: “wə-hōh kəfdənə arhəbət ər arikəb, w-ətəm həmbərawtən kətənəməm l-arikəb.”

āməwr həmbərawtən, “nahōm lā, ar wə-nkōnə tən bə-ḵəsmət.”

7 B: “nakōnə tıkəm bə-ḵəsmət.”

8 Boys: “yēye.”

9 B: “xəyən, hōh gəhɛ́mk.”

10 Wife: “ḥəddər mən tərkəb əl-ʿaylīg yəfūrəd, m-ād yəhānkəbək.”

11 B: “lawb, hōh ar rəbənə ləh!”

12 Wife: “axəyr hūk lā.”

13 B: “lā, ŋəm l-əhmərəh!” tōl rikəb l-a’išəg w-a’išəg rəʃ. wə-tōl fərūd bəh wə-hənkəbəh. tōl šəhkət máno tətəh.

āmərūt, “lawb həmərk!”

15 āmūr a’gəyə, “həzəbər həyni hīs nəkəbək. mətəl!”

16 āmərūt tēt, “kō hēt əʃək bəy?”

17 āmūr, “bər.”

18 āmərūt tēt, “xəyən, əkə’ həyni əl-hīs həyəbi ar bə-rəʃəwə!”

11 ’aylīg: Johnstone transcribed ‘eeliük, and ML (s.v. ‘lg) has ‘əlīg. 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 علیج in the Arabic manuscript.

14 a’išəg: Johnstone transcribed the two occurrences in this line as ‘eylīük and a’aylīük. I transcribe a’i- based on the definite forms of other words with initial ‘ay- (see § 2.1.3).

16 hīs nəkəbək: It is not clear whether this phrase goes with what precedes or what follows. That is, the line could be həzəbər həyni hīs nəkəbək. mətəl!”
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!”

‘you enjoyed my pain when I fell. Be like me!’ or həzbə́rš háyni. hīs nākbə́k, məṭā́lí! ‘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.
wa-sīrūt (t)šélél akərmāsse təwōlī hábbe. tōli ḥarṣyīs fakh də-yəbīt,
wa-sáddəm. wa-hē ḳəfūd arḥəbēt. te āṣər xáylaf, watxf mən arḥəbēt.
wa-təmmōt.
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 xǝṭǝrāt ɣayg sōfǝr bǝrk mǝrkēb, yǝḥōm yǝbtōsa ma rǝḥbēt ṭayt. te bǝrham b-aāmŋ, wiŋ lǝhǝm hazażyw, wǝ-ṭibǝr amǝrkēb. ǝmūr āqāyg, “l-ād ʃīnək hǝrbətye lā.”


3 ǝmūr, “te gádḥǝk ɦayk b-sǝgy̩ar b-ǝ́l bış ǝḥād lā. ráfak ašrǝn ʃa-ʃas ʃi riṭit dǝ-bīs mǝrāy. wǝ-x̩awk̩f k-ǝ́l ʃhāssǝk b-ǝ́l ʃlā ɖe ɡeḥaṃah naʃhōn. ɦāssǝk b-ɔ-hərk ɔ-h-yawm ʃədōt ฏyεntye. ɦom ɬ-əs̩es, wǝlākan ʃədərk lā.”

4 ǝmūr, “w-ǝhsus ʃi ʤ-ǝyrus ʤāyry, wǝlākan ǝl ǝkəwədər ǝl-hərək ʃərəhi lā. tōli ɦāssək ʃi ɔ-ʃaʃy̩ur ʒər ɡəwfi, wǝ-ʃərba’ te ʒər ərət.”

5 ǝmūr, “aṭtōli ɡalâkk ʃx̩ṭər. ʃīnək mən̩edaemon ʤ-əl ʃeʃər lā, wǝ-bǝrk ɦaydəh mən̩tabêt, w-ʒər ədəmatəh ʃhım.”

6 ǝmūr, “tōli ʃəɡyərərk. ɦis hına əs̩gərər, ʒafūd w-ʃʃəlüt. wǝ-ʃīnək ʃwəkəna məyet mən agənsah kəråb ləy, wǝlākan ʃʃəlüt.”

7 ǝmūr, “bɛ́ri məyət mən agəwɛ́w’ w-əd̩əwma, wǝlākan ʃīnək mərkəb hərsoh b-sǝgy̩ar ʤəkəməh mən ədərbət.” wǝ-ʃayūr tawēh, wǝ-ʃalləm tah. wǝ-ʈəmmōt.

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2 ǝmūr: In recounting this story, Ali inserted ǝmūr ‘he said’ multiple times in each line. For simplification, I have removed all but the first use of ǝmūr in lines 3 through 7. I have left them all in line 2 just to show how often he used them.

2 ǝshağōs: This is from ǝshağwūs (§ 7.2.7). We find the shift of Cwū > Cō also in some other verb types; cf. § 7.2.9.

2 tawēli: Though we find tawōli ʤ-aāṣǝr earlier in this line (both in the manuscripts and on the audio), the Arabic manuscript and audio clearly have tawēli ʤ-aāṣǝr the second time. The form tawēli is perhaps a diminutive.

3 ʤ-əl hē: It is not clear if this should be parsed ʤ-əl hē (with the independent pronoun hē) or ʤ-əl hah (with the 3ms suffixed form of the preposition h-).

5 shım: 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 shım. 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.
chapter 14

Text 104 (= Ḥ3): Ḥarsusi Tribal History

1 kǝwṯōna bǝ-kǝwṯēt ḍ-ǝl-harsīs mǝn azbōn hǝwǝlāy, fǝnōhǝn šǝrkǝh, hīs āds ǝl ǝnkōt lā. wǝ-xǝṭǝrāt dǝkǝmǝh ǝl ǝshǝm mōh lā.

2 wǝ-ḥǝmōhǝm rēḥǝk, masáyr šilat yüm aw riβa yüm ẓār rikēb, ar wǝ-ǝnkāyhǝm mawsē b-agǝddēt, yǝmōlom mǝns hǝnēdihǝm wǝ-yǝhákyǝm hāzihǝm w-ariqēbihǝm.

3 wǝ-ḥǝmōh rēḥǝk liḥam wiyǝn. xǝṭǝrāt dǝkǝmǝh, ḥābū šǝşhāhǝm wǝ-bǝ-xāyǝr, axāyǝr mǝn šǝrōmah. wǝ-ḥatórbǝm, hēm w-amanāsīr. wǝ-šǝwḡáyr liḥam ǝmanāsīr b-agǝddēt. wǝ-küsǝm agǝddēt xǝlāyyat.

4 wǝ-žǝgdǝm habēr, alhān kūsǝm mǝn bēr, rǝwēɡad ḥǝrsǝytaň wǝ-ɡǝnaybayót wǝ-ǝfrǝy’ét maxlātǝn.


6 wǝ-sǝyáwr ǝl-manāsīr mǝśḳáyṣ. wǝ-ḥappam bīhǝm. wǝ-šәhama bәddәm. wǝ-sertainment. wǝ-ḥāḥǝm ṭәhάm. w-amanāsīr ǝtәtәyt. w-amanāsīr әtәtәyt. w-amanāsīr әtәtәyt.


9 wǝ-lḥǝrıs rǝ́kβǝm. wǝ-šihǝm al-ʾafǝr sәtәyt. w-λ-ḥǝrıs әtәnит.


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1 al-ḥarsīs: Johnstone consistently transcribed harāsīs 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 harsīs, despite the fact that the printed text also has ḥarāsīs. The initial al- is the Arabic definite article. See also the comment to text 12a.

3 amanāsīr: Johnstone consistently transcribed manāṣīr, with glottalic š, but the Arabic manuscript always has the word with s. Sometimes (e.g., line 5) we also find al-manāsīr, with the Arabic definite article, in place of amanāsīr.

3 xǝlāyyat: In the Roman manuscripts, after xǝlāyyat we find the phrase al bīs ǝḥād 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 maşkāyṣ: The word maškāyṣ is given in ML (s.v. škṣ) as maškāṣ (with a non-glottalic k), but the Arabic manuscript has k, 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. 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.

3 They seized the camels, all the camels they could find, pregnant camels, Ḥarsusi, Janaybi, and ‘Ifari mixed together.

4 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.

5 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).

6 And the Ḥarasis mounted up. They had with them three ‘Ifaris and eight Ḥarasis.

7 They caught up with them at Qarun al-ʿAlamah in al-ʿAmayri. They caught up with one another at night. The Manasir had stopped for the night. They were twenty-five people.

8 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.”

9 And they were eleven men. And facing them were twenty-five men.

10 hadʿášǝr ġayg: The Arabic manuscript has hadʿášǝr ġayg (هداء عشر غيج; likewise in line 25), while one Roman manuscript has āšārīt wa-tāt ġayūg, and the other Roman manuscript has both phrases as variants (but with hadʿášǝr in place of hadʿášǝr). The published Ḥarsusi version has ḥadāšǝr ġayg.
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11 wa-mánam abáhlít ḏə-ṯəbráyn, “laḥ, laḥ, ábšǝri b-ǝl-ʿǝšā’, m-ǝd txalēsǝm ḏə-ᵗəṭádyǝkǝm.”
12 hīs bárham karáy, bǝrhōh, mánam tǝh b-ǝmǝẖtōm. ḏə-hǝrkǝt šǝbdátǝh mǝn ǝgáy, ǝ-
13 wǝ-xǝtərát dákǝmǝh səlēbhǝm aškﺎyøát. mǝnáḍkǝt sî lā. w-ǝbǝrkǝm lîhǝm, wǝ-wtawg Ø mǝnhêm øhān øwtawg.
14 wǝ-báykǝm mǝnhêm yǝbáyt bǝrk hōtał, yǝbáyt mǝn amanāsır, wǝ-rgböt bāram fǝlit mǝnhêm.
15 wǝ-bagdihǝm bǝrhōh, w-øhāk tÛt mǝnhêm wǝ-wtawg. wǝ-saňáyt bārem.
16 hīs radd bǝrhōh, kūsa øl-ʾafur wǝ-l-ḥarsis ɺ-ø-þakátrǝm hǝl hōtał. w-ø øhád šenüs øaünk hōtał lā wǝ-yəhēftkǝm tıhøm.
17 āmûr bǝrhōh, “hɛ̄šøn šikam?” āmáwr, “šin yǝbáyt manāsır ɺ-ø-xášǝm bǝrk hōtał dǝmømah, w-ø øhád kədur øakrabhǝm lā.”
18 hftük adašdástah bǝrhōh, w-ø ḥabkoh ør awzǝrøh.
19 wǝ-hawkûb ḥádǝthe bǝrk bǝ Españ, wǝ-sføh bǝrk hōtał. wǝ-rdøh bo-ønaføh bǝrk hōtał wǝ-wkúb. wǝ-mat sawnøt, øawøkø qa tÛt mǝn al-ønǝsır. wǝ-wkúb wǝ-müna tÛt bo-øuydøh, wǝ-yøarøy boh. yømø øiømø, “aʾisekǝm!”
20 wǝ-køl ðø-ftük mǝn hōtał, wǝ-łøtøm tøh. øwtawg yǝbáyt ḥǝlakǝmǝh.
21 wǝ-wtawg mǝnhêm øsrayn wǝ-øtøt, wǝ-báykǝm mǝnhêm øtøyøt øø-øyøw, wǝ-øø-øføløt øm-bøwømah te nǝkøm akøhøm.
22 wǝ-his nǝkøm akøhøm, øawøkø. wǝ-wøtkøøøm, wǝ-øuøss øø-ø-øbhøh bǝrk ḥøydøntiøm, abǝhlít øø-øbrøyn, “laḥ, laḥ, ábšøri b-øø-øšø!”

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11 laḥ, laḥ: The Arabic manuscript has here one word حلحلا, and in line 22 it is spelled حلحلا. However, the audio of the Ḥarsusi version has laḥ, pronounced clearly as two words. Miranda Morris (p.c.) has recorded the verbal root lḥlḥ in Jibbali and Hobyot, meaning ‘(snake) to flicker its tongue’.

11 ábšøri: Stroomer’s edition has ḥabšøri, but there is no h- in any of the manuscripts. In fact, this is just an Arabic imperative form, just as b-øøø-øšø 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 ṭbrøyn 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”.

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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 Harasis 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 *wa-yərāyd*: In the Arabic manuscript, before *wa-yərāyd*, there is another word, the reading of which is uncertain. The word is spelled وَهُنَفَوْه, or perhaps وَهُنَفُوه. It was omitted in the Roman manuscript, and there is no equivalent in the published version of the parallel Ḥarsusi story.

21 *am-bāwmǝh*: The Roman manuscripts have the synonymous phrase *man bāwmǝh*, but the Arabic manuscript has *مَبْوَمَه*, which almost surely was intended to be read *am-bāwmǝh*. The Arabic manuscript of text 53a has *am-bāwmǝh* spelled the same way.
23 wa-šəwkīf wa-ʾāssām səbēb ašāw tə-bərhōh ədəh bərk ḥayḍántihəm yastādḥan bəh. ber atyiṣ bihəm.
24 wa-l-ḥarsīs rəddəm ba-habērihəm wa-həbēr ə-d-əmanāsir, arīkōb ə-d-əqəzīw əqyrəsn, wa-ḥasələbihəm, ə-wəbər ə-d-əbərkəsən. w-ašrəyn wa-šətáy tənəsir ə-əwətəçəm ələkəməh.
25 əl-ḥarsīs rəddəm, wa-šəhəm šətáy ə-l-əfər wa-ṭəmənit mən əl-ḥarsis, kələk hədəšər əgayg. w-əl əhəd mənəhəm əwətəg lə.
26 wa-rəddəm h-aḵəhəm, wa-səəməm həm w-amələhəm. wa-kəl ə-wiда bihəm ərəb ə-bət əkwətət kəməh. agənətət wədəm bəs, w-ə-d-ərəwəq wədəm bəs, w-ə-l-wəhəyəba wədəm bəs, əkwətət kəməh mən sət.
27 wə-xətərət dokəməh əl-ḥarsis əxəyt, ərbəʿəyn əgayg kələkəm. wələkən ərbəʿəyn əgayg axəyr mən əmyətər ətəyəməh.
28 šərəməh əbərəm məkən, wələkən al yənəfəm mən əl sə lə. hərb l-əd wəkə əkə lə am-mənəwihəm w-am-ənəm akəbəyəl. šərəməh hīs əl wəkə ərəb əkə lə ... əhətərəb əm ə-d-ərəwəq′.
29 ələtərəbəm əhətərəm ənənəy, wə-gərəm amələwətəq am-mənəwihəm. əl-ḥarsis, əwətəçəm mənəhəm əmənit. w-əwətəwəqəm əd-ərəwəq′. wə-l-ḥarsis əwətəwəq əsətəy mən əd-ərəwəq′.

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23 yastādḥan: 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 sdḥ, ṣdḥ, or even something else. (In one or two other places, Ali did write s for ʃ or h for h; 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 əstəwəd′ ‘be disgraced’ (see the comment to text 99:46). In one Roman manuscript, Johnstone added the gloss ‘imagining it’.

23 atyiṣ: This must be a D/L-Stem 3ms perfect from the root tyš. Cf. Arabic G ṭəša ‘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 hədəšər əgayg: As in line 10, the Roman manuscripts have the initial consonant transcribed as h-. In one, Johnstone added in parentheses “or ḡəyūq”; in the other, əgayg was crossed out and ḡəyūq 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 am-mənwīhəm w-am-mə́n: The presence of the initial am- before mənwī-həm is assumed, but there is no direct evidence. There is no evidence from the Arabic manuscript for either prefixed am-, but then none is expected. In one Roman manuscript, Johnstone did transcribe w-am-mən (the other has u mən).

29 am-mənwīhəm: The Roman manuscripts have mən mənwīhəm, which is surely an error. There is no evidence for mən in the Arabic manuscript. As for the prefixed am-, see the previous comment.

29 sayt: It is likely that the spelling سايت in the Arabic manuscript was intended to be read sayt or sə’ayt. Johnstone’s Roman manuscripts have sā’ayt. It is true that Ali’s pronunciation of sə’ayt (heard in other recordings) sounded more like sā’ayt (with no ’ or ‘).
30  wə-hātərbəm hēm wə-bə́yli ʿābri, w-əwtāwğ man al-ḥarsīs yətīt.
awtāwğhəm bə́yli ʿābri wə-l-ḥarsīs əwtāwğ mənhēm yəbāyt. yəmərm
hābū wə-kāl əhād ḫa-ˈgarbīhəm.
31  wə-bādīs, səddəm. wə-səddəm b-aṣálh də-ḥākəm də-səltən, wə-wākəm
asδəkā.
32  yəmərm man aξbōn hāwələy, al-ḥarsīs, wə-ʃəwğəyr lihəm amhərēh,
bə́yli aqβel. ʃərəm ar ʃəbōyəq, wə-kāl tət bə-ḥəyədəh ʃkay, wə-wtāwğ.
wə-kūsəm ḥarsəytən šišən rəwn. w-ətəwğ bə-ḥārəwn wə-kāləm ḫaynūt.
wə-ḥārəwn, kərəwssən.
33  yəmərm əɔzən ḡələy, al-ḥarsīs, wə-ʃəwğəyr lihəm amhərēh,
bə́yli aqβel. wə-wtāwğ man amhərēh sətəyət, wə-ʃfələt kərməyəm.
34  wələkən dəkəməh awəktən ɣayr, wə-ʃərəməh ɣayr.
35  ṣərəməh wākəm hābū səhəm șəlēh, manəzkət. wə-ʃiθəm ɡənəbı, wə-siθəm
kəl ʃiyan. wə-șəlēb axəyr man əɾibēh. hābū ʃəkwəyəm. w-əkəbəyəl kəl
siθəm ʃanəhən əɾ ʃkəyyət wə-ɡənəbı.
36  wə-fənəhən al-ḥarsīs əɾəbədyn ɣayg, wə-kəl ʃəbəyli yəḥhərbən təh w-əl
kədəwər ɭə.
37  wə-ʃərəməh əkəbəyəl kəl yəʃəmən əkəkwəmət, w-əl əhəd yəkəwdər yələhəm
əhəd ɭə.
38  kəl əhəd yəhətəm həl xəʃəməh, tə əl-ɭə-əwtəwğ həyəbəh wə-ḥəbrəh.
yəhətəm ʃaxərı. əl əhəd yəkəwdər yəḥhərkəh ɭə.
39  ʃəkwəyəm: As a III-w/y verb, we expect a 3mp perfect ʃəkwəw. The mani-
scripts have ʃəkwəyəm, but one Roman manuscript has ʃəkwəw indicated
as a variant in the margin above. (The other Roman manuscript is missing
this line.).
40  ʃəbəyli: This word is absent from ML, though HL (s.v. kbl) has gəbəyli
‘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 Śḥayr (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 sayárk h-amāṯār anhōr ḅā-l-ḥād, wā-šay ᵃḏāyki. wā-šāryāhk, wālāka šīn ḥābūr. wā-sayūra tā waṣālān mākōn ṭāṭ.

2 kafādk mānḥēm. baγ wawelēw. wā-hēm gārīw hāyini, wā-šawēdak tihām mākōn ṭāṭ.

3 wā-sayárk wā-tāfk amkōn ḅā-šawēdām tī bāh, wā-kāsk tihām ḅā-šawīlī. ḅā-sebām tī.

4 wā-ftūkān mēn amkōn, wā-rākhān bārk māwtār. wā-tammaṭōt.

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1 maṭār: This is Arabic maṭār ‘airport’.
2 gawelēw: This is probably the diminutive of gōlw ‘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 xǝṭarāt hōh w-agāy akáfyǝn mǝn anāgd, mǝn hāl hǝbēr, ǝnhōm ašhāyr. wǝ-nākan adǝkkōn b-anāgd. dǝkkōn də-yǝstōm ᱳ̂ış̂ə.

2 wǝ-šátman tōmǝr w-ayś w-skēr. wǝ-gǝhēmǝn te wāsalar ... te kalāyni bōran bə-ḥwōdi, hōh kātak w-l-ād wōsəłk lā, w-āmärk hah, “ǝnhōm aḥsəxawwəl.”


4 ǝttē kalāyni kərbət həyəwəm, akáfyǝn ɡələkən hərəwən te əgūzən. kūsən əhəd lə. əmūr háyni aqāy, “j̄ədəwən. ǝnhəmən. ənhəmən lə. kələhm.”

5 wəkūbən bərk ḥəwədi te əh-ḥāk. hət̄omən. ǝttē k-əbəh ɡəhəmən, wə-rəfən aşıhəyr, wə-kūsən ḥəzyən. wə-μjəro rəqəy yokula al-ḥəbû, əmūr, “ḥbû əd-šənəm təhm yalliləh həm kəyəy. wə-yəssək əq̄āy m-əd yəsəs, w-l-əd kələtk ləh lə.”

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5 wə-kūsən: The audio is very difficult here, and I found no written version of this story. What we hear is wə-kuən aqān ḥəzyən. 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 kèsən ērunən ‘we found our goats’. The Mehri version has what sounds like aqān ‘our brother’, between kūsən ‘we found’ and ḥəzyən ‘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.”
APPENDIX A

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.¹ 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 _CUDA- (§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 tēṯ 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.

¹ 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-kâ-n, hâm tât môt yənáyśa-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-yəlháykâ-h bū mēkân, ɡəyūɡ wə-yənît.
conj-follow.IMPF.3MP-3MS.OBJ people many men conj-women and many people, men and women.

(2) wə-hə-yənî təbâkyan wə-tənâ’yan tə-h.
conj-def-women cry.IMPF.3FP conj-mourn.IMPF.3FP DO-3MS
And the women cry and mourn him.

wə-mət bə kəbâwr, yəsháyt bər wəlē
conj-when already bury.PERF.3MP kill.IMPF.3MP camels or And after they bury (him), they slaughter camels or

rawn, wəlē bəkār yənhāyər l-əh.
goats or cows sacrifice.IMPF.3MP for-3MS.OBJ goats, or else they sacrifice cows for him.

(3) wə-hə-yənî təwâkən dər a-kəbər, 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,

hə-yəwəm, yəshgiš hə-bū kūl əhād al-səkən-əh.
def-sun go.IMPF.3MP def-people every someone to-settlement-3MS.POSS the people go home, everyone to his (own) settlement.

wə-man tawr əhād yəhātəm dər a-kəbər,
conj-from time someone spend.night.IMPF.3MS over def-grave And sometimes someone spends the night by the grave,

həmə-h wəlē a-gət-əh wəlē a-gə-h.
mother-3MS.POSS or def-sister-3MS.POSS or def-sister-3MS.POSS his mother or his sister or his brother.
Once I was walking, heading towards my settlement.

Then in the evening I came to the shelter, but I didn't find anyone.

The people had moved into the valley.

And I found the people's tracks, and I followed their tracks down into the valley.

And in that valley was a graveyard. And it so happened that a man had died, and they had buried him.
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.

And it so happened that a woman was spending the night by the grave

Then I saw her move, and I cocked my rifle. And I went near the grave. My path came by the grave.

Then I didn't see anything move. It turns out
woman when see.PERF.3FS-1CS.OBJ faint.PERF.3FS from def-fear the woman, when she saw me, she fainted from fear.

(12) atlī te nākak ḥāl a-ḵōbār wa-ḵāsk tēṯ
then when come.PERF.1CS by def-grave conj-find.PERF.1CS woman
Then I came to the grave and I found the woman

dā-ḡibūt.  ḥūḡas  ḡabrē tətyīnən  h-āynī.
circ-faint.PERF.3FS think.IMPF.1CS demon trick.IMPF.3FS prep-1CS.OBJ
passed out. I thought (she was) a demon (possessing a human body) playing a trick on me.

(13) bēr-i ḥōm lawbād-s. tōli ḡalāḵak
already-1CS want.IMPF.1CS shoot.subj.1CS-3FS.OBJ then look.PERF.1CS
I was about to shoot her. Then I looked

tawōli a-ḵōbār, wa-šīnak tə-h yadin. ḡankárk
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

dā-hē ḥād dā-mōt a-nhōr dāḵmēməh.
rel-he someone circ-die.PERF.3MS def-day dem.remote.fs
that someone had died that day.

(14) atlī hāšāšk  at-tēṯ  w-āmārk,  “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

məswmēt, ḥōh  ḡayg  məståym.  w-āšēšī!”
Muslim.fs I man Muslim.ms conj-get.up.IMPV.fs
are a Muslim, I am a Muslim man. Get up!”

(15) tōli  āssūt.  wa-nākak  tī-s  wa-ḵərābāk
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-yəşāy təm  tākā’  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
a demon, and that she had taken the form of that woman for me.

dōkamāh.

DEM.REMOTE.FS

(16) əttōli əmārk  h-īs,  “ṣarōmāh əl  əḥād
then say.PERF.1CS to-3FS.OBJ now NEG someone
Then I said to her, “Now no one

yōḥātūm    bāməh  læ.  wā-ʃədewwən  təwōli
spend.night.IMPF.3MS here NEG CONJ-CHR.T.1CP to
spends the night here. Let’s go to

sēkən-i.  wə-kəbəh  tərəydi  hām  thāymi.”
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  ʃ-ay,  wələkən  hōh  də-yāʃək
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-əmārk  h-īs,  “ʃyəri  fənw-āy!”
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  səyər  mən  sər-īs.  wə-ʃ-xābtək
CONJ-I go.PERF.1CS from behind-3FS.OBJ CONJ-CIRC-cock.PERF.1CS
And I went behind her. And I had cocked

a-məndāwk-i.
def-rifle-1CS.Poss
my rifle.

(18)  bərk  a-ʃāb-i,  “hām  ṣərōt  wəlē  raddūt
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, lawbâd-s."

to-1CS.OBJ shoot.subj.1CS-3FS.OBJ
to me, I'll [or: I should] shoot her."

(19) w-âmârk h-îs, "hâm hêt mawsâmêt, haddâyri
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

mân (t)šârî. hôh ḍâ-yâssâk mân-š, wâ-hâm
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

ṣarâš, awbâtâna ti-š."
stand.PERF.2FS shoot.fut.ms DO-2FS
you stop, I'll shoot you."

(20) ʾottâli l-âd šârôt lâ. wâ-sayûran te wâsûlan
then NEG stand.PERF.3FS NEG CONJ-go.PERF.ICP until arrive.PERF.ICP
Then she didn't stop at all. And she went until we got to

sékân-i. wâ-hâtôman.
settlement-1CS.POSS CONJ-spend.night.PERF.ICP
my settlement. And we spent the night.

(21) te ksôbah sê raddût tawôli a-kôbâr, wâ-hôh
then in.morning she return.PERF.3FS to DEF-grave CONJ-I
Then in the morning she went back to the grave, and I

bâykâk hâl sêkân-i. wâ-tômît.
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) xâtarât bû nêwâsâ ḍâ-yâghêm yahêm
once PN PROG-go.IMPF.3MS want.IMPF.3MS
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)

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.

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) śxǝwlūl bā nǝwās te hā-bū šǝwgīš.
sit.perf.3ms PN until def-people go.in.evening.perf.3mp
He stayed until the people left.

nakūš al-āgawz wa-kəl-āys bǝrk
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-ṣbāgt-ah. wə-sall-īs wə-ǧəhêm
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-rḥābēt.
want.impf.3ms to-def-town
heading for the town.

(5) wə-sayūr atté wîsəl kərāyb l-a-rḥābēt.
conj-go.perf.3ms until arrive.perf.3ms near to-def-town
And he went until he got close to the town.

kāwla āgawz, 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-ṣbāgt-ah, wə-nūk a-rḥābēt.
in-def-robe-3ms.poss conj-come.perf.3ms def-town
with his robe, and he went into the town.

(6) tōli śini bū mēkan də-yawākbəm bayt
then see.perf.3ms people many circ-enter.impf.3mp house
Then he saw many people going into a house

də-tōgər. tōli śxəbūr ġayg, 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 alyēk, də-yawākbəm bǝrk
def-people dem.remote.cp rel-enter.impf.3mp in
those people going into
a-báyt  َداَيَك؟
def-house  DEM.REMOTE.FS
that house?

(7) ŏmūr,  “ḥǝ-brē َðَا-tُؤْرِ َماَرَِّش، َوَا-ُحَا-ُب”
say.PERF.3MS  def-son  GEN-rich.MS  sick.MS  CONJ-def-people
The man, “The rich man’s son is sick, and people

ðَا-ُؤْتُاَذِف  َل-َأَ َوَا-ُحَا-ُب-َه
PROG-visit.IMPF.3MP  prep-3MS.obj  CONJ-parents-3MS.POSS
are visiting him. And his parents

ðَا-ُؤْشَخُبُر،  َٰٓحَا َحَا-ُد ْيَأَؤُرِ بَث ُسَ،
PROG-ask.IMPF.3MP  if  someone  know.IMPF.3MS  something
are asking, ‘If anyone knows anything,

yadáwy-ابِ:”  ŏmūr  bَا َنُؤْوَس،  “َحُحُ َسِ-ْأَي
treat.SUBJ.3MS-3MS.OBJ  say.PERF.3MS  PN  I  with-1CS.OBJ
he should treat him.” Ba Newas said, “I have

ْحَامُوُ-ْي  َأَغَاْز َوَا-ُتُؤُرِ بَث َكَِل َمَاَرَِّش,”
mother-1CS.POSS  old.fs  CONJ-know.IMPF.3FS  every illness
an old mother, and she knows about every illness.”

(8) ŏmūr  أ-ْجَأَيَغ،  “ْجَدُسْوَن، َمَاَهِشَن ْتِ-ْك
say.PERF.3MS  def-man  CHRT.1CP  show.FUT.MS  DO-2MS
The man said, “Let’s go, I’ll show you

ْحَايُب  َأ-ُؤْجُوُن  أ-ُمَاَرَّيِش. َوَا-ُحَا-ُب ْتُؤُرِ بَث ْوَاَزُيْمَا
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

tِ-ْك  َأَلُحَان ُتُوحُم.”  َأَتُتُلِ ْسُرُوُح  أَتَتِ
DO-2MS  REL  want.IMPF.2MS  then  go.PERF.3MD  until
you whatever you want.” Then they went until

ْأَنْكُوُح  َحَايُب َأ-ُؤْجُوُن  أ-ُمَاَرَّيِش.
arrive.PERF.3MD  by  father  GEN-def-boy  DEF-sick.MS
they got to the father of the sick boy.
The man who came with Ba Newas said,

"a-ġáyg dōmǝh s-ǝh hāmǝ́-h āgawz,
def-man DEM.NEAR.MS with-3MS.OBJ mother-3MS.POSS old.FS

This man has an old mother,

wa-taġōrǝb kāl mǝrēš. āmūr tōgǝr,
CONJ-know.IMPF.3FS every illness say.PERF.3MS rich.MS
and she knows about every illness." The rich man said,

"hō sē?" āmūr bā ǝnwās, "kálak tī-s
where she say.PERF.3MS PN leave.PERF.1CS DO-3FS

"Where is she?" Ba Newas said, "I left her

sār a-byūt ǝlyēk ǝ-do-šǝwkfūt. wa-hām
behind def-houses DEM.REMOTE.CP CIRC-sleep.PERF.3FS CONJ-if
behind those houses sleeping. If

tháyms-s, hāxǝb gūr-i trōh yǝnkēm
want.IMPF.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."

Then he sent two slaves to bring her.

The slaves went. When they came to the old woman,

hāsīš-sa-tōli l-ād āssūt lā. rāddōh
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 ḥā-bū. āmáwr, “āgāwz āssūt 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 nawās, ḍak tkūn taqtūri

say.perf.3ms pn just be.impf.3fs talk.impf.3fs

Ba Newas said, “It's just that she is conversing

k-a-gənnāwn-se, wa-hām taqtūri k-a-gənnāwn-se,

with-def-jinns-3fs.poss conj-if talk.impf.3fs with-def-jinns-3fs.poss

with her jinns, and if she is conversing with her jinns,

tāsiš lā, ar wa- səbtāt ba-xətrāk

get.up.impf.3fs neg unless hit.perf.pass.3fs with-stick

she won't wake up unless she is hit with a stick

təwri trōh, wa-syɛrm wa-səbētɔm tĩ-s

time-d two.m conj-go.impv.mp conj-hit.impv.mp do-3fs.obj

two times. Go, hit her

Then when they reached her, they hit her twice.

Then she broke in half.
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!”

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 as compensation (blood-payment) slaves for my mother!”
While they were like this, the people got (them) to agree

that he would get [lit. for him (was)] thirty thousand (dollars) and five

And he went back to his family

And (the story of) Ba Newas's crime is finished.
Appendix B

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 towoli 'to' spelled both توني توني توالي توالي, the former of which is identical with the spelling of tōli 'then'. We also find ناك ناك ناك ناك ناك and جيو جيو جيو جيو جيو for ḥābū, 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 š and ęż are transcribed by Ali with the Arabic letter ش š (often with the diacritic upside down, i.e., “in place of ”). For š, some other speakers use the Arabic letter ث ţ. Ali sometimes mixed up the consonants ğ and ḵ in spelling (e.g., قبوت for gibūt 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 قبوت for gibūt (cf. the more correct spelling قبوت in 54:11); in 65:3 he wrote انکیس for l-ǝnkēs, instead of انکیس; and in 65:12, he wrote ḥ̣ābū for ḥābū, instead of عموار. 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 توني توني for ال tōli. In 54:16, for al ǝḥād, Ali first wrote ال, but crossed out the second stroke and then wrote داحل, a spelling found in other texts. In text 54:20, he mistakenly wrote سيروتا (sirōna), though he clearly intended سيروتا (sirōna) to امئر (sǝyūrǝn) (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-

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1 Note also that the audio clearly has l-ǝnkēs, though the spelling suggests al-𝑛کەس.
2 This word could also be spelled امئر, a spelling which is also used for 3ms āmūr. Cf. سيروتا for سیروتا 'they went' in text 65:3.
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

١. يقان هام طاق وموت تأيشه ويلحقه بريق غويج وعينه
٢. وحاينث بتكن وتعينه وهم بات قبور يحصاه بار ولا يقايره لاه
٣. وحاينث تاوقن ضار اقوى وموت جزوت حيوم يشيش حي كلا احاد لسكه ومنتور احاد يتهوم ضار
٤. اقوى جه ولا غته ولا اقعه
٥. حيوب بار شرك حودي وحشيشك
٦. وكسب اشعون ذحو وتابك بشتون ذحو رك حودي ومصاء
٧. وبرك حودي ذمه مقيرت وشف انهر ذكه ذموت غلير وذفوته
٨. وسبرك وبار جزوت حيوم تا نكت هل امقيرت وهو ادصلك يبرم جوا اقوي يكون هل امقيرت
٩. وشف بيت ذهانو ضار اقوى ذغس تولي شينك حريتو ضار اقوى ولكن الهوحفس سفت
١٠. تولي شينك تيس حتركوت تولي خبطاك امندوقي وسريك قريب لقور حرم نوكا هل اقوى
١١. تولي ناك هل اقوى وكسب بيت ذقوته الهوحفس غيرا تختين هيني
١١. باري حوم الودس تولي فلفك تولي اقوي وشينك تاه بدين هنكر ذه احاد ذموت انهر ذكه
١١. تولي هشفيسك تيت وامرك هام هيت مسوميت هو غاج مسلم واشيحي
١٢. تولي اموتو ونناك تيس وعرتك تيس ولكن ادي باي اكيت متنا ار غرا وذفنيوت هاني هيس
١٣. تيت ذكه
١٤. تولي امرك هيس صرومه لخاد هانوتم بامو لا وغودن تولا سكني وكسينج تمديدي هام تحيمي
١٥. تولي سروت شاي ولكن هو ذيصك منس وامرك هيس سيري نوي وهو سيرك من سررد وذفنيوت
١٦. امندوقي
١٧. برك اقابي هام صروت ولا ردوت لي لا ويدس
١٨. وامرك هيس هام هيت مسوميت حذيري من صاري هو ذيصك منش وهام صرخ وبدوا تيش
١٩. تولي لاد صروت لا وسيرونا تا وصان سكني وهايهم
٢٠. تا كسينج سي ردوت تولا اقوى وهو باتك هل سكني وتورت
Appendix B

Text 65 (= J18, with Slight Variations) in Arabic Letters: Ba Newas and the Old Lady

1. خطرت بواس ذيجهوم يحوم يتنفيذ ارحبيت وقاولا اضانه من غار قوت وسه شيلا لاجر ذيهموم

مصروف هضانه

2. تا ويش بوار مقريرت كوسا حبو ذنيقيم اجوز تمفلول ذيتكين الإودا هاشن من مهريت يولي لا

3. ولشه شيلا هام قفود ارحبيت توالي افكور بفيكر قوقح امور حوم متي حبو شوجيش النكيس لا جوز ذماتوت

4. تمفلول بواس ا حبو شوجيش نكوس لا جوز وقلايس برك اصغتها وشلخس وجهم يحوم هريبيت

5. وسيورنا ويش قرب ارليت قولا اجوز وقفوه ليس باصغته ونوكا ارحبيت

6. تولي شليما بو مايكن ذيوكم ينت ذوتجور توالي تمفور غاجهم امور كومه حوا ليل ذيوكم برك ابيت ذلك

7. امور حيرا ذوتج مريض وحو ذيقيطه لاه وحبا ذيشخبير هام احاد يغورب شي يدويه امور بواس هوه

8. امور ذعاج غدون ميتشين تيك حيب ذغيحين امره وحبا تجريت وزيميا تيك الهان تجوم توالي سيروه تا

نكوه هل حيب ذغيحين امره

9. امور ذعاج ذنوكا كابواس اغاجهم حموه همه اجوز وتغور בל امر مريض امور توجي حوسه امور بواس

قال تيس سار يبوت ليل ذشوكتو وهاهام تامارت مصص جوريروه يكالم بيس

10. تولي خصوص جور يكيس تيوتو تا ذنوكا سيروه ضيروه تا نكم هل اجوز هشيرش توالي لاد أشوع لا

ردو توالي حبا امور اجوز اشوع لا

11. امور بواس ذاك تك دوشت معدل كا جنونيس وهاهام تغورلي كا جنونيس تنوش لا ار وسفبات بختراقي

طاريروه وسبرم وسبيستم تيس طاريريوه ولكن حضر من توافت امحي

12. امور جهنم ياه وسبرم طارر امشيرتا تا نكم هسبيستيس طاريريوه توالي ففتوحت فلاقفي

13. ردو جهنم ذبيكم امور بواس هاشن جروه ات تقام التفكم ححي امور اجوز مبوت بكوه بواس امور يا

حيح يا حيح

14. تولي امور توجي ذهنمو شي مقدر وشه قرشبا تيك بجكيم وزيميا تيك صيرون دلتيتم تيس امور جوهما المشيغش

حيح جروه لا

15. ادهم لوطاكه سيدي حبو هينواس شليين الاف وحمولت ذخيمه واركيه قوت وسبرم توالي اضانه ره

توجه وتموت اجريت ذبواوس
لا يوجد نص يمكن قراءته بشكل طبيعي من الصورة المقدمة. يمكن أن تكون الصورة مصفوفة أو صورة افتراضية.

Manuscript of Text 65, p. 2, written by Ali Musallam

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Roman-letter Manuscript of Text 65, p. 1, transcribed by T.M. Johnstone
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Appendix C

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 ˙ 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.

ʾmm:
ḥām ‘mother’: No form ḥām is attested, only ḥāmē.

ʾwl:
ḥāwîl: The meaning is ‘first part’ (see §9.3, n. 12).
ḥāwəlây: Add the meanings ‘first’, ‘former’, and ‘previous’. The correct feminine singular form is ḥāwəlīt. See §9.3.

ʿbl:
ōbəl (D/L): Add the meaning ‘try, attempt’ (76:5).

ʿdm:
ādūm (Ga) ‘execute’ (22:32).

ʿlk:
ālēk (G passive?) ‘be hung’ (42:43).

ʾlm:
āyəlm (Gb) ‘know, learn’ (23:15).
ʿlv:
ālēw: The definition ‘at the top’ is incorrect. This is an adjective ‘upper’ (42:28). Cf. Jibbali ʿalē (JLO, pp. 401, 656). The opposite is ṣwxāyw ‘lower’ (root Ṽy).

ʿmḳ:
āmūḳ (Ga) ‘pasture in the valley’ (3:8).

ʿmr:
āmōr (Ga): The correct transcription is āmūr. Add the meaning ‘recite or sing (a poem)’ (52:1, 84:2).

ʿn(t):
ānēt: The correct transcription is ānīt, and it refers to a small water-skin. See further in the comment to text 84:5.

ʿrṣ:
ārṣāt: Add the meaning ‘hut’ (94:30).

ʿśy:
ʾāshi (D/L): The correct 3ms perfect is probably ʾōsi. See § 6.5.4, n. 64.

ʿtm:
mātáym ‘spending the night’, found in the phrase hībōh amātáymǝk ‘how was your night?’ (85:27).

ʿṭl:
ōṭǝl (D/L) ‘delay’ (91:26).

ʿwð:
ʿ-t-wð: This is referring to a T2-Stem ātewūd ‘take refuge’, which has a mp imperative ātwīd (70:2).

bnv:
ḥa-bōn ‘sons’: This entry suggests that there is an indefinite bōn, and the entry ḥa-būn (s.v. brw) suggests that there is an indefinite būn. In fact, the form ḥabūn is attested in the texts as both definite and indefinite (7:3).

brḵ:
bark ‘lightning’ (41:8).
**brk**: 
*abárka* (Q): The 3ms imperfect is *yabárka*, not *yabróka* (3:7). 
*bara* (pl. *bara* 'veil' (< Arabic *burqa* or *birqa*')) (42:31, 33).

**brw**: 
*barō* (Ga) 'bear, give birth': The form *barō* does not exist. Instead, there is a Gb-Stem *bīru*, 3fs *bārwīt* (7:4; 24:4). See also the comment to text 85:31. 
See also s.v. *bnv*.

**bz**: 
*basha* 'goods, merchandise' (< Arabic *bidā*') (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 *dīwīt* (24:51).

**dyn**: 
*dāyyān* 'religious' (< Arabic *dayyin*) (74:2).

**dr**: 
*dūra* (Ga) 'measure' (< Arabic *dāra*') (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. 
*dār* 'forearm': The attested forms are *dēra*, pl. *dērē* (cf. Arabic pl. *dira*'), and the meaning can also be 'cubit' (66:3–7).

**fk**: 
*fēkōr* 'thought, idea' (65:3).

**fk**: 
*fākūr*: The fs form should correctly be *fākūrat*. See §5.2, n. 3.

**frk**: 
*aftorāk* (T2): This verb can also be used in the singular (98:1).
**fšl:**
sōšal (D/L): The root is alphabetized in ML as fšl, but is misprinted as fśl (separate from the root fśl earlier on the same page). The form sōšal is a misprint for (f)fōšal (< Arabic faššala), and the meaning ‘embarrass’ should be added (76:18).

**gdd:**
gəddēt ‘waterless, treeless desert’ (76:2).

**gdl:**
See gwdl.

**gn’:**
hagné (H) ‘warm’: It is doubtful that this form exists. The correct H-Stem 3ms perfect is hagnóh, 3ms subjunctive yahīgən (root gnw/gny, perhaps < earlier gn’) (84:4).

**gnb:**
ḥa-gānbət: The one attestation in the texts is aγénbət, with the definite article a- rather than ḥa- (104:26). We also find in the texts the fp adjective gənaybəyōt (104:4), presumably from a ms gənāybi.

**gŞŞ:**
This seems to be a non-existent root. See the comment to text 24:37.

**gwdl:**
gōdēl ‘stick’: The correct transcription is gəwdīl (36:8; 76:9).

**gwy:**
gəwō ‘rainless, clear weather’ (98:2).

**gz’:**
gəzē ‘reward, payback’ (22:101; 73:11); used also in the phrase gəzēk xayr ‘thank you!’ (pl. gəzēkəm xayr) (20:63; 28:20; 39:14).

**gzy:**
həgzō (H): The correct 3ms forms are perfect həgzōh, imperfect yahəgəyz or yahəgəza, subjunctive yahīgəz, conditional yahəgzən. The variant imperfect yahəgəza is the only one attested in the texts (83:7).

**ġłk:**
šāglək (Š2) ‘buy s.t. expensive’: It is highly doubtful that this verb exists. See the comment to text 39:3.
**ġlm:**
*ġolēm* 'male camel in rut' (28:21).

**ġsrw:**
*ağsǝrō* (Q) 'chat at night, chat all night': The correct forms are 3ms perfect *ağasrōh* and 3ms subjunctive *yağāsru* (48:29; 85:14).

**ġśb:**
*gāsǝb* 'forcible seizure' (< Arabic *ġasb*) (70:5).

**ġtw:**
*gátu* 'implication'? (82:4).

**ġyg:**
*gīg* 'birthing' (30:11).

**hgs:**
*šhēgǝs* (Š2) 'think' (22:32).

**hrm:**
*hərmáyt/hərōm*: The plural form *hərōm* is often used as a singular 'tree'. See further in § 4.3, n. 11.

**ḥgw:**
*mǝḥgē* 'family property, household' (90:15).

**ḥḳf:**
*hǝḳf* 'horizontal brand-mark' (28:8).

**ḥfl:**
*hafolit* 'ripe (wild) fig': The plural is *ḥful* (24:14; 25:2), and the singular is correctly *ḥfolit*.

**ḥgl:**
*hagáwlǝt*: Add the meaning 'anklet'. See the comment to text 97:27.

**ḥkk:**
*hākǝb* 'cow-rearing community': The correct form is *ḥökǝb* (pl. *hkūb*), and it should be listed under the root *ḥkb*. A better definition is 'camp of cow-herders' (35:2).
ḥkm:
ḥakūm (Ga): The 3ms perfect is properly ḥkūm. Add the meaning ḥkūm l- ‘force s.o.’ (75:1).
məhkamēt ‘court’ (< Arabic maḥkamat) (66:8).

ḥlf:
ḥalōt ‘description’ (with suffixes ḥalāt-): Add the secondary meaning ‘condition’ (83:1), which is perhaps due to the influence of ḥalat (see below, s.v. ḥwl).
ḥallāy ‘night’: Any final glottal stop heard is just phonetic. When suffixes are added, the base is ḥallāyw- (85:27).
ḥalāy ‘let’s go!’ (48:15).

ḥml:
ḥāmal ‘load’: The plural is ḥamōwēl (99:30).

ḥrb:
aḥtārūb (3mp aḥtārib) (T2) ‘be at war with one another’ (= T1 ḥātrāb) (104:28).

ḥrz:
ḥārōṣ́ ‘Acacia mellifera’: Probably instead Acacia tortilis (umbrella thorn acacia). The plural is harš (99:33, 39).

ḥṣl:
məḥṣāwl ‘yield, pay, gain’ (< Arabic maḥṣūl) (57:4).

ḥṭṭ:
məḥāṭṭ ‘camp, stopping-place’ (< Arabic maḥaṭṭ) (76:10).

ḥwq:
There should not be separate entries for ḥātūg and ḥātwag. The T1-Stem 3ms perfect is correctly ḥātwag. See the comment to 94:13 and § 7.2.7, n. 50.

ḥwl:
ḥalat ‘condition’ (< Arabic ḥalat) (24:15; 98:3).
ḥāwīl: See under ‘wl, above.
ḥāwawlāy: See under ‘wl, above.

ḥwr:
ḥawrēt ‘something black’ (54:9).
ḥzm:
mǝḥzēm 'cartridge-belt' (< Arabic miḥzām) (39:6).

ḥéź:
(ḥ)ḥǝšūṣ (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 keff (66:9).

ksr:
kǝsūr (Ga) 'overcome': This verb (correctly ksūr) can also have the meaning 'break, damage' (cf. Arabic kasara) (85:36).

ktb:
kōtǝb 'clerk': The plural is probably ktáwbǝt (66:1).
ktib 'written', used in the phrase hām ktib 'if it is written; God willing' (39:5; § 7.1.8).

ḳˈld:
akālǝd (Q) 'roll': The root is actually ḍlˈd, and the correct 3ms perfect is akālad (67:4, 8).

ḳbl:
ḳǝbáyli 'tribesman' (104:37).

ḳdr:
ḳādǝr 'pot': The plural is either ḍdōr or ḍdōwǝr (see the comment to text 35:6).
mǝḳáddǝr 'preordained, predestined decree' (< Arabic muḳáddar) (65:14).

ḳhw(y):
mǝḳhōyat 'coffee-shop' (48:14, 27, 28, 30).

ḳṣb:
ḳǝṣṣāb 'butcher' (< Arabic qaṣṣāb) (49:3).

ḳsr:
ḳāṣǝr: Add the meaning 'big house' (75:7).

ktˈ:
mǝḳṭāt 'a cut' (75:18).
\textit{ḳṯr}:
\textit{ḳǝṯōrǝt} ‘half-dry (grass)’? (45:4).

\textit{ḳwm}:
\textit{ḳawm}: Add the meaning ‘group of men of fighting age’ (10:8).

\textit{lbd}:
\textit{látbǝd} (T1): Add the meaning ‘fight with one another’. See the comment to § 6.5.2, n. 54.

\textit{lḥḳ}:
\textit{ǝlḥāḳ} (G): The verb can also mean ‘hurry; run’ (3:5).

\textit{lwm}:
\textit{alwīm} (D/L): Add the meaning ‘expect’ (20:37).

\textit{lwy}:
\textit{látwi} (T1): Add the meaning ‘wrap around (intrans.), wrap oneself around’ (49:11).

\textit{lxy}:

\textit{mhr}:
\textit{mǝhrēt} ‘trick’ (65:2).

\textit{mlʾ/mly}:
\textit{mōlǝʾ} (Ga) ‘fill’: The 3ms is correctly \textit{mūla} (III-‘). Some attested forms look as if they derive from a 3ms \textit{mǝlōh} (III-w/y), though that 3ms form is not attested (4:3; 22:6; 76:14; 84:5; 97:7).

\textit{mwg}:
\textit{mǝwgēt} ‘wave’: The one occurrence in the texts has the form \textit{mǝwgēt} (84:3), which in the context can only be singular. (Cf. Arabic \textit{mawjat-} ‘wave’, pl. \textit{mawjāt-}.)

\textit{nʿw}:
\textit{naywū} (G) ‘mew’: The form must be an error. We expect 3ms \textit{nōh}. The meaning can also be ‘mourn (over) s.o.’ (54:2; 75:22).

\textit{nʾw}:
\textit{nǝwē} (G) ‘mew’:

\textit{nājm} (G) ‘be angry’: The form in \textit{ML} is an error. The correct 3ms perfect is \textit{nōjām} (89:31). Add the meanings ‘go away angry; storm off’ (with \textit{mǝn ẓār} ‘from’) and ‘come angry’ (with \textit{təwōli} ‘to’) (89:26, 28, 31).
**nzʿ:**

šanēza (Ș2) ‘wrestle with’ (92:4).

**rʿb:**

rab (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).

**rśś:**

rešīt ‘snake’: ML lists a plural rīyēš, but in the texts we find rayēš (92:4). The singular is correctly rišīt. The root is probably ryś.

**sdk:**

šasdūk (Ș1): See the comment to text 20:6, and below, s.v. sdk.

**shm:**

sahm ‘arrow’: The plural is shūm (103:5).

**skn:**

sēkēn ‘community’: The plural is skūn (99:37) and the definite plural is ḥaskūn, not hǝskōn (35:22; 72:5). Add the meanings ‘settlement’, ‘family’. mskēn ‘dwelling-place, residence’ (probably < Arabic maskan) (74:7).

**srx:**

The root is probably šrx. See the comment to text 39:3.

**swd:**

astawūd (T2) ‘be blackened, disgraced’ (99:46). It is not clear if the T1-Stem sátwad (given in ML) exists.

**ṣdk:**

ṣadēk ‘truth’: In the texts, this word, which occurs more than twenty times, is always šatēk (5:12). See also the comment to text 20:6.

**ṣlt:**

ṣalōt: The Mehri name for the city of Şalalah is şalōlat (34:17). There is, in fact, a different place called şalōt, on which see the comment to text 38:2.

**ṣlb:**

šāb ‘type of brand-mark’ (probably < Arabic šalb). See the comment to text 28:8.
ṣlḥ:
ṣūlḥ (Ga) 'be suitable, be fit' (42:11; 76:3).
ḥaṣlēḥ (H): Add the meaning 'do well' (52:8).

ṣrb:
ṣáyrǝb (Gb) 'become autumn (post-monsoon)' (58:4, 8).

ṣyḥ:
ṣayḥ 'desert': Perhaps sēyǝḥ. See the comment to text 23:3.

ṣbb:
ṣáyrǝb (Gb) 'become autumn (post-monsoon)' (58:4, 8).

ṣyb:
ṣayḥ 'desert': Perhaps sēyǝḥ. See the comment to text 23:3.

śf:
śǝft 'hair': Correct this to śfēt or śǝff, both of which exist as singular nouns (37:9; 37:25).

śfʾ?:
śēfǝʾ ‘untouched, uneaten grazing’ (23:8).

śgb:
śǝgūb (Ga) 'put across' (42:28). The verb probably has a limited semantic function. See the entries for the Ga-Stem ṣɔɡɔ́b and the noun ṣagb in JL.

śhr:
mǝśháyr ‘famous’: The correct form is mǝśhīr (64:3).

śkṣ:
mǝśkáyṣ: The correct form is mǝśḳáyṣ, root śḳṣ (80:21; 104:5).

śll:
aštǝláwl (T2) ‘wander aimlessly’: Evidence from the texts suggests that the verb is aštǝláwl, root śll (90:7).

śnʿ:
(ṣ)šōna (D/L) ‘be hostile to, mistreat’ (97:3).

śrʾ:
šǝrɛ̄t 'court, judge' (< Arabic širʾat) (24:38).
śrg:  
śǝráwg (Ga): The correct 3ms perfect is śǝrūg. The form śǝráwg is 3mp (20:28).

śwk:  
There should not be separate entries for śǝtwǝk and śǝtūḳ. The Ti-Stem 3ms perfect is correctly śǝtwǝk. See the comment to text 14:6 and § 7.2.7, n. 50.

śxt:  
śxǝt (G): Perhaps śxāt. See the comment to text 20:65.

śyx:  
śo:x: The plural form attested in the texts is śyēx (18:10; 74:8).

t’b:  
tǝb ‘trouble’ (in the sense of ‘a lot of effort, difficulty’) (50:3).

tm:  
tǝm (G): Add the meaning ‘continue’ (17:10). A better transcription is tǝmm.  
tǝmōom: Add the meaning ‘even (number)’ (71A:1).

t’m:  
mǝṭām ‘restaurant’ (< Arabic maṭ'am) (18:7).

t’sś:  
tǝśś ‘light shower’: In the texts we find the plural tǝśōś (45:4).

t’yk:  
tayk ‘wild fig tree’: This is Ficus vasta (94:15).

t’y:  
mǝṭār ‘airport’ (< Arabic maṭār) (105:1).

t’yś:  
atiś (D/L) ‘terrify (b- s.o.)’ (104:23). See the comment to text 104:23.

tbr:  
tǝbǝráyn ‘hyena’: The correct plural is tǝbrayēn (81:2; 82:5), and the singular is better transcribed tǝbrāyn (6:3; 81:1). Cf. fǝrhayēn ‘horse’, pl. fǝrhayēn.
†tkl:
†tkäyl: The fs form should almost certainly be †tokäyat. See §5.2, n. 5.
tékal 'heavy loads' (23:2).

wd':
awōda (D/L) 'see s.o. off' (94:15).

wk'
hawkä (H) 'put': The 3ms imperfect is yahōka, not yahawkä (42:28). The incorrect yahawkä also appears on p. xlvii of ML. See also §7.2.9, n. 67.

wr':
hawre (H) 'turn; keep away': The 3ms imperfect is yahōra, not yahawre (88:2).

xl':
xáyli (Gb): Add the meaning 'be unmarried' (56A:8).

xrf:
xarēf (possibly xarāyf) 'yield, fruit' (77:5).

xss:
axass 'less': The texts have only xass (see §5.4).

xsss:
xaš 'less': The texts have only xass (see §5.4).
xāštan 'especially': Correct to xāššan (46:7).

xtm:
xōtōm 'ring': The plural is xṭōm (22:51; 81:2; 88:5). There is no evidence in the texts for a plural xṭōwom.

xtl:
(x)xtáwl (H) 'bring animals to graze' (81:1)

xṭr:
xtāwr (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:
xôn (G) ‘betray’ (22:81). This seems to be a bi-form of xayûn (root xyn).

xzn:
xəznêt ‘treasury’: Add the meaning ‘treasure’ (19:17; 74:4).
maxzên ‘storeroom, basement’ (< Arabic maxzan) (85:25).

ytm:
yatîm ‘orphan’ (pl. yatôm): The texts show definite forms with a-, not hâ-, e.g., pl. aytôm (16:2) and fs aytêmüt (32:11).

ywm:
hâyâwm: This can also have the meaning ‘daytime’ (contrasting with ‘night’), at least in the phrase hâyâwm kâllas (36:27).

źfr:
šäfît (pl. šafârtân): Add the meaning ‘braid, plait of hair’ (75:11; 75:15).

źrr:
šârêt ‘co-wife, other wife’ (97:4).

źrk:
mašârrak ‘spoiled’ (25:1).

źyk:
šâyyak (Gb)? ‘become bored, fed up’. See the comment to text 24:23.
APPENDIX D

Additions and Corrections to The Jibbali (Shaḥrī) 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: marḵá’ is not an example of bVn > mVn, since there is no n. With mastún, the n is in a different position, not mVn.

p. 85, line 8: The indefinite form of ‘town’ should be șirét.

p. 105: In the paradigm at the bottom of the page, the subjunctive forms of the verb kêré should all have ⟨⟩ (e.g., l-ékār → l-ékār).

p. 124, § 6.4.3, fourth line: The verb șākēšar 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 ṭḵǐk to ṭakhir.

p. 167, bottom: Regarding the use of ber illustrated in the example from TJ2:39, we can compare the similar use in Mehri observed by Watson (2012: 373).

p. 323, § 12.5.18: Every occurrence of athümk should be changed to ethümk, both in this section and throughout the grammar. The shorter, variant form thümk can remain as is. Also correct athümk to ethümk in texts 8:8, 28:1, 34:1, 39:10, 40:6, 60:42, 97:44, and in the comment to TJ4:65; correct ba-thümk to b-ethümk in texts 10:4, 32:8, 33:9, and 60:42; and correct ba-dā-thümk to ba-d-ethümk in text 60:44.

p. 368, last line: Correct ẓ́ḥák to ẓ́ḥākk.

p. 412, comment to text 9:5, ṭsrōb: 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 ʂáyrǝb, Jibbali ʂerb) looks identical to the Gb 3ms perfect. Line 8 in both versions also has the Gb-Stem 3fs perfect. The phrase te ʈsrɔ́b probably goes at the end of line 4, and should be translated ‘until autumn comes’. In this case, the subjunctive is expected. If te ʈsrɔ́b was intended to go with what follows, we would expect a perfect.

p. 418, text 13:8: Correct ʈəhakk to ʈəhákk (twice).

p. 432, text 17:23: Correct ʈəkən to ʈəkən.

p. 454, text 25:4: There should be an opening quotation mark before tanúkǝdan, 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’téđ 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 ʈǝhak to ʈǝhák.

p. 509, text 47:5: The translation of manhínam should be ‘last night’, not ‘yesterday’.

p. 515, text 48:15: The translation of a’ëlí should be ‘my forefathers’ not ‘my forefather’.

p. 516, text 49:4: edidi ‘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 ḥǝdǝ́dyɛ ‘my uncles’ in the Mehri version of this story (which is nearly identical to the Jibbali version).

p. 549, text 60:33: Correct yǝzhĩm to yǝzḥĩm.

p. 562, text 97:6: Correct tḥik to tǝkik.

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:


Bibliography

This bibliography includes all works cited in this text, as well as many other works relating to the study of Mehri. The list is not exhaustive. For the few bibliographical abbreviations used in this book, see the list of abbreviations on p. xxiii.


Eades, Domenyk. 2014. Syncretism in the Verbal Morphology of the Modern South Arabian Languages. In *Languages of South Arabia* (Supplement to the Proceedings


# 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.

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