The Jibbali (Shahri) Language of Oman

GRAMMAR AND TEXTS

BY

AARON D. RUBIN

BRILL
The Jibbali (Shaḥri) Language of Oman
Ali Musallam al-Mahri, circa 1976 (photo courtesy of Faisal al-Mahri)
For my sons,
Sam and Freddie,
with love.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>List of Texts</td>
<td>XIX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acknowledgements</td>
<td>XXI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviations and Symbols</td>
<td>XXIII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text Citation</td>
<td>XXVII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Note on Transcription</td>
<td>XXIX</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## 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 $b$ .................................. 28
       2.1.3 The Loss of $m$ .................................. 30
       2.1.4 The Shift of $b > m$ ............................ 33
       2.1.5 The Loss of $w$, and the Shift of $w > b$ .... 33
       2.1.6 The Loss of $l$ .................................. 35
       2.1.7 The Loss of $n$ .................................. 37
       2.1.8 Word-Final Liquids and Nasals ................. 37
       2.1.9 The Loss of $t$- .................................. 38
       2.1.10 The Non-Occurrence of $d-/ð$- .................. 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 (t-) ...................................... 54
  3.4 Demonstratives .......................................................... 57
  3.5 Indefinite Pronouns ..................................................... 60
    3.5.1 dé ‘someone, anyone’ .......................................... 60
    3.5.2 sé ‘something, any(thing); sé bɛ ‘nothing, not
       any(thing)’ ........................................................... 61
    3.5.3 kɔ(l) tɛt ‘everyone, each one’ .............................. 62
    3.5.4 kɔl sé ‘everything’ ............................................ 63
    3.5.5 ɛd-tɛl ‘so-and-so’ .............................................. 64
  3.6 Reflexives ................................................................. 64
  3.7 Reciprocals ............................................................... 66
  3.8 Relative Pronouns ........................................................ 68
    3.8.1 Relative ɛ-/ð- .................................................... 68
    3.8.2 kɔl ɛ-/ð- ‘whoever, everyone who’ ....................... 71
    3.8.3 əlhɛn ‘whatever; all that’ ................................ 72
    3.8.4 in ‘all that’ ....................................................... 72
    3.8.5 Relative mɛn tɛl ‘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
## Contents

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 xérín ‘a little’ ...................... 96
      5.5.2 mon- ‘some’ ........................ 96
      5.5.3 kol ‘each, every’ .................... 97
      5.5.4 kel ‘all (of the)’ ..................... 97
      5.5.5 (l-)ádɛd e ‘each, every’ .......... 98
      5.5.6 mékan ‘a lot, many’ ................. 99
      5.5.7 miṭ-ínɛ́ ‘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 Š1-Stem Form ......................... 120
      6.4.2 Š1-Stem Meaning ...................... 122
      6.4.3 Š2-Stem Form ......................... 124
      6.4.4 Š2-Stem Meaning ...................... 125
   6.5 T-Stems .................................. 126
      6.5.1 T1-Stem Form ......................... 126
      6.5.2 T1-Stem Meaning ...................... 128
      6.5.3 T2-Stem Form ......................... 129
      6.5.4 T2-Stem Meaning ...................... 131
   6.6 Quadriliterals ............................ 134
      6.6.1 Basic Quadriliterals (Q-Stems) .... 134
      6.6.2 N-Stem Quadriliterals (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 (dḥa-, ḥa-, a-) ....................................... 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 d-/ð- ...................................... 158
      7.1.10.1 d-/ð- + Imperfect ......................................... 158
      7.1.10.2 d-/ð- + Perfect .......................................... 161
    7.2 The Auxiliary Verb ber ......................................... 164
    7.3 The Auxiliary Verb d-ʿɔd ......................................... 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-f” Verbs ..................... 217
    7.5 The Irregular Verb ʿágəb ‘want; love’ ........................................ 217
      7.5.1 Cohortative ʿágəb .......................................... 221
      7.5.2 Motion Verb ʿágəb ........................................... 222
      7.5.3 Imperfect and Subjunctive Uses ................................ 223
      7.5.4 Conditional Forms .......................................... 224
      7.5.5 ʿágəb vs. ʿaššér ‘love’ ....................................... 224
## Contents

8 Prepositions .................................................. 227
  8.1  ed 'up to, till, until'; (a)d- 'to' ......................... 228
  8.2  emt 'towards' ............................................. 230
  8.3  'ak 'in(side), into; on(to); among' .................... 230
  8.4  (')ar 'from; about; than' ................................ 232
  8.5  iyår 'in front of' ....................................... 234
  8.6  b- 'in, at; with; for; on' ................................ 235
  8.7  ba'd 'after' ............................................... 239
  8.8  ġer 'except'; mən ġer 'without' ......................... 242
  8.9  al-fɛ́nɛ́ 'before; in front of; ago' ..................... 246
  8.10  ṣer 'behind' .............................................. 262
  8.11  her 'to; for' ............................................. 243
  8.12  (al-)hés 'like, as' ....................................... 246
  8.13  k- ('s-) 'with' ........................................... 247
  8.14  kin 'from (someone)' ..................................... 249
  8.15  kéké 'in back of' ........................................ 250
  8.16  l- 'for; to' ............................................... 250
  8.17  lɛ́bər 'like, the same as' ................................ 254
  8.18  mən 'from' ............................................... 254
  8.19  man dún 'except; without' ................................ 257
  8.20  mən mún (am-mún) 'between' .......................... 258
  8.21  mən kédɛ́ 'regarding, about' .......................... 260
  8.22  nxín (or lxín) 'under' .................................... 260
  8.23  siéb 'because of' ........................................ 261
  8.24  ser 'behind' ............................................... 262
  8.25  ta'mūrən 'like' ........................................... 263
  8.26  tel 'at, by, beside'; mən tél 'from (someone)' ......... 263
  8.27  tet 'above' ............................................... 266
  8.28  yɔl 'to, towards' .......................................... 266
  8.29  Additional Prepositional Phrases .......................... 267
  8.30  The Suffixed Forms of Prepositions ....................... 268

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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>Ordinals</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>Fractions</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>Days of the Week</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>Approximation</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>Telling Time</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Adverbs</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.1</td>
<td>Demonstrative Adverbs</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>Adverbs of Place</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>Adverbs of Time</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>Adverbs of Manner</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>Other Adverbs</td>
<td>290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Interrogatives</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>mun ‘who?’</td>
<td>293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>iné ‘what?’</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>iné man, inén ‘which? what kind of?’</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>h-iné ‘why? for what?’</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>k(h) ‘why?’</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>yol, yoh ‘how? what?’</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>hun, hütun ‘where?’</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>mit ‘when?’</td>
<td>298</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>mšé ‘how many? how much?’</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.10</td>
<td>ehún ‘which one?’</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.11</td>
<td>ɔl hɛ́ lɔ ‘isn’t that so?’</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Particles</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>Coordinating Conjunctions</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.1.1</td>
<td>b- ‘and’</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.1.2</td>
<td>falékan, walékan, lékan ‘but’</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.1.3</td>
<td>(man) dun ‘but’</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.1.4</td>
<td>man ‘or’</td>
<td>303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.1.5</td>
<td>(b-)aló ‘or; or else’</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.1.6</td>
<td>mit and ya ‘or’</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>Exclamations</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.2.1</td>
<td>‘Yes’ and ‘No’</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>Vocatives</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>Genitive Exponent ɛ-/ð- ‘of’</td>
<td>308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>Miscellaneous Particles</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.5.1</td>
<td>ámma</td>
<td>309</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
12.5.2 un ................................................................. 310
12.5.3 ʿod ............................................................... 311
12.5.4 ar ................................................................. 312
12.5.5 ebūne .......................................................... 316
12.5.6 dek ............................................................... 316
12.5.7 dunk ............................................................ 316
12.5.8 faló ............................................................... 317
12.5.9 ḡadū ............................................................. 317
12.5.10 hūk ............................................................. 318
12.5.11 kēẓūm ........................................................ 318
12.5.12 ketk ............................................................ 319
12.5.13 lézam .......................................................... 320
12.5.14 mkun ........................................................... 320
12.5.15 məskín ....................................................... 321
12.5.16 ndóh ........................................................... 321
12.5.17 ʂef ............................................................. 322
12.5.18 (ə)thúmk ...................................................... 323
12.5.19 tō- .............................................................. 324
12.5.20 wɛ́gəb ........................................................ 325

13 Some Syntactic Features ........................................... 327
13.1 Copular (Non-Verbal) Sentences ................................. 327
  13.1.1 The Verb kun .................................................. 328
13.2 Negation ........................................................... 330
  13.2.1 ɔl ... lɔ ......................................................... 330
  13.2.2 ɔl ............................................................... 332
  13.2.3 lɔ ............................................................... 334
  13.2.4 ɔl-ʿɔ́d .......................................................... 334
  13.2.5 zeyd ............................................................ 337
  13.2.6 abdan .......................................................... 337
  13.2.7 mən ............................................................ 338
  13.2.8 ma .............................................................. 338
13.3 Expressing 'have' ................................................... 339
  13.3.1 The Preposition k- ........................................... 339
    13.3.1.1 Familial Possession .................................... 340
    13.3.1.2 Physical and Environmental Conditions ............. 341
  13.3.2 The Preposition b- .......................................... 342
  13.3.3 The Preposition l- ......................................... 343
  13.3.4 The Preposition her ........................................ 343
13.4 Conditionals ................................................. 344
   13.4.1 *her* .................................................. 344
   13.4.2 *(Ə)do, *(Ə)do kun .................................. 349
   13.4.3 *bélè* .................................................. 351

13.5 Subordination .............................................. 352
   13.5.1 Complement Clauses .................................. 352
      13.5.1.1 Complementizer *d-* ............................... 353
   13.5.2 Purpose Clauses ...................................... 356
      13.5.2.1 Unmarked Purpose Clauses ....................... 356
      13.5.2.2 *her* .............................................. 357
      13.5.2.3 *l-agère* .......................................... 358
      13.5.2.4 *ed* .............................................. 358
      13.5.2.5 *b-* .............................................. 359
   13.5.3 Temporal Clauses ..................................... 360
      13.5.3.1 *mit* 'when' ..................................... 360
      13.5.3.2 *hus* *ɛ* 'when' .................................. 361
      13.5.3.3 *her* 'when, whenever' ............................ 363
      13.5.3.4 *ed* 'then when; until' .......................... 365
      13.5.3.5 *hes* 'when; after; since' ....................... 368
      13.5.3.6 *hakt* *ɛ* 'when' ................................ 371
      13.5.3.7 *yum* 'when' ...................................... 372
   13.5.4 *l-iné* '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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16.4 An Anonymous Text (Anon)</td>
<td>638</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.5 A Text from Fresnel (Fr)</td>
<td>640</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.6 Proverbs (Pr)</td>
<td>642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix A: Text 18 with Morpheme Glossing</td>
<td>647</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix B: Text 18 in Arabic Script</td>
<td>653</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix C: Supplement to Johnstone's <em>Jibbali Lexicon</em></td>
<td>655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix D: Additions and Corrections to <em>The Mehri Language of Oman</em></td>
<td>675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix E: A Mehri Version of Text 7 (M56A)</td>
<td>683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>689</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index of Passages</td>
<td>701</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index of Select Jibbali Words</td>
<td>716</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 1: An Argument</td>
<td>......................................................... 386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 2: A Lecherous Man</td>
<td>.......................................................... 386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 3: A Conversation</td>
<td>............................................................... 390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 4: Ramadan</td>
<td>................................................................. 392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 5: Misunderstood Advice</td>
<td>............................................................. 394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 6: The Step-Mother and the Bird</td>
<td>............................................... 398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 7: A Betrothal and Marriage</td>
<td>.................................................... 406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 8: A Conversation</td>
<td>................................................................. 410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 9: About Animals</td>
<td>............................................................... 412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 10: A Disagreement</td>
<td>.............................................................. 414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 12: Cow Theft</td>
<td>................................................................. 414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 13: Home from Dubai</td>
<td>.......................................................... 418</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 14: Oath-taking</td>
<td>................................................................. 422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 15: A Land Dispute</td>
<td>............................................................. 424</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 16: Seeing Ghosts</td>
<td>............................................................... 428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 17: The Unfaithful Sister</td>
<td>.................................................. 428</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 18: Ba Newas and the Old Lady</td>
<td>........................................ 436</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 20: An Argument over Water</td>
<td>.............................................. 440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 21: Four Hungry Men and a Date</td>
<td>......................................... 442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 22: The Jewelry Tree</td>
<td>............................................................. 446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 23: Ba Newas and the Bean</td>
<td>.................................................. 450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 24: A Complaint</td>
<td>................................................................. 452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 25: Ka'det</td>
<td>................................................................. 452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 28: A Man's Dilemma (Conversation)</td>
<td>..................................... 458</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 30: A Man and His Jinn Wife</td>
<td>.................................................... 462</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 31: A Rainy Day in England</td>
<td>.................................................... 468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 32: A Conversation</td>
<td>............................................................... 470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 33: A Visit with Some Jinn</td>
<td>................................................... 472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 34: A Miscommunication</td>
<td>.......................................................... 474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 35: Ice</td>
<td>................................................................. 478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 36: The Ruler's Daughter</td>
<td>.......................................................... 480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 38: A Conversation and a Visit to the Medicine Woman</td>
<td>........................................ 486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 39: A Man and His Shadow</td>
<td>.......................................................... 488</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 40: Discussing an Illness</td>
<td>.......................................................... 492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 41: Seeking Sardines</td>
<td>............................................................. 494</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 Ahmad 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 though 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 Soqoṭri.

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 Afroasiatic Linguistics, 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
cstr. 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, ḥ, or x); G-Stem
gemin. geminate
glott. glottalic
gutt. guttural
HV Hōbyot Vocabulary, Nakano 2013 (see Bibliography)
H# Ḥarsusi text # (as published in Stroomer 2004)
HL Ḥarsūsi Lexicon, Johnstone 1977 (see Bibliography)
imperf. imperfect
imprtv. imperative
indef. indefinite
intrans. intransitive
J# Jibbali text # (as published in this volume)
JL Jibbāli Lexicon, 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 Mehri Lexicon, 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 → Y  X becomes Y; this symbol is used for derived forms, such as forms with the definite article or a possessive suffix.

X ← Y  X came from Y; this symbol is likewise used for derived forms.

*  An asterisk marks a reconstructed or underlying form.
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) ā.

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Johnstone</th>
<th>This Book</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ẓ́</td>
<td>ẓ́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍ̣</td>
<td>ḍ̣</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
Jibbali is a Semitic language spoken in the coastal towns (e.g., Ṣalalah, Mirbat, Ṣaqah, Sadh, Ḥasik, Ḍalqut) 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-Hallaniyat) group. 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, Soqotri, Ḥarsusi, Hobyt, and Baṭhari. Jibbali, Soqotri, and Mehri in turn have a number of dialects, and, in fact, Ḥarsusi and Baṭhari can be considered dialects of Mehri. 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 Soqotra 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. 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 Baṭhari 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 Soqoṭri 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 Soqoṭri, 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). Harsusi, 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).\(^\text{10}\) A short text of about sixty-five words, with Mehri and Soqoṭri 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.\(^\text{11}\)

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.\(^\text{12}\) 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 Soqoṭri, 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,\(^\text{13}\) 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 Muhammad 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 (“unge duldig”), 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. 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. 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). 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, 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 Soqotri, 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.\footnote{I received this excellent new resource just about two weeks before this volume went to press.}

Beginning in 1983, two French scholars, Antoine Lonnet and Marie-Claude Simeone-Senelle, made several trips to Yemen to do fieldwork on Mehri, Soqotri, and Hobyot. The result has been a number of important investigative articles and surveys, published both as a team and individually, which have added much to the field of MSA studies. 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 Jibbālī”. 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.\footnote{Dr. Hofstede’s thesis is available for download via the British Library’s EthOS service, http://ethos.bl.uk/}.

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).\footnote{Miller and Morris also provide a nice introduction to the topography of the Dhofar, as well as its climate and various cultural items.} 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 \textit{Jibbāli Lexicon}, though it must be noted that the transcription of Jibbali in Ghazanfar (1992) is very loose (e.g., \textit{tik} for \textit{ṭeḳ} ‘wild fig tree [\textit{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 Šaḥri), as well as over two hundred Jibbali
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). 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 Omani. 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.

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. ḍhkló), the native name used to designate tribal speakers of this language. The term əḥklí contrasts with ṣḥɛrí (pl. ṣḥɛró), which refers to non-tribal speakers, who in former times were relegated to a subservient social status.

The low status of the ṣḥɛró 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 ṣḥɛrí is the “nom générique des vilains qui parlent la même langue”. 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 ṣḥɛrí is sometimes also contrasted with Ṽīli (< Ṽabīli) ‘tribal’ or Ḿīli (var. ṽūzi) ‘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 əḥkló.25

Thomas used the name Shahari (= Šahri), which is an Arabized form of native Şheri. The variant Şihi has also been used by some scholars. Johnstone also used the name Şheri in his earlier publications. The name Şheri and its Arabized variants are legitimate and appropriate designations, as many native speakers use or have used the term šhrêt for their language,26 and one of the local Arabic names is aš-šahrīyah.27 In fact, most of my informants still prefer this designation. However, since šheri is an ethnonym referring to only some speakers, and since the term has connotations pertaining to a lowly social status, one could argue that Şheri 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 Şhauri, which is a peculiar name that was possibly a creation of Müller’s lone informant, Muḥammad bin Selim (see § 1.1). Some have taken Şhauri to be an erroneous form of šheri.28 In fact, the name probably reflects the root šxr, which can have the sense of ‘weak, poor’ (cf. šaxr ‘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 Şhauri as ‘poor, weak’ in opposition to Ḳabíli ‘tribal’ (since the tribes subjugated the non-tribal Dhofaris).30 Perhaps Muḥammad was providing a folk etymology for šheri, conflating its root with the somewhat similar root šxr. See below on the actual etymology.

The Arabic equivalent of the ethnonym əḥklí is qarāwi (pl. qarā), and in 19th-century publications one occasionally finds the language called Qarawi (also Grauwi, Ṣarawi). Fresnel’s Eḥkili was also used by some later scholars, sometimes in the variant form Ḥakili. However, the terms Eḥkili and Qarawi, like Şheri, 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 Bakhīt (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 Şehrât.
29 Leslau (1938: 211); Lonnet (1994a: 40).
30 Elsewhere, šheri is contrasted with Ḳili. See also above, n. 23.
by T.M. Johnstone, though the Arabic term al-jabbāliyyah existed in local Arabic dialects already. Its nativized Jibbali equivalent, gəblɛ̄t, is also the term used today by many Jibbali speakers; cf. also Jibbali gablī ‘mountain man’. It is true that the word šherī can also be translated ‘mountain man’, as it is historically based on the word šehr ‘fertile area of the mountains’, but šherī has the above-mentioned negative connotations that gablī does not have.

Still today, native speakers and locals disagree, sometimes passionately, on whether Jibbali or Šahrī (or Šhɛrī) is the better name for the language. Those who are šherō (often with the family name Al-Šahrī) tend to prefer Šahrī/šhərɛ̄t, not surprisingly. My əhklī informants preferred Jibbali/gəblɛ̄t. 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, 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 ɣ. So ‘man’ is ġeyj in WJ, but ġeyg in the other dialects. At least some WJ speakers also have w- for the conjunction ‘and’, rather than b- (see §12.1.1).

---

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)šhör among some CJ speakers. As another example, one CJ informant used kbér ba-xtɔ́r for ‘he went up (to the mountains) and went down’, while his WJ-speaking friend preferred téla’ wə-kéb.

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

It is not always clear what differences to attribute to dialectal differences. For example, my WJ informant recognized the word ġaz̃ét ‘girl’, but a CJ informant did not. And while my CJ informants recognized the word tet ‘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 Gəblɛ̄t [Jibbali]”, because they pronounce the lateral fricatives ś and ž as t and d, 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 ḥa-, 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 -ētə, -ēti, or -ta (or similar variants), as in Johnstone’s texts, but occasionally forms are met with a more archaic final -tan.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 béləġ ‘come to, reach’, while according to Johnstone (JL, s.v. blg) it means only ‘reach puberty’.36 As another example, both Hulton (1840: 196) and Müller (e.g., 1907: 42, line 37) record the word maʿṣōt ‘turban’ (def. āṣōt), which derives from the verb āṣɔ́b ‘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 məsɛ́r ‘turban’. JL includes the verb āṣɔ́b, but not the noun maʿṣōt.

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 Baṭḥari 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 bašərtən ‘young camels’, to which we can compare bašərta in JL (s.v. bkr). For another example, see §4.3.2, n. 8.
36 The verb béləġ 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 Baṭḥari—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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{t}- in certain verbal forms, as well as remnants of certain productive feminine forms ending in \textit{-i}.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{gb} ‘love’ to ‘want’ (see §7.5).

Hobyot was discovered by scholars only about thirty-five years ago.\textsuperscript{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:

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node (proto) at (0,0) {Proto-MSA};
  \node (western) at (2,-2) {Western MSA};
  \node (eastern) at (4,-2) {Eastern MSA};
  \node (mehri) at (1,-4) {Mehri, Ḥarsusi, Baṭḥari};
  \node (hobyot) at (3,-4) {Hobyot};
  \node (jibbali) at (5,-4) {Jibbali};
  \node (soqotri) at (6,-4) {Soqoṭri};
  \draw[-stealth] (proto) -- (western);
  \draw[-stealth] (proto) -- (eastern);
  \draw[-stealth] (western) -- (mehri);
  \draw[-stealth] (eastern) -- (hobyot);
  \draw[-stealth] (eastern) -- (jibbali);
  \draw[-stealth] (eastern) -- (soqotri);
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

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.

\textsuperscript{38} On this development in Mehri, see Rubin (2007; 2012b).
\textsuperscript{39} On the loss of \textit{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 \textit{-i}, see Lonnet (2008).
\textsuperscript{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.\(^\text{41}\)

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.\(^\text{42}\) 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 Huennergard 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 *yakādar*, Mehri *yakūtāb*) 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.\(^\text{43}\) 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 (\textit{yaqtulu}).\(^\text{44}\) J. Huehnergard has since given further evidence in favor of the classification of the OSA languages as Central Semitic.\(^\text{45}\)

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 -\textit{(h)}\textit{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 Hadramites 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 \textit{h}- ‘to’,\(^\text{46}\) and some possible lexical items.\(^\text{47}\) 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 \(\delta\), 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 \textit{her} in Jibbali (with the base \(h\)- used mainly before suffixes) and often also in Hobyt.

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

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. 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 interdentals and dental/alveolar stops have fallen together in the western Yemeni of Mehri and in Soqotri (i.e., $\mathr{\text{t}} > \text{t}$ and $\mathr{\text{d}} > \text{d}$), 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.\footnote{This connection was made possible through the kind assistance of Sabrina Bendjabalah and Philippe Ségéral. Adnan is also a Mehri speaker, and worked mainly with the French researchers on Mehri.} 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).\footnote{Ali was uncertain about his exact age.} Lived in Ṣalalah, but raised in the mountains near Jibjät (northeast of Ṭaqah). EJ dialect.
- Ahmed Kashoob (AK), aged 20. From Zayk, near Ṣalalah. CJ dialect.
- Fahad Baawain (FB), aged 19. From Ḍalqut. WJ dialect.
- Musallam Qatan (MQ), aged 20. From Wadi Nahiz, near Salalah. CJ dialect.
- Muna al-Shahri (MnS), aged 25. From the mountains near Ṣalalah. CJ dialect.
- Musallam al-Shahri (MmS), aged 19. From the mountains near Ṣalalah.

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...
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.

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 pre-
sents 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 ɗha-, ḥa-, or a-
(see § 7.1.4), while the masculine singular demonstrative adjective can be
realized ɗɛ́nu, ɗɛn, or ɗɛ (§ 3.4). Of course, the more reduced forms are typ-
ical 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 jus-
tified 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.
2.1 *Jibbali Consonants*

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Labial</th>
<th>Labiodental</th>
<th>Interdental</th>
<th>Dental/Alveolar</th>
<th>Lateral</th>
<th>Palato-Alveolar</th>
<th>Velar/Uvular</th>
<th>Pharyngeal</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stops</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unvoiced</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glottalic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fricatives</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unvoiced</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>voiced</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glottalic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nasal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trill</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Approximant</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**

- It is doubtful that ʾ 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 ʾ 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, ʿ 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 k are velar, while x and ɣ are uvular.
• The phoneme /g/ can be pronounced as g or a palatalized g' 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 š is “pronounced with approximately the same tongue position as š, but there is no contact between the top of the tongue and the alveolium. The air is pushed out over the tongue and the lips are simultaneously rounded and pouted”.
• The phonemes š and š 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 š. Still, throughout this book, I have kept the transcription š wherever it is etymological. Historically, š derives from Proto-Semitic *s (corresponding to h in the other MSA languages), while š usually derives from *k or *st.
• The very rare phoneme ṣ̃, which historically is an allophone of *k, is a glottalic version of š. It is pronounced ṣ̂ by most speakers. It is found in just five different words in all of the texts: širét ‘town’, ḥayš ‘shore’, fūšhi ‘halves’, šūši ‘he drank’ (and conjugated forms), and išin(t) ‘scorpions’. A small number of additional words are included in JL.
• The consonant š 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).
• ĺ (IPA [ɮ]) is not a phoneme, but only an allophone of l. It is the voiced equivalent of š (IPA [ɬ]).1 It never occurs word-initially.
• ṽ (IPA [ɬ]) derives from the same consonant as Arabic d (Proto-Semitic *ḏ), and is the glottalic counterpart of the lateral fricative š.2 Johnstone (JL, p. xiv) suggests that it is pronounced with some affrication (i.e., ṽ or ṽ), which is also the case in my experience.
• ź is not a phoneme, but rather an allophone of /g/. It is variously pronounced [ʒ], [ʝ], or [ɟ]. It is found in just four different words in all of the texts: túzur ‘rich’ (cf. pl. tɔgɔ́r), (i)ž₉́rét ‘servant-girl’ (pl. ižɔ́rtə; cf. aggɔ́r ‘servant’), finž́un ‘cup’, and žeb ‘vagina’.
• According to Johnstone (JL, p. xiv), ĺ and ṽ are both realized as ṽ by EJ speakers, but I have not verified this.

---

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

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

The consonants ð̣, ḳ, ṣ, ṭ, ṣ̃, and ṭ́ 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), 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 ś 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 intervocically. 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’ < *ēbūt (cf. indef. but ‘house’)
i ‘father; my father’ < *ābī
kōt ‘female dog’ < *kōbVt < *kalbVt
siēb ‘reason; because of’ < *sēbēb < *sabab (note also: siēk ‘because of you’ < *sēbāk < *sababāk!)

Adjectives:

‘ārī ‘Arab’ < *arabī
lūn ‘white’ < *lābūn

Verbs:

yōk ‘he weeps’ (Ga 3ms imperf.) < *yōbök (cf. perf. bēkē)
ōsār ‘he gave good news’ (D/L 3ms perf.) < *ēbōsār
yōsāran ‘he gives good news’ (D/L 3ms imperf.) < *yēbōs(ā)ran
kōr ‘he buried’ (Ga 3ms perf.) < *kōbūr
ṭēr ‘it broke’ (Gb 3ms perf.) < *ṭēbūr
golōt ‘she refused’ (Ga 3fs perf.) < *gūbūt
yērkīn ‘he would have ridden’ (Gb 3ms condit.) < *yērkīban

Numbers:

šō ‘seven (f.)’ < *šōba‘
ri ‘four (days)’ < *riba‘
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., šōʿ ‘seven’ < *šóbaʿ; tēr ‘it broke’ < *tébar). 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’ < *ʾabi; ārī ‘Arab’ < *arabī). 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., āʾlēt ‘mistress’ < *eblaʿet; but ēḥalēt ‘the word’ < *ebalēt). For more examples of the elision following the definite article ē-, see § 4.4.

In some cases, the b is elided but the vowels remain distinct. This happens with the sequences *ɔ́bi, *óbi, and *úbi—that is, back rounded vowels followed by i. Examples are gunōi ‘daggers’ < *gunóbi, and kɔ̄i ‘my dog’ < *kɔ́bi.4 Note also that the sequence *ebu can sometimes be realized ɛu, rather than ē (e.g., ūt or ēut ‘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, takbēn (30:3) is a surface realization of takbēn (< *takbēban); similarly, šhabēl ‘he understood’ (34:11) is the surface realization of an underlying *šahbél (< *šahwél), and ekēbl ‘the truce’ (60:9) is the surface realization of ekēbl (< *ekāwl). 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)slō-to ‘you will wait for me’ (3:10, < (t)slōb tɔ), ɔl təḳe-rē-tɔ lɔ ‘don’t come near me!’ (25:12, < ṯkrēb tɔ), and slō-to ‘wait for me!’ (AM1:6). An example with a preposition is al-šēfkeš ‘I cover myself with it’ (46:45). 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-šēfke beš. The same contraction is also found in the form rdēš ‘they threw it’ (48:3) < rdē 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) < *arkēbi trut.

---

4 For ‘my dog’, some speakers prefer the form kɔ́bi, 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., *eslóběš* ‘his arms’ (36:26), *kəlóběš* ‘his dogs’ (FB).⁵ The consonant b is also retained if it is preceded by a long vowel, e.g., *egábs* ‘his answer’ (10:4), *ǔbš* ‘his heart’ (1513).⁶ If b is geminate, then it is also not subject to intervocalic loss, e.g., *hībbôt* ‘songs, singing’ (7:8), *ðəbbôt* ‘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 *təCCɛ́Cən*. 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 *ģaršb* ‘know’, we might find either 3fp subjunctive *təģrɛ̄n* or *təģrɛ́bən*. 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 *kəi* ‘my dog’, *kək* ‘your dog’, while others preferred *kəbi* and *kəb(a)k*; preservation of b (and m) before possessive suffixes seems to be the norm for some younger speakers.

After the relative pronoun ɛ-, 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 intervocally. 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:

\[ VmV > ñ or rarely iñ \]

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 *sélóhum* ‘their arms’ (< *sélōb* + *-ðum*, 42) and *ýiršēn* < ‘our riding-camels’ (< *ýiršōb* + *-ën*, 22:12). It is unclear why this is the case. (On the different words *sélōb* ‘arms’ and *eslōb* ‘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:

ĩndîq ‘the rifle’ < *emândîq (cf. indef. mândîq)
īn ‘the sons’ < *emîn (cf. indef. mîn < *bîn)
ähfîr ‘basket’ < *emahfîr (cf. indef. mahfîr ‘basket’)
ûn ‘Oman’ < *amûn

Adjectives:

ēhrî ‘the Mehri’ < *emēhrî (cf. indef. mehri)
râhût ‘pretty (fs)’ < *râhûmât (cf. ms râhîm)

Verbs:

ʿôr ‘he said’ (Ga 3ms perf.) < *ʿamôr
šî‘ ‘he heard’ (Gb 3ms perf.) < *šîma‘ (also šâ‘ < *šamâ‘)
dôhâl ‘he eased, lightened’ (D/L-Stem 3ms perf.) < *êmôhâl
yâlak ‘he owns’ (Ga 3ms imperf.) < *yômûlak (cf. perf. mûlôk)
zût ‘she gave’ (Ga 3fs perf.) < *zu mât

Numbers:

xôš ‘five (m.)’ < *xamôś
xîś ‘five (f.)’ < *xâmîś
tûnît ‘eight (m.)’ < *tômînît
tônî ‘eight (f.)’ < *tômôni
tûnîn ‘eighty’ < *tômînîn

Other:

fnēnhînâm ‘night before last’ < *fne + mînhînâm (cf. mînhînâm ‘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., šî‘ ‘he heard’ < *šîma‘). If the vowel following the m is stressed, then the resulting long vowel will have the quality of that vowel (e.g., ʿôr ‘he said’ < *ʿamôr). 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., tûnîn ‘eighty’ < *tômînî; but ĩndîq ‘the rifle’
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., *emún ‘ant’ (root *nml); and *rəmün ‘Ramadan’ (root *rm즈).

As with *b, sometimes *m is elided but the vowels remain distinct. This happens with the sequences *ɔ́mi, *ómi, and *úmi—that is, back rounded vowels followed by *i. Examples are *šū ‘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, *yózamš ‘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, *hən<m-rún (60:3) is a surface realization of *həm-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)z-t ‘you will give me’ (13:7), *zəh-t ‘come to me!’ (28:7), and *zē-t ‘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-ənkɛ́n ‘someone from you’ (15:7, < *dē mənkɛ́n) and *sē-ən s̃óhum ‘some among them’ (AM1:11, < *sē mən s̃óhum); see further in § 3.5.1, § 3.5.2, and § 8.18. On the contraction *inɛ̄n < *inɛ́ 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) < *yūmi 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., axšómɛ́s ‘his enemies’ [60:24]). If *m is geminate, then it is also not subject to intervocalic loss (e.g., təmmût ‘it is finished’ [1:14]). This rule also may to apply to historically geminate *m in nouns, e.g., *ɛ́mɛ́s ‘his mother’ (< *ʾimm- ‘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 Ḣndíḳ, the expected initial *e is raised to *i on account of the following *n; on this phenomenon, see § 2.2.2.
8 The verb *emín 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:

- *məndîḳ* ‘rifle’ < Arabic *bunduq*
- *mastún* ‘plantation’ < Arabic *bustān*
- *(mən) mun* ‘between’ < *(mən) ben*
- *mərká‘* ‘veil’ < Arabic *burqu*
- *mín* ‘sons’ < *bín*
- *məndɛ́r* ‘seaport’ < Arabic *bandar*
- *məndɛ́ra* ‘flag’ < Arabic *bandēra*

Another example is the CJ verb *kũn* ‘hide’ (ms imperative *kmɛ́n*), which in EJ is *kūn* (ms imperative *kbɛ́n*), 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’, *mít* ‘when’, and the noun *mîh* ‘water’. So we find:

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

This change is not universal, as can be seen from phrases like *bə-məndîḳ* ‘and a rifle’ (32:14), *bə-məhfér* ‘and a basket’ (54:16), *bə-mśé* ‘for how much?’ (52:8), and *bə-mɛ́kən* ‘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*)
- *ek(ə)t* ‘time’ (root *wkṭ*; cf. Mehri and Arabic *wakṭ*)
- *esf* ‘description’ (root *wsf*; cf. Mehri and Arabic *wasf*)
- *élɛ́d* ‘children’ (root *wld*; cf. Mehri *wəlēd*)
- *ɔrx* ‘month’ (root *wrx*; cf. Mehri *warx*)
- *ódin* ‘new’ (root *wdn*; cf. Mehri *yədin*)

---

9 There is also an example of *am-mîh* in JL (s.v. *nḳl*).
10 See also the comment to text 41.
 Exceptions to this rule are bē ‘very (much)’, cognate with Mehri wīyən,11 bahš- ‘alone, by oneself’ (§ 3.6; cf. Mehri wəḥš-), 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 wégəb ‘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:

ōṣi ‘he advised’ < *ɛwóṣi (D/L-Stem 3ms perf. of wṣʾ/wṣy)
edúr ‘he returned’ < *ɛdówər (D/L-Stem 3ms perf. of dwr)
šerēg ‘he consulted’ < *s̃əréwəg (Š2-Stem 3ms perf. of rwg)

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

ğabɡɔ́t ‘girl’ < *ğawɡɔ́t
ksəbɛ́t ‘clothes’ < *kəswɛ́t (cf. Mehri kəswēt)
šɛbr ‘advice; plan’ < *šawr (cf. Mehri šawr)
lɛ́bḳət ‘bottle’ < *láwḳət (cf. Mehri láwḳət)
təbkíźɔ́t ‘possession in marriage’ < *təwkílɔ́t (cf. Mehri təwkalēt, Arabic tawkīl)
təbsīf ‘description’ < *təwṣīf (cf. ɛṣf ‘description’, Arabic waṣf)
yəbġɔ́d ‘he goes’ < *yəwġɔ́d (G-Stem 3ms imperf. of root wgd; cf. 3ms perf. aġád)
ɛbḳáʿ ‘he put’ < *ɛwḳáʿ (H-Stem 3ms perf. of wḳʿ; cf. Mehri həwḳā)

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

makébτar ‘caravans’ < *makawtest (sg. maqtér)
malébτag ‘killed ones’ < *malawtəg (sg. máltęg)
mənɛ́bdəḳ ‘rifles’ < *mənawdaq (sg. məndık)
mərɛ́bḳa ‘veils’ < *mərawkə (sg. mərkə)

This rule also explains the conjunction b- ‘and’ (< Semitic *w-; see § 12.1.1). A phrase like *(ə)w-ğéyg ‘and a man’ became b-ğéyg. 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 \( \text{muʿūd} \) ‘meeting place, appointment’ (cf. Arabic \( maw'îd \) ‘appointment (time and place)’), \( \text{moẓ́ā} \) ‘family-house’ (cf. Arabic \( mawdī \) ‘place’), \( \text{murd} \) ‘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., \( w-ēnēbzəl \) ‘and the places’ < \( *w-ēmənɛ́wzəl \), FB).

### 2.1.6 The Loss of \( l \)

The consonant \( l \) is sometimes lost in the environment \( CV_\text{__}C \). 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. \( \#\text{Ca}C# \rightarrow C\text{C} \) (usually)
2. \( CV_\text{I}CV \rightarrow C\text{o}CV \) or \( C\text{C}CV \) (if \( V_1 = *a \));\(^{12} \) \( CuCV \) (if \( V_1 = *u \))

Examples of \#1 are:

- \( õf \) ‘thousand’ (< *\( ʾ\text{al}f \) )
- \( dɔf \) ‘rock’ (< *\( d\text{al}f \) )
- \( gɔd \) ‘skin’ (< *\( g\text{ald} \) )
- \( kɔb \) ‘wolf, dog’ (< *\( k\text{al}b \) )\(^{13} \)
- \( kɔt \) ‘talk’ (< *\( k\text{alt} \) )
- \( tɔf \) ‘hunger’ (< *\( t\text{al}f \) )
- \( xɔk \) ‘appearance’ (< *\( x\text{alk} \) )

\#1 seems to apply only to monosyllabic nouns of the shape \( *\#\text{Ca}CC\# \), and not to other cases of \( CV_\text{CC} \). We can say with more certainty that, excluding verbs, the rule does not normally operate across a morpheme boundary, hence \( fāh\text{al-š} \) ‘his penis’, \( ēnz\text{él-š} \) ‘his place’, \( k\text{el-š} \) ‘all of it (m.)’, \( k\text{el-s} \) ‘all of it (f.)’, \( ē-l\text{hūtī} \) ‘the cows’, etc. There are also exceptions, like \( x\text{elf} \) ‘next’ (perhaps < *\( x\text{ilf} \), but cf. Arabic \( x\text{al}f \) ‘back (adj.)’), \( ʻ\text{al}k \) ‘helpfulness’. Borrowed nouns and Arabisms (that is, Arabic words used by Jibbali speakers) do not undergo this rule, e.g., \( t\text{elg} \) ‘ice, snow’, \( ʻ\text{elf} \) ‘thousand’, \( k\text{elb} \) ‘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 xlf)
- suṭún ‘sultan’ (root slf)
- mosé ‘rain’ (root lsw)
- šɔ́tét ‘three (m.)’ (root šlt)
- ḥofét ‘alliance’ (root ḥlf)

There are, however, many more words that do not follow change #2 than words that do, e.g.:


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 suṭún.14 But for other patterns it is not clear why l is lost only sometimes. For example, from hlf we find hoʃet and halfún, but from xlk we find xalkét and xalkún. We could suggest that the glottalic k blocks the loss of l, but then the l is lost before the glottalic in suṭún.

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

- shɛk ‘you finished’ < *shɛlk (2:5)
- ḥɔ́k ‘I picked up’ < ḥɔ́lk < ḥɔ́mɔ́lk (13:11)
- fa’ās ‘you hurt’ < *fa’āls (17:27)
- ebʃɔ́kum ‘you cooked’ < *ebʃɔ́lkum (48:6)
- dḥa-l-hĩs ‘I will carry you’ < *dḥa-l-hĩls < *dḥa-l-hɛməls (48:13)
- əkɔ́s ‘I thought you…’ < *əkɔ́ls (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 suṭún, 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., šhabölk ‘you understood’, 34:11). Where l is not written, I have usually put it in parentheses in the transcription of the texts.

The verb létəġ ‘kill’ normally loses its l in the subjunctive (e.g., 3ms yótaŋ < *yóltəŋ, 17:10) and in the imperative (e.g., ms taŋ, 36:23; 86:6). This is a peculiarity of this verb.

The l is also sometimes lost in the phrase kɔ-ṭáṭ ‘everyone’ (< kɔl ṭáṭ; see § 3.5.3), and, in fast speech, l is often dropped from the negative particle ɔl (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 ʿar ‘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 ə), 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 dółkun ‘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., šehm ‘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 sɛh (as indicated by the spelling səhm mentioned above), a verb like zəḥám ‘he came’ might be pronounced zəḥãm.

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., *xɔhr*, 30:24) and *lh* (e.g., *gamilh*, 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*, *s̃*, *t*, *ṭ*, *z*, and *ẓ́*. It is probable that it is also sometimes lost before *š* (as in Mehri), though this never happens in the texts. Examples are:

- *dḥa-(t)səlɔ̄-tɔ* ‘you will wait for me’ (3:10)
- *ɔl (t)šún tɔ lɔ* ‘she wouldn’t see me’ (51:3)
- *ḥa-(t)šṭikén* ‘they will drink’ (20:3)
- *(t)šaʾāsɔ́r* ‘she loved’ (97:4)
- *(t)tɛ̄n* ‘they eat’ (51:22)
- *(t)zhõn ð-tɛlf* ‘they come’ (47:6)
- *(t)žḥɔk* ‘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*:

- *təsɔ́kf* ‘she would sit’ (17:13)
- *dḥa-təśnɛ́* ‘you will see’ (33:7)
- *təştəfɔ́rən* ‘they were going down’ (40:4)
- *təskélɔ́ṭ* ‘she is conversing’ (18:11)
- *təzḥóm* ‘she comes’ (23:10)
- *təẓ́bɔ́ṭ* ‘she gets’ (49:31)

Further investigation in the field is needed to see how regular the loss of *tα*- really is. It should be added that the forms of the numeral ‘nine’, masculine *saʾét* and feminine *sɔ́* (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, 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.

2.1.10 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 tɔ̄k ‘you are crying’ (49:28) where we expect d-tɔ̄k or ð-tɔ̄k (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 agóðələn ‘you tie’, and progressive d-agóðələn. 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. ḏə-təlk ‘I was sorry’ (31:5, from talé ‘be sorry, regret’), ḏə-təlfək ‘I was hungry’ (48:9, from telf ‘be hungry’), and ḏə-thúmk ‘I think’ (60:44, from thumk ‘I think’). There is evidence, however, for the suppression of the particle before the glottalics t (e.g., ḏḥín ‘ground’, 97:29) and s (e.g., ṣɔr ‘standing’, 48:20).

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

2.1.11 Gemination

In some Semitic languages, we find morphologically significant gemination. For example, compare the Arabic verb xadama ‘he served, worked’ with xadd ama ‘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., ‘āmma ‘as for’ < Arabic ‘āmmā [§ 12.5.1]), or because two identical consonants have come together (e.g., ḏɔbbɔ́t ‘fly (insect)’ < root ḏbb; and lɔ́ttəġ ‘kill o.a.’, T1-Stem 3ms perfect of the root ḏtj).

---

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 *ferr ‘he flew’ (<G-Stem *ferr), but fərrɔ́t ‘she flew’; *hezz ‘he slaughtered’ (<*hezz) and hizk ‘I slaughtered’, but hizzɔ́t ‘she slaughtered’.

There is a rule *CəC₂V́ > C₂C₂V́, which affects the forms of some verbal stems. So we find, for example, H-Stem eglél ‘he boiled’, but egəllɔ́t ‘she boiled’ (<*egllɔ́t); 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 *C₁C₂əC₂ > C₁C₁əC₂, i.e., the transfer of gemination onto another root consonant. An example is the G-Stem 3ms subjunctive yɔ́ffər <*yɔ́frər. See §7.4.14 for additional examples.

With some T-Stem verbs, gemination results from assimilation, e.g., müssi ‘melt (intrans.)’ (<*mutṣi), 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 ɛmé ‘mother’ (ɛmì ‘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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vowels i and e are distinct phonemes, but in some contexts may be interchangeable (e.g., dɪfɔ́r ~ dɛfɔ́r ‘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 e reflect a single phoneme: e 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., tuaẓar ‘rich’, ḥuš ‘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 (ɛ̄, ĩ, ɔ̄, ū, 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 ’, w, or y (see the relevant sub-sections of § 7.4). Occasionally the sequence ‘a or a’ is realized ȃ. Still, vowel length is only marginally phonemic, and minimal pairs are very few. Three such pairs are he ‘I’ ~ ḥe ‘he fell’ (root hwy), hak ‘for you’ ~ ḥek ‘I fell’, and ber ‘already’ ~ bér ‘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, ĩ, ā, ō, ū, and rarely ē and ď.), 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 ḏɔr ‘he buried’ and kɔr ‘he won, beat (in a game)’. With the exception of a few lexemes, namely, ēhɛ īyes’, and the particles hɛ (§ 11.11) and ḥůk (§ 12.5.10), nasalized vowels in Jibbali are all the result of the loss of a nasal consonant.

After the guttural consonants ‘ and ġ, the vowel a is pronounced with a slight diphthongization by some speakers. So, for example, ʿagɔ b ‘he wants’ can be pronounced closer to ʿaygɔb, and ḡɔbɔt ‘girl’ can be pronounced as gaybgɔt. This diphthong ay is just an allophone of a’e. 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 [i] (transcribed i), e.g., kisk ~ koɔk ‘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 $\dot{g}$, the pharyngeal fricatives $h$ and $\dot{v}$, the glottal fricative $h$, and the historical glottal stop $\acute{v}$) 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 $ɛ$ 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 $\acute{v}$. Examples are:

- $y\acute{a}\dot{l}ə\acute{q}$ ‘he lights’ (< H-Stem 3ms subjunctive pattern $y\acute{e}CC\dot{a}C$)
- $y\acute{o}gma$ ‘he gathers’ (< Ga-Stem 3ms subjunctive pattern $y\acute{o}CC\dot{a}C$)
- $\sin'\acute{a}t$ ‘skill, trade’ (< $\sin'$- + feminine suffix -$\dot{e}$t)

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 $CVC\dot{v}G$ to $CV\dot{c}C\dot{a}G$ (or $CV\dot{c}CaG$), 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 $ə$, whether or not they are subject to loss. The vowel $e$ is normally raised to $i$, and $ə$ is raised to $u$. Some examples are:

- $m\acute{i}d$ ‘he stretched out’ and $n\acute{i}t$ ‘he shivered’ (Ga geminate 3ms perfect pattern $CeC$)
- $r\acute{s}aN\acute{u}t$ ‘she tied’ (< Ga 3fs perfect pattern $CC\dot{a}C\dot{t}$)
- $\acute{m}\dot{u}r\acute{a}z$ ‘he fell ill’ and $n\acute{i}k\dot{a}b$ ‘he fell’ (< Gb 3ms perfect pattern $C\acute{e}CaC$)
- $e\acute{n}\acute{u}d\acute{a}f$ ‘he cleaned’ (< D/L 3ms perfect pattern $\acute{e}C\dot{O}CaC$)
- $\acute{e}\dot{d}\acute{m}ir$ ‘he showed’ and $t\acute{m}\acute{\dot{u}}m$ ‘he finished’ (< H 3ms perfect pattern $(e)CC\dot{e}C$)
- $\acute{s}\acute{x}\dot{t}\acute{i}n$ ‘he got circumcised’ (< Ś1 3ms perfect pattern $\acute{s}\acute{a}CC\dot{e}C$)
- $n\acute{u}tg\acute{a}h$ ‘he hurried up’ (< T1 3ms perfect pattern $C\dot{O}tCaC$)
Vowel quality can be affected even if the nasal is lost, for example:

- *zumūt* 'she gave' (< Ga I-w 3fs perfect pattern CaCst)
- *yamūkər* 'he stores milk' (< Ga 3ms imperfect pattern yaCaC)
- *yamūl* 'he fills' (< Ga III-ʾ 3ms imperfect pattern yaCaC)
- *əštə́mi* 'he listened' (< Tz 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 *guzūm* 'he swore' and *šukūm* 'he went out (at night)' (pattern CaCst); and 3fs *guzūt* 'she swore' and *šukūt* 'she went out (at night)' (pattern CaCoCst).

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., gɔ́lɔ́d. 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., štə́rhum ‘their kid’ (49:5, < štə́r + -hum), lə́tə́gum ‘you killed’ (15:11, < lə́tə́g + -kum), and sibbə́də́s ‘detach yourself from her’ (60:43, < sibbə́d + -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., eyə́ti ‘my camel’, with the unstressed affixes ɛ- and -i); and when it is being used as a variant of another vowel, such as [i] < /i/ (e.g., ağı́ti ~ ağı́ti ‘my sister’; cf. ɣiţ ‘sister’), [ɛ] (e.g., ha-l-zə́mk ~ hə-l-zə́mk ‘I will give you’; cf. ɣə-l-zə́m ‘I will give’), or [e] (e.g., lə́tə́gum ~ lə́tə́gum ‘you killed’; cf. lə́tə́g ‘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 ʿak
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 *ə*), as in *eslõbɛ́š* ‘his arms’ (36:26) and *axšõmɛ́š* ‘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 *hérõmût* ‘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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>(ə)ši</td>
<td>nha(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>hɛt</td>
<td>(ə)ti</td>
<td>tum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>hit</td>
<td></td>
<td>ten</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>šɛ</td>
<td>ši</td>
<td>šum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>sɛ</td>
<td></td>
<td>sen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 š.
- According to Johnstone (JL, s.v. nḥn), 1cp nhan is CJ, while nha is EJ and sometimes CJ.² WJ seems to use nha.
- The 2p and 3p forms are often pronounced with nasal vowels: tũ(m), tɛ̃(n), šũ(m), and sɛ̃(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 hɛt and 2fs hīt (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 ɔl ɡagbót lo* ‘you are not a girl’ (17:8)
- *kɔ hit bũn* ‘why are you here’ (54:15)
- *šɛ mišér ‘he is crazy’* (1:8)
- *se südḥat* ‘she (was) a friend’ (60:46)
- *nḥa štét ḡag ‘we are three men’* (54:20)
- *tum bet mûn ‘what house [or: clan] are you?’* (54:5)
- *šum ‘ak monzèl rɔhîm ‘they are in a beautiful place’* (28:5)
- *ižénu šum ‘these are they’* (45:11)

And examples of verbal sentences are:

- *he ɔl ɔ̄d lo ‘I don’t lie’* (22:17)
- *ɔl sèdan he bə-sè lo ‘she and I did not agree’* (10:1)
- *kɔ het tɔ́k ‘why are you crying?’* (49:28)
- *sãtbaṭ še bə-šûm ‘he and they fought’* (53:1)
- *’ágəb b-aḥgagbót bə-sè ‘aqišt beś ‘he fell in love with the girl, and she fell in love with him’* (17:16)
- *nḥa ɔl ḥa-nəḥmɛ́l lo ‘we will not move’* (15:5)
- *her sɛ̃n férəḥ bek ‘if they are happy with you’* (7:2)
- *ínɛ́ təˈɔr tũm her ɛḳahwɛ́t ‘what (word) do you say for (drinking) coffee?’* (34:11)
- *hes tum antɔ̄hkum, 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:

- *’ök hes, “her ‘ágis̃ bi, ḥa-tgíd ši” ‘I said to her, “If you love me, you will go with me”’* (13:18)
- *šfɔ̀k bə-téṭ ‘he married a woman’* (97:3)
- *šerɔ́kkum tɔš ‘you stole it’* (6:37)
- *dха-yaẓêm ḡalh̀n ‘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 ol het axér 'ánén ło ‘you are not better than us’* (20:4)
- *bə-hét bə-rīk ‘you (do) as you wish!’* (28:17)
- *het šisét lóhum ‘you listen to them!’* (33:6)
- *tům šōrk beš əlhín ‘ákum ‘you all do with him whatever you want!’* (17:20)
- *he sī émí šxarét ‘I have an old mother’* (18:7)
- *bə-nḥá əl ŝen dé ło ‘we have no one’* (13:2)

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

- *ikeźɔ́t īs yɛ́šfəḳəs, b-īs ikélə́k hɛt l-ɛ́mlək aģéyg ðɛ́nu ‘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:

- *tɔ̄lə́k hɛt náṣanu ‘it’s your turn now’ (lit. ‘it’s with you now’) (36:30)*
- *də še əl beš fāḥal ło, l-əkszəs ərešə. bə-də še beš fāḥal, tům l-əksəs ərešəkum ‘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 ‘ání hé ‘better than me?’* (54:4)
- *‘ak bi hé ‘do you want me?’* (TJ4:35)

The independent pronouns can also follow the genitive exponent ɛ-/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 ɛ-nḥá ba-tát ɛ-didī ‘two of ours and one of my uncle’s’* (49:4)
- *fɔk̓ əli ɛ-hét ‘half of my livestock is yours’* (51:6)

The independent pronouns are also used with the pseudo-preposition (əl-)hɛs ‘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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>-(a)i</td>
<td>-(a)ši</td>
<td>-(a)n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>-(a)k</td>
<td>-(a)ši</td>
<td>-(a)kum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>-(a)š</td>
<td>-(a)ši</td>
<td>-(a)šan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>-(a)š</td>
<td>-(a)ši</td>
<td>-(a)hum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>-(a)s</td>
<td>-(a)ši</td>
<td>-(a)šan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:

- A few nouns ending in a vowel drop the final vowel before the 1cs suffix, in which case the suffix is stressed. Cf. aġi ‘my brother’ (← ga ‘brother’), ebrí ‘my son’ (← (e)bré ‘son’); but not a’išét ‘my dinner’ (← ‘išé ‘dinner’), ağařói ‘my language’ (← ġaró ‘language’). The vowel a of the remaining suffixes is lost with all words ending in a vowel.
- The vowel a, 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., ěrkš ‘my riding-camel’ < *érkib-əš, 46:7; kəmčš ‘your head-cloth’ < *kəmčém-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., kəb ‘your dog’).

---

3 For example, two informants used dírɛ́həmi ‘my money’. From the word kəb ‘dog, wolf’, most younger informants preferred kəbi ‘my dog’, kəbk ‘your dog’, etc., though some accepted...
• The 2fs and 3ms suffixes are identical in Jibbali dialects that do not distinguish ʂ and š.
• The 1cd and 2cd suffixes are identical. The 3cd suffix is also identical in Jibbali dialects that do not distinguish ʂ and š. 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 š (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’, ġa ‘brother’ (def. aġá), and sékən ‘settlement’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>-́i</td>
<td>-éši</td>
<td>-én</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>-́ek</td>
<td>-éši</td>
<td>-́kum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>-́eš</td>
<td>-éši</td>
<td>-ékən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>-́eš</td>
<td>-éši</td>
<td>-́hum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>-́es</td>
<td>-éši</td>
<td>-ésən</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:
• All suffixes except 1cs, 2mp, and 3mp are characterized by a vowel ę preceding the suffix.

kő́i, kős, etc. One informant preferred kőbk because kős can also mean ‘your dung’, from kő ‘(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 ɛ́ 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 ș and š.
• The 1cd and 2cd suffixes are identical. The 3cd suffix is also identical in Jibbali dialects that do not distinguish ș and š. 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), yél ‘camels’ (def. iyél), and īnēt ‘women’:

bet: ētī, ētēk, ētēš, ētēs, ētēsī, ētēsī, ētēn, ētōkum, ētēkan, ētōhum, ētēson
iyél: iyēlī, iyēlēk, iyēlēš, iyēlēs, iyēlēsī, iyēlēsī, iyēlēn, iyēlōkum, iyēlēkon, iyēlōhum, iyēlēson
īnēt: īnētī, īnētēk, īnētēš, īnētēs, īnētēsī, īnētēsī, īnētēn, īnētōkum, īnētēkon, īnētōhum, īnētēson

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

ġatētə: aġatētī, aġatētēk, aġatētēš, aġatētēs, aġatētēsī, aġatētēsī, aġatētēn, aġatētōkum, aġatētēkon, aġatētōhum, aġatētēson
ʿántə: aʿántī, aʿántēk, aʿántēš, aʿántēs, aʿántēsī, aʿántēsī, aʿántēn, aʿántōkum, aʿántēkon, aʿántōhum, aʿántēson

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>not used</td>
<td>not used</td>
<td>not used</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>-ôk</td>
<td>-ôši</td>
<td>-ôkum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>-ôš</td>
<td>-ôši</td>
<td>-êkum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>-ôš</td>
<td>-ôši</td>
<td>-ôhum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>-ôš</td>
<td>-ôši</td>
<td>-êsən</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:

- These suffixes carry stress.
- After -n the stressed á tends to be pronounced í (e.g., rašínís ‘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’, tê ‘he ate’, ša’zé ‘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 $C(V)C\dot{a}C$ has the base $C(a)\dot{a}C\dot{i}$- before a suffix, e.g., tfɔl ‘he spit (out)’, but tfílə́š ‘he spit it out’ (35:5). For a small number of verbs (e.g., kəšəf ‘snap, break’, ḡələb ‘refuse’, tərəd ‘expel, drive away’), the base is $CiCC$- or $C\dot{e}CC$-. 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:

rašínís ‘he tied her up’ (17:26) (cf. rašín ‘he tied up’)
lḥūkšhum ‘he caught up to them’ (6:37) (cf. lḥák ‘he caught up’)
lidás ‘he shot him’ (46:17) (< ḡabídás; cf. lūd ‘he shot’)
ḥilšhum ‘he took them’ (97:40) (< ḡəmūšhum; cf. hōl ‘he took’)
zawhōs ‘he came to him’ (12:10) (< ḡawhām ‘he came’)
esēlə́š ‘he reached him’ (25:13) (cf. ḡaw ‘he reached’)
ksés ‘he found her’ (17:9) (cf. ksé ‘he found’)
ḥezzəsən ‘he slaughtered them’ (22:6) (cf. ḡez ‘he slaughtered’)
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>not used</td>
<td>not used</td>
<td>not used</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>-k</td>
<td>-ši</td>
<td>-kum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>-š</td>
<td>-ši</td>
<td>-šən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>-š</td>
<td>-ši</td>
<td>-šən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>-s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. *zǔš ‘they (f.) gave him’ (23:6, < *zǔmə-š < *zǔma-š), but yɔ́zəməš ‘they give him’ (46:8, < *yɔ́zəm-š); zəḥãš ‘they (m.) came to him’ (30:25, < *zəḥámə-š < *zəḥámu-š), but yəzḥímš ‘they come to him’ (4:5).

Some examples of 3fs perfects with object suffixes are:

- śinútš ‘she saw him’ (SB2:2)
- tēts ‘she ate it (f.)’ (6:31)
- zǔthum ‘she gave them’ (36:29)
- ɛbgaḥɔ́tš ‘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 *C₂C₂CV > C₂C₂CV, discussed also in § 2.1.11 and § 7.4.14.

5 This form is also sometimes realized yɔ́zmaš.
Some examples of 3mp and 3fp perfects with object suffixes are:

- {kéláš} ‘they put it (m.)’ (12:4) (cf. {kélˈáš} ‘he put it (m.)’, 6:29)
-  {zūs} ‘they gave her’ (97:11) (< *zúməs; cf. {zís} ‘he gave her’, 6:31)
-  {zəḥāš} ‘they came to him’ (30:25) (< *zəḥáməš; cf. {zəḥǐš} ‘he came to him’, 12:10)
-  {lōδš} ‘they shot at him’ (2:15) (< *ləbɔ́δəš; cf. {līdōš} ‘he shot at him’, 25:14)
-  {rḥáẓ́əs} ‘they washed her’ (97:10) (cf. {rḥiẓ́ə́s} ‘he washed her’, SM)
-  {gɔrɔ́s} ‘they knew her’ (36:28) (< *gɔrɔ́bəs; cf. {gərīs} ‘he knew her’, SM)
-  {kséš} ‘they found him’ (17:42) (cf. {ksēš} ‘he found him’, 97:49)
-  {hōlhum} ‘they took them’ (22:20) (cf. {hīlōhum} ‘he took them’, 97:40)
-  {aˈśə́s} ‘he roused her’ (18:10) (cf. {aˈśə́s} ‘he roused her’, SM)
-  {s̃xabírš} ‘they asked him’ (22:10) (cf. {s̃xabírə́š} ‘he asked him’, 30:18)
-  {fúskši} ‘they separated them’ (20:5) (cf. {fiskə́ši} ‘he separated them’, SM)

Some examples of imperfects with object suffixes are:

-  {yəs̃aˈásɔ́rs} ‘he loves her’ (17:9)
-  {yəzḥímš} ‘they come to him’ (4:5)
-  {əḳɔ́laˈkum} ‘I let you’ (15:4)
-  {nəģɔ́rbəs} ‘we know it (f.)’ (23:5)
-  {təģɔ́rbhum} ‘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-nzɛ́mk} ‘we’ll give you’ (23:2)
-  {dḥa-l-səlɔ́bs} ‘I’ll wait for her’ (60:14)
-  {dḥa-təksís} ‘you’ll find her’ (60:15)
-  {dḥa-l-ɔ́(l)tɡək} ‘I’ll kill you’ (35:8)
-  {hə-nkəɬək} ‘we’ll leave you’ (SB1:6)
-  {oɬ tìs ɬo ‘don’t eat it (m.)!’} (6:5)
-  {oɬ təftəḥəʃ ɬo ‘don’t open it (m.)!’} (5:4)

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

---

6 The pseudo-preposition taˈmɯrn-, which always takes a suffix, is also historically a conditional form with a suffix. See § 8.25.
Finally, some examples of imperatives with object suffixes are:

- tıš 'eat it (m.)!' (97:35)
- tağš 'kill him!' (36:23)
- sbɔ́ts 'hit her!' (18:11)
- təḥíns 'grind it (f.)!' (97:6)
- zɛ́mhum 'give them!' (30:14)
- ƙəláʿsən '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', zəḥám '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: əl-šɛ́fḳɛ '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 əl-šɛ́fke beš. The same contraction is also found in the form rdíēš (< 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(ɔ)-plus pronominal suffixes. This particle t- is used only with suffixes, never independently. The full set of forms is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>tɔ</td>
<td>tɔ́si</td>
<td>tun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>tɔ́k</td>
<td>tɔ́si</td>
<td>tókum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>tɔ́sh</td>
<td>tɔ́si</td>
<td>tókan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>tɔ́sh</td>
<td>tɔ́si</td>
<td>tóhum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>tɔ́s</td>
<td>tɔ́si</td>
<td>tósən</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 téken and 3fp form tésan, but the two occurrences of a fp form in Johnstone’s texts are 3fp tósan (25:4; TJ2:104), confirmed by both the manuscripts and the audio. Informants also used tósan (AK1:4) and 2fp tókan. Johnstone was either mistaken (presumably basing his paradigm on fp forms of other prepositions, like bésan, hésan, šésan, 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 tɔ 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 ti (depending on the dialect), Harsusi tání, and Hobyot ti. 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 téken/tésan, while on the other (Box 13A) he used tókan/tósan. This tells us that the forms téken and tésan 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 tókan/tósan. 3fp tósan also occurs in Müller’s texts (1907: 90, text 2014). See the comment in Bittner (1916b: 47, n. 1).

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

- *he ol ʒaróbk tok lo* ‘I didn’t know you’ (5:12)
- *he fhemk tok* ‘I understood you’ (41:6)
- *dɔ-ʃtúmk toʃ* ‘I have struck you’ (55:6)
- *ʃerɔ́kkum toʃ* ‘you stole it’ (6:37)
- *nha ʃa’ʃén toʃ* ‘we are worried about him’ (8:7)
- *hun ʃink toʃ* ‘where did you see it?’ (39:7)
- *ol ʃerɔ́kən toʃ lo* ‘we didn’t steal it’ (12:9)
- *ol ʃɔ́rbiʃ toʃ lo* ‘you didn’t prevent her’ (60:12)
- *ʃink tòkum* ‘I saw you’ (54:6)
- *yɔ ɛ-ʃínɛ́n tòhum manhínəm* ‘the people that we saw last night’ (16:5)
- *kisk tòhum* ‘I found them’ (22:19)
- *zumk toʃ toʃ* ‘I gave it to her’ (97:42)

Finally, examples of exceptions to Rule #2 are:

- * físək ’ar ərʃɔ́t yəgɔ̄ḥ to toʃ* ‘I am afraid the boys will take it from me’ (30:22)
- *zĩs toʃ* ‘he gave it to her’ (97:48)

In the second-to-last example (30:22), *toʃ* is used because it follows *to*, which must be used (following rule #1). In the last example (97:48), *toʃ* is used because the verb already has an object suffix. To this last example, we can compare *zumk toʃ toʃ* ‘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:
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. ðɛ́nu (ðɛn)  fs. ðɪnu (ðɪn)  cp. iźɛ́nu (iźɛn)

Most young speakers of Jibbali use the shorter forms in all contexts (usually pronounced ðɛ̃, ðĩ, and iźɛ̃), though some will use ðɛ́nu, etc., in careful speech. A longer plural form iźɛ́nun 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. ðɔ́hun  fs. ðíhun/ðúhun  cp. iźɔ́hun

Remote demonstratives (‘that, those’):
ms. ðɔ́kun/ðək  fs. ðíkun/ðúkun(u)/ðik  cp. iźɔ́kun/iźɔ́k

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 ðɔ̃ũ, ðũ, and iźɔ̃ũ. However, my younger informants also used new lengthened forms ðɔ́hunu, ðúhunu, and iźɔ́hunu, 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 ðúkunu. As for the feminine forms of the far and remote demonstratives, ðihun and ðıkun 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 ðú-. Interestingly, Müller’s material has ms ðéku, fs ðiku, 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 (ðək and ðik) are not well attested.

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

- *he šerókak ðénu* ‘I did this’ (1:1)
- *mûn ðénu* ‘who is this?’ (13:12)
- *iźénu axšûm* ‘these are enemies’ (25:10)
- *iźén iyêli* ‘these are my camels’ (AK4:8)
- ‘aŋg giní troh bo-ðódhûn’ *I want two guineas for that* (52:9)
- *iźôhûn sabru* ‘those were ghosts’ (16:5)
- *sé bešî al-hês ðókûn* ‘something simple like that’ (52:10)
- *yaŋhûm ðókûn* ‘that (man) should jump’ (54:40)
- ðókûn man iźôk əd-şên ‘that was one of our friends [lit. those with us]’ (60:45)
- Ütš ðîkûn se ‘his house is that one’ (46:11)
- iźôk əntôh ‘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:

- *hérûm ðénu* ‘this tree’ (22:11)
- *edûnhum ðénu* ‘this debt of theirs’ (9:8)
- *sàb ðînu* ‘this valley’ (54:16)
- *eskàssët ðînû* ‘this story’ (34:14)
- *eyôt ðînu* ‘this camel’ (AK2:4) (but ðîn eyôt in AK2:5)
- *xàtšîk iźénu* ‘these clothes’ (17:6)
- *ûm iźêm* ‘these days’ (AK4:12)
- *mîh iźéñ* ‘this water’ (AK)
- *sétkan ðôðhûn* ‘that community’ (15:12)
- *xàf ðôðhûn* ‘that foot’ (52:6)
- *ênzél ðôshûnu* ‘that place’ (Anon 1:5)
- *hàllêt ðôðhûn* ‘that town’ (17:15)
- *yûm ðôdhûn* ‘that day’ (AK1:2)
- *eskûr iźôhûn* ‘those foreigners’ (10:1)
- *xàhr ðókûn* ‘that mountain’ (30:24)
- *ênzél ðókûn* ‘that place’ (31:2)
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:

- **dén sändík** ‘this box’ (5:4)
- **dínu ağábgot** ‘this girl’ (17:53)
- **dínu ẽ̀ḥel ét** ‘this word’ (34:4)
- **dín ey ét** ‘this camel’ (AK2:5)
- **dís hát ağáy g** ‘that man’ (SB1:5)

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

- **ɪxənt iźéṇ xátok, ba-fí xátok iźéṇ** ‘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:

- **dën he, ağák** ‘it’s me, your brother’ (13:12)
- **dën še ‘it’s him’** (30:22)
- **dën še tābsīf aṣfīkot** ‘this is a description of marriage’ (45:20)
  - **tīt ‘ak šēdkaş dēn, ba-tīt ‘ak šēdkaş dēn** ‘one on this side (of his mouth) and one on that [lit. this] side (of his mouth)’ (54:24)

The shortened far demonstrative **dík** also is attested twice as a subject with an independent pronoun in the predicate: **dík sē ‘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 **iźén** 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, although the form must have been influenced by the word ʾeš ‘something, anything’ (see § 3.5.2). In combination with the negative ɔl... lo (§ 13.2.1), it has the meaning 'no one, nobody, (not) anyone'. Examples of its use are:

- dé zəhĩkum 'has anyone come to you?' (25:9)
- her dé yağɔ̀rəb šé 'if anyone knows anything' (18:7)
- əkɔ́s dé yəɣɔ́rəb śé ʾaŋ 'if anyone knows something' (60:25)
- šã k əd’é or  unprotected 'did you hear somebody say he will [or: would] leave?' (8:9)
- ɔl dé yəkɔ́lb alhĩn ber xárɔ́g əhĩ lo 'no one (can) bring back alive whatever has already died' (23:14)
- ɔl yakɔ̀la' ət l-ašéṣ́ṣk dé ło 'he won't let me marry anyone' (17:18)
- ɔl dé niṣ̌aṣ́ mes še ło 'no one had drunk anything from it' (34:10)
- ɔl šiši dé ło 'they had no one' (54:1)
- ɔl dé al-hés še ło 'no one was like him' (54:2)
- ɔl dé yəblando ło 'no one is traveling' (60:37)
- ɔl kəštɔ́ dé ło '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-lo, where dé is negated rather than the entire phrase. This is done for emphasis, in response to the question ‘who told you?’:

- ɔl-dé-lo 'ɜr hĩni '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 man (§ 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 *ṭad ‘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-ankên taḡørəb sé ‘if any one of you knows anything’ (15:7) (dē-ankên < dē mankên)

šef dē-ānsên săḥart ‘it so happened that one of them was a witch’ (15:8)
(dē-ānsên < dē mansên)

her dē manhūm ōr-ēr hek ʔēnu ‘if one of them who said this to you’
(24:2)

ya-rêṯ al-šnê dé manhūm ‘would that I could see one of them!’ (60:32)

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

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

3.5.2 šé ‘something, any(thing)’; šé bə ‘nothing, not any(thing)’

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

ḥōsəlak šé ‘did you earn anything?’ (8:3)

her dē yaḡørəb sé ‘if anyone knows anything’ (18:7)

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

gini ʔaṭ al-šé besiṭ al-hés dōkūn ‘one guinea for something simple like that’ (52:10)

bə-flő yēzmək šé ‘and perhaps he'll give you something’ (60:30)

a'isšrēk fəlō šé ‘(are they) your friends or something?’ (60:32)

her šé ʔērē leq ‘if anything happens to you’ (86:12)

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

ɔl ʃeš šé lɔ ‘he didn't have anything’ (5:6)

ɔl ɔṭål šé lɔ ‘he hasn't sent anything’ (8:8)

ɔl ʃəbəḥ dər hērūm šé lɔ ‘nothing had appeared on the tree’ (22:14)

ağęg ɔl ʔa-yezəm šé lɔ ‘the man won't give you anything’ (28:13)

ɔl dē nisəz mes šé lɔ ‘no one had drunk anything from it’ (34:10)

ɔl šé ʔəhəm ʔeš lɔ ‘nothing came of it’ (SB1:4)

‘ōr, ‘šé lɔ’ ‘he said, ‘(It's) nothing’’ (60:32)

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

‘ɔd ya(LED hiʃ šé bə-flő šé ‘does he do [lit. say] anything at all to you?’
(TJ4:50)
They didn't think [lit. in their hearts] he had anything at all' (TJ4:33)

'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 aģ(y)ęg sé mən érunókum 'have any of your goats given birth already?' (32:3)

'you want to buy some of our animals' (41:3)

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:

'suk sé aģhɛ́k fəlɔ́ aģatétɛ́k 'do you have any brothers or sisters?' (SM)

'y don't have any money' (86:8)

'you don't have any meat on you' (SB1:6)

'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:

'isn't there any rain?' (32:7)

'it's [or: there's] no trouble' (28:20)

'there was no water nearby' (35:1)

'there was no jinn by the water-hole' (39:12)

'there is no water ahead of you' (60:37)

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

3.5.3 kɔ(l) ṭaṭ 'everyone, each one'

The phrase kɔl ṭaṭ (var. kɔl ṭad), often reduced to kɔ-ṭaṭ (see § 2.1.6), means 'everyone'. If the phrase kɔl ṭaṭ 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 ṭaṭ can be considered appositional to the subject of the verb. Examples are:

'everyone is happy' (4:5)
kəl ʈaṭ yəzəm təxtór bə-xədmétš ‘everyone would give the doctor (something) for his work’ (52:1)
kə-ʈaṭ yaʔagɔ́b yaɡrɛ́b ēsāɡɛ́r ‘everyone wants to know the other guy’ (21:12)

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

bəttədɔ́ kə-ʈaṭ b-ɔ̄rməš ‘each one went [lit. separated] on his way’ (1:14)
yozmaʃ kə-ʈaṭ śfet ‘each one gave him a hair’ (30:20)
’āɡən kə-ʈaṭ yəzḥõm bə-kèltɔ́t ‘let’s each one (of us) offer [lit. bring] a story’ (36:29)
kəl ʈaṭ mən aɡāg rī’ət ‘each one of the men (got) a quarter’ (54:8)

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

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

kəl ɖ-oʃ śes sāɡət bə ‘everyone who doesn’t have jewelry’ (22:5)
kəl ɛ-zḥám ‘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 śé ‘everything’*

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

eʃər axər mən kəl śé ‘patience is better than everything’ (20:9)
’ɔr šxrət təɡɔ́rəb kəl śé ‘they say [lit. said] there is an old woman who knows everything’ (38:7)
kəlɔ́t həʃ bə-kəl śé ‘he told him everything’ (30:8)

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

təɡɔ́rəb kəl śé keʃ her ɪrɛ́ẓ́ ‘she knows absolutely everything about illness’ (18:7)

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

ɔl yaʔagɔ́b yazɛ́m śé bə her kəl śé ‘he didn’t like to give anything for anything’ (52:2)
For more on *kɔl*, see § 5.5.3.

3.5.5 ɛðí-ilín 'so-and-so'

The word ɛðí-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. ʾðy-ʾln) defines this word as 'someone, somebody; anyone', which is not accurate. The word does not decline for gender. Examples are:

- *he bɔr ɛðí-ilín* 'I am the son of so-and-so' (5:12)
- *ʃohum ɛðí-ilín* 'so-and-so is with them' (25:10)
- *d-əhérg k-ɛðí-ilín* 'I was speaking with so-and-so' (28:10)
- *ɛðí-ilín, he ɛk̩i l-ɛʃʃəkəʃ ɛðí-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-fəláni* (f. *əl-fəlaníyyə*) can be used adjectivally to mean 'such-and-such', as in:

- *he mən ḥallɛ́t əl-fəlaníyyə* 'I am from such-and-such a town' (5:7)
- *nxín fúdún əl-fəlaníyyə* '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:

- *šəḳəré* 'he hid himself' (33:8) (*Š*-Stem)
- *šibbadɔš* 'detach yourself from her!' (60:43) (*Š*-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 *enuf* ‘myself, yourself, his/her/itself’ and plural *enfɔf* ‘ourselves, yourselves, themselves’. There is also a special dative form *hánuf*, plural *hánfɔf*, equivalent to the preposition *her* ‘to; for’ + *enuf/enfɔf*.\(^\text{13}\) As elsewhere in Modern South

---

\(^\text{13}\) The form *hánuf* derives from *h*+*enuf*, with an unusual shift of *h* to *ḥ*. The element *h*-
Arabian, the historical root *nfs has undergone irregular mutation in Jibbali. It first became *nf, whence singular nuf, definite enúf. The plural enfɔ́f is based on a reanalysis of the singular as having the root *nff. Following are some examples of the reflexive pronoun in context:

- ḥa-l-zémk enúf ‘I will give myself to you’ (2:3)
- kšef enúf ‘expose yourself!’ (17:40)
- šerk ḥánuf kɔl hallét bes masgɪd ‘make for yourself a mosque in every town’ (5:1)
- šérék enúf mišér’d ‘he pretended he was [lit. made himself] crazy’ (46:7)
- šɔrkɔ́t enúf ɡeyg ‘she pretended she was [lit. made herself] a man’ (36:27)
- bɔ-tũm 3falɔ́t b-enfɔ́f ‘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 aɡád k-enúf ‘go to the bathroom’ (lit. ‘go with oneself’; e.g., 97:37), both of which are found also in Mehri. Another idiom is yɔl 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 ɛ́flət ‘save’ (cf. 54:17) or əḥtéðɔ́r ‘watch out for’ (cf. 25:10) must be implied.

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

- še šérék enúʃs ‘ɪgɛ́m ‘he pretended he was mute’ (TJ4:26)
- aɡádɔ́t b-enʃɔ́fɔ́t ḥánúʃs ɗ-ebki’ hes șe ɛlɔ́hũn ... b-enkiʃɔ́t ɛʃɛrɛ́d ɗɛr enúʃs ‘she went and spread out for herself that which was placed for her there ... and she turned down the lamp over herself’ (TJ4:53)
- kɔlɔ́t hes b-enúʃs ‘he told her about himself’ (TJ4:57)
- ɔʃɔm enúʃs ‘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 h-ɪnɛ́ ‘why? for what?’ (§ 11.4).

14 At least the first of these idioms is also known from Soqotri. An example can be found in Müller (1907: 53, text 13:8).
Also in TJ4, we find once a contracted form *man-núfi* (< *män enúfí*). Since there are no other examples of *man* 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 man-núfi* ‘(it’s) just from myself’ (TJ4:5)

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

- *hé tet əl ašénús bahší lo* ‘I am (just) a woman who does not dare (to be) alone’ (25:17)
- *kə tūm kěłˈkum təʃ yəgád bahšéš amšín* ‘why did you all let him go by himself yesterday?’ (49:34)
- *šíni tíš bahšés* ‘he saw his wife by herself’ (30:21)
- *xaṭarēt geyg b-émeš k-iyěl bahšóhum* ‘once a man and his mother were by themselves with the camels’ (54:1)
- *kisk ēmí b-ağóti ad-šéf bahšésən* ‘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-enuf* ‘by themselves’).

### 3.7 Reciprocals

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

- *əntòhɔ́* ‘the two fought (with each other)’ (20:5)
- *gòltas așag* ‘the men argued (with each other)’ (22:18)
- *tšt’an bə-gunoi* ‘they stabbed each other with daggers’ (22:19)
- *sətbət sè bə-ʃum* ‘he and they fought (with each other)’ (53:1)
- *dḥa-naqtər* ‘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 *taț*- (or *taдр*- , which is more correct historically) for masculine forms, and *titt*- for feminine forms. This pronoun is really just the numeral ‘one’ (*tat/tađ* for masculine, *tit* for feminine) combined with a form of the direct object pronoun *t*- (§ 3.3).
### Pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1m</td>
<td>ṭaṭṭɔ́s̃i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1f</td>
<td>ṭittɔ́s̃i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>ṭaṭṭɔ́s̃i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>ṭittɔ́s̃i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>ṭaṭṭɔ́s̃i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>ṭittɔ́s̃i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some examples from the texts are:

- *yəˈzəm ṭaṭṭɔ́hum bə-yɔ́gaḥ əl-ṭaṭtóhum* ‘they invite each other and go to visit each other’ (4:3)
- *ˈágon nərṣén ṭaṭtũn* ‘let’s tie each other up’ (17:25)
- *fūskši mən ṭaṭṭɔ́s̃i* ‘they separated them from each other’ (20:5)
- *ɓə-ɡɒ́tbər ɗə-yəjr bə-ṭaṭtóhum* ‘they came together apologizing to one another’ (20:7)
- *ˈɔr her ṭaṭtóhum* ‘they said to each other’ (22:18)
- *fhem ṭaṭtóhum* ‘they understood each other’ (34:14)
- *yəɡɔ́zi her ṭaṭtóhum* ‘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 *lɛtəɡ ṭaṭtóhum* and *lɔ́ttəɡ* 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.

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

---

15 In the Mehri version of this story (text M3:39), 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 ɛ-/ð-

The relative pronoun in Jibbali is either ɛ- or ð- (often pronounced ðə- or əð-) ‘who, that, which’. In Johnstone’s texts these are used interchangeably. One informant considered ɛ- 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 iź- (< *il-) exists, though its use is not obligatory. The relative pronoun can be followed by a verbal or non-verbal clause. Some examples are:

- zũš aģéyg ɛ-ʃʃɔ́k ʿəśírét ḳərɔ́s̃ ‘the man who got married gave him ten dollars’ (7:9)
- kšé aģág əd-ʃɛrɔ́k elé ‘he found the men who had stolen the cow’ (12:8)
- šxrɛt ḍə-xargɔ́t ‘an old woman who had died’ (18:2)
- ʿɔr aģéyg ḍə-k-ɛlhùtì ‘the man who was with the cows said’ (20:3)
- zũš ökrút ḍə-tɔ́rɔ́t hagəlɛ́tš ‘they gave him the young camel that had broken his calf’ (23:14)
- bélé s̃is̃ aģéyg ɛ-ẓ́īṭə́s̃ ʿónut ‘even if you have the man who took you for a year’ (30:22)
- šʃɔ́kak b-ɔrx ɛ-térɔ́f ‘I got married last month [lit. the month that led in]’ (32:10)
- iźɛ́nu śɛ́raʿ b-ɛggɔ́r ḍə-ʃɛrɛk bi ɛkassɛ́t ḏɪnu ‘these are the judge and the slave who made this story for me’ (36:31)
- yɔ ḍə-lɛ́tɔ́g ɛl b-ɛrẓ́ ḏɔ́kũn lɔ ‘the people who had killed her father were not in that land’ (46:3)
- hógùm al-šɛ́kən ḏɪnu ɛ-ʃɛ́rén ‘it attacked this settlement that’s behind us’ (47:5)
- šɔ́rhum ɛ-ḥézíz ‘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. ɡnm, xt’). Perhaps the lack of iź- in Johnstone’s texts from Ali Musallam (a Mehri speaker) is a Mehrism, though this is far from clear. My own informants do use iź-, but not regularly. In fast speech, it is very difficult to distinguish ɛ-, ð-, and iź-.
In one passage in the texts, a resumptive subject pronoun follows the relative. This may be a Mehrism, since this passage comes from a text that is a close translation of a Mehri text:

ber lātɡək šətēt ē-šūm xayór ‘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:

s̃i kəb ē-nə ē-lə́tɡəkum tɔ́ ‘I owned the wolf that you killed’ (15:11)
yc ē-śinén tōhum məniham ‘the people that we saw last night’ (16:5)
dha-l-ğəsə́ret tel yə tajórbum ‘you’ll spend the night with people you know’ (30:15)
ağyəg eśfēk āgতētēs ṣhəlēt yəq d-əl yəqórbum lə ‘the man had married off his three sisters to men that he didn’t know’ (30:16)
eğyəg ē-ə-kəl ṣə́dək tɔ́ ‘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:

zəḥam ḥallēt ē-bés āgītə ‘he came to the town that his sister was in [or: in which his sister was]’ (17:33)
esāhan ē-ə-‘amkəs ɦi’t ‘the dish that had the food on it [or: on which the food was]’ (17:47)
ēsəl ˈərəm ē-ə-yəzhūm ˈdərs əkəbər ‘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:

ağyəg e-śink ʊtə ‘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:

fałə akəs də ˈəmzəz ‘perhaps I’ll find someone who smokes’ (60:25)
šəs mahfər ‘əmkəs té’ ˈba-kit ‘he had a basket, in which was meat and (other) food’ (36:3)
he geyg zəḥəmək mən stə ‘I am a man who has come back from a journey’ (13:7)
The relative ɛ-/ð- can also be used with no antecedent, with the meaning ‘(the) one who’ or ‘that/those which’. A few examples are:

- ðə-k-ɛ́rún ‘those (who are) with the goats’ (28:6)
- ẓ́bɔṭ ɛ-ʿák bes ‘take the one that you like’ (30:4)
- he kunk ka-ð-ɔ́l s̃óhum xõi lɔ ‘I was with those that did not have umbrellas’ (31:3)
- ð-aġád yəxəlɔ́f ġírš ‘something else [lit. besides it] will take the place of that which has gone’ (97:27)
- ɛ-xarɔ́g ġasré iḳiɔ́r k-ḥáṣaf ‘the one who dies in the evening is buried in the morning’ (Pr16)
- ɛ-k-ẹdífər yəxəlɔ́f ġírš ‘the one who is with the bad becomes bad’ (Pr101)

Keeping with the above use, the relative ð- 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 ðə-šerɔ́kkum elín ‘you are the ones who stole our cow’ (12:9)
- he ðə-lə́tγək ‘I am the one who killed (him)’ (54:37)
- hɛt ɛ-ģébk ‘you’re the one who defecated’ (22:18)
- mun ɛ-śérɛk ṭɛ́nu? mun ɛ-létə̀g ɛgənní ‘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 nonverbal clause with a pronominal subject, then the verb in the relative clause agrees with that pronominal subject, and not its grammatical antecedent. Several examples were already seen above (e.g., 12:9; 54:37; 22:18), but a few more examples will make this clear:

- he ġeyg zəḥámk mən ɛs̃er ‘I am a man who has come back from a journey’ (13:7) (note zəḥámk ‘I came back’)
- he teṯ ɔl əs̃énús baḥši lɔ ‘I am (just) a woman who does not dare be alone’ (25:17) (əs̃énús ‘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 ḡeɣɣ bi ġeɣɣ 38:2 ‘I am a man who doesn’t have very much strength in him’

he ġeɣɣ də-xtɔrk kin sékəni 41:2 ‘I am a man who has come down from his [lit. my] settlement’

he ġeɣɣ də-ɔl akɔdər l-ɔskaf b-ɛrẓ dənu lɔ 60:4 ‘I am a man who cannot stay in this land’

he ḡeɣɣ amzɛz 60:29 ‘I am a man who smokes’

het ġeɣɣ təmzɛz ‘you are a man who smokes’

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 ød-s̃ék ‘your friends [lit. the men who are with you]’

aġág ød-s̃éš ‘his friends’

aġegɛ́s̃i ‘my friend’

iźɔ́k iź-s̃éš ‘his friends [lit. those who are with him]’

iźɔ́k ød-s̃ɛ́n ‘our friends [or: fellow tribesmen]’

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

On the use of ø- 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 ø- as a verbal prefix, see § 7.1.10. On the elision of the ø in ber following the relative pronoun, see § 7.2.

3.8.2 kɔl ø-/d- ‘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 ø-təs yaktɛlɔ̀b kéraḥ ‘whoever eats it will turn into a donkey’

kɔl ø-ʃérɔ́k ɛlɛ̀ ‘whoever stole the cow’

kɔl ø-ɔl ʃəs sāɡət lɔ ‘everyone who doesn’t have jewelry’

kɔl ø-ɛltɛ́g ɛgənní ‘whoever killed the jinn’

kɔl ø-zḥám ‘everyone who came’

kɔl ø-ʃɛ́s dɪrɛ́həm ‘whoever has money’

The phrase kɔl man- ø-/d- means ‘whoever/whichever (one) of’, for example:

kɔl minɛ́n ø-bédɛ̀ ‘whoever of us has lied’

kɔl manhũm ø-dɔ́lıf ‘whichever of them jumps’

kɔl mənkũm ø-ɔ-kérəb tɔ ‘any of you who [or: whichever of you] comes near me’
3.8.3 əlhín ‘whatever; all that’

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

- ha-l-zómk əlhín ‘ak ‘I’ll give you whatever you want’ (13:8)
- tûm šørk beš əlhún ‘ákum ‘you all do with him whatever you want’ (17:20)
- dha-nzémk yiršēn b-əlhún ʒirsən ‘we will give you our camels and everything on them’ (22:12)
- zūš ǝkáhf b-əlhún ǝmkās ‘they gave him the pot and everything inside it’ (23:6)
- ǝl dé yəköl b əlhín ber xārōg ʂəhĩ ɮ ‘no one (can) bring back alive whatever has already died’ (23:14)
- əlhín ‘ak mən tɔ̄lí dḥa-l-zómk ‘whatever you want from me I will give you’ (41:4)
- dəhɛ́fk tɔš əlhín s̃i mən ḥus ‘I slapped him (on the back) with all the strength I had [lit. all that I had from strength]’ (51:7)
- ı kɔlɔ́ṯ her ɣɔ əlhín šerɔ̄kɔk ‘my father told the people everything I had done’ (51:13)
- bɔ-xənɪt əlhín ‘ak š يوسف ‘and they took out everything that was in her stomach’ (97:36)

3.8.4 in ‘all that’

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

- esféρóthum ta’lûm kɔl in xéźık bɔ-díni ‘their bird knew everything that happened [lit. was created] in the world’ (6:4)
- kɔlɔ́ṯ her ɕagā săkɔlɛ̄l ɬin kʊn leš bɔ-díni ‘he told his little brother all that had happened to him in the world’ (6:39)
- xáṭəs ɛrḥĩm éṣəl b-in (bɔ-kɔl ɪn) ɬi k hɛ́sɛf ‘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 kɔl 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:

- s̃áxbər in ‘ak ‘ask whatever you want’ (BY)
- s̃áxbər kɔl 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:

éṣəl ɛ̃nzél mən tél ʿorőt ešxarét ‘he got to the place where the old woman said’ (15:15)

ṭit mansén (t)sɔkf ɡer daf mən tél l-akōzān li ‘one of them would sit on a rock where they could watch me’ (49:3)

ḥárənút mən tél yəkōzān al-sékān ‘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:

bo-kse ɡarőrt ḍ-dīrēham mən tél ʃef ɛmberë ‘he found a bag of money where the boy had slept’ (6:15)

ed éṣal mən tél ērūn tēkhəbən ‘when he got to where the goats were spending the day’ (23:7)

ed mən tél kēṭā lek āhlēb ‘until wherever the camel gets tired on you’ (30:15)

mən tél ʃagṣārē, yəḥzīz hōhum yo ʃat ‘wherever they spent the night, people would slaughter a camel for them’ (54:13)
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 -(ə)t or -Vt (-ét, -át, -êt, -ọt, -ụt). Following are some examples of marked and unmarked feminine nouns.


Nearly all singular nouns ending in -t have feminine gender, even if the -t is part of the root. 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 s(kə)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, maʾr ‘guest’ (34:9) and bəhĩt ‘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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baʿl ‘master; owner’</td>
<td>baʿlét ‘mistress; owner’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əggór ‘servant’</td>
<td>(i)žirét ‘servant-girl’ (ž &lt; *g)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ə)bré ‘son’</td>
<td>brít ‘daughter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>did ‘(paternal) uncle’</td>
<td>dit ‘(maternal) aunt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɡa ‘brother’</td>
<td>ɡit ‘sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰim ‘brother-in-law’</td>
<td>ʰit ‘sister-in-law’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>baʿl ‘master; owner’</td>
<td>baʿlét ‘mistress; owner’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əggór ‘servant’</td>
<td>(i)žirét ‘servant-girl’ (ž &lt; *g)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ə)bré ‘son’</td>
<td>brít ‘daughter’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>did ‘(paternal) uncle’</td>
<td>dit ‘(maternal) aunt’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɡa ‘brother’</td>
<td>ɡit ‘sister’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʰim ‘brother-in-law’</td>
<td>ʰit ‘sister-in-law’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Curiously, some nouns denoting female animals are grammatically masculine, like derhés ‘female kid (6–18 months old)’ (cf. 23:7), šɔ́ṭər ‘female kid (2–3 months old)’ (cf. 49:4), and alhúti ‘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 ʿónut ‘year’, hallɛ́t ‘town’, and šfet ‘hair’ are ʿayún, halél, and šɔf, 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 šrɔm ‘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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ɔrx troh ‘2 months’ (8:7)</td>
<td>ʿónut trut ‘2 years’ (13:1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɡeyg troh ‘2 men’ (12:1)</td>
<td>ɔz trut ‘2 goats’ (13:14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ʿaṣər troh ‘2 nights’ (13:16)</td>
<td>gunɛ́t trut ‘2 sacks’ (97:21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əggɔ́r troh ‘2 slaves’ (18:10)</td>
<td>źirɛ́t trut ‘2 servant-girls’ (97:31)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:
Johnstone (1970b: 511, n. 95; AAL, p. 21) cites two nouns that exhibit a unique dual form, namely ġeyg ‘man’ (dual ġóz̃i) and ġaz̃ét ‘girl’ (dual gaž̃ēti). However, neither of these dual forms occurs in his texts. We can also cite the unusual case of fɔkḥ ‘half’, whose dual form ġūṣ̃hi serves as its plural, a use which is quite logical semantically. The dual/plural ġūṣ̃hi can occur without an accompanying numeral (e.g., 51:13; 65:12). We can also cite ‘ásɔrɛ’ ‘20’ as a dual form (of ‘ɔsɔr’ ‘10’). Note that ġóz̃i, ġaż̃ūti, ġūṣ̃hi, and ‘ásɔrɛ 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 ěršɔt ‘2 boys’ (6:1)  troh ģɔhɛ ‘2 brothers’ (6:12)

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

tet trut arhɛt ‘two beautiful women’ (cf. tet arhɛt ‘a beautiful woman’ and ŭnɛt arhɛt ‘beautiful women’) (SS)

ĥeyg troh arhɛt ‘two handsome men’ (cf. ġeyg rahûm ‘a handsome man’ and ġag arhɛt ‘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:

ĕhin trut arhɛt ‘my two beautiful wives’ (cf. tet trut ‘two women’) (MnS)
kɔlɔbí troh ‘my two dogs’ (cf. kɔb 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 ġaz̃ét ‘girl’ (defined in JL, s.v. ġyg, as ‘big girl’) is itself not known in all dialects, and so where ġaz̃ét is unknown, so is its dual. It is used at least in WJ. The equivalent (or near equivalent) ġabgɔ́t ‘girl’ seems to be common to all dialects.
xótləq bes kūhn troh ‘two ibex horns appeared on her’ (6:32)
ğeyg troh də-yaḥgēd ‘two men were walking’ (12:1)
a’rér aggór troh yəzḥím 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:

aḏég yətš nəfšɔ́ ‘the man and his wife went (in the early evening)’
(60:48)
aḏadō aḏég bə-tītš ‘the man and his wife went’ (60:49)

There are also examples in the texts of dual verbs with plural nouns:
edirō egərēt ‘the slaves came back’ (18:13)
dört ḥe jërta ak hallēt ‘the (two) servant-girls went around in the town’
(97:31)
aḏad jërta yol ālsən bə- Ortō ‘the servant-girls went to their master and said’ (97:33)

This last example is interesting, in that the first verb (aḏad) is plural, as is the noun jërta (even though it refers to just two servant-girls), but then the second verb is dual Ortō. 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. ɛrın
- ɪgbɔ̀t ‘girl’, pl. ɡigenùti
- əmbére ‘boy’, pl. ɛršó́t
- móza ‘family-house’, pl. maxábla

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. ínɛt (historical root *nt)
- (ɛ)brɛ ‘son’, pl. mín (historical root *bn)²
-brit ‘daughter’, pl. bóntɔ (historical root *bn)
- mut ‘hundred’, pl. mín (historical root *m)

It seems likely that zifɛ́t ‘time’ and its plural ɛnzɔ́r (possibly ɛnzəfɔ́r; 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 (ɛmhút), although it often takes plural concord, as in mih iẓɛ́n ‘this water’ (AK; but cf. 39:2). Some nouns denoting collectives can be grammatically singular, e.g., moșét ‘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 CaCCín (vars. GaCCín, CaGCín):

---
² In (ɛ)brɛ ‘son’ and brit ‘daughter’, earlier *bn- has become br-; the same shift of *n > r is seen in troh ‘two’ < Semitic *ṯn-. In mín ‘sons’, the change of b > m is due to the rule described in § 2.1.4.
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., *dunūb* ‘tail’, pl. *dənbín*.

Some nouns seem to have an optional—perhaps dialectal—external masculine plural. For example, for *mukún* ‘place’, *JL* (s.v. *kwn*) lists the plural *ɛmkínt*, but elsewhere Johnstone recorded the plural *məknín*.5 For *fɔ́r* ‘young bull’, *JL* (s.v. *fR*) lists the plural *faˈyɔ́r* (cf. also *TJ2*:59), but elsewhere (*AAL*, p. 21) Johnstone recorded the plural *faˈrín*.6 According to *JL* (s.v. *dll*), the CJ plural of *délil* ‘guide’ is *délɛ́lt*, while the EJ has singular *délɔ́l*, plural *dalélín*.

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., *ektəbínék* ‘your books’ (52:8).

### 4.3.2 Feminine External Plurals

The external feminine plural morpheme is *-tə*, or *-ta*.7 The final *-ə* is sometimes realized *-ɛ*, and the suffix *-tə* is realized *-ɪtɪ* 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:

- *iðɛ́n* ‘ear’, pl. *iðúntə* (Pr157)
- *iẓ̃irét* ‘servant-girl’, pl. *iẓɔ́rtə* (e.g., 17:45)
- *ɛ́m* ‘mother’, pl. *ɛ́mɛ́tə* (13:35) (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 *nahrín*, see the comment to text 22:3.

5 I found *məknín* 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 *faˈyɔ́r*.

7 The cognate suffix in Mehri, Ḥarsusi, and Soqoṭri has a final *-n*, which has been lost in Jibbali and Hobyot.
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. fʿm), the plural of faʿm ‘foot, leg’ is given as fʿómtə, but the texts have faʿĩhm (e.g., 17:28).11 The texts have merṣhte ‘sores’, but JL (s.v. mrḥ) lists only mérṣח as the plural of múraḥ (see further in the comment to text 6:28). JL lists both šaʾēb and šaʾēta as the plurals of šaʾb ‘valley’.12

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

\[\begin{align*}
\text{i} & \text{ ‘father’, pl. ētə} \\
\text{erẓ́} & \text{ ‘land, country’, pl. erẓ́etə} \\
\text{‘om} & \text{ ‘grandfather’, pl. ētə}
\end{align*}\]

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

---

8 In Müller’s texts, the plural is erúmtən, with final -n (e.g., Müller 1907: 54, line 12).
9 AAL (p. 21) has instead the forms sg. ěṣidɛ́t, pl. ěṣidɛ́tə. Singular ěṣidɛ́ appears in the texts (51:12).
10 JL (s.v. hrm) lists the plural hérémūti, but the manuscripts and audio for 6:23 and 6:25 (the only attestations in the texts) have hermūti. If hérémūti 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 fʿómtə as the plural of faʾm, and did not like faʿĩhm. This fits with the report of Al-Shahri (2007: 87) that fʿómtə is used in WJ and CJ, while faʿĩhm is used in EJ.
12 One CJ informant preferred šaʾēb, but recognized šaʾēta. (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, Ḣarsusi, and Hobot 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.\footnote{See also the comment to text 9:2.}

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)CɛɛCɛɛ have an external feminine plural, for example:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{x̂d̂ɛ́r} ‘little cave’, pl. \textit{x̂d̂ɛ́tə} (TJ2:95)
  \item \textit{d̂ɛ́rɛ́b} ‘little piece of wood’, pl. \textit{d̂ɛ́rɛ́tə} (JL, s.v. ɖrb)
  \item \textit{k̂ɛ́lɛ́b} ‘little dogs’, pl. \textit{k̂ɛ́lɛ́tə} (JL, s.v. klb)
  \item \textit{m̂ɡɛ́dɛ́l} ‘little bracelets’, pl. \textit{m̂ɡɛ́dɛ́tə} (JL, s.v. gdl)
\end{itemize}

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 \textit{á̲n̂t̄ɛ́k} ‘your eyes’ (54:23) < ‘\textit{á̲n̂t̄} + ɛ̲̂k̄, á̲n̂t̄ɔ́hum ‘their eyes’ (TJ4:64) < ‘\textit{á̲n̂t̄} + ɔ̲́hum, and \textit{š̄̄m̄τ̄s̄̄ə̂n̄} ‘their names’ (15:11) < \textit{š̄̄m̄τ̄} + ɛ̂s̄̄n̄. 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., \textit{šax̂ər} ‘old man’, pl. \textit{šxər}; but \textit{‘á̲s̄ər} ‘night’, pl. ‘\textit{á̲s̄ər}’). 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 CəCCɛɛC (vars. CaCCɛɛC and CeCCɛɛC; pl. CaCCɛɛC)\footnote{This type also includes passive participles; see § 7.1.8.} ‘\textit{á̲d̂b̄ɛ́b̄} ‘sand-dune’ (pl. ‘\textit{á̲d̂b̄ɔ́b̄}’), \textit{dé̲k̄l̄ɛ́l̄} (pl. dé̲k̄l̄ɔ́l̄) ‘cave, hole’, \textit{dé̲́r̄h̄ɛ̀s̄} (pl. derh̄ōs) ‘female (goat) kid (6–18 months old)’, \textit{k̄af̄r̄ɛ́r} (pl. kaf̄r̄ɔ́r) ‘lip’, \textit{k̄ɔ̂t̄f̄ɛ̂f̄} (pl. kɔ̂t̄f̄ɔ́f̄) ‘wing’, \textit{m̂á̲h̄l̄ɛ́b} (pl. m̂á̲h̄l̄ɔ́b) ‘young she-camel’, \textit{m̂á̲ḡr̄ɛ́r} (pl. m̂á̲ḡr̄ɔ́r) ‘beehive’, \textit{š̄̄t̄r̄ɛ́r} (pl. š̄̄t̄r̄ɔ́r) ‘rag, strip of cloth’.
It also includes some nouns of the pattern CVC: but (pl. bet) ‘house’, kud (pl. ked) ‘rope’, nid (pl. nud) ‘water-skin’.

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


Some of these (mainly masculine) plural patterns have a suffixed -(V)t, as in: əggɔ́r (pl. ɛgərɛ́) ‘servant, slave’, is̃tɔ́ʾ (pl. ɛs̃tɛ́) ‘sword’, zír (pl. əzbírt) ‘bucket’.

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


It also includes some others of the pattern CəCCVC: dəftɔ́r ‘notebook’ (pl. defɛ́btər), derzɛ́n ‘dozen’ (pl. derɛ́bzən), finz̃ún ‘coffee-cup’ (pl. finɛ́bgən), kənsə́d ‘shoulder’ (pl. kinɛ́bsəd), səndíḳ (pl. sinɛ́bdəḳ) ‘box’ (pl. sinɛ́bdək).

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. ƙtɔ́r) lists the plural məkɔtɔ́r, 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 < *malsɛ́ (see § 2.1.6); məlɛ́bsi < *maláwsəy.

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 kɔb (< *kalb; pl. kɔ́lɔ́b) ‘dog’ and gɛnbī́t (pl. gunōi < *gunóbi) ‘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.\(^\text{18}\)

The form of the definite article is normally a prefixed ɛ-. Before the guttural consonants ʿ and ġ, the article often is realized as a-. There are also a very few irregular definite forms, like emīh (← mīh ‘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 Ø), 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Definite</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ʿāśər ‘husband; friend’</td>
<td>def. aʿāśər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɗəf ‘rock’</td>
<td>def. ɛdəf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɗəhr ‘blood’</td>
<td>def. ɛdəhr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ɗāʾn ‘family’</td>
<td>def. ɛdāʾn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gizīr ‘island’</td>
<td>def. egizīr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ġeyg ‘man’</td>
<td>def. egéyg or aġéyg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{18}\) 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.
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 (< *ebút)
behlét 'word' → def. ēhalét (< *ēbehlét)
mandík 'rifle' → def. ēndík (< *emandík)
masgíd 'mosque' → def. ēsgíd (< *emāsgíd)

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 *ebú can sometimes be realized ēū, rather than ū. So, for example, usually we hear ūt ‘the house’, but sometimes we hear something closer to ēūt.

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

ižörtə 'servant girls' → def. ižörtə
šram 'road' → def. šram
érùn 'goats' → def. érùn

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, šram 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’, \( yat \) ‘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., \( eyɔ \) in SB1:4 and SB2:4; \( eyum \) in TJ4:78). The definite form \( eyat \) ‘the camel’ (also sometimes \( iyat \)) 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. \( iyel \)), \( yen \) ‘truth’ (def. \( iyen \)).

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{but} & : \text{'house'} \rightarrow ùti \text{ 'my house'} \\
\text{ða}'n & : \text{'family'} \rightarrow ëðá’nak \text{ 'your family'} \\
\text{brit} & : \text{'daughter'} \rightarrow ëbrûts \text{ 'her daughter'} \\
\text{mosét} & : \text{'livestock'} \rightarrow ësëtan \text{ 'our livestock'} \\
\text{kit} & : \text{'food'} \rightarrow ëkíthum \text{ 'their food'} \\
\text{gatéto} & : \text{'sisters'} \rightarrow ãgatétí \text{ 'my sisters'} \\
\text{reś} & \rightarrow ëréššhum \text{ 'their heads'}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ḥarənút} & : \text{'little hill'} (60:41), \text{dimin. of ħar (root hmr)} \\
\text{kérṣétə} & : \text{'little bugs'} (TJ2:117), \text{dimin. of kérṣ} \\
\text{xodũnt} & : \text{'a little work'} (8:4), \text{dimin. of xədmɛ́t (root xdm)} \\
\text{xɛdirétə} & : \text{'little caves'} (TJ2:95), \text{pl. of xádɛ́r, dimin. of xádɔ́r}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[\text{20} \text{ The indefinite form } yel \text{ may also sometimes be pronounced } iyel. \text{ It is unclear if the noun } iyen \text{ 'share' (e.g., 48:7) has an indefinite form } yen. \text{ The words for 'share' and 'truth' are homophonous in the texts, but see the discussion in } JL \text{ (s.v. 'mən). Also note the definite form } yen \text{ 'truth', used in 46:12, 60:8, and 60:18, showing the variability of the article with words with initial } y-.\]
number of diminutive forms can also be found in JL. The two main patterns for diminutive nouns, according to Johnstone, are CéCɛ́C and CéCaCén.

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 e.-/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:

\[\text{bər (or bɛr; def. ěr) 'son of'; } \text{biš (def. eš) 'daughter of': }\]

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

The definite forms are used in the compound kinship terms ěř-díd ‘cousin’ (lit. ‘son of an uncle’),22 ěř-ḡí or ěř-ḡə́ti ‘my nephew’ (lit. ‘son of my brother/sister’), and their feminine equivalents eš-dít (or eš-díd) ‘cousin’ and eš-ḡí or eš-ḡə́ti ‘my niece’. In these compounds, the definite forms ěř and eš should probably not be considered constructs.23 In all other cases ‘son’ and ‘daughter’ have, respectively, the forms (e)bré (def. ebré; pl. mún, def. pl. īn) and brit (def. ebrit; pl. bóntə, def. pl. ōntə), 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 ěḏi-ilín, ěř ěḏi-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 ɛ-/ð-; cf. ēbré ɛ-hókum ‘the son of the ruler’ (17:15), ēbré ða-hókum ‘the son of the ruler’ (97:13), and ēbrít ða-suṭún ‘the daughter of the Sultan’ (6:19). Possessive suffixes are also attached to these forms, rather than to the constructs, e.g., ēbréš ‘his son’, īnés ‘her sons’, ēbrūti ‘my daughter’, ānték ‘your daughters’.

bet ‘house of’.24 This is restricted to the sense of ‘clan, familial line’, as in ket bu zíd əl-həláli ‘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. (ɛ)ūt) is used, with no special construct form, as in ātš ‘his house’ (46:11); ēūt ē-i ‘my father’s house’ (6:24); and ūt ðə-bāl esód ‘the fisherman’s house’ (97:32).

ba’l or bāl (pl. b’él; f. ba’let; fp. b’ɔ́(l)to): This is the most productive of the construct forms. It is often used in phrases involving occupations, e.g., ba’l ērūn ‘goat-herder’ (pl. b’él ērūn), ba’l iyēl ‘camel-herder’, ba’l əlhūtī ‘cow-herder’, bāl ṣod ‘fisherman’, and ba’l ēsgīd ‘the head of the mosque’. The construct can also be used in the sense of ‘owner of’, as in b’él ūt ‘the owners of the house’ (10:1), b’él ēlé ‘the owners of the cow’ (12:7), ba’lāt kōb ‘the owner of the wolf’ (15:10), bāl kahwēt ‘coffee-shop owner’ (36:27); and with the meaning ‘people of, inhabitants of’, as in b’ēl ēlēt ‘townspeople’ (54:37), b’ēl egēl ‘the mountain folk’ (41:10), and b’ēl ēš’ér ‘partygoers’ (97:28). Note also the idiom ba’lēt ɛkōma ‘flintlock? (rifle)’.25 The noun ba’l (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 ā’alīts ‘her mistress’ (36:4).

There are also two passages in the texts (15:6; 32:2) in which it looks like səkən ‘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 ‘k-hēt > ēt. Cf. ēbré ēt ēl-dīlūn ‘the son of such-and-such house [or: clan]’ (57:7), which is a translation of Mehri ḫəbrē ða-bēt fəlān (M90:7).

25 On the exact meaning of this phrase, see the comment to text 25:8.
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 difírət ‘a bad year’ (9:7)
ñoḥôr nísán ‘a small wadi’ (22:6)
sándík eb ‘a big box’ (52:2)
ğaró difər ‘bad language’ (57:15)
ğeyg rəḥîm ‘a handsome man’ (54:27)
ğabgót tit rəḥît ‘a certain pretty girl’ (97:19)
exaṭkêsən wudûn ‘their new clothes’ (4:1)
ağáš ekellên ‘his little brother’ (6:11)
ağáš eb ‘his big brother’ (6:36)

Predicate adjectives:

erź râḥak ‘the place [lit. land] is far’ (3:4)
kîn mirîşt ... he mirîşt ‘(pretend to) be sick! ... I am sick’ (6:7)
âhsôl ol hešôf bô ‘the pay was not good’ (8:4)
agaḅogôt berôt um ‘the girl was already big’ (17:5)
a’améléş difôr ‘his activities are bad’ (25:10)
erź ol râḥak bô ‘the place was not far’ (31:1)
oṣétôn dîfîrat ‘our animals are bad’ (13:3)
sum kêrîb len ‘they were close to us’ (49:27)
êshâl kêrîb ‘the chameleon is nearby’ (53:7)
exmêrê’hârêd bo-xfîf ‘the boy was strong and fast’ (54:2)
he d-ɔk anṣênût ‘I am still young’ (60:2)
ī aġabgót túžur, b-embre’ fekír ‘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:

ġeyg troh arhēt ‘two handsome men’ (cf. ġeyg rḥīm ‘a handsome man’ and ġag arhēt ‘handsome men’)

tet trut rīti ‘two tall women’ (cf. tet rīt ‘a tall woman’ and înēt 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:

ebbīt ċha-bāl esōd ūm ‘the older [lit. big] daughter of the fisherman’
(97:33)

ebbūt ē-hōkum enīsān ‘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 ebbīt ‘the daughter’. In the second example (97:46), enīsān ‘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 fekír ‘poor’, JL (s.v. fkr) gives the masculine plural form fēkērt, noting also that the feminine plural fīkırtə can serve as a common plural. One of my own informants gave the masculine plural as fıkōr, while another offered fıkōr.
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 -ta 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: enfi ‘first’, ms enfət, fs enfət, mp enfət

nǐsan ‘small’, fs ənənút, mp nǐsan, fp ənənúti
tofún ‘hungry’, fs tofúnt, mp tofənúnta
difór ‘bad’, fs difórət, mp difór, fp difórəta
šəzər ‘green’, fs šəzér, mp šəzərrún, fp šəzərrúntə

This type includes adjectives with the suffix -í (many of which refer to a cultural group). These regularly take fs -êt, mp -ô (or -ó), and fp -ôtí: enfi ‘first; ancient’, ensi ‘human’, axərí ‘last’, ‘áři ‘Arab’, faqší ‘well-stocked, prosperous’, gəblí ‘Jibbali’, hındí ‘Indian’, mehri ‘Mehri’, šherí ‘Shaħri’, žafali ‘Dhofari’

Adjectives with the suffix -ún: ʃotůn ‘ragged (appearance), destitute’, gəbḥún ‘blunt (edge)’, habsůn ‘dirty’, taðún ‘tired; in trouble’, tofún ‘hungry’

Quadriliteral adjectives of the pattern CaCCéC: ḥəsbów ‘smart’, ʃəfǐr ‘yellow’, sahəbə ‘light brown’, ʃəməm ‘dark (skin)’, šəzər ‘green’

Adjectives of the pattern maCCéC, which are mainly passive participles (see § 7.1.8). Others (which decline like passive participles) are: mankél ‘energetic, hard-working; heroic’, maskín ‘poor guy, pitiable’

Some adjectives with the pattern CiCéC/CiCdC: fətə ‘naked; destitute’, hizəf ‘sharp’, nǐsan ‘small’, ʃinə ‘deaf’

---

1 On this feminine suffix, see Lonnet (2008).
2 The word maskín 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’, ódín (or wudín) ‘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 CíCɛ́C/CíCáC 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: ṭəḥím ‘pretty; nice; good’, fs ṭəḥità, cp ṭəḥët ḏ́fər ‘red’, fs ḏ́fırót, cp ḏ́fırëtə

This type includes most adjectives of the pattern CCíC or CeCîC (var. CaCíC), which normally have fs C(e)CiCt and cp C(e)CëCt):3 besír ‘clever’, besít ‘simple’, beṭín ‘big-bellied’, ḏehín ‘intelligent’, ḏhîm ‘intelligent’, ḡаziż ‘unimportant; low-quality’, ḡsís ‘sensitive, emotional’, nðíf ‘clean’, ngís ‘unclean’, nhíf ‘thin, lean’, nñís ‘envious’, nќíd ‘depressed’, ṭhîm ‘pretty; nice; good’, rxsí ‘cheap (low-cost)’, sаhí ‘alive’, sёdíd ‘stubborn’, thîr ‘pure’, xříf ‘light; swift-footed’, xsís ‘cheap (with money)’ (An exception is ḍekír, discussed above; no doubt there are others.)

Some basic color terms: ḏ́fər ‘red’, ḧɔr ‘black’, lũn ‘white’

Some adjectives with the pattern CVCɛ́C: ‘igung ‘dumb, mute’, ḡárɛ́d ‘strong’, ‘áyɛ́r ‘blind’

Others: ṭīhm ‘tall, long’, ḡรสəd ‘envious’

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

These include: kèsəm ‘cold’, mıték ‘sweet’, răḥək ‘far’, žéł ‘cold’, žọs ‘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 CeCîC. Note that the corresponding Mehri pattern CaCayC normally exhibits a four-way declension (Rubin 2010: 79). Also note that while most of these adjectives have a cp form C(e)CëCt, some informants felt that one could make a fp form C(e)CëCtə, if one really wanted to distinguish the feminine.
Also in this category is the adjective ḥešóf '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., ḥešófš 'he is good'; another adjective that behaves this way is laālí '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 ḥádét (pl. ḥádětə) '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 (maḳběrt) is feminine. More interesting are the adjectives for 'big': eb (pl. ētə) is used only with masculine nouns only, and ūm (pl. ēmíti 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:

- yəṣoẓɛ́n ḥo b-eṇiṣan ʿak ésgíḡ ‘they pray, old and young [lit. the big and the small], in the mosque’ (4:8)
- kɔ-tát yəˈágɔ́b yəɣər̥ ęs̄áγər ‘everyone wants to know the other guy’ (21:12)
- Ḗz̄et eɾḥiṭ ‘he took the pretty one’ (30:6)
- ḏs̄iʃa ʔaˈʃər ‘the red [or: brown] one jumped’ (30:16)
- xáṭɔ́k ḏə-fəkɨ́r ‘the clothes of a poor man’ (54:38)

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

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

\(^6\) The two plural forms are dialectal variants. The plural ēmíti is distinct from ēmìti, the plural of ēmɛ ‘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' (śōx and nōb, 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:

\[ \text{he ḡeyg məʿört} \ 'I am a guest [lit. a man, a guest]' \ (34:9) \]
\[ \text{s̃i šəbʿét eršöt āġóhí, wə-ši d-ʿcd šəbʿét ġigeníti aģatétí} \ 'I have seven brothers [lit. seven boys, my brothers] and I also have seven sisters [lit. seven girls, my sisters]' \ (FB1:2) \]

### 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 (')ar 'from'. There are numerous examples of axér 'better' in the texts, including:

\[ \text{het əl het axér ānén } lɔ \ 'you are not better than us'} \ (20:4) \]
\[ \text{he axér 'ankúm} \ 'I am better than you' \ (20:8) \]
\[ \text{kaḥf wudín, axér ar ekāhf} \ 'a new pot, better than your pot' \ (23:8) \]
\[ \text{axér ar iyélén} \ 'better than our camels' \ (33:13) \]
\[ \text{ālī axér ar eršót kel} \ 'Ali is better than all the (other) boys' \ (49:20) \]
\[ \text{kə́līṭ híni her dé al-hés he bə-flɔ́ axér ānī} \ 'tell me if anyone is like me or better than me' \ (54:3) \]
\[ \text{bet bu zíd al-halálī axér ar yo kel ... b-axér ānī hé ... axér ar kol dé} \ 'the house of Bu Zid al-Hilali is better than all people ... Better than me? ... Better than everyone [or: anyone]' \ (54:4) \]
\[ \text{aʾáśər erḥīm axér ‘ar ağá edifər} \ 'the good friend is better than the bad brother' \ (Pr87) \]

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

\[ \text{šə xass mək ‘ak dərészə} \ 'he is worse than you in school' \ (AK) \]

In one passage in the texts (20:9) we find axér mən instead of axér (')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:
adjectives

**yaf₃rəh axér ar a’id e-réžũn** ‘they celebrate more than (on) Ramadan’ (410)

**šum s̃óhum mol axér ‘ánén** ‘they have more wealth than us’ (AJ)

‘ak kərəš axér ‘I want more money’ (AK)

On the difference between **axér** ‘more’ and **d-’ɔd** ‘more’, see § 7.3.

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

- **het ɗ-ɔl kunk mišérd bɔ, ɔl (t)širkən enúf ˈókəl axér ˈáni bɔ** ‘if you weren’t stupid, you wouldn’t pretend to be smarter than me’ (1:7)
- **hit ḥardét axér ˈánén** ‘you are stronger than us’ (AM1:1)
- **efa’yɔ́r raxáṣt axér ˈar ʃitér ˈyoung bulls are cheaper than kids’ (JL, s.v. ʃ’r)**
- **kunk kšəš axér ˈar nášanu** ‘you were fatter than now’ (JL, s.v. x̃sl)
- **he rũhm axér ar i ‘I am taller than my father’ (SS)**
- **ʃe ɡānì axér ˈánén ‘he is richer than us’ (SS)**
- **se rəḥĩt axér ˈəs ‘she is prettier than her’ (AK)**
- **ũti ráḥək axér ar ūtək** ‘my house is further away than your house’ (AK)
- **mɪh iźɛ́n ʒɛl axér ar mɪh iźõhũ** ‘this water is colder than that water’ (AK)

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

- **he eb ˈák bɔ-sɛn** ‘I am older [lit. big(ger) in age] than you’ (1:7)
- **šum ětə ˈáni** ‘they were older [lit. bigger] than me’ (53:8)
- **se ũm ˈansɛn** ‘she is bigger than them’ (SS)
- **ʃe níṣán ˈanhũm** ‘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:

- **ɛmbɛrɛʾ ekellɛ́n tɛ ūb, b-éb tɛ ɛrɛš** ‘the younger [lit. small] boy ate the heart, and the older one ate the head’ (6:11)
- **ebrït ɗɔ-ɓål eʃɔd ũm** ‘the older [lit. big] daughter of the fisherman’ (97:33)
- **ʃfɔk ebrït e-hókum eníṣán 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)
ḥōl meš xérín ba-kēl'ās 'ak xoš 'he took a little of it and put it in his mouth' (35:5)
axarét zūš xérín tūr 'she gave him a few dates' (46:12)
śitēm xérín katōbīn 'he bought a few books' (52:5)
ẓē-tūn xérín tē‘ 'give us a little food!' (53:9)
mit ber ṃā-'ār 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:

mənhūm ḍ-ōl šēš xōī lō fēt 'ar ēsē ‘some (of them) who did not have umbrellas fled from the rain’ (31:2)
ber aġ(y)ēg sé mən ērōnīkum ... ber aġ(y)ēg mənsēn ... mənsēn d-ōd ōl aġ(y)ēg lō '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)
mənhūm inēfēx, mənhūm yəhörēn mən dūn nəfāt 'some (cows) are blown, and some give milk without blowing' (TJ2:41)
eyō ba-ṣelōlt kēl yəhōr ērīt, lēkan mənhūm yəhōr gōblēt 'all the people in Salalah speak Arabic, but some (of them) speak Jibbali' (SM)

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

zīs xāṭōk mənhūm 'he gave her some clothes' (30:6)
‘ak halēl mənsēn ‘in some towns’ (52:1)
zəhūm tun ġag mənhūm 'some men came to us' (AK2:2)
5.5.3 *kɔl* 'each, every’

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

- *bə-kɔ́l ḥallɛ́t* ‘in every town’ (5:13)
- *kɔl yum* ‘every day’ (6:33)
- *kɔl gamʿút* ‘every week’ (22:11)
- *kɔl ʿāṣər* ‘each night’ (30:15)
- *yəšerék mən kɔl kɪt* ‘they make every (kind of) food’ (4:5)

*Kɔl* is also used in several pronominal compounds. On *kɔl ṭaṭ* ‘everyone; each one’, see § 3.5.3; on *kɔl śé* ‘everything’, see § 3.5.4; on *kɔl ɛ-/ð* - ‘whoever’, see § 3.8.2; and on *kɔl in* ‘all that’, see § 3.8.4.

5.5.4 *kɛl* ‘all (of the)’

As noted in the previous section, the words *kɔl* and *kɛl* are derived from the same source, *kal-*, and have closely related meanings. The word *kɛl* 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 *kɛl* sometimes also has a pronominal suffix (referring to the noun); otherwise it does not. Some examples are:

- *yɔ kɛl* ‘all the people’ (4:1)
- *ɛ̄t kɛl* ‘all of the houses’ (4:4)
- *ḥalél kɛl* ‘all the towns’ (5:2)
- *edirēḥēš kɛl* ‘all of his money’ (5:3)
- *kərē ekīts kɛls* ‘he hid all of his food’ (21:3)
- *aḡaḡ kɛl* ‘all the men’ (46:1)
- *ḥiṭ kɛl* ‘all the grain’ (51:20)
- *ešxorēn kɛl* ‘all of our old women’ (AM1:5)
- *iṇēt ɛ-hallɛ́t kɛl* ‘all the women of the town’ (30:11)
- *aḡigeniṭi ɔ-ḥallɛ́t kɛl* ‘all the girls of the town’ (54:17)
- *bʿel hallɛ́t kɛl* ‘all the inhabitants of the town’ (97:5)

The last three examples show that if *kɛl* modifies a noun that is the first member of a genitive phrase (whether the genitive exponent *ɛ-/ð*- or a construct phrase is used), *kɛl* must follow the entire phrase, like any other adjective (see § 5.1).

Following a definite singular noun, the base *kɛl*- plus a resumptive pronominal suffix gives the meaning ‘the whole’, as in:
The uses of *kɛl* can be summarized as follows:

1. Definite Plural Noun (no suffix) + *kɛl* = ‘all (of the) x’ (e.g., ɛ̄t kɛl ‘all of the houses’)
2. Definite Plural Noun + possessive + *kɛl* (+ suffix) = ‘all of (his) x’ (e.g., ětɛ́š kɛ́lsən ‘all of his houses’)
3. Definite Singular Noun + *kɛl* + suffix = ‘the whole x’ (e.g., ēt kɛls ‘the whole house’)

The adjective *kɛl* 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 *kɛl* is found just once in Johnstone’s texts (46:15), where it can be translated ‘everyone’; more often ‘everyone’ is expressed with *kɔl ṭaṭ* ‘everyone’ (§ 3.5.3). Examples are:

*kełš siɛ̄k* ‘it is all [lit. all of it] because of you’ (28:15)
*béké kɛ́lsən* ‘each of them was crying’ (13:9)
*yəẓ́ḥɔ́k kɛl mɛš* ‘they all laughed at him’ (46:15)
*tër kɛls* ‘all of him was broken’ (48:20)
*kséš kɛlš* ‘he found all of it [lit. he found it all of it]’ (97:49)

In the first example above, *kełš* is used independently. In the next three, it is used in apposition to the unexpressed subject of the verb. In the last example, *kełš* is appositional to the object suffix (3ms -s) on the verb. Note also this use of *kełš* in the idiom *kełš ṭaṭ* ‘it’s all the same [lit. all of it (is) one]’ (28:20; TJ2:4).

We also sometimes find the 3ms suffixed form *kełš* used along with *kɔl sé* ‘everything’ (§ 3.5.4) to add emphasis, as in:

*taŋ̊ɔ́rab kɔl sé kełš her īrɛ́ẓ́* ‘she knows absolutely everything [lit. everything all of it] about illness’ (18:7)

5.5.5 *(l-)* āded Ě- ‘each, every’

The construction *(l-)* āded Ě- seems to be synonymous with *kɔl* 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):
According to JL (s.v. 'dd), the initial l- can be omitted. On the audio for this passage (and for the repeated l-áded ’ísór in 52:7), the initial l- is inaudible, though it is written in the manuscripts.

5.5.6 mékan 'a lot, many'

The word mékan '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), mékan precedes its head noun. Examples of mékan used as an attributive adjective are:

\[
tōlēn b-ēšēhr mosēt mēkan ‘we have in the mountains a lot of livestock’ (9:1)
\[
śīni yo mēkan dā-yōgah ‘ak but d-tūzēr ‘he saw many people going into a rich man’s house’ (18:6)
\[
sōkum mēkan ērūn ... sōhum ērūn mēkan ‘do you have many goats? ... they have many goats’ (32:1–2)
\[
bā-ḥabəlēt mosē mēkan ‘in the west there is a lot of rain’ (32:8)
\[
bēš thūrt mēkan ‘he had many wounds’ (53:1)
\[
hēr ̃ēk kārōs mēkan ‘if you have a lot of money’ (86:7)
\[
śaxf ḥalōb mēkan ‘I drank a lot of buttermilk’ (TJ2:126)
\]

Some examples of mékan used independently are:

\[
emīh ol mēkan bō ‘the water was not a lot’ (20:1)
\[
yāsīm bā-mēkan ‘do they sell it for a lot?’ (TJ2:42)
\[
əmsīn tēk mēkan ‘I ate a lot yesterday’ (AG)
\]

5.5.7 mit-iné ‘some kind of’

The phrase mit-iné, 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-to sēhm mit-iné ‘they gave me some kind of poison’ (35:6)
\[
ktōb mit-iné ‘some book or other’ (JL, s.v. mt)
\]

In one other passage in the texts, it is used independently to mean ‘something’:

\[
dḥa-l-zēmk mit-iné ‘I’ll give you something’ (50:10)
\]
The phrase *miṭ-înê* is a combination of the conjunction *miṭ* ‘or’, which implies a measure of uncertainty (see §12.1.6), and the interrogative ‘what?’ (§11.2).
Like other Semitic languages, Jibbali verbal roots are mainly triliteral (that is, they have three root consonants), and appear in a variety of derived verbal stems, each characterized by particular vowel patterns and, in some cases, the addition of certain prefixed or infixed 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 quadriliteral verbs, though these are relatively few in number. For quadriliteral 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 CɔCɔ́C in the 3ms perfect (e.g., kɔlɔ́ṯ ‘tell’, kɔlɔ́b ‘return’, ḏɔlɔ́f ‘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 CCɔC rather than CɔCɔ́C (e.g., ktɔb ‘write’, šfɔḳ ‘get married’, skɔf ‘sit’, nkɔd ‘bounce’, nṭɔf ‘drip’). For those verbs with initial n, CCɔC may be realized as aCCɔC.

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 CCɔC, usually realized as aCCɔC or eCCɔC (e.g., arfɔ́ṣ ‘step on’, arkɔ́d ‘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 CCɔC, usually realized as aCCɔC or eCCɔC, especially if the second root consonant is a dental (e.g., lkɔd ‘patch leather’, lkɔ́f ‘pick off’, aldɔ́f ‘bang’, alṯúm ‘slap’).  

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 CéCé and CCé, 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 kɔdɔ́r ‘be able’ and sfɔ́r ‘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: lotúm ‘kiss respectfully’ and logúm ‘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 alṯúm ‘slap’ is an exception, perhaps because the medial root consonant is a dental or glottalic.
### Perfect  | Imperfect | Subjunctive | Conditional
--- | --- | --- | ---
1cs  |  |  |  
2ms  |  |  |  
2fs  |  |  |  
3ms  |  |  |  
3fs  |  |  |  
1cd  |  |  |  
2cd  |  |  |  
3md  |  |  |  
3fd  |  |  |  
1cp  |  |  |  
2mp  |  |  |  
3mp  |  |  |  
3fp  |  |  |  

Imperative: ms Қаḍe, fs Қadí, cd Қað̣ṛ, mp Қað̣ṛ, fp Қað̣ẹṛan

| Perfect | Imperfect | Subjunctive | Conditional |
--- | --- | --- | ---|
1cs  |  |  |  
2ms  |  |  |  
2fs  |  |  |  
3ms  |  |  |  
3fs  |  |  |  

---

2 If the second and third root consonants are both voiceless, non-glottalic consonants, or if the second root consonant is ɾ or ɬ, then the ə between the second and third root consonants of the singular and plural imperfect may disappear, e.g., yəkɔ́ḷṭ.

3 Some young informants use the base -ɛCCaC in free variation with -ɔ́CCaC for the G-Stem singular subjunctive. See the comments to texts FB1.1 and Anon1.12.

4 If the second and third root consonants are both voiceless, non-glottalic consonants, or if the second root consonant is ɾ or ɬ, then there is no vowel between the second and third root consonants, e.g., kɔḷṭɔ́ṭ.

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 ɾ or ɬ, then the ə between the second and third root consonants in the singular and plural imperfect may disappear, e.g., yəsɔ́kf̣, ʃərk.

7 If the second and third root consonants are both voiceless, non-glottalic consonants, then we find ə between the second and third root consonants, e.g., skaf̣ṭ.
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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3fs perf.</th>
<th>3ms imperf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Basic</td>
<td>kɔdɔ́r</td>
<td>kɔdɔ́rɔ́t</td>
<td>yəkɔ́dər</td>
<td>yɔ́kɔ́dər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II/III-voiceless, non-glottalic</td>
<td>kɔlɔ́ṯ</td>
<td>kɔlɔ́t</td>
<td>yəkɔ́lɔ́t</td>
<td>yɔ́kɔ́lət</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I/II-voiceless, non-glottalic</td>
<td>sfor</td>
<td>sforɔ́t</td>
<td>yəsɔ́fər</td>
<td>yɔ́sɔ́fər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I/II/III-voiceless, non-glottalic</td>
<td>skɔ́f</td>
<td>skɔ́fɔ́t</td>
<td>yəsɔ́kf</td>
<td>yɔ́skɔ́f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-n</td>
<td>(ə)nkoś</td>
<td>(ə)nkośt</td>
<td>yənúkś</td>
<td>yũnkaś</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-l/r</td>
<td>ərkɔ́d</td>
<td>ərkɔ́dɔ́t</td>
<td>yərɔ́kəd ⁸</td>
<td>yɔ́rɔ́kəd ⁹</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 yanúkś has no ə in the final syllable because the final two root consonants are both voiceless and non-glottalic, while yarɔ́kəd has the ə.
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 \( šerɔ́ḳ \) ‘steal’, the III-w/y verb \( ƙéré \) ‘hide; kiss’, and the geminate verb (see § 7.4.14) \( del \) ‘guide, lead; know’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cs ( šerók(a)k )</td>
<td>( aʃɔ́rk )</td>
<td>( l-əšrək )</td>
<td>( l-əšríḳən )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms ( šerók(a)k )</td>
<td>( təʃɔ́rḳ )</td>
<td>( təšrək )</td>
<td>( təšríḳən )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs ( šerók(a)ʃ )</td>
<td>( taʃɔ́rḳ )</td>
<td>( təʃr̥ik )</td>
<td>( təʃríḳən )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms ( šerók )</td>
<td>( yaʃɔ́rḳ )</td>
<td>( yəʃrək )</td>
<td>( yaʃríḳən )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs ( šerkɔ́t )</td>
<td>( taʃɔ́rḳ )</td>
<td>( təʃrək )</td>
<td>( taʃríḳən )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cp ( šerókan )</td>
<td>( naʃɔ́rḳ )</td>
<td>( naʃrək )</td>
<td>( naʃríḳən )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2mp ( šerókkum )</td>
<td>( taʃɔ́rḳ )</td>
<td>( təʃrək )</td>
<td>( təʃríḳən )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fp ( šerókkən )</td>
<td>( taʃɔ́rḳən )</td>
<td>( təʃríḳən )</td>
<td>( təʃríḳən )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3mp ( šerók )</td>
<td>( yaʃɔ́rḳ )</td>
<td>( yəʃrək )</td>
<td>( yaʃríḳən )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fp ( šerók )</td>
<td>( taʃɔ́rḳən )</td>
<td>( təʃrɛ́ḳən )</td>
<td>( təʃrɛ́ḳən )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imperative: ms \( ŝ(a)r̥ek \), fs \( ŝ(a)r̥ik \), cd \( ŝar̥ɔ́k \), mp \( ŝ(a)r̥ık \), fp \( ŝ(a)r̥íkan \)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cs ( kúr(a)k )</td>
<td>( aʃɔ́r )</td>
<td>( l-əkər )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms ( kúr(a)k )</td>
<td>( taʃɔ́r )</td>
<td>( təkər )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs ( kúr(a)ʃ )</td>
<td>( taʃɔ́r̥i )</td>
<td>( tɪkər )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms ( kéré )</td>
<td>( yaʃɔ́r )</td>
<td>( yəkər )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs ( kéré̱t )</td>
<td>( təkɔ́r )</td>
<td>( təkər )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

10 On the nasalization and loss of \( m \) in this form, see § 2.1.3 and § 7.4.5.
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 CeCíC or CiCíC (corresponding to an active verb of the shape CɔCɔ́C), or C(a)CíC (corresponding to an active verb of the shape CCɔC). We also find the shape aCCíC or eCCíC, 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 iCCɔ́C, 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 tíffər, 2fs tíffər, 2mp tíffər, 2fp tíffəran, which look like the H-Stem forms. For more on the conjugation of geminate verbs, see § 7.4.14.
shape is $iCeCɔ́C$. For verbs with an initial liquid, both imperfect types are attested. Following is a complete paradigm of the verb $ərfɪš$ ‘be trampled’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>$ərfɪš(a)k$</td>
<td>$ərefős$</td>
<td>$l-ərfős$</td>
<td>$l-ərfīšan$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>$ərfɪš(a)k$</td>
<td>$irefős$</td>
<td>$l-ərfős$</td>
<td>$l-ərfīšan$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>$ərfɪš(a)s$</td>
<td>$irefís$</td>
<td>$l-ərfɪš$</td>
<td>$l-ərfīšan$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>$ərfɪš$</td>
<td>$irefős$</td>
<td>$l-ərfős$</td>
<td>$l-ərfīšan$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>$ərfɪšt$</td>
<td>$irefís$</td>
<td>$l-ərfɪš$</td>
<td>$l-ərfīšan$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cd</td>
<td>$ərfɪšśi$</td>
<td>$irefesős$</td>
<td>$l-ərfēśō$</td>
<td>$l-ərfīšūn$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cd</td>
<td>$ərfɪšśi$</td>
<td>$irefesős$</td>
<td>$l-ərfēśō$</td>
<td>$l-ərfīšūn$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3md</td>
<td>$ərfɪšō$</td>
<td>$irefesős$</td>
<td>$l-ərfēśō$</td>
<td>$l-ərfīšūn$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fd</td>
<td>$ərfɪštō$</td>
<td>$irefesős$</td>
<td>$l-ərfēśō$</td>
<td>$l-ərfīšūn$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cp</td>
<td>$ərfǐšan$</td>
<td>$nerefős$</td>
<td>$l-ərfēś$</td>
<td>$l-ərfēšan$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2mp</td>
<td>$ərfǐškum$</td>
<td>$irefėś$</td>
<td>$l-ərfēś$</td>
<td>$l-ərfēšan$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fp</td>
<td>$ərfǐškan$</td>
<td>$irefėşan$</td>
<td>$l-ərfōšan$</td>
<td>$l-ərfōšan$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3mp</td>
<td>$ərfǐš$</td>
<td>$irefėś$</td>
<td>$l-ərfēś$</td>
<td>$l-ərfēšan$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fp</td>
<td>$ərfǐšt$</td>
<td>$irefėşan$</td>
<td>$l-ərfōšan$</td>
<td>$l-ərfōšan$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 $CēCəC$, and a full vowel (rather than $a$ 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 $ərfīš$ 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 $(d-)irefős$, while the 1980 article has $iřefős$. 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 $yərfős$ 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 \( fé̂ktor \) ‘be(come) poor’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>( fé̂ktor(a)k )</td>
<td>( af̂ktor )</td>
<td>( l-af̂kor )</td>
<td>( l-af̂k̂aran )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>( fé̂ktor(a)k )</td>
<td>( taf̂kor )</td>
<td>( tafl̂kor )</td>
<td>( tafl̂k̂ran )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>( fé̂ktor(a)š )</td>
<td>( taf̂k̂ir )</td>
<td>( tafl̂k̂ir )</td>
<td>( tafl̂k̂iran )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>( fé̂kor )</td>
<td>( yaf̂kor )</td>
<td>( yafl̂kor )</td>
<td>( yafl̂k̂ran )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>( fé̂keršt )</td>
<td>( taf̂k̂ir )</td>
<td>( tafl̂k̂ir )</td>
<td>( tafl̂k̂iran )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cd</td>
<td>( fé̂karši )</td>
<td>( naf̂k̂arn )</td>
<td>( nafl̂k̂arn )</td>
<td>( nafl̂k̂aran )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cd</td>
<td>( fé̂karši )</td>
<td>( taf̂k̂arn )</td>
<td>( tafl̂k̂arn )</td>
<td>( tafl̂k̂aran )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3md</td>
<td>( fé̂keršt )</td>
<td>( yaf̂k̂arn )</td>
<td>( yafl̂k̂arn )</td>
<td>( yafl̂k̂aran )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fd</td>
<td>( fé̂keršt )</td>
<td>( taf̂k̂arn )</td>
<td>( tafl̂k̂arn )</td>
<td>( tafl̂k̂aran )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imperative: ms \( f(a)k̂̄r \), fs \( f(a)k̂̄ır \), cd \( f(a)k̂̄r̄ān \), mp \( f(a)k̂̄r \), fp \( f(a)k̂̄rons \)

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:

- ‘\( ěr \) ‘go blind’
- ‘\( dini \) ‘conceive, get pregnant’
- ‘\( féčər \) ‘shiver with fear’
- ‘\( fé̂kor \) ‘be(come) poor’
- ‘\( fé̂rah \) ‘be(come) happy’
- ‘\( fé̂rok \) ‘be(come) afraid’
- ‘\( gézi \) (or géle) ‘be sick’

\textsuperscript{14} The forms of the dual and plural conditional are uncertain.
verbs: stems 109

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ġerk</td>
<td>‘drown, sink (intrans.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ġéẓən</td>
<td>‘feel compassion for’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ĥër</td>
<td>‘become cold’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kěrb</td>
<td>‘be near, approach’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kěśa’</td>
<td>‘be(come) dry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>műzi</td>
<td>‘be(come) full’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>műrəz’</td>
<td>‘be(come) ill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niko‘</td>
<td>‘fall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>selm</td>
<td>‘be safe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sē‘</td>
<td>‘be sated’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sēr</td>
<td>‘know how (to do something)’ (see the comment to text 1:7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>těgar</td>
<td>‘be(come) rich’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>telf</td>
<td>‘be(come) hungry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>těr</td>
<td>‘be broken, break (intrans.)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xēt</td>
<td>‘be(come) thirsty’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xerf</td>
<td>‘produce fruit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xēzi</td>
<td>‘be empty; be unmarried’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>xēzi</td>
<td>‘be(come) embarrassed’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ēṯal</td>
<td>‘catch up to; chase’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fēṭan</td>
<td>‘remember’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ġhelm</td>
<td>‘dream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kēl</td>
<td>‘accept’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kēšad</td>
<td>‘chop; seek out’ (see below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nika‘</td>
<td>‘come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nĩsaz’</td>
<td>‘drink, sip (s.t. hot)’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rěkəb</td>
<td>‘ride’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>selb</td>
<td>‘wait for’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sīnd</td>
<td>‘do without’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šini</td>
<td>‘see’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ši‘</td>
<td>‘hear’ (but also šā‘; see the comment to text 13:13)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
Chapter Six

égaḥ ‘enter’
éṣəl ‘arrive at, reach’
xelf ‘take the place of’

There are also Ga verbs that are intransitive or stative, such as ġōs ‘disappear’ and ekōf ‘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 bézəg ‘be squeezed, squish (intrans.)’ vs. Ga bɔzɔ́g ‘squeeze, squash’
Gb bɛzər ‘tear (intrans.), be torn’ vs. Ga bɔzɔ́r ‘tear (trans.)’
Gb fěkęs ‘crack (intrans.), be cracked’ vs. Ga fɔkɔ́s ‘crack open (trans.)’
Gb mizi ‘be(come) full, fill (intrans.)’ vs. Ga mélé ‘fill (trans.)’
Gb nǐkəb ‘break, snap (intrans.)’ vs. Ga nḳɔb ‘break, snap (trans.)’
Gb tər ‘break (intrans.), be broken’ vs. Ga tɔr ‘break (trans.)’

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 kəšɔ́d and Gb kέʃəd ‘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 CéCaC, 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 (e)CóCaC or (e)CóCC. The prefix e- 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.
verbs: stems 111

The pattern (ɛ)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 ɛgódəl ‘tie, chain’ and erótəb ‘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 (ɛ)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 (ɛgódəl ‘tie, chain’):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>ɛgɔ́dəlk</td>
<td>ɛgɔ́dələn</td>
<td>l-ɡódəl</td>
<td>l-ɡúdələn(^9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>ɛgɔ́dəlk</td>
<td>(t)ɛgɔ́dələn(^20)</td>
<td>l-ɡódəl(^1)</td>
<td>l-ɡúdələn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>ɛgɔ́dəḷ</td>
<td>(t)ɛg̣idəḷḷn</td>
<td>l-ɡídəl(^2)</td>
<td>l-ɡúdələn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>ɛɡódəl</td>
<td>ɣyɡódəḷn</td>
<td>ɣyɡódəl</td>
<td>ɣyɡúdəḷn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>ɛɡídəḷτ</td>
<td>(t)ɛɡídəḷn</td>
<td>l-ɡídəl</td>
<td>l-ɡúdəḷn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cd</td>
<td>ɛgɔ́dəḷsi</td>
<td>(n)ɛɡídəḷṇ</td>
<td>l-ɡídəḷḷ</td>
<td>l-ɡúdəḷn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cd</td>
<td>ɛgɔ́dəḷsi</td>
<td>(t)ɛɡídəḷṇ</td>
<td>l-ɡídəḷḷ</td>
<td>l-ɡúdəḷn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3md</td>
<td>ɛɡídəḷ</td>
<td>ɣyɡídəḷn</td>
<td>ɣyɡídəḷ</td>
<td>ɣyɡúdəḷn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fd</td>
<td>ɛɡídəlṭ</td>
<td>(t)ɛɡídəḷn</td>
<td>l-ɡídəḷḷ</td>
<td>l-ɡúdəḷn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

\(^{18}\) According to JL, the prefix ɛ- (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., ɣhóðər). 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-ɡúdələn, while JL (p. xx) has l-ɡúdələn. See also n. 22.

\(^{20}\) As discussed above, and in § 7.1.2 and § 7.1.3, some speakers prefer 2ms tɑγóðəḷn, 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 tɑγóðəḷ. Likewise, with initial t- in place of l-, for the other second person and 3f forms.

\(^{22}\) JL (p. xx) has 2fs l-ɡúdul, but the texts have the vowel i in this form (cf. the comment to 60:43). My informants also used i in place of ū.
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, \( fa‘ala \)) or L-Stem (Form III, \( fā‘ala \)), and many or most of these are likely Arabic borrowings or calques.

Among the verbs that are causatives of intransitives (usually Gb-Stems), we find:

- **ɛbdéd** ‘separate (trans.)’ (cf. G **bed** ‘separate (intrans.)’; Arabic G **badda** ‘disperse (intrans.)’, D **baddada** ‘disperse (trans.)’)
- **furḥ** ‘make happy’ (cf. Gb **férəḥ** ‘be(come) happy’)
- **furḳ** ‘frighten; divide’ (cf. Gb **férəḳ** ‘be frightened, afraid’; Arabic G **faraqa** ‘be afraid; divide (trans.)’, D **farraqa** ‘frighten; divide (trans.)’)
- **ḥóðər** ‘warn s.o.’ (cf. Ga **ḥɔ́ðɔ́r** ‘be on one’s guard’, and the more common T2 ṣeḥtęḍęṛ ‘be careful’; Arabic G **ḥaḍira** ‘be on one’s guard’, D **ḥaḍḍara** ‘warn’)
- **ḥulf** ‘sharpen’ (cf. Gb **ḥelf** ‘be sharp’)
- **ekósəm** ‘cool (trans.)’ (cf. Gb **készəm** ‘be(come) cold’)
- **enúḍəf** ‘clean’ (cf. Gb **nūḍəf** ‘be(come) clean’; Arabic G **nazufa** ‘be clean’, D **nazzafa** ‘clean’)
- **enúgi** ‘save, extricate from difficulty’ (cf. Gb **nīgi** ‘survive, come through a difficulty’, H **ępę́** ‘rescue’; Arabic G **najā** ‘be rescued’, D **najjā** ‘rescue’, C **ʔanjā** ‘rescue’)

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Paradigm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cp</td>
<td>egódələn</td>
<td>ngódələn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2mp</td>
<td>egódəlkum</td>
<td>(t)əgódələn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fp</td>
<td>egódəlkən</td>
<td>(t)əgódələn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3mp</td>
<td>egódəl</td>
<td>yəgódələn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fp</td>
<td>egódəl</td>
<td>(t)əgódələn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
saʿéd 'help' (cf. Gb séʿad 'be(come) happy'; Arabic G saʿida 'be happy', L sāʿada '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')
okuř 'bring to a stop' (cf. Ga ekóř 'fall silent'; Arabic G waqqafa 'come to a stop', D waqqafa 'bring to a stop')
oṣal 'bring, lead' (cf. Gb éṣal 'arrive at, reach'; Arabic G wasala 'reach', D wasṣala 'take, bring s.o.)
xozi 'divorce' (cf. Ga xálé and Gb xézi 'be unmarried')
xorb 'spoil, damage' (cf. Gb xerb 'be spoilt'; Arabic G xariba 'be destroyed', D xarraba 'destroy')

As for denominatives (including denominatives borrowed from Arabic), we find:

ōðen 'call to prayer' (cf. iđén 'ear'; Arabic D ʾaḍdana 'call to prayer')
ɛʿòśi 'give dinner' (cf. 'iśé 'dinner'; Arabic D ʾašša 'give dinner')
hork 'collect leaves of the ehrík tree' (= H hrék)23
hõni 'dye with henna' (cf. hiné 'henna'; Arabic D hannaʾa 'dye with henna')
ēkófi 'turn one's back on, turn away' (cf. kéfè 'back')
esyéh 'shout' (cf. saḥ 'voice, noise'; Arabic D ṣayyaḥa 'shout, cry out')
etórafi 'put aside' (cf. těréf 'side')

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

ōśar 'point out, beckon'
ɛʿúlm 'teach; brand' (cf. Arabic D ʾallama 'teach')
ɛʿúzar 'annoy' (see the comment to text 46:9)
ōrrak 'bless' (cf. Arabic L bāraka 'bless')
ōśar 'give good news' (cf. Arabic D baššara 'bring news')
edör (or edür) 'return, go back' (cf. G dër 'wander'; Arabic D dawwara 'turn around')
edoi 'give s.o. medicine, treat' (cf. Arabic L dāwā 'give s.o. medicine, treat')
fusk 'separate (people from fighting)'

---

23 The ehrík 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).
114 CHAPTER SIX

\( \text{egēh} \) ‘take by force’\(^{24}\)
\( \text{eghēz} \) ‘prepare’ (this could be an H-Stem, but cf. Arabic D \( \text{jahhaza} \); see the comment to text 52:5)
\( \text{egórəb} \) ‘try, test’ (cf. Arabic D \( \text{jarra} \) ‘test, try’)
\( \text{aghōt} \) ‘try, test’ (cf. Arabic D \( \text{judhaza} \); see the comment to text 52:5)
\( \text{ehbēb} \) ‘sing’
\( \text{hôdī} \) ‘divide up, share out’ (cf. Arabic L \( \text{hadā} \) ‘exchange gifts’)
\( \text{hōl} \) ‘load’ (cf. G \( \text{hol} \) ‘carry; move’)
\( \text{ḥork} \) ‘nod, shake, move (trans.)’
\( \text{ḥōsəl} \) ‘get, obtain’ (cf. G \( \text{ḥasəl} \) ‘get; Arabic G \( \text{ḥasala} \) and D \( \text{ḥasalla} \) ‘get, obtain’)
\( \text{ekōź} \) ‘look at, watch, keep an eye on’ (cf. Arabic L \( \text{qa} \) \( \text{bala} \) ‘stand opposite, face’)
\( \text{ōtoł} \) ‘send’
\( \text{enūdi} \) ‘shout’ (see the comment to text 6:21)
\( \text{erōtəb} \) ‘arrange, set in order’ (cf. Arabic D \( \text{rattaba} \) ‘arrange, order’)
\( \text{sōx} \) ‘divert s.o.’s attention’ (see the comment to text 28:13)
\( \text{esōži} \) ‘pray’ (cf. Arabic D \( \text{ṣallā} \) ‘pray’\(^{25}\))
\( \text{ōda} \) ‘see s.o. off’ (cf. Arabic D \( \text{wadda} \) ‘see s.o. off’)
\( \text{ōfi} \) ‘pay a debt’ (cf. Arabic G \( \text{wafā} \) ‘pay a debt’)
\( \text{ōkəl} \) ‘entrust, give authority to’ (cf. Arabic D \( \text{wakkala} \) ‘authorize, empower’)
\( \text{ōṣi} \) ‘advise’ (cf. Arabic D \( \text{waṣṣā} \) ‘advise’)
\( \text{xols} \) ‘finish, be finished’ (cf. dialectal Arabic D \( \text{xallās} \) ‘finish’)
\( \text{xōt} \) ‘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 \( \text{egidīl} \) from the verb conjugated in § 6.2.\(^{26}\) In the texts, the form \( \text{ifilētən} \) (TJ2:58) is a D/L passive, and the form \( \text{hēlī} \) (TJ4:57) is most likely a D/L passive, as is \( \text{yaḥārēsən} \) (TJ2:62; 3ms perf. \( \text{hiriʃ} \)). 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 \( \text{gbh} \), the root seems to be \( \text{gwh/gyh} \). The D/L-Stem is from the root \( \text{gyh} \).

\(^{25}\) The Arabic D-Stem \( \text{ṣallā} \) was itself borrowed from the Aramaic D-Stem \( \text{ṣallī} \).

\(^{26}\) The others are in JL, s.v. \( \text{lk}, \text{fsx}, \) and \( \text{gfn} \).
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. The base pattern of the H-Stem in the perfect has the shape $(e)CCéC$. In EJ (and often in CJ), the initial $e$- 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. For example, we find $ébké$ ‘make s.o. cry’ and $ézhéř$ ‘show, reveal’, but $fḳé$ ‘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’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>$flótk$</td>
<td>$áffélót$</td>
<td>$l-éflát$</td>
<td>$l-ífláton$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>$flótk$</td>
<td>$(t)íffélót$</td>
<td>$l-éflát$</td>
<td>$l-ífláton$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>$flótš$</td>
<td>$(t)íffílít$</td>
<td>$l-íflát$</td>
<td>$l-ífláton$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. $eflét$). 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 $-flat$- or $-falt$-.

30 As discussed above, and in § 7.1.2 and § 7.1.3, some speakers prefer 2ms $táffélót$, 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 $téflát$. Likewise (with initial $t$-) for the other second person and 3f forms.
### 6.3.1 H-Stem Meaning

The primary function of the Jibbali H-Stem is as a causative (cf. Hebrew *hiph"il*, Arabic *'af'ala*). The causative meaning is often derived from a G-Stem verb. Some examples are:

- *a’šés* ‘rouse, wake up (trans.)’ (cf. G ‘es ‘rise, get up’)
- *a’bér* ‘make blind’ (cf. G ‘er ‘be blind’)
- *ɛbké* ‘make s.o. cry’ (cf. G béké ‘cry’)
- *ɛbké* ‘put aside, save’ (cf. G béké ‘be left over, remain’)
- *ɛbláġ* ‘deliver, bring to s.o.’ (cf. G béləġ ‘arrive’; see the comment to text 21:10)
- *ɛbrék* ‘make (camels) kneel’ (cf. G berɔ́k ‘kneel (of camels)’)
- *ɛbšél* ‘cook, prepare’ (cf. G béšal ‘be cooked, ready’)
- *ɛdxél* ‘make s.o. swear’ (cf. G d(a)xál ‘swear, promise’)
- *ɛdhéb* ‘flood (trans.)’ (cf. G dǝḥéb ‘be flooded’)
- *fḳé* ‘cover; dress’ (cf. G féké ‘wear’)
- *eg’ér* ‘bring down, make fall’ (cf. G g(a)’ár ‘fall’)
- *eglélél* ‘boil, cook (trans.)’ (cf. G gel ‘be warm; boil (intrans.)’)
- *egzüm* ‘make s.o. swear’ (cf. G guzúm ‘swear’)
- *eshbé* ‘make fall, let down’ (cf. G hê ‘fall’)
- *ahbé* ‘cure’ (cf. G hé ‘be cured’)
- *kbéb* ‘unload, take down’ (cf. G keb ‘go down’)

---

32 This form may be realized as *iffélɔ́t*. Likewise the 3mp imperfect may be realized as *iffélɔ́t*.
verbs: stems

ek’é ‘let out (animals) from a pen’ (cf. G ka’é ‘escape, get out of a pen’)
edér ‘sever’ (cf. G ndor ‘be severed’)
erbé ‘give a drink, let drink’ (cf. G ré ‘have had enough to drink’)
erfá ‘lift up, pull up, draw (water)’ (cf. G réfa ‘climb; raise, lift’)
sadéd ‘get people to agree’ (cf. G sed ‘agree’)
snì ‘show; visit a medicine man’ (cf. G sní ‘see’)
tmím ‘finish (trans.), complete’ (cf. G tim ‘be finished, finish (intrans.)’)
tobé ‘feed’ (cf. G té ‘eat’)
æbgáḥ ‘put in’ (cf. G ègah ‘enter’)
xlé ‘make empty’ (cf. G xalé ‘be empty’)
æzád ‘give more; increase (trans.)’ (cf. G zëd ‘increase (intrans.); become more than’)
æshér ‘show, reveal’ (cf. G żahér ‘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 fédé ‘ransom’)
æmlék ‘give s.o. legal possession of a woman in marriage’ (cf. G molk ‘own, possess’, Š1 sëmlék ‘be given legal possession of a woman in marriage’)
endáx ‘fumigate’ (cf. G nídax ‘smoke’)
erzé ‘reconcile with s.o. (usually a wife)’ (cf. G erzé ‘be agreeable’)
æßbëb ‘wound, hit (with a bullet)’ (cf. G sbëb ‘be aimed straight’)
æbhèb ‘think s.o. looks like (l-) someone else’ (cf. G sbëh ‘be like’)
æßfëk ‘marry (a man to one’s daughter)’ (cf. G sëfok ‘marry, get married’ and Š1 sësfëk ‘marry; get married’)
æskët ‘(camels) give birth; lose, leave behind’ (cf. G sëkòt ‘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)’
æbkǻ ‘put (down), place’ (cf. Mehri G wika(’) ‘stay; be’)
ædmîr ‘show, guide’
a’gyéð ‘anger’ (cf. T1 gótëd ‘be(come) angry’)
a’gyéèg ‘bear young (of animals)’ (cf. geyg ‘man’)
k’ér ‘roll down (trans.), throw down’
\textit{enké} ‘hurt (trans.)’ (cf. T\textsubscript{1} \textit{nútki} ‘be hurt’)
\textit{šmí} ‘call, name’ (cf. \textit{šum} ‘name’)
\textit{erbá} ‘lift/pull/take up’ (cf. Š\textsubscript{1} \textit{šərbā} ‘climb’)
\textit{ɛrxé} ‘loosen, release, let go’ (cf. T\textsubscript{1} \textit{rútxi} ‘come loose, be released’)
\textit{ɛṭléḳ} ‘release, set (a horse) after’ (cf. T\textsubscript{1} \textit{ṭɔ́tləḳ} ‘be released’)
\textit{xníṭ} ‘take out; take off’ (cf. Š\textsubscript{1} \textit{šxəniṭ} ‘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, \textit{ʾafʿala}). Such are:

\textit{aʿnī} ‘mean’ (cf. Arabic G \textit{ʿanā} ‘mean’)
\textit{ebnī} ‘build’
\textit{ebsēr} ‘see well’ (cf. Arabic C \textit{ʾabsara} ‘see’)
\textit{esdrē} ‘climb to the top’ (cf. Š\textsubscript{1} \textit{šədrē} ‘be able to be climbed; climb up’)
\textit{flēt} ‘escape, flee, run away’ (cf. G \textit{fələt} ‘manage to escape’; Arabic C \textit{ʾaflata} ‘escape’)
\textit{ftē} ‘advise; decide’ (cf. D/L \textit{fūti} ‘give a piece of advice’; Arabic C \textit{ʾaftā} ‘give a legal opinion’)
\textit{egdēb} ‘be hungry (animals), not find pasture’ (cf. G \textit{gədəb} ‘(soil) be without grass’)
\textit{egnín} ‘stoop’
\textit{aqlēt} ‘be mistaken, make a mistake’ (cf. G \textit{gəlt} ‘be rude’; Arabic C \textit{ʾaqlaṭa} ‘make a mistake’)
\textit{ağmīd} ‘be(come)/happen in the evening’
\textit{ağrēg} ‘be late’ (cf. Š\textsubscript{1} \textit{šəğrēg} ‘think s.o. is late’)
\textit{heḳ} ‘call’ (cf. Š\textsubscript{2} \textit{šəhēḳ} ‘answer a call’)
\textit{ahsē} ‘stuff into s.t.’ (= G \textit{ḥaṣē}; cf. Arabic G \textit{ḥašā} ‘stuff’)
\textit{kbēr} ‘go up to the mountains (from town)’
\textit{ekhēl} ‘arrive, draw near’ (cf. Arabic C \textit{ʾaqbala} ‘draw near’)
\textit{enğīm} ‘consult (an astrologer)’ (cf. G \textit{ngum} ‘recover from an illness’)
\textit{erhīn} ‘pawn; leave s.t. as a deposit/guarantee’ (cf. Arabic C \textit{ʾarhana} ‘pawn; leave s.t. as a pledge’)

\footnote{In CJ, according to \textit{JL} (s.v. \textit{rbʿ}), the H-Stem means ‘guide’, while the Š\textsubscript{1}-Stem means ‘cross’. See further in the comment to text 4:9.}
verbs: stems

erxēş ́give permission, allow’ (cf. Šī šerxēş ́take/want leave’; Arabic D
raxxaṣa ́permit’)
sbáx ́spread sand or dried dung in a cave’ (see the comment to text
5:15)
esbāḥ ́be/happen in the morning; become; appear’ (cf. Arabic C ́aṣ-
baḥa ́be/happen in the morning; become’)
esrēb ́be(come) autumn’
šfāḥ ́leave s.t. after eating enough’
tlē ́be sorry, regret’ (see the comment to text 31:5)
estkā̀ ́look up’
ebhḗ ́come to help’ (cf. G ahá ́run to help’)
eblé́ ́direct oneself; head to, turn towards’ (cf. Arabic C ́awlā ́turn back/
towards’)
xlēf ́move, change place; leave behind; transfer (property’) (cf. G xelf
́take s.o.’s place; relieve s.o. of a burden/task’)
eszbēr ́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’rér ́send s.o.; send for s.o.’ (cf. G ́er ́stop from going’)
fsāḥ ́stop doing, leave off’ (cf. G fēsah ́permit’)
emrḗź ́nurse, look after’ (cf. G mūraź ́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 (e)CCCíC (corresponding to an active verb of the shape (e)CCéC).

The 3ms imperfect has the shape éCCɔ́C (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-əCCɔ́C or l-ɛCCɔ́C (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 engím
‘consult (an astrologer)’ and étñif ́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 šaCCéC (or šCaCéC) 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 šaCéCaC 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 *š-, 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 *š- > h-/ʾ-/∅- 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 šaCCéC or šCaCéC. The pattern šCaCéC (really just a different surface realization of šaCCéC) is common when the first root consonant is f, h, ḥ, k, or x, but occurs with some other consonants in weak verb patterns. The underlying pattern must be šaCCéC, since b or m does not elide when it is the second root consonant. If, for example šxəbír ‘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 "šaxbúr. In the imperfect, the basic pattern is 3ms yəšCéCɔ́C, but if the first root consonant is voiceless and non-glottalic, then it is yəšCaCɔ́C, e.g., yəšṭahúr ‘he gets hurt’ and yəššafúk ‘he gets married’. Following is the full paradigm of the verb šəḵšér ‘run out of s.t.’:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>šəḵšér</td>
<td>aškésér</td>
<td>al-šéḵšar</td>
<td>l-əšiḵšarán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>šəḵšır</td>
<td>taškésır</td>
<td>tašéḵšar</td>
<td>tašiḵšarán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>šəḵšyrš</td>
<td>taškésyrš</td>
<td>tašiḵšar</td>
<td>tašiḵšarán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>šəḵšér</td>
<td>yaškésér</td>
<td>yašéḵšar</td>
<td>yašiḵšarán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>šəḵšaršt</td>
<td>taškésir</td>
<td>tašéḵšar</td>
<td>tašiḵšarán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cd</td>
<td>šəḵšyrši</td>
<td>aškesérió</td>
<td>l-əškošrób</td>
<td>l-əšáḵšarún</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cd</td>
<td>šəḵšyrši</td>
<td>taškesérió</td>
<td>taškošró</td>
<td>tašáḵšarún</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3md</td>
<td>šəḵšaršt</td>
<td>yaškesérió</td>
<td>yaškošró</td>
<td>yašiḵšarún</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fd</td>
<td>šəḵšartó</td>
<td>taškošró</td>
<td>taškošró</td>
<td>tašáḵšarún</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cp</td>
<td>šəḵšarán</td>
<td>naškésér</td>
<td>našéḵšar</td>
<td>našiḵšarán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2mp</td>
<td>šəḵšárkm</td>
<td>taškésér</td>
<td>taškošar</td>
<td>tašiḵšarán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fp</td>
<td>šəḵšárken</td>
<td>taškésarán</td>
<td>tašéḵšarán</td>
<td>tašiḵšarán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3mp</td>
<td>šəḵšér</td>
<td>yaškésér</td>
<td>yaškšar</td>
<td>yašiḵšarán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fp</td>
<td>šəḵšér</td>
<td>taškészérán</td>
<td>tašéḵšarán</td>
<td>tašiḵšarán</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imperative: ms šéḵšar, fs šúḵšar, mp šóḵšar, fp šéḵšarán

The underlying or historical base of the imperfect is -šaCéCɔ́C, with a vowel between the element š and the first root consonant (i.e., 3ms *yašakésór > yaškésór). This is supported by the fact that verbs whose first root consonant is b or m show intervocalic loss in the imperfect (e.g., yašérík ‘he is made to kneel’ < *yašabérík; 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 Š1-Stem internal passive listed in JL (s.v. ‘sr), namely ša’súr, 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 tašéḵšarán, but my informants (using the verb šašfók ‘marry’) used the equivalent of tašéḵšarán. The forms in JL are suspect.
6.4.2 Š-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 Š-Stems. Among the examples in the texts of reflexive Š-Stem verbs with a corresponding H-Stem or D/L-Stem causative are:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{šəbdéd} \, \text{'separate oneself from'} \quad (\text{cf. D/L–H } \text{εbdéd} \, \text{'separate (trans.)'}) \\
&\text{šfəḳé} \, \text{'cover o.s. up'} \quad (\text{cf. H } \text{fké} \, \text{'cover'}) \\
&\text{šhalé} \, \text{'catch (an illness') (cf. H } \text{hlé} \, \text{'communicate an illness'} \\
&\text{šərbá} \, \text{'climb (EJ); cross (CJ)'} \quad (\text{cf. H } \text{erbá} \, \text{'lift, pull up (EJ); guide, drive (CJ)'}; \text{ see the comment to text 4:9}) \\
&\text{šxnité} \, \text{'go out of, exit, leave'} \quad (\text{cf. H } \text{xnít} \, \text{'take out; take off'})
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{šəmlék} \, \text{'be given legal possession of a woman in marriage'} \quad (\text{cf. H } \text{emlék} \, \text{'give s.o. legal possession of a woman in marriage'; Arabic Ct } \text{istam-laka} \, \text{'take possession'}) \\
&\text{šənfá} \, \text{'be cured'} \quad (\text{cf. H } \text{enfá} \, \text{'cure'}) \\
&\text{šərhín} \, \text{'take a deposit/guarantee'} \quad (\text{cf. H } \text{erhín} \, \text{'pawn; leave s.t. as a deposit/guarantee'; Arabic Gt } \text{irtahana} \text{ and Ct } \text{istarhana} \, \text{'take as a deposit/guarantee'}) \\
&\text{šəsfέ} \, \text{'find out news'} \quad (\text{cf. H } \text{esfé} \, \text{'give news'}) \\
&\text{šəthér} \, \text{'get hurt, be wounded'} \quad (\text{cf. H } \text{thér} \, \text{'hurt, wound'}) \\
&\text{šəbté} \, \text{'be hit, wounded'} \quad (\text{cf. H } \text{ebté} \, \text{'hit, wound'}) \\
&\text{šxántín} \, \text{'be/get circumcised'} \quad (\text{cf. G } \text{xtun} \, \text{'circumcise'}; \text{H } \text{xtín} \, \text{'have a child circumcised'}; \text{Arabic Gt } \text{ixtatana} \text{ and Ct } \text{istarhana} \, \text{'be circumcised'}) \\
&\text{šəzhé} \, \text{'be elated'} \quad (\text{cf. H } \text{ezhé} \, \text{'make s.o. feel excited, happy'; G } \text{zéhé} \, \text{'be(come) excited, happy'})
\end{align*}
\]

Some others are reflexives or passives of a corresponding G-Stem, including:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{šədhéf} \, \text{'be slapped'} \quad (\text{cf. G } \text{dahɛf} \, \text{'slap'; also H } \text{edhɛf} \, \text{'slap'}) \\
&\text{šḥagé} \, \text{'make one's stand; be surrounded with no way out'} \quad (\text{cf. G } \text{ḥagé} \, \text{'surround'}) \\
&\text{škɛnì} \, \text{'be raised, brought up'} \quad (\text{cf. G } \text{kɛnì} \, \text{'raise, bring up (a child)'} \\
&\text{škarɛ} \, \text{'hide oneself'} \quad (\text{cf. G } \text{kɛrɛ} \, \text{'hide (trans.); hide oneself'}) \\
&\text{škæzɛ} \, \text{'be compensated'} \quad (\text{cf. G } \text{kæzɛ} \, \text{'compensate; pay blood-money'})
\end{align*}
\]
A few Š1-Stems have an estimative meaning (‘think s.o./s.t. is X’), for example:

- šaʿẓé ‘think s.o. is late, worry about’ (cf. G áqé and D/L ġójí ‘come late’)
- šabdé ‘think s.o. is lying’ (cf. G bédé ‘lie, tell a lie’)
- škasél ‘think s.o. is lazy’ (cf. G ksół ‘be too tired, be lazy’)
- škatér ‘think s.t. is a lot’ (cf. Gb kêtér ‘be abundant’, H k tér ‘say/give more’; Arabic Ct istakṭara ‘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’)
- šìn ‘believe, trust; obey, listen to’ (cf. D/L ăn ‘trust in, believe in’; Arabic Gt it’amana ‘trust’)
- šénis ‘dare’
- ša’dér ‘excuse o.s.; refuse a favor’ (cf. G ‘aďor ‘excuse, excuse o.s.’; Arabic Gt it’adara ‘excuse o.s.’)
- ša’sér ‘love’ (cf. Ti ăsor ‘love o.a.; Dhofari Arabic Ct ista’sar ‘love’)
- šadhék ‘look in on; look down on’
- šḥoké ‘make s.o. do s.t. in one’s stead; get tired’ (see the comment to text 97:14)
- šḥabél ‘understand (words, language)’ (probably cf. Arabic C ‘ahāla, which can have the secondary meaning ‘convert, translate’)  
- škālól ‘catch (in one’s hands)’ (cf. H kél ‘catch (s.t. dropping)’)
- šaktéb ‘have s.o. write (a charm)’ (cf. Arabic Ct istaktaba ‘have s.o. write s.t.’)
- šaksér ‘run out of’ (cf. G kςɔ́r ‘fall short; give short measure’)
- šázé (or šalké) ‘lie down’
- šəmdéd ‘take s.t. from s.o.’ (cf. Mehri H ḥamdūd ‘give’; Arabic Ct ista-madda ‘take’)
- šəmréz ‘fall ill, be ill’ (cf. G mıraģ ‘be ill’, but H emrėz ‘nurse, look after’)
- šəndér ‘make a vow’ (= H emdér ‘vow?’)
- šənhér ‘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 istamraḍ ‘fall ill’ (Holes 2005: 118).
124 CHAPTER SIX

šənšéb ‘drink all of s.t.’ (cf. D/L enúşəb and H enšéb ‘drink up, finish off (a drink)’)
šənté ‘ask for a woman’s hand in marriage’ (cf. H enté ‘give s.o. a woman’s hand in marriage’)
šašfék ‘get married, marry s.o.’ (cf. G šfək ‘get married’, H ēšfék ‘marry (a man to one’s daughter)’)\(^{40}\)
šēf ‘sleep’ (see § 7.4.16)
šəbúr (or šəbúr) ‘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 Ši-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, ša’dér, and šaxtár correspond to Arabic Gt-Stems (Form VIII, ifta‘ala); šaktár, šamdéd, and šamlék correspond to Arabic Ct-Stems; and šəbúr 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 šaCéCəC, 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 (šakésər ‘run out of s.t.’):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Conditional(^{41})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>šakésərk</td>
<td>aškésəran</td>
<td>l-aškésər</td>
<td>l-aškisəran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>šakésərk</td>
<td>taškésəran</td>
<td>taškésər</td>
<td>taškisəran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>šakésərš</td>
<td>taškisəran</td>
<td>taškisər</td>
<td>taškisəran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>šakésər</td>
<td>yəškésəran</td>
<td>yəškésər</td>
<td>yəškisəran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>šaksiširát</td>
<td>taškésəran</td>
<td>taškésər</td>
<td>taškisəran</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{40}\) The G- and Ši-Stems of this root seem to have a slight difference in use. In Mehri, the anomalous verb šfık (< *šašfük) is used only with a female subject. The attestations of šašfék 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 šašfékən, 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 šfık 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.
Similar to the Š1 imperfect (see § 6.4.1), the underlying or historical base of the Š2 imperfect is -səCéCəCən, while for the subjunctive it is -səCɛ́CəC, in both cases with a vowel between the element s and the first root consonant (i.e., 3ms imperfect *yəs̃əḳéṣərən > yəs̃ḳéṣərən, and 3ms subjunctive *yəs̃əḳɛ́ṣər > yəs̃ḳɛ́ṣər). 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 yəs̃ēšərən and subjunctive yəs̃ɛ́šər ‘he is rewarded for good news’ < *yəs̃əbɛ́šərən and *yəs̃əbɛ́šər; see § 7.4.5), and by the appearance of a full vowel in this position among I-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, šenih ‘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 əntɔ̄ḥ ‘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.
śohēras ‘argue with s.o.; tell s.o. off’ (see the comment to text 53:4)
śehēk ‘answer a call’ (cf. hek ‘call’)
śelēd ‘shoot back at’ (cf. G łd ‘shoot’)
śeníh ‘fight with’ (cf. T2 antōh ‘fight o.a.’)
śerēg ‘consult, ask for approval’ (cf. H arbēg ‘consult’, T1 rōtēg ‘consult o.a.’, T2 artēg ‘consult with o.a.; conspire with o.a.’)
śa‘ēd ‘arrange a meeting; promise’ (cf. D/L ~ H ebēd ‘assign tasks’)
śxētr ‘bet o.a.’ (cf. H axtr ‘dare s.o. to do s.t.’)

Other Š2 verbs have no implication of reciprocity, and must simply be considered lexical. Such are probably:
śēgər ‘rent, hire’ (cf. Arabic Ct istajara ‘rent, hire’)
śasēd ‘fish’ (cf. T2 astēd ‘fish’, ṣod ‘fish (noun)’)
śeṣēt ‘listen carefully’ (cf. H ɛṣbēt ‘listen carefully’, ṣabt ‘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 infixed t, which is inserted between the first and second root consonants. Both T-Stems occur fairly frequently. The one which we will call T1 has the basic pattern CɔṭCəC in the 3ms perfect. The other stem, which we will call T2, has the basic pattern aCtaCəC or aCteCəC in the 3ms perfect. The T2-Stem, like the D/L- and Š2-Stems, is characterized by a suffixed -ən 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 infixed 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.
verbs: stems

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 Cɔ́tCəC. In the imperfect, the base is normally yaCtəCɔ́C, but if the second root consonant is voiceless and non-glottalic, then it is yaCtəCɔ́C (e.g., yaftékɔ́r ‘he becomes poor’, but yamtaxək ‘it is pulled out’ and yaftəfɔ́r ‘it is pricked’). Following is the full paradigm of a strong verb in the T1-Stem (fɔ́tκar ‘become poor’):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>fɔ́tκark</td>
<td>aftékɔ́r</td>
<td>l-aftékɔ́r</td>
<td>l-aftikaran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>fɔ́tκark</td>
<td>taftékɔ́r</td>
<td>taftékɔ́r</td>
<td>taftikaran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>fɔ́tκarš</td>
<td>taftʊkɔ́r</td>
<td>taftʊkɔ́r</td>
<td>taftikaran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>fɔ́tκar</td>
<td>yaftékɔ́r</td>
<td>yaftékɔ́r</td>
<td>yaftikaran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>ftəḳɔ́rɔ́t/</td>
<td>taftékɔ́r</td>
<td>taftékɔ́r</td>
<td>taftikaran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>fɔ́tκarɔ́t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cd</td>
<td>fɔ́tκarši</td>
<td>aftəkerɔ́</td>
<td>l-aftəkerɔ́</td>
<td>l-aftikaran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cd</td>
<td>fɔ́tκarši</td>
<td>taftəkerɔ́</td>
<td>taftəkerɔ́</td>
<td>taftikaran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3md</td>
<td>ftəḳirɔ́</td>
<td>yaftəkerɔ́</td>
<td>yaftəkerɔ́</td>
<td>yaftikaran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fd</td>
<td>ftəḳirtɔ́</td>
<td>taftəkerɔ́</td>
<td>taftəkerɔ́</td>
<td>taftikaran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cp</td>
<td>fɔ́tκarən</td>
<td>naftékɔ́r</td>
<td>naftékɔ́r</td>
<td>naftikaran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2mp</td>
<td>fɔ́tκarkum</td>
<td>taftékɔ́r</td>
<td>taftékɔ́r</td>
<td>taftikaran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fp</td>
<td>fɔ́tκarkan</td>
<td>taftékɔ́rαn</td>
<td>taftékɔ́rαn</td>
<td>taftikaran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3mp</td>
<td>fɔ́tκar</td>
<td>yaftékɔ́r</td>
<td>yaftékɔ́r</td>
<td>yaftikaran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fp</td>
<td>fɔ́tκar</td>
<td>taftékɔ́rαn</td>
<td>taftékɔ́rαn</td>
<td>taftikaran</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imperative: ms aftékɔ́r, fs aftékɔ́r, mp aftékɔ́r, fp aftékɔ́rαn

In Omani Mehri, when the second root consonant is s, ş, š, ṭ, ḏ, ḍ, z, or ẓ, then the t of the T1-Stem assimilates to this consonant in the perfect, for example naṭṭəb ‘drop’ < *natṭəb, faẓẓəḥ ‘be embarrassed’ < *fatẓəḥ. The only two such verbs in Johnstone’s Jibbali texts, kɔ́tta ‘be cut’ (13:20) and müssi ‘melt’ (35:9), also exhibit this assimilation, though these verbs are listed in JL as kɔ́tta’ and mütsi, 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, yaqtərən ‘they would have met’ (< *yaqtəbarən, from the verb ʔɔ́tbar) 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 ɔ́ in place of i in the dual and plural conditional forms.
One common verb shows an irregular assimilation, namely, šūṣi 'drink' < *šūtki (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:

- bɔ́ttəd ‘part from o.a.’ (cf. G bed ‘separate (intrans.)’; D/L ~ H əbdéd ‘separate (trans.)’)
- gɔ́tələs ‘argue with o.a.’ (cf. G gələs ‘argue, nag’)
- gɔ́thər ‘meet o.a., come together’ (cf. G gər ‘meet s.o.’)
- gɔ́trəb ‘know/recognize o.a.’ (cf. G ɣərəb ‘know’)
- hɔ́trəb ‘fight o.a.’ (= T2 əḥtéréb; cf. D/L ḥorb ‘fight with’; Arabic tL əhərəba and Gt ihtaraba ‘be at war with one another’)
- kɔ́tələṯ ‘chat with o.a., talk to o.a.’ (cf. G kələṯ ‘tell’)
- lɔ́ttəg ‘kill o.a.’ (cf. G lətəg ‘kill’)
- nútbaḥ ‘bark at o.a.’ (cf. G nīḥ ‘bark’)
- sɔ́tbəṭ ‘fight, hit o.a.’ (cf. G səṭ ‘hit, beat’)
- tʃɔ́tən ‘stab o.a.’ (cf. G t(a)’án ‘stab’)

Others can be loosely classified as passives, intransitives, or reflexives, most often with a corresponding G-Stem:

- ‘ʃtər ‘back down, back off’ (< lit. ‘be repelled’; cf. G ər ‘stop from going; dam’)
- fɔ́tsək ‘be halved, break in half (intrans.)’ (cf. G fəkəh and D/L fəkah ‘cut in half’, H fkáh ‘break in half (trans.)’)
- ɣəstəf ‘be(come) angry’ (cf. D/L ~ H aɣyêd or aɣbêd ‘anger’)
- hɔ́tras ‘move, move away’ (cf. G harṣ ‘move, remove’)
- kɔ́tələb ‘turn into (intrans.), change form; be overturned’ (cf. G kələb ‘turn, return; overturn (trans.)’)

---

46 In JL (s.v. fsk), Johnstone lists the T1-Stem fɔtsək, noting the EJ form fɔssək. A CJ informant agreed that mútsi, not mússi, was the correct form.

47 Note that text 3:19 uses both ʃtəṯq ‘they killed o.a.’ and lətəq tattóhum to express ‘they killed one another’, merely showing two ways of expressing a reciprocal. On the reciprocal pronoun, see § 3.7.
verbs: stems 129

ḳɔ́tṭaʿ (or ḳɔ́ṭṭaʿ) ‘be cut, be cut off; (a contract) be breached’ (cf. G kēṭaʿ ‘cut, cut off; breach (a contract)’; Arabic tD taqaṭṭaʿa ‘be cut off’)
mūṭhan ‘be in trouble, be disturbed’ (cf. G m(a)ḥān ‘give s.o. bad news; disturb s.o.’)
mūṭsi (or mūssī) ‘melt, dissolve (intrans.)’
nūṭbəh ‘watch out, pay attention’ (cf. H ᵣnāb ‘warn’)
nūṭgah ‘hurry up’ (cf. D/L ṣnūgah ‘do quickly’)
šɔ́tfər ‘come over one (like goose-bumps); be pricked’ (cf. G ᵣfɔr ‘puncture’; see the comment to text 40:4)
štɔ́l ‘wake up (intrans.), awaken’ (cf. D/L ṣtɔ́l ‘wake up (trans.)’)
xɔ́ttəl ‘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:

bɔ́ttər ‘look down, look out’
ḥɔ́tɛ́g ‘need’ (cf. ᵣɔ̣tɛ̣ ‘thing; need’; Arabic Gt ihtāja ‘need’)
mūṭrəḳ ‘pull out, take out (e.g., a dagger from its sheath)’
mòṭɛ́ ‘have free time, not be busy’
mūṭxəḳ ‘pull out hard (a sword, dagger)’ (see the comment to text 25:13)
rūṭki ‘read’
šɔ̣tɛ̣m ‘buy’ (cf. G šɛ̄m ‘sell’)
šɔ́tɛ́k ‘miss, long for’ (= T2 əštɛk; cf. Arabic tD tašawwaqa and Gt ⁱšṭāqa ‘long for’; see the comment to text 60:19)
šūṣi ‘drink’ (cf. G šek ‘give a drink; irrigate’)

One T1 verb from the above list requires special attention. This is the verb šūṣi ‘drink’, which is anomalous. The form šūṣi must derive from *šútḳi, but the sound change is irregular; interestingly, JL lists another T1-Stem šútḳi ‘be irrigated’ with a regular perfect. So šūṣi 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 šek ‘irrigate’.

Finally, note that when there is an Arabic counterpart to a T1-Stem, it is usually a tD-Stem (Form V, tafaʿala) or Gt-Stem (Form VIII, iftaʿala).

6.5.3 T2-Stem Form

Like the T1-Stem, the T2-Stem is characterized by an infixed 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 infixed \( t \) can (for some speakers) assimilate to the following \( s \) in the T1 perfect múss̩i ‘it melted, dissolved’ (< múts̩i), it does not assimilate to the preceding \( s \) in the T2 perfect astah̩él ‘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 \( āCtāCēC \). If not, then the pattern is \( āCtēCēC \). This distinction also affects the imperfect and subjunctive forms, and so we find 3ms imperfect \( yaCtāCēCān \) or \( yaCtēCēCān \), and 3ms subjunctive \( yaCtāCēC \) or \( yaCtēCēC \). Following are the full paradigms of two strong verbs in the T2-Stem (aftāk̩r ‘wonder about, consider’ and aftērēg ‘watch’):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Perfect</th>
<th>Imperfect</th>
<th>Subjunctive</th>
<th>Conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>aftāk̩rk</td>
<td>aftāk̩rān</td>
<td>l-aftāk̩r</td>
<td>l-aftāk̩rān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>aftāk̩rk</td>
<td>taftāk̩rān</td>
<td>taftāk̩r</td>
<td>taftāk̩rān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>aftāk̩r̩s</td>
<td>taftāk̩rān</td>
<td>taftāk̩r</td>
<td>taftāk̩rān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>aftēk̩r</td>
<td>yaftāk̩rān</td>
<td>yaftāk̩r</td>
<td>yaftāk̩rān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>aftāk̩r̩s t̩/ aftāk̩r̩t</td>
<td>taftāk̩rān</td>
<td>taftāk̩r</td>
<td>taftāk̩rān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cd</td>
<td>aftēk̩r̩śi</td>
<td>aftēk̩r̩śi</td>
<td>l-aftēk̩r̩ś</td>
<td>l-aftēk̩r̩śān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cd</td>
<td>aftēk̩r̩śi</td>
<td>taftēk̩r̩śi</td>
<td>taftēk̩r̩ś</td>
<td>taftēk̩r̩śān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3md</td>
<td>aftēk̩r̩ō</td>
<td>yaftēk̩r̩ō</td>
<td>yaftēk̩r̩ō</td>
<td>yaftēk̩r̩śān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fd</td>
<td>aftēk̩rat̩</td>
<td>taftēk̩rat̩</td>
<td>taftēk̩rat̩</td>
<td>taftēk̩r̩śān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cp</td>
<td>aftēk̩r̩ān</td>
<td>naftēk̩r̩ān</td>
<td>naftēk̩r̩ān</td>
<td>naftēk̩r̩ān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2mp</td>
<td>aftēk̩rk̩um</td>
<td>taftēk̩r̩ān</td>
<td>taftēk̩r̩ān</td>
<td>taftēk̩r̩ān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fp</td>
<td>aftēk̩rk̩</td>
<td>taftēk̩r̩ān</td>
<td>taftēk̩r̩ān</td>
<td>taftēk̩r̩ān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3mp</td>
<td>aftēk̩r</td>
<td>yaftēk̩r̩ān</td>
<td>yaftēk̩r̩ān</td>
<td>yaftēk̩r̩ān</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fp</td>
<td>aftēk̩r</td>
<td>taftēk̩r̩ān</td>
<td>taftēk̩r̩ān</td>
<td>taftēk̩r̩ān</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Imperative: ms aftāk̩r, fs aftēk̩r̩, mp aftēk̩r̩, fp aftēk̩r̩ān

---

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. xxii) lists 3mp imperfect yaftēk̩r̩ān, but none of my informants used this form.
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, *tafā‘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 *ɛ‘úlm* ‘teach’; Arabic D *‘allama* ‘teach’, tD *ta‘allama* ‘learn’)
- **a’tósé** ‘have dinner’ (cf. D/L *ɛ‘ósi* ‘give dinner’; Arabic D *aššā* ‘give dinner’, tD *ta‘aššā* ‘have dinner’)
- **əbtrék** ‘be blessed’ (cf. D/L *ōrək* ‘bless’; Arabic tD *tabarraka* and tL *tabāraka* ‘be blessed’)
- **əftéréẓ́** ‘be very happy, be excited’ (cf. D/L *fórəẓ́* ‘please, make happy’)
- **əftəxér** ‘be proud’ (cf. D/L *fóxər* ‘make proud’)

---

50 The dual forms of the conditional are uncertain.
əḥtéðér ‘be careful, be wary’ (cf. D/L ḥódər ‘warn’; Arabic D ḥaddara ‘warn’ and tD taḥaddara ‘be wary’)
əktéléb ‘be worried, be upset’ (cf. D/L ekólb ‘upset s.o.’)
əstahél ‘have good luck, find s.t. easy’ (cf. D/L sóhal ‘facilitate’; Arabic D sahhala ‘facilitate’, tD tasahhala ‘be easy’)
əbtélím ‘ready oneself for action, prepare oneself’ (cf. D/L ələm ‘prepare’)
əxtéṣéṣ ‘get one’s comeuppance, get one’s due’ (cf. D/L əxṣés)
əztəhéb ‘make oneself up’ (cf. D/L əzóhəb and H əzhéb ‘make up, dress up a woman’)

Some T2-Stems are reciprocals, again often with a corresponding D/L verb, for example:
əḥtɔ́dɛ ‘divide up amongst one another’ (cf. D/L hódi ‘divide, share out’)
əḥtéréb ‘fight with o.a.’ (= T1 ḥɔ́trəb; cf. D/L ḥorb ‘fight with’; Arabic tL tahāraba and Gt ihtaraba ‘be at war with one another’)
əntɔ́ḥ ‘fight with o.a.’ (cf. Š2 űñıh ‘fight with’)  
ərtēg ‘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:
ətīn ‘spy on, inform on’ (cf. D/L a’yín ‘keep an eye on’; Arabic L āyana ‘inspect, examine’, tD ta’ayyana ‘see’)
ətékéd ‘believe’ (cf. Arabic Gt ɨtaqada ‘believe firmly’)  
əbtér ‘fish; hunt’
əbtɔ́za ‘make purchases, buy goods’ (cf. Arabic tD tabaddda’a ‘shop, purchase’)
ədêtel ‘protect’
əftkér ‘wonder about, consider’ (cf. D/L fıkər ‘think’, T1 fıkər ‘think, remember’; Arabic tD tafakkara ‘wonder about, consider’)  
əftérég ‘watch, be a spectator’ (cf. Arabic tD tafarraja ‘watch’)  
əftɛtɛn ‘try to remember’ (= T1 əftɛtn; cf. G fɛtən ‘remember’, D/L əftən and H ətìn ‘remind’)  
əgtṣé ‘faint, pass out’ (see the comment to text 39:5)

---

51 JL (s.v. əxṣes) only lists the perfect axṣés, 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 xıṭtas, 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.
verbs: stems

əmtősəḥ ‘perform ritual ablutions’ (cf. G měşəḥ ‘wipe’; Arabic G masaḥa and D massaḥa ‘wipe, rub, anoint’)
ərtin ‘wait, stay’
əstũi (or əstũi) ‘shout one’s tribal war-cry’ (see the comment to text 25:4)
əstëd ‘be blackened; be disgraced’ (cf. D/L sód ‘blacken; curse’)
əstëd ‘fish, hunt’ (cf. Š₂ šəšëd ‘fish’, šod ‘fish (noun)’; Arabic tD tašayyada ‘hunt, catch’)
əštĩ ‘listen to’ (cf. G ši ‘hear’; Arabic tD tasamma‘a and Gt istama‘a ‘listen to’)
əbtəkél ‘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 xɔ́tləf 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 ʃittan ~ T₂ əftětin ‘try to remember’
T₁ ḥótraḇ ~ T₂ əḥtéréb ‘fight with o.a.’ (cf. Arabic tL and Gt)
T₁ sɔ́thəl ~ T₂ əstəhél ‘have good luck, find s.t. easy’ (cf. Arabic tD)
T₁ xɔ́ttəṣ ~ T₂ əxtéṣéṣ ‘get one’s comeuppance, get one’s due’
T₁ xɔ́tləf ~ 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 ḥótraḇ ~ əḥtéréb, we see

53 JL and ML (s.v. syd) list the 3ms perfect əštíd, but we expect əštëd (əštëd is the ms imperative). Nakano (1986: 54) lists the expected əstëd (and imperative əstëd). (Anyway, šəšëd and əbtër are more common verbs for ‘fish.’) A similarly unexpected form is found in JL (s.v. nwṣ) for the verb əntuḥ ‘wrestle with o.a.’. In the latter case, the vowel ɔ̄, if correct, can be explained as analogical with the verb əntuḥ (where the vowel ɔ̄ 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 əCṭuČaC).
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 Quadriliterals

Quadriliteral verbs are relatively rare in Jibbali, at least in the texts, with the exception of the verb *aġsəré* ‘spend the night’. There are three basic kinds of quadriliterals, distinguished by their root type, which I will collectively call Q-Stems. There is also a derived N-Stem for quadriliteral roots. These will be discussed in turn below.

6.6.1 Basic Quadriliterals (Q-Stems)

I refer to quadriliteral verbs collectively as Q-Stems. There are two primary characteristic patterns for the 3ms perfect of the strong verb: $\varepsilon C_1 \partial C_2 C_3 \partial C_4$ (true quadriliterals) and $\varepsilon C_1 \partial C_2 C_3 \partial C_4$ (reduplicated biliterals). A third type will be discussed below. The prefixed $\varepsilon$- 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H-Stem</td>
<td><strong>er kêd</strong></td>
<td><strong>yər êkd</strong></td>
<td><strong>yér kad</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-Stem (true)</td>
<td><strong>ekërфéd</strong></td>
<td><strong>yəkêrfəd</strong></td>
<td><strong>yəkêrfəd</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H-Stem (gemin.)</td>
<td><strong>eglêl</strong></td>
<td><strong>yaglêl</strong></td>
<td><strong>yéggał</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-Stem (redup.)</td>
<td><strong>eɡaşɡęs</strong></td>
<td><strong>yəɡaşɡęs</strong></td>
<td><strong>yəɡęşɡaş</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Q-Stem verbs found in the texts are:

- *aʿaškér* ‘gather *ʿaškér*’ (see the comment to text TJ2:71)
- *eɡaşɡęs* ‘summon (a spirit or animal) by sorcery’
- *eɡalfeṭ* ‘surround’
- *aġsəré* ‘spend the night’ (cf. *ġasré* ‘at night’)

Additional notes in the text include:

- 3ms perfect
- 3ms imperf.
- 3ms subj.
verbs: stems

\( \text{ekemnùm} \) 'collect fodder'\(^{54} \)
\( \text{êrkèb} \) (< *emerêb) 'welcome' (cf. Arabic Q \text{marhaba} 'welcome', de-
nominative from \text{marhaba} 'welcome!')
\( \text{êrkàh} \) (< *emerkàh) 'tidy up'\(^{55} \)

Some others included in \( \text{JL} \) are:

\( \text{eberbèr} \) 'babble' (cf. Arabic Q \text{barbara} 'babble')
\( \text{edamdùm} \) 'grop in the dark'
\( \text{hèbhèb} \) 'sing to animals' (cf. D/L \text{shèb} 'sing')
\( \text{hozhèz} \) 'shake (trans.)' (\( = \text{G hez} \))
\( \text{haòdnùn} \) 'stare at'
\( \text{haòtmùm} \) 'chew hard on s.t.'
\( \text{kèrbèl} \) 'crawl on one's knees'
\( \text{kèrkùm} \) 'dye yellow' (cf. \( \text{kerkùm} \) 'yellow dye'; Arabic \text{kurkum} 'turmeric')
\( \text{kòbrèd} \) 'drive crazy, madden'
\( \text{ekàlèd} \) 'roll (trans.)'
\( \text{ekèlbèt} \) 'curl hair; twist; turn a corner'
\( \text{ekèrbèt} \) 'tie tightly'
\( \text{ekèrfèd} \) 'turn over (trans.)'
\( \text{šèrxèf} \) 'slip s.t. secretly to s.o.'
\( \text{šàzèr} \) 'dye/make yellow or green' (cf. \( \text{G šàzùr} \) 'become green', \( \text{šàzùùr} \) 'yellow')
\( \text{tèròùm} \) 'mumble, talk nonsense'
\( \text{axàmdùn} \) 'put a riddle to s.o.'

All of the true quadriliterals have a liquid (\( r, l \)) or nasal (\( m, n \)) as the second or (less often) third root consonant. The verb \( \text{ekàlèd} \) 'roll (trans.)' is listed in \( \text{JL} \) under the root \( \text{kèl'd} \); Johnstone must have assumed that the attested \( \text{ekàlèd} \) is a metathesized form (also attested as such in Mehri).

The third type of quadriliteral is characterized by reduplication of the final root consonant (i.e., a partially reduplicated triliteral root), and has the

---

\(^{54}\) The 3ms imperfect listed in \( \text{JL} \) (s.v. \( \text{kèmn/kèmmùn} \)) is \( \text{iòkèmùn} \). It is not clear why the first \( m \) is missing, since it is not intervocalic. In Mehri the root \( \text{kèm} \) is generally triliteral (used in the T-Stems), though we also find the verb \( \text{akàwnom} \). Based on this form alone, it is unclear if this Mehri verb is a D/L-Stem or a Q-Stem ("root" \( \text{kèwm} \)). In Soqotri, \( \text{kènom} \) 'feed livestock' is simply a triliteral 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 \( \text{amàrkàh} \) in Northern Mehri ('tidy up') and Southern Mehri ('drink coffee').
perfect pattern $C_1\theta C_2\varepsilon C_3\varepsilon C_4$. Following are some examples, only two of which ($\dot{\varepsilon}g\varepsilon\varepsilon\varepsilon r$ and $\dot{\varepsilon}\varepsilon h\varepsilon b$) are used in the texts:

\begin{itemize}
  \item $\dot{\varepsilon}h\varepsilon b$ ‘screech, grunt (used of a camel)’ (< *$\varepsilon h\varepsilon h\varepsilon b$)
  \item $\dot{\varepsilon}h\varepsilon \varepsilon r$ ‘purr’
  \item $\varepsilon n\varepsilon \varepsilon r$ ‘snore’ (cf. G $n(a)x\varepsilon r$ ‘snort’, $nax\varepsilon r$ ‘nostril’)
  \item $\dot{\varepsilon}g\varepsilon \varepsilon r$ ‘scream, shriek’
\end{itemize}

Quadriliterals 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 $\varepsilon k\varepsilon l',\varepsilon d$ above). Not all Q-Stems with final reduplicated root consonants fit this pattern, as shown by the verbs $ha\varepsilon d\varepsilon n$ and $\dot{\varepsilon}g\varepsilon \varepsilon r$. That is to say, some verbs with reduplication of the third root consonant are treated as true quadriliterals. In my grammar of Mehri, I treated verbs with a reduplicated final root consonant as a separate type of quadrilateral that I termed “pseudo-quadriliterals”\textsuperscript{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-quadriliterals” include a number of verbs related to colors, while in Jibbali such verbs are mainly NQ-Stems (see below, §6.6.2).

\subsection*{6.6.2 N-Stem Quadriliterals (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 $C_1C_2C_3C_4$, and some reduplicated roots of the type $C_1C_2C_3C_4$. This NQ-Stem has the basic perfect pattern $anCaC\varepsilon C\varepsilon C$. The second type is discussed below. The NQ-Stem is rather rare (only one NQ-Stem, $\varepsilon n\varepsilon k\varepsilon b\varepsilon d$ ‘be crazy’, occurs in Johnstone’s texts [30:10]), and it often functions as a passive of the Q-Stem.

\textsuperscript{56} Rubin (2010:119).
Some examples of NQ-Stems of this first type, mainly taken from JL, are:

\textit{ənbɛlɡɪm} ‘get too fat’
\textit{ənfɛdfɛd} ‘have scabies, swellings’ (cf. \textit{fədfɛd} ‘scabies’)
\textit{ənḥətmɛm} ‘get broken’ (cf. Q \textit{ḥaṭmɛm} ‘chew hard on s.t.’)
\textit{ənkɛrɛrɛ} ‘become cripple’ (cf. Q \textit{kɛrɛrɛ} ‘crawl on one’s knees’)
\textit{ənkɔbrɛd} ‘be crazy, go crazy’ (cf. Q \textit{kɔbrɛd} ‘drive crazy, madden’)
\textit{ənkɛfrɛrɛ} ‘pout, sulk’ (cf. \textit{kafɛrɛ} ‘lip’)
\textit{ənkɛrɛt} ‘be tied tightly’ (cf. Q \textit{ɛkɛrɛt} ‘tie tightly’)
\textit{ənkɛrfɛd} ‘turn over (intrans.)’ (cf. Q \textit{ɛkɛrfɛd} ‘turn over (trans.)’)
\textit{ənʃɛrxɛf} ‘slip away, sneak away (intrans.)’ (cf. Q \textit{šɛrxɛf} ‘slip s.t. secretly to s.o.’)
\textit{əntɛrɛtɛm} ‘grumble’ (cf. Q \textit{tɛrɛtɛm} ‘mumble, talk nonsense’)
\textit{ənʃəfrɛrɛ} ‘become yellow’ (cf. \textit{kɛfrɛrɛ} ‘lip’)
\textit{ənʃɛbbɛbɛb} ‘become light brown; be plump’
\textit{ənʃɛbɛmɛm} ‘become dark (in complexion)’ (cf. \textit{šɛbɛmɛm} ‘brown, dark (complexion)’)
\textit{əntəbɛrɛ} ‘be full of clay’
\textit{əntɛbrɛhɛ} ‘fall down on the ground; have swollen testicles’
\textit{ənxamlɛlɛ} ‘(tears) run down silently, well up’

Similar to Q-Stems, the non-reduplicated quadriliteral roots of NQ-Stems all have a liquid (\textit{r}, \textit{l}), nasal (\textit{m}, \textit{n}), or semi-vowel (\textit{w}, \textit{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 \textit{anC}_{1}C_{2}C_{3}C_{3}. 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:

\textit{ənʃɛfrɛrɛ} ‘blush, become red’ (cf. \textit{ʃɛfr} ‘red’)
\textit{ənʃɛfrɛrɛ} ‘become black’ (cf. \textit{ʃɛr} ‘black’, root \textit{hwr}).
\textit{ənlini} ‘become white’ (cf. \textit{lɛn} ‘white’, \textit{Hɛlɛn} ‘whiten’)
\textit{ənʃɛfrɛrɛ} ‘have flowers, blossom’ (but also NQ \textit{ənʃɛfrɛrɛ} ‘become yellow’)
\textit{ənʃɛʃɛrɛ} ‘become green/yellow’ (cf. Q \textit{ʃɛʃɛrɛ} ‘dye/make yellow or green’)
\textit{ənʃɛrɛ} ‘flow/pour slowly’ (root probably \textit{tyr})

The fact that \textit{ənʃɛʃɛrɛ} ‘become green/yellow’ has a corresponding causative Q-Stem \textit{ʃɛʃɛrɛ} ‘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 \textit{sɛfɛrɛ} is also curious, in that there are two NQ-Stems of this root, one in the pattern employed for color terms
(anṣafirér) that apparently is used of plants, and another in the more general NQ-Stem type (anṣafirér) 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 triliteral 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 anḥérk '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>-(a)k</td>
<td>-(a)ši</td>
<td>-ən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>-(a)k</td>
<td>-(a)ši</td>
<td>-(a)kum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>-(a)ši</td>
<td></td>
<td>-(a)kən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ši</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>-št</td>
<td>-ť</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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., ɣarɔbk ‘I knew’, zəhāmk ‘you (m.) came’, zumš ‘you (f.) gave’). The ə of the 1cp suffix is underlying (e.g., zəhăn ‘we came’ < *zəhāmən; zũn ‘we gave’ < zūmən), but elision is sometimes blocked by analogy with other forms, at least with III-b verbs (e.g., ɣaršən ‘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 -št is realized -út (e.g., kunút ‘she was’, guzút ‘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, têt, kéré). This is not true for verbs whose 3ms form ends in an unstressed vowel (e.g., sīni 'he saw', sīnút 'she saw').

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xaṭarɛ́t sfɔrk kin sékoni te éṣəlak dəbey, } & \text{bo-ṣímk 'ak 'askérít. bo-skíf } & \text{'ónut}
\text{ trut } & \text{I traveled from my settlement until I reached Dubai, and I enlisted in the police. And I stayed two years' (13:1)}
\text{'}ôr heš, \text{"het žəháakak len" } & \text{‘they said to him, “you tricked us”’ (22:15)}
\text{əl ţar豚 to lo } & \text{‘he didn’t recognize me’ (13:12)}
\text{aǧád bo-ksé } & \text{‘amkɔš xōš ahríf bo-hiłíhum } & \text{‘he went and he found in it}
\text{ five (gold) coins, and he took them’ (97:40)}
\text{zum esférít ižírét bo-tōxós} & \text{‘he gave the bird to the servant-girl and she cooked it’ (6:9)}
\text{tum dɔ-šerókkum elín ... } & \text{əl šérıkən tos lo } & \text{‘you are the ones who stole our cow ... we didn’t steal it’ (12:9)}
\text{šèd l-irṣ̌um b-aǧád } & \text{‘they loaded their camels and they went’ (54:12)}
\text{aśése, b-əl 'aššɔ̀t lo } & \text{‘they roused her, and she didn’t wake up’ (18:10)}
\text{zəhám śhalɛt ġigeniti sibrùti bə-kéb } & \text{‘ak eğər. bo-xənɨt xaṭıkészən} & \text{‘three girl ghosts came and went down into the well. And they took off their clothes’ (30:4)}
\end{align*}
\]

We also find the perfect—at least with the verb aǧád ‘go’—used as an immediate future, for example:

\[
\text{he aǧádək ‘I'm off!’ (1:14; 3:16)}
\]

The perfect also appears regularly after a variety of particles, including the conditional particles her, (ə)ðə, and (ə)ðə kun (see § 13.4); the temporal conjunctions mit, her, ed, hes and has e- (see § 13.5.3); and d-‘əd əl ‘before’ (see § 7.3). On the perfect following maskín ‘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-
icated 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>ə-</td>
<td>ə-…-ɔ́</td>
<td>n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>t-…-ɔ́</td>
<td>t-(V)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>t-(V)</td>
<td>t-…-ən</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>y-</td>
<td>y-…-ɔ́</td>
<td>y-(V)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>t-…-ɔ́</td>
<td>t-…-ən</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:

- The prefixes are often followed by an epenthetic vowel ə.
- The 3ms prefix ɣə- is sometimes realized ɣ-, especially following the verbal prefix ɣ-/ɣ- (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/ʾ 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-ʾ/y, and III-w/y verbs; see the relevant subsections of § 7.4).
- Many younger Jibbali speakers have imported the ɣ- 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:
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 through the use of prefixed stems. 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 (< -ɔ́ + 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.
as a narrative past tense, with a clear perfective meaning. Following are examples of the imperfect used as a general or habitual present:

- *birdém d-ḥl yōd lo* ‘a person who doesn’t lie’ (8:12)
- *taḡórə bāl še kəls her ṕrēz* ‘she knows absolutely everything about illness’ (18:7)
- *kāl gəm-āt tašə́ ḥirš sāqət* ‘every week jewelry appears on it’ (22:11)
- *het sōbər tağēlb* ‘you always refuse’ (24:1)
- *al əkədar al-hāl(l)k lo* ‘I can’t carry you’ (49:15)
- *yas̄it əs̄sət bā-ys̄sət egāts* ‘he hits the boys and he hits his sister (habitually)’ (49:33)
- *he a’ágəb bə-tītə, bə-tītə tə’ágəb bī* ‘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:

- *aḡəs yəsha’ūsərs* ‘her brother loved her’ (17:9)
- *aḡeyg əl-’ād yagəsər yaxētor həltə lə ‘the man didn’t yet dare go down to town’ (25:7)
- *her hē ḥāṣi ḏər əmmērē*, *tənūgəf ḍāṣ egātə ḥāṣi* ‘whenever dirt fell on the boy, his sister would brush the dirt off of him’ (36:17)
- *her inēt fələk šīṭār, aṣārkūs e-i b-ahızəz šīṭār* ‘whenever the women let out the kids, I would steal my father’s razor and slaughter the kids’ (49:3)
- *ya’elf e’nuf, bə-yəkəl al dē əl-hēs še lə. yərəd bə-xtərəkəs bə-yışi* ‘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)
- *aḡeyg yəmzəz* ‘the man smoked (habitually)’ (60:24)
- *dīn syāt, al-șa’sərs bə ... b-əl əkədar l-ēfśəh bəs lə ‘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:

- *əl éd’ak lo yəḥōsəl še mən lə ‘I didn’t know (if) he would get something or not’ (10:3)
- *guzūmk əl-’ād ahızəz šīṭər zeyd* ‘I swore I would not slaughter kids anymore’ (49:10)
- *eḇkā’ erēs’ ak rékəb e-ūt mən tēl dē əl yəkədar yəl’həm lo ‘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:

\[
ha\text{-}sh \ e\text{-}shé(l)k \ dènu, \ ézmək \ ešágər \ ‘when you have finished with this, I will give you the other’ (2:5)
\]

\[
her \ ol \ kisk \ tok \ lo, \ ol \ aḡərah \ əram \ lo \ ‘if I don’t find you, I won’t know the road (you took)’ (3:12)
\]

\[
ol \ akín \ hek \ teť \ el-fôt, \ her \ ol \ edűrk \ len \ ol-ˈení \ lo \ ‘I won’t be a wife for you till I die, if you don’t come back to us this evening’ (28:37)
\]

\[
her \ kél\ˈak \ tok \ ˈak \ ṣahəlét, \ yamtése \ ‘ba-yakín můh \ ‘if you leave it in a bowl, it will melt, and it will be water’ (35:7)
\]

\[
yəktéléṯ \ bi \ eκəl \ her \ kél\ˈak tok \ ba-flôtək \ ‘the tribes will talk (badly) about me if I leave you and run away’ (83:2)
\]

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:

\[
yəfrér \ dûɾš \ eκəʔər \ ‘the leopard jumped on it’ (15:9)
\]

\[
zəḥám \ mosé \ ba-thi \ dəf \ ‘ak \ xo \ edəhlél \ ‘rain came, and a rock fell onto the mouth of the cave’ (22:2)
\]

\[
yəzłóm \ tat \ mən \ aḡəg \ ba-yədőrəm \ tit \ mən \ iyɛl \ ‘one of the men came and slaughtered one of the camels’ (25:5)
\]

\[
imt \ ber \ ĩə-ˈɔɾ \ xeɾín, \ yaʃələdən \ mən \ dər \ iʃ \ ed \ yəz hôməş \ ‘when he had got a little ways ahead, he shot over his father so he could get to it [the peak]’ (83:3)
\]

\[
áxərši \ aḡəg \ yəoʳ, \ “yaʃə, \ təm” \ ‘Then the men said, “Yalla, ok”’ (AK2:4)
\]

\[
hes \ tênə \ yasűn \ tɔ \ i, \ aď-əʃəfək \ l-ɛnũfə \ ‘ak \ ḥagrət \ ‘when my father saw me like this, that I had shut myself in (my) room’ (AK2:7)
\]

\[
yəbγɔ́d. \ yəʃək \ ‘aṭələl … \ ba-yəthuŋ ḥım \ bə-yícəl \ ɛnũfə \ bə-hım \ ‘he went. He put on torn clothes … and he ground charcoal and painted himself with the charcoal’ (TJ4:23)
\]

\[
yəbγɔ́d \ məmməd \ bə-gerəsə \ eʃərah, \ bə-yérd beʃ \ ‘Muhammad went and dragged the donkey away, and he threw it’ (Anon1:5)
\]

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:

\[kɔ hɛt tɔ̄k 'why are you crying?' (23:8) (tɔ̄k < *ð-tɔ̄k)\]

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>l-</td>
<td>l-...-ɔ́</td>
<td>n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>t-...-ɔ́</td>
<td>t-(V)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>t-(V)</td>
<td>t-...-ən</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>y-</td>
<td>y-...-ɔ́</td>
<td>y-(V)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>t-</td>
<td>t-...-ɔ́</td>
<td>t-...-ən</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>l-</td>
<td>l-…-ɔ́</td>
<td>n-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>l-</td>
<td>l-…-ɔ́</td>
<td>l-(V)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>l-(V)</td>
<td>l-…-ɔ́</td>
<td>l-…-ən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>y-</td>
<td>y-…-ɔ́</td>
<td>y-(V)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>l-</td>
<td>l-…-ɔ́</td>
<td>l-…-ən</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
yəfɔ́rḥək ɔ̄ź bə-xár & \ 'may God make you happy with good things' (8:13) 
anğéy yókʃaf ənúf & \ 'the man should expose himself' (17:38) 
hᵉʳ ḏᵉ yəgɔ́rəb șé, y❡sne hᵉr əmᵇᵉʳᵉ & \ 'if anyone knows anything, he should see to the boy' (18:7) 
yasɔ̄xk ʻər əsɛ́t & \ 'he may divert you from your livestock' (28:13) 
ʻəd yᵉkante əŋdərə́t & \ 'it might be a supernatural illness' (38:6) 
təṣxɔ́b ʃəfələk mgettextə́ & \ 'your stomach may be sore for a little while after' (40:15) 
təxəlɔ́f ṣəḥāt & \ 'be well [lit. may health come]!' (52:11) 
yɔ̄rək bek ɔ́ź & \ 'may God bless you' (AK3:11) 
ʻõrɔ́t hɔ̄t, “yɔtɿ tɔ ĩnɿkəl, bə-yɔ́qəb tɔ ədɪfər.” & \ 'the snake said, “The heroic one should kill me, but the bad one should bury me”' (Pr161)
\end{align*}
\]

A first or (rarely) a second person independent subjunctive likewise expresses suggestion, obligation, wishing, or uncertainty, as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
he bər eði-liln l-ʃəfrəxɛ́lɛt & \ 'I, the son of so-and-so, should clean toilets!?' (5:10) 
ni n al-ʃərk hɛs & \ 'what should I do for her?' (6:8) 
l-ʃəklət hek & \ 'should I tell you?' (43:17) 
h-ni n l-əzɛ́ms & \ 'why should I give him (a camel)?' (49:32) 
het (t)ʃɛdhaʃ & \ 'you should be slapped' (51:8) 
ni nəsərk bɛs & \ 'what should we do with him?' (51:21) 
al ɿdə’ak al-hʊn l-ɛbdə lɔ & \ 'I don't know where I should direct myself' (57:2) 
al-ʃəh b-ebri & \ 'let me rejoice in my son!' (57:13) 
kɔh təqɪd şĩ & \ 'why should you go with me?' (60:46) 
\end{align*}
\]

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 ʻágəb ‘want’ plus a subjunctive verb (see §7.5.1). For cohortative ‘let’s go!’, there is the particle ġadú (§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 ʻəd.

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 ʻágəb ‘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:

- ḳiriṣṭ yũm tağīd ‘the sun was close to setting’ (16:3)
- ʿal-ʾṣd kādōr yaṣṣāxānt b ‘he was not able to get out’ (22:2)
- ʂəndər her erahmūn yədḥab nəhōr dəhr ‘he vowed to God to flood (one) wadi with blood’ (22:3)
- aţeqeq ʿal-ʾṣd yagūsər yaxətər hallət b ‘the man didn’t yet dare go down to town’ (25:7)
- aţeqeq ‘azūm yagād ḥagg ‘the man decided to go on the Hajj’ (36:20)
- he ḏa-l-ġād l-ɛkər b-aţeqeq ‘I will go to visit my brothers’ (50:2)
- aţeqeq yəsbat t ‘he went to beat me’ (51:9)
- gzim ʿal (t)dir mən mənūhum ‘swear that you will not come between them!’ (60:6)
- ʿal dé ḏarōb yədeš b ‘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 ʿak téti tağād ʂi ‘I want my wife to go with me’ (7:10)
- ʿar dé yəsḥom bes ‘send someone to bring her’ (18:9)
- ẓəl ʂo l-ğađ k-eţeqeq ‘let me go with the man’ (28:12)
- ḱeqeq ʈi yeqṣəkə ‘she gave authority to her father to marry her off’ (45:18)
- kə təm kələ’kum təs yagād bahsəs ‘why did you all let him go by himself?’ (49:34)
- ʿal ʿak émi (t)dənə b ‘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 e-ʿör hek tšərk tənu ‘who told you to do it like this?’ (1:4)
- sîḥ heş yəğeq ‘he permitted him to marry’ (7:9)
- ʿagən bek təxtəxənt èmtən ‘we want you to come back to us’ (13:2)
- ɛf’st her zırīt təbkə səhəm ʿak a’iṣeq e-ţeqeq ‘she paid a slave-girl to put poison in her brother’s food’ (17:46)
- ṣtələb məs l-ɪrxət tət tənḥag ‘I am asking you to let the woman dance’ (30:11)
- he ḏa-l-ḥeqər līs tağīd ‘I will (pretend to) persuade you to go’ (60:6)
- ḏa-l-ʿamer hes tətba’k ‘I’ll tell her to follow you’ (60:21)
A similar construction is used with férəḳ (‘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., ṣəlɔt ɔl təḡád ʃi ‘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 ḍəgəb ‘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 ... ʃo ‘its not good for’; Examples are:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{axér hókum l-ɔ́xləf ‘it’s better for you to move’ (28:6)} \\
&\text{axér hek ɔl-dɔ́r ‘it’s better for you to go back’ (30:18)} \\
&\text{axér hókum l-ɔ́flət ‘it’s better for you to run away’ (54:18)} \\
&\text{ɔl xer hek təḡád ʃo ‘it’s not good for you to go’ (60:25)}
\end{align*}
\]

Compare the similar use of the subjunctive in other non-verbal phrases:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{ɔl ḳəyɔ́skum (t)ṭəq ṭɛ́fəl mən ʿaḳ fídɛ́t ʃo ‘it is not right for you to kill an infant in the cradle’ (25:16)} \\
&\text{he ékíl l-ɛ́šfəḳəs̃ ɛðí-ilín ‘I am authorized to marry so-and-so to you’ (45:9)}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{ɡəd yɔl ūt e-kər, yəzɛ́mk ʿiśé bə-flɔ́ yɔ́ (l)ṭəɡ ‘go to the house of the sheikh, so he can give you (food) or kill you’ (46:9)} \\
&\text{zɛ́-tɔ ɛ̃sɛ́rk l-əɡbɛ́b ʿamḳə́š ‘give me your turban so I can defecate in it [or: to defecate in]’ (97:37)}
\end{align*}
\]

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 wɛ́gəb (§12.5.20), and with the temporal conjunction ɛd ‘until’ (§13.5.3.4).

\[
\text{2 In the texts, axér her is nearly always used in a positive phrase, while xer her is always used in a negative phrase.}
\]
The subjunctive can also be found in a few idiomatic expressions, such as following the particle *ya rēt* ‘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 (*dḥa-, ḡa-, a-*)

The future tense in Johnstone’s texts is formed with an auxiliary particle *dḥa-* or the shorter form *ḡa-* 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 *dḥar* or *dhar.* Following are some examples of the future in the texts:

- *mit ḡa-l-ašnēk* ‘when will I see you?’ (7:3)
- *ha-l-ḡazam* ‘I will swear’ (14:1)
- *dḥa-l-ḡād kʰərɛ́re* ‘I’ll go tomorrow’ (28:2)
- *mə́gɛ́r* *dḥa-l-ḵlɛ́t hɛš ə-xāfī* ‘then I will tell him about my foot’ (52:4)
- *dḥa-təşnɛ́ yəḡrɛ́b tɾoh* ‘you’ll see two ravens’ (33:7)
- *dḥa-tərḥāẓən ək eɣɔ́r* ‘they’ll wash in the well’ (30:3)
- *dḥa-nzɛ́nk ɛɬə̀t iʃīf* ‘we will give you four thousand’ (22:12)
- *dḥa-nšɛ́rk hɛk fʃo* ‘we’ll make lunch for you’ (60:35)
- *dḥa-yə(l)tɔ́ʃk a’ɛ́lî* ‘my family will kill you’ (30:21)
- *dḥa-l-ɛflət mən ð̣íри* ‘she will run away from me’ (60:22)
- *inɛ́ un ɛyɔ́ ḡa-yə’mɔ̀r* ‘what then [or: indeed] will people say?’ (SB2:7)
- *a-nqād tel iyɛ́l* ‘we’ll go to the camels’ (AK1:2)

If there are two future tenses used in sequence, then the auxiliary *dḥa-* is used only with the first verb, unless another phrase intervenes (as in SB1:6), for example:

- *mũn mənhum dḥa-yít bɔ’-yɔ́kələ* aɡāg ə-ʃēs ‘(to see) which [lit. who] of them would eat and let down his friends’ (21:3)
- *he dḥa-l-ḡād bɔ’-l-ɛhβə̀s* ‘I will go and push him off [lit. make him fall]’ (25:15)
- *ha-nkələ’k ɛʃə̀r ɛm, ha-nɛtbɛ́k bɔ’-nəʃkɛ̀k, əm-mən ɛ́rɛ̀s ha-nəʃɛ́zək* ‘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:

šāʾk dé ṣ̄or ha-yēṣeḵānt 'did you hear somebody say he will [or: would] leave?' (8:9)
thūm̄k tosh ar ḥa-yeḵšol 'I thought he'd surely get (something)' (10:4)
guzūm ar ḥa-yeḵezas 'he swore he would kill her' (17:9)
šērēk enūf ḥa-yṭhōl 'he pretended that he was going to urinate' (21:9)
ɔl nēkš(l)š ḥa-yγād lɔ 'we didn't think he would go' (49:35)
ɔl 'ōk hiš lɔ ḥa-l-efeller mən ḥirī '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)ðə [§ 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:

ɪnē ḥa-(t)zi-tɔ her kōlšt̄k hiš b-ebrēš 'what will you give me if I tell you about your son?' (13:7)
her 'aġis bi, ḥa-tgi̮d ŋi, b-ɔl 'aġis bi lɔ, ḥa-tiškɪf 'if you love me, you will go with me. And (if) you don’t love me, you’ll stay' (13:18)
her aġadɔt bə-zḥám ebrì b-ɔl ksēs lɔ, ḥa-yəfɔt 'if she goes away and my son comes back and doesn’t find her, he will die' (30:10)
her ɔl xarɔg lɔ, ḥa-yēkɔn bən ƙərɛre 'if he didn’t die, he will be here tomorrow' (42:6)
her ɔl kōlšt̄h hīni lɔ, ar ḥa-l-ɔ̇(l)tiš 'if you don’t tell me, I will kill you' (46:5)
her sōtשק egajt̄k, ɔl ḥa-l-zēmkt šé lɔ 'if you hit your sister, I won’t give you anything' (49:13)
her šınén šes dē, ḥa-nγād '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 her (§ 7.2) plus the future tense means 'be about to' (proximative) or 'nearly' (avertative), as in:

sēt̄ar hīni ekōr, her bek ḥa-l-ṣγraf xēlēt ‘better for me the grave, if I am about to clean toilets!’ (5:10)

---

4 According to JL (s.v. fnw), the particle ṓnə can also have the sense of 'be about to' when it is followed by a future tense. In combination with a perfect, ṓnə is an adverb meaning 'formerly, earlier'.
Chapter Seven

“iyéli ber dха-tfɔ́tən mɔn xɛ́t ‘my camels are about to die of thirst’ (25:2)
ed yun að-bér dха-yɡɔ́d, zaḥám yo tel a’ɑʃɔr ‘then on the day that they
were about to go, people came to her husband’ (36:21)
iyɔ́tk berɔ́t dха-l-ɛ́ʃkaṭ ‘your camel is about to give birth’ (47:3)

On the use of the future tense dха-yɛkɔ́n 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 apo-
dosis of unreal (counterfactual) conditional sentences introduced by (ə)ðə
kun (see § 13.4.2). Some examples from the texts are:

het ə-l kunk mišərd lɔ, əl (t)sìrkan enüf’ókəl axér ‘ánị lɔ ‘if you weren’t
stupid, you would not pretend to be smarter than me’ (1:7)
ə-l kunk mišərd lɔ, əl (t)əhekɔn míni lɔ ‘if you weren’t stupid, you would
not have made fun of me’ (1:11)
ðə kùn əl mišərd lɔ, əl yahzizən yitʃ lɔ ‘if he wasn’t crazy, he would not
have slaughtered his camel’ (2:7)
het ə kunk kɔ́lɔ́t híni, tağidɔn ʃek tiṭk ‘if you had told me, your wife
would have gone with you’ (13:20)
ðə kun əl lɛtə̀k erba’st mínn lɔ, əl nəltégənəs lɔ ‘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 indepen-
dent conditional:

l-ɪšnɛ̄n hànuʃ ‘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 əqəb ‘want’ is also used independently in the conditional; see
further in § 7.5.4. On the frozen conditional ta’miřən, 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). 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 *sfɔ́r* ‘travel’ and the G-Stem geminate verb *fer* ‘fly’ (root *frr*):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2ms</th>
<th>2fs</th>
<th>2mp</th>
<th>2fp</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive</td>
<td>tɔ́sfɔ́r</td>
<td>tísfɔ́r</td>
<td>tasfɔ́r</td>
<td>tasfɛ́rən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>sfɛ́r</td>
<td>sfír</td>
<td>sfɔ́r</td>
<td>sfɛ́rən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subjunctive*</td>
<td>tɔ́ffɔ́r</td>
<td>túffɔ́r</td>
<td>tafrɔ́r</td>
<td>tafrɛ́rən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative</td>
<td>frɛ́r</td>
<td>frír</td>
<td>frɔ́r</td>
<td>frɛ́rən</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *tékan*; root *kwn*) and *ərdɛ́* ‘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:

*aḥtɛ́dɔ́r b-ɛ́nʊ́f* ‘watch out for yourself!’ (25:10)
*ɡad ... bɔ́-kbɛ́n ˈaːk enáxal* ‘go ... and hide among the date-palms!’ (30:2)
*ḥmɛl xaṭɔ́kɛ́sən* ‘pick up their clothes!’ (30:3)
*ɡmɔ́ li réɡa* ‘dɔ́-kahwɛ́t bɔ́-təmbɛ́ko, bɔ́-ðrɔ́rs nxín ḥɛşən* ‘collect coffee-grounds and tobacco remains for me, and spread it (all) around under the castle!’ (36:13)
*šá bɔ́-şné* ‘run and see!’ (39:11)
*ken li l-hɛ́s i* ‘be to me like my father!’ (47:13)
*nəká́ əl-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.
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:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{\textit{ɔl təktélɔ́b lɔ} } \text{`don't worry!' } (3:19) \\
&\text{\textit{ɔl tɔ́ftəḥəš lɔ} } \text{`don't open it!' } (5:4) \\
&\text{\textit{ɔl tiš lɔ} } \text{`don't eat it!' } (6:5) \\
&\text{\textit{ɔl tebk lɔ} } \text{`don't cry!' } (23:8) \\
&\text{\textit{ɔl tïklat her ì lɔ} } \text{`don't tell father!' } (49:18) \\
&\text{\textit{ɔl takərɔ̄-tɔ lɔ} } \text{`don't come near me!' } (53:10) \\
&\text{\textit{ɔl təfríḳ lɔ} } \text{`don't be afraid!' } (54:19) \\
&\text{\textit{ɔl tékən dəḥís lɔ} } \text{`don't be stubborn!' } (57:3) \\
&\text{\textit{ɔl təhérg ġaró dífər lɔ} } \text{`don't use [lit. speak] bad language!' } (57:15)
\end{align*}
\]

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 Š1-Stem internal passive is listed in \textit{JL} (s.v. \textit{ʿsr}). Internal passives occur in the perfect, imperfect, subjunctive, and conditional, and both the perfect and imperfect forms can be preceded by the verbal particle \textit{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:

\[
\begin{align*}
&\text{\textit{ksé iyát ða-ḥizzót} } \text{`they found the camel slaughtered' } (2:12) \\
&\text{\textit{aģéyg ber ð-ɛrṣín} } \text{`the man has already been tied up' } (17:30) \\
&\text{\textit{ðə ʃə ñl ðə-ʃaḥal ìo, l-əkşɔ́ṣ erɛ́ss. ña-ðə ʃə ñl ðə-ʃaḥal, tũm l-əkşɔ́ṣ erɛ́sskum} } \\
&\text{`if he has no penis, his head should be cut off. And if he has a penis, your heads should be cut off' } (17:39)
\end{align*}
\]

\(^7\) A disproportionate number of internal passives occur in text TJ2.
verbs: tenses and forms

\( \text{ol tə'asēs lɔ ar hér sītōt bə-xətarōk troh} \) ‘she won’t wake up unless she is hit twice with a stick [or: with two sticks]’ (18:11)

\( \text{'ér hën bə-ğabałēt mosé mēkən} \) ‘it was told to us that in the west there is a lot of rain’ (32:8)

\( \text{iš də-liṭug} \) ‘her father had been killed’ (46:1)

\( \text{dха-l-əhzíz} \) ‘you will be killed’ (48:11)

\( \text{émi zūthum šṭɔr bə-šṭɔrhum e-ḥézíz} \) ‘my mother gave them a kid for their kid that was slaughtered’ (49:5)

\( \text{emhére’ də-ykēnē} \) ‘the boy who was being breast-fed’ (51:2)

\( \text{ksé ţahgót də-ršinüt} \) ‘they found a girl who had been tied up’ (54:14)

\( \text{'ak l-əltəg} \) ‘do you want to be killed?’ (60:25)

\( \text{gélōb ol yōšfak bes} \) ‘he was refused (permission) to marry her’ (SB1:2)

\( \text{het ḥl ‘idīk ḥb ‘you weren’t executed?’} \) (TJ4:87)

\( \text{e-xarōq ġasrē iķīr k-hāṣaf} \) ‘the one who dies in the evening is buried in the morning’ (Pr16)

Note the specialized meanings of the passive xéźık ‘be born’ (57:8) or ‘happen’ (64:4; cf. active xolśık ‘create’).

Examples of H-Stem internal passives are:

\( \text{ksét ġegunēt ber ṭəhúnūt tʃık d-əbkī} \) ‘she found the sack (of grain) already ground fine lying there [lit. having been placed]’ (97:16)

\( \text{ēxɔ́rtēn kɛl ber šfīk} \) ‘all of our old women have already been married off’ (AM1:5)

\( \text{her kunūt klé’ d-iṭérōb b-igēfún} \) ‘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.

\( \text{JL} \) includes at least nine H-Stem passives, four D/L-Stem passives (3ms perfect (e)iCiC), and one Š1-Stem passive (3ms perfect šaCCiC). More research is needed to determine the productivity of the internal passives of derived stems.

---

8 H-Stems: \( \text{JL, s.v. bny, fg’}, \text{fył, nby/nb’}, \text{rqj’d, šrh, šfk, tnf, wg’}; \text{D/L-Stems: JL, s.v. ‘lk, fxs, gdl, gfn}; \text{Ś1-Stem: JL, s.v. ‘sr. Johnstone (1980b: 470) also includes some examples of derived stem passives.} \)
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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ms: } & \text{maCCéC or maCCéC} & \text{fs: } & \text{mCCaCót} \\
\text{mp: } & \text{maCCóC or mCCbCaC} & \text{fp: } & \text{mCCaCéte (var. -étə)}
\end{align*}
\]

Passive participles are used either as attributive, predicative, or nominalized adjectives. The passive participles in the texts are:

- \( \text{ɛ̄t kɛl məftəḥétɛ} \) ‘all the houses are open’ (4:4) (cf. G fētəh ‘open’)
- \( \text{fūdún maktéb 'amkás 'a stone, on which was written'} \) (6:12) (cf. G ktəb ‘write’)
- \( \text{agág ber maqrób mən šegət t ‘the men were already famous [lit. known] } \) for bravery' (21:1) (cf. G ġarób ‘know’)
- \( \text{kun maqrób ‘he became famous [lit. known]’} \) (55:7) (cf. G ġarób ‘know’)
- \( \text{şef ėgənbit məğəzzót ‘it turned out that the dagger was loose’} \) (25:13) (cf. G ġez ‘loosen’)
- \( \text{ɔl wəgəb lə taqəd bə-təḳələ ɛəltəq tənu ‘you shouldn’t go and leave the dead [lit. killed] like this’} \) (25:37) (cf. G lętəq ‘kill’)
- \( \text{her kun məṭhím bə-lọtəq ‘if he is accused of murder’} \) (14:2) (cf. H thım ‘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:

- \( \text{mahʃér ‘basket’ (cf. G hʃor ‘dig’; so lit. ‘dug out’?)} \)
- \( \text{mahléléb ‘young she-camel, camel calf’ (30:14; 33:17) (cf. G ḡalşb ‘milk (an animal)’)} \)

Sometimes it is not so clear whether to classify a word as a passive participle or as a lexicalized adjective. Consider a word like məşhér ‘famous’. This is clearly a passive participle in terms of its pattern, but the only related
verbs from this root are the T1-Stem śɔ́thər and T2-Stem əśtəhér 'be famous'.

Moreover, maśhér is almost certainly an adaptation of the Arabic passive participle mašhūr. So maśhér 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‘), mədəkér ‘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 ɔl zəḥámk tókum lɔ, əkín ağıdək şeš 'if I don’t come back to you, I will have gone with him' (28:16)
her ɔl zəḥámk tɔk ná’sanu lɔ, əl (t)sá’ze tɔ lɔ, əkín edúrk yɔl a’éli ‘if I don’t come back now, don’t think I’m late. I will have gone back to my family’ (60:17)
mít zəḥän, təkín ber țahánš 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 télé enúfš bə-ḥáši bə-śxəlét ‘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:

ağéyg hégɔ́s bə-téṯ tékən berɔ́t aģadɔ́t mən ð̣ér 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 taškélót eganú(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 kūnən da-skūnən ba-gerbēb* ‘we were living (at that time) on the plain (between the sea and the mountains)’ (AK1:2)

*bə-d-ɡōtɛ́ð̣k, bə-kúnk da-mūṭḥašak* ‘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 *ʿɔd* 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 *d-* 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 *d-* (§ 3.8.1) and the genitive exponent *d-* (§ 12.4), though these are all historically the same.  

#### 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.
verbs: tenses and forms

particle. In fact, the combination of \( d-/\partial \)- and the imperfect can indicate a past or present progressive, or a circumstantial clause.

The verbal prefix \( d-/\partial \)- must have its origins in the relative pronoun \( \partial \)- (§ 3.8.1). In fact, there are numerous passages in which it is difficult to determine whether or not \( \partial \)- 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):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ksé} & \; \text{gęyg} \; \text{də-yəhɔ́g̱d} \; \text{‘they found a man who was walking’ or ‘they found a man walking’ (12:5)} \\
\text{sā} & \; \text{ekejw} \; \text{bə-ḵb} \; \text{də-yantɔ̄hɔ̄n} \; \text{‘they heard the leopard and the wolf that were fighting’ or ‘they heard the leopard and the wolf fighting’ (15:9)} \\
\text{ksé} & \; \text{yo} \; \text{də-yəḵr} \; \text{sxarët} \; \text{də-xargɔ́t} \; \text{‘he found people who were burying an old woman who had died’ or ‘he found people burying an old woman who had died’ (18:2)} \\
\text{śini} & \; \text{yo} \; \text{mëken} \; \text{də-yɔ́g̱ah} \; \text{’ak but d-tužw} \; \text{‘he saw many people who were going into a rich man’s house’ or ‘he saw many people going into a rich man’s house’ (18:6)} \\
\text{skɔf} & \; \text{śin} \; \text{də-əšti’an} \; \text{al-yo} \; \text{də-yəhɔ́rg} \; \text{‘I stayed a little while listening to the people who were speaking’ or ‘I stayed a little while listening to the people speaking’ (31:2)} \\
\text{śink} & \; \text{i də-yɔ́k} \; \text{‘I saw my father who was crying’ or ‘I saw my father crying’ (51:7)}
\end{align*}
\]

From such contexts, relative \( \partial \)- 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 \( d-/\partial \)-.

Some examples are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{édiko} & \; \text{egejew} \; \text{də-yūki} \; \text{‘the slaves came back crying’ (18:13)} \\
\text{sī’ak} & \; \text{tōhum} \; \text{mankınam} \; \text{də-yər} \; \text{də-yəxla}’ar \; \text{enzulhum} \; \text{‘I heard them last night saying that they will move from their place’ (28:4)} \\
\text{skɔf} & \; \text{də-yəkɔ́zən} \; \text{l-iyel} \; \text{‘he sat watching the camels’ (33:3)} \\
\text{ksétš} & \; \text{də-yərútən} \; \text{ka’eb} \; \text{‘she found him cleaning things’ (34:6)} \\
\text{skɔf} & \; \text{də-yəfta}’eran \; \text{ba-tet} \; \text{‘he sat thinking about the woman’ (34:9)} \\
\text{əzəhñam} & \; \text{tel} \; \text{sekanəs} \; \text{də-yışt} \; \text{‘he came to his community running’ (35:6)} \\
\text{əzəhñəmk} & \; \text{d-ɔ̄k} \; \text{‘I came crying’ (49:28)}
\end{align*}
\]

Now consider the following example, in which \( \partial \)- plus imperfect can be considered a relative clause, a circumstantial, or simply a main verb:
xaṭarét ĝeyg ḏa-yəḥq̓ ːd ‘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 ḏ- (> ḏ-) 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 ḡeyg ensí, ḏa- ḏ-aḡélk her yat ‘I’m a human man, and I’m looking for a camel’ (33:4) (cf. he ḡeyg ensí ḏ-aḡélk ‘I am a human man (who is) looking...’)

ḥõk ērík ḏa- ḏ-aftéréẓ́ ːn ḏa-fandél ‘I carried the jug, and was excited about the sweet potatoes’ (49:21) (cf. ḥõk ērík ḏ-aftéréẓ́ ːn ‘I carried the jug, excited about...’)

Some further examples of ḏ-/ ḏ- plus the imperfect indicating a present progressive are:

zəḥám ḡeyg ṭuẓ̃ar ḏa- ḏ- ːyḥóděn šáq̓at kəl ḏ- ol šes šáq̓at b ‘a rich man has come and he is giving out jewelry to everyone who doesn’t have any’ (22:5)

kə še embére’ ḏa- yōk ‘why is the boy crying?’ (33:10)

‘āli ḥõl aḡáš ɛníṣán ḏ̣er xádər ... ḏa- ḏ-yak’ ːr ln bə- ḏ-elōf ‘Ali took his younger brother on top of the cave ... and is throwing rocks at us’ (50:8)

ob, ḏ-aḡélk her yat ‘no, I am looking for a camel’ (60:35)

More common in the texts are examples of ḏ-/ ḏ- plus the imperfect indicating a past progressive, some of which are:

aḡéyg ḏa-yassétn ln ś ‘the man was listening to him’ (5:11)

d- ḏ- ːdən ḏ-aŋktél̲ ːt, sínén ḡeyg zəḥám ‘while we were chatting, we saw a man coming’ (13:11)

ḍa-yəħûk ṭən’hump ‘he was laughing at them’ (20:8)

ḍa-ahér̲ k-edi- ːlín ‘I was speaking with so-and-so’ (28:10)

i ḏa-yōd bek ‘Father was lying to you’ (49:23)

embére’ ḏa- yōk ber ḏa-yf ːt ‘the boy was crying and about to die’ (50:6)

aḡéyg ḏa- ḏ- ḏa-yast̲ ːn ln ḏum ‘the man who had come was listening to them’ (55:5)

aḡéyg ḏa- ḏ-ahér̲ k-ín̲t b-aḡaróhum ‘the man was speaking with the women in their language’ (60:28)
d-yərá’á ěrún k-aqóhés ‘he was herding the goats with his brothers’ (Fr1)
ökaf tun ěqy ... bə-da-yʃxør tun ar oʃt ‘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-/ð- 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-/ð- 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 ð- plus the imperfect, in which the prefix ð- is suppressed. Examples are:

‘aʃʃɔ́t bə-sɛ́ tɔ̄k mən fərɔ́ẓ́ ‘she got up, and she was crying from happiness’ (13:8) (tɔ̄k < *ð-tɔ̄k)
kɔ hɛt tɔ̄k ‘why are you crying?’ (49:28) (tɔ̄k < *ð-tɔ̄k)
ksét yɔ ðə-yəfterégən b-İNÉT tİNḤAGƏN ‘she found the men watching and the women dancing’ (97:13) (tINḤAGƏN < *ð-tINḤAGƏN)

7.1.10.2 d-/ð- + Perfect

A single sentence can describe nearly all attested cases of the imperfect with prefixed d-/ð-. Unfortunately, no such easy description can be given for the perfect with prefixed d-/ð-. In fact, it is not always clear why a perfect has prefixed d-/ð-. One use of the perfect with d-/ð- is to indicate a circumstantial. While an imperfect with d-/ð- can indicate a circumstantial referring to simultaneous action, the perfect with d-/ð- 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 iyát ðə-hizzɔ́t ‘they found the camel slaughtered [lit. having been slaughtered]’ (2:12)
kisk ěmí b-agáti ðə-séf ‘I found my mother and my sister asleep [lit. having fallen asleep]’ (13:5)
(t)zhõn ð-télf ‘they come back hungry’ (47:6)
zəḥám bu zíd ðə-ʃek xütɔ́k ðə-ʃekir ‘Bu Zid came, having put on the clothes of a poor man’ (54:38)
aʃadɔ́t ər emíh ðə-fɔ́rɔ́zɔ́t ‘she went to the water very happy [lit. having become happy]’ (60:23)
ksét ɛgúni ber (ð-)tɔ́hún, bɔ́-ksét ezbiirt ð-ɛz̄i mì́h, b-ínɛ́t ðɔ̀-skɔ́f ‘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)

agádɔ́k yum dùhùn dɔ̀-ɡóteďɔ́k ‘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 perects:

ðə-ntɔ́fɔ́t ɛz̄ɛ́s ‘she has plucked her privates (and they are still plucked)’ (2:13) (vs. ntɔ́fɔ́t ‘she plucked’)

agabgɔ́t dɔ̀-fɛ̀kɛ́t lɛ̀bɛ́ dɔ́-ɔ́mbɛ́rɛ́ ‘the girl was dressed in [or: had put on, and is still wearing] boys’ clothes’ (17:6) (vs. fɛ̀kɛ́t ‘she put on; she wore’)

aɡéyɡ ber ð-ɛrṣín ‘the man has already been tied up’ (17:30) (vs. ɛrṣín ‘he was tied up’)

he ðɔ́-hàɡɔ́rk hérùm ðɛ́nu ‘I have been guarding this tree’ (22:11) (vs. hàɡɔ́rk ‘I guarded’)

ðɔ́-xàlɔ́t lɛ̀n sɛ́kən śhàrò ‘a community of Shahrì has joined up with us (and is still with us)’ (32:2) (vs. xàlɔ́t lɛ̀n ‘they joined up with us’)

ð-ɔ̀kəlɔ́k së́rə́ èdî-ilîn ‘I have given authority to judge so-and-so’ (45:11) (vs. ɔ̀kəlɔ́k ‘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. ɔ́-telf ‘he is (has become) hungry’. This construction can also be used as a relative present, so ɔ́-telf could also mean ‘he was (had become and was) hungry’ within a past tense context. Examples are:

ebrɛ́ e-tùžɔ́r ðɔ́-gèlɛ ‘the rich man’s son is sick’ (18:7)
verbs: tenses and forms 163

yy ðə-tʿáb ‘the people were weary [or: suffering]’ (20:1)
axorêt ber ðə-xēt ‘then he became thirsty’ (35:1)
šè ðə-ṣěf bə-zḥámk tɔs ... ʿór, “he ðə-ṣ́ifk” ‘he was sleeping, and I came to him ... He said, “I am sleeping”’ (53:4)
ðə-fírḳək tɔs al l-ɛ́flət mən ɖ̣irì ‘I am afraid she has run away from me’ (60:16)
ebré ðə-hókum ð-əbtélím ḍer ḡaṣnín ‘the ruler’s son was ready [or: had readied himself] on a horse’ (97:25)
kət ða-gṣ̀témk ʿaḥmad ‘why are you angry, Ahmed?’ (AK2:7)
he ðə-‘éšk ʿaḥ Ḻ̣ḷkēt ‘I live in Ḍalqut’ (FB1:1)
da-‘āṣk hũn? ad-‘āṣk bə-ˈũn, bə-ṣaḷɔ́lt ‘where do you live? I live in Oman, in Ṣalalah’ (SM)10
he d-ˈṭḳəḍək ‘I am awake [or: have woken up]’ (SM) (vs. ˈṭḳəḍək ‘I woke up’)

The verb ġaròb ‘know’ can be considered stative, at least sometimes, and so we also find d-/ð-ḡaròb 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 ðə-ḡaròbk tɔk ḍer xádər ‘I know you are on top of the cave’ (25:18)
het ðə-ḡaròbk tun al ānsénūd ʿāk bə ‘you know that we wouldn’t manage without you’ (28:15)
ðə-ḡaròbk tɔs ðə-yəftérɛ́zn bə-fənḍəl ‘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’nì ‘mean’ (cf. 5:3) has the meaning ‘intend’ when used in the perfect with prefixed d-/ð-, as in:

ð- a-nì yəʃéxənt ‘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 ðə-ḳiriɔ́t ‘she is nearby [lit. has gotten close]’; in place of se ƙéríbt ‘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 ðə-ḳiriɔ́t ‘if it is nearby’ (49:35)

---

10 This informant also gave əd-skünk hũn as a possible translation of ‘where do you live?’.
ken ḏə-férḥək ed bélé ḏə-múțank ‘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, bar, is a particle, and takes the same pronominal suffixes as nouns and other particles. In Jibbali, however, as in Soqoṭri, it is morphologically a verb. The verb only occurs in the perfect, and its conjugation is slightly irregular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>bek</td>
<td>bérši</td>
<td>bérən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>bek</td>
<td>bérši</td>
<td>bérkum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>biš</td>
<td>bérši</td>
<td>bérkən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>ber</td>
<td>ber</td>
<td>ber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>berə́t</td>
<td>bertó</td>
<td>ber</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ɛ-. This is not attested in any of Johnstone’s texts, except in TJ4, in which there are a number of examples of ḥakt ɛr (< *ḥakt ɛ-bér) and one of ḏ-ɛr (< *ḏa-bér, TJ4:68). The form ɛr 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:

śef aģeyg ber ġeb nxínúš ‘it so happened that he had already defecated under it’ (22:13)
kisk tóhum ber lištág ‘I found them already killed’ (22:19)
es̃h̃ádi ber bun ‘my witnesses are already here’ (45:7)
ber šhān įndúš ‘he had already loaded his rifle’ (83:4)
öl bek ők hek ló őţ-hêt mišêrd ‘didn’t I already tell you that you were stupid?’ (1:9)
he bek heriógək šés ‘I already spoke with her’ (45:3)
het bek šeβ našanu, b-öl akr̃dər əl-ţi(l)k ló ‘you’re big now already, and I can’t carry you’ (49:15)
bə-hás ɛ-ḥegıs̃k biš biš ağaḍaš man ʔêr emûh ‘and when I think you have already left the water...’ (60:15)
ağaḍbót berọt ʔak úti, bə-găd ‘the girl is already in my house, so go!’ (36:9)
aģeyg hégıs̃s bə-tër tékən berọt ağaḍọt mən ʔêr emûh ‘the man figured the woman would have already gone from the water’ (60:20)
bókum têkum ‘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 beits ber őr ‘he found his father had gone blind’ (17:50)
ağaḍ be nəwás yɔl sɛkənas ber túţər ‘Ba Newas went back to his settlement having become rich [or: already rich]’ (18:15)
őr-gətį ber nţam əmti, dḥa-l-ţiz heş ‘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), haš (ɛ-), 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 hálób ērún, hezzésan* ‘after he milked the goats, he slaughtered them’ (22:6)  
*hes ber eggór ṕēf, hōlót eslóbēš* ‘after the slave had fallen asleep, she took his weapons’ (36:26)  
*hes aġéyg ðə-yaśām ber eghizóhum, kōlót heš bə-xáfs* ‘after the salesman [lit. the man who was selling] had prepared them, he told him about his foot’ (52:5)  
*hes berést arsonút ēdēte, ’ōrōt* ‘after she had tied the hands, she said...’ (17:28)  
*ḥaṣ ber eṣọ́zi il-ʿāsr, yahbōn aġág* ‘when they’ve prayed the afternoon prayer, the men sing’ (4:6)  
*štũʿ li ḥaṣ ber eṣọ́žen aʿiše* ‘listen to me after we have made the evening prayer’ (55:3)  
*mit ber ðə-ɔ̄r xɛ́rín, yəs̃elēdən mən ð̣ér īš* ‘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 emih, zəhám aġéyg* ‘after they were in the water, the man came’ (30:5)  
*hes ber ētə, xargōt émehum* ‘after they were grown [lit. already big], their mother died’ (36:1)  
*ḥaṣ e-bér ’ak eṈōr; ḥmɛl xatōkšaŋ* ‘when they are in the well, pick up their clothes’ (30:3)  
*ed ber b-ɔ́rəm, ksé tēt k-ērūn* ‘then when he was on the road, he found a woman with goats’ (22:5)  
*mit bek kérīb al-ḥešan, ardé b-əsʃət sérēk* ‘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 híni ɛkər, her bek dха-l-ɔ́grəf xélɛ́t* ‘better for me the grave, if I am about to clean toilets!’ (5:10)
*iyéli ber dха-tfɔ́tən mən xɛ́t* ‘my camels are about to die of thirst’ (25:2)
*ɛd yum ɔ́d-ber dха-yɛ̄d, ɔ́hɛ́m yɔ tel aˈášrs* ‘then on the day that they were about to go, people came to her husband’ (36:21)
*iyɔ́tk berɔ́t dха-l-ɛ́šケット* ‘your camel is about to give birth’ (47:3)
*ksɛ́ ɛmˈbɛ́rɛ́ ber dха-yfɔ́t mən ʒə́m ba-xɛ́t* ‘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 dха-*) 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 §8.11), 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 sаˈate ba-hέ́t b-ɛ̄ɡɛ́rɛ́bɛ́t? bér híni ḡa-yɛ́kən xɪś* ‘were you abroad for a long time? For about five years’ (8:1–2)
*bér heš xɪś ˈayʊn ɛ-bə-sɛ́ mʊ́rɪ́ ɛ́* ‘already for five years he was sick’ (15:12)
*bér híni ˈaʃɔ́r tʁoh mən ʒɛ́r kɪt* ‘I have already been two nights without food’ (33:4)

Similarly, *hes bér h*- or *ḥaкт ɛ́-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 ˈónut, kтɔ́t leš xaτ* ‘after a year, she wrote him a letter’ (SB2:3)
*ḥaкт ɛ́-bér yumor mɪ́t yʊ́ ˈtrx* ‘or hes ‘after a day or two, he said to her’ (TJ4:12)
*ḥaкт ɛ́-bér, ʃɔ́ʃʃɛ mən ʃə́bɛ́t tɪt* ‘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 ɣɔ́zmə́ʃ, ber ɔ́l ɣɔ́zmə́ʃ* ‘sometimes they give him, sometimes they don’t give him’ (TJ2:19)
ber yəɡórɛ́n əl-ʿād ‘sometimes the give milk by (eating) sardines’ (TJ2:37)
berɔ́t təkín ba-šhɛlɔ́t, berɔ́t təkín ba-ʿáśəri ‘sometimes it is thirty, sometimes it is twenty’ (TJ2:83)

7.3 The Auxiliary Verb d-ʿɔd

Like ber, ʿɔd 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 ʿɔd (§12.5.3), which is relatively uncommon in the texts. As a verb, d-ʾɔd is conjugated, while the particle ʿɔd has just a single frozen form. The two also have different functions, though there is some overlap, particularly with the negatives d-ʾɔd ɔl and ɔl ʿɔd (§13.2.4). The conjugation of d-ʾɔd is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sing.</th>
<th>dual</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1c</td>
<td>d-ʾɔk</td>
<td>d-ʾɔ̃si</td>
<td>d-ʾɔdɔ́n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2m</td>
<td>d-ʾɔk</td>
<td>d-ʾɔ̃si</td>
<td>d-ʾɔkum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2f</td>
<td>d-ʾɔš̩</td>
<td></td>
<td>d-ʾɔkɔ́n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3m</td>
<td>d-ʾɔd</td>
<td>d-ʾɔδɔ́</td>
<td>d-ʾɔd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3f</td>
<td>d-ʾɔt</td>
<td>d-ʾɔdtɔ́</td>
<td>d-ʾɔd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:
- The irregularity is in the loss of d before the 1cs, 1cd, 3fs, and all second person suffixes.

The basic meaning of d-ʾɔd is ‘still’, and it can be used in several ways. Following are some examples with the simple meaning ‘still’. Note that d-ʾɔd 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-ʾɔ́d ṣaḥɛ́t ed náʿṣanu ‘and they are still alive until now’ (46:18)
he d-ʾɔk anṣenút ‘I am still young’ (60:2)
d-ʾɔk ʿak bə-ḥahwɛ́t ‘do you still want coffee?’ (34:10)
d-ʾɔk təḥɛsəb her sélũ ‘you’re still counting on peace?’ (83:6)

This basic use of d-ʾɔd ‘still’ is also found in combination with the various ways of expressing ‘have’ (k-, b-, l-; see §13.3 and its subsections), for example:
n̄a ar d-ʿɔd ben ešɔ̄r ‘we still have patience’ (21:4)
d-ʿɔd lek s̃ela t̃em aɡd̃et ‘you still have three days’ walk’ (30:15)
d-ʿɔd l̃ésan ɔrx taʃ ‘they still have one month (to go)’ (32:4)
d-ʿɔd s̃i aʃ̃ér maʃ̃ ek̃eʃ̃al ‘I still have (just) today (left) of the truce’ (60:9)
d-ʿɔd s̃eš ɡ̃abɡ̃ ot tiʃ ‘he still has one (more) daughter’ (97:44)

However, d-ʿɔd can also be used without one of these ‘have’ expressions and likewise carry the meaning ‘still have (an obligation)’, as in:
d-ʿɔk faʃ̃ h̃i ‘I still have the feet (to tie up)’ (17:28)
d-ʿɔs̃ ɛd ḥaʃ̃ t̃eʃ̃ ɛs̃ɡ̃ar ot ‘you still have until the next acacia’ (48:14)

In numerous passages in the texts, we find d-ʿɔd 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-ʿɔd in this use will usually have the circumstantial d-/ð- (§ 7.1.10). Some examples are:
d-ʿɔdən ð-ənktño p, s̃in ɛy ɡ̃eyg zəhám ‘while we were chatting, we saw a man coming’ (13:11)
d-ʿɔd l̃eʃ̃ ɔn l̃un, zəhám ebr̃ e-hókum ‘while they were like this, the son of the ruler came’ (17:30)
d-ʿɔd s̃k̃ʃ̃ ˈaʃ̃ edsh̃ l̃el, zəhám mosé ‘while he was still sitting in the cave, rain came’ (22:2)
d-ɔt t̃it̃ t̃aʃ̃ r̃g k-aʃ̃ ás̃ əs̃, ekb̃ el aʃ̃ ɡ̃ ‘while his wife was still speaking with him [lit. her husband], the men approached’ (25:12)
d-ʿɔd ɔlaʃ̃ ət̃kə r̃ən, zəh̃ ot tət ‘while he was thinking, the woman came’ (34:9)
d-ʿɔd ɔt̃k̃ k̃un, s̃i ni s̃aw̃ ər̃ ‘while he was still this way, he saw a car’ (35:2)
ˈaʃ̃ al-ʃ̃ əd d-ʿɔd ʃi eʃ̃ əl ‘I want to go while it’s still cool [lit. I still have cool (weather)]’ (60:35)
ɛdm̃ar tɔ b-iyɛl d-ɔk ʃaʃ̃ ‘direct me to the camels, while you’re still alive!’ (83:6)

In one passage in the texts, we find d-ʿɔd ‘while still’ used in combination with the temporal subordinator hes (§13.5.3.5):
ziʃ̃ s̃aŋ k hes d-ʿɔd ʃəhî ‘he had given him a box, while he was still alive’ (5:4)

We also find once in the texts the combination mən d-ʿɔd meaning ‘since (the time when)’:
man d-ɔk nisān ber ek̃elbi hes ‘already since I was little, my heart was hers’ (32:12)
For further on d-ʿɔd in combination with hes or mən hés, 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-ʿɔd can also be used in a subordinate clause with the meaning ‘before’. In this case it is followed by the negative particle ɔl and a verb in the perfect, but there is usually no following ḳɔ (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-ʿɔd in combination with al-fənɛ́ ‘before’ (§8.9):

\[
\text{d-ʿɔd ɔl éṣəl bər aʿarít bɔ, šef ‘before they reached the Ber ‘Arit (tomb), they fell asleep’ (12:10)}
\]

\[
\text{axér hek al-dɔ́n, d-ʿɔd ɔl dé șínik ‘it’s better for you to go back, before anyone has seen you’ (30:21)}
\]

\[
\text{her șənɔ́bɔ́k xɔhr őkūn d-ʿɔd ɔl əngəhɔ́t ‘if you drink up that lagoon before dawn comes’ (30:24)}
\]

\[
\text{škə̀l ɛ́t 0 d-ʿɔk ɔl ìtk b-ɛgdərɛ́t ‘they caught me before I fell onto the ground’ (51:12)}
\]

\[
\text{kaláʃ DevExpress al-fənɛ́ d-ʿɔk ɔl șɔ́f ɔ ‘put it on your foot before you go to sleep’ (52:7)}
\]

This use of d-ʿɔd ɔl ‘before’ is distinct from d-ʿɔd in a true negative sentence with d-ʿɔd ɔl … ḳɔ. The latter has the meaning ‘not yet’ or ‘still not’ and overlaps in meaning with ɔl-ʿɔd … ɔl (see §13.2.4). The examples from the texts are:

\[
\text{mənsɛ́n d-ʿɔd ɔl ağı(y)ég ɔl ‘some of them have not yet given birth’ (32:4)}
\]

\[
\text{d-ʿɔd ɔl yəbə̀d erz d-ɛ́hɔ́rɔ́ ɔl ‘he had not yet gone to the land of the Mehri’ (34:1)}
\]

\[
\text{ksé xərín d-ʿɔd ɔl mússí ɔl ‘he found a little that had not yet melted’ (35:9)}
\]

\[
\text{nха ekekə̀zún d-ˈɔ́dən ɔl ɲə́gbə̀fə́ndɛ́l ɔl ‘we children didn’t yet know sweet potato’ (49:11)}
\]

\[
\text{d-ˈɔk ɔl aʃúnsə́n ɔl ‘I still had not seen them’ (49:21)}
\]

\[
\text{bə-ɔ̀ ɔl ɔ̀hɔ́tɛ́g les ɔl ‘if he doesn’t need her yet’ (TJ2:11)}
\]

In combination with ar ‘only’ (§12.5.4), d-ʿɔd ɔl means something like ‘so far only’. I found just one example of this, in which bare ʿɔd is used (without d-):

\[
\text{‘ɔk ɔl șínk mən ekə́rah ‘ar iə́nə́tɛ́ʃ ‘you have only seen the ears of the donkey so far’ (Pr157)}
\]
In one example from the texts, *d-ʿɔd* is used independently to mean ‘not yet’, in response to a question:

\[ \text{bek šfɔ́ḳək? ob, d-ʿɔk 'have you gotten married? No, not yet'} \ (AK3:9–10) \]

Finally, *d-ʿɔd* can be used to mean ‘more’, in the sense of ‘still more’, for example:

\[ \text{zũ-tɔ d-ʿɔk xɔbz 'give me more bread!' (AK)} \]
\[ \text{ʿak d-ʿɔd xɔbz 'I want more bread' (AK)} \]

When *d-ʿɔd* means ‘more’, it has a different sense than *axér ‘more’* (§ 5.4). For example, the sentence ‘*ak d-ʿɔd ḳərɔ́s̃* ‘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 ‘*ak ḳərɔ́s̃ 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, I-ʾ 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-ʾ Verbs

There are very few I-ʾ verbs in Jibbali, only five or six of which are encountered in the texts. The consonant ' does not exist as a phoneme in Jibbali, and so to speak of ' as a root consonant is essentially an etymological statement. In the Gb-Stem, I-ʾ 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-ʾ 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: esɔ́r 'hobble (an animal)' has a subjunctive following the pattern of Gb-Stem I-w/I-ʾ verbs, while eḳɔ́r '(cattle) come home' has a subjunctive following some II-w and III-w/y verbs. Compare:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperfect</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga strong</td>
<td>sfɔ́r</td>
<td>yasɔ́fər</td>
<td>yásfər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga I-w</td>
<td>(e)kɔ́f(^{11})</td>
<td>yékɔ́f</td>
<td>yakɛ́f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga 'kr</td>
<td>eḳɔ́r</td>
<td>yékɔ́r</td>
<td>yékər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga 'sr</td>
<td>esɔ́r</td>
<td>yésɔ́r</td>
<td>yasɔ́r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb strong</td>
<td>fékɔ́r</td>
<td>yafékɔ́r</td>
<td>yafkɔ́r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb I-w</td>
<td>éṣəl</td>
<td>yéṣɔ́l</td>
<td>yasɔ́l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb I-ʾ</td>
<td>éṯəl</td>
<td>yéṯɔ́l</td>
<td>yatɔ́l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the D/L-Stem, I-ʾ verbs behave like strong verbs, except that the ' is lost. I-w verbs follow the same pattern. Compare:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperfect</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D/L strong</td>
<td>egódal</td>
<td>yagódalən</td>
<td>yagódal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L I-w</td>
<td>ōkal</td>
<td>yōkalən</td>
<td>yókal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L I-ʾ</td>
<td>ōśar</td>
<td>yōśaran</td>
<td>yóśar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{11}\) 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-ʾ verbs as well.
The only certain H-Stem of a I-ʾ root is the verb ʾə̀dīn ‘warn’. 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 e-/e-. 

*JL* gives the subjunctive as yə̀dən, but I suspect that the gemination is not actually present (as it is not in the Š1-Stem). The Š1-Stem behaves in the same way, mainly following the strong verb, and with ē in the first syllable of the perfect. Compare the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperfect</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H strong</td>
<td>ʾə̀d̄l̄ɛ́f</td>
<td>yə̀d̄l̄ɛ̀f</td>
<td>yə̀d̄l̄ɛ̀f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H I-ʾ</td>
<td>ʾə̀d̄īn</td>
<td>yə̀d̄ūn</td>
<td>yə̀(d̄)ə̀n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 strong</td>
<td>ʃə̀kə̀s̄ɛ́r</td>
<td>yə̀ʃə̀kə̀s̄ɔ̀r</td>
<td>yə̀ʃə̀kə̀s̄ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 I-ʾ, II-n</td>
<td>ʃə̀n̄ ēs̄n̄</td>
<td>yə̀ʃə̀n̄ ēs̄n̄</td>
<td>yə̀ʃə̀n̄as</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ē has resulted in a long vowel. Compare:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperfect</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Š2 strong</td>
<td>ʃə̀kə̀s̄ə̀r</td>
<td>yə̀ʃə̀kə̀s̄ə̀n</td>
<td>yə̀ʃə̀kə̀s̄ar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š2 I-w</td>
<td>ʃə̀kə̀l</td>
<td>yə̀ʃə̀kə̀lə̀n</td>
<td>yə̀ʃə̀kə̀l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š2 I-ʾ</td>
<td>ʃə̀gə̀r 14</td>
<td>yə̀ʃə̀gə̀rə̀n</td>
<td>yə̀ʃə̀gə̀r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In *JL* (s.v. ʾd̄n), the imperfect of the Š2-Stem yə̀d̄ən ‘get a warning’ is given as yə̀ʃə̀d̄ə̀nə̀n, which, if accurate, is unexpected; cf. ʃə̀gə̀r ‘rent’ in the table above and the entry for ʃə̀xə̀r ‘come late; be delayed’ in *JL* (s.v. ʾxr̄), which has the expected imperfect yə̀ʃə̀xə̀rə̀n.

Not much can be said about the T-Stems of I-ʾ roots. The only T1-Stem attested is ʃ̄t̄xə̀r ‘be late’ (root ʾxr̄), 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 yə̀r̄d from the H-Stem ʾr̄d̄, since this verb behaves as if it were I-ʾ, 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, and looks like a 1-w verb. No T2-Stem I-ʾ verbs have been recorded.

7.4.2 I-Guttural Verbs (except I-ʾ Verbs)

Verbs whose initial root consonant is a guttural other than ʾ (i.e., ʿ, ġ, h, ḥ, 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 ʿ) has an effect on the quality of an adjacent vowel (e.g., e > a, or ɛ > a). Following are some examples of stems other than the Ga-Stem:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperfect</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gb strong</td>
<td>fēḳər</td>
<td>yafēkər</td>
<td>yafkər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb I-G</td>
<td>xérəf</td>
<td>yaxərəf</td>
<td>yaxrəf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L strong</td>
<td>egódəl</td>
<td>yagódalən</td>
<td>yagódal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L I-G</td>
<td>hōdər</td>
<td>yahōdəran</td>
<td>yahōdər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H strong</td>
<td>eḍləf</td>
<td>yadələf</td>
<td>yedələf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H I-G</td>
<td>aḷək</td>
<td>yaḷək</td>
<td>yaḷək</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T1 strong</td>
<td>fštər</td>
<td>yafštər (3mp)</td>
<td>yafštər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T1 I-G</td>
<td>ḡətrəb</td>
<td>yaghətrəb (3mp)</td>
<td>yaghətrəb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2 strong</td>
<td>aftérəg</td>
<td>yafṭərəgan</td>
<td>yafṭərəg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2 I-G</td>
<td>axtələf</td>
<td>yaxtəlfən</td>
<td>yaxtəlfə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 strong</td>
<td>šəkəsər</td>
<td>yəʃəkəsər</td>
<td>yəʃəkəsər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 I-G</td>
<td>šəsər</td>
<td>yəʃəsər</td>
<td>yəʃəsər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š2 strong</td>
<td>šəketər</td>
<td>yəʃəketəran</td>
<td>yəʃəketər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š2 I-G</td>
<td>šxətər</td>
<td>yəʃxətəran</td>
<td>yəʃxətər</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15 When prompted for a future tense of this verb, one informant (MmS) used the Š1-Stem future ḡa-yəs̃əxər. Incidentally, he considered ḡətrə María old-fashioned and Arabizing, and much preferred aṯərəg '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 ɔɔɔɔ̌ and ɔɔɔ (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 Caɔɔɔ or ɔɔɔ (compared to Ceɔɔɔ and ɔɔɔɔ̌ for other II-r verbs; see §7.4.10); I-h, II-r verbs have Ceɔɔɔ. 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 Ceɔɔɔ in place of ɔɔɔɔ̌. For all I-G verbs, the 3ms imperfect and subjunctive normally have the pattern yaCaɔɔɔ, though the plurals are distinct: yaɔɔɔCaɔɔ for 3mp imperfect and yaCCɔɔɔ for subjunctive. Note also that unlike strong verbs, I-G verbs have distinct 3ms and 3mp imperfects. Following are some sample forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperfect</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
<th>3mp imperfect</th>
<th>3mp subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga strong</td>
<td>sfɔr</td>
<td>yasɔ́fər</td>
<td>yəsfər</td>
<td>yəsfər</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga I-G</td>
<td>ʰfɔr</td>
<td>yəhɛfər</td>
<td>yəhɛfər</td>
<td>yəhɛfər</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga strong</td>
<td>kɔdɔ́r</td>
<td>yəkdɔ́r</td>
<td>yəkdɔ́r</td>
<td>yəkdɔ́r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga I-G</td>
<td>ɡəlɔ́k</td>
<td>yəɡəlɔ́k</td>
<td>yəɡəlɔ́k</td>
<td>yəɡəlɔ́k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga I-G (I-h)</td>
<td>ʰalɔ́b or ʰɔlɔ́b</td>
<td>yəhɔ́lab</td>
<td>yəhɔ́lab</td>
<td>yəhɔ́lab</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga I-G (I-ʿ)</td>
<td>ʿakɔ́r or ʿɔkɔ́r</td>
<td>yəʾɛkɔ́r</td>
<td>yəʾɛkɔ́r</td>
<td>yəʾɛkɔ́r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga I-G, II-r</td>
<td>xarɔ́g</td>
<td>yəxɛrg</td>
<td>yəxɛrg</td>
<td>yəxɛrg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga I-h, II-r</td>
<td>herɔ́g</td>
<td>yəhɛrg</td>
<td>yəhɛrg</td>
<td>yəhɛrg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga I-G, II-m</td>
<td>hɔ́l</td>
<td>yəhɔ́l</td>
<td>yəhɔ́l</td>
<td>yəhmɔ́l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
At least three I-G verbs, two of which are very common, do not follow the above patterns: ɣarɔ́b ‘know’, ʿõr ‘say’, and ʿõl ‘do, make’. For ɣarɔ́b ‘know’, the 3ms imperfect in the texts is yəģɔ́rb (following the strong verb; 3mp yəģɔ́rb). This form was also used by my own informants, but according to JL the 3ms imperfect is yəģérb (following other I-G verbs; 3mp yəģɔ́rb). Its 3ms subjunctive, in both the texts and in JL is the unexpected yəġräb (3mp yəģɔ́rb). As for ʿõr ‘say’ (< *ʿamór), it has 3ms (and 3mp) imperfect yaʾõr (< *yaʾşmər, following the pattern of the strong verb) and 3ms subjunctive yaʾmɛ́r (3mp yaʾmɔ́r). The verb ʿõl ‘do, make’ (< *amól) occurs just once in the texts (FB1a), but seems to behave like ʿõr (cf. JL, s.v. ’ml). So if we ignore the imperfect form of ɣarɔ́b listed JL, then the verbs ɣarôb, ʿõr, and ʿõl all follow the same patterns. However, this is not the general pattern for I-ʿ/ɡ verbs (cf. ʿaḳɔ́r in the table above), nor do all I-G, II-m verbs behave like ʿõr, as shown by the verb ḥõl in the table above. See also the comment to text 60:20 on the verb hegɔ́s/hɔgɔ́s ‘he thought’.

I-G, geminate roots in the G-Stem do not all behave in the same way. Those roots with initial ʰ, ḥ, or ｘ follow one pattern, while those with initial ‘ or ɡ 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 ᵈ, 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’, ekɔ́f ‘fall silent, keep quiet’, erɔ́d ‘go down to water’, elɔ́f ‘beget children’, erɔ́ṯ ‘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 ezm or zum for ‘he gave’, ezunk or zumk for ‘I gave’, etc. Examples of Gb-Stems are éṣəl ‘arrive, reach’ and égɔ́s ‘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 (yəwɛCɔ́C > yɛCɔ́C 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-ʿ verbs are the same in the G-Stem, as in several other stems (see below, and § 7.4.1). Following are some sample forms:
The two attested verbs with a guttural as the second root consonant (not counting those with a final w/y) are aġád ‘go, walk’, and axáf ‘camp’, which each have a different imperfect pattern; axáf looks a lot like other Ga-Stem I-w verbs, so we might consider the imperfect of aġád to be irregular. Given how frequently it is used, it is not surprising that aġád 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. 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-ʾ verbs. Compare the forms of ōkəl ‘entrust’ with a strong verb and the I-ʾ verb ōśər ‘point (out)’:
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-ʾ verbs, though evidence of I-ʾ verbs in this stem is almost non-existent; just one such verb is attested (ʾotxaɾ ‘be late’), and it seems to be used only in the perfect.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperfect</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T1 strong</td>
<td>fātkar</td>
<td>yaftekɔɾ</td>
<td>yaftekɔɾ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T1 I-ʾ</td>
<td>ʾotxaɾ</td>
<td>(not used)</td>
<td>(not used?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T1 I-w</td>
<td>ʾotkəd</td>
<td>yatékɔd</td>
<td>yatékɔd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-ʾ verbs, as well as I-b verbs (§ 7.4.5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperfect</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Š2 strong</td>
<td>s̃akęṣar</td>
<td>yas̃ękęṣarən</td>
<td>yas̃ękęṣar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š2 I-ʾ</td>
<td>s̃eqəɾ</td>
<td>yas̃eqəɾən</td>
<td>yas̃eqəɾ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š2 I-b</td>
<td>s̃eqəɾ</td>
<td>yas̃eqəɾən</td>
<td>yas̃eqəɾ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š2 I-w</td>
<td>s̃ekəl</td>
<td>yas̃ekələn</td>
<td>yas̃ekəl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An exception is the verb s̃əʿəd ‘arrange a meeting; promise’ (root wʾd), which looks an Š2-Stem of the root ‘wd’; that is, instead of the expected **s̃əʿəd (< *sawéʼad), we get s̃əʿəd (< *səwad; cf. § 7.4.8). This is the only known Š2-Stem of a I-w, II-ʾ root, but the metathesis seen in this form has one parallel in a D/L-Stem verb. According to JL (s.v. ['wəz and wəʔ), the root wəʔ, attested in the H-Stem and T1-Stem has a D/L-Stem eʾʔəz (< *e'owəz), as if from the root 'wəz, instead of the expected **əʾəz (< *ewəz). As for səʾəd, the first and second person perfect forms exhibit the vowel shift typical of the Š1-Stem, e.g. səʾədk ‘I arranged a meeting’ (28:10). The imperfect of səʾəd is unattested, but the 3ms subjunctive yəsəʾəd (TJ2:76) is the expected Š2-Stem form for the II-w root ‘wd.

In the H-Stem perfect, which has the underlying pattern (e)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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperfect</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H strong</td>
<td>ɛdléf</td>
<td>yədélɛf</td>
<td>yédlaf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H I-b</td>
<td>ɛbrék</td>
<td>yérɛk</td>
<td>yébrɛk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H I-w</td>
<td>ɛbṭɛk</td>
<td>yəṭɛk</td>
<td>yébṭək</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H III-G</td>
<td>ɛgdāḥ</td>
<td>yəgɔ́dah</td>
<td>yégdah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H I-b, III-G</td>
<td>ɛbláɡ</td>
<td>yọlaj</td>
<td>yéblağ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H I-w, III-G</td>
<td>ɛbgáḥ</td>
<td>yɔ̄gah</td>
<td>yébgah</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One exceptional H-Stem verb is erôd (érôd, according to JL, s.v. wrd) ‘take (animals) down to water’ (3ms imperfect yérôd), a causative of the G-Stem erôd ‘go down to water’. We know from cognate languages that the root of this verb is historically wrd. However, in Jibbali it seems to behave as if it were from a root ʾrd. For the H-Stem perfect, we expect ɛbréd, but instead get erôd, 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 yérɛd according to JL (like a I-ʾ H-Stem), but the texts suggest yérɛd (25:2), similar to a I-w G-Stem. The H-Stem imperfect yérôd could be considered a G- or H-Stem, from either wrd or ʾrd. JL (s.v. wrd) does, in fact, list an H-Stem ɛbréd ‘defeat’ and Š1-Stem ʃəbréd ‘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 warūd ‘go down to water’ and H həwrūd ‘take (animals) down to water’; Akkadian warādu, Ge’ez warada, and Hebrew yărâd ‘go down’; and Arabic warada ‘come, arrive’.

20 To further complicate matters, JL (s.v. wrd) lists an Š2-Stem ʃʊrd ‘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.
The T2-Stem shows the shift of $w > b$ in all forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperfect</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Š1 strong</td>
<td>əftekér</td>
<td>yəftəkérən</td>
<td>yəftəkɔ́r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 I-b</td>
<td>əbtəkéd</td>
<td>yəbtəkédən</td>
<td>yəbtəkɔ́d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 étəm ‘become an orphan', D/L ŏtəm ‘(wife) abandon one’s husband and children’, Š1 s̃etím ‘become an orphan’, and Š2 s̃etəm ‘become an orphan’. The forms of all of these stems look like those of I-ʾ verbs; the G-, D/L-, and Š2-Stem forms also look like those of I-w verbs. The Gb-Stem étəm has, according to JL, a Ga-type subjunctive. Compare:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gb I-w</td>
<td>ēṣəl</td>
<td>yēṣəl</td>
<td>yəṣəl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga I-w</td>
<td>(e)kəf</td>
<td>yēkəf</td>
<td>yəkəf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb I-y, III-m</td>
<td>étəm</td>
<td>yētəm</td>
<td>yatəm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L I-ʾ</td>
<td>ŏsər</td>
<td>yōsəran</td>
<td>yōsər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L I-y, III-m</td>
<td>ŏtəm</td>
<td>yōtəman</td>
<td>yōtəm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 $mírəẓ$ ‘be(come) ill’ vs. $fékər$ ‘be(come) poor’). Following are some sample forms of I-b and I-m verbs, in comparison with other verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gb strong</td>
<td>$fékər$</td>
<td>$yafékɔ́r$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb I-m</td>
<td>$mírəẓ$</td>
<td>$yərɔ́ẓ́$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G II-G, I-voiced</td>
<td>$d(ə)yár or dəˈár$</td>
<td>$yədˈɔ́r or yədɔˈɔ́r$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G I-b, II-G</td>
<td>$b(ə)ɡáł or ba̱gáł$</td>
<td>$yəbɡɔ́ẓ́$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-w/y</td>
<td>$kéré$</td>
<td>$yakɔ́r$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga I-b, III-w/y</td>
<td>$bédé$</td>
<td>$yǒd$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga I-m, III-ʾ</td>
<td>$mélé$</td>
<td>$yũl$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L strong</td>
<td>$egódəl$</td>
<td>$yəgódələn$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L I-m</td>
<td>$õtəl$</td>
<td>$yõtələn$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H strong</td>
<td>$ɛdələf$</td>
<td>$yədələf$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H I-b</td>
<td>$ɛbrék$</td>
<td>$yərίk$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In some cases the I-b feature takes precedence over another weak verb type. For example, geminate roots in the H-Stem and Ši-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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H strong</td>
<td>eðlél</td>
<td>yədélɔ́f</td>
<td>yɛ́dləf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H gemin.</td>
<td>eðlél</td>
<td>yədlél</td>
<td>yəddəl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H I-b</td>
<td>ebrék</td>
<td>yərős̃k</td>
<td>yəbrək</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H gemin., I-b</td>
<td>ebrér</td>
<td>yərős̃r</td>
<td>yəbbər</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On G-Stem I-m, geminate verbs, and on Ši-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-, Ši-, 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 Ši-Stem imperfect and in the Š2-Stem perfect, imperfect, and subjunctive. In the H- and Ši-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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperfect</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H strong</td>
<td>ɛdléf</td>
<td>yədélәf</td>
<td>yédlәf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H I-n</td>
<td>endәr</td>
<td>yіndәr</td>
<td>yębәr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H III-G</td>
<td>etkә'</td>
<td>yəтқә'</td>
<td>yётқә'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H I-n, III-G</td>
<td>endәx</td>
<td>yənудәx</td>
<td>yębәx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 strong</td>
<td>s̃әksәr</td>
<td>yəšкәsәr</td>
<td>yəšкәsәr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 I-n</td>
<td>səndәr</td>
<td>yəѕәndәr</td>
<td>yəѕәndәr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 III-G</td>
<td>səдfә'</td>
<td>yəѕдәfә'</td>
<td>yəѕдәfә'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 I-n, III-G</td>
<td>sənфә'</td>
<td>yəѕнәфә'</td>
<td>yəѕнәфә'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š2 strong</td>
<td>s̃әkәsәr</td>
<td>yəšкәsәrәn</td>
<td>yəʃкәsәr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š2 I-n</td>
<td>sәnитәf</td>
<td>yəѕнитәfәn</td>
<td>yəѕнитәfә'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperfect</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H strong</td>
<td>ɛdléf</td>
<td>yədélәf</td>
<td>yédlәf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H I-n</td>
<td>endәr</td>
<td>yіndәr</td>
<td>yębәr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H I-l</td>
<td>ɛltәm</td>
<td>yalәtәm</td>
<td>yәltәm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H I-r</td>
<td>ɛrkәb</td>
<td>yәrәkәb</td>
<td>yәrәkәb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 šelékam ‘feed o.a.’ (s.v. lkm), but šalétam ‘slap o.a.’ (s.v. ltm). Only three I-l Š2-Stem verbs in JL are listed with their imperfect and subjunctive forms, namely šeléd ‘shoot back’ (s.v. lbd), šalétaj ‘fight’ (s.v. ltj), and the aforementioned šalétam. The recorded imperfect and subjunctive forms of šeléd in JL are those of the Š1-Stem, though the texts attest an Š2-Imperfect (3ms yəšeléden, 83:3); the verb šalétaj 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 yəšélətəmən, 3mp subjunctive yəšélətəmən). For I-r verbs, the perfect looks like those of I-n verbs; cf. šerēṣad ‘keep putting an ambush in one place’, šerēxəṣ ‘try to buy cheaply’, and šerēẓ̀af ‘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 (yəšérēgən). When the second root consonant is w or y, the Š2-Stems of all I-n/l/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 eníkəd ‘bounce’, eníkəḥ ‘puff and pant’, and eníšəḳ ‘whistle’. The first and last of these also have regular D/L-Stems, namely, enúkəd ‘make sad; make jump’ and enûšəḳ ‘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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperfect</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D/L strong</td>
<td>egódal</td>
<td>yagódalən</td>
<td>yagódal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L strong I-n</td>
<td>enúšəḳ</td>
<td>yanúšəkan</td>
<td>yanóšək</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L weak I-n</td>
<td>eníšəḳ</td>
<td>yaníšəkan</td>
<td>yanésək</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Š1 strong | šəḳṣér | yaškēsər | yašēḵšər |
| Š1 I-n | šəndər | yašēndər | yašēndər |
| Š1 I-l | šəlhék | yašēlhək | yašēləhək |
| Š1 I-r | šərkəb | yašērkəb | yašērkəb |
| Š1 I-r, III-G | šərkə | yašērkə | yašērkə |
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. /enũšək/ vs. /egö סרט/). See further in §2.2.2.

7.4.7 II-Guttural Verbs (except II-ʾ Verbs)

All G-Stem verbs whose second root consonant is ʿ, ġ, h, 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 h or x. However, both patterns are attested for other II-G verbs. The CCaC pattern (usually realized CaCáC) 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3ms imperf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gb strong</td>
<td>fəkər</td>
<td>yəfəkɔ́r</td>
<td>yəfəkɔ́r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G II-ḥ/x, I/II-voiceless, non-glottalic</td>
<td>shəb</td>
<td>yəshɔ́b</td>
<td>yəshɔ́b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G II-G, I-voiceless, non-glottalic</td>
<td>t(a)ʾəb or taṭə́b</td>
<td>yətɔ́b or yətɔ́b</td>
<td>yətɔ́b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G II-G, I-voiced or I-glottalic</td>
<td>d(a)ʾər or dəṭə́r</td>
<td>yədɔ́r or yədɔ́r</td>
<td>yədɔ́r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G II-G, I-voiced or I-glottalic</td>
<td>z(a)ḥək or zaḥə́k</td>
<td>yəzɔ́hək or yəzɔ́hək</td>
<td>yəzɔ́hək</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G II-G, I-sonorant</td>
<td>(a)ləğəz or lağə́z</td>
<td>yələğə́z or yələğə́z</td>
<td>yələğə́z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G II-G, I-b/m</td>
<td>b(a)gəž or bəğə́ž</td>
<td>yəbəğə́z</td>
<td>yəbəğə́z</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 yəshēb), while the subjunctives are identical to strong Gb-Stems (e.g., 3mp yəshēb). The difference in the imperfect forms is that the II-G verbs show either vowel deletion after the first root consonant (e.g., yəshōb vs. yəféḳɔ́r) or vowel harmony (e.g., yətɔʿɔ́b vs. yəféḳɔ́r). 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 $C(ə)Cɛ́C$ (in place of $C(ə)CáC$) or $CɛCɛ́C$ (in place of $CaCáC$). Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3ms imperf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G II-h, I/II-vceless</td>
<td>shel</td>
<td>yəshōl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G II-h, I/II-voiced</td>
<td>ẑ(ə)hér or ẑeḥér</td>
<td>yəžhōr or yəžəḥört</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 $yéCGaC$; 3mp $yɔ́CCəC$ or $yɔ́CGaC$), and the subjunctive has the 3ms pattern $yɔ́CCəC$ (or $yɔ́CGaC$; 3mp $yɔ́CCɛ́C$). Compare the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3ms imperf.</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G II-Gutt., var. type</td>
<td>rḥaẓ or rahāẓ</td>
<td>yérḥaẓ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G II-Gutt., var. type</td>
<td>nḥaḡ or nahāḡ</td>
<td>yínḥag</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G II-Gutt., var. type</td>
<td>ɡ(ə)'ar or ga'ăr</td>
<td>yég'ar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Almost all of the verbs of this variant type have a nasal or liquid as the first or third root consonant, as \( r(a)\dot{h}\acute{a} \ddot{z} \) ‘wash’, \( n(a)\dot{h}\acute{a} \dot{g} \) ‘dance; play’, and \( g(a)\acute{a} \ddot{r} \) ‘fall’, above; likewise \( k\ddot{h}a\acute{l} \) ‘apply kohl to the eyes’, \( n(a)\dot{g}\acute{a}m \) ‘come in anger’, and \( r(a)\ddot{h}\acute{a}l \) ‘bring water from a distance’. The verb \( k\ddot{h}\acute{e}b \) ‘spend the day’ which has either \( y\acute{e}k\acute{h}a\acute{b} \) or \( y\acute{a}k\ddot{h}o\acute{h}\acute{b} \) 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 \( \ddot{d}(a)\acute{a} \ddot{r} \) ‘pour’, \( l(l(a)\acute{g}\acute{a}z \) ‘tickle’, \( s\acute{h}e\acute{l} \) ‘finish (food)’, and \( \ddot{z}(e)\acute{h}\acute{\acute{e}}r \) ‘appear’, listed above, as well as \( f(a)\acute{a}l \) ‘hurt’, \( r(a)\dot{g}\acute{a}m \) ‘criticize’, \( r(a)\acute{x}\acute{\acute{a}}\acute{s} \) ‘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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D/L strong</td>
<td>( eg\acute{o}d\acute{a}l )</td>
<td>( yeg\acute{o}d\acute{a}l\acute{e}n )</td>
<td>( yeg\acute{o}d\acute{a}l )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L II-G, I-m</td>
<td>( \acute{o}\acute{h}\acute{a}l )</td>
<td>( y\acute{o}\acute{h}\acute{a}l\acute{e}n )</td>
<td>( y\acute{o}\acute{h}\acute{a}l )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L II-G</td>
<td>( f\acute{x}\acute{e}r ) or ( f\acute{u}\acute{x}\acute{a}r )</td>
<td>( yaf\acute{u}\acute{x}\acute{a}r\acute{e}n )</td>
<td>( yaf\acute{u}\acute{x}\acute{a}r )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verb \( sa\acute{e}d \) ‘help’ (3ms imperfect \( yasa\acute{e}\acute{d}\acute{a}n \), 3ms subjunctive \( yas\acute{e}\acute{\acute{e}}d \)) 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 perfected and subjunctives, and s.v. ‘\( h\)l’).

In the H- and \( \acute{\acute{a}} \)-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 \( y\acute{o}C\acute{C}\acute{C}\acute{\acute{a}}C \) or \( y\acute{o}C\acute{C}\acute{\acute{a}}C\acute{\acute{a}}C \) (vs. strong Gb \( y\acute{o}C\acute{\acute{e}}C\acute{\acute{a}}C \)), in the H-Stem they have the 3ms imperfect \( y\acute{o}C_{(C_{1})C\acute{\acute{a}}C} \) or \( y\acute{o}C_{(C_{1})\acute{\acute{a}}C\acute{\acute{a}}C} \) (vs. strong \( y\acute{o}C_{(C_{1})\acute{\acute{e}}C\acute{\acute{a}}C} \)). 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 \( r\acute{h}\acute{a}k \)), but seems to be dialectal. According to my informants, the G-Stem verb is \( r(a)\acute{h}\acute{a}k \) ‘go far away’, following the expected II-G pattern. The use of this verb overlaps with the adjective \( r\acute{a}\acute{h}\acute{a}k \); cf. \( s\acute{h}e r\acute{a}\acute{h}\acute{a}k \) ‘he went far away’ and \( s\acute{h}e \acute{r}\acute{a}\acute{h}\acute{a}k \) ‘he is far away’. 

And in the Š1-Stem, II-G verbs show the same vowel harmony in the imperfect, as in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3ms imperf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H strong, I-voiced or I-glottalic</td>
<td>ɛdɛ́f</td>
<td>yədɛ́lf</td>
<td>yədɛ́lf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H II-G, I-voiced or I-glottalic</td>
<td>ɛdxɛ́l</td>
<td>yəd(ɛ)xɔ́l</td>
<td>yədxɔ́l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H strong, I-voiceless</td>
<td>flɛ́t</td>
<td>yəffɛ́lt</td>
<td>yɛ́fɛlt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H II-h/ḥ/x, I-voiceless</td>
<td>ʃhɛ́ʃ</td>
<td>yəf(ʃ)hɔ́ʃ</td>
<td>yɛ́ʃhɔ́ʃ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Compare the forms of II-G verbs in the remaining stems:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3ms imperf.</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Š1 strong</td>
<td>šaḳṣɛ́r</td>
<td>yəškɛ́sɔ́r</td>
<td>yašɛ́kṣar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 II-G</td>
<td>šaγhéd</td>
<td>yəšgəḥɔ́d</td>
<td>yəšɛ́γhɔ́d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ɛ. Looking in JL (p. xxiv), one might get the impression that T1-Stems of II-G roots usually have T2-type imperf. 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-ʾ, II-w, and II-y Verbs

There are only a few II-ʾ roots in Jibbali. The G-Stem verbs are ʾfel ‘prophecy’, šem ‘sell’, šel ‘seek/ask for payment of a debt’, and šeb ‘draw water’.23 The imperfect and subjunctive forms of ʾfel are not included in JL. The others have the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperfect</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G II-ʾ</td>
<td>šem</td>
<td>yəšúm</td>
<td>yəšúm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G II-ʾ</td>
<td>šel</td>
<td>yəšɔ̄l (yəšɔ́l)</td>
<td>yəšɔ́l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G II-ʾ</td>
<td>šeb</td>
<td>yəšɔ̄b (yəšɔ́b)</td>
<td>yəšɔ́b</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 yəšúm vs. 3mp yəšım (from the pattern yəCéC). Verbs with II-ʾ 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-ʾ 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-ʾ verbs (and the length of the vowel in the imperfect form is equally uncertain). Compare the following forms:

23 The verb šeb is actually listed in JL under the root šyb, but I assume it is II-ʾ based on its Semitic cognates, e.g., Hebrew šāḇaḥ, Ugaritic šb ‘draw water’; Ge’ez sa’aba ‘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.
II-y verbs with an initial n or l also seem to be unique: the imperfects of lɛ̄n ‘become soft; come into view suddenly’ and nɛ̄k ‘sleep with (a woman)’ are recorded in JL as lín and őńk. However, the subjunctives of these two verbs (3ms yalɛ́n and yínk) have different patterns. The subjunctive form yalɛ́n patterns with some II-w verbs, but also with the II-y, III-nasal verb bɛ̄n (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 (ʿér ‘go blind’, s.v. ‘wr’), 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperfect</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gb strong</td>
<td>fékɔ́r</td>
<td>yaʃekɔ́r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb II-w</td>
<td>ʿer</td>
<td>yaʃéyɔ́r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other G-Stem II-w verbs appear in two patterns in the perfect, Cɛ̄C (like II-ʾ and II-y verbs) or CɔC. Both II-w types normally show a 3ms imperfect

25 Although fɛ̄t ‘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 fyɛt ‘kill, let die’ (49:8) and Hobyot G fayɔ́t. Oddly, in the paradigms in ML (p. xxix), the Mehri counterpart mıt ‘die’ (root mıt) is mistakenly listed as a II-y verb. In addition to fɛ̄t, the verbs ðɛ̄b, fɛ̄z, gɛ̄r, and hɛ̄l are II-y in Jibbali, but II-w in Arabic (though ðɛ̄b and hɛ̄l can be either II-w or II-y in other stems).

26 The Gb-Stem tɛ̄k ‘be stuck with’ is listed in JL under the root twk, but the root is actually tɔbk, as also in Sogotri. Cf. Ge`ez tabaša ‘glue, adhere’, as well as Hebrew dābaq, Arabic dabiqa ‘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 CɔC, and sometimes Cɛ̄C in place of Cɛ̄C.
verbs: tenses and forms 191

yaC̩Č, and either yaC̩Č or yéCaC for the 3ms subjunctive. The subjunctive pattern yéCaC is most common with, but is not confined to (cf. yéšaš), verbs with a liquid or nasal root consonant. The subjunctive pattern yaC̩Č is most common with, but is not confined to (cf. yaseb), verbs with an initial guttural. At least one II-w verb (des ‘trample on’) has the II-y subjunctive pattern yaC̩Č. Some examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperfect</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G II-y</td>
<td>k̩l</td>
<td>yək̩l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G II-w</td>
<td>dər</td>
<td>yədər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G II-w, III-n</td>
<td>kun</td>
<td>yəkín</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G II-w, III-n</td>
<td>xən</td>
<td>yəxín</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few II-w verbs behave as if they were II-b verbs (§ 7.4.9). Compare:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperfect</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga strong</td>
<td>k̩d̩r</td>
<td>yək̩d̩r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga II-b</td>
<td>k̩r</td>
<td>yək̩r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G II-w</td>
<td>s̩k</td>
<td>yəs̩k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

II-w G-Stem verbs are further complicated by the fact that there seems to be some general and dialectical variation. For example, JL (s.v. d̩w̩s) records that the verb des ‘trample on’ has the EJ form d̩s. JL (s.v. gw̩z) lists both g̩z ‘be acceptable, legal; pass away’ and g̩z ‘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:
There are about eighteen II-w verbs with this pattern in *JL.* The one II-y verb that is known to occur in the D/L-Stem (šōl 'be in debt', root šʾl) seems also to follow this pattern.

In Mehri, II-w/y verbs, like geminate verbs, have the pattern aCwiC or aCyiC in the D/L perfect. In Jibbali, the D/L-Stem pattern for the II-y 3ms perfect is (ε)CéC. The H-Stem pattern for II-y 3ms perfects is (ε)CyéC, which is often realized as (ε)CéC (cf. H-Stem aḫyég pronounced aḥég in 32:3); as a result there is a lot of mixing between the two stems. For example, several verbs with the perfect pattern (ε)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 (ε)CbéC and (ε)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 (ε)CóC in the D/L-Stem (as in the table above) and (ε)CbéC in the H-Stem, while II-y roots have (ε)CéC in the D/L-Stem and (ε)CyéC in the H-Stem. Following are some sample forms of D/L- and H-Stems of II-w/y roots:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperfect</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D/L strong</td>
<td>ẽgôdəl</td>
<td>ẽgôdələn</td>
<td>ẽgôdəl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L II-b</td>
<td>xōt</td>
<td>yaxōtən</td>
<td>yaxōt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L II-w</td>
<td>sōr</td>
<td>yasōrən</td>
<td>yasôr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L II-w, III-r</td>
<td>edôr$^{28}$</td>
<td>yadôran</td>
<td>yadôr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

$^{28}$ This verb (meaning ‘return, go back’) is usually pronounced ẽdûr, 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, xōt ‘redeem’. I see no reason why the root of this verb should not be considered xwṯ.
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperfect</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Š1 strong</td>
<td>šəḳṣər</td>
<td>yaškesər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 II-w</td>
<td>šḥəbəl</td>
<td>yaš(i)él</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 šaCeC (or šaCeC; see below). If the first root consonant is a sonorant, then the pattern is normally šeCeC (or šeCeC); 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:
Given the unpredictable nature of the pattern šaCēC 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 è 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 šénîs, above), only one other (šénîh) behaves like šénîs (except that it is also III-G). One (šérêg) has an Š1-type subjunctive, while two (šélîm and šéraḥ) 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 aCtēC (or aCtēC; < *aCtāCēC), 3ms imperfect yaCtēCan, and 3ms subjunctive yaCtāC. The base of the first and second persons in the perfect is aCtāC- (or aCtūC; < *aCtāCāC-). II-w/y, III-G verbs (of which there are not many that occur in the T2-Stem) have the shape aCtāC (< *aCtāCāC) in the perfect, e.g., antāh ‘fight’. A couple of other verbs without a final guttural also have the pattern aCtāC in the perfect; see § 6.5.4, n. 53, for a possible explanation. At least one II-w/y verb has the subjunctive pattern

| Š2 strong     | šakēsar | yaškēsaran | yaškēsar |
| Š2 II-b       | šesēd | yaššēdan | yaššēd |
| Š2 II-w       | šadēr | yašdēran | yašdēr |
| Š2 II-w       | šešėt | yaššeṭan | yaššeṭ |
| Š2 II-y       | šahēf | yašhēfan | yašhēf |
| Š2 II-w, I-n  | šenîs | yašenîsan | yašenîs |


30 Although JL gives the imperfect yaššeṭan, the texts have yaššētan (5:11).

31 As with the Š2-Stem, there is variation between long and short vowels; see JL, p. xxiv, n. 38.
verbs: tenses and forms 195

yaCtɛ́C, and it is unclear if this is because the root is II-y,\(^{32}\) or if it is perhaps due to the final nasal.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperf.</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T2 strong</td>
<td>afaqér</td>
<td>yafaqérən</td>
<td>yafaqér</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2 II-w</td>
<td>aqtɛ̀l</td>
<td>yaqtɛ̀lən</td>
<td>yaqtɛ̀l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2 II-w, III-G</td>
<td>antɔ́h</td>
<td>yaantɔ́hən</td>
<td>yaantɔ́h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2 II-y, III-n</td>
<td>ałtɛ́n</td>
<td>yəltɛ́nən</td>
<td>yəltɛ́n</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the T1-Stem, I-y verbs and the one attested II-ʾ verb (śőtɛ́m ‘buy’) have the perfect shape Cɔ́Cɛ́C. 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 (hőtɛ́g ‘need’ and śőtɛ́k ‘miss, long for’).\(^{33}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperf.</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T1 strong</td>
<td>fətkər</td>
<td>yaftɛ́kər</td>
<td>yaftɛ́kər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T1 II-ʾ</td>
<td>śőtɛ́m</td>
<td>yəstúm</td>
<td>yəstɛ́m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T1 II-y</td>
<td>ǵőtɛ́d</td>
<td>yağtɛ́dən</td>
<td>yağtɛ́d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 bifoms. For example, the verb xrès ‘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 xès ‘stink’ behaves like a II-w verb (cf. 3ms imperfect yaxɛ́s, 46:15), and based on the adjective xoḥsûn ‘rotten’

---

\(^{32}\) The subjunctive yaʃtə́g (JL, s.v. š(y)g) supports this, while yərtun (JL, s.v. ryn; cf. also 2ms tartún in 54:10) and yaqtɛ̀l (JL, s.v. hyl) do not. The root hyl, however, definitely has the biform hwl, as shown by the two T1-Stems hóṣə́l and hóʃə́l, and by the cognate root hwl in Mehri.

\(^{33}\) The T1-Stem śőtɛ́k 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 Cɔ́Cɛ́C in JL have an imperfect of the T2-type, Johnstone recorded a T1-type imperfect for śőtɛ́k (yaʃtʊk) in a manuscript. See also the comments to texts 25:12 and 60:19.

\(^{34}\) Cf. Mehri and Ḥarsusi xayœs ‘spoil, rot’. The root xys is also known from Arabic xāsa ‘spoil’ (Landberg 1920–1942:1.664).
Another example is the root ġỵḍ, which has the clear II-y T1-Stem ġéḍ�� ‘get angry’, but in the D/L- ~ H-Stem has the biforms āġỵḍ (II-y) and āġbẹ́ḍ (II-w).

Finally, on the anomalous šẹ́, which JL lists incorrectly under the root šẉf, 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. fḳé ‘cover’). Following are some sample forms of I-b and I-m verbs, in comparison with other verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3ms imperf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga strong</td>
<td>Ṫəḍr</td>
<td>yəḳ̡ḍ̣r</td>
<td>ỵk̡ḍr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga II-b</td>
<td>ḳr</td>
<td>yəḳr</td>
<td>ỵk̡ḅr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb strong</td>
<td>f̣ḳr</td>
<td>yaf̣ḳr</td>
<td>ỵf̣k̡r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb II-b</td>
<td>ḥr</td>
<td>yəḥ(i)̣r</td>
<td>ỵḥḅr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L strong</td>
<td>ĕg̣ḍəl</td>
<td>yəg̣ḍələn</td>
<td>ỵg̣ḍəl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L II-b</td>
<td>x̣̣t</td>
<td>yax̣̣ṭan</td>
<td>ỵx̣̣ṭ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H III-G</td>
<td>ĕgḍāh</td>
<td>yəg̣ḍ̣aḥ</td>
<td>ỵgḍ̣aḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H II-b, III-G</td>
<td>ĕšḅāh</td>
<td>yəṣ̣̌ḅāḥ</td>
<td>ỵṣ̣̌ḅaḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H III-w/y</td>
<td>fḳ̡e</td>
<td>yaf̣ḳ̡e</td>
<td>ỵf̣k̡e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H II-m, III-w/y</td>
<td>šṃi</td>
<td>yəšṣ̌ü</td>
<td>ỵ̣ṣ̣̌ṃ̣e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 I-G</td>
<td>ṣ̌ạṣér</td>
<td>yəṣ̣̌ṣ̣ṣ̣r</td>
<td>ỵṣ̣̌ṣ̣ạ̄ṣ̣r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 II-b, I-G</td>
<td>ṣ̌ạḅér</td>
<td>yəṣ̣̌(σ)̣̣r</td>
<td>ỵṣ̣̌ṣ̣̌ḅar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note especially the difference between the T1-Stem imperfect and subjunctive, where the original VbV sequences (one V́bV́, and one V́bV̆) 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 Cɔ́CəG (or Cɔ́CaG) 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 əštíʿ ‘listen to’ in the following table:

| T2 strong | əftérég | yaftérégən | yaftérɔ́g |
| T2 III-G  | əftɔ́səḥ | yaftésəḥən | yaftɔ́səḥ |
| T2 III-G, II-m | əštíʿ (< *əštémíʿ) | yaštũʿ | yaštũʿ |

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 ʃešɛɗ 'step', the subjunctives are slightly different (cf. II-b ʃešɛɗ vs. II-w ʃešɛ́t). It seems likely that II-b and II-w Š2-Stems are nevertheless confused.

---

35 The forms of the verb ʃešɛɗ ‘meet o.a.’ in the table come from an informant. Johnstone’s own data confirm this; cf. lɔ́tbəd ‘shoot at o.a.,’ 3ms imperfect yəltiéd, 3ms subjunctive yəltéd (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 \( Cerɔ́C \) in the 3ms perfect (e.g., \( herɔ́g \) ‘speak’, \( šerɔ́ḳ \) ‘steal’, \( terɔ́f \) ‘go forward, pass’), or \( CaCɔ́C \) if the first root consonant is a guttural other than \( h \) (e.g., \( ɣarɔ́b \) ‘know’, \( xarɔ́g \) ‘die’). However, many II-r verbs, including some I-G verbs, have instead the strong pattern \( Corɔ́C \) (e.g., \(  kèrɔ́f \) ‘sweep out’).

There is also variation among some verbs, perhaps dialectal. For example, \( JL \) has \( dɔrɔ́s \) ‘he studied’, but two informants (one WJ and one CJ speaker) used \( derɔ́s \); likewise with \( ẓɔrɔ́f/ṭerɔ́f \) ‘he folded’. \( JL \) has \( tɛrɔ́d \) ‘send away’ and 3fs perfect \( ṭerdɔ́t \), but in one of Johnstone’s manuscripts (Box 15E) there is an entire paradigm of \( tʃrɔ́d \), and the texts have 3fs perfect \( ṭɔrdɔ́t \) (6:17). There are also verbs usually of the \( Cerɔ́C \) type that sometimes have the shape \( Cɔrɔ́C \) in Johnstone’s texts (e.g., \( ɣɔrɔ́bk \), 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 \( CɔCɔ́C \) 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 \( ʁeʁɔ́s \) ‘nip, pinch’ (s.v. \( ʁrṣ \) ), but adds the EJ form \( ʁɔ́rɔ́ṣ \) (cf. 3fs \( ʁɔ́rṣɔ́t \) in 33:10); it lists \( šerɔ́ḳ \) ‘steal’ (as we find in 12:10), but, against the evidence of the texts, adds the EJ form \( šɔrɔ́妪 \).

If we try, based on the forms given in \( JL \), to classify which II-r verbs have the pattern \( Cerɔ́C \), and which have \( Corɔ́C \), 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 \( Corɔ́C \) type (with the notable exception of the I-G verb \( ɣarɔ́b \) ‘know’). Those II-r verbs whose first root consonant is \( m \) all fall into the \( Corɔ́C \) type. Those II-r verbs whose first root consonant is \( s \) almost all (by a margin of seven to one) fall into the \( Cerɔ́C \) 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 \( ʈɔrdɔ́t \), which could conceivably represent \( ʈɔrdɔ́t, ʈɛrdɔ́t \), or yet another pronunciation.

37 And as already mentioned, while \( JL \) lists \( ɖʊrʊm \) ‘slaughter’, this verb appears as \( derʊm \) in the texts (25:5). Recall also that \( ɣarɔ́b \) is unusual in the imperfect and subjunctive (see §7.4.2).
usually (by a margin of almost five to one) fall into the Cerɔ́C 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 Cerɔ́C type. Those II-r verbs whose first root consonant is voiced usually (by a margin of almost two to one) fall into the Cɔrɔ́C 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 Cerɔ́C or Cɔrɔ́C. Some sample forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3fs perf.</th>
<th>3ms imperf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga strong</td>
<td>ƙadɔ́r</td>
<td>ƙadɔ́rɔ́t</td>
<td>ƙəkɔ́dɔ́r</td>
<td>ƙɔ́kɔ́dar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II-r strong</td>
<td>ƙɔ́rɔ́f</td>
<td>ƙɔ́rɔ́fɔ́t</td>
<td>ƙəkɔ́rɔ́f</td>
<td>ƙɔ́kɔ́raf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II-r weak</td>
<td>šerɔ́k</td>
<td>šerɔ́kɔ́t</td>
<td>yaʃɔ́rɔ́k</td>
<td>yɔ́ʃrɔ́k</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

_JL_ lists the very common verb ʂérɛ́k ‘do’ under the root ʂrk. Nevertheless, it is not a II-r verb. The 3ms perfect ʂérɛ́k 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 ʃerɔ́kɔ́k) 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 yaʃɛ́rɔ́k and 3mp yaʃɛ́rɛ́k also clearly suggests an Š1-Stem; in the G-Stem the 3ms and 3mp imperfects should be the same. 3ms subjunctive yaʃɛ́rɔ́k (3mp yaʃɔ́rk) also must be an Š1-Stem.

For the complete conjugation of the G-Stem II-r verb ʃerɔ́k ‘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-ʾ Verbs)

Verbs whose third root consonant is one of the five gutturals ’, ʃ, h, ḥ, or x are subject to a variety of sound changes. It is worth noting here that ḥ 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-ʾ verbs, see § 7.4.12.

---

\(^{38}\) For some forms, see _JL_ (s.v. kbh, kmh, nbh, ngh, śbh, and wgh). Note that each of these
The most characteristic feature of this verb type is the shift of the sequence $CVC\tilde{V}G$ to $CV\tilde{C}aG$ or $CV\tilde{C}aG$ (where $G = ʾ, \dot{g}, ḥ, \text{or } x$), 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 $C\tilde{C}aC$ 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 $CC\tilde{V}G$ (where $G = ʾ, \dot{g}, ḥ, \text{or } x$), the guttural attracts the vowel $a$. Because of this, the imperatives of the Ga- and Gb-Stems also look alike. Examples are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3ms imperf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
<th>ms imprtv.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga strong</td>
<td>ƙɔdɔ́r</td>
<td>yəƙɔ́dər</td>
<td>yɔ́ƙdər</td>
<td>ƙdɛ́r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb strong</td>
<td>féƙər</td>
<td>yafƙər</td>
<td>yafƙər</td>
<td>fƙɔ́r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-G</td>
<td>fɛtəḥ</td>
<td>yafɔ́təḥ</td>
<td>yɔ́ftəḥ</td>
<td>ftáḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb III-G</td>
<td>fɛrəḥ</td>
<td>yafɔ́rəḥ</td>
<td>yafɹəh</td>
<td>fráḥ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the Gb-Stems are the two common verbs นিক 'come' and  nowrapes`̦ 'hear' (dialectal  nowrapes`; 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 $CC\tilde{V}C$ attracts the vowel $a$. Compare:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperfect</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-G</td>
<td>réfə'</td>
<td>yərə'fə'</td>
<td>yərə'fə'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H strong</td>
<td>ɛdɛ́f</td>
<td>yədɛ́lɛ́f</td>
<td>yeɛ́ləf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H III-G</td>
<td>erfə'</td>
<td>yərə'fə'</td>
<td>yeɛ́rə'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note that while strong verbs have a different base for the first and second person forms of the perfect (e.g., ƙlɛt 'he ran away', but ƙlɔ́t 'I ran away'), III-G verbs (including III-h verbs) have the same base throughout the perfect (e.g., ɛbƙà' 'he put' and ɛbƙà'k '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 CeCɔ́G to Cɔ́CəG or Cɔ́CaG. Compare:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperf.</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Š1 strong</td>
<td>šakšér</td>
<td>yaškšér</td>
<td>yašekšar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 III-G</td>
<td>əd̃fə́'</td>
<td>yašdə́fa'</td>
<td>yašə́də́fa'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 I-n</td>
<td>ənd̃ér</td>
<td>yašə́ndə́r</td>
<td>yašə́ndə́r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 I-n, III-G³⁹</td>
<td>əñfə́'</td>
<td>yašə́ñufə́'</td>
<td>yašə́ñufə́'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the T2-Stem, the shift of CVC̃YG to C̃YCaG or C̃YCaG 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 *əCtəb̃éG > əCtəG or *əCtəm̃éG > əCtəG. The same ordering of rules must apply to the imperfect and subjunctive, although the results are the same either way; e.g., both *yəCtəb̃aG (following the strong verb) or *yəCtəb̃aG (with the III-G vowel shift) should become yaCtəG for the 3ms subjunctive. Compare the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperf.</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T2 strong</td>
<td>aftək̃ér</td>
<td>yaftək̃eran</td>
<td>yaftək̃ér</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2 III-G</td>
<td>aftɔ́sə́h</td>
<td>yaftəsə́han</td>
<td>yaftəsə̃h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2 III-G, II-m</td>
<td>ašt̃i'</td>
<td>yašt̃i'an</td>
<td>yašt̃i'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One III-G T2-Stem in JL is listed with a different imperfect form: aftɔ́ləḥ, 3ms imperfect yaftɔ́ləḥən. We expect yaftələḥən, 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 šaltəg is listed as yəšəltəg, but this is probably the 3mp imperfect. We expect the 3ms imperfect to be yašəltəg. If the form given in JL is, in fact, the 3ms imperfect, then it is an exceptional form.
T2-Stem, e.g., aftakér ‘he wondered’, but aftégér ‘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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperf.</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T1 strong</td>
<td>fɔ́tkər</td>
<td>yaftékər</td>
<td>yaftékər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T1 III-G</td>
<td>fɔ́ttəḥ</td>
<td>yaftétəḥ</td>
<td>yaftétəḥ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T1 III-G</td>
<td>kɔ́ṭṭaʿ</td>
<td>yəkτétrəʿ</td>
<td>yəkτétrəʿ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The same vowel shift of CVCYG 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Q-Stem (true)</td>
<td>ɛkɛrfəd</td>
<td>yəkɛrfəd</td>
<td>yəkɛrfəd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q-Stem I-m, IV-G</td>
<td>ěrkəh</td>
<td>yɛrκəh</td>
<td>yɛrκəh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

III-G verbs present no peculiarities in the D/L-Stem or Š2-Stem, except that the vowel a adjacent to a guttural may be realized closer to a, especially if the guttural is ʿ.

7.4.12 III-ʾ, 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-ʾ 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 CɔCɔ́C 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 ɛCCé) 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.,
verbs: tenses and forms 203

ərdé ‘he threw’, rúd(ə)k ‘I threw’; béké ‘he cried’, bükək ‘I cried’). The Ga-Stem 3ms imperfect is most often ɣaCɔ́C (3mp ɣaCɔ́Ci), while the 3ms subjunctive is most often yéC(ə)C (3mp yaCCi).40 III-w/y verbs (and III-') 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 ɣaCɔ́Ce (3mp ɣaCɔ́Ci), and 3ms subjunctive ɣaCCé (3mp ɣaCCi). Some sample forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperf.</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga strong</td>
<td>xabôr</td>
<td>ɣakɔ́dər</td>
<td>ɣɔ́dər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-w/y</td>
<td>kéré</td>
<td>ɣakɔ́r</td>
<td>yékər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-w/y</td>
<td>ŋsé</td>
<td>ɣafɔ́ś</td>
<td>yefś (or yafɔ́ś)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-w/y</td>
<td>ərdé</td>
<td>yarɔ́d</td>
<td>yerd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-w/y</td>
<td>fékɔ́r</td>
<td>yafékɔ́r</td>
<td>yafkɔ́r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-w/y</td>
<td>ŋezi</td>
<td>yŋólɛ́</td>
<td>yaŋlɛ́</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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., ərɔ́zd ‘accept’),41 and Gb-Stem perfects with Ga-Stem imperfects (e.g., ŋśni ‘see’). Sample forms are:

---

40 In JL, 3ms subjunctives of this pattern are variously transcribed CéCɔ́C, CeCC, CiCC, and CɔCC, which makes the variation seem greater than it really is. We do need to distinguish at least CeCC and CéCɔ́C, as proven by the 3ms forms of the 1-b verbs ye bk (< ye b, root bdy) and ye d (< ye bAD, root bdy). Also, it may be that yaCC 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 aCtəCéC vs. aCtəCéC, described in § 6.5.3), but JL (s.v. ksw) lists 3ms subjunctive yekš from kš ‘clothe’.

41 One verb in JL (gěfě; s.v. gy) is listed with a Ga perfect and subjunctive, but a Gb imperfect (yɡjefe). 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 (yɡjɛf), and an informant of mine also provided this form.
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 $C(a)C{\acute e}$ (or $aCC{\acute e}$), e.g. ərdɛ́ ‘throw!’ (3ms subjunctive yérd) and śnɛ́ ‘see!’ (3ms subjunctive yaśnɛ́).

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperf.</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-w/y</td>
<td>ərdɛ́</td>
<td>yərdɛ́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb III-w/y</td>
<td>śnɛ́</td>
<td>yaśnɛ́</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also worth noting are those III-w/y verbs whose middle root consonant is a guttural, as in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperf.</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G II-G, I-voiced</td>
<td>$\delta(a)\acute{a}r$</td>
<td>$¥\delta(a)\acute{\delta}r$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G III-w/y, II-G</td>
<td>$da\acute{e}$</td>
<td>$¥\delta(d)\acute{a}\acute{a}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G III-w/y, II-G</td>
<td>$śa\acute{e}$</td>
<td>$¥\delta\acute{s}i / ¥\delta\acute{s}t$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Like $da\acute{e}$ ‘curse’ are $ka\acute{e}$ ‘escape (from a pen)’, $na\acute{e}$ ‘elegize’, $ra\acute{e}$ ‘herd’, and $raḥ\acute{e}$ ‘lick’. These are reminiscent of other II-G verbs in the imperfect and subjunctive, though with different vowels. The verb $śa\acute{e}$ ‘run’ has unexpected imperfect and subjunctive forms. The 3ms imperfect is either $ya\acute{s}i\acute{e}$ (following other III-w/y verbs without a guttural root consonant) or $ya\acute{s}t$, while the 3ms subjunctive is $yé\acute{s}a\acute{e}$ (again following other III-w/y verbs without a guttural root consonant).

In the perfect, these verbs, including $śa\acute{e}$

---

42 JL (s.v. šʿy) has the 3ms imperfect $y\acute{s}i\acute{e}$, which was also the form given by my WJ informant. Two of my CJ informants gave the form $ya\acute{s}t$, and did not accept $ya\acute{s}i\acute{e}$. We also
show the typical base of III-w/y verbs in the first and second persons, e.g.,
*dóʿak* ‘I cursed’ and *šóʿak* ‘I ran’ (cf. *rúdak* ‘I threw’).

The few G-Stem III-ʾ 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-ʾ *ksé* has a 1cs perfect *kisk* (like a III-w/y Gb-Stem), while, as noted above, III-w/y *ərdé* has a 1cs *rúdak*. This may to be due to the fact that *ksé* is historically III-ʾ. The 3ms subjunctive of *ksé* also looks like a III-w/y Gb-Stem. Other sample forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperf.</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-ʾ, I-m</td>
<td>mélé</td>
<td><em>yúl</em> (&lt;<em>yamúl</em>)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-ʾ</td>
<td><em>ksé</em></td>
<td><em>yəkɔ́s</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb III-ʾ</td>
<td><em>kéni</em></td>
<td><em>yəkún</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If we considered a III-ʾ verb to be a III-G verb (as it was historically, and remains in some derived stems), then we would actually expect subjunctive *yəCCéʾ(ʾ)*, 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 Š1-Stems, III-w/y verbs have fallen together with III-ʾ 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 yəšč* 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 *fušk*) behaves as other III-w/y verbs.
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperfect</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H strong</td>
<td>flét</td>
<td>yaffélót</td>
<td>yéflat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H III-G</td>
<td>fsah</td>
<td>yaffősah</td>
<td>yéfsah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H III-ʾ</td>
<td>tré(’)</td>
<td>yəttőře(’)</td>
<td>yétré(’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H III-w/y</td>
<td>fké</td>
<td>yaffőke</td>
<td>yéfke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 strong</td>
<td>šaktşér</td>
<td>yəskɛşőr</td>
<td>yəşekşər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 III-G</td>
<td>šədfą́‘</td>
<td>yəşdáʃə‘</td>
<td>yəşédʃə‘</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 III-w/y</td>
<td>šafté</td>
<td>yəʃfőtɛ</td>
<td>yəşɛftɛ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-ʾ verbs in this stem. Sample forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperfect</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Š2 strong</td>
<td>šakėşər</td>
<td>yəskɛşəran</td>
<td>yəşkɛşər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š2 III-w/y</td>
<td>šəgɛsti</td>
<td>yəşgɛstɛn</td>
<td>yəşɡɛstɛ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-ʾ verbs to know whether or not their subjunctives look like III-w/y verbs; their perfects and imperfects should be the same.
Data on the T2-Stem are very scarce. III-ʾ 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 (aʿtősə ‘have dinner’, aġtősə ‘faint’, and ahtősə ‘divide out’) all follow the pattern for III-G verbs in the perfect and subjunctive. 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 aʿtėdė ‘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-ʾ and III-w/y verbs in the T2-Stem, as in the G-Stem.

---

44 On the irregular perfect of the verb šūși ‘drink’, see § 6.5.2.

45 The forms of ahtősə given in JL are all 3mp. The verb aġtősə 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.
### 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 *ḥal(i)ūt* ‘she dreamed’, from *ḥaləmút*, vs. *feḳərɔ́t* ‘she became poor’).

Following are some sample forms of I-b and I-m verbs, in comparison with other verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3fs perf.</th>
<th>3fp subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ga strong</td>
<td>ḳɔdɔ́r</td>
<td>ḳɔdɔ́rɔ́t</td>
<td>təḳdɛ́rən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga III-b</td>
<td>ḡarɔ́b</td>
<td>ḡar(ī)ɔ́t</td>
<td>təḡrɛ́n or təḡrɛ́bən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb strong</td>
<td>ḡélam</td>
<td>ḡal(i)ūt</td>
<td>təḥlũn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb III-m</td>
<td>ḡérəb</td>
<td>ḡér(ī)ɔ́t</td>
<td>l-ḡérəb or l-ḡérəbən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L strong</td>
<td>ḡodəl</td>
<td>ḡídəlɔ́t</td>
<td>l-ḡodələn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L III-b</td>
<td>ḡórəb</td>
<td>ḡirĩɔ́t</td>
<td>l-ḡólən or l-ḡóləbən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H strong</td>
<td>ḡdāf</td>
<td>ḡdəfɔ́t</td>
<td>l-ḡdəfən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H III-b</td>
<td>ḡdēb</td>
<td>ḡdət</td>
<td>l-ḡdən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T1 II-’/y</td>
<td>ḡtég</td>
<td>ḡtɛ́g</td>
<td>təḥtɛ́gən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T1 III-m, II-’</td>
<td>ḡtɛ́m</td>
<td>ḡtɛ̄t</td>
<td>(t)štɛ́n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2 strong</td>
<td>ḡtɛ́rɛ́g</td>
<td>ḡtɛ́rgɔ́t</td>
<td>təftɛ́rɔ́gən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2 III-b</td>
<td>ḡtɛ́ləb</td>
<td>ḡtɛ́liɔ́t</td>
<td>taktɛ́lən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 strong</td>
<td>ḡtsə́r</td>
<td>ḡtsə́rɔ́t</td>
<td>təsə́tsə́ran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Š1 III-b</td>
<td>ḡsə́nb</td>
<td>ḡsə́nbɔ́t</td>
<td>təsə́nsə́bən</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 əḳörən or əḳórbən as the 1cs imperfect of the D/L-Stem əḳórab ‘bring near’; likewise the suffix -ən of the 2/3fp imperfect and subjunctive in various stems. Speakers vary on this point.  

### 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 (‘, ’, ʾ, ʿ, ġ, ḥ, ẓ, ɡ, ẖ, x), nor is it ever š, ū, w, or ẓ. 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 yaCC₂eC₂. The 3ms subjunctive normally has the pattern yoC₂C₂əC (with shift of gemination onto the first root consonant, i.e., *C₂C₂əC₂ to C₂C₂əC₂), although this seems to have shifted to yɛ́C₁C₁əC among some younger speakers. See § 6.1.1 for the full conjugation of the geminate verb del ‘guide, lead; know’. With I-G geminate roots, except I-ʿ and I-ġ verbs (that is, only I-h, I-ḥ, and I-x verbs), the 3ms subjunctive is normally yaCC₂C. For I-ʿ and I-ġ geminate verbs the subjunctive pattern is yaCC₂C (var. yaCC₂C). Following are some sample forms:

---

46 For example, while one speaker allowed D/L-Stem əḳörən or əḳórbən, he only allowed (d-)aktelən for the 1cs imperfect of the T2-Stem akteləb ‘worry’. Another preferred D/L 3fp subjunctive l-górabən (but recognized l-górēn), but used only Gb təḥlũn and H l-ɛ́ðhən.

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 ʿer 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 ʿer ‘hold back, stop from going’, an informant produced the form given in JL (yáʿʿar), 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 yaṛrə. On a possible I-ġ geminate verb that behaves like other I-G verbs, see the comment to 60:14.
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 yəCC₂C₂ (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 yəḥíz), 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 ḥazzɔ́t ‘she slaughtered’ (e.g., 13:16), and from ḥa-yəḥíz ‘he will slaughter’, we find ḥa-yəḥízzəs ‘he will slaughter it’ (e.g., 17:9).

In the G passive, geminate verbs behave like strong verbs, for example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperf.</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G passive II-n</td>
<td>śinik</td>
<td>išenúk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G passive gem.</td>
<td>kešš</td>
<td>ikešš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the D/L-Stem, geminate verbs have the pattern (e)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 yəCCéCon, 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. śnḳ) records 3ms subjunctive yəšnúk. As noted in §6.1.2, n. 13, the prefix of the 3ms subjunctive can be either l- or y-.
imperfects, but H-Stem subjuncitives. 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperfect</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D/L strong</td>
<td>ɛgọ́dəl</td>
<td>ɣagọ́dalan</td>
<td>ɣagọ́dəl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L gemin.</td>
<td>axsés</td>
<td>yaxsésən</td>
<td>yaxsés</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D/L~H gemin.</td>
<td>ɛbdéd</td>
<td>ɣəbdédən</td>
<td>ɣəbdéd or ɣébbəd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the subjunctive forms of ɛbdéd ‘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,C₂əC₂ to C,C₂əC₂ seen in the G subjunctive. Some sample forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperfect</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>H strong</td>
<td>flét</td>
<td>ɣəffélət</td>
<td>ɣéflət</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H gemin.</td>
<td>kbéb</td>
<td>ɣəkbéb</td>
<td>ɣékkəb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As with strong verbs, the first and second persons of the perfect show the shift in the base from CCéC to CC₂C₂, as in kbéb ‘he unloaded’, but kbɔ́bən ‘we unloaded’. The 3fs perfect of geminate verbs (and presumably also the 3d forms) shows the shift of *C₂əC₂V > C₂C₂V, as in kəbbət ‘she unloaded’ < *kbəbət. 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 (ɛbrér ‘see from far away’; see § 7.4.5 or § 7.4.15 for the forms), but the other (a’nún ‘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 Š₁-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 *C₁C₂əC₂ to C₁C₂əC₂ seen in the G and H subjunctives. Some sample forms are:
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 yəs̃ēdɔ́d) and šazlél ‘be insulted’ (3ms imperfect yəs̃ɛ́ddək). One verb (šalzéz ‘accept unwillingly’) has a geminate type imperfect (3ms yəs̃ɛ́lzəz),50 but a subjunctive following the strong pattern (3ms yəs̃ɛ́lzəz). No doubt šabdéd differs from other geminate roots because it is I-b, but šazlél—if the 3ms imperfect form yəs̃ɛ́lzəl 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 šaC₁éC₂ or šeC₁éC₂, 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 *VC₁C₂ > VC₁C₁, 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 šaC₁éC₂n and šaC₁éC₂, respectively, also very similar to the forms of II-w/y verbs.

In the T1-Stem, we find the same shift of *C₁C₂C₂ to C₁C₁C₂ seen in the G-, H-, and Š1-Stem subjunctives, e.g., 3ms perfect bɔ́ttər ‘he looked down’ < *bɔ́ttrar (cf. strong fɔ́tḳər). The imperfect of T1 geminates seem to behave as strong verbs, with the 3ms pattern yaCt(é)C₁C₂, while the 3ms subjunctive is unique, with the pattern yaCtɑ́C or yaCtə́C (seemingly free variants).51

---

50 I am assuming that the form yašalzéz in JL (s.v. lzz) is a misprint for yašalzéz, 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., affērēr ‘yawn’) have subjunctives of the T1 type. Compare:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perfect</th>
<th>3ms imperf.</th>
<th>3ms subjunct.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>T1 strong</td>
<td>fōtḳař</td>
<td>yafṭēkōr</td>
<td>yafṭēkōr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T1 gemin.</td>
<td>bōttăr</td>
<td>yafṭērēr</td>
<td>yafṭār or yafṭēr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2 strong</td>
<td>affērēg</td>
<td>yafṭērēgan</td>
<td>yafṭērōg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2 gemin.</td>
<td>əstēlēl</td>
<td>yafṭēlēlan</td>
<td>yafṭēlōl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T2 gemin.</td>
<td>affērēr</td>
<td>yafṭērēran</td>
<td>yafṭēr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>3ms imperf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I-G, gemin.</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>ḥez</td>
<td>yəḥızēz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-G, II-m</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>ḥōl</td>
<td>yəḥūl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(3mp yəḥōl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-w, III-G</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>ęgah</td>
<td>yęgah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-n, II-b, III-G</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>innitus</td>
<td>yənōh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

listed, one (bōttād) is listed with a T2 imperfect. On the mixing of T1- and T2-Stems, see § 6.5.1 and § 6.5.4.
One difficult class of doubly-weak verbs that is especially interesting contains verbs whose second root consonant is \( \text{w} \) or \( \text{y} \), and whose third root consonant is \( \text{w} \), \( \text{y} \), or \( \text{'} \). In the G-Stem 3ms perfect, these have the pattern \( \text{Cē(')} \), as in \( \text{tē 'he ate'} \), \( \text{hē 'he fell'} \), \( \text{ð̣ē 'he smelled'} \), and \( \text{ḳē 'he vomited'} \). However, these verbs exhibit some variation in their conjugations. For example, in the 1cs perfect, we find \( \text{tɛ̄k 'I ate'} \) and \( \text{ð̣ɛ̄k 'I smelled'} \), but \( \text{hēk 'I fell'} \) and \( \text{ḳēk 'I vomited'} \). Some verbs seem to allow both \( \text{CēC} \)- and \( \text{Cɛ̄C} \)- as the base for the first and second person forms of the perfect. The subjunctive patterns also

---

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I-w, II-G, III-w/y</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>ahá</th>
<th>yahé</th>
<th>yúbhi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I-w, III-y</td>
<td>D/L</td>
<td>öfı̄</td>
<td>yōfɛ̄n</td>
<td>yōfɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II-w, III-y</td>
<td>D/L</td>
<td>edöi</td>
<td>yədɛ̄n</td>
<td>yədɛ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-G, II-y, III-b</td>
<td>D/L–H52</td>
<td>aγyéb</td>
<td>yαγyɛn</td>
<td>yɛγyəb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-b, gemin.</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>ebrér</td>
<td>yɛrɛ́r</td>
<td>yɛbbər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-w, III-G</td>
<td>H</td>
<td>ebká‘</td>
<td>yəká‘</td>
<td>yɛbka‘</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I’, II-m, III-n</td>
<td>Š1</td>
<td>sən53</td>
<td>yəs(i)uŋ</td>
<td>yəsɛn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-n, II-G, III-w/y</td>
<td>Š1</td>
<td>sənɛ́hɛ</td>
<td>yəsɛ̃ɛ́hə</td>
<td>yəsɛnha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-r, II-b, III-G</td>
<td>Š1</td>
<td>sərbá‘</td>
<td>yəsɛ̃ɛ́rə‘</td>
<td>yəsɛ́rba‘</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-w, gemin.</td>
<td>Š2</td>
<td>səd</td>
<td>yəsɛ́dən</td>
<td>yəsɛ́d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-n, II-w, III-G</td>
<td>Š2</td>
<td>sənɛ́h</td>
<td>yəsɛ̃ɛ́nən</td>
<td>yəsɛ́nəh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-G, gemin.</td>
<td>T1</td>
<td>‘ɔ́ttər</td>
<td>yaˈtɛrɛ́r</td>
<td>yaˈtɛr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II-m, III-G</td>
<td>T2</td>
<td>əštṹ</td>
<td>yašti’an</td>
<td>yaʃtṹ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-m, IV-G</td>
<td>Q</td>
<td>ērką́</td>
<td>yərɛkə́h</td>
<td>yərkəh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

52 On the mixing of the D/L- and H-Stems with II-y verbs, see § 7.4.8.
53 The form sũn seems to be an acceptable variant for some speakers, as I heard both sǐn and sũn from informants. For the 3fs perfect, I heard only sũnút ‘she trusted’, which is the expected form. 3ms perfect sũn is probably analogical with the base used for the first and second persons (e.g., sũnak ‘I trusted’), and with the 3fs form.
vary; for example, the 3ms subjunctive of ṭē ‘come (at night)’ is yéṭɛ (following the pattern yēCəC, with final ’ [realized or underlying]), while for tē ‘eat’ it is yít (< *yéty?). Following are some sample forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>3ms perf.</th>
<th>1cs perf.</th>
<th>3ms imperf.</th>
<th>3ms subj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>G II/III-w/y</td>
<td>ḍē</td>
<td>ḍēk or ḍēk</td>
<td>yəṭé’</td>
<td>yéḍe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G II-w/y, III-²</td>
<td>ḍē</td>
<td>ḍēk</td>
<td>yəṭé’</td>
<td>yéke’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G II/III-w/y</td>
<td>ṭē</td>
<td>ṭēk</td>
<td>yəṭé</td>
<td>yít</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G II/III-w/y</td>
<td>ṭē</td>
<td>ṭēk</td>
<td>yəṭé</td>
<td>yéṭe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G II/III-w/y, I-‘</td>
<td>ʿē</td>
<td>ʿēk</td>
<td>yəʿɔ̄</td>
<td>yaʿbɛ́</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G II/III-w/y, I-h</td>
<td>ḥē</td>
<td>ḥēk</td>
<td>yəhí (3mp yahůi or yahí)</td>
<td>yahí (3mp yahbí)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gb II/III-w/y</td>
<td>rē</td>
<td>rik or rēk</td>
<td>(not used)</td>
<td>yərbɛ́</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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), ʿɔd (§ 7.3), and ’ágəb (§ 7.5). The forms of verb šērēk 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 saʿéd ‘help’, see § 7.4.7. Some other seemingly anomalous forms have been mentioned in previous sections (e.g., the imperfect of aģád ‘go’; see § 7.4.3).

Another example of an anomalous verb is šēf ‘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)tē. 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 ebkéf (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 šakéf), and then *šakief (with the shift of k to s) > *ššef > šef. That it is an Š1-Stem can also be seen by the vowel shift in the first and second person perfect forms (e.g., šjfk ‘I slept’) and 3fs šjfdt.

The verb yaköl (3mp yakél) 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:

yakél kunút hagmét ‘ak sékan ‘they thought there was an attack on [or: fight in] the settlement’ (13:13)

šini egjféš ‘ak emth. yakól gonní ‘he saw his shadow in the water. He thought (it was) a jinn’ (39:3)

ol nakó(l)š dha-ygád lo ‘we didn’t think he would go’ (49:35)

yaköl al dé al-hés še lo ‘he thought there was no one like him’ (54:2)

akó(l)š man yénš hažórš li ‘I thought you were persuading me truthfully’ (60:8)

takó(l)š edůrs yólhum ‘she thought you had gone back to them’ (60:23)

The imperfect form yakól looks like the G-Stem of a II-ʾ, 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 kél ‘measure’ (root kyl), which has the same imperfect forms. A semantic development from ‘measure’ to ‘think’ does not seem implausible. The second possibility is that it derives from yakhól (3mp yakhél), the imperfect of khél ‘be able, manage’. A change of yakhól > yakól would be irregular, but such a change is found in Soqotri and elsewhere in Semitic.

---

55 Cf. Arabic G kāla, Biblical Hebrew G kāl (used only in Isaiah 40:12), and Syriac H ʾakīl ‘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. Soqotri kəl ‘he was able’, Hebrew 3ms perfect yakól ‘he is able’ (< *yakāl < 3ms imperfect yVkhal), and the Ge’ez 3ms imperfect yak(a)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 hathūm, 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 thím means ‘accuse’. Examples are:

\[\text{əthúmk tɔk əl šhabšil ə lɔ 'I think maybe you didn't understand me'}\]
\[(34:11)\]

\[\text{thúmk tɔ əl-ğád náṣanu 'I think I might go now'}\]
\[(38:2)\]

\[\text{əthúmk is mélík 'I think maybe her father is an angel'}\]
\[(97:44)\]

See further on the use of (ə)thumk in § 12.5.18. Other frozen verbal forms are dunk (§ 12.5.7), ƙɛtk (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 CɔCɔ́C, 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 ‘áqəb ‘want; love’

The verb ‘áqəb ‘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-‘ roots have an initial ‘é-, this verb does not. Its forms are as follows:
Notes:

- The 1cs, 2ms, and 2p all show a shift of 'ag(ə)k > 'ak. In writing Jibbali, speakers will sometimes write the etymological g (e.g., ﺪminated 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 'ak.
- The 1cs form ʿágbək 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 ʿɔ́kum occurs twice in the texts (12:9; TJ4:1), while ʿákum occurs twice also (17:20; TJ5:2); each form is attested once by the same speaker. My own informants preferred ʿákum, which is the expected form.
- The verb ʿágəb 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 ʿágiš bi, ḥa-tġíd s̃i. b-ɔ́l ʿágiš bi lɔ, ḥa-tískəf ... 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 ʿaqāḇ ‘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 'ągəb b-ağabgót bə-sé 'agišt beš 'then he fell in love with the girl, and she fell in love with him' (17:16)
śini tit mansën ... bə-'ągəb bes 'he saw one of them ... and he fell in love with her' (30:6)
axarét 'ągəb bes ba-šfık bes 'then he fell in love with her and married her' (36:19)
'ągəb bes ağag kel 'all the men loved her' (46:1)
əmbére 'ągəb ba-ğabgót ørhüt bə 'a boy loved a very beautiful girl' (SB1:1)
he ğabgót ørhüt bə-'ągəbək 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 Soqoṭri—and it is with this meaning that the verb is encountered most often. When it means 'want', 'ągəb' can either be followed by a direct object or by the preposition b-.

Some examples of the latter are:

əl 'ągon bóhum bə 'we don't want them' (16:4)
'ągəb bes her ağıšt 'he wanted it for his sister' (17:22)
'ak beš hek 'I want it (to be) for you' (21:5)
'ągək b-edərhiši 'I want my kid' (23:11) (cf. 23:5, below)
'ak ba-şəgaləti 'I want my calf' (23:13)
ągji, d-ək 'ak ba-kahwət 'brother, do you still want coffee?' (34:10)
'ak ba-ḥōlt də-űd ... 'ak kini ba-rehən, ba-rǐk 'I want a load of sardines ...
If you want a guarantee (of payment) from me, as you wish' (41:2)
əl 'ak bèsən bə 'I don't want them' (49:27)
her 'ak b-a'iśək, mdəd eğə́tək 'if you want your dinner, stretch out your neck' (54:30)

Some examples of 'ągəb' followed by a direct object are:

'ągək ɔ́rəm a'áltət mən 'ak ɔ́rəm ełxət 'do you want the upper road or the lower road' (6:13)
'ągək ɛdgərəti 'I want my bean' (23:5) (cf. 23:11, above)
mũn manküm də-'ągəb ez 'which [lit. who] of you wants a goat' (39:2)
înɛ́ 'ak 'what do you want?' (54:7)
he 'ągək gini troh ba-ðəhùn 'I want two guineas for that' (52:9)
he šfıkək ba-’ąk tabkižət 'I have gotten married, and I want marital possession' (45:12)
tũm šərk beš əlhin 'akum 'you all do with him whatever you want' (17:20)
he 'ak ènfət a’āsər '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 independend direct object pronoun t-,
but this is not used after third person perfects, following the rules outlined in § 3.3.

Very often ‘ágəb is followed by a dependent verb, which appears in the subjunctive, as in:

‘ágiś (t)sīśfək tɔ ‘do you want to marry me?’ (17:17)
‘ágəb yəks̩s̩s erês ‘they wanted to cut off her head’ (17:43)
‘ágəb yəxərhum ‘he wanted to test them’ (21:3)
‘agiōt tašnēs ‘she wants to see you’ (36:7)
‘ágəb yə(ł)tag tūn ‘they wanted to kill us’ (50:8)
ɔl ‘agiōt tōskaf əs. ‘agiōt tōbaś ‘she didn’t want to stay. She wanted to follow you’ (60:22)
‘ágən nagād ‘we want to go’ (60:38)

In all of the above examples, the subject of ‘ágəb is the same as that of the following verb. But in Jibbali, as in English, the verb ‘ágəb 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 ʿak téṭi təɡād s̃i ‘I want my wife to go with me’ (7:10)
he ʿak eġōti thīl tɔ ‘I wanted my sister to carry me’ (49:14)
ɔl ‘ak ēmī (t)danē lɔ ‘I didn’t want my mother to get pregnant’ (51:13)
‘ágən bek ṭsexənt ēmtən ‘we want you to come back to us’ (13:2)
‘agiōt beš yōs̩fək bes ‘she wanted him to marry her’ (15:12)
‘ágən biš tīnḥag k-înt ‘we want you to dance with the women’ (30:9)
‘ak tɔ l-əʃhōrak ‘do you want me to brand you?’ (40:9)
‘ágəb bek təɡād ēr emih ‘he wanted you to go to the water’ (49:23)
her ‘ak tɔ l-ēfte hek ‘if you want me to advise you’ (57:5)
inē ‘ágiś tɔ al-šērk ‘what do you want me to do?’ (57:14)
he ʿak bes təɡād k-əˈāsɔrs ‘I want her to go with her husband’ (60:5)

If this kind of ‘ágəb 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 ʿak, ġadū ‘if you want (to go), let’s go!’ (12:2)
her ʿagk yəl ēmēk, ġadū ‘if you want (to go) to your mother, let’s go!’ (16:3)
her ʿak, kalēt hini ‘if you want (to tell me), tell me!’ (MmS)

Used independently, without a following object or dependent verb, ‘ágəb (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 'ágəb. An example is:

\[
mūn mənkūm ḍə-ʿágəb ɔz ... ḍə ʾak 'who among you wants a goat? ... I do [or: I want (one)]'
\] (39:2–3)

A dependent verb can also be understood in other contexts, as in:

\[
ʾak šókum 'I want (to go) with you' (54:10)
yəl ʿaš tə 'what do you want me (to do)?' (TJ4:36)
\]

7.5.1 Cohortative 'ágəb

The first person forms of 'ágəb 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:

\[
ʾágən nəkɛ́ʾ 'let's throw up' (6:20)
ʾágən naqād yəl səkənə 'let's go to my settlement' (13:17)
ʾágən nəṣən ťaat tũn 'let's tie each other up' (17:25)
ʾágən naqād sərəš 'let's go after him' (22:15)
ʾágən naqād ḏə-nəsən 'let's go and see it' (39:8)
ʾágən nəskəf s̃iŋ 'let's stay a little while' (60:23)
\]

The use of the 1cs form of 'ágəb verb plus a 1cp object can have a meaning very close, if not identical to, a 1cp cohortative:

\[
ʾak tun nəsərək 'let's steal [lit. I want us to steal]' (12:1)
ʾak tun naqād ʾəmtəs 'should we [lit. do you want us to] go to her?' (38:8)
ʾak tun naqād tel iyɛ́l 'let's go [lit. I want us to go] to the camels' (AK1:1)
\]

No 1cd forms are attested in the texts,\(^61\) and there is just one 1cs cohortative:

\[
ʾak əl-ḡād ḏər emiḥ 'I should go to the water' (60:19)
\]

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 yəl/yəh 'how?' with the verb šərək 'do', rather than ʾınə '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 ḥəmə, Jibbali has the 1cp ʾágon.
7.5.2 Motion Verb ‘ágəb

The verb ‘ágəb 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 aġád ‘go’). Sometimes it is followed by a preposition (yɔl ‘to, towards’ or, rarely, her ‘to’), other times by a direct object, with no difference in meaning. The form of ‘ágəb is often separated from the preceding motion verb by an adverbial phrase (or phrases). Consider the following examples:

\[ \text{xaṭarɛ́t ġeyg aġád mən fɛ́gər, ʿágəb ɛśḥɛ́hr} \]
\[ \text{‘once a man went from the Najd, heading for the mountains’ (7:1)} \]
\[ \text{sɛ́kən nəśé mən ɛ́rẓ́hum, ʿágəb erẓ́ taş šaá’ beš rahmɛ́t} \]
\[ \text{‘a community moved from their land, heading for a land that they heard had rain’ (15:1)} \]
\[ \text{zəḥám kob, ʿágəb yɔl ɛ̄rún} \]
\[ \text{‘the wolf came, heading for the goats’ (15:9)} \]
\[ \text{xaṭarɛ́t he b-aġí aġádən mən tél iyɛ́l mən fɛ́gər, ʿágən yɔl ɛ́rún b-ɛśḥɛ́hr} \]
\[ \text{‘once my brother and I went from the camels from Najd, heading to the goats in the mountains’ (16:1)} \]
\[ \text{xaṭarɛ́t ġeyg aġád mən erẓ́ ɛ-ẓ́ɔ́fɔ́l ʿágəb yɔl ð-ɛ̃həró} \]
\[ \text{‘once a man went from the region of Dhofar, heading towards the land of the Mehri’ (34:1)} \]
\[ \text{xaṭarɛ́t ġeyg aġád mən ɛ́rẓ́əš, ʿágəb her erẓ́ taş ɛ̄rζ́ɔ́f h-ɛrζ́ ðə-ʃɔ́k b-ɛrζ́ ðɔ́kũn} \]
\[ \text{‘once a man went from his land heading to a certain land in which he got married’ (60:1)} \]
\[ \text{aġád embɛ́rɛ́, ʿágəb ɛ́sɛ́rš} \]
\[ \text{‘the boy went, heading for his turban’ (97:49)} \]

This use of ‘ágəb (found also with the equivalent Mehri verb hôm ‘want’) is probably an extension of its use in the following type of sentence, where ‘ágəb is preceded by a verb of motion and followed by a dependent verb:

\[ \text{aġád mən tél sɛ́kənəš ʿágəb yaxɛ́tər ɛ́sɪrɛ́t} \]
\[ \text{‘he went from his settlement intending [lit. wanting] to go down to the town’ (18:1)} \]
\[ \text{ʿássən ʿágən nəgád yɔl xadə́r} \]
\[ \text{‘we got up intending to go to the cave’ (51:5)} \]
7.5.3 Imperfect and Subjunctive Uses

As mentioned in § 7.5, the perfect forms of ‘اغب’ normally serve for the present tense meaning, as well as the past. So ‘اغب’ 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 ‘ak, ḡadū ‘if you want (to go), let’s go!’ (12:2)
‘ak bek ‘I love you’ (13:18)
‘ำğiš (t)şišñe ṭɔ ‘do you want to marry me?’ (17:17)
‘ำğišt tašñeš ‘she wants to see you’ (36:7)

Other examples can be found above, in § 7.5. However, ‘اغب’ does have imperfect and subjunctive forms, which pattern with other Gb-Stem I-G verbs, e.g., 3mp imperfect yaʿagib (3mp yaʼágéb) and 3ms subjunctive yaʼgib (3mp yaʼgéb). 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:

*ko-taṭ yaʼagib yaƣ rèb ेšíağðr ‘everyone wants to know the other guy’ (21:12)
he aʼāgðb tel ñet ‘I like (it) among the women’ (46:12)
he aʼāgðb ar ba-núšb ‘I only liked [or: wanted] milk’ (51:2)
xañaɾêt ġeyg yašüm kətəbín, b-ɔl yaʼagib yažém ñe lo her kəl ñe ‘once there was a man who sold books, and he didn’t like to give anything for anything’ (52:2)
her aɟā́dak yɔl ñuθum, aʼāgðb bə-gini tɾoḥ ‘if I go to their house, I want two guineas’ (52:11)
he aʼāgðb bə-tiṯi, bə-tiṯi tɔʼāgðb bi ‘I love my wife, and my wife loves me’ (60:4)

The difference between perfect ‘ak biš ‘I love you’ and imperfect aʼāgðbs ‘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 ‘اغب’ are attested in the texts. They seem only to be used when the meaning ‘love’ is required. Following are some elicited examples:  

---

62 For a sentence like ‘he will want milk’, one would hear ha-yahtig núšb ‘he will need milk’, or something similar. That is, ‘اغب’ does not seem to be used in the future to mean ‘want’.
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:

\[ \partial-fírkək 'ās ɔl tékən ʿagiət ta'tún len \] ‘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’gīn, 3mp ya’gūn, 1cp na’gūn or na’gīn) 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:

\[ na’gūn nəkən ‘išɔ́r ‘let’s be friends’ (TJ1:1) \]

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 na’gād and ‘ágən na’gād 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:

\[ na’gūnkum ɔl aģādkum ə ‘we hope [or: wish] that you didn’t go’ (AK) \]

### 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 ʿágəb used with regard to one’s spouse, and to that should be added the fact that ʂa’šér is also appropriate for a spouse. Some examples are:

ağás yəs̃a’ásôrs ʿher brother loved her’ (17:9)
(t)ṣa’ásôr ɛbrits ʿshe loved her daughter’ (97:4)
ə(l)-ṣa’ásôrš ʿI love you [said to a wife]’ (MQ)
(t)ṣa’ásôrlėnš ʿshe loves her children’ (MQ)
The prepositions of Jibbali, including compound prepositions, are:

- (ə)d ‘to’
- ɛd ‘up to, till, until’
- emt ‘towards’
- ‘ak’ ‘in(to), inside; on(to); among’
- (‘)ar ‘from; about; than’
- ‘iyór ‘in front of’
- b- ‘in, at; with; for; on’
- ba’d ‘after’
- ġer ‘on, onto; over’
- (əl-)fénɛ́ ‘before; in front of; ago’
- ġer ‘except’
- her ‘to; for’
- k- ‘with’
- kin ‘from (someone)’
- kɛfɛ́ ‘in back of’
- ġer ‘after’
- ɛm tɛl ‘from (someone)’
- tɛl ‘at, by, beside’
- yɔl ‘to, towards’
- nxin (or lxin) ‘under’
- siɛ́b ‘because of’
- ser ‘behind’
- ġer ‘without’
- lɛ́bər ‘like, the same as’
- l- ‘for; to’
- mən ‘from’
- man kɛdɛ́ ‘regarding, about’
- man mún ‘between’
- man ġer ‘after’
- man sér ‘after’
- man dún ‘except; without’
- (al)-hés ‘like, as’
- ta’mirən ‘like’

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:

- man dún ‘except; without’
- (al)-hés ‘like, as’
- ta’mirən ‘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 a is usually inserted; with b- and k- the epenthetic vowel follows, while with l- it often precedes. Examples are:
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., la-bāl esód ‘for the fisherman’; ka-bokrūt ‘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 əd ‘up to, till, until’; (ə)d- ‘to’

The preposition əd 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 əd is normally a temporal adverb or an adverbial phrase. Some examples referring to time are:

he ḏa-l-səlɔ́bk əd mən ð̣ér ɛð̣ɔ́hɔr ‘I will wait for you until after noon’ (28:7)
bo-d-‘ɔd šahét əd nā’sanu ‘and they are still alive until now’ (46:18)
rɔsnut ɔ̀l-gəndɛ́t əd kɔlɛ́ni ‘she tied me to a tree-trunk until the evening’ (49:9)
bass mən maš’er əd kərɛ́rɛ ɡasrɛ́ ‘enough partying until tomorrow night’ (97:15)

In Johnstone’s texts there are only about fifteen passages in which əd 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, əd 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:

aġád bes əd mukún ɔt ‘they brought [lit. went with] it to a certain place’ (12:2)
aağádɔk əd mɔnzɛl ɔt ‘I went to a house’ (31:3)
tɔ́lɔ́b yo mɔn but əd but ‘he begged people from house to house’ (46:8)
d-‘ɔs̃ əd ɔrɔ́ž ešɡarɔ́t ‘you still have until the next acacia’ (48:14)
 PREFESSIONS

yədɔ́ləf mən fūdún ɖínu ɛ-dík ‘they would jump from this rock to that one’ (48:15)

ḥaṣ ɛtká‘ deš egənənə, gehér ‘when he looked up towards him, he was blinded [or: dazzled]’ (54:29)

ağádk ɛd ɖətár ... b-ağádk ɛd dəbəy ‘I went to Qatar ... and I went to Dubai’ (TJ3:3)

sфорk ʿak langš ɛd məskét ‘I traveled in his boat to Muscat’ (TJ3:5)

Note in the example from 48:15 that the d of ɛd is lost, because of the initial d- of the word ɖík.

In JL (s.v. ʾ), Johnstone reported that ɛd can be reduced to ɛ- even before other (non-dental) consonants, and he gives the examples ɛ məskét ‘to Muscat’. Besides the example in 48:15, there are no other places in the texts where ɛ- functions as a preposition, though there are a couple of examples of ɛd > ɛ- 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 ɛd can also be reduced to əd; in JL (s.v. ʾd), 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-sgɔ́dkən d-ɛrẓ́ ‘I want to take you to (my) country’ (TJ3:19)

təs̃ənẓ́éẓ́ bə-yúm dḥa-ts̃ɛ́xənṭən d-ɛ̃stún ‘she asked discreetly about when they would go out to the plantation’ (TJ4:21)

kɔ́lɔ́b egɔ́b d-eširét ‘he gave [lit. returned] the answer to the town’ (TJ4:92)

hɔ́lən tósən d-ínɛ́ šũš ... də-səyɛ́rə ũm ‘we carried them to whatchama-callit ... to the big car’ (AK1:4)

a-nhɔ́ls d-ɛrẓ́ ‘we’ll bring it to (our) land’ (AK2:4)

ɛdúrk d-ūt ‘I went back to the house’ (AK2:6)

ɔ(ł) yəkɔ́dər yəgád d-ūthum bɔ ‘they cannot go to their house’ (SM)

As for verbal idioms, we once find ʃfɔ́k d- ‘marry into s.o.’s family’ (7:1), though twice in the texts we find ʃfɔ́k tel with the same meaning (see § 8.26).

---

1 The sentence mit ḥa-tɡad ɛʿṳn ‘when will you go to Oman?’ (JL, s.v. myt) may also be an example of ɛ < ɛd, though this is not at all clear. The prefix ɛ- here could potentially be the definite article, or simply an epenthetic vowel.
Based on the limited evidence from the texts, it seems that šənté d- means ‘ask (a father) for a woman’s hand in marriage’ (TJ4:93), while šənté 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 ḥaré d- ‘beg from’ (46:9) and ḥadnín 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-hásař can mean both ‘until morning’ and ‘(then) in the morning’ (e.g., in a narrative), and ed ġasré can mean both ‘until night’ and ‘(then) at night’. See further in § 13.5.3.4.

On the compound ed’ak, see § 8.3, and on the compound ed’él, 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:

- yəbġɔ́d e mt a’él e-tét ‘he goes to the woman’s parents’ (TJ2:2)
- ‘ágon bek tšexənt e mtən ‘we want you to come back to us’ (13:2)
- ‘ak tun nəgdá e mtəs ‘should we [lit. do you want us to] go to her?’ (38:8)
- he nŋamk e mtkum ‘I’ve come to you angry’ (49:28)
- ēr- gió ‘t e nmk e mti ‘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 ‘ak ‘in(side), into; on(to); among’

The preposition ‘ak 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 ‘amk- before pronominal suffixes, reflecting its source lexeme ‘amk ‘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:

- šxómút ‘ak lang ‘I set out in a boat’ (13:3)
- kṣé ğeý ‘a k sa’n díkũn ‘they found a man in that valley’ (21:2)
- skɔf ‘a k énzél díkũn ‘they stayed in that place’ (31:2)
- śi ni eʔéʃ ‘a k émih ‘he saw his shadow in the water’ (39:3)
- zũts ‘a k səfêrt dügur ‘she gave her beans in a pot’ (97:35)
ksé ḡarört, bə-‘amkəs ešrőf ‘he found a bag, and in it was the hair’ (15:15)
sāfšt ‘ak ʿūt ‘she went to sleep in the house’ (TJ4:38)

Examples indicating motion into include:

rdét beš ‘ak xoš ‘she threw it into her mouth’ (6:20)
ḥilóš ‘ak ʿūš bə-ḵelʿdš ‘ak ʿūš ‘he carried it into his house and left it in his house’ (6:29)
aḡád ‘ak eširėt ‘he went into the town’ (6:30)
kēlāš ‘ak ʾekāhf ‘they put it in the pot’ (12:4)
keb ‘ak ʿaš ʿaḇ ‘he went down into a valley’ (33:2)
təxtōr ṣəḥăm ‘ak ʾetəkkūn ‘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:

embére’ bēkè ‘ak ʾegizirēt ‘the boy remained on the island’ (6:25)
ẓəḥōt sīnōrt bə-thīl esāhan bə-ʾamkəš hūš bə-tṣəfš ‘ak ġōr ‘a cat came, took the dish that had the food on it, and tossed it into a well’ (17:47)
ᵉbkā’ erēš ‘ak rékəb ʾe-ʿūt ... kēlā’ iṣūt ‘ak ʾaʿamk ʾe-hēṣən ‘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)
فورirement ‘ak ʾegizirēt bə-ʾaʿamk ḍə-ʾēmrəm ‘it flew with them onto an island in the middle of the sea’ (6:22)

In a few places, ‘ak has the meaning ‘among’, i.e., ‘inside a group’, for example:

kəbèn ‘ak ʾerūn ‘hide among the goats!’ (15:8)
rəṣūn ʾedərhēsš ‘ak ʾelhūtī ‘he tied up his kid among the cows’ (23:10)
aḡādak ‘ak ʾetēb ‘I went among [or: into] the fig trees’ (53:5)
kūnən ‘ak iyēl ‘we were among the camels’ (AK2:1)

We also find ‘ak used in the combinations ed ‘ak ‘into’ and Ṽən ‘ak ‘from inside, out of; from on (the face of)’, with the latter occurring more frequently. The combination ed ‘ak does not seem to have any special meaning, since we find both aḡād ‘ak and aḡād ed ‘ak meaning ‘go into’ (see examples above and below). Examples of ed ‘ak and Ṽən ‘ak from the texts are:

昂kəš t-ešxarēt Ṽən ‘ak ʾekōr ‘he dug up the old woman from (inside) the grave’ (18:4)
məkəš Ṽən ‘ak egūf egéyg ‘he pulled it [the dagger] from the man's chest’ (25:13)
‘aṣēs ʾmən ‘ak ʾēḥaṣi ‘get up from the well!’ (TJ5:8)
The preposition ‘ak is also used in some expressions of time, such as ‘ak xɔrf ‘in the rainy season’ (9:2) and ‘ak ɛḍɔ́hɔr ‘in the afternoon’. Some other idioms (verbal and non-verbal) with ‘ak are:

‘ak kerfēfi ‘to/in my face’ (as in, ‘say it to my face!’, 24:2; cf. əl-kərfēf ‘on the face’)  
‘ak xədmɛ́t ‘employed [lit. in work]’  
ẓ́im ‘ak ‘enlist in’

Also note the expression ‘ak ḳɛlbi- ‘in one’s heart’ (e.g., ‘ak ḳɛ́lbi ‘in my heart’, ‘ak kɛ́lbək ‘in your heart’), 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:

‘ak kɛ́lbək, mit dḥa-(t)zhóm tɔ ‘when do you think you will [lit. in your heart when will you] come back to me?’ (3:5)  
‘ök ‘ak kɛ́lbi, “dé ḳ-xárg yum ḳīkūn” ‘I thought [lit. said in my heart], ‘Somebody has died this day’” (31:5)  
‘ak kɛ́lbi tékən ɡalṭún ‘I think [lit. in my heart] you might be mistaken’ (43:10)  
yəkín ’áfɛ́ mən ‘ak kɛ́lbək yɔh ‘is it healthier [lit. healthy] or what [lit. how], in your opinion’ (TJ2:114)

8.4 (‘)ar ‘from; about; than’

The preposition ‘ar 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 ‘ 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 ‘an-, which is reduced to ‘ā- before 2s and 3s suffixes.

---

2 Some speakers prefer ka-ḏɔ́hɔr; see §8.13.
3 We would expect the definite article ɛ- in this phrase (e.g., ekɛ́lɔ́b ‘your heart’), but the word is contracted with the preposition, resulting in a realization əkɛ́lɔ́b, etc. In fact, in his Arabic transcriptions, Ali Musallam often wrote əkɛ́lɔ́b (and the like) as a single word in Arabic characters, with only a single letter ə.
One prepositional meaning of 'ar is ‘from’, though there are relatively few examples of this in the texts. The preposition mən ($\S\ 8.18$) 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’
- ěblág 'ar ‘deliver, take from’ (yol ‘to s.o.’)
- ědtél 'ar ‘protect (her) s.t. from’
- flét 'ar ‘flee from s.t.’ (cf. flét mən ð̣ér ‘flee from s.o.’)
- hótraf 'ar ‘move away from’
- kéré 'ar ‘hide s.t. (d.o.) from s.o.’
- ngɔf '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-ənkɛ̃n təġɔ́rəb śé, ta'ér 'ánɛ́n kɔb ðɛ́nu ‘if any one of you knows anything, you should keep this wolf back from us’ ($15:7$)
- dé yébləġ 'ánɛ́n ġeyg yol émɛ́š ‘someone to take a man from us to his mother’ ($54:44$)
- ðtɔl heš 'ar erşɔ́t ‘protect it from the boys!’ ($30:22$)
- flét 'ar øsɛ́ ‘they fled from the rain’ ($31:2$)
- ahturaf 'ās ‘move away from her!’ ($60:8$)
- axarɛ́t kéré ‘ani ūs e-i ‘then they hid my father’s razor from me’ ($49:6$)
- tanūqaf 'āš egǎś hāš ‘his sister would brush it off of him’ ($36:17$)
- yasɔ́xk 'ar øšɛ́tk ‘he may divert you from your livestock’ ($28:13$)
- kɔh šũm yɔ́xləf 'ar ënzilhum ‘why should they move from their place?’ ($28:5$)

The preposition can also be used to mean ‘about’, as in:

- šəsʃet sɔ́xarɛ́t 'ās ‘the old woman found out about her’ ($30:12$)$^4$
- hérɔ́gən ar egəblɛ̄t ‘we talked about Jibbali’ (MnS)
- ktɔbk daftɔ́r ar 'ùn ‘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 šəsʃe mən used to mean ‘find out about’ ($34:14$).
še ‘āgəb əl-ḥəzɔ́z ‘ar aqabhgt ... b-ąqabhgt ‘agiɔ́t əl-ḥəzɔ́z ‘ar embɛ́rɛ́ ‘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 idiomati- 
cum and has a variety of meanings. Such verbal idioms are:

férəḳ ʿar ‘be afraid s.o. will do s.t.’ (often əl before a dependent verb; see §13.2.2)
əḥtéðér ʿar ‘watch out for, be careful of’ (cf. əḥtéðér b- ‘watch out for, 
protect’)
sind ʿar ‘manage without s.o.; do without s.o.'s help’
šérɛk ʿar ‘do s.t. (d.o.) in place of s.o.’

Some examples of these verbal idioms in context are:

fírḳək ‘ãs ɔl tɔ́ffər mən ð̣érən ‘I am afraid that she'll run away from us’
(30:10)
əḥtéðɔ́r ar kɔb ‘watch out for a wolf’ (47:5)
her sind ‘áníi, dḥa-l-ğad ḳərɛrɛ ‘if they can manage without me, I'll go 
tomorrow’ (28:2)
(t)šɔ́kɛ aġag əd-s̃ék yəsɔ́rk ‘ãk ḥɔ́gtk ‘you make your friends do your 
work for [or: instead of] you’ (24:1)

The preposition ʿar is also used for comparison, equivalent to English ‘than’,
as in:

het ð-ɔl kunk mišɛrd lɔ, ɔl (t)sírkən ɛnúf ʿóḳəl axér ‘áníi lɔ ‘if you weren't 
stupid, you wouldn't pretend to be smarter than me’ (1:7)
he axér ‘ankum ‘I am better than you’ (20:8)
áli axér ar erşɔ́t kɛl ‘Ali is better than all the (other) boys’ (49:20)
šum ētə ‘áníi ‘they were older [lit. bigger] than me’ (53:8)

On comparatives, see further in §5.4.

8.5 ʿiyɔ́r ‘in front of’

The rare preposition ʿiyɔ́r ‘in front of’ (with pronominal suffixes ʿir-) is not 
listed in JL, and occurs just once in the texts. Examples are:

təʃfəfən ʿirɔ́š, bə-təẓ́ḥɔ́kən leš ‘they stood around in front of him and 
made fun of him’ (TJ4:26)
ʿiyɔ́r ūt ‘in front of the house’ (AK)
ʿirɔ́hum ‘in front of them’ (SM)
In the Roman ms of text TJ4, Johnstone added the phrase ‘iyɔ́r məḥámmad ‘in front of Muhammad’ in the margin. An informant thought that ‘iyɔ́r could be replaced by fɛ́nɛ́ 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 śḥɛhr ‘mountains’, erz ‘land, country’, ḥallɛ́t ‘town’, fɛ́gər ‘Najd’, ẓ́ɔ́fɔ́l ‘Dhofar’, dini ‘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 ʿaḳ ‘in(side)’ (§ 8.3). Some nouns, like ʃaʼb ‘valley’, gizírt ‘island’, and xádər ‘cave’, can be preceded by either b- or ʿaḳ, with no apparent difference in meaning. This locative usage of b- is illustrated in the following examples from the texts:

aġádən … ʿágən yɔl ɛ́rún b-ɛ́sḥɛ́hr, bə-zḥān dəkkún bə-fɛ́gər ‘we went … heading to the goats in the mountains, and we came to a store in Najd’ (16:1)

zəḥám ḥallɛ́t ḏə-bés aġítš ‘he came to the town that his sister was in’ (17:33)

kun məš́ɛr bə-ḥallɛ́t ‘there was a dance-party in the town’ (30:9)

ɬ ol ə́kdádər l-ʃskaf b-ɛ́rž dɛ́nu ɬɔ ‘I cannot stay in this land’ (60:4)

xaṭarɛ́t ɬ-axáfən bə-xádər b-ɛ́sḥɛ́hr ‘once we were staying in a cave in the mountains’ (51:1) (cf. ʿaḳ xádər, 15:2)

əd-ʿáśk bə-ʿũn, bə-ṣalɔ́lt ‘I live in Oman, in Ṣalalah’ (SM)

The instrumental meaning of b- is shown in the following examples:

sɔ̄ṭəs bə-xø̀ːtəɾɔ́k tɔ́rh ‘they hit her two times with a stick [or: with two sticks]’ (18:12)

tʃtʼan bə-gụnɔ́i ‘they stabbed each other with daggers’ (22:19)

ḥɔ́l skín bə-ʃeʃtə beʃ eʃud ‘they got a knife and cut the rope with it’ (36:4)

ɔ́ʃər b-yidaʃ ‘he pointed with his hand’ (35:3)

ɛ́ʃke li bə-xarkɛ́tk ‘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’. Some examples are:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{ağád bes ed mukún țad ‘they brought [lit. went with] it to a certain place’ (12:2)} \\
& \text{əl adürən lo ar biś ‘I won’t go back without [lit. except with] you’ (30:21)} \\
& \text{hílás ed éṣol bes tel a’élész ‘he took her and [lit. until] he brought her to his family’ (36:29)} \\
& \text{réfa’ ħár ba-ħa(l)h ‘he climbed the mountain with the oil’ (30:26)} \\
& \text{ənká’ tūn b-enūsəb aģák ‘bring us your brother’s milk!’ (51:3)} \\
& \text{zəḥámk tóhum bə-xátök bə-kiť ‘I brought them clothes and food’ (13:16)} \\
& \text{dḥa-l-zḥómkmum bə-ḳəsmét ‘I will bring you a gift’ (47:7)}
\end{align*}
\]

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’:

\[
\text{əl sé zəḥám beš əl ‘nothing came of it’ (SB1:3)}
\]

The preposition b- can also have the meaning ‘for, in exchange for’, as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{yaśímš bə-‘ad her alhúti ‘they sell it for sardines for the cows’ (9:6)} \\
& \text{émi zũthum šṭár bə-šṭərhum e-ḥezíz, bə-ʃūm gūzūm, “əl nəziṭt beş kêžit” ‘my mother gave them a kid for their kid that was slaughtered, and they swore, “We won’t take compensation for it”’ (49:5)} \\
& \text{kal ẓat yézəm təxtór bə-xadmètš ‘everyone would give the doctor (something) for his work’ (52:1)} \\
& \text{bə-mśé ... bə-giní ṭroh ‘how much (money)? ... Two guineas’ (52:8)} \\
& \text{yaśímš bə-ṃẹkən ‘do they sell it for a lot?’ (TJ2:42)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[5\] 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 \( \text{šrɔm} \) 'road' and \( \text{gədərɛ́t} \) 'ground':

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kun bes merşhɛ́te} & \ 'she got sores on her' (6:28) \\
\text{xɔ́tləḳ bes kǔhn troh} & \ 'two ibex horns appeared on her' (6:32) \\
\text{ɡɛyɡ troh ðə-yabjɛ́d b-ʃrɔm} & \ 'two men were walking on a road' (12:1) \\
\text{kisk ʃətɛ́rɛ́r b-ɡədərɛ́t} & \ 'I found a rag on the ground' (33:9) \\
\text{bɛ́sh ɡɛhɛ́t mɛ́kən} & \ 'he had many wounds' (53:1)
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ˈɑɡəb} b^- & \ 'like, love; want' (but \\
\text{ˈwɛnt} & \ 'want' less often also with d.o.; \\
\text{see § 7.5}) \\
\text{ˈaʃf} b^- & \ 'stampede; round up' \\
\text{ɛtəl} b^- & \ 'catch (up to) s.o./ s.t.' \\
\text{ɛˈużeř} b^- & \ 'annoy' \\
\text{bɛ́dɛ́} b^- & \ 'lie to s.o.' (cf. bɛ́dɛ́ l- 'lie about s.o.' \\
\text{bohɛ́r} b^- & \ 'ask s.o. for help' \\
\text{dɛl} b^- & \ 'guide s.o.' \\
\text{ɛdɛ́} b^- & \ 'notice' \\
\text{ɛdɔ́mɪr} b^- & \ 'show s.t.' (to s.o.: d.o.) \\
\text{ɡəɾ} b^- & \ 'nag s.o.' \\
\text{fɑ́ːl} b^- & \ 'hurt s.o.' \\
\text{fɛɾəh} b^- & \ 'be happy with s.o./s.t.' \\
\text{fɔ́ɾoən} b^- & \ 'be excited about s.t.' \\
\text{fʊəɾ} b^- & \ 'stop doing s.t.; give s.t. up' \\
\text{aʃtəkɛ́r} b^- & \ 'think about s.o./s.t.' \\
\text{eɡəsɡɛ́s} b^- & \ 'summon (a spirit or animal) by sorcery' (l- 'for') \\
\text{ɡɛl} b^- & \ 'trick s.o.; delay s.o.' \\
\text{ɡɔ́lɔ́k} b^- & \ 'examine, look at' (cf. \\
\text{ɡɔ́lɔ́k her \text{ˈlʊk for}})
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ɛhbɛ́} b^- & \ 'let s.t. down, make s.t. fall' (l- 'to s.o.)' \\
\text{ɛkɛ́ɾ} b^- & \ 'throw/roll s.t. down' (l- \\
\text{ˈtə/at s.o.)} \\
\text{kbɛ́} b^- & \ 'unload, take down s.t.' \\
\text{kɔ́lət} b^- & \ 'tell s.t., tell about s.t.' (her 'to') \\
\text{koʃt} b^- & \ 'talk to one another about' \\
\text{kɛs} b^- & \ 'shoot s.o./s.t.' \\
\text{kɛɾəb} b^- & \ 'help s.o.' (see the comment to text 13:15) \\
\text{kɛɾɛ́} b^- & \ 'kiss; visit s.o.' (cf. kɛɾɛ́ ar \\
\text{ˈhrɛ́s} (d.o.) from s.o.) \\
\text{əktaʃɛ́f} b^- & \ 'climb s.t.' \\
\text{ʃkaʃɛ́} b^- & \ 'be compensated for s.o./s.t.' (d.o.: 'with')
\end{align*}
\]
238 chapter eight

ligaz b- ‘give s.t. secretly’ (d.o. to s.o.)
ěrhēb b- ‘greet, welcome s.o.’
nitbah b- ‘watch out for’
səndér b- ‘vow s.t. (in exchange)’
enhē b- ‘burn s.t.’
nika’ b- ‘bear/beget a child’ (mən ‘with’) (also ‘bring’; see above)
sənté b- ‘ask (a woman) for her hand in marriage’ (cf. sənté d- ‘ask (a father) for a woman’s hand in marriage’)
ərdé b- ‘throw s.t.’ (l- or d.o. ‘at’; ‘ak ‘into’; yɔl ‘towards s.o.’)
reș b- ‘press s.t. down’
sel b- ‘snatch s.t. by force’ (l- ‘from s.o.’)
šbēh b- ‘think s.o. looks like (l-) someone else’
ší’/šā b- ‘hear about’
šfɔk b- ‘get married to s.o.’ (cf. šfɔk tel/d- ‘marry into the family of s.o.’)
šērēk b- ‘do with/to s.o.’
tek b- ‘get fed up with s.o.’
толb b- ‘avenge’ (cf. tolb ‘invite; ask for’; tolb mən ‘request/ask s.o. (to do s.t.)’)
ösī b- ‘advise (k-) s.o. on s.t.’
ebxēt b- ‘make up for the absence of s.o.’
axtélɛ b- ‘let s.o. down’
xlēf b- ‘let s.o. (d.o.) have s.t.’
xalšt b- ‘join up with, stay with’ (also xalšt l-)
xalē b- ‘be alone with s.o.’
xən b- ‘betray’
zəfr b- ‘push’
zəhm b- ‘bear/beget a child’ (mən ‘with’) (also ‘bring’; see above)

The preposition b- is also found in some non-verbal idioms, including:

b-ɛɣarbɛ́t ‘abroad’
b-ɑ-rık ‘as you wish!’ (fs bə-riš)
b-ɔ-xı́z (or b-ɔ-xı́l) ‘as you wish!’ (lit. ‘by your uncle!’)
b-ɔ-xár ‘well’
dunk b- ‘take!’ (see § 12.5.7)
kun əlhélɛ́ b- ‘be mindful of’
məthım bə ‘accused of’ (ya) ɡay b- ‘welcome!’ (followed by a noun or pronominal suffix)

We also find idiomatic use of b- in oath taking and swearing:

b-ɛɣi ar ɡa-ɛ-ɛmɛn ɛnuf ‘by my honor [lit. face], I will really give myself to you’ (2:3)
a-ngzɛm bə-xòš man nʒɔɛk elikum ‘we will swear times five that we didn’t steal your cow’ (12:9)

Note also the expressions ínɛ bek ‘what’s the matter with you?’ (e.g., 6:8; 36:5) and b-ɛnuf ‘watch/save yourself!’ (83:2). In the latter expression, an
imperative verb like ɛ́flɔ́t ‘save’ (cf. 54:17) or əḥtéðɔ́r ‘watch out for’ (cf. 25:10) must be implied.

Finally, to illustrate again how varied the use of ɓ- is, consider the following passage from the texts:

\[
\text{xαṭaɾɛ́t ɦókul bə-ḥallɛ́t ʂfɔ́k bə-tɛ́t, bə-ẓhám mes b-embɛ́rɛ’ bə-ɡabɡɔ́t}
\]

‘once a ruler in town married a woman, and had with her a boy and a girl’ (36:1)

In this passage we find ɓ- used in four different ways: as a preposition ‘in’ (bə-ḥallɛ́t ‘in a town’); in two different verbal idioms (ʂfɔ́k ɓ- ‘marry’ and ẓəḥám ɓ- ‘beget, have a child’); and twice as a conjunction (bə-ẓhám ‘and he had’ and bə-ɡabɡɔ́t ‘and a girl’).

As noted already in § 8, if a word begins with ɓ, then the preposition ɓ- is either suppressed, or is realized as an initial ə- (or əb-). Before a word that begins with m, ɓ- is sometimes also realized simply as a- (or am-); 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 ƙərɛ́rɛ ‘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:

\[
\text{ba’d ɛ́śər ɛ̄m ‘after ten days’ (SB1:7)}
\]

The standard Jibbali word for ‘after’ is mən ð̣ér (§ 8.8), but some speakers do use ba’d more frequently, under the influence of Arabic.

8.8 ð̣er ‘on, onto; over’; mən ð̣ér ‘after’

The preposition ð̣er has the basic meanings of ‘on(to), upon; over’. Some illustrative examples with the meaning ‘on’ are:

\[
\underline{skif ð̣írs ‘sit on it!’ (6:22)}
\]

\[
\underline{he s̃i ɣũl, bə-ð̣írš tũr bə-ḥíṭ ‘I had a camel, and on it were dates and grain’ (13:6)}
\]

\[
\underline{hɔl aɣišt ð̣er ɦaʃnĩ́n ‘he put his sister on a horse’ (17:11)}
\]

\[
\underline{ḳeλa’ eṣaɣat ð̣er hɛrṹm ‘he put the jewelry on a tree’ (22:8)}
\]

\[
\underline{hɛ ḥaʃi ð̣er eṁbɛ́rɛ’ ‘dirt fell on the boy’ (36:27)}
\]

\[
\underline{hɔk tɔš ð̣er ʂɔ́i ‘I put him on my back’ (50:6)}
\]

\[
\underline{i ɛgnĩ́n ð̣er eṁbɛ́rɛ’ ‘my father stooped over the child’ (51:7)}
\]

\[
\underline{ḳeλa’ səndik eb yəhɛ ð̣er ɔfɔ́ ‘he let a big box fall on his foot’ (52:2)}
\]
ktōb ḏūrš ‘he wrote on it’ (52:7)
der ḏēr egēnāh dēnu ‘move onto this wing’ (TJ1:6)

And some examples with the meaning ‘over’ are:
hōl ekāḥf ḏēr šāt ‘put the pot on [lit. over] the fire’ (12:4)
ed zāhām ḏēr šēxaṛēt, aʿṣīss ‘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 ḏēr in the following example:
dḥa-nzēm kēbaʾšt izīf ḏēr yiršēn b-əlhīn ḏūrsan ‘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 ḏēr ‘from upon, off of’ and ed ḏēr ‘up on to’, for example:
hēk mən ḏēr kērah ‘I fell off a donkey’ (36:5)
raʃt kāmkēš mən ḏēr erēss ‘lift your head-cloth up off your head’ (60:42)
šēlēd embēre’ mən ḏēr ᵇkūn ‘the boy fired (his gun) from on the peak’ (83:3)
aɡādās aɡēyɡ bə-tūš ed ḏēr ᵇhrēnūt ‘the man and his wife went up onto a hill’ (60:41)
‘āɡn nēflōt ed ḏēr ᵇkūn dōhūn ‘let’s run away up onto that peak’ (83:2)

In a few cases, usually in conjunction with a verb of running away (like flēt ‘run away, escape’ or nɡam ‘run away in anger, storm off’), mən ḏēr means ‘from the presence of’, for example:

fīrkōk ‘ās ʃl ṭōʃfər mən ḏēran ‘I am afraid that she’ll run away from us’ (30:10)
ba-nğaṃk mən ḏērkum ‘I ran away in anger from them’ (49:26)
dḥa-l-ᵉflōt mən ḏōri ‘she will run away from me’ (60:20)

Far more often, however, the compound mən ḏēr 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-zḥōm kən ḏēr riʾēm ‘I’ll come to you in [lit. after] four days’ (3:6)
mən ḏēr xāṭarēt dīkūn, kūn ‘iṣūr ‘after that time, they were friends’ (20:9)
mən ḏēr esōlōt e-ḏōhər dḥa-l-zōm kənuf ‘after the noon prayers, I will give myself to you’ (36:10)
əm-mən ḏūrš ktōb leš xāt ‘and afterwards [lit. after it] he wrote her a letter’ (SB2:6)
ed mən ḏér ékwet, xtɔr i ḥallét ‘then after a while, my father went down to town’ (49:11)
he ḏḥa-l-salɔ́bk ed mən ḏér edʒɔ́hɔ́r ‘I will wait for you until after noon’ (28:7)

Note the combination ed mən ḏér ‘until after’ in the last example (28:7), with the preposition ed followed by the compound preposition mən ḏér. In the previous example (49:11), the phrase ed mən ḏér is not a compound preposition, but rather the temporal conjunction ed (§ 13.5.3.4) plus mən ḏér.

With certain words, ḏer 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:

ḏer kɔ́r ‘at/to a grave’ (but ‘ak kɔ́r ‘in(to) a grave’)
ḏer míh ‘at/to water’ (but ‘ak míh ‘in(to) water’, tel míh ‘beside/by water’)
ḏer śaˈb ‘at/to (the edge of) a valley’ (but ‘ak śaˈb ‘in(to) a valley’)
ḏer ǝ́r ‘at/to (the edge of) a well’ (but ‘ak ǝ́r ‘in(to) a well’)

Some of the attested passages with these idioms are:

aḡád erśɔ́t ḏer ekɔ́r ǝ́mehum ‘the boys went to their mother’s grave’ (6:1)
erɔ́d iyɛ́lɛ́š ḏer emíh. hes éṣol, ksé ɡag ḏer emíh ‘he brought his camels down to the water. When he arrived, he found men at the water’ (25:1)
zəḥám ḏer míh … bə-skɔ́f ḏer emíh ‘they came to (some) water ... and they stayed by the water’ (17:12–13)
ɡid ḏer emíh ‘go to the water!’ (60:14)
aḡád bes ḏer ǝ́r ‘they brought her to a well’ (97:10)

The compounds mən ḏér and ed ḏér can also occur in these idioms, for example:

biš aḡádas mən ḏer emíh ‘you have already gone from by the water’ (60:15)
he ‘ak eḡáti łyil to ed ḏér emíh ‘I wanted my sister to carry me up to the water’ (49:14)

---

6 We also find yol emíh ‘to the water’ one time in the texts (97:43), but in this passage emíh is euphemistic for ‘toilet’. In one passage (60:14), we also find her míh, but this means ‘for (the purpose of getting) water’, and is not connected to motion or location.
Note also the verbal idioms guzúm ð̣̈er ‘swear on’ (e.g., 12:10; cf. guzúm l-‘swear to s.o.’) and fté ð̣̈er ‘decide on s.t.’ (57:1).

8.9 (əl-)-fɛ̍nɛ́ ‘before; in front of; ago’

The preposition fɛ̍nɛ́, in the texts most often used in the compound əl-fɛ̍nɛ́, can have a spatial meaning ‘in front of, ahead of’, as well as a temporal meaning ‘before’. It takes the suffixes used for plural nouns, which are attached to the base (əl-)fɛ̍n-. There has clearly been a misanalysis of the final element -ɛ́, which is part of the base, as the element ɛ́ that occurs along with many of the pronominal suffixes attached to plural nouns (see § 3.2.2). Examples are:

\[ \text{ed kérab əl-yɔ́ śíníš əl-fɛ̍nɛ́š ‘then when he got near the people, he saw it in front of him’ (39:5)} \]
\[ \text{ed k-ḥáṣaf ʿaśśɔ́t əl-fɛ̍nî ‘then in the morning, she got up before me’ (97:43)} \]
\[ \text{əl śé míh al-fɛ̍nókum bɔ ‘there is no water ahead of you’ (60:37)} \]
\[ \text{kséš ber finísan ‘they found him already (there) before them’ (TJ4:41)} \]
\[ \text{əltíği əl-fɛ̍nî ‘he was killed in front of me’ (JL, s.v. ḥśm)} \]

For the temporal conjunction ‘before’, Jibbali usually uses d-ʿɔd əl (see § 7.3), but once in the texts we find (əl-)fɛ̍nɛ́ used along with d-ʿɔd, and once (followed by a subjunctive) used in place of d-ʿɔd (but with d-ʿɔd used as ‘while’ earlier in the sentence):

\[ \text{kaldás ġer xafk əl-fɛ̍nɛ́ d-ˈɔk ɔl s̃ɔ́fk ‘put it on your foot before you go to sleep’ (52:7)} \]
\[ \text{yəbğɔ́d šɛ ʿaḳ fɛ̍gər ɛṣbəḥí, d-ˈɔd yɔ də-s̃éf, fínísən sɛn əl tɔ̈gádən ‘he went in the early morning, while people were still sleeping, before they (the women) went’ (TJ4:22)} \]

8.10 ġer ‘except’; mən ġér ‘without’

The basic meaning of ġer 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 fíní 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.
**PREPOSITIONS**

...-aga’d yaxalof giřš ‘something else [lit. besides it] will take the place of that which has gone’ (97:27)

Much more commonly used is the compound preposition man ġér, which means ‘without’. Examples are:

- šélæt ěm man ġér kít ‘three days without food’ (30:14)
- ɔl akolá’hum man ġér ‘ad la ‘I won’t leave them (the cows) without sardines’ (41:3)
- dha-l-ëšfaskaš ebriti man ġér sé ‘I will marry him to my daughter for nothing [lit. without anything]’ (54:36)
- taq to man ġér sièb ‘kill me without a reason!’ (83:6)

A compound with ba- instead of man appears once in Johnstone’s Mehri texts (M13:1), and seems to be possible in Jibbali as well. There is one example in JL:

- kɔbś ba-ġayr kérün ‘a weakling; an idiot (lit. a lamb without horns)’ (JL, s.v. krn)°

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 ʿõr ‘say’ and kɔlɔ́t ‘tell’. Multiple examples can be found in nearly every text. A few are:

- mun e-ʿõr hek tšérk ténu ‘who told you to do it like this?’ (1:4)
- ʿõr aģág her ñetžhum ‘the men said to their wives...’ (15:7)
- ʿõr hóhum i ‘my father said to them...’ (AK2:4)
- kɔlɔ́t híni ‘tell me!’ (24:3)
- ɔl tiklaṭ her i la ‘don’t tell father!’ (49:18)
- kɔlɔ́t heš ba-xáfš ‘he told him about his foot’ (52:5)

° Johnstone used the more etymological transcription ġayr in JL (s.v. ġyr and passim), but in his texts he usually transcribed the word as ġér, which more accurately reflects its pronunciation.
The idiom ‘ōr her can also be used impersonally to mean ‘be called, be named’, as in:

\[\text{xaṭarēt ġeyg ya‘ōr heš be nəwās} \quad \text{‘once there was a man called [lit. they say to him] Ba Newas’ (18:1)}\]

\[\text{naḥā ya‘ōr hen bet bu zīd al-həlālī} \quad \text{‘we are called [lit. they say to us] the house of Bu Zid al-Hilali’ (54:6)}\]

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:

\[\text{títi gižt. īnē al-ṣərk hes} \quad \text{‘my wife is sick. What should I do for her?’ (6:8)}\]

\[\text{yəsəṃś bə-’ād her elhūti} \quad \text{‘they sell it for sardines for the cows’ (9:6)}\]

\[\text{ḥazzzőt hini} \quad \text{‘she slaughtered (an animal) for me’ (13:16)}\]

\[\text{‘āqəb heš her aḡātš} \quad \text{‘he wanted it for his sister’ (17:22)}\]

\[\text{ḥalzb heš yat} \quad \text{‘he milked a camel for him’ (33:11)}\]

\[\text{šərkzt heš ḳahwɛ́t} \quad \text{‘she made coffee for him’ (34:2)}\]

\[\text{ępəm heš a’élɛ́š b-iźɔ́k iź-s̃eš} \quad \text{‘his parents and his friends [lit. those who were with him] consulted (an astrologer) for him’ (SB1:3)}\]

\[\text{al-kṓṣəm hek} \quad \text{‘should I cool (it) for you?’ (JL, s.v. kšm)}\]

It can also mean ‘for’ in the sense of ‘for the purpose of’, as in:

\[\text{het dha-tjád her hógtk man dha-tjád túnhag} \quad \text{‘will you go for necessity [lit. your need] or will you go to have fun?’ (3:7)}\]

\[\text{īnē tə́or tūm her eḥkwɛ́t} \quad \text{‘what (word) do you say for (drinking) coffee?’ (34:11)}\]

\[\text{ẓəḥámkt tɔk her xar} \quad \text{‘I came to you for good’ (41:2)}\]

\[\text{a’anēs her hə́ši ˈʃʃqr ‘her intention was for red sand’ (51:16)}\]

\[\text{mahfákdɔ́t her ekrɔ́s} \quad \text{‘a wallet for money’ (JL, s.v. hbn)}\]

With this meaning ‘for (the purpose of)’, it combines, in its shortened form h-, with the interrogative īnē to make h-īnē ‘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 enúf (pl. ēnfɔ́f), resulting in the form hānúf (pl. hānfɔ́f); see §3.7. See also the comment to text TJ4:21.
bér hek sá’ate bə-hét b-əɡarbɛ́t? bér híni ḥa-yékən xĩš ‘ayún ‘were you abroad for a long time? For about five years’ (8:1–2)
bér híni sá’ate ɔl śink tɔş ło ‘I have not seen him for a long time’ (8:6)
bér heš xĩš ‘ayún ba-ṣë mə́rɛ́z ‘already for five years he was sick’ (15:12)
bér hóhum ‘aṣər troh mən ġér kît ‘they were already without food for two nights’ (21:2)
híni ṭət xarʃɛ́, bə-hé ɔl ə’asɛ́s lɔ mən ɛ́nɛ́zɛ́l ‘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 ḥaḳt e- (§ 13.5.3.6) gives the meaning ‘after’, as in:

hes bér hes ‘ónut, kətɔ̄t leš xaṭ ‘after a year [lit. when it was already a year
for her], she wrote him a letter’ (SB2:3)
ḥaḳt ēr heš yum miṭ yũ ṭrut, ʿõr 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 ‘aṣər troh ‘he had two (more) nights’ (30:19)
heš orx ba-ʃəkh ‘he had a month and a half (journey)’ (46:7)
b-îs də-liği, bér heš dhə-yékən xĩš ‘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:

ḍə kun šɛ ɔl tɔ̄lɔkum lɔ, hókum mən tɔ̄lí xamsín yiršɔ́b ‘if it is not with you,
you will get [lit. for you (are)] from me fifty riding-camels’ (6:38)
sədɛ́d yo skɔf heš ba-xamsín ɪʃ́ ‘the people present agreed that he
would get [lit. for him (was)] fifty thousand (dollars)’ (18:15)
ḥɛt śəxər b-ɔl hek ḥəšmɛ́t 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 underly-
ingly.

yḥĩl her ağı́tʃ ahföl ‘he would take the (ripe) wild figs to [or: for] his
sister’ (17:14)
ḡad her ɛ̀sɛ́rk’ ‘go get [lit. for] your turban!’ (97:43)
ḡeg yaqda mən ėržəš ʿaɡəb her ɛ́rɛ́ tət ‘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 ‘ágəb’ in its use as a motion verb ‘heading to’ (§ 7.5.2) normally takes yɔl or no preposition.

We also find her used idiomatically with a number of verbs, including:

- défa’ her ‘pay s.o.’
- əðtel her ‘protect s.o.’ (‘ər ‘from’)
- fté her ‘advise s.o.’
- ɡəlɔ́k her ‘look for s.t.’ (cf. ɡəlɔ́k b- ‘examine, look at’)
- ġarɔ́b her ‘know s.t. for (e.g., an illness)’
- ɡəz her ‘wink at’
- ɡazé her ‘raid’
- herɔ́g her ‘speak (up) for’ (vs. herɔ́g k- ‘speak with’)
- htɔf her ‘call to s.o. for help’
- hek her ‘call s.o., call out to s.o.’
- .hsəb her ‘count on’
- ɡõz̄ her ‘stray to’ (used for animals)
- səndər her ‘make a vow to s.o.’
- sůh/sůh her ‘permit, allow’ (cf. sůh/sůh l- or d.o. ‘forgive, excuse s.o.’)
- ɔƯɛr her ‘have patience with s.o.’ (cf. ʂɔ̄r l- ‘wait for’)
- ʂůr her ‘see to, treat (a sick person)’
- ɛzɔ̄r her ‘take pleasure in s.o.’
- ṣȫhɛr her ‘appear to s.o.’
- sɚnɛd her ‘stray to’ (used for animals)
- səndɛr her ‘make a vow to s.o.’
- sůh/sůh her ‘permit, allow’ (cf. sůh/sůh l- or d.o. ‘forgive, excuse s.o.’)
- ɔUbuntu her ‘stray to’ (used for animals)
- ɔUbuntu her ‘make a vow to s.o.’
- sůh/sůh her ‘permit, allow’ (cf. sůh/sůh l- or d.o. ‘forgive, excuse s.o.’)

Two more common non-verbal idioms are axér her (+ subjunctive) ‘it’s better for’ and əl xer her ... əl (+ subjunctive) ‘it’s not good for’ (see also § 7.1.3, n. 2), as in:

- axér hókum l-xɔlaf ‘it’s better for you to move’ (28:6)
- axér hek əl-dɔ́r ‘it’s better for you to go back’ (30:18)
- əl xer hek əl ... axér hek tartún tel ɛ̄mɛ̄k ‘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)
- əl xer hek tagád lə ‘it’s not good for you to go’ (60:25)

A similar expression is sέtər 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:
rahūt ʾal-hēs ērēt ‘beautiful like the moon’ (17:9)
dha-nzēmk hagālēt ʾal-hēs hagālētk ‘we will give you a calf like your calf’
(23:13)
gini ʿāṯ ʾal-ṣēʾ besīt ʾal-hēs ḍōkūn ‘one guinea for something simple like that’ (52:10)
ēghōš ʾal-ʾrhūm ʾal-hēs ṣēḥān ḍo ‘his face was not good like his mind’
(SB2:1)
ʾāl ʿē ʾal-hēs ṣē ḍo ‘there is no one like him’ (54:2)
ḏé ʾal-hēs ḍe ‘is anyone like me?’ (54:3)
ʾerḥēt ʾal-hēs ḍe, ḍa-ḥēhēnt ʾaḥ-beṣērt ʾal-hēs ḍe ‘beautiful like me, and
clever and intelligent like you’ (SB2:4)
ḵālōb hē ḫāḥāl ḍo ʾal-hēs ṣêṭ ‘they returned his penis to him until (it
was) as before’ (17:32)
ēghōš hē ṣēfēš ‘his face is like his back’ (MnS)

As the example from 17:32 shows, (ʾa-)hēs can also be followed by an adverb.
In one passage from Johnstone’s texts (28:17), the simple form hēs is
written in the manuscripts, though the audio of the text has ʾal-hēs:

ken li (ʾa-)hēs ḍe ‘be like my father to me’ (28:37)

The preposition (ʾa-)hēs 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:

ṣērk ḍak ʾal-hēs ‘ōk ḍīni ‘I did as you told me’ (MnS)
ṣērk hēt ṣē ṭēzūm tṣērōk ‘do as you used to do’ (AdM)

On the temporal conjunction hēs ‘when, after’, see §13.5.3.5. And on the
rare particle axā ‘like’, see the comments to texts TJ2:65 and TJ4:95.

8.13 ʾk- (ʾṣ-) ‘with’

The basic meaning of the preposition ʾk- is ‘with’ in a comitative sense.12
Before pronominal suffixes, it has the base ʾṣ-. Some examples are:

skaf ʾṣēṣ ḥa-yēkān ṣē ‘he stayed with her about a month’ (7:9)
ʿaṯ ṭēṭi ṭaḡād ṣī ‘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 teṯ k-ɛ́rún ‘he found a woman with the goats’ (22:5)
naká’, te’ sên ‘come, eat with us!’ (23:4)
ɔl əkódar al-ɛ́gád šek ̣lɔ ‘I cannot go with you’ (28:19)
ɛ́mí kumút k-ɛ́rún, b-i kun  k-iyɛ́l ‘my mother was with the goats, my father
was with the camels’ (51:15)
’ak əl-xέṭər s̃ókum ‘I want to travel with you’ (54:7)
her śinén šes dé, dḥa-ngád ‘if we see anyone with her, we’ll go’ (60:40)
aḡadɔ́t s̃ésən ‘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 s̃ɛ̃n ʿɔ́dət ‘we have a custom’ (7:4)
he ɔl s̃i ḳit lɔ ‘I have no food’ (21:4)
šũm ɔl s̃óhum míh lɔ. s̃óhum ṭelg ‘they did not have water. They had ice’
 (35:3)
šiš īné ʿak ērîk ‘what do you have in the pitcher?’ (60:45)
šáxər ɔl s̃eš məndíḳ lɔ, b-ɛmbɛ́rɛ́ s̃eš məndíƙ ‘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 expres-
sions relating to physical or environmental conditions. A number of exam-
pies, along with discussion, can be found in § 13.3.1.2, but one example
is:

‘ak əl-ɡád d-ʿɔ́d s̃i ḗz̃èl ‘I want to go while it’s still cool [lit. I still have the
cold (weather)]’ (60:35)

A common idiom is herό́g k- ‘speak with’. Examples from the texts are:

he bek herό́gək s̃es ‘I already spoke with her’ (45:3)
təhérg kə-mũn ɛ̄lɛ ‘who were you speaking with before?’ (28:9)
dḥa-nhérg kə-téṯ ‘we will speak with the woman’ (45:8)

Another interesting idiom is the expression of ‘friend’ with a phrase mean-
ing ‘the man/men with’ or ‘those with’, for example:

šənhrɛ́r mɛ̃k aḡag əd-šɛ́k ... bə-(t)ʃhóke aḡag əd-šɛ́k yaʃɔ́rk ‘ak hɔ́gṭk ‘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)
edũ ᵐol aḡag əd-šɛ́ś ‘he went back to his friends’ (54:33)
enɡím heš a’ɛ́lɛ́s b-iẓɔ́k iź-šɛ́ś ‘his parents and his friends [lit. those who
were with him] consulted (an astrologer) for him’ (SB1:3)
As for other idioms, we find:

- $ağád k$- 'sleep with (sexually)' (lit. 'go with')
- $ağád k-ɛnuf$ 'go to the bathroom' (lit. 'go with oneself')
- $kun rəhım k$- 'be nice to'
- $ösi k$- 'advise s.o.'
- $kə-ð̣ɔ́hɔr$ 'at noon; in the afternoon'

The preposition $k$- has also been incorporated into two expressions of time, namely, $kolˈeni$ 'in the evening' and $k-ḥáṣaf$ 'in the morning'. With $kolˈeni$ 'in the evening', a form without the initial $k$- exists; $əl-ˈéni$ means 'tonight'. With $k-ḥáṣaf$ 'in the morning', however, the $k$- is really inseparable, despite the hyphenated transcription. Moreover, $k-ḥáṣaf$ is often best translated simply as 'morning'. Compare the following two sentences:

$ɛd k-ḥáṣaf ʿeš$ 'then in the morning, he got up' (6:15) ($ɛd = 'then'$)
$ṣbɔ́r li ɛd k-ḥáṣaf$ 'wait for me until the morning' (30:24) ($ɛd = 'until'$)

In the second sentence, we could consider $ɛd k$- a compound preposition (cf. $ɛd ʒér$, § 8.8, and $ɛd tél$, § 8.26), but a better analysis is simply to take $k-ḥáṣaf$ is the nominal object of the preposition $ɛd$. Both $kolˈeni$ '(in the) evening' and $k-ḥáṣaf$ ' (in the) morning' can be considered single lexemes, not prepositional phrases, with no preposition needed to indicate 'in the'; cf. $gəsré$ '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 $sɛ́kən$ 'settlement, community; family' or $ˈɛl$ 'family'.

$sförk kin sɛ́kəni$ 'I traveled from my settlement' (13:1)
$əł əbğʊd lo kin aˈéli$ 'I won't go from my family' (13:17)
$ağéyg ɛ̱nfi ċə-ʃəmdɛd tūr kin ağéyg ċaba sɛ́kən$ 'the first man, who had taken the date from the owner of the camp' (21:9)
$ağád ağaɡ kin ağéyg$ 'the men went away from the man' (21:12)
$he ġeyɡ ċə-xtɔ́rk kin sɛ́kəni$ 'I am a man who has come down from my settlement'

---

13 Some informants preferred 'aḵ ḏɔ́hɔr.'
'ak kíni bə-rɛ́hən ‘you want a guarantee (of payment) from me’ (41:3)
her żéṭ kin e-šfik kéléb ‘if he took the bride-price from the one who got married’ (TJ2:25)

The preposition kin seems to be interchangeable with man tél (see the examples in § 8.26), which is more common in the texts.

8.15 kéfɛ́ ‘in back of’
The word kéfɛ́ means literally ‘back (part)’, as in kéfɛ́ e-sayéra ‘the back of the car’ (MmS); see also text Pr54. It has a more general meaning than šɔ̄ ‘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 kéfɛ́n ‘they are behind us’. Informants all recognized this word. Another example of its use is:

ènzél e-xāli kéfɛ́ ènzélon ‘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:

kɛ́l leš aǵāš ekellén hɪt ‘his little brother measured out food for him’ (6:36)
xnɪṭ lóhum ‘išé ‘he took out food for them’ (21:11)
iné kéla’ lek kéléb ... kéla’ li mut trut bə-xamsín kərɔ́s ‘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).
prehét leš bò-kúd ‘she let down a rope for him’ (36:3)
gmɔ̀ ‘lì régà ‘dò-kañwèt ‘collect coffee-grounds for me’ (36:13)
erśòt yàkòmnm y-i-rèsòb ‘the boys should collect fodder for the riding-camels’ (47:6)
mélèt li bérík mìh ‘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:

kòsòf lòhum xës èrùn ‘it [a leopard] broke the necks of five goats (to their detriment)’ (15:2)
ğad ... ed màn tèl kéta’ lek èlhlèb ‘go ... until wherever the camel gets tired on you [or: for you]’ (30:15)
yaxès lèn èksbètàn ‘he’ll stink up our clothes (for us)’ (46:15)
ekèbèl tim li ‘the truce is over for me (to my detriment)’ (60:9)
liš ètìm ‘it’s a sin for you’ (60:11)
sèlùt èskèr gòzèt 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 edòr ‘return, go back’, nòf ‘go (in the early evening), kòb ‘write’ (if we consider writing to someone as having a sense of motion), as well as in the expression màn manzèl al-manzèl ‘from place to place’. However, most of these verbs can also be, and often are, paired with other prepositions to indicate motion (e.g., yòl, § 8.28). Some examples are:

her âl edúrk len èl-éni ìò ‘if you don’t come back to us this evening’ (28:17)
eyàt edìròt len ‘the camel came back to us’ (AK2:10)
kòl ‘àsòr yànuòsì èl-hìs ‘each night he came to a brother-in-law of his’ (30:20)
kòb les xàt ‘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:

a’rér l- ‘send for s.o.’ bòdè l- ‘lie about s.o.’ (cf. bòdè b-
a’tìn l- ‘inform on s.o., spy on s.o.’ bòttàr l- ‘look down to’
\[\text{\textit{sadheq} l\textemdash 'look in on s.o. (who is sick)' (see the comment to text 18:7)}\]
\[\text{\textit{fke} l\textemdash 'cover s.o.' (b\textemdash 'with s.t.')}\]
\[\text{\textit{ger} l\textemdash 'happen to'}\]
\[\text{\textit{agtel} l\textemdash 'gather around'}\]
\[\text{\textit{guzum} l\textemdash 'swear to s.o.' (cf. guzum \textit{der} 'swear on')}\]
\[\text{\textit{gol} l\textemdash 'refuse s.o.'}\]
\[\text{\textit{goste} l\textemdash 'be angry at'}\]
\[\text{\textit{egber} l\textemdash 'raid; get in s.o.'s way'}\]
\[\text{\textit{hogum} l\textemdash 'attack' (also hogum d\textemdash)}\]
\[\text{\textit{hukum} l\textemdash 'force s.o.; nag s.o.'}\]
\[\text{\textit{hsteg} l\textemdash 'need'}\]
\[\text{\textit{hazor} l\textemdash 'persuade s.o.'}\]
\[\text{\textit{k} l\textemdash 'throw/roll (b\textemdash) s.t. down to/at s.o.'}\]
\[\text{\textit{kof} l\textemdash 'uncover, examine s.o.'}\]
\[\text{\textit{kabréd} l\textemdash 'be crazy about s.o.'}\]
\[\text{\textit{kun} l\textemdash 'happen to'}\]
\[\text{\textit{ekbel} l\textemdash 'approach'}\]
\[\text{\textit{ekoz} l\textemdash 'watch, observe'}\]
\[\text{\textit{kod} l\textemdash 'overpower; manage, handle, control'}\]
\[\text{\textit{kofil} l\textemdash 'shut/lock in s.o.'}\]
\[\text{\textit{kolob} l\textemdash 'return s.t. (d.o.) to s.o.' (note also kolob l\textit{X selum} 'give (return) a greeting to X')}\]
\[\text{\textit{kera} l\textemdash 'get near to' (cf. keri\textit{b} l\textemdash 'near, close to')}\]
\[\text{\textit{ekes} l\textemdash 'try s.t. (d.o.) on s.o. (to see if it fits)'}\]
\[\text{\textit{lahaf} l\textemdash 'come close to, press up against'}\]
\[\text{\textit{lah} l\textemdash 'help s.o.' (see the comment to text 36:4)}\]
\[\text{\textit{nko} l\textemdash 'exhume, dig up'}\]
\[\text{\textit{nko} l\textemdash 'get annoyed with, criticize s.o.'}\]
\[\text{\textit{ntr} l\textemdash 'untie'}\]
\[\text{\textit{ord} l\textemdash 'throw (b\textemdash) s.t. at' (ord\textit{yak} \textit{into} 'throw (b\textemdash) s.t. towards s.o./into s.t.'}\]
\[\text{\textit{rek} l\textemdash 'ride (an animal)' (also rek\textit{b} \textit{der} 'ride on')}\]
\[\text{\textit{rsun} l\textemdash 'tie (d.o.) to s.t.'}\]
\[\text{\textit{ers} l\textemdash 'release, let s.o. tied up go'}\]
\[\text{\textit{sel} l\textemdash 'snatch (b\textemdash) s.t. by force from s.o.'}\]
\[\text{\textit{suh} l\textemdash 'forgive, excuse s.o.' (same meaning also with d.o.; cf. also suh/suh \textit{her} 'permit, allow')}\]
\[\text{\textit{sr} l\textemdash 'wait for' (cf. sr \textit{her} 'have patience with s.o.'}\]
\[\text{\textit{ses} l\textemdash 'listen carefully to'}\]
\[\text{\textit{sed} l\textemdash 'saddle' (also with d.o.)}\]
\[\text{\textit{stek} l\textemdash 'miss, long for'}\]
\[\text{\textit{se} l\textemdash 'sell to'}\]
\[\text{\textit{sh} l\textemdash 'block s.o. in'}\]
\[\text{\textit{st} l\textemdash 'listen to'}\]
\[\text{\textit{ter} l\textemdash 'pass by s.o.'}\]
\[\text{\textit{egah} l\textemdash 'go in to see s.o.' (cf. egah 'enter (a place)')}\]
\[\text{\textit{xalot} l\textemdash 'join up with, stay with' (also xalot b\textemdash)}\]
\[\text{\textit{xelf} l\textemdash 'relieve, replace s.o.'}\]
\[\text{\textit{zhak} l\textemdash 'make fun of' (cf. zhak \textit{man} 'laugh at')}\]

In the texts, we sometimes find \textit{l\textemdash} with a verb unexpectedly. For example, in 60:14, we find \textit{xabir l\textemdash 'ask about s.o./s.t.'}, though the normal idiom is \textit{xabir \textit{man}}; this is probably due to the use of \textit{l\textemdash} in the Mehri text from which text
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 kəlôt l- ‘tell to’, which must be another Mehrism; the normal expression is kəlôt 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, xalôt l- ‘join up with, stay with’ occurs twice in the texts (32:2; 49:1), while xalôt 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:

- ḥōgət l- ‘a need for’
- ḥarûm l- ‘forbidden to s.o.’
- kun taw l- ‘fit s.o. well’
- kérîb l- ‘close to, near’ (see § 8.18 on kérîb mən)
- l-öödk ‘at your promised time’
- al-êni ‘tonight’
- al-šb ‘by the door’
- l-şrxér ‘slowly’
- l-ēl yidš ‘the reach of his arm’ (i.e., ‘as far as he could throw’; see the comment to text 21:10)
- al-fə’m ‘on the foot’
- l-agērē d- ‘for the sake of’ (see § 8.29)
- l-eğišit- ‘beside, next to’ (see § 8.29)
- al-hún ‘to where?’
- la-hādēr ‘on guard’ (as in ken la-hādēr ‘be on guard’)
- al-kənbâ‘ ‘on the heel’
- al-kərfēf ‘on the face’ (cf. ‘ak kərfefi ‘to/in my face’)
- (aŋad) al-xāf ‘(go) by foot’
- l-erēš- ‘on (one’s) head’ (e.g., ‘fall on one’s head’)
- al-yōh ‘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 šxəbûr mən (occurring about fifteen times), while šxəbûr l- occurs just twice.
her ṣl zahām am-mūh lɔ, ber leš ɔz ‘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 lēbɔr ‘like, the same as’

JL (s.v. lwr) defines the preposition lēbɔr ‘like, the same as’, and includes the example še lēbri ‘he is the same as I’. There is only one occurrence of this preposition in the texts:

ġigeniti ḍa-lēbras mən sens ‘girls similar to her in age’ (TJ4:15)

My informants recognized this word, though the only additional example I heard was šum lēbran ‘they are like us’ (MnS). Two informants felt lēbɔr to be identical in meaning to al-hēs ‘like’ (in contrast with ta’mīraŋ, § 8.25), but one (MnS) felt that al-hēs meant ‘exactly like’, while lēbɔr 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:

śinūtš aġabgɔ́t mən xofɛ́t ‘the girl saw him from the window’ (54:39)
śxanīṭ mən šōfalen xɔ́tum ‘a ring came out of his belly’ (6:20)
ḥamól mən xādəran ‘move [lit. pick up] from our cave!’ (15:3)
fūskši mən ṭaṭtɔ́ši ‘they separated them from each other’ (20:5)
ġeyg aḡad mən e runnable e-zōfūl ‘a man went from the region of Dhofar’ (34:1)
ṣl dē nūsɔ́x mes śe lɔ ‘no one had drunk anything from it’ (34:10)
tōlə́b yo mən but ed but ‘he begged people from house to house’ (46:8)
teṭ ṣl se mən ekilt ḍ-axsöměs lɔ ‘the woman was not from the tribe of his enemies’ (60:33)
śxanīṭ mən ɔ́za ‘he left [or: went out from] the house’ (60:36)

Examples in which mən indicates cause or reason are:

iyēlǐ ber dha-tʃtɔ̀tan mən xêt ‘my camels are about to die of [or: from] thirst’ (25:2)
se tɔk mən farɔξ ‘she was crying from happiness’ (13:8)
aḡtɔ́se mən farkêt ‘he fainted from fear’ (39:5)
he aġmódak ɗɔ-kéta’k mən ɦilín e-tūr ‘I’ve become tired from carrying the dates’ (48:6)

And two examples in which mən is used with reference to time are:

mən k-ḥuṣafa’d ed taḡid yūm ‘from morning until the sun goes down’ (4:5)
mən gəm’átd ed gəm’átd ‘from Friday to (the next) Friday’ (TJ4:62)

By extension of the simple temporal use of mən ‘from’, we also find mən used with a slightly different temporal meaning ‘since’ or ‘for’ (in the sense of ‘since ... ago’), as in:

mən ɔrx troh ɔl-’ɔd ɔtal sé lɔ ‘he hasn’t sent anything at all for two months’ (8:7)
mən mit gələk? mən ēle 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 mən, in which cases mən is normally preceded (or, rarely, followed) by some sort of quantifier or indefinite pronoun:

kɔl minɛ́n e-bédé, še mišɛrd ‘whichever of us has lied, he is stupid’ (1:8)
yəzho’m taʃ mən aģág ba-yədɔ́rəm šit mən iyɛ́l ‘one of the men came and slaughtered one of the camels’ (25:5)
ḥõl meš xérín ‘he took a little of it’ (35:5)
mùn mənkûm ɗɔ-’ágeb ɔz ‘which [lit. who] of you wants a goat?’ (39:2)
‘ak taʃtɛ́m še mən ɔzɛtɔ́n ‘you want to buy some of our animals’ (41:2)
ko šum xəyɔ́sím mən ɛlɛ̀tɔ́hùm ba-dírɛ́həm ‘why don’t they sell some of their cows for money?’ (TJ2:80)
dé-ansɛ́n sᵃḥər ‘one [lit. someone] of them was a witch’ (15:8)
šë-an ʃóhùm ‘some among them’ (AM1:11)

Note in the last two examples that the initial m of mən is elided after the indefinite pronouns dé and sé; a similar form is found in 15:7 (dē-ankên). This elision is optional, as shown by dé mənhûm in 24:2 and 60:32, sé mən in 32:3 and 41:3, and as confirmed by informants. (On dé, see § 3.5.1; on sé, see § 3.5.2; on elision of m elsewhere, see § 2.1.3.) A similar elision is found with the interrogative phrase ɛnɛ́ mən ‘which?; what kind of?’, which is usually realized ɛnɛ́n in fast speech (see § 11.3). On mən meaning ‘some’, used with or without a preceding noun, see § 5.5.2.

16 Compare this example to ‘ak taʃtɛ́m mən ɔzɛtí ‘you want to buy (some) of my animals’ (41:4), where the sé is only implied.
The preposition *mən* is also used idiomatically with a number of verbs, including:

- *dèla’mən* ‘be lame/crippled in’ (e.g., ‘in the foot’)
- *férak mən* ‘be afraid of’
- *gèzən mən* ‘feel compassion towards s.o.’
- *ṣḥaké mən* ‘have enough of s.t.’
- *ṣənhér mən* ‘complain about’
- *nika’mən* ‘bear (b-) a child with’ (see § 8.6)
- *ṣɔ̄r mən* ‘do without s.t.’
- *ṣəsfé mən* ‘find out about s.t.’
- *ṣil mən* ‘be indebted to [lit. be asked for a debt from]’
- *ṭɔlɔ́b mən* ‘request/ask s.o. (to do s.t.)’ (cf. *ṭɔlɔ́b* ‘invite’; *ṭɔlɔ́b b*- ‘avenge’)
- *ṣxəbûr mən* ‘ask about s.o./s.t.’
- *ẓəḥam mən* ‘bear (b-) a child with’ (see § 8.6)
- *ẓəḥák mən* ‘laugh at’ (cf. *ẓəḥák l*- ‘make fun of’)

In several places we find *mən* used with a verb where it is not expected. For example, we find once *ġɔlɔ́ḳ mən* ‘look for’ (60:45), but this is probably a Mehrism, since elsewhere in the texts the Jibbali idiom is *ġɔlɔ́ḳ her*. We also find once *nṯɔr mən* ‘untie’ (17:29), instead of the expected *nṯɔr l*- (e.g., 17:26). We find once *sind mən* ‘manage without’ (13:17), instead of the expected *ʿar*. Finally, once we find once *əḥtéðér mən* ‘watch out, be careful’ (22:13). This seems to mean the same thing as *əḥtéðér ʿar* (30:8; 47:5), but it is possible that *əḥtéðér mən* is used with a following verbal phrase (i.e., ‘be careful that (s.t. does not happen)’), while *əḥtéðér 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*)
- *‘édɔr mən* ‘an excuse for’
- *bass mən X* ‘enough of X’!
- *ḥəmrún mən* ‘afraid of’
- *k-ḥáṣaf mən k-ḥáṣaf* ‘every morning, morning after morning’
- *mən mésa* ‘to the south; downstream’
- *mən dê* ‘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.
Prepositions

*man téřéf e-/d-* ‘from among’ (see § 8.29)

*rádhək man* ‘far from’

*xunt man* ‘outside of’

*yakśl X man yěnș* ‘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 *man* to *əm*- in the expression *əm-blís*, note also *əm-bóż* and *əm-bún* ‘from here’ (§ 10.1). On *əm-mún* < *man mún* ‘between’, see § 8.20. Besides the idioms listed above, we also find *kéríb man* ‘close to’ once in Johnstone’s texts (15:9), though normally the idiom is *kéríb l*- . The use of *kéríb man* instead of *kéríb 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, *man* is not normally used as the preposition of comparison. Instead, Jibbali uses (*;)*ar for this purpose (see § 5.4). There is one occurrence of *man* in the texts in a comparative phrase (20:9), but this is probably a Mehrism.

On the interrogative *ínɛ́ man*, see § 11.3; on the contracted form *manné* ‘from what?’ < *mán íné*, see § 11.2; on the particle *mkuń* < *man kun*, see § 12.5.14; on the conjunction *man* ‘or’, see § 12.1.4; and on *man* used as a marker of negation, see § 13.2.7.

8.19 *mán dún* ‘except; without’

The compound preposition *mán 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:

*ɔl dé ġarɔ́b yədɛ̄š ɫọ, mán dún ġeyg ṭaṭ* ‘no one knew how to cure him, except one man’ (SB1:4)

*ɔl yəgáḥš dé ɫọ mán dún sɛ* ‘no one entered it except her’ (TJ4:17)

*ɔl s̃ɔ́hum dé mán dúni he* ‘they have no one but me’ (TJ4:58)

*ɔl s̃óhum mán dún ḫad ɫọ* ‘they only have sardines [lit. they don’t have except sardines]’ (TJ2:51)

The last example (TJ2:51), with *mán 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 *mán dún ḫad ɫọ*, he repeats himself with the synonomous phrase *ar ḫad* ‘only sardines’.

Twice in the texts *mán dún* has the meaning ‘without’:

*manhúm yagóren mán dún nafxát* ‘some of them give milk without blowing’ (TJ2:41)
‘ɔd yəɢorɛ́n mən dún ‘ad ‘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 al yəɢorɛ́n mən dún al-‘ad ɓo ‘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 mìn dûnî ‘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 ɓe ˈexcept 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 dûnî ‘except for me’). However mən dûnî could also just be a variant of mən dûn, reflecting a higher Arabic form; the following he could either be emphatic (reinforcing the suffix -i) or it could be the sole object of mən dûnî. Either way, this use of mən dûn 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 bén, itself from *mən bayn. The Jibbali texts published by Müller (1907) have either bén or əm-bén. We also find beyn, bûn, or bān in Yemeni Mehri (but also mən or mën in Omani Mehri),18 bén in Ḥarsusi, bûn in Hobyot, and (əm-)bûn in Soqoṭri.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 *bəynú- became benú, which should have become

---

18 Watson (2012: 114). Yemeni Mehri beyn is found in also Jahn (1905: 125) and Bittner (1944a: 12), while bûn is found in Sima (2009).
19 The Ḥarsusi and Soqoṭri 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).
bənú- > mənú. 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 ʿاغَحِب ‘was there love between you?’** (32:11)
- **təktêta’ mən munún a’asîrt ‘the friendship will be cut off between us’** (41:4)
- **ebkâ’ egûš mən munúsən ‘he put his shield in between them’** (54:25)
- **dênu ʃyakîn lo, l-ebdéd mən mún aģéyg bə-tîtš ‘this will not do [lit. be], that you would separate a man and his wife’** (60:5)
- **gzîn ol (t)dér mən munúhum ‘swear that you will not come between them’** (60:6)
- **axarɛ́t kérêtš mən munús əm-mún xáṭîks ‘she hid him between her and her dress’** (30:21)
- **ğadû mən munúi əm-mún xaṭîki ‘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-mə́n, and Soqoṭri 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:


In one passage in Johnstone’s texts we find the form bén:

- **ksé bén irûmtə fûdûn ‘they found between the roads [at a fork in the road] a stone’** (6:2)

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 ḳédɛ́ ‘regarding, about’

The compound preposition mən ḳédɛ́ is listed in JL (s.v. ḳdv, with the transcription ḳadê) with the rather vague definition ‘about’. ML (s.v. ḳdv) gives the same definition, while HL (s.v. ḳdy) glosses Ḥarsusi mən ḳədê with ‘as regards’, which also works well for the Jibbali compound. One informant explained that mən ḳédɛ́ might be used upon receiving a letter, when one might ask mən ḳédɛ́ ínɛ́ ‘what is it regarding?’. It occurs four or five times in texts TJ2 and TJ4. Some examples are:

kɔlɔ́ṯ hes mən ḳédɛ́ aġabgɔ́t ‘he told her about the girl’ (TJ4:13)

mən ḳédɛ́ hiɛ̃š, axsɔ́rt təkín her īs mən her aġɔ́hɛ́s ‘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 kɔlɔ́ṯ mən ḳédɛ́ seems to be equivalent to kɔlɔ́ṯ b- ‘tell about’. In the example from TJ2:24 (as in TJ2:70 and in the written version of TJ2:110), the phrase mən ḳédɛ́ 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). Müller, on the other hand, recorded nxal. 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. For further on these forms and on the etymology of this preposition, see Rubin (2012a). Its usage is straightforward, and some examples are:

kɔlɔ́ṯ stš nxín fúdún ‘she left it under a rock’ (15:13)

bɔ́-sɛ́f aģéyg ber ġeb nxínuš ‘and it so happened that he had already defecated under it [the tree]’ (22:13)

he dḥa-l-éƙərək nxín fidêt ‘I will hide you under the cradle’ (33:5)

nxín etέk dɔ́kũn ‘under that wild fig tree’ (60:15)

ksé nxín erɛ̀sš šɔ́tɛt ahrɛ̀f ‘he found under her head three (gold) coins’ (97:41)

---


22 An example can be found in Müller (1907: 43).

The preposition *nxín* can also be used figuratively with the sense of ‘under the authority of’, as in:

*kéla’ nxínús ižúrtə* ‘he put slave-girls under her’ (17:45)

We also find *nxín* in the combinations *ɛd nxín* ‘(up to) under’ and *mən nxín* ‘from under’, for example:

*ağád ɛd nxín hérúm* ‘he went under a tree’ (35:4)

*bə-héḳ mən nxín ḥéṣən* ‘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 ɛśhɔ́d śɛ́raʿ* ‘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-lxúní ... órba’ ǧigenîtī* ‘under me ... are four girls’ (FB1:2)

### 8.23 *siɛ́b* ‘because of’

The preposition *siɛ́b* ‘because of’ appears just four times in Johnstone’s Jibbali texts, twice independently, and twice in the compound *əl-siɛ́b*. Three of the occurrences are with pronominal suffixes, in which case the final *b* is also elided (see § 8.30). The word *siɛ́b* (< *səbɛ́b*) 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 *siɛ́b* shows elision of the medial *b* is a good indication that the word is a real borrowing, and not simply an Arabism.

*ɛgéfún siɛ́b îné* ‘the dummy-calf is because of what?’ (TJ2:64)

*kelš siěk* ‘it is all because of you’ (28:15)

*ɔ́l dé ‘ağab yaxél tɔn bɔ rəl-siěs (sérɛs)* ‘no one wants to stay with us because of him’ (49:32)

*bek antakšık al-siěs* ‘I’ve had a rough time because of her’ (TJ4:91)

---

24 One informant actually preferred the compound *bə-siɛ́b*, perhaps reflecting Arabic *bi-sabab(i)*.
As explained in the comment to text 49:32, the phrase \textit{al-sīēš} is used in the Arabic-letter version of that text, while in the Roman-letter version \textit{sérēs} is used instead, with \textit{al-sīēš} in the margin in parentheses.

8.24 \textit{ser ‘behind’}

The preposition \textit{ser} has the basic meaning ‘behind’. It can also be used in the compound \textit{man sér}, with no difference in meaning. When a pronominal suffix is used, it nearly always is used with the compound \textit{man sér}, except in a relative clause. Some examples are:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{ser ēt iźõkũn} ‘behind those houses’ (18:9)
\item \textit{śini egòfēš} \textit{man sērēs} ‘he saw his shadow behind him’ (39:11)
\item \textit{hōğūm} \textit{al-sēkōn} \textit{dēnu e-sērēn} ‘it attacked this settlement that’s behind us’ (47:5)
\end{itemize}

After verbs of motion and verbs of following or chasing, it is sometimes better translated into English with ‘after’, as in:

\begin{itemize}
\item ‘āgon \textit{nāgād} sērēs ‘let’s go after him!’ (22:15)
\item \textit{šā’ē sērēs} ‘he ran after her’ (97:15)
\item \textit{ëtlēk sērēs} \textit{haʃnūn} ‘he set the horse after her’ (97:27)
\item \textit{gūd} \textit{man} \textit{serōhūm} \textit{bə-n’īfhum} ‘go after them and chase them!’ (AM1:11)
\item \textit{h-īnē} \textit{zəhámk} \textit{tūn}? ... \textit{ser téṭi} ‘why did you come to us? ... [I came] after my wife’ (30:23)
\end{itemize}

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, \textit{man sér} has a temporal meaning ‘after’:

\textit{man sér ūn} ‘in [lit. after] a little while’ (17:29)

Normally, \textit{man ġér} (§ 8.8) or the Arabism \textit{ba’d} (§ 8.7) is used for ‘after’ in a temporal sense.\footnote{Bittner (1916b: 54) also remarked that \textit{man sér} could be used in a temporal sense.}

It seems that the preposition \textit{ser} may also mean ‘because of’, at least in certain idioms. For example, we find in the texts the idioms \textit{béké} \textit{ser} ‘cry over/because of’ and \textit{ənkəbrēd} \textit{ser} ‘become crazy about’:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{skɔfk d-iɔ̄k xĩš ūm} \textit{ser ekēraḥən} ‘I sat crying for five days over our donkey’ (TJ3:10)
\end{itemize}
aġabgót, ānkəbréd 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 ʿõr ‘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:

šíni ţit mənsėn, ta’mirəns erėt ‘he saw one of them, she was (pretty) like the moon’ (30:6)
zũ-to sé lũn ta’mirən sker ‘they gave me something white like sugar’ (35:6)
še ģeyg raḥim, ta’mirəns erėt ‘he was a handsome man, like the moon’ (54:27)
aģeyg ta’mirəns ɗirĩ ‘the man (seemed) like a stranger’ (60:42)
embeře’, ʿõr, ta’mirəns ər ‘the boy, they said, was like a gazelle’ (83:3)
šum yəhörk kə-ṭaṭtőhum ta’mirənsum ɡőhe ‘they talked to each other like brothers’ (SM)
he ta’mirən to ḥókum ‘I am like a king’ (SM)

The usage of ta’mirən overlaps with al-hés ‘like’ (§ 8.12); compare the examples from 30:6 and 54:37 with raḥit al-hés erėt ‘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 al-hés (and lēbar) meant ‘exactly like’, while ta’mirən 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,
or a noun referring to a group of people, like sékən ‘settlement, community; family’. Before pronominal suffixes, the base is tɔ̄l-. Examples from the texts are:

\[
\text{inéš tel éʾalm} \text{ ‘his sons were with the teacher [or: at the teacher’s]’ (6:9)}
\]
\[
tɔ̄lén yo yaférék mən ekabrín ‘among us, people are afraid of graves’ (12:12)
\]
\[
\text{skɔfk tɔ̄lhum} \text{ ‘ūṣor tram ‘I stayed with them two nights’ (13:16)}
\]
\[
\text{sif tel aʿásərəš ‘sleep by your husband!’ (13:19)}
\]
\[
\text{sə́dk tɔ̄lɔhum ʿāṣər ṯroh ‘I arranged a meeting with him tomorrow by his settlement’ (28:10)}
\]
\[
kūn ‘ak enáxal tel emíh ‘he hid among the date-palms by the water’ (30:4)
\]
\[
\text{xaṭɔ́kí tel xalɔ́ti ‘my clothes are with my mother-in-law’ (30:9)}
\]
\[
\text{dḥa-təksɛ́ ḳálo ðə-núšəb tɔ̄lə́k ‘you’ll find a bucket of milk by you’ (33:6)}
\]
\[
\text{‘ak al-xédəm tɔ̄lə́k ‘I want to work for you [or: with you]’ (36:27)}
\]
\[
\text{skɛf tɔ̄lí s̃ĩn ‘stay with me a little while!’ (60:19)}
\]

Jibbali tel can also be used after verbs of motion (most often aġad ‘go’, éṣəl ‘arrive at, get to, reach’, and zəḥám ‘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 (míh ‘water’, məḥbért ‘graveyard’, gōr ‘well’). Examples from the texts are:

\[
\text{aġád tel éʾalm, ba-xalɔ́thum aġadɔ́t tel éšnút ‘they went to the teacher, and their step-mother went to the medicine woman’ (6:6)}
\]
\[
\text{aġádɔ́ ed éṣəl tel i ē-embére ‘they went until they got to the father of the boy’ (18:8)}
\]
\[
\text{iné yōṣalən tɔ tɔ̄lás ‘what will lead me to her?’ (30:14)}
\]
\[
\text{ed kəlˈeṇi zəḥám tel edáˈnəš ‘then in the evening, he came to his family’ (25:9)}
\]
\[
\text{aġádk tel sékəni ‘I went to my community’ (13:20)}
\]
\[
\text{zəḥám tel sékənəš ‘he came to his settlement’ (35:6)}
\]
\[
\text{zəḥət tel éšər ‘she came to the party’ (97:25)}
\]

It seems that tel is sometimes optional when the object is inanimate. So we find, for example, zəḥám tel sékən ‘he came to a settlement’ (30:18), but also zəḥám sékən ‘he came to the settlement’ (7:7); tət tel sékən ‘she came (at night) to a settlement’ (25:21), but also tə sékən ‘he came (at night) to
a settlement’ (55:1). The preposition *yɔl* 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 *zəhám* ‘come’ and
*ēṣəl* ‘arrive at, get to, reach’, while *yɔl* is much more common with *aġád* ‘go’
and *ɛdōr* ‘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:

- *erśɔ́t zəhám mən tél ɛ̃ʿalm* ‘the boys came from the teacher [or: teacher’s
  place]’ (6:5)
- *ɔl aɓgɔ́d lo mən tél a’éli* ‘I will not go from my family’ (7:10)
- *zəhám tɔ xaṭ mən tél ɛmí* ‘a letter came to me from my mother’ (13:2)
- *s̃eš xɛ́rín tũr mən tél ɡeyg* ‘he had a small amount of dates (that he got)
  from a man’ (17:21)
- *aġád mən tél sɛ́kənəš* ‘he went from his settlement’ (18:1)
- *əlhín ‘ak mən tɔ́lí dḥa-l-zėmk* ‘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 ḥarɔ́ẓ́ ðíkun* ‘carry me up to that acacia tree’ (48:13) (cf.
  *ed ḥarɔ́ẓ́ ɛ̃s̃ɡarɔ́t* ‘up to the next acacia’, 48:14)
- *yəẓ́ēt bə-yédé ed tɔ̄lɔ́hum* ‘they seized (them) and took (them) away to
  them’ (TJ4:72)
- *zəhám ḥəzzɛ́zí ed tél erśɔ́t* ‘that killer came to the children’
  (TJ4:82)

One verbal idiom using *tel* is *ʃfɔk tel* ‘marry into s.o.’s family’ (with *b-
before the person one is marrying), as in:28

- *ʿõr, “her dḥa-l-ɛ́šfəḳ tɔ, ʿak l-ʃfɔk tɔ́lí ḏə-l-ɛ̃lún”* ‘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)
- *ʿagk l-ʃfɔk tɔ́lí ... b-ebrítk ũm* ‘I want to marry into your family ... by
  your older daughter’ (97:34)

---

28 As mentioned in § 8.1, we also find *ʃfɔk d-* with the same meaning in text 7:1.
We can also note the idiom ẓ́ēṭ təbkíźɔ́t mən tél teṯ ‘he took possession of the woman in marriage’ (7:6).

As mentioned above, the base before pronominal suffixes is tɔ̄l-. JL (s.v. tl) also lists another preposition tɔl ‘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 tɔl in the comment to text Anon1:1.

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-əśún śé mən tétí ‘I see something above me’ (TJ1:5)
- tet hallét ‘above the town’ (JL, s.v. tt)
- sekf tet eréši ‘the roof is above my head’ (MnS)
- sekf téti še ‘the roof is above me’ (MnS)

My WJ informant claimed not to know this word, and used ð̣er in the phrase ‘above my head’.

8.28 yɔl ‘to, towards’

The preposition yɔl ‘to, towards’ is used to indicate motion towards, most often (about two-thirds of all occurrences in the texts) with the verb aģád ‘go’. When the object is a person, yɔl is often interchangeable with tel. When the object is a place, yɔl 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, zəḥám ‘come’ and éṣəl ‘arrive at, reach’ most often take tel, while aģad ‘go’, edōr ‘return, go back’, ‘áqəb ‘be heading’, and hōl ‘carry’ most often take yɔl. Only rarely does yɔl not follow a verb of motion, and even then motion is still involved in some way (e.g., with ktɔb ‘write’ in 36:14, where motion is implied in the delivery of the letter). Some examples of yɔl from the texts are:

- aģád aġéyg yɔl ēšnút ‘the man went to the medicine woman’ (6:8) (cf. aġadɔ́t tel ēšnút ‘she went to the medicine woman’s’, 6:6)
- še ktɔb yɔl hókm ‘he wrote to the ruler’ (36:14)
- edūr yɔl aģág əd-šēs ‘he went back to his friends’ (54:33)
- dха-l-ɪʃlɛt mən ð̣íri yɔ́lkum ‘she will run away from me to you’ (60:22)

29 One informant also preferred the form tét when used without suffixes.
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 *m*n *t*ér*éf* d-/ɛ- ‘from among’ (cf. *t*ér*éf* ‘side’), *b*ɔ*-t*ér*éf* ě-/ð- ‘on the edge of’, *l*-āgérɛ ð- ‘for the sake of’ (see also §13.5.2.3), and *l*-eɡiśīt- ‘beside, next to’ (cf. *giśīt* ‘side’). The attested contexts are:

\[ \text{yōfɛ̄n fɔ́ḳaḥ ð-ɛdúnhum ðɛ́nu m*n t*ér*éf ð-õśɛ́t (ð-)t̃lén b-*eshéhr} \]
‘they pay half of this debt of theirs from the livestock that is with us in the mountains’ (9:8)

\[ \text{zəhám kɔlʿéni b*ɔ*-t*ér*éf* ě-sékən ě-tét} \]
‘he came in the evening to the edge of the woman’s settlement’ (30:20)

\[ \text{ʿak (t)šum aʾūmrək l*agérɛ ð-təmbɛ́ko} \]
‘you want to trade [lit. sell] your life for the sake of tobacco?’ (60:36)

\[ \text{l*ğaz beš a*ğéyy ða*-l*e*giśīt*š} \]
‘he slipped it to the man next to him’ (21:6)

*JL* also includes the compound *m*n *š*un ‘for the sake of’, but I found no examples of this other than the one listed there:

\[ \text{ð-*l* kun m*n *šun*š lɔ, ɔ yagí’dɔn še*š* lɔ} \]
‘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*, *ɛd*- (also *d*-), *k*, and *l*, and *h* (base *h*-), all have a monoconsonantal base before pronominal suffixes. These five are declined as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><em>b</em></th>
<th><em>ɛd</em>/<em>d</em></th>
<th><em>k</em></th>
<th><em>l</em></th>
<th><em>h</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td><em>bi</em></td>
<td><em>di</em></td>
<td><em>ši</em></td>
<td><em>li</em></td>
<td><em>hín</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td><em>bek</em></td>
<td><em>dek</em></td>
<td><em>šek</em></td>
<td><em>lek</em></td>
<td><em>hek</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Note:

- The 1cs form of *her* is *híni*, which is anomalous and does not conform with the rest of this group.

The prepositions *ɛmt*, *ð̣er* (base *ð̣ír*-), *ġer* (base *ġír*-), *lébər* (base *lébr*-), and *yɔl* all retain stress on the base, and add suffixes with no intervening vowel. Their declensions are:
The prepositions ʿaḳ (base ʿamḳ-), ser, tel (base tɔ̄l-), 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1cp</th>
<th>ฐฏ</th>
<th>ฏน</th>
<th>ฏก</th>
<th>ฏก</th>
<th>ฏก</th>
<th>ฏก</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2mp</td>
<td>ฏก</td>
<td>ฏก</td>
<td>ฏก</td>
<td>ฏก</td>
<td>ฏก</td>
<td>ฏก</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fp</td>
<td>ฏก</td>
<td>ฏก</td>
<td>ฏก</td>
<td>ฏก</td>
<td>ฏก</td>
<td>ฏก</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3mp</td>
<td>ฏก</td>
<td>ฏก</td>
<td>ฏก</td>
<td>ฏก</td>
<td>ฏก</td>
<td>ฏก</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fp</td>
<td>ฏก</td>
<td>ฏก</td>
<td>ฏก</td>
<td>ฏก</td>
<td>ฏก</td>
<td>ฏก</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prepositions ʿaḳ (base ʿamḳ-), ser, tel (base tɔ̄l-), 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'aḳ</th>
<th>ser</th>
<th>tel</th>
<th>tet</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>ʿamḳí</td>
<td>sérí</td>
<td>tőlí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>ʿamḳók</td>
<td>sérék</td>
<td>tőlák</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>ʿamḳís̃</td>
<td>sérés̃</td>
<td>tőlís̃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>ʿamḳóš</td>
<td>sérés̃</td>
<td>tőlás̃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>ʿamḳás</td>
<td>sérés̃</td>
<td>tőlás̃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cd</td>
<td>ʿamḳáši</td>
<td>sérés̃i</td>
<td>tőláši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cd</td>
<td>ʿamḳáši</td>
<td>sérés̃i</td>
<td>tőláši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3cd</td>
<td>ʿamḳáši</td>
<td>sérés̃i</td>
<td>tőláši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cp</td>
<td>ʿamḳén</td>
<td>sérén</td>
<td>tőlén/tőlún</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2mp</td>
<td>ʿamḳókum</td>
<td>sérókum</td>
<td>tőlkum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fp</td>
<td>ʿamḳékán</td>
<td>sérékán</td>
<td>tōlékán</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3mp</td>
<td>ʿamḳóhum</td>
<td>séróhum</td>
<td>tőlhum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fp</td>
<td>ʿamḳés̃en</td>
<td>sérés̃en</td>
<td>tőléšen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:

- The 1cp forms tőlén and tőlún seem to be used in free variation.  

---

30 One informant thought that tőlún 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 ə́ and é before the 2s and 3s suffixes (e.g., sérę́ or sérṓš ‘behind him’). Perhaps ə́ shifts to és due to the vowel é that is found in the base of the preposition (i.e., by vowel harmony).

The prepositions (’)ar (base ’an-), 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>()ar</th>
<th>kin</th>
<th>mən</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>‘ání’</td>
<td>kíni</td>
<td>míní/míní</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>‘ãk’</td>
<td>kēk</td>
<td>mēk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>‘ãš’</td>
<td>kēš</td>
<td>mēš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>‘ãš’</td>
<td>kēš</td>
<td>mēš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>‘ãs’</td>
<td>kēs</td>
<td>mēs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cd</td>
<td>‘ánši’</td>
<td>kínsí</td>
<td>mənsí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cd</td>
<td>‘ánši’</td>
<td>kínsí</td>
<td>mənsí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3cd</td>
<td>‘ánši’</td>
<td>kínsí</td>
<td>mənsí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cp</td>
<td>‘ánén’</td>
<td>kínen</td>
<td>mənén</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2mp</td>
<td>‘änkúm’</td>
<td>kənkúm</td>
<td>mənkúm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fp</td>
<td>‘änkén’</td>
<td>kənkén</td>
<td>mənkén</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3mp</td>
<td>‘añhúm’</td>
<td>kənhúm</td>
<td>mənhúm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fp</td>
<td>‘añsén’</td>
<td>kənsén</td>
<td>mənsén</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 mɛs in text 6:1).
• For the 3fp forms of kin and mən, JL (p. xxvii) gives mɛsən and kɛsən, but my informants did not recognize these forms; all used mənsən and kənsən. 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 TJ2. Johnstone’s texts also have mənsən in numerous places (e.g., 30:6). If Johnstone heard mɛsən and kɛsən 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 *məns̃í*). If correct, *mənkí* would be an unusual preservation of the suffix -*ki*, which normally shifted to -*s̃i*. A few of the other prepositions in *JL* are listed with the 2cd suffix -*ki*.

The prepositions *nxín* (var. *lxín*) ‘under’ and *mən mun* ‘between’ both have the vowel -*ú* before suffixes. Their suffixed forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nxín</th>
<th>mən mun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>nxíní/nxínúí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>nxínúk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>nxínús̃</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>nxínúš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>nxínús</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cd</td>
<td>nxínúši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2cd</td>
<td>nxínúši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3cd</td>
<td>nxínúši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cp</td>
<td>nxínún</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2mp</td>
<td>nxínúkum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fp</td>
<td>nxínúkən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3mp</td>
<td>nxínúhum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fp</td>
<td>nxínúsən</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *lxíní* (cf. FB1:2), but some of my informants preferred *lxínúi*. The difference may be dialectal. Note *nxelí* in Müller (1907: 14, line 5), but *lxínúi* 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 *lxínés̃i* 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 məní*—(as well as 2fs *mən mənís̃*), while *JL* (p. xxvii) has *mən munú*—throughout the paradigm. The variant vowel é/i 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 (*al-*)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 *al-féné-š* (with the simple 3ms suffix -š) was reinterpreted as *al-fén-ēš* (with the 3ms suffix -ēš used with plural nouns), and therefore we find the plural-type suffixes extended to the 1cs, 2mp, and 3mp. The forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>féné</th>
<th>ké Fé</th>
<th>mən kédé</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>(<em>al-</em>)féní</td>
<td>kéféí</td>
<td>mən kédéí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>(<em>al-</em>)fénék</td>
<td>kéfék</td>
<td>mən kédék</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>(<em>al-</em>)fénéš</td>
<td>kéfěš</td>
<td>mən kéděš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>(<em>al-</em>)fénéš</td>
<td>kéfěš</td>
<td>mən kéděš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>(<em>al-</em>)fénés</td>
<td>kéfés</td>
<td>mən kédés</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Prepositions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1cd</th>
<th>(al-)fénéši</th>
<th>kěféši</th>
<th>mən kědéši</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2cd</td>
<td>(al-)fénéši</td>
<td>kěféši</td>
<td>mən kědéši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3cd</td>
<td>(al-)fénéši</td>
<td>kěféši</td>
<td>mən kědéši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1cp</td>
<td>(al-)fénén</td>
<td>kěfěn</td>
<td>mən kěděn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2mp</td>
<td>(al-)fěnókum</td>
<td>kěfěkum</td>
<td>mən kěděkum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fp</td>
<td>(al-)fěněkən</td>
<td>kěfěkən</td>
<td>mən kěděkən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3mp</td>
<td>(al-)fěnóhum</td>
<td>kěfěhum</td>
<td>mən kěděhum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fp</td>
<td>(al-)fěněsan</td>
<td>kěfěsan</td>
<td>mən kěděsan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:

- As explained above, these prepositions were reinterpreted as having the suffixes used for plural nouns, hence 2mp (al-)fěnókum, 3mp (al-)fěnóhum, 2mp mən kəděkum, etc. However, several speakers that were consulted preferred -ɛ́kum and -ɛ́hum for the 2mp and 3mp, perhaps reflecting the vowel of the bases fěnè-, kěfè-, and kědè-, or perhaps reflecting also the tendency towards leveling the suffix vowels as described in §3.2.

- The base fěnè- has the variant fíní-, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>siéb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1cs</td>
<td>siěi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ms</td>
<td>siěk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2fs</td>
<td>siěš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ms</td>
<td>siěš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3fs</td>
<td>siěš</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Finally, because the word *ta’míran* 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.
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 lší (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 nxín) 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.
### 9.1 Cardinals

#### 9.1.1 Numerals 1–10

Following are the Jibbali numerals 1–10:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ṭaṭ (or ṭad)</td>
<td>ṭit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>troh</td>
<td>trut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>šọtét</td>
<td>šhọlét</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>ᴇrba’st</td>
<td>órba’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>xōš</td>
<td>xīš</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>štet</td>
<td>šet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>šəb’ét</td>
<td>šō’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>tũnūt</td>
<td>tōni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>sa’êt</td>
<td>šō’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>ʿasirēt</td>
<td>ʿas̄ir</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The masculine numeral ‘one’ is etymologically ṭad (ultimately from the Semitic root *wḥd), but is most often realized in the form ṭaṭ.² The numeral ṭaṭ/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.

---


² On the derivation from Semitic *wḥd, 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 *wḥd, 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 ‘āṣər ʿat ‘one night’ (21:1); ʿinī ʿat ‘one guinea’ (52:10); ʿrxt ṭat ‘one month’ (15:4); ʿat mən ʿagāg ‘one of the men’ (25:5)
1f ‘ōnut ʿit ‘one year’ (20:1); ḥalāl ʿit ‘a certain town’ (5:6); ʿit mən iyél ‘one of the camels’ (25:5)
2m ʿguyg ṭroh ‘two men’ (12:1); ʿrxt ṭroh ‘two months’ (8:7); ṭroh ērśôt ‘two boys’ (6:1)
2f ‘ōnut ṭrut ‘two years’ (13:1); ʿīfēt ṭrut ‘two times, twice’ (51:8); yū ṭrut ‘two days’ (15:2); ʿīt ṭrut iṣhun ‘those two houses’ (AK)
3m ʿṣōṭet ērśôt ‘three boys’ (36:1); ʿṣōṭet sītār ‘three kids’ (49:4)
3f ṣhālēt ʿayūn ‘three years’ (30:14); ʿagātētē ʿshālēt ‘his three sisters’ (30:16)
4m ērbaʿt ṣag ‘four men’ (21:1); ērbaʿt derēbzən ‘four dozen’ (32:14)
4f ʿorbaʿ ʾīnēt ‘four women’ (15:11); ʿorbaʿ kurj ‘four score’ (32:14)
5m xōš kārōs ‘five dollars’ (5:9); xōš ahrīf ‘five (gold) coins’ (97:40)
5f xīš ʿayūn ‘five years’ (8:2); xīš ērūn ‘five goats’ (15:2)
6m ṣḥēt kārōs ‘six dollars’ (TJ:243); ṣḥēt ṣag ‘six men’ (SM)
6f ʿṣēt ʾīnēt ‘six women’ (SM)
7m ʿsāʾēt azbīrt ‘seven buckets’ (97:7); ʿsāʾēt ērśôt ‘seven boys’ (FB1:2)
7f ʾsōʾ ʾīnēt ‘seven women’ (97:8); ʿsāʾēt ġigenūt ‘seven girls’ (FB1:2)
8m ṭīnī ṭrəx ‘eight months’ (SM)
8f ʿṭōnī ʿayūn ‘eight years’ (SM)
9m sāʾēt ērśôt ‘nine boys’ (SM)
9f sōʾ ʿyēl ‘nine camels’ (SM)
10m ʿṣāʾēt kārōs ‘ten dollars’ (7:9)
10f ʿṣāʾēr ērūn ‘ten goats’ (32:14)

Interestingly, the numeral ṭat/ṭit comes between a noun and its attributive adjective. In such cases, ṭat/ṭit is usually best translated ‘a(n)’ or ‘a certain’, as in:

جالبئت ʿit rəḥīt ‘a certain pretty girl’ (97:39)

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 șoțetén ‘the three of us’, șoțetšum ‘the three of you’, and șoțetšum ‘the three of them’. At least one informant preferred an appositional pronoun, as in nha șoțet ‘we three’. We also find a suffix (dual, of course) on the noun kọlsh ‘both’: kọlshesí ‘both of you’ (JL, s.v. kl’). In a partitive expression, the numeral is followed by mən, as in erba’št mınén ‘four of us’ (83:7).³

Numbers can also be substantivized and used independently, as in:

‘ôr ād, “ak tun nəšrêk”’ ‘one (man) said, “I want us to steal”’ (12:1)
ytʃə́s sa’ét ‘nine (men) follow him’ (14:5)
ēg’ér troh ‘he brought down two (men)’ (83:3)
lọtʃə́k șoțet ‘you killed three (men)’ (83:6)

9.1.2 Numerals n–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  ‘asırə́t erba’št əsbı́rt ‘fourteen jars’ (97:21)
15  ‘ɛşə́r xiš ēm ‘fifteen days’ (97:31) (on the form ‘ɛşə́r, see § 9.2)
16  yum a’ēsə́r ʃə́t ‘the sixteenth day’ (97:32) (on the form ‘ɛşə́r, see § 9.2)
17  ‘oşə́r ʃṓ’ 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 ‘əsə́ri ‘twenty’, which is historically a dual form of ‘ten’ (see § 4.2), and šhelə́t ‘thirty’, the forms of the tens in Jibbali have been borrowed from Arabic. All of the tens are:

20  ʿəsə́ri
30  šhelə́t
40  ərba’́ın
50  xamsín
60  stín

³ A construction like erba’št mınén ‘four of us’ implies four out of a larger group, while șoțetén or nha șoțet ‘we three’ refers to a group of three total.
70  ArrayType{value:70, text:"səbaʿín"}
80  ArrayType{value:80, text:"ṯĩnín (or ťinín)"}
90  ArrayType{value:90, text:"tsaʿín"}

Only ‘ásəri ‘twenty’, šhelōt ‘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  ArrayType{value:20, text:“ʿáśəri yirš̃ɔ́b ‘twenty camels’ (22:9)”}
30  ArrayType{value:30, text:“šhelōt ḳərɔ́s̃ ‘thirty dollars’ (12:7)”}
50  ArrayType{value:50, text:“xamsín ḳərɔ́s̃ ‘fifty dollars’ (32:14)”}
60  ArrayType{value:60, text:“stín ‘sixty (goats)’ (32:2)”}

For the numbers 21, 22, 23, etc., the digit immediately follows the ten, e.g., ‘ásəri ṭaṭ ‘twenty’. 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 trut. 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 ð- (§ 12.4). Examples are:

100  ArrayType{value:100, text:“mut gúni ‘a hundred bags’ (AK1:4)”}
200  ArrayType{value:200, text:“mut trut ‘two hundred’ (25:11)”}
250  ArrayType{value:250, text:“mut trut bə-xamsín ‘two hundred and fifty’ (32:14)”}
300  ArrayType{value:300, text:“šalēt mīn ‘three hundred’ (32:2)”}
302  ArrayType{value:302, text:“šalēt mīn bə-trut ‘three hundred and two’ (AK4:16)”}
500  ArrayType{value:500, text:“xĩš mīn ‘five hundred’ (32:2)”}
600  ArrayType{value:600, text:“šet mīn (ðə-)gāg ‘six hundred men’ (SM)”}
750  ArrayType{value:750, text:“šō’ mīn bə-xamsín (ðə-)gāg ‘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 ʾaf (< *ʿalf; see § 2.1.6), and ‘two thousand’ is ʾaf troh. Higher multiples of a thousand are made with a masculine numeral plus the plural izíf ‘thousands’ (dialectal izáf). Accompanying nouns are usually in the plural, and are optionally preceded by the genitive exponent ʾ- (§ 12.4). Examples, including all of the attestations from the texts, are:

- 2000 ʾaf troh ‘two thousand’ (AK2:3); ʾaf troh (ʾ-)-bét ‘two thousand houses’ (SM)
- 4000 erbaʾiš izíf ‘four thousand’ (22:12)
- 10,000 ʾasirét izíf (ʾ-)-jág ‘then thousand men’ (SM)
- 50,000 xamsín izíf ‘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 Harsusí, 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 ʾit (15:1)
- 2 days: yū ʾrut (15:2)
- 3 days: šelát ʾem (30:14)
- 4 days: rīʾ ʾem (3:6)
- 5 days: xiš ʾem (13:4)
- 6 days: šet ʾem
- 7 days: šeʾ ʾem
- 8 days: šəʾ ʾem
- 9 days: tēsəʾ ʾem
- 10 days: ʾōsər ʾem (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 šōʾ ʾem as an option for ‘seven days’ (JL, s.v. šbʾ), tōnī ʾem as an option for ‘eight days’ (AAL, p. 24), and səʾ ʾem as an option for ‘nine days’ (JL, s.v. tsʾ). Informants confirm this.

If ‘day’ is preceded by a number between ‘1’ 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: ‘ēsər trut ɛm (SS)
- 14 days: ‘ēsər ri’ ɛm (SS)
- 15 days: ‘ēsər xiś ɛm (97:31)
- 17 days: ‘ēsər șe’ ɛm (SS)

Cf. also yum a’ēsər şet ‘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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>masculine</th>
<th>feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>ēnfi</td>
<td>ēnfet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>məs̃āġər (def.ēs̃áġər)</td>
<td>məs̃ɡarɔ́t (def.ēs̃ɡarɔ́t)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>śóləṯ śhəléṯ</td>
<td>śholėt (= cardinal)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The adjective ēnfi can also mean ‘former, previous’, and məs̃āġər 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 aģeyg ēnfi ‘the first man’ (21:9); ēnzél ēnfi ‘the first place’ (31:5)
- 1f ēnfet ‘the first (coffee)’ (34:10)
- 2m lėtağ ēs̃ágər ‘he killed the second (man)’ (25:6)
- 2f zaftet ēs̃ğarɔ́t ‘the second time’ (24:4); ḥallėt ēs̃ğarɔ́t ‘another town’ (42:7)
- 3m dha-l-š(l)tiš śóləṯ ‘I will kill the third (boy)’ (36:25)
- 4m a’āṣər erba’šṭ ‘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 ēnfet nominalized in the phrase ēnfet a’āṣər ‘the first (part) of the night’ (54:20), in parallel with a’amk a’āṣər ‘the middle (part) of the night’, and āxər a’āṣər ‘the last part of the night’, in the same line.
NUMERALS 283

1  yum énfêt ‘the first day’ (TJ4:37)
2  yum és̃ɡarɔ́t ‘the next day’ (60:4)
3  yum śéləṯ ‘the third day’
4  yum ērīʿ ‘the fourth day’ (30:15)
16 yum aʿɛ́śər šet ‘the sixteenth day’ (97:32)

The idea of ‘next’ (i.e., ‘the following’) is expressed with xɛlf (f. xiźfét or xilfét), as in ‘áṣər xɛlf ‘the next night’ (39:8), yum xilfét ‘the next day’ (17:12; or yum xißfét, 49:31), and məstéhɔ́l xɛlf ‘the end of next month’ (41:9; < məstéhɔ́l ‘end of the month’). In a past tense context, mašáɡɔ́r can also mean ‘next’ (i.e., ‘the second’), as in yum és̃ɡarɔ́t ‘the second/next day’ (60:4). In a past tense narrative ḳərére ‘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 nɪkə́ ‘come’, as in ɔrx ḥa-yənḳá́ ‘next month’ (lit. ‘the month [that] will come’).7 The idea of ‘last’ (i.e., ‘the preceding’), is expressed by the verb térɔ́f ‘lead in’ in a relative clause, as in ɔrx ɛ-térɔ́f ‘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., mən̄hɪnɔ́m ‘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:

½ fɔ́kk (or fɔkah; dual/plural fʊʃhɪ), as in fɔ́kk ɗ-ɔrx ‘half a month’ (46:9); ɔrx ba-fɔ́kk ‘a month and half’ (46:7); ‘ɔnut trut ba-fɔ́kk ‘two and a half years’ (TJ3:18); fɔ́kk ɔlı́ ‘half of my livestock’ (5:16); dḥa-nzɛ́mk fɔ́kk ‘we’ll give you half’ (23:6); fɔ́kkhɑ́s ɛ-ɪk ‘half of it [lit. its half] is your father’s’ (5:12)
½ śɛltɛ́t, as in śɛltɛ́t a-áṣər ‘a third of the night’ (54:26)
¼ rɪ́át (pl. rɪ́á), as in hódɛ́s rɪ́á. kɔl ṭaṭ man aγåg rɪ́át ‘they divided it into quarters. Each one of the men (got) a quarter’ (54:8)

The word fɔ́kk is also used in the phrase fɔ́kk ɗ-a’aśər ‘the middle of the night’ (46:16), and it seems that this is distinct from a’ámk ɛ-āṣər ‘the middle part of the night’ (54:20). We also find fɔ́kk used in telling time (§ 9.7), e.g.,

---

6 According to ML (s.v. xlf), CJ uses instead xalfi (f. xalfɛ́t), though my own CJ informants used xelfi (f. xiźfét). JL (s.v. xlf) includes only xalfi (f. xalfɛ́t).

7 One informant (EJ) insisted that the relative pronoun is not expressed in the phrase ɔrx ḥa-yənḳá́ (in contrast to a phrase like aģɛyy ɗ-ɦa-yənḳá́ ‘the man who will come’), though another informant (CJ) clearly used the relative pronoun in this phrase.
sá’a xīš bə-fŏk’h ‘at 5:30’ (31:5). JL (s.v. šb’) also includes the fractions xmus ‘a fifth’ (< Arabic xums) and šī’ ‘a seventh’.

9.5 Days of the Week

The Jibbali days of the week have been borrowed from Arabic:

\[
\begin{align*}
& l-aḥād ‘Sunday’ \\
& (l)-ętnín ‘Monday’ \\
& (əl-)tulūt ‘Tuesday’ \\
& (ər-)rubū’ ‘Wednesday’ \\
& (əl-)xīs ‘Thursday’ \\
& (əl-)gəm’át ‘Friday’ \\
& (əs-)sáb’t ‘Saturday’
\end{align*}
\]

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 ‘āṣar ‘night’), for example:

\[
\begin{align*}
& ġad a’āṣar ə-gəm’át ‘go on Friday night’ (30:2) \\
& ed yum ə-gəm’át zəḥám šėrɨ’ ‘then on Friday, the judge came’ (36:3) \\
& dḥa-l-əzḥomš̃ yum ə-gəm’át ‘I’ll come to you on Friday’ (36:7) \\
& a-l-ənkā’ yum l-ętnín ‘I will come on Monday’ (BY; AK) \\
& axédm yum l-ętnín ‘I work on Mondays’ (BY)
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\text{axédm yum əl-ętnén, mən dün yum əl-talātā’ əl axédm lə ‘I work Monday, but I don’t work Tuesday’ (SM)}
\]

9.6 Approximation

The future tense of kun ‘be(come)’ (e.g., 3ms ha-yēkən) can be used to indicate approximation or uncertainty. It corresponds to the use of wəkōna (the future of wīkə ‘be(come)’) in Mehri.\(^8\) However, while Mehri wəkōna is a frozen form in this usage, Jibbali sometimes shows gender and number agreement. Examples are:

\(^8\) Hobyot mad yəkā’, the 3ms future of wīkə ‘be’, is also used this way (HV, p. 283).
NUMERALS

In the example from 41:3, the 3fs form **dha-tékən** is used in agreement with the following feminine noun **ḥõlt** (cf. also 22:9). However, in the example from 8:2, the 3ms **dha-yékən** is used, even though **xĩš '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 **fɛ́gər** ‘dawn’, **k-ḥáṣaf** ‘morning’, and **ġasré** ‘evening’.

\[
\begin{align*}
edūrək\ sá’a\ xĩš\ ba-fɔ́kkh\ ūt\ ‘&\text{I returned to the house at 5:30’ (31:5)} \\
sá’a\ ha-tékən\ šō’\ fɛ́gər\ ‘&\text{it was about 7:00 in the morning’ (AK)}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

ərṣán tɔ bə-ḥús ‘tie me up tightly [lit. with force]’ (17:28)
əkɔ́(l)š man yénš ḥaẓ́ɔ́rs̃ 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: ał-yóh
From here: mən bún / əm-bóh / əm-bún

Some illustrative examples with ‘here’ from the texts are:
nḥa ẓəḥān bun ar hér őśétən ‘we came here only for our livestock’ (15:3)
ɔl téřéd ṭyélék bun ɔ̀ ‘do not bring your camels down here!’ (25:2)
kə ᵏet bun ‘why are you here?’ (30:21)
ɔl ək̩dar l-óskaf bun ɔ̀ ‘I cannot stay here’ (60:3)
śink ġeyg élə bun ‘I saw a man here earlier’ (60:42)
a’išék boh ‘your dinner is here’ (54:23)
nkɔ’ al-yóh ‘come here!’ (17:30)
kbéb al-yóh ‘come down here!’ (25:18)
yədšəlf man būn ‘they used to jump from here’ (48:18)
əḥámək əm-bóh ‘I came from here’ (42b:10)
ɔ(ə) l-ašxanút lə əm-bún ‘I am not coming out from here’ (AM1:3)
he boh, səlš-tə ‘I am here, wait for me!’ (AM1:6)
According to JL (s.v. \textit{bw}), \textit{bun} means ‘exactly here’, while \textit{boh} means ‘hereabouts’. However, there are examples of \textit{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 \textit{bun} can occasionally be used in an existential way, as in:\footnote{It is possible that \textit{boh} can also be used in this way. An example may be \textit{boh} es\text{"e}hr (AM1:n), 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).}

\begin{quote}
\textit{bun} ʾör ūxarēt tağōrəb kəlšé ‘here they said there is old woman [or: there is, they said, an old woman here] who knows everything’ (38:7)
\textit{būn} gənni ʾaḵ ʃaḇ ḏīnu ‘there is a jinn here in this valley’ (54:16)
\end{quote}

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 \textit{ðōhun} (or \textit{alśhun}) and \textit{ðōkun}, the former about nine times, and the latter about five times. Some examples are:

\begin{quote}
\textit{éṣələk} \textit{lōkūn} ‘I arrived there’ (31:1)
\textit{aḡād} ḫa-kēl’ās lōkūn ‘he went away and left her there’ (36:18)
\textit{aḡād} mən lōkūn ‘they went from there’ (TJ4:87)
\textit{skəfōt} lōhun ‘she stayed there’ (AM1:3)
\textit{alśhun} ťit šēn ‘we had one there’ (AK2:1)
\textit{aḡād} mən lōhūn ‘he went from there’ (TJ4:9)
\end{quote}

The words \textit{łon}, \textit{lōhun}, \textit{elśhun}, \textit{lōkun}, \textit{elśkun}, \textit{alḥōhun}, and \textit{alḥák} are all in JL.\footnote{See JL, s.v. ʾłhn, ʾłkn, ḫ, ʾłhn, ḫhn, ḫn, ḫk, and ḫn.} It seems doubtful that any one speaker makes free use of seven different words for ‘there’. Among my own informants I heard \textit{alśhun} (cf. AK2:1), \textit{alḥōhun}, and \textit{alḥák}. As far as any special forms used when indicating motion to or from, there is \textit{mən lōk} ‘from there’ (JL, s.v. \textit{lk}), but combinations with one of the above words are also possible, and perhaps even more usual (e.g., \textit{mən alḥák}). It is worth pointing out that the forms (e)\textit{lśhun} and (e)\textit{lśkun} correspond to the two sets of far demonstratives (ms \textit{dśhun} and \textit{dśkun}; see §3.4).
10.2 Adverbs of Place

*b-eɣarbêt* ‘abroad’

*d-hâkel* ‘inside’ (on the meaning ‘north’, see the comment to text 33:3)

*ḥâdê* ‘uphill; upwards, above, upstairs’ (also *(d)dê*; see the comments to texts 51:5 and TJ4:85)

*(mân) mêsâ* ‘downstream; to the south’

*xunṭ (mân)* ‘outside (of)’ (directional or locational)

*aḡâ(l)* ‘downwards, downhill (directional)’; *b-aḡâ(l)* ‘downstairs; below’

*(mân) méṣá* ‘everywhere’

10.3 Adverbs of Time

*aɣarêt* ‘then’

*ɛlê* ‘earlier, a little while ago, a few minutes ago’

*berhôn* ‘last year’

*d-‘onût* ‘next year’

*fôna* ‘earlier, previously (remote)’

*fnêrhôn* ‘year before last’ (< *fnê* + *berhôn*)

*fnêfnêrhôn* ‘3 years ago’

*fnênhînəm* ‘night before last’ (< *fnê* + *mân*nhînəm)

*fne-fnênhînəm* ‘three nights ago’

*fânêmîn* ‘the day before yesterday’ (< *fnê* + *am*śên)

*ģasré* ‘at night’ (after sunset, so later than *kôl’înê*)

*k-hâṣaf* ‘in the morning’

*kôl’înê* ‘in the evening’ (usually before sunset)

*kérûb* ‘soon’

*kørêrê* ‘tomorrow’

*əl-‘ênî* ‘tonight’

*mjôrê* ‘then, later’

*mân ǧîrš* ‘afterwards’

*mân*nhînəm* ‘last night’

*amśên* ‘yesterday’

*nhérê* ‘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’.
náṣanu (or náṣanu) ‘now’\(^5\)
sábar ‘always’
síkun ‘at that time’ (see the comment to Anon1:4)
\(^{(a)}\)shér/\(^{(a)}\)shór ‘today’\(^6\)
xaṭarêt ‘once’

10.4 Adverbs of Manner

\(\text{fisá}‘\) ‘quickly’
\(\text{fáxrə ‘together’}\)
\(\text{l-ɔ́rxér ‘slowly’}\)
\(\text{tʃhun, lətʃhun, letʃhun ‘thus, like that’}\)
\(\text{tʃkun, lətʃkun, letʃkun ‘thus, like that’}\)
\(\text{ṭɛ́nu ‘thus, like this’}\)

The forms \(\text{ṭɛ́nu, tʃhun, and tʃkun}\) are obviously parallel in form to the demonstrative pronouns \(\text{ðɛ́nu, dʃhun, and dʃkun (§ 3.4)}\). The following examples make it clear that these three adverbs can be used in the same way:

\(~\)serk \(\text{ṭɛ́nu ‘do it this way’ (1:6)}\)
\(~\)her \(\text{əl serọ́kək tʃhùn lə, dha-nə(l)tágək ‘if you don’t do thus, we’ll kill you’ (30:24)}\)
\(~\)ṣẹrëk \(\text{tʃkùn ərśót ‘the boys did thus’ (36:14)}\)

On the word \(\text{taw ‘well’}\), see the comment to text 97:31.

10.5 Other Adverbs

The adverb ‘very (much)’ is \(\text{bē}\). It can be used in conjunction with adjectives, as in:

\(~\)gabgọ́t \(\text{ərḥǐt bē ‘a very beautiful girl’ (SB1:1)}\)
\(~\)ṣe \(\text{rǐhm bē ‘he is very tall’ (SM)}\)

Or it can have a meaning ‘very much’, used in conjunction with a verb or noun:

---

\(^{5}\) On this word, see Lonnet (2003).

\(^{6}\) \(\text{JL (s.v. sḥr)}\) has only \(\text{sḥor}\), which is a CJ dialectal form. Both forms are listed in \(\text{ML (s.v. ymv)}\). Johnstone’s EJ texts only have \(\text{sḥér}\). For some speakers, both forms are acceptable. Most of my informants (CJ, EJ, and WJ) used \(\text{sḥér}\), although one CJ informant accepted only \(\text{sḥor}\).
The word *bē* is cognate with Mehri *wīyən*. *JL* (s.v. *wyy*) lists a word *bíyyə* ‘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 *zēta(‘)*, as in:

- *nḥa šen zētaʾəlhūti* ‘we too have cows’ (41:3)
- *kunút ġabgōt arḥīt zēta* ‘there was also a beautiful girl’ (SB2:2)
- *əlhūti al-hēs iyēl zēta* ‘are the cows like camels too?’ (TJ2:63)
The Jibbali interrogatives are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interrogative</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mun</td>
<td>who?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ínɛ́</td>
<td>what?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ínɛ́ mən, ínɛ́n</td>
<td>which? what kind of?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h-ínɛ́</td>
<td>why? for what (purpose)?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kɔ(h)</td>
<td>why?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yɔl, yɔh</td>
<td>how? (in some contexts: what?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hun, húṭun</td>
<td>where?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mit</td>
<td>when?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mʃé</td>
<td>how many? how much?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *ɛ-/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:

- *hɛt bər mũn* ‘whose son are you?’ (5:11)
- *mũn dḥa-yståm ségodat* ‘who will buy a carpet?’ (6:21)
- *mũn dęnu* ‘who is this?’ (13:12)
- *mun ɛ-ˈɔr hek tʃərk tɛnu* ‘who told you to do it that way?’ (1:4)
- *mũn də-ˈágəb yəståm héṭit də-dinú* ‘who wants to buy a pregnancy berry?’ (6:27)
- *mun ɛ-ʃərək tɛnu? mun ɛ-létəg egənní* ‘who did this? Who killed the jinn?’ (54:34)
- *mun ɛ-ˈágəb yɔ(l)tʃəs* ‘who wants to kill him?’ (83:4)
- *təhərg kə-mũn ɛlɛ* ‘who were you speaking with earlier?’ (28:9)
- *mũn mənkúm də-ˈágəb ɔz* ‘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 *man* plus a pronominal suffix to indicate a partitive.

The interrogative *mun* can also be used in indirect questions, for example:

\[\text{I'm not sure who told me'} \quad (8:10)\]
\[\text{he wanted to test them, (to see)} \quad (21:3)\]

11.2 *ínɛ́* ‘what?’

The interrogative *ínɛ́* ‘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:

\[\text{what happened to you?'} \quad (5:12)\]
\[\text{what’s (the matter) with you?’} \quad (6:8)\]
\[\text{what should I do for her?’} \quad (6:8)\]
\[\text{what will you give me?’} \quad (13:7)\]
\[\text{what will lead me to her?’} \quad (30:14)\]
\[\text{which [lit. who] of them would eat’} \quad (21:3)\]

\[\text{he didn’t know what to do’} \quad (30:1)\]
\[\text{I didn’t know what had happened’} \quad (31:4)\]
\[\text{I told you what to do for your foot’} \quad (52:9)\]
11.3 ʾînè mân, ʾînên ‘which? what kind of?’

The interrogative ʾînè ‘what’ (§11.2) is combined with the preposition mân ‘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 mân can be separated from ʾînè, though this is rare. Examples are:

ʾînè mân náḥag ‘what kind of game?’ (17:24)
ʾînè mân ġeyg aʿásors ‘what kind of man is your husband?’ (30:17)
ḥet ʾînè mân ġeyg ‘what kind of man are you?’ (33:4)
ʾînè mân gólë bek ‘what kind of illness do you have?’ (38:5)
b-ʾînè ḫet ṣek mân hóqat taqád k-egéyg ‘what need do you have to go with the man?’ (28:13)

In contemporary fast speech, ʾînè mân is usually contracted to ʾînên, as in:

tôhërg ʾînên lâğwát ‘which languages do you speak?’ (SM)

Hofstede (1997: 95) gives the sentence tsókan b-ʾînè ḥallët ‘in which town do you live?’ (she also gives the variant word order b-ʾînè ḥallët tsókan), but almost certainly she heard b-ʾînên and not b-ʾînè.

11.4 h-ʾînè ‘why? for what?’

For the interrogative ‘why?’ in the restricted sense of ‘for what purpose?’, Jibbali uses the phrase h-ʾînè, 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-ʾînè zāhāmk tûn ‘why have you come to us?’ (30:23)
ʾôr heš, “… ėdmār to beš.” ʾôr, “h-ʾînè?” ʾôr ēbrēš, “ak l-ôstîk.” “he said to him, “… show it to me.” He said, “For what?” His son said, “I want to drink (it)”’ (35:7–8)
h-ʾînè l-ʾezémš ‘why should I give him (a camel)?’ (49:32)

In Mehri, the interrogative ḥêšôn ‘what?’ appears to sometimes have the meaning ‘why?’. No doubt, this is underlyingly h-ḥêšôn—a construction exactly parallel to Jibbali h-ʾînè—which is realized as ḥêšôn 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-ìnɛ́, which means ‘why?’ in the sense of ‘because of what?’:

\( \textit{taʾmór l-ìnɛ́} \) ‘why, do you think [lit. say]?’ (TJ2:112)

See further on \( l-ìnɛ́ \) ‘because’ in § 13.5.4.

11.5 \( kɔ(h) \) ‘why?’

Although the phrase \( h-ìnɛ́ \) can be used to mean ‘why?’ in some contexts (§ 11.4), the general and more common interrogative ‘why?’ is \( kɔ(h) \). The word is normally pronounced \( kɔh \) in isolation or before a vowel, but usually \( kɔ \) 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
&kɔh \; \text{he mišérđ} \; \text{‘why am I stupid?’} \; (1:10) \\
&kɔh \; ɔl \; dха-(t)səl3-tɔ \; zeyd \; lɔ \; \text{‘why won’t you wait for me any longer?’} \; (3:10) \\
&kɔ \; \text{het tōk} \; \text{‘why are you crying?’} \; (49:28) \\
&kɔ \; \text{hit būn} \; \text{‘why are you here?’} \; (54:15) \\
&kɔ \; \text{het ɔl šʃōkək lɔ} \; \text{‘why haven’t you gotten married?’} \; (97:2)
\end{align*}
\]

And it can also be used in conjunction with another question:

\[
\begin{align*}
&kɔh, \; ɔl \; ōr \; \text{hek} \; \text{‘why, what did they say to you?’} \; (28:3) \\
&kɔh, \; ɔl \; šē \; \text{mosē} \; lɔ \; \text{‘why, isn’t there any rain?’} \; (32:7) \\
&kɔh, \; \text{mit šʃōkək} \; \text{‘why, when did you get married?’} \; (32:9) \\
&kɔh, \; sāʾk \; tɔs \; \text{hergōt šē} \; \text{‘why, did you hear her say something?’} \; (60:17)
\end{align*}
\]

The interrogative \( kɔ(h) \) is also used in conjunction with the second person pronouns in contracted form. We find:

\[
\begin{align*}
&kɛt < kɔ \; \text{het} \\
&kɔśit \; \text{or} \; \text{kit} < kɔ \; \text{hit} \\
&kɔtum \; \text{or} \; kɔtʊm < kɔ \; \text{tum} \\
&kɔtən \; \text{or} \; kɔtɛ̃n < kɔ \; \text{ten}
\end{align*}
\]

These contracted compound forms are very common in contemporary Jibbali. Examples are:

\( \text{hēsɔn} \) probably derived from \( h-hēsɔn \), nor did I mention the Jibbali parallel. On the sound rule by which Mehri \( h- \) is not realized before another \( h \) (or \( ḥ \)), see Rubin (2010: 16–17).
**INTERROGATIVES**

*ket da-ğöteđk ... ket şemk eyšt* ‘why are you angry? ... Why did you sell the camel?’ (AK2:7)

The third person pronouns are also used in combination with *kɔ*(h), when the following verb has a nominal subject, but the forms are not contracted. Examples with a third person pronoun are:

\[kɔ še embére’ də-yǒk ‘why is the boy crying?’ (33:10)\]
\[kɔ šum ağıʒ iężnu loțtəğ ‘why did they, these men, kill each other?’ (22:19)\]

Finally, *kɔ* can also sometimes be used idiomatically with just an independent pronoun, meaning something like ‘what’s (the matter) with X?’:

\[kɔ hɛt ‘what’s with you?’ (35:6; 39:6)\]
\[kɔ tum ‘why are you (here) [or: what’s the matter with you]?’ (38:10)\]

11.6 *yɔl, yoh* ‘how? what?’

The basic meaning of the interrogative *yɔl*, and its common reduced form *yoh*, 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 Soqoṭri *ífu(l)*; for the sound correspondences, we can compare Jibbali *yɔ* ‘people’ with Mehri *ḥābū* and Soqoṭri *éfo* (var. éfo). Examples of its use are:

\[ar yoh əl-sɛ́rk ‘how should I do it then?’ (1:3)\]
\[yɔl kisk enűf ‘how do you feel [lit. find yourself]?’ (40:15)\]
\[yoh tīţk ‘how is your wife?’ (97:50)\]

In conjunction with certain verbs, notably ‘õr ‘say’, șíni ‘see’, and sometimes šérěk ‘do’, *yɔl/yoh* is best translated into English as ‘what?’, for example:

\[yol őr hek ‘what did they say to you?’ (28:3)\]
\[taőr yoh ‘what do you say?’ (55:3)\]
\[yoh tșun ‘what do you think [lit. see]?’ (SB2:3)\]
\[yol ənsɛ́rk ‘what should we do?’ (SB2:6)\]

Examples of *yol/yoh* in an indirect question are:

\[ɔl éďa’k yoh al-şérk lo ‘I don’t know what to do’ (41:2)\]
\[ɔl éda’n yoh ənsɛ́rk lo ‘we don’t know what to do’ (AM1:4)\]

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 *la-* to express ‘to where? whither?’. Examples of the use of these two interrogatives are:

\[
  \begin{align*}
  hun se & \text{ ‘where is she?’ (18:9)} \\
  hun šink tɔs & \text{ ‘where did you see it?’ (39:7)} \\
  hun a’išeši & \text{ ‘where is my dinner?’ (54:22)} \\
  ar téti hüṭun & \text{ ‘so where is my wife?’ (30:12)} \\
  kɔh, het hüṭün & \text{ ‘why, where have you been?’ (32:10)} \\
  ar ebríst hūṭun & \text{ ‘so where is your daughter?’ (36:8)} \\
  hūṭun ʊtš & \text{ ‘where is his house?’ (46:11)} \\
  eði-ilín hūṭun & \text{ ‘where is so-and-so?’ (60:16)} \\
  het man hūn & \text{ ‘where are you from?’ (57:12)} \\
  əl-hūn taq̠ād & \text{ ‘where would you go?’ (TJ4:6)} \\
  skɔf də-yək̠əțən l-iyɛ́l l-ə-hūn dḥa-l-ɛ́blɛ̄n & \text{ ‘he sat watching where the camels would head to’ (33:3)}
  \end{align*}
\]

The longer form *hūṭun* derives from a combination of *hun* and *ṭɔ́hun* ‘thus, like that’ (§ 10.4). We can compare the parallel form *hόh-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 *hútun*, but the Arabic-letter texts all have the glottalic *ṭ*. Al-Shahri (2007: 79) records the WJ form *ḥaṭun*, corresponding to CJ and EJ *hūṭun*.

### 11.8 *mit* ‘when?’

The Jibbali interrogative ‘when?’ is *mit*, which can be used in both direct and indirect questions. Examples are:

\[
  \begin{align*}
  mit dḥa-(t)zḥōm tɔ & \text{ ‘when will you come back to me?’ (3:5)} \\
  mit ḥa-l-aśnɛ́k & \text{ ‘when will I see you?’ (7:3)} \\
  kɔh, mit ʃʃɔk & \text{ ‘why, when did you get married?’ (32:9)} \\
  mən mit gɛlɔk & \text{ ‘since when have you been sick?’ (40:3)} \\
  ed mit yaʃɛ́d b-edún yɔ́fɛ́š & \text{ ‘by [lit. until] when should he promise [or: arrange] to pay the debt’ (TJ2:76)} \\
  mit ḥa-tgād e-ˈuŋ & \text{ ‘when will you go to Oman?’ (JL, s.v. *myt*)} \\
  ɔl éd’ak mit dḥa-l-gād ɔ & \text{ ‘I don’t know when I’ll go’ (SM)}
  \end{align*}
\]

---

² The Hobyot form is also transcribed in *HV* as *hoṭoh* (pp. 68 and 135), *hwoh ṭoh* (p. 155), and *hōḥ ṭoh* (p. 173).
Note the phrases *mən mít* ‘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*?” ʿõr təxtór. ʿõr, “*bə-giní ṯróh*” ‘“how much?” said the doctor. He said, “Two guineas”’ (52:8)

*mśé* êm ‘how many days?’ (TJ2:44)

*ḥölt* də-ˈád, *bə-mśé* tokín se ‘a load of sardines, how much does it cost?’ (TJ2:82)

*a-t-́áims* bə-*mśé* ‘how much will you sell it for?’ (AK2:3)

*mśé* inèt ‘how many women?’ (JL, s.v. *misy*)

*šek* mśé ˌkarōs ‘how much money do you have?’ (SM)

*šek* mśé aġóhɛ́ ‘how many brothers do you have?’ (SM)

*eˈómrək* mśé ‘how old are you?’ (lit. ‘your age is how much?’) (AK)

*mśé* eˈómrər aģák ‘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:

*ehún* mənši ɗə-ykín axér ‘which of them (two) is better off?’ (TJ2:100)

*šl-ˈ̀d ́dá* *ehún* lo, *a(blog t iyɛ́n mən əmבהे* iyɛ́nš ‘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 *ehúṭun* in place of *ehún*, obviously reminiscent of the variants *hun* and *hūṭun* ‘where?’ (§11.7). A third informant did not feel the two words to be related, and also did not
accept ɛhúṭun. It is possible that ɛhún is connected to hun ‘where’ only by folk etymology among some speakers, hence the longer variant ɛhúṭun. An example of its use in a direct question is:

ɛhún mənhúm ‘ak ‘which one of them do you want?’ (AK)

11.11 ɔl hɛ̃ lɔ ‘isn’t that so?’

In a few passages, we find the interrogative phrase ɔl hɛ̃ lɔ, which acts as a tag question, equivalent to English ‘isn’t that so?’ or ‘no?’ (French n’est-ce pas). Examples are:

het dḥa-t giód kərɛrɛ, ɔl hɛ̃ lɔ ‘you’ll go tomorrow, won’t you?’ (3:1)
ðə kun ‘ak əs’édhum, ɔl hɛ̃ lɔ ‘if you had wanted to help them, you would have been able to do so, no?’ (42:10)
he zəḥámk bũn, ɔl hɛ̃ lɔ ‘I came here, didn’t I?’ (52:11)
12.1 Coordinating Conjunctions

Following is a list of the basic Jibbali coordinating conjunctions:

- \( b \) - 'and'
- \( fəlékən \) (vars. \( wəlékən, lékən \)) 'but'
- \( (mən) \) \( dən \) 'but'
- \( mən \) 'or'
- \( (bə-)fəlɔ́ \) 'or; or else'
- \( miṭ \) 'or'

Each of these will be discussed in turn below. For subordinating conjunctions, see § 13.4 and § 13.5. The temporal conjunction \( ɛd \) '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 \( ə \). 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
& \text{ġeyg } bə-téṯ \ 'a \ man \ and \ a \ woman' \ (2:1) \\
& \text{éb } b-ɛnɪṣan \ 'old \ and \ young \ [\text{lit.} \ the \ big \ and \ the \ small]' \ (4:8) \\
& \text{erɛš } b-ūb \ ɛ-d-ɛʃɛrɔ́t \ 'the \ head \ and \ the \ heart \ of \ the \ bird' \ (6:10) \\
& \text{šətɛ́mən } hît \ bə-tür \ bə-skɛ́r \ 'we \ bought \ food, \ dates, \ and \ sugar' \ (16:2) \\
& \text{əmbɛ́rɛ́ } bə-γəbgɔ́t \ 'a \ boy \ and \ a \ girl' \ (36:1) \\
& \text{zũthum } ʿiśɛ́ bə-ḳahwɛ́t \ 'she \ gave \ them \ food \ and \ coffee' \ (36:29) \\
& \text{əmbɛ́rɛ́ } hárɛ́d \ bə-xfif \ 'the \ boy \ was \ strong \ and \ fast' \ (54:2)
\end{align*}
\]
And some examples of $b$- used to join two clauses are:

- $a'sés$s, $b-ɔl$ 'assót $lɔ$ ‘they roused her, but she didn’t wake up’ (18:10)
- $he$ $bek$ $sé'ak$ $bə-ʃfǎh$k $dənu$ ‘I am already full, and I have this leftover’ (21:7)
- $zǔtš$ $e$ $sə'άg$t$s $b-a'gadɔ́t$ ‘then she gave him her jewelry and she went’ (22:5)
- $ntəh$ $b-unuf$, $b-ɔl$ $tə'géfəl$ $lɔ$ ‘watch out for yourself and don’t be careless’ (24:3)
- $bǔkək$ $b-a'gádk$ ‘I cried and I went’ (53:12)
- $bɔ-ʒt$ $er'hūt$ $bə-ʒt'ós$ $e$ $bə-kérę$ $xət'kès$. $bə-zĩs$ $xət'k$ $mən'ũm$ $bə-ʃf̩k$ $b$s ‘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 $b$- 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 $mən$ ‘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.
As with the conjunction $b$-, we sometimes find $falékən$ used in the texts at the beginning of a sentence where it seems superfluous in English (e.g., 2:10)

12.1.3 ($mən$) $dún$ ‘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:

\[
axédəm yum əl-əṯnén, mən dún yum əl-əṯnén lə 'I work Monday, but I don’t work Tuesday' (SM)
\]

Hofstede also heard $mən$ $dún$ used this way during her fieldwork (1998: 127).

In text TJ4, there are a few of examples of simple $dún$ used as a conjunction:

\[
yəhérg lə, dun bass yaʾōr tə̱nu $b$-ıdēšt 'he didn’t speak, but he just said this with his hands' (TJ4:29)
\]

\[
ténʊgəh k-ḥāṣaf $b$-d-ʾād 'ak ênzélšt. dun ḥaḳt $e$-zhámkt, əkősšt ber heg $egdarēt$ ‘morning came and he was still in his place. But when I came out, I found him already wandering the land’ (TJ4:50)
\]

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:

\[
het $d$ha-tgád $h$őgkt $mən$ $d$ha-tgád $t$ūnvəg ‘will you go for necessity or will you go to have fun?’ (3:7)
\]

\[
'ak $t$e'-ûb, $mən$ 'ak $t$e'-ërēšt ‘do you want to eat the heart, or do you want to eat the head?’ (6:11)
\]
On the preposition man ‘from’, which is no doubt the source of the conjunction, see § 8.18. It is not always clear whether man should be analyzed as ‘from’ or ‘or’, for example:

he dха-l-ɛ́ẓ́hər iyɛ́n man ḗde’ ‘I will show him the truth or the lie’ (24:2)
(or perhaps: ‘the truth from the lie’)

On man used as a quantifier, see § 5.5.2, and as a negative marker, see § 13.2.7.

12.1.5 (bə-)fəlɔ́ ‘or; or else’

The conjunction ba-flɔ́, is also used, like man, to express ‘or’. While man is more common in questions, ba-flɔ́ is more common in statements. The shorter form fəlɔ́, without the conjunction b-, is also attested with the meaning ‘or’, mainly in questions.1 Examples are:

a’anɛ́s ‘ɛrótub ka'ɛ́b’ bə-flɔ́ ‘ɛnúdof ɛ̃nzél’ ‘its meaning is “clean things” or “tidy up the place”’ (34:4)
īs bə-flɔ́ aɡās ‘her father or her brother’ (45:17)
ɡad yɔl ūt e-kɛ́r, yазèmk ‘iśe bə-flɔ́ yɔ́l(ıt)ɡək ‘go to the house of the sheikh, so he can give you (food) or kill you’ (46:9)
kəlíṯ híni her dé əl-hés he bə-flɔ́ axér ʿáni ‘tell me if anyone is like me or better than me’ (54:3)
əlόtmas ba-‘árftɛ́t bə-flɔ́ ba-rɔ́t ‘I strike it with a palm-leaf or a lung’ (55:2)
a’iśərɛ́k fəlɔ́ ʂé ‘(are they) your friends or something?’ (60:32)
šuk ʂé aɡóhɛ́k fəlɔ́ aɡətɛ́tɛ́k ‘do you have any brothers or sisters?’ (SM)
kəlɛ́ṯ híni her da-yxɛ́dəm bə-‘ûn fəlɔ́ b-il-yɛ́men ‘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 man can be used in yes-or-no questions.

2 This informant also felt that man could be used in this sentence, with no difference in meaning.
More often, \textit{bə-flö} has the meaning ‘or else’, in which case it typically follows an imperative statement, and precedes some sort of threat or warning. Examples are:

\begin{quote}
lézəm təḥmó̊l, \textit{bə-flö} ha-l-ˈeṭəf b-érunškum ‘you must move, or else I will stampede your goats’ (15:4)
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
kə́liṯ híni b-iyên, \textit{bə-flö} dha-l-ˈl(t)ə́f enúf ‘tell me the truth, or else I will kill myself!’ (30:13)
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
edór, \textit{bə-flö} dha-na(l)ˈtə̊gək ‘go back, or else we’ll kill you’ (30:23)
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
mə́lə́s \textit{bə-flö} ešhál kéríb ‘fill it and press it down, or else the chameleon is nearby’ (53:7)
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
shɔ́l iyénk, \textit{bə-flö} ɔ́t tʃə́l̩ sə̊n bə lə́ ‘finish your portion, or else you are not fit [to go] with us’ (54:9)
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
kɔ́l ‘ā̂ṣər ya’asín gabgót bə-mahfə́r ेə-ˈxo̊bz, \textit{bə-flö} yahesə́r həːlə́t ‘every night they give [him] a girl and a basket of bread for dinner, or else he will destroy the town’ (54:16)
\end{quote}

We also find \textit{bə-flö} ... \textit{bə-flö} used like English ‘either ... or’, as in:

\begin{quote}
bə-flö təlɔ́tə̊g tɔ bə-flö tə́zəm tɔ téti ‘either you’ll kill me or give me my wife’ (30:23)
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
bə-flö dha-tũz təmbéko bə-flö bə-gilílt ‘you’ll smoke either tobacco or bullets’ (60:26)
\end{quote}

The particle \textit{fə̊lə́} can also have the sense of ‘perhaps’, used in both interrogative and declarative phrases. See §12.5.8 for examples of this usage.

\subsection*{12.1.6 \textit{miṭ} and \textit{ya} ‘or’}

The word \textit{miṭ} has the meaning ‘or’, but it is not used in the same way as \textit{mən} or \textit{bə-flö} ‘or’. Rather, it is used only to convey uncertainty. Consider the following example, the only such example from the texts:

\begin{quote}
ḥaḳt ēr heš yum miṭ yũ ṯrut, ˈõr hes ‘after a day or two, he said to her...’ (TJ4:12)
\end{quote}

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:

\begin{quote}
ə́msə́lm miṭ áḥmad ˈõr híni, ɔ́l fə́ṭnə́k bɔ́ ‘Musallam or Ahmed told me, I don’t remember’ (MQ)
\end{quote}

On the phrase \textit{miṭ-ínɛ́}, ‘some kind of’ or ‘some(thing) or other’, see §5.5.7. Used in the same way as \textit{miṭ} is \textit{ya}, which can probably be considered an Arabism. There is just one example in the texts:

\begin{quote}
\end{quote}
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:

- **bélé** ‘even so!’ (see § 13.4.3)
- **bass** ‘enough! that’s all!’
- **bass mon** X ’enough of X’!
- **ądú** ‘let’s go!’ (see § 12.5.9)
- **hes-tó** ‘ok!’
- **hiškik** (f. **hiškís̃**, pl. **hiškókum**) ‘don’t be scared!: it’s ok!’
- **mor** ‘ok!’ (see § 12.2.1) (ya) ḥay b- ‘welcome!’ (followed by suffix or noun)
- **ya rét** (+ subj.) ‘would that! I wish!’
- **yəx** ‘ugh!’

Some of these can probably be considered Arabisms, like **bass**, ya ḥay 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 **yɔ̄-yɔʾ**.

Note also the exclamatory particle ya, as in:

- **y-ɛ̄mí, y-ɛ̄mí** ‘Oh my mother, my mother!’ (18:13)
- **y-ɛ̄ḳaḥfi, y-ɛ̄ḳaḥfi** ‘Oh my pot, my pot!’ (23:8)
- **ya xēt bə-ya fəẓ́ḥát** ‘what a loss and what a disaster!’ (SB2:7)

12.2.1 ‘Yes’ and ‘No’

The normal word for ‘yes’ in Jibbali is **ɛ̃hɛ̃**. The word **mor** (or its longer form **mɔ́ģɔ́r**) 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 **ābdan** ‘no, by no means, never!’ which is borrowed from Arabic **abadan**. Also commonly used in Jibbali is the
Arabic form le’; the Jibbali cognate la is not used as an interjection. We also find once in the texts ba-hā’ ‘no way, by no means’ (8:12).

12.3 Vocatives

The vocative particle in Jibbali is e, for example:

\[ e \, i, \, šfėk \ ‘\text{Father, get married!}’ \ (6:3) \]
\[ e \, bɛ, \, dɔkũn \ tɛlg \ ‘\text{Father, that is ice}’ \ (35:7) \]
\[ e \, dɛrwiš, \, ‘a:k \, tɔlɔhɔm \ k-agág \ ‘\text{hey dervish, do you want to jump up with the (other) men?}’ \ (54:41) \]
\[ e \, dɛnů, \, e \, dɛn \, e pourquoi, \, yɔh \, tɔsun \ ‘\text{O this one, O this man [i.e., so-and-so], what do you think [lit. how do you see]?’} \ (SB2:3) \]
\[ eˈùzərək \ bɛn, \, ĩs̃érd \ ‘\text{you have annoyed us, crazy man}’ \ (46:9) \]

Note the special form bɛ ‘father, Dad’ that is sometimes used with the vocative (e.g., 35:7), and whose meaning is equivalent to i when used as a form of address. In the last example (46:9), it looks like the vocative e has triggered loss of the initial m (*ɛ mišérd > ĩšérd), though it is possible that ĩšérd is just the noun with the definite article (*emǐšérđ > ĩšérđ); see also the comment to TJ4:34. The second-to-last example (SB2:3) makes clear that the vocative e is not simply the definite article, since the demonstrative dėnu cannot take the article.¹

The Arabic vocative particle ya is found once in the texts, and this can be considered an Arabism:

\[ ya \, sɛgɔ́dat, \, frir \, bi \, yɔl \, eут \, e-i \ ‘\text{O Carpet, fly me to my father’s house!’} \ (6:24) \]

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 e- before a following definite article (see §12.4).

\[ aį gi, \, smah \, li \ ‘\text{brother, forgive me!’} \ (34:13) \]
\[ aįgi tı, \, antir \, mĩnĩ \ ‘\text{sister, untie me!’} \ (17:29) \]
\[ ɛbrĩ, \, he \, bek \ ‘ok \, hek \ ‘\text{my son, I already told you}’ \ (17:53) \]

¹ I actually have heard one or two speakers use dėnu 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 ɛ-/ð- ('of')

The genitive exponent in Jibbali, corresponding to English ‘of’, has the form ɛ- or ð-. Both are prefixed to the noun, and ð- often has the helping vowel ə. The genitive exponent ɛ-/ð- 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:

- ebré ḏa-disós ‘the son of a snake’ (25:17)
- ebrít ḏa-suṭún ‘the Sultan’s daughter’ (6:22)
- ēṣf ḏa-tét ‘a [or: the] description of the woman’ (2:13)
- ḫer ḏ-ekīlt ‘the sheikh of the tribe’ (46:10)
- aʾāmke ḏ-ér̥emɛrm ‘the middle of the sea’ (6:22)
- īnɛ́t ɛ-hallɛ́t keł ‘all the women of the town’ (30:11)
- īt ɛ-kɛ́r ‘the house of the sheikh’ (46:9)
- ēzgārɛ́r e-ʃʊtɔ́r ‘the squealing of the (goat) kid’ (49:8)
- musáʿadat ɛ-tɛxtɔ́r ‘(the) help of the [or: a] doctor’ (52:1)
- sɛ́kən ɛ-tɪ́ţš ‘his wife’s community’ (60:1)
- ebré ɛ-hókum ɛ-hallɛ́t ɗíhůn ‘the son of the ruler of that town’ (17:15)

The forms ɛ- and ð- seem to be totally interchangeable. For example, we find in a single text both ebré ḏa-ḥókum (97:13) and ebré ɛ-hókum (97:15) for ‘the ruler’s son’; likewise sɛrf ɛ-ūt and sɛrf ð-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 ɛ- 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:

- aʾāmke ɜɛrm ‘the middle of the journey’ (2:1)
- agá aqɛyg ‘the brother of the man’ (15:15)
- xo ɛdɛhɛlɛ ‘the mouth of the cave’ (22:2)
- erɛ́š egɔnmi ‘the jinn’s head’ (54:31)
- sɛgtɛ́t ɛmɛbɛ́ ‘the bravery of the boy’ (83:7)
- ḫa aqagɔ́t ‘the father of the girl’ (SB1:2)

Examples where ɛ- 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:

- makṭė́r ḏ-īrš̃b ‘a caravan of camels’ (22:9)
- finž̃ún ḏ-ḥáḥ ‘a cup of oil’ (30:24)
- kálo ḏ-ḥúsəb ‘a bucket of milk’ (33:6)
- egunět ḏ-ḥūt ‘the sack of grain’ (51:19)
- gunět ḏ-bóhr ‘a sack of grain’ (97:6)
- ḡar̃r̃t ḏ-ḥir̃h̃om bə-ḡar̃r̃t ḏ-iṣ̃ən ‘a bag of money and a bag of scorpions’ (97:11)
- mut giünü ḏ-ʿalaf ‘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:

- ebr̃t ḏ-ḥ̃al ɛṣ̃d̃ ʿum ‘the old(er) [lit. big] daughter of the fisherman’ (97:33)
- ebr̃ ḏ-ḥ̃k̃um eniṣ̃n ‘the young(er) [lit. small] son of the ruler’ (97:46)

In the first example above (97:33), the adjective ʿum ‘big’ is feminine, and so must modify ebr̃t ‘the daughter’. In the second example (97:46), eniṣ̃n ‘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 ḏ- 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. Examples are:

- ámma iyɛ́l b-ɛ́rún, ɔl yɔ́zəmsən ʿad lo ‘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 aḡagōt təsıkf đer emih, b-embére' yəḥjōd yaqélk her es'āyhr ‘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 ērūn, hes iżık antōh, erōd ērunēš ed erbē ‘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 ērūn b-iyēl, 'ak xorf ol takīnān bēsān nūsāb bɔ. ámma elhūti takīnān bēsān nūsāb ‘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 ḫun (un); the consonant n is not heard on the audio, but the vowel is nasalized. In the second passage (38:9), the word is spelled ṭun (un), and on the audio the vowel is elided (and not nasalized). The passages are:

əftēτũn ũ(n) ‘please remember!’ (8:13)

ġadū un ‘let’s go then!’ (38:9) (pronounced [ġadún̚])

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 وون, but absent from the audio)—is in TJ5:1.

Another attested context is:

ínɛ̄ un ey̱s 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 او (‘un), and the n is clearly heard on the audio. The particle also occurs several times in text TJ4:

hérāg ṣes al-hālsān ḏıkun un ‘they spoke with him at that same time’ (TJ4:45)
... particles 311

In TJ4:45, Ali Musallam (who transcribed this text into Arabic letters), spelled the particle نو (un), while in TJ4:76, he spelled it (twice) نون (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 mogor (§12.2.1), but this seems very unlikely. It seems much more likely that ũ(n) is the cognate of mō.

12.5.3 ʿɔd

The particle ʿɔd is not to be confused with the compound d-ʿɔd. The latter has a different meaning than ʿɔd, and also behaves differently morphologically; therefore, it is treated elsewhere (§7.3). The negative ɔl-ʿɔ́d is more complicated, as it can be used as the negative of bare ʿɔd or d-ʿɔd, and so this is discussed mainly within the section on negation (§13.2.4).

There seem to be two basic uses of ʿɔd. 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 masəłũt her ʿɔd _sink tɔk ‘I already have a sacrificial animal for if I saw you again’ (13:10)
ɔl-ʿɔ́d ḳɔ́dɔ́r yəs̃ɛ́xənṭ lɔ ‘he was not able to get out again’ (22:2)
her ʿɔd bédé lek, kəlɛ́ṯ híni ‘if they lie about you again, tell me’ (24:3)
her ʿɔd bédé li zəfɛ́t ɛ̃s̃ɡarɔ́t, dḥa-l-šənáḥhum ‘if they lie about me a second time, I will fight them’ (24:4)

Note that the example from 24:4 includes the redundant zafɛ́t ɛ̃s̃ɡarɔ́t ‘a second time [or: for the second time]’. Another adverbial phrase meaning ‘again’ (referring to a future context only) is xaṭarɛ́t ɛ-tənkáʿ (lit. ‘a/the time that will come’), as in mit a-tézər ʿũn xaṭarɛ́t ɛ-tənkáʿ ‘when will you visit Oman again?’ (SM). See §13.2.4 for examples of ʿɔd meaning ‘again’ in negative contexts, along with further discussion.

In its second basic use, ʿɔd, in conjunction with a subjunctive form of kun ‘be’ plus another verb, has the meaning ‘perhaps’, ‘might be’, or ‘could it be that’.

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 ʾād (= Jibbali ʿɔd) plus a subjunctive of kun, which are less frequent in Johnstone’s Mehri corpus. See further in Appendix D.
312 CHAPTER TWELVE

ʿɔd yékən ar ḏə-yəd ‘perhaps it was someone who was lying [or: lies]’ (8:11)

ʿɔd təkún lə́tɡəkum émì ‘have you perhaps killed my mother?’ (18:13)

ʿɔd təkún ɡəbkum nxínus ‘have you perhaps defecated under it?’ (22:16)

ʿɔd yékən gəle’ əngdərə́t ‘it might be a supernatural illness’ (38:6)

ʿɔd tékən śink egʃək ‘could it be you saw your shadow?’ (39:8)

aɡəhəs, ʿɔd yəkín 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 ʿɔd in a question may also have the meaning ‘perhaps’:

ʿɔd ʿéðər ‘is there any excuse?’ (41:7)

It may be, however, that the meaning here is ‘any at all’ (i.e., the positive counterpart to negative ‘əl-ɔ́d ‘not at all’; see § 13.2.4). Note that in response to this question in 41:7, we find negative əl-ɔ́d in 41:8. Another occurrence of ʿɔd meaning ‘at all’ is:

ʿɔd ya’ɔr hiš sé bə-flɔ́ sé ‘does he do [lit. say] anything at all to you?’ (TJ4:50)

Sometimes the meaning of ʿɔd is not totally clear, as in:

her ʿɔd təkóðər híni bə-hílt ‘if you can perhaps [or: again] (give) me credit’ (41:2)

In this passage, ʿɔd 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 (‘)ar ‘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 ʿɔd ʿéðər 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 "ɔl", but without a following "lɔ" (cf. French "ne ... que"). Examples are:

- he ɔl ṣi ar ðénů ‘I only have this’ (21:5)
- ɔl-ˈɔ́d ɛbḳé ar tuš ‘he left only (one) male goat’ (22:7)
- ɔl śeš ar múxbut ťať ‘he only had one cartridge’ (25:8)
- sɛ́n ɔl təbḡ́dən ar bə-xaṭškésən ‘they won’t go without [lit. will only go with] their clothes’ (30:4)
- he ɔl s̃ʃḥ́k ar aḡg ‘I only marry men’ (46:4)
- nḥa ɔl súmn ar ðénů ‘we have only this one left’ (51:10)
- ɔl ʃərśkən tēl ‘ar her nənḥág ‘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 əšətən ‘we came here only for our livestock’ (15:3)
- he ar kəllén ‘I am just a child’ (36:30)
- he aˈágɔ́b ar bə-núśəb ‘I only liked milk’ (51:2)
- ar śékəl ‘(it was) only a twin’ (49:9)
- ’ak ar bə-ðín ‘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:

- əthůmk tɔ śink ar egɔ́fí mənhínəm ‘I think maybe I only saw my shadow last night’ (39:10)
- he ɔl śink ar egɔ́fí mənhínəm ‘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 "ɔl ... lɔ", instead of just "ɔl". Examples are:

- ɔl ʃən ḡag lɔ ar anha ɪnēť ‘we have no one but us women’ (13:3)
- aˈéli ɔl ʃóhum dé lɔ ar he ‘my family has no one but me’ (13:18)
- ɔl ədūrən lɔ ar biš ‘I will not go back without [lit. except with] you’ (30:21)
- ɔl xəlɛ́f əlɛ́d lɔ ar aḡagšt ədikun ‘he had left behind no children except that girl’ (46:1)
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 ʃi ar dénu*, translates as ‘I have only this’, but this is semantically the same as ‘I don’t have anything except this’. Similarly, *sɛ̃n ɔl ṭɔbɡɔ̀dɔn ar ənɔ-xtʃɔ̀kέsɔn* could be either ‘they will only go with their clothes’ or ‘they won’t go except with their clothes’ (30:4). And *ɔl ṣɛn ɡag ło ar ənḥa ɪnɛ́t* (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 ɦa-(t)zím tɔ ɛnúf ... ar ɦa-l-zɛ́mk ɛnúf* ‘swear you will really give yourself to me! ... I will really give myself to you’ (2:3)
*guzúm ar ɦa-yəḥɛ̀zzas* ‘he swore he would kill her’ (17:9)
*kɔl ʍənkũm ḑɔ-ƙɛ̀rəb tɔ, ar ɦa-l-ʃ(l)tʃɔ̀ ˈwhoever of you that comes near me, I will kill him!’ (25:20)
*her ayádk yɔl ʃɛ̃hm ăsɔkũn, ar ɦa-l-ʃ(l)tʃɔ̀k* ‘if you go to that poison, I will kill you’ (35:8)
*her ɔl kɔ́lɔ́ʃ híni ło, ar ɦa-l-ʃ(l)tʃiš* ‘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 ʃɔh ɔl-ʃɛ́rk* ‘so how should I do it?’ (1:3)
*ar téti húťũn* ‘so where is my wife?’ (30:12)
*ar ɛbríts̃ húṭun* ‘so where is your daughter?’ (36:8)
*ar ínɛ́ ˈak (t)ʃɛ́rk* ‘so what do you want to do?’ (57:7)
*ar ko ɦet tɛ́nu* ‘so why are you like this?’ (TJ4:5)
*ar ʃɔh* ‘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:

\[\text{ol tə’as̃ëš lɔ ar hér sit̝t̝ bə-xət̟r̟k tɾoh ‘she won't wake up unless she is hit twice with a stick [or: with two sticks]’ (18:11)}\]

\[\text{ol dé yaš̃ënûs yaš̃b məš ɣasré lɔ, ar hér kun ɣag məkən ‘no one dared get water from it at night, unless there were a lot of people’ (39:1)}\]

\[\text{ol nakənûm lɔ, ar hér dḥa-(t)z̟h̟o-tun bə-kaśm̟ət ‘we won’t collect fodder, unless you’ll bring us a gift’ (47:7)}\]

\[\text{ol yəbg̟j̟d lɔ ar hér ‘ágiš (t)z̟m̟s̟ yət ‘he won't go unless you want to give him a camel’ (49:32)}\]

\[\text{ol akɔ́dər al-gád lɔ ar hér mizk ‘I can’t go on unless I smoke’ (60:26)}\]

Another combination is tob ar, which means something like ‘truly, indeed’, as in:

\[\text{tob ar fúrhək tun ‘you have truly made us happy’ (8:13)}\]

\[\text{tob ar f̟i̟tn̟ak tɔs̟ ‘I do indeed remember him’ (8:14)}\]

\[\text{tob ar ɣar̟ô d̟ənu ‘what words indeed!’ (28:11)}\]

\[\text{tob ar yénhum yo ‘indeed the people told the truth’ (46:12)}\]

\[\text{tob ar mạl̟z̟ ñ̟m̟s̟ yət ‘this boy is truly sickening’ (57:7)}\]

\[\text{tob ar š̟s̟ g̟n̟eh̟ët ‘he truly has coins!’ (TJ4:34)}\]

The combination kəl̟à ar is attested twice, once (38:1) with the meaning ‘especially since’ or ‘given that’, and once (46:10) with an unclear function:

\[\text{sa’b ol takín mən gér dé lɔ, kəl̟à ar ɛ̄kət dənu bəs ərham̟ët ‘the valley will not be without anyone, especially (since) at this time there is rain’ (38:1)}\]

\[\text{ol yək̟ɔ́d̟ar yɔ́(l)t̟g̟ək lɔ? bə-ʃ̟̟-ș̟̟ ɣəz̟ə orx tɾoh bə-l̟ët̟ək kər d̟-ēk̟l̟t̟, kəl̟à ar hət ‘he can’t kill you? He raided two months and killed the sheikh of the tribe, so what about you?’ (46:10)}\]

In a couple of passages, ar seems to function as a conjunction ‘only, but’:

\[\text{iž̟h̟ən səbr̟ə, ar ol l̟-ʃ̟k̟l̟ t̟ hek lɔ ‘those were ghosts, only I didn’t want to tell you’ (16:5)}\]

\[\text{he b̟-ər̟z̟, ar ol dé kəl̟t hən̟i bə-ʃ̟̟-ʃ̟ϊ̟k̟t̟ək lɔ ‘I’ve been in the country, only no one told me about your marriage’ (32:11)}\]

Finally, there are a few passages in the texts in which the function of ar is unclear.
12.5.5 ēbūbnē

The particle ēbūbnē occurs just twice in the texts (57:11; TJ5:8), and one of the passages is in a story that was translated from Mehri. 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:

ēbūbnē ēbrí, šēn tɔ ‘please, my son, obey me!’ (57:11)
ēbūbnē bə-msēlm ‘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 ɔ used in these negative constructions (cf. § 13.2.2). Examples are:

dek ɔ(l) l-ēgrég ‘be careful not to be long’ (3:13)
dek ɔl tajād ba-tōkəla’ tɔ ‘be sure not to go and leave me’ (3:18)
dek ɔl tōklat her dé ‘be sure not to tell anyone’ (12:6)
dek ɔl (t)šēf ‘be careful not to fall asleep’ (30:2)
dek ɔl tōsbət ēgātk ‘be sure not to hit your sister’ (49:13)
dek ɔ(l) l-ā’āşš ‘be careful not to wake him’ (50:2)

This particle dek is presumably the 2ms suffixed form of the preposition ɛd ‘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 des̃ (fs), dōkum (mp), and dékan (fp), for example des̃ ɔl təfrīk ‘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 əbōbnə, discussed in Rubin (2010: 248) and Watson (2012: 135). As noted in Appendix D, the one occurrence of əbōbnə in Johnstone’s Mehri texts (M26:9) can be corrected to əbōbnə.
given', and is a frozen 1cs perfect. The preposition *b-* is required before the object. Just one example is found in the texts:

\[dunk\ b\text{-}a\text{ḥkīṭī} \text{‘take [or: you may have] my kingdom’ (54:43)}\]

This can be used as a response to *ndōh* ‘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  *fəlɔ́*  

The particle *(bə-)fəlɔ́* meaning ‘or; or else’ was described in §12.1.5. The shorter form *fəlɔ́* can also be used with a different function, giving the sense of ‘perhaps’. Examples from the texts are:

\[ fəlɔ́ \text{‘agk txédɛm tšlən ‘do you perhaps want to work for us?’ (5:8)} \]
\[ fəlɔ́ ŋink ebri ‘did you perhaps see my son?’ (8:5) \]
\[ fəlɔ́ əkɔ́s də yəmzɛz ‘perhaps I’ll find someone who smokes’ (60:25) \]

\[d\text{-}təksɛ́ šæxər yəmzɛz, bə-flɔ́ yəzmək še ‘you’ll find an old man who smokes, and perhaps he’ll give you something’ (60:30) \]
\[ fəlɔ́ əkɔ́s šxorét ‘perhaps I’ll find an old woman’ (AM1:5) \]

In a question (like the first two examples above), the translation ‘perhaps’ might be considered superfluous, in which case the particle *fəlɔ́* could conceivably be considered more like an interrogative marker (like Arabic *hal*).

### 12.5.9  *gdə́*  

The particle *gdə́* 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:

\[ mor, gdə́ yɔl yɔ ‘ok, let’s go to the people!’ (1:9) \]
\[ hər ‘ak, gdə́ ‘if you want, let’s go!’ (12:2) \]
\[ mor, gdə́, dha\text{-}l\text{-}ešnɛ́k i ɛmbɛ́rɛ́ ‘ok, come on, I’ll show you the boy’s father!’ (18:8) \]
\[ gdə́ nəsɛ́ ‘let’s go and see!’ (22:16) \]
\[ gdə́ əntbə́ ‘s ‘let’s go follow her!’ (60:22) \]
\[ gdə́ yɔlʃ ‘let’s go to him!’ (60:47) \]

---

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 ġadū is obviously connected with the verb aġád ‘go’ (root wįğd). A particle ġadū is used in Mehri (Watson 2012: 135), even though there is no corresponding verb root meaning ‘go’.10

12.5.10 hũk

The particle hũk means ‘here is/are!’, more or less equivalent to French voici. To a woman, one would say hũš, and to a group hũkum (m.) or hũkən (f.). Examples from the texts are:

hũk ɛṣáġət ‘here is the jewelry’ (22:5)
hũk ðɛ́nu ‘here is this (for you)’ (38:13)
hũk egenbít ‘here is the dagger’ (41:10)
hũk ekτəbínék ‘here are your books’ (52:8)
dha-l-zɛ́mk ěgħúdi. hũk ‘I will give you my best effort. Here you are!’ (83:6)

The Mehri equivalent of this particle is ḡāk, 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 ḡāk can be followed by a noun, as Jibbali hũk can. Unfortunately, the four examples of hũk followed by a noun above have no Mehri parallels among Johnstone’s texts.12 It is also uncertain whether or not Jibbali hũk and Mehri ḡāk are etymologically related, though it seems reasonable to suggest that they may be; cf. also Arabic hāka (mp ḡākum) ‘here you are!’.

12.5.11 kéźúm

The particle kéźúm, 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 kɔl 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 ʿod ‘go, walk’ (with ʿ < *ġ). The use of this root for ‘go’ seems to be a lexical isogloss between Jibbali and Soqoṭri. The Mehri cognate of Jibbali aġád ‘go’ is probably dialectal ġadū ‘die’ (missing from ML, but cf. Watson 2012: 83), with the metathesized root ġdw. This root is also the source of the Mehri cohortative particles ġədɛ́wwən and ġədɛ́wki ‘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 ḡāk 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: i b-ik ēnfēt yadōlaf mən būn ed ‘ak egahrēr ‘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 ēnfēt yadōlaf in the aforementioned passages was corrected to kēźūm yadōlaf ‘used to jump’.\(^\text{13}\)

Other examples of kēźūm are:

\begin{itemize}
  \item še kēźūm ĕrēd ‘he used to be strong’ (JL, s.v. klm)
  \item kēźūm d-‘ok nišān, əl-ra’ā ērūn ‘when I was young, I used to herd the goats’ (AK)
  \item aḡeyg dēn kēźūm fēkīr, dun nāṣānu ber tūzu ‘this man used to be poor, but now he is rich’ (Hofstede 1998: 153)
  \item šerk hes hēt kēźūm tšērōk ‘do as you used to do’ (AdM)
  \item hēt kēźūm tšēf mēkān, lēkān nāṣānu bek ṭēdām mēkān ‘you used to sleep a lot, but now you work a lot’ (Hofstede 1998: 153)\(^\text{14}\)
  \item kēźūm l-amzēz, bass nāṣānu əl l-amzēz lɔ ‘I used to smoke, only now I don’t smoke’ (MQ)
\end{itemize}

We can compare the meaning of kēźūm plus the imperfect, as in the last three examples above, with an imperfect in a sentence like bə-sā’a xīš də-l-amzēz ‘at 5:00, I was smoking’ (MQ) or hes kunk də-l-amzēz, šīnī tɔ ‘when I was smoking, he saw me’ (MQ). The particle kēźūm 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).

\(12.5.12\) kētk

The word kētk means something like ‘I think’ or ‘maybe’. Its meaning is very close to (a)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:

\(\text{---}\)

\(^{13}\) Note also that the verb ‘jump’ is dōlōf in EJ, but dōlōf in CJ, as noted also in JL (s.v. dlf and dlf).

\(^{14}\) According to Hofstede (1998: 53–54), fōna ‘formerly’ can be substituted for kēźūm in both of the sentences cited here from her work. In other sentences that she cites, fōna and kēźūm are used in tandem.
kêtk tɔš kéríb ‘ɔd les ‘I think he was still close to her’ (TJ4:65)
kêtk tɔš yagórbaš ‘maybe he knows him’ (SM)
kêtk tɔš a-ɡád amríka ‘I think he went to America’ (SM)
kêtk tɔš a-yənkáá ‘I think maybe he’ll come’ (SM)
kêtk tɔš tē nižũn ‘maybe he has eaten ants’ (JL, s.v. kt)
kît kɔš ‘ɔgəz ‘maybe he is lazy’ (Hofstede 1998: 109)

12.5.13 lɛ́zəm

The indeclinable particle lɛ́zəm, 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:

lɛ́zəm taḥmól ‘you must move’ (15:4)
lɛ́zəm əl-şnɛ́k ‘I must see you’ (17:8)

lɛ́zəm dē d’hɑ-yʃəhɛ́kək ‘there must be someone who will answer you’ (38:1)
her a-ɡádək l-əśnɛ́š, lɛ́zəm d’hɑ-l-zɛ́mš ‘if I go to see him, I will have to give him (something)’ (52:4)
lɛ́zəm tɔ́kəlaʿ xaf ðɔ́hũn ‘aḳ míh gelɔ́l ... mḡɔ́rɛ́’ lɛ́zəm tɔ́kəlaʿ śé ð̣írš ‘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 xaṭarɛ́t ‘once’ at the beginning of a story. It does not really add any special meaning, though we can translate mkun xaṭarɛ́t 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, ‘aḳ k-iyɛ́l ‘as for me, I want (to be) with the camels’ (47:2)

mkun mən kɔb, a-ɡád ed ‘aḳ ʃa’b ‘as for the wolf, he went into a valley’ (48:3)

mkun xaṭarɛ́t ṭit d-axáfɔn bə-xádər dɔ́kũn ‘now once we were camped in that cave’ (49:1)

mkun xaṭarɛ́t edidi a-ɡád ɔə-yxétɔr ‘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 mənkún. In JL (s.v. mn), Johnstone also presents the particle as məñ kun, and this longer form occurs once in one of his CJ texts:

mən kun mən iźók, tenüz’an xatįkésən ‘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 məskín

The word məskín (< 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 ɛ-/ð-. 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:

məskín ɛ-śiník ḳéríb ‘I hope to see you soon’ (MmS)
məskín ɛ-ʃfɔ́ḳ ġabgɔ́t ðúhun ‘I hope to marry that girl’ (AK)
məskín ɛ-kšéš ‘I hope to find him’ (AK)
məskín ɛ-šé zəḥám tɔ ‘I hope he comes to me’ (AK)
məskín e-agád baris ‘I wish I could go to Paris’ (SM)
məskín d-ɔ̀i 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 225), the Jibbali version has zĩ-tɔ ‘give me’ (a true imperative form). Examples of its use are:

\[ 'ɔrɔ́t, “ndóh” ‘she said, “give (them) here!”’ (17:7) \]
\[ ndóh l-əsɛ́ ‘let me see!’ (AK) \]

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 ʃɛf

The particle ʃɛf, 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:

\[ bə-ʃɛf aġéyg a’āsər ɛ-īš ‘and it so happened that the man was his father’s friend’ (5:31) \]
\[ bə-ʃɛf aģág ber dɔ-kûn ʃɛr xádər ‘and it so happened that the men had already hidden on top of the cave’ (2:12) \]
\[ bə-ʃɛf tet šes eráhəz ‘and it so happened that the woman had her period’ (2:12) \]
\[ ʃɛf dɛ-ənsɛn sáḥart ‘it so happened that one of them was a witch’ (15:3) \]
\[ ʃɛf ḥiš aģád ɛd əsəl tel axʃum dɔ-ka’dét ‘it so happened that his brother-in-law had gone until he reached the enemies of Ka’det’ (25:11) \]
\[ aģéyg əʃfér aġatetɛ́š šhələt ḡag ə-gəɣərəbhum lb. bə-ʃɛf ginnū ‘the man had married off his three sisters to men that he didn’t know. And it so happened that they were jinns’ (30:16) \]
\[ fałekan embère’ ekélbəš ʃɛf kəsi ‘but the boy, it turns out his heart is hard’ (49:35) \]
\[ bə-gēlək. ʃɛf šhələk gōdərī ‘I got sick. It turns out I caught smallpox’ (53:12) \]

\[^{15}\] 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 šaf has a pronominal suffix: šafhəm gənnawni.
The particle śćef 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:

\[ \text{ed zəḥám, śćefum bet bu zíd al-həlali} \] ́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 śćef seems to have the meaning ‘really’, in the sense of ‘it turned out really to be the case that’:

\[ \text{tob ar yénhum yə, śćefk mišerd} \] ́indeed the people tell the truth, you really are crazy!’ (46:12)

This particle śćef is to be distinguished from the noun śćef (pl. ęśfɔ́f) ‘track, footprint’ (e.g., 25:8).

12.5.18 (ə)thúmk

In Mehri, there is a regular H-Stem verb ḥathūm ‘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:

\[ \text{əthúmk tɔ dḥa-l-ġád ʃek} \] ́I think I’ll go with you’ (28:1)
\[ \text{əthúmk tɔx əl ʃəbabîk tɔ lb} \] ́I think maybe you didn’t understand me’ (34:11)
\[ \text{thúmk tɔs ərgafɛ́t} \] ́I think it’s malaria’ (38:6)
\[ \text{əthúmk tɔ ʃink ar ęgɔ́fí mənhínəm} \] ́I think maybe I only saw my shadow last night’ (39:10)
\[ \text{thúmk tɔ əl-ġád násanu} \] ́I think I might go now’ (38:2)
\[ \text{thúmk tɔş yékən mən axṣómɛ́n, fəlɛ́kən əthúmk tɔş ber aġád} \] ́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:

\[ \text{əthúmk is mélék} \] ́I think maybe her father is an angel’ (97:44)

\(^{17}\) As noted in § 12.5.12 (with examples), the word ḋətk 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 (a)thúmk, it is not attested with a complementizer (§ 13.5.1.1). In one passage with (a)thúmk, there is ellipsis of the complement clause:

\[ \text{sthúmk tɔ 'I think I (did)'} (40:6) \]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tōk tɔ́ḳəla’ tun ’ak xádor ðénu ərx tɔd ‘you should allow us in this cave for one month’ (15:4)} \\
\text{tōkum tasmóh tɔ ‘you must excuse me’ (17:41)} \\
\text{tōkum tɔkəls’ to l-éréd yëlî ‘you should allow me to bring down my camels’ (25:2)} \\
\text{tōk tɔkəla’ tɔ tel a’éli ’ônut dînu ‘you should leave me with my family this year’ (60:2)} \\
\text{tōk əl-sɔ́ləm tɔ ‘you should spare me’ (83:5)}
\end{align*}
\]

In one passage tō- is used independently, with the verb implied:

\[
\text{ʻõrɔ́t tíṯš, “ðə-fírḳək ʻãs əl tékən ‘agiôt ta’tún len.” ʻõr aġéyg, “əl tōs lɔ’ his wife said, “I am afraid she may want to inform on us.” The man said, “She shouldn’t.”’ (60:39–40)}
\]

The compound hes-tó can be used as an exclamation ‘good!’ and one informant used this as an equivalent of tō-:

\[
\text{hes-tó yékən s̃ek ḳərɔ́s̃ ‘you should have money [if you travel]’ (SM)}
\]

The particle tō-, along with its Mehri cognate taww-, 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 tawwān ‘just now; right away’), as well as in Ḥarsusi.¹⁹

---


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 *wéqab*

The particle *wéqab* (*< Arabic* wājib)* 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 *wéqab* (namely, *wōqab*) occurs six times in Johnstone’s Mehri texts, but *wéqab* 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 *wéqab* in the Jibbali version. The two occurrences in the Jibbali texts are:

- *ɔl wéqab lɔ ‘it is not necessary [or: appropriate]’* (TJ4:89)
- *ɔl wéqab lɔ tağád ba-taƙalɔ́ ‘élébtaŋ ténu ‘you shouldn’t go and leave the dead like this’* (25:17) (cf. Mehri *al awágəbkəm (t)sīrəm wa-tƙaləm aməlwtaŋ wətəɱəh lā ‘you ought not go and leave the dead like this’, M64:26)

Presumably *wéqab* 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 *wōqab*, which usually requires a pronominal suffix in a negative context. Jibbali *wéqab* (like Mehri) can also be followed by the preposition *l-* as in *wéqab len nąjād ‘we ought to go’.*

In the other extant parallel passage, Mehri has *ɔl awágəbkəm lā tawtēgəm məƙənayw mən ṭōdi ‘you ought not kill a child at the breast’* (M64:25), while the Jibbali text has *ɔl ḳəyɔ́skum (t)əfəl mən ʿaḳ fídɛ́t lɔ ‘it is not right for you to kill an infant in the cradle’* (25:16).\(^{21}\) The word *kəyós* 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’āšar e-ik ‘I am your father’s friend’ (5:12)
- het ‘ōgaz ‘you are lazy’ (24:1)
- het əl ġeyg ə ‘you are not a man’ (46:4)
- še ġeyg rəḥím ‘he was a handsome man’ (54:27)
- se əl ġagbōt ə ‘she is not a girl’ (45:2)
- nha šōtēt ḡag ‘we are three men’ (54:20)
- šum ‘ak mənzēl rəḥím ‘they are in a beautiful place’ (28:5)
- dēnu təbsif ə-taghr ‘this is the description of heartburn’ (40:16)
- dēnu əl əiśēi ə ‘this is not my dinner’ (54:26)
- dōkũn mən əiśk eđ-şēn ‘that was one of our friends [lit. those with us]’ (60:45)
- iżēnu axsūm ‘these are enemies’ (25:10)
- aġēyɡ miśērd ‘the man is crazy’ (2:7)
- aqagbōt əirs ‘the girl was on it’ (6:24)
- āḥsōl əl əheṣaf ə ‘the pay was not good’ (8:4)
- i aqagbōt tūzur b-embrēre’ əfēk ‘the father of the girl was rich, and the boy was poor’ (SB1:2)
- õdō s nxũn eṭēk dōkũn ‘your meeting place is under that wild fig tree’ (60:15)
- mũn dēnu ‘who is this?’ (13:12)
- inē hōgtōk bun ‘what’s your business here?’ (30:18)
- hun a’iśēi ‘where is my dinner?’ (54:22)
- hūṭun 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 bər műn ‘whose son are you?’ (5:11)
šiš iné ‘what do you have?’ (60:45)
het man hũn ‘where are you from?’ (5:7)
ar téṭi hũtĩn ‘so where is my wife?’ (30:12)

Sometimes we find an independent personal pronoun used as a dummy copula, as in:

ūtš d̩ikun se ‘his house is that one’ (46:11)
ðen še t̩aṣif e-ṣ̩fɔ́kɔt ‘this is a description of marriage’ (45:20) (cf. the example from 40:16, cited above)
d̩õhũn še ekẹ́lẽ ‘that is the bride-price’ (AM1:9)
iné še estĩkãdɔk ‘what is your plan?’ (TJ4:56)
sekf t̩ëti 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., ŭtš d̩ikun ‘that house of his’. This dummy copula is not required when there is a demonstrative subject and a simple noun predicate; cf. d̩ōkũn egũfek ‘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:

iné kun lek ‘what happened to you?’ (5:12)
kun t̩õgɔ́r ‘they became rich’ (5:16)
kɔlɔ́t̩ her aḡ̩aš ekẽłẽn kɔl in kun leš ‘he told his little brother all that had happened to him’ (6:39)
kunút len ek̩̄at ‘a storm befell us’ (13:4)
embẹre’ kun bɔ̣-xɔ́r ‘the boy became well’ (SB1:7)
he kun kã-ð-ɔ́l s̩õhum xõi lɔ ‘I was [or: stayed] with those that did not have umbrellas’ (31:3)
ɔ́l éd’ak iné kun lɔ ‘I didn’t know what had happened’ (31:4)
kunút t̩õshum fɔr̩̄t ‘it became a joke among them’ (34:14)
he d̩ha-l-ékan k̩̄ẽrũn ‘I will stay with the goats’ (22:5)
Some syntactic features

\[\text{yum tit emi kunut k-erun, b-i kun k iyel} \ 'one day my mother was with the goats, my father was with the camels' (51:15)\]

In a past existential phrase (‘there was/were’), the presence or absence of the verb \textit{kun} is semantically predictable. For a true existential, when the phrase ‘there was/were’ can be replaced with ‘there existed’, no verb is needed:

\[\text{yakil ak sandik dir hem} \ 'he thought that there was money in the box' (5:5)\]
\[\text{xaatarat hokum ba hallet} \ 'once there was a ruler in a town' (17:1)\]
\[\text{sini sayera, ba 'amkos akfor} \ 'he saw a car, and there were foreigners in it' (35:2)\]
\[\text{xaatarat gabgot rahit} \ 'once there was a beautiful girl' (46:1)\]

When an existential ‘there was/were’ can be replaced with ‘there happened/took place’, then \textit{kun} is used:

\[\text{'onut tit kunut onut} \ 'one year there was a drought' (20:1)\]
\[\text{kun masher ba hallet} \ 'there was a dance-party in the town' (30:9)\]
\[\text{yakel kunut hagmet ak sekon} \ 'they thought there was an attack on [or: fight in] the settlement' (13:13)\]

There are exceptions, however, such as:

\[\text{kunut gabgot arhit zeta} \ 'there was also a beautiful girl' (SB2:2)\]

The verb \textit{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):

\[\text{'od yekon ar d-a-yod} \ 'could it be someone who was lying?’ (8:11)\]
\[\text{'od yekon gol' angdarat} \ 'it might be a supernatural illness' (38:6)\]
\[\text{d-a-thumk to yekon mon axsomen} \ 'I think he might be from our enemies' (60:44)\]

For further details on the use of subjunctive \textit{kun} with the particle ‘\textit{od}, see §12.5.3.

The second environment in which \textit{kun} is used as a copula is in a conditional sentence. It is normally used in the protasis, following a conditional particle like \textit{her} (§13.4.1), as in:

\[\text{her kun k eyg} \ 'if you are a man' (46:6)\]
\[\text{her kun ba-xar} \ 'if he is well' (13:8)\]
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:

\[ \text{her } \text{kunút } \text{*gabgót} \text{ 'if she is a girl'} \text{ (45:20)} \]
\[ \text{her } \text{ol } \text{kun } \text{'ógəz } \text{lɔ} \text{ 'if he is not lazy'} \text{ (42:13)} \]

When the apodosis has an existential ‘be’, we find only a non-verbal phrase, for example:

\[ \text{bə-ðə } \text{šɛ } \text{ol } \text{ḥez } \text{yitš } \text{lɔ}, \text{ he } \text{əkín } \text{kahbét } \text{ 'and if he didn’t slaughter his camel, I am a whore'} \text{ (2:9)} \]
\[ \text{nəkín } \text{ərḥãt } \text{k-ḥĩyɛ́n}, \text{ her } \text{ḥə-tékan } \text{ərḥím } \text{s̃ɛn } \text{ 'we will be fine with [or: nice to] our son-in-law, if you will be fine with [or: nice to] us'} \text{ (7:4)} \]
\[ \text{her } \text{ol } \text{kiskum } \text{šé } \text{lɔ}, \text{ əkín } \text{he bédét } \text{ 'if you don’t find anything, then I am a liar'} \text{ (15:14)} \]

On the conditional (\( a ) \text{ðə } \text{kun}, \text{ see further in § 13.4.2; on the use of } \text{kun} \text{ in compound verb tenses, see § 7.1.9; and on the use of the future tense of } \text{kun} \text{ 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 *şé* ‘something’) have been treated elsewhere (§ 3.5.1 and § 3.5.2, respectively).

13.2.1 *ol* ... *lɔ*

Verbal and non-verbal sentences are negated by the elements *ol* ... *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 *ol* 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 ɔb 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:

- ʰɛt ɔl ɬeɭg ɔb 'you are not a man' (46:4)
- ʃe ɔl ɬaɭbɡɔɭ ɔb 'she is not a girl' (45:2)
- ɔl ˈtoɭlún ɔb '(it is) not with us' (6:38)
- ɔl ʃeɭ ɦɛk ɔb 'it is not good for you' (12:10)
- ɗeɭu ɔl ɬaɭɬiɭ ɔb 'this is not my dinner' (54:26)
- ɔl ˈkɔyɔɭkum (t)əɭt ɬeɭb ɔmɔn ˈak ɦidɛɭ ɔb. ɗeɭu ɔl ʂuɭɡɔɭ ɗɛɭɛɭl ɔb 'it is not right for you to kill an infant in the cradle. This is not the way of the tribes' (25:16)
- ɑɭhəɭ ɔɬ ɬeɭʃɔɭ ɔb 'the pay was not good' (8:4)
- ɣɬ ɗoɭ-ɬeɭtəɭg ɔ ɔl ɓ-ɛɭɬ ɬɔɭkun ɔb 'the people who had killed her father were not in that land' (46:3)
- ɦɔɭɬs ɔ(ɬ) ɬaɭhɪɭ ɔb 'its condition [lit. description] was not good' (83:1)
- ɭɛɭhəɭ ɔl ɬəɭhʊm ɔl-ɬɛɭs ɛɭɬɛɭɛɭs ɔb 'his face was not good like his mind' (SB2:1)
- ɬʃuɭm ɔɬ ɬoɭhʊm ɱɪɭ ɔb 'they did not have water' (35:3)
- ɔl ɬiɭɬiɭ ɗेɭ ɔb 'they had no one' (54:1)
- ɔl ɬeɭ ɱɪɭ ɬɛɭɬɪɭ ɔb 'there was no water nearby' (35:1)
- ɔl ɗeɭ ɬoɭɬ-ɬeɭs ɬeɭ ɔb 'no one was like him' (54:2)
- ɔl ɓoɭhʊm ɬ-ɭhəɭm ɬɔn ɬɛɭ ɬoɭ ɬəɭhʊm ɬo ɬaɭɬ '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:

- ʰɛt ɔl ɬeɭr ˈɬænɛɭ ɔb 'you are not better than us' (20:4) (based on Mehri ʰɛɭɔ ɬeɭ ɬɛɭɬ ˈɬæɭr ɬɛɭɛɭ, ɭM61:4)
- ɗeɭu ɔɬ ɬeɭ ɬeɭb ɬeɭɬɪɭ ɔb 'that is not good advice' (57:6) (based on Mehri ɗoɭməɭ ɔɬ ɬeɭ ɬeɭ ɬeɭɬɪɭ ɬaɭɬ, ɭM90:6)
332 CHAPTER THIRTEEN

tet ol se mən ekɪlt d-axšómêš lo ‘the woman was not from the tribe of his enemies’ (60:33) (based on Mehri tet ol se mən akəbaḷat də-xəšamhe lə, M94:33)

In verbal sentences ol usually comes after the subject (if there is an expressed subject) and directly before the verb (including the auxiliary ber, the future prefix (d)ḥa-, and the verbal prefix d-/ð-), while lo still usually follows the entire clause or sentence. One exception to this rule is that, as already mentioned above, ol precedes the subject if it is an indefinite pronoun de ‘someone’ or sé ‘something’ (see further in § 3.5.1 and § 3.5.2). Examples of negated verbal sentences are:

ol (t)sírkən enúf ‘okəl axér ‘áni lo ‘you would not pretend to be smarter than me’ (1:7)
ol bek ‘ök hek lo ḍə-hét mišérə ‘didn’t I already tell you that you were stupid?’ (1:9)
sẽ ol ḡez yišt lo ‘he didn’t slaughter his camel’ (2:9)
ol ḍha-l-ģád lo ‘I won’t go’ (3:11)
ol ‘ágən bóhum lo ‘we don’t want them’ (16:4)
ol kse sé lo ‘he didn’t find anything’ (17:14)
ol dé yoəkəlb əlhín ber xáríg şəhí lo ‘no one (can) bring back alive whatever has already died’ (23:14)
ol akọdər ḍə-ģád sək lo ‘I cannot go with you’ (28:19)
tet ol ḍha-tóffər lo ‘the woman will not run away’ (30:10)
agéyg ol ʃəbabəlós lo ‘the man didn’t understand her’ (34:4)
ol dé nísəz mes sé lo ‘no one had drunk anything from it’ (34:10)
šum ol ɡorós lo ‘they didn’t recognize her’ (36:28)
ol tíklaṭ her i lo ‘don’t tell father!’ (49:18)
ol ‘ağıṣt tóskəf lo ‘she didn’t want to stay’ (60:22)
he ol da-ʃıkəl lo ‘I am not sleeping’ (SM)

13.2.2 ol

In certain environments, ol is used without a following lo. We find this most commonly in combination with the particle ar (§ 12.5.4), giving the sense of ‘only’, as in:

he ol ši ar dənu ‘I only have this’ (21:5)
ol šes ar múxbuṭ tət ‘he only had one cartridge’ (25:8)
sẽn ol tagədən ar ba-xatškəsən ‘they won’t go without [lit. will only go with] their clothes’ (30:4)
he ol aʃʃək ar ağıəg ‘I only marry men’ (46:4)
After certain verbs of fear, embarrassment, refusal, swearing, warning, and prevention, negative ŏl is used before a following dependent (subjunctive) verb, though its function is not always one of negation. Examples are:

\[
\text{ġōlōt ŏl təgād sī 'she refused to go with me' (13:18)} \\
\text{xizōt ŏl tōklat heš 'she was embarrassed to tell him' (SB2:2)} \\
\text{fīrkək təs ŏl l-éfląt mən dīrī 'I am afraid she'll run away from me' (60:16)}
\]

With some verbs that use this construction—verbs of warning, swearing, prevention—the ŏl does indicate negation, as in:

\[
\text{əḥtēdīr ŏl (t)zim tītī xatı̂kę̂s ābdan 'be sure never to give my wife her clothes' (30:8)} \\
\text{gzīm ŏl (t)dér mən munūhum 'swear you will not come between them!' (60:6)} \\
\text{esxaręt berōt āxı̂lt ŏl təhērə dīs tel yə 'the old woman is already forsworn that she won't speak in front of the people' (60:8)} \\
\text{liš ētəm her xörbiš tə təfšin ŏl təgād sēš 'it's a sin for you if you prevent [lit. spoil] the man's wife so she won't go with him' (60:11)}
\]

We even find this construction (ől + subjunctive) used in indirect reports of swearing, as in:

\[
\text{tētı̂ guzūt li, "ōl təbğōd" 'my wife swore to me, "You won't go"' (28:19)} \\
\text{guzūt tēt, "ōl təbğād ed her tafšin" 'the woman swore, "You won't go until after you've had lunch" (60:38)}
\]

On the particle of warning dek plus ŏl, see §12.5.6. We also once find ŏl after the particle bēlę 'even if' in a negative context.\(^2\) The passage is:

\[
\text{tum sābar bass məthanūtī, bēlę ŏl məthanūtī 'you are always having trouble, even if you aren’t having trouble' (28:12)}
\]

On the idiom d-‘əd ŏl ‘before’, see §7.3. This idiom is distinct from d-‘əd ŏl ... łə (§7.3) and ŏl-‘əd ... łə (§13.2.4), both meaning ‘not yet; still not’. Finally, the sequence ŏl ... b-ől 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 bēlę with the regular negative ŏl ... łə in 45:20. For examples of bēlę in a positive context, see §13.4.3.
As noted in § 12.2.1, the element ɔl is often realized as ɔ in fast speech.

13.2.3 ło

It is possible, though not very common in the texts, to find the element ło 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:

\[
dha-l-šūms ło 'I won't sell it' (41:3) 
'ak tōkhəb ło 'you don't want to spend the day?' (60:35) 
(t)šāxbər ło 'don't ask me!' (FB) 
éda'k ło 'I don't know' (AK)
\]

It seems that the omission of ɔl is more common in certain kinds of verbal constructions, but more data are needed.

The particle ło also can be used independently, substituting for an entire phrase, as in:

\[
ół éd'ak ło yəhōsəl sé mən ło 'I didn't know (if) he would get something or not' (10:3) 
dha-(t)zē-to ło 'will you give me (some), or not' (53:5)
\]

Note that łoż 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-ˈɔ̀d

The form ɔl-ˈɔ̀d is simply a combination of the negative ɔl plus the particle ˈɔ̀d, which was treated in §12.5.3. It can also occasionally serve as the negative of the auxiliary d-ˈɔ̀d, which was treated in §7.3. The combination ɔl-ˈɔ̀d has three basic uses.

The basic and most common use of ɔl-ˈɔ̀d ... ło is to mean ‘not anymore’, ‘no longer’, or ‘not again’. This is the negative counterpart of one use of
the indeclinable particle ‘ɔd, which can mean ‘again’ in a positive context. Examples are:

- ɔl-ɔ’d ʾágon nağzén lɔ ‘we don’t want to swear anymore’ (12:11)
- ɔl-ɔ’d sínđon mɛś lɔ ‘we can’t do without you any longer’ (13:17)
- ɔl-ɔ’d kódr yəşəxənt lɔ ‘he was not able to get out again’ (22:2)
- ɔl-ɔ’d yəşérɔ́k səʤat lɔ ‘it will not make jewelry anymore’ (22:13)

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 ɔl only.

Interestingly, when this usage of ɔl-ɔ’d ... lɔ is combined with a future tense (an actual future tense form, not an imperfect with a future meaning), then the element ‘ɔd is in fact conjugated (like d-ɔd). In addition, when ɔl-ɔ’d ... lɔ is combined with a future tense, the particle zeyd (§ 13.2.5) is always used, at least in the texts.

- ɔl-ɔ’k dḥa-l-ɛśnɛ́k zeyd lɔ ‘I won’t show you anymore’ (1:12)
- ɔl-ɔ’k dḥa-l-šɛ́nk zeyd lɔ ‘I won’t trust you anymore’ (3:14)
- ɔl-ɔ’k dḥa-l-səlɔ́sb zeyd lɔ ‘I won’t wait for her any longer’ (60:20)

In its second use, ɔl-ɔ’d ... lɔ has the meaning ‘still not’ or ‘not yet’. This seems to have the same meaning as d-ɔ’d ɔl ... lɔ, which is the negative of the auxiliary d-ɔ’d ‘still’ (see § 7.3). Here the ‘ɔd is conjugated. There are just a few examples of this in the texts:

- ɔl-ɔ’d shel lɔ ‘he still had not had enough’ (2:6)
- aḡéyg ɔl-ɔ’d yagósər yaxɛ́tər hallɛ́t lɔ ‘the man didn’t yet dare to go down to the town’ (25:7)
- ha-náxənt l-eyɔ́ sə d-ɔl-ɔ’d šɛ̀l 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 ɔl-ɔ’k kisk šxaraṭ lɔ ‘I have not yet found an old woman’ (AM1:5)

In its third use, ɔl-ɔ’d ... lɔ seems to mean ‘not at all’, i.e., a slightly stronger negative than simple ɔl ... lɔ. In this use the ‘ɔd is also conjugated. Some examples of this are:

- ɔl-ɔ’d dɛ̀l lɔ ‘they still didn’t leave’ (1:4)
- ɔl-ɔ’d dɛ̀l ŋə́l lɔ ‘we still didn’t leave’ (3:12)
- ɔl-ɔ’d dɛ̀l ḳɛ́la lɔ ‘we still didn’t see him’ (49:6)
- ɔl-ɔ’d dɛ̀l ḳɛ́ləl lɔ ‘we still didn’t see him’ (49:6)

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 ɔl only.

Interestingly, when this usage of ɔl-ɔ’d ... lɔ is combined with a future tense (an actual future tense form, not an imperfect with a future meaning), then the element ‘ɔd is in fact conjugated (like d-ɔd). In addition, when ɔl-ɔ’d ... lɔ is combined with a future tense, the particle zeyd (§ 13.2.5) is always used, at least in the texts.

- ɔl-ɔ’k dḥa-l-ɛśnɛ́k zeyd lɔ ‘I won’t show you anymore’ (1:12)
- ɔl-ɔ’k dḥa-l-šɛ́nk zeyd lɔ ‘I won’t trust you anymore’ (3:14)
- ɔl-ɔ’k dḥa-l-səlɔ́sb zeyd lɔ ‘I won’t wait for her any longer’ (60:20)

In its second use, ɔl-ɔ’d ... lɔ has the meaning ‘still not’ or ‘not yet’. This seems to have the same meaning as d-ɔ’d ɔl ... lɔ, which is the negative of the auxiliary d-ɔ’d ‘still’ (see § 7.3). Here the ‘ɔd is conjugated. There are just a few examples of this in the texts:

- ɔl-ɔ’d shel lɔ ‘he still had not had enough’ (2:6)
- aḡéyg ɔl-ɔ’d yagósər yaxɛ́tər hallɛ́t lɔ ‘the man didn’t yet dare to go down to the town’ (25:7)
- ha-náxənt l-eyɔ́ sə d-ɔl-ɔ’d šɛ̀l 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 ɔl-ɔ’k kisk šxaraṭ lɔ ‘I have not yet found an old woman’ (AM1:5)

In its third use, ɔl-ɔ’d ... lɔ seems to mean ‘not at all’, i.e., a slightly stronger negative than simple ɔl ... lɔ. In this use the ‘ɔd is also conjugated. Some examples of this are:
Sometimes it is not totally clear what function ɔl-ʿɔ́d has. For example, in the example above from 28:6, ɔl-ʿɔ́d could conceivably mean ‘not yet’, as opposed to ‘not at all’. And in any of the examples above illustrating the second use of ɔl-ʿɔ́d as ‘still not, not yet’, ɔl-ʿɔ́d 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 ʿɔd.

There are a few examples of ɔl-ʿɔ́d in the texts that do not fit into the above categories, but each can be explained. Consider the following passage:

\[\text{férəḳ ʿáni ɔl-ʿɔ́k l-əfrɔ́ḳ bə-l-ébk}\]
\[\text{he was afraid that I might get scared and cry}\]

In this passage, the ɔl (without ɔ́) is required due to the verb férəḳ (see § 13.2.2), and is not negating the phrase. The function of ʿɔd here is not obvious, and could conceivably mean ‘perhaps’, ‘again’, or ‘yet’. Another unusual example is:

\[\text{ʿagiɔ́t təġíl b-aġéyg ɔl-ʿɔ́d yɔ́tbaʿ teṯ}\]
\[\text{she wanted to keep the man occupied so that he did not follow the woman}\]

Here the ɔl-ʿɔ́d gives the meaning ‘so that not’, the equivalent of Mehri m-ād (Rubin 2010: 271; Watson 2012: 394). Perhaps here ġel is another verb that is normally followed by ɔl.

In one passage, ɔl-ʿɔ́d 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):

\[\text{ɔl-ʿɔ́d ɛbḳé ar tuš}\]
\[\text{he left only (one) male goat}\]

A final unique example is:

\[\text{ʿágon nəgáḥš embérɛ́ ɔl-ʿɔ́d yafṣt}\]
\[\text{let’s take the boy from him by force before he dies}\]
In this passage, ‘ɔl-ˈɔ́d is being used in place of d-ˈɔd ɔl ‘before’ (see §7.3). One can see how the two can be easily confused. We saw already above that the negatives ɔl-ˈɔ́d ... ɔl and d-ˈɔd ɔl ... ɔl 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-ˈɔ́d (§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-ˈɔ́k dḥa-l-ɛśnɛ́k zeyd ɔl ‘I won’t show you anymore’ (1:12)
- ɔl-ˈɔ́k dḥa-ɬ ɔl-ˈɔ́k dḥa-l-səlɔ́bk zeyd ɔl ‘I won’t wait for you any longer’ (3:9)
- kɔh ɔl dḥa-(t)səlɔ̄-tɔ zeyd ɔl ‘why won’t you wait for me any longer?’ (3:10)
- ɔl-ˈɔ́k dḥa-l-š̃ɛ̃nk zeyd ɔl ‘I won’t trust you anymore’ (3:14)
- ɔl s̃óhum k̲i t zeyd ɔl ‘they didn’t have any more food’ (25:7)
- guzúmk ɔl-ˈɔ́d aḥzéz šíṭár zeyd ‘I swore I would not slaughter kids anymore’ (49:10)
- ɔl s̃i zeyd ɔl 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 ‘ɔd.

The particle zeyd is originally a noun meaning ‘surplus’ or ‘extra’, as in ekərɔ́s̃ ɗen zeyd ‘this money is extra’ (SM). There is a corresponding verbal root zyd, used in several verbal stems, including G-Stem ɛzéd ‘increase (intrans.)’ and H-Stem ezéd ‘give more’ (e.g., 86:7).

13.2.6 abdan

The word ábdan (< Arabic ’abadan) 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).

- əḥtéðír ɔl (t)zim t̲i t̲i xatɔ̄kɛ́s 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-ngzɛ̃m bə-xōš mən nšərɛ́ḳ ɛlíkum ‘we will swear times five [or: on five] that we didn’t steal your cow’ (12:9)*

*əl-dénu ɛ̃sgíd b-əlhín ‘amkōš mən xtɛ̃m, ŋɛ̃l-ilɛ́n bər ŋɛ̃l-ilɛ́n mən yó(l)təg aɡɛ́yɡ dɛ́nu, əm-mən yədá’ mun e-ltaɡɒş ‘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-dénu ɛ̃sgíd b-əlhín ‘amkōš mən xtɛ̃m, mən l-ɔ́šrəḳ ɛyítkum … əm-mən əl-dá’ mun e-sɪrkōs ‘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:

*šɛrɛ́k bes ṭɔ́hũn, mən yəḡád s̃es lɔ ‘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*. 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. 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 *s̃*; 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 yāt bā-ḥezzās* ‘he had a camel and he slaughtered it’ (2:9)
- *nha šēn ‘idat* ‘we have a custom’ (7:4)
- *he ɔl ʃi kît ło* ‘I have no food’ (21:4)
- *he ɔl ʃi ar ʃेलु* ‘I have only this’ (21:5)
- *ʃōkum mēkān ērūn ... he ʃi ʃut ʃrūt, b-ɛbriti ʃes xamsin, b-ʃtīti ʃes stūn,*
  
  *b-ɛr-dīdi ʃeʃ ʃohlēt 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)*
- *ʃūm ɔl ʃōhūm mīh ʃo. ʃōhūm ʃelg ‘they did not have water. They had ice’ (35:3)*
- *ɔl ʃi ‘ad ʃo. ʃi dha-ʃēkān ḍōlt ḍr-ʃkīb ... nha šen zētɔ ɔlḥūtī ‘I don’t have sardines. I have maybe one camel-load ... we too have cows’ (41:3)*
- *ɔl ʃiʃi dē ʃo ‘they had no one’ (54:1)*

---

3 See Watson (2012: 337) for examples. Moreover, the Mehri negative *mA* ‘so that not’ (Rubin 2010: 271) is also attested as *mān mA* (Watson 2012: 394).

4 In at least one idiom *der* ‘on, upon’ is best translated with English ‘have’. This is the idiom *der X dun ‘have debt’*, as in *dūr dūn mēkān ‘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 9a.
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 \textit{kun}
is used, as in:

\begin{align*}
\text{hes-tó yékən s̃ek ḳərɔ́s̃} & \text{‘you should have money [if you travel]’ (SM)} \\
\text{ḥa-yékən s̃ek ḳərɔ́s̃} & \text{‘you will have money’ (SM)}
\end{align*}

For another example with ‘have’ in a future context, using the prepositions
\textit{b-} and \textit{her}, see § 13.3.2 and § 13.3.4, respectively.

In one passage in the texts, this construction with \textit{k-} is best translated
with the English verb ‘own’:

\begin{align*}
\text{he sáḥart bə-s̃í kɔb ðɛ́nu ðə-lə́tɡəkum tɔš} & \text{‘I am a witch, and I owned the
wolf that you killed’ (15:11)}
\end{align*}

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:

\begin{align*}
\text{he ši egi} & \text{‘I have a brother’ (17:18)} \\
\text{he ši émi šxarét} & \text{‘I have an old mother’ (18:7)} \\
\text{ðėnũ eγéy gš́ s̃eš ēmẽš šxarét} & \text{‘this man has an old mother’ (18:9)} \\
\text{ber ši ůnî} & \text{‘I already have children’ (30:17)} \\
\text{he ši ēbrîtî} & \text{‘I have a daughter’ (36:7)} \\
\text{šes īnẽš} & \text{‘he had children’ (SB2:5)} \\
\text{šuk aγóhêk mêkɔn? ši aγóhî xoš ērs̃t b-ɔ́rba’ gigenîti ‘do you have many
siblings? I have (for) siblings five boys and four girls’ (AK3:5–6)} \\
\text{šek še aγóhêk falɔ aγatêtẽk ‘do you have any brothers or sisters?’ (SM)} \\
\text{šes īrba’ɔ́t ůnẽš ‘he has four sons’ (AK)}
\end{align*}
Note also the phrase ẓəḥám 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:

‘ak øl-jád d-‘ɔd s̃i ɛẓ́ɛ̄l ‘I want to go while it’s still cool [lit. while I still have the cold (weather)]’ (60:35)

s̃i ʰôr ‘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 s̃i ʰôr ‘it’s cold’ (or s̃eš ʰôr, or s̃eš ʰôr, etc., depending on who is being affected by the weather), but to say ‘I am cold’, one would more likely say də-ʰērək, lit. ‘I have become cold’. Some other expressions using *k*- are:

s̃en õsé ‘it’s raining (lit. we have the rain)’ (AK)

s̃en ɡiʃɔ́t ‘it’s misty’ (AK)

s̃en go ‘we have clear weather’ (AK)

s̃en ɡk’át ‘it’s windy’ (AK)

s̃en ɛrét ‘the moon is out’ (AK)

s̃en yum ‘it’s sunny, the sun is out’ (AK)

s̃en ʰar ‘it’s hot’ (AK)

s̃en berk bə-híd ‘it’s thundering and lightening’ (SM)

s̃en ɭɛl ‘it’s snowing’ (SM)

As with ‘I am cold’, there are sometimes other ways to describe the environmental conditions. For example, one can say ød-télɔ́s ‘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 s̃ókum go mən mosé ‘is it clear weather or raining?’ (SM).
the word *mosé* ‘rain’; likewise, for the past, *alsét* ‘it rained’. Other such verbs also appear in the 3fs, including *borókt* ‘it was lightning’ (present *ad-tórək*), *haddókt* ‘it thundered’ (present *ad-thadéd*), and *angahókt* ‘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 *šes kítc* can mean ‘he has food’ or ‘he had food’, likewise *šes ḥár* 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:

- *ɔl bi ḳəṭəfɔ́lɔ* ‘I don’t have wings’ (3:8)
- *bóhum ḳṹnásab* ‘they [the cows] have milk’ (9:6)
- *agéyɡ ṃɛ́ndun bɔ́l * ‘this man has no penis’ (17:36)
- *nha ar d-’ɔd ben ešór* ‘we still have patience’ (21:4)
- *mən d-’ɔk níṣán ber ekēlbi bes* ‘already since I was little, my heart was hers [or: she already had my heart]’ (32:12)
- *ɪnɛ́ bek/biš* ‘what’s (the matter) with you?’ (e.g., 6:8; 40:1)
- *beš ṭhírt mékɔ́n* ‘he had many wounds’ (53:1)
- *egi beš gódɔ́ri* ‘my brother had smallpox’ (53:2)
- *het ɔl bek sé tɛ́ lɔ* ‘you don’t have any meat on you [on your body]’ (SB:1:6)
- *her tês ērdɛ́m, yakin beš kṹhnd dɔ́-’áyɔ́l* ‘if a person eats it, he will have the horns of an ibex’ (6:25)
- *‘ak xorf ɔl takinɔ́n bɛ́san nṹsab lɔ* ‘in the rainy season they don’t have milk’ (9:2)

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 *ɔl bi ḳaṭaʃfɔ́lɔ* ‘I was unconscious’ (53:12), literally ‘in me (was) not consciousness’, and *ɪnɛ́ bek/biš* ‘what’s (the matter) with you?’ (e.g., 6:8; 40:1).

---

6 On the unexpected 3fp forms *takinɔ́n* and *bɛ́san* 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:

\[ \text{érrn megêtë, } b-\text{šn } nûsâb } l ò ... \text{érrn } òl } bësân } nûsâb } l ò \text{‘the goats were very pregnant, and we didn’t have milk ... the goats didn’t have any milk’ (51:2) } \]

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 \( d-\text{éd} \) ‘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:

\[ \begin{align*}
  d-\text{éd } lëk } sëlët } èm } aqëdët } & \text{‘you still have three days’ walk’ (30:15)} \\
  d-\text{éd } lësân } orx } tât } & \text{‘they still have one month (to go)’ (32:4)} \\
\end{align*} \]

A couple of other idiomatic constructions with \( l \)- can also be translated using ‘have’:

\[ \begin{align*}
  \text{he ber } lë } mësâlën } , lët } \text{éd } tòk } & \text{‘I already have a sacrificial animal for if I saw you again’ (13:10)} \\
  \text{he ber li } tät } mësâlën } lët } \text{éd } tòk } mën } tòx } xamsïn } yirëb } & \text{‘I already have a sacrificial camel for if I saw you’ (54:6)} \\
  \text{tad } kòtub } èl-\text{éd } lës } mënyë } l ò & \text{‘there was a writer who had no equal [lit. likeness]’ (SB2:1)} \\
\end{align*} \]

13.3.4 The Preposition \( ër \)

The preposition \( ër \) ‘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, \( ër \) really means ‘for’, but ‘get’ or ‘have’ makes for a smoother translation. The relevant passages are:

\[ \begin{align*}
  \text{ðë } kún } së } èl } tòlxum } l ò , hòkum } mën } tòx } xamsïn } yirëb } & \text{‘if it is not with you, you will get from me fifty riding-camels’ (6:38)} \\
  \text{sàdëd } tò } skëf } heś } èl-\text{xamsïn } tòx & \text{‘the people present got (them) to agree that he would get [lit. for him (was)] fifty thousand (dollars)’ (18:15)} \\
  \text{het } sàxë } èl } hek } ës }tëm } l ò & \text{‘you are an old man, and you get [or: deserve] no respect’ (53:6)} \\
\end{align*} \]
Chapter Thirteen

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 bèlé ‘even if’.

13.4.1 her

Her is the particle normally used to introduce a real conditional. 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 əl kisk tɔk lɔ, əl əgɔ́rəb ɔ̄rəm lɔ ‘if I don’t find you, I won’t know the road (you took)’ (3:12)
- elhúti, her əl tē ʿad lɔ, yafét. bə-hér tē ʿad, yəkín bə-xár ab-bóhum ɛnūsəb ‘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 əl ksé śé lɔ, yagũʿ aḥfɔ́l ‘if he didn’t find anything, he would collect wild figs’ (17:14)

In JL (s.v. hl), Johnstone wrote that in the EJ dialect around Sadh (or Sidh, a coastal town about 130 km east of Salalah), 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).
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 zəḥámk tókum lɔ, əkín aġádk s̃eš ‘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:

ínɛ́ ḥa-(t)zi-tɔ her kolštk hiš b-ɛbrɛ́s̃ ‘what will you give me if I tell you about your son?’ (13:7)
her ‘āgiš bi, ̄ha-tġíd ši ‘if you love me, you’ll go with me’ (13:18)
dha-nzɛmkt mut trut her delk bën yɔl ka’dét ba-lɛ́tɡən tɔš ‘we will give you two hundred if you lead us to Ka’det and we kill him’ (25:11)
her aġadɔ́t bə-zḥám ebri b-ɔl ksés lɔ, dha-yofɔ́t ‘if she goes away and my son comes back and doesn’t find her, he will die’ (30:10)
her ɔl kun ʿógəz lɔ, dha-yoẓhóm xaḥmɛ́s̃ aśhér ‘if he is not lazy, he will come to work [lit. his work] today’ (42:13)
her ‘agiš bek, he dha-l-ɛ́ʃfɔ́k ‘if she wants you, I will let you marry’ (45:2)
her ɔl kɔ́lɔ́š̃ hini lɔ, ar dha-l-ʃ(l)tiš ‘if you don’t tell me, I will kill you’ (46:5)
her kisk tɔs, dha-l-‘ámer hes tɔ́tba’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 ajádan fáxrə, naxérə ‘if we go together, we will die’ (6:13)*

Examples of conditional sentences with an imperative or negative imperative in the apodosis are:

*her féḳərək, ftaḥ sondık dênu ‘if you become poor, open this box’ (5:13)*
*her ‘ágiš l-ʃkəš, ʃalib xítəm bə-zə-tə sə̱gədət ‘if you want me to release you, return the ring and give me the carpet’ (6:34)*
*her ɛʃəlk Ɂər şa'b b-ɬl šink də lɔ, êhək ‘if you enter the valley and don’t see anyone, call out’ (38:1)*
*her kunk ʃeyg, Ɂad tolé b-ʃédik ‘if you are a man, go avenge your uncle’ (46:6)*
*her féḳərək, ɬl thîr lɔ ‘if you become poor, do not beg’ (5:16)*
*her ɬl zəḥámk tɔk náʃanu lɔ, ɬl (t)sá́ʃe tɔ lɔ ‘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 ɬl zəḥəm am-mîh lɔ, her leş ɔz ‘if he doesn’t bring water, he owes [lit. to him is] a goat’ (39:2)*
*her ɬi ‘ágəb, ɬl míni sé lɔ ‘if my father wants, I have no objection [lit. there is nothing from me]’ (45:3)*
*xxét, her axtélfək bəʃ ‘it would be an embarrassment if I let him down’ (28:14)*
*liʃ étəm her xórbiʃ tet egégəg ɬl təgəd šeʃ ‘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 shérəkək təł, ɬl hek sé lɔ ‘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-eğiël, yaʃərə ‘edhék ba-ʃəbən ba-yəʃərək munùtəb ‘if they are in the mountains, they climb cliffs and sing and make bows’ (4:9)*
*her sòkùm kît, zum tɔ ‘if you have food, give me!’ (12:5)*
some syntactic features

kalîḥ hînî her dé āl-hês he bâ-flô axér ’âni ‘tell me if anyone is like me or better than me’ (54:3)
her dé beš axêt-hês, yo’arîr leš ‘if someone has axêt-hês, they send for him’ (55:7)
her sêk ñařôš mékôn, tûk l-ézzad tɔ ‘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 ɔl dḥa-t(ə)səltɔ lɔ, ɔl dḥa-l-ğâd lɔ ‘if you won’t wait for me, I won’t go’ (3:11)
‘ak l-ôśfək dek, her ḥa-l-ēśfək tɔ ‘I want to marry into your family, if you will let me’ (7:1)
ḥa-l-ēśfəkək her ḥa-tzê-tɔ ñîðîkək ‘I will let you marry if you give me your rifle’ (7:2)
nôkîn ñërît k-ḥîyên, her ḥa-tékôn ñërîm šên ‘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 ḥa-tâqâd ši lɔ, ḥa-l-xôle’ ‘if she won’t go with me, I will get divorced’ (7:12)
her dḥa-tɡâd, ‘amîr hînî ‘if you’re going to go, tell me’ (28:1)
sêṭər hînî ēkôr, her bek dḥa-l-ôgrəf xêlɛ́t ‘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 dé-ânkên taqôrab šé, ta’ér ’ânên kôb dênu ‘if any one of you knows anything, you should keep this wolf back from us’ (15:7)
her dé yagôrab šé, yêsñe her eṃbêrê’ ‘if anyone knows anything, he should see to the boy’ (18:7)
her təskêlîthum, ol tə’aśéš lɔ ‘if she is conversing with them, she won’t wake up’ (18:11)
her ɔd təkôdar hînî bə-hîlt, ‘ak bə-hôlt ðə-’âd ‘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; T]4:6). 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 ʿágəb 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 ʿak, gadú ‘if you want (to go), let’s go!’ (12:2)
- her ʿagk ẓɔ̩l émék, gadú ‘if you want (to go) to your mother, let’s go!’ (16:3)
- her ʿak, kalét hini ‘if you want (to tell me), tell me!’ (MmS)

In 86:1, 86:2, and 86:6, each of which contains the verb ʿágəb ‘want’ in the protasis, the expected particle her is missing:

- ʿak xsɔ́rət, dḥa-l-əxsɔ́r ‘if you want a bride-price, I will pay a bride-price’ (86:1)
- ʿak xədmɛ́t, dḥa-l-s̃ɛ́rk hek ‘if you want work, I will make it for you’ (86:2)
- (her) ʿak tɔ́(l)taġ tɔ, taġ tɔ man ġér siɛ́b ‘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 ʿágəb 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 ʿágəb (see §13.4.2).

Finally, as discussed in §12.5.4, the combination ar her, literally ‘except if,’ can also be translated ‘unless’, for example:

- ɔl yɔ́zəmsən ʿad ɔl, ar hér kuni t ˈonut dəfɪrɛ́t, yɔ́zəmsən ʿad ‘they don’t give them sardines, except if it is a bad year, they give them sardines’ (9:7)
- ɔl təašɛ́s ɔl ar hér sɪtɬ ʰə-xətərɔ́k ˈtroh ‘she won’t wake up unless she is hit twice with a stick [or: with two sticks]’ (18:11)
- ɔl dé yašɛ́nus yaʃibr mɛʃ ɡəsré ɔl, ar hér kun ɡag mɛkən ‘no one dared get water from it at night, unless there were a lot of people’ (39:1)
- ɔl nakɛ́nʊm ɔl, ar hér dḥa-(t)zə-ɡəʃəmɛ́t ‘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.
Some Syntactic Features

\(\text{349}\)

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 \((\text{a})\text{ðæ}, (\text{a})\text{ðə} \text{kun}\)

The conditional particle *ðæ* (vars. *æðæ* or *æd*) 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 \((\text{a})\text{ðæ}\) can be used (like its Mehri cognate) to indicate two contrasting conditionals. As is normally the case with *her*, if \((\text{a})\text{ðæ}\) precedes a verbal clause, the verb will be in the perfect. Examples from the texts are:

\(\text{ðæ} \text{šɛ ḥez yitš, šɛ yəkín mis̃érd. bə-ðæ } \text{šɛ ḥez yitš } \text{lɔ, he əkín kahbét } \text{‘if he slaughtered his camel, the man is crazy. And if he didn’t slaughter his camel, I am a whore’ (2:9)}\)

\(\text{ðæ} \text{šɛ aģád s̃i, šɛ (d)ha-yəšnɛ́š, ba-ðæ } \text{šɛ bédé, əl ḥa-yóklæt b-ɛ̄ṣfəš } \text{lɔ } \text{‘if he slept with me, he will have seen it, and if he lied, he will not be able to give [lit. tell] its description’ (2:10)}\)

\(\text{ðæ } \text{əl beš fáḥal } \text{lɔ, l-əkṣɔ́ṣ erɛ́šš. bə-ðæ } \text{šɛ beš fáḥal, tũm l-əkṣéṣ erɛ́šɔ́kum } \text{‘if he has no penis, his head will be cut off. And if he has a penis, you, your heads will be cut off’ (17:39)}\)

\(\text{ðæ } \text{əl s̃eš śé ḥóẓ́ər } \text{lɔ, yəẓ́iɔ́ṭ dun. bə-ðæ } \text{šɛ s̃eš hóẓ̄ar yézəm hóẓ̄ar } \text{‘if he doesn’t have any cash, he takes a debt. And if he has cash, he gives cash’ (TJ2:75)}\)

A few passages show a slight variation from the above examples, in that one of the two conditionals has *ðæ*, while the other has *her*. Examples are:

\(\text{her kisk āgaréf tɔ̄lɔkum, ha-l-hül ektúkum. ba-ðæ } \text{kun } \text{ʃɛ } \text{ɔl tɔ̄lɔkum } \text{lɔ, hókum man tɔ́lí xamsún yirš̄b } \text{‘if I find the bowl with you, I will take your food. And if it is not with you, you will have from me fifty riding-camels’ (6:38)}\)

\(\text{ðæ } \text{se kɔ́ltɔ́t liš, raf’i } \text{kamkɛ́š mon ʒér erɛ́šš, ba-hé dha-l-əzh̄ód. ba-dha-l-ʒád, ba-hǔ sùbbadas ba-dhə-naฎṭer ʒer ʰar } \text{dikùn. ba-ʰér } \text{gəḥádstiš, ɔ(l) l-ʰûrk } \text{kamkɛ́š lɔ } \text{‘and if she tells you, lift your head-cloth up from...} \)
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-hótég les, yəkóls. bə-ðə ‘əd əl hótég les bə, 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 ḏə ḫuṇ 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 ‘áɣəb ‘want’ in the protasis, then the conditional particle is omitted. There are three sets of examples of this in the texts:9

‘ək tɔskəf, bə-rɪk. bə-ˈák əl-xɔlɛ’, ḥa-nzɛmk ındúkək ‘if you want to stay, please do. And if you want to get divorced, we will give you your rifle’ (7:12)

‘ək kíni bə-rɛhən, bə-rɪk. bə-ˈák taʃtɛm ọsɛtən, bə-rɪk ‘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)

‘ək bə-rɛhən, dḥa-l-ɛrhənk, bə-d ‘ək taʃtɛm mən ọsəti, dḥa-l-ʃúm 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 ‘áɣəb 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{het } & \ddot{ð}-əl \text{ kun mişêrd } bə, \text{ ol } (t)\text{šürkən } \text{enúf} \text{ 'ókəl } \text{axér } '\text{áni } bə \text{ 'if you weren't stupid, you would not pretend to be smarter than me'} \text{ (1:7)} \\
\ddot{ð}-əl \text{ kún mişêrd } bə, \text{ ol } (t)\text{žəhêkan } \text{míni } bə \text{ 'if you weren't stupid, you would not have made fun of me'} \text{ (1:11)} \\
\text{ðə } \text{kün } \text{ol } \text{mişêrd } bə, \text{ ol } \text{yəhəzízən } \text{yitš } bə \text{ 'if he wasn't crazy, he would not have slaughtered his camel'} \text{ (2:7)} \\
\text{het } \ddot{ð} \text{ kún kólštək } \text{hini, } \text{tajidən } \text{šek } \text{tītk } \text{'if you had told me, your wife would have gone with you'} \text{ (13:20)} \\
\text{əðə } \text{kun } \text{šəran, axér } \text{hen } \text{‘if we had been patient, it would have been better for us'} \text{ (20:7)} \\
\text{ðə } \text{kún } \text{ol } \text{létəğ } \text{erba'ʃt } \text{mìnén } bə, \text{ ol } \text{nəltéğənəš } bə \text{ ‘if only he had not killed four of us, we would not have killed him'} \text{ (83:7)}
\end{align*}
\]

See also Johnstone’s texts 42 and 42b, for another twenty examples.

The phrase \( \ddot{ð} \text{ kun} \) 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ðə } \text{kún } \text{géríün } \text{troh } \text{bə-ðə } \text{kun } \text{štət } \text{egirēt } \text{bə-ðə } \text{kun } \text{ziêd, } \text{órba'ʃəlō } \text{xīš } \text{ziêd ‘whether it be two long date-baskets or three long date-baskets, or maybe small round date-baskets, four or five small round date-baskets’ } \text{(TJ2:6)} \\
\text{ðə } \text{kún } \text{ağās, bə-ð } \text{kun } \text{is, } \text{bə-ð } \text{kun } \text{edīds ‘whether it be her father, her brother, or her uncle’ } \text{(TJ2:25)}
\end{align*}
\]

13.4.3 \textit{bélé}

The word \textit{bélé}, which occurs only seven times in the texts, means ‘even if’. Some of the attested examples are:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tum } \text{səbər } \text{bass } \text{məthanitί, } \text{bélé } \text{əl } \text{məthanitί ‘you are always having trouble, even if you aren’t having trouble’ } \text{(28:12)}
\end{align*}
\]
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 la.\(^\text{11}\) In Jibbali, bélé has no such internal connection. The use of ed in 57:15 is likely a Mehrism, 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:

\begin{align*}
(a1) & \text{I want to speak Jibbali.} \\
(a2) & \text{I want you to speak Jibbali.} \\
(b) & \text{I know (that) you speak Jibbali.}
\end{align*}

Types (a1) and (a2), containing an infinitive in English, correspond in Jibbali to constructions involving a dependent subjunctive verb, as in the following examples:

\begin{align*}
\text{‘ağiɔ́t təśnɛ́s’ she wants to see you’ (36:7)} \\
ağéyg ‘azúm yaqád ḥagg ‘the man decided to go on the Hajj’ (36:20) \\
əl-‘ɔ́d ḳɔ́dɔ́r yəs̃ɛ́xənṭ lɔ ‘he was not able to get out’ (22:2)
\end{align*}

\(^{11}\) 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.
Some syntactic features

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 ḥar ‘be afraid’ (followed usually by the preposition (’)ar, but in one passage by a direct object) and the frozen verbal form (a)thūmk ‘I think (perhaps)’ (§12.5.18). Some examples are:

firk‘ak ās ɔl tāffar mān ġērān ‘I am afraid that she'll run away from us’

firk‘ak tōs ɔl l-éflat mān Ɖiri ‘I am afraid she'll run away from me’

thūmk tō al-ğād nāsānu ‘I think I'll go now’

thūmk tōs yēkən mān axšomēn ‘I think he might be from our enemies’

13.5.1.1 Complementizer ķ-

Complement clause type (b) involves, in English, an optional complementizer ‘that’. In Jibbali, the particle ƙ- 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 ķ- in the texts: ʿōr ‘say’, ƙolōt ‘tell’, ḡarāb ‘know’, šosfē ‘find out’, šhed ‘bear witness; testify’, and ƙahēd ‘understand’. Some examples are:

ɔl bek ʾāk hek lo ƙɑ-hēt mゥsёр ‘didn't I already tell you that you were stupid?’

yāṣōr ɛšhōd ƙɑ-sè, tēt, ƙečāt ɫis yeʃfakas ‘the witnesses say that, she, the woman, gave authority to her father to marry her off’

/oct ƙarāb ƙɑ-sè ɔl dé tēš lo ‘he knew that no one had eaten it’

ɛbrēs ḡarāb ƙɑ-sè tēl ‘his son knew that it was ice’

tōt ɱąg’y ƙarōts ƙɑ-sè 米兰 ‘the man's wife knew that she was a friend’
ba-zhèd aḡéyg də-šè ‘amkāš giyôr ‘and the man understood that it had something bad in it’ (17:48)
zəhedât əttêj də-šè aḡéyg ol ʃəbəl aḡarûs lô ‘the woman realized that the man didn’t understand her language’ (34:11)
zəhedâs də-šè ‘āḡab mîh ‘they understood him that he wanted water’ (35:3)
kɔltɔt ɛšxarêt her ebrít də-sutûn də-šè, ēmbrê’rè dénû, kôl yûm təsôh nxîn ɛrəʃš ɡârôrt ḏ-dîrêhôm ‘the old woman told the Sultan’s son that every day a bag of money appeared under this boy’s head’ (6:18)
təšhèd bə-ḏîkum də-šè ʃfok b-ɛdî-ilîn, bə-ḏə-šê, îs bə-flô aḡās, ôkôl tɔ l-ɛmlək ɛdî-ilîn bər ɛdî-ilîn ‘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)
i ēmbrê’rè šasîfè əd-šè ebrëš 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 ɡuzûm ‘swear’, yəkôl ‘think’, and hegûs ‘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 ‘ôr ‘say’ and ɡarôb ‘know’—are attested both with and without the complementizer. For the verb ‘ôr ‘say’, the lack of a complementizer can be considered a report of direct speech, for example:

‘ôr hên ba-ka-balêt mosé mέkan ‘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)

‘ôr yô yəkîn ḏûrš gənnî ɡasré ‘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 ɡarôb, 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 ɡarôb above with the following examples that are missing the complementizer:

het də-ɡarôbk tun dha-nḥəmêl kərêre ‘you know that we are moving tomorrow’ (28:11)
he ɖə-ɣaròbək tək ɖər xádər ‘I know you are on top of the cave’ (25:18)
het ɖə-ɣaròbək tun əl ənsénùd ˈak lo ‘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 ɖ- 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
ɖ-, and not that the complementizer ɖ- is required because of the third
person pronoun. Sometimes it may appear that there are exceptions to this
situation, for example:

‘ɔɾ ʰen ɣo ɖ-ɪ̱z̃ɔ́t ɛskún ‘people told us that it is full of settlements’ (38:1)
ɖə-ɣaròbək tɔʃ ɖə-yaʃtɛrɛ́zən bə-fəndɛ́l ‘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, nei-
ther of these passages contains a complementizer. Rather, in 38:1, the perfect
ɪ̱z̃ɔ́t is preceded by the verbal prefix ɖ- (§ 7.1.10.2), and so ɖ-ɪ̱z̃ɔ́t means liter-
ally ‘has become full’. In 49:35, the imperfect yaʃtɛrɛ́zən is likewise preceded
by the particle ɖ-, 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 ɣaròb is used with a complementizer if the
subject of the complement clause is a third person. The fact that the parti-
cle ɖ- 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
yaʃkəl ‘think’ (§ 7.4.16), anomalous because it is used only in the imperfect
and has a past tense meaning. A complement clause following yaʃkəl 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 yaʃkəl mainly when the subject of the complement clause is not third
person. Examples are:

əmbɛ́rɛ’ yaʃkəl ‘aʃ əndɪk dîrɛ́həm ‘the boy had thought that there was
money in the box’ (5:5)
yaʃkəl kunút hagmɛ́t ‘aʃ sɛ́kən ‘they thought there was an attack on [or:
fight in] the settlement’ (13:13)
yaʃkəl ˈkɪt ‘he thought (it was) food’ (35:4)
yəkɔ́l ɛgənní mína' egenbít ‘he thought the jinn had taken hold of the dagger’ (39:5)
yəkɔ́l al dé al-hēs sē lɔ ‘he thought there was no one like him’ (54:2)
əkɔ́(l)š man yēnš ḥaẓ́ɔ́rš li‘I thought you were persuading me truthfully’ (60:8)
təkɔ́(l)š edūrš yōlhum ‘she thought you had gone back to them’ (60:23)
ɔl nəkɔ́(l)š dха-ygád lɔ ‘we didn’t think he would go’ (49:35)

Note especially the sentences of the type yəkɔ́l kīt ‘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 hegɔ́s (or hɔgɔ́s) ‘think’ is attested just twice in the texts, but in neither case is it followed by a complementizer:

ḥaṣ e-hegɔ́sk bīs bīs ağaḍaš mәn ǧәr emih ‘when I think you have already gone from by the water’ (60:15)
aġéyg hégɔ́s bә-tēṯtékən berɔ́t aġadɔ́t mәn ǧәr emih ‘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)thūm; 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-əgérɛ, ɛd, 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:

dha-l-zɛ́mk bérık tamtɔ̄səḥ ‘I’ll give you a pitcher to perform [or: so you can perform] ablutions’ (36:10)
ɡədyɔl út e-kēr, yazɛmɔ́k ‘iʃē bә-flo yɔ́(l)tgək ‘go to the house of the sheikh, so he can give you food or kill you’ (46:9)

12 JL has hɔgɔ́s, while the texts have only hegɔ́s. See further in the comment to text 60:20.
Some syntactic features

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:

- *ol bi ḳəṭəfɔ́f lɔ her l-/jpegor* ‘I don’t have wings to fly’ (3:8)
- *īš ol a’nī her yəsɛrk masqidi lɔ* ‘his father didn’t mean that he should make a mosque’ (5:3)
- *b’él érún b-iyél yəzɛ̃mhum her yəşxɛ̃f* ‘The goat- and camel-herders come to them (the cow-herders) in order to drink milk’ (9:4)
- *hit ‘amil ɔrɛm her nəsɛ̃bɔ́t ɛmbɛ́rɛ́* ‘you find [lit. make] a way for us to capture the boy’ (17:19)
- *b-ɔl s̃eš śé lɔ her yəstɛ́m her að̣ánəš məsərɛ́f* ‘he didn’t have anything (with which) to buy supplies for his family’ (18:1)
- *hérɔ́g s̃es her yagád s̃es* ‘he spoke to her in order to sleep [lit. go] with her’ (36:10)
- *zəḥám tun bə-fəndɛ́l her nafnɛ́k fəndɛ́l* ‘he brought us back sweet potatoes so that we could taste sweet potato’ (49:11)
- *zəḥɔ́t émï her tsəḥbɔ́t tɔ* ‘my mother came to get me’ (49:31)
- *ʿağɔn nəḥɛfər ḥɑšì ᵁʃɛr her nəsɛɔx bə-xądɔr* ‘let’s dig up red sand so we can spread (sand) in the cave’ (51:16)
- *šink tɔs ağaḍ her yagḥɔ̀l* ‘I saw him go to urinate’ (53:11)
- *zəḥɔ́mɛ̀k bɔr her l-ɛ́drɛ́* ‘I came here in order to study’ (FB1:1)
- *ɔl sɔrɔ̀kən ʒɛ́l ‘ar her nənḥɔ̀g* ‘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-agɔrɛ́* in three cases, *tɛ́* in two places, and once has an unmarked purpose clause.
13.5.2.3. *l-agérɛ*

The particle *l-agérɛ* (or *l-agerê*; cf. Mehri *l-agarê*), 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 to əl-ğád násanu, l-agérɛ ɔ-əl-ğád l-ɔ́rxér* ‘I think I’ll go now, so that I can go slowly’ (38:2)
- *he ’ak beš yafɔ́t l-agérɛ l-aʃxjɛ enúšbaš* ‘I wanted him to die, so I could drink his milk’ (51:4)
- *ɨ kɔ́lɔ́t her ɨb ɨlɦiɨn ɨɾɔ́kak l-agérɛ ə-yəʃhɛk ‘my father told the people everything I had done so that they would laugh’* (51:13)
- *yəʃhɛk l-agérɛ txɛls ‘they will anger you so that you will go astray’* (57:15)
- *kɔ́rɔ́t keš l-agérɛ her eбрɛ́s zəhám, ta’mɛ́r heš, “tɛt xargɔ́t” ‘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-agérɛ* and *her* or *ɛd* in this function.\textsuperscript{13} In the last example (30:12), *l-agérɛ* is probably used because of the following conditional particle *her*. Note also that in the example from 38:2 we find ɔ- following *l-agérɛ*, as we do (at least sometimes) when *l-agérɛ* is used prepositionally (cf. 60:36). Of the five examples of *l-agérɛ* marking a purpose clause in Johnstone’s texts, just one (57:15) has a Mehri parallel (M90:15), in which *l-agarê* is also used.\textsuperscript{14} As noted in §13.5.2.2., in several places where Mehri uses *l-agarê* in a passage parallel to a Jibbali text, the Jibbali text has *her*.

13.5.2.4. *ɛd*

The particle *ɛd*, 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:

- *ínɛ́ əl-sɛ́rk her ɛršɔ́t ɛd l-ɔ́ tɡəhum* ‘what should I do to the boys in order to kill them?’ (6:6)

---

\textsuperscript{13} Davey (2013: 185) found that the Dhofari Arabic particles *ḥatta* (cf. *ḥattā* ‘until’) and *ɡara* (cf. Standard Arabic *mîn ɡarā-ka* ‘for your sake’), equivalent to Jibbali *ɛd* and *l-agérɛ*, can also be used identically.

\textsuperscript{14} In fact, Jibbali text 57 was translated directly from Mehri text 90.
yarīd ba-xtərlkš ba-yšī ed yašekklas ‘he would throw his stick and run to catch it’ (54:2)
yəselədan mən ərī tš ed yəzhōms ‘he shot over his father so he could get to it [the peak]’ (83:3)

In Johnstone’s Mehri texts, tɛ ‘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: ērīd ēruneš ed ērbē (20:6). The parallel Mehri passage is translated in Stroomer’s edition of Johnstone’s Mehri texts as:

həwrōd ḥazhɛ tɛ 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 tɛ 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 tɛ 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-zemš xamsín kərš hə-təzhi-tə b-ebrīt də-suṭūn ‘I will give you fifty dollars for you to bring me the Sultan’s daughter’ (36:6)
zũt tə yat ba-l-ĝād šes ‘she gave me a camel for me to go with her [or: so that I would go with her]’ (49:34)
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:

\[ \text{bo-thúm}k \text{ } \text{t₀́} \text{ } \text{a} \text{ } \text{hₐ} \text{-} \text{yₗₒ̂̄s̃} \text{ } \text{bₐ} \text{-} \text{hₐ} \text{-} \text{nᵄₗₙₖé} \text{ } \text{eₜₜₜₜ} \text{ } \text{mit} \text{ } \text{zₜₜₜₜₜ} \text{ } \text{’I thought he’d surely get (something), and we would see his answer when he came’} \]

\[ \text{mᵐt} \text{ } \text{a’ₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₐₓ
mit bek kérích al-ḥésan, ardé b-ɛʃfét sérékh ‘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 zahān, takín ber ṭahāns̃ egunét a-bér mols̃ ɛzbírt míh ‘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 ˈɔ̄r xérín, yəs̃elēdən mən ð̣ér īš ɛd yəzḥómš ‘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 mat (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 mad (cf. text Fr1; JL, s.v. md) and mið (cf. JL, s.v. mð, myt; Hofstede 1998: 116), which are not used in any of Johnstone’s texts or my own, probably derive from mit + d-/ð-.

13.5.3.2 ḥaṣ ɛ- ‘when’

The compound particle ḥaṣ ɛ- 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 ɛ- is followed by the auxiliary ber (§7.2). The element ɛ- 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 ɛ- 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 mið is well attested in the Mehri dialect spoken in the southeastern corner of Yemen. See Watson (2012: 383).

17 An example with ɛ-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 ɛ- (i.e., ɛ-bér > ĕr), 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:

\[ \text{ḥaš} \ \varepsilon-\text{yọ} \ \text{zəhám}, \ \text{dha}-\text{yatlọ́g} \ \text{eyọ́t}\] ‘when the people come, they will mention your camel’ (33:6)
\[ \text{ḥaš} \ \varepsilon-\text{zhám} \ a’asərīš, \ ‘amír \ heš ‘when your husband comes, say to him...’ (6:7)
\[ \text{ḥaš} \ \varepsilon-bér \ ‘ak \ egōr, \ hmél \ xatıkéson ‘when they are in the well, pick up their clothes’ (30:3)
\[ \text{ḥaš} \ \varepsilon-shék \ děnu, \ nézmək \ a’išék ‘when you finish this, we will give you your dinner’ (54:25)
\[ \text{nha} \ \text{dha}-\text{nzémk} \ \text{ḥaš} \ \text{ebšọ́ln} ‘we will give you (some) when we’ve cooked (it)’ (23:2)
\[ \text{dha}-l-\text{zémkum} \ \text{fandél} \ \text{ḥaš} \ \varepsilon-\text{zhámkum} ‘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 \[ \text{ḥaš} \ \varepsilon- \] 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:

\[ \text{ḥaš} \ \varepsilon-\text{tét} \ \text{aġadọ́t,} \ \text{ḥõl} \ \text{ka’ēb} \ \text{b-eriṭiōhum ‘when the woman went out, he picked up things and cleaned them up}’ (34:5)
\[ \text{ḥaš} \ \text{aġadọ́t} \ \text{tet} \ \text{yol} \ \text{ētbax,} \ \text{ḥõl} \ \text{ekaḥwēt} \ \text{bō-keλ’ōs} \ \text{xunt} \ \text{mən} \ \text{aġarfēt ‘when she went to the kitchen, he picked up the coffee and put it outside of the room}’ (34:9)
\[ \text{ḥaš} \ \varepsilon-bőttər, \ \text{śinue} \ \text{egōfēś} \ ‘ak \ \text{emīh ‘when he looked down, he saw his shadow in the water}’ (39:3)
\[ \text{ḥaš} \ \varepsilon-\text{sō’ōt} \ \text{ešxarēt} \ \text{aġarō} \ \text{dēnu,} \ \text{ftɔrż́ọ́t ‘when the old woman heard these words, she became very happy}’ (60:23)
\[ \text{ḥaš} \ \text{bek} \ \text{kēbbək}, \ \text{sfrk ‘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 \[ \text{ḥaš} \ \varepsilon- \] and the verb, though this is not usual; cf. the very similar example from 34:9, in which the verb immediately follows \[ \text{ḥaš} \ \varepsilon- \] .

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:

\[ \text{ḥaš} \ \varepsilon-\text{sxanīt} \ \text{mən} \ \text{ęṣgīd,} \ \text{yəlṑd} \ \text{bō-yəḥəbōn ‘[on this holiday] when they go out from the mosque, they shoot (guns) and sing}’ (4:2)
\[ \text{ḥaš} \ \text{bər} \ \text{esōźi} \ \text{il’-āsır,} \ \text{yəḥəbōn} \ \text{aġāg ‘[on this holiday] when they’ve prayed the afternoon prayer, the men sing}’ (4:6)
Some Syntactic Features

\(\text{ḥaṣ e-şhéd eşhód, yēlōk séraᵃ’ aģéyg e-şfōk}\) ‘when the witnesses have testified, the judge gives possession to the man who got married’ (45:18)

\(\text{ḥaṣ e-gunūt, xalās}\) ‘when she refuses (the calf), it is finished’ (TJ2:54)

In just one passage in the texts, \(\text{ḥaṣ}\) is preceded by \(\text{mən}\) ‘from’, giving the sense of ‘after’ or ‘from then on’:

\(\text{mən hаṣ emlék séraᵃ’, takún tītš}\) ‘after [or: from when] the judge has given possession, she becomes his wife’ (45:19)

In all of the examples in this section, wherever \(\text{ḥaṣ e-}\) has been translated as ‘when’, one could easily substitute ‘as soon as’ or ‘(just) after’. In a future tense context, \(\text{ḥaṣ e-}\) is usually interchangeable with \(\text{mit}\) (see § 13.5.3.1), with just a slight nuance of difference. Compare the following two passages, which are nearly identical:

\(\text{ḥaṣ e-kīnā缲 bə-ʿāgīs̄ (t)sīxnət, ḏ’ir edirēham ʾak ēdōrt}\) ‘when [or: as soon as] you have had enough and want to leave, pour the money onto the dance-floor’ (97:12)

\(\text{mit ʿāgīs̄ (t)sīxnət, ḏ’ir aģarōrt e-dirēham ʾak ēdōrt}\) ‘when you want to leave, pour the bag of money onto the dance-floor’ (97:24)

Another very similar set to compare is:

\(\text{ḥaṣ e-zḥām aʿaśəris̄, ʿamír heš}\) ‘when your husband comes, say to him…’ (6:7)

\(\text{mit zəḥām aʿāšəris̄ bə-ʿāgīs̄ təġíd k-ənūf, ʿamír her aʿāśəris̄}\) ‘when your husband comes and you want to go to the bathroom, say to your husband…’ (97:37)

13.5.3.3 \textit{her ‘when, whenever’}

As mentioned already in § 13.4.1, the conditional particle \textit{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 \textit{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:

\(\text{her zəḥām ḥallēt, yōs̄erōk bes məsğūd}\) ‘whenever he came to a town, he built [lit. made] a mosque in it’ (5:2)

\(\text{her he ḥāší ḏer embēre’, tənūɡəf ʾāš egātš ḥāsi}\) ‘whenever dirt fell on the boy, his sister would brush it off of him’ (36:17)
her kerišt yum, agóle ‘whenever the sun goes down, I get sick’ (38:6)
her hótraf mukún yaśins yatš’s ‘whenever he changed places, he would see it following him’ (39:4)
her zháhm man êxétér, (t)zhón ḏ-télf ‘when they come back from a trip, they come back hungry’ (47:6)
her inét fólık šítár, ḣźõk ūs e-i b-ahzéz šítár ... ba-hér ‘ágab tak’án šítár, ṭit mənsén (t)skf der daf mən tél l-ʔkózən 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 nəs̃ḥiɔ́ (l)k ḏ her təhérg física ‘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 šín ‘after a little while’:

her šín(n) yaxánút mərká ‘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 šín can be used in a past narrative context to refer to a one-time event, as its Mehri equivalent mət sawánōt 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-txarʃen τašhán ḏə-xéríšt ‘before (the trees) gave fruit, one morning they were stripped’ (30:1)
her ber dḥa-yatɔ́gək eʃfɔ́r, ‘ak hé l-ʃtɔ́gək ‘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 sawánōt 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 ḍha- 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:

\[
kə̀rɪ́t ḳɛbś l-əgɛ́rɛ, her ɛbɛ́rɛs əzəhɛ́m, támɛ́r heš, ‘teṭ xargɔ́t’ ‘she buried a lamb, so that if [or: whenever] her son came, she might tell him, “Your wife died”’ (30:12)
\]

In this sentence, ‘when’ makes good sense, since the woman expects her son to come back. However, we would expect mit or ḥaṣ ɛ- 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 támɛ́r is connected with the earlier l-əgɛ́rɛ.

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:

\[
ed melét səndiḳ, ṭɔrđɔ́tš ‘then when she filled a box, she threw him out’ 
\]

(6:17)

\[
ed zəhām kən, kisk əğegɛ́sî ‘then when I came here, I found my friend’
\]

(10:2)
ed zəḥám, zīs tūr ‘when he came, he gave her the dates’ (17:22)
ed śīnī tītš baḥšēs, aģād ed zəḥīs ‘then when he saw his wife by herself, he went up to her’ (30:21)
ed kun ɓa-xār, aģād yəl śxarēt ‘then when he was well, he went to an old woman’ (36:6)
ed ksēš ɗ-āgtōše, ḥōlš ‘then when they found him passed out, they picked him up’ (39:6)
ed nīka’ lxīn ūt, yəsūn mənzél ɗ-śxarēt ‘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-ɔ́rəm, ksē teṯ k-ɛ̄rūn ‘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-ḥāṣaf ‘in the morning’, kol’ōni ‘in the evening’, ɡasré ‘at night’, délę́ ‘late morning’, ʿāṣər ṭaṭ ‘one night’, yum ṭit ‘one day’ (or other phrases involving yum ‘day’), fɔkḥ ɗ-a’āśər ‘in the middle of the night’, mən ɗér ēkat ‘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 ɡasré 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 ɡasré, zəḥám kəb ‘then in the evening, the wolf came’ (15:9)
ed yum xīlfēt zəḥām ɗer mūh ‘then the next day, they came to some water’ (17:12)
ed mən ɗér ēkat kun məʃ’ér ɓa-ḥallēt ‘then after a while, there was a dance-party in the town’ (30:9)
ed kol’ōni keb ʿaḵ ʿašb ‘then in the evening, he went down into a valley’ (33:2)
ed k-ḥāṣaf ‘aṣṣōt əl-fənēs ‘then in the morning, she got up before him’ (97:41)
ed mənzél hēt ḥogūlts ‘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. Examples are:

 śxaľ $ed$ śē’ ‘he drank until he was satisfied’ (33:16)
 kɔltšt $bə$-këlţšt $ðînù$ $kels$ $ed$ $təmmut$ ‘she told them this whole story until it was done’ (36:31)
 hergšt $ed$ $zəhɒt$ ‘she spoke until she got fed up’ (TJ4:37)
 kunút $len$ $ek’ut$ $ed$ $bərən$ $ha$-nəţrık ‘a storm befell us until we were about to sink’ (13:4)
 he $d$,a-l-$gəd$ $l$-ékər $b$-əţ$g$ş ‘i will go visit my brothers until i come back to you’ (50:2)
 śɪrkt $enuf$ ($t$)śɪrkt śe $ed$ nəţ$g$ ‘pretend you are doing something until we go’ (60:8)
 nəţ$g$ $ed$ ($t$)śɪlkki ‘dance until you’ve had enough’ (97:24)
 $ɔ$ $tə$ţ$g$rb $her$ a$‘a$şr $ed$ l$-əx$alf $‘a$š ‘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 $bə$-nḥagšt $ed$ $səh$kət $də$’ar$ət$ $a$'a$’r$ət $də$-dɪr$ɛ$’həm $‘a$k $ɛ$’d$ə$rt$ 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 $a$’g$ândən $ed$ $ɛ$’$s$ə$’$l$ə$ŋ$ $r$ə $e$m$ə$h mɛ’lɛt li $bə$’$r$ m$ɛ$h. 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 érunēş ed erbé ‘he brought his goats to the water and let (them) drink [lit. until he had let (them) drink]’ (20:6)
ağád aģéyg ed kün ‘ak enáxal ‘the man went and [lit. until] he hid among the date-palms’ (30:4)
hīlōs ed ēsəl bes tel a’élēs ‘he took her and [lit. until] he brought her to his family’ (36:19)
tēr kelš ed kun ḥaśş ‘all of him was broken and [lit. until] he was all smashed (in his bones)’ (48:20)
ağádk man sēréš ed dahēfk tɔš ‘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 tɛ, rather than ed; this is perhaps a Mehrism (cf. Mehri tɛ̄), though it could also reflect a variant form (cf. the Mehri variant at-tɛ̄, and see the comment to text TJ4:69). Finally it should be noted that unlike Mehri tɛ, which combines with his 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 his 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 ēsəl eshéhr, ksé geyg ‘when he reached the mountains, he found a man’ (7:1)
hes źhakk, ġarōt tɔ ‘when I laughed, she knew me’ (13:8)

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'āmãk ẓrām, ṭ̄ ʾor aġéyg* 'when they were in the middle of the journey, the man said...' (21)

hes *ber ʿak ẓ̂̄ ʾamāh aġeyg ba-ḥōl xatikēsān* 'when they were in the water, the man came and picked up their clothes' (30:5)

hes *ber ʿatā, xargōt ēmāhum* '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 kēshaʿ tē, kētē ʾmakōš* ‘after the meat was dry, they chopped the meat into chops’ (12:4)

hes *berōt arṣōnūṯ ēdētē, ʾōrōt* ‘after she had tied up the hands, she said...’ (17:28)

hes *ber aʾīšē nxinīš ẓ̂ hōt sinōrt* ‘after the food was in front of [lit. under] him, a cat came’ (17:47)

hes *ber ḥālōb ērūn, hezzēson* ‘after he milked the goats, he slaughtered them’ (22:6)

hes *ber eggōr šēf, ḥōlōt eslībēš bə-kəṣbēš ḥə-ḥāṣīn š* ‘after the slave had fallen asleep, she took his weapons, his clothes, and his horse’ (36:26)

hes *aġeyg ḍō-yāṣūm ber eghizōhüm, kəlōt heš bə-xāfēš* ‘after the salesman [lit. the man who was selling] had prepared them, he told him about his foot’ (52:5)

hes *bër hes ʾōnut, katōt leš xaṭ* ‘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 *ʿonut* is still the grammatical subject), but there are other examples of unconjugated *ber* after *hes* (see below).

The combination *man hes* has the meaning ‘since’, in the sense of ‘from the time when’, and is usually used in conjunction with the auxiliary *d-ʿɔd* (§ 7.3) or negative *al-ʿɔ́d* (§ 13.2.4). Examples are:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{al-ˈɔ́k śink tɔs tɔ man hes aģadk ʿũn } & \text{ 'I haven't seen her since I went to Oman' (MnS)} \\
\text{man hes d-ˈɔk níśán, ša'sɔ́rk tɔs } & \text{ 'since I was young, I loved her' (MnS)}
\end{align*}\]

In a few places, *hes* has the meaning ‘since’ (causal) or ‘because’:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{əthúmk, hes al ʾɔtal šé lo, ḏ-aʾni yašəxant } & \text{ 'I think maybe since he has not sent anything, he means to leave' (8:8)} \\
\text{tökum (t)sníd ʿáni, hes bek šaʾɔ́dk aģéyg } & \text{ 'you have to manage without me, since I have already arranged the meeting with the man' (28:14)} \\
\text{hes ber bəhɛ́rs̃ bi, dḥa-l-s̃ɛ̃ns̃ } & \text{ 'since you have asked me, I will obey you' (57:12)}
\end{align*}\]

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-ʿɔd* ‘while still’, which itself can introduce a subordinate temporal clause (see § 7.3):

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ziš sandíḳ hes d-ʿɔd šəhî } & \text{ 'he had given him a box, while he was still alive' (5:4)}
\end{align*}\]

Finally, note also that the preposition (*al-*)*hés* ‘like, as’ (see § 8.12) can also function as a subordinator, for example:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{šerɔ́k əl-hés ʿok hini } & \text{ 'I did as you told me' (MnS)} \\
\text{šerk hes het kéžūm tšérɔ́k } & \text{ 'do as you used to do' (AdM)}
\end{align*}\]

---

22 Another informant (SM) preferred this sentence with simple *man* in place of *man hes*. Cf. also the use of *man d-ʿɔ́d* in 32:12.
13.5.3.6 ḥaḳt ɛ- ‘when’

The particle ḥaḳt is clearly connected with the noun ét(a)t ‘time’ (e.g., 30:9; 38:1), itself probably borrowed from Arabic waq̱t ‘time’. In combination with the relative pronoun ɛ- (rarely ʊ-), 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 ḥaḳt ɛ- 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:

- ḥaḳt ɛ-zḥámk, ftéh li ḏi when I come back, open up for me’ (TJ4:51)
- ḥaḳt ɛ-k-ḥáṣaf, yaghúm æggɔ́r ‘igém ḏa-suṭún ‘when it was morning, a mute slave of the sultan came’ (TJ4:65)
- ḥaḳt ɛ-zḥám, ọsəm enyfʃ ‘when he came, he identified himself’ (TJ4:85) Ṧb ḥaḳt ḏa-yzhómʃ ʃi ‘his father said to him, when his father would come to him...’ (TJ4:4)
- ḥaḳt ɛ-sén (t)zhɔ́n, yo’ ūr hésən aq̱eyg ḏa-ḥágɔ́r ɔb ‘when they came, the man who was guarding the door said...’ (TJ4:25)
- ḥaḳt ḏha-tənfɛ́sɔ́n, tə’ɔ́rən ‘when they (were about to) go home, they said...’ (TJ4:31)
- ḥaḳt ɛ-šɛ́ zaḥám ḥa-nɛ́ggəł ḥíṭ ‘when he comes, we’ll boil the food’ (JL, s.v. wḳt)
- ekkɔ́b s̃əḥēf hɛn ḥaḳt aġádən ‘the wolf confronted us when we set off’ (JL, s.v. ḥyf)

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 ḥaḳt ɛ- is followed by ber, the initial b is elided,23 as in:

- ḥaḳt ɛr ḥeš yum miṭ yũ ʔrut, ūr hes ‘after a day or two, he said to her...’ (TJ4:12)24

---

23 This elision has nothing to do with the particle ḥaḳt. In the dialect of this informant, the b of ber is always elided after the relative pronoun ɛ-/ʊ-. Almost all such attested examples happen to be following ḥaḳt.

24 For more on the phrase ḥaḳt ɛr ɦ- ‘after’, see § 7.2.
chapter thirteen

ḥaḳt ēr ṭaḥā, aḡad bə-fśé inɛ́t ‘after they had bathed, the women went and had lunch’ (TJ4:42)

ḥaḳt ērɔ́t se  b-eẓiřɛ́ts k-enfɔ́f, ʿơrɔ́t ‘when she and her servant-girl were by [lit. with] themselves, she said...’ (TJ4:49)

ḥaḳt ēr  da-yšɔ́k iyɛ́l, eoḣɛ́ b-axṣúm ekbɛ́l ‘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 ḥaṣ in eighteen out of twenty-two places where the speaker said ḥaḳt (e.g., TJ4:4), suggesting that ḥaḳt was not acceptable for Ali. Ali also usually transcribed ḥaṣ ɛ-bér instead of ḥaḳt ēr (e.g., TJ4:3).

I did not hear ḥaḳt 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 ḥaḳt 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 yam (e.g., Müller 1907: 14, line 7; 53, line 7), which is obviously derived from the word yum ‘day’. It is likely that yam 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 ɛ-nkʿɔ́t se b-aḡigeníti ðə-s̃és, yəfɔ́tḥ 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:

šixbar hini man aḡabgɔ́t ba-yüm ɛ-ʃxəntɔ́t ‘ask for me about the girl and when she goes out’ (TJ4:14)

tɔšən锆ζ bə-yüm dha-tʃxəntan d-ɛʃtún ‘she asked discreetly about when they would go out to the plantation’ (TJ4:21)

13.5.4 l-ìnɛ́ ‘because’

The subordinator l-ìnɛ́ corresponds to English ‘because’. I found few examples, but its meaning is clear:

yəkín heš ekəlɛ́s, l-ìnɛ́ se ɡolɔ́t ɔl təɡád šeš ‘he will get his bride-price, because she refused to go with him’ (TJ2:22)
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.
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 ʿalékum* (reply: *ʿalékum salám*). Following are some additional greetings and related phrases:

- *taghũk ʿɔfét* ‘good morning’ (lit. ‘may peace go to you’)\(^1\)
  - [to a woman: *taghũs* ʿɔfét]
  - Reply: *bə-tɔ́k təghúm* (lit. ‘and to you may it go’)
  - [to a woman, replace *tɔ́k* with *tɔs̃*]

- *təḳhɔ́b lek ʿɔfét* ‘good day, good afternoon’
  - Reply: *bə-lék* (lit. ‘and to you may it go’)
  - [to a woman, replace *lek* with *lis̃*]

- *táģəmd lek ʿɔfét* ‘good evening’
  - Reply: *bə-lék* (lit. ‘and to you may it go’)
  - [to a woman, replace *lek* with *lis̃*]

- *bə-xár hɛt?* or *bə-xár hɛt śé?* ‘how are you?’ (lit. ‘are you well?’)
  - [to a woman, replace *hɛt* 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: *gəhɛ́m* ‘go (in the morning),’ *ḳəhɛ́b* ‘come (in the daytime),’ and *aģmíd* ‘come (in the evening).’
Reply: *bə-xár* (usually followed by *al-ḥámdu li-lláh* or *maḥmúd əl-kərím* ‘praise God’)

`yol esbāḥk?` ‘how are you?’ (used in the morning)
`yol kəhēbk?` ‘how are you?’ (used in the afternoon until sunset)
`yol aḡmūdak?` ‘how are you?’ (used in the evening)
[to a woman, replace the final -*k* with -*s̃* in each phrase]
Reply: same as above

*sékanak kel bə-xár?* or *eskunókum kel bə-xár?* ‘how is your family?’ (lit. ‘is your family well?’)
Possible reply: *yo kel ba-xär. b-ɔl dé ṣ́ɔ́ttər leš śé lɔ* ‘the people are fine. Nothing bad has happened to anyone!"

`xbor?` ‘what’s the news? what’s up?’

*təxəlɔ́f ṣəḥát* ‘be well!’ (lit. ‘may health come’)  
*əstəhɔ́l* ‘goodbye; good luck!’

### 14.2 Some Basic Phrases for Conversation

`ínɛ́ yəʿõr … bə-gəblɛ̄t` *(bə-śḥərɛ̄t)*? ‘how do you [lit. they] say … in Jibbali (in Shaḥri)?’

`ínɛ́ šũk?` ‘how is your name?’
[to a woman, replace *šũk* with *šũs̃*]
Alternatively: *ínɛ́ yəʿõr hek?* ‘what is your name?’ (lit. ‘what do they call you?’)
[to a woman, replace *hek* with *hiš*]

`bek şʃəkək, mən d-ˈɔk xalí?` ‘are you (m.) married [lit. have you already gotten married] or are you still single?’

`mən hũn het?` (or: *het mən hũn?*) ‘where are you from?’
[to a woman, replace *het* with *hit*]
Reply: *he mən… ‘I am from…’*

`hun əd-skũnk?` ‘where do you reside?’
Alternatively: *hun əd-ˈášk?* ‘where do you live?’
Reply: *əd-ˈášk bə-ˈũn, bə-șalɔ́lt* ‘I live in Oman, in Ṣalalah’
Greetings and Basic Phrases

-inên lağ(w)ât tahérg/tagórb? ‘what languages do you speak/your?’
-mṣé lağ(w)ât tahérg? ‘how many languages do you speak?’
tahérg ʿarīt? ‘do you speak Arabic?’
əhérģ xérín gəblêt (ṣḥərət) ‘I speak a little Jibbali (Shaḥri)’

šek mṣé aḡóḥék b-aḡateték? ‘how many brothers and sisters do you have?’

taxédəm iné? ‘what do you do?’ (lit. ‘you work [at] what?’)
Alternatively: iné xədmətk? ‘what do you do?’ (lit. ‘what is your work?’)

taxédəm mən ətdɔ́rs? ‘do you work or study?’

he ṭálab ‘I am a student’

iné tʃérók ‘what are you doing (at the moment)?’

ɛ’ómraŋ mṣé? ‘how old are you?’ (lit. ‘your age is how much?’)
Alternatively: iné sənk? ‘how old are you?’ (lit. ‘what is your age?’)
Reply: béɾ híni ʿaṣari xīš ʿayún ‘I am 25 years old’
Alternatively: he bɔ́r ʃeʃəlt ʿayún ‘I am 30 years old’ (a woman would replace
bɔ́r [lit. ‘son of’] with biʃ [lit. ‘daughter of’])

gəzék xar (mēkan) ‘thank you (very much)’
[to a woman: gəzéš; to a group: gəzékum]
Reply: hɛt tʃ̥əkɔ́l ‘you’re welcome’
PART TWO

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 age of 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>J text</th>
<th>M text</th>
<th>Included</th>
<th>Audio</th>
<th>Roman ms</th>
<th>Arabic ms</th>
<th>Other information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>English translation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>word-list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes (2)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>56A</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>see Appendix E for Mehri text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>Arabic ms from Box 6B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J text</td>
<td>M text</td>
<td>Included</td>
<td>Audio</td>
<td>Roman ms</td>
<td>Arabic ms</td>
<td>Other information</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>word-list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>word-list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>word-list (includes a few words from texts 31, 35, and 38)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>word-list (from Box 15E)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>word-list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>word-list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>word-list; translation from Box 15E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>word-list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>word-list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>word-list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>word-list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>word-list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>word-list; Arabic ms from Box 15E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42b</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>both mss from Box 15E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>word-list (appended to list for 42)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>word-list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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)širkan 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>J text</th>
<th>M text</th>
<th>Included</th>
<th>Audio</th>
<th>Roman ms</th>
<th>Arabic ms</th>
<th>Other information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>word-list (labeled 46); a second word-list (labeled 47) goes with an unknown text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>89</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>word-list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>word-list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>word-list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>word-list</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB1</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes (2)</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>Roman ms and English trans. from Box 5A; Arabic ms from Box 13A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB2</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>Roman ms from Box 5A; Arabic ms from Box 13A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TJ1</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>ms from Box 5A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TJ2</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>mss from Box 5D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TJ3</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>partial</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>mss from Box 5D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TJ4</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>mss from Box 5D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TJ5</td>
<td>none</td>
<td>partial</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>partial</td>
<td>yes</td>
<td>mss from Box 5D</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
15.1 Texts from Ali Musallam

Text 1 (no M): An Argument

1 A: “he šerɔ́kək dēnu b-ɛnké tɔ.”
2 B: “het d-ɔl kunk mišéraʾ lɔ, ɔl (t)širkən ṯέṉu lɔ.”
3 A: “ar yɔh ɔl-šérk?”
4 B: “mun ɛ-ˈɔr hek ṯέrək ṯέṉu?”
5 A: “ɔl-dé-lɔ ˈɔr híni. mən eréši.”
6 B: “mor, eréšk mišérəd. ḍhə-l-ɛ̌snék. šérk ṯέṉu.”
7 A: “mor, het ɔl šérk lɔ. het d-ɔl kunk mišéraʾ lɔ, ɔl (t)širkən enúf́ ˈọkəl axér ˈání lɔ. bə-hé eb ‘ák bə-sën.”
8 B: “mor, ḍhə-néšne ˈyo. bə-köl minén ɛ̌-bédé, še mišéraʾ.”
9 A: “mor, ɢadú ˈyo... ɔl bek ˈők hek lɔ ḍə-hét mišéraʾ?”
10 B: “kəh he mišéraʾ?”
11 A: “het mišéraʾ. d-ɔl kunk mišéraʾ lɔ, ɔl (t)əshəkən mıni lɔ.”
12 B: “mor, ɔl-ˈɔ́k ḍhə-l-ɛ̌snék zeyd lɔ.”
13 A: “mor, bə-hé sínək ʿák, b-ɔ l-ɛ̌snék tɔ lɔ. ɢad b-ɔrmək.”

Text 2 (= M55): A Lecherous Man

1 xaṭarɛ́t ɢeyg ˈbə-téť ˈdə-yəbgjéd, ˈbə-hés ber b-aˈámk ˈʃram, ˈɔr ağéyg her tet, “ak ɔl-ˈɡád ˈʃi.”
2 ˈɔrót tet, “her ‘ak təjád ˈʃi, ˈhæzɛ́z yitk, mjọrə’ təbgjód ˈʃi.”

Text 1

2 mišéraʾ: Johnstone consistently transcribed minšéraʾ in the Roman manuscript (likewise in other texts), and gives mənšérd as the EJ form in JL (s.v. Kwa). But the audio has mišéraʾ (with ɔ pronounced ʃ, 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 mə́gər (used in SB:6). See JL (s.v. mjər). 7 ɔl šérk lɔ: In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss ‘didn’t know how to do it’, and next to it he gives the forms šér/d-isiər/yəboɾ. This is a Gb-Stem of the root šbr (cf. her in JL, s.v. ḥbr), 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-ɛšné: The Roman ms has ɔl ešné, but the proper 2ms subjunctive form is l-ɛšne (on the audio pronounced l-ɛšné, 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).
chapter fifteen

4 b-aḡád aḡéyg bə-héz yitš. bə-héš ber ḥez, ʿör, “zi-tō eṇűf.”
5 zũtš aḡatḵéts. ʿörší, “ḥaš e-shé(l)k děnu, ézmok ēšāgər.”
6 kəheb aḡéyg ġer aḡatḵét ḏō-tēt. axarēt ɔl-ʿ5d shel lo. ʿör aḡéyg, “her ɔl ʿaš tsi-tō ežēš lo, ḥa-l-šklaṭ her ۍ.”
7 ʿöršt tēt, “her kalḵt her 眚, ḡa-l-a’mér ‘aḡéyg mišērd, bə-də kūn ɔl mišērd lo, ɔl yəhziwɔn yitšt lo.”
8 b-aḡadɔ́ ed ɛṣalɔ́ yo. axarēt kólšt aḡéyg, ʿör, “he aḡadk k-ɛdɪ-ilin.”
10 wəlēkaŋ he bi šé ’aḵ fitā’i. ܕ ſe aḡad ʃī, še (d) ḡa-yašněs, bə- dword še bēdē, ɔl ḡa-yōklaṭ b-ɛʃʃə̄s lo.
11 bə-hé ḡa-l-ɛšnēś ใบ, wəlēkəŋ ūnʃt ɡod ŵrmaŋ bə-šnũ yitš.”
12 aḡad yo bə-kšē iyūt ɖ-ɦizzzt. b-aḡadɔ́t tēt bə-šnũt ūnʃt, bə-ʃēf tēt ūnʃ ʃes erāhaz.
13 axarēt šxabīr aḡéyg mən ɛʃf ḏō-tēt. ʿör, “Ḍ-ntafšt ežēs, bə-ṯirt.”
14 b-ŷnʃt kšē tēt bes ūnʃt ɜbə-ʃes erāhaz.
15 aḡéyg bēdē ḏō-tēt, bə-loḵdš aḡōhe ḏō-tēt b-erbo’ʃt fitax (fɪtɔ́x)?
16 b-aḡad ɖ-axtašēs, ɔl tēt ūʃ ɔl yitʃ ʃeʃ.
17 děnu mən hilt ūnʃt. bə-ำmmət keltšt.

‘aš: On the audio this is pronounced ‘āiš, not with a diphthong /ai/, but with two distinct vowels, essentially the same as the longer form ‘ağiš, 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 ežēs: This is from the noun ẓeb ‘vulva’. The form is given as ẓyeb in JL (s.v. gbb). In the Arabic ms, it is transcribed here یاش, while in line 13, ɛz̃ɛ̄s (with the 3fs suffix, rather than the 2fs) is transcribed یاش. اچاس.

8 eḍl-ɪlin: It is not made clear in JL (s.v. ˈdy-ˈln), which has the misleading glosses ‘someone, somebody; anyone’, that eḍl-ɪlin (§ 3.5.5) is used as the equivalent of Mehri ʃəlān(a) ‘so-and-so’.

10 (d) ḡa-yašněs: The d is missing from both mss, but Ali said dha- on the audio (twice, actually, since he stumbled on this word). This just demonstrates how ḡa- and ḡa- are free variants (§ 7.1.4).
And the man went and slaughtered his camel. And after he had slaughtered (it), he said, “Give yourself to me!”

She gave him the back of her knee. She said, “When you have finished with this, I will give you the other.”

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.”

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.’”

And the two went until they reached the people. Then the man told (them), he said, “I slept [lit. went] with so-and-so.”

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.

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.

And I will show the women, but first go to our road and see his camel.”

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.

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].”

And the women found that the woman had pubic hair and had her period.

The man lied about the woman, and the woman’s brothers hit him four times (on the head).

And the man went away having gotten his due; he had neither the woman nor his camel.

This is about [lit. from] the cunning of women. And the story is finished.

fitax: The Roman ms has fitɔ́x, while the audio has fitɔ́x. The Arabic ms gives no indication of the vowel ɔ (normally indicated with waw). The Mehri plural is fatɔ́wɔ́x, so there may be interference from Mehri here. JL (s.v. ftx) lists only the singular form fɔ́tx.
Text 3 (= M56): A Conversation

A: “hɛt dḥa-tġád kərɛrɛ, ɔl hɛ̃ lɔ?”
B: “he dḥa-l-ġád, bə-thűm tɔ dḥa-l-ɛ́ɡrə.”
A: “kɔ h-l-ɛ́ɡrə? ɣad kərɛrɛ ba-dɔ́r ba’d kərɛrɛ.”
B: “ɔl əkɔ́dər ło. erẓ rəhək.”
A: “mor. ʿak kəlbək, mit dḥa-(t)ẓhɔ́m tɔ?”
B: “dḥa-l-zhómek mən ʒər ri’ém.”
A: “hɛt dḥa-tḥət maḥ ɲən dḥa-tŋád tʊnḥag?”
B: “ob, dḥa-l-ŋád her hʊgti, wəlɛ́kən ɔl bi kətəfif lɔ her l-ʃəffə.”
A: “mor, bə-rɪk. her ɔl ẓəhàmɛk tɔ bə’d kərɛrɛ ło, ɔl-’ɔk dḥa-l-səlɔ́bk zeyd lɔ.”
B: “kɔh ɔl dḥa-(t)sałɔ́-tɔ zeyd lɔ?
11 mor, her ɔl dḥa-(t)sałɔ́-tɔ lɔ, ɔl dḥa-l-ŋád lɔ.
12 mərə’ her ɔl kisk tɔk lɔ, ɔl aɡōrəb ɜram lɔ.”
A: “mor, dḥa-l-səlɔ́bk. ɣad ɓə-ntəgəh. dek ɔ(l) l-ɛ́ɡrə.”
B: “mor, he dḥa-l-ŋád. bə-hɛr ɛdəɾək b-ɔl kisk tɔk lɔ, ɔl-’ɔk dḥa-l-sənɛk
14 zeyd lɔ.”
A: “he ʿɔk hek dḥa-l-səlɔ́bk her ẓəhàmɛk l-ɔ’ōdk.”
16 B: “mor, təxəlɔ́f ʃəhɔ́t. he aɡədək.”
A: “astəhɔ́l. ekɔ́rə-ʃəlúm mən tɛl ẓəhàmɛk.”
B: “dek ɔl təjəd bə-tɔ̀kəlɔ́ tɔ.”

ntəgəh: 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 nútgəḥ is one of these. JL (s.v. ngh) gives the T2 imperative əntɔ́gəh, while the form ntəgəh in this text is a T1 form. Johnstone in his vocabulary notes to this text gives also a T1 imperfect and subjunctive yəntəgəh. 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).”
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 *ḥəddôr mən*.  
13 *ɔ(l) l-ɛ́ɡrəɡ*: The Roman ms has *əl ağrig*, but Johnstone’s transcription was inaccurate. The proper 2ms subjunctive form (which is needed following *dek* here; cf. line 18) is *l-ɛ́ɡrəɡ*. See the comment to 1:13.  
17 *ekóre*: This is the ms imperative of the D/L-Stem *ekórab* ‘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-aʿíd ðə-réẓ́ũn yakin zhe. bə-yəftaxrən yə kəl, b-ɪnét tələsən xatəkəsən wudún b-ağág yəfükı xatəkəhum wudún, bə-yəhəl səłəhəm.

2. bə-yúm e-aʿíd, yəʃənət mən k-həşəf yəl əşgə́d, bə-həş ə-ʃənət mən əşgə́d, yələd bə-yəhəbən.

3. ed dələ́e yəbğə́d kə-tə́t yəl ütə bə-yəzə́zə́m tətəhum bə-yəğə́h əl-tətəhum.

4. bə-yúm e-aʿíd, ət kəl məftəhəte. əl də yəkəfəl ütə bə-hər əgk təgə́h, əl də yəğə́ləbək bə.

5. bə-yəʃərək mən kəl kət bə-kə́ł tə́t yəfə́rəh bə-yə́ yəzə́hə́m, bə-hə́r yıt mən tələ́s mən k-ḥəşəf əd təgə́d yəm.

6. bə-həş ber esə́ži il-ə́shr, yəhəbən ağág əd təgə́d yəm bə-yəə́d. b-ɪnét təzətə́hən mən kəl fəxə́rə́t.

7. bə-ɪʃə́r mənə́hm inə́t təʃə́rə́kən şə́rah bə-tə́nə́hə́gən, b-ağág yəʃə́rə́gən şə́rah əd yətə́mə́m.

8. aʿíd e-réẓ́ũn sə́lə́t ə́m, bə-yə́ yakin bə-fə́rəh b-aʿíd də-réẓ́ũn bə-ʃə́l də-ezə́hə, bə-yəʃə́zə́n əb b-ənə́şə́n ək əşgə́d, dənə́ təbσə́f də-aḍə́t də-tə́lũn.

\[ \text{réẓ́ũn: The root of this word is \textit{rmz}. Note the lack of expected nasalization (from loss of \textit{m}) in the first syllable, probably because of the final -n (see § 2.1.3).} \]

\[ \text{zhe: This word is not in } \textit{JL}, \text{ but glossed in Johnstone's Roman ms as 'festival'. Cf. Arabic } \textit{zahwa} 'Feiertag' \text{ in Landberg (1920–1942: 3.1871) and } \textit{zehwe} 'idem' \text{ in Reinhardt (1894: 42). The root } \textit{zhw} \text{ is in } \textit{JL}, \text{ with verbal meanings like 'be happy, excited'.} \]

\[ \text{wudún: } \textit{JL} (s.v. } \textit{wdn} \text{) gives the plural form } ə́də́n, \text{ with the expected loss of word-initial } \textit{w}. \text{ In the Roman ms for this text, Johnstone transcribed wudún, and the initial } \textit{w} \text{ is definitely present on the audio. In } \textit{ML} (s.v. } \textit{ydn} \text{), Johnstone actually listed the EJ form as (singular) } \textit{wdn}. \text{ Cf. also 23:8.} \]

\[ \text{səłə́həm: This comes from plural sə́lə́b 'arms', plus the 3mp possessive suffix -ə́həm. On the related word səłə́, see the comment to 36:26.} \]

\[ \text{dələ́e: } \textit{JL} (s.v. } \textit{dlb} \text{) lists this word in the form dələ́e, though } \textit{ML} (s.v. } \textit{də́b} \text{) gives EJ dələ́e' and } \textit{CJ} də́lé, \text{ and } \textit{HL} (s.v. } \textit{də́b} \text{) lists } ] \textit{də́lé}. \text{ The meaning given in } \textit{JL}, \textit{ML}, \text{ and } \textit{HL} \text{ is 'early morning, about 6–9 AM', though one of my informants suggested instead 9–11 AM. The Hobyot cognate } \textit{də́wə́lə́b} \text{ apparently refers to 8–10 AM (HV, p. 256).} \]
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 Adha, 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-ʿásr*: This is an Arabic word (with the Arabic definite article), meaning ‘the afternoon prayer’. It is not in *JL*.

6. *fxaréti*: 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 *yətmím*.

8. *eẓáha*: This is from Arabic (*ʿid al-*)*adḥa* ‘Eid al-Adha, Feast of the Sacrifice’. It is not in *JL*.

8. *təbṣíf*: This word meaning ‘description’ (root *wṣf*) is not in *JL*. It is used also in 40:16 and 45:20.

8. *(adɔ́t)*: *JL* (s.v. ‘*wd*) only gives the singular *(dɔ́t* ‘habit, custom’.
9 b-ekézún her šum b-egiël, yəşérɔ́  ᵇ edhék bə-yəhə́n bə-yəşérk munútb, b-agág yəxɔ́tɛ́r eṣiřét her kunút də-kiriyt. b-İNÉt takınan k-ōsát b-egiël.
10 ‘ak a’id e-řɛ́żùn, ɔl yəfɔ́rəḥ bɛ l. bə-‘ák a’id ežáha b’él egiël d-yaʃərəh bə-yəhə́ziz bə-yəʃərəh axér ar a’id e-řɛ́żùn. bə-tammút.

Text 5 (no M): Misunderstood Advice

1 xaṭarɛ́t ġeyg ġání, bə-zḥám b-əmbɛ́ʁé. axarɛ́t ɔşí k-ebréš, ‘ɔr, “ebrí, her fɛ́ta, šerk hənúf kəl həllɛ́t bəς məς-gallery.”
2 axarɛ́t xarɔ́g aघ्य. b-agád embɛ́rɛ́ ɦaɿɛ́l keɿ bə-ɦéɿ zəhɛ́m həllɛ́t, yaʃərɛ́k bəς məς-gallery.
3 axarɛ́t tamúm ediriɿɛ̃ʃ kɛɿ, əb-béɿ kɛɿk. b-īʃ ɔɿ a’ni her yəʃɛ́rɛ̃ məςɣid lo. a’anɛ́ʃ ar kəl həllɛ́t yaʃɛ́rɛ̃ bəς ‘ásar.
4 b-ɛmbɛ́rɛ́ ɿ fθɛm lo. bə-zəɿ səndik hes d’-’d ʂəɿ, bə-’ɔr, “dɛ́nu səndik, ɔɿ tʃɛɹaɿ ɿ ed yum e-ʃəkəɿ.”

Text 4

9 yəʃɛ́rɔ́: This is the Š1-Stem 3mp imperfect of rb’ (3ms perfect šərbá’). 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. ṛb’ and p. 504). In CJ, it means ‘cross’. JL does list the EJ meaning ‘lift, pull up’ for the H-Stem ɛrbá’ (vs. CJ ‘guide across’).

9/10 (b-)egiël: For the three occurrences of this word, Johnstone’s transcriptions in the Roman ms are, respectively, bigyɛ́, b-igýɛ́, and egiɛ́. The Arabic ms has جيل (2 ×) and جيل. It is admittedly hard to hear a final -l on the audio. For the first occurrence, Johnstone added the gloss “mits” in the Roman ms. This gloss and the context make clear that the word is giël ‘mountain(s)’ (JL, s.v. gbl). The same word occurs numerous times in texts TJ2 and TJ3.

10 ‘ak a’id: Note that line 1 had k-a’id for ‘on the holiday’. The two expressions do not seem to have any difference in meaning.
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.

On the holiday of Ramadan, they don’t celebrate very much. And on
the holiday of Adha, the mountain folk celebrate and slaughter and
celebrate more than (on) Ramadan.

Translation of Text 5

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.”

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.

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.

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.”

bē: In the Roman ms, Johnstone transcribed biyya, though the audio
has just bē. The Arabic ms has this and the following la as a single
word žul bēla. JL (s.v. wyy) lists both biyya ‘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 xorf häréd biyya la hér yá’as erqoş
la (JL, s.v. xorf), 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 häréd biyya ‘very strong’.
See also § 10.5 and the comment to SB1:1.

béké: JL (s.v. bky) lists only a Gb-Stem bikä. 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 axarēt ʾemmērēʾ fēkər. fēth ʾsandīk. kšē ʾmōnẓāḥt, bā-ḥakīt, bā-hīb. b-ʾemmērēʾ yakōl ʿak ʾsandīk dīrēḥām.
6 axarēt ʾaqād ʾemmērēʾ ed ʾēsāl ʾhallēt ʿtit. ʾēgāḥ ʿak ʾēsgīḏš bā-ʾskūf, b-ʾal šēš šē ʾlō. bā-xēzī ʾl yōhūr.
7 axarēt zaḥīs šāxār tūzār. ʿōr ʾemmērēʾ; “ḥet mēn ḥūn?” ʿōr, “he mēn ʾhallēt ʾal-fālānīyyə.”
10 ʾēgāḥ ʿak xēlēt. axarēt kē. axarēt ʾšxānīt, bā-ʾōr, “he bār ʾdī-ilīn l-ʾgrāf xēlēt? ʾsētār hūnī ēkōr, her bek dḥa-l-ʾgrāf xēlēt.”
11 b-ʾagēyg dā-y=qāṣētān leš, bā-ʾṣēf ʾagēyg ʾaʾāsār ʾē-ʾṣ. bā-fīkh ʾl dō-ʾṣēš dī-ʾṣ. axarēt ʾhek hē ʾaṣēgāy. ʿōr, “ʾhet bār mūn?”
13 ʿōr, “tī ʾūsī ʾsī ʾal-ʾsērīk bā-ʾkōl ʾhallēt ʾmāṣgīd. bā-ʾzū-tō ʾsandīk, bā-ʾōr, ‘her ʾfēkārāk, fṭāh ʾsandīk dēnū.’
14 bā-hē šērīkāk bā-ʾkōl ʾhallēt ʾmāṣgīd. axarēt ʾfēkārāk. fēthāk ʾsandīk bā-ʾkṣīk mānẓāḥt, bā-ḥakīt, bā-hīb. b-ʾēnṣēt ʾkōl ʿak ʾsandīk dīrēḥām.”
15 axarēt ʾōr hē ʾaṣēgāy, “ʾsmaḥ, ʾēbrī. īk, aʾanēs, šērīk bā-kōl ʾhallēt ʾāsār. ʾl aʾanēs ʾmāṣgīd ʾlō.

5 mānẓāḥt: Johnstone glossed this in the Roman ms as ‘hoe’. I did not find this word in JL.
6 ḡakīt: Johnstone glossed this in the Roman ms as ‘porter’s rope’. I did not find this word in JL.
7 ʾal-fālānīyyə: This is obviously an Arabic word, which is used also in 15:14. See § 3.5.5.
8 fālō: In JL (s.v. w-), we find only the compound bē-fālō (better: bā-fīlō) ‘or, or else’, which also occurs over twenty times in the texts. Corresponding to Mehri w拉 or wإ. Mehri wإ can also mean ‘perhaps’; see Rubin (2010: 256–258). On bare fālō ‘perhaps’, see § 12.5.8. Both bā-fīlō and fālō correspond to Mehri w拉 or wإ; see Rubin (2010: 256–258).
9 sētār: In one of the Roman ms, 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. 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.

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 ġeyg šfɔḳ bə-tét bə-zhám mes bə-tróh əršɔ́t. bə-xargɔ́t émehum. ağád əršɔ́t ð̣er ekɔ́r émehum ðə-yěkó (aw ðə-yũki).
2 į̓hɔ́rét hóhum ḥes fərɔ́t man ekɔ́r, bə-hóls yal ùt.
3 ð̣er əršɔ́t her ihum, “e i, šfɛk!” bə-ʃfɔ́k ihum, bə-zhám bə-xɔlɔ́thum.
4 b-əršɔ́t ðə-ya’télīn tel ĩ̇́al, bə-xɔlɔ́thum ‘agı́t tó(l)tgohum. b-ęsfrót thum tə’əlǔm kol in xézík bə-dínu.
5 b-əršɔ́t zəhám man tél ĩ̇́al, b-égah l-ęsfrót thum. bə-‘ɔrót her əršɔ́t, “xɔlɔ́thum šɔrkɔ́t hóhum səhm ’ak eʃﬁ’, b-əl tũs lũ!”
6 axarɛ́t f̄̃er tũr b-əgád tel ĩ̇́al. bə-xɔlɔ́thum aجاجɔ́t tel īʃnút, bə-‘ɔrót hes, “ĩnɛ́ əl-şɛ́rkh er əršɔ́t ed l- (*)(l)tgohum?”
7 bə-‘ɔrót hes īʃnút, “sīr kɔ́b bə-klá’san nxin šɔš̄, bə-kín mūřį́t. bə-ḥaš e-zḥám a’dáexual, ’amír heš, ’he mūrič’t.”

---

1 yěkó: This is the 3md form, while yũki is the 3mp. The Arabic ms and the audio actually have ðə-yěkó aw [‘or’ in Arabic] ðə-yũki. The Roman ms just has ð-iůki, with the incorrect dual form ð-əbkó in parentheses.
2 ḥes: In JL (s.v. šfr) this word is listed with an initial ’e- (‘ęsférɔ́t), but there is no indication of the initial ’e- in either manuscript of this text. Müller’s original text has just ęsférɔ́t, though a form esfrót can be found elsewhere in his material. The audio clearly has ḥes, even in this line, where we expect an indefinite, which tells us that ę- is not the article. The Ḥarsusi cognate is ṣ̄eferōt ‘sandpiper’, though Johnstone indicates in HL (s.v. šfr) that there is no Mehri or Jibbali cognate. Forms with an initial ‘a’yín in Soqotri (from his own fieldwork) are recorded by Johnstone in JL (see also Leslau 1938: 70), and are known from Arabic (cf. ‘uṣfur ‘sparrow’, alongside ṣāfir ‘bird’). Cognates elsewhere in Semitic are Hebrew šippōr and Syriac ęsfra.
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. taʿálúm: This must be a Gb-Stem 3fs imperfect. In his Roman ms, as in Müller’s text, Johnstone transcribed taʿlúm, which would be a subjunctive form. The audio seems to support taʿlúm, though the pronunciation of this is probably very close to that of taʿlúm. No Gb-Stem ʿéləm ‘know’ is listed in JL (or ML or HL), so this is either an oversight or an Arabism (cf. Arabic ʿalima ‘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 ayləm ‘know’.

6. ɛd: In both mss, her was crossed out and replaced with ɛd. The latter, attested also on the audio, is probably a reflection of Müller’s original, which has te here. The particle her ‘in order to’ is used more frequently than ɛd in a purpose clause. The use of te in Müller’s text (and ɛd in Johnstone’s) is perhaps a Mehrism (see §13.5.2.4).
9 ba-ḥez ʔesférót ð-ënëš, b-ënëš tel ē̃́lâm. ba-züm ʔesférót īzūrët b-a-ṭɔ̄xɔ́ts.

10 ba-ｚḥám ʔerṣūt b-ę-gah tel īzūrët. ba-ksé tɔ̄lɔ́s ʔerṣūt b-ūb ð-ʔesférót.


12 ba-ksé bën irūmtə fūdūn makṭēb ‘amḳās, “troh ɡòhe ɔ́l yəb ṣ̃èrd ˈjāxər əl.”

13 ‘ø̊r eb hër ð-ɪ₇aḥ ð-ēgūn, “hër ð-ɪ₇aḥ ð-ɡàṭ̄a, nəxərè. ˈagk ɔ́rəm a’lèt mən ‘ak ɔ́rəm ʔekṣël?”

14 ʔembére’ ekellën aɡād b-ɔ́rəm ʔekṣël ed ē̃ṣol ʔʃèrët. b-ę-gah ‘ak ʔɔ́rəm b-ə-s̃éf ‘amḳās.

15 ed k-ḥàṣaf’es mən ʃənút b-a-skɔ́ʃ əl-ib. ba-ｚḥám ē̃́lâm əl ʔesgūd ă-yəfər ʔɔ́rəm ʔagād ʔerṣūt ð-đîrəhəm mən tèl ʃèf ʔembérè.’


17 b-ə-skɔ́ʃ tɔ̄lɔ́s. kɔ́l ʔyūn mən k-ḥàṣaf, táhlı ʔagərər’t ð-đîrəhəm mən nxin ʔerĕs. ed melèt ʃənðìk, ʔɔ́rdò́tš.

---

9 ṭɔ̄xɔ́ts: According to ML (s.v. ṭbx), the G-Stem verb ṭbx ‘cook’ is an EJ form. It is not listed in JL. CJ does have a G-Stem ṭəx from this root, but with a more specialized meaning ‘bake bèð̣aḥ (a type of corm)’. Interestingly, in earlier drafts of JL (found in Boxes 7D, 12B, and 15C of Johnstone’s papers), Johnstone did include ṭɔ̄x ‘cook’, but in one draft (Box 16C), he crossed out the entry.

11 ‘ak te’ ūb, mən ‘ak te’ erṣūt: I take te’ (< *tte’) here as the 2ms subjunctive of tè ‘eat’ (back-formed from the imperative te’), even though the correct 2ms subjunctive is tū (e.g., 12:6; cf. also 3ms yīt 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 bën: The modern Jibbali word for ‘between’ is mən mûn (§8.20). The SAE text has here am-bën, which has probably influenced the choice of words in Johnstone’s text. Either this is a deliberate archaism here, or an Arabism.

13 ‘agk / ‘ak: These transcriptions reflect two different spellings by Ali of the same verb form (2ms of ‘ągəb ‘want’). Their pronunciation is identical.
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.

And the boys came and went in to the servant-girl. They found by her the head and the heart of the bird.

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.

And they found between the roads a stone, on which was written ‘two brothers will not go together’.

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?”

The smaller boy went on the lower road until he reached a town. He entered the mosque and fell asleep in it.

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.

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.”

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.

---

aʿálét: This must be a fs adjective (‘upper’) from the root ‘fy, though this root is not listed in JL. In ML (s.v. ‘b’), we find the Mehri form ‘ālēw ‘at the top’ (cf. Mehri text 42:28) and the CJ form aʿalé ‘the highest one’. An earlier draft of JL (Johnstone papers Box 16C, s.v. ‘b’) did include the word aʿalé ‘the highest one’. It is used also in TJ3:19. Bittner (1916a: 58; 1917b: 48) includes this word, as well as its opposite əlxé (see next comment).

elxēt: This is presumably a fs adjective (‘lower’) from a root bxy. 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)bxe, fs elxēt ‘lower’.
b-aḡád embére’ bə-kɔ́lš təš xarét her ebrít ðə-suṭún ðə-šé, embére’ děnú, kəl yûm təš xin erěš ɡarört d-diréhəm.


b-aḡád embére’ aḵ suk bə-śótɛ́m sęgɔ́dət d-təfrér. b-ɛdūr yol eširét bə-ðə-yənúdən bə-y’ɔ́r, “mũn dḥa-yštɛ́m sęgɔ́dət?”


b-aḡabgɔ́t heš ebrít ðə-suṭún bə-ḥołɔ́tsh ɛbrít ðə-suṭún bə-rdɛ́t beš ʿaḳ xɔs.

bə-ḥešembére’ yəbɡɔ́d ‘aḵ heremíti ʿaḵ egizı́rt dîkũn, bə-yḥĩl sęgɔ́dət šeš. ed yum ẓit našə́s tel ebrít ðə-suṭún.

bə-ʾõrɔ́t aḡabgɔ́t her sęgɔ́dət, “ya sęgɔ́dət, frîr bi yol eɨt e-i.” bə-fərrɔ́t bes, bə-agabgɔ́t ŋeš. b-eṣiźɔ́t eɨt e-iš.

bə-ḥešembére’ béke ʿaḵ egizı́rt. bə-kse ʿaḵ heremíti šəlɛ́t hıt. ẓit, kəl əd-tēs yaktɛ́lɔ́b kəræh. b-ešiʒɔ́rt, her tēs ɛrdɛ́m, yəkîn бə-ʿũn bə-shəlɛ́t, kəl əd-tēs, yaktɛ́lɔ́b bîrdɛ́m.


---

21 yanúdən: 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 swt ‘shout’ (cf. Arabic ʂawwata), a verb which is also not listed in JL.

24 ya: The use of the Arabic vocative particle ya instead of ɛ (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 ɛ).

25 béke: See the comment to 5:3.

25 hıt: According to JL (s.v. hıṭṭ), plural hıt can be used as the plural of hēṭṭ (cf. line 27), meaning ‘ear of rice; single piece; pip; pill; and the collective hıt 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.
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.

And the boy went, and the Sultan's daughter called (him) and said to him, "Come!" And he went to (see) her.

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.

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?"

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.

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.

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.

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).

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.

'áyɔ́l: 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 wɛ́l (pl. wə́yɔ́l) 'Arabian tahr', however Johnstone (JL, s.v. w'l) gives quite different forms for Jibbali (cf. also 25:7).

bə-ḥtélɔ́hum: This is clearly from the G-Stem ḥtɔ́l 'wrap, tie', rather than the H-Stem aḥtɛ́l 'chop', even though Johnstone transcribed baḥtɛ́lɔ́hum in the Roman ms. JL (s.v. ḥtɔ́l) gives only the meaning 'wrap s.t. up' for ḥtɔ́l, 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-ɣə-ɣənúdɛ́n, “ḥít!” [bə-yaʃúm hɪt], bə-y’ɔr, “mũn ɗə-’ágəb yaʃtɛ́m hɛtɪt ɗə-dinù?” bə-’ɔrɔ́t škarɛ́t, “he ʔagk ʔəl-ʃtɛ́m.” bə-ʃtũts.
28 bə-tɛts bə-ʃtɛlišt kɛrɛ́t. bə-hɔl les ʃadnùn, ed ɛbnù mən ɗirs but. bə-kûn bes merɔ́hte.
30 b-’agád’ ʃk eʃtɛ́t də-ɣə-ɣənúdɛ́n, “mũn ɗə-’ágəb yaʃtɛ́m hɛtɪt ɗə-dinù?” ʃɔ́rt ɛbrìt ɗə-sʊtùn, “he ʔagk ʔəl-ʃtɛ́m hɛtɪt ɗə-dinù.”
31 bə-’ɔr hes, “her ʔagɪš tɛʃtìms, ʃkher ɛrɛ́s mən xɔʃtì.” bə-ziš hɛtɪt, bə-tɛts.
32 bə-xɔ́tlaʃ bes kʊhn ʒru ɗə-’ɒyɔ́l, ʃat sɛʃ ɛ-ʃt ʃm-bʊh, bə-ʃəʃ sɛʃ ʃd-ʃt ʃm-bʊh.
33 bə-ʃɔ́r heʃ, “ʃk eʃtɛ́t, bə-’ɔr, “kɔl yum b-ɛlf, wə-l-ɔ́yɔ́m balαʃ!”
35 bə-ziš hɛtɪt bə-katɛlìʃt ʃtɪdɛ́m. b-’agád yɔl ʃtš.
36 b-ɛʃal’ ʃk ʃtš. bə-ʃhɔm əgáʃ ʃɛb, bə-ʃɛʃ xɔmɪn ʃiɾɔ́b. kɛl leʃ əgáʃ skɛ̀lɛ́n hɪt, hɔl xɔmɪn ʃiɾɔ́b.
37 bə-ʃɛ́rɛ́ əgɛ́rɛ́f’ ʃk ɦɔlt b-’agád mən ʃtɔlɔ́s. bə-ʃi’ɔ́s ed ɬɪkɔ́hʊm. bə-’ɔr hɔhʊm, “sɔkum əgɛ́rɛ́f. ʃɛrɔ́kkʊm tɔx.”

27 ɣə-ɣənúdɛ́n: We expect here yəʃúm ‘he was selling’, based on the context and on Müller’s version. In fact, in the Arabic ms, yəʃúm was written and crossed out, with yənúdɛ́n ‘he was calling out’ then written above it (cf. line 21).
28 merɔ́hte: This is the plural of mûraḥ ‘wound, sore (on an animal)’. In JL, the plural is given as just mérɔ́h. In fact, on the audio, Ali first said mérɔ́h, but corrected himself to merɔ́hte, 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 ɛlf: This is an Arabic form (cf. next comment). The Jibbali equivalent is ɔf (cf. §9.1.5, as well as JL and ML, s.v. ‘lf’).
33 wə-l-ɔ́yɔ́m balάs: This whole phrase is Arabic. The phrase balάs ‘for nothing, for free’ is also attested in Johnstone’s Mehri texts.
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.

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.

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.

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.”

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.

Two ibex horns appeared on her, one on this side of the house, and one on that side of the house.

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!”

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.

And he gave her the berry, and she turned back into a (normal) human. And he went to his house.

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.

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 ḥōl: This must be a noun ‘load’, from the root ḥml. No such form is listed in JL, but compare Mehri ḥāmal (ML, s.v. ḥml).

37 ḥōlt: This also must be a noun ‘load’ from the root ḥml. 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 ḥamáwlāt (ML, s.v. ḥml).
Text 6

38 šxétőr: 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 ġotrəb: The Arabic ms originally had ġarōb ṭattóhum, but the G-Stem ġarōb was crossed out and replaced with the T1-Stem ġotrəb. Ali stumbled on the audio, but ultimately read ġotrəb ṭattóhum, which is what the Roman ms has. However, the phrase ġotrəb ṭattóhum is not correct Jibbali, as confirmed by several informants.

Text 7

2 šérɛ́g: 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.

ḥĩyɛ́n: This must be from ỵım, for which JL (s.v. ṭm) 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 Soqotri (Leslau 1938: 178). It may also mean ‘father-in-law’, as in Mehri (ML, s.v. ṭm; Jahn 1902: 191), Hobyot (HV, p. 103), and Soqotri (Leslau 1938: 178), but JL (s.v. dwd) lists ‘father-in-law’ as an additional meaning of ādīd ‘paternal uncle’. Note, however, the Hobyot sentence ho sōmar har ṭimī ’a dīdī’ ‘I call my father-in-law dīdī (uncle)’ (HV, p. 103), illustrating the overlap between these two lexemes. The suffix -ɛ́n suggests that the noun is plural, as in the Mehri version of this story (see Appendix E). However, JL gives only the plural ṭimta, which cannot be the base of ṭiyɛ́n. Note that Mehri has an internal plural ṭawm (sg. ṭaym), as does Hobyot.
6 ɓə-ʒ́ēt təbkíẓɔ́t mən tél teṯ. ɓə-xtór še b-eʃḥodéš ḥallét yol šéra‘, ɓa-ʃamlék. ɓa-ʃtém kelínt tür ɓa-ʃrə́fə́.
7 əd k-ḥaṣaf, ẓəḥám sékən ɓə-lɔ̄d, ɓə-férɔ́d érún mən sékən. ɓ-ebrék yırṣə́b, ɓə-skɔ́ʃ ɓa-yékən sə́a.
8 mə̌gə́re’ zoḥám yo ḏə-yaγə́r kelínt. ɓə-ʒhám hibbót. ɓə-ʒhám ér-diḍ ḏə-téṭ ḏə-yaxólə́, “ọl dé yōșfə́k b-eš-ḍiḍi lə́.”
9 axarɛ́t ziš aŋéyg e-ʃfɔ́k ‘əsírɛ́t kəɾɔ́s bə-sǐh heš yōșfə́k. b-ēgaḥ a’ásə́r ðə̧šə́n. ɓə-skɔ́ʃ şes ɓa-yékən ərx.
11 ʿđř, “tę́t ɡə́lɔ̄t ọl taγád.” axarɛ́t zoḥám ɨs, guzúm les. axarɛ́t teṯ ʿđř, “ọl ḥa-l-ɡə́d lə́.”

**7 ɓa-yékən:** In Mehri, wəḳōna, the participle (future) of ‘be’ also can mean ‘about, approximately’. Here, the Jibbali future of ‘be’, ɓa-yékən, is used to mean ‘about’. JL does not list this meaning. See further in § 9.6.

**8 ḏə-yaxólə́:** 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 xəw. Johnstone gives only the meaning ‘be empty’ for the Gb-Stem xə́zí, but the Ga-Stem xałé, 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 yōșfə́k:** The audio has yəšɔ́f (G-Stem imperfect), while the Arabic and Roman ms have yōșfə́k (G-Stem subjunctive), with a marginal note in the latter that says “or şfɔ́k”. (The Arabic ms could also presumably represent the Š1-Stem imperfect yoʃʃfə́k.) 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-ḍiḍi makes it clear that the man is speaking here.
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.

Then he took possession of the woman in marriage. He went down with his witnesses to town, to the judge, and he got legal possession. He bought dates for the wedding feast, and he went back.

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.

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.”

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.

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.”

He said, “The woman has refused to go.” Then her father came and swore to her. Then the woman said, “I won’t go.”

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.

\[nəfð̣áʿ\]: This verb is glossed as ‘flit to’ in the Roman ms. I did not find it in \textit{JL}. In the Arabic ms, it is spelled with simple \textit{d} instead of \textit{ð̣}. The Mehri version of this story (see Appendix E) has the verb \textit{fərūzung} ‘go home’, and the Jibbali equivalent \textit{féð̣aʿ} is given in \textit{ML} (s.v. \textit{frzę}).
Text 8 (= M57): A Conversation

1. A: “bér hek sá’ate bo-hét b-əgarbét?”
2. B: “bér híni ha-yékən xiş ’ayún.”
3. A: “mor, hósələk sé?”
4. B: “hósələk erəskık. ēnfêt əl xudúmk sé lo, w-axarét xudúmk xodũnt, wəlékən əḥsəl əl ñeṣôf lo.”
5. A: “fəlô šink ebří?”
6. B: “bér híni sá’ate əl šink toš lo, wəlékən šək ər ˈər še ’aŋ xədmət. kəh, əl ətal łókum sé lo ˈõnut ə́nu?”
8. B: “əl (t)šək zês lo. bo-xår še, bo-ðə-yəxédəm, wəlékən athůmk, hes əl ətal sé lo, ə-a’ni yaśěxənt.”
9. A: “kəh, šək dé ’ər ha-yəstånt?”
10. B: “šək ġarô, wəlékən əl łtəmək lo mûn ə-’ər híni.”
11. A: “əd yékən ar ðə-yaʔd?”

---

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 xodũnt: This diminutive form is not in JL, but cf. Mehri xədəmənət, which occurs in the Mehri version of this text (M57:4). On diminutives, see § 4.5.
4 əḥsəl: This must be from a form mahšəl. The Mehri text has amhəsawəl. Neither word appears in JL or ML, but the root is clear (cf. the verbs in lines 3 and 4); cf. also Arabic mahšəl ‘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.”

---

ũn: This word is transcribed just ū in the Roman ms, but written ۳ ۳ 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 mɔġɔr, but this seems unlikely. It seems possible that ū could be the cognate of mō.
Text 9 (= M58): About Animals

1. tōlēn b-eshehr mošēt mékān, ērun, bā-lhūtī, bā-yēl.
2. ámma ērun b-iýēl, 'ak xorf əl tekīnān bēsān núšəb lə. ámma elhūtī tekīnān bēsān núšəb.
3. bā-yūkār bā-ygū’ mašh.
4. b’ēl ērūn b-iýēl yəzḥūmhum her yaśxēf.
5. te tṣrōb, elhūtī yākīn tuūn, ab-b’ēl ērūn b-iýēl yākīn ŋōhum enūšəb. bā-yəzḥūmhum b’ēl elhūtī her yaśxēf.
6. ab-b’ēl elhūtī yaxātar b’ēs̄h hallēt, bā-yəz̄āmsə bā-’ād her elhūtī. elhūtī, her əl tē ’ad lə, yafēt. bā-hēr tē ’ad, yākīn bā-xār ab-bōhum enūšəb.
7. ámma iyēl b-ērūn, əl yōzəmsən ’ad lə, ar hēr kunūt ōnut difirat, yōz̄əmsən ’ad. ab-b’ēl elhūtī yākīn sōbər bā-šūm yāśēl mən hallēt.
8. wəlēkān her širīt yōfēn fōkāh ্‌-e-đūnhum dēnu mən ŏrēf ্‌-ōsēt (d-)tōlēn b-eshehr.
9. b-elhūtī əl yəsōr lə mən emīh. təmmūt.

---

2. iyēl. JL (s.v. ‘bl) has the definite form iyyēl, but there is no gemination heard on the audio. The Roman ms has iyēl.

2. tekīnān: The 3fp imperfect tekīnān is unexpected here. It seems to be agreeing with ērūn b-iýēl in its first appearance, even though the grammatical subject is núšəb ‘milk’. In the second clause, the 3fp form is even stranger, since alhūtī ‘cows’ normally has masculine agreement (cf. yafēt, yākīn, and bōhum 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. tṣrōb: We expect here a 3fs H-Stem təsərōb here (as in the Mehri version). The mss have tisrōb and the audio has tṣrōb, which is probably a Mehrized H-Stem (cf. Mehri təsrəwəb). The preceding te is also a Mehrism. 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.
Text 10 (no M): A Disagreement.

1. he fónə aġádk yol ekfór iżóhún b’él út. axarét kisk kufürt, d-ól sédən he ba-sé ło.
2. b-edúrk, b-ḥé də-ğóteḏk les. ed zəhámk bun, kisk aġegéshi bə-kłóṭk heş.
3. b-aґád șe yəsnəhuŋ w-ól éda’k lo yəhósəl șe mən lo. še əd ar ʃeṣ aʃa’ra’.
4. bə-thůmk tɔš ar ɦa-yhósəl bə-ha-našné egəbš mit zəhám. təmmút.

Text 12 (no M): Cow Theft

1. xaṭarɛ́t ʃeŋg ṭroh də-yəbhğd b-őɾəm. axarét őr ṭad, “ak tun nəşrɛ́k.”
   bə-ʒɛt ṭit mən elhúti, bə-sé ‘iṣit. b-aґád hes ed mukün ṭad.
3. ḥez bə-șérɛ egóð, bə-xanîṭ egdółés, bə-fűrk tɛ’ mukún, b-a’agəžə́ mukún. mğiˈɾe’ ked tɛ’ bə-kelas’ ekdɔ́d Ɂer ekud.

---

Text 10

2. aġegéshi: This means ‘my friend’, but derives from aģeşg ə-ʃi ‘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-xíخذk: 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-xilək, which has been corrected to bə-xίخذk, while the Arabic ms has trzymał, representing bə-xίخذk. JL also has bə-xilək. Since ẓ is an allophone of l (see § 2.1), these variants are not problematic.

2. əd: Both occurrences of ed in this line are corrections that were added to the manuscripts. The story originally had Mehri te both times. We still find the Mehrism te in lines 5 and 8, and elsewhere in a few of Ali Musallam’s Jibbali texts.

2. ‘iṣit: Johnstone added the gloss ‘fat’ in the Roman ms. JL (s.v. ‘zy) has ‘əz ‘fat’, but the audio and both manuscripts clearly have ʃ.
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.

---

furḳ: The meaning here is clearly something like ‘divide, separate’, though this exact meaning is not found in JL. JL (s.v. frḳ) 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 ḥarōḳ ‘distribute guests over various houses’, with which Johnstone compares EJ furḳ (ML, s.v. frḳ).

ɛ̃ḳdɔ́d: This is the definite form of məḳdɔ́d, which, though not in JL, must be the plural of məḳədét ‘long strip of beef for drying’; see JL (s.v. kdd). The verb ked ‘cut into strips’, earlier in this line, is from the same root.
5 te k-ḥāṣaf ʿagūn, b-ağād. axarêt ksé ʿgeyg ḏo-yaḥyúd. ʿɔr hóhum, “he ʿgeyg tofún, b-hér söküm kit, zum ṭa.”
7 ᵜd ƙorɛ́rɛ zəḥám bɛl élɛ̀ ða-yxkir, b-ða-yaɗəfà śhəlɔ̀t ƙorɔ̀s̃ her ṭe kɔ̃lt hóhum bɔ-köl e-ʃɛ́rɔ̀k élɛ̀.
8 axarêt kɔ̃lt hóhum aģę́yg e-ksé aģą́g, b-höl śhəlɔ̀t ƙorɔ̀s̃. b-ağād aģą́g te ksé aģą́g ɔd-ʃɛ́rɔ̀k élɛ̀.
10 aģą́g aģą́g. d-ˈɔd ɔl ɛʃal bɔ̀r ɔ́r ɔ̀t, şɛ́f. axarêt ɦɛ́ləm ṭad mɔ̀n aģą́g ɔd-ʃɛ́rɔ̀k ɦûln. zə́hɛ́s bɔ̀r ɔ́r ɔ́r heš, ɔlm xer hek ɔ̀ tɔ̀gəm ɗı̀.”
11 bɔ̀-ɛ̀s aģę́yg mɔ̀n sɔ̀nût(8), bɔ̀-ɔr, “ɔlm-ˈɔd ˈɑgon nɔ̀gzɛ̃m ɔ̀. ɛlíkum tɔ̀lɛ̀n, bɔ̀-dха̀-nɔ̀kζɛ́kum b-ɛlínkum.” bɔ̀-tɔ̀mmût.
12 tɔ̀lɛ̀n yo ɣəfɛ̀rɛ̀k mɔ̀n ekbɔ̀rín. ya-ɔr, ƙəbrin ɗi-ɛ́lkɛ̀. tɔ̀mmût.

---

5 te: The Roman mss have hes here, but the Arabic ms and the audio have the Mehrism te.
9 a-ngzɛ̃m: 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 bɔ̀-xoš: See text 14:3, where this idiom is referred to.
9 bɔ̀r ɔ́r: 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 Şalalah. The full name of the man buried there is Salem bin Aḥmad bin Arab; bɔ̀r ɔ́r ́(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.
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!”

They said to him, “We have forbidden (haram) 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.”

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.

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.

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).”

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.”

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.

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 ‘áqon nəgzém ło: The Arabic ms and audio have ‘áqon lə nəgzém.

11 dha-nıḳẓ́ɛ́kum: The Arabic and Roman mss actually have the prefix ha- here (unique in the texts), though on the audio Ali read dha-.
Text 13 (no M): Home from Dubai

1. xaṭarɛ́t sfɔrk kin sékəni te ěsəlak dəbɛy, bə-ʒздрав ək 'askerit, bə-skóf 'onut trut.
2. axarɛ́t zəḥám to xat mən təl ěmí. ʾɔrɔ́t, "ik xárɔ́g, bə-nhá əl ʃən dé lə. bə-ʔağən bek tʃəxənt émtən.
3. ʃən 'onút difirət, b-ɔl ʃən gag lə ar ʃəná ʃənət, b-ɒsétən difirət." axarɛ́t šxənúṭk ək lang.
4. te ěsələn b-ʔağən kumú lən ekˈát ed béran ḥa-njərək. bə-ʔtərən xīš ěm bə-gizírt. axarɛ́t ŋérɔ́t ekˈát.
5. bə-ʂfən te ěsələn hallel. axarɛ́t réfə-k. te zəḥámk sékəni ʃənərə, kisk ěmí b-aqáti əd-ʃəf bahsəsən.
6. ʃl ʃəsən dé lə. bə-hè síc gúl, bə-ʃír súr bə-ɦit. ʃbrɔ́k ʃc ɓirim. aˈʃɔ́k ěmí. ʾɔrɔ́t, "mûn dənu?"
7. ʾɔk, "he ʃeyg zəḥámk mən sʃər." axarɛ́t ʔəssɔ́t bə-ʔɔrɔ́t, "ʃəlò ʃǐŋk ʃbrí b-esʃər?" ʾɔk hes, "îné ḥa- (t)zi-tə her kəʃɔ́t ʃiʃ b-ebraʃər?"
8. ʾɔrɔ́t, "ha-l-zəməl akhín ək her kəʃɔ́t hini b-ebra, her kən bə-xár bə-fló zəḥám." axarɛ́t ʃəhək, bə-hés ʃəhək, ʃəɾɔ́t tə, bə-ʔəssɔ́t bə-sé (ð-)tɔk mon far∫z.
9. bə-ʔəssɔ́t ʃbríʃm mon şunút, bə-ʔɔrɔ́t hes, "aʃəʃ zəḥám." bə-ʔəssɔ́t mən şunút bə-sé (ð-)tɔk mon far∫z. béké kəlsən.
10. axarɛ́t ʾɔrɔ́t ěmí, "he ber li məʒəlt her ʾod ʃǐŋk tɔk. náʃənu ʔəgən nəhζəz."

1. ‘askerit: This word is not in JL, but ML (s.v. ‘skr) lists it as an EJ form.
2. ‘onút: See the comment to 201.
3. ekˈát: This word is glossed in JL (s.v. kˈw) 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. ʔtərən: 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 ʔtərən (which could be a G-Stem of an otherwise unknown root ḥtr) in the Roman ms, but the audio has a long ə.
5. (ð-)tɔk: Here and in line 9, the prefix ə- 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. **farż**: This word clearly means ‘happiness’, and though related words appear in JL (s.v. frẓ), this noun does not.
9. **béké kɛlsən**: The phrase béké kɛlsən is in the Roman ms only. It is missing from the Arabic ms and the audio. The phrase before it, ba-’aśšāt mən ṣunút bə-sé (d-)tɔk mən farż, is missing from the Roman ms.
11 d-ʿɔ́dən ð-ənktélɔ́ṯ, śínén ɡeyg zəḥám. hō(l)k ındíki bə-ʿök heṣ, “ɔl takɔrɔ̄(b)-tun lɔ!” ʿɔr, “sedik!”


13 axarēt ša’ erābkən eziɔ́d mən ‘aḳ sékən. b-ebhė yo, yokël kuniüt hagmēt ‘aḳ sékən.

14 ed zəḥám yo, kš tūn. axarēt hézzən oz ẓrut. b-aɡsərən ed k-ḥāṣaf, he b-eɡi b-əmī b-eɡiti aɡsərən ed k-ḥāṣaf.

15 axarēt ʿök her egi, “het skef tel érûn k-əmūti, bə-ḥe-ha-l-gād yəl téti, bə-ḥa-l-zhōm bes takɔrɔ̄-tun b-əsēt.”


17 məjūrē’ ʿök her téti, “āqən nəɡād yəl sékənī. ɔl-ʿɔ́d sīndän məs lɔ.” ʿɔrōt, “he ɔl abjōd lɔ kin a’ell.”

18 ʿök hes, “her ʿağīš bi, ḥa-tʃīd ši. b-ɔl ʿağīš bi lɔ, ḥa-tiskəf.” ʿɔrōt, “ak bek, wolēkən a’ell ɔl sōhum dē lɔ ar he.” axarēt ɡəlōt ɔl təɡād ši.

---

11 takɔrɔ̄(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 egi: This word is missing from the Arabic ms and the audio, but this is just a mistake.

13 ša’: This is the G-Stem perfect of šṁ ‘hear’, though JL (s.v. šṁ) and ML (s.v. hṁ) list only šī. These two forms are variants, just as in Mehri we find either hūma or hīma. We also find this variation with other, similar (II-m, III-G) roots. Some of my informants also used ša’.

13 eziọ́d: Undoubtedly this means 'shots; shooting', from the root lbd, though the noun is missing from JL. The Roman ms has either îtrest or ʾiṣêt; either š is written over ẓ or vice versa. The Arabic ms has ʾašūd. Johnstone added the gloss ‘our neighbors heard’ under the phrase erēbkən ʾiṣêt, but it is obviously ša’ that means ‘heard’. The indefinite form of eziọ́d is probably lọd, since word-initial ẓ is not found elsewhere.
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!”

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.

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.

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.

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.”

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.

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.”

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.

**ɛ̄mítí:** 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’ (ɛ̄mítiniz) 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.

**təḳərɔ̄:** 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 kérəb (JL, s.v. krb).

**mɛs̃ lɔ:** The Roman ms has mɛs̃ lɔ (the expected word order), but the Arabic ms and the audio have lɔ mɛs̃. There is no difference in meaning.
Text 13

20 ḳɔ́ṭṭaʿ ēktób: 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 ḳɔ́ṭṭaʿ, but the geminate ṭṭ is heard on the audio, and it is not clear what form ḳɔ́ṭṭaʿ would be. In JL the verb is transcribed ḳɔ́ṭṭaʿ, without the assimilation of the t of the T1-Stem.

Text 14

1 egzəmɛ́t: This noun is not in JL, though its meaning is clear.
2 šêmrmət: This is the mp imperative, which seems to be a mistake for ms šêmrmət. In the Roman ms, Johnstone transcribed the preceding imper-
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.”

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

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.”

If he is accused of murder, they say to him first, “Swear by ten [or: ten times]! Then be tried by ordeal by iron.”

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]!”

And if the accusation is something simple, he swears by himself over the Quran.

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).”

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.”

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.”

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 gzɛm. We expect two ms imperatives in this context.

ethamêt: This word is not in JL, though numerous related words are listed (s.v. thm); cf. mathím in line 1.

takrîr: In the Roman ms, Johnstone glossed this word as ‘certainty’. In JL (s.v. krr), it is defined as ‘(God’s) decree’.
Text 15 (no M): A Land Dispute

1. yun tit sékan nosé man érzhum, ‘ágəb erz ŏd să’ beś rahmét. te éšal monzél ŏd aqṣøré.
7. axarét ʒəɾəb yə ʒə-sé, tet, eqişqisot lóhum kɔb. ʿōr aḡəg her înɛṭʃhum, “her də-ənkən təgɔrəb sé, taʾer ’ánén kɔb dénu.”

Text 14

9. al-gānəbín: This is from Arabic jānibayn ‘two sides’, with the Arabic article al-.
9. šəmərtöt: This noun is not in JL, though it is clearly from the verb šəmrét ‘be tried by ordeal by iron’.
10. aʾōrš: This is from ār ‘shame’, which is borrowed from Arabic ār. JL (s.v. ‘yr) lists only the form ‘er, while ML (s.v. ‘yr) lists CJ ār.
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.

Anyone who gives a false oath, he fails (the trial), and his shame
appears. This the way of swearing among us.

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

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.

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.

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.”

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.”

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.”

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.

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 ʿonút: See the comment to 20:1.

7 dē-ənkën: From dé mənkén ‘one of you (fp)’. Cf. also dē-ənsēn in line 8.
8 ʿör inēt, “yakūn ar xar.” sēf dē-ansēn sāḥart, bə-šēs kēzər. bə-ʿōrōt her ekēzər, “kābēn ‘ak ērūn. her zahīk kōb, hagēm leś.”


12 bə-ḡēyg ‘ak sēkān dūhūn mūrīq. ber heš xīś ‘ayūn bə-šē mūrīq. sēf ẓarrōtš eš-dīdš. kunūt ēnfēt ‘agistš beš yōʃfak bēs.

13 axarēt šfōk bə-tēt ḍōrēt. mğiłtūt ʿūbš bə-kōltūtš nūxīn fūdūn b-ēržhum. bə-ḡēyg ber āgād tel yō kēl də-yāgōrāb, b-əl nīfā’s lō. əb-hēr eḏrē b-ōl šanfā’ lō.


15 axarēt āgād āgā ešxarēt eḏ-gēle ed ešāl ənēzēl mān tēl ʿōrōt ešxarēt, bə-kṣē fūdūn ‘afirōt. bə-,nilōs bə-kṣē ɣarōrt, bə-‘amkās ešrōf.

16 ḥīlōs ed eḇḳa’ās ‘ak emīh, bə-kūn bə-xār ešxarēg mān eɣolēš. bə-tōmmūt ketōt ōnu.

---

9 də-yāntōhān: On the audio, Ali first said də-yāntōhɔ, a 3md form, but corrected himself and read the 3mp form də-yāntōhān that is written in the Arabic ms.

14 ʿūbək: The Arabic ms and the audio have ʿūbək ‘your heart’. This word was missing in the original draft of the Roman ms, but ʿūbš (spelled ‘ābəš) ‘his heart’ was added in the margin.

14 al-falānīyya: See the comment to 5:7.
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.”

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.”

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.

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 is *JL* (transcribed *gízi*). In Ali’s texts, however, the verb has the form *géle*, with a clear final -ɛ 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 *keltöt:* Ali mistakenly read *koltot* on the audio.
Text 16 (no M): Seeing Ghosts

1. xaṭarɛ́t he b-aġi aģádən mən tɛł iyɛ́l mən fɛ́gər, ‘ağən yɔl érún b-ešhɛ́hr, bə-zḥān dəkkûn bə-fɛ́gər.

2. bo-sótɛ́mən hit bə-tür bə-skɛ́r. b-aģádən te ėsələn ‘ak ša’b kəl’éni. xaṭarɛ́t he kɛ́t’ak bə-‘ɔk her aģi, “‘ağən nəskɛ́f.”

3. ṭɔ́r, “her ‘aqg yɔl émɛ́k, ḡadú!” xaṭarɛ́t śènɛ́n érún. ġɛ́k’u ɔ́f səbrɔ́. ṭɔ́r hini aġi, “ḡəlɔ́kɨn yɔ.” bə-skɔ́fən ed kɨrɨt yu[m təgɨd.

4. xaṭarɛ́t aģádən yɔl érûn bə-ḡəlɔ́kɨn ed ṭeżhən. ɔl kesɛ̀n de ɔ. xaṭarɛ́t ṭɔ́r hini aġi, “ḡədū. ɔł ‘ağən bóhum ɔ.” fɛ̀rɔ́k ūn ɔł-‘ɔk l-afrɔ́k bə-l-èbk.


Text 17 (= M24; the Mehri version was translated from Jibbali, but not exactly): The Unfaithful Sister

1. xaṭarɛ́t hókum bə-hallɛ́t b-ešnî hândũf, bə-sɛ̀ ḥa-yəzɛ́m bə-gabgɔ́t bə-ha-txɛ́n beš. xaṭarɛ́t her zəhőt tîš bə-gabgɔ́t, yahzízəs.

---

Text 16

1. iyɛ́l: Hofstede (1998: 174) translated this as ‘family’, taking it as a variant of ‘ɛ́l (JL, s.v. ˈyəl), but context and form make it clear that it means ‘camels’ (JL, s.v. ˈbəl). The spelling in the Arabic ms also matches the spelling of iyɛ́l in text 35:1 (which Hofstede [p. 189] correctly translated ‘camels’).

2. fɛ́gər: 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. ḡolḵūn: This is ḡolḵūn ‘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 ḡolḵūn 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 ḡolḵān (غلوقن), as in line 4, and the Arabic ms and audio confirms ḡolḵūn (غلوقن). See also the comment to 39:9.
3 axarêt sôr te erž ūad bê-kêla’ titš dinût. bê-ôr her titš, “her zahâmş bê-gâbqôt, ḥazózás!”
4 b-ağád aîygê. axarêt zahôt tîtš bê-gâbqôt, bê-ôrît, “zahâm k b-ômbère’.”
5 bê-skîf ed aîbqôt berôt ūm. zahâm is, axarêt ôr, “âgk l-îsné embère’.”
6 b-aîgûqôt ðê-fêkôt lebû ð-ômbère’. zahôt tel is, bê-ôr hes, “sî xâtîk. b-içênt içênu xâtîk, b-fkî xâtîk içênu.”
7 ôrît, “ndôh, ha-l-êfk d-hâkêl.”
8 ôr, “het al gâqûqôt la tûxî. lêzêm al-śnêk.”
9 axarêt kês les bê-kês gâbqôt. axarêt ûzûm ar ha-yahêzzas. b-ôgûqôt, al (t)ûn de al-hês le ls: rëhût al-hês êrût. b-âgûs yêsa’âsîrs.
10 ed ġarî Ôrôt her aģûs, “tôr ha-yô(l)îtq to kôrêre.”

3 bê-kêla’ titš dinût: This clause is missing from the Arabic ms and the audio, but is included in the Roman ms.
3 ḥazózás: This form ḥazózas ‘kill her’ is the mp imperative ḥazûz (cf. SB1:4) plus the 3fs object suffix. It does not fit the context, which would seem to require the fs imperative ḥazízəs.
6 îxênt: On the audio, Ali stumbled a bit and seemed to read ms îxênt, which fits the context. I have kept fs îxênt, since this is what the Arabic ms has (طنت), and since the following imperative is clearly fs (see the next comment).
6 fkı: 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-hâkêl: Johnstone glossed this as ‘inside’ in the Roman ms, though in JL (s.v. hkl) it is listed only with the meaning ‘north’. See further in the comment to 33:3.
8 tûxî: 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)ûn: The mss and audio have just ūn, but this must be from *tsûn, the 2ms or 3fs imperfect of šny. Cf. 51:3, where we have the same form; in that text, Johnstone has tašûn in the Roman manuscript, but the t- is lacking on the audio.
Then he traveled to another land and left his wife pregnant. And he said to his wife, “If you have a girl, kill her!”

And the man went. Then his wife had a girl, but she said, “I had a boy.”

They remained until the girl was already big. Her father came back, then he said, “I want to see the boy.”

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.”

She said, “Give (them) here, I’ll get dressed inside.”

He said, “You are not a girl that you should be embarrassed. I must see you.”

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.

Then at night, she said to her brother, “My father said he will kill me tomorrow.”

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.

---

yɔ́(l)tg: The Arabic ms has yɔtk, but this just reflects the common tendency to spell the sound ḡ with the Arabic letter ݪ (q); see more examples in the comment to 60:25. (We also sometimes find k spelled with the Arabic letter ݬ (ğ).) 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 tg. Hayward et al. (1988: 240, n. 4) do note that [k] is a possible reflex of /ğ/. It is also possible that the k here reflects an archaism, since the root ltg is probably connected etymologically with the common Semitic root ktł, with metathesis and the shift of k to ḡ.

It is worth noting that I heard ḡ in this exact form also from another informant (SM).

haṣnín: We expect singular haṣún rather than plural haṣnín in all three occurrences, but the audio and ms have haṣnín. Singular haṣún is used in 36:16 and 36:26, while haṣnín 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 haṣnín can be either singular or plural.
bə-šuḳúm. ed yum xilfét zəḥám ḇer míḥ.

b-emíh yəḥékmoṣ hökum ṭaṭ. bə-skɔ́f ḇer emíh. axarêt shel ekīthum. ámma aġabgót təsíkJ ḇer emíh, b-emíh’ yəbğód yəğélk her es’àyhr. bə-hér ɔl ksé sé lo, yaqū’ aḥfšl. še yaté fərér bə-yhūl her aģītš aḥfšl.

bə-skɔ́f ḥa-yékən arx. axarêt yəzhôm ebré e-hökum e-hallét dīhūn.

zəḥám ḇer emíh bə-šíni aġabgót. axarêt ‘áɡəb b-aġabgót bə-sé ‘aġišt beš.

axarêt ‘ōr hes, “aģīṣ (t)šīsfək tɔ?”

‘ōrót, “he ši egí b-ɔl yəkšəla’ tɔ l-ašēʃʃək dē lo.”

‘ōr, “hit ‘amul ɔrm her nażbót embière’. mə́gore’ təbğşt ʃen b-aşʃfki biš.”


mə́gore’ təm śork beš əlhún ‘akum.” ōr, “mor.”

aġad aġag, b-embière’ zəḥám tel aġātʃ. šeš xérín tūr mən tel ʒeyg.

b-ɔl tēʃ lo, ‘áɡəb beš her aģātʃ. bə-šə tofún. ed zəḥám, zīs tūr.

axarêt aģātʃ ‘ōrót, “aģī, nha şekən bə-áqon nəḥag.”

ōr, “iné man nəḥag.”


‘ōrót, “əɾʃən tɔ, mə́gore’ he ḥa-l-əɾʃənək.” raʃinəs bə-ŋtɔr les.


d-əd letʃhūn, zəḥám ebré e-hökum bə-ʃėʃ ’əskər. bə-ōrót, “nʔi al-yóh. aɾʃyq ber əɾʃın.”

axarêt zəḥám bə-ʃes ṭəhəl d-embière’. bə-ḥ.hist aġabgót b-embière’ skəf.

12 xilfét: See the comment to 39:8.
And they set out. Then the next day, they came to (some) water.

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.

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.

They stayed about a month. Then the son of the ruler of that town came.

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.

Then he said to her, “Do you want to marry me?”

She said, “I have a brother, and he won't let me marry anyone.”

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.”

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.”

The men went, and the boy came back to his sister. He had a small amount of dates (that he got) from a man.

And he hadn't eaten it, he wanted it for his sister. And he was hungry. When he came, he gave her the dates.

Then his sister said, “Brother, we have become bored, let's play.”

He said, “What kind of game?”

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].

She said, “Tie me up, then I will tie you up.” He tied her up, and he untied her.

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.”

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).”

He gave her (his) feet, and she tied tightly. Then he said, “Sister, untie me.” She said, “In [lit. after] a little while.”

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.”

Then they came and cut off the boy’s penis. They took the girl, and the boy remained.
33 b-ağā́d ed zəḥā́m ḡallét də-bēs āgünš. axarét xūdā́m tel yo tōgōr.
34 axarét āgünš beš ġabgōt bə-śē ‘āgōb bēs.
35 axarét šāntē b-ēsfišē.
36 axarét zəḥā́m āgag əḍ-kēš fāhalš, ŏr, “āgünš dēnū ol beš fāhal lo.”
37 œr hōkum, “dha-nassāṭār.”
38 b-ağā́d tel šēr’āt, bə-ôr, “kərēre ḡa’d ‘ak múdēn b-ağēyg yōkšaf enūf.
39 dō šē ol beš fāhal lo, l-əksōs ērēssš. bə-dō šē beš fāhal, tūm l-əksēš ērēssōkum.” œr, “rīgēn.”
40 ed k-ḥāṣaf, āgunakan ‘ak múdēn bə-żhā́m yo ed miēi emūdēn. œr her āgünš, “kšēf enūf!”
41 œr, “ tôkum tsmōh to.” œr, “ābdan. ol ha-nasmāhk lo.”
42 hōl xatzkēs bə-ṣōr faṭa’. axarét zəḥā́m eṣhōd bə-kēsē al-hēs āgag.
43 kēšīs ērēssōhūm bə-żhā́m bə-ṯēt āgünšt. ‘āgōb yōkšōs ērēssš.
44 axarét sūh āgünšt. b-a’asāras, ber kēšīs ērēssš. bə-ṭērdōs hōkum.
45 axarét hilōs āgās, bə-xēdūt tōlōs, bə-kēla’ nxīnūs iżōrta.
46 mgōre’ def šū her šīrit tēbka’ sēhm ‘ak a’isē e-āgunakan.
47 hes ber a’isē nxīnūs zəḥōt sinōrt bə-thīl eṣāḥan də-’amkōs hūt bə-tagōfš ‘ak ġōr.
48 bə-żhēd āgunakan də-śē ’amkōs ġiyōr.
49 ed k-ḥāṣaf œr her āgunakan, “hīt skīf ‘ak ēt bə-hē ḡa-l-ğād.”
50 b-ēdūr āgunakan hālēts bə-skēʃ ‘ak akhītš. bə-kēsē iš ber ‘ēr.

38 šēr’āt: The more common word for ‘judge’ is šēra’ or šēra’ (e.g., 7:6; 36:2), a borrowing of Arabic šāri‘ ‘lawgiver’. The form šēr’āt, which is not in JL, is from Arabic šir’at- ‘law’.
43 bə-ṯēt āgünšt: The Arabic ms has beš āgünšt, which is a mistake on the writer’s part. The Roman ms has the correct bə-ṯēt āgünšt. On the audio, Ali first read beš āgünšt, but then he corrected himself to bə-ṯēt āgünšt. Also correct would be b-ağūnst, which is the equivalent of what the Mehri text has here (b-ağūntsh, text 24:43).
47 tagōfš: The mss have ṣgōfş (< ġēfsé ‘turn over, knock over’), but on the audio, Ali stumbled and read ngōfš (ngēf ‘throw away’).
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.

And he went until he came to the town that his sister was in. Then he got a job with some merchants.

Then a girl fell in love with him, and he fell in love with her.

He asked for her hand in marriage, and he [the father] let him marry.

Then the men who had cut off his penis came and said, “This man has no penis.”

He said to them, “We'll make a bet.”

And they went to the judge, and he said, “Tomorrow, go to the square, and the man should expose himself.

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.”

Then in the morning, he went to the square, and people came until the square was full. They said to the man, “Expose yourself!”

He said, “You must excuse me.” They said, “Never! We will not excuse you.”

He lifted his robe and (his) privates stood (exposed). Then the witnesses came and they found him to be like (other) men.

Their heads were cut off, and they brought the woman, his sister. They wanted to cut off her head.

Then he pardoned his sister. But her husband, his head was already cut off. And the ruler expelled her.

Then her brother took her, and she worked with him, and he put slave-girls under her.

Then she paid a slave-girl to put poison in her brother’s food.

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.

And the man understood that it had something bad in it.

In the morning, he said to his sister, “You stay in the house, and I will go.”

And the man returned to his town, and stayed in his region. And he found his father had gone blind.

\[aḥkĩtš\]: This is from the word ḥkīt ‘government’, but perhaps also can mean ‘place where the ruler (hōkum) lives’. Although the mss have aḥkĩtš, Ali read ḥallɛ́tš ‘his town’ on the audio.
Text 18 (= M65): Ba Newas and the Old Lady

1. xaṭarɛ́t ġeyg yaˈør heš be nəwás. aģád mən tél sékənəš ‘ágəb yaxétər eʃirɛ́t. b-ɔl səʃ sə lo her yəštɛ́m her eʤənəš məʃərɛ́f.

2. b-aģád ed éʃəl tel məkbɛ́rt, ksə yə də-ŋəkər šxarɛ́t də-xargɔ́t. skɔf də-yftəkɛ́rən iné yəʃərɛ́k.

3. axarɛ́t ər, “haʃ e-yo ənfɔ́ʃ, dха-l-ünkə l-eʃxarɛ́t mən ’ak eʃər. bə-dха-l-ʃərk hilt.”

4. skɔf ed yo ənfɔ́ʃ. ənkɔ́ʃ l-eʃxarɛ́t mən ’ak eʃər bə-hiłə́s ’ak xarkɛ́ṭ, b-aģád ed éʃəl kērəb əl-hallɛ́t.

5. ƙέla’ eʃxarɛ́t bə-ʃə aģád ed ɛgah ɮallɛ́t.

6. śini yo mɛ́kən də-yəgah ’ak but ɗ-tùẓər. axarɛ́t śxabır ɡeyg, ər, “iné mən yo iʃkîn də-yəgah ’ak ūt dɪkũn?”

7. ər heš aģέyɡ, “ebrɛ́ e-tùẓər də-ɡέle bə-yo də-yədɛ́hɛk leš. b-a’ɛ́lɛ́s də-yəxɪr ‘her dé yaʃqəɾəb sɛ́, yɛ́sne her ɛmɛ́rɛ́’.” ˈɔr be nəwás, “he ʃi ɛ̄mî šxarɛ́t bə-təɡəɾəb ƙəl sɛ́ kɛlś her ɬɛ́ɛ.”

Text 17

51. diyə́tə: JL does not have this form, which must be the plural of dɪt ‘medicine’ (JL, s.v. dwy). Mehri also has a feminine external plural for this word (dwyọtən, sg. dəwə; ML, s.v. dwy), as does Hobyot (dwyọtə, sg. dəwə; HV, p. 90).

52. xánút: JL (s.v. xwn) gives only the form xónút (as the verbal noun of the verb xɛ̄n ‘betray’), but ML (s.v. xwn) lists both EJ xánút and CJ xónút.
He brought him some medicines, and he became well.
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.
His father said, “My son, I already told you, no good (can come) from this girl.” And it is finished.

Translation of Text 18

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.
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.
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.”
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.
He left the old woman, and he went until he entered the town.
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?”
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 yṣadhék: 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 yęšné: This must be a 3ms subjunctive of the H-Stem śní. JL (s.v. śny) 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 'or agéyg, “mor, ḡadú, dḥa-l-ɛśnék i ɛmbére’. bǝ-dħa-yəzémk ɔlhın ‘agk.”

9 ‘or egéyg, “dēnu egéyg šes ɛmēš šxarét bǝ-‘or taʃɔrab kol še kelš her ůrēz.”

10 axarɛ́t a’rér əggɔ́r troh yəzḥóm bes. aġád egərɛ́t, ed zəḥám ḡer eʃxarét, a’sésɔ́, b-ol ’aʃšɔ́t lo. axarɛ́t edür tel yɔ. ‘or, “eʃxarét ol ‘aʃšɔ́t lo.”

11 ‘or be nəwás, “takín taʃkélɔ́t egənú(s)ès, bǝ-hér taʃkélɔ́t hum, ol ta’asés lo ar hér sitiṭ bǝ-ʃɔ́t troh. ɣod, sbɔṭs bǝ-ʃɔ́t troh, bǝ-ḥtēdér ol ʃɔ́t!”

12 ‘or egərɛ́t, “ol ʃɔ́t troh.” b-aġád. ed ɛsə́l tel eʃxarét, sɔ́tès bǝ-ʃɔ́t troh. axarɛ́t ṭəkɔ́hɔ́t fúʃhi.

13 edirɔ́ egərɛ́t ᵁ-鹢uki. ‘or be nəwás, “iné gérɛ? ‘od takín látɡɔ́kum émì?”

14 axarɛ́t ‘or heš túz̃ər, “ḳə́lá ɔ̄kɛ! dḥa-nzə́mk… dḥa-nḳẓ́ɛ́k egərɛ́t.” ‘or be nəwás, “ol əʃkóz̃e b-ɛ́mì egərɛ́t lo.”

---

9 yəzḥóm: The Roman ms has d-yəzḥóm, which is a mistake. We should not find d- here before a subjunctive. The Arabic ms and the audio have the correct yəzḥóm.

10 əggɔ́r: JL (s.v. ’gr) has ’ɔ’gɔ́r as the indefinite singular form of ‘slave’. The mss of this text have just gɔ́r (جوّر), but the audio has əggɔ́r or ıggɔ́r. 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 gɔ́r in one of his manuscript word-lists (Johnstone papers Box 1C). My informants also produced əggɔ́r.
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.

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.”

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.”

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!”

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.

The slaves came back crying. Ba Newas said, “What happened? Have you perhaps killed my mother?” The slaves said, “The old woman died!” Ba Newas cried, and said, “Oh my mother, my mother!”

Then the rich man said 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.”

egnū(s)ēs: This form is difficult to explain. It is clearly the plural ginnū ‘jinns’ (cf. 30:16) plus the 3fs possessive suffix -ēs. The Roman ms has egiñũvās, which is more or less what we expect, and the Arabic ms matches this form. The audio, however, has eg̃nūsēs, and the Roman ms has a note “better eg̃nūsēs”. The added s of eg̃nūsēs (preceding ē) is unexpected.

təḡs: This is the 2mp subjunctive of the G-Stem lētāḡ ‘kill’, tōḡ, plus the 3fs object suffix. The 3ms subjunctive is yōtāḡ < yōltaḡ. The 2mp derives via taltāḡ > tə(l)tāḡ > t(a)tāḡ > tōḡ.
15 *axarét sədéd yɔ skɔf heš bə-xamsún iźíf bə-hōlt də-xiš yirşöb kīt. b-ağád be nəwás yol sékanaš ber tüßər. bə-təmmut kēltōt d-īgram də-be nəwās.

Text 20 (= M61): An Argument over Water

1 ʿónut tit kunít ʿonút bə-yó də-tʿáb. b-emíh ɔl mékan lɔ.
2 ʿed yum tit erād b él ērīn, ab-b él iyēl, ab-b él elhūti ĝer emīh.
3 *axarét ʿor aġéyg də-k-elhūti, “ěnfēt elhūtēn ḥa-(t)štikēn, mjōrē’ tūm.”
4 ʿor aġéyg bāl iyēl, “kef, ĝet ɔl ĝet axér ʿānēn lɔ.”
5 *axarét əntɔ̄ḥɔ̄ bə-zḥám yɔ, b-fūskši mən taṭtōši, wəlēkən bāl iyēl lōd məndīk ʿak elhūti bə-fērād.

Text 18

15 sədéd: This is the 3mp perfect of the H-Stem sədéd (root sdd), parallel to the form sədīd 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 *yo skɔf*: This has to be a relative clause ‘people (who were) present’. Johnstone’s Roman ms has under *yo skɔf heš* the gloss ‘people present with him’, but *heš* certainly means ‘for him’, not ‘with him’.

15 *iźíf*: *JL* (s.v. ‘If’) gives the plural of *if ‘thousand’ only as *iźíf*. This may be an EJ form, but at least one of my CJ informants used *iźíf*. In one of Johnstone’s handwritten word-lists (Box 7D), he gives *iźíf* as the plural.

15 *īgram*: This is the definite form of a noun with an *m*- prefix. *JL* (s.v. grm) includes the verb egrım ‘commit a crime’ and the noun gērīt ‘crime’ (pl. gérɛ́m), but no form with an *m*- prefix. The audio and mss (Roman and Arabic) definitely do not have gērīm. The Roman ms has the gloss ‘crime’. The genitive exponent d- is absent, before be nəwās in the Arabic ms and on the audio, so one wonders if it is a word meaning ‘criminal’ or the like (cf. Arabic mujrīm), used in apposition to ‘Ba Newas’. Note, though, that the Mehri version of this story has gəráymət ‘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: suffer-
ing]. 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

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 (ʿnut; JL, s.v. ‘yn.),
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 ʿónút 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 xorf ‘monsoon’ (cf. TJ2:51).
chapter fifteen

6 w-ámma bál érún, hes iżók ṣántóh, eród érunés ed erbé.
7 wólékan skóf sòkh ð-óx bô-zǒthum ọsé. bô-góthər ðô-yôdô bô-ţatóriohm. bô-yôr, “ədə kun əsən, axér hen.”
8 w-ámma bál érún ðô-yôdôk mən hôm, bô-ôr, “he axér’ ankúm. hes tum ṣántóhkum, he eród éruni.”

Text 21 (= M73): Four Hungry Men and a Date

1 xaṭaré ěrbô’t ɡag ðô-yôbôd xaô’tôr. b-ágaγ ber məgrôb mən əsə́’t bô-śôr. b-ágaγd.
2 axaré sôksôr eziôd. ðô-bér hôhum ’ásoř troy mən gër kît. ed ’ásər tət kəl’ënî, keb ’ək əsôb, bə-kəsë ɡeyg ’ək əsôb dîkûn. b-ágaγy şës kît.
3 bô-hës sînî ěgaγ ekbél leś, kérë ekiśk këls. ’ágəb yəxérhum, mûn mən hôhm dха-yıt bô-yôkələ’ ěgaγ dô-śës.

Text 20

6 ṣántóh: Johnstone’s Roman ms has the 3md perfect ṣántóhô, as in the previous line. On the audio, Ali first read ṣántóhô, then corrected himself to the 3mp form ṣántôh, presumably more correct after the mp demonstrative iżók. Based on the Mehri version of this text, which has the circumstantial imperfect ð-ynántawhən, we might expect the Jibbali text to have the corresponding ð-ynántóhən. The Arabic ms had یئاٽ (the 3mp perfect ṣántôh), but was corrected to یئاٽ (ṣántóhən), which has the suffix -ən of the imperfect, but lacks the prefix (ð-)ya- of the imperfect.

7 ðôr: The meaning ‘apologize’ is not given for the verb ðôr in JL (s.v. ðôr), but it is attested for the Mehri cognate ðôbôr (cf. ML, s.v. ðôr). 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 aḫér man: In Jibbali, a comparative is normally followed by (’)ar rather than man (see §5.4). The use of man here is probably a Mehrism, based on Mehri text 61.

Text 21

1 xɔṭər: 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 xɔṭər 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 xɔṭɜr ‘travel’; the corresponding Mehri text has a 3mp perfect (xəṭawr).
5 ed ġasré, ber ðə-šéf, ‘es aġéyg bə-xnit xérín tür. b-aġád ed əlháf əl-ṭât
mən aġág, bə-lġízás beš, bə-ˈör ‘he əl ʃi ar dēnú. bə-ˈâk beš hek. te’
bə-ḵalā’ ēșāh.”
6 šmiddāš man tələš bə-lġáz beš aģéyg ā-l-egisjśīs, bə-ˈör, “he bek šê’ak
bə-d-ˈɔ́k ebkēk dēnū. bə-ˈâk beš hek. te’ bə-ḵalā’ ēșāh.”
7 šmiddāš man tələš bə-lģáz beš aģéyg ā-l-egisjśīs, bə-ˈör, “he bek šê’ak
bə-šfāhkh dēnū. ʿak beš hek. te’ bə-ḵalā’ ēșāh.”
8 šmiddāš man tələš bə-lğáz beš aģéyg ā-l-egisjśīs. bə-ˈör əl-hés āģóhēš.
9 šmiddāš man tələš bə-ˈeš. šérēk ənūf dha-yəḏhɔ́l, b-aģád ed əlháf l-aģéyg
ēnfi ən-šamēdēd tür kin aģéyg bāl sēkən. bə-lģizás beš bə-ˈör əl-hés
āģóhēš.
10 axarēt šmiddāš mən tələš bə-Ḵarīb də-şé əl dé tēs ə qa-rdê beš l-əlēg īdš.
11 axarēt ‘es aģéyg bāl sēkən bə-ẓ hakk, bə-xnût lōhum ʿiṣē. ʿòr heš aġāg,
“(t)šēhyl xāzē. hēt ʿagk təxēr tũn.”
ed k-ẖāsaf, aģād aģāg kin aģéyg. bə-ṭəmmūt.

---

5 lģizás: JL (s.v. lğz) gives only ‘tickle’ for the meaning of the verb l(a)ģáz. However, Johnstone notes in ML (s.v. lğz) 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. lğz) seems to indicate that Jibbali l(a)ģáz has the same meaning as Ḥarsusi laģaz ‘indicate privily, give s.o. s.t. privily’, give s.o. s.t. privily’.

10 l-əlēg: 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 ţawł ‘length’. In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss ‘as far as he could’. He also added the form biłəġ in brackets below this word, which is probably meant to indicate the related verb. JL (s.v. biłəği) defines biłəği 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 ebləği ‘bring, deliver’ (used in 54:44), the Ḥarsusi G-Stem balōği ‘reach’ (HL, s.v. blğ), and the Arabic G-Stem balağa ‘reach, attain’ and its various derived nouns.
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].”

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.”

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.”

He took it from him and slipped it to the man next to him. And he said what [lit. as] his brothers (had said).

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).

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].

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.”

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.

---

(t)ššhɒ̱l xázɛ́: Johnstone glossed this in the Roman ms as ‘you deserve punishment’. This verb is mentioned in ML (s.v. ‘ḥl) as an EJ word, though it is not in JL. In Johnstone’s word-list for this text, he also glossed the word ššhɒ́l as ‘deserve’ (cf. also 86:4). I assume here that it is a 2ms imperfect, and this is the expected form for an Š1-Stem whose second root consonant is h (cf. the forms of H-Stem II-G verbs in § 7.4.7). The word xázɛ́ 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 xázɛ́. Another informant used the phrase het tššhɒ́l ‘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. xaṭarɛ́t ġeyg ḍɔ-yəbɔ́d. axarɛ́t xɛt bɔ-ksɛ̀ fɔ́kə’ak edɛhlɛ́l. b-ɛgəḥ ‘amkɔ́. s̃uṣi ed rɛ.
2. d-’ɔd skɔf’ak edɛhlɛ́l, zəḥám mosé bɔ-thi dɔf’ak xo edɛhlɛ́l bɔ-ʃɛddɔ́t l-ɛɡɛyg. b-ɔl-’ɔd ƙɔdɔ́r yəsɛ̃xɔnt ɮɔ.
3. bɔ-ʃəndɛ́r her ɛraḥmũn yɛðhɔ̀ nəḥɔ̀r dɔhr bɔ-ɲəḥɔ̀r nũṣəb, “her ʃxɔnútɛ̀k man’ak edɛhlɛ́l dɛnu.”
4. d-’ɔd ʃɛtɔ́kũn, hɛt edɔ́f ɔn ʼak xo edɛhlɛ́l, bɔ-ʃɔxənɪ̀t aɡɛ́yg.
6. bɔ-hɛ́s ɡəsɔ́t, ḥů́lɔ́b ġaɡɛ́yg ɛrṹn ’ak nəḥɔ̀r nĩsṹn ed ɗəhɛ́b. bɔ-hɛ́s ber ɦů́lɔ́b ɛrṹn, ʰɛzəsən’ak nəḥɔ́r ed ɗəhɛ́b ɛnḥɔ̀r ɛnɪsṹn.
7. ɔl-’ɔ́d ɛbκɛ́ ar tuɔ́. b-ˈaɡəd.
8. ed ɛsɔ́l ɔ́rɛm dɔ-yaɔzhṹn ŧũ̀s ɛkɛ́bɔ́r, kɛlə’esəɡət ɗɛ́r hɛrṹm bɔ-skɔ́f.
9. axarɛ́t ɔ́hɛ́ ʃəktɛ́r ɗ-irψɔ́b, dha-ṭɛkɛ́nɔ́n ˈɑsɔ́rɪ ɣɪɾɔ́sh, ɭɔrsɔ́n kɪt bɔ-ksɔ́hɛ́t.
10. axarɛ́t ʃxɔbů́rš ˈaɡəg, ʼɔ́r hes, “kɔ het skɔʃk bũn? b-înɛ́ ɔn ʃəɡət ɗɪnṹ?”
11. ʼɔ́r, “he ɗɔ-háɡɔ́rk hɛrṹm dɛ́nũ. kɔ́l ɡəm’ʊt tɔsɔ́ ɭɪɾʃ ʃəɡət.”

---

3. nəḥɔ́r: JL (s.v. nhr) and ML (s.v. nhr) both list EJ náḥar, CJ nəhrɛ́t ‘side-passage off a wadi’. I did find nḥɔ́r in one of Johnstone’s handwritten word-lists (Box 15C). In an article (1973: 101), Johnstone lists náḥár as the diminutive form of nəḥɔ́r. The informants that I asked used nəḥɔ́r.

5. alḥ́uk: The verb lḥaḳ here must mean something like ‘hurry’ or ‘run’, meanings not listed in JL (s.v. lḥk). The meanings ‘catch up with; run after’, given in JL, are not far off. See also the comment to 36:4.

5. ɡəzɛ́k xar: This is the way to say ‘thank you’ in Jibbali, literally something like ‘your reward is good’. Though the word ɡəzɛ́ is not in JL, we do find related forms of the root gzy, such as ʂagɛ́zɛ’ ‘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. ēkébṭər: In JL (s.v. kṭr), the plural of maḵ(a)tər ‘caravan’ (cf. line 9) is given as maḵatər. Both the Roman and Arabic mss have ēkébṭər (< emakébṭər < *emakáwṭər). The audio confirms this, though the form sounds more like ēkébtr, with a difficult to pronounce final consonant cluster. For the plural form makébṭər, we can compare the Mehri plural maḵawṭər, cited by Jahn (1902: 207).

13 aξarɛ́t šɛ́m aġéyg hérúm, bə-ʻór hóhun, “šmɔ́! əḥtɛ́dɛ́r mən dē yəğbɛ́b nxiniz. her dē Ɋɛ́ geb nxiniz. ɔl-ɔ́d yəsɛ́rɔ́k sáɡɔ́t ɔl.” bə-ʃɛ́f aġéyg ber Ɋɛ́ geb nxiniz.

14 zũš yirşɔ́b b-edirɛ́həm. b-aġád yɔl sɛ́kənəš. b-aġád skɔf gəmˈɔ́t. ed yum egɔ́mˈɔ́t k-häṣaf. ɔl ebə́b ɣer hérúm sē ɔl.

15 ʻór aģáq, “aġéyg əhaŋk len. ʻagə́n nəɡą́d sɛ́rɛ́s.” aġád ed zəhə́m tel aġéyg. ʻór heš, “he təhə́kək len, əb-hérúm ɔl ebə́b ɣirš sē ɔl.”


17 ʻór her aģáq, “îǹe dēnu? he ɔl ᵐd. ɔl.”

18 aξarɛ́t gɔ́tɔ́s aģáq, bə-ʻór her Ɋatɨ́tɔ́həm, “hɛt ɛ-Ɋɛ́bɛ́!” b-ɛssə́gə́r yʻɔr, “hɛt ɛ-Ɋɛ́bɛ́!”

19 aξarɛ́t tɔ́tˈan bə-ɡunɔ́i ed lɛ́tə́ɡ Ɋatɨ́tɔ́həm. htaʃ aģéyg her yɔ, b-ebhɛ́ yɔ. bə-ʻór yɔ, “kɔ Ɋum aģáq izɛ́nu Ɋatə́ɡ?” ʻór, “ɔl ɛdˈək ɔl. Ɋisk tɔ́həm ber Ɋatə́ɡ.”

20 Ɋolhəm yɔ bə-Ɋɔ̀həm. b-aġéyg aģád yɔl sɛ́kənəʃ. bə-təmμut.

---

12 dēnu hérúm: I take dēnu as a subject pronoun and hérúm as a nominal predicate that is followed by a relative clause. It is possible, however, that one could take dēnu hérúm 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 dēnu 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 įəzif: See the comment to 18:15.

19 tɔ́tˈan: The Roman ms has tɔ́tˈan Ɋatɨ́tɔ́həm, but the Arabic ms and audio have just tɔ́tˈan. To say tɔ́tˈan Ɋatɨ́tɔ́həm is actually incorrect, since tɔ́tˈan is already reflexive.
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.”

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.

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.

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.”

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.

He said to the men, “What is this? I don’t lie.”

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!”

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.”

The people took them and buried them. And the man went to his settlement. It is finished.

---

19 bə-gunōi: Ali read gunūn 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 (= Mi, but a longer variant): Ba Newas and the Bean

1. xaṭarɛ́t bɛ nəwás ðə-yəbɡɔ́d, bə-šēs dagirɛ́t. ed éṣəl mənzél ṭaṭ,
7. ed éṣə mən tél erũn tékəbən, kələ’ ekəftə ‘ak erũn. yəzhəm derhəs yətɔr ekəftə.
10. b-agād bɛ nəwás. ed éṣəl mən tél elhūti yōkəb, rəsūn ederhəsš ‘ak elhūti. təzhəm hagələt tətɔr ederhəs əd-be nəwás.

---

5. te’: This can only be a 2ms subjunctive (< “tte’”). However, according to JL (s.v. twy) and informants, the subjunctive should be tīt (3ms yīt, e.g., 21:3; cf. also 2ms tīt in 12:6). See also the comment to 6:11.
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-din and the audio has the same, though JL (s.v. wdn) gives the form ődin. 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).”
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 *haglét*: 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 ‘gl.’
Chapter Fifteen

12 axarët ñëk bë-š yò, bə-zūš hagel ét. b-ağág bë nəwàs. ed ësəl mən tël ëyél tékhabān, arşün hagel ét 'ak ëyél. tazhóm bàkàrút bə-ta'-tër hagel ét.

Text 24 (no M): A Complaint

1 A: “hët səbər tægèl, bə-šənèhr mèk a gàg àd-šëk. ‘ôr hët ògəz bə-t(ə)šòke a gàg àd-šëk yəsèrk ‘àk hògtk. yènhum mən bëdè lek?”
2 B: “bëdè li. fəlèkən hër dë mənhùm ðə-ôr hëk tënu… kəlà’s yəhèrg ‘ak kərfèi, bə-hè dха-l-ézhər iyèn mən ède’.”
3 A: “əl-əd hògèt l-àgarò lɔ nàsanu. fəlèkən nìèh b-ənùf, b-əl tægefèl lɔ. bə-hèr ‘əd bëdè lek, kəlèt hùnì.”
4 B: “mor, fəlèkən hër ‘əd bëdè li zəfèt ësègəròt, dха-l-ʃənàhùm.”
5 A: “əl(t)ənàhùm lɔ. kəlèt hùni bəss.”
6 B: “mor.” təmmūt.

Text 25 (= M64, but a variant version): Ka’det

1 xətårøt ñeg ñògà’ yo’ôr he s ka’dèt, bə-ʃèś yəl. ed yùm tït er’dì iyèlèš ðər emîh. hæs ësəl, kə ñag ðər emîh.

Text 23

13 tiɔk: Audio has tiɔk here, but tɔk in 8 and 11. Both mss have tiɔk in all 3 lines.
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.

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.”

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

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?”

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.”

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.”

B: “Ok, but if they lie about me a second time, I will fight them.”

A: “Don’t fight them. Just tell me.”

B: “Ok.” It is finished.

Translation of Text 25

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.

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.”
4 axarēt ‘er ka’dēt iyēlēs. hes ‘erēsōn, anhiēb iyēl. estū(i) ka’dēt. ba-ʿōr, taniḳadon li her ‘erk tōson man ʿer emūh. axarēt erōd.
5 yēzōm taf man aġag ba-yədōrm tīt man iyēl. ba-xōts ka’dēt ba-lōd aġeyg əd-dērūm yitus ba-ltējās.
6 ba-lētaq ēsāgar ba-γενbīt, b-ēsbēb tāt. ba-‘atōf b-iyēlēs ed ēsāl tel edā’aṇaṣ, tītā b-iṣ šāxār. ba-tītš tōkun ambērē’.
7 ba-kōlōt hōhum, ba-‘atōf ed ēsāl rāḥēk ba-fēgūr. skof. ba-ka’dēt yəlōd eb’ażōt, b-ēkūthum man eb’ażōt. b-ol šōhum kīt zeyd ło, b-aġeyg ol-‘ūd yagōsār yaxētār hallel ło.
8 ed yum ūt xōt elb’ażōt ba-hēs ṣef ḍō-gāg, ba-śōhum ḡīs, aģā ḍa-tītš. ba-ṣēs ba-lēt ekōma, b-ol ʿeṣ zunt ło. yatkēk man ṣēhōt. b-a’āsār dōkūn ol ʿeṣ ar mūxbut tāt.

---

4 estū(i): This may be a Jibbaliized version of Mehri əstōmi ‘shout one’s tribal war-cry’, the T2-Stem of smy. The Ej form estī is listed in ML (s.v. smy). The Roman ms has estūn, as does the audio, but this form cannot be correct. Probably estū was intended. The Arabic ms has əstō, which seems to reflect estū. Since III-w/y verbs in the T2-Stem (which are quite rare) have either the pattern əCtēCē or əCtōCē (see § 7.4.12), both estū and estī seem plausible. This is perhaps the only T2-Stem of a root II-m, III-w/y.
4 tōson: 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 dērūm: JL and ML (s.v. drm) only list Jibbali durūm ‘slaughter’, but the mss of this text and the accompanying word-list, as well as the audio, all have dērūm. Perhaps this is the Ej form. See also the comment to 60:20.
7 yagōsār: This is from the G-Stem verb gosōr ‘dare’, which Johnstone included in the word-list to this text. It is not included in JL or ML. Cf. Arabic jasara ‘have courage’.
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.”

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.”

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.

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.

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.

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.

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 ḥēš: Both mss have ḥēš 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. ḥśś), this verb is listed only with the meaning ‘collect one’s baggage’. One wonders if this is a biform of ḥēš ‘feel; notice’, or simply a mistake.

8 ba‘lét ɛḳóma: Johnstone (JL and ML, s.v. ḳmʿ) translates this as ‘flintlock’, but this may not be the correct term, since ḳóma(’) means ‘percussion cap’, a feature lacking on a flintlock. Still, it clearly refers to an older type of rifle.


12 bo-Ṣēf aḡād ber dō-kūn ʿer xādār. d-ʿat tūš tāḥēry k-āʿāsārē, ēkēlē aḡāg. ʿor kaʾdēt, “aʿtēd ṣm-bīls! ʿal taḵārē-tū ʿla!”


14 bo-flēt bo-lūsās tāt mān aḡāg ba-ṣaḥbē ḍal-fūm. bo-flēt ʿak ṭaḥḥ máʿar. axarēt ṣīnī ēnūf taʾbūn, b-ʾaḡād ed ʿaʿqūr ḍer kīsēt. śērēk ēnūf xarīg.

15 bā-ẓhām aḡāg bā-ṣīniš. bā-ʿor tāt mānḥūm, “he dḥa-l-gād bā-l-ḥēbē.”

16 bā-żhām aḡāg bo-ḥāʾūs. bā-ʿor tāt mānḥūm, “he dḥa-l-gād bā-l-ḥēbē.”

17 axarēt ʿaʿtēd ʿa-l-ṣūr lēs bā-skōf. ʿaṣṣōt teṯ bā-heḳūtī aḡās. ʿorṭ, “kēbē ʿal-yōh! he dā-ɡārōbk tā ṣer xādār!”

---

10 dīfūr: This is the correct mp form of dīfūr ‘bad’. JL (s.v. ḍfr) lists ḍfrītē, but this is the fp form.

12 aʿtēd ṣm-bīls: This is an idiom (cf. JL, s.v. ḍēr), used only in the first person singular. The phrase ṣm-bīls is a reduced form of ṣm bīls. In JL, the verb (1cs imperfect) is given as aʿtōd, which seems to be a CJ form. This CJ form aʿtōd is also given in ML (s.v. ḍēr), while HL (s.v. ḍēr) gives the Jibbali form as aʿtēd. The form aʿtōd looks like a T1-Stem imperfect or T2-Stem subjunctive, while aʿtēd looks like a T2-Stem imperfect minus the suffixed -an. (see § 7.4.8).

13 ṣmāzzōt: This root (ḡzz) is not in JL, but an EJ verb ḡēz ‘loosen’ is listed in ML (s.v. ḍzz). The same word occurs in the Mehri version of this story (line 19), though the two versions are not identical.

13 mīkōs: This is from the G-Stem m(a)xāk, which seems in this line to be equivalent in meaning to the T1-Stem mūtxēk. 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.
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.

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.” 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!”

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.

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.

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.

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.”

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.”

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!”

---

\textit{ɛgúf}: This word for ‘chest’ occurs in Mehri, Harsusi, and Hobyot (cf. \textit{ML} and \textit{HL}, s.v. \textit{gwf}; \textit{HV}, p. 10), but not normally in Jibbali. The Jibbali word is \textit{gɛ́hɛ́} (\textit{JL}, s.v. \textit{ghy}).
19 axarét keb. ed ḡasré, ber aɣág ɗω-ʃéf, ‘aʃşɔ́t tet ɓɔ-ʃerkt məndik,
ba-ɫatגjat aqjas.
20 ‘eʃ aɣág ‘aɣbə yəmnɔ́ ‘tet. gużût, “kəl mənkûm ɗə-ƙəɾəb tɔ, ar dha-l-
ʃ(ɨ)ʃə.”
21 ba-ʃuŋut se b-ɨndik. ed têt tel sekɔn râḥək, kołʃɔt hóhum. b-ebbə ya ɗer
êlébtaq bə-kɔ̀rhum. ba-təmmût.

Text 28 (no M): A Man's Dilemma (Conversation)

1 A: “her dha-tʃád, ’amér hîni, athûmk tɔ dha-l-ʃád ṯek.”
2 B: “d-’ɔk dha-l-ʃérɛ́g sekɔni. her sind ‘ání, dha-l-ʃád kərɛ̀re.”
3 A: “kəh, yɔl őr hek? ol dha-yəsnîd ‘ak lɔ, ’ak kəlbək?”
4 B: “ol ɛ́d’ak lɔ, fɔ̀lɛkən sì’ak tɔhûm mənhînəm ɗə-y’ɔr dha-yóxlɔf’ar
ɛ́nzílum. ba-hɛ́r xɔlɛf ol yəsənlîd ‘ání lɔ.”
5 A: “kəh sùm yóxlɔf’ar ënzílum, bə-sùm ‘ək manzəl rāhîm.”
6 B: “sà’ak də-k-ɛ́rûn ‘ɔr ẹ́rûn ɛgêb. ɔl-’ɔd kṣ kît lɔ. bə-ʃhîhum mənhînəm
ɡeyg bə-’ɔr hóhum, “ak şa’b dînû ᵇan mɛsà’ ʃɛfè’, b-aʃxér hókum
l-ɔxlɔf.””
7 A: “mor, hêt sà’ar ɛd˚àŋək əl-ˈɛnî. bə-hér sind ‘ak, zəhî-tɔ kərɛ̀re tel
sekɔni. bə-hé dha-l-ʃalɔbk ed mən ᵇer ɛdɔhɔr. bə-hèr ol zəhámktɔ lɔ,
yəkîn sekɔnək əl sind ’ak lɔ.”
8 B: “mor, astahól.”
9 C: “təhér ƙə-mûn ɛl?”
10 B: “d-əhêr k-ẹl-ɨln, bə-ʃe kərɛ̀re dha-yagåd tʃhùn. ʃesh hɔɡat, bə-’ɔr
hîni, “ak bek təɡåd si.’ bə-ʃa’ɔdk təʃ kərɛ̀re tel sekɔnə.”
11 C: “hêsòf! ɓə-ɲhə, têrd ben? tob ar ɣarô ɗênè! het ɗa-ɣarôbk tun
dha-ɲɛmèl kərɛ̀re, b-ɔl ənsênûd ‘ak lɔ, ar hîr dha-l-ɛflət.”

Text 28

4 ʃša’k: In the Arabic ms, Ali originally wrote ʃša’k (as in line 6), which is
what is on the audio, but crossed it out and wrote ʃša’k. See further in
the comment to 13:13.
10 tʃhùn: In one of the Roman mss, Johnstone glossed this as ‘such and
such a place’.
Then he came down. At night, when the men were sleeping, the woman got up, stole a rifle, and killed her brother.

The men got up, intending to grab the woman. She swore, “Whoever of you comes near me, I will kill him!”

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.”
B: “tum sóbar bass matańúnt, bélé ol matańúnt. kalś tɔ ol-gád k-egéyg ḏa-bék šaʔdək tə.”

C: “b-tné het sek mən hágət tağád k-egéyg? yasxml ‘ar əsét. her kərəre əsétək zaʔt, agéyg ol ha-yəzəmk sé lo.”

B: “tōkum (t)snid ‘ání, hes bek šaʔdək agéyg. ba-xzét, her axtelífk beš.”


B: “mor, dḥa-l-gád yəls. ba-hér ol zaḥámk tōkum lo, akín agádk əš.”

ˈɔrɔ́t títš, (C:) “mor, ken li (al-)hés i. ol akín hek tət əl-fət (man díni), her ol edúrκ lən əl-ˈeni lo. ba-hét bə-rik.”

B: “mor, dḥa-l-dɔ́r kɔlˈéni.”

Ağád agéyg ed zaḥám tel agéyg də-ʒə́idəš. ˈɔr heš, (B:) “he, sekəni ol sind ‘ání lo, ba-tətii guzũt li, ’əl taʔgə́d. ba-smáh li, ol akásər ol-gád šek lo.”

ˈɔr agéyg, (A:) “kelś taṭ. ol ə́ sé maḥnét lo. agásare. ed k-hásaft, edə́r yol sekənək.”

B: “al akásər lo əl-gásare. téti berɔ́t guzũt, ’her ol zaḥámk al-ˈeni lo, ol akín hek tət əl-fət.’”


**matańúnt:** This is the common plural of the adjective matañe (f. matańút) ‘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. mhn) does include the related verb múthan ‘be in trouble, be sad’, which is also found in texts 54:7 and 57:15.

**yasxml:** 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’.

**siék:** The Roman ms and audio have siék, but the Arabic ms seems to have mēk ‘from you’.

(ol-)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 al-hés, but instead follows the Arabic ms and says hés.
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.”

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.”

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.”

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.’”

B: “Ok, I will go to him. And if I don’t come back to you, I will have gone with him.”

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!”

B: “Ok, I’ll come back this evening.”

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.”

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.”

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.”

A: “Ok, goodbye.” And it is finished.

## Notes

17 ɛl-fōt: This is a contraction of ɛd l-fōt ‘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 dínı: The Roman mss have mən dínı ‘from the world’, but it is missing from the Arabic ms and the audio.

21 lɔ al-gāsərɛ: We expect al-gāsərɛ lɔ (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. xaṭarɛ́t ġeyg šeš məstǻn bo-hallɛ́t. bo-hér ber dḥa-txarɪ̀fɛn, təʊşɔ̄n ḷa-xɛ́rɪ̀. bo-skɔ́f b-ɔl ēdə’ inê yəʃɛ́r lə. axarɛ́t kərəb enáxal taxarɪ̀fɛn.
2. aɣád ed zəhám tel iʃni. kɔ́lɔ́t heş b-ekəʃɛ́t enáxal. ˈɔr heš ɪʃni, “ɡad a’aşɔ̄r e-ɡəm’at bo-kbɛ́n ‘ak enáxal tel emih. bo-dek ɔl (t)ʃɛ́f.
3. bo-dɛ́k ɔl tafə́rɔ̀k. áxar a’aşɔ́r dḥa-ɔ(y)ʃən ʃhəlɛ́t ʃiɣenɪtí sibrʊ́ti, bo-dḥa-tərḥáżɔ́n ‘ak eʃɡ. bo-ʃəlɔ́sən ed təkəbɛ́n ‘ak eʃɡ. bo-ḥɔ́s e-bɛ́r ‘ak eʃɡ, ḥmɛl xaṭɔ́ʔɛ̄sən.
6. axarɛ́t ʃiʃi tʃi ʃənɛ́n, ta’mɪ́ɾəns ɛrɛ́t, bo-ˈaɡɛ́b bes. bo-zûm ʃrut xaṭə́kɛ̀sən b-aɣád. bo-ʃət erhiʃ bo-ʃətɔ́s eʃt bo-kɛ́rɛ xaṭə́kɛ̀sən. bo-zîs xaṭîk mənhũm bo-ʃʃuk bes.
7. bo-skɔ́f ˈonut. axarɛ́t sfɔ́r ʃhəlɛ́t tʃi bo-keʃə́la ətʃiʃ tel ɛ́mɛ́s.
8. bo-ˈɔr her ɛ́mɛ́s, “əḥtɛ́ər ɔl (t)zɪ́m tʃi xaṭə́kɛ̀sən ʹabdən, bɛ́lɛ’ ɔrɪ́t ɦiʃ ‘ɔ́l dḥa-l-ɡád lɔ’. əḥtɛ́ər ‘aʃs.” ˈɔrɪ́t heʃ ɛ́mɛ́s, “ɔ́l təktɛ́lɔ́b lɔ.” aɣád aɣɛ́yg. bo-keʃə́la ətʃiʃ tel ɛ́mɛ́s.

---

1. enáxal: The plural form náxal is not listed in JL, though the singular naxlɛ́t is. Compare the plurals listed in ML and HL (s.v. nxl).
2. e-bɛ́r: In Ali’s dialect, the particle e- is normally suppressed before ber (see § 7.2; § 13.5.3.2). For other speakers, the sequence e-bɛ́r becomes ěr (cf. TJ4:3; Fr1). On the audio, there is definitely a vowel before ber, but in the Arabic ms, Ali wrote only ber.
3. taʃəlɛ́lən: 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. ḫyl), 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 e-nfįt: This is a contraction of ed nfįt ‘until we die’. This is clear from the initial e- (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.

10 ʿór̩t, “ábdan.  żỵkɔ́k ʔas ol tôf̩or man ḍér̩an. b-ebrí ỹənkéŕ̩d les. bə-hér aģ̩ad̩ɔ́t bə-ż̩̄hám ebrí b-ol kũs le, dha-yaf̩ʃɪ.” ʿór hes yo, “teṭ ʔal dha-tôf̩̄or̩ le.” ʿór̩t ēx̩ar̩t, “ábdan!”

11 axarét zəḥũs hōkum e-hallét ba-ʿór̩ hes, “ṣ̩āləb meš l-űnxuṣ tɛt ſ̩un̩hağ.” axarét ēx̩aṣ̩ots bə-zũts xaṭ̩ọ̣k̩és. nəḥag̩ọ́t zif̩̄t trut, bə-koɾ̩ọ́t in̩eṭ e-hall̩et kə. ba-fərr̩ọ́t.

12 šəf̩et ēx̩ar̩t ʔas. axarét hʃɔ̣rt kɔr bə-koɾ̩ọ́t kebs l-əg̩ère her ebr̩és zəḥ̩ám, tạm̩ér hẹş, “teṭ xarg̩ɔ́t.” ed mən ḍér̩ ekɔ́t, zəḥ̩ám aģ̨̩ỵg. ʿór, “ar təṭi hũtũn?”

13 ʿór̩t émẽs, “att̩ėt xarg̩ɔ́t ba-koɾ̩ọ́n tɔs.” skɔ̣f aģ̨̠ỵg əb-bẽk̩e. axarét ənk̩̄s̩ ẹk̩ɔ̀r bə-ks̩e kebs. b-aģ̨̩ád tel émẽs. ʿór, “kɔ̣lt hịn̩ ɓ-iyẽn, bə-fl̩ọ d̩ha-l-ʃ(t)ŋ enuf!”

14 ʿór̩t, “ébr̩í, tet fər̩r̩ọ́t.” bə-kɔ̣lt̩ọ́t hẹš b-eəw̩s̩s̩et kels. skɔ̣f aģ̨̠ỵg əb-ḫ̩zn̩. axarét aģ̨̩ád yol ʔũn̩i. bə-koɾ̩ọ́t hẹš, bə-ˈọr, “in̩e ɣọ̣s̩ən̩ tɔ tɔl̩̄s?” ʿór hẹš ʔũn̩i, “kən̩e ʃət̩ət mah̩l̩b̩, ʃət̩ ʃũn̩, bə-ʃat̩ ʕʃər, bə-ʃat̩ hɔ̣r, ʃ̩al̩̄ət ʔayũn. bə-kəl̩a’hum ʔak ʃ̩aḥaḍ̩ɔ́r̩t, bə-zèmẹhm kəz̩əb. bə-ḥ̩əs aģ̨̠er ʃ̩al̩̄ət ʔayũn, kəl̩a’hum ʃəl̩ət əm mən ɡ̩ér̩ kit.”

---

9 məšér: Johnstone glossed this word as ‘dance’ in the Roman ms. The Mehri version has šər̩ here, a word which also exists in Jibbali (see ML and JL, s.v. rwḥ). The same word also occurs in 97:5. I did not find məšér in JL. See Landberg (1920–1942: 3.2058) for various related Arabic words from the root šʿr, including Omani Arabic š̩āʾər ‘poet, singer’ (also found in other Arabic dialects).

9 xol̩̄tɪ: In JL (s.v. xwl), the word xol̩̄tɪ 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 dīd ‘father’s brother’.
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.

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!”

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.

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?”

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!”

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.

---

*ağbér*: Johnstone glossed this verb as ‘be exactly of age’ in the Roman ms. The Mehri text has *tom* ‘be completed’ in the parallel passage, which fits the context better. An H-Stem verb *ağbér* appears twice in *JL* (s.v. *ḡbr* and *ḡwr*, 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 *ḡabara* ‘elapse, pass, go by’.
bə-yúm eri’ kələ’ ekəzəb ser āhðôròt. bə-kól manhũm e-dólòf āhðôròt, ḡad ẓirš. bə-gád bə-sák e-yúm ed man tël kēta’ lek āhlèb, kələ’s, bə-d-’d lek səłòt əm agdéêt. bə-kól ‘əśər dha-l-ḡásər tel əc taḡôrbhum.”

bə-agéyg esfék aģatetés shalét əg q̄-ə-l yagôrbhum ls. bə-šéf ginnū. sérék tıkũn. kənī āhł₁b. ed man ḡér shalét ʔayũn, dólòf a’ʃəf āhðôròt, bə-rəkəb ẓirš.


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."

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.

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.”

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.”

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.

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.

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.

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!”

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.”


Text 31 (no M): A Rainy Day in England

1 yum ʈiɣ aɡádək mənzɛl ʈat, b-aɡádək əl-xâfi. b-ɛrẓ́ ọl râḥəḳ lɔ. ed éṣələk lɔkũn, kisk yo mékən mən ɛrẓ́ kəlš.

2 skɔfk sɔ́n ɗ-s̃îtən əl-yò ɗɔ-yʌχɔ́rg. axarɛ́t zəɳɔ́t ọsé. mənhúm d-ɔl ʂeʃ xɔi ɬo flɛ́t ɬar ọsé, bə-ɗ-ʃə ʂɔɪ skɔf ɬa kɛ̃zɛ̀l ɗɔkũn.

3 he kunk ɬɔ-ɗ-ɔ́l ʃóhũm xɔi lɔ. b-aɡádək ed mənzɛl ʈat ɗɔ-yɛtɛ́ɾeɡən yo.

4 axarɛ́t ʃïnk yo mékən bə-ɦùʃum ɛsχər ɗɔ-ʃəbɡɛ́d fåxɔ́ra. ʃóhũm ɬaɬkwɛ́r. ɬɔ ɬædək ɬɪ̃n kɛ̀n lɔ.

Text 30

24 ḥalḥ: The word ḥalḥ ‘oil’ is transcribed in JL (s.v. ʰl̩l) as ʰahl̩, in the Roman ms of this text as ʰʌlh, and in the Arabic ms as ހ. In one of Johnstone’s vocab lists (Box 15E), he transcribed ʰʌl. On the audio, here and in the following lines, it sounds like ʰah, 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 ɡəmĩlh, however, which occurs in this same line, the -l is slightly audible.

Text 31

1 lɔkũn: The Arabic ms has ɰəkũn, suggesting elɔkũn, and the word-list accompanying this text includes elɔkũn ‘there’. The audio, however, has just lɔkũn. JL includes both elɔkũn (s.v. ɬkn) and lɔkun (s.v. ɬkn). 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 36:8.
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.”

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.

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 xôi: JL (s.v. xym) gives the singular xũyɛ́t ‘umbrella’, plural xõm or xɛ̄m. The audio clearly has xôi, as does the Arabic ms. In an unpublished word-list (Box 15C), Johnstone gives the EJ form xõt, plural xôi. The Roman ms has the singular form xũyɛ́t for all three occurrences in this story.
Text 32 (no M): A Conversation

1 A: “sókum méken érún?”
2 B: “éhē. he sī mut trut, b-ebrití šes xamsín, bo-títi šes stín, b-ér-dídi šeš šhalét mín. bə-də-xalít len sékən šaró, sóhum érún méken, dəa-tkénən sóhum xīš mín, šum b-a’élshum.”
3 A: “ber aj(y)ég sē mən érunökum?”
4 B: “éhē. ber aj(y)ég mənsən, bə-sesən mədkər. mənsən d-ʿod əl aj(y)ég lə. d-ʿod ləsən orx tət. dha-yékən ajégən həx-ər aksiýər.”
5 A: “dha-l-orrhə sékənkum ḥādē?”
6 B: “éhē. əl késən arjəd lə būn.”
7 A: “kəh, əl sē mosé lə?”
8 B: “mosé antəf. bə-ʾër hēn bə-kəbalét mosé méken, bə-thūmək tun dha-nənsé, nha b-a’isərən, her təti kunut bə-xər.”
9 A: “kəh, mit šfəkək?”
10 B: “šfəkək həx-ər e-térəf. kəh, hēt hūṭũn? əl b-erz̧ hēt lə?”

Text 31

təlík: This is the 1cs perfect of the H-Stem verb (e)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 təlé / ð-itəlɛ / yətləʾ, 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 etəlé, itəlɛ, yətlə’. 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

aksiýər: Johnstone added a note in the Roman ms, “month before Ramadan”. He transcribed it agsiýər in the Roman ms, but the Arabic ms has aksiýər (القصير). My informants confirm that this is indeed the Jibbali word for Arabic Šaʿbān, the month before Ramaḍān in the Muslim calendar. The Jibbali month name, which is not listed
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 Shahri 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. ḫṣr, and HV, p. 263), is not much used today, except by older speakers. Some other Jibbali month names are ṣṭṭārī ēnfi (Arabic Šawwāl), ṣṭṭārī ḥaṛrī (Arabic Du l-Qa‘da), and ḥahrēr (Arabic Du l-Ḥijja). Al-Shahri (2000: 148, ٤٤٢ 253) includes a list of the month names, though with Western (Georgian) and Levantine Arab, rather than Islamic, counterparts. So, for example, he says that ḥṣiyɛr corresponds to January/Kānūn aṯ-ṯānī. Watson (2012: 56) includes the Mehri month names, which are very close to the Jibbali ones.

8 əntēf: 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.
Text 33 (= M63): A Visit with Some Jinn

1 xaṭarêt ġeyg ðə-yəġélḳ her yîtš ð-ənzɔʿɔ́t. b-aġád. bér heš 'āṣər troh mən ġer kit.
2 ed kolˈéni keb 'ak șa'b, bə-șíni yel. yakól yo. šef iyël ðə-səbró.
3 skɔf ðə-yəḳōẓən l-iyël lə-hũn dḥa-l-ɛ́blɛ. axarêt śinísən eblé d-ḥākɛ́l 'ak ša'b.
4 b-aġád ed zahám tel teṯ təḳún. ʿõrɔ́t, “ya ḥáy bek, fəlɛ́kən nəḥá yɔ səbrɔ́. bə-hɛ́t ínɛ́ mən ġeyg?” ʿõr, “he ġeyg ɛnsí, bə-ð-əġélk her yət ð-ənzɔʿɔ́t her ðɛ́nu. bér híni ʿāṣər troh mən ġer kit.”
5 ʿõrɔ́t teṯ, “mor, hɛt ɔl təfrɔ́k lə. bə-hé dḥa-l-ɛkərk nxín fidɛ́t. bə-dék ɔl tənḥárk.

Text 32

14 aṃ-məndīk: Although Ali wrote bə-məndīk, on the audio he read aṃ-məndīk.

14 kərj: 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 kərj).

14 kəmkəm: JL and ML (s.v. kmkm) list only the plural form kəmkúm (sg. kmkm). This same plural form kəmkəm is also used (by a different speaker) in TJ2:33.

Text 33

3 d-ḥākɛ́l: 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. ḥkl), there is only the meaning ‘north’. The word for ‘north’ according to
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?”
B: “Already since I was little, my heart was hers [or: she already had my heart].”
A: “What did the bride-price leave you?”
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

Once a man was looking for his camel that had strayed. And he went. He was already without food for two nights.

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.

He sat watching where the camels would head to. Then he saw them head north [or: inside] into a valley.

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.”

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 fę́gər, which stems from the fact that this is also used for the name of the Najd region; ‘south’ is rɛ́mnəm, which literally means ‘sea’. It seems that d-ḥáḳəl is not the usual word for ‘north’, but can have this meaning (cf. also Hobyot háḳlə ‘north’; HV, p. 253). There are multiple words for each of the cardinal directions, some of which are due to dialectal variation.

yət: The Roman ms and audio have yət ‘a camel’, but the Arabic ms has eyōti ‘my camel’.

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 triliteral 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.
Text 34 (= M59, with some variation and additions): A Miscommunication

1. xataret geyg agad man erz e-żifisl, 'agab yol erz d-èhóró. ba-šé mehri, falekan šékanì ba-żifsl ba-d-'ød yəbòd erz d-èhóró lo.

Text 33

6. káló: JL (s.v. k’lw) gives the form of this word as ka’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. yağréb: According to JL (s.v. ġrb) and ML (s.v. yărba) the EJ and CJ word for ‘raven’ is aģéréb, while the Mehri form is yağréb. This would thus be a Mehri form. In one of the mss to text 48 (= M99), Johnstone corrected yağréb to aģéréb. The form aģéréb is also found in text TJ1.
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.

Drink, and when you finish [lit. empty] the bucket, you’ll see two ravens. Throw the bucket at them and go.”

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!”

The woman said, “This evening I found a rag on the ground, and I think it was a human’s.”

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.”

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.

Then the people chatted. One of them said, “This evening I saw a human camel in this valley to the south.”

The woman said, “Ok, is it well? Better than our camels?”

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.”

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.

He drank until he was satisfied. He saw two ravens, and he threw the bucket at them.

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

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.

\[\text{yat: The Roman ms has iyš ‘his father’ (better īś), while the Arabic ms and audio have yət (يُت) ‘a camel’. Both words fit the context, and whichever word is missing is obviously implied anyway.}\]
b-ağąd ed êsôl hallôt tit ð-êhârô. égaḥ but bə-ksé tet. êrhôt beš. axarêt 'aşṣṭ bə-şôrkôt heś kahwêt bə-zûtš.

bə-ôrôt heś, "nâšanu érkah bə-hé dha-l-şêrk fșo'.'"

'ôr aģéyg, "mor." b-aģéyg əl ʂhâbèlôs lô. dûnû əholêt tel êhôrô e-ʒôfl, a'anès 'érôtab ka'êb' bə-flô 'enûdēf ēnzel'.

haś e-têt aġadôt, hôl ka'êb b-e-rîtíôhum.

axarêt zôhôt tet bə-ksêtô dô-yôrûṭban ka'êb. ôrôt tet, "aģî, kô het ðîkûn?"

'ôr aģéyg, "hit ôrû hînî, 'érkåhk, bə-hé érkåhk.'

ôrôt tet, "he əl a'anêî her ka'êb lô. a'anêî l-érkåhk ekahwêt." ôr aģéyg, "mor."

b-aġadôt tet yôl ëtbax. bə-hâs aġadôt tet yôl ëtbax, hôl ekahwêt bə-kêl'ôs xunôt man âqôrfêt. bə-skôf də-yôftôkérên bə-têt. bə-yâôr 'ák xâtôrôs, "he ɣeɣy maôrît, bə-kîl'îst tô ðô-xêdam hes ka'âs." d-ôd də-yôftôkérên, zôhôt têt bə-ôrôt, "aģî, bek érkåhak ekahwêt?"


axarêt zahedôt əttêÔ dô-šê aģéyg əl ʂhâbèl âgarôs lô. bə-ôrôt tet her eĝeýg, "het athûmÔk əl ʂhâbôlôk tô lô. ïnê tôôr Ôm Ôr her ekahwêt?"

ôr aģéyg, "nха tölên b-ağarô éhri 'nśoz', b-ağarô ëşhêri 'nśoz'!

axarêt tet ôrôt her aģéyg, "aģî, smaḥ li. nха tölên b-ağarô éhri 'amárkh!'

axarêt fhêm tåttôhum bə-kñèhêb aģéyg tel yô. bə-šôsôme bël hållôt mên ekôssêt dûnû, bə-kûnut tôôhum fûgêt. bə-təmmût.

---

 hôχeq: This is the 2ms perfect of śîni '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.

nśoz: Jibbali nîśôz 'drink/sip something hot' has a cognate in Mehri nîśaz. Strangely, this is not the word used in the Mehri version of this story (see Mehri text 59:14).
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. And she said to him, “Now drink up (ërkaḥ), and I’ll make lunch.” 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’. When the woman went out, he picked things up and cleaned them up. Then the woman came and found him cleaning things. The woman said, “Brother, why are you (doing) thus?” The man said, “You said to me, ‘clean up’ (ërkaḥ), so I cleaned up.” The woman said, “I didn’t mean the things. I meant drink up (ërkaḥ) the coffee.” The man said, “Ok.” 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 (ërkaḥak) the coffee already?” 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’ (ërkaḥ), and (so) I didn’t drink.” 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?” The man said, “Us, in our Mehri language, nśoz (‘drink up [s.t. hot]’). And in the Shaḥri language, nńoz.” Then the woman said to the man, “Brother, forgive me. Us, in our Mehri language, (we say) amárkaḥ.” 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.
xaṭarɛ́t ġeyg ber aʿámk eʿómraš k-iyël b-érζәn. b-ɔl śé mih kérib lә.
axarɛ́t ber a̱d-xәt.

d-ʿɔd laṭškәn, śini sayә́rә, ba-ʿamkәs әkfәr. axarɛ́t wәkәf sәyә́rә bә-
tišә́hum mih.

ɔšә b-yidaš. axarɛ́t zәhә́dә šә-śә āgәb mih, bә-šә́m ɔl šoḥum mih lә.
sә́hum tә́l.

zũš әlә́hәn dḥa-yәsenә́dә, bә-śә́l yәgә́rәb tә́lɡ lә. yәkә́l kи́т. hи́lә́š ʿәk
xәrkә́tә b-әgә́d ed nxи́n hә́rә́m. skә́f.

bә-hә́l méş xәrәn bә-kәlζәš ʿәk xәš. axarɛ́t ɡә́s b-e̱zә́l ṣә́nә́nә́s. tфi̱lә́s
bә-ɾә́dә bә-ɾә́lɡ bә-ɾә́fә́t.

ed zәhә́m tel sәkәnәs ә-gәš, ʿәr hә́ʃ yә, “kә hә́t?” ʿәr, “he kи́k kәfәr,
bә-zә́-tә́ sә́hм mи́t-inә́. bә-һә́ tә́lә́bә tә́hә́m mih bә-šә́m zә́-tә́ śә́ lә́n
taʾmә́rәn skә́r. bә-ʃә́l-ʃә́l әgә́d yә́xә́nt ɡә́nә́n.”

axarɛ́t eбрә́s ɡә́rә́b ә-śә́ tә́lɡ. ʿәr hә́š, “e be, әә́kә́n tә́lɡ, bә-hә́r kә́l ak tә́ šә́ ɡә́hә́lә́t,
yәmә́tә́s” bә-yәkә́n mih. ēдmә́r tә́ bә́s.”

ʿәr, “h-inә́? ” ʿәr eбрә́s, “aк l-әʃtә́k.” b-әgә́d әmә́bә́rә́. gә́zә́m ɡә́xә́r, “he
әgә́dәk yәl sә́hм әә́kә́n, ar dḥa-l-ә̱ (l)tgә́k. he рә́ dә-yә( l)tgә́k әkfә́r, ʿәk
hә́ l-ә̱(l)tgә́k.”

---

1 aʿámk: Hofstede (1998: 189) parses this as e-ʿamk, with the relative
pronoun e-. 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 eʿamk, with no hyphen or
space after the e.

2 wәkәf: We expect әkәf here, as in JL (s.v. wfk), 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 waqqaʃә. Or perhaps it is simply a variant
pronunciation (cf. also the comment on wudә́n in 4:1).

6 yә́š: This is the 3ms imperfect of the verb šә́e “run”. JL (s.v. šy) gives
the imperfect as yә́šә́. My WJ informant (FB) also used yә́šә́, while the
CJ informant I asked (AK) used yә́šә́ (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 ẓ́ɛ̄l-ẓ́ɛ̄l: This is read on the audio with exaggerated length on the first word, and with an intonation matching the description of the feeling.

7 ɛ́ðmər: This is the H-Stem imperative, which appears in both mss. On the audio, Ali mistakenly read the G-Stem imperative ðmɛr, which can have the same meaning.
Text 36 (= M48 = Jahn 1902, pp. 7–14): The Ruler's Daughter

1. xaṭarɛ́t ḥókum bə-ḥallɛ́t šfɔk bə-tɛ́t, bə-ẓhám mes bə-əmbɛ́rɛ́ ‘bə-ḡabgɔ́t. hes ber ᵇɛ́t, xargɔ́t émɛ́hum.
4. axarɛ́t iz̃írɛ́t ksέ́t ekíd tɛ́kf. hɛ́kt her ʰaˈl̃iʃ, ōrɔ́t, “ṣhíḥ li, ɔ́l òkə́dɔ́r l-ekíd lɔ.” axarɛ́t bɔ́ttər bə-šini šɛ́ra’ ‘ak ʰaḥfɛ́r. axarɛ́t ḥoł skin bə-kɛ́ta’ beʃ ekíd.
5. bə-hé šɛ́ra’ bə-ṣoθɜˇr fɔ́tx. b-а́gád ed ɛsɔ́l ðtš. ōr heʃ yɔ, “iʃe bɛ́k?” ŋɛ́r, “hɛ́k mə̇n dɛ́r kɛ́ra.”

Text 35

9. ġélbōʃ: In the Arabic ms this is written as two words, غيل بيش, as if it were a verb ġel plus an indirect object beš. However, in his notes to this text, Johnstone gives the meaning ‘talk s.o. over’ for the verb ġolɔ́b. The audio, with clear stress on -bə́š, also suggests ġélbōʃ. In JL, this verb is only given the meaning ‘refuse’. For an example of ġel 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. ə́lḥíʔ: The Mehri cognate of the Jibbali verb l(a)hak (Mehri lɔ́hɔ́k l-) can mean either ‘catch up with, overtake’ or ‘help’, according to ML (s.v. lḥk). The meaning ‘help’ is not listed for this verb in JL (s.v. lḥk), and, in fact, the entry for this verb in ML explicitly says that this verb does
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

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.”

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 lhāḳ 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 ba-təzḥĩ-tɔ: I understand ba- 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...’.
10 axarêt hêrûg şes her yoğâd şes. ‘ôrôt, “môn ḏér eṣîlôt e-ḏôhor ḏhâ-l-zêmêk enûf. bo-nâ’sanu ḏhâ-l-żêmêk bérîk təmtîsôh.”
11 hêlôt bérîk bo-sfî’ôté beš al-kərfêf ed šəṭhôr fôtx. b-aġadôt yol ūts.
13 axarêt ‘ôr her erśôt, “gmo-li rêga’ ða-kahwêt bo-təmbêko, bo-ôrûrs nxîn hêsôn.”
14 šêrêk tôkûn erśôt, bo-šê k tôb yol ḥôkum bo-hâgg bo⁻ôr, “ebrît kahbêt, bo-ûtk kahwêt.”
15 axarêt ḥôkum a‘rêr ebrêš. ‘ôr, “ḡad bo-ltaqî egôtî!” aġâd embêre’.
16 ed eṣal, hôl egôtîs ḏêr ḥâsûn, b-aġâd bes. ed šxanît môn hallêt râhôk, hîr kûr.
17 bo-hêr hê ḥâsî ḏêr embêre’, tənûgaf ‘âs egôtîs ḥâsî. axarêt ḡêzôn mes.
18 bo-lôd sa’r bo-hôl eḏôrêš ‘ak lébkôl. b-aġâd bo-kêl’ôs lôkûn. bo-skôfît šêlôt êm.
20 axarêt aţêyîg ‘azûm yoğâd hâgg. ‘ôrôt, “he šek.”
21 ed yum aţ-bêr ḏhâ-yôjîd, zəḥâm yô tel a‘âsôrs. bo⁻ôr her a‘âskôr bo-eḏâ’nôš, “təríf hûni, bo-hê ḏhâ-l-ḥôkkum.”

---

13 régâ’: 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 bo⁻ûtk: On the audio, this is pronounced bo⁻wûtk.
18 lôkûn: See the comment to 31:1.
19 a‘êlêš: Both mss have a‘êlêš ‘his family’ here, but the audio has hallêš ‘his town’.
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.”

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.”

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.

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.”

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.

And he went to his house. People asked him, “What's (the matter) with you?” He said, “I fell off a camel.”

Then he said to some boys, “Collect coffee-grounds and tobacco remains for me, and spread it (all) around under the castle.”

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.”

Then the ruler sent for his son. He said, “Go and kill your sister!” The boy went.

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.

And whenever dirt fell on the boy, his sister would brush the dirt off of him. Then he felt compassion for her.

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.

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.

Then the man decided to go on the Hajj. She said, “I'm (going) with you.”

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.”

23 b-aqād ed ěṣal manzēl tat. ǧūdūt yum b-ağsərē. ed ḣasrē, ʿör ęggʳor her
allagāš bə-kōrāš.

24 ed k-ḥāṣaf aqād ed ěṣal manzēl tat. ağısrē. ed ḣasrē, ʿör ęggʳor, “dha-
(t)zē-to enuf bə-flō ḥa-l-ʃ(l)tg ēšāғor.” ʿōrō, “taqs.” bə-lṯagōš.

25 ed k-ḥāṣaf aqād ed ěṣal manzēl tat. ağısrē. ed ḣasrē, ʿör ęggʳor, “dha-
(t)zē-to enuf bə-flō ḥa-l-ʃ(l)tg sōlați.” ʿōrō, “taqs.” bə-lṯagōš.

26 ed k-ḥāṣaf aqād ed ěṣal manzēl tat. ağısrē. ed ḣasrē, ʿör ęggʳor, “dha-
(t)zē-to enuf bə-flō ḥa-l-ʃ(l)tg iżēnu.” ʿōrōt, “taqs.” bə-lṯagōš.

27 ba-šukūt ed zəḥōt ḥagg. egaḥɔ́t tel ḡeyg bāl kaḥwēt, ba-šərkōt enuf ḡeyg.

28 ed ʿaṣar tat, zəḥām is, b-ağās, b-aʿāsərs, b-ęggɔ́r, bə-ṣerə́. bə-ġɔriəθuṁ, ba-
šūm ʃl ɡōrs lə. axarēt ʿōrōt her baɬ ԁ-ekahwēt, “ak al-ɛzəm aqāg
izēnu.” ʿör, “mor.”

29 ʿazūthuṁ. ba-zūthuṁ ʿiʃe bə-kaḥwēt, b-ağısrē. ed ḣasrē, ʿörō tōhum,
“ʿaŋan kə-ṭat yazholm ba-këlštıt.”

30 axarēt kəlšt šuṁ ed təmūm. bə-ʿör hes, “tōlšōk het nāšanu.” ʿōrōt, “he ar
kallēn...”

31 bə-këlštıt bə-këlštıt dūnu kels ed təmmuṭ. ʿōrōt, “dēnu l, bə-dēnū egiatan,
bə-dēnū aʿǎsrē, b-iżēnu ʃēra b-ęggɔ́r dō-ʃerēk bi ɛkəssēt dūnu.”

---

22 əggɔ́r: The mss have just ṣor (چور), but the audio has əggɔ́r or iggɔ́r. See
the comment to 18:30.

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 eslōbēs: The form eslōb is not listed in JL. In ML (s.v. slb), we find both
slēb ‘arms, guns’ (= Jibbali sélēb, listed in JL and attested in 4:1) and
slōb ‘arms other than guns’; the latter entry includes the EJ form slōb.
The Mehri form haslōb 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 (ha-)slōb as the plural of slēb.
Jibbali sélēb seems also to be plural, however (cf. 41). 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.
And he had a slave, his vizier, and he said to him, “Go with my family and the soldiers.” He said, “Ok.”

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.”

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.”

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...”

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 ɗ-ṣkahwét: The genitive exponent ɗ- is unexpected here. Cf. ba’l ḳahwét in line 27. The Mehri version of the line (48:28) also has a construct phrase (bāl ṭakahōyət).

28 iźénų: Both mss have iźénų ‘these’, but the audio has iźōhũn ‘those’.
Text 38 (no M): A Conversation and a Visit to the Medicine Woman

1 A: “her ağádk mən ğer essólét e-ḏîhor, dḥa-túnfsəs lóhum, her əl-ʿık skəfk mukún lə. bə-hér ēşəlk ğer šaʿb b-əl šink dé lə, ēḥək. ləzəm dé dḥa-yəsuḥekək. šaʿb əl təkún mən ğer dé lə, kələʾr ěkət dənū bes erḥamət. bə-ʿər hən yə d-izət esˈkùn.”
2 B: “mor, thūmək tə əl-ğád násanu, l-əgérə ə-əl-ğád l-ərxər. he ǧeyg ěl-əl bi hiēt bə lə mən ğer göle.”
3 A: “kəh, ělək ěkət dənū?”
4 B: “ēḥ. hini ʃətət xarʃə, bə-hé ěl ə'əşəs lə mən ēnəzəl.”
5 A: “inę mən göle’ bek?”
6 B: “thūmək təs ərgəfət. bə-hér kərət yəm, əgələ. ‘ad ěkən göle’ anɡdərət, əl əd’ak lə.”
7 A: “mor, l-əsnən ɦənūf. bun ʿər šxarət taʃərəb kəl sé.”
8 B: “mor, ‘ak tun nəjəd əmətəs?”
9 A: “bə-ɾık. ǧadə un.”

Text 38

1 d-izət: Note that the m of the verb miʃət (3fs perf. of miši) is elided here after də-, but elsewhere m is not elided after the relative də- (e.g., də-mosə, TJ2:123) or verbal prefix də- (e.g., də-muθank, 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 wordlist 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’; ʃamım ‘have courage’).
2 bē: In the Arabic ms, this word is spelled ܒ, while the word bı earlier in the line is spelled ܒ. The two words are distinct on the audio. On the word bē, see §10.5 and the comments to 4:10 and SB1:1.
Then they killed the slave and the judge.
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 *xarf*: The mss both have this form, as does *JL* (s.v. *xrf*), but on the audio Ali read *axr*.  
6 *əngdərét*: Johnstone glossed this in the Roman ms as ‘jinn-brought; from underground’. This seems to be a lexicalized form of *man 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-íšnɛn*: This seems to be 2ms conditional form of the H-Stem *ɛśni* (cf. 17:1).  
9 *ġadū wn*: On the audio, this is pronounced *ġadün*, but in the Arabic ms, Ali wrote two words غدو ون. See §12.5.2.
11 zəḥâm aģāg mən ʒer eṣ̌hor. ʿōröt ešxrêt, “he şǐnk her aģéyg, beš gōle’ əngədərēt.”
12 B: “mor, iné editš?”
13 Woman: “hazɛ́z lê’ ʿafɨ́rɔ́t dər məkəbɛ́rt hâdēt bə-l-ɛfdɛ̄n lek ʃhâlēt ənēt, bə-dха-tékən bə-xår. bə-hũk dēnu. ēndax beš k-ḥâṣaf mən k-ḥâṣaf.” bə-təmmūt.

Text 39 (= M95, but variant): A Man and His Shadow

1 xaṭarɛ́t sɛ́kən ɬ-axâf bə-śaʿb. bə-ḳérɪb lóżum mūh fɔrkɛ́t tel məkəbɛ́rt. bə-ʿɔr yɔ ɣəkɪn ɬɪrʃ ɡənnɪ ɡasrɛ́. b-ɔl ɬɛ yəʃɛ́nǔs ɣəʃɪb mɛʃ ɡasrɛ́ ɬɔ, ar hɛr kʊn ɡag mɛ̄kən.
3 ʿɔr tât, “he ῥak.” aģâd ed zəḥâm tel ɤmɪh. ḥaʃ e-bōttɛ̀r, rɪnɪ egəʃɛ́ ɬɪk ɤmɪh. yəkɪl ɡənnɪ.
4 axarɛ́t ərdɛ́s bə-fədnîn. bə-hɛr hōtraʃ mʊkʊn yəsʊnʃ yətɪʃ. axarɛ́t flɛ́t bə-yaʃʊnʃ mən sɛrɛ́s.

Text 38

10 dēnu aģéyg: The mss have dēnu aģéyg, though on the audio, Ali stumbled and said aģéyg dēnu, which is the more common word order.
10 eṣḷōt: This word is in the Roman ms, but is missing from the Arabic ms and audio.
13 l-ɛfdɛ̄n: This is the 3fp subjunctive of the H-Stem ʃdɛ́ (root ʃdy). The verb can mean ‘sacrifice in a ritual manner’. More specifically, the animal is slaughtered after walking it several times around a sick person.
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.”

The men came back in the afternoon. The old woman said, “I have seen for the man. He has a supernatural illness.”

B: “Ok, what is its treatment?”

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

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.

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.”

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.

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 yəs̃énús: 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 kéráb əl-yó sínís əl-fénëš. axar ét múṭrək egenbít bə-ṭán egófēš bə-tjákót egenbít ‘ak ħāšì. yəkôl egnëní mìnä’ egenbít b-ağıtōšē mən fərkēt.


---

5 tjákót: This is listed in JL under the root tjək, since the CJ form has the glottalic t. The EJ form, like Mehri, has t. In the Arabic ms, Ali transcribed the first root consonant with Arabic d.

5 ağıtōšē: 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 əšə or əsy.

8 xelf: The EJ forms of this adjective meaning ‘next’, ms xelf and fs xiʃfēt (cf. 49:31), are not listed in JL, but are given in ML (s.v. xlf, under the entry for xáyləf). JL only gives the CJ forms, which are xalfi and xalfēt; 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 *ġališ*: This must be a contraction of *ġalîk* + -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 *ġališ* (a transcription I found in one of Johnstone’s manuscript papers, Box 13A), but the audio has simple š. The underlying form *ġalîk* (given in *JL*, s.v. *ġlk*) is also unusual, as it has the pattern of the fs imperative. From this verb also comes the unusual imperative *ġolškûn* (see the comment to 16:3).
Text 40 (no M): Discussing an Illness

A: “īnē bék?”
B: “gélək.”
A: “mən mit gélək?”
B: “mən ēləs əkəs sá’īr təštəfőrən mən erēsi aɡā.”
A: “ʿod tēkan aɡōrək?”
B: “əthűmkt ta.”
A: “īnē tēk ašhér?”
B: “tēk tē’ bə-ʃûşək mīh ẓēl.”
A: “mor, aɡōrək. ‘ak t l-ə̑šhórən mən ərêši aɡá.”
B: “koh, taɡōrab heš šé?”
A: “ēhē.”
B: “īnē?”
A: “aṣāhraš al-kańbá’ bə-ʾiṭīt šhâlět enzafőr.”
B: “mor, ʃər tə.”

---

4 təštəfőrən: This is the 3fp imperfect of the T₁-Stem štʃər. This verb is glossed in JL as ‘come over one from the head down (as goose pimples)’, but given the G-Stem šʃər ‘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 aɡā: According to JL (s.v. ʾɡl), this derives from aɡál, but the final l is lost in EJ (cf. also ML, s.v. xṭr). In the Arabic ms, the word is written aɡálh, while Johnstone’s Roman transcription has just aɡā. 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 ɡa also occurs in Müller’s texts (Bittner 1916b: 56).

5 aɡōrək: 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 ġwr (3ms perfect aɡør), though the verb is not in JL. It is obviously related to the noun taɡbîr ‘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 əšḥér: 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 əšḥér, though for some CJ informants both forms were acceptable. Only one CJ informant (MmS) accepted only šhor.
13 enzaför: This is a suppletive plural of zafêt ‘time’ (see JL, s.v. zff and zfr). JL (s.v. zfr) gives only the form misfôr. Perhaps this is the definite form êzfôr (< e-misfôr), though the context should require an indefinite form, or a misanalysis of the definite form. The spelling in the Arabic ms clearly has enzafôr (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

A: “ḥ-hínɛ̀ ṭəzámk tɔ?”
B: “zəḥámk tɔk her xar. he ġeɣyŋ ḏə-xtɔrk ḋin səkən. ṣhɛlɔn a’ád, b-ɔl ëd’ak yɔh ḏə-ʃɜrk lo. ḏə-fəŋɔk tɔk, ḏə-hɛr ‘ɔd təkɔdɔr ḳin bə-ḥïlt, ‘ak bə-ḥïlt ḏə-ád ḣer elhûtɛ̀n. ‘ak kini bɔ-řeɬɔn, bɔ-řiɬ. bɔ-’ak təʃtɛ̀m sɛ mɔn ोśɛtɔn, bɔ-řiɬ.”

A: “ɔl ʃi ’ad ls. sî ḏə-tekɔn hõlt ḏə-rkîb. ḏə-l-šûms ls. ṣhâ ʃɛn zɛtɔ’ alhùti, b-ɔl ʃəlɔ’ hum mən ġɛr ‘ad ls. b-ɔ(,) l-əhko ɖ tɔ ls.”
B: “əbdan, ɔl əkɔlə’k ls, ar hɛr ḏə-(t)ʃá’ɔrd tɔ, bɔ-ʃəktɛ’tə’ mɔn munûn a’asît. bɔ-ḥé bek kɛʃəd tɔk, b-ɔluhɛn ‘ak mɔn tɔlî ḏə-l-ζɛml. ‘ak bə-řeɬɔn, ḏə-l-ɛrɛnɔk, bɔ-’ɔd ’àk təʃtɛ’m mɔn ोśɛti, ḏə-l-šûm lek.”
A: “he ɔl mən tɛnu ls. hɛt ɔl fhɛmŋ tɔ ls.”
B: “he fhɛmk tɔk, fɔlɛkɔn ɔl ʃɛdɔr ls mən hõlt ḏə-ád.”
A: “ɔd ʃɛdɔ?”
B: “əbdan, ɔl-’ɔd ʃɛdɔr ls.”
A: “mor, ḏə-l-ʃɛrɛn hɛn bɛntîk bɔ-ʃəhɛlɔt kɔrîs ed məstɛhɔl xɛlf. bɔ-ḥɛr ɔl zəḥámk b-ɛkɔsɔs məstɛhɔl xɛlf ls, hɛn bɛntîk mɛzît.”
B: “mor, hɛk ɛn bɛntîk, bɔ-ḥé ḏə-l-ʃɔm b-ɛkɔriss məstɛhɔl xɛlf.”

---

2 ḥîlt: 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. ḥyl). While ḥîlt ‘trick’ is clearly a borrowing of Arabic ḥîlat-, the meaning ‘credit’ here can be compared with Arabic ḥawālat- ‘promissory note; bill of exchange; money order’.

4 kəʃəd: JL (s.v. kɔd) lists the meanings ‘seek out’ and ‘chop’ for the Ga-Stem kəʃəd, but only ‘chop, lop’ for the Gb-Stem kəʃəd.

4 ḏə-’ak: Both the Arabic and Roman mss support this transcription (no audio was found), but we expect ḏə-’ak, with the conditional particle də (§13.4.2). This is perhaps a hypercorrection, since Ali usually uses the pre-verbal particle ḏ- in place of the more common d- of Jibbali (§7.1.10). Or it could reflect a more general shift of the particle ḏ- (as a verbal prefix, relative pronoun, or genitive exponent) to d-.

9 mastɛhɔl: 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 mastiḥɔl awarx ‘the end of the month’ (M28:18). It is obviously related to the verb shɛl ‘finish’; cf. also the
A: “What did you come to us for?”

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.”

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.”

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.”

A: “I didn’t mean that. You didn’t understand me.”

B: “I understood you, but there is no excuse (for refusing) a load of sardines.”

A: “Is there any excuse at all?”

B: “No, there is no excuse at all.”

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).”

B: “Ok, here is the dagger, and I will bring the money at the end of next month.”

---

Mehri Ti-Stem sáthəl ‘be finished’, of which mastīhal can be considered the active participle. ML (s.v. shl) seems to suggest that the Jibbali Ti-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 astəhɔ́l ‘goodbye!; farewell!’, e.g., 3:17).

méẓ́ét: Johnstone glossed this as ‘will have gone’ in the Roman ms. This verb (3ms méẓ́é) 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 ol 'ak l-áklat hek b-iyén lo, koh he kolšik hek tenu?*
2. Ḍa kunk ‘ógaż, ṣ(l) l-asérkanəš lo.
3. Ḍ-öl kun 'ak l-únsəḥk lo, ṣ(l) l-aḥerígan šek tenu lo, fálékan 'ak l-únsəḥk.
4. Ḍa kun 'ak l-ahérég bêde', ṣ(l) l-aklițan hek b-iyén lo.
5. Ḍa kun 'ak l-s(l)tgəš, ṣ(l)teğənaš.
6. *her ol xaróg lo, ḏha-yékən bun karere.*
7. Ḍ-öl kun altağəš lo, ṣl yiflatan hallêt ešgarót lo.
8. Ḍa kun 'ak l-s(l)tgəš manhînăm, alteğanaš, falékan ol 'ak l-s(l)tgəš lo.
9. Ḍa kun iżënu 'ágaš yəbdî li, yəkdîrən yəsōrk tóżən.
10. Ḍa kun 'ak al-s'ědhum, het tokdîrən (t)šerk tžühün, ol hê lo?
11. Ḍ-öl kun šorikək tüğkün lo, ol yəzhîn bek bun lo.
12. Ḍ-öl kunk ġalṭún lo, ol yəzḥîn erêkəm e-ṣyērək lo.
13. *her ol kun 'ogaz lo, ḏha-yəzhóm xədmēts ašhér.*

Text 42b (no M): More Conditionals

1. Ḍ-öl kun mišərd lo, ol yəzhîn yo ba-šūm ad-ṣéf lo.
2. Ḍ-öl kun 'ogaz lo, ol yəskîfən ba-ykalâ'ən xədmēts lo.
3. Ḍ-öl kun šerk lo, ol yəkbînən 'ak edĕltən lo.
4. Ḍ-öl kun xasəm lo, ol yəhrigən tənu lo.
5. Ḍ-öl kun 'ágaš yəgād šek lo, ol yəhūrənək lo (yəhrigən šek).
6. Ḍ-öl kun 'ágaš yəs'ēdak lo, ol yəhrigən hek lo.

Text 42

10. *al-s'ědhum:* 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 *əsə'ēdkum*, with a 2mp object suffix, which must be a mistake.

12. *ġalṭún:* 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. *glṭ*), such as the H-Stem verb *aqlēt* ‘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. **eréḳam**: This word does not appear in *JL*. It is simply a borrowing of Arabic *raqm* ‘number’.
13. **əšḥér**: See the comment to 40:7.

Text 42b

5. **yəhrígən s̃ek**: Johnstone gives this option for the apodosis in the Roman ms only.
7 ṯ-ʾɔl kun aʿāšərk .lazy, ʾɔl yəzḥīnк bə-hédít ḏīnu .lazy.
8 ṯ-ʾɔl kun ṧáqab yašnɛ́k .lazy, ʾɔl yəšɨdənək .lazy.
9 ṯ-ʾɔl kun bidi .lazy, ʾɔl yaʾmɨran ṭênu .lazy.
10 ṭ-ɔl kun ñɡəb yəśnɛ́k .lazy, ʾɔl yəs̃ʿiδənək .lazy.
11 ṭ-ɔl kun bídi .lazy, ʾɔl yaʿmɨn ṭɛ́nu .lazy.

Text 43 (no M): A Riddle

1 A: “her b-iyɛ́nkum tədlɔ́l ᵽé rihm, fəlɛ́kən ɔl yi ʃtəb ɔz ɔz ɔz?”
2 B: “dé yətiš?”
3 A: “ob.”
4 B: “dé yəstumš?”
5 A: “ob.”
6 B: “her aṽədəx kunət əḳɔ́dər l-əśnɛ́š?”
7 A: “ɛ̃hɛ̃.”
8 B: “əḳɔ́dər əl-ḥĩ (l)š mən mən泽 əl-мən泽?”
9 A: “ob.”
10 B: “ʾaḳ ƙɛ́lbi tékən ḡalṭún.”

Text 42b

10 húṭun: This word (a variant of hun; see §11.7) is in parentheses in the
Roman ms, but is not in the Arabic ms.

12 fəhmün: The Roman ms has fhum, which is not a Jibbali word. The
Arabic ms has fəhmün.

12 təɡlīn: In both mss, it appears that an original təklīn was corrected to
təɡlīn, the 2ms conditional of the G-Stem ṭəlɔ́b ‘refuse’.

Text 43

1 her: The exact function of her here is unclear, but the expression her
b-iyɛ́nkum is a fixed expression used to begin a riddle. The following
subjunctive verb (2mp tədlɔ́l 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.
2 **yī**: This is from the G-Stem verb *mī* ‘touch’ (root *myw*). *JL* (s.v. *myv*) give the 3ms imperfect *ímí* (= *yəmī*), but in the short word-list Johnstone made for this text, he listed the 3ms imperfect *d-ũ*. It is possible that *yī* here is better transcribed *yĩ*, but since I found no audio, I follow Johnstone here.
3 **ɔ́ṭəb**: 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 *yəṭɔ́b*. The meaning ‘udder’ was confirmed by informants.
4 **ʿaḳ ḳɛ́lbi**: In the Arabic ms, ʿaḳ ḳɛ́lbi is written ʾaḳɛ́lbi. Similar spellings of this phrase are found elsewhere in Ali’s texts. See also § 8.3.
Text 45 (no M): A Marriage

1 ḡeyg šənté bə-tét b-aġád tel īs. ʿōr, “her dḥa-l-ēʃfək tɔ, ‘ak l-ōʃfək tələk b-ēḍ-il-īn.”
2 ʿōr ī e-ttét, “mor, ḥay bek. hərɛ́g kə-tét, bə-hér ʿagiot bek, he dḥa-l-ēʃfəkək. se ɔl ġabgɔ́t lɔ, bə-hərɛ́g ʃəs.”
3 Groom: “he bek herɔ́gək ʃəs, bə-ʿõrɔ́t, ‘her ī ʿágəb, ɔl míni ʃe lɔ.’”
4 Father: “mor. īnē dḥa-təkɔlb?”
5 Groom: “əlhín ʿak, he dḥa-l-zəmk.”
6 Father: “mor. zəḥóm b-ēʃhɔ̀dək kərɛ́rɛ kɔlɛ́ni.”
7 Groom: “ēʃhɔ̀dī ber bun.”
8 Father: “mor. kɔlɛ́ni dḥa-nhɛrg kə-tét, bə-dḥa-nzɛ́mk təbkiẓɔ́t.”
9 (In the evening.)
10 Father: “ṣmɔ́e ʿhɔ́d! ēḍi-il-īn, he ēkî 1-ēʃfɔkəs ēḍi-il-īn?”
11 Bride: “het ēkîl.” tɔʾr ʃhələt enzəfɔ́r.
12 īs yəʾr her ʾeʃhɔ́d, “d-ōkɔlək šɛrà eḍi-il-īn yəmlɔk aġeyg ]){denu əbriṭī.”
13 b-aġád aģeyg e-ʃfɔk, ʃe b-ēʃhɔ̀dəs, yəl šɛrà. ed zəḥám tel šɛrà, ʿōr aģeyg e-ʃfɔk, “he ʃfɔkək bə-ʿak təbkiẓɔ́t.”

Text 43

13 dḥa-(t)šnē: The Roman ms has dḥa-(t)šnē ‘you will see', but the Arabic ms has dḥa-(t)šnē ‘you will believe'.

Text 45

10 enzəfɔ́r: See the comment to 40:13.
A: “Why?”
B: “You said it doesn’t reach the udder of a goat, but no one can carry it.”
A: “I am not mistaken. And if you don’t know, I will tell you, and you will see.”
B: “Ok, I don’t know.”
A: “Sure?”
B: “Sure.”
A: “Should I tell you?”
B: “Yes.”
A: “Ok, (it’s) a road. Do you truly see now?”

Translation of Text 45

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].”
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.”
Groom: “I already spoke with her, and she said, ‘If my father wants, I have no objection [lit. there is nothing from me].’”
Father: “Ok. What will you offer?”
Groom: “Whatever you want, I will give you.”
Father: “Ok. Come with your witnesses tomorrow evening.”
Groom: “My witnesses are already here.”
Father: “Ok. In the evening we will speak with the woman, and we will give you marital possession.”
(In the evening.)
Father: “Listen, witnesses! [To the girl:] So-and-so, am I authorized to marry so-and-so to you?”
Bride: “You are authorized.” She says this three times.
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.”
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.”
Judge: “šfɔ́ḳək əm-mún?”

Groom: “šfɔ́ḳək b-ɛðí-ilín.”

Judge: “hun eʃhódek?”

Groom: “iẓɛ́nu šum.”

yəʿõr śɛ́raʿ her eʃhód, “tₐʃhèd bₐ-dₐₕₜum dₐ-sé šfɔ́k b-ɛdi-ilɪn, bₐ-dₐ-ʃé, is bₐ-flö aɣₐs, əkₜ to l-ɛmlₜk e디-ilɪn bɛr e디-ilɪn?”

yəʿõr eʃhód dₐ-sé, tɛt, ikezₜt is yɛʃfakas, “b-ɪs ekelₜk hɛt l-ɛmlₜk aɣéyɡ dɛₜu.”  bₐ-hₜₐs e-ʃhèd eʃhód, yɛ́ɀïk śɛra’ aɣéyɡ e-šfₜk.

mₐn ḥaʃ emₗₜk śɛra’, taktiʃ, yæʃtùm kɛlìnt bₐ-yæbɡₜd yɔl sɛkɔn. b-aₐₜₜær dòkun yògah lₜₜ-tɛt, b-aₐₜₜær dòkun yækın eɡåhɡḥḥ.

bₐ-hér kunút ɡₜₜ₅ɡt, is yæsₜnун bₐ-yòkɔlɔn mₐn nxin eʃhód śɛra’ yɛmlₜk aɣéyɡ e-šfₜk, bëlɛ se ɔɀ sès şɛftò lɔ. Ṗɛn şe ʈæшиб ɛ-ʃfₜkæt. bₐ-tₜmₜmₜṭ."
Judge: “Whom did you marry?”

Groom: “So-and-so.”

Judge: “Where are your witnesses?”

Groom: “These are they.”

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?”

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.

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.

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 ɛgáḥgáḥ: This word, referring to the wedding night, literally means ‘entry’. It comes from the verb ɛgah ‘enter’ (root wgh), and the form is exactly parallel to Mehri kâbkēb (< wakūb ‘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. kbkb) 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 xaṭarɛ́t ḡabgɔ́t ṭah₂t, bo-‘āguğ bəs aḡág kel. b-īs ḗa-l-ṭīy, bér heš dha-yékən xis ‘uy₂n, b-ɔl xalɛ́f éléd lɔ ar aḡabgɔ́t Ɋikun.

2 bo-ʃəntɛ́ bəs ěr-dódɛ́s bə-ʃɛ́ guz₂t, “ɔl əʃʃɔ́k dé ar kɔl e-tʃɔ́b b-i.”

3 bo-yɔ́ ɗh-lɛ́etag īs ɔl b-er₂z dɔ́kuni lɔ. agdɛ́t d-ɔrx ɔɔ-wɔ́k ṇer rɛquine. b-ɔl dé yəʃənus yəgã́h halléthum lɔ.

4 ed yun Ɋit ʃəntɛ́ bəs ěr-dūds. őrɔ́t aḡabgɔ́t, “he ṭl əʃʃɔ́k ar aḡág. hɛt ṭl ɟeyg lɔ.” ʰɔ́r, “kɔ́h?” őrɔ́t, “ʃáxbɔr enuf.”

5 axarɛ́t mútrak egenbʊt ɔɔ-ʃisah mʊn ʃaf ɔɔ-gûzûm, “her ɔl kólôš hín lɔ, ar dха-l-ʃ(t)giš.”

6 őrɔ́t, “mor. her kunk ɟeyg, ɡad ʃaɊeb b-ešdûk. mgi̱re’, he dха-l-ʃesʃɔ́k.” őr ağaɊyg, “bass?” őrɔ́t, “bass.”

7 āgsarɛ́. ed k-Ɋàsaf, šed erkiiš b-aḡád. heš ṭɔrx ɔɔ-fɔ́k, b-ɔl hōl sélèb lɔ. ed kėrəb al-hallɛ́t, kɛ́la’ erkiiš b-eq̣ah hallɛ́t. şèrèk enûf mışêrd.

8 bɔ-tʃɔ́b yɔ mʊn but ed but. ɣɪzamɔ́š tûr, bɔ-yhîl tûr ‘ak ɡaʃɛ́tš. ɣəʃɛ́k mɛʃ yɔ.

9 skɔ́f ɔɔ-hallɛ́t Ɋûkun dха-yékən fɔ́k d-ɔrx. ed ‘aʃɔr Ɋat ẓhâm tel šxarɛ́t. Ɋarɛ́ des. axarɛ́t őrɔ́t, “e’ûzəɊak ben, ɊíɊerd, ɡad yɔɊ ũt e-kerd, ɣəzɛ́m Ɋi’ɛ́ bɔ-ʃlɔ́ yɔɊ(Ɋ)tɡɔ́k.”

---

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 xalɛ́f: JL (s.v. xlf) gives axlɛ́f for the H-Stem, but notes the EJ form xə́lɛ́f (here realized xə́lɛ́f).

2 ěr-dódɛ́s: 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., ᵁddi Ɋ ‘uncle’, ᵁddi ‘my uncles’). Interestingly, however, the compound ěr-dūd ‘cousin’ has the plural ěr-dûd, 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 did/dod, and similarly patterned Jibbali nouns, like nid/nud ‘water-skin’. Similar to did, we find dit ‘aunt’ (pl. dit), eš-dit ‘cousin (f.)’ (pl. eš-dodt).

2 əʃʃɔ́k: The Roman ms has just ʃfk here (and line 4), which does not make sense. This can only be a mistake for an Ši-Stem imperfect əʃʃɔ́k. Cf. also the certain appearance of the Ši-Stem in line 6.

3 yəʃənus: See the comment to 39a.
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 and 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 aššfɔ́k: See the comment to line 2. The Roman ms again has here šfɔ́k, but in this context, it must be an imperfect aššfɔ́k.

8 aġarzɔ́tš: 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 eʿúzarək: 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 īs̃érd: It is unclear if we have here the vocative particle ī or the definite article ī attached to this noun (see §12.3).
10 ʾór, “ʾl yəḵˈdɔ́r yó(l)tg tɔ lɔ.” ʾórɔ́t ʾesxarėt, “ʾl yəḵˈdɔ́r yó(l)tg kɔ? bɔ-šɛ ʾgəzɛ ɔrx τroh bə-lɛtɔ́q kɛ̄r bə-ɛkɛlt, ʾkəlˈɛ́r əh t.”


13 kəˈlɛ́ʃ ʾa ˈaɣarzʊš bə-aɣaɣ. ʾór, “a ʃɛ-muˈm tʊr ˈdɛnu kɛ̄r.” ʾórɔ́t ʾesxarɛ́t, “ɔl xer hek lɔ. dha-yo(l)tg kɔ.”

14 aɣaɣ aɣɛyɡ ed ʒəˈhʊm tel kɛ̄r, bə-aɣaɣ skəf. ʾxesxarɛ́t ʒəˈhʊk meʃ aɣaɣ bə-kɛ̄r, bə-ʾór kɛ̄r hər eɾˈsʊt, “əɾdɛš bə-ebəˈzɛm.” əɾdɛš eɾˈsʊt bə-ebəˈzɛm bə-ʃɛ yəˈk ˈbɛdə.”

15 əxəˈlək kel meʃ. ʾxesxarɛ́t ʾór aɣɛyɡ her kɛ̄r, “zə-ʃə fəˈkɔ́l ə-ʃɛfˈkɛš.” ʾór kɛ̄r, “xə! yəxəs len ekˈsɛtənt!”

16 bə-ˈtɛrdə́ʃ. bə-aɣaɣ ed kɛˈrɪb loˈhʊm. skəf ed yo ˈʃɛf. ʃiˈnɪ kɛ̄r ʃɛf kɛˈrɪb alˈhɛrʊm. ed ʃək həˈaˈaʃər ʒəˈhʊm aɣɛyɡ.

17 həˈl ˈɪnˈdɪk bəˈɛˈɡɛnˈbɪʃ. xʊt ˈɪnˈdɪk bə-laˈlidʊš bə-ˈʃɔkʊm. bə-ˈnˈaʃəbə aɣaɣ, bə-ɔl ˈeˈtal beʃ lɔ.

---

10 ʾkəlˈɛ́r ar: The exact function of ʾkəlˈɛ́r ar in the phrase ʾkəlˈɛ́r ar ˈḥet 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 ʾkəlˈɛ́r 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 yənˈhʊm: yənˈhʊm 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 bəˈdɛdə ‘they lied’ (also 48:19; TJ4:71).

14 ʾebəˈzɛm ‘date-stones’: This word is not in JL, but we find the singular ʾbəˈzʊt in ML (s.v. ‘l’ and on p. 512; the form ʾbəˈzʊt printed in ML under the root ‘l’ is obviously a typo for ʾbəˈzʊt), as well as in HL (s.v. ‘l’). Johnstone transcribed the first occurrence of bə-ebəˈzɛm incorrectly as ba-bəˈzɛm, though both occurrences are written the same in the Arabic ms. Miller and Morris (1988: 6) mention the word ʾbɪˈzəm, 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.
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?”

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.”

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.

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.”

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].

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!”

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.

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.
Text 47 (= M102, but variant): Conversations

1 A: “ágaŋ nəśéd, ţat k-érún, bə-ţat k-iyél, bə-ţat yəxétər. bə-túm nḳəl.”
2 B: “mkun he, ‘ak k-iyél.”
3 A: “mor, het k-iyél. bə-ḳbɛ́z ‘ak ʂa‘b dũnu, bə-əḥtɛ́dɔ́r b-iyél ɘl tənzá’an. b-iyə́tk berɔ́t dха-l-ɛ́škət.”
4 B: “ɘl təktɛ́lɔ́b ɘ.”
6 A: “bə-hé dха-l-xɛ́tər ーション yɛ́rɛ́b bə-dха-l-zhɒ́mkuŋ ƈərɛ́r kɔɬ’ɛ́nɛ́. b-înɛ́t təɡɛ́fəŋ ɬaxɗɛ́. b-ɛrςɔ́t yəkɔ́mən hɛ̃r tənzá’n. her zəḥám mən ɛ̃xṭɛ́r, (t)zhǐn ð-ˈɛ́lˈf.”
7 axarɛ́t ɛrςɔ́t ɭɔ́lɔ́b. ᵒr, “ɘl nəκɛ́núm ɘ, ar hér dха-(t)zhɔ́-tun bə-ɬəæmɛ́t.”
8 Wife: “mor, əstəhɔ́l. bə-dék ɘl tərkɔ́b l-aʿiźɔ́g. yəfɔ́rəd.”
9 A: “le’, dха-l-ɬərkɔ́b le.”
10 Wife: “ɘl xeɾ hek ɘ.”
11 A: “dха-l-ɬərkɔ́b le. dха-l-ɬərɔ́ŋ.“ axarɛ́t rékəb l-aʿiźɔ́g bə-fɛ́rɔ́d be, bə-ɲɪkəb. axarɛ́t ɭɛ́kət ɬɛ̃s tɪ́ʃ. ᵒr, “tob ar ɬərɔ́k!”
12 ‘ɘr, “ɛzβɔ́rɔ́ hɪɲɛ́. hes ɲɪkəb, ɬətɛɬ ɭɔ́l” ʹɬɭɛ́t, “kɔ hɛt dɔ́ɬək tɔ?”
13 ‘ɘr, “bass.” ɬɭɛ́t tɛ́t, “mor, ɬɛn li l-hɛ́s ɬ, ar b-ərʒɔ́bɛ́!”

Text 47

1 nəśéd: This is the 1cp subjunctive of the Š2-Stem ʂəd (root wdd; 3mp imperfect ɭəwɔ́sən, 3mp subjunctive ɭəwɔ́d). 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 ʂəd under the root sdy; this is surely a ghost form (and ghost root). First, an Š2-Stem of such a root would not have this form, though ʂəd could theoretically be an Š2-Stem of the root ʂw (compare the forms in §7.4.8). Second, Johnstone compared ʂəd with Mehri T2 ɭətəd, but the Mehri root hdy is cognate with the Jibbali root hdy. Mehri ɭətəd corresponds to Jibbali T2 ɭətədə. Moreover, two Š-Stems from the root hdy are listed in JL.
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’è* (root *d’v*). Cf. *šó’ak* ‘I ran’, from *ša’è* (root *š’v*). See further on this verb type in § 7.4.12.
14  b-ağadɔ́t tet (ð-)təḥiš ka'ās yɔl a'élés. axarét erźés ʃək ɗə-yát, ɓə-séd. ɓə-uxtɔ́r aģéyɡ, ɓə-ktér ɔl sēkənas. ɓə-tammút.

Text 48 (= M99 and Ḥ2, but a shorter variant): Fox and Friends

1  xaṭarêt b-eziũn énfi, kəb ɓə-kéžər ɓə-türín ɓ-iʃ'él ɓ-erxót bə-yəğréb xaṭɔ́r. ɓ-ağád ed éṣal mənən təṭ ber ɗə-tɛlf.
2  axarét ŏr hóhum ekéžər, “ɡəd ɓə-zhi-tun ɓə-'išé, ɓə-hé də-a-ł-όskəf bûn.” (ʃum) aģád.
3  mkun (mən) türín, aģadɔ́t ɓə-kəs ét gd màhmiš ɗə-rdíēs ɓə-hɔltš. ɓ-ağadɔ́t ɗɛr ġær, kəs ét màduńt ɓə-nəkštɛs. ɓə-kəs ét gəzəlɛ́t ɗə-gɪrɔ́b ɓə-hɔltš. mkun mən kəb, aģád ed 'aḳ sa'b. kəs tɛt k-ɛrún, ɓə-sèl les (kɛš) ɓə-derhés.
4  mkun mən ekéžər, tɛɾʃʃ leš bəšɔ́rtə, ɓə-fér ɗɛr ezéhɔ́r e-tït mənsɛ́n ɓə-kïʃfɔ́s. ed kəlɛ́n kətɔ́b kɔ-tït mən mukún. a'lek sït ɓə-sérɔ́f.
5  ɓə-dɑháš ɔ́zhum ɓə-sérɛ́ ʋəkɾút ɓə-ʒē tèhum. ɓə-əhtɔ́de tûrhum.

Text 47

14  (ð-)təḥiš: The prefix ɗ- 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  yağréb: See the comment to 33:7.
2  xaṭɔ́r: This is the EJ form of the verb. The CJ form (given in JL) is xoṭɔ́r, which Johnstone added in the margin of both Roman mss. In 21:1, Ali seems to use xoṭɔ́r, though the vowel of the first syllable on the audio is perhaps somewhere between o and a.
3  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 aģád, which can be 3ms, 3mp, or 3fp.
4  mkun (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.
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 *rdiëš*: 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 *hõlõts*: The Arabic ms and one Roman ms (the more careful one!) have *hõlõtš*, with a 3ms object suffix. This is a mistake, since the suffix must agree with the feminine *gəzəlɛ́t*.

3 *kɛ̃s*: 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 *næzōḡ* in the Ḥarsusi version (2:3). Johnstone later replaced *les* in his ms with *kɛ̃s* ‘from her’, which was apparently the preference of a later informant.

5 *śéré 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 *daḥāš*. 
6 Ṯr ṭrûn, “he aṯgmãdaḵ ḏa-ḵêtaḵ mûn ħîlûn e-tûr, bã-ʿûk aṭ-šîf. bã-ḥûṣ ebšã(l)kum, a-ʿôš to.” Ṯr hes, “mor.”
8 tê mûn te ṭrûn, am-mûn tûr ṭrûn, b-aḥṣé aʿaţsõ ḏ-b-ēbźêm ṭõk eḵârêrts. bɔ-šêф.
9 ed k-ḥâṣaf, Ṯrôt tûrûn, “iyênĩ hûṭûn? he ɔl têk sê lo mûnḥûnîm, b-ēbâhûk ḏa-ṭêlûf.”
11 Ṯrôt ìtʾël, “mor, ʒûd šbîţ ṭak egahrêr. bã-ḥêr ɔl xnutõ aʿaţsõ ḏ-b-ēbźêm mûn eḵârêrts lo, ăkîn he bêdê. b-aḥþ xnutõ tõhûm mûn šûts (eḵârêrts), țakîn hit ɔl ọtkaḍas lo, ʒa-ṭhâ-l-aḥzûs.”
12 aṭadûṭ tûrûn bã-šûṭtût, b-aṭ-xantõt aʿaţsõ b-ēbźêm mûn šûts. Ṯrôt ìtʾël, “sînkûm?”
13 aṭarêt sîhôs mûn ḥɔzzûn, b-aṭâd. aṭarêt Ṯrôt ìtʾël her tûrûn, “ḥêmîl tô ed têl ḥarôţ dûkûn (aʿérţ dûkûn), b-aḥ-hê mjôre′ ḏhâ-l-ḥû(l)l.”
14 Ḥôlôţ ed eṣal tel ḥarôţ. Ṯrôt ìtʾël, “d-ʾɔs ed ḥarôţ ešgarôt (aʿérţ ɛʃâgar”).

---

6 ħîlûn: This noun, the meaning of which is clear, is not in JL. It is a verbal noun of the G-Stem ḥôl ‘carry’ (root ḥml).
8 ḏ-bźêm: See the comment to 46:14.
11 šbîţ: The verb šît (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 šûts: In the Arabic ms, Ali added in the margin ‘or eḵârêrts’. These two mean roughly the same thing; šêt (JL, s.v. št) refers to the private area in general, while mûkârêrts (JL, s.v. krr) means ‘anus’. Earlier in the line, Ali had crossed out šûts and written aw (‘or’) eḵârêrts. In the Roman ms Johnstone included both variants for the second occurrence.
13 ḥɔzzûn: The Roman ms has ḥɔzéz here, which is probably a mistake. The form ḥɔzzûn in the Arabic ms matches the verbal noun given in JL (s.v. ḥzz); cf. also the verbal noun ħîlûn in line 6 (not listed in JL).
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.”

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 gave him her portion.

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.

Then in the morning, the hyena said, “Where is my portion? I didn’t eat anything last night, and I woke up hungry.”

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!”

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.”

The hyena went and defecated, and she expelled the bones and date-stones from her backside. The fox said, “Did you see?!”

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.”

She carried him until they reached the acacia tree. The fox said, “You still have until the next acacia.”

---

13 ḥarɔ́ẓ́: In the Roman ms, which Johnstone revised with the help of a CJ speaker (a unique feature of this text), he added the form aʻerẓ́ in the margin; he did likewise in line 14 (note that ḥarɔ́ẓ́ is feminine, while aʻerẓ́ is masculine). Neither form is in JL. In ML (s.v. hrẓ́), following the Mehri form ḥərōẓ́, Johnstone notes Ej ḥarɔ́ẓ́ and the absence of a CJ form. In HL (s.v. hrž́), Johnstone just listed Jibbali ḥarɔ́ẓ́, 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 ḥarɔ́ẓ́ as the Jibbali term (likewise Morris 2002: 57).
 capítulo quinze

15 ḥōlṓtš b-aḡád. ʿālī ᵇ-a’ālškum ẁḵ (l-)extiníthum yadslaf mān ṣūdūn ḏīnū e-ḏīk.”
16 ṧār ekēzər, “būdak, ṣalēkōn her kunk iyēnk, dalēf ḫnte.” délōf ʿīṭ ᵇ-ebrē’.
17 b-aḏōlf ekēzər b-ebrē’. b-aḏōlf ḳāb b-aṭēr ṣgdōlēš. b-ḏūr leš b-a-tēš.
18 b-aḡád ᵇ-ešōl ṣōt b-ḥār. ṧār ʿīṭ ᵇ-ebrē’ “l-b-ik ḥnte (kēzūm)
yadslaf mān ṣūn ᵇ-ak ᵇaghrér.”
19 ṧār ekēzər, “būdak, ṣalēkōn her kunk iyēnk, dalēf ḫnte.”
20 délōf ʿīṭ ᵇ-īti ᵇ-aghrér (ḏ-)sōr. b-ṣāl ᵇathon sé ᵇ- b-aḏōlf skēzər b-a-ṭēr kēlš ᵇ-e ḫaṣōš.
21 ṧār ᵇ-īṭ, “ḵārōb li b-ṭē ṣābh aʿānti. takān šōga’!”

Text 49 (= M89): A Naughty Boy and Sweet Potatoes

1 mkun xaṭarēt ţit ᵇ-axāfūn b-ḥādōr ḏōkūn ᵇ-e ᵇ-xargūn aģī. b-a-hē
mōktīzi. b-ʾrūn ᵇ-agyēg, b-ʾyô ᵇ-ḥ-ḥalīt lēn.

Text 48

15 ᵇ-ak (l-)extiníthum: The Arabic ms has ᵇ-ak axtunīthum, as does John-
stone’s original transcription. Johnstone later corrected this to l-axtunī-
thum (with l- in place of ᵇ-ak), which must have been the preference of
his later informant.
15 ᵇ-ḏīk: This is the realization of an underlying ᵇ-dīk.
16 délōf: In this text, we find both délōf and dōlōf for ‘he jumped’. The
variants seem to be confirmed by the Arabic ms, which has ᵇ-dōlōf for
dōlōf, but ᵇ-dōlōf for dōlōf. Below délōf in this line of the Roman ms,
Johnstone writes “or dōlōf”. Johnstone also added later corrections
elsewhere, based on his later informant, to indicate the CJ form ᵇ-dōlōf.
See also JL (s.v. ᵇlf and ᵇlf).
16 ᵇ-ebrē’: Johnstone listed this verb in JL under the root ᵇrw. I wonder if
it should instead be under ᵇr’, a root which elsewhere in Semitic has
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.”

The leopard said, “You lied, but if you are telling the truth, you jump first.” The fox jumped and was fine.

And the leopard jumped and was fine. And the wolf jumped and his feet broke. And they went back to him and ate him.

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.”

The leopard said, “You lied, but if you are telling the truth, you jump first.”

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).

He said to the fox, “Come up to me and eat the fat of my eyes. Be brave!”

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

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).

énfēt (kéžūm): 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 kéžūm ‘used to’ (see § 12.5.11).

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.

haššā: This word is not in JL, but it is listed in ML (s.v. ḥśś). The Mehri word is given the meaning ‘having all the bones smashed’.
2  bo-sēn šīṭār mēkən, b-i yōkīn k-ōsēt.
3  bo-hēr iṅēt fōlk šīṭār, osūr ās-e b-ahzēz šīṭār. axarēt iṅēt sīnī tō,
   bo-hēr ʿāgōb takʿān šīṭār, tīt mēnsēn ( COLORS ) sōkf ʿer dōf mōn tēl l-ōkōzōn li.
4  bek hišk sōṭēt šīṭār, tōh ē-nḥā bo-tāṭ ēdīdī.  
5  fōlēkōn ēmī  sūthumb šōṭār bo-šōṭārum ē-hēzūz, bo-šūm gūzūm, “Ol
    naẓītōt beš kēzūt.”  
6  axarēt kērē ‘ānī ēs-e, bo-iṅēt ol-ʿīd kéla’ tō al-gād yōl šīṭār lō.
7  ed yēm tīt ēgāhk ʿāk xādōr, akōs šōṭār tōh, ēskēl ēdīdī. bo-xonūkōk tāṭ
    mūnhūm.  
8  b-iṅēt sāʾ eṣgārēr ē-šōṭār bo-zhām. ṭōrēt ēdītī, “Ebrī, he  ᳗l šī ar šōṭār tōh,
   bo-kōi hēt fēyēt tāṭ?”  
9  bo-sē ( t ) ʾ ḥōk. ōk, “Ēdītī, ar ūlēk.” axarēt sōṭīt tō ēmī, bo-rṣōnūt tō
    ol-gondōt ēd kōlēnī.  
10  bo-guzūmōn ol-ʿīd ahzēz šīṭār zeyd, b-erxēt lī.  
11  bo-skōfōn. ed mōn ʿēr ekōt, xtor ī hāllēt bo-zhām tūn bo-fōndēl ēr
   nafnēk fōndēl. bo-nhā ekēzīn d-ʿīdōn ol naqērb fōndēl lō.  
12  bo-ʾōr hīnī ī, “Her ʾak hēt b-eṯōkt tāgōd ṭer umīh, dha-l-zēmkum fōndēl
    ḫas ē-zhūmkum.  
13  fōlēkōn dēk ol tōsbaṭ eṯōkt. hēr sōṭāk eṯōkt, ol dha-l-zēmk sē lō.” ōk,
   “Mor.”  
14  aḡādōn. axarēt ṭe ak eṯōti tīl tō ed ʿēr umīh. ōk, “Eṯōti, ḫomīl tō!”  
15  ṭōrēt, “Hēt bek sēb nāʿṣanu, b-ʾōl akōdōr ol-ḥī(l)k lō.”  
16  axarēt aḡādōk l-ʿəṣbētas. ṭōrēt hīnī, “Fōtnak sē?” ōk, “Īnē?”  
17  ṭōrēt, “Fṭun!” ōk he, “Fōndēl.” ʾōrēt, “ʾōr ḫek ī, ‘Her sōṭāk eṯōkt ol dha-l-
    zēmk sē lō.’”  
18  axarēt ʾōk, “Ol dha-l-aʾmēr ḫīs sē lō. b-ʾōl tūklaṭ ṭer i lō.” ṭōrēt, “Mor.”  
19  aḡādōn. ed ēṣalēn ṭer umīh, mēlēt lī bērīk mīh.  

3  takʿān: This is the 3fp subjunctive of the G-Stem kaʿē. In JL ( s.v. kʿw),
   the G-Stem is given the meaning ‘(kids) get out of the pen’, while
   the H-Stem eḵʿē 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 kαʿē (with the
   G-stem 3ms imperfect/subjunctive form yakoʿā) with the meaning ‘let
   kids out’. ML ( s.v. flḵ) records both EJ kʿē (presumably a G-Stem) and
   CJ eḵʿē (H-Stem), corresponding in meaning to the Mehri G-Stem fəlūk
   ‘let kids out of the pen’ (the 3ms perfect form fālēk in ML is a typo).
And we had a lot of (goat) kids, and my father was with the livestock.
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.
I had already killed three kids, two of ours and one of my uncle's.
But my mother gave them a kid for their kid that was slaughtered, and they swore, "We won't take compensation for it."
Then they hid my father's razor from me, and the women didn't let me go by the kids anymore.
Then one day, I went into the cave and found two kids, twins of my uncle. And I strangled one of them.
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?"
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.
And I swore I would not slaughter kids anymore, and she let me go.
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.
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.
But be sure not to hit your sister. If you hit your sister, I won't give you anything." I said, "Ok."
We went. Then I wanted my sister to carry me up to the water. I said, "Sister, carry me!"
She said, "You're big now already, and I can't carry you."
Then I went to hit her. She said to me, "Do you remember something?" I said, "What?"
She said, "Remember!" I said, "Sweet potatoes." She said, "Father said to you, 'If you hit your sister, I won't give you anything.'
Then I said, "I won't do [lit. say] anything to you. And don't tell father." She said, "Ok."
We went. Then when we reached the water, she filled a jug with water for me.

\textit{dha-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 ḏə-ʻórɔ́t híní, “ḥomél bə-dḥa-l-a’mér her i ‘áli axér ar ėrs’ót kel.”
23 ʻóròt, “i ɗə-yódd bék. ģágb bek təgâd òr emûh.”
24 hes ˈəə’k tɔs hergôt ˈtʃkûn, rûdâk b-erīk d-ˈámkâš emûh, bə-ŋòk dəf.
25 aqâdk l-érîd ĕg’òti. axarèt əqàarròt b-eb’he yo.
26 bə-ţhòt émî bə-šîtò tɔ, bə-ngámek man ɗûrum. ʻōr híní i, “nûkâ’ al-yôh, dha-l-zëmëk fândél.”
27 ʻök, “al’ ak bësan b. dha-l-ɡâd yol xélî.” b-aqâdk yol xélî. šum kérìb len.
29 axarèt ʻōr xèzî, “mor, ĕr-ɡáti, nûkâ.” skòf t el tel xèzî.
30 ed kôl’ëni, kêtè èrûn bə-’é̄s xèzî bə-héz ɔz.
33 ʔəsɔt ęsòt bə-yɔsɔt ęg’òt.” ʻōr xèzî, “bèlé!”
34 axarèt əzù tɔ yat bə-l-ɡâd sès. ʻōr xèzî, “ko tûm kélà’kum tɔ ʃ ṣ yaqâd baḥsèš amšùn?”

31 xiźfèt: See the comment to 39:8.
32 al-sîëš (sèrëš): The Arabic ms has al-sîëš ‘because of him’, which is parallel to the phrase aw-sabêbah used in the Mehri version of this text. The Roman ms has sîrëš (which I have altered to sèrëš), from the preposition sér, with al-sîëš in the margin in parentheses. It is possible that ser (which has the basic meaning ‘behind, after’) may be the more native idiom, while al-sîëš 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 sèrëš in the Roman ms is simply an error, since the Arabic ms has only al-sîëš.
34 bə-l-ɡâd: 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 ms confirm this form, and Johnstone himself glossed the phrase as ‘for me to go’ in the Roman ms.
And she said to me, “Carry (this) and I will say to father, ‘Ali is better than all the (other) boys.’”

I carried the jug and was excited about the sweet potatoes. I still had not seen them.

Then when we got close to the settlement, I said to my sister, “Do you remember something?” She said, “No.” I said, “Sweet potatoes.”

She said, “Father was lying to you. He wanted you to go to the water.”

When I heard her talk like this, I threw the jug that had the water in it, and I picked up a rock.

I went to pelt my sister. Then she shrieked and people came to help.

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.”

I said, “I don’t want them. I am going to my uncles.” And I went to my uncles. They were close to us.

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.”

Then my uncle said, “Ok, nephew, come.” I stayed with my uncle.

Then in the evening, the goats came home, and my uncle got up and slaughtered a goat.

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.

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.

He hits the boys and he hits his sister.” My uncle said, “Even so!”

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?”

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 kósì: This word is not in JL, but ML (s.v. ksv) 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 *ś (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. xaṭarɛ́t ð-axáfən bə-xádər, b-émi takún əmbérɛ́. ed yum  tüt ʿorít híni, “het skef tel ağǝk.
5. axarɛ́t ortəg erşət, bə-ˈor, “ágən nagáhš embére’ əl-ˈɔ́d yafšt.” bə-zḥám ʿágəb yəḥmól embére’.
7. axarɛ́t ḥøk tɔʃ ðèr sɔ̄i, b-ağádk ɗed ðér ɛkiṣɛ́t ɛ-xádər, bə-k’órk lóhum bə-fədnín. b-erşət égaḥ ʿaḳ xádər bə-htɔ́f, b-ɛmbérɛ́ ˈak fídɛ́t ɛd ð̣ér dɔf eb ʿaḳ s̃ũm.
8. axarɛ́t ḥøk tɔʃ ðèr sɔ̄i, b-ağádk ed ɗer ekisèt e-xádər, bə-k’órk lóhum bə-fədnín. b-erşət ęgah ʿak xádər bə-htáf, b-embére’ də-yök ber dḥa-yfıt. axarɛ́t geyg də-yəbğód bə-nìm tɔ. xənútʃk əmbérɛ́ mən ʿaḳ fidet ed ɗer sədi.
10. axarɛ́t geyg də-yəbğód bə-xádər, bə-xárɔ́g ðə-təmmút.

---

2. də-şefs: The prefix də- is crossed out in the Roman ms for some reason.
3. ěr-dódí: See the comment to 46:2.
4. ɣalɔ́tağ: The Arabic ms has only ɣalɔ́tağ, while the Roman ms has də-ɣalɔ́tağ. I found no audio for this text. We would not expect the particle d- here, if it is a general present tense (see § 7.1.10.1).
9. dḥa-l-lḥɔ́ḳ: 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, 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.”
2 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.
3 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].”
4 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.
5 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.
6 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)?”
7 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!”
8 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.
9 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.
10 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. *xaṭarɛ́t ḷ-axáfən b-o-xádər b-ɛshɛ́hr, b-ɛ́mí təkún əmbɛ́re’.* *axarɛ́t əmbɛ́re’* ɡɛ̀le.

2. *b-ɛ́rún meqɛ̀tɛ, b-ɔl ʃɛn nũsəb lɔ. ʃɛn ɡɪt, b-ɔ-hɛ̀ a’agɔ́ b-ɔ b-ɛ̀nũsəb.* falɛ̀kən ɛrún ɔl bɛsɔ́n nũsəb lɔ, ar ɛr əmbɛ́re’ dɔɣ-yɛ̀kɛ̀ne’.

3. *b-ɔ-hɛ́r ɛmì ɔrɛ̀t hini ‘ənká’ tũn b-enũsəb aɡák’, əbɡɔ́d b-əɔxɔ́f meʃ mɔn tɛ́l ɛmì ɔl ɬ(t)ʃùn tɔ lɔ, b-ənũsɡh.*

4. *axarɛ́t tɔ́’ám əmbɛ́re’, b-ɔ-hɛ̀ ‘ak bêʃ yafɔ́ t-əɡɛ̀rɛ l-əɔxɔ́f enũsəbɔ̀ṣ.*

5. *ed yuṁ ɭt kahɛ̀bən ɗer xádɔ̀r mɔn dɛ́ nxùn sɛ́ʃt. ed kiriɔ́t yuṁ tɔ̄gǐd, ɭsɔ̀n ɭgɔ̀n nɔɡəd yɔl xádɔ̀r, hɛ̀ b-ɔ-a’ɛ́lì.*

6. *axarɛ́t xarɔ́g əmbɛ́re’, b-ɔskɔ́fɛ̀t ɛmì. ɔrɛ̀t her i, “əmbɛ́re’ xarɔ́g, ɛ̀fke li bɔ-xarkɛ̀t.”*

7. *axarɛ́t i ɛgnín ɗer əmbɛ́re’ ə-bɛ̀kɛ̀. i ɣaɡʒùn mɔn ɛkɛ́zùn. axarɛ́t ʃɪnk i ᵃ-ɭyòk. aɡədɪk mɔn sɛrɛ̀ʃ ɛd dɔhɛ̀f tɔ̄ ɭhɪn ʃi mɔn ɦus.*

8. *’ɔk, “ɛbɛ́rɛ̀k xarɔ́g b-ɔ-hɛ́t (t)əɛ́dɔ̀f.”* *axarɛ́t’ eʃ b-ɔ-sɛ́fə’ tɔ zifɛ́t ɭt rут ed ɭt k-lɛ̀rɛ̀s.*

9. *b-ɔ-hɔ́l xɔtɛ̀rɔ́k b-əgəd yɪʃɔ́bɔ̀t tɔ. axarɛ́t ɛmì ɛbkɔ́’ʃt əmbɛ́re’ ɗ-ɔ-xarɔ́g b-ɔ-zɛ̄tɔ́t ɭi.*

10. *ɔrɛ̀t, “nɔ̀ ɭl sùlmən ar dɛ̀n u. ɭk tɔ́(l)̄tɭɔ̀s?” b-ɔddɛ̀lɔ́t hini. b-aɡàdɔ̀n, i hɔ́l əmbɛ́re’ ɗ-ɔ-xarɔ́g b-ɛ̀mì hɔ́lɔ́t tɔ, ed kɛ̀rɛ̀n ɭl-xádɔ̀r.*

---

3. *b-enũsəb aɡák:* The Roman ms has *b-enũsəb her aɡaκ ‘(bring us) milk for your brother’, while the Arabic ms and audio have just *b-enũsəb aɡaκ ‘(bring us) your brother’s milk’.*

3. *ənũsɡh:* This is an H-Stem of the root *nšḥ*. In JL, the imperfect is given as *yənũşhən*, a D/L-Stem form. The imperfect form in this text (ənũsɡh) is clearly an H-Stem (see § 7.4.11), and Johnstone listed the 3ms imperfect form *yənũsh* 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. *nšḥ*).

5. *mɔn dɛ́:* Below the words *xádɔ̀r mɔn dɛ́* in the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss ‘above the cave’. The phrase *mɔn dɛ́*, used here and in line 11 (both times in combination with the preposition *ɗer ‘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 ḥādē ‘up; above’ that appears in JL (s.v. ḥðʾ). The word ḏé also occurs in Müller's texts (Bittner 1916b: 56). See also the comment to TJ4:85.

5 sġɔ́t: 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 sġót; other sources have confirmed Johnstone's transcription with s. The English name for this tree is 'Dhofari buttontree'.

Chapter Fifteen

11 bə-súnən ǧag að-skəf b-érūn ḍer ekišét mən ḍe tək’ōr lēn az bə-dōf, bə-zhám ekētārən he b-ēmī.
12 axarēt ēmī žētšt tɔ mən a’iẓəd bə-rḏ da’t bi yəl aḡāg. bə-skaləl tɔ d-’ək əl ītk b-égədərēt.
13 b-ədōf’ītšt ḍer eḏəl ūmī, bə-fəkɤtš ʃūʃh. məq’re’ i kəlšt her əy bə-hlūn ṣerıkək l-agēre yə yažhēk. bə-hēr i séf tel ēmī, axōr leš. əl ’ək ēmī (t)dənē bə.
14 axarēt xtɔr i hālēt. bə-zhám tun bə-gunêt ʒəfələt, hīt, bə-hīt ’əfiɾētē.
15 ed yun ūt ēmī kunūt k-érūn, b-i kun k-iyēl, bə-hē b-əɡōtə kəhēbən bə-xādər. bə-’ōrt hēn ēmī, “kəl’eni əsəbax her ērūn bə-’əfiɾōt.”
16 a’anēs her hāši ’ʃfər, ed kəl’eni ’ōršt eɡōtē, “’agən nəhēfər hāši ’ʃfər her nēsəbax bə-xādər.”

---

13 šərıkək: Both mss have šərıkək, but the audio has ʃərıkək (twice, actually, since Ali stumbled and repeated the word). We find ʃərıkək also in 42:11 (with no audio to confirm), but šərıkək elsewhere in the texts (e.g., 11). See also the comment to 86:5.

13 aģər: This clearly means something like ‘prevented’ or ‘got in the way of’. It must be a D/L-Stem (3ms perfect) of the root ɣwr. Though the form is not in JL, ML (s.v. ɣwr) does list a Mehri D/L-Stem of this root, meaning ‘distract’.

14 ʃəfələt: Johnstone translated this word in JL (s.v. ʃf̣) as ‘Dhofari (red) dhurah’. This seems to be a kind of sorghum. Note that word literally means just ‘Dhofari’ (cf. ʃf̣l ʿDhofar’). The following word hīt must be appositional here; if ʃəfələt were modifying hīt then it would follow.

15 əsəbax: 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 s instead of ʃ in the Roman ms and in the accompanying word-list. The simple ʃ used in the Arabic ms is correct, as shown by the Arabic cognate (səbbaxa ‘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 (ʃəx, iʃəx, yəsəbax), though in this text
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.

Then my mother grabbed me by the arm and threw me to the men. And they caught me before I fell onto the ground.

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.

Then my father went down to the town. He brought us a sack of Dhofari durra grain, and the grains were red.

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.”

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.”

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!”

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 yoṣbax 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’.

néṣba: The Roman ms has nósba, likewise dha-nósba in lines 17 and 18. However, the H-Stem 1cp subjunctive must be néṣba. The audio and Arabic ms confirm this correction.

yosɔx: In JL (s.v. sbx), Johnstone gives the imperfect as ysɔxn, 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, yosɔx, is the expected H-Stem imperfect (cf. the forms of esbāh in § 7.4.9).
Text 52 (no M): A Doctor’s Visit

1. ’ak halél mensén, her dé géle, yəbğɔ́d yótłəb musá’adət e-təxtór, b-ɔl yézəm śé lɔ. fəlɛ́kən ’ak ɛyɛ̄m ɛ́nfóti, kɔl ṭaṭ yézəm təxtór bə-xədmɛ́tš.

2. xaṭarɛ́t ġeyg yəśũm kətbín, b-ɔl yə́qə́b yəzɛ́m śé lɔ her kɔl śé. yum ʈit kéla’ səndīk eb yahə́ ɖer xafš.


4. mɡɔ́rɛ́ dḥa-l-əkləṯ heš bə-xáfi. her aģádək l-əśnɛ́š, lɛ́zəm dḥa-l-zəms.”

5. yum xiźfét təxtór zəḥám ’aḳ edəkkún, bə-sətɛ́m xɛ́rín kətbín. hes aģéyg də-yəsũm ber eghízəhum, kɔlət heš bə-xáfš.

Text 51

20 ʰkum: This is presumably a G-Stem, but the meaning does not fit with any of the definitions listed in JL (s.v. ʰkm). JL does list a D/L-Stem ʰókum ‘make others do s.t.’ and a T1-Stem ʰòtkəm ‘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 ʰkūm ‘force’ (HV, p. 148), while Mehri has an H-Stem ʰkūm ‘nag’ (ML, s.v. ʰkm).

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. Then I will tell him about my foot. If I go to see him, I will have to give him (something).”

4 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 musāʿadät: This is Arabic musāʿadat- ‘help, aid’.
2 yézám: 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 TJ2:31.
3 xiżfét: See the comment to 39:8.
4 ɛghízɔ́hum: 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’. 
Text 53 (no M): A Wounded Uncle’s Visit and a Bout with Smallpox

1. mkun xaṭarɛ́t ɛdidi aġád ðə-yxéṭər. axarɛ́t hógúm leš ḡag axsómén, ba-soṭbət še ba-šúm, əb-béš əhirt mɛ́kən.
2. bə-zḥám tun. nha ḍ-axáfən ʿaḳ śaʿb. axarɛ́t ī ḥez ɔz ṯrut bə-ʿaginésən her aģáš. b-ɛgiatan beš gódərí bə-ḍə-hazələn tɔš ṣahṣéš.

Text 52

6/7 ɛ-ʿiṣór: Johnstone omits the relative ɛ- 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 ɛ- and the Arabic transcription used by Ali Musallam, it seems secure to transcribe ɛ- in both passages. Johnstone also gives the example aʿdéd ɛʿíṣór in JL (s.v. ‘dd). For more on l-āded ɛ-, see § 5.5.5.

7. xafk: The Arabic ms and the audio have just xaft ‘the foot’, while the Roman ms has xaft ‘your foot’. Either fits the context.

8. giní: This word (< Arabic ginih or ginēh < English guinea) is not listed in JL. The plural occurs in TJ4:7.
The doctor looked at it. He said, “Yes. You have to put that foot in hot water every night.

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.”

The salesman said, “Thank you! And now here are your books.” “How much?” said the doctor. He said, “Two guineas.”

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.

If people come to my house, I ask them to give one guinea for something simple like that.

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

Now once my uncle went traveling. Then some men, our enemies, attacked him, and he and they fought. He had many wounds.

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.

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).

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

śahēras: 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)’. 
11. axarēt skōjk. hes ūnk tās ağađīk her yāḏīl, ağađēd edʾak ēnzēlī. šōzēkēd ed zōḥām. axarēt sōt tū. ʾōr, “ḥet dḥa-(t)ṣēhle.”

---

5. ʾtēb: JL (s.v. ʾṭb) 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. ḡōṣ: Johnstone glossed ḡōṣ as ‘cover face’ in the Roman ms, but the verb is not in JL. This is possibly a mistake for ḡōṣ ‘disappear behind’ (JL, s.v. ḡms; used in 60:14) or kōṣ ‘curl up (from cold)’ (JL, s.v. kmṣ), both of which could fit the context, though both mss and the audio attest to the final ŕ, and the audio confirms the initial ʾ. The Arabic ms actually has قوص kōṣ though, in fact, the consonant ḡ is often written with ََ in the Arabic mss (see the comments to 17:10 and 60:25). A third possibility is that this should be ḡōṣ ‘wink; close (the eyes)’ (note the meaning of the Arabic cognate ʾgamaḍa ‘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, ḡōṣ is either an otherwise unknown verb or an error.
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.

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.”

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.”

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.

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.

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!”

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.”

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-ɛṭḳáʾ*: The Roman ms has *etkāʾ* here, and the Arabic ms has *ʔadqāʾ* (*b-ɛdkāʾ*). The root has final ‘ (see *JL*, s.v. *tk*), but ‘ is often weakened to ‘ 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 *šəẓkék*: According to *JL* (s.v. *lky*) the Š1-Stem is *šelké*. The form here with *z* is just a variant.
Text 54 (= M42, but variant; see also Johnstone 1978): Bu Zid al-Hilali

1. xaṭarɛ́t ɡeyg b-ɛ́mɛ́š ɡ-ixél bāhšōhum. b-ɔl šēši dé lɔ, ma’azyēte.
2. b-ɛmbēre’ ħārɛd bə-xʃif. yəlf ɛnuf, bə-yaköl ɔl dé ɔl-hès še lɔ. yərōd bə-xʃōrōkš bə-yuši’ ed yasēkklaš.
5. bə-skɔ́f. ed ‘āṣər tət, śini yɔ ekbēl lōhun. ed zəhām, séfhum bet bu ˈzid al-halāli. ˈɔr hōhum embēre’, “tum bet mən?”
9. axarɛ́t ˈɔr heš aɡāɡ, “her ˈak taχētər sən, shɔl iyənk, bə-flō ɔl tʃəlɔk ˈʃən lɔ.” ˈɔr aɡēyg, “ɔl akɔdər lɔ. ˈdənə iyən yəsənǔd tən ərx.”
11. ˈɔr, “ábdan. ˈak sōkum.” axarɛ́t kəlāˈʃ yəɡād sōhum.

---

2. yşiː: This is the form in both mss and on the audio. The Roman ms has yši in the margin, which is also the form of the imperfect found in JL (s.v. ʃy). Both of these forms were used by different informants of mine. See further in § 7.4.12 and the comment to 35:6.

8. hōdēs: 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 htōdēs; 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. tɔrtən tel: The Arabic ms and audio have tɔrtən tel. The Roman ms has tɔrtən her, along with the gloss ‘wait’. JL (s.v. ryn) defines this T2-Stem only as ‘wait (her)’ for s.o.’. The phrase with tel 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  "śed l-iršāhum b-aġād. ʿor heš bu zīd ẓal-halāli, "šma'! her ẓal shek iyēnk lō, dha-l-ṣ(l)ṭjāk." ʿor, "mor."
13  mān tēl aḏsārē, yāḥzīz hōhum yō yət. b-aḏēyg, her šē, yəḏōfān ōkēt.
14  ed ʿāṣōr tāṭ, keb (ʿak) ūa-b kōlēni bō-kšē ḡabqōt dō-rṣūnūt, bō-tōlōs mahfēr dō-xōbz.
15  axārēt śxābīrs aḡāg, ʿor, "kō hit būn?"
16  ʿōrōt, "būn gannī ʿak šaʿb dīnu, bō-kōl ʿāṣōr yəašīn ḡabqōt bō-mahfēr dō-xōbz, bō-flō yəḥēsār ḥallēt.
17  ber tōmīm aģīgēnitī dō-hallēt kel, d-ʿak he ẓal-ēnī aʿīsēš. bō-tūm ʿfōlōt b-enfēš." 
18  axārēt aḡāg nāṭōr l-aḡabqōt bō-tē xōbz. ʿōrōt aḡabqōt, "axēr hōkum l-ʿfōlat. egōnnī dha-yōzhōm."
19  ʿōr aḡāg, "ōl tafrik lō." axārēt niṭ ebrē e-tēt, bō-fēkē leš, bō-šāzēkē.
20  axārēt ʿor hōhum bu zīd, "nḥa šōtēt ḡag. tāṭ ūnēfēt aʿāsōr, bō-tāṭ aʿəmēk aʿāsōr, bō-tāṭ āxōr aʿəsēr."
21  ʿor tāṭ manhūm, "he ʿak ūnēfēt aʿəsēr." bō-tāṭ ʿor, "he ʿak aʿəmēk aʿəsēr." bu zīd āxōr aʿəsēr.
22  axārēt tē egōnnī bō-ʿōr, "hun aʿīsēi?"
23  ʿōr tāṭ mān aḡāg, "aʿīsēk boh. ftaḥ xōk bō-ḡmēz aʿāntēk!"
24  fētōh xōk bō-gōż aʿāntēs. b-ebkāʾ ḡanzāfīt ṭūt, tīt ʿak šēdkōš dēn, bō-tīt ʿak šēdkōš dēn.
25  b-ebkāʾ egūs mān munūsən bō-skōf. bō-ʿōr heš, "ḥaṣ e-shēk dēnu, nēzmēk aʿīsēk."

---

14  ʿak: This preposition is on the audio only; it is not in either ms.
17  ʿfōlōt: This is an H-Stem mp imperative, clearly meaning 'save' in this context, though JL (s.v. flt) 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  šāzēkē: See the comment to 53:11.
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.” Wherever they spent the night, people would slaughter a camel for them. And the man, if he was full, he would bury the leftovers. 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. Then the men asked her, they said, “Why are you here?” 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. He has already used up all the girls of the town, and I am left for his dinner tonight. And you, save yourselves!” 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.” The men said, “Don’t be afraid.” Then the (earlier) woman’s son was trembling, and they covered him, and he laid down. 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.” 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. Then the jinn came and said, “Where is my dinner?” One of the men said, “Your dinner is here. Open your mouth and close your eyes!” 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. 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.”

\textit{gənzaf́t}: This word is not in \textit{JL}, but is in \textit{ML} (s.v. \textit{gnzf}), where it is glossed as ‘large branch, tree trunk’. According to \textit{ML}, the Jibbali equivalent is \textit{gandet}. The word \textit{gandet} also exists in Mehri (meaning ‘tree trunk’; see \textit{ML}, s.v. \textit{gnd}), and, in fact, is the word used in the Mehri version of this story (M42:28). So it is unclear if \textit{ganzaf́t} in this story is a Mehrism or native Jibbali word.
26 aġsørè ḏỳ-yängɔla' īźís. ed [tim] sélțét a'āşør, 'ôr, "dênư ɔl a'ïšéi lɔ. zû-tɔ a'ïšèî!"
27 bôt-xélf'leš ṭat, bôt-šé ñéyng rohîm, ta'mûranš eréît. bôt-féké mərébkə' b-ehbèb. bôt-hér ʃï(n) yaxânut mərkâ'.
28 axarêt zağ egənnî k-héb. ed tim sélțét a'āşør, 'ôr, "dênư ɔl a'ïšéi lɔ. zû-tɔ a'ïšèî!"
29 axarêt xonît ñRéBɔ' aýyeg, bôt-hâš étkâ' déš egənnî, ɡəhér. ɔl-'ðô ēbsèr lɔ.
30 bô-zhâm bu ẓīd. 'ôr heš, "her 'ak b-a'ïšék, məd ëgôték." mid ëgôtês, bô-lidôš ed endér eréês. bô-ðhôt ʃá'b ɗôhr.
31 bô-ḥôl eréš egənnî b-ağaBgɔt yol ḥalléît. b-eBgâh ağaBgɔt 'ak ùts.
32 b-eBkd' eréš 'ak rêkəb e-ʉt mən tém dé ɔl yəkôdɔr yolhôm lɔ. bô-[l]hâm ed kēla' izût 'ak a'âmk e-ḥéšən.
33 b-edûr yol ağaB əd-šèš. ed k-hâsas ësbhôt ağaBgɔt 'ak ënæsëls, b-ësbâh eréš ʃer hësən. bô-ṣâ'b tadhôb ɗôhr.
34 'ôr yo, "îné ʃénu? mun e-şıérëk ʃénu? mun e-lëtôg egənnî?" ʃxôbèr ağaBgɔt.
35 'ôrôt, "ɔl èɗ ak lɔ. kôl e-lọtjôs dха-yaIlhôm tel eréś."
36 axarêt 'ôr hôkum, "kôl e-lëtôg egənnî, dха-l-ëʃfôkəs ebritî mən ˈûr ñë. bôt-dха-l-ëklôs b-ahkît."

---

26 īźís: 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 émlî '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 zağ: This is glossed as 'relaxed' in the Roman ms. I did not find this verb in JL. It is probably derived from Arabic zağa 'turn aside, deviate' (root zwg), 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 étkâ': This word is spelled with a d, rather than t in both mss. See the comment to 53:6. Unlike in 53:6, the Roman ms has a final ˈ in 54:29.
32 rêkəb: 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 rêkəb. The glottalic k is attested
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!”

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.

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!”

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.

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.

And he took the jinn’s head and the girl to the town. And he put the girl in her house.

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.

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.

The people said, “What is this? Who did this? Who killed the jinn?” They asked the girl.

She said, “I don’t know. Whoever did this will (be able to) jump up to the head.”

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.”

de ɔl yəḳɔ́dər yəlḥôm: This word order (following the mss) is unusual and probably incorrect; we would expect ɔl dé yəḳɔ́dər yəlḥôm ‘no one could (jump up and) touch’. Ali stumbled on the audio here, first reading just əlyəḳɔ́dəryəlḥôm ə, and then reading əlyəḳɔ́dər dé yəlḥôm ə.
Text 55 (= M93, from which it was translated): Healing a Sick Man


3. ʿõr, “yəx! ɛs̀bɔ́b (l) ləḥám lo. yəlḥōm dōkūn?” ʿõr, “amér heš!”

4. ʿõr, “he əlɔ́ṭəm axét-hés.” axarɛ́t s̃xabírə́š aģéyg ḍə-nfɔ́ś, ʿõr, "təlɔ́ṭməś b-ìnɛ́?" ʿõr, "əlɔ́ṭməś bə-ʿārfét bə-flɔ́ bə-rɔ̄t.”


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. ʾxy) 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.  ltm) 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.
540 CHAPTER FIFTEEN

4 aġsəré. ed man ð̣ér eṣələt aʿišə, zəḥám aģényg ðə-yələtəm axé̌t-hés, bə-ʿák idš ʿərfət.
5 bə-xtəl aģę̌yg ðə-bəš axé̌t-hés bə-šə ɗə-ʃəfəl. ed lətiš bə-ʿərfət. b-aģę̌yg ðə-ʈə ðə-yəštən lóhun.
6 yəʾər aģę̌yg ðə-yələtəm, “ðə-łtúmk təš, axé̌t-hés. si biš ser. hit ʒeyg, he ʒeyg. bə-hıt tet, he tət. hit əŋış, he əŋısı, hit ʔəhirt, he ʔəhirt.”

Text 57 (= M90, from which it was translated): A Mother’s Advice

1 Mother: “ʔəlá’ aʿazúm ʔəzénu. éfët Գərm ʃəbr ʈaṭ.”
2 Boy: “əl éd’ak əl-hún l-éblɛ lɔ.”
3 M: “əntégaḥ, əl tékən ɗahís lɔ.”
4 B: “mor, ʔéfə hənì.”
5 M: “her ʔək tə l-éfët hek, ken əlhélɛ ʃə-əʃətk.”
6 B: “dənu əl ʃə ʃəbr ɾaḥiṃ lɔ.”
7 M: “tob ar málζɛt əmbɛrɛ’ ɖənu. mor, ar ʔɪné’ ək (t)ʃərk? ʔək ʔəʃətlɛl? əl dé ʃənufa’k lɔ ar əʃətk. yəʃe ᱠɛk ʔək ʔəɡhək, məɡɔɛ’ ʃəɾɡɨmk. yəʾər, ʃɪnkum ebrɛ ɛt ɛdɪ-lɨn?”
8 B: “lóhun ʔɪné’ ʔɪnì? wəlɔ hər ʈa’mɛɾnɛm xɨʃɪk.”

Text 55

7 yəhá’: For the D/L-Stem perfect hōi (root ḥwy), JL lists an H-Stem 3ms subjunctive yăhbɛ, reflecting a mixing of the two stems (see § 7.4.8). The form yəhá’ appears to be the true D/L-Stem subjunctive. Also note that JL (s.v. ḥwy) also lists an H-stem perfect aḥbé, but ML (s.v. ḥwy) lists CJ aḥbɛ’ and EJ ḥyé’, while HL (s.v. ḥwy), without specifying dialects, lists Jibbali ḥbé and ḥyé’.

Text 57

1 aʿazúm: 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 āžəwm (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.”
9 M: “xalák lek tšën tɔ.”
10 B: “mor, bahir bi.”
11 M: “mor, ebúrne ébrí, sën tɔ.”
12 B: “hes ber bahérš bi, dha-l-sënš.”
13 M: “al-frāḥ b-ebríl”
14 B: “imé ‘ágiš to al-šérk?”

Text 60 (= M94, from which it was translated): A Wife and a Mother-in-Law in Enemy Territory

1 xạṭaré tøyg aḡád man érţəš, ’aḡb her erţ ťat dø-ʃføk b-erţ dɔ́kũn. b-erţ dɔ́kũn beš aξ̣̌šømëş. b-agád ed nʃɔs tel sékən e-túš. aḡsə́rø.

Text 57

9 xaláč: Johnstone glossed this word as ‘I hope’ in the Roman ms, and in his vocabulary notes he listed the principal parts xalá/yxɔ́lɛ/yaxləʾ. I did not find this verb in JL, though it looks similar in form to the H-Stem of xļw/y or xł’. One informant gave 3ms perf. xalá’, 3ms imperfect yaxlə’, 3mp imperf. yaxëlə’, suggesting an H-Stem of the root xł’. 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 həlɛ̄k, which is also enigmatic.

9 tšën: This is an Š1-Stem 2ms subjunctive from the root ‘mn. The meaning here is ‘fall in with someone’s wishes, listen to, obey’, a meaning attested for the Mehri, Ḥarsusi, and Hobyot cognates (ML and HL, s.v. ‘mn; 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).
M: “I swear you will obey me!”
B: “Ok, ask me for help.”
M: “Ok, please, my son, obey me!”
B: “Since you have asked me, I will obey you.”
M: “Let me rejoice in my son!”
B: “What do you want me to do?”
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 60

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.

\[\textbf{\textit{ṟtébk}}\]: This T₁-Stem (root ṣyq) is another example of a verb whose imperfect and subjunctive forms behave like T₂-Stems according to JL. Cf. the comment to 3:13.

\[\textbf{\textit{yəgēðənk}}\]: This is the D/L-Stem imperfect of the root ṣyq. In JL, Johnstone gives both aɣyəd and the variant aɣbəd (as if a II-w H-Stem) for the 3ms perfect, but only yəgədən for the 3ms imperfect. In the lexical list that accompanies this text, however, Johnstone gives only eɣyəd for the perfect and iɣədən (= yəgədən) for the imperfect. The form in this text, yəgədən, is a variant pronunciation of yəgədən.

\[\textbf{\textit{txěls}}\]: 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).

\[\textbf{\textit{tarkb ūram}}\]: On this idiom, meaning ‘put yourself in the wrong’, see ML (s.v. rkb). It means literally something like ‘the road rides you’.

\[\textbf{\textit{enkět}}\]: This plural form (sg. nakšt) seems to be an EJ form or a Mehrism; cf. Mehri nakɑt (def. ankɑt). According to JL and ML (s.v. nkʃt), the Jibbali plural is nkʃt.

Text 60

\[\textbf{\textit{b-erz ḍskūn}}\]: 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-həşaf, ʻor her tītš, “‘ağən nəġād!” ʻorót, “he d-‘ɔk ənṣənút, bə-xízk al-ɡād yəl ɣo edrē’. bə-tōk tōkəla’ to tel a-‘éli ˈōnut dənū.”

3 ʻor aġéyg, “he ġeyg ɦəmrən mən erz ˈðέnu, b-ɔl akōdar l-ˈɔskəf bun lə.” axarɛ́t ʻorɔ́t ɛ́mənúd, “ɔl ənsənůd ˈaš lə.” ʻor aġéyg, “tum bókum ɛʃfɔ́kkum, b-ɔl sōkum ar (t)snid.”

4 ʻorɔ́t ɛ́məs, “ɑbdan.” ɛd yum ġasrət aġəd aġéyg tel yə. kolɔ́t hóhum, ʻor, “he ġeyg ɔ-ɔl akōdar l-ˈɔskəf b-erz ˈðέnu lə, b-ɛʃxarət ɡələt l-ɛbrīt. bə-hé a-ˈagəb bə-tiṭi, bə-tiṭi tə-ˈagəb bi. b-ɛʃxarət ˈɑ giót l-əbdéd tun.”

5 axarɛ́t aġąd ɣo yol ġexarət. ʻor hes, “ˈðέnu ɔl ɣəkín lə, l-əbdéd mən mūn aģęyɡ bə-tiṭš.” axarɛ́t ʻorɔ́t ġexarət, “he ‘ak hes taġăd k-a-ˈåsər, fəlɛkən ˈse ɡələt.”


7 aģəsər. ed ġasrət, tet kolɔ́t her a-ˈåsər b-aɣarət ɛ́məs. ʻor hes a-ˈåsərs, “mor. hit ˈɡalīb kərɛr ɔl tağiːd, bə-ˈhəs e-ˈhaʾər olt ˈsiš ˈemis, ‘amir, ‘mor, dha-l-ɡād.”

---

2 xízk: 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 bar here, and in the Roman ms, Johnstone added the Arabic gloss ڥ (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 < tasnìd, though it could also be a mp imperative snid. The form in the Mehri version (94:3, sədēdəm) is equally ambiguous.
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.”

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).”

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.”

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.”

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.”

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 mun 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 yɛ́bbød, 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 guzũt ɛšxaré t (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 (a)dér, as in the published Mehri version.
8 ḏa-hér ʿōrōt ḫī ḫūs, ‘kít ṣūnāś?’; ‘amūr, ʾakō(l)š mən yēnš ḥaẓôrš lî.

b-ʾēšxārēt ʾērāt daxīl ʾal takhērš šīš tel yō. ḏa-hér šīnš ʾēšxārēt ʾaḡīṭ tawīl bīš, ʾāḥtīr fās. šīr ʾunīf (t)ʾsūrīk šē ṣed naḡād.


10 ʿōrōt ʾēšxārēt, “he ʾal kōdōrk leš lō, ṭalēkān ḥet ḥerīg šēs.” ʿōr aḡēyg, “he ḥerīgšēk šes mənhūnām, ba-ʿōrōt, ʿebr k-ʾēmī.”

11 ʾaxārēt ʾēšxārēt šōʾōt aḡārō ᨅḡēyg ʾa-ʾṣězhēt. ʾa-ʾōr ḥes yō, “liš ēṭām her ʾxōrbiš tēt ᨅḡēyg ʾal ṣīḏād šēs.”

12 ʿōrōt ʾēšxārēt, “he ʾal ḵōrbāk tōs lō.” ʿōr yō, “mor, her ʾal ʾxōrbīš tōs lō, ḥerīg šēs.” ʿōrōt ᵃʾsārēt, “ʾeḏī-līn, ʾiḏ k-ʾaʾāsārīš.”


14 ḥes ʾgōs, ʾśīni ʾēšxārēt mən sērōhum. ʾōr aḡēyg, “ʾgōlōkūn ʾēšxārēt. hit ʾɡīd ḍer emūh ḏa-hē ḏa-l-saḥābs ḏa-hē ḏa-l-gīl ʾ(-ʾaғlēl) bes. ḏa-hér ʾxēbārōt liš, ḏa-l-ʾʾāmēr, ʾaḡaḍōt hen her mīḥ.”

---

8 ʾūnāš: This is the Šī-Stem, 2fs perfect, of the root ‘mn (3ms perfect ʿṣīn). 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 ʾašhēr: See the comment to 40:7.

14 ʾgōlōkūn: See the comment to 16:3.

dha-l-gīl (ʾaғlēl): This form is not totally clear. The Roman ms has ḏa-l-ʾgalēl, probably a variant transcription of ḏa-l-ʾgīl, which is what the Arabic ms has. On the audio, Ali stumbled and read first ḏa-l-ʾgīl, then ʾaғlēl. The intention here is for the 1cs future of the root ʾgīl, 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 ʾgīl b-, ʾiғlēl, ʾaғīl (cf. ḥel/yəḥlēl/yḥīl in JL),
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.”

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.”

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.’”

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.”

The old woman said, “I didn’t prevent her.” The people said, “Ok, if you didn’t prevent her, speak with her.” The old woman said, “So-and-so, go with your husband.”

The woman said, “Ok.” The old woman said, “Come here, I need you!” The woman said, “I don’t have time now.” And she (did) thus until the man left with his wife.

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 -ġíl. We actually expect the subjunctive base -ġlɛ́l, based on other I-ġ 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. yəḥ(y)il (see the comment to line 24).
15 bo-hé dha-l-ğil bes bo-ḥās e-hegòsk biš biš ağađaš mən ḍer emih, dha-l-ʿāmer hes, 'her ʿağıś l-ōdaʾ eđi-ilin dha-taksìs ḍer emih', bo-hit antigah, ol (t)salibs ḍer emih lo. b-ōōds nxin eték ókún."
16 ʿȯròt tet, "mor." ağađòt tet, b-ągę́yg selb xolóš ed zohòt. ʿȯròt, "eđi-ilín hūtūn?" ʿȯr aġę́yg, "ağađòt ḍer emih bo-dha-(t)zhòm bùn, fəlékən ñə-firık tok os ol-l-éflòt mən ñıri yòl xádər."
17 ʿȯròt ešxarèt, "koh, sāʾk tɔs hergòt sè?" ʿȯr aģę́yg, "sāʾk tɔs ʿȯròt, 'her ol zəhàmk tɔk nàșanu lo, ol (t)sàzə sə tɔ lo. akín edúrk yɔl a'èli.'"
18 axarèt f孤儿t ešxarèt. tɔkł aģę́yg mən yènś. axarèt skəfòt ešxarèt. 'ağıòt tɔgıl b-ągę́yg ol-ōd yótba tet. ʿȯr aģę́yg, "ak ol-ğād ḍer emih." ʿȯròt ešxarèt, "skəf tɔlī sìn. șòtɛ̱kək lek." se 'ągiatan tɔgıl b-ągę́yg, b-ągę́yg 'ągəb yogıl b-ešxarèt.
19 bo-skəf. axarèt aģę́yg hegòs bɔ-țɛ̱t tɛkən beròt ağađòt mən ḍer emih. ʿȯr, 'ągəρòt eđi-ilin. ol 'ōk hiś lo ḍha-l-ɛ́flòt mən ñìri? he ḍha-l-ğād. ol-'ōk ḍha-l-salibs zeyd lo."
20 ʿȯròt ešxarèt, "mor. he ḍha-l-ğād ḍer emih. bo-hér kisk tɔs, dha-l-ʿāmer hes tòtba'k." aģę́yg ed ksè tóš beròt skəfòt nxin eték. ʿȯròt, "ko het aģəρògk?" ʿȯr aģę́yg, "he skəfək tel èmès bo-hès zɔhòt tɔ, ol 'ągiatan tɔskəf lo. 'ągiatan tòtba's. axarèt 'ōk hes, 'eđi-ilin thùmk tɔs ḍha-l-ɛ́flòt mən ñìri yòlkum. bo-ğədû əntbàs.'
21 ḥas e-şōōt ešxarèt aģərò dènu, fɔrʒɔt bo-ˈȯròt, "āgən nəskəf sìn.' se 'ągiatan tɔgıl bi, bo-hé 'ak ol-ğùl bes. bo-sè nàșanu ağađòt ḍer emih ð-ȯftɔrʒɔt. takɔ(ł)s edùrès yòlhum."

---

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 bes for the latter, but on the audio, these sound identical. In fact, i and e are often interchangeable.
16 tek: JL (s.v. tyk) glosses this only as 'wild fig tree', but according to Miller and Morris (1988: 208) this is Ficus vasta.
17 mən yènś: 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.
18 șòtèkək: This is a T1-Stem of the root ʃwɔ́ (cf. Mehri ʃātūƙ). This stem is missing from JL, which does list a T2-Stem əštèk with the same meaning. In Johnstone's word-list for this text, he gives the forms of T1 șòtèk as șòtèk/įstèk/įstòk/yəstíkən (perf./imperf./subj./condit.). See further on this verb type in §7.4.8.
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.”

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.”

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.’”

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.

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.

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.”

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.

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!’

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.”

**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 yhógós) and subjunctives (yhégs and yəhgɔ́s). So the perfect hégós must just be a variant perfect. See also the comment to 25:5.


---

24 ġelk: See the comment to line 14. Also note that the Mehri version here has ḥayēk ‘you tricked’ (root ḥyl), and normally this story follows the Mehri version quite faithfully.

25 l-əltāq: Both the Arabic ms and audio have l-əltāk. The spelling of ġ with を集め (q) is normal for Ali (especially for this verb) and many other Jibbali speakers. For example, the word təḡad is also written təḵad in this line; d-aģēlk is spelled d-əkēlk in line 35; jəbīrs is spelled kəbīrs in line 42; and jərōts is spelled kərōts in line 44. The pronunciation here is more unusual. See further in the comment to 17:10.

26 fəlō: Both mss have just fəlō here, though Ali read bə-ʃlō on the audio (cf. line 26). In either case, the intention is for fəlō ‘perhaps’ (§12.5.8). See also the comment to 5:8.

26 ḍha-tūz: This is the 3ms future (subjunctive) of the verb mīz ‘smoke’ (root mzz). JL lists the 3ms subjunctive only as yūmmuz, but yũz is a variant form. Cf. the entry in JL (s.v. mdd) for mīdd, which lists the subjunctive as either yūmmud or yũd. One informant recognized only yũz as the correct subjunctive. The form yũz must be from *yūmuz, with non-geminate m. It is also worth noting that while both mss have dha-tūz twice in this line, on the audio Ali mistakenly read dha-təmzēz (i.e., dha- + imperfect) for the first of these.
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, “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.”

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.

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?”

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.

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.”

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.


---

27 ̀înét: I assume that the first ̀înét is indefinite and that the second is ̀înét 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 mūn (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).

30 ̀ɛðɔrk ɔł (ʃɛ) šax ls: Ali added the še on the audio, though it is missing in both mss. His addition is probably a Mehrism, since Alī’s Mehri dialect requires a pronoun in this position, while Jibbali does not.
33 ‘ôr aģéyg, “o lyəzhûn bûn lo.” axarêt ‘eṣ šáxr ba-zîx xérûn təmbêko. d-’ɔd laṭşûn, zahōt têt, bə-têt dûkûn tāgōrab aģéyg, fəlêkên têt ol se mən e kêlt d-axṣômês lo. fəlêkên šfɔkt têt mənhûm.
37 ‘ôrît têt, “nâsânu heγérît yûm, b-ɔl dê yaḥbəd lo. b-ɔl šè mûh al-fênôkum lɔ, fəlêkên het ġad yɔl tîtk bə-ḥê dha-l-ᵉg̣əl hûkûm fšö’. bə-dha-l-ʒhûmkûnxîn hêrûm dôkun, bə-dha-l-ʒhûm si m-mûh her ēmînk bi.”

---

32 ya rêt: This is an Arabism (see § 12.2).
34 Ʌeẓ (gõẓ): The Roman ms has here gõẓ (root gmz) with geẓ in parentheses. The Arabic ms and the audio have the geminate perfect geẓ. In JL, only gõẓ is given the meaning ‘wink’ (s.v. gmz), while the geminate geẓ (s.v. gژژ) means ‘slow down; grow dim’. In Mehri and Ḥarsusi, however, both Ʌemɔz and gəẓ can mean ‘wink’, and HL (s.v. Ʌez) suggests that Jibbali Ʌeẓ can mean ‘wink’. Ali used the verb Ʌoz in 54:24 with meaning ‘close (the eyes)’.
35 ’ak tôkhəb lî: The loss of the negative ɔl 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 tśum: The t is not written in the Arabic ms, but is pronounced on the audio and transcribed in the Roman ms.
37 heγérît: This Gb-Stem (here a 3fs perfect) is not listed in JL, though other related forms of the root hgr are listed, including hôgar ‘midday’. The corresponding Mehri verb is given in ML (s.v. hgr), where a different Jibbali equivalent is given (3fs ḥôt, from the root ḥmm), 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.
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!”

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.

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.”

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)].”

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).

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.”

---

*m-míḥ*: Here *m-míḥ* derives via assimilation from *b-míḥ*. See also 39:2, and the discussion, with further examples of this sound change, in § 2.1.4.

*émīṅk*: This must be an H-Stem *émin* (root *mn*). *JL* only lists a D/L-Stem *ūn* (*ºman*). 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* (*ºَُْ*), not *í*.
41 axarét ağıad dəs aģęyg bə-tītš ed ġér hārənūt man tēl yəkəzən əl-sękən. skəf bə-tītš egələt bə-šork’ət ʻak bərik șeji. ed bəšəlt, ağıadət, b-aģęyg bə-tītš śinəs hes śxəntət man sękən baḥsəs.
43 bə-dha-l-ğəd, bə-hɨt səbbədas bə-dha-nəɡtər ēr hər dıkən. bə-hér gohədətiš, ə(ə) l-ḥərk komkəs lo.”

38 təfší: In the Roman ms (also in line 39), Johnstone transcribed təfšin, while the Arabic ms and audio have just təfší. A final -n would be ungrammatical.
40 əl tōs bə: The published Mehri version of the story has here əl tawwəs lā, 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 tawwəs, corresponding to Jibbali tōs. In the Roman transcription of Mehri text 94, Johnstone has tawwəs (possibly corrected to təwəs).
43 l-ḥīrk: This is a D/L-Stem 2fs subjunctive (negative imperative) of the root hrk. According to the paradigm in JL, the D/L-Stem 2fs subjunctive has the form l-CūCuC (or presumably l-CūCaC), but my own informants also preferred the vowel i instead of ū in the 2fs subjunctive. Perhaps this form differs in some dialects.
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.”

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.”

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.”

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.

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.

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.”

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.”

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.”

\textit{al-šáǧšé}: This alternative to \textit{l-šrḥaž} 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 (šaḏšé, an Šī-Stem of the root ḡšy) 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.
Text 83 (= M83): A Brave Boy

1. xaṭarɛ́t ġeyg b-ɛbrɛ́š k-iyɛ́l bə-fɛ́gər. b-ɛ́ḳət ðɔ́kũn ɛḳmúm yəġɔ́zi her ṭaṭṭóhum. ed yum śínó ɛḳũhm ɛḳbél líši. bə-šáxing al ṣeš mandik lo, b-embère’ ṣeš mandik, fəlɛkən ḥalóts ç(l) ρaḥit lo, b-ɛ̃xōṭ xēt.


3. embère’, ‘ɔr, ta’mūrən sə’r. b-İffëlɔ́t. mit ber ḍə-’5r xérin, yəs̃elēdan mən ţər ñs ed yəẓhǒməš. axarɛ́t ḡəṣal ekũhm bə-šὲləd embère’ mən ţèr ekũhn. ber ɛ̣g’ér troh. axarɛ́t šaʃbəb ñs, b-embère’ eg’ér sóløť. bə-tmûm ēxōṭ. d-’ɔd șeš ẓàt bass.

4. axarɛ́t ʿor hōhum, “he al-5d ñi gîlət lo. tmunk ɛxōtî, bə-súlmək enúf.” ber ʃhən inûdîš. axarɛ́t ʿor ekũhm, “mun e’-âg̣əb ỵ(l)τgəş?” axarɛ́t ʿor ţàt məṇhûm, “he. åqi ḍə-ltíg, bə-’ák l-ɔ́tələb beš.”

Text 60

al-ṣágše: In this line, the Roman ms has only al-ṣágše, while the Arabic ms has l-ɔ́hraž with al-ṣágše in the margin. On the audio, Ali said al-ṣágše.

Text 83

nəs̃áḥgɛ: According to JL (s.v. hgv) and ML (s.v. hgw), the Șt-Stem šŋæ̣ 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.
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.

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.

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.

Then in the morning, the man and his wife went until they came to their settlement. And it is finished.

Translation of Text 83

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.

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.

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.

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.”
Text 86 (= M86): More Conditionals

1 'ak xsɔ́rət, dḥa-l-axsɔ́r.
2 'ak xɔ́dmɛ́t, dḥa-l-ʃɛ́rk hek.
3 her ɔ́l zahámk bòhum lɔ, dḥa-l-ɔ́kkɔ́ʃ ɛrɛ́šk.
4 her šxank leš, ɔ́l (t)ʃɔ́hɔ́l ʃe lɔ.
5 her ʃɛ́rɔ́k ʃeš, ɔ́l hek ʃe lɔ.
6 (her) 'ak tɔ́(l)taɡ tɔ, taɡ tɔ ʃan ɡɛ́r siɛ́b.
7 her ʃek ʃɛ́rɔ́s ɔkɔ́n, tɔ́k l-ɛ́zzạ́d tɔ.

Text 83

6 aʃhɛ́r: See the comment to 40:7.
6 xɔ́yɔ́r: This word is not in JL, but we can compare Mehri xɔ́yɔ́r ‘best’. The word here may actually be a Mehri form. In ML (s.v. xɔ́yɔ́r). Johnstone suggests in ML that it is may be a plural of xɔ́yɔ́r (cf. Arabic xɔ́yɔ́r, pl. xɨ́yɔ́r).
7 yɔ́ɔ́ʃt: This is the imperfect of ɛbxɛ́t, an H-Stem of a root bɔ́tx or wɔ́tx. 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 hɔ́gzɔ́ ‘make up for the absence of s.o.’ (the verb used in the Mehri version of this story).
7 ɛ́r-dɔ́dí: See the comment to 46:2.
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.”

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!”

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)s̃ɔ́hɔ́l: 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 šarókak (probably better: šerókak), while the Arabic ms has šerókak. 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 ʿágab, see the discussion in §13.4.1 and §13.4.2.
8 her ɔl šek dîrêhôm sé lo, ézəmək (dḥa-l-zémk).
9 mit bek kérîb al-héson, arđé b-esfêt sérėk.
10 her ɔl hérôle lo, dḥa-nôkkas erêss.
11 her ɔl zahâm beq ɔs, dḥa-l-hîzhk.
12 her sé géré lek, enhâ ba-stôtérér.

Text 97 (= M97 [on which it was based]= Ḥ9 = Müller 1907: 34 ff. = Bittner 1917a: 92 ff.): A Cinderella Tale

1 ġeyg sóbər yabtérən əsôd, bə-ʃfôk bə-têt bə-nîka' mes bə-ğagôt. bə-xargôt émès. bə-kéni eğagôt ed 'akôrôt. bə-yəkôlâ's 'ak ût bə-şê yabgôd yastôd.
2 ed yum ût 'ôrôt heš əbrît, “e be, kô het ɔl ʃfôkək əl?” ör hes, “he ɔl 'ak 1-şôfôk lo.”
4 ba-zêmám mes bə-ğagôt bə-kenâs ed 'akôrôt. bə-skîf bə-(t)şa'âsôr əbrît bə-ğôjô ebrût d-əzérôt.
5 ed yum əbré e-hôkôm 'uqôb yasêx tôn bə-şêrêk heš maşêr. bə-ṭôbô b’él hallêt kel, bə-zêmám.
6 bə-têt bûl əsôd ezîgôt əbrît. b-əbrît d-əzérôt zûts gunêt də- bóhr, 'ôrôt hes, “tôhîns!”
7 bə-zûts şôb'êt azbîrt bə-’ôrôt hes, “mâlîhum mîh! mit zôhân, takîn ber tahanâs egunêt a-bér mulôs ezbîrt mîh.”

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 dḥa-l-zémk. After ézəmək is added the Arabic word dâ’iman (‘forever’; presumably, a habitual future), and after dḥa-l-zémk is added the word mustaqbal (‘future’; presumably, a one-time event).

Text 97

1 yastôd: The Arabic ms has the expected subjunctive yastôd (‘he would go to fish’). On the audio, Ali first read yastôd, but quickly corrected himself to the imperfect yastédan (‘he would go, he would fish’).
4 bə-şôjô: Every other Mehri and Jibbali version of this text has a 3fs imperfect here, so we expect bə-tôjô (from the root ḥôj). The form bə-şôjô, 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 ɛzérët: The other Mehri and Jibbali versions have ‘the fisherman’ here,
while the Harsusi version has ‘her husband’. This word is defined in JL
(s.v. żrr) as ‘wife after the first in polygamous marriage’, but it seems
based on this context (in which ɛzérët refers to the deceased first wife)
that the meaning is broader, perhaps just ‘other wife’.
5 mašér: On this word, see the comment to 30:9.
6 ezígɔ́t: This is the 3fs perfect of the D/L-Stem ezōg ‘praise, flatter’ (root
zyɡ/zwg). I have assumed a slightly different meaning here to fit the
context, and based on the other versions.
8  ba-šukūt se b-ebríts yɔl ėš'èr. b-ebrít dā-bāl esōd b-ūt. bā-tēs ūb' inēt.
9  ṧor hes, "koh āl šukūms lā yol ėš'èr?" ḥor ḍesōn, "āl mōtēk lā. ūb' mēnēt." ṧor hes, "āsīṣ!" bā-āsīṣ.
10  b-ağād bes ār gār b er-fā'ā mīh, bā-rhāzās, bā-fḵēs xātšī bā-sāqōt.
11  bā-ṭēr hes, "šēm!" bā-zūs ǧarīrt ḍā-dīrēḥ̣ēm bā-ǧarīrt d-iṣīn.
12  bā-ṭēr hes, "yīd yol ėš'èr bā-nhīq ed, ḥas e-kīnāš (kētáš) bā-ğūq̣īš (t)sīxāt, dūr eđīrēḥ̣ēm 'ak ēdōrt, bā-ďūr iṣīnt ār teť īs b-ebrīts." ḥor, "mor."
13  aġādōt. ed zōhōt, ksēt ỵo dā-yāfterēgān b-inēt (d-)tīnhagān. b-ebrē ḍō-hōkūm (d-)sōr tel yō. bā-sē gahōt 'ak ēdōrt.
14  bā-nhagōt. ed šēhkēt dā-ārōt ǧagārīrt ḍā-dīrēḥ̣ēm 'ak ēdōrt, bā-ďārōt iṣīnt ār teť īs b-ebrīts, bā-şxanštīt.
15  bā-šā'ē sērēs ebrē e-hōkūm b-āl ētōl bes lō. b-eðūr yō yō. ṧor her inēt, "bass man māsēr ēd ḱārērē ġasārē." bā-šuḵūm yō.
16  bā-sē aģadōt. ed zōhōt ūt, ksēt ġeŋōn ēt ār ūnūt tīkī ḍ-ebkī, b-eźbūrt ā-kīsīn mīh bā-šō' inēt ḍā-skīf.
18  bā-zḥōt teť e-is b-ebrīts b-a'āsīṣīts. ḥor hes, "ber ūnānas?" ḥor, "ēhē." "ber mulĬς eźbūrt mīh?" ḥor, "ēhē." skīf.

10  fḵēs: The audio has G-Stem fēkēs 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 بقائس which seems to suggest the H-Stem. The same Arabic letters are correctly read as H-Stem fḵēs in line 23.

11  iṣīn: The form iṣīn 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 iṣīnt, with a final -t. JL (s.v. yḵbn) lists singular iṣīn, plural iṣīnta. Either there exist variant forms of this word, or Ali's iṣīnt is an incorrect form.

12  kīnāš (kētáš): The Arabic ms has kīnāš 'you've had enough' (using the same verb as the Mehri versions), but Ali said kētáš 'you are tired'. Both verbs fit the context.

14  ūb'kē: This is an Š1-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 kīnāš), and is listed in Bittner
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.

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.

And they brought her to a well and drew water, and they washed her and dressed her in clothes and jewelry.

And they said to her, “Go out!” And they gave her a bag of money and a bag of scorpions.

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.”

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.

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.

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.

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.

They said to her, “Did you dance?” She said to them, “I danced, and the ruler's son ran after me.” They said to her, “Did he catch up to you?” She said, “No.” They said to her, “Ok.” And they took the jewelry and clothes from her, and went. And she went to sleep.

And her father's wife came back with her daughter and woke her up. She said to her, “Did you already do the grinding?” She said, “Yes.” “And did you already fill the buckets with water?” She said, “Yes.” They stayed.

(1917b: 36) with the meaning ‘genug haben’ ('have enough'). JL (s.v. ḫkv) gives only the meaning ‘want s.o. to do s.t. in one's stead’ for this verb (as in 24:1).

 jóźi: See the comment to 38:1.
19 ʿōrôt hes ağıts, "ɔl édaš lo ba-ğabgót tít rəhūt têt ēš′ér ba-nḥagót ba-ðə-arót garór ð-ði-réhám ʿak ēdór, ba-šuḵūt, ba-šaʿé sérés ebré e-hókum b-ɔl étal hes lo?" skf.

20 ed karére ḍasré ağıåd yo b-ınéť. ba-tét ð-ða-bál esód ezīgót ebrúts.

21 ba-zūt ebrît ḍ-eşérēt gunēt trut ð-ða-bóhr hit ba-ʿōrót hes, "ṭaḥūnsan!" ba-zūts ʿasūrēt erbaʿôt øzbúrt ba-ʿōrót hes, "məlíhum mūh!" ba-sé ağıådôt, se b-ebrúts, yɔl ēšēr.

22 b-ebrūt ð-ða-bál esód, zəhám tōlōs sōʾ inēt. ʿōr hes, "kōh ɔl ġa(d)š lo yɔl ēš′ér?" ʿōrôt, "ɔl mōtēk lo." ʿōr hes, "ašiš!" ba-aššôt b-ağıådôt šēsən ed zəhám tel eğōr.

23 erfūʾ mūh, ba-ḥawāzas, ba-fḳés xāṭık ba-šagāt. Ĭr hes, "jūd yɔl ēšér."

24 ba-zūs garōrt ð-ði-réhám ba-garōrt e-išint. Ĭr hes, "nāḥig ed (t)šiḥki am-mīt āgiš (t)šinxat, ḏʿir ajarōrt e-dírēhám ʿak ēdört, ba-ḏʿir ajarōrt e-išint ġer teť e-iš b-ebrūts."

25 ağıådôt. ed zəḥōt tel ēš′ér ksęt yo ð-ða-sōr, ba-ksęt inēť tīnhagon. gaḥōt ʿak ēš′ér. b-ebrē ba-hókum d-ḥabtalīm ġer hașnīn.

26 ba-sé nhagōt. ed šaḥkt mën enahag, ðaʾarót ajarōrt ð-ði-réhám ʿak ēdört, ba-ḏʿarót ajarōrt e-išint ġer teť d-is b-ebrūts, ba-šanṭīt.

27 b-ṭṭelék sērēs hașnīn ebrē e-hókum. ed mənζél hēt ḡogūlt. ʿōr hes, "ḥogūltš!" ʿōrôt hes, "ḏ-ajåd yaxalōf ḡūš."


29 ba-sé ağıådôt. ed zəḥōt ūt ksęt egūni ber təḥūn, ba-ksęt øzbúrt ḏ-ți įmī, b-ınēť ḏə-skōf. hōl mes esáqāt ba-xāṭık.

30 ʿōrôt hesan, "ṭṭelék sērē ebrē e-hókum hașnīn." ʿōr hes, "ēṭal biš?" ʿōrôt, "ob, falkēn ḡogūltī hēt ba-ḥilās. ba-ʾōr hīn, ʿḥogūltš! ba-ʾōk heš, ḏ-ajåd yaxalōf ḡūš."

---

22 ġa(d)š: The d is not written in the Arabic ms, but it is heard on the audio.

24 am-mīt: This seems to reflect an assimilation am-mīt < *b-mīt. See the discussion of this change, with further examples, in § 2.1.4.

25 hașnīn: See the comment to 17:11.
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.

The next evening, the men and women went (back). And the fisherman’s wife prettied up her daughter.

And she gave the daughter of the fisherman two sacks of grain. She said to her, “Grind them!” And she gave her fourteen buckets, and said to her, “Fill them up with water!” And she went, her and her daughter, to the party.

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.

They drew water and washed her, and dressed her in clothes and jewelry. And they said to her, “Go to the party.”

And they gave her a bag of money and a bag of scorpions, 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.”

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.

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.

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.”

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.

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.

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.’"
b-ebre e-hókum žėt ḥogült bə-zís žirēt ṭrut. ʿõr hésan, “dérən bə-hogült dənū b-ekésəns l-İnět b-ağıgenūti. bə-köl e-kunūt les taw, klētən hini.”
dörtə ižörə ʿak ḥallēt ʿéṣər xīš ēm b-ol kəstō dé lə.


ed yun egāhgāh teṯ e-is zūts ʿak šafērūt dūgur. ʿõrōt hes, “tīš!” bə-tētš.

bə-skafōt, bə-zhās šōʾ inēt bə-xənūt alhīn ʿak šōfāls. bə-šērēk hes ahrūf ʿak šfāls.


31 **taw**: This word is missing on the audio, seemingly by accident. In the Arabic manuscript, we find ١ 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 sawē here, meaning something like ‘a good fit’, and Müller’s Soqoṭri version also has the cognate suwā. Müller’s Jibbali version has a totally different word here, ḳēdɛ́r. If we ignore the diacritic above the first letter in the Arabic ms, we could probably read ١ as sawē, since in Ali’s handwriting the initial ١ (minus the diacritic above) and ꠙ can look the same; if we read taw, then the final ʿalif is unexpected.

32 **aʾēşər şet**: Ali mistakenly read the masculine form aʾəşirēt ştet on the audio, with some stumbling, but the ms has the correct feminine form aʾēşər şet.
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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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 šfɔḳ, as evidenced by the reply *b-ɛbrītk.* See also the comment to 45:13.

35 **ɛgə́ḥgə́ḥ:** See the comment to 45:19.

39 **l-ɛbrɛ́:** Elsewhere, the verb heḳ ‘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.

---

\textit{50} \textit{ġàssòt}: The meaning ‘dirty, befoul’ is not in \textit{JL} (s.v. \textit{ġòs}), which lists only the meanings ‘cheat; poison,’ but it has this meaning in Mehri (cf. \textit{ML}, s.v. \textit{ġòs}). Its use here could reflect an EJ usage or a Mehrism.

\textit{52} \textit{ba-kèsè}: This is the active G-Stem, which is what the ms has. On the audio, Ali read the passive, \textit{ba-kèśòs} (‘and [her head] was cut off’).
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.

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.

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.

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.”

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.”

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.”

They went to her mother, and she said to them, “Ok.” And the ruler’s younger [lit. small] son married her.

Then on the wedding day, her mother cooked beans for her in pot, and she said to her, “Eat it!” And she ate it.

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.

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.

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.”

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.”

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 ěnf3 yakšlt hen bə-kélšt. ‘ər maxštɔr ḏə əmbərɛ ‘áqəb bə-ğabɡɔt ərhũt bə, b-ɔl xɛ́rĩn bɔ.
2 b-ī aģabɡɔt tūžur, b-əmbərɛ fək̸ır. bə-ğělîb ɔl yǒʃfɔk bes.
3 axarɛ́t xɔ́ttəl eďɛ̀hɔnश, iḥi t ɔ. engim heš a’ělɛ́s b-iţsək iţ-şəś, fəlɛ̄kən ɔl ɔ́l ŋabama beš bɔ.
4 embərɛ yə’ɔr her eyɔ́, her šxəbîrš, “he lé’: ḥazɔ́z tɔ!” ɔl dé ɡarɔ́b yədɛ̄sh bɔ, mən dũn ɡəy ɣad.
5 hes zəḥũš dǒhun aģęyg, ‘ɔr heš, “ḥazéz tɔ, he lé!”
6 ‘ɔr heš, “məgə̀r, ha-l-hizzək. hɛt lɛ́.” lɛkan śnɛ́ enuf. nəsənu het ɔ́l bek sə tɛ’ bɔ. ha-nkɔ̀lák’ ‘ɛʃər ɛm, ɛ̄n-nətkək bə-nəʃkək, əm-mən ʒirš hə-nəhzzəək.”
7 ba’d ɛ́sər ɛm, embərɛ kun bə-xár mən eÐ ədît aģęyg.

---

1 bē: This word meaning ‘very’ is pronounced as such on the audio, and is transcribed bē in Johnstone’s Roman mss. In Salim’s Arabic ms, he spelled the word ꜐. As discussed in the comment to 4:10, JL (s.v. wyy) lists both bē ‘very’ and bỳya ‘enough’, which are almost certainly the same word. Informants recognized only bē. The form may be historically bīya, or the like (hence, perhaps, Salim’s spelling), as suggested by the Mehri cognate wīyən.

1 xɛ́rĩn: 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 ɔ́l xɛ́rĩn bɔ as ‘there was none better’ in one of the Roman ms for this text. The word xɛ́rĩn ‘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 xɛ́rĩn here is ‘a little’, consistent with the meaning of this word everywhere else in Johnstone’s texts. The phrase ɔ́l xɛ́rĩn bɔ ‘not a little’ is complementary to bē ‘very’, and both ɔ́l xɛ́rĩn bɔ and bē are qualifying ərhũt ‘beautiful’. It is likely that xɛ́rĩn 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-ağabgôt* ‘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-ağabgôt* (actually *b-ağáybjôt*) in parentheses.

3 *ɛðɛ́hənš*: The noun *ðɛ́hən* ‘mind’ is not in *JL*, though there are numerous related verbs under the root *ðhn*, and the expression *xɔ́ttəl ɛðɛ́hənš* can be found in *JL* (s.v. *xll*). *ML* (s.v. *mʿd* and p. 544) and *HL* (s.v. *mʿd*) do include *ðɛhn* as the equivalent of Mehri *mɛ̄d* and Ḥarsusi *myād* ‘intelligence’.

3 *iḥît ɔʿź*: This phrase literally means ‘poor one of God’; see *JL* (s.v. *bhm*).

3 *engım*: 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 *ḥazéz*: All the Roman mss have *ḥazóz*, but the audio clearly has the expected masculine singular *ḥazéz*. In the Arabic ms, the two forms do not seem to be distinguished; we find *حز* in both line 4 (for *ḥazóz*) and line 5 (for *ḥazéz*).
Text SB2: A Good Match

1. ṭad kótub ọl-‘ọd leš mənyɛ́t ło, beṣír ba-đehún, lékan éghaš ọl ærhím al-hés edéhans ło.

2. ba-kunút ḣabgọt ærhüt zéta. ba-şínúš máxtár ba-‘agíst beš ba-xízót ọl tóklot heš.

3. hes bér hes ‘ónut, któt leš xat, ba-‘órót, “e dénu, e dén egéyg, yoh tšun? he ḣabgọt ærhüt ba-‘ágbak bek. ‘ák l-ašéšfašak. iné éšnék?


5. lékan agéyg ber šáxar ba-šés inés, b-ọl-‘ọd kódór yòsfak bes ło.

6. am-man ɗírš któb leš xat ba-‘ór hes, “xáṭas ærhím éṣal b-in (ba-kól in) ọs hésʃf, lékan yol anšérk?

7. ya xét ba-yà fožhát, her zəhám inén ðehént al-hés hit ba-xókhum dífər al-hés he?! iné un eyó ḥa-yà’mór?”

---

1. dehín/edéhans: Neither the adjective dehín nor the noun déhan is in JL, though other forms with this root are (s.v. dhn). The noun déhan 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 60:2.

3. ọs: The noun ọs means 'likeness' (JL, s.v. swl), but with a suffix can be translated 'like'. A very literal translation of the phrase ọs ɗ-ọl-‘ọd ọs ło 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 xák in JL or ML, but we can compare Arabic xalk ‘creation' and xulk ‘temperament, character'. The word xák must be singular here, since it takes the suffix -hum and not -shm. The following plural adjectives ærhét, ðehént, and ọb-ḅesért are not in strict agreement with the noun xák as they should be (cf. the ms adjective dífər in line 7), but rather agree with inén. In one typed Roman ms, Johnstone added the ms adjective ærhím above the mp form ærhét. The word xák is used also in AK2:2.

5. am-man: This derives from *b-man. 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 *ba-kōl 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 *kōl 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: 13ff.): The Raven and the Fox

2 aġrab ʿõr l-iṯʾél, “aʾišèk tɔ́lí.” šérɛ́k heš mɔ́kltɛ́. aʾtɔ́šɛ́ (aʾtɔ́šɔ́) fɔ́ rɔ́.  
3 ʿõr itʾél, “ʿagən nəśnɛ́ ɔ́ʿɔź.” aġréb ʿõr, “ḥɔ́ṣɔ́l.”  
4 fer beš ɛd bɛlə́q mukún. ʿõr, “tʃun ɛgdə́rɛ́t?” ʿõr, “d-ʿɔk d-əšúns.”  
5 fer beš ɛd bɛlə́q mukún. ʿõr, “tʃun ɛgdə́rɛ́t?” ʿõr, “ɔl-ʿɔ́k d-əšúns ʃə́ mən tə́tī bə-ʃé əlxínúi.”  
6 ʿõr aġréb, “he kətəʾk. dər ḩɛ́r ᵇɛ́gɛ́nah də́nu.”  
7 hes dɔ́r, egʾérə́š, b-iṯʾél ṭə́́r mən ṭə́́r egẽnəh aġrab, dɔ́-yʾɔ́r, “aʿali! ìné mə́n maqʾérɛ́t ʾak Ḳabz!”

---

1 naʿgūn: Müller’s text has naʿgǐn. Both of these forms are variant 1cp conditional forms; my own informants preferred naʿgūn, while the singular forms have i (e.g., 2ms taʿgǐn). 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.
2 hes-tó: In the ms, hes-tó is in parentheses after ḥɔ́ṣɔ́l. In the margin, Johnstone glossed the latter as ‘fine’. The two words are synonymous.
3 fɔ́: After the 3mp perfect fɔ́, the 3md form fɔ́ is added in the margin.
4 mɔ́kltɛ́: 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 kə́lɛ́ ‘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’toši*: Below the 3mp perfect *a’tosé*, the 3md dual form *a’toši* is added in the margin.
4 *béləġ*: On this word, see the comment to 21:10.
7 *íné mən*: The exact function of *íné mən* here is unclear, though the context makes the meaning fairly apparent.
7 *magérót*: 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 gaʿár (hē) ‘ak ḥabţ. ambére’ mahé leš bə-rdēš bə-fūdún. ižīrét mahét leš bə-rdēš bə-fūdún.
9 mġɔ́rɛʾ ẓ̣əhɛ́r mən ḥabţ b-ağád. təmmút kəltőt.

Text TJ2: Ali and Aḥmad Discuss Marriage Customs, Cows, and More

1 Ali: áḥmad, kəlɛ́ṯ híní bə-sənnɛ́tkum her ṭad šfɔ́k tɔ́lɔ́kum. ɛ́nfɛ̄t ínɛ́ yəšė́rők?
2 Aḥmad: awwal śé, yəbġɔ́d emt aʾél e-tét bə-yə̃ṣênûṭe. her esfîkōš, esfîkōš al-ekrōš, yāʾni yəkōlāb ekrōš. b-əd əl kun ekrōš lo, bə-kûn mośét, yaśûn. əd esfîk bə-xûls, yəbġɔ́d bə-yarkbēb suṣ. yəbġɔ́d tel kádi bə-yə̃yîlōk.
3 Ali: tel kádi mən tel śērə’?
4 Aḥmad: dé yəʿõr kádi bə-dé yaʿõr śērə’. këlš ţad. mġɔ́rɛ’, her xûls kin eskîdî, yəbġɔ́d bə-yə̃yîlōk bə-yə̃yîłoṭ aɣrāḍeš bə-ka’aš,
5 bə-ksəbėt e-tét b-ɛ̃ndaxēt bə-ˈɛ̃tor bə-ḵarkûm bə-ḵîl b-aɣrâd əd-tét, bə-yə̃yîlothum.
6 bə-yə̃yîloṭ kîlîntš. əd kun gêrûn troh bə-dê kun ślicted eɣîrēt bə-dê kun ẓîēd, ɔrba’ faló xîx ẓîēd. bə-ikkiɔ́r ʒer iɾṣîb ed yəṣîl erẓ. bə-hér ésal erẓ....
7 Ali: erẓ mən sékən?

———

Text TJ1

8 hē: In the ms, this word is added in parentheses after gaʿár. Both mean ‘he fell’.
8 mahé: This word is glossed in the ms as ‘passed’. I did not find it in JL, but we can compare Hobyot mihi ‘pass, cross’ (HV, p. 123).

Text TJ2

1 sənnɛ́tkum: This is Arabic sunnat- ‘custom’.
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: Āḥmad, tell me about your custom when someone gets married among you. What does he do first?
2 Āḥmad: 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 (kādī) and he gives him legal possession.
3 Ali: To the kādī or to the šéra‘?
4 Āḥmad: Some say kādī 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, and the woman’s clothes, incense, perfume, kərkūm (a yellow dye), kohl, and the woman’s things, and he takes them.
5 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...
6 Ali: The land or the settlement?

---

2 kādī: This is Arabic qāḍī ‘judge’.
4 aġrāḍ̣ɛ́š: This is Arabic aġrāḍ ‘things, articles of everyday use’, the plural of ġārad ‘object’.
6 ẓ́iɛ̃d: This is the plural form of ẓ́ĩdət ‘small round basket of dates’. JL (s.v. ẓ́md) lists only the singular form.
8 Aḥmad: sékən. her ésat sékən, yagızər (yahódən) kəlint. məqər’yasək. hes ber gizər ba-xuṣ kəlint, yakoζ tət. yahəzə lə’.
9 hes ber ḥez lə’... yahəzə lə’. məqər’ her kunut tət ərḥət, yasək fəs. əd kunut tət əa-ṣidi, əl yəsədəd lo.
10 Ali: nzən, man qər kəlint bass yəfərəs? bass man qər yu’ təṣəq? man yəkələ’s her a’eləs?
11 Aḥmad: lə’, her şə d-hətəq les la-həqətš, her şə d-hətəq les, yakołs. bə-də ‘əd əl hətəq les lo, yakoɬa’s her a’eləs.
12 Ali: bə-hər tət ələt əl təqəd şəs?
13 Aḥmad: mən dəm ber şfoł les, lézən təqəd šəs.
15 Aḥmad: dənu ‘əd şəe yərdəd l-ağəyg, l-a’asərs.

---

8 yahódən: In the Roman ms, after yagızər, Johnstone added in the margin “better yhodən”. The verb yahódən means ‘he shares out’, while yagızər means ‘he slaughters (food)’.

8 gizər: The form here is very difficult to make out on the audio, which sounds like gezər. Johnstone transcribed gizər. In the Roman ms, Johnstone gave the principal parts gizər/ygızər/yəğəzər, with Ga-Stem imperfect and subjunctive forms. However, gizər is not a Ga-Stem perfect; the correct Ga-Stem perfect is gozər. Perhaps the form here can be parsed as a G passive imperfect igezər.

8 yakoζ: This is a 3ms imperfect of the verb kələ. JL (s.v. klw) gives the form as yəkəl, 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 kalu is glossed as ‘come, bring home (animals, a wife)’.

9 sidi: In the Roman ms, Johnstone glossed sidi as ‘devil’, but notes that the meaning here is ‘no good, naughty’. Another informant confirmed this information.
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. 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.

Ali: After the wedding, he just takes her home? After just two or three days? Or does he leave her with her family?

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.

Ali: And if the woman refuses to go with him?

Aḥmad: As long as he has already married her, she must go with him.

Ali: Some (women), they say, refuse. They say, “We want only (to be) with our families for a year,” or the like.

Aḥmad: This is something that is up to [lit. goes back to] the man, to her husband.

Ali: The people may say to him, “Leave your wife and take care of your in-laws.”

---

nzēn: This word, meaning something like ‘alright’, ‘now then’, or ‘ok’, is used in Dhofari Arabic.

yəfrẓ́əs: In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss ‘he takes her away?’. JL (s.v. frẓ́) 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. frź), a Mehri G-Stem is given, among the meanings of which is ‘go home’.

mən dɛ́m: In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss ‘as long as’. JL (s.v. dwm) only lists mən dum ‘as long as’. The form dém must come from Arabic dāma ‘last, continue’, as used in the phrase mā dāma ‘as long as’. The phrase mən dém is used also in lines 29 and 35.
Aḥmad: yəlmún beš yo. ēd še bes mʿámni, kēlʿōs. bə-đ ol beš mʿámni lɔ, yaxōţéns.

Ali: yəxózɛ́n... ʿad yózməš še mən ekēlēš?

Aḥmad: ber yózməš, ber ol yózməš.

Ali: léken her se gölôt ol tağād šeš?

Aḥmad: yakin heš ekēlēš.

Ali: yakin heš ekēlēš, l-iné se gölôt ol tağād šeš? aḡālēt zarhám mən tölős?

Aḥmad: kēs se.

Ali: mən kēdē hiēš, axsört takin her is mən her aḡōhēs?

Aḥmad: takin axēr her kol e-żēt ekēlēb. her żēt kin e-ʃīk kēlēb, še, ḍə kun aḡās, ḍə-ḍ kun is, ḍə-ḍ kun edīds.

Ali: wəlēkən ēnfɛ̄t yəḥḳéḳ her mūn?

Aḥmad: yəḥḳéḳ her is.

Ali: aḡōhēs, ʿod yakin hōhum še?

Aḥmad: mən dém is şahi, ol yakin hōhum şe lɔ.

Ali: b-émēs, ʿod yahōl hes še, ēmēs?

---

**yəlmún:** This form is difficult to parse. It is related ultimately to the root *lwvm* ‘blame’, attested in both *JL* (G-Stem *lɛ̄m*) and *ML* (G-Stem and D/L-Stem). *ML* (s.v. *lwvm*) lists an EJ *ɛlmín* perhaps from an original II-w D/L-Stem (see § 7.4.8) *ɛlwím* (cf. Mehri *alwīm*) > *ɛlbím* (with the expected *w > b*) > *ɛlbín* (with dissimilation) > *ɛlmín* (with the expected *b > m* before *n*). Still this does not fully explain the form yəlmún. A D/L-Stem imperfect of an original *ɛlwím* should be have the underlying shape *yəlwímən* > *yəlbímən*. Perhaps there was a shift of *yəlwímən* > *yəlwūmən* > *yəlwũn* > *yəlbûn* > yəlmún. In the Roman ms, Johnstone lists a perfect *lîm*, which, if correct, is challenging to explain. He added the gloss ‘nag’, along with the (expected) Mehri 3mp imperfect *yəlwūman*.

**mʿámni:** In the Roman ms, Johnstone glossed this word as ‘honour’.

**e-ʃīk:** Ali and Johnstone transcribed here the active (G-Stem) e-ʃīk ‘the one who got married’, but on the audio Aḥmad clearly says e-ʃīk ‘the one who was married’, using the H-Stem passive ʃīk (found also in AM1:5).
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.

Ali: He divorces... Do they still give him something from his bride-price?

Aḥmad: Sometimes they give him, sometimes they don’t give him.

Ali: But if she refused to go with him?

Aḥmad: He will get his bride-price.

Ali: He will get his bride-price, because she refused to go with him? The fault came from her?

Aḥmad: It’s from her.

Ali: Regarding his in-laws, will the bride-price money go to [lit. be for] her father or her brothers?

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.

Ali: But first who does it rightfully go to?

Aḥmad: It goes rightfully to her father.

Ali: Her brothers, is there anything for them?

Aḥmad: As long as her father is alive, they get nothing.

Ali: And her mother, do they take her anything, her mother?

---

yəḥḳék: This form could reflect either a G-Stem or H-Stem imperfect of the root ḥḳḳ. 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 heḳ, with the gloss ‘has to go by law’. 
Aḥmad: émés yəkín hes. yahöl hes śešṭ ekšeš. ðə kunút mošét, yízməs lê bə-flō lê trut. bə-ð kunút kərš, yézûm tshún.

Ali: bə-xĩés b-edîds, yəkín hóhum sé?

Aḥmad: yəkín hóhum ksəbét, xĩés b-edîds, mən xərkét, b-edêtès, xɔṭɔk bə-kémkəm.

Ali: bə-ḥás... bə-hér kunút al-yó ‘onút, bə-tét tel a’élès, ‘ɔđ təbʒód k-a’ásərs, her agéyy ðə-múțhan, b-ɔl śeš dé lə tel śeš. ðə kunút kərš, yézûm ṭəhun.

Aḥmad: wallá, dẽnu sé tel agéyy. əd śe ðə-múțhan, lézəm tíß təgəd śeš. mən dém ber šfɔk bes, ber kəlōb bes, lézəm təgəd śeš. ar hér ɔl aģadət śeš ls, yərdîds l-a’élès yənkó’ bes a’élès, bə-flō yəșənḥîr bes tel ekádi...

Séra’.

Ali: násaṇu elhûti al-šəxbərək. ‘ɔd yəgôrén mən dûn ‘ad? her ɔl tê ‘ad lɔ, yəgôrén?

Aḥmad: ber yəgôrén al-‘âd. əd śóhum ‘ad, yəgôrén. bə-ð ɔl kun ‘ad lɔ, bə-ð kun həl ðə-xɔ́rf, yəgôrén l-ərgəd.

Ali: le’, her kun həl ðə-‘onút.

Aḥmad: her kun həl ðə-‘onút, ɔl yəgôrén mən dûn ɔl-‘ad lɔ. ar ɔl-‘âd.

Ali: ‘ɔd bóhum sé... mənhûm... dé yənûfχum?

Aḥmad: mənhûm ineféx, mənhûm yəgôrén mən dûn nafxût.

Ali: b-əʃh, yəṣîms bə-mékən?

---

**yézûm**: In *JL* (s.v. *wzm*) the 3ms imperfect of *ezúm* ‘give’ is listed as *yézûm*, 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 *yəzûm*, but a subjunctive is unexpected, and the audio clearly has *yézûm* (as also in TJ2:64). In the Roman ms, at line 31, Johnstone transcribed *ézûm*, and added the gloss ‘they give’.

**kémkəm**: See the comment to 32:14.

**yəgôrén**: 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’.
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.

Ali: And her maternal uncle and paternal uncle, is there something for them?

Aḥmad: They get clothes, her maternal uncle and paternal uncle, or a robe, and her aunts (get) dresses or head-cloths.

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?

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.

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?

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.

Ali: No, if it is a time of drought.

Aḥmad: If it is a time of drought, they don't give milk except by (eating) sardines. Only by sardines.

Ali: Do some of them ever... Do some... Does someone blow (into the cows' vaginas to stimulate milk production)?

Aḥmad: Some (cows) are blown, and some give milk without blowing.

Ali: And the butter, do they sell it for a lot?

\textit{nəfxát}: This noun is not listed in \textit{JL} (s.v. \textit{nfx}), though based on the context and the related verb \textit{nifx} ‘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.
44. Ali: al-sāxbarak nāsanu, hūlt də-ʿad iḡarog tel sēkōn. mšē ēm yaṣırfaš l-elhūti?
45. Aḥmad: hūlt aʿad iṣerōf ʿak gəmʿāt trut.
46. Ali: bə-šūm yōzənhum ed yaṣbō?
48. Ali: b-āhlōb enišūn?
49. Aḥmad: yēzūm sē sehel.
50. Ali: ʿod yekēnim lōhum mən mukūn?
52. Ali: al-sāxbarak nāsanu, elē, her zəḥōt bə-fʿōr, yohzēz mən nxinūs?
54. Ali: bə-hēr gunūt elē b-əl rōt lə ḏer tfalūt, ʿod (t)šerōk nūsāb?
55. Aḥmad: ol (t)šerōk nūsay lə.
56. Ali: ol dē yəkōdar yəhēlbas lə?
57. Aḥmad: ābdan. ḥaṣ e-gunūt, xalās.

---

43. minē: In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss ‘4 kilos’. Perhaps this word is related to the Arabic unit of measurement mann.
44. iḡarog: In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss ‘stay’. JL (s.v. ġrg) defines the H-Stem aġrēg only as ‘be late’ (cf. 3:2).
45. gəmʿāt trut: The mss have sabūʿ troh, using the Arabic word sabūʿ ‘week’, but the audio has gəmʿāt trut. Both mean ‘two weeks’.
46. ʾ-ītērōb: The mss have térōb, 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 ēṭrēb (H passive 3fs imperfect), from ēṭrēb 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 géfūn is transcribed incorrectly with k in place of g.
Aḥmad: The butter is sold, a *min* for five or six dollars, and the coconut shell (used to hold the butter) for a dollar.

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?

Aḥmad: A load of sardines is rationed out in two weeks.

Ali: And do they give it to them until they are satisfied?

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.

Ali: And the small cows?

Aḥmad: They are given a little.

Ali: Do they get fodder for them from somewhere?

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.

Ali: Let me ask you now, the cow, if it gives birth to a male calf, do they kill (it) from under her?

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.

Ali: And if she refuses the calf and doesn’t accept a substitute, does she still make milk?

Aḥmad: She doesn’t make milk.

Ali: Can anyone milk her?

Aḥmad: Never. When she refuses (the calf), it’s finished.

Ali: But they, most of the cows, accept the dummy-calf, and (the calves) are slaughtered from them?

---

54 *tfalīṯ*: 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 *mansēn*: The audio here has *mansēn*. The Roman ms has “*hēsən* (better *hɔ́hum*)” and the Arabic ms has just *hōhum* ‘for them’.
59 Aḥmad: la-tiā‘ d-elhúti. elhúti al-hés ērún. mānsēn her hizzāk, igĕfūn. ba-sê her sērskāk hes māshāzēllīt, īā’nī al-hés ebrēs, tahēs bes sā’r, mānsēn tarbēn les, mānsēn ifūltān ār ūtār fālī fa’yōr šēhēt. fālēkān al takōlā’s (t)sēnēs lō.

60 Ali: tśīraš man rāḥak?

61 Aḥmad: ēḥē, ifēlōtš man rāḥak. b-ol īsūnēs tō lō.

62 Ali: al-sāxbraco her āgāb yafōlt hes, ʻōd yahārēsān bes ba-yēsērēkhum ta’munhum dōhun kōb dḥa-yīt šōtār ba-sē tahēgām?


64 Ali: ba-ʻāk kēlbāk, egēfūn siēb īnē? yokōlā’s ār edogōb ba-yēzūm tōs tarḥāš.


66 Ali: dōhun egād yokīn d-ebrēs, mān ar gōd dō-mṣāgār?

67 Aḥmad: lē, egād d-ebrēs. se taqārāb egād d-ebrēs ar egād ēsāgār. ba-sē egēfūn taqārāsā.

68 Ali: ta’mōr (t)dēs, eḏē ebrēs?

69 Aḥmad: ēḥē, (t)dēs. yaxtelēfān eḏē ebrēs b-eḏē e-dāk. her nīka’k tōs ba-gēfūn trōh, ba-kūn tād ēl ebrēs lō, taqēlīb ‘ās, bā-ḍ kūn ebrēs, tarḥāš. se dō-rīt l-ebrēs.

---

59 la-tiā‘: This is presumably from Arabic tibā’, the plural of tab‘ ‘characteristic, nature, manner’. The singular tōb‘ is listed in JL (s.v. tb‘). In the Roman ms, Johnstone glossed this phrase as ‘acc. to the nature of’.

60 yahārēsān: This seems to be a D/L-Stem passive of the root ḥrṣ. JL (s.v. ḥrṣ) defines the D/L-Stem ḥōrs as ‘insist, be insistent’. ML (s.v. ḥrṣ) defines the Mehri D/L-Stem ḥōrəṣ 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 ḥūrṣ/yḥūrṣən/yḥɔ́rṣ for the active, and ḥīrās/yḥārēsān/l-harās for the passive. The use of the passive here seems to be lexical.

61 yēsērēkhum: The audio and the mss differ considerably for much of this line. Where the audio has yēsērēkhum ta’munhum dōhun kōb dḥa-yīt šōtār ba-sē tahēgām (with much stumbling and several false starts), the mss have sērēk enfōf kōlōb ‘āgāb yatī dōhūn šōtār ed se tahēgām ‘they pretend to be [lit. make themselves] wolves that want to eat that calf, so that she will attack.’
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).

Ali: Do you hide [lit. steal] it far away?

Aḥmad: Yes, you take it far away. And you don't show it to her.

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?


Ali: 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.

Aḥmad: This is like her child. They have already learned this thing.

Ali: That skin, is it her child's, or the skin of another (calf)?

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.

Ali: Would you say she smells it, the smell of her child?

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.
Ali: mən kédé egmílh ɖə-yəhəl lóhum 'ad, ɓə-ɖə-ɣəxətar ɗírum ɓə-ɣəl ḳədə, ɗə yəsərək ɦóhum yózəmhum sè kénùm?

Aḥmad: egmílh? ɬhə. her xtɔrk ɓə-gůl her 'ad, təbōd taackbar heš. təxəmns ɓə-ɑʃkər ɓə-flō ɓə-zəgər, her nika' ta'bùn b-ɔl yəkədər yəɣəd mukən bə-

Ali: mun ɗ-ikénum heš her aɣəyg xtɔr ɗə gůl?

Aḥmad: teχ ikénum her ɬrşəb ɓə-flō yo ɓə-sékən.

Ali: egůl ɬə-yəhəl ɬə-ɗə-ɣə-yə'b... nəsənən, yəstïm a'-aad ɓə-dùn mən yəmdəd ḳəzər?

Aḥmad: ɗə ɔl ɬəs ɬə ḳəzər ɬə, yaʃïst ɗun. ɓə-ɬə ɬəs ɬəzər yəzəm ḳəzər.

Ali: ed ɬit yaʃ'əd b-ɛdùn yəʃəs?

Aḥmad: ed ʃərəb. ɬə ɬəsəl ɬə mən təmrət ɔʃət, mən ɬəʃ, yəkətə'.

Ali: lekən nəsənən eəhəti, 'aɬ kələbək yəkən dəyəmən... yəkən səbər ɗírum dun, bəl elə?

Aḥmad: bəl elə dəyəmən, her ɬə kən təd ɗə-xəti.

Ali: ɓə-kə ɬəm ɬə yaʃïm mən elhùtəhəm ɓə-dírəhəm, ɓə-yəstïm, ɓə-yəkəla' edùn?

Aḥmad: də-xəcəls elhùti. her təd ɬəʃ 'əsərət elhùti ɓə-ɬəm mənhəm bə-ɬə-ɔnut štət ɓə-flə ɬəbət, də-xəcəls.

Ali: kəf her ɬət ɓə-gəmət ɬəlt ɗə-ʔəd? ɓə-həlt ɗə-ʔəd, ɓə-|məsə takïn sə?

Aḥmad: berət takïn ɓə-ʃələt, berət takïn ɓə-əʃər.

---

71 taʃkər/'aʃkər: The noun 'aʃkər, which I did not find in JL, refers either to Blepharis dhoфarensis or Blepharis lənariafolia (Miller and Morris 1988: 6, 8). The form taʃkər seems to be 2ms subjunctive of a denomi-
native quadrilateral verb aʃkər. In the Roman ms, Johnstone glossed the verb with the note 'you take from such and such a tree'.

71 zəgər: JL (s.v. zər) 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 zúgər, define this as Euphorbia cactus, and note that it is used as camel fodder.

77 təmrət: This noun is not in JL (tər), but we can compare forms like etmər 'be fruitful; prosper' and təmrən 'fruitful', as well as Arabic təmərat- 'yield, profit, benefit'. In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss 'produce'.

77 yəkətə': 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'.

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?

Aḥmad: The camels? Yes. If you go down to town on a camel for sardines, you go get ‘aškér for it. You bring it ‘aškér or zāġər, if it comes back hungry and can’t go anywhere.

Ali: Who collects fodder for it if the man goes down to town on a camel?

Aḥmad: The woman collects fodder for the riding-camels, or else people in the settlement.

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?

Aḥmad: If he doesn’t have any cash, he takes a debt. And if he has cash, he gives cash.

Ali: By [lit. until] when should he promise [or: arrange] to pay the debt?

Aḥmad: By autumn. If they get something from the production of the animals, from the butter, they pay.

Ali: But now the cows [i.e., cow-herders], do you think he is always... is he always in debt, the cow-herder?

Aḥmad: The cow-herder, always, if there is not someone that has slipped my mind.

Ali: And why don’t they sell some of their cows for money, and buy (with cash), and avoid [lit. leave] the debt?

Aḥmad: The cows would be finished. If someone had ten cows, and sold six or seven each year, they would be finished.

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]?

Aḥmad: Sometimes it is thirty, sometimes it is twenty.

---

78 dayman: Ali first used the Arabic dayman ‘always’ (< dāʾiman), then corrected himself with the Jibbali equivalent sɔ́bər.

79 xěṭi: Johnstone added the gloss ‘doesn’t stick in the mind’. This could be a Gb perfect of the root xt’ or could be a noun or adjective derived from Arabic xāṭiʾ ‘incorrect, mistaken’ or the like.

82 kēf: This is Arabic kēf ‘how?’.

82 hōlt: In the Arabic ms, Ali twice wrote ḥīlt, and Johnstone did likewise in the Roman ms. But the audio has ḥõlt both times. On this word, see further in the comment to 6:37.

Aḥmad: l-ɛkɛ́dɛ́ rɛ́lhûtí. əd ṣek əlhûtí mékən, yəkín ḏiɾk ḏun mékən. ḏə-Ď ṣek əlhûtí xérin, yəkín ḏiɾk ḏun xérin.

Ali: ʿad iẓɔ́k bʿél aʿád yəḥkék lóhum?

Aḥmad: her ɔl níkaʾk tóhum ɔl-šérțhun lɔ, yaʃənhtərk.

Ali: ba-hér zumk tóhum ʃkh, b-ɔxɔrək ʃkh?

Aḥmad: də yəʃūr, ba-dé ɔl yəʃūr lɔ.

Ali: mor, ḏə-yóh ʾak kəlbɔ́k... bʿál élɛ́ ʾtaʾbùn mɔn dən ḏənū?

Aḥmad: ʃaʾbùn dátymən, ba-ʃé ʃaʾbùn.

Ali: ʾak kəlbɔ́k, bál élɛ́ axér mɔn bál eyə́t axér?

Aḥmad: bál eyə́t axér.

Ali: waʃəkən bál eyə́t yoh ʾak kəlbɔ́k ɛskənəm?

Aḥmad: bál eyə́t ʃasɔ́kʃ ʾak xədərɛ́tə, bál élɛ́ ʾak ʃɔ́rətɔ ʃə-ʾák ɛrkə́b. bál élɛ́ axér, ʃʃəkərən. bál élɛ́ axér, b-ɛnɔ́zəl axér.

Ali: mun təkɪn sə́həm ksəbɛ́t axér?

Aḥmad: bál élɛ́ ʾtəkɪn sə́həm ksəbɛ́t axér.

Ali: ɔb-bál iyɛ́l atkɪnən sə́həm ʃɔ́hɔ́b, ʃɔ́hɛ́tə ʤ-iyɛ́l.

Aḥmad: yəkín ʃaʾbənə ɔb-bəxɔ́lt. ɔl yəʃūm ʾʃe ʃɔ lɔ mənsən. bál iyɛ́l, bál ɛ́rùn yəʃəxəl mékən, ʾak mənzəl dɪʃər.

Ali: lékən ʾak kəlbɔ́k yoh bál eyə́t ɔb-bál ɔz? ɛhũn ʃe ḏɔ-yɔ́kín axér?

---

ekɛ́dɛ́: In the Arabic ms, Ali transcribed here ٌ. 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 ekɛ́dɛ́, reflecting Arabic qadr ‘amount’.

ɛskənəm: This must be a reflection of Arabic maskan or maskin ‘dwelling, habitation’.

xədərɛ́tə: This is a plural of xádar, the diminutive of xádər ‘cave’. JL (s.v. xdr) does not list the diminutive forms, but they are given in Johnstone (1973: 103).

ʃɔ́rətɔ: 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 stɔ́r ‘cover’.

ɛrkə́b: This is the plural of rɛ́kə́b, on which see the comment to 54:32. Johnstone incorrectly transcribed ɛrkə́b in the Roman ms.
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]?

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.

Ali: Do those sardine-men press them (to pay)?

Aḥmad: If they don’t bring them (payment) as per their agreement, they lodge a complaint against you.

Ali: And if you give half and you postpone half?

Aḥmad: Some are patient, and some are not patient.

Ali: And how, in your opinion... Are the cow-herders weary [or: in trouble] besides this [or: from this debt]?

Aḥmad: He is always weary [or: in trouble].

Ali: In your opinion, are the cow-herders more (weary/in trouble) or the camel-herders?

Aḥmad: The camel-herders more.

Ali: But the camel-herders, how, in your opinion are their dwellings?

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.

Ali: Who has better clothes?

Aḥmad: The cow-herders have better clothes.

Ali: The camel-herders have a herd, herds of camels.

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.

Ali: But in your opinion, how are the camel-herders and goat-herders? Which one is better (off)?

---

**elhūn:** In the Roman ms, Johnstone glossed this word as ‘which of 2’. The same word is used in TJ4:71. See § 11.10.

**še:** In the Roman ms, Johnstone transcribed mon šum, but this is ungrammatical, since an independent pronoun cannot follow the preposition mon here. In the Arabic ms, Ali transcribed منشوهوم, which could be read either mon šūm or mon šóhum ‘from among them’. On the audio, Ali said še.
Aḥmad: aṣṭakéran he bāl eyāt.

Ali: bāl eyāt yakín axér mān bāl az, bāl érūn. bāl érūn yakín 'ak manéb zal ḍa-bōhum ḡāši bā-...

Aḥmad: ḡāši bā-ʿāk xāṭer bā-ʿāk ẓerīb bā-ʿāk manéb zal móʾār.

Ali: ba-ʿāk kělnak nāšanu màṭalan, her šek érūn bā-kisk bēsān tiēn mékān, bā-šēm tōsān bā-skōjk bā-šērmak bā- bā-šēr, bā-fālūn šēm ūk bāl axēr ūk bā-skōjk b-ešōzāk?

Aḥmad: axēr her šek érūn bā-šēm tōsān, axēr, lékōn her ūlsāk, mīmār' edērhēsān yah ḡā-tēsēr k?

Ali: le' her kunk (t)sērk bēsān ūk ḡā-(t)tōlūn... ḡā-(t)tōlūn.

Aḥmad: šērmak ūk tégoirt bā-fālūn šērmak ūk dakkūn, temēm, axēr. bā-ḏ bek ar tōskāf bās tāṭhum, ḡā-l-xāls.

Ali: 'ak kēlābn kēšān ugbōl ūl dāyman yāʾagōb... sóbər yāʾagōb bās ar ūn lō?

Aḥmad: ēhē. ūl yāsōr ar ūl lō, bēlē ḡā-sōn'īm bā-šēs kārōs, ūl yāsōr ar ūsēt lō, ḡā-sōkānī les ūsēt.

Ali: ugbōl kēšān, bāl ēgiēl, yāʾagōb šūnūtš... yāsēldēd hūṭun, yāsēldēd b-ēgiēl ūn yāsēldēd bā-hallēt?

Aḥmad: yāsēldēd b-ēgiēl.

Ali: ta'mōr l-īnē?


Aḥmad: ēhē.

---

ḥāši bē-ʿāḳ xāṭēr bē-ʿāḳ ḍerīb bē-ʿāḳ mīnēbāl móʾār

Aḥmad: This word is not in JL. In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss 'big cliffs', noting also the singular ḍerēt and the Mehri cognate ḍərbīt (pl. ḍərāb). ML (s.v. ḍṛb) lists ḍərbēt 'wind storm', corresponding to Jibbali ḍarbēt. It is possible that this is the word intended here.

māṭalan: This is Arabic maṭalan 'for example'.

bā-bā-šēr': These are from Arabic bāy 'selling' and šīrā 'buying'.

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: edērhēm (t)sērk bōhum śē ḡī-īṭūlūn, which perhaps means 'the money, you should do with it something so that it increases'. Johnstone transcribed the last verb as yṭūlūn, while Ali wrote ديطولن; either must be D/L-Stem imperfect.
Aḥmad: I think the camel-herders.
Ali: The camel-herders are better (off) than the goat-herders. The
goat-herders are in places that have sand and...
Aḥmad: Sand, and in danger(ous places), and on cliffs, and in rough
places.
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?
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?
Ali: No, if something with them so that they increase... they increase.
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.
Ali: In your opinion now, the Jibbali always likes... always only likes it
here?
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.
Ali: The Jibbali now, the mountain-dweller, he likes his sleep... Where
is he comfortable, is he comfortable in the mountains or is he comfort-
able in the city?
Aḥmad: He is comfortable in the mountains.
Ali: Why, do you think [lit. say]?
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 yə́ágó́b šunútš: The mss have mon kédé šunútš ‘regarding his sleep’, but
the audio has yə́ágó́b šunútš.
113 ḏ-éləf: The form élf is the Gb-Stem perfect of the root ‘lf. The verb is
not listed in JL, but is clearly borrowed from Arabic G ʿalifa ‘be(come)
accustomed to, used to’. In the Roman ms, Johnstone lists the forms
élf/yélɔ́f/ylɔ́f, which are the expected forms of a Gb-Stem I-’ verb (iden-
tical also to those of a I-w verb); see § 7.4.1.
Ali: yəkín ʿáfɛ́ mən ʿaḳ kɛ́lbək yɔh?
Aḥmad: ēhē, yəkín ʿáfɛ́ axér ar ḥallɛ́t.
Ali: ḥallɛ́t, iné yəkín bes?
Aḥmad: yəkín bes kɛ́rsɛ́ta.
Ali: kɛ́rsɛ́ bə-sex. ʿaɬ yəkín təbkum ktun?
Aḥmad: ēhē, ktun bər yəkín b-eğiəl əb-bér yəkín bə-ḥallɛ́t. ktun bə-ɗɛrdɛ́r.
Ali: taɔ́mər mannə iżɛ́nu yəkín?
Aḥmad: mən wəsax, her kun sə wəsax bə-ţēnu. mən wəsax ɛrʒ bə-flɔ́ her ěrdɛ́m ol də-yərḥaə bə-flɔ́ ol də-yərḥaə ksəbɛ́t lo, bə-flɔ́ ɛңzɛ́lɛ́ ol nədɛ́lf lo, yəkín ktun.
Ali: ɗɛ́x, oɬ ɛɾṣɛ́t, hu ɬɛ́kən ɬə sə ūm ɛɾṣɛ́t, ər-ɬəq təκɔ́dər ɬə tʃəxənt lo?
Aḥmad: tʃəxənt her kun ḥɑɬ də-mosé, ɔl tʃəxənt lo. mən ɛlɛ́bsi bə-ɬɛʃə.
Ali: lɛ́kən yəkín šum sɛ́lɔ́hum.
Aḥmad: šum bə ɗ-ɛləf ɬə-dɛ₂n sə.
Aḥmad: mʊn, hɛt?

ʿáfɛ́: This adjective is not in JL, though related words are included (s.v. ʿfw). In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss ‘healthy’. We can probably compare Arabic ʿafbی ‘robust, healthy’.

kɛ́rsɛ́ta: This word is not in JL, though it is clearly related to kɛ́rɔ́ς ‘bugs’ (JL, s.v. krs), used in the next line. It is probably a diminutive.

ṣɛx: JL (s.v. ʃbx) defines this as ‘kind of stinging bug’, but in the Roman ms he added the gloss ‘centipedes &c.’.

ktun: In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss ‘flying insect’. I did not find it in JL.

dɛrdɛ́r: JL (s.v. dərdər) glosses this word as ‘flea’. In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss ‘tiny red fly’.

wəsax: 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).

ɛrṣɛ́t: In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the gloss ‘wood cow-pen’. It is probably connected to the verb ɛrṣɛ́ ‘tie, tether’ (JL, s.v. rṣy).
Ali: Is it healthier [lit. healthy] or what [lit. how], in your opinion?
Aḥmad: Yes, it’s healthier than the city.
Ali: The city, what’s in it?
Aḥmad: It has bugs.
Ali: Bugs and stinging bugs. Do you have ktun?
Aḥmad: Yes, ktun sometimes are in the mountains and sometimes in the city—ktun and fleas.
Ali: What do these come from, do you think [lit. say]?
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.
Ali: Aḥmad, in monsoon season, in the cold and the mist, the cow-herder 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?
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.
Ali: But they don't care.
Aḥmad: They are accustomed to this thing.
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.
Aḥmad: Who, you?

ëlébsi: This is the definite form of malébsi (< *maláwsi) the plural of mošé. The plural form is absent from JL (s.v. lsw), but we can compare Mehri and Hobyot maláwsi (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.
sélóhum: 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’, sélak ‘you don't care'. In the Roman ms, Johnstone added the (strange) gloss ‘you should worry', and added the Mehri equivalent swallīham with the gloss ‘all the same'. In line 130, he glossed sélóhum as ‘it’s all one to them'.
129 Ahmad: ṣl ṟ-ělaśk ēgiel lō?
130 Ali: le', ṣl ṟ-ělaśk őśe lō, edåhaź lō. ṟa-śüm yakin sélōhum, yāśō'i.
131 Ahmad: šum ber ṛa-γašō ṟihiń śe. ṟ-ělaf ṟihiń śe.

Text TJ3: An Autobiographical Story

1 sfork mën ṣeř of her ṣl-xédam. mgōre' ēsλakoł dâbey. am-mën dâbey āgiād ḥeṭ. ḥeř her xsâdmēt. ṣl kisk xsâdmēt lō.
2 mën ḡiś sfork al-κâwêt. kisk xsâdmēt fer'ēś. mën al-kâwêt xudûmk bes 'ônut ṭrut. mgōre' sfork ed ṣς-sa'udīt. xudûmk xōś īrač ba-fûnsk.
3 mgōre' hes bek fûnsk, āgiād ed ḥeṭar bo-xudûmk bes 'ônut ṭrut. mën ġeř 'ônut ṭrut, fûnsk b-āgiād ed dâbey.
4 sfork ed dâbey. am-mën dâbey xudûmk bes 'ônut. mgōre' sfork ērz. mën ērz ħeř her xsâdmēt bo-xudûmk 'āk ġeš. mën ġeš fûnsk.
5 ṣaḥā-to xēr. īda' ī xarīg, ba-fûnsk, ba-reřa'ēg ēgiēl. mën ēgiēł, kebbək. ḥaš bek kebbək, sfork. nika'k. sfork 'āk ṭangš ed maskêt.
6 mgōre' keşek gīwēz ba-nika'k dâbey. mën dâbey ṭheř her xsâdmēt, b-ṣl kisk xsâdmēt śe bo-dâbey lō.
7 āgiād ed ras al-xīh. mën ras al-xīh xudûmk 'āk šārtah šēb'ēt īrač. mgōre' mën ġer šēb'ēt īrač a'tēlûmk drēwəl.

Text TJ2

130 edåhaź: The noun dâhaź, which Johnstone glossed in the Roman ms as 'slipperiness', is not in JL, though the related verb d(a)ḥâź 'slip' (used in line 126) is included (s.v. ḍhēz).

Text TJ3

2 fer'ēś: The meaning of this word is uncertain. Several of my informants did not recognize it, and assumed (as did 1) that xâdmēt fer'ēś must mean something like 'little/odd jobs' or 'part-time work'. One informant, however, revealed that the verb fer'ēś (which does have the pattern of a Q-Stem verb) means 'lay something on the ground', and so the phrase xâdmēt fer'ēś refers to selling wares on the street.

2 fûnsk: The D/L-Stem funš, borrowed from English 'finish' (via Arabic), does not appear in JL, but Mehri fōns is listed in ML (s.v. fnš). It means both 'resign, quit' and 'fire, dismiss'. A D-Stem fanñaš, with both meanings, is known from various Arabic dialects in the region.
Johnstone’s Jibbali Texts

Ali: Yes, me. Because I was not accustomed (to it).

Aḥmad: You were not accustomed to the mountains?

Ali: No, I wasn’t accustomed to the rain, the slipperiness. But they don’t care. They run.

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 ɛrż́: Although ɛrż́ literally means ‘country’, it can also be used to mean ‘home-country, homeland’.

4 géš: This word, not in JL, is clearly a reflection of Arabic jayş ‘army’.

5 ɔ́daʿ ī: Ali transcribed ʿɔdk īk, which is an error. The audio confirms ɔ́daʿ ī.

6 giwɛ́z: 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.
hes nígaḥk, 衒ʔʔɛ́nɪtɛ́k ɛr̩з. mən ɛr̩з, hes ɛsʔəlɛ́k ɛr̩з, xudúmk dréwəl.

xudūmk dréwəl ‘ak šerék. hini’ ônun bə-ʃəkk.

hes bér hini ‘ônun bə-ʃəkk, da’ámk. hes bek da’ámk, sqərk. sqərk her şur.

man şur şótem k ʰánufi hóri, bə-琇ʔʔɛ́nɪtɛ́k beş ɛr̩з.

hes ɛsʔəlɛ́k ɛr̩з, niki’a to xér ‘or, “ekɛráhkwum da’ún.” hes ber niki’a to xér
d-“ekɛráhkwum da’úm,” skɔf k d-ʔɔk xīš ɛm ser ekɛráhən.

mŋóre’ réfə’k egiiɛ́l al-šné ekiɛrəh. kisk ekiɛrəh ber xarog. aŋádə bə-ŋhark
leš le’ trut. mən ḡer le’ trut ŋfəkək.

hes bek ŋfəkək kɛbbək hallət. ḡer her xadımet bə-xudūmk ːnəggər. hes bek
xudūmk ːnəggər hini šhəlɛt ‘ayún he ṯ-ənúgar.

mŋóre’ funšk mən niggɔ́r bə-ʃeʃkəf ʃədnin ɡaʃ. mən ʃədnin ɡaʃ... funšk
mən ʃədnin ɡaʃ, bə-xudūmk hóri.

mən hóri, funšk mes. ɡl ʃink xadımət tînǔfə’ sé lə. ʔa’āš ḡa-nəɡoʃk xérin.

funšk bə-ʃeʃkəf egiiɛ́l, skəf k ‘aʃ moʃət, əlhúti b-ɛ́rún b-iyèl.

skəf hini šhəlɛt ‘ayún. mən ḡer šhəlɛt ‘ayún, kɛbbək. kɛbbək hallət. ḡer
her xadımət. ɡl kisk xadımət ɡo.

mŋóre’ niki’k bə-ʃfərk. kɛʃʃək l-ɛnúf giwɛ́z bə-ʃfərk mən ización səktəra.

hes itk səktəra, ŋfəkək bə-trùt.

hes bek ŋfəkək bə-trùt, ʔók ʰesən, “ak ɡl-ʃəgədkən d-ɛr̩z.” gọłb. hes gọłb,
abɡəd mən səktəra ed egɛ́zət.

hes ɛsʔəlɛ́k egɛ́zət, abɡəd, ḡer her xadımət elshun b-axèdəm nátur. mŋóre’
mən nətər skəf. skəf elshun ‘ak ‘ônun trut bə-ʃəkk.

mŋóre’ 琇ʔʔɛ́nɪtɛ́k al-ʃrəm ə-alɛt b-egiɛ́l. skəf ʃəbɛ́t îrex b-egiɛ́l bə-xtərk.

hes bek xtərk, skəf, aŋádək, ẓətək elshun rəʃən mən suk bə-kuɔrk.

---

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’óm: This word is not in JL, but it is obviously connected with the verb da’ám, discussed in the previous comment.

12 nəggər: This is Arabic najjār ‘carpenter’.

12 ṯ-ənúgar: This is a 1cs imperfect of the verb nəɡər. JL (s.v. nəɡ) 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 ɡaʃ: The meaning of this word is unknown, but it must be connected with the verb ɡeʃ ‘cut, chop’. My informants did not recognize it.
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.

After a year and a half, I had an accident. After I had an accident, I traveled. I traveled to Ṣur. From Ṣur I bought a canoe for myself, and I left for home with it.

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.

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.

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.

Then I quit carpentry and smashed rocks. I quit the rocks, and I worked on the canoe.

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.

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.

Then I came and traveled. I got myself a permit and traveled from there to Soqotra. After I came to Soqotra, I married two (women).

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 Soqotra to Al-Ghayḍah (Yemen).

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.

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.

\[^{14}\text{ā'āš}:\text{This is the definite form of} \text{ma'āš}, \text{which is simply Arabic} \text{ma'āš} ‘\text{salary; income; livelihood}’ (\text{root} \text{‘yš}).\]

\[^{18}\text{nāṭūr}:\text{This is Arabic} \text{nāṭūr} ‘\text{guard, watchman}’.\]

\[^{19}\text{réṣən}:\text{This is presumably from English ‘ration’}.\]
sink sfer da-yənūfa’ sè lɔ. hes bek żeṭak erēšən kbɔrk. kunk k-elhūti a’elii, mən ḏér ekérah. mgōre’ erōdan elhūti bə-tər len fɔ’ir.

hes ber tər len fɔ’ir dhāsən tɔs bə-ʒən bɔ-hōdən her b’el sēkən ab-bɔ’(l)ta ahlɔb.


‘ok heš, “temém. xter. bə-ʒbɔt len kit mən suk bə-ksabət. bə-ŋkə’ tun... het bə-flɔ tɔskaf’ak ősət bə-flɔ he. kəl e-sínən tɔs... kəl e-’ądəb mənən yósər bə-τad yósəf’ak ősət.”

mgōre’ sʃɔr sè. mgōre’ sè keś l-ɛnuf giwëz bə-sʃɔr. hes iti məskét, źeṭ l-ɛnuf giwëz bə-sʃɔr ed dabęy.

hes iti bə-dabęy da’im. da’ (*)( keraḥ ‘er bə-tər meʃ fa’m b-îd. mgōre’ yənkə’ tə xer, ‘ɔr hini, “ekérah da’im.”

mgōre’ sʃɔrk he ed l-ənkə’. hes nīka’k ed dabęy, šənḥɔrk. hes šənḥɔrk, kizık sinört bə-arkə-trut, tịt nṣenút tənu.


26 kizik: This seems to be a G passive, since the G kέzə means ‘pay compensation’, while the meaning here is ‘be paid compensation’.

27 əl-kέzə: Ali transcribed əkέzə here, but the audio has əl-əkέzə, which looks like a G passive 3ms subjunctive. (Cf. the previous comment.)

28 máḥkama: This is Arabic maḥkamah ‘court (of law)’.
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.

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.

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.”

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.”

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.

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.”

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.

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.”

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. ‘ṣkum l-uitable lokum bə-keltst?
2. xaṭarət tit bar suṭün, ʔə kə šəs lə nsələt ar še. b-əl yašxanut lə mən ʔak skəsərəš lə. yakın ar ʔak kəsərəš.
3. hakt ʔə heš, šəsfə mən ʔəbəqət tit ebrət ʔə-suṭün bə-ɾəɾ təd, al-kət ə-yəd ə-yəkəlt heš bes.
4. aɣabəqət, ankəbərd sərés. b-ələ₀́₀₂ şəhəm nsələt lə ar še. ənhəbəsəm əmbərəm ən ʔəqət. ʔə heš ʔə hakt ə-yəzəməʃ ʔə, ʔər “ebrə, ələ₀́₀₂, ələ₀́₀₂ bek əsə, ələ₀́₀₂ šəxəbək əsə?”
5. ʔəʔər, “le.” ʔəʔər, “ar kə het tənə?” ʔəʔər, “bəss mən-nufila hakt ʔə heš, ʔər her is, ʔər, “e bé, he də-hə-ɾəd, həyım təɾt təɾt.”
6. ʔər, “ebrə, təqəd bə-təɾd ən bə-lə₀́₀₂ ən bə-lə₀́₀₂ təkəh ən, aʔələ₀́₀₂ ən ʔən nsələt ar hət. əl-hən təqəd hel ‘ak təqəd?”
7. ʔər, “lə₀́₀₂m də-hə-ɾəd!” aqəd. ʔələ₀́₀₂ sənəʃəm ʔəmkəsən ənəməʃ ələ₀́₀₂. bə-həl kəəbəʃ əɾəʃ, b-əqəd. aqəd, aqəd, aqəd, aqəd.
8. ber šəhə ən ʔət ə-sə, ber šəhə ən ʔən tələ əkəhəb, ən ʔən təbəqəd, ən ʔən təl təxənəṭ. ber də-ə₀́₀₂iəs kəsə təɾəmən də-ɾə-ʔəl šəs.

---

2. nsələt: JL (s.v. nsəl) does not include this word, but does include the related nɛ́səl. Perhaps nsələt is the singular of nɛ́səl.
3. hakt ʔər: The speaker said hakt ʔər, but Ali transcribed has ə-bər. Likewise in lines 12, 19, 36, and 54. Similarly, in line 49, Ali transcribed the 3fs hakt ərət as has ə-berət. Only once (in line 5) did Ali faithfully transcribe hakt ʔər. 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. ənhəbəsəs: 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.
5. ʔəqət: This word is missing from JL (s.v. ʔəy’), though the corresponding verb ʔə ʔə ‘become thin, waste away; go to waste’ is listed (cf. 28:13). In the Roman ms, Johnstone glossed ʔəqət as ‘weakness’. It is unclear how best to translate it in this context, so I have opted for a somewhat loose translation.
6. hakt: As in line 3, while the speaker said hakt, Ali transcribed has. He did likewise in lines 25, 31, 51, 55, 67, 68, 85, 86, and 88. Only four times did Ali faithfully transcribe hakt (lines 5, 50, 65 and 73).
You want me to tell you a story?

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.

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.

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?”

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.”

He said, “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?”

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.

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.

\[\text{hāyim taḥt dāyim}:\] This is an Arabic phrase, meaning something like ‘wandering continually’.

\[\text{hel}:\] This is a dialectal variant of \(\text{her}\) (§13.4.1). See the comment to line 27.

\[\text{šāntah}:\] This word (< Arabic \(\text{šantah}\)) is not in \(\text{JL}\), but is listed in \(\text{ML}\) (s.v. \(\text{šnt}\)).

\[\text{gənɛhɛ̄t}:\] This word, another Arabic loan, is also not in \(\text{JL}\). The singular \(\text{ginî}\) occurs in 52:8.

\[\text{ṣḥēle}:\] This verb is clearly an Š2-Stem of the root \(\text{ḥl’}\), meaning ‘be given a description’. \(\text{JL}\) (s.v. \(\text{ḥlv}\)) lists only the Š1-Stem \(\text{ṣḥalė}\), with this meaning, though it gives an Š2-Stem imperfect.
aġád. aģád mən ħôhûn, ed nika’ e siti aġagbót. hes zəhâm e siti aġagbót, šini hësân.
girías la-thalî’ e-yô ḥ̂-hûlî heš tos. girías, b-aġád mən lôkûn. ed nika’ lxîn út, ya’sûn mënzèl ḥ-ûsxarèt. zəhám, éga’h tôlôs, eşiwarèt.
skəft tôlôs. ör, “e xôlîti, ḥ-ûl-ûskəft tôlôs, b-ûsîrk hînî shûtûl dha-l-ékon
tôlôs mən d-ûk b-erô’ demu.”
örôt heš, “heš-tô, ya’ôr sé la.” skəft tôlôs. skəft tôlôs. hakt ër heš yum mit yû\ntrut. ör hes, “e a’û’î, hé…” kəlôt hes bə-gôrê mən gôrê këlś, hógtôš këls, kôl\nin gérè lëś.
kəlôt hes mən kédè aģagbót. kəlôt hes mən kédè aģagbót b-ağidîš b-estîkôš këls.
“bə-hît, šîxîbûr hînî mən aģagbót bə-ûm ẽ-ûsxôntût.” bə-sé tışxûnût mən\ngam’ât ed gam’ât, aģagbót.
mən gam’ât ed gam’ât a’rér l-ûzôkûn inéû tôbôjôdan şës. giînîti\dô-lëbrás mën sens, a’rér lèsôn.
b-îs šës mûsèbtôn. šës mûsèbtôn, bə-kôl yûm tôkhôb ‘ak mûsûn tiad.\b-ûsèbtôn dô-ûsîrôgûm ôrûm tiad yôhôgôrhum dô-yëbûkô dûrûm hêrs ‘ak\ësèbtôn.
kôl tiad ‘amkôš tiad yôhôgôrûs. ôl yagâhs dé lô mën dûn se. yum e-nk’ôt se\b-ûsûgônit dô-ûsès, yôfôtô lès.
bô-ûsîrk hes kôl mûsûn ‘amkôš but. kôl mûsûn ‘amkôš but, tôkhên\’amkèsôn. tôrôhôn ‘ak fûlôg, ‘ak hôbû, tônu tôrôhôn ‘amkôsh.

la-thalî’: This word (cf. its bare form təhlî’ in line 58) is not in JL. It is\glossed in the Roman ms as ‘description’, and is clearly related to the\verbs shelô ‘be given a description’ (root h̀lw) and hûlî ‘describe’, both\used in this text.

lxîn: Ali transcribed nxîn, but the audio has lxîn. He did likewise in\line 24. Like his typical replacement of hâs with hakt, this transcription\reflects a difference in Ali’s dialect from that of the speaker.

bə-gôrê mən gôrê: Though not in JL (s.v. gry) gôrê is a noun derived from\the verb gôrê ‘happen’. The element mə is Arabic. In a number\of Arabic dialects, the construction X (w-)mə X can mean something\like ‘the whole X’ or ‘all about X’. Johnstone incorrectly transcribed\this phrase as bə-gôrê ma gôrê, but correctly glossed it as ‘what had\happened’.
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.

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.

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.”

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.

He told her about the girl. He told her about the girl and his journey and all about his plan.

“And you, ask for me about the girl and when she goes out.” And she went out every Friday, the girl.

Every Friday, they sent for those women who would go with her. Girls similar to her in age, they sent for them.

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.

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.

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 estikdoš: 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 Ḫɔ́rɔ́s 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 bahākt ēr rīh, a-bér raḥāz, tabgōdān bə-tfūsēn. tēkhēn ’ak ēt. tēkhēn yum āḥūn ēlūhūn. bə-kol’ēnī tēnufo, mān gōm’āt ḍē gōm’āt.
20 bə-sē šēs žūrīt hāyūt tə’mūrans bāss ’ārit, axēr ’ansēn, ezūrīt.
21 ņọ her eṣxārēt, “mīt ḍhā-tṣěxāntān, sībxār mān ēṣtūn ha-tōkhāb ’amkās.” eṣxārēt tōxīr hēs. tāṣēnjēz. tāṣēnjēz bə-yūm ḍhā-tṣěxāntān ḍ-ēstūn ḍhā-tēkhēn ’amkās.
22 tōkōlt hēs ēṣtūn ḍhā-tōkhēn ’amkās, sēn. yāḥgōd šē ’ak fēgār eṣbāhī, ḍ-’ōd yā da-sēf, fīnisān sēn ʾal tāqūdān.
24 yēkā’ šanṭūs līxūn ērēs. yēnhēl’ētn ’aṭ dūhūn ērēmēz ereço, dōḥūn ḍhāsī. bə-yīkūn tēlē ēnufo bə-hūsī bə-sākūlūt bə-xāṭīk ’aquūl.
25 ḍhāk tū-ēn (t)zhōn, yā’ōr hēsaŋ aḡēy ḍhā-hāgūr 5b, ō-ḏēr šē 5b, “hēr finūkān ḍyēy ḍākūlūt līḥūn, miśērēd, ḏ-ēgāh ’ăgāh yāstīk.”
26 tabgōdān. hel zahām tāṣēfān tōlāš. tāṣēfān ’ūrīs, bə-tāžhōkan leš. tāžhōkan leš, tāxēsānām ʾam-ḥōh b-ʾam-ḥōh, bə-šē ṣérēk ēnufo ʾīqēm lēṭkūn, b-ʾal yēḥērg ʾēsen šē lā. yēḥādūnūn désēn, b-ʾal yēḥērg šē lā.

21 her eṣxārēt: Ali transcribed here he-šxārēt, 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 suṭūn is likewise pronounced something like he-suṭūn, 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-īnē) and with pronominal suffixes. Another example is found in TJ5:10.

21 tōxīr: The expected 3fs imperfect of šxābēr is tašxīr (< *tašxēbār), which is what both mss have here. On the audio, it sounds closer to tašxīr. The sequence iér is heard more clearly in line 81. (The 2mp is normally tašxīr < *tašxēbār; cf. 3mp yāsīr in 12:7 and 18:7.)

22 fēgār eṣbāhī: The adjective eṣbāhī ‘morning’ is not listed in JL, but the phrase appears in ML (s.v. ṣbh), where the Mehri equivalent is translated ‘at the end of the night’.

23 ’atālōk: This word is glossed in the Roman ms as ‘torn clothes’. Informants recognized it.
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.

And she, she had an Ethiopian servant-girl, who was just like an Arab, (but) the servant-girl was better than them.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.”

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.

**ḥīm**: *JL* (s.v. ḥmm) lists only ḥūm ‘charcoal’, but *ML* lists both ḥamūm and ḥamūm for Mehri ‘charcoal’. So Jibbali ḥīm must be a variant of ḥūm, just as in Mehri.

**yənbélʿāṭən**: *JL* (s.v. blʿt) lists the imperfect as yənbélʿɔ́ṯ. 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.

**təṣféfən**: *JL* (s.v. ṣff) glosses the verb ṣef only as ‘line up; stitch’, but in the Roman ms of this text, Johnstone added the gloss ‘stand around s.o.’.

**ʿīrɔ́š**: Both mss have ʿīrɔ́š, though the audio sounds more like ʿīrə́š. An informant also preferred ʿīrɔ́š. This is the lone attestation of the preposition ʿiyɔ́r (§ 8.5).
hel éẓ́aḥ meš, ṭəbġɔ́dən térḥáẓ́ən. mən kun mən iźɔ́k, tenúzʿan xaṭɔ́ḳɛ́sən bə-tərɔ̄ḥən ṭɔ́kũn fiṭʿétə. bə-sɛ́ təʿõr her ežirėts, “fəḳí xáṭéḳis̃!” bə-sɛ́ taʃək xażekəs.

hel ber šaģ̃ İz, ber arḥáẓ, ber aktḗz, taʻɔřən heš, “gadú! ’ak téfoś? gadú! šum nāṣanu, ba-ɡadú, fš e təlén ’ak út.”

yaʻɔr tɛ̄nu b-ɪdė́s, yaḥožən b-ɪdė́s. yaʻɔr, “le”, yəhɛ́rg lo, dun bass yaʻɔr tɛ̄nu b-ɪdė́s.

ṭəbģɔ́dən. hel kolʻení zoḥám, tagɔ́rɛ̄n leš. taʻɔřən, “aɡatɛ́tɨ́, ’agɔn našnɛ́ tšɛ́rd, te nažhɔ́k leš.” tagɔ́rɛ̄n tɔ́lə́š.

həkt dḥa-tənfɛ́șən, taʻɔřən, “nāṣanu, əŋkɛ́l! ’ak mun minɛ́n al-ɡāsəɾe tɔ́lə́k?” yəkɔ́f. yəhɛ́rg sɛ̄san se lo.

taʻɔřən, “ak bi hê?” yaʻɔr tɛ̄nu b-ɪdė́s. taʻɔr ɔ́k, “ak bi hê?” yaʻɔr tɛ̄nu b-ɪdė́s. hel ɪti tel ebńt ɔ́-sə-suṭůn... tel ežirɛ́t ɔ́-sə-suṭůn... ɔ́-ɡabɡɔ́t, yaʻɔr tɛ̄nu b-ərɛ́s.

yaʻɔr, “ak bes, ežirɛ́t.” taʻɔřən, “ɪnɛ́ dḥa-(t)zɛ́ms?” tə̀shkən leš. ol’ ak ekłesən sɛ̄s ɛ b-ɔl sɛ́.

taʻɔřən, “ɪnɛ́ dḥa-(t)zɛ́ms?” enkɛ́f šantəh b-ʒɡàt ’ak azağtəs gənɛhɛ́t. mid les. taʻɔřən, “heee! yəbxɔ́sk ɔz, tšɛ́rd, sɛ̄s dìrɛ́həm! tob ar sɛ̄s gənɛhɛ́t, tšɛ́rd!”


ţɔ́raτ her aʻalət̥s, “yɔl ’aś tɔ? ’aś tɔ l-ɡāsəɾe tɔ́lə́s?” ťɔ́rɔ́t, “aģisri tɔ́lə́s! mišɛ́rd, iné dḥa-yə́’mer hîs? aģisri tɔ́lə́s, kələ́s, bə-hàkt ɛr ɔ́-sə́f, ɡûh ’ak út bə-ʃʃ, b-ʃʃəh bɛ́sh. ed k-hàṣaf tɔ́zhəm.”

---

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.

šaģ̃ezé: The Roman ms has šaģ̃ezé here, but I transcribe šaģ̃ezé based on 60:45/46. See further in the comment to 60:45.

aktḗz: 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 ƙbɛ́z (perhaps cf. H ekɔ́z ‘finish’) or ƙwə́z.

tagɔ́rɛ̄n: This is the 3fp imperfect of the verb gérɛ́. JL (s.v. grv) does not list ‘pass’ as a possible meaning, but compare the Mehri cognate gorə́ ‘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.
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.

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.”

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

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!”

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.”

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.”

ĩs̃érd: It is not clear whether ĩs̃érd is a vocative (and goes with the previous yəbxɔ́sk ɔź), or simply a definite noun (and goes with the following s̃eš dírɛ́həm). Cf. the comment to 46:9.

yɔl: The Arabic ms has ŠŬUوﻩﻮﯾyɔh ɔl ʿaš (with ɔl ʿaš written as one word), but clearly this is a mistake for yɔl ʿaš.
aḡád yum ēnfêt, b-aḡsərét ezirêt, b-ižôk aḡád. ŏrṭ heš, "ḡadû, ḡadû ʼak ūt." ŏr ténu b-idêş. têhêrɡ šes b-ělîtôt beš bə-hergôt ed žəkût. ol dê lo yašês lo.

aḡâdôt bə-fsəḥôt beš, bə-šɔ̄fôt ʼak ūt. bə-še ʼak ērâqtaš letôhûn. ʼak ŋeɡər ēsbah les se. aḡâd. gəhiût ʼalâlôts.

ʼôrṭ, "ālîti, mišêrd, bə-ğolôb ol yašês ši. bə-ʼağôm bass nədbél egmehtêš! ʼês taʼmôr ʼôdôn dha-naksesêš?" ŏrṭ, "yalla, d-ʼôdôn dha-naksesêš!"

dê lô yašeštêš mes. təbğôd eʃxarêt bə-(t)šanţêš heš.

ksês ber finisân ʼak ērâqet.-zAm. ŏr, "wee, boh še! aģeyg boh še!" žôhak leš. skəf tôlôš ši(n), əm-ən dîrš, ʼôrţ hêson, "ḡadû. ḡadû norhâz. eʃsóhan beš."

rḥaţ bə-hâkṭ ēr rḥaţ, aḡad bə-fṣî inêt. kelêni, al-hâlsan dıkûn aqtêl leš. təʻôr dîk, "âşək bi l-ğâsore tôlôk?" təʻôr dîk, "ak bi?" yaʻôr ténu b-idêš, "le."

iṭi ̣er ezirêt. ŏr, "ēhê." aģsərêt tôlôš ezirêt, aʻaʃər xelf. šerêk bes tôhûn, mən yəgâd şes lo.

b-əl yəhêrg şes şe b-əl şe ed k-ḥâṣaf. k-ḥâṣaf gəhêm eʃxarêt. aḡád k-ḥâṣaf. bə-sé gəhiût ʼalâlôts.

ed şhôlêt, egamʻat dîk şhôlêt,-zAm. hérôg şes al-hâlsan dıkun un. tšerôkôn tôhûn. ankol ebôdî dô-suṭûn. ankol ebôdî dô-suṭûn.

ʼôrṭ, "ḡadûl!" şørţ ket heš şê. ŏrṭ, "ḡadûl" dênû ar bër, dən yakîder heš dê lo. "ḡadûl" bə-ʼôrṭ hêson, "asêsôn!" bə-ḥôfšôtsèn fiså, inêt.

---

37 elîtît: This is the 3fs perfect of the D/L-Stem elîtü (root lty). The root and verb are not in JL. In the Roman ms, Johnstone gives the forms elîtü/ielîtû/ielîtû/yeûtô, with the gloss 'press s.o., urge'.

37 dê: This verb is not is JL, but in the Roman ms, Johnstone gives the forms dé/ydé/ydê, 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 nədbôl: In JL (s.v. dôl), this G-Stem verb (3ms perfect dôl) 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 taʼmôr: See the comment to TJ2:68.

42 hakt ēr: Ali transcribed here haş ər, as also in line 47. See also the comment to line 4.
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”.

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.

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!”

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.

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.”

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.”

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.

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.

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.

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.

yəḳɔ́der heš: We expect leš here, since the normal idiom is kədɔ́r l- (e.g., 15:10; 60:10). The audio is impossible to make out for certain here, but Ali transcribed heš.
47 aġád. bə-hákt ěr ĵnéť kə-ṭit ʻak ātěs, ʻőrťt her ěźirět, “he ḥa-l-Ŏrrəd...”
48 šęf’ ʻőrťt, “iṇé ḥa-l-(t)że-tō?” ḥψn leś b-əhənụš with ća-t jən Zeněš... man ʻak ̣hanītéš... man ‘ak źaňtəš.
49 ʻőrťt ̣heṣan, “enfɛt, ǧadūl!” bə-şəhirsətíš. b-əgədət. ḥakt ěrót se b-əźirěts ̣k-enʃ fiyat, ʻőrťt, “he ḥa-l-Ŏrrəd leš.”
53 aģadət se. aģadət b-ənʃəf ̣t jənūʃ ̣d-ebki’ hes śē ̀előhün, kirfəye ́tēnu ̣bə-ʃəʃ ̣t ǔrš. b-ənkiʃət eseręd ġer ənűs.
54 šęf ̣se keb ʻak emūn bə-ţáz. bə-ţákt ěr əntęđeř, ber ɭăz. jekə ̣atʃəkəʃ tə-ţəhám. ʃəham man ̀lőhũn.
55 etəla’ jenūs. jenũs tət bə-fenūs, hakt etil’ əs aģęyg, ̣tə Bugün, eṭhət beš. aģadət təzəvɨr. ʻőr, “hiškīš! əl (t)žəvɨr ́b-ɔl thůrąg śē!”

47 ŋtěs: Ali transcribed ŋtěs, 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 hənūtěš: The word hənūt is used as a place-holder, like English “what’s it called” or “whatchamacallit” (JL, s.v. hnv).
49 ̣səhirsətíš: I did not find this verb (səhərəs, 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 gəlūs) in the Roman ms. This verb is used also in 53:4.
49 ̣hakt ěrót: 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-štkədaš: All transcribed d-štkədaš, but the audio has d-štkədaš.
53 kirfəye: 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 kirfəye 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.
They went. And when each of the women was in her house, she said to the servant-girl, “I will go back...”

[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.

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.”

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.”

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!”

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.

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.

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.

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 *fēnūs*: 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 *hiškīk* to a man, and *hiškīkum* to a group.
614 CHAPTER FIFTEEN

56 ṭõrɔ́t, “hẽt mũn?” ṏɔr, “he aģęyg ɖõhũn išẽrd e-təţhõkən leš.” ṭõrɔ́t, “mən hũn zəhámk b-ǐne še estikdak?” kəlɔ́t hes. kəlɔ́t hes.


58 bass kəlɨt hĩni bɨtõła’, bə-hęggək. fsâhk b-a’ɛlĩ. ɔl ʃəhum dẽ mən dũnĩ he, i b-ɛmũ.”


60 ebgaḥõtš ’ak x̱aṭǐks mən hákɛl, b-aĝadɔ́t beš. bə-təkkɔ́t. se, hes kəsɔr k-ənũʃs se. ɔb təzɔ́hm meʃ ar k-ənũʃs se. təfɔ́t leš ežiɾeṭ.

61 dəkkɔ́t bə-ftaʃõt leš ežiɾeṭ. ftaʃõt leš ežiɾeṭ, bə-ɾfašt b-ebgaḥõtš ’ak kəsɔr, bə-kəfɔ́lt l-ənũʃ.

62 skəfɔ́, še bə-sɛ́, mən gəm’uṭ ed gəm’uṭ. təɔ́r, “nãšanu, he, hel ekšɔ́r eyũm e-gəm’uṭ, ɦa-yəŋkɛɾ tɔ ɛyũ.” təkɔ́fəl leš ekɛsɔr, bə-tʃxànut k-ənũt al-hãls bass. mən gəm’uṭ ed gəm’uṭ təbɔ́d k-ənũt.

63 b-ɔl ɛkəsɔ́rɔ́t al-ɛstikdãs ło ed yaksɔ́r ḥabl, ˈəsirɛt ṭroh ìrəx, ʃe bə-sɛ́. b-ɔl yũs dun ʃe l-ɒtkiysɔ́ ɓə-sɛ́ l-ətkiysãs, ɦɔt bə-təmũt ɓə-ˈuɡɔ́b, se bə-sɛ́. ḥabl, ˈəsirɛt ṭroh ìrəx, bə-sɛ́ tɔlãs.

57 hõlti: Ali’s transcription has hõli, but the audio has hõlti. Both are probably acceptable. The word hɔl ‘condition’ (JL, s.v. hwl) is borrowed from the Arabic ḥāl. Arabic also has a synonym ḥālat-, and this should be the source of holt. The word holt is not listed in JL, but it is used also in AK1:3. Similarly, Mehri hõlat, used in M24:15, is not in ML, which lists only hɔl (s.v. hwl).

57 hũli: This is probably an internal passive of the D/L-Stem hũli ‘give a description’, though the fact that it has a direct object tɔš 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 al-ɛstikdãs: Ali transcribed ɬo estikdãs, in which case the ɬo would be superfluous (reflecting an anticipation of the ɬo following estikdãs), and the verb ekəsɔ́rɔ́t would take a direct object. The audio favors al-ɛstikdãs.
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.

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.

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.”

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.”

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.

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.

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.

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.

---

yaksór: This is the 3mp subjunctive of the G-Stem ksɔr (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 kəðawr
(cognate with Jibbali kɔðɔ́r), which can mean ‘pass (time)’, and indeed
the two roots are suspiciously close.

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.

təmṯíl: Though not in JL, this word is clearly connected to the verb ūtal
‘tell’. It probably derives from Arabic tamṭil ‘performance; description’.

---
64 ed iżé e-ksőr habl, šef şőfö ko-tad şer a‘amdőš, ko-tad şer a‘amdőš
da-tké. ba-şéf gérhum a’ántžhum letškún. ba-hunúd ba-şéf.

65 hakt e-k-hásaf, yəghúm aggőr ‘igem də-suţún. hers ’od les a‘aşər ð́hun.
két tkš kérib ’od les. ba-föttǎb őb. yədőńə b-ağeýg l-etkiyə da-tké ba-d-şéf
letšhún.

66 məkőt ŋram, ša’ē e-yəşól tel suţún ‘ak ɛržét. ŏr, “ebrítk, tőlás ɡeyg, da-şéf
tőlás.” ŏr, “búdk!” ŏr, “məhazzőt erkəběti her ɡ ɡeýg.”
67 a’rér šeš troh. ŏr, “ɡəd!” yəbğéd. hakt e-zhám, yöksėš, ba-d-šd əd-şőf, še
ba-şé. a’asɛshum.

68 hakt eťkǎ’, eđhé b-ağág d-ér şőr ɡírhum. edür aģág, ŏr, “késén tóhum...”
iżk skʃf ba-tát edür, ŏr, “késén tőlás ɡeyg.”
69 ŏr, “enkǎ bes, se ba-še.” zəhám bóhum ed ’ak ɛržét. şə̀bírəš. şə̀bírəš.
őr, “heṭ man hun zəhəmk?” še ’ągəb al-həzəz ’ar ağağbóṭ, yékən ağağlɛ́t
ar meş še.
70 b-ağabgót ’agişt al-həzəz ’ar embére’, tékən ar se. ağaçət heş bo-šé igə-
beğəhőšt. şə̀qəhīdə. embére’ ŏr, “he ṭeʃa’k les ba-zəhəmk təş. b-aŋəbőɾdək
sérəs b-əğaŋk les.”
71 ta’ɔr se, “bédé. he hérọt, ba-görak tkš, ba-zętək tkš, b-eğəhək tkš
ba-gəsəb tə́li.” aşiqəhīdə. ol-şd ɛda’ ehùn lə, ağağbót iyɛ́ns mən embére’
iyɛ́ns.

64 iżé: 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 ʿišāʾ ‘evening; nighttime prayer’, though
the consonant correspondence is a bit irregular; we would expect
retention of the ʿ and voiceless š in place of ž.
64 tké: This verb, meaning ‘lie down’ is not in JL, but informants recog-
nized it. Informants used the 1cs perfect tkék (or tkék) and 1cs future
a-l-ɛ́tkék, suggesting that this is an H-Stem.
65 kětk: Ali transcribed here æthůmk in place of kətk. In his own texts, Ali
never used kətk (on which see § 12.5.12), but used æthůmk a number of
times.
66 e-yəşól: This is from ed yəşól, and the d is simply lost is fast speech.
69 ed: The audio here actually sounds like ed ɛd, and Ali’s Arabic transcrip-
tion has ɛd. We might compare the preposition at-tɛ̄ used in the Mehri
spoken in the southeastern corner of Yemen (Watson 2012: 114; see also
Rubin 2011: 77). The Roman ms has ta ‘ak.
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. 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.

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.”

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.

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.”

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.

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.”

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 ġāṣāb: In the Roman ms, Johnstone glossed this as ‘force’. It is not in JL, but several related words appear (s.v. ġṣb). The same word is used in Mehri text 70:5, and is likewise missing from ML. Both are borrowed from Arabic ġasb ‘force’.

71 ɛhũn: In the Roman ms, Johnstone transcribed ɛhũn and added the gloss ‘which of them’, and the same word is used in TJ2:100. See § 11.10.

73. ba'-hākt r-zhām təlɔ́hum, ‘ôr ižə́nun mın e-səłɛ́bɔ́t, ižə́nun b-ižə́nun milké, “nəḥzɛ́zhum?” kērɛ́hum. ɔl həzhu̇m bə. bə-həghə́hbuò ʔaκ həgrɛ́t də-ʔəyə́sūn dè bə. bə-kə́fɔ́l les.


75. ʃə̀f šə̱nə́t ḡə́rə́o mən lə́hūn ed yə̀ş̑ōl tel i ə́mbo̱ṝə́, d-ɛ́ɾz ə́mbo̱ shitty. i ə́mbo̱r̷ə́’ sə́ʃə̀ ə̱ḏ-ʃé ə́brə́š kə̀n le̱s ket məa. bə-ḵùn le̱s tênun, b-a’ɗ̀ím. a’dī̱́š sə́t̑ūn də-hā́d al-fə́lə́nà ʔə́kũn, mən tə́l ɛ́rɔ́z ʔə́kũn.

76. ɗ̣ə́rɔ́b, ‘ôr... a’re, ‘ôr l-e̱g̱̀e̱ss̱... l-ə́gyú̱ss̱̱ kə́l... r̷ə̱́t̷s̷̱ kə̀ls yə́hə́gum d-ɛ́s̱̱i̱r̷r̷ɛ́t də-ə́s̱̱t̷ú̱n ʔə́ḵ. yə̱š̱ə́ʃə́f́e eyo b’è́l ɛ́s̱̱i̱r̷ɛ́t mən tə́l ə́mbo̱ NOTIFY: ós̱̱, mən tə́l un i ə́gə́bə́gṓt.

77. ‘ôr, “ʃə̀f ʔə́kũnę́ ə́mbo̱r̷ə́’ a’ā́dım ʃə̀nə́mə̀sin ʃᵢbre də-ə́s̱̱t̷ún, ba-ʃə́ʃə̀ ə́ʃʷ. ba̱-ḵù́n ɗ̱ha-yə́ŋkə́ ɗə̱-ɗ̱ha-yə́hə́tə́r ɛ́s̱̱i̱r̷ɛ́t. ɗha-yə́hə́gə́m d-ɛ́s̱̱i̱r̷ɛ́t.”

72. girāym: This looks similar to the form gérɛ́m ‘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 ɨḏi/yédé/yɛ́dɛ́ ə́, as well as the Mehri (semantic) equivalent həwə́awl ‘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 awṓdǐ and Ḥarsusi awḗd ‘take away’. Both ML and HL (s.v. wdy) also cite a Jibbali cognate ə́dǐ (ML specifies EJ).

74. ber hɛ́zzə́n: For whatever reason, the auxiliary is not conjugated here (twice). We expect bérə́n hɛ́zzə́n. Likewise in line 81.

75. ket ma ket: This is Dhofari Arabic kə̀t ma kə̀t, meaning ‘such-and-such’, corresponding to the expression kə̀t wa-kə̀t used in other Arabic dialects (e.g., Gulf, Yemeni, and Iraqi).

75. a’ā́dım: This looks like an H-Stem internal passive of an active a’dım ‘execute’ (also in lines 77 and 89). JL (s.v. ‘dm) lists only a G-Stem ə́dım (which would be EJ ə́dım) and G passive ı́dım. The G passive is found in TJ4:87. Arabic has a C-Stem ə’də́ma, so the use of the root in the H-Stem in Jibbali is not surprising. The form that I have transcribed ə́dī́š in this line could be either an H-Stem active ə́dī́š, or a G-Stem active ə́dī́š.
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).

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.

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.”

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.

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.

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 ḍɔrɔ́b: 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 ɛgéšš: See the comment to TJ3:4.

76 ɛrʿítš: In JL (s.v. r‘w), the word rɛ́ʿít is given only the meaning ‘female herd’, but the Arabic source (raʿīyat- ‘herd’) can also mean ‘subjects, citizens’.

77 yəhéṭər: Johnstone transcribed yahēṭər in the Roman ms, while Ali transcribed yahēṭər 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 ḡɔṭɔ́r. Given forms like Iraqi Arabic hiṭar ‘beat, thrash’, I assume that the Jibbali verb has h.
78 yəšū’ya də-ygɔ́ri ‘ak ेg̃às, “se eyûm ेsgɔ́rɔ́t k-haʃaf dха-yəhgûm ekûm d-bûn. ेg̃ès dха-yəhgûm d-eširèt.” ağađ.
79 ağađ tel iżkûn ağađ. ʾōr hóhum, “gad tel suoţûn b-’amér heš, ‘he əl əzîk ersût bə. ersût şaheṭ.”
82 əz̃hâm dəhûn ḥəzzészû ed tél ersût. ʾōr, “he ağıeyg ęhûlk tə, b-ağıeyg ya’arér hîni ezför kel. bə-yəl ’ak to l-’ämér heš?”
84 ʾōr, “ndoh, ankà’ bóhum. ankà’ to bóhum.” ʾōr, “năsunu hit giḥ, giḥ ‘ək ekešər ę-iš, ba-hé dха-l-ġâd əl-ģîr i.”
86 ęḥk ę-zəhám ber kel d-ęgəlféṭ kel l-eširèt, b-’əd əl əd əd ləhûn eʃəl ęgăs. əz̃hâm, əsəm ęnûfš.

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 gad 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 ęhûlk: 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.
83 b-şdë: According to informants, this is equivalent to ḥadë ‘above, upstairs’ (JL, s.v. ḥd). See also the comment to 51:5.
85 d-ęgəlféṭ: 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.
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.

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.’”

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?”

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.

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?”

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.”

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.”

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.

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.

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.”

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.”

---

*aʿidém*: This word is not in *JL*, though it is obviously connected with the verbs *ʿadúm* and *aʿdím* ‘execute’ (see the comment to TJ4:75). It undoubtedly a borrowing of Arabic *iḍām* ‘execution'.
"der, "bek a’dîmk. ʾıṭlak des šôt." yədṭələn hóhum bə-tɔ́ləb ʾis, "he šahî b-əl bi še. b-əl wəgəb lo." šinîš ʾis. ʾer, "yəl ʾak?" ʾer, "e i, ʾak bəss l-óʃfək b-əgəbəgət." "ak bəss tɔ́ʃfək b-əgəbəgət." ʾer, "ak bəss l-óʃfək b-əgəbəgət." ʾer, "bə-höt ber šerēk bək tən əb-bəs tən, bə-d-ʾiđən nitnêzîl bəss nəgəd tel is naʃəntə bes?"

"er, "e, e i, ʾak bes. bə-hê bek hûkk eṇûfi. bek təʾâbk, bek antəkəlk əl-sîês, bə-ʾák l-óʃfək bes." ʾer, "hes-tōl!"
edûr embère ʾmen lôhûn, bə-ʾələb egəb d-əşīrēt, bə-ʾələt her sutûn. bə-žâhûm i əgəbəgət, sutûn, bə-žâhûm šeš erʾîtš. bə-gôtər ağâg, ek̷mûm, gôtər fâxra.

bə-xniṭ ʾad lôhûn, kəl in ʾağab hóhum ʾmen šûqəl bə-ḥə̄səmîl. bə-şəntə i embère ʾd-i əgəbəgət. eʃîfəs. eʃîk̷aś. bə-sēd l-eʃîfəkət.

"er, "lekan d-ʾok ʾak bə-tît," δən embère. ʾer, "inę?" ʾer, "he bek sköf tōlîs ʾəsîrēt troy iɾx ʾak ekeșār, ḥabl, bə-hê tōlîs b-əl əγâh le lo.

ar ber šhed bes šoʾ inęt a siendo axā... al-hēs kūnut, ḡa-kunût ʾaʃāz. bə-l-hēs kunût. (t)šâdôn ʾben ʾak egeʃ əɾz̷î ʾhe bə-ʾák egeʃ əɾz̷ e-īs. ʾmən ʾgər ʾəsîrēt troy iɾx əbek sköf tōlîs."

šshed bes. əgād inęt bə-ḵāfə les. šhed bes şoʾ inęt. ar ʾaʃāz al-hēs takîn ḡaṣāz. šfɔk b-eɡrə eṇûfš. bə-ʃfɔk bə-ʃət tûš. bə-timmût. ðûnu se keltît.

90 nitnêzîl: This is an Arabic 1cp imperfect from the verb tanâzala ‘stoop, condescend’.
92 her sutûn: See the comment to line 21.
95 axā: This word is not listed in JL, but is no doubt equivalent to the rather rare Mehri word xâ ‘like’. On the audio, after axā the speaker stumbled and paused, so it seems that he meant for the following al-hēs to replace axā, rather than for the two words to be used together. See also the comment to TJ2:65.
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.”

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?”

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!”

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.

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.

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.

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.”

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: Ĭṭəl len (ūn) bə-kélṭ a'ayún iżık. kəlī tun naḡfél ẓin.
2 Woman: 'ākum ća l-ślət hōkum bə-mḥāyṣən?
4 Woman: dēnu mḥāyṣən, ʂəš aġōhēš troh, b-êmēš. mən kun mən troh iżık, ṭʃək.
5 bə-šē ʿōr, “al ašəfk lo mən d-ʿat ēmī ʂəhēt.”
6 Kun k-ēmēš. b-iżık troh ṭʃək, bə-kə-ṭată ʿak ša'b ʿak iyēləhum. ed xaṭarēt ṭit, raddē še b-êmēš ḩer ēhəsī.
7 ḥakt ēr da-yəşık iyēl, edhē b-axṣūm ekbēl, axṣəmēš. yaʃīl լətəg. edhēt bōhum tēt.
8 ʿōrōt, “sink gág d-ekbēl, bə-hūrək bōhum. būrne ēbrī, ken ṭə-ḥādēr! ʿəsēš mən ʿak ēhəsī!”
9 ʿl-ʿd yəkəlb les göb lo. ihəbhēb bass, yaʃōk iyēl. b-agāg kerb da-rēdəf, kəl troh da-rēdəf ḩer yat tūt.
10 bə-šē ʂəš məndīk bāl fīlt. ber ad-ʃhūnīs bə-d-ebkəʾəš tōləs. se ṭəhōr, bə-šē ʿl-ʿd yahērg šes lo. ihəbhēb bass h-iyēl bə-yəʃık. b-agāg kerb.

---

1 Ĭṭəl: This D/L-Stem fs imperative form, along with the fs imperative kəlī in line 3, confirm that the other speaker is indeed a woman.
2 Ėn: Ali transcribed this in the Arabic ms, but it is not audible on the audio.
3 kəlī: Ali transcribed kəlī in the Arabic ms, which is the correct fs imperative, but on the audio he used the ms form kəlāʾ.
4 h-iyēl: See the comment to TJ4:21.
Translation of Text TJ5

2. Woman: Do you want me to tell you about Meḥaysen?
3. Ali: Yes, tell us the story of Meḥaysen.
4. Woman: This Meḥaysen, 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.
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.
Text AK1: Buying Camel-feed

1 šher al-iklat hókum bə-kassét gérét li, he b-ī, gabl ʿonut (ʿonut e-térft). yum man ʾem i ḥeróg ši k-ḥásař, bə-ʿor höni, “āḥmad, ʾak tun nəğād tel iyél.”


3 mğore’ ağađan he b-ī bass b-enkọfən... bə-xtərən da-ḥallét enstêm hēsən ʿalaf. hes bérən ʿak ɔram ţenu, ɔkəf tun ġeyg šeš krōza bə-da-yəʃxr tun ar əšət bə-da-yəʃxr tun ar ḥōltən, bə-da-yəʃxr ar iyél bə-wāḍ’a, bə-kēf əlhūti... b-iyél, l-āmer hé.

4 mğore’ bass kūlən ɔrəmən da-ḥallét. b-ağađan tel edakkün dōhūn e-yaʃum ʿalaf. žētən a-yēkən mut gūni də-ʿalaf, bə-ḥōlən tōsən d-īnə šūš... də-syərə ţun. šeγərən syərə.

5 zūn tōš ḡa-yēkən xardēt her yəḥōl tun d-əʃhēr. źhun šen syərə ansənūt, b-ɔl ankədər nəhməl ʿamkəs lo.

6 hes bérən hen ţen šin, ağađan. hes bérən b-əʃhēr kbōbən b-īnə šūš... bə-ʿalaf. zūn tōš iyél... her iyél.

---

1 *gabl:* This is an Arabism (local Arabic *gabl* < Classical *qabla*). When asked about *gabl ʿonut* ‘a year ago’ as an Arabism, the speaker offered Jibbali *ʿonut e-térft* ‘last year’ as the equivalent.

3 *bass:* The speaker sometimes uses *bass* as a filler particle.

3 *ʿalaf:* This word meaning ‘animal feed, fodder’ is not in *JL,* but the corresponding verb *ʿaləf* ‘feed, tend’ is listed (s.v. *lf*). Cf. also Arabic *ʿalaf* ‘fodder’.

3 *krōza:* This is from ‘Cruiser’, referring to a Toyota Land Cruiser. The term may be used generically for any sort of SUV.

3 *ḥōltən:* This is from Arabic *ḥālat-* ‘condition’. See further in the comment to TJ4:57.

3 *wāḍ’a:* This is an Arabic word, meaning literally ‘status’ or ‘situation’.
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.”

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.

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.

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.

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.

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.

\( \textbf{4} \) 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 īsmū); a number of examples can be found in Davey (2013: 264–265).

\( \textbf{4} \) šēgərən: This is the Š2-Stem (1cp perfect) of ṣgr, meaning ‘rent, hire’. JL lists only the corresponding noun ēgér ‘rent’. We can compare the Arabic verb ista’jara ‘rent, hire’.

\( \textbf{5} \) 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 ém ‘ónut dīn e-térfsìt kūnən ’aḵ iyēl. ālōhun tīt šēn yat šūs magnūna, yat ərḥīt ərḥīt.
2. mģɔ́rɛʾ yum mən ém zəhām tun ġag mənhūm. sīnī yat xɔk bə-ˈāḵər bə-šēn, bə-yatót ərḥīt bēs nūsəb mēkan.
3. hes śīnīs aḡāg iżōhunu, ʿōr hen... inê šūs... ʿōr her ī, “a-t-śīms bə-mṣē?” ʿōr ī, “a-l-śīms b-ṣf troh.”
5. bə-hé bek la’āli tūhun. dīn eyāt, al-sāsōrs bē... b-al-sāsōrs bē, b-əl əkōdər l-ṭfsah bē lō.
6. aḡādək yum ḩūhun də-ɡɔ́tɛ̄d. edūrk d-ūt. əl-Əḍ sī tīt tṛut ło mən ǧēd e-ǐ sēm eyāt al-sāsōrs he. b-əl əkın ar šēs ēm kel, eyāt ī.
9. ʿōr hīni ī bass, “ak tɔk əl təqətɔ́d lō. inê šūs... a-l-hęp k-aḡāg nāṣan, b-a-l-ə’mer hōhum, ʿkalɔ́b eyāt də-ḥuʃən, də-ḥuʃ... inê šūs... e-iyēl.”
10. mən yum ḩūhun bass edirît li, əz-ztəgək. b-eyāt edirît len. ċik se!

---

1. magnūna: This is an Arabic word meaning ‘crazy’.
2. ərḥīt ərḥīt: Here the speaker pronounced the first ərḥīt with an elongated vowel (ərḥuːʔət), mimicking Salim Bakhit (in SB1:1), whose story he found highly amusing and enjoyable.
3. xɔk: This word is not in JL, but appears also in SB2:4 (see the comment to that line).
4. axɔrši ... yalla, təm: These three words are Arabic.
5. mistibīšī: This word, from Mitsubishi, seems to be a generic word for a pick-up truck.
6. ərz: See the comment to TJ3:4.
7. ērsəl: This is a ms imperative of the H-Stem ērsēl. JL lists only the meaning ‘untie, unleash’ for this verb. The meaning here is obviously borrowed from the Arabic C-Stem ʿarsala ‘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’áli: This word, not in JL, behaves like a plural noun with possessive suffixes. Hence la’áli ‘I am exhausted’, la’álés ‘she is exhausted’, la’álén ‘we are exhausted’, etc.
6. ɔl-ɔ́d s̃i ṭit ṭrut 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 kɔ het. See the discussion in § 11.5.
9. ḥus̃: JL (s.v. hwš) translates this only as ‘wall, enclosed space’, but ‘pen’ fits the context here.
Text AK3: A Conversation

1 MQ: īnê šūk het?
2 AK: šūi āhmad māhad kašōb
3 MQ: mën hūn zəhāmēk?
4 AK: zəhāmēk mēn zek.
5 MQ: šūk aġšēk mēkēn?
6 AK: šī aġšēhī xoš ērsīt b-ūrba’ ġigenītī.
7 MQ: hun (t)dōrs?
8 AK: kunk al-dōrs b-īnê šūš... bō-zēk.
9 MQ: ēbrī, bēk šfēkēk?
10 AK: ob, d-ōk.
11 MQ: yōrak bek ăz.

Text AK4: A Conversation

1 MQ: salām ‘alēkum.
2 AK: ‘alēkum salām.
3 MQ: aġmōdkum bō-xār?
4 AK: al-ḥāmdu li-llā.
5 MQ: yol aġmōdak?
6 AK: al-ḥāmdu li-llā.
7 MQ: ēbrī, iţōhun iyēlēk?
8 AK: ēhē, iţēn iyēlē.
9 MQ: tkōz mōnē?
10 AK: iţēn iyēlē ber... ūnê šūš... al kisk hēsēn ūc ālaf b-ōl șā’r.
11 MQ: ġēżī?
12 AK: ēhē, ġēzī ēm iţēn al-ālaf, b-ōl-‘ūd kisk hēsēn ūc șa’r bō-‘ālaf bə-ēr-ʒērēk hēt b-erē ġerkēt iţēn, bēr ūlālīt, aģlē len al-ālaf, b-ōl kisk ʿālaf her iyēlēn bō.
13 MQ: hun tkōz?
14 AK: bō-šā’b... ūnê šūš... bō-šā’b enhīz.
15 MQ: bō-šōkum yēl mēkēn?

Text AK3

9 ēbrī: The speaker here is addressing the other as if he were an old man talking to a young man.

Text AK4

12 bēr: The speaker said bēr in place of bēl.
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?
AK: ši a-yékən šhelōt... šhelōt mīn bə-ṭrūt. bə-ṭūt šēm tɔs əmšin 'aḳ īzūn.

16 MQTT: tartīb.

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 šūi fāhad. he də-ʿɛ́śk ʿaḳ ẓ́alkēt. ɔl naʿõl śé əlhūti, w-ɔl śé yɛ́l, w-ɔl śé ērūn. zəḥāmk bun her l-ɛ́drəs.
2 ši šābʿēt ėršōt aģɔ́hī, wə-s̃í d-ʿɔd šābʿēt ġigenīti aģatētī. mə-ɬxūnī arbāʿat... órba’ ġigenīti.

Text AK4

16 šhelōt... šhelōt: 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 īzūn: This is the definite form of mīzūn. 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 tartīb: This is Arabic tartīb ‘order’, which can be used in Dhofari Arabic as an exclamation 'good, ok!'.

Text FB1

1 l-ɛ́drəs: For the 1cs subjunctive of the G-Stem verb dérɔ́s ‘study’, we expect l-ɔ́drəs. The replacement of the vowel ɔ́ with ɛ́ 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-ɛ́drəs looks like an H-Stem subjunctive, this verb does not mean 'study' in the H-Stem.
AK: I have about thirty... three hundred and two. And one they sold yesterday in the market.

MQ: Good.

Translation of Text FB1

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.

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.

\[mə-lxüní\]: This is from \[mən lxúni\].

\[arbá‘at... órba‘\]: Fahad first used the Arabic number \[arbá‘at\] (which came more naturally to him), but then corrected himself with Jibbali \[órba‘\].
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 xaṭarɛ́t sɛ́kən ḥõl ‘ağəb yol șa‘b țit, ba-ʂóhum şxarɛ́t mən’alɔ́t. hes ber ʤə-yrılɑ́pha’ hår, ‘ɔrɔ́t eʃxarɛ́t, “ḥmol to!” ɔr eбрìts, “kɔh ənхи(l)ş, ʤə-hıt ḥardɛ́t axɛ́r ʔànɛ́n?”
2 axarɛ́t şınııt dehɛ́lɛ́l. gahɔ́t ʔamkɔ́s d- hàkɛ́l. b-ɛdehɛ́lɛ́l ʒɔš ba-ʤɛ́lìṯṯ, yọgah ər ʙɨrdɛ́m ҭat ɓeş.
4 ʤ-ɔd letʃhun zɔhã́m be 蜊wãs. ɔr, “kɔh tûm şɔɾkum ʔaƙ xɔ ʤ-ɛdehɛ́lɛ́l ʤɛ̀nu? iné ɣɛ̀ré?” ɔr, “nha sɛ̀n şxarɛ́t, ba-gahɔ́t ‘aƙ ɛdehɛ́lɛ́l ʤɛ̀nu, ʤọ-ɡɔłɔ́t ɔł (t)sáxɔ́nt. b-ɔl éda’n yoḥ ənʃɛ́rκ ʃl.”
5 ɔr, “he ʤha-l-xànts. tûm şxɔbər տɔ, ‘mən hûn zɔhã́m, b-îné ‘aŋk mən erʒ ʤɛ̀nu?’ ɔ-hé ʤha-l-’áner, ‘nha b-ɛrʒə̀n ɛnʃɛ̀t ʃfɔ́kən nàʃfə̀k ʤə-ʃxɔ́rте, ʃəlɛ́kən ɔl-ʃk kisk şxarɛ́t ʃl. b-ajádək ɛ́rɔ̀k, fəlɔ́ əkɔ́s şxarɛ́t. nha, ʃxɔ́rτɛ́n kel ber ʃfik.”’
6 axarɛ́t ʃš’ʃtʃ eʃxarɛ́t ‘aƙ ɛdehɛ́lɛ́l. ɔrɔ́t, “he boh, ʂál-τɔ, ʤha-l-əzɔ́hã́m. ɔk hɛ́r ʤɲɛ́l ʃer ɡɛ̀yg.”’ ɔr hes, “mor, əntíɡah li!”
7 zɔhɔ́t eʃxarɛ́t. ɔrɔ́t, “îné ʃérɛ́tək?” ɔr, “ʃérτɨ, her hɒ(l)ş ʔáɡɛ́d ʤɛ̀nu ʤọ-ɔ́ʃə́m hår ʤọ-ƙẽ́b şa‘b, ʤha-l-ʃʃə́k bɨς.”

1 ənхи(l)ş: See the comment to dḥa-nхи(l)ş in line 3.
2 ʒɔś: The Arabic ms has ʒoś, but JL has ʒoș. One of the two must be an error.
3 beš: The Arabic ms has bes, which must be an error.
4 lõhun: The Arabic ms has ʤlõhun, but I have transcribed lõhun based on the audio of 31:1 and 36:18. See further in the comment to 31:1.
5 dḥa-nхи(l)ş: The expected 1cp future of hõl is dḥa-ŋəhmɛ́l (cf. 15:3), and so we expect here dḥa-ŋəhmɛ́ls̃. The 1cp imperfect is ŋəhîl (< *ŋəhɛ́mal). The form ənхи(l)ş 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-yhîl).
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 ḥŏlšt āḡdēl ɛṣxarēt, b-āḡād ɛd ɛdṛē ḥār bə-kēb șa'b. ṥ̇ə ɾ ɾ b ɾ ɾ b e ɾ n ə w ə s, “kēlκ tet. ɾ nē ekēlēb?”
9 ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ āḡās, “hər zəhāmkum tɔ bə-sāʾər ʃəhɨ, dōhūn ʃ e ekēlēb.” ṩə ɾ ɾ b e ɾ n ə w ə s, “bēlē ʃəbrūn?” ṥ̇ə, “bēlē ʃəbrūn. ʃəlēkən ʃ l tərəd bə ɾ b ə.”
10 ṩə ɾ ɾ b e ɾ n ə w ə s hər tɛt, “gədū nəgēlɛk hər ɛʃ’ehr.” aḡād b e ɾ n ə w ə s. ʃə-gərəb ɛʃ’ehr, hər ʃə-yəfɔrd, yədɔlf mən ədəhɛk. bə-ʔəɡəb ɛʃxarēt tədləf ʃōhum hər təfɔt.
11 ṩə ɾ ɾ həs, “bōh ɛʃ’ehr. ʃəd mən ʃerōhum bə-n’ʃhum. bə-hēr kūz mən s̃ē dəhk, kəməz mən ʃerōhum. ʃə-ən ʃōhum dha-yəṭbər, bə-ʒəbɨt.”
12 ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ: The ms has ṩə ɾ ɾ ‘həs’, but this is likely an error.

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-ʃkət hək bə-kəssət. xaṭarēt b-əgət aḡə mən təl ənsūkən, kərəh əd-xərog ʃ’ak gəhrər.
2 aʃaʃət səkən ʃl yəkədər yəskən ʃl mən eʃə ekəraḥ. yəhɛk hər hindi s̃uʃ məhməd, həndi.
3 b-eʃə e-fətət məlē ʃnəl dəhunu kəməl (kəl). ʃl yəkədər də yənkə’hum, bə-ʃl də yaxətəf mən tələhum.

Text AM1

12 ɾ ɾ ɾ ɾ: The ms has ṩə ɾ ɾ ‘he said’, but this is likely an error.

Text Anon 1

1 eʃət aḡə: 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 aḡə derives from aḡəl. When asked about this word, the speaker did say aḡəl (actually, closer to aḡəl), but in fast speech said aḡə (or perhaps aḡəh).
2 mən təl: This speaker tended to say mən təl instead of mən təl. 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. 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).”
11 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 Anon1

1 I will tell you a story. Once in ɛgɔ̄t aġá, 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 yéskan: 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 yéskan. When asked again, he said yóskan. The speaker deemed both these two forms both acceptable. Cf. also the comment to FB1:1.
3 kémal: When telling this story, the speaker used kémal (< Arabic kāmil ‘whole’), but when reviewing it he suggested replacing this with the Jibbali form kelš.
640 chapter sixteen

4 axaréṭ hek her mhammád. síkun sékən ṣóhum Land Rover. hek aʿői her mhammád, bə-ʿőr heš, "gərɛ́ś ekéraḥ eděnu b-ərdɛ́š ʿánɛ́n ráḥəḳ."

5 ol dé yəséḳ ar mhammád, yəséḳ səyɛ́rə. axaréṭ yəbģɔ́d mhammád bə-gerɔ́ś ekéraḥ, bə-yérd beš ʿak gahrér ya ɣɔ̀r ʿɔd, mənzél ráḥəḳ mən tɔ́l yərudi fyɛt.

6 yəbģɔ́d mhammád yəshób ekéraḥ, yérd... yəshób fétat, yérd bes. yəhó b-ekéraḥ bə-səyɛ́rə ʿak ḥafrét. b-ɛdūr sékən da-yök. dìk 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

mad ēr yúsəf bar ʾősər šōʿ ʿayún bə-d-yəraʿá ɛ̄rūn k-aģɔ́hɛ́š bə-šɛ́ səḳəní k-in bilha b-ın zilfa ínɛ́t iź-iš.

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 ɛ̄ḳət ɗɔ́hun (cf. 83:1) and ɛzũn ɗóhun.

5 yəséḳ: This is the 3ms imperfect of the G-Stem sɔḳ ‘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 ʿɔd: This word has no semantic or grammatical function here. Upon reviewing the audio, the speaker was surprised that he had used it.

5 fyɛt: This is the plural of fétat ‘carcass’ (used in line 3 and 6). Text Fr1

mad: 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 ɛ-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.
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.”

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.

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.

šəkanî: Fresnel transcribes the first letter of this verb with Arabic š, perhaps suggesting that it was really pronounced š, and not š, as in some dialects.

iẓː: 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, ƙ is written with a red ق (q), š is written with a red ش (š), ū is written with a light blue ش, and ż is written with an orange ش. Nasalization is indicated with a red خ (ğ). 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. ƙʊqɜ̄rb her ả̄śərk ɛd l-ɛ̄xləf ˈaš.
‘You don’t know (the value of) your friend until you move away from him.’

Pr16. ɛ-xarɔ́g ġasré iƙiɔ́r k-ḥašaf.
‘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: iƙiɔ́r is a G passive 3ms imperfect of ḳbr.
Pr54. ɛdí-ilín ɔl égah b-ɔl kéfɛ́.
'So-and-so has [lit. is] neither face nor back.'
(This is used to describe someone with no moral conscience or manners.)

Pr57. ɛdí-ilín ɔl éda' ɔl ínɛ́ ɛbḥér b-ɔl ínɛ́ əśḥér.
'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 əśḥér.

Pr87. a'āsər erḥím axér 'ar aģá ɛdífə́r.
'The good friend is better than the bad brother.'

Pr96. affūdún ɔ tṯɔ̄rəs 'ar eģîts.
'A stone, only its sister breaks it.'
(That is, a stone can only be broken by another stone.)

Pr101. ɛ-k-ɛdífə́r yəṣɔ̄ḥ dífə́r.
'The one who is with the bad becomes bad.'

Pr102. ɔl ɛbké tɔ 'ar súdḳi, b-ɔl ɛẓ́ḥék tɔ 'ar xáṣmi.
'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. ɔl ʃɔrkən tʃə́l 'ar her nənḥág.
'We made music only in order to dance.'
(This is used when someone, taking part in some activity, questions the reason for it.)
Comment: tʃə́l is from the root tбл.

Pr157. 'ɔk ɔl śînk mən ekéraḥ 'ar ɪdûntéš.
'You have only seen the ears of the donkey so far.'
(That is, don't judge a book by its cover.)
Pr160. ʾe-shaʾgél ʾyté nuʾ.
‘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. ʾɔrɔ́t hɔ́t, ʾyɔtɡ tɔ ŋnkɛ́l, ɔ-γɔ́kkɔr tɔ ɛdɪʃɔ́r.
‘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: _mankél_ is defined in JL (s.v. _nkl_) as ‘active, energetic, heroic, brave’.

Pr171. ʾɔr, “hun ūdɛ́nk?” ʾɔr, “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-ɔz ənḥán əb-bʿél 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. kɔ hé her šeʾak aʾɔr šé?
‘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. al-hés e-d-yəḏɔ́l ʾaḵ ɔtɔ́h.
‘Like the one who is urinating in the sand.’
(This is used to describe an action that goes unnoticed or unappreciated.)
Pr 193. magrût a'ín 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.)

Pr 207. her hêt 'ozût tókšaf, yahé bes az rémmam.
‘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 Anon 1:6) is yahó.
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
2 second person
3 third person
C common gender
CIRC circumstantial particle
CONJ conjunction
D dual
def definite (article or form)
DEM demonstrative
EXCL exclamatory particle
F feminine
FUT future particle
GEN genitive exponent
IMPF imperfect
IMPV imperative
M masculine
NEG negator
OBJ object
P plural
PASS passive
PERF perfect
PN proper name
POSS possessive
PREP preposition (idiomatic)
PROG progressive
REL relative pronoun
S singular
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 \( \partial \) (§ 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 \( \varepsilon \) (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 \( \text{hallét} \) in line 5 is clearly definite, but the definite article \( \varepsilon \) is not used before words beginning with the voiceless consonant \( \h \) (§ 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. *xaṭarɛ́t ġeyg yaˈɔ́r h-eš be nəwás.*
   once man say.IMPF.3MP to-3MS.OBJ PN

   *aġád mən tél sékən-əš ʿáɡəb.*
   go.PERF.3MS from by settlement-3MS.POSS want.PERF.3MS

   *yaxétər e-ṣ̃irɛ́t. b-ɔl š-eš sé.*
   go.down.SUBJ.3MS DEF-town conj-neg with-3MS.OBJ something

   *lə her yaštém her e-ɣān-əš məšərɛ́f.*
   NEG for buy.SUBJ.3MS for DEF-family-3MS.POSS supplies

2. *b-aġád ed éṣəl tel məḳbɛ́rt,*
   CONJ-go.PERF.3MS until arrive.PERF.3MS by graveyard

   *ksé yo də-ykɔ́r šxarɛ́t.*
   find.PERF.3MS people CIRC-bury.IMPF.3MP old.woman

   *də-xargɔ́t. skɔ́f də-yftəkɛ́rɛn inɛ́ yəs̃ɛ́rk.*
   REL-die.PERF.3FS sit.PERF.3MS CIRC-think.IMPF.3MS what do.SUBJ.3MS

3. *axarɛ́t ʿõr, “haṣ e-yó ənfɔ́ś,*
   then say.PERF.3MS when REL-people go.in.evening.PERF.3CP

   *dḥa-lúnkš l-ɛ-šxarɛ́t mən ḍɛ-kɔ́r.*
   fut-dig.up.SUBJ.1CS prep-def-old.woman from in DEF-grave

   *bə-dḥa-ls̃ɛ́rk hilt.”
   conj-fut-do.SUBJ.1CS trick

4. *skɔ́f ed yo ənfɔ́ś. ḍənkɔ́ś*
   sit.PERF.3MS until people go.in.evening.PERF.3CP dig.up.PERF.3MS

   *l-ɛ-šxarɛ́t mən ‘aḳ ɛ-kɔ́r bə-hil-ə́s.*
   PREP-DEF-old.woman from in DEF-grave CONJ-carry.PERF.3MS-3FS.OBJ

   *‘aḳ xarkɛ́t-š, b-aġád ed éṣəl*
   in robe-3MS.POSS CONJ-go.PERF.3MS until arrive.PERF.3MS

   *kərɪb əl-hallɛ́t.*
   near to-town
5. kéla’
   ε-šxarét  bo-šé  agád
   leave.PERF.3MS DEF-old.woman CONJ-he go.PERF.3MS
   ed  égaḥ  hallét.
   until enter.PERF.3MS town

6. śini  yo  mékən  də-yógaḥ  ‘ak but
   see.PERF.3MS people many CIRC-enter.IMPF.3MP in house
   d-túz̃ər.  axarét  śxabir  ġeyg,  ŏr,  “iné  
   GEN-rich.MS then  ask.PERF.3MS man  say.PERF.3MS what
   mən  yo  iżkūn  də-yógaḥ  ‘ak
   from people DEM.REMOTE.CP REL-enter.IMPF.3MP in
   ūt  dิกūn?”
   house.DEF DEM.REMOTE.FS

7. ŏr  h-eš  a-géyg,  “e-bré  e-túz̃ər
   say.PERF.3MS to-3MS.OBJ DEF-man DEF-son GEN-rich.MS
   də-géle  bo-yí  də-yśədhék
   CIRC-be.sick.PERF.3MS CONJ-people PROG-visit.IMPF.3MP
   l-eš.  b-a’él-ēš  də-yəχır  ‘her dé
   PREP-3MS.OBJ CONJ-family-3MS.POSS PROG-ask.IMPF.3MP if  someone
   yəgórəb  sé,  yésne  her  e-mbHére’.“
   know.IMPF.3MS something see.to.SUBJ-3MS to  DEF-boy
   ŏr  bē  nəwás,  “he  š-i  ēm-i  šxarét
   say.PERF.3MS PN  I  with-1CS.OBJ mother-1CS.POSS old.FS
   bə-təgórəb  kəl  sé  kelš  her  īrēz.”
   CONJ-know.IMPF.3FS every thing all-3MS.OBJ for illness.DEF

8. ŏr  a-géyg,  “mor,  ġadú,  dха-leśně-k
   say.PERF.3MS DEF-man ok  EXCL FUT-show.SUBJ-1CS-2MS.OBJ
   i  e-mbHére’,  bə-dха-yəz̃əm-k
   father  DEF-boy CONJ-FUT-give.SUBJ-3MS-2MS.OBJ REL  want.PERF.2MS
aगादो ेd ेs० ०l ० ० ० ० तेल ० ० ० ० ० दे-मेरे।

गo.पेरf.३म्द तिल आरिी.पेरf.३स० बी फैथर जेन-डेf-बॉय

9. ०र े-जे्ग, “देनु एजे्ग े-ष
saय.पेरf.३म्स डेf-मा० डे०म.नीअर.म्स डेf-मा० वि०-३म्स.ओब

एमे-ष श्यारेट बा-०र ता्गौरा
mोथर-३म्स.पोस्स ऑल.वॉमन जॉन-सaय.पेरf.३म्स नोल्म.पीएम.्फि०.३फ्स

कोल े सी ेलष ेह इरे।” ०र तुजौर
eवर्ती एल-३म्स.ओब फॉर इलि्स.डेf सaय.पेरf.३म्स रिफ.म्स

“हुन से०?” ०र बे न०वास, “सेर ेट
where शे सaय.पेरf.३म्स पन बीहिन फॉर डे०म.री.वॉमन

ीजोकून, बा-हेर ‘आगक े-बे-एस,
डे.रीमॉट.सी.पॉर्ज-एफ जॉन-एफ वॉं एफ

‘एर े दे याशोम े-बे-एस।”
sेंड.आरीम्व.म्स सोमें जॉन-सूज.म्स वि०-३म्स.ओब

10. एकारेट आरेर ेगा० रोह याशोम े-बे-एस।।
then सेंड.पेरf.३म्स स्लैफ टॉ० जॉन-सूज.म्स प्रेप-३म्स.ओब

एगा० ए-गा०रेट, ेd तोहाम देर ए-श्यारेट,
गो.पेरf.३क्प डेf-स्लैफ्स तिल आरी.पेरf.३क्प ओवर डेf-ऑल.वॉमन

एसू०-स, बॉल ‘आसू० लॉ। एकारेट
rौसे.पेरf.३क्प-३म्स.ओब जॉन-एफ एनजे रें विर्न.पेरf.३क्प तिल ऑल.वॉमन एनजे

‘आसू० लॉ।”
वेक.पेरf.३फि० एनजे

11. ०र बे न०वास, “टॉकून टॉकेलिष
saय.पेरf.३म्स पन बे.आरीम्फि०.३फि० cोन्वर्स.आरीम्फि०.३फि०

े-जॉनू(सजे०)स०, बा-हेर टॉकेलिष-हम, एल
def-जिन्स-३म्स.पोस्स जॉन-एफ जॉन-एफ एफ-३म्स-३म्स.ओब एनजे
taʻasės la ar her sǐṭt ba-xəṭərōk get.up.IMPF.3FS NEG except if hit.PERF.PASS.3FS with-stick

troh. ġɔd, sbət-s ba-xəṭərōk troh, two go.IMPV.MP hit-IMPV.MP-3FS.OBJ with-stick two

ba-ḥtēðér ol tə̄q-s!”
CONJ-be.careful.IMPV.MP NEG kill.SUBJ.2MP-3FS.OBJ

12. ˈɔr e-gərēt, “ol taktēlōb la,” b-ağād,
say.PERF.3CP DEF-slaves NEG worry.SUBJ.2MS NEG CONJ-go.PERF.3CP

ed ēsāl tel e-şxarēt, sōt-as
when arrive.PERF.3CP by DEF-old.woman hit.PERF.3CP-3FS.OBJ

ba-xəṭərōk troh. axarēt fəkəhōt fūshi.
with-stick two then split.PERF.3FS halves

13. edirō e-gərēt də-yūkī.
return.PERF.3MD DEF-slaves CIRC-cry.IMPF.3MP

ˈɔr be nəwās, “íné gérë?” ˈɔd
say.PERF.3MS PN what happen.PERF.3MS perhaps

takūn lātəkōm ēm-i?” ˈɔr
be.SUBJ.2MP kill.PERF.2MP mother-1CS.POSS say.PERF.3CP

e-gərēt, “e-şxarēt xargōt!” békē be nəwās
DEF-slaves DEF-old.woman die.PERF.3FS cry.PERF.3MS PN

ba-ˈɔr, “y-ëm-i, y-ëm-i!”
CONJ-say.PERF.3MS EXCL-mother-1CS.POSS EXCL-mother-1CS.POSS

14. axarēt ˈɔr h-eš tūžər, “kəlā’  şiddë!
then say.PERF.3MS to-3MS.OBJ rich.MS leave.IMPV.MS crying.DEF

dḥa-nzām-k... dḥa-nkəz̃ē-k e-gərēt.”
FUT-give.SUBJ.1CP-2MS.OBJ FUT-compensate.SUBJ.1CP-2MS.OBJ DEF-slaves

ˈɔr be nəwās, “ol aškōzē
say.PERF.3MS PN NEG be.compensated.with.1CS
652 Appendix A

b-ém-i ɛ-gərét ło."
for-mother-1CS.POSS DEF-slaves NEG

15. axarét sədéd yo skɔf h-eš
then make.agree.PERF.3CP people sit.PERF.3CP for-3MS.OBJ

ba-xamsín ižif ba-ḥōlt ɗə-xiš yiršöb kūt.
PREP-fifty thousand CONJ-load GEN-five.F riding.camels food

b-ağād be nəwās yəl sékən-əš ber
CONJ-go.PERF.3MS PN to settlement-3MS.POSS already.3MS

túžər. ba-ṭəmmut kéltít ɗ-īgrəm ɗə-be nəwās.
rich.MS CONJ-finish.PERF.3FS story GEN-crime.DEF GEN-PN
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 xaṭarɛ́t spelled خطرته خطرت or even خطرته خطرت 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 ̑), while Salim Bakhit used the letter ط ṭ, and many other speakers use the Arabic letter ثṯ. As noted in several of the comments to the texts (e.g., 17:10), the consonant ģ is sometimes transcribed with Arabic ق q, even though Arabic has a letter for this sound غ.

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 <swṭws> for sɔ̄ṭəs. 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

١. خطرته غچ يعور هش باتواس اغاد من تيل سكينش تجب نيجير اشيرت باولشيش شيلوا هر

يشتام هر اضائى مصريف
2. باغد اد يصل تيل مقبارت كسيا يوا ذيقوش شخبر زخارجوت سكوف ذهتكين يناء يشرك

3. اخريات غير حص يوا نفوش دحا لونكش الشخبرت من عق أفور بدحا لشرك حيلت

4. سكوف اد يوا نفوش نكوش الشخبرت من عق أفور بجليس عق خرقش ياغد اد يصل قيرب

الحلت

5. قيلا اخريتتي بسه اقاد اد يجح حلت

6. شييري يوا مكن ذيوج عق بوذوچر اخريات شخبر غيج عور يناء يوا يشكوكن ذيوج

7. عور هتش اخريت ارا توجز سجلا يوا ذشدهن لش باجيلاش ديشخير هر دا يغور شاء يشنا

8. عور هتش موه غدا دجالشاك ايا أميربا بدحا ينمل الهين شتيل اغنوه اد يصل تيل اي ذميرا

9. عور اخريت ذنوه اخريت شيش اميش شخبرت يعور تغووب كيل شاقش هر براض عور توجز

10. اخريات اعير جور ينوه ينوه احام اجريت إد زحام ضير اخريت اعشيتشس باولوشوت

11. عور بنواس نكن تشكمالوت اجنوان هر تشكمالوهم ولعشيتش لوا ار هر سيموت بخطروق

12. عور اجريت ولتهنيلوب لوا باغد اد يصل تيل اخريت سبوطس بخطروق شروه اخريات فتتيفوت

13. يديروه اجريت ذويكي عور بنواس يناء جا عود نكون ليتكمك امي عور اجريت اخريت

14. اخريات عور هتش توجز قا وكا دحا تششك اجريت عور ولشوشبا امي جريت لوا

15. اخريات سيدي يوا سكوف هش بخمسين يشيفن بحولت ذحيش يرشوب قيتب باغد بنواس

يول سكنش بر توجز
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.

ʾb:
be: a vocative form of ‘father’, equivalent to ī ‘my father’ (35:7; 97:2)

ʾdy-ʾln:
edi-ilín: add the meaning ‘so-and-so’ (see § 3.5.5)

ʾgr:
ʾɔʾgɔ́r: the form əggɔ́r ‘slave’ is used in the texts and among my informants, while I found no evidence for ʾɔʾgɔ́r (see the comment to 18:10)
šēgɔ́r (Š2) ‘rent, hire’ (AK1:4)

ʾjl:
ağáhl: add the variant form ağá (see the comment to 40:4)

ʾhl:
šēhél (Š1) ‘deserve’ (3ms imperf. ɔsɔ̃hɔ́l) (see the comment to 21:11) (cf. Arabic ʾistaḥala ‘deserve’)

ʾhn:
ɛhùn ‘which one’ (also ɛhúṭun; see § 11.10)

ʾlf:
ɔf: add the variant plural iẓíf (see the comment to 18:15; 22:12)
éləf (Gb) ‘be(come) accustomed to, used to’ (3ms imperf. yélɔ́f, 3ms subj. yəlɔ́f) (TJ2:113) (cf. Arabic ʾalifa ‘be(come) accustomed to, used to’)
ʾm:
ʾém: add that the plural of ‘mother’ (better transcribed ʾemīti) can be used to refer to all close female relatives (aunts, grandmothers, etc.) (13:15)

ʾmn:
šīn (Š2): add the meaning ‘obey, fall in with s.o.’s wishes’ (see the comments to 57:9; 60:8)
ēmūn (H) ‘believe’ (Perhaps a Mehrism. See the comment to 60:37)

ʾn?:
un ‘indeed; please’ (see §12.5.2)

ʾns:
šīnās (Š1): add the meaning ‘dare’ (39:1; 46:3)

ʾṯb:
etēb: add the meaning ‘willow-leaf ficus, wonderboom fig (Ficus salicifolia)’ (53:5)

ʾtl:
etēl (Gb): add the meaning ‘catch (b-) up to’ (46:17; 97:15)

ʾwb:
ob-lōb ‘no!’ (see §12.2.1) (cf. also JL, s.v. lwb)

ʿfw:
ʿáfē ‘healthy’ (TJ2:114) (< Arabic ʿafīy)

ʿgl:
see hgl

ʿlf:
ʿālaf ‘animal feed, fodder’ (AK1:3) (< Arabic ʿalaf)

ʿlm:
ʿēlām (Gb) ‘know’ (6:4) (cf. Mehri aylām, Arabic ʿalima ‘know’)

ʿtw:
ʿālē (fs ʿālēt) ‘upper’ (6:3)
'lz:
máléṣt ‘sickening thing’ (see the comment to 57:7)

‘mr:
‘ôr (Ga): add the idiom ta’móṛ ‘do you think?’, which does not conjugate for
gender or number (see the comment to TJ2:68)

‘skr:
‘askérít ‘police’ (13:1)

‘sfr:
esférôt ‘bird’ (see the comment to 6:2)

‘skr:
‘áskér ‘Blepharis dhofarensis’ or ‘Blepharis linariafolia’ (Miller and Morris
1988: 6, 8) (TJ2:71)
a’as’hér (Q) ‘gather ‘áskér’ (TJ2:71)

‘tl(l):
‘atélôl (pl.) ‘torn, old clothes’ (TJ4:23)

‘wd:
‘ôtôt: add the plural form ‘ôdôt (4:8)

‘yn:
onút ‘dry (non-monsoon) season, drought’ (see the comment to 20:1)

‘yr:
‘ôr ‘shame’ (see the comment to 14:10)

‘zm:
a‘zôm: add the plural ‘azôm (57:1) (cf. Mehri ázm, pl. āzáwm)

‘zr:
e‘úzâr (D/L) ‘annoy’ (46:9) (cf. Mehri ızâr)

‘ży (‘şy):
iţê ‘night, occasion of night’ (see the comment to TJ4:64)
_appendix c

bƙy:
béḳé (Ga) ‘remain, be left’ (5:3; 6:25) (cf. Mehri bəḳō)

blġ:
béləġ (Ga): add the meaning ‘reach, arrive’ (see the comment to 21:10; TJ1:4)
ělg (def.; indef. form probably belę ‘reach’ (noun), length (see the comment to 21:10)

blm:
bəζ抖音 (pl. ebζem) ‘date-stone’ (46:14)

brw:
bɛr: the form ebrɛ should be considered the absolute, while bɛr (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?):
ɛbxɛt (H) ‘make up for the absence of s.o.’ (see the comment to 83:7)

dVm:
d(a)’ám (G) ‘have an accident; crash (into)’ (TJ3:9)
da’ım ‘injured’ (TJ3:10)

dfr:
dɛfr: add the mp form dɛfr (25:10; TJ4:23)

dḥḳ:
šadḥék (Ṣ1) ‘visit, look in on s.o. (e.g., a sick person)’ (see the comment to 18:7)

dḥẓ:
dâhaẓ ‘slipperiness’ (TJ2:130)

dwm:
mən dɛm ‘as long as’ (TJ2:13) (seems to be equivalent to mən dũm; cf. Arabic mā dāma ‘as long as’)

dwy:
də (G) ‘agree’ (3ms imperf. yədɛ, 3ms subj. yədɛ) (TJ4:37)
dɛt: add the plural form diyɛtɛ (17:51) (cf. Mehri pl. dawyọtən)
\textit{ðbl}: 
\textit{ðɔ̄l} (Ga): add the meaning ‘take (bit by bit)’ (TJ4:39)

\textit{ðhn}: 
\textit{ðèhæn} ‘mind’ (note the idiom \textit{xòttæl ëðèhænš} ‘he lost his mind; his mind got sick’) (SB1:3; SB2:1
\textit{ðehín} (mp \textit{ðehént}) ‘intelligent’ (SB2:4)

\textit{ðmm}: 
\textit{ðɔmmét}: add the meaning ‘responsibility, guarantee’ (see the comment to 45:17)

\textit{ð}: 
(ð)ðé ‘above’ (root uncertain; see the comments to 51:5 and TJ4:85, and \textit{JL, s.v. ḥð̣’})

\textit{ðbr}: 
\textit{ðɔr} (Ga): add the meaning ‘apologize’ (see the comment to 20:7)

\textit{ðrb}: 
\textit{ðɔrɔ́b} (Ga) ‘declare’? (see the comment to TJ4:76)
\textit{ðerët} (pl. ðeríb) ‘big cliffs’? (see the comment to TJ2:103)

\textit{f-lʾ}: 
See the root \textit{w}

\textit{flt}: 
(e)\textit{flét} (H): add the idiom \textit{flét b-ɛ́núf} ‘save oneself’ (54:17)

\textit{flt}: 
\textit{tfəlíṯ} ‘a substitute’ (TJ2:54)

\textit{fns}: 
\textit{fénús} ‘lantern’ (see the comment to TJ4:55)

\textit{fnš}: 
\textit{funš} (D/L) ‘leave (a job), quit’ (see the comment to TJ3:2) (cf. Mehri \textit{fōnaš})

\textit{frk}: 
\textit{furk} (D/L): add the meaning ‘divide, separate’ (see the comment to 12:3)
frẓ́:
ferɔ́ẓ́ (Ga) ‘go home, take home’? (see the comment to TJ2:10)
farɔ́ẓ́ ‘happiness, joy’ (13:8)

fwt:
(correct to fyıt)
féṭét: correct to féṭat (Anon 1:3) and add the plural fyıt (Anon 1:5)

fxr:
fxarę́t ‘fine thing, finery’ (4:6) (cf. Mehri fxərə́t)

gʿr:
məgʿérɔ́t ‘fall (noun)’ (TJ 1:7)

ghz:
eğhi (D/L or H) ‘prepare, make ready’ (see the comment to 52:3)

gnyh:
giní (pl. gənəhə́t) ‘guinea (unit of currency)’ (52:8; TJ 4:7) (< Arabic gənih or gınə́h, pl. gınə́hə́t < English guinea)

gnzf:
gənzəfə́t ‘branch (of a tree)’ (see the comment to 54:24)

grm:
məgrɛ́m ‘crime’?; ‘criminal’? (see the comment to 18:15)
girā́yım ‘crime’ (see the comment to TJ 4:72)

grý:
géré (Ga): add the meaning ‘pass by’ (TJ 4:30) (cf. Mehri gərō)

gsr:
gəsə́r (Ga) ‘dare’ (< Arabic jəsara ‘have courage’)

gwy:
go ‘clear weather’

gyš:
geš ‘army’ (TJ 3:4; TJ 4:76) (< Arabic jayš)
**gzm:**
gəzmɛ́t (def. ɛgzəmɛ́t) ‘swearing’ (14:1)

**gzy:**
gəzɛ́ ‘reward’, used in the phrase gəzɛ́k xar ‘thank you!’ (22:6) (< Arabic jazā’ ‘repayment, recompense’)

**ġbr:**
aġbér (H) ‘elapse, (time) pass’ (see the comment to 30:14)

**ġll:**
ġel (G) ‘trick, outwit; delay, detain, keep occupied’ (see the comments to 30:4 and 60:14)

**ġlb:**
gəlɔ́b (Ga): perhaps add the meaning ‘talk s.o. over, change s.o.’s mind’ (see the comment to 35:9)

**ġlfṭ:**
ɛɡalgéfɛ́t (Q) ‘surround’ (TJ4:86)

**ġlk:**
ġolɔ́kũn ‘look there!’ (see the comment to 16:3)

**ġlt:**
ɡalṭún ‘mistaken’ (42:12; 43:10)

**ġms:**
ɡoʃ? ‘cover the face’ (see the comment to 53:5)

**ġrb:**
məɡréb: add the fs form məɡrɔ́t (Pr193)

**ġrg:**
aɡrɛ́g (H): add the meaning ‘stay’ (TJ2:44)

**ġry:**
aɡɔ́r (D/L): add the meaning ‘(animals) produce milk’ (TJ2:36)
\textit{grz}:
\textit{garzót} ‘pouch’ (see the comment to 46:8)

\textit{ğśb}:
\textit{gásəb} ‘force’ (see the comment to TJ4:71) (< Arabic \textit{ğaṣb})

\textit{ğşś}:
\textit{ğeś} (G): add the meaning ‘dirty, befoul’ (97:50)

\textit{ğş‘} or \textit{ğşy}:
\textit{ağtşé} (T2) ‘faint, pass out’ (39:5; 39:6)
\textit{șağşé} (Ș1) ‘wash o.s., bathe o.s.’ (60:45; TJ4:28)

\textit{ğwr}:
\textit{ağör} (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 \textit{ağwür})

\textit{ğyđ̣}:
\textit{ağyéđ̣} (D/L): add the variant 3ms imperfect \textit{yəğ(y)éđ̣ən} (57:15)

\textit{ğţ́ţ́}:
\textit{ğeț́} (G): add the meaning ‘wink’ (see the comment to 60:34)

\textit{hgg}:
\textit{heg} (G) ‘wander aimlessly’ (TJ4:50; TJ4:58)

\textit{hgl}:
\textit{həgəḷət} ‘calf’ (23:10) (probably < Semitic root *‘gl)

\textit{hgr}:
\textit{(hęgər) (hegerőt} (Gb) ‘(sun) be hot at midday’ (60:37) (cf. Mehri \textit{həgərů𝑡})

\textit{hlk}:
\textit{eḥůlk} (D/L): add the meanings ‘torment, press, distress’ (TJ4:82)
hmm:
hiēt 'strength' (38:2)

hrs:
šahēras (Š2) ‘tell s.o. off’ (53:4; TJ4:49)

ḥšk:
hiškīk (fs hiškīs, mp hiškīkum) ‘it’s ok! don’t be scared!’ (TJ4:55)

ḥṭr:
hōṭr (Ga) ‘destroy’ (see the comment to TJ4:77)

ḥḏ’:
see also ḫ’

ḥgv:
šḥḥagé (Š1): add the meaning ‘stand firm’ (83:2) (cf. Mehri šahgū)

ḥkk:
aḥkék (H): add the meaning ‘press, put pressure on s.o.’ (41:3; TJ2:86)

ḥkm:
ḥkum (Ga) ‘make s.o. do s.t.’ (see the comment to 51:20)

ḥkv:
šḥoké (Š1): add the meaning ‘have one’s fill, have enough’ (97:14)

ḥkk:
ḥek (G) ‘be right; belong rightfully’ (see the comment to TJ2:26)

ḥkl:
d-ḥākēl ‘inside’ (see the comment to 33:3)

ḥky:
ḥaḳīt ‘rope’ (5:5)

ḥlv:
šḥele (Š2) ‘be given a description’ (TJ4:8) (cf. Mehri šḥāli)
tahli ‘description’ (TJ4:10)
ḥm:
ḥim: add the meaning ‘son-in-law’ (see the comment to 7:4)

ḥmm:
ḥūm ‘charcoal’ (variant of ḥūm; cf. Mehri ḥəmūm and ḥəmūm) (TJ4:23)

ḥml:
ḥōl (noun) ‘load’ (6:26) (cf. Mehri ḥāmāł)
ḥīlīn ‘carrying’ (verbal noun of G ḥōl) (48:6)

ḥrs:
ḥers ‘a guard’ (TJ4:16) (cf. Arabic ḥāris ‘guard’)

ḥrṣ:
ḥurs (D/L), passive ḥīrīs: see the comment to TJ2:62

ḥrẓ́:
ḥarɔ́ẓ́ ‘Acacia tortilis’ (perhaps also ‘Acacia mellifera’) (see the comment to 48:13)

ḥṣl:
maḥṣól (def. āḥṣól) ‘gain, yield’ (8:4) (cf. Mehri məḥṣāwl; both < Arabic maḥṣūl)

ḥṣn:
ḥāṣūn: add that the plural form ḥaṣnūn can also be used for the singular among some speakers (see the comment to 17:11)

ḥsś:
ḥes (G): add the meaning ‘notice, find’? (or a mistake for ḥes, root ḥss? See the comment to 25:8)
ḥaṣsós ‘having all the bones smashed’ (48:18) (cf. Mehri ḥaṣyōś)

ḥtl:
ḥtɔl (Ga): add the meaning ‘tie up/together’ (6:26)

ḥwl:
ḥɔlt ‘condition’ (see the comment to TJ4:57; AK1:3)
\( \text{ḥwr?}: \)
\( \text{əḥtēr} \) (T2) (the root could also be \( \text{ḥbr} \); or perhaps the verb is Ga-Stem \( \text{ḥtər} \), root \( \text{ḥtr} \)) ‘wait’? (see the comment to 13:4)

\( \text{ḥwš}: \)
\( \text{ḥuš}: \) add the meaning ‘animal pen, enclosure’ (AK2:9)

\( \text{ḥyl}: \)
\( \text{ḥełt}: \) add the meaning ‘credit’ (see the comment to 41:2)

\( \text{kltv}: \)
\( \text{kélé} \) (Ga): add the 3ms imperfect variant \( \text{yəkɔ́z} \), and add the meaning ‘bring home (a wife, animals)’ (TJ2:8; TJ2:11)

\( \text{kmkm}: \)
\( \text{kəmkɛ́m}: \) add the variant plural form \( \text{kɛ́mkəm} \) (32:14; TJ2:33)

\( \text{krfy}: \)
\( \text{kirfɛ́ye} \) ‘bed’ (see the comment to TJ4:53)

\( \text{krj} \) (\( \text{krz?} \)): 
\( \text{kurj} \) (\( \text{kurz?} \)) ‘score; case’ (see the comment to 32:14)

\( \text{ktb}: \)
\( \text{ktəb} \) (noun): add the plural form \( \text{katabín} \) (52:8)
\( \text{maktēb} \) ‘written’ (6:12)

\( \text{ktн}: \)
\( \text{ktun} \) ‘a type of flying insect’ (TJ2:118)

\( \text{kβ̃ \( \text{(kw̃?)}: \)} \\
\( \text{əktə̀z} \) (T2) ‘finish, prepare o.s.’? (TJ4:28)

\( \text{kdd}: \)
\( \text{məkədɛ́t}: \) add the plural form \( \text{məkdɔ́d} \) (def. \( \text{ɛ̃kdɔ́d} \)) (12:3)

\( \text{kltv}: \)
\( \text{maklɛ́t} \) ‘roast dhurah’ (dhurah, or durra, is a kind of sorghum; see s.v. \( \text{ðrw} \)) (TJ1:2)
ḳrr:
təḳrír: add the meaning ‘certainty’ (14:8)

ḳrṣ:
ḳérọ́ṣ: add the diminutive ḳérṣėtə (TJ2:117)

ḳsw:
ḳósi ‘hard’ (see the comment to 49:35)

ḳṣd:
ḳéṣəd (Gb): add the meaning ‘seek out’ (41:3)

ḳṣr:
aḳṣiyɛ́r ‘the month corresponding to Arabic Šaʿbān’ (see the comment to 32:4)

ḳṭr:
ᵐəḳəṭɛ́r: add the variant plural form ḳəḇṭər (see the comment to 22:8)

lʿl?:
laʿál- (plus possessive suffixes used with plural nouns) ‘exhausted, tired’ (AK2:5)

lbd:
ɛźiɔ́d (indef. liɔ́d?) ‘shots (of a gun), shooting’ (13:13)

lģz:
l(a)ģáz (G): add the meaning ‘slip s.t. to s.o.’ (see the comment to 21:5)

lḥḳ:
l(a)ḥák (G): add the meanings ‘help (l- s.o.)’ and ‘hurry, run’ (see the comment to 36:4; 22:5; 50:9)

lky:
šəłké (Š1): add the (EJ?) variant šə́zké (53:11)

lsv:
mosé: add the plural məlɛ́bsi (TJ2:123)
**lty:**
elúti (D/L) ‘press s.o., urge’ (TJ4:37)

**lxr:**
ałxé, fs ḡlxét ‘lower’ (6:13)

**mḥn:**
məṭəhən (fs məṭanút, cp məṭanūti) ‘in trouble; unable to cope’ (28:12)

**mḥv:**
maḥé (Ga) ‘pass’ (TJ1:8)

**mnv:**
miné ‘a unit of weight measurement (approximately 4 kilograms)’ (TJ2:43)

**mrḥ:**
mūrāḥ: add the variant plural form meršhte (see the comment to 6:28)

**mrt:**
šamərtšt ‘trial by ordeal by iron’ (14:9)

**mṭl:**
ūṭal (D/L): add the meaning ‘tell’ (TJ4:1; TJ5:1)
təmṭtīl ‘telling, recounting’ (TJ4:63) (< Arabic təmṭtīl)

**mxḳ:**
m(a)xák (G): add the meaning ‘pull out (dagger)’ (see the comment to 25:13)

**mžy:**
méžé (Ga) ‘go away, expire’ (41:11) (cf. Arabic maḍā)

**ndw:**
enúdi (D/L) ‘call out’ (6:21) (cf. Mehri anōdi)

**nfx:**
nafxāt ‘blowing’ (TJ2:41)

**ngr:**
ngɔr (Ga): add the meaning ‘do carpentry’ (TJ3:12)
naggɔr ‘carpenter’ (TJ3:12)
**nḥr:**
nəḥõr ‘wadi’ (see the comment to 22:3)

**nḳṭ:**
nəḳṭɔ́t: add the variant plural enḳêt (57:15) (this is either an EJ form or a Mehrism; cf. Mehri anḳāṭ)

**nṣl:**
ənsəlɛ́t ‘offspring’ (perhaps the singular of nɛ́səl) (TJ4:2)

**nxl:**
naxlét: add the plural náxal (30:1) (cf. Mehri nəxlūt, pl. nēxəl)

**nzh:**
manzāht ‘hoe’ (5:5)

**rʿw:**
reʿít: add the meaning ‘subjects, citizens’ (TJ4:76)

**rbʿ:**
šərbā’ (Š1): add the meaning ‘climb’ (see the comment to 4:9)

**rgʿ:**
réga’ ‘dregs, remains, sediment’ (36:13) (cf. Mehri rəgɛ̄)

**rḳb:**
rékəb (pl. erkéb) ‘ledge’ (see the comment to 54:32; TJ2:95)

**rḳm:**
rékəm ‘number’ (42:12) (< Arabic raqm)

**rsl:**
ersél (H): add the meaning ‘send’ (AK2:4) (< Arabic ārsala)

**rśy:**
ərśét ‘wood cow-pen’ (TJ2:122)

**rșn:**
rešan ‘supplies’ (< English ‘ration’?) (TJ3:39)
**sdy:**  
sidi 'devil', used in the idiom ḏa-sidi ‘no good’ (see the comment to TJ2:9)

**sqt:**  
sqāt ‘Dhofari button-tree (*Anogeissus dhofarica*)’ (51:5)

**shl:**  
mastéhöl 'end of the month' (see the comment to 41:9)

**skn:**  
siḳun ‘at that time’ (Anon1:4)

**skd:**  
əstikåd ‘plan; subject, affair’ (TJ4:13)

**sll (swl?):**  
sèl- ‘don’t/doesn’t care’ (see the comment to TJ2:124)

**slb:**  
ɛslòb ‘arms, weapons’ (see the comment to 36:26)

**smy:**  
ɛstù(i) (T2) ‘shout one’s tribal war-cry’ (see the comment to 25:4)

**str:**  
sètər: add the meanings ‘cover, covering’ (30:5)  
stértə ‘booths made of branches with dried grass on top’ (pl. of sètər?)  
(TJ2:95)  
sètər ‘better’? (5:10)

**swk:**  
sāk (G) ‘drive (a car)’ (3ms imperf. ɣasèk, 3ms subj. ýèṣak) (Anon1:5) (< Arabic sāqa)

**ṣbh:**  
esbəḥi ‘morning (adj.)’, used in the phrase fēgər esbəḥi ‘very early morning; the very end of the night’ (TJ4:22)

**ṣbx:**  
ṣèx: add the meaning ‘centipedes, etc.’ (TJ2:118)
ṣff:
ṣef (G): add the meaning 'stand around' (TJ4:26)

ṣbr:
ṣēr (Gb) ‘know how (to do something)’ (1:7)

ṣny:
ṣīni (Gb): add the meaning ‘refuse a thing and then want it’ (see the comment to 34:10)
ṣnī (H): add the meaning ‘see to (a sick person), treat, cure’ (see the comment to 18:7)

ṣrʿ:
ṣērʿāt ‘law; judge’ (17:38) (< Arabic širʿat- ‘law’)

ṣwk:
ṣṭēk (T1) ‘miss, long for’ (60:19) (cf. Mehri šātūk)

šʿr:
məšʿér ‘dance-party’ (30:9; 97:5)

šʿy:
šaʿé (G): add the 3ms imperfect dialectal variant yšə̀ (see the comment to 35:6)

šbṭ:
šɔ̄ṭ (Ga) ‘defecate’ (48:11; 97:40)

šfḳ:
On the possible difference between G šfɔḳ and Š1 s̃əšfek, see § 6.4.2, n. 40.

šfr:
štʃər (T1): probably add the meaning 'be pricked' (see the comment to 40:4)

šhr:
šhōr: add the common variant form šhēr (see the comment to 40:7; 42:13; 60:9; AK1:1)

šmʿ:
šī (Gb): add the variant 3ms perfect šāʿ (see the comment to 13:13)
šnt:
šántah (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:
thṃmēt ‘accusation’ (14:3)

tkv (tk?):
(ε)tkē (H) ‘lie down’ (3ms future yētkē) (TJ4:64)
atkīyō ‘lying place’? (TJ4:63)

tlw:
(ε)tlē (H) ‘be sorry, regret’ (see the comment to 31:5)

tww:
taw ‘well’? (see the comment to 97:31)

ṭb’:
ṭɔb’: add the plural form ṭiā’ (TJ2:59) (< Arabic tab’, pl. tibā’)

ṭbx:
ṭɔ̄x (Ga) ‘cook’ (see the comment to 6:9) (cf. Arabic ṭabaxa ‘cook’)

ṯmr:
ṯṃmrēt ‘produce, production’ (TJ2:77) (cf. Arabic ṭamarat- ‘yield, profit, benefit’)
wgħ:  
egọghọgh  ‘wedding night’ (see the comment to 45:19)

wsf:  
təbšif ‘description’ (4:8; 40:16; 45:20)

wṭb:  
ṣṭob (pl. yəṭob) ‘udder, teat’ (43:1) (cf. Arabic waṭb ‘skin into which milk is put’)

wyy:  
On bē and býyya, which probably reflect the same word, see the comments to 4:10 and SB1:1.

wzn:  
mīzún: add the definite form ĩzún, and the secondary meaning ‘animal market’

wzr:  
ezūr ‘vizier’ (36:22) (< Arabic wâzūr)

xʾ:  
axā ‘like’ (the extent of its use in Jibbali is unclear; see the comments to TJ2:65 and TJ4:95) (cf. Mehri xā)

xdm:  
xodũnt (dimin.) ‘work’ (8:4)

xdr:  
xádər: add the diminutive xadɛ́r (pl. xɛdirɛ́tə) (TJ2:95)

xlʾ (xl?):  
xalá’ (H) ‘swear’? (used mainly in the 1cs perf. xalák) (see the comment to 57:9)

xlf:  
xɛlf (fs xilfɛ́t or xiźfɛ́t) ‘next, following’ (dialectal variants of xalfi and xalfet) (17:12; 39:8; 41:9; 49:31)
xlḳ:
xɔḳ 'appearance' (see the comment to SB2:4; AK2:2)

xls:
xɔ́lɔ́s (Ga): add the meaning 'go astray' (57:15)

xlw:
xéźi (Gb): add the meaning 'be unmarried' (see the comment to 7:8)

xrd:
xardɛ́t ‘small change, small amount of money’ (see the comment to AK1:5)

xṭ':
xéṭi (Gb) ‘not stick in one's mind, escape one's memory’? (see the comment to TJ2:79)

xwl:
xɔlɔ́t: add the meaning ‘mother-in-law’ (30:9; 60:9)

xyr:
xəyór ‘best’ (see the comment to 83:7) (cf. Arabic xiyār)
xérín: 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)
xázɛ́ ‘shame’ (or ‘punishment’?) (see the comment to 21:11)

yḳbn:
iṣ̃in: on the variant form iṣ̃int, see the comment to 97:11

zfr:
mizfɔ́r: add the variant form ɛnzəfɔ́r (see the comment to 40:13)

zhw:
zhɛ ‘festival’ (see the comment to 4:1)

zkt:
zikt ‘oysters’ (WJ) (cf. Mehri zukt, Geva-Kleinberger 2010: 59)
zwýː:
zağ ‘relax’? (54:28) (< Arabic zāḡa ‘turn aside, deviate’)

zyg:
ɛzōg (D/L): add the meaning ‘pretty up, dress up’ (97:6)
ɔzτēğ (T2): add the meaning ‘be happy’ (AK2:9)

ţiːyː:
(aʿīd d-ɛzáha ‘Eid al-Adha, Feast of the Sacrifice’ (4:8)

ţiːmd:
ţiːdɒt: add the plural form ţiːd (TJ2:6)

ţiːrr:
ţéːrɛt: add the more general meaning ‘other wife’ (see the comment to 97:4)

ţiːyː’:
ţiːˈat ‘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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text #</th>
<th>Printed</th>
<th>Correct Reading</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6:13</td>
<td>thərəs</td>
<td>yhərəs</td>
<td>Arabic ms confirms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20:40</td>
<td>tāxəfi</td>
<td>təhəxəwfi</td>
<td>Arabic ms and audio confirm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24:23</td>
<td>nəhāg</td>
<td>nənəhəg</td>
<td>Arabic ms and audio confirm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26:9</td>
<td>əbəbən ʼətəm</td>
<td>əbəbən təm</td>
<td>Arabic ms and audio confirm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38:6</td>
<td>rékab</td>
<td>rékab</td>
<td>Arabic ms and audio confirm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57:8</td>
<td>xaf</td>
<td>xāf</td>
<td>Audio confirms. See also the note below (p. 680) to p. 258.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82:5</td>
<td>būddadan</td>
<td>būttadan</td>
<td>Mss and audio confirm.³</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89:35</td>
<td>yəftarḥən</td>
<td>ʻə-yəftarḥən</td>
<td>Audio and Arabic ms confirm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cf. also J49:35.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90:15</td>
<td>amḥəgēg</td>
<td>amḥəgēk</td>
<td>Audio and Arabic ms confirm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cf. also ʻahģēk in J57:15.⁴</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94:40</td>
<td>tawwə́s</td>
<td>tawwə́s</td>
<td>See the comment to J60:40.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97:48</td>
<td>məşārrək</td>
<td>məşārrək</td>
<td>Audio and Arabic ms confirm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101:15</td>
<td>yəwədag</td>
<td>ʻə-yəwədəg</td>
<td>Arabic ms confirms.⁵</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103:1</td>
<td>bə́rhəm</td>
<td>tə bə́rhəm</td>
<td>Audio and Arabic ms confirm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103:5</td>
<td>ɡə́lə́kək</td>
<td>ɡə́lə́kək</td>
<td>Audio confirms.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I am certainly not immune to typographical errors myself, and have found many in my own book since its publication, including:

- p. 23, line 5: tēti should read tēti.
- p. 91: The 1cd imperfect of the Gb-Stem should read “ətəbərō”, not “yət-
  bərō”.
- p. 102, fifth to last line: šaČēCəm should read šaČēCəm.
- p. 105, middle: “H šaġbūr” should read “H həġbūr”.

⁴ This word is not in ML, but the Jibbali cognate mahţ ‘family; family property’ (used in J57:15) is included in JL (s.v. ḱyəp).
⁵ In Rubin (2010: 145, n. 19), I had questioned why ʻə- appeared in 101:14, but not in 101:15. The prefix ʻə- is, in fact, present in the original Arabic ms, as expected. It is only missing from the Roman ms, on which Stroomer based the printed version.
ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO THE MEHRI LANGUAGE OF OMAN  677

p. 106, middle: Arabic istaxabara should read istaxbara.

p. 118, first line: aka’lad should read aka’lad.

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 ẓər aẓayga (taken from Stroomer’s edition) should be corrected to “above the cave” (cf. Jibbali text 25:18).

p. 153, middle: The verb saḥāṭk 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 “rēḥəḳ l-”. On the next line, “rēḥək mən” should read “rēḥəḳ mən”.

p. 196, fourth and fifth lines from the bottom: “rēḥək” should read “rēḥəḳ”.

p. 201, next to last line: “ḥəynūt” should read “ḥəynūṯ”.

p. 214: In the list of the forms of the numbers used with ‘days’, xəmhēt yūm ‘five days’ is incorrect. The correct phrase is xāyməḥ 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 rōba’ / 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: “dədsūs” should read “də-dsūs”.

p. 288, fourth to last line: təftarḥən should be təftarḥən.

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 \(məstōn\) 'plantation' < *\(\text{bustān}\) (37:1); \(zəbōn\) 'time' < *\(\text{zəmān}\) (104:1); and \(kəbūn\) 'hide' (37:4; cf. EJ \(kūn\) < *\(\text{kəbūn}\), but CJ \(kũn\) < *\(\text{kəmūn}\), and Arabic \(\text{kamana}\)).

p. 29: The derivation \(məlāwtağa\) < *\(məlūtağa\) < *\(məltūḡ\) is certainly plausible, since the shift \(CCūG > CuCāG\) is regular (see § 2.2.2), and the shift \(u > aw\) following \(l\) is not unknown. However, given Jibbali \(məlēbtəğa\), the Mehri form \(məlāwtağa\) is probably better considered a plural of the pattern \(məCāwCāC\), with an infixed \(w\).

p. 50: My translation of \(śxōf hənūk\) as 'milk for yourself!' was incorrect. The word \(śxōf\) 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 \(\text{ð-}\) (§ 3.8.1), I neglected to mention the unusual verbal agreement in sentences like \(hō \text{gayg} \text{ð-al akAwdr l-əsxAwwal b-akA dōmah lā} \ 'I am a man who cannot stay in this land' (94:4), \(hō \text{gayg} \text{amzuζ} \ 'I am a man who smokes' (94:29), and \(hō \text{gayg} \text{ð-al šay kawt 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 \(\text{Šz}-\text{Stem imperatives were found in Johnstone's published texts, as noted here. I have since found the ms imperative šərēwəg '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. \(\text{krh}t\) and \(\text{krfd}\)).

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
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 ḥātūgək lī ‘if you need me’).

p. 203: The idiom l-adafēt ḍ- ‘at the side of’ is used only once in the texts (73:6, though repeated in 73:7), but Ali used the phrase ḥō l-adafētk ‘I am at your side’ in a letter to me.

p. 227: The use of ḥēşan to mean ‘why?’ is undoubtedly the result of an underlying *h-hēşan (cf. Jibbali h-ínɛ́).

p. 230: I analyzed the particle ḍə- in the phrase kō ḍə-ġərəbk (27:4) as a relative pronoun (as also in Rubin 2008b: 82). The particle here is instead probably the verbal prefix ḍ- (§ 7.1.10.2), which is commonly used with the perfect of ḡərūb ‘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 ṣād meaning ‘again’, I would now suggest that it is being used in conjunction with the subjunctive of wiṭa 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 dawnak 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 watō- (§ 12.5.18), I was led completely astray by Johnstone’s own analysis of the form watōkəm in text 64:2. Johnstone analyzed this as a particle watō-, included in his ML under the root wt’. This must be instead the conjunction wa- plus the particle taww- (§ 12.5.15; ML, s.v. tww). In fact, a re-examination of the audio shows that the forms transcribed (wa-)tōkəm in 64:2 and tōwwəkəm in 24:41 are pronounced identically as tə́wkəm. I realized that my analysis of watōkəm was wrong when I saw the parallel tōkum used in Jibbali text 25:2. Morris (2012: 486) also suggested that watōkəm was from taww-. Therefore, the entry for the root wt’ 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 \(x\acute{a}f\) ‘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 (\(\text{a}\text{thúmk}\), J8:8) makes it clear that \(x\acute{a}f\) 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 \(\acute{\text{a}}\text{d}\) in 57:11 was uncertain. This use of \(\acute{\text{a}}\text{d}\) plus a subjunctive of \(\text{wīkā}\) 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:


Bulakh, Maria. 2013. The Diachronic Background of the Verbs \(\text{wīdā}\) and \(\text{gērōb}\) ‘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.


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.
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. xaṭərāt ġayg səyūr mən anąd, yəḥōm ašhayr. hīs wīsəl ašhāyr. kūsa ġayg. āmōr, “ḥōm al-ḥɛ̄rəs hənūk, hām hēt mahāffək tī.”
5. wə-səyyūr təwōli aḡāyg, ḥayb ḏō-tēt, wə-kəlūt ləh. wə-wəzmīh amandāwəkəh. wə-sīrō təwōli sēkan.
6. wə-ẓḥāt təwkəlēt mən hāl tēt. wə-kafāwd hē w-əshāwd arḥəbēt, hē w-əshəḏdhe arḥəbēt, təwōli sērə, wə-ʃəmlūk. wə-ʃītam aẓəyāft tōmər, wə-ráfam.
7. tē ka-ṣōbəh, nákam sēkən wə-wbāwd, wə-forūd hārūn mən sēkan. w-həbrīk arīkōb, wə-ʃəwlīl wəkōna sā'a.

2. šərəwəg: As noted in Appendix D, this form provides the only example of an Š2-Stem imperative from Johnstone's Mehri texts.
4. ḥə́myən: 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. yəɣābəm: According to ML (s.v. ġbr), the G-Stem ǧəbūr 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 həğbūr. 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. 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.
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.


—. 1937. Four Strange Tongues from Central South Arabia—The Hadara Group. Proceedings of the British Academy 23:231–331. (Also published as a monograph.)


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  
15. 8.3; 11.8  
16. 3.2.3; 8.8; 9.2  
17. 8.11; 12.1.4  
18. 12.2.1; 13.3.2; 13.5.2.2  
19. 13.2.5  
20. 2.1.2; 2.1.9; 3.3; 11.5; 13.2.5  
21. 13.2.1; 13.4.1  
22. 7.1.2; 13.4.1  
23. 12.5.6  
24. 13.2.4; 13.2.5  
25. 7.1.1  
26. 12.5.6  
27. 6.5.2, n. 47; 7.1.6

**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

**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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text 5 (cont.)</th>
<th>13.3.2 (2×)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5 13.1.1; 13.5.1.1</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 3.5.2; 9.1.1</td>
<td>4.3.2; 8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 3.5.5; 11.7; 13.1</td>
<td>3.2.3; 3.3; 8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 8.11; 12.5.8</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 9.1.1</td>
<td>3.2.3 (2×)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 7.1.3; 7.1.4; 7.2; 13.4.1</td>
<td>4.2; 8.6; 12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 4.6; 7.1.10.1; 7.4.8, n. 30; 11.1; 12.5.17; 13.1</td>
<td>5.5.3; 9.1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 3.3; 3.5.5; 4.6; 7.4.10; 9.4; 11.2; 13.1; 13.11</td>
<td>13.4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 5.5.3; 13.4.1</td>
<td>5.1; 8.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16 3.1; 9.4; 13.1.1; 13.4.1</td>
<td>3.1; 3.2.3; 3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8.11; 13.2.1; 13.3.4; 13.4.2 (2×)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3.7; 3.8.4; 13.1.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text 6</th>
<th>Text 7</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 4.2; 6.4.2, n. 40; 8.6; 8.8; 8.30; 9.1.1</td>
<td>7.5.2; 8.1; 8.26, n. 28; 12.5.6; 13.4.1; 13.5.3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 8.28</td>
<td>3.1; 6.4.4, n. 44; 13.4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 12.3</td>
<td>7.1.4; 11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 3.8.4; 7.1.7</td>
<td>8.13; 13.1.1; 13.3.1 (2×)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 2.1.8; 3.2.3; 7.1.6; 8.26</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 8.26; 8.28; 13.5.2.4</td>
<td>8.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 5.1; 8.14; 13.5.3.2 (2×)</td>
<td>8.26; 9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 7.1.3; 8.6; 8.11; 8.28; 11.2 (2×); 13.3.2</td>
<td>2.1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 7.1.1; 8.26</td>
<td>3.8.1; 7.1.3; 8.13; 9.1.1; 13.5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 12.1.1</td>
<td>7.1.3; 7.5; 8.13; 8.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 5.4; 5.4; 12.1.4; 13.4.2, n. 9</td>
<td>13.4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 4.2; 4.3.2; 7.1.8; 8.20</td>
<td>Text 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 7.5; 12.1.4; 13.4.1</td>
<td>7.2; 8.11; 9.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 3.8.5; 8.13</td>
<td>7.2; 8.11; 9.1.1; 9.6 (2×)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17 7.4.10; 13.5.3.4</td>
<td>3.5.2; 12.5.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 13.5.1.1</td>
<td>4.5; 5.1; 12.1.2; 13.1; 13.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 4.6</td>
<td>12.5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 3.2.3; 7.5.1; 8.3; 8.18</td>
<td>6.8.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 11.1</td>
<td>3.3; 4.2; 8.18; 9.1.1; 12.2.1; 13.2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22 8.3; 8.8; 12.4 (2×)</td>
<td>3.5.2; 7.1.10.2; 13.5.3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 4.3.2</td>
<td>3.5.1; 7.1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 4.6; 12.3; 13.1</td>
<td>10 11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 2.1.6; 2.1.8; 3.8.2; 4.3.2, n. 10; 8.3; 11.1</td>
<td>12.5.3; 13.1.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX OF PASSAGES

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
3  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
23 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
INDEX OF PASSAGES

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  12.11
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; 5.4; 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

Text 23
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  12.11
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 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  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  12.11
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 26
Index of Passages

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
INDEX OF PASSAGES

| Text 33  | 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 34  | 1   | 7.3; 7.5.2; 8.18; 8.28; 12.1.2 |
| 2       | 8.11 |
| 3       | 3.2.3; 3.4; 12.1.5; 13.2.1 |
| 4       | 13.5.3.2 (2 ×) |
| 5       | 7.1.10.1 |
| 9       | 3.1; 4.2; 7.1.10.1; 7.3; 13.5.3.2 |
| 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; 3.3; 7.4.16; 8.11; 11.2; 12.5.18 |
| 12      | 12.3 |
| 13      | 2.3; 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 ×) |

| Text 36  | 1   | 7.2; 7.5; 8.18; 8.28; 12.1.2 |
| 2       | 8.11 |
| 3       | 3.2.3; 3.4; 12.1.5; 13.2.1 |
| 4       | 13.5.3.2 (2 ×) |
| 5       | 7.1.10.1 |
| 9       | 3.1; 4.2; 7.1.10.1; 7.3; 13.5.3.2 |
| 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; 3.3; 7.4.16; 8.11; 11.2; 12.5.18 |
| 12      | 12.3 |
| 13      | 2.3; 3.7; 8.4; 13.1.1 |

| 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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.8.1; 7.4.16; 10.5; 12.5.18; 13.5.1; 13.5.2.3 (2×)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>11.3; 13.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>7.1.3; 12.5.3; 12.5.18; 13.1.1; 13.5.3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.5.4; 7.1.5; 10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>7.5.1; 8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>12.5.2 (2×)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>12.5.10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Text 39

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>12.5.4; 13.4.1; 13.5.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.1.4; 7.5; 7.5; 8.16; 8.18; 11.1; 13.4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.4.16; 7.5; 8.3; 13.5.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.3.1; 13.5.3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.9; 8.18; 13.5.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>11.5; 13.5.3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.3; 11.7; 13.2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>7.5.1; 9.3; 12.2.1; 12.5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>12.5.4; 12.5.18; 13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>7.1.6; 8.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.5.2; 12.5.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Text 40

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>13.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.18; 11.8 (2×)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.1.9; 8.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>3.6; 7.1.3; 11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>12.5.18; 13.1 (2×)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Text 41

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.8.1; 7.5; 8.11; 8.18; 11.6; 12.5.3; 13.4.1; 13.4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.5.2; 8.10; 8.14; 8.18; 9.6 (2×); 10.5; 13.2.3; 13.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.8.3; 8.18; n. 16; 8.20; 8.26; 13.4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Text 42

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>7.1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>12.1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>13.1.1; 13.4.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Text 42b

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Text 43

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>7.1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Text 45

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>8; 13.1; 13.2.1; 13.4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.2; 8.13; 13.1.1; 13.4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>8.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.5.5; 7.1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>3.1; 7.1.10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.1.4; 8.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>12.1.5; 13.5.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>3.1; 7.1.3; 13.5.1.1; 13.5.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>13.5.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>3.4; 8.22; 13.1; 13.1.1; 13.2.2, n. 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Text 46

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.5.4; 7.1.7; 7.5; 8.11; 9.6; 12.5.4; 13.1.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX OF PASSAGES

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
# Index of Passages

## Text 51

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.1.7; 7.5-3; 12.5-4; 13.3-2; 13.4.1, n. 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.1.9; 8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>13.5.2-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>7.5.2; 8.13; 13.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.8-3; 7.1.10-1; 8.8; 13.5.3-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>7.1.3; 8.6; 9.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>12.5-4; 13.2-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>4.3-2, n. 9; 7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.8.3; 7.1.3; 7.5; 13.5.2-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>8.11; 13.5.2-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>5.5-4; 12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>5.5-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>2.1.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Text 52

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.5-3; 5.5-2; 12.4; 13.4.1 (2 ×); 13.5.2-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.5-4; 4.3-1; 5.1; 7.5-3; 8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>13.2-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>7.1.4; 12.5-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.5-1; 7.2 (2 ×); 8.3; 8.11; 13.5-3-5 (2 ×)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.4; 5.5-5; 12.5-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.5-5; 7.3 (2 ×); 8.8; 8.9; 12.5-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.1-4; 4.3-1; 11.9; 12.5-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.4; 7.5; 11.2; 11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.4; 3.5-2; 8; 8.12; 9.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>7.1.3; 7.5-3; 11.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Text 53

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.1; 3.7; 5.5-6; 8.6; 12.5.14; 13.3-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>13.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.3; 7.1.10.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>8.3; 12.1.4; 13.2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>8.11; 13.3.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Text 54

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>5.1; 12.1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.4; 8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.3; 5.5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>7.1.6; 13.5-3-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>13.5.2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>12.5-17; 13.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.5-1; 3.6; 8.30; 13.2.1; 13.3.1 (2 ×)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>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</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>5.4; 8.12; 12.1.5; 13.2.6; 13.4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.1; 3.5-1; 4.6; 5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.1; 4.6; 12.5-17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.3; 8.11; 13.3-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>7.5; 8.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.5-3; 9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>12.1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>7.4-8, n. 32; 7.5; 8.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>3.8-5; 13.4.1 (2 ×)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>7.1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>3.1; 11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>2.1-4; 3.4; 10.1; 12.1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>3.6; 5.5-4; 8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>7.1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>7.1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>3.1; 9.3, n. 5; 9.4; 13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>11.7; 13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>4.3-2 (2 ×); 7.1.6; 10.1 (2 ×)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>8.20; 13.5-3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>9.4; 13.1; 13.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>5.1; 8.25 (2 ×); 13.1; 13.5-3-3 (2 ×)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>3.5-1; 7.1.2; 8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>3.8-1; 8.13; 8.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>3.8-1; 11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text 55</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.2; 12.1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.2; 11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>7.1.10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>7.1.8; 13.4.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text 57</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>7.1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>13.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>4.6, n. 24; 11.2; 12.5.4 (3×)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>7.1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>12.5.5 (2×)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>13.5.3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>7.1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>5.1; 7.1.6; 7.1.10.2; 13.4.3 (2×); 13.5.2.3 (2×)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text 60</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.6; 7.5.2; 8.11; 12.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.1; 7.3; 12.5.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.1.3; 7.2; 10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.8.1; 7.1.2; 7.5.3; 8.6; 9.3 (2×)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>7.5; 8.20 (2×)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>7.1.3 (2×); 8.20; 13.2.2; 13.5.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>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</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text 55</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>2.1.2; 7.3; 8.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>8.16; 13.1.1; 13.2.2; 13.4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>3.2.3; 8.8; 8.8, n. 6; 8.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>3.2.3; 7.2 (2×); 8.8; 8.22; 13.1; 13.5.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>7.1.10.2; 11.7; 13.2.2; 13.5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>7.1.9; 11.5; 13.4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>4.4, n. 20; 8.18; 13.2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>7.4.8, n. 33; 7.5.4; 8.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>7.1.4; 7.1.9; 7.2 (2×); 8.8; 13.2.4; 13.5.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>7.1.3; 13.4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>7.1.4; 7.5; 8.28; 12.5.9; 13.2.1; 13.5.3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>7.1.10.2 (2×); 7.4.16; 7.5.1; 13.5.1.1; 13.5.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>2.1.3; 2.3; 4.6; 7.1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>3.8.1; 7.1.3; 7.1.7; 8.11; 12.5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>2.1.3; 12.1.5; 12.5.4; 13.4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>3.8.2; 7.1.10.1; 8.16; 13.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>3.8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>3.5.2; 12.5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>3.5.1; 3.5.2 (2×); 7.1.3; 8.18; 12.1.5; 12.1.5, n. 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>6.4.2, n. 40; 8.18; 13.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>12.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>4.3.1; 7.1.4; 7.1.10.1; 7.3; 8.13; 13.2.3; 13.3.1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>8.18; 8.29; 13.5.2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>2.1.3, n. 8; 2.1.4; 3.5.1; 3.5.2; 8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>7.5; 12.1.2; 13.2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>7.5.3; 12.5.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>7.1.4; 8.13; 12.5.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>3.8.5; 4.5; 8.8; 13.5.3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>3.2.1; 8.8; 8.16; 8.25; 10.1; 12.5.18; 13.4.2 (2×); 13.5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>2.3; 3.6; 3.7; 6.2, n. 20; 13.4.2 (2×)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>2.1.10; 13.11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
712  INDEX OF PASSAGES

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
## INDEX OF PASSAGES

**Text AK2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.3; 10.1 (2 ×)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.4; 9.1.5; 11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.4; 7.1.2; 8.1; 8.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.4 (2 ×); 7.1.2; 10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>7.1.10.2; 8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>3.6; 7.1.2; 7.1.10.2; 11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>7.1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>3.4; 3.4, n. 10; 8.16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Text AK3**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>13.3.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>13.3.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>7.1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Text AK4**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>13.2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>3.4 (2x)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>9.1.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Text AM1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.4; 8.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>10.1 (2 ×); 12.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>4.3.2; 5.5.4; 7.1.7; 12.1.6; 12.5.8; 13.2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.1.2; 3.3; 10.1 (2 ×)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>2.1.3; 3.5.2; 7.1.6; 8.2.4; 10.1, n. 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Text Anon1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.4; 7.1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Text FB1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.5.2; 7.1.10.2; 7.4.2; 13.2.2; 13.5.2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.3.2; 5.3; 8.2.2 (2 ×); 8.3.0; 9.1.1 (2 ×)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Text Fr1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.8.1, n. 17; 7.1.10; 7.2; 9.1.2; 13.5.3.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Text Pr**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>13.5.3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.8.1; 7.1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>13.2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>13.2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>3.8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>12.5.4; 13.5.2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157</td>
<td>4.3.2; 7.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>7.1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188</td>
<td>3.8.1, n. 16; 7.1.10, n. 9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Text SB1**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>7.5; 10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.1; 7.1.7; 12.4; 13.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.8.1; 3.8.1, n. 17; 7.1.7; 8.6; 8.11; 8.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.5.2; 4.4; 7.1.3; 8.19 (2 ×); 13.4.1 (2 ×); 13.5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>3.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>3.2.3; 3.5.2; 7.1.4; 9.2; 13.3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>8.7; 13.1.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Text SB2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.12; 9.1.1; 13.2.1; 13.3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.2.3; 10.5; 13.1.1; 13.2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.4.2, n. 40; 7.2; 7.5 (2 ×); 8.11; 11.6; 12.3 (2 ×); 13.5.3.5 (2 ×)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.4; 6.4.2, n. 40; 8.12; 13.2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>13.3.1.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
714

INDEX OF PASSAGES

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
INDEX OF PASSAGES

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 TJ5
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.

ε- (see ð-)

ed
preposition, 8.1
purpose clause, 13.5.2.4
temporal conjunction, 13.5.3.4

in, 3.8.4

ɛnúf (εnfɔ́f), 3.6

iź-, 3.8.1

‘ɔd, 12.5.3
negative ɔl-‘ɔd, 13.2.4
auxiliary d-‘ɔd, 7.3

b- (see ð-)

bə-flɔ́ (see ʃəlɔ́)

baḥś-, 2.1.5; 3.6

bén, 8.20

bər, 4.6

(‘)ar
in comparatives, 5.4
particle, 12.5.4
preposition, 8.4

ber, 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

bē, 2.1.5; 10.5

bɪyyə, 10.5

axá, 8.12

d- (see ð-)

axér, 5.4

dé, 3.5.1
(see also under kɔ́l)
INDEX OF SELECT JIBBALI WORDS

\(d\-'\omega d\) (see under ‘\(\omega d\)’)
\(\ddot{\alpha}\) (also sometimes \(d\-, \varepsilon\-\))
complementizer, 13.5.1.1
genitive exponent, 12.4
relative pronoun, 3.8.1
verbal prefix, 7.1.10
(see also under \(k\omega l\))
\((\omega)\theta\), 13.4.2
\(f\ddot{a}\ddot{l}o\) (and \(b\ddot{a}\-f\ddot{l}o\)), 12.1.4; 12.5.8
\((\omega l\-)f\ddot{a}\l\ddot{n}i(y\varrho), 3.5.5
\(f\ddot{o}n\ddot{a}, 7.1.4, n. 4.; 10.3; 12.5.11, n. 14
\(h\ddot{e}l\)
conditional, 13.4.1
temporal, 13.5.3.3
\(h\ddot{e}r\)
ar \(h\ddot{e}r\), 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
\(h\ddot{e}s\) (also \(\omega l\-h\ddot{e}s\))
prefixion, 8.12
temporal conjunction, 13.5.3.5
\(h\ddot{a}n\ddot{u}f\) (\(h\ddot{a}n\ddot{f}\)), 3.6; 8.11, n. 10
\(k\-\)
for ‘have’, 13.3.1
preposition, 8.13
\(k\omega l, 5.5.4
\(k\omega l\, in, 3.8.4
\(k\omega l\, d\ddot{e}, 3.5.1
\(k\omega l\, t\ddot{a}\ddot{f}, 3.5.3
\(k\omega l\, e\-\ddot{o}\-\ddot{d}\-, 3.8.2
\(k\omega l\, s\ddot{e}, 3.5.4
\(k\omega m, 11.9
\(k\u{0130}n, 13.1.1
with ‘\(\omega d\), 12.5.3
with compound tenses, 7.1.9
with conditionals (\(\omega \theta\) \(k\u{0130}n\)), 13.4.2
\(k\ddot{e}t, 11.5
\(k\ddot{a}y\ddot{\o}s, 12.5.20
\(l\-
for ‘have’, 13.3.3
preposition, 8.11; 8.16
\(l\-\ddot{a}g\ddot{e}r\)
preposition, 8.29
purpose clause, 13.5.2.3
\(\ddot{a}l\ddot{h}\ddot{i}n, 3.8.3
\(\omega l\-h\ddot{e}s\) (see under \(h\ddot{e}s\))
\(l\-\ddot{i}n, 13.5.4
\(l\-\ddot{i}n\ddot{e}, 11.4; 13.5.4
\(l\ddot{a}b, 12.2.1
\(m\ddot{a}, 13.2.8
\(m\ddot{a}\ddot{d}, 13.5.3.1
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Page(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mið</td>
<td>13.5.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭérk</td>
<td>7.4.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mən</td>
<td>8.3; 8.8; 8.10; 8.19; 8.20; 8.21; 8.22; 8.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t-</td>
<td>element of reciprocals, 3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mən hés</td>
<td>13.5.3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tə</td>
<td>as a Mehrism, 12.5.3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mən kun</td>
<td>12.5.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tob</td>
<td>12.5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mən śun</td>
<td>8.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tɔl</td>
<td>8.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mən tél</td>
<td>3.8.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taw</td>
<td>12.5.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mənné</td>
<td>11.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ťatt- (and ţitt-)</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mit</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>conjunction, 12.1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mit, 12.1.6</td>
<td>temporal conjunction, 13.5.3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ya rét</td>
<td>7.1.3; 12.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ob</td>
<td>12.2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yəm</td>
<td>13.5.3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>śun (see mən śun)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yəkɔ́l</td>
<td>7.4.16; 13.5.1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šéf</td>
<td>7.4.16</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>