

The Jibbali (Shahri) Language of Oman

GRAMMAR AND TEXTS

BY

AARON D. RUBIN

BRILL

The Jibbali (Shaḥri) Language of Oman

Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics

Editorial board

A.D. Rubin and C.H.M. Versteegh

VOLUME 72

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/ssl



Ali Musallam al-Mahri, circa 1976 (photo courtesy of Faisal al-Mahri)

The Jibbali (Shahri) Language of Oman

Grammar and Texts

By

Aaron D. Rubin



BRILL

LEIDEN · BOSTON
2014

This publication has been typeset in the multilingual “Brill” typeface. With over 5,100 characters covering Latin, IPA, Greek, and Cyrillic, this typeface is especially suitable for use in the humanities. For more information, please see www.brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 0081-8461

ISBN 978-90-04-26284-3 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-26285-0 (e-book)

Copyright 2014 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Global Oriental and Hotei Publishing.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.

Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

*For my sons,
Sam and Freddie,
with love.*

*And
in memory of
Ali Musallam al-Mahri,
a great story-teller.*

CONTENTS

| | |
|--------------------------------|-------|
| List of Texts | XIX |
| Acknowledgements..... | XXI |
| Abbreviations and Symbols..... | XXIII |
| Text Citation | XXVII |
| A Note on Transcription | XXIX |

PART ONE

GRAMMAR

| | | |
|--------|---|----|
| 1 | Introduction..... | 3 |
| 1.1 | Previous Scholarship on Jibbali | 3 |
| 1.2 | The Name “Jibbali” | 9 |
| 1.3 | Dialects of Jibbali..... | 11 |
| 1.4 | The Position of Jibbali within MSA | 13 |
| 1.5 | The Position of MSA within Semitic | 15 |
| 1.6 | Johnstone’s Jibbali Texts | 17 |
| 1.7 | Johnstone’s Audio Material | 18 |
| 1.8 | New Material | 19 |
| 1.9 | This Grammar | 20 |
| 2 | Phonology | 25 |
| 2.1 | Jibbali Consonants | 25 |
| 2.1.1 | The Glottalics | 27 |
| 2.1.2 | The Loss of <i>b</i> | 28 |
| 2.1.3 | The Loss of <i>m</i> | 30 |
| 2.1.4 | The Shift of <i>b > m</i> | 33 |
| 2.1.5 | The Loss of <i>w</i> , and the Shift of <i>w > b</i> | 33 |
| 2.1.6 | The Loss of <i>l</i> | 35 |
| 2.1.7 | The Loss of <i>n</i> | 37 |
| 2.1.8 | Word-Final Liquids and Nasals..... | 37 |
| 2.1.9 | The Loss of <i>t</i> | 38 |
| 2.1.10 | The Non-Occurrence of <i>d-/ð-</i> | 39 |
| 2.1.11 | Gemination | 39 |

| | | |
|-------|--|----|
| 2.2 | Jibbali Vowels | 40 |
| 2.2.1 | The Effects of Guttural Consonants on Vowels..... | 42 |
| 2.2.2 | The Effects of Nasals on Vowels | 42 |
| 2.3 | Word Stress..... | 43 |
| 3 | Pronouns | 45 |
| 3.1 | Independent Personal Pronouns | 45 |
| 3.2 | Suffixed Pronouns | 48 |
| 3.2.1 | Suffixes on Singular Nouns..... | 48 |
| 3.2.2 | Suffixes on Plural Nouns | 49 |
| 3.2.3 | Suffixes on Verbs | 50 |
| 3.3 | Direct Object Pronouns (<i>t-</i>) | 54 |
| 3.4 | Demonstratives | 57 |
| 3.5 | Indefinite Pronouns | 60 |
| 3.5.1 | <i>dé</i> 'someone, anyone' | 60 |
| 3.5.2 | <i>sé</i> 'something, any(thing)'; <i>sé lo</i> 'nothing, not any(thing)' | 61 |
| 3.5.3 | <i>ko(l) ʔat</i> 'everyone, each one' | 62 |
| 3.5.4 | <i>kol sé</i> 'everything'..... | 63 |
| 3.5.5 | <i>əðt-ilín</i> 'so-and-so' | 64 |
| 3.6 | Reflexives..... | 64 |
| 3.7 | Reciprocals | 66 |
| 3.8 | Relative Pronouns | 68 |
| 3.8.1 | Relative <i>ε-/ð-</i> | 68 |
| 3.8.2 | <i>kol ε-/ð-</i> 'whoever, everyone who' | 71 |
| 3.8.3 | <i>alhín</i> 'whatever; all that' | 72 |
| 3.8.4 | <i>in</i> 'all that' | 72 |
| 3.8.5 | Relative <i>mən tél</i> 'where' | 73 |
| 4 | Nouns | 75 |
| 4.1 | Gender | 75 |
| 4.2 | Duals | 76 |
| 4.3 | Plurals | 78 |
| 4.3.1 | Masculine External Plurals..... | 79 |
| 4.3.2 | Feminine External Plurals | 80 |
| 4.3.3 | Internal Plurals | 82 |
| 4.4 | Definite Article | 84 |
| 4.5 | Diminutives | 86 |
| 4.6 | Construct State | 87 |

| | | |
|-------|---|-----|
| 5 | Adjectives | 89 |
| 5.1 | Agreement | 89 |
| 5.2 | Declension | 90 |
| 5.3 | Substantivization..... | 93 |
| 5.4 | Comparatives | 94 |
| 5.5 | Quantifiers | 96 |
| 5.5.1 | <i>xérin</i> ‘a little’ | 96 |
| 5.5.2 | <i>mən-</i> ‘some’ | 96 |
| 5.5.3 | <i>kəl</i> ‘each, every’ | 97 |
| 5.5.4 | <i>kel</i> ‘all (of the)’ | 97 |
| 5.5.5 | <i>(l-)‘ádéd ε-</i> ‘each, every’ | 98 |
| 5.5.6 | <i>mékən</i> ‘a lot, many’ | 99 |
| 5.5.7 | <i>mit-íné</i> ‘some kind of’ | 99 |
| 6 | Verbs: Stems | 101 |
| 6.1 | G-Stem | 101 |
| 6.1.1 | Ga-Stem..... | 102 |
| 6.1.2 | Ga Internal Passive | 106 |
| 6.1.3 | Gb-Stem | 107 |
| 6.1.4 | Ga vs. Gb Meaning | 108 |
| 6.2 | D/L-Stem | 110 |
| 6.2.1 | D/L-Stem Meaning..... | 112 |
| 6.2.2 | D/L Internal Passive..... | 114 |
| 6.3 | H-Stem | 115 |
| 6.3.1 | H-Stem Meaning | 116 |
| 6.3.2 | H Internal Passive | 119 |
| 6.4 | Š-Stems..... | 120 |
| 6.4.1 | Š ₁ -Stem Form | 120 |
| 6.4.2 | Š ₁ -Stem Meaning..... | 122 |
| 6.4.3 | Š ₂ -Stem Form | 124 |
| 6.4.4 | Š ₂ -Stem Meaning | 125 |
| 6.5 | T-Stems..... | 126 |
| 6.5.1 | T ₁ -Stem Form | 126 |
| 6.5.2 | T ₁ -Stem Meaning | 128 |
| 6.5.3 | T ₂ -Stem Form | 129 |
| 6.5.4 | T ₂ -Stem Meaning | 131 |
| 6.6 | Quadrilaterals..... | 134 |
| 6.6.1 | Basic Quadrilaterals (Q-Stems)..... | 134 |
| 6.6.2 | N-Stem Quadrilaterals (NQ-Stems)..... | 136 |

| | | |
|--------|---|-----|
| 7 | Verbs: Tenses and Forms | 139 |
| 7.1 | Verbal Tenses and Moods | 139 |
| 7.1.1 | Perfect | 139 |
| 7.1.2 | Imperfect | 140 |
| 7.1.3 | Subjunctive | 145 |
| 7.1.4 | Future (<i>dḥa-</i> , <i>ḥa-</i> , <i>a-</i>) | 150 |
| 7.1.5 | Conditional | 152 |
| 7.1.6 | Imperative | 153 |
| 7.1.7 | Internal Passive | 154 |
| 7.1.8 | Passive Participles | 156 |
| 7.1.9 | Compound Tenses | 157 |
| 7.1.10 | The Verbal Prefix <i>d-/ḏ-</i> | 158 |
| | 7.1.10.1 <i>d-/ḏ-</i> + Imperfect | 158 |
| | 7.1.10.2 <i>d-/ḏ-</i> + Perfect | 161 |
| 7.2 | The Auxiliary Verb <i>ber</i> | 164 |
| 7.3 | The Auxiliary Verb <i>d-ʿəd</i> | 168 |
| 7.4 | Weak Verbs | 171 |
| 7.4.1 | I-ʾ Verbs | 172 |
| 7.4.2 | I-Guttural Verbs (except I-ʾ Verbs) | 174 |
| 7.4.3 | I-w Verbs | 176 |
| 7.4.4 | I-y Verbs | 180 |
| 7.4.5 | I-b and I-m Verbs | 181 |
| 7.4.6 | I-n, I-l, and I-r Verbs | 182 |
| 7.4.7 | II-Guttural Verbs (except II-ʾ Verbs) | 185 |
| 7.4.8 | II-ʾ, II-w, and II-y Verbs | 189 |
| 7.4.9 | II-b and II-m Verbs | 196 |
| 7.4.10 | II-r Verbs | 198 |
| 7.4.11 | III-Guttural Verbs (except III-ʾ Verbs) | 199 |
| 7.4.12 | III-ʾ, III-w, and III-y Verbs | 202 |
| 7.4.13 | III-b and III-m Verbs | 208 |
| 7.4.14 | Geminate Verbs | 209 |
| 7.4.15 | Doubly and Triply Weak Verbs | 213 |
| 7.4.16 | Anomalous Verbs | 215 |
| 7.4.17 | A Note on So-Called “Weak- <i>f</i> ” Verbs | 217 |
| 7.5 | The Irregular Verb <i>ʿagab</i> ‘want; love’ | 217 |
| 7.5.1 | Cohortative <i>ʿagab</i> | 221 |
| 7.5.2 | Motion Verb <i>ʿagab</i> | 222 |
| 7.5.3 | Imperfect and Subjunctive Uses | 223 |
| 7.5.4 | Conditional Forms | 224 |
| 7.5.5 | <i>ʿagab</i> vs. <i>šaʿsér</i> ‘love’ | 224 |

| | | |
|-------|--|-----|
| 8 | Prepositions | 227 |
| 8.1 | <i>ed</i> 'up to, till, until'; (<i>ə</i>) <i>d-</i> 'to' | 228 |
| 8.2 | <i>emt</i> 'towards' | 230 |
| 8.3 | <i>'ak</i> 'in(side), into; on(to); among' | 230 |
| 8.4 | (<i>'</i>) <i>ar</i> 'from; about; than' | 232 |
| 8.5 | <i>'yór</i> 'in front of' | 234 |
| 8.6 | <i>b-</i> 'in, at; with; for; on' | 235 |
| 8.7 | <i>ba'd</i> 'after' | 239 |
| 8.8 | <i>ðer</i> 'on, onto; over'; <i>mən ðér</i> 'after' | 239 |
| 8.9 | (<i>əl-</i>) <i>féné</i> 'before; in front of; ago' | 242 |
| 8.10 | <i>ger</i> 'except'; <i>mən gér</i> 'without' | 242 |
| 8.11 | <i>her</i> 'to; for' | 243 |
| 8.12 | (<i>əl-</i>) <i>hés</i> 'like, as' | 246 |
| 8.13 | <i>k-</i> (<i>š-</i>) 'with' | 247 |
| 8.14 | <i>kín</i> 'from (someone)' | 249 |
| 8.15 | <i>kéfé</i> 'in back of' | 250 |
| 8.16 | <i>l-</i> 'for; to' | 250 |
| 8.17 | <i>lébər</i> 'like, the same as' | 254 |
| 8.18 | <i>mən</i> 'from' | 254 |
| 8.19 | <i>mən dún</i> 'except; without' | 257 |
| 8.20 | <i>mən mún</i> (<i>əm-mún</i>) 'between' | 258 |
| 8.21 | <i>mən kédé</i> 'regarding, about' | 260 |
| 8.22 | <i>nxín</i> (or <i>lxín</i>) 'under' | 260 |
| 8.23 | <i>siéb</i> 'because of' | 261 |
| 8.24 | <i>ser</i> 'behind' | 262 |
| 8.25 | <i>ta'mírən</i> 'like' | 263 |
| 8.26 | <i>tel</i> 'at, by, beside'; <i>mən tél</i> 'from (someone)' | 263 |
| 8.27 | <i>tet</i> 'above' | 266 |
| 8.28 | <i>yal</i> 'to, towards' | 266 |
| 8.29 | Additional Prepositional Phrases | 267 |
| 8.30 | The Suffixed Forms of Prepositions | 267 |
| 9 | Numerals | 277 |
| 9.1 | Cardinals | 277 |
| 9.1.1 | Numerals 1–10 | 277 |
| 9.1.2 | Numerals 11–19 | 279 |
| 9.1.3 | Tens | 279 |
| 9.1.4 | Hundreds | 280 |
| 9.1.5 | Thousands | 281 |
| 9.2 | Special Forms Used with 'Days' | 281 |

| | | |
|--------|---|-----|
| 9.3 | Ordinals | 282 |
| 9.4 | Fractions | 283 |
| 9.5 | Days of the Week | 284 |
| 9.6 | Approximation | 284 |
| 9.7 | Telling Time | 285 |
| 10 | Adverbs | 287 |
| 10.1 | Demonstrative Adverbs | 287 |
| 10.2 | Adverbs of Place | 289 |
| 10.3 | Adverbs of Time | 289 |
| 10.4 | Adverbs of Manner | 290 |
| 10.5 | Other Adverbs | 290 |
| 11 | Interrogatives | 293 |
| 11.1 | <i>mun</i> 'who?' | 293 |
| 11.2 | <i>íné</i> 'what?' | 294 |
| 11.3 | <i>íné mən, ínēn</i> 'which? what kind of?' | 295 |
| 11.4 | <i>h-íné</i> 'why? for what?' | 295 |
| 11.5 | <i>kə(h)</i> 'why?' | 296 |
| 11.6 | <i>ɣəl, ɣəh</i> 'how? what?' | 297 |
| 11.7 | <i>hun, hūtun</i> 'where?' | 297 |
| 11.8 | <i>mit</i> 'when?' | 298 |
| 11.9 | <i>mśé</i> 'how many? how much?' | 299 |
| 11.10 | <i>əhún</i> 'which one?' | 299 |
| 11.11 | <i>əl hē lə</i> 'isn't that so?' | 300 |
| 12 | Particles | 301 |
| 12.1 | Coordinating Conjunctions | 301 |
| 12.1.1 | <i>b-</i> 'and' | 301 |
| 12.1.2 | <i>fələkən, wələkən, ləkən</i> 'but' | 302 |
| 12.1.3 | <i>(mən) dun</i> 'but' | 303 |
| 12.1.4 | <i>mən</i> 'or' | 303 |
| 12.1.5 | <i>(bə-)fəlól</i> 'or; or else' | 304 |
| 12.1.6 | <i>mit</i> and <i>ya</i> 'or' | 305 |
| 12.2 | Exclamations | 306 |
| 12.2.1 | 'Yes' and 'No' | 306 |
| 12.3 | Vocatives | 307 |
| 12.4 | Genitive Exponent <i>ε-/ð-</i> ('of') | 308 |
| 12.5 | Miscellaneous Particles | 309 |
| 12.5.1 | <i>amma</i> | 309 |

| | | |
|----------|--|-----|
| 12.5.2 | <i>un</i> | 310 |
| 12.5.3 | <i>ʿd</i> | 311 |
| 12.5.4 | <i>ar</i> | 312 |
| 12.5.5 | <i>ebúbne</i> | 316 |
| 12.5.6 | <i>dek</i> | 316 |
| 12.5.7 | <i>dunk</i> | 316 |
| 12.5.8 | <i>fəl</i> | 317 |
| 12.5.9 | <i>ǰadú</i> | 317 |
| 12.5.10 | <i>hūk</i> | 318 |
| 12.5.11 | <i>kézúm</i> | 318 |
| 12.5.12 | <i>ketk</i> | 319 |
| 12.5.13 | <i>lézəm</i> | 320 |
| 12.5.14 | <i>mkun</i> | 320 |
| 12.5.15 | <i>məskín</i> | 321 |
| 12.5.16 | <i>ndóh</i> | 321 |
| 12.5.17 | <i>šef</i> | 322 |
| 12.5.18 | <i>(ə)thúmk</i> | 323 |
| 12.5.19 | <i>tō-</i> | 324 |
| 12.5.20 | <i>wégəb</i> | 325 |
| 13 | Some Syntactic Features | 327 |
| 13.1 | Copular (Non-Verbal) Sentences | 327 |
| 13.1.1 | The Verb <i>kun</i> | 328 |
| 13.2 | Negation | 330 |
| 13.2.1 | <i>əl ... lə</i> | 330 |
| 13.2.2 | <i>əl</i> | 332 |
| 13.2.3 | <i>lə</i> | 334 |
| 13.2.4 | <i>əl-ʿd</i> | 334 |
| 13.2.5 | <i>zeyd</i> | 337 |
| 13.2.6 | <i>abdan</i> | 337 |
| 13.2.7 | <i>mən</i> | 338 |
| 13.2.8 | <i>ma</i> | 338 |
| 13.3 | Expressing 'have' | 339 |
| 13.3.1 | The Preposition <i>k-</i> | 339 |
| 13.3.1.1 | Familial Possession | 340 |
| 13.3.1.2 | Physical and Environmental Conditions | 341 |
| 13.3.2 | The Preposition <i>b-</i> | 342 |
| 13.3.3 | The Preposition <i>l-</i> | 343 |
| 13.3.4 | The Preposition <i>her</i> | 343 |

| | | |
|----------|---|-----|
| 13.4 | Conditionals..... | 344 |
| 13.4.1 | <i>her</i> | 344 |
| 13.4.2 | <i>(ə)ðə, (ə)ðə kun</i> | 349 |
| 13.4.3 | <i>bélé</i> | 351 |
| 13.5 | Subordination | 352 |
| 13.5.1 | Complement Clauses | 352 |
| 13.5.1.1 | Complementizer <i>ð-</i> | 353 |
| 13.5.2 | Purpose Clauses..... | 356 |
| 13.5.2.1 | Unmarked Purpose Clauses | 356 |
| 13.5.2.2 | <i>her</i> | 357 |
| 13.5.2.3 | <i>l-əgére</i> | 358 |
| 13.5.2.4 | <i>əd</i> | 358 |
| 13.5.2.5 | <i>b-</i> | 359 |
| 13.5.3 | Temporal Clauses | 360 |
| 13.5.3.1 | <i>mit</i> ‘when’ | 360 |
| 13.5.3.2 | <i>haş ε-</i> ‘when’ | 361 |
| 13.5.3.3 | <i>her</i> ‘when, whenever’ | 363 |
| 13.5.3.4 | <i>əd</i> ‘then when; until’ | 365 |
| 13.5.3.5 | <i>hes</i> ‘when; after; since’ | 368 |
| 13.5.3.6 | <i>ħakt ε-</i> ‘when’ | 371 |
| 13.5.3.7 | <i>yum</i> ‘when’ | 372 |
| 13.5.4 | <i>l-íné</i> ‘because’ | 372 |
| 14 | Greetings and Basic Phrases | 375 |
| 14.1 | Some Greetings..... | 375 |
| 14.2 | Some Basic Phrases for Conversation | 376 |

PART TWO

TEXTS

| | | |
|------|--|-----|
| 15 | Johnstone’s Texts | 381 |
| 15.1 | Texts from Ali Musallam | 386 |
| 15.2 | Texts from Salim Bakhit (SB) | 570 |
| 15.3 | Other Johnstone Texts (TJ) | 573 |
| 16 | Additional Texts | 627 |
| 16.1 | Texts from Ahmed Kashoob (AK) | 627 |
| 16.2 | A Text from Fahad Baawain (FB) | 634 |
| 16.3 | A New Text from Ali Musallam (AM)..... | 636 |

| | | |
|-------------------------------|--|-----|
| 16.4 | An Anonymous Text (Anon) | 638 |
| 16.5 | A Text from Fresnel (Fr) | 640 |
| 16.6 | Proverbs (Pr) | 642 |
| | | |
| Appendix A: | Text 18 with Morpheme Glossing | 647 |
| Appendix B: | Text 18 in Arabic Script | 653 |
| Appendix C: | Supplement to Johnstone's <i>Jibbāli Lexicon</i> | 655 |
| Appendix D: | Additions and Corrections to <i>The Mehri Language of</i> <i>Oman</i> | 675 |
| Appendix E: | A Mehri Version of Text 7 (M56A) | 683 |
| Bibliography | | 689 |
| Index of Passages | | 701 |
| Index of Select Jibbali Words | | 716 |

LIST OF TEXTS

| | |
|---|-----|
| Text 1: An Argument | 386 |
| Text 2: A Lecherous Man | 386 |
| Text 3: A Conversation | 390 |
| Text 4: Ramadan | 392 |
| Text 5: Misunderstood Advice | 394 |
| Text 6: The Step-Mother and the Bird | 398 |
| Text 7: A Betrothal and Marriage | 406 |
| Text 8: A Conversation | 410 |
| Text 9: About Animals | 412 |
| Text 10: A Disagreement | 414 |
| Text 12: Cow Theft | 414 |
| Text 13: Home from Dubai | 418 |
| Text 14: Oath-taking | 422 |
| Text 15: A Land Dispute | 424 |
| Text 16: Seeing Ghosts | 428 |
| Text 17: The Unfaithful Sister | 428 |
| Text 18: Ba Newas and the Old Lady | 436 |
| Text 20: An Argument over Water | 440 |
| Text 21: Four Hungry Men and a Date | 442 |
| Text 22: The Jewelry Tree | 446 |
| Text 23: Ba Newas and the Bean | 450 |
| Text 24: A Complaint | 452 |
| Text 25: Ka'det | 452 |
| Text 28: A Man's Dilemma (Conversation) | 458 |
| Text 30: A Man and His Jinn Wife | 462 |
| Text 31: A Rainy Day in England | 468 |
| Text 32: A Conversation | 470 |
| Text 33: A Visit with Some Jinn | 472 |
| Text 34: A Miscommunication | 474 |
| Text 35: Ice | 478 |
| Text 36: The Ruler's Daughter | 480 |
| Text 38: A Conversation and a Visit to the Medicine Woman | 486 |
| Text 39: A Man and His Shadow | 488 |
| Text 40: Discussing an Illness | 492 |
| Text 41: Seeking Sardines | 494 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| Text 42: Conditionals | 496 |
| Text 42b: More Conditionals | 496 |
| Text 43: A Riddle | 498 |
| Text 45: A Marriage | 500 |
| Text 46: A True Story about Revenge | 504 |
| Text 47: Conversations | 508 |
| Text 48: Fox and Friends | 510 |
| Text 49: A Naughty Boy and Sweet Potatoes | 514 |
| Text 50: Taking Care of a Baby Brother | 520 |
| Text 51: A Sick Child and a Naughty Child | 522 |
| Text 52: A Doctor's Visit | 526 |
| Text 53: A Wounded Uncle's Visit and a Bout with Smallpox | 528 |
| Text 54: Bu Zid al-Hilali | 532 |
| Text 55: Healing a Sick Man | 538 |
| Text 57: A Mother's Advice | 540 |
| Text 60: A Wife and a Mother-in-Law in Enemy Territory | 542 |
| Text 83: A Brave Boy | 556 |
| Text 86: More Conditionals | 558 |
| Text 97: A Cinderella Tale | 560 |
| Text SB1: The Cow Boy | 570 |
| Text SB2: A Good Match | 572 |
| Text TJ1: The Raven and the Fox | 574 |
| Text TJ2: Ali and Aḥmad Discuss Marriage Customs, Cows, and More .. | 576 |
| Text TJ3: An Autobiographical Story | 596 |
| Text TJ4: The Sultan's Son and the Sultan's Daughter | 602 |
| Text TJ5: Meḥaysen | 624 |
| Text AK1: Buying Camel-feed | 628 |
| Text AK2: My Favorite Camel | 630 |
| Text AK3: A Conversation | 632 |
| Text AK4: A Conversation | 632 |
| Text FB1: Introduction | 634 |
| Text AM1: Ba Newas and the Difficult Old Woman | 636 |
| Text Anon1: The Donkey Carcass | 638 |
| Text Fr1: Part of Genesis 37:2 | 640 |
| Text Pr (all): Proverbs | 642 |

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

After my grammar of Mehri appeared in 2010, I decided to work on Jibbali. In that year, I obtained from the Durham University Library nearly all of T.M. Johnstone's Jibbali manuscript texts. I was able to visit the library in 2012, when I found some additional material. My sincere thanks go to the library staff who assisted me with the Johnstone collection, in particular Jane Hogan, Mike Harkness, and Danielle McAloon. The recordings of Johnstone's texts were obtained through the Sound Archive of the British Library, which was very efficient and helpful.

The data that served as the basis for this grammar come largely from the work of Prof. T.M. Johnstone, a pioneer in the field of Modern South Arabian Studies, and whose work I gratefully acknowledge. I would like to thank Mrs. Bernice Johnstone for allowing me obtain copies of her late husband's papers and audio recordings, and to publish the Jibbali texts he collected.

I was very fortunate to be in touch for several years with the late Ali Musallam al-Mahri, whose texts make up most of Johnstone's corpus, and who generously provided me with additional material. His encouragement in the study of Mehri and Jibbali meant a lot to me. I know he would be very pleased with this book, which I dedicate to his memory. His son Faisal provided me with the photograph that appears at the front of this volume, and I thank him for this.

Several other native speakers of Jibbali kindly and patiently aided me in various ways. I would like to thank especially Saeed al-Mahri, Ahmed Kashoob, Fahad Baawain, Musallam al-Shahri, Muna al-Shahri, and Musallam Qatan. Each one of these individuals provided me with valuable information, some in person, and some via telephone and computer. Although we have not yet met in person, Saeed al-Mahri has been very generous with his help over the last few years. It is also thanks to him that I was able to maintain contact with Ali Musallam. Ahmed Kashoob was the person I was able to work with the most in person, and the meetings that we had were instrumental in the completion of this book. His efforts (and patience) aided significantly.

I thank Janet Watson, who put me in touch with both Ali Musallam and Saeed al-Mahri. Her assistance in this regard was invaluable. Her reading of an early draft of the book and her encouragement was much appreciated.

I was able to locate Jibbali speakers in the United States only with the help of Asya Al-Lamki and Moayed Al-Hawazi of the Cultural Division the Omani Embassy in this country. I thank them for their assistance.

A number of colleagues and friends provided feedback on individual chapters. My sincere thanks to Lily Kahn, Jeremy Hutton, Gary Rendsburg, Michael Legaspi, Charles Häberl, Al Peters, and K. Morgan Rood, for their suggestions and comments. My thanks also to Rick Davey for answering a number of questions on Dhofari Arabic, and to Leonid Kogan, for sharing some very helpful data on Soqotri.

I was very happy to make the acquaintance of Sabrina Bendjaballah and Philippe Ségéral in the late stages of writing this book. Thanks to their help, the help of their colleague Julien Dufour, and the help of their Jibbali (and Mehri) language consultant Adnan al-Mahri, I was able to get a few very useful pieces of information.

I extend my deep gratitude to Antoine Lonnet, who introduced me to the Modern South Arabian languages more than seven years ago, for his numerous very helpful comments to this book. The book was greatly improved thanks to his input, and I am truly appreciative of his efforts.

In researching and writing this book, I benefited from the support of the Penn State Department of Classics and Ancient Mediterranean Studies (thanks to its former head, Paul Harvey), and from the College of the Liberal Arts at Penn State (thanks to its dean, Susan Welch). I am very grateful for their support. Some of my research was funded with the generous backing of Malvin and Lea Bank.

To Kim, my wife, my best friend, my chief editor, and my primary inspiration, I thank you for everything. This book, like everything in life, is far better because of you. And while I cannot say that writing this book was made easier by the birth of my sons Sam (in 2010) and Freddie (in 2013), they certainly have provided tremendous motivation every day.

ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

| | |
|---------|---|
| 1 | first person |
| 2 | second person |
| 3 | third person |
| AAL | <i>Afroasiatic Linguistics</i> , Johnstone 1975a (see Bibliography) |
| AG | Ali Ġafrem (see §1.8) |
| AJ | Ahmed ‘Amer Jid (see §1.8) |
| AK | Ahmed Kashoob (see §1.8) |
| AdM | Adnan al-Mahri (see §1.8) |
| BY | Bu Ya‘reb al-Shahri (see §1.8) |
| C | consonant |
| cf. | compare |
| CJ | Central Jibbali |
| condit | conditional |
| cd | common dual |
| cp | common plural |
| cs | common singular |
| ctr. | construct |
| def. | definite |
| dimin. | diminutive |
| d.o. | direct object |
| du. | dual |
| EJ | Eastern Jibbali |
| f. | feminine |
| FB | Fahad Baawain (see §1.8) |
| fd | feminine dual |
| fp | feminine plural |
| fs | feminine singular |
| G | guttural letter (‘, ġ, h, ħ, or x); G-Stem |
| gemin. | geminate |
| glott. | glottalic |
| gutt. | guttural |
| HV | <i>Hōbyot Vocabulary</i> , Nakano 2013 (see Bibliography) |
| Ĥ# | Ĥarsusi text # (as published in Stroomer 2004) |
| ĤL | <i>Ĥarsūsi Lexicon</i> , Johnstone 1977 (see Bibliography) |
| imperf. | imperfect |

| | |
|----------|--|
| imprtv. | imperative |
| indef. | indefinite |
| intrans. | intransitive |
| J# | Jibbali text # (as published in this volume) |
| JL | <i>Jibbāli Lexicon</i> , Johnstone 1981 (see Bibliography) |
| lit. | literally |
| m | masculine |
| md | masculine dual |
| mp | masculine plural |
| ms | masculine singular; manuscript |
| mss | manuscripts |
| M# | Mehri text # (as published in Stroomer 1999) |
| ML | <i>Mehri Lexicon</i> , Johnstone 1987 (See Bibliography) |
| MmS | Musallam al-Shahri (see § 1.8) |
| MnS | Muna al-Shahri (see § 1.8) |
| MQ | Musallam Qatan (see § 1.8) |
| MSA | Modern South Arabian |
| n. | note (footnote) |
| o.a. | one another |
| o.s. | oneself |
| obj. | object |
| OSA | Old South Arabian |
| perf. | perfect |
| p | plural |
| pl. | plural |
| redup. | reduplicated |
| s | singular |
| sg. | singular |
| s.o. | someone |
| SM | Saeed al-Mahri (see § 1.8) |
| SS | Salim al-Shahri (see § 1.8) |
| s.t. | something |
| subj. | subjunctive |
| trans. | transitive |
| V | vowel |
| var(s). | variant(s) |
| WJ | Western Jibbali |
| X > Y | X develops into Y. |
| X < Y | X derives from Y. |

- $X \rightarrow Y$ X becomes Y; this symbol is used for derived forms, such as forms with the definite article or a possessive suffix.
- $X \leftarrow Y$ X came from Y; this symbol is likewise used for derived forms.
- *
- An asterisk marks a reconstructed or underlying form.

TEXT CITATION

Over 95% of the approximately 2800 Jibbali examples cited in this book are taken from the texts published in this volume, most 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. The text number is sometimes preceded by a letter or letters, referring to the source of the texts. No letter before a text number indicates that the text is from Ali Musallam, Johnstone’s main informant. See §15 for additional details. An example followed by a set of initials with no number (e.g., SM or AK) refers to an informant (see §1.8).

A NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION

Johnstone's transcription of Jibbali could be quite inconsistent, in both his unpublished manuscripts and in his published works. In this grammar and in my edition of his texts, I have tried to be as consistent as possible. Though Johnstone's system forms the basis of my own transcriptions, I have altered his transcription very frequently, especially his transcriptions of vowels. My own transcription of the consonants is phonemic, though I allow for some allophonic variation in the transcription of vowels, including epenthetic (non-phonemic) *a*.

As for the system of transcription used for individual consonants, I have followed Johnstone except in three cases. The differences are:

| Johnstone | This Book |
|-----------|-----------|
| <i>d</i> | <i>ð</i> |
| <i>ḏ</i> | <i>ḑ</i> |
| <i>ẓ</i> | <i>ẓ</i> |

In the transcription of the texts, a consonant that appears in parentheses, unless otherwise noted, indicates that it is not present in the Arabic-letter manuscript—if such a manuscript exists—and is not pronounced. I have included these letters in parentheses for easier recognition of morphemes and lexemes. An acute accent indicates word stress.

PART ONE

GRAMMAR

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Jibbali is a Semitic language spoken in the coastal towns (e.g., Şalalah, Mirbaţ, Taqah, Sadh, Hasik, Ðalqut) and adjacent mountainous areas of the southwest of Oman (Dhofar Governorate), as well as on the island of Al-Ḥallaniya, the only inhabited island of the Khuriya Muriya (or, Al-Ḥallaniyat) group.¹ The total number of Jibbali speakers is probably between thirty and fifty thousand.

Jibbali 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 Jibbali, the MSA languages are Mehri, Soqoṭri, Ḥarsusi, Hobyot, and Baṭḥari.² Jibbali, Soqoṭri, and Mehri in turn have a number of dialects, and, in fact, Ḥarsusi and Baṭḥari can be considered dialects of Mehri.³ The established term ‘Modern South Arabian’ can be misleading, since these languages are not to be closely connected with Arabic, or the set of languages collectively called Old South Arabian (OSA). The linguistic domain of the MSA languages is restricted to eastern Yemen, western Oman, and the island groups of Soqoṭra and 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 Jibbali*

The existence of Jibbali was first brought to the attention of Europeans by Fulgence Fresnel (1795–1855), the French consul in Jeddah.⁴ In a series of articles in 1838, Fresnel described numerous phonetic and grammatical

¹ The island of Al-Ḥallaniya is home to about 350 fishermen and their families, though most move onto the mainland during the summer monsoon (mid-June to mid-September).

² Overviews of the MSA languages and dialects can be found in Johnstone (1975), Lonnet (1985; 1994a; 2006), and Simeone-Senelle (1997; 2011).

³ This is from an external, linguistic point of view. From the point of view of the speech communities themselves, Ḥarsusi and Baṭḥari are considered distinct from Mehri.

⁴ The name Fresnel was made famous by his brother Augustin-Jean (1788–1827), one of the founders of the theory of wave optics. The Rue Fresnel in Paris, just across the Seine from the Eiffel Tower, was named for Augustin-Jean.

features, including some verb paradigms, and even gave a translation of part of a biblical verse (Genesis 37:2) in Jibbali.⁵ Though Soqotri data had been published by Wellsted a few years earlier,⁶ it was Fresnel who first recognized the existence of a new branch of the Semitic language family,⁷ and so Fresnel's work really marks the beginning of Modern South Arabian studies. Fresnel's data have been the subject of several subsequent studies, including Rödiger (1840), Gesenius (1841),⁸ Halévy (1869), and Yushmanov (1930). Lonnet (1991) provides an excellent annotated version of all of Fresnel's relevant works.

As noted above, Jibbali has no tradition of writing, so there is almost no evidence of the language prior to its description by Fresnel. Serjeant and Wagner (1959) discovered a couple of Jibbali phrases and a handful of individual words in a 16th-century Arabic text that constitutes the oldest known Jibbali material. Even in the 175 years since Fresnel's publications, published material on Jibbali has been rather scarce.

J.G. Hulton (died 1836), an assistant surgeon in the British Indian Navy, collected a list of about a hundred words in the Jibbali dialect of the island of Al-Ḥallaniya in 1836; this list was published posthumously in 1840, along with an important description of the island (and neighboring islands) and its inhabitants.⁹ Hulton's data actually pre-date those of Fresnel, though they were published later. His data, then, constitute the earliest Jibbali recorded by a European, and they also remain the only published data on the dialect of Al-Ḥallaniya.

Heinrich von Maltzan (1826–1874), who is known for his travels in the Arab world, and who produced some lengthy studies of Mehri, reproduced some of Hulton's vocabulary (1873: 227–230), and also added some words

⁵ See Fresnel (1838a; 1838b; 1838c). The verb paradigms can be found in 1838b: 80–81; 1838c: 566–567, and the biblical verse in 1838b: 82–83. I have also reproduced the biblical verse in the texts included in the second part of this volume (text Fr1).

⁶ Wellsted (1835a) contains the first notice of Soqotri, though it appears Wellsted falsely claimed credit for collecting at least some of this data (see Haines 1845: 110). Wellsted briefly discusses the language on pp. 211–212 of his work, and a word-list appears on pp. 220–229. Much of this data, with abundant printing errors, is found also in Wellsted (1835b: 165–166). The first published information on Mehri, a list of about three dozen words, was also supplied by Wellsted (1840: 26–27). Ḥarsusi, Baṭḥari, and Hobyot were not known to Europeans until the 20th century.

⁷ Discussion of classification appears in Fresnel (1838a: 513–515; 1838b).

⁸ The relevant portion of Gesenius' study can be found on pp. 369–375 of the original version, and on pp. 3–11 of the offprint edition.

⁹ Leslau (1947b) and Rubin (2014) provide a detailed analysis of Hulton's word-list. On Hulton's trip, see also Hulton (1836; 1841).

not in Hulton's list. Another list of about a hundred words and forty phrases, along with a translation of Genesis 24:1–7, was published in 1846 by a missionary named (Johann) Ludwig Krapf (1810–1881).¹⁰ A short text of about sixty-five words, with Mehri and Soqotri parallels, was published by Fritz Hommel (1896). 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 Jibbali or any other Modern South Arabian language was collected by a language specialist, and so the value and scope of these publications is often limited.¹¹

A major turning point in the field of Modern South Arabian studies came in 1898, when several scholarly expeditions to Southern Arabia were launched by the Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, now called the Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.¹² During this expedition (known as the Südarabische Expedition), 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 team even brought informants to Vienna, including a Jibbali-speaker named Muḥammad bin Selim al-Kathīri, who was in Vienna from May to September, 1904. The result of this team's efforts was a wealth of textual material in Mehri, Jibbali, and Soqotri, published between 1902 and 1909, which greatly advanced the field of MSA studies. For Jibbali, the most relevant publication is Müller (1907). From this material collected and published by Müller came the important grammatical studies of Bittner (1913a; 1916a; 1916b; 1917a; 1917b; 1918). Bittner's works remain the most comprehensive published grammatical studies of Jibbali to date. It must be pointed out that the Jibbali material published by Müller and analyzed by Bittner is the least reliable of the data collected by the Viennese team. This is probably in no small part a result of the abilities of Müller's informant,¹³ though there are

¹⁰ 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.

¹¹ See Leslau (1946) for a complete bibliography of MSA studies until 1945.

¹² On the background of these expeditions, see the accounts of Landberg (1899) and Müller (1899), as well as Macro (1993) and Sturm (2011). For the study of the languages, the information about the expeditions provided in the introductions to the text editions are much more relevant.

¹³ Though Müller records no complaints, his student and colleague Nikolaus Rhodokanakis (1876–1945), who used Muḥammad as an informant for the Arabic dialect of the Dhofar, complained about him at length (Rhodokanakis 1908: v-vi). He called him, among other things, a bad explainer (*“ein schlechter Erklärer”*), impatient (*“ungeduldig”*), and arrogant (*“hochmütig”*). On this informant, see also Davey (2013: 29–32).

numerous errors in Bittner's analysis that can only be his own. One is also immediately struck in the introduction to Müller's edition of Jibbali texts by the claim that Jibbali is spoken "in the mountains of Dhofar on the Persian Gulf". Of course, Dhofar is on the Indian Ocean, quite a distance from the Persian Gulf. (On the erroneous name of the language given by the informant, see below, § 1.3.)

In 1937, Bertram Thomas (1892–1950) published a sketch of four MSA languages, one of which was Jibbali.¹⁴ This included the first new data on MSA collected in nearly thirty years. Thomas had had no previous knowledge of the material collected by the Austrian expedition, and so he provides an important independent witness to the languages. Unfortunately, Thomas was not a trained linguist, as he himself readily admits. Like most of his 19th-century predecessors, he was simply an adventurous traveler with a keen interest in language.¹⁵ Thomas does have one significant distinction as an amateur linguist, 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.

In 1953, Ewald Wagner published his highly regarded study of MSA syntax, which, after Bittner's combined work, is the most detailed grammatical study of the MSA languages from the 20th century. Wagner's data all came from the publications of the Austrian expedition (Müller, Jahn, and Hein) and from Thomas's sketch. His work remains valuable for the study of the MSA languages, especially for Mehri, which was the main focus of his study.

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 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 wide 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

¹⁴ A study of Thomas's data was made by Leslau (1947a).

¹⁵ Thomas (1932) is a fascinating account of his travels in Arabia, including his time among speakers of Modern South Arabian languages. Interestingly, Johnstone's Jibbali text 54 is similar to a story that Thomas recounts on pp. 246–251. Other stories recorded by Thomas have parallels in Johnstone's Mehri material (see Rubin 2010: 3, n. 11).

and Bittner—and to properly understand the elision of labials in Jibbali (see § 2.1.2 and § 2.1.3).¹⁶ It is unfortunate that Matthews did not publish more, especially since most of his knowledge was gained in the field.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, Thomas Muir Johnstone of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, carried out fieldwork on the MSA languages. The results of his efforts were dictionaries of three MSA languages (Ḥarsusi, Jibbali, and Mehri), a number of important articles, and two posthumously published text collections, on Mehri and Ḥarsusi (see Bibliography). Much of Johnstone's material was collected in 1969–1970 in Dubai. Afterward, 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. Ali Musallam, with whom I later corresponded, was a native speaker of Mehri, but learned Jibbali as a child (around age ten). Johnstone also worked closely with a native speaker of Jibbali named Salim Bakhit,¹⁷ as well as other occasional informants in Oman.

Sadly, Johnstone died in 1983, just one week shy of his fifty-ninth birthday. He managed to see the publication of his Ḥarsusi and Jibbali lexicons, which appeared in 1977 and 1981, respectively, but his *Mehri Lexicon* was published (riddled with typos) only after his death, in 1987. His collections of Mehri and Ḥarsusi texts were published by Harry Stroomer in 1999 and 2004, respectively. Johnstone also collected about sixty-five to seventy Jibbali texts, none of which have been published until now. I obtained copies of Johnstone's Jibbali texts in manuscript form, and it is on these texts, published herein, that this grammar is largely based (see below, § 1.9). Johnstone's *Jibbāli Lexicon* is today the most important published resource on the language. An English-Jibbali index to that work, compiled by G. Rex Smith, was published as an appendix to the *Mehri Lexicon*.

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 outcome 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. The lexicon has definite value, but must be used with

¹⁶ Fresnel (1838b: 82) mentioned the existence of a definite article *a-*, but this seems to have been forgotten or disregarded.

¹⁷ Salim Bakhit later was listed as co-author in an article on Jibbali verbs: Hayward, Hayward, and Bakhit (1988), and also published a useful article on Omani tribal structures (1982).

some caution. A Hobyot lexicon was published posthumously in 2013, which has the distinction of being the first significant publication ever on the language.¹⁸

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. They collected no new data on Jibbali, but each has published studies dealing with comparative issues within MSA that have made good use of earlier Jibbali data. Of particular relevance to Jibbali are Lonnet (1991; 1994a; 1994b).

In 1998, the Dutch scholar Anda (Antje) Hofstede completed a PhD thesis at the University of Manchester, entitled “A Syntax of Jibbāli”. Based on Johnstone’s Jibbali texts, as well as on fieldwork conducted in Oman and with Omani informants in Great Britain, her work is in many ways the most thorough study of Jibbali to date. She also included three of Johnstone’s texts (16, 28, and 35) as an appendix. Unfortunately, the work has never been published, and Dr. Hofstede has retired from academia.¹⁹

There have also been several works devoted to the flora of Oman that have included a fair number of terms in Jibbali, namely, Miller and Morris (1988), Morris (2002), and Ghazanfar (1992; 2003; 2007).²⁰ Miller and Morris include not only terms for flora, but also some terms for cultural items. The lexical items in these works are a nice supplement to Johnstone’s *Jibbāli Lexicon*, though it must be noted that the transcription of Jibbali in Ghazanfar (1992) is very loose (e.g., *tik* for *ṭek* ‘wild fig tree [*ficus vasta*]’). Janzen (1986) also includes a small number of words related to culture and the economy, though these are scattered throughout his book.

There has been at least one work on Jibbali published by a native speaker, Ali Ahmed Al-Shahri (2000), which is written partly in Arabic, partly in English. The work is not academic, and contains some controversial information on the ancient history of the region, but it does include some word-lists in Jibbali (which he calls *Ṣaḥri*), as well as over two hundred Jibbali

¹⁸ I received this excellent new resource just about two weeks before this volume went to press.

¹⁹ Dr. Hofstede’s thesis is available for download via the British Library’s EthOS service, <http://ethos.bl.uk/>.

²⁰ Miller and Morris also provide a nice introduction to the topography of the Dhofar, as well as its climate and various cultural items.

proverbs. The Jibbali transcriptions, both in Arabic and Roman characters, are not always easy to follow (for a non-native), but the English translations are helpful. The same author published an earlier book on the Dhofar region (1994), focusing mainly on rock art, epigraphy, and archeological material, but which includes several pages of Jibbali word-lists, some of which include comparison with other Semitic languages (1994: 333–337).²¹ Despite the limitations of both books, they contain a wealth of cultural information and numerous color photographs and illustrations, and the author is to be commended for his promotion of the Jibbali language.

There have also been three unpublished theses on Jibbali by Omanis. Mohammed Al-Mashani, a Jibbali speaker, wrote a dissertation on the lexicon in comparison with Arabic (1999), including some lexical items not found in *JL*. Another native speaker, Salim Al-Shahri, wrote a thesis a bit broader in scope (2007), though entirely in Arabic. Of particular note are the two dozen or so maps indicating isoglosses (mainly lexical) among the dialects. Finally, Khalsa Al Aghbari, an Omani, but not a Jibbali speaker, wrote a dissertation on Jibbali (2012). Her study is limited to an analysis of noun plurals, for which she takes a synchronic, theoretical approach.²²

1.2 *The Name “Jibbali”*

The language nowadays usually called Jibbali has been known to scholars by a variety of names. Fresnel, who first brought the language to the attention of Europeans (see above, §1.1) called it Eḥkili. This is based on the word *əḥklí* (pl. *əḥkló*), the native name used to designate tribal speakers of this language. The term *əḥklí* contrasts with *šherí* (pl. *šheró*), which refers to non-tribal speakers, who in former times were relegated to a subservient social status.²³ The low status of the *šheró* can be seen in the comment of Fresnel, who says that *əḥklí* is the name of “la race noble qui parle ... cet idiome”, but that *šherí* is the “nom générique des *vilains* qui parlent la même langue”.²⁴ Thomas (1937: 7–8) recounts the local tradition (still widely

²¹ Edzard (2013) is a short study of some of this Jibbali material, with transcriptions in Roman characters.

²² I received copies of Al-Shahri’s and Al Aghbari’s works just days before the present volume went to press, and Al-Mashani’s work when this volume was already in the proofing stage.

²³ The adjective *šherí* is sometimes also contrasted with *kíli* (< **kabíli*) ‘tribal’ or *kúli* (var. *kūzí*) ‘tribesman’; cf. Müller (1907: vii; 120, n. 2).

²⁴ Fresnel (1838b: 79, n. 2). Fresnel also discusses these two names elsewhere (1838a: 554).

known) that the *šheró* were the original inhabitants of the area, who later came under the subjugation of the *əhkló*.²⁵

Thomas used the name Shahari (= Šaḥri), which is an Arabized form of native Šḥeri. The variant Šiḥri has also been used by some scholars. Johnstone also used the name Šḥeri in his earlier publications. The name Šḥeri and its Arabized variants are legitimate and appropriate designations, as many native speakers use or have used the term *šḥarēt* for their language,²⁶ and one of the local Arabic names is *aš-šahriyyah*.²⁷ In fact, most of my informants still prefer this designation. However, since *šherí* is an ethnonym referring to only some speakers, and since the term has connotations pertaining to a lowly social status, one could argue that Šḥeri is not an ideal choice as a name for the language.

The publications that came out of the Viennese South Arabian Expedition used the name Šḥauri, which is a peculiar name that was possibly a creation of Müller's lone informant, Muḥammad bin Selim (see § 1.1). Some have taken Šḥauri to be an erroneous form of *šherí*.²⁸ In fact, the name probably reflects the root *šxr*, which can have the sense of 'weak, poor' (cf. *šáxər* 'old man').²⁹ The Arabic cognate root *sxr* is connected to the idea of subjugation (e.g., Arabic *saxxara* 'subjugate, make subservient', *suxrat*- 'forced labor'). Müller (1907: vii) explains that his informant defined Šḥauri as 'poor, weak', in opposition to *ḵabíli* 'tribal' (since the tribes subjugated the non-tribal Dhofaris).³⁰ Perhaps Muḥammad was providing a folk etymology for *šherí*, conflating its root with the somewhat similar root *šxr*. See below on the actual etymology.

The Arabic equivalent of the ethnonym *əhklí* is *qarāwi* (pl. *qarā*), and in 19th-century publications one occasionally finds the language called Qarawi (also Grauwi, Ḷarawi). Fresnel's Eḥkili was also used by some later scholars, sometimes in the variant form Ḥakili. However, the terms Eḥkili and Qarawi, like Šḥeri, are too restrictive.

The term Jibbali, based on Arabic *jibāl* 'mountains', is today used by most scholars. This term was introduced and popularized in its English form

²⁵ Very useful overviews of the tribal structure of the Dhofar can be found in Bakhit (1982), Janzen (1986), Morris (1987), and Peterson (2004). Dostal (1975) also has some valuable information.

²⁶ The name, mentioned by Johnstone (1981: xi, 250), is recorded already by Glaser (1890: 96), though he transcribed it Šeḥrāt.

²⁷ Matthews (1969a: 43).

²⁸ Matthews (1969a: 43).

²⁹ Leslau (1938: 211); Lonnet (1994a: 40).

³⁰ Elsewhere, *šherí* is contrasted with *ḵíli*. See also above, n. 23.

by T.M. Johnstone, though the Arabic term *al-jabbāliyyah* existed in local Arabic dialects already.³¹ Its nativized Jibbali equivalent, *gəblēt*, is also the term used today by many Jibbali speakers; cf. also Jibbali *gəblí* ‘mountain man’. It is true that the word *šherí* can also be translated ‘mountain man’, as it is historically based on the word *šhehr* ‘fertile area of the mountains’, but *šherí* has the above-mentioned negative connotations that *gəblí* does not have.

Still today, native speakers and locals disagree, sometimes passionately, on whether Jibbali or Šaḥri (or Šḥeri) is the better name for the language. Those who are *šheró* (often with the family name Al-Šaḥri) tend to prefer Šaḥri/*šḥarēt*, not surprisingly. My *əhklí* informants preferred Jibbali/*gəblēt*. The former group were the more sensitive about the name.

1.3 *Dialects of Jibbali*

There are three principal Jibbali dialect groups, which Johnstone (1981: xii), called Western (WJ), Central (CJ), and Eastern Jibbali (EJ). This tripartite division, based on the geography of the region,³² is one that is also recognized by native speakers themselves. Natives, of course, have their own notions of the other dialects, rightly or wrongly. For example, Johnstone was told that WJ made “excessive” use of diminutives. One informant of mine (a self-designated speaker of CJ) thought that EJ used “very old words and phrases”. One EJ informant said that Western Jibbali is “not good”, and that I should not depend on it. Two other informants of mine that I interviewed together, one a CJ speaker and one a WJ speaker, bickered frequently about correct forms, and one would occasionally produce a form that the other found either incomprehensible or ridiculous. The dialects, however, are all mutually intelligible to a high degree, and exhibit only minor variances.

The differences between the dialects are as in most any other language. That is, there are some differences in pronunciation, in lexicon, and in morphology. The most recognizable difference in pronunciation is probably that of the phoneme /g/. WJ speakers pronounce this as *j* (that is, [dʒ]), while CJ and EJ speakers pronounce this as *g* or *gʷ*. So ‘man’ is *ǰeyj* in WJ, but *ǰeyg* in the other dialects. At least some WJ speakers also have *w-* for the conjunction ‘and’, rather than *b-* (see § 12.1.1).

³¹ Matthews (1969a: 43). Cf. also Phillips (1966: 172).

³² The three dialect groups correspond to the areas of the three mountain ranges Jabal al-Qamar (WJ), Jabal al-Qarā (CJ), and Jabal Samḥān (EJ).

An example of a lexical difference is the word for ‘today’, which is most often (ə)šhér, but (ə)šhór among some CJ speakers. As another example, one CJ informant used *kbér bə-xtór* for ‘he went up (to the mountains) and went down’, while his WJ-speaking friend preferred *télaʿ wə-kéb*.

Dialectal differences in morphology are probably most evident in the conjugation of verbs. For example, for the imperfect of the verb šaʿé ‘he ran’, my CJ and EJ informants used *yəšítʿ*, while my WJ informant used *yəšóʿ* (as also in *JL*).

It is not always clear what differences to attribute to dialectal differences. For example, my WJ informant recognized the word *ǧažét* ‘girl’, but a CJ informant did not. And while my CJ informants recognized the word *tət* ‘above’, my WJ informant did not. These differences would seem to be dialectal, but it is hard to be certain based on a limited number of informants. Different speakers also show greater or lesser influence from Arabic or Mehri, and while we can say generally that younger speakers show much greater Arabic influence in their speech, every speaker’s idiolect is different.³³

Johnstone (1981: xii) reported that mainland speakers refer to the Jibbali dialect used on the island of Al-Ḥallaniya as “baby Gəblēt [Jibbali]”, because they pronounce the lateral fricatives *ś* and *ž* as *t* and *ð*, respectively. Data on this dialect from Hulton (1840) argue against this claim (see Rubin 2014), and so more research is needed.

The majority of Johnstone’s texts (those obtained from Ali Musallam) are in EJ, while those of Salim Bakhit and of my own informants (other than Ali) are in CJ. Johnstone’s *Jibbāli Lexicon* is based on CJ, though EJ forms are often noted. However, I found that my CJ informants sometimes, but not always, used forms that aligned with what Johnstone called EJ. For example, my CJ informants preferred *flét* ‘he fled’ over *eflét*, though *JL* calls the former an EJ form, and the latter a CJ form. And recall the example of the verb ‘run’, above, where *JL* includes the verb form used by my WJ informant, but not my CJ ones. Clearly the boundaries distinguish the dialects are not so straightforward, nor are the three dialects immune from internal variation. The data are complicated by the fact that the language itself,

³³ 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 never been attempted. At present this would not be easily done, since the Arabic dialects of the Dhofar (and elsewhere in Oman) have not been fully described. Rhodokanakis (1911) remains the primary published resource on Dhofari Arabic, though now there is the recent study of Davey (2013).

and no doubt the dialectal situation, has changed in the forty years since Johnstone collected his material.

In addition to the synchronic, geographical differences, there are also diachronic differences in the Jibbali recorded in various periods: the early 19th century, the turn of the 20th century, the 1970s, and today. For example, the future tense particle (§ 7.1.4) has the form *dhar* or *dḥar* in Müller (1907) and earlier material, but the shorter form *dḥa-*, *ḥa-*, or even *a-* in the material from the later 20th century to the present.³⁴ In Müller's texts, the external feminine plural morpheme is normally *-étā*, *-éti*, or *-tā* (or similar variants), as in Johnstone's texts, but occasionally forms are met with a more archaic final *-tān*.³⁵ For many differences between older and newer material (most importantly that of Müller and Johnstone), such as the numerous differences in the conjugation of prepositions, it is not always clear if these are due to dialect or language change. This book includes numerous comments on developments in the speech of younger informants, such as the shortened and lengthened forms of demonstrative pronouns (§ 3.4), leveling in the forms of possessive pronominal suffixes (§ 3.2.2), and changes in the conjugation of some weak verb types (e.g., § 7.4.14).

Older data also contain many words that are no longer used today, or that have shifted in meaning. For example, Müller's texts commonly use the word *bélağ* 'come to, reach', while according to Johnstone (*JL*, s.v. *blğ*) it means only 'reach puberty'.³⁶ As another example, both Hulton (1840: 196) and Müller (e.g., 1907: 42, line 37) record the word *mašōt* 'turban' (def. *āšōt*), which derives from the verb *ʿašōb* 'tie (around the head)'. This may be an old-fashioned or outdated word, since, in Johnstone's newly-made Jibbali version of Müller's text 11 (Johnstone's text 97), Johnstone's informant used the word *māsér* 'turban'. *JL* includes the verb *ʿašōb*, but not the noun *mašōt*.

1.4 *The Position of Jibbali within MSA*

At present, there exists no modern comprehensive grammatical study, synchronic or diachronic, of any MSA language other than Mehri.³⁷ The grammars of Baḥari and Hobyot are especially poorly known. Therefore, the

³⁴ On the future particle and its history, see Rubin (2012b).

³⁵ For example, Bittner (1916a: 52) mentioned *bāšōrtān* 'young camels', to which we can compare *bāšōrtā* in *JL* (s.v. *bkr*). For another example, see § 4.3.2, n. 8.

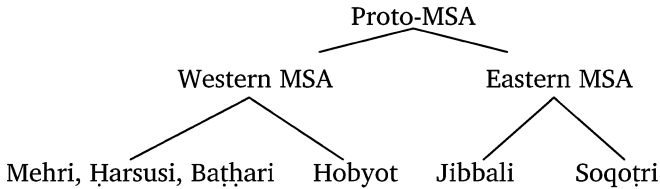
³⁶ The verb *bélağ* does occur with the meaning 'reach' in Johnstone's text Tj1:4, but this was based on a text from Müller. Text Tj1 also contains the archaic (or dialectal?) verb *maḥé* 'pass'.

³⁷ Rubin (2010); Watson (2012).

internal subgrouping of the MSA languages cannot yet be determined with certainty. As noted above, Ḥarsusi and Baḥari—each of which have speakers numbering only in the hundreds—should probably be considered dialects of Mehri, as they are intelligible by Mehris and share some innovative grammatical and lexical features. For example, in these three languages the active participle has developed into a future tense, while Jibbali and Hobyot have developed other means of expressing the future, and Soqoṭri has no such development.³⁸

There are several morphological isoglosses between Jibbali and Soqoṭri that suggest that these two form a group. For example, they share the conditioned loss of prefixed *t-* in certain verbal forms, as well as remnants of certain productive feminine forms ending in *-i*.³⁹ They also share lexical innovations, such as the development of the Semitic words ‘father’ and ‘mother’ into the masculine and feminine adjectives for ‘big’ (see § 5.2), and shift of the root *gb* ‘love’ to ‘want’ (see § 7.5).

Hobyot was discovered by scholars only about thirty-five years ago.⁴⁰ Its exact classification has long been uncertain, due to the almost total lack of published data on this language. Recently published data suggest that Hobyot is closely connected with Mehri, though it shows independent developments, such as the future tense, mentioned above. The languages may be tentatively classified as in the figure below:



The family tree model does not represent the fact that Jibbali has been in close contact with the other mainland MSA languages, especially Mehri, for centuries, while Soqoṭri has remained relatively isolated.

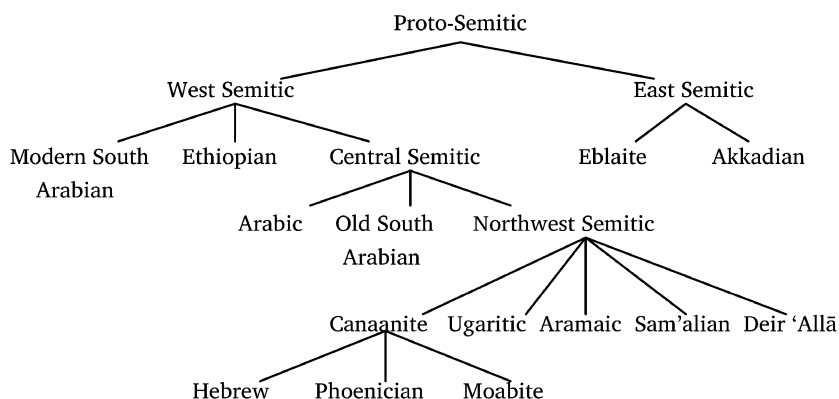
³⁸ On this development in Mehri, see Rubin (2007; 2012b).

³⁹ 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 feminine marking with the suffix *-i*, see Lonnet (2008).

⁴⁰ The existence of Hobyot, which has about a thousand speakers, was first mentioned by Johnstone (1981: xii), but until Nakano (2013), almost no data on the language had ever been published. Some data can also be found in Lonnet (1985), Arnold (1993), and Simeone-Senelle (1997; 2011).

1.5 *The Position of MSA within 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.⁴¹



The exact position of MSA within West Semitic is unclear. It is probable that, like the Ethiopian branch, MSA is distinct from Central Semitic, since it did not participate in the innovation of the indicative *yaqtulu* form.⁴² But do MSA and Ethiopian stem from a single node? Many have argued just this. They share many features—most of which are also shared by Arabic and/or Old South Arabian—but these features are mainly shared retentions from Proto-Semitic or are the result of areal phenomena (e.g., the leveling of *k*-suffixes in the perfect). The most important morphological feature shared by MSA and Ethiopian to the exclusion of Arabic and OSA is the presence of the imperfective form *yaqattal*; this, however, is also a retention from Proto-Semitic (as attested by its presence in Akkadian), and is therefore of no use in classification. At present, MSA should be considered an independent branch of West Semitic.

⁴¹ For further discussion of the subgrouping of the Semitic languages, see Rubin (2008a) and Huehnergard and Rubin (2011).

⁴² A minority of scholars, most notably David Cohen and Antoine Lonnet, have suggested that the MSA imperfective form (e.g., Jibbali *yaḳḳōdər*, Mehri *yaḳūtəb*) does in fact stem from *yaqtulu*, and not from the Proto-Semitic **yVqattVl*; cf. Cohen (1974; 1984: 68–75) and Lonnet (2005: 187–188). See Goldenberg (1977: 475–477; 1979) for an argument against this scenario.

From the discovery of the MSA languages in the 19th century until quite recently, it was assumed by most scholars that the Old South Arabian languages (Sabaic, Minaic, Qatabanic, Ḥaḍramitic) must represent the ancestors of the Modern South Arabian languages.⁴³ Both groups are attested in Southern Arabia; both groups preserve the three Proto-Semitic “sibilants” (*s*, *š*, *ś*), in contrast with almost all other Semitic languages; both make broad use of internal (broken) plurals; and the languages share a number of lexical items. 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 (*yaqtulu*).⁴⁴ J. Huehnergard has since given further evidence in favor of the classification of the OSA languages as Central Semitic.⁴⁵

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 in fact be connected with the Modern South Arabian languages. Ḥaḍramitic is the most easterly of the OSA languages, its homeland (the Ḥaḍramawt, in central Yemen) approaches the Mahra, the westernmost area of present-day Modern South Arabian territory, and the influence of the Ḥaḍramites extended into the Dhofar. More importantly, Ḥaḍramitic exhibits some curious isoglosses with MSA, namely the contrasting initial consonants of the third person pronouns, the preposition *h-* ‘to’,⁴⁶ and some possible lexical items.⁴⁷ 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 *t*, and possibly also *z* and *ḏ*, each of which are

⁴³ Although many scholars made such a connection with accompanying doubts, it was the short article of Porkhomovsky (1997) that has been most influential in disproving this assumption.

⁴⁴ Nebes (1994). Nebes also provides discussion of the history of the debate.

⁴⁵ Huehnergard (2005).

⁴⁶ This isogloss may be misleading, since the preposition is *h-* in Mehri, but *her* in Jibbali (with the base *h-* used mainly before suffixes) and often also in Hobyot.

⁴⁷ Noteworthy isoglosses can also be cited for MSA and other OSA languages. For example, the MSA word for ‘one’ that is reflected in Jibbali *ṭad* is found outside of MSA only in Qatabanic (*ṭd*). But this word is probably connected etymologically to the common Semitic root **ḥd/wḥd*. See also § 9.1.1, n. 2.

distinct in the modern languages,⁴⁸ 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 only that the similarities between Ḥaḍramitic and MSA may be due to language contact.⁴⁹

1.6 *Johnstone's Jibbali Texts*

Johnstone's Jibbali texts were only in rough drafts at the time of his death in 1983. With the permission of his widow Mrs. Bernice Johnstone, I obtained copies of the manuscripts in 2010.⁵⁰ The majority of the texts were written by Ali Musallam. In Box 5B, I found 55 of these, all written by Ali Musallam, numbered (non-consecutively) from 1 to 97 (see the introduction to the texts in §15, for more details); an additional set of poems (which I am not counting towards the total of 55 texts) was given the number 150. Each of these 55 texts (with one or two exceptions) is preserved in two versions, an Arabic-letter version, written by Ali, and a Roman-letter version, written (transcribed) by Johnstone. For a few texts there are multiple Roman-letter versions. Only two have rough English translations. Johnstone also recorded Ali reading most of these texts, and I obtained recordings of 43 texts from the British National Sound Archive (see §1.7), again with the permission of Mrs. Johnstone.

In a second file (Box 5A), I found another set of Jibbali texts. There are two that are clearly marked as written by Salim Bakhit (to whom Johnstone dedicated his *Jibbāli Lexicon*), and several others whose author is uncertain (all but one probably not Ali). I also found recordings of the two texts by Salim Bakhit (from the same collection in the British National Sound Archive), as well as Salim's original Arabic-letter versions (in Box 13, file A2). A third file (Box 5D) contained a few additional texts made by other informants, some quite long, and some also with corresponding audio recordings. A few scattered texts (usually pieces of the texts from Box 5B) can be found elsewhere in Johnstone's papers; see §15 for more details.

None of Johnstone's texts have ever been published, though many of the examples in *JL* are taken from the texts. Hofstede included three of

⁴⁸ Beeston (1984: 68). Note that the interdental and dental/alveolar stops have fallen together in the western Yemeni of Mehri and in Soqotri (i.e., $\underline{t} > t$ and $\underline{d} > d$), but this is an internal development.

⁴⁹ For further on this issue, see Rubin (2008a).

⁵⁰ His papers are now held at Durham University Library Special Collections. His Jibbali texts are found mainly in Box 5, Files A, B, and D. See further details in the introduction to §15.

these texts (13, 28, and 35) as an appendix to her unpublished thesis, and cites passages from many others throughout her thesis, though many of her suggested readings and translations differ from my own.

The texts include folk tales (often quite humorous), explanations of cultural practices, biographical and autobiographical stories, and conversations. Two of the texts (text 6 and TJ1) are new (or updated) versions of Müller's Jibbali texts, while several others are translations from Ali's own Mehri texts (a couple of which were themselves translations of Yemeni Mehri texts from the Austrian expedition). Other texts have a parallel Mehri version made by Ali, but are not direct translations. Overall, the texts are immensely interesting, both as windows into Omani/Jibbali culture and as entertaining stories. See further in the Introduction to the texts in Part 2 of this volume (§15).

1.7 *Johnstone's Audio Material*

Audio recordings exist for about 49 of Johnstone's Jibbali texts, which were made in the 1970s and early 1980s. The original recordings are located in the Durham University Library, to which Johnstone willed all of his papers. Copies of these recordings are held in the British Library Sound Archives (reference C733), which has transferred the tapes onto compact discs. Mrs. Bernice Johnstone kindly gave me permission to receive copies of her late husband's material, and I obtained CD copies of tapes 16–20, 22–23, 35–36, and 112–113. Of the 61 texts from Johnstone that are included in this volume, I was able to consult the audio for 49 texts, 44 of which were recorded by Ali Musallam (one in conjunction with another speaker), two by Salim Bakhit, and three by other speakers. The texts for which I did not find audio recordings are 40–43, 45–50, 86, and TJ1. On the tapes are also recordings of a handful of poems.

Almost all of the texts recorded by Ali Musallam are not recordings of natural speech, but rather of Ali reading from a transcript. Since Jibbali is not normally written, the reading can be very unnatural. As Ali reads his own text, he stumbles, pauses, and corrects himself often. A few of the recordings include stories told at natural speed, and these differ noticeably from the stories that are read. The audio is still very valuable for hearing the sounds of Jibbali, and for checking some of the more suspect transcriptions made by Johnstone in his rough drafts. The few recordings by Salim Bakhit and the other informants are all of natural speech.

1.8 *New Material*

After editing Johnstone's texts and writing a sketch of the grammar, I embarked on some fieldwork of my own. I recognized that my grammar of Mehri (2010) was limited by my lack of informants, and I wanted to go beyond those limits with this grammar of Jibbali. To that end, I first found an informant with the help of Prof. Janet Watson. This was Saeed al-Mahri (SM), a native speaker of both Mehri and Jibbali, who had worked with Watson extensively on Mehri. Saeed was kind enough to provide me with some audio recordings (including both translations and original material) and answer questions by telephone and by e-mail on numerous occasions over a period of more than two years. Prof. Watson also put me in contact with Johnstone's old informant Ali Musallam. He and I, with the help of Saeed al-Mahri, corresponded by letter (sometimes also recorded onto audio) for a period of about three years. Ali also provided me with some original Jibbali material, including one story that is published in this volume. Sadly, Ali passed away in February, 2013.

Via Facebook and other internet sources, I was able to find a number of other Jibbali speakers, who helped me with some questions concerning words or minor points of grammar. These include Salim al-Shahri (SS), Ahmed 'Amer Jid (AJ), Bu Ya'reb al-Shahri (BY), Ali Ġafrem (AG), and Muna al-Shahri (MnS), among others. Muna al-Shahri—the only female Jibbali informant that I was able to work with—was especially helpful, even though our contact was limited to e-mail and telephone.

The Arab Spring of 2012 and responsibilities at home kept me from going to Oman as I had hoped. Still determined to do some fieldwork face to face, I contacted the Omani Embassy in Washington, DC. Thanks to the help of Dr. Asya Al-Lamki and Moayed Al-Hawazi, both in the Embassy's Cultural Division, I was able to find two Jibbali students living in the United States, Ahmed Kashoob (AK) and Fahad Baawain (FB) in Columbia, South Carolina. I met with them in October, 2012. I met with Ahmed again in June, 2013, along with Musallam Qatan (MQ), in Melbourne, Florida. From these three informants, with whom I was able to work in person, I collected a wealth of new data, including a number of recorded texts. Most of these texts are included in this volume. In 2012, Ahmed put me in contact with Musallam al-Shahri (MmS) in Omaha, Nebraska, who I later discovered is the first cousin of the abovementioned Muna al-Shahri. Musallam and I spoke a number of times, and each time he patiently answered many questions for me. Finally, also in June, 2013, Julien Dufour was generous enough to pose a handful of questions for me to his own Jibbali informant

in Paris, Adnan al-Mahri (AdM), a 21-year old CJ speaker from Rabkut.⁵¹ The responses to these questions mostly just confirmed some grammatical points, but he is cited in a couple of places in this book.

My main informants were thus the following:

Ali Musallam, aged mid-60s (but in his 20s when he recorded texts for Johnstone in the early 1970s).⁵² Lived in Şalalah, but raised in the mountains near Jibjât (northeast of Taqah). EJ dialect.

Saeed al-Mahri (SM), aged 28. Lives in Şalalah, but born in the mountains near Jibjât. EJ dialect.

Ahmed Kashoob (AK), aged 20. From Zayk, near Şalalah. CJ dialect.

Fahad Baawain (FB), aged 19. From Ðalqut. WJ dialect.

Musallam Qatan (MQ), aged 20. From Wadi Naḥiz, near Salalah. CJ dialect.

Muna al-Shahri (MnS), aged 25. From the mountains near Şalalah. CJ dialect.

Musallam al-Shahri (MmS), aged 19. From the mountains near Şalalah CJ dialect.

Phrases and sentences used as examples that came from these informants, but that are not part of a published text, are indicated with their respective initials (SM, AK, etc.).

1.9 *This Grammar*

The grammar described in this book is based largely, but not solely, on textual material, and follows very closely the arrangement of my grammar of Mehri (2010). Johnstone's material comprises the bulk of the texts, but these are supplemented by my own texts, as well as by other data obtained from native speakers. Topics in phonology, morphology, and syntax are covered, though the coverage is disproportionate compared to what is found in typical grammars. Because of my own interests, and because I had only limited access to native speakers, phonology is treated here only relatively briefly. Those features of phonology that most affect the morphology are discussed. With regard to morphology, all of the basic topics are covered, though treatment can never really be considered complete, especially in a case such as

⁵¹ This connection was made possible through the kind assistance of Sabrina Bendjaballah and Philippe Ségéral. Adnan is also a Mehri speaker, and worked mainly with the French researchers on Mehri.

⁵² Ali was uncertain about his exact age.

Jibbali, with so much diachronic and dialectal variety. Jibbali 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 Johnstone’s texts to provide complete paradigms for most verb types. This topic is complicated by the fact that there are dialectal differences that show up in the conjugation of verbs. 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, and includes new data, it is necessarily incomplete. A complete list of paradigms, for all stems and root types, would run to hundreds of pages.

A large part of this grammar is devoted to the syntax of Jibbali. 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.

Though I began this book focusing the Jibbali of Johnstone’s texts (especially those from Ali Musallam and Salim Bakhit), I have supplemented his data with texts and other information gathered from numerous informants, as well as with other published material. The texts included in this volume come from at least eight different speakers, and an additional eight or so speakers provided data in other ways.

I have not made thorough use of the texts collected by Müller, nor other older material. This was done for a number of reasons. First, Johnstone’s texts seem to reflect a different dialect than the corpus of material collected by the Austrian expedition. Second, the material collected by the Austrians, and the work based on their material (e.g., that of Bittner 1916a–1918) is not always accurate. In fact, the Jibbali material is the least reliable of that collected by the Austrians. Third, other published material on Jibbali (e.g., Thomas 1937) is, though very interesting and important, not very sound in terms of its linguistic method. Finally, there have clearly been changes in the language since Müller and his predecessors made their studies (see above, §1.1), and it was challenging enough to deal with dialectal and diachronic differences between Johnstone’s informants and my own. Still I have made reference to earlier Jibbali data, as well as to Johnstone’s own unpublished papers, in many places throughout this grammar and in the notes to the texts.

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 Jibbali. Of course, previous works were valuable to me, 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.⁵³

Johnstone was referring to the works of the Austrian expedition. Of course, I have 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 this grammar, I was wary of having too many presuppositions based on earlier publications, preferring to reach my own conclusions. Despite this philosophy, and despite the restricted scope of this grammar, reference has occasionally been made to other corpora, where useful and appropriate. I also sometimes have made reference to Mehri, Soqoṭri, or Ḥarsusi, to point out a noteworthy difference or similarity, or to illuminate a difficult lexical item. For the most part I refer to the dialect of Mehri described in Rubin (2010). Comparison with the other Mehri dialects described in Watson (2012) is also very interesting, but since this volume is not intended as a comparative grammar, I do not often refer to the other dialects.

The Jibbali language (like Mehri), has changed considerably 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 without including numerous Arabic words and phrases. Younger speakers recognize very well 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—and that most of these texts were carefully written out, and not just spoken spontaneously—does not fully reflect the language as spoken today, and knowing that there is quite a bit of variation among today's many speakers, I still have chosen to use these 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. I started primarily with the language of a single informant (Ali Musallam),

⁵³ This manuscript, entitled "The reliability of the SAE [= Südarabische Expedition] publications on the MSA languages", is in the possession of A. Lonnet, who very kindly allowed me to borrow it for study in 2009.

formed the rules of this language, and found that these rules work very well for the language of other informants. Where there are differences, I have noted them where appropriate.

Describing the grammar of an unwritten, unstandardized language presents its own challenges. In this situation, there is usually greater variation among speakers, and, moreover, it is not always clear which forms to single out. For example, if I were writing a grammar of English, I would not list *ənə* as a marker of the future tense. Nevertheless, I use this form regularly for some persons, as in *I'm ənə go home* or *he's ənə call me later* (*ənə* < *gonna* < *going to*). I might include the form *gonna* in my grammar, but certainly not *ənə*, even though this is a legitimate realization of the underlying *going to*. In a language without a standardized writing tradition, like Jibbali, it is not always clear where to draw the line for such lexemes or morphemes. For example, in Jibbali the future tense particle can be realized *dha-*, *ha-*, or *a-* (see § 7.1.4), while the masculine singular demonstrative adjective can be realized *ḏénu*, *ḏén*, or *ḏē* (§ 3.4). Of course, the more reduced forms are typical of fast speech, while the more conservative forms are more typical of very careful speech or writing. It is precisely because the language of most of Johnstone's texts reflects 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 the 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 Jibbali 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 Jibbali, or in modern Arabic interference in Jibbali, will still find much of use in this book.

Throughout the grammar, I have made reference to dialectal differences, both geographic and diachronic. These sometimes come from Müller's older material, but are most often based on the data I myself collected. No doubt there are many more dialectal differences that have yet to be noticed.

Ideally, a grammar of Jibbali would be constructed on the basis of my having lived for six months or more in some Jibbali-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 abroad. 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 TWO

PHONOLOGY

2.1 *Jibbali Consonants*

The following table illustrates the phonemic inventory of Jibbali, with non-phonemic consonants in parentheses:

| | Labial | Labiodental | Interdental | Dental/Alveolar | Lateral | Palato-Alveolar | Velar/Uvular | Pharyngeal | Glottal |
|--------------------|----------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------|------------|------------------|
| Stops | | | | | | | | | |
| unvoiced | | | | <i>t</i> | | | <i>k</i> | | (^ʔ) |
| voiced | <i>b</i> | | | <i>d</i> | | | <i>g</i> | | |
| glottalic | | | | <i>t̥</i> | | | <i>k̥</i> | | |
| Fricatives | | | | | | | | | |
| unvoiced | | <i>f</i> | <i>t̪</i> | <i>s</i> | <i>ʃ</i> | <i>ʃ̣, ʃ̣̣</i> | <i>x</i> | <i>ħ</i> | <i>h</i> |
| voiced | | | <i>ð</i> | <i>z</i> | <i>l, (ẓ)</i> | <i>(ʒ̣)</i> | <i>ǰ</i> | <i>ʕ</i> | |
| glottalic | | | <i>ð̥</i> | <i>ʒ</i> | <i>ẓ̣</i> | <i>ʒ̣̣</i> | | | |
| Nasal | <i>m</i> | | | <i>n</i> | | | | | |
| Trill | | | | <i>r</i> | | | | | |
| Approximant | <i>w</i> | | | | | <i>y</i> | | | |

Notes:

- It is doubtful that ^ʔ should be considered a phoneme. It is heard only word-finally, and even there does not seem to be phonemic. Discussion of what happens to ^ʔ as a root consonant within the verbal system can be found in § 7.4.1, § 7.4.8, and § 7.4.12.
- Unlike in Omani Mehri, *ʕ* has been preserved in Jibbali. However, Mehri speakers of Jibbali (like Johnstone's main text informant, Ali Musallam) sometimes do not pronounce this consonant.

- *k*, *g*, and *ḳ* are velar, while *x* and *g̣* are uvular.
- The phoneme /g/ can be pronounced as *g* or a palatalized *gʰ* in CJ and EJ, while in WJ it is pronounced as *j* (that is, IPA [dʒ]).
- The phoneme *š* represents IPA [ʃ].
- According to Johnstone (*JL*, p. xiv), the phoneme *ṣ̣* is “pronounced with approximately the same tongue position as *š*, but there is no contact between the top of the tongue and the alveolum. The air is pushed out over the tongue and the lips are simultaneously rounded and pouted”.
- The phonemes *š* and *ṣ̣* are distinguished only among some speakers of CJ. Otherwise, both are pronounced as *š*. Johnstone’s main text informant (Ali Musallam) and my own informants do not distinguish *ṣ̣*. Still, throughout this book, I have kept the transcription *ṣ̣* wherever it is etymological. Historically, *š* derives from Proto-Semitic *s (corresponding to *h* in the other MSA languages), while *ṣ̣* usually derives from *k or *st.
- The very rare phoneme *ṣ̣̣*, which historically is an allophone of *ḳ*, is a glottalic version of *š*. It is pronounced *ṣ̣̣* by most speakers. It is found in just five different words in all of the texts: *ṣ̣̌irét* ‘town’, *ḥayṣ̣̣* ‘shore’, *fúṣ̣̣hi* ‘halves’, *ṣ̣̌úṣ̣̣i* ‘he drank’ (and conjugated forms), and *iṣ̣̣in(t)* ‘scorpions’. A small number of additional words are included in *JL*.
- The consonant *ś* is a voiceless lateral fricative (IPA [ɬ]).
- The consonant *w* is found mainly in loans, since inherited *w* has either been lost or has shifted to *b* (see § 2.1.5).
- *ž* (IPA [ʒ]) is not a phoneme, but only an allophone of *l*. It is the voiced equivalent of *ś* (IPA [ɬ]).¹ It never occurs word-initially.
- *ṣ̣̣̣* (IPA [ʕ]) derives from the same consonant as Arabic *q̣* (Proto-Semitic *ʕ), and is the glottalic counterpart of the lateral fricative *ś*.² Johnstone (*JL*, p. xiv) suggests that it is pronounced with some affrication (i.e., ^h*ṣ̣̣̣* or ^g*ṣ̣̣̣*), which is also the case in my experience.
- *ẓ̌* is not a phoneme, but rather an allophone of /g/. It is variously pronounced [ʒ], [j], or [j̣]. It is found in just four different words in all of the texts: *túẓ̌ur* ‘rich’ (cf. pl. *toğór*), (*i*)*ẓ̌irét* ‘servant-girl’ (pl. *iẓ̌órtā*; cf. *əggór* ‘servant’), *finẓ̌ún* ‘cup’, and *ẓ̌eb* ‘vagina’.
- According to Johnstone (*JL*, p. xiv), *ž* and *ẓ̌* are both realized as *ẓ̌* by EJ speakers, but I have not verified this.

¹ In my grammar of Mehri (Rubin 2010), I used the symbol *ž* for the glottalic counterpart of *ś*, following Johnstone’s publications. So the symbol *ž* in my Mehri grammar corresponds to the symbol *ẓ̌* in this book.

² The symbol *ṣ̣̣̣* may be preferable to *ẓ̣̣̌*, since *ẓ̣̣̌* does not make it clear that this phoneme is the glottalic counterpart of *ś*. I have used *ẓ̣̣̌* to make it easier to use Johnstone’s lexicon, which uses *ẓ̣̣̌*.

2.1.1 *The Glottalics*

The consonants ð , k , s , t , ʃ , and z are glottalic. Another term used for such consonants is “ejective”. Semitists often refer to these consonants as “emphatic”, a term which is rather vague, but provides a convenient cover term for these consonants across the Semitic languages. In Arabic, these “emphatic” consonants are pharyngealized, while in the Ethiopian Semitic languages they are glottalic. Although Fresnel had recognized that Jibbali possessed the same type of consonants as Amharic (i.e., glottalics),³ Johnstone was the first scholar to make it widely known that these consonants were in fact glottalics in Jibbali (and in the other MSA languages), and his first announcement of this fact in 1970 (published as Johnstone 1975b) was very significant within the field of Semitics.

The above having been said, it seems that the glottalic articulation of the “glottalic” consonants is not always present. Their articulation as glottalics is not quite as evident as in, say, Amharic. Johnstone (*AAL*, p. 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.

As Johnstone also notes, it is not completely clear how the glottalic consonants fit into the categories of voiced and voiceless. Johnstone (*AAL*, p. 7) wrote that they are “perhaps best defined as partially voiced”. What is certain is that the glottalics pair with voiced consonants when it comes to certain morphological features, for example the appearance of the definite article (§ 4.4), the prefix of the D/L-Stem (§ 6.2), and the shape of the Ga-Stem perfect (§ 6.1.1).

A recent study by J. Watson and A. Bellem (2011), and an as yet unpublished study by Rachid Ridouane, have resulted in some very interesting data on the glottalic consonants in Mehri, and some of their conclusions perhaps have relevance for Jibbali.

³ Fresnel (1838b: 84) refers to these consonants as “lettres crachées”. On this same page, Fresnel also notes that the pronunciation of s results in “une contorsion qui détruit la symétrie du visage”, and that in general the language is “horrible à entendre et à voir parler”!

2.1.2 *The Loss of b*

The consonant *b* (like *m*, see § 2.1.3) is lost intervocalically. The result of the loss is usually a long vowel. The rule can be represented as follows:

$$VbV > \bar{V}$$

Occasionally, however, the loss results in a diphthong:

$$VbV > i\bar{V}$$

This loss is not merely historical, but rather remains operative in the language. Thus we see the effects of this rule not just on base lexical forms, but also on derived forms, such as nouns with the definite article, nouns with possessive suffixes, feminine forms of nouns and adjectives, and throughout verbal paradigms. Below are some examples, categorized by word class, and including *b* in various positions within the word.

Nouns:

ūt ‘the house’ < **εbút* (cf. indef. *but* ‘house’)

ī ‘father; my father’ < **abí*

kōt ‘female dog’ < **κɔbVt* < **kalbVt*

siéb ‘reason; because of’ < **səbéb* < **sabab* (note also: *siēk* ‘because of you’ < **siébək* < **sababək!*)

Adjectives:

‘arī ‘Arab’ < **‘arabí*

lūn ‘white’ < **lɔbún*

Verbs:

yōk ‘he weeps’ (Ga 3ms imperf.) < **yəbók* (cf. perf. *béké*)

ōśər ‘he gave good news’ (D/L 3ms perf.) < **əbósər*

yōśərən ‘he gives good news’ (D/L 3ms imperf.) < **yəbós(ə)rən*

κ̄r ‘he buried’ (Ga 3ms perf.) < **κ̄ɔbór*

t̄ēr ‘it broke’ (Gb 3ms perf.) < **t̄ébər*

ǵɔl̄t ‘she refused’ (Ga 3fs perf.) < **ǵɔlɔbót*

yər̄kīn ‘he would have ridden’ (Gb 3ms condit.) < **yər̄kībən*

Numbers:

šō ‘seven (f.)’ < **šóba*

rī ‘four (days)’ < **rība*

As can be seen from the examples above, the quality of the resulting long vowel is often determined by the placement of stress. If the vowel preceding the *b* is stressed, then the resulting long vowel will have the quality of that vowel (e.g., *šō* ‘seven’ < **šóba*; *tēr* ‘it broke’ < **téba*). If the vowel following the *b* is stressed, then the resulting long vowel will have the quality of that vowel (e.g., *ī* ‘father; my father’ < **abí*; *‘arī* ‘Arab’ < **‘arabí*). In most cases, the unstressed vowel is the reduced *a*, which would not be dominant over a full vowel anyway. In cases where the vowels on either side of the *b* are both unstressed, the vowel following the *b* dictates the quality of the long vowel, unless that vowel is *a* (e.g., *ālé* ‘mistress’ < **eba’lé*; but *ēhalét* ‘the word’ < **ēahlét*). For more examples of the elision following the definite article *ε-*, see § 4.4.

In some cases, the *b* is elided but the vowels remain distinct. This happens with the sequences **óbi*, **óbi*, and **úbí*—that is, back rounded vowels followed by *i*. Examples are *gunōi* ‘daggers’ < **gunóbi*, and *kōi* ‘my dog’ < **kóbi*.⁴ Note also that the sequence **ebú* can sometimes be realized *eū*, rather than *ū* (e.g., *ūt* or *eūt* ‘the house’).

There are words that appear to retain intervocalic *b*, but we must distinguish the surface realization of words from their underlying pattern. For example, *takabēn* (30:3) is a surface realization of *takbēn* (< **takbéban*); similarly, *šhabél* ‘he understood’ (34:11) is the surface realization of an underlying **šahbél* (< **šahwél*), and *ekébal* ‘the truce’ (60:9) is the surface realization of *ekébl* (< **ekáwl*). In each of these examples, the *b* is not intervocalic in the underlying form.

Occasionally, we find elision across a word boundary, but mainly when the second word is a particle with a pronominal suffix. Three examples with a first person direct object pronoun (§ 3.3) are *dḥa-(t)sālō-tō* ‘you will wait for me’ (3:10, < (*t*)*slób tō*), *ol takārē-tō lo* ‘don’t come near me!’ (25:12, < *takrēb tō*), and *sālō-tō* ‘wait for me!’ (AM1:6). An example with a preposition is *al-šefkēš* ‘I cover myself with it’ (46:15). As described in the comment to that line in the texts, this is not a verb with an object suffix, as it might appear, but rather a contraction of *al-šefkē beš*. The same contraction is also found in the form *rdēš* ‘they threw it’ (48:3) < *rdé beš*. We also find elision across a word boundary where the noun once had a dual suffix (§ 4.2), e.g., *‘arkē trut* ‘two mice’ (TJ3:26) < **‘arkébi trut*.

⁴ For ‘my dog’, some speakers prefer the form *kóbi*, as discussed in § 3.2.1.

There are environments in which intervocalic *b* is not lost, such as between two stressed vowels of different quality (neither of which is *ə*), most notably at the end of a plural noun with ultimate stress followed by a possessive suffix, e.g., *eslóbésš* ‘his arms’ (36:26), *kəlbésš* ‘his dogs’ (FB).⁵ The consonant *b* is also retained if it is preceded by a long vowel, e.g., *egōbšš* ‘his answer’ (10:4), *ūbšš* ‘his heart’ (15:13).⁶ If *b* is geminate, then it is also not subject to intervocalic loss, e.g., *hibbót* ‘songs, singing’ (7:8), *ḏabbót* ‘fly’.

Finally, it should be noted that intervocalic *b* is sometimes preserved unexpectedly, due to paradigm pressure or other analogy. For example, the 3fp subjunctive form of the G-Stem verb has the pattern *təCCéCən*. If the third root consonant is *b*, we expect it to be lost in this form, but sometimes it is preserved. So from the verb *ǰarób* ‘know’, we might find either 3fp subjunctive *tǰgrēn* or *tǰgrébən*. Likewise, we expect a word-final *b* to be lost before the possessive suffix, but its loss can be blocked. From the noun *kəb* ‘dog, wolf’, some speakers preferred *kōi* ‘my dog’, *kōk* ‘your dog’, while others preferred *kōbi* and *kəb(ə)k*; preservation of *b* (and *m*) before possessive suffixes seems to be the norm for some younger speakers.

After the relative pronoun *ε-*, the initial *b* of the auxiliary verb *ber* is sometimes lost; see the discussion in § 7.2. § 13.5.3.2, and § 13.5.3.6. A similar loss is attested before the construct noun *bet*; see § 4.6, n. 24.

2.1.3 *The Loss of m*

Like *b* (§ 2.1.2), the consonant *m* is lost intervocalically. As with *b*, the result of the loss is usually a long vowel, but occasionally a diphthong. Unlike with *b*, the resulting vowel is nasalized. The rule can be represented as follows:

$$VmV > \tilde{V} \text{ (or rarely } i\tilde{V}\text{)}$$

This rule is not merely historical, but rather remains operative in the language. Thus we see the effects of this rule not just on base lexical forms, but also on derived forms, such as nouns with the definite article, nouns with possessive suffixes, feminine forms of nouns and adjectives, and throughout verb paradigms. Below are some examples, categorized by word class, and including *m* in various positions within the word.

⁵ However, the intervocalic *b* is lost in the forms *sélšum* ‘their arms’ (< *séléb* + *-šum*, 4:1) and *yiršēn* < ‘our riding-camels’ (< *yiršōb* + *-ēn*, 22:12). It is unclear why this is the case. (On the different words *séléb* ‘arms’ and *eslób* ‘arms’, see the comment to text 36:26.)

⁶ There is an underlying vowel preceding the possessive suffixes, as described in § 3.2.1.

Nouns:

īndīk 'the rifle' < **emāndīk* (cf. indef. *māndīk*)
īn 'the sons' < **emīn* (cf. indef. *mīn* < **bīn*)
āhfēr 'basket' < **emahfēr* (cf. indef. *mahfēr* 'basket')
ūn 'Oman' < **amūn*

Adjectives:

ēhrī 'the Mehri' < **emehri* (cf. indef. *mehri*)
rəhūt 'pretty' (fs) < **rəhūmat* (cf. ms *rəhūm*)

Verbs:

ōr 'he said' (Ga 3ms perf.) < **amór*
šr 'he heard' (Gb 3ms perf.) < **šīma* (also *šā* < **šamá*)
ōhal 'he eased, lightened' (D/L-Stem 3ms perf.) < **emóhal*
yūlak 'he owns' (Ga 3ms imperf.) < **yāmúlak* (cf. perf. *mólók*)
zūt 'she gave' (Ga 3fs perf.) < **zumút*

Numbers:

xōš 'five (m.)' < **xamóš*
xīš 'five (f.)' < **xamīš*
tīnīt 'eight (m.)' < **tāminīt*
tōni 'eight (f.)' < **tāmóni*
tīnín 'eighty' < **tāminín*

Other:

fnēnhínām 'night before last' < **fnε* + *mānhínām* (cf. *mānhínām* 'last night')

The rules that determine the quality of the long vowel resulting from the elision of *m* are the same as those outlined for the elision of *b* in the previous section (§ 2.1.2). If the vowel preceding the *m* is stressed, then the resulting long vowel will have the quality of that vowel (e.g., *šr* 'he heard' < **šīma*). If the vowel following the *m* is stressed, then the resulting long vowel will have the quality of that vowel (e.g., *ōr* 'he said' < **amór*). In most cases the unstressed vowel is the reduced *ə*, which would not be dominant over a full vowel anyway. In cases where the vowels on either side of the *m* are both unstressed, the vowel following the *m* dictates the quality of the long vowel, unless that vowel is *ə* (e.g., *tīnín* 'eighty' < **tāminín*; but *īndīk* 'the rifle'

< **emándík*).⁷ As noted above, the only difference is that the elision of *m* usually also results in nasalization. However, if the resulting long vowel is preceded or followed (including later in the word) by the nasal consonant *n*, then nasalization is sometimes blocked, e.g., *īn* ‘the sons’ < **emín*; *nīžín* ‘ant’ (root *nml*); and *rēžun* ‘Ramadan’ (root *rmž*).

As with *b*, sometimes *m* is elided but the vowels remain distinct. This happens with the sequences **ǰmi*, **ómi*, and **úmi*—that is, back rounded vowels followed by *i*. Examples are *šūi* ‘my name’ < **šúmi*, and *xōi* ‘umbrella’ < **xómi* (see the comment to text 31:2).

There are words that appear to retain intervocalic *m*, but we must distinguish the surface realization of words from their underlying pattern. For example, *yózaməš* ‘they give him’ (46:8) is the surface realization of an underlying *yózamš*; the object suffix on an imperfect has no underlying vowel (see § 3.2.3). Similarly, *hamərún* (60:3) is a surface realization of *ham-rún*. In both of the underlying forms, the *m* is not intervocalic.

Occasionally we find elision across a word boundary, but mainly when the second word is a particle with a pronominal suffix. Three examples with a first person direct object pronoun (§ 3.3) are *ha-(t)zī-tə* ‘you will give me’ (13:7), *zəhō-tə* ‘come to me!’ (28:7), and *zē-tūn* ‘give us!’ (53:9). We also find contraction of the preposition *mən* following an indefinite or interrogative pronoun. Two examples with an indefinite pronoun are *dē-ənkēn* ‘someone from you’ (15:7, < *dé mən kēn*) and *sē-ən šóhum* ‘some among them’ (AM1:11, < *sé mən šóhum*); see further in § 3.5.1, § 3.5.2, and § 8.18. On the contraction *ínēn* < *íné mən* ‘which? what kind of?’, see § 11.3. We also find elision across a word boundary where the noun once had a dual suffix (§ 4.2), e.g., *yū trut* ‘two days’ (15:2) < **yúmi trut*.

There are environments in which intervocalic *m* is not lost, such as between two stressed vowels of different quality (neither of which is *ə*), most notably at the end of a plural noun with ultimate stress followed by a possessive suffix (e.g., *axšóméš* ‘his enemies’ [60:24]).⁸ If *m* is geminate, then it is also not subject to intervocalic loss (e.g., *təmmút* ‘it is finished’ [1:14]). This rule also may apply to historically geminate *m* in nouns, e.g., *éméš* ‘his mother’ (< **imm-* ‘mother’). In some forms of I-m verbs where we expect gemination, we find instead intervocalic loss of *m*; this probably indicates a lack of underlying gemination (see the comment to text 60:26 and § 7.4.14).

⁷ In the form *īndík*, the expected initial *ē* is raised to *ī* on account of the following *n*; on this phenomenon, see § 2.2.2.

⁸ The verb *émín* may also be an example. See the discussion in the comment to text 60:37.

2.1.4 *The Shift of b > m*

There is an assimilatory sound change in Jibbali (as in Omani Mehri) **bVn > mVn*. This is seen in the following words, most of which occur in the texts:

məndík ‘rifle’ < Arabic *bunduq*
məstún ‘plantation’ < Arabic *bustān*
(mən) mun ‘between’ < **(mən) ben*
mərḳá ‘veil’ < Arabic *burqu*^c
mín ‘sons’ < **bín*
məndér ‘seaport’ < Arabic *bandar*
məndére ‘flag’ < Arabic *bandēra*

Another example is the CJ verb *kūn* ‘hide’ (ms imperative *kmén*), which in EJ is *kūn* (ms imperative *kbén*), the form met in Johnstone’s texts (30:2; cf. also Mehri *kəbūn*).

There is also a separate assimilatory shift of *b* to *m* that affects both the conjunction *b-* (§ 12.1.1) and the preposition *b-* (§ 8.6) before the function words *mən* ‘from’, *mun* ‘who’, *mit* ‘when’, and the noun *mih* ‘water’. So we find:

(ə)*m-mún* ‘(with) whom?’ < **b-mún* (45:13)
 (ə)*m-mit* ‘and when’ < **b-mít* (97:24)
 (ə)*m-mən ḏírš* ‘and afterwards’ < **b-mən ḏírš* (SB2:6)
 (ə)*m-mih* ‘with water’ < **b-mih* (39:2; 60:37)⁹

This change is not universal, as can be seen from phrases like *bə-məndík* ‘and a rifle’ (32:14), *bə-mahfēr* ‘and a basket’ (54:16), *bə-msé* ‘for how much?’ (52:8), and *bə-mékən* ‘for a lot’ (TJ2:42).

2.1.5 *The Loss of w, and the Shift of w > b*

The consonant **w* is normally lost word-initially, for example:

eg(ə)h ‘face’ (root *wgh*; cf. Mehri *wagh*, Arabic *wajh*)
εk(ə)t ‘time’ (root *wkt*; cf. Mehri and Arabic *wakt*)
εsf ‘description’ (root *wšf*; cf. Mehri and Arabic *wasf*)
éléd ‘children’ (root *wld*; cf. Mehri *wələd*)
ɔrx ‘month’ (root *wrx*; cf. Mehri *warx*)
ódín ‘new’ (root *wdn*; cf. Mehri *yədīn*)¹⁰

⁹ There is also an example of *əm-mih* in *JL* (s.v. *nkt*).

¹⁰ See also the comment to text 4:1.

aǰád 'he went' < **wǰád* (G-Stem 3ms perf. of root *wǰd*)
éǰal 'he arrived' < **wéǰal* (Gb-Stem 3ms perf. of root *wǰl*)

Exceptions to this rule are *bē* 'very (much)', cognate with Mehri *wīyān*,¹¹ *baḥs-* 'alone, by oneself' (§ 3.6; cf. Mehri *wāḥs-*), and the conjunction *b-* 'and' (see below). Also exceptions are more recent Arabic loans and Arabisms (that is, Arabic words used by Jibbali speakers), including *wéǰab* 'ought to' (§ 12.5.20) and *wasáx* 'dirt' (TJ2:121). See also the comments to texts 4:1 and 35:2.

Between vowels, **w* is also lost, for example:

ōǰi 'he advised' < **ewóǰi* (D/L-Stem 3ms perf. of *wǰ*'/*wǰy*)
edúr 'he returned' < **edówar* (D/L-Stem 3ms perf. of *dwr*)
šerēǰ 'he consulted' < **šaréwǰ* (Š2-Stem 3ms perf. of *rwg*)

In contact with most consonants, however, **w* becomes *b*, as in:

ǰabǰót 'girl' < **ǰawǰót*
ksǰbét 'clothes' < **kǰswét* (cf. Mehri *kǰswēt*)
šǰbr 'advice; plan' < **šawr* (cf. Mehri *šawr*)
lébǰat 'bottle' < **lǰwǰat* (cf. Mehri *lǰwǰat*)
tǰbkízót 'possession in marriage' < **tǰwkílót* (cf. Mehri *tǰwkǰlēt*, Arabic *tǰwkīl*)
tǰbǰíf 'description' < **tǰwǰíf* (cf. *ǰsf* 'description', Arabic *wasf*)
yǰbǰód 'he goes' < **yǰwǰód* (G-Stem 3ms imperf. of root *wǰd*; cf. 3ms perf. *aǰád*)
ǰbkǰá 'he put' < **ǰwkǰá* (H-Stem 3ms perf. of *wǰ*'; cf. Mehri *hǰwkǰā*)

This rule explains the inserted *b* of many internal plurals (§ 4.3.3), such as:

mǰǰébtǰr 'caravans' < **mǰǰáwtǰr* (sg. *mǰǰtǰr*)
mǰǰébtǰǰ 'killed ones' < **mǰǰáwtǰǰ* (sg. *mǰǰtǰǰ*)
mǰǰébdǰǰ 'rifles' < **mǰǰáwdǰǰ* (sg. *mǰǰdǰǰ*)
mǰǰébkǰá 'veils' < **mǰǰáwkǰá* (sg. *mǰǰǰá*)

This rule also explains the conjunction *b-* 'and' (< Semitic **w-*; see § 12.1.1). A phrase like *(ǰ)*w-ǰéyǰ* 'and a man' became *b-ǰéyǰ*. The original **w-* would not have shifted to *b-* before a word that had an initial vowel, so the complete shift of **w-* 'and' to *b-* is due to leveling/analogy.

¹¹ On the word *bē*, discussed also in § 10.5, see the comments to texts 4:10 and SB1:1.

Some nouns with a prefixed *m-*, such as *mu'ūd* 'meeting place, appointment' (cf. Arabic *maw'id* 'appointment (time and place)'), *možá'* 'family-house' (cf. Arabic *mawđi'* 'place'), *murd* 'watering place' (cf. Arabic *mawrid* 'watering place') would seem to violate the above rules, but these words are probably recent borrowings, in which the diphthong *aw* was probably reduced to *u* or *o* before borrowing.

A characteristic feature of WJ is the use of the conjunction *w-*, rather than *b-*, though WJ employs the sound change elsewhere (e.g., *w-ēnébzal* 'and the places' < **w-emānéwzəl*, FB).

2.1.6 *The Loss of l*

The consonant *l* is sometimes lost in the environment *CV_C*. If the final *C* is not part of the same syllable, then the *l* is lost only if the preceding vowel does not bear the primary stress of the word. We can formulate two general processes, which apply to words other than verbs:

1. #*CalC#* > *CɔC* (usually)
2. *CV_lCV* > *CoC_V* or *CɔC_V* (if *V*₁ = **a*);¹² *CuCV* (if *V*₁ = **u*)

Examples of #1 are:

- ɔf* 'thousand' (< **alf*)
- dɔf* 'rock' (< **dalf*)
- gɔd* 'skin' (< **gald*)
- kɔb* 'wolf, dog' (< **kalb*)¹³
- kɔt* 'talk' (< **kalt*)
- tɔf* 'hunger' (< **talf*)
- xɔk* 'appearance' (< **xalk*)

#1 seems to apply only to monosyllabic nouns of the shape **#CaCC#*, and not to other cases of *CVCC*. We can say with more certainty that, excluding verbs, the rule does not normally operate across a morpheme boundary, hence *fáħal-š* 'his penis', *ēnzəl-š* 'his place', *kel-š* 'all of it (m.)', *kel-s* 'all of it (f.)', *ε-lhúti* 'the cows', etc. There are also exceptions, like *xɛlf* 'next' (perhaps < **xilf*, but cf. Arabic *xalf* 'back (adj.)'), 'alk' 'helpfulness'. Borrowed nouns and Arabisms (that is, Arabic words used by Jibbali speakers) do not undergo this rule, e.g., *tɛlg* 'ice, snow', *ɛlf* 'thousand', *kɛlb* 'heart'.

¹² The vowel *o* seems to be used in the presence of a labial or labiodental consonant.

¹³ Already Fresnel (1838c: 541) noted the loss of *l* in this word.

Examples of #2 are:

tofún 'hungry' (root *tlf*)
xofét 'window' (root *xf*)
sutún 'sultan' (root *st*)
mosé 'rain' (root *lsw*)
śótét 'three (m.)' (root *ślt*)
hofét 'alliance' (root *hlf*)

There are, however, many more words that do not follow change #2 than words that do, e.g.: *felhún* 'contented', *felsún* 'split', *feltún* '(perpetual) escapee', *gəlsét* 'session', *gəltún* 'mistaken', *halfún* 'one who swears a pact; sharp', *halķét* 'circle, ring', *halmún* '(perpetual) dreamer', *keltót* 'story' (pl. *kélt*), *keltún* 'story-teller', *ķalbún* 'overturned', *ķalfún* 'bare', *ķalhún* '(perpetual) vomiter', *melhún* 'salty', *melkún* 'owning', *melsún* '(perpetually) slipping away', *mel்தún* 'hairless', *selbún* 'armed', *selmún* 'survivor; peace-maker', *selsélt* 'chain', *şelfún* 'shining; glamorous', *şelfót* 'dazzling object', *telkún* 'tied by the leg', *ţelbún* 'beggar', *ţelfún* 'skimmed', *ţelhúm* 'spleen', *ţelxún* 'smeared', *xalkét* 'nature', *xalkún* 'well-made (person)', *xalsún* 'loser', *xalwét* 'loneliness', *zelún* 'one who pushes and shoves', *żalún* 'outsider'.

It is clear from the above list that nouns ending in the common agentive suffix *-ún* (< **-ān*) do not normally show loss of *l*; the exceptions are *tofún* and *sutún*.¹⁴ But for other patterns it is not clear why *l* is lost only sometimes. For example, from *hlf* we find *hofét* and *halfún*, but from *xlķ* we find *xalkét* and *xalkún*. We could suggest that the glottalic *ķ* blocks the loss of *l*, but then the *l* is lost before the glottalic in *sutún*.

Within the verbal system, a root-final *l* is often lost before a consonantal suffix. Examples are:

shek 'you finished' < **shelk* (2:5)
hōk 'I picked up' < **hōlk* < **hōmólk* (13:11)
fā'ás 'you hurt' < **fā'áls* (17:27)
ebšókum 'you cooked' < **ebšólkum* (48:6)
dħa-l-ħīš 'I will carry you' < **dħa-l-ħīls* < **dħa-l-ħéməls* (48:13)
əkós 'I thought you...' < **əkóls* (60:8)

¹⁴ The adjective *tofún*, though obviously connected with the verb *telf* 'be hungry, starving' is probably so common that it is not thought of as a derived agentive form like most nouns or adjectives in *-ún*. The noun *sutún*, though it does contain the same historical suffix (**-ān*) is a borrowing, rather than a derived form, and so also is not treated like other nouns in *-ún*.

Sometimes a root-final *l* is written in one of Johnstone's Arabic-letter manuscripts, but the *l* is not pronounced (e.g., *šhabólk* 'you understood', 34:11). Where *l* is not written, I have usually put it in parentheses in the transcription of the texts.

The verb *létaġ* 'kill' normally loses its *l* in the subjunctive (e.g., 3ms *yótaġ* < **yóltáġ*, 17:10) and in the imperative (e.g., ms *taġ*, 36:23; 86:6). This is a peculiarity of this verb.

The *l* is also sometimes lost in the phrase *kə-ťát* 'everyone' (< *kəl řát*; see § 3.5.3), and, in fast speech, *l* is often dropped from the negative particle *č* (see § 13.2.1).

Finally, we can also note here that the liquid *r* shows irregular loss in the word *kũhn* 'horn; hilt (of a dagger); peak' (e.g., 6:25 < *kun* [see § 2.1.8] < **karn*), as it does across all of MSA in this word.

2.1.7 *The Loss of n*

The nasal *n* is not regularly lost in any environment. At the end of a word, however, it is sometimes lost, or partially lost, resulting in a nasalized syllable (see further in § 2.1.8). There are also a few places in which *n* has been lost irregularly, namely in the 2s and 3s forms of the declined forms of the prepositions 'ar 'from; about; than' (§ 8.4), *kin* 'from (someone)' (§ 8.14), and *mən* 'from' (§ 8.18). Where *n* has been lost, the neighboring vowel has been nasalized. See § 8.30 for a complete list of the forms of these prepositions.

2.1.8 *Word-Final Liquids and Nasals*

When at the end of a word and preceded by a full vowel (not *a*), the nasals *m* and *n* are often devoiced or lost, with a resulting nasalization of the final vowel, followed by a slight aspiration or nasal expiration. This affects numerous nouns, as well as common pronouns like *šum* 'they' and *řókun* 'that'. In this volume, I usually indicate where there is such nasalization in the audio version of the texts, e.g., *šũm* in 28:5. I only indicate the added *h* sound where it is especially audible on the audio, e.g., *sẽhm* 'poison' (6:5) and *kũhn* 'horn; hilt (of a dagger); peak' (6:25). Nasalization of a final vowel before a nasal consonant affects verbs too, though we do not normally see the complete loss of the nasal and aspiration. So while *sem* 'poison' is usually pronounced something like *sẽ^h* (as indicated by the spelling *sẽhm* mentioned above), a verb like *zəřám* 'he came' might be pronounced *zəřãm*.

A similar phenomenon affects the liquids *r* and *l*, though we do not get a true devoicing of *l*, but rather a sound approaching *h*. Examples are much fewer than examples with a final nasal, and all examples in the texts are

nouns. I transcribe such words, following Johnstone, with a final *hr* (e.g., *xəhr*, 30:24) and *lh* (e.g., *gəmilh*, 30:24).

2.1.9 *The Loss of t-*

The prefix *t-*, used for all second person and feminine third person forms of most imperfect and subjunctive verbs (see § 7.1.2 and § 7.1.3) is sometimes lost in pronunciation when it occurs before the consonants *s*, *ś*, *š*, *š̄*, *t*, *ṭ*, *z*, and *ḏ*. It is probable that it is also sometimes lost before *ṣ* (as in Mehri), though this never happens in the texts. Examples are:

- dḥa-(t)səlō-tō* ‘you will wait for me’ (3:10)
əl (t)śún tō lō ‘she wouldn’t see me’ (51:3)
ḥa-(t)štikēn ‘they will drink’ (20:3)
(t)ša’ásór ‘she loved’ (97:4)
(t)tēn ‘they eat’ (51:22)
(t)zḥōn ḏ-télf ‘they come’ (47:6)
(t)ḏḥwk ‘she was laughing’ (49:9)

In none of the above examples was the initial *t* written in the Arabic-letter versions of the texts that were written by the speaker.

There are also some counterexamples in the texts, though none in which the prefix *t-* is preserved before another *t*:

- təsókf* ‘she would sit’ (17:13)
dḥa-təśné ‘you will see’ (33:7)
tāštəfṣrən ‘they were going down’ (40:4)
tāškélót ‘she is conversing’ (18:11)
təzḥóm ‘she comes’ (23:10)
təḏbót ‘she gets’ (49:31)

Further investigation in the field is needed to see how regular the loss of *tə-* really is. It should be added that the forms of the numeral ‘nine’, masculine *sa’ét* and feminine *sō’* (see § 9.1.1), from the Semitic root **ts’*, seem to exhibit this same loss of historical *t-* before *s*.¹⁵

A second, unrelated loss of the prefix *t-* is found in the imperfect and subjunctive of the D/L-, H-, and Q-Stems, as well as with internal passives. Here the *t-* is either lost (in the imperfect) or replaced by *l-* (in the subjunctive),

¹⁵ This happened in the the other Modern South Arabian languages, as well. See further in Testen (1998).

at least among some speakers. This phenomenon, which has parallels in Soqotri,¹⁶ is discussed further in the discussion of the relevant verbal stems in Chapter 6, as well as in § 7.1.2 and § 7.1.3. The loss of *t*- in these stems is probably connected to the quality of the historical prefix-vowel.¹⁷

2.1.1.10 *The Non-Occurrence of d-/ð-*

Following the discussion in § 2.1.9 of the prefix *t*-, which is subject to loss in some verbal stems, a few words should be said about the verbal particle *d-/ð-* (§ 7.1.10). This particle normally does not occur before the prefix *t*-, so, for example, we find the present progressive *t5k* 'you are crying' (49:28) where we expect *d-t5k* or *ð-t5k* (*d-/ð-* plus the 2ms imperfect). In those places where *t*- does not occur, however, then *d-/ð-* is used. So in the D/L-Stem, for example, we find 2ms imperfect *əgódalən* 'you tie', and progressive *d-əgódalən*. If, however, the prefix *t*- is used in the D/L-Stem imperfect (as many speakers today do; see § 7.1.2), then the particle *d-/ð-* may be suppressed.

The particle *d-/ð-* seems not to be suppressed before *t*- when the *t* is part of the verbal root, though evidence for this is not abundant. Cf. *ðə-təlík* 'I was sorry' (31:5, from *talé* 'be sorry, regret'), *ðə-télafk* 'I was hungry' (48:9, from *telf* 'be hungry'), and *ðə-thúmk* 'I think' (60:44, from *thumk* 'I think'). There is evidence, however, for the suppression of the particle before the glottalics *t̤* (e.g., *t̤hín* 'ground', 97:29) and *ʃ* (e.g., *ʃɔr* 'standing', 48:20).

For further on the particle *d-/ð-*, see § 7.1.10 and its subsections.

2.1.1.11 *Gemination*

In some Semitic languages, we find morphologically significant gemination. For example, compare the Arabic verb *xadama* 'he served, worked' with *xad-dama* 'he employed', where the gemination is part of a transitivizing pattern. Likewise consider the Arabic agentive pattern *CaCCāC* (e.g., *najjār* 'carpenter'), in which the second root consonant is morphologically geminate. In Jibbali, though geminate consonants exist, gemination plays no productive role in derivational or inflectional morphology. Gemination is simply lexical, either through borrowing (e.g., *ámma* 'as for' < Arabic *ʾammā* [§ 12.5.1]), or because two identical consonants have come together (e.g., *ðəbbót* 'fly (insect)' < root *ðbb*; and *lóttaġ* 'kill o.a.', T1-Stem 3ms perfect of the root *ltġ*).

¹⁶ See further in Johnstone (1968; 1980b).

¹⁷ This idea comes from Testen (1992), who offers a very convincing explanation of this phenomenon.

Gemination does not normally occur at the end of a syllable or word, and so a final geminate cluster is simplified. This rule affects verbs whose second and third root consonants are identical (so-called geminate verbs; see § 7.4.14). So we find, for example, G-Stem *fer* ‘he flew’ (< **ferr*), but *farrót* ‘she flew’; *hez* ‘he slaughtered’ (< **hezz*) and *hizk* ‘I slaughtered’, but *hizzót* ‘she slaughtered’.

There is a rule $*C_2\partial C_2\acute{V} > C_2C_2\acute{V}$, which affects the forms of some verbal stems. So we find, for example, H-Stem *eglél* ‘he boiled’, but *egallót* ‘she boiled’ (< **egləlót*); See also § 7.4.14. In this example, as in the G-Stem examples above, the consonant is not morphologically geminated; rather, the geminate cluster is the result of two identical consonants coming together.

In a number of verb forms, in various stems, we find a change $*C_1C_2\partial C_2 > C_1C_1\partial C_2$, i.e., the transfer of gemination onto another root consonant. An example is the G-Stem 3ms subjunctive *yóffar* < **yófrar*. See § 7.4.14 for additional examples.

With some T-Stem verbs, gemination results from assimilation, e.g., *mússi* ‘melt (intrans.)’ (< **mútsi*), though this assimilation is not present in all dialects of Jibbali. See further in § 6.5.1.

We sometimes see the effects of a historical gemination that is no longer present. For example, as discussed in § 2.1.3, the *m* of the word *émé* ‘mother’ (*émí* ‘my mother’, etc.) is not lost, even though it is intervocalic, because the *m* is historically geminate.

For further on gemination in Jibbali, see the study of Johnstone (1980a).

2.2 Jibbali Vowels

In the system of transcription used in this book (following the system that Johnstone outlined in *JL*), there are eight basic vowels, not all of which are distinct phonemes:

| | | | | |
|------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| | Front | | | Back |
| High | <i>i</i> | | | <i>u</i> |
| | | <i>e</i> | <i>ə</i> | <i>o</i> |
| | | <i>ɛ</i> | <i>ɔ</i> | |
| Low | | | <i>a</i> | |

The vowels *i* and *e* are distinct phonemes, but in some contexts may be interchangeable (e.g., *dífər* ~ *défər* ‘bad’). The vowel *e* is also raised to *i* in the presence of a nasal consonant (§ 2.2.2), and sometimes *r*. The vowels *a* and *ɛ* reflect a single phoneme: *ɛ* is the usual form, while *a* is usually found in conjunction with a guttural consonant. The status of the back vowels

ɔ, o, and u as phonemes is a bit difficult to determine. In many contexts ɔ and o seem to be interchangeable (with ɔ being much more common). In addition, ɔ and o are raised to u in the environment of a nasal (§ 2.2.2), and sometimes also the labials b and f (see § 6.2). The great majority of the time, the presence of u in a word is the result of such raising. Still, u may be considered a distinct phoneme in some words (e.g., *túžər* 'rich', *ħuš* 'enclosure, pen'). It is not clear if o and ɔ are distinct phonemes. The common vowel ə is a phoneme, if marginally, though in many places is used also as an epenthetic vowel.

The vowels, with the exception of ə, also have long counterparts (*ē, ī, ō*, etc.), all of which are the result of elision due to the loss of b or m (see § 2.12 and § 2.1.3), or of ʾ, w, or y (see the relevant sub-sections of § 7.4). Occasionally the sequence 'a or a' is realized *ā*. Still, vowel length is only marginally phonemic, and minimal pairs are very few. Three such pairs are *he* 'I' ~ *hē* 'he fell' (root *ħwy*), *hek* 'for you' ~ *hēk* 'I fell', and *ber* 'already' ~ *bēr* 'con-man, liar'. Stressed short vowels are pronounced longer than unstressed vowels. The long vowels that result from elision may be pronounced only as long as a regular stressed vowel, though they can also be pronounced longer. There is some variation, as is clear from the variation in transcription in *JL* (see also § 7.4.8). Word-final short vowels are sometimes pronounced with a final glottal stop.

The full vowels also have nasalized variants (*ĩ, ê, ã, õ, ù*, and rarely *ẽ* and *õ*), which are the result either of elision of intervocalic m (§ 2.1.3), the loss of word-final m or n (§ 2.1.7 and § 2.1.8), or, in a handful of words, the irregular loss of n (§ 2.1.7). At least some of these nasalized vowels are phonemic, though minimal pairs are again very few. One example is *ķōr* 'he buried' and *ķõr* 'he won, beat (in a game)'. With the exception of a few lexemes, namely, *êhê* 'yes', and the particles *hê* (§ 11.11) and *hũk* (§ 12.5.10), nasalized vowels in *Jibbali* are all the result of the loss of a nasal consonant.

After the guttural consonants ʿ and ġ, the vowel a is pronounced with a slight diphthongization by some speakers. So, for example, *ʿagəb* 'he wants' can be pronounced closer to *ʿaygəb*, and *ġabġót* 'girl' can be pronounced as *ġaybġót*. This diphthong *ay* is just an allophone of a/ε. Although Johnstone occasionally transcribed this y in Roman characters, his native informants did not write y in their Arabic-letter transcriptions.

The vowel ə is nearly always unstressed, though it can bear stress in some environments; see further in § 2.3. Stressed ə can also be realized as [ɪ] (transcribed *î*), e.g., *kisk* ~ *kəsk* 'I found'. Before or after a guttural consonant, the reduced vowel ə is sometimes realized a.

2.2.1 *The Effects of Guttural Consonants on Vowels*

Guttural consonants (the uvular fricatives *x* and *ǧ*, the pharyngeal fricatives *ħ* and *ʕ*, the glottal fricative *h*, and the historical glottal stop *ʔ*) can all be considered ‘weak’ root consonants with respect to the verbal system, in that they all cause phonetic changes in the verbal paradigm. Synchronically, some of these changes can be considered sound rules, while in other cases verbs with guttural consonants simply follow different patterns from strong verbs.

Often we find the shift of *ε* or *ə* to *a* when preceding or following a guttural. This seems to be a tendency with most of the gutturals, and not a regular change. The shift is most common, regular even, with the guttural *ʕ*. Examples are:

yáʕak ‘he lights’ (< H-Stem 3ms subjunctive pattern *yéCCəC*)
yǝǧmaʕ ‘he gathers’ (< Ga-Stem 3ms subjunctive pattern *yǝCCəC*)
šinʕát ‘skill, trade’ (< *šinʕ*- + feminine suffix *-ét*)

On additional effects of guttural consonants pertaining to the verbal system, see § 7.4.2, § 7.4.7, and § 7.4.11. The most significant change is the shift of *CVCÝG* to *CÝCəG* (or *CÝCaG*), discussed in § 7.4.11. Hayward et al. (1988) also discuss a number of sound changes relevant to guttural consonants in the verbal system.

2.2.2 *The Effects of Nasals on Vowels*

The nasals *m* and *n* affect vowel quality in two ways. First, as described above, elision of intervocalic *m* (§ 2.1.3), and loss of word-final *m* or *n* (§ 2.1.8) normally result in a nasalized vowel.

Nasal consonants also regularly have a raising effect on a neighboring *e* or *ɔ*, whether or not they are subject to loss. The vowel *e* is normally raised to *i*, and *ɔ* is raised to *u*. Some examples are:

mid ‘he stretched out’ and *niṭ* ‘he shivered’ (Ga geminate 3ms perfect pattern *CeC*)
rṣənút ‘she tied’ (< Ga 3fs perfect pattern *CCəCót*)
mírəž ‘he fell ill’ and *niḵəb* ‘he fell’ (< Gb 3ms perfect pattern *CéCəC*)
enuḏəf ‘he cleaned’ (< D/L 3ms perfect pattern *εCóCəC*)
əḏmír ‘he showed’ and *tmím* ‘he finished’ (< H 3ms perfect pattern *(ε)CCéC*)
šəxtín ‘he got circumcised’ (< Š1 3ms perfect pattern *šəCCéC*)
nútgaḥ ‘he hurried up’ (< T1 3ms perfect pattern *CótCəC*)

Vowel quality can be affected even if the nasal is lost, for example:

- zūt* 'she gave' (< **zumút* < Ga I-w 3fs perfect pattern CɔCɔ́t)
yūkər 'he stores milk' (< **yəmúkər* < Ga 3ms imperfect pattern
 yəCɔ́CəC)
yül 'he fills' (< **yəmúl* < Ga III-² 3ms imperfect pattern yəCɔ́C)
əštír 'he listened' (< **əštémír* < T2 3ms perfect pattern əCtəCéC)

In the Ga-Stem perfect, there is also vowel harmony for verbs whose final root consonant is a nasal. So for example, we find 3ms perfect *guzúm* 'he swore' and *šukúm* 'he went out (at night)' (pattern CɔCɔ́C); and 3fs *guzūt* 'she swore' and *šukūt* 'she went out (at night)' (pattern CɔCɔ́Cɔ́t).

Other examples from the verbal system can be found in the relevant subsections of §7.4.

2.3 Word Stress

In *JL* and elsewhere, Johnstone often indicated multiple stressed syllables in his transcriptions. It is not rare to find two, or even three syllables marked with an acute accent in *JL* or in Johnstone's manuscripts. As he wrote in *JL* (p. xv), "[Jibbali] words can have more than one prominent syllable, as, e.g., *gólód*. Stressed vowels are slightly longer than unstressed vowels in open syllables and final -CVC syllables". Recent fieldwork by myself and others has confirmed this. We can say, however, that a word may have a single primary stressed syllable, nearly always the ultimate or penultimate syllable. Words with penultimate stress combined with an unstressed suffix result in a form with antepenultimate stress, e.g., *šótərhum* 'their kid' (49:5, < *šótər* + *-hum*), *létgəkum* 'you killed' (15:11, < *létəg* + *-kum*), and *šíbbədəs* 'detach yourself from her!' (60:43, < *šíbbəd* + *-s*). The primary stress normally falls on the final full vowel, which is to say, the final vowel other than ə. However, the vowel ə can bear stress if it is the only vowel in the word (e.g., *yət* 'camel', *mən* 'from'); if there is no other vowel in the word (including unstressed affixes) that can bear stress (e.g., *eyáti* 'my camel', with the unstressed affixes *ε-* and *-i*); and when it is being used as a variant of another vowel, such as [ɪ] < /i/ (e.g., *aǵóti* ~ *aǵíti* 'my sister'; cf. *ǵit* 'sister'), [e] (e.g., *ha-l-zámk* ~ *ha-l-zémk* 'I will give you'; cf. *ha-l-zém* 'I will give'), or [e] (e.g., *létgəkum* ~ *létgəkum* 'you killed'; cf. *létəg* 'he killed'). It is also stressed in the set of object suffixes used with 3ms perfect verbs (§3.2.3) and a few prepositions (§8.30).

Certain affixes attract the primary stress. Specifically, the object suffixes that are used with the 3ms perfect (§3.2.3) and certain prepositions, like *ʾak*

and *tel* (§ 8.30), bear the primary stress, as do the possessive suffixes that are used with plural nouns (§ 3.2.2).

There are places in which the presence of two stressed syllables may explain certain phenomena. For example, as discussed in § 2.1.2 and § 2.1.3, intervocalic *b* and *m* are normally elided. However, this rule is often blocked if *b* or *m* appears between two stressed vowels of different quality (neither of which is *a*), as in *eslóbésš* ‘his arms’ (36:26) and *axšóméšš* ‘his enemies’ (60:24).¹⁸

In the transcriptions of the texts, I have generally marked the primary and secondary stressed syllable with an acute accent, unless the word is monosyllabic. There are very few words that are distinguished only by stress. One pair may be ‘*ónut*’ ‘year’ and ‘*onút*’ ‘drought’, but this is not certain (see the comment to text 20:1).

¹⁸ On the supposed form *hérémíti* ‘trees’, with three stressed syllables, see § 4.3.2, n. 10.

CHAPTER THREE

PRONOUNS

3.1 *Independent Personal Pronouns*

Following are the independent forms of the Jibbali personal pronouns:

| | sing. | dual | plural |
|----|------------|--------------|---------------|
| 1c | <i>he</i> | <i>(ə)ši</i> | <i>nħa(n)</i> |
| 2m | <i>het</i> | <i>(ə)ti</i> | <i>tum</i> |
| 2f | <i>hit</i> | | <i>tɛn</i> |
| 3m | <i>šɛ</i> | <i>ši</i> | <i>šum</i> |
| 3f | <i>sɛ</i> | | <i>sɛn</i> |

Notes:

- Jibbali distinguishes gender in the 2s forms, unlike Omani Mehri.¹
- The 1cd and 3cd forms (if they are used at all) are identical in Jibbali dialects that do not distinguish *š* and *ṣ̌*.
- According to Johnstone (*JL*, s.v. *nħn*), 1cp *nħan* is CJ, while *nħa* is EJ and sometimes CJ.² WJ seems to use *nħa*.
- The 2p and 3p forms are often pronounced with nasal vowels: *tũ(m)*, *tẽ(n)*, *šũ(m)*, and *sẽ(n)*.

The dual pronouns are obsolete, or nearly so. Younger (teenaged) informants do recognize the dual pronouns when pressed (at least the second and third persons), but most do not normally use them. The plural pronouns have taken their place, though one can also say, for example, *tum troh* ‘you two’ to specify that two people are being addressed.

¹ Many Yemeni Mehri dialects do distinguish 2ms *hēt* and 2fs *hūt* (Watson 2012: 66), but not, for example, the Mehri of Qishn.

² Both forms are attested by other researchers. Müller (e.g., 1907: 66, text 16:19) and Thomas (1937: 15) record the shorter form, while Nakano (1986: 151) has the longer one. Most of my own informants accept both forms.

The independent personal 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:

he axér ‘*ankúm* ‘I am better than you’ (20:8)
het ol gābgót lō ‘you are not a girl’ (17:8)
kō hit būn ‘why are you here’ (54:15)
šē mišérd ‘he is crazy’ (1:8)
se súdḳət ‘she (was) a friend’ (60:46)
nḥa sōtét gag ‘we are three men’ (54:20)
tum bet mūn ‘what house [or: clan] are you?’ (54:5)
šum ‘aḳ mənzél rəḥím ‘they are in a beautiful place’ (28:5)
izénu šum ‘these are they’ (45:11)

And examples of verbal sentences are:

he ol ʔd lō ‘I don’t lie’ (22:17)
ol sédān he bə-sé lō ‘she and I did not agree’ (10:1)
kō het tōk ‘why are you crying?’ (49:28)
sōtbəṭ šē bə-šum ‘he and they fought’ (53:1)
‘āgəb b-āgəbgót bə-sé ‘agiót beš ‘he fell in love with the girl, and she fell
in love with him’ (17:16)
nḥa ol ḥa-nəḥmél lō ‘we will not move’ (15:5)
her sēn fērəḥ bek ‘if they are happy with you’ (7:2)
íné təʔr tūm her eḳəhwét ‘what (word) do you say for (drinking) coffee?’
(34:11)
hes tum əntōḥkum, he eródk éruní ‘when [or: while] you fought, I
brought my goats to the water’ (20:8)

In verbal sentences, however, pronouns are often omitted. When the pronoun appears, it sometimes gives contrastive emphasis, as in the last two examples above, but in most cases there is no obvious reason for its appearance. Passages in which the pronoun is omitted are abundant in the texts, but a few representative examples are:

ʔok hes, “her ‘agiš bi, ḥa-tgíd ši” ‘I said to her, “If you love me, you will go
with me”’ (13:18)
šfəḳ bə-tét ‘he married a woman’ (97:3)
šeróḳkum tōš ‘you stole it’ (6:37)
dḥa-yəzémk əlhín ‘agk ‘he will give you whatever you want’ (18:8)

An independent personal pronoun can also be fronted, to emphasize a subject (usually second person), including the understood subject of an imperative, or the object of a preposition or particle. This is rather common with imperatives (§ 7.1.6) and ‘have’ constructions (§ 13.3):

het əl het axér ‘ánén lə ‘you are not better than us’ (20:4)
bə-hét bə-rík ‘you (do) as you wish!’ (28:17)
het šiṣét lóhum ‘you listen to them!’ (33:6)
tüm šork beš əlhín ‘ákum ‘you all do with him whatever you want!’
 (17:20)
he ši émi šxarét ‘I have an old mother’ (18:7)
bə-nhá əl šen dé lə ‘we have no one’ (13:2)

An independent pronoun can also be used to clarify or emphasize a direct object suffix, as in:

ikezót is yéšfəkas, b-is ikélák het l-émlak aǵéyg denu. ‘she gave authority to her father to marry her off, and her father gave authority to *you* to give possession to this man’ (45:18)

An independent pronoun can be used to give contrastive emphasis to a possessive suffix or the pronominal suffix of a preposition. Examples are:

tólák het nášanu ‘it’s *your* turn now’ (lit. ‘it’s with *you* now’) (36:30)
ðə še əl beš fáhal lə, l-əksós eréšš. bə-ðə še beš fáhal, tüm l-əksés eréšókum
 ‘if he doesn’t have a penis, his head should be cut off. But if he has a penis, *your* heads should be cut off’ (17:39)
axér ‘áni hé ‘better than *me*?’ (54:4)
‘ak bi hé ‘do you want *me*?’ (TJ4:35)

The independent pronouns can also follow the genitive exponent *ε-/ð-* (§ 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 Ethiopian Semitic. The attested examples from the texts are:

troh ε-nhá bə-tət ε-didi ‘two of ours and one of my uncle’s’ (49:4)
fəkhə ōli ε-hét ‘half of my livestock is yours’ (5:16)

The independent pronouns are also used with the pseudo-preposition (*əl-/hés* ‘like’; see § 8.12 for examples. An independent pronoun is also required after a complementizer; see § 13.5.1.1.

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. A noun with a possessive suffix must also have the definite article (see § 4.4). There are also two closely related sets of suffixes used to indicate the direct object of a verb. The pronominal object of a preposition is also expressed with a suffix, from the sets of suffixes used for nouns; see further in § 8.30.

3.2.1 Suffixes on Singular Nouns

The suffixes that attach to singular nouns are:

| | sing. | dual | plural |
|----|-------|----------------|---------|
| 1c | -i | -(ə)š <i>i</i> | -(ə)n |
| 2m | -(ə)k | -(ə)š <i>i</i> | -(ə)kum |
| 2f | -(ə)š | | -(ə)kən |
| 3m | -(ə)š | -(ə)š <i>i</i> | -(ə)hum |
| 3f | -(ə)s | | -(ə)sən |

Notes:

- A few nouns ending in a vowel drop the final vowel before the 1cs suffix, in which case the suffix is stressed. Cf. *aǰí* ‘my brother’ (← *ǰa* ‘brother’), *εbrí* ‘my son’ (← (*ε*)*bré* ‘son’); but not *aʕíśéi* ‘my dinner’ (← *ʕíśé* ‘dinner’), *aǰaró*i** ‘my language’ (← *ǰaró* ‘language’). The vowel ə of the remaining suffixes is lost with all words ending in a vowel.
- The vowel ə, indicated in parentheses in the table above, is not always present, especially if the word ends in a voiceless, non-glottalic consonant.
- When preceded by a vowel, word-final *b* and *m* are usually lost before these suffixes (e.g., *εrkíš* ‘my riding-camel’ < **εrkíb-əš*, 46:7; *kəmkēš* ‘your head-cloth’ < **kəmkém-əš*, 60:42), which is due to the fact that historically a vowel (a case ending) once preceded the suffix. However, some speakers preserve these consonants (e.g., *kəbk* ‘your dog’).³

³ For example, two informants used *dírəhəmi* ‘my money’. From the word *kəb* ‘dog, wolf’, most younger informants preferred *kóbi* ‘my dog’, *kəbək* ‘your dog’, etc., though some accepted

- The 2fs and 3ms suffixes are identical in Jibbali dialects that do not distinguish \tilde{s} and \check{s} .
- The 1cd and 2cd suffixes are identical. The 3cd suffix is also identical in Jibbali dialects that do not distinguish \tilde{s} and \check{s} . The dual forms are rarely used, in any case.
- The 3mp suffixed pronoun has unexpected h (from Semitic *s), while the independent pronoun (*šum*) has \check{s} (also from Semitic *s). This peculiarity was observed also by Bittner (1916b: 45).

To illustrate the forms of these suffixes, we can use the nouns *but* (def. *ūt*) ‘house’, *ǧa* ‘brother’ (def. *aǧá*), and *sékən* ‘settlement’:

but: *ūti, ūt(ə)k, ūtš, ūtš, ūts, ūtši, ūtši, ūtši, ūtən, ūtkum, ūtkən, ūthum, ūtsən*
ǧa: *aǧí, aǧák, aǧáš, aǧáš, aǧás, aǧáši, aǧáši, aǧáši, aǧán, aǧákum, aǧákən, aǧáhūm, aǧásən*
sékən: *sékəni, sékənək, sékənəš, sékənəš, sékənəs, sékənši, sékənši, sékənši, sékənən, sékənkum, sékənkən, sékənhum, sékənsən*

3.2.2 Suffixes on Plural Nouns

The suffixes that attach to plural nouns are:

| | sing. | dual | plural |
|----|-------|--------------|---------------|
| 1c | -í | -éš <i>i</i> | -én |
| 2m | -ék | -éš <i>i</i> | -ó <i>kum</i> |
| 2f | -éš | | -ékən |
| 3m | -éš | -éš <i>i</i> | -ó <i>hum</i> |
| 3f | -és | | -ésən |

Notes:

- All suffixes except 1cs, 2mp, and 3mp are characterized by a vowel \acute{e} preceding the suffix.

kši, kšk, etc. One informant preferred *kšbk* because *kšk* can also mean ‘your dung’, from *kš* ‘(animal) dung’. In general, however, such lexical considerations do not affect the elision of *b* or *m*.

- There is a tendency among some younger speakers to extend the vowel *é* to the 2mp and 3mp forms.
- The 1cs suffix is stressed, unlike the 1cs suffix used with singular nouns.
- The 2fs and 3ms suffixes are identical in Jibbali dialects that do not distinguish *š* and *ṣ̌*.
- The 1cd and 2cd suffixes are identical. The 3cd suffix is also identical in Jibbali dialects that do not distinguish *š* and *ṣ̌*. The dual forms are rarely used, in any case.

To illustrate the forms of these suffixes, we can use the nouns *bet* ‘houses’ (def. *ēt*), *yel* ‘camels’ (def. *iyél*), and *ínét* ‘women’:

| | |
|---------------|--|
| <i>bet</i> : | <i>ētí, ēték, ētēš, ētēṣ̌, ētés, ētēši, ētēši, ētēši, ētén, ētókum, ētékən, ētókum, ētésən</i> |
| <i>iyél</i> : | <i>iyélí, iyélék, iyéléš, iyéléṣ̌, iyéléš, iyéléši, iyéléši, iyéléši, iyéléš, iyélókum, iyélékən, iyélókum, iyéléšən</i> |
| <i>ínét</i> : | <i>ínetí, ínéték, ínētēš, ínētēṣ̌, ínétés, ínētēši, ínētēši, ínētēši, ínétén, ínétókum, ínétékən, ínétókum, ínétésən</i> |

The final *-ə* of external feminine plurals (see § 4.3.2) is dropped before adding a pronominal suffix. For example, from *gátétə* ‘sisters’ (def. *aḡátétə*) and *ántə* ‘eyes’ (def. *a’ántə*), we find:

| | |
|-----------------|--|
| <i>gátétə</i> : | <i>aḡátetí, aḡátéték, aḡátétéš, aḡátétéṣ̌, aḡátétés, aḡátétéši, aḡátétéši, aḡátétéši, aḡátétén, aḡátétókum, aḡátétékən, aḡátétókum, aḡátétésən</i> |
| <i>ántə</i> : | <i>a’ántí, a’ánték, a’ántēš, a’ántēṣ̌, a’ántés, a’ántēši, a’ántēši, a’ántēši, a’ántén, a’ántókum, a’ántékən, a’ántókum, a’ántésən</i> |

3.2.3 Suffixes on Verbs

A pronominal direct object is most often indicated with a suffix attached to the verb. With perfect tense verbs, pronominal object suffixes are attached only to third person forms. With imperfect, subjunctive (including future), conditional, and imperative forms, the suffixes can be attached to any form. No first person suffixes are used with *any* verb. When an object suffix cannot be used (i.e., if the object is first person, or if the verb is a first or second person perfect), then an independent direct object pronoun (see § 3.3) must be used. A verb can take only one object suffix. Therefore, if a (doubly transitive) verb has two pronominal direct objects, only one can be suffixed; a second pronominal object is indicated by an independent direct object pronoun (§ 3.3).

There is one set of suffixes attached only to the 3ms forms of perfect tense verbs—they are not used with the 3mp or 3fp perfect, even though these verb forms are otherwise identical to the 3ms perfect. These suffixes are:

| | sing. | dual | plural |
|----|-------------|--------------|----------------|
| 1c | not used | not used | not used |
| 2m | - <i>ák</i> | - <i>ášĭ</i> | - <i>ókum</i> |
| 2f | - <i>áš</i> | | - <i>ékən</i> |
| 3m | - <i>áš</i> | - <i>ášĭ</i> | - <i>ókhum</i> |
| 3f | - <i>ás</i> | | - <i>ésən</i> |

Notes:

- These suffixes carry stress.
- After *-n* the stressed *á* tends to be pronounced *í* (e.g., *rəšínís* 'he tied her up', 17:26), following the tendency described in § 2.2.2.
- If a verb ends in a stressed vowel (e.g., *ksé* 'he found', *tē* 'he ate', *šažé* 'he worried about'), then the suffixes used are those discussed below, rather than the set given above.

When a suffix is added, the 3ms perfect often undergoes a vowel change. In the Ga-Stem, the basic form *C(V)CóC* has the base *C(ə)CíC-* before a suffix, e.g., *tfol* 'he spit (out)', but *tfiláš* 'he spit it out' (35:5). For a small number of verbs (e.g., *kašóf* 'snap, break', *gólób* 'refuse', *teród* 'expel, drive away'), the base is *CíCC-* or *CéCC-*. Some weak verb types in the G-Stem are affected by this change (e.g., II-guttural, II-b/m, III-guttural), while others are not (e.g., geminate, III-w/y). The details vary for derived stems; for example, geminate verbs show a stem change in the Š1-Stem, but not in the G-Stem. Some further examples of 3ms perfects (G-Stem unless noted otherwise) with an object suffix are:

rəšínís 'he tied her up' (17:26) (cf. *rəšún* 'he tied up')
lĥíkókhum 'he caught up to them' (6:37) (cf. *lĥák* 'he caught up')
lídáš 'he shot him' (46:17) (< **labídáš*; cf. *lōd* 'he shot')
ĥīlókhum 'he took them' (97:40) (< **ĥəmílókhum*; cf. *ĥōl* 'he took')
zəĥiš 'he came to him' (12:10) (< **zəĥímáš*; cf. *zəĥám* 'he came')
ešéláš 'he reached him' (25:13) (cf. *ešəl* 'he reached')
ksés 'he found her' (17:9) (cf. *ksé* 'he found')
ĥezzésən 'he slaughtered them' (22:6) (cf. *ĥez* 'he slaughtered')

ebka'ás 'he put it (f.)' (15:16) (H-Stem; cf. *ebká'* 'he put')
šhabélás 'he understood her' (34:4) (Š₁-Stem; cf. *šhabél* 'he understood')
šmiddás 'he took it (f.)' (21:6) (Š₁-Stem; cf. *šamdéd* 'he took')⁴

There is another set of suffixes that are attached to 3fs, 3d, 3mp, and 3fp perfect tense verbs, as well as all imperfects, subjunctives, imperatives, and conditionals:

| | sing. | dual | plural |
|----|----------|----------|----------|
| 1c | not used | not used | not used |
| 2m | -k | -ši | -kum |
| 2f | -š | | -kən |
| 3m | -š | -ši | -hum |
| 3f | -s | | -sən |

Notes:

- These suffixes are the same as those used with 3ms perfect verbs, minus the initial stressed vowel.
- Sometimes we find an epenthetic *ə* before these suffixes, as needed to aid pronunciation, especially after voiced and glottalic consonants. A preceding *b* or *m* is elided before these suffixes *only* in the 3mp/3fp perfect (not the other tenses), indicating that these forms originally ended in a vowel, and that the vowel is not an underlying part of the suffix itself. Cf. *zũš* 'they (f.) gave him' (23:6, < *zúma-š < *zúma-š), but *yóžəməš* 'they give him'⁵ (46:8, < *yóžəmə-š); *zəḥāš* 'they (m.) came to him' (30:25, < *zəḥāmə-š < *zəḥāmu-š), but *yəžḥímš* 'they come to him' (4:5).

Some examples of 3fs perfects with object suffixes are:

šinúts 'she saw him' (SB2:2) *ḥólóts* 'she picked it (m.) up' (6:20)
tēts 'she ate it (f.)' (6:31) *ršənúts* 'she tied him up' (17:27)
zũthum 'she gave them' (36:29) *əbgəḥóts* 'she put him in' (TJ4:60)

⁴ For geminate verbs in some derived stems, as with this Š₁-Stem, the shift in the base is the result of the change *C₂əC₂Ŷ > C₂C₂Ŷ, discussed also in § 2.1.11 and § 7.4.14.

⁵ This form is also sometimes realized *yóžməš*.

Some examples of 3mp and 3fp perfects with object suffixes are:

- ḵéláš* ‘they put it (m.)’ (12:4) (cf. *ḵél’ás* ‘he put it (m.)’, 6:29)
zūs ‘they gave her’ (97:11) (< **zúmās*; cf. *zīs* ‘he gave her’, 6:31)
zəḥāš ‘they came to him’ (30:25) (< **zəḥámās*; cf. *zəḥīš* ‘he came to him’, 12:10)
lāš ‘they shot at him’ (2:15) (< **lābódāš*; cf. *lādāš* ‘he shot at him’, 25:14)
rḥázās ‘they washed her’ (97:10) (cf. *rḥížās* ‘he washed her’, SM)
ǵorās ‘they knew her’ (36:28) (< **ǵoróbās*; cf. *ǵarīs* ‘he knew her’, SM)
kséš ‘they found him’ (17:42) (cf. *kséš* ‘he found him’, 97:49)
ḥōlhum ‘they took them’ (22:20) (cf. *ḥīlōhum* ‘he took them’, 97:40)
a’sés ‘they roused her’ (18:10) (cf. *a’sás* ‘he roused her’, SM)
šxabírš ‘they asked him’ (22:10) (cf. *šxabírás* ‘he asked him’, 30:18)
fúskši ‘they separated them’ (20:5) (cf. *fiskási* ‘he separated them’, SM)

Some examples of imperfects with object suffixes are:

- yāša’ásórs* ‘he loves her’ (17:9) *yəzḥímš* ‘they come to him’ (4:5)
əkóla’kum ‘I let you’ (15:4) *nəǵórbās* ‘we know it (f.)’ (23:5)
təǵórbhum ‘you know them’ (30:15) *ézmək* ‘I give you’ (86:8)

Some examples of subjunctives (all futures or negative commands, since they are easier to translate out of context) with object suffixes are:

- dḥa-l-zḥómk* ‘I’ll come to you’ (3:6)
dḥa-nzémk ‘we’ll give you’ (23:2)
dḥa-l-səlóbs ‘I’ll wait for her’ (60:14)
dḥa-təksís ‘you’ll find her’ (60:15)
dḥa-l-š(l)tǵək ‘I’ll kill you’ (35:8)
ḥa-nḵalá’k ‘we’ll leave you’ (SB1:6)
əl tīš l ‘don’t eat it (m.)!’ (6:5)
əl tǵftəḥəš l ‘don’t open it (m.)!’ (5:4)

Some examples of conditionals with object suffixes, all of which have *a* before the suffix, are:⁶

⁶ The pseudo-preposition *ta’mírən-*, which always takes a suffix, is also historically a conditional form with a suffix. See § 8.25.

l-aširkənəš 'I would have done it (m.)' (42:2)
al-(l)tégənəš 'I would have killed him' (42:5)
alγəš'idənək l 'he wouldn't have made an appointment with you' (42b:
 8)
naltégənəš 'we would have killed him' (83:7)

Finally, some examples of imperatives with object suffixes are:

tš 'eat it (m.)!' (97:35) *tağš* 'kill him!' (36:23)
sbəts 'hit her!' (18:11) *təhíns* 'grind it (f.)!' (97:6)
zémhum 'give them!' (30:14) *kəlá'sən* 'leave them!' (30:3)

These pronominal object suffixes only indicate direct objects. They cannot serve as indirect objects, as they can in some Semitic languages. This may not be clear from the above examples, since a number of Jibbali verbs (e.g., *ezúm* 'give', *zəhám* 'come') take direct objects where English has an indirect object. In one passage in Johnstone's texts, we do find what appears to be an indirect object suffix: *al-šəfkēš* 'I cover myself with it' (46:15). As described in the comment to that line in the texts, and as discussed already in § 2.1.2, this is not a verb with an object suffix, but rather a contraction of *al-šəfkə beš*. The same contraction is also found in the form *rdiēš* (< *rdé beš*, 48:3).

3.3 Direct Object Pronouns (*t-*)

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

| | sing. | dual | plural |
|----|------------|-------------|--------------|
| 1c | <i>tə</i> | <i>tóši</i> | <i>tun</i> |
| 2m | <i>tək</i> | <i>tóši</i> | <i>tókum</i> |
| 2f | <i>təš</i> | | <i>tókən</i> |
| 3m | <i>təš</i> | <i>tóši</i> | <i>tóhum</i> |
| 3f | <i>təs</i> | | <i>tósən</i> |

Notes:

- With all prepositions and nouns, the 1cs suffix is *-i*. Only the particle *t-* lacks *-i* for the 1cs. This unusual 1cs suffix is found also in Soqoṭri.⁷
- *JL* (p. xxvi) lists the 2fp form *tékən* and 3fp form *tésən*, but the two occurrences of a fp form in Johnstone's texts are 3fp *tósən* (25:4; TJ2:104), confirmed by both the manuscripts and the audio. Informants also used *tósən* (AK1:4) and 2fp *tókən*. Johnstone was either mistaken (presumably basing his paradigm on fp forms of other prepositions, like *bésən*, *hésən*, *šésən*, etc.), or there is variation in this paradigm, as there is among Mehri dialects.⁸

Like in Omani Mehri (but not all Mehri dialects),⁹ the direct object pronouns are used in complimentary distribution with the verbal object suffixes, though the distribution is rather different in Jibbali. The two basic rules are as follows:

1. For a first person singular or plural object, the direct object pronouns *tə* and *tun* are always used. Verbal object suffixes are not used for a singular or plural first person object. (Data are insufficient to comment on the obsolete 1c dual form.)
2. The second and third person direct object pronouns must be used—and are only used—after first and second person perfects.

Rule #2 has two important exceptions, namely, that a second or third person direct object pronoun can be used following a verb other than a first or second perfect, if (and only if) the verb already has an object suffix, or if it follows another (first person) direct object pronoun. These exceptions both require that the verb be doubly transitive, i.e., that it be able to take two direct objects.

Examples of first person direct object pronouns (Rule #1) in context are:

⁷ Cf. Soqoṭri *tho*, but Mehri *tay* or *tī* (depending on the dialect), Ḥarsusi *táni*, and Hobyot *tī*. The similarity of Jibbali and Soqoṭri here may reflect a shared innovation.

⁸ Among Johnstone's personal papers, I found two index cards with this paradigm written out. On one card (Box 12E), he used *tékən/tésən*, while on the other (Box 13A) he used *tókən/tósən*. This tells us that the forms *tékən* and *tésən* are not typographical errors in *JL*, but not that they are necessarily correct for any one speaker. In another manuscript that includes a list of prepositions with suffixes (Box 15E), Johnstone also recorded *tókən/tósən*. 3fp *tósən* also occurs in Müller's texts (1907: 90, text 20:14). See the comment in Bittner (1916b: 47, n. 1).

⁹ See Rubin (2011) on Mehri dialects, and Rubin (2010: 37–41) on the distribution rules in Omani Mehri.

fkək tɔ ‘release me!’ (6:29)
ʃɛ ɔl ɟarɔb tɔ lɔ ‘he didn’t recognize me’ (13:12)
íné yōʃələn tɔ tɔlɔs ‘what will lead me to her?’ (30:14)
bə-flɔ təlɔtəɟ tɔ bə-flɔ tɔzəm tɔ tɛti ‘either you’ll kill me or give me my
 wife’ (30:23)
ɔl ʃhəbɔlk tɔ lɔ ‘you didn’t understand me’ (34:11)
klɑ tɔ bun ‘leave me here!’ (83:2)
təbət tɔ dúgur ‘she fed me beans’ (97:51)
ksé tūn ‘they found us’ (13:14)
tɔk tɔkəla tɔn ‘you should allow us’ (15:4)
zəhám tɔn bə-fəndél ‘he brought us sweet potatoes’ (49:11)

Examples of second and third person direct object pronouns (Rule #2) in context are:

he ɔl ɟɔrɔbbk tək lɔ ‘I didn’t know you’ (5:12)
he fhɛmk tək ‘I understood you’ (41:6)
ðə-ltúm k tɔʃ ‘I have struck you’ (55:6)
ʃerɔkkum tɔʃ ‘you stole it’ (6:37)
nha ʃaʒén tɔʃ ‘we are worried about him’ (8:7)
hun ʃínk tɔʃ ‘where did you see it?’ (39:7)
ɔl ʃerɔkən tɔs lɔ ‘we didn’t steal it’ (12:9)
ɔl xɔrbíʃ tɔs lɔ ‘you didn’t prevent her’ (60:12)
ʃínk tókum ‘I saw you’ (54:6)
yɔ ɛ-ʃínén tóhum mənhinəm ‘the people that we saw last night’ (16:5)
kisk tóhum ‘I found them’ (22:19)
zumk tɔs tɔʃ ‘I gave her it’ (97:42)

Finally, examples of exceptions to Rule #2 are:

fírəkək ʔar ɛrɔt yəɟɔh tɔ tɔʃ ‘I am afraid the boys will take it from me’
 (30:22)
zĩs tɔʃ ‘he gave it to her’ (97:48)

In the second-to-last example (30:22), *tɔʃ* is used because it follows *tɔ*, which must be used (following rule #1). In the last example (97:48), *tɔʃ* is used because the verb already has an object suffix. To this last example, we can compare *zumk tɔs tɔʃ* ‘I gave it to her’ (97:42), where we find two direct object pronouns, since the verb is a first person perfect.

Note that a first person direct object pronoun often causes elision of a preceding *b* or *m* in some forms (§ 2.1.2; § 2.1.3), at least in the subjunctive and imperative, for example:

- íné ha-(t)zĩ-tɔ* ‘what will you give me?’ (13:7)
zẽ-tɔ té ‘give me food!’ (53:4)
ɔl dha-(t)səl̩-tɔ zeyd lɔ ‘you won’t wait for me any longer’ (3:10)
ɔl tək̩ar̩-tun lɔ ‘don’t come near us!’ (13:11)
zẽ-tũn xérin té ‘give us a little food!’ (53:9)
səl̩-tɔ ‘wait for me!’ (AM1:6)

3.4 Demonstratives

Jibbali has three sets of demonstratives, each of which distinguishes gender in the singular only. The near demonstratives are quite stable, but there is some variation in the far demonstratives, as also with the far demonstrative adverbs (see §10.2). The forms of the near demonstratives are:

Near demonstratives (‘this, these’):

ms. *ḏénu* (*ḏen*) fs. *ḏínu* (*ḏin*) cp. *izénu* (*izén*)

Most young speakers of Jibbali use the shorter forms in all contexts (usually pronounced *ḏē*, *ḏĩ*, and *izē*), though some will use *ḏénu*, etc., in careful speech. A longer plural form *izénun* is attested in just one passage (used three times) in all of the texts (TJ4:73).

There were originally two sets of far demonstratives:

Far demonstratives (‘that, those’):

ms. *ḏóhun* fs. *ḏíhun/ḏúhun* cp. *izóhun*

Remote demonstratives (‘that, those’):¹⁰

ms. *ḏókun/ḏək* fs. *ḏíkun/ḏúkun(u)/ḏík* cp. *izókun/izók*

The far demonstratives show some variation, even more so than is indicated above. The far demonstrative forms listed above are those found in the texts and in *JL*. I also heard them used by my younger informants, often reduced in fast speech to *ḏóũ*, *ḏíũ*, and *izóũ*. However, my younger informants also used new lengthened forms *ḏóhunnu*, *ḏíhunnu*, and *izóhunnu*, each with a final *-u* that has perhaps been added by analogy with the near demonstratives. These longer forms probably exist for the remote demonstratives as well (at least for the singular), though I only heard fs *ḏúkunu*. As for the feminine forms of the far and remote demonstratives, *ḏíhun* and *ḏíkun* are the forms

¹⁰ At least one young speaker (AK) claimed not to use this remote series, and used instead just two sets of demonstratives. The forms with *k* did surface occasionally in his speech, however; see text AK2:10.

used in Johnstone's texts. *JL* has, and most of my informants preferred, the forms with the initial *ḏú-*. Interestingly, Müller's material has ms *ḏéku*, fs *ḏíku*, and cp *ilyéku* for the remote forms, with all front vowels in the first syllable (Bittner 1916b: 48). The shorter forms of the singular remote demonstratives (*ḏək* and *ḏík*) are not well attested.

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

- he šerókək ḏénu* 'I did this' (1:1)
mūn ḏénu 'who is this?' (13:12)
izénu axšúm 'these are enemies' (25:10)
izén iyélí 'these are my camels' (AK4:8)
'agk giní troh bə-ḏóhūn 'I want two guineas for that' (52:9)
izóhūn səbró 'those were ghosts' (16:5)
sé besit̪ əl-hés ḏókūn 'something simple like that' (52:10)
yəlhōm ḏókūn 'that (man) should jump' (54:40)
ḏókūn mən izók əḏ-šen 'that was one of our friends [lit. those with us]' (60:45)
ūtš ḏíkun sɛ 'his house is that one' (46:11)
izók əntōh 'those (men) were fighting' (20:6)

More often, the demonstratives function as attributive adjectives, in which case they traditionally follow their head noun, which is definite. Examples are:

- hérúm ḏénu* 'this tree' (22:11)
edúnhum ḏénu 'this debt of theirs' (9:8)
ša'b ḏínu 'this valley' (54:16)
əkəssét ḏínú 'this story' (34:14)
eyát ḏínu 'this camel' (AK2:4) (but *ḏin eyát* in AK2:5)
xátók izénu 'these clothes' (17:6)
ēm izén 'these days' (AK4:12)
míh izén 'this water' (AK)
sékən ḏóhūn 'that community' (15:12)
xaf ḏóhūn 'that foot' (52:6)
ēnzél ḏóhunu 'that place' (Anon 1:5)
hallét ḏíhūn 'that town' (17:15)
yum ḏúhūn 'that day' (AK1:2)
ekfōr izóhūn 'those foreigners' (10:1)
xəhr ḏókūn 'that mountain' (30:24)
ēnzél ḏókūn 'that place' (31:2)

aǵéyg ḏókūn ‘that man’ (54:39)
xatarét ḏíkūn ‘that time’ (20:9)
ḥallét ḏíkūn ‘that town’ (46:9)
ūt trut izóhun ‘those two houses’ (AK)
aǵág izóhunu ‘those men’ (AK2:3)
ēt izókūn ‘those houses’ (18:9)

There are a small number of passages in which an attributive demonstrative precedes the noun (likewise definite), presumably under the influence of Arabic. Examples are:

ḏénu sændík ‘this box’ (5:4)
ḏínú aǵabǵót ‘this girl’ (17:53)
ḏínú ēhalét ‘this word’ (34:4)
ḏin eyát ‘this camel’ (AK2:5)
ḏóhun aǵéyg ‘that man’ (SB1:5)

Sometimes this is clearly stylistic, as in 17:6, where the preceding demonstrative seems to be used for contrast:

ixant izénu xatók, ba-fki xatók izénu ‘take off *those* [lit. these] clothes, and put on *these*’ (17:6)

For other possible examples, see the comments to texts 22:12 and 38:10. Most of my informants regularly placed the demonstrative before the noun when I elicited examples, but in natural speech the demonstrative often followed the noun.

The shortened form of the near demonstrative is attested just four times in Johnstone’s texts. Three times it is used as a demonstrative pronoun with an independent pronoun in the predicate, and once it is used in a pair to indicate contrast:

ḏen he, aǵák ‘it’s me, your brother’ (13:12)
ḏen še ‘it’s him’ (30:22)
ḏen še tabšif ašfōkət ‘this is a description of marriage’ (45:20)
ṭit ‘aḵ sédkəš ḏēn, ba-ṭit ‘aḵ sédkəš ḏēn ‘one on this side (of his mouth) and one on that [lit. this] side (of his mouth)’ (54:24)

The shortened far demonstrative *ḏik* also is attested twice as a subject with an independent pronoun in the predicate: *ḏik se* ‘that’s it’ (AK2:10; Anon1:6). As already noted above, the shortened forms are often used in fast speech, in all positions. Cf. the example of *izén* from text AK4:12, given above.

3.5 *Indefinite Pronouns*3.5.1 *dé* ‘someone, anyone’

For ‘someone’ or ‘anyone’, Jibbali uses the pronoun *dé*. This is most likely related to Mehri *ʾəḥād*,¹¹ though the form must have been influenced by the word *sé* ‘something, anything’ (see § 3.5.2). In combination with the negative *ɔl... lɔ* (§ 13.2.1), it has the meaning ‘no one, nobody, (not) anyone’. Examples of its use are:

- dé zəḥīkum* ‘has anyone come to you?’ (25:9)
her dé yəǵórəb sé ‘if anyone knows anything’ (18:7)
əkós dé yəmzéz ‘I’ll find someone who smokes’ (60:25)
šā’k dé ʾør ḥa-yšéxənt ‘did you hear somebody say he will [or: would] leave?’ (8:9)
ɔl dé yəḳólb əlhín ber xárɔǵ səḥí lɔ ‘no one (can) bring back alive whatever has already died’ (23:14)
ɔl yəḳóla’ tɔ l-əšéšfəḳ dé lɔ ‘he won’t let me marry anyone’ (17:18)
ɔl dé nísəz mēs sé lɔ ‘no one had drunk anything from it’ (34:10)
ɔl šīši dé lɔ ‘they had no one’ (54:1)
ɔl dé əl-hés še lɔ ‘no one was like him’ (54:2)
ɔl dé yəbǵód lɔ ‘no one is traveling’ (60:37)
ɔl ksətó dé lɔ ‘they didn’t find anyone’ (97:31)

Normally a phrase with *dé* is negated as any phrase, as the above examples show. However, in one place in the texts, we find the idea of ‘no one’ expressed as *ɔl-dé-lɔ*, where *dé* is negated rather than the entire phrase. This is done for emphasis, in response to the question ‘who told you?’:

- ɔl-dé-lɔ ʾør hīni* ‘no one told me’ (1:5)

On another unusual negation, which is probably a mistake, see the comment to text 54:32.

The pronoun *dé* also appears in combination with the partitive *mən* (§ 8.18), giving the meaning ‘(any) one of’. In some cases, the two words fuse, resulting in the elision of the *m* (see § 2.1.3); this change is common, but not universal, in fast speech.¹² Some examples are:

¹¹ Mehri *ʾəḥād*, and so presumably Jibbali *dé*, come from the proto-West Semitic numeral **waḥad* ‘one’. The Modern South Arabian numeral **ʾad* ‘one (m.)’ is almost certainly related to this root as well. See further in § 9.1.1.

¹² Informants accepted forms with and without elision.

her dē-ankēn taǵórəb sé ‘if any one of you knows anything’ (15:7) (*dē-ankēn* < *dé mánkén*)

šefdē-ənsēn sáhart ‘it so happened that one of them was a witch’ (15:8) (*dē-ənsēn* < *dé mənsén*)

her dé mənħúm ðə-’ör hek řenu ‘if one of them who said this to you’ (24:2)

ya-rét əl-šné dé mənħüm ‘would that I could see one of them!’ (60:32)

The idea of ‘everyone’ is normally expressed by *kəl(l) řat* (see below, § 3.5.3), but *kəl dé* can be used if the sense is indefinite. There is just one example in Johnstone’s texts:

axér ar kəl dé ‘better than everyone [or: anyone]’ (54:4)

3.5.2 *sé* ‘something, any(thing)”; *sé lə* ‘nothing, not any(thing)’

The idea of ‘something’ or ‘anything’ is expressed with the word *sé*, as in:

ħósələk sé ‘did you earn anything?’ (8:3)

her dé yǵǵórəb sé ‘if anyone knows anything’ (18:7)

he kisk sé ‘I found something’ (30:22)

giní řat əl-sé besit əl-hés đókün ‘one guinea for something simple like that’ (52:10)

bə-fló yézmək sé ‘and perhaps he’ll give you something’ (60:30)

a’išórək řaló sé ‘(are they) your friends or something?’ (60:32)

her sé géré lek ‘if anything happens to you’ (86:12)

Used in a negative sentence, *sé* has the meaning ‘nothing’ or ‘(not) anything’. The combination *sé lə* can also be used alone to mean ‘nothing’. Examples are:

əl šeš sé lə ‘he didn’t have anything’ (5:6)

əl ötəl sé lə ‘he hasn’t sent anything’ (8:8)

əl eřbáh řer hérium sé lə ‘nothing had appeared on the tree’ (22:14)

aǵéyǵ əl řa-yzémk sé lə ‘the man won’t give you anything’ (28:13)

əl dé níšəz məs sé lə ‘no one had drunk anything from it’ (34:10)

əl sé zəħám beř lə ‘nothing came of it’ (SB1:4)

’ör, “sé lə” ‘he said, “(It’s) nothing”’ (60:32)

The combination *sé bə-fló sé* (in a positive sentence) or *sé b-əl sé* (in a negative sentence) gives some emphasis to the pronoun, meaning something like ‘anything at all’, for example:

’əd yə’ör řiš sé bə-fló sé ‘does he do [lit. say] anything at all to you?’ (TJ4:50)

ɔl 'ak eklēsən šeš sé b-ɔl sé 'they didn't think [lit. in their hearts] he had anything at all' (TJ4:33)

ɔl yəhérg šes sé b-ɔl sé ɛd k-háʃaf 'he didn't say [lit. speak] anything at all to [lit. with] her until morning' (TJ4:44)

The pronoun *sé* can also have the meaning 'any' or 'some', when used in a partitive construction with *mən* (§ 8.18), as in:

ber aǵ(y)ég sé mən érunókum 'have any of your goats given birth already?' (32:3)

'ak təstém sé mən ɔšétən 'you want to buy some of our animals' (41:3)

šē-ən šohum 'some among them' (AM1:11)

As the last example shows, the *m* is sometimes elided in the phrase *sé mən*, just as in the phrase *dé mən* (§ 3.5.1).

It can also be used as an adjective 'any', in combination with a preceding or following noun:

šuk sé aǵóhék fəl ɔgátéték 'do you have any brothers or sisters?' (SM)

ɔl šek dírəhəm sé lɔ 'you don't have any money' (86:8)

het ɔl bek sé té' lɔ 'you don't have any meat on you' (SB1:6)

ɔl nā'ɔl sé əlhúti, w-ɔl sé yél, w-ɔl sé éruṅ 'we don't raise any cows, or any camels, or any sheep' (FB1:1)

Finally, the word *sé* can also be used to indicate an existential in a negative sentence, for example:

ɔl sé mosé lɔ 'isn't there any rain?' (32:7)

ɔl sé məhnét lɔ 'it's [or: there's] no trouble' (28:20)

ɔl sé míh kərib lɔ 'there was no water nearby' (35:1)

ɔl sé gənní lɔ ǵer emíh 'there was no jinn by the water-hole' (39:12)

ɔl sé míh əl-fənoókum lɔ 'there is no water ahead of you' (60:37)

On the use of *miṭ-íné* to mean 'something', see § 5.5.7.

3.5.3 *kɔ(l) ʔat* 'everyone, each one'

The phrase *kɔl ʔat* (var. *kɔl ʔad*), often reduced to *kɔ-ʔát* (see § 2.1.6), means 'everyone'. If the phrase *kɔl ʔat* precedes the verb, it is a true subject, and is treated as grammatically singular, as in English. If it follows the verb, the verb will be in the dual or plural, and *kɔl ʔat* can be considered appositional to the subject of the verb. Examples are:

kɔl ʔat yəʃrəh 'everyone is happy' (4:5)

kəl ʔat yézəm taxtór bə-xədméts̃ ‘everyone would give the doctor (something) for his work’ (52:1)
kəl-ʔát yəʔagób yəǵrəb ɛšǵǵər ‘everyone wants to know the other guy’ (21:12)

Since *kəl* can also mean ‘each’ (§ 5.5.3), the phrase *kəl ʔat* (or *kəl-ʔát*) is often best translated ‘each one’, for example:

battədó kəl-ʔát b-ɔrmaš ‘each one went [lit. separated] on his way’ (1:14)
yózməš kəl-ʔát šfet ‘each one gave him a hair’ (30:20)
ʔagən kəl-ʔát yəzhôm bə-kéltót ‘let’s each one (of us) offer [lit. bring] a story’ (36:29)
kəl ʔat mən aǵǵ rīʔát ‘each one of the men (got) a quarter’ (54:8)

Note in the last example that the phrase *kəl ʔat* is used in combination with a partitive *mən* (§ 8.18).

When ‘everyone’ is the antecedent of a relative clause, *kəl* alone is used, without *ʔat*, in combination with the relative pronoun *ε-/ð-* (see further in § 3.8.2). Examples are:

kəl ð-əl šes šǵǵat lə ‘everyone who doesn’t have jewelry’ (22:5)
kəl ε-zhám ‘everyone who came’ (54:37)

On the combination *kəl dé*, see above (§ 3.5.1). For more on *kəl* itself, see § 5.5.3.

3.5.4 *kəl sé* ‘everything’

As an indefinite pronoun, ‘everything’ is expressed in Jibbali by the transparent phrase *kəl sé*. On ‘everything’ as a relative pronoun, see § 3.8.3 and § 3.8.4. Examples are:

eš̄r axér mən kəl sé ‘patience is better than everything’ (20:9)
ʔər šxarét taǵórəb kəl sé ‘they say [lit. said] there is an old woman who knows everything’ (38:7)
kəlót heš bə-kól sé ‘he told him everything’ (30:18)

The phrase can be strengthened by the addition of *kəls̄* ‘all of it’, as in:

taǵórəb kəl sé kəls̄ her ʔrész ‘she knows absolutely everything about illness’ (18:7)

Rarely, *kəl sé* is better translated as ‘anything’, for example:

əl yəʔagób yəzém sé lə her kəl sé ‘he didn’t like to give anything for anything’ (52:2)

For more on *kəl*, see § 5.5.3.

3.5.5 *əðt-ilín* ‘so-and-so’

The word *əðt-ilín*, which appears thirty times in the texts, is used like English ‘so-and-so’, to represent an unnamed person. It is used in stories where a name is unknown or where the storyteller wishes to keep a character anonymous, and its use is more frequent than in English. *JL* (s.v. *ðy-ʾln*) defines this word as ‘someone, somebody; anyone’, which is not accurate. The word does not decline for gender. Examples are:

- he bər əðt-ilín* ‘I am the son of so-and-so’ (5:12)
šóhum əðt-ilín ‘so-and-so is with them’ (25:10)
ð-əhérg k-əðt-ilín ‘I was speaking with so-and-so’ (28:10)
əðt-ilín, he ékíl l-əšfəḳəš əðt-ilín ‘so-and-so, am I authorized to marry so-and-so to you?’ (45:9)

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

- he mən ḥallét əl-fəláníyyə* ‘I am from such-and-such a town’ (5:7)
nxín fídún əl-fəláníyyə ‘under such-and-such a rock’ (15:14)

3.6 Reflexives

Reflexivity in Jibbali can be indicated by means of a verbal stem, or can be inherent in the meaning of the verb itself, as in:

- šəḳaré* ‘he hid himself’ (33:8) (Š1-Stem)
šibbədəs ‘detach yourself from her!’ (60:43) (Š1-Stem)
šxank ‘you warmed yourself [by a fire]’ (86:4) (G-Stem)

See further in § 6.4.2. However, such examples are rather rare in the texts. More often, Jibbali employs a reflexive pronoun based on the historical root **nfs* ‘soul’. Unlike Mehri (and many other Semitic languages), the reflexive pronoun is not inflected for person or gender, at least among most speakers (see below). The reflexive pronoun has just two basic forms, singular *enúf* ‘myself, yourself, his/her/itself’ and plural *enǰǰf* ‘ourselves, yourselves, themselves’. There is also a special dative form *hánúf*, plural *hánǰǰf*, equivalent to the preposition *her* ‘to; for’ + *enúf/enǰǰf*.¹³ As elsewhere in Modern South

¹³ The form *hánúf* derives from *h-* + *enúf*, with an unusual shift of *h* to *h*. The element *h-*

Arabian, the historical root **nfs* has undergone irregular mutation in Jibali. It first became **nf*, whence singular *nuf*, definite *enúf*. The plural *enfǝf* is based on a reanalysis of the singular as having the root **nff*. Following are some examples of the reflexive pronoun in context:

ħa-l-zémk enúf 'I will give myself to you' (2:3)

kšef enúf 'expose yourself!' (17:40)

šerk hánúf kəl ħallét bes məsgíd 'make for yourself a mosque in every town' (5:1)

šérék enúf mišérd 'he pretended he was [lit. made himself] crazy' (46:7)

šorkót enúf ġeyg 'she pretended she was [lit. made herself] a man' (36:27)

bə-tüm ǝfəlat b-enfǝf 'and you, save yourselves!' (54:17)

súlmək enúf 'I surrender myself' (83:4)

Note the use of the reflexive pronoun in the idioms *šérék enúf* 'pretend' (lit. 'make oneself') and *aǧád k-enúf* 'go to the bathroom' (lit. 'go with oneself'; e.g., 97:37), both of which are found also in Mehri.¹⁴ Another idiom is *ɣol kisk enúf* 'how do you feel [lit. find yourself]?' (40:15). The phrase *b-enúf* '(save) yourself!' is used as a command in 83:2, where an imperative verb like *éflat* 'save' (cf. 54:17) or *əhtédǝr* 'watch out for' (cf. 25:10) must be implied.

In text TJ4, we find over a dozen inflected forms of *enúf* and *hánúf* (cf. also TJ3:9 and AK2:7). This text exhibits a number of dialectal peculiarities, and this is one of them. Examples are:

šə šérék enúfš 'ıǧém 'he pretended he was mute' (TJ4:26)

aǧadót b-enǝfǝt hánúfš ǝ-ebkí hes sé elǝhün ... b-enkışót ešéred ǝer enúfš
'she went and spread out for herself that which was placed for her there ... and she turned down the lamp over herself' (TJ4:53)

kəlót hes b-enúfš 'he told her about himself' (TJ4:57)

ǝsəm enúfš 'he identified himself' (TJ4:85)

he bek húlkk enúfi 'I've tormented myself' (TJ4:91)

However, twice in text TJ4 we also find an uninflected reflexive, as in Johnstone's other texts:

is used as the base of the preposition *her* before pronominal suffixes (§ 8.11), but cf. also the combination *ħ-íné* 'why? for what?' (§ 11.4).

¹⁴ At least the first of these idioms is also known from Soqoṭri. An example can be found in Müller (1907: 53, text 13:8).

ħaħt ērót se b-ēžiréts k-enǰǰf ‘when she and her servant-girl were by themselves’ (TJ4:49)

kǰǰlót l-enúf ‘she locked herself in’ (TJ4:61)

Also in TJ4, we find once a contracted form *mən-núfi* (< *mən enúfi*). Since there are no other examples of *mən* plus a reflexive pronoun in the texts, it is unclear if this is a regular contraction in this or other dialects. It may simply be that the speaker ran the words together in fast speech. The passage is:

bass mən-núfi ‘(it’s) just from myself’ (TJ4:5)

English *-self* in the sense of ‘by oneself, alone’ is indicated with the word *baħś(é)*- (root *wħś*) plus a pronominal suffix. Examples are:

ħe teǰ ol əšénús baħśí lo ‘I am (just) a woman who does not dare (to be) alone’ (25:17)

kǰ tūm kélá’kum tǰš yǰǰád baħśéš əmšín ‘why did you all let him go by himself yesterday?’ (49:34)

šíní tǰš baħśés ‘he saw his wife by herself’ (30:21)

xaħarét ĵeyg b-émés k-iyél baħśóħum ‘once a man and his mother were by themselves with the camels’ (54:1)

kiskēmí b-aǰáti ad-šéfbahśésən ‘I found my mother and my sister asleep by themselves’ (13:5)

However, in the example from TJ4:49, given above, we see *k-* ‘with’ plus the reflexive pronoun used with this meaning (*k-enǰǰf* ‘by themselves’).

3.7 Reciprocals

Reciprocals in Jibbali are most often expressed by means of a T-Stem verb, for example:

əntǰħó ‘the two fought (with each other)’ (20:5)

ǰǰtlas aǰág ‘the men argued (with each other)’ (22:18)

tǰt’an bə-gunōi ‘they stabbed each other with daggers’ (22:19)

sǰtbəǰ še bə-šúm ‘he and they fought (with each other)’ (53:1)

dħa-nəǰtēr ‘we’ll meet (each other)’ (60:43)

See further in § 6.4.4, § 6.5.2, and § 6.5.4. Jibbali also sometimes employs a special reciprocal pronoun, formed on the base *taǰt-* (or *taǰt-*, which is more correct historically) for masculine forms, and *ǰitt-* for feminine forms. This pronoun is really just the numeral ‘one’ (*taǰt/tad* for masculine, *ǰit* for feminine) combined with a form of the direct object pronoun *t-* (§ 3.3).

| | dual | plural |
|----|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1m | <i>ṭattóšši</i> | <i>ṭattún</i> |
| 1f | <i>ṭittóšši</i> | <i>ṭittún</i> |
| 2m | <i>ṭattóšši</i> | <i>ṭattókum</i> |
| 2f | <i>ṭittóšši</i> | <i>ṭittókən</i> |
| 3m | <i>ṭattóšši</i> | <i>ṭattóhum</i> |
| 3f | <i>ṭittóšši</i> | <i>ṭittósən</i> |

Some examples from the texts are:

yəʕzəm ṭattóhum bə-yógaḥ əl-ṭattóhum ‘they invite each other and go to visit each other’ (4:3)

ʕāgən nərsən ṭattún ‘let’s tie each other up’ (17:25)

fúskši mən ṭattóšši ‘they separated them from each other’ (20:5)

bə-ǰótbər ḏə-ǰǫḏr bə-ṭattóhum ‘they came together apologizing to one another’ (20:7)

ǫr her ṭattóhum ‘they said to each other’ (22:18)

fhem ṭattóhum ‘they understood each other’ (34:14)

yǰǰzi her ṭattóhum ‘they were raiding each other’ (83:1)

The reciprocal pronoun can be used in place of a T-Stem verb, even when one exists. For example, in 22:19 we find both *létǰ ṭattóhum* and *lǫttǰ* meaning ‘they killed each other’. The first of these examples uses a G-Stem plus a reciprocal pronoun, while the second uses a T₁-Stem of the same root.¹⁵

The reciprocal pronoun is not used when the verb itself indicates reciprocity. There is a seeming example of this in Johnstone’s texts (*ǰótrəb ṭattóhum* ‘they recognized each other’, 6:39), but as explained in the comment to that passage, this should be corrected either to *ǰarób ṭattóhum* or to *ǰótrəb*.

¹⁵ In the Mehri version of this story (text M3:19), we find a T-Stem for both occurrences. On the Mehri form, which is obscured in the printed edition, see Rubin (2010: 111, n. 16).

3.8 *Relative Pronouns*3.8.1 *Relative ε-/ð-*

The relative pronoun in Jibbali is either ε- or ð- (often pronounced ðə- or əð-) ‘who, that, which’. In Johnstone’s texts these are used interchangeably.¹⁶ One informant considered ε- to be the proper Jibbali relative pronoun, while he considered ð- a Mehrism. However, this probably does not hold, since the latter is still used by many Jibbali speakers. The relative pronoun does not normally inflect for gender or number, and it does not matter if the antecedent is human or non-human. A plural relative *iz-* (< **il-*) exists, though its use is not obligatory.¹⁷ The relative pronoun can be followed by a verbal or non-verbal clause. Some examples are:

ziš agéyg ε-šfók ‘ásíréť kəróš ‘the man who got married gave him ten dollars’ (7:9)

ksé agág əð-šérók elé ‘he found the men who had stolen the cow’ (12:8)

šxarét ðə-xargót ‘an old woman who had died’ (18:2)

‘ör agéyg ðə-k-elhúti ‘the man who was with the cows said’ (20:3)

zūš ōkrút ðə-t̄rót haǵalétš ‘they gave him the young camel that had broken his calf’ (23:14)

bélé šiš agéyg ε-žitāš ‘ónut ‘even if you have the man who took you for a year’ (30:22)

šfókək b-ɔrx ε-téróf ‘I got married last month [lit. the month that led in]’ (32:10)

izénu séra b-eggór ðə-šérék bi ekəssét dīnu ‘these are the judge and the slave who made this story for me’ (36:31)

yə ðə-létəǵ is əl b-erž dōkūn lə ‘the people who had killed her father were not in that land’ (46:3)

hógúm əl-sékən dēnu ε-sérén ‘it attacked this settlement that’s behind us’ (47:5)

šótərhum ε-ḥéziz ‘their kid that was slaughtered’ (49:5)

¹⁶ In Pr188, we also find relative *d-*. Among my informants, even those who used *d-* for the verbal prefix (§7.1.10) still used *ð-* for the relative pronoun.

¹⁷ There is just one example in Johnstone’s texts (SB1:3); see also text Fr1 for another example. Examples can also be found in *JL* (e.g., s.v. *ǵnm*, *xť*). Perhaps the lack of *iz-* in Johnstone’s texts from Ali Musallam (a Mehri speaker) is a Mehrism, though this is far from clear. My own informants do use *iz-*, but not regularly. In fast speech, it is very difficult to distinguish ε-, ð-, and *iz-*.

In one passage in the texts, a resumptive subject pronoun follows the relative. This may be a Mehrisim, since this passage comes from a text that is a close translation of a Mehri text:

ber látǵək sǵtét ḏə-šūm xəyór ‘you already killed three who were the best’ (83:6)

If the antecedent is the direct object of 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:

ši kəb ḏənu ḏə-látǵəkum tǵš ‘I owned the wolf that you killed’ (15:11)
γə ε-śínén tóhum mənḥínəm ‘the people that we saw last night’ (16:5)
dḥa-l-ǵásəre tel γə tǵǵórbhum ‘you’ll spend the night with people you know’ (30:15)
aǵéyg εšfék aǵatetéš šḥalét ǵag ḏ-əl γǵǵórbhum lə ‘the man had married off his three sisters to men that he didn’t know’ (30:16)
εǵéyg ḏə-bék šǵǵǵdk tǵš ‘the man I’ve already arranged the meeting with’ (28:12)

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

zəḥám ḥallét ḏə-bés aǵítš ‘he came to the town that his sister was in [or: in which his sister was]’ (17:33)
εšáḥan ḏə-‘amkǵš ḥít ‘the dish that had the food on it [or: on which the food was]’ (17:47)
εšəl ǵrəm ḏə-γəzḥím ḏírs ékǵbtər ‘he got to the road that the caravans came on [or: on which the caravans came]’ (22:8)

And a resumptive possessive suffix is used in contexts where English requires ‘whose’ (i.e., where the antecedent is in a possessive relationship with a noun in the relative clause), as in:

aǵéyg ε-śínk ütš ‘the man whose house I saw [lit. that I saw his house]’ (MmS)

The relative pronoun can *optionally* be omitted when the antecedent is indefinite. Some examples of this are:

fəlǵ əkǵs dé γəmzéz ‘perhaps I’ll find someone who smokes’ (60:25)
šeš mahfér ‘amkǵš té bə-ḳít ‘he had a basket, in which was meat and (other) food’ (36:3)
he ǵeyg zəḥámk mən sfər ‘I am a man who has come back from a journey’ (13:7)

ǰeyg šeš krózə ‘a man who had a Cruiser’ (AK1:3)

The relative *ε-/ǰ-* can also be used with no antecedent, with the meaning ‘(the) one who’ or ‘that/those which’. A few examples are:

ǰə-k-érún ‘those (who are) with the goats’ (28:6)

ǰbət ε-ák bes ‘take the one that you like’ (30:4)

he kunk kə-ǰ-ól šóhum xōi lo ‘I was with those that did not have umbrellas’ (31:3)

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

ε-xarǰǰ ǰasré iǰiǰr k-ǰáǰaf ‘the one who dies in the evening is buried in the morning’ (Pr16)

ε-k-εdífǰr yəšǰh dífǰr ‘the one who is with the bad becomes bad’ (Pr101)

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

tum ǰə-šerǰkkum elín ‘you are the ones who stole our cow’ (12:9)

he ǰə-látǰǰk ‘I am the one who killed (him)’ (54:37)

het ε-ǰébk ‘you’re the one who defecated’ (22:18)

mun ε-šérék ǰénu? mun ε-létǰǰ egənní ‘who did this? Who killed the jinn?’ (54:34)

The relative is actually required after *mun* if it is the subject of a verb; for additional examples, see § 11.1.

If the antecedent of the relative pronoun 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 its grammatical antecedent.¹⁸ Several examples were already seen above (e.g., 12:9; 54:37; 22:18), but a few more examples will make this clear:

he ǰeyg zəǰámk mən sfer ‘I am a man who has come back from a journey’ (13:7) (note *zəǰámk* ‘I came back’)

he teǰ ǰl əšénús bahsí lo ‘I am (just) a woman who does not dare be alone’ (25:17) (*əšénús* ‘I dare’)

¹⁸ This construction is found in Omani Mehri too, but I neglected to comment on it in my grammar of Mehri. Discussion with examples can be found in Watson (2012: 162). Additional Mehri examples can be found in Johnstone’s Mehri texts 92:2, 94:4, and 94:29.

- he ġeyg ð-ɔl bi hiēt bē lɔ* ‘I am a man who doesn’t have very much strength in him’ (38:2) (*bi* ‘[have] in me’)
- he ġeyg ða-xtórk kin sékəni* ‘I am a man who has come down from his [lit. my] settlement’ (41:2) (*xtórk* ‘I came down’)
- he ġeyg ð-ɔl əkódər l-óskəf b-erz̄ ðénu lɔ* ‘I am a man who cannot stay in this land’ (60:4) (*ɔl əkódər l-óskəf lɔ* ‘I cannot stay’)
- he ġeyg əmzéz* ‘I am a man who smokes’ (60:29) (*əmzéz* ‘I smoke’)
- het ġeyg təmzéz* ‘you are a man who smokes’ (FB)

Finally, we should also include here the idioms used for the word ‘friend(s)’, meaning literally ‘the men/those who are with me/you/etc.’:

- aġág əð-šék* ‘your friends [lit. the men who are with you]’ (24:1)
- aġág əð-šés̄* ‘his friends’ (54:33)
- aġéġsi* ‘my friend’ (10:2, < *aġéyġ ɛ-ší*)
- izók iz-šés̄* ‘his friends [lit. those who are with him]’ (SB1:3)
- izók əð-šen* ‘our friends [or: fellow tribesmen]’ (60:45)

The shift of stress in *aġéġsi* ‘my friend’ shows that this phrase is essentially lexicalized.

On the use of *ɛ-/ð-* as a genitive exponent, see §12.4; in conjunction with some numerals, see §9.1.4 and §9.1.5; to form possessive pronouns, see §3.1; and on *d-/ð-* as a verbal prefix, see §7.1.10. On the elision of the *b* in *ber* following the relative pronoun, see §7.2.

3.8.2 *kɔl ɛ-/ð-* ‘whoever, everyone who’

As the antecedent of a relative clause, *kɔl* is used on its own to mean ‘whoever’ or ‘everyone who’, as in:

- kɔl ða-tēs yaḳtéłəb kərah* ‘whoever eats it will turn into a donkey’ (6:25)
- kɔl ɛ-šérók élé* ‘whoever stole the cow’ (12:7)
- kɔl ð-ɔl šes šáġət lɔ* ‘everyone who doesn’t have jewelry’ (22:5)
- kɔl ɛ-létəġ ɛġanní* ‘whoever killed the jinn’ (54:36)
- kɔl ɛ-zhám* ‘everyone who came’ (54:37)
- kɔl ɛ-šés̄ díréham* ‘whoever has money’ (60:28)

The phrase *kɔl mən- ɛ-/ð-* means ‘whoever/whichever (one) of’, for example:

- kɔl minén ɛ-bédé* ‘whichever of us has lied’ (1:8)
- kɔl mənħūm ɛ-dóləf* ‘whichever of them jumps’ (30:15)
- kɔl mənġūm ða-kərab tɔ* ‘any of you who [or: whichever of you] comes near me’ (25:20)

3.8.3 *alhín* ‘whatever; all that’

Jibbali has a special relative pronoun *alhín* (cf. Hobyot *alhín*, Mehri *alhān*, Ḥarsusi *hən*), meaning ‘all that’, ‘everything (that)’, or ‘whatever’. It can be followed by a verbal or non-verbal clause. Examples of its use are:

- ḥa-l-zámk alhín* ‘ak ‘I’ll give you whatever you want’ (13:8)
tūm šōrk beš alhín ‘ákum ‘you all do with him whatever you want’ (17:20)
dḥa-nzémk yiršēn b-alhín ḏírsən ‘we will give you our camels and everything on them’ (22:12)
zūš eḳáḥf b-alhín ‘amkās ‘they gave him the pot and everything inside it’ (23:6)
al dé yəḳólb alhín ber xáróg šəhí lə ‘no one (can) bring back alive whatever has already died’ (23:14)
alhín ‘ak mən tōlí dḥa-l-zémk ‘whatever you want from me I will give you’ (41:4)
dəhéfk tōš alhín ši mən ḥus ‘I slapped him (on the back) with all the strength I had [lit. all that I had from strength]’ (51:7)
ī kólót her yə b-alhín šerókək ‘my father told the people everything I had done’ (51:13)
bə-xənít alhín ‘ak šfəls ‘and they took out everything that was in her stomach’ (97:36)

3.8.4 *in* ‘all that’

Similar to *alhín*, though less common in Johnstone’s texts, is the relative *in*, which can be used by itself or in combination with *kəl* ‘all’. Examples are:

- əsféróthum ta‘lúm kəl in xézík bə-díní* ‘their bird knew everything that happened [lit. was created] in the world’ (6:4)
kólót her aḡás eḳellén kəl in kun leš bə-díní ‘he told his little brother all that had happened to him in the world’ (6:39)
xátəs erḥīm éşəl b-in (bə-kól in) ʔš héšóf ‘your nice letter reached me, and all that you said is good’ (SB2:6)

As noted in the comment to text SB2:6, one manuscript of that text has *kəl in*, while another (like the audio version) has just *in*.

With my own informants, I found that *in* was perhaps more common than the texts suggest. Additional examples I received were:

- šáxbər in ‘ak* ‘ask whatever you want’ (BY)
šáxbər kəl in ‘ak ‘ask everything you want’ (BY)

3.8.5 *Relative mən tél 'where'*

The phrase *mən tél* (corresponding to Omani Mehri *mən hāl*) has two meanings. It can function as a compound preposition 'from (the presence of)', on which see § 8.26. It can also function as a relative-locative 'where', used with or without an antecedent. Examples with an antecedent are:

éşal ênzél mən tél öřót eşxarét 'he got to the place where the old woman said' (15:15)

tit mənsén (t)sokf ðer dɔf mən tél l-əḵōžən li 'one of them would sit on a rock where they could watch me' (49:3)

ḥárənút mən tél yəḵōžən əl-sékən 'a hill where they could keep an eye on the settlement' (60:41)

When used without an antecedent, *mən tél* can be translated as 'where', '(in/to) the place where', or 'wherever'. Examples are:

bə-ksé ġarórt ð-díréham mən tél šéf embéř 'he found a bag of money where the boy had slept' (6:15)

ed éşal mən tél ērún téḵhəbən 'when he got to where the goats were spending the day' (23:7)

ed mən tél kéřa lek āhléb 'until wherever the camel gets tired on you' (30:15)

mən tél aġsərə, yəḥzíz hóhum yə yət 'wherever they spent the night, people would slaughter a camel for them' (54:13)

CHAPTER FOUR

NOUNS

4.1 Gender

Jibbali has two grammatical genders, masculine and feminine. Masculine nouns have no formal marker. Feminine nouns are often recognizable by the presence of a suffix $-(\emptyset)t$ or $-Vt$ ($-\acute{e}t$, $-\acute{a}t$, $-\acute{e}t$, $-\acute{t}$, $-\acute{o}t$, $-\acute{u}t$). Following are some examples of marked and unmarked feminine nouns.

Marked feminine: *ónut* ‘year’, *ízūt* ‘mark, sign’, *brit* ‘daughter’, *gizírt* ‘island’, *gabgót* ‘girl’, *garórt* ‘bag’, *hōt* ‘snake’, *hogúlt* ‘bracelet’, *hallét* ‘town’, *héít* ‘berry’, *kéltót* ‘story’, *kəssét* ‘story’, *šágət* ‘jewelry’, *šfet* ‘hair’, *šunút* ‘sleep’, *yət* (pl. *(i)yél*) ‘she-camel’

Unmarked feminine: *ém* ‘mother’, *órəm* ‘road’, *oz* (pl. *érún*) ‘(she-)goat’, *but* ‘house’, *dəf* ‘rock’, *fa’m* ‘foot; leg’, *fúdún* ‘rock, stone’, *hār* ‘mountain’, *hašún* (or *hašnín*) ‘horse’, *kurj* ‘score’, *móža* ‘family-house’, *erkib* (pl. *yiršób*) ‘riding-camel’, *ša’b* ‘valley’, *teṭ* (pl. *ínét*) ‘woman’, *yum* ‘day; sun’

Nearly all singular nouns ending in $-t$ have feminine gender, even if the $-t$ is part of the root. For example, both *but* ‘house’ and *kit* ‘food’ are grammatically feminine, even though the t is part of the historical root; a counterexample is masculine *εk(ə)t* ‘time’ (e.g., 38:1), though this word is an Arabic loan. There are at least two masculine words with a suffixed $-t$ (not part of the root), namely, *mə’ört* ‘guest’ (34:9) and *bəhīt* ‘pauper’ (e.g., 54:38). Plural nouns are a different matter, since most plural nouns ending in $-t$ are masculine; see § 4.3.3 for examples.

Some masculine nouns referring to animate beings have a recognizable feminine counterpart, while others do not. Some examples are:

| Masculine | Feminine |
|-------------------------------|---|
| <i>ba’l</i> ‘master; owner’ | <i>ba’lét</i> ‘mistress; owner’ |
| <i>əggór</i> ‘servant’ | <i>(i)žírét</i> ‘servant-girl’ ($\tilde{z} < *g$) |
| <i>(ε)bré</i> ‘son’ | <i>brit</i> ‘daughter’ |
| <i>did</i> ‘(paternal) uncle’ | <i>dít</i> ‘(maternal) aunt’ |
| <i>ga</i> ‘brother’ | <i>gít</i> ‘sister’ |
| <i>him</i> ‘brother-in-law’ | <i>hít</i> ‘sister-in-law’ |

| | |
|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>kəb</i> ‘dog; wolf’ | <i>kōt</i> ‘bitch; she-wolf’ |
| <i>ķéraḥ</i> ‘male donkey’ | <i>ķérḥét</i> ‘female donkey’ |
| <i>šāxər</i> ‘old man’ | <i>šxarét</i> ‘old woman’ |
| <i>xiz</i> ‘(maternal) uncle’ | <i>xəlót</i> ‘(paternal) aunt’ |

But:

| | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>ī</i> ‘father’ | <i>ém</i> ‘mother’ |
| <i>ġeyg</i> ‘man’ | <i>teṭ</i> ‘woman’ |
| <i>əmbéré</i> ‘boy’ | <i>ġabġót</i> ‘girl’ |
| <i>tuš</i> ‘male goat’ | <i>əz</i> ‘female goat’ |

Curiously, some nouns denoting female animals are grammatically masculine, like *derhés* ‘female kid (6–18 months old)’ (cf. 23:7), *šəṭər* ‘female kid (2–3 months old)’ (cf. 49:4), and *əlhúti* ‘cows’ (cf. 9:6).

It should also be pointed out that feminine nouns that are marked for gender in the singular need not be, and usually are not, marked in the plural. For example, the plurals of *ónut* ‘year’, *hallét* ‘town’, and *šfet* ‘hair’ are *ayún*, *ḥalél*, and *šəf*, all of which lack a feminine-marking morpheme. And as a corollary, nouns that lack a feminine marker in the singular can exhibit a feminine morpheme in the plural, as with *órəm* ‘road’, pl. *irúmtə*. See further in § 4.3.

4.2 Duals

Nouns in Jibbali once possessed a morphologically distinct dual form, as in the other MSA languages, and as Jibbali pronouns and verbs still do (though even these are obsolescent). The dual noun was once marked by a suffixed *-i* (as we know from the other languages), attached to the singular form of the noun. However, the dual suffix has generally been lost, with the result that dual forms (with few exceptions) look identical to singular ones. Dual nouns are nearly always used in conjunction with the numeral ‘two’, so, there is no real confusion of meaning between singulars and duals. Examples of dual nouns from the texts are:

| Masculine | Feminine |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <i>ərx troh</i> ‘2 months’ (8:7) | <i>ónut trut</i> ‘2 years’ (13:1) |
| <i>ġeyg troh</i> ‘2 men’ (12:1) | <i>əz trut</i> ‘2 goats’ (13:14) |
| <i>áṣər troh</i> ‘2 nights’ (13:16) | <i>ġunét trut</i> ‘2 sacks’ (97:21) |
| <i>əġġər troh</i> ‘2 slaves’ (18:10) | <i>žirét trut</i> ‘2 servant-girls’ (97:31) |

Although the dual suffix *-i* is no longer present, its historical presence caused elision in nouns ending in *-Vb* or *-Vm* (see § 2.1.2 and § 2.1.3), for example:

‘arkē trut ‘two mice’ (TJ3:26) < **‘arkébi trut*
yū trut ‘two days’ (15:2) < *yúmi trut*

Johnstone (1970b: 511, n. 95; *AAL*, p. 21) cites two nouns that exhibit a unique dual form, namely *ǰeyg* ‘man’ (dual *ǰóži*) and *ǰažét* ‘girl’ (dual *ǰažáti*).¹ However, neither of these dual forms occurs in his texts. We can also cite the unusual case of *fǰkǰ* ‘half’, whose dual form *fúšǰhi* serves as its plural, a use which is quite logical semantically. The dual/plural *fúšǰhi* can occur without an accompanying numeral (e.g., 51:13; 65:12). We can also cite *‘ásari* ‘20’ as a dual form (of *‘sǰar* ‘10’). Note that *ǰóži*, *ǰažáti*, *fúšǰhi*, and *‘ásari* all retain the final *-i*.

If ever the numeral ‘two’ precedes the noun (an uncommon stylistic variant), then the noun is in the plural, as in:

troh eršót ‘2 boys’ (6:1) *troh ǰóhe* ‘2 brothers’ (6:12)

Adjectives do not have a dual form, and so a dual noun is modified by a plural adjective, as in

teǰ trut arǰēt ‘two beautiful women’ (cf. *teǰ arǰīt* ‘a beautiful woman’
 and *ínét arǰēt* ‘beautiful women’) (SS)
ǰeyg troh arǰēt ‘two handsome men’ (cf. *ǰeyg rǰhím* ‘a handsome man’
 and *ǰag arǰēt* ‘handsome men’) (SS)

The dual form also does not occur with possessive suffixes. When the numeral ‘2’ follows a noun with a possessive suffix, that noun will be in the plural, as in:

ínétí trut arǰét ‘my two beautiful wives’ (cf. *teǰ trut* ‘two women’) (MnS)
kǰlǰbí troh ‘my two dogs’ (cf. *kǰb troh* ‘two dogs’) (MnS)

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 to avoid redundancy. Among the examples in the texts of a dual noun subject with a plural verb are:

¹ These two dual forms are still known, but are not common. The singular noun *ǰažét* ‘girl’ (defined in *JL*, s.v. *ǰyg*, as ‘big girl’) is itself not known in all dialects, and so where *ǰažét* is unknown, so is its dual. It is used at least in WJ. The equivalent (or near equivalent) *ǰabǰót* ‘girl’ seems to be common to all dialects.

xótlak bes kūhn troh ‘two ibex horns appeared on her’ (6:32)
ǰeyg troh ðə-ǰəbǰéd ‘two men were walking’ (12:1)
a‘rér agǰór troh ǰəzhúm bes ‘he sent two slaves to bring her’ (18:10)

This is not connected with word order, as shown by the above examples, and even more clearly by the following examples, both with dual verbs:

agéyg bə-títš nəfšó ‘the man and his wife went (in the early evening)’
 (60:48)
agádó agéyg bə-títš ‘the man and his wife went’ (60:49)

There are also examples in the texts of dual verbs with plural nouns:

edíró egərét ‘the slaves came back’ (18:13)
dórtó ižórtə aḵ ḥállét ‘the (two) servant-girls went around in the town’
 (97:31)
agád ižórtə ǰəl ālsən bə-ǰórtó ‘the servant-girls went to their master and
 said’ (97:33)

This last example is interesting, in that the first verb (*agád*) is plural, as is the noun *ižórtə* (even though it refers to just two servant-girls), but then the second verb is dual *ǰórtó*. This is typical. Even when duals are used in a story, the narrator frequently reverts to plural. As noted elsewhere, dual forms of verbs (and pronouns) are largely obsolete.

In Mehri, when the number ‘two’ is used independently, without a noun, it does require a dual verb; for examples, see Rubin (2010: 62–63). We would expect the same in Jibbali, at least historically. However, no evidence is found in the texts. Among some of my younger informants, dual verbs have become totally obsolete (though they recognize them), and so it is not surprising that they normally use plural verbs in this situation, as in:

troh zəḥám ‘two came’ (AK)

It should also be mentioned that, generally, dual pronouns and verbs usually do not occur where we expect them in the texts. And what was stated above about the obsolescence of dual verbs applies also to dual pronouns. And so for most Jibbali speakers today, the only remnant of the dual in modern speech is the use of what looks like the singular with the numeral two. The dual verbs and pronouns found in Johnstone’s texts, inconsistent as they are, are by now considered old-fashioned by many speakers.

4.3 Plurals

Jibbali, like the other MSA languages and Arabic, 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 a suffix. Internal plurals are far more common in Jibbali than external plurals, for both masculine and feminine nouns.

A few nouns have a suppletive plural, meaning that they form their plural from a different base or root. Examples are:

ɔz ‘goat’, pl. *érún*
ǰabǰót ‘girl’, pl. *ǰigeníti*
ambéere ‘boy’, pl. *ersót*
móža ‘family-house’, pl. *maxáblə*’

Some plurals look suppletive from a synchronic perspective, because of obfuscating sound changes, though are not so from a historical perspective. Such are:

yət ‘camel’, pl. (*i*)*yél* (historical root **bl*)
tet ‘woman’, pl. *ínét* (historical root **nt*)
(*ε*)*bré* ‘son’, pl. *mín* (historical root **bn*)²
brit ‘daughter’, pl. *bóntə* (historical root **bn*)
mut ‘hundred’, pl. *mīn* (historical root **m*)’

It seems likely that *zifét* ‘time’ and its plural *mizfǝr* (possibly *enzǝfǝr*; see the comment to text 40:13) also derive from the same root somehow.

A few nouns occur only in the plural, e.g., *yɔ* ‘people’. The word *mih* ‘water’ can be considered singular, since it has a plural form (*εmhút*), although it often takes plural concord, as in *mih izén* ‘this water’ (AK; but cf. 39:2). Some nouns denoting collectives can be grammatically singular, e.g., *mošet* ‘livestock’ (cf. 13:3; 15:3). And a very few nouns have identical singular and plural forms, such as *did* ‘uncle(s)’ (see the comment to text 46:2).

4.3.1 *Masculine External Plurals*

The external masculine plural morpheme in Jibbali is *-ín*. Nouns with true masculine external plurals are quite rare in the language. There are just five noun examples in the texts, all of which have the pattern *CəCCín* (vars. *GaCCín*, *CaGCín*):

² In (*ε*)*bré* ‘son’ and *brit* ‘daughter’, earlier **bn-* has become *br-*; the same shift of **n > r* is seen in *tröh* ‘two’ < Semitic **tn-*. In *mín* ‘sons’, the change of *b > m* is due to the rule described in § 2.1.4.

fúdún ‘stone’, pl. *fādnín* (e.g., 39:4)
ḥaṣún or *ḥaṣnín* ‘horse’, pl. *ḥaṣnín*³
ktāb ‘book’, pl. *kātbín* (e.g., 52:2)
kār ‘grave’, pl. *kābrín* (12:12)
nāḥōr or *nāḥar* ‘wadi’, pl. *nāḥrín* (60:35)⁴

There is also one numeral with a masculine external plural, namely, *mut* ‘hundred’, pl. *mīn* (e.g., 32:2). Some other examples of masculine external plurals can be found in *JL*, e.g., *ḥunúb* ‘tail’, pl. *ḥānbín*.

Some nouns seem to have an optional—perhaps dialectal—external masculine plural. For example, for *mukún* ‘place’, *JL* (s.v. *kwn*) lists the plural *emkint*, but elsewhere Johnstone recorded the plural *māknín*.⁵ For *fā’yór* ‘young bull’, *JL* (s.v. *f’r*) lists the plural *fā’yór* (cf. also TJ2:59), but elsewhere (*AAL*, p. 21) Johnstone recorded the plural *fā’rín*.⁶ According to *JL* (s.v. *dll*), the CJ plural of *délíl* ‘guide’ is *délélt*, while the EJ has singular *délól*, plural *dáléln*.

A few masculine nouns form their plurals with the feminine external plural marker; see below, § 4.3.2. Also, many masculine nouns with an internal plural pattern include a suffixed *-(V)t*; see below, § 4.3.3.

Note that the masculine external plural marker is retained before possessive suffixes, e.g., *ektābínék* ‘your books’ (52:8).

4.3.2 Feminine External Plurals

The external feminine plural morpheme is *-étā*, or *-tā*.⁷ The final *-ā* is sometimes realized *-ē*, and the suffix *-étā* is realized *-íti* after a nasal. This feminine plural morpheme is much more common than masculine *-ín* (§ 4.3.1). Some examples of nouns that take this suffix are:

iḏén ‘ear’, pl. *iḏúntā* (Pr157)
ižírét ‘servant-girl’, pl. *ižórtā* (e.g., 17:45)
ém ‘mother’, pl. *émétā* (13:15) (pl. also ‘female relatives’)

³ The plural *ḥaṣnín* can also be used for the singular by some speakers, or perhaps is used as such in error. In fact, all occurrences of *ḥaṣnín* in Johnstone’s texts are singular or dual. See further in the comment to text 17:11.

⁴ On the singular forms of *nāḥrín*, see the comment to text 22:3.

⁵ I found *māknín* on one of Johnstone’s Jibbali vocabulary index cards, held at the Durham University Library (Index Cards, Box 10). My own informants were unsure about the plural of *mukún*.

⁶ My own informants preferred *fā’yór*.

⁷ The cognate suffix in Mehri, Ḥarsusi, and Soqotri has a final *-n*, which has been lost in Jibbali and Hobyot.

šram ‘road’, pl. *irúmtā* (6:12)⁸
‘īhn ‘eye’, pl. *ántā* (e.g., 54:23)
‘izéd ‘(upper) arm’, pl. *‘izidétā* (*JL*, s.v. *‘zd*)⁹
bōkrút ‘young camel’, pl. *bāšórtā* (48:4)
dit ‘medicine’, pl. *diyétā* (17:51)
ġit ‘sister’, pl. *ġatétā* (e.g., FB1:2)
ġabġót ‘girl’, pl. *ġigeníti* (e.g., 30:3)
hérúm ‘tree’, pl. *hermíti* (e.g., 6:23)¹⁰
hīt ‘sister-in-law’, pl. *hīte* (*JL*, s.v. *hm*)
šābdét ‘liver’, pl. *šiódtā* (*JL*, s.v. *kbd*)
šum ‘name’, pl. *šímtā* (15:11)
šxarét ‘old woman’, pl. *šxórtā* (AM1:5)
īd ‘hand’, pl. *édéte* (17:28)

As with masculine external plurals, some nouns with feminine external plurals also have a variant internal plural, often dialectally determined. Thus in *JL* (s.v. *f‘m*), the plural of *fa‘m* ‘foot, leg’ is given as *f‘ómtā*, but the texts have *fa‘īhm* (e.g., 17:28).¹¹ The texts have *meróhte* ‘sores’, but *JL* (s.v. *mrh*) lists only *méróh* as the plural of *múraḥ* (see further in the comment to text 6:28). *JL* lists both *šā‘ēb* and *šā‘ētā* as the plurals of *šā‘b* ‘valley’.¹²

A small number of masculine nouns form their plural with the external feminine morpheme, including:

ī ‘father’, pl. *ētā*
er‘z ‘land, country’, pl. *er‘zétā*
‘om ‘grandfather’, pl. *ītā*

For *‘om* ‘grandfather’, *JL* (s.v. *‘wm*) actually lists two plurals, *ītā* and an internal plural *‘īm*.¹³ We can probably also consider *alḥúti* ‘cows’, which is

⁸ In Müller’s texts, the plural is *erúmtān*, with final *-n* (e.g., Müller 1907: 54, line 12).

⁹ *AAL* (p. 21) has instead the forms sg. *e‘zidét*, pl. *e‘zódtā*. Singular *‘izéd* appears in the texts (51:12).

¹⁰ *JL* (s.v. *hrm*) lists the plural *hérémiti*, but the manuscripts and audio for 6:23 and 6:25 (the only attestations in the texts) have *hermíti*. If *hérémiti* exists among some speakers, then this would be another example of the preservation of *m* between two stressed vowels (§ 2.1.3).

¹¹ One CJ informant used *f‘ómtā* as the plural of *fa‘m*, and did not like *fa‘īhm*. This fits with the report of Al-Shahri (2007: 87) that *f‘ómtā* is used in WJ and CJ, while *fa‘īhm* is used in EJ.

¹² One CJ informant preferred *šā‘ēb*, but recognized *šā‘ētā*. (He did not know the word *múraḥ*.)

¹³ Cognates of this word are known from all the other MSA languages, but, as with the word for ‘father’, only Jibbali uses an external feminine plural. The Mehri, Ḥarsusi, and Hobyot cognates have internal plurals attested, while the Soqotri cognate has a masculine external plural.

usually grammatically masculine even when clearly referring to female cows (cf. 9:6), to have an external feminine plural morpheme.¹⁴

A large number of external feminine plural forms (including many masculine nouns) are listed in Bittner (1916a: 42–47), most of which do not match the plural forms listed in *JL*. It is unclear why this is the case. Perhaps some of these are plural diminutives. It seems, based on *JL* and Johnstone (1973), that many diminutives of the pattern (Cə)CéCéC have an external feminine plural, for example:

xádér ‘little cave’, pl. *xədirétə* (TJ2:95)
ǰéreb ‘little piece of wood’, pl. *ǰérētə* (*JL*, s.v. *ǰrb*)
kéléb ‘little dogs’, pl. *kélētə* (*JL*, s.v. *klb*)
məgdéél ‘little bracelets’, pl. *məgdélétə* (*JL*, s.v. *gdl*)

Finally, it should be noted that before possessive suffixes (§ 3.2.2), the final vowel of the feminine plural morpheme is lost, replaced by the initial vowel of the suffix, as in *a’ánték* ‘your eyes’ (54:23) < *ántə* + *ék*, *a’ántóhum* ‘their eyes’ (TJ4:64) < *ántə* + *óhum*, and *šimtəsən* ‘their names’ (15:11) < *šimtə* + *ésən*. See § 3.2.2 for a full paradigm.

4.3.3 Internal Plurals

As already noted, by far the most common method of indicating the plurality of a noun is changing the vocalic pattern. Certain noun patterns have a predictable internal plural, though many, if not most, nouns are unpredictable. That is to say, singular nouns of the same pattern do not always have the same pattern in the plural (e.g., *šáxər* ‘old man’, pl. *šxər*; but *‘ásər* ‘night’, pl. *‘íšór*). In general, internal plurals themselves can be loosely classified according to several types:

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

This type includes many nouns of the pattern CəCCéC (vars. CaCCéC and CəCCéC; pl. CəCCóC):¹⁵ *‘adbéb* ‘sand-dune’ (pl. *‘adbób*), *dehlél* (pl. *dehlól*) ‘cave, hole’, *derhés* (pl. *derhós*) ‘female (goat) kid (6–18 months old)’, *kəfrér* (pl. *kəfrór*) ‘lip’, *kətféf* (pl. *kətfóf*) ‘wing’, *mahléb* (pl. *mahlób*) ‘young she-camel’, *məgrér* (pl. *məgrór*) ‘beehive’, *šətrér* (pl. *šətrór*) ‘rag, strip of cloth’.

¹⁴ See also the comment to text 9:2.

¹⁵ This type also includes passive participles; see § 7.1.8.

It also includes some nouns of the pattern *CVC:but* (pl. *bət*) ‘house’, *ḳud* (pl. *ḳed*) ‘rope’, *nid* (pl. *nud*) ‘water-skin’.

Type 2: Internal plurals with total pattern replacement. (These are among the least predictable.)

Examples include: *‘ásər* (pl. *‘ísór*) ‘friend; husband’, *ḡeyg* (pl. *ḡag*) ‘man’, *ḳahf* (pl. *ḳəhéf*) ‘pot’, *ḳerš* (pl. *ḳəróš*) ‘money (pl.)’, Maria Theresa dollar, *ḳəb* (pl. *ḳólób*) ‘dog, wolf’, *melík* (pl. *millké*) ‘king; angel’, *múxbut* (pl. *moxōt*) ‘cartridge’, *rabḳ* (pl. *erbók* or *ríké*) ‘companion, neighbor’, *sékən* (pl. *eskún*) ‘community’, *šáxər* (pl. *šxar*) ‘old man’, *šótər* (pl. *šítár*) ‘(goat) kid’, *šerḳ* (pl. *šírék*) ‘thief’, *túžər* (pl. *tógór*) ‘merchant, rich man’, *ərx* (pl. *írəx*) ‘month’, *xəšm* (pl. *axšúm*) ‘enemy’.

Some of these (mainly masculine) plural patterns have a suffixed *-(V)t*, as in: *əggór* (pl. *əḡrét*) ‘servant, slave’, *ištó’* (pl. *eštét*) ‘sword’, *zír* (pl. *əzbírt*) ‘bucket’.

Type 3: Internal plurals with pattern replacement and an infix *b* (< *w; see § 2.1.5).

This type includes nouns of the pattern *məCCV̇C* (pl. *məCébcəC* or *məGábCəC*): *mərkéb* (pl. *mərəbkəb*) ‘boat, ship’, *məḳtér* (pl. *məḳébtər*) ‘caravan’,¹⁶ *mosé* (pl. *mələbsi*) ‘rain’,¹⁷ *məltég* (pl. *mələbtəḡ*) ‘killed one’, *məndik* (pl. *mənəbdək*) ‘rifle’, *mənzəl* (pl. *mənəbzəl*) ‘place’, *mərkə’* (pl. *mərəbkə’*) ‘veils’, *məstún* (pl. *məsəbtən*) ‘plantation, orchard’, *məxtár* (pl. *məxəbtər*) ‘time’.

It also includes some others of the pattern *CəCCV̇C*: *dəftór* ‘notebook’ (pl. *dəfəbtər*), *dərzén* ‘dozen’ (pl. *dəərbzən*), *finžún* ‘coffee-cup’ (pl. *finəbgən*), *kənséd* ‘shoulder’ (pl. *kinəbsəd*), *səndik* ‘box’ (pl. *sinəbdək*).

Type 4: Marked feminine singulars with internal, unmarked feminine plurals (some with a suffixed *-i*). (Like type #2, these are quite unpredictable.)

¹⁶ *JL* (s.v. *ḳtr*) lists the plural *məḳəḳtór*, but see the comment to text 22:8.

¹⁷ Historical developments obscure the fact that these words have the same patterns as other words in this group: *mosé* < **malséy* (see § 2.1.6); *mələbsi* < **maləwšy*.

Examples include: *ónut* (pl. *ayún*) ‘year’, *bahlét* (pl. *béhal*) ‘word’, *dagirét* (pl. *dúgur*) ‘bean’, *gizírt* (pl. *gézér*) ‘island’, *ǵarórt* (pl. *ǵarér*) ‘bag’, *hōt* (pl. *hōi*) ‘snake’, *hallét* (pl. *halél*) ‘town’, *genbít* (pl. *gunōi*) ‘dagger’, *kéltót* (pl. *kélt*) ‘story’, *kílt* (pl. *kél*) ‘tribe’, *nibbót* (pl. *nabéb*) ‘bee’, *rīát* (pl. *rīa’*) ‘quarter’, *sáhart* (pl. *sáhər*) ‘witch’, *şaférit* (pl. *şofóri*) ‘pot’, *şfet* (pl. *şf*) ‘hair’, *xofét* (pl. *xaléf*) ‘window’.

Certain nouns can be classed as irregular, either because their plural is formed from a different base, or at least appears synchronically to do so; see § 4.3 for examples. Others may look irregular because of phonological rules (such as the loss of *b* or *l*) that effect only the singular or only the plural. Examples fitting this latter category include *kəb* (< **kalb*; pl. *kóləb*) ‘dog’ and *genbít* (pl. *gunōi* < **gunōbi*) ‘dagger’.

4.4 Definite Article

Even though Fresnel (1838b: 82) reported a definite article in Jibbali, the existence of a definite article in Jibbali (and Mehri) remained largely unknown to scholars until the second half of the twentieth century. Matthews (1962) was aware of the definite article, but his work was not widely known. Only with the work of Johnstone (1970a) did scholars really become well aware of the existence of the definite articles of Jibbali and Mehri.¹⁸

The form of the definite article is normally a prefixed *ε-*. Before the guttural consonants *ʿ* and *ǵ*, the article often is realized as *a-*. There are also a very few irregular definite forms, like *emih* (← *mih* ‘water’) The article is normally used only with words beginning with a voiced or glottalic consonant. Words beginning with a voiceless, non-glottalic consonant do not take the definite article (or, one could say it has the form \emptyset), unless the word begins with a cluster of two voiceless, non-glottalic consonants. Examples of words beginning with a voiced consonant, glottalic consonant, or cluster of two voiceless, non-glottalic consonants are:

ʿásər ‘husband; friend’ → def. *aʿásər*
dəf ‘rock’ → def. *ədəf*
ǵəhr ‘blood’ → def. *εǵəhr*
ǵaʿn ‘family’ → def. *εǵaʿn*
gizírt ‘island’ → def. *εgizírt*
ǵeyg ‘man’ → def. *εǵeyg* or *aǵeyg*

¹⁸ Thomas (1937: 243 [17]) suspected an article, but found his data inconclusive. Sima (2002) is an important study on the origin of the definite article in Mehri, with some discussion of Jibbali.

k̄ōr ‘grave’ → def. *εk̄ōr*
lé ‘cow’ → def. *εlé*
núsāb ‘milk’ → def. *εnúśāb*
rēš ‘head’ → def. *εrēš*
śah ‘voice’ → def. *εśáh*
śfet ‘hair’ → def. *εśfét*
šxarét ‘old woman’ → def. *εšxarét*
εšīrét ‘town’ → def. *εšīrét*
teḵ ‘wild fig tree’ → def. *εḵéḵ*
ziód ‘supplies’ → def. *εziód*
žēl ‘icy-cold’ → def. *εžēl*

Following the rules outlined in § 2.1.2 and § 2.1.3, nouns whose first consonant is *b* or *m* undergo elision in combination with the definite article, for example:

but ‘house’ → def. *ūt* (< **εbút*)
behlét ‘word’ → def. *ēhalét* (< **εbehlét*)
māndīḵ ‘rifle’ → def. *īndīḵ* (< **εmāndīḵ*)
māsgíd ‘mosque’ → def. *ēsgíd* (< **εmāsgíd*)

A notable exception is *mīh* ‘water’ (def. *emīh*). This exception may be the result of a historically geminate consonant, or, more likely, the elision was blocked simply to preserve something of the original word; that is to say, perhaps the resulting *ī* was deemed too reduced.

As mentioned in § 2.1.2, the sequence **εbú* can sometimes be realized *εū*, rather than *ū*. So, for example, usually we hear *ūt* ‘the house’, but sometimes we hear something closer to *εūt*.

Nouns that are vowel initial (historically with an initial *’* or *w*) may or may not have a distinct definite form with a lengthened initial vowel. *JL* includes forms like:

ižórtā ‘servant girls’ → def. *ižórtā*
śrām ‘road’ → def. *ōrām*
érún ‘goats’ → def. *ērún*

However, from the audio of the texts, there is not strong evidence to support these distinct definite forms. Only in some places is a long vowel heard on the audio where expected. Informants made no distinction between these forms, using, for example, *śrām* for both indefinite and definite.¹⁹

¹⁹ However, my younger informants also sometimes omitted the article with consonant-initial nouns, suggesting a general weakening of the article.

Nouns with initial *y-* in Jibbali are quite few in number, though they include the common words *yɔ* ‘people’, *yət* ‘camel’, and *yum* ‘day; sun’. The definite article is not usually found with *yɔ* ‘people’ or *yum* ‘day; sun’ in most of Johnstone’s texts, but there are exceptions (e.g., *ɛyɔ* in SB1:4 and SB2:4; *ɛyúm* in TJ4:78). The definite form *ɛyát* ‘the camel’ (also sometimes *iyát*) is well attested (e.g., 2:12; 33:6; and used seven times in TJ2, and nine times in text AK2). With a couple of nouns the article regularly has the shape *i-*, e.g., *yel* ‘camels’ (def. *iyél*), *yen* ‘truth’ (def. *iyén*).²⁰

As already discussed elsewhere (§ 3.2.1), the definite form of the noun is the form to which possessive suffixes must be attached, for example:

but ‘house’ → *ūti* ‘my house’
ǰa’n ‘family’ → *ɛǰá’nək* ‘your family’
brit ‘daughter’ → *ɛbríts* ‘her daughter’
mośét ‘livestock’ → *ōśétən* ‘our livestock’
kit ‘food’ → *ekíthum* ‘their food’
ǰatétə ‘sisters’ → *aǰatétí* ‘my sisters’
reš → *eréšóhum* ‘their heads’

4.5 Diminutives

In the texts, only a few diminutive forms are attested. The two singular diminutives are both feminine forms with a suffixed *n* before the feminine ending. I heard no diminutives from my informants. The forms found in the texts are:

harənút ‘little hill’ (60:41), dimin. of *hār* (root *hmr*)
keršétə ‘little bugs’ (TJ2:117), dimin. of *kerós*
xodūnt ‘a little work’ (8:4), dimin. of *xədmét* (root *xdm*)
xedirétə ‘little caves’ (TJ2:95), pl. of *xádér*, dimin. of *xádər*

This meager attestation is, however, somewhat misleading, since there are various productive means for forming diminutives, not only of nouns, but also for other parts of speech. Johnstone (1973) provides a nice overview of various diminutive patterns in Jibbali and the other MSA languages. A

²⁰ The indefinite form *yel* may also sometimes be pronounced *iyél*. It is unclear if the noun *iyén* ‘share’ (e.g., 48:7) has an indefinite form *yen*. The words for ‘share’ and ‘truth’ are homophonous in the texts, but see the discussion in *JL* (s.v. *mn*). Also note the definite form *yen* ‘truth’, used in 46:12, 60:8, and 60:18, showing the variability of the article with words with initial *y-*.

number of diminutive forms can also be found in *JL*. The two main patterns for diminutive nouns, according to Johnstone, are *CéCéC* and *CéCəCén*.

Though not directly relevant to Jibbali, Watson (2012) includes multiple sections on diminutives in Mehri; no doubt Jibbali data would be similar. Watson (p. 62) notes that, “Since the diminutive tends to be used more by women and children and when used by men may be restricted to particular contexts, it is not surprising that diminutives are considerably more common in both dialects than can be inferred from Johnstone’s [Mehri] texts.” More research on Jibbali diminutives is needed.

4.6 Construct State

The construct state, such a characteristic feature of the classical Semitic languages, has all but disappeared from Jibbali, as elsewhere in MSA. Jibbali makes use of the particle *ε-/ð-* to express a genitive relationship (see § 12.4). However, remnants of the older construction, or at least something like it, survive in a handful of words, each with a restricted semantic function. In some cases a unique construct form of the noun is preserved. These are:

bər (or *bər*; def. *ēr*) ‘son of’; *biš* (def. *eš*) ‘daughter of’: The use of the words *bər* and *biš* as nouns in the construct state is limited mainly to names, as in *he bər eðí-ilín* ‘I am the son of so-and-so’ (5:12) and *bər a‘arīt* ‘Ber A‘arit’ (12:9).²¹ This same usage is found in the question *het bər mūn* ‘whose son are you?’ (e.g., 5:11). One’s age can also be expressed using these construct nouns, as in *he bər ‘ásəri ‘ayún* ‘I am twenty years old [lit. son of twenty years]’ and *se biš ‘ásəri xšš ‘ayún* ‘she is twenty-five years old [lit. daughter of twenty-five years]’.

The definite forms are used in the compound kinship terms *ēr-díd* ‘cousin’ (lit. ‘son of an uncle’),²² *ēr-ǧí* or *ēr-ǧáti* ‘my nephew’ (lit. ‘son of my brother/sister’), and their feminine equivalents *eš-dít* (or *eš-díd*) ‘cousin’ and *eš-ǧí* or *eš-ǧáti* ‘my niece’. In these compounds, the definite forms *ēr* and *eš* should probably not be considered constructs.²³ In all other cases ‘son’ and ‘daughter’ have, respectively, the forms (*ε*)*bré* (def. *εbré*; pl. *mín*, def. pl. *ín*) and *brit* (def. *εbrit*; pl. *bóntə*, def. pl. *óntə*), and a genitive relationship is expressed with the

²¹ This is a proper name, meaning literally ‘son of the Arab woman’. See further in the comment to text 12:9.

²² On the plural of ‘cousin’, see the comment to text 46:2.

²³ In Tj4:87, we find *he bər eðí-ilín*, *ēr eðí-ilín* ‘I am the son of so-and-so, the son of so-and-so’. It is not clear why the definite form is used in the second part of the phrase.

particle ε -/ δ -; cf. *εbré ε-ḥókum* ‘the son of the ruler’ (17:15), *εbré ḏa-ḥókum* ‘the son of the ruler’ (97:13), and *εbrít ḏa-suṭún* ‘the daughter of the Sultan’ (6:19). Possessive suffixes are also attached to these forms, rather than to the constructs, e.g., *εbréš* ‘his son’, *ínés* ‘her sons’, *εbríti* ‘my daughter’, *ōnték* ‘your daughters’.

bet ‘house of’:²⁴ This is restricted to the sense of ‘clan, familial line’, as in *bet bu zíd aḥ-haláli* ‘the house [or: clan] of Bu Zid al-Hilali’ (54:4) and *tum bet mūn* ‘what house [or: clan] are you?’ (54:5). For an actual house, the word *but* (def. (ε)ūt) is used, with no special construct form, as in *ūtš* ‘his house’ (46:11); *εūt ε-ī* ‘my father’s house’ (6:24); and *ūt ḏa-bāl ešód* ‘the fisherman’s house’ (97:32).

baʿl or *bāl* (pl. *bʿél*; f. *baʿlét*; fp. *bʿ(l)tə*): This is the most productive of the construct forms. It is often used in phrases involving occupations, e.g., *baʿl éruṇ* ‘goat-herder’ (pl. *bʿél éruṇ*), *baʿl iyél* ‘camel-herder’, *baʿl aḥúti* ‘cow-herder’, *bāl šod* ‘fisherman’, and *baʿl ešgíd* ‘the head of the mosque’. The construct can also be used in the sense of ‘owner of’, as in *bʿél ūt* ‘the owners of the house’ (10:1), *bʿél elé* ‘the owners of the cow’ (12:7), *baʿlét kəb* ‘the owner of the wolf’ (15:10), *bāl kaḥwét* ‘coffee-shop owner’ (36:27); and with the meaning ‘people of, inhabitants of’, as in *bʿél ḥallét* ‘townspeople’ (54:37), *bʿél egēl* ‘the mountain folk’ (4:10), and *bʿél eššʿer* ‘partygoers’ (97:28). Note also the idiom *baʿlét eḵóma* ‘flintlock? (rifle)’.²⁵ The noun *baʿl* (and its feminine and plural forms) can also be used as a regular noun, capable of taking a definite article and possessive suffixes, e.g., *ālsən* ‘their master’ (97:33) and *āʿalíts* ‘her mistress’ (36:4).

There are also two passages in the texts (15:6; 32:2) in which it looks like *sékən* ‘community; settlement’ should be considered a noun in the construct. But there are other passages (30:20; 60:1; 60:24) in which it is followed by a genitive exponent.

²⁴ *JL* (s.v. *byt*) lists a definite form *ēt*, as in 57:7. I see this not as definite, but rather as a relative **ε-bét* > *ēt*. Cf. *εbré ét eḏl-ilín* ‘the son of such-and-such house [or: clan]’ (57:7), which is a translation of Mehri *ḥəbrē ḏa-bét fəlān* (M90:7).

²⁵ On the exact meaning of this phrase, see the comment to text 25:8.

CHAPTER FIVE

ADJECTIVES

5.1 Agreement

Jibbali adjectives can be used attributively (as in ‘the good boy’) or predicatively (as in ‘the boy is good’). In either case, a Jibbali 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 (§ 4.4). Attributive adjectives follow the noun. Following are some examples:

Attributive adjectives:

- ónut difīrāt* ‘a bad year’ (9:7)
- nəḥōr nīṣán* ‘a small wadi’ (22:6)
- səndīk eb* ‘a big box’ (52:2)
- ǧaró dífār* ‘bad language’ (57:15)
- ǧeyǧ rəḥúm* ‘a handsome man’ (54:27)
- ǧabǧót tīt rəḥīt* ‘a certain pretty girl’ (97:19)
- xatǵkésən wudún* ‘their new clothes’ (4:1)
- aǧás eḳellén* ‘his little brother’ (6:11)
- aǧás éb* ‘his big brother’ (6:36)

Predicate adjectives:

- erǵ ráḥəḳ* ‘the place [lit. land] is far’ (3:4)
- kin mirízt ... he mirízt* ‘(pretend to) be sick! ... I am sick’ (6:7)
- āḥşól ol ḥeşóf lo* ‘the pay was not good’ (8:4)
- aǧabǧót berót ūm* ‘the girl was already big’ (17:5)
- a’améléš dífōr* ‘his activities are bad’ (25:10)
- erǵ ol ráḥəḳ lo* ‘the place was not far’ (31:1)
- ōšetən dífīrāt* ‘our animals are bad’ (13:3)
- šum kéréib len* ‘they were close to us’ (49:27)
- ēšḥál kéréib* ‘the chameleon is nearby’ (53:7)
- embéré’ ḥaréd bə-xfif* ‘the boy was strong and fast’ (54:2)
- he d-ʿək ənşenūt* ‘I am still young’ (60:2)

ī aǵabǵót túǰur, b-embéře' feǵír 'the father of the girl was rich, and the boy was poor' (SB1:2)

The major exception to the agreement rule is a noun in the dual. Adjectives have only singular and plural forms, and so a dual noun is modified by a plural adjective, for example:

ǵeyǵ troh arǵēt 'two handsome men' (cf. *ǵeyǵ rəǵím* 'a handsome man' and *ǵag arǵēt* 'handsome men')
teǵ trut rīti 'two tall women' (cf. *teǵ rīt* 'a tall woman' and *ínét rīti* 'tall women')

An adjective modifying the first member of a genitive phrase (§12.4) 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 the context. Examples are:

ebrit̄ ðə-bāl eǰód ūm 'the older [lit. big] daughter of the fisherman' (97:33)
ebéré e-ǵókum enísán 'the younger [lit. small] son of the ruler' (97:46)

In the first example above (97:33), the adjective *ūm* 'big' is feminine, and so must modify *ebrit̄* 'the daughter'. In the second example (97:46), *enísán* 'small' is masculine, and so it could modify either noun. In the appropriate context, it could mean 'the son of the young(er) ruler'.

5.2 Declension

Nearly all adjectives decline for gender and number, though some adjectives are indeclinable. Of those that decline, all distinguish singular and plural, and all distinguish masculine and feminine in the singular. Plural adjectives do not always distinguish gender. There is no dual form of the adjective, as discussed in §5.1. We can, therefore, group adjectives into three broad types:

Type 1: All genders and numbers distinct (ms, fs, mp, fp).

Type 2: Gender distinction in the singular, with a common plural form (ms, fs, cp).

Type 3: Indeclinable (one form for all genders and numbers).

There is quite a bit of variation in the declension of adjectives, some dialectal, and some perhaps idiolectal. For example, for the adjective *feǵír* 'poor', *JL* (s.v. *fǵr*) gives the masculine plural form *feǵért*, noting also that the feminine plural *fiǵórtə* can serve as a common plural. One of my own informants gave the masculine plural as *fiǵór*, while another offered *fǵór*.

And both of those informants are CJ speakers, as is the informant Johnstone used to check *JL*!

The feminine singular of adjectives is normally marked by a feminine suffix *-(ə)t* or *-Vt* (*-ét*, *-ót*, or *-út*), but there is also a small class of adjectives that mark the feminine singular by ablaut (see below), probably reflecting an earlier suffixed **-i*.¹ When it comes to plural marking, adjectives behave like nouns, in the sense that one finds both internal and external (suffixed) plurals. When there is a distinct fp form, it will always have the external plural marker *-tə* or *-ti*, though its base may derive from either the ms, fs, or mp form. Following are some examples of each type:

Type 1: All genders and numbers distinct (ms, fs, mp, fp).

Examples: *enfí* 'first', fs *enfēt*, mp *enfō*, fp *enfóti*

níṣán 'small', fs *ənṣenút*, mp *níṣún*, fp *ənṣenúti*

tofún 'hungry', fs *tofúnt*, mp *tefínún*, fp *tofínúntə*

dífər 'bad', fs *dífərət*, mp *dífór*, fp *dífórtə*

šəžrór 'green', fs *šəžrér*, mp *šəžərrún*, fp *šəžərrúntə*

This type includes adjectives with the suffix *-í* (many of which refer to a cultural group). These regularly take fs *-ēt*, mp *-ó* (or *-ó*), and fp *-óti*: *enfí* 'first; ancient', *ensí* 'human', *axəri* 'last', *áři* 'Arab', *faǰsí* 'well-stocked, prosperous', *gəblí* 'Jibbali', *hindí* 'Indian', *məhrí* 'Mehri', *šəřerí* 'Shařri', *žəfəlí* 'Dhofari'

Adjectives with the suffix *-ún*: *fəťún* 'ragged (appearance), destitute', *gəbhún* 'blunt (edge)', *ħəbsún* 'dirty', *ta'bún* 'tired; in trouble', *tofún* 'hungry'

Quadrilateral adjectives of the pattern *CəCCóC*: *ħəšbób* 'smart', *šəfrór* 'yellow', *šəhbób* 'light brown', *šħamúm* 'dark (skin)', *šəžrór* 'green'

Adjectives of the pattern *məCCéC*, which are mainly passive participles (see § 7.1.8). Others (which decline like passive participles) are: *mənkél* 'energetic, hard-working; heroic', *məskín* 'poor guy, pitiable'²

Some adjectives with the pattern *CíCéC/CíCáC*: *fétá'* 'naked; destitute', *ħízéř* 'sharp', *níṣán* 'small', *šíné'* 'deaf'

¹ On this feminine suffix, see Lonnet (2008).

² The word *məskín* is also used in Jibbali idiomatically with the meaning 'I hope' or 'I wish'. See further in § 12.5.15.

Others: *dífər* ‘bad’, *kófur* ‘foreign’, *ódlín* (or *wudlín*) ‘new’

It should be pointed out that adjectives of the same ms pattern do not necessarily have the same feminine and plural forms. For example adjectives with the pattern *CiCéC/CiCáC* do not exhibit uniform feminine or plural patterns. Some types are consistent, such as those ending with the suffixes *-í* and *-ún*.

Type 2: Gender distinction in the singular, with a common plural form.

Examples: *rəhúm* ‘pretty; nice; good’, fs *rəhūt*, cp *rəhēt*

ʕfər ‘red’, fs *ʕfirót*, cp *ʕfiréṭə*

This type includes most adjectives of the pattern *CCiC* or *CeCiC* (var. *CaCiC*), which normally have fs *C(e)CiCt* and cp *C(e)CéCt*:³ *bešír* ‘clever’, *besít* ‘simple’, *beṭín* ‘big-bellied’, *ḏehín* ‘intelligent’, *fhím* ‘intelligent’, *ǰazíz* ‘unimportant; low-quality’, *hsís* ‘sensitive, emotional’, *nǰíf* ‘clean’, *ngís* ‘unclean’, *nhíf* ‘thin, lean’, *nhís* ‘envious’, *nkíd* ‘depressed’, *rḥúm* ‘pretty; nice; good’, *rxís* ‘cheap (low-cost)’, *šahí* ‘alive’, *šedíd* ‘stubborn’, *thír* ‘pure’, *xfíf* ‘light; swift-footed’, *xsís* ‘cheap (with money)’ (An exception is *feḳír*, discussed above; no doubt there are others.)

Some basic color terms: *ʕfər* ‘red’, *hɔr* ‘black’, *lūn* ‘white’

Some adjectives with the pattern *CVCéC*: *igém* ‘dumb, mute’, *ḥáréd* ‘strong’, *áyér* ‘blind’

Others: *rīhm* ‘tall, long’, *ḥósəd* ‘envious’

Type 3: Indeclinable (one form for all genders and numbers).

These include: *ḳésəm* ‘cold’, *miṭék* ‘sweet’, *ráhəḳ* ‘far’, *žél* ‘cold’, *žos* ‘narrow’ (see the comment to AM1:2)

³ Adjectives of this group whose first two root consonants are voiceless and non-glottalic, or whose first root consonant is *n* or *r* (perhaps also *l*, though I found no data) have the pattern *CCiC*. Others usually have the pattern *CeCiC*. Note that the corresponding Mehri pattern *CəCayC* normally exhibits a four-way declension (Rubin 2010: 79). Also note that while most of these adjectives have a cp form *C(e)CéCt*, some informants felt that one could make a fp form *C(e)CéCṭə*, if one really wanted to distinguish the feminine.

Also in this category is the adjective *hešóf* ‘good’,⁴ which is mainly used as a predicate adjective or as an exclamation. Because this adjective originates in a verbal phrase,⁵ it can also occur with pronominal suffixes, e.g., *hešófs* ‘he is good’; another adjective that behaves this way is *la’áli* ‘exhausted’ (see the comment to text AK2:5).

Finally, note that some adjectives are used only with one gender. At least one of these, *dinít* (pl. *diníti*) ‘pregnant’ is only used in the feminine for obvious reasons. The adjective *hádét* (pl. *hádétə*) ‘old’ is used only in the feminine for less obvious reasons, namely that it is only used to refer to a graveyard, the word for which (*məkbért*) is feminine. More interesting are the adjectives for ‘big’: *eb* (pl. *ētə*) is used only with masculine nouns only, and *ūm* (pl. *emíti* or *īti*)⁶ only with feminine nouns. These two adjectives derive from the Semitic words for ‘father’ and ‘mother’ respectively, as was recognized already by Müller (1909).⁷

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. Some examples are:

yəšožen eb b-enišan ‘ak šsgíd ‘they pray, old and young [lit. the big and the small], in the mosque’ (4:8)

kə-tát yə’ágób yəgréb ēšágər ‘everyone wants to know the other guy’ (21:12)

žēt erhūt ‘he took the pretty one’ (30:6)

dólf a’əfər ‘the red [or: brown] one jumped’ (30:16)

xátəq də-fekír ‘the clothes of a poor man’ (54:38)

⁴ Nowadays, *hešóf* is most often used among younger speakers with a sarcastic meaning. Cf. the use in text 28:11. A Mehri cognate (*haysawf*) is attested only with an exclamatory function (Watson 2012: 136).

⁵ One informant (MnS) suggested that the word *hešóf* derives from the Arabic exclamatory particle *hay* plus the imperative *šuf* ‘look!’. The word is not used in Arabic, however.

⁶ The two plural forms are dialectal variants. The plural *emíti* is distinct from *emíti*, the plural of *émé* ‘mother’.

⁷ Jibbali shares this development of ‘mother’ and ‘father’ with Soqotri, as discussed in Müller’s 1909 article. In most Mehri dialects, there are also distinct masculine and feminine words for ‘big’ (*šəx* and *nəb*, respectively), but from different sources than their Jibbali counterparts.

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 a noun looks almost like an attributive adjective. For example:

he ġeyg məʔört 'I am a guest [lit. a man, a guest]' (34:9)
šī šəb'ət əršót aǰóhí, wə-šī d-ʔd šəb'ət ġigeníti aǰatétí 'I have seven brothers [lit. seven boys, my brothers] and I also have seven sisters [lit. seven girls, my sisters]' (FB1:2)

5.4 Comparatives

There is no morphological comparative form in Jibbali. Instead, comparison is normally indicated by syntax only. Only two adjectives have special comparative forms, namely, *axér* 'better; more' (a comparative form of *xar* 'well-being; good') and *xass* 'worse'. Both are Arabic borrowings. The preposition of comparison (equivalent to English 'than') is normally (ʔ)*ar* 'from'. There are numerous examples of *axér* 'better' in the texts, including:

het əl het axér ʔánén lə 'you are not better than us' (20:4)
he axér ʔankúm 'I am better than you' (20:8)
kaħf wudín, axér ar eǰáħfk 'a new pot, better than your pot' (23:8)
axér ar iyélén 'better than our camels' (33:13)
áli axér ar əršót kəl 'Ali is better than all the (other) boys' (49:20)
kəlít hini her dé əl-hés he bə-fló axér ʔáni 'tell me if anyone is like me or better than me' (54:3)
bet bu zíd əl-həláli axér ar ɣə kəl ... b-axér ʔáni hé ... axér ar kəl dé 'the house of Bu Zid al-Hilali is better than all people ... Better than me? ... Better than everyone [or: anyone]' (54:4)
aʔásər erħúm axér ʔar aǰá eǰífər 'the good friend is better than the bad brother' (Pr87)

The comparative *xass* 'worse', unlike other comparatives, is normally followed by *mən* rather than (ʔ)*ar*. It does not appear in any of the texts, but an example is:

šə xass mək ʔaǰ dərésə 'he is worse than you in school' (AK)

In one passage in the texts (20:9) we find *axér mən* instead of *axér (ʔ)ar*, but this is likely a Mehrism (see the comment to text 20:9).

The word *axér* can also mean 'more', not just as a comparative adjective, but also an adverb or noun 'more', as in:

yəfɔrəh axér ar a'íd ε-rézün 'they celebrate more than (on) Ramadan'
(4:10)
šum šóhum mol axér 'ánén 'they have more wealth than us' (AJ)
'ak kəróš axér 'I want more money' (AK)

On the difference between *axér* 'more' and *d-ʿəd* 'more', see § 7.3.

With most other adjectives, Jibbali indicates the comparative simply with the adjective plus *axér* (ʿ)*ar* 'more than'. For example:

het ð-əl kunk mišérd lə, əl (t)šírkən enúf 'ókəl axér 'áni lə 'if you weren't stupid, you wouldn't pretend to be smarter than me' (1:7)
hit hardét axér 'ánén 'you are stronger than us' (AM1:1)
əfa'yór raxášt axér 'ar šitár 'young bulls are cheaper than kids' (JL, s.v. fʿr)
kunk kšéš axér 'ar nášanu 'you were fatter than now' (JL, s.v. xšl)
he ríhm axér ar ī 'I am taller than my father' (SS)
še gáni axér 'ánén 'he is richer than us' (SS)
se rəhūt axér 'ás 'she is prettier than her' (AK)
ūtí ráhəḳ axér ar ütək 'my house is further away than your house' (AK)
míh ízén žél axér ar míh ízóhū 'this water is colder than that water' (AK)

However, with the adjectives *eb/üm* 'big' and *níšán* 'small', the element *axér* is often omitted, and just (ʿ)*ar* 'than' is used. Younger speakers tend not to omit *axér*, but usage varies. Examples are:

he eb 'ák bə-sēn 'I am older [lit. big(ger) in age] than you' (1:7)
šum ētə 'áni 'they were older [lit. bigger] than me' (53:8)
se üm 'ansén 'she is bigger than them' (SS)
še níšán 'anhúm 'he is smaller than them' (SS)

Attributive adjectives do not have a comparative form. Instead, a simple adjective is used. So, where English has, e.g., 'the bigger house', Jibbali simply has 'the big house'. Three examples from the texts are:

embéré' ekellén tē üb, b-éb tē eréš 'the younger [lit. small] boy ate the heart, and the older one ate the head' (6:11)
əbrít ðə-bāl əšód üm 'the older [lit. big] daughter of the fisherman' (97:33)
šfəḳ ebré ε-ḥókum eníšán bes 'the ruler's younger [lit. small] son married her' (97:46)

JL (s.v. *xyr*) also lists a word *xérín* 'better' (distinct from *xérín* 'a little', discussed in § 5.5.1), but this is probably based on a misinterpretation of a single passage in the texts. See the comment to text SB1:1.

5.5 *Quantifiers*5.5.1 *xérín* ‘a little’

The word *xérín* means ‘a little (bit of)’, ‘a small amount of’, or ‘a few’. It can be used on its own or as a quantifier before another noun. A following noun can be singular (collective) or plural, as the context warrants.

šēš xérín tūr ‘he had a small amount of dates’ (17:21)

hōl mēš xérín bə-ḵél’āš ‘aḵ xāš ‘he took a little of it and put it in his mouth’ (35:5)

axarét zūtš xérín tūr ‘she gave him a few dates’ (46:12)

šótém xérín kəṭəbín ‘he bought a few books’ (52:5)

zē-tūn xérín tē ‘give us a little food!’ (53:9)

mit ber ḏə-ṣr xérín ‘when he had got a little ways ahead’ (83:3)

As noted above in § 5.4, the entry in *JL* (s.v. *xyr*) says that *xérín* can mean ‘better’, but this is probably incorrect; see further in the comment to text SB1:1.

5.5.2 *mən-* ‘some’

To indicate ‘some’, Jibbali uses the preposition *mən* with a pronominal suffix. This can be used alone or modifying a preceding noun. Sometimes *mən-* is clearly being used as a partitive ‘some of’, referring back to a noun mentioned earlier, as in:

mənhúm ḏ-əl šēš xōi lə flét ‘ar ḡsé ‘some (of them) who did not have umbrellas fled from the rain’ (31:2)

ber aḡ(y)ég sé mən érunókum ... ber aḡ(y)ég mənsēn ... mənsēn d-ṣd əl aḡ(y)ég lə ‘have any of your goats given birth already? ... Some of them have already given birth ... Some of them have not yet given birth’ (32:3–4)

mənhúm inefēx, mənhúm yaḡórén mən dún nəfxát ‘some (cows) are blown, and some give milk without blowing’ (TJ2:41)

eyó bə-šelšlt kəl yaḥórg ‘ārīt, lékən mənhúm yaḥórg gəblēt ‘all the people in Šalalah speak Arabic, but some (of them) speak Jibbali’ (SM)

But other times *mən-* is really just a quantifying adjective, as in:

zīs xátšək mənhūm ‘he gave her some clothes’ (30:6)

‘aḵ ḵalél mənsén ‘in some towns’ (52:1)

zəḥám tun ḡaḡ mənhúm ‘some men came to us’ (AK2:2)

5.5.3 *kəl* ‘each, every’

The words *kəl* and *kəl* (§5.5.4) are derived from the same source, **kal-*, and have closely related meanings. The word *kəl* means ‘each, every’, and precedes an indefinite singular noun. Examples are:

- bə-kəl ɣallét* ‘in every town’ (5:13)
kəl yum ‘every day’ (6:33)
kəl ɣəm‘át ‘every week’ (22:11)
kəl ‘ásər ‘each night’ (30:15)
yəššerék mən kəl kít ‘they make every (kind of) food’ (4:5)

Kəl is also used in several pronominal compounds. On *kəl taṭ* ‘everyone; each one’, see §3.5.3; on *kəl sé* ‘everything’, see §3.5.4; on *kəl ε-/ð-* ‘whoever’, see §3.8.2; and on *kəl in* ‘all that’, see §3.8.4.

5.5.4 *kəl* ‘all (of the)’

As noted in the previous section, the words *kəl* and *kəl* are derived from the same source, **kal-*, and have closely related meanings. The word *kəl* can be used either independently or with a pronominal suffix, and has the basic meaning ‘all (of the)’. In this basic meaning, it follows a definite plural or collective noun. If the noun has a possessive suffix, then *kəl* sometimes also has a pronominal suffix (referring to the noun); otherwise it does not. Some examples are:

- yɔ kəl* ‘all the people’ (4:1)
ēt kəl ‘all of the houses’ (4:4)
ɣalél kəl ‘all the towns’ (5:2)
edíréhēš kəl ‘all of his money’ (5:3)
kéré ekítš kəls ‘he hid all of his food’ (21:3)
aǵáǵ kəl ‘all the men’ (46:1)
ɣít kəl ‘all the grain’ (51:20)
εšxórtén kəl ‘all of our old women’ (AM1:5)
ínét ε-ɣallét kəl ‘all the women of the town’ (30:11)
aǵigeníti ðə-ɣallét kəl ‘all the girls of the town’ (54:17)
bél ɣallét kəl ‘all the inhabitants of the town’ (97:5)

The last three examples show that if *kəl* modifies a noun that is the first member of a genitive phrase (whether the genitive exponent *ε-/ð-* or a construct phrase is used), *kəl* must follow the entire phrase, like any other adjective (see §5.1).

Following a definite singular noun, the base *kəl-* plus a resumptive pronominal suffix gives the meaning ‘the whole’, as in:

eḵassét kels ‘the whole story [lit. the story, all of it]’ (30:14)

erž kelš ‘the whole country’ (31:1)

kéltšt đínu kels ‘this whole story’ (36:31)

egunét kels ‘the whole sack’ (51:19)

The uses of *kel* can be summarized as follows:

1. Definite Plural Noun (no suffix) + *kel* = ‘all (of the) *x*’ (e.g., *ēt kel* ‘all of the houses’)
2. Definite Plural Noun + possessive + *kel* (+ suffix) = ‘all of (his) *x*’ (e.g., *ētēš kélsən* ‘all of his houses’)
3. Definite Singular Noun + *kel* + suffix = ‘the whole *x*’ (e.g., *ūt kels* ‘the whole house’)

The adjective *kel* can also be used pronominally, without a preceding noun. In its bare form it means ‘all’, and in its suffixed form it means ‘all of’ or ‘each of’. Without a suffix, this use of *kel* is found just once in Johnstone’s texts (46:15), where it can be translated ‘everyone’; more often ‘everyone’ is expressed with *kəl taṭ* ‘everyone’ (§ 3.5.3). Examples are:

kelš siēk ‘it is all [lit. all of it] because of you’ (28:15)

béké kélsən ‘each of them was crying’ (13:9)

yəžhók kel mēš ‘they all laughed at him’ (46:15)

tēr kelš ‘all of him was broken’ (48:20)

kséš kelš ‘he found all of it [lit. he found it all of it]’ (97:49)

In the first example above, *kelš* is used independently. In the next three, it is used in apposition to the unexpressed subject of the verb. In the last example, *kelš* is appositional to the object suffix (3ms -š) on the verb. Note also this use of *kelš* in the idiom *kelš taṭ* ‘it’s all the same [lit. all of it (is) one]’ (28:20; TJ2:4).

We also sometimes find the 3ms suffixed form *kelš* used along with *kəl sé* ‘everything’ (§ 3.5.4) to add emphasis, as in:

tağórəb kəl sé kelš her řréž ‘she knows absolutely everything [lit. everything all of it] about illness’ (18:7)

5.5.5 (*l-*)*áded* *ε-* ‘each, every’

The construction (*l-*)*áded* *ε-* seems to be synonymous with *kəl* in its meaning of ‘each, every’. It is followed by an indefinite plural noun. It is attested just once in Johnstone’s texts (actually, twice, but it is the same phrase repeated in two consecutive lines):

lézəm tókəla' xaf ðóhün 'ak mih gelól l-áded ε-íşór 'you have to put that foot in hot water every night' (52:6)

According to *JL* (s.v. 'dd), the initial *l-* can be omitted. On the audio for this passage (and for the repeated *l-áded íşór* in 52:7), the initial *l-* is inaudible, though it is written in the manuscripts.

5.5.6 *mékən* 'a lot, many'

The word *mékən* 'a lot (of), many' can be used either as an adjective or as a noun. When used as an adjective, it normally follows an indefinite noun. In one passage (a question) in Johnstone's texts (32:1), *mékən* precedes its head noun. Examples of *mékən* used as an attributive adjective are:

tōlén b-εśhéhr mosét mékən 'we have in the mountains a lot of livestock' (9:1)

śini yō mékən ðə-yógaħ 'ak but ð-túžər 'he saw many people going into a rich man's house' (18:6)

šókum mékən érún ... šóhum érún mékən 'do you have many goats? ... they have many goats' (32:1–2)

bə-kaβalét mosé mékən 'in the west there is a lot of rain' (32:8)

beš thirt mékən 'he had many wounds' (53:1)

her šek qarśš mékən 'if you have a lot of money' (86:7)

śxafk hałób mékən 'I drank a lot of buttermilk' (TJ2:126)

Some examples of *mékən* used independently are:

emih ol mékən lō 'the water was not a lot' (20:1)

yəśimš bə-mékən 'do they sell it for a lot?' (TJ2:42)

əmśin tēk mékən 'I ate a lot yesterday' (AG)

5.5.7 *miṭ-íné* 'some kind of'

The phrase *miṭ-íné*, when following a noun, normally means 'some kind of' or 'some *x* or other'. It occurs just once with this usage in the texts. Examples are:

zū-tō sēhm miṭ-íné 'they gave me some kind of poison' (35:6)

ktōb miṭ-íné 'some book or other' (*JL*, s.v. *mṭ*)

In one other passage in the texts, it is used independently to mean 'something':

dha-l-zémk miṭ-íné 'I'll give you something' (50:10)

The phrase *mit-íné* is a combination of the conjunction *mit* 'or', which implies a measure of uncertainty (see §12.1.6), and the interrogative 'what?' (§11.2).

CHAPTER SIX

VERBS: STEMS

Like other Semitic languages, Jibbali verbal roots are mainly trilateral (that is, they have three root consonants), and appear in a variety of derived verbal stems, each characterized by particular vowel patterns and, in some cases, the addition of certain prefixed or infix elements. The basic and most common stem is designated the G-Stem (for German *Grundstamm* 'basic stem'), according to the conventions of Semitic linguistics. Just as in Mehri, there are six derived verbal stems: the D/L-Stem, the H-Stem, two Š-Stems (which I call Š₁ and Š₂), and two T-Stems (which I call T₁ and T₂). In addition, there are also quadrilateral verbs, though these are relatively few in number. For quadrilateral stems there is also a derived N-Stem. 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, wherever possible, taken data from the texts and from my own informants. Still, I have had to rely partly on the paradigms found in Johnstone's *JL* and in his manuscript papers. As for the sample verbs listed in the sections devoted to meaning, these come primarily from the texts themselves, though some have been taken from *JL*. In several places, the forms I have given differ from those presented in *JL*.

It should be mentioned that not all of the derived verbal stems occur with equal frequency. In Ali Musallam's texts, for example, there are about 37 different D/L-Stems, 78 different H-Stems, 32 T₁-Stems, 26 T₂-Stems, 39 Š₁-Stems, and just 9 Š₂-Stems.

6.1 *G-Stem*

In Jibbali, the G-Stem is divided into two basic types, an A type (Ga) and a B type (Gb). 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 verbs are taken up below (§ 6.1.4).

6.1.1 *Ga-Stem*

The Ga-Stem strong verb is characterized by a basic stem shape $C\bar{o}C\acute{o}C$ in the 3ms perfect (e.g., $k\bar{o}l\acute{s}t$ ‘tell’, $k\bar{o}l\acute{s}b$ ‘return’, $d\bar{o}l\acute{s}f$ ‘jump’). If the first two root consonants are both voiceless and non-glottalic, or if the first root consonant is n , then the 3ms perfect has the shape $CC\bar{o}C$ rather than $C\bar{o}C\acute{o}C$ (e.g., $kt\bar{o}b$ ‘write’, $\acute{s}f\bar{o}k$ ‘get married’, $sk\bar{o}f$ ‘sit’, $nk\bar{o}d$ ‘bounce’, $nt\bar{o}f$ ‘drip’). For those verbs with initial n , $CC\bar{o}C$ may be realized as $\bar{a}CC\bar{o}C$.

If the first root consonant is r (and the second or third root consonant is not a guttural or a glide, and the third root consonant is not l), then the 3ms perfect has the shape $CC\bar{o}C$, usually realized as $\bar{a}CC\acute{o}C$ or $\varepsilon CC\acute{o}C$ (e.g., $\bar{a}rf\acute{o}s$ ‘step on’, $\bar{a}rk\acute{o}d$ ‘dance’). (On the effect of r as the second root consonant, see §7.4.10.)

If the first root consonant is l (and the second or third root consonant is not a guttural, and the third root consonant is not m), then 3ms perfect also most often has the shape $CC\bar{o}C$, usually realized as $\bar{a}CC\acute{o}C$ or $\varepsilon CC\acute{o}C$, especially if the second root consonant is a dental (e.g., $lk\bar{o}d$ ‘patch leather’, $lk\bar{o}f$ ‘pick off’, $\bar{a}ld\acute{o}f$ ‘bang’, $\bar{a}lt\acute{u}m$ ‘slap’).¹

Various other changes connected to the presence of a weak consonant (including gutturals, labials, and glides) will be discussed in Chapter 7. The rules above concerning the appearance of a vowel following the first root consonant also apply to weak verbs whose patterns differ from the strong verb. For example, for verbs whose final root consonant is w or y (§7.4.12), the basic patterns of the 3ms perfect are $C\acute{e}C\acute{e}$ and $CC\acute{e}$, the latter for verbs whose first two root consonants are both voiceless and non-glottalic, or whose first root consonant is n , r , or l .

Following are the full conjugations of the Ga-Stem strong verbs $k\bar{o}d\acute{o}r$ ‘be able’ and $\acute{s}f\bar{o}r$ ‘travel’:

¹ Of the three verbs attested in *JL* whose first root consonant is l and third root consonant is m (not counting medial guttural verbs), two show no effects of the l : $lot\acute{u}m$ ‘kiss respectfully’ and $log\acute{u}m$ ‘put a mouth-strap on (a camel)’. Therefore I assume that, as a general rule, a final m blocks the effects of the initial l . The verb $\bar{a}lt\acute{u}m$ ‘slap’ is an exception, perhaps because the medial root consonant is a dental or glottalic.

| | Perfect | Imperfect ² | Subjunctive | Conditional |
|-----|---------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1cs | <i>ḵdǫrk</i> | <i>ǎḵǫdǎr</i> | <i>l-ǫḵdǎr³</i> | <i>l-ǎḵdírǎn</i> |
| 2ms | <i>ḵdǫrk</i> | <i>tǎḵǫdǎr</i> | <i>tǫḵdǎr</i> | <i>tǎḵdírǎn</i> |
| 2fs | <i>ḵdǫrṣ̃</i> | <i>tǎḵídǎr</i> | <i>tǫḵdír</i> | <i>tǎḵdírǎn</i> |
| 3ms | <i>ḵdǫr</i> | <i>yǎḵǫdǎr</i> | <i>yǫḵdǎr</i> | <i>yǎḵdírǎn</i> |
| 3fs | <i>ḵdǫrǫt⁴</i> | <i>tǎḵǫdǎr</i> | <i>tǫḵdǎr</i> | <i>tǎḵdírǎn</i> |
| 1cd | <i>ḵdǫrṣ̃i</i> | <i>(n)ǎḵǎderǫ</i> | <i>l-ǎḵǫdrǫ</i> | <i>nǎḵdǫrǫn⁵</i> |
| 2cd | <i>ḵdǫrṣ̃i</i> | <i>tǎḵǎderǫ</i> | <i>tǎḵdǫrǫ</i> | <i>tǎḵdǫrǫn</i> |
| 3md | <i>ḵdǫrǫ</i> | <i>yǎḵǫdǫrǫ</i> | <i>yǎḵdǫrǫ</i> | <i>yǎḵdǫrǫn</i> |
| 3fd | <i>ḵdǫrtǫ</i> | <i>tǎḵǫdǫrǫ</i> | <i>tǎḵdǫrǫ</i> | <i>tǎḵdǫrǫn</i> |
| 1cp | <i>ḵdǫrǎn</i> | <i>nǎḵǫdǎr</i> | <i>nǎḵdér</i> | <i>nǎḵdérǎn</i> |
| 2mp | <i>ḵdǫrkum</i> | <i>tǎḵǫdǎr</i> | <i>tǎḵdǫr</i> | <i>tǎḵdǫrǎn</i> |
| 2fp | <i>ḵdǫrkǎn</i> | <i>tǎḵǫdǎrǎn</i> | <i>tǎḵdérǎn</i> | <i>tǎḵdérǎn</i> |
| 3mp | <i>ḵdǫr</i> | <i>yǎḵǫdǎr</i> | <i>yǎḵdǫr</i> | <i>yǎḵdǫrǎn</i> |
| 3fp | <i>ḵdǫr</i> | <i>tǎḵǫdǎrǎn</i> | <i>tǎḵdérǎn</i> | <i>tǎḵdérǎn</i> |

Imperative: ms *ḵǎdér*, fs *ḵǎdír*, cd *ḵǎdrǫ*, mp *ḵǎdǫr*, fp *ḵǎdérǎn*

| | Perfect | Imperfect ⁶ | Subjunctive | Conditional |
|-----|---------------------------|------------------------|----------------|------------------|
| 1cs | <i>ṣfǫrk</i> | <i>ǎsǫfǎr</i> | <i>l-ǫṣfǎr</i> | <i>l-ǎṣfírǎn</i> |
| 2ms | <i>ṣfǫrk</i> | <i>tǎsǫfǎr</i> | <i>tǫṣfǎr</i> | <i>tǎṣfírǎn</i> |
| 2fs | <i>ṣfǫrṣ̃</i> | <i>tǎsífǎr</i> | <i>tǫṣfír</i> | <i>tǎṣfírǎn</i> |
| 3ms | <i>ṣfǫr</i> | <i>yǎsǫfǎr</i> | <i>yǫṣfǎr</i> | <i>yǎṣfírǎn</i> |
| 3fs | <i>ṣfǫrǫt⁷</i> | <i>tǎsǫfǎr</i> | <i>tǫṣfǎr</i> | <i>tǎṣfírǎn</i> |

² If the second and third root consonants are both voiceless, non-glottalic consonants, or if the second root consonant is *r* or *l*, then the *ǎ* between the second and third root consonants of the singular and plural imperfect may disappear, e.g., *yǎḵǫtǫ*.

³ Some young informants use the base *-éCCǎC* in free variation with *-ǫCCǎC* for the G-Stem singular subjunctive. See the comments to texts FB1:1 and Anon1:2.

⁴ If the second and third root consonants are both voiceless, non-glottalic consonants, or if the second root consonant is *r* or *l*, then there is no vowel between the second and third root consonants, e.g., *ḵǫtǫt*.

⁵ The dual and plural forms of the conditional are uncertain.

⁶ If the second and third root consonants are both voiceless, non-glottalic consonants, or if the second root consonant is *r* or *l*, then the *ǎ* between the second and third root consonants in the singular and plural imperfect may disappear, e.g., *yǎsǫḵf*, *yǎṣǫrk*.

⁷ If the second and third root consonants are both voiceless, non-glottalic consonants, then we find *ǎ* between the second and third root consonants, e.g., *ṣkǎṣt*.

| | | | | |
|-----|-----------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1cd | <i>sf̄r̄ši</i> | <i>(n)əsf̄aró</i> | <i>l-əsf̄aró</i> | <i>nasf̄arón</i> ⁸ |
| 2cd | <i>sf̄r̄ši</i> | <i>təsf̄aró</i> | <i>təsf̄aró</i> | <i>təsf̄arón</i> |
| 3md | <i>sf̄aró</i> | <i>yəsf̄aró</i> | <i>yəsf̄aró</i> | <i>yəsf̄arón</i> |
| 3fd | <i>sf̄artó</i> | <i>təsf̄aró</i> | <i>təsf̄aró</i> | <i>təsf̄arón</i> |
| 1cp | <i>sf̄r̄rən</i> | <i>nəsóf̄ar</i> | <i>nəsfer</i> | <i>nəsferən</i> |
| 2mp | <i>sf̄rkum</i> | <i>təsóf̄ar</i> | <i>təsfor</i> | <i>təsforən</i> |
| 2fp | <i>sf̄rkən</i> | <i>təsóf̄arən</i> | <i>təsferən</i> | <i>təsferən</i> |
| 3mp | <i>sf̄r</i> | <i>yəsóf̄ar</i> | <i>yəsfor</i> | <i>yəsforən</i> |
| 3fp | <i>sf̄r</i> | <i>təsóf̄arən</i> | <i>təsferən</i> | <i>təsferən</i> |

Imperative: ms *sfer*, fs *sfur*, cd *sfaró*, mp *sfor*, fp *sferən*

The following table summarizes the principle parts of the Ga-Stem of the different types of strong verbs (i.e., verbs without a guttural, glide, or labial, and whose second and third root consonants are not identical):

| | 3ms perf. | 3fs perf. | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subj. |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|------------------|-----------------------------|---------------|
| Basic | <i>ƙɔdɔr</i> | <i>ƙɔdɔrót</i> | <i>yəƙɔdər</i> | <i>yóƙdər</i> |
| II/III-voiceless, non-glottalic | <i>kɔlót</i> | <i>kɔltót</i> | <i>yəkɔlt</i> | <i>yókɔlt</i> |
| I/II-voiceless, non-glottalic | <i>sf̄r</i> | <i>sf̄rót</i> | <i>yəsóf̄ar</i> | <i>yósƿar</i> |
| I/II/III-voiceless, non-glottalic | <i>skɔf</i> | <i>skɔfót</i> | <i>yəsókƿ</i> | <i>yóskƿ</i> |
| I-n | <i>(ə)nkɔs</i> | <i>(ə)nkəsót</i> | <i>yənúkəs</i> | <i>yúnkəs</i> |
| I-l/r | <i>ərƙɔd</i> | <i>ərƙədót</i> | <i>yəróƙəd</i> ⁹ | <i>yórƙəd</i> |

As was noted in § 2.2.2, the presence of a nasal (*m* or *n*) can have a raising effect on the surrounding vowels. This can be seen in the 3ms imperfect and subjunctive forms of I-n verbs in the above table. Examples of nasals in other positions are:

⁸ The dual and plural forms of the conditional are uncertain.

⁹ For the examples of I-n and I-l/r verbs, note that imperfect *yənúkəs* has no *ə* in the final syllable because the final two root consonants are both voiceless and non-glottalic, while *yəróƙəd* has the *ə*.

| | 3ms perf. | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subj. |
|-------|--------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| II-n | <i>fonúk</i> | <i>yəfúnəḵ</i> | <i>yófnəḵ</i> |
| III-n | <i>dufún</i> | <i>yədfən</i> | <i>yódfən</i> |
| I-m | <i>məlók</i> | <i>yūlək¹⁰</i> | <i>yúmlək</i> |
| III-m | <i>guzúm</i> | <i>yəgózəm</i> | <i>yógzəm</i> |

For additional details on the effects of the root consonant *m*, see § 7.4.5, § 7.4.9, and § 7.4.13.

To illustrate some of the differences in the conjugation of weak verbs, following are partial conjugations (omitting the duals and some conditional forms) of the II-r verb *šerók* 'steal', the III-w/y verb *ḵéré* 'hide; kiss', and the geminate verb (see § 7.4.14) *del* 'guide, lead; know':

| | Perfect | Imperfect | Subjunctive | Conditional |
|-----|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|------------------|
| 1cs | <i>šerók(ə)k</i> | <i>əšórḵ</i> | <i>l-óšrəḵ</i> | <i>l-əšríḵən</i> |
| 2ms | <i>šerók(ə)k</i> | <i>təšórḵ</i> | <i>t-óšrəḵ</i> | <i>təšríḵən</i> |
| 2fs | <i>šerók(ə)š</i> | <i>təšírḵ</i> | <i>t-šríḵ</i> | <i>təšríḵən</i> |
| 3ms | <i>šerók</i> | <i>yəšórḵ</i> | <i>y-óšrəḵ</i> | <i>yəšríḵən</i> |
| 3fs | <i>šerḵót</i> | <i>təšórḵ</i> | <i>t-óšrəḵ</i> | <i>təšríḵən</i> |
| 1cp | <i>šerókən</i> | <i>nəšórḵ</i> | <i>nəšréḵ</i> | <i>nəšréḵən</i> |
| 2mp | <i>šerókḵum</i> | <i>təšórḵ</i> | <i>təšr-óḵ</i> | <i>təšr-óḵən</i> |
| 2fp | <i>šerókḵən</i> | <i>təšórḵən</i> | <i>təšréḵən</i> | <i>təšréḵən</i> |
| 3mp | <i>šerók</i> | <i>yəšórḵ</i> | <i>yəšr-óḵ</i> | <i>yəšr-óḵən</i> |
| 3fp | <i>šerók</i> | <i>təšórḵən</i> | <i>təšréḵən</i> | <i>təšréḵən</i> |

Imperative: ms *š(ə)rék*, fs *š(ə)rík*, cd *šərk-ó*, mp *š(ə)r-óḵ*, fp *š(ə)rékən*

| | Perfect | Imperfect | Subjunctive |
|-----|----------------|---------------|---------------|
| 1cs | <i>ḵúr(ə)k</i> | <i>əḵór</i> | <i>l-ékər</i> |
| 2ms | <i>ḵúr(ə)k</i> | <i>təḵór</i> | <i>tékər</i> |
| 2fs | <i>ḵúr(ə)š</i> | <i>təḵóri</i> | <i>tíkər</i> |
| 3ms | <i>ḵéré</i> | <i>yəḵór</i> | <i>yékər</i> |
| 3fs | <i>ḵéret</i> | <i>təḵór</i> | <i>tékər</i> |

¹⁰ On the nasalization and loss of *m* in this form, see § 2.1.3 and § 7.4.5.

| | | | |
|-----|---------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1cp | <i>ḵúrən</i> | <i>nəḵóʀ</i> | <i>nəḵəré</i> |
| 2mp | <i>ḵúrkum</i> | <i>təḵóʀi</i> | <i>təḵərí</i> |
| 2fp | <i>ḵúrkən</i> | <i>təḵóʀən</i> | <i>təḵəʀən</i> |
| 3mp | <i>ḵéré</i> | <i>yəḵóʀi</i> | <i>yəḵərí</i> |
| 3fp | <i>ḵéré</i> | <i>təḵóʀən</i> | <i>təḵəʀən</i> |

Imperative: ms *ḵəré*, fs *ḵərí*, mp *ḵərí*, fp *ḵəʀən*

| | Perfect | Imperfect | Subjunctive ¹¹ |
|-----|-----------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| 1cs | <i>delk</i> | <i>ədlél</i> | <i>l-óddəl</i> |
| 2ms | <i>delk</i> | <i>tədlél</i> | <i>tóddəl</i> |
| 2fs | <i>delš</i> | <i>tədlíl</i> | <i>túddəl</i> |
| 3ms | <i>del</i> | <i>yədlél</i> | <i>yóddəl</i> |
| 3fs | <i>dəllót</i> | <i>tədlél</i> | <i>tóddəl</i> |
| 1cp | <i>dél(l)ən</i> | <i>nədlél</i> | <i>nədlél</i> |
| 2mp | <i>délkum</i> | <i>tədlél</i> | <i>tədlól</i> |
| 2fp | <i>délkən</i> | <i>tədlélən</i> | <i>tədlélən</i> |
| 3mp | <i>del</i> | <i>yədlél</i> | <i>yədlól</i> |
| 3fp | <i>del</i> | <i>tədlélən</i> | <i>tədlélən</i> |

Imperative: ms *d(ə)lél*, fs *d(ə)líl*, mp *d(ə)lól*, fp *d(ə)lélən*

6.1.2 *Ga Internal Passive*

The Ga-Stem is the only stem for which there is substantial evidence of an internal passive in the texts, though Ga passives are still relatively rare. There are only about twenty examples in the texts. (See § 6.2.2 and § 6.3.2 on the D/L- and H-Stem passives.) The Ga passive is characterized in the 3ms perfect by a shape *CeCiC* or *CiCiC* (corresponding to an active verb of the shape *CɔCɔC*), or *C(ə)CiC* (corresponding to an active verb of the shape *CCɔC*). We also find the shape *əCCiC* or *ɛCCiC*, if the first root consonant is a liquid. The shape of the imperfect is also determined by the consonant types. For verbs whose first two consonants are voiceless and non-glottalic, the imperfect passive has the basic shape *iCCɔC*, while for most other verbs the basic

¹¹ The subjunctive forms presented here follow those that appear in Johnstone's texts, *JL*, and other works of his. It is unclear why the 2fs subjunctive has the prefix vowel *u* (pronounced here like IPA [ʊ]), rather than *i*. A couple of my own informants (but not all) presented quite different forms, namely, forms like 2ms *téffər*, 2fs *tíffər*, 2mp *tóffər*, 2fp *téffərən*, which look like the H-Stem forms. For more on the conjugation of geminate verbs, see § 7.4.14.

shape is *iCeCɔC*. For verbs with an initial liquid, both imperfect types are attested. Following is a complete paradigm of the verb *ərfiʃ* 'be trampled':¹²

| | Perfect | Imperfect | Subjunctive | Conditional |
|-----|------------------|-----------------|------------------------------|------------------|
| 1cs | <i>ərfiʃ(ə)k</i> | <i>ərefɔʃ</i> | <i>l-ərfɔʃ</i> | <i>l-ərfiʃən</i> |
| 2ms | <i>ərfiʃ(ə)k</i> | <i>irefɔʃ</i> | <i>l-ərfɔʃ</i> | <i>l-ərfiʃən</i> |
| 2fs | <i>ərfiʃ(ə)ʃ</i> | <i>irefiʃ</i> | <i>l-ərfiʃ</i> | <i>l-ərfiʃən</i> |
| 3ms | <i>ərfiʃ</i> | <i>irefɔʃ</i> | <i>l-ərfɔʃ</i> ¹³ | <i>l-ərfiʃən</i> |
| 3fs | <i>ərfiʃɔt</i> | <i>irefɔʃ</i> | <i>l-ərfɔʃ</i> | <i>l-ərfiʃən</i> |
| 1cd | <i>ərfiʃʃi</i> | <i>irefeʃɔ</i> | <i>l-ərféʃɔ</i> | <i>l-ərfiʃún</i> |
| 2cd | <i>ərfiʃʃi</i> | <i>irefeʃɔ</i> | <i>l-ərféʃɔ</i> | <i>l-ərfiʃún</i> |
| 3md | <i>ərfiʃɔ</i> | <i>irefeʃɔ</i> | <i>l-ərféʃɔ</i> | <i>l-ərfiʃún</i> |
| 3fd | <i>ərfiʃtɔ</i> | <i>irefeʃɔ</i> | <i>l-ərféʃɔ</i> | <i>l-ərfiʃún</i> |
| 1cp | <i>ərfiʃən</i> | <i>nerefɔʃ</i> | <i>l-ərféʃ</i> | <i>l-ərféʃən</i> |
| 2mp | <i>ərfiʃkum</i> | <i>ireféʃ</i> | <i>l-ərféʃ</i> | <i>l-ərféʃən</i> |
| 2fp | <i>ərfiʃkən</i> | <i>irefɔʃən</i> | <i>l-ərfɔʃən</i> | <i>l-ərfɔʃən</i> |
| 3mp | <i>ərfiʃ</i> | <i>ireféʃ</i> | <i>l-ərféʃ</i> | <i>l-ərféʃən</i> |
| 3fp | <i>ərfiʃ</i> | <i>irefɔʃən</i> | <i>l-ərfɔʃən</i> | <i>l-ərfɔʃən</i> |

Imperative: none

One of the most striking features of the passive is the almost total lack of pronominal prefixes in the three prefix-conjugations (imperfect, subjunctive, conditional), even more so than in the D/L- and H-Stems. This phenomenon is treated in Johnstone (1980b).

For further discussion on the use of the internal passive, see § 7.1.7.

6.1.3 *Gb-Stem*

The Gb-Stem has two main characteristics that distinguish it from the Ga-Stem. These include a 3ms perfect shape *CéCəC*, and a full vowel (rather than *ə* or no vowel) between the second and third root consonants throughout the imperfect and subjunctive. The 3ms perfect has the basic shape *CeCC* if

¹² Even though the verb *ərfiʃ* is not attested in the texts, I have chosen to use this verb (used in *JL*, pp. xvii–xviii, as well as in Johnstone 1980b) because all the passives from the texts have some sort of weak root consonant. Also note that the transcription varies between *JL* and Johnstone 1980b. Most notably, in the imperfect, *JL* has 3ms (*d-*)*irefɔʃ*, while the 1980 article has *érefɔʃ*. I have used here mainly the forms from *JL*, which better match the few internal passives found in the texts.

¹³ It seems that a 3ms subjunctive *yərfɔʃ* is used by some speakers.

the second and third root consonants are both voiceless and non-glottalic, if the second root consonant is *l* or *r*, or, in some cases, if the second root consonant is *n*. The vowel *e* of the perfect is raised to *i* when the first or second root consonant is a nasal (see § 2.2.2). Following is the full conjugation of the Gb verb *fékər* ‘be(come) poor’:

| | Perfect | Imperfect | Subjunctive | Conditional |
|-----|------------------|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------------------|
| 1cs | <i>fékər(ə)k</i> | <i>əfékór</i> | <i>l-əfkór</i> | <i>l-əfkírən</i> |
| 2ms | <i>fékər(ə)k</i> | <i>təfékór</i> | <i>təfkór</i> | <i>təfkírən</i> |
| 2fs | <i>fékər(ə)š</i> | <i>təfíkír</i> | <i>təfkír</i> | <i>təfkírən</i> |
| 3ms | <i>fékər</i> | <i>yəfékór</i> | <i>yəfkór</i> | <i>yəfkírən</i> |
| 3fs | <i>fekerót</i> | <i>təfékór</i> | <i>təfkór</i> | <i>təfkírən</i> |
| 1cd | <i>fékərši</i> | <i>(n)əfəkéró</i> | <i>l-fəkəró</i> | <i>l-əfkórón¹⁴</i> |
| 2cd | <i>fékərši</i> | <i>təfəkéró</i> | <i>təfkəró</i> | <i>təfkórón</i> |
| 3md | <i>fékeró</i> | <i>yəfəkéró</i> | <i>yəfkəró</i> | <i>yəfkórón</i> |
| 3fd | <i>fékertó</i> | <i>təfəkéró</i> | <i>təfkəró</i> | <i>təfkórón</i> |
| 1cp | <i>fékərən</i> | <i>nafékór</i> | <i>nafkór</i> | <i>nafkérən</i> |
| 2mp | <i>fékərkum</i> | <i>təfékér</i> | <i>təfkér</i> | <i>təfkérən</i> |
| 2fp | <i>fékərkən</i> | <i>təfékórən</i> | <i>təfkórən</i> | <i>təfkórən</i> |
| 3mp | <i>fékər</i> | <i>yəfékér</i> | <i>yəfkér</i> | <i>yəfkérən</i> |
| 3fp | <i>fékər</i> | <i>təfékórən</i> | <i>təfkórən</i> | <i>təfkórən</i> |

Imperative: ms *f(ə)kór*, fs *f(ə)kír*, cd *f(ə)kəró*, mp *f(ə)kér*, fp *f(ə)kórən*

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 inaccurate. It is true that a good number of Gb verbs are statives, medio-passives, or intransitives, such as:

- ‘ər* ‘go blind’
- díni* ‘conceive, get pregnant’
- féðər* ‘shiver with fear’
- fékər* ‘be(come) poor’
- férəh* ‘be(come) happy’
- férək* ‘be(come) afraid’
- gézi* (or *gélé*) ‘be sick’

¹⁴ The forms of the dual and plural conditional are uncertain.

đerk 'drown, sink (intrans.)'
đeržan 'feel compassion for'
ħēr 'become cold'
ķerb 'be near, approach'
ķésa 'be(come) dry'
mízi 'be(come) full'
múraž 'be(come) ill'
níkəb 'fall'
selm 'be safe'
šē 'be sated'
šēr 'know how (to do something)' (see the comment to text 1:7)
tégər 'be(come) rich'
telf 'be(come) hungry'
tēr 'be broken, break (intrans.)'
xēt 'be(come) thirsty'
xerf 'produce fruit'
xézi 'be empty; be unmarried'
xézi 'be(come) embarrassed'

However, the Gb class also contains a number of verbs that have an active meaning, though some do require a preposition before an object (that is, they are not transitive in the strict sense). These include some that are among the most frequently used verbs in the language. Some of the more common Gb active/transitive verbs are:

étəl 'catch up to; chase'
fétən 'remember'
ħelm 'dream'
ķēl 'accept'
ķéšəd 'chop; seek out' (see below)
nika 'come'
nísəz 'drink, sip (s.t. hot)'
rəkəb 'ride'
selb 'wait for'
sind 'do without'
śini 'see'
šr 'hear' (but also *šā*; see the comment to text 13:13)
(éda 'know')¹⁵

¹⁵ It is not certain that we should call this a Gb-Stem. The fact that it is I-w and III-G obscures the differences between the Ga and Gb type. However, the verb can be considered a Gb-Stem in Mehri.

(*égaḥ* ‘enter’)¹⁶
éṣal ‘arrive at, reach’
xelf ‘take the place of’

There are also Ga verbs that are intransitive or stative, such as *ǰōs* ‘disappear’ and *eḳǰf* ‘be(come) silent’. So, we can only make a generalization and say that most intransitive or stative verbs fall into the Gb class, and perhaps the majority of—but by no means all—Gb verbs are intransitive or stative.

Some roots appear in both the Ga- and Gb-Stems. Often in such cases, the Gb functions as the medio-passive of the Ga, as in:

Gb *bézag* ‘be squeezed, squish (intrans.)’ vs. Ga *bɔzɔg* ‘squeeze, squash’
 Gb *béẓar* ‘tear (intrans.), be torn’ vs. Ga *bɔẓór* ‘tear (trans.)’
 Gb *fékaś* ‘crack (intrans.), be cracked’ vs. Ga *fɔkás* ‘crack open (trans.)’
 Gb *mízi* ‘be(come) full, fill (intrans.)’ vs. Ga *mélé* ‘fill (trans.)’
 Gb *níkəb* ‘break, snap (intrans.)’ vs. Ga *nḱəb* ‘break, snap (trans.)’
 Gb *tēr* ‘break (intrans.), be broken’ vs. Ga *tōr* ‘break (trans.)’¹⁷

The Gb-Stem is not a productive passive of the Ga-Stem, however. For the passive, there is the internal passive (see § 7.1.7) and the T- and Š-Stems (see § 6.4 and § 6.5).

In a few cases, the Ga and Gb are similar or identical in meaning, for example:

Ga *ḱəṣód* and Gb *ḱéṣəd* ‘chop; seek out’ (see the comment to text 41:4)

Note also that verbs whose third root consonant is a guttural (III-G verbs) have the pattern *CéCəC*, even in the Ga-Stem. However, the two stems do not completely fall together with verbs of this type, since the subjunctive patterns remain distinct in the Ga- and Gb-Stems. See further in § 7.4.11.

6.2 D/L-Stem

The D/L-Stem is characterized, in addition to its vocalic patterns, by a suffix *-ən* on all imperfect forms. The base pattern of the strong verb in the perfect is (ε)*CóCəC* or (ε)*CóCC*. The prefix *ε-* appears only before a voiced or

¹⁶ It is not certain that we should call this a Gb-Stem, for the reason given in the previous note. In this case, however, there is no Mehri cognate.

¹⁷ Both G-Stems of this root are used in text 23:9.

glottalic consonant, like the distribution of the definite article (see § 4.4).¹⁸ The pattern (ε)CóCC is used when the second and third root consonants are both voiceless and non-glottalic, and often when the second root consonant is *l* or *r*. For example, we find 3ms perfect *egódal* ‘tie, chain’ and *erótáb* ‘arrange, set in order’, but *hulf* ‘sharpen’ and *fusk* ‘separate (people from fighting)’. In the presence of a nasal or labial (usually *f*), *o* is usually raised to *u*, especially in the pattern (ε)CóCC.

There is some variation pertaining to the personal prefixes in the conjugation of the D/L-Stem. Traditionally, the second person and third feminine prefix *t-* is suppressed in the D/L-Stem imperfect, and replaced with *l-* in the subjunctive and conditional, as also in the H-Stem. However, speakers vary on this point; specifically, younger speakers tend to use the same prefixes as the G-Stem. See further in § 7.1.2 and § 7.1.3. Following is the full paradigm of a strong verb in this stem (*egódal* ‘tie, chain’):

| | Perfect | Imperfect | Subjunctive | Conditional |
|-----|-----------------|--|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 1cs | <i>egódalk</i> | <i>agódalən</i> | <i>l-gódal</i> | <i>l-gúdalən</i> ¹⁹ |
| 2ms | <i>egódalk</i> | (<i>t</i>) <i>agódalən</i> ²⁰ | <i>l-gódal</i> ²¹ | <i>l-gúdalən</i> |
| 2fs | <i>egódalš</i> | (<i>t</i>) <i>agídalən</i> | <i>l-gídal</i> ²² | <i>l-gúdalən</i> |
| 3ms | <i>egódal</i> | <i>yagódalən</i> | <i>yagódal</i> | <i>yagúdalən</i> |
| 3fs | <i>egídaltó</i> | (<i>t</i>) <i>agódalən</i> | <i>l-gódal</i> | <i>l-gúdalən</i> |
| 1cd | <i>egódalši</i> | (<i>n</i>) <i>agídálún</i> | <i>l-gódólš</i> | <i>l-gódalón</i> |
| 2cd | <i>egódalši</i> | (<i>t</i>) <i>agídálún</i> | <i>l-gódólš</i> | <i>l-gódalón</i> |
| 3md | <i>egídálš</i> | <i>yagídálún</i> | <i>l-gedélš</i> | <i>yagódalón</i> |
| 3fd | <i>egídaltó</i> | (<i>t</i>) <i>agídálún</i> | <i>l-gódólš</i> | <i>l-gódalón</i> |

¹⁸ According to *JL*, the prefix ε- (which Johnstone transcribed *e-*) can also be used by some speakers before voiceless, non-glottalic consonants. In addition, before a guttural consonant, the prefix can have the form *o-* (e.g. *ohóðar*). However, neither the texts nor my own informants substantiate either of these statements. The texts and my own data do not reflect the situation described in *JL*, as is the case also for the H-Stem prefix (see § 6.3).

¹⁹ The forms of the conditional are uncertain, and perhaps are subject to variation. One informant provided 1cs *l-gídálən*, while *JL* (p. xx) has *l-gúdalən*. See also n. 22.

²⁰ As discussed above, and in § 7.1.2 and § 7.1.3, some speakers prefer 2ms *təgódalən*, though historically the *t-* prefix was lost in the imperfect. Likewise for the other second person and 3f forms.

²¹ As discussed above, and in § 7.1.2 and § 7.1.3, some speakers prefer 2ms *təgódal*. Likewise, with initial *t-* in place of *l-*, for the other second person and 3f forms.

²² *JL* (p. xx) has 2fs *l-gúdul*, but the texts have the vowel *í* in this form (cf. the comment to 60:43). My informants also used *í* in place of *ú*.

| | | | | |
|-----|------------------|--------------------|------------------|------------------|
| 1cp | <i>egóðalən</i> | <i>ngóðalən</i> | <i>ngóðal</i> | <i>ngóðalən</i> |
| 2mp | <i>egóðalkum</i> | <i>(t)əgóðalən</i> | <i>l-góðal</i> | <i>l-góðalən</i> |
| 2fp | <i>egóðalkən</i> | <i>(t)əgóðalən</i> | <i>l-góðalən</i> | <i>l-góðalən</i> |
| 3mp | <i>egóðal</i> | <i>yəgóðalən</i> | <i>yəgóðal</i> | <i>yəgóðalən</i> |
| 3fp | <i>egóðal</i> | <i>(t)əgóðalən</i> | <i>l-góðalən</i> | <i>l-góðalən</i> |

Imperative: ms *egóðal*, fs *egíðal*, cd *egóðalís*, mp *egóðal*, fp *egóðalən*

It should be noted that with geminate verbs and verbs whose second root consonant is *y*, there is some confusion between the D/L-Stem and H-Stems. It is therefore not always clear how to classify a verb. See further in §7.4.8 and §7.4.14.

6.2.1 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 (*AAL*, p. 12; *JL*, p. xvi), 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 Jibbali D/L-Stems have counterparts in the Arabic D-Stem (Form II, *fā‘ala*) or L-Stem (Form III, *fā‘ala*), and many or most of these are likely Arabic borrowings or calques.

Among the verbs that are causatives of intransitives (usually Gb-Stems), we find:

ebdéd ‘separate (trans.)’ (cf. G *bed* ‘separate (intrans.)’; Arabic G *badda* ‘disperse (intrans.)’, D *baddada* ‘disperse (trans.)’)

furh ‘make happy’ (cf. Gb *fērəh* ‘be(come) happy’)

furk ‘frighten; divide’ (cf. Gb *fērək* ‘be frightened, afraid’; Arabic G *faraqa* ‘be afraid; divide (trans.)’, D *farraqa* ‘frighten; divide (trans.)’)

hóðər ‘warn s.o.’ (cf. Ga *hóðór* ‘be on one’s guard’, and the more common Tz *əhtéðér* ‘be careful’; Arabic G *ħaðira* ‘be on one’s guard’, D *ħaððara* ‘warn’)

hulf ‘sharpen’ (cf. Gb *helf* ‘be sharp’)

ekóšəm ‘cool (trans.)’ (cf. Gb *kéšəm* ‘be(come) cold’)

enúðəf ‘clean’ (cf. Gb *níðəf* ‘be(come) clean’; Arabic G *nazūfa* ‘be clean’, D *nazẓafa* ‘clean’)

enúgi ‘save, extricate from difficulty’ (cf. Gb *nígi* ‘survive, come through a difficulty’, H *engé* ‘rescue’; Arabic G *najā* ‘be rescued’, D *najjā* ‘rescue’, C *anjā* ‘rescue’)

- sa'éd* 'help' (cf. Gb *sé'éd* 'be(come) happy'; Arabic G *sa'ida* 'be happy', L *sā'ada* 'help') (see also §7.4.7)
- sulm* 'save, rescue; have left; surrender; spare' (cf. Gb *selm* 'be safe'; Arabic G *salima* 'be safe', D *sallama* 'save; surrender')
- ōkəf* 'bring to a stop' (cf. Ga *ekəf* 'fall silent'; Arabic G *waqafa* 'come to a stop', D *waqqafa* 'bring to a stop')
- ōşal* 'bring, lead' (cf. Gb *éşal* 'arrive at, reach'; Arabic G *waşala* 'reach', D *waşşala* 'take, bring s.o.')
- xoži* 'divorce' (cf. Ga *xálé* and Gb *xézi* 'be unmarried')
- xorb* 'spoil, damage' (cf. Gb *xerb* 'be spoil'; Arabic G *xariba* 'be destroyed', D *xarraba* 'destroy')

As for denominatives (including denominatives borrowed from Arabic), we find:

- ōðən* 'call to prayer' (cf. *iðén* 'ear'; Arabic D *ʾaððana* 'call to prayer')
- é'ósi* 'give dinner' (cf. *'isé* 'dinner'; Arabic D *'aşšā* 'give dinner')
- hork* 'collect leaves of the *ehrik* tree' (= H *hrék*)²³
- ħóni* 'dye with henna' (cf. *ħiné* 'henna'; Arabic D *ħanna'a* 'dye with henna')
- ékófi* 'turn one's back on, turn away' (cf. *kéfé* 'back')
- esyéħ* 'shout' (cf. *şah* 'voice, noise'; Arabic D *şayyaħa* 'shout, cry out')
- etórəf* 'put aside' (cf. *téréf* 'side')

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

- óşar* 'point out, beckon'
- é'úlm* 'teach; brand' (cf. Arabic D *'allama* 'teach')
- é'úzər* 'annoy' (see the comment to text 46:9)
- ōrək* 'bless' (cf. Arabic L *bāraka* 'bless')
- ōşər* 'give good news' (cf. Arabic D *başşara* 'bring news')
- edōr* (or *edūr*) 'return, go back' (cf. G *dēr* 'wander'; Arabic D *dawwara* 'turn around')
- edōi* 'give s.o. medicine, treat' (cf. Arabic L *dāwā* 'give s.o. medicine, treat')
- fusk* 'separate (people from fighting)'

²³ The *ehrik* is *Salvadora persica*, also known as Arak (as Johnstone suggested in *JL*, s.v. *hrk*), the toothbrush tree, or the mustard tree (Miller and Morris 1988: 254).

egēh ‘take by force’²⁴

eghéz ‘prepare’ (this could be an H-Stem, but cf. Arabic D *jahhaza*; see the comment to text 52:5)

egórab ‘try, test’ (cf. Arabic D *jarraba* ‘test, try’)

agjōr ‘overeat, get indigestion’ (see the comment to text 40:5)

ehbéb ‘sing’

hódi ‘divide up, share out’ (cf. Arabic L *hādā* ‘exchange gifts’)

hōl ‘load’ (cf. G *hōl* ‘carry; move’)

hork ‘nod, shake, move (trans.)’

hōšal ‘get, obtain’ (cf. G *hōšól* ‘get’; Arabic G *hašala* and D *haššala* ‘get, obtain’)

ekōz ‘look at, watch, keep an eye on’ (cf. Arabic L *qābala* ‘stand opposite, face’)

ōtal ‘send’

enúdi ‘shout’ (see the comment to text 6:21)

erōtab ‘arrange, set in order’ (cf. Arabic D *rattaba* ‘arrange, order’)

sōx ‘divert s.o.’s attention’ (see the comment to text 28:13)

esōzi ‘pray’ (cf. Arabic D *šallā* ‘pray’)²⁵

ōda ‘see s.o. off’ (cf. Arabic D *wadda’a* ‘see s.o. off’)

ōfi ‘pay a debt’ (cf. Arabic G *wafā* ‘pay a debt’)

ōkāl ‘entrust, give authority to’ (cf. Arabic D *wakkala* ‘authorize, empower’)

ōši ‘advise’ (cf. Arabic D *waššā* ‘advise’)

xols ‘finish, be finished’ (cf. dialectal Arabic D *xallaš* ‘finish’)

xōt ‘cock (a gun), load (a gun)’

6.2.2 D/L Internal Passive

There are at least four D/L-Stem internal passives listed in *JL*, including 3ms perfect *egídíl* from the verb conjugated in § 6.2.²⁶ In the texts, the form *iflétan* (TJ2:58) is a D/L passive, and the form *héli* (TJ4:57) is most likely a D/L passive, as is *yəháréšən* (TJ2:62; 3ms perf. *hírís*). The D/L-Stem internal passive seems to be a very marginal form. See further in § 7.1.7.

²⁴ Although listed in *JL* under the root *gbh*, the root seems to be *gwh/gyh*. The D/L-Stem is from the root *gyh*.

²⁵ The Arabic D-Stem *šallā* was itself borrowed from the Aramaic D-Stem *šalli*.

²⁶ The others are in *JL*, s.v. *lk*, *fsx*, and *qfn*.

6.3 *H-Stem*

The H-Stem is characterized in Mehri (and in some other Semitic languages) by a prefixed *h* throughout the paradigm, hence my use of this term in my grammar of Mehri (2010). For ease of comparison, I have kept the term in this book, even though there is no prefixed *h* in Jibbali.²⁷ The base pattern of the H-Stem in the perfect has the shape (ε)CCéC. In EJ (and often in CJ), the initial ε- of the H-Stem perfect is normally dropped when the first root consonant is voiceless and non-glottalic, though sometimes it appears if the second root consonant is also voiceless and non-glottalic.²⁸ For example, we find *εbké* ‘make s.o. cry’ and *εžhér* ‘show, reveal’, but *fké* ‘cover; dress’ and *tmím* ‘finish, complete’. For those same verbs with an initial voiceless, non-glottalic consonant, the first root consonant is geminated in the imperfect.

There is some variation pertaining to the personal prefixes in the conjugation of the H-Stem. Traditionally, the second person and third feminine prefix *t-* is suppressed in the H-Stem imperfect, and replaced with *l-* in the subjunctive and conditional, as also in the D/L-Stem. However, speakers vary on this point; specifically, younger speakers tend to use the same prefixes as the G-Stem. See further in § 7.1.2 and § 7.1.3.

As can be seen from the figures quoted in the introduction to this chapter, the H-Stem is by far the most frequently met derived verbal stem. Following is the full paradigm of the verb *flét* ‘escape, run away’:

| | Perfect | Imperfect | Subjunctive | Conditional |
|-----|--------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------|
| 1cs | <i>flótk</i> | <i>aḫfélót</i> | <i>l-éflət</i> ²⁹ | <i>l-íflətən</i> |
| 2ms | <i>flótk</i> | <i>(t)iffélót</i> ³⁰ | <i>l-éflət</i> ³¹ | <i>l-íflətən</i> |
| 2fs | <i>flótš</i> | <i>(t)iffílít</i> | <i>l-íflət</i> | <i>l-íflətən</i> |

²⁷ I could have also used the term C-Stem (Causative Stem), which is preferable in works dealing with comparative Semitics.

²⁸ In *JL*, Johnstone usually transcribed *eCCéC*. If his representation of the prefix as *e-* is correct, this must represent a dialectal variation. Also according to *JL*, the prefix appears also before voiceless, non-glottalic consonants (e.g. *éflét*). The texts and data from my own informants do not reflect the situation described in *JL*, as is the case also for the D/L-Stem prefix (see § 6.2).

²⁹ With this particular verb, because of the *l*, the base of the subjunctive, conditional, and imperative can be either *-flət-* or *-falt-*.

³⁰ As discussed above, and in § 7.1.2 and § 7.1.3, some speakers prefer 2ms *tāffélót*, though historically the *t-* prefix was lost in the imperfect. Likewise for the other second person and 3f forms.

³¹ As discussed above, and in § 7.1.2 and § 7.1.3, some speakers prefer 2ms *téflət*. Likewise (with initial *t-*) for the other second person and 3f forms.

| | | | | |
|-----|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------|------------------|
| 3ms | <i>flét</i> | <i>ɣaffélót</i> ³² | <i>yéflat</i> | <i>ɣáflatən</i> |
| 3fs | <i>fəltót</i> (< <i>flatót</i>) | (t) <i>iffélót</i> | <i>l-éflat</i> | <i>l-íflatən</i> |
| 1cd | <i>flótši</i> | <i>əffeltó</i> | <i>l-əfaltó</i> | <i>l-əflatún</i> |
| 2cd | <i>flótši</i> | (t) <i>iffeltó</i> | <i>l-əfaltó</i> | <i>l-əflatún</i> |
| 3md | <i>fəltó</i> | (t) <i>iffiltó</i> | <i>ɣəfaltó</i> | <i>ɣəflatún</i> |
| 3fd | <i>fəltató</i> | <i>əfféltó</i> | <i>l-əfaltó</i> | <i>l-əflatún</i> |
| 1cp | <i>flətən</i> | <i>ənfélót</i> | <i>néflat</i> | <i>nóflatən</i> |
| 2mp | <i>flótkum</i> | (t) <i>iffélét</i> | <i>l-óflat</i> | <i>l-óflatən</i> |
| 2fp | <i>flótkən</i> | (t) <i>iffélótən</i> | <i>l-éflatən</i> | <i>l-óflatən</i> |
| 3mp | <i>flét</i> | <i>ɣaffélét</i> | <i>ɣóflat</i> | <i>ɣóflatən</i> |
| 3fp | <i>flét</i> | (t) <i>iffélótən</i> | <i>l-éflatən</i> | <i>l-óflatən</i> |

Imperative: ms *éflat*, fs *íflat*, mp *óflat*, fp *éflatən*

6.3.1 H-Stem Meaning

The primary function of the Jibbali H-Stem is as a causative (cf. Hebrew *hiph'íl*, Arabic *ʾafʿala*). The causative meaning is often derived from a G-Stem verb. Some examples are:

- aʿsés* ‘rouse, wake up (trans.)’ (cf. G *ʿés* ‘rise, get up’)
aʿbér ‘make blind’ (cf. G *ʿēr* ‘be blind’)
əbké ‘make s.o. cry’ (cf. G *béké* ‘cry’)
əbké ‘put aside, save’ (cf. G *béké* ‘be left over, remain’)
əbláj ‘deliver, bring to s.o.’ (cf. G *béláj* ‘arrive’; see the comment to text 21:10)
əbrék ‘make (camels) kneel’ (cf. G *berók* ‘kneel (of camels)’)
əbšél ‘cook, prepare’ (cf. G *béšəl* ‘be cooked, ready’)
ədxél ‘make s.o. swear’ (cf. G *d(a)xál* ‘swear, promise’)
əðhéb ‘flood (trans.)’ (cf. G *ðəhéb* ‘be flooded’)
ʃké ‘cover; dress’ (cf. G *féké* ‘wear’)
əɣér ‘bring down, make fall’ (cf. G *g(a)ár* ‘fall’)
əɣlél ‘boil, cook (trans.)’ (cf. G *gel* ‘be warm; boil (intrans.)’)
əɣzím ‘make s.o. swear’ (cf. G *guzúm* ‘swear’)
əhbé ‘make fall, let down’ (cf. G *hē* ‘fall’)
aħbé ‘cure’ (cf. G *hē* ‘be cured’)
kbéb ‘unload, take down’ (cf. G *keb* ‘go down’)

³² This form may be realized as *iffélót*. Likewise the 3mp imperfect may be realized as *iffélét*.

εκ'έ 'let out (animals) from a pen' (cf. G *κα'έ* 'escape, get out of a pen')
endér 'sever' (cf. G *ndor* 'be severed')
erbé 'give a drink, let drink' (cf. G *rē* 'have had enough to drink')
εrfá' 'lift up, pull up, draw (water)' (cf. G *réfa'* 'climb; raise, lift')
sadéd 'get people to agree' (cf. G *sed* 'agree')
śní 'show; visit a medicine man' (cf. G *śíni* 'see')
tmím 'finish (trans.), complete' (cf. G *tim* 'be finished, finish (intrans.)')
tábé 'feed' (cf. G *tē* 'eat')
εbgáh 'put in' (cf. G *égah* 'enter')
xlé 'make empty' (cf. G *xalé* 'be empty')
ezéd 'give more; increase (trans.)' (cf. G *zēd* 'increase (intrans.); be-
 (come) more than')
εžhér 'show, reveal' (cf. G *žahér* 'appear')

Other H-Stem causatives have extended or narrowed in meaning, but the derivation can still be seen, for example:

fdé 'sacrifice an animal in a ritual manner and walk it around a sick
 person' (cf. G *féde* 'ransom')
emlék 'give s.o. legal possession of a woman in marriage' (cf. G *mólók*
 'own, possess', Š₁ *šamlék* 'be given legal possession of a woman in
 marriage')
endáx 'fumigate' (cf. G *nídax* 'smoke')
eržé 'reconcile with s.o. (usually a wife)' (cf. G *eržé* 'be agreeable')
εsbéb 'wound, hit (with a bullet)' (cf. G *šob* 'be aimed straight')
śbéh b- 'think s.o. looks like (*l-*) someone else' (cf. G *śōh* 'be like')
εšfék 'marry (a man to one's daughter)' (cf. G *šfok* 'marry, get married'
 and Š₁ *šāšfék* 'marry; get married')
škét '(camels) give birth; lose, leave behind' (cf. G *šokót* 'be lost; drop
 off')

Some H-Stem verbs do not have a corresponding G-Stem verb, but might still be seen as causative in meaning. Sometimes there is a corresponding verb in the T₁- or Š₁-Stem for which the H-Stem can be seen as the causative. Such are:

a'lék 'light (a fire)'
εbká' 'put (down), place' (cf. Mehri G *wīka*(^o) 'stay; be')
εđmír 'show, guide'
ağyéđ 'anger' (cf. T₁ *ğótéđ* 'be(come) angry')
ağyéğ 'bear young (of animals)' (cf. *ğeyg* 'man')
k'ér 'roll down (trans.), throw down'

enké ‘hurt (trans.)’ (cf. T1 *nútki* ‘be hurt’)
šmí ‘call, name’ (cf. *šum* ‘name’)
erbá ‘lift/pull/take up’ (cf. Š *šərbā* ‘climb’)³³
erxé ‘loosen, release, let go’ (cf. T1 *rútxi* ‘come loose, be released’)
etlék ‘release, set (a horse) after’ (cf. T1 *ťótlək* ‘be released’)
xníť ‘take out; take off’ (cf. Š1 *šxəníť* ‘go out of, exit, leave’)

However, many H-Stems do not seem to function as causatives, and must simply be considered lexical. Some have roots that appear in other stems, while others do not. Some of these verbs that do not function as causatives (and many of those that do, for that matter) have simply been borrowed from an Arabic verb, most often a C-Stem (Form IV, *ʾafʾala*). Such are:

aʾní ‘mean’ (cf. Arabic G *ʾanā* ‘mean’)
ební ‘build’
ebšér ‘see well’ (cf. Arabic C *ʾabšara* ‘see’)
edré ‘climb to the top’ (cf. Š1 *šədré* ‘be able to be climbed; climb up’)
flét ‘escape, flee, run away’ (cf. G *ʾfálat* ‘manage to escape’; Arabic C *ʾaflata* ‘escape’)
fté ‘advise; decide’ (cf. D/L *fúti* ‘give a piece of advice’; Arabic C *ʾaftā* ‘give a legal opinion’)
egdéb ‘be hungry (animals), not find pasture’ (cf. G *gəđób* ‘(soil) be without grass’)
egnún ‘stoop’
aglét ‘be mistaken, make a mistake’ (cf. G *gəlt* ‘be rude’; Arabic C *ʾaglaṭa* ‘make a mistake’)
aǧmíd ‘be(come)/happen in the evening’
aǧrég ‘be late’ (cf. Š1 *šəǧrég* ‘think s.o. is late’)
heķ ‘call’ (cf. Š2 *šəhēķ* ‘answer a call’)
aħsé ‘stuff into s.t.’ (= G *ħasé*; cf. Arabic G *ħašā* ‘stuff’)
kbér ‘go up to the mountains (from town)’
ekbél ‘arrive, draw near’ (cf. Arabic C *ʾaqbala* ‘draw near’)
engúm ‘consult (an astrologer)’ (cf. G *ngum* ‘recover from an illness’)
erhín ‘pawn; leave s.t. as a deposit/guarantee’ (cf. Arabic C *ʾarhana* ‘pawn; leave s.t. as a pledge’)

³³ In CJ, according to *JL* (s.v. *rbʾ*), the H-Stem means ‘guide’, while the Š1-Stem means ‘cross’. See further in the comment to text 4:9.

- erxéš* 'give permission, allow' (cf. Š1 *šarxéš* 'take/want leave'; Arabic D *raxxaša* 'permit')
- sbáx* 'spread sand or dried dung in a cave' (see the comment to text 51:15)
- εšbáh* 'be/happen in the morning; become; appear' (cf. Arabic C *ʾaš-baħa* 'be/happen in the morning; become')
- εšréb* 'be(come) autumn'
- šfáh* 'leave s.t. after eating enough'
- tlé* 'be sorry, regret' (see the comment to text 31:5)
- εtḱá* 'look up'
- εbhé* 'come to help' (cf. G *aħá* 'run to help')
- εblé* 'direct oneself, head to, turn towards' (cf. Arabic C *ʾawlā* 'turn back/towards')
- xléf* 'move, change place; leave behind; transfer (property)' (cf. G *xelf* 'take s.o.'s place; relieve s.o. of a burden/task')
- εzbér* 'take pleasure in s.o.'s misfortune'

Finally, a few H-Stems actually seem to have the opposite meaning from a causative, e.g.:

- a'ré* 'send s.o.; send for s.o.' (cf. G *ʿer* 'stop from going')
- fsáh* 'stop doing, leave off' (cf. G *fěsəħ* 'permit')
- εmréž* 'nurse, look after' (cf. G *mírəž* 'be ill')

6.3.2 *H Internal Passive*

As discussed in §6.1.2, the Ga-Stem is the only stem for which there is substantial evidence of an internal passive in the texts, though they are still relatively uncommon. The H passive is characterized in the 3ms perfect by a shape (ε)CCiC (corresponding to an active verb of the shape (ε)CCéC).³⁴ The 3ms imperfect has the shape éCCóC (or éCCáG for III-G verbs), while the 3ms subjunctive (which is probably the same for all persons in the singular) has the shape l-əCCóC or l-εCCóC (again with á in the final syllable if the verb is III-G). Just a handful of H-Stem passives are attested in the texts.

³⁴ Where the second or third root consonant is a nasal, the 3ms perfect active and passive H-Stem will look identical, due to the raising of é to í in the active (§2.2.2). Cf. active *εngím* 'consult (an astrologer)' and *εtnif* 'reave'.

See § 7.1.7 for examples of H-Stem internal passives in context. Additional evidence for the conjugation of the H passive comes from just a couple of forms given in *JL* (s.v. *šfk* and *wgʿ*).

6.4 Š-Stems

Jibbali possesses two stems that are characterized by a prefixed *š*. The one which we will call Š₁ is by far the more common of the two Š-Stems. It has the basic pattern *šəCCéC* (or *šCəCéC*) in the 3ms perfect, and its conjugation (in all tenses) is parallel to that of the H-Stem (§ 6.3). The other Š-Stem, which we will call Š₂, has the basic pattern *šəCéCəC* in the 3ms perfect. The Š₂, like the D/L and T₂, is characterized by a suffixed *-ən* on all imperfect forms. Johnstone refers to both of the Š-Stems as causative-reflexive verbs (*JL*, p. xvii; *AAL*, p. 13), but this designation is inaccurate, as will be seen below. As noted in the introduction to this chapter, Š₁-Stems are relatively common in the texts, while Š₂-Stems are rather rare.

The Jibbali (and other MSA) Š-Stems do not derive from the Proto-Semitic C-Stem, which is reconstructed with 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 exhibits the shift of the prefix **s-* > *h-/ʿ-/∅-* that we see in most West Semitic languages. The MSA *š-* prefix (*š-* in Jibbali) comes from an earlier **st-*, that is, from the Semitic Ct-Stem, corresponding to the Arabic *istafʿala* (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.³⁵

6.4.1 Š₁-Stem Form

As noted in § 6.4, the basic pattern in the perfect is *šəCCéC* or *šCəCéC*. The pattern *šCəCéC* (really just a different surface realization of *šəCCéC*) is common when the first root consonant is *f*, *h*, *ħ*, *k*, or *x*, but occurs with some other consonants in weak verb patterns. The underlying pattern must be *šəCCéC*, since *b* or *m* does not elide when it is the second root consonant. If, for example *šəxəbír* 'he asked' were the original form, then the *b* would

³⁵ Holes (2005) discusses some developments in Gulf Arabic, but with no reference to MSA languages.

elide (see § 2.1.2); therefore the underlying form must be *šaxbír. In the imperfect, the basic pattern is 3ms *yašCéCóC*, but if the first root consonant is voiceless and non-glottalic, then it is *yašCəCóC*, e.g., *yaštəhór* ‘he gets hurt’ and *yaššəfók* ‘he gets married’. Following is the full paradigm of the verb *šəkšér* ‘run out of s.t.’:

| | Perfect | Imperfect | Subjunctive | Conditional ³⁶ |
|-----|------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1cs | <i>šəkšórk</i> | <i>aškéšór</i> | <i>əl-šékšər</i> | <i>l-ašíkšərən</i> |
| 2ms | <i>šəkšórk</i> | <i>təškéšór</i> | <i>təšékšər</i> | <i>təšíkšərən</i> |
| 2fs | <i>šəkšórš</i> | <i>təškéšír</i> | <i>təšíkšər</i> | <i>təšíkšərən</i> |
| 3ms | <i>šəkšér</i> | <i>yaškéšór</i> | <i>yašékšər</i> | <i>yašíkšərən</i> |
| 3fs | <i>šəkšərot</i> | <i>təškéšór</i> | <i>təšékšər</i> | <i>təšíkšərən</i> |
| 1cd | <i>šəkšórši</i> | <i>aškešéró</i> | <i>l-ašəkšəró</i> | <i>l-ašákšərún</i> |
| 2cd | <i>šəkšórši</i> | <i>təškešéró</i> | <i>təšəkšəró</i> | <i>təšákšərún</i> |
| 3md | <i>šəkšəró</i> | <i>yaškešéró</i> | <i>yašəkšəró</i> | <i>yašákšərún</i> |
| 3fd | <i>šəkšərtó</i> | <i>təšəkšəró</i> | <i>təšəkšəró</i> | <i>təšákšərún</i> |
| 1cp | <i>šəkšórən</i> | <i>naškéšór</i> | <i>našékšər</i> | <i>našókšərən</i> |
| 2mp | <i>šəkšórkum</i> | <i>təškéšér</i> | <i>təšókšər</i> | <i>təšókšərən</i> |
| 2fp | <i>šəkšórkən</i> | <i>təškéšórən</i> | <i>təšékšərən</i> ³⁷ | <i>təšókšərən</i> |
| 3mp | <i>šəkšér</i> | <i>yaškéšér</i> | <i>yašókšər</i> | <i>yašókšərən</i> |
| 3fp | <i>šəkšér</i> | <i>təškéšórən</i> | <i>təšékšərən</i> | <i>təšókšərən</i> |

Imperative: ms *šékšər*, fs *šíkšər*, mp *šókšər*, fp *šékšərən*

The underlying or historical base of the imperfect is *-šaCéCóC*, with a vowel between the element *š* and the first root consonant (i.e., 3ms **yašəkéšór* > *yaškéšór*). This is supported by the fact that verbs whose first root consonant is *b* or *m* show intervocalic loss in the imperfect (e.g., *yašérók* ‘he is made to kneel’ < **yašəbérók*; see § 7.4.5), and by the appearance of a full vowel in this position among I-n/l/r verbs (§ 7.4.6).

There is one Ši-Stem internal passive listed in *JL* (s.v. ‘sr), namely *ša’sír*, passive of *ša’sér* ‘love’. The internal passive seems to be a very marginal form in stems other than the G-Stem. See further in § 7.1.7.

³⁶ The forms of the conditional are uncertain.

³⁷ *JL* (p. xxv) has the equivalent of 2fp and 3fp subjunctive *təšókšərən*, but my informants (using the verb *šəšfək* ‘marry’) used the equivalent of *təšékšərən*. The forms in *JL* are suspect.

6.4.2 *Ši-Stem Meaning*

As mentioned in § 6.4, Johnstone refers to the Š-Stems as causative-reflexive verbs. This designation really only applies to a minority of Ši-Stems. Among the examples in the texts of reflexive Ši-Stem verbs with a corresponding H-Stem or D/L-Stem causative are:

- šabdéd* ‘separate oneself from’ (cf. D/L~H *ēbdéd* ‘separate (trans.)’)
šfaké ‘cover o.s. up’ (cf. H *faké* ‘cover’)
šhalé ‘catch (an illness)’ (cf. H *hlé* ‘communicate an illness’)
šarbá ‘climb (EJ); cross (CJ)’ (cf. H *erbá* ‘lift, pull up (EJ); guide, drive (CJ)’; see the comment to text 4:9)
šxanít ‘go out of, exit, leave’ (cf. H *xnít* ‘take out; take off’)

There are some verbs that might be called causative-passive, since they can be seen as the passive of a corresponding causative (H-Stem) verb. Such are:

- šamlék* ‘be given legal possession of a woman in marriage’ (cf. H *emlék* ‘give s.o. legal possession of a woman in marriage’; Arabic Ct *istamlaka* ‘take possession’)
šanfá ‘be cured’ (cf. H *enfá* ‘cure’)
šarhín ‘take a deposit/guarantee’ (cf. H *erhín* ‘pawn; leave s.t. as a deposit/guarantee’; Arabic Gt *irtahana* and Ct *istarhana* ‘take as a deposit/guarantee’)
šəšfé ‘find out news’ (cf. H *əšfé* ‘give news’)
šəthér ‘get hurt, be wounded’ (cf. H *thér* ‘hurt, wound’)
šəbté ‘be hit, wounded’ (cf. H *əbté* ‘hit, wound’)
šəxtín ‘be/get circumcised’ (cf. G *xtun* ‘circumcise’, H *xtín* ‘have a child circumcised’; Arabic Gt *ixtatana* ‘be circumcised’)
šəzhé ‘be elated’ (cf. H *əzhé* ‘make s.o. feel excited, happy’, G *zéhé* ‘be(come) excited, happy’)

Some others are reflexives or passives of a corresponding G-Stem, including:

- šədhéf* ‘be slapped’ (cf. G *dəhef* ‘slap’; also H *edhéf* ‘slap’)
šəhagé ‘make one’s stand; be surrounded with no way out’ (cf. G *hágé* ‘surround’)
šəkání ‘be raised, brought up’ (cf. G *kéní* ‘raise, bring up (a child)’)
šəkəré ‘hide oneself’ (cf. G *kéré* ‘hide (trans.); hide oneself’)
šəkəžé ‘be compensated’ (cf. G *kéžé* ‘compensate; pay blood-money’)

A few Š1-Stems have an estimative meaning ('think s.o./s.t. is X'), for example:

- šā'žé 'think s.o. is late, worry about' (cf. G 'ázé and D/L é'ózi 'come late')
- šābdé 'think s.o. is lying' (cf. G bédé 'lie, tell a lie')
- škasél 'think s.o. is lazy' (cf. G ksəl 'be too tired, be lazy')
- škātér 'think s.t. is a lot' (cf. Gb kētər 'be abundant', H ktér 'say/give more'; Arabic Ct *istaktara* 'think s.t. is too much')

However, many or most Š1-Stems can only be categorized as lexical, or at least have no predictable or regular derivational relationship with another verbal stem. Examples are:

- šéhél 'deserve' (cf. Arabic Ct *ista'hala* 'deserve')
- šün 'believe, trust; obey, listen to' (cf. D/L ün 'trust in, believe in'; Arabic Gt *i'tamana* 'trust')³⁸
- šénís 'dare'
- šāđer 'excuse o.s.; refuse a favor' (cf. G 'ađer 'excuse, excuse o.s.'; Arabic Gt *i'taðara* 'excuse o.s.')
- šā'sér 'love' (cf. T1 óssər 'love o.a.'; Dhofari Arabic Ct *ista'sar* 'love')
- šadhék 'look in on; look down on'
- šháké 'make s.o. do s.t. in one's stead; get tired' (see the comment to text 97:14)
- šhabél 'understand (words, language)' (probably cf. Arabic C 'ahāla, which can have the secondary meaning 'convert, translate')
- škalél 'catch (in one's hands)' (cf. H klél 'catch (s.t. dropping)')
- šaktéb 'have s.o. write (a charm)' (cf. Arabic Ct *istaktaba* 'have s.o. write s.t.')
- šakšér 'run out of' (cf. G kəšór 'fall short; give short measure')
- šāžké (or šālké) 'lie down'
- šāmdéd 'take s.t. from s.o.' (cf. Mehri H *həmdūd* 'give'; Arabic Ct *istamadda* 'take')
- šāmréz 'fall ill, be ill' (cf. G *míraz* 'be ill', but H *emréz* 'nurse, look after')³⁹
- šāndér 'make a vow' (= H *ēndér* 'vow?')
- šānhér 'complain'

³⁸ On the possible H-Stem *émín*, from this same root, see the comment to text 60:37.

³⁹ In keeping with the comment in § 6.4 about similarities in the developments of the Jibbali Š-Stems and Arabic Ct-Stem (Form X), we can compare here Gulf Arabic *istamrađ* 'fall ill' (Holes 2005: 118).

- šənséb* ‘drink all of s.t.’ (cf. D/L *ənúsəb* and H *ənséb* ‘drink up, finish off (a drink)’)
šənté ‘ask for a woman’s hand in marriage’ (cf. H *ənté* ‘give s.o. a woman’s hand in marriage’)
šəšfék ‘get married, marry s.o.’ (cf. G *šfək* ‘get married’, H *əšfék* ‘marry (a man to one’s daughter)’)⁴⁰
šéf ‘sleep’ (see § 7.4.16)
šxəbír (or *šxabír*) ‘ask’ (cf. Arabic tD *taxabbara* and Ct *istaxbara* ‘inquire’)

It should be noted that 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. A Ct-Stem (Form X, *istaf‘ala*) is the most common Arabic counterpart, but correspondence with other stems is also possible. For example, from the above lists, *šīn*, *šaḏér*, and *šəxtīn* correspond to Arabic Gt-Stems (Form VIII, *ifta‘ala*); *šəktéb*, *šəmdéd*, and *šəmlék* correspond to Arabic Ct-Stems; and *šxəbír* corresponds to both a tD-Stem (Form V, *tafa‘ala*) and a Ct-Stem.

6.4.3 Š2-Stem Form

As noted in § 6.4, the basic pattern of the Š2-Stem in the 3ms perfect is *šəCéCəC*, and, like the D/L- and T2-Stems, is characterized by a suffixed *-ən* on all imperfect forms. Following is the full paradigm of a strong verb in the Š2-Stem (*šəkəšər* ‘run out of s.t.’):

| | Perfect | Imperfect | Subjunctive | Conditional ⁴¹ |
|-----|------------------|-------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| 1cs | <i>šəkəšərək</i> | <i>əškəšərən</i> | <i>l-əškəšər</i> | <i>l-əškíšərən</i> |
| 2ms | <i>šəkəšərək</i> | <i>təškəšərən</i> | <i>təškəšər</i> | <i>təškíšərən</i> |
| 2fs | <i>šəkəšərs</i> | <i>təškíšərən</i> | <i>təškíšər</i> | <i>təškíšərən</i> |
| 3ms | <i>šəkəšər</i> | <i>yəškəšərən</i> | <i>yəškəšər</i> | <i>yəškíšərən</i> |
| 3fs | <i>šəkíširət</i> | <i>təškəšərən</i> | <i>təškəšər</i> | <i>təškíšərən</i> |

⁴⁰ The G- and Š1-Stems of this root seem to have a slight difference in use. In Mehri, the anomalous verb *šfūk* (< *šəšfūk) is used only with a female subject. The attestations of *šəšfék* in the Jibbali texts are all put in the mouths of women; cf. the forms in 17:18, 46:2, 46:6, and SB2:3, all with female subjects. However, in SB2:4, we find the 1cp perfect *šəšfékən*, spoken by a woman, but with a plural subject. It is unclear if the verb can be used with a masculine singular subject, but the evidence suggests not. The G-Stem *šfək* can be used with both ms and fs subjects (cf. 6:1; 60:33), but it is unclear if it can be used with plural subjects.

⁴¹ The forms of the conditional are uncertain.

| | | | | |
|-----|-------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| 1cd | <i>šakéšərši</i> | <i>aškéšeró</i> ⁴² | <i>l-aškíširó</i> | <i>l-aškíšarún</i> |
| 2cd | <i>šakéšərši</i> | <i>təškéšeró</i> | <i>təškíširó</i> | <i>təškíšarún</i> |
| 3md | <i>šəkóšəró</i> | <i>yaškéšeró</i> | <i>yaškíširó</i> | <i>yaškíšarún</i> |
| 3fd | <i>šəkóšərtó</i> | <i>təškéšeró</i> | <i>təškíširó</i> | <i>təškíšarún</i> |
| 1cp | <i>šakéšərən</i> | <i>nəškóšərən</i> | <i>nəškéšər</i> | <i>nəškóšərən</i> |
| 2mp | <i>šakéšərkum</i> | <i>təškóšərən</i> | <i>təškóšər</i> | <i>təškóšərən</i> |
| 2fp | <i>šakéšərkən</i> | <i>təškóšərən</i> | <i>təškéšərən</i> | <i>təškóšərən</i> |
| 3mp | <i>šakéšər</i> | <i>yaškóšərən</i> | <i>yaškóšər</i> | <i>yaškóšərən</i> |
| 3fp | <i>šakéšər</i> | <i>təškóšərən</i> | <i>təškéšərən</i> | <i>təškóšərən</i> |

Imperative: ms *šakéšər*, fs *šakíšər*, mp *šəkóšər*, fp *šakéšərən*

Similar to the Š1 imperfect (see § 6.4.1), the underlying or historical base of the Š2 imperfect is *-šəCéCəCən*, while for the subjunctive it is *-šəCéCəC*, in both cases with a vowel between the element *š* and the first root consonant (i.e., 3ms imperfect **yašəšakéšərən* > *yaškéšərən*, and 3ms subjunctive **yašəšakéšər* > *yaškéšər*). This is supported by the fact that verbs whose first root consonant is *b* or *m* show intervocalic loss in these forms (e.g., imperfect *yašēšərən* and subjunctive *yašēšər* ‘he is rewarded for good news’ < **yašəbəšərən* and **yašəbəšər*; see § 7.4.5), and by the appearance of a full vowel in this position among l-n/l/r verbs (§ 7.4.6).

6.4.4 Š2-Stem Meaning

Verbs of the Š2 pattern often have an implication of reciprocity. That is not to say that these are always reciprocal verbs. For example, *šeniḥ* ‘fight’ and *šerēg* ‘consult’ can have a singular subject and a direct object. However, the actions referred to (fighting and consulting) are reciprocal in nature, as they involve two parties. Likewise, *šelēd* 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 ‘fight with one another’, ‘shoot at one another’, etc. Some Š2-Stems are true reciprocals (and thus are not used in the singular), but this kind of explicit reciprocity is more often indicated by a T-Stem (see below, § 6.5), like the T2-Stems *əntōḥ* ‘fight o.a.’ and *ərtēg* ‘consult with o.a.’. Attested Š2 verbs with true or implied reciprocity are:

⁴² The dual forms of the imperfect and subjunctive are uncertain.

šahérās ‘argue with s.o.; tell s.o. off’ (see the comment to text 53:4)
šehēḵ ‘answer a call’ (cf. *heḵ* ‘call’)
šelēd ‘shoot back at’ (cf. G *lōd* ‘shoot’)
šenīh ‘fight with’ (cf. T2 *antōh* ‘fight o.a.’)⁴³
šerēg ‘consult, ask for approval’ (cf. H *arbég* ‘consult’, T1 *rótég* ‘consult o.a.’, T2 *artēg* ‘consult with o.a.; conspire with o.a.’)⁴⁴
šā’ēd ‘arrange a meeting; promise’ (cf. *mō’ōd* ‘appointment’)
šēd ‘divide up tasks among o.a.’ (cf. D/L ~ H *ēbdéd* ‘assign tasks’)
šxētār ‘bet o.a.’ (cf. H *axtēr* ‘dare s.o. to do s.t.’)

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

šēgār ‘rent, hire’ (cf. Arabic Ct *ista’jara* ‘rent, hire’)
šāšēd ‘fish’ (cf. T2 *aštēd* ‘fish’, *šod* ‘fish (noun)’)
šēšet ‘listen carefully’ (cf. H *ešbét* ‘listen carefully’, *šabt* ‘voice’)

As already mentioned, and as is clear from the above lists of Š1- and Š2-Stems, Š2 verbs are far less common than Š1 verbs. Just about nine different Š2-Stems appear in Johnstone’s texts, and none are common verbs.

6.5 T-Stems

Jibbali has two derived verbal stems that are characterized by an infix *t*, which is inserted between the first and second root consonants. Both T-Stems occur fairly frequently. The one which we will call T1 has the basic pattern *CtCāC* in the 3ms perfect. The other stem, which we will call T2, has the basic pattern *aCtāCēC* or *aCteCēC* in the 3ms perfect. The T2-Stem, like the D/L- and Š2-Stems, is characterized by a suffixed *-an* on all imperfect forms. Johnstone refers to both of the T-Stems as reflexives (*JL*, p. xvii; *AAL*, p. 13), but this designation is not very accurate, as will be seen below. T-Stems can be reflexives, reciprocals, or passives, and a number of T-Stem verbs are without a clear derivational meaning.

6.5.1 T1-Stem Form

The T1-Stem is characterized by an infix *t*, which is inserted between the first and second root consonants. It is distinguished from the T2-Stem by its

⁴³ Compare the use of this verb with a singular subject and direct object in 24:4 with the use of the T2-Stem reciprocal *antōh* in 15:9.

⁴⁴ Compare the use of this verb with a singular subject and direct object in 7:2 and 28:7 with the use of the T2-Stem reciprocal *artēg* in 50:5.

vocalic patterns, and by the lack of the suffix *-ən* in the imperfect forms (save the 2fp and 3fp). The base pattern of the strong verb in the perfect is *CótCəC*. In the imperfect, the base is normally *yəCtəCótC*, but if the second root consonant is voiceless and non-glottalic, then it is *yəCtəCótC* (e.g., *yəftékór* ‘he becomes poor’, but *yəmtaxólk* ‘it is pulled out’ and *yəštəfór* ‘it is pricked’). Following is the full paradigm of a strong verb in the T1-Stem (*fótəkər* ‘become poor’):

| | Perfect | Imperfect | Subjunctive | Conditional ⁴⁵ |
|-----|---------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|---------------------------|
| 1cs | <i>fótəkər</i> | <i>əftékór</i> | <i>l-əftékər</i> | <i>l-əftíkərən</i> |
| 2ms | <i>fótəkər</i> | <i>təftékór</i> | <i>təftékər</i> | <i>təftíkərən</i> |
| 2fs | <i>fótəkərš</i> | <i>təftíkír</i> | <i>təftíkər</i> | <i>təftíkərən</i> |
| 3ms | <i>fótəkər</i> | <i>yəftékór</i> | <i>yəftékər</i> | <i>yəftíkərən</i> |
| 3fs | <i>fətəkərót/ fótəkərót</i> | <i>təftékór</i> | <i>təftékər</i> | <i>təftíkərən</i> |
| 1cd | <i>fótəkərši</i> | <i>əftəkəró</i> | <i>l-əftəkəró</i> | <i>l-əftíkərən</i> |
| 2cd | <i>fótəkərši</i> | <i>təftəkəró</i> | <i>təftəkəró</i> | <i>təftíkərən</i> |
| 3md | <i>fətəkíró</i> | <i>yəftəkəró</i> | <i>yəftəkəró</i> | <i>yəftíkərən</i> |
| 3fd | <i>fətəkírót</i> | <i>təftəkəró</i> | <i>təftəkəró</i> | <i>təftíkərən</i> |
| 1cp | <i>fótəkərən</i> | <i>nəftékór</i> | <i>nəftékər</i> | <i>nəftíkərən</i> |
| 2mp | <i>fótəkərəkum</i> | <i>təftékér</i> | <i>təftékər</i> | <i>təftíkərən</i> |
| 2fp | <i>fótəkərəkən</i> | <i>təftékórən</i> | <i>təftékərən</i> | <i>təftíkərən</i> |
| 3mp | <i>fótəkər</i> | <i>yəftékér</i> | <i>yəftékər</i> | <i>yəftíkərən</i> |
| 3fp | <i>fótəkər</i> | <i>təftékórən</i> | <i>təftékərən</i> | <i>təftíkərən</i> |

Imperative: ms *əftékər*, fs *əftíkər*, mp *əftékər*, fp *əftékərən*

In Omani Mehri, when the second root consonant is *s*, *š*, *ś*, *ṣ*, *d*, *ḏ*, *ḑ*, *z*, or *ž*, then the *t* of the T1-Stem assimilates to this consonant in the perfect, for example *nattəb* ‘drop’ < **nattəb*, *fažžəh* ‘be embarrassed’ < **fatžžəh*. The only two such verbs in Johnstone’s Jibbali texts, *kóttə* ‘be cut’ (13:20) and *mússi* ‘melt’ (35:9), also exhibit this assimilation, though these verbs are listed in *JL* as *kóttə* and *mútsi*, respectively. The assimilation in Jibbali seems

⁴⁵ The dual and plural forms of the conditional are uncertain. The one T1-Stem 3mp conditional I heard from an informant, *yəgtərən* ‘they would have met’ (< **yəgtəbərən*, from the verb *gótbar*) suggests that the plural looks like the singular, like the T1 subjunctive and T2 conditional. The paradigm in *JL* (p. xxiii), however, has the vowel *ó* in place of *í* in the dual and plural conditional forms.

to take place only in EJ.⁴⁶ One common verb shows an irregular assimilation, namely, *šúši* 'drink' < *šútki (see further in § 6.5.2).

It is not rare to find mixing of T1- and T2-Stem forms, especially for weak verbs. For example, as can be seen in the comments to 3:13 and 57:15, there are a number of verbs with T1-Stem perfects and T2-Stem imperfects. See further in § 6.5.4.

6.5.2 T1-Stem Meaning

A number of T1-Stem verbs are reciprocals, and as such they are conjugated only for the dual and plural. Such are:

- bóttad* 'part from o.a.' (cf. G *bed* 'separate (intrans.)', D/L ~ H *ebdéd* 'separate (trans.)')
- gótlas* 'argue with o.a.' (cf. G *gólás* 'argue, nag')
- gótbær* 'meet o.a., come together' (cf. G *gōr* 'meet s.o.')
- gótrab* 'know/recognize o.a.' (cf. G *járób* 'know')
- hótrab* 'fight o.a.' (= T2 *əhtéreb*; cf. D/L *horb* 'fight with'; Arabic tL *taḥāraba* and Gt *iḥtaraba* 'be at war with one another')
- kótlāt* 'chat with o.a., talk to o.a.' (cf. G *kólát* 'tell')
- lóttağ* 'kill o.a.' (cf. G *létağ* 'kill')⁴⁷
- nútbah* 'bark at o.a.' (cf. G *nīh* 'bark')
- sótbət* 'fight, hit o.a.' (cf. G *sōt* 'hit, beat')
- šót'an* 'stab o.a.' (cf. G *š(a)án* 'stab')

Others can be loosely classified as passives, intransitives, or reflexives, most often with a corresponding G-Stem:

- šóttar* 'back down, back off' (< lit. 'be repelled'; cf. G *er* 'stop from going; dam')
- fótkəh* 'be halved, break in half (intrans.)' (cf. G *fékəh* and D/L *fókəh* 'cut in half', H *fəkəh* 'break in half (trans.)')
- ğótéð* 'be (come) angry' (cf. D/L ~ H *ağyéð* or *ağbéð* 'anger')
- hótrəf* 'move, move away' (cf. G *haróf* 'move, remove')
- ķótlab* 'turn into (intrans.), change form; be overturned' (cf. G *ķóləb* 'turn, return; overturn (trans.)')

⁴⁶ In *JL* (s.v. *fšk*), Johnstone lists the T1-Stem *fótsək*, noting the EJ form *fössək*. A CJ informant agreed that *mútsi*, not *mússi*, was the correct form.

⁴⁷ Note that text 3:19 uses both *lóttağ* 'they killed o.a.' and *létağ tattóhum* to express 'they killed one another', merely showing two ways of expressing a reciprocal. On the reciprocal pronoun, see § 3.7.

kóttā‘ (or *kóttā*‘) ‘be cut, be cut off; (a contract) be breached’ (cf. G *kéta*‘ cut, cut off; breach (a contract)’; Arabic tD *taqatṭa’a* ‘be cut off’)
múṭhan ‘be in trouble, be disturbed’ (cf. G *m(a)hán* ‘give s.o. bad news; disturb s.o.’)
mútsi (or *mússi*) ‘melt, dissolve (intrans.)’
nútbəh ‘watch out, pay attention’ (cf. H *enbáh* ‘warn’)
nútgah ‘hurry up’ (cf. D/L *enúgah* ‘do quickly’)
šótfər ‘come over one (like goose-bumps); be pricked’ (cf. G *šfor* ‘puncture’; see the comment to text 40:4)
ótəð ‘wake up (intrans.), awaken’ (cf. D/L *ōkəð* ‘wake up (trans.)’)
xótlək ‘take shape, appear; assume a shape’ (cf. G *xalók* ‘create’)
xóttəl ‘be sick (in the mind)’ (< lit. ‘be penetrated’; cf. G *xel* ‘penetrate; be penetrated’)

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

bóttər ‘look down, look out’
hótéğ ‘need’ (cf. *hógət* ‘thing; need’; Arabic Gt *ihtāja* ‘need’)
mútrək ‘pull out, take out (e.g., a dagger from its sheath)’
móté ‘have free time, not be busy’
mútxək ‘pull out hard (a sword, dagger)’ (see the comment to text 25:13)
rútki ‘read’
sótém ‘buy’ (cf. G *sēm* ‘sell’)
sóték ‘miss, long for’ (= T2 *əstēk*; cf. Arabic tD *tašawwaqa* and Gt *ištāqa* ‘long for’; see the comment to text 60:19)
šúši ‘drink’ (cf. G *šéké* ‘give a drink; irrigate’)

One T1 verb from the above list requires special attention. This is the verb *šúši* ‘drink’, which is anomalous. The form *šúši* must derive from **šútki*, but the sound change is irregular; interestingly, *JL* lists another T1-Stem *šútki* ‘be irrigated’ with a regular perfect. So *šúši* is the older T1-Stem, but once it became irregular, it allowed for the creation of a new T1-Stem to be a passive of the G-Stem *šéké* ‘irrigate’.

Finally, note that when there is an Arabic counterpart to a T1-Stem, it is usually a tD-Stem (Form V, *tafa*‘*ala*) or Gt-Stem (Form VIII, *ifta*‘*ala*).

6.5.3 T2-Stem Form

Like the T1-Stem, the T2-Stem is characterized by an infix *t* following the first radical consonant. However, whereas the infix is adjacent to the second radical in the T1-Stem perfect, and is subject to regressive assimilation

among some speakers, it is adjacent to the first radical in the T₂-Stem perfect, and is never subject to assimilation. For example, while the infix *t* can (for some speakers) assimilate to the following *s* in the T₁ perfect *mússi* ‘it melted, dissolved’ (< *mútsi*), it does not assimilate to the preceding *s* in the T₂ perfect *əstəhél* ‘he had good luck’.

There are two basic conjugations of the strong verb; as in the G-Stem perfect and T₁-Stem imperfect, this is connected to the quality of the root consonants. If the second root consonant is voiceless and non-glottalic, then the 3ms perfect has the pattern *əCtəCéC*. If not, then the pattern is *əCtéCéC*. This distinction also affects the imperfect and subjunctive forms, and so we find 3ms imperfect *yəCtəCéCən* or *yəCtéCéCən*, and 3ms subjunctive *yəCtəCóC* or *yəCtéCóC*. Following are the full paradigms of two strong verbs in the T₂-Stem (*əftakér* ‘wonder about, consider’ and *əftérég* ‘watch’):

| | Perfect | Imperfect | Subjunctive | Conditional |
|-----|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1cs | <i>əftakórk</i> | <i>əftakérən</i> | <i>l-əftakór</i> | <i>l-əftakírən</i> |
| 2ms | <i>əftakórk</i> | <i>taftakérən</i> | <i>taftakór</i> | <i>taftakírən</i> |
| 2fs | <i>əftakórš</i> | <i>taftakírən</i> | <i>taftakér</i> | <i>taftakírən</i> |
| 3ms | <i>əftakér</i> | <i>yəftakérən</i> | <i>yəftakór</i> | <i>yəftakírən</i> |
| 3fs | <i>əftakírót/ əftakórót</i> | <i>taftakérən</i> | <i>taftakór</i> | <i>taftakírən</i> |
| 1cd | <i>əftakórši</i> | <i>əftakeró</i> | <i>l-əftakeró</i> | <i>l-əftakráyən</i> ⁴⁸ |
| 2cd | <i>əftakórši</i> | <i>taftakeró</i> | <i>taftakeró</i> | <i>taftakráyən</i> |
| 3md | <i>əftókró</i> | <i>yəftakeró</i> | <i>yəftakeró</i> | <i>yəftakráyən</i> |
| 3fd | <i>əftókrátó</i> | <i>taftakeró</i> | <i>taftakeró</i> | <i>taftakráyən</i> |
| 1cp | <i>əftakórən</i> | <i>naftakórən</i> | <i>naftakór</i> | <i>naftakírən</i> |
| 2mp | <i>əftakórkum</i> | <i>taftakórən</i> ⁴⁹ | <i>taftakér</i> | <i>taftakírən</i> |
| 2fp | <i>əftakórkən</i> | <i>taftakórən</i> | <i>taftakórən</i> | <i>taftakírən</i> |
| 3mp | <i>əftakér</i> | <i>yəftakórən</i> | <i>yəftakér</i> | <i>yəftakírən</i> |
| 3fp | <i>əftakér</i> | <i>taftakórən</i> | <i>taftakórən</i> | <i>taftakírən</i> |

Imperative: ms *əftakór*, fs *əftakír*, mp *əftakér*, fp *əftakórən*

⁴⁸ The dual forms of the conditional are uncertain.

⁴⁹ The forms of the 2p and 3p imperfect may show some variation. For example, *JL* (p. xxiii) lists 3mp imperfect *yəftókarən*, but none of my informants used this form.

| | Perfect | Imperfect | Subjunctive | Conditional |
|-----|--------------------------------|--------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1cs | <i>əftérɔ́g(ə)k</i> | <i>əftéregən</i> | <i>l-əftérɔ́g</i> | <i>l-əftérigən</i> |
| 2ms | <i>əftérɔ́g(ə)k</i> | <i>taftéregən</i> | <i>taftérɔ́g</i> | <i>taftérigən</i> |
| 2fs | <i>əftérɔ́g(ə)š</i> | <i>taftírígən</i> | <i>taftíríg</i> | <i>taftérigən</i> |
| 3ms | <i>əftéreg</i> | <i>yəftéregən</i> | <i>yəftérɔ́g</i> | <i>yəftérigən</i> |
| 3fs | <i>əftergót/ əftɔ́rgót</i> | <i>taftéregən</i> | <i>taftérɔ́g</i> | <i>taftérigən</i> |
| 1cd | <i>əftérɔ́gšì</i> | <i>əftéregó</i> | <i>l-əftéregó</i> | <i>l-əftérgáyən⁵⁰</i> |
| 2cd | <i>əftérɔ́gšì</i> | <i>taftéregó</i> | <i>taftéregó</i> | <i>taftérgáyən</i> |
| 3md | <i>əftɔ́rgó</i> | <i>yəftéregó</i> | <i>yəftéregó</i> | <i>yəftérgáyən</i> |
| 3fd | <i>əftɔ́rgətó</i> | <i>taftéregó</i> | <i>taftéregó</i> | <i>taftérgáyən</i> |
| 1cp | <i>əftérɔ́gən</i> | <i>naftérɔ́gən</i> | <i>naftérɔ́g</i> | <i>naftérigən</i> |
| 2mp | <i>əftérɔ́gkum</i> | <i>taftérɔ́gən</i> | <i>taftéreg</i> | <i>taftérigən</i> |
| 2fp | <i>əftérɔ́gkən</i> | <i>taftérɔ́gən</i> | <i>taftérɔ́gən</i> | <i>taftérigən</i> |
| 3mp | <i>əftéreg</i> | <i>yəftérɔ́gən</i> | <i>yəftéreg</i> | <i>yəftérigən</i> |
| 3fp | <i>əftéreg</i> | <i>taftérɔ́gən</i> | <i>taftérɔ́gən</i> | <i>taftérigən</i> |

Imperative: ms *əftérɔ́g*, fs *əftíríg*, mp *əftéreg*, fp *əftérɔ́gən*

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. If there is a clear relationship, the T₂ is usually a passive of the D/L, less often a reflexive. Many T₂-Stems are borrowings from the Arabic tD-Stem (Form V, *tafa'ala*) or tL-Stem (Form VI, *tafā'ala*), which have a similar relationship with the Arabic D- and L-Stems. Examples of T₂ verbs that are passives, statives, or reflexives of a D/L-Stem are:

a'télím 'learn, study' (cf. D/L *é'úlm* 'teach'; Arabic D *'allama* 'teach', tD *ta'allama* 'learn')

a'tóse 'have dinner' (cf. D/L *é'ósi* 'give dinner'; Arabic D *aššā* 'give dinner', tD *ta'aššā* 'have dinner')

əbtérék 'be blessed' (cf. D/L *ōrək* 'bless'; Arabic tD *tabarraka* and tL *tabāraka* 'be blessed')

əftéréž 'be very happy, be excited' (cf. D/L *fórəž* 'please, make happy')

əftaxér 'be proud' (cf. D/L *fóxər* 'make proud')

⁵⁰ The dual forms of the conditional are uncertain.

- ahtédér* ‘be careful, be wary’ (cf. D/L *hóðar* ‘warn’; Arabic D *ḥaððara* ‘warn’ and tD *taḥaððara* ‘be wary’)
ahtéléb ‘be worried, be upset’ (cf. D/L *εκólb* ‘upset s.o.’)
astahél ‘have good luck, find s.t. easy’ (cf. D/L *sóhal* ‘facilitate’; Arabic D *sahhala* ‘facilitate’, tD *tasahhala* ‘be easy’)
abtélím ‘ready oneself for action, prepare oneself’ (cf. D/L *ólám* ‘prepare’)
axtésés ‘get one’s comeuppance, get one’s due’ (cf. D/L *axsés*)⁵¹
asztahéb ‘make oneself up’ (cf. D/L *εζóháb* and H *εzhéb* ‘make up, dress up a woman’)

Some T2-Stems are reciprocals, again often with a corresponding D/L verb, for example:

- ahtóde* ‘divide up amongst one another’ (cf. D/L *hódi* ‘divide, share out’)
ahtéréb ‘fight with o.a.’ (= T1 *hótráb*; cf. D/L *horb* ‘fight with’; Arabic tL *tahāra* and Gt *ihtaraba* ‘be at war with one another’)
antóh ‘fight with o.a.’ (cf. Šz *šenih* ‘fight with’)⁵²
artég ‘consult with o.a., conspire with o.a., make a plan (as a group)’

Many other T2-Stems must be considered lexical, or at least the derivational relationship with another stem (or stems) is unclear. Such are:

- a’tín* ‘spy on, inform on’ (cf. D/L *a’yín* ‘keep an eye on’; Arabic L *āyana* ‘inspect, examine’, tD *ta’ayyana* ‘see’)
a’tékéd ‘believe’ (cf. Arabic Gt *i’taqada* ‘believe firmly’)
abtēr ‘fish; hunt’
abtóza ‘make purchases, buy goods’ (cf. Arabic tD *tabaḍḍa’a* ‘shop, purchase’)
aðtél ‘protect’
aftakér ‘wonder about, consider’ (cf. D/L *fókar* ‘think’, T1 *fótkar* ‘think, remember’; Arabic tD *tafakkara* ‘wonder about, consider’)
aftérég ‘watch, be a spectator’ (cf. Arabic tD *tafarraja* ‘watch’)
aftétín ‘try to remember’ (= T1 *fóttan*; cf. G *fétan* ‘remember’, D/L *fótan* and H *ftín* ‘remind’)
agtóse ‘faint, pass out’ (see the comment to text 39:5)

⁵¹ *JL* (s.v. *xss*) only lists the perfect *axsés*, which could either be a D/L-Stem or an H-Stem. I am assuming it is a D/L-Stem only because of the meaning of the T2-Stem. In any case, the D/L-Stems and H-Stems of geminate verbs are often mixed up. There is also listed in *JL* a T1-Stem *xóttas*, which has a meaning very close, if not identical, to the T2-Stem.

⁵² On the shape of this verb in the perfect, see §7.4.8. See also n. 53.

amtósəḥ ‘perform ritual ablutions’ (cf. G *mésəḥ* ‘wipe’; Arabic G *masaḥa* and D *massaḥa* ‘wipe, rub, anoint’)

artīn ‘wait, stay’

astī (or *astūi*) ‘shout one’s tribal war-cry’ (see the comment to text 25:4)

astēd ‘be blackened; be disgraced’ (cf. D/L *sōd* ‘blacken; curse’)

əštēd ‘fish, hunt’ (cf. Š2 *šəšēd* ‘fish’, *šod* ‘fish (noun)’; Arabic tD *tašayyada* ‘hunt, catch’)⁵³

əštī^c ‘listen to’ (cf. G *šī^c* ‘hear’; Arabic tD *tasamma’a* and Gt *istama’a* ‘listen to’)

əbtəkəl ‘rely on, trust’ (cf. D/L *ōkəl* ‘entrust, give authority to’; Arabic D *wakkala* ‘entrust’ and tD *tawakkala* ‘rely on, trust’)

əxtéléf ‘disappoint, let s.o. down’ (T1 *xótləf* can also have this meaning)

As can be seen in the lists of T1- and T2-Stems, a number of roots occur in both stems, with apparently the same or very similar meanings. Such are:

T1 *fóttən* ~ T2 *əftétín* ‘try to remember’

T1 *ḥótrəb* ~ T2 *əhtéréb* ‘fight with o.a.’ (cf. Arabic tL and Gt)

T1 *sóthəl* ~ T2 *əstəhél* ‘have good luck, find s.t. easy’ (cf. Arabic tD)

T1 *xóttəš* ~ T2 *əxtésés* ‘get one’s comeuppance, get one’s due’

T1 *xótləf* ~ T2 *əxtéléf* ‘disappoint s.o., let s.o. down’

Of course, it is possible that we are misled by the brief definitions given in *JL* or by 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, we can explain the identical meanings of the two stems in one of two ways, with each explanation probably holding true for some verbs. The first explanation has to do with the fact that many T-Stem verbs are 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 Jibbali T1-Stems, and some that correspond to Jibbali T2-Stems. In some cases, a verb was probably borrowed into both stems. In the case of *ḥótrəb* ~ *əhtéréb*, we see

⁵³ *JL* and *ML* (s.v. *syd*) list the 3ms perfect *əštəd*, but we expect *əštēd* (*əštəd* is the ms imperative). Nakano (1986: 54) lists the expected *əštēd* (and imperative *əštəd*). (Anyway, *šəšēd* and *əbtēr* are more common verbs for ‘fish’.) A similarly unexpected form is found in *JL* (s.v. *nws*) for the verb *əntōš* ‘wrestle with o.a.’. In the latter case, the vowel *ō*, if correct, can be explained as analogical with the verb *əntōḥ* (where the vowel *ō* is expected because of the final guttural; see §7.4.8); or perhaps it has something to do with the fact that the verb is used only in the plural (and so is analogical to the 3mp imperfect *yəCtōCəC*).

that already in Arabic this verb appears either in the tL- or Gt-Stems with identical meaning. The second explanation is that many of the forms for T1- and T2-Stem verbs look very similar, especially for the subjunctives of weak verbs. Given this similarity, and the already easily confused forms, the result has been heavy overlap in the semantic function of the two T-Stems. As mentioned already in § 6.5.2, it is not rare to find mixing of the two stems, e.g., a T1-Stem perfect with a T2-Stem imperfect.

6.6 *Quadrilaterals*

Quadrilateral verbs are relatively rare in Jibbali, at least in the texts, with the exception of the verb *aġsərə* ‘spend the night’. There are three basic kinds of quadrilaterals, distinguished by their root type, which I will collectively call Q-Stems. There is also a derived N-Stem for quadrilateral roots. These will be discussed in turn below.

6.6.1 *Basic Quadrilaterals (Q-Stems)*

I refer to quadrilateral verbs collectively as Q-Stems. There are two primary characteristic patterns for the 3ms perfect of the strong verb: $(\varepsilon)C_1\partial C_2C_3\acute{e}C_4$ (true quadrilaterals) and $(\varepsilon)C_1\partial C_2C_1\acute{e}C_2$ (reduplicated biliterals). A third type will be discussed below. The prefixed ε - of these Q-Stems is the same prefix that is found in the H-Stem, and is present in the same environments, namely when the initial root consonant is voiced or glottalic. The conjugation of the Q-Stem is very similar to that of the H-Stem. Compare the following forms:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subj. |
|-----------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| H-Stem | <i>erḵéd</i> | <i>yərəḵód</i> | <i>yérḵəd</i> |
| Q-Stem (true) | <i>εḵerféd</i> | <i>yəḵérfód</i> | <i>yəḵérfəd</i> |
| H-Stem (gemin.) | <i>εglél</i> | <i>yəglél</i> | <i>yéggəl</i> |
| Q-Stem (redup.) | <i>εgásgés</i> | <i>yəgásgés</i> | <i>yəgésgás</i> |

The Q-Stem verbs found in the texts are:

aʿáškér ‘gather’ *áškér* (see the comment to text Tj2:71)

εgásgés ‘summon (a spirit or animal) by sorcery’

εġalfét ‘surround’

aġsərə ‘spend the night’ (cf. *ġasré* ‘at night’)

eḵemním ‘collect fodder’⁵⁴

ērḥéb (< **emerḥéb*) ‘welcome’ (cf. Arabic Q *marḥaba* ‘welcome’, denominative from *marḥaba* ‘welcome!’)

ērḳáh (< **emerḳáh*) ‘tidy up’⁵⁵

Some others included in *JL* are:

eberbér ‘babble’ (cf. Arabic Q *barbara* ‘babble’)

edamdím ‘grope in the dark’

həbhéb ‘sing to animals’ (cf. D/L *ehbéb* ‘sing’)

həzhéz ‘shake (trans.)’ (= G *hez*)

ḥaðnín ‘stare at’

ḥaṭmím ‘chew hard on s.t.’

kerbél ‘crawl on one’s knees’

kerkím ‘dye yellow’ (cf. *kerkúm* ‘yellow dye’; Arabic *kurkum* ‘turmeric’)

kəbréd ‘drive crazy, madden’

eḵa’léd ‘roll (trans.)’

eḵelbéṭ ‘curl hair; twist; turn a corner’

eḵerbéṭ ‘tie tightly’

eḵerféd ‘turn over (trans.)’

šərxéf ‘slip s.t. secretly to s.o.’

šəzrér ‘dye/make yellow or green’ (cf. G *šəzór* ‘become green’, *šəzrór* ‘yellow’)

terđím ‘mumble, talk nonsense’

axamdín ‘put a riddle to s.o.’

All of the true quadrilaterals have a liquid (*r*, *l*) or nasal (*m*, *n*) as the second or (less often) third root consonant. The verb *eḵa’léd* ‘roll (trans.)’ is listed in *JL* under the root *kl’d*; Johnstone must have assumed that the attested *eḵa’léd* is a metathesized form (also attested as such in Mehri).

The third type of quadrilateral is characterized by reduplication of the final root consonant (i.e., a partially reduplicated trilateral root), and has the

⁵⁴ The 3ms imperfect listed in *JL* (s.v. *ḵnm/ḵmnm*) is *ikénúm*. It is not clear why the first *m* is missing, since it is not intervocalic. In Mehri the root *ḵnm* is generally trilateral (used in the T-Stems), though we also find the verb *aḵawnəm*. Based on this form alone, it is unclear if this Mehri verb is a D/L-Stem or a Q-Stem (“root” *ḵwnm*). In Soqotri, *kénom* ‘feed livestock’ is simply a trilateral G-Stem.

⁵⁵ Johnstone’s text 34 (= Mehri text 59) deals with a misunderstanding based on the two very different meanings of the cognate verb *amárḳəḥ* in Northern Mehri (‘tidy up’) and Southern Mehri (‘drink coffee’).

perfect pattern $C_1\bar{a}C_2\acute{e}C_3\acute{e}C_3$. Following are some examples, only two of which (*žəǵérér* and *ənhiéb*) are used in the texts:

ənhiéb ‘screech, grunt (used of a camel)’ (< **nəhébéb*)
ənhérér ‘purr’
ənxérér ‘snore’ (cf. G *n(a)xár* ‘snort’, *naxrér* ‘nostril’)
žəǵérér ‘scream, shriek’

Quadrilaterals of this type mainly have to do with making sounds, and all seem to contain a guttural as the second root consonant. It is unclear if these should be considered Q-Stems, whose pattern is different because they have a guttural as the second root consonant (though compare regular *əka‘léd*, above). Not all Q-Stems with final reduplicated root consonants fit this pattern, as shown by the verbs *ħaðnín* and *šəžrér*. That is to say, some verbs with reduplication of the third root consonant are treated as true quadrilaterals. In my grammar of Mehri, I treated verbs with a reduplicated final root consonant as a separate type of quadrilateral that I termed “pseudo-quadrilaterals”.⁵⁶ In Jibbali, however, at least some verbs of this type pattern with Q-Stems, while others (with a guttural as a second root consonant) may or may not pattern with Q-Stems. Evidence that some verbs with a reduplicated final root consonant may be considered a separate type of Q-Stem comes from the fact that NQ-Stem verbs of this type are distinct from other NQ-Stems.

It is also noteworthy that the Mehri “pseudo-quadrilaterals” include a number of verbs related to colors, while in Jibbali such verbs are mainly NQ-Stems (see below, § 6.6.2).

6.6.2 *N-Stem Quadrilaterals (NQ-Stems)*

A less common type of quadrilateral verb is characterized by an *n-* that precedes the root in all tenses. As in some Ethiopian Semitic languages (e.g., Ge‘ez), the Semitic N-Stem is not productive as a derivational stem in Jibbali, but is found almost exclusively with quadrilateral roots. NQ-Stems can be of two types. The first type is the NQ-Stem found with true quadrilateral roots ($C_1C_2C_3C_4$), reduplicated roots of the type $C_1C_2C_1C_2$, and some reduplicated roots of the type $C_1C_2C_3C_3$. This NQ-Stem has the basic perfect pattern $ənCaCC\acute{e}C$. The second type is discussed below. The NQ-Stem is rather rare (only one NQ-Stem, *ənkəbréd* ‘be crazy’, occurs in Johnstone’s texts [30:10]), and it often functions as a passive of the Q-Stem.

⁵⁶ Rubin (2010: 119).

Some examples of NQ-Stems of this first type, mainly taken from *JL*, are:

- ənbəlǰúm* 'get too fat'
ənfǽdféd 'have scabies, swellings' (cf. *fǽdféd* 'scabies')
ənhǽtmím 'get broken' (cf. Q *hǽtmím* 'chew hard on s.t.')
- ənkərbél* 'become a cripple' (cf. Q *kərbél* 'crawl on one's knees')
ənkəbréd 'be crazy, go crazy' (cf. Q *kəbréd* 'drive crazy, madden')
ənkǽfrér 'pout, sulk' (cf. *kǽfrér* 'lip')
ənkərbét 'be tied tightly' (cf. Q *ekərbét* 'tie tightly')
ənkərféd 'turn over (intrans.)' (cf. Q *ekərféd* 'turn over (trans.)')
- ənsərxéf* 'slip away, sneak away (intrans.)' (cf. Q *šərxéf* 'slip s.t. secretly to s.o.')
- əntərđím* 'grumble' (cf. Q *terđím* 'mumble, talk nonsense')
ənsǽfrér 'become yellow' (see below)
ənsǽhbéb 'become light brown; be plump'
ənsǽhamúm 'become dark (in complexion)' (cf. *šhamúm* 'brown, dark (complexion)')
- əntǽb'ér* 'be full of clay'
əntǽbráħ 'fall down on the ground; have swollen testicles'
ənxamlél '(tears) run down silently, well up'

Similar to Q-Stems, the non-reduplicated quadriliteral roots of NQ-Stems all have a liquid (*r*, *l*), nasal (*m*, *n*), or semi-vowel (*w*, *y*) as the second or third root consonant.

The second type of NQ-Stem is found only with roots with a reduplicated third radical (always a liquid or nasal), and has the basic pattern *ənC₁əC₂íC₃éC₃*. There are just a few of these attested, almost all of which have to do with colors. None are attested in the texts, but included in *JL* are:

- ənfírér* 'blush, become red' (cf. *šfār* 'red')
ənhürér 'become black' (cf. *ħwr* 'black', root *ħwr*).
ənlínín 'become white' (cf. *lūn* 'white', H *elbín* 'whiten')
ənsǽfírér 'have flowers, blossom' (but also NQ *ənsǽfrér* 'become yellow')
ənsǽžírér 'become green/yellow' (cf. Q *šǽžérér* 'dye/make yellow or green')
əntérér 'flow/pour slowly' (root probably *tyr*)

The fact that *ənsǽžírér* 'become green/yellow' has a corresponding causative Q-Stem *šǽžérér* 'make green/yellow' makes us wonder if some of these other NQ-Stems related to colors have corresponding Q-Stems as well, even though *JL* does not list any. The root *šfr(r)* is also curious, in that there are two NQ-Stems of this root, one in the pattern employed for color terms

(*ənṣāfirér*) that apparently is used of plants, and another in the more general NQ-Stem type (*ənṣāfrér*) that is used for the color. Again, one wonders if some of the other verbs related to colors appear in both stems.

Finally, there is some very scant evidence for what we can call a basic N-Stem, that is a stem with an *n*-prefix used with a trilateral root. The basic N-Stem is exceedingly rare, and such verbs must be considered lexical anomalies, rather than as N-Stems. The one such N-Stem attested in the texts is *ənḥérk* 'move' (33:5). This verb would be easy to account for (as an Arabism) if the root occurred in the Arabic N-Stem; it does not, however, as far as I have found.

CHAPTER SEVEN

VERBS: TENSES AND FORMS

7.1 Verbal Tenses and Moods

7.1.1 Perfect

All perfects are formed by attaching the following suffixes to the appropriate verbal base:

| | sing. | dual | plural |
|----|-------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 1c | -(ə)k | -(ə)š <i>i</i> | -ə <i>n</i> |
| 2m | -(ə)k | -(ə)š <i>i</i> | -(ə)k <i>um</i> |
| 2f | -(ə)š | | -(ə)kə <i>n</i> |
| 3m | — | - <i>ʔ</i> | — |
| 3f | - <i>ʔt</i> | - <i>tʔ</i> | — |

Notes:

- The 1cs and 2ms perfects are identical for every verb in the language.
- The 3ms, 3mp, and 3fp perfects are identical for every verb in the language. However, the 3ms is often distinct when object suffixes are added; see § 3.2.3.
- The 1cd and 2cd perfects are identical for every verb in the language, just as with the pronominal suffixes on nouns (§ 3.2.1, § 3.2.2).
- The optional ə of the 1cs and all second person suffixes is not underlying, since it does not normally cause elision of a preceding *b* or *m* (e.g., *ǰarǔbk* ‘I knew’, *zəhámk* ‘you (m.) came’, *zumš* ‘you (f.) gave’). The ə of the 1cp suffix is underlying (e.g., *zəhān* ‘we came’ < **zəhámən*; *zūn* ‘we gave’ < *zúmən*), but elision is sometimes blocked by analogy with other forms, at least with III-b verbs (e.g., *ǰarǔbən* ‘we knew’). That is to say, elision seems to be variable in the 1cp perfect.
- Unlike in Mehri, the 3fs and 3d suffixes do not have variant forms with a front vowel. However, after a nasal consonant, the suffix -*ʔt* is realized -*út* (e.g., *kunút* ‘she was’, *guzūt* ‘she swore’ < **guzumút*).

- For certain weak verb types whose 3ms form of the perfect ends in a stressed vowel (e.g., *ksé* ‘he found’, *tē* ‘he ate’, *kéré* ‘he hid’), the 3fs perfect suffix is simply *-t* (e.g., *ksét*, *tēt*, *kérét*). This is not true for verbs whose 3ms form ends in an unstressed vowel (e.g., *síni* ‘he saw’, *sínút* ‘she saw’).

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

*xaṭarét sṭrk kin sékani te éšalək dabéy, bə-žimk ‘ak ‘askerít. bə-skófk ónut
 trut* ‘I traveled from my settlement until I reached Dubai, and I
 enlisted in the police. And I stayed two years’ (13:1)
‘ōr heš, “het žəhákək len” ‘they said to him, “you tricked us”’ (22:15)
əl ġarób tɔ lɔ ‘he didn’t recognize me’ (13:12)
agád bə-ksé ‘amkás xās aḥrəf bə-hilšhum ‘he went and he found in it
 five (gold) coins, and he took them’ (97:40)
zum esférót ižirét bə-ṭxóts ‘he gave the bird to the servant-girl and she
 cooked it’ (6:9)
tum ḏə-šerókum elín ... əl šerókən tɔs lɔ ‘you are the ones who stole our
 cow ... we didn’t steal it’ (12:9)
šed l-iršōhum b-agád ‘they loaded their camels and they went’ (54:12)
a‘šéss, b-əl ‘aššót lɔ ‘they roused her, and she didn’t wake up’ (18:10)
zəhám šhalét ġigeníti sibrúti bə-kéb ‘ak egōr. bə-xanít xaṭókesən ‘three
 girl ghosts came and went down into the well. And they took off
 their clothes’ (30:4)

We also find the perfect—at least with the verb *agád* ‘go’—used as an immediate future, for example:

he agádək ‘I’m off!’ (1:14; 3:16)

The perfect also appears regularly after a variety of particles, including the conditional particles *her*, *(ə)ḏə*, and *(ə)ḏə kun* (see §13.4); the temporal conjunctions *mit*, *her*, *ed*, *hes* and *ḥaš* *ε-* (see §13.5.3); and *d-‘əd əl* ‘before’ (see §7.3). On the perfect following *məskín* ‘I hope’, see §12.5.15.

7.1.2 Imperfect

The imperfect is 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 (with, possibly, the exception of Š2- and T2-Stem duals; see below). For this reason, it is convenient to divide the set of imperfect affixes into two types. Note that the prefixes are identical for both sets. The imperfect is compli-

cated in Jibbali by the fact that the prefixes are sometimes suppressed in some verbal stems, on which more will be said below. Following are the prefixes and suffixes used for all G active, Š₁-, and T₁-Stems, and by some speakers for the H- and Q-Stems:

| | sing. | dual | plural |
|----|--------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 1c | <i>a-</i> | <i>a-...-ǰ</i> | <i>n-</i> |
| 2m | <i>t-</i> | <i>t-...-ǰ</i> | <i>t-(V)</i> |
| 2f | <i>t-(V)</i> | | <i>t-...-ən</i> |
| 3m | <i>y-</i> | <i>y-...-ǰ</i> | <i>y-(V)</i> |
| 3f | <i>t-</i> | <i>t-...-ǰ</i> | <i>t-...-ən</i> |

Notes:

- The prefixes are often followed by an epenthetic vowel *a*.
- The 3ms prefix *yə-* is sometimes realized *i-*, especially following the verbal prefix *d-/ð-* (7.1.10.1). This also seems to happen in the H-Stem, in which the prefix vowel may bear some secondary (or tertiary) stress.
- The 2ms and 3fs imperfects are identical for every verb in the language.
- The 2fp and 3fp imperfects are identical for every verb in the language.
- The prefix *t-* is sometimes lost in pronunciation before certain consonants (see § 2.1.9).
- The 2fs normally has some sort of vowel change (ablaut) in the base, in all stems. A final *-i* appears only with III-w/y and III^ʔ verbs (see § 6.1.1 and § 7.4).
- The 2mp and 3mp normally have some sort of vowel change (ablaut) in the base in the Gb-, H-, T₁-, and Š₁-Stems. In the Ga-Stem, strong verbs do not have a change in the stem in the mp forms, but some weak verb types do (e.g., I-G, I-w, II-G, II^ʔ/y, and III-w/y verbs; see the relevant subsections of § 7.4).
- Many younger Jibbali speakers have imported the *l-* prefix of the 1cs subjunctive into the 1cs imperfect, in all stems.
- In Johnstone's data, the 1cd is sometimes recorded with the prefix *n-* of the 1cp. Because this form is obsolete, no doubt some speakers are uncertain of the proper form.

Following are the prefixes and suffixes used for all the Š₂- and T₂-Stems, and by some speakers for the D/L-Stem:

| | sing. | dual | plural |
|----|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------|
| 1c | <i>a-...-ən</i> | <i>a-...-ǝ́/-ún</i> | <i>n-...-ən</i> |
| 2m | <i>t-...-ən</i> | <i>t-...-ǝ́/-ún</i> | <i>t-...-ən</i> |
| 2f | <i>t-...-ən</i> | | <i>t-...-ən</i> |
| 3m | <i>y-...-ən</i> | <i>y-...-ǝ́/-ún</i> | <i>y-...-ən</i> |
| 3f | <i>t-...-ən</i> | <i>t-...-ǝ́/-ún</i> | <i>t-...-ən</i> |

Notes:

- The prefixes are often followed by an epenthetic vowel *a*.
- The 2ms and 3fs imperfects are identical for every verb in the language.
- The 2mp, 2fp, and 3fp imperfects are identical for every verb in the language.
- The prefix *t-* is sometimes lost in pronunciation before certain consonants (see § 2.1.9).
- The 2fs normally has some sort of vowel change (ablaut) in the base, in all stems, as do the 2mp and 3mp forms.
- Many younger Jibbali speakers have imported the *l-* prefix of the subjunctive into the 1cs imperfect, in all stems.
- The dual suffixes are uncertain. We would expect the suffix *-ún* (< *-ǝ́ + n*), with the same final *-n* found with all singular and plural imperfects in these stems. According to *JL*, however, the *-n* is present in the D/L-Stem duals, but lacking in the Š2- and T2-Stem duals. It is possible that because duals are rarely used, Johnstone's informants had trouble with the forms.

According to the material that Johnstone collected, the G passive, D/L-Stem, H-Stem, H passive, and Q-Stems exhibit a peculiar feature in the imperfect, namely, the lack of a prefixed *t-*. He outlined these forms in *JL*, as well as in Johnstone (1980b). However, in my own fieldwork, I have found that informants regularly use the prefix *t-* with these stems. Even Johnstone reported some fluctuation with regard to this feature (1980b: 468). See further in the discussion of the relevant stems in Chapter 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 sometimes function

as a narrative past tense, with a clear perfective meaning. Following are examples of the imperfect used as a general or habitual present:

- bírdém ð-ɔlyōd lɔ* ‘a person who doesn’t lie’ (8:12)
tagórab kəl sé kəlš her írész ‘she knows absolutely everything about illness’ (18:7)
kəl gəm’át təšōh ðírš ságət ‘every week jewelry appears on it’ (22:11)
het sɔbər təjəlb ‘you always refuse’ (24:1)
ɔl əkɔdər əl-ħī(l)k lɔ ‘I can’t carry you’ (49:15)
yəsōt ərśót bə-yśōt egátš ‘he hits the boys and he hits his sister (habitually)’ (49:33)
he a’ágób bə-títi, bə-títi tə’ágób bi ‘I love my wife and she loves me’ (60:4)

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

- ağás yəša’ásórs* ‘her brother loved her’ (17:9)
ağéyg ɔl-’ód yəgósər yaxétər ħallét lɔ ‘the man didn’t yet dare go down to town’ (25:7)
her hē ħási ðer embére’, tənúgaf āš egátš ħási ‘whenever dirt fell on the boy, his sister would brush the dirt off of him’ (36:17)
her ínét fɔlók šítár, əśórk ūs ɛ-ī b-ahzéz šítár ‘whenever the women let out the kids, I would steal my father’s razor and slaughter the kids’ (49:3)
yə’əlf enúf, bə-yəkól ɔl dé əl-hés še lɔ. yəród bə-xtərókš bə-yši’ ed yəšékklas ‘he could fend for himself, and he thought there was no one like him. He would throw his stick and run to catch it’ (54:2)
ağéyg yəmzéz ‘the man smoked (habitually)’ (60:24)
ðín eyát, əl-ša’sórs bē ... b-ɔl əkɔdər l-əfsah bes lɔ ‘this camel I loved very much ... and I couldn’t give it up’ (AK2:5)

As the examples above show, an imperfect can correspond to English ‘would’, not as a conditional, but as a past habitual (e.g., 49:3). It can also correspond to ‘would’ as a relative future in a past tense context, though more often a future tense has this function (see § 7.1.4). Examples are:

- ɔl éd’ak lɔ yəħóšəl sé mən lɔ* ‘I didn’t know (if) he would get something or not’ (10:3)
guzúmk ɔl-’ód ahzéz šítár zeyd ‘I swore I would not slaughter kids anymore’ (49:10)
əbká’ ərész ak rəkab ɛ-ūt mən tél dé ɔl yəkɔdər yəlhóm lɔ ‘he put the head onto a ledge of the house, where no one would be able to jump up to’ (54:32)

A future tense is most often indicated with the future form (see §7.1.4), but following are examples of the imperfect used as either a simple or habitual future:

- haş ε-shé(l)k ðénu, ézmək éşágər* ‘when you have finished with this, I will give you the other’ (2:5)
her əl kisk tək lə, əl əğrəb ərəm lə ‘if I don’t find you, I won’t know the road (you took)’ (3:12)
əl əkín hek teṭ el-fət, her əl edúrk len əl-éni lə ‘I won’t be a wife for you till I die, if you don’t come back to us this evening’ (28:17)
her kél’ak təş ‘ak şəhálét, yəmtése’ bə-yəkín mih ‘if you leave it in a bowl, it will melt, and it will be water’ (35:7)
yəktélét bi ekəl her kélá’k tək bə-flótk ‘the tribes will talk (badly) about me if I leave you and run away’ (83:2)

Several of the examples cited throughout this section show the imperfect used in the apodosis of a conditional sentence. The imperfect is, in fact, very often met in this context, about equally as often as a future in the texts; see §13.4 for discussion and additional examples.

In narrative contexts, the imperfect can also be used as a simple past (perfective) tense. This is quite common, though with some speakers more than others. Some examples are:

- yəfrér ðírş ekéžər* ‘the leopard jumped on it’ (15:9)
zəhám mosé bə-thí dəf ‘ak xə edehlél ‘rain came, and a rock fell onto the mouth of the cave’ (22:2)
yəzhóm taṭ mən aǵág bə-yəđórəm tit mən iyél ‘one of the men came and slaughtered one of the camels’ (25:5)
mit ber ðə-ər xérín, yəşelédən mən ðér tš ed yəzhómš ‘when he had got a little ways ahead, he shot over his father so he could get to it [the peak]’ (83:3)
áxərši aǵág yə’ər, ‘yalla, təm’ ‘Then the men said, “Yalla, ok”’ (AK2:4)
hes ténu yəsun tə ĩ, əd-əfəlk l-enúfi ‘ak haǵrét ‘when my father saw me like this, that I had shut myself in (my) room’ (AK2:7)
yəbgód. yəfək ‘ataləl ... bə-yəṭhún hīm bə-ytəl enúfš bə-hīm ‘he went. He put on torn clothes ... and he ground charcoal and painted himself with the charcoal’ (TJ4:23)
yəbgód mħammád bə-gerós ekérah, bə-yérd beş ‘Muhammad went and dragged the donkey away, and he threw it’ (Anon1:5)

In Jibbali, a past or present progressive, as well as a circumstantial, is usually indicated by the imperfect in combination with the verbal prefix

d-/ð-, as discussed separately below (§ 7.1.10.1). However, because the verbal prefix *d-/ð-* does not usually occur before the prefix *t-* (i.e., the prefix of most second person and third feminine imperfects), what looks like a bare second person or third feminine imperfect can also serve to indicate a progressive or circumstantial. In reality, however, these are underlyingly imperfects with the prefix *d-/ð-*. An example is:

kə het tōk ‘why are you crying?’ (23:8) (*tōk* < **ð-tōk*)

See § 7.1.10.1 for more examples.

7.1.3 Subjunctive

The subjunctive is constructed with prefixes and suffixes similar to those used for the imperfect, though these attach to a verbal base that is, for almost all verbs, different from the base of the imperfect. Like the imperfect, different stems exhibit different sets of affixes. The full set of affixes for the G active, Š₁-, Š₂-, T₁-, and T₂-Stems is:

| | sing. | dual | plural |
|----|--------------|---------------|----------------|
| 1c | <i>l-</i> | <i>l...-ó</i> | <i>n-</i> |
| 2m | <i>t-</i> | <i>t...-ó</i> | <i>t-(V)</i> |
| 2f | <i>t-(V)</i> | | <i>t...-ən</i> |
| 3m | <i>y-</i> | <i>y...-ó</i> | <i>y-(V)</i> |
| 3f | <i>t-</i> | <i>t...-ó</i> | <i>t...-ən</i> |

Notes:

- The characteristic *l-* of the 1cs (and 1cd) is different from the prefix of the imperfect. Many younger Jibbali speakers have actually imported the *l-* prefix of the subjunctive into the 1cs imperfect, in all stems.
- The 2ms and 3fs subjunctives are identical for every verb in the language.
- The 2fp and 3fp subjunctives are identical for every verb in the language.
- The prefix *t-* is sometimes lost in pronunciation before certain consonants (see § 2.1.9).
- The 2fs normally has some sort of vowel change (ablaut) in the base, in all stems.
- The 2mp and 3mp forms normally have some sort of vowel change (ablaut) in the base, as do sometimes the other plural forms.

- The characteristic *-ən* of the Š2- and T2-Stems imperfects is absent in the subjunctive.

As in the imperfect, the G passive, D/L-Stem, H-Stem, H passive, and Q-Stems historically exhibit the loss of the prefix *t-* in the subjunctive. In the subjunctive, however, the prefix *l-* has taken its place. However, in my own fieldwork, I have found that informants often use the prefix *t-* with these stems. Even Johnstone reported some fluctuation with regard to this feature (1980b: 468). The traditional affixes of the subjunctive for these stems are:

| | sing. | dual | plural |
|----|--------------|---------------|----------------|
| 1c | <i>l-</i> | <i>l...-ś</i> | <i>n-</i> |
| 2m | <i>l-</i> | <i>l...-ś</i> | <i>l-(V)</i> |
| 2f | <i>l-(V)</i> | | <i>l...-ən</i> |
| 3m | <i>y-</i> | <i>y...-ś</i> | <i>y-(V)</i> |
| 3f | <i>l-</i> | <i>l...-ś</i> | <i>l...-ən</i> |

Notes:

- The 2ms and 3fs subjunctives are identical for every verb in the language.
- The 2fp and 3fp subjunctives are identical for every verb in the language.
- The 2fs normally has some sort of vowel change (ablaut) in the base, in all stems.
- The 2mp and 3mp forms of the H-Stem have a vowel change (ablaut) in the base.
- The characteristic *-ən* of the D/L-Stem is absent in the subjunctive.
- The prefix *l-* has spread to all persons except the 3ms, 3md, and 1cp, i.e., everywhere the prefix *t-* has been lost. In the G passive only, the *l-* has spread to these forms as well (see § 6.1.2).
- Some younger speakers today use the prefixes of the G-Stem for these stems (i.e., *t-* for the second persons and third feminine forms).¹

The subjunctive form can be used either independently or dependently, though the latter is far more common. When used independently in the

¹ Usage varies. For example, one young CJ speaker used the *t-* prefix for the 2ms subjunctive in the D/L- and H-Stems, while another (just a few years older) used *t-* for the H-Stem, but *l-* for the D/L-Stem.

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:

- yəfōrḥək ʔz̄ bə-xár* ‘may God make you happy with good things’ (8:13)
agéyγ yókšəf enúf ‘the man should expose himself’ (17:38)
her dé yəǵórəb sé, yésne her embére ‘if anyone knows anything, he should see to the boy’ (18:7)
yəwəxk ʔr ʔšétk ‘he may divert you from your livestock’ (28:13)
ʔd yékən gólē ʔngdərət ‘it might be a supernatural illness’ (38:6)
təxəb šǵfələk mǵóre ‘your stomach may be sore for a little while after’ (40:15)
təxələf səhát ‘be well [lit. may health come]!’ (52:11)
yōrək bek ʔz̄ ‘may God bless you’ (AK3:11)
ʔrət hət, “*yətǵ tǵ ʔnkél, bə-yókəbər tǵ edífər.*” ‘the snake said, “The heroic one should kill me, but the bad one should bury me”’ (Pr161)

A first or (rarely) a second person independent subjunctive likewise expresses suggestion, obligation, wishing, or uncertainty, as in:

- he bər ʔdī-ilín l-ǵgrəfxélét* ‘I, the son of so-and-so, should clean toilets!?’ (5:10)
íné əl-šérk hes ‘what should I do for her?’ (6:8)
l-ǵklət hek ‘should I tell you?’ (43:17)
h-íné l-əzémš ‘why should I give him (a camel)?’ (49:32)
het (t)šédhəf ‘you should be slapped’ (51:8)
íné ʔnšérk beš ‘what should we do with him?’ (51:21)
əl ʔdʔak əl-hún l-éblə l ‘I don’t know where I should direct myself’ (57:2)
əl-fráh b-əbrí ‘let me rejoice in my son!’ (57:13)
kəh təǵíd ši ‘why should you go with me?’ (60:46)

As a simple statement—that is, not in a direct or indirect question or an exclamation—a first person cohortative (‘let me’ or ‘let’s’) is normally expressed with the verb *ʔgəb* ‘want’ plus a subjunctive verb (see §7.5.1). For cohortative ‘let’s go!’, there is the particle *ǵadú* (§12.5.9). Suggestion or obligation in the second person (‘you should’) is more often expressed with the particle *tō-* (§12.5.19). See also §12.5.3 on the combination of a subjunctive form of *kun* ‘be’ with the particle *ʔd*.

A subjunctive verb can also be used dependently, as the complement of another verb. By far the most commonly occurring verb that takes a verbal complement is *ʔgəb* ‘want’, which is treated separately below (§7.5).

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:

kirišt yūm taǧīd ‘the sun was close to setting’ (16:3)
əl-šd kšdšr yašēxant lə ‘he was not able to get out’ (22:2)
šandēr her eraħmūn yēdhəb nəħōr dər ‘he vowed to God to flood (one) wadi with blood’ (22:3)
aǧéyǧ əl-šd yaǧšsar yaǧétər ھاللét lə ‘the man didn’t yet dare go down to town’ (25:7)
aǧéyǧ ‘azūm yaǧád ھاǧǧ ‘the man decided to go on the Hajj’ (36:20)
he dħa-l-ǧád l-ékar b-aǧšhi ‘I will go to visit my brothers’ (50:2)
aǧád yšbət tə ‘he went to beat me’ (51:9)
ǧzūm əl (t)dír mən mənúhum ‘swear that you will not come between them!’ (60:6)
əl dé ǧaršb yaďēš lə ‘no one knew how to cure him’ (SB1:4)

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

he ‘ak téti taǧád ši ‘I want my wife to go with me’ (7:10)
‘ar dé yaǧħóm bes ‘send someone to bring her’ (18:9)
kəšš tə l-ǧád k-əǧéyǧ ‘let me go with the man’ (28:12)
ikezšt is yēšfəkəs ‘she gave authority to her father to marry her off’ (45:18)
kə tūm kélá’kum təš yaǧád baħséš ‘why did you all let him go by himself?’ (49:34)
əl ‘ak émi (t)dənə lə ‘I didn’t want my mother to get pregnant’ (51:13)

In the six examples immediately above, the subject of the subjunctive is the direct object of the preceding verb, but it can also be the indirect object, as the following examples show:

mun ε-ōr hek tšérk řenu ‘who told you to do it like this?’ (1:4)
sīħ heš yššfək ‘he permitted him to marry’ (7:9)
‘aǧən bek tšēxant émtən ‘we want you to come back to us’ (13:2)
deřšt her žirít tébka’ sēhm ‘ak a’isé ε-aǧás ‘she paid a slave-girl to put poison in her brother’s food’ (17:46)
aťləb meš l-írxaš teť túnħaǧ ‘I am asking you to let the woman dance’ (30:11)
he dħa-l-ħéžər liš taǧíd ‘I will (pretend to) persuade you to go’ (60:6)
dħa-l-‘ámer hes tšba’k ‘I’ll tell her to follow you’ (60:21)

A similar construction is used with *fērək* ('ar) 'be afraid', examples of which can be found § 13.5.1. Some verbs also require the negative particle *ɔl* before the dependent subjunctive, e.g., *ǰɔlɔt ɔl tǰǰád ši* 'she refused to go with me' (13:18); see further in § 13.2.2. See also § 7.5 for numerous examples of the subjunctive following a form of the verb *ʿágəb* 'want'.

A dependent subordinate verb can also occur after a non-verbal phrase, and in such cases is also equivalent to an English infinitive. Two non-verbal phrases that can be followed by a subjunctive are *axér her* 'it's better for' and *ɔl xer her ... lɔ* 'its not good for';² Examples are:

axér hókum l-ɔxlǰf 'it's better for you to move' (28:6)
axér hek ɔl-dór 'it's better for you to go back' (30:18)
axér hókum l-ɔflat 'it's better for you to run away' (54:18)
ɔl xer hek tǰǰád lɔ 'it's not good for you to go' (60:25)

Compare the similar use of the subjunctive in other non-verbal phrases:

ɔl kǰyǰskum (t)tǰǰ tǰfəl mən ʿak fídét lɔ 'it is not right for you to kill an infant in the cradle' (25:16)
he ékil l-éšfǰkǰš ʿədí-ilín 'I am authorized to marry so-and-so to you' (45:9)

A dependent subjunctive can also indicate purpose (§ 13.5.2.1). Sometimes these purpose clauses are best translated with English 'so (that)', while other times they are best translated with an infinitive, making them identical to those cases where the subjunctive functions as a simple verbal complement. Some examples are:

ǰadyɔl ũt ɛ-kēr, yǰzémk ʿisé bǰ-flǰyǰ(l)tǰǰk 'go to the house of the sheikh, so he can give you (food) or kill you' (46:9)
zē-tɔ ʿésérk l-ǰǰbéb ʿamkǰš 'give me your turban so I can defecate in it [or: to defecate in]' (97:37)

More often, Jibbali indicates a purpose clause with a particle, usually *her* (§ 13.5.2.2).

The subjunctive is also used after a number of particles, including *dek* (§ 12.5.6), *lézəm* (§ 12.5.13), *ndóh* (§ 12.5.16), *tō* (§ 12.5.17), and *wéǰəb* (§ 12.5.20), and with the temporal conjunction *ɛd* 'until' (§ 13.5.3.4).

² In the texts, *axér her* is nearly always used in a positive phrase, while *xer her* is always used in a negative phrase.

The subjunctive can also be found in a few idiomatic expressions, such as following the particle *ya rét* 'if only; would that!' (e.g., 60:32).

The subjunctive form is also used as the base for the future tense (see § 7.1.4), as well as for the negative imperative (see § 7.1.6).

7.1.4 Future (*dħa-*, *ħa-*, *a-*)

The future tense in Johnstone's texts is formed with an auxiliary particle *dħa-*, or the shorter form *ħa-*, plus a subjunctive verb. In current usage (spoken or written), this particle most often has the reduced form *a-*, as in the AK texts (§ 16.1), and as found twice in Johnstone's texts (both in 12:9). In 19th-century and very early 20th-century sources (like Müller's texts), the particle has the form *dħar* or *dħar*.³ Following are some examples of the future in the texts:

- mit ħa-l-əšnék* 'when will I see you?' (7:3)
ħa-l-əgzəm 'I will swear' (14:1)
dħa-l-ğád kərəre 'I'll go tomorrow' (28:2)
mğóre' dħa-l-əklət heš bə-xáfi 'then I will tell him about my foot' (52:4)
dħa-təšné yəgréb troh 'you'll see two ravens' (33:7)
dħa-tərħázən 'ak eğör 'they'll wash in the well' (30:3)
dħa-nzémk erbə'ót izíf 'we will give you four thousand' (22:12)
dħa-nšérk hek fšo 'we'll make lunch for you' (60:35)
dħa-yə(l)təğk a'éli 'my family will kill you' (30:21)
dħa-l-éflət mən řiri 'she will run away from me' (60:22)
iné un eyó ħa-ya'mór 'what then [or: indeed] will people say?' (SB2:7)
a-nğád tel iyél 'we'll go to the camels' (AK1:2)

If there are two future tenses used in sequence, then the auxiliary *dħa-* is used only with the first verb, unless another phrase intervenes (as in SB1:6), for example:

- mūn mənhum dħa-yít bə-yókəla' ağág řə-šés* '(to see) which [lit. who] of them would eat and let down his friends' (21:3)
he dħa-l-ğád bə-l-ehbés 'I will go and push him off [lit. make him fall]' (25:15)
ħa-nkəlá'k 'ésər em, ħa-netbék bə-nəškék, əm-mən řirš ħa-nəħzézək 'we'll leave you ten days, we'll feed you and give you drink, and afterwards we will slaughter you' (SB1:6)

³ On the origin and development of the future tense particle in Jibbali, and the form of the auxiliary in other sources of Jibbali, see Rubin (2012b).

The future tense can also be used in a past tense context to indicate a relative future, usually corresponding to English 'would', as in:

šā'k dé 'ōr ḥa-yšéxant 'did you hear somebody say he will [or: would] leave?' (8:9)
thúmk tōš ar ḥa-yḥóšal 'I thought he'd surely get (something)' (10:4)
guzúm ar ḥa-yḥézzas 'he swore he would kill her' (17:9)
šérék enúf dḥa-yāḏḥól 'he pretended that he was going to urinate' (21:9)
al nakó(l)š dḥa-yḡád ló 'we didn't think he would go' (49:35)
al 'ōk hiš ló dḥa-l-éflət mən ḏíri 'didn't I tell you she would run away from me?' (60:20)

The future tense is also often used in the apodosis of real conditional sentences (usually with the particles *her* [§13.4.1] or (*ə*)*ḏə* [§13.4.2] in the protasis). In the texts, a future tense in the apodosis is just slightly more common than an imperfect (see further in §13.4.1). Some examples are:

iné ḥa-(t)zī-tó her kóltk hiš b-εbréš 'what will you give me if I tell you about your son?' (13:7)
her 'ágiš bi, ḥa-tḡíd ši. b-al 'ágiš bi ló, ḥa-tískif 'if you love me, you will go with me. And (if) you don't love me, you'll stay' (13:18)
her aḡadót bə-zḥám εbrí b-al ksés ló, dḥa-yāfšót 'if she goes away and my son comes back and doesn't find her, he will die' (30:10)
her al xaróg ló, dḥa-yékən bun kəréré 'if he didn't die, he will be here tomorrow' (42:6)
her al kólštš híni ló, ar dḥa-l-ó(l)tḡiš 'if you don't tell me, I will kill you' (46:5)
her sōtək εḡótκ, al dḥa-l-zémk sé ló 'if you hit your sister, I won't give you anything' (49:13)
her sínén šes dé, dḥa-nḡád 'if we see anyone with her, we'll go' (60:40)

There are also a handful of places in the texts where we find a future tense in the protasis of a conditional, with no apparent special function. Examples are given in §13.4.1.

The combination of the auxiliary *ber* (§7.2) plus the future tense means 'be about to' (proximative) or 'nearly' (avertative), as in:⁴

sétar híni εkšōr, her bek dḥa-l-ógrəf xélét 'better for me the grave, if I am about to clean toilets!' (5:10)

⁴ According to *JL* (s.v. *fmw*), the particle *fōnə* can also have the sense of 'be about to' when it is followed by a future tense. In combination with a perfect, *fōnə* is an adverb meaning 'formerly, earlier'.

iyéli ber dḥa-tfōtan mən xēt ‘my camels are about to die of thirst’ (25:2)
ed yum əḏ-bér dḥa-yǝǝd, zəḥám yə tel a’ásərs ‘then on the day that they
 were about to go, people came to her husband’ (36:21)
iyátk berót dḥa-l-éšḵəṭ ‘your camel is about to give birth’ (47:3)

On the use of the future tense *dḥa-yékən* to indicate approximation or uncertainty, see § 9.6.

7.1.5 Conditional

The verbal form that Johnstone called the conditional takes the same set of prefixes as the subjunctive. It is characterized by the presence of the suffix *-ən* on all forms; in addition, the verbal base of the conditional is generally different from those of the imperfect and subjunctive. Therefore, the conditional often looks distinct from those imperfects and subjunctives that otherwise have a suffixed *-ən* (namely, the characteristic *-ən* of the D/L-, Š2-, and T2-Stem imperfect, or the *-ən* of the 2fp and 3fp imperfect or subjunctive in all stems).

Conditional forms are rare. They appear almost exclusively in the apodosis of unreal (counterfactual) conditional sentences introduced by (ə)ḏə *kun* (see § 13.4.2). Some examples from the texts are:

het ḏ-əl kunk mišérd lə, əl (t)šírkan enúf ‘ókəl axér ‘áni lə ‘if you weren’t stupid, you would not pretend to be smarter than me’ (1:7)
ḏ-əl kunk mišérd lə, əl (t)žəḥékən míni lə ‘if you weren’t stupid, you would not have made fun of me’ (1:11)
ḏə kün əl mišérd lə, əl yəḥzízən yitš lə ‘if he wasn’t crazy, he would not have slaughtered his camel’ (2:7)
het ḏə kunk kólótk hini, təǵídən šek titk ‘if you had told me, your wife would have gone with you’ (13:20)
ḏə kun əl létəǵ erbə’ót minén lə, əl nəltéǵənəš lə ‘if only he had not killed four of us, we would not have killed him’ (83:7)

See also Johnstone’s texts 42 and 42b, for another twenty examples.

There is just one passage in the texts which appears to have an independent conditional:

l-ísnēn hánúf ‘you should go see a medicine man’ (38:7)

It is not clear why we find a conditional here, rather than a subjunctive, and I suspect an error.

The verb *‘agəb* ‘want’ is also used independently in the conditional; see further in § 7.5.4. On the frozen conditional *ta’mírən*, see § 8.25.

7.1.6 Imperative

The imperative is conjugated for person and number. No dual imperatives are attested in the texts, and the plural is used where we expect a dual (cf. 18:11; 97:31).⁵ As a general tendency, the imperative is made by taking away the personal prefixes of the second person subjunctive forms. However, this is not a rule, at least not synchronically. Compare the following second person subjunctive and imperative forms of the Ga-Stem strong verb *sf̄ar* ‘travel’ and the G-Stem geminate verb *fer* ‘fly’ (root *frr*):

| | 2ms | 2fs | 2mp | 2fp |
|--------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|-------------------|
| Subjunctive | <i>tósf̄ar</i> | <i>tísf̄ar</i> | <i>tasf̄ór</i> | <i>tasf̄ér̄an</i> |
| Imperative | <i>sf̄ér̄</i> | <i>sf̄ír̄</i> | <i>sf̄ór</i> | <i>sf̄ér̄an</i> |
| Subjunctive ⁶ | <i>tóff̄ar</i> | <i>túff̄ar</i> | <i>tafr̄ór</i> | <i>tafr̄ér̄an</i> |
| Imperative | <i>fr̄ér̄</i> | <i>fr̄ír̄</i> | <i>fr̄ór</i> | <i>fr̄ér̄an</i> |

As is clear in the above tables, the singular imperatives show different stem-vowels than the corresponding subjunctives. This may be due to the fact that in the singular subjunctive forms, the stress falls on the vowel of the prefix, rather than on the base (although this is not a problem for H-Stem imperatives; see § 6.3). Other such examples are ms *ken* ‘be!’ (2ms subjunctive *ték̄an*; root *kwn*) and *ardé* ‘throw!’ (2ms subjunctive *térd*; root *rdw*). For the most part, however, imperatives and subjunctives share the same base. Some examples of imperatives from the texts are:

ah̄téð̄ór b-enúf ‘watch out for yourself!’ (25:10)

ǰad ... b̄a-kbén aḳ enáxal ‘go ... and hide among the date-palms!’ (30:2)

ḥmel xaṭóḳésan ‘pick up their clothes!’ (30:3)

gm̄oʻ li régaʻ ða-ḳahwét b̄a-tambéko, b̄a-ðr̄ors nxín ḥés̄an ‘collect coffee-grounds and tobacco remains for me, and spread it (all) around under the castle!’ (36:13)

š̄aʻ b̄a-š̄né ‘run and see!’ (39:11)

ken li l-hés̄ ī ‘be to me like my father!’ (47:13)

n̄akáʻ al-yóh ‘come here!’ (49:26)

⁵ Johnstone does give a dual imperative form in one of his paradigms in *JL* (p. xvii).

⁶ On some possible variation in the subjunctive forms of G-Stem geminate verbs, see § 6.1.1, n. 11.

ftah xək bə-ǰmáz a'ánték 'open your mouth and close your eyes!' (54:23)
éfsəħan b-ēš'ér 'stop the party!' (97:28)
kašós eréšš 'cut off her head!' (97:52)
kałá'hum aḳ maħəðórot 'leave them in a pen!' (30:14)
ǰíd mən seróhum bə-n'ífhum 'go after them and chase them!' (AM1:11)

As in Mehri, Arabic, and most other Semitic languages, the imperative form is not used in a negative phrase. Instead, a negative command is expressed using a negated subjunctive verb. Some examples are:

əl tək télób l 'don't worry!' (3:19)
əl tǰftəħəš l 'don't open it!' (5:4)
əl tīš l 'don't eat it!' (6:5)
əl tebk l 'don't cry!' (23:8)
əl tíklət her ī l 'don't tell father!' (49:18)
əl təkərō-t l 'don't come near me!' (53:10)
əl təfrík l 'don't be afraid!' (54:19)
əl tékən dəħís l 'don't be stubborn!' (57:3)
əl təhérg ǰaró dífər l 'don't use [lit. speak] bad language!' (57:15)

7.1.7 Internal Passive

Jibbali internal passives occur mainly in the G-Stem, though they also exist in the H-Stem, and marginally in other stems. Even for the G-Stem, examples of the internal passive are not abundant in the texts. There are only about thirty G-Stem passive forms in the texts, just a handful of H-Stem passives, and maybe three D/L-Stem passives.⁷ An Š-Stem internal passive is listed in *JL* (s.v. 'sr). 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-/ð-* (§ 7.1.10). See § 6.1.2 for the full paradigm of a G-Stem passive, § 6.2.2 for discussion of the D/L-Stem passive, and § 6.3.2 for discussion of the H-Stem passive. Following are some of the attested passages with G-Stem internal passives in the texts:

ksé iyót ðə-ħizzót 'they found the camel slaughtered' (2:12)
aǰéyg ber ð-eršín 'the man has already been tied up' (17:30)
ðə še əl beš fáħal l, l-əḳšós eréšš. bə-ðə še beš fáħal, tūm l-əḳšés eréšókum
 'if he has no penis, his head should be cut off. And if he has a penis,
 your heads should be cut off' (17:39)

⁷ A disproportionate number of internal passives occur in text Tj2.

- al tǎ'asés lo ar hér sīšót bǎ-xǎṭarǒk troh* 'she won't wake up unless she is hit twice with a stick [or: with two sticks]' (18:11)
- ēr hēn bǎ-kǎbǎlét mosé mékǎn* 'it was told to us that in the west there is a lot of rain' (32:8)
- īs ḏǎ-ltǎǰ* 'her father had been killed' (46:1)
- ḏḥa-l-ǎḥzíz* 'you will be killed' (48:11)
- émí zūthum šǒṭar bǎ-šǒṭarhum ǎ-hézíz* 'my mother gave them a kid for their kid that was slaughtered' (49:5)
- embére' ḏǎ-ǰkéne'* 'the boy who was being breast-fed' (51:2)
- ksé ḡabǰót ḏǎ-ršínút* 'they found a girl who had been tied up' (54:14)
- 'ak l-ǎltǎǰ* 'do you want to be killed?' (60:25)
- ǰélíb ǎl ǰǒšfǎk bes* 'he was refused (permission) to marry her' (SB1:2)
- het ǎl 'idík lo* 'you weren't executed?' (TJ4:87)
- ǎ-xarǒǰ ḡasré ikǒr k-ḥǎsaf* 'the one who dies in the evening is buried in the morning' (Pr16)

Note the specialized meanings of the passive *xézík* 'be born' (57:8) or 'happen' (6:4; cf. active *xǎlǒk* 'create').

Examples of H-Stem internal passives are:

- ksét ǎǰunét ber ṭǎḥínút ṭkík ḏ-ǎbkí'* 'she found the sack (of grain) already ground fine lying there [lit. having been placed]' (97:16)
- ǎšxǎrtén kel ber šfik* 'all of our old women have already been married off' (AM1:5)
- her kunút ǎlé' ḏ-itǎrǒb b-igǎfún* 'if the cow has been stimulated and has accepted a dummy-calf (tulchan)' (TJ2:53)

For examples of D/L-Stem internal passives, see § 6.2.2.

As noted in § 7.1.2 and § 7.1.3, the G passive, and probably also other internal passives, exhibit the unusual prefix markers (or lack thereof) in the imperfect and subjunctive shared (mostly) by the D/L-Stem and H-Stem.

JL includes at least nine H-Stem passives, four D/L-Stem passives (3ms perfect (*ǎ*)*CC*), and one Š1-Stem passive (3ms perfect *šǎCC*).⁸ More research is needed to determine the productivity of the internal passives of derived stems.

⁸ H-Stems: *JL*, s.v. *bny*, *fg'*, *fyl*, *nby/nb'*, *rǰd*, *srh*, *šfk*, *tnf*, *wǰ*; D/L-Stems: *JL*, s.v. *lk*, *fsx*, *gd*, *ǰfn*; Š1-Stem: *JL*, s.v. 'sr. Johnstone (1980b: 470) also includes some examples of derived stem passives.

7.1.8 *Passive Participles*

Passive participles are not very productive or common in Jibbali, and should probably be considered a marginal category within the verbal system. Johnstone includes a small number of passive participles within some lexical entries, but has no discussion of them in his introductory material on the verbal system. Simeone-Senelle (1997; 2011) also makes no mention of a passive participle in her sketches. There is some discussion of passive participles in Bittner (1916b: 19).

The basic forms of the passive participle have the following patterns for strong verbs:

ms: *məCCéC* or *maCCéC* fs: *məCCəCót*
 mp: *məCCóC* or *məCébcəC* fp: *məCCəCéte* (var. *-éta*)

Passive participles are used either as attributive, predicative, or nominalized adjectives. The passive participles in the texts are:

ēt kəl məftəhété ‘all the houses are open’ (4:4) (cf. G *fétəh* ‘open’)
fúdún maktéb ‘amkás ‘a stone, on which was written’ (6:12) (cf. G *ktəb* ‘write’)
agág ber məgrób mən šegót ‘the men were already famous [lit. known] for bravery’ (21:1) (cf. G *garób* ‘know’)
kun məgréb ‘he became famous [lit. known]’ (55:7) (cf. G *garób* ‘know’)
šefegenbít məgəzzót ‘it turned out that the dagger was loose’ (25:13) (cf. G *gez* ‘loosen’)
əl wəgəb lə təgód bə-təkalóš ‘élébtəg tēnu ‘you shouldn’t go and leave the dead [lit. killed] like this’ (25:17) (cf. G *létəg* ‘kill’)
her kun mathím bə-lótəg ‘if he is accused of murder’ (14:2) (cf. H *thím* ‘accuse’)

Other examples can be found in *JL*, though not a large number.

There are also numerous nouns that have this same pattern *məCCéC* (pl. *məCCóC*), but which cannot be classified as derived past participles, even though some clearly relate to a verbal root. Consider:

məhfér ‘basket’ (cf. G *hfər* ‘dig’; so lit. ‘dug out?’)
məhlébc ‘young she-camel, camel calf’ (30:14; 33:17) (cf. G *halób* ‘milk (an animal)’)

Sometimes it is not so clear whether to classify a word as a passive participle or as a lexicalized adjective. Consider a word like *məshér* ‘famous’. This is clearly a passive participle in terms of its pattern, but the only related

verbs from this root are the T1-Stem *śóthar* and T2-Stem *əstəhér* 'be famous'. Moreover, *məšhér* is almost certainly an adaptation of the Arabic passive participle *mašhūr*. So *məšhér* should probably not be considered a passive participle in the productive sense.

Some nouns look like passive participles only coincidentally, such as *mədfá* 'cannon' (< Arabic *midfa*'), *məðkér* 'young male (goat) kid' (32:4), *mahlél* 'marrow', and *məsgíd* 'mosque' (< Arabic *masjid*).

7.1.9 Compound Tenses

Compound tenses, in which a form of the verb *kun* 'be' is used as an auxiliary, are rather rare in the texts. Only a handful of examples occur, and these are potentially calques of Arabic compound tenses. The compound tense most frequently met in Johnstone's texts, though with just three examples, is an imperfect of *kun* followed by a verb in the perfect (optionally preceded by *ber*). This compound tense indicates a future perfect:

her əl zəhámk tókum lə, əkín aǵádk šeš 'if I don't come back to you, I will have gone with him' (28:16)

her əl zəhámk tək náʃanu lə, əl (t)šáʕε tə lə. əkín edúrk yəl a'élí 'if I don't come back now, don't think I'm late. I will have gone back to my family' (60:17)

mit zəhān, təkín ber ʔahánš egunét ə-bér mulš ezbúrt míh 'when we come back, you should have already ground the sack (of grain) and already filled the buckets with water' (97:7)

Notice in the last example (97:7) that the auxiliary *ber* (§ 7.2) comes between the two verbs.

Another seeming example of an imperfect of *kun* plus a verb in the perfect has a past progressive meaning:

ykín ʔélé enúfš bə-ħási bə-šxəlét 'he was painting himself with sand and filth' (TJ4:24)

Perhaps here the imperfect of *kun* is being used with a narrative past tense function, and so the meaning is equivalent to a perfect of *kun* plus a verb in the perfect (see below).

Once we find a subjunctive of *kun* plus a verb in the perfect (preceded by a form of the auxiliary *ber*), indicating a future perfect within a past tense context. The subjunctive seems to be used to indicate uncertainty:

aǵéyg héǵós bə-tét təkən berót aǵadót mən ǧér emíh 'the man figured the woman would have already gone from by the water' (60:20)

Once in the texts we find an imperfect of *kun* plus a verb in the imperfect (probably preceded by an underlying *d-/ð-*). The reason for the compound is not clear.

takín təškélót egənú(s)és ‘she is conversing with her jinns’ (18:11)

In the texts from Ahmed Kashoob, we find twice a perfect of *kun* followed by the particle *d-* (§ 7.1.10.2) and a verb in the perfect:

nḥán kúnən də-skúnən bə-gerbéb ‘we were living (at that time) on the plain (between the sea and the mountains)’ (AK1:2)
bə-d-ğótéðk, bə-kúnk də-múthəkək ‘I was angry, and I was annoyed’ (AK2:8)

The first of these examples is clearly a past progressive. The second passage is curious, since the first verb, with a similar meaning, is not used in a compound tense.

More research is needed on the use of compound tenses among younger speakers. No doubt there is influence from Arabic in some of these constructions.

On a different use of *kun* + *d-* + perfect, see § 7.1.10.2. On the combination of a perfect of *kun* plus an imperfect, see the comment to text TJ2:106. On the construction with *‘əd* plus a subjunctive of *kun*, followed by a verb in the perfect, which I do not consider a compound tense, see § 12.5.3.

7.1.10 *The Verbal Prefix d-/ð-*

Both perfect and imperfect verbs can be preceded by the particle *d-*. In Johnstone’s texts the particle is nearly always recorded as *ð-*; this is possibly a Mehrism in the speech of Johnstone’s main informant, Ali Musallam, though this usage is not unique to that speaker. We find *ð-* also in text TJ3, and some of my informants readily recognize and accept both variants. The particle *d-* is distinct in form synchronically from the relative pronoun *ð-* (§ 3.8.1) and the genitive exponent *ð-* (§ 12.4), though these are all historically the same.⁹

7.1.10.1 *d-/ð- + Imperfect*

Let us first examine the use of *d-/ð-* with the imperfect. Johnstone (*AAL*, p. 27) claims that *d-/ð-* is prefixed to the imperfect to give a present continuous, in contrast to a general present. This only covers part of the usage of this

⁹ However, as noted in § 3.8.1, *d-* is used for the relative pronoun in Pr188.

particle. In fact, the combination of *d-/ð-* and the imperfect can indicate a past or present progressive, or a circumstantial clause.

The verbal prefix *d-/ð-* must have its origins in the relative pronoun *ð-* (§3.8.1). In fact, there are numerous passages in which it is difficult to determine whether or not *ð-* plus an imperfect verb is actually functioning as a relative clause or a circumstantial progressive. Consider the following examples (all of which I prefer translating with a circumstantial):

- ksé geyg ðə-yəbǵód* ‘they found a man who was walking’ or ‘they found a man walking’ (12:5)
šā’ ekéžar bə-kób ðə-yəntōhən ‘they heard the leopard and the wolf that were fighting’ or ‘they heard the leopard and the wolf fighting’ (15:9)
ksé yə ðə-ykōr šxarét ðə-xargót ‘he found people who were burying an old woman who had died’ or ‘he found people burying an old woman who had died’ (18:2)
šini yə mékən ðə-yógaḥ ‘ak but ð-túžar ‘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’ (18:6)
skɔf šin ð-əštī’an əl-yó ðə-yəhórg ‘I stayed a little while listening to the people who were speaking’ or ‘I stayed a little while listening to the people speaking’ (31:2)
šink ī ðə-yōk ‘I saw my father who was crying’ or ‘I saw my father crying’ (51:7)

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 work. Thus, indicating a circumstantial clause is one common function of the verbal prefix *d-/ð-*. Some examples are:

- edíró egarét ðə-yūki* ‘the slaves came back crying’ (18:13)
šī’ak tóhum mənḥinam ðə-y’ōr dḥa-yóxlaf’ar ənzilhum ‘I heard them last night saying that they will move from their place’ (28:4)
skɔf ðə-yəkōžən l-iyél ‘he sat watching the camels’ (33:3)
kséš ðə-yərútbən ka’əb ‘she found him cleaning things’ (34:6)
skɔf ðə-yəftəkérən bə-tét ‘he sat thinking about the woman’ (34:9)
zəḥám tel sékənəš ðə-yšī’ ‘he came to his community running’ (35:6)
zəḥámk ð-ōk ‘I came crying’ (49:28)

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

xatarét ġeyg ða-yabġód ‘once there was a man who was going’, or ‘once there was a man going’, or ‘once a man was going’ (22:1)

Most likely from contexts like this one (22:1), the prefix *ð-* (> *d-*) plus an imperfect came to indicate simply a progressive action, whether past or present. Alternatively, the extension of a circumstantial to a general progressive could have come from contexts like the following, where the distinction between a circumstantial or relative clause and an independent progressive is made only by the addition of the conjunction *b-*:

he ġeyg ensí, bā-ð-aġélk her yət ‘I’m a human man, and I’m looking for a camel’ (33:4) (cf. *he ġeyg ensí ð-aġélk* ‘I am a human man (who is) looking...’)

ħök ēriķ bā-ð-aftéréžan bā-fändél ‘I carried the jug, and was excited about the sweet potatoes’ (49:21) (cf. *ħök ēriķ ð-aftéréžan* ‘I carried the jug, excited about...’)

Some further examples of *d-/ð-* plus the imperfect indicating a present progressive are:

zəħám ġeyg túžar bā-ð-ahódén řágat kol ð-ol řes řágat lo ‘a rich man has come and he is giving out jewelry to everyone who doesn’t have any’ (22:5)

ko ře embéře’ ða-yōk ‘why is the boy crying?’ (33:10)

‘ali ħöl aġás enišán řer xádər ... bā-ð-a-yak’ör len bā-delřf ‘Ali took his younger brother on top of the cave ... and is throwing rocks at us’ (50:8)

ob, ð-aġélk her yət ‘no, I am looking for a camel’ (60:35)

More common in the texts are examples of *d-/ð-* plus the imperfect indicating a past progressive, some of which are:

aġéyg ða-yāřřétən leř ‘the man was listening to him’ (5:11)

d-‘sdən ð-anktélłt, řínén ġeyg zəħám ‘while we were chatting, we saw a man coming’ (13:11)

ða-yəžħók mənħüm ‘he was laughing at them’ (20:8)

ð-ahérg k-ēđí-ilín ‘I was speaking with so-and-so’ (28:10)

ī ða-yōd bek ‘Father was lying to you’ (49:23)

embéře’ ða-yōk ber dħa-yřt ‘the boy was crying and about to die’ (50:6)

aġéyg ða-řē ða-yāřtī’an lóħum ‘the man who had come was listening to them’ (55:5)

aġéyg ða-yahérg k-ínét b-aġaróħum ‘the man was speaking with the women in their language’ (60:28)

d-yəra'á ērún k-aǵóhēsš 'he was herding the goats with his brothers' (Fr1)
ōkəf tun ǵeyg ... bə-də-yšxər tun ar ōšét 'a man stopped us ... and was
 asking us about (our) animals' (AK1:3)

In general, then, the bare imperfect indicates a general present, imperfective, or habitual past or present, while *d-/ǝ-* plus the imperfect indicates progressive or continuous action in the past or present. As mentioned briefly above (§ 7.1.2), the entire situation is complicated by the fact that the verbal particle *d-/ǝ-* usually does not occur before the prefix *t-*, i.e., before most second person and third feminine forms of the imperfect (see further in § 2.1.10). This means that sometimes what looks like a bare imperfect indicates a circumstantial, or a present or past progressive. Really these are cases of *ǝ-* plus the imperfect, in which the prefix *ǝ-* is suppressed. Examples are:

ʿaššót bə-sé tōk mən fəróž 'she got up, and she was crying from happiness' (13:8) (*tōk* < **ǝ-tōk*)
kə het tōk 'why are you crying?' (49:28) (*tōk* < **ǝ-tōk*)
kset yə ǝə-yəfterégən b-inét tínħagən 'she found the men watching and the women dancing' (97:13) (*tínħagən* < **ǝ-tínħagən*)

7.1.10.2 *d-/ǝ-* + Perfect

A single sentence can describe nearly all attested cases of the imperfect with prefixed *d-/ǝ-*. Unfortunately, no such easy description can be given for the perfect with prefixed *d-/ǝ-*. In fact, it is not always clear why a perfect has prefixed *d-/ǝ-*. One use of the perfect with *d-/ǝ-* is to indicate a circumstantial. While an imperfect with *d-/ǝ-* can indicate a circumstantial referring to simultaneous action, the perfect with *d-/ǝ-* indicates either a circumstantial referring to an action that has taken place, or a circumstantial stative. Sometimes 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:

ksé iyót ǝə-ħizzót 'they found the camel slaughtered [lit. having been slaughtered]' (2:12)
kisk ēmí b-aǵáti əd-šéf 'I found my mother and my sister asleep [lit. having fallen asleep]' (13:5)
(t)zħōn ǝ-télf 'they come back hungry' (47:6)
zəħám bu zíd ǝə-féķé xátók ǝə-féķír 'Bu Zid came, having put on the clothes of a poor man' (54:38)
aǵadót ǝer emíħ ǝə-ftərržót 'she went to the water very happy [lit. having become happy]' (60:23)

ksét egúni ber (ð-)təhín, bə-ksét ezbírt ð-ízi mih, b-ínét ðə-skóf ‘she found the sacks already ground [lit. having been ground], and she found the buckets already filled [lit. having become full] with water, and the women sitting [lit. having sat down]’ (97:29)

ajádak yum ðúhün də-ğótéðk ‘I went away that day angry [lit. having become angry]’ (AK2:6)

As with *d-/ð-* plus the imperfect, these circumstantial constructions overlap with relative clauses in their meaning. It is not always clear which is intended. For example, the passage from 2:12 works equally well if we assume a relative clause, and translate ‘they found the camel that was slaughtered’. However, when the circumstantial refers to the subject of the verb, rather than the object, as in 47:6 and 60:23, it is clearly not a relative clause.

In an independent clause, *d-/ð-* plus the perfect is used to indicate something similar to the English present perfect, which is to say a past action that has continued into the present. Following are some examples, contrasted with simple perfects:

ðə-ntəfót ezēs ‘she has plucked her privates (and they are still plucked)’ (2:13) (vs. *ntəfót* ‘she plucked’)

ajəbgót ðə-fékét lebs ð-əmbére ‘the girl was dressed in [or: had put on, and is still wearing] boys’ clothes’ (17:6) (vs. *fékét* ‘she put on; she wore’)

ajéyg ber ð-erşín ‘the man has already been tied up’ (17:30) (vs. *erşín* ‘he was tied up’)

he ðə-ħəgórək hérúm ðénu ‘I have been guarding this tree’ (22:11) (vs. *ħəgórək* ‘I guarded’)

ðə-xalót len sékən şharó ‘a community of Shahri has joined up with us (and is still with us)’ (32:2) (vs. *xalót len* ‘they joined up with us’)

ð-ökələk séra’ eði-ilín ‘I have given authority to judge so-and-so’ (45:11) (vs. *ökələk* ‘I gave authority’)

This construction is used often with stative or intransitive verbs to indicate a simple present. For example, phrases like ‘I am/was hungry’, ‘I am/was cold’, and ‘I am/was angry’ are expressed literally as ‘I have/had become hungry/cold/angry’. Cf. *telf* ‘he was (and no longer is) hungry’ vs. *də-télf* ‘he is (has become) hungry’. This construction can also be used as a relative present, so *də-télf* could also mean ‘he was (had become and still was) hungry’ within a past tense context. Examples are:

əbré ε-túžər ðə-géle ‘the rich man’s son is sick’ (18:7)

yɔ ɖə-t'áb 'the people were weary [or: suffering]' (20:1)
axarét ber ɖə-xét 'then he became thirsty' (35:1)
šə ɖə-šéf bə-zhámk tɔš ... ɔr, "he ɖə-šófk" 'he was sleeping, and I came to
 him ... He said, "I am sleeping"' (53:4)
ɖə-fírəkək tɔs ɔl l-éflət mən ɖíri 'I am afraid she has run away from me'
 (60:16)
ébré ɖə-hókum ɖə-əbtélím ɖər haşnín 'the ruler's son was ready [or: had
 readied himself] on a horse' (97:25)
ket də-gótéðk áhmad 'why are you angry, Ahmed?' (AK2:7)
he də-ésk 'ak žalkét 'I live in Ḍalqut' (FB1:1)
də-ášk hūn? əd-ášk bə-ūn, bə-şalólt 'where do you live? I live in Oman,
 in Şalalah' (SM)¹⁰
he d-ótəkəðək 'I am awake [or: have woken up]' (SM) (vs. *ótəkəðək* 'I woke
 up')

The verb *ğarób* 'know' can be considered stative, at least sometimes, and so we also find *d-/ð-ğarób* used as an immediate present or relative present, rather than *d-/ð-* plus the imperfect. (The bare imperfect is used for a general present; see § 7.1.2 for examples.) A few examples are:

he ɖə-ğaróbək tək ɖər xádər 'I know you are on top of the cave' (25:18)
het ɖə-ğaróbək tun ɔl ənsénúd äk lɔ 'you know that we wouldn't manage
 without you' (28:15)
ɖə-ğaróbək tɔš ɖə-yaftéréžən bə-fəndél 'I knew he was excited about the
 sweet potatoes' (49:35)

Some verbs have slightly more idiomatic meanings when used in the perfect with *d-/ð-*. For example, the verb *a'ní* 'mean' (cf. 5:3) has the meaning 'intend' when used in the perfect with prefixed *d-/ð-*, as in:

ð-a'ní yašéxənt 'he intends to leave' (8:8)

The use of *d-/ð-* plus the perfect to indicate a stative can substitute for an adjective, as in *se ɖə-ķiriót* 'she is nearby [lit. has gotten close]', in place of *se ķeríbt* 'she is nearby'. When such a use is intended as an imperative, or when a simple perfect is required (e.g., after the conditional particle *her*), *kun* is used as the main verb. Examples are:

her kunút ɖə-ķiriót 'if it is nearby' (4:9)

¹⁰ This informant also gave *əd-skúnk hūn* as a possible translation of 'where do you live?.'

ken ḏa-fērḥak ed bélé ḏa-múḥank 'be (like) you're happy, even if you're sad [or: in trouble]' (57:15)

For examples of *kun* 'be' used as an auxiliary verb with *d-* plus the perfect, creating a compound tense, see § 7.1.9.

7.2 The Auxiliary Verb *ber*

The auxiliary verb *ber* is extremely common, appearing roughly a hundred and fifty times in the texts. It occurs on its own, as well as with pronominal suffixes. Its Mehri equivalent, *bər*, is a particle, and takes the same pronominal suffixes as nouns and other particles. In Jibbali, however, as in Soqotri, it is morphologically a verb. The verb only occurs in the perfect, and its conjugation is slightly irregular:

| | sing. | dual | plural |
|----|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| 1c | <i>bek</i> | <i>bérši</i> | <i>bérən</i> |
| 2m | <i>bek</i> | <i>bérši</i> | <i>bérkum</i> |
| 2f | <i>biš</i> | | <i>bérkən</i> |
| 3m | <i>ber</i> | <i>beró</i> | <i>ber</i> |
| 3f | <i>berót</i> | <i>bertó</i> | <i>ber</i> |

Notes:

- Its irregularity is in the 1cs and 2ms forms, where the *r* is lost.
- 2ms *bek* and 2fs *biš* do not seem to be distinguished from the 2ms and 2fs suffixed form of the preposition *b-* (see § 8.6, and the example from 60:15 below).
- The only two appearances of a 2mp in Johnstone's texts has the form *bókum* (60:3; TJ4:74), the form used also by some of my informants. This is the 2mp form of the preposition *b-*. Because the 2s forms of the two particles are the same (*bek*, *biš*), there is an obvious analogy here. (See also the comment to text 60:3.)
- *JL* (s.v. *br*) notes that the *b* of *ber* is subject to elision after the relative pronoun *ε-*. This is not attested in any of Johnstone's texts, except in TJ4, in which there are a number of examples of *ḥakt ēr* (< **ḥakt ε-bér*) and one of *ḏ-ēr* (< **ḏa-bér*, TJ4:68). The form *ēr* also occurs in text Fr1. In Johnstone's other texts, the relative is usually suppressed before *ber*, as discussed in § 13.5.3.2.

Ber has several uses, though its most common function is to convey the sense of ‘already’. In this usage, it can appear in conjunction with a verb in the perfect or in a non-verbal sentence, and *ber* is (usually) fully conjugated. If a verbal sentence is in a past context, the sense is often best captured with an English pluperfect; in a future context, a future perfect is usually intended. Examples with the meaning ‘already’ are:

šef agéyg ber geb nxínúš ‘it so happened that he had already defecated under it’ (22:13)

kisk tóhum ber lóttāg ‘I found them already killed’ (22:19)

éshódí ber bun ‘my witnesses are already here’ (45:7)

ber šhān ĩndíkš ‘he had already loaded his rifle’ (83:4)

əl bek ʔk hek l ǰā-hét mišérd ‘didn’t I already tell you that you were stupid?’ (1:9)

he bek herǰak šes ‘I already spoke with her’ (45:3)

het bek šeb náʕanu, b-əl əkódər əl-hĩ(l)k l ‘you’re big now already, and I can’t carry you’ (49:15)

bə-ħaş ε-hegǰsk biš biš aǰádāš mən ǰér emih ‘and when I think you have already left the water...’ (60:15)

aǰabǰót berót ʔk ũti, bə-ǰád ‘the girl is already in my house, so go!’ (36:9)

aǰéyg héǰós bə-tét tékan berót aǰádót mən ǰér emih ‘the man figured the woman would have already gone from the water’ (60:20)

bókum tēkum ‘have you eaten already?’ (AK)

The next-to-last example (60:20) shows that in a compound tense (as mentioned already above in § 7.1.9), *ber* comes between the two verbs; another example appears in 97:7.

In a few passages, the word ‘already’ is superfluous in English, and the Jibbali phrase containing *ber* is best translated with a simple perfect or pluperfect, as in:

ksé iš ber ʔr ‘he found his father had gone blind’ (17:50)

aǰád bε nāwás yəl sékanəš ber túžər ‘Ba Newas went back to his settlement having become rich [or: already rich]’ (18:15)

ēr-ǰāti ber nǰam émti, dħa-l-ħíz heš ‘my nephew has come to me angry, (so) I will slaughter for him’ (49:31)

A second common use of *ber*, and one that seems to be an extension of the previous meaning, is its use in temporal clauses (verbal or non-verbal), following *hes* (most often), *ħaş* (*ε-*), or *mit* (for details on the uses and meanings of these particles, see § 13.5.3 and its subsections). If the subject is

a noun phrase, then it comes between the temporal conjunction and *ber* (cf. the example from 52:5, below). The combination of a temporal conjunction and *ber* literally means ‘when already’, but ‘after’ is often an equally good, if not better, translation. Some examples are:

hes ber ḥálšb ērún, ḥezzésan ‘after he milked the goats, he slaughtered them’ (22:6)

hes ber eggór šéf, ḥōlót eslóbéš ‘after the slave had fallen asleep, she took his weapons’ (36:26)

hes aǵéyg ḏa-yásūm ber eghízōhum, kolót heš bə-xáfš ‘after the salesman [lit. the man who was selling] had prepared them, he told him about his foot’ (52:5)

hes berót aršanút édéte, ōrót ‘after she had tied the hands, she said...’ (17:28)

ḥaš ber ešózi il-ášr, yaḥabōn aǵág ‘when they’ve prayed the afternoon prayer, the men sing’ (4:6)

štū’ li ḥaš ber ešóžen a’isé ‘listen to me after we have made the evening prayer’ (55:3)

mit ber ḏa-ōr xérin, yašelēdan mən ḏér iš ‘when [or: after] he had gotten a little ways ahead, he shot over his father’ (83:3)

If a temporal clause is non-verbal and has a pronominal subject, then *ber* is required as a placeholder for the subject; that is, it is the form of *ber* that indicates the subject. This includes the temporal conjunction *ed* (§ 13.5.3.4), which was not mentioned above. In such cases, *ber* does not necessarily have any semantic function (as in the example from 22:5 below). Examples are:

hes ber ‘ak emh, zəḥám aǵéyg ‘after they were in the water, the man came’ (30:5)

hes ber ēta, xarǵót émehum ‘after they were grown [lit. already big], their mother died’ (36:1)

ḥaš e-bér ‘ak eǵōr, ḥmel xašóḳésan ‘when they are in the well, pick up their clothes’ (30:3)

ed ber b-ōram, ksé teḷ k-ērún ‘then when he was on the road, he found a woman with goats’ (22:5)

mit bek kéréb əl-ḥésan, ardé b-ešfét sérék ‘when you are near the castle, throw the hair behind you’ (86:9)

Further examples of *ber* in temporal clauses, along with additional discussion, can be found in § 13.5.3 and its subsections. Note also that in combination with *hes*, at least, *ber* is sometimes not conjugated; see § 13.5.3.5 for a couple of examples.

A third use of *ber* is in conjunction with the future tense (see § 7.1.4), together with which it means ‘be about to’ (proximative) or ‘nearly’ (aver-tative). *Ber* is found used this way only about a half dozen times in the texts. Some of these attestations are:

sétar hīni eḵṣr, her bek dḥa-l-ógraf xélét ‘better for me the grave, if I am about to clean toilets!’ (5:10)

iyéll ber dḥa-tfōtən mən xēt ‘my camels are about to die of thirst’ (25:2)
ed yum əḏ-bér dḥa-yǒd, zəḥám yṗ tel a’ásərs ‘then on the day that they were about to go, people came to her husband’ (36:21)

iyátk berót dḥa-l-éšḵəṭ ‘your camel is about to give birth’ (47:3)

ksé embére’ ber dḥa-yfót mən šum bə-xēt ‘he found the boy about to die from the hot sun and thirst’ (50:9)

This construction in a temporal clause beginning with *her* (i.e., *her ber dḥa-*) can also have the meaning ‘before’; see § 13.5.3.3 for examples.

Ber has another idiomatic function, which is to indicate time that has elapsed. When followed by the preposition *her* with a pronominal suffix (which is attached to the base *h-*; see § 8.1), it can be translated ‘(already) for (time)’. In this idiom, *ber* remains in the 3ms form. The suffix on *her* refers to the person for whom the time has elapsed. Examples are:

bér hek sá’ate bə-hét b-eḡarbét? bér hīni ḥa-yékən xīš ‘ayún ‘were you abroad for a long time? For about five years’ (8:1–2)

bér heš xīš ‘ayún bə-šé mīrīz ‘already for five years he was sick’ (15:12)

bér hīni ‘aşər troh mən ḡér kīt ‘I have already been two nights without food’ (33:4)

Similarly, *hes bér h-* or *ḥaḵt ēr h-* (< *ḥaḵt e-bér h-*) can mean ‘after (time)’. The unit of time need not be expressed, as in the last example below (TJ4:3). Examples are:

hes bér hes ‘ónut, ktōt leš xaṭ ‘after a year, she wrote him a letter’ (SB2:3)
ḥaḵt ēr heš yum miṭ yū trut, ‘ōr hes ‘after a day or two, he said to her’ (TJ4:12)

ḥaḵt ēr heš, šəšfé mən ḡabḡót tit ‘after a while, he heard about a certain girl’ (TJ4:3)

Finally, one speaker used *ber* plus an imperfect to give the sense of ‘sometimes’:

ber yózməš, ber əl yózməš ‘sometimes they give him, sometimes they don’t give him’ (TJ2:19)

ber yağórén al-ád ‘sometimes the give milk by (eating) sardines’
(TJ2:37)

berót takín bə-šhelót, berót takín bə-ásəri ‘sometimes it is thirty, some-
times it is twenty’ (TJ2:83)

7.3 The Auxiliary Verb *d-’od*

Like *ber*, *’od* is an irregular verb occurring only in the perfect tense that functions almost like a particle. It nearly always has a prefixed *d-*. It is certainly to be connected with the particle *’od* (§12.5.3), which is relatively uncommon in the texts. As a verb, *d-’od* is conjugated, while the particle *’od* has just a single frozen form. The two also have different functions, though there is some overlap, particularly with the negatives *d-’od ol* and *ol ’od* (§13.2.4). The conjugation of *d-’od* is as follows:

| | sing. | dual | plural |
|----|--------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1c | <i>d-’ok</i> | <i>d-’šši</i> | <i>d-’odən</i> |
| 2m | <i>d-’ok</i> | <i>d-’šši</i> | <i>d-’okum</i> |
| 2f | <i>d-’oš</i> | | <i>d-’okən</i> |
| 3m | <i>d-’od</i> | <i>d-’odó</i> | <i>d-’od</i> |
| 3f | <i>d-’ot</i> | <i>d-’odtó</i> | <i>d-’od</i> |

Note:

- The irregularity is in the loss of *d* before the 1cs, 1cd, 3fs, and all second person suffixes.

The basic meaning of *d-’od* is ‘still’, and it can be used in several ways. Following are some examples with the simple meaning ‘still’. Note that *d-’od* can function as the main verb (‘be still’), as in the first two examples below, or as an auxiliary to another verb (‘still’), as in the final two examples below:

bə-d-’od šahét ed ná’sanu ‘and they are still alive until now’ (46:18)

he d-’ok ənšenút ‘I am still young’ (60:2)

d-’ok ak bə-kahwét ‘do you still want coffee?’ (34:10)

d-’ok təhésəb her sélüt ‘you’re still counting on peace?’ (83:6)

This basic use of *d-’od* ‘still’ is also found in combination with the various ways of expressing ‘have’ (*k-, b-, l-*; see §13.3 and its subsections), for example:

nḥa ar d-ʿəd ben eṣṣr ‘we still have patience’ (21:4)
d-ʿəd lek sélat̄ em aǰdét ‘you still have three days’ walk’ (30:15)
d-ʿəd lésən ʾrx taṭ ‘they still have one month (to go)’ (32:4)
d-ʿəd ši ašḥér mən eḳébal ‘I still have (just) today (left) of the truce’ (60:9)
d-ʿəd šeš ǰabǰót tit ‘he still has one (more) daughter’ (97:44)

However, *d-ʿəd* can also be used without one of these ‘have’ expressions and likewise carry the meaning ‘still have (an obligation)’, as in:

d-ʿək faʿihm ‘I still have the feet (to tie up)’ (17:28)
d-ʿōš ed ḥaróž ešǰarót ‘you still have until the next acacia’ (48:14)

In numerous passages in the texts, we find *d-ʿəd* used in a subordinate clause (again, on its own or with a following verb), where it has the meaning ‘while (still)’. Such a subordinate clause can either precede or follow the main clause. A verb following *d-ʿəd* in this use will usually have the circumstantial *d-ʿā-* (§ 7.1.10). Some examples are:

d-ʿədan ḏ-anktélót, sínén ǰeyg zəḥám ‘while we were chatting, we saw a man coming’ (13:11)
d-ʿəd letšhūn, zəḥám ebré e-ḥókum ‘while they were like this, the son of the ruler came’ (17:30)
d-ʿəd skəfʿak edeḥlél, zəḥám mosé ‘while he was still sitting in the cave, rain came’ (22:2)
d-ʿət títš təhérg k-aʿásarəs, eḳbél aǰág ‘while his wife was still speaking with him [lit. her husband], the men approached’ (25:12)
d-ʿəd ḏə-ǰəftəkérən, zəḥōt tet̄ ‘while he was thinking, the woman came’ (34:9)
d-ʿəd ləṭšküñ, síni səyérə ‘while he was still this way, he saw a car’ (35:2)
ʿak əl-ǰád d-ʿəd ši ežēl ‘I want to go while it’s still cool [lit. I still have cool (weather)]’ (60:35)
éḏmər tə b-iyél d-ʿək šəḥí ‘direct me to the camels, while you’re still alive!’ (83:6)

In one passage in the texts, we find *d-ʿəd* ‘while still’ used in combination with the temporal subordinator *hes* (§ 13.5.3.5):

zīš səndík hes d-ʿəd šəḥí ‘he had given him a box, while he was still alive’ (5:4)

We also find once in the texts the combination *mən d-ʿəd* meaning ‘since (the time when)’:

mən d-ʿək níśán ber eḳélbi bes ‘already since I was little, my heart was hers’ (32:12)

For further on *d-ʿəd* in combination with *hes* or *mən hēs*, see §13.5.3.5.

In addition to its basic uses as ‘still’ or ‘still have’ in a main clause and ‘while (still)’ in a subordinate clause, *d-ʿəd* can also be used in a subordinate clause with the meaning ‘before’. In this case it is followed by the negative particle *əl* and a verb in the perfect, but there is usually no following *l* (see §13.2.1; §13.2.2); we can see the semantic development of ‘while still not’ → ‘before’. There are just a handful of examples in the texts, one of which (52:7) has *d-ʿəd* in combination with *əl-fěné* ‘before’ (§8.9):

d-ʿəd əl ešəl bər aʿarīt l, šéf ‘before they reached the Ber ‘Arīt (tomb), they fell asleep’ (12:10)
axér hek əl-dór, d-ʿəd əl dé síník ‘it’s better for you to go back, before anyone has seen you’ (30:21)
her šənšóbk xóhr đókün d-ʿəd əl əngəhót ‘if you drink up that lagoon before dawn comes’ (30:24)
škálél tə d-ʿək əl ítk b-əgdarét ‘they caught me before I fell onto the ground’ (51:12)
kaláš ǧer xafk əl-fěné d-ʿək əl šófk ‘put it on your foot before you go to sleep’ (52:7)

This use of *d-ʿəd əl* ‘before’ is distinct from *d-ʿəd* in a true negative sentence with *d-ʿəd əl ... l*. The latter has the meaning ‘not yet’ or ‘still not’ and overlaps in meaning with *əl-ʿəd ... l* (see §13.2.4). The examples from the texts are:

mənsēn d-ʿəd əl aǧ(y)ég l ‘some of them have not yet given birth’ (32:4)
d-ʿəd əl yəbǧód erǧ đ-əhəró l ‘he had not yet gone to the land of the Mehri’ (34:1)
ksé xérín d-ʿəd əl mússi l ‘he found a little that had not yet melted’ (35:9)
nha ekézzún d-ʿədan əl nəǧórb fəndél l ‘we children didn’t yet know sweet potato’ (49:11)
d-ʿək əl əsúnsən l ‘I still had not seen them’ (49:21)
bə-đə ʿəd əl hótég les l ‘if he doesn’t need her yet’ (TJ2:11)

In combination with *ar* ‘only’ (§12.5.4), *d-ʿəd əl* means something like ‘so far only’. I found just one example of this, in which bare ʿəd is used (without *d-*):

ʿək əl sínk mən ekérah ʿar idúntéš ‘you have only seen the ears of the donkey so far’ (Pr157)

In one example from the texts, *d-ʿəd* is used independently to mean ‘not yet’, in response to a question:

bek šfǝkək? ob, d-ʿək ‘have you gotten married? No, not yet’ (AK3:9–10)

Finally, *d-ʿəd* can be used to mean ‘more’, in the sense of ‘still more’, for example:

zǔ-tə d-ʿək xəbz ‘give me more bread!’ (AK)

ʿak d-ʿəd xəbz ‘I want more bread’ (AK)

When *d-ʿəd* means ‘more’, it has a different sense than *axér* ‘more’ (§ 5.4). For example, the sentence *ʿak d-ʿəd kərǝš* ‘I want more money’ would be used when speaking to someone who has just given you some money, but not as much as you would like. On the other hand, the sentence *ʿak kərǝš axér* ‘I want more money’ is not referring to any present transaction, but rather is a general statement, perhaps by someone who is poor and wishes he had more money.

7.4 *Weak Verbs*

By the term “weak verb”, I mean any verb whose conjugation differs from that of the basic paradigm (see Chapter 6) because of the presence of one or more particular root consonants that cause or have caused phonetic changes. Jibbali, like all the MSA languages, is particularly rich in weak verb types. In fact, the great majority of Jibbali verbs can be considered “weak” in some way. In this section, I will provide an overview of the major weak verb types and their characteristic features.

Following the conventions of Semitic linguistics, I use Roman numerals to refer to the number of the root consonant. So, for example, I² refers to roots in which ʾ is the first root consonant, while III-*m* refers to roots in which *m* is the third root consonant.

Because of the limited amount of data in the texts and in *JL*, the limited time I had with informants (who normally find eliciting paradigms quite boring and unnatural), the rarity of the conditional tense, and the rarity of the (largely obsolete) dual forms in all tenses, some of the information below may need to be revised as more data become available. There are also some clear differences between dialects in the conjugation of some verb types, and I suspect there are more differences that I did not uncover, in particular differences between younger and older speakers.

7.4.1 *I*² Verbs

There are very few *I*² verbs in Jibbali, only five or six of which are encountered in the texts. The consonant *ʿ* does not exist as a phoneme in Jibbali, and so to speak of *ʿ* as a root consonant is essentially an etymological statement. In the Gb-Stem, *I*² verbs behave like *I*-w verbs (§7.4.3), which is to say, like strong verbs minus the first root consonant. In the Ga-Stem, they are very close to *I*-w verbs, at least in the perfect and imperfect. Only two Ga-Stem *I*² verbs are known (neither of which appears in the texts), and both, according to *JL*, have subjunctive bases different from Ga-Stem *I*-w verbs, and from each other: *esór* ‘hobble (an animal)’ has a subjunctive following the pattern of Gb-Stem *I*-w/*I*² verbs, while *ekór* ‘(cattle) come home’ has a subjunctive following some *II*-w and *III*-w/y verbs. Compare:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperfect | 3ms subjunct. |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------|---------------|
| Ga strong | <i>sfór</i> | <i>yasófár</i> | <i>yósfár</i> |
| Ga <i>I</i> -w | (<i>e</i>) <i>ḵóḵ¹¹</i> | <i>yékóḵ</i> | <i>yəkéḵ</i> |
| Ga <i>ʿkr</i> | <i>ekór</i> | <i>yékór</i> | <i>yékər</i> |
| Ga <i>ʿsr</i> | <i>esór</i> | <i>yésór</i> | <i>yasór</i> |
| Gb strong | <i>fékər</i> | <i>yafékór</i> | <i>yəfkór</i> |
| Gb <i>I</i> -w | <i>éṣal</i> | <i>yéṣól</i> | <i>yəṣól</i> |
| Gb <i>I</i> ² | <i>étal</i> | <i>yétól</i> | <i>yətól</i> |

In the *D/L*-Stem, *I*² verbs behave like strong verbs, except that the *ʿ* is lost. *I*-w verbs follow the same pattern. Compare:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperfect | 3ms subjunct. |
|----------------------------------|---------------|------------------|----------------|
| <i>D/L</i> strong | <i>egódal</i> | <i>yəgódəlan</i> | <i>yəgódal</i> |
| <i>D/L</i> <i>I</i> -w | <i>ōkal</i> | <i>yōkalan</i> | <i>yókəl</i> |
| <i>D/L</i> <i>I</i> ² | <i>ōsər</i> | <i>yōsəran</i> | <i>yósər</i> |

¹¹ As discussed in §7.4.3, the initial *e*- of *I*-w perfects is subject to loss among some speakers. It is unclear if this happens with *I*² verbs as well.

The only certain H-Stem of a I-ʿ root is the verb *édín* ‘warn’.¹² The H-Stem follows the Ga-Stem, in that the forms look essentially like the strong verb minus the first root consonant, but the perfect begins with an initial *ε-/e-*. *JL* gives the subjunctive as *yédðān*, but I suspect that the gemination is not actually present (as it is not in the Š₁-Stem).¹³ The Š₁-Stem behaves in the same way, mainly following the strong verb, and with *é* in the first syllable of the perfect. Compare the following forms:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperfect | 3ms subjunct. |
|--------------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| H strong | <i>ēðléf</i> | <i>yāðélóf</i> | <i>yéðlaf</i> |
| H I-ʿ | <i>édín</i> | <i>yédún</i> | <i>yé(ð)ðān</i> |
| Š ₁ strong | <i>šākšér</i> | <i>yāškésór</i> | <i>yāšékšar</i> |
| Š ₁ I-ʿ, II-n | <i>šénís</i> | <i>yāšénús</i> | <i>yšénas</i> |

The Š₂-Stem likewise follows the strong verb, minus the initial root consonant. The forms are like those of I-w verbs. Note that where intervocalic, the loss of ʿ has resulted in a long vowel. Compare:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperfect | 3ms subjunct. |
|-----------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Š ₂ strong | <i>šākésar</i> | <i>yāškésarān</i> | <i>yāškéšar</i> |
| Š ₂ I-w | <i>šēkal</i> | <i>yāšēkalan</i> | <i>yāšēkal</i> |
| Š ₂ I-ʿ | <i>šēgar</i> ¹⁴ | <i>yāšēgarān</i> | <i>yāšégar</i> |

In *JL* (s.v. *ðn*), the imperfect of the Š₂-Stem *šēðān* ‘get a warning’ is given as *yāšóðānān*, which, if accurate, is unexpected; cf. *šēgar* ‘rent’ in the table above and the entry for *šēxar* ‘come late; be delayed’ in *JL* (s.v. *ʿxr*), which has the expected imperfect *yāšéxarān*.

Not much can be said about the T-Stems of I-ʿ roots. The only T₁-Stem attested is *ótaxar* ‘be late’ (root *ʿxr*), which is apparently used only in the

¹² See also the comment to text 60:37, on another possible H-Stem.

¹³ That is to say, I suspect an error in *JL*. Compare geminate verbs (§7.4.14), where the gemination is present in both the H- and Š₁-Stem subjunctives. We can also compare the 3ms subjunctive *yérd* from the H-Stem *eród*, since this verb behaves as if it were I-ʿ, even though it is historically I-w (see §7.4.3).

¹⁴ This verb, meaning ‘rent, hire’ is missing from *JL*. See the comment to text AK1:4.

perfect,¹⁵ and looks like a I-w verb. No T2-Stem I-' verbs have been recorded.

7.4.2 I-Guttural Verbs (except I-' Verbs)

Verbs whose initial root consonant is a guttural other than ' (i.e., ' , *ǧ*, *h*, *ħ*, or *x*) form a special verb class only in the Ga-Stem. In other stems, they behave as strong verbs, with the difference that sometimes the guttural consonant (especially when it is ') has an effect on the quality of an adjacent vowel (e.g., *e* > *a*, or *ε* > *a*). Following are some examples of stems other than the Ga-Stem:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperfect | 3ms subjunct. |
|------------|----------------|-------------------------------------|------------------|
| Gb strong | <i>fékər</i> | <i>yáfékór</i> | <i>yafkór</i> |
| Gb I-G | <i>xérəf</i> | <i>yaxáróf</i> | <i>yaxróf</i> |
| D/L strong | <i>egódal</i> | <i>yəgódələn</i> | <i>yəgódal</i> |
| D/L I-G | <i>hóðər</i> | <i>yəhóðərən</i> | <i>yəhóðər</i> |
| H strong | <i>ədéləf</i> | <i>yəðéləf</i> | <i>yéðləf</i> |
| H I-G | <i>a'ələk</i> | <i>yə'ələk</i> | <i>yá'lək</i> |
| T1 strong | <i>fətkər</i> | <i>yəftékər</i> (3mp) | <i>yəftəkər</i> |
| T1 I-G | <i>ǧótrəb</i> | <i>yəǧtéréb</i> (3mp) ¹⁶ | <i>yəǧtérəb</i> |
| T2 strong | <i>əftérég</i> | <i>yəftérégən</i> | <i>yəftéróg</i> |
| T2 I-G | <i>əxtéléf</i> | <i>yəxtéléfən</i> | <i>yəxtélóf</i> |
| Š1 strong | <i>šəqšér</i> | <i>yəškéšór</i> | <i>yəšékšər</i> |
| Š1 I-G | <i>ša'sér</i> | <i>yəš'ásór</i> | <i>yəšá'sər</i> |
| Š2 strong | <i>šəkəšər</i> | <i>yəškəšərən</i> | <i>yəškəkšər</i> |
| Š2 I-G | <i>šxétər</i> | <i>yəšxétərən</i> | <i>yəšxétər</i> |

¹⁵ When prompted for a future tense of this verb, one informant (MmS) used the Š1-Stem future *ha-yšáxər*. Incidentally, he considered *štxər* old-fashioned and Arabizing, and much preferred *əǧrəg* 'be late' (e.g., 3:2).

¹⁶ This reciprocal verb, meaning 'know o.a.', is only used in the plural. In the perfect and subjunctive, the 3ms and 3mp would be identical anyway.

In the Ga-Stem, I-G verbs form a distinct class. In the perfect, they can follow the strong verb, showing the patterns *CɔCɔC* and *CCɔC* (the latter only when the first two root consonants are voiceless and non-glottalic). I-G verbs (except I-h) that are also II-r have the patterns *CaCɔC* or *CɔCɔC* (compared to *CeCɔC* and *CɔCɔC* for other II-r verbs; see §7.4.10); I-h, II-r verbs have *CeCɔC*. There is also some dialectal variation in the form of the perfect. With I-ʿ and I-h verbs, at least EJ speakers regularly use the pattern *CaCɔC* in place of *CɔCɔC*. For all I-G verbs, the 3ms imperfect and subjunctive normally have the pattern *yəCéCəC*, though the plurals are distinct: *yəCɔCəC* for 3mp imperfect and *yəCCɔC* for subjunctive. Note also that unlike strong verbs, I-G verbs have distinct 3ms and 3mp imperfects. Following are some sample forms:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperfect 3mp imperfect | 3ms subjunct. 3mp subjunct. |
|--------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Ga strong | <i>sfɔr</i> | <i>yəsɔ́fər</i> <i>yəsɔ́fər</i> | <i>yɔ́sfər</i> <i>yəsɔ́fər</i> |
| Ga I-G | <i>hɔ́fər</i> | <i>yəhɛ́fər</i> <i>yəhɔ́fər</i> | <i>yəhɛ́fər</i> <i>yəhɔ́fər</i> |
| Ga strong | <i>kɔ́dɔ́r</i> | <i>yəkɔ́dər</i> <i>yəkɔ́dər</i> | <i>yɔ́kdər</i> <i>yəkɔ́dər</i> |
| Ga I-G | <i>gɔ́lɔ́k</i> | <i>yəgɛ́lk</i> <i>yəgɔ́lk</i> | <i>yəgɛ́lk</i> <i>yəgɔ́lk</i> |
| Ga I-G (I-h) | <i>həlɔ́b</i> or <i>hɔ́lɔ́b</i> | <i>yəhɛ́ləb</i> <i>yəhɔ́ləb</i> | <i>yəhɛ́ləb</i> <i>yəhɔ́ləb</i> |
| Ga I-G (I-ʿ) | <i>ʿəkɔ́r</i> or <i>ɔ́kɔ́r</i> | <i>yəʿɛ́kər</i> <i>yəɔ́kər</i> | <i>yəʿɛ́kər</i> <i>yəʿkɔ́r</i> |
| Ga I-G, II-r | <i>xarɔ́g</i> | <i>yəxɛ́rg</i> <i>yəxɔ́rg</i> | <i>yəxɛ́rg</i> <i>yəxɔ́rg</i> |
| Ga I-h, II-r | <i>herɔ́g</i> | <i>yəhɛ́rg</i> <i>yəhɔ́rg</i> | <i>yəhɛ́rg</i> <i>yəhɔ́rg</i> |
| Ga I-G, II-m | <i>hɔ́l</i> | <i>yəhɪ́l</i> <i>yəhɔ́l</i> | <i>yəhɪ́l</i> <i>yəhɔ́l</i> |

At least three I-G verbs, two of which are very common, do not follow the above patterns: *ǵaróǵ* 'know', *ǵr* 'say', and *ǵl* 'do, make'. For *ǵaróǵ* 'know', the 3ms imperfect in the texts is *ǵǵóǵrb* (following the strong verb; 3mp *ǵǵóǵrb*). This form was also used by my own informants, but according to *JL* the 3ms imperfect is *ǵǵérb* (following other I-G verbs; 3mp *ǵǵóǵrb*). Its 3ms subjunctive, in both the texts and in *JL* is the unexpected *ǵǵréǵ* (3mp *ǵǵróǵ*). As for *ǵr* 'say' (< **amór*), it has 3ms (and 3mp) imperfect *ǵǵǵr* (< **ǵǵǵmǵr*, following the pattern of the strong verb) and 3ms subjunctive *ǵǵǵmǵr* (3mp *ǵǵǵmǵr*). The verb *ǵl* 'do, make' (< **amól*) occurs just once in the texts (FB1:1), but seems to behave like *ǵr* (cf. *JL*, s.v. *ml*). So if we ignore the imperfect form of *ǵaróǵ* listed *JL*, then the verbs *ǵaróǵ*, *ǵr*, and *ǵl* all follow the same patterns. However, this is not the general pattern for I-*ǵ* verbs (cf. *ǵkǵr* in the table above), nor do all I-G, II-m verbs behave like *ǵr*, as shown by the verb *ǵǵl* in the table above. See also the comment to text 60:20 on the verb *ǵǵóǵs/ǵǵǵóǵs* 'he thought'.

I-G, geminate roots in the G-Stem do not all behave in the same way. Those roots with initial *h*, *ǵ*, or *x* follow one pattern, while those with initial *ǵ* or *ǵ* follow another. See further in § 7.4.14.

7.4.3 I-w Verbs

Verbs whose first root consonant is *w* show peculiarities in all stems. In many places, the *w* is lost, while in others we see the result of the shift *w* > *b* that was discussed in § 2.1.5. Like *ǵ*, to speak of *w* as a root consonant is an etymological statement, since never does it surface as such.

In the G-Stem perfect, the initial *w* is lost in both the Ga- and Gb-Stems. Examples of Ga-Stems are *ezúm* 'he gave', *ekǵf* 'fall silent, keep quiet', *erǵd* 'go down to water', *elǵf* 'beget children', *erǵt* 'inherit', and *ezún* 'weigh'. The initial *e-* is often lost (both in the texts and in the speech of my informants), so one can hear *ezum* or *zum* for 'he gave', *ezumk* or *zumk* for 'I gave', etc. Examples of Gb-Stems are *éǵǵl* 'arrive, reach' and *éǵǵs* 'give resin'. I-w verbs with a guttural as the third root consonant, though they look similar to Gb-Stems in the perfect, have distinct forms in the other tenses. In the imperfect, Ga- and Gb-Stem I-w verbs without a guttural or final *w/y* both appear to have a Gb-type imperfect (*ǵǵwéCǵC* > *ǵéCǵC* with loss of the initial *w*), while III-G verbs have a Ga-type imperfect (also with loss of the initial *w*). In the subjunctive, the I-w Ga- and Gb-Stems are distinct. As noted already above, the conjugation of I-w verbs and I-*ǵ* verbs are the same in the G-Stem, as in several other stems (see below, and § 7.4.1). Following are some sample forms:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperfect | 3ms subjunct. |
|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------------|
| Ga strong | <i>sf̄r</i> | <i>yāsóf̄ar</i> | <i>yós̄f̄ar</i> |
| Gb strong | <i>fék̄ar</i> | <i>yafék̄ór</i> | <i>yafk̄ór</i> |
| Ga I-w | <i>(e)k̄óf̄</i> | <i>yék̄óf̄</i> | <i>yək̄éf̄</i> |
| Gb I-w | <i>éṣal</i> | <i>yéṣól</i> | <i>yāṣól</i> |
| G I-w, II-G | <i>axáf̄</i> | <i>yéxóf̄</i> | <i>yaxáf̄¹⁷</i> |
| G I-w, III-G | <i>égah̄</i> | <i>yógah̄</i> | <i>yəgáh̄</i> |
| G wǵd | <i>aǵád</i> | <i>yəbǵód</i> | <i>yəǵád</i> |

The two attested verbs with a guttural as the second root consonant (not counting those with a final *w/y*) are *aǵád* ‘go, walk’, and *axáf̄* ‘camp’, which each have a different imperfect pattern; *axáf̄* looks a lot like other Ga-Stem I-w verbs, so we might consider the imperfect of *aǵád* to be irregular. Given how frequently it is used, it is not surprising that *aǵád* shows some irregularity. The verb *(e)zúm* ‘give’, the other most commonly met I-w verb, also appears to show some irregularity. The 3ms imperfect is given in *JL* (s.v. *wzm*) as *yézúm*, following the pattern of other I-w Ga-Stems. However, in the texts, the form is nearly always *yézəm*, the form which my informants also used.¹⁸ It is unclear if the form *yézəm* reflects a peculiarity of this verb, a dialectal difference unique to this verb, or a dialectal difference common to all (or at least some other) I-w verbs.

In the D/L-Stem, I-w verbs seem to be identical to I-ʔ verbs. Compare the forms of *ōkāl* ‘entrust’ with a strong verb and the I-ʔ verb *ōśār* ‘point (out)’:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperfect | 3ms subjunct. |
|------------|---------------|------------------|----------------|
| D/L strong | <i>egódal</i> | <i>yəgódalən</i> | <i>yəǵódal</i> |
| D/L I-ʔ | <i>ōśār</i> | <i>yōśārən</i> | <i>yósār</i> |
| D/L I-w | <i>ōkāl</i> | <i>yōkālən</i> | <i>yókāl</i> |

¹⁷ In his manuscript word-list to text 39, Johnstone listed the imperfect *yaxóf̄* and subjunctive *yxóf̄*, so there is perhaps some dialectal variation, as there is with some other forms of verbs containing a guttural.

¹⁸ See the comment to text T]2:31 for discussion of the two occurrences of *yézúm*.

Like the D/L-Stem, the T₁-Stem of I-w verbs shows the loss of *w* in all forms, but is otherwise very similar to the strong verb. It seems also to be identical to I-' verbs, though evidence of I-' verbs in this stem is almost non-existent; just one such verb is attested (*ótɰar* 'be late'), and it seems to be used only in the perfect.

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperfect | 3ms subjunct. |
|-----------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| T ₁ strong | <i>fótɰar</i> | <i>ɣaftékór</i> | <i>ɣaftékər</i> |
| T ₁ I-' | <i>ótɰar</i> | (not used) | (not used?) |
| T ₁ I-w | <i>ótɰəð</i> | <i>ɣatékóð</i> | <i>ɣatékəð</i> |

In the Š₂-Stem, the *w* is also lost in all forms, with a resulting long vowel in the perfect and imperfect. The forms again look like those of I-' verbs, as well as I-b verbs (§ 7.4.5).

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperfect | 3ms subjunct. |
|-----------------------|----------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Š ₂ strong | <i>šəkésər</i> | <i>ɣəšəkésərən</i> | <i>ɣəšəkəsər</i> |
| Š ₂ I-' | <i>šēgər</i> | <i>ɣəšēgərən</i> | <i>ɣəšégər</i> |
| Š ₂ I-b | <i>šēsər</i> | <i>ɣəšēsərən</i> | <i>ɣəšésər</i> |
| Š ₂ I-w | <i>šəkəl</i> | <i>ɣəšəkələn</i> | <i>ɣəšékəl</i> |

An exception is the verb *šə'əd* 'arrange a meeting; promise' (root *w'd*), which looks an Š₂-Stem of the root 'wd; that is, instead of the expected **šə'əd* (< **šəwé'əd*), we get *šə'əd* (< **šə'əwəd*; cf. § 7.4.8). This is the only known Š₂-Stem of a I-w, II-' root, but the metathesis seen in this form has one parallel in a D/L-Stem verb. According to *JL* (s.v. [ʔ]wʒ and w'ʒ), the root w'ʒ, attested in the H-Stem and T₁-Stem has a D/L-Stem *ə'ōʒ* (< **ə'ówəʒ*), as if from the root 'wʒ, instead of the expected **šə'əz* (< **əwó'əz*). As for *šə'əd*, the first and second person perfect forms exhibit the vowel shift typical of the Š₁-Stem, e.g. *šə'ədk* 'I arranged a meeting' (28:10). The imperfect of *šə'əd* is unattested, but the 3ms subjunctive *ɣəš'éd* (TJ2:76) is the expected Š₂-Stem form for the II-w root 'wd.

In the H-Stem perfect, which has the underlying pattern (ε)CCÉC, the *w* has shifted to *b* according to the rules outlined in § 2.1.5; likewise in the subjunctive. In the imperfect, where the initial consonant is intervocalic, the *w* has been lost, with a resulting long vowel. The resulting forms

make I-w verbs look just like I-b verbs (§7.4.5). Compare the following forms:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperfect | 3ms subjunct. |
|--------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|
| H strong | <i>ēḏléf</i> | <i>yāḏélóf</i> | <i>yéḏlaf</i> |
| H I-b | <i>ēbrék</i> | <i>yērók</i> | <i>yébrak</i> |
| H I-w | <i>ēbték</i> | <i>yētók</i> | <i>yébtak</i> |
| H III-G | <i>ēgdáh</i> | <i>yāgdah</i> | <i>yégdah</i> |
| H I-b, III-G | <i>ēblág</i> | <i>yōlag</i> | <i>yéblag</i> |
| H I-w, III-G | <i>ēbgáh</i> | <i>yōgah</i> | <i>yébgah</i> |

One exceptional H-Stem verb is *eród* (*éród*, according to *JL*, s.v. *wrd*) ‘take (animals) down to water’ (3ms imperfect *yéród*), a causative of the G-Stem *eród* ‘go down to water’. We know from cognate languages that the root of this verb is historically *wrd*.¹⁹ However, in Jibbali it seems to behave as if it were from a root *ʾrd*. For the H-Stem perfect, we expect *ēbréd*, but instead get *eród*, which may, in fact be simply the G-Stem form; that is, perhaps the G-Stem has the meaning of both the G-Stem and the H-Stem. The H-Stem subjunctive form is *yérd* according to *JL* (like a I-ʾ H-Stem), but the texts suggest *yéréd* (25:2), similar to a I-w G-Stem. The H-Stem imperfect *yéród* could be considered a G- or H-Stem, from either *wrd* or *ʾrd*. *JL* (s.v. *wrd*) does, in fact, list an H-Stem *ēbréd* ‘defeat’ and Š1-Stem *šəbréd* ‘be defeated’, neither of which seems to be connected with the meaning ‘go down to water’. Perhaps the existence of two distinct meanings for the historical root *wrd* has caused one to shift to *ʾrd*, a shift that could happen easily given the similarities of I-w and I-ʾ verbs in the G-Stem.²⁰

The Š1-Stem of I-w verbs behaves, as expected, much like the H-Stem, with *w > b* in the perfect and subjunctive, and loss of *w* in the imperfect. The resulting forms again look like those of I-b verbs:

¹⁹ Cf. Mehri G *wərūd* ‘go down to water’ and H *həwrūd* ‘take (animals) down to water’; Akkadian *warādu*, Ge’ez *warada*, and Hebrew *yārad* ‘go down’; and Arabic *warada* ‘come, arrive’.

²⁰ To further complicate matters, *JL* (s.v. *wrd*) lists an Š2-Stem *šīrd* ‘go to the water before animals come’, which, because of the nasalization, looks as if it is from a root *mrd*! This could be back-formed from the noun *murd* ‘watering-place’, in which the *m-* is part of the nominal pattern.

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperfect | 3ms subjunct. |
|---------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Š1 strong | <i>šakšér</i> | <i>yaškéšór</i> | <i>yašékšar</i> |
| Š1 I-b | <i>šabrék</i> | <i>yašērók</i> | <i>yašébrak</i> |
| Š1 I-w | <i>šabték</i> | <i>yašētók</i> | <i>yašébtak</i> |
| Š1 III-G | <i>šagdáḥ</i> | <i>yašgódah</i> | <i>yašégdah</i> |
| Š1 I-b, III-G | <i>šablág</i> | <i>yašōlag</i> | <i>yašéblag</i> |
| Š1 I-w, III-G | <i>šabgáh</i> | <i>yašōgah</i> | <i>yašébgah</i> |

The T2-Stem shows the shift of $w > b$ in all forms:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperfect | 3ms subjunct. |
|-----------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| T2 strong | <i>aftakér</i> | <i>yaftakérān</i> | <i>yaftakór</i> |
| T2 I-w | <i>abtakéd</i> | <i>yabtakédān</i> | <i>yabtakód</i> |

7.4.4 I-y Verbs

Verbs whose first root consonant is historically y are exceedingly rare. I-y roots seem to have been rather rare already in Proto-Semitic. No I-y verbs occur in the texts, and just one I-y verbal root is listed in *JL*, namely, *ytm*. From this root, *JL* lists Gb *étam* 'become an orphan', D/L *ōtam* '(wife) abandon one's husband and children', Š1 *šétím* 'become an orphan', and Š2 *šētām* 'become an orphan'. The forms of all of these stems look like those of I-' verbs; the G-, D/L-, and Š2-Stem forms also look like those of I-w verbs. The Gb-Stem *étam* has, according to *JL*, a Ga-type subjunctive. Compare:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subj. |
|----------------|---------------|----------------|--------------|
| Gb I-w | <i>éšal</i> | <i>yéšól</i> | <i>yašól</i> |
| Ga I-w | <i>(e)káf</i> | <i>yékáf</i> | <i>yakéf</i> |
| Gb I-y, III-m | <i>étam</i> | <i>yétúm</i> | <i>yatém</i> |
| D/L I-' | <i>ōšar</i> | <i>yōšarān</i> | <i>yóšar</i> |
| D/L I-y, III-m | <i>ōtam</i> | <i>yōtamān</i> | <i>yótām</i> |

| | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|
| Š1 I- ² , II-n | <i>šénís</i> | <i>yəšénús</i> | <i>yšénəs</i> |
| Š1 I-y, III-m | <i>šétim</i> | <i>yəšétúm</i> | <i>yəšétam</i> |

7.4.5 I-b and I-m Verbs

Verbs that have *b* or *m* as one of their root consonants perhaps do not generally form a separate class of weak verbs, but rather form a subgroup of other conjugation types (strong, II-G, II-w, etc.); only in the T-Stems are I-b/m verbs regular. However, since the consonants *b* and *m* are subject to phonetic changes (namely, intervocalic loss) that can obscure the verbal pattern, these two labials can be considered weak consonants. The changes associated with *b* and *m* in verb forms have already been discussed in § 2.1.2 and § 2.1.3, where some examples can be found. The consonant *m* can also have a raising effect on an adjacent vowel, as discussed in § 2.2.2 (cf. Gb *mírəž* ‘be(come) ill’ vs. *fěkər* ‘be(come) poor’). Following are some sample forms of I-b and I-m verbs, in comparison with other verbs:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subj. |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------|
| Gb strong | <i>fěkər</i> | <i>yəfěkór</i> | <i>yəfkór</i> |
| Gb I-m | <i>mírəž</i> | <i>yěrőž</i> | <i>yəmrőž</i> |
| G II-G, I-voiced | <i>ð(ə)‘ár</i> or <i>ðá‘ár</i> | <i>yəð‘ór</i> or <i>yəðó‘ór</i> | <i>yəð‘ór</i> |
| G I-b, II-G | <i>b(ə)gəž</i> or <i>bagəž</i> | <i>yōgőž</i> | <i>yəbgőž</i> |
| Ga III-w/y | <i>kéré</i> | <i>yəkór</i> | <i>yékər</i> |
| Ga I-b, III-w/y | <i>bédé</i> | <i>yōd</i> | <i>yēd</i> |
| Ga I-m, III- ² | <i>mélé</i> | <i>yūl</i> | <i>yīl</i> |
| D/L strong | <i>egódəl</i> | <i>yəgódələn</i> | <i>yəgódəl</i> |
| D/L I-m | <i>ōtəl</i> | <i>yōtələn</i> | <i>yōtəl</i> |
| H strong | <i>ēdléf</i> | <i>yəđélíf</i> | <i>yéđlaf</i> |
| H I-b | <i>ebrék</i> | <i>yērók</i> | <i>yébrək</i> |

| | | | |
|---------------|---------------|------------------------------|-----------------|
| H III-G | <i>εgdáh</i> | <i>γəǵdaha</i> | <i>yégdah</i> |
| H I-b, III-G | <i>εblág</i> | <i>γōlag</i> | <i>yéblag</i> |
| Š1 strong | <i>šəḵšér</i> | <i>γəšḵéšór</i> | <i>γəšéḵšər</i> |
| Š1 I-b | <i>šəbrék</i> | <i>γəšērók</i> ²¹ | <i>γəšébrək</i> |
| Š1 III-G | <i>šəgdáh</i> | <i>γəšǵdaha</i> | <i>γəšégdah</i> |
| Š1 I-b, III-G | <i>šəblág</i> | <i>γəšōlag</i> | <i>γəšéblag</i> |

In some cases the I-b feature takes precedence over another weak verb type. For example, geminate roots in the H-Stem and Š1-Stem have a unique imperfect pattern. However, geminate roots that are also I-b behave in the imperfect like other I-b verbs, rather than like geminate verbs, as the following table shows:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subj. |
|---------------|--------------|----------------|---------------|
| H strong | <i>εdléf</i> | <i>γəḏélǵf</i> | <i>yéḏlaf</i> |
| H gemin. | <i>εdlél</i> | <i>γədlél</i> | <i>yéddal</i> |
| H I-b | <i>εbrék</i> | <i>γērók</i> | <i>yébrək</i> |
| H gemin., I-b | <i>εbrér</i> | <i>γērór</i> | <i>yébbər</i> |

On G-Stem I-m, geminate verbs, and on Š1-Stem I-b, geminate verbs, see § 7.4.14.

Because historical *b* and *w* are both lost between vowels, the forms of I-b verbs often look like those of I-w verbs, including the D/L-, H-, Š1-, and Š2-Stems; see § 7.4.3 for some examples.

7.4.6 I-n, I-l, and I-r Verbs

Verbs whose first root consonant is *n* are unique in the H- and Š1-Stem imperfect and in the Š2-Stem perfect, imperfect, and subjunctive. In the H- and Š1-Stem imperfect, whereas strong verbs have a vowel following the first root consonant, I-n verbs have a preceding full vowel and no following vowel. If the third root consonant is a guttural or *w/y*, then I-n verbs behave

²¹ See § 6.4.1 on how the *b* is underlyingly intervocalic in this form.

as other III-G or III-w/y verbs in the H-Stem, while in the Š₁-Stem, the first root consonant of I-n verbs will have both a preceding and following vowel. In the Š₂-Stem perfect, imperfect, and subjunctive, the first root consonant of I-n verbs will also have both a preceding and following full vowel. I-n geminate verbs behave as other geminate verbs, at least in the Š₁-Stem. Compare the following forms:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperfect | 3ms subjunct. |
|---------------------------|----------------|--------------------|------------------|
| H strong | <i>εðléf</i> | <i>γαðéléζf</i> | <i>γέðlaf</i> |
| H I-n | <i>ενḑér</i> | <i>γίνḑór</i> | <i>γένḑar</i> |
| H III-G | <i>εtká´</i> | <i>γαtóká´</i> | <i>γέtká´</i> |
| H I-n, III-G | <i>ενdáx</i> | <i>γανúδax</i> | <i>γένδax</i> |
| Š ₁ strong | <i>šakšér</i> | <i>γαškéšór</i> | <i>γαšékšar</i> |
| Š ₁ I-n | <i>šandér</i> | <i>γαšénḑór</i> | <i>γαšénḑar</i> |
| Š ₁ III-G | <i>šadfá´</i> | <i>γαšdózfa´</i> | <i>γαšédfa´</i> |
| Š ₁ I-n, III-G | <i>šanfá´</i> | <i>γαšénúfa´</i> | <i>γαšénfa´</i> |
| Š ₂ strong | <i>šakéšar</i> | <i>γαškéšarən</i> | <i>γαškéšar</i> |
| Š ₂ I-n | <i>šénítaf</i> | <i>γαšénítafən</i> | <i>γαšénétaf</i> |

The appearance of the full vowel before the first root consonant in the Š₁-Stem imperfect and Š₂-Stem imperfect and subjunctive is evidence for a vowel in this position in the underlying historical form, as discussed in § 6.4.1 and § 6.4.3.

I-l and I-r verbs pattern with I-n verbs in the Š₁-Stem. For the H-Stem, the data in *JL* seem to suggest that they do not.

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperfect | 3ms subjunct. |
|----------|--------------|-----------------|---------------|
| H strong | <i>εðléf</i> | <i>γαðéléζf</i> | <i>γέðlaf</i> |
| H I-n | <i>ενḑér</i> | <i>γίνḑór</i> | <i>γένḑar</i> |
| H I-l | <i>εltím</i> | <i>γαléttím</i> | <i>γέltəm</i> |
| H I-r | <i>erkéb</i> | <i>γαρέkób</i> | <i>γέρkab</i> |

| | | | |
|---------------------------|---------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Š ₁ strong | <i>šāḵšér</i> | <i>yāšḵéšór</i> | <i>yāšéḵšar</i> |
| Š ₁ I-n | <i>šāndér</i> | <i>yāšéndór</i> | <i>yāšéndār</i> |
| Š ₁ I-l | <i>šālhék</i> | <i>yāšélhók</i> | <i>yāšélhək</i> |
| Š ₁ I-r | <i>šārkéb</i> | <i>yāšérkób</i> | <i>yāšérkab</i> |
| Š ₁ I-r, III-G | <i>šārká‘</i> | <i>yāšérvóka‘</i> | <i>yāšérka‘</i> |

In the Š₂-Stem, I-l verbs seem also to pattern with I-n verbs, though the transcription in *JL* sometimes obscures this for the perfect forms. For example, *JL* lists *šeléḵam* ‘feed o.a.’ (s.v. *lḵm*), but *šalétam* ‘slap o.a.’ (s.v. *lṭm*). Only three I-l Š₂-Stem verbs in *JL* are listed with their imperfect and subjunctive forms, namely *šēlēd* ‘shoot back’ (s.v. *lbd*), *šalétāg* ‘fight’ (s.v. *ltg*), and the aforementioned *šalétam*. The recorded imperfect and subjunctive forms of *šēlēd* in *JL* are those of the Š₁-Stem, though the texts attest an Š₂-Imperfect (3ms *yāšēlēdan*, 83:3); the verb *šalétāg* behaves as a strong verb (as other III-G verbs); and *šalétam* has an imperfect and subjunctive that look like the I-n type (3mp imperfect *yāšélbṭāman*, 3mp subjunctive *yāšélbṭāman*). For I-r verbs, the perfect looks like those of I-n verbs; cf. *šeréšad* ‘keep putting an ambush in one place’, *šeréxaṣ* ‘try to buy cheaply’, and *šerézaf* ‘punch at o.a.’. The imperfect and subjunctive forms of I-r verbs in the Š₂-Stem are given in *JL* only for the II-w verb *šerēg* ‘consult, get approval from’ (s.v. *rwg*), whose imperfect, at least, looks like the I-n type (*yāšerēgan*). When the second root consonant is *w* or *y*, the Š₂-Stems of all I-n/I-r verbs show the full vowel in the first syllable (see § 7.4.8).

There are also a handful of unusual I-n verbs in the D/L-Stem, including *enikad* ‘bounce’, *enikəḥ* ‘puff and pant’, and *enišək* ‘whistle’. The first and last of these also have regular D/L-Stems, namely, *enúkad* ‘make sad; make jump’ and *enúšək* ‘whistle’. These unusual verbs behave like other D/L-Stems, except for the different quality of the stressed vowel in the three major tenses. Compare:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperfect | 3ms subjunct. |
|----------------|---------------|------------------|----------------|
| D/L strong | <i>egódal</i> | <i>yəgódalan</i> | <i>yəgódal</i> |
| D/L strong I-n | <i>enišək</i> | <i>yənúšəḵan</i> | <i>yənóšək</i> |
| D/L weak I-n | <i>enišək</i> | <i>yənúšəḵan</i> | <i>yənéšək</i> |

There are also some I-n/l/r verbs in the G-Stem that are conjugated differently, all of which are also II-Guttural verbs; see further in §7.4.7.

In all positions, the consonant *n* (as *m*) can have a raising effect on an adjacent vowel (cf. *enúšəḵ* vs. *egódəl*). See further in §2.2.2.

7.4.7 II-Guttural Verbs (except II-² Verbs)

All G-Stem verbs whose second root consonant is *ʕ*, *ǧ*, *ħ*, or *x* have the pattern *CCaC* or *CaCáC* in the perfect. The distribution of these two patterns seems to differ by dialect, however. The pattern *CCaC* is always found with those verbs whose first root consonant is voiceless and non-glottalic, and whose second root consonant is the voiceless guttural *ħ* or *x*. However, both patterns are attested for other II-G verbs. The *CCaC* pattern (usually realized *CáCáC*) is found in Johnstone's texts from Ali Musallam (cf. the very common verb *zəḥám*), while the *CaCáC* type is found in *JL*. The two perfect patterns also have distinct imperfect patterns, and the dialectal variation in the imperfect mirrors that of the perfect. Following are some sample forms:

| | 3ms perf. | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subj. |
|--|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------|
| Gb strong | <i>fěḵər</i> | <i>yaḥfěḵór</i> | <i>yaḥḵór</i> |
| G II- <i>ħ/x</i> , I/II-voiceless, non-glottalic | <i>šḥab</i> | <i>yašḥób</i> | <i>yašḥób</i> |
| G II-G, I-voiceless, non-glottalic | <i>t(ə)ʕab</i> or <i>taʕáb</i> | <i>yaṭʕób</i> or <i>yaṭəʕób</i> | <i>yaṭʕób</i> |
| G II-G, I-voiced or I-glottalic | <i>ḏ(ə)ʕár</i> or <i>ḏaʕár</i> | <i>yaḏʕór</i> or <i>yaḏəʕór</i> | <i>yaḏʕór</i> |
| G II-G, I-voiced or I-glottalic | <i>ž(ə)ħák</i> or <i>žaħák</i> | <i>yažħók</i> or <i>yažəħók</i> | <i>yažħók</i> |
| G II-G, I-sonorant | <i>(ə)lǧáz</i> or <i>laǧáz</i> | <i>yaǧǧóz</i> or <i>yaǧəǧóz</i> | <i>yaǧǧóz</i> |
| G II-G, I-b/m | <i>b(ə)ǧaž</i> or <i>baǧáž</i> | <i>yǧǧóž</i> | <i>yǧǧóž</i> |

It can be seen from the examples above that the imperfect forms of II-G verbs are similar to those of strong Gb-Stems (and likewise have distinct 3ms and 3mp forms; e.g., 3mp *yəshéḅ*), while the subjunctives are identical to strong Gb-Stems (e.g., 3mp *yəshéḅ*). The difference in the imperfect forms is that the II-G verbs show either vowel deletion after the first root consonant (e.g., *yəshób* vs. *yəfékór*) or vowel harmony (e.g., *yətoʿób* vs. *yəfékór*). This same vowel harmony shows up also in the H- and Š1-Stems (see below). Also note that even while the imperfect and subjunctive fall together in most verbs of the CCaC-type perfect, they remain distinct for I-b/m verbs in all dialects.

While most II-G verbs follow the patterns listed above, there are two additional patterns for II-G verbs. The first is that of verbs whose second root consonant is *h*. These pattern essentially with the verbs above, with the difference that the perfect has the shape *C(ə)CéC* (in place of *C(ə)CáC*) or *CéCéC* (in place of *CaCáC*). Examples are:

| | 3ms perf. | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subj. |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------|
| G II-h, I/II-vceless | <i>shel</i> | <i>yəshól</i> | <i>yəshól</i> |
| G II-h, I/II-voiced | <i>ž(ə)hér</i> or <i>žehér</i> | <i>yəžhór</i> or <i>yəžchór</i> | <i>yəžhór</i> |

There is also a whole set of II-G verbs that show a completely different type of conjugation in the G-Stem. The 3ms perfect is the same as for the II-G verbs described above, but the imperfect has the 3ms pattern *yéCCəC* (or *yéCCaC*; 3mp *yóCCəC* or *yóCGaC*), and the subjunctive has the 3ms pattern *yóCCəC* (or *yóCGaC*; 3mp *yəCCóC*). Compare the following forms:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subjunct. |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|---------------|----------------|
| G II-Gutt., var. type | <i>rhaž</i> or <i>raḥáz</i> | <i>yérhaž</i> | <i>yórrhaž</i> |
| G II-Gutt., var. type | <i>nhağ</i> or <i>naḥág</i> | <i>yínhağ</i> | <i>yúnhağ</i> |
| G II-Gutt., var. type | <i>g(ə)ʿar</i> or <i>gaʿár</i> | <i>yégʿar</i> | <i>yógʿar</i> |

Almost all of the verbs of this variant type have a nasal or liquid as the first or third root consonant, as $r(a)h\acute{a}z$ ‘wash’, $n(a)h\acute{a}g$ ‘dance; play’, and $g(a)\acute{a}r$ ‘fall, above; likewise $khal$ ‘apply kohl to the eyes’, $n(a)g\acute{a}m$ ‘come in anger’, and $r(a)h\acute{a}l$ ‘bring water from a distance’. The verb $k\acute{a}h\acute{e}b$ ‘spend the day’ which has either $y\acute{e}kh\acute{a}b$ or $y\acute{a}k\acute{h}\acute{o}b$ for the imperfect is an exception. Also, this is not a rule for verbs with a nasal or liquid root consonant; the great majority of II-G verbs that also have a nasal or liquid as a root consonant pattern with other II-G verbs (as $\acute{d}(a)\acute{a}r$ ‘pour’, $l(a)g\acute{a}z$ ‘tickle’, $sh\acute{e}l$ ‘finish (food)’, and $\acute{z}(\acute{\epsilon})h\acute{e}r$ ‘appear’, listed above, as well as $f(a)\acute{a}l$ ‘hurt’, $r(a)g\acute{a}m$ ‘criticize’, $r(a)x\acute{a}s$ ‘be(come) cheap’, and others).²²

In the D/L-Stem, verbs with II-G roots normally behave as strong verbs. Alternatively, they can have a perfect base that looks identical to the H-Stem (CC \acute{e} C), which leads to mixing of the two stems.

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subj. |
|---------------|---|--|--|
| D/L strong | <i>eg\acute{o}d\acute{a}l</i> | <i>y\acute{a}g\acute{o}d\acute{a}l\acute{a}n</i> | <i>y\acute{a}g\acute{o}d\acute{a}l</i> |
| D/L II-G, I-m | <i>\acute{o}h\acute{a}l</i> | <i>y\acute{o}h\acute{a}l\acute{a}n</i> | <i>y\acute{o}h\acute{a}l</i> |
| D/L II-G | <i>f\acute{x}\acute{e}r</i> or <i>f\acute{o}x\acute{e}r</i> | <i>y\acute{a}f\acute{o}x\acute{e}r\acute{a}n</i> | <i>y\acute{a}f\acute{o}x\acute{e}r</i> |

The verb $sa\acute{e}d$ ‘help’ (3ms imperfect $y\acute{a}sa\acute{e}d\acute{a}n$, 3ms subjunctive $y\acute{a}s\acute{e}d$) seems to be an anomalous II-G verb, whose imperfect and subjunctive patterns look similar to those of geminate verbs (§ 7.4.14). A few other verbs apparently have a similar imperfect (cf. *JL*, s.v. *shl* and *nxl*, both with seemingly H-Stem perfects and subjunctives, and s.v. ‘*bl*’).

In the H- and Š₁-Stems, II-G verbs behave mostly like strong verbs, with the exception of the vowels of the imperfect. Just as in the G-Stem, where II-G verbs have the 3ms imperfect $y\acute{a}CC\acute{o}C$ or $y\acute{a}C\acute{o}C\acute{o}C$ (vs. strong Gb $y\acute{a}C\acute{e}C\acute{o}C$), in the H-Stem they have the 3ms imperfect $y\acute{a}C_1(C_1)C\acute{o}C$ or $y\acute{a}C_1(C_1)\acute{o}C\acute{o}C$ (vs. strong $y\acute{a}C_1(C_1)\acute{e}C\acute{o}C$). As with strong H-Stem verbs, the first root consonant is usually geminate if voiceless. Some examples are:

²² *JL* lists a verb $r\acute{e}h\acute{a}k$ ‘be far away’, with the pattern of the strong Gb-Stem in the perfect. This is not a mistake (cf. also Mehri $r\acute{i}h\acute{a}k$), but seems to be dialectal. According to my informants, the G-Stem verb is $r(a)h\acute{a}k$ ‘go far away’, following the expected II-G pattern. The use of this verb overlaps with the adjective $r\acute{a}h\acute{a}k$; cf. $\acute{s}\acute{\epsilon} r\acute{a}h\acute{a}k$ ‘he went far away’ and $\acute{s}\acute{\epsilon} r\acute{a}h\acute{a}k$ ‘he is far away’.

| | 3ms perf. | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subj. |
|--------------------------------------|--------------|------------------|---------------|
| H strong, I-voiced or I-glottalic | <i>εðléf</i> | <i>γaðélf</i> | <i>yéðlaf</i> |
| H II-G, I-voiced or I-glottalic | <i>εdxél</i> | <i>γad(ɔ)xól</i> | <i>yédxal</i> |
| H strong, I-voiceless | <i>flét</i> | <i>γaffélt</i> | <i>yéflat</i> |
| H II-h/h/x, I-voiceless | <i>fhés</i> | <i>γaf(f)hós</i> | <i>yéfhás</i> |

And in the Š₁-Stem, II-G verbs show the same vowel harmony in the imperfect, as in:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subjunct. |
|-----------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Š ₁ strong | <i>šəḵšér</i> | <i>γəšḵéšór</i> | <i>γəšéḵšər</i> |
| Š ₁ II-G | <i>šəghéd</i> | <i>γəšgəhód</i> | <i>γəšéghəd</i> |

Compare the forms of II-G verbs in the remaining stems:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subjunct. |
|-----------------------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| T ₁ strong | <i>šótḑər</i> | <i>γəštəḑór</i> | <i>γəštéḑər</i> |
| T ₁ II-G | <i>mútxəḵ</i> | <i>γəmtəxóḵ</i> | <i>γəmtéḵəḵ</i> |
| T ₂ strong | <i>əftəkér</i> | <i>γəftəkéran</i> | <i>γəftəkór</i> |
| T ₂ II-G | <i>əstəhél</i> | <i>γəstəhélan</i> | <i>γəstəhól</i> |
| Š ₂ strong | <i>šəḵéšər</i> | <i>γəšḵéšəran</i> | <i>γəšḵéšər</i> |
| Š ₂ II-G | <i>šədéxəl</i> | <i>γəšdəxələn</i> | <i>γəšdəxəl</i> |

The only real difference in the forms above is in the Š₂ subjunctive, where the realization of the vowel before the second root consonant is *a* with II-G verbs, rather than its allophone *ε*. Looking in *JL* (p. xxiv), one might get the impression that T₁-Stems of II-G roots usually have T₂-type imperfects. In fact, while a number of such verbs do, most do not. One also finds T₂-Stems with T₁-type subjunctives, but again this is the exception rather than the

rule. And, as noted in § 6.5.1 and § 6.5.4, such mixing is common among all T-Stems, not just with II-G verbs.

7.4.8 II-ʿ, II-w, and II-y Verbs

There are only a few II-ʿ roots in Jibbali. The G-Stem verbs are *fēl* ‘prophecy’, *šēm* ‘sell’, *šēl* ‘seek/ask for payment of a debt’, and *šēb* ‘draw water’.²³ The imperfect and subjunctive forms of *fēl* are not included in *JL*. The others have the following forms:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperfect | 3ms subjunct. |
|--------|-------------|-------------------------------|---------------|
| G II-ʿ | <i>šēm</i> | <i>yāšúm</i> | <i>yāšúm</i> |
| G II-ʿ | <i>šēl</i> | <i>yāšōl</i> (<i>yāšól</i>) | <i>yāšól</i> |
| G II-ʿ | <i>šēb</i> | <i>yāšōb</i> (<i>yāšób</i>) | <i>yāšób</i> |

Note that the vowels of the imperfect may or may not be longer than in the subjunctive; *JL* is inconsistent on this detail. Except for the possible difference in the vowel length in some forms, the imperfect and subjunctive are otherwise conjugated the same (as with many other II-G verbs; see § 7.4.7). Also like other II-G verbs (and several other weak verb types), but unlike strong verbs, the 3ms and 3mp imperfect are distinct; cf. 3ms *yāšúm* vs. 3mp *yāším* (from the pattern *yāCéC*). Verbs with II-ʿ roots in other stems are even fewer in number, and will be taken up below where appropriate.

Verbs with *w* or *y* as the second root consonant are much more frequent than II-ʿ verbs, but they also show more variation. The forms of II-y verbs seem to be relatively consistent in the G-Stem,²⁴ although other weak consonants have their own effects. The basic forms of II-y verbs are identical to those of II-ʿ verbs (and the length of the vowel in the imperfect form is equally uncertain). Compare the following forms:

²³ The verb *šēb* is actually listed in *JL* under the root *šyb*, but I assume it is II-ʿ based on its Semitic cognates, e.g., Hebrew *šāʾab*, Ugaritic *šʾb* ‘draw water’; Geʿez *saʾaba* ‘drag, pull’; Sabaic (T-Stem) *stʾb* ‘draw water’.

²⁴ Only about half of the II-y verbs listed in *JL* have imperfect and subjunctive forms listed, so this missing data could, of course, be hiding more variation or irregularity.

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperfect | 3ms subjunct. |
|---------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| G II-ʾ | <i>šēl</i> | <i>yəšōl</i> | <i>yəšōl</i> |
| G II-y | <i>kēl</i> | <i>yəkōl</i> | <i>yəkōl</i> |
| G II-y | <i>fēž</i> | <i>yəfōž</i> | <i>yəfōž</i> |
| G II-y | <i>fēt²⁵</i> | <i>yəfōt</i> | <i>yəfōt</i> |
| G II-y, III-G | <i>žē^c</i> | <i>yəžé^c</i> | <i>yéžá^c</i> |

II-y verbs with an initial *n* or *l* also seem to be unique: the imperfects of *lēn* ‘become soft; come into view suddenly’ and *nēk* ‘sleep with (a woman)’ are recorded in *JL* as *úln* and *ínk*. However, the subjunctives of these two verbs (3ms *yalén* and *yínk*) have different patterns. The subjunctive form *yalén* patterns with some II-w verbs, but also with the II-y, III-nasal verb *bēn* (3ms subj. *yabén*; not used in the imperfect), while *yínk* patterns with most III-w/y verbs (§ 7.4.12) and some other II-w verbs.

II-w verbs show much more variation than II-y verbs. First, there is at least one clear Gb-Stem listed in *JL* (*ēr* ‘go blind’, s.v. ‘wr’),²⁶ which mirrors strong verb patterns in most forms. It shows loss of *w* in the perfect, *w > y* in the imperfect, and *w > b* in the subjunctive:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperfect | 3ms subjunct. |
|-----------|--------------|----------------|---------------|
| Gb strong | <i>fékər</i> | <i>yəfékór</i> | <i>yəfkór</i> |
| Gb II-w | <i>ēr</i> | <i>yə’éyór</i> | <i>yə’bór</i> |

Other G-Stem II-w verbs appear in two patterns in the perfect, *CēC* (like II-ʾ and II-y verbs) or *CōC*.²⁷ Both II-w types normally show a 3ms imperfect

²⁵ Although *fēt* ‘die’ is listed under the root *fwt* in *JL*, and the Arabic cognate has the root *fwt*, the Jibbali root is *fyt*; cf. also H *fyét* ‘kill, let die’ (49:8) and Hobyot G *fayōt*. Oddly, in the paradigms in *ML* (p. xxix), the Mehri counterpart *mōt* ‘die’ (root *mwt*) is mistakenly listed as a II-y verb. In addition to *fēt*, the verbs *ḏēb*, *fēz*, *gēr*, and *hēl* are II-y in Jibbali, but II-w in Arabic (though *ḏēb* and *hēl* can be either II-w or II-y in other stems).

²⁶ The Gb-Stem *tēk* ‘be stuck with’ is listed in *JL* under the root *ṭwk*, but the root is actually *ṭbk*, as also in Soqotri. Cf. Ge’ez *ṭabaqa* ‘glue, adhere’, as well as Hebrew *dābaq*, Arabic *dabīqa* ‘cling, adhere’.

²⁷ Note that II-w/y, III-G verbs are extremely rare, but in such cases the perfect has the shape *CaC* in place of *CōC*, and sometimes *CēC* in place of *CēC*.

yəCéC, and either *yəCéC* or *yéCəC* for the 3ms subjunctive. The subjunctive pattern *yéCəC* is most common with, but is not confined to (cf. *yéšəš*), verbs with a liquid or nasal root consonant. The subjunctive pattern *yəCéC* is most common with, but is not confined to (cf. *yəšéš*), verbs with an initial guttural. At least one II-w verb (*dēs* ‘trample on’) has the II-y subjunctive pattern *yəCəC*. Some examples are:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperfect | 3ms subjunct. |
|---------------|-------------|---------------|---------------|
| G II-y | <i>kēl</i> | <i>yəkōl</i> | <i>yəkól</i> |
| G II-w | <i>dēr</i> | <i>yədér</i> | <i>yédər</i> |
| G II-w, III-n | <i>kun</i> | <i>yəkín</i> | <i>yékən</i> |
| G II-w, III-n | <i>xēn</i> | <i>yəxín</i> | <i>yəxén</i> |

A few II-w verbs behave as if they were II-b verbs (§7.4.9). Compare:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperfect | 3ms subjunct. |
|-----------|---------------|---------------|---------------|
| Ga strong | <i>ḵəḵdōr</i> | <i>yəḵdōr</i> | <i>yóḵdər</i> |
| Ga II-b | <i>ḵōr</i> | <i>yəḵōr</i> | <i>yóḵbər</i> |
| G II-w | <i>sōk</i> | <i>yəsōk</i> | <i>yósbək</i> |

II-w G-Stem verbs are further complicated by the fact that there seems to be some general and dialectal variation. For example, *JL* (s.v. *dws*) records that the verb *dēs* ‘trample on’ has the EJ form *dəs*. *JL* (s.v. *gwz*) lists both *gēz* ‘be acceptable, legal; pass away’ and *gəz* ‘be finished’, but with identical imperfect and subjunctive forms. No doubt there is variation (dialectal or otherwise) among other forms and other verbs, including those presented above.

JL (p. xx) is rather misleading on the occurrence of II-w/y verbs in the D/L-Stem. Some, if not most, II-w verbs look very similar to strong verbs in the D/L-Stem, but with the elision of the *w*, and are identical to II-b verbs. Compare:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperfect | 3ms subjunct. |
|-----------------|---------------------------|------------------|----------------|
| D/L strong | <i>egódal</i> | <i>yagóðalan</i> | <i>yagódal</i> |
| D/L II-b | <i>xōṭ</i> | <i>yaxōṭan</i> | <i>yaxóṭ</i> |
| D/L II-w | <i>sōr</i> | <i>yasōran</i> | <i>yasór</i> |
| D/L II-w, III-r | <i>edōr</i> ²⁸ | <i>yadōran</i> | <i>yadór</i> |

There are about eighteen II-w verbs with this pattern in *JL*.²⁹ The one II-² verb that is known to occur in the D/L-Stem (*šōl* ‘be in debt’, root *š’l*) seems also to follow this pattern.

In Mehri, II-w/y verbs, like geminate verbs, have the pattern *aCwīC* or *aCyīC* in the D/L perfect. In Jibbali, the D/L-Stem pattern for the II-y 3ms perfect is $(\epsilon)CéC$. The H-Stem pattern for II-y 3ms perfects is $(\epsilon)CyéC$, which is often realized as $(\epsilon)CéC$ (cf. H-Stem *agyég* pronounced *agég* in 32:3); as a result there is a lot of mixing between the two stems. For example, several verbs with the perfect pattern $(\epsilon)CyéC$ have a D/L-Stem imperfect, but an H-Stem subjunctive. It is not clear if we should consider these D/L- or H-Stems. As in Mehri, Jibbali geminate D/L-Stems also look like H-Stems (see §7.4.14), and as a result of further mixing, some II-w/y verbs have D/L-Stem imperfects, but subjunctives that follow the pattern for H-Stem geminate roots. Sometimes verbs also alternate between II-w and II-y in different stems. And several verbs show biforms $(\epsilon)CbéC$ and $(\epsilon)CyéC$ in the perfect; no doubt other biforms exist that were not recorded by Johnstone. There is, therefore, a lot of variation in the conjugation of II-w/y verbs in the D/L- and H-Stems. Because of all the mixing, very few such roots have both a D/L-Stem or an H-Stem. When a root has both stems, II-w roots have the pattern $(\epsilon)CōC$ in the D/L-Stem (as in the table above) and $(\epsilon)CbéC$ in the H-Stem, while II-y roots have $(\epsilon)CéC$ in the D/L-Stem and $(\epsilon)CyéC$ in the H-Stem. Following are some sample forms of D/L- and H-Stems of II-w/y roots:

²⁸ This verb (meaning ‘return, go back’) is usually pronounced *edūr*, because of the final sonorant.

²⁹ This should not be considered an exact number, because it is not always clear what should be considered a II-w verb, and what should be considered a II-b verb. There is also one verb with this pattern that Johnstone considers II-y, namely, *xōṭ* ‘redeem’. I see no reason why the root of this verb should not be considered *xwṭ*.

| | 3ms perf. | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subj. |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|--|----------------|
| D/L strong | <i>egóðal</i> | <i>yagóðalan</i> | <i>yagóðal</i> |
| H strong | <i>eðléf</i> | <i>yaðélélf</i> | <i>yéðlaf</i> |
| D/L II-y (<i>y</i> elided) | <i>edéb</i> | <i>yadēn</i> (<i>< *yadébən</i>) | <i>yadéb</i> |
| D/L II-y | <i>edyín</i> | <i>yadyínən</i> | <i>yadén</i> |
| H II-y | <i>eðyéþ</i> | <i>yaðýóþ</i> | <i>yéðyab</i> |
| H II-y (<i>y</i> elided) | <i>héþ</i> | <i>yahóþ</i> | <i>yéhak</i> |
| H ~ D/L II-w/ <i>y</i> | <i>aǵyēð</i> or <i>aǵbéð</i> | <i>yajbēðən</i> | <i>yéǵbæð</i> |
| H II-y ~ gem. | <i>ezéd</i> | <i>yazéd</i> | <i>yézzæd</i> |
| H II-w | <i>aǵbéþ</i> | <i>yaj(i)þþ</i> | <i>yéǵbaþ</i> |

In the Š₁-Stem, II-w/*y* verbs are rather rare. II-w verbs more or less follow strong verbs in the perfect; *w* shifts to *b*, and so they end up looking a lot like, if not identical too, II-b verbs. Data on II-y verbs in this stem are too scarce to form any conclusions. Compare:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperfect | 3ms subjunct. |
|-----------------------|---------------|------------------|-----------------|
| Š ₁ strong | <i>šakšér</i> | <i>yáškéšór</i> | <i>yášéþsar</i> |
| Š ₁ II-w | <i>šhabél</i> | <i>yášh(i)ól</i> | <i>yášéhbal</i> |

II-w and II-y verbs are found more often in the Š₂-Stem, in which there is no distinction between the two types. The 3ms perfect has the pattern šaCēC (or šaCēC; see below). If the first root consonant is a sonorant, then the pattern is normally šeCēC (or šeCēC); the same is sometimes true if the first root consonant is a voiced or glottalic coronal. Though these verbs look like II-b verbs in the perfect, there seems to be a difference in the subjunctive. Compare:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperfect | 3ms subjunct. |
|--------------------------|----------------|---------------------------------|------------------|
| Š ₂ strong | <i>šəkésər</i> | <i>yašəkésərən</i> | <i>yašəkésər</i> |
| Š ₂ II-b | <i>šēšēḏ</i> | <i>yaššēḏən</i> | <i>yaššēd</i> |
| Š ₂ II-w | <i>šādēr</i> | <i>yašdérən</i> | <i>yašdēr</i> |
| Š ₂ II-w | <i>šešēt</i> | <i>yaššešétən</i> ³⁰ | <i>yaššét</i> |
| Š ₂ II-y | <i>šəḥēf</i> | <i>yašḥéfən</i> | <i>yašḥéf</i> |
| Š ₂ II-w, I-n | <i>šenīš</i> | <i>yašenīšən</i> | <i>yašenēš</i> |

Given the unpredictable nature of the pattern *šəCēC* vs. *šéCēC* in *JL*, except when the initial consonant is a sonorant, one wonders how accurate the transcriptions are. The same is true of the patterns *šVCēC* vs. *šVCéC*. Johnstone wrote (*JL*, p. xxv, n. 39) that the occurrence of the long vowel *ē* is usually unpredictable. Perhaps this is the case; perhaps there are two acceptable pronunciations; or perhaps some of his transcriptions are just inaccurate. It should also be noted that of the five II-w, I-sonorant Š₂-Stems whose imperfect and subjunctive forms are listed in *JL* (like *šénīš*, above), only one other (*šénīḥ*) behaves like *šénīš* (except that it is also III-G). One (*šérēg*) has an Š₁-type subjunctive, while two (*šélīm* and *šérah*) have Š₁-type imperfects and subjunctives.

Similar to the Š-Stems, but to an even larger degree, II-w/y verbs are more common in the T₂-Stem than in the T₁-Stem. This fact is interesting, since, in general, T₁- and Š₁-Stems are more common than T₂- and Š₂-Stems; see the statistics cited in § 6.

In the T₂-Stem, II-w/y verbs seem to share a common set of forms: 3ms perfect *əCtēC* (or *əCtéC*; < **əCtəCéC*),³¹ 3ms imperfect *yaCtéCən*, and 3ms subjunctive *yaCtśC*. The base of the first and second persons in the perfect is *əCtōC-* (or *əCtśC*; < **əCtəCśC-*). II-w/y, III-G verbs (of which there are not many that occur in the T₂-Stem) have the shape *əCtōC* (< **əCtśCəC*) in the perfect, e.g., *əntōḥ* 'fight'. A couple of other verbs without a final guttural also have the pattern *əCtōC* in the perfect; see § 6.5.4, n. 53, for a possible explanation. At least one II-w/y verb has the subjunctive pattern

³⁰ Although *JL* gives the imperfect *yaššešétən*, the texts have *yaššétən* (5:11).

³¹ As with the Š₂-Stem, there is variation between long and short vowels; see *JL*, p. xxiv, n. 38.

yəCtÉC, and it is unclear if this is because the root is II-y,³² or if it is perhaps due to the final nasal.

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subjunct. |
|----------------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| T2 strong | <i>əftəkér</i> | <i>yəftəkérən</i> | <i>yəftəkór</i> |
| T2 II-w | <i>əðtél</i> | <i>yəðtélən</i> | <i>yəðtól</i> |
| T2 II-w, III-G | <i>əntōh</i> | <i>yəntōhən</i> | <i>yəntōh</i> |
| T2 II-y, III-n | <i>əltīn</i> | <i>yəltīnən</i> | <i>yəltén</i> |

In the T1-Stem, I-y verbs and the one attested II-² verb (*śótém* ‘buy’) have the perfect shape *CóCÉC*. The imperfect and subjunctive forms of the II-y verbs normally follow the T2-Stem. II-w verbs (quite rare in the T1-Stem) normally behave as II-b verbs (with the shift of *w > b*). At least two II-w verbs behave as II-y verbs in the T1-Stem (*hótég* ‘need’ and *śóték* ‘miss, long for’):³³

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subjunct. |
|---------------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| T1 strong | <i>fōtkər</i> | <i>yəftékór</i> | <i>yəftékər</i> |
| T1 II- ² | <i>śótém</i> | <i>yəštúm</i> | <i>yəštém</i> |
| T1 II-y | <i>ǵótéǧ</i> | <i>yəǵtéǧən</i> | <i>yəǵtǵǧ</i> |

Some of the above data show that there is some mixing of II-y and II-w roots, such that for some roots we can posit biforms. For example, the verb *xēs* ‘spoil; stink’ is listed in *JL* under the root *xys*,³⁴ and this is supported by the D/L- ~ H-Stem *axyés* ‘spoil; stink’, as well as by cognates. However, we might posit a biform *xws*, since the G-Stem *xēs* ‘stink’ behaves like a II-w verb (cf. 3ms imperfect *yəxés*, 46:15), and based on the adjective *xəbsún* ‘rotten’

³² The subjunctive *yəštág* (*JL*, s.v. *š(y)g*) supports this, while *yərtun* (*JL*, s.v. *ryn*; cf. also 2ms *tərtún* in 54:10) and *yəhtól* (*JL*, s.v. *hyl*) do not. The root *hyl*, however, definitely has the biform *hwl*, as shown by the two T1-Stems *hótél* and *hótbəl*, and by the cognate root *hwl* in Mehri.

³³ The T1-Stem *śóték* is not in *JL*, but it occurs in the texts (60:19). It is perhaps a Mehrism, but also may reflect a dialectal form. Also note that while all verbs of the pattern *CóCÉC* in *JL* have an imperfect of the T2-type, Johnstone recorded a T1-type imperfect for *śóték* (*yəštók*) in a manuscript. See also the comments to texts 25:12 and 60:19.

³⁴ Cf. Mehri and Harsusi *xəyōs* ‘spoil, rot’. The root *xys* is also known from Arabic *xāsa* ‘spoil’ (Landberg 1920–1942: 1.664).

(< **xawsún*). Another example is the root *ǵyḏ*, which has the clear II-y T1-Stem *ǵótéḏ* ‘get angry’, but in the D/L- ~ H-Stem has the bifurms *aǵyéḏ* (II-y) and *aǵbéḏ* (II-w).

Finally, on the anomalous *šéf*, which *JL* lists incorrectly under the root *šwf*, see § 7.4.16.

7.4.9 II-b and II-m Verbs

As discussed already in § 7.4.5, verbs that have *b* or *m* as one of their root consonants can be considered a subgroup of other conjugation types (strong, I-G, III-G, etc.) in all stems, since the consonants *b* and *m* are subject to phonetic changes (namely, intervocalic loss) that can obscure the verbal pattern. The changes associated with *b* and *m* in verb forms have already been discussed in § 2.1.2 and § 2.1.3, where some examples can be found. The consonant *m* can also have a raising effect on an adjacent vowel, as discussed in § 2.2.2 (cf. H *šmí* ‘name, call’ vs. *fké* ‘cover’). Following are some sample forms of I-b and I-m verbs, in comparison with other verbs:

| | 3ms perf. | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subj. |
|-----------------|---------------|------------------|-----------------|
| Ga strong | <i>ḵódór</i> | <i>yḵódár</i> | <i>yóḵdár</i> |
| Ga II-b | <i>ḵōr</i> | <i>yḵōr</i> | <i>yóḵbár</i> |
| Gb strong | <i>fékār</i> | <i>yáfékór</i> | <i>yafḵór</i> |
| Gb II-b | <i>ḥēr</i> | <i>yḥ(i)ōr</i> | <i>yḥbór</i> |
| D/L strong | <i>egódal</i> | <i>yagódalan</i> | <i>yagódal</i> |
| D/L II-b | <i>xōṭ</i> | <i>yaxōṭan</i> | <i>yaxóṭ</i> |
| H III-G | <i>egdáḥ</i> | <i>yagódah</i> | <i>yégdah</i> |
| H II-b, III-G | <i>ešbáḥ</i> | <i>yəšōḥ</i> | <i>yéšbah</i> |
| H III-w/y | <i>fké</i> | <i>yaffōḵe</i> | <i>yéfké</i> |
| H II-m, III-w/y | <i>šmí</i> | <i>yəššū</i> | <i>yéšme</i> |
| Š1 I-G | <i>ša’sér</i> | <i>yəš’ásór</i> | <i>yəšá’sar</i> |
| Š1 II-b, I-G | <i>ša’bér</i> | <i>yəš(ɔ)’ōr</i> | <i>yəšá’bār</i> |

| | | | |
|-----------|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| Š2 strong | <i>šākēšar</i> | <i>yāškēšarān</i> | <i>yāškēšar</i> |
| Š2 II-b | <i>šēsēḏ</i> | <i>yāššēḏān</i> | <i>yāššēd</i> |
| T1 strong | <i>fōtkar</i> | <i>yāftékér (3mp)</i> | <i>yāftékār (3mp)</i> |
| T1 II-b | <i>ǰótbār</i> | <i>yāǰtiēr (3mp)</i> | <i>yāǰtēr (3mp)</i> |
| T2 strong | <i>aftakér</i> | <i>yāftakérān</i> | <i>yāftakór</i> |
| T2 II-b | <i>aktēr</i> | <i>yaktērān</i> | <i>yaktōr</i> |

Note especially the difference between the T1-Stem imperfect and subjunctive, where the original *VbV* sequences (one *VbV̄*, and one *VbV̄̄*) have been resolved in different ways.³⁵

In some cases the II-b/m verb takes precedence over another weak verb type. For example, in the T2-Stem, III-G verbs normally show the shift of the sequence *CVCéG* to *CóCəG* (or *CóCaG*) in the perfect (see § 7.4.11). However, with II-b/m, III-G roots, the perfect patterns with the strong verb, rather than with III-G verbs, as can be seen from the verb *aštī̄c* ‘listen to’ in the following table:

| | 3ms perf. | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subj. |
|----------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| T2 strong | <i>aftérég</i> | <i>yāftérégān</i> | <i>yāftéróg</i> |
| T2 III-G | <i>aftósəḥ</i> | <i>yāftésəḥān</i> | <i>yāftósəḥ</i> |
| T2 III-G, II-m | <i>aštī̄c</i> (< * <i>aštémí̄c</i>) | <i>yāštī̄cān</i> | <i>yāštū̄c</i> |

II-b verbs fall together with II-w verbs in the D/L-Stem, H-Stem, and T1-Stem. There are also some II-w verbs that behave like II-b verbs in the G-Stem, as discussed in § 7.4.8. It was mentioned also in § 7.4.8 that the Š2-Stem of II-b verbs looks a lot like II-w verbs, though, if *JL* is accurate concerning the forms of *šēsēḏ* ‘step’, the subjunctives are slightly different (cf. II-b *yāššēd* vs. II-w *yāššēt*). It seems likely that II-b and II-w Š2-Stems are nevertheless confused.

³⁵ The forms of the verb *ǰótbār* ‘meet o.a.’ in the table come from an informant. Johnstone’s own data confirm this; cf. *lōtbəd* ‘shoot at o.a.’, 3ms imperfect *yāltiéd*, 3ms subjunctive *yāltēd* (*JL*, s.v. *lbd*).

7.4.10 *II-r Verbs*

Verbs whose middle root consonant is *r* often, but not always, have a unique stem in the Ga-Stem perfect. In the Ga-Stem, many II-r verbs have the shape *CeróC* in the 3ms perfect (e.g., *heróg* ‘speak’, *šerók* ‘steal’, *teróf* ‘go forward, pass’), or *CaCóC* if the first root consonant is a guttural other than *h* (e.g., *ǵarób* ‘know’, *xaróg* ‘die’). However, many II-r verbs, including some I-G verbs, have instead the strong pattern *CórC* (e.g., *ǵoróf* ‘sweep out’).

There is also variation among some verbs, perhaps dialectal. For example, *JL* has *dorós* ‘he studied’, but two informants (one WJ and one CJ speaker) used *derós*; likewise with *toróf/teróf* ‘he folded’. *JL* has *durúm* ‘he slaughtered’, but the texts have *derúm* (see the comment to text 25:5). *JL* has *teród* ‘send away’ and 3fs perfect *teródót*, but in one of Johnstone’s manuscripts (Box 15E) there is an entire paradigm of *toród*, and the texts have 3fs perfect *toródót* (6:17).³⁶ There are also verbs usually of the *CeróC* type that sometimes have the shape *CórC* in Johnstone’s texts (e.g., *ǵoróbok*, 5:12; see also the comments to texts 51:13 and 86:5). This could be due to analogy with strong verbs, or may simply reflect free variation within the conjugation of II-r verbs. In fact, no verb that has the pattern *CóC* according to *JL* actually appears in the texts at all (at least not in the 3ms), which makes Johnstone’s data harder to corroborate. Sometimes *JL* indicates dialectal variation. For example, it lists *kerós* ‘nip, pinch’ (s.v. *krš*), but adds the EJ form *korós* (cf. 3fs *koršót* in 33:10); it lists *šerók* ‘steal’ (as we find in 12:10), but, against the evidence of the texts, adds the EJ form *šorók*.

If we try, based on the forms given in *JL*, to classify which II-r verbs have the pattern *CeróC*, and which have *CórC*, we can only make some general observations; the distribution seems to be lexical, and not determined by phonology. Following only the data given in *JL*, those II-r verbs whose final root consonant is a labial (*b* or *m*) normally fall into the *CórC* type (with the notable exception of the I-G verb *ǵarób* ‘know’).³⁷ Those II-r verbs whose first root consonant is *m* all fall into the *CeróC* type. Those II-r verbs whose first root consonant is *ś* almost all (by a margin of seven to one) fall into the *CeróC* type. Those II-r verbs whose third root consonant is a velar or dental stop

³⁶ The paradigm from Box 15E probably came from Ali Musallam, author of text 6. In Müller’s version of Johnstone’s text 6 (1907: 55), we find the 3fs *taródót*, which could conceivably represent *toródót*, *teródót*, or yet another pronunciation.

³⁷ And as already mentioned, while *JL* lists *durúm* ‘slaughter’, this verb appears as *derúm* in the texts (25:5). Recall also that *ǵarób* is unusual in the imperfect and subjunctive (see §7.4.2).

usually (by a margin of almost five to one) fall into the *CeróC* type. Those II-r verbs whose first root consonant is voiceless and non-glottalic usually (by a margin of more than two to one) fall into the *CeróC* type. Those II-r verbs whose first root consonant is voiced usually (by a margin of almost two to one) fall into the *CəróC* type. It is possible that whether or not a verb is recently borrowed could play a part in the assignment of a II-r verb to the type *CeróC* or *CəróC*. Some sample forms are:

| | 3ms perf. | 3fs perf. | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subj. |
|-------------|--------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|
| Ga strong | <i>ḱodór</i> | <i>ḱodórót</i> | <i>yəḱódər</i> | <i>yóḱdər</i> |
| II-r strong | <i>ḱoróf</i> | <i>ḱorǫ́t</i> | <i>yəḱórf</i> | <i>yóḱraf</i> |
| II-r weak | <i>šerók</i> | <i>šerǫ́t</i> | <i>yəšórk</i> | <i>yóšrək</i> |

JL lists the very common verb *šérek* ‘do’ under the root *šrk*. Nevertheless, it is not a II-r verb. The 3ms perfect *šérek* appears to be an Š2-Stem of a root *rwk/ryk*, while its imperfect and subjunctive forms look like Š1-Stems of the same root. The fact that there is a vowel change in the first and second person forms of the perfect (e.g., 1cs *šerókək*) is reminiscent of an Š1-Stem, rather than an Š2-Stem, though the first and second person forms wind up looking like those of G-Stem II-r verbs (hence Johnstone’s analysis). The vowel difference in the 3ms imperfect *yəšérók* and 3mp *yəšérek* also clearly suggests an Š1-Stem; in the G-Stem the 3ms and 3mp imperfects should be the same. 3ms subjunctive *yəšérk* (3mp *yəšórk*) also must be an Š1-Stem.

For the complete conjugation of the G-Stem II-r verb *šerók* ‘steal’, see § 6.1.1. II-r verbs do not have unique conjugations in the derived stems.

7.4.11 III-Guttural Verbs (except III-ʻ Verbs)

Verbs whose third root consonant is one of the five gutturals ‘, ḡ, ḥ, ḫ, or x are subject to a variety of sound changes. It is worth noting here that *h* patterns with the other guttural consonants only some of the time (similar to what we saw with II-G verbs in § 7.4.7), while some forms of III-h verbs look like those of strong verbs. In fact, there are very few III-h verbs, making it hard to generalize about their conjugation.³⁸ On III-ʻ verbs, see § 7.4.12.

³⁸ For some forms, see *JL* (s.v. *kbh*, *kmh*, *nbh*, *ngh*, *šbh*, and *wgh*). Note that each of these

The most characteristic feature of this verb type is the shift of the sequence $CV\acute{C}VG$ to $C\acute{V}C\grave{a}G$ or $C\acute{V}CaG$ (where $G = \acute{c}, \acute{g}, h, \text{ or } x$), which affects Ga-Stem perfects, Gb-Stem imperfects, H-Stem imperfects, Š1-Stem imperfects, and T2-Stem perfects, imperfects, and subjunctives, among some other forms. In the Ga-Stem, the perfect base $C\acute{e}C\grave{a}C$ looks just like the Gb-Stem perfect. This same shift also makes the Gb-Stem imperfect look like the Ga-Stem imperfect. The forms of the subjunctive, however, remain distinct between the Ga- and Gb-type. In the sequence $CC\acute{V}G$ (where $G = \acute{c}, \acute{g}, h, \text{ or } x$), the guttural attracts the vowel a . Because of this, the imperatives of the Ga- and Gb-Stems also look alike. Examples are:

| | 3ms perf. | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subj. | ms imprtv. |
|-----------|--------------|----------------|---------------|--------------|
| Ga strong | <i>κῶδῶρ</i> | <i>γᾰκῶδᾰρ</i> | <i>γῶκδᾰρ</i> | <i>κḁḁḁρ</i> |
| Gb strong | <i>ḁḁκᾰρ</i> | <i>γᾰḁḁκῶρ</i> | <i>γᾰḁκῶρ</i> | <i>ḁκῶρ</i> |
| Ga III-G | <i>ḁḁτᾰḁ</i> | <i>γᾰḁḁτᾰḁ</i> | <i>γῶḁτᾰḁ</i> | <i>ḁτᾰḁ</i> |
| Gb III-G | <i>ḁḁρᾰḁ</i> | <i>γᾰḁḁρᾰḁ</i> | <i>γᾰḁρᾰḁ</i> | <i>ḁρᾰḁ</i> |

Among the Gb-Stems are the two common verbs *níka* ‘come’ and *šī* ‘hear’ (dialectal *šā*; see the comment to text 13:13).

In the H-Stem, as a result of the two shifts explained above, the base of the imperfect looks like the G-Stem imperfect. In the perfect, as noted above, the sequence $CC\acute{V}C$ attracts the vowel a . Compare:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subjunct. |
|----------|--------------|----------------|---------------|
| Ga III-G | <i>ḁḁḁḁ</i> | <i>γᾰḁḁḁḁ</i> | <i>γῶḁḁḁḁ</i> |
| H strong | <i>ḁḁḁḁḁ</i> | <i>γᾰḁḁḁḁḁ</i> | <i>γḁḁḁḁḁ</i> |
| H III-G | <i>ḁḁḁḁḁ</i> | <i>γᾰḁḁḁḁḁ</i> | <i>γḁḁḁḁḁ</i> |

Note that while strong verbs have a different base for the first and second person forms of the perfect (e.g., *ḁḁḁḁ* ‘he ran away’, but *ḁḁḁḁḁ* ‘I ran away’), III-G verbs (including III-h verbs) have the same base throughout the perfect (e.g., *ḁḁḁḁḁ* ‘he put’ and *ḁḁḁḁḁḁ* ‘I put’).

roots contains at least one other weak root consonant, further complicating the analysis of III-h roots.

The changes pertaining to III-G Verbs in the Š1-Stem, as expected, mirror those of the H-Stem. The stressed vowel of the perfect shifts to *a* (and remains *a* in the first and second persons), and the base of the imperfect shifts from *CeCǎG* to *CǎCǎG* or *CǎCaG*. Compare:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subjunct. |
|-----------------------------|---------------|------------------|-----------------|
| Š1 strong | <i>šakšér</i> | <i>yaškéšór</i> | <i>yašékšar</i> |
| Š1 III-G | <i>šadfa'</i> | <i>yašdǎfa'</i> | <i>yašédfa'</i> |
| Š1 I-n | <i>šandér</i> | <i>yašéndór</i> | <i>yašéndar</i> |
| Š1 I-n, III-G ³⁹ | <i>šanfá'</i> | <i>yašénúfa'</i> | <i>yašénfa'</i> |

In the T2-Stem, the shift of *CVCǎG* to *CǎCǎG* or *CǎCaG* affects the perfect, imperfect, and subjunctive. If the second root consonant is *b* or *m*, then the loss of that root consonant occurs first (see §7.4.9), thus blocking the vowel shift, i.e., 3ms perfect **ǎCtébéG* > *ǎCtēG* or **ǎCtéméG* > *ǎCtīG*. The same ordering of rules must apply to the imperfect and subjunctive, although the results are the same either way; e.g., both **yaCtabǎG* (following the strong verb) or **yaCtǎbǎG* (with the III-G vowel shift) should become *yaCtǎG* for the 3ms subjunctive. Compare the following forms:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subjunct. |
|----------------|----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| T2 strong | <i>ǎftakér</i> | <i>yaftakérǎn</i> | <i>yaftakór</i> |
| T2 III-G | <i>ǎftǎsǎh</i> | <i>yaftésǎhan</i> | <i>yaftǎsǎh</i> |
| T2 III-G, II-m | <i>ǎštǎ'</i> | <i>yaštǎ'an</i> | <i>yaštǎ'</i> |

One III-G T2-Stem in *JL* is listed with a different imperfect form: *ǎftǎlǎh*, 3ms imperfect *yaftǎlǎhan*. We expect *yaftélǎhan*, so either this is a mistake, this is the 3mp imperfect, or the difference is due to the fact that the second root consonant is voiced. Recall from §6.5.3 that whether or not the second root consonant is voiceless or voiced/glottalic has an effect on other forms of the

³⁹ I-r and I-l stems also follow this pattern. See further in §7.4.6. In *JL*, the imperfect of *šáltǎg* is listed as *yašeltég*, but this is probably the 3mp imperfect. We expect the 3ms imperfect to be *yašeltǎg*. If the form given in *JL* is, in fact, the 3ms imperfect, then it is an exceptional form.

T2-Stem, e.g., *ʔftəkér* 'he wondered', but *ʔftégér* 'he was proved a liar'. Most likely it is just a 3mp form.

In the T1-Stem, III-G verbs show quite a bit of variation, in part because some of the relevant verbs—like some T1-Stems of other root types—use T2-Stem forms for the imperfect and/or subjunctive. The true T1-Stem III-G patterns seem to be very close to those of strong verbs, with the tendency of the vowel preceding the guttural to shift to *a*, for example:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subjunct. |
|-----------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| T1 strong | <i>ʔftəkər</i> | <i>yʔftékór</i> | <i>yʔftékər</i> |
| T1 III-G | <i>ʔftətəḥ</i> | <i>yʔftétəḥ</i> | <i>yʔftétəḥ</i> |
| T1 III-G | <i>kóttəʕ</i> | <i>yəktétəʕ</i> | <i>yəktétəʕ</i> |

The same vowel shift of *CVCV̇G* to *CVCəG* or *CVCaG* that was met in some of the different stems above also can be seen in the imperfect of the Q-Stem. Compare:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subj. |
|------------------|----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Q-Stem (true) | <i>əkərféd</i> | <i>yəkérʔəd</i> | <i>yəkérʔəd</i> |
| Q-Stem I-m, IV-G | <i>ērkaḥ</i> | <i>yērkaḥ</i> | <i>yērkaḥ</i> |

III-G verbs present no peculiarities in the D/L-Stem or Š2-Stem, except that the vowel *ə* adjacent to a guttural may be realized closer to *a*, especially if the guttural is ʕ.

7.4.12 III-ʔ, III-w, and III-y Verbs

Verbs whose final root consonant is historically *w* or *y* are characterized by the loss of the final root consonant in all forms. These have, to a large degree, fallen together with III-ʔ verbs, as will be demonstrated below. In the Ga- and Gb-Stems, III-w/y verbs show quite a bit of variation both within and across dialects. The shape of the Ga-Stem perfect is quite stable, however. The basic patterns are *CéCé* and *CCé*, the distribution of which follows that of the strong verb patterns *CɔCɔC* and *CCɔC*, respectively (see § 6.1.1). That is to say, *CCé* is used if the first two root consonants are voiceless and non-glottalic (though such verbs are very few in this class). The pattern *CCé* (usually realized *əCCé* or *εCCé*) is also normally used if the first root consonant is *l*, *n*, or *r*. The base of the first and second person perfects is regularly *CúC-* (e.g.,

ardé 'he threw', *riḍ(ə)k* 'I threw'; *béké* 'he cried', *búkək* 'I cried'). The Ga-Stem 3ms imperfect is most often *yəCɔC* (3mp *yəCɔCi*), while the 3ms subjunctive is most often *yéC(ə)C* (3mp *yəCCí*).⁴⁰ III-w/y verbs (and III-²) are unusual, in that the 2fs, 2mp, and 3mp imperfect forms end in a vowel, as do the 2mp and 3mp subjunctive forms. See § 6.1.1 for the full conjugation of the Ga-Stem *kéré* 'hide; kiss'.

In the Gb-Stem, the basic patterns are 3ms perfect *CéCi* (1cs *CiCk*), 3ms imperfect *yəCɔCə* (3mp *yəCɔCi*), and 3ms subjunctive *yəCCé* (3mp *yəCCí*). Some sample forms are:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subjunct. |
|------------|--------------|----------------|-------------------------------|
| Ga strong | <i>ḱɔḱɔr</i> | <i>yəḱɔḱɔr</i> | <i>yɔḱḱɔr</i> |
| Ga III-w/y | <i>ḱéré</i> | <i>yəḱór</i> | <i>yékər</i> |
| Ga III-w/y | <i>fšé</i> | <i>yəfš</i> | <i>yefš</i> (or <i>yəfš</i>) |
| Ga III-w/y | <i>ərdé</i> | <i>yərɔḱ</i> | <i>yerd</i> |
| Gb strong | <i>fékər</i> | <i>yəfékór</i> | <i>yəfḱór</i> |
| Gb III-w/y | <i>ǰézi</i> | <i>yǰóle</i> | <i>yəǰlé</i> |

However, there is a fair amount of mixing between the two G-Stems. So we find, for example, Ga-Stem perfects with Gb-Stem subjunctives (e.g., *əržé* 'accept'),⁴¹ and Gb-Stem perfects with Ga-Stem imperfects (e.g., *śíni* 'see'). Sample forms are:

⁴⁰ In *JL*, 3ms subjunctives of this pattern are variously transcribed *CéCəC*, *CəCC*, *CáCC*, and *CəCC*, which makes the variation seem greater than it really is. We do need to distinguish at least *CəCC* and *CéCəC*, as proven by the 3ms forms of the I-b verbs *yebk* (< *yebk*, root *bky*) and *yəd* (< **yébəd*, root *bdy*). Also, it may be that *yəCC* is used in place of *yeCC* when the final two root consonants are voiceless and non-glottalic (cf. the use of *ə* vs. *e* in the T2-Stem perfects *əCtəCéC* vs. *əCtéCéC*, described in § 6.5.3), but *JL* (s.v. *ksw*) lists 3ms subjunctive *yeks* from *ksé* 'clothe'.

⁴¹ One verb in *JL* (*ǰéǰé*, s.v. *ǰǰy*) is listed with a Ga perfect and subjunctive, but a Gb imperfect (*yǰǰé*). This may be a typo (of which there are many in *JL*), since among his handwritten paradigms (Box 15E), Johnstone recorded the expected Ga imperfect for this verb (*yǰǰé*), and an informant of mine also provided this form.

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subjunct. |
|------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| Ga III-w/y | <i>eržé</i> | <i>yərǝž</i> | <i>yəržé</i> |
| Gb III-w/y | <i>śini</i> | <i>yəśún</i> | <i>yəśné</i> |

The data are limited, but it seems that no matter what the subjunctive type, the ms imperative of G-Stem, III-w/y verbs has the pattern $C(\partial)Cé$ (or $\partial CCé$), e.g. *ərdé* ‘throw!’ (3ms subjunctive *yérd*) and *śné* ‘see!’ (3ms subjunctive *yəśné*).

There are also some variant forms for those III-w/y verbs that are doubly or triply weak. Two doubly-weak verb types are worth mentioning here. First are those whose first root consonant is *b* or *m*, some examples of which are:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subjunct. |
|-----------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------------------|
| Ga III-w/y, I-b | <i>béké</i> | <i>yōk</i> | <i>yebk</i> |
| Ga III-w/y, I-b | <i>bédé</i> | <i>yōd</i> | <i>yēd</i> (< * <i>yébəd</i>) |

Also worth noting are those III-w/y verbs whose middle root consonant is a guttural, as in:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subjunct. |
|------------------|----------------|----------------------|---------------|
| G II-G, I-voiced | <i>ǧ(a)‘ár</i> | <i>yəǧ(ǝ)‘r</i> | <i>yəǧ‘r</i> |
| G III-w/y, II-G | <i>da‘é</i> | <i>yəǧ(a)‘á</i> | <i>yəǧd‘á</i> |
| G III-w/y, II-G | <i>ša‘é</i> | <i>yəšǝ‘ / yəšǝ‘</i> | <i>yəšá‘</i> |

Like *da‘é* ‘curse’ are *ka‘é* ‘escape (from a pen)’, *na‘é* ‘elegize’, *ra‘é* ‘herd’, and *raḥé* ‘lick’. These are reminiscent of other II-G verbs in the imperfect and subjunctive, though with different vowels. The verb *ša‘é* ‘run’ has unexpected imperfect and subjunctive forms. The 3ms imperfect is either *yəšǝ‘* (following other III-w/y verbs without a guttural root consonant) or *yəšǝ‘*, while the 3ms subjunctive is *yéša‘* (again following other III-w/y verbs without a guttural root consonant).⁴² In the perfect, these verbs, including *ša‘é*

⁴² *JL* (s.v. *šy*) has the 3ms imperfect *yšǝ‘*, which was also the form given by my WJ informant. Two of my CJ informants gave the form *yšǝ‘*, and did not accept *yəšǝ‘*. We also

show the typical base of III-w/y verbs in the first and second persons, e.g., *dó'ak* 'I cursed' and *šó'ak* 'I ran' (cf. *rúdək* 'I threw').

The few G-Stem III-' verbs that are used seem to behave mostly like III-w/y verbs, with the same occasional variation among Ga- and Gb-Stem forms that we saw above. Note, however that III-' *ksé* has a 1cs perfect *kisk* (like a III-w/y Gb-Stem), while, as noted above, III-w/y *ərdé* has a 1cs *rúdək*. This may be due to the fact that *ksé* is historically III-'.⁴³ The 3ms subjunctive of *ksé* also looks like a III-w/y Gb-Stem. Other sample forms are:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subjunct. |
|---------------|-------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Ga III-', I-m | <i>mélé</i> | <i>yül</i> (< * <i>yámúl</i>) | <i>yül</i> (< * <i>yíməl</i>) |
| Ga III-' | <i>ksé</i> | <i>yəkós</i> | <i>yəksé</i> |
| Gb III-' | <i>kéni</i> | <i>yəkún</i> | <i>yékən</i> |

If we considered a III-' verb to be a III-G verb (as it was historically, and remains in some derived stems), then we would actually expect subjunctive *yəCCé(ʔ)*, which is the same as the Gb-type for III-w/y verbs. This overlap is probably why we find some Ga-Stem III-w/y verbs that have what look like Gb-Stem subjunctives.

In some cases, the forms found in *JL* for III-w/y verbs do not match what is written in some of Johnstone's manuscript notes, nor what I heard from informants. This verb type clearly is somewhat unstable in the Ga- and Gb-Stems.

In the derived stems, III-w/y verbs are usually much more uniform, at least compared to the G-Stem. In the H- and Ši-Stems, III-w/y verbs have fallen together with III-' verbs, which in turn are reminiscent of III-G verbs in the imperfect and subjunctive. The perfect has retained the final -*é* of III-w/y verbs, as opposed to the final vowel *a* found in III-G verbs. Examples are:

find *yəš'c* in the texts (e.g., 35:6), from an EJ speaker. It is certainly possible that some other verbs of this type show the same dialectal variation.

⁴³ It might seem reasonable to suggest that the shape of the perfect is connected to the fact that the first two root consonants are voiceless and non-glottalic. However, the verb *fšé* 'have lunch' (1cs *fúšk*) behaves as other III-w/y verbs.

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperfect | 3ms subjunct. |
|---------------------|---------------|-------------------|------------------|
| H strong | <i>flét</i> | <i>yaḥḥélót</i> | <i>yéḥḥlat</i> |
| H III-G | <i>fṣah</i> | <i>yaḥḥṣah</i> | <i>yéḥḥah</i> |
| H III- ² | <i>tré(ʿ)</i> | <i>yaḥḥóre(ʿ)</i> | <i>yéḥḥre(ʿ)</i> |
| H III-w/y | <i>fké</i> | <i>yaḥḥḥke</i> | <i>yéḥḥke</i> |
| Š1 strong | <i>šakṣér</i> | <i>yašḥéšór</i> | <i>yašḥéšar</i> |
| Š1 III-G | <i>šadfáʿ</i> | <i>yašḥódʿaʿ</i> | <i>yašḥédʿaʿ</i> |
| Š1 III-w/y | <i>šafté</i> | <i>yašḥḥḥte</i> | <i>yašḥḥḥte</i> |

In the D/L-Stem, III-w/y verbs look a lot like strong verbs, except with the loss of the final consonant. The biggest difference is in the imperfect, where the primary stress falls on the final syllable (which may or may not be long). Compare:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperfect | 3ms subjunct. |
|-------------|---------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| D/L strong | <i>egódal</i> | <i>yaḥḥódalan</i> | <i>yaḥḥódal</i> |
| D/L III-w/y | <i>éʿósi</i> | <i>yaʿóšén</i> | <i>yaʿóšé</i> |

Data on the Š2-Stem are extremely sparse for III-w/y verbs, and no such verbs occur in the texts. They seem to resemble D/L-Stems, with the loss of the final root consonant, and stress on the final syllable of the imperfect. Not enough information is known about III-² verbs in this stem. Sample forms are:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperfect | 3ms subjunct. |
|------------|---------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| Š2 strong | <i>šakṣér</i> | <i>yašḥéšarən</i> | <i>yašḥéšar</i> |
| Š2 III-w/y | <i>šagési</i> | <i>yašḥgášén</i> | <i>yašḥgése</i> |

In the T1-Stem, III-w/y verbs follow the patterns of III-G verbs, except with the complete loss of the final syllable in the subjunctive. Not enough data are available for III-² verbs to know whether or not their subjunctives look like III-w/y verbs; their perfects and imperfects should be the same.

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperfect | 3ms subjunct. |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| T ₁ strong | <i>fōtḱar</i> | <i>yaftéḱór</i> | <i>yaftéḱar</i> |
| T ₁ III-G | <i>fōttaḥ</i> | <i>yaftéṭaḥ</i> | <i>yaftéṭaḥ</i> |
| T ₁ III-w/y | <i>rótḱi</i> | <i>yaṭtéḱi</i> | <i>yaṭtéḱ</i> |
| T ₁ III-w/y | <i>šúši</i> (< *šútḱi) ⁴⁴ | <i>yaštéḱi</i> | <i>yaštéḱ</i> |

Data on the T₂-Stem are very scarce. III-² verbs follow the pattern of III-G verbs, except with the loss of the final root consonant in the imperfect. The III-w/y verbs attested in the texts (*a'tósé* 'have dinner', *aḡtósé* 'faint', and *ahtósde* 'divide out') all follow the pattern for III-G verbs in the perfect and subjunctive.⁴⁵ The imperfect patterns with the strong verb, except with the loss of the final root consonant and shift of primary stress to the final syllable (like D/L- and Š₂-Stems). The one additional verb whose forms are listed in *JL* is *a'tédé* 'attack', whose perfect patterns with the strong verb (as we would expect for III-w/y verbs, based on the D/L- and Š₂-Stems). Clearly there has been mixing of III-² and III-w/y verbs in the T₂-Stem, as in the G-Stem.

| | 3ms perf. | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subjunct. |
|---------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| T ₂ strong | <i>aftakér</i> | <i>yaftakérān</i> | <i>yaftakór</i> |
| T ₂ III-G | <i>aftósah</i> | <i>yaftésahān</i> | <i>yaftósah</i> |
| T ₂ III- ² | <i>abtóre(?)</i> | <i>yahtéréñ</i> | <i>yahtóre(?)</i> |
| T ₂ III- ² /w/y | <i>a'tósé</i> | <i>ya'tásén</i> | <i>ya'tósé</i> |
| T ₂ III-w/y | <i>a'tédé</i> | <i>ya'tédín</i> | <i>ya'tóde</i> |

⁴⁴ On the irregular perfect of the verb *šúši* 'drink', see § 6.5.2.

⁴⁵ The forms of *ahtósde* given in *JL* are all 3mp. The verb *aḡtósé* is not in *JL* (see the comment to text 39:5), but its forms are listed in the word-list Johnstone made for text 39.

7.4.13 III-b and III-m Verbs

As discussed already in § 7.4.5 and § 7.4.9, verbs that have *b* or *m* as one of their root consonants can be considered a subgroup of other conjugation types (strong, I-G, II-w/y, etc.) in all stems, since the consonants *b* and *m* are subject to phonetic changes (namely, intervocalic loss) that can obscure the verbal pattern. The changes associated with *b* and *m* in verb forms have already been discussed in § 2.1.2 and § 2.1.3, where some examples can be found. With III-b/m verbs, the forms most affected are the 3fs perfect and the fp forms of the imperfect and subjunctive. The consonant *m* can also have a raising effect on an adjacent vowel, as discussed in § 2.2.2 (cf. Gb 3fs perfect *ħal(i)ūt* ‘she dreamed’, from **ħalamūt*, vs. *feķarót* ‘she became poor’). Following are some sample forms of I-b and I-m verbs, in comparison with other verbs:

| | 3ms perf. | 3fs perf. | 3fp subj. |
|----------------------------|----------------|-----------------|---|
| Ga strong | <i>ķadór</i> | <i>ķadórót</i> | <i>tąķdérən</i> |
| Ga III-b | <i>ģarób</i> | <i>ģar(i)ót</i> | <i>tąģrēn</i> or <i>tąģrėbən</i> |
| Gb strong | <i>fėķar</i> | <i>fėķarót</i> | <i>tąfķórən</i> |
| Gb III-m | <i>ħéləm</i> | <i>ħal(i)ūt</i> | <i>tąħlūn</i> |
| D/L strong | <i>egódəl</i> | <i>egídəlót</i> | <i>l-ģódələn</i> |
| D/L III-b | <i>egórəb</i> | <i>egiriót</i> | <i>l-ģórēn</i> or <i>l-ģórəbən</i> |
| H strong | <i>eđléf</i> | <i>eđəlfót</i> | <i>l-éđəlfən</i> |
| H III-b | <i>eđhéb</i> | <i>eđhót</i> | <i>l-éđhēn</i> |
| T1 II- ² /y | <i>ħótég</i> | <i>ħtėģót</i> | <i>tąħtógən</i> |
| T1 III-m, II- ² | <i>śótém</i> | <i>śtūt</i> | <i>(t)śtēn</i> |
| T2 strong | <i>ąftérég</i> | <i>ąftėrgót</i> | <i>tąftėrógən</i> |
| T2 III-b | <i>ąktéléb</i> | <i>ąktėlíót</i> | <i>tąktėlōn</i> |
| Š1 strong | <i>šəķşér</i> | <i>šəķşarót</i> | <i>tąšėķşarən</i> |
| Š1 III-b | <i>šənsėb</i> | <i>šənsót</i> | <i>tąšėnsėn</i> or <i>tąšėnsəbən</i> |

Due to paradigm pressure, the consonants *b* and *m* are sometimes preserved where they should be lost, as can be seen from the table above. For example, the suffix *-ən* of the D/L-Stem, T2-Stem, and Š2-Stem imperfect may or may not cause elision of the final root consonant. Informants allowed either *əkórēn* or *əkórbən* as the 1cs imperfect of the D/L-Stem *əkórəb* ‘bring near’; likewise the suffix *-ən* of the 2/3fp imperfect and subjunctive in various stems. Speakers vary on this point.⁴⁶

7.4.14 *Geminate Verbs*

Geminate verbs, i.e., verbs whose second and third root consonants are identical, are very common in Jibbali; *JL* lists 190 different geminate verbal roots. The geminate consonant is never a guttural (‘, ʕ, ġ, h, h, x), nor is it ever š, š̄, w, or y. Their conjugations have peculiarities in all stems, sometimes overlapping in form with other weak verb types.

In the G-Stem, there is only one geminate conjugation, without the distinction between Ga- and Gb-Stems found with most root types. It is characterized by a monosyllabic 3ms perfect of the pattern *CeC*, and a 3ms (and 3mp) imperfect of the pattern *yəCC₂éC₂*. The 3ms subjunctive normally has the pattern *yəC₁C₁əC* (with shift of gemination onto the first root consonant, i.e., **C₁C₂əC₂* to *C₁C₁əC₂*), although this seems to have shifted to *yéC₁C₁əC* among some younger speakers.⁴⁷ See § 6.1.1 for the full conjugation of the geminate verb *del* ‘guide, lead; know’. With I-G geminate roots, except I-^c and I-ġ verbs (that is, only I-h, I-ḥ, and I-x verbs), the 3ms subjunctive is normally *yəC₁C₁*. For I-^c and I-ġ geminate verbs the subjunctive pattern is *yəCCéC* (var. *yəCCéC*).⁴⁸ Following are some sample forms:

⁴⁶ For example, while one speaker allowed D/L-Stem *əkórēn* or *əkórbən*, he only allowed (*d*-) *əktelēn* for the 1cs imperfect of the T2-Stem *əktéléb* ‘worry’. Another preferred D/L 3fp subjunctive *l-górəbən* (but recognized *l-górēn*), but used only Gb *təhlūn* and H *l-édhēn*.

⁴⁷ This may reflect a more general confusion of G-Stem subjunctives, or may only reflect the confusion of the G-Stem and H-Stem of certain verbs. See § 6.1.1, n. 3 and n. 11.

⁴⁸ According to *JL*, the verb *‘er* seems to use the subjunctive of the H-Stem. However, this irregularity can be explained by the meaning of the verb. When asked for the future (i.e., subjunctive) of *‘er* ‘hold back, stop from going’, an informant produced the form given in *JL* (*yá‘ar*), but said that it has the meaning ‘send’, i.e., the meaning of the H-Stem. However, in the word-list to text 25, Johnstone recorded the expected G-Stem subjunctive *yá‘ér*. On a possible I-ġ geminate verb that behaves like other I-G verbs, see the comment to 60:14.

| | 3ms perf. | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subjunct. |
|---------------|---------------|----------------|---------------------------------------|
| Ga strong | <i>ḵəḵdór</i> | <i>yəḵḵdər</i> | <i>yóḵdər</i> |
| G gemin. | <i>fer</i> | <i>yəfrér</i> | <i>yóffər</i> (or <i>yéffər?</i>) |
| G gemin., I-G | <i>hez</i> | <i>yəhzéz</i> | <i>yəhíz</i> |
| G gemin., I-ʿ | <i>ʿés</i> | <i>yəʿésés</i> | <i>yəʿésés</i> |
| G gemin., I-ġ | <i>ġeb</i> | <i>yəġbéb</i> | <i>yəġbéb</i> |
| G gemin., I-m | <i>mid</i> | <i>yəmdéd</i> | <i>yúmməd</i> or <i>yūd</i> |

Note that for at least some I-m verbs, the subjunctive has the variant forms given in the above table (see further in the comment to text 60:26). There is no evidence of such variation with I-b verbs. Also, according to *JL*, there are at least two verbs (*keš* and *xin*) that have the subjunctive pattern $yəCC_2\delta C_2$ (following the Gb-Stem strong verb), but this has not been verified.

In the underlying form of the 3ms perfect of all geminate verbs, and of the subjunctive of the I-G verbs (like *yəhíz*), the final consonant is geminate, though it is only realized as such when not word final (i.e., when suffixes are attached). For example, from *hez* 'he slaughtered', we find *hazzót* 'she slaughtered' (e.g., 13:16), and from *ha-yəhíz* 'he will slaughter', we find *ha-yəhízzəs* 'he will slaughter it' (e.g., 17:9).

In the G passive, geminate verbs behave like strong verbs, for example:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subjunct. |
|----------------|--------------|---------------|------------------------------|
| G passive II-n | <i>śiník</i> | <i>išenúk</i> | <i>l-əśnúk</i> ⁴⁹ |
| G passive gem. | <i>kešís</i> | <i>ikešós</i> | <i>l-əkšós</i> |

In the D/L-Stem, geminate verbs have the pattern $(\varepsilon)CCéC$ for the 3ms perfect (like some II-y verbs; see §7.4.8), which is identical to the H-Stem. The 3ms imperfect has the pattern $yəCCéCən$, and the subjunctive, $yəCCéC$. Because the D/L-Stem and H-Stem perfects look alike for geminate verbs, there is some confusion of the two stems. A number of verbs have D/L-Stem

⁴⁹ *JL* (s.v. *śnk*) records 3ms subjunctive *yəśnúk*. As noted in §6.1.2, n. 13, the prefix of the 3ms subjunctive can be either *l-* or *y-*.

imperfects, but H-Stem subjunctives. It is not clear whether these should be classified as D/L-Stems or H-Stems. It seems that many fewer verbs show both a D/L-Stem imperfect and subjunctive. And a few verbs show variant forms, with either both types of imperfect attested, or both types of subjunctive attested.

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperfect | 3ms subjunct. |
|--------------|---------------|------------------|-----------------------------------|
| D/L strong | <i>egódal</i> | <i>yaḡódalan</i> | <i>yəḡódal</i> |
| D/L gemin. | <i>axsés</i> | <i>yaxsésan</i> | <i>yaxsés</i> |
| D/L~H gemin. | <i>əbdéd</i> | <i>yəbdédan</i> | <i>yəbdéd</i> or <i>yébbəd</i> |

On the subjunctive forms of *əbdéd* ‘separate’, see the comment to text 60:4.

In the H-Stem, the 3ms perfect patterns with the strong verb, while the imperfect has a unique form, and the subjunctives show the shift of $*C_1C_2\partial C_2$ to $C_1C_1\partial C_2$ seen in the G subjunctive. Some sample forms are:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperfect | 3ms subjunct. |
|----------|-------------|-----------------|---------------|
| H strong | <i>flét</i> | <i>yəffélst</i> | <i>yéflət</i> |
| H gemin. | <i>kbéb</i> | <i>yəkbéb</i> | <i>yékkəb</i> |

As with strong verbs, the first and second persons of the perfect show the shift in the base from $CC\acute{e}C$ to $CC\acute{o}C$ -, as in *kbéb* ‘he unloaded’, but *kbóbən* ‘we unloaded’. The 3fs perfect of geminate verbs (and presumably also the 3d forms) shows the shift of $*C_2\partial C_2\acute{V} > C_2C_2\acute{V}$, as in *kəbbót* ‘she unloaded’ < $*kbəbót$. Of the nineteen H-Stem geminates whose imperfect and subjunctive forms are listed in *JL* (not counting any mixed D/L~H-Stems), seventeen follow the pattern of *kbéb*, but two have, according to *JL*, an imperfect that patterns with strong verbs; one of these can be explained by the fact that it is a I-b verb (*əbrér* ‘see from far away’; see § 7.4.5 or § 7.4.15 for the forms), but the other (*a’nín* ‘need oil (in hair)’) is unexpected. Recall, however, that another I-G, III-n verb, G-Stem *xin*, also behaves like a strong verb.

In the Ši-Stem, geminate perfects are like those of H-Stems, which is to say that they pattern with strong verbs, except for in the 3fs and 3d forms. Their imperfects mirror the unique H-Stem forms, while the subjunctives again show the shift of $*C_1C_2\partial C_2$ to $C_1C_1\partial C_2$ seen in the G and H subjunctives. Some sample forms are:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subjunct. |
|----------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Š1 strong | <i>šakšér</i> | <i>yaškéšór</i> | <i>yašékšar</i> |
| Š1 gemin. | <i>šadkéḳ</i> | <i>yašadkéḳ</i> | <i>yašéddak</i> |
| Š1 gemin., I-m | <i>šamdéd</i> | <i>yašamdéd</i> | <i>yašémmaḍ</i> |
| Š1 gemin., I-b | <i>šabdéd</i> | <i>yašédód</i> | <i>yašébbad</i> |

According to *JL*, at least a couple of Š1-Stems have an imperfect following the pattern of strong verbs: *šabdéd* ‘separate oneself from’ (3ms imperfect *yašédód*) and *šazlél* ‘be insulted’ (3ms imperfect *yašzélól*). One verb (*šalzéz* ‘accept unwillingly’) has a geminate type imperfect (3ms *yaššalzéz*),⁵⁰ but a subjunctive following the strong pattern (3ms *yaššalzəz*). No doubt *šabdéd* differs from other geminate roots because it is I-b, but *šazlél*—if the 3ms imperfect form *yašzélól* listed in *JL* is accurate—and *šalzéz* are unexpected; interestingly, both have the root consonants *l* and *z*. It is very curious that the I-m verb *šamdéd* behaves like other geminate verbs (and likewise *šamrér* ‘be emboldened’; *JL*, s.v. *mrr*) while the I-b verb *šabdéd* behaves like a I-b (non-geminate) verb. I-b and I-m verbs normally behave the same way; see § 7.4.5. Recall, however, that there is evidence for variation in the G-Stem subjunctive of I-m verbs, but not I-b verbs.

Š2-Stems of geminate roots are not well attested, and Johnstone does not list any imperfect or subjunctive forms in *JL*. In the 3ms perfect they have the basic pattern $\tilde{s}\partial C_1\acute{e}C_2$ or $\tilde{s}eC_1\acute{e}C_2$, the latter with some roots that have an initial voiced or glottalic consonant. This can be derived from the strong pattern by a shift of $*\acute{V}C_2\partial C_2 > \acute{V}C_2C_2$, e.g., *šakéz* ‘push o.a.’ $< *šakézz < *šakézəz$. The resulting perfect thus looks like that of a II-w/y verb in this stem. The 3ms imperfect and subjunctive have the patterns $\tilde{s}\partial C_1\acute{e}C_2\partial n$ and $\tilde{s}\partial C_1\acute{e}C_2$, respectively, also very similar to the forms of II-w/y verbs.

In the T1-Stem, we find the same shift of $*C_1C_2\partial C_2$ to $C_1C_2C_2$ seen in the G-, H-, and Š1-Stem subjunctives, e.g., 3ms perfect *bóttar* ‘he looked down’ $< *bótrər$ (cf. strong *fótkar*). The imperfect of T1 geminates seem to behave as strong verbs, with the 3ms pattern $y\partial Ct(\acute{e})C\acute{e}C$, while the 3ms subjunctive is unique, with the pattern $y\partial Ct\acute{a}C$ or $y\partial Ct\acute{e}C$ (seemingly free variants).⁵¹

⁵⁰ I am assuming that the form *yaššalzéz* in *JL* (s.v. *lzz*) is a misprint for *yaššalzéz*, but this is unproven.

⁵¹ Of the fifteen geminate T1-Stems in *JL* whose imperfect and subjunctive forms are

T2-Stems of geminate roots sometimes behave as strong verbs, though some (e.g., *aftérér* ‘yawn’) have subjunctives of the T1 type. Compare:

| | 3ms perfect | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subjunct. |
|-----------|----------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|
| T1 strong | <i>ǰtḵar</i> | <i>yaftéḵór</i> | <i>yaftéḵar</i> |
| T1 gemin. | <i>bóttar</i> | <i>yaǰtéǰér</i> | <i>yaǰtár</i> or <i>yaǰtér</i> |
| T2 strong | <i>aftéǰg</i> | <i>yaftéǰéǰan</i> | <i>yaftéǰóǰ</i> |
| T2 gemin. | <i>aǰtéǰél</i> | <i>yaǰtéǰéǰlán</i> | <i>yaǰtéǰól</i> |
| T2 gemin. | <i>aftéǰér</i> | <i>yaftéǰéǰran</i> | <i>yaftéǰér</i> |

7.4.15 Doubly and Triply Weak Verbs

A significant percentage of Jibbali verbs have more than one weak root consonant, as should already be apparent from the preceding sections. Sometimes such verbs show features of both weak verb types; sometimes the combination results in a unique verb type (e.g., II-w, III-y verbs; I-G, geminate G-Stems); and sometimes one weak verb type takes precedence (e.g., I-b, geminate H-Stem imperfects). In the following table, representative forms of only some of the many possible combinations are presented:

| | Stem | 3ms perf. | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subj. |
|------------------|------|-------------|---------------------------------------|--|
| I-G, gemin. | G | <i>hez</i> | <i>yaǰzéz</i> | <i>yaǰíz</i> |
| I-G, II-m | G | <i>ǰöl</i> | <i>yaǰǰil</i> (3mp <i>yaǰǰöl</i>) | <i>yaǰǰil</i> (3mp <i>yaǰǰmól</i>) |
| I-w, III-G | G | <i>éǰaǰ</i> | <i>ǰóǰaǰ</i> | <i>ǰaǰáǰ</i> |
| I-n, II-b, III-G | G | <i>nǰh</i> | <i>yanōǰh</i> | <i>yúnbaǰh</i> |

listed, one (*bóttad*) is listed with a T2 imperfect. On the mixing of T1- and T2-Stems, see § 6.5.1 and § 6.5.4.

| | | | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|------------------|-----------------|
| I-w, II-G, III-w/y | G | <i>aḥá</i> | <i>yəḥé</i> | <i>yúbḥi</i> |
| I-w, III-y | D/L | <i>ōfi</i> | <i>yōfēn</i> | <i>yófē</i> |
| II-w, III-y | D/L | <i>edōi</i> | <i>yədēn</i> | <i>yadə</i> |
| I-G, II-y, III-b | D/L~H ⁵² | <i>aǰyéḇ</i> | <i>yəǰyēn</i> | <i>yéǰyḇ</i> |
| I-b, gemin. | H | <i>ebrér</i> | <i>yērór</i> | <i>yébbār</i> |
| I-w, III-G | H | <i>ebkáʿ</i> | <i>yōkaʿ</i> | <i>yébkáʿ</i> |
| I-ʾ, II-m, III-n | Š1 | <i>šm</i> ⁵³ | <i>yəš(i)ün</i> | <i>yəšēn</i> |
| I-n, II-G, III-w/y | Š1 | <i>šənhé</i> | <i>yəšənúḥa</i> | <i>yšénḥa</i> |
| I-r, II-b, III-G | Š1 | <i>šərbáʿ</i> | <i>yəšérōʿ</i> | <i>yəšérbaʿ</i> |
| I-w, gemin. | Š2 | <i>šēd</i> | <i>yəšédən</i> | <i>yəšéd</i> |
| I-n, II-w, III-G | Š2 | <i>šéníḥ</i> | <i>yəšéníḥən</i> | <i>yəšénáḥ</i> |
| I-G, gemin. | T1 | <i>ʿttər</i> | <i>yaʿtérér</i> | <i>yaʿtér</i> |
| II-m, III-G | T2 | <i>aštíʿ</i> | <i>yəštíʿan</i> | <i>yəštüʿ</i> |
| I-m, IV-G | Q | <i>ērḳáh</i> | <i>yērōḳah</i> | <i>yērḳah</i> |

One difficult class of doubly-weak verbs that is especially interesting contains verbs whose second root consonant is *w* or *y*, and whose third root consonant is *w*, *y*, or *ʾ*. In the G-Stem 3ms perfect, these have the pattern *Cē(ʾ)*, as in *tē* ‘he ate’, *hē* ‘he fell’, *ḏē* ‘he smelled’, and *kē* ‘he vomited’. However, these verbs exhibit some variation in their conjugations. For example, in the 1cs perfect, we find *tēk* ‘I ate’ and *ḏēk* ‘I smelled’, but *hēk* ‘I fell’ and *kēk* ‘I vomited’. Some verbs seem to allow both *CēC-* and *CēC-* as the base for the first and second person forms of the perfect. The subjunctive patterns also

⁵² On the mixing of the D/L- and H-Stems with II-y verbs, see § 7.4.8.

⁵³ The form *šün* seems to be an acceptable variant for some speakers, as I heard both *šün* and *šün* from informants. For the 3fs perfect, I heard only *šünüt* ‘she trusted’, which is the expected form. 3ms perfect *šün* is probably analogical with the base used for the first and second persons (e.g., *šünək* ‘I trusted’), and with the 3fs form.

vary; for example, the 3ms subjunctive of *tē* 'come (at night)' is *yéte* (following the pattern *yéCəC*, with final *ʔ* [realized or underlying]), while for *tē* 'eat' it is *yít* (< **yéty?*).⁵⁴ Following are some sample forms:

| | 3ms perf. | 1cs perf. | 3ms imperf. | 3ms subj. |
|-------------------------------|-----------|--------------------------|--|------------------------------------|
| G II/III-w/y | <i>ðē</i> | <i>ðēk</i> or <i>ðēk</i> | <i>yəðéʔ</i> | <i>yéðéʔ</i> |
| G II-w/y, III- ² | <i>kē</i> | <i>kēk</i> | <i>yəkéʔ</i> | <i>yékeʔ</i> |
| G II/III-w/y | <i>tē</i> | <i>tēk</i> | <i>yəté</i> | <i>yít</i> |
| G II/III-w/y | <i>tē</i> | <i>tēk</i> | <i>yəté</i> | <i>yéte</i> |
| G II/III-w/y, I- ^c | <i>ē</i> | <i>ēk</i> | <i>yəʕ</i> | <i>yaʕbé</i> |
| G II/III-w/y, I-h | <i>hē</i> | <i>hēk</i> | <i>yəhí</i> (3mp <i>yəhúí</i> or <i>yəhí</i>) | <i>yəhí</i> (3mp <i>yəhbí</i>) |
| Gb II/III-w/y | <i>rē</i> | <i>rīk</i> or <i>rēk</i> | (not used) | <i>yərbé</i> |

Some of these differences no doubt connect with the differences in the underlying roots, e.g., III-y vs. III-². However, there has been confusion and mixing of the different root types, with the result that the conjugation of a verb is not always reflective of its etymological root.

7.4.16 *Anomalous Verbs*

A number of verbs can only be called anomalous, as they exhibit features that make their conjugation unique and unpredictable. Three such irregular verbs are treated elsewhere: *ber* (§7.2), *ʕd* (§7.3), and *ʕgab* (§7.5). The forms of verb *šérék* are anomalous in its mix of Š1- and Š2-Stem forms (and certainly if we consider it a G-Stem, as Johnstone seems to have done); see §7.4.10. On the anomalous verb *saʕéd* 'help', see §7.4.7. Some other seemingly anomalous forms have been mentioned in previous sections (e.g., the imperfect of *ajád* 'go'; see §7.4.3).

Another example of an anomalous verb is *šéf* 'sleep; go to sleep'. In *JL*, Johnstone includes it under the root *šwf*. Its pattern, however, is unlike any

⁵⁴ In Johnstone's texts, Ali Musallam sometimes used a 2ms subjunctive (*t*)*té*. See the comments to texts 6:11 and 23:5.

II-w verb. The verb is surely cognate with Mehri *šawkūf*, an Š1-Stem of the root *wkf*; cf. also the Jibbali H-Stem *ɛbkéf* (and Mehri *hawkūf*) ‘let s.o. rest on one’s shoulder’. In Jibbali, it seems that the Š1 **šawkéf* became **šakéf* (with loss of *w*, instead of the expected shift to *šabkéf*), and then **šāšéf* (with the shift of *k* to *š*) > **ššéf* > *šéf*. That it is an Š1-Stem can also be seen by the vowel shift in the first and second person perfect forms (e.g., *šǝf* ‘I slept’) and 3fs *šǝfǝt*.

The verb *yəkól* (3mp *yəkél*) is anomalous in that it is used only in the imperfect, but with a past tense meaning. When an object suffix is added, the *l* is normally lost. (In my transcription of the texts, an *l* in parentheses means that it was not written in the Arabic-letter original.) Examples are:

yəkél kunút haǧmét ‘aḵ sékən ‘they thought there was an attack on [or: fight in] the settlement’ (13:13)

šini eqǝfšš ‘aḵ emih. yəkól gənní ‘he saw his shadow in the water. He thought (it was) a jinn’ (39:3)

əl nəkól(l)š dha-yǧád lə ‘we didn’t think he would go’ (49:35)

yəkól əl dé əl-hés še lə ‘he thought there was no one like him’ (54:2)

əkól(l)š mən yénš haǧzórš li ‘I thought you were persuading me truthfully’ (60:8)

təkól(l)š edúrš yólhum ‘she thought you had gone back to them’ (60:23)

The imperfect form *yəkól* looks like the G-Stem of a II-², II-y, or, less likely, II-w verb; Johnstone included it in *JL* under the root *kwl*. There are two possible historical sources for this imperfect verb. The first possibility is that it comes from the verb *kēl* ‘measure’ (root *kyl*),⁵⁵ which has the same imperfect forms. A semantic development from ‘measure’ to ‘think’ does not seem implausible.⁵⁶ The second possibility is that it derives from *yəkhól* (3mp *yəkhél*), the imperfect of *khel* ‘be able, manage’. A change of *yəkhól* > *yəkól* would be irregular, but such a change is found in Soqoṭri and elsewhere in Semitic.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Cf. Arabic G *kāla*, Biblical Hebrew G *kāl* (used only in Isaiah 40:12), and Syriac H *akīl* ‘measure’.

⁵⁶ We might also compare the Hebrew derived stem (*palpel*) verb *kalkēl* ‘sustain, maintain’, and note the semantic development of English ‘maintain’, which can mean ‘support, sustain’, as well as ‘hold/defend an opinion’.

⁵⁷ Cf. Soqoṭri *kəl* ‘he was able’, Hebrew 3ms perfect *yākōl* ‘he is able’ (< **yakāl* < 3ms imperfect **yVkhal*), and the Ge’ez 3ms imperfect *yək(ə)l* ‘he is able’ (< *yəkəh(h)əl*; 3ms perfect *kəhla*).

The verb (*ə*)*thúmk* is anomalous, in that its 1cs perfect form has a specialized meaning. In Mehri, there is a regular H-Stem verb *həthūm*, meaning ‘think, imagine’, but in Jibbali only this form (*ə*)*thúmk* is used with this meaning, in the sense of ‘I think that...’ or ‘maybe’. Otherwise, the Jibbali H-Stem *thūm* means ‘accuse’. Examples are:

əthúmk tək əl šhabólk tək lə ‘I think maybe you didn’t understand me’
(34:11)

thúmk tək əl-gád nášanu ‘I think I might go now’ (38:2)

əthúmk is méllík ‘I think maybe her father is an angel’ (97:44)

See further on the use of (*ə*)*thumk* in § 12.5.18. Other frozen verbal forms are *dunk* (§ 12.5.7), *kətk* (12.5.12), and *ndóh* (§ 12.5.16).

7.4.17 A Note on So-Called “Weak-*f*” Verbs

In my Mehri grammar, I included a category of verbs called “weak-*f*” (Rubin 2010: 161–163). I hesitated to call this class of verbs “weak-*f*”, but did so for lack of a better term. I ended that section with a note that “this is an area in which more research needs to be done.” Happily, two French researchers, Sabrina Bendjaballah and Philippe Ségéral (2014), took up this call and have offered a convincing explanation for these verbs, and one with important implications in other areas. The common element among verbs of this class is not the consonant *f* (though it remains the most common root consonant among such verbs), but rather the fact that the second and third root consonants are voiceless and non-glottalic. Interestingly, I learned of this research just as I was working on Jibbali verbs, for which the same constraint has numerous effects. For example, as discussed in § 6.1.1, the Ga-Stem perfect of strong verbs has the pattern *CCɔC* or *CɔCɔC*, the former only if the first two consonants are voiceless and non-glottalic. In Jibbali, this constraint is obvious, since it is regular. In Mehri, I did not make this realization, since there are many exceptions to the rule, and since I limited my analysis (mostly) to forms attested in Johnstone’s texts, rather than to all verbs listed in *ML*, which is fraught with countless errors.

7.5 The Irregular Verb *‘ágəb* ‘want; love’

The verb *‘ágəb* ‘want; love’ is extremely common, appearing approximately 230 times in the texts. Its conjugation is completely anomalous in the perfect tense. The 3ms looks similar to a Gb-Stem, but, while other Gb-Stems with I-^c roots have an initial *‘é-*, this verb does not. Its forms are as follows:

| | sing. | dual | plural |
|----|-------------|-------|---------------|
| 1c | ʿak | ʿagšī | ʿagən |
| 2m | ʿagək / ʿak | ʿagšī | ʿakum / ʿškum |
| 2f | ʿagiš / ʿāš | | ʿakən |
| 3m | ʿagəb | ʿagiś | ʿagəb |
| 3f | ʿagiśt | ʿagiś | ʿagəb |

Notes:

- The 1cs, 2ms, and 2p all show a shift of ʿag(ə)k > ʿak. In writing Jibbali, speakers will sometimes write the etymological *g* (e.g., عَجَك ʿagk), even when the *g* is not heard in speech. In the texts, I have kept these spellings with ʿagk where they appear in the Arabic-letter manuscripts, even though they are pronounced ʿak.
- The 1cs form ʿagbək occurs once in SB2:3. It is unclear if this is an archaic form, or a new, analogical form. An informant reports that this form can only mean ‘I (fell in) love’, and not ‘I want’.
- 2mp ʿškum occurs twice in the texts (12:9; TJ4:1), while ʿakum occurs twice also (17:20; TJ5:2); each form is attested once by the same speaker. My own informants preferred ʿakum, which is the expected form.
- The verb ʿagəb does not take pronominal suffixes in the perfect.

The verb is most often used in the perfect, even when a present tense meaning is intended. The imperfect, subjunctive, and conditional forms are treated separately in § 7.5.3 and § 7.5.4.

The original meaning of this verb is ‘love’.⁵⁸ It retains this meaning (as well as ‘fall in love’) in Jibbali, in which case an object is always followed by the preposition *b-*. Some examples are:

her ʿagiš bi, ha-tǧīd šī. b-əl ʿagiš bi l, ha-tiskaf... ʿak bek ‘if you love me, you’ll go with me. And (if) you don’t love me, you’ll stay ... I love you’ (13:18)

⁵⁸ Cf. Hebrew *ʿagəb* ‘lust after’. The Arabic cognate *ʿajiba* means something like ‘be amazed, marvel’ in Standard Arabic, but in many dialects (e.g., Iraqi, Yemeni, Palestinian) means ‘please; delight’. The meaning (with *b-*) ‘love’ is even attested in a southern Yemeni dialect (Landberg 1920–1942: 3.2267).

axarét 'ágab b-ágabgót bə-sé 'agiót beš 'then he fell in love with the girl,
and she fell in love with him' (17:16)
śini tit mənšēn ... bə-'ágab bes 'he saw one of them ... and he fell in love
with her' (30:6)
axarét 'ágab bes bə-šfək bes 'then he fell in love with her and married
her' (36:19)
'ágab bes aǵág kel 'all the men loved her' (46:1)
əmbéré' 'ágab bə-ǵabgót ərhūt bē 'a boy loved a very beautiful girl' (SB1:1)
he ǵabgót ərhūt bə-'ǵbək bek 'I am a beautiful girl and I love you' (SB2:3)

However, the verb has come to also mean 'want'—a lexical development shared with Soqotri—and it is with this meaning that the verb is encountered most often. When it means 'want', *'ágab* can either be followed by a direct object or by the preposition *b-*. Some examples of the latter are:

əl 'ǵən bóhum lə 'we don't want them' (16:4)
'ágab beš her aǵátš 'he wanted it for his sister' (17:22)
'ak beš hek 'I want it (to be) for you' (21:5)
'agk b-edərhísi 'I want my kid' (23:11) (cf. 23:5, below)
'ak bə-həǵələti 'I want my calf' (23:13)
aǵí, d-ək 'ak bə-kaħwét 'brother, do you still want coffee?' (34:10)
'ak bə-ħölt də-'ád ... 'ak kīni bə-réhən, bə-rík 'I want a load of sardines ...
If you want a guarantee (of payment) from me, as you wish' (41:2)
əl 'ak bésən lə 'I don't want them' (49:27)
her 'ak b-a'ísék, mdəd eǵóték 'if you want your dinner, stretch out your
neck' (54:30)

Some examples of *'ágab* followed by a direct object are:

'agk ǵrəm a'álet mən 'ak ǵrəm elxét 'do you want the upper road or the
lower road' (6:13)
'agk edǵaríti 'I want my bean' (23:5) (cf. 23:11, above)
mūn mən kúm də-'ágab ʒ 'which [lit. who] of you wants a goat' (39:2)
íné 'ak 'what do you want?' (54:7)
he 'agk giní troh bə-ďóhūn 'I want two guineas for that' (52:9)
he šfəkək bə-'ak təkkižót 'I have gotten married, and I want marital
possession' (45:12)
tūm šork beš əlhūn 'akum 'you all do with him whatever you want' (17:20)
he 'ak ən fēt a'ášər 'I want the first part of the night' (54:21)

If the verb is third person and the object is pronominal, then *b-* must be used. The alternative would be the independent direct object pronoun *t-*,

but this is not used after third person perfects, following the rules outlined in § 3.3.

Very often *‘ágab* is followed by a dependent verb, which appears in the subjunctive, as in:

- ‘ágiš (t)šišfək tō* ‘do you want to marry me?’ (17:17)
‘ágab yəkšós eréšš ‘they wanted to cut off her head’ (17:43)
‘ágab yaxērhum ‘he wanted to test them’ (21:3)
‘ágiót təšnéš ‘she wants to see you’ (36:7)
‘ágab yó(l)təg tūn ‘they wanted to kill us’ (50:8)
əl ‘ágiót tóskəfl. *‘ágiót tótbaš* ‘she didn’t want to stay. She wanted to follow you’ (60:22)
‘ágən nəgád ‘we want to go’ (60:38)

In all of the above examples, the subject of *‘ágab* is the same as that of the following verb. But in Jibbali, as in English, the verb *‘ágab* can be followed by a nominal or pronominal object (either direct or preceded by *b-*), which in turn can be the subject of a following subjunctive verb. Consider the following examples:

- he ‘ak tēti təgád ši* ‘I want my wife to go with me’ (7:10)
he ‘ak eǵóti thīl tō ‘I wanted my sister to carry me’ (49:14)
əl ‘ak émí (t)dəné lō ‘I didn’t want my mother to get pregnant’ (51:13)
‘ágən bek tšéxəntə émtən ‘we want you to come back to us’ (13:2)
‘ágiót beš yóšfək bes ‘she wanted him to marry her’ (15:12)
‘ágən biš tīnhəg k-ínét ‘we want you to dance with the women’ (30:9)
‘ak tō l-əšhórək ‘do you want me to brand you?’ (40:9)
‘ágab bek təgád ǵer emih ‘he wanted you to go to the water’ (49:23)
her ‘ak tō l-éfte hek ‘if you want me to advise you’ (57:5)
íné ‘ágiš tō əl-šérk ‘what do you want me to do?’ (57:14)
he ‘ak bes təgád k-a’ásərs ‘I want her to go with her husband’ (60:5)

If this kind of *‘ágab* construction occurs in the protasis of a conditional sentence, and the dependent verb should be repeated in the apodosis, there is normally verbal ellipsis. Examples of this are:

- her ‘ak, ǵadú* ‘if you want (to go), let’s go!’ (12:2)
her ‘agk yəl émék, ǵadú ‘if you want (to go) to your mother, let’s go!’ (16:3)
her ‘ak, kalét hīni ‘if you want (to tell me), tell me!’ (MmS)

Used independently, without a following object or dependent verb, *‘ágab* (in any form) can be used as the equivalent of English expressions like ‘I

want to', 'I will', or 'I do', all of which can occur by themselves. This use in Jibbali (as in English) is most common in response to another question or statement containing *áǧəb*. An example is:

mūn mənókum ǧə-áǧəb əz ... he 'ak 'who among you wants a goat? ... I do [or: I want (one)]' (39:2–3)

A dependent verb can also be understood in other contexts, as in:

'ak šókum 'I want (to go) with you' (54:10)⁵⁹
ɣəl 'aš tə 'what do you want me (to do)?' (TJ4:36)⁶⁰

7.5.1 Cohortative *áǧəb*

The first person forms of *áǧəb* can have a cohortative meaning 'let's' or 'I/we should'. The following dependent verb, most always also first person, is subjunctive, as expected. 1cp cohortatives are by far the most common:

'áǧən nəké' 'let's throw up' (6:20)
'áǧən nəǧád ɣəl sékəni 'let's go to my settlement' (13:17)
'áǧən nəʃén ɬəttūn 'let's tie each other up' (17:25)
'áǧən nəǧád séréš 'let's go after him' (22:15)
'áǧən nəǧád bə-nəšnéš 'let's go and see it' (39:8)
'áǧən nəskéfšīn 'let's stay a little while' (60:23)

The use of the 1cs form of *áǧəb* verb plus a 1cp object can have a meaning very close, if not identical to, a 1cp cohortative:

'ak tun nəšrék 'let's steal [lit. I want us to steal]' (12:1)
'ak tun nəǧád émtəs 'should we [lit. do you want us to] go to her?' (38:8)
'ak tun nəǧád tel iyél 'let's go [lit. I want us to go] to the camels' (AK1:1)

No 1cd forms are attested in the texts,⁶¹ and there is just one 1cs cohortative:

'ak əl-ǧád ǧer emúh 'I should go to the water' (60:19)

A first person cohortative can also be followed by a third person subjunctive, as in:

⁵⁹ Compare the similar idiom *he šek* 'I am (going) with you' (36:20), which likewise has an implied verb of motion.

⁶⁰ On the use of *ɣəl/ɣəh* 'how?' with the verb *šérék* 'do', rather than *íné* 'what?', see § 11.6.

⁶¹ Of the 1cd cohortatives in Johnstone's Mehri texts, only one occurs in a text with a Jibbali parallel (M83:2 = J83:2). But where Mehri has the 1cd *həmō*, Jibbali has the 1cp *'áǧən*.

‘*ágan aǵák yóšfək bes* ‘we should have your brother marry her’ (97:44)
 ‘*ágan kə-tat yəzhōm bə-kéltót* ‘let’s each one (of us) offer [lit. bring] a
 story’ (36:29)

7.5.2 Motion Verb ‘*ágab*

The verb ‘*ágab* can also be used as a sort of pseudo-motion verb, best translated into English as ‘be heading to’. In this meaning, it is usually preceded by a verb of motion (most often *aǵád* ‘go’). Sometimes it is followed by a preposition (yol ‘to, towards’ or, rarely, *her* ‘to’), other times by a direct object, with no difference in meaning. The form of ‘*ágab* is often separated from the preceding motion verb by an adverbial phrase (or phrases). Consider the following examples:

xatarét ǵeyg aǵád mən fǵǵar, ‘ágab ešhéhr ‘once a man went from the Najd, heading for the mountains’ (7:1)

sékən nəsé mən érzhum, ‘ágab erǵ tad šā beš rəhmét ‘a community moved from their land, heading for a land that they heard had rain’ (15:1)

zəhám kəb, ‘ágab yol ērún ‘the wolf came, heading for the goats’ (15:9)

xatarét he b-ǵǵí aǵádən mən tél iyél mən fǵǵar, ‘ágən yol érún b-ešhéhr ‘once my brother and I went from the camels from Najd, heading to the goats in the mountains’ (16:1)

xatarét ǵeyg aǵád mən erǵ e-ǵǵfól ‘ágab yol erǵ ǵ-ēhəró ‘once a man went from the region of Dhofar, heading towards the land of the Mehri’ (34:1)

xatarét ǵeyg aǵád mən érǵəš, ‘ágab her erǵ tat ǵə-šfǵk b-erǵ ǵókūn ‘once a man went from his land heading to a certain land in which he got married’ (60:1)

aǵád embére, ‘ágab ēsérš ‘the boy went, heading for his turban’ (97:49)

This use of ‘*ágab* (found also with the equivalent Mehri verb *hōm* ‘want’) is probably an extension of its use in the following type of sentence, where ‘*ágab* is preceded by a verb of motion *and* followed by a dependent verb:

aǵád mən tél sékənəš ‘ageb yəxétər eširét ‘he went from his settlement, intending [lit. wanting] to go down to the town’ (18:1)

‘ássən ‘ágən nəǵád yol xádər ‘we got up intending to go to the cave’ (51:5)

7.5.3 *Imperfect and Subjunctive Uses*

As mentioned in §7.5, the perfect forms of *ʿágəb* normally serve for the present tense meaning, as well as the past. So *ʿágəb* can mean both ‘he wanted’ or ‘he wants’. This is unusual, as normally the imperfect is used to indicate the present tense of a verb. Some examples are:

her ʿak, ġadú ‘if you want (to go), let’s go!’ (12:2)
ʿak bek ‘I love you’ (13:18)
ʿagiš (t)šišfəḵ tɔ ‘do you want to marry me?’ (17:17)
ʿagišt təsnés ‘she wants to see you’ (36:7)

Other examples can be found above, in §7.5. However, *ʿágəb* does have imperfect and subjunctive forms, which pattern with other Gb-Stem I-G verbs, e.g., 3ms imperfect *yəʿágób* (3mp *yəʿágébb*) and 3ms subjunctive *yaʿgób* (3mp *yaʿgéb*). The imperfect seems to be used only when a habitual (past or present) sense is required, and usually has the meaning ‘like, love’, rather than ‘want’. Examples are:

kə-tát yəʿágób yəgréb ʿššáġər ‘everyone wants to know the other guy’ (21:12)
he aʿágób tel ínét ‘I like (it) among the women’ (46:12)
he aʿágób ar bə-núsəb ‘I only liked [or: wanted] milk’ (51:2)
xatarét ġeyg yəsūm kətəbín, b-ɔl yəʿágób yəzém sé l her kəl sé ‘once there was a man who sold books, and he didn’t like to give anything for anything’ (52:2)
her aġadək yəl ūthum, aʿágób bə-giní t̄roh ‘if I go to their house, I want two guineas’ (52:11)
he aʿágób bə-títi, bə-títi təʿágób bi ‘I love my wife, and my wife loves me’ (60:4)

The difference between perfect *ʿak biš* ‘I love you’ and imperfect *aʿágóbš* ‘I love you’ is not so clear. It seems that the former is more appropriate before marriage (i.e., expressing desire), while the latter may be more appropriate after marriage (i.e., expressing continuing love). See further in §7.5.5.

No subjunctive forms of the verb *ʿágəb* are attested in the texts. They seem only to be used when the meaning ‘love’ is required. Following are some elicited examples:⁶²

⁶² For a sentence like ‘he will want milk’, one would hear *ħa-yəħtšg núsəb* ‘he will need milk’, or something similar. That is, *ʿágəb* does not seem to be used in the future to mean ‘want’.

se ha-ta'gób bi 'she will love me' (AK)

'ak biš ta'gób bi 'I want you to love me' (AK)

In one passage in Johnstone's texts, where the verb *'ágəb* 'want' is used in a dependent context (requiring a subjunctive), we find a compound tense, with the auxiliary *kun* used in the subjunctive:

ðə-firəkək 'ās əl tékən 'agiót ta'tún len 'I am afraid that she might want to inform on us' (60:39)

However, this passage (like all of text 60) is probably translated directly from Mehri, so it is unclear how natural such a phrase would be in Jibbali.

7.5.4 Conditional Forms

The conditional forms of *'ágəb* (e.g., 3ms *ya'gūn*, 3mp *ya'gūn*, 1cp *na'gūn* or *na'gūn*) can be used independently. This is highly unusual, since conditional verbs are otherwise used almost exclusively in the apodosis of unreal (counterfactual) conditional sentences introduced by (ə)ðə *kun* (see § 7.1.5). There is only one conditional form of *'ágəb* in all of the texts, where a 1cp form has a cohortative meaning:

na'gūn nəkén 'ísór 'let's be friends' (TJ1:1)

I did not hear *na'gūn* used spontaneously by any of my informants, but they understood it and claimed to use it. Still, it was difficult to ascertain how the meaning of this conditional form was different from the simple perfect used as a cohortative; cf. the numerous examples of cohortative *'ágən* in § 7.5.1. My informants saw the phrases *na'gūn nəgád* and *'ágən nəgád* as essentially synonymous as cohortatives, though the latter can also be used to mean simple 'we want to go'.

The conditional can also be used with a slightly different meaning when a following verb is in the perfect tense, as in:

na'gūnkum əl aǵádkum lə 'we hope [or: wish] that you didn't go' (AK)

7.5.5 *'ágəb* vs. *ša'sér* 'love'

In all of the examples from the preceding sections in which *'ágəb* means 'love', it bears a sense of romantic desire. On the other hand, the verb *ša'sér* 'love' is used with a sense of affection that is not romantic. It is the normal verb used to express love towards a family member (children, siblings, parents), as well as towards one's country. It is not used for 'love' with regard to things like food or hobbies, however. In § 7.5.3 there was some discussion

of the verb *ʾāgab* used with regard to one's spouse, and to that should be added the fact that *šāʾšér* is also appropriate for a spouse. Some examples are:

aḡás yəšaʾásórs 'her brother loved her' (17:9)

(*t*)*šaʾásór ebríts* 'she loved her daughter' (97:4)

a(l)-šaʾásórs 'I love you [said to a wife]' (MQ)

(*t*)*šaʾásór inés* 'she loves her children' (MQ)

CHAPTER EIGHT

PREPOSITIONS

The prepositions of Jibbali, including compound prepositions, are:

| | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| <i>(ə)d</i> 'to' | <i>l-</i> 'for; to' |
| <i>əd</i> 'up to, till, until' | <i>lébər</i> 'like, the same as' |
| <i>əmt</i> 'towards' | <i>mən</i> 'from' |
| <i>ʾak</i> 'in(to), inside; on(to); among' | <i>mən kédé</i> 'regarding, about' |
| <i>(ʾ)ar</i> 'from; about; than' | <i>mən mún</i> 'between' |
| <i>ʾyór</i> 'in front of' | <i>mən ǰér</i> 'after' |
| <i>b-</i> 'in, at; with; for; on' | <i>mən ǰér</i> 'without' |
| <i>ba'd</i> 'after' | <i>mən sér</i> 'after' |
| <i>ǰer</i> 'on, onto; over' | <i>mən tél</i> 'from (someone)' |
| <i>(əl-)ǰéné</i> 'before; in front of; ago' | <i>nxin</i> (or <i>lxin</i>) 'under' |
| <i>ǰer</i> 'except' | <i>siéb</i> 'because of' |
| <i>her</i> 'to; for' | <i>ser</i> 'behind' |
| <i>k-</i> 'with' | <i>tel</i> 'at, by, beside' |
| <i>kin</i> 'from (someone)' | <i>tət</i> 'above' |
| <i>kéǰé</i> 'in back of' | <i>ɣəl</i> 'to, towards' |

There are also three particles that cannot strictly be called prepositions, but that either behave as such or are translated as such. Therefore, I include them in this chapter. These are:

| |
|----------------------------------|
| <i>mən dún</i> 'except; without' |
| <i>(əl)-hés</i> 'like, as' |
| <i>ta'mírən</i> 'like' |

The particle *ar* (distinct from the preposition listed above) is also sometimes translated with an English preposition 'except, but', but this is discussed in §12.5.4.

Prepositions are of two types. The first type, those consisting of a single consonant, are prefixed to the noun. There are only three of these in Jibbali: *b-*, *k-*, and *l-*. When a noun begins with a consonant, an epenthetic *ə* is usually inserted; with *b-* and *k-* the epenthetic vowel follows, while with *l-* it often precedes. Examples are:

| | |
|--|---------------------------------------|
| <i>b-erž</i> ‘in the land’ (30:17) | <i>bə-ħallét</i> ‘in a town’ (36:1) |
| <i>k-aǵág</i> ‘with the men’ (54:41) | <i>kə-tét</i> ‘with the woman’ (45:2) |
| <i>l-iršób</i> ‘for the camels’ (47:6) | <i>əl-šé</i> ‘for something’ (52:10) |

We can say that the *ə* that sometimes accompanies these three prepositions is epenthetic and not underlying, since it does not cause elision of a following *b* or *m* (e.g., *lə-bāl ešód* ‘for the fisherman’; *kə-bəkrút* ‘with a young camel’). Also note that if a word begins with *b*, then the preposition *b-* is either suppressed, or is realized as an initial *ə-* (or *əb-*). Before a word that begins with *m*, *b-* is sometimes also realized simply as *ə-* (or *əm-*); see also § 2.1.4 and the comment to text 39:2.

Pronominal objects of prepositions are indicated by suffixes. These suffixes are sometimes attached to a base that is different from the bare form of the preposition. A complete list of prepositions with pronominal suffixes is given at the end of this chapter, in § 8.30.

8.1 *ed* ‘up to, till, until’; (*ə*)*d-* ‘to’

The preposition *ed* has the basic meaning ‘up to, until’, used both with regards to time and space. Before a suffix it has the base *d-*. With regards to time, the object of *ed* is normally a temporal adverb or an adverbial phrase. Some examples referring to time are:

he dħa-l-səlóbek ed mən ǧér eǧšħar ‘I will wait for you until after noon’
(28:7)

bə-d-šd šahét ed nášanu ‘and they are still alive until now’ (46:18)

ršənút tə əl-ǧəndét ed kəl’eni ‘she tied me to a tree-trunk until the evening’ (49:9)

bass mən məš’ér ed kərəre ǧasré ‘enough partying until tomorrow night’
(97:15)

In Johnstone’s texts there are only about fifteen passages in which *ed* is used with regard to space, indicating motion or direction. Most of the relevant passages are in text Tj3, and in all of the examples from text Tj3, *ed* is followed by the name of a city or country. The English equivalent is usually just a simple ‘to’. Some of the attested passages are:

aǵád bes ed mukún ʔad ‘they brought [lit. went with] it to a certain place’ (12:2)

aǵádək ed manzél ʔat ‘I went to a house’ (31:3)

ʔšlób yə mən but ed but ‘he begged people from house to house’ (46:8)

d-šš ed ħaršž ešǧarót ‘you still have until the next acacia’ (48:14)

yadólaf mən fídún dīnu ε-ðík ‘they would jump from this rock to that one’ (48:15)

haš eṭkák deš egənní, gəhér ‘when he looked up towards him, he was blinded [or: dazzled]’ (54:29)

aǰádk ed kəṭár ... b-aǰádk ed dəbéy ‘I went to Qatar ... and I went to Dubai’ (TJ3:3)

sfork ak langš ed məskét ‘I traveled in his boat to Muscat’ (TJ3:5)

Note in the example from 48:15 that the *d* of *ed* is lost, because of the initial *ð-* of the word *ðík*.

In *JL* (s.v. ’), Johnstone reported that *ed* can be reduced to *ε-* even before other (non-dental) consonants, and he gives the examples *ε məskét* ‘to Muscat’.¹ Besides the example in 48:15, there are no other places in the texts where *ε-* functions as a preposition, though there are a couple of examples of *ed > ε-* where it is functioning as a conjunction (§ 13.5.3.4); see texts 28:17 and 30:5, and the comments to these lines.

The preposition *ed* can also be reduced to *əd*; in *JL* (s.v. ’d), Johnstone included the example *əd məskét* ‘to Muscat’. In fact, among younger speakers of Jibbali, this reduced form, now re-interpreted as *d-*, has become the preposition most commonly used to indicate motion to a place (rather than to a person or animal). It is very common in the speech of all of my younger informants. Some examples are:

ak əl-sǰódkən d-erž ‘I want to take you to (my) country’ (TJ3:19)

təšənzéž bə-yúm dḥa-tšəxəntən d-əštún ‘she asked discreetly about when they would go out to the plantation’ (TJ4:21)

kəlobb egōb d-əširét ‘he gave [lit. returned] the answer to the town’ (TJ4:92)

ḥōlən tósən d-íné šūš ... də-səyérə ūm ‘we carried them to whatchamacallit ... to the big car’ (AK1:4)

a-nḥōls d-erž ‘we’ll bring it to (our) land’ (AK2:4)

edúrk d-ūt ‘I went back to the house’ (AK2:6)

ɔ(l) yəḳódər yəǰád d-ūthum lə ‘they cannot go to their house’ (SM)

As for verbal idioms, we once find *šfok d-* ‘marry into s.o.’s family’ (7:1), though twice in the texts we find *šfok tel* with the same meaning (see § 8.26).

¹ The sentence *mit ḥa-tǰad ε’ün* ‘when will you go to Oman?’ (*JL*, s.v. *myt*) may also be an example of *ε < ed*, though this is not at all clear. The prefix *ε-* here could potentially be the definite article, or simply an epenthetic vowel.

Based on the limited evidence from the texts, it seems that *šanté d-* means ‘ask (a father) for a woman’s hand in marriage’ (TJ4:93), while *šanté b-* means ‘ask (a woman) for her hand in marriage’ (e.g., 46:2). We find *hogúm d-* ‘attack’ in text TJ4 (e.g., TJ4:76), but *hogúm l-* elsewhere. We also find once *haré d-* ‘beg from’ (46:9) and *haðnín d-* ‘stare at’ (TJ4:26).

In expressions of time, *ed* can mean ‘until’, as shown above, but can also simply mean ‘then’. For example, *ed k-háşaf* can mean both ‘until morning’ and ‘(then) in the morning’ (e.g., in a narrative), and *ed jasré* can mean both ‘until night’ and ‘(then) at night’. See further in §13.5.3.4.

On the compound *ed ‘aḵ*, see §8.3, and on the compound *ed tél*, see §8.26. On the use of *ed* as a conjunction ‘until’, ‘then when’, or ‘and’, see §13.5.3.4, and on its use in the texts to indicate a purpose clause, see §13.5.2.4.

8.2 *emt* ‘towards’

The preposition *emt* ‘towards’ occurs just five times in Johnstone’s texts, nearly always with a pronominal suffix:

yabǵód emt a’él e-tét ‘he goes to the woman’s parents’ (TJ2:2)
‘ágan bek tšéxant émtan ‘we want you to come back to us’ (13:2)
‘ak tun naǵád émtas ‘should we [lit. do you want us to] go to her?’ (38:8)
he nǵamk émtkum ‘I’ve come to you angry’ (49:28)
ēr-ǵáti ber nǵam émti ‘my nephew has come to me angry’ (49:31)

The object of *emt* seems to always be a person, similar to *tel* (§8.26). This preposition remains rare in current speech.

8.3 *‘aḵ* ‘in(side), into; on(to); among’

The preposition *‘aḵ* is used to indicate location inside or motion into, and is usually best translated with English ‘in’, ‘inside’, or ‘into’. It can also have the meanings ‘on’, ‘onto’, or ‘among’, as will be shown below. It has the base *‘amḵ*- before pronominal suffixes, reflecting its source lexeme *‘amḵ* ‘middle’ (cf. 2:1; 13:4), from which this preposition was grammaticalized. Its most common usage is to indicate location inside, corresponding to English ‘in, inside’, for example:

šxanútk ‘aḵ lang ‘I set out in a boat’ (13:3)
ksé jeyg ‘aḵ ša’b ðíkūn ‘they found a man in that valley’ (21:2)
skɔf ‘aḵ ēnzél ðókūn ‘they stayed in that place’ (31:2)
šini eǵǵfēš ‘aḵ emih ‘he saw his shadow in the water’ (39:3)
zūts ‘aḵ şaférit dúgur ‘she gave her beans in a pot’ (97:35)

ksé ġarórt, bə-ʿamkás ešřf ‘he found a bag, and in it was the hair’ (15:15)
šřřt ʿak üt ‘she went to sleep in the house’ (TJ4:38)

Examples indicating motion into include:

rdét beš ʿak xəs ‘she threw it into her mouth’ (6:20)
hīlās ʿak ütš bə-kełʿās ʿak ütš ‘he carried it into his house and left it in his house’ (6:29)
aġád ʿak ešřrét ‘he went into the town’ (6:30)
kełās ʿak ekełhf ‘they put it in the pot’ (12:4)
keb ʿak šaʿb ‘he went down into a valley’ (33:2)
taxtór zəhám ʿak edakkún ‘the doctor came into the shop’ (52:5)

This preposition can also have the meaning ‘on’ or ‘onto’, when the sense is ‘on(to) the face or surface of’, as in:

embéreʿ béké ʿak egizírt ‘the boy remained on the island’ (6:25)
zəhōt sinórt bə-thīl ešáhan đə-ʿamkás hīt bə-tġóřš ʿak ġōr ‘a cat came, took the dish that had the food on it, and tossed it into a well’ (17:47)
ebkáʿ erés ʿak rékeb e-ūt ... kełáʿ izūt ʿak aʿámk e-ħésən ‘he put the head onto a ledge of the house ... (and) he left a mark on the middle of the (wall of the) house’ (54:32)
farrót bóhum ʿak ġizírt b-aʿámk đə-rémrəm ‘it flew with them onto an island in the middle of the sea’ (6:22)

In a few places, *ʿak* has the meaning ‘among’, i.e., ‘inside a group’, for example:

kebén ʿak ērún ‘hide among the goats!’ (15:8)
rəšún ederhész ʿak elhúti ‘he tied up his kid among the cows’ (23:10)
aġádak ʿak etéb ‘I went among [or: into] the fig trees’ (53:5)
kúnən ʿak iyél ‘we were among the camels’ (AK2:1)

We also find *ʿak* used in the combinations *ed ʿak* ‘into’ and *mən ʿak* ‘from inside, out of; from on (the face of)’, with the latter occurring more frequently. The combination *ed ʿak* does not seem to have any special meaning, since we find both *aġád ʿak* and *aġád ed ʿak* meaning ‘go into’ (see examples above and below). Examples of *ed ʿak* and *mən ʿak* from the texts are:

ənkós l-ešxarét mən ʿak ekeōr ‘he dug up the old woman from (inside) the grave’ (18:4)
mxiķás mən ʿak egúf egéyg ‘he pulled it [the dagger] from the man’s chest’ (25:13)
ʿásés mən ʿak ēħási ‘get up from the well!’ (TJ5:8)

aǧád ekéžər ed ʿak xádər ‘the leopard went into a cave’ (15:9)
aǧád ed ʿak šaʿb ‘he went into a valley’ (48:3)
yədóləf mən būn ed ʿak egəhrér ‘they used to jump from here into the valley’ (48:18)

The preposition *ʿak* is also used in some expressions of time, such as *ʿak xərř* ‘in the rainy season’ (9:2) and *ʿak eðšħər* ‘in the afternoon.’² Some other idioms (verbal and non-verbal) with *ʿak* are:

ʿak kərřéfi ‘to/in my face’ (as in, ‘say it to my face!’, 24:2; cf. *əl-kərřéř* ‘on the face’)
ʿak xədmét ‘employed [lit. in work]’
žim ʿak ‘enlist in’

Also note the expression *ʿak kəlb-* ‘in one’s heart’ (e.g., *ʿak kəlbi* ‘in my heart’, *ʿak kəlbək* ‘in your heart’),³ which can be used like English ‘in one’s mind’ or ‘in one’s opinion’, and by extension something like ‘I think’, ‘you think’, etc., as in:

ʿak kəlbək, mit dħa-(t)zħóm tə ‘when do you think you will [lit. in your heart when will you] come back to me?’ (3:5)
ðk ʿak kəlbi, “dé ðə-xárǝg yum ðkūn” ‘I thought [lit. said in my heart], “Somebody has died this day”’ (31:5)
ʿak kəlbi tékən ġaltún ‘I think [lit. in my heart] you might be mistaken’ (43:10)
yəkin ʿəřé mən ʿak kəlbək yħ ‘is it healthier [lit. healthy] or what [lit. how], in your opinion’ (TJ2:114)

8.4 (*ʿ*)*ar* ‘from; about; than’

The preposition *ʿar* is perhaps the most difficult of all the prepositions to assign a basic meaning to. The situation is complicated by the fact that there is also a particle *ar* that has a variety of meanings and uses, one of which is as a pseudo-preposition ‘except’ (see §12.5.4). The initial *ʿ* is often not realized in its unsuffixed form (even though speakers might write it), perhaps because of confusion with the particle *ar*. With pronominal suffixes, the base is *ʿan-*, which is reduced to *ʿā-* before 2s and 3s suffixes.

² Some speakers prefer *kə-ðšħər*; see §8.13.

³ We would expect the definite article *ε-* in this phrase (e.g., *εkəlbək* ‘your heart’), but the word is contracted with the preposition, resulting in a realization *ʿakəlbək*, etc. In fact, in his Arabic transcriptions, Ali Musallam often wrote *ʿakəlbək* (and the like) as a single word in Arabic characters, with only a single letter *k*.

One prepositional meaning of *'ar* is 'from', though there are relatively few examples of this in the texts. The preposition *mən* (§ 8.18) is much more frequently used for the meaning 'from'. We find *'ar* in the texts used with this meaning in combination with only the following verbs:

'er 'ar 'keep s.t. (d.o.) back from'
eblāg 'ar 'deliver, take from' (*yəl* 'to s.o.')

ēḏtēl 'ar 'protect (*her*) s.t. from'
flēt 'ar 'flee from s.t.' (cf. *flēt mən ḏēr* 'flee from s.o.')

ḥótrāf 'ar 'move away from'
kéré 'ar 'hide s.t. (d.o.) from s.o.'

ngəf 'ar 'brush off of/from'
sōx 'ar 'make s.o. (d.o.) divert attention from'
xléf 'ar 'move from (a place)'

Some illustrative sentences with these verbs are:

her dē-ənkēn taḡórəb sé, ta'ér 'ánén kəb ḏénu 'if any one of you knows anything, you should keep this wolf back from us' (15:7)
dé yébləḡ 'ánén ḡeyḡ yəl émés 'someone to take a man from us to his mother' (54:44)
ḏtəl heš 'ar eršót 'protect it from the boys!' (30:22)
flēt 'ar ḏsé 'they fled from the rain' (31:2)
əḥtírāf 'ās 'move away from her!' (60:8)
axarét kéré 'áni ūs ε-ī 'then they hid my father's razor from me' (49:6)
tənúḡəf 'ās eḡátš ḥási 'his sister would brush it off of him' (36:17)
yəsōxk 'ar ḏšétk 'he may divert you from your livestock' (28:13)
kəh šūm yóxləf 'ar ēnzilhum 'why should they move from their place?' (28:5)

The preposition can also be used to mean 'about', as in:

šəḡfét ešxarét 'ās 'the old woman found out about her' (30:12)⁴
hérōḡən ar eḡəblēt 'we talked about Jibbali' (MnS)
ktəbk dəftór ar 'ün 'I wrote a book about Oman' (MnS)

It can also have the meaning 'in place of, instead of', though there is just one example in the texts:

⁴ We also find *šəḡfé mən* used to mean 'find out about' (34:14).

še 'ágab al-ħəzóz 'ar aǵabǵót ... b-aǵabǵót 'agiót al-ħəzóz 'ar embéε' 'he wanted to be killed instead of the girl ... and the girl wanted to be killed instead of the boy' (TJ4:69–70)

In combination with some other verbs, *'ar* can only be considered idiomatic, and it has a variety of meanings. Such verbal idioms are:

fírək 'ar 'be afraid s.o. will do s.t.' (often *əl* before a dependent verb; see

§13.2.2)

əhtédér 'ar 'watch out for, be careful of' (cf. *əhtédér b-* 'watch out for, protect')

sind 'ar 'manage without s.o.; do without s.o.'s help'

šérek 'ar 'do s.t. (d.o.) in place of s.o.'

Some examples of these verbal idioms in context are:

fírək əs əl tǝffər mən ǵérən 'I am afraid that she'll run away from us' (30:10)

əhtédór ar kəb 'watch out for a wolf' (47:5)

her sind 'áni, dħa-l-ǵád kərəre 'if they can manage without me, I'll go tomorrow' (28:2)

(*t*)*šħóke aǵág əð-šék yəšórk 'āk ħógtk* 'you make your friends do your work for [or: instead of] you' (24:1)

The preposition *'ar* is also used for comparison, equivalent to English 'than', as in:

het ə-əl kunk mišerd lə, əl (t)šírkən enúf 'ókəl axér 'áni lə 'if you weren't stupid, you wouldn't pretend to be smarter than me' (1:7)

he axér 'ankúm 'I am better than you' (20:8)

áli axér ar erśót kel 'Ali is better than all the (other) boys' (49:20)

šum ētə 'áni 'they were older [lit. bigger] than me' (53:8)

On comparatives, see further in §5.4.

8.5 'iyór 'in front of'

The rare preposition 'iyór 'in front of' (with pronominal suffixes *'irǵ-*) is not listed in *JL*, and occurs just once in the texts. Examples are:

təsfəfan 'irǵš, bə-təžħókən leš 'they stood around in front of him and made fun of him' (TJ4:26)

'iyór *ūt* 'in front of the house' (AK)

'irǵhum 'in front of them' (SM)

In the Roman ms of text T_J4, Johnstone added the phrase *‘iyór maḥámmad* ‘in front of Muhammad’ in the margin. An informant thought that *‘iyór* could be replaced by *féné* with no difference in meaning.

8.6 *b-* ‘in, at; with; for; on’

The preposition *b-* is identical in shape to the conjunction *b-* (< **w-*; see §12.1.1), but they are historically distinct. The preposition has a variety of functions. It can indicate location ‘in’, ‘at’, or, less often, ‘on’. It can also be used to indicate instrumental ‘with’; ‘with’ in its comitative sense, following some verbs of motion; and ‘for’ in the sense of ‘in exchange for’.

The basic locative meaning ‘in, at’ is found most often in the texts paired with words denoting large areas, like *šhehr* ‘mountains’, *erž* ‘land, country’, *ḥallét* ‘town’, *fégər* ‘Najd’, *žžǫl* ‘Dhofar’, *dínú* ‘world’, and names of cities or countries. With smaller, more defined areas (like things the size of a house or smaller), we usually find the preposition *‘ak* ‘in(side)’ (§8.3). Some nouns, like *ša‘b* ‘valley’, *gizirt* ‘island’, and *xádər* ‘cave’, can be preceded by either *b-* or *‘ak*, with no apparent difference in meaning. This locative usage of *b-* is illustrated in the following examples from the texts:

aǵádən ... ‘aǵən yəl érún b-əšhéhr, bə-zḥān dəkkún bə-fégər ‘we went ... heading to the goats in the mountains, and we came to a store in Najd’ (16:1)
zəḥám ḥallét ḏə-bés aǵitš ‘he came to the town that his sister was in’ (17:33)
kun məš‘ér bə-ḥallét ‘there was a dance-party in the town’ (30:9)
əl əkǫdər l-šskəf b-erž ḏénu l ‘I cannot stay in this land’ (60:4)
xatarét ḏ-axáfən bə-xádər b-əšhéhr ‘once we were staying in a cave in the mountains’ (51:1) (cf. *‘ak xádər*, 15:2)
əd-‘ášk bə-‘ün, bə-šalól ‘I live in Oman, in Šalalah’ (SM)

The instrumental meaning of *b-* is shown in the following examples:

sḏtas bə-xəṭərǫk troh ‘they hit her two times with a stick [or: with two sticks]’ (18:12)
ṭót’an bə-gunōi ‘they stabbed each other with daggers’ (22:19)
ḥōl skín bə-kéta‘ beš ekúd ‘they got a knife and cut the rope with it’ (36:4)
ōšər b-yídəš ‘he pointed with his hand’ (35:3)
éfkə li bə-xarḳétk ‘cover me with your robe’ (51:6)

With verbs of motion, *b-* has a comitative meaning ‘with’. This use is found with a dozen different verbs of motion in the texts. English ‘bring’ or

'take away' (< 'come/go with') is often an appropriate translation, especially with the verbs *zəḥám* 'come' and *níka* 'come'.⁵ Some examples are:

aǵád bes ed mukún tad 'they brought [lit. went with] it to a certain place' (12:2)
ol adūrən lɔ ar biš 'I won't go back without [lit. except with] you' (30:21)
ḥīlās ed ešəl bes tel a'élēš 'he took her and [lit. until] he brought her to his family' (36:19)
rēfā' ḥār bə-ḥa(l)h 'he climbed the mountain with the oil' (30:26)
ənká' tūn b-enúšəb aǵák 'bring us your brother's milk!' (51:3)
zəḥámk tóhum bə-xátšək bə-ḳít 'I brought them clothes and food' (13:16)
dḥa-l-zḥómkum bə-ḳəsmét 'I will bring you a gift' (47:7)

The common phrase *zəḥám b-* 'bring' merits some further comment. Its meaning 'bring', as discussed above, comes from the use of *b-* as a comitative 'with' in conjunction with verbs of motion. A sentence like 'I came to them with food' comes simply to mean 'I brought food to them'. So what in English is the direct object of 'bring' (e.g., 'food' in the previous example) must be preceded by *b-* in Jibbali. Moreover, the verb *zəḥám* as a motion verb normally takes a direct object, and so the English indirect object (whether person or place) is normally the direct object in Jibbali (cf. the examples from 13:16 and 47:7, above).

The phrase *zəḥám b-* and the parallel *níka b-* also have the idiomatic meaning 'bear (a child)' (e.g., 6:1; 97:1), which is obviously a more specific meaning derived from the broader 'bring (forth)'. In one place in the texts, *zəḥám b-* means 'come of' in the sense of 'have a result from':

ol sé zəḥám beš lɔ 'nothing came of it' (SB1:3)

The preposition *b-* can also have the meaning 'for, in exchange for', as in:

yəšīmš bə-ád her əlhúti 'they sell it for sardines for the cows' (9:6)
émí zūthum šótər bə-šótərhum e-ḥézíz, bə-šúm gúzúm, "ol nəžízət beš kéžīt" 'my mother gave them a kid for their kid that was slaughtered, and they swore, "We won't take compensation for it"' (49:5)
kol taṭyézəm taxtór bə-xadmétš 'everyone would give the doctor (something) for his work' (52:1)
bə-mšé ... bə-giní troh 'how much (money)? ... Two guineas' (52:8)
yəšīmš bə-mékən 'do they sell it for a lot?' (TJ2:42)

⁵ These constructions in MSA may reflect a calque from Arabic. Cf. Arabic *jā'a bi-* 'bring', from *jā'a* 'come'.

Twice in the texts we even find *b-* used as a conjunction with this meaning 'for'; see further in § 13.5.2.5.

And, finally, *b-* can have the meaning 'on', most often with reference to the body, but also with certain words like *śram* 'road' and *gadrét* 'ground':

- kun bes meróhte* 'she got sores on her' (6:28)
xótlak bes kūhn troh 'two ibex horns appeared on her' (6:32)
gygy troh ḏa-γəbǵéd b-śram 'two men were walking on a road' (12:1)
kisk śaṭarér b-egdaré 'I found a rag on the ground' (33:9)
beš ṭhírat mékan 'he had many wounds' (53:1)

The last example shows how this meaning of *b-* can be used to indicate a certain kind of possession; for discussion and more examples of this, see further in § 13.3.2.

The preposition *b-* is required before the object of a large number of verbs, and it is perhaps these idiomatic uses of *b-* that are encountered most often. Such verbs are:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <i>ʿagab b-</i> 'like, love; want' (but 'want' less often also with d.o.; see § 7.5) | <i>ehbé b-</i> 'let s.t. down, make s.t. fall' (<i>l-</i> 'to s.o.') |
| <i>ʿaṭṣf b-</i> 'stampede; round up' | <i>heróg b-</i> 'speak in (a language)' (cf. <i>heróg k-</i> 'speak with') |
| <i>éṭal b-</i> 'catch (up to) s.o./s.t.' | <i>əhtédér b-</i> 'watch out for, protect' (cf. <i>əhtédér ʿar</i> 'watch out for, be careful of') |
| <i>éʿúzer b-</i> 'annoy' | <i>hes b-</i> 'feel, sense s.t.' |
| <i>bédé b-</i> 'lie to s.o.' (cf. <i>bédé l-</i> 'lie about s.o.') | <i>ekʿér b-</i> 'throw/roll s.t. down' (<i>l-</i> 'to/at s.o.') |
| <i>bəhér b-</i> 'ask s.o. for help' | <i>kbéb b-</i> 'unload, take down s.t.' |
| <i>del b-</i> 'guide s.o.' | <i>kəlót b-</i> 'tell s.t., tell about s.t.' (<i>her</i> 'to') |
| <i>eḏhé b-</i> 'notice' | <i>kótlat b-</i> 'talk to one another about' |
| <i>eḏmír b-</i> 'show s.t.' (to s.o.: d.o.) | <i>kez b-</i> 'shoot s.o./s.t.' |
| <i>ḏōr b-</i> 'nag s.o.' | <i>kérab b-</i> 'help s.o.' (see the comment to text 13:15) |
| <i>fāʿál b-</i> 'hurt s.o.' | <i>kéré b-</i> 'kiss; visit s.o.' (cf. <i>kéré ʿar</i> 'hide s.t. (d.o.) from s.o.') |
| <i>férəḥ b-</i> 'be happy with s.o./s.t.' | <i>əktəséf b-</i> 'climb s.t.' |
| <i>fṣtrəḏ b-</i> 'be excited about s.t.' | <i>škəḏé b-</i> 'be compensated for s.o./s.t.' (d.o.: 'with') |
| <i>fśáh b-</i> 'stop doing s.t.; give s.t. up' | |
| <i>əftakér b-</i> 'think about s.o./s.t.' | |
| <i>egásǵés b-</i> 'summon (a spirit or animal) by sorcery' (<i>l-</i> 'for') | |
| <i>ǵel b-</i> 'trick s.o.; delay s.o.' | |
| <i>ǵolók b-</i> 'examine, look at' (cf. <i>ǵolók her</i> 'look for') | |

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>lġaz b-</i> 'give s.t. secretly' (d.o.: to s.o.) | <i>šfōk b-</i> 'get married to s.o.' (cf. <i>šfōk tel/d-</i> 'marry into the family of s.o.') |
| <i>ērhēb b-</i> 'greet, welcome s.o.' | <i>šérék b-</i> 'do with/to s.o.' |
| <i>nútbəh b-</i> 'watch out for' | <i>teḱ b-</i> 'get fed up with s.o.' |
| <i>šəndér b-</i> 'vow s.t. (in exchange)' | <i>ṭlōb b-</i> 'avenge' (cf. <i>ṭlōb</i> 'invite; ask for'; <i>ṭlōb mən</i> 'request/ask s.o. (to do s.t.)') |
| <i>enḥé b-</i> 'burn s.t.' | <i>ōši b-</i> 'advise (<i>k-</i>) s.o. on s.t.' |
| <i>níka' b-</i> 'bear/beget a child' (<i>mən</i> 'with') (also 'bring'; see above) | <i>ebxét b-</i> 'make up for the absence of s.o.' |
| <i>šənté b-</i> 'ask (a woman) for her hand in marriage' (cf. <i>šənté d-</i> 'ask (a father) for a woman's hand in marriage') | <i>əxtéléf b-</i> 'let s.o. down' |
| <i>ərdé b-</i> 'throw s.t.' (<i>l-</i> or d.o. 'at'; 'aḱ' 'into'; <i>ɣol</i> 'towards s.o.') | <i>xléf b-</i> 'let s.o. (d.o.) have s.t.' |
| <i>reṣ b-</i> 'press s.t. down' | <i>xalōṭ b-</i> 'join up with, stay with' (also <i>xalōṭ l-</i>) |
| <i>sel b-</i> 'snatch s.t. by force' (<i>l-</i> 'from s.o.') | <i>xalé b-</i> 'be alone with s.o.' |
| <i>šbéh b-</i> 'think s.o. looks like (<i>l-</i>) someone else' | <i>xēn b-</i> 'betray' |
| <i>šīr'/šā' b-</i> 'hear about' | <i>zəfōr b-</i> 'push' |
| | <i>zəḥám b-</i> 'bear/beget a child' (<i>mən</i> 'with') (also 'bring'; see above) |

The preposition *b-* is also found in some non-verbal idioms, including:

| |
|--|
| <i>b-əġarbét</i> 'abroad' |
| <i>bə-rík</i> 'as you wish!' (fs <i>bə-rīš</i>) |
| <i>bə-xížk</i> (or <i>bə-xílġk</i>) 'as you wish!' (lit. 'by your uncle!') |
| <i>bə-xár</i> 'well' |
| <i>dunk b-</i> 'take!' (see §12.5.7) |
| <i>kun əlhélé b-</i> 'be mindful of' |
| <i>məthím bə-</i> 'accused of' |
| (<i>ya</i>) <i>ḥay b-</i> 'welcome!' (followed by a noun or pronominal suffix) |

We also find idiomatic use of *b-* in oath taking and swearing:

| |
|---|
| <i>b-ēghi ar ḥa-l-zémk enúf</i> 'by my honor [lit. face], I will really give myself to you' (2:3) |
| <i>a-ngzēm bə-xōš mən nšərəḱ elíkum</i> 'we will swear times five that we didn't steal your cow' (12:9) |

Note also the expressions *íné bek* 'what's the matter with you?' (e.g., 6:8; 36:5) and *b-enúf* 'watch/save yourself!' (83:2). In the latter expression, an

imperative verb like *éflat* 'save' (cf. 54:17) or *əhtéðór* 'watch out for' (cf. 25:10) must be implied.

Finally, to illustrate again how varied the use of *b-* is, consider the following passage from the texts:

xaṭarét ḥókum bə-hallét šfək bə-tét, bə-zḥám mes b-embére' bə-ǧabǧót
'once a ruler in town married a woman, and had with her a boy and
a girl' (36:1)

In this passage we find *b-* used in four different ways: as a preposition 'in' (*bə-hallét* 'in a town'); in two different verbal idioms (*šfək b-* 'marry' and *zəḥám b-* 'beget, have a child'); and twice as a conjunction (*bə-zḥám* 'and he had' and *bə-ǧabǧót* 'and a girl').

As noted already in § 8, if a word begins with *b*, then the preposition *b-* is either suppressed, or is realized as an initial *ə-* (or *əb-*). Before a word that begins with *m*, *b-* is sometimes also realized simply as *ə-* (or *əm-*); see further in § 2.1.4 and the comment to text 39:2.

8.7 *ba'd* 'after'

The use of the preposition *ba'd* 'after' in Jibbali should probably be considered an Arabism, though the phrase *ba'd kərére* 'day after tomorrow' can be considered standard Jibbali. Outside of this phrase, which appears twice in the texts (3:3, 3:9), *ba'd* is used just once as a preposition in the texts:

ba'd 'ésər ēm 'after ten days' (SB1:7)

The standard Jibbali word for 'after' is *mən ðér* (§ 8.8), but some speakers do use *ba'd* more frequently, under the influence of Arabic.

8.8 *ðer* 'on, onto; over'; *mən ðér* 'after'

The preposition *ðer* has the basic meanings of 'on(to), upon; over'. Some illustrative examples with the meaning 'on' are:

skíf ðirs 'sit on it!' (6:22)

he ši ǧūl, bə-ðírš tür bə-ḥít 'I had a camel, and on it were dates and grain'
(13:6)

ḥōl aǧítš ðer ḥašnín 'he put his sister on a horse' (17:11)

kéla' ešáǧət ðer hérúm 'he put the jewelry on a tree' (22:8)

hē háši ðer embére' 'dirt fell on the boy' (36:17)

ḥōk tš ðer šši 'I put him on my back' (50:6)

ī eǧnín ðer embére' 'my father stooped over the child' (51:7)

kéla' səndík eb yəḥē ðer xaḫš 'he let a big box fall on his foot' (52:2)

ktob ḏírš 'he wrote on it' (52:7)
der ḏer egénaḥ ḏénu 'move onto this wing' (TJ1:6)

And some examples with the meaning 'over' are:

ḥōl eḳáḥf ḏer sōt 'put the pot on [lit. over] the fire' (12:4)
ed zəḥám ḏer ešxarét, a šísš 'when they came to [lit. over] the (sleeping) old woman, they roused her' (18:10)

It can also be used more metaphorically, as in the first use of *ḏer* in the following example:

dḥa-nzémk erbə'ót izíf ḏer yiršēn b-əlhín ḏírsən 'we will give you four thousand (dollars), on top of [i.e., in addition to] our camels and everything on them' (22:12)

One also finds the combinations *mən ḏér* 'from upon, off of' and *ed ḏér* 'up on to', for example:

hēk mən ḏér kérah 'I fell off a donkey' (36:5)
rəfī' kəmkēš mən ḏér eréšš 'lift your head-cloth up off your head' (60:42)
šēlēd embére' mən ḏér eḳūhn 'the boy fired (his gun) from on the peak' (83:3)
aḡádś aḡéyg bə-títš ed ḏér ḥárənút 'the man and his wife went up onto a hill' (60:41)
'aḡən néflət ed ḏér eḳūhn ḏōḥūn 'let's run away up onto that peak' (83:2)

In a few cases, usually in conjunction with a verb of running away (like *flét* 'run away, escape' or *nḡam* 'run away in anger, storm off'), *mən ḏér* means 'from the presence of', for example:

fírḳək 'ās əl tšffər mən ḏérən 'I am afraid that she'll run away from us' (30:10)
bə-nḡámk mən ḏérhum 'I ran away in anger from them' (49:26)
dḥa-l-éflət mən ḏíri 'she will run away from me' (60:20)

Far more often, however, the compound *mən ḏér* has the non-literal meaning 'after'. Sometimes, in expressions involving units of time, this is better translated 'in' (i.e., 'in the course of time to come'). Examples are:

dḥa-l-zḥómk mən ḏér rī' ēm 'I'll come to you in [lit. after] four days' (3:6)
mən ḏér xaṭarét ḏíkūn, kūn 'ísór 'after that time, they were friends' (20:9)
mən ḏér ešólət e-ḏōḥər dḥa-l-zémk enúf 'after the noon prayers, I will give myself to you' (36:10)
əm-mən ḏírš ktob les xaṭ 'and afterwards [lit. after it] he wrote her a letter' (SB2:6)

ed mən ǰér ékət, xtər ī ǰallét ‘then after a while, my father went down to town’ (49:11)
he dǰa-l-səlóbək ed mən ǰér eǰóhər ‘I will wait for you until after noon’ (28:7)

Note the combination *ed mən ǰér* ‘until after’ in the last example (28:7), with the preposition *ed* followed by the compound preposition *mən ǰér*. In the previous example (49:11), the phrase *ed mən ǰér* is not a compound preposition, but rather the temporal conjunction *ed* (§ 13.5.3.4) plus *mən ǰér*.

With certain words, *ǰer* is the normal preposition used to indicate motion towards (‘to’) or location (‘at’). These words all indicate some sort of hole in the ground or reservoir, and so this use is really just an extension of the meaning ‘over’. We find, for example:

ǰer k̄ōr ‘at/to a grave’ (but ‘*ak̄ k̄ōr* ‘in(to) a grave’)
ǰer mih̄ ‘at/to water’ (but ‘*ak̄ mih̄* ‘in(to) water’, *tel mih̄* ‘beside/by water’)⁶
ǰer ša‘b ‘at/to (the edge of) a valley’ (but ‘*ak̄ ša‘b* ‘in(to) a valley’)
ǰer ĵōr ‘at/to (the edge of) a well’ (but ‘*ak̄ ĵōr* ‘in(to) a well’)

Some of the attested passages with these idioms are:

aǰád eršót ǰer ek̄ōr émehum ‘the boys went to their mother’s grave’ (6:1)
eród iyéléš ǰer emih̄. hes éšəl, ksé ĵag ǰer emih̄ ‘he brought his camels down to the water. When he arrived, he found men at the water’ (25:1)
zəhám ǰer mih̄ ... bə-skǰf ǰer emih̄ ‘they came to (some) water ... and they stayed by the water’ (17:12–13)
ǰíd ǰer emih̄ ‘go to the water!’ (60:14)
aǰád bes ǰer ĵōr ‘they brought her to a well’ (97:10)

The compounds *mən ǰér* and *ed ǰér* can also occur in these idioms, for example:

biš aǰádəš mən ǰér emih̄ ‘you have already gone from by the water’ (60:15)
he ‘ak̄ eǰóti thil̄ tō ed ǰér emih̄ ‘I wanted my sister to carry me up to the water’ (49:14)

⁶ We also find *yəl emih̄* ‘to the water’ one time in the texts (97:43), but in this passage *emih̄* is euphemistic for ‘toilet’. In one passage (60:14), we also find *her mih̄*, but this means ‘for (the purpose of getting) water’, and is not connected to motion or location.

Note also the verbal idioms *guzúm ðer* ‘swear on’ (e.g., 12:10; cf. *guzúm l-* ‘swear to s.o.’) and *fté’ ðer* ‘decide on s.t.’ (57:1).

8.9 (*al-*)*féné* ‘before; in front of; ago’

The preposition *féné*, in the texts most often used in the compound *al-féné*, can have a spatial meaning ‘in front of, ahead of’, as well as a temporal meaning ‘before’.⁷ It takes the suffixes used for plural nouns, which are attached to the base (*al-*)*fén-*. There has clearly been a misanalysis of the final element *-é*, which is part of the base, as the element *é* that occurs along with many of the pronominal suffixes attached to plural nouns (see § 3.2.2).⁸ Examples are:

ed kërəb əl-yó síníš əl-fénéš ‘then when he got near the people, he saw it in front of him’ (39:5)
ed k-háşaf aššót əl-fení ‘then in the morning, she got up before me’ (97:43)
əl sé mih əl-fənókum lə ‘there is no water ahead of you’ (60:37)
kséš ber fínísən ‘they found him already (there) before them’ (TJ4:41)
eltíg əl-fení ‘he was killed in front of me’ (JL, s.v. *hsm*)

For the temporal conjunction ‘before’, Jibbali usually uses *d-’əd əl* (see § 7.3), but once in the texts we find (*al-*)*féné* used along with *d-’əd*, and once (followed by a subjunctive) used in place of *d-’əd* (but with *d-’əd* used as ‘while’ earlier in the sentence):

kəláš’ ðer xəfk əl-féné d-’əd əl šófk ‘put it on your foot before you go to sleep’ (52:7)
yəbğód še ‘ak fégər ešbəhí, d-’əd yə də-šéf, fínísən sən əl təgádən ‘he went in the early morning, while people were still sleeping, before they (the women) went’ (TJ4:22)

8.10 *ger* ‘except; mən *ger* ‘without’

The basic meaning of *ger* is ‘except’ or ‘besides’. It occurs with this meaning only once in the texts, in a positive phrase. In a negative phrase, *ar* is normally used for ‘except’ (see § 12.5.4).

⁷ The variant form *fíni* appears to be dialectal, as it is found only in text TJ4 (and in the unpublished portions of text TJ5, from the same informant).

⁸ As discussed in § 8.30, there is some variation in the forms of this preposition with pronominal suffixes, at least among younger speakers.

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

Much more commonly used is the compound preposition *mən gér*, which means ‘without’. Examples are:

śéləṭ ēm mən gér kīt ‘three days without food’ (30:14)

əl əkólá’hum mən gér ‘ad lə ‘I won’t leave them (the cows) without sardines’ (41:3)

dḥa-l-éšfəḳəš ebríti mən gér sé ‘I will marry him to my daughter for nothing [lit. without anything]’ (54:36)

taḡ tə mən gér siéb ‘kill me without a reason!’ (83:6)

A compound with *bə-* instead of *mən* appears once in Johnstone’s Mehri texts (M13:1), and seems to be possible in Jibbali as well. There is one example in *JL*:

kəbś bə-ḡayr kéréún ‘a weakling; an idiot (lit. a lamb without horns)’ (*JL*, s.v. *krn*)⁹

8.11 *her* ‘to; for’

The preposition *her* (*h-* before suffixes) has the basic meanings ‘to’, though not with respect to motion, and ‘for’. It is not interchangeable with *l-* ‘for; to’, even though they both have the same usual translations in English. Comparison of *her* and *l-* will be taken up below, in §8.16. In Johnstone’s texts, probably the most frequent use of *her* is marking the indirect object of the verbs *ǰr* ‘say’ and *kəlǰt* ‘tell’. Multiple examples can be found in nearly every text. A few are:

mun ε-ǰr hek tšérk ténu ‘who told you to do it like this?’ (1:4)

ǰr aḡág her ínətóhum ‘the men said to their wives...’ (15:7)

ǰr hóhum ī ‘my father said to them...’ (AK2:4)

kəlét hini ‘tell me!’ (24:3)

əl tíkləṭ her ī lə ‘don’t tell father!’ (49:18)

kəlǰt heš bə-xáfš ‘he told him about his foot’ (52:5)

⁹ Johnstone used the more etymological transcription *ḡayr* in *JL* (s.v. *ḡyr* and *passim*), but in his texts he usually transcribed the word as *gér*, which more accurately reflects its pronunciation.

The idiom *’or her* can also be used impersonally to mean ‘be called, be named’, as in:

xatarét geyg yə’or heš be nəwás ‘once there was a man called [lit. they say to him] Ba Newas’ (18:1)
nəhá yə’or hen bet bu zíd al-haláli ‘we are called [lit. they say to us] the house of Bu Zid al-Hilali’ (54:6)

The preposition *her* can also mean ‘for’, in a variety of contexts. Most frequently, it means ‘for’ as a benefactive, ‘for the benefit of’, as in:

títi gízót. íné al-šérk hes ‘my wife is sick. What should I do for her?’ (6:8)
yəšimš bə-’ád her elhúti ‘they sell it for sardines for the cows’ (9:6)
hazzót hini ‘she slaughtered (an animal) for me’ (13:16)
’agab beš her aǵóts ‘he wanted it for his sister’ (17:22)
halób heš yət ‘he milked a camel for him’ (33:11)
šorkót heš kahwét ‘she made coffee for him’ (34:2)
enǵum heš a’élés b-izók iz-šés ‘his parents and his friends [lit. those who were with him] consulted (an astrologer) for him’ (SB1:3)
al-kóšəm hek ‘should I cool (it) for you?’ (*JL*, s.v. *kšm*)

It can also mean ‘for’ in the sense of ‘for the purpose of’, as in:

het dha-tǵád her hǵgk mən dha-tǵád túnħag ‘will you go for necessity [lit. your need] or will you go to have fun?’ (3:7)
íné tə’or tūm her eħahwét ‘what (word) do you say for (drinking) coffee?’ (34:11)
zəhámk tək her xar ‘I came to you for good’ (41:2)
a’anés her həši ’ǵfər ‘her intention was for red sand’ (51:16)
maħfáǵət her ekróš ‘a wallet for money’ (*JL*, s.v. *hbn*)

With this meaning ‘for (the purpose of)’, it combines, in its shortened form *h-*,¹⁰ with the interrogative *íné* to make *h-íné* ‘for what (purpose)? why?’; see § 11.4 for examples. Based on the meaning ‘for (the purpose of)’, *her* can also be used sometimes as a conjunction indicating a purpose clause; see further in § 13.5.2.2.

The preposition *her* can also have the meaning ‘for’ in expressions of time, in the sense of ‘for (a length of time)’. It is usually combined with the auxiliary *ber* (§ 7.2) when it has this meaning. Some examples are:

¹⁰ The shortened form *h-* also combines with the reflexive pronoun *eníf* (pl. *énǵǵf*), resulting in the form *háníf* (pl. *hánǵǵf*); see § 3.7. See also the comment to text Tj4:21.

bér hek sá'ate bə-hét b-əjarbét? bér hini ha-yékən xīš 'ayún 'were you abroad for a long time? For about five years' (8:1–2)

bér hini sá'ate ɔl sɪnk tɔš lɔ 'I have not seen him for a long time' (8:6)

bér heš xīš 'ayún bə-šé mūríz 'already for five years he was sick' (15:12)

bér hóhum 'ášər troh mən gér kít 'they were already without food for two nights' (21:2)

hini sɔtét xarfɔ, bə-hé ɔl ə'asés lɔ mən ěnzél 'for three monsoon months I didn't get up from (my) place' (38:4)

This same usage in combination with a temporal conjunction *hes* (§13.5.3.5) or *ħakt* ε- (§13.5.3.6) gives the meaning 'after', as in:

hes bér hes 'ónut, kətɔt leš xaṭ 'after a year [lit. when it was already a year for her], she wrote him a letter' (SB2:3)

ħakt ěr heš yum miṭ yū trut, 'ör hes 'after a day or two, he said to her...' (TJ4:12)

Sometimes in these expressions involving time, *her* is rather idiomatic. It can refer to 'having time', or can be translated with 'ago':

heš 'ášər troh 'he had two (more) nights' (30:19)

heš ɔrx bə-fɔkħ 'he had a month and a half (journey)' (46:7)

b-īs ḏə-ltíg, bér heš dħa-yékən xīš 'ayún 'her father had been killed, already about five years ago' (46:1)

Another idiomatic use of *her*, deriving from its basic meaning 'for', corresponds to English 'deserve' or 'get' (see also §13.3.4), as in:

ḏə kun še ɔl tɔlɔkum lɔ, hókum mən tɔlí.xamsín yiršób 'if it is not with you, you will get [lit. for you (are)] from me fifty riding-camels' (6:38)

sədəd yɔ skɔf heš bə-xamsín izíf 'the people present agreed that he would get [lit. for him (was)] fifty thousand (dollars)' (18:15)

het šáxər b-ɔl hek ħəsmét lɔ 'you are an old man, and you get [or: deserve] no respect' (53:6)

In a few passages *her* can be translated with an implication of motion towards, but these should be understood as meaning 'for', at least underlyingly.

yħil her aqútš aħfɔl 'he would take the (ripe) wild figs to [or: for] his sister' (17:14)

gad her ěšérk' 'go get [lit. for] your turban!' (97:43)

gyeg aqád mən ěržəš 'agab her erž taṭ 'a man went from his land heading to [or: for] a certain land' (60:1)

In the last example (60:1), the preposition is unexpected, since *ʿagab* in its use as a motion verb ‘heading to’ (§ 7.5.2) normally takes *yol* or no preposition.

We also find *her* used idiomatically with a number of verbs, including:

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>défaʿ her</i> ‘pay s.o.’ | <i>nízaʿ her</i> ‘stray to’ (used for animals) |
| <i>ədtēl her</i> ‘protect s.o.’ (<i>ʿar</i> ‘from’) | |
| <i>fté her</i> ‘advise s.o.’ | <i>šəndér her</i> ‘make a vow to s.o.’ |
| <i>ǧolók her</i> ‘look for s.t.’ (cf. <i>ǧolók b-</i> ‘examine, look at’) | <i>sūh/sīh her</i> ‘permit, allow’ (cf. <i>sūh/sīh l-</i> or d.o. ‘forgive, excuse s.o.’) |
| <i>ǧarób her</i> ‘know s.t. for (e.g., an illness)’ | <i>šōr her</i> ‘have patience with s.o.’ (cf. <i>šōr l-</i> ‘wait for’) |
| <i>ǧōž her</i> ‘wink at’ | <i>šnī her</i> ‘see to, treat (a sick person)’ |
| <i>ǧazé her</i> ‘raid’ | <i>ežbér her</i> ‘take pleasure in s.o.’s misfortune’ |
| <i>heróg her</i> ‘speak (up) for’ (vs. <i>heróg k-</i> ‘speak with’) | <i>žəher her</i> ‘appear to s.o.’ |
| <i>htəf her</i> ‘call to s.o. for help’ | |
| <i>hek her</i> ‘call s.o., call out to s.o.’ | |
| <i>həsb her</i> ‘count on’ | |

Two more common non-verbal idioms are *axér her* (+ subjunctive) ‘it’s better for’ and *olxer her ... l* (+ subjunctive) ‘it’s not good for’ (see also § 7.1.3, n. 2), as in:

- axér hókum l-šxləf* ‘it’s better for you to move’ (28:6)
axér hek əl-dór ‘it’s better for you to go back’ (30:18)
olxer hek l ... axér hek tərún tel émék ‘it’s better you don’t [lit. it’s not good for you] ... it’s better for you to stay with your mother’ (54:10)
olxer hek təǧád l ‘it’s not good for you to go’ (60:25)

A similar expression is *sétər her* (+ subjunctive) ‘it’s better for’, attested only once in the texts (5:8).

On the conditional particle *her*, see § 13.4.1, and on *her* as a conjunction indicating a purpose clause, see § 13.5.2.2.

8.12 (*əl-*)*hés* ‘like, as’

The preposition *hes* ‘like, as’, usually used in the compound *əl-hés* ‘like, as’ is not a true preposition in Jibbali, since a pronominal “object” is indicated by an independent pronoun, rather than a suffixed pronoun. Otherwise, it behaves much like a preposition, and is translated as such. Examples from the texts are:

rəḥīt əl-hés ērét ‘beautiful like the moon’ (17:9)
dḥa-nzémk haḡalét əl-hés haḡalétk ‘we will give you a calf like your calf’
 (23:13)
giní taṭ əl-sé besit əl-hés ḏókūn ‘one guinea for something simple like that’ (52:10)
éghaš əl ərhīm əl-hés eḏéhəns lə ‘his face was not good like his mind’
 (SB2:1)
əl dé əl-hés še lə ‘there is no one like him’ (54:2)
dé əl-hés he ‘is anyone like me?’ (54:3)
ərhēt əl-hés he, bə-ḏehént əb-bešért əl-hés het ‘beautiful like me, and clever and intelligent like you’ (SB2:4)
ḡólób heš fáhaš ed əl-hés énfēt ‘they returned his penis to him until (it was) as before’ (17:32)
éghaš hes ḡéfěš ‘his face is like his back’¹¹ (MnS)

As the example from 17:32 shows, (*əl-)**hés* can also be followed by an adverb.

In one passage from Johnstone’s texts (28:17), the simple form *hes* is written in the manuscripts, though the audio of the text has *əl-hés*:

ken li (əl-)hés ī ‘be like my father to me’ (28:17)

The preposition (*əl-)**hés* is normally followed by a noun, pronoun, or adverb, as in the examples above, but in a few cases it is followed by a verbal phrase. No such examples can be found in the texts, but example from informants are:

šerókək əl-hés ḏk hini ‘I did as you told me’ (MnS)
šerk hes het kéžúm tšérók ‘do as you used to do’ (AdM)

On the temporal conjunction *hes* ‘when, after’, see §13.5.3.5. And on the rare particle *axá* ‘like’, see the comments to texts TJ2:65 and TJ4:95.

8.13 *k-* (*š-*) ‘with’

The basic meaning of the preposition *k-* is ‘with’ in a comitative sense.¹² Before pronominal suffixes, it has the base *š-*. Some examples are:

skəfšes ha-yékən ərəx ‘he stayed with her about a month’ (7:9)
‘ak tēti təḡád ši ‘I want my wife to go with me’ (7:10)

¹¹ This is an idiom used to describe a rude person. Cf. also text Pr54.

¹² Some comparative and etymological discussion of this preposition can be found in Rubin (2009).

ksé tet k-ērún 'he found a woman with the goats' (22:5)
naká', te' šen 'come, eat with us!' (23:4)
al aḳódar al-ǵád šek ló 'I cannot go with you' (28:19)
émí kunút k-ērún, b-īkun k-iyél 'my mother was with the goats, my father
 was with the camels' (51:15)
'ak al-xéṭar šókum 'I want to travel with you' (54:7)
her sínén šes dé, dḥa-nǵád 'if we see anyone with her, we'll go' (60:40)
aǵadót šésən 'she went with them' (97:22)

Based on the meaning 'with', *k-* has come to be used in the possessive construction corresponding to English 'have'. This construction is discussed further in §13.3.1, but a few examples are:

nḥa šēn 'odat 'we have a custom' (7:4)
he al ši ḳit ló 'I have no food' (21:4)
šūm al šóhum míh ló. šóhum tēlg 'they did not have water. They had ice'
 (35:3)
šiš íné 'aḳ ēríḳ 'what do you have in the pitcher?' (60:45)
šáxar al šeš mǵndíḳ ló, b-embére' šeš mǵndíḳ 'the old man didn't have a
 rifle, and the boy had a rifle' (83:1)

The preposition *k-*, in its suffixed forms, is also used in a variety of expressions relating to physical or environmental conditions. A number of examples, along with discussion, can be found in §13.3.1.2, but one example is:

'ak al-ǵád d-'od ši ežēl 'I want to go while it's still cool [lit. I still have the cold (weather)]' (60:35)

A common idiom is *herǵg k-* 'speak with'. Examples from the texts are:

he bek herǵgk šes 'I already spoke with her' (45:3)
tǵhérg kǵ-mūn ēle 'who were you speaking with before?' (28:9)
dḥa-nhérg kǵ-tét 'we will speak with the woman' (45:8)

Another interesting idiom is the expression of 'friend' with a phrase meaning 'the man/men with' or 'those with', for example:

šǵnhér mēk aǵág aḏ-šék ... bǵ-(t)šḥóke aǵág aḏ-šék yǵšórk 'ǵk ḥógtk 'your
 friends [lit. the men with you] complained about you ... and you
 make your friends [lit. the men with you] do your work for you' (24:1)
edūr yǵl aǵág aḏ-šeš 'he went back to his friends' (54:33)
engím heš a'élēš b-izók iz-šēš 'his parents and his friends [lit. those who
 were with him] consulted (an astrologer) for him' (SB1:3)

As for other idioms, we find:

aǵád k- ‘sleep with (sexually)’ (lit. ‘go with’)
aǵád k-enúf ‘go to the bathroom’ (lit. ‘go with oneself’)
kun rəhúm k- ‘be nice to’
ōši k- ‘advise s.o.’
kə-ǰóhər ‘at noon; in the afternoon’¹³

The preposition *k-* has also been incorporated into two expressions of time, namely, *kəl’éni* ‘in the evening’ and *k-háşaf* ‘in the morning’. With *kəl’éni* ‘in the evening’, a form without the initial *k-* exists; *əl’éni* means ‘tonight’. With *k-háşaf* ‘in the morning’, however, the *k-* is really inseparable, despite the hyphenated transcription. Moreover, *k-háşaf* is often best translated simply as ‘morning’. Compare the following two sentences:

ed k-háşaf’és ‘then in the morning, he got up’ (6:15) (*ed* = ‘then’)
şbər li ed k-háşaf ‘wait for me until the morning’ (30:24) (*ed* = ‘until’)

In the second sentence, we could consider *ed k-* a compound preposition (cf. *ed ǰér*, § 8.8, and *ed tél*, § 8.26), but a better analysis is simply to take *k-háşaf* is the nominal object of the preposition *ed*. Both *kəl’éni* ‘(in the) evening’ and *k-háşaf* ‘(in the) morning’ can be considered single lexemes, not prepositional phrases, with no preposition needed to indicate ‘in the’; cf. *ǵasré* ‘at night’.

8.14 *kin* ‘from (someone)’

The preposition *kin* is attested only a half dozen times in the texts. It has the meaning ‘away from (the presence of); from one’s person’, and its object is always a person, an animal, or a noun referring to a group of people, like *sékən* ‘settlement, community; family’ or *əl* ‘family’.

şfər k kin sékəni ‘I traveled from my settlement’ (13:1)
əl əbǵód l kin a’élí ‘I won’t go from my family’ (13:17)
aǵéyg énfi də-şəmdéd tūr kin aǵéyg bāl sékən ‘the first man, who had taken the date from the owner of the camp’ (21:9)
aǵád aǵág kin aǵéyg ‘the men went away from the man’ (21:12)
he ǵeyg də-xtórk kin sékəni ‘I am a man who has come down from my settlement’

¹³ Some informants preferred *ak eǰóhər*.

‘ak kīni bə-réhan ‘you want a guarantee (of payment) from me’ (41:3)
her žēt kin ε-šfīk kéléb ‘if he took the bride-price from the one who got
 married’ (TJ2:25)

The preposition *kin* seems to be interchangeable with *mən tél* (see the examples in § 8.26), which is more common in the texts.

8.15 *kéfé* ‘in back of’

The word *kéfé* means literally ‘back (part)’, as in *kéfé ε-səyérə* ‘the back of the car’ (MmS); see also text Pr54. It has a more general meaning than *šō* ‘back’ (as in the body part that covers the spine; cf. 6:7 and 50:6), and can sometimes be used prepositionally, as English ‘in back of’ or ‘behind’. There are no examples in the texts, though *JL* (s.v. *kfy*) has the example *šum kéfén* ‘they are behind us’. Informants all recognized this word. Another example of its use is:

ēnzél ε-xāli kéfé ēnzélən ‘my uncle’s house [lit. place] is in back of our house’ (MnS)¹⁴

The usual word for ‘behind’ is *ser* (§ 8.24).

8.16 *l-* ‘for; to’

The preposition *l-* has the basic meanings ‘for’ and ‘to’, just like the preposition *her*. However, as already noted above (§ 8.11), the two are not interchangeable. Moreover, the usages of *l-* are much more idiomatic than those of *her*.

Like *her*, *l-* can be used to mean ‘for’ as a benefactive, ‘for the benefit of’. This is the clearest overlap in the uses of the two prepositions, though *her* is much more common than *l-* with this meaning. The choice of preposition seems to be determined lexically by the verb used. Some examples are:

kēl leš aǰáš εkellén hūt ‘his little brother measured out food for him’ (6:36)

xnūt lóhum ‘isé ‘he took out food for them’ (21:11)

iné kéla‘ lek kéléb ... kéla‘ li mut trut bə-xamsín kəróš ‘what did the bride-price leave you? ... It left me two hundred and fifty dollars’ (32:13–14)

¹⁴ This informant used here the Arabic word for ‘my maternal uncle’, *xāli*, rather than Jibbali *xézi* (cf. 49:28).

- ehbét leš bə-ḵúd* ‘she let down a rope for him’ (36:3)
gmɔ’ li rēga’ dā-ḵahwét ‘collect coffee-grounds for me’ (36:13)
eršót yaḵómnam l-iršób ‘the boys should collect fodder for the riding-camels’ (47:6)
mélét li bérīḵ mih ‘she filled a jug with water for me’ (49:19)

Just as often in the texts, *l-* is used to indicate not benefactive ‘for’, but rather ‘for’ in the sense of ‘detriment to’, as in:

- ḵóšoflólhum xīš érún* ‘it [a leopard] broke the necks of five goats (to their detriment)’ (15:2)
ḡad... edmən tél ḵéta’ lek āhléb ‘go ... until wherever the camel gets tired on you [or: for you]’ (30:15)
yaḵés len aḵsbétan ‘he’ll stink up our clothes (for us)’ (46:15)
ekébal tim li ‘the truce is over for me (to my detriment)’ (60:9)
liš étam ‘it’s a sin for you’ (60:11)
al še ḡarúm lóhum l ‘it’s not forbidden for them’ (60:28)
sélūt ašḡér ḡozét lek ‘peace today (will be) expensive for you’ (83:6)

Very rarely does *l-* mean ‘to’ in the sense of motion towards. It does have this sense with some verbs, including *edōr* ‘return, go back’, *nfɔs* ‘go (in the early evening)’, *ktɔb* ‘write’ (if we consider writing to someone as having a sense of motion), as well as in the expression *mən mənzel al-mənzel* ‘from place to place’. However, most of these verbs can also be, and often are, paired with other prepositions to indicate motion (e.g., *ɔl*, § 8.28). Some examples are:

- her al edúrk len al-éni l* ‘if you don’t come back to us this evening’ (28:17)
eyát edirót len ‘the camel came back to us’ (AK2:10)
ḵal áḡar yaḡufš al-ḡišš ‘each night he came to a brother-in-law of his’ (30:20)
ktɔb les xaṯ ‘he wrote a letter to her’ (SB2:6)

Although *l-* is relatively uncommon as a general preposition meaning ‘to’ or ‘for’, it is very common as an object marker following certain verbs. Some of these can be considered dative objects (and can be translated with English ‘to’ or ‘for’), but many, if not most, are simply idiomatic. Attested in the texts are:

- | | |
|---|--|
| <i>a’rér l-</i> ‘send for s.o.’ | <i>bédé l-</i> ‘lie about s.o.’ (cf. <i>bédé b-</i> ‘lie to s.o.’) |
| <i>a’tin l-</i> ‘inform on s.o., spy on s.o.’ | <i>bóttar l-</i> ‘look down to’ |

- šadhék l-* 'look in on s.o. (who is sick)' (see the comment to text 18:7)
fké l- 'cover s.o.' (*b-* 'with s.t.')
- géré l-* 'happen to'
əgtél l- 'gather around'
guzúm l- 'swear to s.o.' (cf. *guzúm* *ǰer* 'swear on')
ǰólób l- 'refuse s.o.'
ǰótéǰ l- 'be angry at'
əǰbér l- 'raid; get in s.o.'s way'
hogúm l- 'attack' (also *hogúm d-*)
ħkum l- 'force s.o.; nag s.o.'
ħótég l- 'need'
ħazór l- 'persuade s.o.'
k'ér l- 'throw/roll (*b-*) s.t. down to/at s.o.'
kšǰf l- 'uncover, examine s.o.'
ənkəbréd l- 'be crazy about s.o.'
kun l- 'happen to'
əkǰbél l- 'approach'
əkǰǰ l- 'watch, observe'
ķǰǰór l- 'overpower; manage, handle, control'
ķǰǰl l- 'shut/lock in s.o.'
ķǰǰób l- 'return s.t. (d.o.) to s.o.' (note also *ķǰǰób l-X selúm* 'give (return) a greeting to X')
ķérəb l- 'get near to' (cf. *ķérīb l-* 'near, close to')
əkés l- 'try s.t. (d.o.) on s.o. (to see if it fits)'
ħaf l- 'come close to, press up against'
- ħak l-* 'help s.o.' (see the comment to text 36:4)
nkǰs l- 'exhume, dig up'
nkǰd l- 'get annoyed with, criticize s.o.'
ntǰr l- 'untie'
ərdé l- 'throw (*b-*) s.t. at' (*ərdé* *ǰol/ak* 'into' 'throw (*b-*) s.t. towards s.o./into s.t.')
- rəkəb l-* 'ride (an animal)' (also *rəkəb ǰer* 'ride on')
əřún l- 'tie (d.o.) to s.t.'
erxé l- 'release, let s.o. tied up go'
sel l- 'snatch (*b-*) s.t. by force from s.o.'
- sūh/sīh l-* 'forgive, excuse s.o.' (same meaning also with d.o.; cf. also *sūh/sīh her* 'permit, allow')
šǰr l- 'wait for' (cf. *šǰr her* 'have patience with s.o.')
- šəšet l-* 'listen carefully to'
šed l- 'saddle' (also with d.o.)
šóték l- 'miss, long for'
šēm l- 'sell to'
šed l- 'block s.o. in'
əštī' l- 'listen to'
terǰfl- 'pass by s.o.'
éǰaħ l- 'go in to see s.o.' (cf. *éǰaħ* 'enter (a place)')
- xalót l-* 'join up with, stay with' (also *xalót b-*)
xelf l- 'relieve, replace s.o.'
žəħák l- 'make fun of' (cf. *žəħák mən* 'laugh at')

In the texts, we sometimes find *l-* with a verb unexpectedly. For example, in 60:14, we find *šxəbír l-* 'ask about s.o./s.t.', though the normal idiom is *šxəbír mən*; this is probably due to the use of *l-* in the Mehri text from which text

60 was translated.¹⁵ Once in the texts (97:39) we find *hek l-* 'call (out to) s.o.', while elsewhere in the texts (five times) we find *hek her* 'call s.o., call out to s.o.'; this is also probably due to the use of *l-* in the Mehri text from which text 97 was translated. Also in one place in the texts (60:42) we find *kəlšt l-* 'tell to', which must be another Mehriism; the normal expression is *kəlšt her*, which occurs over thirty-five times in the texts.

Sometimes when there is competing evidence, it is not clear which idiom represents the more common one. For example, *xalšt l-* 'join up with, stay with' occurs twice in the texts (32:2; 49:1), while *xalšt b-* occurs once with the same meaning (49:32). It is possible that such expressions are simply not fixed.

The preposition *l-* also occurs in a number of non-verbal idioms, including several connected with parts of the body. Such are:

hógat l- 'a need for'

harúm l- 'forbidden to s.o.'

kun taw l- 'fit s.o. well'

keríb l- 'close to, near' (see § 8.18 on *keríb mən*)

l-ō'ōdk 'at your promised time'

al-éni 'tonight'

al-ōb 'by the door'

l-órxér 'slowly'

l-ēlj idš 'the reach of his arm' (i.e., 'as far as he could throw'; see the comment to text 21:10)

al-fám 'on the foot'

l-əgére ḏ- 'for the sake of' (see § 8.29)

l-egíšít- 'beside, next to' (see § 8.29)

al-hún 'to where?'

l-háđer 'on guard' (as in *ken l-háđer* 'be on guard!')

al-kənbá' 'on the heel'

al-kərféf 'on the face' (cf. *aḵ kərféfi* 'to/in my face')

(*aḡad*) *al-xáf* '(go) by foot'

l-eréš- 'on (one's) head' (e.g., 'fall on one's head')

al-yóh 'to here' (see § 10.1)

In one passage in the texts, *l-* is used to express obligation, corresponding to English 'owe':

¹⁵ It should be noted, however, that in Ali Musallam's Mehri texts, the normal expression is also *šxəbūr mən* (occurring about fifteen times), while *šxəbūr l-* occurs just twice.

her əl zəħām əm-mih lə, ber leš əz ‘if he doesn’t bring water, he owes [lit. to him is] a goat’ (39:2)

On *l-* used in certain idioms corresponding to English ‘have’, see §13.3.3.

8.17 *lébər* ‘like, the same as’

JL (s.v. *lwr*) defines the preposition *lébər* ‘like, the same as’, and includes the example *šə lébri* ‘he is the same as I’. There is only one occurrence of this preposition in the texts:

gigeníti də-lébrəs mən sens ‘girls similar to her in age’ (TJ4:15)

My informants recognized this word, though the only additional example I heard was *šum lébrən* ‘they are like us’ (MnS). Two informants felt *lébər* to be identical in meaning to *əl-hés* ‘like’ (in contrast with *ta‘míran*, § 8.25), but one (MnS) felt that *əl-hés* meant ‘exactly like’, while *lébər* meant ‘like (but not exactly)’.

8.18 *mən* ‘from’

The preposition *mən* has the basic meaning ‘from’, with reference to location, time, and cause or reason. By extension, it is used in partitive constructions (‘of’). It also has a few less common uses. The following examples illustrate its basic meaning ‘from’ with respect to location:

šínúťš aġabġót mən xofét ‘the girl saw him from the window’ (54:39)
šxanít mən šəfələš xótum ‘a ring came out of his belly’ (6:20)
ħamól mən xádərən ‘move [lit. pick up] from our cave!’ (15:3)
fúskši mən ʔattóši ‘they separated them from each other’ (20:5)
ġeyġ aġád mən erž ɛ-žəfól ‘a man went from the region of Dhofar’ (34:1)
əl dé nísəz məs sé lə ‘no one had drunk anything from it’ (34:10)
ʔlób yə mən but ɛd but ‘he begged people from house to house’ (46:8)
teʔ əl sɛ mən ɛkilt ʔ-axšóméš lə ‘the woman was not from the tribe of his enemies’ (60:33)
šxanít mən ʔžə ‘he left [or: went out from] the house’ (60:36)

Examples in which *mən* indicates cause or reason are:

iyéli ber dħa-tfəʔtən mən xət ‘my camels are about to die of [or: from] thirst’ (25:2)
sɛ tək mən fərvž ‘she was crying from happiness’ (13:8)
aġtósɛ mən fərkət ‘he fainted from fear’ (39:5)

he aǧmǔdǎk ðǎ-kéǧa'k mǎn ħīlīn ɛ-tūr 'I've become tired from carrying the dates' (48:6)

And two examples in which *mǎn* is used with reference to time are:

mǎn k-ħásaf ɛd tǎǧīd yūm 'from morning until the sun goes down' (4:5)

mǎn ǧǧm'át ɛd ǧǧm'át 'from Friday to (the next) Friday' (TJ4:62)

By extension of the simple temporal use of *mǎn* 'from', we also find *mǎn* used with a slightly different temporal meaning 'since' or 'for' (in the sense of 'since ... ago'), as in:

mǎn ɔrx trɔh ɔl-ʔd ɔtǎl sé lɔ 'he hasn't sent anything at all for two months' (8:7)

mǎn mit ǧélǎk? mǎn ɛlɛ bass 'since [lit. from] when have you been sick? Since only a little while (ago)' (40:3–4)

Following are examples of the partitive use of *mǎn*, in which cases *mǎn* is normally preceded (or, rarely, followed) by some sort of quantifier or indefinite pronoun:

kǎl minén ɛ-bédé, ʃɛ mišérđ 'whichever of us has lied, he is stupid' (1:8)

yǎzhóm ʧaʧ mǎn aǧág bǎ-yǎdǎram ʧit mǎn iyél 'one of the men came and slaughtered one of the camels' (25:5)

ħōl mǎš xérín 'he took a little of it' (35:5)

mūn mǎnkúm ðǎ-áǧɛb ɔz 'which [lit. who] of you wants a goat?' (39:2)

'ak tǎstém sé mǎn ɔśétǎn 'you want to buy some of our animals' (41:2)¹⁶

kǎ ʃum ɔl yǎśím mǎn ɛlħútǎhum bǎ-díréhǎm 'why don't they sell some of their cows for money?' (TJ2:80)

dē-ǎnsén sǎħart 'one [lit. someone] of them was a witch' (15:8)

śē-ǎn śóhum 'some among them' (AM1:11)

Note in the last two examples that the initial *m* of *mǎn* is elided after the indefinite pronouns *dé* and *śé*; a similar form is found in 15:7 (*dē-ǎnkēn*). This elision is optional, as shown by *dé mǎnhúm* in 24:2 and 60:32, *śé mǎn* in 32:3 and 41:3, and as confirmed by informants. (On *dé*, see § 3.5.1; on *śé*, see § 3.5.2; on elision of *m* elsewhere, see § 2.1.3.) A similar elision is found with the interrogative phrase *íné mǎn* 'which?; what kind of?'; which is usually realized *ínén* in fast speech (see § 11.3). On *mǎn* meaning 'some', used with or without a preceding noun, see § 5.5.2.

¹⁶ Compare this example to *'ak tǎstém mǎn ɔśétí* 'you want to buy (some) of my animals' (41:4), where the *śé* is only implied.

The preposition *mən* is also used idiomatically with a number of verbs, including:

- ǧélaʿ mən* ‘be lame/crippled in’ (e.g., ‘in the foot’)
férək mən ‘be afraid of’
ǧéžən mən ‘feel compassion towards s.o.’
šhəké mən ‘have enough of s.t.’
šənhér mən ‘complain about’
níkaʿ mən ‘bear (b-) a child with’ (see § 8.6)
šōr mən ‘do without s.t.’
šəsfé mən ‘find out about s.t.’
šil mən ‘be indebted to [lit. be asked for a debt from]’
ṭlób mən ‘request/ask s.o. (to do s.t.)’ (cf. *ṭlób* ‘invite’; *ṭlób b-* ‘avenge’)
šxábír mən ‘ask about s.o./s.t.’
zəhám mən ‘bear (b-) a child with’ (see § 8.6)
žēṭ mən ‘grab by’ (e.g., ‘by the hair’, ‘by the arm’)
žəhák mən ‘laugh at’ (cf. *žəhák l-* ‘make fun of’)

In several places we find *mən* used with a verb where it is not expected. For example, we find once *ǧólók mən* ‘look for’ (60:45), but this is probably a Mehrism, since elsewhere in the texts the Jibbali idiom is *ǧólók her*. We also find once *nṭor mən* ‘untie’ (17:29), instead of the expected *nṭor l-* (e.g., 17:26). We find once *sind mən* ‘manage without’ (13:17), instead of the expected *ʿar*.¹⁷ Finally, once we find once *əhtéðér mən* ‘watch out, be careful’ (22:13). This seems to mean the same thing as *əhtéðér ʿar* (30:8; 47:5), but it is possible that *əhtéðér mən* is used with a following verbal phrase (i.e., ‘be careful that (s.t. does not happen)’), while *əhtéðér ʿar* is used with a simple nominal or pronominal object (i.e., ‘be careful of’).

The preposition *mən* is also found in a number of other idiomatic expressions. Such are:

- əm-blís* ‘from the devil’ (< *mən blís*)
éðər mən ‘an excuse for’
bass mən X ‘enough of X!’
həmruín mən ‘afraid of’
k-háşafmən k-háşaf ‘every morning, morning after morning’
mən méşəʿ ‘to the south; downstream’
mən ðéʿ ‘up above’ (see the comment to text 51:5)

¹⁷ Actually, *sind ʿar* never occurs in the texts with a noun, but *sind ʿan-* (with a pronominal suffix) occurs about ten times.

mən téréfε-/ð- ‘from among’ (see § 8.29)

ráhək mən ‘far from’

xunt mən ‘outside of’

yəkól X mən yénš ‘he thought *X* was telling the truth [lit. he thought *X* from his truth]’ (cf. 60:8, 60:18)

In addition to the reduction of *mən* to *əm-* in the expression *əm-blís*, note also *əm-bóh* and *əm-bún* ‘from here’ (§ 10.1). On *əm-mún* < *mən mún* ‘between’, see § 8.20. Besides the idioms listed above, we also find *keríb mən* ‘close to’ once in Johnstone’s texts (15:9), though normally the idiom is *keríb l-*. The use of *keríb mən* instead of *keríb l-* in 15:9 may have to do with which element is stationary relative to the other.

It should be mentioned that, unlike in Mehri, *mən* is not normally used as the preposition of comparison. Instead, Jibbali uses (‘)ar for this purpose (see § 5.4). There is one occurrence of *mən* in the texts in a comparative phrase (20:9), but this is probably a Mehrism.

On the interrogative *íné mən*, see § 11.3; on the contracted form *männé* ‘from what?’ < *mən íné*, see § 11.2; on the particle *mkun* < *mən kun*, see § 12.5.14; on the conjunction *mən* ‘or’, see § 12.1.4; and on *mən* used as a marker of negation, see § 13.2.7.

8.19 *mən dún* ‘except; without’

The compound preposition *mən dún* ‘except, but, with the exception of’ appears only about a half dozen times in Johnstone’s texts (mainly in texts TJ2 and TJ4). Examples are:

əl dé ġarób yadēš l, mən dún ġeyg taṭ ‘no one knew how to cure him, except one man’ (SB1:4)

əl yəgáħš dé l mən dún se ‘no one entered it except her’ (TJ4:17)

əl šóhum dé mən dúni he ‘they have no one but me’ (TJ4:58)

əl šóhum mən dún ‘ad l ‘they only have sardines [lit. they don’t have except sardines]’ (TJ2:51)

The last example (TJ2:51), with *mən dún* used in a negative sentence to mean ‘only’, parallels the use of *ar* that was discussed in § 12.5.4. In fact, in the text, after the speaker says *mən dún ‘ad l*, he repeats himself with the synonymous phrase *ar ‘ad* ‘only sardines’.

Twice in the texts *mən dún* has the meaning ‘without’:

mənhúm yəğórén mən dún nəfxát ‘some of them give milk without blowing’ (TJ2:41)

ʿəd yəǧorén mən dún ʿad ‘do they still give milk without sardines?’
(TJ2:36)

Note, however, that in answer to this question from TJ2:36, the other speaker re-phrases and says *əl yəǧórén mən dún əl-ʿad lə* ‘they don’t give milk except by (eating) sardines’ (TJ2:39), using *mən dún* to mean ‘except’, rather than ‘without’.

Jibbali *mən dún* is obviously a borrowing of Arabic *min dūni* ‘except; without’, and it is not clear if this should be considered an Arabism used in Jibbali, or a true borrowing. It is also not clear if we should consider this a preposition or a conjunction that can look like a preposition. Since *mən dún* also functions as a conjunction ‘but’ (see § 12.1.3), we could consider *mən dún* to be a conjunction followed by an ellipsis. For example, the sentence from SB1:4 above could be underlyingly ‘no one knew how to cure him, except one man (knew how)’. The example from TJ4:17, *mən dún se* ‘except her’, in which *mən dún* is followed by an independent pronoun, clearly argues for ellipsis, and against it being a true preposition. In TJ4:58, there may be an example of a suffixed pronoun (*mən dūni* ‘except for me’). However *mən dūni* could also just be a variant of *mən dún*, reflecting a higher Arabic form; the following *he* could either be emphatic (reenforcing the suffix *-i*) or it could be the sole object of *mən dūni*. Either way, this use of *mən dún* is parallel to the use of English ‘but’ to mean ‘except’, as in ‘everyone but me’.

8.20 *mən mún* (əm-mún) ‘between’

The preposition *mən mún* derives from an earlier *mən bən*, itself from **mən bayn*. The Jibbali texts published by Müller (1907) have either *bən* or *əm-bən*. We also find *beyn*, *bīn*, or *bān* in Yemeni Mehri (but also *mən* or *mēn* in Omani Mehri),¹⁸ *bēn* in Ḥarsusi, *bīn* in Hobyot, and (əm-) *bīn* in Soqotri.¹⁹ The shift of *b > m* in the modern form is due not to the preceding *m*, but rather to the following *n*. On the sound change *bVn > mVn*, see § 2.1.4. Before suffixes, the base is *mən munú-*; we can connect the final *u* to the element *w* found in the Omani Mehri base *mənw-*, which itself is perhaps analogical to the etymological *w* of the base *fənw(i)-* used for the preposition *fənōhən* (root *fnw*). The Jibbali base **baynú-* became *benú*, which should have become

¹⁸ Watson (2012: 114). Yemeni Mehri *beyn* is found in also Jahn (1905: 125) and Bittner (1914a: 12), while *bīn* is found in Sima (2009).

¹⁹ The Ḥarsusi and Soqotri forms are given in *HL* (s.v. *byn*), and the latter is also found in Leslau (1938: 85). The Hobyot form is given in *HV* (p. 250).

bənu- > *mənu*. Instead, we got *munú-*, probably as a result of vowel harmony, and then the *u* was transferred to the unsuffixed form: (*mən-*)*mén* → *mən mún*.

Examples of this preposition from the texts are:

- kun mən munúkum ‘ágób* ‘was there love between you?’ (32:11)
təktéta’ mən munún a’ásirt ‘the friendship will be cut off between us’
 (41:4)
əbka’ egūš mən munúsən ‘he put his shield in between them’ (54:25)
ðənu əlyəkín l, l-əbdéd mən mún aǵéyg bə-títš ‘this will not do [lit. be],
 that you would separate a man and his wife’ (60:5)
ǵím əl (t)dér mən munúhum ‘swear that you will not come between
 them’ (60:6)
axarét kéréts mən munús əm-mún xatíks ‘she hid him between her and
 her dress’ (30:21)
ǵadú mən munúú əm-mún xatíki ‘come on (in) between me and my
 dress’ (TJ4:59)

In the last two examples (30:21; TJ4:59), ‘between *X* and *Y*’ is expressed *mən mun X əm-mún Y*, literally ‘between *X* and between *Y*’. The element *əm-mún* derives either from a reduced form of *mən mun* (cf. *əm-bén* in Müller’s Jibbali texts, Omani Mehri *əm-mán*, and Soqotri *əm-bín*) or, rather, from **b-mún*, where *b-* is the conjunction ‘and’. (On the shift **b-mún* > *əm-mún* elsewhere, see the comment to text 45:13 and the discussion in § 2.1.4.) The repetition of the preposition, as in 30:21 and TJ4:59, seems to be used when one object is a pronoun. It is not clear if it is ever used when both objects are nouns, but it is clearly not obligatory, as shown by the example from 60:5, above, and by the following example recorded by Nakano:

- he skɔfk munmũ [= mən mún] M. b-’Amina* ‘I sat between M. and Amina’
 (Nakano 1986: 133)

In one passage in Johnstone’s texts we find the form *bén*:

- ksé bén irúmtə fúdún* ‘they found between the roads [at a fork in the road] a stone’ (6:12)

This is either an Arabism, or an archaism, since text 6 is based on a text found in Müller’s 1907 collection.²⁰

²⁰ Müller’s text (1907: 54) actually has *əm-bén* in the parallel passage.

8.21 *mən kédé* ‘regarding, about’

The compound preposition *mən kédé* is listed in *JL* (s.v. *kdv*, with the transcription *kədə́*) with the rather vague definition ‘about’. *ML* (s.v. *kdv*) gives the same definition, while *HL* (s.v. *kdy*) glosses Ḥarsusi *mən kədə́* with ‘as regards’, which also works well for the Jibbali compound. One informant explained that *mən kédé* might be used upon receiving a letter, when one might ask *mən kédé iné* ‘what is it regarding?’. It occurs four or five times in texts TJ2 and TJ4. Some examples are:

kəlót hes mən kédé aqabgót ‘he told her about the girl’ (TJ4:13)
mən kédé hiěš, axsórt tákín her is mən her aqóhés ‘regarding his in-laws,
 is the bride-price money for her father or her brothers?’ (TJ2:24)

In the example from TJ4:13, the phrase *kəlót mən kédé* seems to be equivalent to *kəlót b-* ‘tell about’. In the example from TJ2:24 (as in TJ2:70 and in the written version of TJ2:110), the phrase *mən kédé* serves to introduce a topic, similar to *ámma* (§ 12.5.1).

8.22 *nxín* (or *lxín*) ‘under’

In Johnstone’s Jibbali texts, the preposition ‘under’ is *nxín* (before suffixes *nxínú-*). However, he notes in various places that the CJ dialect has *lxín*. Nakano also recorded *lxín* (which he transcribed *lxĩ*).²¹ Müller, on the other hand, recorded *nxal*.²² My own informants mainly preferred *lxín* (cf. FB1:2). There is obviously some variation in the form of this preposition, as there is also in Mehri dialects.²³ For further on these forms and on the etymology of this preposition, see Rubin (2012a). Its usage is straightforward, and some examples are:

kəl’ótš nxín fídún ‘she left it under a rock’ (15:13)
bə-séf aqéyg ber geb nxínúš ‘and it so happened that he had already
 defecated under it [the tree]’ (22:13)
he dḥa-l-ékərak nxín fídét ‘I will hide you under the cradle’ (33:5)
nxín eték ḏókkūn ‘under that wild fig tree’ (60:15)
ksé nxín eréšs sətét ahróf ‘he found under her head three (gold) coins’
 (97:41)

²¹ Nakano (1986: 134).

²² An example can be found in Müller (1907: 43).

²³ Watson (2012: 114); Rubin (2012a: 349).

The preposition *nxín* can also be used figuratively with the sense of ‘under the authority of’, as in:

kéla' nxínús ižórtə ‘he put slave-girls under her’ (17:45)

We also find *nxín* in the combinations *ed nxín* ‘(up to) under’ and *mən nxín* ‘from under’, for example:

agád ed nxín hérúm ‘he went under a tree’ (35:4)

bə-hék mən nxín hēsən ‘he called out from down below the castle’ (36:3)

In one passage in the texts, *mən nxín* means ‘in front of; in the presence of’:

yōkələn mən nxín ešhód séra ‘he gives authority in front of witnesses to the judge’ (45:20)

In another passage, *mə-lxín* (the equivalent of *mən nxín* in this speaker’s dialect, at least in fast speech) had the figurative meaning ‘under, below’ with regards to birth order:

mə-lxúni ... órba' jigeníti ‘under me ... are four girls’ (FB1:2)

8.23 *siéb* ‘because of’

The preposition *siéb* ‘because of’ appears just four times in Johnstone’s Jibbali texts, twice independently, and twice in the compound *əl-siéb*.²⁴ Three of the occurrences are with pronominal suffixes, in which case the final *b* is also elided (see § 8.30). The word *siéb* (< **səbēb*) is originally a noun meaning ‘reason, cause’, and it is found once in the texts used in this way (86:6). Both the noun and its use as a preposition ‘because of’ are borrowings from Arabic *sabab-* ‘reason, cause’. The fact that *siéb* shows elision of the medial *b* is a good indication that the word is a real borrowing, and not simply an Arabism.

egéfún siéb iné ‘the dummy-calf is because of what?’ (TJ2:64)

kəš siēk ‘it is all because of you’ (28:15)

əl dé ‘ágəb yaxélt ben lə əl-siēs (sérés) ‘no one wants to stay with us because of him’ (49:32)

bek əntəkólk əl-siēs ‘I’ve had a rough time because of her’ (TJ4:91)

²⁴ One informant actually preferred the compound *bə-siéb*, perhaps reflecting Arabic *bi-sabab(i)*.

As explained in the comment to text 49:32, the phrase *əl-sīēš* is used in the Arabic-letter version of that text, while in the Roman-letter version *sérés* is used instead, with *əl-sīēš* in the margin in parentheses.

8.24 *ser* 'behind'

The preposition *ser* has the basic meaning 'behind'. It can also be used in the compound *mən sér*, with no difference in meaning. When a pronominal suffix is used, it nearly always is used with the compound *mən sér*, except in a relative clause. Some examples are:

ser ēt izókūn 'behind those houses' (18:9)
šini egóféš mən sérés 'he saw his shadow behind him' (39:11)
*hógum əl-sékən ḏénu ε-séré*n 'it attacked this settlement that's behind us' (47:5)

After verbs of motion and verbs of following or chasing, it is sometimes better translated into English with 'after', as in:

*ágə*n *nəgád sérés* 'let's go after him!' (22:15)
ša'é sérés 'he ran after her' (97:15)
ətlék sérés hašnín 'he set the horse after her' (97:27)
gíd mən seróhum bə-n'ífhum 'go after them and chase them!' (AM1:11)
h-íné zəhámk tūn? ... *ser tēti* 'why did you come to us? ... [I came] after my wife' (30:23)

In the last example above (30:23), notice that the verb of motion (or of following) is only implied.

In just one passage from Johnstone's texts, *mən sér* has a temporal meaning 'after':

mən sér šīn 'in [lit. after] a little while' (17:29)

Normally, *mən ḏér* (§ 8.8) or the Arabism *ba'd* (§ 8.7) is used for 'after' in a temporal sense.²⁵

It seems that the preposition *ser* may also mean 'because of', at least in certain idioms. For example, we find in the texts the idioms *béké ser* 'cry over/because of' and *ənkəbréd ser* 'become crazy about':

skɔfk d-iōk xīš ēm ser eḳéraḥən 'I sat crying for five days over our donkey' (TJ3:10)

²⁵ Bittner (1916b: 54) also remarked that *mən sér* could be used in a temporal sense.

aǧabǧót, ankabréd sérés ‘the girl, he became crazy about her’ (TJ4:4)

For another possible example, see the comment to text 49:32.

8.25 *ta‘mírən* ‘like’

The word *ta‘mírən* appears to be a frozen 2ms conditional (§7.1.5) of the verb *ōr* ‘say’, and it functions (semantically) as a preposition ‘like’. Its literal meaning is something like ‘you would say that...’. It usually takes a pronominal suffix, though this suffix is not the object of the preposition, but rather is a verbal object suffix, referring to a preceding noun or pronoun (see §8.30). Examples of its use are:

śini tit mǎnsēn, ta‘mírəns erét ‘he saw one of them, she was (pretty) like the moon’ (30:6)

zū-to sé lūn ta‘mírən sker ‘they gave me something white like sugar’ (35:6)

še ǧeyǧ rəhīm, ta‘mírənš erét ‘he was a handsome man, like the moon’ (54:27)

aǧéyǧ ta‘mírənš điri? ‘the man (seemed) like a stranger’ (60:42)

embéré, ōr, ta‘mírənš ʃa’r ‘the boy, they said, was like a gazelle’ (83:3)

šum yəhórg kə-ṭattóhum ta‘mírənšum ǧóhe ‘they talked to each other like brothers’ (SM)

he ta‘mírən to hókum ‘I am like a king’ (SM)

The usage of *ta‘mírən* overlaps with *əl-hés* ‘like’ (§8.12); compare the examples from 30:6 and 54:37 with *rəhīt əl-hés ērét* ‘beautiful like the moon’ (17:9). Despite this clear overlap in usage, there may be a slight difference in the meaning, at least in theory: one informant insisted that *əl-hés* (and *lébər*) meant ‘exactly like’, while *ta‘mírən* meant ‘like, but not identical to’.²⁶

8.26 *tel* ‘at, by, beside’; *mən tél* ‘from (someone)’

The basic meaning of *tel*, like Mehri *hāl*,²⁷ is roughly that of French *chez* or German *bei*. An appropriate English translation can be ‘at’, ‘by’, ‘beside’, ‘with’, ‘among’, or ‘at the place of’. The object of *tel* is most often a person, an animal,

²⁶ A second informant thought this sounded correct, but only after the idea was suggested to him. See also the comments in §8.17.

²⁷ The preposition *tāl* is attested in some Mehri dialects (Watson 2012: 114, n. 14), and also in Hobyot (*HV*, p. 287). As I have written previously (Rubin 2011: 77), this form probably derives from a contraction of *tē* ‘until’ + *hāl*.

or a noun referring to a group of people, like *sékən* ‘settlement, community; family’. Before pronominal suffixes, the base is *tōl-*. Examples from the texts are:

- īnēš tel ē‘alm* ‘his sons were with the teacher [or: at the teacher’s]’ (6:9)
tōlén yə yəférék mən ekabrín ‘among us, people are afraid of graves’ (12:12)
skəfək tōlōhum ‘ásər troh ‘I stayed with them two nights’ (13:16)
šif tel a‘ásərs ‘sleep by your husband!’ (13:19)
šə‘ódk tōš kərəre tel sékənəš ‘I arranged a meeting with him tomorrow by his settlement’ (28:10)
kūn ‘ak enáxal tel emih ‘he hid among the date-palms by the water’ (30:4)
xatōkí tel xalóti ‘my clothes are with my mother-in-law’ (30:9)
dha-taksé kálo ðə-núšəb tōlák ‘you’ll find a bucket of milk by you’ (33:6)
‘ak əl-xédəm tōlák ‘I want to work for you [or: with you]’ (36:27)
skef tōlí šīn ‘stay with me a little while!’ (60:19)

Jibbali tel can also be used after verbs of motion (most often *əgəd* ‘go’, *éšəl* ‘arrive at, get to, reach’, and *zəhám* ‘come’) meaning ‘to’, ‘up to’. As described above, the object of *tel* is most often a person, an animal, or a noun referring to a group of people, like *sékən* ‘settlement, community; family’. Most of the few exceptions to this tendency involve nouns referring to holes in the ground (*mih* ‘water’, *məkbért* ‘graveyard’, *gər* ‘well’). Examples from the texts are:

- əgəd tel ē‘alm, bə-xəlōthum əgədót tel ēšnúit* ‘they went to the teacher, and their step-mother went to the medicine woman’ (6:6)
əgádó ed éšəl tel ī ð-embére ‘they went until they got to the father of the boy’ (18:8)
íné yōšələn tō tōlós ‘what will lead me to her?’ (30:14)
ed kəl‘éni zəhám tel eðá‘nəš ‘then in the evening, he came to his family’ (25:9)
əgádk tel sékəni ‘I went to my community’ (13:20)
zəhám tel sékənəš ‘he came to his settlement’ (35:6)
zəhōt tel ēš‘ér ‘she came to the party’ (97:25)

It seems that *tel* is sometimes optional when the object is inanimate. So we find, for example, *zəhám tel sékən* ‘he came to a settlement’ (30:18), but also *zəhám sékən* ‘he came to the settlement’ (7:7); *ṭēt tel sékən* ‘she came (at night) to a settlement’ (25:21), but also *ṭē sékən* ‘he came (at night) to

a settlement' (55:1). The preposition *ɣɔl* is also used with motion verbs, and the two are interchangeable in some contexts (see § 8.28). In the texts, when the object is inanimate, *tel* is much more common with *zəḥám* 'come' and *éṣəl* 'arrive at, get to, reach', while *ɣɔl* is much more common with *aǰád* 'go' and *edōr* 'return'.

There exists also a compound preposition *mən tél* 'from (the presence of), from one's person', which is not to be confused with the locative-relative *mən tél* 'where(ever)' (§ 3.8.5). Examples of the compound preposition *mən tél* are:

erśót zəḥám mən tél ǽ'alm 'the boys came from the teacher [or: teacher's place]' (6:5)
ɔl əbǰód bə mən tél a'éli 'I will not go from my family' (7:10)
zəḥám tɔ xaʔ mən tél ǽmí 'a letter came to me from my mother' (13:2)
šeš xérín tūr mən tél ǰeyg 'he had a small amount of dates (that he got) from a man' (17:21)
aǰád mən tél sékənəš 'he went from his settlement' (18:1)
əlḥín 'ak mən tōlí dḥa-l-zémk 'whatever you want from me I'll give you' (41:4)

Three times in the texts we also find the combination *ed tél* 'up to (by)', which has essentially the same meaning as simple *ed* 'up to, until' or *tel* 'to (a person)':

ḥəmíl tɔ ed tél ḥaróž ḏíkun 'carry me up to that acacia tree' (48:13) (cf. *ed ḥaróž ǽšǰarót* 'up to the next acacia', 48:14)
ɣəžēt bə-yédé ed tōlšum 'they seized (them) and took (them) away to them' (TJ4:72)
zəḥám ḏóḥūn ḥəzzézi ed tél erśót 'that killer came to the children' (TJ4:82)

One verbal idiom using *tel* is *šfək tel* 'marry into s.o.'s family' (with *b-* before the person one is marrying), as in:²⁸

ōr, "her dḥa-l-ǽšfək tɔ, 'ak l-šfək tōlák b-ǽđí-ilín" 'he said [to the girl's father], "If you will let me marry, I want to marry into your family with so-and-so"' (45:1)
'agk l-šfək tōlák ... b-ǽbrtk ūm 'I want to marry into your family ... by your older daughter' (97:34)

²⁸ As mentioned in § 8.1, we also find *šfək d-* with the same meaning in text 7:1.

We can also note the idiom *ḡēṭ tabkíḡót mən tél tet* ‘he took possession of the woman in marriage’ (7:6).

As mentioned above, the base before pronominal suffixes is *tōl-*. *JL* (s.v. *tl*) also lists another preposition *tōl* ‘around, round about’. However, this word does not occur in any of the texts, and my informants did not recognize it. See also the discussion of *tōl* in the comment to text Anon 1:1.

8.27 *tet* ‘above’

The preposition *tet* ‘above’ appears just once in the texts, though it is listed in *JL* and was used by some informants. Before suffixes it has the base *tét-*.²⁹ A couple of examples of its use are:

- d-āsún šé mən tėti* ‘I see something above me’ (TJ1:5)
tēt ḡallét ‘above the town’ (*JL*, s.v. *tt*)
sekḡtēt eréši ‘the roof is above my head’ (MnS)
sekḡtėti šé ‘the roof is above me’ (MnS)

My WJ informant claimed not to know this word, and used *ḡer* in the phrase ‘above my head’.

8.28 *yōl* ‘to, towards’

The preposition *yōl* ‘to, towards’ is used to indicate motion towards, most often (about two-thirds of all occurrences in the texts) with the verb *aḡád* ‘go’. When the object is a person, *yōl* is often interchangeable with *tel*. When the object is a place, *yōl* does not have the restrictions that *tel* has on the type of object it can govern (see § 8.26). When we look at the distribution of verbs used with these two prepositions, *zəḡám* ‘come’ and *éḡal* ‘arrive at, reach’ most often take *tel*, while *aḡad* ‘go’, *edōr* ‘return, go back’, *áḡab* ‘be heading’, and *ḡōl* ‘carry’ most often take *yōl*. Only rarely does *yōl* not follow a verb of motion, and even then motion is still involved in some way (e.g., with *ktōb* ‘write’ in 36:14, where motion is implied in the delivery of the letter). Some examples of *yōl* from the texts are:

- aḡád aḡéyḡ yōl éšnúṭ* ‘the man went to the medicine woman’ (6:8) (cf.
aḡadót tel éšnúṭ ‘she went to the medicine woman’s’, 6:6)
šé ktōb yōl ḡókum ‘he wrote to the ruler’ (36:14)
edūr yōl aḡág aḡ-šéš ‘he went back to his friends’ (54:33)
dḡa-l-éḡlāt mən ḡiri yōlkum ‘she will run away from me to you’ (60:22)

²⁹ One informant also preferred the form *tét* when used without suffixes.

hōls yal ūt ‘they took it home [lit. to the house]’ (6:2)
zəhōt ešxarēt ... yal sékən ‘the old woman came ... to the settlement’
 (15:10)
gəyg aqád mən erž ε-žžfól, *‘aqəb yal erž ḏ-əharó* ‘a man went from the
 region of Dhofar, heading towards the land of the Mehri’ (34:1)
aqadót yal ūts, *bə-šé aqád yal ūts* ‘she went to her house, and he went to
 his house’ (36:11–12)

8.29 Additional Prepositional Phrases

There are a handful of prepositional phrases which, though not really prepositions, are worth including in this chapter. From the texts, such are *mən téréf ḏ-/ε-* ‘from among’ (cf. *téréf* ‘side’), *bə-téréf ε-/ḏ-* ‘on the edge of’, *l-əgéré ḏ-* ‘for the sake of’ (see also § 13.5.2.3), and *l-əgísít-* ‘beside, next to’ (cf. *gísít* ‘side’). The attested contexts are:

yōfēn fǝkəh ḏ-ədúnhum ḏénu mən téréf ḏ-ōsét (ḏ-)tōlén b-əšhəhr ‘they
 pay half of this debt of theirs from the livestock that is with us in
 the mountains’ (9:8)
zəhám kol’eni bə-téréf ε-sékən ε-tét ‘he came in the evening to the edge
 of the woman’s settlement’ (30:20)
‘ak (t)šum a’úmrək l-əgéré ḏ-təmbéko ‘you want to trade [lit. sell] your
 life for the sake of tobacco?’ (60:36)
lǝz beš aqéyg ḏə-l-əgísítš ‘he slipped it to the man next to him’ (21:6)

JL also includes the compound *mən šun* ‘for the sake of’, but I found no examples of this other than the one listed there:

ḏ-əl kun mən šunš lə, ɔ yəǝídən šəš lə ‘if it were not for his sake, he
 wouldn’t have gone with him’ (*JL*, s.v. *š’n*)

8.30 The Suffixed Forms of Prepositions

The prepositions can be divided into groups on the basis of their suffixed forms. The prepositions *b-*, *εd-* (also *d-*), *k-*, and *l-*, and *her* (base *h-*), all have a monoconsonantal base before pronominal suffixes. These five are declined as follows:

| | <i>b-</i> | <i>εd / d-</i> | <i>k-</i> | <i>l-</i> | <i>her</i> |
|-----|------------|----------------|------------|------------|-------------|
| 1cs | <i>bi</i> | <i>dí</i> | <i>ši</i> | <i>li</i> | <i>húni</i> |
| 2ms | <i>bek</i> | <i>dek</i> | <i>šek</i> | <i>lek</i> | <i>hek</i> |

| | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| 2fs | <i>biš</i> | <i>diš</i> | <i>šiš</i> | <i>liš</i> | <i>hiš</i> |
| 3ms | <i>beš</i> | <i>deš</i> | <i>šeš</i> | <i>leš</i> | <i>heš</i> |
| 3fs | <i>bes</i> | <i>des</i> | <i>šes</i> | <i>les</i> | <i>hes</i> |
| 1cd | <i>bīši</i> | <i>dīši</i> | <i>šīši</i> | <i>liši</i> | <i>hiši</i> |
| 2cd | <i>bīši</i> | <i>dīši</i> | <i>šīši</i> | <i>liši</i> | <i>hiši</i> |
| 3cd | <i>bīši</i> | <i>dīši</i> | <i>šīši</i> | <i>liši</i> | <i>hiši</i> |
| 1cp | <i>ben</i> | <i>den</i> | <i>šen</i> | <i>len</i> | <i>hen</i> |
| 2mp | <i>bókum</i> | <i>dókum</i> | <i>šókum</i> | <i>lókum</i> | <i>hókum</i> |
| 2fp | <i>békən</i> | <i>dékən</i> | <i>šékən</i> | <i>lékən</i> | <i>hékən</i> |
| 3mp | <i>bóhum</i> | <i>dóhum</i> | <i>šóhum</i> | <i>lóhum</i> | <i>hóhum</i> |
| 3fp | <i>bésən</i> | <i>désən</i> | <i>šésən</i> | <i>lésən</i> | <i>hésən</i> |

Note:

- The 1cs form of *her* is *híni*, which is anomalous and does not conform with the rest of this group.

The prepositions *emt*, *ðer* (base *ðír-*), *ger* (base *gír-*), *lébər* (base *lébr-*), and *yəl* all retain stress on the base, and add suffixes with no intervening vowel. Their declensions are:

| | | | | | |
|-----|--------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|
| | <i>emt</i> | <i>ðer</i> | <i>ger</i> | <i>lébər</i> | <i>yəl</i> |
| 1cs | <i>émti</i> | <i>ðíri</i> | <i>gíri</i> | <i>lébri</i> | <i>yóli</i> |
| 2ms | <i>émtək</i> | <i>ðirk</i> | <i>girk</i> | <i>lébrək</i> | <i>yólk</i> |
| 2fs | <i>émtaš</i> | <i>ðirš</i> | <i>girš</i> | <i>lébrəš</i> | <i>yóliš</i> |
| 3ms | <i>émtaš</i> | <i>ðirš</i> | <i>girš</i> | <i>lébrəš</i> | <i>yóliš</i> |
| 3fs | <i>émtəs</i> | <i>ðirs</i> | <i>girs</i> | <i>lébrəs</i> | <i>yóls</i> |
| 1cd | <i>émtši</i> | <i>ðírši</i> | <i>gírši</i> | <i>lébərši</i> | <i>yólši</i> |
| 2cd | <i>émtši</i> | <i>ðírši</i> | <i>gírši</i> | <i>lébərši</i> | <i>yólši</i> |
| 3cd | <i>émtši</i> | <i>ðírši</i> | <i>gírši</i> | <i>lébərši</i> | <i>yólši</i> |

| | | | | | |
|-----|---------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------|
| 1cp | <i>émtən</i> | <i>ðírən</i> | <i>gírən</i> | <i>lébrən</i> | <i>yólən</i> |
| 2mp | <i>émtkum</i> | <i>ðírkum</i> | <i>gírkum</i> | <i>lébarkum</i> | <i>yólkum</i> |
| 2fp | <i>émtkən</i> | <i>ðírkən</i> | <i>gírkən</i> | <i>lébarkən</i> | <i>yólkən</i> |
| 3mp | <i>émthum</i> | <i>ðírhum</i> | <i>gírhum</i> | <i>lébarhum</i> | <i>yólhum</i> |
| 3fp | <i>émtsən</i> | <i>ðírsən</i> | <i>gírsən</i> | <i>lébarsən</i> | <i>yólsən</i> |

The prepositions *‘aḵ* (base *‘amḵ-*), *ser*, *tel* (base *tōl-*), and *tet* (base *tét-*) use what looks like the set of object suffixes attached to 3ms perfect verbs (see § 3.2.3). The suffixes themselves are stressed. The forms are:

| | <i>‘aḵ</i> | <i>ser</i> | <i>tel</i> | <i>tet</i> |
|-----|-----------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|
| 1cs | <i>‘amḵí</i> | <i>sérí</i> | <i>tōlí</i> | <i>tétí</i> |
| 2ms | <i>‘amḵák</i> | <i>sérék</i> | <i>tōlák</i> | <i>téták</i> |
| 2fs | <i>‘amḵíš</i> | <i>séréš</i> | <i>tōlíš</i> | <i>tetíš</i> |
| 3ms | <i>‘amḵáš</i> | <i>séréš</i> | <i>tōláš</i> | <i>tétáš</i> |
| 3fs | <i>‘amḵás</i> | <i>sérés</i> | <i>tōlás</i> | <i>tétás</i> |
| 1cd | <i>‘amḵáši</i> | <i>séréši</i> | <i>tōláši</i> | <i>tétáši</i> |
| 2cd | <i>‘amḵáši</i> | <i>séréši</i> | <i>tōláši</i> | <i>tétáši</i> |
| 3cd | <i>‘amḵáši</i> | <i>séréši</i> | <i>tōláši</i> | <i>tétši</i> |
| 1cp | <i>‘amḵén</i> | <i>sérén</i> | <i>tōlén/tōlún</i> | <i>tétén</i> |
| 2mp | <i>‘amḵókum</i> | <i>sérókum</i> | <i>tōlókum</i> | <i>tétókum</i> |
| 2fp | <i>‘amḵékən</i> | <i>sérékən</i> | <i>tōlékən</i> | <i>tétékən</i> |
| 3mp | <i>‘amḵóhum</i> | <i>séróhum</i> | <i>tōlóhum</i> | <i>tétóhum</i> |
| 3fp | <i>‘amḵésən</i> | <i>sérésən</i> | <i>tōlésən</i> | <i>tétésən</i> |

Notes:

- The 1cp forms *tōlén* and *tōlún* seem to be used in free variation.³⁰

³⁰ One informant thought that *tōlún* was used only with regard to one's house, but I found no other evidence to support this idea.

- With *ser* and *tet*, there is some variation between the vowels *á* and *é* before the 2s and 3s suffixes (e.g., *séréš* or *sérás* ‘behind him’). Perhaps *á* shifts to *é* due to the vowel *é* that is found in the base of the preposition (i.e., by vowel harmony).

The prepositions (^o)*ar* (base *ʿan-*), *kin*, and *mən* all show loss of the *n* and nasalization in the 2s and 3s forms (§ 2.1.7), as well as stress on the plural suffixes. The forms are:

| | (^o) <i>ar</i> | <i>kin</i> | <i>mən</i> |
|-----|----------------------------|------------|------------|
| 1cs | ʿáni | kíni | míni/míní |
| 2ms | ʿák | kék | mék |
| 2fs | ʿáš | kéš | méš |
| 3ms | ʿáš | kéš | méš |
| 3fs | ʿás | kés | més |
| 1cd | ʿánši | kinší | mənší |
| 2cd | ʿánši | kinší | mənší |
| 3cd | ʿánši | kinší | mənší |
| 1cp | ʿánén | kinén | minén |
| 2mp | ʿankúm | kənkúm | mənkúm |
| 2fp | ʿankén | kənkén | mənkén |
| 3mp | ʿanhúm | kənhúm | mənhúm |
| 3fp | ʿansén | kənsén | mənsén |

Notes:

- The nasalization in the 2s and 3s forms of *mən* is sometimes not present, or at least is very difficult to hear (cf. 3fs *més* in text 6:1).
- For the 3fp forms of *kin* and *mən*, *JL* (p. xxvii) gives *mésən* and *késən*, but my informants did not recognize these forms; all used *mənsén* and *kənsén*. This is what we expect based on the 2fp forms, and also what Johnstone recorded in one of his manuscript papers (Box 15E), as well as in the margin of the Roman ms of text T]2. Johnstone’s texts also have *mənsén* in numerous places (e.g., 30:6). If Johnstone heard *mésən* and *késən* from

an informant, then these forms are either dialectal or have fallen out of use.

- For the 3mp forms of *kin*, *JL* (p. xxvii) has *kunóhum*, but my informants did not recognize this form, and I did not find it in any of his manuscript papers. If correct, it is either dialectal or has fallen out of use.
- The dual forms of *kin* are missing in *JL*, and those of *mən* are suspect, particularly 2cd *mənkí* (vs. 1cd *mənší*). If correct, *mənkí* would be an unusual preservation of the suffix *-ki*, which normally shifted to *-ši*. A few of the other prepositions in *JL* are listed with the 2cd suffix *-ki*.³¹

The prepositions *nxín* (var. *lxín*) ‘under’ and *mən mun* ‘between’ both have the vowel *-ú* before suffixes. Their suffixed forms are:

| | <i>nxín</i> | <i>mən mun</i> |
|-----|---------------------|--------------------|
| 1cs | <i>nxíní/nxínúi</i> | <i>mən munúi</i> |
| 2ms | <i>nxínúk</i> | <i>mən munúk</i> |
| 2fs | <i>nxínúš</i> | <i>mən munúš</i> |
| 3ms | <i>nxínúš</i> | <i>mən munúš</i> |
| 3fs | <i>nxínús</i> | <i>mən munús</i> |
| 1cd | <i>nxínúši</i> | <i>mən munúši</i> |
| 2cd | <i>nxínúši</i> | <i>mən munúši</i> |
| 3cd | <i>nxínúši</i> | <i>mən munúši</i> |
| 1cp | <i>nxínún</i> | <i>mən munún</i> |
| 2mp | <i>nxínúkum</i> | <i>mən munúkum</i> |
| 2fp | <i>nxínúkən</i> | <i>mən munúkən</i> |
| 3mp | <i>nxínúhum</i> | <i>mən munúhum</i> |
| 3fp | <i>nxínúsən</i> | <i>mən munúsən</i> |

³¹ See the paradigms for *k-*, *mən mún*, *ser*, and *lxín* (*JL*, pp. xxvi–xxviii).

Notes:

- Just as the independent form *nxín* has the common variant *lxín*, the suffixed forms have the common variant base *lxín-*.
- *JL* (p. xxviii) lists the 1cs form *lxiní* (cf. FB1:2), but some of my informants preferred *lxinúí*. The difference may be dialectal. Note *nxelí* in Müller (1907: 14, line 5), but *lxinúí* in Johnstone's newer version of the same text (TJ1:5).
- The dual forms of *nxín* given above are those found in one of Johnstone's manuscript papers (Box 15E). *JL* (p. xxviii) lists instead *lxínéši* and *lxínéši*, but it is not clear why the dual forms of this preposition should contain a different vowel before suffixes than the other forms. Conversely, the same set of paradigms from Box 15E gives the dual forms of *mən mún* with the base *mən mənú-* (as well as 2fs *mən mənúš*), while *JL* (p. xxvii) has *mən munú-* throughout the paradigm. The variant vowel *é/í* before the dual and 2fs forms may be attributable to the palatal *š*. It is unknown if these variant forms are still in use.
- Johnstone claimed (*JL*, p. xxvii) that the singular forms of *mən mun* were not used, but the 3fs form appears in text 30:21 and the 1cs form appears in text TJ4:59. The singular forms are indeed rare, and informants preferred phrases like 'between them', rather than 'between him and her'. Some informants did not accept the 1cs form.

The prepositions *(əl-)**féné*, *kéfé*, and *mən kédé*, because of their final vowels, take the suffixes used for plural nouns (§ 3.2.2). That is, a form like *əl-féné-š* (with the simple 3ms suffix *-š*) was reinterpreted as *əl-fén-éš* (with the 3ms suffix *-éš* used with plural nouns), and therefore we find the plural-type suffixes extended to the 1cs, 2mp, and 3mp. The forms are:

| | <i>féné</i> | <i>kéfé</i> | <i>mən kédé</i> |
|-----|---------------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| 1cs | <i>(əl-)</i> <i>féní</i> | <i>kéféi</i> | <i>mən kédéi</i> |
| 2ms | <i>(əl-)</i> <i>fénék</i> | <i>kéfék</i> | <i>mən kédék</i> |
| 2fs | <i>(əl-)</i> <i>fénéš</i> | <i>kéféš</i> | <i>mən kédésš</i> |
| 3ms | <i>(əl-)</i> <i>fénéš</i> | <i>kéféš</i> | <i>mən kédésš</i> |
| 3fs | <i>(əl-)</i> <i>fénés</i> | <i>kéféš</i> | <i>mən kédésš</i> |

| | | | |
|-----|--------------|---------|-------------|
| 1cd | (əɫ-)fĕnéšĭ | ķĕfĕšĭ | mən ķédĕšĭ |
| 2cd | (əɫ-)fĕnéšĭ | ķĕfĕšĭ | mən ķédĕšĭ |
| 3cd | (əɫ-)fĕnéšĭ | ķĕfĕšĭ | mən ķédĕšĭ |
| 1cp | (əɫ-)fĕnéĕn | ķĕfĕĕn | mən ķédĕĕn |
| 2mp | (əɫ-)fĕnókum | ķĕfĕkum | mən ķédókum |
| 2fp | (əɫ-)fĕnékən | ķĕfĕkən | mən ķédékən |
| 3mp | (əɫ-)fĕnóhum | ķĕfĕhum | mən ķédóhum |
| 3fp | (əɫ-)fĕnésən | ķĕfĕsən | mən ķédésən |

Notes:

- As explained above, these prepositions were reinterpreted as having the suffixes used for plural nouns, hence 2mp (əɫ-)fĕnókum, 3mp (əɫ-)fĕnóhum, 2mp mən ķədókum, etc. However, several speakers that were consulted preferred -ékum and -éhum for the 2mp and 3mp, perhaps reflecting the vowel of the bases fĕné-, ķĕfĕ-, and ķédĕ-, or perhaps reflecting also the tendency towards leveling the suffix vowels as described in § 3.2.
- The base fĕné- has the variant fĭní-, which seems to be dialectal; it is found only in texts TJ4 and TJ5 (e.g., TJ4:22, TJ4:25). The variant is presumably due to vowel raising because of the nasal (§ 2.2.2).

The preposition *siéb*, which comes from the noun *siéb* ‘reason, cause’, loses its final *-b* before suffixes, following the rule outlined in § 2.1.2 and § 3.2.1:

| | |
|-----|------|
| | siéb |
| 1cs | siēi |
| 2ms | siēk |
| 2fs | siēš |
| 3ms | siēš |
| 3fs | siēs |

| | |
|-----|---------------|
| 1cd | <i>siēšī</i> |
| 2cd | <i>siēšī</i> |
| 3cd | <i>siēšī</i> |
| 1cp | <i>siēn</i> |
| 2mp | <i>siēkum</i> |
| 2fp | <i>siēkən</i> |
| 3mp | <i>siēhum</i> |
| 3fp | <i>siēsən</i> |

Finally, because the word *ta'mírən* is historically a conditional verb (§7.1.5), not a true preposition, it follows the pattern of a verb with object suffixes (§3.2.3). This means that there are no first person suffixes.

| | |
|-----|---------------------|
| | <i>ta'mírən</i> |
| 1cs | <i>ta'mírən tɔ</i> |
| 2ms | <i>ta'mírənk</i> |
| 2fs | <i>ta'mírənš</i> |
| 3ms | <i>ta'mírənš</i> |
| 3fs | <i>ta'mírəns</i> |
| 1cd | <i>ta'mírənši</i> |
| 2cd | <i>ta'mírənši</i> |
| 3cd | <i>ta'mírənši</i> |
| 1cp | <i>ta'mírən tun</i> |
| 2mp | <i>ta'mírənkum</i> |
| 2fp | <i>ta'mírənkən</i> |
| 3mp | <i>ta'mírənhum</i> |
| 3fp | <i>ta'mírənsən</i> |

It must be noted that in this section, while most singular and plural forms either occur in the texts or were checked with informants, the dual forms come mostly from *JL*. The only dual forms that occur in the texts are 3ms *šiši* (54:1) and *liši* (83:1). As noted above, the second person dual forms are listed in *JL* with the suffix *-ki* for a few prepositions (*k-*, *mən*, *mən mún*, and *lxín*) rather than the expected *-ši* (see the suffixes listed in § 3.2.1 and § 3.2.2). It seems unlikely that these forms with *-ki* are correct. In two places among Johnstone's manuscript papers, I found paradigms of *k-* with suffixes (Boxes 13A and 15E); both list *šiši* as the dual form for all persons (against *šiki* in *JL*). The paradigms in Box 15E also list the dual suffix *-ši* for all persons for *mən mún* and *nxín*.

CHAPTER NINE

NUMERALS

9.1 *Cardinals*

9.1.1 *Numerals 1–10*

Following are the Jibbali numerals 1–10:

| | Masculine | Feminine |
|----|-----------------------------|---------------|
| 1 | <i>taṭ</i> (or <i>ṭad</i>) | <i>ṭit</i> |
| 2 | <i>troh</i> | <i>trut</i> |
| 3 | <i>šoṭét</i> | <i>šhələt</i> |
| 4 | <i>erbəʿót</i> | <i>órbaʿ</i> |
| 5 | <i>xōš</i> | <i>xīš</i> |
| 6 | <i>šet</i> | <i>šēt</i> |
| 7 | <i>šəbʿét</i> | <i>šōʿ</i> |
| 8 | <i>tīnít</i> | <i>tōni</i> |
| 9 | <i>saʿét</i> ¹ | <i>soʿ</i> |
| 10 | <i>ʿəsírét</i> | <i>ʿúsər</i> |

The masculine numeral ‘one’ is etymologically *ṭad* (ultimately from the Semitic root **whd*), but is most often realized in the form *taṭ*.² The numeral *taṭ/ṭit* ‘one’ (which can also have the sense of ‘a certain’) normally follows the noun. The numeral ‘one’ precedes a noun just once in the texts (SB2:1), while it follows a noun in dozens of other passages.

The numeral *troh/trut* ‘two’ should historically follow a dual form of the noun (see § 4.2), but since the dual ending has been lost in Jibbali (with the result that the dual form looks identical to the singular), it follows a singular noun. It can also precede a noun, in which case that noun is a plural.

¹ On the forms of ‘9’, see Testen (1998).

² On the derivation from Semitic **whd*, see already Bittner (1913b: 82–84). The form *ṭd* is also attested in Qatabanic, one of the ancient (epigraphic) South Arabian dialects. Watson (2012: 110, n. 91) seems to suggest that this connection with Qatabanic rules out the derivation from **whd*, but this etymology and the connection with Qatabanic are not mutually exclusive.

Unlike ‘one’ and ‘two’, the numerals from three to ten regularly precede the noun.

Numerals can accompany a definite or indefinite noun, as the meaning requires; the latter are far more frequent. However, if the noun has a possessive suffix (§ 3.2), then it will have the required definite article. Following are some examples of numerals in context (the numerals ‘eight’, and ‘nine’, are not attested in the texts, nor is the feminine form of ‘six’):

- 1m *‘áṣar taṭ* ‘one night’ (21:1); *giní taṭ* ‘one guinea’ (52:10); *ɔrx taḍ* ‘one month’ (15:4); *taṭ mən aǵág* ‘one of the men’ (25:5)
- 1f *‘ónut tit* ‘one year’ (20:1); *ħallét tit* ‘a certain town’ (5:6); *tit mən iyél* ‘one of the camels’ (25:5)
- 2m *ǵeyg troh* ‘two men’ (12:1); *ɔrx troh* ‘two months’ (8:7); *troh erśót* ‘two boys’ (6:1)
- 2f *‘ónut trut* ‘two years’ (13:1); *zifét trut* ‘two times, twice’ (51:8); *yū trut* ‘two days’ (15:2); *ūt trut izóhun* ‘those two houses’ (AK)
- 3m *śotét erśót* ‘three boys’ (36:19); *śotét śítár* ‘three kids’ (49:4)
- 3f *śhalét ‘ayún* ‘three years’ (30:14); *aǵatetěś śhalét* ‘his three sisters’ (30:16)
- 4m *erbə’ót ǵag* ‘four men’ (21:1); *erbə’ót derébzən* ‘four dozen’ (32:14)
- 4f *órba ‘ínét* ‘four women’ (15:11); *órba ‘kurj* ‘four score’ (32:14)
- 5m *xōš kərǒš* ‘five dollars’ (5:9); *xōš aħrǒf* ‘five (gold) coins’ (97:40)
- 5f *xīš ‘ayún* ‘five years’ (8:2); *xīš érún* ‘five goats’ (15:2)
- 6m *štet kərǒš* ‘six dollars’ (TJ2:43); *štet ǵag* ‘six men’ (SM)
- 6f *šet ‘ínét* ‘six women’ (SM)
- 7m *šəb’ét əzbírt* ‘seven buckets’ (97:7); *šəb’ét erśót* ‘seven boys’ (FB1:2)
- 7f *šō ‘ínét* ‘seven women’ (97:8); *šəb’ét ǵigeníti* ‘seven girls’ (FB1:2)
- 8m *tīnít írəx* ‘eight months’ (SM)
- 8f *tōni ‘ayún* ‘eight years’ (SM)
- 9m *sa’ét erśót* ‘nine boys’ (SM)
- 9f *sɔ’yel* ‘nine camels’ (SM)
- 10m *‘ásírét kərǒš* ‘ten dollars’ (7:9)
- 10f *‘ósər érún* ‘ten goats’ (32:14)

Interestingly, the numeral *taṭ/tit* comes between a noun and its attributive adjective. In such cases, *taṭ/tit* is usually best translated ‘a(n)’ or ‘a certain’, as in:

ǵabǵót tit rəħīt ‘a certain pretty girl’ (97:19)

Numerals higher than ‘one’ can occur with pronominal suffixes (those used for plural nouns), though no such forms are attested in the texts. Exam-

ples are *šoṭetén* ‘the three of us’, *šoṭetóḵum* ‘the three of you’, and *šoṭetóḵum* ‘the three of them’. At least one informant preferred an appositional pronoun, as in *nḥa šoṭét* ‘we three’. We also find a suffix (dual, of course) on the noun *kólóh* ‘both’: *kólóhéši* ‘both of you’ (JL, s.v. *kl’*). In a partitive expression, the numeral is followed by *mən*, as in *erbə’ót minén* ‘four of us’ (83:7).³

Numbers can also be substantivized and used independently, as in:

- ’ör ṭad*, “*ak tun nəšrək*” ‘one (man) said, “I want us to steal”’ (12:1)
ytō’əš sa’ét ‘nine (men) follow him’ (14:5)
eg’ér troh ‘he brought down two (men)’ (83:3)
látjək šoṭét ‘you killed three (men)’ (83:6)

9.1.2 Numerals 11–19

The numerals 11 to 19 are expressed simply by ‘ten’ followed by the digit, with both elements agreeing in gender with the accompanying noun. Attested in the texts are:

- 14 *’ásirét erbə’ót əzbírt* ‘fourteen jars’ (97:21)
 15 *’ésər xiš ēm* ‘fifteen days’ (97:31) (on the form *’ésər*, see § 9.2)
 16 *yum a’ésər šet* ‘the sixteenth day’ (97:32) (on the form *’ésər*, see § 9.2)
 17 *’sər šō’ ayún* ‘seventeen years’ (Fr1)

A noun following a number 11 to 19 is normally plural, unless the number has an ordinal function (see below, § 9.3). In the third example above (97:32) the number is being used as an ordinal, which is why the noun is singular.

9.1.3 Tens

With the exception of *’ásəri* ‘twenty’, which is historically a dual form of ‘ten’ (see § 4.2), and *šhelót* ‘thirty’, the forms of the tens in Jibbali have been borrowed from Arabic. All of the tens are:

- 20 *’ásəri*
 30 *šhelót*
 40 *ərba’in*
 50 *xamsín*
 60 *stín*

³ A construction like *erbə’ót minén* ‘four of us’ implies four out of a larger group, while *šoṭetén* or *nḥa šoṭét* ‘we three’ refers to a group of three total.

- 70 *səbaʿín*
 80 *tīnín* (or *tīnín*)
 90 *tsaʿín*

Only *ʿásəri* ‘twenty’, *šhelót* ‘thirty’, *xamsín* ‘fifty’, and *stín* ‘sixty’ are attested in the texts. As with the teens, nouns following numerals twenty and above are normally plural. Some examples are:

- 20 *ʿásəri yiršōb* ‘twenty camels’ (22:9)
 30 *šhelót kərōš* ‘thirty dollars’ (12:7)
 50 *xamsín kərōš* ‘fifty dollars’ (32:14)
 60 *stín* ‘sixty (goats)’ (32:2)

For the numbers 21, 22, 23, etc., the digit immediately follows the ten, e.g., *ʿásəri taṭ* ‘21’. But for such numbers above thirty (31, 42, 53, etc.), the digit is preceded by the conjunction *b-*.⁴

9.1.4 Hundreds

The numeral ‘one hundred’ is *mut*, and ‘two hundred’ is *mut trút*. For higher multiples of a hundred, Jibbali uses the plural *mīn* ‘hundreds’, preceded by a feminine numeral. Accompanying nouns are usually in the plural, and are optionally preceded by the genitive exponent *ḏ-* (§ 12.4). Examples are:

- 100 *mut gūni* ‘a hundred bags’ (AK1:4)
 200 *mut trút* ‘two hundred’ (25:11)
 250 *mut trút bə-xamsín* ‘two hundred and fifty’ (32:14)
 300 *šhalét mīn* ‘three hundred’ (32:2)
 302 *šhalét mīn bə-trút* ‘three hundred and two’ (AK4:16)
 500 *xīš mīn* ‘five hundred’ (32:2)
 600 *šet mīn (ḏə-)ǧág* ‘six hundred men’ (SM)
 750 *šōʿ mīn bə-xamsín (ḏə-)ǧág* ‘seven hundred and fifty men’ (SM)

Note in the example from AK4:16, that a digit following a hundred is preceded by the conjunction *b-*. As mentioned in § 9.1.3, this conjunction is used before a digit in numbers higher than thirty. Likewise, in the last example, a ten following a hundred is also preceded by the conjunction *b-*.

⁴ This phenomenon was related to me by Janet Watson, and confirmed by other researchers, as well as by my own data (see § 9.1.4).

9.1.5 *Thousands*

The numeral ‘one thousand’ is *ʕf* (< **alf*; see § 2.1.6), and ‘two thousand’ is *ʕftroh*. Higher multiples of a thousand are made with a masculine numeral plus the plural *ížíf* ‘thousands’ (dialectal *ížíf*). Accompanying nouns are usually in the plural, and are optionally preceded by the genitive exponent *ǎ-* (§ 12.4). Examples, including all of the attestations from the texts, are:

- 2000 *ʕftroh* ‘two thousand’ (AK2:3); *ʕftroh (ǎǎ-)bét* ‘two thousand houses’ (SM)
 4000 *erbǎʕt ízíf* ‘four thousand’ (22:12)
 10,000 *ʕsírét ízíf (ǎǎ-)ǧág* ‘then thousand men’ (SM)
 50,000 *xamsǎn ízíf* ‘fifty thousand’ (18:15)

Once in the texts we find *elf* ‘a thousand’ (6:33), but this is clearly an Arabic form, as the context suggests.

9.2 *Special Forms Used with ‘Days’*

An interesting feature of the numeral system of Jibbali (found also in Mehri and Ḥarsusi, and known from some other Semitic languages) is the existence of a special set of numerals used for counting three or more days. These are as follows:

- 1 day: *yum tit* (15:1)
 2 days: *yǔ trut* (15:2)
 3 days: *śélǎǎ ěm* (30:14)
 4 days: *rǐ ěm* (3:6)
 5 days: *xǐš ěm* (13:4)
 6 days: *šet ěm*
 7 days: *šē ěm*
 8 days: *tǎn ěm*
 9 days: *tésǎ ěm*
 10 days: *ésǎr ěm* (SB1:6)

The forms of the numeral used for ‘five days’ and ‘six days’ look identical to the simple feminine numeral. Perhaps as a result of this, some speakers also use the feminine numerals for higher numbers of days: Johnstone cites *šō ěm* as an option for ‘seven days’ (*JL*, s.v. *šb*^ʕ), *tǎni ěm* as an option for ‘eight days’ (*AAL*, p. 24), and *sǎ ěm* as an option for ‘nine days’ (*JL*, s.v. *ts*^ʕ). Informants confirm this.

If ‘day’ is preceded by a number between ‘11’ and ‘19’, the number is formed as described in § 9.1.2 (i.e., ‘ten’ plus digit), but the forms are the special

ones used for ‘days’ (or the feminine cardinals in the case of ‘11’ and ‘12’), e.g.:

- 12 days: *‘ésər trut ēm* (SS)
 14 days: *‘ésər rī‘ ēm* (SS)
 15 days: *‘ésər xīš ēm* (97:31)
 17 days: *‘ésər šē‘ ēm* (SS)

Cf. also *yum a‘ésər šet* ‘the sixteenth day’ (97:32), where the number here is used as an ordinal (see § 9.3).

9.3 Ordinals

There are special ordinal forms only for numbers ‘one’ to ‘three’, namely:

| | masculine | feminine |
|-----|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1st | <i>énfī</i> | <i>énfēt</i> |
| 2nd | <i>məšágər</i> (def. <i>ēšágər</i>) | <i>məšgərót</i> (def. <i>ēšgərót</i>) |
| 3rd | <i>sóləṭ</i> | <i>shəlét</i> (= cardinal) |

The adjective *énfī* can also mean ‘former, previous’, and *məšágər* can mean ‘next’ or ‘other’ (see below). For numbers ‘four’ and above, the cardinal is used to express the ordinal, with the difference that the number follows the noun and can take the definite article (as a normal adjective). Some examples of the ordinals in context are:

- 1m *aǵéyǵ énfi* ‘the first man’ (21:9); *ēnzél énfi* ‘the first place’ (31:5)
 1f *énfēt* ‘the first (coffee)’ (34:10)⁵
 2m *létəǵ ēšágər* ‘he killed the second (man)’ (25:6)
 2f *zəfēt ēšgərót* ‘the second time’ (24:4); *hallét ēšgərót* ‘another town’ (42:7)
 3m *dḥa-l-š(l)tǵ sóləṭ* ‘I will kill the third (boy)’ (36:25)
 4m *a‘ásər erbə‘ót* ‘the fourth night’ (30:20)

If the noun being modified by the ordinal is ‘day’, then the ordinal, if ‘third’ or higher, will be one of the special numbers described in § 9.2. Some examples are:

⁵ We also find the word *énfēt* nominalized in the phrase *énfēt a‘ásər* ‘the first (part) of the night’ (54:20), in parallel with *a‘ámk a‘ásər* ‘the middle (part) of the night’, and *áxər a‘ásər* ‘the last part of the night’, in the same line.

- 1 *yum énfēt* ‘the first day’ (TJ4:37)
- 2 *yum ēšġarót* ‘the next day’ (60:4)
- 3 *yum sélāt* ‘the third day’
- 4 *yum erī* ‘the fourth day’ (30:15)
- 16 *yum a’ésər šet* ‘the sixteenth day’ (97:32)

The idea of ‘next’ (i.e., ‘the following’) is expressed with *xelf* (f. *xizfēt* or *xilfēt*),⁶ as in *’aşər xelf* ‘the next night’ (39:8), *yum xilfēt* ‘the next day’ (17:12; or *yum xizfēt*, 49:31), and *məstéhal xelf* ‘the end of next month’ (41:9; < *məstéhal* ‘end of the month’). In a past tense context, *məšáġər* can also mean ‘next’ (i.e., ‘the second’), as in *yum ēšġarót* ‘the second/next day’ (60:4). In a past tense narrative *kərére* ‘tomorrow’ can also be used for ‘the next day’ (e.g., 12:7). In a future context, ‘next’ (i.e., ‘the coming’) is more often expressed with the future of the verb *níka* ‘come’, as in *ərġ ħa-yənká* ‘next month’ (lit. ‘the month [that] will come’).⁷ The idea of ‘last’ (i.e., ‘the preceding’), is expressed by the verb *térəf* ‘lead in’ in a relative clause, as in *ərġ e-térəf* ‘last month [lit. the month that led in]’ (32:10). There are also several special adverbs referring to both past and future periods of time, e.g., *mənhúnəm* ‘last night’ (e.g., 16:5) and *berhón* ‘last year’; see further in § 10.3.

9.4 Fractions

The following fractions are attested in the texts:

- ¹/₂ *fəkh* (or *fəkah*; dual/plural *fūšhi*), as in *fəkh ḏ-ərġ* ‘half a month’ (46:9); *ərġ bə-fəkh* ‘a month and half’ (46:7); *’onut trut bə-fəkh* ‘two and a half years’ (TJ3:18); *fəkh ḏli* ‘half of my livestock’ (5:16); *ḏħa-nzémk fəkh* ‘we’ll give you half’ (23:6); *fəkhəš e-ik* ‘half of it [lit. its half] is your father’s’ (5:12)
- ¹/₃ *séltét*, as in *séltét a’aşər* ‘a third of the night’ (54:26)
- ¹/₄ *rī’át* (pl. *rīá*), as in *hódés rīá. kol taṭ mən aġág rī’át* ‘they divided it into quarters. Each one of the men (got) a quarter’ (54:8)

The word *fəkh* is also used in the phrase *fəkh ḏ-a’aşər* ‘the middle of the night’ (46:16), and it seems that this is distinct from *a’ámk e-aşər* ‘the middle part of the night’ (54:20). We also find *fəkh* used in telling time (§ 9.7), e.g.,

⁶ According to *ML* (s.v. *xl*), CJ uses instead *xalfi* (f. *xalfēt*), though my own CJ informants used *xelf* (f. *xizfēt*). *JL* (s.v. *xl*) includes only *xalfi* (f. *xalfēt*).

⁷ One informant (EJ) insisted that the relative pronoun is not expressed in the phrase *ərġ ħa-yənká* (in contrast to a phrase like *aġéyġ ḏə-ħa-yənká* ‘the man who will come’), though another informant (CJ) clearly used the relative pronoun in this phrase.

sá'a xĩš bə-fəkh 'at 5:30' (31:5). *JL* (s.v. *šb'*) also includes the fractions *xmus* 'a fifth' (< Arabic *xums*) and *št'* 'a seventh'.

9.5 *Days of the Week*

The Jibbali days of the week have been borrowed from Arabic:

- l-aḥád* 'Sunday'
- (*l*)-*eṭnín* 'Monday'
- (*əl*-)*tulúṭ* 'Tuesday'
- (*ər*-)*rubú'* 'Wednesday'
- (*əl*-)*xĩš* 'Thursday'
- (*əl*-)*gəm'át* 'Friday'
- (*əs*-)*sábt* 'Saturday'

The use of the Arabic definite article (*əl*- and its variants) appears to be optional with all but 'Sunday'. To indicate 'on', no preposition is necessary, though the day of the week is usually preceded by *yum* 'day' or another word indicating a part of the day (like *áṣər* 'night'), for example:

- gad a'áṣər e-gəm'át* 'go on Friday night' (30:2)
- ed yum e-gəm'át zəḥám séra'* 'then on Friday, the judge came' (36:3)
- dḥa-l-əzḥomš yum e-gəm'át* 'I'll come to you on Friday' (36:7)
- a-l-ənká' yum l-eṭnín* 'I will come on Monday' (BY; AK)
- axédəm yum l-eṭnín* 'I work on Mondays' (BY)

Also note the idiom *mən gəm'át ed gəm'át* 'every Friday [lit. from Friday to Friday]' (e.g., TJ4:14).

It is not uncommon to hear Jibbali speakers use the Arabic names for the days of the week, as one informant did in the following sentence:

- axédəm yum əl-əṭnén, mən dún yum əl-talātā' əl axédəm lə* 'I work Monday, but I don't work Tuesday' (SM)

9.6 *Approximation*

The future tense of *kun* 'be(come)' (e.g., 3ms *ḥa-yékən*) can be used to indicate approximation or uncertainty. It corresponds to the use of *wəḵōna* (the future of *wīka* 'be(come)') in Mehri.⁸ However, while Mehri *wəḵōna* is a frozen form in this usage, Jibbali sometimes shows gender and number agreement. Examples are:

⁸ Hobyot *mad yəḵā'*, the 3ms future of *wīkə'* 'be', is also used this way (*HV*, p. 283).

skɔfħa-yékən sá'a 'he stayed about an hour' (7:7)
bér hek sá'ate bə-hét b-εǵarbét? bér hini ħa-yékən xiš̄ 'ayún 'were you
 abroad for a long time? For about five years' (8:1–2)
skɔfħa-yékən ɔrx 'they stayed about a month' (17:15)
dħa-tkénən 'ásəri yirššb 'about twenty camels' (22:9)
skɔf bə-ħallét ðíkun dħa-yékən fɔkħ ð-ɔrx 'he stayed in that town about
 half a month' (46:9)
ši dħa-tékən ħölt ðə-rkib 'I have maybe one camel-load' (41:3)
žētən a-yékən mut gúni ðə-'álaf 'we took about a hundred bags of feed'
 (AK1:4)

In the example from 41:3, the 3fs form *dħa-tékən* is used in agreement with the following feminine noun *ħölt* (cf. also 22:9). However, in the example from 8:2, the 3ms *dħa-yékən* is used, even though *xiš̄ 'ayún* is feminine (likewise in 46:1).

9.7 Telling Time

To indicate the time, Jibbali uses the word *sá'a* 'hour' plus a feminine numeral. There are no direct equivalents of 'a.m.' or 'p.m.', but certain adverbs can be added to specify the time of day, such as *fégər* 'dawn', *k-ħásaf* 'morning', and *ǵasré* 'evening'.

edürək sá'a xiš̄ bə-fɔkħ üt 'I returned to the house at 5:30' (31:5)
sá'a ħa-tékən šō' fégər 'it was about 7:00 in the morning' (AK)

Note also the question *sá'a mśé* 'what time is it?' (AK).

CHAPTER TEN

ADVERBS

As in many other Semitic languages, there is no productive means for deriving adverbs in Jibbali. In some places where we would find an adverb in English, Jibbali employs a prepositional phrase, for example:

aṣán tə bə-hús ‘tie me up tightly [lit. with force]’ (17:28)
əkó(l)š mən yénš hažórš li ‘I thought you were persuading me truthfully
[lit. from your truth]’ (60:8)

Although there is no means for deriving adverbs in Jibbali, there are a significant number of lexical adverbs. Below, adverbs are organized according to type, including both lexical adverbs and other prepositional phrases functioning as adverbs.

10.1 *Demonstrative Adverbs*

Following are the forms of the near demonstrative adverb ‘here’:

Here: *bun / boh*

To here: *əl-yóh*

From here: *mən bún / əm-bóh / əm-bún*

Some illustrative examples with ‘here’ from the texts are:

nha zəhān bun ar hér ósétən ‘we came here only for our livestock’
(15:3)

əl téréd iyélék bun lə ‘do not bring your camels down here!’ (25:2)

kə het bun ‘why are you here?’ (30:21)

əl əkódar l-óskəf bun lə ‘I cannot stay here’ (60:3)

šink geyg ēle bun ‘I saw a man here earlier’ (60:42)

a’íšék boh ‘your dinner is here’ (54:23)

nkó’ əl-yóh ‘come here!’ (17:30)

kbéb əl-yóh ‘come down here!’ (25:18)

yədləf mən bün ‘they used to jump from here’ (48:18)

zəhámk əm-bóh ‘I came from here’ (42b: 10)

ɔ(l) l-əšxanút lə əm-bún ‘I am not coming out from here’ (AM1:3)

he boh, səl-tə ‘I am here, wait for me!’ (AM1:6)

According to *JL* (s.v. *bw*), *bun* means ‘exactly here’, while *boh* means ‘hereabouts’. However, there are examples of *boh* in the texts in which ‘exactly here’ makes more sense (e.g., 54:23; AM1:6; Pr171), so the distinction made in *JL* is suspect. At least one younger informant claimed not to recognize the shorter form.

The demonstrative adverb *bun* can occasionally be used in an existential way, as in:¹

bun ‘*ōr šxarét taǰǰrəb kəl šé* ‘here they said there is old woman [or: there is, they said, an old woman here] who knows everything’ (38:7)
būn gənni ‘ak ša‘b dīnu ‘there is a jinn here in this valley’ (54:16)

The numerous words for the far demonstrative adverb ‘there’ are rather complicated, as there seems to be dialectal factors governing the use of at least some of these words. The texts have only *lšhun* (or *əlšhun*) and *lškun*, the former about nine times, and the latter about five times. Some examples are:

éšələk lškūn ‘I arrived there’ (31:1)
aǰād bə-kél‘əs lškūn ‘he went away and left her there’ (36:18)
aǰād mən lškūn ‘they went from there’ (TJ4:87)
škafšt lšhun ‘she stayed there’ (AM1:3)
əlšhun tīt šen ‘we had one there’ (AK2:1)
aǰād mən lšhūn ‘he went from there’ (TJ4:9)

The words *lən*, *lšhun*, *əlšhun*, *lškun*, *elškun*, *əlššhun*, and *əlšák* are all in *JL*.² It seems doubtful that any one speaker makes free use of seven different words for ‘there’. Among my own informants I heard *əlšhun* (cf. AK2:1), *əlššhun*, and *əlšák*. As far as any special forms used when indicating motion to or from, there is *mən lək* ‘from there’ (*JL*, s.v. *lk*), but combinations with one of the above words are also possible, and perhaps even more usual (e.g., *mən əlšák*). It is worth pointing out that the forms (*e*)*lšhun* and (*e*)*lškun* correspond to the two sets of far demonstratives (ms *ǰšhun* and *ǰškun*; see § 3.4).

¹ It is possible that *boh* can also be used in this way. An example may be *boh eš‘éhr* (AM1:1), but it is not clear whether to translate this ‘here are gazelles’ (used in a deictic sense) or ‘there are gazelles here’ (used in an existential sense).

² See *JL*, s.v. ‘*lhn*, ‘*lkn*, *l*, *lhn*, *lšhn*, *lkn*, *lšk*, and *ln*.

10.2 *Adverbs of Place*

*b-eġar**b**ét* ‘abroad’

*d-ħá**k**él* ‘inside’ (on the meaning ‘north’, see the comment to text 33:3)

*ħá**đ**é* ‘uphill; upwards, above, upstairs’ (also (*đ*)*đé*; see the comments to texts 51:5 and TJ4:85)

(*mən*) *mésá* ‘downstream; to the south’

*xun**t*** (*mən*) ‘outside (of)’ (directional or locational)

aġá(*l*) ‘downwards, downhill (directional)’; *b-aġá*(*l*) ‘downstairs; below’ (see the comment to text 40:4)

kəl mukún (or *kəl mən**z**él*) ‘everywhere’

10.3 *Adverbs of Time*

*axar**é**t* ‘then’

*ē**l**e* ‘earlier, a little while ago, a few minutes ago’

*ber**h**ón* ‘last year’

*d-onú**t*** ‘next year’

*fón**ə*** ‘earlier, previously (remote)’

*fnē**r**hón* ‘year before last’ (< *fné* + *berhón*)³

*fnēfnē**r**hón* ‘3 years ago’⁴

*fnē**n**hín**ə**m* ‘night before last’ (< *fné* + *mənhín**ə**m*)

*fnē-fnē**n**hín**ə**m* ‘three nights ago’

*f**n**ém**š**ín* ‘the day before yesterday’ (< *fné* + *ə**m**šín*)

*ġas**r**e* ‘at night’ (after sunset, so later than *kəl’**é**ni*)

*k-ħá**š**a**f*** ‘in the morning’

*kəl’**é**ni* ‘in the evening’ (usually before sunset)

*ķ**é**r**í**b* ‘soon’

*ķ**ə**r**é**r**e*** ‘tomorrow’

*əl-’**é**ni* ‘tonight’

*mġ**ó**r**e*** ‘then, later’

*mən đ**í**r**š*** ‘afterwards’

*mən**h**ín**ə**m* ‘last night’

*ə**m**š**í**n* ‘yesterday’

*nh**é**r**e*** ‘at midday; in the afternoon’

³ One informant felt that this could also have a more approximate meaning ‘2–3 years ago’.

⁴ One informant felt that this could also have a more approximate meaning ‘3–4 years ago’.

náʃanu (or *náʃanu*) ‘now’⁵
sóbər ‘always’
síkun ‘at that time’ (see the comment to Anon1:4)
 (ə)*šhér*/(ə)*šhór* ‘today’⁶
xatarét ‘once’

10.4 *Adverbs of Manner*

físá ‘quickly’
fáxrə ‘together’
l-ór.xrér ‘slowly’
ťóhun, *ləťóhun*, *leťóhun* ‘thus, like that’
ťókun, *ləťókun*, *leťókun* ‘thus, like that’
ťénu ‘thus, like this’

The forms *ťénu*, *ťóhun*, and *ťókun* are obviously parallel in form to the demonstrative pronouns *ďénu*, *ďóhun*, and *ďókun* (§ 3.4). The following examples make it clear that these three adverbs can be used in the same way:

šerk ťénu ‘do it this way’ (1:6)
her əl.šer.ókək.ťóhün lə, dħa-nə(l)tágək ‘if you don’t do thus, we’ll kill you’
 (30:24)
šérék ťókün erśót ‘the boys did thus’ (36:14)

On the word *taw* ‘well’, see the comment to text 97:31.

10.5 *Other Adverbs*

The adverb ‘very (much)’ is *bē*. It can be used in conjunction with adjectives, as in:

gabgót ərhīt bē ‘a very beautiful girl’ (SB1:1)
šə rīhm bē ‘he is very tall’ (SM)

Or it can have a meaning ‘very much’, used in conjunction with a verb or noun:

⁵ On this word, see Lonnet (2003).

⁶ *JL* (s.v. *šhr*) has only *šhor*, which is a CJ dialectal form. Both forms are listed in *ML* (s.v. *ymv*). Johnstone’s EJ texts only have *əšhér*. For some speakers, both forms are acceptable. Most of my informants (CJ, EJ, and WJ) used *əšhér*, although one CJ informant accepted only *əšhor*.

al-yāfīrāh bē l ‘they don’t celebrate very much’ (4:10)

al-ša’sōrs bē ‘I loved it very much’ (AK2:5)

he ġeyg d-ol bi hiēt bē l ‘I am a man who doesn’t have very much strength in him’ (38:2)

The word *bē* is cognate with Mehri *wīyān*. *JL* (s.v. *wyy*) lists a word *bġyyā* ‘enough’, but, as discussed in the comments to texts 4:10 and SB1:1, this is almost certainly the same word as *bē*.

The word ‘also, too’ is *zētā*(?), as in:

nha šen zētā’ alhūti ‘we too have cows’ (41:3)

kunūt ġabġōt arhūt zētā’ ‘there was also a beautiful girl’ (SB2:2)

elhūti al-hés iyél zētā ‘are the cows like camels too?’ (TJ2:63)

CHAPTER ELEVEN

INTERROGATIVES

The Jibbali interrogatives are as follows:

| | |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| <i>mun</i> | who? |
| <i>íné</i> | what? |
| <i>íné mən, ínēn</i> | which? what kind of? |
| <i>h-íné</i> | why? for what (purpose)? |
| <i>kə(h)</i> | why? |
| <i>ɣəl, ɣəh</i> | how? (in some contexts: what?) |
| <i>hun, húṭun</i> | where? |
| <i>mit</i> | when? |
| <i>mśé</i> | how many? how much? |

Each of these interrogatives will be treated in turn below.

11.1 *mun* ‘who?’

The interrogative ‘who?’ in Jibbali is *mun* (often pronounced *mũ(n)*; see § 2.1.8). When used as the subject of a verb, *mun* is followed by the relative pronoun *ε-/ð-* (§ 3.8.1). However, if the verb is in the future tense (§ 7.1.4), then the relative pronoun is suppressed. Some examples of its use are:

- het bər mūn* ‘whose son are you?’ (5:11)
mūn dħa-ɣstém ségódət ‘who will buy a carpet?’ (6:21)
mūn ḏénu ‘who is this?’ (13:12)
mun ε-ḏr hek tśérk řénu ‘who told you to do it that way?’ (1:4)
mūn ḏə-ágəb ɣástém héřít ḏə-dinú ‘who wants to buy a pregnancy berry?’ (6:27)
mun ε-śérék řénu? mun ε-létəğ egənní ‘who did this? Who killed the jinn?’ (54:34)
mun ε-ágəb ɣó(l)tğəš ‘who wants to kill him?’ (83:4)
təhérg kə-mūn ēlε ‘who were you speaking with earlier?’ (28:9)
mūn mən-kúm ḏə-ágəb ɣz ‘who among you wants a goat?’ (39:2)

In the next-to-last example above (28:9), we see that *mun* can be combined with a preposition. Also note from the last example above (and the last

example of the next set below) that it can be followed by the preposition *mən* plus a pronominal suffix to indicate a partitive.

The interrogative *mun* can also be used in indirect questions, for example:

əl h̄tunk lə m̄n̄n̄ ɛ-ʔr̄ h̄n̄i ‘I’m not sure who told me’ (8:10)
ʔgəb̄ yəx̄er̄hum, m̄n̄ m̄anh̄úm d̄h̄a-yít ‘he wanted to test them, (to see)
 which [lit. who] of them would eat’ (21:3)

11.2 *íné* ‘what?’

The interrogative *íné* ‘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. Examples are:

íné kun lek ‘what happened to you?’ (5:12)
íné biš ‘what’s (the matter) with you?’ (6:8)
íné əl-šérk hes ‘what should I do for her?’ (6:8)
íné h̄a-(t)z̄i-tə ‘what will you give me?’ (13:7)
íné yōšalən tə t̄l̄l̄s ‘what will lead me to her?’ (30:14)
íné h̄ógtək bun ‘what’s your business here?’ (30:18)
íné t̄ʔr̄ t̄m̄ her eḳahwét ‘what (word) do you say for (drinking) coffee?’
 (34:11)
íné ʔak (t)šérk ‘what do you want to do?’ (57:7)
šiš íné ʔək ērík b-əšəf̄erít ‘what do you have in the pitcher and the pot?’
 (60:45)
íné un eyó h̄a-ya-mór ‘what then [or: indeed] will people say?’ (SB2:7)
talót̄mas b-íné ‘with what do you strike it out?’ (55:2)
egéf̄ún siéb íné ‘the dummy-calf is because of what?’ (TJ2:64)

The last two examples show that the interrogative *íné* can be combined with prepositions, though on the combination *h-íné*, see § 11.4. When combined with the preposition *mən* (§ 8.18) or the conjunction *mən* (§ 12.1.4), the result is the contracted form *mənné*, as in:

mənné iz̄énu yəkín ‘what do these come from?’ (TJ2:120)
təḳōž mənné ‘are you herding (them), or what?’ (AK4:9)

Interrogative *íné* can also be used in indirect questions, as in:

əl éda ʔíné yəšérk lə ‘he didn’t know what to do’ (30:1)
əl édʔak íné kun lə ‘I didn’t know what had happened’ (31:4)
he kəlót̄k hek íné (t)šérk her xafk ‘I told you what to do for your foot’
 (52:9)

11.3 *íné mən, ínēn* ‘which? what kind of?’

The interrogative *íné* ‘what’ (§ 11.2) is combined with the preposition *mən* ‘from’ (§ 8.18) to express ‘which?’ or ‘what kind of?’, a meaning also often carried by English ‘what?’. As in Mehri (Rubin 2010: 228), the element *mən* can be separated from *íné*, though this is rare. Examples are:

íné mən náhag ‘what kind of game?’ (17:24)

íné mən ġeyg a’ásərs ‘what kind of man is your husband?’ (30:17)

het íné mən ġeyg ‘what kind of man are you?’ (33:4)

íné mən gólē’ bek ‘what kind of illness do you have?’ (38:5)

b-íné het šek mən hógat təǵád k-əǵéyg ‘what need do you have to go with the man?’ (28:13)

In contemporary fast speech, *íné mən* is usually contracted to *ínēn*, as in:

təhérg ínēn ləǵwát ‘which languages do you speak?’ (SM)

Hofstede (1997: 95) gives the sentence *tsókən b-íné ħallét* ‘in which town do you live?’ (she also gives the variant word order *b-íné ħallét tsókən*), but almost certainly she heard *b-ínēn* and not *b-íné*.

11.4 *h-íné* ‘why? for what?’

For the interrogative ‘why?’ in the restricted sense of ‘for what purpose?’, Jibbali uses the phrase *h-íné*, literally ‘for what?’. The element *h-* is a reduced form of the preposition *her* (§ 8.11), the same reduced form that is used in conjunction with pronominal suffixes.

h-íné zəḥámk tūn ‘why have you come to us?’ (30:23)

ōr heš, “... *éǵmər tɔ beš*.” *ōr*, “*h-íné?*” *ōr ébréš*, “*aḵ l-əštík*.” he said to him, “... show it to me.” He said, “For what?” His son said, “I want to drink (it)” (35:7–8)

h-íné l-əzémš ‘why should I give him (a camel)?’ (49:32)

ōrót heš, “*zē-tɔ éšérk*.” *ōr heš*, “*h-íné?*” *ōrót*, “*l-əǵbéb amḵəš*.” ‘she said to him, “Give me your turban.” He said, “For what?” She said, “So I can defecate in it” (97:38)

In Mehri, the interrogative *hēsən* ‘what?’ appears to sometimes have the meaning ‘why?’. No doubt, this is underlyingly *h-hēsən*—a construction exactly parallel to Jibbali *h-íné*—which is realized as *hēsən* due to a regular sound rule in Mehri.¹

¹ In my Mehri grammar (Rubin 2010: 227–228), I neglected to mention that this use of

Once in the texts we also find the compound *l-íné*, which means ‘why?’ in the sense of ‘because of what?’:

ta‘mór l-íné ‘why, do you think [lit. say]?’ (TJ2:112)

See further on *l-íné* ‘because’ in §13.5.4.

11.5 *kə(h)* ‘why?’

Although the phrase *h-íné* can be used to mean ‘why?’ in some contexts (§11.4), the general and more common interrogative ‘why?’ is *kə(h)*. The word is normally pronounced *kəh* in isolation or before a vowel, but usually *kə* otherwise. It is often found used simply as a question by itself, for example in 25:9, 46:4, and 52:9. Of course, it can also be used in a verbal or non-verbal interrogative sentence, as in:

kəh he mišérd ‘why am I stupid?’ (1:10)

kəh əl dħa-(t)səł5-tə zeyd lə ‘why won’t you wait for me any longer?’
(3:10)

kə hət tək ‘why are you crying?’ (49:28)

kə hit būn ‘why are you here?’ (54:15)

kə hət əl šfəkək lə ‘why haven’t you gotten married?’ (97:2)

And it can also be used in conjunction with another question:

kəh, yəl ʔr hek ‘why, what did they say to you?’ (28:3)

kəh, əl sé mosé lə ‘why, isn’t there any rain?’ (32:7)

kəh, müt šfəkək ‘why, when did you get married?’ (32:9)

kəh, šā‘k təs hergót sé ‘why, did you hear her say something?’ (60:17)

The interrogative *kə(h)* is also used in conjunction with the second person pronouns in contracted form. We find:

kət < kə hət

kóit or *kit < kə hit*

kótum or *kötüm < kə tum*

kótən or *kotēn < kə tən*

These contracted compound forms are very common in contemporary Jibbali. Examples are:

hēsən probably derived from *h-hēsən*, nor did I mention the Jibbali parallel. On the sound rule by which Mehri *h-* is not realized before another *h* (or *ħ*), see Rubin (2010: 16–17).

ket də-ǰótéðk ... ket sémk eyát ‘why are you angry? ... Why did you sell the camel?’ (AK2:7)

The third person pronouns are also used in combination with *kə(h)*, when the following verb has a nominal subject, but the forms are not contracted. Examples with a third person pronoun are:

kə še embére’ ðə-yōk ‘why is the boy crying?’ (33:10)
kə šum aǰág izénu lóttəǰ ‘why did they, these men, kill each other?’ (22:19)

Finally, *kə* can also sometimes be used idiomatically with just an independent pronoun, meaning something like ‘what’s (the matter) with *X*?’:

kə het ‘what’s with you?’ (35:6; 39:6)
kə tum ‘why are you (here) [or: what’s the matter with you]?’ (38:10)

11.6 *yəl, yəh* ‘how? what?’

The basic meaning of the interrogative *yəl*, and its common reduced form *yəh*, is ‘how?’. The shift of the final *-l* to *-h* is based on the tendency described in § 2.1.8. The word is cognate with Mehri *hībō* and Soqotri *ifu(l)*; for the sound correspondences, we can compare Jibbali *yə* ‘people’ with Mehri *hābū* and Soqotri *é’efo* (var. *éfo*). Examples of its use are:

ar yəh əl-šérk ‘how should I do it then?’ (1:3)
yəl kisk enúf ‘how do you feel [lit. find yourself]?’ (40:15)
yəh títk ‘how is your wife?’ (97:50)

In conjunction with certain verbs, notably *ōr* ‘say’, *śíni* ‘see’, and sometimes *šérék* ‘do’, *yəl/yəh* is best translated into English as ‘what?’, for example:

yəl ōr hek ‘what did they say to you?’ (28:3)
təōr yəh ‘what do you say?’ (55:3)
yəh tsun ‘what do you think [lit. see]?’ (SB2:3)
yəl ənšérk ‘what should we do?’ (SB2:6)

Examples of *yəl/yəh* in an indirect question are:

əl éd’ak yəh əl-šérk lə ‘I don’t know what to do’ (41:2)
əl éda’n yəh ənšérk lə ‘we don’t know what to do’ (AM1:4)

11.7 *hun, húṭun* ‘where?’

The interrogative ‘where’ has both the shorter form *hun* and longer form *húṭun*. The shorter form, at least, can be used in either direct or indirect

questions and both can be combined with the preposition *mən* to express ‘from where, whence?’ and with *lə-* to express ‘to where? whither?’. Examples of the use of these two interrogatives are:

- hun se* ‘where is she?’ (18:9)
hun sink təš ‘where did you see it?’ (39:7)
hun a’iséi ‘where is my dinner?’ (54:22)
ar téti húṭūn ‘so where is my wife?’ (30:12)
kəh, het húṭūn ‘why, where have you been?’ (32:10)
ar ebrítš húṭun ‘so where is your daughter?’ (36:8)
húṭun ūtš ‘where is his house?’ (46:11)
éđt-ilín húṭūn ‘where is so-and-so?’ (60:16)
het mən hūn ‘where are you from?’ (5:7)
əl-hūn təgád ‘where would you go?’ (TJ4:6)
skəf də-yaḳōžən l-iyél lə-hūn dḥa-l-éblēn ‘he sat watching where the camels would head to’ (33:3)

The longer form *húṭun* derives from a combination of *hun* and *tšhun* ‘thus, like that’ (§10.4). We can compare the parallel form *hóh-ṭoh* ‘where?’ in Hobyot (*HV*, p. 276), where the second element clearly derives from *ṭoh* ‘thus, like that’ (*HV*, p. 273).² In *JL* (s.v. *htn*), the word is transcribed *húṭun*, but the Arabic-letter texts all have the glottalic *t*. Al-Shahri (2007: 79) records the WJ form *ḥaṭun*, corresponding to CJ and EJ *húṭun*.

11.8 *mit* ‘when?’

The Jibbali interrogative ‘when?’ is *mit*, which can be used in both direct and indirect questions. Examples are:

- mit dḥa-(t)zḥōm tə* ‘when will you come back to me?’ (3:5)
mit ḥa-l-əšnék ‘when will I see you?’ (7:3)
kəh, mit šβkək ‘why, when did you get married?’ (32:9)
mən mit gélək ‘since when have you been sick?’ (40:3)
ed mit yaš’éd b-edún yóféš ‘by [lit. until] when should he promise [or: arrange] to pay the debt’ (TJ2:76)
mit ḥa-tḡád ε-ūn ‘when will you go to Oman?’ (*JL*, s.v. *myt*)
əl éd’ak mit dḥa-l-ḡád lə ‘I don’t know when I’ll go’ (SM)

² The Hobyot form is also transcribed in *HV* as *hoṭóh* (pp. 68 and 135), *hwoh ṭoh* (p. 155), and *hóh ṭoh* (p. 173).

Note the phrases *mən mīt* ‘since when?’ and *ed mit* ‘by when?’ in the examples from 40:3 and TJ2:76, respectively. On the use of *mit* to introduce a temporal subordinate clause, see § 13.5.3.1. On the use of *yum* ‘when’ in indirect questions, see § 13.5.3.7.

11.9 *mśé* ‘how many? how much?’

Jibbali *mśé* is used for the question ‘how many?’ or ‘how much?’. It can be used on its own or combined with a plural noun. The question ‘(for) how much?’, when used with regard to money or some other exchange, is *bə-mśé*. Examples are:

“bə-mśé?” ʔr taxtór. ʔr, “bə-giní tróh” ‘“how much?” said the doctor. He said, “Two guineas”’ (52:8)

mśé ēm ‘how many days?’ (TJ2:44)

ħólt ǰə-ád, bə-mśé takín se ‘a load of sardines, how much does it cost?’ (TJ2:82)

a-t-síms bə-mśé ‘how much will you sell it for?’ (AK2:3)

mśé inét ‘how many women?’ (JL, s.v. *mśy*)

šek mśé kərǰš ‘how much money do you have?’ (SM)

šek mśé aǰóhék ‘how many brothers do you have?’ (SM)

éómraç mśé ‘how old are you?’ (lit. ‘your age is how much?’) (AK)

mśé éómər aǰák ‘how old is your brother?’ (AK)

sá’a mśé ‘what time is it?’ (AK)

Younger Jibbali speakers sometimes prefer *kəm* (from Arabic or Mehri) over *mśé*, though the latter is still widely used.

11.10 *ehún* ‘which one?’

The interrogative *ehún* means ‘which?’ only in the limited sense of ‘which one?’. It is usually followed by a partitive *mən* ‘of’. Examples are rare in the texts, and none are in direct questions. The attested passages are:

ehün mənší ǰə-ykín axér ‘which of them (two) is better off?’ (TJ2:100)

əl-ʔd éda’ ehün l, aǰabǰót iyéns mən embére’ iyéns ‘they didn’t know which one (they believed), (if) the girl was telling the truth or the boy was telling the truth’ (TJ4:71)

Two of my informants felt that *ehún* is related to the interrogative *hun* ‘where?’, and both used (or at least accepted) the form *ehútun* in place of *ehún*, obviously reminiscent of the variants *hun* and *hútun* ‘where?’ (§ 11.7). A third informant did not feel the two words to be related, and also did not

accept *ehúṭun*. It is possible that *ehún* is connected to *hun* ‘where’ only by folk etymology among some speakers, hence the longer variant *ehúṭun*. An example of its use in a direct question is:

ehún mənḥúm ‘ak ‘which one of them do you want?’ (AK)

11.11 *ɔl hẽ lo* ‘isn’t that so?’

In a few passages, we find the interrogative phrase *ɔl hẽ lo*, which acts as a tag question, equivalent to English ‘isn’t that so?’ or ‘no?’ (French *n’est-ce pas*). Examples are:

het dḥa-tǵád kərəre, ɔl hẽ lo ‘you’ll go tomorrow, won’t you?’ (3:1)
ḏə kun ‘ak əs’édhum, *het təkḏírən (t)šérk tǵhũn, ɔl hẽ lo* ‘if you had wanted to help them, you would have been able to do so, no?’ (42:10)
he zəḥámk bũn, ɔl hẽ lo ‘I came here, didn’t I?’ (52:11)

CHAPTER TWELVE

PARTICLES

12.1 *Coordinating Conjunctions*

Following is a list of the basic Jibbali coordinating conjunctions:

- b-* ‘and’
- fələkən* (vars. *wələkən*, *ləkən*) ‘but’
- (*mən*) *dun* ‘but’
- mən* ‘or’
- (*bə-)**fələs* ‘or; or else’
- mit* ‘or’

Each of these will be discussed in turn below. For subordinating conjunctions, see §13.4 and §13.5. The temporal conjunction *əd* ‘until’ sometimes corresponds in usage to the English coordinating conjunction ‘and’; see §13.5.3.4 for discussion and examples. On the use of the particle *ar* as a conjunction, see §12.5.4.

12.1.1 *b-* ‘and’

The most common conjunction in Jibbali is the coordinating particle *b-*, which derives from an earlier **w-* (see §2.1.5 on the sound change **w* > *b*). It is identical in shape, though not in origin, to the preposition *b-* (§8.6). Like the preposition, the conjunction is often followed by the epenthetic vowel *a*. In WJ, the conjunction is in fact still *w-*; this is one of the dialect’s most characteristic features (see text FB1 for examples).

The conjunction *b-* is used to join two elements within a clause, or to join two clauses. Examples of the former are:

- ǧeyg bə-tét* ‘a man and a woman’ (2:1)
- éb b-eníšan* ‘old and young [lit. the big and the small]’ (4:8)
- eréš b-ūb ḏ-εšférót* ‘the head and the heart of the bird’ (6:10)
- sótémən hūt bə-tūr bə-skér* ‘we bought food, dates, and sugar’ (16:2)
- əmbéré’ bə-ǧabǧót* ‘a boy and a girl’ (36:1)
- zūthum ‘isé bə-ḳahwét* ‘she gave them food and coffee’ (36:29)
- embéré’ háréd bə-xfíf* ‘the boy was strong and fast’ (54:2)

ǰeyg b-εbrēs ‘a man and his son’ (83:1)

And some examples of *b-* used to join two clauses are:

a’sésš, b-ɔl ‘aśśót l ‘they roused her, but she didn’t wake up’ (18:10)
he bek sé’ak bə-šfáhk ḏénu ‘I am already full, and I have this leftover’
 (21:7)

zūts éśáǰts b-aǰadót ‘then she gave him her jewelry and she went’ (22:5)
ntēh b-εnúf, b-ɔl taǰéfəl l ‘watch out for yourself and don’t be careless’
 (24:3)

búkək b-aǰádk ‘I cried and I went’ (53:12)
bə-žēṭ εrhūt bə-žūtás eūt bə-kéré xaṭśkés. bə-zīs xaṭśk mənħūm bə-šfók bes
 ‘and he took the pretty one, and he took her to the house and hid
 her clothes. And he gave her some (other) clothes and married her’
 (30:6)

As the last example illustrates, the conjunction *b-* is used more frequently within a narrative context than ‘and’ is used in English, even at the beginning of a sentence. Anyone reading the texts will quickly notice that *b-* is often used where it would be superfluous in English.

As with the preposition *b-*, if a word begins with *b*, then the conjunction *b-* is either suppressed, or is realized as an initial *ə-* (or *əb-*). The conjunction *b-* can occur, however, before an initial *m*. The fact that an initial *m-* is not elided indicates that the underlying form of the conjunction is a vowelless *b-*, rather than *bə-*. With the function words *mun* ‘who?’, *mit* ‘when?’, and *mən* ‘from’, the conjunction is realized *ə-* or *əm-* (see also § 2.1.4 and the comment to text 45:13); this is also found occasionally with nouns that have an initial *mə-* (e.g., 32:14).

On the sequence *ɔl ... b-ɔl* ‘neither ... nor’, see § 13.2.1.

12.1.2 *fələkən, wələkən, ləkən* ‘but’

The particle *fələkən* and its variants (*wələkən, ləkən*), which are clearly borrowed from Arabic, correspond to English ‘but’. In the texts, *fələkən* is the most frequent of these forms, but this seems to vary from speaker to speaker. Examples of its use are:

xudúmk xodūnt, wələkən āħśól ɔl hešóf l ‘I worked a little job, but the
 pay [lit. yield] was not good’ (8:4)

mor, fələkən šbər li ed k-ħaşaf ‘ok, but wait for me until the morning’
 (30:24)

šə mehri, fələkən šəkəni bə-žǰfəl ‘he was Mehri, but he was brought up
 in Dhofar’ (34:1)

altégənaš, fələkən əl 'ak l-ɔ(l)tğəš lə 'I would have killed him, but I didn't want to kill him' (42:8)

émínk biš, fələkən 'ágən nəgád 'I trust you, but we want to go' (60:38)

étəl biš ... ob, fələkən hogúlti hēt bə-hílás 'did he catch up to you? ... No, but my bracelet fell, and he picked it up' (97:30)

As with the conjunction *b-*, we sometimes find *fələkən* used in the texts at the beginning of a sentence where it seems superfluous in English (e.g., 2:10)

12.1.3 (*mən*) *dun* 'but'

The phrase *mən dún* is attested about a half dozen times in Johnstone's texts, where it is equivalent to the English preposition 'except' (see § 8.19). However, *mən dún* can also be used as a conjunction. Among some of my informants this was the preferred way to express 'but'. An informant gave the following sentence:

axédəm yum əl-ətnén, mən dún yum əl-ṭalātā' əl axédəm lə 'I work Monday, but I don't work Tuesday' (SM)

Hofstede also heard *mən dún* used this way during her fieldwork (1998: 127).

In text TJ4, there are a few of examples of simple *dun* used as a conjunction:

yəhérg lə, dun bass yə'ər ténu b-ídés 'he didn't speak, but he just said this with his hands' (TJ4:29)

ténúgəh k-hásaf bə-d-ʔd 'ak ěnzélš. dun haqt ɛ-zhámk, əkóss ber heg egdərét 'morning came and he was still in his place. But when I came out, I found him already wandering the land' (TJ4:50)

12.1.4 *mən* 'or'

As a simple coordinating conjunction, *mən* means 'or'. It can join single words (like nouns or adjectives) or whole phrases. Johnstone implies in *JL* (s.v. *mn*) that *mən* is only used in this way in questions, but this seems to be an overstatement. The fact is that 'or', by nature of its meaning, is used most often in questions, but the passage from 10:3 shows that *mən* can be used in a statement. Examples are:

het dḡa-tjád her hógtk mən dḡa-tjád túnḡag 'will you go for necessity or will you go to have fun?' (3:7)

'ak tɛ' ūb, mən 'ak tɛ' ɛr'ésš 'do you want to eat the heart, or do you want to eat the head?' (6:11)

ʿagk ʾrām aʾálét mən ʾak ʾrām elxét ‘do you want the upper road or the lower road?’ (6:13)

əl édʾak lə yəhóʾsəl sé mən lə ‘I didn’t know if he would get something or not’ (10:3)

yénhum mən bédé lek ‘are they telling the truth or did they lie about you?’ (24:1)

dha-(t)zē-tə mən lə ‘will you give me (some), or not?’ (53:5)

ʾak núʾsəb mən ʾak míh ‘do you want milk or water?’ (AK)

het ʾaméni mən yemáni ‘are you Omani or Yemeni?’ (MmS)

On the preposition *mən* ‘from’, which is no doubt the source of the conjunction, see § 8.18. It is not always clear whether *mən* should be analyzed as ‘from’ or ‘or’, for example:

he dha-l-ézhər iyén mən ēde ‘I will show him the truth or the lie’ (24:2)
(or perhaps: ‘the truth from the lie’)

On *mən* used as a quantifier, see § 5.5.2, and as a negative marker, see § 13.2.7.

12.1.5 (*bə*-)fəl ‘or; or else’

The conjunction *bə-flə*, is also used, like *mən*, to express ‘or’. While *mən* is more common in questions, *bə-flə* is more common in statements. The shorter form *fəl*, without the conjunction *b-*, is also attested with the meaning ‘or’, mainly in questions.¹ Examples are:

aʾanés ʾerótub kaʾéb bə-flə ʾenúðef ʾenzél ‘its meaning is “clean things” or “tidy up the place”’ (34:4)

īs bə-flə aǵás ‘her father or her brother’ (45:17)

ǵad yəl üt ε-kēr, yəzémk ʾisé bə-flə yó(l)tǵək ‘go to the house of the sheikh, so he can give you (food) or kill you’ (46:9)

kəlít hūni her dé əl-hés he bə-flə axér ʾáni ‘tell me if anyone is like me or better than me’ (54:3)

alót məs bə-ʾárfét bə-flə bə-rət ‘I strike it with a palm-leaf or a lung’ (55:2)

aʾisórék fəl sé ‘(are they) your friends or something?’ (60:32)

šuk sé aǵóhék fəl aǵatéték ‘do you have any brothers or sisters?’ (SM)

kəlét hūni her də-yxédəm bə-ün fəl b-il-yémen ‘tell me if he works in Oman or Yemen’ (AK)²

¹ The passage from 60:32 contradicts the assertion by Hofstede (1998: 99, 128) that only *mən* can be used in yes-or-no questions.

² This informant also felt that *mən* could be used in this sentence, with no difference in meaning.

More often, *bə-fló* has the meaning ‘or else’, in which case it typically follows an imperative statement, and precedes some sort of threat or warning. Examples are:

- lézəm təhmól, bə-fló ha-l-‘étəfb-érúnókum* ‘you must move, or else I will stampede your goats’ (15:4)
kəlít híni b-iyēn, bə-fló dḥa-l-ó(l)tǵ enúf ‘tell me the truth, or else I will kill myself!’ (30:13)
edór, bə-fló dḥa-nə(l)tágək ‘go back, or else we’ll kill you’ (30:23)
malés bə-ršés bes, bə-fló ēšḥál kéréib ‘fill it and press it down, or else the chameleon is nearby’ (53:7)
šəl iyénk, bə-fló ol tšóləḥ šen lə ‘finish your portion, or else you are not fit [to go] with us’ (54:9)
kəl ‘ásər yə‘ásín ġabǵót bə-mahfér ḏə-xóbz, bə-fló yəḥésər ḥallét ‘every night they give [him] a girl and a basket of bread for dinner, or else he will destroy the town’ (54:16)

We also find *bə-fló ... bə-fló* used like English ‘either ... or’, as in:

- bə-fló talótəǵ tə bə-fló tózəm tə tėti* ‘either you’ll kill me or give me my wife’ (30:23)
bə-fló dḥa-tūz təmbéko bə-fló bə-ǵililt ‘you’ll smoke either tobacco or bullets’ (60:26)

The particle *fəló* can also have the sense of ‘perhaps’, used in both interrogative and declarative phrases. See § 12.5.8 for examples of this usage.

12.1.6 *miṭ* and *ya* ‘or’

The word *miṭ* has the meaning ‘or’, but it is not used in the same way as *mən* or *bə-fló* ‘or’. Rather, it is used only to convey uncertainty. Consider the following example, the only such example from the texts:

- ḥakt ēr heš yum miṭ yū trut, ‘ōr hes* ‘after a day or two, he said to her...’
 (TJ4:12)

In the above passage, the narrator of the story is unsure whether one or two days has passed. Consider another example, heard from an informant:

- amsélm miṭ áḥmad ‘ōr híni, ol fáṭnək lə* ‘Musallam or Ahmed told me, I don’t remember’ (MQ)

On the phrase *miṭ-íné*, ‘some kind of’ or ‘some(thing) or other’, see § 5.5.7.

Used in the same way as *miṭ* is *ya*, which can probably be considered an Arabism. There is just one example in the texts:

yérd beš 'ak gahrér ya gār 'he threw it in a valley or in a pit' (Anon1:5)

In this passage, the narrator is unsure how properly to identify the place where the object was thrown, and so he uses *ya*.

12.2 Exclamations

There are numerous exclamatory particles used in Jibbali. Examples of these are:

| | |
|---|---|
| <i>bélé</i> 'even so!' (see §13.4.3) | <i>mor</i> 'ok!' (see §12.2.1) |
| <i>bass</i> 'enough! that's all!' | (<i>ya</i>) <i>hay b-</i> 'welcome!' (followed by suffix or noun) |
| <i>bass mən X</i> 'enough of X!' | <i>ya rét</i> (+ subj.) 'would that! I wish!' |
| <i>ǧadú</i> 'let's go!' (see §12.5.9) | <i>yəx</i> 'ugh!' |
| <i>hes-tó</i> 'ok!' | |
| <i>hiškík</i> (f. <i>hiškís</i> , pl. <i>hiškókum</i>) 'don't be scared!; it's ok!' | |

Some of these can probably be considered Arabisms, like *bass*, *ya hay b-*, and *ya rét*. No doubt other such Arabic words are used by Jibbali speakers. Other exclamations are hard to translate, as they are rather culture specific. For example, upon seeing an adorable child, a speaker might say *yō-yō*'.

Note also the exclamatory particle *ya*, as in:

| |
|---|
| <i>y-ēmí, y-ēmí</i> 'Oh my mother, my mother!' (18:13) |
| <i>y-ēkahfi, y-ēkahfi</i> 'Oh my pot, my pot!' (23:8) |
| <i>ya xēt bə-ya fəzḥát</i> 'what a loss and what a disaster!' (SB2:7) |

12.2.1 'Yes' and 'No'

The normal word for 'yes' in Jibbali is *ēhē*. The word *mor* (or its longer form *móǧór*) means something like 'fine, ok', and often substitutes for a simple 'yes'.

For 'no', there are several attested words. One is *ob*, which is used about a dozen times in the texts as a simple 'no' (e.g., 3:8; 60:34; 97:30). Once (39:8) it is used to correct a negative sentence (like French *si*). The word *lob* is found in the texts only once (32:11), where it is correcting a negative sentence. No doubt *ob* and *lob* are etymologically related. Four times in the texts (8:7; 25:9; 25:10; AM1:3) we find the compound *ob-lób*, including once to correct a negative (8:7). *JL* (s.v. *lwb*) also gives the compound *lob-lób*. It is not clear if *lob* or *lob-lób* can be used in response to a positive question. By far the most common negative interjection in the texts is *ábdan* 'no, by no means, never!', which is borrowed from Arabic *abadan*. Also commonly used in Jibbali is the

Arabic form *lε*;³ the Jibbali cognate *l* is not used as an interjection. We also find once in the texts *bə-hó* ‘no way, by no means’ (8:12).

12.3 Vocatives

The vocative particle in Jibbali is *ε*, for example:

ε ī, šfək ‘Father, get married!’ (6:3)

ε be, ḏókūn tɛlg ‘Father, that is ice’ (35:7)

ε derwíš, ‘ak talhōm k-ajág ‘hey dervish, do you want to jump up with the (other) men?’ (54:41)

ε ḏénu, ε ḏen ejéyy, yoh tsun ‘O this one, O this man [i.e., so-and-so], what do you think [lit. how do you see]?’ (SB2:3)

ε ‘úzərək ben, išérd ‘you have annoyed us, crazy man’ (46:9)

Note the special form *bε* ‘father, Dad’ that is sometimes used with the vocative (e.g., 35:7), and whose meaning is equivalent to *ī* when used as a form of address. In the last example (46:9), it looks like the vocative *ε* has triggered loss of the initial *m* (**ε mišérd* > *išérd*), though it is possible that *išérd* is just the noun with the definite article (**εmišérd* > *išérd*); see also the comment to TJ4:34. The second-to-last example (SB2:3) makes clear that the vocative *ε* is not simply the definite article, since the demonstrative *ḏénu* cannot take the article.³

The Arabic vocative particle *ya* is found once in the texts, and this can be considered an Arabism:

ya ségódət, frír bi yəl eūt ε-ī ‘O Carpet, fly me to my father’s house!’ (6:24)⁴

On *ya* used as an exclamatory particle, see §12.2.

In several places, when used with a kinship term, which naturally has a possessive suffix (§13.3.1.1), it appears that the vocative particle is missing. In fact, it has been assimilated to a following definite article. This can be likened to the suppression of the genitive exponent *ε-* before a following definite article (see §12.4).

ají, smaḥ li ‘brother, forgive me!’ (34:13)

ajáti, anṭír míní ‘sister, untie me!’ (17:29)

ébrí, he bek ‘ók hek ‘my son, I already told you’ (17:53)

³ I actually have heard one or two speakers use *ḏénu* with the article, when used as an attributive following a noun, but possibly in error.

⁴ See the comment to this passage in the texts.

12.4 Genitive Exponent ε -/ δ - ('of')

The genitive exponent in Jibbali, corresponding to English 'of', has the form ε - or δ -. Both are prefixed to the noun, and δ - often has the helping vowel a . The genitive exponent ε -/ δ - is, with few exceptions (see § 4.6), the only way to express a genitive relationship between two nouns. (On pronominal possession, see § 3.2.1.) The nouns preceding and following the genitive exponent can be either definite or indefinite. Examples are:

- εbré δα-dísós* 'the son of a snake' (25:17)
εbrít δα-sutún 'the Sultan's daughter' (6:22)
εsfδα-tét 'a [or: the] description of the woman' (2:13)
í δα-tét 'the father of the woman' (7:5)
kēr δ-εkilt 'the sheikh of the tribe' (46:10)
a'ámk δ-erémram 'the middle of the sea' (6:22)
ínét ε-hallét kel 'all the women of the town' (30:11)
ūt ε-kēr 'the house of the sheikh' (46:9)
εžgárér ε-šótər 'the squealing of the (goat) kid' (49:8)
musá'adat ε-təxtór '(the) help of the [or: a] doctor' (52:1)
šekən ε-títš 'his wife's community' (60:1)
εbré ε-hókum ε-hallét δihün 'the son of the ruler of that town' (17:15)

The forms ε - and δ - seem to be totally interchangeable. For example, we find in a single text both *εbré δα-hókum* (97:13) and *εbré ε-hókum* (97:15) for 'the ruler's son'; likewise *serf ε-ūt* and *serf δ-ūt* for 'side of the house' (both in 6:32). And as evident from the last example above (17:15), a string of multiple genitives is possible.

When ε - comes before a noun with the definite article, it is usually suppressed. The result is that the genitive phrase looks deceptively like a classical Semitic construct phrase (§ 4.6), especially when the first noun has no definite article:

- a'ámk ərəm* 'the middle of the journey' (2:1)
agá agéyg 'the brother of the man' (15:15)
xɔ edehlél 'the mouth of the cave' (22:2)
eréš egənní 'the jinn's head' (54:31)
šegót embéε 'the bravery of the boy' (83:7)
í ajabgót 'the father of the girl' (SB1:2)

Examples where ε - appears before the article can be found in 4:2 and 17:46. In both cases the word begins with a guttural, which may be relevant.

Like English 'of' and similar particles in other languages, the Jibbali genitive exponent can also be used to indicate the materials from which some-

thing is made, to describe the contents of something, or to specify the particular type of something. Examples are:

məktér ð-iršóβ ‘a caravan of camels’ (22:9)

finžún ðə-ħálh ‘a cup of oil’ (30:24)

ḵálo ðə-núsəβ ‘a bucket of milk’ (33:6)

egunét ðə-ħít ‘the sack of grain’ (51:19)

gunét ðə-bóhr ‘a sack of grain’ (97:6)

ḡarórt ðə-díréħəm bə-ḡarórt ð-išīn ‘a bag of money and a bag of scorpions’ (97:11)

mut gúni ðə-‘álaf ‘a hundred bags of feed’ (AK1:4)

As discussed in § 5.1, an adjective modifying the first member of a genitive phrase 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:

əbrít ðə-bāl ešód ũm ‘the old(er) [lit. big] daughter of the fisherman’ (97:33)

əbré e-ħókum eníšan ‘the young(er) [lit. small] son of the ruler’ (97:46)

In the first example above (97:33), the adjective *ũm* ‘big’ is feminine, and so must modify *əbrít* ‘the daughter’. In the second example (97:46), *eníšan* ‘small’ is masculine, and so it could modify either noun. In the appropriate context, the phrase could mean ‘the son of the young(er) ruler’

On the use of the genitive exponent *ð-* following certain numbers, see § 9.1.4 and § 9.1.5.

12.5 *Miscellaneous Particles*

12.5.1 *ámma*

The particle *ámma* has the meaning ‘(but) as for’, and is used to stress a contrasting or new subject. It occurs only about a half dozen times in Johnstone’s Jibbali texts.⁵ Examples are:

ámma iyél b-érún, ol yóžəmsən ‘ad lə ‘As for the camels and the goats, they don’t give them sardines’ (9:7)

⁵ The particle *ámma* occurs far more frequently, about two dozen times, in Johnstone’s Mehri texts, but nearly all of these occur in stories that have no Jibbali parallels.

ámma ajabgót tásókf ðer emih, b-embére' yabgód yagélk her es'áyhr 'as for the girl, she would stay by the water, and the boy would go out to look for gazelles' (17:13)

w-ámma bāl érún, hes izók antōh, eród érunēs ed erbé 'as for the goat-herder, when [or: while] those guys fought, he brought his goats to the water and let (them) drink' (20:6)

Note that *ámma* can also be used two (or more) times in sequence, to contrast two (or more) subjects, as in:

ámma érún b-iyél, 'ak xorfól tákínən bésən núsəb l. ámma elhúti tákínən bésən núsəb 'as for the goats and the camels, in the rainy season they don't have milk. As for the cows, they do have milk' (9:2)

12.5.2 *un*

In several passages in the texts, we find the particle *un*. Two of these passages are in Ali Musallam's texts, and the word is spelled and pronounced differently in the two passages. In the Arabic manuscript of the first passage (8:13), this word is spelled *ون* (*unh*); the consonant *n* is not heard on the audio, but the vowel is nasalized. In the second passage (38:9), the word is spelled *ون* (*un*), and on the audio the vowel is elided (and not nasalized). The passages are:

aftétün ũ(n) 'please remember!' (8:13)

gadú un 'let's go then!' (38:9) (pronounced [*gadún*'])

The particle seems to give some sense of urgency to the imperatives in these passages. The corresponding Mehri version of 8:13 (M57:13) has the rare particle *mō*, which seems to have the same function. A third example following an imperative—attested in the manuscript (spelled *وهن*), but absent from the audio—is in TJ5:1.

Another attested context is:

iné un eyó ha-ya'mór 'what then [or: indeed] will the people say?' (SB2:7)

Here the particle again adds very little, but likely has the sense of 'then' or 'indeed', a meaning which is also attested for Mehri *mō*. In the Arabic manuscript of this text (written by Salim Bakhit), the spelling is *ون* (*un*), and the *n* is clearly heard on the audio. The particle also occurs several times in text TJ4:

héróg šes əl-hálsən đókun un 'they spoke with him at that same time' (TJ4:45)

yāšəšəfē eyó b'él eširét mən tél embére' un, mən tél un ī eǵabǵót 'the people, the inhabitants of the town where the boy was, where the girl's father was, heard the news' (TJ4:76)

In TJ4:45, Ali Musallam (who transcribed this text into Arabic letters), spelled the particle *ون* (*un*), while in TJ4:76, he spelled it (twice) *وون* (*uun*). In both passages, the particle seems to have little semantic function, if any.

In *ML* (s.v. *m'*), it is suggested that the Jibbali cognates of Mehri *mō* are *mor* and *mǵǵar* (§12.2.1), but this seems very unlikely. It seems much more likely that *ū(n)* is the cognate of *mō*.

12.5.3 *ʿd*

The particle *ʿd* is not to be confused with the compound *d-ʿd*. The latter has a different meaning than *ʿd*, and also behaves differently morphologically; therefore, it is treated elsewhere (§7.3). The negative *ɔl-ʿd* is more complicated, as it can be used as the negative of bare *ʿd* or *d-ʿd*, and so this is discussed mainly within the section on negation (§13.2.4).

There seem to be two basic uses of *ʿd*. First, it can have the meaning 'again'. This is encountered most frequently in negative sentences, but there are a few examples from positive sentences in the texts. Examples are:

he ber li məsəlūt her ʿd šink tək 'I already have a sacrificial animal for if I saw you again' (13:10)

ɔl-ʿd kǵdǵr yəšéxənt lǵ 'he was not able to get out again' (22:2)

her ʿd bédé lek, kəlét hini 'if they lie about you again, tell me' (24:3)

her ʿd bédé li zəfét ēšǵarót, dǵa-l-šənáǵhum 'if they lie about me a second time, I will fight them' (24:4)

Note that the example from 24:4 includes the redundant *zəfét ēšǵarót* 'a second time [or: for the second time]'. Another adverbial phrase meaning 'again' (referring to a future context only) is *xaṭarét ε-tənká'* (lit. 'a/the time that will come'), as in *mit a-tézər ūn xaṭarét ε-tənká'* 'when will you visit Oman again?' (SM). See §13.2.4 for examples of *ʿd* meaning 'again' in negative contexts, along with further discussion.

In its second basic use, *ʿd*, in conjunction with a subjunctive form of *kun* 'be' plus another verb, has the meaning 'perhaps', 'might be', or 'could it be that'.⁶ There are about a half dozen examples from the texts, mainly introducing a question. Some are:

⁶ In my grammar of Mehri (Rubin 2010: 241–243), I did not recognize these constructions with *ʿd* (= Jibbali *ʿd*) plus a subjunctive of *kun*, which are less frequent in Johnstone's Mehri corpus. See further in Appendix D.

ʿd *yékən ar ðə-γōd* ‘perhaps it was someone who was lying [or: lies]’
(8:11)

ʿd *təkún látgəkum émi* ‘have you perhaps killed my mother?’ (18:13)

ʿd *təkún gébkum nxínúš* ‘have you perhaps defecated under it?’ (22:16)

ʿd *yékən gólē ʿngdərát* ‘it might be a supernatural illness’ (38:6)

ʿd *tékən šink egófék* ‘could it be you saw your shadow?’ (39:8)

agóhéš, ʿd yákin hóhum sé ‘her brothers, is there anything for them?’
(TJ2:28)

This construction serves as a way of getting into a past tense context the meaning of uncertainty that comes with a subjunctive (see §7.1.3).

Another occurrence of ʿd in a question may also have the meaning ‘perhaps’:

ʿd *ʿðər* ‘is there any excuse?’ (41:7)⁷

It may be, however, that the meaning here is ‘any at all’ (i.e., the positive counterpart to negative ʿl-ʿd ‘not at all’; see §13.2.4). Note that in response to this question in 41:7, we find negative ʿl-ʿd in 41:8. Another occurrence of ʿd meaning ‘at all’ is:

ʿd *yəðr hiš sé bə-fló sé* ‘does he do [lit. say] anything at all to you?’
(TJ4:50)

Sometimes the meaning of ʿd is not totally clear, as in:

her ʿd təkódər hini bə-ḥílt ‘if you can perhaps [or: again] (give) me credit’ (41:2)

In this passage, ʿd can make sense as ‘perhaps’, ‘again’, or ‘(any) at all’.

12.5.4 *ar*

The particle *ar* is quite common, and it has a variety of functions. The meanings listed in *JL* (s.v. *r*) are ‘only, just; about; unless, except; instead of’. This set of meanings is complicated by the fact that there is a preposition (*ʿar* ‘from; than’ (see §8.4), which should be kept distinct from the particle, at least synchronically. For the particle *ar*, I would assign four basic meanings: ‘only, just’, ‘except, but’, ‘really, indeed’, and ‘so’. There are also cases in which

⁷ This same question *ʿd ʿðər* appears in 83:6, where, in order to better fit the context of the story, I have translated ‘is there still (a chance for) a pardon?’. I could also have translated exactly as in 41:7.

ar seems to have little or no meaning at all. Each of the various uses of the particle *ar* will be dealt with in turn.

One common meaning of *ar* is ‘only, just’, in which case the clause is usually negated with *al*, but without a following *l* (cf. French *ne ... que*). Examples are:

- he al ši ar ðénu* ‘I only have this’ (21:5)
al-’ód ebké ar tuš ‘he left only (one) male goat’ (22:7)
al šeš ar múxbut taṭ ‘he only had one cartridge’ (25:8)
šēn al təbgódan ar bə-xaṭšókesən ‘they won’t go without [lit. will only go with] their clothes’ (30:4)
he al əššfók ar aǵág ‘I only marry men’ (46:4)
nḥa al súlmən ar ðénu ‘we have only this one left’ (51:10)
al šərókən ṭēl ‘ar her nənhág ‘we made music only in order to dance’ (Pr114)

It is also possible, though less common, to find *ar* meaning ‘only, just’ in a positive phrase, for example:

- nḥa zəḥān bun ar hér əšétən* ‘we came here only for our livestock’ (15:3)
he ar kallén ‘I am just a child’ (36:30)
he a’ágób ar bə-núsəb ‘I only liked milk’ (51:2)
ar sékəl ‘(it was) only a twin’ (49:9)
’ak ar bə-ḏín ‘I only want this one’ (TJ4:35)

There is no difference in meaning between this use of *ar* in positive or a negative sentence. Compare the following two passages from the same text:

- əthúmk tə šink ar eǵófi mənḥínəm* ‘I think maybe I only saw my shadow last night’ (39:10)
he al šink ar eǵófi mənḥínəm ‘I only saw my shadow last night’ (39:12)

Related to the use of *ar* meaning ‘only’ in a negative phrase, *ar* can also function as a pseudo-preposition meaning ‘except’ or ‘but’ in a negative sentence. However, unlike when *ar* means ‘only, just’ in a negative sentence, when it means ‘except, but’, we find the double negators *al ... l*, instead of just *al*. Examples are:

- al šēn ǵag l ar ənḥa ínét* ‘we have no one but us women’ (13:3)
a’élí al šóhum dé l ar he ‘my family has no one but me’ (13:18)
al ədūrən l ar biš ‘I will not go back without [lit. except with] you’ (30:21)
al xələf éléd l ar aǵabǵót ḏíkun ‘he had left behind no children except that girl’ (46:1)

ɔl dé yənúfa'k lɔ ar ɔšétk 'no one will be of use to you except your livestock' (57:7)

There is clearly semantic overlap between *ar* meaning 'only, just' and *ar* meaning 'except, but'. For example, the above sentence from 21:5, *he ɔl ši ar ɔšénu*, translates as 'I have only this', but this is semantically the same as 'I don't have anything except this'. Similarly, *sēn ɔl təbǵódən ar bə-xatǵóksən* could be either 'they will only go with their clothes' or 'they won't go except with their clothes' (30:4). And *ɔl šən ǵag lɔ ar ənhə ínét* (13:3) could be 'we have no one but us women' or 'we have no men, only us women'. So while English makes this distinction between the adverbs 'only, just' and the prepositions 'except, but', the distinction in Jibbali is blurred. What is clear is that *ar* (with these meanings) is grammatically not a preposition in Jibbali. This is proven by the fact that it can be followed by an independent pronoun (e.g., 13:3) or by another preposition (e.g., 30:21).

The particle *ar* can also have a sort of emphatic meaning 'really, indeed', usually best left untranslated. This is found almost always in conjunction with a future tense, in contexts related to swearing or killing, for example:

dəxíl ar ɥa-(t)zím tɔ enúf... ar ɥa-l-zémk enúf 'swear you will really give yourself to me! ... I will really give myself to you' (2:3)
guzúm ar ɥa-yəhézzəs 'he swore he would kill her' (17:9)
kəl mənķūm ǵə-kérəb tɔ, ar dɥa-l-ɔ(l)tǵəš 'whoever of you that comes near me, I will kill him!' (25:20)
her aǵádk yɔl sēhm ǵɔkūn, ar dɥa-l-ɔ(l)tǵək 'if you go to that poison, I will kill you' (35:8)
her ɔl kólǵtš h́ni lɔ, ar dɥa-l-ɔ(l)tǵiš 'if you don't tell me, I will kill you' (46:5)

In combination with an interrogative, and used in clause-initial position, *ar* means something like English 'so...' or 'well...'. Examples are:

ar yɔh əl-šérk 'so how should I do it?' (1:3)
ar tétí húṭūn 'so where is my wife?' (30:12)
ar ebrítš húṭun 'so where is your daughter?' (36:8)
ar ínέ 'ak (t)šérk 'so what do you want to do?' (57:7)
ar kɔ het t́enu 'so why are you like this?' (TJ4:5)
ar yɔh 'how so?' (TJ3:27)

The particle *ar* is also used in conjunction with some other words. The most common combination is *ar her*, which functions as a subordinator 'unless'. Of course, this combination is literally 'except if' (on *her* 'if', see

§13.4.1), and we saw above that ‘except’ is one of the basic meanings of *ar*. Some examples are:

- al tə'ásés lə ar hér sītót bə-xətaróʔk troh* ‘she won’t wake up unless she is hit twice with a stick [or: with two sticks]’ (18:11)
al dé yəšénús yəšób məš ǵasré lə, ar hér kun ǵag mékən ‘no one dared get water from it at night, unless there were a lot of people’ (39:1)
al nəkénúm lə, ar hér dħa-(t)zħō-tun bə-kəsmét ‘we won’t collect fodder, unless you’ll bring us a gift’ (47:7)
al yəbǵód lə ar hér ‘áǵiš (t)zīmš yət ‘he won’t go unless you want to give him a camel’ (49:32)
al əkódar əl-ǵád lə ar hér mizk ‘I can’t go on unless I smoke’ (60:26)

Another combination is *tob ar*, which means something like ‘truly, indeed’, as in:

- tob ar fūrħək tun* ‘you have truly made us happy’ (8:13)
tob ar fītñək təš ‘I do indeed remember him’ (8:14)
tob ar ǵaró đénu ‘what words indeed!’ (28:11)
tob ar yénhum yə ‘indeed the people told the truth’ (46:12)
tob ar málézt embéré’ đénu ‘this boy is truly sickening’ (57:7)
tob ar šeš ǵənehét ‘he truly has coins!’ (TJ4:34)

The combination *kəlá’ ar* is attested twice, once (38:1) with the meaning ‘especially since’ or ‘given that’, and once (46:10) with an unclear function:

- śa’b al təkín mən ǵér dé lə, kəlá’ ar ēkət đénu bes erħamét* ‘the valley will not be without anyone, especially (since) at this time there is rain’ (38:1)
al yəkódar yó(l)tǵək lə? bə-šé ǵazé ɔrx troh bə-létaǵ kēr đ-ekilt, kəlá’ ar het ‘he can’t kill you? He raided two months and killed the sheikh of the tribe, so what about you?’ (46:10)

In a couple of passages, *ar* seems to function as a conjunction ‘only, but’:

- izóhün sabró, ar al ‘ak l-óklət hek lə* ‘those were ghosts, only I didn’t want to tell you’ (16:5)
he b-erž, ar al dé kəlót hini bə-šfóktək lə ‘I’ve been in the country, only no one told me about your marriage’ (32:11)

Finally, there are a few passages in the texts in which the function of *ar* is unclear.

12.5.5 *ebúbne*

The particle *ebúbne* occurs just twice in the texts (57:11; Tj5:8), and one of the passages is in a story that was translated from Mehri.⁸ Informants confirm, however, that this word is used in Jibbali, and so is not just a Mehrism in these texts. It means something like ‘please!’ or ‘I beg you!’, not used for a normal request (like ‘please pass the salt’), but for special encouragement, especially by a parent or other family member. It is usually followed by a form of address, like a proper name (preceded by *b-*) or a kinship term. Examples are:

ebúbne ébrí, šēn tō ‘please, my son, obey me!’ (57:11)
ebúbne bā-msélm ‘please, Musallam!’ (Mms)

12.5.6 *dek*

The particle *dek* means ‘be sure (not to)’ or ‘be careful (not to)’. It is used in negative contexts only, and is followed by *ɔl* plus a subjunctive verb. There is no following *lō* used in these negative constructions (cf. §13.2.2). Examples are:

dek ɔ(l) l-égrag ‘be careful not to be long’ (3:13)
dek ɔl təgád bā-tókala tō ‘be sure not to go and leave me’ (3:18)
dek ɔl tóklat her dé ‘be sure not to tell anyone’ (12:6)
dek ɔl (t)šēf ‘be careful not to fall asleep’ (30:2)
dek ɔl tósbəṭ eǵátk ‘be sure not to hit your sister’ (49:13)
dek ɔ(l) l-á’ásš ‘be careful not to wake him’ (50:2)

This particle *dek* is presumably the 2ms suffixed form of the preposition *ed* ‘to, until’ (§8.1), used, for example, in 7:1. So in its use as a particle meaning ‘be sure/careful (not to)’, we can also find the forms *deš* (fs), *dókum* (mp), and *dékən* (fp), for example *deš ɔl təfrík* ‘be careful not to be frightened’. The texts only contain examples of the masculine singular *dek*.

12.5.7 *dunk*

The particle *dunk* can be translated either as an imperative ‘take!’ or as a slightly more polite ‘you may have’. Historically it probably means ‘I have

⁸ Cf. Mehri *əbōb(nə)*, discussed in Rubin (2010: 248) and Watson (2012: 135). As noted in Appendix D, the one occurrence of *əbōbən* in Johnstone’s Mehri texts (M26:9) can be corrected to *əbōbnə*.

given', and is a frozen 1cs perfect.⁹ The preposition *b-* is required before the object. Just one example is found in the texts:

dunk b-ahkīti 'take [or: you may have] my kingdom' (54:43)

This can be used as a response to *ndóh* 'give me' (§12.5.16). In fact, the two are probably etymologically related, both deriving from the Semitic root *ntn/ndn* 'give'.

12.5.8 *fəló*

The particle (*bə-*)*fəló* meaning 'or; or else' was described in §12.1.5. The shorter form *fəló* can also be used with a different function, giving the sense of 'perhaps'. Examples from the texts are:

fəló 'agk taxédam tōlén 'do you perhaps want to work for us?' (5:8)

fəló šink ebrí 'did you perhaps see my son?' (8:5)

fəló akós dé yəmzéz 'perhaps I'll find someone who smokes' (60:25)

dḥa-taksé šáxər yəmzéz, bə-fló yézmək sé 'you'll find an old man who smokes, and perhaps he'll give you something' (60:30)

fəló akós šxarét 'perhaps I'll find an old woman' (AM1:5)

In a question (like the first two examples above), the translation 'perhaps' might be considered superfluous, in which case the particle *fəló* could conceivably be considered more like an interrogative marker (like Arabic *hal*).

12.5.9 *ǰadú*

The particle *ǰadú* has the meaning 'let's go!' or 'come on!'. It can be used by itself or with a following prepositional phrase. It can also be followed by a 1cp subjunctive, in which case it can be translated 'let's go and...!'. Some examples of its use are:

mor, ǰadú yəl yə 'ok, let's go to the people!' (1:9)

her 'ak, ǰadú 'if you want, let's go!' (12:2)

mor, ǰadú, dḥa-l-ešnék ī embére 'ok, come on, I'll show you the boy's father!' (18:8)

ǰadú nəšné 'let's go and see!' (22:16)

ǰadú əntbás 'let's go follow her!' (60:22)

ǰadú yəlš 'let's go to him!' (60:47)

⁹ In my Mehri grammar (Rubin 2010: 251), I analyzed the suffix on the Mehri equivalent *dawnək*, probably incorrectly, as a second person suffix.

The particle *ǰadú* is obviously connected with the verb *ǰǰád* ‘go’ (root *wǰd*). A particle *ǰadū* is used in Mehri (Watson 2012: 135), even though there is no corresponding verb root meaning ‘go’.¹⁰

12.5.10 *hūk*

The particle *hūk* means ‘here is/are!’, more or less equivalent to French *voici*. To a woman, one would say *hūš*, and to a group *hūkum* (m.) or *hūkən* (f.). Examples from the texts are:

hūk ešǰǰat ‘here is the jewelry’ (22:5)

hūk ḏénu ‘here is this (for you)’ (38:13)

hūk eǰenbít ‘here is the dagger’ (41:10)

hūk ektábínék ‘here are your books’ (52:8)

dḥa-l-zémk ēǰhúdi. hūk ‘I will give you my best effort. Here you are!’ (83:6)

The Mehri equivalent of this particle is *hāk*, which occurs just one time in Johnstone’s texts (M83:6 = J83:6), as an independent exclamation ‘here you are!’.¹¹ It is uncertain if Mehri *hāk* can be followed by a noun, as Jibbali *hūk* can. Unfortunately, the four examples of *hūk* followed by a noun above have no Mehri parallels among Johnstone’s texts.¹² It is also uncertain whether or not Jibbali *hūk* and Mehri *hāk* are etymologically related, though it seems reasonable to suggest that they may be; cf. also Arabic *hāka* (mp *hākum*) ‘here you are!’.

12.5.11 *kézúm*

The particle *kézúm*, which can be used in either verbal or non-verbal clauses, gives the sense of ‘used to’. In *JL* (s.v. *klm*), Johnstone suggested that it derives from *kəl yum* ‘every day’ (cf. also *HV*, pp. 258, 286). There is only one example from the texts. In 48:18, which was written by Ali Musallam,

¹⁰ But cf. Soqoṭri ‘od ‘go, walk’ (with ‘ < *ǰ). The use of this root for ‘go’ seems to be a lexical isogloss between Jibbali and Soqoṭri. The Mehri cognate of Jibbali *ǰǰád* ‘go’ is probably dialectal *ǰǰadū* ‘die’ (missing from *ML*, but cf. Watson 2012: 83), with the metathesized root *ǰǰdv*. This root is also the source of the Mehri cohortative particles *ǰǰadéwwən* and *ǰǰadéwki* ‘let’s go!’, which seem to be frozen 1cp and 1cd perfects, respectively, despite their unusual conjugation (Watson 2012: 96).

¹¹ In my Mehri grammar (Rubin 2010: 239), I listed *hāk* as an exclamation only, with no further comment. Watson (2012: 135) lists the Mehri feminine and plural forms.

¹² The story from which the first example (22:5) comes does have a Mehri parallel (text 3), but the passage itself has no parallel.

Ali gave the sentence: *ī b-īk ɛnfēt yədólaf mən būn ɛd 'aḵ ɛgahrér* 'my father and your father formerly would jump from here into the valley'. The Roman manuscript of this text includes many corrections based on an informant who spoke a CJ dialect. Among the corrections, we find that *ɛnfēt yədólaf* in the aforementioned passages was corrected to *kézúm yədólaf* 'used to jump'.¹³

Other examples of *kézúm* are:

šɛ kézúm háréd 'he used to be strong' (JL, s.v. *klm*)

kézúm d-ʕk nışán, əl-ra'á ɛrún 'when I was young, I used to herd the goats' (AK)

aǵéyg ðɛn kézúm feḵír, dun nášanu ber túžur 'this man used to be poor, but now he is rich' (Hofstede 1998: 153)

šerk hes het kézúm tšérʕk 'do as you used to do' (AdM)

het kézúm tšéf mékən, lékən nášanu bek txédəm mékən 'you used to sleep a lot, but now you work a lot' (Hofstede 1998: 153)¹⁴

kézúm l-əmzéz, bass nášanu əl l-əmzéz l 'I used to smoke, only now I don't smoke' (MQ)

We can compare the meaning of *kézúm* plus the imperfect, as in the last three examples above, with an imperfect in a sentence like *bə-sá'a xiš də-l-əmzéz* 'at 5:00, I was smoking' (MQ) or *hes kunk də-l-əmzéz, šíni tɔ* 'when I was smoking, he saw me' (MQ). The particle *kézúm* is not absolutely necessary, however, for an imperfect to have a past habitual sense like English 'used to', as discussed in § 7.1.2 (see the examples from texts 49:3 and 54:2).

12.5.12 *ḵetk*

The word *ḵetk* means something like 'I think' or 'maybe'. Its meaning is very close to (ə)*thumk* (§ 12.5.18), and likewise seems to be a frozen 1cs perfect. The particle—which we can really call a verb—is normally followed by a direct object pronoun *t-* (§ 3.3), which serves as the subject of the following complement clause, whether verbal or non-verbal. A verb in the complement clause can be perfect, future, or subjunctive. The word appears just once in the texts, but informants claim it is commonly used. Examples are:

¹³ Note also that the verb 'jump' is *dólif* in EJ, but *ðólif* in CJ, as noted also in JL (s.v. *dlf* and *ðlf*).

¹⁴ According to Hofstede (1998: 53–54), *fónə* 'formerly' can be substituted for *kézúm* in both of the sentences cited here from her work. In other sentences that she cites, *fónə* and *kézúm* are used in tandem.

ketk təš kərib ‘*əd les* ‘I think he was still close to her’ (TJ4:65)

ketk təš yağorbəš ‘maybe he knows him’ (SM)

ketk təš ağád amrika ‘I think he went to America’ (SM)

ketk təš a-yanká ‘I think maybe he’ll come’ (SM)

ketk təš tē nízún ‘maybe he has eaten ants’ (*JL*, s.v. *kt*)

kitk təš ‘*ógəz* ‘maybe he is lazy’ (Hofstede 1998: 109)

12.5.13 *lézəm*

The indeclinable particle *lézəm*, which many native speakers consider an Arabism (cf. Arabic *lāzim*) has the meaning ‘must’, ‘have to’, or ‘it is necessary that’. It is either followed by a subjunctive or, to indicate an explicit future or hypothetical, a future. Examples are:

lézəm təhmól ‘you must move’ (15:4)

lézəm əl-šnék ‘I must see you’ (17:8)

lézəm dé dha-yšəhékek ‘there must be someone who will answer you’ (38:1)

her ağádək l-əšnéš, lézəm dha-l-zémš ‘if I go to see him, I will have to give him (something)’ (52:4)

lézəm tókəla’ xaf dōhūn ‘ak mih gelól ... mǰóre’ lézəm tókəla’ sé dīrš ‘you will have to put that foot in hot water ... then you will have to put something on it’ (52:6–7)

12.5.14 *mkun*

The particle *mkun* occurs just a half dozen times in Johnstone’s texts, twice in conjunction with *xatarét* ‘once’ at the beginning of a story. It does not really add any special meaning, though we can translate *mkun xatarét* as ‘now once’. When followed by a noun or pronoun, it means something like ‘as for’. The particle *mkun* is optionally followed by *mən*, at least when there is a following noun. Some of the attested passages are:

mkun hé, ‘ak k-iyél ‘as for me, I want (to be) with the camels’ (47:2)

mkun mən kəb, ağád ed ‘ak ša’b ‘as for the wolf, he went into a valley’ (48:3)

mkun xatarét tit d-axáfən bə-xádər dōkūn ‘now once we were camped in that cave’ (49:1)

mkun xatarét edídi ağád də-yxétər ‘now once my uncle went traveling’ (53:1)

In one Roman manuscript of text 48, based on a later informant who spoke a different dialect (CJ), Johnstone changed *mkun* to *mānkūn*. In *JL* (s.v. *mn*), Johnstone also presents the particle as *mān kun*, and this longer form occurs once in one of his CJ texts:

mān kun mān izók, tenúz'an xaṭóḳésən 'as for them, they took off their clothes' (TJ4:27)

In one passage that has a Mehri parallel (49:1 = M89:1), *mkun* corresponds to Mehri *mākənnáy*. Text 48 (which uses *mkun* three times) also has a parallel Mehri version (albeit not an identical one), but there we find no equivalent of *mkun*.

12.5.15 *māskín*

The word *māskín* (< Arabic *miskīn* 'poor, miserable') can be an adjective or noun meaning 'poor (fellow)'. It can also be used idiomatically to mean 'I wish' or 'I hope' (usually implying an unlikely scenario), in which case it is followed by the relative pronoun *ε-/θ-*. The word does not occur in the texts, in either meaning, but there is an example in *JL*, and the word came up with multiple informants. The construction of the idiom is quite interesting. To say 'I hope to *X*', the relative is followed by a 3ms verb in the perfect. To say 'I hope *X* (does something)', then the relative is followed by a noun or pronoun, which is in turn followed by a verb in the perfect. Examples are:

māskín ε-šíník kərib 'I hope to see you soon' (MmS)

māskín ε-šfók ġabgót ḏúhun 'I hope to marry that girl' (AK)

māskín ε-kšés 'I hope to find him' (AK)

māskín ε-šé zəhám to 'I hope he comes to me' (AK)

māskín ε-aġád barís 'I wish I could go to Paris' (SM)

māskín θ-ṣḏi edōr li 'I wish my grandfather would come back to me' (*JL*, s.v. *dwr*)

12.5.16 *ndóh*

The particle *ndóh* seems to be a frozen imperative form. Unlike a regular imperative, it does not decline for gender or number. When followed by a noun, it has the meaning 'give here!' or 'give me!', but when followed by a subjunctive verb, it has the meaning 'let me!'. While the Mehri equivalent *ndōh* occurs a half dozen times in Johnstone's Mehri texts, *ndóh* occurs just once in his Jibbali texts. This fact probably means nothing about the frequency of its use, since four of the Mehri occurrences are in stories

that do not have parallel Jibbali versions. It is worth noting, however, that in one Mehri passage with this particle that does have a parallel Jibbali version (Mehri 3:5 = Jibbali 22:5), the Jibbali version has *zī-tə* ‘give me’ (a true imperative form).¹⁵ Examples of its use are:

ḍrót, “*ndóh*” ‘she said, “give (them) here!”’ (17:7)
ndóh l-əsné ‘let me see!’ (AK)

Unlike its Mehri equivalent (Rubin 2010: 254), this particle does not seem to be able to take pronominal suffixes. Instead a pronominal object is indicated with the preposition *b-*, as in *ndóh beš* ‘give it to me!’ (MmS).

12.5.17 *śef*

The particle *śef*, which occurs about twenty-five times in the texts, has the meaning ‘it happened/turned out that’ or ‘as it happened/turned out’. It can be followed by a nominal subject, or the subject can be understood from context. Following are some examples from the texts:

bə-śefagéyγ a‘ásər ε-tš ‘and it so happened that the man was his father’s friend’ (5:11)
bə-śefagág ber ḍə-kün ḍər xádər ‘and it so happened that the men had already hidden on top of the cave’ (25:12)
bə-śeftet šes eráhaž ‘and it so happened that the woman had her period’ (2:12)
śefdē-ənsēn sáhart ‘it so happened that one of them was a witch’ (15:8)
śefhš agád ed ešəl tel axšúm ḍə-ka‘dét ‘it so happened that his brother-in-law had gone until he reached the enemies of Ka‘det’ (25:11)
agéyγ ešfək aqatetéš šhalét gág ḍ-ɔl γəğórbhum l. bə-śefginnú ‘the man had married off his three sisters to men that he didn’t know. And it so happened that they were jinns’ (30:16)¹⁶
fələkən embére’ eḳélbəš śefkósi ‘but the boy, it turns out his heart is hard’ (49:35)
bə-gélək. śef šhalék gódərí ‘I got sick. It turns out I caught smallpox’ (53:12)

¹⁵ Jibbali text 22 is another telling of the same story as Mehri text 3, and not a direct equivalent or translation.

¹⁶ Note that in the Mehri version of this story (M37:7), the cognate particle *śaf* has a pronominal suffix: *śafhəm gənnawni*.

The particle *šef* is normally used in its bare form, as in all of the above examples, but can optionally take a pronominal suffix, at least if the subject is otherwise unexpressed in a non-verbal clause, for example:

ed zəhám, šéfhum bet bu zíd əl-həláli ‘then when they came, it turns out they were the house [or: clan] of Bu Zid al-Hilali’ (54:5)

In one place in the texts *šef* seems to have the meaning ‘really’, in the sense of ‘it turned out really to be the case that’:

tob ar yénhum yɔ, šefk mišérd ‘indeed the people tell the truth, you really are crazy!’ (46:12)

This particle *šef* is to be distinguished from the noun *šef* (pl. *əšfəf*) ‘track, footprint’ (e.g., 25:8).

12.5.18 (ə)thúmk

In Mehri, there is a regular H-Stem verb *həthūm* ‘think, imagine’, but in Jibbali only the frozen form (ə)thúmk is used with this meaning, in the sense of ‘I think that...’ or ‘maybe’.¹⁷ Otherwise, the Jibbali H-Stem *thím* means ‘accuse’. The verb (ə)thúmk is nearly always followed by a direct object pronoun *t-* (§ 3.3), which serves as the subject of the following complement clause, whether verbal or non-verbal. A verb in the complement clause can be perfect, future, or subjunctive; the subjunctive seems to add an additional sense of doubt (cf. the last two examples below). Examples are:

əthúmk tɔ dħa-l-ǰád šek ‘I think I’ll go with you’ (28:1)

əthúmk tɔk əl šħabólk tɔ lɔ ‘I think maybe you didn’t understand me’ (34:11)

thúmk tɔs ərgəfēt ‘I think it’s malaria’ (38:6)

əthúmk tɔ šink ar eqǰfi mənħínəm ‘I think maybe I only saw my shadow last night’ (39:10)

thúmk tɔ əl-ǰád nəšənu ‘I think I might go now’ (38:2)

thúmk tɔš yékən mən axšómén, fəlékən əthúmk tɔš ber aǰád ‘I think he might be from our enemies, but I think he already left’ (60:42)

Alternatively, the complement clause can have a nominal subject, as in:

əthúmk is mélik ‘I think maybe her father is an angel’ (97:44)

¹⁷ As noted in §12.5.12 (with examples), the word *ketk* has a meaning very close to (ə)thúmk, and likewise seems to be a frozen 1cs perfect.

No matter what kind of complement clause follows (*ə*)*thúmk*, it is not attested with a complementizer (§ 13.5.1.1).

In one passage with (*ə*)*thúmk*, there is ellipsis of the complement clause:

athúmk tō ‘I think I (did)’ (40:6)

12.5.19 *tō-*

The particle *tō-* occurs only with pronominal suffixes (usually second person), and is followed by a verb in the subjunctive. It has the meaning of ‘must’, ‘ought to’, or ‘have to’, or ‘it’s necessary that’. Examples are:

tōk tókəlaʿ tun ʿaḳ xádər ðénu ɔrx ɬad ‘you should allow us in this cave for one month’ (15:4)

tōkum tasmóh tō ‘you must excuse me’ (17:41)

tōkum təkəlóʿ tō l-éréd iyélí ‘you should allow me to bring down my camels’ (25:2)

tōk tókəlaʿ tō tel aʿélí ʿonut dínu ‘you should leave me with my family this year’ (60:2)

tōk əl-sóləm tō ‘you should spare me’ (83:5)

In one passage *tō-* is used independently, with the verb implied:

ʿórót títš, ʿðə-fırkək ʿās ɔl tékən ʿagiót taʿtún len.” *ʿər agéyg, ʿɔl tōs lɔ*” ‘his wife said, “I am afraid she may want to inform on us.” The man said, “She shouldn’t.”’ (60:39–40)

The compound *hes-tó* can be used as an exclamation ‘good!’, and one informant used this as an equivalent of *tō-*:

hes-tó yékən šek kərəšš ‘you should have money [if you travel]’ (SM)

The particle *tō-*, along with its Mehri cognate *taww-*,¹⁸ is almost certainly to be connected with the adverb *taw* ‘well’, on which see the comment to text 97:31. Some have also suggested a connection with the Arabic particle *taww-*, which has the meaning ‘just, just now’ in Omani and many other Arabic dialects (cf. standard Arabic *tawwan* ‘just now; right away’), as well as in Ḥarsusi.¹⁹

¹⁸ See Rubin (2010: 255–256) and Watson (2012: 130).

¹⁹ In *HL* (s.v. *tw(w)*), Johnstone connected Ḥarsusi *taww* ‘just, now’ with Mehri *taww-*, which has the same meanings as Jibbali *tō-*. Lonnet does the same, with discussion (2003: 422–423).

12.5.20 *wégəb*

The particle *wégəb* (< Arabic *wājib*)²⁰ is followed by a subjunctive verb and has a meaning something like ‘it is proper that’, ‘ought to’, ‘should’, or ‘it is necessary’. The Mehri equivalent of *wégəb* (namely, *wōgəb*) occurs six times in Johnstone’s Mehri texts, but *wégəb* appears only twice in his Jibbali texts. Four of the occurrences in Mehri are in stories that have no Jibbali parallels, and of the remaining two, only one uses *wégəb* in the Jibbali version. The two occurrences in the Jibbali texts are:

əl wégəb lə ‘it is not necessary [or: appropriate]’ (TJ4:89)

əl wégəb lə təǰód bə-təǰəlś ‘ēlébtəǰ tēnu ‘you shouldn’t go and leave the dead like this’ (25:17) (cf. Mehri *əl awágəbkəm (t)sīrəm wə-tǰālām amaláwtəǰ wəǰōmäh lā* ‘you ought not go and leave the dead like this’, M64:26)

Presumably *wégəb* can be used in a positive sentence, as in Mehri. However, as the example from 25:17 illustrates, its use does not seem to be identical with Mehri *wōgəb*, which usually requires a pronominal suffix in a negative context. Jibbali *wégəb* (like Mehri) can also be followed by the preposition *l-*, as in *wégəb lən nəǰád* ‘we ought to go’.

In the other extant parallel passage, Mehri has *əl awágəbkəm lā təwtēǰəm məǰənayw mən tōdi* ‘you ought not kill a child at the breast’ (M64:25), while the Jibbali text has *əl kəyǰskum (t)tǰǰ tǰfəl mən ‘ak fidét lə* ‘it is not right for you to kill an infant in the cradle’ (25:16).²¹ The word *kəyǰs* on its own means something like ‘a good fit’ (cf. 97:32).²²

²⁰ The fact that Jibbali retains the initial *w-* suggests that this is an Arabism, or at least a recent Arabic borrowing (see § 2.1.5).

²¹ Jibbali text 25 is another telling of the same story as Mehri text 64, and not a direct equivalent or translation.

²² *JL* (s.v. *kys*) gives the definition ‘a good fit, proportion’.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

SOME SYNTACTIC FEATURES

13.1 Copular (Non-Verbal) Sentences

Jibbali, like most other Semitic languages, does not make use of a verb 'be' in the present tense. It is also often absent in the past tense. In a copular sentence, subject and predicate are simply juxtaposed. This is true for both positive and negative sentences. Following are some examples with various types of subjects and predicates:

- he a'ásər ε-ik* 'I am your father's friend' (5:12)
het 'ógəz 'you are lazy' (24:1)
het ol gəyg lo 'you are not a man' (46:4)
še gəyg rəhúm 'he was a handsome man' (54:27)
se ol gəbgót lo 'she is not a girl' (45:2)
nħa sətét gəg 'we are three men' (54:20)
šum 'aḵ mənzəl rəhúm 'they are in a beautiful place' (28:5)
ǰənu təbšíf ε-tagbír 'this is the description of heartburn' (40:16)
ǰənu ol a'íšéi lo 'this is not my dinner' (54:26)
ǰəkūn mən izók əǰ-šén 'that was one of our friends [lit. those with us]' (60:45)
izənu axšum 'these are enemies' (25:10)
aǰəyg mišérd 'the man is crazy' (2:7)
aǰəbgót ǰírs 'the girl was on it' (6:24)
āħšól ol həšóflə 'the pay was not good' (8:4)
ī aǰəbgót túžur b-embére' feḵír 'the father of the girl was rich, and the boy was poor' (SB1:2)
ǰ'ǰdš nxín eték ǰókūn 'your meeting place is under that wild fig tree' (60:15)
mūn ǰənu 'who is this?' (13:12)
íné ħǰgtək bun 'what's your business here?' (30:18)
ħun a'íšéi 'where is my dinner?' (54:22)
ħútun ūtš 'where is his house?' (46:11)

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 four examples:

het bær mūn ‘whose son are you?’ (5:11)
šiš ínέ ‘what do you have?’ (60:45)
het mæn hūn ‘where are you from?’ (5:7)
ar tėti hútūn ‘so where is my wife?’ (30:12)

Sometimes we find an independent personal pronoun used as a dummy copula, as in:

ūtš ðíkun se ‘his house is that one’ (46:11)
ðen še tæbšíf ε-šfǫkæt ‘this is a description of marriage’ (45:20) (cf. the example from 40:16, cited above)
ðóhūn še ekéléb ‘that is the bride-price’ (AM1:9)
ínέ še estíkædæk ‘what is your plan?’ (TJ4:56)
sekf tėti še ‘the roof is above me’ (MnS)

When the subject is a noun and the predicate is a demonstrative (or vice versa), this dummy copula prevents ambiguity with the phrase containing an attributive demonstrative, e.g., *ūtš ðíkun* ‘that house of his’. This dummy copula is not required when there is a demonstrative subject and a simple noun predicate; cf. *ðókūn egǫfǫk* ‘that is your shadow’ (39:10). In other cases, as in the last two examples above, the use of the independent pronoun has no real necessary function.

For examples of the lack of a present or past copula in ‘have’ sentences, see below, § 13.3.

13.1.1 *The Verb kun*

The verb *kun* (G-Stem, root *kwn*) can mean ‘be’, however it is not usually used as a copula. In a main clause, it much more often means ‘become’, ‘happen’ (*l-* ‘to’), or ‘stay’, for example:

ínέ kun lek ‘what happened to you?’ (5:12)
kun tǫgór ‘they became rich’ (5:16)
kǫlǫt her aǫás ekellén kǫl in kun leš ‘he told his little brother all that had happened to him’ (6:39)
kunút len ekát ‘a storm befell us’ (13:4)
embére’ kun bæ-xár ‘the boy became well’ (SB1:7)
he kunk kǫ-ð-ól sóhum xǫi lǫ ‘I was [or: stayed] with those that did not have umbrellas’ (31:3)
ǫl éd’ak ínέ kun lǫ ‘I didn’t know what had happened’ (31:4)
kunút tǫbhum fǫrgét ‘it became a joke among them’ (34:14)
he dǫa-l-ékǫn k-érún ‘I will stay with the goats’ (22:5)

yum ʔit émí kunút k-érún, b-ī kun k-iyél ‘one day my mother was with the goats, my father was with the camels’ (51:15)

In a past existential phrase (‘there was/were’), the presence or absence of the verb *kun* is semantically predictable. For a true existential, when the phrase ‘there was/were’ can be replaced with ‘there existed’, no verb is needed:

yəkól ‘aḵ səndiḵ díréhəm ‘he thought that there was money in the box’ (5:5)

xatarét hókum bə-ḥallét ‘once there was a ruler in a town’ (17:1)

śíni sayérə, bə-‘amḵás əḵḫór ‘he saw a car, and there were foreigners in it’ (35:2)

xatarét ġabġót rəḥīt ‘once there was a beautiful girl’ (46:1)

When an existential ‘there was/were’ can be replaced with ‘there happened/took place’, then *kun* is used:

ónut ʔit kunút ‘onút ‘one year there was a drought’ (20:1)

kun məš‘ér bə-ḥallét ‘there was a dance-party in the town’ (30:9)

yəḵél kunút ḥəġmēt ‘aḵ sékən ‘they thought there was an attack on [or: fight in] the settlement’ (13:13)

There are exceptions, however, such as:

kunút ġabġót ərḥīt zétə ‘there was also a beautiful girl’ (SB2:2)

The verb *kun* is normally only used as a past- or present-tense 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 two examples below) or syntax (i.e., functioning as a dependent verb, as in the last example below):

‘əd yékən ar ḏə-yōd ‘could it be someone who was lying?’ (8:11)

‘əd yékən ġóle ‘əngdərət ‘it might be a supernatural illness’ (38:6)

ḏə-thúmk tš yékən mən axšómén ‘I think he might be from our enemies’ (60:44)

For further details on the use of subjunctive *kun* with the particle *‘əd*, see §12.5.3.

The second environment in which *kun* is used as a copula is in a conditional sentence. It is normally used in the protasis, following a conditional particle like *her* (§13.4.1), as in:

her kunk ġeyġ ‘if you are a man’ (46:6)

her kun bə-xár ‘if he is well’ (13:8)

her kunút ġabġót ‘if she is a girl’ (45:20)

her ɔl kun ‘óġaz lɔ ‘if he is not lazy’ (42:13)

We also find *kun* (usually imperfect or future) in the apodosis of a conditional sentence, but usually only when it is a true copula (rather than an existential), as in:

bə-ðə še ɔl hez yitš lɔ, he əkín kaħbét ‘and if he didn’t slaughter his camel, I am a whore’ (2:9)

nəkín ərhāt k-ħỹén, her het ħa-tékən ərhĩm šen ‘we will be fine with [or: nice to] our son-in-law, if you will be fine with [or: nice to] us’ (7:4)

her ɔl kiskum sé lɔ, əkín he bédét ‘if you don’t find anything, then I am a liar’ (15:14)

When the apodosis has an existential ‘be’, we find only a non-verbal phrase, for example:

xzét, her əxtélɔʃk beš ‘it would be an embarrassment if I let him down’ (28:14)

her ĩ ‘əġəb, ɔl míni sé lɔ ‘if my father wants, I have no objection [lit. there is nothing from me]’ (45:3)

liš étəm her xórbiš tet egéyg ɔl təġád šeš ‘it’s a sin for you if you prevent [lit. spoil] the man’s wife so she won’t go with him’ (60:11)

her šerɔkək tɔš, ɔl hek sé lɔ ‘if you do it, there is nothing for you [or: you will get nothing]’ (86:5)

On the conditional (ə)ðə *kun*, see further in §13.4.2; on the use of *kun* in compound verb tenses, see §7.1.9; and on the use of the future tense of *kun* to indicate approximation or uncertainty, see §9.6.

13.2 *Negation*

This section will cover a variety of negative particles in Jibbali. The negative indefinite pronouns ‘no one’ (based on *dé* ‘someone’) and ‘nothing’ (based on *sé* ‘something’) have been treated elsewhere (§3.5.1 and §3.5.2, respectively).

13.2.1 *ɔl ... lɔ*

Verbal and non-verbal sentences are negated by the elements *ɔl ... lɔ*. Most often, both elements are used in tandem (cf. French *ne ... pas*), though there is some inconsistency with the exact placement of these elements within the sentence. In fast speech, the element *ɔl* is very often realized as just *ɔ*,

or even omitted altogether. Sometimes we also find this reduction to *ɔ* in Johnstone's texts, especially before a following *l* or *r*.

In non-verbal sentences with either a pronominal or nominal subject, the element *ɔl* follows the subject (if expressed), while the element *lɔ* follows the entire predicate. Exceptions to the norm are the indefinite pronominal elements *dé* and *sé*, which normally follow the negative element *ɔl* when used as a subject (see further in § 3.5.1 and § 3.5.2). Examples of negated non-verbal sentences are:

- het ɔl ǵeyg lɔ* 'you are not a man' (46:4)
se ɔl ǵabǵót lɔ 'she is not a girl' (45:2)
ɔl tɔ́lún lɔ '(it is) not with us' (6:38)
ɔl xer hek lɔ 'it is not good for you' (12:10)
ǵénu ɔl a'íséi lɔ 'this is not my dinner' (54:26)
ɔl kəyóskum (t) tɔǵ tǵfəl mən 'ak fídét lɔ. ǵénu ɔl šúǵəl ǵ-ekəl lɔ 'it is not right for you to kill an infant in the cradle. This is not the way of the tribes' (25:16)
ǵhšól ɔl hešóf lɔ 'the pay was not good' (8:4)
yɔ ǵə-létǵ is ɔl b-erǵ ǵókūn lɔ 'the people who had killed her father were not in that land' (46:3)
ǵalóts ɔ(l) rəhīt lɔ 'its condition [lit. description] was not good' (83:1)
éghəš ɔl ərhīm əl-hés eǵéhəns lɔ 'his face was not good like his mind' (SB2:1)
šūm ɔl šóhum míh lɔ 'they did not have water' (35:3)
ɔl šíši dé lɔ 'they had no one' (54:1)
ɔl sé míh kéréb lɔ 'there was no water nearby' (35:1)
ɔl dé əl-hés še lɔ 'no one was like him' (54:2)
ɔl bóhum ε-lhám mən tél bu zíd əlhám lɔ 'there was no one among them who jumped up to where Bu Zid jumped' (54:37)

Unlike in Omani Mehri (Rubin 2010: 260), Jibbali does not require a personal pronoun as a dummy copula in negative copular sentences with nominal or demonstrative subjects. The above examples make this clear. We do get a few examples of this phenomenon in Johnstone's Jibbali texts, but all are direct translations of a Mehri text, and therefore can be considered Mehrisms. Certain examples are:

- het ɔl het axér 'ánén lɔ* 'you are not better than us' (20:4) (based on Mehri *hēt əl hēt axáy r mənīn lā*, M61:4)
ǵénu ɔl še šebr rəhīm lɔ 'that is not good advice' (57:6) (based on Mehri *ǵōmah əl hē šaw r ǵīd lā*, M90:6)

tet ɔl se man ekilt ð-axšóméš lɔ ‘the woman was not from the tribe of his enemies’ (60:33) (based on Mehri *tēt al sē man aḳabáylat ðə-xašámhē lā*, M94:33)

In verbal sentences *ɔl* usually comes after the subject (if there is an expressed subject) and directly before the verb (including the auxiliary *ber*, the future prefix *(d)ha-*, and the verbal prefix *d-/ð-*), while *lɔ* still usually follows the entire clause or sentence. One exception to this rule is that, as already mentioned above, *ɔl* precedes the subject if it is an indefinite pronoun *dé* ‘someone’ or *sé* ‘something’ (see further in § 3.5.1 and § 3.5.2). Examples of negated verbal sentences are:

- ɔl (t)širkən enúf ‘ókəl axér ‘áni lɔ* ‘you would not pretend to be smarter than me’ (1:7)
ɔl bek ‘ók hek lɔ ðə-hét mišérd ‘didn’t I already tell you that you were stupid?’ (1:9)
šə ɔl hez yitš lɔ ‘he didn’t slaughter his camel’ (2:9)
ɔl dha-l-gád lɔ ‘I won’t go’ (3:11)
ɔl ‘áqən bóhum lɔ ‘we don’t want them’ (16:4)
ɔl ksé sé lɔ ‘he didn’t find anything’ (17:14)
ɔl dé yəḳólb əlhín ber xáróg šəhí lɔ ‘no one (can) bring back alive whatever has already died’ (23:14)
ɔl əḳódər əl-gád šek lɔ ‘I cannot go with you’ (28:19)
tet ɔl dha-tóffər lɔ ‘the woman will not run away’ (30:10)
aǵéyǵ ɔl šhabélás lɔ ‘the man didn’t understand her’ (34:4)
ɔl dé núsəz mēs sé lɔ ‘no one had drunk anything from it’ (34:10)
šum ɔl ǵərōs lɔ ‘they didn’t recognize her’ (36:28)
ɔl tíkləṭ her ī lɔ ‘don’t tell father!’ (49:18)
ɔl ‘aǵišt tóskəf lɔ ‘she didn’t want to stay’ (60:22)
he ɔl də-šófk lɔ ‘I am not sleeping’ (SM)

13.2.2 *ɔl*

In certain environments, *ɔl* is used without a following *lɔ*. We find this most commonly in combination with the particle *ar* (§ 12.5.4), giving the sense of ‘only’, as in:

- he ɔl ši ar ḏénu* ‘I only have this’ (21:5)
ɔl šeš ar múxbut ʔat ‘he only had one cartridge’ (25:8)
sēn ɔl təbǵódən ar bə-xatšóḳésən ‘they won’t go without [lit. will only go with] their clothes’ (30:4)
he ɔl əššfǵ ar aǵág ‘I only marry men’ (46:4)

nḥa ʔl súlmən ar ḏénu ‘we have only this one left’ (51:10)

After certain verbs of fear, embarrassment, refusal, swearing, warning, and prevention,¹ negative ʔl is used before a following dependent (subjunctive) verb, though its function is not always one of negation. Examples are:

ǰʔlʔt ʔl taǰád ši ‘she refused to go with me’ (13:18)

xizʔt ʔl tʔkləṭ heš ‘she was embarrassed to tell him’ (SB2:2)

fīrkək tʔs ʔl l-éflət mən ḏíri ‘I am afraid she’ll run away from me’ (60:16)

With some verbs that use this construction—verbs of warning, swearing, prevention—the ʔl does indicate negation, as in:

əḥtéḏír ʔl (t)zim títi xaṭʔkés ábdan ‘be sure never to give my wife her clothes’ (30:8)

ǰzím ʔl (t)der mən munúhum ‘swear you will not come between them!’ (60:6)

esxarét berʔt daxílt ʔl təhérg šiš telʔ ‘the old woman is already forsworn that she won’t speak with you in front of the people’ (60:8)

liš étəm her xʔrbīš tet egéyg ʔl taǰád šeš ‘it’s a sin for you if you prevent [lit. spoil] the man’s wife so she won’t go with him’ (60:11)

We even find this construction (ʔl + subjunctive) used in indirect reports of swearing, as in:

téti guzūt li, “ʔl təbǰód” ‘my wife swore to me, “You won’t go”’ (28:19)

guzūt tet, “ʔl təbǰéd ed ber təfšín” ‘the woman swore, “You won’t go until after you’ve had lunch”’ (60:38)

On the particle of warning *dek* plus ʔl, see § 12.5.6. We also once find ʔl after the particle *bélé* ‘even if’ in a negative context.² The passage is:

tum sǔbər bass məḥaníti, bélé ʔl məḥaníti ‘you are always having trouble, even if you aren’t having trouble’ (28:12)

On the idiom *d-ʔd ʔl* ‘before’, see § 7.3. This idiom is distinct from *d-ʔd ʔl ... l* (§ 7.3) and *ʔl-ʔd ... l* (§ 13.2.4), both meaning ‘not yet; still not’.

Finally, the sequence *ʔl ... b-ʔl* can also be used as the equivalent of English ‘neither ... nor’, ‘not any ... or’, or ‘not X and not Y’ as in:

¹ Most of these categories were already recognized by Hofstede (1998: 107).

² We also find *bélé* with the regular negative *ʔl ... l* in 45:20. For examples of *bélé* in a positive context, see § 13.4.3.

ɔl tɛt šeš b-ɔl yitš šeš ‘he had neither the woman nor his camel’ (2:16)
ɔl na’ɔl sé əlhúti, w-ɔl sé yél, w-ɔl sé érún ‘we don’t raise any cows, or any
 camels, or any sheep’ (FB1:1)
ɔl kisk hésən sé ‘álaf b-ɔl sá’ər ‘I haven’t found for them any fodder or
 grass’ (AK4:10)
əðt-ilín ɔl égəh b-ɔl kəfɛ’ ‘so-and-so has [lit. is] neither face nor back’
 (Pr54)
əðt-ilín ɔl éda’ ɔl ínə ɛbhér b-ɔl ínə əshér ‘so-and-so doesn’t know what is
 the sea and what is the mountains’ (Pr57)

As noted in §12.2.1, the element *ɔl* is often realized as *ɔ* in fast speech.

13.2.3 *lɔ*

It is possible, though not very common in the texts, to find the element *lɔ* used without the preceding *ɔl* (cf. French *pas*). Just a couple of examples occur in the texts, and I heard a number of examples in the fast speech of informants:

dħa-l-šúms lɔ ‘I won’t sell it’ (41:3)
‘ak tɔkħəb lɔ ‘you don’t want to spend the day?’ (60:35)
(t)šáxbər tɔ lɔ ‘don’t ask me!’ (FB)
éda’k lɔ ‘I don’t know’ (AK)

It seems that the omission of *ɔl* is more common in certain kinds of verbal constructions, but more data are needed.

The particle *lɔ* also can be used independently, substituting for an entire phrase, as in:

ɔl éd’ak lɔ yəħɔsəl sé mən lɔ ‘I didn’t know (if) he would get something
 or not’ (10:3)
dħa-(t)zɛ-tɔ mən lɔ ‘will you give me (some), or not’ (53:5)

Note that *lɔ* is not used as an interjection ‘no!’. Instead Jibbali speakers use *ábdan*, *ob*, or the Arabism *le’* (e.g., 52:3); see further in §12.2.1.

13.2.4 *ɔl-ʕd*

The form *ɔl-ʕd* is simply a combination of the negative *ɔl* plus the particle *ʕd*, which was treated in §12.5.3. It can also occasionally serve as the negative of the auxiliary *d-ʕd*, which was treated in §7.3. The combination *ɔl-ʕd* has three basic uses.

The basic and most common use of *ɔl-ʕd ... lɔ* is to mean ‘not anymore’, ‘no longer’, or ‘not again’. This is the negative counterpart of one use of

the indeclinable particle *ʕd*, which can mean ‘again’ in a positive context. Examples are:

- ʕl-ʕd ʔgən nəgzém lɔ* ‘we don’t want to swear anymore’ (12:11)
ʕl-ʕd sɪndən mɛš lɔ ‘we can’t do without you any longer’ (13:17)
ʕl-ʕd kɔdɔr yəšéxəntɔ lɔ ‘he was not able to get out again’ (22:2)
ʕl-ʕd yəšérɔk šáǵət lɔ ‘it will not make jewelry anymore’ (22:13)
nħa ʕl-ʕd nəšɔħ lɔ bɪn ‘we will no longer be here in the morning’ (33:6)
ínét ʕl-ʕd kɛla tɔ ʔl-ǵád yɔl šítár lɔ ‘the women didn’t let me go by the kids anymore’ (49:6)
he ʕl-ʕd ši ǵílat lɔ ‘I don’t have any more strength’ (83:4)
guzúm k ʕl-ʕd aħzéz šítár zeyd ‘I swore I would not slaughter kids anymore’ (49:10)

In the last example (49:10), the sense of ‘not anymore’ is strengthened by the addition of the word *zeyd* (§13.2.5). This last example also does not have *lɔ*; this is because of the verb *guzúm* ‘swear’, which, as explained in §13.2.2, is followed by *ʕl* only.

Interestingly, when this usage of *ʕl-ʕd ... lɔ* is combined with a future tense (an actual future tense form, not an imperfect with a future meaning), then the element *ʕd* is in fact conjugated (like *d-ʕd*). In addition, when *ʕl-ʕd ... lɔ* is combined with a future tense, the particle *zeyd* (§13.2.5) is always used, at least in the texts.

- ʕl-ʕk dħa-l-ɛšnék zeyd lɔ* ‘I won’t show you anymore’ (1:12)
ʕl-ʕk dħa-l-šēnk zeyd lɔ ‘I won’t trust you anymore’ (3:14)
ʕl-ʕk dħa-l-salóbs zeyd lɔ ‘I won’t wait for her any longer’ (60:20)

In its second use, *ʕl-ʕd ... lɔ* has the meaning ‘still not’ or ‘not yet’. This seems to have the same meaning as *d-ʕd ʕl ... lɔ*, which is the negative of the auxiliary *d-ʕd* ‘still’ (see §7.3). Here the *ʕd* is conjugated. There are just a few examples of this in the texts:

- ʕl-ʕd shel lɔ* ‘he still had not had enough’ (2:6)
ǵéyǵ ʕl-ʕd yǵǵsər yǵxétər ħállét lɔ ‘the man didn’t yet dare to go down to the town’ (25:7)
ħa-náxəntɔ l-ɛyɔ šé ð-ʕl-ʕd šélš lɔ ‘we will bring to the people something that is like nothing else [lit. something that there isn’t yet like it]’ (SB2:4)
he ʕl-ʕk kisk šxarét lɔ ‘I have not yet found an old woman’ (AM1:5)

In its third use, *ʕl-ʕd ... lɔ* seems to mean ‘not at all’, i.e., a slightly stronger negative than simple *ʕl ... lɔ*. In this use the *ʕd* is also conjugated. Some examples of this are:

mən ɔrx tɾoh ɔl-ʕd ɔtəl sé lɔ, b-ɔl-ʕd níkaʕ məš gɔb lɔ ‘he hasn’t sent anything at all for two months, and a letter hasn’t come from him at all’ (8:7)

ɔl-ʕd hɔgət l-aqaró lɔ nášanu ‘(there’s) no need at all for (such) speech now’ (24:3)

agág ɔl-ʕd ɔttər lɔ ‘then the men did not back off at all’ (25:13)

ɔl-ʕd ksé kít lɔ ‘they did not find food at all’ (28:6)

ɔl-ʕk kɔdɔrk l-ɛflət lɔ ‘I couldn’t get away’ (39:7)

ɔl-ʕd ʕðər lɔ ‘there is no excuse at all’ (41:8)

Sometimes it is not totally clear what function *ɔl-ʕd* has. For example, in the example above from 28:6, *ɔl-ʕd* could conceivably mean ‘not yet’, as opposed to ‘not at all’. And in any of the examples above illustrating the second use of *ɔl-ʕd* as ‘still not, not yet’, *ɔl-ʕd* could conceivably mean ‘not at all’. It is also worth noting that the sentence in the last example above (41:8) comes in response to a question using *ʕd*.

There are a few examples of *ɔl-ʕd* in the texts that do not fit into the above categories, but each can be explained. Consider the following passage:

férək ʕni ɔl-ʕk l-əfrók bə-l-ébk ‘he was afraid that I might get scared and cry’ (16:4)

In this passage, the *ɔl* (without *lɔ*) is required due to the verb *férək* (see §13.2.2), and is not negating the phrase. The function of *ʕd* here is not obvious, and could conceivably mean ‘perhaps’, ‘again’, or ‘yet’. Another unusual example is:

ʕagíst təgíl b-ajéyg ɔl-ʕd yótbaʕ tet ‘she wanted to keep the man occupied so that he did not follow the woman’ (60:18)

Here the *ɔl-ʕd* gives the meaning ‘so that not’, the equivalent of Mehri *m-ād* (Rubin 2010: 271; Watson 2012: 394). Perhaps here *gél* is another verb that is normally followed by *ɔl*.

In one passage, *ɔl-ʕd* is combined with *ar* (§12.5.4), which serves, it seems, just to give a slightly more emphatic negative than simple *ɔl ... ar* (§12.5.4):

ɔl-ʕd ebké ar tuš ‘he left only (one) male goat’ (22:7)

A final unique example is:

ʕəgən nəgáħš embéreʕ ɔl-ʕd yəfót ‘let’s take the boy from him by force before he dies’ (50:5)

In this passage, *ɔl-ʕd* is being used in place of *d-ʕd ɔl* ‘before’ (see §7.3). One can see how the two can be easily confused. We saw already above that the negatives *ɔl-ʕd ... lɔ* and *d-ʕd ɔl ... lɔ* can overlap in some other meanings.

13.2.5 *zeyd*

In the texts, *zeyd* is found only in negative verbal phrases, where it has the meaning ‘(not) anymore’ or ‘(not) any longer’. It often occurs together with the negative *ɔl-ʕd* (§13.2.4), though this can apparently be omitted without a change in meaning (compare the examples from 3:9 and 3:10, below). Examples of its use are:

- ɔl-ʕk dħa-l-ešnék zeyd lɔ* ‘I won’t show you anymore’ (1:12)
ɔl-ʕk dħa-l-səlóbek zeyd lɔ ‘I won’t wait for you any longer’ (3:9)
kəh ɔl dħa-(t)səlɔ-tɔ zeyd lɔ ‘why won’t you wait for me any longer?’
 (3:10)
ɔl-ʕk dħa-l-šēnk zeyd lɔ ‘I won’t trust you anymore’ (3:14)
ɔl šóhum kít zeyd lɔ ‘they didn’t have any more food’ (25:7)
guzúmk ɔl-ʕd aħzéz šítár zeyd ‘I swore I would not slaughter kids
 anymore’ (49:10)
ɔl ši zeyd lɔ mən tɔf ‘I am starving (lit. I don’t have any more from
 hunger)’ (SM)

As noted already in §13.2.4, to express ‘not anymore’ or ‘not any longer’ with a future tense, *zeyd* is always used—in the texts, at least—with or without an accompanying *ʕd*.

The particle *zeyd* is originally a noun meaning ‘surplus’ or ‘extra’, as in *əkəróš ðen zeyd* ‘this money is extra’ (SM). There is a corresponding verbal root *zyd*, used in several verbal stems, including G-Stem *zēd* ‘increase (intrans.)’ and H-Stem *ezéd* ‘give more’ (e.g., 86:7).

13.2.6 *abdan*

The word *ábdan* (< Arabic *ʿabadan*) is met about thirty times in the texts as an exclamation, meaning ‘not at all!’ or ‘never!’, e.g., 54:3; Tj2:57. In fact, it is the most common way to say ‘no!’ in the texts, met much more often than *ob* (§12.2.1). In one passage, it is used in conjunction with a verb, meaning ‘never’ (as it can be in Mehri and Arabic).

- əhtéðír ɔl (t)zim títi xaṭʕkés ábdan* ‘be sure never to give my wife her
 clothes’ (30:8)

This use of *abdan* does not seem to be common in Jibbali. In fact, the concept of ‘never’ is not often expressed.

13.2.7 *mən*

In the context of swearing or oath-taking, *mən* can be used as a negative particle. It is followed by a subjunctive verb, even though the meaning is past tense. for example:

a-ngzēm bə-xōš mən nšərək elikum ‘we will swear times five [or: on five] that we didn’t steal your cow’ (12:9)

əl-ðénu ɛsgíd b-əlhún ‘amkás mən xtēm, ɛðí-ilín bər ɛðí-ilín mən yó(l)təg aǵéyg ðénu, əm-mən yadá‘ mun ɛ-ltəǵás ‘by this mosque and all the Qurans in it, so-and-so son of so-and-so didn’t kill this man, and he doesn’t know who killed him’ (14:6)

əl-ðénu ɛsgíd b-əlhún ‘amkás mən xtēm, mən l-šrək ɛyítikum ... əm-mən əl-dá‘ mun ɛ-šrəkás ‘by this mosque and all the Qurans in it, I didn’t steal your camel ... and I don’t know who stole it’ (14:7)

Hofstede (1998: 168) suggests that *mən* is used to negate indirect quotes, but the only example she gives is the passage above from 12:9. The examples from text 14 make clear that it is the context of oaths or swearing in which *mən* is used as a negative. There are, however, several examples in the texts of the usual negative *əl* following a verb of swearing (see above, § 13.2.2), but in those cases the following verb refers to a future event. In the examples above, the swearing refers to an event in the past.

We might also consider *mən* to be a negative marker in the following passage:

šérék bes tšhün, mən yəǵád šes lə ‘he did with her as before [lit. like that], without sleeping [lit. going] with her’ (TJ4:43)

However, in this example, *mən* could possibly be parsed as a preposition with a dependent clause as its object. But the fact that the following verb is subjunctive connects it with the use of negative *mən* that we saw used in oaths.

13.2.8 *ma*

My younger informants used the phrase *ma l-dá* ‘I don’t know’, which is made up of a negative particle *ma*, plus the 1cs subjunctive form of the verb *éda* ‘know’. The same construction is attested in Mehri (Watson 2012: 337). This rare negative seems to be a shortened form of the negative *mən*

(§13.2.7), which is also followed by a subjunctive, and not a borrowing of the Arabic negative particle *ma*. This is supported by the fact the the Mehri equivalent is attested both as *ma l-dā* and *mān l-dā*.³ I did not find evidence for negative *ma* in Jibbali outside of the expression *ma l-dā*, nor does this phrase seem to be used in persons other than the 1cs.

13.3 Expressing 'have'

As in most other Semitic languages, there is no verb 'have' in Jibbali. Instead, the concept is expressed with a periphrastic construction. Most often the preposition *k-* 'with' is used, but the preposition *b-* 'in' is also used for certain kinds of possession. Even *l-* 'for; to' and *her* 'to; for' can also be translated 'have' in some idiomatic contexts.⁴ 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 §8.13. With pronominal suffixes (using the base *š-*; see §8.30 for a complete list of forms), it can also express the concept 'have'. If the possessor is a noun, a resumptive pronominal suffix is used with the preposition. Some examples are:

šēš yət bə-ḥezzās 'he had a camel and he slaughtered it' (2:9)

nḥa šēn ʾūdāt 'we have a custom' (7:4)

her šókūm kīt, zum tō 'if you have food, give me!' (12:5)

he ɔl ši kīt lō 'I have no food' (21:4)

he ɔl ši ar ḏénu 'I have only this' (21:5)

šókum mékən érún ... he ši mut trut, b-ēbrīti šes xamsín, bə-tīti šes stín, b-ēr-dídi šēš šhālét mīn 'do you have many goats? ... I have two hundred, my daughter has fifty, my wife has sixty, and my cousin has three hundred' (32:1–2)

šūm ɔl šóhum míh lō. šóhum telg 'they did not have water. They had ice' (35:3)

ɔl ši ʾad lō. ši dḥa-tékən ḥōlt ḏə-rkīb ... nḥa šen zétə əlhúti 'I don't have sardines. I have maybe one camel-load ... we too have cows' (41:3)

ɔl šīši dé lō 'they had no one' (54:1)

³ See Watson (2012: 337) for examples. Moreover, the Mehri negative *m-ād* 'so that not' (Rubin 2010: 271) is also attested as *man ād* (Watson 2012: 394).

⁴ In at least one idiom *ḏer* 'on, upon' is best translated with English 'have'. This is the idiom *ḏer X dun* 'have debt', as in *ḏirk dun mékən* 'you have a lot of debt' (TJ2:85). The preposition *tel* 'at, by, beside' can also occasionally be translated with 'have', though not really to indicate possession; cf. its usage in §9.1.

kol ε-šēš diréhām yaḵódar yaḥīl séléb ‘whoever has money can carry arms’ (60:28)

šiš ínē ‘aḵ ērík ‘what do you have in the pitcher?’ (60:45)

šáxar ol šeš mändíḵ ló, b-embére’ šeš mändíḵ ‘the old man didn’t have a rifle, and the boy had a rifle’ (83:1)

As some of the above examples demonstrate (e.g., 7:4; 21:4), an independent pronoun can be used in this construction, with no apparent change in meaning. Several of the examples above (e.g., 54:1; 83:1) also show that an explicit past tense marker is normally absent from this construction, and must be gleaned from context. This fits with what was said about copular sentences above (§13.1).

Where a subjunctive verb or explicit future tense is required, the verb *kun* is used, as in:

hes-tó yékān šek ḵaršš ‘you should have money [if you travel]’ (SM)

ha-yékān šek ḵaršš ‘you will have money’ (SM)

For another example with ‘have’ in a future context, using the prepositions *b-* and *her*, see §13.3.2 and §13.3.4, respectively.

In one passage in the texts, this construction with *k-* is best translated with the English verb ‘own’:

he sáhart bə-ší ḵob ḏénu ḏə-látgākum tšš ‘I am a witch, and I owned the wolf that you killed’ (15:11)

13.3.1.1 *Familial Possession*

As in Omani Mehri, 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. For example:

he šī eǵí ‘I have a brother’ (17:18)

he šī émí šxarét ‘I have an old mother’ (18:7)

ḏénū eǵéyǵ šeš éméš šxarét ‘this man has an old mother’ (18:9)

ber šī ínī ‘I already have children’ (30:17)

he šī ebrítī ‘I have a daughter’ (36:7)

šeš ínēš ‘he had children’ (SB2:5)

šuk aǵóhéḵ mékən? šī aǵóhí xōš éršót b-órba’ gigenítī ‘do you have many siblings? I have (for) siblings five boys and four girls’ (AK3:5–6)

šek sé aǵóhéḵ faló aǵatéték ‘do you have any brothers or sisters?’ (SM)

šeš erbašót ínēš ‘he has four sons’ (AK)

Note also the phrase *zəḥám mes b-īnēš* 'he had children [or: sons] with her' (lit. 'he brought from her his sons') (46:18). The special treatment of familial terms in connection with possession is well known from other language families, for example, from Italian, where one typically says, e.g., *la mia faccia* 'my face', *la mia vicina* 'my neighbor', but *mia madre* 'my mother'. The difference in the cases of Jibbali and 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.

Because of the rule described above, these kinship terms are not often used without a possessive suffix.

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. For example:

ʾak əl-ǧád d-ʿəd ši ežēl 'I want to go while it's still cool [lit. while I still have the cold (weather)]' (60:35)
ši ḥōr 'it's cold [lit. I have cold]' (AK)

These idioms with *k-* refer to weather conditions, and not really to one's personal condition. For example, if the air is cold, one could say *ši ḥōr* 'it's cold' (or *šen ḥōr*, or *šeš ḥōr*, etc., depending on who is being affected by the weather), but to say 'I am cold', one would more likely say *də-ḥērək*, lit. 'I have become cold'. Some other expressions using *k-* are:

šen ǒsé 'it's raining (lit. we have the rain)' (AK)⁵
šen ǧízót 'it's misty' (AK)
šen go 'we have clear weather' (AK)
šen ek'át 'it's windy' (AK)
šen erét 'the moon is out' (AK)
šen yum 'it's sunny, the sun is out' (AK)
šen ḥar 'it's hot' (AK)
šen berḵ bə-híd 'it's thundering and lightning' (SM)
šen tēlg 'it's snowing' (SM)

As with 'I am cold', there are sometimes other ways to describe the environmental conditions. For example, one can say *əd-télós* 'it is raining', using the 3fs imperfect of the G-Stem verb from the root *lsw* 'rain', the same root of

⁵ The indefinite form *mosé* 'rain' is also acceptable. For example, I heard from another informant *šókun go mən mosé* 'is it clear weather or raining?' (SM).

the word *mosé* ‘rain’; likewise, for the past, *əlsét* ‘it rained’. Other such verbs also appear in the 3fs, including *bərǝkǝt* ‘it was lightning’ (present *əd-tǝrǝk*), *həddǝt* ‘it thundered’ (present *əd-thədéd*), and *əngəhǝt* ‘it became dawn’.

These expressions of environmental condition using *k-*, 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 *šəš kit* can mean ‘he has food’ or ‘he had food’, likewise *šəš har* can mean ‘it’s hot’ or ‘it was hot’.

13.3.2 *The Preposition b-*

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’, ‘have an illness’), 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 § 8.6), but in translation the verb ‘have’ usually works best. Following are some examples:

- əl bi kəʔəfǝʃl* ‘I don’t have wings’ (3:8)
bóhum enúsəb ‘they [the cows] have milk’ (9:6)
agéyg ǝénú əl beš fáhal l ‘this man has no penis’ (17:36)
nha ar d-ʔd ben ešǝr ‘we still have patience’ (21:4)
mən d-ʔk níšán ber eǝélbi bes ‘already since I was little, my heart was hers [or: she already had my heart]’ (32:12)
íné mən gǝleʔ bek ‘what kind of illness to you have?’ (38:5)
beš ʔhúrt mékən ‘he had many wounds’ (53:1)
eǝǝi beš gódari ‘my brother had smallpox’ (53:2)
het əl bek sé téʔ l ‘you don’t have any meat on you [on your body]’ (SB1:6)
her tēs ērdém, yəkín beš kühn ǝə-áyǝl ‘if a person eats it, he will have the horns of an ibex’ (6:25)
ʔaǝ xǝrf əl təkínən bésən núsəb l ‘in the rainy season they don’t have milk’ (9:2)⁶

As the last two examples show, an imperfect of the verb *kun* can be used to make explicit a future (6:25) or a habitual (9:2).

In this same category, we can place the idioms *əl bi has l* ‘I was unconscious’ (53:12), literally ‘in me (was) not consciousness’, and *íné bek/biš* ‘what’s (the matter) with you?’ (e.g., 6:8; 40:1).

⁶ On the unexpected 3fp forms *təkínən* and *bésən* used in 9:2, see the comment to that line in the texts.

The difference in usage between *k-* and *b-* is shown clearly in the following passage:

érún megéte, b-əl šen núsəb lə ... érún əl bəsən núsəb lə ‘the goats were very pregnant, and we didn’t have milk ... the goats didn’t have any milk’ (51:2)

In the first part of this example, *k-* is used referring to the people having (possessing) no goat’s milk, while in the second, *b-* is used referring to the goats themselves having (containing) no milk. Cf. also 9:2 and 9:5.

13.3.3 *The Preposition l-*

In conjunction with *d-əd* ‘still’ (§7.3), the preposition *l-* (§8.16) can be used to express ‘have’, with regard to an amount of time remaining. The two attested examples of this in Johnstone’s texts are:

d-əd lek sélat̄ ēm aǰdét ‘you still have three days’ walk’ (30:15)
d-əd lésən ərɣ taṭ ‘they still have one month (to go)’ (32:4)

A couple of other idiomatic constructions with *l-* can also be translated using ‘have’:

he ber li məsəlūt, her əd šink tək ‘I already have a sacrificial animal for if I saw you again’ (13:10)
he ber li yəṭ məsəlūt her šink tókum ‘I already have a sacrificial camel for if I saw you’ (54:6)
ṭad kótub əl-əd leš mənýét lə ‘there was a writer who had no equal [lit. likeness]’ (SB2:1)

13.3.4 *The Preposition her*

The preposition *her* ‘to; for’ (*h-* before suffixes; see §8.11 and §8.30) is sometimes used to mean ‘have’ in the sense of ‘deserve’. In such cases, *her* really means ‘for’, but ‘get’ or ‘have’ makes for a smoother translation. The relevant passages are:

ḏə kun še əl tōlkum lə, hókum mən tōlí xamsín yiršób ‘if it is not with you, you will get from me fifty riding-camels’ (6:38)
sədədyə skəfheš bə-xamsín izíf ‘the people present got (them) to agree that he would get [lit. for him (was)] fifty thousand (dollars)’ (18:15)
het šáxər b-əl hek həsmét lə ‘you are an old man, and you get [or: deserve] no respect’ (53:6)

her šerókak tšš, ɔl hek sé lɔ ‘if you do it, there is nothing for you [or: you will get nothing]’ (86:5)
yákín heš eḳélēš ‘he will get his bride-price’ (TJ2:21)

13.4 Conditionals

The two basic conditional particles in Jibbali are *her* and (ə)ðə. The first of these is the more common particle, indicating real conditionals, while (ə)ðə is used to express two contrasting conditionals or, in combination with *kun*, to express unreal conditionals. Each of these will be discussed in detail below. Also included below is the particle *bélé* ‘even if’.

13.4.1 *her*

Her is the particle normally used to introduce a real conditional.⁷ It is by far the most common Jibbali word for ‘if’, occurring roughly 185 times in the texts. If *her* introduces a verbal clause, the verb (or verbs) in this clause are most often in the perfect; there are about a dozen exceptions in the texts, which are discussed below. If the apodosis of a conditional *her*-clause is a verbal clause (which it is in all but about a dozen cases in the texts), then the verb (or verbs) in the apodosis can be in the imperfect, the future, the imperative, or the subjunctive, as the context warrants. The *her*-clause can precede or follow the main clause, or be embedded within it.

An imperfect in the apodosis usually indicates a general present, an imperfective (durative/habitual) future, or a habitual past, rather than a perfective, one-time event. Some examples are:

her ɔl kisk tək lɔ, ɔl əǰǰrəb ɔrəm lɔ ‘if I don’t find you, I won’t know the road (you took)’ (3:12)
elhúti, her ɔl tē ‘ad lɔ, yəfét. bə-hér tē ‘ad, yákín bə-xár əb-bóhum enúsəb
 ‘the cows, if they don’t eat sardines, they die. But if they eat sardines, they are well and they have milk’ (9:6)
her ɔl ksé sé lɔ, yəǰǰ ‘ahǰǰl ‘if he didn’t find anything, he would collect wild figs’ (17:14)

⁷ In *JL* (s.v. *hl*), Johnstone wrote that in the EJ dialect around Sadḥ (or Sidḥ, a coastal town about 130 km east of Ṣalalah), this word is pronounced *hel*. We find a number of examples in texts TJ4 and TJ5, some of which were “corrected” to *her* in the Arabic-letter transcription of the text made by another EJ speaker (see the comment to TJ4:27).

- her dé geb nxínúš, ɔl-ʻəd yəšérók ságat lɔ* ‘if someone defecates under it, it will not make jewelry anymore’ (22:13)
- ɔl əkín hek tet̪ el-f̪ət, her ɔl edúrk len əl-ʻeni lɔ* ‘I won’t be a wife for you till I die, if you don’t come back to us this evening’ (28:17)
- her kél’ak təš ‘aḳ šəhálét, yəmtése’ bə-yəkín míh* ‘if you leave it in a bowl, it will melt, and it will be water’ (35:7)
- her dé géle, yəbgód yótlab musá’adət ɛ-taxtór* ‘if someone is sick, he goes to ask the help of the doctor’ (52:1)
- her šé, yədjəfən ɔkét* ‘if he was full, he would bury the leftovers’ (54:13)
- yəktéléṭ bi ɛkēl, her kél’ak tək bə-flótk* ‘the tribes will talk (badly) about me if I leave you and run away’ (83:2)
- yə’or her ɛyɔ, her šxabírš, “he lé”* ‘he would say to the people, if they asked him, “I am a cow”’ (SB1:4)

In past or present habitual contexts (like the examples from 17:14, 52:1, 54:13, and SB1:4), *her* can also usually be translated ‘when’ or ‘whenever’ and be considered a temporal conjunction. The distinction between *her* as a conditional particle and temporal conjunction is thus not so clear in Jibbali. See further below in §13.5.3.3.

Once in the texts we find a compound imperfect (future perfect) in the apodosis:

- her ɔl zəhámk tókum lɔ, əkín aǰádk šəš* ‘if I don’t come back to you, I will have gone with him’ (28:17)

A future tense in the apodosis normally indicates a perfective future. Some examples are:

- iné ha-(t)zĩ-to her kəlót̪k hiš b-ɛbréš* ‘what will you give me if I tell you about your son?’ (13:7)
- her ‘agiš bi, ha-tǰíd ši* ‘if you love me, you’ll go with me’ (13:18)
- dha-nzémk mut trut her delk bēn yɔl ka’dét bə-létǰən təš* ‘we will give you two hundred if you lead us to Ka’det and we kill him’ (25:11)
- her aǰadót bə-zhám ebrí b-ɔl ksés lɔ, dha-yəfót* ‘if she goes away and my son comes back and doesn’t find her, he will die’ (30:10)
- her ɔl kun ‘ogəz lɔ, dha-yəzhóm xədméts əšhér* ‘if he is not lazy, he will come to work [lit. his work] today’ (42:13)
- her ‘agíót bek, he dha-l-éšfəḳək* ‘if she wants you, I will let you marry’ (45:2)
- her ɔl kólót̪š híni lɔ, ar dha-l-ɔ(l)tǰiš* ‘if you don’t tell me, I will kill you’ (46:5)
- her kisk təs, dha-l-‘ámər hes tótba’k* ‘if I find her, I’ll tell her to follow you’ (60:21)

Sometimes an imperfect is used in the apodosis with a clear perfective meaning (perhaps connected to the semantics of the choice of verb), so the above statements are general tendencies, not strict rules. For an example of when we find an imperfect where we would expect a future, consider:

her aǰádən fáxrə, naxérg ‘if we go together, we will die’ (6:13)

Examples of conditional sentences with an imperative or negative imperative in the apodosis are:

her fékərak, ftaḥ səndlk ḏénu ‘if you become poor, open this box’ (5:13)

her áǰiṣ l-ǰfkəš, kəlīb xótəm bə-zī-tə séǰódət ‘if you want me to release you, return the ring and give me the carpet’ (6:34)

her éšalk ḏer šaʿb b-əl šink dé lə, éhək ‘if you enter the valley and don’t see anyone, call out’ (38:1)

her kunk ǰeyg, ǰad tələb b-ədídik ‘if you are a man, go avenge your uncle’ (46:6)

her fékərak, əl thír lə ‘if you become poor, do not beg’ (5:16)

her əl zəḥámk tək náʿšanu lə, əl (t)šáʿze tə lə ‘if I don’t come back now, don’t think I’m late’ (60:17)

The apodosis of a conditional sentence can also be a non-verbal phrase, for example:

her əl zəḥām əm-míh lə, ber leš əz ‘if he doesn’t bring water, he owes [lit. to him is] a goat’ (39:2)

her ī áǰəb, əl míni sé lə ‘if my father wants, I have no objection [lit. there is nothing from me]’ (45:3)

xzét, her əxtélǰfk beš ‘it would be an embarrassment if I let him down’ (28:14)

liš étəm her xórbīš teṭ eǰéyg əl təǰád šeš ‘it’s a sin for you if you prevent [lit. spoil] the man’s wife so she won’t go with him’ (60:11)

her šerǰəkək təš, əl hek sé lə ‘if you do it, there is nothing for you [or: you will get nothing]’ (86:5)

Although *her* in the protasis is normally followed by a verb in the perfect, as in all of the examples given above, we sometimes find *her* followed by a non-verbal phrase (about a dozen times in the texts), a future tense (about six times), or even an imperfect (about six times). Examples of a non-verbal phrase following *her* are:

her šum b-egiēl, yašérōʿ edhék bə-yḥəbōn bə-yšérék munúṭəb ‘if they are in the mountains, they climb cliffs and sing and make bows’ (4:9)

her šókūm kút, zum tə ‘if you have food, give me!’ (12:5)

kalit̄ hīni her dé əl-hés he bə-fl̄s axér 'áni 'tell me if anyone is like me or better than me' (54:3)

her dé beš axét-hés, yə'arír leš 'if someone has *axét-hes*, they send for him' (55:7)

her šek kərōš mékən, tōk l-ézzəd tō 'if you have a lot of money, you ought to give me more' (86:7)

A future tense in the protasis following *her* does not really have any different meaning than a perfect tense. It is about as different as English 'if you won't tell me, I will go' versus 'if you don't tell me, I will go'. Examples are:

her əl dħa-(t)səl̄s-tō l, əl dħa-l-gád l 'if you won't wait for me, I won't go' (3:11)

'ak l-ššfək dek, her ħa-l-éšfək tō 'I want to marry into your family, if you will let me' (7:1)

ħa-l-éšfəkək her ħa-tzē-tō ĩndíkək 'I will let you marry if you give me your rifle' (7:2)

nākín ərhāt k-ħīyēn, her het ħa-tékən ərhīm šēn 'we will be fine with [or: nice to] our son-in-law, if you will be fine with [or: nice to] us' (7:4)

her əl ħa-təgád šī l, ħa-l-xóle' 'if she won't go with me, I will get divorced' (7:12)

her dħa-tjád, 'amér hīni 'if you're going to go, tell me' (28:1)

sétər hīni ekōr, her bek dħa-l-ógrəf xélét 'better for me the grave, if I am about to clean toilets!' (5:10)

The last example (5:10) contains the special proximative construction *ber* + future that was discussed in § 7.1.4 and § 7.2.

An imperfect in the protasis following *her* seems to indicate an immediate present, for example:

her dē-ənkēn təgórəb sé, ta'ér 'ánén kəb dēnu 'if any one of you knows anything, you should keep this wolf back from us' (15:7)

her dé yəgórəb sé, yésne her embére' 'if anyone knows anything, he should see to the boy' (18:7)

her təškélóthum, əl tə'ásés l 'if she is conversing with them, she won't wake up' (18:11)

her 'əd təkódər hīni bə-ħilt, 'ak bə-ħölt də-ád 'if you can perhaps [or: again] (give) me credit, I want a load of sardines' (41:2)

Note in the examples from 15:7 and 18:7 that the apodosis contains an independent subjunctive. There are only two other such passages in the texts (30:12; TJ4:6). A subjunctive is used in the apodosis of a conditional

sentence to indicate suggestion or obligation, equivalent to English ‘should’, and uncertainty, like English ‘might’, as described in § 7.1.3.

As already noted in § 7.5, if *’ágəb* occurs in the protasis of a conditional sentence, and the dependent verb should be repeated in the apodosis, there is normally verbal ellipsis. Examples of this are:

her ’ak, ǵadú ‘if you want (to go), let’s go!’ (12:2)

her ’agk ʝəl émék, ǵadú ‘if you want (to go) to your mother, let’s go!’ (16:3)

her ’ak, kəlét h́ini ‘if you want (to tell me), tell me!’ (MmS)

In 86:1, 86:2, and 86:6, each of which contains the verb *’ágəb* ‘want’ in the protasis, the expected particle *her* is missing:

’ak xsórat, dḥa-l-əxsór ‘if you want a bride-price, I will pay a bride-price’ (86:1)

’ak xədmét, dḥa-l-šérk hek ‘if you want work, I will make it for you’ (86:2)

(her) ’ak tó(l)təǵ tǝ, təǵ tǝ mən ǵér síéb ‘if you want to kill me, kill me without reason!’ (86:6)

As noted in the comment to text 86:6, Johnstone added *her* in parentheses in the Roman-letter manuscript only. There are many examples of *her* before the verb *’ágəb* elsewhere in the texts, so it is unclear why it would be missing in these sentences. Since these sentences from text 86 are all unrelated sentences taken out of context (i.e., they are not part of a larger story), it is possible that they were originally part of contrasting conditionals, in which case we would not expect a conditional particle before *’ágəb* (see § 13.4.2).

Finally, as discussed in § 12.5.4, the combination *ar her*, literally ‘except if’,⁸ can also be translated ‘unless’, for example:

əl ʝózəmsən ’ad lǝ, ar hér kunút ’ónut difírat, ʝózəmsən ’ad ‘they don’t give them sardines, except if it is a bad year, they give them sardines’ (9:7)

əl tǝ’ásés lǝ ar hér sítót bə-xətarǝk troh ‘she won’t wake up unless she is hit twice with a stick [or: with two sticks]’ (18:11)

əl dé ʝəšénús ʝəšǝb mǝš ǵasré lǝ, ar hér kun ǵag mékən ‘no one dared get water from it at night, unless there were a lot of people’ (39:1)

əl nǝkénúm lǝ, ar hér dḥa-(t)zḥǝ-tun bə-kəsmét ‘we won’t collect fodder, unless you’ll bring us a gift’ (47:7)

⁸ The combination *ar her* can also mean ‘only for’ or ‘except for’ (e.g., 15:3; 51:2), in which case *her* is a preposition (§ 8.11), not the conditional particle.

ɔl yəbǰód lɔ ar hér 'ágiš (t)zĩmš yət 'he won't go unless you want to give him a camel' (49:32)

ɔl əkódar əl-ǰád lɔ ar hér mizk 'I can't go on unless I smoke' (60:26)

In sum, the protasis of a real conditional sentence has the particle *her*, followed by a verbal or non-verbal phrase. If a verbal phrase, then the verb is usually a perfect, but can occasionally be a future or imperfect. The apodosis may contain any verbal tense (except the conditional), as the sense requires, as well as a non-verbal phrase.

13.4.2 (ə)ðə, (ə)ðə kun

The conditional particle *ðə* (vars. *əðə* or *əð*) is mainly used in two ways in the texts, one way by itself, and the other in conjunction with *kun*. In its first common use, independent *(ə)ðə* can be used (like its Mehri cognate) to indicate two contrasting conditionals. As is normally the case with *her*, if *(ə)ðə* precedes a verbal clause, the verb will be in the perfect. Examples from the texts are:

ðə še hez yitš, še yəkín mišérd. bə-ðə še ɔl hez yitš lɔ, he əkín kaħbét 'if he slaughtered his camel, the man is crazy. And if he didn't slaughter his camel, I am a whore' (2:9)

ðə še aǰád ši, še (d)ħa-yəsnéš, bə-ðə še bédé, ɔl ħa-yóklət b-əšfəš lɔ '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' (2:10)

ðə še ɔl beš fáħal lɔ, l-əkšós eréšš. bə-ðə še beš fáħal, tũm l-əkšés eréšókum 'if he has no penis, his head will be cut off. And if he has a penis, you, your heads will be cut off' (17:39)

ðə ɔl šeš sé hózər lɔ, yəžitɔt dun. bə-ðə šeš hózər yézəm hózər 'if he doesn't have any cash, he takes a debt. And if he has cash, he gives cash' (TJ2:75)

A few passages show a slight variation from the above examples, in that one of the two conditionals has *ðə*, while the other has *her*. Examples are:

her kisk āǰərəf tōlɔkum, ħa-l-ħil ekítum. bə-ðə kun še ɔl tōlɔkum lɔ, hókum mən tōlí xamsín yiršób 'if I find the bowl with you, I will take your food. And if it is not with you, you will have from me fifty riding-camels' (6:38)

ðə se koltɔt liš, rəfí kəmkēš mən ðér eréšš, bə-hé dħa-l-əzhód. bə-dħa-l-ǰád, bə-ħit šibbadəs bə-dħa-nəǰtər ðer ħār ðíkũn. bə-hér gəħádətš, ɔ(l) l-ħirk kəmkēš lɔ 'and if she tells you, lift your head-cloth up from

your head, and I will understand. 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' (60:42–43)

her še d-ḥótég les, yəkóls. bə-ðə ʿəd əl ḥótég les lə, yəkóla's her a'élés 'if he needs her, he takes her home. And if he doesn't need her yet, he leaves her for her family' (TJ2:11)

Each of these examples can be explained. In the passage from 6:38, the second conditional is, in fact, an unreal one, as we know from the context of the story. And so this is why *ðə kun* is used (see below), even though the addressee in the story does not yet know this. In the passage from 60:42–43, *her* is perhaps used because the distance between the first and second conditionals is so great. In TJ2:11, it is possible that the speaker first used *her*, not thinking ahead to the second, contrasting conditional sentence. Or perhaps *her ... (ə)ðə* (attested also in TJ2:2 and TJ2:9) is a free variant of *(ə)ðə ... (ə)ðə* for expressing two contrasting conditionals.

Interestingly, when there are two contrasting conditionals, both of which have the verb *ʿagəb* 'want' in the protasis, then the conditional particle is omitted. There are three sets of examples of this in the texts:⁹

ʿak tóskəf, bə-rík. bə-ʿák əl-xóleʿ, ḥa-nzémk ĩndíkək 'if you want to stay, please do. And if you want to get divorced, we will give you your rifle' (7:12)

ʿak kĭni bə-réhən, bə-rík. bə-ʿák təstém sé mən ósétən, bə-rík 'if you want a guarantee (of payment) from me, as you wish. Or if you want to buy some of our animals, as you wish' (41:2)

ʿak bə-réhən, dḥa-l-érhənk, bə-d ʿák təstém mən óséti, dḥa-l-súm lek 'if you want a guarantee (of payment), I will leave you a guarantee, or if you want to buy (some) of my animals, I will sell (them) to you' (41:4)¹⁰

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 *ʿagəb* in the protasis of these phrases, with no preceding conditional particle.

⁹ There may also be an example in 6:11, depending on how we read that line. See the discussion in the comment to the text.

¹⁰ This is the only place in the texts where this conditional particle surfaces as *əd*, rather than *əð*. As discussed in the comment to that line, this is perhaps a hypercorrection.

The second way in which (ə)ðə is used is in combination with the verb *kun* to indicate an unreal (counterfactual) conditional. As with simple (ə)ðə and *her*, if the phrase (ə)ðə *kun* precedes a verbal clause, the verb will be in the perfect. The verb *kun* is conjugated if it is the only verb in the clause, but only optionally so if another verb follows (cf. 13:20 and 20:7). A verb in the apodosis of this type of conditional sentence will be in the conditional tense (§ 7.1.5). This is, in fact, the only environment (excepting the conditional forms of *ágəb* [§ 7.5.4] and frozen conditional forms like *ta'mírən* [§ 8.25]) in which the conditional form occurs. Some examples found in the texts are:

het ð-əl kunk mišérd lə, əl (t)šírkən enúf 'ókəl axér 'áni lə 'if you weren't stupid, you would not pretend to be smarter than me' (1:7)

ð-əl kunk mišérd lə, əl (t)žəhékən míni lə 'if you weren't stupid, you would not have made fun of me' (1:11)

ðə kün əl mišérd lə, əl yəhízən yitš lə 'if he wasn't crazy, he would not have slaughtered his camel' (2:7)

het ðə kunk kólítk híni, taǵídən šek titk 'if you had told me, your wife would have gone with you' (13:20)

əðə kun šōrən, axér hən 'if we had been patient, it would have been better for us' (20:7)

ðə kun əl létəǵ erbə'ət minén lə, əl naltéǵanəš lə 'if only he had not killed four of us, we would not have killed him' (83:7)

See also Johnstone's texts 42 and 42b, for another twenty examples.

The phrase *ðə kun* can also be used to conjoin a set of two or more hypothetical items, corresponding to English 'whether it be *X* or *Y*'. This usage is attested only in text Tj2:

ðə kun gériún troh bə-ðə kun sətét egirēt bə-ðə kun žiēd, órba' fəló xīš žiēd 'whether it be two long date-baskets or three long date-baskets, or maybe small round date-baskets, four or five small round date-baskets' (Tj2:6)

ðə kun aǵás, bə-ðə kun is, bə-ðə kun edíds 'whether it be her father, her brother, or her uncle' (Tj2:25)

13.4.3 *bélé*

The word *bélé*, which occurs only seven times in the texts, means 'even if'. Some of the attested examples are:

tum sóbər bass məthaníti, bélé əl məthaníti 'you are always having trouble, even if you aren't having trouble' (28:12)

aḥtéḏír ɔl (t)zim tīti xaṭʕkés ábdan, bélé őrót hiš ʕl dḥa-l-ǵád lʕ ‘be sure never to give my wife her clothes, even if she says to you, “I won’t go”’ (30:8)

he eḏəbalítš, bélé šiš aǵéyg ε-ǵītás ʕónut ‘I will be its protector, even if you have the man who took you for a year’ (30:22)

ken ḏə-férḥək ed bélé ḏə-múṭḥank ‘be (like) you’re happy, even if you’re sad [or: in trouble]’ (57:15)

bélé ḏə-šanʕim bə-šés ƙərʕš, ɔl yašɔr ar ősét lʕ ‘even if he has prospered and has money, he doesn’t make do [or: have patience] without livestock’ (TJ2:109)

In one passage (49:33), *bélé* is used on its own as an exclamation ‘even so!’.

The word *bélé* corresponds in meaning and use to Mehri *tē wə-lū* and Hobyot *ta wə-lí*, and is no doubt cognate with the elements *wə-lū* and *wə-lí*. Mehri *tē wə-lū* and Hobyot *ta wə-lí* are also clearly connected with the conditional particles used for unreal (counterfactual) conditionals, Mehri *lū* and Hobyot *wə-lí*; cf. also Soqoṭri *lə*.¹¹ In Jibbali, *bélé* has no such internal connection. The use of *ed* in 57:15 is likely a Mehriism, since text 57 was translated from Mehri.

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:

- (a1) I want to speak Jibbali.
- (a2) I want you to speak Jibbali.
- (b) I know (that) you speak Jibbali.

Types (a1) and (a2), containing an infinitive in English, correspond in Jibbali to constructions involving a dependent subjunctive verb, as in the following examples:

ʕiǵiǵt təsnés ‘she wants to see you’ (36:7)

aǵéyg ʕazúm yaǵád ḥaǵg ‘the man decided to go on the Hajj’ (36:20)

ɔl-ʕd ƙádór yašéxənt lʕ ‘he was not able to get out’ (22:2)

¹¹ On the Mehri particles, see Rubin (2010: 283–284) and Watson (2012: 395; 399); on Hobyot, see *HV* (pp. 295–296); and on Soqoṭri, see Leslau (1938: 227). See also *HL* (s.v. *w*) on Ḥarsusi.

əl dé ǵarób yadēš lɔ 'no one knew how to cure him' (SB1:4)
ʿak bek taǵád ši 'I want you to go with me' (28:10)
sih heš yǵšfək 'he permitted him to marry' (7:9)
ətóləb meš l-írxaš tet túnħag 'I am asking you to let the woman dance'
 (30:11)

These types of sentences have been treated already in §7.1.3 and §7.5, where a number of additional examples can be found. Sometimes these subjunctive constructions can be translated with an English type (b) complement clause, instead of with an infinitive. For example, the last sentence above could also be translated 'I am asking that you let the woman dance'. And, in fact, there are a few places where a subjunctive construction is best translated, or can *only* be translated, with an English type (b) complement clause, such as with the verb *fērək* 'be afraid' (followed usually by the preposition (^c)*ar*, but in one passage by a direct object) and the frozen verbal form (*ə*)*thúmk* 'I think (perhaps)' (§12.5.18). Some examples are:

firkək ʿās əl tǵffər mən ǵérən 'I am afraid that she'll run away from us'
 (30:10)
firkək təs əl l-éflət mən ǵiri 'I am afraid she'll run away from me' (60:16)
thúmk tɔ əl-ǵád nášanu 'I think I'll go now' (38:2)
thúmk tǵš yékən mən axšómén 'I think he might be from our enemies'
 (60:42)

13.5.1.1 Complementizer *ǵ-*

Complement clause type (b) involves, in English, an optional complementizer 'that'. In Jibbali, the particle *ǵ-* serves as an optional complementizer, but it is not clear if there are rigid rules governing its use. Only the following verbs are attested with the complementizer *ǵ-* in the texts: *ǵr* 'say', *kólót* 'tell', *ǵarób* 'know', *šəsfé* 'find out', *šhed* 'bear witness; testify', and *zəhéd* 'understand'. Some examples are:

əl bek ʿök hek lɔ ǵə-hét mišérd 'didn't I already tell you that you were stupid?' (1:9)
yəʿǵr ešhód ǵə-sé, tet, ikežót is yéšfəkəs 'the witnesses say that, she, the woman, gave authority to her father to marry her off' (45:18)
ǵorób ǵə-šé əl dé tēš lɔ 'he knew that no one had eaten it' (21:10)
əbréš ǵarób ǵə-šé telq 'his son knew that it was ice' (35:7)
tet aǵéyǵ ǵarióts ǵə-sé súdkət 'the man's wife knew that she was a friend'
 (60:46)

bə-zhéd aǵéyǵ ðə-šé ‘amkásǵ ĵiyór ‘and the man understood that it had something bad in it’ (17:48)

zəhédót attét ðə-šé aǵéyǵ ol šhabél aǵarós lə ‘the woman realized that the man didn’t understand her language’ (34:11)

zəhédš ðə-šé ‘aǵəb mih ‘they understood him that he wanted water’ (35:3)

kəltót ešxarét her ebrít ðə-suṭún ðə-šé, embére’ ðénu, kəl yūm təšəḥ nxin eréšš ĵarórt ð-díréham ‘the old woman told the Sultan’s son that every day a bag of money appeared under this boy’s head’ (6:18)

təshéd bə-ðičkum ðə-šé šfəḵ b-əðí-ilín, bə-ðə-šé, is bə-flǵ aǵás, okəl tə l-émlək əðí-ilín bər əðí-ilín ‘do you testify by your responsibilities [or: guarantees] that he married so-and-so, and that her father or her brother has given me authority to give legal possession to so-and-so, son of so-and-so?’ (45:17)

ī embére’ šəšfə əð-šé ebréš kun leš ket ma ket ‘the boy’s father found out that such and such happened to his son’ (TJ4:75)

Note that sometimes the main verb can take an anticipatory direct object (e.g., 60:46; 35:3), but other times does not (e.g., 35:7; 34:11). There does not seem to be any rule that can predict which construction is used.

Some verbs after which we might expect a complementizer, such as *guzúm* ‘swear’, *yəkól* ‘think’, and *heǵós* ‘think’, are never found with it (see further on verbs of thinking below). And surely there are other verbs that can be followed by a complementizer, but for which the texts provide no evidence. Moreover, some verbs—like *ör* ‘say’ and *ĵarób* ‘know’—are attested both with and without the complementizer. For the verb *ör* ‘say’, the lack of a complementizer can be considered a report of direct speech, for example:

ēr hēn bə-kəbəlét mosé mékən ‘it was told to us that in the west there is a lot of rain [or: it was told to us, “In the west there is a lot of rain”]’ (32:8)

ör yə yəkín ðírš ǵənní ĵəsré ‘people said that there was a jinn by it at night [or: people said, “There is a jinn by it at night”]’ (39:1)

For the verb *ĵarób*, we can observe in the texts that the complementizer is usually used when the subject of the complement clause (whether verbal or non-verbal) is third person, but not if it is first or second person. Compare the examples with *ĵarób* above with the following examples that are missing the complementizer:

he ðə-ĵaróbk tun dha-nəməl kərəre ‘you know that we are moving tomorrow’ (28:11)

he ð̃-ǵaróbk tək ð̃er xád̃ar ‘I know you are on top of the cave’ (25:18)
het ð̃-ǵaróbk tun ɔl ənsénúđ ák lɔ ‘you know that we wouldn’t manage
 without you’ (28:15)

It can be seen from the examples at the beginning of this section that the complementizer *ð̃-* is always followed by an independent pronoun. In the examples in which no complementizer is used, there is never an independent pronoun beginning the complement clause. Presumably, it is the case that the pronoun is required because of the complementizer *ð̃-*, and not that the complementizer *ð̃-* is required because of the third person pronoun. Sometimes it may appear that there are exceptions to this situation, for example:

ð̃r hen ɣɔ ð̃-ízót eskún ‘people told us that it is full of settlements’ (38:1)
ð̃-ǵaróbk tɔš ð̃-ɣəftéréžən bə-fəndél ‘I knew he was excited about the
 sweet potatoes’ (49:35)

Both of these examples would seem at first glance to violate the rule that the complementizer is always followed by an independent pronoun. In fact, neither of these passages contains a complementizer. Rather, in 38:1, the perfect *ízót* is preceded by the verbal prefix *ð̃-* (§ 7.1.10.2), and so *ð̃-ízót* means literally ‘has become full’. In 49:35, the imperfect *ɣəftéréžən* is likewise preceded by the particle *ð̃-*, indicating something like a past progressive (§ 7.1.10.1). However, if 49:35 does not contain a complementizer, then it would seem to contradict the observation that *ǵarób* is used with a complementizer if the subject of the complement clause is a third person. The fact that the particle *ð̃-* is already present here has possibly suppressed the appearance of the complementizer.

As noted above, verbs of thinking are never followed by a complementizer in the texts. The most common such verb in the texts is the anomalous verb *ɣəkól* ‘think’ (§ 7.4.16), anomalous because it is used only in the imperfect and has a past tense meaning. A complement clause following *ɣəkól* can contain a non-verbal phrase, a perfect, or, for a relative future, a future. Based on the limited data available, it seems that a direct object is used on the form of *ɣəkól* mainly when the subject of the complement clause is not third person. Examples are:

embéɛ’ ɣəkól ‘ak səndík díréhəm ‘the boy had thought that there was
 money in the box’ (5:5)
ɣəkél kunút həgmét ‘ak sékən ‘they thought there was an attack on [or:
 fight in] the settlement’ (13:13)
ɣəkól kít ‘he thought (it was) food’ (35:4)

yəkól egənní mína' egenbít 'he thought the jinn had taken hold of the dagger' (39:5)

yəkól əl dé əl-hés še lə 'he thought there was no one like him' (54:2)

əkó(l)š mən yénš hažórš li 'I thought you were persuading me truthfully' (60:8)

təkó(l)š edúrš yólhum 'she thought you had gone back to them' (60:23)

əl nəkó(l)š dħa-ygád lə 'we didn't think he would go' (49:35)

Note especially the sentences of the type *yəkól kít* 'he thought (it was) food' (35:4), in which not only is there no complementizer, but there is also no expressed subject in the complement clause.

The verb *hegós* (or *hogós*) 'think' is attested just twice in the texts,¹² but in neither case is it followed by a complementizer:

ħaš ɛ-hegósk biš biš aǵádaš mən ǵér emíħ 'when I think you have already gone from by the water' (60:15)

aǵéyg hégós bə-tét tékən berót aǵadót mən ǵér emíħ 'the man figured the woman would have already gone from by the water' (60:20)

Another verb that can be translated 'think' is the irregular frozen form (ə)*thúmk*; see § 12.5.18 and § 13.5.1 on its use with what appear to be complement clauses, but never with a complementizer.

13.5.2 Purpose Clauses

Purpose clauses in Jibbali can be either marked or unmarked. The most common particle used to indicate a purpose clause is *her*, though *l-əǵére*, *ed*, and *b-* are also used. These particles function primarily as prepositions, and their use in the marking of purpose clauses is secondary.

13.5.2.1 Unmarked Purpose Clauses

An unmarked purpose clause simply includes a subjunctive verb. Some examples from the texts are:

dħa-l-zémk bérík təmtósəħ 'I'll give you a pitcher to perform [or: so you can perform] ablutions' (36:10)

ǵadyəl üt ɛ-kēr, yəzémk 'išé bə-flóyó(l)tǵək 'go to the house of the sheikh, so he can give you food or kill you' (46:9)

¹² *JL* has *hogós*, while the texts have only *hegós*. See further in the comment to text 60:20.

yəbğód yótləb musá'adat ε-təxtór 'he goes to ask the help of a doctor'
(52:1)

zē-to ēsérk l-əǵbéb 'amkás 'give me your turban so I can defecate in it
[or: to defecate in]' (97:37)

xtórən də-hállét ənštém hēsən 'álaf 'we went down to town to buy feed
for them' (AK1:3)

zəhámk əl-štém kénúm őśét 'I came to buy some animal fodder' (SM)

More often, Jibbali indicates a purpose clause with a particle, usually *her*.

13.5.2.2 *her*

The particle *her*, used most often as a preposition 'to; for' (§ 8.11), as a conditional particle (see § 13.4.1), or as a temporal conjunction (§ 13.5.3.3), can also mark a purpose clause. As a preposition 'for', it often indicates purpose, hence its use to mark a purpose clause. It has this function about a dozen times in the texts. The examples from the texts are:

əl bi kətəfəflə her l-əffər 'I don't have wings to fly' (3:8)

iš əl a'ní her yəšérk məsgíd lə 'his father didn't mean that he should make
a mosque' (5:3)

b'él érún b-iyél yəzhúmhum her yəsxéf 'The goat- and camel-herders
come to them (the cow-herders) in order to drink milk' (9:4)

hit 'amíl óram her nəžbót embére 'you find [lit. make] a way for us to
capture the boy' (17:19)

b-əl šeš sé lə her yəstém her ađánəš məsaréf 'he didn't have anything
(with which) to buy supplies for his family' (18:1)

héróg šes her yəǵád šes 'he spoke to her in order to sleep [lit. go] with
her' (36:10)

zəhám tun bə-fəndél her nəfnék fəndél 'he brought us back sweet pota-
toes so that we could taste sweet potato' (49:11)

zəhót émi her təžbót tə 'my mother came to get me' (49:31)

'əǵən nəhéfər háši 'əfər her nəsbəx bə-xádər 'let's dig up red sand so we
can spread (sand) in the cave' (51:16)

šink təš əǵád her yəđhól 'I saw him go to urinate' (53:11)

zəhámk bun her l-édraš 'I came here in order to study' (FB1:1)

əl šəwəkən tēl 'ar her nənhág 'we made music only in order to dance'
(Pr114)

It is interesting to note that of the six passages above with *her* (indicating purpose) that have parallel Mehri versions, the Mehri text has *l-əǵarē* in three cases, *tē* in two places, and once has an unmarked purpose clause.

13.5.2.3 *l-əgére*

The particle *l-əgére* (or *l-əgeré*; cf. Mehri *l-agərē*), which before a noun means ‘for the sake of, on behalf of’ (see § 8.29), can also introduce a purpose clause. As expected, the verb of the purpose clause appears in the subjunctive. Examples from the texts are:

- thúmk tɔ əl-ǰád nášanu, l-əgére ð-əl-ǰád l-ǰrxér* ‘I think I’ll go now, so that I can go slowly’ (38:2)
he ʾak beš yəfǝt l-əgére l-əsxǝf enúsbəš ‘I wanted him to die, so I could drink his milk’ (51:4)
ī kǝlǝt her yɔ b-əlhín šerǝkək l-əgére yɔ yəžhék ‘my father told the people everything I had done so that they would laugh’ (51:13)
yəǰēðǝnk l-əgeré txéls ‘they will anger you so that you will go astray’ (57:15)
kǝrǝt kebś l-əgére her ebrés zəhám, ta’mér heš, “teǝ xargót” ‘she buried a lamb, so that if [or: whenever] her son came, she might tell him, “Your wife died”’ (30:12)

There is no clear difference between *l-əgére* and *her* or *ed* in this function.¹³ In the last example (30:12), *l-əgére* is probably used because of the following conditional particle *her*. Note also that in the example from 38:2 we find *ð-* following *l-əgére*, as we do (at least sometimes) when *l-əgére* is used prepositionally (cf. 60:36). Of the five examples of *l-əgére* marking a purpose clause in Johnstone’s texts, just one (57:15) has a Mehri parallel (M90:15), in which *l-agərē* is also used.¹⁴ As noted in § 13.5.2.2., in several places where Mehri uses *l-agərē* in a passage parallel to a Jibbali text, the Jibbali text has *her*.

13.5.2.4 *ed*

The particle *ed*, normally a preposition meaning ‘up to, until; to’, can also be used to introduce a purpose clause, in which case it is followed by a subjunctive verb. The only examples from the texts are:

- íné əl-šérk her ərǝt ed l-ǝ(l)tǝǝhum* ‘what should I do to the boys in order to kill them?’ (6:6)

¹³ Davey (2013: 185) found that the Dhofari Arabic particles *hatta* (< *hattā* ‘until’) and *gara* (cf. Standard Arabic *min garā-ka* ‘for your sake’), equivalent to Jibbali *ed* and *l-əgére*, can also be used identically.

¹⁴ In fact, Jibbali text 57 was translated directly from Mehri text 90.

yəród bə-xṭəróḱš bə-yší' ed yəšékkəlās 'he would throw his stick and run to catch it' (54:2)
yəšelēdan mən ǧér iš ed yəzḥómš 'he shot over his father so he could get to it [the peak]' (83:3)

In Johnstone's Mehri texts, *tē* 'until' (the equivalent of Jibbali *ed* 'until') is the most common particle used to indicate a purpose clause (Rubin 2010: 293). Given that there are so few examples of *ed* used this way in Johnstone's texts, and that there are other more common ways of indicating a purpose clause, one wonders if this use of *ed* in Jibbali is a Mehrism, or perhaps an Arabism (cf. Arabic *ḥattā*). See also the comment to text 6:6.

There is one other possible example, in which *ed* is followed by a perfect: *eród érunéš ed erbé* (20:6). The parallel Mehri passage is translated in Stroomer's edition of Johnstone's Mehri texts as:

həwrōd ḥazhe tē hərwū '[he took] his goats to the water to give them a drink' (M61:6)

I followed this translation in my Mehri grammar (Rubin 2010: 293), and from this passage suggested that *tē* indicating a purpose clause could be followed by a perfect, rather than a subjunctive, in a past tense context. I now think that this reading and subsequent analysis is almost certainly incorrect, and instead prefer to read Mehri *tē* and Jibbali *ed* here as 'until', and translate both passages literally 'he brought his goats to the water until he had let (them) drink [or better: and let (them) drink]'. For further discussion on *ed* as a temporal subordinator, with similar passages that back up this translation of text 20:6, see § 13.5.3.4.

13.5.2.5 *b-*

As discussed in § 8.6, the preposition *b-* can have the meaning 'for, in exchange for'. Based on this meaning, it can, in appropriate contexts, be used as a subordinator to indicate purpose. There are just two examples in the texts:

dḥa-l-zémš xamsín ḱəróš bə-təzḥī-tə b-əbrít ǧə-suṭún 'I will give you fifty dollars for you to bring me the Sultan's daughter' (36:6)
zūt tə yət bə-l-ǧád šes 'she gave me a camel for me to go with her [or: that I would go with her]' (49:34)

13.5.3 *Temporal Clauses*

There are four main particles used for temporal subordination in Jibbali: *mit*, *haṣ* ε-, *ed*, and *hes*. A fifth, *haḵt* ε-, seems to be rarer.¹⁵ The conditional particle *her* (§13.4.1) can also sometimes be used as a temporal subordinating particle. All of these can be translated by English ‘when’, though each has its own special functions. That is, even when they are syntactically interchangeable, which they are not always, each usually has its own nuance of meaning. The data also suggests that there are some dialectal differences in the use of the temporal subordinators, but this needs to be investigated further. The five particles listed above will be treated in turn. On the use of the auxiliary verb *d-ʿəd* to mean ‘while’ or ‘before’ in a subordinate clause, see §7.3.

13.5.3.1 *mit* ‘when’

The particle *mit*, in addition to being an interrogative adverb ‘when?’ (§11.7), can also function as a marker of temporal subordination. It is used almost exclusively to refer to an event that has not yet happened (i.e., a future or relative future). As a temporal subordinator, *mit* is followed by either a verb in the perfect tense or by a non-verbal clause. Some examples are:

bə-thúmk təš ar ha-yhóšəl bə-ḥa-nəšné egōbš mit zəḥám ‘I thought he’d surely get (something), and we would see his answer when he came’ (10:4)

mit a’ásəriš héróg šiš, gálíb, bə-hé dḥa-l-ḥéžər liš təgíd ‘when your husband speaks with you, refuse, and I will (pretend to) persuade you to go’ (60:6)

mit ‘ágiš (t)šíxnəṭ, ḏ’ír aǧarórt ε-díréhəm ‘aḵ éđórt ‘when you want to leave, pour the bag of money onto the dance-floor’ (97:24)

mit zəḥám a’ásəriš bə-‘ágiš təgíd k-enúf, ‘amír her a’ásəriš ‘when your husband comes and you want to go to the bathroom, say to your husband...’ (97:37)

As also discussed in §7.2, if a temporal clause is non-verbal and has a pronominal subject, then the auxiliary verb *ber*, which carries no meaning, is required to hold the subject. An example is:

¹⁵ On *məd* and *mið*, see §13.5.3.1.

mit bek kērib al-ḥeṣān, ardé b-esfēt sérék ‘when you are near the castle, throw the hair behind you’ (86:9)

In one passage, we find *ber* in the main clause, indicating a time prior to the temporal *mit*-clause, i.e., a future perfect (on the compound future perfect tense, see § 7.1.9):

mit zəḥān, təkín ber taḥánš egunét ə-bér molš ezbirt mih ‘when we come back, you should have already ground the sack (of grain) and already filled the buckets with water’ (97:7)

In addition to the basic use of *mit* to refer to an event that has not yet happened (relative to the main verb), there is one passage in the texts in which we find *mit* used in the context of a past narrative:

mit ber ḏə-ʕr xérin, yašelēdan mən ḏér iṣ ed yažhómš ‘when he had got a little ways ahead, he shot over his father so he could get to it [the peak]’ (83:3)

Unlike Mehri *mət* (Rubin 2010: 295–296), Jibbali *mit* is not used to indicate past habitual action, in the sense of ‘when’ or ‘whenever’. For this meaning, Jibbali uses *her* (see below, § 13.5.3.3).

The poorly attested temporal particles *məd* (cf. text Fr1; *JL*, s.v. *md*) and *miḏ* (cf. *JL*, s.v. *mḏ*, *myt*; Hofstede 1998: 116), which are not used in any of Johnstone’s texts or my own, probably derive from *mit* + *d-/ḏ-*.¹⁶

13.5.3.2 *ḥaṣ ε-* ‘when’

The compound particle *ḥaṣ ε-* has the meaning ‘when’ in the sense of ‘as soon as’. That is, it implies some sense of immediacy after the temporal clause. It can be used either in past or future contexts, as well as in general statements. If followed by a verb, as it nearly always is, the verb will be in the perfect. If followed by a non-verbal clause (as happens just once in the texts, in 30:3), *ḥaṣ ε-* is followed by the auxiliary *ber* (§ 7.2). The element *ε-* is suppressed if the following word begins with a vowel, as well as usually when followed by the auxiliary *ber*.¹⁷

In the texts, *ḥaṣ ε-* is found most often (fifteen of twenty-eight occurrences) in a future context—that is, with reference to a future event—in

¹⁶ The particle *miḏ* is well attested in the Mehri dialect spoken in the southeastern corner of Yemen. See Watson (2012: 383).

¹⁷ An example with *ε-bér* can be found in 30:3, but see the comment to the text. On the elision of the *b* in *ber* following the relative pronoun *ε-* (i.e., *ε-bér* > *ēr*), see § 7.2.

which case the verb in the main clause can be a future, an imperative, or (least often) an imperfect. Some examples are:

ħaş ε-γó zəħám, dħa-γətlǒǰ eyótk ‘when the people come, they will mention your camel’ (33:6)

ħaş ε-zħám a‘ásəriš, ‘amír heš ‘when your husband comes, say to him...’ (6:7)

ħaş ε-bér ‘ak ejǒr, ħmél xaṭǒkésən ‘when they are in the well, pick up their clothes’ (30:3)

ħaş ε-shék ḏénu, nézmək a‘íšék ‘when you finish this, we will give you your dinner’ (54:25)

nħa dħa-nzémk ħaş εbšǒlən ‘we will give you (some) when we’ve cooked (it)’ (23:2)

dħa-l-zémkum fándél ħaş ε-zħámkum ‘I’ll give you sweet potatoes when you come back’ (49:12)

As the last two examples show (23:2; 49:12), the subordinate clause with *ħaş ε-* can follow the main clause, though more often it precedes.

In a past context, the verb in the main clause will be a perfect, as in:

ħaş ε-tét aǰadót, ħǒl ka‘éb b-eritíoħum ‘when the woman went out, he picked up things and cleaned them up’ (34:5)

ħaş aǰadót teṭ yǒl éṭbax, ħǒl eḳahwét bə-ḳel‘ós xunt mən aǰərfét ‘when she went to the kitchen, he picked up the coffee and put it outside of the room’ (34:9)

ħaş ε-bóttər, šíni eqǒfěš ‘ak emih ‘when he looked down, he saw his shadow in the water’ (39:3)

ħaş ε-šǒót ešxarét aǰaró ḏénu, ftǒrǒót ‘when the old woman heard these words, she became very happy’ (60:23)

ħaş bek kébbək, sfǒrk ‘after I came down, I traveled’ (TJ3:5)

It can be seen in the first example above (34:5) that a noun subject can come between *ħaş ε-* and the verb, though this is not usual; cf. the very similar example from 34:9, in which the verb immediately follows *ħaş ε-*.

In a general statement, the verb in the main clause will be an imperfect, or the main clause can be a non-verbal clause, for example:

ħaş ε-šxənít mən éšǰíd, yǒlǒd bə-γəħəbǒn ‘[on this holiday] when they go out from the mosque, they shoot (guns) and sing’ (4:2)

ħaş ber ešǒzi il-‘aşr, γəħəbǒn aǰág ‘[on this holiday] when they’ve prayed the afternoon prayer, the men sing’ (4:6)

ħaş ε-šhéd ešhód, yēlók šéra' aǵéyg ε-šfók 'when the witnesses have testified, the judge gives possession to the man who got married' (45:18)

ħaş ε-gunūt, xalás 'when she refuses (the calf), it is finished' (TJ2:54)

In just one passage in the texts, *ħaş* is preceded by *mən* 'from', giving the sense of 'after' or 'from then on':

mən ħaş emlék šéra', tákín títš 'after [or: from when] the judge has given possession, she becomes his wife' (45:19)

In all of the examples in this section, wherever *ħaş ε-* has been translated as 'when', one could easily substitute 'as soon as' or '(just) after'. In a future tense context, *ħaş ε-* is usually interchangeable with *mit* (see §13.5.3.1), with just a slight nuance of difference. Compare the following two passages, which are nearly identical:

ħaş ε-činaš bə-áǵiš (t)šíxnəṭ, ḏ'ír edíréħəm 'ak ēdórt 'when [or: as soon as] you have had enough and want to leave, pour the money onto the dance-floor' (97:12)

mit 'áǵiš (t)šíxnəṭ, ḏ'ír aǵarórt ε-díréħəm 'ak ēdórt 'when you want to leave, pour the bag of money onto the dance-floor' (97:24)

Another very similar set to compare is:

ħaş ε-zħám a'ásəriš, 'amír heš 'when your husband comes, say to him...' (6:7)

mit zəħám a'ásəriš bə-áǵiš taǵíd k-enúf, 'amír her a'ásəriš 'when your husband comes and you want to go to the bathroom, say to your husband...' (97:37)

13.5.3.3 *her* 'when, whenever'

As mentioned already in §13.4.1, the conditional particle *her* 'if' can also be used as a temporal subordinator, in which case it indicates habitual or repeated action in the past or present. In such sentences, a verb following *her* is in the perfect tense, while a verb in the main clause is in the imperfect. As such, it can be translated as 'when' or 'whenever' (and often also 'if'). Examples are:

her zəħám ħallét, yašérók bes məsgíd 'whenever he came to a town, he built [lit. made] a mosque in it' (5:2)

her hē ħási ḏer embére', tanúǵaf 'āš eǵátš ħási 'whenever dirt fell on the boy, his sister would brush it off of him' (36:17)

her heriót yum, əgólə ‘whenever the sun goes down, I get sick’ (38:6)
her hōtrəf mukún yəšúnš yətōš ‘whenever he changed places, he would see it following him’ (39:4)
her zəhám mən ɛxtér, (t)zhōn ð-télf ‘when they come back from a trip, they come back hungry’ (47:6)
her ínét fəlbək šítár, əšórək ũs ɛ-ī b-aḥzéz šítár ... bə-hér ‘ágəb tək’an šítár, ʔit mənšén (t)səkf ʔer dɔf mən tél l-əkōžən li ‘when the women let out the kids, I would steal my father’s razor and slaughter the kids ... and when they wanted to let out the kids, one of them would sit on a rock where they could watch me’ (49:3)

One informant used *her* in this way in conjunction with an imperfect:

ɔ nəšhió(l)k lə her təhérg fíśá ‘we don’t understand you when you speak fast’ (SM)¹⁸

In just one place in the texts (54:27), temporal *her* is used in a non-verbal clause. This clause contains the phrase *her šīn* ‘after a little while’:

her šī(n) yəxánúʔ məká ‘after a little while, he would take off a veil’ (54:27)

The above example still seems to reflect a repeated action; the character in the story is wearing multiple veils, and takes them off one at a time, at intervals.¹⁹ It remains to be determined if Jibbali *her šīn* can be used in a past narrative context to refer to a one-time event, as its Mehri equivalent *mət səwānōt* appears to be able to do (e.g., M104:19).

The combination of *her* with the auxiliary *ber* and a future tense (i.e., *her ber dḥa-*) gives the sense of ‘before’. There are only two examples of this in the texts:

her ber dḥa-txarəfen təšəhən ðə-xerít ‘before (the trees) gave fruit, one morning they were stripped’ (30:1)
her ber dḥa-yatəgək ekfór, ‘ak hé l-ətəgək ‘before the foreigners kill you, I want to kill you’ (35:8)

¹⁸ This sentence was translated from English to Jibbali by the informant.

¹⁹ In Stroomer’s translation of this Mehri text (M42:32), he takes the equivalent phrase *mət səwānōt* as referring to a one-time action: ‘then in a little while, he took off’. I did likewise in my grammar (Rubin 2010: 296), where I translated ‘after a little while, he took one (veil) off’. I would revise that translation now, to match what I have given here for Jibbali.

It is also possible to translate the example from 30:1 as ‘when (the trees) were about to give fruit...’. For more on the proximative use of *ber dha-* in other contexts, see § 7.2.

Sometimes it is not easy to decide if *her* is functioning as a conditional or temporal particle. Consider the following example:

ḵārót kebś l-əgére, her ebrés zəhám, ta’mér heš, “teṭ xargót” ‘she buried a lamb, so that if [or: whenever] her son came, she might tell him, “Your wife died”’ (30:12)

In this sentence, ‘when’ makes good sense, since the woman expects her son to come back. However, we would expect *mit* or *haš ε-* to be used for ‘when’ in this context, which describes an event that has not yet taken place. There is no main clause associated with the *her*-clause, since the following subjunctive *ta’mér* is connected with the earlier *l-əgére*.

As mentioned in § 13.4.1, n. 7, the conditional particle *her* has the variant *hel* in the EJ dialect of the town of Sadḥ. This variant form is also attested with a temporal use in the dialect of one speaker, though all referring to single events within a narrative (cf. TJ4:26; TJ4:27; TJ4:28; TJ4:30; TJ4:32). That is, *hel* occurs in this text in environments where we might expect *hes* (§ 13.5.3.5), not *her*.

On *her* as a purpose-marking subordinating conjunction ‘so that’, see § 13.5.2.2.

13.5.3.4 *ed* ‘then when; until’

The common particle *ed* can be used as a preposition ‘until’ (see § 8.1) or, rarely, to mark a purpose clause (§ 13.5.2.4), 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 normally sufficient, and sometimes even preferable. Because it has this nuance of ‘then’, a temporal ‘when’-clause with *ed* always precedes the main clause. In addition, *ed* cannot be preceded by the conjunction *b-* ‘and’, while the other temporal subordinators can be. Like other temporal subordinators, the temporal conjunction *ed* is normally followed by a verb in the perfect. Examples from the texts are abundant. Some are:

ed melét səndík, ṭrdótš ‘then when she filled a box, she threw him out’
(6:17)

ed zəhámk bun, kisk əjegéši ‘then when I came here, I found my friend’
(10:2)

ed zəhám, zīs tūr ‘when he came, he gave her the dates’ (17:22)
ed šíni tíš bahšés, aǵád ed zəhís ‘then when he saw his wife by herself,
 he went up to her’ (30:21)
ed kun bə-xár, aǵádyol šxarét ‘then when he was well, he went to an old
 woman’ (36:6)
ed kséš ð-aǵtóšē, ḥōlš ‘then when they found him passed out, they
 picked him up’ (39:6)
ed níka’ lxín ūt, yásún mənzél ðə-šxarét ‘then when he came to a house,
 he saw an old woman’s place’ (TJ4:10)

If a non-verbal phrase is used in the temporal clause, then a pronominal subject is expressed by the auxiliary verb *ber* (§ 7.2). There is just one example of this with *ed* in Johnstone’s texts:

ed ber b-órəm, ksé tet k-ērún ‘when he was on the road, he found a
 woman with goats’ (22:5)

In many passages, *ed* is simply followed by an adverb or adverbial phrase. Such adverbs or adverbial phrases are nearly always temporal in nature, like *k-háşaf* ‘in the morning’, *kəl’eni* ‘in the evening’, *ǵasré* ‘at night’, *ðélé* ‘late morning’, *ásər taṭ* ‘one night’, *yum tit* ‘one day’ (or other phrases involving *yum* ‘day’), *fəkh ð-a’ásər* ‘in the middle of the night’, *mən ðér ékət* ‘after a while’, etc. In this case, it is not clear if we should parse *ed* as a temporal conjunction preceding a non-verbal clause, or parse *ed* as a simple adverb ‘then’. For example, the clause *ed ǵasré* in the first example below (15:9) might be translated ‘then when (it was) evening’ or simply ‘then in the evening’. I prefer the latter analysis. Examples are:

ed ǵasré, zəhám kəb ‘then in the evening, the wolf came’ (15:9)
ed yum xilfét zəhám ðer míh ‘then the next day, they came to some
 water’ (17:12)
ed mən ðér ékət kun məš’ér bə-ḥallét ‘then after a while, there was a
 dance-party in the town’ (30:9)
ed kəl’eni keb ‘aḳ ša’b ‘then in the evening, he went down into a valley’
 (33:2)
ed k-háşaf ‘aśśót əl-fénéš ‘then in the morning, she got up before him’
 (97:41)
ed mənzél hēt ḥogúlts ‘then at (one) place, her bracelet fell’ (97:27)

As the last example shows, sometimes the adverbial phrase can be locative, rather than temporal.

In addition to having the meaning ‘(then) when’, the conjunction *ed* is also often found with the meaning ‘until’, a meaning it also has as a

preposition (see § 8.1). In this case, the subordinate clause follows the main clause, and the verb following *ed* is normally a perfect (or *ber* + a future for a proximative; see § 7.2) if the reference is to the past, but a subjunctive if the reference is to the future.²⁰ Examples are:

śxaf ed śē ‘he drank until he was satisfied’ (33:16)

kəltət bə-kəltət dīnu kels ed tammūt ‘she told them this whole story until it was done’ (36:31)

hergót ed žəhót ‘she spoke until she got fed up’ (TJ4:37)

kunūt len ek’át ed bérən ha-nğorók ‘a storm befell us until we were about to sink’ (13:4)

he dħa-l-ğád l-ékər b-ağóhí ed əl-zħómkm ‘I will go visit my brothers until I come back to you’ (50:2)

širk eníf (t)šírík sé ed nəğád ‘pretend you are doing something until we go’ (60:8)

nəhíg ed (t)šíhki ‘dance until you’ve had enough’ (97:24)

ɔ tağərb her a’ásərk ed l-éxləf’ äš ‘you don’t know (the value of) your friend until you move away from him’ (Pr8)

See the comments to texts 28:17, 30:5, and TJ4:66 for some discussion of *ed* contracting with the following verb when used in this way.

There are some passages in which it is somewhat ambiguous whether *ed* is functioning as ‘until’ or ‘then when’. For example, in 97:14, we find the passage *bə-nħaqót ed šəhket də’arót ağarót də-dírəħəm’ ak’ edórt*. Depending on punctuation (in writing) or natural pauses and stress (in speech), this could be translated either ‘and she danced. Then when she had enough, she poured the bag of money onto the dance-floor’ or ‘and she danced until, when she had enough, she poured the bag of money onto the dance-floor’. Another example is *ağádən ed éşələn dər emíh méléť li bérík mih* (49:19). Depending on punctuation or sentence stress, this could be translated either ‘we went until we reached the water. She filled a jug with water for me’ or ‘We went. Then when we reached the water, she filled a jug with water for me’. One can see how these two uses of *ed* overlap syntactically.

Sometimes Jibbali uses *ed* ‘until’ where English would use a simple conjunction ‘and’, for example:

²⁰ In texts TJ3 and TJ4 (e.g., TJ3:26; TJ4:52; TJ4:63; and TJ4:66) there are examples of *ed* plus a subjunctive with reference to the past, in addition to examples with an expected perfect (e.g., TJ4:9; TJ4:37).

- eród éruněš ed erbé* ‘he brought his goats to the water and let (them) drink [lit. until he had let (them) drink]’ (20:6)
agád agéyg ed kūn ‘ak enáxal ‘the man went and [lit. until] he hid among the date-palms’ (30:4)
hīlās ed éšal bes tel a‘éléš ‘he took her and [lit. until] he brought her to his family’ (36:19)
tēr kelš ed kun ḥasós ‘all of him was broken and [lit. until] he was all smashed (in his bones)’ (48:20)
agádk mən séréš ed dāhéfk tōš ‘I went behind him and [lit. until] I slapped him (on the back)’ (51:7)

In a handful of places in Johnstone’s texts (12:5; 13:1/4/5; 15:1), we find the particle *tē*, rather than *ed*; this is perhaps a Mehriism (cf. Mehri *tē*), though it could also reflect a variant form (cf. the Mehri variant *at-tē*, and see the comment to text TJ4:69). Finally it should be noted that unlike Mehri *tē*, which combines with *hīs* in various environments, Jibbali *ed* does not seem to combine with *hes*.²¹

13.5.3.5 *hes* ‘when; after; since’

The particle *hes* can function as a preposition meaning ‘like’, in which case it is usually found in the compound *al-hés* (see § 8.12). It is encountered most often, however, as a marker of temporal subordination ‘when’ or ‘after’. For what it is worth, *hes* is used less frequently in Johnstone’s Jibbali texts than its counterpart *hīs* is used in his Mehri texts. Like *ed* (§ 13.5.3.4), *hes* is used in the context of a past narrative, and a following verb appears in the perfect. But while the *ed*-clause (when it means ‘when’) must precede the main clause, the *hes*-clause can precede, follow, or be embedded within the main clause. And while *ed* carries a sequential nuance ‘then when’, *hes* is simply ‘when’. This is not to say that *hes* cannot be used in a context where ‘then when’ is appropriate. *Hes* can indicate either simultaneous action (‘when, while’) or subsequent action (‘(then) when’); it also has other nuances not found with *ed*, as will be outlined below. Following are some examples of *hes* from the texts:

- hes éšal ešhéhr, ksé ḡeyg* ‘when he reached the mountains, he found a man’ (7:1)
hes źḥakk, ḡarōt tō ‘when I laughed, she knew me’ (13:8)

²¹ On Mehri (*at-*)*tē*, see Rubin (2010: 297–301) and Watson (2012: 385–386).

- hes ízók antōh, eród éruněš* ‘when [or: while] those guys were fighting, he brought his goats to the water’ (20:6)
- hes síni aǵág ekbél leš, kéré ekítš kels* ‘when he saw the men approaching him, he hid all of his food’ (21:3)
- hes sē‘ak, rúdak bə-té’ ak egōt* ‘when I was full, I threw the food away in the hole’ (53:10)
- hes zəhōt tɔ, ol ‘agiót tóskəflɔ* ‘when she came to me, she didn’t want to stay’ (60:22)
- aǵéyg bə-títš sínés hes šxantót mən sékən bahšés* ‘the man and his wife saw her when she left the settlement alone’ (60:41)

As with the other temporal conjunctions, a pronoun subject in a non-verbal *hes*-clause is nearly always expressed with the auxiliary verb *ber* (§7.2), as in:

- hes ber b-a‘ámk ɔram, ɔr aǵéyg* ‘when they were in the middle of the journey, the man said...’ (2:1)
- hes ber ‘ak emúh, zəhám aǵéyg bə-hōl xatškésən* ‘when they were in the water, the man came and picked up their clothes’ (30:5)
- hes ber ēta, xargót émehum* ‘when they were grown [lit. already big], their mother died’ (36:1)

In many, if not most, passages in which *hes* means ‘when’, it can also be translated as ‘after’. But to make the sense of ‘after’ more explicit—that is, to make clear that one action is completed before the other action takes place—the auxiliary *ber* (§7.2) can be used. Some examples are:

- hes ber késa‘ té, keš té maḳóš* ‘after the meat was dry, they chopped the meat into chops’ (12:4)
- hes berót ərɔnút édéte, ɔrót* ‘after she had tied up the hands, she said...’ (17:28)
- hes ber a‘isé nxínúš zəhōt sinórt* ‘after the food was in front of [lit. under] him, a cat came’ (17:47)
- hes ber hálób ērún, hezzésən* ‘after he milked the goats, he slaughtered them’ (22:6)
- hes ber eggór šéf, hōlót eslóběš bə-kəsbéts bə-hášūnš* ‘after the slave had fallen asleep, she took his weapons, his clothes, and his horse’ (36:26)
- hes aǵéyg ɔə-yəšūm ber eghízóhum, kolót heš bə-xáfš* ‘after the salesman [lit. the man who was selling] had prepared them, he told him about his foot’ (52:5)
- hes bér hes ‘onut, kətōt leš xat* ‘after a year, she wrote him a letter’ (SB2:3)

Note in the second-to-last example (52:5) that *ber* can be separated from *hes* by a noun subject. On the use of *ber h-* in the last example (the second *hes* is a 3fs suffixed form of the preposition *her*), see also § 7.2 and § 8.11. Also note that *ber* is not conjugated in the last example (SB2:3); this is perhaps because of the impersonal construction used (though *ʾónut* is still the grammatical subject), but there are other examples of unconjugated *ber* after *hes* (see below).

The combination *mən hés* has the meaning ‘since’, in the sense of ‘from the time when’, and is usually used in conjunction with the auxiliary *d-ʿəd* (§ 7.3) or negative *əl-ʿəd* (§ 13.2.4). Examples are:

əl-ʿək šink təs lə mən hés aǵadk ʾün ‘I haven’t seen her since I went to Oman’ (MnS)

mən hés d-ʿək níšán, ša-ʾórk təs ‘since I was young, I loved her’ (MnS)²²

In a few places, *hes* has the meaning ‘since’ (causal) or ‘because’:

athúmk, hes əl ʾətəl sé lə, Ǿ-a-ʾnı́ yǵšéxənt ‘I think maybe since he has not sent anything, he means to leave’ (8:8)

tōkum (t)snı́d ʾáni, hes bek šə-ʾódk aǵéyg ‘you have to manage without me, since I have already arranged the meeting with the man’ (28:14)

hes ber bəhərs bi, dħa-l-šēnš ‘since you have asked me, I will obey you’ (57:12)

Note in the last example that *ber* is not conjugated; as mentioned above, this happens sometimes when it is used in conjunction with *hes*.

In one passage in the texts, we find *hes* used, without a clear reason, in combination with the auxiliary *d-ʿəd* ‘while still’, which itself can introduce a subordinate temporal clause (see § 7.3):

zış səndık hes d-ʿəd šəħı́ ‘he had given him a box, while he was still alive’ (5:4)

Finally, note also that the preposition (*əl-*)*hés* ‘like, as’ (see § 8.12) can also function as a subordinator, for example:

šérókək əl-hés ʾók híni ‘I did as you told me’ (MnS)

šerk hes het kézúm tšérók ‘do as you used to do’ (AdM)

²² Another informant (SM) preferred this sentence with simple *mən* in place of *mən hés*. Cf. also the use of *mən d-ʿəd* in 32:12.

13.5.3.6 *ħakt* *ε-* ‘when’

The particle *ħakt* is clearly connected with the noun *ék(ə)t* ‘time’ (e.g., 30:9; 38:1), itself probably borrowed from Arabic *waqt* ‘time’. In combination with the relative pronoun *ε-* (rarely *ð-*), it is used as a temporal conjunction ‘when’. Among Johnstone’s textual material, it is used only by the woman who recorded texts TJ4 and TJ5. It occurs about twenty-five times in these texts (not counting the unpublished portion of TJ5), in both past and future tense contexts. A few other examples can be found in *JL*, but these may come from the same informant. A clause with *ħakt* *ε-* can be either verbal or non-verbal; if verbal, the verb is most often perfect, but can also be imperfect (for a narrative past tense, or for repeated or habitual action) or future (for a proximative ‘be about to’). Some examples of its use are:

ħakt *ε-zħámk*, *ftéh* *li* ‘when I come back, open up for me’ (TJ4:51)

ħakt *ε-k-ħáşaf*, *yəghúm* *əggór* ‘*igém* *ðə-sutún* ‘when it was morning, a mute slave of the sultan came’ (TJ4:65)

ħakt *ε-zħám*, *ōsəm* *enúfš* ‘when he came, he identified himself’ (TJ4:85)
‘ör *heš* *iš* *ħakt* *ðə-yzhómš* *iš* ‘his father said to him, when his father would come to him...’ (TJ4:4)

ħakt *ε-sén* (*t*)*zhōn*, *yə‘ör* *hésən* *agéyg* *ðə-ħágór* *ōb* ‘when they came, the man who was guarding the door said...’ (TJ4:25)

ħakt *dħa-tənfésən*, *tə‘örən* ‘when they (were about to) go home, they said...’ (TJ4:31)

ħakt *ε-šé* *zahám* *ħa-néggəl* *ħút* ‘when he comes, we’ll boil the food’ (*JL*, s.v. *wkt*)

ekkb *šəhēf* *hen* *ħakt* *agádən* ‘the wolf confronted us when we set off’ (*JL*, s.v. *hyf*)

As with other temporal conjunctions, the auxiliary *ber* (§ 7.2) is required if the subject of a non-verbal clause is pronominal, and can also be used in a verbal clause to give the sense of ‘after’. In the texts (TJ4 and TJ5), whenever the phrase *ħakt* *ε-* is followed by *ber*, the initial *b* is elided,²³ as in:

ħakt *ēr* *heš* *yum* *mit* *yū* *trut*, *‘ör* *hes* ‘after a day or two, he said to her...’ (TJ4:12)²⁴

²³ This elision has nothing to do with the particle *ħakt*. In the dialect of this informant, the *b* of *ber* is always elided after the relative pronoun *ε-/ð-*. Almost all such attested examples happen to be following *ħakt*.

²⁴ For more on the phrase *ħakt* *ēr* *h-* ‘after’, see § 7.2.

ħakt ēr rħaž, aġad bə-fšé ínét ‘after they had bathed, the women went and had lunch’ (TJ4:42)

ħakt ērót se b-ēžiréts k-enfǝf, ǝrót ‘when she and her servant-girl were by [lit. with] themselves, she said...’ (TJ4:49)

ħakt ēr də-yšók iyél, eǰhé b-axšúm ekbél ‘when they were watering the camels, they noticed enemies approaching’ (TJ5:7)

Interestingly, in Ali Musallam’s transcription of text TJ4 that he made for Johnstone, he transcribed *ħaš* in eighteen out of twenty-two places where the speaker said *ħakt* (e.g., TJ4:4), suggesting that *ħakt* was not acceptable for Ali. Ali also usually transcribed *ħaš ε-bér* instead of *ħakt ēr* (e.g., TJ4:3).

I did not hear *ħakt* used by any of my informants, though they recognized it. Hofstede’s comment (1998: 117) that “the particle has been found only in the *JL*” suggests that she did not come across *ħakt* in her fieldwork either. Its use may very well be confined to certain dialects.

13.5.3.7 *yum* ‘when’

Müller’s texts attest a temporal conjunction *yəm* (e.g., Müller 1907: 14, line 7; 53, line 7), which is obviously derived from the word *yum* ‘day’. It is likely that *yəm* is an Arabism, since *yam/yom* is used in the Dhofari Arabic recorded by Müller (e.g., 1907: 14, line 7); see further in Rhodokanakis (1911: 123) and Davey (2013: 245–246).

There seems to be an attestation of the conjunction *yum* in TJ4:17, though the audio is not totally clear here (see the comment to that line). The passage is:

yum ε-nk’ót se b-aġigeníti ǰə-šés, yǝfǝth les ‘when she came, she and the girls who were with her, he would open it for her’ (TJ4:17)

In text TJ4, we also find *yum* used in indirect questions:

šixbər hini mən aġabgót bə-yúm ε-šxəntǝt ‘ask for me about the girl and when she goes out’ (TJ4:14)

təšənzéž bə-yúm dħa-tšəxəntən d-ēštún ‘she asked discreetly about when they would go out to the plantation’ (TJ4:21)

13.5.4 *l-íné* ‘because’

The subordinator *l-íné* corresponds to English ‘because’. I found few examples, but its meaning is clear:

yakín heš ekéléš, l-íné se ġolót ol taġád šeš ‘he will get his bride-price, because she refused to go with him’ (TJ2:22)

l-íné he ol ð-élaþk lo 'because I was not accustomed (to it)' (TJ2:128)
ol yaḳóðar yaḳóð d-ūthum l-íné se berót hediūt 'they can't go to their
 house because it has been destroyed' (SM)

As an interrogative, *l-íné* means 'because of what? why?'; for example:

ta'mór l-íné 'why, do you think [lit. say]?' (TJ2:112)

It is not clear if the use of *l-íné* as a subordinator 'because' is derived from its use as an interrogative (cf. Italian *perché*), or whether it is a borrowing of Arabic *l-inna* (< Standard Arabic *li-'anna*). Perhaps one fact has reinforced the other.

In *JL* (s.v. *l*), the word for 'because' is given as *l-ín*, but I found no other evidence for this shorter form.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

GREETINGS AND BASIC PHRASES

It is important to remember that Jibbali is a living, functioning language, used for all aspects of daily life (other than formal education, government, and mass media). All Jibbali speakers are bilingual in Arabic, and probably that is the language in which they would most naturally choose to speak to a foreigner. Still, here are some basic greetings and other phrases that may be useful when talking to Jibbalis.

14.1 *Some Greetings*

Arabic greetings are very common, and the normal first greeting is simply the Arabic *salám* ‘alékum (reply: ‘alékum salám). Following are some additional greetings and related phrases:

tāghūk ‘ǧfēt ‘good morning’ (lit. ‘may peace go to you’)¹

[to a woman: *tāghūs* ‘ǧfēt]

Reply: *bə-tók tāghúm* (lit. ‘and to you may it go’)

[to a woman, replace *tók* with *tōš*]

təkhób lek ‘ǧfēt ‘good day, good afternoon’

Reply: *bə-lék*

[to a woman, replace *lek* with *liš*]

táǧəmd lek ‘ǧfēt ‘good evening’

Reply: *bə-lék (ə-áǧəmd)*

[to a woman, replace *lek* with *liš*]

bə-xár het? or *bə-xár het sé?* ‘how are you?’ (lit. ‘are you well?’)

[to a woman, replace *het* with *hit*]

¹ The formal greetings for ‘good morning’, ‘good afternoon’, and ‘good evening’ are built on the same structure. The difference is in the verb used: *gəhém* ‘go (in the morning)’, *kəhéb* ‘come (in the daytime)’, and *əǧmíd* ‘come (in the evening)’.

Reply: *bə-xár* (usually followed by *al-ḥámdu li-lláh* or *maḥmúd al-karím* 'praise God')

ɣəl eʃbáħk? 'how are you?' (used in the morning)

ɣəl ƙəhébək? 'how are you?' (used in the afternoon until sunset)

ɣəl aǧmódək? 'how are you?' (used in the evening)

[to a woman, replace the final *-k* with *-š* in each phrase]

Reply: same as above

sékənak kəl bə-xár? or *eskunókum kəl bə-xár?* 'how is your family?' (lit. 'is your family well?')

Possible reply: *ɣəl kəl bə-xár. b-əl dé zóttər leš sé lə* 'the people are fine. Nothing bad has happened to anyone!'

xbor? 'what's the news? what's up?'

təxəlǫfʃəħát 'be well!' (lit. 'may health come')

əstəhól 'goodbye; good luck!'

14.2 Some Basic Phrases for Conversation

íné ɣə'ør ... bə-ǧablēt (bə-šħarēt)? 'how do you [lit. they] say ... in Jibbali (in Shaḥri)?'

íné šūk? 'what is your name?'

[to a woman, replace *šūk* with *šūš*]

Alternatively: *íné ɣə'ør hek?* 'what is your name?' (lit. 'what do they call you?')

[to a woman, replace *hek* with *hiš*]

bek šfǫkək, mən d-ʿək xalí? 'are you (m.) married [lit. have you already gotten married] or are you still single?'

mən hūn het? (or: *het mən hūn?*) 'where are you from?'

[to a woman, replace *het* with *hit*]

Reply: *he mən...* 'I am from...'

hūn əd-skúnk? 'where do you reside?'

Alternatively: *hūn əd-ʿášk?* 'where do you live?'

Reply: *əd-ʿášk bə-ʿūn, bə-šalól* 'I live in Oman, in Šalalah'

ínēn lāj(w)át tǎhérg/tǎǰórb? 'what languages do you speak/know?'

mśé lāj(w)át tǎhérg? 'how many languages do you speak?'

tǎhérg 'arīt? 'do you speak Arabic?'

ǎhérg xérín gǎblēt (šǎrēt) 'I speak a little Jibbali (Shahri)'

šek mśé aǰóhék b-ǎǰateték? 'how many brothers and sisters do you have?'

taxédǎm íné? 'what do you do?' (lit. 'you work [at] what?')

Alternatively: *íné xǎdmétk?* 'what do you do?' (lit. 'what is your work?')

taxédǎm mǎn ǎtdórs? 'do you work or study?'

he tǎlǎb 'I am a student'

íné tšérók 'what are you doing (at the moment)?'

é'ómrǎk mśé? 'how old are you?' (lit. 'your age is how much?')

Alternatively: *íné sǎnk?* 'how old are you?' (lit. 'what is your age?')

Reply: *bér híní 'ásǎri xĩš 'ayún* 'I am 25 years old'

Alternatively: *he bǎr šhelót 'ayún* 'I am 30 years old' (a woman would replace *bǎr* [lit. 'son of'] with *bĩš* [lit. 'daughter of'])

gǎzék xǎr (mékǎn) 'thank you (very much)'

[to a woman: *gǎzész*; to a group: *gǎzékum*]

Reply: *het tšóhól* 'you're welcome'

PART TWO

TEXTS

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

JOHNSTONE'S JIBBALI TEXTS

As described already in §1.6, T.M. Johnstone began collecting Jibbali texts in about 1969. He made recordings of at least four different speakers, but his main source for texts was Ali Musallam, who was also his primary informant for Mehri. Ali Musallam was a native speaker of Mehri, but learned (Eastern) Jibbali around the of age ten, and later married a Jibbali woman. Younger Jibbalis who have heard Ali's recorded texts deemed his language native. Among Johnstone's papers housed in the Durham University Library, nearly all the Jibbali texts are in Box 5.

In Box 5, file B, I found 55 texts that came from Ali, plus a number of poems. All of these texts were first written in Arabic characters by Ali. Most of them were then recorded on tape (read from the manuscripts), and then transcribed by Johnstone into Roman characters. Johnstone's transcriptions were all very rough. For about twenty of the texts Johnstone also made word-lists, and for two he made English translations. Johnstone gave each text a number, but, for whatever reason, the numbering of the extant texts is non-consecutive. In a few cases (texts 83, 86, and 97) the text number corresponds to that of an original Mehri text. For the rest, there may originally have been other texts that were discarded or lost. Of these 55 texts in Box 5B, 53 are included in this volume. Text 11 has been omitted because it contains just a few unconnected sentences, and text 19 (a Jibbali version of Mehri text 68 and a text from Müller [1907: 59 ff. = Bittner 1917a: 17 ff.]) has been omitted because Johnstone noted that Ali was "not pleased" with the Jibbali version of this story that he made. The poems, also omitted, are labeled number 150. Of these 53 texts published here, 28 have counterparts among Johnstone's Mehri texts (all but one published in Stroomer 1999, with corrections in Rubin 2010 and in Appendix D to this volume; one text in Appendix E). A few of the Jibbali texts were directly translated from Mehri, while others are different versions of one of Ali's Mehri texts (sometimes shorter or longer). One (text 6) is an updated version of one of the Jibbali texts published in Müller (1907). Another (text 97) was based on Ali's Mehri version of one of Müller's texts. In Box 15, file E, I found a list of conditional sentences (in both Arabic and Roman letters) very similar to text 42; I have included it here (as a 54th text) and given it the label 42b.

In Box 5, file A, I found a handful of additional Jibbali texts. Two of these are from Salim Bakhit, a Central Jibbali speaker who became Johnstone's main informant for his *Jibbāli Lexicon*. Text 1, which I call SB₁, survives in a handwritten and two typed Roman-letter versions, along with a handwritten English translation, and is dated October, 1977. (One of the typed versions was used as part of a B.A. examination at the University of London in 1981.) Text 2, which I call SB₂, survives in one handwritten and one typed Roman-letter version, and is dated 1982. Arabic-letter versions of Salim's two stories can be found in Box 13, file A. However, the Arabic-letter versions are not identical to the Roman-letter versions, and the audio recordings of the two stories—which are at natural speed, not read—follow the Roman-letter versions.

In Box 5, file A, there are also about a half dozen short texts of uncertain authorship and without any numbering. One has an Arabic-letter version (the handwriting of which belong neither to Ali Musallam nor to Salim Bakhit), while the rest exist only in Johnstone's Roman-letter transcriptions. One text is dated 1969. A couple of these record conversations, while one (TJ₁) is an updated version of a text from Müller (1907). Only one of these texts (TJ₁) is published herein.

In Box 5, file D, which contains material in Ḥarsusi, Jibbali, and Mehri, I found several more Jibbali texts, some quite long, and most only with an Arabic-letter version. All of the Arabic handwriting belongs to Ali Musallam. Only two of the texts (TJ₂ and TJ₄) and part of a third (TJ₅) have accompanying Roman-letter versions, and I found audio for each of these three, as well as for two texts that have only Arabic-letter versions (TJ₃ and a short poem by the speaker who recorded TJ₄ and TJ₅). Interestingly, though the Arabic-letter transcriptions were made (for Johnstone) by Ali, most of the original recordings were not. Text TJ₂ records a conversation in which Ali played only a minor part; the majority of the text contains the speech of a man named Aḥmad, about whom no information was found. Judging by the sound of speaker's voice, text TJ₃, which is an autobiographical narrative, was made by this same Aḥmad. TJ₄ and TJ₅ are long stories told (at high speed) by an unknown female speaker. That the speaker is a woman is obvious (to native speakers, at least) from her voice, and confirmed by the use of a feminine imperative form at the beginning of text TJ₅, where Ali Musallam is heard saying, "Tell us a story." Of these texts in Box 5D, I have included herein TJ₂, TJ₄, about two-thirds of TJ₃, and a portion of TJ₅, basing my own transcriptions on the audio recordings. Ali's transcriptions of these texts are extremely helpful, but not without errors, a few of which may be based on dialect differences. There are dozens, maybe hun-

dreds, of discrepancies between Ali's transcriptions and the audio versions of these texts.

In this volume, texts from Ali Musallam are labeled without any prefix (e.g., text 1), and the numbering follows that of Johnstone. The texts from Salim Bakhit texts have the prefix SB (e.g., text SB₁), with numbers added by me. The additional texts of unknown authorship from Box 5A and 5D also had no numbering, and so I have assigned numbers, along with the prefix TJ (e.g., text TJ₁). There are a total of 61 texts from the Johnstone material published in this volume. The total number of known texts that he collected is about 70. I have not included any of the poems Johnstone recorded, because Jibbali poetry is simply too difficult (even native speakers have a difficult time understanding poetry), and any analysis of poetry is not reflective of the Jibbali language overall. I should mention that for those texts that have corresponding Mehri versions, I have usually kept the same division of line numbers, for easier comparison of the versions. In all other cases, the division of the texts into numbered lines is my own.

The following table shows kinds of manuscripts that are extant for each text (not including some of the unpublished texts), as well as which texts have Mehri parallels, which texts have audio versions, and which texts have word-lists and translations. English translations exist only where noted. All of the manuscripts are in the collection of Johnstone's papers housed at the Durham University Library; unless otherwise noted, they can be found in Box 5, file B.

| J text | M text | Included | Audio | Roman ms | Arabic ms | Other information |
|--------|--------|----------|-------|----------|-----------|-------------------------------|
| 1 | none | yes | yes | yes | yes | English translation |
| 2 | 55 | yes | yes | yes | yes | |
| 3 | 56 | yes | yes | yes | yes | word-list |
| 4 | none | yes | yes | yes | yes | |
| 5 | none | yes | yes | yes (2) | yes | |
| 6 | none | yes | yes | yes | yes | |
| 7 | 56A | yes | yes | yes | yes | see Appendix E for Mehri text |
| 8 | 57 | yes | yes | yes | yes | |
| 9 | 58 | yes | yes | yes | yes | Arabic ms from Box 6B |
| 10 | none | yes | yes | yes | yes | |
| 11 | none | no | no | yes | yes | |
| 12 | none | yes | yes | yes | yes | |

| J text | M text | Included | Audio | Roman ms | Arabic ms | Other information |
|--------|--------|----------|-------|----------|-----------|--|
| 13 | none | yes | yes | yes | yes | |
| 14 | none | yes | yes | yes | yes | |
| 15 | none | yes | yes | yes | yes | |
| 16 | none | yes | yes | yes | yes | |
| 17 | 24 | yes | yes | yes | yes | |
| 18 | 65 | yes | yes | yes | yes | |
| 19 | 68 | no | yes | yes | yes | |
| 20 | 61 | yes | yes | yes | yes | |
| 21 | 73 | yes | yes | yes | yes | |
| 22 | 3 | yes | yes | yes | yes | |
| 23 | 1 | yes | yes | yes | yes | |
| 24 | none | yes | yes | yes | yes | word-list |
| 25 | 64 | yes | yes | yes | yes | word-list |
| 28 | none | yes | yes | yes | yes | word-list (includes a few words from texts 31, 35, and 38) |
| 30 | 37 | yes | yes | yes | yes | word-list (from Box 15E) |
| 31 | none | yes | yes | yes | yes | word-list |
| 32 | none | yes | yes | yes | yes | |
| 33 | 63 | yes | yes | yes | yes | word-list |
| 34 | 59 | yes | yes | yes | yes | word-list; translation from Box 15E |
| 35 | none | yes | yes | yes | yes | word-list |
| 36 | 48 | yes | yes | yes | yes | |
| 38 | none | yes | yes | yes | yes | word-list |
| 39 | 95 | yes | yes | yes | yes | word-list |
| 40 | none | yes | no | yes | yes | word-list |
| 41 | none | yes | no | yes | yes | word-list |
| 42 | none | yes | no | yes | yes | word-list; Arabic ms from Box 15E |
| 42b | none | yes | no | yes | yes | both mss from Box 15E |
| 43 | none | yes | no | yes | yes | word-list (appended to list for 42) |
| 45 | none | yes | no | yes | yes | word-list |
| 46 | none | yes | no | yes | yes | |

| J text | M text | Included | Audio | Roman ms | Arabic ms | Other information |
|--------|--------|----------|-------|----------|-----------|---|
| 47 | 102 | yes | no | yes | yes | word-list (labeled 46); a second word-list (labeled 47) goes with an unknown text |
| 48 | 99 | yes | no | yes | yes | |
| 49 | 89 | yes | no | yes | yes | word-list |
| 50 | none | yes | no | yes | yes | |
| 51 | none | yes | yes | yes | yes | word-list |
| 52 | none | yes | yes | yes | yes | |
| 53 | none | yes | yes | yes | yes | |
| 54 | 42 | yes | yes | yes | yes | |
| 55 | 93 | yes | yes | yes | yes | |
| 57 | 90 | yes | yes | yes | yes | word-list |
| 60 | 94 | yes | yes | yes | yes | word-list |
| 83 | 83 | yes | yes | no | yes | |
| 86 | 86 | yes | no | yes | yes | |
| 97 | 97 | yes | yes | no | yes | |
| SB1 | none | yes | yes | yes (2) | yes | Roman ms and English trans. from Box 5A; Arabic ms from Box 13A |
| SB2 | none | yes | yes | yes | yes | Roman ms from Box 5A; Arabic ms from Box 13A |
| TJ1 | none | yes | no | yes | no | ms from Box 5A |
| TJ2 | none | yes | yes | yes | yes | mss from Box 5D |
| TJ3 | none | partial | yes | no | yes | ms from Box 5D |
| TJ4 | none | yes | yes | yes | yes | mss from Box 5D |
| TJ5 | none | partial | yes | partial | yes | mss from Box 5D |

In all of the texts below, the readings and transcriptions are my own, though naturally I used Johnstone's transcriptions (where extant) as a starting point. Johnstone's transcriptions were only rough drafts, however. The translations are all my own, as are most of the titles. In the transcription below, a consonant in parentheses (e.g., *(t)širkən* in 1:2), unless otherwise noted, indicates that it is not present in the Arabic-letter manuscript and is not pronounced; I include the consonant as an aid to comprehension. I have also aimed for consistency in transcription, but allow for variation where there exists variation in pronunciation.

15.1 *Texts from Ali Musallam*

Text 1 (no M): An Argument

- 1 A: “*he šerókək ðénu b-enké tɔ.*”
- 2 B: “*het ð-ɔl kunk mišérd lɔ, ɔl (t)šírkən t́enu lɔ.*”
- 3 A: “*ar yoh əl-šérk?*”
- 4 B: “*mun ɛ-ʔr hek t́šérk t́enu?*”
- 5 A: “*ɔl-dé-lɔ ʔr húni. mən eréši.*”
- 6 B: “*mor, eréšk mišérd. dha-l-ésnék. šerk t́enu.*”
- 7 A: “*mor, het ɔl sérk lɔ. het ð-ɔl kunk mišérd lɔ, ɔl (t)šírkən enúf ʔókəl axér ʔáni lɔ. bə-hé eb ʔk bə-sən.*”
- 8 B: “*mor, dha-nésne yɔ. bə-kól minén ɛ-bédé, še mišérd.*”
- 9 A: “*mor, gadú yɔl yɔ... ɔl bek ʔk hek lɔ ðə-hét mišérd?*”
- 10 B: “*koh he mišérd?*”
- 11 A: “*het mišérd. ð-ɔl kunk mišérd lɔ, ɔl (t)žəhékən míni lɔ.*”
- 12 B: “*mor, ɔl-ʔk dha-l-ésnék zeyd lɔ.*”
- 13 A: “*mor, bə-hé síndək ʔk, b-ɔ(l) l-ésné tɔ lɔ. gad b-ɔrmək.*”
- 14 B: “*mor, he aǵádək.*” *bəttədó kɔ-t́at b-ɔrməš. bə-təmmút.*

Text 2 (= M55): A Lecherous Man

- 1 *xatarét ǵeyg bə-tét ðə-yəbgéd, bə-hés ber b-a ʔamk ɔrəm, ʔr aǵéyg her tet, “ak əl-gád šiš.”*
- 2 *ʔrót tet, “her ʔk tǵád ši, həzéz yitk, mǵóre ʔəbgód ši.”*
- 3 *ʔr aǵéyg, “daxil ar ha-(t)zím tɔ enúf.” ʔrót, “b-əghi ar ha-l-zémk enúf.”*

Text 1

- 2 *mišérd*: Johnstone consistently transcribed *minšérd* in the Roman manuscript (likewise in other texts), and gives *mənšérd* as the EJ form in *JL* (s.v. *kwrd*). But the audio has *mišérd* (with *š* pronounced *š*, as always in Ali’s dialect), the CJ form listed in *JL*, as does the Arabic ms.
- 6 *mor*: This is a reduced form of *mǵór* (used in SB1:6). See *JL* (s.v. *mǵr*).
- 7 *ɔl sérk lɔ*: In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss ‘didn’t know how to do it’, and next to it he gives the forms *sér/ð-ísiór/yšbór*. This is a Gb-Stem of the root *sbr* (cf. *hər* in *JL*, s.v. *hbr*), but is missing from *JL*. I have heard this verb from informants.

Translation of Text 1

- 1 A: "I did this and it hurt me."
- 2 B: "If you weren't stupid, you would not have done it like this."
- 3 A: "So how should I do it?"
- 4 B: "Who told you to do it like this?"
- 5 A: "No one told me. (It was) from my head."
- 6 B: "Ok, your head is stupid. I will show you. Do it this way."
- 7 A: "Ok, you don't know how. If you weren't stupid, you would not pretend to be smarter than me. I am older [lit. big(ger) in age] than you."
- 8 B: "Ok, we'll show people, and whichever of us has lied, he is stupid."
- 9 A: "Ok, let's go to the people... Didn't I already tell you that you were stupid?"
- 10 B: "Why am I stupid?"
- 11 A: "You are stupid. If you weren't stupid, you would not have made fun of me."
- 12 B: "Ok, I won't show you anymore."
- 13 A: "Ok, I didn't need your help, don't show me. Go on your way."
- 14 B: "Ok, I'm off!" Each one went separately on his way. And it is finished.

Translation of Text 2

- 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, then you will sleep with me."
- 3 The man said, "Swear you will really give yourself to me!" She said, "By my honor [lit. face], I will really give myself to you."

13 *ɔ(l) l-éšné*: The Roman ms has *ɔl éšné*, but the proper 2ms subjunctive form is *l-éšné* (on the audio pronounced *l-éšné*, for whatever reason). When the negative *ɔl* precedes the subjunctive prefix *l-*, it is normally realized *ɔ* (see § 2.1.6 and § 13.2.1).

- 4 *b-agád agéyg bə-ḥéz yitš. bə-hés ber ḥez, ʾor, “zī-tə enúf.”*
 5 *zūtš agatḳéts. ʾorót, “ḥaš ʿ-shé(l)k ḏénu, ézmak éšágər.”*
 6 *ḳəḥeb agéyg ḏer agatḳét ḏə-tét. axarét ʾl-ʾód shel l. ʾor agéyg, “her ʾl ʾaš
 tzi-tə ežēš l, ḥa-l-ʾókləṭ her yə.”*
 7 *ʾorót tet, “her kólṭk her yə, ḥa-l-ʾaʾmər ʾagéyg mišérd, bə-ḏə kün ʾl
 mišérd l, ʾl yəḥzizən yitš l.”*
 8 *b-agádó ed éšəló yə. axarét kólṭ agéyg, ʾor, “he agádk k-eḏi-ilín.”*
 9 *ʾorót tet, “agéyg mišérd. šeš yət bə-ḥezzás. mǵóre ʾagəb yēd li. wələkən
 ǵod ʾrmən bə-šni. ḏə še ḥez yitš, še yəkín mišérd. bə-ḏə še ʾl ḥez yitš l,
 he əkín ḳəḥbét.*
 10 *wələkən he bi sé ʾaḳ fitáʾi. ḏə še agád ši, še (d)ḥa-yəšnéš, bə-ḏə še bédé, ʾl
 ḥa-yókləṭ b-ēšfəš l.*
 11 *bə-hé ḥa-l-éšnéš inét, wələkən énfət ǵod ʾrmən bə-šni yitš.”*
 12 *agád yə bə-ksé iyát ḏə-ḥizzót. b-agádót tet bə-šnit inét, bə-šéf tet šeš
 eráḥəž.*
 13 *axarét šxabír agéyg mən ēšf ḏə-tét. ʾor, “ḏə-ntəfót ežēs, bə-ṭḥírt.”*
 14 *b-inét kse tet bes énsób bə-šés eráḥəž.*
 15 *agéyg bédé ʾl-tét, bə-lōdš agóḥe ḏə-tét b-erbaʾót fiṭax (fiṭəx?).*
 16 *b-agád ḏ-əxtəšés, ʾl tet šeš b-ʾl yitš šeš.*
 17 *ḏénú mən ḥilt inét. bə-təmmút keltót.*

-
- 6 ʾaš: On the audio this is pronounced ʾáiš, not with a diphthong /ai/, but with two distinct vowels, essentially the same as the longer form ʾágiš, minus the *g*. This may reflect a variant pronunciation of ‘you (fs) want’, but it also may reflect a mistaken reading; Ali does stumble slightly when reading this word. The Arabic ms has عاش.
- 6 ežēš: This is from the noun *žeb* ‘vulva’. The form is given as *žyeb* in *JL* (s.v. *gbb*). In the Arabic ms, it is transcribed here اشاش, while in line 13, *ežēs* (with the 3fs suffix, rather than the 2fs) is transcribed اچاس.
- 8 *eḏi-ilín*: It is not made clear in *JL* (s.v. ʾḏy-ʾln), which has the misleading glosses ‘someone, somebody; anyone’, that *eḏi-ilín* (§ 3.5.5) is used as the equivalent of Mehri *fəlān(a)* ‘so-and-so’.
- 10 (d)ḥa-yəšnéš: The *d* is missing from both mss, but Ali said *dḥa-* on the audio (twice, actually, since he stumbled on this word). This just demonstrates how *dḥa-* and *ḥa-* are free variants (§ 7.1.4).

- 4 And 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 the people, I will say, 'the man is crazy, and if he wasn't crazy, he would not 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. Then he wanted to lie about me. But go to our road and see! If he slaughtered his camel, the man 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 the camel slaughtered. And the woman went and showed the women; 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 the woman's brothers hit him four times (on the head).
- 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.

15 *fīṭax*: The Roman ms has *fīṭax*, while the audio has *fīṭáx*. The Arabic ms gives no indication of the vowel *ɔ* (normally indicated with *waw*). The Mehri plural is *fəṭowəx*, so there may be interference from Mehri here. *JL* (s.v. *fīx*) lists only the singular form *fəṭx*.

Text 3 (= M56): A Conversation

- 1 A: “*het dha-tǵád kǵéré, ɔl hē lɔ?*”
 2 B: “*he dha-l-ǵád, bə-thúmk tɔ dha-l-éǵrǵ.*”
 3 A: “*kɔh l-éǵrǵ? ǵad kǵéré bə-dór ba’d kǵéré.*”
 4 B: “*ɔl əkǵdər lɔ. erǵ rǵhək.*”
 5 A: “*mor. ‘ak kǵélbək, mit dha-(t)zhóm tɔ?*”
 6 B: “*dha-l-zhómk mən ǵér rǵ‘ ɛm.*”
 7 A: “*het dha-tǵád her hǵgtk mən dha-tǵád túnhaǵ?*”
 8 B: “*ob, dha-l-ǵád her hǵgti, wǵlékən ɔl bi kǵǵǵf lɔ her l-ǵffǵr.*”
 9 A: “*mor, bə-rík. her ɔl zǵhámk tɔ ba’d kǵéré lɔ, ɔl-‘ók dha-l-sǵlǵbk zeyd lɔ.*”
 10 B: “*kɔh ɔl dha-(t)sǵlɔ-tɔ zeyd lɔ?*
 11 *mor, her ɔl dha-(t)sǵlɔ-tɔ lɔ, ɔl dha-l-ǵád lɔ.*
 12 *mǵóre’ her ɔl kisk tɔk lɔ, ɔl əǵórǵb ɔrǵm lɔ.*”
 13 A: “*mor, dha-l-sǵlǵbk. ǵad bə-ntéǵah. dek ɔ(l) l-éǵrǵ.*”
 14 B: “*mor, he dha-l-ǵád. bə-hér ɛdūrək b-ɔl kisk tɔk lɔ, ɔl-‘ók dha-l-šǵnk zeyd lɔ.*”
 15 A: “*he ‘ók hek dha-l-sǵlǵbk her zǵhámk l-ǵ‘ǵdk.*”
 16 B: “*mor, taxǵlǵf šǵhát. he ǵǵádk.*”
 17 A: “*ǵstǵhól. ɛkǵrǵ-selúm mən tél zǵhámk.*”
 18 B: “*dek ɔl tǵǵád bə-tǵǵala’ tɔ.*”
 19 A: “*ɔl tǵktǵlǵb lɔ. ɔl dha-l-ǵxtǵlǵfbek lɔ.*” *bə-tǵmmút.*

13 *ntéǵah*: This is a T1-Stem imperative. In Jibbali, there are a number of verbs that look like a T1-Stem in the perfect, but have T2 forms for the imperfect, subjunctive, and imperative (see § 6.5.1; § 6.5.4). The verb *nútgǵh* is one of these. *JL* (s.v. *nǵh*) gives the T2 imperative *ǵntǵǵh*, while the form *ntéǵah* in this text is a T1 form. Johnstone in his vocabulary notes to this text gives also a T1 imperfect and subjunctive *ǵántéǵah*. This verb should originally be a T1-Stem, as in Mehri. Perhaps the treatment of certain T1-Stems as T2-Stems is a dialectal phenomenon.

Translation of Text 3

- 1 A: "You will go tomorrow, won't you?"
 2 B: "I will go, and I think I will be a while."
 3 A: "Why will you be a while? Go tomorrow and return the day after tomorrow."
 4 B: "I can't. The place [lit. land] is far."
 5 A: "Ok. When do you think you will [lit. in your heart when will you] come back to me?"
 6 B: "I'll come back to you in four days."
 7 A: "Will you go for necessity [lit. your need] or will you go to have fun?"
 8 B: "No, I will go for necessity [lit. my need], but I don't have wings to fly with."
 9 A: "Ok, as you wish. If you don't come back to me the day after tomorrow, I won't wait for you any longer."
 10 B: "Why won't you wait for me any longer?"
 11 Ok, if you won't wait for me, I won't go.
 12 (Because) then if I don't find you, I won't know the road (you took)."
 13 A: "Ok, I'll wait for you. Go and hurry back. Be careful not to be long."
 14 B: "Ok, I'll go. And if I return and I don't find you, I won't trust you anymore."
 15 A: "I said to you that I'll wait for you if you come at your promised time."
 16 B: "Ok, be well [lit. may health come]! I'm off."
 17 A: "Goodbye. Send greetings to wherever you get to."
 18 B: "Be sure not to go and leave me!"
 19 A: "Don't worry. I won't let you down." And it is finished.

-
- 13 *dek*: On this particle, which is probably the 2ms suffixed form of *ed* 'to', see § 12.5.6. The Mehri version of this text has *ħəððōr mən*.
 13 *ɔ(l) l-éjgrəg*: The Roman ms has *ɔl aǵrig*, but Johnstone's transcription was inaccurate. The proper 2ms subjunctive form (which is needed following *dek* here; cf. line 18) is *l-éjgrəg*. See the comment to 1:13.
 17 *əkóre*: This is the ms imperative of the D/L-Stem *əkórəb* 'bring near'. The loss of *b* is unexpected, but is normal in this expression. Both mss and the audio lack the *b* in this word.

Text 4 (no M): Ramadan

- 1 *k-a'id* *ðə-rézún* *yəkín zhe*. *bə-yəftaxórən* *ɣo kəl*, *b-ínét* *təlōsən* *xatǒkésən* *wudún* *b-aǵág* *yəfúki* *xatǒkóhūm* *wudún*, *bə-yəhōl* *sélōhum*.
- 2 *bə-yūm* *ε-a'id*, *yəšxanít* *mən* *k-háşaf* *ɣol* *ēsǵíd*, *bə-hás* *ε-šxanít* *mən* *ēsǵíd*, *ɣalōd* *bə-yəhəbōn*.
- 3 *ed* *ðélé'* *yəbjéd* *kə-tát* *ɣol* *ūtš* *bə-yə'ozəm* *taǰtóhum* *bə-yǒgah* *əl-taǰtóhum*.
- 4 *bə-yūm* *ε-a'id*, *ēt* *kəl* *məftəhéte*. *ol* *dé* *yəkǒfəl* *ūtš* *lo*. *bə-hér* *'agk* *təǵáh*, *ol* *dé* *yəǵélbək* *lo*.
- 5 *bə-yəšérék* *mən* *kəl* *kít* *bə-kól* *taǰ* *yəfǒrah* *bə-yǒ* *yəzhúmš*, *bə-hér* *yít* *mən* *tšláš* *mən* *k-háşaf* *ed* *təǵíd* *yūm*.
- 6 *bə-hás* *ber* *əşózi* *il-'aşr*, *yəhəbōn* *aǵág* *ed* *təǵíd* *yūm* *bə-yalōd*. *b-ínét* *təztaḥōn* *mən* *kəl* *fxarét*.
- 7 *bə-'išór* *mən* *hūm* *ínét* *tšérókən* *šarah* *bə-tín* *ḥagən*, *b-aǵág* *yəftérǒgən* *šarah* *ed* *yətmúm*.
- 8 *a'id* *ε-rézún* *sélaǰ* *əm*, *bə-yǒ* *yəkín* *bə-férəḥ* *b-a'id* *ðə-rézún* *bə-flš* *ð-əzǵaha*, *bə-yšózén* *éb* *b-enišan* *'aǵ* *ēsǵíd*. *ðénu* *təbsif* *ð-a'adót* *ðə-tšlún*.

-
- 1 *rézún*: The root of this word is *rmz*. Note the lack of expected nasalization (from loss of *m*) in the first syllable, probably because of the final *-n* (see § 2.1.3).
 - 1 *zhe*: This word is not in *JL*, but glossed in Johnstone's Roman ms as 'festival'. Cf. Arabic *zahwa* 'Feiertag' in Landberg (1920–1942: 3.1871) and *zehwe* 'idem' in Reinhardt (1894: 42). The root *zhw* is in *JL*, with verbal meanings like 'be happy, excited'.
 - 1 *wudún*: *JL* (s.v. *wdn*) gives the plural form *ódún*, with the expected loss of word-initial *w*. In the Roman ms for this text, Johnstone transcribed *wudún*, and the initial *w* is definitely present on the audio. In *ML* (s.v. *ydn*), Johnstone actually listed the EJ form as (singular) *wdín*. Cf. also 23:8.
 - 1 *sélōhum*: This comes from plural *séléb* 'arms', plus the 3mp possessive suffix *-šhum*. On the related word *səlōb*, see the comment to 36:26.
 - 3 *ðélé'*: *JL* (s.v. *ðlb*) lists this word in the form *ðéléb*, though *ML* (s.v. *ðwb*) gives EJ *ðélé'* and CJ *ðélé*, and *HL* (s.v. *ðwbl*) lists J *ðélé'*. The meaning given in *JL*, *ML*, and *HL* is 'early morning, about 6–9 AM', though one of my informants suggested instead 9–11 AM. The Hobyot cognate *dáwlab* apparently refers to 8–10 AM (*HV*, p. 256).

Translation of Text 4

- 1 On the holiday of Ramadan is a festival. All the people are proud, and the women wear their new clothes, and the men don their new clothes and carry their weapons.
- 2 On the day of the holiday, they go out from the morning to the mosque, and when they go out from the mosque, they shoot (guns) and sing.
- 3 Then in the later morning, they all go, each one to his house, and they invite each other and go to visit each other.
- 4 On the day of the holiday, all the houses are open. No one closes his house. And if you want to enter, no one will refuse you.
- 5 And they make every kind of food, and everyone is happy with the people that come to them [lit. him], even if they might eat with them from morning until the sun goes down.
- 6 And when they've prayed the afternoon prayer, the men sing until the sun goes down, and they shoot. And the women make themselves up with every fine thing.
- 7 Some nights the women make a party and dance, and the men watch the party until it is done.
- 8 The holiday of Ramadan is three days, and the people enjoy the holiday of Ramadan and [lit. or] of Adḥa, and they pray, old and young [lit. the big and the small], in the mosque. This is the description of the customs by us.

6 *il-ʿáṣr*: This is an Arabic word (with the Arabic definite article), meaning 'the afternoon prayer'. It is not in *JL*.

6 *fxarét*: This word is missing from *JL*, though cognates do appear (s.v. *fxr*). Its use here is perhaps a Mehrism (cf. *ML*, s.v. *fxr*).

7 *yətmúm*: This appears to be a Mehrism. The Jibbali form should be *yətmúm*.

8 *ežáḥa*: This is from Arabic (*ʿīd al-)**aḍḥa* 'Eid al-Adha, Feast of the Sacrifice'. It is not in *JL*.

8 *təbšif*: This word meaning 'description' (root *wšf*) is not in *JL*. It is used also in 40:16 and 45:20.

8 *ʿadót*: *JL* (s.v. *ʿwd*) only gives the singular *ʿədət* 'habit, custom'.

- 9 *b-εkézūn her šum b-εgiēl, yašérōʿ edhék bə-yhabōn bə-yšérék munúṭab, b-aǵág yaxóter eširét her kunút ḏə-ḵiriót. b-inét takínan k-ōsət b-εgiēl.*
 10 *ʿak aʿid ε-rézūn, ɔl yaḫrəh bē l. bə-ʿak aʿid ezáha bʿél εgiēl ḏ-yəḫrəh bə-yəḫzíz bə-yəḫrəh axér ar aʿid ε-rézūn. bə-tammút.*

Text 5 (no M): Misunderstood Advice

- 1 *xatarét geyg gání, bə-zhám b-əmbéreʿ. axarét oši k-εbréš, ʿor, “εbrí, her fētak, šerk hánúf kəl ḥallét bes məsgíd.”*
 2 *axarét xaróg aǵéyg. b-aǵád εmbéreʿ ḥalél kel. bə-hér zəḫám ḥallét, yašérók bes məsgíd.*
 3 *axarét tamím ediréhēš kel, əb-béke fekír. b-iš ɔl aʿnı her yašérk məsgíd l. aʿanés ar kəl ḥallét yašérk bes ʿásər.*
 4 *b-εmbéreʿ ɔl fhem l. bə-zīš səndík hes d-ʿəd səḫı, bə-ʿor, “ḏənu səndík, ɔl tǫftəḫəs l. ed yum ε-fékərək.”*

Text 4

- 9 *yašérōʿ*: This is the Š1-Stem 3mp imperfect of *rbʿ* (3ms perfect *šərbáʿ*). The form follows the normal pattern for I-r, III-G verbs in the Š1-Stem (cf. § 7.4.6), but this verb is also II-b (cf. § 7.4.9). The meaning ‘climb’ is not given in *JL*, but it has this meaning in Mehri and in EJ, according to *ML* (s.v. *rbʿ* and p. 504). In *CJ*, it means ‘cross’. *JL* does list the EJ meaning ‘lift, pull up’ for the H-Stem *ərbáʿ* (vs. CJ ‘guide across’).
- 9/10 *(b-)εgiēl*: For the three occurrences of this word, Johnstone’s transcriptions in the Roman ms are, respectively, *bigyéʿ*, *b-igyéʿ*, and *εgiéʿ*. The Arabic ms has باجیل (2×) and جيل. It is admittedly hard to hear a final -l on the audio. For the first occurrence, Johnstone added the gloss “mts” in the Roman ms. This gloss and the context make clear that the word is *giēl* ‘mountain(s)’ (*JL*, s.v. *gbl*). The same word occurs numerous times in texts TJ2 and TJ3.
- 10 *ʿak aʿid*: Note that line 1 had *k-aʿid* for ‘on the holiday’. The two expressions do not seem to have any difference in meaning.

- 9 And the children, if they are in the mountains, they climb cliffs and sing and make bows, and the men go down to town if it is nearby. And the women are with the animals in the mountains.
- 10 On the holiday of Ramadan, they don't celebrate very much. And on the holiday of Adḥa, the mountain folk celebrate and slaughter and celebrate more than (on) Ramadan.

Translation of Text 5

- 1 Once there was a rich man, and he had a son. Then he advised his son, saying, "My son, if I die, make for yourself a mosque in every town."
- 2 Then the man died. And the boy went to all the towns. And whenever he came to a town, he built [lit. made] a mosque in it.
- 3 Then all his money ran out, and he was left poor. But his father didn't mean that he should make a mosque; his meaning was only that he should make a friend in every town.
- 4 But the boy didn't understand. And he had given him a box, while he was still alive. And he said, "This box, don't open it until the day that you have become poor."

-
- 10 *bē*: In the Roman ms, Johnstone transcribed *bīyyā*, though the audio has just *bē*. The Arabic ms has this and the following *l* as a single word *بيلو bēl*. *JL* (s.v. *wyy*) lists both *bīyyā* 'enough' and *bē* 'very', but these are almost certainly the same word. Informants recognized only a single adverb *bē* 'very (much)', used in conjunction with verbs, nouns, or adjectives (cf. also 38:2 and SB1:1). The gloss 'enough' in *JL* seems to be based on the sentence *ḏen xɔrf ḥáréd bīyyā l hér yá'ás erǒǒd l* (*JL*, s.v. *xɔrf*), which Johnstone translated as 'these monsoon rains were not strong enough to bring up pasture'. I would translate rather 'this monsoon was not so strong as to bring up the pasturage', where 'so strong' is here a loose translation of literal *ḥáréd bīyyā* 'very strong'. See also §10.5 and the comment to SB1:1.

Text 5

- 3 *béké*: *JL* (s.v. *bky*) lists only a Gb-Stem *bíki*. The Ga-Stem *béké* is heard clearly on the audio here (as also in 6:25). Mehri has both a Ga- and Gb-Stem with the same meaning. The Ga-Stem *béké* used here is perhaps dialectal or a Mehrism.

- 5 *axarét embéře' fěķar. fěth sændik. ksé mənzáht, bə-ħakít, bə-híb.
b-embéře' yəkól 'ak sændik dírēham.*
- 6 *axarét aǵád embéře' ed ešəl ħallét tit. éǵah 'ak ēsgídš bə-skóf, b-əl šeš sé
l. bə-xézi ɔlyəhír.*
- 7 *axarét zəħiš šáxər túžər. 'ör embéře', "het mən hün?" 'ör, "he mən ħallét
əl-fəlaníyyə."*
- 8 *'ör, "fəł 'agk taxédəm tōlén?" 'ör, "ēhē." aǵád ɔ ed ešəl üt.*
- 9 *'ör, "dħa-l-zémk xōš ķarōš b-ɔrx, b-ekítk, bə-ksəbət k tōlén, bə-tógrəf
xélét." 'ör, "mor."*
- 10 *éǵah 'ak xélét. axarét ķē. axarét šxanít, bə-'ör, "he bər eđí-ilín l-ógrəf
xélét!? sétər híní ekōr, her bek dħa-l-ógrəf xélét."*
- 11 *b-aǵéyǵ đə-yəššétən leš, bə-šéf aǵéyǵ a'ásər ɛ-iš. bə-fǔķħ ɔl đə-šés đ-iš.
axarét heķ heš aǵéyǵ. 'ör, "het bər mün?"*
- 12 *'ör, "he bər eđí-ilín." axarét béké aǵéyǵ bə-ķéré b-embéře', bə-'ör, "sməħ
tə. he ɔl ǵɔrɔbk tək l. bə-hé a'ásər ɛ-ik. b-ɔl ɛ-ší, fǔķħəš ɛ-ik. bə-kəlét híní,
íné kun lek?"*
- 13 *'ör, "ī ōši ši əl-šérk bə-kól ħallét məsgíd. bə-zū-tə sændik, bə-'ör, 'her
fěķərək, ftaħ sændik đénu.'*
- 14 *bə-hé šerókək bə-kól ħallét məsgíd. axarét fěķərək. fěthək sændik bə-kísk
mənzáht, bə-ħakít, bə-híb. b-énfēt əkól 'ak sændik dírēham."*
- 15 *axarét 'ör heš aǵéyǵ, "šma', ébrí. ik, a'anésš, šerk bə-kól ħallét 'ásər. ɔl
a'anésš məsgíd l.*
- 16 *bə-sændik, a'anésš, her fěķərək, ɔl thír l. xdem! násanu, fǔķħ ɔli ɛ-hét.
bə-dħa-l-éšfəķək ebríti." b-éšfikəš bə-skóf bə-kún tóǵɔr. bə-təmmút.*

-
- 5 *mənzáht*: Johnstone glossed this in the Roman ms as 'hoe'. I did not find this word in *JL*.
- 5 *ħakít*: Johnstone glossed this in the Roman ms as 'porter's rope'. I did not find this word in *JL*.
- 7 *əl-fəlaníyyə*: This is obviously an Arabic word, which is used also in 15:14. See § 3.5.5.
- 8 *fəł*: In *JL* (s.v. *w-*), we find only the compound *bé-fəł* (better: *bə-fló*) 'or, or else', which also occurs over twenty times in the texts. corresponding to Mehri *wəlá* or *wəlē*. Mehri *wəlē* can also mean 'perhaps'; see Rubin (2010: 256–258). On bare *fəł* 'perhaps', see § 12.5.8. Both *bə-fló* and *fəł* correspond to Mehri *wəlá* or *wəlē*; see Rubin (2010: 256–258).
- 10 *sétər*: In one of the Roman mss, Johnstone glossed this word as 'better'. I did not find this word in *JL*.

- 5 Then the boy became poor. He opened the box. He found a hoe, a porter's rope, and a crow-bar. The boy had thought that there was money in the box.
- 6 Then the boy went until he reached a certain town. He entered his mosque and he sat down, and he didn't have anything. And he was embarrassed to beg.
- 7 Then a rich old man came to him. The boy said, "Where are you from?" He said, "I am from such-and-such a town."
- 8 He [the man] said, "Do you perhaps want to work for us?" He said, "Yes." They went until they got to the house.
- 9 He said, "I will give you five dollars a month, and your food, and your clothes, and you should clean the toilet." He said, "Ok."
- 10 He entered the toilet. Then he threw up. Then he came out and said, "I, the son of so-and-so, should clean toilets!?! Better for me the grave, if I am about to clean toilets!"
- 11 And the man was listening to him, and it so happened that the man was his father's friend. And half of the livestock that he had was his father's. Then the man called him over. He said, "Whose son are you?"
- 12 He said, "I am the son of so-and-so." Then the man wept and kissed the boy, and he said, "Forgive me. I didn't know you. I am your father's friend, and the livestock that I have, half of it is your father's. But tell me, what happened to you?"
- 13 He said, "My father advised me to make a mosque in every town. And he gave me a box, and he said, 'If you become poor, open this box.'
- 14 And I made a mosque in every town. Then I became poor. I opened the box and I found a hoe, a porter's rope, and a crow-bar. First I had thought that there was money in the box."
- 15 Then the man said to him, "Listen, my son. You father, his meaning was that you should make a friend in every town. He didn't mean a mosque.
- 16 And the box, its meaning is, if you become poor, do not beg. Work! Now, half of my livestock is yours. And I will marry you to my daughter." And he married him off and they stayed and became rich. And it is finished.

15 *šerk*: This could be either an imperative *šerk* (as in 5:1) or a 2ms subjunctive *tšerk* > *šerk* (as in 57:7). Before *š* the prefix *t-* is usually, but not always, lost. I have translated below as if it were a subjunctive (following a similar passage in line 3). I found two Roman mss of this text; in one, Johnstone wrote *šerk*, and in the other he wrote '*šerk*.

Text 6 (no M; = Müller 1907: 52 ff. = Bittner 1917a: 6 ff.): The Step-Mother and the Bird

- 1 *gəyg šfək bə-tét bə-zhám mes bə-tróh ersót. bə-xargót éməhum. aǵád ersót ǵer ekōr éməhum ǵə-yēkó (aw ǵə-yūki).*
- 2 *ǵəherót hóhum esférót mən ekōr, bə-hōls yəl üt.*
- 3 *ōr ersót her ihum, “e ī, šfek!” bə-šfək ihum, bə-zhám bə-xólóthum.*
- 4 *b-ersót ǵə-ya’télin tel ē’álm, bə-xólóthum ‘aǵiót tó(l)tǵəhum. b-esféróthum ta’álúm kəl in xézík bə-díní.*
- 5 *b-ersót zəhám mən tél ē’álm, b-éǵaḥ l-esféróthum. bə-ōrót her ersót, “xólótkum šōrkót hókum sēhm ‘aḵ esfó’, b-əl tūš l!”*
- 6 *axarét fšé tür b-aǵád tel ē’álm. bə-xólóthum aǵadót tel ēšnút, bə-ōrót hes, “íné əl-šérk her ersót ed l-ó(l)tǵəhum?”*
- 7 *bə-ōrót hes ēšnút, “širk xəbz bə-klá’sən nxín ššš, bə-kín mirízt. bə-hás ə-zhám a’ásəriš, ‘amír heš, ‘he mirízt.’”*
- 8 *axarét edīrót yəl üt bə-ǵízót. bə-zhám a’ásərəs, ‘ōr hes, “íné biš?” ‘ōrót, “he ǵízək. bə-ǵád yəl ēšnút.” axarét aǵád aǵéyg yəl ēšnút bə-ōr, “títi ǵízót. íné əl-šérk hes?” bə-ōrót heš, “hazéz esférót ǵ-īnək.”*

-
- 1 *yēkó*: This is the 3md form, while *yūki* is the 3mp. The Arabic ms and the audio actually have *ǵə-yēkó aw* [‘or’ in Arabic] *ǵə-yūki*. The Roman ms just has *ǵ-īūki*, with the incorrect dual form *ǵ-əbkó* in parentheses.
 - 2 *esférót*: In *JL* (s.v. *šfr*) this word is listed with an initial ‘e- (*esférót*), but there is no indication of the initial ‘e- in either manuscript of this text. Müller’s original text has just *šefirót*, though a form *esferót* can be found elsewhere in his material. The audio clearly has *esférót*, even in this line, where we expect an indefinite, which tells us that ‘e- is not the article. The Ḥarsusi cognate is *šefērōt* ‘sandpiper’, though Johnstone indicates in *HIL* (s.v. *šfr*) that there is no Mehri or Jibbali cognate. Forms with an initial ‘ayin in Soqoṭri (from his own fieldwork) are recorded by Johnstone in *JL* (see also Leslau 1938: 70), and are known from Arabic (cf. *‘usfūr* ‘sparrow’, alongside *šāfir* ‘bird’). Cognates elsewhere in Semitic are Hebrew *šippōr* and Syriac *šefrā*.

Translation of Text 6

- 1 (Once) a man married a woman and had two boys with her. And their mother died. The boys went to their mother's grave crying.
- 2 A bird appeared to them from the grave, and they took it home.
- 3 The boys said to their father, "Father, get married!" And their father got married, and brought their step-mother (home).
- 4 The boys were learning with the teacher, and their step-mother wanted to kill them. And their bird knew everything that happened [lit. was created] in the world.
- 5 And the boys came from the teacher, and went in to (see) their bird. It said to the boys, "Your step-mother made poison for you in your lunch, so don't eat it!"
- 6 Then they ate dates and went to the teacher. And their step-mother went to the medicine woman's, and said to her, "What should I do to the boys in order to kill them?"
- 7 And the medicine woman said to her, "Make bread, and put it under your back, and (pretend to) be sick. And when your husband comes, say to him, 'I am sick.'"
- 8 Then she returned to the house and got sick. And her husband came and said to her, "What's (the matter) with you?" She said, "I am sick. Go to the medicine woman." Then the man went to the medicine woman and said, "My wife is sick. What should I do for her?" And she said to him, "Slaughter your sons' bird."

-
- 4 *ta'álúm*: This must be a Gb-Stem 3fs imperfect. In his Roman ms, as in Müller's text, Johnstone transcribed *ta'lúm*, which would be a subjunctive form. The audio seems to support *ta'álúm*, though the pronunciation of this is probably very close to that of *ta'lúm*. No Gb-Stem *'élám* 'know' is listed in *JL* (or *ML* or *HL*), so this is either an oversight or an Arabism (cf. Arabic *'alima* 'know'). Bittner (1916b: 29) lists such a verb, though it seems to be based only on this text. More tellingly, Jahn (1902: 163) includes a Mehri Gb-Stem *aylám* 'know'.
 - 6 *ed*: In both mss, *her* was crossed out and replaced with *ed*. The latter, attested also on the audio, is probably a reflection of Müller's original, which has *tē* here. The particle *her* 'in order to' is used more frequently than *ed* in a purpose clause. The use of *tē* in Müller's text (and *ed* in Johnstone's) is perhaps a Mehrism (see §13.5.2.4).

- 9 *bə-ḥéz ešférót ð-īnēs, b-īnēs tel ē'álm. bə-zúm ešférót ižírét bə-t̄xóts.*
 10 *bə-zḥám ersót b-égaḥ tel ižírét. bə-ksé t̄lās erēs b-ūb ð-ešférót.*
 11 *bə-ōr éb her aḡás ekellén, "ak te' ūb, mən 'ak te' erēs?" embére' ekellén*
tē ūb, b-éb tē erēs. aḡád ersót ed éṣal óram trut.
 12 *bə-ksé bén irúmtá fúdún maktéb 'amkás, "troh ḡóḥe ol yəbgéd fáxrə lə."*
 13 *ōr éb her aḡás ekellén, "her aḡádən fáxrə, nəxérg. 'aḡk óram a'álet mən*
'ak óram elxét?"
 14 *embére' ekellén aḡád b-óram elxét ed éṣal šírét. b-égaḥ 'ak məsgíd bə-šéf*
'amkás.
 15 *ed k-ḥásaf 'és mən šunút bə-skóf əl-ōb. bə-zḥám ē'álm ba'l ēsgíd*
ðə-yəḡórf, bə-ksé ḡarórt ð-díréḥam mən tél šéf embére'.
 16 *bə-zīs embére'. b-aḡád embére' ed éṣal tel šxarét. ōr hes, "aḡk l-óskaf*
t̄līs." ōrót heš, "mor."
 17 *bə-skóf t̄lās. kol yūm mən k-ḥásaf, təḥīl aḡarórt ð-díréḥam mən nxín*
erēsš. ed melét sandík, ṭordótš.

-
- 9 *t̄xóts*: According to *ML* (s.v. *t̄bx*), the G-Stem verb *t̄x* 'cook' is an EJ form. It is not listed in *JL*. CJ does have a G-Stem *t̄x* from this root, but with a more specialized meaning 'bake *béḏaḥ* (a type of corm)'. Interestingly, in earlier drafts of *JL* (found in Boxes 7D, 12B, and 15C of Johnstone's papers), Johnstone did include *t̄x* 'cook', but in one draft (Box 16C), he crossed out the entry.
- 11 *'ak te' ūb, mən 'ak te' erēs*: I take *te'* (< **tte'*) here as the 2ms subjunctive of *tē* 'eat' (back-formed from the imperative *te'*), even though the correct 2ms subjunctive is *tít* (e.g., 12:6; cf. also 3ms *yít* in 21:3). We could take *te'* here as an imperative, and translate 'if you want, eat the heart, or if you want, eat the head', as Müller (1907: 54) and Bittner (1917a: 9) did. In 23:5, however, the form *te'* can only be a 2ms subjunctive. Assuming that *te'* is a subjunctive also means that this is a question, and *mən* 'or' is found most often in questions (§12.1.3).
- 12 *bén*: The modern Jibbali word for 'between' is *mən mún* (§8.20). The SAE text has here *əm-bén*, which has probably influenced the choice of words in Johnstone's text. Either this is a deliberate archaism here, or an Arabism.
- 13 *'aḡk / 'ak*: These transcriptions reflect two different spellings by Ali of the same verb form (2ms of *'aḡab* 'want'). Their pronunciation is identical.

- 9 And he slaughtered his sons' bird, while his sons were with the teacher. And he gave the bird to the servant-girl and she cooked it.
- 10 And the boys came and went in to the servant-girl. They found by her the head and the heart of the bird.
- 11 The bigger [lit. big] one said to his little brother, "Do you want to eat the heart, or do you want to eat the head?" The younger [lit. small] boy ate the heart, and the older one ate the head. The boys went until they reached two roads.
- 12 And they found between the roads a stone, on which was written 'two brothers will not go together'.
- 13 The big one said to the little one, "If we go together, we will die. Do you want the upper road or the lower road?"
- 14 The smaller boy went on the lower road until he reached a town. He entered the mosque and fell asleep in it.
- 15 Then in the morning, he got up from sleep and sat by the door. And the teacher, the head of the mosque, came sweeping, and he found a bag of money where the boy had slept.
- 16 And he gave it to the boy. The boy went until he reached an old woman. He said to her, "I want to stay with you." She said to him, "Ok."
- 17 And he stayed with her. Every day, in the morning, she took the bag of money [that appears every night] out from under his head. Then when she filled a box, she threw him out.

13 *a'álét*: This must be a fs adjective ('upper') from the root 'ly, though this root is not listed in *JL*. In *ML* (s.v. 'lv), we find the Mehri form *'ālēw* 'at the top' (cf. Mehri text 42:28) and the CJ form *a'alé* 'the highest one'. An earlier draft of *JL* (Johnstone papers Box 16C, s.v. 'lw) did include the word *a'alé* 'the highest one'. It is used also in TJ3:19. Bittner (1916a: 58; 1917b: 16) includes this word, as well as its opposite *əlxé* (see next comment).

13 *əlxét*: This is presumably a fs adjective ('lower') from a root *lxy*. I did not find this root in *ML* or *JL*, but a cognate form occurs in Johnstone's Mehri text 42:28, namely *əwxáyw* 'bottom' (this is the same story as Jibbali text 54, but the relevant passage is not in the Jibbali version). That Mehri *əwxáyw* means 'bottom' is clear from its use as the opposite of *'ālēw* 'top' (see previous note). Bittner (1916a: 58; 1917b: 48) does include (*e*)*lxé*, fs *əlxét* 'lower'.

- 18 *b-agád embéře' bə-kolǫ́t ešxarét her ebrít ðə-suṭún ðə-šé, embéře' ðénú, kol yūm tašḏḥ nxín eréšš garórt ð-dírehəm.*
- 19 *b-agád embéře' bə-həḵót ebrít ðə-suṭún bə-ōrót heš, "nəká!" b-égaḥ les.*
- 20 *bə-ōrót heš, "ágən nəḵé." bə-kē embéře'. šxanúṭ mən šífələš xótəm, bə-ḥōlótš ebrít ðə-suṭún bə-rdét beš 'ak xəs.*
- 21 *b-agád embéře' 'ak suḵ bə-šótém ségódət ð-təfrér. b-edūr yəl eširét bə-ðə-yənúdén bə-y'ōr, "mūn dḥa-ystém ségódət?"*
- 22 *bə-həḵót heš ebrít ðə-suṭún, b-égaḥ les. bə-ōrót heš, "he 'ak əl-stém." bə-ōr heš, "skíf ḏírs!" bə-ōr her ségódət, "frír ben!" bə-fərrót bóhum 'ak gizírt b-a'ámḵ ḏ-erémrəm. bə-skóf.*
- 23 *embéře' yəbgód 'ak heremíti 'ak egizírt ḏíkūn, bə-yḥíl ségódət šes. ed yum ṭit nəšés tel ebrít ðə-suṭún.*
- 24 *bə-ōrót aḡabgót her ségódət, "ya ségódət, frír bi yəl eūt ε-ī." bə-fərrót bes, b-aḡabgót ḏírs. b-ešízót eūt ε-īs.*
- 25 *b-embéře' béké 'ak egizírt. bə-ksé 'ak heremíti šhalét ḥít. ṭit, kol əḏ-tēs yəktéləb kérah. b-ēšḡarót, her tēs ērdém, yəkín beš kūhn ḏə-áyól. bə-šhalét, kol əḏ-tēs, yəktéləb bírdém.*
- 26 *embéře' gī' ḏərb bə-ḥtéləhum bə-rdē bóhum 'ak erémrəm, bə-rékəb ḏírhum. b-agád beš ed ešəl 'ak ḥayš ḏ-erz' ḏə-suṭún.*

21 *yənúdén*: This is the 3ms imperfect of the D/L-Stem of *ndw* (3ms perfect *enúdi*), meaning 'call out'. The verb is not listed in *JL*, *ML* (s.v. *ndw*) includes the CJ form *enúdi*. In Müller's version, we find here instead a D/L-Stem of the root *šwt* 'shout' (cf. Arabic *šawwata*), a verb which is also not listed in *JL*.

24 *ya*: The use of the Arabic vocative particle *ya* instead of ϵ (see §12.3) is probably due to the use of this particle in the version of this story published by Müller. In that version, *ya* is also used in line 3 (where this version has ϵ).

25 *béké*: See the comment to 5:3.

25 *ḥít*: According to *JL* (s.v. *ḥtt*), plural *ḥít* can be used as the plural of *héttit* (cf. line 27), meaning 'ear of rice; single piece; pip; pill', and the collective *ḥít* can mean 'food; beans; staple food; any cereal'. Perhaps 'beans' is what is intended here. Müller translated as 'berries' (*Beeren*), which works nicely in the context; I have kept his choice in my translation.

- 18 And the boy went, and the old woman told the Sultan's daughter that every day a bag of money appeared under this boy's head.
- 19 And the boy went, and the Sultan's daughter called (him) and said to him, "Come!" And he went to (see) her.
- 20 And she said to him, "Let's throw up." And the boy threw up. A ring came out of his belly, and the Sultan's daughter picked it up and threw it into her mouth.
- 21 And the boy went into the market and bought a flying carpet. And he returned to the town shouting and saying, "Who will buy a carpet?"
- 22 And the Sultan's daughter called him, and he went to (see) her. She said to him, "I want to buy." And he said to her, "Sit on it!" And he said to the carpet, "Fly with us!" And it flew with them onto an island in the middle of the sea. And they stayed.
- 23 The boy would go into the trees on that island, and he would take the carpet with him. Then one day he forgot it with the Sultan's daughter.
- 24 The girl said to the carpet, "O Carpet, fly me [or: with me] to my father's house." And it flew with her, while the girl was on it. And she reached her father's house.
- 25 But the boy remained on the island. He found in the trees three berries [or: beans]. One, whoever eats it will turn into a donkey. The second, if a person eats it, he will have horns of an ibex. And the third, whoever eats it will turn into a human (again).
- 26 The boy gathered logs, tied them together, threw them into the sea, and he rode on them. And he went with it (the raft) until he reached the shore of the Sultan's country.

25 *áyól*: I did not find this word in *JL* or *ML*. In the SAE version, Müller translates this as 'Steinbock' ('ibex'). The context makes it obvious that it is some kind of horned animal. This word is perhaps from the root *w'l*, from which we find Mehri *wēl* (pl. *wə'yōl*) 'Arabian tahr', however Johnstone (*JL*, s.v. *w'l*) gives quite different forms for Jibbali (cf. also 25:7).

26 *bə-ḥtélšhum*: This is clearly from the G-Stem *ḥtəl* 'wrap, tie', rather than the H-Stem *aḥtél* 'chop', even though Johnstone transcribed *baḥtélšhum* in the Roman ms. *JL* (s.v. *ḥtl*) gives only the meaning 'wrap s.t. up' for *ḥtəl*, but in the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss 'tied together'; this is also the meaning given in Müller's version (*band ... aneinander*).

- 27 *bə-ðə-yənúdén*, “*hít!*” [*bə-yásúm hit*], *bə-y’ör*, “*mün ðə-‘ágab yástém hétéit ðə-dinú?*” *bə-‘örót šxarét*, “*he ‘agk əl-štém.*” *bə-štüts*.
- 28 *bə-təts bə-ktéliót kərhet*. *bə-ħöl les fədnín*, *ed ební mən ðírs but*. *bə-kún bes meróhte*.
- 29 *bə-‘örót ešxarét*, “*fkek tə bə-ħa-l-zémk səndíḳək.*” *bə-züts səndíḳ bə-ħüláš ‘aḳ ütš bə-kél’áš ‘aḳ ütš*.
- 30 *b-aǧád ‘aḳ eširét ðə-yənúdén*, “*mün ðə-‘ágab yástém hétéit ðə-dinú?*” *‘örót ebrít ðə-suṭún*, “*he ‘agk əl-štém hétéit ðə-dinú.*”
- 31 *bə-‘ör hes*, “*her ‘agiš təstíms, izher eréšš mən xofét.*” *bə-zīs hétéit*, *bə-təts*.
- 32 *bə-xótlək bes kūhn troh ðə-‘áyól, taṭ serf ε-üt əm-bóh*, *bə-taṭ serf ð-üt əm-bóh*.
- 33 *bə-tə’ör heš*, “*fkek tə!*” *bə-šé ðə-yənúdén ‘aḳ eširét*, *bə-y’ör*, “*kəl yum b-elf, wə-l-yóm baláš!*”
- 34 *bə-tə’ör heš*, “*fkek tə!*” *‘ör hes*, “*her ‘agiš l-‘fkaš, kəlīb xótəm bə-zī-tə séǧódat.*” *kēt xótəm bə-ħöl xótəməš bə-séǧódat*.
- 35 *bə-zīs hétéit bə-ktéliót bírdém*. *b-aǧád yəl ütš*.
- 36 *b-éšəl ‘aḳ ütš*. *bə-zhám aǧáš éb*, *bə-šés xamsín yiršóbb*. *kəl leš aǧáš eḳellén hit*, *ħöl xamsín yiršóbb*.
- 37 *bə-kéré āǧaréf ‘aḳ hölt b-aǧád mən tóláš*. *bə-tī’áš ed lhúḳóhum*. *bə-‘ör hóhum*, “*sókum āǧaréfi. šeróḳkum təš.*”

27 *yənúdén*: We expect here *yásúm* ‘he was selling’, based on the context and on Müller’s version. In fact, in the Arabic ms, *yásúm* was written and crossed out, with *yənúdén* ‘he was calling out’ then written above it (cf. line 21).

28 *meróhte*: This is the plural of *múraḥ* ‘wound, sore (on an animal)’. In *JL*, the plural is given as just *méróh*. In fact, on the audio, Ali first said *méróh*, but corrected himself to *meróhte*, which is what the Arabic ms has (and what Müller’s text has). There seem to be many nouns that have multiple plural forms (see § 4.3.1 and § 4.3.2).

33 *elf*: This is an Arabic form (cf. next comment). The Jibbali equivalent is *ʔf* (cf. § 9.1.5, as well as *JL* and *ML*, s.v. *ʔf*).

33 *wə-l-yóm baláš*: This whole phrase is Arabic. The phrase *baláš* ‘for nothing, for free’ is also attested in Johnstone’s Mehri texts.

- 27 And he was calling out, "Berries!" [Or: He was selling the berries], and said, "Who wants to buy a pregnancy berry?" And (the) old woman said, "I want to buy." And she bought it.
- 28 And she ate it and turned into a donkey. And he loaded rocks on her, until he had built a house with her. And she got sores on her.
- 29 And the old woman said, "Release me, and I will give you your box." And she gave him the box and he carried it into his house and left it in his house.
- 30 And he went into the town, calling out, "Who wants to buy a pregnancy berry?" The Sultan's daughter said, "I want to buy a pregnancy berry."
- 31 And he said to her, "If you want to buy it, show your head from the window." And he gave her the berry and she ate it.
- 32 Two ibex horns appeared on her, one on this side of the house, and one on that side of the house.
- 33 And she said to him, "Release me!" And he was calling out in the town, saying, "Every day for a thousand, and today for nothing!"
- 34 And she said to him, "Release me!" He said to her, "If you want me to release you, return the ring and give me the carpet." She vomited up the ring, and he put his ring on the carpet.
- 35 And he gave her the berry, and she turned back into a (normal) human. And he went to his house.
- 36 And he went into his house. His big brother came, and he had fifty riding-camels. His little brother measured out food for him, a load of fifty riding-camels.
- 37 And he hid the measuring-bowl in the load and he left him. And he followed him until he caught up to them. And he said to him, "You have my measuring-bowl. You stole it."

36 *hōl*: This must be a noun 'load', from the root *hml*. No such form is listed in *JL*, but compare Mehri *hāmāl* (*ML*, s.v. *hml*).

37 *hōlt*: This also must be a noun 'load' from the root *hml*. No such form is listed in *JL*, but the word is used also in several other texts by Ali (e.g., 18:15; 41:2; Tj2:82). See also the comment to Tj2:82. Cf. also Mehri *hāmáwlat* (*ML*, s.v. *hml*).

- 38 ‘ōr, “ɔl tōlūn l.” bə-šxētər. bə-yōr, “her kisk āgərēftōlōkum, ɣa-l-ɣil eḳīt̄kum. bə-ðə kun še ɔl tōlōkum l, hōkum mən tōlī xamsīn yiršōb.”
- 39 bə-ksé āgərēftōlōhum, bə-ḥōl aḡāš. hes ešəl ‘ak eūt, ḡótrəb. bə-kól̄t her aḡāš eḳellén kəl in kun leš bə-dīnī. bə-skōf. bə-tammūt.

Text 7 (no M): A Betrothal and Marriage

- 1 xaṭarēt ḡeyg aḡád mən fēgər, ‘aḡəb ešhéhr. hes ešəl ešhéhr, ksé ḡeyg. ‘ōr, “ak l-šfək dek, her ɣa-l-éšfək t.”
- 2 ‘ōr, “ɣa-l-éšfəkək her ɣa-tzē-tō īndīkək.” ‘ōr, “ɣa-l-zémk īndīki.” ‘ōr, “mor, ḡad šérég īnét. her sēn fērəḥ bek, ɣa-l-éšfəkək.”
- 3 ‘ōr, “mor. mit ɣa-l-əsnék?” ‘ōr, “kərəre.” aḡád aḡéyg ɣəl īnét bə-hérōg šésən.
- 4 ‘ōrót ešxarét, emé attét, “nɣa sēn ‘ɔdət. nəkín ərhāt k-ḥīyén, her het ɣa-tékən ərhīm sēn. ɣa-néšfəkək.” bə-séd še b-īnét.
- 5 b-aḡád ɣəl aḡéyg, ī ðə-tét, bə-kól̄t heš. bə-zīš īndīk. b-aḡád še bə-šé ɣəl sékən.

Text 6

- 38 šxētər: According to *JL* (s.v. *xtr*), this verb means ‘dare o.a.; bet o.a.’ (cf. 17:37), as does the corresponding Mehri verb (*ML*, s.v. *xtr*). Müller translates this verb with *streiten* ‘quarrel, argue’, which also fits the context well.
- 39 ḡótrəb: The Arabic ms originally had *ḡarōb ɣattōhum*, but the G-Stem *ḡarōb* was crossed out and replaced with the T1-Stem *ḡótrəb*. Ali stumbled on the audio, but ultimately read *ḡótrəb ɣattōhum*, which is what the Roman ms has. However, the phrase *ḡótrəb ɣattōhum* is not correct Jibbali, as confirmed by several informants.

Text 7

- 2 šérég: This is the Š2-Stem ms imperative of the root *rwg*, meaning ‘consult; get approval from’.

- 38 He said, "(It is) not with us." And they made a bet [or: argued]. And he said, "If I find the bowl with you, I will take your food. And if it is not with you, you will get from me fifty riding-camels."
- 39 And he found the bowl with them, and he took his brother. When they got to the house, they recognized each other. And he told his little brother all that had happened to him in the world. And they stayed. It is finished.

Translation of Text 7

- 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 will 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), said, "We have a custom. We will be fine with [or: nice to] our son-in-law, if you will be fine with [or: 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 [lit. he and he] went to the settlement.

4 *ḥīyén*: This must be from *ḥim*, for which *JL* (s.v. *ḥm*) gives only the meaning 'brother-in-law' (as in 25:8). It appears that this word can also mean 'son-in-law', as the context here requires, and as its cognates can in Mehri (Jahn 1902: 191) and Soqoṭri (Leslau 1938: 178). It may also mean 'father-in-law', as in Mehri (*ML*, s.v. *ḥm*; Jahn 1902: 191), Hobyot (*HV*, p. 103), and Soqoṭri (Leslau 1938: 178), but *JL* (s.v. *dwd*) lists 'father-in-law' as an additional meaning of *did* 'paternal uncle'. Note, however, the Hobyot sentence *ho ə'ōmər har ḥīmi 'a dīdi* 'I call my father-in-law *dīdi* (uncle)' (*HV*, p. 103), illustrating the overlap between these two lexemes. The suffix *-én* suggests that the noun is plural, as in the Mehri version of this story (see Appendix E). However, *JL* gives only the plural *ḥimtə*, which cannot be the base of *ḥīyén*. Note that Mehri has an internal plural *ḥawm* (sg. *ḥaym*), as does Hobyot.

- 6 *bə-žēṭ tabkizót mən tél teṭ. bə-xtór še b-eshódéš ḥallét yəl séra’,
bə-šəmlék. bə-šótém kelínt tūr bə-réfa’.*
- 7 *ed k-ḥáṣaf, zəḥám sékən bə-lōd, bə-féród érún mən sékən. b-əbrék yiršób,
bə-skóf ḥa-yékən sá’a.*
- 8 *mǵóre’ zəḥám yə ḏə-yəǵōr kelínt. bə-zḥám hibbót. bə-zḥám ēr-díd ḏə-tét
ḏə-yəxóle, “əl dé yóšfəḵ b-eš-dídi lə.”*
- 9 *axarét zīš aǵéyǵ ɛ-šfəḵ ‘ásírét ḵəróš bə-sīḥ heš yóšfəḵ. b-égaḥ a’áṣər
ḏóhūn. bə-skóf šes ḥa-yékən ɔrx.*
- 10 *axarét ‘ōr hes, “áǵən nəfḏá’ [nəfdá’?] yəl a’élí.” ‘ōrót heš, “əl əbǵód lə
mən tél a’élí.” axarét ‘ōr her is, “he ‘ak tėti taǵád ši.” ‘ōr heš, “mor, ǵod.”*
- 11 *‘ōr, “teṭ ǵólōt əl taǵád.” axarét zəḥám is, guzúm les. axarét teṭ ‘ōrót, “əl
ḥa-l-ǵád lə.”*
- 12 *axarét ‘ōr is, “teṭ ǵólōt əl taǵád. ‘ak tóskaf, bə-rík. bə-‘ak əl-xóle’,
ḥa-nzémk indíkək.” ‘ōr, “her əl ḥa-təǵád ši lə, ḥa-l-xóle’.” axarét xózi
aǵéyǵ, bə-žēṭ indíkš. bə-təmmút.*

-
- 7 *ḥa-yékən*: In Mehri, *wəḵōna*, the participle (future) of ‘be’ also can mean ‘about, approximately’. Here, the Jibbali future of ‘be’, *ḥa-yékən*, is used to mean ‘about’. *JL* does not list this meaning. See further in § 9.6.
- 8 *ḏə-yəxóle*: In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss ‘who accompanies her’. If this is correct, it is not clear what verb this is from. The form must be a Gb-stem 3ms imperfect of *xlw*. Johnstone gives only the meaning ‘be empty’ for the Gb-Stem *xézi*, but the Ga-Stem *xálé*, which also means ‘be empty’, has the secondary meaning ‘be unmarried’. Gb-Stem forms of this root are attested also in 60:2 and SB2:2.
- 8 *yóšfəḵ*: The audio has *yəšǵfəḵ* (G-Stem imperfect), while the Arabic and Roman ms have *yóšfəḵ* (G-Stem subjunctive), with a marginal note in the latter that says “or *šfəḵ*”. (The Arabic ms could also presumably represent the Ši-Stem imperfect *yóššfəḵ*.) Johnstone glossed first ‘no one marries his f. cousin’, but crossed this out and wrote ‘no one can marry off his cousin but him’. However, for ‘marry off’ we expect an H-Stem. The 1cs possessive suffix on *eš-dídi* makes it clear that the man is speaking here.

- 6 And he took possession of the woman in marriage. And he went down with his witnesses to town, to the judge, and he got legal possession. And he bought dates for the wedding feast, and he went back.
- 7 Then in the morning, they came to the settlement and they fired shots, and the goats ran away frightened 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, (saying), "No one should marry my 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 head off to my family." She said to him, "I will not go from my family." Then he said to her father, "I want my wife to go with me." He said to him, "Ok, 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."
- 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.

10 *nəfðá'*: This verb is glossed as 'flit to' in the Roman ms. I did not find it in *JL*. In the Arabic ms, it is spelled with simple *d* instead of *ð*. The Mehri version of this story (see Appendix E) has the verb *fəruž* 'go home', and the Jibbali equivalent *fěða'* is given in *ML* (s.v. *frž*).

Text 8 (= M57): A Conversation

- 1 A: “*bér hek sá’ate bə-hét b-əgarbét?*”
 2 B: “*bér hini ha-yékən xiš ‘ayún.*”
 3 A: “*mor, həsələk sé?*”
 4 B: “*həsələk erəşki. ɛnfɛt ɔl xudúm k sé lɔ, w-axarét xudúm k xodünt, wələkən əhşól ɔl həšóf lɔ.*”
 5 A: “*fəló sínk ɛbrí?*”
 6 B: “*bér hini sá’ate ɔl sínk tɔš lɔ, wələkən šā’k yɔ ‘ör še ‘aḳ xədmét. kɔh, ɔl ɔtəl lókum sé lɔ ‘ónut ðínu?*”
 7 A: “*ob-lób. ɔtəl, wələkən mən ɔrx tɔh ɔl-‘ód ɔtəl sé lɔ, b-ɔl-‘ód níka‘ meš gəb lɔ. bə-nhá ša‘zín tɔš.*”
 8 B: “*ɔl (t)ša‘zész lɔ. bə-xár še, bə-ðə-yaxédəm, wələkən əthúm k, hes ɔl ɔtəl sé lɔ, ð-a‘ní yəšéxənt.*”
 9 A: “*kɔh, šā’k dé ‘ör ha-yšéxənt?*”
 10 B: “*šā’k ġaró, wələkən ɔl htum k lɔ mün ɛ-‘ör hini.*”
 11 A: “*‘ɔd yékən ar ðə-yɔd?*”
 12 B: “*bə-hó’. kólót hini búrdém ð-ɔl yɔd lɔ, wələkən ɔl fítɔnək tɔš lɔ.*”
 13 A: “*əftétün ün! tob ar fúrɔhək tun. yəfórɔhək əz bə-xár.*”
 14 B: “*ho, hē, tob ar fítɔnək tɔš. ɛðí-ilín ðə-‘ör hini ð-ɔl yɔd lɔ.*”

4 *w-axarét*: The use of *w-* here, rather than *b-* (§ 12.1.1), is probably a Mehrism or an Arabism. (WJ speakers do use *w-* ‘and’.)

4 *xodünt*: This diminutive form is not in *JL*, but cf. Mehri *xədmənōt*, which occurs in the Mehri version of this text (M57:4). On diminutives, see § 4.5.

4 *əhşól*: This must be from a form *maḥşól*. The Mehri text has *amḥəşawl*. Neither word appears in *JL* or *ML*, but the root is clear (cf. the verbs in lines 3 and 4); cf. also Arabic *maḥşūl* ‘result; yield, gain’.

Translation of Text 8

- 1 A: "Were you abroad for a long time?"
 2 B: "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: "Nope. He has sent, but he hasn't sent anything at all for two months, and a letter hasn't come from him at all. We are worried about him."
 8 B: "Don't worry about him. He is fine, and 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 him."
 13 A: "Please remember! You have truly made us happy. May God make you happy with good things!"
 14 B: "Oh, yes, I do indeed remember him. So-and-so who told me does not lie."

13 *ûn*: This word is transcribed just *û* in the Roman ms, but written و in the Arabic ms. It is glossed in the Roman ms as 'now! please!'. See §12.5.2. The corresponding word in the Mehri version of this text is the rare particle *mō*, attested just two or three times in Johnstone's Mehri texts (Rubin 2010: 254). In *ML* (s.v. *m*), it is suggested that the Jibbali cognates of *mō* are *mor* and *mōǝr*, but this seems unlikely. It seems possible that *û* could be the cognate of *mō*.

Text 9 (= M58): About Animals

- 1 *tōlén b-ēsḥéhr mośét mékən, érún, bə-lhúti, bə-yél.*
- 2 *ámma érún b-iyél, 'aḳ xərǝf ɔl təkínən bésən núsəb lə. ámma elhúti təkínən bésən núsəb.*
- 3 *bə-yūkər bə-ygǔ' mašḥ.*
- 4 *b'él érún b-iyél yəzḥímhum her yəśxéf.*
- 5 *tə tšrób, elhúti yəkín ṭiün, əb-b'él ērún b-iyél yəkín šóhum enúsəb. bə-yəzḥímhum b'él elhúti her yəśxéf.*
- 6 *əb-b'él elhúti yəxótər b-ēšḥ ḥallét, bə-yəššimš bə-'ád her elhúti. elhúti, her ɔl tē 'ad lə, yəfét. bə-hér tē 'ad, yəkín bə-xár əb-bóhum enúsəb.*
- 7 *ámma iyél b-ērún, ɔl yózəmsən 'ad lə, ar hér kunút 'ónut dijfirət, yózəmsən 'ad. əb-b'él elhúti yəkín sóbər bə-šüm yəšəl mən ḥallét.*
- 8 *walékən her širiót yōfēn fǝḳaḥ ḏ-edúnhum ḏénu mən téréf ḏ-ōśét (ḏ-)tōlén b-ēsḥéhr.*
- 9 *b-elhúti ɔl yəšǝr lə mən emíh. təmmút.*

-
- 2 *iyél*: *JL* (s.v. 'bl) has the definite form *iyél*, but there is no gemination heard on the audio. The Roman ms has *iyél*.
 - 2 *təkínən*: The 3fp imperfect *tekínən* is unexpected here. It seems to be agreeing with *érún b-iyél* in its first appearance, even though the grammatical subject is *núsəb* 'milk'. In the second clause, the 3fp form is even stranger, since *əlhúti* 'cows' normally has masculine agreement (cf. *yəfét*, *yəkín*, and *bóhum* in 9:6). The same 3fp verb form appears in the parallel Mehri version (58:2; see Rubin 2010: 244, n. 2), and this has possibly influenced the Jibbali translation.
 - 5 *tšrób*: We expect here a 3fs H-Stem *təšérób* here (as in the Mehri version). The mss have *tšrób* and the audio has *tšrób*, which is probably a Mehriized H-Stem (cf. Mehri *təšrawb*). The preceding *tə* is also a Mehriism. It is also highly unusual (in both the Jibbali and Mehri versions) that the verb is an imperfect; we expect a perfect after the temporal subordinator.

Translation of Text 9

- 1 We have in the mountains a lot of livestock: goats, cows, and camels.
- 2 As for the goats and the camels, in the rainy season they don't have milk. As for the cows, they do have milk.
- 3 And they (people) store milk and collect clarified butter.
- 4 The goat- and camel-herders come to them (the cow-herders) in order to drink milk.
- 5 Then when it becomes autumn, the cows dry up, and the goat- and camel-herders have milk. And the cow-herders come to them in order to drink milk.
- 6 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. But if they eat sardines, they are well and they have milk.
- 7 As for the camels and the goats, they don't give them sardines, except if it is a bad year, they give them sardines. And the cow-herders, they are always in debt to the town.
- 8 But when autumn has come, they pay half of this debt of theirs from the livestock that is with us in the mountains.
- 9 And the cows will not do without water. It is finished.

8 *ḏénu*: In the Roman ms, it is unclear if this should be read *ḏénu* (f.) or *ḏínu* (f.). Either an *é* is written over an *í* or vice versa. Unfortunately, the audio and Arabic ms for this text end immediately before this word. The word *dun* 'debt' is masculine (cf. TJ2:76), and so the feminine form was perhaps a translation of the Mehri version, which has *ḏammēt ḏīmāh* 'this (f.) debt'.

8 (*ḏ*-)*t̄lén*: We expect a relative here, either *ε-t̄lén* or *ḏ-t̄lén*, the latter of which could be realized simply as *t̄lén*, which is what the Roman ms has. As mentioned in the previous comment, there is no audio or Arabic manuscript to check for this part of the text.

Text 10 (no M): A Disagreement.

- 1 *he fónə aǵádk ɣəl ekfɔr izóhūn b'él ūt. axarét kisk kúfurt, ð-ɔl sédan he bə-sé lə.*
- 2 *b-ədúrk, bə-hé ðə-ǵótéðk les. ed zəhámk bun, kisk aǵegéši bə-kólótk heš.*
- 3 *b-aǵád še ɣəsnóhum w-ɔl éda'k lə ɣəhóʃəl sé mən lə. še ɔd ar ǵeyg fára'.*
- 4 *bə-thúmk təʃ ar ha-ɣhóʃəl bə-ha-nəsné egōbš mit zəhám. tammút.*

Text 12 (no M): Cow Theft

- 1 *xatarét ǵeyg troh ðə-yəbgéd b-órəm. axarét 'ör tad, "ak tun našrék."*
- 2 *'ör, "bə-xízk. her 'ak, ǵadú!" aǵád ǵasré ed éʃəl sékən, bə-ksé əlhúti. bə-žēt ʃit mən əlhúti, bə-sé 'ísít. b-aǵád bes ed mukún tad.*
- 3 *hez bə-séré egód, bə-xənít egdólés, bə-fúrķ té' mukún, b-a'azóž mukún. mǵóre' ked té' bə-kéla' ékdód ðer ekúd.*
- 4 *mǵóre' hes ber késa' té', keʃ té' maqós. mǵóre' hól sábaḥ bə-kélaš 'ak ekáḥf, bə-hól ekáḥf ðer sōt. bə-hól té', kélaš 'ak ekáḥf.*

Text 10

- 2 *aǵegéši*: This means 'my friend', but derives from *aǵéyɣ e-ši* 'the man who is with me'. This expression (discussed in § 3.8.1) is not in *JL*, but is glossed in the Roman ms.

Text 12

- 2 *bə-xízk*: This means literally 'by your uncle!', and is used in the sense of 'as you please!' (*JL*, s.v. *xwl*). The Roman ms has *bə-xilk*, which has been corrected to *bə-xízk*, while the Arabic ms has *بخيشك*, representing *bə-xízk*. *JL* also has *bə-xilk*. Since *ž* is an allophone of *l* (see § 2.1), these variants are not problematic.
- 2 *ed*: Both occurrences of *ed* in this line are corrections that were added to the manuscripts. The story originally had Mehri *tɛ* both times. We still find the Mehrism *tɛ* in lines 5 and 8, and elsewhere in a few of Ali Musallam's Jibbali texts.
- 2 *'ísít*: Johnstone added the gloss 'fat' in the Roman ms. *JL* (s.v. *žy*) has 'əž 'fat', but the audio and both manuscripts clearly have *š*.

Translation of Text 10

- 1 Earlier I went to those foreigners, the owners of the house. Then I found the foreign woman, and she and I did not agree.
- 2 I returned, and I was angry at her. Then when I came here, I found my friend and told him.
- 3 And he went to see them, but I didn't know (if) he would get something or not. He is a brave man.
- 4 And I thought he'd surely get (something), and we would see his answer when he came. It is finished.

Translation of Text 12

- 1 Once two men were walking on a road. Then one said, "Let's steal!"
- 2 He [the other] said, "As you wish. If you want, let's go!" They went in the evening until they arrived at a settlement, and they found cows. They took one of the cows, and it was fat. And they brought [lit. went with] it to a certain place.
- 3 They slaughtered (it), skinned the skin, took off its feet, and separated the meat in one place and the bones in one place. Then they cut the meat into strips and left the strips on the rope.
- 4 Then after the meat was dry, they chopped the meat into chops. Then they took the fat and put it in the pot, and put the pot on [or: over] the fire. And they took meat and put it in the pot.

-
- 3 *furk*: The meaning here is clearly something like 'divide, separate', though this exact meaning is not found in *JL*. *JL* (s.v. *frk*) lists, in addition to the meaning 'frighten', the meanings 'make a parting' and 'distribute a camel's load in counterpoised bags'. Earlier drafts of *JL* included for this verb the meanings 'distribute in a camel load' (Johnstone papers Boxes 12B and 16C) or 'divide' (Boxes 7D and 19B). The meaning 'divide, separate' likely comes from Arabic; cf. Arabic D *far-raqa* 'divide, separate'. Cf. also Mehri G *fārōk* 'distribute guests over various houses', with which Johnstone compares EJ *furk* (*ML*, s.v. *frk*).
 - 3 *ēkdód*: This is the definite form of *mākdód*, which, though not in *JL*, must be the plural of *mākadét* 'long strip of beef for drying'; see *JL* (s.v. *kd*). The verb *ked* 'cut into strips', earlier in this line, is from the same root.

- 5 *te k-ḥásaf* ‘agūn, *b-aǧád*. *axarét ksé ǧeyg* ḏə-*yəbǧód*. ‘*ör hóhum*, “*he ǧeyg tofún, bə-hér šókūm kít, zum to.*”
- 6 ‘*ör heš*, “*nḥa šēn té’ ḥarúm*. *her ‘agk tít, ḥa-nzémk.*” ‘*ör hóhum*, “*he ɔl até ḥarúm l.*” ‘*ör*, “*mor. dek ɔl tókləṭ her dé.*” ‘*ör*, “*mor.*”
- 7 *ed kərəre zəḥám b’él elé’* ḏə-*yšxūr*, *bə-ḏə-yədǧfa’* *šhelót kəróš* *her dé kolót* *hóhum bə-kól e-šérók elé’*.
- 8 *axarét kolót hóhum aǧéy* *e-ksé aǧág*, *bə-ḥöl šhelót kəróš*. *b-aǧád aǧág* *te ksé aǧág əḏ-šérók elé’*.
- 9 ‘*ör hóhum*, “*tum ḏə-šerókum elín.*” ‘*ör*, “*ábdan. ɔl šerókən toš l.*” ‘*ör*, “*‘ókum taǧzúm?*” ‘*ör*, “*a-ngzēm bə-xōš mən nšərək elíkum.*” ‘*ör*, “*a-négzəmkum ḏer bər a’arīt.*”
- 10 *aǧád aǧág. d-‘ɔd ɔl ešəl bər a’arít l*, *šéf. axarét héləm taḏ mən aǧág* *əḏ-šerók ḥilm. zəḥiš bər a’arīt bə-‘ör heš*, “*ɔl xer hek l ɔtǧzəm ḏiri.*”
- 11 *bə-‘és aǧéy mən šonút(š)*, *bə-‘ör*, “*ɔl-‘ɔd ‘aǧən naǧzəm l. elíkum tólén*, *bə-dḥa-nəḳžékum b-elínkum.*” *bə-təmmút*.
- 12 *tólén yə yəférék mən eḳəbrín. yə‘ör, kəbrín ḏi-élké. təmmút*.

5 *te*: The Roman mss have *hes* here, but the Arabic ms and the audio have the Mehrism *te*.

9 *a-ngzēm*: The future particle is usually *dḥa-* or *ḥa-* in Johnstone’s texts, but here we have the reduced form *a-*, which is common in colloquial speech. See further in § 7.1.4.

9 *bə-xōš*: See text 14:3, where this idiom is referred to.

9 *bər a’arīt*: Johnstone glossed this in one Roman ms as ‘a wali’s tomb’. It is a well-known tomb in Raysut, a port town just a few miles west of Ṣalalah. The full name of the man buried there is Salem bin Aḥmad bin Arab; *bər a’arīt* (‘son of the Arab woman’) is the Jibbali translation of the last part of his name. Such a venerated tomb is a place where one would not tell a lie.

- 5 Then in the morning they mixed (the fat and meat), and they went off. Then they found a man walking. He said to them, "I am a hungry man, and if you have food, give me!"
- 6 They said to him, "We have forbidden (*ḥaram*) meat. If you want to eat, we will give you." He said to them, "I will not eat forbidden meat." They said, "Ok. Be sure not to tell anyone." He said, "Ok."
- 7 Then the next day the owners of the cow came asking, and they were paying thirty dollars to anyone who told them about whoever stole the cow.
- 8 Then the man who found the men told them, and he got thirty dollars. And the men went until they found the men who had stolen the cow.
- 9 They said to them, "You are the ones who stole our cow." They said, "No way. We didn't steal it." They said, "Do you want to swear?" They said, "We will swear times five [or: on five] that we didn't steal your cow." They said, "We'll make you swear at the Ber 'Arīt (tomb)."
- 10 The men went. Before they reached the Ber 'Arīt (tomb), they fell asleep. Then one of the men who had stolen dreamed a dream. The Ber 'Arīt came to him and said to him, "It is not good for you to swear on me."
- 11 And the man got up from (his) sleep and said, "We don't want to swear anymore. The cow is with us, and we will compensate you for your cow." And it is finished.
- 12 Among us, people are afraid of graves. They call them 'graves of the angels'. It is finished.

11 *šonút(š)*: The mss have just *šonút* 'sleep', while the audio has *šonútš* 'his sleep'.

11 *'ágan nəgzém lə*: The Arabic ms and audio have *'ágan lə nəgzém*.

11 *dḥa-nəḳžékum*: The Arabic and Roman mss actually have the prefix *ha-* here (unique in the texts), though on the audio Ali read *dḥa-*.

Text 13 (no M): Home from Dubai

- 1 *xaṭarét sf̣ork kin sékani te éšalək dəbéy, bə-žimk ‘ak ‘askerít. bə-skófk ‘ónut trut.*
- 2 *axarét zəhám tɔ xaṭ mən tél ēmí. ‘ōrót, “ik xáróg, bə-nhá ɔl šen dé lɔ. bə-‘ágən bek tšéxənṭ émtən.*
- 3 *šen ‘ónut difirət, b-ɔl šen gag lɔ ar ənhá inét. b-ōšétən difirət.” axarét šxənúṭk ‘ak lang.*
- 4 *te éšələn b-a‘ámk kunút len ek‘át ed bérən ha-nǝǝrɔk. bə-hṭɔrən xiš ēm bə-gizirt. axarét ṭērót ek‘át.*
- 5 *bə-sf̣ɔrən te éšələn hallét. axarét réfa‘k. te zəhámk sékani ǝasré, kisk ēmí b-aǝǝti əd-šéf baḥsésən.*
- 6 *ɔl šésən dé lɔ. bə-hé ši ǝül, bə-ǝírš ṭür bə-ḥít. ebrókək egül. a‘sóšk ēmí. ‘ōrót, “mün ḏénu?”*
- 7 *‘ök, “he ǝeyg zəhámk mən sfer.” axarét ‘ássót bə-‘ōrót, “fáló sink ebrí b-esf̣ér?” ‘ök hes, “iné ha-(t)ẓi-tɔ her kólóṭk hiš b-ebreṣ?”*
- 8 *‘ōrót, “ha-l-zámk əlhún ‘ak her kólóṭk hini b-ebri, her kun bə-xár bə-fló zəhám.” axarét žəḥakk, bə-hés žəḥakk, ǝarɔt tɔ, bə-‘ássót bə-sé (ḏ-)ṭók mən fəróž.*
- 9 *bə-‘ássót ebrits mən šunút, bə-‘ōrót hes, “aǝǝš zəhám.” bə-‘ássót mən šunút bə-sé (ḏ-)ṭók mən fəróž. béké kélsən.*
- 10 *axarét ‘ōrót ēmí, “he ber li məsəlüt her ɔd sink tɔk. ná‘sanu ‘ágən nəḥzéz.”*

-
- 1 *‘askerít*: This word is not in *JL*, but *ML* (s.v. *‘skr*) lists it as an EJ form.
 - 3 *‘ónut*: See the comment to 20:1.
 - 4 *ek‘át*: This word is glossed in *JL* (s.v. *k‘w*) as ‘strong, cold, rainless winter wind’. In the Roman ms, however, Johnstone glossed it as ‘storm’. I have kept ‘storm’ in my translation only because it is simpler.
 - 4 *hṭɔrən*: I did not find this verb in any dictionary, but Johnstone glossed it as ‘waited’ in the Roman ms. This is presumably a T2-Stem of the root *ḥwr*. Johnstone actually transcribed it as *hṭɔrən* (which could be a G-Stem of an otherwise unknown root *ḥtr*) in the Roman ms, but the audio has a long *ɔ*.
 - 8 *(ḏ-)ṭók*: Here and in line 9, the prefix *ḏ-* is not in the mss or on the audio. It should be there, but it is suppressed because of the initial *t-*. See § 7.1.10.1.

Translation of Text 13

- 1 Once I traveled from my settlement until I reached Dubai, and I enlisted in the police. And I stayed two years.
- 2 Then a letter came to me from my mother. She said, "Your father has died, and we have no one. We want you to come back to us.
- 3 We have a bad drought, and we have no one but us women. And our animals are bad." Then I set out in a boat.
- 4 Then when we reached the middle (of the journey), a storm befell us until we were about to sink. And we waited five days on an island. Then the storm broke.
- 5 And we went until we reached the town. Then I got out. When I came to my settlement in the evening, I found my mother and my sister asleep by themselves.
- 6 They had no one (with them). I had a camel, and on it were dates and grain. I made the camel kneel. I woke my mother. She said, "Who is that?"
- 7 I said, "I am a man who has come back from a journey." Then she got up and said, "Perhaps you have seen my son on the journey?" I said to her, "What will you give me if I tell you about your son?"
- 8 She said, "I will give you whatever you want, if you tell me about my son, if he is well or (if) he has come." Then I laughed, and when I laughed, she recognized me. She got up, and she was crying from happiness.
- 9 And her daughter got up from sleep, and she said to her, "Your brother has come." And she got up from sleep and was crying from happiness. Each of them was crying.
- 10 Then my mother said, "I already have a sacrificial animal for if I saw you again. Now let's slaughter (it)."

8 *fārǝǝ*: This word clearly means 'happiness', and though related words appear in *JL* (s.v. *frǝ*), this noun does not.

9 *béké kélsən*: The phrase *béké kélsən* is in the Roman ms only. It is missing from the Arabic ms and the audio. The phrase before it, *bə-ʿaśśót mən šunút bə-sé (ǝ-)tǝk mən fārǝǝ*, is missing from the Roman ms.

- 11 *d-ʾōdan ǧ-ənkéltót, sínén ǧeyg zəhám. hō(l)k ǧndíkí bə-ʾök heš, “əl təkərō(b)-tun lo!” ʾör, “sedík!”*
- 12 *axarét ǧaróbən aǧéyg, bə-šéf aǧéyg eǧí, bə-šé əl ǧarób tə lo. ed zəhám, ʾör, “mūn ǧénu?” ʾök, “ǧen he, aǧák.” axarét xōt ǧndík bə-lōd. bə-lōdak he.*
- 13 *axarét šāʿ erábḳən eziód mən ʾak sékən. b-ebḫé yə, yəkél kunút həgmét ʾak sékən.*
- 14 *ed zəhám yə, ksé tūn. axarét həzzən əz trut. b-aǧsərén ed k-ḫáṣaf, he b-eǧí b-ēmí b-eǧíti aǧsərén ed k-ḫáṣaf.*
- 15 *axarét ʾök her eǧí, “het skef tel érún k-ēmítí, bə-hé ḫa-l-ǧád yəl tėti, bə-ḫa-l-zḫóm bes təkərō-tun b-ōsét.”*
- 16 *ʾör, “mor, ǧad.” b-aǧádk tə zəhámk tel tėti. ḫazzót hūni, b-aǧsərén. bə-zḫámk tóhum bə-xátóḳ bə-ḳít, bə-skófk tōlōhum ʾáṣər trōh.*
- 17 *mǧóreʿ ʾök her tėti, “aǧən nəǧád yəl sékəni. əl-ʾōd síndan məš lo.” ʾörót, “he əl əbǧód lo kīn aʿéllí.”*
- 18 *ʾök hes, “her ʾaǧiš bi, ḫa-tǧíd ši. b-əl ʾaǧiš bi lo, ḫa-tískaf.” ʾörót, “ak bek, wələkən aʿéllí əl šóhum dé lo ar he.” axarét ǧəlōt əl təǧád ši.*

-
- 11 *təkərō(b)*: The final *b* appears in both mss, but is not pronounced on the audio. Cf. the similar phrases in 25:12 and 53:10, where the *b* is absent from the mss as well.
- 12 *eǧí*: This word is missing from the Arabic ms and the audio, but this is just a mistake.
- 13 *šāʿ*: This is the G-Stem perfect of *šmʿ* ‘hear’, though *JL* (s.v. *šmʿ*) and *ML* (s.v. *hmʿ*) list only *šrʿ*. These two forms are variants, just as in Mehri we find either *hūma* or *hūma*. We also find this variation with other, similar (II-m, III-G) roots. Some of my informants also used *šāʿ*.
- 13 *eziód*: Undoubtedly this means ‘shots; shooting’, from the root *ld*, though the noun is missing from *JL*. The Roman ms has either *išiōt* or *iziōt*; either *š* is written over *z* or vice versa. The Arabic ms has *اشود*. Johnstone added the gloss ‘our neighbors heard’ under the phrase *erēbkən išiōt*, but it is obviously *šāʿ* that means ‘heard’. The indefinite form of *eziód* is probably *liód*, since word-initial *z* is not found elsewhere.

- 11 While we were chatting, we saw a man coming. I picked up my rifle and said to him, "Don't come near us!" He said, "Friend!"
- 12 Then we recognized the man, and it turned out the man was my brother, and he didn't recognize me. When he came, he said, "Who is this?" I said, "It's me, your brother." Then he cocked his rifle and fired (in the air). And I fired.
- 13 Then our neighbor(s) heard the shots from inside the settlement. And people came to help. They thought there was an attack on [or: fight in] the settlement.
- 14 When the people came, they found us. Then we slaughtered two goats. We spent the night until morning. Me, my brother, my mother, and my sister, we spent the night until morning.
- 15 Then I said to my brother, "You stay by the goats with my family, and I will go to my wife. And I will bring her to help us with the animals."
- 16 He said, "Ok, go." And I went until I came to my wife. She slaughtered for me, and we spent the night. I brought them clothes and food, and I stayed with them two nights.
- 17 Then I said to my wife, "Let's go to my settlement. We can't do without you any longer." She said, "I won't leave my family."
- 18 I said to her, "If you love me, you'll go with me. And (if) you don't love me, you'll stay." She said, "I love you, but my family has no one but me." Then she refused to go with me.

-
- 15 *ēmítí*: Johnstone added the gloss 'my family' in the Roman ms, and I have kept this translation for lack of a better word. It is actually the plural of 'mother' (*émítí*) with the 1cs possessive suffix. The plural can be used not just for 'mothers', but to refer to any group of female family members, including aunts, sisters, and grandmothers.
- 15 *təkərō*: Johnstone added the gloss 'help' in the Roman ms, but I did not find this verb in *JL* with this meaning. Perhaps it just means 'approach; be near', from *kérab* (*JL*, s.v. *krb*).
- 17 *mēš lō*: The Roman ms has *mēš lō* (the expected word order), but the Arabic ms and the audio have *lō mēš*. There is no difference in meaning.

- 19 *axarét axozéns gasré, bə-‘aśśót bə-šōfōt tel ēmés. axarét ‘ōrót hes ēmés, “aśís, šif tel a‘ásərš.”*
- 20 *‘ōrót, “agégý ber xózi.” békét ešxarét bə-ðōrót bi. bə-‘ōrót, “het ðə kunk kólótik hini, tэгídən šek titk.” ‘ōk hes, “kótta‘ ektób mun munún.” b-agádk tel sékəni.*

Text 14 (no M): Oath-taking

- 1 *her tad mathím bə-sé, her kun bíri, γə‘ōr heš γə, “agk tógzəm?” γə‘ōr, “ha-l-ógzəm. walékən zū-tə eśrót ð-egzəmét.”*
- 2 *her kun mathím bə-lótəg, γə‘ōr heš énfēt, “gəzém bə-‘ásíré! mǵóre‘ šómrat.”*
- 3 *bə-hér kunút ethəmét xfift bə-šérk ðə-lé‘ aw šerk ðə-γát, γə‘ōr heš, “gəzém bə-xōš.”*
- 4 *bə-hér kunút ethəmét bə-sé besít, γəgózəm še b-enúf ðer extəmét.*
- 5 *énfēt her kunút ethəmét bə-lótəg, γəgózəm še bə-γtō‘əš sa‘ét. bə-γ‘ōr, “əl-ðénu ēsgíd b-əlhín ‘amkás mən xtēm, mən l-ó(l)təg agégý ðénu ðə-hé mathím beš.”*
- 6 *bə-γtō‘əš sa‘ét, γə‘ōr, “əl-ðénu ēsgíd b-əlhín ‘amkás mən xtēm, εðí-ilín bər εðí-ilín mən yó(l)təg agégý ðénu, əm-mən γədá‘ mun ε-ltəgós.”*
- 7 *bə-hér kunút ethəmét bə-šérk, γə‘ōr, “əl-ðénu ēsgíd b-əlhín ‘amkás mən xtēm, mən l-óšrək eyítikum aw élíikum aw ešágətkum aw ɔzkum, əm-mən əl-dá‘ mun ε-šírčas.”*
- 8 *her b‘él óšét ðə-htúm bə-šóhum təkír, γəgózəm sérés, “ar búdak b-ar hínk b-ar het ε-šérókək aw het ðə-látgək.”*

Text 13

- 20 *kótta‘ ektób*: Johnstone added the gloss ‘will of God/covenant’ in the Roman ms. It means literally something like ‘the decree was cut’, or possibly ‘the contract was breached’. The mss have just *kótta‘*, but the geminate *tt* is heard on the audio, and it is not clear what form *kótta‘* would be. In *JL* the verb is transcribed *kótta‘*, without the assimilation of the *t* of the T₁-Stem.

Text 14

- 1 *egzəmét*: This noun is not in *JL*, though its meaning is clear.
- 2 *šómrat*: This is the mp imperative, which seems to be a mistake for ms *šémrat*. In the Roman ms, Johnstone transcribed the preceding imper-

- 19 Then I divorced her (that) evening, and she got up and went to sleep by her mother. Then her mother said to her, "Get up and sleep by your husband."
- 20 She said, "The man has already divorced (me)." The old woman cried and nagged me. And she said, "If you had told me, your wife would have gone with you." I said to her, "It is the will of God between us." And I went to my settlement.

Translation of Text 14

- 1 If someone is accused [or: suspected] of something, and he is innocent, the people say to him, "Do you want to swear?" He says, "I will swear. But give me the conditions of the swearing."
- 2 If he is accused of murder, they say to him first, "Swear by ten [or: ten times]! Then be tried by ordeal by iron."
- 3 If it is a light accusation of theft of a cow or theft of a camel, they say to him, "Swear by five [or: five times]!"
- 4 And if the accusation is something simple, he swears by himself over the Quran.
- 5 First, if the accusation is of murder, he swears and nine (men) follow him. And he says, "By this mosque and all the Qurans in it, I didn't kill this man that I am accused of (killing)."
- 6 And nine follow him, they say, "By this mosque and all the Qurans in it, so-and-so son of so-and-so didn't kill this man, and he doesn't know who killed him."
- 7 And if it is an accusation of theft, he says, "By this mosque and all the Qurans in it, I didn't steal your camel, or your cow, or your jewelry, or your goat. I don't know who stole it."
- 8 If the property owners are sure, and they have total certainty, they swear after him, "You have surely lied. You have given a false oath, and you are the one who stole, or you are the one who killed."

ative 'swear!' first as mp *gzum*, but then corrected to ms *gzem*. We expect two ms imperatives in this context.

- 3 *ethamét*: This word is not in *JL*, though numerous related words are listed (s.v. *thm*); cf. *mathim* in line 1.
- 8 *təkrír*: In the Roman ms, Johnstone glossed this word as 'certainty'. In *JL* (s.v. *kr*), it is defined as '(God's) decree'.

- 9 *bə-hér kunút egzámét mən al-gānābín, ɔl-ʔd yafuténhum ar šəmārtót.*
 10 *bə-kól mənhum ɛ-hínt, yaǵüüg bə-yǵhór aʔrš. ðénu ešrót ð-egzámét tōlén.*
 11 *walékən ɣo yaférék ar axtém b-ēsébgəd, b-ɔl takós dé lɔ ðə-yhānūt gér her dé kun ǵaším bə-fló feķír b-ɔl šeš mošét lɔ her yéķəž.*

Text 15 (no M): A Land Dispute

- 1 *yum tit sékən nəsé mən éržhum, ʔgəb erž ʔad šāʔ beš rəhmét. te ešəl mənzel ʔad aǵsərə.*
 2 *ed ǵasré hógúm lóhum kéžər, bə-kóšǵf lóhum xiš érún. ed k-hášəf hól b-aǵád ed ešəl erəhmét. b-axáf ʔaķ xádər. bə-skǵf beš yū trut.*
 3 *axarét zəhīhum ǵeyg. ʔr hóhum, “hamól mən xádərən b-edór éržkum.” ʔr heš, “éržən ʔonút, bə-nhā zəhān bun ar hér ósétən tit rǵód. mǵóre ʔə-nəhmél bə-ndór éržən.”*
 4 *ʔr hóhum, “lézəm təhmól, bə-fló ha-l-ʔəʔəf b-érunókum.” axarét ʔr heš, “tók tóķala ʔun ʔaķ xádər ðénu ɔrx ʔad.” ʔr, “ɔl əķóla ʔum lɔ.”*
 5 *axarét ʔr heš, “nhə ɔl ha-nəhmél lɔ. ʔgk təʔəʔəf b-érún bə-ðə ʔgk tóķala?” axarét aǵád ɣl teʔ baʔlét ērž, bə-ʔr heš, “egšǵis lóhum bə-kób yəhégəm lóhum.”*
 6 *axarét aǵádót bə-hólót tūr bə-hít, b-aǵádót ʔaķ saʔ bə-htəʔt. ed ǵasré hógúm kəb əl-sékən bʔl érún.*
 7 *axarét ǵarób ɣo ðə-sé, teʔ, egšǵisót lóhum kəb. ʔr aǵág her ínətšum, “her də-ənkən təǵórəb sé, taʔér ʔánén kəb ðénu.”*

Text 14

- 9 *al-gānābín*: This is from Arabic *jānibayn* ‘two sides’, with the Arabic article *al-*.
 9 *šəmārtót*: This noun is not in *JL*, though it is clearly from the verb *šəmrət* ‘be tried by ordeal by iron’.
 10 *aʔrš*: This is from ʔr ‘shame’, which is borrowed from Arabic ʔr. *JL* (s.v. ʔr) lists only the form ʔer, while *ML* (s.v. ʔr) lists CJ ʔr.

- 9 And if the swearing is from the two sides [i.e., if both parties swear], they don't give a ruling on them except by trial by ordeal by iron.
- 10 Anyone who gives a false oath, he fails (the trial), and his shame appears. This the way of swearing among us.
- 11 But people are afraid of Qurans and mosques, and you won't find anyone who gives a false oath, unless [lit. except if] he is ignorant or poor, and he has no property to make compensation with.

Translation of Text 15

- 1 One day a community moved from their land, heading for a land that they heard had rain. Then when they reached a certain place, they spent the night.
- 2 Then in the night, a leopard attacked them and broke the necks of five goats. Then in the morning they picked up and went until they reached [the place that had had] the rain. They set down in a cave, and they stayed in it two days.
- 3 Then a man came to them. He said to them, "Move [lit. pick up] from our cave and go back to your land." They said to him, "Our land is barren [lit. a drought], and we came here only for our livestock to eat some pasturage. Then we will pick up and go back to our land."
- 4 He said to them, "You must move, or else I will stampede your goats." Then they said to him, "You should allow us in this cave for one month." He said, "I will not allow you."
- 5 Then they said to him, "We will not move. Do you want to stampede (our) goats or allow (us)?" Then he went to the woman, the owner of the land, and said to her, "Summon for them a wolf to attack them."
- 6 Then the woman went, and she carried dates and food, and she went into a valley and cried out. Then in the night, a wolf attacked the settlement of the goat-herders.
- 7 Then the people knew that the woman had summoned a wolf for them. The men said to their wives, "If any one of you knows anything, you should keep this wolf back from us."

Text 15

3 *'onút*: See the comment to 20:1.

7 *dē-ankēn*: From *dé mǎnkén* 'one of you (fp)'. Cf. also *dē-ansēn* in line 8.

- 8 *‘ōr ínēt, “yākín ar xar.” šef dē-ansēn sáhart, bā-šēs kéžar. bā-‘ōrót her ekéžars, “kábēn ‘aḵ ērún. her zəḥīk kəb, hægém leš.”*
- 9 *b-aḡád ekéžar ed ‘aḵ xádār kéréb mən ērún. kūn. ed ḡasrē, zəḥám kəb, ‘aḡəb yəl ērún. yafrér ḡírš ekéžar, b-antōḥ. bā-‘és yə mən šunút. bā-šā‘ ekéžar bā-kób ḡə-yəntōḥən.*
- 10 *axarét ekéžar ḡəḡór əl-kób bā-ltəḡás. b-aḡád ekéžar, bā-yó šéf. ed k-ḡáṣaf zəḥōt ešxarét ba‘lét kəb yəl sékən.*
- 11 *‘ōrót, “he sáhart bā-šī kəb ḡénu ḡə-látḡəkum tōš. wələkən ‘aḡk l-ókləṭ b-ínētókum. énḡēt órba‘ ínēt ‘aḵ sékən ḡénu sáhər.” bā-kəltót bā-šimtēsən.*
- 12 *bā-ḡéyḡ ‘aḵ sékən ḡóḥūn mírīž. ber heš xīš ‘ayún bā-šé mírīž. šef žarrótš eš-dídš. kūnút énḡēt ‘aḡiót beš yóšḡəḵ bes.*
- 13 *axarét šḡəḵ bā-tét ḡírét. mḡəḡót ūbš bā-ḡəl‘ótš nxín fúdún b-éržhum. b-aḡéyḡ ber aḡád tel yə kel ḡə-yəḡórəb, b-əl nīfaš l. əb-bér eḡrē b-əl šənfá‘ l.*
- 14 *axarét ešxarét ‘ōrót hóhum, “ūbək [ūbš] nxín fúdún əl-fəlaníyyə. bā-ḡa-təksé nxín fúdún ešrōžš. bā-hér əl kiskum sé l, əkín he bédét. bā-hér kiskum ešrōž, əkín he iyéni.”*
- 15 *axarét aḡád aḡá aḡéyḡ əḡ-ḡéle ed ešəl ēnzél mən tél ‘ōrót ešxarét, bā-ksé fúdún ‘afírót. bā-ḡílās bā-ksé ḡarórt, bā-‘amḡás ešrōž.*
- 16 *ḡílās ed ebḡa‘əs ‘aḵ emih, bā-kún bā-xár aḡéyḡ mən eḡolés. bā-təmmút keltót ḡínu.*

9 *ḡə-yəntōḥən*: On the audio, Ali first said *ḡə-yəntōḥə*, a 3md form, but corrected himself and read the 3mp form *ḡə-yəntōḥən* that is written in the Arabic ms.

14 *ūbək*: The Arabic ms and the audio have *ūbək* ‘your heart’. This word was missing in the original draft of the Roman ms, but *ūbš* (spelled *‘óbəš*) ‘his heart’ was added in the margin.

14 *əl-fəlaníyyə*: See the comment to 5:7.

- 8 The women said, "It will be well." It so happened that one of them was a witch, and she had a leopard. And she said to her leopard, "Hide among the goats. If a wolf comes to you, attack it."
- 9 The leopard went into a cave close to the goats. He hid. Then in the night, the wolf came, heading for the goats. The leopard jumped on it, and they fought. The people got up from (their) sleep, and they heard the leopard and the wolf fighting.
- 10 Then the leopard overpowered the wolf and killed it. And the leopard left, and the people slept. In the morning, the old woman, the owner of the wolf, came to the settlement.
- 11 She said, "I am a witch, and I owned this wolf that you killed. But I want to tell (you) about your women. Previously there were four women in this settlement who are witches." And she said their names.
- 12 And a man in that community was sick. Already for five years he was sick. It so happened that his cousin had bewitched him. She had wanted previously for him to marry her.
- 13 Then he married an outside woman. She took his heart (symbolically) and left it under a rock in their country. And the man had already gone to all the people who were knowledgeable, but they didn't cure him. And they had already poured blood over him, but he was not cured.
- 14 Then the old woman said to them, "Your [or: His] heart is under such-and-such a rock. And you will find under that rock his hairs [used for the spell]. If you don't find anything, then I am a liar. And if you find the hair, I am being truthful."
- 15 Then the brother of the man who was sick went until he reached the place where the old woman said, and he found a red rock. He picked it up and found a bag, and in it was the hair.
- 16 He took it and put it in the water, and the man recovered from his illness. And this story is finished.

15 *géle*: We expect the Gb-Stem perfect of this root (meaning 'be ill') to have the form *gézi* or *géli*, which is what we find in *JL* (transcribed *gízi*). In Ali's texts, however, the verb has the form *géle*, with a clear final -*ε* on the audio. According to *JL*, this is the adjective 'ill', but here (likewise in 18:7, 40:2, 51:1, 52:1, and elsewhere) *géle* is clearly a verb.

16 *keltót*: Ali mistakenly read *koltót* on the audio.

Text 16 (no M): Seeing Ghosts

- 1 *xaxarét he b-aǵí aǵádān mān tél iyél mān fēǵar, ‘aǵān yal érún b-ešhéhr, bə-zhān dakkún bə-fēǵar.*
- 2 *bə-sótēmān hīt bə-tūr bə-skér. b-aǵádān tē ēšālān ‘aḳ ša‘b kol’ēni. axarét he kéṭ‘ak bə-‘ōk her aǵí, “‘aǵān nəskéf.”*
- 3 *‘ōr, “her ‘aǵk yal émék, ǵadú!” axarét sínén érún. ənkól yə, šef səbró. ‘ōr hīni aǵí, “ǵəlbəḳūn yə.” bə-skəfān ed kīrīót yūm təǵīd.*
- 4 *axarét aǵádān yal érún bə-ǵəlbəḳān ed éžhan. əl kesén dé lə. axarét ‘ōr hīni aǵí, “ǵadú. əl ‘aǵān bəhum lə.” fērəḳ ‘āni əl-‘əḳ l-əfrəḳ bə-l-əbk.*
- 5 *b-aǵádān tē aǵsərən ‘aḳ ša‘b dīhūn. ed k-hāšaq, aǵádān tē zəhān érúnén. mǵóre’ kolət hīni aǵí, ‘ōr, “yə e-sínén tóhum mānhīnəm, izóhūn səbró, ar əl ‘ak l-əkləṭ hek lə.” bə-təmmút.*

Text 17 (= M24; the Mehri version was translated from Jibbali, but not exactly): The Unfaithful Sister

- 1 *xaxarét hókum bə-ḥallét b-ešní hánúf,*
- 2 *ḏə-šé ḥa-yəzḥóm bə-ǵabǵót bə-ḥa-txén beš. axarét her zəhót títš bə-ǵabǵót, yaḥzízəs.*

Text 16

- 1 *iyél*: Hofstede (1998: 174) translated this as ‘family’, taking it as a variant of ‘él (*JL*, s.v. ‘yl), but context and form make it clear that it means ‘camels’ (*JL*, s.v. ‘bl). The spelling in the Arabic ms also matches the spelling of *iyél* in text 35:1 (which Hofstede [p. 189] correctly translated ‘camels’).
- 1 *fēǵar*: Both Johnstone in the Roman ms and Hofstede (1998: 174) in her version of the text translated this (both occurrences) as ‘dawn’, but this can also refer to Najd (the region in the Dhofar in which the mountains meet the desert). This seems to fit the context much better (cf. also 7:1).

Translation of Text 16

- 1 Once my brother and I went from the camels from Najd, heading to the goats in the mountains, and we came to a store in Najd.
- 2 And we bought grain [or: food], dates, and sugar. We went until we arrived at a valley in the evening. Then I got tired, and I said to my brother, "Let's sit!"
- 3 He said, "If you want (to go) to your mother, let's go!" Then we saw the goats. We thought (there were) people, but it turned out (they were) ghosts. My brother said, "Look there, people." And we stayed until the sun was close to setting.
- 4 Then we went to the goats and looked for the people until we got tired. We didn't find anybody. Then my brother said to me, "Let's go, we don't want them." He was afraid that I would get scared and cry.
- 5 And we went and spent the night in that valley. In the morning, we came to our goats. Then he told me, he said, "The people that we saw last night, those were ghosts, only I didn't want to tell you." And it is finished.

Translation of Text 17

- 1 Once there was a ruler in a town, and he had his fortune read,
- 2 that he would beget a girl and she would betray him. So if his wife had a girl, he would kill her.

3 *ǧolǧkūn*: This is *ǧolǧkūn* 'look there', a special imperative form that includes the element *-ūn*, the same element *-ūn* that appears on various far demonstrative particles. We find the same form in 60:14. In the word-list to text 60, Johnstone glossed *ǧolǧkūn* as 'look at this!'. Hofstede, in her translation (1998: 177), took this as a statement, 'we looked at the people', but this does not fit with the preceding 'my brother said to me'. Also, the 1cp (as Hofstede read) should be *ǧolǧkan* (غلوكن), as in line 4, and the Arabic ms and audio confirms *ǧolǧkūn* (غلوكون). See also the comment to 39:9.

- 3 *axarét sf̄or t̄e er̄z̄ tad b̄a-ḵéla' t̄it̄š dinít. b̄a-ʾör her t̄it̄š, "her z̄ahámš b̄a-ḡabḡót, ḥazóz̄as!"*
- 4 *b-āḡád aḡéyḡ. axarét z̄ahōt t̄it̄š b̄a-ḡabḡót, b̄a-ʾörót, "z̄ahámk b-əmbéře'."*
- 5 *b̄a-sk̄óf̄ed aḡabḡót berót ūm. z̄ahám īs, axarét ʾör, "aḡk l-əšné embéře'."*
- 6 *b-āḡabḡót ḏ̄a-féḵét l̄ebs ḏ̄-əmbéře'. z̄ahōt tel īs, b̄a-ʾör hes, "ši x̄at̄īḵ. b-īx̄ant̄ iz̄ēnu x̄at̄ōḵ, b̄a-f̄k̄ī x̄at̄ōḵ iz̄ēnu."*
- 7 *ʾörót, "ndóh, ḥa-l-éḵ d-háḵél."*
- 8 *ʾör, "het ol ḡabḡót l̄o t̄axz̄í. l̄éz̄am əl-šnék."*
- 9 *axarét k̄š̄f̄ les b̄a-ksés ḡabḡót. axarét guz̄úm ar ḥa-ȳahézz̄as. b-āḡabḡót, ol (t)šun dé əl-hés se l̄o: r̄əḥīt əl-hés ērét. b-āḡás ȳaš̄a'ásórs.*
- 10 *ed ḡasré ʾörót her aḡás, "ī ʾör ḥa-yó(l)t̄ḡ t̄o ḵarére."*
- 11 *ed ḡasré 'es embéře' b̄a-x̄anīt ḥaš̄nín trut, b̄a-šéd lésən, b̄a-ḥōl eziódhum. b̄a-ḥōl aḡit̄š ḏ̄er ḥaš̄nín b̄a-šé rékeb ḏ̄er ḥaš̄nín t̄it̄.*

-
- 3 *b̄a-ḵéla' t̄it̄š dinít*: This clause is missing from the Arabic ms and the audio, but is included in the Roman ms.
- 3 *ḥazóz̄as*: This form *ḥazóz̄as* 'kill her' is the mp imperative *ḥazóz̄* (cf. SB1:4) plus the 3fs object suffix. It does not fit the context, which would seem to require the fs imperative *ḥazíz̄as*.
- 6 *īx̄ant̄*: On the audio, Ali stumbled a bit and seemed to read ms *éx̄ant̄*, which fits the context. I have kept fs *īx̄ant̄*, since this is what the Arabic ms has (مخنط), and since the following imperative is clearly fs (see the next comment).
- 6 *f̄k̄ī*: This is a fs imperative. We expect a ms imperative here, since the speaker (the girl's father) believes he is speaking to a boy. See also the comment to line 8.
- 7 *d-háḵél*: Johnstone glossed this as 'inside' in the Roman ms, though in *JL* (s.v. *ḥkl*) it is listed only with the meaning 'north'. See further in the comment to 33:3.
- 8 *t̄axz̄í*: Despite the speaker's insistence that he is not speaking to a girl, he uses the 2fs subjunctive form here, just as he used fs imperatives in line 6.
- 9 *(t)šun*: The mss and audio have just *šun*, but this must be from **tšun*, the 2ms or 3fs imperfect of *šny*. Cf. 51:3, where we have the same form; in that text, Johnstone has *t̄əšún* in the Roman manuscript, but the *t-* is lacking on the audio.

- 3 Then he traveled to another land and left his wife pregnant. And he said to his wife, "If you have a girl, kill her!"
- 4 And the man went. Then his wife had a girl, but she said, "I had a boy."
- 5 They remained until the girl was already big. Her father came back, then he said, "I want to see the boy."
- 6 And the girl was dressed in boys' clothes. She came to her father, and he said to her, "I have some clothes. Take off those clothes, and put on these."
- 7 She said, "Give (them) here, I'll get dressed inside."
- 8 He said, "You are not a girl that you should be embarrassed. I must see you."
- 9 Then he undressed [or: examined] her and found her to be a girl. Then he swore he would kill her. And the girl, there was no one [lit. she/you saw no one] like her: beautiful like the moon. And her brother loved her.
- 10 Then at night, she said to her brother, "My father said he will kill me tomorrow."
- 11 Then at night, the boy got up and took out two horses, saddled them, and loaded on their supplies. And he put his sister on a horse, and he rode on one (other) horse.

-
- 10 *yó(l)tǵ*: The Arabic ms has *yǝtk*, but this just reflects the common tendency to spell the sound *ǵ* with the Arabic letter ق (*q*); see more examples in the comment to 60:25. (We also sometimes find *k* spelled with the Arabic letter ك (*ǵ*.) However, the audio (read from the Arabic ms) also has *k* here, which is not typical. This is not a mistake, since we find the same thing in 60:25. The pronunciation with *k* may be due to the consonant cluster *tǵ*. Hayward et al. (1988: 240, n. 4) do note that [*k*] is a possible reflex of /*ǵ*/. It is also possible that the *k* here reflects an archaism, since the root *ltǵ* is probably connected etymologically with the common Semitic root *k̄tl*, with metathesis and the shift of *k* to *ǵ*. It is worth noting that I heard *k* in this exact form also from another informant (SM).
- 11 *ħaşnín*: We expect singular *ħaşún* rather than plural *ħaşnín* in all three occurrences, but the audio and mss have *ħaşnín*. Singular *ħaşún* is used in 36:16 and 36:26, while *ħaşnín* is used as a singular again in 97:25, 97:27, and 97:30. In one of Johnstone's notebooks (Box 7D), he notes that *ħaşnín* can be either singular or plural.

- 12 *bə-šukúm. ed yum xilfét zəhám ðer míh.*
- 13 *b-emíh yəhékmaš hókum taṭ. bə-skɔf ðer emíh. axarét shel ekíthum. ámma aqabgót təsɔkf ðer emíh, b-embéere' yəbɡɔd yəɡélk her eš'áyhr.*
- 14 *bə-hér ɔl ksé sé l, yəɡū' aḥfɔl. še yəté fərér bə-yhíl her aɡítš aḥfɔl.*
- 15 *bə-skɔf ɥa-yékən ɔrx. axarét yəzəhəm ebré e-hókum e-ħallét ðihün.*
- 16 *zəhám ðer emíh bə-síni aqabgót. axarét 'əgəb b-aqabgót bə-sé 'aɡiɔt beš.*
- 17 *axarét 'ör hes, "áɡiš (t)šísfəḵ tɔ?"*
- 18 *'örót, "he ši eɡí b-ɔl yəḵɔla' tɔ l-əššəsfəḵ dé l."*
- 19 *'ör, "hit 'amíl ɔram her nəzbót embéere'. mǰóre' təbɡíd šən b-əšɔfk biš."*
- 20 *'örót, "mən ðér rī' ēm ənkɔ' nhéere', bə-ɥa-taksí tɔ bek ərşúnk embéere'. mǰóre' tūm šɔrk beš əlhín 'ákum." 'ör, "mor."*
- 21 *aɡád aqáɡ, b-embéere' zəhám tel aqátš. šeš xérin tūr mən tél geyg.*
- 22 *b-ɔl tēš l, 'əgəb beš her aqátš. bə-šé tofún. ed zəhám, zīs tūr.*
- 23 *axarét aqátš 'örót, "aɡí, nɥa žēkən bə-áɡən nənháɡ."*
- 24 *'ör, "íné mən náhag."*
- 25 *'örót, "áɡən nərşén taṭtūn." axarét 'ör, "mor, ərşín tɔ. mǰóre' he ɥa-l-ɔrşənš." šérék tɔhün ed zəhám ä'öd e-yɔ.*
- 26 *'örót, "ərşán tɔ, mǰóre' he ɥa-l-ɔrşənk." rəşínis bə-nṭór les.*
- 27 *bə-'ör, "ərşín tɔ." bə-rşənútš bə-ħús. axarét 'ör, "aɡáti, fə'á(l)š bi. ərşín tɔ l-ɔrxér."*
- 28 *'örót, "mǰóre' het ərşán tɔ bə-ħús." hes berót ərşənút édéte, 'örót, "d-ɔk fa'ihm."*
- 29 *zīs fa'ihm bə-rşənút bə-ħús. axarét 'ör, "aɡáti, ənṭúr míní." 'örót, "mən sér šin."*
- 30 *d-ɔd ləṭɔhün, zəhám ebré e-hókum bə-šéš 'áskər. bə-'örót, "nkɔ' əl-yóh. aɡéyɡ ber ð-ersín."*
- 31 *axarét zəhám bə-ḵéš fáħal ð-embéere'. bə-ħöl aqabgót b-embéere' skɔf.*

12 *xilfét*: See the comment to 39:8.

- 12 And they set out. Then the next day, they came to (some) water.
- 13 And the water, a certain ruler ruled it. And they stayed by the water. Then their food ran out. As for the girl, she would stay by the water, and the boy would go out to look for gazelles.
- 14 And if he didn't find anything, he would collect wild figs. He would eat unripe fruit and take the (ripe) wild figs to [or: for] his sister.
- 15 They stayed about a month. Then the son of the ruler of that town came.
- 16 He came to the water, and he saw the girl. Then he fell in love with the girl, and she fell in love with him.
- 17 Then he said to her, "Do you want to marry me?"
- 18 She said, "I have a brother, and he won't let me marry anyone."
- 19 He said, "You find [lit. make] a way for us to capture the boy. Then you'll go with us and I will marry you."
- 20 She said, "In four days, come at midday, and you'll find that I have already tied up the boy. Then you all do with him whatever you want." He said, "Ok."
- 21 The men went, and the boy came back to his sister. He had a small amount of dates (that he got) from a man.
- 22 And he hadn't eaten it, he wanted it for his sister. And he was hungry. When he came, he gave her the dates.
- 23 Then his sister said, "Brother, we have become bored, let's play."
- 24 He said, "What kind of game?"
- 25 She said, "Let's tie each other up." Then he said, "Ok, tie me up. Then I will tie you up." They did thus until the appointed time of the group [lit. people].
- 26 She said, "Tie me up, then I will tie you up." He tied her up, and he untied her.
- 27 And he said, "Tie me up." She tied him up tightly [lit. with force]. Then he said, "Sister, you've hurt me. Tie me up lightly."
- 28 She said, "Later you tie me up tightly." After she had tied up the hands, she said, "I still have the feet (to tie up)."
- 29 He gave her (his) feet, and she tied tightly. Then he said, "Sister, untie me." She said, "In [lit. after] a little while."
- 30 While they were like this, the son of the ruler came, and with him were soldiers. And she said, "Come here, the man has already been tied up."
- 31 Then they came and cut off the boy's penis. They took the girl, and the boy remained.

- 32 *axarét zəḥōt hōt ūm bə-rhét fáḥal ḏ-embére' ed kun bə-xár. axarét zəḥāš ḡeyg troh milké, bə-ḵólb heš fáḥalš ed əl-hés énfēt.*
- 33 *b-aḡád ed zəḥám ḥallét ḏə-bés aḡítš. axarét xúdúm tel yə tógór.*
- 34 *axarét 'aḡiōt beš ḡabḡót bə-šé 'aḡəb bes.*
- 35 *axarét šənté b-əšfiḵáš.*
- 36 *axarét zəḥám aḡág əḏ-ḵés fáḥalš, 'ör, "aḡéyḡ ḏénú əl beš fáḥal lə."*
- 37 *'ör hóhum, "dḥa-nəšxátər."*
- 38 *b-aḡád tel sér'át, bə-ör, "ḵərəre ḡod 'aḵ mídén b-aḡéyḡ yókšəf enúf.*
- 39 *ḏə še əl beš fáḥal lə, l-əḵšós eréšš. bə-ḏə še beš fáḥal, tüm l-əḵšés eréšókum." 'ör, "rížén."*
- 40 *ed k-ḥášəf, aḡád 'aḵ mídén bə-zḥám yə ed mízi emídén. 'ör her aḡéyḡ, "kšəf enúf!"*
- 41 *'ör, "tökum təsmóḥ tə." 'ör, "ábdan. əl ḥa-nəsmáḥk lə."*
- 42 *ḥöl xaṭəḵés bə-šór feṭá'. axarét zəḥám ešhód bə-ksés əl-hés aḡág.*
- 43 *ḵéšiš eréšóhum bə-zḥám bə-tét aḡítš. 'aḡəb yəḵšós eréšš.*
- 44 *axarét sūḥ aḡátš. b-a'ásərəs, ber ḵéšiš eréšš. bə-térdás hókum.*
- 45 *axarét ḥílás aḡás, bə-xediūt tólás, bə-ḵéla' nxínús izórtə.*
- 46 *mḡóre' def'ót her žírít tébḵa' sēhm 'aḵ a'isé e-aḡás.*
- 47 *hes ber a'isé nxínús zəḥōt sinórt bə-thil ešáḥan ḏə-'amḵáš ḥit bə-tagóšš 'aḵ ḡör.*
- 48 *bə-zhéd aḡéyḡ ḏə-šé 'amḵáš ḡiyór.*
- 49 *ed k-ḥášəf 'ör her aḡítš, "ḥit skíf 'aḵ eūt bə-hé ḥa-l-ḡád."*
- 50 *b-edūr aḡéyḡ ḥallétš bə-skóf 'aḵ aḥkítš. bə-ksé iš ber 'er.*

38 *sér'át*: The more common word for 'judge' is *séra'* or *séra'* (e.g., 7:6; 36:2), a borrowing of Arabic *šārī'* 'lawgiver'. The form *sér'át*, which is not in *JL*, is from Arabic *šir'at* 'law'.

43 *bə-tét aḡítš*: The Arabic ms has *beš aḡítš*, which is a mistake on the writer's part. The Roman ms has the correct *bə-tét aḡítš*. On the audio, Ali first read *beš aḡítš*, but then he corrected himself to *bə-tét aḡítš*. Also correct would be *b-aḡítš*, which is the equivalent of what the Mehri text has here (*b-aḡátəh*, text 24:43).

47 *tagóšš*: The mss have *tgóšš* (< *géfé* 'turn over, knock over'), but on the audio, Ali stumbled and read *ngóšš* (< *ngəf* 'throw away').

- 32 Then a big snake came and licked the boy's penis until it was healed. Then two men, angels, came and reattached [lit. returned] his penis to him until (it was) as before.
- 33 And he went until he came to the town that his sister was in. Then he got a job with some merchants.
- 34 Then a girl fell in love with him, and he fell in love with her.
- 35 He asked for her hand in marriage, and he [the father] let him marry.
- 36 Then the men who had cut off his penis came and said, "This man has no penis."
- 37 He said to them, "We'll make a bet."
- 38 And they went to the judge, and he said, "Tomorrow, go to the square, and the man should expose himself.
- 39 If he has no penis, his head should be cut off. But if he has a penis, *your* heads should be cut off." They said, "We accept."
- 40 Then in the morning, he went to the square, and people came until the square was full. They said to the man, "Expose yourself!"
- 41 He said, "You must excuse me." They said, "Never! We will not excuse you."
- 42 He lifted his robe and (his) privates stood (exposed). Then the witnesses came and they found him to be like (other) men.
- 43 Their heads were cut off, and they brought the woman, his sister. They wanted to cut off her head.
- 44 Then he pardoned his sister. But her husband, his head was already cut off. And the ruler expelled her.
- 45 Then her brother took her, and she worked with him, and he put slave-girls under her.
- 46 Then she paid a slave-girl to put poison in her brother's food.
- 47 After the food was in front of [lit. under] him, a cat came, took the dish that had the food on it, and knocked it into a well.
- 48 And the man understood that it had something bad in it.
- 49 In the morning, he said to his sister, "You stay in the house, and I will go."
- 50 And the man returned to his town, and stayed in his region. And he found his father had gone blind.

50 *aḥkīš*: This is from the word *ḥkīt* 'government', but perhaps also can mean 'place where the ruler (*ḥókum*) lives'. Although the mss have *aḥkīš*, Ali read *ḥallétš* 'his town' on the audio.

- 51 *bə-zhiš bə-diyéta bə-kún bə-xár.*
 52 *bə-kólót heš bə-šúgəl eǵótš əlhún šorkót beš. bə-šé šōr hes b-erhamún enígéš mən xánút eǵítš.*
 53 *‘ōr īš, “ēbrí, he bek ‘ōk hek, dínú aǵabǵót əl mes xar l.” bə-temmūt.*

Text 18 (= M65): Ba Newas and the Old Lady

- 1 *xaxarét ǵeyg yə‘ōr heš be nəwás. aǵád mən tél sékənəš ‘aǵəb yəxétər eširét. b-əl šeš sé lə her yəstém her eǵānəš məšərəf.*
 2 *b-aǵád ed ešəl tel məkərbért, kse yə ðə-ykōr šxarét ðə-xargót. skəf ðə-yftakéran iné yəšérk.*
 3 *axarét ‘ōr, “haš e-yó ənfós, dħa-l-únkš l-ešxarét mən ‘ak ekōr. bə-dħa-l-šérk ħilt.”*
 4 *skəf ed yə ənfós. ənkós l-ešxarét mən ‘ak ekōr bə-ħilás ‘ak xarkétš, b-aǵád ed ešəl kériḅ əl-ħallét.*
 5 *kéla‘ ešxarét bə-šé aǵád ed égaḅ ħallét.*
 6 *šini yə mékən ðə-yógaḅ ‘ak but ð-túžər. axarét šxabír ǵeyg, ‘ōr, “iné mən yə izókūn ðə-yógaḅ ‘ak üt ðikūn?”*
 7 *‘ōr heš aǵéyg, “ēbré e-túžər ðə-géle bə-yó ðə-yšədhék leš. b-a‘éléš ðə-yšxīr ‘her dé yəǵórəb sé, yésne her embére.” ‘ōr be nəwás, “he ši ēmí šxarét bə-taǵórəb kəl sé kelš her īrēž.”*

Text 17

- 51 *diyéta*: *JL* does not have this form, which must be the plural of *dit* ‘medicine’ (*JL*, s.v. *dwy*). Mehri also has a feminine external plural for this word (*dəwyōtən*, sg. *dīwē*; *ML*, s.v. *dwy*), as does Hobyot (*dīwyōtə*, sg. *dīwē*; *HV*, p. 90).
 52 *xánút*: *JL* (s.v. *xwn*) gives only the form *xónút* (as the verbal noun of the verb *xēn* ‘betray’), but *ML* (s.v. *xwn*) lists both EJ *xánút* and CJ *xónút*.

- 51 He brought him some medicines, and he became well.
 52 And he told him about the deeds of his sister, all that she had done to him, and (how) he had shown patience with her, and (how) God had saved him from the betrayal of his sister.
 53 His father said, "My son, I already told you, no good (can come) from this girl." And it is finished.

Translation of Text 18

- 1 Once there was a man called Ba Newas. He went from his settlement, intending to go down to the town. And he didn't have anything (with which) to buy supplies for his family.
- 2 He went until he reached a graveyard. He found people burying an old woman who had died. He sat down, thinking what he should do.
- 3 Then he said, "When the people leave, I will dig up the old woman from the grave, and I will play [lit. do] a trick."
- 4 He stayed until the people left. He dug up the old woman from the grave, put her into his robe, and went until he got close to the town.
- 5 He left the old woman, and he went until he entered the town.
- 6 He saw many people going into a rich man's house. Then he asked a man, "What's with these people going into that house?"
- 7 The man said to him, "The rich man's son is sick, and people are visiting him. And his family is asking, 'If anyone knows anything, he should see to the boy.'" Ba Newas said, "I have an old mother, and she knows absolutely everything about illness."

Text 18

- 7 *yšadhék*: The meaning 'visit (sick person)' is given in the Roman ms, but is not in *JL*, which only has the meaning 'look down from a cliff'. In Mehri and Ḥarsusi it has a more general meaning 'look down', so perhaps its use in this context is something akin to English 'look in on s.o.'
- 7 *yéšne*: This must be a 3ms subjunctive of the H-Stem *šní*. *JL* (s.v. *šny*) defines this verb as 'show; be a medicine man'. The second definition is obviously what is intended here, but a better translation is perhaps simply 'see to' or 'treat'. In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss 'cure', which is what the corresponding Mehri version has in this line.

- 8 *’ōr aǵéyg, “mor, jadú, dḥa-l-eśnék ī embére’. bə-dḥa-yəzémk əlhín ‘agk. aǵádó ed éṣal tel ī ḏ-embére’.*
- 9 *’ōr eǵéyg, “ḏénu eǵéyg šeš ēméš šxarét bə-’ōr təǵórəb kol sé kelš her īrēž.”*
’ōr túžər, “hun se?” ’ōr be nəwás, “ser ēt izókūn, bə-hér ‘agk bes, ‘ar dé
yəzḥóm bes.”
- 10 *axarét a’rér əǵǵór troh yəzḥúm bes. aǵád eǵarét, ed zəḥám ḏer ešxarét,*
a’ésés, b-əl ‘aśśót lə. axarét edūr tel yə. ’ōr, “ešxarét əl ‘aśśót lə.”
- 11 *’ōr be nəwás, “təkín təškélóṭ eǵənu(s)és, bə-hér təškélóṭḥum, əl tə’aśés lə*
ar hér sītót bə-xəṭəróḳ troh. ǵəd, sbəṭs bə-xəṭəróḳ troh, bə-ḥtéḏér əl təǵs!”
- 12 *’ōr eǵarét, “əl təḳtéləb lə.” b-aǵád. ed éṣal tel ešxarét, sōṭəs bə-xəṭəróḳ*
troh. axarét ftəḳəḥót fūšḥi.
- 13 *edírə eǵarét ḏə-yūki. ’ōr be nəwás, “íné gére? ‘əd təkún látǵəkum émi?”*
’ōr eǵarét, “ešxarét xargót!” béké be nəwás bə-’ōr, “y-ēmi, y-ēmi!”
- 14 *axarét ’ōr heš túžər, “ḳəlá’ əke! dḥa-nzámk... dḥa-nḳžék eǵarét.” ’ōr be*
nəwás, “əl əškóže b-émi eǵarét lə.”

9 *yəzḥóm*: The Roman ms has *ḏ-yəzḥóm*, which is a mistake. We should not find *ḏ*- here before a subjunctive. The Arabic ms and the audio have the correct *yəzḥóm*.

10 *əǵǵór*: *JL* (s.v. *’gr*) has *’ǵór* as the indefinite singular form of ‘slave’. The mss of this text have just *ǵər* (جور), but the audio has *əǵǵór* or *iggór*. The gemination of the initial consonant (and the epenthetic vowel) is probably the same phenomenon that is sometimes found with the word *tet* ‘woman’ (historical root *’nt*), as in 30:13. Johnstone wrote *ǵər* in one of his manuscript word-lists (Johnstone papers Box 1C). My informants also produced *əǵǵór*.

- 8 The man said, "Ok, come on, I'll show you the boy's father. He will give you whatever you want." They went until they got to the father of the boy.
- 9 The man said, "This man has an old mother and he said she knows absolutely everything about illness." The rich man said, "Where is she?" Ba Newas said, "Behind those houses. If you want her, send someone to bring her."
- 10 Then he sent two slaves to bring her. The slaves went. When they came to [lit. over] the old woman, they roused her, but she didn't wake up. Then they returned to the people. They said, "The old woman didn't wake up."
- 11 Ba Newas said, "She is conversing with her jinns, and if she is conversing with them, she won't wake up unless she is hit twice with a stick [or: with two sticks]. Go, hit her two times with a stick [or: with two sticks], and be careful you don't kill her!"
- 12 The slaves said, "Don't worry." And they went. When they reached the old woman, they hit her twice with a stick. 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 to him, "Stop the crying! We will give you... we will compensate you with the slaves." Ba Newas said, "I will not accept the slaves as compensation (blood-payment) for my mother."

11 *egənú(s)és*: This form is difficult to explain. It is clearly the plural *ginnú* 'jinns' (cf. 30:16) plus the 3fs possessive suffix *-és*. The Roman ms has *egín^ruwás*, which is more or less what we expect, and the Arabic ms matches this form. The audio, however, has *egnúsés*, and the Roman ms has a note "better *egínusés*". The added *s* of *egnúsés* (preceding *é*) is unexpected.

11 *təǵs*: This is the 2mp subjunctive of the G-Stem *létaǵ* 'kill', *təǵ*, plus the 3fs object suffix. The 3ms subjunctive is *yótaǵ* < *yóltəǵ*. The 2mp derives via *təltəǵ* > *tə(l)təǵ* > *t(ə)təǵ* > *təǵ*.

- 15 *axarét sädéd yɔ skɔf heš bə-xamsín izíf bə-ħölt ðə-xiš yiršób kít. b-aǵád be nəwás yɔl sékənəš ber túžər. bə-təmmut kéltót ð-iǵrəm ðə-be nəwás.*

Text 20 (= M61): An Argument over Water

- 1 *‘ónut ʔit kunút ‘onút bə-yɔ ðə-t’áb. b-emih ɔl mékən ɔ.*
- 2 *ed yum ʔit erɔd b’él érún, əb-b’él iyél, əb-b’él əlhúti ʔer emih.*
- 3 *axarét ‘ör aǵéyg ðə-k-elhúti, “ənfēt elhúten ھا-(t)štikén, mǵóré’ tǔm.”*
- 4 *‘ör aǵéyg bāl iyél, “kəf, het ɔl het axér ‘ánén ɔ.”*
- 5 *axarét əntōhɔ bə-zhám yɔ, bə-fúskši mən ʔattóši, wələkən bāl iyél lɔd məndik ‘ak elhúti bə-férɔd.*

Text 18

- 15 *sädéd*: This is the 3mp perfect of the H-Stem *sädéd* (root *sdd*), parallel to the form *sədíd* used in the Mehri version. The meaning of the H-Stem here must be something like ‘agree’ or ‘make agree’. Both *JL* and *ML* (s.v. *sdd*) define the H-Stem as ‘bring together estranged people’. In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss ‘compens[ate]’. In the Roman manuscript of the Mehri version, Johnstone added the gloss ‘stuck up for BN [Ba Newas] asking’.
- 15 *yɔ skɔf*: This has to be a relative clause ‘people (who were) present’. Johnstone’s Roman ms has under *yɔ skɔf heš* the gloss ‘people present with him’, but *heš* certainly means ‘for him’, not ‘with him’.
- 15 *izíf*: *JL* (s.v. *ʔf*) gives the plural of *ʔf* ‘thousand’ only as *izíf*. This may be an EJ form, but at least one of my CJ informants used *izíf*. In one of Johnstone’s handwritten word-lists (Box 7D), he gives *izíf* as the plural.
- 15 *ǵrəm*: This is the definite form of a noun with an *m-* prefix. *JL* (s.v. *grm*) includes the verb *egrím* ‘commit a crime’ and the noun *gerít* ‘crime’ (pl. *gerém*), but no form with an *m-* prefix. The audio and mss (Roman and Arabic) definitely do not have *gerém*. The Roman ms has the gloss ‘crime’. The genitive exponent *ð-* is absent, before *be nəwás* in the Arabic ms and on the audio, so one wonders if it is a word meaning ‘criminal’ or the like (cf. Arabic *mujrim*), used in apposition to ‘Ba Newas’. Note, though, that the Mehri version of this story has *ǵaráymat* ‘crime’. See also the comment to TJ4:72.

- 15 Then the people present got (them) to agree that he would get [lit. for him (was)] fifty thousand (dollars) and five camel-loads of food. And Ba Newas went back to his settlement having become rich. The story of Ba Newas's crime [or: of the criminal Ba Newas] is finished.

Translation of Text 20

- 1 One year there was a drought, and the people were weary [or: suffering]. The water was not a lot.
- 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.

Text 20

- 1 *ʿonút*: This word, meaning 'drought, dry season', is not in *JL*, though it is recorded in *ML* (s.v. *hwr*, and p. 519) as an EJ form. It is used also in 13:3, 15:3, and several times in text Tj2. On the audio, the word for 'year' seems to have heavier stress on the first syllable (*ʿonút*; *JL*, s.v. *ʿyn.*), while 'drought' seems to have heavier stress on the second syllable. Johnstone records both as *ʿonút* in the Roman ms of this text (and both as *ʿonút* in the lexicons), and so the apparent stress difference on the audio is possibly due to the prosody of the narrative. However, occurrences of these words elsewhere seem to confirm the slight stress difference, as do my own informants' testimony. Even if there is a stress difference, the meaning 'drought' probably derives from the word for 'year', with the narrowed meaning 'non-monsoon time of the year', used in contrast to the word *xɔrf* 'monsoon' (cf. Tj2:51).

- 6 *w-ámma bāl éruin, hes ízók antōh, eród érunés ed erbé.*
 7 *walékən skəʃfəʔkəh ð-ɔrx bə-zhōthum ōsé. bə-gōtbər ðə-yðōr bə-ʔattóhum.*
bə-y'ōr, "əðə kun šōrən, axér hen."
 8 *w-ámma bāl éruin ðə-yəžhók mənħūm, bə-ʔōr, "he axér 'ankúm. hes tum*
antōhkum, he eródk éruiní."
 9 *mən ðér xaʔarét ðíkūn, kūn 'ísór. bə-ʔōr, "ešōr axér mən kəl sé." bə-*
təmmút kéltóthum.

Text 21 (= M73): Four Hungry Men and a Date

- 1 *xaʔarét erbə'ót gag ðə-yəbgéd xəʔōr. b-əgág ber mağrób mən šegót*
bə-šōr. b-əgád.
 2 *axarét šəʔšér eziód. əb-bér hóhum 'ášər troh mən gér kít. ed 'ášər ʔaʔ*
kəl'eni, keb 'ak ša'b, bə-ksé geyg 'ak ša'b ðíkūn. b-əgég šəš kít.
 3 *bə-hés síni əgág ekbél leš, kéré ekítš kels. 'əgəb yaxērhum, mūn mənħúm*
dħa-yít bə-yókala' əgág ðə-šəš.
 4 *ed ešəl əgág tel əgég, 'ōr hóhum, "he ɔl ši kít lə." 'ōr əgág, "nħa ar d-ʔd*
bən ešōr." b-əgəsərə.

Text 20

- 6 *antōh*: Johnstone's Roman ms has the 3md perfect *antōhó*, as in the previous line. On the audio, Ali first read *antōhó*, then corrected himself to the 3mp form *antōh*, presumably more correct after the mp demonstrative *ízók*. Based on the Mehri version of this text, which has the circumstantial imperfect *ð-yəntawħən*, we might expect the Jibbali text to have the corresponding *ð-yəntōħən*. The Arabic ms had *تناوح* (the 3mp perfect *antōh*), but was corrected to *تناوحن* (*antōħən*), which has the suffix *-ən* of the imperfect, but lacks the prefix *(ð-)yə-* of the imperfect.
- 7 *yðōr*: The meaning 'apologize' is not given for the verb *ðōr* in *JL* (s.v. *ðbr*), but it is attested for the Mehri cognate *ðəbōr* (cf. *ML*, s.v. *ðbr*). Its appearance here either reflects an EJ usage or a Mehrism (based on the use of this verb in Mehri text 61).

- 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. They came together apologizing to one another, and they said, "If 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 After that time, they were friends. They said, "Patience is better than everything." And their story is finished.

Translation of Text 21

- 1 Once there were four men going, traveling. The men were already famous for bravery and patience [or: endurance]. And they went.
- 2 Then the provisions ran out. And they were already without food for two nights. Then one night, in the evening, they went down into a valley, and they found a man in that valley. And the man had food.
- 3 And when he saw the men approaching him, he hid all of his food. He wanted to test them, (to see) which [lit. who] of them would eat and let down his friends [lit. the men who were with him].
- 4 Then when the men reached the man, he said to them, "I have no food." The men said, "We still have patience." And they passed the evening.

-
- 9 *axér mən*: In Jibbali, a comparative is normally followed by (^o)*ar* rather than *mən* (see §5.4). The use of *mən* here is probably a Mehrism, based on Mehri text 61.

Text 21

- 1 *xəṭṭər*: According to the word-list appended to this text, this is the plural of *xóṭər*, which Johnstone glossed as 'going to town' (a meaning usually associated with the root *xtr*, not *xṭr*). The form *xóṭər* is possibly the same noun transcribed as *xúṭur* in *JL* (s.v. *xṭr*), where it is glossed as 'traveler, tourist'. However, the form may be a G-Stem 3mp perfect *xəṭṭər* 'travel'; the corresponding Mehri text has a 3mp perfect (*xəṭawr*).

- 5 *ed ġasré, ber ða-šéf, 'és aġéyg bə-xniṭ xérin tūr. b-aġád ed əlháf əl-ṭát mən aġág, bə-lġízás beš, bə-ʾor "he əl ši ar ðénu. bə-ʾák beš hek. te' bə-ḵəlá' ešáh."*
- 6 *šmiddás mən tōlás bə-lġáz beš aġéyg ðə-l-egisíts, bə-ʾor, "he bek sé'ak bə-d-ʾək ebḵék ðénu. bə-ʾák beš hek. te' bə-ḵəlá' ešáh."*
- 7 *šmiddás mən tōlás bə-lġáz beš aġéyg ðə-l-egisíts, bə-ʾor, "he bek sé'ak bə-šfáhḵ ðénu. 'ak beš hek. te' bə-ḵəlá' ešáh."*
- 8 *šmiddás mən tōlás bə-lġáz beš aġéyg ðə-l-egisíts. bə-ʾor əl-hés aġóhéš.*
- 9 *šmiddás mən tōlás bə-és. šérék enúf dḥa-yəðḥól, b-aġád ed əlháf l-aġéyg énfī ðə-šəmdéd tūr kin aġéyg bāl sékən. bə-lġízás beš bə-ʾor əl-hés aġóhéš.*
- 10 *axarét šmiddás mən tōlás bə-ġrób ðə-šé əl dé tēš l. bə-rdə beš l-ēlġ idš.*
- 11 *axarét 'és aġéyg bāl sékən bə-žḥák, bə-xniṭ lóhum 'isé. 'or heš aġág, "(t)šóhól xázé. het 'agḵ taxēr tūn."*
- 12 *'or aġéyg, "sməḥ li. kə-ṭát yə'áġób yəġrəb ēšáġər." b-a'tóse aġág b-aġsaré. ed k-ḥáṣaf, aġád aġág kin aġéyg. bə-təmmút.*

-
- 5 *lġízás*: *JL* (s.v. *lġz*) gives only 'tickle' for the meaning of the verb *l(a)ġáz*. However, Johnstone notes in *ML* (s.v. *lġz*) that the verb means 'slip s.t. to s.o.' in Mehri and in EJ, but 'tickle' in CJ. In an early, handwritten draft of *JL* (Box 15C), Johnstone had included the meaning 'slip to', but crossed it out. The *HL* entry (s.v. *lġz*) seems to indicate that Jibbali *l(a)ġáz* has the same meaning as Ḥarsusi *laġāz* 'indicate privily, give s.o. s.t. privily'.
- 10 *l-ēlġ*: This word is not in *JL* or *ML*, but it must mean something like 'length' or 'reach', based both on context and on the Mehri version, which has *ṭawl* 'length'. In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss 'as far as he could'. He also added the form *bílaġ* in brackets below this word, which is probably meant to indicate the related verb. *JL* (s.v. *blġ*) defines *bélaġ* only as 'reach puberty'. The verb has a broader meaning in Müller's Jibbali texts, however; Bittner (1917b: 20) gives the definitions 'gelangen, erreichen, anlangen' ('reach, attain, arrive'). It also means 'reach, arrive' in TJ1:4/5, though this text was based on one of Müller's. We can also compare the Jibbali H-Stem *əbláġ* 'bring, deliver' (used in 54:44), the Ḥarsusi G-Stem *bəlōġ* 'reach' (*HL*, s.v. *blġ*), and the Arabic G-Stem *balaġa* 'reach, attain' and its various derived nouns.

- 5 Then at night, when they had fallen asleep, the man got up and took out a little bit of date. He went until he pressed up against one of the men. He slipped it [the date] to him, and 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. And he said, "I am already full, and I saved this 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. And he said, "I am already full, and I have this leftover. I want it (to be) for you. Eat and keep quiet."
- 8 He took it from him and slipped it to the man next to him. And he said what [lit. as] his brothers (had said).
- 9 He took it from him and got up. He pretended that he was going to urinate, and he pressed up to the first man, who had taken the date from the owner [or: resident] of the camp. And he slipped it to him and said what [lit. as] his brothers (had said).
- 10 Then he took it from him, and he knew that no one had eaten it. And he threw it as far as he could [lit. the reach of his arm].
- 11 Then the owner of the camp got up and laughed, and he took out food for them. The men said to him, "You deserve shame [or: punishment]. You wanted to test us."
- 12 The man said, "Forgive me. Everyone wants to know the other guy." And the men had dinner and spent the night. In the morning, the men went away from the man. And it is finished.

11 (*t*)šóhól xázé: Johnstone glossed this in the Roman ms as 'you deserve punishment'. This verb is mentioned in *ML* (s.v. 'hl) as an EJ word, though it is not in *JL*. In Johnstone's word-list for this text, he also glossed the word šóhól as 'deserve' (cf. also 86:4). I assume here that it is a 2ms imperfect, and this is the expected form for an Ši-Stem whose second root consonant is *h* (cf. the forms of H-Stem II-G verbs in §7.4.7). The word *xázé* is perhaps related to the noun *xzét* 'embarrassment', which occurs in text 28:14 (see also *JL* and Appendix C, s.v. *xzy*). The one informant that I asked about this phrase recognized the verb, but not *xázé*. Another informant used the phrase *het tšóhól* 'you deserve' as the equivalent of 'you're welcome', in response to 'thank you'.

Text 22 (= M3, but a variant version): The Jewelry Tree

- 1 *xaxarét geyg ða-γabhógd. axarét xēt bə-ksé fóka' 'aḵ dehlél. b-égaḡ*
'amkás. šúši ed rē.
- 2 *d-ʿd skɔf 'aḵ edehlél, zəhám mosé bə-thí dɔf 'aḵ xɔ edehlél bə-šeddót*
l-égyg. b-ɔl-ʿd kɔdór γāšéxant lɔ.
- 3 *bə-šanđer her eraħmūn yēðħab nəħōr ðəħr bə-nəħōr núsab, "her*
šxanútk mən 'aḵ edehlél ðénu."
- 4 *d-ʿd letókūn, hēt edóf mən 'aḵ xɔ edehlél, bə-šxanít agéyg.*
- 5 *b-agád. ed ber b-órəm, ksé teṭ k-ērún. 'ōr hes, "əlħík! zəhám geyg*
túžər bə-ðə-yhódén šágət kəl ð-ɔl šes šágət lɔ. bə-zī-tɔ ešágəts bə-hé
dħa-l-ékən k-ērún. bə-ħít, gíd!" 'ōrót teṭ, "gəzék xar. ħūk ešágət, bə-hé
dħa-l-gád." 'ōr agéyg, "mor." axarét zūts ešágts b-agadó.
- 6 *bə-hés gōsót, ħálɔb agéyg ērún 'aḵ nəħōr nišan ed ðəħéb. bə-hés ber*
ħálɔb ērún, ħezzésən 'aḵ nəħōr ed ðəħéb enħōr enišan.
- 7 *ɔl-ʿd ebké ar tuš. b-agád.*
- 8 *ed ešəl órəm ða-γəzhúm ðīrs ēkébtər, kéla' ešágət ðer hērún bə-skóf.*
- 9 *axarét zəħīš məktēr ð-iršób, dħa-tkénən 'ásari yiršób, ðīrsən kīt*
bə-ksəbét.
- 10 *axarét šxabírš ajág, 'ōr heš, "kɔ het skɔfk būn? b-íné mən šágət ðínú?"*
- 11 *'ōr, "he ðə-ħágórk hērún ðénu. kəl gəm'át təšəḡ ðīrs šágət."*

-
- 3 *nəħōr*: *JL* (s.v. *nħr*) and *ML* (s.v. *nħr*) both list EJ *náħar*, CJ *naħrót* 'side-passage off a wadi'. I did find *nħōr* in one of Johnstone's handwritten word-lists (Box 15C). In an article (1973: 101), Johnstone lists *náħár* as the diminutive form of *nəħór*. The informants that I asked used *nəħōr*.
 - 5 *əlħík*: The verb *lħaḵ* here must mean something like 'hurry' or 'run', meanings not listed in *JL* (s.v. *lħk*). The meanings 'catch up with; run after', given in *JL*, are not far off. See also the comment to 36:4.
 - 5 *gəzék xar*: This is the way to say 'thank you' in Jibbali, literally something like 'your reward is good'. Though the word *gəzé* is not in *JL*, we do find related forms of the root *gzy*, such as *šəgəze* 'get one's just reward'; cf. also Arabic *jazā* 'repayment, recompense'.

Translation of Text 22

- 1 Once a man was traveling. He got thirsty, and he found a pool of water in a cave. He entered it, and he drank until he was satisfied.
- 2 While he was still sitting in the cave, rain came, and a rock fell onto the mouth of the cave, and it blocked the man in. He was not able to get out again.
- 3 And he vowed to God to flood (one) wadi with blood and (one) wadi with milk, "if I get out of this cave."
- 4 While he was still like this, the rock fell away from the mouth of the cave, and the man got out.
- 5 And he went on. Then when he was on the road, he found a woman with the goats. He said to her, "Hurry [or: run]! A rich man has come and he is giving out jewelry to everyone who doesn't have any. Give me your jewelry and I will stay with the goats. And you, go!" The woman said, "Thank you. Here is the jewelry, and I will go." The man said, "Ok." Then she gave him her jewelry and she went.
- 6 And when she disappeared, the man milked the goats in a small wadi until it flooded. And after he milked the goats, he slaughtered them in (another) wadi until the small wadi flooded.
- 7 He left only (one) male goat.
- 8 Then when he got to the road that the caravans came on, he put the jewelry on a tree and sat down.
- 9 Then a caravan of camels came, about twenty camels, on which were food and clothing.
- 10 Then the men asked him, they said to him, "Why have you sat down here? And what's with this jewelry [lit. what kind of jewelry is this]?"
- 11 He said, "I have been guarding this tree. Every week jewelry appears on it."

8 *ēkēbt̄ar*: In *JL* (s.v. *k̄tr*), the plural of *māk(ə)t̄ér* 'caravan' (cf. line 9) is given as *mākəṭ̄ór*. Both the Roman and Arabic mss have *ēkēbt̄ar* (< *emākēbt̄ar* < **emākáwt̄ar*). The audio confirms this, though the form sounds more like *ēkēbt̄r*, with a difficult to pronounce final consonant cluster. For the plural form *mākēbt̄ar*, we can compare the Mehri plural *maḳawt̄ar*, cited by Jahn (1902: 207).

- 12 *‘ōr heš aǧág, “ak tašúm len h́erúm ḏ́enu?” ‘ōr, “ábdan. ḏ́enu h́erúm ɔ́l dé yaǧódar la-tíenáš l̄.” ‘ōr aǧág, “dḥa-nzémk yirš́en b-əlh́in ḏ́irsən mən kít bə-ksəbét.” ‘ōr, “ábdan.” axarét ‘ōr aǧág, “dḥa-nzémk erbə‘ót izíf ḏ́er yirš́en b-əlh́in ḏ́irsən.”*
- 13 *axarét š́em aǧéyg h́erúm, bə-‘ōr hóhum, “š́mɔ‘! əhtéḏ́er mən dé yaǧb́eb nxínúš. her dé ǧeb nxínúš, ɔ́l-‘ód yaš́érók š́áǧət l̄.” bə-š́éf aǧéyg ber ǧeb nxínúš.*
- 14 *zūš yirš́ób b-edíréhəm. b-aǧád yal sékənaš. b-aǧág skɔ́fǧəm‘át. ed yum eǧəm‘át k-h́ašaf, ɔ́l ešbáh ḏ́er h́erúm sé l̄.*
- 15 *‘ōr aǧág, “aǧéyg ž́əḥák len. ‘áǧən nəǧád séréš.” aǧád ed zəḥám tel aǧéyg. ‘ōr heš, “het ž́əḥákək len, bə-h́erúm ɔ́l ešbáh ḏ́írš́ sé l̄.”*
- 16 *‘ōr aǧéyg, “kəh ɔ́l ešbáh ḏ́írš́ sé l̄? ‘od təkún ǧébkum nxínúš?” ‘ōr aǧág, “ábdan.” ‘ōr, “ǧadú nəšné.” aǧád ed ešəl tel h́erúm. ǧɔ́lɔ́k aǧéyg ed ksé eǧɔ́š.*
- 17 *‘ōr her aǧág, “íné ḏ́enu? he ɔ́l ɔ́d l̄.”*
- 18 *axarét ǧótlas aǧág, bə-‘ōr her taṭtóhum, “het e-ǧébk!” b-ēšáǧər y‘ōr, “het e-ǧébk!”*
- 19 *axarét tót’an bə-gunōi ed létəǧ taṭtóhum. htɔ́f aǧéyg her yɔ́, b-ebhé yɔ́. bə-‘ōr yɔ́, “kə š́um aǧág izénu lóttəǧ?” ‘ōr, “ɔ́l éd‘ak l̄. kisk tóhum ber lóttəǧ.”*
- 20 *ḥólhum yɔ́ bə-kōrhum. b-aǧéyg aǧád yal sékənaš. bə-təmmút.*

12 *ḏ́enu h́erúm*: I take *ḏ́enu* as a subject pronoun and *h́erúm* as a nominal predicate that is followed by a relative clause. It is possible, however, that one could take *ḏ́enu h́erúm* as a single phrase ‘this tree’. It is less common to find a demonstrative adjective preceding its head noun, but certainly not unknown (see § 3.4). If *ḏ́enu* is indeed a demonstrative adjective here, then the translation of the sentence would be ‘this tree, no one can put a value on it’.

12 *izíf*: See the comment to 18:15.

19 *tót’an*: The Roman ms has *tót’an taṭtóhum*, but the Arabic ms and audio have just *tót’an*. To say *tót’an taṭtóhum* is actually incorrect, since *tót’an* is already reflexive.

- 12 The men said to him, "Do you want to sell us this tree?" He said, "Never. This is a tree that no one can put a value on [or: whose value no one can manage]." The men, "We will give you our camels and everything on them, food and clothes." He said, "Never." Then the men said, "We will give you four thousand (dollars), on top of our camels and everything on them."
- 13 Then the man sold the tree, and he said to them, "Listen! Be careful not to defecate under it. If someone defecates under it, it will not make jewelry anymore." And it so happened that he had already defecated under it.
- 14 They gave him the camels and the money. And he went to his settlement. The men sat for a week. A week later, in the morning, nothing had appeared on the tree.
- 15 The men said, "The man tricked [lit. made fun of] us. Let's go after him!" They went until they came to the man. They said to him, "You tricked us. Nothing appeared on the tree."
- 16 The man said, "Why, did nothing appear on it? Have you perhaps defecated under it?" The men said, "Never." He said, "Let's go and see!" They went until they reached the tree. The man looked and found his stool.
- 17 He said to the men, "What is this? I don't lie."
- 18 Then the men argued, and said to each other, "You're the one [or: it was you] who defecated!" And the other said, "You're the one who defecated!"
- 19 Then they stabbed each other with daggers and [lit. until] they killed each other. The man called people for help, and people came to help. The people said, "Why did they, these men, kill each other." He said, "I don't know. I found them already killed."
- 20 The people took them and buried them. And the man went to his settlement. It is finished.

19 *bə-gunōi*: Ali read *gunún* on the audio, but the Arabic ms has *gunōi*, which is the plural form listed in *JL* (s.v. *gnb*). The phrase *bə-gunōi* is missing from the Roman ms.

Text 23 (= M1, but a longer variant): Ba Newas and the Bean

- 1 *xat̄arét be nəwás ðə-yəbǵód, bə-šés dəgírét. ed éşal mənzel̄ taṭ,*
- 2 *ksé ġigeníti k-āḥalób ð-iglélən dúgur ‘ak̄ kaḥf. ‘ör hēsən, “agk əl-xélt̄ edǵaríti šékən.” ‘ör aǵigeníti, “edǵarít̄k ol̄ tənúfa’ tun lə, fələkən nḥa dḥa-nzémk̄ ḥaş ebšólən.”*
- 3 *‘ör be nəwás, “ábdan, he ‘agk əl-xélt̄ békən.” ‘ör, “mǵǵór.” ebká’ edǵarít̄s bə-skǵf.*
- 4 *ed ebšél ‘ör aǵigeníti, “nəká’, te’ šen.”*
- 5 *‘ör, “agk edǵaríti.” ‘ör aǵigeníti, “edǵarít̄k ol̄ nəǵórbəs lə mən ‘ak̄ edúgur. her ol̄ ‘ak te’ šen lə, dḥa-nzémk̄ əlhún ‘ak.” ‘ör, “ábdan, ‘ak (ar) edǵaríti!”*
- 6 *‘ör aǵigeníti, “dḥa-nzémk̄ fǵkḥ.” ‘ör, “ábdan, ‘ak (ar) edǵaríti!” béké be nəwás. axarét zūš eḳáḥf b-əlhún ‘amḳǵš. b-aǵád be nəwás.*
- 7 *ed éşə mən tél̄ ērún tēḳḥəbən, kēla’ eḳáḥf ‘ak̄ ērún. yəzhǵm̄ derhēs yəṭ̄r̄ eḳáḥf.*
- 8 *béké be nəwás. ‘ör, “y-ēḳaḥfi, y-ēḳaḥfi!” zəḥám yə. ‘ör heš, “kə het̄ tǵk?” ‘ör, “ederhēs̄kum̄ t̄r̄ eḳáḥfi.” ‘ör heš yə, “mor, ol̄ tebk̄ lə. dḥa-nzémk̄ kaḥf wudín, axér ar eḳáḥfk̄.” ‘ör be nəwás, “ábdan, ‘ak (ar) eḳáḥfi.”*
- 9 *‘ör heš yə, “eḳáḥfk̄ ber̄ t̄r̄.” axarét béké be nəwás ed zūš ederhēs̄ ðə-t̄r̄ eḳáḥf.*
- 10 *b-aǵád be nəwás. ed éşal mən tél̄ elhúti yǵḳḥəb, raşún ederhēsš̄ ‘ak̄ elhúti. təzhóm̄ ḥəǵalét̄ təṭ̄r̄ ederhēs̄ ðə-be nəwás.*
- 11 *béké be nəwás bə-‘ör, “y-ēdərḥísi, y-ēdərḥísi!” axarét zəḥám yə, ‘ör heš, “kə het̄ tǵk?” ‘ör be nəwás, “ḥəǵalét̄kum̄ t̄r̄ót̄ edərḥísi.” ‘ör heš yə, “dḥa-nzémk̄ derhēs, bə-kəlá’ ǵkē!” ‘ör, “ábdan, ‘agk b-edərḥísi.”*

-
- 5 *te’*: This can only be a 2ms subjunctive (< **tte’*). However, according to *JL* (s.v. *twy*) and informants, the subjunctive should be *tít* (3ms *yít*, e.g., 21:3; cf. also 2ms *tít* in 12:6). See also the comment to 6:11.
- 5/6/8 *ar*: In these three lines, the *ar* is written in brackets in the Roman ms; it is not on the audio or in the Arabic ms.
- 8 *wudín*: The Roman ms has *w’dín* and the audio has the same, though *JL* (s.v. *wdn*) gives the form *ódín*. See also the comment to 4:1.

Translation of Text 23

- 1 Once Ba Newas was walking, and he had a bean. When he got to a certain place,
- 2 he found girls with the she-camels, boiling beans in a pot. He said to them, "I want to mix my bean with yours [lit. with you]." The girls said, "Your bean isn't of use to us, but we will give you (some) when we've cooked (it)."
- 3 Ba Newas said, "No, I want to mix with you." They said, "Ok." He put in his bean, and sat down.
- 4 Then when they had finished cooking [lit. when they cooked], the girls said to him, "Come, eat with us!"
- 5 He said, "I want my bean." The girls said, "We won't recognize your bean among the (other) beans. If you don't want to eat with us, we'll give you all that you want." He said, "No, I want (only) my bean."
- 6 The girls said, "We'll give you half." He said, "No, I (only) want my bean!" Ba Newas cried. Then they gave him the pot and everything inside it. And Ba Newas went.
- 7 When he got to where the goats were spending the day, he left the pot among the goats. A kid came and broke the pot.
- 8 Ba Newas cried. He said, "Oh my pot, my pot!" People came. They said to him, "Why are you crying?" He said, "Your kid broke my pot." The people said to him, "Ok, don't cry. We will give you a new pot, better than your pot." Ba Newas said, "No, I (only) want my pot."
- 9 The people said to him, "Your pot is broken." Then Ba Newas cried until they gave him the kid that broke his pot.
- 10 And Ba Newas went. When he got to where the cows were spending the day, he tied up his kid among the cows. A calf came and attacked [lit. broke] Ba Newas's kid.
- 11 Ba Newas cried and said, "Oh my kid, my kid!" Then people came. They said to him, "Why are you crying?" Ba Newas said, "Your calf attacked [lit. broke] my kid." The people said to him, "We will give you a kid, stop the crying!" He said, "No, I want my kid."

10 *həḡalét*: Johnstone glossed this word as 'calf' in the Roman ms. I did not find the word in *JL*, though it is presumably related to the Semitic root *ḡl*.

- 12 *axarét ʔeḵ beš ʔo, bə-zūš haḡalét. b-aḡád be nəwás. ed eṣal mən tél iyél tékhabən, aṣún haḡalétš ‘aḵ iyél. təzḡóm bəkərút bə-təṭṭōr haḡalét.*
- 13 *béké be nəwás. axarét ‘ōr heš ʔo, “kə het tīók?” ‘ōr, “ōkrútkum ṭōrót haḡaléti.” ‘ōr heš ʔo, “mor. ḵalá‘ ōke bə-dḡa-nzémk haḡalét əl-hés haḡalétk.” ‘ōr, “ábdan, ‘ak bə-haḡaléti.”*
- 14 *‘ōr heš ʔo, “haḡalétk berót fētót, b-əl dé ʔəḵól b alhín ber xáróg ṣəhú lə.” ‘ōr, “ábdan, ‘ak bə-haḡaléti.” axarét ʔeḵ beš ʔo, bə-zūš ōkrút ḡə-tōrót haḡalétš. bə-temmút eḵəssét ḡə-bé nəwás.*

Text 24 (no M): A Complaint

- 1 A: *“het sóbər təḡélb, bə-šənhér mēk aḡág əḡ-šék. ‘ōr het ‘ógəz bə-(t)šḡóke aḡág əḡ-šék ʔəšōrk ‘āk ḡóḡtk. ʔénhum mən bédé lek?”*
- 2 B: *“bédé li. fələkən her dé mənḡúm ḡə-‘ōr hek ṭənu... ḵaláš ʔəḡérg ‘aḵ kerfēfi, bə-hé dḡa-l-éḡḡər iyén mən ēde.”*
- 3 A: *“əl-‘əd ḡóḡət l-aḡaró lə nāṣanu. fələkən ntēh b-enúf, b-əl təḡéfəl lə. bə-hér ‘əd bédé lek, kəlét hini.”*
- 4 B: *“mor, fələkən her ‘əd bédé li zəfét ēšḡarót, dḡa-l-šənáḡhum.”*
- 5 A: *“əl (t)šənáḡhum lə. kəlét hini bass.”*
- 6 B: *“mor.” təmmút.*

Text 25 (= M64, but a variant version): Ka‘det

- 1 *xətarét ḡəyḡ šogá‘ ʔə‘ōr heš ka‘dét, bə-šéš ʔel. ed yum ṭit eród iyélés ḡer emih. hes eṣal, kse ḡag ḡer emih.*
- 2 *‘ōr heš, “əl téréd iyélék bun lə.” ‘ōr hóhum, “tōkum təḵalós tə l-éréd iyéli. iyéli ber dḡa-tḡōtən mən xēt.”*

Text 23

- 13 *tīók*: Audio has *tīók* here, but *tōk* in 8 and 11. Both mss have *tīók* in all 3 lines.

- 12 Then the people got fed up with him, and they gave him the calf. Ba Newas went. When he got to where the camels were spending the day, he tied up his calf among the camels. A young camel came and attacked [lit. broke] his calf.
- 13 Ba Newas cried. Then people said to him, "Why are you crying?" He said, "Your young camel broke my calf." The people said to him, "Ok. Stop the crying, and we will give you a calf like your calf." He said, "No, I want my calf."
- 14 The people said to him, "Your calf is already dead, and no one (can) bring back alive whatever has already died." He said, "No, I want my calf." Then they got fed up with him, and gave him the young camel that had broken his calf. And the story of Ba Newas is finished.

Translation of Text 24

- 1 A: "You always refuse (to work), and your friends complained about you. They said you are lazy and you make your friends do your work for [or: instead of] you. Are they telling the truth or did they lie about you?"
- 2 B: "They lied about me. But if one of them who said this to you... Let him say it [lit. speak] to my face, and I will show him the truth or the lie."
- 3 A: "(There's) no need at all for (such) speech now. But watch out for yourself and don't be careless. And if they lie about you again, tell me."
- 4 B: "Ok, but if they lie about me a second time, I will fight them."
- 5 A: "Don't fight them. Just tell me."
- 6 B: "Ok." It is finished.

Translation of Text 25

- 1 Once there was a brave man named Ka'det, and he had camels. One day he brought his camels down to the water. When he arrived, he found men at the water.
- 2 They said to him, "Do not bring your camels down here!" He said to them, "You should allow me to bring down my camels. My camels are about to die of thirst."

- 3 ḫōr aǵáǵ, “ábdan. ǵl tǵrǵd lǵ, ar hér ‘ak tǵhǵǵam.” ḫōr aǵǵyǵ, “ábdan. ǵl ‘ak ǵl-hǵǵam lǵ.” ḫōr aǵáǵ, “mor. her ǵl ‘ak tǵhǵǵam lǵ, ‘arér iyélǵk.”
- 4 axarét ‘er ka’dét iyélǵš. hes ‘erésǵn, ǵnhǵiǵb iyél. estǵ(i) ka’dét. bǵ-ḫōr, tǵnúǵkǵdan li her ‘erk tǵsǵn mǵn ḫǵer emǵh. axarét erǵd.
- 5 yǵzḫóm ḫaḫ mǵn aǵáǵ bǵ-yǵdǵrǵm ḫit mǵn iyél. bǵ-xǵḫ ka’dét bǵ-lǵd aǵǵyǵ ǵḫ-dǵrǵm yǵtš bǵ-ltǵǵš.
- 6 bǵ-létǵǵ ǵšǵǵǵar bǵ-genbít, b-ǵšbǵb ḫaḫ. bǵ-‘aḫf b-iyélǵš ed ǵšǵl tel ǵḫǵ‘nǵš, tǵtš b-ǵš šǵǵǵar. bǵ-tǵtš tǵǵún ǵmbǵrǵ‘.
- 7 bǵ-kǵlǵḫ hǵóhum, bǵ-‘aḫf ed ǵšǵl ráhǵk bǵ-fǵǵǵar. skǵf. bǵ-ka’dét yǵlǵd eb‘ǵzǵt, b-ǵkǵthum mǵn eb‘ǵzǵt. b-ǵl šǵóhum kǵt zeyd lǵ, b-aǵǵyǵ ǵl-ǵd yǵǵǵsǵr yǵǵétǵr ḫallét lǵ.
- 8 ed yum ḫit xtǵl eb‘ǵzǵt bǵ-hǵés šǵf ḫǵ-ǵǵǵ. bǵ-šǵóhum ḫǵš, aǵǵá ḫǵ-tǵtš. bǵ-šǵés ba‘lét ǵkǵma, b-ǵl šǵš zunt lǵ. yǵḫkǵk mǵn ǵzǵḫǵt. b-a‘ǵšǵr ḫǵkǵn ǵl šǵš ar mǵxbutǵ ḫaḫ.
- 9 ed kǵl‘ǵni zǵḫám tel ǵḫǵ‘nǵš. ḫōr, “dǵ zǵḫǵkum?” ḫōrǵt tǵtš, “ob-lǵb. kǵh?” ḫōr, “ḫǵšk šǵf ḫǵ-ǵǵǵ, bǵ-šǵóhum aǵǵš.”

4 *estǵ(i)*: This may be a Jibbalized version of Mehri *ǵstǵmi* ‘shout one’s tribal war-cry’, the T2-Stem of *smy*. The EJ form *ǵstǵ* is listed in *ML* (s.v. *smy*). The Roman ms has *estǵn*, as does the audio, but this form cannot be correct. Probably *estǵ* was intended. The Arabic ms has استوي, which seems to reflect *estǵi*. Since III-w/y verbs in the T2-Stem (which are quite rare) have either the pattern ǵCtǵCǵ or ǵCtǵCǵ (see §7.4.12), both *estǵ* and *estǵ* seem plausible. This is perhaps the only T2-Stem of a root II-m, III-w/y.

4 *tǵsǵn*: This is the correct 3fp form of the direct object pronoun *t-*, despite what is listed in *JL* (p. xxvi). See further in §3.3.

5 *dǵrǵm*: *JL* and *ML* (s.v. *drm*) only list Jibbali *durǵm* ‘slaughter’, but the mss of this text and the accompanying word-list, as well as the audio, all have *dǵrǵm*. Perhaps this is the EJ form. See also the comment to 60:20.

7 *yǵǵǵsǵr*: This is from the G-Stem verb *ǵǵsǵr* ‘dare’, which Johnstone included in the word-list to this text. It is not included in *JL* or *ML*. Cf. Arabic *ǵasara* ‘have courage’.

- 3 The men said, "Never. You will not bring them down unless you want to attack." The man said, "Not at all. I don't want to attack." The men said, "Ok. If you don't want to attack, then hold your camels back."
- 4 Then Ka'det held back his camels. When he held them back, the camels grunted. Ka'det 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 One of the men came and slaughtered one of the camels. Ka'det cocked (his rifle) and shot the man who slaughtered his camel, and he killed him.
- 6 And he killed the second one with a dagger, and wounded one. And he went off with his camels until he reached his family, his wife and his old father. And his wife was nursing a boy.
- 7 And he told them (what happened), and they went off until they reached far away in the Najd. They stayed (there). Ka'det would shoot tahrs (mountain goats), and their food was from the tahrs. They didn't have any more food, and the man didn't yet dare go down to town.
- 8 Then one day he was stalking tahrs and he noticed men's tracks. With them was his brother-in-law, his wife's brother. And he had a flintlock, but he didn't have ammunition. He would grind (gunpowder) from saltpeter. And that night he only had one cartridge.
- 9 Then in the evening he came to his family. He said, "Has anyone come to you?" His wife said, "Nope. Why?" He said, "I noticed men's tracks, and your brother is with them."

8 *hés*: Both mss have *hés* here, as does the audio (cf. also line 9). The word-list accompanying the text gives the meaning 'find'. However, in *JL* and *ML* (s.v. *hśś*), this verb is listed only with the meaning 'collect one's baggage'. One wonders if this is a biform of *hés* 'feel; notice', or simply a mistake.

8 *ba'let ekóma*: Johnstone (*JL* and *ML*, s.v. *km'*) translates this as 'flintlock', but this may not be the correct term, since *kóma*(?) means 'percussion cap', a feature lacking on a flintlock. Still, it clearly refers to an older type of rifle.

- 10 *‘ōrōt tet*, “*āhtēdōr b-enúf! izénu axšúm.*” *‘ōr aǵéyǵ*, “*ob-lób, šóhum eđt-ilín.*” *‘ōrōt tet*, “*he aǵórāb aǵl. yādélúm, b-a’amélesš dífōr!*” *fálékān ka’dét ol šīn tíšš l.*
- 11 *šefhīš aǵád ed ešal tel axšúm* *đa-ka’dét*, *bə-‘ōr heš*, “*dḥa-nzémk mut trut her delk bēn yal ka’dét bə-létǵan tōš.*” *‘ōr*, “*mor, dḥa-l-šoddal bókum.*”
- 12 *bə-šéf aǵág ber* *đa-kūn* *đer xádār. d-‘ot tíšš tǵhérg k-a’ásārās, eǵbél aǵág.* *‘ōr ka’dét*, “*a’tēđ əm-blís! ol tǵkārē-tō l!*”
- 13 *axarét aǵág ol-‘ōd ‘ōttar l.* *bə-lōd énfī bə-lǵǵāš. bə-xúls ǵxōt. b-ešélāš taṭ bə-ṭ’ínāš bə-ǵenbít. fálékān šef eǵenbít maǵǵzzót, bə-ḥāš e-mxíkās mən ‘aǵ eǵúfeǵéyǵ, mútxǵk šeš eǵúhn.*
- 14 *bə-flét bə-līdāš taṭ mən aǵág bə-šābté al-fām. bə-flét ‘aǵ taḥ mā‘ār. axarét šīni enúf ta‘bún, b-aǵád ed ga‘ár* *đer kišét. šérék enúf xarǵ.*
- 15 *bə-zḥām aǵág bə-šīnīš. bə-‘ōr taṭ mānhúm,* “*he dḥa-l-ǵád bə-l-ehbēš.*” *aǵád. ed ešal tōlāš, ‘es ka’dét bə-zǵōr beš mən eǵišet. bə-šé hē šeš, bə-xargó kólōh.*
- 16 *b-edūr aǵág yal sékən bə-létaǵ šáxər b-ebéré e-ka’dét mən ‘aǵ fidét. ‘ōrōt tet,* “*ol ǵǵyóskum (t)taǵ tǵfəl mən ‘aǵ fidét l. đénu ol šúǵəl đ-eǵél l.*”
- 17 *‘ōr aǵág,* “*ebéré đa-dísós yǵkín dísós.*” *b-aǵád yǵšǵúm. axarét ‘ōrōt tet,* “*ol wéǵab l taǵód bə-tǵkāl‘ élébtǵ tǵnu. bə-hé tet ol ašénús baḥsí l.*”
- 18 *axarét edūr les bə-skóf. ‘ásóš tet bə-heǵót aǵás. ‘ōrōt,* “*kbéb əl-yóh! he đa-ǵarǵbk tǵk* *đer xádār!*”

-
- 10 *dífōr*: This is the correct mp form of *dífar* ‘bad’. *JL* (s.v. *dfr*) lists *díforta*, but this is the fp form.
- 12 *a’tēđ əm-blís*: This is an idiom (cf. *JL*, s.v. ‘*wđ*’), used only in the first person singular. The phrase *əm-blís* is a reduced form of *mən blís*. In *JL*, the verb (1cs imperfect) is given as *a’tōđ*, which seems to be a CJ form. This CJ form *a’tōđ* is also given in *ML* (s.v. ‘*wđ*’), while *HL* (s.v. ‘*wđ*’) gives the Jibbali form as *‘atēđ*. The form *a’tōđ* looks like a T1-Stem imperfect or T2-Stem subjunctive, while *‘atēđ* looks like a T2-Stem imperfect minus the suffixed *-ən*. (see § 7.4.8).
- 13 *maǵǵzzót*: This root (*ǵzz*) is not in *JL*, but an EJ verb *ǵez* ‘loosen’ is listed in *ML* (s.v. *ǵzz*). The same word occurs in the Mehri version of this story (line 19), though the two versions are not identical.
- 13 *mxíkās*: This is from the G-Stem *m(a)xák*, which seems in this line to be equivalent in meaning to the T1-Stem *mútxǵk*. *JL*, however, lists only the meaning ‘scratch’ for the G-Stem. In Mehri, the G-Stem means ‘pull out’, while the T1-Stem is the passive.

- 10 The woman said, "Watch out for yourself! These are enemies." The man said, "No way, so-and-so is with them." The woman said, "I know my brother. He is greedy and his activities are bad." But Ka'det didn't believe his wife.
- 11 It so happened that his brother-in-law had gone until he reached Ka'det's enemies, and they said to him, "We will give you two hundred if you lead us to Ka'det and we kill him." He said, "Ok, I will show you."
- 12 And it so happened that the men had already hidden on top of the cave. While his wife was still speaking with him [lit. her husband], the men approached. Ka'det said, "I take refuge from the devil! Don't come near me!"
- 13 Then the men did not back off at all. He shot the first one and killed him, and his cartridges were used up. One reached him and he (Ka'det) stabbed him with a dagger. But it turned out that the dagger was loose, and when he pulled it from the man's chest, he pulled out (only) the hilt.
- 14 He fled, and one of the men shot at him and hit him in the leg. He fled into a rough mountainside. Then he realized he was [lit. saw himself] in trouble. He went and fell down on a ledge. He pretended he had died.
- 15 And the men came and saw him. One of them said, "I will go and push him off [lit. make him fall]." He went. Then when he got to him, Ka'det got up and pushed him from the ledge. He fell with him, and they both died.
- 16 And the men returned to the camp and killed the old man and Ka'det's son in the cradle. The woman said, "It is not right for you to kill an infant in the cradle. This is not the way of the tribes."
- 17 The men said, "The son of a snake will be a snake." And they went to leave. Then the woman said, "You shouldn't go and leave the dead like this. And I am (just) a woman who does not dare (to be) alone."
- 18 Then they came back to her and stayed. The woman got up and called her brother. She said, "Come down here! I know you are on top of the cave!"

13 *egúf*: This word for 'chest' occurs in Mehri, Ḥarsusi, and Hobyot (cf. *ML* and *HL*, s.v. *gwf*; *HV*, p. 10), but not normally in Jibbali. The Jibbali word is *géhe'* (*JL*, s.v. *ghy*).

- 19 *axarét keb. ed gasré, ber agág ða-šéf, ‘aśśót teṭ bə-šerkót mändik, bə-latǵót agás.*
- 20 *‘eś agág ‘ágəb yəmnəś‘ teṭ. guzūt, “kəl mənkhūm ða-kérəb tə, ar dha-l-ś(l)tǵəś.”*
- 21 *bə-šukūt se b-īndik. ed tēt tel sékən ráhəq, kəlṭót hóhum. b-əbhé yə ðer ēlébtəǵ bə-ḵōrhūm. bə-təmmūt.*

Text 28 (no M): A Man’s Dilemma (Conversation)

- 1 A: “*her dha-tǵád, ‘amér hīni, əthúmk tə dha-l-ǵád šek.*”
- 2 B: “*d-ək dha-l-šéréǵ sékəni. her sind ‘áni, dha-l-ǵád ḵərəre.*”
- 3 A: “*kəh, yəl ‘or hek? əl dha-yəsnid ‘āk lə, ‘aḵ ḵélbək?”*
- 4 B: “*əl éd‘ak lə, fələkən šī‘ak tóhūm mənkhīnəm ða-y‘or dha-yóxləf‘ar ēnzílhum. bə-hér xələf əl yəsénid ‘áni lə.*”
- 5 A: “*kəh šūm yóxləf‘ar ēnzílhum, bə-šūm ‘aḵ mənzel rəhūm.*”
- 6 B: “*šā‘ak ða-k-ērún ‘or érún egdéb. əl-‘əd kse ḵít lə. bə-zhīhūm mənkhīnəm ǵeyǵ bə-‘or hóhūm, ‘aḵ śa‘b ḏínú mən méśá‘ séfə’, b-axér hókum l-óxləf.’*”
- 7 A: “*mor, het šéréǵ eḏá‘nak əl-‘éni. bə-hér sind ‘āk, zəḥō-tə ḵərəre tel sékəni. bə-hé dha-l-səlóbək ed mən ðér eḏəhər. bə-hér əl zəḥámk tə lə, yəkín sékənək əl sind ‘āk lə.*”
- 8 B: “*mor, əstəhól.*”
- 9 C: “*təhérg kə-mūn ēle?”*
- 10 B: “*ð-əhérg k-əḏí-ilín, bə-šé ḵərəre dha-yəǵád tóhūn. šeš ḥǵəṭ, bə-‘or hīni, ‘ak bek təǵád ši.’ bə-šə‘ədk təš ḵərəre tel sékənaś.*”
- 11 C: “*heśóf! bə-nḥá, térd ben? tob ar ǵaró ḏénu! het ða-ǵaróbək tun dha-nḥəmél ḵərəre, b-əl ənsénid ‘āk lə, ar hér dha-l-éflət.*”

Text 28

- 4 *šī‘ak*: In the Arabic ms, Ali originally wrote *šā‘ak* (as in line 6), which is what is on the audio, but crossed it out and wrote *šī‘ak*. See further in the comment to 13:13.
- 10 *tóhūn*: In one of the Roman mss, Johnstone glossed this as ‘such and such a place’.

- 19 Then he came down. At night, when the men were sleeping, the woman got up, stole a rifle, and killed her brother.
- 20 The men got up, intending to grab the woman. She swore, "Whoever of you comes near me, I will kill him!"
- 21 And she left with the rifle. When she came to a far-away settlement, she told them (what happened). The people went to help the dead, and they buried them. And it is finished.

Translation of Text 28

- 1 A: "If you're going to go, tell me. I think I'll go with you."
- 2 B: "I still have to [lit. will] consult my community. If they can manage without me, I'll go tomorrow."
- 3 A: "Why, what did they say to you? Do you think [lit. in your heart] they won't manage without you?"
- 4 B: "I don't know. But I heard them last night saying that they will move from their place. And if they move, they won't manage without me."
- 5 A: "Why should they move from their place, when [lit. and] they are in a beautiful place?"
- 6 B: "I heard those with the goats say that the goats were hungry. They did not find food at all. And a man came to them last night and said to them, 'In this valley to the south is untouched grass, and it's better for you to move.'"
- 7 A: "Ok, you consult your family tonight. And if they can manage without you, come to me tomorrow in my settlement. I will wait for you until after noon. If you do not come to me, it's that your community couldn't manage without you."
- 8 B: "Ok, goodbye."
- 9 C: "Who were you speaking with before?"
- 10 B: "I was speaking with so-and-so, and tomorrow he will go as such. He has something (to do), and he said to me, 'I want you to go with me.' And I arranged a meeting with him tomorrow by his settlement."
- 11 C: "Well done! And us, you would throw us away? What words indeed! You know that we are moving tomorrow, and we won't manage without you, unless you're going to run away."

- 12 B: “*tum sǫbār bass mǫḥanīti, bélé ɔl mǫḥanīti. kəlɔʻ tɔ əl-ǧád k-əǧéyǧ ðə-bék šəʻɔdk tɔš.*”
- 13 C: “*b-íné het šek mən ḥǫǧət taǧád k-əǧéyǧ? yəsɔxk ʻar ɔšétk. her kərəre ɔšétk ǰaʻɔt, aǧéyǧ ɔl ḥa-yzémk sé l.*”
- 14 B: “*tōkum (t)sníd ʻáni, hes bek šəʻɔdk aǧéyǧ. bə-xzét, her əxtélɔfɔk beš.*”
- 15 C: “*mor, kəlš siēk. bə-hét ðə-ǧarɔbk tun ɔl ənsénúd ʻāk l. ǧad yɔl aǧéyǧ bə-kələb leš egɔb. ʻamér, ʻsékani ɔl sind ʻáni l.*”
- 16 B: “*mor, dḥa-l-ǧád yɔlš. bə-hér ɔl zəḥámk tókum l, əkín aǧádɔk šeš.*”
- 17 ʻǫrɔt títš, (C:) “*mor, kən li (əl-)hés ɪ. ɔl əkín hek teɥ el-fjɔt (mən díní), her ɔl edúrk len əl-ʻéni l. bə-hét bə-rík.*”
- 18 B: “*mor, dḥa-l-dór kəlʻéni.*”
- 19 aǧád aǧéyǧ ed zəḥám tel aǧéyǧ ðə-šəʻídáš. ʻǫr heš, (B:) “*he, sékani ɔl sind ʻáni l, bə-téti guzút li, ʻɔl təbǧɔd. bə-smáh li, ɔl əkɔdər əl-ǧád šek l.*”
- 20 ʻǫr aǧéyǧ, (A:) “*kəlš ɤat. ɔl sé məḥnét l. aǧásərə. ed k-ḥáɤaf, edór yɔl sékənək.*”
- 21 B: “*ɔl əkɔdər l əl-ǧásərə. téti berɔt guzút, ʻher ɔl zəḥámk əl-ʻéni l, ɔl əkín hek teɥ el-fjɔt.*”
- 22 A: “*mor, əstəhól. bə-təmmút.*”

12 *mǫḥanīti*: This is the common plural of the adjective *matéhən* (f. *mǫḥanút*) ‘in trouble; unable to cope’. This word is not in *JL*, but it appears in Johnstone’s word-list for this text. *JL* (s.v. *mḥn*) does include the related verb *múḥan* ‘be in trouble, be sad’, which is also found in texts 54:7 and 57:15.

13 *yəsɔxk*: This is a D/L-Stem 3ms subjunctive of the root *sbx*, plus a 2ms object suffix. This verb is glossed in *JL* as ‘waste money, property on useless things’ and in the word-list that accompanies this text as ‘spend time unprofitably’. Since the verb in this passage has an object suffix, I assume a more transitive meaning like ‘make s.o. divert attention/time from’.

15 *siēk*: The Roman ms and audio have *siēk*, but the Arabic ms seems to have *mēk* ‘from you’.

17 *(əl-)hés*: The Roman mss have *l-hés*, while the Arabic ms has just *hés*. The audio is unclear, since Ali stumbled here. He seems to want to say *əl-hés*, but instead follows the Arabic ms and says *hés*.

- 12 B: "You are always having trouble, even if you aren't having trouble! Let me go with the man that I've already arranged the meeting with."
- 13 C: "What need do you have to go with the man? He might divert you from your livestock. If tomorrow your livestock gets lost, the man won't give you anything."
- 14 B: "You have to manage without me, since I have already arranged the meeting with the man. It would be an embarrassment if I let him down."
- 15 C: "Ok, it's all because of you. You know that we wouldn't manage without you. Go to the man and give [lit. return] him (this) answer. Say, 'My community cannot do without my help.'"
- 16 B: "Ok, I will go to him. And if I don't come back to you, I will have gone with him."
- 17 The woman said, (C:) "Ok, be to me like my father! I won't be a wife for you till I die, if you don't come back to us this evening. But (do) as you wish!"
- 18 B: "Ok, I'll come back this evening."
- 19 The man went until he came to the man with whom he had arranged the meeting. He said to him, (B:) "My community cannot manage without me, and my wife swore to me, 'You won't go.' Forgive me, (but) I cannot go with you."
- 20 The man said, (A:) "It's all the same [lit. all one]. It's no trouble. Spend the night, and in the morning go back to your community."
- 21 B: "I can't spend the night. My wife swore, 'If you don't come this evening, I will not be a wife for you until I die.'"
- 22 A: "Ok, goodbye." And it is finished.

17 *el-fʃt*: This is a contraction of *ed l-fʃt* 'until I die'. This is clear from the context. Johnstone notes this contraction in some of his drafts of this text. See also the comment to 30:5.

17 *mən dīnī*: The Roman mss have *mən dīnī* 'from the world', but it is missing from the Arabic ms and the audio.

21 *l ʔ-gásære*: We expect *ʔ-gásære l* (cf. the end of line 19). This is probably just the speaker's error.

Text 30 (= M37, but variant): A Man and His Jinn Wife

- 1 *xaṭarét ġeyg šeš məstún bə-ħallét. bə-hér ber dħa-txarófen, təṣḥən ḏə-xerít. bə-skófb-əl éda' íné yəšérk l. axarét kéréb enáxal təxarófan.*
- 2 *aġád ed zəħám tel íšni. kólóť heš b-ekəssét enáxal. 'ör heš íšni, "ġad a'áṣər ε-gəmə'át bə-kbén 'ak enáxal tel emíh. bə-dék əl (t)šéf.*
- 3 *bə-dék əl təfrók. áxər a'áṣər dħa-(t)zhōnk šhalét ġigeníti sibrúti, bə-dħa-tərházən 'ak eġör. bə-kəlá'sən ed təkabən 'ak eġör. bə-ħáṣ ε-bér 'ak eġör; ħmel xaťókésən.*
- 4 *bə-sən əl təġódən ar bə-xaťókésən. bə-dék əl təġələlən bek. bə-žbót ε-'ak bes." axarét aġád aġéyg ed kūn 'ak enáxal tel emíh. ed áxər a'áṣər zəħám šhalét ġigeníti sibrúti bə-kéb 'ak eġör. bə-xənít xaťókésən.*
- 5 *hes ber 'ak emíh, zəħám aġéyg bə-ħōl xaťókésən. zəħám aġigeníti bə-t'ōrən, "bə-sétər, bə-sétər!" 'ör, "ábdan." 'ör aġigeníti, "dħa-nəđtól her enáxələk. əl nəxértsən ε-ńfót." 'ör aġéyg, "ábdan."*
- 6 *axarét síni tit mənsən, ta'múrəns erét, bə-'áġəb bes. bə-zūm trut xaťókésən b-aġád. bə-žēt erħit bə-žitás eüt bə-kéré xaťókés. bə-zis xaťók mənhūm bə-šfók bes.*
- 7 *bə-skóf'ónut. axarét sfər ħallét tit bə-kéla' attítš tel émész.*
- 8 *bə-'ör her émész, "əhtédír əl (t)zim títi xaťókés ábdan, bélé 'örót hiš 'əl dħa-l-ġád l'. əhtédír 'ás." 'örót heš émész, "əl təktéləb l." aġád aġéyg. bə-kéla' attítš tel émész.*

1 *enáxal*: The plural form *náxal* is not listed in *JL*, though the singular *naxlét* is. Compare the plurals listed in *ML* and *HL* (s.v. *nxl*).

3 *ε-bér*: In Ali's dialect, the particle *ε-* is normally suppressed before *ber* (see § 7.2; § 13.5.3.2). For other speakers, the sequence *ε-bér* becomes *ēr* (cf. Tj4:3; Fr1). On the audio, there is definitely a vowel before *ber*, but in the Arabic ms, Ali wrote only *ber*.

4 *təġələlən*: Johnstone glossed this as 'cheat' in the Roman ms. *JL* does not list this meaning for the verb *ġel* (s.v. *ġll*), though, interestingly, this meaning is given for the verb *ġer* (s.v. *ġrr*). The Jibbali verb *ġel* 'outwit' is, however, listed in *HL* (s.v. *ħyl*), and is used again in 60:24. See also the comment to 60:14.

Translation of Text 30

- 1 Once a man had a plantation in a town. And before (the trees) bore fruit, one morning they were stripped. And he sat and didn't know what to do. The date-palms were at that time close to giving fruit.
- 2 He went until he reached a medicine man. He told him the story of the date-palms. The medicine man said to him, "Go on Friday night and hide among the date-palms by the water. Be careful not to fall asleep.
- 3 And be careful not to be frightened. In the late night, three girl ghosts will come to you, and they'll wash in the well. Leave them be until they go down into the well. And when they are in the well, pick up their clothes.
- 4 They won't go without [lit. will only go with] their clothes. And be careful they don't trick you. And take the one that you like." Then the man went and [lit. until] he hid among the date-palms by the water. In the late night, three girl ghosts came and went down into the well. And they took off their clothes.
- 5 When they were in the water, the man came and picked up their clothes. The girls came and said, "With a cover, with a cover!" He said, "No way." The girls said, "We will protect your date-palms. We will not strip them as long as we live [lit. until we die]." The man said, "No way."
- 6 Then he saw one of them, she was (pretty) like the moon, and he fell in love with her. And he gave two their clothes, and they went away. And he took the pretty one, and he took her to the house and hid her clothes. And he gave her some (other) clothes and married her.
- 7 They remained for a year. Then he traveled to a certain town and left his wife with his mother.
- 8 And he said to his mother, "Be sure never to give my wife her (own) clothes, even if she says to you, 'I won't go'. Be watchful of her." His mother said to him, "Don't worry." The man went, and left his wife with his mother.

5 *ε-nfʕt*: This is a contraction of *εd nfʕt* 'until we die'. This is clear from the initial *ε*- (clear on the audio), from the context, and from Johnstone's gloss 'till we die' in the Roman ms. See also the comment to 28:17.

- 9 *ed mən ǧér ékət kun məš'ér bə-ħallét. axarét zəħám yə tel səbrét. 'ör hes, "áǧən biš túnħag k-ínét." 'örót, "əl ínħag ar bə-xatǫkí, bə-xatǫkí tel xəlǫti. bə-ħarǫǧ šes. bə-her ar zūt tə xatǫkí, dħa-l-únħag." axarét aǧád yə tel ešxarét, bə-herǫǧ šes.*
- 10 *'örót, "ábdan. fírəkək 'ás əl tǫffər mən ǧérən. b-ebri yənkéród les. bə-her aǧadót bə-zħám ebri b-əl ksés lə, dħa-yəfót." 'ör hes yə, "tet əl dħa-tǫffər lə." 'örót ešxarét, "ábdan!"*
- 11 *axarét zəħis ħókum e-ħallét bə-'ör hes, "ətǫləb məš l-írxaš tet túnħag." axarét erxašóts bə-zúts xatǫkés. nəħagót zifét trut, bə-ķörót inét e-ħallét kel. bə-fərrót.*
- 12 *šəšfét ešxarét 'ás. axarét ħfərót ķör bə-ķörót kebš l-əǧere her ebrés zəħám, ta'mér heš, "tet xargót." ed mən ǧér ékət, zəħám aǧéyǧ. 'ör, "ar tėti ħútün?"*
- 13 *'örót émés, "attét xargót bə-ķörən təs." skəf aǧéyǧ əb-béke. axarét ənkós ekör bə-ksé kebš. b-aǧád tel émés. 'ör, "kəlít ħini b-iyēn, bə-fló dħa-l-ǫ(l)tǧ enúf!"*
- 14 *'örót, "ébrí, tet fərrót." bə-kǫltót heš b-eķəssét kels. skəf aǧéyǧ əb-ħzín. axarét aǧád yəl išni. bə-kǫltót heš, bə-'ör, "iné yǫšələn tə tǫlās?" 'ör heš išni, "kənə sətét maħlób, ʔət lün, bə-ʔát 'ǧfər, bə-ʔát ħör, šħalét 'ayún. bə-ķalá'hum 'ak maħəðörót, bə-zémhum ķázəb. bə-ħaş aǧbér šħalét 'ayún, ķalá'hum sélət em mən ǧér ķít.*

9 *məš'ér*: Johnstone glossed this word as 'dance' in the Roman ms. The Mehri version has *šarħ* here, a word which also exists in Jibbali (see *ML* and *JL*, s.v. *rwh*). The same word also occurs in 97:5. I did not find *məš'ér* in *JL*. See Landberg (1920–1942: 3.2058) for various related Arabic words from the root *šr*, including Omani Arabic *šā'ər* 'poet, singer' (also found in other Arabic dialects).

9 *xəlǫti*: In *JL* (s.v. *xwl*), the word *xəlǫt* is defined only as 'father's sister; father's wife, stepmother', but here the meaning is unquestionably 'mother-in-law', as also in 60:9 and 60:16. *JL* (s.v. *dwd*) does list 'father-in-law' as a secondary meaning of *did* 'father's brother'.

- 9 Then after a while, there was a dance-party in the town. Then the people came to the ghost-girl and said to her, "We want you to dance with the women." She said, "I will not dance without [lit. will only dance with] my clothes, and my clothes are with my mother-in-law. Speak with her. If she gives me my clothes, I will dance." Then the people went to the old woman and spoke with her.
- 10 She said, "No way. I am afraid that she'll run away from us. My son is crazy about her, and if she goes away and my son comes back and doesn't find her, he will die." The people said to her, "The woman will not run away." The woman said, "No way!"
- 11 Then the ruler of the town came to her and said to her, "I am asking you to let her dance." Then she gave her permission and gave her her clothes. She danced two times, and she surpassed all the women of the town. And then she ran away.
- 12 The old woman found out about her. Then she dug a grave and buried a lamb, so that if [or: whenever] her son came, she might tell him, "Your wife died." Then after a while, the man came. He said, "So where is my wife?"
- 13 His mother said, "The woman died, and we buried her." The man sat down and wept. Then he dug up the grave and found the lamb. And he went to his mother and said, "Tell me the truth, or else I will kill myself!"
- 14 She said, "My son, the woman ran away." And she told him the whole story. The man remained sad. Then he went to the medicine man. He told him (what happened) and said, "What will lead me to her?" The medicine man said to him, "Rear three young she-camels, one white, one red [or: brown], and one black, for three years. Leave them in a pen, and give them alfalfa (lucerne). And when three years have elapsed, leave them three days without food.

14 *aǧbér*: Johnstone glossed this verb as 'be exactly of age' in the Roman ms. The Mehri text has *tām* 'be completed' in the parallel passage, which fits the context better. An H-Stem verb *aǧbér* appears twice in *JL* (s.v. *ǧbr* and *ǧwr*, with different meanings), but none of the meanings given fit the context of this story. The verb here must be connected with Arabic G-Stem *ǧabara* 'elapse, pass, go by'.

- 15 *bə-yúm eri' kálá' ekázəb ser əḥḏórót. bə-kól mənḥüm ɛ-dólíf əḥḏórót, gád ḏírš. bə-gád lə-sák ɛ-yúm ed mən tél kəta' lek əhléb, kálá's, bə-d-'əd lek sélət ɛm aǵdét. bə-kól 'ásər dḥa-l-gásərə tel ɣə təǵórbhum."*
- 16 *b-əǵéyǵ ɛšfək aǵatetəš šhalét gǵag ḏ-əl yəǵórbhum lə. bə-séf ginnú. šérék təkūn. kəni əhləb. ed mən ḏer šhalét 'ayún, dólíf a'ǵfər əḥḏórót, bə-rəkəb ḏírš.*
- 17 *b-əǵád 'ónut. ed kəl'əni kəta' leš əhléb. kəl'ás b-əǵád ed síni ɛrún, bə-šésən tet. ed zəḥám ksé aǵətš. 'órót, "ya ḥáy b-əǵí! kə het bun b-erǵ ḏ-ɛginnú?" 'ör, "kəh, íné mən ǵeyǵ a'ásərs?" 'órót, "ginní. ber ši íní."*
- 18 *aǵád. ed zəḥám tel sékən kəl'əni, ksé ḥiš skəf. ɛrḥéb beš, b-əǵsərə. axarét šxabírás ɛginní, 'ör, "íné ḥógtək bun?" kəlót heš bə-kól sé. 'ör heš ḥiš, "axér hek əl-dór. dḥa-yə(l)tǵǵk a'él ɛ-tét."*
- 19 *'ör, "ábdan. dḥa-l-ašól." 'ör, "mor. əl ši hek ḥilt lə ar ɛsfét ḏínu. her muthánək, kálás 'ak šót, bə-hé dḥa-l-zḥómk." ed k-ḥásəf aǵád. bə-héš 'ásər tṛoh.*
- 20 *kəl 'ásər yənúfš əl-ḥiš, yózməš kə-tát sfet. ed a'ásər erbə'ót, zəḥám kəl'əni bə-téréf ɛ-səkən ɛ-tét. kūn.*
- 21 *ed síni tíš bahšés, aǵád ed zəḥiš. 'órót heš, "kə het bun? dḥa-yə(l)tǵǵk a'éli. b-axér hek əl-dór, d-'əd əl dé síník." 'ör, "ábdan. əl ədūrən lə ar biš." axarét kéréts mən munús əm-mún xátíks. b-əǵadót ed zəḥöt tel is.*
- 22 *'órót, "ɛ i, he kisk sé bə-fírəkək 'ar ɛrsót yəǵōḥ tə təš. b-əḏtól heš 'ar ɛrsót." 'ör, "mor, he ɛḏəbəlútš, bélé šiš aǵéyǵ ɛ-ǵīš 'ónut." 'órót, "mor, ḏen še!"*
- 23 *'ör heš ɛginní, "h-íné zəḥámk tūn?" 'ör, "ser tėti." 'ör heš ɛginní, "ɛdór, bə-fló dḥa-nə(l)tǵǵk." 'ör, "ábdan. ar bə-fló təlótəǵ tə bə-fló tózəm tə tėti."*

16 *ginnú*: The Roman ms has *ginnún* here and in lines 17 and 25, but the Arabic ms and the audio have *ginnú*. *JL* (s.v. *gnn*) gives the plural *ginnó* (cf. also 18:11). The Mehri plural form does have a final *-n* (*gənnawni*).

- 15 And on the fourth day, leave the alfalfa behind the pen. And whichever of them jumps the pen, go on it. And go towards [or: by the rays of] the sun, until wherever the camel gets tired on you. Leave it, and you still have three days' walk. And each night you'll spend the night with people you know."
- 16 And the man had married off his three sisters to men that he didn't know. It so happened that they were jinns. He did thus (as the medicine man said). He reared the young she-camels. And then after three years, the red [or: brown] one jumped the pen, and he rode on it.
- 17 And he went for a year. Then, one evening, the camel got tired on him. He left it and went until he saw (some) goats, and with them was a woman. When he approached, he found that it was his sister. She said, "Welcome, my brother! Why are you here in the land of the jinns?" He said, "Why, what kind of man is your husband?" She said, "A jinn. I already have children."
- 18 He went on. When he came to the settlement in the evening, he found his brother-in-law sitting. He welcomed him, and they passed the evening. Then the jinn asked him, he said, "What is your business here?" He told him everything. His brother-in-law said to him, "It's better for you to go back. The woman's family will kill you."
- 19 He said, "No way, I will go there." He said, "Ok. I have no trick for you except this hair. If you get in trouble, put it into the fire, and I will come to you." Then in the morning, he went. And he had two (more) nights.
- 20 Each night he came to a brother-in-law of his, and each one gave him a hair. On the fourth night, he came in the evening to the edge of the woman's settlement. He hid.
- 21 Then when he saw his wife by herself, he went up to her. She said to him, "Why are you here? My family will kill you. It's better for you to go back, before anyone has seen you." He said, "No way. I won't go back without [lit. except with] you." Then she hid him between her and her dress. And she went until she came to her father.
- 22 She said, "Father, I found something, and I am afraid the boys will take it from me. Protect it from the boys!" He said, "Ok, I will be its protector, even if you have the man who took you for a year." She said, "Ok, it's him!"
- 23 The jinn said to him, "Why have you come to us?" He said, "For [lit. after] my wife." The jinn said to him, "Go back, or else we'll kill you." He said, "No way. Either you'll kill me or give me my wife."

- 24 *axarét eginní 'ör, "dḥa-nzémk sért: her šənsóbk xəhr ḏókūn d-ʿəd əl əngəhót, bə-hér šóʿak ḥār ḏíkūn bə-ḏírk finzún ḏə-ḥálh b-əl ḏəʿár lə, bə-hér shek soʿtét gəmilh, dḥa-nzémk tétk. bə-hér əl šerókək tšohūn lə, dḥa-nə(l)tágək." 'ör agéyg, "mor, fələkən šbər li ɛd k-ḥáʃaf."*
- 25 *'ör, "mor." ɛd ǰasré, ebká' sɔfʿak sōt, bə-zḥāš eginnú ḥīšš, bə-šēd. ʔat yəšénsəb xəhr, bə-ʔat yórfá' ḥār bə-ḥálh, bə-ʔat yəshól egmilh.*
- 26 *ɛd k-ḥáʃaf égaḥ ʿak agéyg bə-šənsəb xəhr, bə-réfa' ḥār bə-ḥálh, bə-shél egmilh. bə-zūš tetš b-ɛdūr šɛ bə-sé ḥallétš. bə-təmmút.*

Text 31 (no M): A Rainy Day in England

- 1 *yum ʔit agádək mənzel ʔat, b-agádək əl-xáfi. b-erz əl ráhək lə. ɛd éʃələk lókūn, kisk yə mékən mən erz kelš.*
- 2 *skɔfk šīn ḏ-əštīʿan əl-yó ḏə-yəhórg. axarét zəḥōt ősé. mənḥúm ḏ-əl šes xōi lə flét ʿar ősé, bə-ḏə-šes xōi skɔfʿak ɛnzél ḏókūn.*
- 3 *he kunk kə-ḏ-əl sóhum xōi lə. b-agádək ɛd mənzel ʔat ḏə-yftéregən yə.*
- 4 *axarét šink yə mékən bə-ḥúshum ɛšxár ḏə-yəbgéd fáxrə. šóhum ʿáskər. əl ɛdʿak íné kun lə.*

Text 30

- 24 *ḥalh*: The word *ḥalh* 'oil' is transcribed in *JL* (s.v. *ḥll*) as *ḥahl*, in the Roman ms of this text as *ḥa^{lh}*, and in the Arabic ms as *حله*. In one of Johnstone's vocab lists (Box 15E), he transcribed *ḥa^l*. On the audio, here and in the following lines, it sounds like *ḥah*, with an audible final *h* and no audible *l*. This is an extreme case of devoicing of a final liquid or nasal. In the word *gəmilh*, however, which occurs in this same line, the *-l* is slightly audible.

Text 31

- 1 *lókūn*: The Arabic ms has *الوكوهن*, suggesting *elókūn*, and the word-list accompanying this text includes *elókū^m* 'there'. The audio, however, has just *lókūn*. *JL* includes both *elókun* (s.v. *'lkn*) and *lókun* (s.v. *lkn*). See § 10.1 on the variety of forms for 'there'. The same discrepancy between the Arabic ms and the audio occurs with this word in 36:18.

- 24 Then the jinn said, "We'll give you a deal: If you drink up that lagoon before dawn comes, and if you run up that mountain with a cup of oil on you and it doesn't spill, and if you eat up [lit. finish] three camels, we'll give you the woman. But if you don't do thus, we'll kill you." The man said, "Ok, but wait for me until the morning."
- 25 He said, "Ok." In the night, he put the hairs in the fire, and the jinns, his brothers-in-law, came to him and divided the tasks. One would drink up the lagoon, one would climb the mountain with the oil, and one would eat up the camels.
- 26 Then in the morning, they went inside the man, and he drank up the lagoon, climbed the mountain with the oil, and ate up the camels. And they gave him his wife, and he and she returned to his town. And it is finished.

Translation of Text 31

- 1 One day I went to a house, and I went by foot. The place was not far. When I arrived there, I found many people from the whole country.
- 2 I stayed a little while listening to the people speaking. Then the rain came, and some who did not have umbrellas fled from the rain, and those that had umbrellas stayed in that place.
- 3 I was with those that did not have umbrellas. And I went to a house watching people.
- 4 Then I saw many people, and most of them were old men going together. They had policemen [or: soldiers] with them and I didn't know what had happened.

2 *xōi*: *JL* (s.v. *xym*) gives the singular *xūyét* 'umbrella', plural *xōm* or *xēm*. The audio clearly has *xōi*, as does the Arabic ms. In an unpublished word-list (Box 15C), Johnstone gives the EJ form *xōt*, plural *xōi*. The Roman ms has the singular form *xūyét* for all three occurrences in this story.

- 5 *fələkən ʔk ʔk kəlbi, “dē ðə-xároḡ yum ðíkūn.” b-edūrək sáʔa xīš bə-fəḵḵ
ūt bə-d-ʔk ðə-təlīk ēnzəl ēnfi.*

Text 32 (no M): A Conversation

- 1 A: “šókum məkən érún?”
2 B: “Ēhē. he ši mut trut, b-ēbrīti šes xamsín, bə-tīti šes stín, b-ēr-dídi šeš
šhəlét mūn. bə-ðə-xalót len səkən šharó, šóhum érún məkən, dḡa-tkénən
šóhum xīš mūn, šum b-aʔélšhum.”
3 A: “ber aḡ(y)ég sé mən érunókum?”
4 B: “Ēhē. ber aḡ(y)ég mənsēn, bə-šésən məðkór. mənsēn d-ʔd ɔl aḡ(y)ég
l. d-ʔd lésən ɔrx taḷ. dḡa-yékən aḡégsən b-ɔrx aḡsiyér.”
5 A: “dḡa-l-órfaʔ səkənkum háðé?”
6 B: “Ēhē. ɔl késén əḡód l būn.”
7 A: “kəh, ɔl sé mosé l?”
8 B: “mosé əntéf. bə-ʔr hēn bə-kəbəlét mosé məkən, bə-thúmk tun
dḡa-nənsé, nḡa b-aʔisórén, her tīti kunút bə-xár.”
9 A: “kəh, mit šfəḵək?”
10 B: “šfəḵək b-ɔrx ɛ-térəf. kəh, het hútūn? ɔl b-erz het l?”

Text 31

- 5 *təlīk*: This is the 1cs perfect of the H-Stem verb (*ε*)*tlé*. This verb is not listed in *JL*, but Johnstone included it in the word-list attached to the manuscript of this text, with the principal parts *tələ/ð-itólə/yétləʔ*, and the gloss ‘be sorry’. In two other word-lists that go with this text (one attached to text 28, and one from Box 5A), he gives the principle parts *etələ, itólə, yetləʔ*. In the Roman ms, he also added the gloss ‘I was sorry’. *ML* (s.v. *tlt* [sic!]) includes the EJ form *etlé* (but *etlé* on p. 581), and indicates that the verb is absent in CJ. The Mehri cognate (*tlū*) is glossed ‘regret, be sorry, repent’. Jibbali *etlé* is also listed in *HL* (s.v. *tlw*).

Text 32

- 4 *aḡsiyér*: Johnstone added a note in the Roman ms, “month before Ramadan”. He transcribed it *agšiyér* in the Roman ms, but the Arabic ms has *aḡsiyér* (اقصير). My informants confirm that this is indeed the Jibbali word for Arabic *Šaʔbān*, the month before *Ramaḡān* in the Muslim calendar. The Jibbali month name, which is not listed

- 5 But I thought [lit. said in my heart], "Somebody has died this day." I returned to the house at 5:30, and I was sorry about (leaving) the first place.

Translation of Text 32

- 1 A: "Do you have many goats?"
 2 B: "Yes. I have two hundred, my daughter has fifty, my wife has sixty, and my cousin has three hundred. And a community of Shaḥri has joined up with us. They have many goats, perhaps five hundred, them and their families."
 3 A: "Have any of your goats given birth already?"
 4 B: "Yes. Some of them have already given birth, and they have young (male) kids. Some of them have not yet given birth. They still have one month (to go). Their birthing will be in the month before Ramadan."
 5 A: "Will you move your community up?"
 6 B: "Yes. We haven't found any pasturage here."
 7 A: "Why, isn't there any rain?"
 8 B: "The rain has dripped. It was told to us that in the west there is a lot of rain, and I think we will move (there), us and our companions, if my wife is ok."
 9 A: "Why, when did you get married?"
 10 B: "I got married last month [lit. the month that led in]. Why where have you been? Haven't you been in the country?"

in *JL* (but cf. *ML*, s.v. *ḵṣr*, and *HV*, p. 263), is not much used today, except by older speakers. Some other Jibbali month names are *fəṭəri énfí* (Arabic *Šawwāl*), *fəṭəri áxəri* (Arabic *Đu l-Qa'da*), and *žahér* (Arabic *Đu l-Hijja*). Al-Shahri (2000: 148, ٧٤٤) includes a list of the month names, though with Western (Georgian) and Levantine Arab, rather than Islamic, counterparts. So, for example, he says that *aḵšiyér* corresponds to January/*Kānūn aṭ-ṭāni*. Watson (2012: 56) includes the Mehri month names, which are very close to the Jibbali ones.

- 8 *əntéf*: This looks to be an H-Stem perfect, in which case it should have a transitive meaning, something like '(the rain) has dropped a little water (on the ground)'. The form could also be a G passive, though since the G-Stem is intransitive, this seems unlikely.

- 11 A: "lob, he b-erž, ar ɔl dé kɔlɔ́t hini bə-šfɔ́ktak l. kɔh, kun mən munúkum 'ágób, het bə-sé?"
- 12 B: "mən d-ɔk níśán ber ekélbi bes."
- 13 A: "iné kéla' lek kéléb?"
- 14 B: "kéla' li mut trut bə-xamsín kə́rɔ́š, bə-śśar erún, bə-geńbít, əm-məńdík sektún. kéla' li erbə'ót derébzən ðə-éřar, b-órba' kurj ðə-ték, b-órba' kurj ðə-kémkəm. kéla' li śhalét kurj ðə-fét." təmmút.

Text 33 (= M63): A Visit with Some Jinn

- 1 xařarét ġeyg ðə-yağélk her yíts ð-ənzɔ́'ót. b-ağád. bér heš 'ářar troh mən ġér kít.
- 2 ed kɔl'eni keb 'ak śa'b, bə-śini yel. yəkɔl yɔ. śefiyél ðə-səbrɔ́.
- 3 skɔf ðə-yağkózən l-iyél la-hün dħa-l-éblən. axarét śinisən eblé d-ħákel 'ak śa'b.
- 4 b-ağád ed zəhám tel tet təkún. 'örót, "ya háy bek, fálékən nəhá yɔ səbrɔ́. bə-hét iné mən ġeyg?" 'ör, "he ġeyg ensí, bə-ð-əğélk her yat ð-ənzɔ́'ót her erž ðénu. bér hini 'ářar troh mən ġér kít."
- 5 'örót tet, "mor, het ɔl tařrɔ́k l. bə-hé dħa-l-ékərk nxín fidét. bə-dék ɔl tənħárk.

Text 32

- 14 əm-məńdík: Although Ali wrote *bə-məńdík*, on the audio he read *əm-məńdík*.
- 14 *kurj*: Johnstone glossed this in the Roman ms as 'score'. I did not find the word in *JL*. My informants did not know this word either, but one did know a word *kurz* (also attested Arabic), which can be used today to mean 'case', as in 'a case of cigarettes'. This is likely the word intended here (though the Arabic ms and audio clearly have *kurj*).
- 14 *kémkəm*: *JL* and *ML* (s.v. *kmkm*) list only the plural form *kəmkúm* (sg. *kəmkém*). This same plural form *kémkəm* is also used (by a different speaker) in Tj2:33.

Text 33

- 3 *d-ħákel*: In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss 'inside', which is the meaning informants give for this word (see also 17:7). In *JL* (s.v. *ħkl*), there is only the meaning 'north'. The word for 'north' according to

- 11 A: "Yes, I've been in the country, only no one told me about your marriage. Why, was there love between you, you and her?"
- 12 B: "Already since I was little, my heart was hers [or: she already had my heart]."
- 13 A: "What did the bride-price leave you?"
- 14 B: "It left me two hundred and fifty dollars, ten goats, a dagger, and a .22 rifle. It left me four dozen bottles of perfume, four score indigo-dyed cloths, and four score head-cloths. And it left me three score waist-cloths." It is finished.

Translation of Text 33

- 1 Once a man was looking for his camel that had strayed. And he went. He was already without food for two nights.
- 2 Then in the evening, he went down into a valley, and he saw some camels. He thought (they were) people, but it so happened that (they were) the camels of ghosts.
- 3 He sat watching where the camels would head to. Then he saw them head north [or: inside] into a valley.
- 4 And he went until he came to a woman who was nursing. She said, "Welcome to you, but we are ghosts. What kind of man are you?" He said, "I'm a human man, and I'm looking for a camel that has strayed into this land. I have already been without food for two nights."
- 5 The woman said, "Ok, don't be afraid. I will hide you under the cradle, but be sure not to move."

Nakano (1986:138) and Al-Shahri (2000:160) is *fégər*, which stems from the fact that this is also used for the name of the Najd region; 'south' is *rémnəm*, which literally means 'sea'. It seems that *d-ḥáḳél* is not the usual word for 'north', but can have this meaning (cf. also Hobyot *ḥáḳlā* 'north'; *HV*, p. 253). There are multiple words for each of the cardinal directions, some of which are due to dialectal variation.

- 4 *yət*: The Roman ms and audio have *yət* 'a camel', but the Arabic ms has *eyáti* 'my camel'.
- 5 *tənḥárk*: This appears to be an N-Stem of *ḥrk*; see *JL* (s.v. *ḥrk*). It is extremely unusual to find an N-Stem of a trilateral root. This root does occur in Arabic with a similar meaning, but not in the N-Stem (Form VII). See the end of § 6.6.2.

- 6 *bə-ḥás* ε-γ₀ *zəḥám*, *dḥa-yaṭlǝǝ* εγ₀tk. *bə-ḥét* šišét *lóhum*. *bə-nḥá* ɔl-‘ód *naṣōḥ* l₀ *būn*, *fálékən* *ḵəréré* *k-ḥásaf* *dḥa-təksé* *ḵálo* *ḏə-núsəb* *tǝlák*.
- 7 *šɔxf* *bə-ḥás* ε-*xlék* *ekálo*, *dḥa-təsné* *yaǝrəb* *troh*. *ərdé* *lóhum* *b-ekálo* *bə-ǝád*.”
- 8 ‘*ör* *aǝéyǝ*, “*mor*.” *skɔf*. *ed* *zəḥám* γ₀, *šəḵərə* *nxín* *fidét*. *bə-skóf*γ₀. *axarét* ‘*ör* γ₀, “*ḏé*’ *ḏ-ensí!*”
- 9 ‘*ör*t *tet*, “*he* *kál’eni* *kisk* *səṭərə* *b-egdarét*, *bə-thúmk* *təš* *ḏ-ensí*.”
- 10 *axarét* *ḵoršót* *ebrés* *ed* *béké*. ‘*ör* *tš*, “*ko* *še* *embére*’ *ḏə-γōk?*” ‘*ör*t *tet*, “*télf*, *ḥaléb* *heš*.”
- 11 *ḥalób* *heš* γ₀t, *bə-zūm* *tet*, *bə-tét* *zūtš* *aǝéyǝ* *ḏə-nxín* *fidét*.
- 12 *axarét* *kótləṭ* γ₀. ‘*ör* *taṭ* *mənhúm*, “*kál’eni* *símk* *yaṭ* *ensēt* ‘*aḵ* *sá*’*b* *ḏínu* *mən* *mésá*.”
- 13 ‘*ör*t *tet*, “*mor*, *bə-xár?* *axér* *ar* *iyélén?*”
- 14 ‘*ör*, “*ēhē*, *berót* *dḥa-l-éšḵəṭ*.” *axarét* *tet* *ḵoršót* *aǝéyǝ*. ‘*ör*t, “*šā*’*ak?*” ‘*ör* *aǝéyǝ*, “*šā*’*ak*.”
- 15 *b-aǝsərə*. *ed* *k-ḥásaf* ‘*es* *aǝéyǝ*, *b-ɔl-‘ód* *síni* *dé* l₀ *tǝláš*. *b-ešbáḥ* *tǝláš* *núsəb*.
- 16 *šɔxf* *ed* *sé*’. *síni* *yaǝrəb* *troh*, *bə-rdé* *lóhum* *bə-ḵálo*.
- 17 *b-aǝád* *ed* *ksé* *yítš* *ḏə-šəḵtót*. *bə-šéš* *mahléb*. *b-aǝád* *γ₀l* *sékənəš*. *bə-təmmút*.

Text 34 (= M59, with some variation and additions): A Miscommunication

- 1 *xatarét* *ǝeyǝ* *aǝád* *mən* *erž* ε-*žǝfǝl*, ‘*agəb* *γ₀l* *erž* *ḏ-ēhəró*. *bə-šé* *mehri*, *fálékən* *šəḵəni* *bə-žǝfǝl* *bə-d-‘ód* *ɔl* *yaḵǝǝd* *erž* *ḏ-ēhəró* l₀.

Text 33

- 6 *ḵálo*: *JL* (s.v. *k’lw*) gives the form of this word as *ḵa’ló*. There is no ‘ transcribed in either the Roman or Arabic ms of this text, nor is an ‘ heard on the audio. This loss of ‘ may be a Mehrism.
- 7 *yaǝrəb*: According to *JL* (s.v. *ǝrb*) and *ML* (s.v. *yǝrb*) the EJ and CJ word for ‘raven’ is *aǝrəb*, while the Mehri form is *yaǝrəb*. This would thus be a Mehri form. In one of the mss to text 48 (= M99), Johnstone corrected *yaǝrəb* to *aǝrəb*. The form *aǝrəb* is also found in text T11.

- 6 And when the people come, they will mention your camel. And you, listen to them. We will no longer be here in the morning, but tomorrow morning you'll find a bucket of milk by you.
- 7 Drink, and when you finish [lit. empty] the bucket, you'll see two ravens. Throw the bucket at them and go."
- 8 The man said, "Ok." He sat. When the people came, he hid himself under the cradle. And the people sat down. Then the people said, "Scent of a human!"
- 9 The woman said, "This evening I found a rag on the ground, and I think it was a human's."
- 10 Then she pinched her son until he cried. His father said, "Why is the boy crying?" The woman said, "He's hungry, milk for him."
- 11 He milked a camel for him, and he gave (it) to the woman. And the woman gave it to the man who was under the cradle.
- 12 Then the people chatted. One of them said, "This evening I saw a human camel in this valley to the south."
- 13 The woman said, "Ok, is it well? Better than our camels?"
- 14 He said, "Yes, it is about to give birth." Then the woman pinched the man. She said, "Did you hear?" The man said, "I heard."
- 15 And they spent the night. Then in the morning, the man got up, and he didn't see anyone by him anymore. And there was milk by him.
- 16 He drank until he was satisfied. He saw two ravens, and he threw the bucket at them.
- 17 And he went until he found his camel that had given birth. He had a camel calf. And he went to his settlement. It is finished.

Translation of Text 34

- 1 Once a man went from the region of Dhofar, heading towards the land of the Mehri. He was Mehri, but he was brought up in Dhofar and had not yet gone to the land of the Mehri.

11 *yət*: The Roman ms has *iyš* 'his father' (better *išš*), while the Arabic ms and audio have *yət* (بيت) 'a camel'. Both words fit the context, and whichever word is missing is obviously implied anyway.

- 2 *b-āgād ed eṣal ḥallét tīt ḏ-ēhəro. égaḥ but bə-ksé teṭ. ērḥōt beš. axarét ‘aśśót bə-šərkót heš qahwét bə-zūtš.*
- 3 *bə-‘ōrót heš, “nāsanu ērqaḥ bə-hé dḥa-l-šérk fšo’.”*
- 4 *‘ōr agéyg, “mor.” b-agéyg ɔl šḥabélás l. ḏínú ēḥalét tel ēhəro e-žǝfǝl, a‘anéš ‘erótəb ka‘éb’ bə-flǝ ‘enuḏǝf ēnzél’.*
- 5 *ḥaš e-tét aḡadót, ḥōl ka‘éb b-eritióhum.*
- 6 *axarét zəḥōt teṭ bə-kséts ḏə-yərútbən ka‘éb. ‘ōrót teṭ, “aḡí, kə het tǝkūn?”*
- 7 *‘ōr agéyg, “hit ‘ōrš hini, ‘ērqaḥ’ bə-hé ērqaḥk.”*
- 8 *‘ōrót teṭ, “he ɔl a‘anéi her ka‘éb l. a‘anéi l-ērqaḥ eḡahwét.” ‘ōr agéyg, “mor.”*
- 9 *b-āḡadót teṭ yɔl ēṭbax. bə-ḥaš aḡadót teṭ yɔl ēṭbax, ḥōl eḡahwét bə-kél‘ás xunt mən aḡərfét. bə-skǝf ḏə-yəftəkérən bə-tét. bə-yə‘ōr ‘ak xátəraš, “he ḡeyg ma‘ōrt, bə-kǝl‘ót tɔ al-xédəm hes ka‘ūs.” d-‘ɔd ḏə-yəftəkérən, zəḥōt tét bə-‘ōrót, “aḡí, bek ērqaḥək eḡahwét?”*
- 10 *‘ōr agéyg, “ēhē. bek ḥōk təs xunt.” axarét ‘aśśót teṭ bə-ksét eḡahwét. ɔl dé nísəz mes sé l. ‘ōrót teṭ, “aḡí, d-‘ɔk ‘ak bə-ḡahwét?” ‘ōr agéyg, “ēhē.” ‘ōrót, “kə het sink énfēt?” ‘ōr agéyg, “hit ‘ōrš hini, ‘ērqaḥ’ bə-hé ērqaḥk, b-ɔl nísək l.”*
- 11 *axarét zəḥedót attét ḏə-šé agéyg ɔl šḥabél aḡarós l. bə-‘ōrót teṭ her eḡéyg, “het əthúmk tək ɔl šḥabólk tɔ l. íné tə‘ōr tūm her eḡahwét?”*
- 12 *‘ōr agéyg, “nḥa tǝlén b-aḡaró ēhrí ‘nsoz’, b-aḡaró ešḥerí ‘nsoz’.”*
- 13 *axarét teṭ ‘ōrót her agéyg, “aḡí, smah li. nḥa tǝlén b-aḡaró ēhrí ‘amárqaḥ’.”*
- 14 *axarét šḥém ṭattóhum bə-ḡəḥéb agéyg tel yɔ. bə-šəsfé b‘él ḥallét mən eḡəssét ḏínú, bə-kunút tǝlɔhum fərgét. bə-təmmút.*

10 *śink*: This is the 2ms perfect of *śini* ‘see’. In his notes to this text, Johnstone gives the additional meaning ‘refuse a thing and then want it’, a meaning not listed in *JL*.

12 *nsoz*: Jibbali *nísəz* ‘drink/sip something hot’ has a cognate in Mehri *nísəz*. Strangely, this is not the word used in the Mehri version of this story (see Mehri text 59:14).

- 2 And he went until he reached a certain town of the Mehri. He entered a house and found a woman. She welcomed him. Then she got up and made coffee for him, and gave (it) to him.
- 3 And she said to him, "Now drink up (*ērkaḥ*), and I'll make lunch."
- 4 The man said, "Ok." But the man didn't understand her. This word among the Mehri of Dhofar, its meaning is 'clean things' or 'tidy up the place'.
- 5 When the woman went out, he picked things up and cleaned them up.
- 6 Then the woman came and found him cleaning things. The woman said, "Brother, why are you (doing) thus?"
- 7 The man said, "You said to me, 'clean up' (*ērkaḥ*), so I cleaned up."
- 8 The woman said, "I didn't mean the things. I meant drink up (*ērkaḥ*) the coffee." The man said, "Ok."
- 9 And the woman went to the kitchen. And when she went to the kitchen, he picked up the coffee and put it outside of the room. And he sat thinking about the woman. He said to himself, "I am a guest, and she left me to work on her things for her." While he was thinking, the woman came and said, "Brother, have you drunk up (*ērkaḥək*) the coffee already?"
- 10 The man said, "Yes. I already put it outside." Then she got up and found the coffee. No one had drunk anything from it. The woman said, "Brother, do you still want coffee?" The man said, "Yes." She said, "Why did you refuse the first one [or: refuse first]?" The man said, "You told me 'clean up' (*ērkaḥ*), and (so) I didn't drink."
- 11 Then the woman realized that the man didn't understand her language. And the woman told the man, "You, I think maybe you didn't understand me. What (word) do *you* say for (drinking) coffee?"
- 12 The man said, "Us, in our Mehri language, *nsoz* ('drink up [s.t. hot]'). And in the Shaḥri language, *nsoz*."
- 13 Then the woman said to the man, "Brother, forgive me. Us, in our Mehri language, (we say) *amárkaḥ*."
- 14 Then they understood each other, and the man spent the day with the people. And the townsfolk found out about this story, and it became a joke among them. And it is finished.

Text 35 (no M): Ice

- 1 *xaxarét geyg ber a'ámḵ e'ómraš k-iyél b-éržan. b-ɔl sé míh kéréb lɔ. axarét ber əð-xēt.*
- 2 *d-ɔd laťóḵūn, síni sayéra, bə-ʿamḵás əkfór. axarét wōḵəf sayéra bə-ṭilióhum míh.*
- 3 *ōšar b-yídaš. axarét zahédš ḏə-šé ʿágəb míh, bə-šūm ɔl šóhum míh lɔ. šóhum tɛlg.*
- 4 *zūš əlhín dḥa-yəsenúds, bə-šé ɔl yəgórəb tɛlg lɔ. yəḵól kíť. ḥíláš ʿaḵ xarḵétš b-aǵád ed nxín hérúm. skɔf.*
- 5 *bə-ḥöl meš xérín bə-ḵél'ás ʿaḵ xɔš. axarét ḥes b-ežél ʿaḵ šnúnéš. tfiláš bə-rde bə-tɛlg bə-flét.*
- 6 *ed zahám tel sékənaš ḏə-yší, ʿör heš yɔ, “kɔ het?” ʿör, “he kisk kfór, bə-zü-tɔ sēhm miť-íné. bə-hé ṭɔlɔbk tóhum míh bə-šūm zü-tɔ sé lün ta'mírən sker. bə-žél-žél aǵád yéxənt šnúní.”*
- 7 *axarét ebréš ǵarób ḏə-šé tɛlg. ʿör heš, “e be, ḏóḵūn tɛlg, bə-hér kél'ak tɔš ʿaḵ šəhálét, yəmtése' bə-yəḵín míh. éðmər tɔ beš.”*
- 8 *ʿör, “h-íné?” ʿör ebréš, “aḵ l-əštík.” b-aǵád əmbére' gúzúm šáxar, “her aǵádk yɔl sēhm ḏóḵūn, ar dḥa-l-ó(l)tǵəḵ. her ber dḥa-yə(l)tǵəḵ əkfór, ʿak hé l-ó(l)tǵəḵ.”*

-
- 1 *a'ámḵ*: Hofstede (1998: 189) parses this as *ε-ʿamḵ*, with the relative pronoun *ε*-. I see instead a definite article (here realized closer to *a*- because of the following *ʿa*). It is uncertain what Johnstone believed, though in the Roman ms he transcribed *ε'amḵ*, with no hyphen or space after the *ε*.
 - 2 *wōḵəf*: We expect *ōḵəf* here, as in *JL* (s.v. *wḵf*), with loss of the initial *w* (see §2.1.5 and §7.4.3). Perhaps the *w* is pronounced here under the influence of Arabic *waqqafa*. Or perhaps it is simply a variant pronunciation (cf. also the comment on *wudún* in 4:1).
 - 6 *yší'*: This is the 3ms imperfect of the verb *ša'ē* 'run'. *JL* (s.v. *š'y*) gives the imperfect as *yšó'*. My WJ informant (FB) also used *yšó'*, while the CJ informant I asked (AK) used *yší'* (much to the former's surprise). So the form in the text (used also in 54:2) is clearly one possible imperfect, while that in *JL* is another. This is one of several cases where one of my CJ informants produced a form that matches Ali Musallam (an EJ speaker), rather than the CJ form cited in *JL*.

Translation of Text 35

- 1 Once a middle-aged man [lit. a man in the middle of his age] was with the camels in our land. And there was not any water nearby. Then he became thirsty.
- 2 While he was still this way, he saw a car, and there were foreigners in it. Then he stopped the car and asked them for water.
- 3 He pointed with his hand. Then they understood him that he wanted water, but they did not have water. They had ice.
- 4 They gave him what would be enough for him, but he did not know ice. He thought (it was) food. He put it in his robe and went under a tree. He sat down.
- 5 And he took a little of it and put it in his mouth. Then he felt the cold in his teeth. He spat it out, threw away the ice and ran away.
- 6 When he came to his community running, people said to him, "What's with you?" He said, "I found some foreigners, and they gave me some kind of poison. I asked them for water and they gave me something white like sugar. And the coooold coldness almost took out my teeth!"
- 7 Then his son knew that it was ice. He said to him, "Father, that is ice and if you leave it in a bowl, it will melt, and it will be water. Show it to me."
- 8 He said, "For what?" His son said, "I want to drink (it)." And the boy went. The old man swore, "If you go to that poison, I will kill you. Before the foreigners will kill you, I want to kill you."

-
- 6 *žēl-žēl*: This is read on the audio with exaggerated length on the first word, and with an intonation matching the description of the feeling.
 - 7 *éðmər*: This is the H-Stem imperative, which appears in both mss. On the audio, Ali mistakenly read the G-Stem imperative *ðmər*, which can have the same meaning.

- 9 *axarét gélbásš ebréš ed kél'ásš, b-aǵád. ed zəhám, ksé xérin d-ʿəd ɔl mússi l, bə-šúši. bə-təmmút.*

Text 36 (= M48 = Jahn 1902, pp. 7–14): The Ruler's Daughter

- 1 *xatarét hókum bə-ħallét šfək bə-tét, bə-zhám mes b-əmbére' bə-ǵabǵót. hes ber ēta, xargót émehum.*
- 2 *axarét hókum b-əbréš aǵád ħagg. bə-ʿör her aǵabǵót, “ɔl (t)šixənt l. bə-hé dħa-l-ómrað séra' kəl gəmə'át yəzhómkən bə-ķít, hit b-ižírúts.” ʿörót aǵabǵót, “mor.” meróð hókum séra', bə-šé b-əbréš sför ħagg.*
- 3 *ed yum ε-gəmə'át zəhám séra'. šeš mahfēr 'amkásš té' bə-ķít. bə-héķ mən nxín hēsən. bəttərot leš ižírét. ʿör, “ehbí li bə-ķúd,” b-ehbét leš bə-ķúd. bə-ħtəl āhfēr bə-šé skɔf 'amkásš.*
- 4 *axarét ižírét ksét eķúd tékíl. heķót her ā'alíts, ʿörót, “alhík li, ɔl əķódər l-eķúd l.” axarét bóttər bə-síni séra' 'aķ āhfēr. axarét ħöl skin bə-ķéta' beš eķúd.*
- 5 *bə-hē séra' bə-šəthér fətx. b-aǵád ed éşal ütš. ʿör heš yə, “íné bek?” ʿör, “hək mən ðér kərah.”*
- 6 *šəmréz. ed kun bə-xár, aǵád yəl šxarét. ʿör, “dħa-l-zémš xamsín kərəsš bə-təzhī-tə b-əbrít ðə-sutún.” ʿörót, “mor, yum ε-gəmə'át dħa-l-əzhóm bes.”*

Text 35

- 9 *gélbásš*: In the Arabic ms this is written as two words, *عيل بيش*, as if it were a verb *gel* plus an indirect object *beš*. However, in his notes to this text, Johnstone gives the meaning 'talk s.o. over' for the verb *gəlbəb*. The audio, with clear stress on *-básš*, also suggests *gélbásš*. In *JL*, this verb is only given the meaning 'refuse'. For an example of *gel b-* 'keep s.o. occupied', see 60:14 and the comment to that line.
- 9 *mussi*: *JL* has *mutsi* (s.v. *msy*), but the mss have *mussi*, as does the audio. This is the T1-Stem of the root *msy*. See further in § 6.5.3.

Text 36

- 4 *əlhík*: The Mehri cognate of the Jibbali verb *l(a)ħak* (Mehri *ləħāk l-*) can mean either 'catch up with, overtake' or 'help', according to *ML* (s.v. *lhk*). The meaning 'help' is not listed for this verb in *JL* (s.v. *lhk*), and, in fact, the entry for this verb in *ML* explicitly says that this verb does

- 9 Then his son talked him round until he let him (go). And he went. When he came, he found a little that had not yet melted, and he drank it. And it is finished.

Translation of Text 36

- 1 Once a ruler in town married a woman, and had with her a boy and a girl. When they were grown [lit. already big], their mother died.
- 2 Then the ruler and his son went on the Hajj. And he said to the girl, "Do not go out. I will instruct the judge to come to you every Friday with food, you and your maid." The girl said, "Ok." The ruler instructed the judge, and he and his son went on the Hajj.
- 3 Then on Friday, the judge came. He had a basket, in which was meat and (other) food. And he called out from down below the castle. The maid looked down at him. He said, "Let down a rope for me," and she let down a rope for him. And he tied on the basket, and he was sitting in it.
- 4 Then the maid found the rope heavy. She called to her mistress, she said, "Help me, I can't manage the rope." Then they looked down and saw the judge in the basket. Then they got a knife and cut the rope with it.
- 5 And the judge fell and got a head-wound. And he went until he got to his house. People said to him, "What's (the matter) with you?" He said, "I fell off a donkey."
- 6 He fell ill. Then when he was well, he went to an old woman. He said, "I will give you fifty dollars for you to bring me the Sultan's daughter." She said, "Ok, on Friday I'll bring her."

not mean 'help' in CJ. So its use here to mean 'help' reflects either an EJ usage or a Mehrism (cf. also Hobyot *lhāk l-* 'help'; *HV*, p. 147). The same verb is used in both Mehri versions of the story (Johnstone text 48:3; Jahn 1902: 8, line 10). The meaning 'help' is found also in Jibbali text 50:9. In 22:5, the meaning seems to be 'hurry' or 'run'.

- 6 *bə-təzħī-tə*: I understand *bə-* here as the preposition *b-*, in its meaning 'in exchange for', here being used to indicate a purpose clause (§13.5.2.5). It is possible, however, that this is simply the conjunction *b-* 'and', in which case the sentence can be translated 'I will give you fifty dollars, and you should bring me...'

- 7 *axarét aǰadót ešxarét ed zəḥōt tel ebrít ḏə-suṭún. ʾōrót ešxarét, “hit ebrít ḏ-eǰāti, b-ɔl təzḥī-tə l. bə-hé ši ebríti, ‘agiót təsnés.” ʾōrót aǰabǰót, “mor, dḥa-l-əzḥomš yum e-gəm‘át.”*
- 8 *ed yum e-gəm‘át, zəḥōt aǰabǰót tel ešxarét. ʾōrót hes, “ar ebrítš húṭun?” ʾōrót, “a‘rǝrk təs suḵ. hit skij bun, bə-hé dḥa-l-ǰád l-əzḥom bes.”*
- 9 *axarét aǰadót ešxarét, bə-zḥōt tel séra‘. ʾōrót, “aǰabǰót berót ‘aḵ ūti, bə-ǰád.” aǰád séra‘ ed zəḥám tel ebrít ḏə-suṭún. bə-skǝftǝlās.*
- 10 *axarét hérǝǰ šes her yəǰád šes. ʾōrót, “mən ḏér ešǝlót e-ḏǝḥor dḥa-l-zémk enúf. bə-ná‘šanu dḥa-l-zémk bérík təmtǝsəḥ.”*
- 11 *ḥǝlót bérík bə-sǝ‘ǝtš beš əl-kərféǝ ed səṭḥér fǝṭx. b-aǰadót yǝl ūts.*
- 12 *bə-šé aǰád yǝl ūts. šxabírš yǝ, ʾōr, “íné bek?” ʾōr, “ḥék mən ḏér gǝl.”*
- 13 *axarét ʾōr her ersót, “gmo‘ li réga‘ ḏə-ḵahwét bə-təmbéko, bə-ḏrǝrs nxín ḥésən.”*
- 14 *šérék ǝkūn ersót, bə-šé ktǝb yǝl ḥókum bə-ḥáǰǰ bə-ʾōr, “ebrítḵ ḵahbét, bə-ūtk ḵahwét.”*
- 15 *axarét ḥókum a‘rér ebrés. ʾōr, “ǰad bə-ltǰǰ eǰátḵ!” aǰád embére‘.*
- 16 *ed ešəl, ḥǝl eǰátš ḏer ḥásūn, b-aǰád bes. ed šxanít mən ḥallét ráḥəḵ, ḥfǝr ḵǝr.*
- 17 *bə-hér hē ḥási ḏer embére‘, tənúǰǰf ‘ǝš eǰátš ḥási. axarét ǰéǰən mes.*
- 18 *bə-lǝd ša‘r bə-ḥǝl eḏǝrǝš ‘aḵ lébkət. b-aǰád bə-ḵél‘ǝs lǝkūn. bə-skǝfǝt sélǝt ǝm.*
- 19 *axarét zəḥīs ebré ḏə-suṭún ǝṭṭ bə-ḥílās ed ešəl bes tel a‘élés. axarét ‘ǰǰəb bes bə-šǝḵḵ bes bə-zḥám mes bə-šǝtét ersót.*
- 20 *axarét aǰéyǰ ‘azúm yəǰád ḥǰǰ. ʾōrót, “he šek.”*
- 21 *ed yum əḏ-bér dḥa-yǰǝd, zəḥám yǝ tel a‘ásərs. bə-ʾōr her a‘áskər b-eḏá‘nəs, “tərfḥini, bə-hé dḥa-l-lḥǝḵkum.”*

13 *réga‘*: This word is missing from *JL*, but it is given in *ML* (s.v. *rg‘*) as an EJ form, meaning ‘sediment, leavings’. It also appears in the vocabulary list that accompanies Johnstone’s manuscript, with the meaning ‘dregs’.

14 *bə-ūtk*: On the audio, this is pronounced *bə-wūtk*.

18 *lǝkūn*: See the comment to 31.1.

19 *a‘élés*: Both mss have *a‘élés* ‘his family’ here, but the audio has *ḥallétš* ‘his town’.

- 7 Then the old woman went to the Sultan's daughter. The old woman said, "You are the daughter of my sister, and you don't ever come to me. I have a daughter, (and) she wants to see you." The girl said, "Ok, I'll come to you on Friday."
- 8 On Friday, the girl came to the old woman. She said to her, "So where is your daughter?" She said, "I sent her to the market. You sit here, and I'll go get her."
- 9 Then the old woman went, and came to the judge. She said, "The girl is already in my house, so go!" He went until he came to the Sultan's daughter. And he sat down by her.
- 10 Then he spoke to her in order to sleep [lit. go] with her. She said, "After the noon prayers, I will give myself to you. For now, I'll give you a pitcher to perform ablutions."
- 11 She picked up the pitcher and smacked him in the face with it, and [lit. until] he got a head-wound. And she went to her house.
- 12 And he went to his house. People asked him, "What's (the matter) with you?" He said, "I fell off a camel."
- 13 Then he said to some boys, "Collect coffee-grounds and tobacco remains for me, and spread it (all) around under the castle."
- 14 The boys did thus, and he wrote to the ruler on the Hajj and said, "Your daughter is a whore, and your house is a coffee-shop."
- 15 Then the ruler sent for his son. He said, "Go and kill your sister!" The boy went.
- 16 When he arrived, he put his sister on a horse, and he went away with her [or: took her away]. When they got out far away from the town, he dug a grave.
- 17 And whenever dirt fell on the boy, his sister would brush the dirt off of him. Then he felt compassion for her.
- 18 And he shot a gazelle and put its blood in a bottle. And he went away and left her there. And she stayed for three days.
- 19 Then the son of a certain (other) ruler came, and he took her and [lit. until] he brought her to his family. Then he fell in love with her, and he married her, and had three boys with her.
- 20 Then the man decided to go on the Hajj. She said, "I'm (going) with you."
- 21 Then on the day that they were about to go, people came to her husband. And he said to the soldiers and his family, "Lead the way for me, and I'll catch up to you."

- 22 *bə-šés aggór*; *ezírš*, *bə-ör heš*, “*ǵad k-eǵáʿn b-aʿáskar*.” *ör*, “*mor*.”
- 23 *b-aǵád ed ešal mənzel taṭ. ǵōdót yum b-aǵsərə. ed ǵasré, ör eggór her tet*, “*zī-tə enúf bə-fló dḥa-l-ó(l)tǵ taṭ mən inés*.” *örót tet*, “*tagš*.” *axarét altagáš bə-kōráš*.
- 24 *ed k-hásaf aǵád ed ešal mənzel taṭ. aǵsərə. ed ǵasré, ör eggór*, “*dḥa-(t)zī-tə enúf bə-fló dḥa-l-ó(l)tǵ ēšáǵər*.” *örót*, “*tagš*.” *bə-ltagáš*.
- 25 *ed k-hásaf aǵád ed ešal mənzel taṭ. aǵsərə. ed ǵasré, ör eggór*, “*dḥa-(t)zī-tə enúf bə-fló dḥa-l-ó(l)tǵ sólət*.” *örót*, “*tagš*.” *bə-ltagáš*.
- 26 *ed k-hásaf aǵád ed ešal mənzel taṭ. aǵsərə. ed ǵasré, ör eggór*, “*dḥa-(t)zī-tə enúf bə-fló dḥa-l-ó(l)tǵǵáš*.” *örót*, “*kəláʿ ed yə yəšóf, bə-dḥa-l-zémk enúf*.” *aǵád eggór bə-šéf, bə-sé skáfót. bə-hés ber eggór šéf, ḥólót eslóbés bə-kəsbétš bə-hásünš*.
- 27 *bə-šukūt ed zəḥót ḥagg. eǵahót tel ǵeyg bāl kəḥwét, bə-šorkót enúf ǵeyg. örót*, “*ak əl-xédəm tólák*.” *ör*, “*mor*.” *bə-xudüt tóláš*.
- 28 *ed ʿášər taṭ, zəḥám is, b-aǵás, b-aʿášərs, b-eggór, bə-šéraʿ. bə-ǵoríothum, bə-šúm əl ǵorəs lə. axarét örót her baʿl ḏ-eḳəḥwét*, “*ak əl-ʿezəm aǵág izénu*.” *ör*, “*mor*.”
- 29 *ʿazūthum. bə-zūthum ʿisé bə-ḳəḥwét, b-aǵsərə. ed ǵasré, örót hóhum, ʿáǵən kə-tát yəzḥōm bə-kéltót*.”
- 30 *axarét kolót šüm ed təmím. bə-ör hes, ʿtólák het náʿšanu*.” *örót*, “*he ar ḳallén*...”
- 31 *bə-koltót bə-kéltót ḏínu kels ed təmmut. örót*, “*ḏénu ī, bə-ḏénu eǵí, bə-ḏénu aʿásəri, b-izénu séraʿ b-eggór ḏə-šérék bi eḳəšét ḏínu*.”

22 *aggór*: The mss have just *ǵər* (جور), but the audio has *aggór* or *iggór*. See the comment to 18:10.

22 *ezírš*: This word is missing from *JL*, but is listed in *ML* (s.v. *wzr*) as an EJ form. It is ultimately a borrowing of Arabic *wazīr*.

26 *eslóbés*: The form *eslób* is not listed in *JL*. In *ML* (s.v. *slb*), we find both *sələb* ‘arms, guns’ (= Jibbali *sələb*, listed in *JL* and attested in 4:1) and *sələb* ‘arms other than guns’; the latter entry includes the EJ form *slób*. The Mehri form *ḥaslōb* is attested several times as grammatically plural in Johnstone’s Mehri texts (see my discussion of this word in Rubin 2010: 72), and *HL* (s.v. *slb*) lists Ḥarsusi (*ḥə-)**slōb* as the plural of *sələb*. Jibbali *sələb* seems also to be plural, however (cf. 4:1). Note also here that the *b* is not elided before the plural possessive suffixes, as we might expect. This is probably because of the preceding and following stressed vowels; see further in § 2.1.2.

- 22 And he had a slave, his vizier, and he said to him, "Go with my family and the soldiers." He said, "Ok."
- 23 And they went until they reached a certain place. The sun went down, and they spent the night. In the night, the slave said to the woman, "Give yourself to me, or else I will kill one of your sons." The woman said, "Kill him." Then he killed him and they buried him.
- 24 Then in the morning, they went until they reached a certain place. They spent the night. In the night, the slave said, "You will give yourself to me, or else I will kill the second one." She said, "Kill him." And he killed him.
- 25 Then in the morning, they went until they reached a certain place. They spent the night. In the night, the slave said, "You will give yourself to me, or else I will kill the third." She said, "Kill him." And he killed him.
- 26 Then in the morning, they went until they reached a certain place. They spent the night. In the night, the slave said, "You will give yourself to me, or else I will kill you." She said, "Wait until people go to sleep, and I will give myself to you." The slave left and went to sleep, and she stayed. And after the slave had fallen asleep, she took his weapons, his clothes, and his horse.
- 27 And she went until she came to the Hajj. She went to a man, a coffee-shop owner, and pretended she was a man. She said, "I want to work for you." He said, "Ok." And she worked for him.
- 28 Then one night, her father, her husband, her brother, the slave, and the judge came in. She recognized them, but they didn't recognize her. Then she said to the coffee-shop owner, "I want to invite these men." He said, "Ok."
- 29 She invited them. And she gave them food and coffee, and they passed the evening. In the night, she said to them, "Let's each one (of us) offer [lit. bring] a story."
- 30 Then they (each) told (a story) until they were finished. And they said to her, "Now it's your turn [lit. at you]." She said, "I am just a child..."
- 31 And she told them this whole story until it was done. She said, "This is my father, and this is my brother, and this is my husband, and these are the judge and the slave who made this story [or: problem] for me."

28 *ba'l ð-εkahwét*: The genitive exponent *ð-* is unexpected here. Cf. *bāl kahwét* in line 27. The Mehri version of the line (48:28) also has a construct phrase (*bāl məkahōyat*).

28 *izénu*: Both mss have *izénu* 'these', but the audio has *izóhün* 'those'.

- 32 *axarét létağ eggór bə-séra'.*
 33 *bə-tét ağadót k-ís b-ağás, se b-a'ásərs. bə-skóf tōlōhum 'onut tit. axarét ağadót k-a'ásəras yal həllétš. bə-təmmút.*

Text 38 (no M): A Conversation and a Visit to the Medicine Woman

- 1 A: *"her ağádk mən đér esólót ε-đžhɔr, dħa-túnfás lóhum, her ɔl-'ók skɔfk mukún lɔ. bə-hér ešəlk đer sa'b b-ɔl sínk dé lɔ, éhəḵ. lézəm dé dħa-yšəhékək. sa'b ɔl takín mən gér dé lɔ, ḵələ' ar eḵət đénu bes erħamét. bə-'ör hen yɔ đ-ízót eskún."*
 2 B: *"mor, thúmk tɔ əl-gád nášanu, l-əgére đ-əl-gád l-órxér. he geyg đ-ɔl bi hiēt bē lɔ mən đér góle'."*
 3 A: *"kəh, gélək eḵət đénu?"*
 4 B: *"éhē. hini sɔtét xarfɔ, bə-hé ɔl ə'ásés lɔ mən ěnzél."*
 5 A: *"iné mən góle' bek?"*
 6 B: *"thúmk tɔs ərgəfət. bə-hér ḵeríót yum, əgóle. 'ɔd yékən góle' əngdərét, ɔl éd'ak lɔ."*
 7 A: *"mor, l-ísən ħánúf. bun 'ör šxarét təğórəb kəl sé."*
 8 B: *"mor, 'ak tun nəgád émtəs?"*
 9 A: *"bə-rík. gádú un."*

Text 38

- 1 *đ-ízót*: Note that the *m* of the verb *mízót* (3fs perf. of *mízi*) is elided here after *đə-*, but elsewhere *m* is not elided after the relative *đə-* (e.g., *đə-mosé*, Tj2:123) or verbal prefix *đə-* (e.g., *đə-múthənk*, 57:15). The same elision occurs with this verb in 97:16 and 97:29.
 2 *hiēt*: Johnstone glossed this as 'strength' in the Roman ms. In the word-list attached to text 28, he glossed it as 'bodily strength' (but then later crossed out the word 'bodily') and added 'also: willpower'. The word is not in *JL*, but it is presumably from the root *hmm* (cf. the verbs *him* 'be able to'; *šħəmúm* 'have courage').
 2 *bē*: In the Arabic ms, this word is spelled ب, while the word *bi* earlier in the line is spelled بي. The two words are distinct on the audio. On the word *bē*, see § 10.5 and the comments to 4:10 and SB1:1.

- 32 Then they killed the slave and the judge.
 33 And the woman went with her father and her brother, she and her husband. And they stayed with them one year. Then she went with her husband to his town. And it is finished.

Translation of Text 38

- 1 A: "If you go after the afternoon prayer, you will reach [lit. go to] them, if you don't stop [lit. stay] anywhere. And if you enter the valley and don't see anyone, call out. There must be someone who will answer you. The valley will not be without anyone, especially (since) at this time there is rain. And people told us that it is full of settlements."
 2 B: "Ok, I think I might go now, so that I can go slowly. I am a man who doesn't have very much strength in him after an illness."
 3 A: "Why, have you been sick recently?"
 4 B: "Yes, for three monsoon months I didn't get up from the house."
 5 A: "What kind of illness do you have?"
 6 B: "I think it's malaria. Whenever the sun goes down, I get sick. It might be a supernatural illness, I don't know."
 7 A: "Ok, you should go see a medicine man. Here they say [lit. said] there is an old woman who knows everything."
 8 B: "Ok, should we [lit. do you want us to] go to her?"
 9 A: "As you wish. Let's go then."

4 *xarfj*: The mss both have this form, as does *JL* (s.v. *xrf*), but on the audio Ali read *axrj*.

6 *əngdərét*: Johnstone glossed this in the Roman ms as 'jinn-brought; from underground'. This seems to be a lexicalized form of *mən gədrét* 'from underground', a phrase which is also glossed in *JL* (s.v. *gdr*) as 'supernatural'. In both mss and on the audio, there is no initial *m*-.

7 *l-ísnēn*: This seems to be 2ms conditional form of the H-Stem *éśni* (cf. 17:1).

9 *jadú un*: On the audio, this is pronounced *jadún*, but in the Arabic ms, Ali wrote two words *ون غدو*. See §12.5.2.

- 10 *axarét zəḥám tel ešxarét. ‘ōrót, “kə tum?” ‘ōr aǵéyg, “ḏénu aǵéyg beš góle’, bə-thúmk təs góle’ aŋǵadarét.” ‘ōrót ešxarét, “zəḥī-tə mən ḏér (ešólót) eḏóħər.”*
- 11 *zəḥám aǵág mən ḏér eḏóħər. ‘ōrót ešxarét, “he sink her aǵéyg. beš góle’ aŋǵadarét.”*
- 12 *B: “mor, íné edūtš?”*
- 13 *Woman: “ḥazéz lé’ áfirót ḏer məḵabért ḥádét bə-l-efdēn lek šhalét ínét, bə-dḥa-tékən bə-xár. bə-hük ḏénu. éndəx beš k-ḥásaf mən k-ḥásaf.” bə-tammút.*

Text 39 (= M95, but variant): A Man and His Shadow

- 1 *xəṭarét sékən ḏ-axáf bə-sa’b. bə-ḵérīb lóhum míḥ fərḵét tel məḵabért. bə-‘ōr yə yəkín ḏírš ǵənní ǵasré. b-əl dé yəšénús yəšóḅ meš ǵasré lə, ar hér kun ǵag mékən.*
- 2 *ed ‘áṣər ṭəṭ ‘ōr ǵeyg, “mūn mənḵúm ḏə-‘ágəḅ əz, bə-yəšóḅ mən emíḥ ḏénu ǵasré bə-yəzḥō-tun əm-míḥ? bə-hér əl zəḥām əm-míḥ lə, ber leš əz.”*
- 3 *‘ōr ṭəṭ, “he ‘ak.” aǵád ed zəḥám tel emíḥ. ḥəṣ ɛ-bóttər, síni eǵǵéš ‘ak emíḥ. yəkól ǵənní.*
- 4 *axarét ərdéš bə-fədnín. bə-hér ḥótrəf mukún yəšúnš yətōš. axarét flét bə-yəšúnš mən séréš.*

Text 38

- 10 *ḏénu aǵéyg*: The mss have *ḏénu aǵéyg*, though on the audio, Ali stumbled and said *aǵéyg ḏénu*, which is the more common word order.
- 10 *ešólót*: This word is in the Roman ms, but is missing from the Arabic ms and audio.
- 13 *l-efdēn*: This is the 3fp subjunctive of the H-Stem *fdé* (root *fdy*). The verb can mean ‘sacrifice in a ritual manner’. More specifically, the animal is slaughtered after walking it several times around a sick person.

- 10 Then they went to the old woman. She said, "Why are you (here) [or: what's the matter with you]?" The man said, "This man has an illness, and I think it is a supernatural illness." The old woman said, "Come to me in the afternoon."
- 11 The men came back in the afternoon. The old woman said, "I have seen for the man. He has a supernatural illness."
- 12 B: "Ok, what is its treatment?"
- 13 Woman: "Slaughter a red cow over an old graveyard and three women should sacrifice for you (in a ritual manner), and you will be fine. And here is this (for you). Fumigate with it every morning." And it is finished.

Translation of Text 39

- 1 Once a community was camped in a valley. Close to them was a scary water-hole by a graveyard. People said that there was a jinn by it at night. And no one dared get water from it at night, unless there were a lot of people.
- 2 Then one night a man said, "Which [lit. who] of you wants a goat, and will get water from this water-hole at night and bring us water? And if he doesn't bring water, he owes [lit. to him is] a goat."
- 3 One guy said, "I want." He went until he got to the water. When he looked down, he saw his shadow in the water. He thought (it was) a jinn.
- 4 Then he threw rocks at it. And whenever he changed places, he would see it following him. Then he ran away and he saw it behind him.

Text 39

- 1 *yāšénús*: *JL* (s.v. 'ns) does not give the meaning 'dare' for this Š1-Stem. Perhaps this is a Mehrism (cf. *ML*, s.v. 'ns) or a meaning only found in *EJ*. Cf. also 46:3.
- 2 *əm-míh*: We expect *b-míh*, in both cases, but the *b-* has assimilated to the following *m*. See also 45:13, 60:37, and the discussion of this change, with further examples, in § 2.1.4. (35:2 contains another possible example.)

- 5 *ed kərəb al-γó síníš əl-fěnéš. axarét mútrək egenbít bə-ʔʾán egóǰěš bə-tǰakót egenbít ʾaḵ ḥáši. γəkól egənní mínaʿ egenbít b-əǰtósə mən fərḵét.*
- 6 *axarét šaʿzész γə, b-əǰád, ǰólók heš. ed ksész ḏ-əǰtósə, ḥölš ed zəḥám beš tel sékən. axarét ḵólób ḥas. šxabírš γə, ʾör, “kə het?”*
- 7 *ʾör, “nəʾáf tə ǰənní, bə-ʔʾánk təš. mínaʿ egenbít b-əl-ʾók ḵódórḵ l-éflət lə.” ʾör γə, “hun sínk təš?” ʾör, “aḵ emíh.”*
- 8 *ʾör ʔat, “ʾəd tékən sínk egóǰék?” ʾör əǰéyγ, “γəh? əl dḥa-l-ǰərəb egóǰí lə? ob, sínk ǰənní! bə-nəʾáf tə.” ed ʾášər xelf, ʾör əǰág, “əǰən nəǰád bə-nəšnéš.”*
- 9 *əǰád əǰág. ed zəḥám, ʾör heš, “hun šə?” axarét bóttər ʾaḵ emíh. ʾör, “ǰalíš, ǰalíš!”*
- 10 *bóttər əǰág bə-šíni egóǰěš. ʾör heš, “ḏókün egóǰék.” ʾör, “ḥátəm?” ʾör əǰág, “ḥátəm.” ʾör əǰéyγ, “mor, əthúmk tə sínk ar egóǰí mənḥínəm.”*
- 11 *ʾör heš əǰág, “šaʿ bə-šné.” šaʿé. axarét síní egóǰěš mən séréš.*
- 12 *axarét ʾör, “he əl sínk ar egóǰí mənḥínəm.” bə-ǰarób γə ḏə-šé əl sé ǰənní lə ḏer emíh, bə-šəb meš γə. bə-təmmút.*

5 *tǰakót*: This is listed in *JL* under the root *tǰk*, since the CJ form has the glottalic *ʔ*. The EJ form, like Mehri, has *t*. In the Arabic ms, Ali transcribed the first root consonant with Arabic *d*.

5 *əǰtósə*: This Jibbali verb meaning ‘faint, pass out’ can be found in the English-Mehri word-list in *ML* (p. 524), but I did not find it in *JL*. Johnstone also lists it in his vocabulary notes to this text. It must be a T2-Stem of a root *ǰś* or *ǰsy*.

8 *xelf*: The EJ forms of this adjective meaning ‘next’, ms *xelf* and fs *xizfét* (cf. 49:31), are not listed in *JL*, but are given in *ML* (s.v. *xlf*, under the entry for *xáylaf*). *JL* only gives the CJ forms, which are *xalfí* and *xalfét*; see also § 9.3, n. 6.

- 5 Then when he got near the people, he saw it in front of him. He pulled out his dagger and stabbed his shadow, and the dagger got stuck in the dirt. He thought the jinn had taken hold of the dagger, 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 and brought him to the settlement. Then he regained consciousness. The people asked him, "What's with you [lit. why (did) you]?"
- 7 He said, "A jinn chased me, and I stabbed him. It took hold of my dagger and I couldn't get away." The people said, "Where did you see it?" He said, "In the water."
- 8 One guy said, "Could it be you saw your shadow?" The man said, "How? I wouldn't know my (own) shadow? No! I saw a jinn, and he chased me." Then the next night, the men said, "Let's go and see it."
- 9 The men went. When they came, they said to him, "Where is it?" Then he looked down into the water. He said, "Look at it! Look at it!"
- 10 The men looked down and saw his shadow. They said to him, "That is your shadow." He said, "Really?" The men said, "Really." The man said, "Ok, I think maybe I only saw my shadow last night."
- 11 The men said to him, "Run and see!" He ran. Then he saw his shadow behind him.
- 12 Then he said, "I only saw my shadow last night." And the people knew that there was no jinn by the water-hole, and the people got water from it. And it is finished.

9 *ǧalīš*: This must be a contraction of *ǧalīk* + -š 'look at it!', though the loss of *k* is irregular. Johnstone included the gloss 'here he is! look!' in the Roman ms. We might expect *ǧalīš* (a transcription I found in one of Johnstone's manuscript papers, Box 13A), but the audio has simple š. The underlying form *ǧalīk* (given in *JL*, s.v. *ǧlīk*) is also unusual, as it has the pattern of the fs imperative. From this verb also comes the unusual imperative *ǧolōkūn* (see the comment to 16:3).

Text 40 (no M): Discussing an Illness

- 1 A: “*íné bék?*”
 2 B: “*gélak.*”
 3 A: “*mən mit gélak?*”
 4 B: “*mən ēlɛ bass. əkós sa-ʕr təštəfʕrən mən eréši aǵá.*”
 5 A: “*ʕd tékən aǵōrək?*”
 6 B: “*əthúmk tɔ.*”
 7 A: “*íné tēk əšhér?*”
 8 B: “*tēk téʔ bə-šúšək míh žél.*”
 9 A: “*mor, aǵōrək. ʕak tɔ l-əšhōrək?*”
 10 B: “*kɔh, təǵōrəb heš sé?*”
 11 A: “*əhē.*”
 12 B: “*íné?*”
 13 A: “*ašáhrəš əl-kənbáʕ bə-ʕtət šhalét enzəfʕr.*”
 14 B: “*mor, šhɔr tɔ.*”
 15 A: “*fələkən təšxəb šfələk mǵóreʕ šīn, fələkən təkín bə-xár.*” *səhúráš. ʕɔl kisk enúf?*
 16 B: “*kisk enúf bə-xár. tob ar edítš kərib.*” *ðénu təbšif ɛ-taǵbír. bə-təmmút.*

-
- 4 *təštəfʕrən*: This is the 3fp imperfect of the T1-Stem *šətfʕr*. This verb is glossed in *JL* as ‘come over one from the head down (as goose pimples)’, but given the G-Stem *šfʕr* ‘puncture’, I wonder if the T1-Stem means literally something more like ‘be pricked’ (cf. the English usage of ‘prickly’ in connection with the feeling of goose-bumps).
- 4 *aǵá*: According to *JL* (s.v. *ǵl*), this derives from *aǵál*, but the final *l* is lost in EJ (cf. also *ML*, s.v. *xtr*). In the Arabic ms, the word is written *aǵálh*, while Johnstone’s Roman transcription has just *aǵá*. I found no audio for this text. Cf. the similar loss of a final *l* discussed in the comment to 30:24. The shorter form *ǵa* also occurs in Müller’s texts (Bittner 1916b: 56).
- 5 *aǵōrək*: In the Roman ms, Johnstone glossed this verb as ‘mixed a lot of different food and drink; drink cold water after meat; drink water or milk after meat and sleep’. In the accompanying word-list, he added the simpler gloss ‘overeat’. It is a D/L-Stem of *ǵvr* (3ms perfect *aǵōr*), though the verb is not in *JL*. It is obviously related to the noun *taǵbír* ‘heartburn, indigestion’ in line 16.

Translation of Text 40

- 1 A: "What's (the matter) with you?"
 2 B: "I'm sick."
 3 A: "Since when have you been sick?"
 4 B: "Since only a little while (ago). I feel [lit. find] goose-bumps going from my head down."
 5 A: "Perhaps you overate [or: have indigestion]?"
 6 B: "I think I did."
 7 A: "What did you eat today?"
 8 B: "I ate meat and I drank icy-cold water."
 9 A: "Ok, you overate. Do you want me to brand you?"
 10 B: "Why, do you know something for it?"
 11 A: "Yes."
 12 B: "What?"
 13 A: "Its brand [to cure it] is on the heel with a smoldering rag three times."
 14 B: "Ok, brand me."
 15 A: "Your stomach may be sore for a little while after, but you'll be fine." He branded him. "How do you feel [lit. find yourself]?"
 16 B: "I feel good. Indeed its cure is easy [lit. near]." This is the description of heartburn [or: indigestion]. It is finished.

-
- 7 *ašhér*: *JL* (s.v. *šhr*) includes only the CJ dialectal form *šhor*, while *ML* (s.v. *ymv*) lists EJ *šher* and CJ *šhor*. My EJ, CJ, and WJ informants nearly all used *ašhér*, though for some CJ informants both forms were acceptable. Only one CJ informant (MmS) accepted only *šhor*.
- 13 *enzəfór*: This is a suppletive plural of *zəfét* 'time' (see *JL*, s.v. *zff* and *zfr*). *JL* (s.v. *zfr*) gives only the form *mizfór*. Perhaps this is the definite form *ēzfór* (< *ε-mizfór*), though the context should require an indefinite form, or a misanalysis of the definite form. The spelling in the Arabic ms clearly has *enzəfór* (likewise in 45:10).
- 16 *tob ar*: The Arabic ms has *tob ar*, while the Roman ms has just *ar*.

Text 41 (no M): Seeking Sardines

- 1 A: “*h-íné zəhámk tə?*”
 2 B: “*zəhámk tək her xar. he ǰeyg ðə-xtórk kin sékəni. shélən a’ád, b-ɔl éd’ak ɣəh əl-šérk lə. bə-fáɣnək tək, bə-hér ‘ɔd təkódər híni bə-hílt, ‘ak bə-ǰólt ðə-‘ád her elhútén. ‘ak káni bə-réhən, bə-rík. bə-‘ak təstém sé mən óšétən, bə-rík.*”
 3 A: “*ɔl ši ‘ad lə. ši dħa-tékən ǰólt ðə-rkíb. dħa-l-šúms lə. nəħa šən zétə’ əlhúti, b-ɔl əkólá’hum mən ǰér ‘ad lə. b-ɔ(l) l-əħkék tə lə.*”
 4 B: “*‘ábdan, ɔl əkólá’k lə, ar hér dħa-(t)šá’ðər tə, bə-təktéta’ mən munún a’ásirt. bə-hé bek kəšədk tək, b-əlhún ‘ak mən tóli dħa-l-zémk. ‘ak bə-réhən, dħa-l-érhənk, bə-d ‘ak təstém mən óšéti, dħa-l-súm lek.*”
 5 A: “*he ɔl mən ténu lə. het ɔl fhémk tə lə.*”
 6 B: “*he fhémk tək, fələkən ɔl ‘édər lə mən ǰólt ðə-‘ád.*”
 7 A: “*‘ɔd ‘édər?*”
 8 B: “*‘ábdan, ɔl-‘ɔd ‘édər lə.*”
 9 A: “*mor, dħa-l-šérhən eǰenbít k bə-shelót kəróš ed məstéhəl xəlf. bə-hér ɔl zəhámk b-əkəróš məstéhəl xəlf lə, eǰenbít k məzzét.*”
 10 B: “*mor, húk eǰenbít, bə-hé dħa-l-zħóm b-əkəróš məstéhəl xəlf.*”

2 *hílt*: Elsewhere this word means ‘trick’ or ‘cunning’ (cf. 2:17; 18:3; 30:19), and this is the only definition given in *JL* (s.v. *hyl*). While *hílt* ‘trick’ is clearly a borrowing of Arabic *hílat-*, the meaning ‘credit’ here can be compared with Arabic *ħawālat-* ‘promissory note; bill of exchange; money order’.

4 *kəšədk*: *JL* (s.v. *kšd*) lists the meanings ‘seek out’ and ‘chop’ for the Ga-Stem *kšód*, but only ‘chop, lop’ for the Gb-Stem *kəšəd*.

4 *bə-d ‘ak*: Both the Arabic and Roman mss support this transcription (no audio was found), but we expect *bə-ð ‘ak*, with the conditional particle *ðə* (§ 13.4.2). This is perhaps a hypercorrection, since Ali usually uses the pre-verbal particle *ð-* in place of the more common *d-* of Jibbali (§ 7.1.10). Or it could reflect a more general shift of the particle *ð-* (as a verbal prefix, relative pronoun, or genitive exponent) to *d-*.

9 *məstéhəl*: This word is glossed as ‘month’s end’ in the Roman ms, though it does not appear in *JL* or *ML*. It is also attested in Johnstone’s Mehri texts in the phrase *məstihəl awarx* ‘the end of the month’ (M28:18). It is obviously related to the verb *shel* ‘finish’; cf. also the

Translation of Text 41

- 1 A: "What did you come to us for?"
- 2 B: "I came to you for good. I am a man who has come down from his [lit. my] settlement. We used up the sardines, and I didn't know what to do. And I remembered you, and if you can perhaps [or: again] (give) me credit, I want a load of sardines for our cows. If you want a guarantee (of payment) from me, as you wish. Or if you want to buy some of our animals, as you wish."
- 3 A: "I don't have sardines. I have maybe one camel-load. I won't sell it. We too have cows, and I won't leave them without sardines. And don't press me."
- 4 B: "No, I won't leave you alone, unless you refuse me, and the friendship will be cut off between us. I have already sought you out, and whatever you want from me I'll give you. If you want a guarantee (of payment), I will leave you a guarantee, or if you want to buy (some) of my animals, I will sell (them) to you."
- 5 A: "I didn't mean that. You didn't understand me."
- 6 B: "I understood you, but there is no excuse (for refusing) a load of sardines."
- 7 A: "Is there any excuse at all?"
- 8 B: "No, there is no excuse at all."
- 9 A: "Ok, I will take your dagger as a guarantee, and thirty dollars at [lit. until] the end of next month. And if you don't bring the money at the end of next month, the dagger has expired (as a guarantee)."
- 10 B: "Ok, here is the dagger, and I will bring the money at the end of next month."

Mehri T₁-Stem *sáthəl* 'be finished', of which *mástihəl* can be considered the active participle. *ML* (s.v. *shl*) seems to suggest that the Jibbali T₁-Stem *sóthəl* can also mean 'be finished' in EJ, though *JL* lists only the meanings 'have good luck; find s.t. easy' (from which we get the imperative *astáhól* 'goodbye!; farewell!', e.g., 3:17).

- 9 *méžét*: Johnstone glossed this as 'will have gone' in the Roman ms. This verb (3ms *méžé*) is not in *JL*, but it is clearly related to or, more likely, borrowed from Arabic *maḍā* 'go away; pass, expire'. Nowhere else in the texts do we find a perfect in the apodosis of a conditional sentence, but this is not a normal conditional sentence.

Text 42 (no M): Conditionals

- 1 *her ɔl 'ak l-ɔkləʔ hek b-iyén lɔ, kɔh he kɔlɔʔk hek tɛnu?*
- 2 *ðə kunk 'ógəz, ɔ(l) l-əšúrkənəš lɔ.*
- 3 *ð-ɔl kun 'ak l-únʂəhɪk lɔ, ɔ(l) l-əherígən šek tɛnu lɔ, fələkən 'ak l-únʂəhɪk.*
- 4 *ðə kun 'ak l-əhérg bédɛ', ɔ(l) l-əklítən hek b-iyén lɔ.*
- 5 *ðə kun 'ak l-ɔ(l)tǵəš, əl-(l)tégənəš.*
- 6 *her ɔl xarɔg lɔ, dɪa-yékən bun kərəre.*
- 7 *ð-ɔl kun əltəǵəš lɔ, ɔl yífɫətən hallét ɛšǵarɔt lɔ.*
- 8 *ðə kun 'ak l-ɔ(l)tǵəš mənɪnəm, əltégənəš, fələkən ɔl 'ak l-ɔ(l)tǵəš lɔ.*
- 9 *ðə kun izénu 'ágəb yəbdí li, yəkdírən yəšórk tšhün.*
- 10 *ðə kun 'ak əl-s'édhum, het təkdíran (t)šerk tšhün, ɔl hɛ lɔ?*
- 11 *ð-ɔl kun šɔrɔkək tškün lɔ, ɔl yəzhün bek bun lɔ.*
- 12 *ð-ɔl kunk ǵaltún lɔ, ɔl yəzbítən erékəm ɛ-syérək lɔ.*
- 13 *her ɔl kun 'ógəz lɔ, dɪa-yəzhóm xədmétš əšhér.*

Text 42b (no M): More Conditionals

- 1 *ð-ɔl kun mišérd lɔ, ɔl yəzhün yɔ bə-šúm əð-šéf lɔ.*
- 2 *ð-ɔl kun 'ógəz lɔ, ɔl yəskífən bə-ykəlá'an xədmétš lɔ.*
- 3 *ð-ɔl kun šerɪ lɔ, ɔl yəkbínən 'ak ɛdehlél lɔ.*
- 4 *ð-ɔl kun xásəm lɔ, ɔl yəhrígən tɛnu lɔ.*
- 5 *ð-ɔl kun 'ágəb yəǵád šek lɔ, ɔl yəhǵírənək lɔ (yəhrígən šek).*
- 6 *ð-ɔl kun 'ágəb yəs'édək lɔ, ɔl yəhrígən hek lɔ.*

Text 42

- 10 *əl-s'édhum*: This verb behaves like a D/L-Stem, though the forms are unusual (see § 7.4.7 and *JL*, s.v. *s'd*). The Roman ms has *əsa'édkum*, with a 2mp object suffix, which must be a mistake.
- 12 *ǵaltún*: This word does not appear in *JL*, but Johnstone glossed it as 'mistaken' in his word-list for this text, as well as in his Jibbali notecards (Index Cards Box 10). The word is also used in 43:10, where it clearly means 'mistaken'. Cf. the other forms of this root listed in *JL* (s.v. *glʔ*), such as the H-Stem verb *ǵlét* 'be mistaken' (used in 60:34).

Translation of Text 42

- 1 If I didn't want to tell you the truth, why did I tell you thus?
- 2 If I were lazy, I would not have done [or: wouldn't do] it.
- 3 If I didn't want to advise you, I would not have spoken with you thus, but I wanted to advise you.
- 4 If I wanted to tell a lie, I would not have told you the truth.
- 5 If I wanted to kill him, I would have killed him.
- 6 If he didn't die, he will be here tomorrow.
- 7 If he hadn't killed him, he wouldn't have fled to another town.
- 8 If I had wanted to kill him last night, I would have killed him, but I didn't want to kill him.
- 9 If those (guys) want [or: wanted] to lie about me, they could do [or: could have done] thus.
- 10 If you had wanted to help them, you would have been able to do so, no?
- 11 If you hadn't done thus, they would not have brought you here.
- 12 If you had not been mistaken, he would not have taken the number of your car.
- 13 If he is not lazy, he will come to work [lit. his work] today.

Translation of Text 42b

- 1 If he wasn't crazy, he wouldn't have come to people who were asleep.
- 2 If he wasn't lazy, he wouldn't have stayed and left his work.
- 3 If he wasn't a thief, he wouldn't have hidden in the cave.
- 4 If he wasn't an enemy, he wouldn't have spoken like this.
- 5 If he didn't want to go with you, he wouldn't have waited for you (he would have spoken with you).
- 6 If he didn't want to help you, he wouldn't have spoken up for you.

12 *erékəm*: This word does not appear in *JL*. It is simply a borrowing of Arabic *raqm* 'number'.

13 *əšhēr*: See the comment to 40:7.

Text 42b

- 5 *yəhrīgən šek*: Johnstone gives this option for the apodosis in the Roman ms only.

- 7 *ð-ɔl kun a'ásark lɔ, ɔl yəzħĩnk bə-hédít ðínu lɔ.*
 8 *ð-ɔl kun 'ágəb yəsnék lɔ, ɔl yəš'ĩdanək lɔ.*
 9 *ð-ɔl kun bídi lɔ, ɔl ya'mírən ténu lɔ.*
 10 *mən hun (hútun) zəħámk? zəħámk əm-bóh.*
 11 *bə-š'ak šókum tɛléb. bə-hér šókum tɛléb, tókum əl-sa'éd tɔ bə-xədmét.*
 12 *šek šhódət bə-fló təğórb šin'át sé? ɔl ši šhódət sé lɔ, fəlékən he ġeyg
 fəhmún. ð-ɔl kunk ġašim lɔ, ɔl təġlīn xədmét. bə-hét ɔl təğórb sé lɔ.*

Text 43 (no M): A Riddle

- 1 A: "*her b-iyénkum tədlól sé rihm, fəlékən ɔl yī ɔtəb ɔz lɔ?*"
 2 B: "*dé yətīš?*"
 3 A: "*ob.*"
 4 B: "*dé yəštumš?*"
 5 A: "*ob.*"
 6 B: "*her əjadk xunt əkódər l-əsnéš?*"
 7 A: "*əhē.*"
 8 B: "*əkódər əl-ħī(l)š mən mənzel əl-mənzel?*"
 9 A: "*ob.*"
 10 B: "*aḵ kəlbi təkən ġaltún.*"

Text 42b

- 10 *hútun*: This word (a variant of *hun*; see § 11.7) is in parentheses in the Roman ms, but is not in the Arabic ms.
 12 *fəhmún*: The Roman ms has *fhum*, which is not a Jibbali word. The Arabic ms has *fəhmún*.
 12 *təġlīn*: In both mss, it appears that an original *təklīn* was corrected to *təġlīn*, the 2ms conditional of the G-Stem *ġolób* 'refuse'.

Text 43

- 1 *her*: The exact function of *her* here is unclear, but the expression *her b-iyénkum* is a fixed expression used to begin a riddle. The following subjunctive verb (2mp *tədlól* in this case) is probably also part of the idiom.

- 7 If he wasn't your friend, he wouldn't have brought you this present.
 8 If he didn't want to see you, he wouldn't have made an appointment with you.
 9 If he wasn't a liar, he wouldn't have said that [lit. thus].
 10 Where did you come from? I came from here.
 11 I heard you have a request. And if you have a request, you must help me with a task.
 12 Do you have a diploma or do you know some trade? I don't have any diploma, but I am a smart man. If you weren't ignorant, you would not refuse [or: would not have refused] work. And you don't know anything.

Translation of Text 43

- 1 A: "Do you know something long/tall, but it doesn't reach the udder of a goat?"
 2 B: "Does anyone eat it?"
 3 A: "No."
 4 B: "Does anyone buy it?"
 5 A: "No."
 6 B: "If I go outside, can I see it?"
 7 A: "Yes."
 8 B: "Can I carry it from place to place?"
 9 A: "No."
 10 B: "I think [lit. in my heart] you might be mistaken."

-
- 1 *rihm*: This adjective in Jibbali can mean either 'long' (like a road) or 'tall' (like a person). The riddle does not quite work in English since 'long' and 'tall' are different words.
 1 *yī*: This is from the G-Stem verb *mī* 'touch' (root *myw*). *JL* (s.v. *myw*) give the 3ms imperfect *ímí* (= *yəmí*), but in the short word-list Johnstone made for this text, he listed the 3ms imperfect *ǝ-íí*. It is possible that *yī* here is better transcribed *yī*, but since I found no audio, I follow Johnstone here.
 1 *ǝtǝb*: This word is not in *JL*, but it must be related to Arabic *waṭb* 'skin into which milk is put'. In the word-list to this text, Johnstone gives the plural form *yǝtǝb*. The meaning 'udder' was confirmed by informants.
 10 *ʾak kélbi*: In the Arabic ms, *ʾak kélbi* is written *aḵkélbi*. Similar spellings of this phrase are found elsewhere in Ali's texts. See also § 8.3.

- 11 A: “*kəh?*”
 12 B: “*het ʾok ol yī ʾəṭab ʾoz lə, b-ol dé yaḳódar yaḥiš lə.*”
 13 A: “*he ol ǵaltún lə, bə-hér ol delk lə, dḥa-l-ʾoklāt hek, bə-hét dḥa-(t)šné.*”
 14 B: “*mor, ol delk lə.*”
 15 A: “*hátəm?*”
 16 B: “*hátəm.*”
 17 A: “*l-ʾoklāt hek?*”
 18 B: “*ḫhē.*”
 19 A: “*mor, ʾorəm. yen šink nášanu?*”

Text 45 (no M): A Marriage

- 1 *ǵeyg šanté bə-tét b-aǵád tel is. ʾor, “her dḥa-l-éšfəḳ tə, ʾak l-ʾšfəḳ təlák b-ēḏí-ilín.”*
 2 *ʾor ī ɛ-ttét, “mor, ḥay bek. hərəg kə-tét, bə-hér ʾaǵišt bek, he dḥa-l-éšfəḳək. se ol ǵabǵót lə, bə-hərəg šes.”*
 3 Groom: “*he bek herǵək šes, bə-ʾoršt, ʾher ī ʾaǵab, ol míni sé lə.*”
 4 Father: “*mor. íné dḥa-təḳləb?*”
 5 Groom: “*əlhín ʾak, he dḥa-l-zémk.*”
 6 Father: “*mor. zəḥóm b-éshódék ǵarére kol ʾeni.*”
 7 Groom: “*éshódí ber bun.*”
 8 Father: “*mor. kol ʾeni dḥa-nhérg kə-tét, bə-dḥa-nzémk təbkišt.*”
 (In the evening.)
 9 Father: “*šmɔ ɛ šhód! ēḏí-ilín, he ékil l-éšfəḳəš ēḏí-ilín?*”
 10 Bride: “*het ékil.*” *təʾor šhalét enzəḫr.*
 11 *is yaʾor her éshód, “ə-əkalək séra ʾēḏí-ilín yémək aǵéyg ḏénu ebríti.”*
 12 *b-aǵád aǵéyg ɛ-šfəḳ, še b-éshódéš, ɣol séra. ed zəḥám tel séra, ʾor aǵéyg ɛ-šfəḳ, “he šfəḳək bə-ʾak təbkišt.”*

Text 43

- 13 *dḥa-(t)šné*: The Roman ms has *dḥa-(t)šné* ‘you will see’, but the Arabic ms has *dḥa-(t)šén* ‘you will believe’.

Text 45

- 10 *enzəḫr*: See the comment to 40:13.

- 11 A: "Why?"
- 12 B: "You said it doesn't reach the udder of a goat, but no one can carry it."
- 13 A: "I am not mistaken. And if you don't know, I will tell you, and you will see."
- 14 B: "Ok, I don't know."
- 15 A: "Sure?"
- 16 B: "Sure."
- 17 A: "Should I tell you?"
- 18 B: "Yes."
- 19 A: "Ok, (it's) a road. Do you truly see now?"

Translation of Text 45

- 1 A man asked for a woman's hand in marriage, and he went to her father. He said, "If you will let me marry, I want to marry into your family with so-and-so [your daughter]."
- 2 The woman's father said, "Ok, welcome! Speak with the woman, and if she wants you, I will let you marry. She is not a girl, so speak with her."
- 3 Groom: "I already spoke with her, and she said, 'If my father wants, I have no objection [lit. there is nothing from me].'"
- 4 Father: "Ok. What will you offer?"
- 5 Groom: "Whatever you want, I will give you."
- 6 Father: "Ok. Come with your witnesses tomorrow evening."
- 7 Groom: "My witnesses are already here."
- 8 Father: "Ok. In the evening we will speak with the woman, and we will give you marital possession."
(In the evening.)
- 9 Father: "Listen, witnesses! [To the girl:] So-and-so, am I authorized to marry so-and-so to you?"
- 10 Bride: "You are authorized." She says this three times.
- 11 Her father says to the witnesses, "I have given authority to the judge, so-and-so, to give this man legal possession of my daughter."
- 12 And the man who got married went, he and his witnesses, to the judge. When they got to the judge, the man who got married said, "I have gotten married, and I want marital possession."

- 13 Judge: “šfəkək am-mún?”
 14 Groom: “šfəkək b-εđí-ilín.”
 15 Judge: “hun εshódék?”
 16 Groom: “izénu šum.”
 17 yə’ōr séra’ her εshód, “təshéd bə-điškum đə-šé šfək b-εđí-ilín, bə-đə-šé, is bə-fló aǵás, ókəl tɔ l-émlək εđí-ilín bər εđí-ilín?”
 18 yə’ōr εshód đə-sé, tet, ikezót is yéšfəkəs, “b-is ekélək het l-émlək aǵéyg đénu.” bə-ħás ε-šhéd εshód, yélók séra’ aǵéyg ε-šfək.
 19 mən ħas emlék séra’, təkín túš. yəštúm kélínt bə-yəbǵód yɔl sékən. b-a’ásər đókun yóǵaħ lə-tét, b-a’ásər đókun yəkín eǵáħǵáħ.
 20 bə-hér kunút ǵabǵót, is yəsénúd bə-yókalən mən nxín εshód séra’ yémlək aǵéyg ε-šfək, bélé se ɔl šes seǵót l. đen še təbšif ε-šfəkət. bə-təmmút.

-
- 13 *am-mún*: Though Johnstone’s Roman ms only has *amún*, and I found no audio for this text, I assume that the *m* is doubled, as in 97:34. This form is the realization of an underlying **b-mun*. The preposition *b-*, like the homophonous conjunction, does not always assimilate to a following initial *m-*, but it seems to do so with *mun* ‘who?’. See also 39:2, 60:37, and the discussion in § 2.1.4.
- 17 *điškum*: Under this word in the Roman ms, Johnstone added the Arabic glosses شهادة/ذمة. The form *điškum* is from the plural *điēm* (< Arabic *đimam*) plus the 2mp possessive suffix *-ókum*. In *JL* (s.v. *đmm*), only the meaning ‘debt’ is listed, but in this context it means something like ‘guarantee; responsibility’.
- 19 *emlék*: The Roman ms has *yémlək* (3ms subjunctive), and the Arabic ms has يملك. The form here has to be the 3ms perfect *emlék*. For the spelling of *emlék* with an initial ي in the Arabic ms, we can compare *emíħ* ‘the water’, often spelled يمه (e.g., 15:16, 49:12).
- 19 *kélínt*: In *JL* (s.v. *kln*), Johnstone translated this as ‘wedding-feast’. In the Roman ms of this text, Johnstone added ‘food, clothes, etc.’.

- 13 Judge: "Whom did you marry?"
- 14 Groom: "So-and-so."
- 15 Judge: "Where are your witnesses?"
- 16 Groom: "These are they."
- 17 The judge says to the witnesses, "Do you testify by your responsibilities [or: guarantees] that he married so-and-so, and that her father or her brother has given me authority to give legal possession to so-and-so, son of so-and-so?"
- 18 The witnesses say that she, the woman, gave authority to her father to marry her off, "and her father gave authority to you to give possession to this man." And when the witnesses have testified, the judge gives possession to the man who got married.
- 19 After the judge has given possession, she becomes his wife. He buys for the wedding party and goes to the community. And that night he consummates with [lit. enters] the woman, and that night is the wedding-night.
- 20 And if she is [only] a girl, then her father is sufficient, and he gives authority in front of witnesses to the judge to give possession to the man who got married, even if she has no knowledge [lit. news] (about it). This is a description of marriage. And it is finished.

19 *εgáhgháh*: This word, referring to the wedding night, literally means 'entry'. It comes from the verb *égh* 'enter' (root *wgh*), and the form is exactly parallel to Mehri *kəbkēb* (< *wəkūb* 'enter', root *wkb*). Cf. the use of the verb 'enter' to mean 'consummate (a marriage)' in 7:9. The word is not listed in *JL*, and *ML* (s.v. *kbb*) lists different EJ and CJ forms. Those forms, however, may be verbal nouns, and might not, in fact, be used with reference to the wedding night. It is used also in 97:35 and 97:47.

Text 46 (no M): A True Story about Revenge

- 1 *xaxarét gəbgót rəhūt, bə-‘əgəb bes aǵǵ kəl. b-īs ǰə-ltíg, bér heš dħa-yékən xīš ‘ayún, b-əl xələf-éléd lə ar aǵəbgót ǰikun.*
- 2 *bə-šənté bes ēr-dódés bə-sé guzūt, “əl əššfǵk dé ar kəl ɛ-tǵlǵb b-ī.”*
- 3 *bə-yǵ ǰə-létaǵ īs əl b-erǵ ǰǵkūn lə. aǵdét ǰ-ərɣ bə-fǵkħ ǰer rəkīb. b-əl dé yəšénús yəǵáħ ħálléthum lə.*
- 4 *ed yum ǰit šənté bes ēr-díds. ǵrót aǵəbgót, “he əl əššfǵk ar aǵǵ. ħet əl ǵeyg lə.” ǵr, “kəh?” ǵrót, “šáxbər enúf.”*
- 5 *axarét mútrək egebnít bə-ǵīš mən šǵf bə-gúzúm, “her əl kǵlǵš ħíni lə, ar dħa-l-ǵ(l)tǵiš.”*
- 6 *ǵrót, “mor. her kunk ǵeyg, ǵad ǵələb b-ədíd. mǵǵrə, he dħa-l-ššfǵkək.” ǵr aǵéy, “bass?” ǵrót, “bass.”*
- 7 *aǵsərə. ed k-ħásaf, séd erkīš b-aǵád. heš ərɣ bə-fǵkħ, b-əl ħǵl séləb lə. ed kərəb əl-ħállét, kəla‘ erkīš b-égaħ ħállét. šérék enúf mišérd.*
- 8 *bə-tǵlǵb yǵ mən but ed but. yǵzəməš tūr, bə-yħīl tūr ‘ak aǵarzǵtš. yəǵħék meš yǵ.*
- 9 *skǵf bə-ħállét ǰikun dħa-yékən fǵkħ ǰ-ərɣ. ed ‘ášər ǵat zəħám tel šxarét. ħaré des. axarét ǵrót, “ɛ‘úzərək ben, īšérd, ǵad yǵl üt ɛ-kēr, yəzémk ‘isé bə-flǵ yǵ(l)tǵək.”*

-
- 1 *bér heš*: It is unclear if the pronominal suffix of *heš* refers to the dead father, or if it is being used impersonally.
 - 1 *xələf*: *JL* (s.v. *xlǵ*) gives *axləf* for the H-Stem, but notes the EJ form *xləf* (here realized *xələf*).
 - 2 *ēr-dódés*: *JL* (s.v. *dwd*) and my own informants agree that the plural of *did* ‘uncle’ is *did*, identical to the singular form. The two are distinguished in context by the suffixes used (e.g., *edídi* ‘uncle’, *edidí* ‘my uncles’). Interestingly, however, the compound *ēr-díd* ‘cousin’ has the plural *ēr-dód*, as shown by this form in the text, and confirmed by my informants. We would actually expect plural of *did* to be *dod*, if we consider Mehri *dīd/dōd*, and similarly patterned Jibbali nouns, like *nīd/nud* ‘water-skin’. Similar to *did*, we find *dīt* ‘aunt’ (pl. *dīt*), *eš-dīt* ‘cousin (f.)’ (pl. *eš-dodt*).
 - 2 *əššfǵk*: The Roman ms has just *šfǵk* here (and line 4), which does not make sense. This can only be a mistake for an Š1-Stem imperfect *əššfǵk*. Cf. also the certain appearance of the Š1-Stem in line 6.
 - 3 *yəšénús*: See the comment to 39:1.

Translation of Text 46

- 1 Once there was a beautiful girl, and all the men loved her. And her father had been killed, already about five years ago, and had left behind no children except this girl.
- 2 And her cousins asked for her hand in marriage, but she swore, "I won't marry anyone except whoever avenges my father."
- 3 And the people who had killed her father were not in that land. It was a journey of a month and a half on a camel. And no one dared enter their land.
- 4 Then one day her cousin asked for her hand in marriage. The girl said, "I only marry men. You are not a man." He said, "Why?" She said, "Ask yourself."
- 5 Then he drew his dagger and grabbed her by the hair and swore, "If you don't tell me, I will kill you!"
- 6 She said, "Ok. If you are a man, go avenge your uncle. Then I will marry you." The man said, "That's it?" She said, "That's it."
- 7 They passed the night. In the morning, he loaded his camel and went. He had a month and a half, and he didn't carry any weapons. Then when he got near the town, he left his camel and entered the town. He pretended he was crazy.
- 8 And he begged people from house to house. They gave him dates, and he put the dates in his robe-pouch. The people laughed at him.
- 9 He stayed in that town about half a month. Then one night he came to an old woman. He begged from her. Then she said, "You have annoyed us, crazy man, go to the house of the sheikh, so he can give you food or kill you."

4 *āššfōk*: See the comment to line 2. The Roman ms again has here *šfōk*, but in this context, it must be an imperfect *āššfōk*.

8 *ağarzóts*: In the Roman ms, Johnstone glossed this as 'inside *thōb* at waist'. I did not find the word in *JL*. One informant translated the word as 'pouch' (with reference to a what a kangaroo has), but explained that the pouch is made with the cloth garment that one is wearing.

9 *ε'úzərək*: This is glossed in the Roman ms as 'annoyed us'. This is a 2ms perfect, D/L-Stem of a root 'zr. No such root is in *JL*, but this verb is listed in *ML* (s.v. 'zr) as an EJ form.

9 *ĩšérd*: It is unclear if we have here the vocative particle *ε* or the definite article *ε* attached to this noun (see § 12.3).

- 10 'ōr, "ʔl yaḵódar yó(l)taḡ tɔ lɔ." 'ōrót ešxarét, "ʔl yaḵódar yó(l)taḡak lɔ? bə-šé ḡazé ʔrx troh bə-létaḡ kēr ḏ-ekilt, ḡalá' ar het?"
- 11 'ōr aḡéyḡ, "kēr e-mun?" 'ōrót, "kēr e-kilt bet eḏí-ilín." axarét 'ōr, "húṭun ūtš?" 'ōrót, "ūtš ḏíkun se. bə-yšéf tel hérúm ḏókun, še b-aḡág e-ḡallét. ḡad, aḡásare tel aḡág. ḡalá' ínét."
- 12 'ōr aḡéyḡ, "he a'ágób tel ínét." 'ōrót ešxarét, "tob ar yénhum ya, šefk mišérd." axarét zūtš xérín tūr.
- 13 kél'áš 'aḡ aḡarzóts b-aḡád. 'ōr, "ak l-əzém tūr ḏénu kēr." 'ōrót ešxarét, "ʔl xer hek lɔ. dḡa-yó(l)taḡak."
- 14 aḡád aḡéyḡ ed zəḡám tel kēr, b-aḡág skɔf. axarét žəḡhak meš aḡág bə-kēr, bə-ōr kēr her ersót, "ərdés b-ebzém." ərdés ersót b-ebzém bə-šé yōk bédé'.
- 15 yažḡók kel meš. axarét 'ōr aḡéyḡ her kēr, "zē-tɔ fékó' al-šefkēs." 'ōr kēr, "əx! yaḡés len eksbétan!"
- 16 bə-ṡérdáš. b-aḡád ed kéréb lóhum. skɔf ed ya šéf. síni kēr šéf kéréb al-hérúm. ed fəḡḡḡ ḏ-a'ásər zəḡám aḡéyḡ.
- 17 ḡól índíḡš b-egenbítš. xōṡ índíḡ bə-lídáš bə-šókúm. bə-n'áfš aḡág, b-ʔl étəl beš lɔ.

-
- 10 *ḡalá' ar*: The exact function of *ḡalá' ar* in the phrase *ḡalá' ar het* is not clear, though this is clearly idiomatic. Johnstone added the gloss 'let alone you?' in the Roman ms. My informants found it difficult to translate, but agreed on something like 'how about you?'. Perhaps compare the use of *ḡalá' ar* in 38:1, where it means something like 'especially'. The point in the story is that the man (the target) is clearly quite brave and strong, so how does the other man (pretending to be an idiot) think he has a chance?
- 12 *yénhum*: *yénhum* means literally 'their truth' (root *'mn*) and is not a verb. Cf. the similar usage in 24:1, where the phrase is parallel with the verb *bédé* 'they lied' (also 48:19; TJ4:71).
- 14 *ebzém* 'date-stones': This word is not in *JL*, but we find the singular *bziūt* in *ML* (s.v. *gl'* and on p. 512; the form *bzlūt* printed in *ML* under the root *gl'* is obviously a typo for *bziūt*), as well as in *HL* (s.v. *gl'*). Johnstone transcribed the first occurrence of *b-ebzém* incorrectly as *bə-bzém*, though both occurrences are written the same in the Arabic ms. Miller and Morris (1988: 6) mention the word *bizām*, referring to the large seeds of a certain type of prickly cactus fruit (*Blepharis dhofarensis*). This is presumably a related word, if not the same.

- 10 He said, "He cannot kill me." The old woman said, "He can't kill you? He raided two months and killed the sheikh of the tribe, so what about you?"
- 11 The man said, "The sheikh of whom?" She said, "The sheikh of such-and-such tribe." Then he said, "Where is his house?" She said, "His house is that one. And he sleeps under that tree, he and the men of the town. Go, spend the night among the men. Leave the women be."
- 12 The man said, "I like (it) among the women." The old woman said, "Indeed the people told the truth, you really are crazy!" Then she gave him a few dates.
- 13 He put it in his robe and went. He said, "I want to give this date to the sheikh." The old woman said, "You'd better not [lit. it's not good for you]. He will kill you."
- 14 The man went until he came to the sheikh, and the men were sitting. Then the men and the sheikh laughed at him, and the sheikh said to the boys, "Pelt him with the date-stones." They pelted him with the date-stones and he fake-cried [lit. cried on pretense].
- 15 They all laughed at him. Then the man said to the sheikh, "Give me blankets to cover myself with." The sheikh said, "Ugh! He'll stink up our clothes!"
- 16 And he drove him away. And (later) he went until he got close to them. He sat until the people fell asleep. He saw the sheikh sleeping near a tree. Then in the middle of the night, the man came.
- 17 He took his rifle and his dagger. He cocked the rifle and shot him, and (then) he went. The men chased him, but they didn't catch him.

14 *béde*': In the Roman ms, Johnstone glossed this as 'in pretence'. It is unclear if this is a bare noun (cf. *JL bédā* 'lie, falsehood'), or the (expected) elided form of *bə-béde* 'by falsehood; in a lie'.

15 *əl-šefkēš*: This is a contraction of *əl-šefkē beš* 'to cover myself with (it)'. Johnstone seems to indicate this in his Roman ms, though it is possible he means that *əl-šefkēš* is an error for *əl-šefké beš*. The Arabic ms confirms the form *əl-šefkēš*. A similar contraction is found in text 48:3.

17 *étal*: This verb is glossed in *JL* (s.v. *ʔl*) as 'follow, chase', but it clearly means 'catch (up to)' here, as it does also in 97:15, 97:17, and elsewhere in text 97.

- 18 *b-agád ɔrx bə-fǝkħ ed zəhám tel sékənaš. ʾórót aǵabǵót, “náʕanu ǵeyǵ.”*
bə-šǝkħ bes bə-zhám mes b-īnēš. bə-d-ʾód ʕahét ed náʕanu. bə-təmmút.

Text 47 (= M102, but variant): Conversations

- 1 A: “*áǵən nəšéd, taṭ k-érún, bə-tát k-iyél, bə-tát yaxétər. bə-túm nħɔl.*”
 2 B: “*mkun he, ʾak k-iyél.*”
 3 A: “*mor, het k-iyél. bə-kħbéž ʾak šaʿb dīnu, b-əhtédǝr b-iyél ɔl tənzáʿan.*
b-iyótk berót dħa-l-éšħəṭ.”
 4 B: “*ɔl təktélǝb lə.*”
 5 A: “*bə-hét dħa-tékən k-érún. əhtédǝr ar kɔb. ʾər mənhínəm hógúm*
al-sékən dēnu ɛ-sérén.” C: “*mor.*”
 6 A: “*bə-hé dħa-l-xétər ǵer yiršǝb bə-dħa-l-zhómkuṃ kərəre kɔl ʿeni. b-ínét*
təǵréfən axdér. b-ersót yaxómnəm l-iršǝb. her zəhám mən ǵxtér, (t)zhǝn
ǝ-télf.”
 7 *axarét ersót ǵɔlǝb. ʾər, “ɔl nəkénúm lə, ar hér dħa-(t)zhǝ-tun bə-kəsmét.”*
 A: “*dħa-l-zhómkuṃ bə-kəsmét.*”
 8 Wife: “*mor, əstəhɔl. bə-dék ɔl tərǵɔb l-aʾizǝǵ. yǵǝrəd.*”
 9 A: “*le, dħa-l-ərkǝb leš.*”
 10 Wife: “*ɔl xer hek lə.*”
 11 A: “*dħa-l-ərkǝb leš. dħa-l-hǝrəš.*” *axarét rékəb l-aʾizǝǵ bə-féród beš,*
bə-níkəb. axarét ʕahkót meš túš. ʾórót, “tob ar hǝrək!”
 12 ʾər, “*ezbǝrš hīni. hes níkəbək, mətíl tɔ!*” ʾórót, “*kə het dóʾak tɔ?*”
 13 ʾər, “*bass.*” ʾórót *teṭ, “mor, kən li l-hés ɪ, ar b-ərzəbə!”*

Text 47

- 1 *nəšéd*: This is the 1cp subjunctive of the Š2-Stem *šēd* (root *wdd*; 3mp imperfect *yəšǝdən*, 3mp subjunctive *yəšǝd*). It corresponds in meaning to the Mehri T2-Stem of the same root, used in the corresponding passage of the Mehri text (102:1). In addition to the *JL* entry for this verb under the root *wdd*, *JL* also lists a verb *ššēd* under the root *šdy*; this is surely a ghost form (and ghost root). First, an Š2-Stem of such a root would not have this form, though *ššēd* could theoretically be an Š2-Stem of the root *šwd* (compare the forms in §7.4.8). Second, Johnstone compared *ššēd* with Mehri T2 *əhtōdi*, but the Mehri root *hdy* is cognate with the Jibbali root *hdy*. Mehri *əhtōdi* corresponds to Jibbali T2 *əhtódə*. Moreover, two Š-Stems from the root *hdy* are listed in *JL*.

- 18 And he went for a month and a half, until he got to his community. The girl said, "Now (you are) a man." And he married her and had children [or: sons] with her. And they are still alive until now. And it is finished.

Translation of Text 47

- 1 A: "Let's divide up work among one another, one with the goats, one with the camels, and one will go down into town. You choose."
 2 B: "As for me, I want (to be) with the camels."
 3 A: "Ok, you (will 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."
 4 B: "Don't worry."
 5 A: "And you will be with the goats. Watch out for a wolf. They said yesterday that it attacked this settlement that's behind us." C: "Ok."
 6 A: "And I'll go down into town on the riding-camels, and I'll come back to you tomorrow evening. The women should sweep the caves, and the boys should collect fodder for the riding-camels. When they come back from a trip, they come back hungry."
 7 Then the boys refused. They said, "We won't collect fodder, unless you'll bring us a gift." A: "I will bring you a gift."
 8 Wife: "Ok, goodbye. And be sure not to ride the young camel. It bolts."
 9 A: "No, I *will* ride it."
 10 Wife: "You'd better not [lit. it's not good for you]."
 11 A: "I will ride it. I'll tame it." Then he rode the young camel, and it bolted with him on, and he fell. Then his wife laughed at him. She said, "Indeed you tamed (it)!"
 12 He said, "You're enjoying my pain. When I fall, be like me!" She said, "Why do you curse me?"
 13 He said, "(I) just (did)." The woman said, "Ok, be to me like my father, unless (you offer) a reconciliation."

12 *dó'ak*: This the correct 2ms perfect of the verb *da'é* (root *d'v*). Cf. *šó'ak* 'I ran', from *ša'é* (root *š'v*). See further on this verb type in §7.4.12.

- 14 *b-aǧadót tet̪ (ð-)təħil ka'ās yol a'élés. axarét eržés fəḵḵ ḏə-yát, bə-séd. bə-xtór aǧéyγ, bə-kbér yol sékanaš. bə-təmmút.*

Text 48 (= M99 and H2, but a shorter variant): Fox and Friends

- 1 *xatarét b-eziün énfī, kəb bə-kézər bə-tīrín b-it'él b-erxōt bə-yaǧréb xaṭór. b-aǧád ed éšal mənzél taṭ ber ḏə-télf.*
- 2 *axarét 'ōr hóhum ekézər, "ǧəd bə-zḥī-tun bə-'ísé, bə-hé dḥa-l-ǰskaf būn." (šum) aǧád.*
- 3 *mkun (mən) tīrín, aǧadót bə-ksét ǧəd maḥmīs ḏə-rdīš bə-ḥōlōts. b-aǧadót ḏer ḥār, ksét mədfunút bə-nəksóts. bə-ksét ǧəzələt ḏə-ǧírób bə-ḥōlōts. mkun mən kəb, aǧád ed 'aḵ sa'b. ksé tet̪ k-erún, bə-sél les (kēs) bə-derhés.*
- 4 *mkun mən ekézər, tərǰf leš bəšórta, bə-fér ḏer ezéhər e-tít mənsēn bə-ḵiṣfəs. ed kəl'ēni ǧótbər kə-taṭ mən mukún. a'lék šōṭ bə-sérǰf.*
- 5 *bə-daḥáš źzhum bə-séré ókrút bə-žē téhum. b-əhtóde tūrhum.*

Text 47

- 14 *(ð-)təħil*: The prefix *ð-* is not in the mss. It should be there, but it is suppressed because of the initial *t-* (see § 2.1.10).

Text 48

- 1 *yaǧréb*: See the comment to 33:7.
- 1 *xaṭór*: This is the EJ form of the verb. The CJ form (given in *JL*) is *xəṭór*, which Johnstone added in the margin of both Roman mss. In 21:1, Ali seems to use *xəṭór*, though the vowel of the first syllable on the audio is perhaps somewhere between *ɔ* and *a*.
- 2 *šum*: This word was added in the margin of one Roman ms. It is not necessary, but it does make clear the subject of the verb *aǧád*, which can be 3ms, 3mp, or 3fp.
- 3 *mkún (mən)*: The preposition *mən* is apparently optional after the particle *mkun* (see §12.5.14). The *mən* is not in the Arabic ms after the first occurrence of *mkun*, but Johnstone added it in parentheses in the margins of both Roman mss. The *mən* is present in all mss in the following two occurrences of *mkun*.

- 14 The woman left, carrying her things to her family. Then he offered her a half a camel as reconciliation, and they agreed. And the man went down into town, and (then) came back up to his settlement. And it is finished.

Translation of Text 48

- 1 Once, in former times, a wolf, a leopard, a hyena, a fox, a vulture, and a raven were traveling. They went until they got to a certain place, already hungry.
- 2 Then the leopard said to them, "Go and bring us food, and I will stay here." They went.
- 3 As for the hyena, she went and found an animal skin that someone threw away, and picked it up. And she went onto a mountain and found a cache of goods and opened it. She found a half a *jarab*-measure of dates and took it. As for the wolf, he went into a valley. He found a woman with goats, and he snatched a calf from her.
- 4 As for the leopard, young camels passed by him, and he jumped on the back of one of them and broke its neck. Then in the evening, everyone met someplace. They lit a fire and laid heating stones.
- 5 And they skinned their goat, skinned the young camel, and roasted their meat. And they divided up the dates.

3 *rdēš*: This is a contraction of *rdé* 'he/they threw' and *beš*. A similar contraction is found in 46:15. It is also worth noting that the Mehri and Ḥarsusi versions of this text have a passive participle here, a form that seems to be less productive in Jibbali.

3 *hōlōts*: The Arabic ms and one Roman ms (the more careful one!) have *hōlōtš*, with a 3ms object suffix. This is a mistake, since the suffix must agree with the feminine *gəzəlét*.

3 *kēs*: The Arabic ms and original transcription in the Roman ms has *sél les* 'he snatched from her'. Here the use of *l-* is idiomatic with the verb *sel*, just as it is idiomatic with the verb *dōlax* in the Mehri version (99:3) and *nəzōġ* in the Ḥarsusi version (2:3). Johnstone later replaced *les* in his ms with *kēs* 'from her', which was apparently the preference of a later informant.

5 *šéré ōkrút*: This is what the Arabic ms has. The Roman mss have just *b-ōkrút* 'and the young camel', taking this as a second object of the verb *daháš*.

- 6 ʿōr tīrīn, “he aǧmódak ḏa-kēṭa’k mən ḥīlīn e-tūr, bə-‘ák əl-šēf. bə-ḥás ebšó(l)kum, a’ás to.” ʿōr hes, “mor.”
- 7 šōfōt bə-šúm ebšél téhum b-əhtóde. ʿōr it’él, “zū-to iyén e-tīrīn, bə-hé dḥa-l-a’áss.” zūš iyéns.
- 8 tē mən té’ erḥúm, əm-mən tūr erḥúm, b-aḥsé a’ázóž b-ebzēm ‘aḳ ēḳarérts. bə-šēf.
- 9 ed k-ḥásaf, ʿōrót tīrīn, “iyéni húṭūn? he əl tēk sé lə mənḥínəm, b-eṣbáḥk ḏə-téləfk.”
- 10 ʿōr hes, “iyénš k-it’él.” ʿōr it’él, “hit tēš iyénš mənḥínəm. kəh, əl ótkəḏəš lo?” ʿōrót, “əl tēk sé lo!”
- 11 ʿōr it’él, “mor, ǧíd šbūt ‘aḳ eǧaḥrér. bə-hér əl xnúṭš a’ázóž b-ebzēm mən ēḳarérts lə, əkín he bédé. bə-hér xnúṭš tóhum mən šíts (ēḳarérts), təkín hit əl ótkəḏəš lə, bə-dḥa-l-əḥzíz.”
- 12 aǧadót tīrīn bə-šōfót, bə-xanōt a’ázóž b-ebzēm mən šíts. ʿōr it’él, “šínkum?”
- 13 axarét sīḥás mən ḥəzzín, b-aǧád. axarét ʿōr it’él her tīrīn, “ḥəmúl to ed tél ḥaróž ḏíkun (a’érž ḏókun), bə-hé mǧóre’ dḥa-l-ḥī(l)š.”
- 14 ḥólóts ed éṣəl tel ḥaróž. ʿōr it’él, “d-‘əs ed ḥaróž ēšǧarót (a’érž ēšǧər).”

6 *ḥīlīn*: This noun, the meaning of which is clear, is not in *JL*. It is a verbal noun of the G-Stem *ḥōl* ‘carry’ (root *hml*).

8 *ebzēm*: See the comment to 46:14.

11 *šbūt*: The verb *šōt* (root *šbt*) is not listed in *JL*, though its meaning is clear. In the Roman ms for this text, Johnstone glossed it as ‘shit’. It is used again in the next line, as well as in 97:40.

11 *šíts*: In the Arabic ms, Ali added in the margin ‘or *ēḳarérts*’. These two mean roughly the same thing; *šét* (*JL*, s.v. *št*) refers to the private area in general, while *məḳarért* (*JL*, s.v. *krr*) means ‘anus’. Earlier in the line, Ali had crossed out *šíts* and written *aw* (‘or’) *ēḳarérts*. In the Roman ms Johnstone included both variants for the second occurrence.

13 *ḥəzzín*: The Roman ms has *ḥəzéz* here, which is probably a mistake. The form *ḥəzzín* in the Arabic ms matches the verbal noun given in *JL* (s.v. *ḥzz*); cf. also the verbal noun *ḥīlīn* in line 6 (not listed in *JL*).

- 6 The hyena said, "I've become tired [lit. I've gotten to the evening having become tired] from carrying the dates, and I want to go to sleep. When you've cooked, wake me." They said to her, "Ok."
- 7 She went to sleep, and they cooked their meat and divided (it) up. The fox said, "Give me the hyena's portion, and I'll wake her up." They give him her portion.
- 8 He ate from the good meat and the good dates, and he stuffed the bones and the date-stones in her backside. And he went to sleep.
- 9 Then in the morning, the hyena said, "Where is my portion? I didn't eat anything last night, and I woke up hungry."
- 10 They said to her, "Your portion is with the fox." The fox said, "You ate your portion last night. Why, didn't you wake up?" She said, "I didn't eat anything!"
- 11 The fox said, "Ok, go defecate in the valley. If you don't expel the bones and the date-stones from your backside, I am a liar. But if you expel them from your backside, you didn't wake up, and you will be killed."
- 12 The hyena went and defecated, and she expelled the bones and date-stones from her backside. The fox said, "Did you see?!"
- 13 Then he excused her from being killed, and they went. Then the fox said to the hyena, "Carry me up to that acacia tree, and then I will carry you."
- 14 She carried him until they reached the acacia tree. The fox said, "You still have until the next acacia."

13 *ħaróž*: In the Roman ms, which Johnstone revised with the help of a CJ speaker (a unique feature of this text), he added the form *a'érž* in the margin; he did likewise in line 14 (note that *ħaróž* is feminine, while *a'érž* is masculine). Neither form is in *JL*. In *ML* (s.v. *ħrž*), following the Mehri form *ħarōž*, Johnstone notes EJ *ħaróž* and the absence of a CJ form. In *HL* (s.v. *ħrž*), Johnstone just listed Jibbali *ħaróž*, with no indication of dialect. Johnstone believes this tree is the *Acacia mellifera*, also known as a blackthorn tree, though in *HL* he indicated his uncertainty with a question mark. Miller and Morris (1988: 177) maintain that this is *Acacia tortilis*, also known as the umbrella thorn acacia. Miller and Morris also list only *ħaróž* as the Jibbali term (likewise Morris 2002: 57).

- 15 *hōlōtš b-aǰád. ed ešal delšf, ʾor itʾél, “aʾélí b-aʾélókum ʾak (l-)extiníthum yadólafmān fūdún ḏtnu e-ḏík.”*
- 16 *ʾor ekéžar, “búdāk, fálékān her kunk iyénk, dālēfhēt énfēt.” delšf itʾél b-εbréʾ.*
- 17 *bə-dólšf ekéžar b-εbréʾ. bə-dólšf kəb bə-tēr egdólēš. b-εdūr leš bə-tēš.*
- 18 *b-aǰád ed ešal gət bə-hār. ʾor itʾél her ekéžar, “ī b-īk énfēt (kézúm) yadólafmān būn ed ʾak egahrér.”*
- 19 *ʾor ekéžar, “búdāk, fálékān her kunk iyénk, dālēfhēt énfī.”*
- 20 *délšf itʾél b-iti ʾak egahrér (ḏ-)šór. b-əl šəthér sé l. bə-dólšf ekéžar bə-tēr kelš ed kun hašós.*
- 21 *ʾor her itʾél, “kərób li bə-té mān šebh aʾántí. təkín šóga!”*
- 22 *ʾor itʾél “əl dhā-l-kəróbk l. he dhā-l-ǰád. təxəlšf šəhát!” b-aǰád itʾél, b-ekéžar fēt. bə-təmmút fōkah e-kéltót.*

Text 49 (= M89): A Naughty Boy and Sweet Potatoes

- 1 *mkun xaṭarét tit ḏ-axáfān bə-xádər ḏókūn mān ḏēr xargún aǰí. bə-hé məktízi. b-érún ḏ-aǰyég, bə-yó ḏə-xalót lēn.*

Text 48

- 15 *ʾak (l-)extiníthum*: The Arabic ms has *ʾak extiníthum*, as does Johnstone's original transcription. Johnstone later corrected this to *l-extiníthum* (with *l-* in place of *ʾak*), which must have been the preference of his later informant.
- 15 *e-ḏík*: This is the realization of an underlying *ed ḏík*.
- 16 *délšf*: In this text, we find both *délšf* and *dólšf* for 'he jumped'. The variants seem to be confirmed by the Arabic ms, which has ديلوف for *délšf*, but دولوف for *dólšf*. Below *délšf* in this line of the Roman ms, Johnstone writes "or *dólšf*". Johnstone also added later corrections elsewhere, based on his later informant, to indicate the CJ form *ḏólšf*. See also *JL* (s.v. *dlf* and *ḏlf*).
- 16 *εbréʾ*: Johnstone listed this verb in *JL* under the root *brw*. I wonder if it should instead be under *brʾ*, a root which elsewhere in Semitic has

- 15 She carried him and they went. Then when they reach some rocks, the fox said, "My forefather and your forefathers, at their circumcision, they would jump from this rock to that one."
- 16 The leopard said, "You lied, but if you are telling the truth, you jump first." The fox jumped and was fine.
- 17 And the leopard jumped and was fine. And the wolf jumped and his feet broke. And they went back to him and ate him.
- 18 And they went until they reached a precipice [lit. big hole] in the mountain. The fox said to the leopard, "My father and your father used to jump from here into the valley."
- 19 The leopard said, "You lied, but if you are telling the truth, you jump first."
- 20 The fox jumped and landed standing in the valley. And nothing was hurt. And the leopard jumped and all of him was broken and [lit. until] he was all smashed (in his bones).
- 21 He said to the fox, "Come up to me and eat the fat of my eyes. Be brave!"
- 22 The fox said, "I won't come near you. I'll leave. Be well [lit. may health come]!" And the fox left, and the leopard died. And half of the story is finished.

Translation of Text 49

- 1 Once we were camped in that cave, after the death of my brother. And I was naughty. The goats had given birth, and people had joined with us.

meanings connected with health or well-being. Other forms from the root *br'* in Jibbali have meaning associated with freedom or innocence, similar to Arabic (though the root is also connected with health in Arabic).

- 18 *énfēt* (*kézúm*): The Arabic ms has *énfēt* 'formerly', as did the original transcription in the Roman ms. With his later corrector, Johnstone replaced this with the particle *kézúm* 'used to' (see §12.5.11).
- 19 *énfī*: The Arabic ms has *énfī* here, but *énfēt* in the parallel passage in line 16. The Roman ms has *énfēt* in both lines, and Johnstone corrected them both to *énfī* based on his later informant.
- 20 *ħasśś*: This word is not in *JL*, but it is listed in *ML* (s.v. *ħśś*). The Mehri word is given the meaning 'having all the bones smashed'.

- 2 *bə-šēn šītār məkən, b-ī yakín k-ōšét.*
- 3 *bə-hér inét fəlók šītār, əšórək ūs ɛ-ī b-aħzéz šītār. axarét inét síni tə, bə-hér ágəb tək'án šītār, ʔit mənsén (t)səkʃ ʔer dɔʃ mən tél l-əḵōzən li.*
- 4 *bek hizk sətét šītār, troh ɛ-nhá bə-ʔát edídi.*
- 5 *fələkən émi zūthum šōʔər bə-šōʔərhum ɛ-ħézíz, bə-šúm gúzúm, “əl nəzízə beš kézīt.”*
- 6 *axarét kéré ‘áni ūs ɛ-ī, bə-inét əl-‘əd kéla’ tə əl-gád yəl šītār lə.*
- 7 *ed yum ʔit égaħk ‘ak xádər, əkós šōʔər troh, ɛskél edídi. bə-xonúkək ʔat mən húm.*
- 8 *b-inét šā ‘əzǵárér ɛ-šōʔər bə-zhám. ‘örót edíti, “ebrí, he əl ši ar šōʔər troh, bə-kó het fyítək ʔat?”*
- 9 *bə-sé (t)zəħək. ‘ök, “édíti, ar sékəl.” axarét sōʔót tə émi, bə-rəənút tə əl-gəndét ed kəl'éni.*
- 10 *bə-guzúmək əl-‘əd aħzéz šītār zeyd, b-erxét li.*
- 11 *bə-skǔfən. ed mən ʔér ékət, xtər ī həllét bə-zhám tun bə-fəndél her nəfnék fəndél. bə-nhá ekézún d-‘ədən əl nəǵórb fəndél lə.*
- 12 *bə-‘ör hini ī, “her ‘ak het b-egátk təǵód ʔer emih, dħa-l-zémkum fəndél həş ɛ-zhámkum.*
- 13 *fələkən dek əl tósəʔə egátk. her sōʔək egátk, əl dħa-l-zémk sé lə.” ‘ök, “mor.”*
- 14 *agádən. axarét he ‘ak egáti thil tə ed ʔér emih. ‘ök, “egáti, həmíl tə!”*
- 15 *‘örót, “het bek séb náşanu, b-əl əḵódər əl-ħī(l)k lə.”*
- 16 *axarét agádk l-ósəʔəs. ‘örót hini, “fəʔnək sé?” ‘ök, “iné?”*
- 17 *‘örót, “fʔun!” ‘ök he, “fəndél.” ‘örót, “‘ör hek ī, ‘her sōʔək egátk əl dħa-l-zémk sé lə.’”*
- 18 *axarét ‘ök, “əl dħa-l-a‘mér hiš sé lə. b-əl tikləʔ her ī lə.” ‘örót, “mor.”*
- 19 *agádən. ed ɛşələn ʔer emih, méléʔ li bérík mih.*

3 *tək'án*: This is the 3fp subjunctive of the G-Stem *ka'é*. In *JL* (s.v. *k'w*), the G-Stem is given the meaning '(kids) get out of the pen', while the H-Stem *ek'é* has the meaning 'let (kids) out of the pen'. It is the latter meaning that fits the context here. However, in the word-list that accompanies this text, Johnstone listed the 3ms perfect *kə'é* (with the G-stem 3ms imperfect/subjunctive form *yək'á*) with the meaning 'let kids out'. *ML* (s.v. *flk*) records both EJ *k'é* (presumably a G-Stem) and CJ *ek'é* (H-Stem), corresponding in meaning to the Mehri G-Stem *fəlūk* 'let kids out of the pen' (the 3ms perfect form *fələk* in *ML* is a typo).

- 2 And we had a lot of (goat) kids, and my father was 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 the kids, one of them would sit on a rock where they
 could watch me.
 4 I had already killed three kids, two of ours and one of my uncle's.
 5 But my mother gave them a kid for their kid that was slaughtered, and
 they swore, "We won'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 cave and found two kids, twins of my
 uncle. 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 big 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 do [lit. say] anything to you. And don't tell father."
 She said, "Ok."
 19 We went. Then when we reached the water, she filled a jug with water
 for me.

18 *dħa-l-a'mér*: In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the comment "say, meaning do". Cf. the same usage in TJ4:36 and TJ4:50.

- 20 *bə-’ōrót hīni, “ḥamél bə-dḥa-l-a’mér her ī ’áli axér ar ʿersót kəl.”*
 21 *ḥōk ʿērīk bə-ḏ-aftéréžən bə-fəndél. d-’ok ol ašúnsən lə.*
 22 *ed kərbən lə-sékən, ’ōk her eǵáti, “fəṭnəš sé?” ’ōrót, “ob.” ’ōk, “fəndél.”*
 23 *’ōrót, “ī ḏə-yōd bék. ’aǵəb bek taǵád ḏer emih.”*
 24 *hes šā’k təs herǵót tǵkūn, rúdək b-ērīk ḏ-’ámkəš emih, bə-ḥōk daf.*
 25 *aǵádk l-érd eǵáti. axarét zəǵarrót b-əbhé yə.*
 26 *bə-zḥōt ʿemí bə-sōṭót tə, bə-nǵámk mən ḏírhum. ’ōr hīni ī, “nəká’ əl-yóh, dḥa-l-zémk fəndél.”*
 27 *’ōk, “ol ’ak bésən lə. dḥa-l-ǵád yəl xéli.” b-aǵádk yəl xéli. šum kéréb len.*
 28 *ed zəḥámk ḏ-’ok, ’ōr xézi, “’ēr-ǵáti, kə het tōk?” ’ōk, “sōṭót tə ʿemí, bə-hé nǵámk ʿmtkum.”*
 29 *axarét ’ōr xézi, “mor, ’ēr-ǵáti, nəká’.” skəfk tel xézi.*
 30 *ed kəl’eni, kélé ʿérún bə-’és xézi bə-ḥéz zə.*
 31 *’ōr, “’ēr-ǵáti ber nǵam ʿmti, dḥa-l-ḥíz heš.” ed yum xízféṭ, zəḥōt ʿemí her təzḏót tə.*
 32 *’ōr xézi, “ol yəbǵód lə ar hér ’aǵiš (t)zīmš yət.” ’ōrót, “h-íné l-əzémš? embére’ məktízi, b-ol dé ’aǵəb yəxéltə ben lə əl-siēš (séréš).”*
 33 *yəsōṭ ʿersót bə-ysoṭ eǵáts.” ’ōr xézi, “bélé!”*
 34 *axarét zūt tə yət bə-l-ǵád šes. ’ōr xézi, “kə tūm kélá’kum təš yəǵád baḥséš əmšín?”*
 35 *’ōrót ʿemí, “ol nəkó(l)š dḥa-yǵád lə. ḏə-ǵarəbk təš ḏə-yəftéréžən bə-fəndél, fəlékən embére’ eǵélbəš šəf kósi.” b-aǵádk k-ʿemí. bə-təmmút.*

31 *xízféṭ*: See the comment to 39:8.

32 *əl-siēš (séréš)*: The Arabic ms has *əl-siēš* ‘because of him’, which is parallel to the phrase *əw-səbēbəh* used in the Mehri version of this text. The Roman ms has *súréš* (which I have altered to *séréš*), from the preposition *sér*, with *əl-siēš* in the margin in parentheses. It is possible that *ser* (which has the basic meaning ‘behind, after’) may be the more native idiom, while *əl-siēš* is a more Arabized expression. *JL* (s.v. *sr*) does list ‘because of’ as a possible meaning of *ser* (see § 8.24 for some examples). It is also quite possible that *séréš* in the Roman ms is simply an error, since the Arabic ms has only *əl-siēš*.

34 *bə-l-ǵád*: The preposition *b-* is used here as a subordinator to indicate purpose (§ 13.5.2.5). Normally we expect *her* in such a context (§ 13.5.2.2), but here *b-* is used since there is the sense of ‘in exchange for’. Both the Roman and Arabic mss confirm this form, and Johnstone himself glossed the phrase as ‘for me to go’ in the Roman ms.

- 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 jug and was excited about the sweet potatoes. I still had not 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 jug 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, and 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, (so) 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 stay with us because of him.
- 33 He hits the boys and he hits his sister." My uncle said, "Even so!"
- 34 Then she gave me a camel for me to 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. It is finished.

35 *kósi*: This word is not in *JL*, but *ML* (s.v. *ksw*) lists this as an EJ form. It is perhaps just a Mehri word. It is ultimately an Arabic loanword, as proven by the fact that the form has *s* as a reflex of the Proto-Semitic **s* (root *qsw/y*), instead of the expected Jibbali *š* or Mehri *h* (cf. Hebrew *qāšē*, Arabic *qasīy-*).

Text 50 (no M): Taking Care of a Baby Brother

- 1 *xaxarét ð-axáfæn bə-xádər, b-émí takún əmbéreʹ. ed yum tit ʹorót h́ını,*
“*het skeftel aqak,*
- 2 *bə-hé dha-l-gád l-ékər b-ağóhí ed əl-zhómkm. b-embéreʹ náşanu*
ðə-şéf, bə-dék ɔ(l) l-aʹásš.” ʹok, “mor.”
- 3 *ağadót émí bə-hé skɔfk. bə-tōlí ersót ēr-dódí. axarét xənútk embéreʹ mən*
ʹak fídét ed ðér dɔfeb ʹak šüm.
- 4 *axarét zəhám ersót bə-ʹor h́ını, “het dha-tó(l)təğ aqák! šum yəłótəğ*
ekézün.” ʹok, “ðenu ağı, bə-lókum sé míní lə.”
- 5 *axarét ərtəg ersót, bə-ʹor, “ágən nəgáħš embéreʹ ɔl-ʹód yəfót.” bə-zhám*
ʹəgəb yəħmól embéreʹ.
- 6 *axarét hōk təš ðer šōi, b-ağádk ed ðér ekışét ε-xádər, bə-kʹór k lóhum*
bə-fədnín. b-ersót égaħ ʹak xádər bə-htɔf, b-embéreʹ ðə-yōk ber dha-yfót.
- 7 *axarét geyg ðə-yəbgód b-ərməš šā hɔtf ð-ersót, b-əbhé. ed zəhám, ʹor,*
“kɔ tūm?”
- 8 *ʹor ersót, “áli hōl aqáš eníşán ðer xádər ʹak šüm, bə-ðə-yəkʹór len*
bə-delɔf. ʹəgəb yó(l)təğ tūn, b-aqáš dha-yfót mən xēt! bə-gád ħməl
embéreʹ eníşán.”
- 9 *axarét ekbél li aqéyg, b-ağádk l-érdəš bə-fədnín. axarét ʹor aqéyg,*
“dha-l-lhók lek, nərdé ersót.” bə-zhám tɔ. ksé embéreʹ ber dha-yfót mən
šum bə-xēt.
- 10 *axarét hōl embéreʹ bə-ʹor h́ını, “gádú, dha-l-zémk miṭ-íné.” b-ağádən ed*
éşələn xádər. šéké embéreʹ mih b-əsxəfəš núsəb.
- 11 *bə-zhōt émí. kset embéreʹ ber taʹbún. bə-skófən yū trut, bə-xaróg*
embéreʹ. bə-təmmút.

2 *ðə-şéf*: The prefix *ðə-* is crossed out in the Roman ms for some reason.

3 *ēr-dódí*: See the comment to 46:2.

4 *yəłótəğ*: The Arabic ms has only *yəłótəğ*, while the Roman ms has *ðə-yəłótəğ*. I found no audio for this text. We would not expect the particle *ð-* here, if it is a general present tense (see § 7.1.10.1).

9 *dha-l-lhók*: See the comment to 36:4.

Translation of Text 50

- 1 Once we were staying in a cave, and my mother was nursing a boy. Then one day, my mother said to me, "You stay with your brother,
- 2 and I will go to visit my brothers until I come back to you. And the boy is sleeping now, so be careful not to wake him." I said, "Ok."
- 3 My mother went, and I stayed. And boys were with me, my cousins. Then I took the boy out of the cradle, and (put him) onto a big rock in the hot sun.
- 4 Then the boys came and said to me, "You will kill your brother! The hot sun kills little children." I said, "This is my brother, and you have nothing to do with it [lit. nothing from me]."
- 5 Then the boys conspired with each other, and they said, "Let's take the boy from him by force before he dies." And they came, intending to take the boy.
- 6 Then I put him on my back, and I went up onto the ledge of the cave, and I threw [or: rolled] down stones at them. And the boys entered into the cave and yelled for help, and the boy was crying and about to die.
- 7 The man who was going on his way heard the shouting of the boys, and he came to help. When he came, he said, "Why are you (shouting)?"
- 8 The boys said, "Ali took his younger brother on top of the cave in the hot sun, and is throwing rocks at us. He wants to kill us, and his brother will die of thirst. Go get the little boy!"
- 9 Then the man approached me, and I went to throw rocks at him. Then the man said to me, "I'll help you, let's pelt the boys." And he came to me. He found the boy about to die from the hot sun and thirst.
- 10 Then he took the boy and said to me, "Let's go, I'll give you something." And we went until we got to the cave. He gave the boy water and gave him milk.
- 11 And my mother came. She found the boy already ill. We stayed two days, and the boy died. It is finished.

Text 51 (no M): A Sick Child and a Naughty Child

- 1 *xaxarét ð-axáfān bə-xádər b-əšhéhər, b-émí təkún əmbéře’. axarét embéře’ géle.*
- 2 *b-érún megéte, b-əl šen núsəb lə. šen kít, bə-hé a’ágób ar bə-núsəb. fələkən érún əl bésən núsəb lə, ar her embéře’ ðə-ykéné’.*
- 3 *bə-hér émi ‘örót hini ‘ənká’ tün b-enúsəb aǵák’, əbjód b-əšxóf mēš mən tél émi əl (t)sún tə lə, b-ənúšh.*
- 4 *axarét tə’áb embéře’, bə-hé ‘ak beš yəfót l-əgére l-əšxóf enúsəbəš.*
- 5 *ed yum tit kəhəbən ðer xádər mən ðé nxún sǵót. ed kirit yüm təǵid, ‘ássən ‘ágən nəǵád yəl xádər, he b-a’élí.*
- 6 *axarét xaróg embéře’, bə-skəfót émi. ‘örót her ī, “embéře’ xaróg, éfke li bə-xarkétk.”*
- 7 *axarét ī egnín ðer embéře’ ə-béké. ī yəǵázún mən ekézún. axarét sink ī ðə-yōk. aǵádk mən sérés ed dəhéfk təš əlhín ši mən hus.*
- 8 *‘ök, “əbrék xaróg bə-hét (t)šédhəf.” axarét ‘es bə-səfa’ tə zifət trut ed itk l-érésš.*
- 9 *bə-ħöl xəṭərək b-aǵád yósbəṭ tə. axarét émi ebka’ót embéře’ ðə-xaróg bə-žēṭót ī.*
- 10 *‘örót, “nəha əl súlmən ar ðenu. ‘ak tó(l)tǵəš?” b-əḏtəlót hini. b-aǵádan, ī ħöl embéře’ ðə-xaróg b-émí ħölót tə, ed kərbən əl-xádər.*

3 *b-enúsəb aǵák*: The Roman ms has *b-enúsəb her aǵak* ‘(bring us) milk for your brother’, while the Arabic ms and audio have just *b-enúsəb aǵák* ‘(bring us) your brother’s milk’.

3 *ənúšh*: This is an H-Stem of the root *nšh*. In *JL*, the imperfect is given as *yənúšhan*, a D/L-Stem form. The imperfect form in this text (*ənúšh*) is clearly an H-Stem (see § 7.4.11), and Johnstone listed the 3ms imperfect form *yənúšh* in the word-list attached to this text, also clearly an H-Stem. It is possible that the form printed in *JL* is a mistake. Note that this verb also has a corresponding H-Stem in Mehri and Harsusi (see *ML* and *HL*, s.v. *nšh*).

5 *mən ðé*: Below the words *xádər mən ðé* in the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss ‘above the cave’. The phrase *mən ðé*, used here and in line 11 (both times in combination with the preposition *ðer* ‘on, above’), seems to have an adverbial meaning ‘above’. The origin of the second element of the phrase is unclear, but it must be connected with the

Translation of Text 51

- 1 Once we were staying in a cave in the mountains, and my mother was nursing a boy. Then the boy got sick.
- 2 And the goats were very pregnant, and we didn't have milk. We had food, but I only liked [or: wanted] milk. But the goats didn't have any milk, (there was) only (milk) for the boy who was being nursed.
- 3 And whenever my mother said to me 'bring us your brother's milk', I would go and drink some of it where my mother wouldn't see me, and I would wipe my mouth.
- 4 Then the boy got sick, and I wanted him to die, so I could drink his milk.
- 5 One day we spent the day up above the cave, under a buttontree. Then when the sun was about to set, we—me and my family—got up intending to go to the cave.
- 6 Then the boy died, and my mother sat down. She said to my father, "The boy has died, cover me with your robe."
- 7 Then my father stooped over the child and wept. My father had compassion towards children. Then I saw my father crying. I went behind him and [lit. until] I slapped him (on the back) with all the strength I had.
- 8 I said, "Your son died and you should be slapped." Then he got up and slapped me (on the face) twice, and [lit. until] I fell on my head.
- 9 And he picked up a stick and went to beat me. Then my mother put down the boy that had died and grabbed my father.
- 10 She said, "We have only this one left. Do you want to kill him?" And she protected me. And we went—my father carried the boy that had died and my mother carried me—until we got near the cave.

word *ḥáǰé* 'up; above' that appears in *JL* (s.v. *ḥǰ*). The word *ǰé* also occurs in Müller's texts (Bittner 1916b: 56). See also the comment to TJ4:85.

- 5 *sǰót*: This word is not in *JL*, and in the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss 'common kind of tree'. According to Miller and Morris (1988: 102), this is *Anogeissus dhofarica*, though they transcribe the word *sǰót*; other sources have confirmed Johnstone's transcription with *s*. The English name for this tree is 'Dhofari buttontree'.

- 11 *bə-śínén ġag əð-skóf b-érún ðer ekışét mən ðé tak'ór lēn ɔz bə-dəf, bə-zhám ekētəran he b-émí.*
- 12 *axarét émí žētót tɔ mən a'izéd bə-rdét bi ɣɔl aġág. bə-škəlél tɔ d-ɔk ɔl itk b-egdərét.*
- 13 *b-ədəf ítót ðer əðl émí, bə-fəkhótš fūšhi. mġóre' ī kəlbət her ɣɔ b-əlhún šerókək l-əgére ɣɔ ɣəžhék. bə-hér ī šéf tel émí, aġōr leš. ɔl 'ak émí (t)dənə lɔ.*
- 14 *axarét xtɔr ī hallét. bə-zhám tun bə-gunét žəfalēt, hūt, bə-hūt 'afiréte.*
- 15 *ed yum ʔit émí kunút k-érún, b-ī kun k-iyél, bə-hé b-egáti kəhəbən bə-xádar. bə-ōrót hēn émí, "kəl'eni ɔsbəx her érún bə-'afirót."*
- 16 *a'anés her hási 'əfər. ed kəl'eni 'ōrót egáti, "áġan nəhəfər hási 'əfər her nésbəx bə-xádar."*
- 17 *ðk he, "émí 'ōrót, 'əsbəx bə-'afirót', bə-dħa-nésbəx bə-hūt a'əfər." 'ōrót egáti, "egí, ɔl dé ɣəsɔx bə-hūt lɔ!"*
- 18 *ðk, "le', dħa-nésbəx bə-hūt!" axarét aġadót təžbót tɔ. hðk fudún, bə-ðk hes, "her žētəš tɔ, dħa-l-érdisi!"*

-
- 13 *šerókək*: Both mss have *šorókək*, but the audio has *šerókək* (twice, actually, since Ali stumbled and repeated the word). We find *šorókək* also in 42:11 (with no audio to confirm), but *šerókək* elsewhere in the texts (e.g., 11). See also the comment to 86:5.
- 13 *aġōr*: This clearly means something like 'prevented' or 'got in the way of'. It must be a D/L-Stem (3ms perfect) of the root *ġwr*. Though the form is not in *JL*, *ML* (s.v. *ġwr*) does list a Mehri D/L-Stem of this root, meaning 'distract'.
- 14 *žəfalēt*: Johnstone translated this word in *JL* (s.v. *žfl*) as 'Dhofari (red) *dhurah*'. This seems to be a kind of sorghum. Note that word literally means just 'Dhofari' (cf. *žəfəl* 'Dhofar'). The following word *hūt* must be appositional here; if *žəfalēt* were modifying *hūt* then it would follow.
- 15 *ɔsbəx*: There are a few problems with Johnstone's transcription of the various forms of this verb in this text. First, Johnstone consistently uses the emphatic *š* instead of *s* in the Roman ms and in the accompanying word-list. The simple *s* used in the Arabic ms is correct, as shown by the Arabic cognate (*sabbaxa* 'fertilize, spread manure') and the forms listed in *JL* and *ML*. Second, in the lexical list, Johnstone only gives what look like G-Stem forms (*šɔx*, *išɔx*, *ɣəšbax*), though in this text

- 11 And we saw men sitting, and goats, on a ledge up above. A goat knocked down a rock, and it came in our direction, me and my mother.
- 12 Then my mother grabbed me by the arm and threw me to the men. And they caught me before I fell onto the ground.
- 13 And the rock fell on my mother's dress-train, and it tore it in half. Then my father told the people everything I had done so that they would laugh, and (how) if [or: whenever] my father slept by my mother I would prevent him. I didn't want my mother to get pregnant.
- 14 Then my father went down to the town. He brought us a sack of Dhofari durra grain, and the grains were red.
- 15 Then one day my mother was with the goats, my father was with the camels, and my sister and I were spending the day in the cave. And my mother said to us, "This evening spread (sand) for the goats with red."
- 16 Her intention was for red sand. Then in the evening, my sister said, "Let's dig up red sand so we can spread (sand) in the cave."
- 17 I said, "Mother said, 'spread with red', and we'll spread with the red grain." My sister said, "Brother, no one spreads (in the cave) with grain!"
- 18 I said, "No, we will spread with grain!" Then she went to grab me. I picked up a stone, and I said to her, "If you grab me, I will pelt you!"

all forms are H-Stems; the perfect and imperfect could be either G or H, so perhaps he assumed G and provided a presumed subjunctive *yəsbax* himself. See the comment to line 16 for another erroneous transcription of a subjunctive form. As for the meaning of this verb, Johnstone gives 'spread sand for sheep to sleep' in the lexical list. In the Roman ms, he added 'bring red sand and sprinkle and sweep here and there for goats to lie on dry'. In *JL* (s.v. *sbx*), the definition is 'sprinkle dried cow dung in a cave for animals'.

- 16 *nəsbəx*: The Roman ms has *nósbəx*, likewise *dħa-nósbəx* in lines 17 and 18. However, the H-Stem 1cp subjunctive must be *nəsbəx*. The audio and Arabic ms confirm this correction.
- 17 *yəsəx*: In *JL* (s.v. *sbx*), Johnstone gives the imperfect as *ysəxən*, as if it were a D/L-Stem, though the perfect and subjunctive forms are clearly H-Stems. This may be a printing error. The form in this text, *yəsəx*, is the expected H-Stem imperfect (cf. the forms of *əsbəħ* in § 7.4.9).

- 19 *bə-hé hōk mən egunét ðə-hít ‘ak şaférit, bə-sbáxk bə-xádər egunét kels. ed kol’eni kélé érún, ‘órot émi, ‘tini, sbáxkum?’*
- 20 *‘ók he, “ēhē, sbáxən bə-‘afirót.” ‘órot egáti, “‘áli h̄kum li. sbax bə-hít kel.” ‘órot émi, “kə het sbáxk bə-hít?”*
- 21 *‘ók, “hit ‘ōš hēn, ‘s̄bax bə-‘afirót, bə-hé sbáxk.” ‘órot émi, “‘iné ənšérk beš?”*
- 22 *kéla’ érún (t)tēn h̄it b-agsərén. ed k-háşaf, īxtər bə-zhám tūn bə-hít. bə-tammút.*

Text 52 (no M): A Doctor’s Visit

- 1 *‘ak h̄alél m̄ansén, her dé géle, yəbgód yótłab musá‘adət ε-təxtór, b-əl yézəm sé l. f̄alékən ‘ak eyēm énfóti, kol ʔaʔ yézəm təxtór bə-xədmétš.*
- 2 *xatarét ġeyg yəsūm kətbín, b-əl yə‘ágób yəzém sé l her kol sé. yum ʔit kéla’ səndík eb yəhē ʔer xafš.*
- 3 *axarét ‘órot títš, “ġad yəl təxtór b-ésnéš xafk.” ‘ór agéyg, “l̄e’. d̄ha-l-əslób ed təxtór yəzhūm ‘ak edəkkún.*
- 4 *m̄gór̄e’ d̄ha-l-ólkl̄ə heš bə-xáfi. her agádak l-əsnéš, lézəm d̄ha-l-zémš.”*
- 5 *yum xizfēt təxtór zəhám ‘ak edəkkún, bə-śótém xérin kətbín. hes agéyg ðə-yəsūm ber eghízóhum, kolót heš bə-xáfš.*

Text 51

- 20 *h̄kum*: This is presumably a G-Stem, but the meaning does not fit with any of the definitions listed in *JL* (s.v. *h̄km*). *JL* does list a D/L-Stem (o)*h̄ókum* ‘make others do s.t.’ and a T1-Stem *h̄ótkəm* ‘be made to do s.t.’, so it is not unreasonable to think that the G-Stem could have this meaning. Hobyot has a G-Stem *h̄kūm* ‘force’ (*HV*, p. 148), while Mehri has an H-Stem *h̄kūm* ‘nag’ (*ML*, s.v. *h̄km*).
- 20 *sbax*: The Roman ms has the 1cs perfect *sbaxk* ‘I spread’, while the Arabic ms and the audio has *sbax*. Both forms work, but the 3ms fits the context better. Johnstone had some difficulties with this verb elsewhere (see the comments to lines 15, 16, and 17, above).

- 19 And I took from the sack of grain with a plate, and I spread in the cave the whole sack. Then when the goats came home in the evening, my mother said, "My children, have you spread (sand)?"
- 20 I said, "Yes, we spread with red." My sister said, "Ali forced me. He spread with all the grain." My mother said, "Why did you spread with grain?"
- 21 I said, "You said to us 'spread with red', and so I spread." My mother said, "What should we do with him?!"
- 22 We let the goats eat the grain, and we spent the night. Then in the morning, my father brought us grain. It is finished.

Translation of Text 52

- 1 In some towns, if someone is sick, he goes to ask the help of the doctor, and he doesn't give anything (in return). But in the old days, everyone would give the doctor (something) for his work.
- 2 Once there was a man who sold books, and he didn't like to give anything for anything. One day he (accidentally) let a big box fall on his foot.
- 3 Then his wife said, "Go to the doctor and show him your foot." The man said, "No. I will wait until the doctor comes into the shop.
- 4 Then I will tell him about my foot. If I go to see him, I will have to give him (something)."
- 5 The next day, the doctor came into the shop, and he bought a few books. After the salesman [lit. the man who was selling] had prepared them, he told him about his foot.

Text 52

- 1 *musā'adət*: This is Arabic *musā'adat*- 'help, aid'.
- 1 *yézəm*: In *JL*, the 3ms imperfect of *ezúm* 'give' is listed as *yézúm*, but in Ali's texts it is always *yézəm*. Informants also used this form. See also §7.4.3 and the comment to T]2:31.
- 5 *xízfét*: See the comment to 39:8.
- 5 *eghízshum*: This verb, which Johnstone glossed in the Roman ms as 'put ready', is not in *JL*. It must be either a D/L-Stem or H-Stem of the root *ghz* (see §7.4.7 and *JL*, p. xxi, note 35, on the variation in forms of II-h verbs). Cf. Arabic D *jahhaza* 'make ready, prepare'.

- 6 *taxtór gǝlǝk beš. 'ör, "ēhē. lézəm tǝkǝla' xaf ðǝhün 'aḵ míh gǝlǝl l-'áded*
ε-'íšǝr.
- 7 *mǝǝre' lézəm tǝkǝla' sé ðírš." bǝ-xnít eréḵat bǝ-ktǝb ðírš. "stem ðénu,*
bǝ-ḵǝlá'š ðer xafk əl-féné d-'ǝk ǝl šǝfk l-'áded ε-'íšǝr."
- 8 *'ör aǝǝyǝg ðǝ-yǝsúm, "ǝzék xár! bǝ-nášanu hũk ektǝbínék." "bǝ-msé?" 'ör*
taxtór. 'ör, "bǝ-giní t̄roh."
- 9 *'ör taxtór, "arḫāt. bǝ-hé ǝl dḫa-l-zémk sé lǝ." 'ör aǝǝyǝg ðǝ-yǝsúm, "kǝh?"*
'ör taxtór, "he kǝlǝtk hek ínέ (t)šérk her xafk. bǝ-hé 'aḡk giní t̄roh
bǝ-ðǝhün.
- 10 *her yǝ zǝḫám yǝl ũti, ǝtǝlǝb mǝnhũm yǝzúm giní taḫ əl-sé besít əl-hés*
ðǝkũn.
- 11 *fǝlékǝn her aǝǝdǝk yǝl ũthum, a'ǝǝǝb bǝ-giní t̄roh. bǝ-hé zǝḫámk bũn,*
ǝl hē lǝ? taxǝlǝf šǝḫát!" bǝ-tǝmmút.

Text 53 (no M): A Wounded Uncle's Visit and a Bout with Smallpox

- 1 *mkun xaḫarét edídi aǝǝd ðǝ-yxétǝr. axarét hǝǝgúm leš ǝǝ axšǝmén,*
bǝ-sǝtbǝḫ še bǝ-šúm. ǝb-béš t̄hírt mékǝn.
- 2 *bǝ-zḫám tun. nḫa ð-axáfǝn 'aḵ šá' b. axarét ī hez ǝz t̄rut bǝ-'aginésǝn her*
aǝǝs. b-ǝǝí beš ǝǝdǝrǝ bǝ-ðǝ-ḫazǝlan tǝš baḫséš.
- 3 *bǝ-yǝ étǝ yǝkín k-ǝsét. bǝ-hé b-ǝǝǝti b-ēr-dídi néḵḫǝb bǝ-xádǝr. bǝ-hé*
ǝzhǝm edídi, a'ör heš, "zē-tǝ té." bǝ-yézəm tǝ.
- 4 *ed yũm tit še ðǝ-šǝf bǝ-zḫámk tǝš. 'ǝk heš, "zē-tǝ té." 'ör, "he ðǝ-šǝfk. ǝl*
dḫa-l-zémk sé lǝ nášanu." bǝ-šǝhérǝs tǝ. 'ǝk, "mor."

Text 52

- 6/7 *ε-'íšǝr*: Johnstone omits the relative *ε-* in his Roman ms, though it is indicated in the Arabic ms. On the audio, it is clearly audible in 52:6. Based on the Mehri equivalent *l-ādēd ð-* and the Arabic transcription used by Ali Musallam, it seems secure to transcribe *ε-* in both passages. Johnstone also gives the example *a'déd ε'íšǝr* in *JL* (s.v. *dd*). For more on *l-'áded ε-*, see § 5.5.5.
- 7 *xafk*: The Arabic ms and the audio have just *xaf* 'the foot', while the Roman ms has *xafk* 'your foot'. Either fits the context.
- 8 *giní*: This word (< Arabic *ginīh* or *ginēh* < English *guinea*) is not listed in *JL*. The plural occurs in TJ4:7.

- 6 The doctor looked at it. He said, "Yes. You have to put that foot in hot water every night.
 7 Then you have to put something on it." And he took out a piece of paper and wrote on it. "Buy this, and put it on your foot before you go to sleep every night."
 8 The salesman said, "Thank you! And now here are your books." "How much?" said the doctor. He said, "Two guineas."
 9 The doctor said, "Fine. And so I will give you nothing." The salesman said, "Why?" The doctor said, "I told you what to do for your foot. And I want two guineas for that.
 10 If people come to my house, I ask them to give one guinea for something simple like that.
 11 But if I go to their house, I want two guineas. And I came here, didn't I? Be well [lit. may health come]!" And it is finished.

Translation of Text 53

- 1 Now once my uncle went traveling. Then some men, our enemies, attacked him, and he and they fought. He had many wounds.
 2 And he came to us. We were camped in a valley. Then my father slaughtered two goats, and made stew with them for his brother. And my brother had smallpox, and we had secluded him by himself.
 3 And the adults [lit. big people] would be with the livestock. And me, my sister, and my cousin would spend the day in the cave. And I would come to my uncle, and say to him, "Give me food." And he would give me (some).
 4 Then one day he was sleeping, and I came to him. I said to him, "Give me food." He said, "I am sleeping. I won't give you anything now." And he told me off. I said, "Ok."

Text 53

- 4 *šəhérəs*: Johnstone glosseed this verb as 'argued with; told off' in the Roman ms. I did not find this verb in *JL* or *ML*, but it is used also in TJ4:49. In the Roman ms for text TJ4, Johnstone added the gloss 'nagged (told off)'.

- 5 *aǧádak* ‘ak *etéb*. *ekós mašhál bə-hōk tōš*. *b-aǧádak yal edidi*. ‘ōk *heš*, “*dħa-(t)zē-tō mən lo?*” *bə-šé ḏə-ǧōš əl-kərffīš*.
- 6 *hōl xarkēt mən ḏēr kərffīš b-etḫá*. *síni ēšhál ‘ak īdi*. ‘ōr, “*ardé beš bə-dħa-l-zémk té*.” ‘ōk, “*əl aród beš lo ar ber té ‘ak īdi*. *het šáxər b-əl hek ḥásmét lo*.”
- 7 *axarét ebḫá’ té’ ‘ak ešḥalíti*. ‘ōk, “*mələs bə-ršéš bes, bə-fló ēšhál kéréib*.” *axarét mələs bə-réš bes*. *bə-‘ōr hini*, “*ebri, ardé b-ēšhál ná šanu*.”
- 8 ‘ōk, “*ob*.” *b-aǧádak ed ‘ak ōzá’an*. *htolk ēšhál bə-xitét, bə-skófk bə-tēk tī*. *zəḥám eršót, eǧāti b-ēr-dídi*. *šum etə ‘áni*.
- 9 ‘ōr, “*eǧí, zē-tūn xérin té*.” ‘ōk, “*ob*.” *axarét ‘ōr, “ágən nəǧáḥš!*” *axarét hōk ēšhál bə-n’áfik tōši*. *bə-fáltó*.
- 10 *b-edúrk bə-tēk*. *hes šé’ak, rúdak bə-té’ ‘ak eǧt b-aǧádk yal eǧí*. *eǧí mériž bə-ḏə-ḥézil*. *bə-rdé tō bə-fədnín*. ‘ōr, “*əl taḫarō-tō lo!*”
- 11 *axarét skófk*. *hes šink tōš aǧád her yəḏḥól, aǧádk ed ‘ak ēnzélš*. *šəžkək ed zəḥám*. *axarét sōt tō*. ‘ōr, “*het dħa-(t)šéhle*.”
- 12 *búkək b-aǧádk*. *bə-šófk ‘ak ēnzələn*. *bə-gélək*. *šəfšhələk gódari*. *ed zəḥōt émi kol’éni, bə-hé əl bi ḥas lo*. *b-eməržót tō émi, bə-šhəlét émi*. *bə-šəmróžən ed kúnən bə-xár*. *bə-təmmút*.

5 *etéb*: *JL* (s.v. ‘*tb*) defines this only as ‘name of a kind of bush’. According to Miller and Morris (1988: 204), this is *Ficus salicifolia*, known in English as the willow-leaf ficus or wonderboom fig.

5 *ǧōš*: Johnstone glossed *ǧōš* as ‘cover face’ in the Roman ms, but the verb is not in *JL*. This is possibly a mistake for *ǧōs* ‘disappear behind’ (*JL*, s.v. *ǧms*; used in 60:14) or *ḵōš* ‘curl up (from cold)’ (*JL*, s.v. *ḵmš*), both of which could fit the context, though both mss and the audio attest to the final *š*, and the audio confirms the initial *ǧ*. The Arabic ms actually has *قوص ḵōš* though, in fact, the consonant *ǧ* is often written with *ق* in the Arabic mss (see the comments to 17:10 and 60:25). A third possibility is that this should be *ǧōž* ‘wink; close (the eyes)’ (note the meaning of the Arabic cognate *ǧamaḏa* ‘hide’), but Ali spelled this verb correctly in 54:24 (though he did confuse its conjugation a bit elsewhere; see the comment to 60:34). In sum, *ǧōš* is either an otherwise unknown verb or an error.

- 5 I went among the fig trees. I found a chameleon and picked it up. And I went to my uncle. I said to him, "Will you give me (some), or not?" And he was covering his face.
- 6 He took the clothes off his face and looked up. He saw the chameleon in my hand. He said, "Throw it away, and I'll give you food." I said, "I won't throw it away unless the food is already in my hand. You are an old man, and you get [or: deserve] no respect."
- 7 Then he put food in my bowl. I said, "Fill it and press it down, or else the chameleon is nearby." Then he filled it and pressed it down. And he said to me, "My son, throw away the chameleon now."
- 8 I said, "No." And I went into our family-house. I tied up the chameleon with string, and I sat and ate my food. The children came, my sister and my cousin. They were older [lit. bigger] than me.
- 9 They said, "Brother, give us a little food!" I said, "No." Then they said, "We should [or: let's] take it by force!" Then I picked up the chameleon and chased after them. And they ran away.
- 10 And I went back and ate. When I was full, I threw the food away in the hole, and went to my brother. My brother was sick and had been put in seclusion. And he threw stones at me. He said, "Don't come near me!"
- 11 Then I waited. When I saw him go to urinate, I went into his place. I lay down until he came. Then he hit me. He said, "You'll get infected."
- 12 I cried and I left. And I went to sleep in our place. I got sick. It turns out I caught smallpox. Then when my mother came in the evening, I was unconscious. My mother nursed me, and my mother got infected. We were ill and [lit. until] we got better. And it is finished.

6 *b-εtká'*: The Roman ms has *εtká'* here, and the Arabic ms has بادقاء (*b-εdká'*). The root has final ʿ (see *JL*, s.v. *tkʿ*), but ʿ is often weakened to ʾ in the speech of Ali Musallam. It is unclear if such weakening is typical of EJ, or is the result of Mehri interference. As for the initial root consonant, despite the erroneous and differing transcription of the *t* in both mss, the audio clearly has *t*. The correct spelling with *t* is found in TJ4:68. See also the comment to 54:29.

11 *šəžkék*: According to *JL* (s.v. *lky*) the Š₁-Stem is *šelké*. The form here with *ž* is just a variant.

Text 54 (= M42, but variant; see also Johnstone 1978): Bu Zid al-Hilali

- 1 *xaṭaréṭ ǰeyg b-éméṣ̌ k-iyéḷ baḥsóhum. b-əḷ ṣ̌iṣ̌i dẹ́ ḷ, maʿazyēte.*
- 2 *b-embéřeʿ ḥáréḍ bə-xf̣if̣. yəʿélf̣ enúf̣, bə-yəkóḷ ɔḷ dẹ́ əl-héṣ ṣ̌e ḷ. yəróḍ bə-x̣ṭəróḳ̣ṣ̌ bə-yṣ̌iʿ eḍ yəṣ̌ékḳḷəṣ̌.*
- 3 *eḍ yūṃ ʔiṭ ʿōr her éméṣ̌, ʿémé, dẹ́ əl-héṣ heʿ?” ʿōróṭ éméṣ̌, “ábdan, f̣aléḳən...” ʿōr embéřeʿ, “f̣aléḳən yohʿ kəḷiṭ ḥini her dẹ́ əl-héṣ he bə-fḷó axér ʿáni.”*
- 4 *ʿōróṭ éméṣ̌, “ōr yoḥ bet bu zíḍ əl-həláli axér ar yoḥ kəḷ.” ʿōr, “b-axér ʿáni héʿ?” ʿōróṭ éméṣ̌, “axér ar kəḷ dẹ́.” ʿōr embéřeʿ, “ṣ̌ənḏóṛk bə-yáṭ məsəlūṭ her zəḥáṃ tūn.”*
- 5 *bə-sḳóʃ̣. eḍ ʿáṣəṛ ʔaṭ, ṣ̌íni yoḥ eḳbéḷ lóhum. eḍ zəḥáṃ, ṣ̌éfḥum bet bu zíḍ əl-həláli. ʿōr hóhum embéřeʿ, “tum bet mūnʿ?”*
- 6 *ʿōr, “nəḥá yəʿōr hən bet bu zíḍ əl-həláli.” ʿōr embéřeʿ, “he ber li yəṭ məsəlūṭ her ṣ̌inḳ tókum.”*
- 7 *ʿōr heṣ̌, “kəhʿ?” ʿōr, “ṣ̌āʿak bókum ɔḷ dẹ́ əl-héṣ tum ḷ. bə-hẹ́ ɔḷ əkóḷ dẹ́ əl-héṣ he ḷ.” ʿōr heṣ̌ aǰág, “mor. ínə ʿakʿ mútḥanḳ mən séʿ?” ʿōr, “ábdan, f̣aléḳən ʿaḳ əl-xéṭəṛ ṣ̌ókum.”*
- 8 *ʿōr aǰág, “mor, k-háṣaf̣ yəḳíṇ xar.” aǰsarẹ́ bə-ḥéẓ yəṭ bə-hódéṣ ṛiáʿ. kəḷ ʔaṭ mən aǰág ṛiʿáṭ, bə-ṣ̌ẹ́ b-éméṣ̌ ṛiʿáṭ.*
- 9 *axaréṭ ʿōr heṣ̌ aǰág, “her ʿaḳ təxéṭəṛ ṣ̌ēn, sḥoḷ iyénḳ, bə-fḷó ɔḷ ʔṣ̌óləḥ̣ ṣ̌en ḷ.” ʿōr aǰéyǰ, “ɔḷ əḳóḏəṛ ḷ. ḏénu iyēṇ yəsénúḏ̣ tūn ɔrx.”*
- 10 *eḍ k-háṣaf̣, aǰáḍ aǰág bə-ʿōr aǰéyǰ, “aḳ ṣ̌ókum.” ʿōr heṣ̌ aǰág, “ɔḷ xer heḳ ḷ. nəḥá yoḥ sédédəṭ, b-axér heḳ ʔərtúṇ teḷ éméḳ.”*
- 11 *ʿōr, “ábdan. ʿaḳ ṣ̌ókum.” axaréṭ ḳéláʿṣ̌ yəǰáḍ ṣ̌óhum.*

-
- 2 *yṣ̌iʿ*: This is the form in both mss and on the audio. The Roman ms has *yṣ̌óʿ* in the margin, which is also the form of the imperfect found in *JL* (s.v. *ṣ̌y*). Both of these forms were used by different informants of mine. See further in § 7.4.12 and the comment to 35:6.
 - 8 *hódéṣ*: The mss have this form, which is the D/L-Stem of *hdy*. The Mehri version also has the D/L-Stem of this root (M42:8). The audio, however, has the T2-Stem *htódéṣ*; Johnstone corrected the Roman ms to reflect the audio. Either form would seem to work here, as both can mean ‘share out, divide up’.
 - 10 *tərtúṇ teḷ*: The Arabic ms and audio have *tərtúṇ teḷ*. The Roman ms has *tərtúṇ her*, along with the gloss ‘wait’. *JL* (s.v. *ryn*) defines this T2-Stem only as ‘wait (*her*) for s.o.’. The phrase with *teḷ* instead of *her* must mean ‘wait by, with’, which fits this context well.

Translation of Text 54

- 1 Once a man and his mother were by themselves with the camels. They had no one, (they were) herding alone.
- 2 And the boy was strong and fast. He could fend for himself, and he thought there was no one like him. He would throw his stick and run to catch it.
- 3 Then one day he said to his mother, "Mother, is there anyone like me?" His mother said, "No, but..." The boy said, "But what? Tell me if anyone is like me or better than me."
- 4 His mother said, "People have said that the house [or: clan] of Bu Zid al-Hilali is better than all people." He said, "And better than *me*?" His mother said, "Better than everyone [or: anyone]." The boy said, "I vow a sacrificial camel if he comes to us."
- 5 And they remained. Then one night, they saw people coming towards them. Then when they came, it turns out they were the house of Bu Zid al-Hilali. He said to them, "What house are you?"
- 6 They said, "We are called the house of Bu Zid al-Hilali." The boy said, "I already have a sacrificial camel for if I saw you."
- 7 They said to him, "Why?" He said, "I have heard about you, that no one is like you. And me, I don't think anyone is like me." The men said to him, "Ok. What do you want? Are you having trouble with [or: or] something?" He said, "Not at all, but I want to travel with you."
- 8 The men said, "Ok, in the morning it will be fine." They spent the night, and they slaughtered a camel and divided it into quarters. Each one of the men (got) a quarter, and the boy and his mother (got) a quarter.
- 9 Then the men said to him, "If you want to travel with us, finish your portion, or else you are not fit (to go) with us." The man said, "I can't. This portion is enough for us for a month."
- 10 Then in the morning, the men went, and the man said, "I want (to go) with you." The men said to him, "It's better you don't [lit. it's not good for you]. We are tough people, and it's better for you to stay with your mother."
- 11 He said, "No way, I want (to go) with you." Then they let him go with them.

- 12 *šed l-iršōhum b-aǵád. ʾor heš bu zíd al-haláli, “šma! her ʾl shek iyénk l, dħa-l-š(l)tǵak.” ʾor, “mor.”*
- 13 *mən tél aǵsaré, yəħzíz hóhum ʾo ʾət. b-aǵéyy, her sé, yəđǵfən ʾokét.*
- 14 *ed ʾášar taṭ, keb (ʾak) šaʾb kolʾéni bə-ksé ǵabǵót đə-ršinút, bə-tōlās mahfér đə-xǵbz.*
- 15 *axarét šxabírs aǵág, ʾor, “ko hit būn?”*
- 16 *ʾorót, “būn gənní ʾak šaʾb đínu, bə-kól ʾášar yəʾasín ǵabǵót bə-mahfér đə-xǵbz, bə-fló yəhéšər ħallét.*
- 17 *ber təmím aǵigeníti đə-ħallét kel, d-ʾok he ʾl-éni aʾisíš. bə-tūm ʾǵlāt b-enfǵf.”*
- 18 *axarét aǵág nəṭór l-aǵabǵót bə-tē xǵbz. ʾorót aǵabǵót, “axér hókum l-ǵlāt. egənní dħa-yəzħōm.”*
- 19 *ʾor aǵág, “ʾl təfrík l.” axarét niṭ ebré ε-tét, bə-fké leš, bə-šəžké.*
- 20 *axarét ʾor hóhum bu zíd, “nħa šǵtét ǵag. taṭ énǵt aʾášar, bə-ṭát aʾámḵ aʾášar, bə-ṭát áxər aʾášar.”*
- 21 *ʾor taṭ mənħúm, “he ʾak énǵt aʾášar.” bə-ṭát ʾor, “he ʾak aʾámḵ aʾášar.” bu zíd áxər aʾášar.*
- 22 *axarét tē egənní bə-ʾor, “hun aʾisíi?”*
- 23 *ʾor taṭ mən aǵág, “aʾisék boh. ftaħ xǵk bə-ǵméz aʾánték!”*
- 24 *fétəħ xǵš bə-ǵōž aʾántéš. b-ebkáʾ gənzəǵt trut, ṭit ʾak sédkəš đēn, bə-ṭit ʾak sédkəš đēn.*
- 25 *b-ebkáʾ egūš mən munúsən bə-skǵf. bə-ʾor heš, “ħaš ε-shék đēnu, nézmək aʾisék.”*

14 *ʾak*: This preposition is on the audio only; it is not in either ms.

17 *ʾǵlāt*: This is an H-Stem mp imperative, clearly meaning ‘save’ in this context, though *JL* (s.v. *fl*) does not list ‘save’ as a meaning for the H-Stem. The parallel Mehri passage (M42:19) also has an H-Stem, though the entry in *ML* also does not list ‘save’ as a possible meaning. Both *JL* and *ML* list ‘save’ only as a meaning for the D/L-Stem, and ‘escape, run away’ as a meaning for the H-Stem. The H-Stem probably only can be translated ‘save’ when the object is oneself, making the literal meaning ‘escape with oneself’.

19 *šəžké*: See the comment to 53:11.

- 12 They loaded their camels and they left. Bu Zid al-Hilali said to him, "Listen! If you don't finish your portion, I will kill you." He said, "Ok."
- 13 Wherever they spent the night, people would slaughter a camel for them. And the man, if he was full, he would bury the leftovers.
- 14 Then one night, they went down into a valley in the evening, and they found a girl who had been tied up, and by her was a basket of bread.
- 15 Then the men asked her, they said, "Why are you here?"
- 16 She said, "There is a jinn here in this valley, and every night they give (him) a girl and a basket of bread for dinner, or else he will destroy the town.
- 17 He has already used up all the girls of the town, and I am left for his dinner tonight. And you, save yourselves!"
- 18 Then the men untied the girl and ate the bread. The girl said, "It's better for you to run away. The jinn will come."
- 19 The men said, "Don't be afraid." Then the (earlier) woman's son was trembling, and they covered him, and he laid down.
- 20 Then Bu Zid said to them, "We are three men. One (will take) the first (part) of the night, one the middle (part) of the night, and one the last part of the night."
- 21 One of them said, "I want the first part of the night." And one said, "I want the middle of the night." Bu Zid (got) the last part of the night.
- 22 Then the jinn came and said, "Where is my dinner?"
- 23 One of the men said, "Your dinner is here. Open your mouth and close your eyes!"
- 24 He opened his mouth and closed his eyes. And he put in two branches, one on this side (of his mouth) and one on that [lit. this] side.
- 25 And he put his shield in between them, and he sat down. And he said to it, "When you finish this, we will give you your dinner."

24 *gənzəfət*: This word is not in *JL*, but is in *ML* (s.v. *gnzf*), where it is glossed as 'large branch, tree trunk'. According to *ML*, the Jibbali equivalent is *gəndēt*. The word *gəndēt* also exists in Mehri (meaning 'tree trunk'; see *ML*, s.v. *gnd*), and, in fact, is the word used in the Mehri version of this story (*M42:28*). So it is unclear if *gənzəfət* in this story is a Mehrism or native Jibbali word.

- 26 *aḡsaré ḏə-yəḡóla' izíš. ed [tim] séltét a'áṣar, 'ör, "ḏənu ɔl a'isíi lɔ. zū-to a'isíi!"*
- 27 *bə-xélf leš taṭ, bə-šé ḡeyg rəḥím, ta'mírənš erét. bə-féḡké mərəbka' b-ehbéb. bə-hér sī(n) yəxánúṭ mərḡá'.*
- 28 *axarét zaḡ egənní k-héb. ed tim séltét a'áṣar, 'ör, "ḏənu ɔl a'isíi lɔ. zū-to a'isíi!"*
- 29 *axarét xənít ērəbka' aḡéyḡ, bə-hás eṭḡá' deš egənní, ḡəhér. ɔl- 'ód ebšér lɔ.*
- 30 *bə-zḡám bu zíd. 'ör heš, "her 'ak b-a'isék, mdəd egóték." mid egóték, bə-lidáš ed endér eréšš. bə-ḏhōt sa'b ḏəhr.*
- 31 *bə-ḥōl eréš egənní b-aḡabḡót yɔl ḡállét. b-ebḡáh aḡabḡót 'ak ūts.*
- 32 *b-ebḡá' eréš 'ak rəkəb ɛ-ūt mən tél dé ɔl yəḡódər yəḡḡóm lɔ. bə-lḡám ed kéla' 'izūt 'ak a'amḡ ɛ-ḡéšən.*
- 33 *b-edūr yɔl aḡág əḏ-šéš. ed k-hásaf ešbəḡót aḡabḡót 'ak ēnzéls, b-ešbáh eréš ḡer ḡéšən. bə-sa'b təḏḡób ḏəhr.*
- 34 *'ör yɔ, "íné ṭənu? mun ɛ-šérék ṭənu? mun ɛ-létəḡ egənní?" šxəbér aḡabḡót.*
- 35 *'örót, "ɔl éd'ak lɔ. kɔl ɛ-ləṭḡáš dḡa-yəḡḡóm tel eréš."*
- 36 *axarét 'ör ḡókum, "kɔl ɛ-létəḡ egənní, dḡa-l-éšḡəḡəš ebríti mən ḡér sé. bə-dḡa-l-éxəlfəš b-aḡḡit."*

-
- 26 *izíš*: This is glossed as 'his right' in the Roman ms. Although no nasalization is heard on the audio, this is presumably a possessed form of *émlí* 'right' (root *yml*), or a related word.
- 26 *tim*: This word is absent from both mss and the audio, which is probably an error. Cf. line 28.
- 28 *zaḡ*: This is glossed as 'relaxed' in the Roman ms. I did not find this verb in *JL*. It is probably derived from Arabic *zāḡa* 'turn aside, deviate' (root *zwḡ*), meanings which also fit this context. It is also worth noting that II-w/y, III-Guttural verbs are extremely rare in Jibbali. However, we expect the 3ms perfect shape *CɔC*, used for many II-w verbs (§ 7.4.8), to have the shape *CaC* when the third root consonant is a guttural.
- 29 *eṭḡá'*: This word is spelled with a *d*, rather than *ṭ* in both mss. See the comment to 53:6. Unlike in 53:6, the Roman ms has a final ' in 54:29.
- 32 *rəkəb*: This is glossed in the Roman ms as 'ledge'. The word is not in *JL*, but is attested in Müller's Jibbali texts (Müller 1907: 133, text 40:9). In *ML*, s.v. *rkb*, and in the printed version of Mehri text 38:6, the word is attested with non-glottalic *k*. However, the Arabic ms and audio confirm that the Mehri text 38:6 has *rəkəb*. The glottalic *ḡ* is attested

- 26 He spent the night gnawing on his right (side). Then when a third of the night (was finished), he said, "This is not my dinner. Give me my dinner!"
- 27 And (another) one replaced him, and he was a handsome man, like the moon. And he put on veils and he sang. And after a little while, he would take off a veil.
- 28 Then the jinn relaxed from the singing. When the (second) third of the night was finished, he said, "This is not my dinner. Give me my dinner!"
- 29 Then the man took off the veils, and when he looked up towards him, he was blinded [or: dazzled]. He couldn't see well anymore.
- 30 And Bu Zid came. He said to him, "If you want your dinner, stretch out your neck." He stretched out his neck, and he struck it until he severed his head. And the valley was flooded with blood.
- 31 And he took the jinn's head and the girl to the town. And he put the girl in her house.
- 32 And he put the head onto a ledge of the house, where no one would be able to jump up to. And he jumped until he left a mark on the middle of the (wall of the) house.
- 33 And he went back to his friends. Then in the morning, the girl was in her place, and the head was on top of the house. And the valley was flooding with blood.
- 34 The people said, "What is this? Who did this? Who killed the jinn?" They asked the girl.
- 35 She said, "I don't know. Whoever did this will (be able to) jump up to the head."
- 36 Then the ruler said, "Whoever killed the jinn, I will marry him to my daughter for nothing [lit. without anything], and I will let him have the kingdom."

also in Soqoṭri; cf. Leslau (1938: 405), who compared this word with the Arabic verb *raqaba* 'observe, look out'. Bittner (1916a: 25) compared the word to Arabic *raqabat-* 'neck' (note that *rəḳbét* 'neck' does appear in *JL*). The plural *erḳéb* is used in Tj2:94.

- 32 *dé əl yəḳódar yəlhóm*: This word order (following the mss) is unusual and probably incorrect; we would expect *əl dé yəḳódar yəlhóm* 'no one could (jump up and) touch'. Ali stumbled on the audio here, first reading just *əlyəḳódar yəlhóm lə*, and then reading *əlyəḳódar dé yəlhóm lə*.

- 37 *kəl ε-zḥám yə'ōr*, “*he ḏa-látgək.*” *yə'ōr heš*, “*mor, aḥōm.*” *zəḥám b'él ḥallét kel*, *b-əl bóhum ε-lḥám mən tél bu zíd aḥám l.*
- 38 *d-ʿəd lətókūn*, *zəḥám bu zíd ḏa-féḳé xátók ḏa-feḳír*; *bə-šérék enúf bəhīt*.
- 39 *axarét sínúts aḡabgót mən xoḳét*. *'ōrót her is*, “*amér her aḡéyḡ ḏókūn yalḥōm.*”
- 40 *'ōr*, “*yəx! ešbób ɔ(l) ləḥám l. yalḥōm ḏókūn?*” *'ōrót*, “*amér heš!*”
- 41 *axarét 'ōr heš*, “*ε dərwiš, 'ak talḥōm k-aḡáḡ?*”
- 42 *axarét ləḥám zafét tit bə-g'ár béde'*. *bə-zḥák meš y.* *bə-trút aḥám bə-zḥám b-éresš.*
- 43 *heḳ heš hókum bə-'ōr*, “*dunk b-aḥkīti, bə-dḥa-l-éšfəḳək ebrīti.*”
- 44 *'ōr*, “*ábdan. he ɔl əsúm šegó'ti l. fələkən 'ak mēk (t)zē-tun dé yéblaḡ 'ánén ḡeyḡ yɔl éméš.*”
- 45 *'ōr hókum*, “*bass?*” *'ōr*, “*bass.*” *bə-zīš əlhín 'aḡəb. bə-təmmút.*

Text 55 (= Mg3, from which it was translated): Healing a Sick Man

- 1 *xaxarét ḡeyḡ ḏa-yəbgód. ed ḡasré, tē sékən, bə-'ák sékən ḏókūn ḡeyḡ ḏa-béš axét-hés. ed zəḥám tel y, ksé tōlhum ḡeyḡ.*
- 2 *'ōr*, “*he əlótəm axét-hés.*” *axarét šxabírəš aḡéyḡ ḏa-nfós*, *'ōr*, “*talótmas b-íné?*” *'ōr*, “*əlótmas bə-'arfét bə-fló bə-rót.*”
- 3 *'ōr*, “*bə-t'ōr yḥ?*” *'ōr*, “*əlótmas sətét ebzáḥ. bə-hét štū' li ḥəḡ ber ešóžén a'isé.*”

Text 54

- 42 *béde'*: On this form, see the comment to 46:14.

Text 55

- 1 *axét-hés*: In the Roman ms, Johnstone glossed this as ‘wry-mouth’. In *JL* (s.v. *hs*), it is glossed as ‘possession by jinn’, while elsewhere in *JL* (s.v. *'xy*) it is glossed as ‘St. Vitus dance (?) [= Sydenham’s chorea]; possession by a spirit when s.o. babbles nonsense’. The corresponding word in the Mehri version (*məṭawmət*) is translated in *ML* (s.v. *lṭm*) as

- 37 Everyone who came said, "I am the one who killed (him)." And he would say, "Ok, jump up!" All the inhabitants of the town came, and there was no one among them who jumped up to where Bu Zid jumped.
- 38 While this was going on, Bu Zid came, having put on the clothes of a poor man, and he pretended he was a pauper.
- 39 Then the girl saw him from the window. She said to her father, "Tell that man to jump."
- 40 He said, "Ugh! The young men didn't jump up (successfully). That guy should jump?!" She said, "Tell him!"
- 41 Then he said to him, "Hey dervish, do you want to jump up with the (other) men?"
- 42 Then he jumped one time, and he pretended to fall [lit. fell on pretense]. And the people laughed at him. And he jumped a second time and got the head.
- 43 The ruler called him and said, "Take my kingdom, and I will marry you to my daughter."
- 44 He said, "Never. I do not sell my bravery. But I want you to give us someone to deliver a man from us to his mother."
- 45 The ruler said, "That's it?" He said, "That's it." And he gave him what he wanted. And it is finished.

Translation of Text 55

- 1 Once a man was traveling. In the night, he came to a community, and in that community there was a man who had *axét-hés*. When he came to the people, he found with them a man.
- 2 He said, "I can strike out *axét-hés*." Then the man who had come said to him, "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 say?" He said, "I strike it three times. You, listen to me after we have made the evening prayer."

'stroke; wry-mouth'. In one of the Roman manuscripts for Mehri text 93, Johnstone added the heading 'facial paralysis', while in another he glossed *məṭawmət* as 'wry face'. 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.

- 4 *aḡsaré. ed mən ǧér eṣlót a'ísé, zəḥám aḡéyḡ ǧə-yałótəm axét-hés, bə-ák idš 'arfét.*
- 5 *bə-xtól aḡéyḡ ǧə-béš axét-hés bə-šé ǧə-ǧǧǧl. ed laṭiš bə-arfét. b-aḡéyḡ ǧə-ṭē ǧə-yaštī'an lóhum.*
- 6 *yə'ǧr aḡéyḡ ǧə-yałótəm, "ǧə-lṭúmḡ tōš, axét-hés. ši biš ser. hit ḡeyḡ, he ḡeyḡ. bə-hít tet, he tet. hit əngíst, he əngís. hit ṭəhúrt, he ṭəhúr."*
- 7 *bə-skǧǧəm'át aḡéyḡ ǧə-béš axét-hés, bə-kún bə-xár. axarét yə šin aḡéyḡ ǧə'ókūn ǧə-ǧr, "əłótəm axét-hés." bə-hér dé beš axét-hés, yə'arír leš. bə-kún maḡréb yəḥá' axét-hés. bə-təmmút.*

Text 57 (= M90, from which it was translated): A Mother's Advice

- 1 Mother: "ḡəlá' a'azúm izénu. éfte ǧer sébr ṭat."
- 2 Boy: "ól éd'ak əl-hún l-éble lə."
- 3 M: "əntéḡaḡi. ol tékən dəḥís lə."
- 4 B: "mor, éfti hini."
- 5 M: "her 'ak tə l-éfte hek, ken əlhélé b-ōšétk."
- 6 B: "ǧénu ol še sébr rəḥím lə."
- 7 M: "tob ar málézt embére' ǧénu. mor, ar iné 'ak (t)šerk? 'ak təstélól? ol dé yənúfa'k lə ar ősétk. yəḡḡék šek 'ak ēḡhək, mǧóre' yəḡǧúmḡ. yə'ǧr, 'sínkum ebré ēt eǧí-ilín?"
- 8 B: "lóhum iné miní? wəł her ta'mérnhum xízík."

Text 55

- 7 *yəḥá'*: For the D/L-Stem perfect *ḡōi* (root *ḡwy*), *JL* lists an H-Stem 3ms subjunctive *yəḡbe*, reflecting a mixing of the two stems (see § 7.4.8). The form *yəḥá'* appears to be the true D/L-Stem subjunctive. Also note that *JL* (s.v. *ḡwy*) also lists an H-stem perfect *aḡbé*, but *ML* (s.v. *ḡwy*) lists CJ *aḡbé'* and EJ *ḡyé'*, while *HL* (s.v. *ḡwy*), without specifying dialects, lists Jibbali *ḡbé* and *ḡyé'*.

Text 57

- 1 *a'azúm*: *JL* (s.v. 'zm) lists only the singular form 'azm, though Johnstone gives both the singular and the plural in his word-list to this text. The form corresponds to the Mehri plural *āzáwm* (*ML*, s.v. 'zm).

- 4 They passed the evening. Then after the evening prayer, the man who strikes out *axét-hés* came, and in his hand was a palm-leaf.
- 5 He snuck up on the man who had *axét-hés*, 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, *axét-hés*. 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 *axét-hés* rested a week, and he was well. Then people believed that man who said, "I strike out *axét-hés*." And if someone has *axét-hés*, they send for him. And he was famous for curing *axét-hés*. It is finished.

Translation of Text 57

- 1 Mother: "Leave these plans aside. Decide on one piece of advice."
- 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: "This boy is truly 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, 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 not born."

3 *əntégəh*: See the comment to 3:13.

5 *əlhélé*: On the Arabic source of the word and its possible etymology, see *JL* (s.v. 'lh').

7 *málézt*: This word is glossed in the Roman ms as 'sickening thing'. The root is 'lz, though this noun is absent from the *JL* entry. The Mehri equivalent (used in the corresponding Mehri text) is *mālēz* 'sickening person, thing', which does appear in *ML* (s.v. 'lz), along with a note that the word is absent in *CJ*.

- 9 M: “*xalák lek tšēn tɔ.*”
 10 B: “*mor, bahír bi.*”
 11 M: “*mor, ebúbne ébrí, šēn tɔ.*”
 12 B: “*hes ber bahérs bi, dħa-l-šēnš.*”
 13 M: “*əl-fráħi b-εbrí!*”
 14 B: “*íné ágiš tɔ əl-šérk?*”
 15 M: “*énfēt, ken əlhélé b-āhgék. b-axarét ɔl təhérg ġaró dífər lɔ ‘aħ hágér. mǵóre’, ken ðə-férħək ed béle ðə-múthənk. aǵág yaǵhílk hákək her ġótéðk. bə-yaǵēðənk l-əgeré txéls bə-tərkóbək ɔrəm. dħa-l-óši šek b-ənķét ízénu.*”

Text 60 (= M94, from which it was translated): A Wife and a Mother-in-Law in Enemy Territory

- 1 *xatəréť ġeyg aǵád mən érzəš, áǵəb her erž tať ðə-šfǵk b-erž ðókūn. b-erž ðókūn beš axšóméš. b-aǵád ed nfšs tel sékən ε-títš. aǵsaré.*

Text 57

- 9 *xalák*: Johnstone glossed this word as ‘I hope’ in the Roman ms, and in his vocabulary notes he listed the principal parts *xalá/yxólə/yaxlə*. I did not find this verb in *JL*, though it looks similar in form to the H-Stem of *xlw/y* or *xl*. One informant gave 3ms perf. *xalá*, 3ms imperfect *yaxólə*, 3mp imperf. *yaxéla*, suggesting an H-Stem of the root *xl*. Another of my CJ informants, 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!’. The corresponding Mehri passage (M90:9) has the form *halék*, which is also enigmatic.
- 9 *tšēn*: This is an Š1-Stem 2ms subjunctive from the root *ʾmn*. The meaning here is ‘fall in with someone’s wishes, listen to, obey’, a meaning attested for the Mehri, Ħarsusi, and Hobyot cognates (*ML* and *HL*, s.v. *ʾmn*; *HV*, p. 147), but which is absent from *JL*, which lists only the meaning ‘believe in’. We also find this verb with this meaning in text 60:8. I did find the meaning ‘fall in with someone’s wishes, listen to, obey’ listed in one of Johnstone’s many Jibbali word-lists that I found among his papers (Box 19A).

- 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, 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. And then don't use [lit. speak] bad language in public. Then, 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."

Translation of Text 6o

- 1 Once a man went from his land, heading to a certain land in which he got married. In that land were his enemies. And he went to his wife's community. He spent the night.

-
- 15 *ǰótéǰk*: This T1-Stem (root *ǰyǰ*) is another example of a verb whose imperfect and subjunctive forms behave like T2-Stems according to *JL*. Cf. the comment to 3:13.
 15 *yǰǰéǰǰank*: This is the D/L-Stem imperfect of the root *ǰyǰ*. In *JL*, Johnstone gives both *ǰǰyéǰ* and the variant *ǰǰbéǰ* (as if a II-w H-Stem) for the 3ms perfect, but only *yǰǰbéǰǰan* for the 3ms imperfect. In the lexical list that accompanies this text, however, Johnstone gives only *ǰǰyéǰ* for the perfect and *ǰǰyéǰǰan* (= *yǰǰyéǰǰan*) for the imperfect. The form in this text, *yǰǰéǰǰan*, is a variant pronunciation of *yǰǰyéǰǰan*.
 15 *txéls*: The meaning 'go astray' is perhaps a Mehrism, since this meaning is not given for this G-Stem verb in *JL* (s.v. *xls*). Cf. *ML* (s.v. *xls*).
 15 *tǰrkǰbk ǰrǰm*: On this idiom, meaning 'put yourself in the wrong', see *ML* (s.v. *rkb*). It means literally something like 'the road rides you'.
 15 *ǰnkét*: This plural form (sg. *nǰktǰt*) seems to be an EJ form or a Mehrism; cf. Mehri *nǰkāt* (def. *ǰnkāt*). According to *JL* and *ML* (s.v. *nkt*), the Jibbali plural is *nǰǰt*.

Text 6o

- 1 *b-erǰ ǰǰkǰn*: This phrase is used twice in the Arabic ms and on the audio (as in the text printed here), but not in the Roman ms.

- 2 *ed k-ħásaf, ʾor her títš, “áǵan nəǵád!” ʾorót, “he d-ʾək anšenú, bə-xíz k al-ǵád yəl yə ʾədré. bə-tōk tókəla tə tel aʾéllí ʾonut dīnu.”*
- 3 *ʾor aǵéyǵ, “he ǵeyǵ hāmərún mən erǵ dēnu, b-əl əkódər l-ǵskəf bun l.” axarét ʾorót ʾémés, “əl ənsénúd ʾəs l.” ʾor aǵéyǵ, “təm bókum ʾəšfókum, b-əl šókum ar (t)snid.”*
- 4 *ʾorót ʾémés, “ábdan.” ed yum ʾəšǵarót aǵád aǵéyǵ tel yə. kəlót hóhum, ʾor, “he ǵeyǵ d-əl əkódər l-ǵskəf b-erǵ dēnu l, b-əšxarét ǵólót l-əbríts. bə-hé aʾǵób bə-títí, bə-títí təʾǵób bi. b-əšxarét ʾaǵiót l-əbdéd tun.”*
- 5 *axarét aǵád yə yəl ʾəšxarét. ʾor hes, “dēnu əl yəkín l, l-əbdéd mən mún aǵéyǵ bə-títš.” axarét ʾorót ʾəšxarét, “he ʾək bes təǵád k-aʾásərs, fəlékən se ǵólót.”*
- 6 *axarét ʾor hes yə, “mor, ǵzím əl (t)dír mən munúhum her tet ʾaǵiót təǵád.” ǵuzút ʾəšxarét əl (t)dér mən munúhum. b-aǵádót yəl ʾəbríts. ʾorót, “he əl əkódər əl-héǵ šiš l, fəlékən mit aʾásəriš hérǵ šiš, ǵalíb, bə-hé dħa-l-ħéžər liš təǵíd.” ʾorót, “mor.”*
- 7 *aǵsərə. ed ǵasré, tet kəlót her aʾásərs b-aǵaró ʾémés. ʾor hes aʾásərs, “mor. hit ǵalíb kərəre əl təǵíd, bə-ħás ʾ-ħazǵórót liš ʾémíš, ʾamír, ʾmor, dħa-l-ǵád’.*

2 *xíz k*: This is the 1cs perfect of the Gb-Stem *xézi*. *JL* (s.v. *xzy*) lists only a Ga-Stem *xázé*, which can have the same meaning ‘be embarrassed’. Johnstone does list the Gb-Stem *xézi* in the word-list that accompanies this text. A clear Gb-Stem form is found also in SB2:2.

3 *bókum*: Both mss and the audio have *bókum*, which is historically the 2mp suffixed form of the preposition *b-*. However, we clearly expect a form of the auxiliary *ber* here (2mp *bérkum*), not the preposition *b-*. The corresponding Mehri passage (60:3) has *bər* here, and in the Roman ms, Johnstone added the Arabic gloss *قَد* (*qad*). Because the 2ms and 2fs suffixed forms of *ber* and *b-* are identical (*bek* and *biš*, respectively), the 2mp *bókum* is used for *ber* by analogy. The same analogical form is attested from another speaker (TJ4:74), so this is not simply an error.

3 (*t*)*snid*: This is almost certainly a 2mp subjunctive *snid* < *təsnid*, though it could also be a mp imperative *snid*. The form in the Mehri version (94:3, *sədédəm*) is equally ambiguous.

- 2 Then in the morning, he said to his wife, "Let's go!" She said, "I am still young [lit. little], and I am nervous [or: embarrassed] to go to strange people. You should leave me with my family 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 (without her)."
- 4 Her mother said, "No way." Then the next day, the man went to the people. He told them, he said, "I am a man who cannot stay in this land, and the old woman refused her daughter. I love my wife, and my wife loves me. And the old woman wants to separate us."
- 5 Then the people went to the old woman. They 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 that you will not come between them if the woman wants to go." The old woman swore she would not come between them. And she went to her daughter. She said, "I cannot speak with you, but when your husband speaks with you, refuse, and I will (pretend to) persuade you to go." She said, "Ok."
- 7 They passed the evening. In the night, the woman told her husband what her mother had said [lit. the words of her mother]. Her husband said to her, "Ok. You refuse to go tomorrow, and when your mother persuades you, say 'Ok, I'll go'."

-
- 4 *l-əbdéd tun*: Both mss have this, but the audio has *l-əbdéd mən munún*. The corresponding Mehri passage has a direct object suffix on the verb. Cf. the use of *mən mún* in the next line. As for the form *l-əbdéd*, this is a D/L-Stem 3fs subjunctive. *JL* (s.v. *bdd*) lists a 3ms subjunctive *yébbəd*, which is an H-Stem form. The verb should historically be a D/L-Stem (as the imperfect in *JL* supports, along with the Mehri cognate and Arabic D *baddada*), but because the 3ms perfect of geminate roots in the D/L-Stem and H-Stem look the same, there is confusion of geminate verbs in these two stems. See further in §7.4.14.
- 6 *guzūt ešxarét ɔl (t)dér*: I have parsed this as indirect speech, with the verb in the 3fs imperfect (G-Stem, root *dwr*). However, since the *t* is not written or pronounced, it may also be parsed as a 1cs imperfect (*ə*)*dér*, as in the published Mehri version.

- 8 *bā-hér ʾōrót hiš ʿémīš, ‘kə hit šūnəš?’; ‘amír, ‘akó(l)š mən yénš hažórš lī. b-ēšxarét beršt daxlīt ʾl təhérg šiš tel yə. bā-hér sínš ešxarét ‘aǧišt taxíl biš, aḥtíraf ʿās. širk enúf (t)šírík sé ed naǧád.”*
- 9 *ʾōrót, “mor.” aǧsaré. ed k-ḥáṣaf hérérg aǧéyg k-xólštš, ʾor hes, “hərig k-ēbrítš taǧád ši. he ʾl əḳódər l-šskaf bun l. b-ekébal tim li. d-ʿəd ši əšhər mən ekébal.”*
- 10 *ʾōrót ešxarét, “he ʾl ḳódórk les l, fələkən het hərəg šes.” ʾor aǧéyg, “he heróǧk šes mənḥínəm, bā-ʾōrót, ‘šəbr k-émí.”*
- 11 *axarét ešxarét šōʾt aǧaró eǧéyg bā-šəzhét. bā-ʾor hes yə, “liš étəm her xórbiš tet eǧéyg ʾl taǧád šes.”*
- 12 *ʾōrót ešxarét, “he ʾl xórbək təs l.” ʾor yə, “mor, her ʾl xórbiš təs l, hərig šes.” ʾōrót ešxarét, “eḏí-ilín, ǧid k-aʿásəriš.”*
- 13 *ʾōrót tet, “mor.” ʾōrót ešxarét, “nkí ʾl-yóh, ḥótégək liš.” ʾōrót tet, “ʾl móték l nāʿsanu.” bā-sé letškūn ed aǧád aǧéyg bā-títš.*
- 14 *hes ǧōš, síni ešxarét mən seróhum. ʾor aǧéyg, “ǧólókūn ešxarét. hit ǧíd ǧer emíh bā-hé dḥa-l-sálšbš bā-dḥa-l-ǧíl (-əǧlél) bes. bā-hér šxəborót liš, dḥa-l-ʿámər, ‘aǧádót hen her míh.’*

8 *šūnəš*: This is the Ši-Stem, 2fs perfect, of the root *ʾmn* (3ms perfect *šīn*). Johnstone gives the meaning ‘agree, be obedient’ in the lexical list accompanying this text. This meaning is not given in *JL*, but it can also be found in *ML* (s.v. *ʾmn*). See also the comment to 57:9, and line 26 of this text, where the verb is also used with this meaning.

9 *xólštš*: See the comment to 30:9.

9 *əšhər*: See the comment to 40:7.

14 *ǧólókūn*: See the comment to 16:3.

14 *dḥa-l-ǧíl* (*əǧlél*): This form is not totally clear. The Roman ms has *dḥa-l-ǧalél*, probably a variant transcription of *dḥa-l-ǧlél*, which is what the Arabic ms has. On the audio, Ali stumbled and read first *dḥa-l-ǧíl*, then *əǧlél*. The intention here is for the 1cs future of the root *ǧll*, meaning ‘delay, detain, keep occupied; trick, outwit’, though in *JL* this verb does not have these meanings listed (on the meaning ‘trick’, cf. 30:4). Johnstone does include this verb in the lexical list that follows this text, giving the forms *ǧél b-*, *iǧlél*, *yəǧíl* (cf. *ḥel/yəḥlél/yḥíl* in *JL*),

- 8 And if your mother says to you, 'Why did you agree?', say 'I thought you were persuading me truthfully'. The old woman is already forsworn that she won't speak with you in front of the people. And if you see the old woman wants to be alone with you, move away from her. Pretend you are doing something until we go."
- 9 She said, "Ok." They passed the night. Then in the morning, the man spoke with his mother-in-law, he said to her, "Tell your daughter to go with me. I can't stay here. The truce is over for me. I still have (just) today (left) of the truce."
- 10 The old woman said, "I have no control over her, but you speak with her." The man said, "I spoke with her last night, and she said, 'The decision [lit. opinion] (rests) with my mother.'"
- 11 Then the old woman heard the man's words and was elated. And the people said to her, "It's a sin for you if you prevent [lit. spoil] the man's wife so she won't go with him."
- 12 The old woman said, "I didn't prevent her." The people said, "Ok, if you didn't prevent her, speak with her." The old woman said, "So-and-so, go with your husband."
- 13 The woman said, "Ok." The old woman said, "Come here, I need you!" The woman said, "I don't have time now." And she (did) thus until the man left with his wife.
- 14 When they departed [lit. disappeared], they saw the old woman behind them. The man said, "Look, there is 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.'"

with the meaning 'keep occupied'. In addition to Johnstone's notes, the forms in lines 15, 18, and 19 confirm the G-Stem subjunctive base *-ǰíl*. We actually expect the subjunctive base *-ǰlél*, based on other I-ǰ geminate verbs (see § 7.4.14). Either this is a mistake, or, more likely, there is some variation in the conjugation of I-G geminate G-Stems. In this case, perhaps there is also some interference from the Mehri D/L-Stem *hyil* 'trick', 3ms subj. *yəh(y)il* (see the comment to line 24).

- 15 *bə-hé dħa-l-ǧíl bes bə-ħás ɛ-heǧósk biš biš aǧádaš mən ǧér emih, dħa-l-‘ámer hes, ‘her ‘aǧiš l-ōda‘ eǧí-ilín dħa-təksís ǧer emih’, bə-ħít antíqah, ɔl (t)səlíbs ǧer emih l. b-ō‘ōdš nxín eṭék ǧókūn.”*
- 16 *‘ǧrót teṭ, “mor.” aǧadót teṭ, b-aǧéyg selb xɔlótš ed zəħōt. ‘ǧrót, “eǧí-ilín hūtūn?” ‘ǧr aǧéyg, “aǧadót ǧer emih bə-dħa-(t)zħōm būn. fəlékən ǧə-fırkək tɔs ɔl l-éflət mən ǧíri yɔl xádər.”*
- 17 *‘ǧrót ešxarét, “kəh, šā‘k tɔs herǧót sé?” ‘ǧr aǧéyg, “šā‘k tɔs ‘ǧrót, ‘her ɔl zəħámk tɔk nášanu l, ɔl (t)šá‘ze tɔ l. əkín edúrk yɔl a‘élí.”*
- 18 *axarét ftorǧót ešxarét. təkól aǧéyg mən yénš. axarét skəfót ešxarét. ‘aǧíót təǧíl b-aǧéyg ɔl-‘ód yótba‘ teṭ.*
- 19 *‘ǧr aǧéyg, “ak əl-ǧád ǧer emih.” ‘ǧrót ešxarét, “skef tōlí šīn. sótékək lek.” se ‘aǧíót təǧíl b-aǧéyg, b-aǧéyg ‘aǧəb yəǧíl b-ešxarét.*
- 20 *bə-skəf. axarét aǧéyg héǧós bə-tét tékən berót aǧadót mən ǧér emih. ‘ǧr, “aǧargót eǧí-ilín. ɔl ‘ǧk hiš l dħa-l-éflət mən ǧíri? he dħa-l-ǧád. ɔl-‘ǧk dħa-l-səlóbš zeyd l.”*
- 21 *‘ǧrót ešxarét, “mor. he dħa-l-ǧád ǧer emih. bə-hér kisk tɔs, dħa-l-‘ámer hes tótba‘k.” aǧád aǧéyg ed kse títš berót skəfót nxín eṭék.*
- 22 *‘ǧrót, “kə het aǧəróǧk?” ‘ǧr aǧéyg, “he skɔʃk tel émiš bə-hés zəħōt tɔ, ɔl ‘aǧíót tóskəf l. ‘aǧíót tótba‘š. axarét ‘ǧk hes, ‘eǧí-ilín thūmk tɔs dħa-l-éflət mən ǧíri yólkum. bə-ǧadú əntbá‘s.’*
- 23 *ħas ɛ-šó‘ót ešxarét aǧaró ǧénu, ftorǧót bə-‘ǧrót, “aǧən nəskéfšīn.’ se ‘aǧíót təǧíl bi, bə-hé ‘ak əl-ǧíl bes. bə-sé nášanu aǧadót ǧer emih ǧ-əftorǧót. təkól(l)š edúrs yólhum.”*

-
- 15 *biš biš*: The first *biš* is the preposition *b-*, while the second is from the auxiliary *ber*. In *JL*, Johnstone gives the 2fs form as *biš* for the former and *beš* for the latter, but on the audio, these sound identical. In fact, *i* and *e* are often interchangeable.
- 15 *teṭ*: *JL* (s.v. *tyṭ*) glosses this only as ‘wild fig tree’, but according to Miller and Morris (1988: 208) this is *Ficus vasta*.
- 18 *mən yénš*: In the Arabic ms, the expected *mən* is missing, though it is present in the audio. In the Roman ms, Johnstone added *mən* in parentheses between the lines of text.
- 19 *sótékək*: This is a T1-Stem of the root *šwṭ* (cf. Mehri *sātūṭ*). This stem is missing from *JL*, which does list a T2-Stem *əsték* with the same meaning. In Johnstone’s word-list for this text, he gives the forms of T1 *sóték* as *sóték/ístók/istók/yəstíkən* (perf./imperf./subj./condit.). See further on this verb type in §7.4.8.

- 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 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 until she came. She said, "Where is so-and-so?" The man said, "She went to the water and will come back here. But I am afraid she'll run away from me to the house."
- 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 now, don't think I'm late. I will have gone back to my family.'"
- 18 Then the woman was very happy. She thought the man was being truthful. Then the old woman stayed. She wanted 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 And they remained. Then the man figured the woman 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 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 very happy, and she 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 very happy. She thought you had gone back to them."

20 *hégós*: *JL* only gives the form *hógós* 'he thought' (s.v. *hgs*; likewise *ML* and *HL*). In the word-list for this text, Johnstone gives *hégós*, with two variant imperfects (*yhégs* and *yhógæs*) and subjunctives (*yhégs* and *yhégós*). So the perfect *hégós* must just be a variant perfect. See also the comment to 25:5.

- 24 *axarét žaḥkót tēt bə-ōrót her a'ásərs, "ǰelk b-éml." axarét aǰádó. b-aǰéyg yəmzéz. ed kərəb əl-səkən ð-axšóméš, 'ōr her títš,*
 25 *"hit skíf bün bə-hé dḥa-l-ǰád ɔl səkən ðənu. fə́l əkós dé yəmzéz." 'ōrót tēt, "ak l-əltáǰ? ɔl xer hek təǰád l."*
 26 *'ōr, "ɔl əkódər əl-ǰád l ar hér mizk." 'ōrót tēt, "het dḥa-tüz əšhér, bə-fló dḥa-tüz təmbéko bə-fló bə-gililt." axarét aǰéyg ɔl šīn títš l, b-aǰád.*
 27 *fə́ləkən aǰéyg yəǰórəb aǰaróhum. xōt idikš b-aǰád. ed zəḥám, kse ínét ðə-ḳhéb. axarét 'ōr heš ínét, "het bər mün?"*
 28 *'ōr, "he šax." 'ōr ínét, "šáxt ɔl yəḥöl séléb l." 'ōr aǰéyg, "kɔl ɛ-šés diréham yəkódər yəḥil séléb. ɔl še ḥarúm lóhum l." aǰéyg ðə-yəhérg k-ínét b-aǰaróhum.*
 29 *'ōr ínét, "íné 'ak?" 'ōr aǰéyg, "he ǰeyg əmzéz, bə-shék təmbéko. bə-zḥámk tókum, fə́l əkós dé yəmzéz."*
 30 *'ōrót tēt, "ǰad ǰəǰá' dīkūn. dḥa-təksé šáxər yəmzéz, bə-fló yézmək sé." aǰád aǰéyg. ed zəḥám kse šáxər skəf.*
 31 *ḳə́lɔb leš selúm bə-skəf. 'ōr šáxər, "het bər mün?" 'ōr, "he šax." 'ōr šáxər, "búdək. edórək ɔl (še) šax l." 'ōr aǰéyg, "ɔl búdək l."*

-
- 24 *ǰelk*: See the comment to line 14. Also note that the Mehri version here has *ḥəyək* 'you tricked' (root *ḥyl*), and normally this story follows the Mehri version quite faithfully.
- 25 *l-əltáǰ*: Both the Arabic ms and audio have *l-əltáǰ*. The spelling of *ǰ* with ق (*q*) is normal for Ali (especially for this verb) and many other Jibbali speakers. For example, the word *təǰad* is also written *təkad* in this line; *ð-əǰélk* is spelled *ð-əkélk* in line 35; *ǰabírs* is spelled *ḳabírs* in line 42; and *ǰōrót*s is spelled *ḳōrót*s in line 44. The pronunciation here is more unusual. See further in the comment to 17:10.
- 25 *fə́l*: Both mss have just *fə́l* here, though Ali read *bə-fló* on the audio (cf. line 26). In either case, the intention is for *fə́l* 'perhaps' (§12.5.8). See also the comment to 5:8.
- 26 *dḥa-tüz*: This is the 3ms future (subjunctive) of the verb *miz* 'smoke' (root *mzz*). *JL* lists the 3ms subjunctive only as *yúmmuz*, but *yüz* is a variant form. Cf. the entry in *JL* (s.v. *mdd*) for *midd*, which lists the subjunctive as either *yúmmud* or *yūd*. One informant recognized only *yüz* as the correct subjunctive. The form *yüz* must be from **yúmmuz*, with non-geminate *m*. It is also worth noting that while both mss have *dḥa-tüz* twice in this line, on the audio Ali mistakenly read *dḥa-təmzéz* (i.e., *dḥa-* + imperfect) for the first of these.

- 24 Then the woman laughed, and said to her husband, "You tricked my mother." Then they went. And the man smoked (habitually). When they got near the 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."
- 26 He said, "I can't go on unless I smoke." The woman said, "You will smoke today. You'll smoke either tobacco or bullets." Then the man didn't listen to his wife, and he went.
- 27 But the man spoke their language. He cocked his rifle and went. When he came, he found the 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 Mashāyix do not carry arms." The man said, "Whoever has money can carry arms. It is not forbidden for them." 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 house. You'll find an old man who smokes, and perhaps he'll give you something." The man went. When he came, he found an old man sitting.
- 31 He greeted him and sat down. The old man said, "Who [lit. son of who] are you?" He said, "I am a Mashaykhi." The old man said, "You lied. Your blood is not Mashaykhi." The man said, "I did not lie."

27 *ínét*: I assume that the first *ínét* is indefinite and that the second is *ínét* definite, yet there seems to be no difference in pronunciation.

27 *bər*: In *JL* (s.v. *brv*) it says that the construct form *bər* is only used before proper names; we can add to that its use before interrogative *mun* (which is standing for a proper name). See also § 4.6.

28 *šax*: On the Mashāyix, who are believed to have special powers, see Bakhit (1982: 55).

31 *eḏrk ol (še) šax l:* Ali added the *še* on the audio, though it is missing in both mss. His addition is probably a Mehrism, since Ali's Mehri dialect requires a pronoun in this position, while Jibbali does not.

- 32 *axarét* 'ör *šáxær*, "täǵóræb bet eðí-ilín?" 'ör *aǵéyg*, "ǵǵórbhum, kǵh?" 'ör, "sé l." 'ör *aǵéyg*, "a'ísórék fǵlǵ sé?" 'ör *šáxær*, "ǵl a'ísórí l. axšúmí. ya rét æl-šné dé mǵnhūm!"
- 33 'ör *aǵéyg*, "ǵl yǵzhīm būn l." *axarét* 'es *šáxær bǵ-zīš xérín tǵmbéko*. d-ǵd *laǵǵkūn*, *zǵhōt tet*, *bǵ-tét* ðíkūn *tǵǵóræb aǵéyg*. *fǵlékǵn tet ǵl se mǵn eǵilt* ð-axšóméš l. *fǵlékǵn šfǵǵót taǵ mǵnhūm*.
- 34 *axarét* 'örót, "eðí-ilín, kǵ het būn?" *axarét ǵež* (ǵǵǵ) *hes bǵ-ǵǵfǵt*. 'ör *šáxær her tet*, "täǵórbǵš?" 'örót, "ob, šbéhk beš æl-ǵéyg, b-ǵǵlǵǵak."
- 35 *axarét* 'es *aǵéyg b-ǵǵád*. 'ör *heš šáxær*, "ak tǵǵhǵb lǵ? dǵa-nšérk hek fšǵo" 'ör *aǵéyg*, "ob, ð-ǵǵélǵ her yǵt bǵ-šǵ'ak bes b-enǵarín izénu bǵ-ák æl-ǵǵád d-ǵd ši ežél."
- 36 *bǵ-šxanít mǵn ōǵa' bǵ-lǵhǵǵótš tet* (ð-)täǵórbǵš. 'örót *heš*, "het mišérd? 'ak tšum a'úmraǵ l-ǵǵére ð-tǵmbéko?" *axarét kǵlǵt* *hes aǵéyg*.
- 37 'örót *tet*, "nášanu hegérót yūm, b-ǵl dé yǵǵǵód l. b-ǵl sé míh æl-fenókum l, fǵlékǵn het ǵad yǵl tíǵ bǵ-hé dǵa-l-éǵǵǵal hókum fšǵo". *bǵ-dǵa-l-zhóm* *kum nxín hérúm* ðǵkum, *bǵ-dǵa-l-zhōm ši m-míh her émínk bi*."

32 *ya rét*: This is an Arabism (see § 12.2).

34 *ǵež* (ǵǵǵ): The Roman ms has here *ǵǵǵ* (root *ǵmǵ*) with *ǵež* in parentheses. The Arabic ms and the audio have the geminate perfect *ǵež*. In *JL*, only *ǵǵǵ* is given the meaning 'wink' (s.v. *ǵmǵ*), while the geminate *ǵež* (s.v. *ǵǵǵ*) means 'slow down; grow dim'. In Mehri and Harsusi, however, both *ǵemōž* and *ǵǵǵ* can mean 'wink', and *HL* (s.v. *ǵǵ(ǵ)*) suggests that Jibbali *ǵež* can mean 'wink'. Ali used the verb *ǵǵǵ* in 54:24 with meaning 'close (the eyes)'.

35 'ak *tǵǵhǵb lǵ*: The loss of the negative *ǵl* here is perhaps due to interference from the Mehri version, from which this story was translated, although such a loss is also possible in Jibbali (see § 13.2.3).

36 *tšum*: The *t* is not written in the Arabic ms, but is pronounced on the audio and transcribed in the Roman ms.

37 *hegérót*: This Gb-Stem (here a 3fs perfect) is not listed in *JL*, though other related forms of the root *hgr* are listed, including *hǵǵar* 'midday'. The corresponding Mehri verb is given in *ML* (s.v. *hgr*), where a different Jibbali equivalent is given (3fs *hōt*, from the root *hmm*), and so its use here may be a Mehrism. The verb seems to only be used in the third person feminine, with *yum* 'sun' (feminine in Mehri and Jibbali) as its subject.

- 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. 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, and I want to go while it's still cool [lit. while I still have the cold (weather)]."
- 36 And he left the house 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."

37 *m-míh*: Here *m-míh* derives via assimilation from **b-míh*. See also 39:2, and the discussion, with further examples of this sound change, in § 2.1.4.

37 *émínk*: This must be an H-Stem *émín* (root *'mn*). *JL* only lists a D/L-Stem *'ün* (< **ómán*). Mehri has an H-Stem of this root, and Johnstone does list this H-Stem verb in one of his many Jibbali word-lists that I found among his papers (Box 19A). That the intervocalic *m* could be preserved here is likely due either to the underlying structure **é'mín*, or to the stressed vowels on either side (see § 2.1.3). More likely, this is a Jibbalized form of a Mehri word. The latter idea is bolstered by the fact that the H-Stem 1cs perfect should have the vowel *ú* (< *ó*) after the second root consonant, not *í*.

- 38 *‘ōr agéyḡ, “émínk biš, fálékān ‘ágān nāḡád.” axarét guzūt tet, “əl tǎḡéd ed ber tǎfší.” ‘ōr agéyḡ, “mor, dḡa-nsəlǎbš.”*
- 39 *agád agéyḡ yəl títš bǎ-kǎlǎt hes bǎ-tét ḏǎ-guzūt “əl tǎḡéd ed ber tǎfší.” axarét ‘ōrǎt títš, “ḏǎ-fírḡak ‘ās əl tékān ‘agiǎt ta‘tún len.”*
- 40 *‘ōr agéyḡ, “əl tǎs l. bǎ-nḡá dḡa-nsəlǎbs, fálékān əl dḡa-nǎskéf b-ǎ‘ōds l. dḡa-nǎhtérǎf bǎ-dḡa-nǎḡǎl les, bǎ-hér sínén šes dé, dḡa-nḡád.”*
- 41 *axarét aḡadǎ agéyḡ bǎ-títš ed ḏér ḡǎrǎnút mǎn tél yǎḡōzǎn əl-sékān. skǎfǎ bǎ-tét eḡallǎt bǎ-šǎrkǎt ‘aḡ béríḡ šéhi. ed bǎšǎlǎt, aḡadǎt, b-agéyḡ bǎ-títš sínés hes šxǎntǎt mǎn sékān baḡsés.*
- 42 *axarét ‘ōr agéyḡ her títš, “ḡǎbírš, bǎ-‘amír hes, ‘he biš eḏí-ilín, mǎn axšómí, ‘bǎ-sínk ḡeyḡ ēle bun. b-agéyḡ ta‘mírǎnš ḏírí, bǎ-thúmḡ tǎš yékān mǎn axšómén, fálékān əthúmḡ tǎš ber aḡád. ḏǎ se kǎltǎt liš, rǎfí kǎmkēš mǎn ḏér eréšš, bǎ-hé dḡa-l-əzhǎd.*
- 43 *bǎ-dḡa-l-ḡád, bǎ-hít síbbǎdǎs bǎ-dḡa-nǎḡtēr ḏer ḡǎr ḏíḡkūn. bǎ-hér ḡǎḡádǎtíš, ə(l) l-ḡírḡ kǎmkēš l.”*
- 44 *‘ōrǎt, “mor.” aḡadǎt tet. ed ḡǎrǎtš, ‘ōrǎt tet (ḏ-)thíl eḡšǎ, “hit biš mǎn?” ‘ōrǎt, “he biš eḏí-ilín, bǎ-sínk ḡeyḡ ḏírí ēle bún, bǎ-ḏǎ-thúmḡ tǎš yékān mǎn axšómén.”*
- 45 *‘ōrǎt tet, “ḏǎkūn mǎn izǎk əḏ-šén ḏǎ-yǎḡélḡ mǎn yǎt. ber aḡád.” ‘ōrǎt tet agéyḡ, “šiš ínē ‘aḡ ēríḡ b-ešǎférít?” ‘ōrǎt, “ší míh. ‘ak l-ǎrḡǎz (əl-šǎḡsé).”*

38 *tǎfší*: In the Roman ms (also in line 39), Johnstone transcribed *tǎfšín*, while the Arabic ms and audio have just *tǎfší*. A final *-n* would be ungrammatical.

40 *əl tǎs l*: The published Mehri version of the story has here *əl tawwǎš lǎ*, translated in Stroomer’s edition as ‘you (fs) shouldn’t (be afraid)’, while Jibbali has a 3fs suffix, giving the meaning ‘she shouldn’t (betray us)’. In fact, the printed Mehri version is incorrect. The original Arabic-letter manuscript of Mehri text 94 has *tawwǎs*, corresponding to Jibbali *tǎs*. In the Roman transcription of Mehri text 94, Johnstone has *tǎwwǎš* (possibly corrected to *tǎwwǎs*).

43 *l-ḡírḡ*: This is a D/L-Stem 2fs subjunctive (negative imperative) of the root *ḡrḡ*. According to the paradigm in *JL*, the D/L-Stem 2fs subjunctive has the form *l-CúCuC* (or presumably *l-CúCaC*), but my own informants also preferred the vowel *í* instead of *ú* in the 2fs subjunctive. Perhaps this form differs in some dialects.

- 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, 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 waited, and the woman boiled and made tea in a pitcher. Then when it was ready, 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'. And if she tells you, lift your head-cloth up off your head, and I will understand.
- 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; lit. those with us] who was looking for a camel. He already left." The man's wife said, "What do you have in the pitcher and the pot?" She said, "I have water. I want to wash up."

45 *al-šáǧše*: This alternative to *l-šrhaž* is in both mss: in the Roman ms, in parentheses (with the note "better"), and in the Arabic ms, in the margin. Ali said both on the audio. I did not find this verb (*šǧšé*, an Šl-Stem of the root *ǧšy*) in *JL*, though its forms are in the word-list following the mss of this text. The word is used also in TJ4:28. See also the next comment.

- 46 *‘ōrót teṭ aǧéyg, “ak al-ǧád šiš.” ‘ōrót teṭ, “he ‘ak l-ǧrḥaž (al-šǧǧse). kəh taǧíd ši?” axarét teṭ aǧéyg ǧarióts ḏə-sé súdkət, bə-kəltót hes.*
- 47 *‘ōrót, “he teṭ eḏl-ilín. bə-ǧadú yəłš.” aǧadtó ed zəḥámtó aǧéyg. bə-skóǧ bə-fšé. ed kəł‘éni bóttəd.*
- 48 *teṭ eḏirót yəł sékəns, b-aǧéyg bə-títš nəfšó ed nfšó tel sékən aǧá aǧéyg. ‘es aǧá aǧéyg bə-ḥéz her ḥitš, b-aǧsaré.*
- 49 *ed k-ḥáṣaf aǧádó aǧéyg bə-títš ed zəḥám tel sékənhum. bə-təmmút.*

Text 83 (= M83): A Brave Boy

- 1 *xatarét ǧeyg b-əbréš k-iyél bə-féǧər. b-ékət ḏókkün eǧmúm yaǧózi her taṭtóhum. ed yum sínó eǧühm eǧbél líši. bə-šáxər əl šeš məndík l, b-embére’ šeš məndík, fələkən ḥalóts ə(l) rəḥit l, b-əxōṭ xēt.*
- 2 *bə-šáxər ḏə-yaḏóla’ mən fá’məš. axarét ‘ōr šáxər her ebréš, “b-enúf, bə-klá’ tə bun.” ‘ōr embére’, “yaktélét bi ekel, her kélá’k tək bə-flótk. fələkən ‘áǧən nəflət ed ḏér eǧühn ḏóhün bə-nəšáhge lókun.” fəltó.*
- 3 *embére’, ‘ōr, ta’mírəns ša’r. b-iffélót. mit ber ḏə-‘ōr xérín, yəšelədən mən ḏér iš ed yəzḥómš. axarét ešəl eǧühn bə-šeləd embére’ mən ḏér eǧühn. ber eǧ‘ér troh. axarét šəšbéb iš, b-embére’ eǧ‘ér sóləṭ. bə-tmím əxōṭ. d-‘əd šeš ṭaṭ bass.*
- 4 *axarét ‘ōr hóhum, “he əl-‘əd ši ǧilət l. tmumk əxōṭi, bə-súlmək enúf.” ber šḥān ǧndíkš. axarét ‘ōr eǧühm, “mun ə-áǧəb yó(l)tǧəš?” axarét ‘ōr ṭaṭ mənhúm, “he. aǧí ḏə-ltíǧ, bə-‘ák l-óṭləb beš.”*

Text 60

- 46 *al-šǧǧse*: In this line, the Roman ms has only *al-šǧǧse*, while the Arabic ms has *l-ǧrḥaž* with *al-šǧǧse* in the margin. On the audio, Ali said *al-šǧǧse*.

Text 83

- 2 *nəšáhge*: According to *JL* (s.v. *hgv*) and *ML* (s.v. *hgw*), the Ši-Stem *šḥagé* in Jibbali means ‘be surrounded with no way out’. The cognate in Mehri and Ḥarsusi means ‘stand firm’, which is what the verb must mean in this story. It is unclear if the Jibbali verb can also mean this, or if its use here is a Mehrism.

- 46 The man's wife said, "I want to go with you." The woman said, "I want to wash up. Why should 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 evening.
- 49 Then in the morning, the man and his wife went until they came to their settlement. And it is finished.

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. One day they saw the raiding-party approaching them. The old man didn't have a rifle, and the boy had a rifle, but its condition [lit. description] 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 leave you and run away. But let's run away up onto that peak and make our stand there." They fled.
- 3 The boy, they said, was like a gazelle. And he fled. When he had gotten a little ways ahead, he fired over his father so he could get to it [the peak]. Then they reached the peak, and the boy fired from on the peak. He had already brought down two (men). Then his father was wounded, and the boy brought down a third. And his cartridges ran out. 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 surrender myself." 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 'ōr heš, "mor, ġad yalš. ber tāmim ěxōṭěš." b-aġád ed eḵbél al-embére'. 'ōr heš embére', "tōk al-sólām tō."
- 6 'ōr aġéyġ, "selūt ašhér ġozét lek. ber látġæk sōṭét ḏa-šūm xayór, bə-d-ʾók taḥésab her selūt? ěnfēt ěḏmar tō b-iyél d-ʾók šaḥí." 'ōr embére', "'ad 'éḏar?" 'ōr aġéyġ, "ábdan!" 'ōr embére', "he ši yel ar xēt, fálékān dḥa-l-zémk ěġhúdi. hūk!"
- 7 bə-kéz beš bə-lġás. bə-zḥám eḵūhm bə-létaġ embére', b-aġád eḵūhm. bə-tát mən eḵūhm kolót her yō bə-šegó't embére', bə-ōr, "ḏa kūn ol létaġ erbá'ót minén lō, ol naltéġanaš lō. ol dé yōxót beš lō, fálékān ber eġ'ér erbá'ót ēr-dódi." bə-tammút.

Text 86 (= M86): More Conditionals

- 1 'ak xsórət, dḥa-l-axsór.
- 2 'ak xədmét, dḥa-l-šérk hek.
- 3 her ol zəḥámk bóhum lō, dḥa-l-ʾókḵəš eréšk.
- 4 her šxank leš, ol (t)šóhól sé lō.
- 5 her šerókək tōš, ol hek sé lō.
- 6 (her) 'ak tó(l)taġ tō, taġ tō mən ġér siéb.
- 7 her šek ḵaróš mékən, tōk l-ézzəd tō.

Text 83

- 6 ašhér: See the comment to 40:7.
- 6 xayór: This word is not in *JL*, but we can compare Mehri xayōr 'best'. The word here may actually be a Mehri form. In *ML* (s.v. *xyr*). Johnstone suggests in *ML* that it is may be a plural of *xayr* (cf. Arabic *xayr*, pl. *xiyār*).
- 7 yōxót: This is the imperfect of *ebxét*, an H-Stem of a root *bxt* or *wxt*. I did not find this verb in *JL*, but it is listed in the English-Mehri section of *ML* (p. 555) as the equivalent of Mehri *ħaġzū* 'make up for the absence of s.o.' (the verb used in the Mehri version of this story).
- 7 ēr-dódi: See the comment to 46:2.

- 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. You already killed three who were the best, and you're still counting on peace? First direct me to the camels, while you're still alive!" The boy said, "Is there still (a chance for) a pardon?" The man said, "Never!" The boy said, "I have only a few camels, but I will give you my best effort. Here you are!"
- 7 And he shot him and killed him. And the raiding-party came and killed the boy, and they left. And one of the raiding-party told people about the bravery of the boy, and he said, "If only he had not 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 [or: four of my] cousins." And it is finished.

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 reason!
- 7 If you have a lot of money, you ought to give me more.

Text 86

- 4 (*t*)šóhól: This verb is missing from *JL*, but an EJ form is listed in *ML* (s.v. 'hl). See further in the comment to 21:11.
- 5 šerókək: The Roman ms has šərókək (probably better: šerókək), while the Arabic ms has ṣ̌ərókək. See the comment to 51:13.
- 6 *her*: *her* is in parentheses in the Roman ms, but missing in the Arabic ms. On the lack of a conditional particle before the verb 'ágəb, see the discussion in §13.4.1 and §13.4.2.

- 8 *her ɔl šek dírəham sé lo, ézəmək (dha-l-zémk).*
 9 *mit bek kərīb əl-héšan, ərdé b-əsfét sérék.*
 10 *her ɔl héróg lo, dha-nókəkəş eréšš.*
 11 *her ɔl zəhámk bes lo, dha-l-híz k.*
 12 *her sé géré lek, enhá bə-štərér.*

Text 97 (= M97 [on which it was based]= H9 = Müller 1907: 34 ff. = Bittner 1917a: 92 ff.): A Cinderella Tale

- 1 *gəyg sóbər yəbtərən ešód, bə-šfək bə-tét bə-níka‘ mēs bə-ğəbgót.*
bə-xərgót émés. bə-kéní eğəbgót ed ‘akərót. bə-yəkólá’s ‘ak üt bə-šé
yəbgód yəštód.
 2 *ed yum tit ‘örót heš ebrítš, “e be, kə het ɔl šfəkək lo?” ‘ör hes, “he ɔl ‘ak*
l-šfək lo.”
 3 *‘örót heš, “kəh?” ‘ör hes, “mğóre’ təhésfəš.” ‘örót heš, “ob, šfek.” šfək bə-tét*
bə-níka‘ bes b-üt tel ebrítš. bə-skəfót šeš.
 4 *bə-zhám mēs bə-ğəbgót bə-kəníts ed ‘akərót. bə-skóf bə-(t)ša‘ásór ebríts*
bə-ğəğəğ ebrít ð-əžérét.
 5 *ed yum ebré e-hókum ‘əgəb yəšéxtən bə-šérék heš məš‘ér. bə-ɔlób b‘él*
ħallét kel, bə-zhám.
 6 *bə-tét bāl ešód eziğót ebríts. b-əbrít ð-əžérét züts gunét ðə-bóhr, ‘örót*
hes, “təhíns!”
 7 *bə-züts šəb‘ét əzbúrt bə-‘örót hes, “məlíhum míh! mit zəhän, təkín ber*
tahánš egunét ə-bér mulš ezbúrt míh.”

Text 86

- 8 *ézəmək*: In the Roman ms, there is only the imperfect *ézəmək*, with the added translation ‘I’ll give you (always)’. In the Arabic ms, however, there is both *ézəmək* and *dha-l-zémk*. After *ézəmək* is added the Arabic word *dā’iman* (‘forever’; presumably, a habitual future), and after *dha-l-zémk* is added the word *mustaqbal* (‘future’; presumably, a one-time event).

Text 97

- 1 *yəštód*: The Arabic ms has the expected subjunctive *yəštód* (‘he would go to fish’). On the audio, Ali first read *yəštód*, but quickly corrected himself to the imperfect *yəštédən* (‘he would go, he would fish’).
 4 *bə-ğəğəğ*: Every other Mehri and Jibbali version of this text has a 3fs imperfect here, so we expect *bə-təğəğ* (from the root *bgəğ*). The form *bə-ğəğəğ*, which looks like a 1cs imperfect, is in the ms and on the audio. It seems to be an error.

- 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.

Translation of Text 97

- 1 A man was always catching fish, 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!" 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.
- 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 other wife, she gave her a sack of grain, she said, "Grind it!"
- 7 And she gave her seven buckets 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 buckets with water."

4 *ežéret*: The other Mehri and Jibbali versions have 'the fisherman' here, while the Ḥarsusi version has 'her husband'. This word is defined in *JL* (s.v. *žrr*) as 'wife after the first in polygamous marriage', but it seems based on this context (in which *ežéret* refers to the deceased first wife) that the meaning is broader, perhaps just 'other wife'.

5 *māšér*: On this word, see the comment to 30:9.

6 *ežigót*: This is the 3fs perfect of the D/L-Stem *ežōg* 'praise, flatter' (root *zyg/zwg*). I have assumed a slightly different meaning here to fit the context, and based on the other versions.

- 8 *bə-šukūt se b-ebriṣ yal ʔšš'ér. b-ebriṣ ḏə-bāl ešód b-ūt. bə-ṯēs šō' ínét.*
 9 *ʔr hes, "kəh əl šukúmš lə yal ʔšš'ér?" ʔrót hēsən, "əl móték lə. ši məhñét."*
ʔr hes, "ašís!" bə-ašsót.
- 10 *b-aǵád bes ḏer ġōr b-erfá' mih, bə-rházəs, bə-fkés xátók bə-šáǵət.*
 11 *bə-ʔr hes, "škím!" bə-zūs ġarórt ḏə-díréhəm bə-ġarórt ḏ-išīn.*
 12 *bə-ʔr hes, "ġid yal ʔšš'ér bə-nhíg ed, haš e-kináš (kétáš) bə-áǵiš*
(t)šixnət, ḏ'ír edíréhəm 'ak ʔdórt, bə-ḏ'ír išīnt ḏer tet ḏ-iš b-ebriṣ." ʔrót,
"mor."
- 13 *aǵádót. ed zəhōt, ksét yə ḏə-yəfterégən b-ínét (ḏ-)tínhagən. b-ebre*
ḏə-hókum (ḏ-)šór tel yə. bə-sé gaḥót 'ak ʔdórt.
- 14 *bə-nhagót. ed šəhkét ḏə'arót aǵarórt ḏə-díréhəm 'ak ʔdórt, bə-ḏ'arót išīnt*
ḏer tet ḏ-iš b-ebriṣ, bə-šxanṯót.
- 15 *bə-ša'é sérés ebré e-hókum b-əl étal bes lə. b-edūr yal yə. ʔr her ínét,*
"bass mən məš'ér ed kərəre ġasré." bə-šukúm yə.
- 16 *bə-sé aǵádót. ed zəhōt üt, ksét egunét ber təhínút tkík ḏ-ebkí, b-ebúrt*
ḏ-iži mih bə-šō' ínét ḏə-skóf.
- 17 *ʔr hes, "nəḥáǵəš?" ʔrót hēsən, "nəḥáǵək, bə-ša'é séri ebré e-hókum."*
ʔr hes, "étal biš?" ʔrót, "ob." ʔr hes, "mor." bə-ḥōl məs ešáǵət bə-xátók
b-aǵád, bə-sé šǵfót.
- 18 *bə-zhōt tet e-iš b-ebriṣ b-a'ašsót. ʔrót hes, "ber təḥánaš?" ʔrót, "ēhē."*
"ber mulš ezbúrt mih?" ʔrót, "ēhē." skəf.

10 *fkés*: The audio has G-Stem *fékés* here, but this seems to be a simple error. The context requires an H-Stem (as other versions of the story have), and the Arabic ms has *نفتايس*, which seems to suggest the H-Stem. The same Arabic letters are correctly read as H-Stem *fkés* in line 23.

11 *išīn*: The form *išīn* is used in line 11 (in both the ms and the audio), while in the rest of the story (lines 12, 14, 24, 26) we find *išīnt*, with a final *-t*. *JL* (s.v. *ykbñ*) lists singular *išīn*, plural *išīntə*. Either there exist variant forms of this word, or Ali's *išīnt* is an incorrect form.

12 *kináš (kétáš)*: The Arabic ms has *kináš* 'you've had enough' (using the same verb as the Mehri versions), but Ali said *kétáš* 'you are tired'. Both verbs fit the context.

14 *šəhkét*: This is an Š-Stem of the root *hky*. This verb is used in Müller's Jibbali version of this story both in this line, line 24, and line 26 (also in line 12, where this version has *kináš*), and is listed in Bittner

- 8 And she went out, she and her daughter, to the party, and the fisherman's daughter was in the house. And seven 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 money onto the dance-floor, and pour the scorpions over 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 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 fine lying there [lit. having been placed], the buckets filled with water, and the seven women sitting.
- 17 They said to her, "Did you dance?" She said to them, "I danced, and the ruler's son ran after me." They said to her, "Did he catch up to you?" She said, "No." They said to her, "Ok." And they took the jewelry and clothes from her, and went. And she went to sleep.
- 18 And her father's wife came back with her daughter and woke her up. She said to her, "Did you already do the grinding?" She said, "Yes." "And did you already fill the buckets with water?" She said, "Yes." They stayed.

(1917b: 36) with the meaning '*genug haben*' ('have enough'). *JL* (s.v. *ħkv*) gives only the meaning 'want s.o. to do s.t. in one's stead' for this verb (as in 24:1).

16 *ǰ-īži*: See the comment to 38:1.

- 19 'ōrót hes aġits, "ɔl édaš lɔ bə-ġabġót tit rəhīt tēt ēš'ér bə-nħaġót bə-ðá'arót ġarórt ðə-díréħəm 'aḵ ēdórt, bə-šukūt, bə-ša'é sérés ebré ε-ħókum b-ɔl étəl bes lɔ?" skɔf.
- 20 ed kərəre ġasré aġád ɣɔ b-ínét, bə-tét ðə-bāl ešód ezġót ebríts.
- 21 bə-zūt ebrít ð-ežérét ġunét trut ðə-bóħr ħit bə-ōrót hes, "təħínsən!" bə-züts 'ásíret erbá'ót əzbúrt bə-ōrót hes, "məlíħum míh!" bə-sé aġádót, se b-ebríts, ɣɔl ēš'ér.
- 22 b-ebríť ðə-bāl ešód, zəħám tólás šō' ínét. 'ōr hes, "kɔħ ɔl ġa(d)š lɔ ɣɔl ēš'ér?" 'ōrót, "ɔl móték lɔ." 'ōr hes, "asís!" bə-ásšót b-aġádót šésən ed zəħám tel eġōr.
- 23 erfá' míh, bə-rħázəs, bə-fkés xátók bə-šáġət. 'ōr hes, "ġíd ɣɔl ēš'ér."
- 24 bə-züs ġarórt ðə-díréħəm bə-ġarórt ε-išīnt. 'ōr hes, "nəħiġ ed (t)šīħki əm-mít 'ágiš (t)šíxnəť, ð'ír aġarórt ε-díréħəm 'aḵ ēdórt, bə-ð'ír aġarórt ε-išīnt ðer teť ε-īs b-ebríts."
- 25 aġádót. ed zəħōť tel ēš'ér ksét ɣɔ ðə-šór, bə-ksét ínét tínħaġən. ġahót 'aḵ ēš'ér. b-ebré ðə-ħókum ð-əbtélím ðer ħəšnín.
- 26 bə-sé nħaġót. ed šəħkét mən enáħaġ, ðə'arót aġarórt ðə-díréħəm 'aḵ ēdórt, bə-ð'arót aġarórt ε-išīnt ðer teť ð-īs b-ebríts, bə-šxanťót.
- 27 b-ətlék sérés ħəšnín ebré ε-ħókum. ed mənzel hēt ħogúłts. 'ōr hes, "ħogúłts!" 'ōrót heš, "ð-aġád ɣəxəlɔf ġírš."
- 28 b-edūr ebré ε-ħókum bə-ħogúłť šeš. aġád ed zəħám tel b'él ēš'ér. 'ōr, "bass! éfsəħən b-ēš'ér." bə-šukúm ɣɔ kɔ-táť ütš.
- 29 bə-sé aġádót. ed zəħōť üt ksét eġúni ber təħún, bə-ksét ezbírt ð-ízi míh, b-ínét ðə-skɔf. ħōl mes ešáġət bə-xátók.
- 30 'ōrót həsən, "ətlék séri ebré ε-ħókum ħəšnín." 'ōr hes, "étəl biš?" 'ōrót, "ob, fələkən ħogúłti hēt bə-ħílás. bə-ōr híni, 'ħogúłts!, bə-ōk heš, 'ð-aġád ɣəxəlɔf ġírš."

22 *ġa(d)š*: The *d* is not written in the Arabic ms, but it is heard on the audio.

24 *əm-mit*: This seems to reflect an assimilation *əm-mit* < **b-mit*. See the discussion of this change, with further examples, in § 2.1.4.

25 *ħəšnín*: See the comment to 17:11.

- 19 Her sister said to her, "Do you not know a certain pretty girl who went to the party and danced and poured a bag of money onto the dance-floor and left, and the ruler's son ran after her and didn't catch up to her?" They stayed.
- 20 The next evening, the men and women went (back). And the fisherman's wife prettied up her daughter.
- 21 And she gave the daughter of the fisherman two sacks of grain. She said to her, "Grind them!" And she gave her fourteen buckets, and said to her, "Fill them up with water!" And she went, her and her daughter, to the party.
- 22 And the daughter of the fisherman, seven women came to her. They said, "Why didn't you go to the party?" She said, "I don't have time." They said to her, "Get up!" And she got up and went with them until they got to the well.
- 23 They drew water and washed her, and dressed her in clothes and jewelry. And they said to her, "Go to the party."
- 24 And they gave her a bag of money and a bag of scorpions, and 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 your father's wife and her daughter."
- 25 She went. Then when she came to the party, she found the men standing and the women dancing. She entered the party. And the ruler's son was ready on a horse.
- 26 And she danced. Then when she had enough of the dancing, she poured the bag of money on to the dance-floor, and she poured the bag of scorpions over her father's wife and her daughter, and she left.
- 27 And the ruler's son set the horse after her. Then at (one) place, her bracelet fell. He said, "Your bracelet!" She said to him, "Something else [lit. besides it] will take the place of that which has gone."
- 28 And the ruler's son returned, the bracelet with him. He went until he got to the people at the party. He said, "Enough! Stop the party!" And the people went home, each to his own house.
- 29 And she went. When she got to the house, she found the sacks already ground, and she found the buckets already filled with water, and the 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. And he said to me, 'Your bracelet!', and I said to him, 'Something else [lit. besides it] will take the place of that which has gone'."

- 31 *b-εbré ε-ħókum žēṭ ħogúlt bə-zīs žirét trut. 'ör hésən, "dérən bə-ħogúlt ḏínú b-εkésəns l-ínét b-əgigeniti. bə-kól ε-kunút les taw, klétən hini." dōrtó ižórtə 'aḵ ḥallét 'ésər xiš ēm b-əl kəstó dé l.*
- 32 *ed yum a'ésər šet éšəl 'aḵ üt ḏə-bāl ešód. b-εkés lə-tétš b-əl kun l. b-εkés l-εbríts b-əl kun l. b-εkés l-εbrít ḏə-bāl ešód bə-kún ḵəyós.*
- 33 *aḡád ižórtə yəl ālsən bə-'örtó heš, "εbrít ḏə-bāl ešód ūm." b-a'rér lə-bāl ešód, bə-zḥám bāl ešód.*
- 34 *'ör heš εbré ε-ħókum, "aḡk l-ššfəḵ tōlák." 'ör heš, "m-mún?" 'ör heš εbré ε-ħókum, "b-εbrít ūm." 'ör, "mor." bə-séd yóšfəḵ, bə-šfəḵ.*
- 35 *ed yum eḡáḡgáḡ teṭ ε-īs zūts 'aḵ šəférít dúgur. 'örót heš, "tīš!" bə-tétš.*
- 36 *bə-skəfót, bə-zḥās šō'ínét bə-xənít əlhín 'aḵ ššfəls. bə-šérék heš aḡrəf 'aḵ ššfəls.*
- 37 *'ör heš, "mit zəḥám a'ásəriš bə-'əḡiš taḡíd k-enuf, 'amír her a'ásəriš, 'zē-tō ēsérk l-əḡbéb 'amḵáš." bə-skəfót.*
- 38 *ed zəḥám a'ásəriš, 'örót heš, "zē-tō ēsérk." 'ör heš, "h-íné?" 'örót, "l-əḡbéb 'amḵáš." zīs b-əḡadót k-enuf.*
- 39 *bə-ksét teṭ ε-īs ḏə-šerót 'aḵ ḥəmmám. 'örót heš, "kə hit bún? ḡíd bə-fló nášənu dḥa-l-éḥəḵ l-εbré ε-ħókum."*

31 *taw*: This word is missing on the audio, seemingly by accident. In the Arabic manuscript, we find توا here. This is possibly *taw* 'well', which also appears here in the Ḥarsusi version of the story. The adverb *taw* 'well' is not in any of Johnstone's lexicons, though it does occur once in his Mehri texts (M80:19; see also Rubin 2010: 222), and was recorded by Watson (2012: 120); the root almost certainly is the same as that of the particle *tō* (see § 12.5.19). Both Johnstone's and Müller's Mehri versions have *səwē* here, meaning something like 'a good fit', and Müller's Soqotri version also has the cognate *suwá*. Müller's Jibbali version has a totally different word here, *ḵédér*. If we ignore the diacritic above the first letter in the Arabic ms, we could probably read توا as *səwē*, since in Ali's handwriting the initial ت (minus the diacritic above) and س can look the same; if we read *taw*, then the final 'alif is unexpected.

32 *a'ésər šet*: Ali mistakenly read the masculine form *a'ásírét šet* on the audio, with some stumbling, but the ms has the correct feminine form *a'ésər šet*.

- 31 And the ruler's son took the bracelet and gave it to two servant-girls. He said to them, "Go around with the bracelet and try it on the women and girls. And whoever it fits well, tell me." The (two) servant-girls went around in the town for fifteen days and they found no one.
- 32 Then 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." He sent for the fisherman, and the fisherman came.
- 34 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 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, "For what?" She said, "So I can 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."

34 *m-mún*: This is the underlyingly **b-mun*. The ms gives no indication of the initial doubled *m*, but audio clearly has it. And the *b-* is required before the object of the G-Stem verb *šfək*, as evidenced by the reply *b-εbrítk*. See also the comment to 45:13.

35 *εgáhgáh*: See the comment to 45:19.

39 *l-εbré*: Elsewhere, the verb *heḵ* 'call' takes the preposition *her*. Perhaps the use of *l-* here is influenced by the corresponding *l-* in Johnstone's (Ali's) Omani Mehri version.

- 40 *bə-šxantót bə-sé skafót. bə-šōtót ‘ak ʔsérk, bə-zhōt. bə-ōrót heš, ‘gad bə-zhóm b-ʔsérk.’ agád bə-ksé ‘amkás xōš ahróf bə-ḥilólhum.*
- 41 *bə-šéf. ed k-ḥásaf ‘asót al-fénés. bə-ʔs še bə-ksé nxín eréss sótet ahróf.*
- 42 *b-agád kólót her iš. ‘ōr, “e be, hé... tet, égaḥk tólás gasré, bə-ōrót hini, ‘zē-to ʔsérk’, bə-zúmk tōš tōš.*
- 43 *b-agadót beš yal emih, bə-zhōt bə-ōrót hini, ‘gad her ʔsérk’, b-agádk heš bə-kísk ‘amkás xōš ahróf tīb. bə-zhámk bə-šōfən. ed k-ḥásaf ‘asót al-féni, bə-ʔsk he bə-kísk sótet ahróf tīb nxín eréss.”*
- 44 *‘ōr iš, “athúmk is melík.” ‘ōr heš, “d-ʔd šeš gabgót tit.” ‘ōr, “ágən agák yóšfək bes.”*
- 45 *agadót ešefót ‘ak ḥallét ḏə-šé, ebré ε-ḥókum, títš təgbéb ahróf. b-agád yal is bə-ōr heš, “ágən nóšfək b-ebrítik.” ‘ōr hóhum, “sébrəs tel émés.”*
- 46 *agád yal émés, bə-ōrót hóhum, “mor.” bə-šfōk ebré ε-ḥókum enišən bes.*
- 47 *ed yum egóḥgáḥ egallót hes émés ‘ak šaférit dúgur, bə-ōrót hes, “tīš!” bə-tētš.*
- 48 *ed gasré zahám ebré ε-ḥókum bə-skóf tólás. ‘ōrót heš, “zē-to ʔsérk.” bə-zīs tōš, b-agadót beš yal ḥammám. melítš gōb bə-zhōtš.*
- 49 *b-agád embére’, ‘ágəb ʔsérš, bə-kséš kelš gōb. bə-šukúm bə-šéf tel émés.*
- 50 *ed k-ḥásaf zahám tel iš. ‘ōr heš, “yoh títk?” ‘ōr heš, “tanúfa’ l. gāsót xatókí.”*
- 51 *agád yal agabgót. ‘ōr hes, “koh šerókš ténu?” ‘ōrót, “ḏənu mən émi. tábət to dúgur.”*
- 52 *a’rér les bə-zhōt. ‘ōr ḥókum, “kəšōš eréss!” bə-kéš eréss, bə-skóf. bə-tammút.*

40 *šōtót*: On this verb, see the comment to 48:11.

50 *gāsót*: The meaning ‘dirty, befoul’ is not in *JL* (s.v. *gās*), which lists only the meanings ‘cheat; poison’, but it has this meaning in Mehri (cf. *ML*, s.v. *gās*). Its use here could reflect an EJ usage or a Mehrism.

52 *bə-kéš*: This is the active G-Stem, which is what the ms has. On the audio, Ali read the passive, *bə-kéšís* (‘and [her head] was cut off’).

- 40 And she left, and she sat down. She defecated in the turban, and she came back. And she said to him, "Go and bring back your turban." He went and he found in it five (gold) coins, and he took them.
- 41 And they went to sleep. Then in the morning, she got up before him. And he got up and found under her head three (gold) coins.
- 42 And he went (and) he told his father. He said, "Father, I... the woman, I went to her in the evening, and she said to me, 'Give me your turban,' and I gave her it.
- 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. Then in the morning, she got up before me, and I got up and found three gold coins under her head."
- 44 His father said, "I think maybe her father is 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 it!" And she ate it.
- 48 Then at 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.

15.2 *Texts from Salim Bakhit (SB)*Text SB₁ (Oct., 1977): The Cow Boy

- 1 *ēnfō yəkól̄t̄ hən bə-kélt̄. ‘ōr maxt̄ár t̄ad əmbéɾe’ ‘ágəb bə-ǰabgót̄ ərhūt̄ bē, b-əl xérín l̄.*
- 2 *b-ī aǰabgót̄ túžur, b-embéɾe’ feķír. bə-ǰélib̄ əl yóšfəḵ bes.*
- 3 *axarét̄ xóttal̄ eðéhəns̄, ihūt̄ ʾž. engím heš a’élés̄ b-ižók̄ iz-šés̄, fələkən əl sé zəhám beš l̄.*
- 4 *embéɾe’ yə’ōr her eyó, her šxabírš, “he lé’. hazóz t̄o!” əl dé ǰarób̄ yədēs̄ l̄, mən dún ǰeyg t̄ad.*
- 5 *hes zəhīš̄ ḏóhun aǰéyǰ, ‘ōr heš, “hazéz t̄o, he lé!’”*
- 6 *‘ōr heš, “móǰór, ḥa-l-hízzək. het lé’. ləkən sné enúf. nášanu het əl bek sé té’ l̄. ḥa-nḵalá’k ‘ésər ēm, ḥa-netbék̄ bə-nəšḵék̄, əm-mən ḏírš̄ ḥa-nəhzezək.”*
- 7 *ba’d ‘ésər ēm, embéɾe’ kun bə-xár mən edít̄ aǰéyǰ.*

-
- 1 *bē*: This word meaning ‘very’ is pronounced as such on the audio, and is transcribed *bé* in Johnstone’s Roman mss. In Salim’s Arabic ms, he spelled the word بِرًا. As discussed in the comment to 4:10, *JL* (s.v. *wyy*) lists both *bé* ‘very’ and *býyā* ‘enough’, which are almost certainly the same word. Informants recognized only *bē*. The form may be historically *býyā*, or the like (hence, perhaps, Salim’s spelling), as suggested by the Mehri cognate *wýən*.
 - 1 *xérín*: In *JL* (s.v. *xyr*), Johnstone translated this word as ‘better’, and even included this passage, with the translation ‘there is none better’. He also translated the phrase *əl xérín l̄* as ‘there was none better’ in one of the Roman ms for this text. The word *xérín* ‘a little’ (§ 5.5.1) is listed in *JL* under the root *xwr*. I played the audio of this text for two informants, and both agreed that the meaning of *xérín* here is ‘a little’, consistent with the meaning of this word everywhere else in Johnstone’s texts. The phrase *əl xérín l̄* ‘not a little’ is complementary to *bē* ‘very’, and both *əl xérín l̄* and *bē* are qualifying *ərhūt̄* ‘beautiful’. It is likely that *xérín* has only one meaning, ‘a little’, and that Johnstone’s translation ‘better’ in *JL* is based solely on this passage, and should probably be removed.

Translation of Text SB₁

- 1 The ancients tell us stories. They said once there was a boy who loved a very—and not (just) a little bit—beautiful girl.
- 2 The father of the girl was rich, and the boy was poor. And he was refused (permission) to marry her.
- 3 Then his mind got sick, poor fellow. His parents and his friends [lit. those who were with him] consulted (an astrologer) for him, but nothing came of it.
- 4 The boy would say to the people, if they asked him, “I am a cow. Slaughter me!” No one knew how to cure him, except for one man.
- 5 When that man came to him, he said to him, “Slaughter me, I am a cow!”
- 6 He said to him, “Ok, I will slaughter you. You are a cow. But look at yourself now. You don’t have any meat on you. We’ll leave you ten days, we’ll feed you and give you drink, and afterwards we will slaughter you.”
- 7 After ten days, they boy became well because of the man’s treatment.

-
- 2 *bes*: The audio has *b-aǧabǧót* ‘the girl’, instead of *bes* ‘her’. The Arabic ms, which records a slightly different version of the story than the Roman ms and audio, has *bes*. All the Roman mss also have *bes*, though one has *b-aǧabǧót* (actually *b-aǧáybjót*) in parentheses.
 - 3 *ēǧéhənš*: The noun *ǧéhən* ‘mind’ is not in *JL*, though there are numerous related verbs under the root *ǧhn*, and the expression *xóttal ēǧéhənš* can be found in *JL* (s.v. *xll*). *ML* (s.v. *m’d* and p. 544) and *HL* (s.v. *m’d*) do include *ǧēhn* as the equivalent of Mehri *mēd* and Ḥarsusi *myād* ‘intelligence’.
 - 3 *ihīt ǧz*: This phrase literally means ‘poor one of God’; see *JL* (s.v. *bhm*).
 - 3 *enǧim*: According to *JL* (s.v. *ngm*), this verb is passive, but the context here suggests an active. The shape suggests an H-Stem. If it were an internal passive, it could be either a G-Stem or H-Stem.
 - 5 *hazéz*: All the Roman mss have *hazóz*, but the audio clearly has the expected masculine singular *hazéz*. In the Arabic ms, the two forms do not seem to be distinguished; we find *حز* in both line 4 (for *hazóz*) and line 5 (for *hazéz*).

Text SB2: A Good Match

- 1 *ʔad kótub ʔl-ʔd leš mənnyét lə, bešír bə-ðehín, lékən éghəš ʔl ərhīm əl-hés eðéhəns lə.*
- 2 *bə-kunút ǰabǰót ərhīt zétəʔ. bə-sínúts məxtár bə-ʔagíʔt beš bə-xízót ʔl tóklaʔ heš.*
- 3 *hes bér hes ʔnut, ktōt leš xaʔ, bə-ʔrót, “e ðénu, e ðen eǰéyǰ, yoh tsun? he ǰabǰót ərhīt bə-ʔgbək bek. ʔák l-aššəfəkək. ín éšnék?”*
- 4 *her šəšfəkən, ha-náxənt l-eyó sé ð-ʔl-ʔd sélš lə! ínén, ha-yənkáʔ xókhum ərhēt əl-hés he, bə-ðehént əb-bešért əl-hés het.”*
- 5 *lékən aǰéyǰ ber šáxər bə-šés ínés, b-ʔl-ʔd kóǰór yóšfək bes lə.*
- 6 *əm-mən ǰírš ktəb les xaʔ bə-ʔr hes, “xátəš erhīm éšəl b-in (bə-kól in) ʔš héšəf, lékən yəl ənšérk?”*
- 7 *ya xēt bə-ya fəzǰát, her zəhám ínén ðehént əl-hés hit bə-xókhum dífər əl-hés he?! ín é un eyó ha-yaʔmór?”*

-
- 1 *ðehín/eðéhəns*: Neither the adjective *ðehín* nor the noun *ðéhən* is in *JL*, though other forms with this root are (s.v. *ðhn*). The noun *ðéhən* occurs also in SB1:3.
 - 2 *xízót*: This is clearly a 3fs perfect of the Gb-Stem *xézi*, though the Gb-Stem is not listed in *JL* (s.v. *xzy*). See further in the comment to 6o:2.
 - 4 *sélš*: The noun *sél* means ‘likeness’ (*JL*, s.v. *swl*), but with a suffix can be translated ‘like’. A very literal translation of the phrase *sé ð-ʔl-ʔd sélš lə* here is ‘something that its likeness is not yet’. In one ms, Johnstone glossed this phrase as ‘something the likes of which doesn’t yet exist’, which captures the sense well. My own translation is somewhat looser.
 - 4 *xókhum*: This is presumably from **xalkhum* or **xulkhum*. There is no word *xək* in *JL* or *ML*, but we can compare Arabic *xalk* ‘creation’ and *xulk* ‘temperment, character’. The word *xək* must be singular here, since it takes the suffix *-hum* and not *-šhum*. The following plural adjectives *ərhēt*, *ðehént*, and *bešért* are not in strict agreement with the noun *xək* as they should be (cf. the ms adjective *dífər* in line 7), but rather agree with *ínén*. In one typed Roman ms, Johnstone added the ms adjective *erhīm* above the mp form *ərhēt*. The word *xək* is used also in AK2:2.
 - 6 *əm-mən*: This derives from **b-mən*. See also 14:6, 48:8, SB1:6, and the discussion of this sound change, with further examples, in § 2.1.4.

Translation of Text SB2

- 1 There was a writer who had no equal [lit. likeness], clever and intelligent, but his face was not good like his mind.
- 2 And there was also a beautiful girl. And she saw him once and fell in love with him, but she was embarrassed to tell him.
- 3 After a year, she wrote him a letter and said, "O this one, O this man [i.e., so-and-so], what do you think [lit. how do you see]? I am a beautiful girl and I love you, and I want to marry you. What is your opinion?"
- 4 If we get married, we will bring to the people something that is like nothing else. Our children, their appearances will be beautiful like me, and (they will be) clever and intelligent like you."
- 5 But the man was already old and had children. And he couldn't marry her.
- 6 And afterwards, he wrote a letter to her and said, "Your nice letter reached me, and all that you said is good. But what should we do?"
- 7 What a loss and what a disaster, if our children came out intelligent like you, and their appearance was bad like me?! What then [or: indeed] will people say?"

15.3 *Other Johnstone Texts (TJ)*

I thought it important to include texts TJ2, TJ3, TJ4, and TJ5 in this collection, since these are long texts and contain the speech of two new speakers, one of whom is female. Text TJ2 is a conversation between Ali Musallam and a man identified only by the name Aḥmad. The speaker in text TJ3 is unidentified in the text itself, but the voice seems to be that of the same Aḥmad. The audio for each of these texts is quite hard to follow, even for native speakers, due to a combination of very fast speech (mumbling at many times), Aḥmad's soft voice (combined with poor microphone placement in TJ2), and some difficult vocabulary. Aḥmad is clearly much older than Ali. Ali Musallam's Arabic-letter transcriptions for these texts are very helpful, but include many gaps and errors.

-
- 6 *bə-kól in*: In the Roman ms and on the audio (which follows the Roman ms), we find just *in* here. In the Arabic ms, which records a slightly different version of the story, Salim wrote *kól in*.
 - 7 *un*: This rare word (§12.5.2) is in the Arabic ms and on the audio, but Johnstone missed it in his Roman transcriptions.

As discussed in the introduction to § 15, the speaker in text TJ4 and TJ5 is unknown, but can be identified as female. The woman is likely Ali's first wife Tamā', but this is just conjecture. Ali's transcription of these two texts is more accurate than that of TJ2 or TJ3 (but far from exact), and some of the discrepancies appear to be due to differences in Ali's and the speaker's dialects (cf. the comments to TJ4:3, TJ4:10, and TJ4:27). The most curious feature of this speaker's dialect is the use of the particle *hel* 'if' instead of *her* (§ 13.4.1), which, according to *JL* (s.v. *hl*), is a feature of the EJ dialect of Sadḥ (or Sidḥ).

TJ1 is included, even though it is attested only in Johnstone's rough, Roman-letter version, because it contains some unusual vocabulary. The author of text TJ1, a revised version of a text from Müller (1907), is unknown.

Text TJ1 (= Müller 1907: 13 ff.): The Raven and the Fox

- 1 ḍr aǧrēb b-it'él, "na'gūn nəkén 'ísūr." ḍr it'él, "ḥóšól (hes-tó)." ḍr it'él her aǧrēb, "eššók tól." bə-šérék heš mírék. fšé (fšó) fáxrə ed shel eššó'.
- 2 aǧrēb ḍr l-it'él, "a'isék tól." šérék heš məkłét. a'tóšé (a'təšó) fáxrə.
- 3 ḍr it'él, "āǧan nəšné š'əz." aǧrēb ḍr, "ḥóšól."
- 4 fer beš ed bélaǧ mukún. ḍr, "tšun egdarét?" ḍr, "d-ək d-əšúns."
- 5 fer beš ed bélaǧ mukún. ḍr, "tšun egdarét?" ḍr, "əl-ək d-əšúns l. d-əšún sé mən tətí bə-šé əlxínúí."
- 6 ḍr aǧrēb, "he kəta'k. der ḍer egénaḥ ḍénu."
- 7 hes dər, eg'érašš, b-it'él qa'ár mən ḍér egénaḥ aǧrēb, də-y'ḍr, "ā'ali! iné mən maǧ'érot 'ak ḥabž!"

1 *na'gūn*: Müller's text has *na'gín*. Both of these forms are variant 1cp conditional forms; my own informants preferred *na'gūn*, while the singular forms have *ī* (e.g., 2ms *ta'gīn*). Conditionals are very rare outside of unreal conditional sentences (see § 7.1.5), but this seems to be a frozen usage, peculiar to this verb. See further in § 7.5.4.

1 *hes-tó*: In the ms, *hes-tó* is in parentheses after *ḥóšól*. In the margin, Johnstone glossed the latter as 'fine'. The two words are synonymous.

1 *fšó*: After the 3mp perfect *fšé*, the 3md form *fšó* is added in the margin.

2 *məkłét*: This is glossed in the ms as 'roast dhurah' (dhurah, or durra, is a kind of sorghum). The word is not in *JL*, but we can compare the verb *kélé* 'roast; fry'.

Translation of Text Tj1

- 1 The raven said to the fox, "Let's be friends." The fox said, "Fine." The fox said to the raven, "Your lunch is at my place." And he made soup for him. They ate together until they finished lunch.
- 2 The raven said to the fox, "Your dinner is at my place." He made him roast dhurah. They dined together.
- 3 The fox said, "We should (go) see God." The raven said, "Fine."
- 4 He (the fox) flew on him until they reached someplace. He (the raven) said, "Do you see the ground?" He said, "I still see it."
- 5 He (the fox) flew on him until they reached someplace. He (the raven) said, "Do you see the ground?" He said, "I don't see it anymore. I see something above me and something below me."
- 6 The raven said, "I'm tired. Move onto this wing."
- 7 When he moved, he threw him off, and the fox fell from the raven's wing, saying, "God! Oh for a fall in a pool!"

2 *a'tásó*: Below the 3mp perfect *a'tósé*, the 3md dual form *a'tásó* is added in the margin.

4 *bélag*: On this word, see the comment to 21:10.

7 *iné mən*: The exact function of *iné mən* here is unclear, though the context makes the meaning fairly apparent.

7 *məg'érót*: This word is not in *JL*, but is clearly from the root *g'r* (cf. *ga'ár* 'he fell'). Müller's text has instead *ga'rót*.

- 8 *ga'ár* (*hē*) 'aḵ ḥabḗ. aḥbéré' maḥé leš bə-rdésš bə-fídún. izírét maḥét leš bə-rdésš bə-fídún.
 9 *mǵóre'* ḡəhér mən ḥabḗ b-aǵád. təmmút kéltót.

Text TJ2: Ali and Aḥmad Discuss Marriage Customs, Cows, and More

- 1 Ali: *aḥmad*, *kələt hini* bə-sənnétkum her ṭad šfəḵ tōlókum. énfēt iné yəšérók?
 2 Aḥmad: *awwal sé*, yəbgód *emt a'él ε-tét* bə-yšénúte. her *ešfikás*, *ešfikás al-ekrósš*, *yá'ni yəḵóləb ekrósš*. b-əð ol kun *ekrósš lo*, bə-kún *mošét*, *yásún*. əð *ešfik* bə-xúls, yəbgód bə-yəkbéb *suk*. yəbgód *tel káḍi* bə-yšílók.
 3 Ali: *tel káḍi mən tel séra'*?
 4 Aḥmad: *dé yə'ör káḍi* bə-dé yə'ör *séra'*. *kəls ṭad*. *mǵóre'*, her *xuls kin eḵáḍi*, yəbgód bə-yšílók bə-yəziót *aǵráḍéšš* bə-ka'ās,
 5 bə-ksəbét *ε-tét* b-əndaxét bə-éṭar bə-kərkúm bə-kóḥl b-aǵráḍ əð-tét, bə-yəziótḥum.
 6 bə-yəziót *kélíntš*. *ḍə kun gériún troh* bə-ḍə kun *soctét egirēt* bə-ḍə kun *ziéd*, *órba' fəlók xiš ziéd*. bə-ikkíór *ḍer iršób* *ed yəšól erḗ*. bə-hér *éšal erḗ*...
 7 Ali: *erḗ mən sékan'*?

Text TJ1

- 8 *hē*: In the ms, this word is added in parentheses after *ga'ár*. Both mean 'he fell'.
 8 *maḥé*: This word is glossed in the ms as 'passed'. I did not find it in *JL*, but we can compare Hobyot *mīhi* 'pass, cross' (*HV*, p. 123).

Text TJ2

- 1 *sənnétkum*: This is Arabic *sunnat*- 'custom'.
 2 *emt*: Interestingly, Ali transcribed *yəl* instead of the rare *emt* in his Arabic-letter transcription.
 2 *awwal*: This is Arabic *awwal* 'first'.

- 8 He fell into a pool. A boy passed by him and threw a rock at him. A slave-girl passed by him and threw a rock at him.
- 9 Then he emerged from the pool and left. The story is finished.

Translation of Text TJ₂

- 1 Ali: Aḥmad, tell me about your custom when someone gets married among you. What does he do first?
- 2 Aḥmad: First thing, he goes to the parents of the woman and asks for her hand. If they let him marry, they let him marry for money, then he hands over the money. And if there is no money, and there are animals, he sees. If they let him marry and it is concluded, they go down to the market. They go to the judge (*kaḏi*) and he gives him legal possession.
- 3 Ali: To the *kaḏi* or to the *šéra*?
- 4 Aḥmad: Some say *kaḏi* and some say *šéra*. It's all the same [lit. all one]. Then, if it is concluded with the judge, they go and he takes legal possession, and he takes his things and his belongings,
- 5 and the woman's clothes, incense, perfume, *karkúm* (a yellow dye), kohl, and the woman's things, and he takes them.
- 6 And he takes the wedding-feast, whether it be two long date-baskets or three long date-baskets, or maybe small round date-baskets, four or five small round date-baskets, and he goes up on camels until he reaches the land. And when he reaches the land...
- 7 Ali: The land or the settlement?

2 *kaḏi*: This is Arabic *qādi* 'judge'.

4 *aḡráḏēš*: This is Arabic *aḡrād* 'things, articles of everyday use', the plural of *ḡārad* 'object'.

6 *žiēd*: This is the plural form of *žiḏat* 'small round basket of dates'. *JL* (s.v. *žmd*) lists only the singular form.

- 8 Aḥmad: *sékən. her ešal sékən, yaǵózər (yáḥódén) kélínt. mǵóre' yásókf. hes ber gízór bə-xúls kélínt, yákóz tet. yəḥzéz lé'.*
- 9 *hes ber hez lé'... yəḥzéz lé'. mǵóre' her kunút tet ərhūt, yásókf šes. əð kunút tet ðə-sídi, ol yəsdéd lə.*
- 10 Ali: *nzēn, mən ðér kélínt bass yaǵóržəs? bass mən ðér yū trut sélət? mən yəkóla's her a'élés?*
- 11 Aḥmad: *lé', her še d-ḥótég les lə-ḥógəts, her še d-ḥótég les, yəkóls. bə-ðə 'əd ol ḥótég les lə, yəkóla's her a'élés.*
- 12 Ali: *bə-hér tet ǵolót ol təǵád šeš?*
- 13 Aḥmad: *mən dém ber šfok bes, lézəm təǵád šes.*
- 14 Ali: *mənsén, 'or, təǵólbən. tə'ōrən, "nə'áǵób ar tel a'élén ed mən ðér 'onut," bə-fló tēnu.*
- 15 Aḥmad: *ðénu 'əd sé yərdéd l-əǵéyg, l-a'ásárs.*
- 16 Ali: *'əd ya'ōr heš yə, "kəlá' titk bə-lhéle bə-ḥišk."*

-
- 8 *yáḥódén*: In the Roman ms, after *yaǵózər*, Johnstone added in the margin "better *yḥódén*". The verb *yáḥódén* means 'he shares out', while *yaǵózər* means 'he slaughters (food)'.
 8 *gízór*: The form here is very difficult to make out on the audio, which sounds like *gezór*. Johnstone transcribed *gízór*. In the Roman ms, Johnstone gave the principal parts *gízór/yaǵózər/yógzər*, with Ga-Stem imperfect and subjunctive forms. However, *gízór* is not a Ga-Stem perfect; the correct Ga-Stem perfect is *gəzór*. Perhaps the form here can be parsed as a G passive imperfect *igezór*.
 8 *yákóz*: This is a 3ms imperfect of the verb *kélé*. *JL* (s.v. *klw*) gives the form as *yəkól*, which is also how Ali transcribed it. Also in *JL*, the definition of this verb is given as '(animals) come home (us. goats)'. In *ML*, however, the cognate G-Stem *kəlū* is glossed as 'come, bring home (animals, a wife)'.
 9 *sídi*: In the Roman ms, Johnstone glossed *sídi* as 'devil', but notes that the meaning here is 'no good, naughty'. Another informant confirmed this information.

- 8 Aḥmad: The settlement. When he reaches the settlement, he slaughters for (divides up) the wedding-feast. Then he stays. After they finish the wedding-feast, he takes his wife home. He slaughters a cow.
- 9 After he slaughters a cow... He slaughters a cow. Then, if the woman is good, he stays with her. If she is no good, they don't agree.
- 10 Ali: After the wedding, he just takes her home? After just two or three days? Or does he leave her with her family?
- 11 Aḥmad: No, if he needs her for something [lit. for his need], if he needs her, he takes her home. And if he doesn't need her yet, he leaves her for her family.
- 12 Ali: And if the woman refuses to go with him?
- 13 Aḥmad: As long as he has already married her, she must go with him.
- 14 Ali: Some (women), they say, refuse. They say, "We want only (to be) with our families for a year," or the like.
- 15 Aḥmad: This is something that is up to [lit. goes back to] the man, to her husband.
- 16 Ali: The people may say to him, "Leave your wife and take care of your in-laws."

-
- 10 *nzēn*: This word, meaning something like 'alright', 'now then', or 'ok', is used in Dhofari Arabic.
- 10 *yəfōrʒās*: In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss 'he takes her away?'. *JL* (s.v. *frʒ*) lists no G-Stem verb from this root, but includes several other stems, all having a meaning 'please' or 'be pleased'. In *ML* (s.v. *frʒ*), a Mehri G-Stem is given, among the meanings of which is 'go home'.
- 13 *mən dēm*: In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss 'as long as'. *JL* (s.v. *dwm*) only lists *mən dum* 'as long as'. The form *dēm* must come from Arabic *dāma* 'last, continue', as used in the phrase *mā dāma* 'as long as'. The phrase *mən dēm* is used also in lines 29 and 35.

- 17 Aḥmad: *yalmún beš yɔ. əð še bes m'ámni, kél'ás. bə-ð ɔl beš m'ámni ɔ, yaxóžéns.*
- 18 Ali: *yaxóžén... 'ɔd yózməš sé mən ekélēs?*
- 19 Aḥmad: *ber yózməš, ber ɔl yózməš.*
- 20 Ali: *lékən her se ǵɔlɔt ɔl təǵád šeš?*
- 21 Aḥmad: *yakín heš ekélēs.*
- 22 Ali: *yakín heš ekélēs, l-íné se ǵɔlɔt ɔl təǵád šeš? aǵálət zəḥám mən tɔlás?*
- 23 Aḥmad: *kēs se.*
- 24 Ali: *mən kédé hūš, axsórt takín her is mən her aǵóhés?*
- 25 Aḥmad: *takín axér her kɔl ɛ-žēt ekéléb. her žēt kin ɛ-šfik kéléb, še, ðə kun aǵás, bə-ð kun is, bə-ð kun edíds.*
- 26 Ali: *wálékən énfēt yəḥkéḳ her mūn?*
- 27 Aḥmad: *yəḥkéḳ her is.*
- 28 Ali: *aǵóhés, 'ɔd yakín hóhum sé?*
- 29 Aḥmad: *mən dém is səḥí, ɔl yakín hóhum sé ɔ.*
- 30 Ali: *b-émés, 'ɔd yəḥól hes sé, émés?*

17 *yalmún*: This form is difficult to parse. It is related ultimately to the root *lwm* 'blame', attested in both *JL* (G-Stem *lēm*) and *ML* (G-Stem and D/L-Stem). *ML* (s.v. *lwm*) lists an EJ *elmún* perhaps from an original II-w D/L-Stem (see §7.4.8) **elwím* (cf. Mehri *alwīm*) > **elbím* (with the expected **w > b*) > **elbín* (with dissimilation) > *elmún* (with the expected **b > m* before *n*). Still this does not fully explain the form *yalmún*. A D/L-Stem imperfect of an original **elwím* should be have the underlying shape **yəlwímən* > *yəlbímən*. Perhaps there was a shift of **yəlwímən* > **yəlwúman* > **yəlwūn* > **yəlbún* > *yalmún*. In the Roman ms, Johnstone lists a perfect *lím*, which, if correct, is challenging to explain. He added the gloss 'nag', along with the (expected) Mehri 3mp imperfect *yəlwīmən*.

17 *m'ámni*: In the Roman ms, Johnstone glossed this word as 'honour'.

25 *ɛ-šfik*: Ali and Johnstone transcribed here the active (G-Stem) *ɛ-šfɔk* 'the one who got married', but on the audio Aḥmad clearly says *ɛ-šfik* 'the one who was married', using the H-Stem passive *šfik* (found also in AM1:5).

- 17 Aḥmad: The people nag him [or: complain about him]. If he has honor, he left her. If he doesn't have honor, he divorces her.
- 18 Ali: He divorces... Do they still give him something from his bride-price?
- 19 Aḥmad: Sometimes they give him, sometimes they don't give him.
- 20 Ali: But if she refused to go with him?
- 21 Aḥmad: He will get his bride-price.
- 22 Ali: He will get his bride-price, because she refused to go with him? The fault came from her?
- 23 Aḥmad: It's from her.
- 24 Ali: Regarding his in-laws, will the bride-price money go to [lit. be for] her father or her brothers?
- 25 Aḥmad: [Aḥmad answers as if the question were about who returns the bride-price] It is more for whoever took the bride-price. If he took the bride-price from the one who got married, it is he (who returns it), whether it be her father, her brother, or her uncle.
- 26 Ali: But first who does it rightfully go to?
- 27 Aḥmad: It goes rightfully to her father.
- 28 Ali: Her brothers, is there anything for them?
- 29 Aḥmad: As long as her father is alive, they get nothing.
- 30 Ali: And her mother, do they take her anything, her mother?

26 *yəḥkék*: This form could reflect either a G-Stem or H-Stem imperfect of the root *ḥkk*. *JL* lists only an H-Stem, but with the meanings 'question, interrogate; be patient, put up with'. *ML* lists a G-Stem for Mehri, but with the meanings 'adjust, level, file smooth', and noting that the verb doesn't have a Jibbali cognate. We can almost certainly compare here the Arabic G-Stem *ḥaqqa* 'be right, appropriate'. In the margin of the Roman ms, Johnstone noted a (G-Stem) perfect *ḥek*, with the gloss 'has to go by law'.

- 31 Aḥmad: *émés yākín hes. yəḥöl hes séləṭ ekéleb. ḏə kunút mošet, yózməs lé' bə-fló lé trut. bə-ḏ kunút qərwš, yézúm tšhun.*
- 32 Ali: *bə-xízs b-edíds, yākín hóhum sé?*
- 33 Aḥmad: *yākín hóhum ksəbət, xízs b-edíds, mən xərket, b-edétés, xətək bə-kémkəm.*
- 34 Ali: *bə-hás... bə-hér kunút əl-yó 'onút, bə-tét tel a'élés, 'əd təbgód k-a'ásərs, her aqéyg ḏə-múṭhan, b-əl šeš dé lə tel sékən?*
- 35 Aḥmad: *wallá, ḏénu sé tel aqéyg. əḏ še də-múṭhan, lézəm titš təgád šeš. mən dém ber šfək bes, ber qlób bes, lézəm təgád šeš. ar hér əl aqadót šeš lə, yərdíds l-a'élés yənkó' bes a'élés, bə-fló yəšenhír bes tel ekáḏi... séra'.*
- 36 Ali: *nášanu elhúti əl-šáxbərək. 'əd yəgórén mən dún 'ad? her əl tē 'ad lə, yəgórén?*
- 37 Aḥmad: *ber yəgórén əl-'ád. əḏ šóhum 'ad, yəgórén. bə-ḏ əl kun 'ad lə, bə-ḏ kun ḥal ḏə-xərf, yəgórén l-erqód.*
- 38 Ali: *le', her kun ḥal ḏə-'onút.*
- 39 Aḥmad: *her kun ḥal ḏə-'onút, əl yəgórén mən dún əl-'ad lə. ar əl-'ád.*
- 40 Ali: *'əd bóhum sé... mən húm... dé yənúfxhum?*
- 41 Aḥmad: *mənhúm ineféx, mənhúm yəgórén mən dún nəfxát.*
- 42 Ali: *b-ěšh, yəsíms bə-mékən?*

31 *yézúm*: In *JL* (s.v. *wzm*) the 3ms imperfect of *ezúm* 'give' is listed as *yézúm*, which follows the pattern of other I-w verbs. In all of Ali's texts, however, the form is *yézəm* (cf. 52:1), as also in TJ2:75. Multiple informants confirm the form *yézəm*. There may be two variant imperfects (see further in § 7.4.3). We might suggest here a G passive 3fs imperfect, but that cannot be possible in TJ2:64 (because of the 3fs object *təs*). We might also suggest a 3mp subjunctive *yəzúm*, but a subjunctive is unexpected, and the audio clearly has *yézúm* (as also in TJ2:64). In the Roman ms, at line 31, Johnstone transcribed *ézúm*, and added the gloss 'they give'.

33 *kémkəm*: See the comment to 32:14.

36 *yəgórén*: In *JL* (s.v. *gry*), the D/L-Stem *agóri* is defined as '(she-camel) to leak milk through the teat-masks on seeing her young ones hungry'. In this passage, the meaning is clearly a more general '(animal) produce milk'.

- 31 Aḥmad: Her mother, she gets (something). They take her a third of the bride-price. If it is animals, they give her a cow, maybe two cows. If it is money, he gives (her) accordingly.
- 32 Ali: And her maternal uncle and paternal uncle, is there something for them?
- 33 Aḥmad: They get clothes, her maternal uncle and paternal uncle, or a robe, and her aunts (get) dresses or head-cloths.
- 34 Ali: And when... And if the people have a drought, and the woman is with her family, does she still go with her husband if the man is having trouble and has no one (to help him) in his settlement?
- 35 Aḥmad: Well, this is something up to the man. If he is in trouble, the woman must go with him. As long as he has married her, has paid for her, she must go with him. If she doesn't go with him, he asks [lit. turns to] her family that her family should come with her, or he lodges a complaint with the judge.
- 36 Ali: Now let me ask you (about) cows. Do they still give milk without sardines? If they don't eat sardines, do they give milk?
- 37 Aḥmad: Sometimes they give milk by (eating) sardines. If they have sardines, they give milk. And if there aren't sardines, and if it is monsoon season, they give milk by (eating) pasturage.
- 38 Ali: No, if it is a time of drought.
- 39 Aḥmad: If it is a time of drought, they don't give milk except by (eating) sardines. Only by sardines.
- 40 Ali: Do some of them ever... Do some... Does someone blow (into the cows' vaginas to stimulate milk production)?
- 41 Aḥmad: Some (cows) are blown, and some give milk without blowing.
- 42 Ali: And the butter, do they sell it for a lot?

41 *nəfxát*: This noun is not listed in *JL* (s.v. *nfx*), though based on the context and the related verb *nfx* 'blow' (used in line 40), it is clearly a noun 'blowing'. The verb has both the general sense 'blow' and the more narrow sense 'blow into a cow's vagina to stimulate milk production' (a well-documented local practice). Here the noun has the more narrow sense, but presumably can also be used for 'blowing' more generally.

- 43 Aḥmad: *ēšh isúm miné bə-xōš kəróš bə-štét kəróš. b-izélšót bə-kéřš.*
 44 Ali: *əl-šáxbəřək nářanu, ĥilt đə-‘ád igáróg tel sékən. mśé em yəřóřfəs l-elhúti?*
 45 Aḥmad: *ĥilt a‘ád iřéróf ‘aķ ġəm‘át trut.*
 46 Ali: *bə-šúm yózəmhum ed yəšbó‘?*
 47 Aḥmad: *əl yózəmhum ed yəšbó‘ lə. her zúmhum ed yəšbó‘, dĥa-yxóls bə-yúm ĥit.*
 48 Ali: *b-āĥlób enišún?*
 49 Aḥmad: *yézím sé séĥel.*
 50 Ali: *‘od yəķéním lóhum mən mukún?*
 51 Aḥmad: *yəķéním lóhum her kun ĥal đə-‘onút. əl šóhum mən dún ‘ad lə. ar ‘ad. bə-đ kun ĥal đə-xóřf, yəti b-enřóf mən ĥār.*
 52 Ali: *əl-šáxbəřək nářanu, elé’, her zəĥōt bə-f‘ór, yəĥzéz mən nxínús?*
 53 Aḥmad: *her kunút lé’ đ-ițérób b-igéfún, iĥzóz hes, bə-đ kunút lé’ đ-ifúlțən đer šótər bə-đ kun đer f‘ór. bə-đ kunút lé’ əl tərbéb sé lə, iķelá’ hes ebrés.*
 54 Ali: *bə-hér ġunūt elé’ b-əl rōt lə đer tǫlút, ‘od (t)šerók núsəb?*
 55 Aḥmad: *əl (t)šerók núsəb lə.*
 56 Ali: *əl dé yəķódər yəĥélbəs lə?*
 57 Aḥmad: *ábdan. ĥař ε-ġunūt, xalás.*
 58 Ali: *wələkən sēn, ĥus ε-sé elhúti ar ifilétən, iĥzóz mənsēn.*

-
- 43 *miné*: In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss ‘4 kilos’. Perhaps this word is related to the Arabic unit of measurement *mann*.
 44 *igáróg*: In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss ‘stay’. *JL* (s.v. *ġrg*) defines the H-Stem *aġrég* only as ‘be late’ (cf. 3:2).
 45 *ġəm‘át trut*: The mss have *səbú‘ troh*, using the Arabic word *səbú‘* ‘week’, but the audio has *ġəm‘át trut*. Both mean ‘two weeks’.
 53 *đ-ițérób*: The mss have *térób*, and in the Roman ms Johnstone added the gloss ‘gives plenty milk’. No such verb is listed in *JL*, and other verbal stems from the root *trb* have very different meanings. Perhaps this was meant to be *ițérób* (H passive 3fs imperfect), from *ețréb* which *JL* (s.v. *trb*) defines as ‘stimulate’. This fits the context, since the idea is that the mother’s milk needs to be stimulated by the calf. The fact that Ali transcribed *t* in the Arabic ms is not problematic, as such spelling mistakes are not uncommon; for example, the following verb *ġéfún* is transcribed incorrectly with *k* in place of *ġ*.

- 43 Aḥmad: The butter is sold, a *min* for five or six dollars, and the coconut shell (used to hold the butter) for a dollar.
- 44 Ali: Let me ask you now, the load of sardines that stays at the settlement, how many days do they ration it out to the cows?
- 45 Aḥmad: A load of sardines is rationed out in two weeks.
- 46 Ali: And do they give it to them until they are satisfied?
- 47 Aḥmad: They don't give it to them until they are satisfied. If they gave it to them until they were satisfied, they would finish it in one day.
- 48 Ali: And the small cows?
- 49 Aḥmad: They are given a little.
- 50 Ali: Do they get fodder for them from somewhere?
- 51 Aḥmad: They get fodder for them if it is the dry season. They only have sardines [lit. they don't have except sardines]. Only sardines. But if it is monsoon season, they eat by themselves from the mountain.
- 52 Ali: Let me ask you now, the cow, if it gives birth to a male calf, do they kill (it) from under her?
- 53 Aḥmad: If a cow has been stimulated and has accepted a dummy-calf (tulchan), it is killed, and (also) if a cow accepts another female calf or a male calf. But if there is a cow that doesn't accept a dummy-calf, her calf [lit. son] is left for her.
- 54 Ali: And if she refuses the calf and doesn't accept a substitute, does she still make milk?
- 55 Aḥmad: She doesn't make milk.
- 56 Ali: Can anyone milk her?
- 57 Aḥmad: Never. When she refuses (the calf), it's finished.
- 58 Ali: But they, most of the cows, accept the dummy-calf, and (the calves) are slaughtered from them?

54 *tfəlūt*: In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss 'substitute'. The word is not in *JL*, though several related verbs appear. The D/L-Stem is used in line 53.

58 *mənsēn*: The audio here has *mənsēn*. The Roman ms has "*hēsən* (better *hóhum*)" and the Arabic ms has just *hóhum* 'for them'.

- 59 Aḥmad: *lā-tiā' ḏ-elhúti. elhúti al-hés ērún. mǎnsēn her ḥizzak, igéfún. bā-sé her šérókak hes māšāḏeliūt, yá'ni al-hés ebrés, təhés bes sá'r, mǎnsēn tǎrbēn les, mǎnsēn ifúltǎn ḏer šítár fǎl fǎ'yór sǎhét. fǎlékǎn ol tǎkǎlǎ's (t)šnéš lǎ.*
- 60 Ali: *tšórkaš mǎn ráhǎk?*
- 61 Aḥmad: *ēhē, ifélǎtš mǎn ráhǎk. b-ol isunés tǎš lǎ.*
- 62 Ali: *ǎl-šáxbǎrak her 'ágǎb yǎfǎlt hes, 'ǎd yǎhárésǎn bes bǎ-yšérékhum ta'mírnhum ḏǎhun kǎb dǎa-yít šǎḏǎr bǎ-sé təhégǎm?*
- 63 Aḥmad: *ēhē.* Ali: *elhúti ǎl-hés iyél zétǎ?* Aḥmad: *ǎl-hés iyél.* Ali: *elhúti ǎl-hés iyél?* Aḥmad: *ǎl-hés iyél.*
- 64 Ali: *bǎ-'ák kélbǎk, egéfún siéb iné? yǎkǎlǎ's ḏer eḏǎrǎb bǎ-yézúum tǎs tǎrhǎš.*
- 65 Aḥmad: *ḏénu, axá, ǎl-hés ebrés. šum ber ḏ-a'télím ǎl-ḏǎhun sé.*
- 66 Ali: *ḏǎhun egǎd yǎkín ḏ-ebérés, mǎn ar gǎd ḏǎ-mšágǎr?*
- 67 Aḥmad: *lǎ', egǎd ḏ-ebérés. se təǎǎrǎb egǎd ḏ-ebérés ar egǎd ēšǎǎǎr. bǎ-šé egéfún təǎǎrbǎš.*
- 68 Ali: *ta'mór (t)ḏés, eḏé ebrés?*
- 69 Aḥmad: *ēhē, (t)ḏés. yǎxtéléfǎn eḏé ebrés b-eḏé e-ḏǎk. her níka'k tǎs bǎ-géfún tǎroh, bǎ-kún tǎd ol ebrés lǎ, təǎélb 'ǎš, bǎ-ḏ kun ebrés, tǎrhǎš. se ḏǎ-rǎt l-ebérés.*

-
- 59 *lā-tiā'*: This is presumably from Arabic *tibā'*, the plural of *tab'* 'characteristic, nature, manner'. The singular *tǎb'* is listed in *JL* (s.v. *tb'*). In the Roman ms, Johnstone glossed this phrase as 'acc. to the nature of'.
- 62 *yǎhárésǎn*: This seems to be a D/L-Stem passive of the root *ḥrṣ*. *JL* (s.v. *ḥrṣ*) defines the D/L-Stem *hórs* as 'insist, be insistent'. *ML* (s.v. *ḥrṣ*) defines the Mehri D/L-Stem *ḥōrǎš* as 'make envious; come to want s.t. because s.t. else wants it [i.e., be envious]'. In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss 'give her a fright by dressing as a wolf so that she will accept a subst. & begin to like it; make jealous'. He also adds the principal parts *ḥúrṣ/yḥúrṣǎn/yḥórṣ* for the active, and *ḥírís/yḥárésǎn/l-ḥarǎš* for the passive. The use of the passive here seems to be lexical.
- 62 *yšérékhum*: The audio and the mss differ considerably for much of this line. Where the audio has *yšérékhum ta'mírnhum ḏǎhun kǎb dǎa-yít šǎḏǎr bǎ-sé təhégǎm* (with much stumbling and several false starts), the mss have *šérék enǎfǎ kǎlǎb 'ágǎb yǎti ḏǎhūn šǎḏǎr ed se təhégǎm* 'they pretend to be [lit. make themselves] wolves that want to eat that calf, so that she will attack'.

- 59 Aḥmad: It's according to the natures of the cows. Cows are like goats. Some, if you slaughter (the calf), it accepts the substitute. And some, if you make a stuffed dummy-calf for it, that is, like its child, you stuff it with straw, some accept it, (and) some accept (only) live male or female calves. But you don't let it see it (its own calf).
- 60 Ali: Do you hide [lit. steal] it far away?
- 61 Aḥmad: Yes, you take it far away. And you don't show it to her.
- 62 Ali: Let me ask you, if they want to make her accept a dummy-calf, do they make her jealous [or: scare her] and make themselves like that wolf who is going to eat the calf, and she will attack?
- 63 Aḥmad: Yes. Ali: Are the cows like camels too? Aḥmad: Like camels. Ali: The cows are like camels? Aḥmad: Like camels.
- 64 Ali: And in your opinion [lit. in your heart], the dummy-calf is because of what? He leaves it on (some) sticks and he gives (it) to her to lick it.
- 65 Aḥmad: This is like her child. They have already learned this thing.
- 66 Ali: That skin, is it her child's, or the skin of another (calf)?
- 67 Aḥmad: No, the skin of her child. She knows the skin of her child from the skin of the other. It is the skin that she knows.
- 68 Ali: Would you say she smells it, the smell of her child?
- 69 Aḥmad: Yes, she smells it. The smell of her child and the smell of that (other) one differ. If you bring her two dummy-calves, and one is not her child, she'll refuse it, but if it is her child, she will lick it. She has accepted her child.

64 *yézúm*: See the comment to TJ2:31.

65 *axá*: As noted in the comment to TJ4:95, this word is not listed in *JL*, but is no doubt equivalent to the rather rare Mehri word *xā* 'like'. It is not clear in this line if *axá* and *əl-hés* are exactly synonymous, that is, if *əl-hés* can always replace *axá*.

68 *ta'mór*: This form, which looks like the 2mp subjunctive, is used idiomatically when asking one's opinion on something. In this use, corresponding to English 'do you think?' the form *ta'mór* does not change for gender or number. For other examples, see lines 112 and 120 in this text, and TJ4:39. Some of my own informants also used this form in this way.

- 70 Ali: *mən kédé egmílh ðə-yəhöl lóhum ‘ad, bə-ðə-yəxótər ðírhum bə-yhöl ‘ad, ‘əd yəšérék hóhum yóžəmhum sé kénúm?*
- 71 Aḥmad: *egmílh? ēhē. her xtərək bə-gül her ‘ad, təbğód taškór heš. təžhómš bə-‘aškér bə-fló bə-zágər, her níka‘ ta‘bún b-əl yəḵódər yəğád mukún lə.*
- 72 Ali: *mun ð-ikénúm heš her ağéyg xtər ðer gül?*
- 73 Aḥmad: *teṭ ikénúm her iršób bə-fló yə bə-sékan.*
- 74 Ali: *egül še ðə-yhül a‘ád bə-ðə-yt‘ób... nášanu, yəštím a‘ád bə-dún mən yəmdéd hóžər?*
- 75 Aḥmad: *ðə əl šeš sé hóžər lə, yəžióṭ dun. bə-ð šeš hóžər yézəm hóžər.*
- 76 Ali: *ed mit yəš‘éd b-edún yóššé?*
- 77 Aḥmad: *ed šerb. əð ḥašól sé mən təmrét óšét, mən ēšh, yəḵóṭa‘.*
- 78 Ali: *lékan nášanu ezhúti, ‘aḵ kélbək yəkín dáyman... yəkín sóbər ðírhum dun, bāl elé?*
- 79 Aḥmad: *bāl elé‘ dáyman, her əl kun ṭad ðə-xéti.*
- 80 Ali: *bə-kó šum əl yəším mən elhútóhum bə-dírəhəm, bə-yəštím, bə-yḵóla‘ edún?*
- 81 Aḥmad: *dḥa-yxóls elhúti. her ṭad šeš ‘əšírét əlhúti bə-sém mənḥúm bə-‘ónut štét bə-fló šəb‘ét, dḥa-yxóls.*
- 82 Ali: *kēf her žēt bə-gəm‘át hölt ðə-‘ád? bə-hölt ðə-‘ád, bə-msé təkín se?*
- 83 Aḥmad: *berót təkín bə-šhelót, berót təkín bə-‘ásəri.*

71 *taškór/‘aškér*: The noun *‘aškér*, which I did not find in *JL*, refers either to *Blepharis dhofarensis* or *Blepharis linariaefolia* (Miller and Morris 1988: 6, 8). The form *taškór* seems to be 2ms subjunctive of a denominative quadrilateral verb *a‘áškér*. In the Roman ms, Johnstone glossed the verb with the note ‘you take from such and such a tree’.

71 *záğər*: *JL* (s.v. *zğr*) defines this as a ‘kind of bitter, peppery cactus which in an emergency can be chopped up for camel fodder’. Miller and Morris (1988: 142), who record the Jibbali name as *zúğər*, define this as *Euphorbia cactus*, and note that it is used as camel fodder.

77 *təmrét*: This noun is not in *JL* (*tmr*), but we can compare forms like *ətmír* ‘be fruitful; prosper’ and *təmrún* ‘fruitful’, as well as Arabic *tamarat-* ‘yield, profit, benefit’. In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss ‘produce’.

77 *yəḵóṭa‘*: In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss ‘pay’. Since the verb normally means ‘cut’ or ‘breach’, it must be used here in the sense of ‘cut/settle the debt’.

- 70 Ali: Regarding the camels that carry sardines for them, that go down to town on and carry sardines (on), do they do (anything) for them (or) give them any fodder?
- 71 Aḥmad: The camels? Yes. If you go down to town on a camel for sardines, you go get *ʿaškér* for it. You bring it *ʿaškér* or *záǧar*, if it comes back hungry and can't go anywhere.
- 72 Ali: Who collects fodder for it if the man goes down to town on a camel?
- 73 Aḥmad: The woman collects fodder for the riding-camels, or else people in the settlement.
- 74 Ali: The camel, the one who carries the sardines and gets hungry [or: tired]... Now, do they buy the sardines on credit or lay out cash?
- 75 Aḥmad: If he doesn't have any cash, he takes a debt. And if he has cash, he gives cash.
- 76 Ali: By [lit. until] when should he promise [or: arrange] to pay the debt?
- 77 Aḥmad: By autumn. If they get something from the production of the animals, from the butter, they pay.
- 78 Ali: But now the cows [i.e., cow-herders], do you think he is always... is he always in debt, the cow-herder?
- 79 Aḥmad: The cow-herder, always, if there is not someone that has slipped my mind.
- 80 Ali: And why don't they sell some of their cows for money, and buy (with cash), and avoid [lit. leave] the debt?
- 81 Aḥmad: The cows would be finished. If someone had ten cows, and sold six or seven each year, they would be finished.
- 82 Ali: How about if they take in a week a load of sardines? A load of sardines, how much does it cost [lit. how much is it]?
- 83 Aḥmad: Sometimes it is thirty, sometimes it is twenty.

78 *dáyman*: Ali first used the Arabic *dayman* 'always' (< *dāʿīman*), then corrected himself with the Jibbali equivalent *sóbar*.

79 *xéti*: Johnstone added the gloss 'doesn't stick in the mind'. This could be a Gb perfect of the root *xṭ* or could be a noun or adjective derived from Arabic *xāṭi* 'incorrect, mistaken' or the like.

82 *kēf*: This is Arabic *kēf* 'how?'.

82 *ḥōlt*: In the Arabic ms, Ali twice wrote *ḥīlt*, and Johnstone did likewise in the Roman ms. But the audio has *ḥōlt* both times. On this word, see further in the comment to 6:37.

- 84 Ali: *nzēn, ḥaséb het nášanu ekúḏ kelš ḏə-yóẓəm 'ád. Aḥmad: mékən. Ali: mékən. ḥaš ɛ-širiót, əmsé yəkín ḏírhum?*
- 85 Aḥmad: *l-ekédr elhúti. əḏ šek əlhúti mékən, yəkín ḏirk dun mékən. bə-ḏ šek əlhúti xérin, yəkín ḏirk dun xérin.*
- 86 Ali: *'əd izók b'él a'ád yəḥkék lóhum?*
- 87 Aḥmad: *her ɔl níka'k tóhum əl-sérthum lɔ, yəšənhírk.*
- 88 Ali: *bə-hér zumk tóhum fəḵḵ, b-ōxərək fəḵḵ?*
- 89 Aḥmad: *dé yəšər, bə-dé ɔl yəšər lɔ.*
- 90 Ali: *mor, bə-yóh 'aḵ kélbək... b'ál elé' ta'bún mən dun ḏənu?*
- 91 Aḥmad: *ta'bún dáyman, bə-šé ta'bún.*
- 92 Ali: *'aḵ kélbək, bāl elé' axér mən bāl eyát axér?*
- 93 Aḥmad: *bāl eyát axér.*
- 94 Ali: *wələkən bāl eyát yoh 'aḵ kélbək ɛskénhum?*
- 95 Aḥmad: *bāl eyát yəsókf 'aḵ xedirətə, bāl elé' 'aḵ stórtə bə-'áḵ erḵéb. bāl elé' axér, əftəkərən. bāl elé' axér, b-ənzél axér.*
- 96 Ali: *mun təkín šóhum ksəbət axér?*
- 97 Aḥmad: *bāl elé' təkín šóhum ksəbət axér.*
- 98 Ali: *əb-bāl iyél ətkínən šóhum təḥóḃ, təḥétə ḏ-iyél.*
- 99 Aḥmad: *yəkín ta'bánin əb-bəxélt. ɔl yəśim sé lɔ mənsən. bāl iyél, bāl érin yəxél mékən, 'aḵ mənzel dífər.*
- 100 Ali: *lékən 'aḵ kélbək yoh bāl eyát əb-bāl ɔz? eḥūn šə ḏə-ykín axér?*

85 *ekédr*: In the Arabic ms, Ali transcribed here لاجد. In the Roman ms, Johnstone transcribed *l-egéd*, and added the gloss 'according to the number of'. Perhaps this was intended to reflect Arabic *qayd* 'amount'. Johnstone also added the Arabic word قدر (*qadr*) in parentheses after the gloss. On the audio, the speaker says *ekédr*, reflecting Arabic *qadr* 'amount'.

94 *ɛskénhum*: This must be a reflection of Arabic *maskan* or *maskin* 'dwelling, habitation'.

95 *xedirətə*: This is a plural of *xadér*, the diminutive of *xádər* 'cave'. *JL* (s.v. *xdr*) does not list the diminutive forms, but they are given in Johnstone (1973: 103).

95 *stórtə*: In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss 'booths made of branches with dried grass on top, waterproof'. The word is no doubt related to the verb *stər* 'cover'.

95 *erḵéb*: This is the plural of *rəkəb*, on which see the comment to 54:32. Johnstone incorrectly transcribed *erḵéb* in the Roman ms.

- 84 Ali: Ok, add up now the whole spring that they give (them) sardines. Aḥmad: (It's) a lot! Ali: A lot. When autumn comes, how much (debt) will they have [lit. how much will be on them]?
- 85 Aḥmad: It depends on the number of cows. If you have a lot of cows, you will have a lot of debt. And if you have (just) a little amount of cows, you will have a little debt.
- 86 Ali: Do those sardine-men press them (to pay)?
- 87 Aḥmad: If they don't bring them (payment) as per their agreement, they lodge a complaint against you.
- 88 Ali: And if you give half and you postpone half?
- 89 Aḥmad: Some are patient, and some are not patient.
- 90 Ali: And how, in your opinion... Are the cow-herders weary [or: in trouble] besides this [or: from this debt]?
- 91 Aḥmad: He is always weary [or: in trouble].
- 92 Ali: In your opinion, are the cow-herders more (weary/in trouble) or the camel-herders?
- 93 Aḥmad: The camel-herders more.
- 94 Ali: But the camel-herders, how, in your opinion are their dwellings?
- 95 Aḥmad: The camel-herders stay in small caves, and the cow-herders in covered huts or on ledges. The cow-herders are better (off), I think. The cow-herders are better, and their places are better.
- 96 Ali: Who has better clothes?
- 97 Aḥmad: The cow-herders have better clothes.
- 98 Ali: The camel-herders have a herd, herds of camels.
- 99 Aḥmad: They are weary [or: hungry] and mean [or: stingy]. They don't sell any of them. The camel-herders, the goat-herders, they are very mean, in a bad place.
- 100 Ali: But in your opinion, how are the camel-herders and goat-herders? Which one is better (off)?

100 *ehūn*: In the Roman ms, Johnstone glossed this word as 'which of 2'. The same word is used in TJ4:71. See § 11.10.

100 *šē*: In the Roman ms, Johnstone transcribed *mən šum*, but this is ungrammatical, since an independent pronoun cannot follow the preposition *mən* here. In the Arabic ms, Ali transcribed *منشوهوم*, which could be read either *mən šūm* or *mən šóhum* 'from among them'. On the audio, Ali said *šē*.

- 101 Aḥmad: *əftakéran he bāl eyát.*
- 102 Ali: *bāl eyát yəkín axér mən bāl əz, bāl érun. bāl érun yəkín ‘aḵ mənəbzəl ðə-bóhum ḥási bə-...*
- 103 Aḥmad: *ḥási bə-‘aḵ xátér bə-‘aḵ ðerib bə-‘aḵ mənəbzəl mó‘ar.*
- 104 Ali: *bə-‘aḵ kélbək nášanu máṭələn, her šek érun bə-kísk básən tién mékən, bə-sémk tósən bə-skófk bə-šerókək ba‘ bə-sére’, bə-fló sémk sé b-əl axér lə bə-skófk b-əşózák?*
- 105 Aḥmad: *axér her šek érun bə-sémk tósən, axér, lékən her xúlsək, mgóre’ edírehəsən yoh dḥa-tšérk?*
- 106 Ali: *le’ her kunk (t)šérk básən sé ðə-(t)ṭól’an... ðə-(t)ṭól’an.*
- 107 Aḥmad: *šerókək sé tegórt bə-fló šerókək sé dəkkún, temém, axér. bə-ð bek ar tóskəf bass bə-títhum, dḥa-l-xóls.*
- 108 Ali: *‘aḵ kélbək nášanu egəblí əl dáyman yə‘ágób... sóbər yə‘ágób bass ar bun lə?*
- 109 Aḥmad: *ēhē. əl yaşōr ar ōl lə. bélé ðə-šan‘ím bə-šés kəróš, əl yaşōr ar ōsét lə. ðə-šəkaní les ōsét.*
- 110 Ali: *egəblí nášanu, bāl egiēl, yə‘ágób šunúts... yašelḏéḏ húṭun, yašelḏéḏ b-egiēl mən yašelḏéḏ bə-ḥallét?*
- 111 Aḥmad: *yašelḏéḏ b-egiēl.*
- 112 Ali: *ta‘mór l-íné?*
- 113 Aḥmad: *ð-éləf ərdém mən tél ərdém xézík. Ali: mən tél xézík ərdém? Aḥmad: ēhē.*

103 *ðerib*: This word is not in *JL*. In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss ‘big cliffs’, noting also the singular *ðerēt* and the Mehri cognate *ðərbūt* (pl. *ðərāb*). *ML* (s.v. *ðrb*) lists *ðərbēt* ‘wind storm’, corresponding to Jibbali *ðarbēt*. It is possible that this is the word intended here.

104 *máṭələn*: This is Arabic *matalan* ‘for example’.

104 *ba‘ bə-sére’*: These are from Arabic *bay‘* ‘selling’ and *širā‘* ‘buying’.

106 *her kunk...*: Though the general sense is clear, the parsing of this line is difficult. The audio has what is printed here. The function of the compound tense (the only example from the texts of a perfect of *kun* plus an imperfect) is not clear, and the final verb (which I have transcribed as a 3fp G-Stem imperfect) is not certain. Ali transcribed this line very differently: *edírehəm (t)šérk bóhum sé ð-itól’an*, which perhaps means ‘the money, you should do with it something so that it increases’. Johnstone transcribed the last verb as *yṭól’an*, while Ali wrote *ذيطولعن*; either must be D/L-Stem imperfect.

- 101 Aḥmad: I think the camel-herders.
- 102 Ali: The camel-herders are better (off) than the goat-herders. The goat-herders are in places that have sand and...
- 103 Aḥmad: Sand, and in danger(ous places), and on cliffs, and in rough places.
- 104 Ali: And in your opinion now, for example, if you have goats and you find much value in them, and you sell them and stay and do buying and selling, or you sell some, isn't it better than staying and praying?
- 105 Aḥmad: It's better if you have goats and you sell them, it's better, but if you use (them) up, then what will you do with the money?
- 106 Ali: No, if something with them so that they increase... they increase.
- 107 Aḥmad: (If) you did some trading or you did some selling, fine, it's better. But if you just stay and eat them, you'll use (them) up.
- 108 Ali: In your opinion now, the Jibbali always likes... always only likes it here?
- 109 Aḥmad: Yes. He doesn't make do [or: have patience] without livestock. Even if he has prospered and has money, he doesn't make do [or: have patience] without livestock. He's been brought up for it, the livestock.
- 110 Ali: The Jibbali now, the mountain-dweller, he likes his sleep... Where is he comfortable, is he comfortable in the mountains or is he comfortable in the city?
- 111 Aḥmad: He is comfortable in the mountains.
- 112 Ali: Why, do you think [lit. say]?
- 113 Aḥmad: A person is accustomed to where a person is born. Ali: Where a person is born? Aḥmad: Yes.

107 *temém*: This is Arabic *tamām* 'fine, good, ok'.

110 *yə'áǵǵǒb šunúts̄*: The mss have *mən kédé šunúts̄* 'regarding his sleep', but the audio has *yə'áǵǵǒb šunúts̄*.

113 *ǰ-élaḥ*: The form *élaḥ* is the Gb-Stem perfect of the root *'lf*. The verb is not listed in *JL*, but is clearly borrowed from Arabic G *'alifa* 'be(come) accustomed to, used to'. In the Roman ms, Johnstone lists the forms *élf/yélǵf/yǵǵf*, which are the expected forms of a Gb-Stem I⁻² verb (identical also to those of a I-w verb); see §7.4.1.

- 114 Ali: *yəkín 'áfé mən 'aḳ kélbək yoh?*
 115 Aḥmad: *ēhē, yəkín 'áfé axér ar ḥallét.*
 116 Ali: *ḥallét, íné yəkín bes?*
 117 Aḥmad: *yəkín bes kérésétə.*
 118 Ali: *kérós bə-šēx. 'od yəkín tōlkum ktun?*
 119 Aḥmad: *ēhē, ktun ber yəkín b-egīēl əb-bér yəkín bə-ḥallét. ktun
 bə-ḏerḏér.*
 120 Ali: *ta'mór mənné ízenu yəkín?*
 121 Aḥmad: *mən wəsáx, her kun sé wəsáx bə-ḏénu. mən wəsáx erž bə-fló her
 ērdém ol ḏə-yérḥaz bə-fló ol ḏə-yérḥaz ksəbétš lə, bə-fló ēnzélš ol nəḏíf lə,
 yəkín ktun.*
 122 Ali: *áḥmad, bə-xórf, bə-ḥōr b-egizót, bāl élé' təkín šóhum ersét. bə-'aḳ
 kélbək yoh, her bek d-ḥákél, her bek 'aḳ ersét, ol-'ók tə'ágób tšéxənt lə?*
 123 Aḥmad: *tōkun her kun ḥal ḏə-mosé, ol təḳódar 'ok tšéxənt lə. mən élébsi
 b-ersét.*
 124 Ali: *lékən yəkín šum sélóhum.*
 125 Aḥmad: *šum ber ḏ-élaf əl-ḏēn sé.*
 126 Ali: *áḥmad, xaṭarét aḡsərék tel yə, sékən, bə-xórf bə-mosé, bə-šxáfk
 ḥalób mékən. mǵóre' a'ágób he əl-šéxənt—əḏ-ǵoróbk het, ḥalób yəkín ar
 ḏəḥyól—bə-hér šxənútək šīn bass ədhóž.*
 127 Aḥmad: *mun, het?*

-
- 114 *'áfé*: This adjective is not in *JL*, though related words are included (s.v. *fʷ*). In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss 'healthy'. We can probably compare Arabic *'afīy* 'robust, healthy'.
- 117 *kérésétə*: This word is not in *JL*, though it is clearly related to *kérós* 'bugs' (*JL*, s.v. *krš*), used in the next line. It is probably a diminutive.
- 118 *šēx*: *JL* (s.v. *šbx*) defines this as 'kind of stinging bug', but in the Roman ms he added the gloss 'centipedes &c.'.
- 118 *ktun*: In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss 'flying insect'. I did not find it in *JL*.
- 119 *ḏerḏér*: *JL* (s.v. *ḏrḏr*) glosses this word as 'flea'. In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss 'tiny red fly'.
- 121 *wəsáx*: Though this noun is listed in *JL*, Johnstone rightly marks it as an Arabism (< *wasax* 'dirt'), as proven by the retention of the initial *w*- (see § 2.1.5).
- 122 *ersét*: In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss 'wood cow-pen'. It is probably connected to the verb *eršé* 'tie, tether' (*JL*, s.v. *ršy*).

- 114 Ali: Is it healthier [lit. healthy] or what [lit. how], in your opinion?
 115 Aḥmad: Yes, it's healthier than the city.
 116 Ali: The city, what's in it?
 117 Aḥmad: It has bugs.
 118 Ali: Bugs and stinging bugs. Do you have *ktun*?
 119 Aḥmad: Yes, *ktun* sometimes are in the mountains and sometimes in the city—*ktun* and fleas.
 120 Ali: What do these come from, do you think [lit. say]?
 121 Aḥmad: From filth, if something is filthy and the like. From the filth of the ground or if a person doesn't wash or doesn't wash his clothes, or his house is not clean, there are *ktun*.
 122 Ali: Aḥmad, in monsoon season, in the cold and the mist, the cowherder has [from the cows] soft [or: liquid] excrement. In your opinion why [lit. how], if you are inside, if you are in the cow-pen, don't you like to go out?
 123 Aḥmad: This is if it is the time of rain, you can't want to go out, because of the rains and the liquid excrement.
 124 Ali: But they don't care.
 125 Aḥmad: They are accustomed to this thing.
 126 Ali: Aḥmad, once I spent the night with some people, a settlement, in the monsoon and rain, and I drank a lot of buttermilk. Then I wanted to go out—you know that buttermilk makes you go [lit. is all urine]—and whenever I went out for a little, I would slip.
 127 Aḥmad: Who, you?

123 *ēlébsi*: This is the definite form of *málébsi* (< **máláwsi*) the plural of *mośé*. The plural form is absent from *JL* (s.v. *lsw*), but we can compare Mehri and Hobyot *máláwsi* (*ML*, s.v. *lsw*; *HV*, p. 194). The *w* in the plural form is part of the plural pattern, and does not reflect any metathesis of the root.

124 *sélšhum*: The word *sel-* is used only with possessive suffixes to mean something like 'doesn't care'. Cf. also *séli bóhum* 'I don't care about them', *sélək* 'you don't care'. In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the (strange) gloss 'you should worry', and added the Mehri equivalent *swallihəm* with the gloss 'all the same'. In line 130, he glossed *sélšhum* as 'it's all one to them'.

- 128 Ali: *ēhē, he. l-íné he ol ð-élařk lo.*
 129 Aḥmad: *ol ð-élařk egiēl lo?*
 130 Ali: *le', ol ð-élařk ôsé lo, edáħaž lo. bə-šúm yakín sélšhum, yəšó'i.*
 131 Aḥmad: *šum ber ðə-ğarəb ðəhün sé. ð-élař ðəhün sé.*

Text Tj3: An Autobiographical Story

- 1 *řfərk mən žəřl her əl-xédəm. mğóre' éřəlak dəbéy. əm-mən dəbéy ağádk kařár. ħēk her xədmét. ol kisk xədmét lo.*
- 2 *mən řírř řfərk əl-kəwét. kisk xədmét fer'és. mən əl-kəwét xudúmk bes 'ónut trut. mğóre' řfərk ed əs-sa'udīt. xudúmk xōř írəx bə-fúnřk.*
- 3 *mğóre' hes bek fúnřk, ağádk ed kařár bə-xudúmk bes 'ónut trut. mən řér 'ónut trut, fúnřk b-ağádk ed dəbéy.*
- 4 *řfərk ed dəbéy. əm-mən dəbéy xudúmk bes 'ónut. mğóre' řfərk erž. mən erž ħēk her xədmét bə-xudúmk 'aķ gés. mən gés funřk.*
- 5 *zəħā-tə xēr. óda' ī xarəg, bə-fúnřk, bə-réfa'k egiēl. mən egiēl, kébbək. ħař bek kébbək, řfərk. níka'k, řfərk 'aķ langř ed məškét.*
- 6 *mğóre' kéřřək giwéz bə-níka'k dəbéy. mən dəbéy ħēk her xədmét, b-ol kisk xədmét sé bə-dəbéy lo.*
- 7 *ağádk ed ras əl-xīh. mən ras əl-xīh xudúmk 'aķ šárřah šəb'ét írəx. mğóre' mən řér šəb'ét írəx a'télúmk dréwəl.*

Text Tj2

- 130 *edáħaž*: The noun *dáħaž*, which Johnstone glossed in the Roman ms as 'slipperiness', is not in *JL*, though the related verb *d(a)ħáž* 'slip' (used in line 126) is included (s.v. *dhž*).

Text Tj3

- 2 *fer'és*: The meaning of this word is uncertain. Several of my informants did not recognize it, and assumed (as did I) that *xədmét fer'és* must mean something like 'little/odd jobs' or 'part-time work'. One informant, however, revealed that the verb *fer'és* (which does have the pattern of a Q-Stem verb) means 'lay something on the ground', and so the phrase *xədmét fer'és* refers to selling wares on the street.
- 2 *fúnřk*: The D/L-Stem *funř*, borrowed from English 'finish' (via Arabic), does not appear in *JL*, but Mehri *fōnəř* is listed in *ML* (s.v. *fnř*). It means both 'resign, quit' and 'fire, dismiss'. A D-Stem *fannař*, with both meanings, is known from various Arabic dialects in the region.

- 128 Ali: Yes, me. Because I was not accustomed (to it).
 129 Aḥmad: You were not accustomed to the mountains?
 130 Ali: No, I wasn't accustomed to the rain, the slipperiness. But they don't care. They run.
 131 Aḥmad: They already know this thing. They are accustomed to it.

Translation of Text Tj3

- 1 I traveled from Dhofar in order to work. Then I arrived in Dubai. And from Dubai I went to Qatar. I searched for work. I didn't find work.
- 2 Afterwards, I traveled to Kuwait. I found some work. I worked from Kuwait for two years. Then I went to Saudi Arabia. I worked five months and I quit.
- 3 Then after I quit, I went to Qatar and I worked there two years. After two years, I quit and I went to Dubai.
- 4 I traveled to Dubai. And I worked from Dubai for a year. Then I traveled home. From home I looked for work and I worked in the army. I quit the army.
- 5 News came to me. I found out that my father died, and I quit and went up to the mountains. I came down from the mountains. After I came down, I traveled. I came, I traveled in his boat to Muscat.
- 6 Then I got a permit and came to Dubai. I looked for work from Dubai, and I didn't find any work in Dubai.
- 7 I went to Ras al-Khaimah, and I worked from Ras al-Khaimah in the police for seven months. Then after seven months I learned driving.

4 *erž*: Although *erž* literally means 'country', it can also be used to mean 'home-country, homeland'.

4 *gēs*: This word, not in *JL*, is clearly a reflection of Arabic *jayš* 'army'.

5 *śda'ī*: Ali transcribed *ʔdk ik*, which is an error. The audio confirms *śda'ī*.

6 *giwéz*: This is Arabic *jawāz* 'permit, permission'.

7 *dréwəl*: This word, meaning 'driver', is known from Arabic dialects in the region, and was known to my informants. It comes ultimately from English 'driver', via Arabic.

- 8 *hes nígaḥk, šxanútk erž. mən erž, hes ešalək erž, xudúmk dréwəl. xudúmk dréwəl ‘aḵ šerék. hini ‘ónut bə-fǝḵḵ.*
- 9 *hes bér hini ‘ónut bə-fǝḵḵ, da‘ámk. hes bek da‘ámk, sfǝrk. sfǝrk her šur. mən šur sǝtémk hánúfi hóri, bə-šxanútk beš erž.*
- 10 *hes ešalək erž, níka‘ tǝ xēr ‘ǝr, “eḵéraḥkum da‘ím.” hes ber níka‘ tǝ xēr d-“eḵéraḥkum da‘ím,” skǝfk d-tǝk xǝš ēm ser eḵéraḥən.*
- 11 *mǝǝrē‘ rǝfa‘k eǝiēl əl-šné eḵéraḥ. kisk eḵéraḥ ber xarǝǝ. aǝǝdk bə-nḥárk leš lé‘ trut. mən ǝér lé‘ trut šfǝḵək.*
- 12 *hes bek šfǝḵək kébbək ḥállét. ḥēk her xədmét bə-xudúmk nəǝǝǝr. hes bek xudúmk nəǝǝǝr hini šhálét ‘ayún he ǝ-ənúǝər.*
- 13 *mǝǝrē‘ funšk mən nigǝǝrt bə-tǝḵḵək fədnín ǝaš. mən fədnín ǝaš... funšk mən fədnín ǝaš, bə-xudúmk hóri.*
- 14 *mən hóri, funšk mes. əl sink xədmét tinúfa‘ sé lǝ. ā‘áš ǝə-nǝǝlḵ xérin. funšk bə-rǝfa‘k eǝiēl. skǝfk ‘aḵ mošét, əlhúti b-érún b-iyél.*
- 15 *skǝfk hini šhálét ‘ayún. mən ǝér šhálét ‘ayún, kébbək. kébbək ḥállét. ḥēk her xədmét. əl kisk xədmét lǝ.*
- 16 *mǝǝrē‘ níka‘k bə-sfǝrk. kǝššək l-ənúf giwéz bə-sfǝrk mən lǝhun səḵtǝra. hes itk səḵtǝra, šfǝḵək bə-trút.*
- 17 *hes bek šfǝḵək bə-trút, ‘ǝk hésən, “aḵ əl-sǝǝdkən d-erž.” ǝǝlǝb. hes ǝǝlǝb, əǝǝd mən səḵtǝra ed eǝǝzət.*
- 18 *hes ešalək eǝǝzət, əǝǝd, ḥēk her xədmét elǝhun b-əxédəm nətūr. mǝǝrē‘ mən nətūr skǝfk. skǝfk elǝhun ‘aḵ ‘ónut trut bə-fǝḵḵ.*
- 19 *mǝǝrē‘ šxanútk əl-ǝrəm a‘alét b-eǝiēl. skǝfk šəb‘ét trəx b-eǝiēl bə-xtǝrk. hes bek xtǝrk, skǝfk, aǝǝdk, zǝtək elǝhun rǝšən mən suḵ bə-kǝrk.*

-
- 8 *šerék*: This is probably from Arabic *širāk* ‘partnership’ (cf. also Arabic *šarikat-* and *širkat-* ‘company’).
- 9 *da‘ámk*: This verb meaning ‘have an accident; crash (into)’ is not in *JL*, but was known to informants. The related word *da‘ím* is used in line 10.
- 10 *da‘ím*: This word is not in *JL*, but it is obviously connected with the verb *da‘ám*, discussed in the previous comment.
- 12 *nəǝǝǝr*: This is Arabic *najjār* ‘carpenter’.
- 12 *ǝ-ənúǝər*: This is a 1cs imperfect of the verb *nǝǝr*. *JL* (s.v. *nǝr*) defines this verb only as ‘push, knock down (a wall, etc.)’, but here it seems to be a reflection of Arabic *najara* ‘hew, carve, plane (wood)’.
- 13 *ǝaš*: The meaning of this word is unknown, but it must be connected with the verb *ḵeš* ‘cut, chop’. My informants did not recognize it.

- 8 When I succeeded, I left for home. From home, when I got home, I worked as a driver. I worked as a driver in a company. It was a year and a half.
- 9 After a year and a half, I had an accident. After I had an accident, I traveled. I traveled to Şur. From Şur I bought a canoe for myself, and I left for home with it.
- 10 When I got home, news came to me, it said, "Your donkey is injured." After the news came to me that (said) "your donkey is injured", I sat crying for five days over our donkey.
- 11 Then I went up to the mountains to see the donkey. I found the donkey had already died. I went and sacrificed for him two cows. After the two cows, I got married.
- 12 After I got married, I went down to town. I looked for work and I worked as a carpenter. After I worked three years as a carpenter... For three years I did carpentry.
- 13 Then I quit carpentry and smashed rocks. I quit the rocks, and I worked on the canoe.
- 14 I quit the canoe. I didn't see any useful work. The salary that we asked [lit. looked for] was little. I quit and went up to the mountains. I stayed among the animals, cows, goats, and camels.
- 15 I stayed three years. After three years, I came down. I came down to town. I looked for work. I didn't find any work.
- 16 Then I came and traveled. I got myself a permit and traveled from there to Soqoṭra. After I came to Soqoṭra, I married two (women).
- 17 After I married the two (women), I said to them, "I want to take you to (my) country." They refused. When they refused, I went from Soqoṭra to Al-Ghayḍah (Yemen).
- 18 When I got to Al-Ghayḍah, I went and looked for work there, and I worked as a guard. Then I stayed guarding. I stayed there for two and a half years.
- 19 Then I left by the high road in the mountains. I stayed seven months in the mountains and I came down to town. After I came down to town, I stayed, I went, I got there rations from the market and I went back up.

14 *ā'ás̄*: This is the definite form of *ma'ás̄*, which is simply Arabic *ma'ās̄* 'salary; income; livelihood' (root *yš*).

18 *nāṭūr*: This is Arabic *nāṭūr* 'guard, watchman'.

19 *rēšān*: This is presumably from English 'ration'.

- 20 *sink sfer dā-yānūfa‘ sé l. hes bek žēṭək erēsən kbork. kunk k-elhúti a‘éllí, mān ḏēr eḳéraḥ. mǧóre‘ eródan elhúti bā-tēr len fǧór.*
- 21 *hes ber tēr len fǧór dhásan tǧš bā-žēn bā-hódén her b‘él sékən əb-bəʔ(l)tə əhlób.*
- 22 *mǧóre‘ ʔr hini še, “a-l-ǧád.” ʔr hini, “a-l-xétər.” he bek ʔk heš, “ḥa-txétər?” ʔr hini, “a-l-xétər.”*
- 23 *ʔk heš, “témém. xter. bā-žbót len kit mān suk bā-ksabét. bā-nká‘ tun... het bā-fló tóskəf‘ak ʔsét bā-fló he. kəl ɛ-sínén tǧš... kəl ɛ-‘ágəb mínén yǧsfər bā-ṭad yǧskəf‘ak ʔsét.”*
- 24 *mǧóre‘ sfǧr še. mǧóre‘ še keš l-enúf giwéz bā-sfǧr. hes iti məskét, žēṭ l-enúf giwéz bā-sfǧr ed dábéy.*
- 25 *hes iti bā-dábéy da‘ím. da‘iš ḳéraḥ ʔr bā-tēr məš fa‘m b-īd. mǧóre‘ yənká‘ tǧ xēr, ʔr hini, “eḳéraḥ da‘ím.”*
- 26 *mǧóre‘ sfǧr he ed l-ənká‘. hes níka‘k ed dábéy, šənhǧrk. hes šənhǧrk, ḳízík sinórt bā-‘arḳē-ṭrut, ṭit nšénút ténu.*
- 27 *ʔr hini... ʔk, “ḏen ɔl ḳézētš l.” ʔr, “ar yǧh?” ʔk heš, “ḏóhun ǧeyg lézəm əl-ḳžé rəḥím. ‘ak ‘ásər izíf bā-fló ‘ásəri izíf. ḏen eḳézēt ɔl ‘ak bes l.”*
- 28 *ʔr hini, “ɔl sé ḳézēt ar ḏen. ‘ak bes bā-ḏ ‘ak tšéxənt?” ʔk, “ob.” b-aǧádək bā-šənhǧrk, b-éšələk máḥkama. b-ɔl kisk sé l. ɔl bəḳí‘ hini sé l ar sinórt b-‘arḳē-ṭrut.*

26 *ḳízík*: This seems to be a G passive, since the G *ḳézé* means ‘pay compensation’, while the meaning here is ‘be paid compensation’.

27 *əl-ḳžé*: Ali transcribed *əḳžé* here, but the audio has *əl-əḳžé*, which looks like a G passive 3ms subjunctive. (Cf. the previous comment.)

28 *máḥkama*: This is Arabic *maḥkamah* ‘court (of law)’.

- 20 I found [lit. saw] the journey not useful. After I got rations, I went back up. I was with the cows, after the donkey. Then we brought the cows to water, and a bull of ours was broken.
- 21 After a bull of ours was broken, we skinned it and roasted (it), and divided (it) up for the members of the settlement and those (women) with the calves.
- 22 Then he said to me, "I'll go." He said to me, "I'll go to town." I had said to him, "Will you go to down?" He said to me, "I'll go to town."
- 23 I said to him, "Fine. Go to town. And get us food from the market, and clothes. And bring us... You either should stay with the animals or I (should). Whoever we see... Whichever one of us wants should go, and one should stay with the animals."
- 24 Then he went. Then he got himself a permit and traveled. When he came to Muscat, he got himself a permit and traveled to Dubai.
- 25 After he came to Dubai, he got injured. A blind donkey crash into him and broke his leg and arm. Then news came to me, it said, "The donkey is injured."
- 26 Then I went until I came (there). When I came to Dubai, I filed a complaint. After I filed a complaint, I was compensated with a cat and two mice, one small like this.
- 27 He said to me... I said, "This is not its (proper) compensation." He said to me, "How so?" I said to him, "That man must be compensated well. I want ten thousand or twenty thousand. This compensation, I don't want it."
- 28 He said to me, "There is no (other) compensation but this. Do you want it or do you want to leave?" I said, "No." I went and filed a complaint, and I went to court. But I didn't get [lit. find] anything. There didn't remain for me anything but the cat and two mice.

Text Tj4: The Sultan's Son and the Sultan's Daughter (1974)

- 1 *ʿókum l-ūṭal lókum bə-keltót?*
- 2 *xatarét tit bər suṭún, iš ɔl šeš lə ənsələt ar še. b-ɔlyəšxánúṭ lə mən ʿaḵ ekéšərəš lə. yəkín ar ʿaḵ kéšərəš.*
- 3 *ḥaḵt ər heš, šəšfé mən ǰabǰót tit ebrít ḏə-suṭún b-erz ʿad, əl-kəṭ ɛ-yó ḏə-ykólṭ heš bes.*
- 4 *aǰabǰót, ənkəbréd sérés. b-aʿéléš ɔl šóhum ənsələt lə ar še. ənhəbsés embéreʿ mən źáʿat. ʿör heš iš ḥaḵt ḏə-yzḥómš iš, ʿör, “ébrí, ǰélək, fəló bek sé, fəló šəxábək sé?”*
- 5 *yəʿör, “lé.” yəʿör, “ar kə het t́enu?” yəʿör, “bass mən-núfi!” ḥaḵt ər heš, ʿör her is, ʿör, “ɛ bé, he dḥa-l-ǰád, hāyim taht dāyim.”*
- 6 *ʿör, “ebrí, taǰád bə-térd ben bə-l-éfsaḥ ben, aʿélék? ɔl šen nsələt ar het. əl-hün taǰád hel ʿak taǰád?”*
- 7 *ʿör, “lézəm dḥa-l-ǰád!” aǰád. ḥöl šántəḥ ʿámḵəs ǰənehēt élés. bə-ḥöl ksəbétš erḥüt, b-aǰád. aǰád, aǰád, aǰád, aǰád.*
- 8 *ber šhéle mən üt ɛ-is, ber šhéle mən tél tékhəb, mən tél təbǰód, mən tél tšxánúṭ. ber də-ǰúriás kəls taʿmúran ḏə-ḥél šeš.*

-
- 2 *ənsələt*: *JL* (s.v. *nsl*) does not include this word, but does include the related *nésəl*. Perhaps *nsələt* is the singular of *nésəl*.
 - 3 *ḥaḵt ər*: The speaker said *ḥaḵt ər*, but Ali transcribed *ḥaš ɛ-bér*. Likewise in lines 12, 19, 36, and 54. Similarly, in line 49, Ali transcribed the 3fs *ḥaḵt ərót* as *ḥaš ɛ-berót*. Only once (in line 5) did Ali faithfully transcribe *ḥaḵt ər*. It may be that Ali's transcription here is because of a dialect difference between him and the speaker. See also the comments to lines 4 and 42, as well as §13.5.3.6.
 - 4 *ənhəbsés*: This word is glossed in *JL* (s.v. *hwss*) as ‘shrink in mind’. In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss ‘became weaker and weaker’, matching the definition given in *ML* (s.v. *hwss*) for the Mehri cognate.
 - 4 *źáʿat*: This word is missing from *JL* (s.v. *zyʿ*), though the corresponding verb *zēʿ* ‘become thin, waste away; go to waste’ is listed (cf. 28:13). In the Roman ms, Johnstone glossed *źáʿat* as ‘weakness’. It is unclear how best to translate it in this context, so I have opted for a somewhat loose translation.
 - 4 *ḥaḵt*: As in line 3, while the speaker said *ḥaḵt*, Ali transcribed *ḥaš*. He did likewise in lines 25, 31, 51, 55, 67, 68, 85, 86, and 88. Only four times did Ali faithfully transcribe *ḥaḵt* (lines 5, 50, 65 and 73).

Translation of Text TJ4

- 1 You want me to tell you a story?
- 2 Once (there was) the son of a sultan. His father had no offspring but him. And he didn't go out from his palace. He was only in his palace.
- 3 After a while, he heard about a certain girl, the daughter of a sultan in a certain land, from the talk of the people who told him about her.
- 4 The girl, he became crazy about her. And his family had no offspring but him. The boy got weaker and weaker. His father said to him, when his father would come to him, he said, "My son, are you sick? Do you have something, or do you have any pain?"
- 5 He said, "No." He said, "So why are you like this?" He said, "(It's) just from myself!" After a while, he said to his father, "Father, I will go, wandering as I will."
- 6 He son, "My son, you would go, throw us aside, and leave us, your family? We have no offspring but you. Where would you go, if you want to go?"
- 7 He said, "I must go!" He went. He took a bag, which was full of coins [lit. in which was coins its fullness]. And he took his nice clothes, and he went. He went, he went, he went, he went.
- 8 He had already heard a description of the house of her father, and heard a description of where she spent the day, where she went, and where she went out. He already knew her totally, as if he had lived with her.

5 *hāyīm taḥt dāyīm*: This is an Arabic phrase, meaning something like 'wandering continually'.

6 *hel*: This is a dialectal variant of *her* (§13.4.1). See the comment to line 27.

7 *šāntəh*: This word (< Arabic *šanṭah*) is not in *JL*, but is listed in *ML* (s.v. *šnt*).

7 *gənehēt*: This word, another Arabic loan, is also not in *JL*. The singular *giní* occurs in 52:8.

8 *šhéle*: This verb is clearly an Š2-Stem of the root *hl'*, meaning 'be given a description'. *JL* (s.v. *ḥlv*) lists only the Š1-Stem *šḥələ*, with this meaning, though it gives an Š2-Stem imperfect.

- 9 *aǧád. aǧád mən lóhūn, ed níkaʿ ešširét aǧabǧót. hes zəḥám ešširét aǧabǧót, síni hešən.*
- 10 *ǧírías lə-ṭhalóʿ ʿe-yó ḏə-ḥúli heš tɔs. ǧírías, b-aǧád mən lókūn. ed níkaʿ lxín ūt, yašún mənzel ḏə-šxarét. zəḥam, égaḥ tólás, ešxarét.*
- 11 *skɔftólás. ʾör, “e xólóti, dḥa-l-óskɔftólás, bə-šírk híni eḵṭí! dḥa-l-ékən tólás mən d-ʿək b-erž ḏénu.”*
- 12 *ʾörót heš, “hes-tó. yaʾör sé l.” skɔftólás. skɔftólás. ḥaḵt ər heš yum miṭ yū trut, ʾör hes, “e aʿṭi, hé...” kólót hes bə-gərə ma gərə kelš, ḥóḡtaš kels, kól in géré leš.*
- 13 *kólót hes mən kéde aǧabǧót. kólót hes mən kéde aǧabǧót b-aǧadítš b-estíkdəš kels.*
- 14 *“bə-ḥút, šíxbər híni mən aǧabǧót bə-yúm ʿe-šxəntót.” bə-sé tšxánúṭ mən gəmʾát ed gəmʾát, aǧabǧót.*
- 15 *mən gəmʾát ed gəmʾát aʿrér l-ižókūn ínét əḏ-təǧóḏən šes. ǧigeníti ḏə-lébrəs mən sens, aʿrér lésən.*
- 16 *b-ís šeš məsəbtən. šeš məsəbtən, bə-kól yüm tékḥəb ʿaḵ məstún ṭad. b-əšəbtən ḏə-ḥégír ḏírhum ṭad yaḥégərhum ḏə-yébkəʿ ḏírhum ḥers ʿaḵ ʿšəbtən.*
- 17 *kəl ṭad ʿamḵás ṭad yaḥégərəš. ol yaǧáḥš dé lə mən dún se. yum ʿ-nkʾót se b-aǧigeníti ḏə-šés, yašṭḥ les.*
- 18 *bə-d-šírík hes kəl məstún ʿamḵás but. kəl məstún ʿamḵás but, tékḥən ʿamḵəsən. térḥən ʿaḵ féléǧ, ʿaḵ ḥabž, ténu térḥən ʿamḵás.*

10 *lə-ṭhalóʿ*: This word (cf. its bare form *təḥlóʿ* in line 58) is not in *JL*. It is glossed in the Roman ms as ‘description’, and is clearly related to the verbs *šḥelé* ‘be given a description’ (root *ḥlw*) and *ḥúli* ‘describe’, both used in this text.

10 *lxín*: Ali transcribed *nxín*, but the audio has *lxín*. He did likewise in line 24. Like his typical replacement of *ḥaš* with *ḥaḵt*, this transcription reflects a difference in Ali’s dialect from that of the speaker.

12 *bə-gərə ma gərə*: Though not in *JL* (s.v. *gry*) *gərə* is a noun derived from the verb *géré* ‘happen’. The element *ma* here is Arabic. In a number of Arabic dialects, the construction X (*w-*)*ma* X can mean something like ‘the whole X’ or ‘all about X’. Johnstone incorrectly transcribed this phrase as *bə-gərə məgré*, but correctly glossed it as ‘what had happened’.

- 9 He went. He went from there until he came to the girl's town. When he came to the girl's town, he saw a castle.
- 10 He recognized it from the description of the people who described it to him. He recognized it, and he went away from there. Then when he came to a house, he saw an old woman's place. He came, and went in to her, the old woman.
- 11 He stayed with her. He said, "Auntie, I will stay with you, and make me my food! I will be with you while I am in this land."
- 12 She said to him, "Ok. No problem [lit. it says/does nothing]." He stayed with her. He stayed with her. After a day or two, he said to her, "Granny, I..." And he told her everything that had happened, all of his needs, and all that had happened to him.
- 13 He told her about the girl. He told her about the girl and his journey and all about his plan.
- 14 "And you, ask for me about the girl and when she goes out." And she went out every Friday, the girl.
- 15 Every Friday, they sent for those women who would go with her. Girls similar to her in age, they sent for them.
- 16 And her father had plantations. He had plantations, and every day she would spend the day at one plantation. The plantations were guarded over by one man who guarded them, who they put over them as a guard in the plantations.
- 17 Each one had in it one who would guard it, so no one entered it except her. When she came, she and the girls who were with her, he would open it for her.
- 18 And each plantation had in it a house made for her. Each plantation had a house in it, and they would spend the day in them. They would swim in the stream, in the pool. They would swim in it like this.

-
- 13 *estíkdaš*: This noun is not in *JL*, but cf. T2 *astékéd* 'set about (working), prepare'. In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss 'subject, affair'.
- 16 *hers*: This word, which is missing from the Roman ms, is not in *JL*. It appears again in line 65, where Johnstone added the gloss 'a guard' in the Roman ms. The related verb *hórós* is listed in *JL* (s.v. *hrs*).
- 17 *yum*: It is not certain that *yum* is present here, as the word is not clearly pronounced. Ali transcribed *mit*, which is possible. If *yum* is correct, then it is the only attestation of this word used as a temporal subordinator in the texts. See further in §13.5.3.7.

- 19 *bə-ħákt ēr rīh, ə-bér rəħáz, təbgódən bə-tfǝsēn. tékhēn ‘ak üt. tékhēn yum dīhun elóhun. bə-kəl‘ēni ténúfšən, mən gəm‘át ed gəm‘át.*
- 20 *bə-sé šes žírít ħayšūt ta‘mírəns bass ‘arīt, axér ‘ansén, ezírét.*
- 21 *‘ōr her ešxárét, “mit dħa-tšéxəntən, šíxbər mən ēštún ħa-tókhəb ‘amkásš.” ešxarét təšxiór heš. təšənžéz. təšənžéz bə-yúm dħa-tšéxəntən d-ēštún dħa-təkhēn ‘amkásš.*
- 22 *təkólt heš ēštún dħa-təkhēn ‘amkásš, sēn. yəbgód še ‘ak fégər ešbəhí, d-‘əd yə də-šéf, fínísən sen əl təgádən.*
- 23 *yəbgód. yəfǝk ‘atələl bə-yfǝk xátǝk dífǝr. bə-yəthún hūm bə-ytǝl enúfš bə-hūm. bə-yəbgód yənbél‘átən tel emíh.*
- 24 *yǝka‘ šəntáš lxín erés. yənbél‘átən ‘ak dīhūn erémž ergəréj, dǝhūn ħási. bə-ykín tǝlé enúfš bə-ħási bə-šxəlét bə-xátǝk ‘aǝl.*
- 25 *ħakt ε-sén (t)zhǝn, yǝ‘ōr hēsən aǝyǝg dǝ-ħágǝr əb, ε-ǝér še əb, “ber fíníkən gǝyǝg məxlék lóhūn, mišérd, d-égəh ‘áǝb yəštík.”*
- 26 *təbgódən. hel zəħám təsǝkfən tǝláš. təsfǝfən ‘írǝš, bə-təžhókən leš. təžhókən leš, tədxǝšənəš əm-bóh b-əm-bóh, bə-šé šérék enúfš ‘igém lejtǝkūn, b-əl yəhérg šésən sé l. yəħaðnín désən, b-əl yəhérg sé l.*

21 *her ešxárét*: Ali transcribed here *he-šxárét*, as did Johnstone. The final *r* definitely is hard to hear on the audio, since the word *her* is spoken very quickly. In line 92, the phrase *her su‘ún* is likewise pronounced something like *he-su‘ún*, and neither Ali nor Johnstone transcribed the *r*. In both cases, I am inclined to interpret this just as a rapid pronunciation, and not suggest a real preposition *h-* in this dialect (as we find in Mehri, for example). Still, it is possible, and a reduced form *h-* is used in certain idioms (e.g., *h-íné*) and with pronominal suffixes. Another example is found in TJ5:10.

21 *təšxiór*: The expected 3fs imperfect of *šxəbér* is *təšxiór* (< **təšxébor*), which is what both mss have here. On the audio, it sounds closer to *təšxír*. The sequence *íor* is heard more clearly in line 81. (The 2mp is normally *təšxír* < **təšxéber*; cf. 3mp *yəšxír* in 12:7 and 18:7.)

22 *fégər ešbəhí*: The adjective *ešbəhí* ‘morning’ is not listed in *JL*, but the phrase appears in *ML* (s.v. *šbh*), where the Mehri equivalent is translated ‘at the end of the night’.

23 *‘atələl*: This word is glossed in the Roman ms as ‘torn clothes’. Informants recognized it.

- 19 And when they had swum, and had bathed, they would go and have lunch. They would spend the afternoon in the house. They would spend that day there. And in the evening, they would go home, every Friday.
- 20 And she, she had an Ethiopian servant-girl, who was just like an Arab, (but) the servant-girl was better than them.
- 21 He said to the old woman, "When they go out, ask about the plantation she will spend the day in." The old woman asked for him. She asked discreetly. She asked discreetly about when they would go out to the plantation they would spend the day in.
- 22 She told him the plantation they would spend the day in. He went in the early morning, while people were still sleeping, before they (the women) went.
- 23 He went. He put on torn clothes, and he put on bad clothes. And he ground charcoal and painted himself with the charcoal. And he went and rolled around by the water.
- 24 He put down his bag under his head. He rolled around in that hot sand, the soft soil, that sand. And he was painting himself with sand and filth, and (also) old clothes.
- 25 When they came, the man who was guarding the door, the one who was over the door, said to them, "Already before you (came) a poor fellow there, a crazy man, who entered wanting to drink."
- 26 They went. When they came in, they stayed by him. They stood around in front of him and made fun of him. They made fun of him, they poked him here and there, and he pretended he was mute, and didn't speak with them. He stared at them and didn't say anything.

-
- 23 *hūm*: *JL* (s.v. *hmm*) lists only *hūm* 'charcoal', but *ML* lists both *hāmūm* and *hāmūm* for Mehri 'charcoal'. So Jibbali *hūm* must be a variant of *hūm*, just as in Mehri.
- 23 *yānbél'ātān*: *JL* (s.v. *bl't*) lists the imperfect as *yānbél'ót*. NQ-Stems do not normally have a final *-ən* in the imperfect (at least according to various entries for NQ-Stems in *JL*), so the final *-ən* here is unexpected.
- 26 *təsfəfan*: *JL* (s.v. *sff*) glosses the verb *sef* only as 'line up; stitch', but in the Roman ms of this text, Johnstone added the gloss 'stand around s.o.'.
- 26 *īrōš*: Both mss have *īrōš*, though the audio sounds more like *īrāš*. An informant also preferred *īrōš*. This is the lone attestation of the preposition *īyōr* (§ 8.5).

- 27 *hel ézah meš, təbgódən tərḥázən. mən kun mən izók, tenúzʿan xaṭókéšən bə-tərōḥən ṭókūn fiṭʿéta. bə-sé təʾor her ežiréts, “fəki xatékiš!” bə-sé təfōk xatékéš.*
- 28 *hel ber šəǵsé, ber arḥáz, ber əktēž, təʾorən heš, “ǵadú! ‘ak téfás? ǵadú! šum nášan, bə-ǵadú, fše tōlén ‘ak ūt.”*
- 29 *yəʾor ṭənu b-ídéš, yəḥóžən b-ídéš. yəʾor, “le”. yəhérg l, dun bass yəʾor ṭənu b-ídéš.*
- 30 *təbgódən. hel kolʿeni zəḥám, təǵórən leš. təʾorən, “aǵatétí, ‘áǵən nəšné išérd, te nəžhók leš.” təǵórən tōláš.*
- 31 *ḥakt dḥa-tənfésən, təʾorən, “nášan, ənkél! ‘ak mun minén əl-ǵásərə tōlák?” yéqōf. yəhérg šésən sé l.*
- 32 *təʾorən, “ak bi hé?” yəʾor ṭənu b-ídéš. təʾor ḏik, “ak bi hé?” yəʾor ṭənu b-ídéš. hel iti tel ebrít ḏə-suṭún... tel ežirét ḏə-suṭún... ḏə-ǵabǵót, yəʾor ṭənu b-eréš.*
- 33 *yəʾor, “ak bes, ežirét.” təʾorən, “iné dḥa-(t)zémš?” təžhókən leš. ol ‘ak eklēšən šeš sé b-ol sé.*
- 34 *təʾorən, “iné dḥa-(t)zémš?” enkéfšántəḥ b-žǵát ‘ak azǵtəš ǵənehét. mid les. təʾorən, “heeee! yəbxósk óž, išérd, šeš díréhəm! tob ar šeš ǵənehét, išérd!”*
- 35 *təʾorən, “ak bi hé? ‘ak bi hé?” ḏen izók. yəʾor, “le’, ‘ak ar bə-ḏín.” lékən ol yəhérg sé l. yəʾor bass, “ak ar bə-ḏín.”*
- 36 *ʾorót her āaléts, “yol ‘aš tó? ‘aš tó l-ǵásərə tōláš?” ʾorót, “aǵisri tōláš! mišérd, iné dḥa-ýá mer hiš? aǵisri tōláš, káláš, bə-ḥákt ər də-šéf, ǵíḥ ‘ak ūt bə-šif, b-ifšəḥ beš. ed k-ḥášaf təžḥīm.”*

27 *hel*: Ali transcribed here *her*, as also in line 28, 32, 59, 62, and 72. This is yet another example of Ali transcribing according to his own dialect, whether intentional or not. Ali correctly transcribed *hel* in lines 6, 26, 30, 32, 59, and 62.

28 *šəǵsé*: The Roman ms has *šəǵzé* here, but I transcribe *šəǵsé* based on 60:45/46. See further in the comment to 60:45.

28 *əktēž*: I did not find this verb in any dictionary. Johnstone glossed it in the Roman ms as ‘prepare o.s., were ready’. I assume it is a T2-Stem of a root *kḥž* (perhaps cf. H *ekōž* ‘finish’) or *kḥž*.

30 *təǵórən*: This is the 3fp imperfect of the verb *ǵéré*. *JL* (s.v. *grv*) does not list ‘pass’ as a possible meaning, but compare the Mehri cognate *ǵarō* ‘go in front of, pass’. In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss ‘passing by’. One of the definitions in *JL* is ‘follow’, which may be the meaning intended here.

- 27 When they got tired of him, they went to bathe. As for them, they took off their clothes and bathed thus naked. But she said to her servant-girl, "Wear your clothes!" And she wore her clothes.
- 28 After they had washed, had bathed, had finished, they said to him, "Come on! Do you want to have lunch? Come on! It's midday now, come on, have lunch with us in the house."
- 29 He answered [lit. said] thus with his hands, he waved with his hands. He said, "No." He didn't speak, but he just said like this with his hands.
- 30 They went. When they came back in the evening, they passed by him. They said (to each other), "My sisters, let's see the crazy man, so we can make fun of him." They passed by him.
- 31 When they (were about to) go home, they said, "Now choose! Which [lit. who] of us do you want to spend the night with you?" He was silent. He didn't say anything to them.
- 32 They said, "Do you want me?" He answered [lit. said] thus with his hands. That one said, "Do you want me?" He answered thus with his hands. When it fell to the daughter of the sultan... to the servant-girl of the sultan... of the girl, he answered thus with his head.
- 33 He said, "I want her, the servant-girl." They said, "What will you give her?" They were making fun of him. They didn't think [lit. in their hearts] he had anything at all.
- 34 They said, "What will you give her?" He opened up the bag and grabbed a handful of coins. He handed (them) to her. They said, "Woow! God forgive you, the crazy man has money! He truly has coins, the crazy man!"
- 35 They said, "Do you want me? Do you want me?", those other ones. He said, "No, I only want this one." But he didn't speak. He only said (with his hands), "I only want this one."
- 36 She said to her mistress, "What do you want me (to do)? Do you want me to spend the night with him?" She said, "Spend the night with him! (He is) crazy, what will he do [lit. say] to you? Spend the night with him, allow him, and after he falls asleep, enter the house and go to sleep, and leave him. Then in the morning you'll come back."

34 *ĩšérd*: It is not clear whether *ĩšérd* is a vocative (and goes with the previous *yābxósk wǒ*), or simply a definite noun (and goes with the following *šéš díréhām*). Cf. the comment to 46:9.

36 *yol*: The Arabic ms has *ولعش يوه yoh ol 'aš* (with *ol 'aš* written as one word), but clearly this is a mistake for *yol 'aš*.

- 37 *aǰád yum énfēt, b-aǰsǝrét ežirét, b-ižók aǰád. ʾǝrót heš, “ǰadú, ǰadú ‘aḵ üt.” ʾǝr tǝnu b-ídés. tǝhérg šeš b-elitót beš bǝ-herǰót ed žǝḥót. ɔl dē lo yaśés lo.*
- 38 *aǰadót bǝ-fsǝḥót beš, bǝ-šǝfǝt ‘aḵ üt. bǝ-šé ‘aḵ ērǝgtǝš letǝḥün. ‘aḵ fǝǰǝr ešbǝḥ les še. aǰád. gǝhiüt ā‘aléts.*
- 39 *ʾǝrót, “ā‘alíti, mišérd, bǝ-ǰǝlǝb ɔl yaśés ši. bǝ-‘ǰǝn bass nǝḍbél eǰǝnehéts! ‘ǝš ta‘mór ‘ǝdǝn dǝa-nǝksés?” ʾǝrót, “yǝlla, d-‘ǝdǝn dǝa-nǝksés!”*
- 40 *aǰád. ed gǝm‘át ðik ǝnk‘ót, aǰád ‘aḵ mǝstún taḍ. bǝ-šé yašǝnzéž mes. tǝǰǝd ešxǝrét bǝ-(t)šǝnzéž heš.*
- 41 *ksés ber finísǝn ‘aḵ ērǝǰat. zǝḥám. ʾǝr, “wǝǝǝ, boh še! aǰéyǰ boh še!” žǝḥak leš. skǝf tǝlǝš šī(n), ǝm-mǝn ðírš, ʾǝrót hésǝn, “ǰadú. ǰadú nǝrḥáz. éfsǝḥǝn beš.”*
- 42 *rḥáz bǝ-ḥǝḵt ēr rḥáz, aǰad bǝ-fsé ínét. kǝl‘éni, ɔl-ḥǝlsǝn ðókün aǰtél leš. tǝʾǝr ðik, “ǰǝk bi l-ǰǝsǝre tǝlǝk?” tǝʾǝr ðik, “ak bi?” yaʾǝr tǝnu b-ídés, “le.”*
- 43 *íti ḍer ežirét. ʾǝr, “ēḥé.” aǰsǝrét tǝlǝš ežirét, a‘ǝšǝr xelf. šérek bes tǝḥün, mǝn yaǰád šes lo.*
- 44 *b-ɔl yahérg šes sé b-ɔl sé ed k-ḥǝšǝf. k-ḥǝšǝf gǝḥém ešxǝrét. aǰád k-ḥǝšǝf. bǝ-sé gǝhiüt ā‘aléts.*
- 45 *ed šḥalét, eǰǝm‘át ðik šḥalét, zǝḥám. hérǝǰ šeš ɔl-ḥǝlsǝn ðókun un. tšerǝkǝn tǝḥün. ǝnḵól ebrít ḍǝ-suḥún. ǝnḵól ebrít ḍǝ-suḥún.*
- 46 *ʾǝrót, “ǰadú!” šǝrkót heš ǰéḍ. ʾǝrót, “ǰadú!” ḍǝnu ar bǝr, ḍen yaḵóder heš dé lo. “ǰadú!” bǝ-ʾǝrót hésǝn, “asésǝn!” bǝ-ḥǝfšǝtsǝn fisá, ínét.*

37 *elitót*: This is the 3fs perfect of the D/L-Stem *elúti* (root *lty*). The root and verb are not in *JL*. In the Roman ms, Johnstone gives the forms *elúti/ielútéⁿ/yelótǝ*, with the gloss ‘press s.o., urge’.

37 *dē*: This verb is not in *JL*, but in the Roman ms, Johnstone gives the forms *dé/ydé/ydé*, with the gloss ‘agree’. The forms agree with those of other II/III-w/y verbs (see § 7.4.15).

38 *les*: This is an Arabism, reflecting Arabic *laysa* ‘he is not’.

39 *nǝḍbél*: In *JL* (s.v. *ḍbl*), this G-Stem verb (3ms perfect *ḍǝl*) is glossed ‘go to and fro bringing part of a load on each occasion’. In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss ‘take bit by bit’, which is rather more pithy.

39 *ta‘mór*: See the comment to Tj2:68.

42 *ḥǝḵt ēr*: Ali transcribed here *ḥaš ēr*, as also in line 47. See also the comment to line 4.

- 37 They went back the first day. The servant-girl spent the night, and those (others) went back. She said to him, "Let's go, let's go into the house." He answered [lit. said] thus with his hands. She spoke with him and urged him, and spoke until she got fed up. He didn't agree to "get up".
- 38 She went and left him, and went to sleep in the house. And he (slept) in his dirt like that. At dawn he disappeared. He left. She went to her mistress.
- 39 She said, "My lady, (he is) crazy, and he refused to "get up" for [lit. with] me. Let's just take his coins! Do you think [lit. say] maybe we can find him again?" She said, "Come on, we'll find him again!"
- 40 They went. Then that next week, they went into a certain plantation. And he asked discreetly about her. The old woman went and asked discreetly for him.
- 41 They found him already (there) before them in the dirt. They came in. They said, "Ohhh, he's here! The man is here!" They made fun of him. They stayed by him a little while, and afterwards, she said to them, "Let's go. Let's go bathe. Leave him."
- 42 They bathed, and after they had bathed, the women went and had lunch. In the evening, at that same time, they gathered around him. This one said, "Do you want me to spend the night with you?" And that one said, "Do you want me?" He just said with his hands, "No."
- 43 It fell to the servant-girl. He said, "Yes." She spent the night with him, the second night. He did with her as before [lit. like that], without sleeping [lit. going] with her.
- 44 And he didn't say [lit. speak] anything at all to [lit. with] her until morning. In the morning the old woman came. They left in the morning. And she went to her mistress.
- 45 Then (on) the third one, that third Friday [or: week], they came. They spoke with him at that same time, that is, they did the same. He chose the daughter of the sultan. He chose the daughter of the sultan.
- 46 She said, "Let's go!" She feigned [lit. made] anger at him. She said, "Let's go!" This guy was indeed a con-man, no one could get the better of him. "Let's go!" And she said to them, "Get up!" And she quickly collected them, the women.

46 *yəkǝder heš*. We expect *leš* here, since the normal idiom is *ǝdǝr l-* (e.g., 15:10; 60:10). The audio is impossible to make out for certain here, but Ali transcribed *heš*.

- 47 *aǧád. bə-ħákt ər ínét kə-ṭit ‘aḵ ūtəs, ǝrót her ežirét, “he dħa-l-ǝrrəd...”*
 48 *šef ǝrót, “íné dħa-(t)zē-tə?” ħfun les b-aħfunéš ǧənehét mən ‘aḵ*
ħanitéš... mən ‘aḵ šántəš.
 49 *ǝrót hēsən, “ənfēt, ǧadú!” bə-šəhirsótš. b-aǧadót. ħaḵt ərót se b-ežiréts*
k-ənfəf, ǝrót, “he dħa-l-ǝrrəd leš.”
 50 *ǝrót, “ǝd yəǝr ħiš sé bə-fló sé?” ǝrót, “barr. ténúǧəh k-ħáṣaf bə-d-ǝd ‘aḵ*
ənzélš. dun ħaḵt ɛ-zħámk, əkósš ber heg egdarét. ɔl əkósš elóhün lə.”
 51 *ǝrót, “hes-tó!” ǝrót, “hit tükən d-ǝtkəǝš. bə-ħákt ɛ-zħámk, ftéh li.” ǝrót*
hes, “zəhíl!”
 52 *aǧadót. aǧadót mən lóhün ed tənkáš. ksəts d-ǝd b-ənzélš. ǝrót heš,*
“ǧadú! ǧadú ‘aḵ ūt.” ǝr hes b-ídš ténu. ɔl dē ya‘šés šes lə.
 53 *aǧadót se. aǧadót b-ənǧəfót ħánúfs ǝ-əbḵí‘ hes sé elóhün, kirféye ténu*
bə-šəfót ǧirs. b-ənḵiśót ešéréd ǧer enúfs.
 54 *šef še keb ‘aḵ emih bə-rħáz. bə-ħákt ər antéǝéf, ber rħáz, féké xatəḵéš*
bə-zħám. zəħam mən lóhün.
 55 *ətəla‘ fénús. təhsés teṭ bə-fénús, ħaḵt etíl‘əš aǧéyǧ, etkə‘ót, eǝhét beš.*
aǧadót təǧǧír. ǝr, “ħišḵiś! ɔl (t)ǧǧír b-ɔl thúǧ sé!”

-
- 47 *ūtəs*: Ali transcribed *ūtés*, which is incorrect. On the audio, the speaker did put some stress on the second syllable, but this was just simply part of the cadence of the story.
- 48 *ħanitéš*: The word *ħanít* is used as a place-holder, like English “what’s it called” or “whatchamacallit” (*JL*, s.v. *ħnv*).
- 49 *šəhirsótš*: I did not find this verb (*šəhérəs*, the Š2-Stem of the root *hrs*) in *JL* or *ML*, but Johnstone added the gloss ‘nagged him (told him off)’ (along with the Mehri equivalent *ǧəlūs*) in the Roman ms. This verb is used also in 53:4.
- 49 *ħaḵt ərót*: See the comment to line 3.
- 50 *heg*: This verb, meaning ‘wander around aimlessly’ is not in *JL*, but informants recognized it. It occurs again in line 58, where Johnstone added the gloss ‘I was distracted’ in the Roman ms.
- 51 *d-ǝtkəǝš*: Ali transcribed *ǝ-ǝtkəǝš*, but the audio has *d-ǝtkəǝš*.
- 53 *kirféye*: I have translated this word as ‘bed’ (as Johnstone glossed in the Roman ms), since it is more recognizable than the more accurate translation ‘charpoy’. Both ‘charpoy’ and *kirféye* ultimately derive from a Persian or Hindi-Urdu word meaning ‘four-legged’. The word is known in a variety of forms throughout Omani and Gulf Arabic dialects.

- 47 They went. And when each of the women was in her house, she said to the servant-girl, "I will go back..."
- 48 [going back a bit in the story] Actually she said [to him], "What will you give me?" He scooped up for her in his cupped hands coins from his whatchamacallit... his bag.
- 49 She said to them first, "Let's go!" And she told him off. She went. When she and her servant-girl were by [lit. with] themselves, she said, "I will go back to him."
- 50 She (the mistress) said, "Does he do [lit. say] anything at all to you?" She (the servant) said, "Not at all. Morning came and he was still in his place. But when I came out, I found him already wandering the land. I didn't find him there."
- 51 She said, "Ok!" She (the mistress) said, "You should stay awake, and when I come back, open up for me." She (the servant-girl) said, "Rest assured!"
- 52 She went. She went from there until she came to him. She found him still in his place. She said to him, "Let's go! Let's go into the house." He answered [lit. said] with his hand. He didn't agree to "get up" with her.
- 53 She went away. She went and spread out for herself that which was placed for her there, a sort of bed, and she went to sleep on it. And she turned down the lamp over her.
- 54 As it happened, he went down to the water and bathed. And when he had gotten clean, had bathed, he put on his (good) clothes and came back. He came back from there.
- 55 He put up a lantern. The woman noticed the lantern. When the man put it up, she looked up, she noticed it. She went to scream. He said, "Don't be afraid! Don't scream and don't say anything."

55 *fénús*: This word is not in *JL*, but it is simply a borrowing of Arabic *fānūs* 'lantern', itself borrowed from Greek *phanós*. *HV* (p. 61) lists Hobyot and Mehri *faynōs* 'kerosene lamp'.

55 *hiškīs*: In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss 'don't be afraid'. It is an exclamation only. One says *hiškik* to a man, and *hiškókum* to a group.

- 56 ‘*ōrót*, “*het mūn?*” *ōr*, “*he agéyḡ ḏōhūn išérd ε-təžhókən leš.*” *ōrót*, “*mən hūn zəhámk b-íné še estíkdək?*” *kólót hes. kólót hes.*
- 57 *ōr*, “*he ténu bə-ḥólti ténu.*” *bə-kólót hes b-enúfš, b-erž ε-zhám meš, b-estíkdəs énfī.* *ōr*, “*šəḏmúrk meš bə-ḥéli hīni təš, b-ənkəbródk l-aḡaró ε-yó.*
- 58 *bass kélít hīni biš təhlóʿ, bə-héggək. fsáħk b-aʿéli. ol šóhūm dé mən dúni he, ī b-émí.*”
- 59 *ōrót*, “*he nášanu... yól fékər? het, hel sínik ī bə-fəló édaʿ bek bun, dhə-yó(l)tḡək.*” *ōr*, “*bə-rīš. ʿod əl-hés ʿágiš šírk.*” *ōrót*, “*ḡadú mən munúii əm-mún xatíki.*”
- 60 *ebḡahótš ʿaḡ xátíks mən ḡákél, b-aḡadót beš. bə-təḡḡót. se, hes kéšər k-enúfš se. ʿəb təzhóm meš ar k-enúfš se. təfóth les ežirét.*
- 61 *dəkkót bə-ftəḡót les ežirét. ftəḡót les ežirét, bə-rfəʿót b-ebḡahótš ʿaḡ kéšər, bə-ḡəfólót l-enúf.*
- 62 *skəfó, še bə-sé, mən ḡəmʿát ed ḡəmʿát. təʿōr*, “*nášanu, he, hel ekšórk eyūm ε-ḡəmʿát, ḡə-yənkér tə eyó.*” *təḡəfəl leš ekéšər, bə-tšxánút k-ínét əl-ḡáls bass. mən ḡəmʿát ed ḡəmʿát təḡḡód k-ínét.*
- 63 *b-ol ekəšərót əl-estíkdəs lə ed yəksór ḡabl, ʿásirét troh írḡ, še bə-sé. b-ol yīs dun še l-atkíyəs bə-sé l-atkíyəs, kəḡ bə-təmḡil bə-ʿagób, se bə-šé. ḡabl, ʿásirét troh írḡ, bə-šé tólás.*

57 *ḡólti*: Ali’s transcription has *ḡóli*, but the audio has *ḡólti*. Both are probably acceptable. The word *ḡól* ‘condition’ (*JL*, s.v. *ḡwl*) is borrowed from the Arabic *ḡāl*. Arabic also has a synonym *ḡālat-*, and this should be the source of *ḡól*. The word *ḡól* is not listed in *JL*, but it is used also in AK1:3. Similarly, Mehri *ḡōlat*, used in M24:15, is not in *ML*, which lists only *ḡōl* (s.v. *ḡwl*).

57 *ḡéli*: This is probably an internal passive of the D/L-Stem *ḡúli* ‘give a description’, though the fact that it has a direct object *təš* is a bit odd. It could also possibly be a Gb-Stem. D/L-Stem internal passives are exceedingly rare in the texts. See further in § 6.2.

63 *əl-estíkdəs*: Ali transcribed *lə estíkdəs*, in which case the *lə* would be superfluous (reflecting an anticipation of the *lə* following *estíkdəs*), and the verb *ekəšərót* would take a direct object. The audio favors *əl-estíkdəs*.

- 56 She said, "Who are you?" He said, "I am that man, the crazy man that you all were making fun of." She said, "Where have you come from, and what is your plan?" He told her. He told her.
- 57 He said, "I am so-and-so, and my condition is thus." And he told her about himself, the land he came from, and his first plan. He said, "I heard a description of you, and it was described to me about you, and I went crazy from the people's words.
- 58 Just a description of you was told to me, and I wandered off. I left my parents. They have no one but me, my father and my mother."
- 59 She said, "Now I... What is the plan [lit. idea]? You, if my father sees you or finds out about you here, he will kill you." He said, "As you wish. Do as you want." She said, "Come on (in) between me and my dress."
- 60 She put him in her dress, inside, and went with him. And she knocked (on the door). She had a palace for [lit. with] herself. The door she came in from was only for herself. The servant-girl opened up for her.
- 61 She banged and the servant-girl opened up for her. The servant-girl opened up for her, and she went up and put him in the palace. And she locked herself in.
- 62 They stayed, he and she, from Friday to (the next) Friday. She said, "Now I, if I fall short (of my routine) on Friday, the people will catch on to me." She locked him in the palace, and she went out with the women at her same time. Every Friday she went out with the women.
- 63 And she didn't fall short of her plans until they had spent a year, twelve months, he and she. And they didn't touch, except he on his lying-place and she on her lying-place, (with) talking and chatting about love, he and she, for a year, twelve months, and he was with her.

63 *yəksór*: This is the 3mp subjunctive of the G-Stem *ksər* (cf. line 64). In *JL* (s.v. *ksr*), this verb is defined only as 'overcome, get the upper hand of'; but here (and in line 63) it must mean 'pass (time)'. In the Roman ms, Johnstone seems to have suggested a connection with Mehri *kəḏawr* (cognate with Jibbali *kəḏór*), which can mean 'pass (time)', and indeed the two roots are suspiciously close.

63 *ətkiyəš*: This word, which is not in *JL*, is clearly derived from the verb *tké* 'lie down' (used in line 64). In the Roman ms, Johnstone glossed the phrase as 'his leaning-place'. The exact meaning of the word is not clear, but the sense certainly is.

63 *təmtíl*: Though not in *JL*, this word is clearly connected to the verb *ūtəl* 'tell'. It probably derives from Arabic *tamtíl* 'performance; description'.

- 64 *ed izé ε-ksór habl, šef ššfō kə-ṭad ǰer ā‘amdóts, kə-ṭad ǰer ā‘amdóts də-tké. bə-šéf gérhum a‘ántóhum leṭókūn. bə-hunúd bə-šéf.*
- 65 *ḥakt ε-k-ḥásaf, yaǧhúm aǧǧór ‘igém ḏə-suṭún. ḥers ‘od les a‘ásər ḏóhun. ketk tš kériḇ ‘od les. bə-fōttəḥ ḏb. yaḏóḥa b-aǧéyǧ l-ətkíyə də-tké bə-d-šéf leṭóhūn.*
- 66 *məḵóṭ ǰrəm, ša‘é ε-yəšól tel suṭún ‘aḵ ērzét. ‘ör, “ebrítəḵ, tólás ǧeyǧ, də-šéf tólás.” ‘ör, “búdəḵ!” ‘ör, “məḥəzzót erḵəbėti her əl tólás ǧeyǧ.”*
- 67 *a‘rér šeš troḥ. ‘ör, “ǧod!” yaǧǧéd. ḥakt ε-zḥám, yəksés, bə-d-‘od əḏ-ššfō, še bə-sé. a‘áséshum.*
- 68 *ḥakt etḵá, eḏhé b-aǧág ḏ-ēr ššr ḏírhum. edür aǧág, ‘ör, “késén tóhum...” izók skəf bə-tád edür, ‘ör, “késén tólás ǧeyǧ.”*
- 69 *‘ör, “ənká‘ bes, se bə-šé.” zəḥám bóhum ed ‘aḵ ērzét. šxəbírás. šxəbírás. ‘ör, “het mən hun zəḥámḵ?” še ‘aǧəḇ əl-ḥəzóz ‘ar aǧəǧót, yékən aǧálét ar meš še.*
- 70 *b-aǧəǧót ‘aǧiót əl-ḥəzóz ‘ar embére’, tékən ar se. aǧədót heš bə-sé ḏ-əǧǧəḥótš. šəǧéhíd. embére’ ‘ör, “he réfa‘k les bə-zḥámḵ tš. b-ənkəbródk sérés b-éǧəḥḵ les.”*
- 71 *tə‘ör se, “béde. he hérótk, bə-ǧōrəḵ tš, bə-žētəḵ tš, b-əǧǧəḥḵ tš bə-ǧáṣəḇ tólí.” əšǧéhíd. əl-‘od éda‘ eḥūn l, aǧəǧót iyéns mən embére’ iyéns.*

-
- 64 *izé*: In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss ‘night; occasion of the night’, a meaning confirmed by an informant. This is a borrowing, or perhaps a cognate, of Arabic *‘išā’* ‘evening; nighttime prayer’, though the consonant correspondence is a bit irregular; we would expect retention of the ‘ and voiceless *s* in place of *z*.
- 64 *tké*: This verb, meaning ‘lie down’ is not in *JL*, but informants recognized it. Informants used the 1cs perfect *tkék* (or *tkék*) and 1cs future *a-l-étke*, suggesting that this is an H-Stem.
- 65 *ketk*: Ali transcribed here *əthúmk* in place of *ketk*. In his own texts, Ali never used *ketk* (on which see §12.5.12), but used *əthúmk* a number of times.
- 66 *ε-yəšól*: This is from *ed yəšól*, and the *d* is simply lost in fast speech.
- 69 *ed*: The audio here actually sounds like *ed tē*, and Ali’s Arabic transcription has *ءت*. We might compare the preposition *at-tē* used in the Mehri spoken in the southeastern corner of Yemen (Watson 2012: 114; see also Rubin 2011: 77). The Roman ms has *ta ‘aḵ*.

- 64 Then the night that they had passed a year, it happened that they each fell asleep on his pillow, each one lying on his pillow. It happened that their eyes had pulled them like this, and they got drowsy and fell asleep.
- 65 When it was morning, a mute slave of the sultan came. She still had a guard that night. I think that night he was still close to her. And the door opened. He noticed that man lying and sleeping thus.
- 66 He dashed off, he ran until he reached the sultan in his *majlis*. He said, "Your daughter, there is a man by her, sleeping by her." He said, "You lied!" He said, "May my neck be an offering, if a man is not by her."
- 67 He sent two (men) with him. He said, "Go!" They went. When they came, they found him, and they were still sleeping, he and she. They woke them.
- 68 When they looked up, they noticed the men already standing over them. The men went back, they said, "We found them..." [changing the story] They stayed, and one went back, he said, "We found a man by her."
- 69 He said, "Bring her, her and him." They brought them into the *majlis*. He questioned her. He questioned him. He said, "Where did you come from?" He wanted to be killed instead of the girl, (wanted) the fault to be only with him.
- 70 And the girl wanted to be killed instead of the boy, (wanted) it to be only her. She went to him and she was the one who brought him in. They contradicted one another. The boy said, "I went up to her and came to her. I was crazy about her and went to her."
- 71 She said, "He lied. I went down and met him, and took him, and brought him in by me by force." They contradicted one another. And he didn't know which one (he believed), (if) the girl was telling the truth or the boy was telling the truth.

71 *ǧásəb*: In the Roman ms, Johnstone glossed this as 'force'. It is not in *JL*, but several related words appear (s.v. *ǧšb*). The same word is used in Mehri text 70:5, and is likewise missing from *ML*. Both are borrowed from Arabic *ǧasb* 'force'.

71 *əhūn*: In the Roman ms, Johnstone transcribed *əhūn* and added the gloss 'which of them', and the same word is used in TJ2:100. See § 11.10.

- 72 ‘*ör*, “*ħəzózħum kel. źbéħum kel bə-‘adúmhum. ħəzózħum.*” *bə-də-kéla’ mənħúm hel dé ðə-sérék gálét giráym bə-fló sé, yəħzízħum ízókūn ‘ak... šóħum but tit məšǵorót. yəžēt bə-yédé ed tólóħum.*
- 73 *bə-ħákt ε-zħám tólóħum, ‘ör izénun mīn ε-selébtənət, izénun b-izénun milké, “nəħzézħum?” kéréħum. ol hézħum l. b-εbgáħħum ‘ak ħagrét ð-ol yásúns dé l. bə-ǵóǵl les.*
- 74 *ǵóǵl lóħum elókūn b-ǵád tel suṭún. ‘ör, “ber hézzən tóħum.” ‘ör, “bókum hézkum tóħum?” ‘ör, “ber hézzən tóħum. kél’ leṭókun.”*
- 75 *šəfšəxənít ǵaró mən lóħūn ed yəǵól tel ī embéře’, d-erǵ embéře’. ī embéře’ šəšfé əð-šə ebréš kun leš ket ma ket. bə-kún leš řénun, b-a’dím. a’diš suṭún ðə-ħád əl-fəláni ðókūn, mən tél erǵ ðókūn.*
- 76 *ǵorób, ‘ör... a’ré, ‘ör l-εǵéšš... l-εǵyúšéš kel... er ‘itš kels yəħǵúm d-εširét ðə-suṭún ðək. yəšəšəfe eyó b’él εširét mən tél embéře’ un, mən tél un ī εǵabǵót.*
- 77 *‘ör, “šəf ðókūn embéře’ a’adím fənémšín bre ð-suṭún, bə-šəšfé məš īs. bə-ǵúm dħa-yənká’ bə-dħa-yəhéřər εširét. dħa-yəhéřəm d-εširét.”*

-
- 72 *giráym*: This looks similar to the form *gérém* ‘crimes’ listed in *JL* (s.v. *grm*), but more likely it is a reflection of Arabic *jarā’im* ‘crimes’ or another form of this root.
- 72 *yédé*: In the Roman ms, Johnstone defines this as ‘take’. He also lists the forms *ídí/yédé/yédé*, as well as the Mehri (semantic) equivalent *ħəwšawl* ‘take s.o. somewhere’. This must be a G-Stem of the root *wdy*. Though the root *wdy* is not listed in *JL*, we can compare Mehri D/L *awōdi* and Ḥarsusi *awēd* ‘take away’. Both *ML* and *HL* (s.v. *wdy*) also cite a Jibbali cognate *ōdi* (*ML* specifies EJ).
- 74 *ber hézzən*: For whatever reason, the auxiliary is not conjugated here (twice). We expect *bérən hézzən*. Likewise in line 81.
- 74 *bókum*: See the comment to text 60:3.
- 75 *ket ma ket*: This is Dhofari Arabic *kēt ma kēt*, meaning ‘such-and-such’, corresponding to the expression *kēt wa-kēt* used in other Arabic dialects (e.g., Gulf, Yemeni, and Iraqi).
- 75 *a’dím*: This looks like an H-Stem internal passive of an active *a’dím* ‘execute’ (also in lines 77 and 89). *JL* (s.v. *dm*) lists only a G-Stem *‘ódúm* (which would be EJ *‘ádúm*) and G passive *‘ídím*. The G passive is found in TJ4:87. Arabic has a C-Stem *‘adama*, so the use of the root in the H-Stem in Jibbali is not surprising. The form that I have transcribed *a’diš* in this line could be either an H-Stem active *a’diš*, or a G-Stem active *adīš*.

- 72 He said, "Kill them both [lit. all]. Take them and execute them. Kill them!" If there is someone who has committed a wrongdoing, a crime or something, they kill them in... they have a certain other house. They seized (them) and took (them) away to them (the other criminals).
- 73 And when they came to them, they, sons of the sultans, and they were good men [lit. kings], they said, "Should we kill them?" They hid them. They didn't kill them. And they put them in a room that no one could find [lit. see]. They locked it.
- 74 They locked them in there and went to the sultan. They said, "We've already killed them." He said, "Have you already killed them?" They said, "We've already killed them. They were left like that."
- 75 It so happened that word came out from there, and [lit. until] it reached the boy's father, the boy's country. The boy's father found out that such and such happened to his son. It happened thus and he was executed. The sultan of that place such-and-such had executed him, in that country.
- 76 He declared... He sent... He said his army... all his armies, all his subjects should attack the town of that sultan. The people, the inhabitants of the town where the boy was, where the girl's father was, heard the news.
- 77 They said, "It turns out that the boy who was executed the day before last was the son of a sultan, and his father has heard about it. And a raiding-party will come and destroy the town. They will attack the town."

76 *ḏorób*: According to an informant, this verb means 'declare', but it is possible that he understood the verb only from context. It is not in *JL*.

76 *egéšš*: See the comment to T]3:4.

76 *er'ítš*: In *JL* (s.v. *r'w*), the word *ré'it* is given only the meaning 'female herd', but the Arabic source (*ra'iyat*- 'herd') can also mean 'subjects, citizens'.

77 *yahétar*: Johnstone transcribed *yahétar* in the Roman ms, while Ali transcribed *yahétar* in the Arabic ms. I did not find this verb in *JL*, but in the Roman ms Johnstone added the gloss 'destroy', along with the 3ms perfect *ḥotór*. Given forms like Iraqi Arabic *hiṭar* 'beat, thrash', I assume that the Jibbali verb has *h*.

- 78 *yašū' yā dā-ygōri 'ak ēgās, "se eyúm ēšgōrōt k-hāsaf dha-yahgúm ekúm dā-būn. egēs dha-yahgúm d-eširēt." aǵád.*
- 79 *aǵád tel izókūn aǵág. 'ōr hóhum, "ǵad tel suṭún bā-'amér heš, 'he ǵ hizk eršót l. eršót šahét."*
- 80 *'ōr, "dha-yahíz tō." 'ōr, "ǵ dha-yhíz l. ǵad bā-'amér heš." aǵád. šef ar suṭún a'rér her izóhūn ḏā-yahzíz, ḥazzézún. a'rér hóhum. 'ōr, "bókum hézkum tóhum, eršót?"*
- 81 *'ōr, "ber hézzan tóhum. het 'ōk hēn, 'hazózhum!", ab-bér hézzan tóhum." ya'rér leš bā-yāšxiōrš. ǵ-'ōd éda' yoh yašérk l.*
- 82 *zāhám ḏóhūn ḥazzézí ed tél eršót. 'ōr, "he aǵéyg ehúlk tō, b-aǵéyg ya'árér híni ezfōr kel. bā-yól 'ak tō l-'amer heš?"*
- 83 *'ōr, "amér heš, 'd-ǵd šahét. ǵ hizk tóhum l." aǵád, yaǵólb leš egōb. bā-'ōr, "eršót šahét." 'ōr, "šahét?" 'ōr, "ēhē."*
- 84 *'ōr, "ndoh, anká' bóhum. anká' tō bóhum." 'ōr, "nášanu hit giḥ, giḥ 'ak ekēšar e-iš, bā-hé dha-l-ǵád al-gēr ī."*
- 85 *embére' šxanít yaǵēr egēs. b-aǵabgót ref'ót yal is 'ak ekēšar b-šōé. b-embére' aǵád. ḥakt e-zhám, ōsam enúfš.*
- 86 *ḥakt e-zhám ber kel d-egalfét kel l-eširēt, b-'ōd ǵ lōd l. d-'ōd leṭšhūn ešal egēs. zāhám, ōsam enúfš.*
- 87 *'ōr, "he bār eḏí-ilín, ēr eḏí-ilín." 'ōr, "het ǵ idík lō? šahí?" 'ōr, "he šahí. hūṭun ī?" aǵád mən lókūn. 'ōr, "ik boh še. 'ak ḏen še, egēs."*
- 88 *zāhám, bā-hákt e-zhám tel iš, kolót b-enúfš. 'ōr, "he šahí." 'ōr, "ber tēlíg hek a'idém?" 'ōr, "ber tēlíg híni a'idém."*

79 *hóhum*: Though the line begins 'they went to those men' and 'they said to them', the story requires that the addressee be one person. The following imperative forms *ǵad* and *'amér* are singular, and the speakers asked the addressee to say 'I didn't kill'. And the response in line 80 comes from one person. This line and the next few lines are a bit confused.

82 *ehúlk*: *JL* (s.v. *hlk*) defines this D/L-Stem verb only as 'annihilate'. In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss 'torment, &c.'. The meaning here (as also in line 91) clearly implies some sort of pressure or distress.

85 *b-šōé*: According to informants, this is equivalent to *haḏé* 'above, upstairs' (*JL*, s.v. *hḏ*). See also the comment to 51:5.

86 *d-egalfét*: In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss 'had surrounded'. The verb (the prefix *d-* and the context make it clear that this is a verb) is not in *JL*.

- 78 They heard people passing in the streets (saying), "The next day in the morning the raiding-party will attack here. The army will attack the town." They went.
- 79 They went to those men. They said them [or: to him], "Go to the sultan (the girl's father) and say to him, 'I didn't kill the children. The children are alive.'"
- 80 He said, "He will kill me!" He said, "He won't kill you. Go, tell him." He went. It so happened that the sultan sent for those men who do the killing [lit. who kill], the killers. He sent for them. He said, "Have you already killed the children?"
- 81 They said, "We already killed them. You said to us, 'Kill them!', and we already killed them." He sent for him and asked him. He didn't know at all what to do.
- 82 That killer came to the children. He said, "I am the man he has distressed, and the man sends for me always. What do you want me to tell him?"
- 83 He said, "Tell him, 'They are still alive. I didn't kill them.'" He went and gave him the reply. And he said, "The children are alive." He said, "Alive?" He said, "Yes."
- 84 He said, "Come on and bring them. Bring them to me." He (the boy) said (to the girl), "Now you go in, go into your father's castle, and I will go meet my father."
- 85 The boy went out to meet the army. And the girl went up to her father in the castle upstairs. And the boy went. When he came, he identified himself.
- 86 When he came, they all had surrounded the town. but they had not yet fired. While they were like that, he reached the army. He came and identified himself.
- 87 He said, "I am the son of so-and-so, the son of so-and-so." They said, "You weren't executed? (You're) alive?" He said, "I am alive. Where is my father?" They went from there. They said, "Your father is here. In this (group), the army."
- 88 He came, and when he came to his father, he told (him) about himself. He said, "I am alive." He said, "Was the execution mentioned to you?" He said, "The execution was mentioned to me."

88 *a'idém*: This word is not in *JL*, though it is obviously connected with the verbs *'adüm* and *a'dím* 'execute' (see the comment to TJ4:75). It undoubtedly a borrowing of Arabic *i'dām* 'execution'.

- 89 ‘ōr, “*bek a’dímk. ʔtlak des ʃōt.*” *yāḏtēlən hóhum bə-ṭalób iš*, “*he ʃəhí b-əl bi sé. b-əl wégab l.*” *šínúš iš*. ‘ōr, “*yəl ‘ak?*” ‘ōr, “*ε ī, ‘ak bass l-ʔšfək b-əgəbgót.*”
- 90 ‘ōr, “*ak bass tʔšfək b-əgəbgót.*” ‘ōr, “*ak bass l-ʔšfək b-əgəbgót.*” ‘ōr, “*bə-hét ber šérék bek tēnu əb-bés tēnu, bə-d-‘śdən nitnēzil bass naǵád tel is nəšénṭe bes?*”
- 91 ‘ōr, “*ēhē, ε ī, ‘ak bes. bə-hé bek húlkk enúfi. bek tə‘ábk, bek əntəkólk əl-siēs, bə-‘ák l-ʔšfək bes.*” ‘ōr, “*hes-tó!*”
- 92 *edūr embére’ mən lóhūn, bə-ḵalób egōb d-εširét, bə-kalót her suṭún. bə-zhám ī eǵəbgót, suṭún, bə-zhám šeš er-‘itš. bə-ǵótbər aǵág, eḵmúm, ǵótbər fáxrə.*
- 93 *bə-xnúṭ ‘əd lóhum, kəl in ‘ágəb hóhum mən šúǵal bə-həsmét. bə-šənté ī embére’ d-ī eǵəbgót. ešfikáš. ešfikáš, bə-séd l-εšfəkət.*
- 94 ‘ōr, “*lékən d-‘ək ‘ak bə-tít,*” *ḏen embére’.* ‘ōr, “*íné?*” ‘ōr, “*he bek skɔfk tólás ‘ásirét troh ír x ‘ak eḵéšər, ḥabl, bə-hé tólás b-əl ʔgaḥ les l.*”
- 95 *ar ber šhed bes šō ‘ínét əḏ-sé axá... əl-hés kúnut, ḏə-kunút ǵəžét, b-əl-hés kunút. (t)šhódən bes ‘ak eǵéš érzi he bə-‘ák eǵéš erz ε-īs. mən ḏér ‘ásirét troh ír x ḏə-bék skɔfk tólás.*”
- 96 *šhed bes. aǵád ínét bə-kšǔf les. šhed bes šō ‘ínét. ar ǵəžét əl-hés takín ǵəžét. šfək b-egré enúfš. bə-šfək bə-žēt titš. bə-timmút. ḏínu se kéltót.*

90 *nitnēzil*: This is an Arabic 1cp imperfect from the verb *tanāzala* ‘stoop, condescend’.

92 *her suṭún*: See the comment to line 21.

95 *axá*: This word is not listed in *JL*, but is no doubt equivalent to the rather rare Mehri word *xā* ‘like’. On the audio, after *axá* the speaker stumbled and paused, so it seems that he meant for the following *əl-hés* to replace *axá*, rather than for the two words to be used together. See also the comment to Tj2:65.

- 89 He said, "You have already been executed [i.e., it is as if you had been executed]. Open fire on it (the town)!" He protected them and requested of his father, "I am alive and have nothing (no injuries). It is not necessary [or: appropriate]." His father obeyed him. He said, "What do you want?" He said, "Father, I only want to marry the girl."
- 90 He said, "You only want to marry the girl?" He said, "I only want to marry the girl." He said, "And you, they did thus to you, and thus to her, and we should still lower ourselves to go to her father to ask for her hand?"
- 91 He said, "Yes father, I love [or: want] her. I've tormented myself, I've become weary, and I've had a rough time because of her, and I want to marry her." He said, "Ok!"
- 92 The boy returned from there, and he gave [lit. returned] the answer to the town, and they told the sultan. And the girl's father came, the sultan, and his subjects came with him. And the men met. The parties met together.
- 93 And they brought them all they wanted in terms of things and respect. And the boy's father asked the girl's father for her hand in marriage (for his son). He gave him his daughter's hand. He gave him his daughter's hand, and they agreed (on terms) for the marriage.
- 94 He, this boy said, "I want one more (thing)." He said, "What?" He said, "I stayed with her for twelve months in the castle, a year. I was with her, but I didn't sleep with [lit. go into] her."
- 95 Seven women have borne witness that she is like she was, that she was a virgin, and like she was. They bear witness to her in the army of my own country and in the army of the country of her father. After twelve months that I have stayed with her."
- 96 They bore witness to her. The women went and examined her. The seven women bore witness to her. (She was) indeed a virgin like a virgin should be. He married and moved on. And he married and took his wife. It is finished. This is the story.

Text Tj5: Meḥaysen (no M)

- 1 Ali: *ĩtəl len (ũn) bə-kélt a'ayún izók. kəlíc tun nəǵfél šũn.*
- 2 Woman: *ákum tɔ l-óklet hókum bə-mḥáysən?*
- 3 Ali: *ēhē, kəlít hen bə-kéltót e-mḥáysən.*
- 4 Woman: *ḏénu mḥáysən, šeš aǵóhéš troh, b-émésš. mən kun mən troh izók, šfók.*
- 5 *bə-šé őr, "ɔl ašók lɔ mən d-ʿot émi šəhét."*
- 6 *kun k-émésš. b-izók troh šfók, bə-kɔ-tát ʿak šaʿb ʿak iyélóhum. ed xaṭarét tit, rəddó še b-émésš ǵer ēḥási.*
- 7 *ḥakt ər də-yšók iyél, eḏhé b-axšúm ekbél, axšómésš. yəšəl lɔtəǵ. eḏhét bóhum teṭ.*
- 8 *őrót, "šink ǵaǵ d-ekbél, bə-hūrək bóhum. búbne ébrí, ken lə-háḏér! ʿasés mən ʿak ēḥási!"*
- 9 *ɔl-ʿɔd yəkólb les ǵɔb lɔ. ihəbhéb bass, yəšók iyél. b-aǵáǵ kerb də-rədəf, kɔl troh də-rədəf ǵer yət tit.*
- 10 *bə-šé šeš məndík bāl ftílt. ber əd-šhíníš bə-d-ekkaʿáš tóláš. se tōhór, bə-šé ɔl-ʿɔd yəhéǵ šes lɔ. ihəbhéb bass h-iyél bə-yšók. b-aǵáǵ kerb.*

1 *ĩtəl*: This D/L-Stem fs imperative form, along with the fs imperative *kəlít* in line 3, confirm that the other speaker is indeed a woman.

1 *ũn*: Ali transcribed this in the Arabic ms, but it is not audible on the audio.

1 *kəlíc*: Ali transcribed *kəlíc* in the Arabic ms, which is the correct fs imperative, but on the audio he used the ms form *kəláʿ*.

10 *h-iyél*: See the comment to Tj4:21.

Translation of Text TJ5

- 1 Ali: Tell us a story of those years. Let us relax a while.
- 2 Woman: Do you want me to tell you about Mehaysen?
- 3 Ali: Yes, tell us the story of Mehaysen.
- 4 Woman: This Mehaysen, he had two brothers, and his mother. As for those two, they got married.
- 5 And he said, "I won't get married while [or: since] my mother is still alive."
- 6 He stayed with his mother. And those two got married, and each one was in the valley among their camels. Then one time, he and his mother went back to the well.
- 7 When they were watering the camels, they noticed enemies approaching, his enemies. They were demanding payment of a murder. The woman noticed them.
- 8 She said, "I saw men approaching, and I am afraid of them (that they will attack). Please, my son, be on guard! Get up from the well!"
- 9 He didn't give her any reply at all. He just sang to his camels and gave them drink. And the men got near, riding in file, each two (men) riding on one camel.
- 10 And he had a matchlock rifle. He had already loaded it and placed it by him. She called for help, and he hadn't spoken to her at all. He just sang to his camels and gave them drink. And the men got near.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

ADDITIONAL TEXTS

The first four sections in this chapter contain texts collected by me in 2012–2013, while the last two include short extracts from older published material.

16.1 *Texts from Ahmed Kashoob (AK)*

Texts AK1 and AK2 were recorded in October, 2012, in Columbia, South Carolina. Ahmed, a speaker of Central Jibbali, was, at the time, a 19-year-old university student. Texts AK3 and AK4 were recorded in June, 2013, in Melbourne, Florida. AK3 and AK4 are conversations made up between Ahmed and Musallam Qatan, a 20-year-old speaker of Central Jibbali. Material from other short texts provided by Ahmed (but not published here), as well as elicited material from both informants, are also cited in the grammar sections of this volume.



Ahmed Kashoob, June, 2013

Text AK1: Buying Camel-feed

- 1 *šher a-l-ókləṭ hókum bə-ḳəssət gérét li, he b-ī, gabl 'ónut ('ónut ε-térǫt). yum mən ěm ī héróg ši k-ḥáṣaf, bə-'ör hini, "áḥmad, 'ak tun nəǧád tel iyél."*
- 2 *'ók heš, "ēhē. a-nǧád tel iyél." mǧóre' hes bérən šin tǣnu, aǧádən enḳófən ḥáḏór ε-iyél. bə-nḥán kúnən də-skúnən bə-gerbéb. b-iyél, yum ḏúhün ḳéša', b-əl šésən ḳit l.*
- 3 *mǧóre' aǧádən he b-ī bass b-enḳófən... bə-xtórən də-ḥállét ənštém hésən 'álaf. hes bérən 'ak óram tǣnu, óḳəftun ǧeyg šeš krózə bə-də-yšxǫr tun ar óšét bə-də-yšxǫr tun ar ḥóltən, bə-də-yšxǫr ar iyél bə-wáḏ'a, bə-kēf əlhúti... b-iyél, l-á'mer hé.*
- 4 *mǧóre' bass kúlən óramən də-ḥállét. b-aǧádən tel edakkún ḏóhün ε-yásúm 'álaf. zǣṭən a-yékən mut gúni ḏə-'álaf, bə-ḥólən tósən d-íné šüš... də-səyérə ūm. šǣǧarən səyérə.*
- 5 *zün təš ḥa-yékən xardét her yəḥól tun d-ešḥér. tóhun šen səyérə ənšénút, b-əl ənḳódər nəḥmél 'amḳás l.*
- 6 *hes bérən hən tən šin, aǧádən. hes bérən b-ešḥér kbóbən b-íné šüš... bə-'álaf. zün təš iyél... her iyél.*

1 *gabl*: This is an Arabism (local Arabic *gabl* < Classical *qabla*). When asked about *gabl 'ónut* 'a year ago' as an Arabism, the speaker offered Jibbali *'ónut ε-térǫt* 'last year' as the equivalent.

3 *bass*: The speaker sometimes uses *bass* as a filler particle.

3 *'álaf*: This word meaning 'animal feed, fodder' is not in *JL*, but the corresponding verb *'alǫf* 'feed, tend' is listed (s.v. *'f*). Cf. also Arabic *'alaf* 'fodder'.

3 *krózə*: This is from 'Cruiser', referring to a Toyota Land Cruiser. The term may be used generically for any sort of SUV.

3 *ḥóltən*: This is from Arabic *ḥálat-* 'condition'. See further in the comment to TJ4:57.

3 *wáḏ'a*: This is an Arabic word, meaning literally 'status' or 'situation'.

Translation of Text AK₁

- 1 Today I will tell you a story that happened to me, me and my father, a year ago. One day my father spoke with me in the morning, and he said to me, “Ahmed, let’s go to the camels.”
- 2 I said to him, “Yes, we’ll go to the camels.” Then, after a little while, we opened up the camels’ pen. And we were living (at that time) on the plain (between the sea and the mountains). And the camels, that day it was dry, and they had no food.
- 3 Then we went, my father and I, and we opened... and went down to town to buy feed for them. When we were thus on the road, a man who had a Cruiser stopped us and was asking us about (our) animals, and was asking about our well-being, and was asking about the camels and stuff, and how the cows were... the camels, I should say.
- 4 Then we finished our journey [lit. road/way] to town. And we went to that store that sells feed. We took about a hundred bags of feed, and we carried them to whatchamacallit... to the big car. We rented a car.
- 5 We gave him maybe a little money to transport us to the mountains. We had a small car, and we couldn’t carry (the feed) in it.
- 6 After a little while like this, we went. When we were in the mountains, we unloaded whatchamacallit... the feed. We gave it to the camels... for the camels.

4 *íné šūš*: The speaker often uses *íné šūš*, lit. ‘what’s its name?’, when thinking of a word, similar to English ‘whatchamacallit’. The equivalent Arabic phrase is used the same way in some Omani and Yemeni Arabic dialects (e.g., Dhofari *ēš ismū*); a number of examples can be found in Davey (2013: 264–265).

4 *šēgərən*: This is the Š₂-Stem (1cp perfect) of *ʔgr*, meaning ‘rent, hire’. *JL* lists only the corresponding noun *égér* ‘rent’. We can compare the Arabic verb *istaʔjara* ‘rent, hire’.

5 *xardét*: This word for ‘money’ is not in *JL*. Informants say it refers to only a small amount of money. We can compare dialectal (e.g., Gulf, Iraqi) Arabic *xurda*, *xarda*, or *xirda* ‘small change’, which derives from standard Arabic *xurdat*- ‘worthless item, scrap’.

Text AK2: My Favorite Camel

- 1 *yum mən ēm ʾonut ðin ε-térǫt kúnən ʾaḵ iyél. álóhun ʾit šen yət sūs mǎgnúnə, yət ərḥīt ərḥīt.*
- 2 *mǫǫreʾ yum mən ēm zəḥām tun ǧag mənḥúm. síni yət xək bə-ʾáḵər bə-šēn, bə-yát ərḥīt bes núsəb mékən.*
- 3 *hes sínis aǧág izóhun, ʾor hen... íné šūs... ʾor her ī, “a-t-síms bə-msé?” ʾor ī, “a-l-súms b-ǫftrəh.”*
- 4 *axərši aǧág yəʾor, “yaǵla, təm. a-nséḡ eyát ðínu, bə-ḵəréré a-nḥōls ʾaḵ mistibíši b-a-nḥōls d-erǫ.” ʾor hóhum ī, “yaǵla, érsəl li eḵərǫš b-a-nsúm lókum eyát her ʾákum.”*
- 5 *bə-hé bek laʾáli ʾtəhun. ðin eyát, əl-šaʾsors bē... b-əl-šaʾsors bē, b-əl əḵódər l-éfsaḥ bes lə.*
- 6 *aǧádək yum ðúhūn də-ǧótéðk. edúrk d-ūt. əl-ód ši ʾit trut lə mən ǧeð ε-ī séḡ eyát əl-šaʾsors he. b-əl əkín ar šes ēm kəl, eyát ðī.*
- 7 *hes ʾénu yəsún tə ī, əd-ḵəǫlk l-enufi ʾaḵ ḥagrét, ʾor híni, “ket də-ǧótéðk áḥmad?” ʾok heš, “ket séḡk eyát?”*
- 8 *ʾor, “də-ḥótéǧək bə-ʾák əl-súm eyát.” mǫǫreʾ bass ḵəǫk, b-əl-ʾók hérǫǧk šeš lə. bə-d-ǧótéðk, bə-kúnk də-múḥaḵək.*
- 9 *ʾor híni ī bass, “ak tək əl təǧətǫð lə. íné šūs... a-l-hérg k-aǧág náʾšan, b-a-l-áʾmer hóhum, ʾḵəlób eyát də-ḥúsən, də-ḥús... íné šūs... ε-iyél.”*
- 10 *mən yum ðúhūn bass edírət li, bə-ztǫǧək. b-eyát edírət len. ðík se!*

1 *mǎgnúnə*: This is an Arabic word meaning ‘crazy’.

1 *ərḥīt ərḥīt*: Here the speaker pronounced the first *ərḥīt* with an elongated vowel (*ərḥīūūūūt*), mimicking Salim Bakhit (in SB1:1), whose story he found highly amusing and enjoyable.

2 *xək*: This word is not in *JL*, but appears also in SB2:4 (see the comment to that line).

4 *axərši ... yaǵla, təm*: These three words are Arabic.

4 *mistibíši*: This word, from Mitsubishi, seems to be a generic word for a pick-up truck.

4 *erǫ*: See the comment to TJ3:4.

4 *érsəl*: This is a ms imperative of the H-Stem *ersél*. *JL* lists only the meaning ‘untie, unleash’ for this verb. The meaning here is obviously borrowed from the Arabic C-Stem *ʾarsala* ‘send’.

Translation of Text AK2

- 1 One day this past year, we were with the camels. We had one there, a camel named Majnun, a very beautiful camel.
- 2 Then, one day, some men came to us. They saw the camel, (its) appearance, and size, and fatness, and it was a beautiful camel that had a lot of milk.
- 3 When those men saw it, they said to us... whatchamacallit... they said to my father, "How much will you sell it for?" My father said, "I will sell it for two thousand."
- 4 Then the men said, "Yalla, ok. We'll buy this camel, and tomorrow we'll load it in a truck and bring it to (our) land." My father said to them, "Yalla, send me the money and we'll sell you the camel if you want."
- 5 And I was already exhausted by this. This camel I loved very much... and I loved it very much, and I couldn't give it up.
- 6 I went away that day angry. I went back to the house. I was fed up from anger that my father sold the camel that I loved. I was always [lit. only] with it every day, that camel.
- 7 When my father saw me like this, that I had shut myself in (my) room, he said to me, "Why are you angry, Ahmed?" I said to him, "Why did you sell the camel?"
- 8 He said, "I needed to, and I wanted to sell the camel." Then I just kept silent, and I didn't speak with him anymore. I was angry, and I was annoyed.
- 9 He just said to me, "I want you not to be angry (whatchamacallit...) I will speak with the men now, and I will tell them, 'Return the camel to our pen (whatchamacallit...) to the camels' pen.'"
- 10 From that day the camel came back to me, and I was happy. And the camel came back to us. That's it!

5 *la'álí*: This word, not in *JL*, behaves like a plural noun with possessive suffixes. Hence *la'álí* 'I am exhausted', *la'álés* 'she is exhausted', *la'álén* 'we are exhausted', etc.

6 *əl-šd šī ʔit ʔrut lɔ*: This idiom means literally 'I didn't have one-two anymore', but here it means something like 'I was fed up'.

7 *ket*: This is a contraction of *kə hət*. See the discussion in § 11.5.

9 *ħuš*: *JL* (s.v. *ħwš*) translates this only as 'wall, enclosed space', but 'pen' fits the context here.

Text AK3: A Conversation

- 1 MQ: *íné šūk het?*
- 2 AK: *šüi áhmad máhad kašób*
- 3 MQ: *mən hún zəhámk?*
- 4 AK: *zəhámk mən zek.*
- 5 MQ: *šuk aǵóhék mékən?*
- 6 AK: *ši aǵóhí xōš ersót b-órba' gigeníti.*
- 7 MQ: *hun (t)dórs?*
- 8 AK: *kunk əl-dórs b-íné šüš... bə-zék.*
- 9 MQ: *ébrí, bék šfǝkək?*
- 10 AK: *ob, d-ək.*
- 11 MQ: *yǝrək bek ɔz.*

Text AK4: A Conversation

- 1 MQ: *salám 'alékum.*
- 2 AK: *'alékum salám.*
- 3 MQ: *aǵmódkum bə-xár?*
- 4 AK: *al-hámdu li-llá.*
- 5 MQ: *yəl aǵmódaḱ?*
- 6 AK: *al-hámdu li-llá.*
- 7 MQ: *ébrí, izóhun iyélék?*
- 8 AK: *éhě, izén iyéli.*
- 9 MQ: *təkǝz mǝnné?*
- 10 AK: *izén iyéli ber... ínə šüš... ɔl kisk hésən sé 'álaf b-ɔl sa'ɾ.*
- 11 MQ: *gézi?*
- 12 AK: *éhě, gézi ɛm izén a'álaf, b-ɔl-ʔd kisk hésən sé sa'ɾ bə-'álaf lə.
bə-da-ǵɔrǝbk het b-erz šerkét izén, b'ér šalólt, aǵlɛ len a'álaf, b-ɔl kisk
'álaf her iyélén lə.*
- 13 MQ: *hun təkǝz?*
- 14 AK: *bə-sá'b... ínə šüš... bə-sá'b enhíz.*
- 15 MQ: *bə-šókum yel mékən?*

Text AK3

- 9 *ébrí*: The speaker here is addressing the other as if he were an old man talking to a young man.

Text AK4

- 12 *b'ér*: The speaker said *b'ér* in place of *b'él*.

Translation of Text AK3

- 1 MQ: What's your name?
- 2 AK: My name is Ahmed Mahad Kashoob.
- 3 MQ: Where do you come from?
- 4 AK: I come from Zeyk.
- 5 MQ: Do you have many siblings?
- 6 AK: I have (for) siblings five boys and four girls.
- 7 MQ: Where do you study?
- 8 AK: I was studying in whatchamacallit, in Zeyk.
- 9 MQ: My son, have you gotten married?
- 10 AK: No, not yet.
- 11 MQ: May God bless you.

Translation of Text AK4

- 1 MQ: *Salam aleikum.*
- 2 AK: *Aleikum salam.*
- 3 MQ: Are you [lit. have you passed the evening] well?
- 4 AK: Praise God.
- 5 MQ: How are you [lit. how have you passed the evening]?
- 6 AK: Praise God.
- 7 MQ: My son, are those your camels?
- 8 AK: Yes, these are my camels.
- 9 MQ: Are you herding (them), or what?
- 10 AK: These camels... whatchamacallit... I haven't found for them any fodder or grass.
- 11 MQ: Is it [lit. has it become] expensive?
- 12 AK: Yes, fodder has gotten expensive these days, I haven't found for them grass or fodder. And you know that in the country, these companies, the ones in Salalah, they've made fodder expensive for us, and I haven't found fodder for our camels.
- 13 MQ: Where are you herding?
- 14 AK: In Wadi... whatchamacallit... in Wadi Nahiz.
- 15 MQ: And do you have many camels?

- 16 AK: *ši a-yékən šhelót... šhalét mīn bə-trút. bə-tīt sēm təs əmšīn 'aḵ ḫzún.*
 17 MQ: *tərtīb.*

16.2 A Text from Fahad Baawain (FB)

This short text was recorded in October, 2012, in Columbia, South Carolina. Fahad was, at the time, an 18-year-old university student. Though Fahad was reluctant to record texts, he provided a substantial amount of elicited material. Fahad, from Ḍalqut, near the Yemeni border, is a speaker of the Western Jibbali dialect.

Text FB₁: Introduction

- 1 *he šüi fáhad. he də-‘éšk ‘aḵ žalkét. ol na‘öl sé əlhúti, w-ol sé yél, w-ol sé érún. zəḥámk bun her l-édrəs.*
- 2 *ši šəb‘ét eršót aḡóhí, wə-šl d-‘od šəb‘ét ḡigeníti aḡatétí. mə-lxúni arbá‘at... órba‘ ḡigeníti.*

Text AK₄

- 16 *šhelót... šhalét*: The speaker did not make a mistake here. Instead, he simply decided to change the number (which was fictional, in any case) for the benefit of the story.
- 16 *ḫzún*: This is the definite form of *mízún*. The word literally means ‘balance, scale’ (cf. *JL*, s.v. *wzn*), but also refers to the place in which camels are bought and sold.
- 17 *tərtīb*: This is Arabic *tartīb* ‘order’, which can be used in Dhofari Arabic as an exclamation ‘good, ok!’.

Text FB₁

- 1 *l-édrəs*: For the 1cs subjunctive of the G-Stem verb *dérós* ‘study’, we expect *l-ódrəs*. The replacement of the vowel *ó* with *é* in the subjunctive seems to be a colloquial feature among younger speakers. I did not hear this when eliciting forms of strong verbs from informants, though I did when eliciting forms of geminate verbs (§ 7.4.14). Although *l-édrəs* looks like an H-Stem subjunctive, this verb does not mean ‘study’ in the H-Stem.

- 16 AK: I have about thirty... three hundred and two. And one they sold yesterday in the market.
 17 MQ: Good.

Translation of Text FB₁

- 1 Me, my name is Fahad. I live in Ḍalqut. We don't raise any cows, or any camels, or any sheep. I came here in order to study.
- 2 I have seven brothers [lit. seven boys, my brothers] and I also have seven sisters [lit. seven girls, my sisters]. Below me are four... four girls.

2 *mə-lxúni*: This is from *mən lxúni*.

2 *arbá'at... órba*^ϕ: Fahad first used the Arabic number *arbá'at* (which came more naturally to him), but then corrected himself with Jibbali *órba*^ϕ.

16.3 *A New Text from Ali Musallam (AM)*

This text, written out in Arabic characters (see p. 645), was sent to me by Ali Musallam in January, 2013, just a few weeks before he passed away. He did not make an audio recording.

Text AM1: Ba Newas and the Difficult Old Woman

- 1 *xat̄arét sékən ḥōl ʿagab yal šaʿb tit, bə-šōhum šxarét mənʿalót. hes ber ḏə-yr̄šfaʿ ḥār, ʿorót ešxarét, “ḥmol tɔ!” ʿor ebrīts, “kɔh ənḥī(l)š, bə-ḥít ḥardét axér ʿanén?”*
- 2 *axarét šinút deḥlél. gaḥót ʿamḳóš d-ḥáḳél. b-edeḥlél žoš bə-ḏéliūt, yógaḥ ar bírdém taṭ beš.*
- 3 *bə-skafót lóhun. ʿor hes yɔ, “šixənt̄ bə-dḥa-nḥī(l)š.” ʿorót, “ob-lób! ɔ(l) l-əšxanūt lɔ əm-bún.” ɔl-ʿód édaʿ iné yəšórk lɔ.*
- 4 *d-ʿód let̄óhün zəḥám be nəwás. ʿor, “kɔh tūm šórkum ʿaḳ xɔ ḏ-edeḥlél ḏénu? iné géré?” ʿor, “nḥa šen šxarét, bə-gaḥót ʿaḳ edeḥlél ḏénu, bə-ǰɔlót ɔl (t)šáxənt̄. b-ɔl édaʿ n yoh ənšérk lɔ.”*
- 5 *ʿor, “he dḥa-l-xənt̄s. tūm šóxbər tɔ, ʿmən ḥün zəḥámk, b-iné ʿagk mən erž ḏénu?” bə-ḥé dḥa-l-ʿamer, ʿnḥa b-éržən énḑēt šḑḑkatən nəšóḑḑ bə-šxórtə, wələkən he ɔl-ʿók kisk šxarét lɔ. b-agádək éržkum, fəlɔ əkós šxarét. nḥa, ešxórtén kel ber šḑḑk.”*
- 6 *axarét ššʿótš ešxarét ʿaḳ edeḥlél. ʿorót, “he boh, səlɔ-tɔ, dḥa-l-əzhámk. he zéta ḏ-əǰélḳ her geyg.” ʿor hes, “mor, əntígəḥ li!”*
- 7 *zəḥót ešxarét. ʿorót, “iné sérṭək?” ʿor, “sérṭi, her ḥō(l)š əǰdél ḏénu bə-zḥámš ḥār bə-kébs šaʿb, dḥa-l-šḑḑək biš.”*

1 *ənḥī(l)š*: See the comment to *dḥa-nḥī(l)š* in line 3.

2 *žoš*: The Arabic ms has *žoš*, but *JL* has *žoš*. One of the two must be an error.

2 *beš*: The Arabic ms has *bes*, which must be an error.

3 *lóhun*: The Arabic ms has الوهن, but I have transcribed *lóhun* based on the audio of 31:1 and 36:18. See further in the comment to 31:1.

3 *dḥa-nḥī(l)š*: The expected 1cp future of *ḥōl* is *dḥa-nəḥmél* (cf. 15:3), and so we expect here *dḥa-nəḥmélš*. The 1cp imperfect is *nəḥil* (< **nəḥéməl*). The form *ənḥī(l)š* in line 1 could be read as an imperfect, in which case it may have influenced the form in line 3. However, the context in line 1 suits a subjunctive, in which case both forms are analogical with the imperfect and/or with singular future/subjunctive forms like 3ms (*dḥa-)**yḥil*.

Translation of Text AM₁

- 1 Once a community moved, heading for a certain valley, and with them was a naughty old woman. When they were climbing a mountain, the old lady said, "Carry me!" Her daughter said, "Why should we carry you, (since) you are stronger than us?"
- 2 Then she saw a hole, and she went inside it. And the hole was narrow and dark [lit. darkness], only one person (could) enter.
- 3 And she stayed there. The people said to her, "Come out and we'll carry you." She said, "No way! I am not coming out from here." And they didn't know at all what to do.
- 4 While they were like this, Ba Newas came. He said, "Why are you standing in the opening [lit. mouth] of this hole? What happened?" They said, "We have with us an old woman, and she entered this hole and has refused to come out. And we don't know what to do."
- 5 He said, "I will get her out. Ask me, 'Where have you come from, and what do you want in this land?', and I will say, 'In our land, (in) our first marriage [or: formerly, (for) our marrying] we marry old women, but I have not yet found an old woman. I came to your land, (and) perhaps I'll find an old woman. All of our old women have already been married off.'"
- 6 Then the old woman in the hole heard him. She said, "I am here, wait for me, I'll come to you. I also am looking for a husband." He said to her, "Ok, hurry to me!"
- 7 The old woman came. She said, "What are your terms [lit. term]?" He said, "My terms are, if you carry this load and come (up) the mountain and come down to the valley, I will marry you."

- 8 *ħōlōt āǰdél ešxarét, b-aǰád ed edré ħār bā-kéb ša'b. 'ōr be nāwās, "ħēlk tet. iné eǰélēb?"*
- 9 *'ōr aǰás, "her zəħámkum to bā-šá'ar šəħí, ðəħūn še eǰélēb." 'ōr be nāwās, "bélé təbrún?" 'ōr, "bélé təbrún. wələkən ol térd beš lo."*
- 10 *'ōr be nāwās her tet, "ǰadú nəǰélk her eš'éhr." aǰád be nāwās. ðə-ǰərbə eš'éhr, her ðə-yəfərd, yədólf mən edəhéḱ. bā-áǰəb ešxarét tódləf šóhum her təfót.*
- 11 *'ōr hes, "boh eš'éhr. ǰíd mən seróhum bə-n'ífhum. bə-hér kūz mən sé dehk, kəmíz mən seróhum. sé-ən šóhum dħa-yətbór, bə-žbít."*
- 12 *'ōrót, "mor." eš'éhr ša'é, bə-sé mən seróhum. axarét kūz eš'éhr bə-küzút seróhum. ámma eš'éhr, iti (ð-)šór. ámma se, ítót l-éréšš bə-xarǰót. bə-təmmút keltót be nāwās b-ešxarét.*

16.4 An Anonymous Text

I recorded this text from a young CJ speaker in 2013. The speaker chose to remain anonymous.

Text Anon 1: The Donkey Carcass

- 1 *a-l-óklət hek bə-ħəssét. xaṭarét b-egót aǰá mən tól ənsúkən, kərah əð-xaróg 'ak ǰəhrér.*
- 2 *axarét sékən ol yəǰódər yéskən lo mən eðé eǰérah. yəhéḱ her hindí šūš mħammád, hindí.*
- 3 *b-eðé e-fétət mélé ĩnzél ðəħunu kéməl (kelš). ol yəǰódər dé yənká'hum, b-ol dé yəxətəf mən tóləhum.*

Text AM₁

- 12 *'ōrót*: The ms has *'ōr* 'he said', but this is likely an error.

Text Anon 1

- 1 *egót aǰá*: Though this phrase means literally something like 'the hole below', here it is the name of a specific place. As discussed in the comment to 40:4, the word *aǰá* derives from *aǰál*. When asked about this word, the speaker did say *aǰál* (actually, closer to *aǰálh*), but in fast speech said *aǰá* (or perhaps *aǰáh*).
- 1 *mən tól*: This speaker tended to say *mən tól* instead of *mən tél*. This is certainly an analogical leveling based on the suffixed forms of *tel* (§ 8.30), and may be reflective of the speaker's idiolect more than anything else.

- 8 The old woman carried the load, they went until they climbed up the mountain and went down to the valley. Ba Newas said, "I accept the woman. What is the bride-price?"
- 9 Her brother said, "If you bring me a gazelle alive, that is the bride-price." Ba Newas said, "Even if (it is) broken?" He said, "Even if (it is) broken. But don't throw it away."
- 10 Ba Newas said to the woman, "Let's go look for gazelles." Ba Newas went. He knew that gazelles, if they panic, they jump from the ledges. And he wanted the old woman to jump with them, so she would die.
- 11 He said to her, "Here are gazelles. Go after them and chase them. And when they jump from any ledge, jump after them. Some among them will break (their legs), and grab (one)."
- 12 She said, "Ok." The gazelles ran, and she [ran] after them. Then the gazelles jumped and she jumped after them. As for the gazelles, they landed standing up. As for her, she fell on her head and died. And the story of Ba Newas and the old lady is finished.

Translation of Text Anon 1

- 1 I will tell you a story. Once in *egōt agá*, where we were living, a donkey died in a valley.
- 2 Then the community couldn't stay because of the smell of the donkey. They called an Indian whose name was Muhammad, an Indian.
- 3 The smell of the carcass filled that whole place. No one could come to them and no one could pass by them.

2 *yéskən*: It is extremely difficult to distinguish the vowel of the first syllable of this word on the audio. When asked for clarification, the speaker said *yéskən*. When asked again, he said *yóskən*. The speaker deemed both these two forms both acceptable. Cf. also the comment to FB1:1.

3 *kéməl*: When telling this story, the speaker used *kéməl* (< Arabic *kāmil* 'whole'), but when reviewing it he suggested replacing this with the Jibbali form *kəlš*.

- 4 *axarét heḵ her mḥammád. síkun sékən šóhum Land Rover. heḵ a'ōi her mḥammád, bə-ʾōr heš, "gərəs ekérah edénu b-ərdéš 'ánén ráhəḵ."*
- 5 *ɔl dé yəsék ar mḥammád, yəsék səyérah. axarét yəbǧód mḥammád bə-gerós ekérah, bə-yérd bes 'aḵ gahrér ya ǧōr 'ɔd, mənzel ráhəḵ mən tól yəruḍi fyət.*
- 6 *yəbǧód mḥammád yəšhób ekérah, yérd... yəšhób fétət, yérd bes. yəhó b-ekérah bə-səyérah 'aḵ hafrét. b-edūr sékən də-yōk. ðik se.*

16.5 A Text from Fresnel (Fr)

This short translation of a biblical passage comes from Fresnel (1838b: 82–83). Fresnel transcribed this passage using Arabic characters, which I have interpreted in order to conform with the system used throughout this book.

Text Fr1: Part of Genesis 37:2, translated from Arabic

məd ēr yūsəf bər 'səsr šō' ayún bə-d-yərah'á ērún k-aǧóhéš bə-šé šəḵəni k-īn bilha b-īn zilfa ínét iz-īš.

Text Anon1

- 4 *síkun*: This word is not in *JL*, but, according to the speaker, it means 'at that time' and is synonymous with expressions like *ékət dšhun* (cf. 83:1) and *eziün dšhun*.
- 5 *yəsék*: This is the 3ms imperfect of the G-Stem *səḵ* 'drive', which is not in *JL*. It is clearly a borrowing of Arabic *sāqa* 'drive'.
- 5 *ya*: On *ya* 'or', see § 12.1.6.
- 5 'ɔd: This word has no semantic or grammatical function here. Upon reviewing the audio, the speaker was surprised that he had used it.
- 5 *fyət*: This is the plural of *fétət* 'carcass' (used in line 3 and 6).

Text Fr1

məd: This particle is listed in *JL* (s.v. *md*), but is not found in Johnstone's texts or my own. It seems to be roughly equivalent to *hes*. See also § 13.5.3.1.

ēr: This is from *ε-bér*, with elision of *b*. Based on *JL* (s.v. *br*), it would seem that this change is regular, though in all of Johnstone's texts (except texts TJ4 and TJ5), the relative is instead suppressed before *ber*. See further in § 7.2.

- 4 Then they called Muhammad. At that time the community had a Land Rover. My grandfather called Muhammad, he said to him, "Drag away the donkey and throw it far away from us."
- 5 No one (could) drive except Muhammad, drive a car. Then Muhammad went and dragged the donkey away, and he threw it in a valley or in a pit, a place far away where they would throw away carcasses.
- 6 Muhammad went and dragged the donkey, he threw... he dragged the carcass, he threw it. He made both the donkey and (unintentionally) the car fall into the pit. And he came back to the community crying. That's it.

Translation of Text Fr1

When Joseph was seventeen years old [lit. son of seventeen years], he was herding the goats with his brothers. And he was brought up with the sons of Bilhah and the sons of Zilpah, the wives of his father.

šəḱəní: Fresnel transcribes the first letter of this verb with Arabic *s*, perhaps suggesting that it was really pronounced *š*, and not *s*, as in some dialects.

íž-: This is the plural form of the relative pronoun, attested in Johnstone's texts only once (SB1:3). See further in § 3.8.1.

16.6 *Proverbs (Pr)*

The following proverbs and sayings come from Al-Shahri (2000), possibly the only work on Jibbali ever published in Oman. The book, written in both Arabic and English, contains a lot of historical material and a hodge-podge of Jibbali material. There are number of words-lists, including body-parts (containing 227 items!), color terms, adjectives pertaining to taste, seasons, month names, names for the deity, stars, cardinal directions, measurements, names of games, pronouns, kinship terms, names for the five fingers, and a list of personal names. Also included is a list of 210 proverbs or sayings. Each proverb is given in Jibbali (in Arabic script), with an Arabic translation and a very loose English translation, as well as a long explanation in Arabic and, sometimes, a brief explanation in English. In general, the proverbs are highly idiomatic, and the translations he gives are not literal.

Al-Shahri devised his own writing system for Jibbali, using color-coded Arabic letters. For example, while the print is normally black, *k* is written with a red ق (*q*), *s* is written with a red ش (*š*), *ṣ* is written with a light blue ش, and *z* is written with an orange ش. Nasalization is indicated with a red غ (*ġ*). His system is helpful for distinguishing consonants, though vowels are still usually absent or ambiguous. Of course, color-coded writing would not be practical for most publications or for handwriting. (In his 1994 book, the Jibbali words are printed all in black.)

Al-Shahri made a recording of all 210 proverbs, which can be found online at the Semitisches Tonarchiv (<http://www.semarch.uni-hd.de/>).

Below I have given a selection of eighteen of the proverbs, numbered as they appear in Al-Shahri's book. I have transcribed each one based on my own knowledge of the language (checked against the audio recording) and have made my own translation. Where the meaning of a proverb is not clear, I have added a note based on Al-Shahri's explanations.

Texts, Translations, and Commentary:

Pr8. ɔ *təǰórb her a'ásark ed l-éxlaḥ'āš.*

'You don't know (the value of) your friend until you move away from him.'

Pr16. *ε-xaróǰ ǰasré iǰiór k-ḥásaf.*

'The one who dies in the evening is buried in the morning.'

(This is used to warn against impatience, since everything has its proper time.)

Comment: *iǰiór* is a G passive 3ms imperfect of *kbr*.

Pr54. *εἰ-ἰλῖν ὁ ἐγάθ β-ὁ κέψε’.*

‘So-and-so has [lit. is] neither face nor back.’

(This is used to describe someone with no moral conscience or manners.)

Pr57. *εἰ-ἰλῖν ὁ ἔδα’ ὁ ἰνέ εβῆρ β-ὁ ἰνέ ἀσῆρ.*

‘So-and-so doesn’t know what is the sea and what is the mountains.’

(This is said of someone who is oblivious to what is happening around him.)

Comment: The word *bḥer* is an Arabism (< Arabic *baḥr*), used here for the rhyme with *ἀσῆρ*.

Pr87. *ἀ-ἀσάρ ερῆμ ἀξέρ ‘ar ἀγά εἰφάρ.*

‘The good friend is better than the bad brother.’

Pr96. *ἄφῦδύν ὁ τῆρας ‘ar ἐγίτς.*

‘A stone, only its sister breaks it.’

(That is, a stone can only be broken by another stone.)

Pr101. *ε-κ-εἰφάρ γὰςῶη δῖφάρ.*

‘The one who is with the bad becomes bad.’

Pr102. *ὁ εβκέ τῶ ‘ar súdki, β-ὁ εζῆέκ τῶ ‘ar χάσμι.*

‘Only my friend makes [lit. made] me cry, and only my enemy makes [lit. made] me laugh.’

(That is, a true friend will tell you the truth, even if it hurts, but an enemy will tell you a blatant lie.)

Pr114. *ὁ ἰσρὸκᾶν τῆλ ‘ar her nᾶnhág.*

‘We made music only in order to dance.’

(This is used when someone, taking part in some activity, questions the reason for it.)

Comment: *τῆλ* is from the root *tbl*.

Pr157. *ὁκ ὁ ἰνκ μᾶν ἐκέραῖ ‘ar ἰδῦντέσ.*

‘You have only seen the ears of the donkey so far.’

(That is, don’t judge a book by its cover.)

Pr160. *ε-ša'gél yaté nu'.*

'The one who hurried eats raw (food).'

(This is used to chastise one who has rushed, or to encourage one to go slower.)

Comment: This proverb is also found in *JL* (s.v. *gl*).

Pr161. *örót hōt, "yotj to inkel, bə-yókbar to edifar."*

'The snake said, "The heroic one should kill me, but the bad one should bury me.'

(This is used when a person suffers the consequences of an irresponsible action, similar to English 'as you make your bed, so you must lie in it'. The reference to the snake comes from a belief that a bad person will not bury a dead snake properly, thus allowing its bones to get up and take revenge.)

Comment: *mənkel* is defined in *JL* (s.v. *nkl*) as 'active, energetic, heroic, brave'.

Pr171. *ör, "hun idénk?" ör, "boh."*

'He said, "Where is your ear?" He said, "Here.'

(The respondent reaches around his head to point to his opposite ear. The point is that instead of making it simple by pointing to his closest ear, he makes things complicated by pointing to the ear on the other side of his head.)

Pr185. *k-zə ənhán əb-b'él ũkún.*

'We are with God and the owners of the land.'

(This is used by goat-herders to explain why they are not moving to another place.)

Pr187. *kə hé her sé'ak a'ör sé?*

'Why, when I am full, do I say anything?'

(This is to suggest that sometimes it is necessary to continue to say something, in order to get something done. Al-Shahri gives the English equivalent, 'Constant dripping wears away the stone'.)

Pr188. *əl-hés ε-d-yəðhól 'ak ətəh.*

'Like the one who is urinating in the sand.'

(This is used to describe an action that goes unnoticed or unappreciated.)

Pr193. *māgrōt a'in a'áser.*

'The eye of the lover is known.'

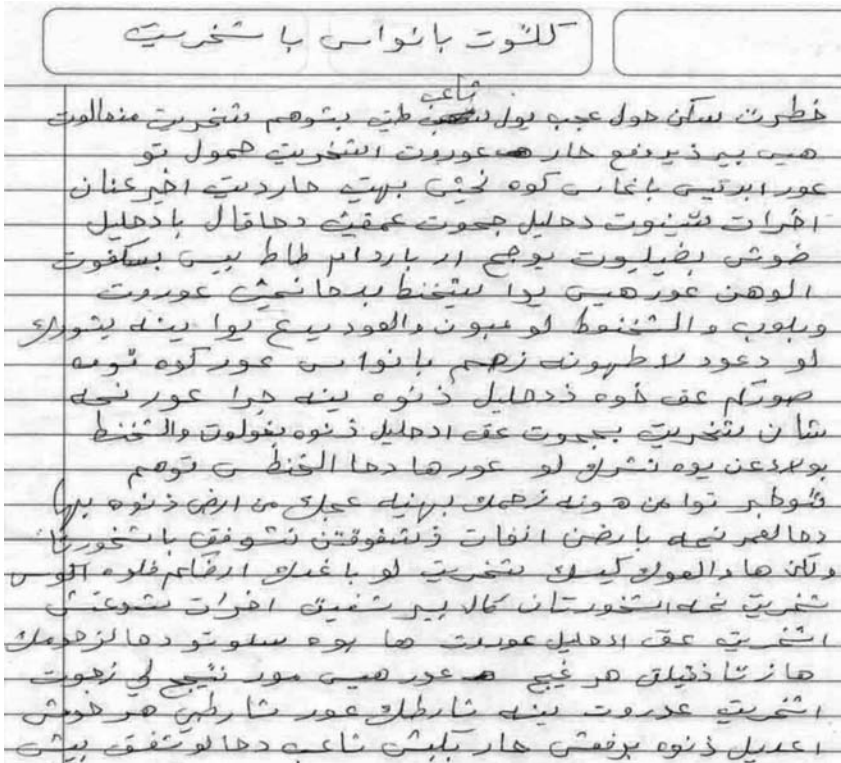
(That is, a person may try to deny or hide his love, but his feelings are obvious.)

Pr207. *her hōt 'ozūt tókšaf, yahé bes o'z rémnam.*

'When the snake decided to be cruel, God threw it in the sea.'

(This is said when a person's bad intentions are thwarted by divine intervention.)

Comment: *yahé* must be an H-Stem 3ms imperfect of *hwy*, though the form found in *JL* (and also in *Anon1:6*) is *yahó*.



Manuscript of text AMi, lines 1-7

APPENDIX A

TEXT 18 WITH MORPHEME GLOSSING

For the benefit of general linguists and other non-specialists, I have included below one text with full morpheme glossing. 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 my 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 | IMPV | imperative |
| 2 | second person | M | masculine |
| 3 | third person | NEG | negator |
| C | common gender | OBJ | object |
| CIRC | circumstantial particle | P | plural |
| CONJ | conjunction | PASS | passive |
| D | dual | PERF | perfect |
| DEF | definite (article or form) | PN | proper name |
| DEM | demonstrative | POSS | possessive |
| EXCL | exclamatory particle | PREP | preposition (idiomatic) |
| F | feminine | PROG | progressive |
| FUT | future particle | REL | relative pronoun |
| GEN | genitive exponent | S | singular |
| IMPF | imperfect | SUBJ | subjunctive |

Note that I only use the gloss PREP when the preposition is idiomatic and has no translation value; otherwise, I gloss the preposition with its English equivalent. I gloss the particle $\bar{\delta}$ - (§ 7.1.10) with its different functions, though I am not suggesting that each use necessarily reflects a separate Jibbali morpheme. Finally, if the particle ε - (whether used as the definite article, the relative pronoun, or the genitive exponent) is underlying, but suppressed in the surface realization, then I have not indicated it in the glossing. For example, the word *ħallét* in line 5 is clearly definite, but the definite article ε - is not used before words beginning with the voiceless consonant *ħ* (§ 4.4); since there is no definite morpheme present, none is glossed.

Text 18 (= M65) with morpheme glossing: Abu Newas and the Old Lady

1. *xaṭarét ġeyg yəʕōr h-eš be nəwás.*
 once man say.IMPF.3MP to-3MS.OBJ PN
- aġád mən tél sékən-aš áġab*
 go.PERF.3MS from by settlement-3MS.POSS want.PERF.3MS
- yaxétar ε-širét. b-ɔl š-eš sé*
 go.down.SUBJ.3MS DEF-town CONJ-NEG with-3MS.OBJ something
- lɔ her yəstém her ε-ðān-aš məšaréf.*
 NEG for buy.SUBJ.3MS for DEF-family-3MS.POSS supplies
2. *b-aġád ed éšəl tel məkbért,*
 CONJ-go.PERF.3MS until arrive.PERF.3MS by graveyard
- ksé yɔ ðə-ykōr šxarét*
 find.PERF.3MS people CIRC-bury.IMPF.3MP old.woman
- ðə-xarġót. skɔf ðə-yftakérən ínə yəšérk.*
 REL-die.PERF.3FS sit.PERF.3MS CIRC-think.IMPF.3MS what do.SUBJ.3MS
3. *axarét ʕr, “haš ε-yó ənfós,*
 then say.PERF.3MS when REL-people go.in.evening.PERF.3CP
- dħa-lúnks l-ε-šxarét mən ʕak ε-kōr.*
 FUT-dig.up.SUBJ.1CS PREP-DEF-old.woman from in DEF-grave
- bə-dħa-lšérk ħilt.”*
 conj-FUT-do.SUBJ.1CS trick
4. *skɔf ed yɔ ənfós. ənkós*
 sit.PERF.3MS until people go.in.evening.PERF.3CP dig.up.PERF.3MS
- l-ε-šxarét mən ʕak ε-kōr bə-ħil-ás*
 PREP-DEF-old.woman from in DEF-grave CONJ-carry.PERF.3MS-3FS.OBJ
- ʕak xarġét-š, b-aġád ed éšəl*
 in robe-3MS.POSS CONJ-go.PERF.3MS until arrive.PERF.3MS
- ķéríb əl-ħallét.*
 near to-town

5. *kéla'* *ε-šxarét* *bə-šé* *aǵád*
 leave.PERF.3MS DEF-old.woman CONJ-he go.PERF.3MS
ed égaḥ *ḥallét.*
 until enter.PERF.3MS town
6. *śíni* *ɣə* *mékən* *ḏə-ɣógaḥ* *'aḵ* *but*
 see.PERF.3MS people many CIRC-enter.IMPF.3MP in house
ḏ-túžər. *axarét šxabír* *ǵeyg, 'ör,* *"íné*
 GEN-rich.MS then ask.PERF.3MS man say.PERF.3MS what
mən ɣə *ízókūn* *ḏə-ɣógaḥ* *'aḵ*
 from people DEM.REMOTE.CP REL-enter.IMPF.3MP in
ūt *ḏíkūn?"*
 house.DEF DEM.REMOTE.FS
7. *'ör* *h-eš* *a-ǵéyǵ,* *"ε-bré* *ε-túžər*
 say.PERF.3MS to-3MS.OBJ DEF-man DEF-son GEN-rich.MS
ḏə-ǵéle *bə-ɣó* *ḏə-ɣšədhéḵ*
 CIRC-be.sick.PERF.3MS CONJ-people PROG-visit.IMPF.3MP
l-eš. *b-a'él-éš* *ḏə-ɣšəxūr* *'her dé*
 PREP-3MS.OBJ CONJ-family-3MS.POSS PROG-ask.IMPF.3MP if someone
ɣǵóǵrəb *śé,* *ɣésne* *her ε-mbére'."*
 know.IMPF.3MS something see.to.SUBJ.3MS to DEF-boy
'ör *bε nəwás,* *"he š-i* *ēm-í* *šxarét*
 say.PERF.3MS PN I with-1CS.OBJ mother-1CS.POSS old.FS
bə-tǵóǵrəb *kəl śé kelš* *her 'rész."*
 CONJ-know.IMPF.3FS every thing all-3MS.OBJ for illness.DEF
8. *'ör* *a-ǵéyǵ,* *"mor, ǵadú, dḥa-lešné-k*
 say.PERF.3MS DEF-man ok EXCL FUT-show.SUBJ.1CS-2MS.OBJ
ī *ε-mbére'.* *bə-dḥa-ɣəzém-k* *əlḥín 'aǵk."*
 father DEF-boy CONJ-FUT-give.SUBJ.3MS-2MS.OBJ REL want.PERF.2MS

- aǧádó ed éṣal tel ī ḏ-ε-mbéreʻ.*
 go.PERF.3MD until arrive.PERF.3CP by father GEN-DEF-boy
9. *ʾor ε-ǧéyg, “ḏénu eǧéyg š-eš*
 say.PERF.3MS DEF-man DEM.NEAR.MS DEF-man with-3MS.OBJ
ēmé-š šxarét bə-ʾor taǧórəb
 mother-3MS.POSS old.woman CONJ-say.PERF.3MS know.IMPF.3FS
kəl sé kelš her ṛéz.” ʾor túžər
 every thing all-3MS.OBJ for illness.DEF say.PERF.3MS rich.MS
“hun se?” ʾor bε nəwás, “ser ēt
 where she say.PERF.3MS PN behind houses.DEF
izókūn, bə-hér ʾagk b-es,
 DEM.REMOTE.CP CONJ-if want.PERF.2MS PREP-3FS.OBJ
ʾar dé yəzhóm b-es.”
 send.IMPV.MS someone come.SUBJ.3MS with-3FS.OBJ
10. *axarét aʾrér əǧǧór troh yəzhím b-es.*
 then send.PERF.3MS slave two come.SUBJ.3MP PREP-3FS.OBJ
aǧád ε-ǧərət, ed zəhám ḏer ε-šxarét,
 go.PERF.3CP DEF-slaves until come.PERF.3CP over DEF-old.woman
aʾséš-s, b-əl ʾássót l. axarét
 rouse.PERF.3CP-3FS.OBJ CONJ-NEG wake.PERF.3FS NEG then
edūr tel yə. ʾor, “ε-šxarét ol
 return.PERF.3CP to people say.PERF.3CP DEF-old.woman NEG
ʾássót l.”
 wake.PERF.3FS NEG
11. *ʾor bε nəwás, “takín təškélót*
 say.PERF.3MS PN be.IMPF.3FS converse.IMPF.3FS
ε-ǧənú(s)és, bə-hér təškélót-hum, ol
 DEF-jinns-3FS.POSS CONJ-if converse.IMPF.3FS-3MP.OBJ NEG

tə'ásés *l* *ar* *her sī́ót* *bə-xəṭarók*
get.up.IMPV.3FS NEG except if hit.PERF.PASS.3FS with-stick

troh. ġəd, *sbəṭ-s* *bə-xəṭarók troh,*
two go.IMPV.MP hit-IMPV.MP-3FS.OBJ with-stick two

bə-htédér *əl* *təġ-s!*"
CONJ-be.careful.IMPV.MP NEG kill.SUBJ.2MP-3FS.OBJ

12. *ör* *ε-garét,* "*əl təktélób* *l.*" *b-agád,*
say.PERF.3CP DEF-slaves NEG worry.SUBJ.2MS NEG CONJ-go.PERF.3CP

ed *éşəl* *tel ε-şxarét,* *səṭ-əs*
when arrive.PERF.3CP by DEF-old.woman hit.PERF.3CP-3FS.OBJ

bə-xəṭarók troh. axarét ftəkəḥót *fúşhi.*
with-stick two then split.PERF.3FS halves

13. *edír* *ε-garét* *ðə-yūki.*
return.PERF.3MD DEF-slaves CIRC-cry.IMPV.3MP

ör *bε nəwás,* "*iné géré?* *əd*
say.PERF.3MS PN what happen.PERF.3MS perhaps

təkún *látġəkum* *ém-í?"* *ör*
be.SUBJ.2MP kill.PERF.2MP mother-1CS.POSS say.PERF.3CP

ε-garét, "*ε-şxarét* *xargót!"* *béké* *bε nəwás*
DEF-slaves DEF-old.woman die.PERF.3FS cry.PERF.3MS PN

bə-ör, "*y-ēm-í,* *y-ēm-í!"*
CONJ-say.PERF.3MS EXCL-mother-1CS.POSS EXCL-mother-1CS.POSS

14. *axarét ör* *h-eş* *túżar,* "*ḳalá'* *əke!*
then say.PERF.3MS to-3MS.OBJ rich.MS leave.IMPV.MS crying.DEF

dħa-nzám-k... *dħa-nḳžé-k* *ε-garét."*
FUT-give.SUBJ.1CP-2MS.OBJ FUT-compensate.SUBJ.1CP-2MS.OBJ DEF-slaves

ör *bε nəwás,* "*əl aşḳóže*
say.PERF.3MS PN NEG be.compensated.with.IMPV.1CS

b-ém-í *ε-garét* *l.*"
 for-mother-1CS.POSS DEF-slaves NEG

15. *axarét sädéd* *γɔ* *skɔf* *h-eš*
 then make.agree.PERF.3CP people sit.PERF.3CP for-3MS.OBJ

bə-xamsín izíf *bə-ħōlt* *ðə-xiš* *γiršób* *kit.*
 PREP-fifty thousand CONJ-load GEN-five.F riding.camels food

b-aǰád *bε nāwás* *γɔl sékən-aš* *ber*
 CONJ-go.PERF.3MS PN to settlement-3MS.POSS already.3MS

túžər. *bə-təmmut* *kéltót* *ð-igrām* *ðə-bε nāwás.*
 rich.MS CONJ-finish.PERF.3FS story GEN-crime.DEF GEN-PN

APPENDIX B

TEXT 18 IN ARABIC SCRIPT

When native speakers write Jibbali, 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, it seems important to include a sample of Jibbali in Arabic characters. The text below reflects the text exactly as written by its author, Ali Musallam. Ali did not use punctuation, so I have not added any. I have added only the line breaks and numbering.

Note that Ali's spelling (like that of other speakers) can be variable, so, for example, we find *xatarét* spelled *خطرات*, *خطرت*, or even *خطرتة* in different texts. Between different speakers, transcriptions of Jibbali into Arabic letters can also vary quite a bit, especially with regard to the vowels and to those consonants that do not occur in Arabic. For example, the consonant *š* is transcribed by Ali with the Arabic letter *ش* *š* (often with the diacritic upside down, i.e., *˘* in place of *ˆ*), while Salim Bakhit used the letter *ط* *t*, and many other speakers use the Arabic letter *ث* *t*. As noted in several of the comments to the texts (e.g., 17:10), the consonant *ǧ* is sometimes transcribed with Arabic *ق* *q*, even though Arabic has a letter for this sound (ع).

Like any other literate human being would do, Ali occasionally made spelling errors when writing Jibbali. For example, in line 12 of this text, Ali wrote *سوطوس* <swtws> for *sōtās*. The second *w* in his spelling is clearly a simple mistake. It is errors like this, along with the ambiguities inherent in using Arabic letters to write Jibbali, that make the audio recordings and Johnstone's Roman-letter transcriptions so invaluable in understanding these texts. It is also for such reasons that I have not published in this volume those few texts from Johnstone's collection that are preserved only in Arabic-letter versions, without audio.

Text 18 (= M65) in Arabic letters: Abu Newas and the Old Lady

1. خطرته غيچ يعور هش بانواس اغاد من تيل سکنش عجب يخيتر اشيرت باولشيش شيلوا هر
يشتام هر اضانش مصريف

2. باغد اد يصل تيل مقبارت كساء يوا ذيقور شخريت ذخارجوت سكوف ذيفتكيرن ينه يشرك
3. اخرات عور حص ايوا نفوش دحا لونكش الشخريت من عق أقور بدحا لشرك حيلت
4. سكوف اد يوا نفوش نكوش الشخريت من عق اقور بجيلس عق خرقتش باغد اد يصل قيريب الحلت
5. قيلا اشخريت بشه اغاد اد يحج حلت
6. شيني يوا مكن ذيوحج عق بوت ذتوچر اخرات شخير غيج عور ينه من يوا يشوكوهن ذيوحج عق وت ذيكوهن
7. عور هش اغيج ابرا اتوچر ذجيلا بيوا ذشدهق لش باعيلاش ذيشخير هر دا يغورب شاء يشنا هر امبيرا عور بانواس ها شي اي شخريت بتغورب كل شاكلش هر ايراض
8. عور اغيج موره غدوا دحالشناك اي امبيرا بدحا يزموك الهين عچك اغدوه اد يصل تيل اي ذمبيرا
9. عور اغيج ذنوه اغيج شيش اميش شخريت بعور تغورب كل شاكلش هر ايراض عور توچر هون ساه عور بانواس سير ات يشوكوهن هر عچك بيس أعر دا يزحوم بيس
10. اخرات اعرير جور ثروه يزحيم بيس اغاد اجريت اد زحام ضير اشخريت اعشيشس باولعشوت لوا اخرات ادور تيل يوا عور اشخريت اولعشوت لوا
11. عور بنواس تكين تشكيلوث اجنواس بهر تشكيلوثوهم ولتعشيش لوا ار هر سيطوت بخطروق ثروه غود سبوتس بخطروق ثروه بختدير والتوقس
12. عور اجريت ولتقتيلوب لوا باغد اد يصل تيل اشخريت سوطوس بخطروق ثروه اخرات فنتحوت فوشجي
13. اديروه اجريت ذيوكي عور بنواس ينه جرا عود تكون ليتكوم اي عور اجريت اشخريت خارجوت بكا بانواس بعور يامي يامي
14. اخرات عور هش توچر قلا وكا دحا نقشك اجريت عور ولشوقشا يامي جريت لوا
15. اخرات سديد يوا سكوف هش بجمسين يشيف بجولت ذحيش يرشوب قيت باغد بنواس يول سکنش بر توچر

APPENDIX C

SUPPLEMENT TO JOHNSTONE'S *JIBBĀLI LEXICON*

The following are words, or meanings of words, that are not included in Johnstone's *Jibbāli Lexicon*. I have, for the most part, not included variant forms of words listed in *JL*, though I sometimes mention such forms in the comments to the texts. 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. I follow Johnstone's practice of using the letter *v* to stand for either *w* or *y*.

'b:

bε: a vocative form of 'father', equivalent to *ī* 'my father' (35:7; 97:2)

'ðy-'ln:

εđí-ilín: add the meaning 'so-and-so' (see § 3.5.5)

'gr:

'ǝǝǝr: the form *aggǝr* 'slave' is used in the texts and among my informants, while I found no evidence for *'ǝǝr* (see the comment to 18:10)
šēǝǝr (Š2) 'rent, hire' (AK1:4)

'ǝl:

aǝǝl: add the variant form *aǝá* (see the comment to 40:4)

'hl:

šéhél (Š1) 'deserve' (3ms imperf. *yǝšǝhól*) (see the comment to 21:11) (cf. Arabic *ista'hala* 'deserve')

'hn:

ehún 'which one' (also *ehúṭun*; see § 11.10)

'lf:

ǝf: add the variant plural *ízíf* (see the comment to 18:15; 22:12)
élaf (Gb) 'be(come) accustomed to, used to' (3ms imperf. *yélǝf*, 3ms subj. *yǝlǝf*) (TJ2:113) (cf. Arabic *ʿalifa* 'be(come) accustomed to, used to')

'm:

'ém: add that the plural of 'mother' (better transcribed *émítí*) can be used to refer to all close female relatives (aunts, grandmothers, etc.) (13:15)

'mn:

šín (Š2): add the meaning 'obey, fall in with s.o.'s wishes' (see the comments to 57:9; 60:8)

émín (H) 'believe' (Perhaps a Mehrism. See the comment to 60:37)

'n?:

un 'indeed; please' (see § 12.5.2)

'ns:

šínís (Š1): add the meaning 'dare' (39:1; 46:3)

'tb:

etéb: add the meaning 'willow-leaf ficus, wonderboom fig (*Ficus salicifolia*)' (53:5)

'tl:

étəl (Gb): add the meaning 'catch (*b-*) up to' (46:17; 97:15)

'wb:

ob-lób 'no!' (see § 12.2.1) (cf. also *JL*, s.v. *lwb*)

'fw:

'áfé 'healthy' (TJ2:114) (< Arabic *'afīy*)

'gl:

see *hgl*

'lf:

'álaf 'animal feed, fodder' (AK1:3) (< Arabic *'alaf*)

'lm:

'éləm (Gb) 'know' (6:4) (cf. Mehri *ayləm*, Arabic *'alima* 'know')

'lw:

'ále (fs *'alét*) 'upper' (6:13)

ʿlz:

málézt 'sickening thing' (see the comment to 57:7)

ʿmr:

ʿōr (Ga): add the idiom *taʿmór* 'do you think?', which does not conjugate for gender or number (see the comment to TJ2:68)

ʿskr:

ʿaskérít 'police' (13:1)

ʿšfr:

ešférót 'bird' (see the comment to 6:2)

ʿškr:

ʿáškér '*Blepharis dhofarensis*' or '*Blepharis linariafolia*' (Miller and Morris 1988: 6, 8) (TJ2:71)

aʿáškér (Q) 'gather ʿáškér' (TJ2:71)

ʿtl(l):

ʿatalál (pl.) 'torn, old clothes' (TJ4:23)

ʿwd:

ʿódət: add the plural form ʿadót (4:8)

ʿyn:

ʿonút 'dry (non-monsoon) season, drought' (see the comment to 20:1)

ʿyr:

ʿor 'shame' (see the comment to 14:10)

ʿzm:

ʿazm: add the plural ʿazúm (57:1) (cf. Mehri *āzm*, pl. *āzáwm*)

ʿzr:

éúzər (D/L) 'annoy' (46:9) (cf. Mehri *ōzər*)

ʿzy (ʿý):

ízé 'night, occasion of night' (see the comment to TJ4:64)

bky:

béḱé (Ga) 'remain, be left' (5:3; 6:25) (cf. Mehri *bəḱō*)

blǰ:

bélǰ (Ga): add the meaning 'reach, arrive' (see the comment to 21:10; TJ1:4)
ēlǰ (def.; indef. form probably *bēlǰ*) 'reach (noun), length' (see the comment to 21:10)

blm:

bəziūt (pl. *əbžém*) 'date-stone' (46:14)

brw:

bēr: the form *əbré* should be considered the absolute, while *bēr* (or *bər*) should be considered the construct, used only before proper names and the interrogative *mun* (see § 4.6 and the comment to 60:27)

bxt (wxt?):

əbxét (H) 'make up for the absence of s.o.' (see the comment to 83:7)

d'm:

d(a)ám (G) 'have an accident; crash (into)' (TJ3:9)

da'im 'injured' (TJ3:10)

df̣r:

dəf̣ər: add the mp form *dif̣ər* (25:10; TJ4:23)

dḥk:

šədḥék (Š₁) 'visit, look in on s.o. (e.g., a sick person)' (see the comment to 18:7)

dḥz:

dáħaz 'slipperiness' (TJ2:130)

dwm:

mən dém 'as long as' (TJ2:13) (seems to be equivalent to *mən dúm*; cf. Arabic *mā dāma* 'as long as')

dwy:

dē (G) 'agree' (3ms imperf. *yədə*, 3ms subj. *yədə*) (TJ4:37)

dít: add the plural form *dīyétə* (17:51) (cf. Mehri pl. *dəwyōtən*)

ḏbl:

ḏḅl (Ga): add the meaning 'take (bit by bit)' (TJ4:39)

ḏhn:

ḏéhən 'mind' (note the idiom *xóttəl eḏéhənš* 'he lost his mind; his mind got sick') (SB1:3; SB2:1)

ḏehín (mp *ḏehént*) 'intelligent' (SB2:4)

ḏmm:

ḏammét: add the meaning 'responsibility, guarantee' (see the comment to 45:17)

ḏʾ:

(š)ḏé 'above' (root uncertain; see the comments to 51:5 and TJ4:85, and *JL*, s.v. *hḏʾ*)

ḏbr:

ḏḅr (Ga): add the meaning 'apologize' (see the comment to 20:7)

ḏrb:

ḏḅrḅb (Ga) 'declare'? (see the comment to TJ4:76)

ḏerēt (pl. *ḏeríb*) 'big cliffs'? (see the comment to TJ2:103)

f-l:

See the root *w*

fl:

(e)flét (H): add the idiom *flét b-énúf* 'save oneself' (54:17)

fḷ:

tfəlít 'a substitute' (TJ2:54)

fns:

fénús 'lantern' (see the comment to TJ4:55)

fnš:

funš (D/L) 'leave (a job), quit' (see the comment to TJ3:2) (cf. Mehri *fōnəš*)

frk:

furk (D/L): add the meaning 'divide, separate' (see the comment to 12:3)

frž:

feróž (Ga) 'go home, take home'? (see the comment to TJ2:10)

fəróž 'happiness, joy' (13:8)

fw:

(correct to *fy*)

fétét: correct to *fétat* (Anon1:3) and add the plural *fyet* (Anon1:5)

fxr:

fxarét 'fine thing, finery' (4:6) (cf. Mehri *fxarēt*)

gʻr:

məgʻérót 'fall (noun)' (TJ1:7)

ghz:

eghíz (D/L or H) 'prepare, make ready' (see the comment to 52:5)

gnyh:

giní (pl. *gənehēt*) 'guinea (unit of currency)' (52:8; TJ4:7) (< Arabic *ginīh* or *ginēh*, pl. *ginēhāt* < English *guinea*)

gnzf:

gənzəfót 'branch (of a tree)' (see the comment to 54:24)

grm:

məgrém 'crime?'; 'criminal?' (see the comment to 18:15)

giráym 'crime' (see the comment to TJ4:72)

gry:

géré (Ga): add the meaning 'pass by' (TJ4:30) (cf. Mehri *gərō*)

gsr:

gəsór (Ga) 'dare' (< Arabic *jasara* 'have courage')

gwy:

go 'clear weather'

gyš:

geš 'army' (TJ3:4; TJ4:76) (< Arabic *jayš*)

gzm:

gəzmét (def. *əgzəmét*) 'swearing' (14:1)

gzy:

gəzék 'reward', used in the phrase *gəzék xar* 'thank you!' (22:6) (< Arabic *jazā'* 'repayment, recompense')

gbr:

əgbér (H) 'elapse, (time) pass' (see the comment to 30:14)

gll:

gəl (G) 'trick, outwit; delay, detain, keep occupied' (see the comments to 30:4 and 60:14)

glb:

gəlób (Ga): perhaps add the meaning 'talk s.o. over, change s.o.'s mind' (see the comment to 35:9)

glft:

əgalfét (Q) 'surround' (TJ4:86)

glk:

gəlókūn 'look there!' (see the comment to 16:3)

glt:

gəltún 'mistaken' (42:12; 43:10)

gms:

gōš? 'cover the face' (see the comment to 53:5)

grb:

məgréb: add the fs form *məgrēt* (Pr193)

grg:

əgrég (H): add the meaning 'stay' (TJ2:44)

gry:

əgóri (D/L): add the meaning '(animals) produce milk' (TJ2:36)

ǵrz:

ǵarzót ‘pouch’ (see the comment to 46:8)

ǵšb:

ǵášəb ‘force’ (see the comment to TJ4:71) (< Arabic *ǵašb*)

ǵśś:

ǵeś (G): add the meaning ‘dirty, befoul’ (97:50)

ǵś’ or ǵśý:

ǵǵtśśe (T2) ‘faint, pass out’ (39:5; 39:6)

šǵǵśé (Š1) ‘wash o.s., bathe o.s.’ (60:45; TJ4:28)

ǵwr:

ǵǵōr (D/L) ‘overeat; get indigestion; drink cold water or milk after meat’ (40:5); ‘distract; prevent, get in the way of’ (51:13) (cf. Mehri *ǵǵwīr*)

ǵýð:

ǵǵýéð (D/L): add the variant 3ms imperfect *ǵǵ(y)éðən* (57:15)

ǵzz:

ǵez (G) ‘loosen’, fs passive participle *mǵǵəzzót* ‘loosened, loose’ (25:13) (cf. Mehri *ǵəz*)

ǵžž:

ǵež (G): add the meaning ‘wink’ (see the comment to 60:34)

hgg:

heg (G) ‘wander aimlessly’ (TJ4:50; TJ4:58)

hgl:

hǵǵalét ‘calf’ (23:10) (probably < Semitic root **ǵl*)

hgr:

(*hǵǵər*), 3fs *hegerót* (Gb) ‘(sun) be hot at midday’ (60:37) (cf. Mehri *hǵǵərūt*)

hllk:

ehúllk (D/L): add the meanings ‘torment, press, distress’ (TJ4:82)

hmm:*hiēt* 'strength' (38:2)***hrs:****šəhéras* (Š2) 'tell s.o. off' (53:4; TJ4:49)***hšk:****hiškík* (fs *hiškíš*, mp *hiškókum*) 'it's ok! don't be scared!' (TJ4:55)***hṭr:****hóṭór* (Ga) 'destroy' (see the comment to TJ4:77)***hḏ:***

see also ḏ'

hgv:*šhagé* (Š1): add the meaning 'stand firm' (83:2) (cf. Mehri *šəhgū*)***hkk:****aḥkék* (H): add the meaning 'press, put pressure on s.o.' (41:3; TJ2:86)***hkm:****ḥkum* (Ga) 'make s.o. do s.t.' (see the comment to 51:20)***hkv:****šhəké* (Š1): add the meaning 'have one's fill, have enough' (97:14)***hkk:****heḵ* (G) 'be right; belong rightfully' (see the comment to TJ2:26)***hkl:****d-ḥákél* 'inside' (see the comment to 33:3)***hky:****ḥakít* 'rope' (5:5)***hlv:****šhéle* (Š2) 'be given a description' (TJ4:8) (cf. Mehri *šəḥāli*)*təhló* 'description' (TJ4:10)

ḥm:

ḥim: add the meaning ‘son-in-law’ (see the comment to 7:4)

ḥmm:

ḥīm ‘charcoal’ (variant of *ḥūm*; cf. Mehri *ḥəmīm* and *ḥəmūm*) (TJ4:23)

ḥml:

ḥōl (noun) ‘load’ (6:26) (cf. Mehri *ḥāməl*)

ḥōlt (noun) ‘load’ (6:27; 18:15) (cf. Mehri *ḥəmáwlat*)

ḥīlín ‘carrying’ (verbal noun of G *ḥōl*) (48:6)

ḥrs:

ḥers ‘a guard’ (TJ4:16) (cf. Arabic *ḥāris* ‘guard’)

ḥrs:

hurs (D/L), passive *ḥírís*: see the comment to TJ2:62

ḥrǰ:

ḥarǰǰ ‘*Acacia tortilis*’ (perhaps also ‘*Acacia mellifera*’) (see the comment to 48:13)

ḥšl:

maḥšól (def. *āḥšól*) ‘gain, yield’ (8:4) (cf. Mehri *məḥšáwl*; both < Arabic *maḥšūl*)

ḥšn:

ḥášún: add that the plural form *ḥašnín* can also be used for the singular among some speakers (see the comment to 17:11)

ḥśś:

ḥés (G): add the meaning ‘notice, find?’ (or a mistake for *ḥes*, root *ḥss*? See the comment to 25:8)

ḥaśśś ‘having all the bones smashed’ (48:18) (cf. Mehri *ḥəšyōś*)

ḥtl:

ḥtol (Ga): add the meaning ‘tie up/together’ (6:26)

ḥwl:

ḥolt ‘condition’ (see the comment to TJ4:57; AK1:3)

ḥwr?

ḥtēr (T₂) (the root could also be *ḥbr*; or perhaps the verb is Ga-Stem *ḥtṛ*, root *ḥtr*) 'wait'? (see the comment to 13:4)

ḥwš:

ḥuš: add the meaning 'animal pen, enclosure' (AK₂:9)

ḥyl:

ḥélt: add the meaning 'credit' (see the comment to 41:2)

ktw:

kélé (Ga): add the 3ms imperfect variant *yākóž*, and add the meaning 'bring home (a wife, animals)' (TJ₂:8; TJ₂:11)

kmkm:

kəmkəm: add the variant plural form *kémkəm* (32:14; TJ₂:33)

krfy:

kirféye 'bed' (see the comment to TJ₄:53)

krj (krz?):

kurj (*kurz?*) 'score; case' (see the comment to 32:14)

ktb:

ktəb (noun): add the plural form *kətəbín* (52:8)

maktəb 'written' (6:12)

ktn:

ktun 'a type of flying insect' (TJ₂:118)

ḵbž (ḵwž?):

əḵtēž (T₂) 'finish, prepare o.s.?' (TJ₄:28)

ḵdd:

məḵədét: add the plural form *məḵdód* (def. *ēḵdód*) (12:3)

ḵtv:

məḵlét 'roast dhurah' (dhurah, or durra, is a kind of sorghum; see s.v. *ḏrw*) (TJ₁:2)

krr:

təkrír: add the meaning 'certainty' (14:8)

krş:

ķérş: add the diminutive *ķérşétə* (TJ2:117)

ksw:

ķósi 'hard' (see the comment to 49:35)

ksd:

ķేశəd (Gb): add the meaning 'seek out' (41:3)

ksr:

akşiyér 'the month corresponding to Arabic *Ša'bān*' (see the comment to 32:4)

ktr:

məķəţér: add the variant plural form *məķébtər* (see the comment to 22:8)

l'?:

la'ál- (plus possessive suffixes used with plural nouns) 'exhausted, tired' (AK2:5)

lbd:

éziód (indef. *liód?*) 'shots (of a gun), shooting' (13:13)

lgz:

l(a)gáz (G): add the meaning 'slip s.t. to s.o.' (see the comment to 21:5)

lhk:

l(a)hák (G): add the meanings 'help (*l-* s.o.)' and 'hurry, run' (see the comment to 36:4; 22:5; 50:9)

lky:

šelké (Š1): add the (EJ?) variant *šəžké* (53:11)

lsv:

mosé: add the plural *mələbsi* (TJ2:123)

lty:

elúti (D/L) 'press s.o., urge' (TJ4:37)

lxy:

əlxé, fs *əlxét* 'lower' (6:13)

mħn:

mətéhən (fs *məḥanút*, cp *məḥaníti*) 'in trouble; unable to cope' (28:12)

mħv:

maḥé (Ga) 'pass' (TJ1:8)

mnv:

miné 'a unit of weight measurement (approximately 4 kilograms)' (TJ2:43)

mrħ:

múraḥ: add the variant plural form *meróḥte* (see the comment to 6:28)

mrt:

šamərtót 'trial by ordeal by iron' (14:9)

mṭl:

ūtəl (D/L): add the meaning 'tell' (TJ4:1; TJ5:1)

təmtíl 'telling, recounting' (TJ4:63) (< Arabic *tamtīl*)

mxk:

m(a)xák (G): add the meaning 'pull out (dagger)' (see the comment to 25:13)

mzy:

mézé (Ga) 'go away, expire' (41:11) (cf. Arabic *maḍā*)

ndw:

enúdi (D/L) 'call out' (6:21) (cf. Mehri *anōdi*)

nfx:

nəfxát 'blowing' (TJ2:41)

ngr:

nḡor (Ga): add the meaning 'do carpentry' (TJ3:12)

nəḡḡór 'carpenter' (TJ3:12)

nhr:

nəḥōr ‘wadi’ (see the comment to 22:3)

nk̄t:

nək̄tót: add the variant plural *enk̄ét* (57:15) (this is either an EJ form or a Mehrism; cf. Mehri *ank̄āt*)

nsl:

ənsələt ‘offspring’ (perhaps the singular of *nésəl*) (TJ4:2)

nxl:

naxlét: add the plural *náxal* (30:1) (cf. Mehri *naxlīt*, pl. *nēxəl*)

nzh:

mənzáht ‘hoe’ (5:5)

rʿw:

rəʿít: add the meaning ‘subjects, citizens’ (TJ4:76)

rbʿ:

šərbáʿ (Š1): add the meaning ‘climb’ (see the comment to 4:9)

rgʿ:

rəgaʿ ‘dregs, remains, sediment’ (36:13) (cf. Mehri *ragē*)

rkb:

rək̄əb (pl. *ər̄k̄éb*) ‘ledge’ (see the comment to 54:32; TJ2:95)

rkm:

rək̄əm ‘number’ (42:12) (< Arabic *raqm*)

rsl:

ərsél (H): add the meaning ‘send’ (AK2:4) (< Arabic *ʿarsala*)

rśy:

ərśét ‘wood cow-pen’ (TJ2:122)

ršn:

rəšən ‘supplies’ (< English ‘ration?’) (TJ3:19)

šdy:

sídi 'devil', used in the idiom *ḏə-sídi* 'no good' (see the comment to TJ2:9)

šgt:

šǵót 'Dhofari buttontree (*Anogeissus dhofarica*)' (51:5)

shl:

məstéhal 'end of the month' (see the comment to 41:9)

skn:

síkun 'at that time' (Anon1:4)

škđ:

əstíkəd 'plan; subject, affair' (TJ4:13)

sll (swl?):

šél- 'don't/doesn't care' (see the comment to TJ2:124)

slb:

əslób 'arms, weapons' (see the comment to 36:26)

smy:

əstū(i) (T2) 'shout one's tribal war-cry' (see the comment to 25:4)

str:

šétar: add the meanings 'cover, covering' (30:5)

štórtə 'booths made of branches with dried grass on top' (pl. of *šétar?*) (TJ2:95)

šétar 'better'? (5:10)

swk:

səḵ (G) 'drive (a car)' (3ms imperf. *yəsék*, 3ms subj. *yəsəḵ*) (Anon1:5) (< Arabic *sāqa*)

šbh:

əšbəhí 'morning (adj.)', used in the phrase *fégər əšbəhí* 'very early morning; the very end of the night' (TJ4:22)

šbx:

šēx: add the meaning 'centipedes, etc.' (TJ2:118)

šff:

šef (G): add the meaning 'stand around' (TJ4:26)

šbr:

šēr (Gb) 'know how (to do something)' (1:7)

šny:

šini (Gb): add the meaning 'refuse a thing and then want it' (see the comment to 34:10)

šni (H): add the meaning 'see to (a sick person), treat, cure' (see the comment to 18:7)

šr˘:

šēr'át 'law; judge' (17:38) (< Arabic *šir'at*- 'law')

šwḱ:

šóték (T1) 'miss, long for' (60:19) (cf. Mehri *šātūk*)

šr˘:

māš'ér 'dance-party' (30:9; 97:5)

šy:

ša'é (G): add the 3ms imperfect dialectal variant *yš'í˘* (see the comment to 35:6)

šbt:

šōt (Ga) 'defecate' (48:11; 97:40)

šfk:

On the possible difference between G *šfḱ* and Š1 *šāšf'ék*, see § 6.4.2, n. 40.

šfr:

šōtḫār (T1): probably add the meaning 'be pricked' (see the comment to 40:4)

šhr:

šhór: add the common variant form *šh'ér* (see the comment to 40:7; 42:13; 60:9; AK1:1)

šm˘:

š'í˘ (Gb): add the variant 3ms perfect *šā˘* (see the comment to 13:13)

šnt:

šántəh (or šánta) 'bag' (TJ4:7) (< Arabic šanṭah)

šdy:

Delete this root along with the verb ššēd, which seems to be an error for šēd (s.v. wdd) (see the comment to 47:1).

thm:

thəmət 'accusation' (14:3)

tkv (tk?):

(ε)tké (H) 'lie down' (3ms future yétkε) (TJ4:64)

atkíyā 'lying place?' (TJ4:63)

tlw:

(ε)tlé (H) 'be sorry, regret' (see the comment to 31:5)

tww:

taw 'well?' (see the comment to 97:31)

ṭb:

ṭb: add the plural form ṭiā' (TJ2:59) (< Arabic tab', pl. tibā')

ṭbx:

ṭṭx (Ga) 'cook' (see the comment to 6:9) (cf. Arabic ṭabaxa 'cook')

tmr:

ṭəmrét 'produce, production' (TJ2:77) (cf. Arabic ṭamarat- 'yield, profit, benefit')

w:

bé-fló: correct the transcription to bə-fló

fəló 'perhaps' (see § 12.5.8 and the comment to 5:8)

w':

áyól 'ibex?' (see the comment to 6:25)

wdy:

ídi (Gb) 'take away' (see the comment to TJ4:72)

ōdi (D/L) 'take away' (see the comment to TJ4:72)

wgh:

εgáhgáħ ‘wedding night’ (see the comment to 45:19)

wšf:

təbšif ‘description’ (4:8; 40:16; 45:20)

wṭb:

śṭəb (pl. *yəṭśəb*) ‘udder, teat’ (43:1) (cf. Arabic *waṭb* ‘skin into which milk is put’)

wyy:

On *bē* and *býyyə*, which probably reflect the same word, see the comments to 4:10 and SB1:1.

wzn:

mízún: add the definite form *izún*, and the secondary meaning ‘animal market’

wzr:

ezír ‘vizier’ (36:22) (< Arabic *wazīr*)

xʿ:

axá ‘like’ (the extent of its use in Jibbali is unclear; see the comments to TJ2:65 and TJ4:95) (cf. Mehri *xā*)

xdm:

xodünt (dimin.) ‘work’ (8:4)

xdr:

xádər: add the diminutive *xadér* (pl. *xədirétə*) (TJ2:95)

xlʿ (xlʿ?):

xaláʿ (H) ‘swear?’ (used mainly in the 1cs perf. *xalák*) (see the comment to 57:9)

xlf:

xelf (fs *xilfét* or *xizfét*) ‘next, following’ (dialectal variants of *xalfí* and *xalfēt*) (17:12; 39:8; 41:9; 49:31)

xlk:

xɔk 'appearance' (see the comment to SB2:4; AK2:2)

xls:

xɔlɔs (Ga): add the meaning 'go astray' (57:15)

xlw:

xézi (Gb): add the meaning 'be unmarried' (see the comment to 7:8)

xrd:

xardét 'small change, small amount of money' (see the comment to AK1:5)

xt':

xéti (Gb) 'not stick in one's mind, escape one's memory'? (see the comment to T]2:79)

xwl:

xɔlɔt: add the meaning 'mother-in-law' (30:9; 60:9)

xyr:

xayór 'best' (see the comment to 83:7) (cf. Arabic *xiyār*)

xérin: probably delete the meaning 'better' and replace with 'a little' (see the comment to SB1:1)

xzy:

xézi (Gb) 'be embarrassed' (see the comment to 60:2; SB2:2)

xázé 'shame' (or 'punishment?') (see the comment to 21:11)

ykbn:

išīn: on the variant form *išīnt*, see the comment to 97:11

zfr:

mizfɔr: add the variant form *enzafɔr* (see the comment to 40:13)

zhw:

zhe 'festival' (see the comment to 4:1)

zkt:

zikt 'oysters' (WJ) (cf. Mehri *zukt*, Geva-Kleinberger 2010: 59)

zwǵ:

zaj 'relax'? (54:28) (< Arabic *zāǧa* 'turn aside, deviate')

zyǵ:

ezōǵ (D/L): add the meaning 'pretty up, dress up' (97:6)

aztēǵ (T2): add the meaning 'be happy' (AK2:9)

ǵhy:

(*a'íd ð*-)*ezáǵa* 'Eid al-Adha, Feast of the Sacrifice' (4:8)

ǵmd:

ǵĩdǵt: add the plural form *ǵiēd* (TJ2:6)

ǵrr:

ǵérét: add the more general meaning 'other wife' (see the comment to 97:4)

ǵy':

ǵá'at 'wasting away, weakening' (TJ4:4)

APPENDIX D

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO *THE MEHRI LANGUAGE OF OMAN*

My 2010 grammar of Mehri was based on Johnstone's Mehri texts as published by H. Stroomer (1999). An appendix of my book (pp. 311–330) included a long list of corrections to Stroomer's edition of the texts. Some of these mistakes were simple typos, while others were misreadings of the manuscripts or misunderstandings (by Johnstone) of the texts—understandable, since a comprehensive study of the language had not yet been undertaken. In 2012, after a visit to the Durham University Library to examine the Johnstone collection, I obtained copies of the manuscripts of all of his Mehri texts, including the Arabic- and Roman-letter versions.¹ It quickly became clear that Stroomer had based his edition mainly on Johnstone's Roman-letter transcriptions, and that little attention, if any, had been paid to the Arabic-letter originals of these texts. In comparing the manuscripts to my suggested corrections, I found that they were nearly all proven correct by the Arabic manuscripts; many had already been proven correct by the audio recordings, as noted in Rubin (2010).² From my own continued reading of the Mehri texts, I also found a number of additional corrections, which I have included below. In several cases, it was only the parallel Jibbali text that led me to notice a mistake in the Mehri version. There are still many small differences between the Arabic-letter, Roman-letter, and audio versions of some texts, but these usually reflect simple variations in phrasing; I have not yet made a complete study. Some additional corrections to the Mehri texts are:

¹ Unlike Johnstone's Jibbali manuscripts, many of his Mehri texts also had English translations.

² In 2011, I also discovered an audio recording of part of Mehri text 97, which, like the Arabic-letter manuscript, confirmed nearly all of my suggested corrections for that text.

| Text # | Printed | Correct Reading | Note |
|--------|---------------------|---------------------|---|
| 6:13 | <i>thērās</i> | <i>yhērās</i> | Arabic ms confirms. |
| 20:40 | <i>tāxōfi</i> | <i>tāhāxəwfi</i> | Arabic ms and audio confirm. |
| 24:23 | <i>nəḥāg</i> | <i>nənḥāg</i> | Arabic ms and audio confirm. |
| 26:9 | <i>əbōbən ʾatēm</i> | <i>əbōbnə tēm</i> | Arabic ms and audio confirm. |
| 38:6 | <i>rəkəb</i> | <i>rəkəb</i> | Arabic ms and audio confirm. Cf. J54:32. |
| 57:8 | <i>xaf</i> | <i>xāf</i> | Audio confirms. See also the note below (p. 680) to p. 258. |
| 65:13 | <i>al</i> | <i>ʾād</i> | Audio confirms. Cf. also ʾəd in J18:13. |
| 82:5 | <i>bāddədən</i> | <i>bāttədən</i> | Mss and audio confirm. ³ |
| 83:6 | <i>bər</i> | <i>bēr</i> | Audio confirms. Cf. also <i>yel</i> in J83:6. |
| 89:35 | <i>yəftarḥən</i> | <i>ḏə-yəftarḥən</i> | Audio and Arabic ms confirm. Cf. also J49:35. |
| 90:15 | <i>amḥəgēg</i> | <i>amḥəgēk</i> | Audio and Arabic ms confirm. Cf. also <i>āḥgék</i> in J57:15. ⁴ |
| 94:40 | <i>tawwās</i> | <i>tawwās</i> | See the comment to J60:40. |
| 97:48 | <i>məšárrək</i> | <i>amšárrək</i> | Audio and Arabic ms confirm. |
| 101:15 | <i>yáwdəg</i> | <i>ḏ-yáwdəg</i> | Arabic ms confirms. ⁵ |
| 103:1 | <i>bérhəm</i> | <i>tē bārḥəm</i> | Audio and Arabic ms confirm. |
| 103:5 | <i>ǧəláləkək</i> | <i>ǧəláləkək</i> | Audio confirms. |

I am certainly not immune to typographical errors myself, and have found many in my own book since its publication, including:

p. 20, footnote 7: “Testen (1988)” should read “Testen (1998)”.

p. 23, line 5: *tēti* should read *tēti*.

p. 91: The 1cd imperfect of the Gb-Stem should read “*əṭbərō*”, not “*yəṭbərō*”.

p. 102, fifth to last line: *šəCēCšəm* should read *šəCēCəm*.

p. 105, middle: “H *šəǧbūr*” should read “H *həǧbūr*”.

³ See Rubin (2010: 110, n. 14).

⁴ This word is not in *ML*, but the Jibbali cognate *maḥgē* ‘family; family property’ (used in J57:15) is included in *JL* (s.v. *hgʷ*).

⁵ In Rubin (2010: 145, n. 19), I had questioned why *ḏ-* appeared in 101:14, but not in 101:15. The prefix *ḏ-* is, in fact, present in the original Arabic ms, as expected. It is only missing from the Roman ms, on which Stroemer based the printed version.

- p. 106, middle: Arabic *istaxabara* should read *istaxbara*.
- p. 118, first line: *aka'ləd* should read *aḳa'ləd*.
- p. 123, first table: The indicated affixes for the 2ms and 2fs are transposed. The 2ms box should have “*tə-*” and the 2fs box should have “*tə-(...-i)*”.
- p. 126, middle: In the example from 64:30, “*təhūrək*” should read “*təhūrək*”.
- p. 148, fifth line from bottom: The translation “in the pen” for *ḍār aḏayga* (taken from Stroomer’s edition) should be corrected to “above the cave” (cf. Jibbali text 25:18).
- p. 153, middle: The verb *səḥátḱ* should be translated “I slaughtered”, not “I danced”.
- p. 181, last line: “48:28” should read “48:29”.
- p. 194, middle: “*rēḥək l-*” should read “*rēḥək l-*”. On the next line, “*rēḥək mən*” should read “*rēḥək mən*”.
- p. 196, fourth and fifth lines from the bottom: “*rēḥək*” should read “*rēḥək*”.
- p. 201, next to last line: “*ḥəynīl*” should read “*ḥəynīl*”.
- p. 214: In the list of the forms of the numbers used with ‘days’, *xəmhēt yūm* ‘five days’ is incorrect. The correct phrase is *xáymah yūm*. The word *xəmhēt* is the fs cardinal ‘fifth’ (see § 9.3). In both Mehri and Jibbali, the form of ‘five’ used with ‘days’ is the same as the regular feminine number ‘five’.
- p. 214: In the list of ordinal numbers, the masculine form of ‘4th’ should be *rōbə’ / rōba’*. The forms given (*arōbə’ / arōba’*) are the definite forms.
- p. 248, footnote 3, line 5: “90:8” should read “90:9”.
- p. 259, second to last line: The example from 93:3 should be removed from this section, since it is not a copular sentence (though it is an example of a sentence where an interrogative follows the verb).
- p. 261, near bottom: In the example from 61:1, “draught” should read “drought”.
- p. 263, fifth line from bottom: “*k-səwēḥər*” should read “*k-səwēḥər*”.
- p. 264, third line: “*ḍədsūs*” should read “*ḍə-dsūs*”.
- p. 288, fourth to last line: *təftarḥən* should read *ḍə-yəftarḥən*.
- p. 334, line 35: “*dévouverte*” should read “*découverte*”.
- p. 335, lines 15–16: “*Fait de Langues 27*” should read “*Fait de Langues 2*”.

The following additional data and comments can be added to my grammar of Mehri:

- p. 19: Though there are several examples on this page and the next of the loss of the prefix *t-* before an initial *t-*, I failed to include *t* in the list of consonants given in the first sentence of § 2.1.5.
- p. 21: Three more examples of the shift of *b > m* that appear in the texts are *māstōn* ‘plantation’ < **bustān* (37:1); *zābōn* ‘time’ < **zāmān* (104:1); and *kābūn* ‘hide’ (37:4; cf. EJ *kūn* < **kābūn*, but CJ *kūn* < **kāmūn*, and Arabic *kamana*).
- p. 29: The derivation *mālāwtāġ* < **mālūtāġ* < **māltūġ* is certainly plausible, since the shift *CCūG > CūCəG* is regular (see § 2.2.2), and the shift *ū > aw* following *l* is not unknown. However, given Jibbali *mālēbtāġ*, the Mehri form *mālāwtāġ* is probably better considered a plural of the pattern *məCāwCəC*, with an infix *w*.
- p. 50: My translation of *šxōf hənūk* as ‘milk for yourself!’ was incorrect. The word *šxōf* is not a ms imperative ‘milk!’, as I suggested, but rather a noun ‘milk’. The correct reading is ‘(you’ll find ...) milk by you’. This example does not belong in the section on reflexives.
- p. 54: In my discussion of the relative pronoun *ḏ-* (§ 3.8.1), I neglected to mention the unusual verbal agreement in sentences like *hō ġayg ḏ-al əḳāwdər l-əšxáwwəl b-aḳā ḏōmah lā* ‘I am a man who cannot stay in this land’ (94:4), *hō ġayg əmzūz* ‘I am a man who smokes’ (94:29), and *hō ġayg ḏ-al šay ḳawṭ lā* ‘I am a man who has no food’ (92:2). In these sentences, the verb (or prepositional phrase, in the case of 92:2) in the relative clause agrees not with its antecedent, but rather with the pronominal subject of the main clause, in which the predicate is the antecedent of the relative clause. Such agreement is also found in Jibbali; see further in § 3.8.1 of this volume.
- p. 108: No Š2-Stem imperatives were found in Johnstone’s published texts, as noted here. I have since found the ms imperative *šərəwəg* ‘consult’ in an unpublished text equivalent to Jibbali text 7 (see Appendix E). As expected, the imperative is formed from the base of the subjunctive.
- p. 118: It may be largely true that the N-Stem is not productive as a derivational stem, but there are examples of the NQ-Stem used as a passive or intransitive of the Q-Stem, as discussed for Jibbali in § 6.6.2 of this volume. In addition to the example *ənšərxawf* given on this page, see *ML* (s.v. *krbt* and *krfd*).
- p. 127: In the table at the beginning of § 7.1.3, the dual forms should indicate that the suffix *-ē* alternates with *-ō*. The second note below the table should be replaced with the following: Where the imperfect has the dual suffix *-ō* or *-āyən*, the subjunctive of most verb types has

- ē. Only with G-Stem (Ga and Gb) active verbs is the suffix -ō used in the dual subjunctive. Also, the table suggests that 2mp and 3mp subjunctive forms always have the suffix -əm. In fact, for Gb-Stems (including all II-Guttural G-Stems) and T2-Stems, the 2mp and 3mp subjunctives have ablaut instead of the suffix. So in the table, the suffix -əm should be in parentheses, like the 2fs suffix.
- p. 161: Regarding the so-called weak-*f* verbs, see the discussion in §7.4.17 in this volume, as well as Bendjaballah and Ségéral (2014).
- p. 193: The idiom *ḥātūg l* ‘need s.o.’ appeared just once in the texts, but Ali Musallam used it again in a letter to me (*ḥām ḥātūgak li* ‘if you need me’).
- p. 203: The idiom *l-adafēt ḏ* ‘at the side of’ is used only once in the texts (73:6, though repeated in 73:7), but Ali used the phrase *hō l-adfētək* ‘I am at your side’ in a letter to me.
- p. 227: The use of *ḥēsən* to mean ‘why?’ is undoubtedly the result of an underlying **h-ḥēsən* (cf. Jibbali *h-íné*).
- p. 230: I analyzed the particle *ḏə* in the phrase *kō ḏə-ǧərəbk* (27:4) as a relative pronoun (as also in Rubin 2008b: 82). The particle here is instead probably the verbal prefix *ḏ*- (§7.1.10.2), which is commonly used with the perfect of *ǧərūb* ‘know’ to give a present tense meaning.
- p. 239: On the Mehri word *ḥāk*, see §12.5.10 in this volume.
- p. 243: In the sentence from 101:16, instead of *ʿād* meaning ‘again’, I would now suggest that it is being used in conjunction with the subjunctive of *wīka* to indicate ‘maybe, might’. See the comment to p. 270 below, and further in §12.5.3 of this volume.
- p. 251: The analysis of *dawnək* as a particle *dawn*- plus a second person suffixed pronoun may be incorrect. It may be a frozen 1cs perfect. See §12.5.7 in this volume.
- p. 258: Concerning the particle *wətō*- (§12.5.18), I was led completely astray by Johnstone’s own analysis of the form *wətōkəm* in text 64:2. Johnstone analyzed this as a particle *wətō*-, included in his *ML* under the root *wṭ*. This must be instead the conjunction *wə*- plus the particle *taww*- (§12.5.15; *ML*, s.v. *tww*). In fact, a re-examination of the audio shows that the forms transcribed (*wə*-)*tōkəm* in 64:2 and *tāwwəkəm* in 24:41 are pronounced identically as *tāwkəm*. I realized that my analysis of *wətōkəm* was wrong when I saw the parallel *tōkum* used in Jibbali text 25:2. Morris (2012: 486) also suggested that *wətōkəm* was from *taww*-. Therefore, the entry for the root *wṭ* should be removed from *ML*, and section §12.5.18 should be removed from my grammar (and the example therein moved to §12.5.15).

- p. 258: I chose not to include the particle *xāf* ‘maybe’ in Chapter 12, since at the time of writing I had only the attestation in text 57:8. The Jibbali parallel to this passage (*ʾathúmk*, J8:8) makes it clear that *xāf* does indeed mean ‘maybe’. Watson (2012: 375) also treated this particle, and it is also attested in Hobyot (*HV*, pp. 145, 177, 283).
- p. 270: I mentioned on this page that the function of *ʾād* in 57:11 was uncertain. This use of *ʾād* plus a subjunctive of *wika* is being used to indicate ‘maybe’; cf. the parallel text in J8:11. See also the comment above to p. 243, and further in § 12.5.3 of this volume.
- p. 293: On a new reading of the cited passage from Mehri text 61:6, see the end of § 13.5.2.4 in this volume.
- p. 296: On a new reading of the cited passage from Mehri text 42:32, see the end of § 13.5.3.3, n. 19, in this volume.

Following are some additional bibliographical items relevant to Mehri, which are not in the Bibliography of this volume:

- Alfadly, Hassan Obeid. 2009. New Finds on Word Formation Processes in Mehri of Qishn in Yemen. In *Afroasiatic Studies in Memory of Robert Hetzron: Proceedings of the 35th Annual Meeting of the North American Conference on Afroasiatic Linguistics (NACAL 35)*, ed. Charles G. Häberl, pp. 271–295.
- Beeston, A.F.L. 1989. Review of *Mehri Lexicon*, by T.M. Johnstone. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 52:353–354.
- Bendjaballah, Sabrina, and Philippe Ségéral. 2013. Remarques sur la gémination dans le système verbal du mehri (sudarabique moderne). In *Phonologie, morphologie, syntaxe: Mélanges offerts à Jean-Pierre Angoujard*, ed. Ali Tifrit, pp. 31–59. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes.
- Bittner, Maximilian. 1910. Untitled. *Anzeiger der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien* 47/10:57–68.
- Brockelmann, C. 1936. Mehri. In *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, Volume 3: L–R*, ed. M.Th. Houtsma et al., pp. 449–454. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Bulakh, Maria. 2013. The Diachronic Background of the Verbs *wīda* and *gerōb* ‘to know’ in Mehri. In *Archaism and Innovation in the Semitic Languages: Selected Papers*, ed. Juan Pedro Monferrer-Sala and Wilfred G.E. Watson, pp. 1–32. Córdoba: CNERU.
- Eades, Domenyk, Janet C.E. Watson. 2013. Tense and Aspect in Semitic: A Case Study Based on the Arabic of the Omani Šarqiyya and the Mehri of Dhofar. In *Ingham of Arabia: A Collection of Articles Presented as a Tribute to the Career of Bruce Ingham*, ed. Clive Holes and Rudolf de Jong, pp. 23–54. Leiden: Brill.

- Eades, Domenyk, Janet C.E. Watson, and Mohammad Ahmad al-Mahri. 2013. Camel Culture and Camel Terminology Among the Omani Bedouin. *Journal of Semitic Studies* 58:169–186.
- Landberg, Carlo Graf. 1902. *Die Mehri-Sprache in Südarabien von Dr. Alfred Jahn und Die Mehri- und Soqotri-Sprache von Dav. Heinr. Müller kritisch beleuchtet. Heft 1: Die arabischen Texte*. Leipzig: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Lonnet, Antoine, and Marie-Claude Simeone-Senelle. 1987. Rābūt: Trance and Incantations in Mehri Folk Medicine. *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 17:107–115.
- Müller, David Heinrich. 1906. Das Substantivum verbale. In *Orientalische Studien, Theodor Nöldeke zum siebzigsten Geburtstag (2. märz 1906) gewidmet*, ed. Carl Bezold, vol. 2, pp. 781–786. Giessen: Alfred Töpelmann.
- Watson, Janet C.E., and Alex Bellem. 2010. A Detective Story: Emphatics in Mehri. *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 40:345–356.
- Watson, Janet C.E., and Munira Al-Azraqi. 2011. Lateral Fricatives and Lateral Emphatics in Southern Saudi Arabia and Mehri. *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 41:425–432.
- Watson, Janet C.E., and Paul Rowlett. 2012. Negation in Mehri, Stages of Jespersen's Cycle. In *Grammaticalization in Semitic*, ed. Domenyk Eades, pp. 205–225. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Note also the works by Bendjaballah and Ségéral (2014), Leslau (1970), Rubin (2011; 2012a), Watson (2012), and Watson and Bellem (2011), listed in the Bibliography of this volume.

APPENDIX E

A MEHRI VERSION OF TEXT 7 (M56A)

Among Johnstone's Mehri audio recordings, on tape 120 between the recordings of texts 56 and 57, is a recording of a story not included in the collection published by Stroomer (1999). I also found an Arabic-letter manuscript version of this story among Johnstone's papers (Box 6A), which has the text number M56 written at the top of the page. After working with Johnstone's Jibbali material, it became clear to me that this story was a Mehri version of Jibbali text 7. The published Mehri text 56 is totally different, and is actually equivalent to Jibbali text 3. Still, the manuscript heading, the fact that the recording appears before text 57, and the fact that Jibbali text 8 is equivalent to Mehri text 57, make it clear that this unknown text once was also assigned the number 56. Interestingly, in the Roman-letter manuscript for text 7, the header has a note "~~M56~~", with the text crossed out. We can refer to it as Mehri text 56A. Text 56 in Stroomer's edition bears the title "A Marriage Journey", which does not fit that text. The title, taken from a list of texts included among Johnstone's papers, no doubt refers to text 56A.

On the recording, Ali Musallam is clearly reading from a manuscript, as on nearly all of the recordings Johnstone made of Ali. The text follows.

Mehri Text 56A (= J7): A Betrothal and Marriage

1. *xəṭərāt ǵayg səyūr mən anáqd, yəḥōm ašḥayr. hīs wīšəl ašḥáyr, kūsa ǵayg. āmōr, “ḥōm əl-hērəs hənūk, hām hēt məháfǵək tī.”*
2. *āmōr, “hō məháfǵək tīk, hām wəzmōna tī aməndáwǵək.”* *āmōr, “wəzmōna tīk aməndáwǵi.”* *āmór, “xáybən, sēr šərēwəg ḥaynūt. hām sēn firəḥ būk, məháfǵək tīk.”*
3. *āmōr, “xáybən. mayt əl-šnēk?”* *āmōr, “gēhaməh.”* *səyūr aǵáyg təwōli ḥaynūt wə-ǵátri šīsən.*
4. *āmərūt aǵáwz, ḥāmē ḏə-tēt, “nəḥā šīn ǝdət. nəkūn rīḥōm k-ḥámyən, hām hēt wəḵōna rəḥáym šīn. məḥǵkáwtən tīk.”* *wə-sád hē wə-ḥaynūt.*
5. *wə-səyūr təwōli aǵáyg, ḥayb ḏə-tēt, wə-kəlūt ləh. wə-wəzmūh aməndáwǵəh. wə-sīrō təwōli sēkən.*
6. *wə-žāt təwkalēt mən hāl tēt. wə-ḵəfáwd hē w-ašháwd arḥəbət, hē w-ašhádhə arḥəbət, təwōli sérəʔ, wə-šəmlūk. wə-sītəm aǵəyáft tōmar, wə-ráfam.*
7. *tē kə-šōbəḥ, nákam sēkən wə-wbáwd, wə-fərūd ḥārūn mən sēkən. w-həbrīk arīkōb, wə-šxəwlīl wəḵōna sāʔa.*
8. *məǵōrən nákam ḥābū ḏə-yǵábrəm aǵəyáft. wə-nákam rəǵzēt. wə-nūka bər ḥadīd ḏə-tēt ḏə-yxōlaʔ. əl-ʔəḥād yəḥārūs bərt ḥadáydaḥ lā.*
9. *tōli wəzmūh aǵáyg ḏə-hārūs āsərīt ǵərəáwš wə-sūməḥ ḥəḥ yəḥērəs. wə-wkūb aʔāšər ḏəkəməh. wə-šxəwəlīl šīs wəḵōna warx.*
10. *tōli āmōr hīs, “nəḥōm nəfrēž təwōli ḥábye.”* *āmərūt həh, “əl əsyūr lā mən hāl ḥábye.”* *tōli āmōr ḥáybəš, “hō ḥōm əttēti təfrēž šay.”* *āmōr həh, “xáybən, sērəm.”*

2. *šərēwəg*: As noted in Appendix D, this form provides the only example of an Š-2-Stem imperative from Johnstone's Mehri texts.

4. *ḥámyən*: This appears to be the plural 'our sons-in-law', though a singular would fit the context a bit better. The Jibbali parallel (7:4) also seems to have the suffix used with plural nouns, though the noun itself does not have the expected plural form.

8. *yǵábrəm*: According to *ML* (s.v. *ǵbr*), the G-Stem *ǵəbūr* only has the meaning 'meet, come to meet', but here it must mean something like 'contribute, give help', which is the meaning associated with the H-Stem *ḥəǵbūr*. 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.

Translation of Mehri 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), said, "We have a custom. We will be fine with [or: nice to] our sons-in-law, if you will be fine with [or: 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 (went down) 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 the goats ran away frightened 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 (can) 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, "Ok, go."

11. *āmōr*, “əttēt̄ xəzūt mən təfrēž.” *toli nūka ḥáybəs, wə-gzūm līs. tōli tēt̄ āmərūt, “əl hō sīrīta lā.”*
12. *tōli āmōr ḥáybəs, “tēt̄ xəzūt mən (t)syēr. təḥōm (t)šxáwwəl, bə-ráyk. wə-təḥōm taxōli, wəzyēma tīk aməndáwḵək.”* *āmōr, “hām əl sē sīrīta šay lā, məxōli.” tōli xōli aǵáyǵ, wə-žāṭ aməndáwḵəh. wə-təmmūt.*

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."
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.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

This bibliography includes all works cited in this volume, as well as many other works relating to the study of Jibbali. For the few bibliographical abbreviations used in this book, see the list of abbreviations on p. xvii. Some additional bibliography pertaining to Mehri is given at the end of Appendix D.

- Al Aghbari, Khalsa. 2012. Noun Plurality in Jebbāli. Unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Florida.
- Al-Mashani, Mohammad bin Salim. 1999. The Lexical relationship between Classical Arabic and Shehri: A Comparative Analytical Study. Unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Manchester.
- Al-Shahri, Ali Ahmed. 1991. Recent Epigraphic Discoveries in Dhofar. *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 21:173–191.
- . 1994. *Kayfa ibtadaʿnā wa-kayfa irtaqaynā bi-l-ḥadārah al-ʿinsāniyah min šibh al-jazīrah al-ʿarabiyyah. Zūfār: kitābātuhā wa-nuqūshā al-qadīmah*. Dubai: Al-Ghurair.
- . 2000. *The Language of Aad*. Salalah, Oman: A. Al-Shahri.
- Al-Shahri, Salim bin Suhail bin Ali. 2007. The Shahri Language and its Relationship with Classical Arabic (A Comparative Study) [in Arabic]. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Yarmouk University.
- Arnold, Werner. 1993. Zur Position des Hóbyót in den neusüdarabischen Sprachen. *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 25:17–24.
- . 1996. *Shihri*. In *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New Edn., ed. C.E. Bosworth et al., vol. 9, p. 439. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Bakhīt al Tabūkī, Sālim. 1982. Tribal Structures in South Oman. *Arabian Studies* 6:51–56.
- Beeston, A.F.L. 1940. Review of *Four Strange Tongues from Central South Arabia—The Hadara Group*, by Bertram Thomas. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 72:363.
- . 1984. Review of *Jibbāli Lexicon*, by T.M. Johnstone. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 47:135–136.
- Bendjaballah, Sabrina, and Philippe Ségéral. 2014. The Phonology of “Idle Glottis” Consonants in the Mehri of Oman (Modern South Arabian). *Journal of Semitic Studies* 59:161–204.

- Bittner, Maximilian. 1913a. Charakteristik der Šḥauri-Sprache in den Bergen von Ḍofār am Persischen Meerbusen. *Anzeiger der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien* 50/9:81–94.
- . 1913b. Studien zur Laut- und Formenlehre der Mehri-Sprache in Süd-arabien. III. Zum Pronomen und zum Numerales. *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 172/5.
- . 1916a. Studien zur Šḥauri-Sprache den Bergen von Ḍofār am Persischen Meerbusen. I. Zur Lautlehre und zum Nomen im engeren Sinne. *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 179/2.
- . 1916b. Studien zur Šḥauri-Sprache den Bergen von Ḍofār am Persischen Meerbusen. II. Zum Verbum und zu den übrigen Redeteilen. *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 179/4.
- . 1917a. Studien zur Šḥauri-Sprache den Bergen von Ḍofār am Persischen Meerbusen. III. Zu ausgewählten Texten. *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 179/5.
- . 1917b. Studien zur Šḥauri-Sprache den Bergen von Ḍofār am Persischen Meerbusen. IV. Index (Šḥauri-deutsches Glossar) und Nachträge zu den Texten von D.H. von Müller. *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 183/5.
- . 1918. Vorstudien zur Grammatik und zum Wörterbuch der Soqoṭri-Sprache. II. Das Märchen vom Aschenputtel in den drei Mahra-Sprachen (Soqoṭri, Mehri und Šḥauri). Eine sprachvergleichende Studie. *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 186/4.
- Bulakh, Maria. 2004. Color Terms of Modern South Arabian Languages: A Diachronic Approach. In *Babel und Bibel* 1:269–282.
- Cohen, David. 1974. La forme verbale à marques personnelles préfixées en sudarabique moderne. In *IV Congresso internazionale di studi etiopici (Roma, 10–15 aprile 1972)*, vol. 2, pp. 63–70. Rome: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.
- Davey, Richard J. 2013. Coastal Dhofārī Arabic: A Sketch Grammar. Unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Manchester.
- Dostal, Walter. 1975. Two South Arabian Tribes: Al-Qarā and Al-Ḥarāsīs. *Arabian Studies* 2:33–41.

- Edzard, Lutz. 2013. Zu einer Jibbāli-vergleichend-semitischen Wortliste in arabischer Schrift. In *Nicht nur mit Engelszungen: Beiträge zur semitischen Dialektologie. Festschrift für Werner Arnold zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Renaud Kutry, Ulrich Seeger, and Shabo Talay, pp. 87–94. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Fresnel, Fulgence. 1838a. Quatrième lettre sur l'histoire des arabes avant l'islamisme. *Journal Asiatique (troisième série)* 5:497–544, 6:225–254.
- . 1838b. Note sur la langue hhymiarite. *Journal Asiatique (troisième série)* 6:79–84.
- . 1838c. Cinquième lettre sur l'histoire des arabes avant l'islamisme. *Journal Asiatique (troisième série)* 6:529–570.
- Frolova, Tatiana. 2005. Glottalized Sibilant ξ in Modern South Arabian Languages and Its Etymological Perspectives. In *Babel und Bibel* 2:429–455.
- Gesenius, Wilhelm. 1841. Himjaritische Sprache und Schrift, und Entzifferung der letzteren *Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung* 123–126 (July, 1841):369–399. (Also published separately as *Ueber die Himjaritische Sprache und Schrift*, 1841.)
- Ghazanfar, Shahina A. 1992. *An Annotated Catalogue of the Vascular Plants of Oman and their Vernacular Names*. Meise: National Botanic Garden of Belgium.
- . 2003. *Flora of the Sultanate of Oman, Volume 1: Piperaceae-Primulaceae*. Meise: National Botanic Garden of Belgium.
- . 2007. *Flora of the Sultanate of Oman, Volume 2: Crassulaceae-Apiaceae*. Meise: National Botanic Garden of Belgium.
- Glaser, Eduard. 1890. *Skizze der Geschichte und Geographie Arabiens, Zweiter Band*. Berlin: Weidmannsche.
- Goldenberg, Gideon. 1977. The Semitic Languages of Ethiopia and their Classification. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 40:461–507.
- . 1979. The Modern South Arabian Prefix-Conjugation: Addendum to BSOAS, XL, 3, 1977. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 42:541–545.
- Haines, S.B. 1845. Memoir of the South and East Coasts of Arabia. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 15:104–160.
- Halévy, Joseph. 1869. Lettre à Monsieur d'Abbadie sur l'origine asiatique des langues du nord de l'Afrique. *Actes de la Société Philologique* 1/2:29–43.
- Hayward, K.M., R.J. Hayward, and Sālim Bakhīt Al-Tabūki. 1988. Vowels in Jibbāli Verbs. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 51:240–250.

- Hofstede, Antje Ida (Anda). 1997. Description of the Johnstone Papers Held in the Palace Green Section of the University Library of Durham. *New Arabian Studies* 4:71–138.
- . 1998. Syntax of Jibbāli. Unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Manchester.
- Holes, Clive, 2005. Form X of the Verb in the Arabic Dialects of Eastern Arabia. In *Semitic Studies in Honour of Edward Ullendorff*, ed. Geoffrey Khan, pp. 115–125. Leiden: Brill.
- Hommel, Fritz. 1896. Vorläufige Mittheilungen ueber die inschriftlichen Ergebnisse der vierten Reise Eduard Glaser's. In *Actes du dixième congrès international des orientalistes, Session de Genève, 1894. Troisième partie*, pp. 105–117. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Huehnergard, John. 2005. Features of Central Semitic. In *Biblical and Oriental Essays in Memory of William L. Moran*, ed. A. Gianto, pp. 155–203. Rome: Pontificio Istituto Biblico.
- Huehnergard, John, and Aaron D. Rubin. 2011. Phyla and Waves: Models of Classification of the Semitic Languages. In *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*, ed. Stefan Weninger et al., pp. 259–278. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Hulton, J.G. (Dr.). 1836. Mr. Orlebar Presented an Account of the Kuria Maria Islands. *Proceedings of the Bombay Geographical Society* July, 1936:61–62. (Reprinted in *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society* 1 [1936]: 90–92.)
- . 1840. Notice on the Curia Maria Islands. *Transactions of the Bombay Geographical Society* 3:183–197.
- . 1841. An Account of the Curia Maria Isles, near the South-Eastern Coast of Arabia. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* 11:156–164.
- Janzen, Jörg. 1986. *Nomads in the Sultanate of Oman: Tradition and Development in Dhofar*. Boulder and London: Westview.
- Johnstone, T.M. 1968. The Non-Occurrence of a t- Prefix in Certain Socotri Verbal Forms. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 31:515–525.
- . 1970a. A Definite Article in the Modern South Arabian Languages. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 33:295–307.
- . 1970b. Dual Forms in Mehri and Ḥarsūsi. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 33:501–512.
- . 1972. The Language of Poetry in Dhofar. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 35:1–17.
- . 1973. Diminutive Patterns in the Modern South Arabian Languages. *Journal of Semitic Studies* 18:98–107.

- . 1975a. The Modern South Arabian Languages. *Afroasiatic Linguistics* 1/5:93–121 [1–29].
- . 1975b. Contrasting Articulations in the Modern South Arabian Languages. In *Hamito-Semitic*, ed. James and Theodora Bynon, pp. 155–159. The Hague and Paris: Mouton.
- . 1977. *Ḥarsūsi Lexicon and English-Ḥarsūsi Word-List*. London: Oxford University Press.
- . 1978. A St. George of Dhofar. *Arabian Studies* 4:59–65.
- . 1980a. Gemination in the Jibbāli Language of Dhofar. *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 4:61–71.
- . 1980b. The Non-Occurrence of a t- Prefix in Certain Jibbāli Verbal Forms. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 43:466–470.
- . 1981. *Jibbāli Lexicon*. London: Oxford University Press.
- . 1983. The System of Enumeration in the South Arabian Languages. In *Arabian and Islamic Studies: Articles presented to R.B. Serjeant on the occasion of his retirement from the Sir Thomas Adams's Chair of Arabic at the University of Cambridge*, ed. R.L. Bidwell and G.R. Smith, pp. 225–228. London and New York: Longman.
- . 1984. New Sibilant Phonemes in the Modern South Arabian Languages of Dhofar. In *Current Progress in Afro-Asiatic Linguistics: Papers of the Third International Hamito-Semitic Congress*, ed. James Bynon, pp. 389–390. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- . 1987. *Mehri Lexicon and English-Mehri Word-List*. London: School of Oriental and African Studies.
- Kouloughli, D.E. 1983. Review of *Jibbāli Lexicon*, by T.M. Johnstone. *Arabica* 30:103–104.
- Krapf, L. 1846. Sammlung von Wörtern in den Sprachen von *Murbat dafar* und *Mahāra* im Südlichen Arabien. *Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft der Sprache* 1:311–315.
- Landberg, C. 1899. *Die Expedition nach Süd-Arabien*. Munich: Seitz & Schauer.
- . 1920–1942. *Glossaire Daïñois*. 3 vols. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Leslau, Wolf. 1935. Remarques sur quelques mots du sudarabique moderne. *Mémoires de la société de linguistique de Paris* 23:407–409.
- . 1937. Der š-Laut in den modernen sudarabischen Sprachen. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 44:211–218.
- . 1938. *Lexique Soqotri (sudarabique moderne)*. Paris: C. Klincksieck.
- . 1945. The Parts of the Body in the Modern South Arabic Languages. *Language* 21:230–249.

- . 1946. Bibliography of the Modern South Arabic Languages. *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* 50:607–633.
- . 1947a. Four Modern South Arabian Languages. *Word* 3:180–203.
- . 1947b. The Position of the Dialect of Curia Muria in Modern South Arabic. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 12:5–19.
- . 1970. Modern South Arabian. In *Current Trends in Linguistics, Vol. 6: Linguistics in South West Asia and North Africa*, ed. Thomas A. Sebeok, pp. 515–527. The Hague and Paris: Mouton.
- Lonnet, Antoine. 1985. The Modern South Arabian Languages in the P.D.R. of Yemen. *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 15:49–55.
- . 1991. La découverte du sudarabique moderne: le *ehkili* de Fresnel (1838). *Matériaux arabes et sudarabiques, nouvelle série* 3:15–89.
- . 1994a. Quelques résultats en linguistique sudarabique moderne. *Quaderni di Studi Arabi* 11:37–82.
- . 1994b. Le verbe sudarabique moderne: hypothèses sur des tendances. *Matériaux arabes et sudarabiques, nouvelle série* 6:213–255.
- . 1998. The Soqotri Language: Past, Present and Future. In *Proceedings of the First International Symposium on Soqatra Island: Present and Future*, ed. H.J. Dumont, vol. 1, pp. 297–308. New York: United Nations.
- . 2003. L'accumulation des déictiques: l'expression de “maintenant” en sudarabique moderne. In *Mélanges David Cohen*, ed. J. Lentin and A. Lonnet, pp. 421–438. Paris: Maisonneuve et Larose.
- . 2005. Quelques réflexions sur le verbe sudarabique moderne. In *Studi Afroasiatici: XI Incontro Italiano di Linguistica Camitosemitica*, ed. Alessandro Mengozzi, pp. 187–201. Milan: FrancoAngeli.
- . 2006. Les langues sudarabiques modernes. *Faits de Langues* 2:27–44.
- . 2008. La marque *-i* de féminin en (chamito-)sémitique et son développement en sudarabique moderne oriental. *Aula Orientalis* 26:117–134.
- . 2009. South Arabian, Modern. In *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics, Volume IV: Q–Z*, ed. Kees Versteegh et al., pp. 296–300. Leiden: Brill.
- Lonnet, Antoine, and M. Simeone-Senelle. 1997. La phonologie des langues sudarabiques modernes. In *Phonologies of Asia and Africa, Volume 1*, ed. Alan S. Kaye, pp. 337–372. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns.
- Macro, Eric. 1993. The Austrian Imperial Academy's Expeditions to South Arabia 1897–1900: C. de Landberg, D.H. Müller and G.W. Bury. In *New Arabian Studies* 1:54–82.
- Maltzan, Heinrich Freiherr von. 1873. Dialectische Studien über das Mehri im Vergleich mit verwandten Mundarten. *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 27:225–231.

- Manfredi, Lucia. 1978. Ricerche lessicali nei dialetti sudarabici moderni: I problemi dello sheri. Unpublished Laurea thesis, University of Florence.
- Matthews, Charles D. 1959. Non-Arabic Place Names in Central Southern Arabia. In *Akten des vierundzwanzigsten internationalen Orientalisten-Kongresses, München, 28. September bis 4. September, 1957*, ed. Herbert Franke, pp. 259–262. Wiesbaden: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft.
- . 1962. Again on Non-Arabic Place Names in Central Southern Arabia. In *Trudy dvadcat' p'jatogo meždunarodnogo kongressa vostokovedov: Moskva, 9–16 avgusta, 1960*, ed. B.G. Gafurov, volume 1, pp. 548–555. Moscow: Vostočnoj Literaturny.
- . 1967–1970. On the Border of the Sands. *The University of South Florida Language Quarterly* 6/1–2:39–47; 6/3–4:7–12; 7/1–2:41–48; 7/3–4:43–48; 8/1–2:43–47; 8/3–4:11–19.
- . 1969. Modern South Arabian Determination—A Clue Thereto from Shaḥri. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 89:22–27.
- Miller, Anthony G., and Miranda Morris. 1988. *Plants of Dhofar: The Southern Region of Oman. Traditional, Economic and Medicinal Uses*. Sultanate of Oman: The Office of the Advisor for the Conservation of the Environment, Diwan of the Royal Court.
- Morris, Miranda. 1985. A Poem in Jibbāli. *Journal of Oman Studies* 7:121–130.
- . 1987. Dhofar—What Made it Different? In *Oman: Economic, Social and Strategic Developments*, ed. B.R. Pridham, pp. 51–78. London: Croom Helm.
- . 2002. Plant Names in Dhofar and the Soqatra Archipelago. *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 32:47–61.
- . 2012. Review of *The Mehri Language of Oman*, by Aaron D. Rubin. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 132:482–486.
- Müller, David Heinrich. 1899. *Die südarabische Expedition der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*. Vienna and Leipzig: Wilhelm Braumüller.
- . 1902. *Die Mehri- und Soqotri-Sprache. I. Texte*. Südarabische Expedition IV. Vienna: Alfred Hölder.
- . 1905. *Die Mehri- und Soqotri-Sprache. II. Soqotri-Texte*. Südarabische Expedition VI. Vienna: Alfred Hölder.
- . 1907. *Die Mehri- und Soqotri-Sprache. III. Šḥauri-Texte*. Südarabische Expedition VII. Vienna: Alfred Hölder.
- . 1909. Soqotri-Glossen. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 23:347–354.

- Nakano, Aki'o. 1986. *Comparative Vocabulary of Southern Arabic: Mahri, Ghibali, and Soqotri*. Tokyo: Institute for the Study of Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.
- . 2013. *Höbyot (Oman) Vocabulary: With Example Texts*. Ed. Robert Ratcliffe. Tokyo: Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa.
- Nebes, N. 1994. Zur Form der Imperfektbasis des unvermehrten Grundstammes im Altsüdarabischen. In *Festschrift Ewald Wagner zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. W. Heinrichs and G. Schoeller, vol. 1, pp. 59–81. Beirut and Stuttgart: F. Steiner.
- Pennacchietti, Fabrizio A. 1969. Un articolo prepositivo in neosudarabico? *Rivista degli studi orientali* 44:285–293.
- . 2007. L'impiego di frasi pseudorelative con [come] verbi finiti. In *Relative e pseudorelative tra grammatica e testo*, ed. Federica Venier, pp. 133–148. Alessandria, Italy: Edizioni dell'Orso.
- Peterson, J.E. 2004. Oman's Diverse Society: Southern Oman. *Middle East Journal* 58:254–269.
- Phillips, Wendell. 1966. *Unknown Oman*. New York: David McKay Company.
- Porkhomovsky, Victor. 1997. Modern South Arabian Languages from a Semitic and Hamito-Semitic Perspective. *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 27:219–223.
- Rhodokanakis, N. 1908. *Der vulgärarabische Dialekt im Doḡār (Zḡār) I. Prosaïsche und poetische Texte, Übersetzung und Indices*. Südarabische Expedition VIII. Vienna: Alfred Hölder.
- . 1911. *Der vulgärarabische Dialekt im Doḡār (Zḡār) II. Einleitung, Glossar und Grammatik*. Südarabische Expedition X. Vienna: Alfred Hölder.
- Robin, Christian, Antoine Lonnet, and Marie-Claude Simeone-Senelle. 1986. Review of *Jibbāli Lexicon*, by T.M. Johnstone. *Bulletin Critique des Annales Islamologiques* 3:8–10.
- Rödiger, E. 1840. Fresnel über die Himjaritische Sprache. *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 3:288–293.
- Rubin, Aaron D. 2007. The Mehri Participle: Form, Function, and Evolution. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Series 3)* 17:381–388.
- . 2008a. The Subgrouping of the Semitic Languages. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 2:61–84.
- . 2008b. Interrogatives in Mehri: Their Use and Etymologies. *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 48:75–90.
- . 2009. The Functions of the Preposition *k-* in Mehri. *Journal of Semitic Studies* 54:221–226.

- . 2010. *The Mehri Language of Oman*. Leiden: Brill.
- . 2011. Mehri Dialect Studies: Omani and Šarqiyah Mehri. *Zeitschrift für Arabische Linguistik* 54:67–83.
- . 2012a. Two Modern South Arabian Etymologies. In *Language and Nature: Papers Presented to John Huehnergard on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday*, ed. Rebecca Hasselbach and Na'ama Pat-El, pp. 345–352. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- . 2012b. Grammaticalization and the Jibbali Future. In *Grammaticalization in Semitic*, ed. Domenyk Eades, pp. 193–203. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- . 2014. Hulton's Jibbali Word-List from 1836. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 77.
- . Forthcoming. Recent Developments in Jibbali. *Journal of Semitic Studies*.
- Schneider, R. 1954–1957. Les noms de parenté en sud-arabique moderne. *Comptes Rendus du Groupe Linguistique d'Études Chamito-Sémitiques (GLECS)* 7:27–31.
- Serjeant, R., and E. Wagner. 1959. A Sixteenth-Century Reference to *Šhaḥrī* Dialect at *Zufār*. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 22:128–132.
- Sima, Alexander. 2002. Der bestimmte Artikel im Mehri. In "Sprich doch mit deinen Knechten aramäisch, wir verstehen es!" 60 Beiträge zur Semitistik: *Festschrift für Otto Jastrow zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Werner Arnold and Hartmut Bobzin, pp. 647–668. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Simeone-Senelle, Marie-Claude. 1991. Récents développements des recherches sur les langues sudarabiques modernes. In *Proceedings of the Fifth International Hamito-Semitic Congress*, ed. Hans G. Mukarovsky, vol. 2, pp. 321–337. Vienna: Afro-Pub.
- . 1993. L'expression du "futur" dans les langues sudarabiques modernes. *Matériaux arabes et sudarabiques, nouvelle série* 5:249–277.
- . 1994. La négation dans les langues sudarabiques modernes. *Matériaux arabes et sudarabiques, nouvelle série* 6:187–211.
- . 1997. The Modern South Arabian Languages. In *The Semitic Languages*, ed. R. Hetzron, pp. 378–423. London: Routledge.
- . 1998. La dérivation verbale dans les langues sudarabiques modernes. *Journal of Semitic Studies* 43:71–88.
- . 2002. Les langues sudarabiques modernes à l'aube de l'an 2000: Évaluation des connaissances. In *Israel Oriental Studies XX. Semitic Linguistics: The State of the Art at the Turn of the 21st Century*, ed. Shlomo Izre'el, pp. 379–400. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns.

- . 2011. Modern South Arabian. In *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook*, ed. Stefan Weninger et al., pp. 1073–1113. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Simeone-Senelle, Marie-Claude, and Antoine Lonnet. 1985–1986. Lexique des noms des parties du corps dans les langues sudarabiques modernes. Première partie: la tête. *Matériaux arabes et sudarabiques* 3:259–304.
- . 1988–1989. Lexique des noms des parties du corps dans les langues sudarabiques modernes. Deuxième partie: les membres. *Matériaux arabes et sudarabiques, nouvelle série* 2:191–255.
- . 1990. Review of *Plants of Dhofar: The Southern Region of Oman. Traditional, Economic and Medicinal Uses*, by Anthony G. Miller and Miranda Morris. *Bulletin Critique des Annales Islamologiques* 7:171–173.
- Smith, G. Rex. 1983. Review of *Jibbāli Lexicon*, by T.M. Johnstone. *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1:98–99.
- Stroomer, Harry, ed. 1999. *Mehri Texts from Oman. Based on the Field Materials of T.M. Johnstone*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- , ed. 2004. *Harsūsi Texts from Oman. Based on the Field Materials of T.M. Johnstone*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Sturm, Gertraud. 2011. David Heinrich Müller und die südarabische Expedition der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften 1898/99. Unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Vienna.
- Testen, David. 1992. The Loss of the Person-Marker *t*- in Jibbali and Socotri. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 55:445–450.
- . 1998. Modern South Arabian ‘nine’. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 61:314–317.
- Thesiger, Wilfred. 1946. A New Journey in Southern Arabia. *The Geographical Journal* 109:129–145.
- Thomas, Bertram. 1929. Among Some Unknown Tribes of South Arabia. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 59:97–111.
- . 1937. Four Strange Tongues from Central South Arabia—The Hadara Group. *Proceedings of the British Academy* 23:231–331. (Also published as a monograph.)
- Tkatsch, J. 1936. Mahra. In *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, Volume III: L–R*, ed. M.Th. Houtsma et al., pp. 138–144. Leiden: E.J. Brill.
- Tritton, A.S. 1939. Review of *Four Strange Tongues from Central South Arabia—The Hadara Group*, by Bertram Thomas. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 10:251–252.

- Voigt, Rainer. 1994. Neusüdarabisch und Äthiopisch. In *Arabia Felix: Beiträge zur Sprache und Kultur des vorislamischen Arabien. Festschrift Walter W. Müller zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Norbert Nebes, pp. 291–307. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- . 2006. Zum Verlust der personalen Elemente in den Präfixkonjugationen des Neusüdarabischen. In *Loquentes linguis: Studi linguistici e orientali in onore di Fabrizio A. Pennacchietti*, ed. Pier Giorgio Borbone, Alessandro Mengozzi, and Mauro Tosco, pp. 717–731. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Wagner, Ewald. 1953. *Syntax der Mehri-Sprache unter Berücksichtigung auch der anderen neusüdarabischen Sprachen*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag.
- . 1968. Drei Miszellen zum südostsemitischen Verbum. In *Studia orientalia in memoriam Caroli Brockelmann*, ed. Manfred Fleischhammer, pp. 207–215. Halle: Martin-Luther Universität Halle-Wittenberg.
- Watson, Janet C.E. 2012. *The Structure of Mehri*. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Watson, Janet C.E., and Alex Bellem. 2011. Glottalisation and Neutralisation in Yemeni Arabic and Mehri: An Acoustic Study. In *Instrumental Studies in Arabic Phonetics*, ed. Zeki Majeed Hassan and Barry Heselwood, pp. 235–256. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Wellsted, J.R. 1835a. Memoir on the Island of Socotra. *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 5:129–229.
- . 1835b. Report on the Island of Socotra. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 4:138–166.
- . 1840. *Travels to the City of the Caliphs*. London: Henry Colburn.
- Yushmanov, N. 1930. Dannye Fresnel'ja o južno-arabskom narečii exkili. *Zapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov* 5:379–391.
- Zaborski, Andrzej. 1994. Arcaismi ed innovazioni nei pronomi personali del sudarabo moderno. In *Sem Cam Iafet. Atti della 7^a Giornata di Studi Camito-Semitici e Indoeuropei (Milano, 1^o giugno 1993)*, ed. Vermondo Brugnatelli, pp. 251–262. Milan: Centro studi camito-semitici.
- . 2007. Notes on the Reconstruction of the 'Prefix-Conjugations' in the Modern South Arabian Languages. *Lingua Posnaniensis* 49:195–206.

INDEX OF PASSAGES

The texts below are listed alphabetically by heading. First are Johnstone's texts from Ali Musallam (those labeled with a number only), followed by those texts whose numbers are preceded by two or more letters: AK, AM, Anon, FB, Fr, Pr, SB, and TJ.

Text 1

- 1 3.4
- 3 11.6; 12.5.4
- 4 7.1.3; 8.11; 11.1
- 5 3.5.1
- 6 10.4
- 7 5.4 (2×); 7.1.5; 8.4; 13.2.1; 13.4.2
- 8 3.1; 3.8.2; 8.18
- 9 7.2; 12.5.9; 13.2.1; 13.5.1.1
- 10 11.5
- 11 7.1.5; 13.4.2
- 12 13.2.4; 13.2.5
- 14 2.1.3; 3.5.3; 7.1.1

Text 2

- 1 8.3; 12.1.1; 12.4; 13.5.3.5
- 3 3.6; 8.6; 12.5.4
- 5 2.1.6; 7.1.2
- 6 13.2.4
- 7 7.1.5; 13.1; 13.4.2
- 9 13.1.1; 13.2.1; 13.3.1; 13.4.2
- 10 12.1.2; 13.4.2
- 12 7.1.7; 7.1.10.2 (2×); 12.5.17
- 13 7.1.10.2; 12.4
- 15 3.2.3
- 16 13.2.2

Text 3

- 1 11.11
- 4 5.1

- 5 8.3; 11.8
- 6 3.2.3; 8.8; 9.2
- 7 8.11; 12.1.4
- 8 12.2.1; 13.3.2; 13.5.2.2
- 9 13.2.5
- 10 2.1.2; 2.1.9; 3.3; 11.5; 13.2.5
- 11 13.2.1; 13.4.1
- 12 7.1.2; 13.4.1
- 13 12.5.6
- 14 13.2.4; 13.2.5
- 16 7.1.1
- 18 12.5.6
- 19 6.5.2, n. 47; 7.1.6

Text 4

- 1 2.1.2, n. 5; 5.1; 5.5.4
- 2 12.4; 13.5.3.2
- 3 3.7
- 4 5.5.4; 7.1.8
- 5 3.2.3 (2×); 3.5.3; 5.5.3; 8.18
- 6 7.2; 13.5.3.2
- 8 5.3; 12.1.1
- 9 7.1.10.2; 13.4.1
- 10 4.6; 5.4; 10.5

Text 5

- 1 3.6
- 2 5.5.4; 13.5.3.3
- 3 5.5.4; 7.1.10.2; 13.5.2.2
- 4 3.2.3; 3.4; 7.1.6; 7.3; 13.5.3.5

Text 5 (*cont.*)

| | |
|----|---|
| | 13.3.2 (2×) |
| 5 | 13.1.1; 13.5.1.1 |
| 6 | 3.5.2; 9.1.1 |
| 7 | 3.5.5; 11.7; 13.1 |
| 8 | 8.11; 12.5.8 |
| 9 | 9.1.1 |
| 10 | 7.1.3; 7.1.4; 7.2; 13.4.1 |
| 11 | 4.6; 7.1.10.1; 7.4.8, n. 30; 11.1; 12.5.17; 13.1 |
| 12 | 3.3; 3.5.5; 4.6; 7.4.10; 9.4; 11.2; 13.1; 13.1.1 |
| 13 | 5.5.3; 13.4.1 |
| 16 | 3.1; 9.4; 13.1.1; 13.4.1 |
| 27 | 11.1 |
| 28 | 4.3.2; 8.6 |
| 29 | 3.2.3; 3.3; 8.3 |
| 30 | 8.3 |
| 31 | 3.2.3 (2×) |
| 32 | 4.2; 8.6; 12.4 |
| 33 | 5.5.3; 9.1.5 |
| 34 | 13.4.1 |
| 36 | 5.1; 8.16 |
| 37 | 3.1; 3.2.3; 3.3 |
| 38 | 8.11; 13.2.1; 13.3.4; 13.4.2 (2×) |
| 39 | 3.7; 3.8.4; 13.1.1 |

Text 6

| | |
|----|--|
| 1 | 4.2; 6.4.2, n. 40; 8.6; 8.8; 8.30; 9.1.1 |
| 2 | 8.28 |
| 3 | 12.3 |
| 4 | 3.8.4; 7.1.7 |
| 5 | 2.1.8; 3.2.3; 7.1.6; 8.26 |
| 6 | 8.26; 8.28; 13.5.2.4 |
| 7 | 5.1; 8.14; 13.5.3.2 (2×) |
| 8 | 7.1.3; 8.6; 8.11; 8.28; 11.2 (2×); 13.3.2 |
| 9 | 7.1.1; 8.26 |
| 10 | 12.1.1 |
| 11 | 5.1; 5.4; 12.1.4; 13.4.2, n. 9 |
| 12 | 4.2; 4.3.2; 7.1.8; 8.20 |
| 13 | 7.5; 12.1.4; 13.4.1 |
| 15 | 3.8.5; 8.13 |
| 17 | 7.4.10; 13.5.3.4 |
| 18 | 13.5.1.1 |
| 19 | 4.6 |
| 20 | 3.2.3; 7.5.1; 8.3; 8.18 |
| 21 | 11.1 |
| 22 | 8.3; 8.8; 12.4 (2×) |
| 23 | 4.3.2 |
| 24 | 4.6; 12.3; 13.1 |
| 25 | 2.1.6; 2.1.8; 3.8.2; 4.3.2, n. 10; 8.3; |

Text 7

| | |
|----|--|
| 1 | 7.5.2; 8.1; 8.26, n. 28; 12.5.6; 13.4.1; 13.5.3.5 |
| 2 | 3.1; 6.4.4, n. 44; 13.4.1 |
| 3 | 7.1.4; 11.8 |
| 4 | 8.13; 13.1.1; 13.3.1 (2×) |
| 5 | 12.4 |
| 6 | 8.26 |
| 7 | 8.26; 9.6 |
| 8 | 2.1.2 |
| 9 | 3.8.1; 7.1.3; 8.13; 9.1.1; 13.5.1 |
| 10 | 7.1.3; 7.5; 8.13; 8.26 |
| 12 | 13.4.2 |

Text 8

| | |
|----|---------------------------------------|
| 1 | 7.2; 8.11; 9.6 |
| 2 | 7.2; 8.11; 9.1.1; 9.6 (2×) |
| 3 | 3.5.2; 12.5.19 |
| 4 | 4.5; 5.1; 12.1.2; 13.1; 13.2.1 |
| 5 | 12.5.8 |
| 6 | 8.11 |
| 7 | 3.3; 4.2; 8.18; 9.1.1; 12.2.1; 13.2.4 |
| 8 | 3.5.2; 7.1.10.2; 13.5.3.5 |
| 9 | 3.5.1; 7.1.4 |
| 10 | 11.1 |
| 11 | 12.5.3; 13.1.1 |

- 12 7.1.2; 12.2.1
 13 7.1.3; 12.5.2 (3×); 12.5.4
 14 12.5.4

Text 9

- 1 5.5.6; 13.3.1, n. 4
 2 8.3; 12.5.1; 13.3.2 (3×)
 4 13.5.2.2
 5 13.3.2
 6 4.3.2; 8.6; 8.11; 13.3.2; 13.4.1
 7 5.1; 12.5.1; 13.4.1
 8 3.4; 8.29

Text 10

- 1 3.1; 3.4; 4.6
 2 3.8.1; 13.5.3.4
 3 7.1.2; 12.1.4; 13.2.3
 4 2.1.2; 7.1.4

Text 12

- 1 4.2 (2×); 7.5.1; 8.6; 9.1.1 (2×)
 2 7.5; 7.5.3; 8.1; 8.6; 12.5.9; 13.4.1
 4 3.2.3; 8.3; 8.8; 13.5.3.1; 13.5.3.5
 5 7.1.10.1; 13.3.1; 13.4.1; 13.5.3.4
 6 12.5.6
 7 3.8.2; 4.6; 9.1.3; 9.3
 8 3.8.1
 9 3.3; 3.8.1; 4.6; 7.1.1; 7.5; 8.6; 13.2.7
 (2×)
 10 3.2.3 (2×); 7.3; 7.4.10; 8.8; 13.2.1
 11 13.2.4
 12 4.3.1; 8.26

Text 13

- 1 4.2; 7.1.1; 8.14; 9.1.1; 13.5.3.4
 2 3.1; 7.1.3; 7.5; 8.2; 8.26
 3 4.3; 5.1; 7.4.16; 8.3; 12.5.4 (3×)
 4 8.3; 13.1.1; 13.5.3.4 (2×)
 5 3.6; 7.1.10.2; 13.5.3.4
 6 8.8

- 7 2.1.3; 3.3; 3.8.1 (2×); 7.1.4; 11.2;
 13.4.1
 8 3.8.3; 7.1.10.1; 8.18; 13.1.1; 13.5.3.5
 9 5.5.4
 10 12.5.3; 13.3.3
 11 2.1.6; 3.3; 7.1.10.1; 7.3
 12 3.3; 3.4 (2×); 7.1.1; 11.1; 13.1
 13 13.1.1; 13.5.1.1
 14 3.3; 4.2; 9.2
 15 4.3.2
 16 4.2; 7.4.14; 8.6 (2×); 8.11; 8.26
 17 7.5.1; 8.14; 8.18; 13.2.4
 18 3.1; 7.1.3; 7.1.4; 7.5; 7.5.3; 12.5.4;
 13.2.2; 13.4.1
 19 8.26
 20 6.5.1; 7.1.5; 8.26; 13.4.2

Text 14

- 1 7.1.4
 2 7.1.8
 5 9.1.1
 6 13.2.7
 7 13.2.7

Text 15

- 1 7.5.2; 9.2; 13.5.3.4
 2 2.1.3; 4.2; 8.6; 8.16; 9.1.1 (2×); 9.2
 3 4.3; 8.18; 10.1; 12.5.4; 13.4.1, n. 8
 4 3.2.3; 9.1.1; 12.1.5; 12.5.13; 12.5.19
 5 3.1
 6 4.6
 7 2.1.3; 3.5.1; 8.4; 8.11; 8.18; 13.4.1
 (2×)
 8 3.5.1; 8.3; 8.18; 12.5.17
 9 6.4.4, n. 43; 7.1.2; 7.1.10.1; 7.5.2;
 8.3; 8.18; 13.5.3.4 (2×)
 10 4.6; 8.28
 11 2.3; 3.8.1; 4.3.2 (2×); 9.1.1; 13.3.1
 12 3.4; 7.2; 7.5; 8.11
 13 2.1.2; 8.22

Text 15 (*cont.*)

14 3.3; 3.5.5; 13.1.1

15 3.8.5; 8.3; 12.4

16 3.2.3

Text 16

1 7.5.2; 8.6

2 12.1.1

3 7.1.3; 7.5; 13.4.1

4 7.5; 13.2.1; 13.2.4

5 3.3; 3.4; 3.8.1; 9.3; 12.5.4

Text 17

1 13.1.1

5 5.1

6 3.4 (2×); 7.1.10.2

7 12.5.16

8 3.1; 12.5.13

9 3.2.3 (2×); 7.1.2; 7.1.4; 7.4.14; 7.5.3;
8.12; 8.25; 12.5.4

10 2.1.6

11 8.8

12 8.8; 9.3; 13.5.3.4

13 2.1.9; 8.8; 12.5.1

14 8.11; 13.2.1; 13.4.1 (2×)

15 3.4; 4.6; 9.6; 12.4 (2×)

16 3.1; 7.5

17 7.5; 7.5.3

18 3.5.1; 6.4.2, n. 40; 13.3.1.1

19 13.5.2.2

20 3.1; 3.8.3; 7.5 (2×)

21 5.5.1; 8.26

22 7.5; 8.11; 13.5.3.4

24 11.3

25 3.7; 7.5.1

26 3.2.3 (2×); 8.18

27 2.1.6; 3.2.3

28 4.3.2 (2×); 7.2; 7.3; 10; 13.5.3.5

29 8.18; 8.24; 12.3

30 7.1.7; 7.1.10.2; 7.3; 10.1

32 8.12

33 3.8.1; 8.6

36 13.3.2

38 7.1.3

39 3.1; 7.1.7; 13.4.2

40 3.6

41 12.5.19

42 3.2.3

43 7.5

45 4.3.2; 8.22

46 7.1.3; 12.4

47 3.8.1; 8.3; 13.5.3.5

48 13.5.1.1

50 7.2

51 4.3.2

53 3.4; 12.3

Text 18

1 7.5.2; 8.11; 8.26; 13.5.2.2

2 7.1.10.1

4 8.3

6 5.5.6; 7.1.10.1

7 3.1; 3.5.1; 3.5.2; 3.5.4; 5.5.4; 7.1.2;
7.1.3; 7.1.10.2; 13.3.1.1; 13.4.1 (2×)

8 3.1; 12.5.9

9 3.4; 7.1.3; 8.24; 11.7; 13.3.1.1

10 3.2.3; 4.2 (2×); 7.1.1; 8.8

11 2.1.9; 3.2.3; 7.1.6; 7.1.7; 7.1.9; 12.5.4;
13.4.1 (2×)

12 3.8.1; 8.6

13 4.2; 7.1.10.1; 12.2; 12.5.3

15 7.2; 8.11; 9.1.5; 13.3.4

Text 20

1 5.5.6; 7.1.10.2; 9.1.1; 13.1.1

3 2.1.9; 3.8.1

- 4 3.1; 5.4; 13.2.1
 5 3.2.3; 3.7 (2×); 8.18
 6 3.4; 12.5.1; 13.5.2.4 (2×); 13.5.3.4;
 13.5.3.5
 7 3.7; 13.4.2
 8 3.1 (2×); 5.4; 7.1.10.1; 8.4
 9 3.4; 3.5.4; 5.4; 8.8; 8.18

Text 21

- 1 7.1.8; 9.1.1 (2×)
 2 8.3; 8.11
 3 5.5.4; 7.1.4; 7.5; 11.1; 13.5.3.5
 4 7.3; 8.13; 13.3.1 (2×); 13.3.2
 5 7.5; 12.5.4 (2×); 13.2.2; 13.3.1
 6 3.2.3; 8.29
 7 12.1.1
 9 7.1.4; 8.14; 9.3
 10 13.5.1.1
 11 8.16
 12 3.5.3; 5.3; 7.5.3; 8.14

Text 22

- 1 7.1.10.1
 2 7.1.2; 7.1.3; 7.3; 12.4; 12.5.3; 13.2.4;
 13.5.1
 3 7.1.3
 5 3.5.3; 3.8.2; 7.1.10.1; 7.2 (2×); 8.13;
 12.1.1; 12.5.10; 12.5.10, n. 12; 12.5.14;
 13.1.1; 13.5.3.4
 6 3.2.3; 5.1; 7.2; 13.5.3.5
 7 12.5.4; 13.2.4
 8 3.8.1; 8.8; 8.26
 9 9.1.3; 9.6; 12.4
 10 3.2.3
 11 3.4; 5.5.3; 7.1.2; 7.1.10.2
 12 2.1.2, n. 5; 3.8.3; 7.1.4; 8.8; 9.1.5
 13 7.2; 8.18; 8.22; 13.2.4; 13.4.1
 14 3.5.2
 15 7.1.1; 7.5.1; 8.24
 16 12.5.3; 12.5.9

- 17 3.1
 18 3.7 (2×); 3.8.1
 19 3.3; 3.7 (2×); 7.2; 8.6; 11.5
 20 3.2.3

Text 23

- 2 3.2.3; 13.5.3.2 (2×)
 4 8.13
 5 3.2.3; 7.5
 6 3.2.3; 3.8.3; 9.4
 7 3.8.5; 4.1
 8 5.4; 7.1.2; 7.1.6; 12.2
 9 6.1.4, n. 17
 10 2.1.9; 8.3
 11 7.5
 13 7.5; 8.12
 14 3.5.1; 3.8.1; 3.8.3; 13.2.1

Text 24

- 1 3.8.1; 7.1.2; 8.4; 12.1.4; 13.1
 2 3.5.1; 8.3; 8.18; 12.1.4
 3 8.11; 12.1.1; 12.5.3; 13.2.4
 4 6.4.4, n. 43; 9.3; 12.5.3 (2×)

Text 25

- 1 8.8
 2 7.1.4; 7.2; 7.4.3; 8.18; 10.1; 12.5.19
 4 3.3
 5 7.1.2; 7.4.10, n. 37; 8.18; 9.1.1 (2×)
 6 9.3
 7 7.1.2; 7.1.3; 13.2.4; 13.2.5
 8 12.5.4; 12.5.17; 13.2.2
 9 3.5.1; 8.26; 11.5; 12.2.1
 10 3.4; 3.5.5; 3.6; 5.1; 7.1.6; 8.6; 12.2.1;
 13.1
 11 9.1.4; 12.5.17; 13.4.1
 12 2.1.2; 7.1.4; 7.3; 12.5.17
 13 3.2.3; 7.1.8; 8.3; 13.2.4
 14 3.2.3
 16 7.1.3; 12.5.20; 13.2.1

Text 25 (*cont.*)

17 3.6; 3.8.1; 7.1.8; 12.4; 12.5.20 (2×)
 18 7.1.10.2; 10.1; 13.5.1.1
 20 3.8.2; 12.5.4
 21 8.26

Text 28

1 12.5.18; 13.4.1
 2 7.1.4; 8.4
 3 11.5; 11.6
 4 7.1.10.1
 5 2.1.8; 3.1; 8.4; 13.1
 6 3.8.1; 7.1.3; 8.11; 13.2.4 (2×)
 7 2.1.3; 6.4.4, n. 44; 8.1; 8.8
 9 8.13; 11.1 (2×)
 10 3.5.5; 7.1.10.1; 7.4.3; 8.26; 13.5.1
 11 5.2, n. 4; 12.5.4; 13.5.1.1
 12 3.8.1; 7.1.3; 13.2.2; 13.4.3
 13 3.5.2; 7.1.3; 8.4; 11.3
 14 13.1.1; 13.4.1; 13.5.3.5
 15 5.5.4; 7.1.10.2; 8.23; 13.5.1.1
 16 7.1.9
 17 3.1; 7.1.2; 8.1; 8.12; 8.16; 13.4.1 (2×)
 19 8.13; 13.2.1; 13.2.2
 20 3.5.2; 5.5.4

Text 30

1 11.2; 13.5.3.3 (2×)
 2 2.1.4; 7.1.6; 9.5; 12.5.6
 3 2.1.2; 3.2.3; 4.3.2; 7.1.4; 7.1.6; 7.2;
 13.5.3.2 (2×); 13.5.3.2, n. 17
 4 3.8.1; 7.1.1; 8.26; 12.5.4 (2×); 13.2.2;
 13.5.3.4
 5 7.2; 8.1; 13.5.3.5
 6 5.3; 5.5.2; 7.5; 8.25 (2×); 8.30
 8 8.18; 13.2.2; 13.2.6
 9 7.5; 8.6; 8.26; 13.1.1; 13.5.3.4;
 13.5.3.6
 10 6.6.2; 7.1.4; 8.4; 8.8; 13.2.1; 13.4.1;
 13.5.1

11 5.5.4; 7.1.3; 12.4; 13.5.1
 12 8.4; 11.7; 12.5.4; 13.1; 13.4.1; 13.5.2.3
 (2×); 13.5.3.3
 13 12.1.5
 14 3.2.3; 3.3; 5.5.4; 7.1.6; 7.1.8; 8.10;
 8.26; 9.1.1; 9.2; 11.2
 15 3.2.3; 3.8.1; 3.8.2; 3.8.5; 5.5.3; 7.3;
 8.16; 9.3; 13.3.3
 16 3.8.1; 5.3; 9.1.1; 12.1.1; 12.5.17
 17 8; 11.3; 13.3.1.1
 18 3.2.3; 3.5.4; 7.1.3; 8.11; 8.26; 11.2;
 13.1; 13.4.3
 19 8.11
 20 3.5.3; 4.6; 8.16; 8.29; 9.3
 21 3.6; 7.1.4; 7.3; 8.6; 8.20 (2×); 8.30;
 10.1; 12.5.4 (2×); 13.5.3.4
 22 3.3; 3.4; 3.5.2; 3.8.1; 8.4; 13.4.3
 23 3.3; 8.24; 11.4; 12.1.5 (2×)
 24 2.1.8 (2×); 3.4; 7.3; 8.13; 10.4;
 12.1.2; 12.4
 25 3.2.3 (2×)
 26 8.6

Text 31

1 5.1; 5.5.4; 10.1
 2 2.1.3; 3.4; 5.5.2; 7.1.10.1; 8.3; 8.4
 3 3.8.1; 8.1; 13.1.1
 4 11.2; 13.1.1
 5 2.1.10; 8.3; 9.3; 9.4; 9.7

Text 32

1 5.5.6; 13.3.1
 2 4.3.1; 4.6; 5.5.6; 7.1.10.2; 8.16; 9.1.3;
 9.1.4 (2×); 13.3.1
 3 3.5.2; 5.5.2; 7.4.8; 8.18
 4 5.5.2; 7.1.8; 7.3 (2×); 13.3.3
 7 3.5.2; 11.5
 8 5.5.6; 7.1.7; 13.5.1.1
 9 11.5; 11.8
 10 3.8.1; 9.3; 11.7

- 11 8.20; 12.5.4
 12 7.3; 13.3.2; 13.5.3.5, n. 22
 13 8.16
 14 2.1.4; 8.16; 9.1.1 (3×); 9.1.3; 9.1.4;
 12.1.1

Text 33

- 2 8.3; 13.5.3.4
 3 7.1.10.1; 11.7
 4 7.1.10.1; 7.2; 11.3
 5 6.6.2; 8.22
 6 3.1; 8.26; 12.4; 13.2.4; 13.5.3.2
 7 2.1.9; 7.1.4
 8 3.6
 9 8.6
 10 7.1.10.1; 7.4.10; 11.5
 11 8.11
 13 5.4
 16 13.5.3.4
 17 7.1.8

Text 34

- 1 7.3; 7.5.2; 8.18; 8.28; 12.1.2
 2 8.11
 4 3.2.3; 3.4; 12.1.5; 13.2.1
 5 13.5.3.2 (2×)
 6 7.1.10.1
 9 4.1; 5.3; 7.1.10.1; 7.3; 13.5.3.2 (2×)
 10 3.5.1; 3.5.2; 7.3; 7.5; 8.18; 9.3;
 13.2.1; 13.5.1.1 (2×)
 11 2.1.2; 2.1.6; 3.1; 3.3; 7.4.16; 8.11; 11.2;
 12.5.18
 13 12.3
 14 3.4; 3.7; 8.4, n. 4; 13.1.1

Text 35

- 1 3.5.2; 7.1.10.2; 13.2.1
 2 7.3; 13.1.1
 3 8.6; 8.13; 13.2.1; 13.3.1; 13.5.1.1 (2×)
 4 8.22; 13.5.1.1 (2×)

- 5 3.2.3; 5.5.1; 8.18
 6 5.5.7; 7.1.10.1; 7.4.12, n. 42; 8.25;
 8.26; 11.5
 7 7.1.2; 11.4; 12.3 (2×); 13.4.1; 13.5.1.1
 (2×)
 8 3.2.3; 11.4; 12.5.4; 13.5.3.3
 9 6.5.1; 7.3

Text 36

- 1 7.2; 8; 8.6; 12.1.1; 13.5.3.5
 3 3.8.1; 8.16; 8.22; 9.5
 4 4.6; 8.6
 5 8.6; 8.8
 6 13.5.2.5; 13.5.3.4
 7 7.5; 7.5.3; 9.5; 13.3.1.1; 13.5.1;
 13.5.3.3
 8 11.7; 12.5.4
 9 7.2
 10 8.8; 13.5.2.1; 13.5.2.2
 11 8.28
 12 8.28
 13 7.1.6; 8.16
 14 8.28 (2×); 10.4
 17 7.1.2; 8.4; 8.8
 18 10.1
 19 7.5; 8.6; 9.1.1; 13.5.3.4
 20 7.1.3; 7.5, n. 59; 13.5.1
 21 7.1.4; 7.2
 23 2.1.6; 3.2.3
 25 9.3
 26 2.1.2; 2.3; 7.2; 13.5.3.5
 27 3.6; 4.6; 8.26
 28 3.2.3; 13.2.1
 29 3.2.3; 3.5.3; 7.5.1; 12.1.1
 30 3.1; 12.5.4
 31 3.8.1; 5.5.4; 13.5.3.4

Text 38

- 1 4.1; 12.5.4 (2×); 12.5.13; 13.4.1;
 13.5.1.1 (2×); 13.5.3.6

Text 38 (*cont.*)

- 2 3.8.1; 7.4.16; 10.5; 12.5.18; 13.5.1;
13.5.2.3 (2×)
4 8.11
5 11.3; 13.3.2
6 7.1.3; 12.5.3; 12.5.18; 13.1.1; 13.5.3.3
7 3.5.4; 7.1.5; 10.1
8 7.5.1; 8.2
9 12.5.2 (2×)
10 11.5
13 12.5.10

Text 39

- 1 12.5.4; 13.4.1; 13.5.1.1
2 2.1.4; 7.5; 7.5; 8.16; 8.18; 11.1; 13.4.1
3 7.4.16; 7.5; 8.3; 13.5.3.2
4 4.3.1; 13.5.3.3
5 8.9; 8.18; 13.5.1.1
6 11.5; 13.5.3.4
7 3.3; 11.7; 13.2.4
8 7.5.1; 9.3; 12.2.1; 12.5.3
10 12.5.4; 12.5.18; 13.1
11 7.1.6; 8.24
12 3.5.2; 12.5.4

Text 40

- 1 13.3.2
3 8.18; 11.8 (2×)
4 2.1.9; 8.18
9 7.5
15 3.6; 7.1.3; 11.6
16 12.5.18; 13.1 (2×)

Text 41

- 2 3.8.1; 7.5; 8.11; 8.18; 11.6; 12.5.3;
13.4.1; 13.4.2
3 3.5.2; 8.10; 8.14; 8.18; 9.6 (2×);
10.5; 13.2.3; 13.3.1
4 3.8.3; 8.18, n. 16; 8.20; 8.26; 13.4.2
6 3.3

- 7 12.5.3 (2×); 12.5.3, n. 7
8 12.5.3; 13.2.4 (2×)
9 9.3
10 12.5.10

Text 42

- 2 3.2.3
5 3.2.3
6 7.1.4
7 9.3
8 12.1.2
10 11.11
13 13.1.1; 13.4.1

Text 42b

- 8 3.2.3
10 10.1

Text 43

- 10 8.3
17 7.1.3

Text 45

- 1 8.26
2 8; 13.1; 13.2.1; 13.4.1
3 7.2; 8.13; 13.1.1; 13.4.1
7 7.2
8 8.13
9 3.5.5; 7.1.3
11 3.1; 7.1.10.2
12 7.5
13 2.1.4; 8.20
17 12.1.5; 13.5.1.1
18 3.1; 7.1.3; 13.5.1.1; 13.5.3.2
19 13.5.3.2
20 3.4; 8.22; 13.1; 13.1.1; 13.2.2, n. 2

Text 46

- 1 5.5.4; 7.1.7; 7.5; 8.11; 9.6; 12.5.4;
13.1.1

- 2 6.4.2, n. 40; 8.1
 3 3.8.1; 13.2.1
 4 11.5; 12.5.4; 13.1; 13.2.1; 13.2.2
 5 7.1.4; 12.5.4; 13.4.1
 6 6.4.2, n. 40; 13.1.1; 13.4.1
 7 3.2.1; 3.6; 8.11; 9.4
 8 2.1.3; 3.2.3; 8.1; 8.18
 9 3.4; 7.1.3; 9.4; 9.6; 12.1.5; 12.3 (2×);
 12.4; 13.5.2.1
 10 12.4; 12.5.4 (2×)
 11 3.4; 4.6; 11.7; 13.1 (2×)
 12 4.4, n. 20; 5.5.1; 7.5.3; 12.5.4;
 12.5.17
 15 2.1.2; 3.2.3; 5.5.4; 7.4.8; 8.16
 16 9.4
 17 3.2.3
 18 7.3; 8.1; 13.3.1.1

Text 47

- 2 12.5.14
 3 7.1.4; 7.2
 5 3.8.1; 8.4; 8.18; 8.24
 6 2.1.9; 7.1.10.2 (2×); 8; 8.16; 13.5.3.3
 7 8.6 (2×); 12.5.4; 13.4.1
 13 7.1.6

Text 48

- 3 2.1.2; 3.2.3; 8.3; 12.5.14
 4 4.3.2
 6 2.1.6; 8.18
 7 4.4, n. 20
 9 2.1.10
 11 7.1.7
 13 2.1.6; 8.26
 14 7.3; 8.1; 8.26
 15 8.1 (2×)
 18 8.3; 10.1; 12.5.11
 20 2.1.10; 5.5.4; 13.5.3.4

Text 49

- 1 8.16; 12.5.14 (2×)
 3 3.8.5; 7.1.2; 12.5.11; 13.5.3.3
 4 3.1; 4.1; 9.1.1
 5 2.3; 3.8.1; 7.1.7; 8.6
 6 8.4; 13.2.4
 8 7.4.8, n. 25; 12.4
 9 2.1.9; 8.1; 12.5.4
 10 7.1.2; 13.2.4 (2×); 13.2.5
 11 3.3; 7.3; 8.8 (2×); 13.5.2.2
 12 13.5.3.2 (2×)
 13 7.1.4; 12.5.6
 14 7.5; 8.8
 15 7.1.2; 7.2
 18 7.1.6; 8.11; 13.2.1
 19 8.16; 13.5.3.4
 20 5.4; 8.4
 21 7.1.10.1; 7.3
 23 7.1.10.1; 7.5
 26 7.1.6; 8.8
 27 5.1; 7.5
 28 2.1.10; 3.1; 7.1.10.1 (2×); 8.2; 8.14,
 n. 14; 11.5
 31 2.1.9; 7.2; 8.2; 9.3; 13.5.2.2
 32 7.1.3; 8.16; 8.23; 11.4; 12.5.4; 13.4.1
 33 7.1.2; 13.4.3
 34 3.6; 7.1.3; 13.5.2.5
 35 7.1.4; 7.1.10.2; 7.4.16; 12.5.17;
 13.5.1.1 (4×)

Text 50

- 2 7.1.3; 12.5.6; 13.5.3.4
 5 6.4.4, n. 44; 8.8; 13.2.4
 6 7.1.10.1; 8.14
 8 7.1.10.1; 7.5
 9 7.2
 10 5.5.7

Text 51

- 1 8.6
 2 7.1.7; 7.5.3; 12.5.4; 13.3.2; 13.4.1,
 n. 8
 3 2.1.9; 8.6
 4 13.5.2.3
 5 7.5.2; 8.13; 13.1.1
 6 8.6
 7 3.8.3; 7.1.10.1; 8.8; 13.5.3.4
 8 7.1.3; 8.6; 9.1.1
 9 7.1.3
 10 12.5.4; 13.2.2
 12 4.3.2, n. 9; 7.3
 13 3.8.3; 7.1.3; 7.5; 13.5.2.3
 16 8.11; 13.5.2.2
 19 5.5.4; 12.4
 20 5.5.4
 22 2.1.9

Text 52

- 1 3.5.3; 5.5.2; 12.4; 13.4.1 (2×);
 13.5.2.1
 2 3.5.4; 4.3.1; 5.1; 7.5.3; 8.8
 3 13.2.3
 4 7.1.4; 12.5.13
 5 5.5.1; 7.2 (2×); 8.3; 8.11; 13.5.3.5
 (2×)
 6 3.4; 5.5.5; 12.5.13
 7 5.5.5; 7.3 (2×); 8.8; 8.9; 12.5.13
 8 2.1.4; 4.3.1; 11.9; 12.5.10
 9 3.4; 7.5; 11.2; 11.5
 10 3.4; 3.5.2; 8; 8.12; 9.1.1
 11 7.1.3; 7.5.3; 11.11

Text 53

- 1 3.1; 3.7; 5.5.6; 8.6; 12.5.14; 13.3.2
 2 13.3.2
 4 3.3; 7.1.10.2
 5 8.3; 12.1.4; 13.2.3
 6 8.11; 13.3.4

- 7 5.1; 12.1.5
 8 5.4; 8.4
 9 3.3; 5.5.1
 10 7.1.6; 13.5.3.5
 11 13.5.2.2
 12 12.5.17; 13.3.2

Text 54

- 1 3.5.1; 3.6; 8.30; 13.2.1; 13.3.1 (2×)
 2 3.5.1; 5.1; 7.1.2; 7.4.16; 8.12; 12.1.1;
 12.5.11; 13.2.1; 13.5.1.1; 13.5.2.4
 3 5.4; 8.12; 12.1.5; 13.2.6; 13.4.1
 4 3.1; 3.5.1; 4.6; 5.4
 5 3.1; 4.6; 12.5.17
 6 3.3; 8.11; 13.3.3
 7 7.5; 8.13
 8 3.5.3; 9.4
 9 12.1.5
 10 7.4.8, n. 32; 7.5; 8.11
 13 3.8.5; 13.4.1 (2×)
 14 7.1.7
 15 3.1; 11.5
 16 2.1.4; 3.4; 10.1; 12.1.5
 17 3.6; 5.5.4; 8.6
 18 7.1.3
 19 7.1.6
 20 3.1; 9.3, n. 5; 9.4; 13.1
 21 7.5
 22 11.7; 13.1
 23 4.3.2 (2×); 7.1.6; 10.1 (2×)
 24 3.4
 25 8.20; 13.5.3.2
 26 9.4; 13.1; 13.2.1
 27 5.1; 8.25 (2×); 13.1; 13.5.3.3 (2×)
 29 8.1
 30 7.5
 31 12.4
 32 3.5.1; 7.1.2; 8.3
 33 3.8.1; 8.13; 8.28
 34 3.8.1; 11.1

- 36 3.8.2; 8.10
 37 3.5.3; 3.8.1; 3.8.2; 4.6; 13.2.1
 38 4.1; 5.3; 7.1.10.2
 39 3.4; 8.18
 40 3.4
 41 8; 12.3
 43 12.5.7
 44 8.4
- Text 55**
 1 8.26
 2 11.2; 12.1.5
 3 7.2; 11.6
 5 7.1.10.1
 6 3.3
 7 7.1.8; 13.4.1
- Text 57**
 1 8.8
 2 7.1.3
 3 7.1.6
 5 7.5
 6 13.2.1
 7 4.6, n. 24; 11.2; 12.5.4 (3×)
 8 7.1.7
 11 12.5.5 (2×)
 12 13.5.3.5
 13 7.1.3
 14 7.5
 15 5.1; 7.1.6; 7.1.10.2; 13.4.3 (2×);
 13.5.2.3 (2×)
- Text 60**
 1 4.6; 7.5.2; 8.11; 12.4
 2 5.1; 7.3; 12.5.19
 3 2.1.3; 7.2; 10.1
 4 3.8.1; 7.1.2; 7.5.3; 8.6; 9.3 (2×)
 5 7.5; 8.20 (2×)
 6 7.1.3 (2×); 8.20; 13.2.2; 13.5.3.1
 8 2.1.6; 4.4, n. 20; 7.4.16; 8.4; 8.18;
 10; 13.2.2; 13.5.1.1; 13.5.3.4
- 9 2.1.2; 7.3; 8.16
 11 8.16; 13.1.1; 13.2.2; 13.4.1
 12 3.3
 14 3.2.3; 8.8; 8.8, n. 6; 8.16
 15 3.2.3; 7.2 (2×); 8.8; 8.22; 13.1;
 13.5.1.1
 16 7.1.10.2; 11.7; 13.2.2; 13.5.1
 17 7.1.9; 11.5; 13.4.1
 18 4.4, n. 20; 8.18; 13.2.4
 19 7.4.8, n. 33; 7.5.1; 8.26
 20 7.1.4; 7.1.9; 7.2 (2×); 8.8; 13.2.4;
 13.5.1.1
 21 7.1.3; 13.4.1
 22 7.1.4; 7.5; 8.28; 12.5.9; 13.2.1;
 13.5.3.5
 23 7.1.10.2 (2×); 7.4.16; 7.5.1; 13.5.1.1;
 13.5.3.2
 24 2.1.3; 2.3; 4.6; 7.1.2
 25 3.8.1; 7.1.3; 7.1.7; 8.11; 12.5.8
 26 2.1.3; 12.1.5; 12.5.4; 13.4.1
 28 3.8.2; 7.1.10.1; 8.16; 13.3.1
 29 3.8.1
 30 3.5.2; 12.5.8
 32 3.5.1; 3.5.2 (2×); 7.1.3; 8.18; 12.1.5;
 12.1.5, n. 1
 33 6.4.2, n. 40; 8.18; 13.2.1
 34 12.2.1
 35 4.3.1; 7.1.4; 7.1.10.1; 7.3; 8.13; 13.2.3;
 13.3.1.2
 36 8.18; 8.29; 13.5.2.3
 37 2.1.3, n. 8; 2.1.4; 3.5.1; 3.5.2; 8.9
 38 7.5; 12.1.2; 13.2.2
 39 7.5.3; 12.5.19
 40 7.1.4; 8.13; 12.5.19
 41 3.8.5; 4.5; 8.8; 13.5.3.5
 42 3.2.1; 8.8; 8.16; 8.25; 10.1; 12.5.18;
 13.4.2 (2×); 13.5.1
 43 2.3; 3.6; 3.7; 6.2, n. 20; 13.4.2 (2×)
 44 2.1.10; 13.1.1

- 45 3.4; 3.8.1; 8.13; 8.18; 11.2; 13.1 (2×);
13.3.1
- 46 3.1; 7.1.3; 13.5.1.1 (2×)
- 47 12.5.9
- 48 4.2
- 49 4.2
- Text 83**
- 1 3.7; 8.13; 8.30; 12.1.1; 13.2.1; 13.3.1
(2×)
- 2 3.3; 3.6; 7.1.2; 7.5.1, n. 61; 8.6; 8.8;
13.4.1
- 3 5.5.1; 7.1.2; 7.2; 7.4.6; 8.8; 8.25;
9.1.1; 13.5.2.4; 13.5.3.1
- 4 3.6; 7.2; 11.1; 13.2.4
- 6 3.8.1; 7.3 (2×); 8.10; 8.16; 9.1.1;
12.5.3, n. 7; 12.5.10 (2×)
- 7 3.2.3; 7.1.5; 9.1.1; 12.4; 13.4.2
- Text 86**
- 1 13.4.1; 13.4.2
- 2 13.4.1; 13.4.2
- 4 3.6
- 5 13.1.1; 13.3.4; 13.4.1
- 6 2.1.6; 8.23; 13.4.1 (2×); 13.4.2
- 7 5.5.6; 13.2.5; 13.4.1
- 8 3.2.3; 3.5.2
- 9 7.2; 13.5.3.1
- 12 3.5.2
- Text 97**
- 1 8.6
- 2 11.5
- 3 3.1
- 4 2.1.9; 7.5.5
- 5 5.5.4
- 6 3.2.3; 12.4
- 7 7.1.9; 9.1.1; 13.5.3.1
- 8 9.1.1
- 10 3.2.3; 8.8
- 11 3.2.3; 12.4
- 12 13.5.3.2
- 13 4.6; 7.1.10.1; 12.4
- 14 13.5.3.4
- 15 8.1; 8.24; 12.4
- 16 7.1.7
- 19 5.1; 9.1.1
- 21 4.2; 9.1.2
- 22 8.13
- 24 2.1.4; 13.5.3.1; 13.5.3.2; 13.5.3.4
- 25 7.1.10.2; 8.26
- 27 3.8.1; 8.10; 8.24; 13.5.3.4
- 28 4.6; 7.1.6
- 29 2.1.10; 7.1.10.2
- 30 12.1.2; 12.2.1
- 31 3.5.1; 4.2 (2×); 7.1.6; 9.1.2; 9.2
- 32 4.6; 9.1.2 (2×); 9.2; 9.3; 12.5.20
- 33 4.2; 5.1; 5.4; 12.4 (2×)
- 34 8.26
- 35 3.2.3; 8.3
- 36 3.8.3
- 37 3.6; 7.1.3; 13.5.2.1; 13.5.3.1; 13.5.3.2
- 38 11.4
- 39 8.16
- 40 3.2.3 (2×); 7.1.1; 9.1.1
- 41 8.22; 13.5.3.4
- 42 3.3
- 43 8.8, n. 6; 8.9; 8.11
- 44 7.3; 7.4.16; 7.5.1; 12.5.18
- 46 5.1; 5.4; 12.4 (2×)
- 48 3.3
- 49 3.2.3; 5.5.4; 7.5.2
- 51 3.3
- 52 7.1.6
- Text AK1**
- 1 7.5.1
- 2 3.4; 7.1.4; 7.1.9
- 3 3.8.1; 7.1.10.1; 13.5.2.1
- 4 3.3; 8.1; 9.1.4; 9.6; 12.4

Text AK2

- 1 8.3; 10.1 (2×)
 2 5.5.2
 3 3.4; 9.1.5; 11.9
 4 3.4; 7.1.2; 8.1; 8.11
 5 3.4 (2×); 7.1.2; 10.5
 6 7.1.10.2; 8.1
 7 3.6; 7.1.2; 7.1.10.2; 11.5
 8 7.1.9
 10 3.4; 3.4, n. 10; 8.16

Text AK3

- 5 13.3.1.1
 6 13.3.1.1
 9 7.3
 10 7.3
 11 7.1.3

Text AK4

- 8 3.4
 9 11.2
 10 13.2.2
 12 3.4 (2X)
 16 9.1.4

Text AM1

- 1 5.4; 8.18
 3 10.1 (2×); 12.2.1
 4 11.6
 5 4.3.2; 5.5.4; 7.1.7; 12.1.6; 12.5.8;
 13.2.4
 6 2.1.2; 3.3; 10.1 (2×)
 9 13.1
 11 2.1.3; 3.5.2; 7.1.6; 8.24; 10.1, n. 1

Text Anon1

- 5 3.4; 7.1.2
 6 3.4

Text FB1

- 1 3.5.2; 7.1.10.2; 7.4.2; 13.2.2; 13.5.2.2
 2 4.3.2; 5.3; 8.22 (2×); 8.30; 9.1.1
 (2×)

Text Fr1

- 3.8.1, n. 17; 7.1.10.1; 7.2; 9.1.2;
 13.5.3.1

Text Pr

- 8 13.5.3.4
 16 3.8.1; 7.1.7
 54 13.2.2
 57 13.2.2
 87 5.4
 101 3.8.1
 114 12.5.4; 13.5.2.2
 157 4.3.2; 7.3
 161 7.1.3
 171 10.1
 188 3.8.1, n. 16; 7.1.10, n. 9

Text SB1

- 1 7.5; 10.5
 2 5.1; 7.1.7; 12.4; 13.1
 3 3.8.1; 3.8.1, n. 17; 7.1.7; 8.6; 8.11;
 8.13
 4 3.5.2; 4.4; 7.1.3; 8.19 (2×); 13.4.1
 (2×); 13.5.1
 5 3.4
 6 3.2.3; 3.5.2; 7.1.4; 9.2; 13.3.2
 7 8.7; 13.1.1

Text SB2

- 1 8.12; 9.1.1; 13.2.1; 13.3.3
 2 3.2.3; 10.5; 13.1.1; 13.2.2
 3 6.4.2, n. 40; 7.2; 7.5 (2×); 8.11;
 11.6; 12.3 (2×); 13.5.3.5 (2×)
 4 4.4; 6.4.2, n. 40; 8.12; 13.2.4
 5 13.3.1.1

Text SB2 (*cont.*)

6 2.1.4; 3.8.4; 8.8; 8.16
7 7.1.4; 11.2; 12.2; 12.5.2

Text TJ1

1 7.5.4
5 8.27; 8.30
6 8.8

Text TJ2

2 8.2; 13.4.2
6 13.4.2
8 12.5.3
9 13.4.2
11 7.3; 13.4.2 (2×)
19 7.2
21 13.3.4
22 13.5.4
24 8.21
25 8.14; 13.4.2
36 8.19
37 7.2
39 8.19
41 5.5.2; 8.19
42 2.1.4; 5.5.6; 8.6
43 9.1.1
44 11.9
51 8.19
53 7.1.7
54 13.5.3.2
57 13.2.6
58 6.2.2
59 4.3.1
62 6.2.2
63 10.5
64 8.23; 11.2
70 8.21
75 13.4.2
76 7.4.3; 11.8 (2×)
80 8.18

82 11.9
83 7.2
85 13.3, n. 4
95 4.3.2; 4.5
100 11.10
104 3.3
106 7.1.9
109 13.4.3
110 8.21
112 11.4; 13.5.4
114 8.3
117 4.5
120 11.2
121 2.1.5
126 5.5.6
128 13.5.4

Text TJ3

3 8.1
5 8.1; 13.5.3.2
9 3.6
10 8.24
18 9.4
19 8.1
26 2.1.2; 4.2; 13.5.3.4, n. 20
27 12.5.4

Text TJ4

1 7.5
3 7.2; 13.5.3.6
4 8.24; 13.5.3.6 (2×)
5 3.6; 12.5.4
6 11.7; 13.4.1
9 10.1; 13.5.3.4, n. 20
10 13.5.3.4
12 7.2; 8.11; 12.1.6; 13.5.3.6
13 8.21
14 9.5; 13.5.3.7
15 8.17
17 8.19 (2×); 13.5.3.7

- 21 8.1; 13.5.3.7
 22 8.9; 8.30
 23 7.1.2
 24 7.1.9
 25 8.30; 13.5.3.6
 26 3.6; 8.1; 8.5; 13.5.3.3
 27 12.5.14; 13.5.3.3
 28 13.5.3.3
 29 12.1.3
 30 13.5.3.3
 31 13.5.3.6
 32 13.5.3.3
 33 3.5.2
 34 12.5.4
 35 3.1; 12.5.4
 36 7.5
 37 9.3; 13.5.3.4; 13.5.3.4, n. 20
 38 8.3
 41 8.9
 42 13.5.3.6
 43 13.2.7
 44 3.5.2
 45 12.5.2 (2×)
 49 3.6; 13.5.3.6
 50 3.5.2; 12.1.3; 12.5.3
 51 13.5.3.6
 52 13.5.3.4, n. 20
 53 3.6
 56 13.1
 57 3.6; 6.2.2
- 58 8.19 (2×)
 59 8.20 (2×); 8.30
 60 3.2.3
 61 3.6
 62 8.18
 63 13.5.3.4, n. 20
 64 4.3.2
 65 12.5.12; 13.5.3.6
 66 13.5.3.4; 13.5.3.4, n. 20
 68 7.2
 69 8.4
 70 8.4
 71 11.10
 72 8.26
 74 7.2
 75 13.5.1.1
 76 8.1; 12.5.2 (2×)
 82 8.26
 85 3.6; 13.5.3.6
 87 4.6, n. 23; 7.1.7; 10.1
 89 12.5.20
 91 3.6; 8.23
 92 8.1
 93 8.1
- Text T]5**
- 1 12.5.2
 2 7.5
 7 13.5.3.6
 8 8.3; 12.5.5

INDEX OF SELECT JIBBALI WORDS

Most items can be found using the Table of Contents, but for those grammatical particles that do not merit an independent section of the grammar, or those which are treated in more than one section, it is convenient to have a separate index. Most of the words treated in only one place (such as many of the particles in Chapters 8 and 12) are not listed below.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p><i>ε-</i> (see <i>ǰ-</i>)</p> <p><i>ed</i> preposition, 8.1 purpose clause, 13.5.2.4 temporal conjunction, 13.5.3.4</p> <p><i>in</i>, 3.8.4</p> <p><i>enúf</i> (<i>enfǝf</i>), 3.6</p> <p><i>iz-</i>, 3.8.1</p> <p><i>ʿod</i>, 12.5.3 negative <i>ɔl-ʿod</i>, 13.2.4 auxiliary <i>d-ʿod</i>, 7.3</p> <p>(<i>ʿ</i>)<i>ar</i> in comparatives, 5.4 particle, 12.5.4 preposition, 8.4</p> <p><i>ar hér</i>, 12.5.4; 13.4.1</p> <p><i>axá</i>, 8.12</p> <p><i>axér</i>, 5.4</p> | <p><i>b-</i> conjunction, 12.1.1 for 'have', 13.3.2 phonetic issues, 2.1.2; 2.1.4; 2.1.5 preposition, 8.6 purpose clause, 13.5.2.5</p> <p><i>baʿl</i>, 4.6</p> <p><i>bə-fló</i> (see <i>fáló</i>)</p> <p><i>bahs-</i>, 2.1.5; 3.6</p> <p><i>bén</i>, 8.20</p> <p><i>bər</i>, 4.6</p> <p><i>ber</i>, 7.1.4; 7.2; 13.5.3.1; 13.5.3.2; 13.5.3.3; 13.5.3.4; 13.5.3.5; 13.5.3.6</p> <p><i>bē</i>, 2.1.5; 10.5</p> <p><i>bíyyə</i>, 10.5</p> <p><i>d-</i> (see <i>ǰ-</i>)</p> <p><i>dé</i>, 3.5.1 (see also under <i>kəl</i>)</p> |
|--|---|

- d-ʿəd* (see under ʿəd)
- ð- (also sometimes *d-*, *ε-*)
 complementizer, 13.5.1.1
 genitive exponent, 12.4
 relative pronoun, 3.8.1
 verbal prefix, 7.1.10
 (see also under *kəl*)
- (ə)ðə, 13.4.2
- fəló* (and *bə-fló*), 12.1.4; 12.5.8
- (əl-)fəlání(yyə), 3.5.5
- fónə*, 7.1.4, n. 4.; 10.3; 12.5.11, n. 14
- hel*
 conditional, 13.4.1
 temporal, 13.5.3.3
- her*
ar hér, 12.5.4, 13.4.1
 conditional, 13.4.1
 for 'have', 13.3.4
 preposition, 8.11; 8.16; 11.4
 purpose clause, 13.5.2.2
 temporal, 13.5.3.3
- hes* (also *əl-hés*)
 preposition, 8.12
 temporal conjunction, 13.5.3.5
- hánúf* (*hánfóf*), 3.6; 8.11, n. 10
- k-*
 for 'have', 13.3.1
 preposition, 8.13
- kəl*, 5.5.4
- kəl*, 5.5.3
kəl in, 3.8.4
kəl dé, 3.5.1
kəl taṭ, 3.5.3
kəl ε-/ð-, 3.8.2
kəl sé, 3.5.4
- kəm*, 11.9
- kun*
 as a copula, 13.1.1
 with ʿəd, 12.5.3
 with compound tenses, 7.1.9
 with conditionals (*ðə kun*), 13.4.2
- kət*, 11.5
- kəyós*, 12.5.20
- l-*
 for 'have', 13.3.3
 preposition, 8.11; 8.16
- l-əgére*
 preposition, 8.29
 purpose clause, 13.5.2.3
- əlhín*, 3.8.3
- əl-hés* (see under *hes*)
- l-ín*, 13.5.4
- l-íné*, 11.4; 13.5.4
- lob*, 12.2.1
- ma*, 13.2.8
- məd*, 13.5.3.1

- miḏ*, 13.5.3.1
- mən*
 in compound prepositions, 8.3; 8.8;
 8.10; 8.19; 8.20; 8.21; 8.22; 8.26
 interrogative *íné mən*, 11.3
 conjunction, 12.1.4
 negative, 13.2.7
 partitive, 3.5.1; 3.5.2; 3.5.3; 5.5.2; 8.18;
 9.1.1; 11.1
 preposition, 8.18
 quantifier, 5.5.2
- mən hés*, 13.5.3.5
- mən kun*, 12.5.14
- mən sun*, 8.29
- mən tél*
 relative, 3.8.5
 preposition, 8.26
- mənné*, 11.2
- mit*
 interrogative, 11.8
 temporal conjunction, 13.5.3.1
- miṭ*, 12.1.6
 compound *miṭ-íné*, 5.5.7
- ob*, 12.2.1
- sun* (see *mən sun*)
- šéf*, 7.4.16
- šérék*, 7.4.10
- t-*
 element of reciprocals, 3.7
 phonetic issues, 2.1.9; 2.1.10
 pronominal d.o. marker, 3.3
- tε*
 as a Mehrism, 12.5.3.5
- (ə)*thúmk*, 7.4.16; 12.5.18; 13.5.1; 13.5.1.1
- tel*, 8.26
 (see also *mən tél*)
- tob*, 12.5.4
- tól*, 8.26
- taw*, 12.5.19
- ṭatt-* (and *ṭitt-*), 3.7
- w-*, 1.3; 12.1.1
- ya*
 conjunction, 12.1.6
 exclamation, 12.2
 vocative, 12.3
- ya rét*, 7.1.3; 12.2
- yəm*, 13.5.3.7
- yəkól*, 7.4.16; 13.5.1.1
- zeyd*, 13.2.5