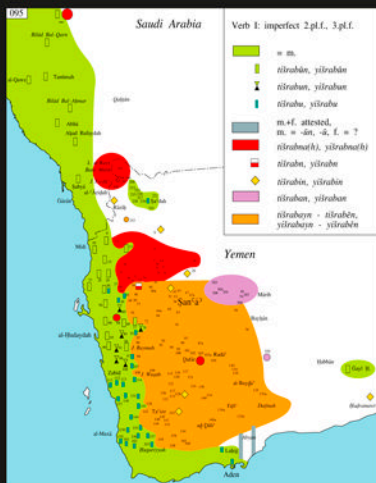


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Dialect Atlas of North Yemen and Adjacent Areas



Peter Behnstedt

Dialect Atlas of North Yemen and Adjacent Areas

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Dialect Atlas of North Yemen and Adjacent Areas

By

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Preface and Introduction

A revised, or rather extended, edition of my small dialect atlas on North Yemen, first published in 1985, suggested itself for several reasons. Firstly I have been able to carry out further field research in the extreme North of Yemen and in the Mārib region since then. I had not expected this (at the time) as the Yemen Project of Tübingen University had then come to a close. This subsequent research was made possible by a grant from the DFG in 1985. At the time of the Yemen Project the two regions were difficult and on the whole inaccessible (as, indeed, they are once again today; one need only think of the Houthi rebels in the North). In 1985 it was possible to discover entirely new dialects in these regions. The results have been published in part in Behnstedt 1987 and Behnstedt 2001. Secondly a few more recent studies on Yemen have been published, such as Thomas Werbeck's most extensive work on the dialect of Manāxah 2001, the only detailed study of a Yemeni regional dialect I am aware of; furthermore new studies on Ṣan'ā' (S. Nāim, J. Watson), and a few smaller publications. Finally between 1986 and 1990 I was able to collect more lexical material in Aleppo from officer candidates from a range of Yemeni regions, and to verify previously collected material. For the WAD those working on the project collected lexical material for Ṣan'ā', Zabīd, Ḍafār, Aden and Ḥaḍramawt. A source that has recently opened up is the internet. All it takes is to enter *lahğat X* in Arabic, and often information on the respective dialect can be found, although it is usually not systematic. This information must be used with care, particularly as there is rarely any vocalisation. However, I was able to determine for a number of points that internet sources listed the same forms I had collected there as well, and nearly 30 years ago. Another obvious step was to include data from neighbouring areas in Saudi Arabia and the former South Yemen, as dialectal peculiarities of Yemeni Arabic extend north, or 'Saudi' forms reach as far as the extreme north of the country. The situation is similar in North and South Yemen, i.e. a geographical border does not correspond to a dialectal one.

And finally a revision suggested itself because the atlas was produced at a time when we were working with adhesive foil, Letraset characters, templates, and Rotring pens. And while a professional graphic designer would have been able to produce impeccable maps in that way, in the hands of an amateur like myself the result was not a masterpiece of graphic design. Some maps are too crowded with too many symbols and consequently not always easy to decipher. On some maps it is not always

clear which symbol goes with which number. Mistakes of the kind 'symbol on the map but forgotten in the key', or vice versa were unavoidable. These and other mistakes may be explained to a degree by the fact that the book was published immediately, without any proofreading. Nowadays the possibilities are entirely different thanks to the computer. Furthermore the atlas was only ever intended as a preliminary study for a historical grammar of Yemeni Arabic [as far as it was known at the time], and much was only hinted at in the comments on the maps. Consequently the atlas is outdated in many respects. Of the originally 168 maps 105 only had brief commentaries; each of the now 192 maps has its own commentary and, depending on the topic, is further illustrated by numerous paradigms.

As regards the lexical maps the best solution turned out was to quote from the respective volumes of the WAD, albeit with minor deviations. The commentaries on the maps are now facing them rather than being in a separate section as in the original version.

I did not change the order of the lexical maps.

The areas now coloured are not always identical to isoglosses, as only a part of the country has been studied, and the boundaries to the south, north, and east of many phenomena are not known. Thus the coloured area frequently only serves to highlight a coherent region more clearly.

Overall, on the original maps the network of points relying in part on merely localised data, provided for instance by Rossi, was retained, even though the data for the individual points was frequently not available. For clarity's sake the places included in the respective maps are those for which I have actual data.

South of Ta'izz some places had to be shifted around slightly, due purely to the better maps available nowadays. According to O. Jastrow point 148 (al-Mudawwar) lies 'zwei Stunden Fußweg südlich von at-Turbah, etwas höher als at-Turbah, am Berg', which would place this *k*-dialect outside the boundaries of the main *k*-area. I do not understand how this place could have been located wrongly. However, this error does not affect most of the maps in the original version.

As for the notation of final sounds historically containing long vowels, idiosyncratic versions by different authors are to be expected. In the case of Ṣan'ā' J. Watson writes them as long vowels, and I have usually written them as long vowels for the North, but as short ones in other regions. This is frequently due to interrogation by paradigms, where the information is usually given as pausal

forms, with the consequence that a long vowel is often pronounced short and may be closed by a glottal stop. Transcriptions from various sources had to be adapted in part, if they could not be reproduced.

Finally there remains the pleasant duty of giving thanks. Thanks are due to my wife Angelika who read the proofs several times, a sometimes laborious task considering the numerous symbols on some maps. I am also grate-

ful to Manfred Woidich for a number of suggestions. The publishing house Brill wished to produce an English version of the atlas and has kindly undertaken to have the German original translated.

Chipiona, February 2015

Peter Behnstedt

Legend of Places

The following abbreviations in brackets are used for the different investigators: B = Behnstedt, BET = Bettini, D = Diem, DOS = Dostal, GH (Gingrich-Heiss), GOI = Goitein, HEN = Henneken, HUI = Huizinga, INT = Internet, J = Jastrow, LAN = Landberg, N = Naïm, R = Rossi, RUP = Ruppert, SVL = Simeone-Vanhove-Lonnet, VAN = Vanhove, W = Watson, WRB = Werbeck. * means that only few data is available. This generally applies to (R).

Number*	Place		
		40b	Ḥāz (D)
		41	Rās Maḥall as-Sūdeh (B)
7	Ḍū Muḥammad (R)	42	Ṣaruf (B)
8	Ḥaraḍ (B)	43	Bayt al-Ḥanamī aš-ṣarqī (B)
8a	Ḥayrān*	44	Ḥuṣūn al-Jalāl (B)
9	al-Ḥayrah (B)	45	al-Ḥanakeh (B)
10	Midi (B)	46	al-Maḥwīt (B)
11	Ḥajūr/J. Waṣḥah (B)	47	Banī Ṣa'*
12	Ḍū Ḥusayn/al-Jawf (R)	47a	Banī Ḥuṣayṣ* (B, DOS)
13	Qaryat Bayt al-Hudayṣ (B)	48	Habbāt (R)
13a	Ṣahārah*	48a	Ganāwiṣ* (INT)
13b	Sūdah*	49	Jabal Milḥān (R)
14	al-Gāsim (B)	50	Jabal Ḥufāṣ: Maḥall Bayt al-ʿAṣabī, Ṣafagēn, Jāhim (50a, 50b, 50c) (B)
15	Sūq ʿAbs (B)	51	Bayt al-Gaḍīnah (R)
16	al-Maḥābiṣah (B, D)	52	Bayt Naʿam*
17	Xamir (D)	53	ar-Rawḍah (B, J)
18	Garyat al-Manṣūr/Arḥab (B)	54	Mārib (R)
19	Wādī Xamir (D)	55	Munīrah (B)
20	Sinnatayn (D)	56	az-Zaydiyyah (B)
21	Yaṣīʿ (D)	56a	Dēr al-Mudawwar (INT)
22	im-Ġūleh (D)	57	Sūg al-Jumʿah (B)
23	aš-Ṣāhil*	58	Ṣanʿāʾ (J, N, R, W)
24	Ḥāmidēh (D)	59	Murād/Jabal Murād (B)
25	Raydah (D)	60	al-Waṣiṭīyah (B)
26	Nihm*	61	Sūg al-Xamīs Banī Saʿad*
27	aḍ-Ḍāhir (B)	62	Banī Maṭar* (R)
28	az-Zuhrah (B)	63	al-Alḡām (B)
29	as-Sagāyif (B)	64a	nördliche Ḥaymah (B)
30	ʿUbāl (B)	64	Maḥḡag (B)
31	Mabyan (B)	65	Ruhm (R)
32	Ṣāmih (B)	66	ad-Daqāwineh (B)
33	ʿAyn ʿAlī (B)	67	Banī Ismaʿīl (B)
34	ʿAzzileh (D)	68	Bājl*
35	ʿAmrān (D)	69	Qaryat ʿUfaydar/Jabal aḍ-Ḍāmir (B)
36	al-Xuṣm (B)	70	Jabal Ḥarāz (R)
37	al-Miḡiṣīyeh (B)	71	Jabal Ṣaʿfān (R)
38	aš-Ṣijan (B)	72	Manāxah (R, WRB)
39	Ḥaḡīl/Jabal ʿAyyān (B)	73	Dorf bei Bājl (D)
40	Ṭulā (B)	74	Jabal Masār (R)
40a	Kawkabān (HEN)		

* Number refers to number on maps.

75	Jabal 'Anz* (B)	119	as-Suwwādīyeh (B)
76	Xidār (B)	119a	ar-Riyyāšīyyah (INT)
77	'Ubāl (B, R)	120	Manwaz/al-Bayāḥīn (B)
78	al-Ḥajjāyleh* (B, R)	121	Kuḥlān* (B)
79	Ḥarīb (R)	121a	Rubāṭ al-Gal'ah* (J)
79a	al-Ḥadā*	122	Qaryat Ma'dan Ḥīḍār/Jabal Ḥubayš (B)
80	al-'Aqabah (B)	122a	Ḍulmah (W)
81	al-Maḡrabah/J. Bura' (B)	123	Suwayḡ (R)
82	'Igẓ (R)	124	Suwādah/Wādī Banā (B)
83	Maḡall Banī Gaws (B)	125	al-'Ansiyayn (R)
83a	Baraddūn (BET)	126	al-'Udayn (D)
83b	A'mās*	127	Gādes (GOI)
84	al-Ḥudaydah (R)	128	Ibb (D, J)
85	Marāwi'ah (B)	129	Jabal Ba'dān (R)
86	al-'Ayn as-Suxnah (B)	130	Ḥammām Damt (B)
87	Markaz Bilād aṭ-Ṭa'ām (B)	131	Ḥays (B)
88	al-Maḡall/Jabal Raymah (D)	132	Şifah (J)
89	Riṣābah* (D)	133	Jiblih (D, J)
90a	Durayhimi (SVL)	134	Juban (B)
90	aş-Şijan (B)	134a	Muflīḥi
91	al-Manşūriyah (B)	134b	Lab'ūs/J. Yazīdī (VAN)
92	Asla'/Jabal aş-Şirg (B)	135	al-Bayḍā' (B)
93	Gurrān Jabal aş-Şirg (B)	135a	Mukayras (VAN)
94	Ḥammām 'Alī (B)	135b	Lawdar (VAN)
95	Afk (B)	135c	Mūdiyah (VAN)
96	Bayt al-Faqīh (B)	135d	Ruşud (VAN)
97	al-Ḥamrā' (R)	136	Banī Farṭūṭ (B)
98	al-Hadīyeh (D)	137	al-Xōxah (B)
98a	Kusmah (W)	137a	Mawşij (SVL)
99	Gā'ideh (R)	138	az-Zawḥah/Bani Şa'b Salām (B)
100	Dafīnah/Maryeh	139	as-Sayyāni (R)
101	Ḍamār (B*, D)	140	'Aṭṭah/Marays (B)
102	Ḍafār (D, RUP)	140a	aḍ-Ḍālī' (VAN)
103	ad-Dāmiḡah/Baynūn (D)	141	al-Guruf/Şar'ab*
103a	Hakir* (B)	142	Qaryat al-Ḥaddah/Aḡşūb Şar'ab (B)
104	im-'Āgir (B)	143	Şuqayb (B)
105	Radā' (D, HUI)	no number	Daṭīnah (LAN)
106	al-Ḥusayniyah (B)	144	Sūq al-Jum'ah (B)
107	al-Miṣrāfeh (B)	145	Ta'izz (D)
108	al-Miṣbāḥ/Jabal Wuṣāb (B)	146	Maḡall Tubāši'ah (B)
109	Qaryat al-Ḥasīnah/ad-Dan/Jabal Wuṣāb* (B)	147	Jabal Şabir (D)
110	Gayfeh (D)	148	al-Mudawwar (J)
111	Fāzzeh (B)	148a	Māwiya*
112a	at-Ṭḡēteh* (B)	149	al-'Uḡf/Jabal Ḥabaši (B)
112	as-Suwayq (B)	150	Yaxtul (B)
113	Zabīd (B, N)	150a	Wādī al-Mulk (S-V-L)
114	Markaz al-Marīr (B)	151	Qaryat Qumārah/al-'Uqqah Wādī Risyān (B)
115	Qafr (D)	152	al-Miṣrāx (B)
116	Iryān (D)	153	Xadīr (R)
117	Yarīm (D)	154	ar-Rāḥideh (D)
118	Sibū' (D)	155	al-Maxā (B)

156	Jabal am-Nār (B)	222	Hiğlah* (B)
157	Barḥ Dubā' ad-Dāxil (B)	223	Sūg Badr (B)
158	Barḥ (B)	224	Jabal Ḥurum* (B)
158a	Ḍubḥān (D)	225	Ḥamazāt* (B)
159	Šarar Bani Yūsuf (B)	226	il-Gēs* (B)
160	Qaryat Kurb 'Unafāt al-Qabbayṭah* (B)	227	Sūg ar-Rabū* (B)
161	al-Mašāliḥah (B)	228	Birkān/Miṣbāḥ* (B)
162	Mawza' (B)	229	in-Naḍīr/J. Rāziḥ (B)
163	Ša'bū (B)	230	Dahwān* (B)
164	at-Turbah (R)	232	Ġamar* (B)
165	Ḥayfān/Wādī Aḥkūm	233	al-Gal'ah*
		234	Bilād Karab* (B)
201	Bani 'Abādil* (B)	235	Sawdān* (B)
202	Bāgim* (B)	237	Ša'dah (B)
203	Wā'ileh* (R)	238	Šaḥn (B)
203a	Wādī Amlāḥ* (GH)	239	Ġurāz (B)
203b	Wādī al-'Aqīq* (GH)	239a	Wādī al-'Abdīn (GH)
204	im-Maḍḍah/Minabbih (B)	240	Dammāğ* (B)
205	Jabal Jalḥā* (B)	241	Gābil* (B)
206	Gaṭābir* (B)	243	Ġubar (B)
207	Xāšir (B)	244	Ḥaydān* (B)
208	Umm Lēlā* (B)	245	Sāgēn (B)
209	Šidā'* (B)	246	Wādī al-Xabb (R)
210	Madīnat Jāwī* (B)		
211	al-Jabal al-Aswad* (B)	300	Banī Ḍabyān (B)
213	Ji'imlah* (B)	301	Širwāḥ (B)
214	Banī Ḥḍēfeh* (B)	302	Bayḥān (B)
215	Majz (B)	303	Majzir il-Jawf (B)
216	Ḍahyān* (B)	304	Sihīl* (B)
217	im-Ṭalḥ* (B)	305	al-Marxah* (B)
218	Hiğrat Fallah* (B)	306	Jahm (B)
219	Banī Ma'ād* (B)	307	aṭ-Ṭa'aymān (B)
221	Wāsīt (B, J)	308	Ḥarīb (R)

Abbreviations and Special Characters

Commonly used abbreviations are not given. For abbreviations in quotations see original source.

ASA Ancient South Arabic
CR C = consonant, R = /r/, /l/, /m/, /n/
cl. Ar. classical Arabic
INT Internet
J. Jabal
MSA Modern Standard Arabic

questionnaire WAD questionnaire (unless otherwise marked)
Umm Lēlā (208) (208)=number of point of investigation

c = [ts], *ć* = sound between /c/ [ts] and /č/ [tʃ]

ž = sound between /z/ and /ž/

j = see commentary map 2

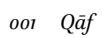
The symbols /š/ and /č/ used in DGS and in JG were replaced by /š/ and /č/

Maps and Commentaries



Phonology and Phonetics

∴



– According to PRC-4:59 in Zabīd (point 113) the reflex of **q* is ejective /*kʰ*/. **t* > /*tʰ*/ also applies. Th. Prochazka's material on Zabīd was collected in Saudi Arabia, i.e. not on site. I did not hear these pronunciations during my time in Zabīd. Samia Nā'im, who also collected data in Zabīd, is not able to confirm Th. Prochazka, either. SVL 219 quote Prochazka without confirming this.

– Regarding /*q*, *ġ*, *x*/ as allophones of qāf in complementary distribution cf. DIEM 77. At point 108 (al-Miṣbāḥ), where ġayn occurs as /*ʔ*/, /*ġ*/ as an allophone of qāf is not seen as linked to the former. Speakers had no difficulty enunciating /*ġ*/, e.g. in *yaġūl* 'he says', but tried in vain to articulate the same sound in *luʾah* 'language'.

– 'Nel Ġebel Reimah è tra *q* e *ġ*, nel Yemen meridionale tra Ibb e Ta'izz è *ġ*' (RO-APP 235). The latter has been added subsequently and recorded at point 193 (between 128 = Ibb and Ta'izz = 145).

– In the case of /*G*/, voiced, post-velar ~ uvular: at point 27 (aḍ-Ḍāhir), it seemed to me that /*g*/ was the more frequent pronunciation. Regarding /*G*/ in the south of the Tihāmah see SVL 219 'Nous avons relevé une articulation sonore [G] du qāf, dans le sud de T: (M) *nāGah* "chamelle"'. This concerns Mawṣiġ point 137a. RO-APP 264, regarding al-Ḥudaydah, '*q* è pronunciato tra *q* e *g*', may also refer to this pronunciation.

– Regarding /*j*/, /*ġ*/, /*g*/ as reflexes of **q* in *q*-dialects, especially in the central Tihāmah, cf. GRE 56/56 with examples *jiʾadah* 'a bench made of a wood frame with woven palm-rope for a seat', *bunduj* ~ *bundug* 'rifle', *yingidir* 'he is able to afford...', *jdum* 'advance!', *jaddūm* ~ *gaddūm* 'adze'. His transcription had to be adapted. He points out (p. 56) that 'the fact that all of the items in question have

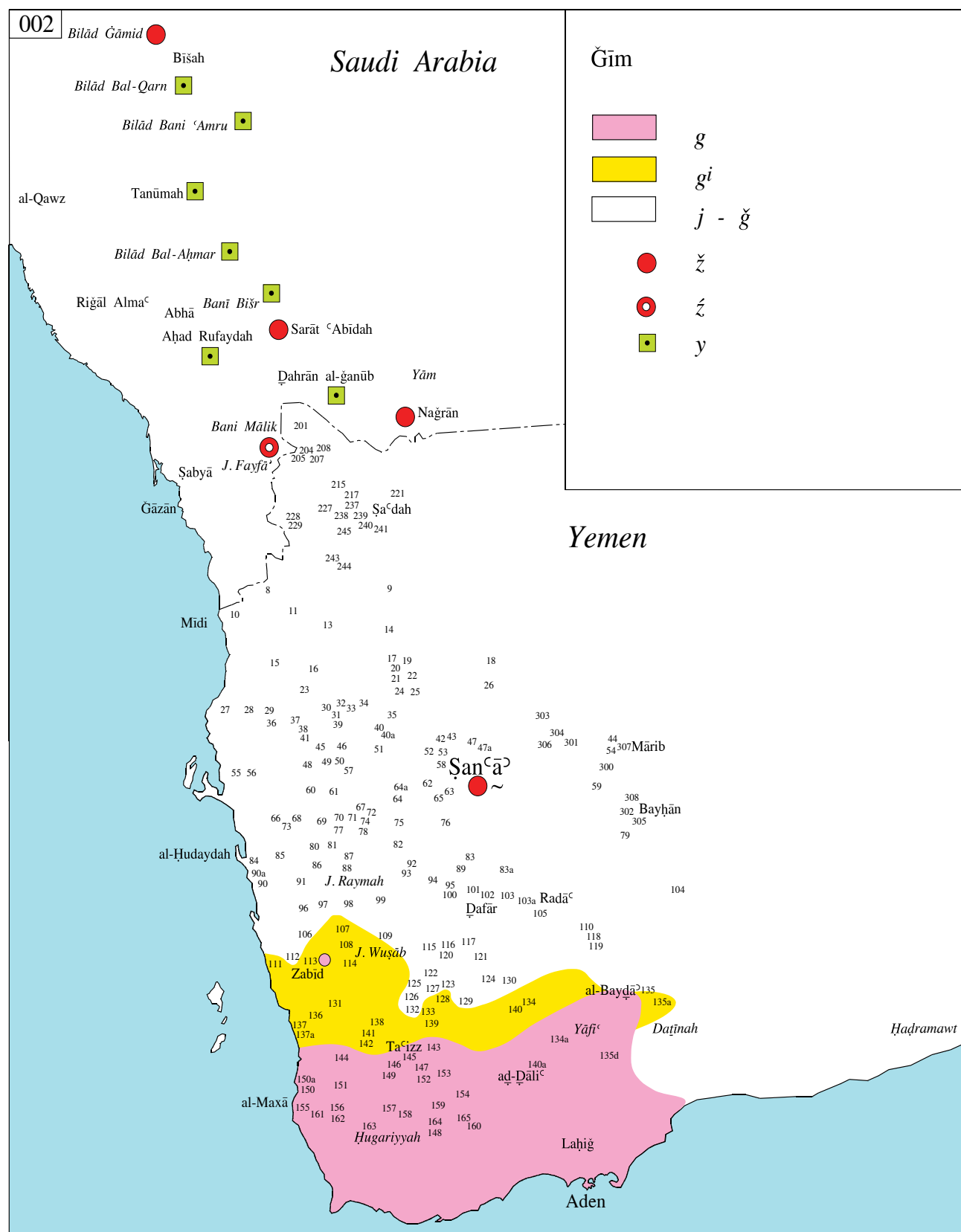
/*d*/ somewhere in them may be significant but I believe it is necessary to elicit more data before making a definitive statement'. SVL 219 quote only *jaʾadeh* and then refer to Rossi 1938 without a page number. There (RO-N 464) 'il *q* = *g* permuta con *ġ* in poche parole, nel parlare di individui della città o dei paesi vicini; es. *ġaʾadah* per *gaʾadah*, *Gâdiri* per *Qâdiri*'.

Further instances of /*j*/, /*g*/ in *q*-dialects of the Tihāmah confirm Greenman's assumption: '*agd*' 'palm stem', *juhd(u)* 'boy', *juhdeh* 'girl'. The latter is *góhd(u)* in RO-APP 258, and in fn. 8 reference to 'Harari antico e moderno *qahat* "ragazza"'. Cf. also cl. Ar. *al-qahdu ṣ-ṣaġīru min al-baqari*, *al-laṭīfu l-ġismi* (LI 3764-r-7). Also *rajad*, *yarjud* 'to sleep', *fajad*, *yiffad* 'to long for', *fajdūlak* 'I miss you' = cl. Ar. *faqada*; *farjadu*, *fargad* 'billy goat' linked to cl. Ar. *farqad* 'calf'.

– In Bayḥān (*g*-dialect) we find the doublet *galb* 'human heart', *qulb* 'palm heart'. A similar case also in Kharga/Egypt *galb* 'human heart', *qʿalb* 'palm heart'.

– In the Tihāmah in particular we find instances of /*k*/ for qāf: *tālūkah* 'strangler fig', where in addition the emphasis is lost, elsewhere *ṭālūg*, *ṭōlaq*; *mīʿkarah* 'pollarding axe', elsewhere *maʿgarah*; the pseudo-verb *ka*, *kid* – *qad*, *gid* etc.; *kurāš* – *gurāš* '(large) livestock', *kātu* – *qāt* 'cathis edulis', and several more. See JG.

– Regarding /*q*/, /*ġ*/, /*ʔ*/ in Yāfi' cf. VAN-2:146/147. Regarding aḍ-Ḍāli' VAN-1:178: 'L'occlusive sourde *q* (*báqrah* 'une vache') et la fricative uvulaire sonore *ġ* (*ġúdwah* 'demain') ne sont jamais confondues comme il arrive fréquemment dans certaines régions du sud du Yémen (Dathīna et Yāfi', principalement)'.



– Area of Ṣa’dah: DGS 5 ‘Die Karte 2 in Behnstedt (1985) ist etwas zu korrigieren, da neben dem vorherrschenden /j/ auch noch /gʲ/ in (Ṭ), vor allem noch /ġ/ in Minabbih vorkommen’.

/j/ in JA and DGS is not defined; is approximately [dʒ] ~ [dʲ], thus with less friction noise than /ġ/.

– Regarding the south see VAN-8:753. For Mukeyras /dy/; /j/ is not defined in the context of Ḥabbān.

– Concerning Ṣan’ā see NAI and BEH-Y 539/540: ‘The description of Ġim on p. 29 is rather confusing: “La fricative sonore /z/ est réalisée affriquée [dʒ] en position explosive après pause et en syllabe finale accentuée”. The examples suggest that [dʒ] is always found at the absolute beginning of a word, or in a stressed final syllable: [ʔdʒawād] “naïf, crédule”, [ʔdʒamal] “chameau”, [ʔdʒībɔw] “ils apportent”, [xaradzát] “elle est sortie”, mais [xarazat ʔal-hīn] “elle vient de sortir”. According to the author the basic phoneme would thus be /z/ = /ʒ/, with an allophone [dʒ]: “Dans l’état actuel de la langue, /z/ est une fricative sonore avec un allophone affriqué [dʒ] associé aux contextes de tension syllabique”. Consequently it is written exclusively as /z/ in the following. Thus on p. 104 we read /ʃizarah/ “arbre” und /zamanah/ “cafetière en terre cuite”, which would have to be written as /ʃizarah/ and /ġamanah/ in a different transcription system. As the accent is not marked after being discussed (pp. 37–53), the pronunciation of many forms is doubtful, such as /ʔarzil/ “jambes” (S. 104). If the stress is on the last syllable, this could be written as ʔarġil, otherwise it would probably have to be ʔarʒil.

As this description is nothing if not surprising, the reviewer has listened to some recordings of the dialect of Ṣan’ā in the SemArch. It is indeed possible to hear forms such as *riʒl* “foot”, *yiʒlis* “he sits”, *iʒār* “rent”, *wuʒūd* “presence”, *tirʒá* “you return”, *bint al-ġirān* “the daughter of the neighbours”, *ħāġāt* “things”, *riġāl* “men”, *mā ġā* “he did not come”, *min ġahannam* “from hell”, *aġāyib* “miracles”, *fil-ġaww* “in the air”. The situation appears to be more complex than the author’s account would suggest. Instead of *tirʒá* we would expect *tirġá*, and in forms like *al-ġirān*, [ʔdʒībɔw] “ils apportent” (see above) there is no pause before /z/; *aġāyib* should be *aʒāyib*.

Other modern accounts of the dialect of Ṣan’ā, namely by J. Watson and H. Qafisheh: Yemeni Arabic I. Beirut 1990, contradict her notation. Watson 1993 p. 5 has only “j” without a more detailed definition. In J. Watson: Sbahtu! A Course in San’ani Arabic, Wiesbaden 1996, p. 1 /j/ = ‘voiced alveo-palatal affricate, as in *Jane*’, and in the corresponding footnote 3 “as [j] in standard Arabic, in Bedouin dialects of the Peninsula and Central Sudanese Arabic”; in Qafisheh XIX ‘j in Jim’.

– Concerning northeast Yemen (region of Mārib) see NAD 24 *ġ varies between ġ and a palatalized ġʲ and reference to RO-APP 245 in fn. 3 p. 38: ‘ġ suona tra g e ġʲ’.

– Landberg notes ġ for the Daṭinah, but does not define it more exactly. He also writes š for ʃ.

– Zabīd (point 113) on the original map in the /j/ region. On the WAD questionnaire Samia Naīm records /g/ every time: *gadd* ‘grandfather’, *ʔgūzah* ‘old woman’, *gehāle* ‘children’, *wagh* ‘face’. Cf. JA 13 ‘In Wirklichkeit ist der Übergang von j über gʲ zu g weitaus komplizierter als die Karte nahelegt. In Punkt 134 (Juban) habe ich j, gʲ und g nebeneinander beim selben Sprecher gehört, bzw. die eine oder andere je nach Sprecher. Wechsel von g, gʲ und j je nach der lautlichen Umgebung kommt auch schon in der zentralen Tihāmah vor. Vgl. hierzu GREENMAN (1979) S. 56’. It is possible that S. Naīm also writes g for gʲ.

– Jiblih (133) is shifted from j region to gʲ region, because ‘palatal occlusive’ according to O. Jastrow.

– Regarding Saudi Arabia see PRC-1:15 ‘ž: voiced apical alveolar. This sound is a reflex of Cl. Ar. j in Ghāmid. In (i) Sarāt ‘Abīdah, and in (ii) Najrān there are instances of ž as a reflex of z (cf. s > š above) ... Further down ‘y (ي) palatal ... it is also the result of unconditioned phonetic change, j to y in (i) Bani Bishr, Rufaidah, Bal-Aḥmar, Tanūmah, Bani ‘Amr, Bal-Qarn’. P. 16 he cites a hypercorrect form *ġabs*, imperfect *yiġbis*, ‘to become dry’ as the relic of an earlier pronunciation *y, elsewhere Abha has /ġ/, in AZR-2: 32 ‘voiced alveo-palatal affricate’.

Ḍahrān al-ġanūb: *bāġah ʔaw bāyha = faṭḥa ʃaġīra fil-maṭbax li-yaxruġ minhā l-hawāʔ* (internet s.v. *lahġat Ḍahrān al-ġanūb*).

Regarding ž in Jabal Fayfāʔ see ALB 55.

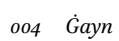


003 ʕAyn

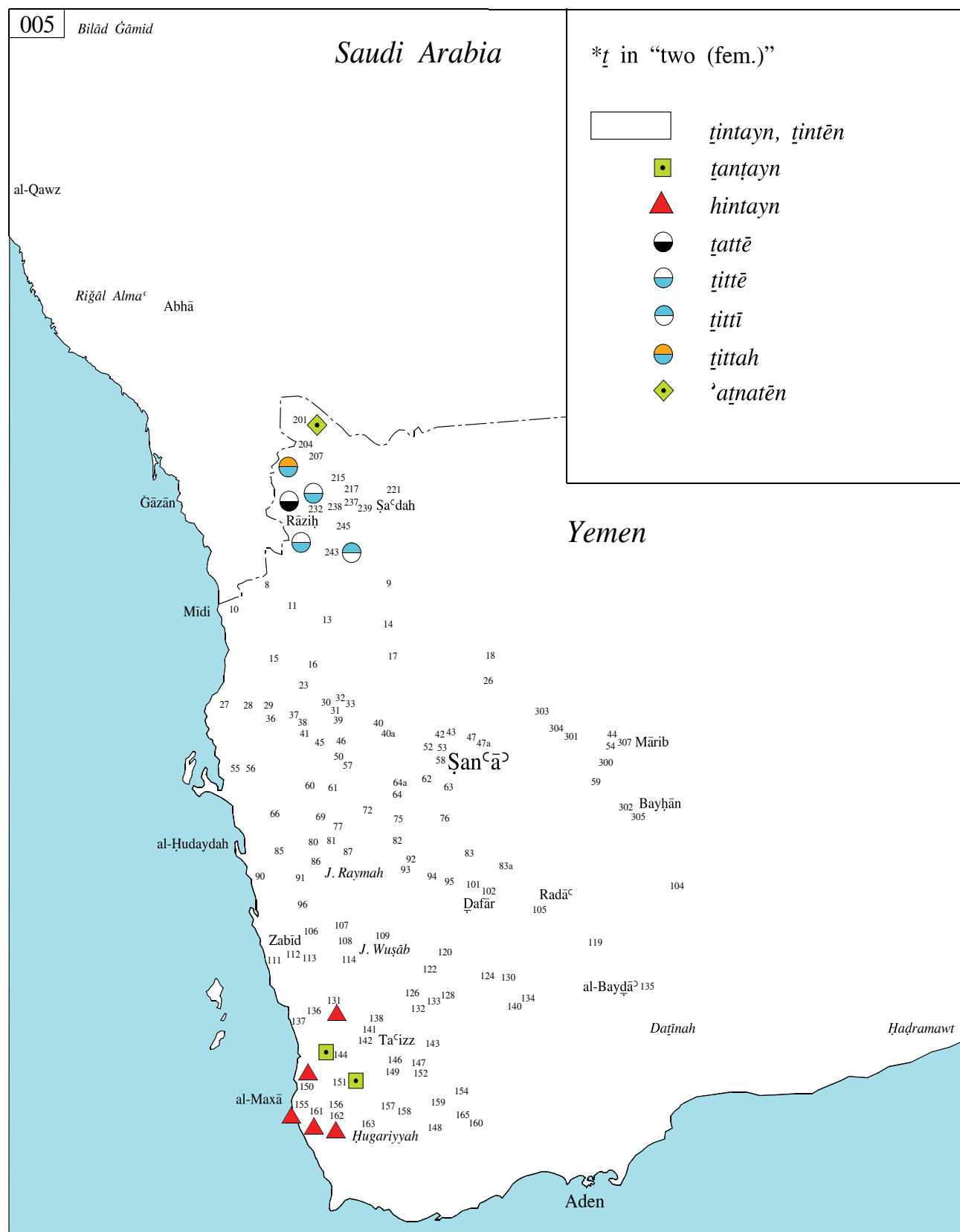
– In Banī Sūmī and in the Mabyan region (point 31) /ʔ/ and /ʕ/ are alleged to be interchanged. People are reported to say ‘ayn ‘eye’ and hay’a ‘society’. The latter is probably merely a hypercorrect form.

– Regarding the Tihāmah point 90a (Ad-Durayhimi), Mawšij (point 137a), Wādi al-Mulk (point 150a), SVL 219 remark ‘S’agissant du ‘ayn, nous sommes moins catégoriques que les auteurs qui le décrivent comme invariablement réalisé occlusif glottal dans une grande partie de T (Atlas 43). En effet, nos observations montrent plutôt

une fluctuation entre [ʔ] et [ʕ], selon un conditionnement essentiellement sociolinguistique... La confusion de *hamza* et ‘ayn induit des hypercorrections telles que: (Kh) *sa’al* ‘il a demandé’. This form, however, also occurs in dialects that have retained *ʕ. Cf. WAD III: map 359. This fits with the anecdote told me by a student who had an Egyptian teacher and knew that the Egyptians pronounce qāf as /ʕ/, but who then uttered hypercorrect /ʔ/ instead of /ʕ/ and thus realised the sentence ‘I want to go to Cairo’ as ‘urīdu ‘an ‘aḍhaba ‘ilā l-‘āhira = ‘I want to go to the whore’.



- Besides *q* for ġayn, a post-velar voiceless fricative [on map *q* with dot above] may also be heard in the respective places. W. Diem does not mention the latter pronunciation in the northern plateau. I have heard it there in several places, beside /ġ/.
- Regarding the north DGS 11: ‘In der ganzen Gegend kommt neben/ġ/ /q/ als freie Variante vor: *bū ‘išrīn luqah* “es gibt 20 Dialekte” (ĠB), *an-qutrat* “das Kopftuch der Männer”.
- Manāxah defined as ‘stimmhafter postvelarer Reibelaut’, ‘selten mit uvularer Vibration’. As final sound ‘mit Postglottalisierung in Pausalstellung, der Verschluss wird oft mit einem starken, knallartigen Geräusch gelöst: [q?] stimmloser post-velarer, uvularer Verschluss. Auslaut: *firiġ*’ # “leer sein” (WRB 17).
- Point 88 al-Maḥall/J. Raymah confirms RO-APP 259 ‘... Reimah *q* è pronunciato vicino a ġ’.
- Regarding the south see VAN-8:753–754. The character for the velarised glottal stop is not in Unicode. Freehand does not accept Unicode characters. Represented on map as glottal stop with dot underneath. Concerning Yāfi’ see also VAN-2:146/147.
- The Daṭīnah not on table in VAN-2. In LAN-2:19 (bottom) ‘*anam* (= *ġanam*), idem p. 24, 27 *yit‘addūn* in brackets in Arabic writing *yitġaddūn*; LAN-1:2373 *ġafra*, ‘prononcé ‘*afrah* en Dt...peau d’un petit agneau ou d’un petit chevreau’.
- Examples of *ġ > /’/ from the Tihāmah are: *ma’aš* ‘cramp’ (point 85), *ma’sūšu* ‘ill’ (point 91), at point 50b *maġšūš* ‘adulterated, afflicted with inner disease’, cf. WA 11:352 *ġišš* ‘bad condition of blood’.

005 **t* in “two (fem.)”

– The map in JA has no commentary. Regarding forms featuring /*h*/ see WAD III:614 with reference to JG ‘ein Lautwandel **t* > *h* ist nicht auszuschließen (cf. **mitil* > *mihil* 229), oder Einfluß von *han(a)* “Ding, Sache”, also urspr. “zwei Sachen”. In Bahrain *hintēn* ‘some A speakers (HOL-2)’.

– The emphasis in *tanṭayn* at two locations cannot be explained conclusively.

– In the north, *ṭintayn* is documented at points 204, 215, 245, 227. Contaminated with the masculine form *ʾatnayn* → *ʾatnatēn* at point 201, and with *ʾitneyen* at 204 in the construct state *ʾitneyenat*. From the northeast *ṭintēn*, e.g. *ṭintēn bawāzik* ‘two bazookas’ (307).

– Manāxah *ṭinteyn* (WRB 162), Radāʿ *ṭinteyn* (HUI 107), *ṭintayn* Ḍafār (WAD), Baraddūn *zigirhom fi-ṭ-ṭintayn al-ʿuyūn* ‘li colpì in tutti e due gli occhi’ BET 148/49 sentence 12; al-ʿUdayn (126) (cf. German version): *ṭintēn* (Diem 1973:140), Jiblih *ṭintēn* (JAQ 46), Saudi-Arabia/Abha *is-sāʿah ṭintēn* ‘at two o’clock’ (AZR-2:206), Riḡāl Almaʿ idem (WAD).

– WAT-7:28 regards northern forms which assimilate **n* to the following /*t*/ – Rāziḥ *ṭattē*, Ġamar *ṭittē*, Xawlān

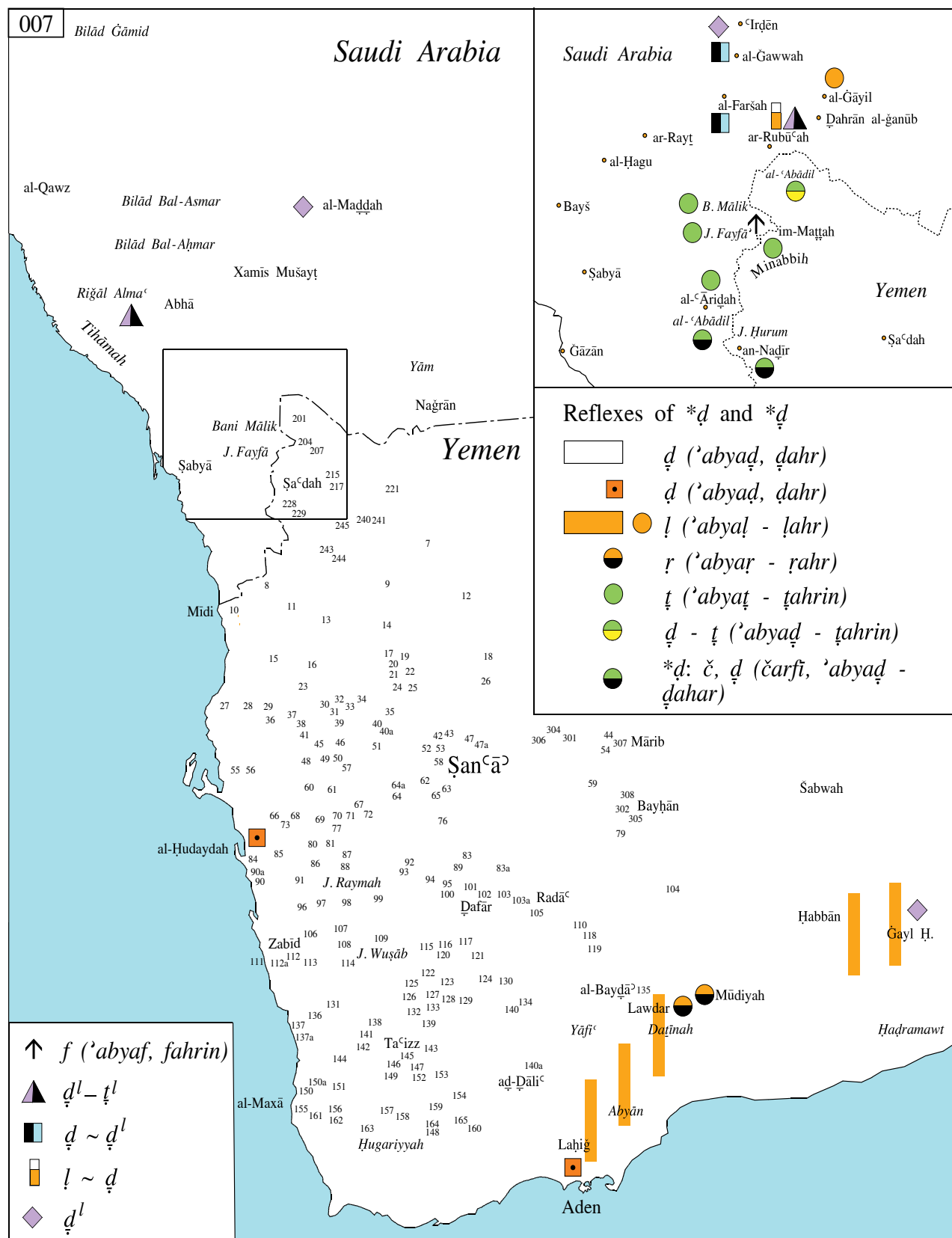
ṭittī, Minabbih *ṭittah* – as linked with ASA: ‘Total anticipatory assimilation of /*n*/ to non-guttural consonants is a productive phonological process in Rāziḥit, as in: *našar* – *yiššur* “to set out in the evening”, *nagal* – *yiggul* “to extract”, *našad* – *yiššud* “to ask”, *ʾitnēn* – *ṭattē* ‘two m., f.’ (Sab. *tty*), but *anḥa* ‘we’ (consider also *ssān* “man” *ssānih* “woman”, etymologically related to **ʾinsān*, cf. Behnstedt 1987a:98) ... Total anticipatory assimilation of /*n*/ was a regular occurrence in mid-Sabaeen and late-Sabaeen, as evidenced by the frequent defective spellings of certain words, such as: *ʾfš* < *ʾnfš*, *bt* < *bnt*, *ʾtt* < *ʾntt* (Stein 2003:19, cf. also Beeston 1984:11) ... The occasional results of assimilation of /*n*/ in Andalusian, with examples such as /*att*/ “you m.s.” – **anta* and /*kittarā*/ “you would see” – **kint tara*, Corriente (1989:97) considers to be a sign of South Arabian influence’. Loc. cit. also references to sporadic occurrences in Arabic dialects such as *bitt* < *bint*, *kutta* < *kunta* in Sudanese.

Cf. also, with regard to the pronoun, cases such as *ṭta* ‘you (sg.)’, *ṭtuw* ‘you (pl.)’, *ttun*.



– Concerning /st/ as a reflex of *ts’ see, in detail, DGS 7–9 and the map in DGS p. 104, according to which there are instances of /st/ for the Banī Minabbih, a place north of Ḥiḡlah (no. 222), the Bādyit Rāziḥ, Maṅḡar southeast of Rāziḥ. For Saudi Arabia/Jabal Fayfā’ see ALB 53–54 with further evidence of usage in Saudi Arabia, the Banī Mālik north of Jabal Fayfā’, the ‘Abādil in the region of al-‘Āriḡah. Further evidence (internet) has been added for the dialect of the Bani Ḥariṣ, also in the district of al-‘Āriḡah, such as the example of *al-wastl* ‘extension of the plough beam’.

– Th. Prochazka studied the village Al-Qahabah, ‘a village belonging to the Banī Mālik in the Jizān province’ (PRC-1:5). The place is not localised on the map p. 6. However, on *al-xarīṭa at-taṣṣīliyya lil-mamlaka l-‘arabiyya s-sa‘ūdiyya* map 23, there is a village al-Qaḡabah at the same latitude as Ġāzān, but in the lowlands, not the mountains where the Banī Mālik are marked. Th. Prochazka found no evidence of /st/ in this place, otherwise he would have noted it. It is obviously a peripheral region.



007 Reflexes of **ḍ* and **ḍ̣*

– The subject is not dealt with in JA.
 – Concerning south Yemeni realisations see VAN-8:753/754.
 – Regarding the far north of Yemen see DGS 5–7. Regarding Jabal Rāziḥ WAT-7:36/37 reports a now vanished lateral pronunciation of Ḍād: ‘According to Bonnie Glover Stalls (p.c.), the voiceless lateral affricate reflex of Ḍād is present within the phonological memory of some present speakers but is no longer in current usage’. It would be interesting to know with reference to which forms this pronunciation was indicated, whether it was in general usage or occurred only in a few relic forms and whether they might possibly be identical with the 70 forms with /č/ I recorded, and thus be indicative of a development of

lateral affricates towards the /č/ discovered by me. It was at one point described as ‘slightly retroflex’, meaning that the tongue lies slightly bent behind the ridge of the teeth.
 – We now have further data on /č/ as a reflex of **ḍ* from the ‘Abādil dialect, a tribe whose homeland in Saudi Arabia lies opposite the Jabal Rāziḥ. The data were collected by A. Darsūni, who writes /tš/ and adds this reservation to his examples: *wa laysa fī kulli l-kalimāti, wa lākin fī baḍihā l-qalīlī, wa ʾurǧīʾu ḍālika ʾilā ʾanna hādā l-qalba badaʾa yanqariḍu wa yazūlu minā l-lahǧati kamā zāla baḍu ʾanwāʾi l-qalbi nihāʾyan kaqalbi l-yāʾ wa l-ǧīm*. His forms are being compared to those from cl. Ar., Rāziḥ and Ethio-Semitic:

Cl. Ar.	‘Abādil	Rāziḥ	ES	English
<i>ḍabb</i>	<i>čabb</i>	<i>čabbī</i>	–	uromastyx
<i>bayḍ</i>	<i>bayč</i>	<i>bēḍ</i>	–	eggs
–	<i>Bačʿa</i>	–	–	place name
<i>qaḍima</i>	<i>gačam</i>	<i>gaḍam</i>	<i>gāmāča</i>	to bite, gnaw
<i>ʾaḍal</i>	<i>ʾačal</i>	–	–	mouse, muscle ^a
<i>ḍaǧaṭa</i>	<i>čaǧaṭ</i>	–	–	to press, push
<i>ḍāḥiyya</i>	<i>čāḥiyya</i>	–	–	place name
<i>ḍbr</i>	<i>čabar</i>	–	–	a type of tree (Dobera glabra)
–	<i>čahyā</i>	–	–	a tree ^b
<i>ḍarif</i>	<i>čaraf</i>	<i>čarfī</i>	–	wild fig
<i>ḥāmiḍ</i>	<i>ḥāmič</i>	<i>ḥāmiḍ</i>	–	sour
<i>ḍaḥika</i>	<i>čaḥak</i>	–	–	to laugh
<i>faḍx n.</i>	<i>faččax</i>	<i>faččax</i>	–	squash, crack (something containing liquid)
<i>maḍaǧa</i>	<i>mačaǧ</i>	<i>mačaǧ</i>	–	to chew
		<i>tmaččaǧ</i>		to chew up
<i>naḍaxa</i>	<i>načax</i>	<i>tnāčax</i>	–	to sprinkle, splash about
<i>raḍaxa</i>	<i>račax</i>	<i>račax</i>	–	to hit, butt with horns
<i>tamaḍmaḍa</i>	<i>tmāwač</i>	–	–	to rinse the mouth ^c
<i>naḍaḍa</i>	<i>nafač</i>	<i>naffaḍ</i>	–	to shake
<i>waḍaf</i>	<i>wačaf</i>	<i>wačfah</i>	<i>wānčəf</i> <i>wāččəfā</i> v.	slingshot

Some forms of which there is no evidence for the ‘Abādil:

<i>ḍafʿ</i>	–	<i>čafaʿ</i>	<i>čəfəʿ</i>	dung
<i>ḍafāra</i>	–	<i>čaffar</i>	<i>čəfāra</i>	to plait
<i>ḍabaṭa</i>	–	<i>čabaṭ</i>	<i>čəbbāṭa</i>	to seize

a In the north: *ʾaḍalī*, *ʾaṭalī* ‘mouse’.

b → Yemen: *ḍaḥi*, *ḍaḥyah*.

c Yemen: *tmāwaš*, *atmāwaš*

The interesting thing about the ‘Abādīl¹ dialect is a certain parallelism between Šād and Dād, on the one hand [tʃ], on the other [st]. Metathesis of the latter furnishes a pair *tš* (č) – *ts* (c) as in Tigre and Tigrinya (*tš* – *ts*) or, to put it differently, this /st/ can be traced back to an, originally probably ejective **ts*’. It would be possible to adduce numerous examples of similar metatheses from other languages, especially Spanish. Another source dealing with the ‘Abādīl dialect also mentions the inverse phenomenon, i.e. a form *štil* ‘meaning ‘rib’; in this case **čil* would have become *štil*. Unfortunately no further examples were provided.

– The voiceless /t/ in the dialect of Minabbih/Yemen and that of Jabal Fayfā’ (ALB 56–57) is a product of the fusion of **t* and **d* and thus confirms GvG 128 and FIS-1 according to which **d* was originally voiceless. In the dialects of Jabal Fayfā’ and of Minabbih there is no parallelism of the realisations of Šād as /st/, e.g. in *stayfin* ‘summer’, *stabrin* ‘patience’, *gastirin* ‘short’ and our fusion form, e.g. in *tufrin* ‘claw’, *bayṭāy* ‘white’ (f.). Furthermore in the upper region of Jabal Fayfā’ **t* is shifted further towards /f/, i.e. *abyaf* ‘white’. The shift is not too unusual, as there are forms in Yemen such as *fidi* for *tady* ‘female breast’, *falāfah* for *talāṭah* ‘three’, or *tum* for **fumm* ‘mouth. I am not able to determine whether the /f/ for **t* is emphatic; this is how

my informant on the dialect of Fayfā’ reported it, and it may also be read online.

– The ‘Abādīl dialect north of Minabbih distinguishes between voiced /d/ = Dād and voiceless /t/ = Dā’: *abyaḍ* ‘white’, *axḍar* ‘green’, *dānin* ‘sheep’, *ḍayfin* ‘guest’, vs. *ṭahrin* ‘back’, *ṭufrin* ‘fingernail’, *aṭmin* ‘bone’, *ṭamēt* ‘I became thirsty’. *ṭifdi’in* ‘frog’ was named as an exception (DGS 5). In view of the fact that in the neighbouring al-Ġawwāh and al-Faršah in Saudi Arabia lateral voiced /dʲ/ and /d/ are in the process of being merged, and cases have been observed where /dʲ/ replaces /d/ (WER 20/21), we must ask whether this process was not already at work in the regions examined. There ought to be more examples from the ‘Abādīl.²

– The voiceless pronunciation of Dā’ must have been more widespread in the past. See the examples with loss of emphasis in the dialect of Jabal Rāziḥ: *till* ‘shade, shadow’, *tilām* ~ *tilmah* ‘darkness’, and at point 157 *tāwar*, *yitāwir* ‘to induce the she-camel that has lost her calf and is therefore not giving any milk, to yield milk again’, cf. cl. Ar. *nāqatun ḍā’ūr* ‘she-camel that needs another calf or the *baww* in order to yield milk’ (LI 2741). Description of the method used in JG.

– For data on the other locations in Saudi Arabia see WAT-6.

¹ Not identical with the northern ‘Abādīl in Yemen.

² Not identical with the ‘Abādīl in Saudi Arabia.



– The subject is not dealt with in JA.

– Regarding Saudi Arabia see PRC-1:16–17, North Yemen DGS 10–11. Regarding the far north of Yemen and Jabal Fayfā' ALB 57–58 says: 'The reflexes of *k are /č/ and /k/ in M and in the lower part of JF, both in a very unsystematic way: *čalbin* "dog", *čabdin* "liver", *yaḥičč* "he rubs", *lača* "for you", but *kalḥah* "mouth", *kirsin* "mountain",³ *čull-* "all" in M, *čill* in JF. In JF there are doublets: *kawayta tōbča* "you have ironed your gown", but *čawānī fi galbi* "he has burnt my heart".

In the upper part of JF the reflex of *k, however, is not /č/ but /c/ [ts] as in North Arabian Bedouin dialects . . . This sheds new light on the affrication of *k in Arabic. In DGS: 10/11 this unsystematic distribution of /k/ and /č/ in Minabbih was explained by mixture of a southern dialect with a northern Bedouin dialect. If mixing of dialects presupposes mixing of populations then the question has to be asked why speakers of North Arabian Bedouin dialects with /č/- or /c/- forms should move to such isolated mountainous areas as Minabbih and Ġabal Fayfā' and mix with the local population. Such a scenario should be historically proved. Couldn't it be that the affrication of *k to /č/, /c/ in the area is independent of Bedouin influence

as in Central Palestinian? H. Palva p. 187 concludes that 'the unconditioned affrication of *k in Central Palestinian ruralite dialects is probably not due to the influence of Bedouin dialects; rather, it is the result of innerdialectal evolution, a diachronic process which can be described as a push chain development'. The reflex of *q being /g/ in our area⁴ this, however, does not favour the theory of a push chain development. The unsystematic distribution of /k/ and /č/ is irritating for a neogrammarian, especially with forms like *kirsin* vs. *čullhum* in M, where the opposite should be expected. It might be explained by lexical diffusion, some of the irritating forms by analogy, e.g. the pronominal suffixes -ča, -či, -čum, -činna in M. As for JF /č/ in *čillāhim* "they all", *baytčim* "your house" may be considered as being "regular".

– Regarding Riḡāl Alma' and Maḥāyil PRC-1:15 notes /x/: *tanaxah* < *tanakah* 'a liquid measure', *ḡayrax* < *ḡayrak* 'other than you', 'alāxu < 'alāku 'on you (c. pl.)'. Yahya M. Asiri (Riḡāl Alma'), on the other hand, pronounced a /ç/.

3 'Berg' in Behnstedt 2006. More correct would be *kirsin* "rock", thus in JF.

4 Which has nothing to do with Bedouin influence. Cf. /g/ in the dialects of the Yemeni highlands.



– The subject is not dealt with in JA.

– Emphatic /l/ in the forms listed is typical of Bedouin Arabic across the peninsula and is occasionally also found in Maghreb Bedouin dialects, e.g. among the Libyan Awlād ‘Alī in forms such as *gaḷb* ‘heart’, *gaḷam* ‘pen’, *xāl* ‘uncle’. The speakers at point 157 refer to themselves as *badu* allegedly originating in the region of Mārib, but they speak a Tihāmah dialect. All the same, /l/ is noticeable in

forms such as *qaḷamu* ‘pen’, *tiqābaḷu* ‘they met’, *bālīgu* ‘of age’, *qaḷlak* ‘he said to you (sg.)’, *haquḷlik* ‘I will say to you (sg.)’. Concerning this dialect see BEḤ.

– In the past children everywhere used to beg for a ball pen; consequently I have instances of the form *galam* for every one of the points studied, but did not always write them down.



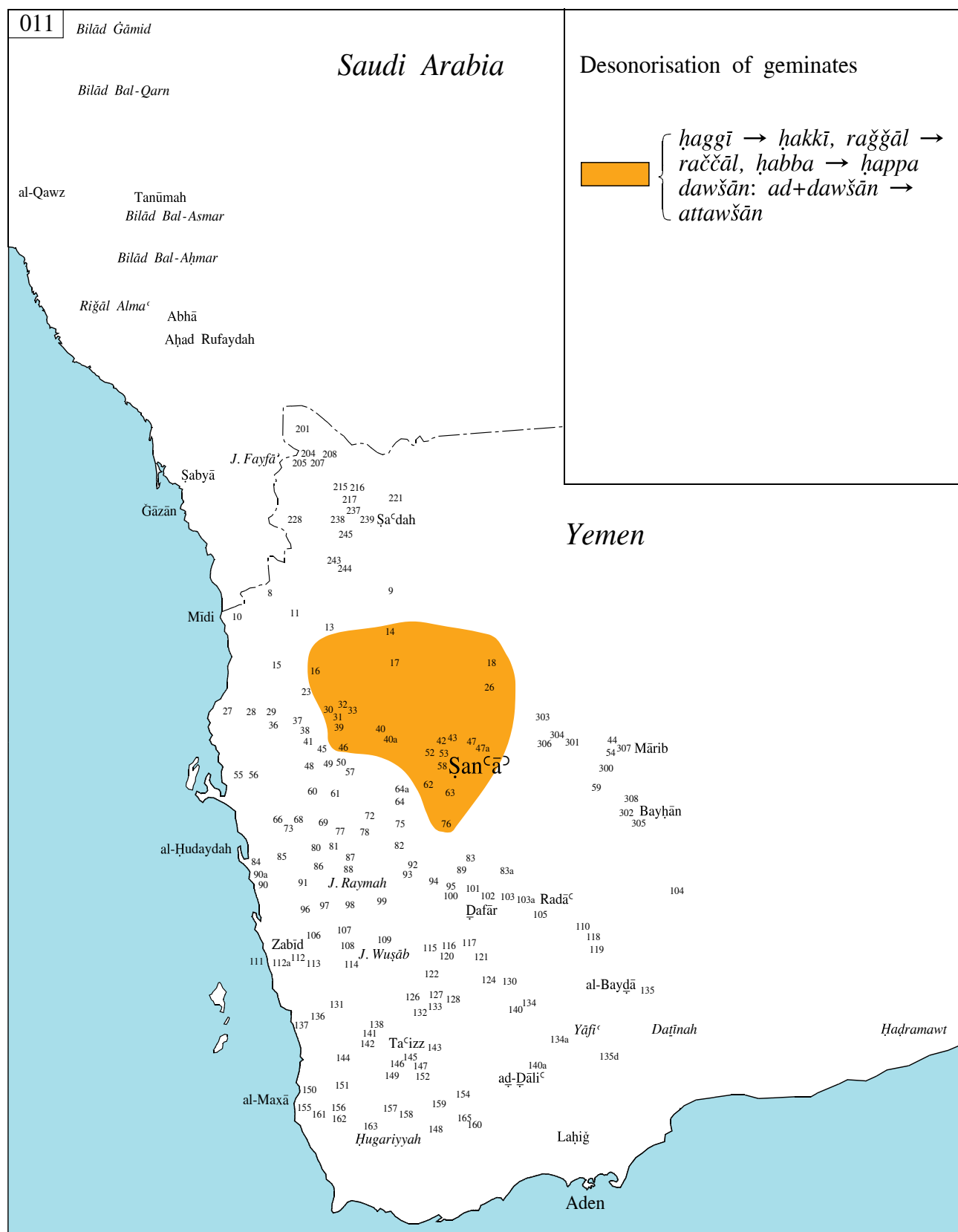
010 *t* → *ḡ* in pre- and intervocalic position

010 *t* → *d* in pre- and intervocalic position

- Original map 6. In the commentary there is also the example *dangalas* ‘(car) jack’ (elsewhere *tangalas*), with the article *aṭ-tangalas*. In parts of this area /t/ becomes /d/ under the same conditions: ‘*a-tinsā* > ‘*adinsā* ‘you (sg.) forget’. Of course there is a close connection between this phenomenon and the desonorisation of voiced geminates. The areas of these phenomena coincide only partially, cf. point 83 *ḍurug* ‘paths’, *ḍali* ‘lamb’, *laḍamnī* ‘he beat me’, but *tigābālū* ‘they met’, *bātuktub* ‘you (sg.) will write’.
- According to RO-APP 236, *t* → *d* ‘sull’altopiano’ without more precise information.
- According to DIEM 24 for the northern plateau *t* → *d* ‘intervokalisches und nach stimmhaften Konsonanten’, example *xaṭa* → *xaḍa* ‘mistake’, on p. 35 ‘die Behandlung

von intervokalischem *t*’ named as typical of the region. It seems that *t* → *d* occurs in particular when intervocalic, less frequently prevocalic. Cf. point 92 *ṭurwag* ‘paths’ – *yīḍallib* ‘he begs’. The rule appears to be optional, as forms such as *gūṭī* ‘tin, box’ have also been determined. Regarding Ṣan‘ā’ cf. NAI 31 with examples such as *ṭabxa* → *ḍabxa* ‘préparation culinaire’, *ḥaṭab* → *ḥaḍab* ‘bois’.

- Regarding Manāxah (point 72) WRB 11 does not quote any comparable forms but only *ṭallab* ‘to beg’, *yīṭir* ‘he flies’ etc. On p. 447 in the glossary he lists the forms *dabbax*, *yīḍabbix* ‘to cook’, *dabīx* ‘dish made from potatoes, okra and onions’, *dibāxah* ‘cooking’. These are most likely misheard *ḍabbax*, *yīḍabbix*, *ḍabīx*, *ḍibāxah*. Original map corrected accordingly.



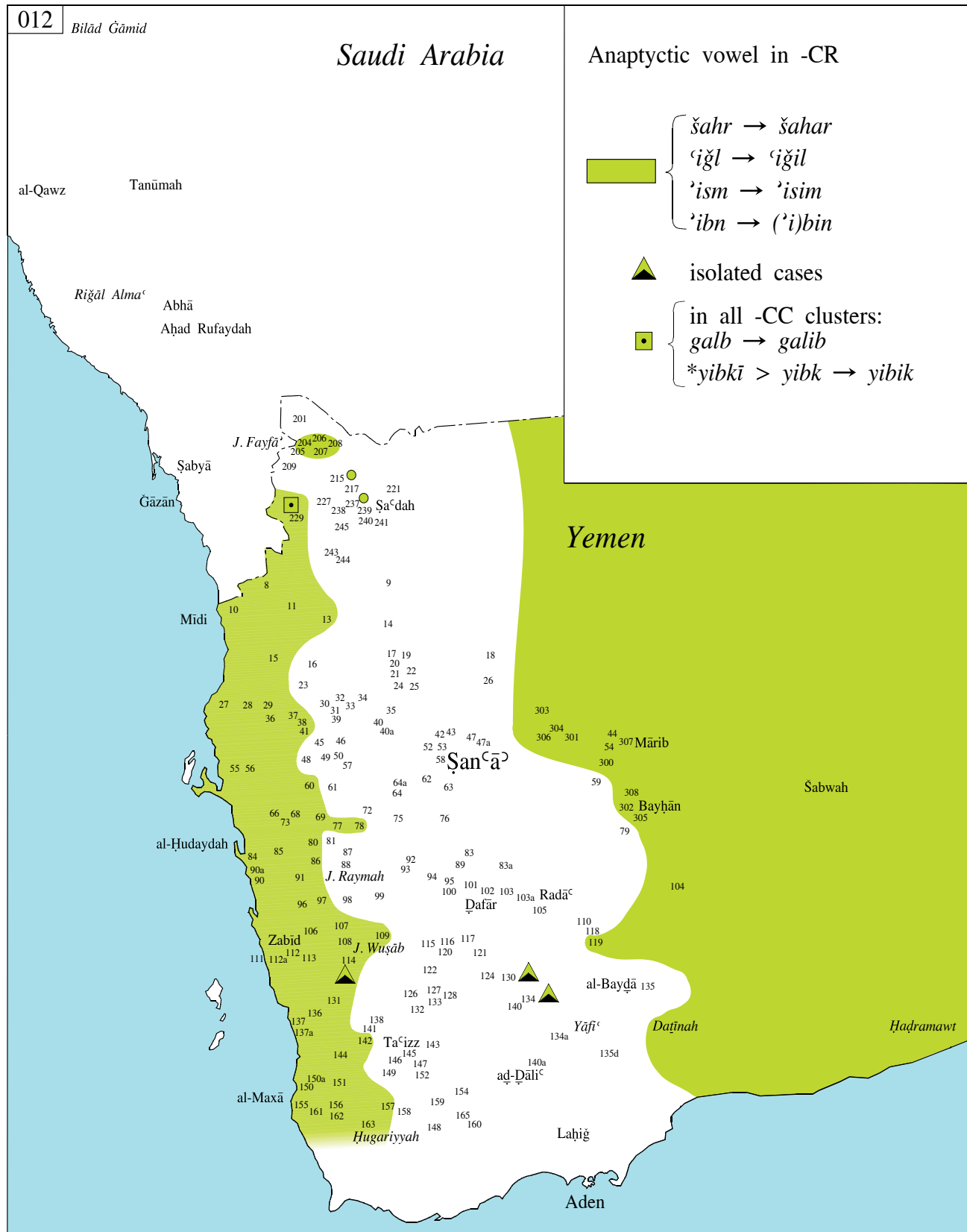
011 Desonorisation of geminates

011 Desonorisation of geminates

- See the commentary on original map 7, according to which the phenomenon was described neither by Rossi nor by Diem. Cf. JAP 292.
- Described for Kawkabān in HEN 15 with the examples *dubbī* → *duppī* ‘een vlieg’, *muddih* → *muttih* ‘een periode’, *haggī* → *hakkī* ‘van mij’. He does, however, note that it does not occur ‘zo veel’ in the texts, and may be an import [from Ṣan‘ā’].
- Regarding Ṣan‘ā’ see NAI 30–31 with the conclusion ‘Mais le corpus montre que le dévoisement des géminées, pri-

maires et secondes, est loin d’être systématique. Il dépend du rythme de la parole et de la tension articulatoire. Les consonnes géminées ne sont donc pas toutes dévoisées’.

- The phenomenon was observed in an entirely different location as well, namely southern Morocco: *duggīt* → *dukkīt* ‘I pounded (in a mortar)’, *xabbāṭa* → *xappāṭa* ‘sole of the foot’, *žaddi* → *žatti* ‘my grandfather’ (BEH-q 52).



012 Anaptyctic vowel in -CR

012 Anaptyctic vowel in -CR

- Regarding Yemen/north see DGS 16, according to which in Minabbih and Ša‘dah -CR is dissolved only in pause: *im-miḍin* ‘the ear’, *im-stagīr* ‘the falcon’, Ša‘dah *xidir* ‘house’, but *xidrī kabīr* ‘a big house’, *’iḍniḥā* ‘her ear’ (rather than *’iḍinhā*). In Xāšir (point 207) the epenthetic vowel is fully phonologised: *riḡil* – *riḡilhā* ‘her foot’, in Rāziḥ (229) every -CC is dissolved, which leads to forms such as *yibkī* > *yibk* > *yibik* ‘he cries’.
- Regarding the north-east NAD 24–25 with forms such as *’iḍin* ‘ear’, *šahar* ‘new moon’, *xudur* ‘behind’, and generalisation of the anaptyctic vowel in Širwāḥ (301): *’iḍinī* ‘my ear’, *’iḍinak*, *’iḍiniš*, *’iḍinah*, *’iḍinhā* etc.
- Another isolated case in the outer Tihāmah (point 38): *ḍahar*: *ḍahariḥ*, *ḍaharak* etc.
- PRC-1 has no information concerning Saudi Arabia.
- Regarding the Daṭīnah see LAN-2:39 *em-fāḡer*, *š-ṣubeḥ*, *ahel* ~ *hal*, *ba‘ad*, 40 *ṣubeḥ*, 41 *àhal*.
- Regarding Ḥaḍramawt see ALS 687 *binit* and p. 688 ‘Coastal and Wādī Ḥaḍramī do not have final clusters. Thus, *bint* ‘girl’ and *sabt* ‘Saturday’ are realized in both varieties as *binit* and *sabit* respectively’.
- In regions where pausal glottalisation of -vC occurs, R in -CR# is usually realised voiceless, as e.g. in Egyptian Arabic. In the other areas R is usually voiced.



– We presume original forms such as **aṭil*, **ibin*, **uḏun* with the stress on the second syllable (**ibínhā*) and loss of the pretone syllable. Using the material available I am unable to determine whether this is systematic. ‘Name’ is usually heard as *ʾisim*. ‘Food’ is frequently *mākal* in Yemen

rather than *ʾakl*. Cf. also the map for ‘to eat’: **ikil* > *kil* and *ʾibl* > *ibil* > *bil*, *bilu*, *bilun* ‘camels’ (Tihāmah).

– With pronominal suffixes at point 38: *bini*, *binak* *biniš* *binah*, (*bineh*#), *binhā*, *bininā*, *binkum*, *binkinneh*, *binhum*, *binhinneh*.

014 Lowering of $\bar{i}$ and $\bar{u}$ in the environment of back consonants

– Cf. already RO-APP 234 for ‘Yemen occidentale, specialmente nella Tihāmāh’ with the examples *fōṭah*, *sōq*, *nōrah* ‘calce’, also GRE 52/53. The original map did not mention /‘/, /ħ/, /ġ/, /x/ as triggers of lowering and the commentary added question marks. *tibē* ‘little donkey’ can be traced back to *tabī*. **tubay* would also be possible. *dihḥēn* or *dahḥayn* are instances with /ħ/; cf. map 69. Also *ḥōt* ‘fish’

(point 29), *ḥēn* ‘when’ (point 41). Cf. isolated instances in dialects not from the Tihāmāh such as *‘ēd* ‘feast’ (point 135), *‘ays* ‘good, nice’ (point 50, *‘is* elsewhere). An instance of /ġ/ is cl. Ar. *ġīl* > *ġayl* ‘thicket’ (point 41). There are no instances of /x/.

– Lowering also occurs in Anatolian Arabic (JAM 63–65). It occurs widely in Algerian and Moroccan Arabic as well.

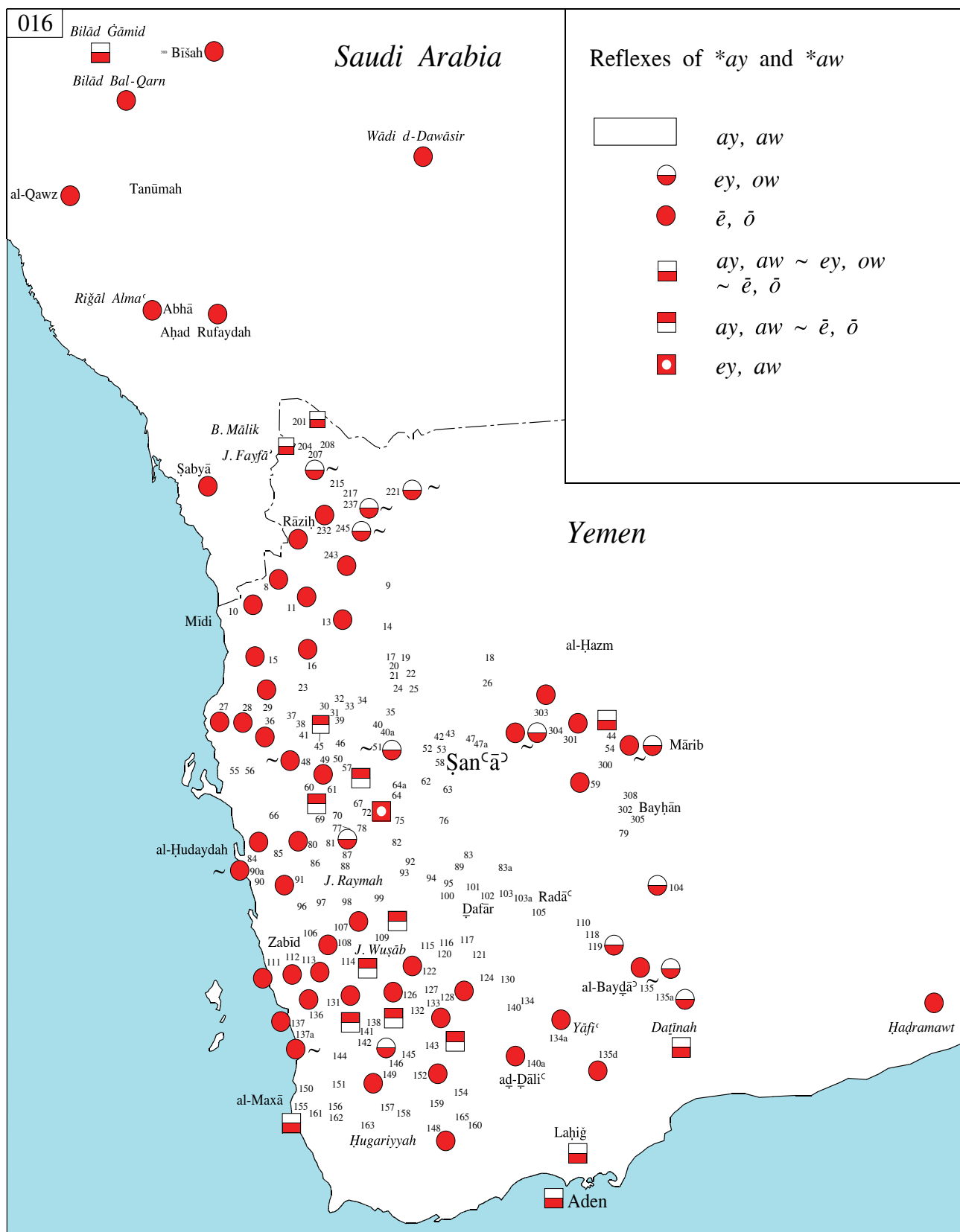


015 *ū > ō, aw in ‘market’

015 * $\bar{u}$ > $\bar{o}$, *aw* in ‘market’

– In some lexemes further diphthongisation took place: $s\bar{u}q > s\bar{o}q > sawq$; $\bar{t}ur > \bar{t}or > \bar{t}awr(u)$ ‘small mountain’ (point 157). The same is true of $*\bar{i} > \bar{e} > ay$ in $\bar{t}aynu$ ‘clay’ (point 157), $\bar{t}ib > \bar{t}eb > \bar{t}ayb$ ‘a dyeing plant’ (Tihāmah), $ba\bar{i}d > ba\bar{e}d > ba\bar{a}yd$ ‘deep’ (Sulayki/Tihāmah), $ba\bar{a}yd$ ‘far away’ (points 77, 151).

– RO-APP 234 mentions only $s\bar{o}q$, and $s\bar{u}g$ for the plateau. Further instances are Radā‘ $s\bar{u}q$ (read $s\bar{u}g$) (HUI 47); Kawkabān $s\bar{u}g$ (HEN 92 sentence 437), Jiblih $s\bar{u}q$ (JAQ 23–55, p. 30, sentence 19).



016 Reflexes of *ay and *aw

– PRC-1:18 has monophthongs and diphthongs in verb forms such as *tansēn*, *tinsēn* ‘you (pl.) forget’, *’insay*, *’insaw* ‘forget!’, with morpheme boundary in the last two: *’insa+y*, *’insa+w* for Saudi Arabia. P. 198 *bētna* for Qahabah, Rufaydah, Abha, Bal Qarn, Qawz; *bētana* Šabyā, Bīšah *bētiḥ*; *baytna* Tanūmah. Preserved in Jabal Fayfā, occasional monophthongs (ALB 58). Ġāmid TOLL mentions p. 20: ‘the tendency of /w/ and /y/ to weaken so that the same words [earlier *bayt*, *ḥawl*, *biyr*] may be realized as [ḥōl], [bēt] and [bīr] (but also realizations as [ḥowl] and [beyt]’. Dōsiri forms with monophthongs only in KUR.

– North Yemen DGS 3–4 monophthongs in Rāziḥ (229), Ġubar (243), Ġamar (232); fluctuation between /ē/, /ō/ and /ey/, /ow/ in Sāgēn (245), Ġi’imlah (213), Ša’dah (237), Wāsiṭ (221), Xāsir (207), im-Ṭalḥ (217). Fluctuation in Minabbih (204) and ‘Abādil (201) as well, but /aw/, /ay/ more frequent. According to original map 12, monophthongs in Ša’dah and Wāsiṭ.

– Northeast NAD 34–36 *weyš*, *hōlā* (points 44, 54, 301); *wēš* ~ *eyš* (point 304); *ayš* (point 300), *eš*, *ḥēd*, *uhmōlā* (point 303), *hōlāk* (point 301), *hāḍawla* (point 44), *hawlāk* (point 300).

– Manāxah WRB 30: ‘Die aar. Diphthonge || ay || und || aw || sind als /ey/ bzw. /aw/ erhalten geblieben, wobei ei und ou Allophone bzw. stellungsbedingte Varianten darstellen. Eine Monophthongisierung lässt sich nur bei femininen Verbformen im Plural bei Verneinung bzw. vor Objektsuffixen beobachten’. Afterwards WRB always has /ey/ and /aw/. It is bewildering that there is no parallelism with [ei]/[ou].

– Rossi’s statement in RO-APP 234 that ‘le riduzioni di ditthongi in vocali lunghe *ô* < *aw* e *ê* < *ay* si hanno generalmente nel Yemen occidentale, ad es. a el-Ḥodeidah *yôm* (*yawm* sull’altopiano); *bēt* ‘casa’ (a Šan’a’ *bāyt*, altrove sull’altopiano *bayt*)’ has only limited applicability. Other instances listed by RO-APP 237, Point 51 (Bayt al Gaḍinah), *xayl* ‘cavalli’, *bāyt* ‘casa’, *bāynātanā m-bāyn* ‘tra di noi’, and examples of *yowm*. P. 238 Habbāt (48) *xayr* ‘migliore’ and *gōm* ‘gente’, with reference to the same place. P. 258 several instances of *sarāynā*, *lāylat*, *’alāyhum*, *bazzāynā*, *ġāzaynāhum*, *dāyr*, *baddaynāh*, but *’ērāh* ‘asino maschio’. P. 259 J. Wušāb *šallēk* ‘ho pregato’, but *bāytaw* ‘la sua casa’, p. 260 *al-yowm(a)* ‘oggi’. My own enquiries there confirm p. 261 *bāytak* for Mawza’ (point 162) ‘la tua (m.) casa’, *bāy-*

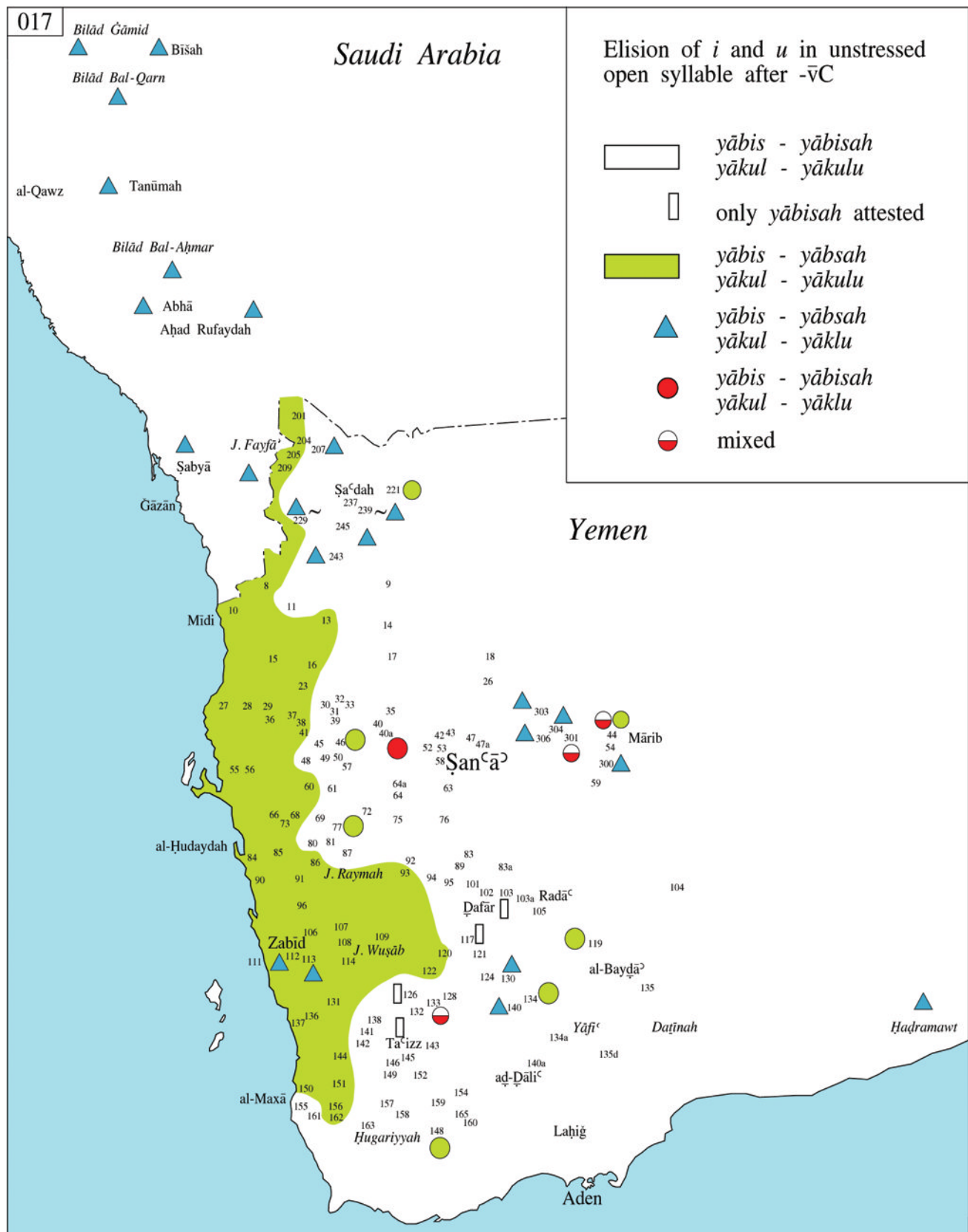
tik ‘la tua (f.) casa’. P. 263 el-Ḥāḡeilah (point 78) has perfect forms of *’amm* ‘to drink water’ as e.g. *’ammayt*, *’ammaytī*, *’ammaynā*, *’ammaytun*. RO-N 461 has *bāynak* at J. Ḥarāz (point 70). In the text on al-Ḥudaydah 465–67 only forms with monophthongs such as *yōm* ‘day’, *bēt* ‘house’, *šēbah* ‘old man’. On p. 471 he notes *Ḥēs* as ‘pronunzia locale’ for *Ḥays*. My own enquiries there found monophthongs, too. P. 472 al-Ḥamrā’ (point 97) *g’owr* ‘finestra’, *’ammāyt* ‘ho bevuto’.

– SVL 220 says about the Tihāmah that ‘Les diphthongues *ay*, *aw* se réduisent à *ē*, *ō* dans une grande partie de T. Ainsi (D) [= Durayhimi, point 90a] *ḥōḍidah* nom de la ville, *dūmeh* “fruit du dom”, (Kh) [= al-Xawxah, point 137] *šīd* “poisson”, (M) [= Mawšīḡ, point 137a] *ṭ:ru* “un taureau”, mais au mêmes endroits on trouve aussi (D) *em-dureyhmi* nom du village, *dawmeh* “fruit du dom”, (M) *ṭayru* “un poulet”. Some degree of doubt regarding the forms with /ī/ and /ū/ in place of /ay/ and /aw/ seems called for. My notes for al-Xōxah read *am-’ēr* ‘the donkey’, *kurēk* ‘shovel’, *kēf*? ‘how?’, *gēb* ‘sack’, /ē/ in various verb forms such as *bazzēt*, *sawwēt*; only *tinteyn* ‘two’, *dōm* ‘dom palm’.

– South Yemen: Laḡiḡ (FOD): *ḡawl*, *fawq*, *xawf*, *yawm*, *’alēhom*, *hadōla*, *bēt*, *ba’dēn*, *ḥēṭa*, *qērah*, *dam’atēn*, *laḡēt*, *’alēk*, *’alēh*, *yawm*, *ḥēla*, *lēyla*, *mawt*. Ḍali’ monophthongs /ē/, /ō/ (VAN-1:181); Yāfi’ monophthongs /ē/, /ō/ in verb forms: *bakōk*, *bakēki* (VAN-2:144–45); Daṭīnah *’ayš*, *zōḡ*, *yōm* ~ *yām*, *šēx*, *baynah*, *ṣeḥēreh* ~ *ṣaḥēreh*, *bēnehom*, *kaown*, *beyn*, *bēt* ~ *beyt*, *lōa’* [written in Arabic *ḍaw’*], *eṭnēn*, *fōq* (LAN-2:7ff.); i.e. by no means consistent. Aden (GHA glossary): *beit*, *bein*, *ba’dēin*, *keif*, *bauga*, *bausṭa*, *beib*, *beid*, *’eib*, *’ein*, *ḍeif*, *eiš*, *kauš*, *xauf*, *lauz*, *lauḥ* etc. In the ‘Introduction’ (unnumbered) *ei* as in ‘rein’, *au* as the *ou* in ‘foul’. WAD questionnaire shows fluctuations between /ay/ ~ /ey/ ~ /ē/ and /aw/ ~ /ō/.

– Original commentary (JA p. 14): ‘In einigen Orten schien mir der Wechsel von *ay*, *aw* und *ē*, *ō* recht willkürlich zu sein’.

– Regarding Yarīm (point 117) DIEM 46 says ‘Es kann anscheinend jeder Diphthong *ai* und *au* in schneller Rede zu *a* verkürzt werden. Die Aufnahmen Dr. Wilds enthalten neben *’ain* “wo?”, *kaif* “wie?”, *lais* “warum?”, *ṭaur* “Ochse” die Formen *’an*, *kaf*, *laš*, *tār* (vgl. auch den Text S. 132,–1; 134,1,3). Cf. also point 54 (Mārib/Nihm) *’a:n waladī* ‘where is my son?’.



017 Elision of *i* and *u* in unstressed open syllable after -*v̄*C

– In most cases I inquired after the feminine of *yābis*, but have written it here as type. As in certain places *yukkul*, *yu'kul* occurs instead of *yākul*, only instances of the type *yāb(i)sah* are listed, if found there.

– Yemen/North: DGS:12 with elision at point 204 (but *yāčulūn*), 245, 243, 207, 221 (but *yākulu*), 239, 229 (with fluctuations). No elision: Ša'dah (237).

– Fluctuations all over the Northeast. NAD 26: 'As for the dialect of the Jahm tribe, in Širwāḥ itself I have not noted any elision except after -vC: *yōklu* "they eat", but in Siḥil in spontaneous utterings of several persons forms with and without elision, e.g.: *sākinīn* "living pl. m.", *yigawwimū* "they erect", *ṣuḡayyreh* "small f.", *limṭallagah* "the divorced one", *yifarrgū zzakāh* "they distribute the alms". There is absolutely no rule to be abstracted from these and other forms which have been collected'. To be added in retrospect for 301 (Širwāḥ): *ḡālīsāt* 'sitting (f.)', *ḡālīsīn* 'sitting (pl.)', *ōkili* 'eat!' (vs. *yōklū*), *yābseh*. No system is recognisable here, either. A second survey concerning point 44, of informants from another tribe (Ḥuṣūn al-Jalāl/Abīdeh) confirms the first one as regards *rāyheh* 'walking'; but for 'eat!' the form given was *ōwkuli*! Forms from 303 (Majzir, southern Jawf) *yowkulah* 'he eats him', but *yowklū* 'they eat', *šāymeh* 'fasting (f.)'. Banī Ḍabyān (300) *dafātrak* 'your notebook', *šārbeh* 'his upper lip', *gāsyeh* 'hard (leaf)', *lāḡbeh* (f.), *lāḡbīn* (pl. m.), *lāḡbāt* (pl. f.) 'lazy', *sāyreh* 'walking (f.)', *aḡābreh* 'I converse with him', but: *bāyowkulū* 'they will eat', *bātowkulūšī* 'do you not want to eat?' *ōwkulū* 'eat! (pl.)', *ōwkulī* 'eat! (sg. f.)'. Additions to 301 (Siḥil) *yīṭābigin* 'they (f.) fit (sth.)', *wāḥideh* 'one (f.)', *hāybīn* 'returning (pl.)'. – For Ḥaḍramawt ALS 688 records *šābi'ak* 'your fingers', 690 *ilḡābliḥ* 'tomorrow afternoon', 691 *yābsih*, 694 *yōklūn*, *tōklūn*, *yōznūn*.

– Saudi Arabia/ J. Fayfā' with elision: *yāčlūn*, *'anta āčlīn w bāstmin?* 'are you going to eat and be quiet?' (ALB 63). PRC-1:63–64 has a short /a/ in the forms of 'to eat' and 'to take' in all dialects: *yaklun*, *yaxḏīn*. On p. 67 he quotes the forms *yakalan*, *yakilan*, *yaklan* from Cantineau 1936–7; however, CAN p. 88 actually has the forms *yākālān*, also *tāklūn* etc., p. 193 *yākōlān*, *yāklān*. It seems reasonable to assume that Th. Prochazka missed out the macron in his forms.

– Data from DIEM 134/134: Yarīm (point 117) *ḥāḏīrīn* 'yes-sir!'. P. 136 al-'Udayn *dāyima* 'always', *rāḏīyeh* 'satisfactory', p. 140 *fāyidah* 'gain'. Ta'izz p. 140 *mašāqirah* 'flower decoration'. As DIEM spells the place names according to local pronunciation, we can presume *ad-Dāmiḡāh* (point 103) to belong to the *yābisah* type. His spelling *Maḥābseh* on p. 71 suggests *yābseh*. I have found corresponding evidence of this type. Jiblih JAQ 53 *maqāwīth* 'qāt farmer (pl.)', p. 52 *qārših* 'cattle', *fātrih* 'tired (f.)', p. 51 *ātših* 'thirsty (f.)', p. 47 *hāmīyih* 'hot (f.)', p. 45 *bāzḡih* 'small twig of qāt that can be put into the mouth whole'. P. 40 sentence 47, however: *alḥājāt al-ḡāmiḡah* 'things which are hidden from the world at large' (p. 48). The examples suggest that /i/ is not elided only after a semivowel /y/, /w/. Cf. also p. 34, 36 *ṭamāniyih* 'eight', and correspondingly p. 46 *ṭamāniyīn* 'eighty'. P. 18 sentence 14 we find *šī'kulū 'alīyyi*, translated on p. 14 as 'they would eat up ... of mine'. This form is consequently not relevant to the present topic, as the elision of /i/, /u/ after -vC is being discussed here. The text in HdaD p. 125 had the following forms: *šāḥbuh* 'his friend', *jāzhīh* 'finished (f.)', *dāxilu* 'within it'. Again, not unambiguous.

Ibb (MS O. Jastrow) *ḡātiya* (f.), *ḡātiyīn* (pl.) 'tired' once again has /y/ and is consequently not representative. Al-Mudawwar (point 148, MS O. Jastrow) *ḥāyi* 'living', f. *ḥāy'ih*, pl. *ḥāy'in*, *ḥāy'āt*, and *šī'kulu* 'they will eat'.

– For Radā' HUI 134 lists *sākina* 'living f.', *ḥāmila* 'pregnant', p. 136 *wāḥida* 'one', p. 138 *ḥāmila*, p. 140 *wāḥida*. On p. 30 a doubtful *yā'kul* for 'to eat'. BET has *yākulu* in Baraddūn on p. 137, p. 144, 156 *yākulūha*; p. 146 *ḥagg at-tāniya* 'dell'altra', p. 150 *kāhina* 'strega'. Manāxah according to WRB Texts p. 297 *tāniyeh*, *yibārizūh*, 298 *sāyirī*, 299 *tiḡāriboh*, 304 *wāḥida*, p. 356 *ākulī* 'eat! (f.)'. The grammar section (p. 114) has no plural forms for *yākul*. HEN 30 has the plural form *yāklū* for Kawkabān. P. 16 *wāḏiḥa* 'duidelijk', *kāmiliḥ* 'kompleet', *šāḥibī* 'mijn vriend', *ḡābiḥūn* 'het zat zijnde', with the note on these forms 'niet ḡābhīn' etc.

– South Yemen/Laḥiḡ (FOD 43/46): *aḏāfira* 'his big claws'; Yāfi' *rāḡdeh* ~ *rāqdeh* 'asleep' (VAN-2:146); aḏ-Ḍālī' (VAN-1:183) *lābisah* 'revêtant (f. sg.)', *lāb'sīn* 'revêtant (m. pl.)' and n. 10 *yākulū*; Daṭīnah (LAN-2:7ff.): *bāyiqātilūn*, *elmālīḡi*, *fāz'in*, *wāḥeda foq wāḥeda*, *nāšifah*. Aden GHA 13, 14 *sākinīn*, 71 *ṭāl'in*, 75 *sā'īya*.



018 Elision of *i* in unstressed open syllable after -vC

– Yemen/North DGS 13f.: with the exception of point 239 (*šariban*, *nasiyū*, *gutilan*) all the dialects recorded elide: point 215 *šarban*, point 221 *kasil+ah* → *kaslah*, point 245 *rikbat*, point 243 *širban*, point 217 *fasil+in* → *faslīn* ‘lazy (pl.)’, point 229 *rikba* ‘she boarded’, *xāmasuk+ōh* → *xāmaskōh* ‘I greeted him’.

– In the northeast point 303 (Majzir, southern Jawf) is entirely unexpected, featuring elisions such as *šimāleh* > *šmāleh* ‘udder bag’, *nigullah* > *ingullah* ‘we tell him’, *luġithum* > *ulġithum* ‘their language’, *yirkizū* > *yirkzū* ‘they erect’, *anšidak* > *anšdak* ‘I ask you’, *bundug+ī* > *bundgī* ‘my gun’ (NAD 25) and *ġisslī* ‘wash!’, *rikzit* ‘she [the tent] was erected’, *dibhet* ‘she was slaughtered’, *sirgit* ‘she was stolen’, *šinġit* ‘she became deaf’, *ksileh* ‘lazy (f.)’, but *riṭibeh* ‘delicate (f.)’, *širibit* ‘she drank’, *in-nāgah* *ḍiribit* ‘the female camel has been mounted’. However, elision is predominant. In Banī Ḍabyān (300) pretone /i/, /u/ are elided in forms such as *ḥwār* ‘young camel’, *hnāk* ‘there’; in the imperfect of Form II: *labbnū!* ‘add milk!’, *zawwdū!* ‘add!’, but not in forms such as *širibit* ‘she has drunk’, *raṭibeh* ‘humid, fresh’, *surugit* ‘she was stolen’. Op. cit. 26 explains the fluctuation in part, as ‘fluctuation of the accent’. Also elicited: *wuṣilū* ‘they arrived’ (304), *širibit*, *širibū*, *širiban* (301), idem (44 ‘Abideh), survey of a different tribe: *fiḥmat*, *sim’at*, *wuṣilat*, point 54 *širibat*, *širibū*, *širiban*.

– Ḍafār inconsistent *ġilsat*, *ġilisu*, *ġilisan* (DIEM 42), *ligyat*, *ligyu*, *ligyayn* (p. 43). Point 116 (Iryān): *fi’iyat* as opposed to

Ḍafār fi’yat (3.2), and Yarīm (3.3): *ligiyat* ‘she met’. Gayfeh inconsistent *si’lat* ‘she asked’, *ligiyat* ‘she met’.

– J. Hufāš (RO-APP 256) *širibat*, *širibū*, *širiban*. P. 258 *māsku* ‘presero’ at point 48 (Habbāt) is ambiguous.

– Kawkabān *ġilisat*, *ġilisū*, *ġilisayn* (HEN 22). Manāxah: WRB has no paradigms. From texts p. 229, sentence 125: *firiḥat*, sentence 128 *riġi’ū*, sentence 139 *wuṣulū*.

– Baraddūn BET 129 *ġilisat* ‘sedette’, *nitifu* ‘strapparono via’.

– Saudi Arabia/J. Fayfā’ ALB 61 *sarga* < *sariġa*, 62 *šarba* < *šariba*, 63 *a’cla* < *a’čila*.

– Saudi Arabia: PRC-1:30 Qahaba *ra’ib* – *ra’bat*; Qawz *rikib*

– *rikbat*. Exception Balqarn, Ġāmid, Šabyā: *širibat*. P. 30 Bīšah *zi’il* – *za’lat*; Naġrān *ž’il* – *sim’at*, *sim’aw*. Abha and Rufaydah already show historical elision *rakb* < *rakib*, *ḥams* < *ḥamis*. P. 32 after -vCC no elision in the imperfect: *yuktubūn* Rufaydah, Abha, Bal Aḥmar, Tanūmah, Bal Qarn, Ġāmid, Šabyā. Inconsistent Rufaydah, Abha *yuktūn*, p. 33 also *yiksirūn* ~ *yiksrūn*.

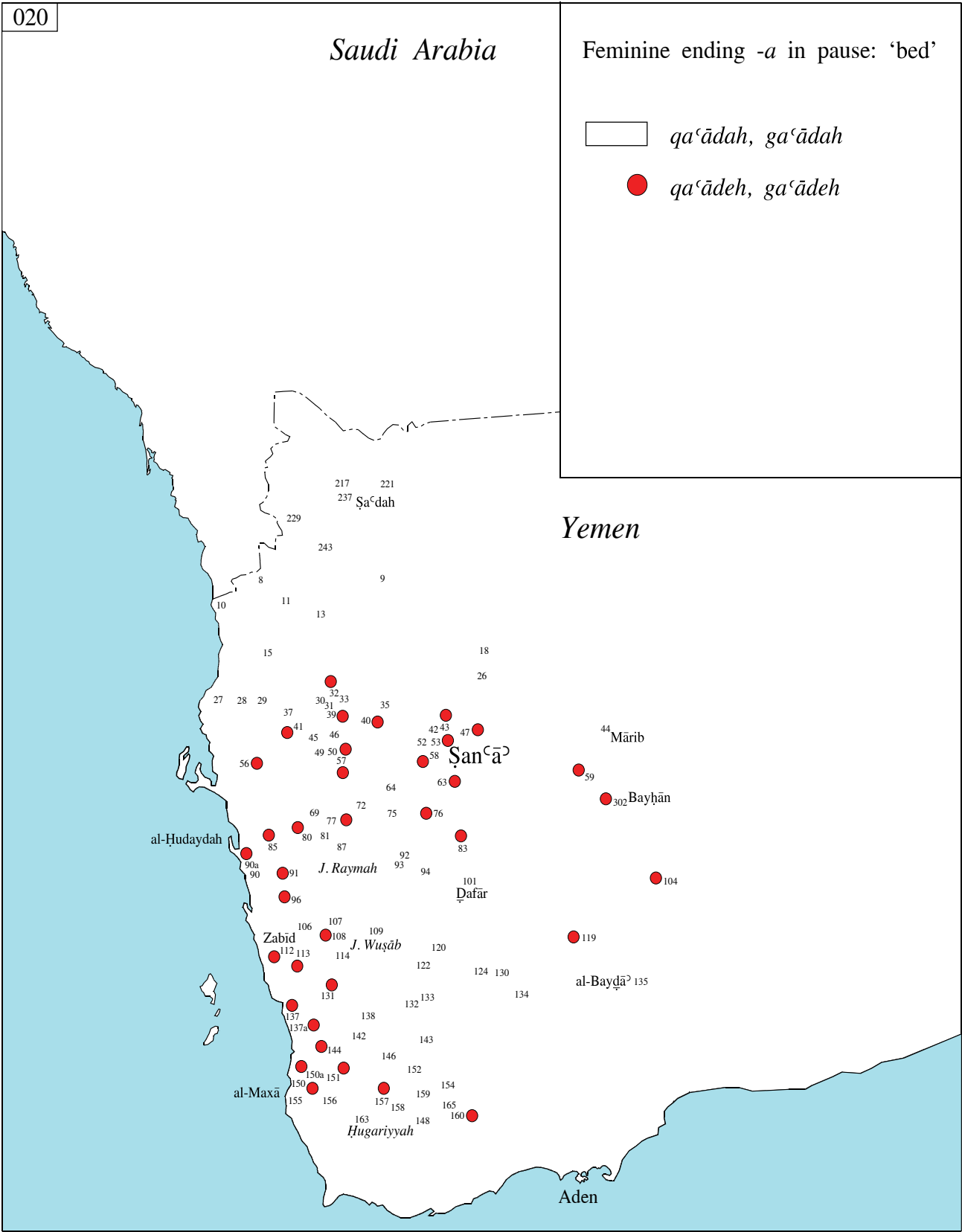
– South Yemen/Laḥiġ (FOD 42ff.): *xuṣat*, *wuṣilat*, *ziḥfat* (59 *ziḥif* ‘to get tired’), *labigat* (69 *labig* ‘to beat’), *ragi’at*; Fodor also reports the forms *waṣal*, *labag*. Aḍ-Ḍālī’ VAN-1:180 for *i*-type *sarəqu* ‘ils volèrent’. No examples for Yāfi’ in VAN-2. Daṭīnah LAN-2:7ff. *muḥtalefīn*, *ya’tarikūn*, *ṭole’u*, *yindaṛibūn*, *kuseru*, *riġa’u*, *yirtaġižūn*, *waṣilu*.

– Only one *a*-type noted in GHA for Aden: *labas*, *galas*, *šarab*, *masak*, *raga’*, *ṭala’*, *waṣal*, *faham*. The paradigms on p. 116 do not list an *i*-type, not even for the verbs final *y*.

- On the original map 15 the title incorrectly has *sg.* for *pl.*
- No instances of *imāla* in HEN for point 40a (Kawkabān). No instances of *imāla* in BET for point 83a (Baraddūn).
- No instances of *imāla* in Saudi Arabia in PRC-1 and ALB.
- DGS 18 regarding Yemen/north: ‘An *imāla* such as it occurs in e.g. *Ṣan‘ā* is not found in this area’.
- Not reported in NAD for the northeast. Instances from Mārib: *yamne*# ‘right (f.)’, *yasre*# ‘left (f.)’, *ḥaggine*# ‘our’. Inconsistent 303 (Majzir, southern Jawf): *‘aḥīn bātḡīnā?* ‘when are you coming to us?’, *hīne ~ hinā*# ‘here’, *me*# ‘water’, *dā _*#, *dē*# ‘this (m.)’, *šaddēnāhā*# ‘we folded it [the tent]’, *bētnā*# ‘our house’, *ḥagginā*# ‘our’, *saraḥnā*# ‘we went’, *fakkēnā*# ‘we opened’, *ruḥne*# ‘we went’, *ḍuwā*# ‘he came back’, *ḍuwēne*# ‘we came back’. At point 300 *‘inte*# ‘female (animal)’, *ihnā*# ‘here’, *mā*# ‘water’, *yimnā*# right (f.). *yisrā*# ‘left (f.)’, *ḥaggānā*# ‘our’, *bakkarnā*# ‘we went away early’, *wuṣilnā*# ‘we arrived’; numerous further examples with only -ā(‘)#. 304 examples with only -ā: *yibō sī lēnā*# ‘they want to come to us’. No instances for 301.
- For the northern plateau see DIEM 24: pausal forms *‘anā* → *‘anē*#, *katabnā* > *katabnē*#.

- South Yemen/Laḥiḡ: no instances in FOD. Aḍ-Ḍālī: no instances of *imāla* in VAN-1; Yāfi: no instances in VAN-2; Daṭīnah LAN-2: no instances; no instances for Aden in GHA.

Examples from Zabid and the surrounding area: *kilna*# ‘we have eaten’, *qumna*# ‘we stood up’, *ḥidnā*# ‘we saw’, *kunt šē*# ‘I wanted to’ (< *kunt ‘ašā*), *līyyān tše*# ‘where do you want to go?’, *māhū dē*# ‘what is that?’, *allaḍi ḥidtiḥē*# ‘[she] whom I saw’, *ḍunhe*# ‘her ear’, *ḥimtiḥē*# ‘I understood her’ but *ḥimna*# ‘we understood’, *sā‘ad‘hē*# ‘he helped her’, *qābalhā*# ‘he met her’. Some of these forms have been established in context as well: *bēthē dāryu hināk* ‘her house is there’, *dā _*# ~ *dē bētu* ‘that is his house’, *bazzēnē*# ‘we have taken (away)’, *bazzēnē n-qārūrah* ‘we have taken the bottle (away)’, *ma habēnāš māyu* ‘we did not give water’, *habēne māyu* ‘we gave water’, *nansē*#, *nansē _*# ‘we forget’, *‘atē _*#, *‘atē*# ‘he came’, *‘atēnē _*#, *‘atēnē*# ‘we came’. It would only be possible to determine an exact rule by carrying out a thorough and specific study, not by means of a few superficial questions for a dialect atlas.



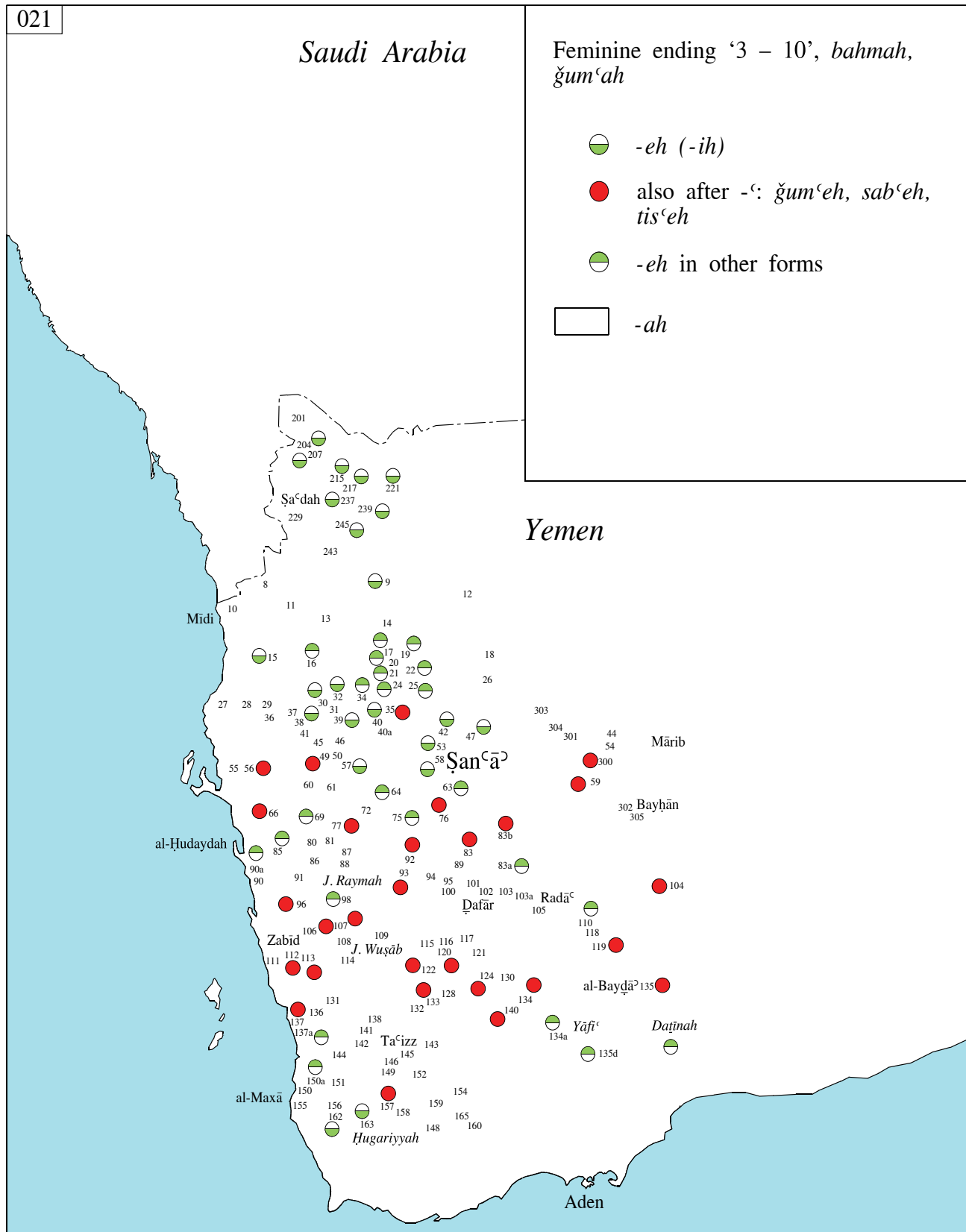
020 Feminine ending -a in pause: ‘bed’

– In the north no instances of *-eh*, only *-ah*. Baraddūn in BET no instances of *imāla*. Manāxah WRB 582 *ga‘āda*.

– In the south/Laḥiḡ no instances of *imāla* in FOD. Aḏ-Ḍālī‘ VAN-1:182 ‘L’*imāla* du suffixe dit de féminin est presque inexistante dans le parler. On a relevé seulement *zúbdāh* ‘beurre’ (mais *rúkbah* ‘un genou’). For Yāfi‘ in VAN-2:148f. ‘*ewēleh* ‘children’, *kāhine* ‘old woman’, *šēbeh* ‘old man’, *šaxteh* ‘match’. Daṭīnah LAN-1:2513 written in Arabic ‘bedstead’ according to Glaser, Rossi, Stace, not for the Daṭīnah. Aden Ghanem *qa‘āda* ‘charpoy’. Forms with *imāla -eh* in LAN-2:7ff. also in context ‘*azīmeḥ*, *mīḥ*, *ḡambīe(h)*, *xamsa* ~ *xamseh*, *ḡirbeh*, *ta‘šīreh*, *ixweh*, *ḥōrmeh*, *qāryeh*, *sab’a*’.

– In the case of most dialects it has to remain undecided whether *-eh* (*-ih*) are only pausal forms (as for instance in Egyptian dialects) or also context forms (as in Levantine Arabic). On the whole, speakers were asked for the respective terms separately, consequently pausal forms would be cited. SVL 220 speaks of pausal forms, P. 219 *dʿiʿadeh* ‘lit’. DIEM 24 mentions *-eh* as a pausal form as well. For

Ṣan‘ā’ NAI 25 says ‘on posera donc pour la voyelle du suffixe **-at* les allophones [-e] et [-a] (avec différents degrés d’aperture) en distribution complémentaire, aussi bien en contexte de pause qu’hors pause, la présence de [-^h] correspondant à un relâchement de l’articulation à la pause’. See also JAP 298 and WAT-1:7 with *-ih* in a front, and *-ah* in a back consonantal environment. WAT-1 also has *-ih* in context: *marih ḥālīyih* ‘a pretty woman’, *sittih wa-ṭalātīn dawrih dagīgih* ‘36 revolutions per minute’ (p. 29), *ḥājih maftūḥah* ‘something open’ (p. 30), *liṭmih sawdā* ‘a black face veil’ (p. 31), *aš-šigāriḥ ašfar* ‘cigarettes are yellower’ (p. 33), *al-madā‘ah ma‘rūfih fi l-yaman* ‘the water pipe is well known in Yemen’, *wa-hī bi-l-gunduriḥ ḥaggahā* ‘she is wearing her shoes’, 169 ‘*ašariḥ maṭā‘im* ‘ten restaurants’. For Kawkabān see HEN 16: *sayyāriḥ ḡamaratayn* ‘pick-up truck’. In the texts 40ff.: ‘*ilmarra l’axīra*... #, *kullā ḥāga*... #, *ṭalāṭa*... #, ‘*al’irādih*#, *faydiḥ*#, ‘*ilba*... #, *fatriḥ ḡissat* [ḡilsat], *alxaliḡīyih wa* etc. *-ih* clearly is also a context form.

021 Feminine ending '3–10', *bahmah*, *ḡum'ah*

021 Feminine ending ‘3–10’, *bahmah*, *ǧum‘ah*

– Original map 21 in JA with examples of numbers 3 to 10 and *bahmeh* ‘heifer’, *ǧum‘eh* ‘Friday’.

– Regarding *Ṣan‘ā* see commentary on map 20.

– Yemen/north DGS 55 ‘In den übrigen Orten ist die Femininendung -a(h) in Kontext, in Pausa -ah oder -eh je nach der lautlichen Umgebung’. The feminine ending -eh is explained *ibid.* p. 58 as the result of an *i*-umlaut: *firseh* ‘hatchet’ vs. *‘anzah* ‘goat’. Similar phenomena have been established for the dialect of Qabbayṭah: *‘uzlah* ‘village’, *‘usānah* ‘cat’, *bahmah* ‘heifer’, *ṭalāṭah* ‘three’, *xamsah* ‘five’, but: *nixreh* ‘nose’, *bisseh* ‘cat’, *wasixeh* ‘dirty (f.)’, *yābiseh* ‘dry (f.)’, *duqīqeh* ‘fine (f.)’.

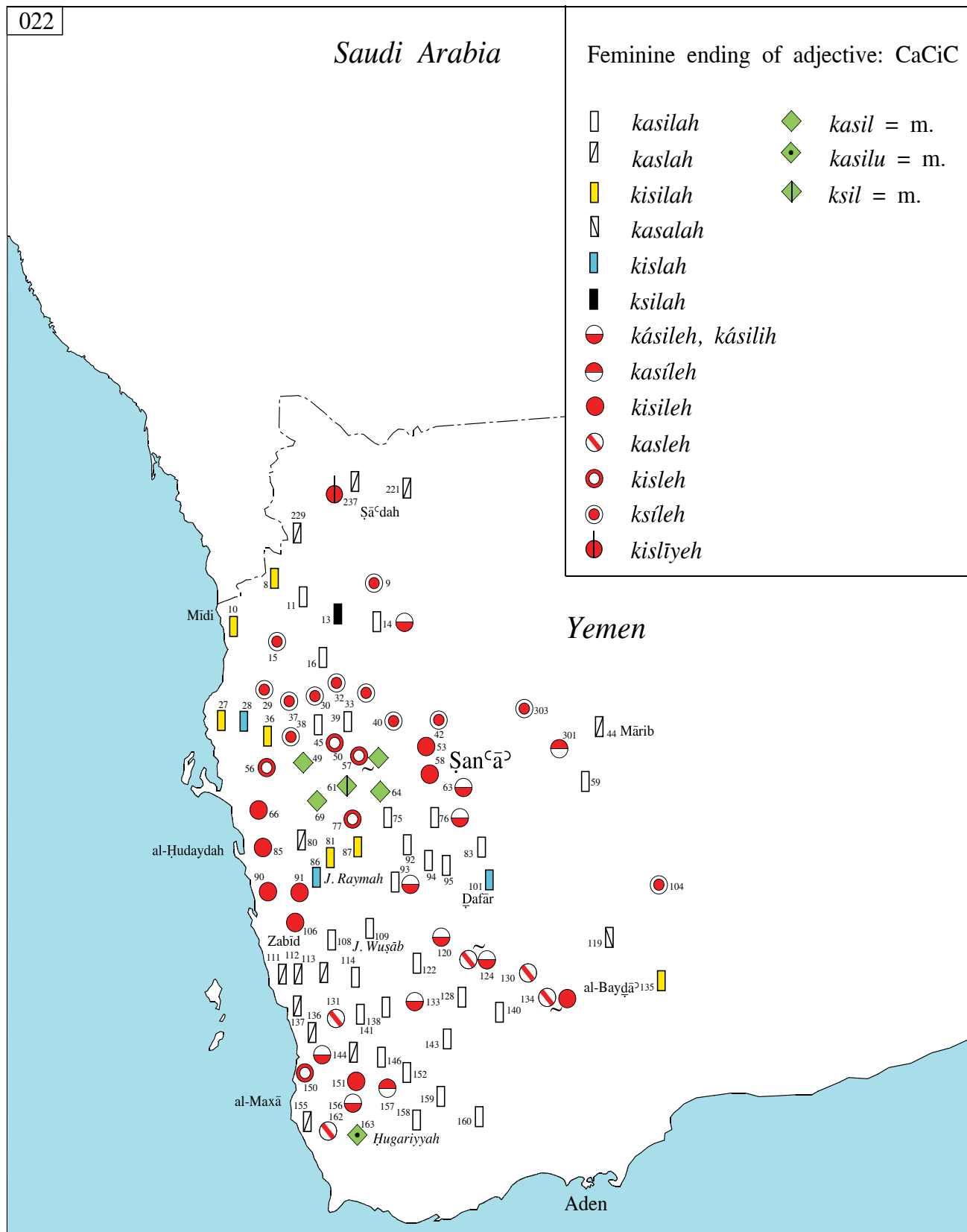
– Regarding points 116, 117 (Iryān, Yarīm) DIEM 46–47: ‘Es gibt keine Pausalimāla’; p. 47: ‘Die Femininendung -ah des Nomens bleibt in Pausa -ah und wird nach Emphatica

nicht zu -eh wie in den meisten anderen Dialekten der Hochebene’. DIEM 47, after Šarafaddīn, has *rug‘eh*, *ǧum‘eh* vs. *xamsah* for point 83b Xubān/A‘mās tribe.

– Point 105 Radā‘: no imāla in HUI.

Tihāmah at points 56, 57, 66, 77, 45, 66, 106 *tis‘eh*; *jum‘eh* 56, 66, 77, 91, 112, 113, *jim‘eh* 38; *sab‘eh* 56, 66, 77, 91, 137.

– Regarding Tihāmah SLV 220: ‘L’imāla de la marque du féminin -ah à la pause, caractérise une partie de T, bien qu’elle ne soit pas proprement exclusive de cette région du Yémen; à D, elle est plus répandue dans le parler des femmes, et plus fluctuante chez les hommes: *ḥājeḥ* “chose”, *bisseh* “chat”, *am-naxleh* “le palmier”, *šūheh* “brebis”, *‘imāmeḥ* ‘foulard, turban’, mais aussi chez certains locuteurs *‘imāmah*, *šarbah* ‘gargoulette’, *məṣṣarafah* ou *mejhašeh* “natte”. P. 220 also *dūmeḥ* ~ *dawmeḥ* ‘fruit du dom’ at 90a.



022 Feminine ending of adjective: CaCiC

– The original map 26 is altogether unclear, furthermore there is a mistake in the symbol for *kisilun* – *kisilah* – *kisilīn* on the map. The black triangle in a square was meant to go from bottom right to top left, not from bottom left to top right. There was also no distinction between *kasilah* and *kasileh* on the map in the first line, nor between *kisil* –

kisilah – *kisilīn* – *kisilāt*. Single instances: *kasileh* 14, 39, 63, 76, 93, 120, 124, 144; *kasilih* 133; *kasíleh* 301, 157; *kásileh* 156; *kasleh* 131, 134, 124, 130; *kisleh* 150; *ksíleh* 15, 9, 32, 38, 29, 30, 40, 42, 104, 303; *kisileh* 91 134, 66, 151, 53; *kisleh* 56, 77, 50a; *kasleh* 162; *'iksíleh* 303; *kislīyeh* 237. WAT-1:31 has *kisilih* for *Şan'ā*.

023 *Feminine noun: definite and construct state*

023 Feminine noun: definite and construct state

– The subject is inserted in this place to complement the feminine endings, although it is in fact a matter of morphology.

– The feminine endings *-at*, *-it* in the far north only occur in definite forms, i.e. in the construct state, with pronominal suffixes and with article.

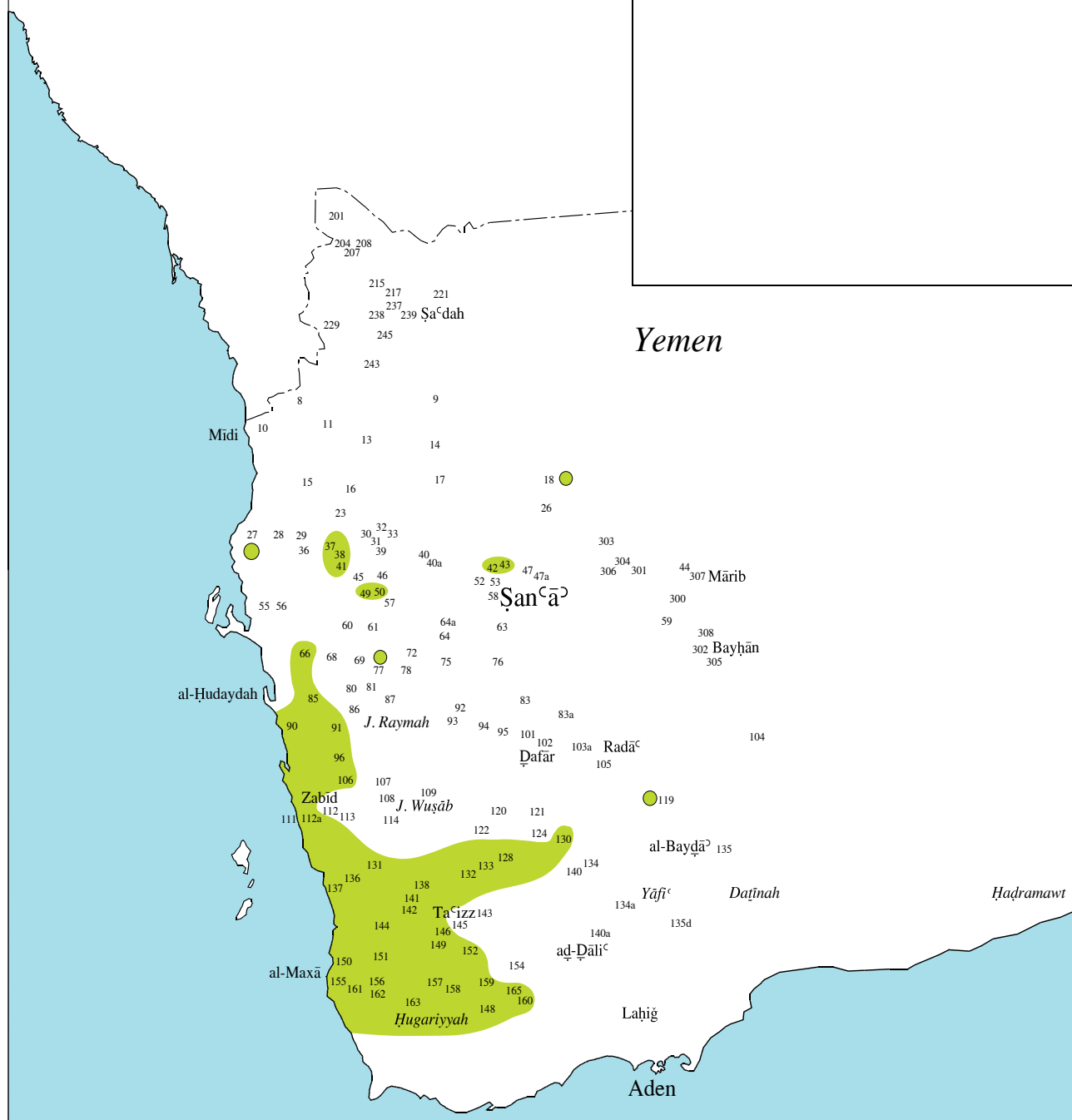
– Map 12 in DGS and p. 54/55 *an-ri'wat* 'the yoke' Ġurāz (239), *ak-kahlat* 'the old woman' Ġamar (232), *an-firsat* 'the hatchet' Farwah (240), Banī Ma'ād *an-sayyārat* 'the car' (227), Sawdān (220, occurs, but no concrete example), *in-kōrat* 'the ball' Banī Ḥdēfeh (214), *ag-gaḥmat* 'the old man' al-Gal'ah (233), *in-niswānit* 'the woman' in-Naḍīr (229), *ig-gullit* 'the big stone' Dahwān (below in-Naḍīr), *im-stūrit* 'the image' Bādiyyit Rāziḥ, *im-staffīrit* 'the whistle' Ḥiḡlah (222). Obviously indefinite: Minabbih *'ēbin wa ḥagratin* 'shame and ignominy!' (no instance at 204), but possibly merely a relic form.

– WAT-7:29–30: 'The *-t* feminine ending is attested for many nouns in Rāziḥit, always in the definite and construct states, but, as in Mehri, Sabaeen and Geez, also in the absolute state in many basic nouns. Consider the examples below: *ba'd sā'it* "after an hour", *jahwit* "small room on lower floor for animals", *dēmit* "kitchen", *iḥ-ḥalgit* "the series", *ik-kaḍbit* "the lie" ... In the adjective class, Rāziḥit deals with feminine gender in three ways: feminine gender is not explicitly marked on verbal participles, in some non-participle adjectives feminine is marked by final *-ah*, and in other non-participle adjectives by final *-it* in all three states – absolute, definite and construct. Adjectives that take final *-it* included all the *nisba* adjectives and a small set of non-*nisba* adjectives: *bunnit* "brown", *aṣlīt* "original", *gudēmīt* "old", *lahjah rāziḥit* "Razihit dialect" ...'

Lowering and lengthening of -iC
and -uC in pause

hin# [he:n]

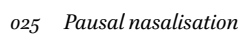
hun# [ho:n]



024 Lowering and lengthening of -iC and -uC in pause

Examples for -iC: *ninše:d* 'we harvest with the sickle' (114), *gute:l* 'he was killed' (42), *mišfe:r* 'lip' (134, 159), *miḍme:d* 'yoke', *mō tšalle:h?* 'what are you doing?', *həm* 'they (m. pl.)', *hen* 'they (f. pl.)' (165), *yuqawwe:t* 'he is fetching qāt' (159). Examples for -uC: *'undo:r!* 'look!' (162), *'ušbo:r!* 'wait!' (119), *yanšor* 'he leaves in the afternoon' (91), *ḥaqquho:n* 'their' (159). Has partly been noted for -aC, too: *yas'a:l* 'he asks' (157), *mō ti'ma:l?* 'what are you doing?' (159), *fihima:n* 'she understood' (162).

The phenomenon is well known from Levantine Arabic.



[My graphics programme does not accept Unicode characters. It has not been possible to transfer ʔ from any character set (Menlo, Gentium etc.). Accepted character sets were not able to create it satisfactorily via ‘change script to path’, as the given line formats for script and graphics did not agree. Consequently on the map we used ‘ng’ as a makeshift solution.]

– The original commentary JA 15 says: ‘This phenomenon has not been documented systematically. This would have required extensive tape recordings. Obviously the conditions vary from one place to the next.’

RO-APP 263 notes it for point 78 (al-Ḥajjajleḥ) in the pronouns *ʾantī*, *ʾanti*, in *ʾammayti* (‘you (f. sg.) drank’), *yā xī* ‘tu, fratello’, for Ubāl (p. 264) in *ʾantī*, *ʾanti*, *tbūki* (‘you (f. sg.) walk’), *tabūk^{um}* (sic!, ‘you (pl.) walk’), *yibūk^{um}* (sic!, ‘they walk’). Regarding Jiblih JAQ 25 remarks ‘auslautendes -ī wird nasalisiert (in der Umschrift nicht berücksichtigt)’. HdAD 125 says: ‘Die pausale Nasalisierung von auslautendem -ī wird durch Tilde ausgedrückt: *hādī*’. Nasalisation of -u (-ū) is not mentioned. DIEM mentions the phenomenon on p. 78 with regard to al-Ḥadiyeh ‘Auslautende *u* und *i* bekommen einen nasalen ʔ-Nachklang, z.B. *ʾaskariy* “ein Soldat”, *bētiy* “mein Haus”, *rāḥuy* “sie (m.) gingen”, *ʾantiy* “du (f.)”. This also applies to the dialects discussed subsequently: of al-Maḥall (88), Qafr (115), al-ʿUdayn (126), Jiblih (133). DIEM and GRE have no data for the Tihāmah. SVL 220 *ramūy* ‘ils ont lancé’ refers to atlas map JA p. 57.

– In the locality al-Ḥaddah (142) nasalisation was regular in nearly all pausal forms surveyed: *ʾixbiziḥ* ‘bake!’, *ʾaxiḥ* ‘my brother’, *ʾikuluḥ* ‘eat (pl.)!’, *tiḡadduḥ* ‘they ate lunch’; in Marays (140) the relation was 50:50, i.e. *jidiḥ* ‘young male goat’, *liqiḥ* ‘he found’, but *ʾidnī* ‘my ear’, *kuli* ‘eat (sg.)!’ There are very few documented forms with -u: *sīru*, *qālu*, *qāmu* etc., but *jiḥ* ‘come!’, *jāyiḥ* ‘coming’, *jūḥ* ‘they came’.

How can this phenomenon be explained? There are a number of pausal phenomena, some of them widespread, in Arabic dialects: vowel changes (pausal *imāla*), pausal glottalisation and, linked to this, dropping of final consonants or terminal devoicing (Yemen, Egypt, Syria etc.), only terminal consonant devoicing, vowel lengthening (e.g. Yemen, Syria, Lebanon), pausal diphthongisation (e.g. Lebanon, Syria), vowel lowering etc.; pausal nasalisation only in Yemen and Bahrain. Regarding classical Arabic CART 79 states: ‘In fact in addition to the elision of the final short vowel there are at least five other pausal strategies mentioned by Sībawayhi: *ʾiṣmām*, *rawm*, *taḍʾif*,

suffixing *h* to the final vowel, and suffixing *hamza*. To these must be added the various rhyming conventions of poetic recitation, i.e. lengthening or shortening the final vowel, nasalization and suffixing *n*.’ I.e. the phenomenon has been recorded for a long time. In the case of the Yemeni dialects we might explain it by the -*n* in noun and verb forms being dropped with compensatory nasalisation of the vowel, as it is found in many languages (Fr. *camp* [kã:]).¹ Possible forms are noun forms ending in -*un*, -*in*, -*an* and pausal verb forms once -*a* has been lost, i.e. the 2. sg. f. -*īn* (*taṣrabīn*) and the 2. and 3. pl. m.(c.) -*ūn* (*taṣrabūn*, *yaṣrabūn*). Nominal -*an* must have vanished early, as only -*in*, -*un* (residual -*u*) occur in Yemen. It is a short step from these forms to nasalised -*iḥ*, -*uḥ*, which are then transferred onto other final -*i*, -*u* (where **n* was not present).

For Saudi Arabia PRC-1:18 only has instances of the phenomenon in the Saudi Tihāmah: ‘In (i) al-Qauz and Ṣabyā forms ending in -*un* and -*ūn* can be nasalized as *ū*: *yšūfūn* and *yšūfū* al-Qauz “they see”; *šāfuhū* Ṣabyā “he saw them”; *bintahun* ~ *bintahū* al-Qauz “their daughter”.² Another example is the already mentioned item *ʾalāxū* in (i) Maḥāyil area “on you (pl.)”. In fn. 6 p. 23 he refers to ‘nasal vowels in some of the Bahraini dialects in Prochazka (1981) pp. 20–1’. Some of the examples mentioned there (ZAL VI (1981)) are of the same type as *mūhū* ‘he is not’. ‘Secondly, in ShM are attested the vowels *ū*, *ī*, *ō*, *ē* which in ShD, ShS are the reflexes of *ūn*, *īn*, *ōn*, *ēn* in Mu respectively. Thus *giltū* ShM, *giltūn* ShD, ShS “you (c. pl.) said”; *giltī* ShM, *giltīn* ShD, ShS “you (f. sg.) said”; *tibbō* ShM, *tibbōn* ShD “you (c. pl.) want”; *tibbē* ShM, *tibbēn* ShD “you (f. sg.) want”. This does not make clear whether these are pausal forms, but the examples do confirm the explanation given above.³ Manfred Woidich has called my attention to the nasalisation of pausal -*ā*# in Dakhla/Ismint (M. Woidich, Neue Daten aus Dakhla: Ismint in Zentral-Dakhla, in AIDA IV:471–481) which, however, differs from that in Yemen (p. 477). In this context he also pointed out

1 Thus in classical Arabic ‘The original pausal forms of the nunated endings -*un*, -*in*, -*an* were probably -*ū*, -*ī*, -*ā*’ (VER 48).

2 To the noun and verb forms ending in -*n* pronouns and pronominal suffixes ending in -*m* and -*n* can be added, which may have contributed to the emergence of our phenomenon.

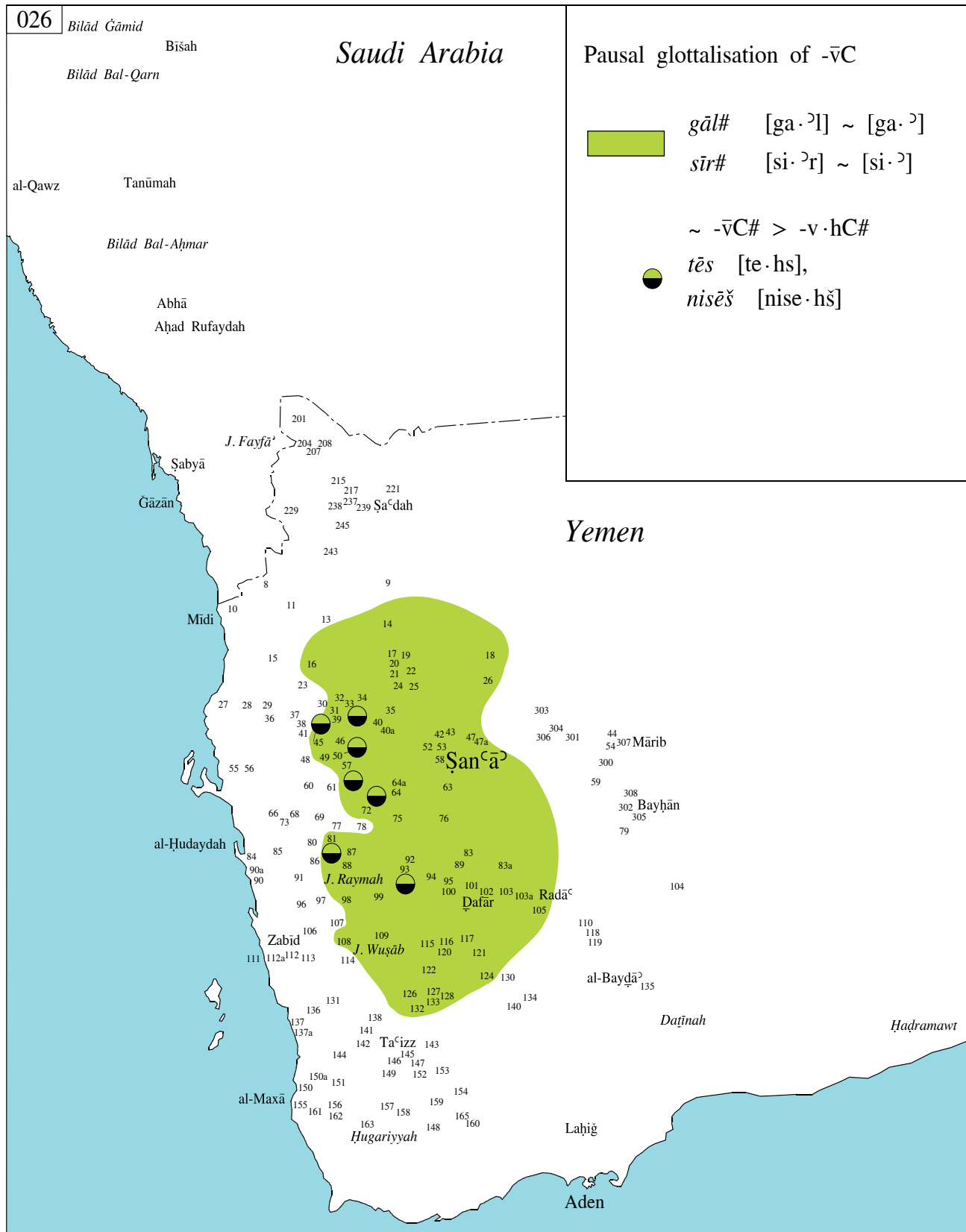
3 I have come across the phenomenon in some Andalusian forms: *así* → *aṭīy* ‘like this’, *mejor* → *mejo* → *mejój* ‘better’. This is certainly coincidence.

to me the 'Prussian' [ŋ] for French nasals: 'das ist gebongt' from *bon* [bõ:].⁴ This pronunciation is not, in fact, entirely 'wrong' but corresponds to the southern French

pronunciation of nasal vowels: *vin* [vɛŋ], *pain* [pɛŋ], *bon* [bɔŋ], *accent* [aksɔŋ],⁵ all of which goes to show that the Yemeni pausal nasalisation is not all that exotic after all.

4 According to Kluge this probably originated when in a restaurant the order was passed to the kitchen with a 'bon' (coupon).

5 Thus my friends from Arcachon. Some sources write a tilde over the vowel as well.

026 Pausal glottalisation of $\bar{v}C$

026 Pausal glottalisation of -v̄C

– The subject is discussed in detail in WAT-9 with references to other dialect regions where terminal devoicing occurs. Pausal glottalisation is mentioned in the context of Fayyūm (p. 135). For Egypt maps 41 to 44 in BW should be amended; Syria (much less widely occurring) SA map. 67.

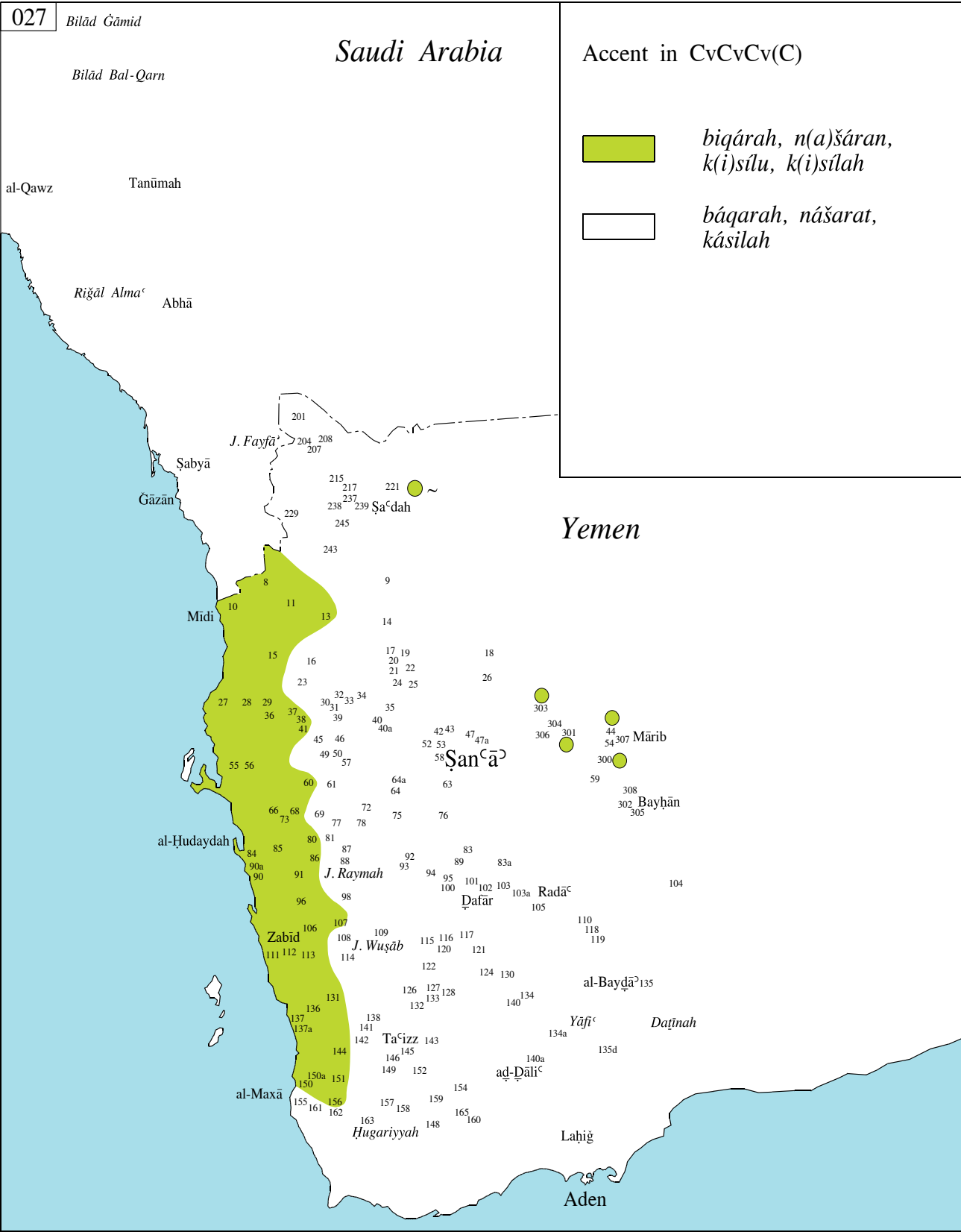
– Regarding Manāxah also WRB 32 in detail, with many bibliographical references and detailed information on post-glottalisation. P. 37/38 on the aspiration of certain consonants in pausal position: *māl* → *ma^hl#* ‘field’, *fatūt* > *fatu^ht#* ‘a dish of food’, *bint* > *bint^h#* ‘girl’, *šarṭ* > *šarṭ^h#* ‘condition’. Included in this is the /h/ of the feminine ending: *luḡa* > *luḡa^h* ‘language’ etc. Also p. 39 pausal diphthongisation ‘besonders in der Sprache der Frauen’ with

glottal stop if originally ending in a vowel: *nāhī* → *nāheī^h#* ‘good’.¹

– Baraddūn: BET 119 ‘/m/, /n/, /l/ dopo vocale lunga, o come consonanti finali di un gruppo consonantico sono quasi inaudibili: [gadi(m)] “vecchio” ... [gī(l)] “fu detto”, [ta(l)] “volpe”’. It was marked in the same way on the original map [ga · ‘l] ~ [ga · ‘]. Cf. also WRB 33 with reference to DIEM 24 ‘... verlieren *l*, *m* und *n* ihre Stimmhaftigkeit und sind deshalb kaum zu hören’.

– Regarding Jiblih HdAD 111 says ‘findet sich in Ġiblah nur in der Sprache der Frauen’.

¹ At point 63 also *xālatey#*, ‘*ammatey#*’ ‘my aunt’.



027 Accent in CvCvCv(C)

027 Accent in CvCvCv(C)

- Original map 19. The commentary in JA p. 15 points out inconsistency *bíqarah* ~ *biqárah*, *názalan* ~ *nzálan*, *lígiyan* ~ *ilgíyan*.
- North DGS 18 inconsistency at point 221 (Wāsīt): *wuṣlīt*, *bágarah*.
- Northeast/Bani Ḍabyān (point 300) NAD 27: ‘the regular pattern is in nominal forms *rágabah* “throat” (BḌ), *wáladiš* “your boy” (BḌ). In verbal and adjectival forms the irregular patterns seem to be *yíbīsīt*, *yibīsīt*, *rāṭibeh*, *raṭibéh* and the regular one: *wulídīt* “she has given birth” (Ṣ) [point 301], *’akálit* “she has eaten” (Ṣ, BḌ), *nadárit* “she went out” (HJA) [point 44], *’akálan* “they [f.] have eaten” (BḌ), *našádak* “he

asked you” (MJ) [point 303], *nišádin* “they (f.) asked” (MJ), *raṭibeh* “humid (f.)” (BḌ), *k(i)síleh* “lazy (f.)” (all dialects):

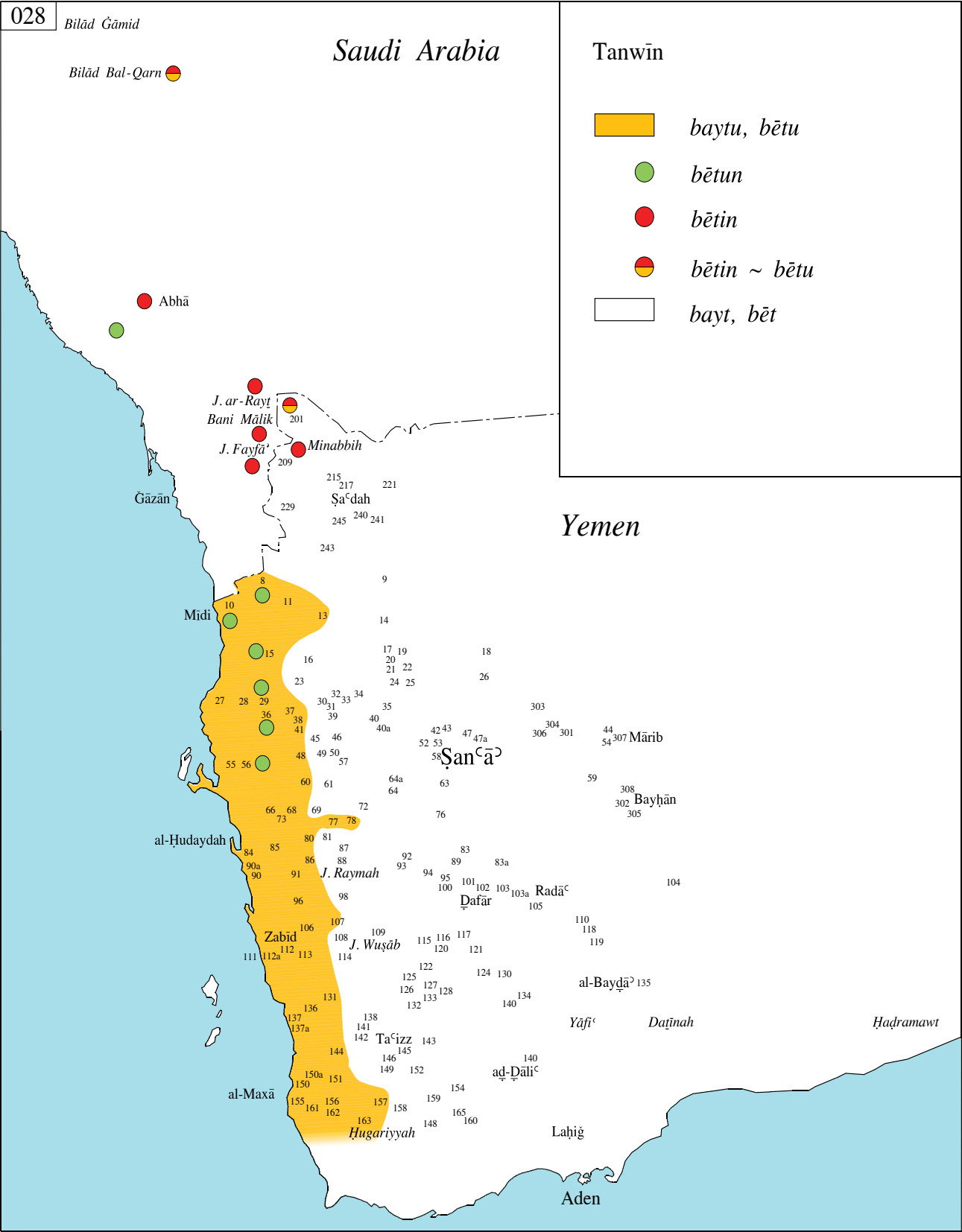
- Saudi Arabia: PRC-1:27 accent clearly on the antepenultimate: *katbat* Ṣabyā, elsewhere *katabat*, *kataban*.

– No data for South Yemen/Laḥiğ in FOD. Aḍ-Ḍālī‘ VAN-1:180 *at-támarah* ‘la moisson’, *šágarah* ‘un arbre’, p. 185 *wáṣalah* [‘she has arrived’]. No examples for Yāfi‘ in VAN-2. Daṭīnah LAN-2:7ff. *em-wàraqa*, *fil-kàra’a*, *uğàlabat* [= *u gàlabat*], *el-àğala*, *wàladah* [‘his son’], *màratah* [‘his wife’], *qàtalah* [‘he killed him’], *ḥàfaret*...

Thus the variant accentuation (green on the map) appears to be on the whole a matter of the Tihāmah.

Morphology

∴



028 Tanwīn

– Original commentary JA p. 15: ‘Die Endung *-u, -un* trifft nicht auf alle Kategorien zu. GRE (1979) S. 60 zitiert als Ausnahme *afʿal...*’ which is diptotic in cl. Ar. and does not exhibit *-n*. Thus the final *-u* in *afʿalu* must have been dropped before */-n/* in *baytun*.¹ There are hardly any examples of other diptotes. We should mention *mbārīqu* ‘water cans’ (131),² *šawārbu* ‘moustaches’ (162). The *-u* is clearly secondary here. This is partly true also of the participle of verbs final *y* (of the cl. Ar. type *rāmin, rāmī, f. rāmiyatun*), which occurs partly as *fāʿi*, partly as *fāʿyu*: *ǧāwyu* ‘lost’, *dāryu* ‘knowing’, *ǧānyu* ‘weak’, *mātyu* ‘coming’ (163), *šāqiyu* ‘working’, *fīdyu* ‘breast’ (66). See also map 132 with the forms *wāti* / *wātyu*, *wēti*, *mātyu*, *mēti*, *ǧāyu*. Cf. also map 148: *kursi* – *kursiyu(n)*. Even *šāhī* ‘tea’ has the suffix *-u* added occasionally: *šāhyu* (162).

As for the North, *-in* has been recorded in Minabbih, but not in the case of *afʿal*: *ʾabyaṭ*, pl. *bīṭin* ‘white’, *ʾastfar*, pl. *stuṭfrin* ‘yellow’, *ʾastnaǧ*, pl. *stunǧin* ‘deaf’, *ʾaʿmā*, pl. *ʾumyin* ‘blind’. This restriction also applies to all feminine forms (*ʾibnah* ‘a girl’), and nouns ending in *-ī* (*ribḥī* ‘a monkey’), but *ʾastābʿin* ‘finger (pl.)’ (cl. Ar. *ʾašābīʿu*). At point 201 forms such as *labanu* ~ *labanin* ‘milk’ have been elicited, and it has been suggested (DGS 54) that the conditions there were similar to those in Asīr. There (Bal-Qarn) PRC-2:47 forms ending in *-u* are pausal forms, those ending in *-in* are on the whole context forms: *ʾahu rāǧdu* ‘there he is asleep’, *rāǧdin fim-ǧurfat tiyāk* ‘asleep in that room’. Tanwīn is more pronounced there than in Minabbih, as it also occurs in feminine forms: *sayyārtin yadīdeh/yadīdīn* (p. 48). Th. Prochazka does not comment on the *afʿal* scheme.³ There is no tanwīn in pause in Abha (AZR-2:72: *shayyin she:n* ‘something bad’, *manti maratin sanʿah* ‘you are not a good woman’), but occurs in *afʿal*, *faʿla* (f.) and plurals ending in *-a*: *ʾa:lhūm fugarann masa:kīn* ‘they are poor [and] poor’ (p. 73), *ʾarǧann Dīʿi:fah* ‘a weak cripple’, *ʾabyaDin mǧhabbīr* ‘dusty white’ (p. 73).

– Saudi Arabia ‘I heard *šīʿbun šīʿbun wādin wādin* ‘all the way down the valley’ from a peasant who gave directions from a location about 35 km southwest of Maḥāyil’ (PRC 2:47 n. 7). We can conclude that the *un-* forms of the northern Yemeni Tihāmah extend some way into Saudi Arabia. – Regarding Jabal Fayfā’ see ALB 61: ‘Tanwīn is to be found in both dialects: *staʿd-in* “*ḍurah* stalks”, but *staʿd-eh* “a *ḍurah* stalk”. There is no such distribution as described in INGHAM 1982:53ff. (*nīdawwir sāyig – ligēna sāygin... wli-din ḥarbi*). Further examples in that article are *ʾaṭmin* ‘bones’, *ṭilʿin ~ filʿin* ‘rib’, *ṭahrin* ‘back’, *ʾifliyyin* ‘mouse’, *ṭayfin* ‘a guest’, *ʾabyaf* ‘white’, *čalbin* ‘dog’ etc. Examples with *-in* concerning ar-Rayṭ and Banī Mālik found on the internet. – *-u* occurring as pausal form and *-in* as context form may be explained by the fact that in Ancient Arabic ‘the original pausal forms of the nunated endings *-un, -in, -an* were probably *-ū, -ī, -ā*’ (VER 48). The question remains why in one instance we have an original nominative form here (*-un > -u*), and in the other an original genitive form *-in*. It may be possible to explain this with contact between dialects, i.e. the forms originated in two different dialects. After all we must also ask why the accusative ending *-an* has vanished completely from our area: *štarētu ḡamalun* ‘I have bought a camel’ (northern Tihāmah). Cf. Sudan/Šukriyya *rajlan šūm* ‘a nasty man’, *maratan šūm* ‘a nasty woman’ (REM 130) and *maratan fālḥa* ‘a capable woman’ (188). At ‘3.1.1. Deklarativ-Suffix ||-an||’ (188/89) we read ‘that the Sudanese nunation is not, as in the standard language, used to mark indefiniteness (*tankīr*) but for definite determining... and sometimes to emphasise the attribution... According to QĀSIM (1972, p. Ǯ) its function is individual emphasis and specification... This function would seem best described as ‘Deklarativ’ (suggested by Grotzfeld). Cf. also ING 53/54 ‘The only case in which it may be that the occurrence of the marker signals some measure of “indefiniteness” or “vagueness” in a semantic sense is where a noun occurs as the sole constituent of a nominal phrase. In this case it seems that the occurrence of *-in* signals something of the semantic value of “a certain...”, “a particular...”, i.e. one single but undefined member of a class, whereas the absence of the marker means purely “a member of the class in general”, as in the following two sentences: (a) *nīdawwir sāyig* “we are looking for a driver” (b) *ligēna sāygin... wli-din ḥarbi* “we found a driver... a Ḥarbi boy”. In the example (b) a particular member of the class of “drivers” is referred to known to the speaker, but unknown to the addressee. In the first sentence the class of “drivers” in general is referred

1 I have recorded few instances of *afʿal* in the Tihāmah. E.g. in Ḥaraḍ (point 8) *swad, byaḍ, ḥmar, šfar, xḍar, zrag* as against forms like *bētun*.

2 Sg. *mabrēqu* (< *ʾabriqu*) obviously in analogy with nomina instrumenti beginning in *m-*. P.C. from Manfred Woidich: ‘Ebenso Dakhla/Bašanda *mabriq*. Das Präfix für nom. instr. ist im Arabischen eigentlich *mi-* nicht *ma-*; im Äthiopischen m.W. umgekehrt’.

3 No information on tanwīn in PRC-1, either. TOLL 38 says with regard to Ġāmid ‘A few cases of tanwīn were noted: /ṭabʿan/ “naturally”, /ʾawwāliyan/ “first”, /marratan ṭāniya/ “a second time”, /mā hum xābirīn šayan/ “they did not know anything”. These are probably fixed expressions such as *maṭalan* ‘for instance’ elsewhere.

to; any driver will be sufficient and no specifications are made’.

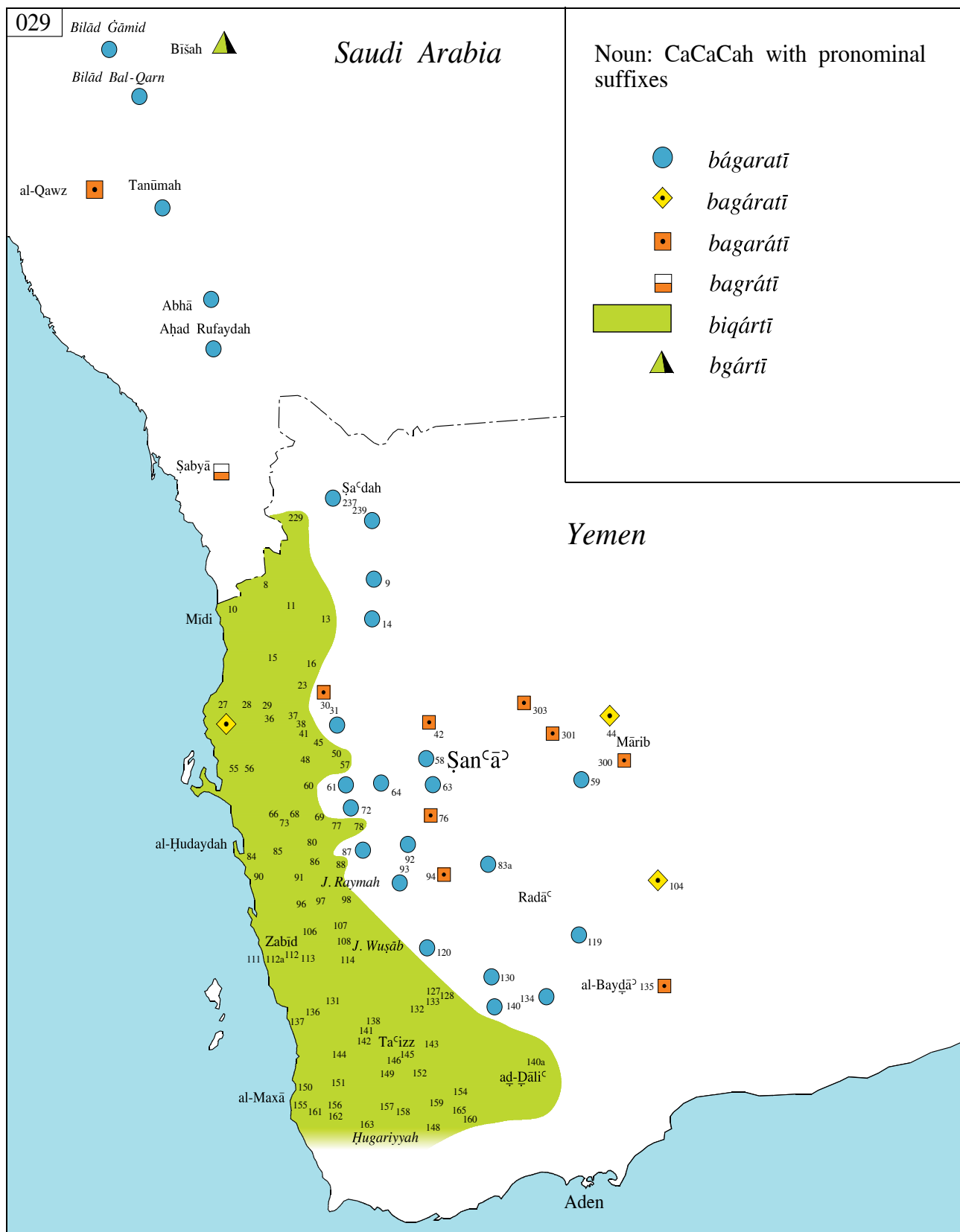
– Since only individual words, or paradigms, have usually been elicited during field work, it is only possible to make comparable statements with the aid of text corpora. The facts appear to be different. If a form is not defined (by an article or nomen rectum) it ends in *-u*, *-un*, or *-in*; e.g. in the text in DGS 22of.: *waga‘ lahā waldin* ‘she had a baby’;⁴ *šaṭraḥ ḥabbīn, wa ṭmānī zabībīn, wa rbā‘ī tamrīn* ‘one

šaṭraḥ grain, one *ṭmānī* raisins, one *rbā‘ī* dates’;⁵ *mī‘him kabšīn* ‘they had a ram with them’, *fī im-dīb ġū‘īn* ‘the wolf was hungry’, *galīl ḥabbīn* ‘a bit of grain’, *fī čulli xurgīn* ‘in every hole’, *nusfīn binnīn* ‘a half of coffee’, *nusfīn milḥīn* ‘a half of salt’, *mīn ġarbīn* ‘from a water hose’.⁶ The examples also describe the undefined member of a class, such in ‘they had a ram with them’ (not a cow).

⁴ Earlier in the text *waldeḥ* ‘a girl’, consequently ‘boy’ may be the preferable translation.

⁵ These are measures of capacity.

⁶ The texts from the Tihāmah quoted in BEH-T are not very enlightening as the speakers frequently drop the *-u*.



029 Noun: CaCaCah with pronominal suffixes

– The original map 23 was too generalising; it has been disentangled.

– The rules found in the Tihāmah in particular are completely different from those in, for instance, Middle Eastern dialects with *baʿṛti*, *baʿṛtak* vs. *baʿarítna*, *baʿaríthum* (such as e.g. Cairo). Here, when attaching pronominal suffixes, we must presume a base form *baʿarít* (as in the construct state), in which /i/ is elided before a following vowel but retained before a consonant, with the place of the accent shifting. In a number of Yemeni dialects, on the other hand, we must assume *baqarít-*, *biqarít-*, as well as the elision of /i/ as in the first example, and the generalisation of *baqárt-*, *biqárt-* for the entire paradigm. Thus at point 28 *bugárti* ‘my cow’, *bugártu* ‘his cow’, *bugártəhun* ‘their cow’; at 56 *biqárti* ‘my cow’, *šigárthā* ‘her tree’, *raqábthā* ‘her neck’; at 66 *biqárt Miḥammad* ‘M.’s cow’; at 132 *baqártana* ‘our cow’, *baqártahan* ‘their (f.) cow’; at 152 *biqártəna* ‘our cow’; at point 16 *ragábtəha* ‘her neck’. At point 150, however, *biqárti*, *biqártu*, *biqáritəha*. Variable at point 11: *bagárti*, *bagártəh*, *bagarátha*, *bagártekum* ~ *bagarátkum*, *bagártəhinne*. At point 85 *raqábtəhā* ‘her neck’. At point 152 *baqárti*, *baqártak*, *baqártəh*, *biqártəna*#, *biqártəkum*. Also without vowel in the construct state at point 144 *baqárt Muḥammad* ‘M.’s cow’, *šigart Alij* ‘Ali’s tree’, *baqárti*, *baqartána* ‘my, our cow’.

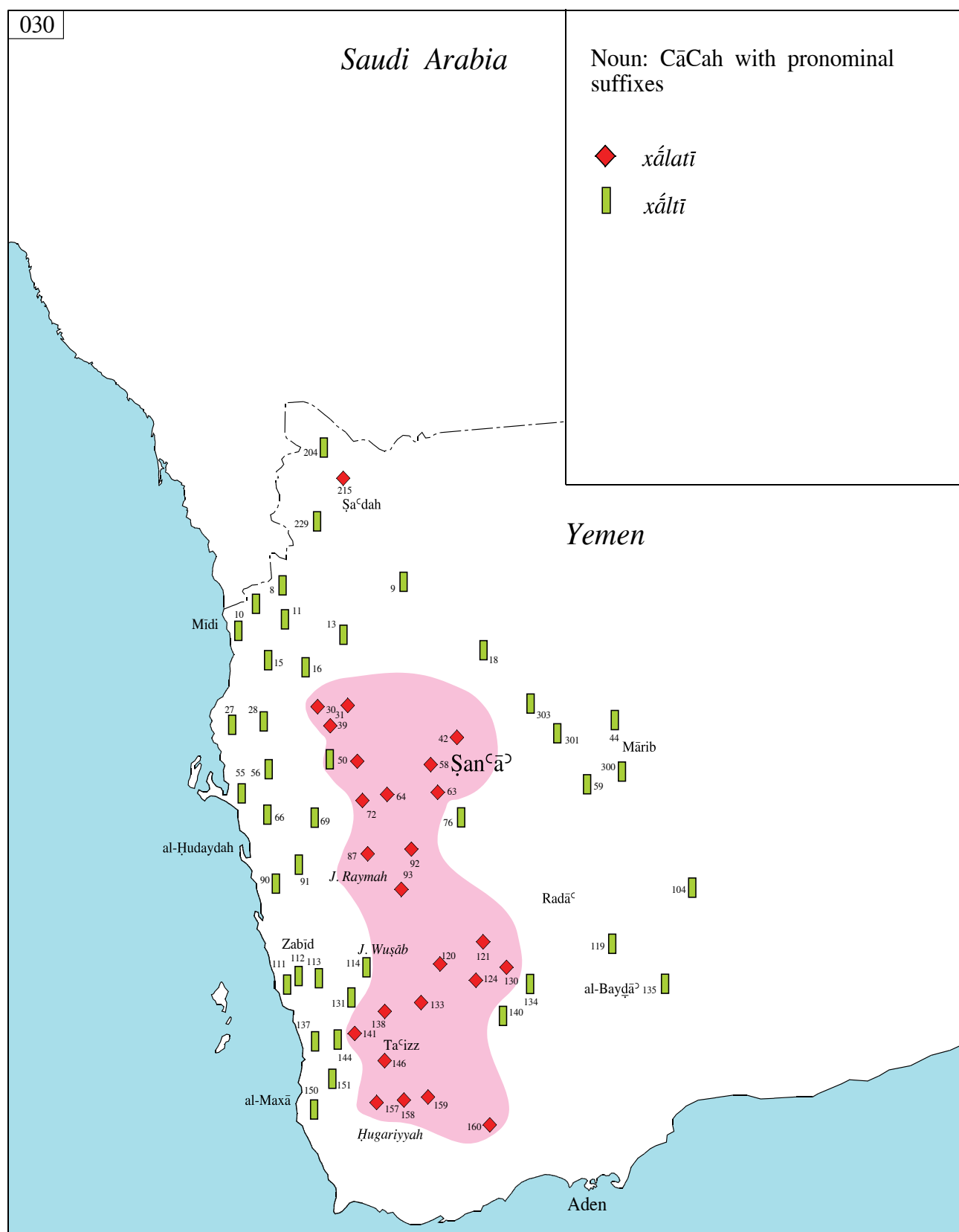
O. Jastrow recorded a complete paradigm for al-Mudawwar (148, left; however, written without the accent), right at point 66:

	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>baqartuh</i>	<i>baqartuhum</i>	<i>biqártah</i>	<i>biqártəho:n#</i>
3rd f.	<i>baqartih</i>	<i>baqartihin</i>	<i>biqártəha</i>	<i>biqártəho:n#</i>
2nd m.	<i>baqartak</i>	<i>baqartukum</i>	<i>biqártak</i>	<i>biqártəko:n#</i>
2nd f.	<i>baqartik</i>	<i>baqartikin</i>	<i>biqártik</i>	<i>biqártəko:n#</i>
1st [c.]	<i>baqartī</i>	<i>baqartanā</i>	<i>biqárti</i>	<i>biqartána</i>

– The subject is not discussed in DIEM. It may be possible to draw conclusions from corresponding verb forms. *katabateh* ‘she wrote it’ at point 21 (DIEM 27) applies to the entire northern plateau. Op. cit. 42 [Dafār] *katabateh* applies to the entire southern plateau. Southern parts of the western range p. 80 al-Hadiyeh (point 98) *katábtəh* ‘she wrote it’, *šawwártəh* ‘she photographed it’. Al-Maḥall (point 88) *ʿayyantəh* suggests forms such as **baqártəh*. The line on the original map no. 23 is being corrected. Qafr (at point 115) p. 91 *ʿabšartəh* ‘she saw him’ suggests forms such as **baqártəh*. The line is being corrected (no. 115 not on original map no. 23). The same is true of Taʿizz p. 108 *ʿabsartih* ‘she saw her’.

– At point 300 *bagarítī*, *bagarítak*, *ragabítī*, *ragabítah* ‘his neck’ with the accent in accordance with *ragabíttā* ‘her neck’; 301 *bagarátī* after *bagarátukum*. At point 44 (second enquête) *bagárətī*, *bagárətuk*. At point 303 (southern Jawf) *bagarátī*.

– Baraddūn BET 125 ‘La giunzione di suffissi non provoca né riduzione né cambiamento di timbro nelle vocali delle sillabe brevi’ clearly refers to nouns as well as verb forms. The only instance given is *ǧadaratih* ‘lo ingannò (f.)’ without an accent. Included in the map with some reservations. No examples for Radāʿ in HUI. [*ǧarábtəh*] ‘elle le frappa’ for [aḍ-Ḍāliʿ] in VAN-1194 suggests a form of the type **baqártəh*. Included in the map with some reservations. No data for Yāfiʿ, Daṭīnah, Aden. For Kawkabān in HEN p. 142 verbal *šadamatuh* ‘botste tegen hem’ without accent.

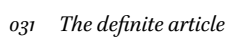


030 Noun: CāCah with pronominal suffixes

030 Noun: CāCah with pronominal suffixes

– Instances of *xālatī* and similar forms in points 30, 31, 42, 63, 64, 87, 93, 130, 138, 142, 157, 159, 160; *xāltī* points 8, 10, 13, 15, 27, 44, 50b, 91, 113, 114, 134, 135, 150, 151, 301 (*xāltī*), 302.
– *yā gāratā* ‘help!’ (WRB 305/306 sentence 21; p. 314 sentence 87 *yā gārata*‘!)) indicates *xālatī*. In JG *yā gārah*!
– The type *biqārtuh* corresponds to *xāltuh* only up to a point. There is parallelism with *bāqaratī* – *xālatiṭ* at point 87 but not points 59, 119 *bāqaratī* – *xāltī*, point 42

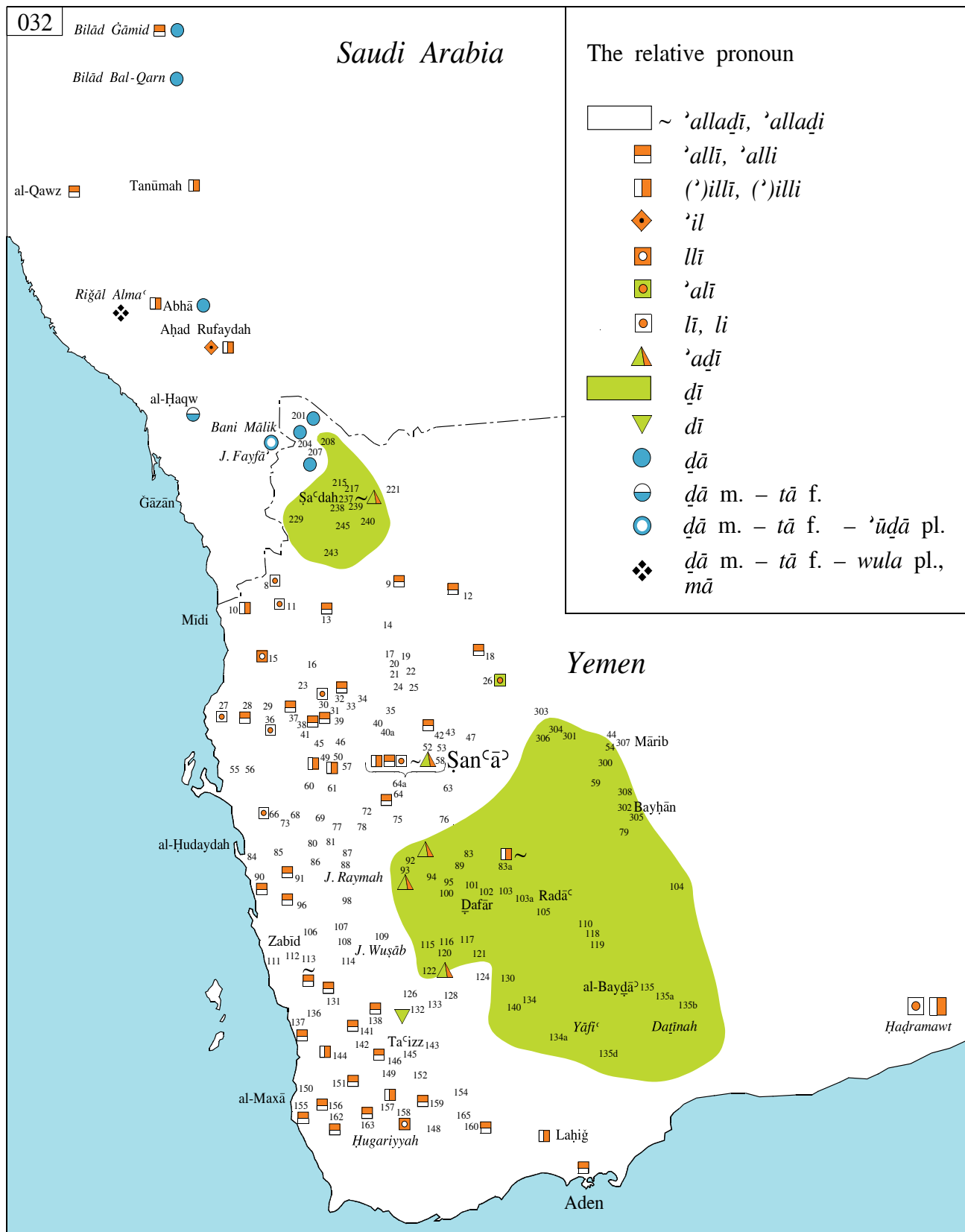
bagāriteh ‘his cow’ – *xāliteh* ‘his aunt’. Not parallel either at point 30 (‘Ubāl) with *bagarātī* – *xālatī*, point 76 *bagarātī*, *bagarāteh*, *ragabāti*, *ragabāteh* – *xāltī*, point 9 *bāgaritī* – *xāltī*, point 27 *biqāretiṭ* – *xāltiṭ*; point 50b *bagārtī* – *xālti*, point 159 *raqābtī* ‘my neck’, *šagārtuh* ‘his tree’, *šagārteh* ‘her tree’, *šagartāna*‘# ‘our tree’ – *xālati* ‘my aunt’. This is obviously linked to the fact that some dialects do not tolerate *ṽC-C*. Cf. *bēt+nā* → *bētanā*.



- Yemen/north DGS map 27, northeast NAD 35: ‘*il-*, except in HJ *al-*’.
- With Saudi Arabia BEH-A with detail maps.
- South VAN-8:755 *al-* for Yāfi‘, Ḍāli‘, Mukeyras *am-*, Laḥiğ *al-*, Aden *al-*, Ḥabbān *al-*, Abyan *am- ~ um-*; Ḥaḍramawt *al-*. FOD 42ff. has *iz-*, *an-*, *al-*, *el-*, *ad-*, *iṭ-* for Laḥiğ, but mostly forms with */a/*. As the map in BEH-A p. 55 shows, however, there are place names with *am-* in the Laḥiğ region.
- Daṭīnah LAN-2:7ff. always writes *em-*. It is not clear what he means by it (*am-*, *im-*). The place names in the area are all written with *am-*.
- The accumulation of *il-* in the region of Mārib and the southern Jawf is perhaps not accidental but a possible contamination of original **im-* and *al-* of different dialects.
- Both *m-* and *b-* articles were recorded at point 11 (Jabal Waṣṣḥah): *bēn əb-gāt* ‘in the qāt field’, *b-dimmiyeh* ‘the cat’,

əb-dukkān ‘the shop’, *b-sabt* ‘the Saturday’, *b-šams* ‘the sun’, *əb-galb* ‘the heart’, *b-leyl* ‘the night’, *b-niğmah* ‘the star’, *əm-nuxrah* ‘the nose’, *m-bēt* ‘the house’, *m-teys* ‘the male goat’, *m-bhēmeh* ‘the cow’, *m-‘ēš* ‘the food’. It is not possible to determine a system.

- In some of the dialects of the Tihāmah */n/* precedes */k/*, */q/*, */g/*: *n-qalb* ‘the heart’, *n-kāt* ‘the qāt’. In Zabīd the usual form is *am-* ~ *əm-*, but *aw-wulēd* ‘the little boy’, *an-kalb* ‘the dog’, *an-k’tāb* ‘the book’, *an-kuḥəl* ‘the anti-mony’, *an-qahwah* ‘the coffee’, *an-g’arādah* ‘the grasshopper’, *an-g’nāzeh* ‘the funeral’, *al-yōm* ‘today’, *al-xamīs* ‘the Thursday’. ‘Today’ is *al-yōm*, *al-yawm* everywhere in the Tihāmah. A strange form is *layd* ‘hand’ (with suffixes *laydī*, *laydak* etc.) at points 56, 66 and 77. With article: *am-layd*, *al-layd*.



– Yemen/North DGS 84–85 with forms *ḏī*, *ḏā*, *ʾaḏī*, *ʾallaḏī*. Northeast NAD 35 *ḏī*, *ḏē*, *lī*, *ʾallaḏī*.

– Saudi Arabia PRC-2:46 with forms *ʾilli* Rufaydah, Abha, Tanūmah, *ʾil* Rufaydah, *ʾalli* Ghāmid, al-Qawz and an ‘invariable form *ḏā* al-Qahabah, Bal-Qarn, Ghāmid, “who, which”. In Abha and al-Ṣaḥrāʾ the relative distinguishes gender and number: *ḏā* (m. s.), *tā* (f. s.), *ʾilli* (c. pl.), but these forms are considered very rare and the invariable form *ʾilli* is the one used. AZR-2:277 mentions *ʾilli* and *ḏa*. Jabal Fayfāʾ *ḏā* (m.), *tā* (f.), *ʾūdā* (pl. c.; internet and confirmed by Abdullah al-Faifi). In Riḡāl Almaʿ *ḏa* for a masculine singular antecedent, *ta* for a feminine singular antecedent, *wula* for a human plural or dual antecedent whether feminine or masculine, and *ma* for a non human

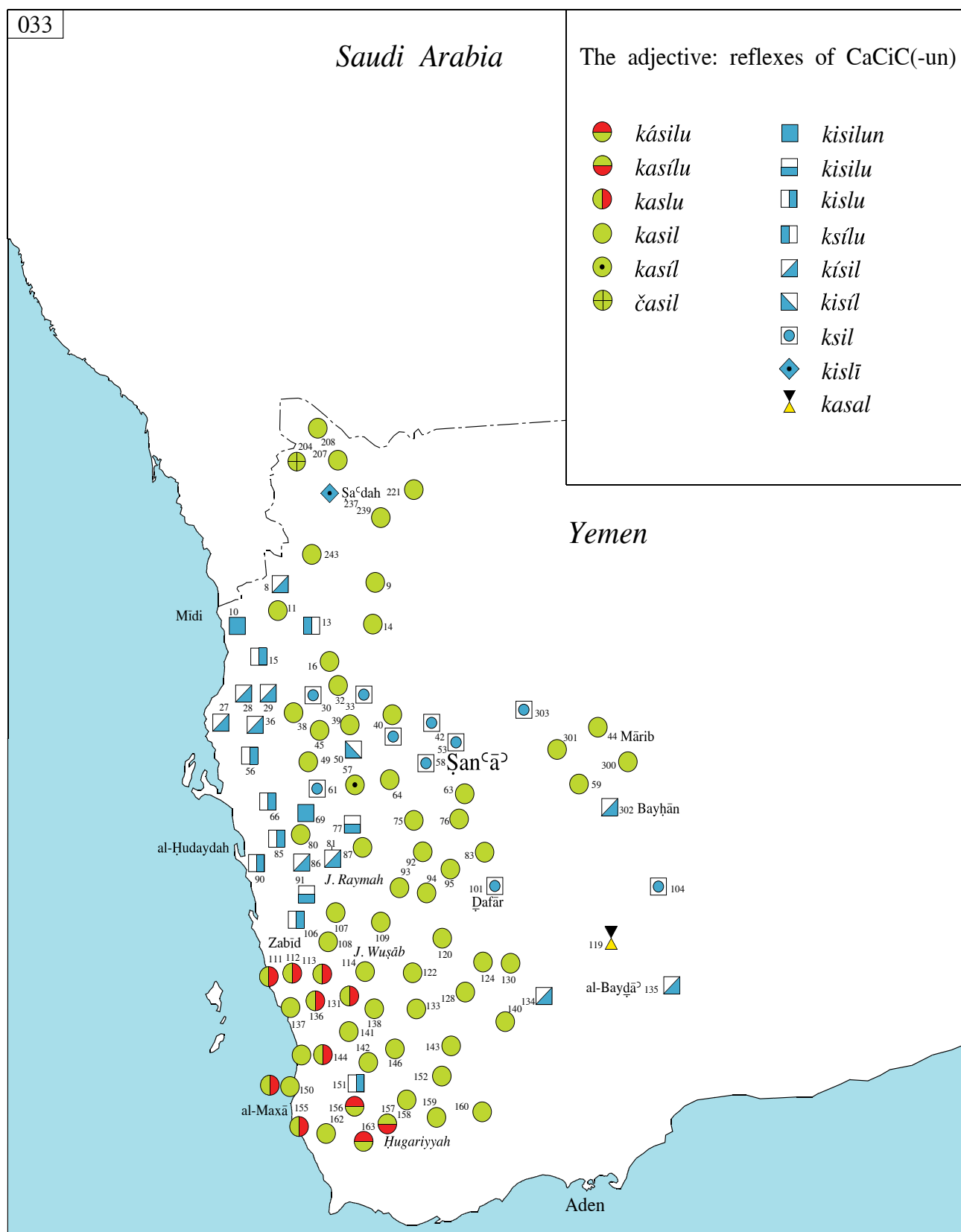
plural antecedent’ (ASIRI 71). Place names suggest that there would originally have been a fem. *tī* in Rāziḥ.

– Manāxah WRB *ʾallaḏī* in texts, al-Ḥudaydah *allāḏī* in the text RO-N 466, l. 5 from bottom of page.

– Baraddūn (83a) BET 142 *ḏī* ‘in uso è anche */illi/*, più raramente */allaḏī/*’.

– Ṣanʿāʾ in NAI 121 *ʾalli*, *yillī*, *əlli*, *lli*. WAT-1:105 has *allaḏī*, p. 106 *allī*, *allaḏī*, (*a*)*llaḏī*, p. 109 *ʾallī*, 110 *wa-llī*, *illi*, p. 232 *ālī* (sic).

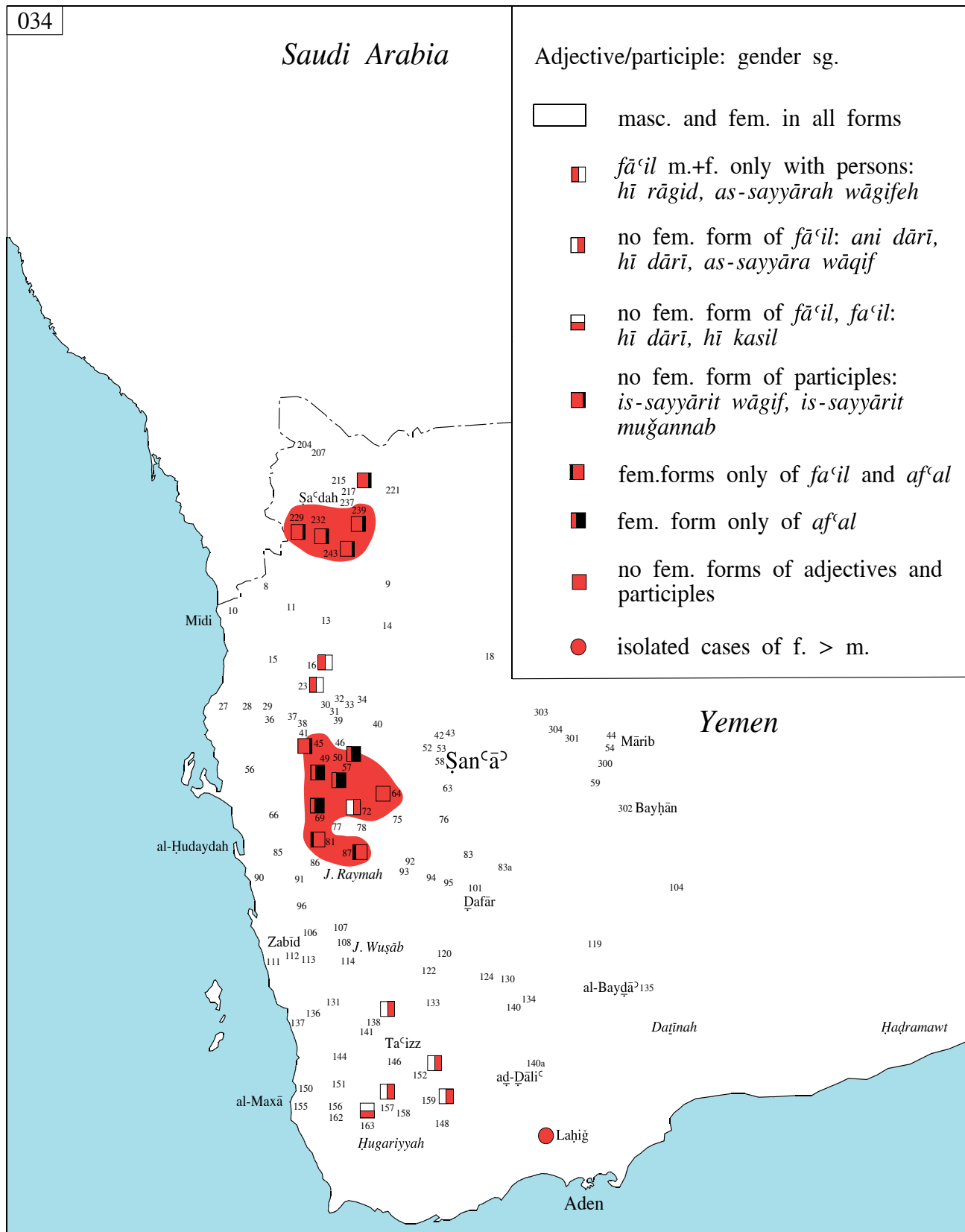
– South/Laḥiḡ FOD 43 *ʾilli*; Aden *alli* GHA glossary; no data for aḏ-Ḍālīʿ in VAN-1; no data for Yāfiʿ in VAN-2; internet instance for Yāfiʿ (youtube: *man ḏī saraq al-qāt?*); no data for Abyan in VAN-8; Daṭīnah LAN-1: *ḏī* with instances from LAN-2:191 etc.; in LAN-2:8 also *ḏīʿ*.



033 The adjective: reflexes of CaCiC(-un)

– The original map 26 is confusing as it contains too much information. It has been disentangled. The feminine forms are now found on map 022. There are instances of the assimilation of **a* > *i* in *kašil* > *kisil* for the northern

Tihāmah in particular. There is hardly any parallelism as in e.g. Egyptian Arabic: *wisix* – *kibīr*. At nearly all the points examined the pattern is *kaḇīr*, the exception being point 28 with *gaḍīm*, *radīf*, *ġidīd*, *ṣiġīr*, and *wiṣix*, *kisil*.



– The gradual collapse of gender distinction in the adjective/participle takes its starting point in cl. Ar. forms of the type *ḥāmil* ‘pregnant’, *ḥā'id* ‘menstruating’ (‘Adjektive, die spezifisch weibliche Eigenschaften bezeichnen, bleiben in der Regel ohne Fem.-Endung: (ʾi)mraʾatun ṭāliqun “geschiedene Frau”, FIS-2:63).

– Regarding Manāxah WRB 139 ‘Ein Adjektiv, das wie *wāḥim* “schwanger” eine spezifisch weibliche Eigenschaft bezeichnet, kann mit und ohne Femininendung gebraucht werden’. However, cf. p. 312/14 sentence 29 *al-kalba ḡālis* ‘the bitch was sitting motionless’ with n. ‘Hier wurde keine Femininform gebraucht’.

– Laḥiḡ FOD p. 43 ‘*agūza daʾif*, *u-hī zahfān*, p. 46 *hī nissānaʾ zahfān* ‘she was an old weak woman’.

– Instances of *fāʾil* m.+f. at point 159 *ana dāri* / *ani dāri* ‘I (m.+f.) know’, *ana* / *ani sākin* ‘I (m.+f.) dwell’, *ana* / *ani ṣāʾim* ‘I (m.+f.) fast’; but: *ani maḍlūmah* ‘I am being treated badly’, *samīn* – *samīnah* ‘fat, corpulent’, *taxīn* – *taxīnah* ‘thick, fat’, *kasil* – *kasilah* ‘lazy’.

– Jabal Ḥufāš/Šafagēn (point 50b): *al-ʾarḍ yābis* ‘the ground is dry’, *al-bint bālīṭ* ‘the girl is fat’, *as-sayyāra wāḡif* ‘the car is stationary’, *ana* (f.) *dāri* ‘I know’, *ana* (f.) *sāriḥi* ‘I am going away’, *ana* (f.) *sāyri* ‘I am going to(wards)’, *ana* (f.) *ṣāyim* ‘I fast’, *ana* (f.) *marīḍ* ‘I am ill’, *as-sayyāra ḡadīd* ‘the car is new’, *al-gunṭurah gadīm* ‘the shoe is old’, *al-waraqā ruṭub* ‘the leaf is juicy’, *al-ḡaṣaba maxzūq* ‘the pipe is perforated’, *al-ḡaṣaba ḡadīd* ‘the pipe is new’, *al-ḡaṣaba ṭawīl* ‘the pipe is long’, *al-bint ksil* ‘the girl is lazy’, *as-sayyāra muḡannab* ‘the car is parked [to the side]’.

However: *ʾaḡam* – *ʾaḡmā* ‘mute’. The plural distinguishes between m. and f.: *rāḡid* – *rāḡidīn* – *rāḡidāt* ‘sleeping’. Maḡall Bayt al-ʾAṣabī (50a): *ʾātiš* ‘thirsty (m.+f.)’, *intī ḡāwaʾ* ‘are you (f.) hungry?’, *ʾāti* ‘coming (m.+f.)’, pl. *ʾātīn*

~ *ʾātiʾīn*, f. *ʾātiyāt*. Inconsistent *yābiseh* ‘dry (f.)’, *kisleh* ‘lazy (f.)’. Jāhim (50c): *al-baḡara maknūn* ‘the cow is stubborn’.

– Sūḡ al-Jumʾah (point 57): *al-buḡrī maknūn* ‘the cow is stubborn’, *al-ḥurmah mirimmil* ‘the woman is widowed’, *as-sayyāra ḡadīd* ‘the car is new’; m.+f.: *marīḍ*, *ṣāyim*, *ṣāyirī*, *sāriḥī*, *yābis*.

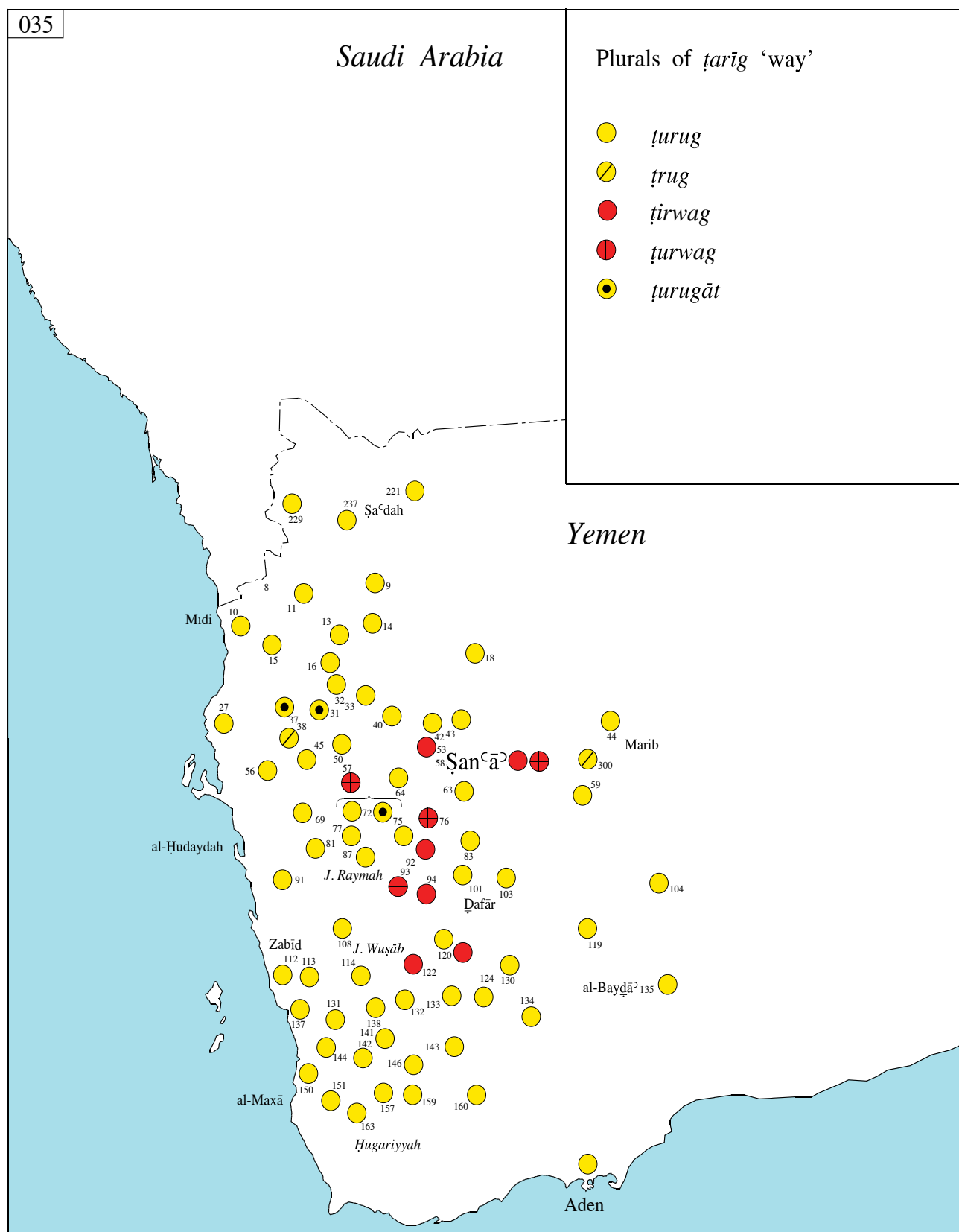
– Markaz Bilād at-Taʾām/Jabal Raymah (point 87): *yābis* ‘dry (m.+f.)’: *al-ʾarḍ yābis* ‘the ground is dry’, *as-sayyāra waḡif* ~ *ḡālis* ‘the car is stationary’, *ištara sayyāra ḡadīd* ‘he has bought a new car’, *aštarowku sayyāra ḡadīd* ‘I have bought a new car’, *as-sayyāra ḡadīd* ‘the car is new’, *ʾani marīḍ* ‘I (f.) am ill’.

– Jabal Burāʿ (point 81): *al-ḥurma marīḍ* ‘the woman is ill’, *al-ḥurma kabīr* ‘the woman is old’, *al-baḡara ḡālis* ‘the cow is stubborn’, *al-baḡara maḍbūḥ* ‘the cow is slaughtered’; also *ʾinti fāhim*, *ʾātiḡ*,² *nāzilī*,² *sāriḥī*, *ṭālīʾ* ‘you (f. sg.) understand, come, go down, go away, go up’.

– Regarding J. Rāziḡ WAT-7:30 ‘feminine gender is not explicitly marked on verbal participles’; regarding the north see also DGS 61 *as-sayyārat wāḡif* ‘the car is stationary’ (239), *hē mitḡaffir* ‘she had breakfast’, *as-susta maksūr* ‘the suspension is broken’ (243), *in-niswānit mubarriḡ* ‘the woman leaves early’ (229).

² The active participle I of the type *nāzilī* ‘going down’ recalls the participle in Ethiopian, type CaCāCī. Cf. DIEM-S 27/8. It may be regarded as a hybrid of a North Arabic CāCīC and a South Arabic CaCāCī. The last type is found e.g. in *falāḡi* ‘fox’. The formation appears to occur especially with verbs of movement: *nāzilī* ‘going down’ point 81, Manāxah ‘descending’ as opposed to *nāzil* ‘down, below’ (WRB 634); *sāriḡi* m.+f. ‘going, going in the morning’ 50b, 57, in GOI 81 *as-sāriḡi* ‘someone who goes’; *rāwiḡi* ‘going away’ 50b; *ṭālīʾ* ‘ascending’ m.+f. 81; *sāyirī* ‘going to(wards)’ 57, 81, *sāyri* 50b; *bāyikī* ‘going in the morning’ 81.

¹ From **niswāna*, new form in analogy with *niswān* pl.

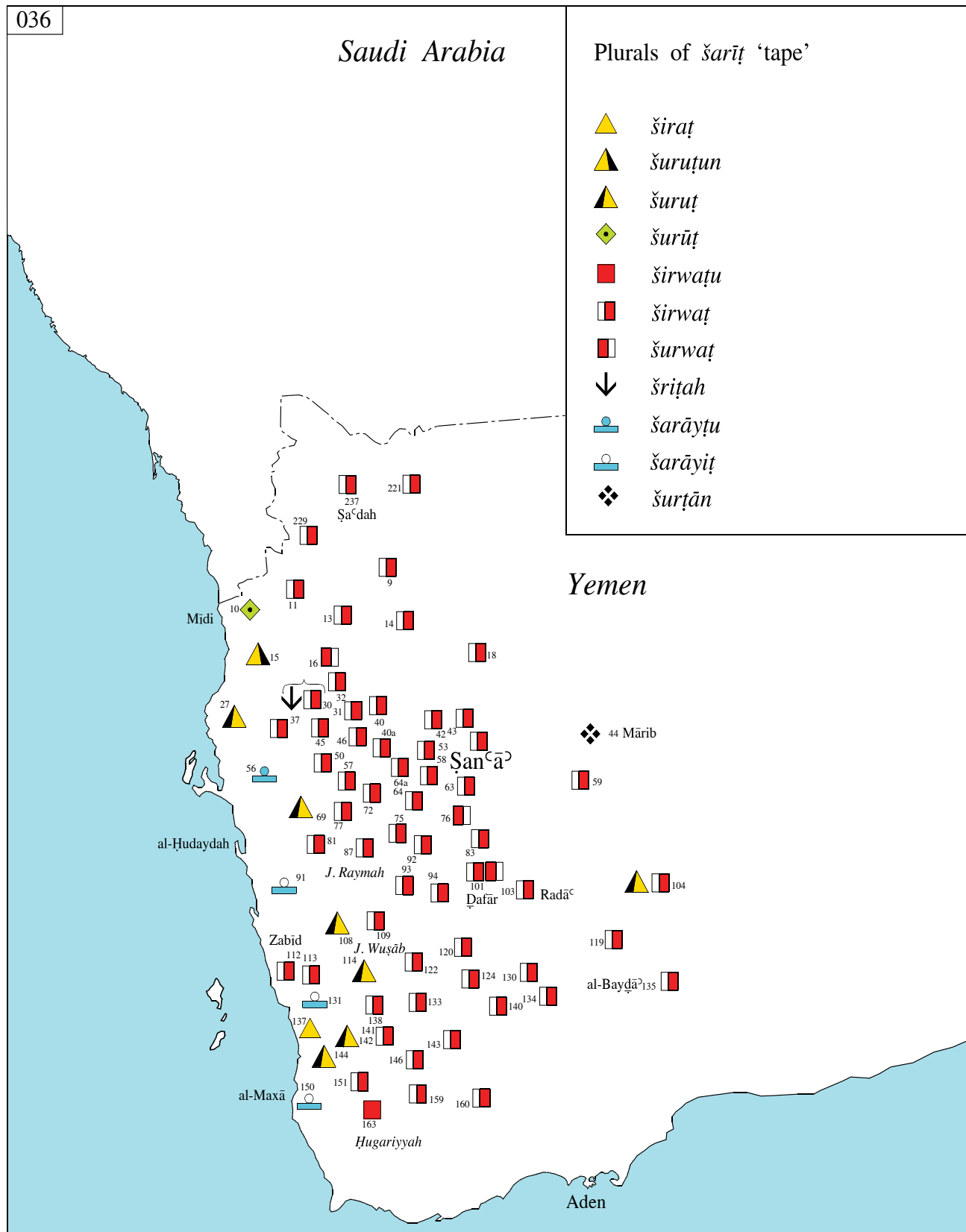


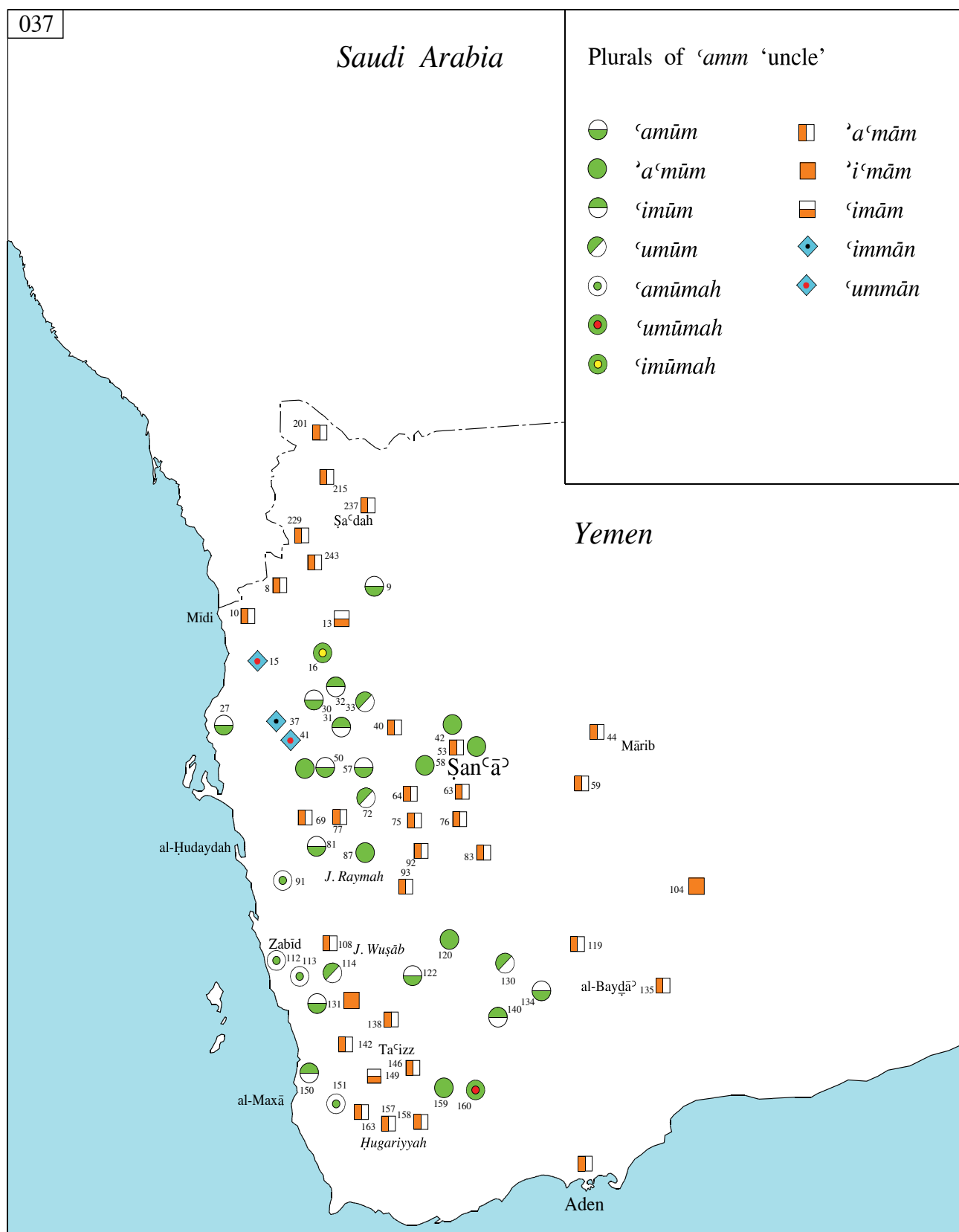
035 Plurals of *ṭarīg* ‘way’ and *šarīt* ‘tape’

– The plural CiCwaC of the singular pattern CaCīC is a typically Yemeni form: ‘è caratteristica dell’altopiano del Yemen la forma di plurale in *fu‘wāl* et *fi‘wāl* (con la produzione di un *w* interno non etimologico); es. *ṭurwäg* pl. di *ṭarīg* “strada”, *birwāk* pl. di *barīk* “vasca”; *ġinwād* pl. di *ġanīd* “piccolo argine” (RO-S 14). As map 036 shows, the occurrence of this plural pattern goes far beyond the area of the central highlands. But its distribution is not system-

atical: *širwaṭ* ‘tapes’ at point 93, but *šarīm* pl. *širum* ‘sickles’ and *ṭuruq* ‘ways’; point 140 *širwaṭ*, *širwa* ‘plough soles’, but *širum* and *ṭurug*; point 59 *širwaṭ*, *sirwar* ‘beds’ but *šurum*, *ṭurug*. Point 300 *sirwar* but *ṭrug*, *šurum*. This plural type has been extended to other singular patterns: *binwat* pl. of *bint* ‘girl’ at points 300, 301, 304, 305.

– WRB 528 *ṭurug* ~ *ṭurugāt* (m.+f.). Cf. *ṭarīg bayḏā*! ‘a good journey!’.



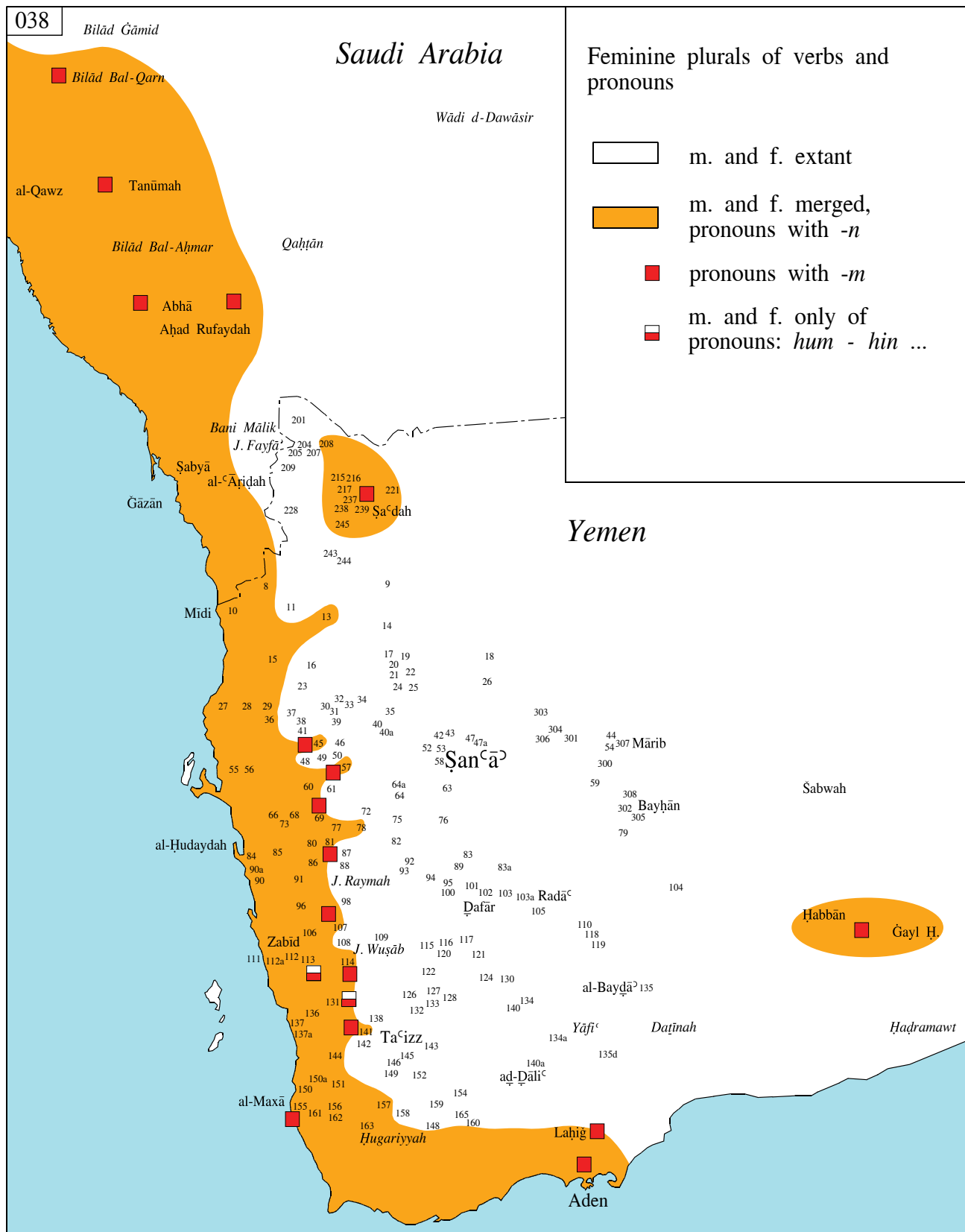


037 Plurals of *‘amm* ‘uncle’

– The form *ʾaʿmūm* probably originates in an ancient South Arabian dialect, as there are no instances of it in cl. Ar. Cf. GvG 432 under *ʾaqtūl* ‘ist im Abessin. fast durchweg an die Stelle des arab. *qutūl* getreten . . . Auch im Sab. muss dieser Pl. häufig gewesen sein, wie zahlreiche, so gebildete Stammesnamen zeigen’. However, the form in SD is *ʾmm*.

Pronouns

⋮

038 *Feminine plurals of verbs and pronouns*

038 Feminine plurals of verbs and pronouns

– At the edges of the Yemeni Tihāmah there is a noticeable transition area without distinction between masc. and fem. but featuring the *-m* of the neighbouring region such as e.g. *hum* – *hin*.

– Feminine forms in Ḥarīb (79) according to RO-APP 245 *yegilsäyn an-nisá* ‘le donne stanno a’, p. 246 *hen šaribēn* ‘esse bevettero’; p. 255 J. Ḥarāz (70) *‘antēn sirkeṇ* ‘voi siete andate’, al-‘Igz (82) *raykum* – *raykān* ‘avete veduto’, *rû* – *râʾan* ‘hanno veduto’; p. 256 J. Ḥufāš (50) *širibkum* – *širibkān*, *širibū* – *širibān*, p. 258 Habbāt (48) *am-kilāb entahašān* ‘i cani cercarono di mordere’, p. 258 Raymah

258/259 *sirkun* ‘voi siete andate’, *sārān*, p. 259 Gāʾidah (99) *‘antun gulkun-li* ‘voi (f.) mi avete detto’. For al-Ḥajjayleh (78) *‘antun* (m. e f.), *hun* (m. e f.?) and the communis forms *buktun* – *bâkaw*. P. 264 ‘Ubāl (77) *buktun* – *bâkaw*.

– Instances in Baraddūn: BET 137.

– Instances in aḏ-Ḍālī: VAN-1:185ff.; instances in Yāfi: VAN-2:144ff.

– South VAN-8:755: no instances in Laḥiḡ, Aden, Ḥabbān.

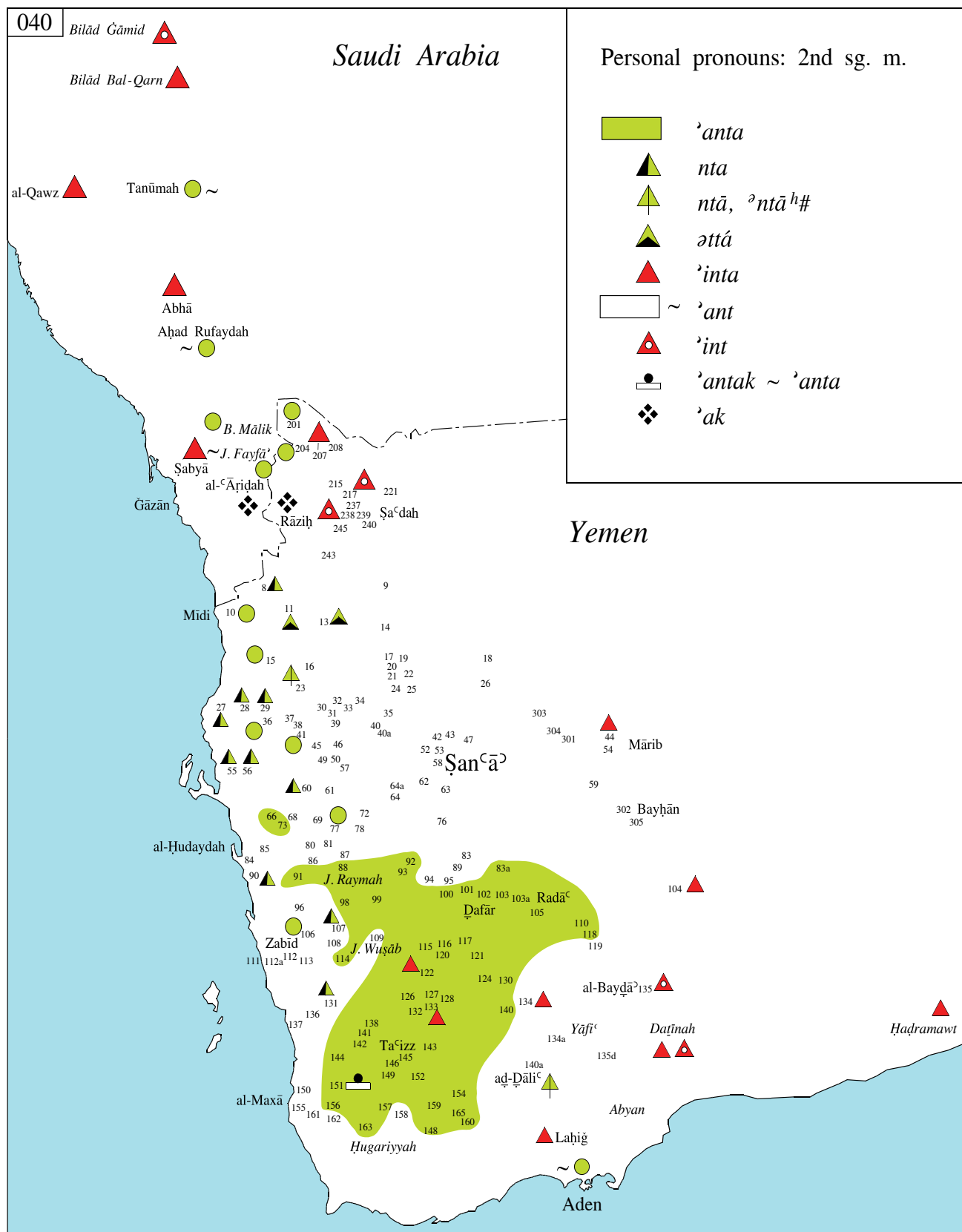
– Saudi Arabia: instances in Qaḥṭān and Bilād Ġāmid (PRC-1 passim).

039 Personal pronouns: 1st sg.

- Saudi Arabia PRC-1:125: *'ana* Qahabah, Rufaydah, Tanūmah, Abha, Bal-Aḥmar, Bal-Qarn, Ġāmid, al-Qawz: *'āna* al-Qawz. Ġāmid TOLL 27 *'ana*.
- Saudi Arabia/J. Fayfā' ALB 58 *'anā*.
- Yemen/North DGS 64 'Formen mit *-ī*, *-i*... charakteristisch für die Gegend westlich von Ṣa'dah'.
- Kawkabān HEN 18 *anā*; Baraddūn BET 152 *ana*; Manāxah WRB 63 *'anā*; Ṣan'ā' WAT-1:12 *'anā*; Radā' HUI 102 *anā*, DIEM 41 *'ana*.
- RO-APP 256 al-Maḥwīt, J. Ḥufāš *'anā*; Gā'idah (99) '*anā* (*anī* anche maschile)'. Masc. *'anī* quoted on p. 261 in Ḥugariyyah is based on Landberg. P. 263 Al-Ḥajjayleh (78) *'anā* (m.) – *'anī*ⁿ (f.), p. 264 'Ubāl (77) idem. For al-Ḥudayah: p. 265 masc. *'anā*. RO-N 470 as-Sayyānī *'anā* (m.) – *'anī*ⁿ (f.), p. 472 al-Ḥamrā' (97) *'anā* (m.) – *'anī*ⁿ (f.).
- South/Laḥiğ FOD 37 *'ana* m. – *'anī* f.; VAN-8:755 Yāfi' *ana* – *ani*, aḍ-Ḍālī' (rural) *'ana* – *'ani*, aḍ-Ḍālī' (town) *ana*

– *ani*, Mukayras *ana* [with query], Laḥiğ *'ana* – *'ani*, Aden *ana* (GHA 155 *ana* (m.), *ani* (f.)), Ḥabbān *'ana*, Abyan *ana*, Ḥaḍramawt *ana* – *ani*, idem ALS 689. Daṭīnah LAN-1:120 *'ana* only, and 'Les Bédouins d'el-Ḥoğarīeh disent *ani* pour le masc. et *ana* pour le fém. Ils disent aussi *ala* < *ana* et *naḥ'al/nif'al* = *'aḥ'al* comme en Afrique; *ani nistaḥi minnak*, j'ai honte devant toi, v. Dt. vol. III p. XII'. Landberg seems to have confused something here in the case of *ana* and *ani* at least.

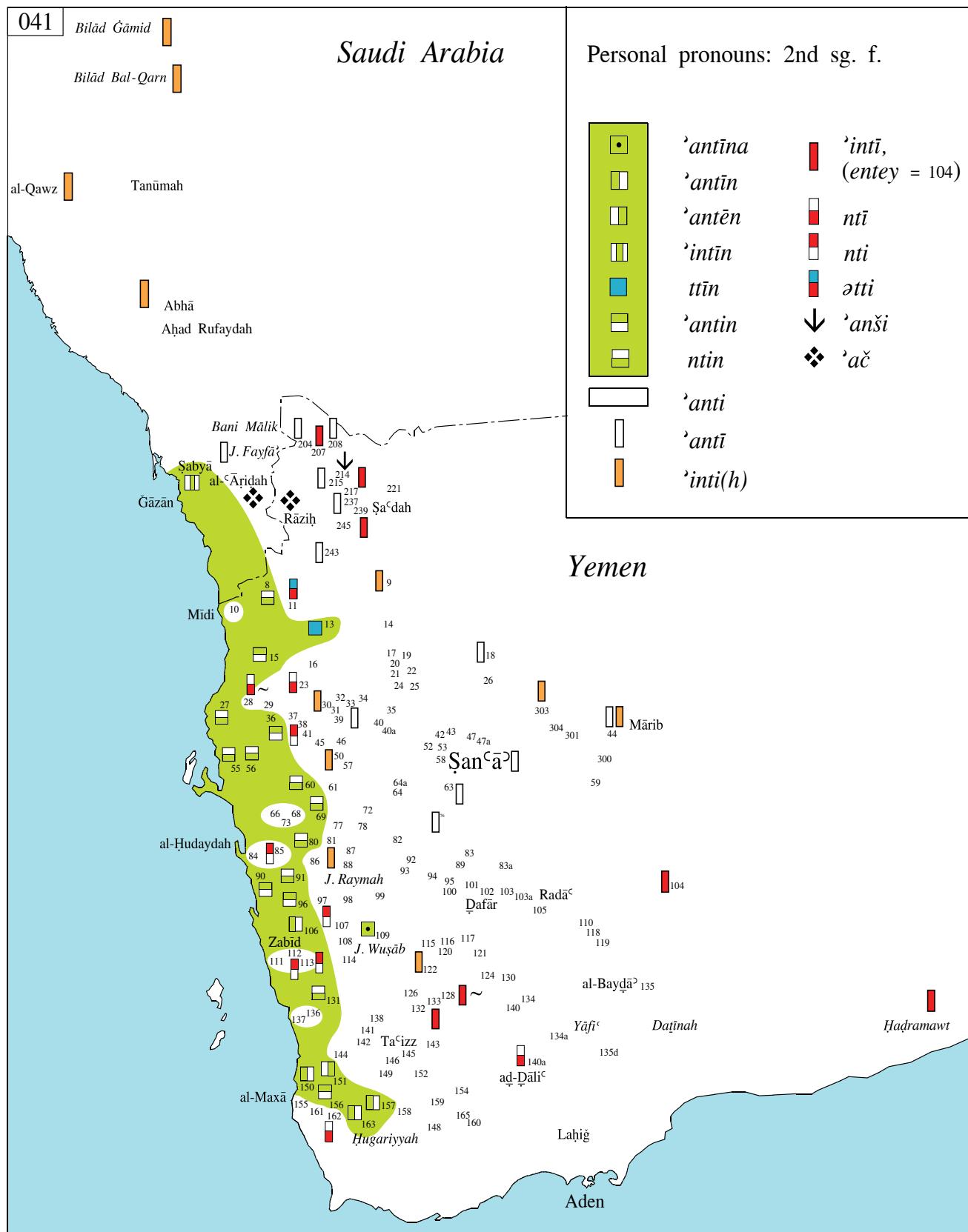
– The question arises of whether the distinction between *'ana* and *'anā* is reasonable, as idiosyncratic notations of the different researchers must be expected. RO-APP has *'ana* in Ṣan'ā' on p. 247, but *'anā* on p. 248; NAI 118 *'ana*, WAT-1:38 *'anā*. See Radā' above.



040 Personal pronouns: 2nd sg. m.

040 Personal pronouns: 2nd sg. m.

- Saudi Arabia PRC-1:125 Qahabah, Rufaydah, Tanūmah *'anta* ~ *'ant*; *'inta* Abha, Bal-Qarn, Qawz, Šabyā; Ġāmid *'int*, TOLL 27 idem.
- Saudi Arabia/Jabal Fayfā' ALB 58 *'anta*.
- Yemen /North DGS 64 *'anta* Bani 'Abādil (201). Minabbih (204); *'inta* Xāšir (207); *'ant* Majz (215), Umm Lēlā (208), Ġubar (243), Ša'dah (237), Wāsiṭ (331), Ġurāz (239), Sāgēn (245), *'int* im-Ṭalḥ (217), Šaḥn (238).
- Kawkabān HEN 18 *ant*; Manāxah WRB 63 *'ant*, Baraddūn BET 142 *anta*.
- RO-APP 246 *'ant* Ḥarīb (79), p. 256 *'ant* J. Ḥarāz (70), J. Masār (74), J. Ša'fān (71), Ūsil (not locatable), p. 259 *'anta* Gā'idah (99), p. 263 al-Ḥaḡaylah (78) *'ant*.
- South/Laḡiḡ FOD 38 *'inta*; Aden GHA 172 *ant*: Daṭīnah *'anta* ~ *'inta* LAN-1:120, written in Arabic; in LAN-2:106 fn. 9 '... je lui demandai pourquoi il ne disait pas *enteh*. "Non, répliqua-t-il, il faut dire *ent*" (on dit toutefois aussi *enteh*). It is not clear what Landberg tries to convey with the notation {e}. On the map *'int* ~ *'inta*; this is tentative. No data for Yāfi' in VAN-2; aḡ-Ḍālī' *'ntáʰ* VAN-1:193. Ḥaḡramawt *intih* (ALS 689), subsumed under *inta* on the map.
- In Qabbayṭah (point 160) with haplological ellipsis of a syllable: *'ant taktub* → *'antaktub*, corresponding: f. *'anti tak-tubi* → *'antiktubi* 'you (sg.) write'.
- Regarding *attá* cf. ASA 't (SD 6).
- Regarding *'ak* in Rāziḥ cf. also WAT-4:46 'Rāziḥī is unique among documented Semitic languages in having (near-) identical dependent and independent second person pronouns'. There are further instances of the form on the internet for the region of al-'Aridah/Saudi Arabia, i.e. in a region opposite Rāziḥ.
- Regarding *'antak* in al-Mugayši'/Wādī Risyān cf. JA 17 'Eine entsprechende Femininform * *'antik* oder **'intik* ist leider nicht belegt'. The form *'antak* was not recorded at the actual place but mentioned in al-'Uqqah (point 115). A comparable Moroccan form *ntīnaḡ* 'you (m.+f. sg.) is interpreted differently in VIC 136: 'La adición de una -k final en algunas ocasiones, como ocurre en *ntīnak* y *ntūmak*, es un rasgo del dialecto que aparece en bastantes voces de distinta categoría gramatical'; also fn. 120 with forms such as *tammaḡ* 'there', *haydaḡ* 'so, thus' etc.



041 Personal pronouns: 2nd sg. f.

041 Personal pronouns: 2nd sg. f.

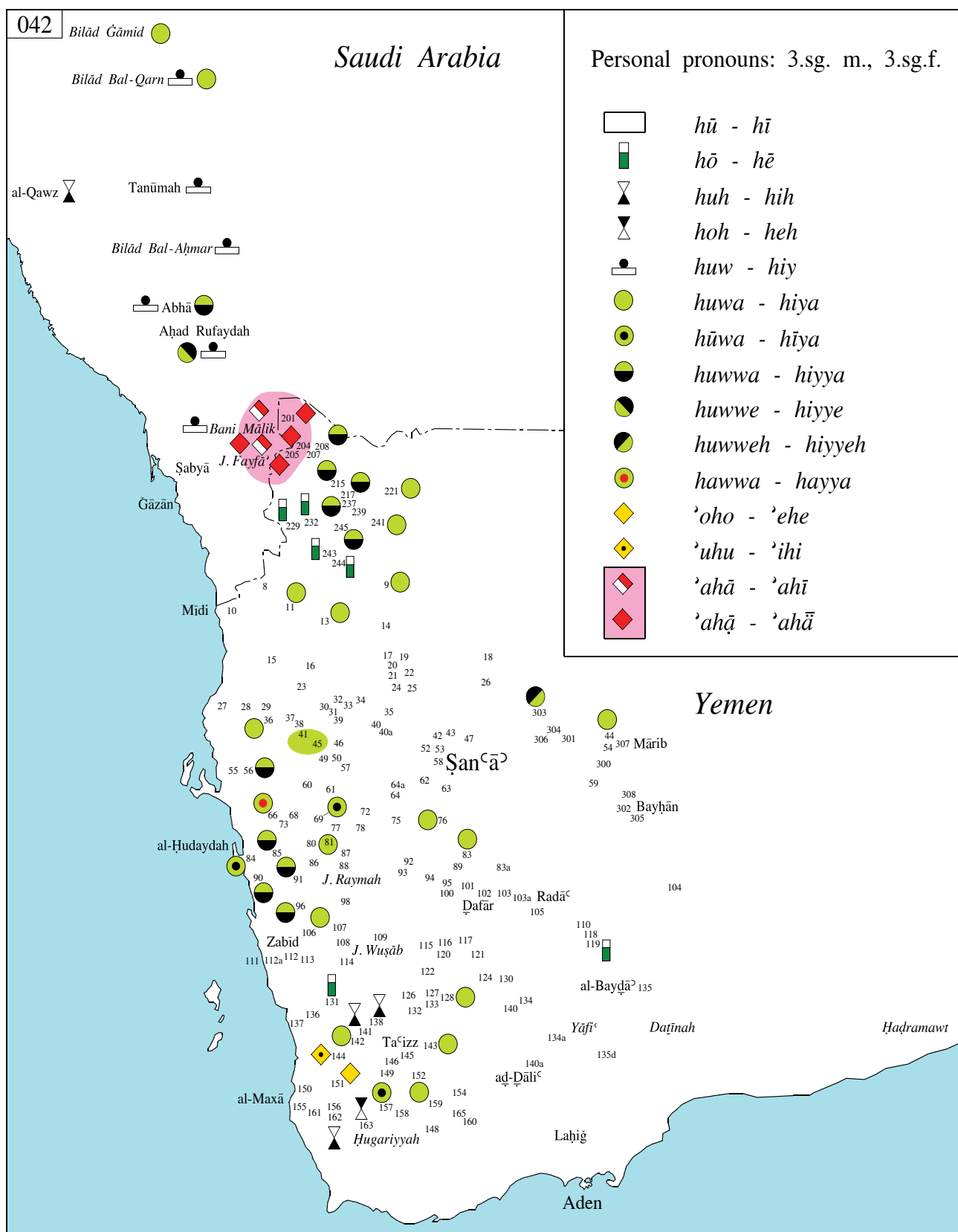
– We must emphasise the forms from Tihāmah which assimilate to the corresponding imperfect forms ending in *-īn* or *-in*, although imperfect forms featuring these endings are not found everywhere anymore. This also applies to point 109 in the case of *'antīna*. The form recalls Moroccan/Jbala *ntīna* (VIC 136). PRC-1:125 has *'intīn* for Ṣabyā.

– RO-APP p. 255 *'anti* J. Ḥarāz (70), J. Masār (74), J. Ṣa'fān (71), Ūsil (not locatable), p. 259 *'anti* Gā'idah (99), p. 263 al-Ḥaḡaylah (78) *'anti*ⁿ.

– For Yemen/north there is an instance from Banī Ḥdēfeh of approximation to the perfect: *anši rayši* 'you (sg.) have seen' (DGS 65).

– Regarding *'ač* in Rāziḥ cf. the above remarks; also those concerning *atti*.

– MS O. Jastrow has *anti* (*inti*) for Ibb (128).

042 *Personal pronouns: 3rd sg. m., 3rd sg. f.*

– To my shame I must confess that I did not read my transcriptions attentively enough as regards the forms used in Minabbih/im-Maṭṭah and the surrounding areas and consequently spread nonsense (cf. DGS 65, 212, ALB 58), namely that m. and f. coincide in *ʾahā*. Having had a closer look at my questionnaires I was able to make out *ʾahā* (m.) and *ʾahā* (f.). This is confirmed for the related dialect in Jabal Fayfā by an online source, *naḍarātun ʾilā l-luḡati l-fayfiyya* by al-ʾustād ʾAbdallāh b. ʾAlī Qāsim al-Fayfi, where we read: *yaḡʾalūna kalimata ʾahā badala huwa wa hiya maʾa tafxīmi l-ʾalifi fil-muḍakkari wa tarqīqihā wa ʾimālatihā fil-muʾannaṭ*. For his native dialect, however, ʾAbdallāh al-Fayfi indicated the forms *ʾahā* and *ʾahī*, forms which are also given for the Banī Mālik by another online source.

– I have heard the forms *ʾoho* and *ʾehe* unmistakeably with [e] and [o], such as in *ʾoho ṣāḥibī* ‘he is my friend’, *ʾehe ʾuxtī* ‘she is my sister’.

– Forms with a prosthetic vowel are also found in Baḥrayni: *ʾahuwwe*, *iḥiyye*, *ʾahumme* ~ *uhumme* (JOH 104). The prosthetic vowel was probably originally a deictic element; cf. the Egyptian Arabic presentatives *ahú*, *ahí*, *ahúm* ‘there he/she is; there they are’ (WOI-K 48–49).

– The forms *huh*, *hih* and *hoh*, *heh* are not pausal forms of *hū*, *hī*, which are in fact reported in some places in this form. They also occur in context like this, cf. *māhuhda*, *māhihda*? ‘who is this?’. I recorded the pausal forms of *huwa*, *huwwa*, *hawwa* and the corresponding feminine forms with *-h*: *hawwah*; in some cases also with *-ʾ*: *hawwaʾ*.

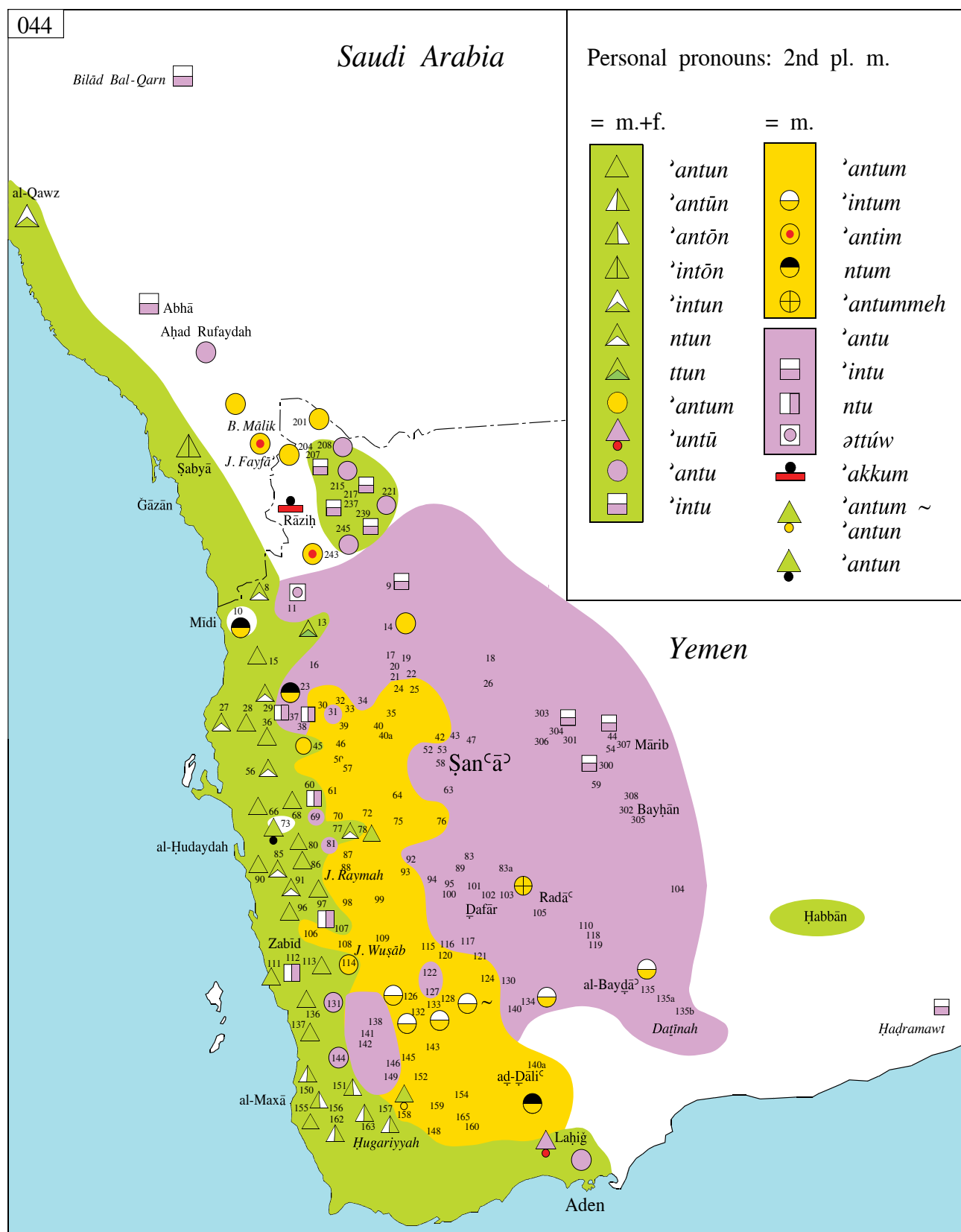
–RO-APP 263/4 *hū* – *hī* at points 77 and 78. P. 466 al-Ḥudaydah *hūwa*.



043 Personal pronouns: 1st pl.

- South Yemen VAN-8:755: Yāfi‘ *raḥna*, Ḍālī‘ *raḥna*, Ḍālī‘-City *raḥna*, Mukeyras *naḥna*, Laḥiḡ *naḥna*, Aden *naḥna*, Ḥabbān *naḥna*, Abyan *laḥna* (*ḥna*), Ḥaḍramawt *naḥna* (also ALS 689). Laḥiḡ FOD 37 *neḥna* (probably **niḥna*).
- LAN-1:2752 Daṭīnah *naḥnā*; Ḥaḍramawt, ‘dans la vallée de Kasr *neḥā*, HB, p. 248 et n.; en Dt *nāḥnā*, 1391, cf. 790 n.; *lāḥnā* avec dissimilation, 7, 17; 117, 22; 536,3; 1313; 1361,1: 1391; *āḥnā*, *ēḥnā*, 1084, 10 d’en bas; 1391; 1508,6’. Wādī al-Kasr is slightly to the left of Šibām.
- Northeast: NAD 33 *ḥin* ~ *ḥinna* ‘Abīdeh near Ḥuṣūn al-Jalāl (second campaign); first survey with different tribe *iḥna*‘, *aḥnā* Širwāḥ, Banī Ḍabyān, *iḥnā* Southern Jawf.
- Yemen/North DGS 66/67 *niḥna* Xāšir (207), Banī ‘Abādīl (208), Minabbih (204); *iḥnā* Ġurāz (239), Ṣaḥn (238), Umm Lēlā (208); *iḥna* Ṣa‘dah (237); *aḥnā* Majz (215), im-Ṭalḥ (217), Sāḡēn (245); *aḥna* Wāsīt (221); *anḥā* Rāziḥ (229).

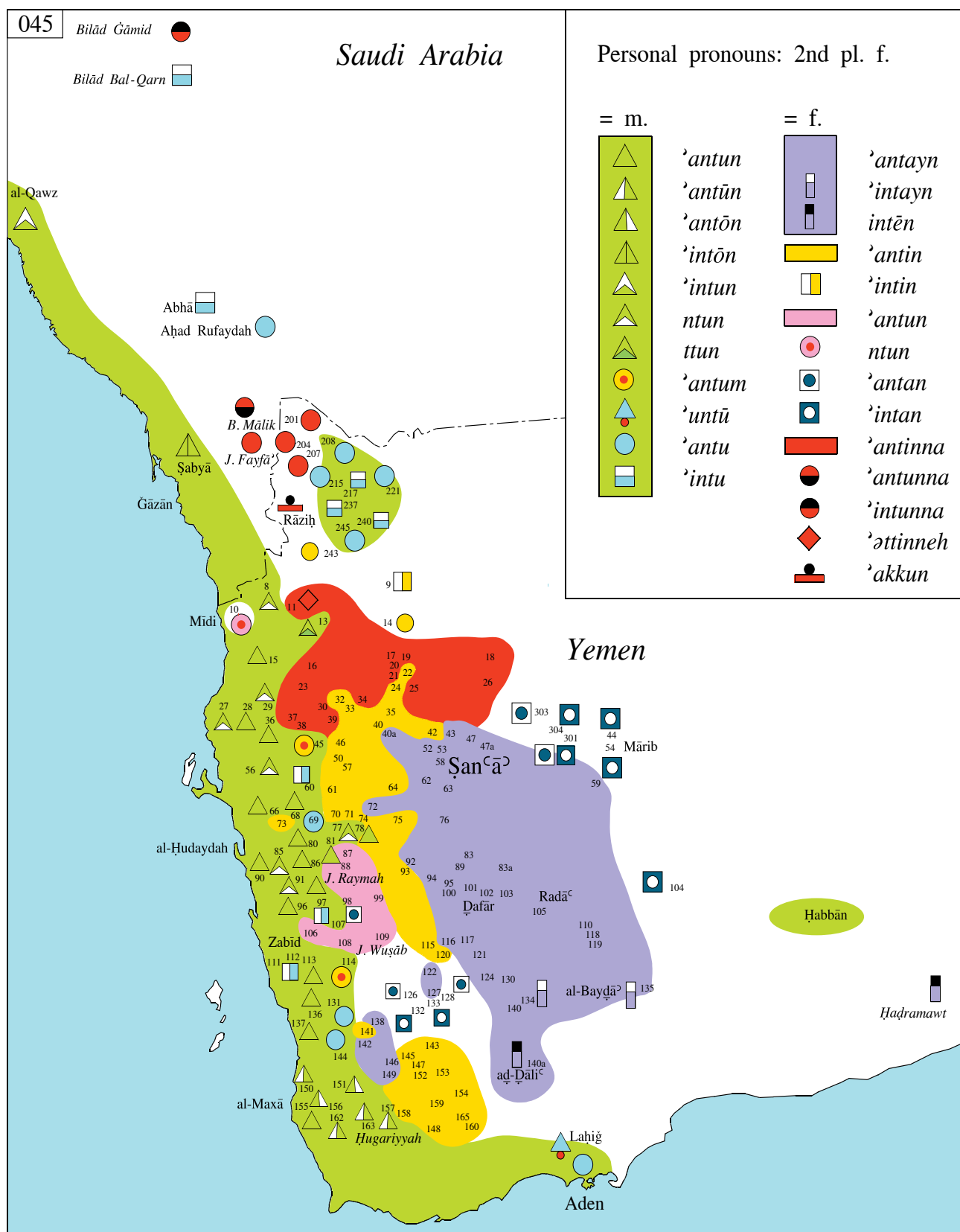
- RO-APP 263/4 has *aḥnā* for points 77 and 78. P. 261 for the Ta‘izz region: *naḥnu mā naḥnūš sā‘kum* ‘noi non siamo come voi’, p. 258 Habbāt *waḥnā* ‘and we’.
- Saudi Arabia (PRC-1:125): *‘anḥin* Qahabah, Abha; *ḥin* Rufaydah, Bal Aḥmar, Tanūmah; *ḥina* Rufaydah, Tanūmah; *‘inḥin* Bal Qarn, Ghāmid; *‘anḥin* Ghāmid, *‘aḥna* Qawz, Ṣabya; Riḡāl Alma‘, aṣ-Ṣaḥrā’ (outside Abha) *‘anḥim*; al-Ġāyil *ḥan* (WAT-6:428).
- Forms with dissimilation such as *liḥna*, *riḥna* also in Syria (SA map 255).
- Forms of the type *anḥā*, *anḥin* can be explained in analogy with forms of the 2. pl. such as *antum*. Regarding forms like *‘anḥin* cf. Old Syriac *‘anaḥnan*, New Syr. *aḥnan* (GvG 300). In Riḡāl Alma‘ with further assimilation: *anḥim*



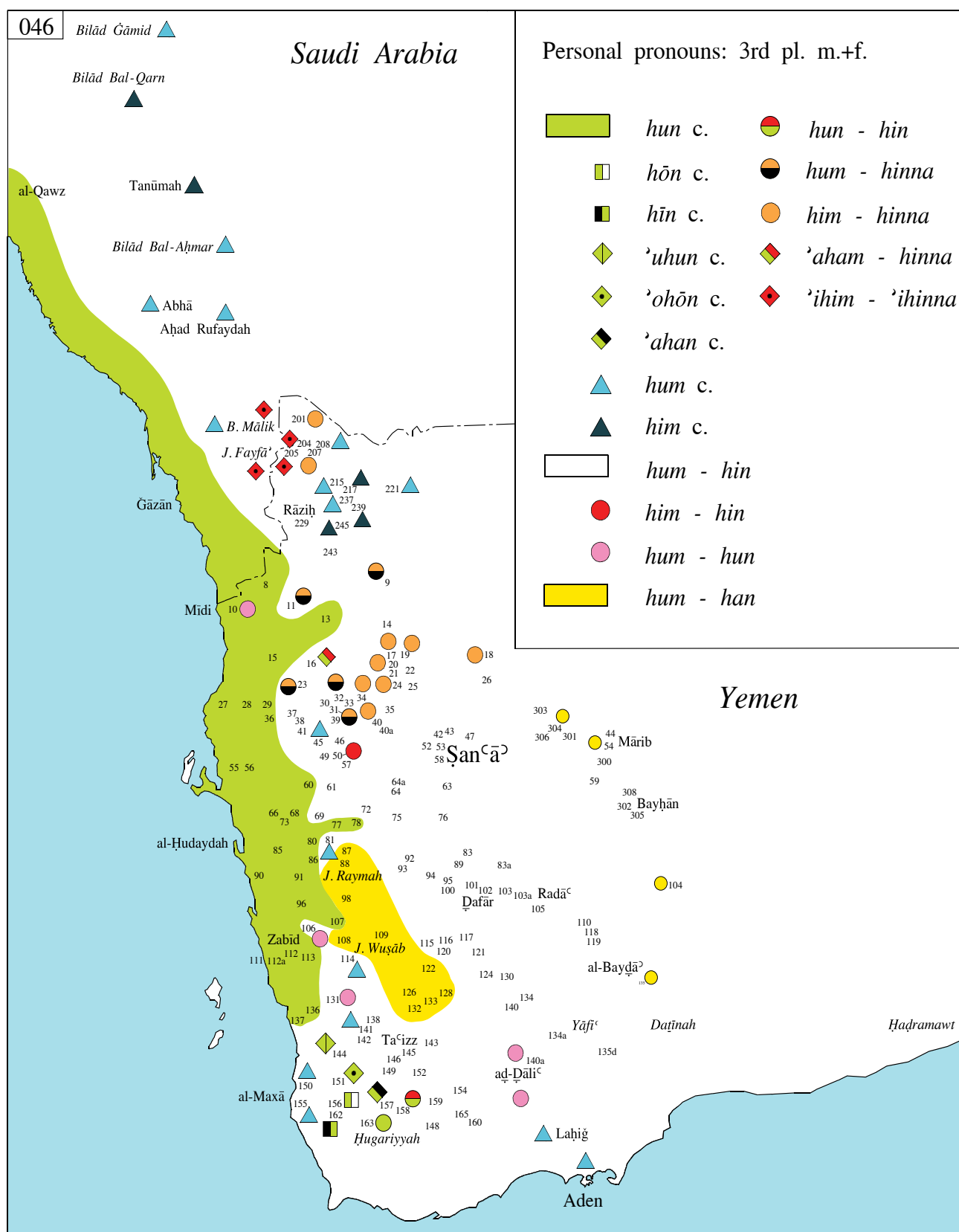
044 Personal pronouns: 2nd pl. m.

- The Tihāmah forms with /-n/ are not the result of merging m. and f. in a feminine form ending in /n/, but rather of assimilation to imperfect forms ending in -ūn, -un, although the presence of /n/ in the feminine forms would certainly have aided the merging. For further discussion see DIEM-P, who regards the Yemeni forms with /n/ as the result of a mutual assimilation of the pronouns. BEH-P, on the other hand, establishes the link with the imperfect forms.
- If we presume preclassical 'antum(ū) – 'antinna (GvG 1:301), the most diverse stages of mutual (partial) assimilation of m. and f. are:
 - Without assimilation 'antum – 'antinna point 204 (Minabbih Yemen), point 30, ntum – ntinna point 23 (DIEM 71).
 - 'antim – 'antinna: the relevant symbol at point 39 is not clearly distinguishable behind the hachure on the original map. Also in Jabal Fayfā' (ALB 58).
 - As in cl. Ar. 'antum – 'antunna Qahabah/Saudi Arabia (PRC-1:125), Banī 'Abādil/Yemen (201) (DGS 67).
 - 'Rhythmic assimilation' (DIEM 59) 'antummeḥ – 'antinneh at point 103 (ad-Dāmiḡah and Baynūn).
 - 'antim – 'antin point 243.
 - 'antum – 'antun points 87, 88, 99, 108, 109, 141; ntum – ntun point 10.

- 'antum ~ 'antun – 'antin point 87.
- 'antum – 'antan with the fem. assimilating to the verb. Similarly intum – intan.
- On the other hand there are also more distinct forms, through loss of -m in the masculine and retaining the feminine ending: attūw – attinneḥ point 11, or adopting the suffix -ayn from verbs 'antu – 'antayn (katabtayn).
- DGS 68 explains the divergent forms 'akkum – 'akkun in Rāziḥ as approximation to pronominal suffixes: *'antum – kum > 'ankum > 'akkum correspond to 'antun – kun > 'ankun > 'akkun.
- Northeast: NAD 33 intu Ḥuṣūn al-Jalāl, 'Abīdeh, Siḥīl (Jahm): 'antu Ṣirwāḥ, Banī Ḍabyān, Majzīr.
- RO-APP 255 J. Ḥarāz and the surrounding area antum. For al-Ḥajjāyleh (78) 'antun (m. e f.?), Gā'idah (99) 'antum.
- Daṭīnah LAN-2:125 uèntu ḍarbekum, translated p. 259, text 57, verse 4 'et vos coups à vous'. It is not clear whether this is intu or antu.
- Ḍālī' 'ntum – 'ntēn (VAN-1+193), listed together with Ḥaḍramawt intēn (ALS 689).
- See PRC-1:125 for Saudi forms.
- VAN-8:755 records 'no gender difference' for Ḥabbān, but has no actual instances.



045 Personal pronouns: 2nd pl. f.



046 Personal pronouns: 3rd pl. m.+f.

046 Personal pronouns: 3rd pl. m.+f.

– According to GvG 305 the original Semitic forms were **hum(ū) – šinna*, with the initial consonants and the vowels being adjusted in Ancient Arabic: **hum(ū) – hunna*. In Yemen, however, there was no rhythmic assimilation of the *hum* > **humma* type. Only short masculine forms are found throughout.

– With partial assimilation *hum – hinna* Yemen/North.

– Continuing *him – hinna*; also in the North.

– With apocope *hum – hin* in many regions.

– With apocope and vowel assimilation: *him – hin* at point (50) or *hum – hun* in aḏ-Ḍālī' (VAN-1:193).

– Saudi Arabia: PRC-1:125 with /m/: *hum* Rufaydah, Abha, Bal Aḥmar, *him* Tanūmah, Bal-Qarn, *hun* Ṣabyā, Qawz; with gender distinction Qahabah (Banī Mālik) *hum – hunna*, Ġāmid *hum – hunnah*.

– Regarding forms with prosthetic vowel (Minabbih *'ihim – 'ihinna*; J. Fayfā' ALB:58 *'ihim – 'ihinna*) see the commentary on map 042.

– Yemen/North DGS map 9, p. 68: merged as *hum* pl. c. Wāsiṭ (221), Ṣa'dah (237), Majz (215), Umm Lēlā (208), *him* im-Ṭālḥ (217), Sāgēn (245), Ġurāz (239). Banī 'Abādīl (201), Xāšīr (207) *him – hinna*, in-Naḏīr (229), Ġubar (243) *him – hin*.

– Kawkabān HEN 18: *hum – hin*; idem Baraddūn (83a) (BET 142).

– Isolated *hīn* in the southern Tihāmah (162) can probably be explained as assimilation to the masculine ending *-īn* (*hīn mawġūdīn*).

South Yemen table see VAN-8:755: 'gender difference in plural for verbs' present in Yāfi', Ḍālī', Mukayras, Abyan and Ḥaḍramawt; not present in Laḥiġ, Aden, Ḥabbān. No pronominal forms are mentioned. Laḥiġ FOD 38 *hum*, Aden GHA 134 *hum*, Ḥaḍramawt *hum – hin* (ALS 689).

047 Suffix pronouns: 1st sg.+pl.

– The analogous formation of *'anā* 'I (m.)' – *'anī* 'I (f.)' after *'anta* 'you (m. sg.)' – *'anti* 'you (f. sg.)', has also led to a reinterpretation of the suffix pronouns **-nā* and **-nī* in some cases. Hence *ḍarabna* 'he hit me (m.)', *ḍarabni* 'he hit me (f.)'. The gap in the paradigm due to *-na* not being available for plural forms is closed by the pronoun *iḥna*, *niḥna*: *ḍarabuḥna* ~ *ḍarabuniḥna* 'they hit us'.

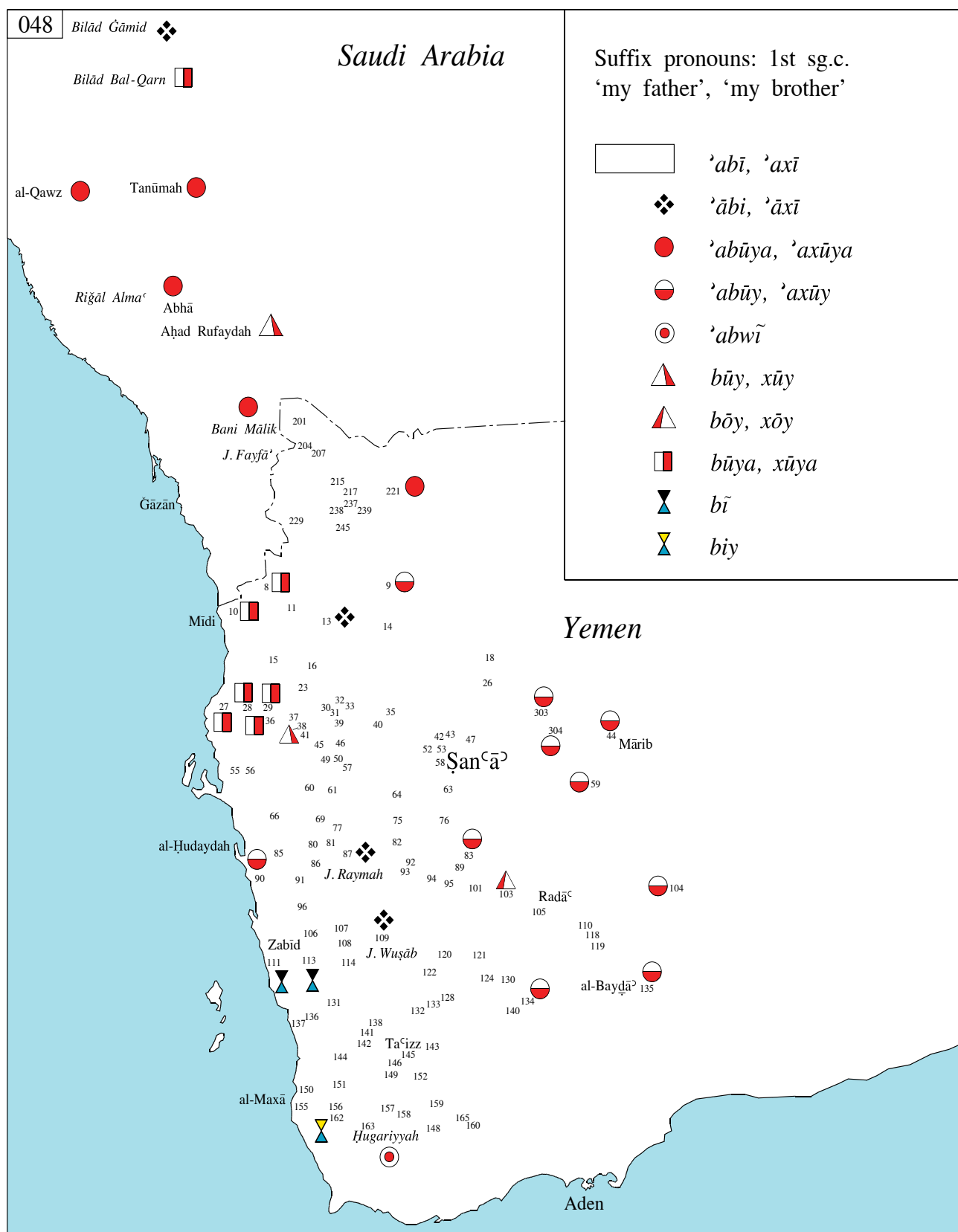
– LAN-3:41 *'šūfūnā* n'est pas = regardez-nous, car le dialecte ḥaḍramite se sert de {n'} et de {nḥn} comme suffixes à l'accusatif au lieu de {ny} et de {n'}. On dit donc: *ḥū' baġā yidròbna*, il veut me battre. *ḥū' baġā yidròb naḥna*, il veut nous battre'.

– VAN-8:755 has only the pronouns *'ana* – *'ani* for Yāfi', Ḍāli', Ḍāli'-City, Laḥiġ, Ḥaḍramawt. Mukeyras only *ana* [with query], Aden (but GHA 2: *šāfna* 'he saw me' – *šāfniḥna* 'he saw us', p. 3 *ana* (m.), *ani* (f.), p. 4 *na* (m.) 'me', *ni* (f.) 'me').

– VAN-1:193 has *-ī*, *-nī*, pl. *-na* for Ḍāli'; FOD 37 *-ī*, *-nī*, pl. *-nā* for Laḥiġ.

– Daṭīnah LAB-2:8, l. 6 *bātindūni* (m.); *nyikuwisūna* (or *ykarwisūna*), p. 8, l. 4 from the bottom, transl. p. 181 (top) 'et nous enferment'.

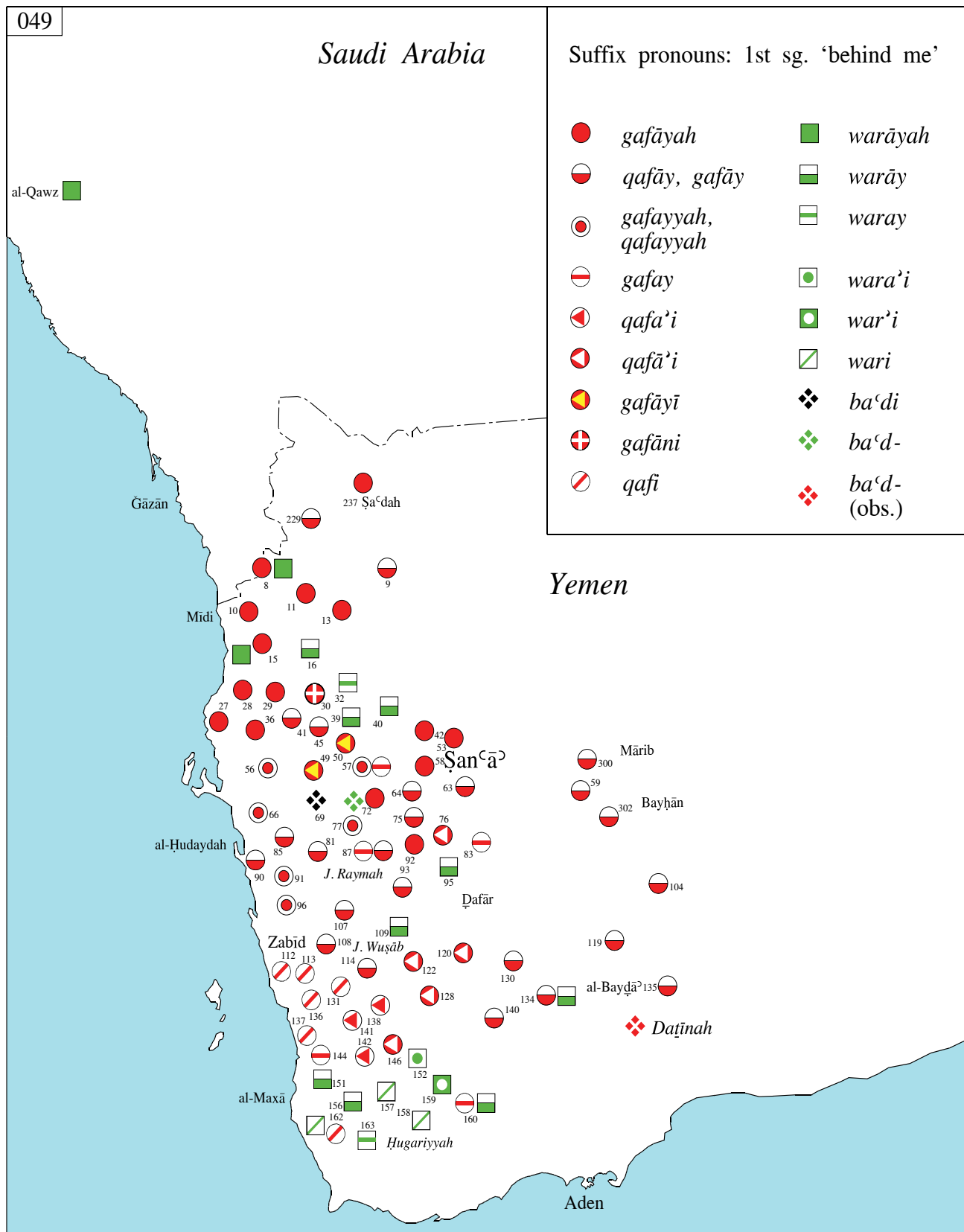
– As for interpreting the map as a 'Staffellandschaft' see AD 171.



048 Suffix pronouns: 1st sg. c. 'my father', 'my brother'

048 Suffix pronouns: 1st sg. c. ‘my father’, ‘my brother’

- ‘Freehand’ does not accept the Unicode *ḡ* symbol. I have used a nasalised *-i* with a tilde on the map.
- Saudi Arabia PRC-1:207 Qahabah, Tanūmah, Qawz ‘*abūya*; Rufaydah *būy*; Bal-Qarn *būya*; Ġāmid ‘*ābi*. Rufaydah *xūy*, Tanūmah, Qawz ‘*axūya*; Ġāmid ‘*āxi*.
- Saudi Arabia/J. Fayfā’ ALB 59; ‘*abī*. Abha (AZR-2:116) ‘*abūyah*, 199 ‘*axūyah*.
- Yemen/North DGS 68 Wāsiṭ ‘*abūya*, p. 69 in all other dialects ‘*abī*, ‘*axī*.
- Manāxah no instances in WRB, p. 63 *-ya* following *-v̄* leads to assuming *‘*abūya*. Baraddūn no instances in BET. Kawkabān no instances in HEN.
- Radā’ HUI 104: ‘The nouns *ab-* father and *aḡ-* brother become *abī* and *akī* [sic!], but with the other suffixes they have the form *abu-* and *aku-* [!], e.g. *aḡūk . . .*’.
- Ad-Dāmiḡah and Baynūn *bōy* ‘father’, *xōy* ‘brother’ (DIEM 61) are probably forms with pronominal suffix. Ta‘izz ‘*abi* (DIEM 105). Ibb *axi* ‘my brother’ MS O. Jastrow. Jiblih *abi*, MS O. Jastrow Ṣifah idem.
- South/Aden GHA 31 *abi*, *axi*. No instances for Yāfi’, Ḍālī’ in VAN-1, VAN-2.
- The form ‘*abwiḡ* found in the Ḥugariyyah (JG) may be explained by the fact that the dialects of the area do not lengthen final short vowels when a suffix is attached: ‘*abu+i* → ‘*abwi*, not *‘*abūy*.



– For Saudi Arabia PRC-1:126 has *-ya* in Qahabah, Rufaydah, Abha, Tanūmah, Ġāmid, Qawz, *-y* in Rufaydah, Abha. He does not, however, quote any examples. P. 129 once more without examples, showing merely that *-ya* follows vowels; *warāya* p. 221.

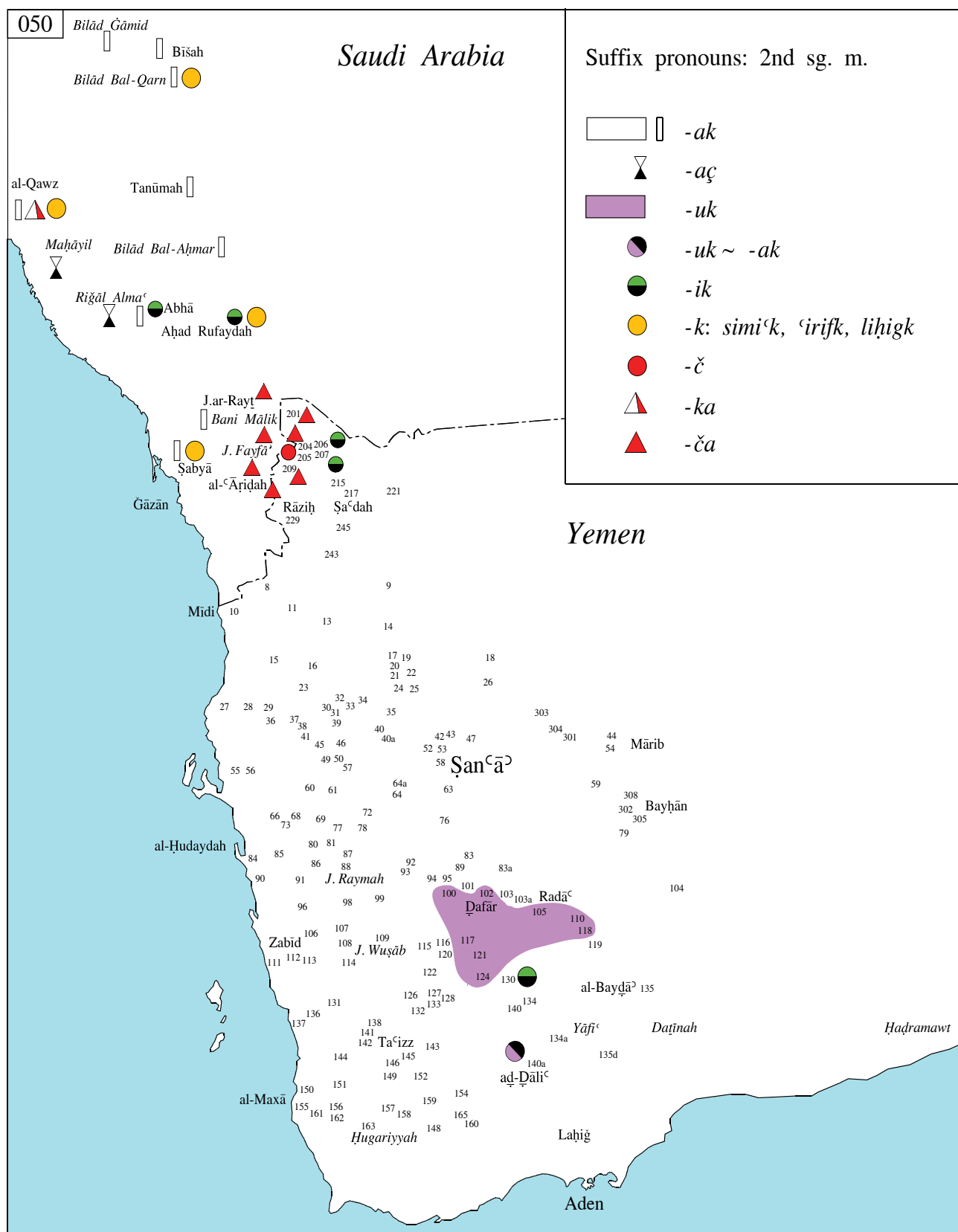
– We must stress the forms of the type *qafi* where the rule applies that final short vowels are not lengthened when a suffix is added but rather are dropped: *qafa* + *-i* → *qafi*, similarly *wara* + *-i* → *wari*. Cf. also *'aluh* 'on him' at 50b, 132, 133, *'alih* 'on her' at 133.

– Regarding *gaḡāni* at point 30 cf. there also *'alāni* 'on me'. Cf. Syrian Arabic *fīni* 'within me = I can, am able to'.

– Regarding localised *ba'di* 'behind me', *ba'd* 'behind (local), after (temporal)' Manāxah (WRB 378), normally temporal, cf. also Iraqi usage *wara* 'after', usually local, = temporal: *wara 'usbū* 'after a week' (my own data), *wiṣal warāya* 'he arrived after me', (CSW 4). Local and temporal also in Cairene usage (WOI-K 157). For a discussion of *ba'da* see PRO 12/13 quoting Bravmann according to whom **ba'da* was originally local and temporal. Verbal local and temporal **ba'uda/ba'ida* would have been derived in an intermediate stage 'while the preposition was then restricted to its temporal sense once more in classical Arabic. In my opinion the rather improbable assumption that a tempo-

ral preposition would be used with local denotation for a time and then lose this aspect again argues against this theory. It would also be surprising that the concept of distance, which is particularly relevant to the inhabitants of a vast country, should be expressed by words (*ba'd* "distance", *ba'id* "far away") derived only secondarily from a compound temporal preposition. The presumably ancient locative ending *-u* of the adverb *ba'du*, too, seems to indicate nominal rather than prepositional origin.' LAN-1:181 has '*ba'd*, preposition, = *qafā* ou *warā*', derrière. *kull dāyir ba'd falakuh* [written in Arabic] chacun court après son gagne-pain 895.1; cf. Brockelmann VGSS II p. 421'. P. 895 (LAN-2) '*kullan dāir ba'ad falakuh* chacun court après son gagne-pain Ḥḍr'; in fn. 1: *ba'ad* 'Obs. emploi de *b'd* [written in Arabic] = *warā*'. In GvG I 462 'Der Lokativ liegt im Arab. nur noch in den Adv. *qablu* "vorher", *ba'du* "nachher", *fawqu* "oben", *taḡtu* "unten", und vielleicht in *mundu* "seit" vor.'

– In the case of motion verbs in particular, *ba'd/wara* have local as well as temporal reference: 'he reached the destination behind me (local)' = 'he reached the destination after me (temporal)'. Cf. above *court après* = 'er läuft hinterher'/'he runs after'.



050 Suffix pronouns: 2nd sg. m.

– With reference to the archaic *-ča* in Banī Mālik cf. a sentence on YouTube which contains a number of forms with /č/, e.g. *ummča habanča* ‘your mother gave birth to you’, literally: ‘gave you’. Also ALB 59, DGS 69 Minabbih *-ča*, in pause *-čeh*: *ibnatča* ‘your daughter’, *nā-xūčeh* ‘I am your brother’. Further instances of *-ča* in Saudi Arabia on the internet (J. ar-Rayt, al-Āriḍah). At point 201 also *-ča* ~ *-ša*. PRC-1:126 has *-ka* for al-Qawz.

– RO-APP has *-ak* for Jabal Ḥarāz (70), J. Masār (74), J. Šaʿfān (71), Ūsīl (not locatable), also for Maḥwīt (46), J. Ḥufāš (50), p. 257 al-Xabt (northern part of 50), J. Milḥān (49), Ḥabbāt (48), J. Wušāb (in the area of 108, 109), Gāʾidah (99) p. 260, area of Taʾizz p. 260, ʾUbāl (77) p. 264, al-Ḥudaydah p. 265.

– ‘On the suffix *uk*. In Yarīm (3.3.) the suffix of the 2nd m. sg. is *-uk*, too. According to Šarafaddīn the form is typical of the entire Xubān region which according to Rossi begins in Yarīm. Historically the vowel *u* in *-uk* might be the result of an assimilation to the feminine *-iš* following the same pattern as pairs *hum* – *hin*, *-kum* – *-kin* and *hū* – *hī*. We cannot determine whether the suffix was originally *-ak* and was replaced analogically by *-uk* later, or whether *-uk* retains an old final vowel. – Parallels may be found in the Maltese variant morpheme *-ok* which follows *o*, and in Bedouin dialects of the South Sinai’ (DIEM 42).

– Regarding aḍ-Ḍālī VAN-1:194 says: ‘2.m.sg. *asənānok* “testants”, *kālbuk* “ton chien”, *baqārtak* “ta vache”, *dāftarak*

“ton livre”, *gídīmak* “il te mordit”. Cf. also fem. *kalbuš*, *baqārtiš*, *gídīmāš*. This indicates that *-iš* is the original form which changes to *-uš* in a labial environment; parallel to *-uk* in masc. More examples would be helpful.

– *-ik* in Xāšir (207) and Gaṭābir (206) is an instance of assimilation to the feminine form *-iṣ*.

– The forms *ʾalč* ‘on you’ and *kalḥatč* ‘your mouth’ are recorded for Jabal Jalḥā, that is without vowels similar to Bedouin dialects of the peninsula (JOH 105).

– Regarding Saudi Arabia PRC-1:126 has *-ak* in Qahabah, Abha, Bal-Aḥmar, Tanūmah, Bal-Qarn, Ġāmid, Qawz, Šabya; *-ik* in Rufaydah, Abha; *-k* in Qahabah, Rufaydah, Abha, Tanūmah, Bal-Qarn, Ġāmid, Qawz. The latter is not very informative. P. 132 he notes *tarakk* Rufaydah, Qawz; *tarakak* Abha ‘he left you’; *ḍarabk* Rufaydah, Qawz, Šabyā ‘he left you’ [sic!], *ḍarabak* Abha, Bal-Qarn, Ġāmid ‘he hit you’. P. 135 *ḍarabátk* [sic!] Rufaydah, Abha, *ḍarabank* Bal-Qarn, *ḍarabatak* Ġāmid, *ḍarabatk* Qawz, *ḍarbatk* ‘she hit you’; pl. *ḍarabōk* Rufaydah, Abha, Bal-Qarn, Qawz ‘they hit you’; p. 138 *samʾik* Rufaydah, *samʾak* Abha, *simiʾak* Bal-Qarn, *simiʾk* Qawz ‘he heard you’, *ʾirīfk* Qawz ‘he recognised you’, *laḥgik* Rufaydah, *laḥgak* Abha, *liḥijak* Bal-Qarn, *liḥigk* Qawz, Šabyā ‘he caught up with you’, p. 140 Rufaydah, Abha *samʾatk* ‘she heard you’, Bal-Qarn *simiʾank*, Qawz, Šabyā *simʾatk*.

051 Suffix pronouns: 2nd sg. f.

– Original map 43, which marks the respective verb forms 2nd sg. f. perfect ending in -č, -ć, -š with a small square at points 49, 50, 70, 71, 67, 74, 75, 87, 82, 93, 98, 99, 115, 120, 127. Bo Isaksson pointed out to me in the past that original map 70 noted only unspecified *k* ending at point 49, 98, 99, and -*ti* at points 74 and 75. Point 74 (Jabal Masār) lies just outside the hachure and consequently has *k*-perfects. Point 75 is Jabal ‘Anz where only little data was collected in the past. As this cannot be found anymore, point 75 is omitted from the new map. For point 88 (al-Maḥall/Jabal Raymah) he notes: ‘conversely location point 88 shows suff. pron 2fs -*iš* and SC 2fs -*š*, but the SC ending is not marked as “-č, -ć, -š” on Karte 43’; the mistakes have been corrected.

– RO-APP 255 J. Ḥarāz (70), J. Masār (74), J. Ša‘fān (71) ‘*absarš* ‘hai veduto’, *sirš* ‘sei andata’, p. 256 ‘Igž (82) *rayši* ‘hai veduto’, J. Ḥufāš (50) *širibš* ‘hai bevuto’, p. 259 Raymah *sirč*, Gā‘idah 259/260 (99) *sirč/ma‘iš*. Kusmah (98b) ‘*andič* ‘a second group of speakers’ (WAT-8:62), others based on the verb forms listed there probably -*kč* (‘word final position) and -*kī* (‘non-word-final position’).

– Regarding the suffix pronoun -*iš* in Yemeni usage everything has really been said; I refer the reader to the bibliography in WAT-8; also C. Holes, ‘Kashkasha and the fronting and affrication of the velar stops revisited: a contribution to the historical phonology of the peninsular Arabic dialects’, in: *Semitic Studies in Honor of Wolf Leslau*. Vol. I: 652–78.

– WAT-8:61 has the following forms for Ḍulmi: ‘*absar*[*kī*] *nī* ‘you f.s. saw me’ v. ‘*absar*[*š*] ‘you f.s. saw’, *mā* ‘*aley*[*kī*]š ‘not on/against you f.s.’ v. ‘*aley*[*š*] ‘on/against you f.s.’; for Kusmi¹ *ṭala*[*kč*] ‘you f.s. went up’, *māṭalā*[*kī*]š ‘you f.s. did not go up’, or for other speakers ‘*andi*[*č*], *qad sir*[*č*], *mā sirki*[*š*]. These forms are not shown on the original map.

¹ Belonging to the town of Kusmah (98a) in Jabal Raymah.

– WAT-8:62 has instances of the forms *qulkalik* ‘I said to you f.s.’ and *qatalnik* ‘we killed you f.s.’. I recorded the forms ‘*indiš* ‘near you’, ‘*abūš* ‘your father’, *qafā’iš* ‘behind you’ in that area (point 122 = ‘*uzlat* ‘*Umayqah* (‘*Amīqah*),² *naḥyat Ḥubayš*, few kilometres south of Ḍulmah³ as the crow flies); as verbal forms, however, ‘*absarki* ‘you saw’, ‘*širibki* ‘you drank’, ‘*šallayki* ‘you took’, ‘*qimki* ‘you rose’, ‘*nasayki* ‘you forgot’ etc. There is clearly no parallelism here. WAT-8:61: When the 2 f.s. object pronoun in these so-called *k*-dialects of Yemen is realised as [š] the 2 f.s. subject is also realised as [š] ...’ The rule does not always seem to apply in the inverse case.

– In the case of -*aš* (point 87, Markaz Bilād aṭ-Ṭa‘ām) we are looking at a vowel assimilation with the masc.: ‘*indak m.* – ‘*indaš* f. ‘near you’; in the same way ‘*ayyunkak* – ‘*ayyunkaš* ‘I saw you (f.), *lak* – *laš* ‘to, for you (f.)’.

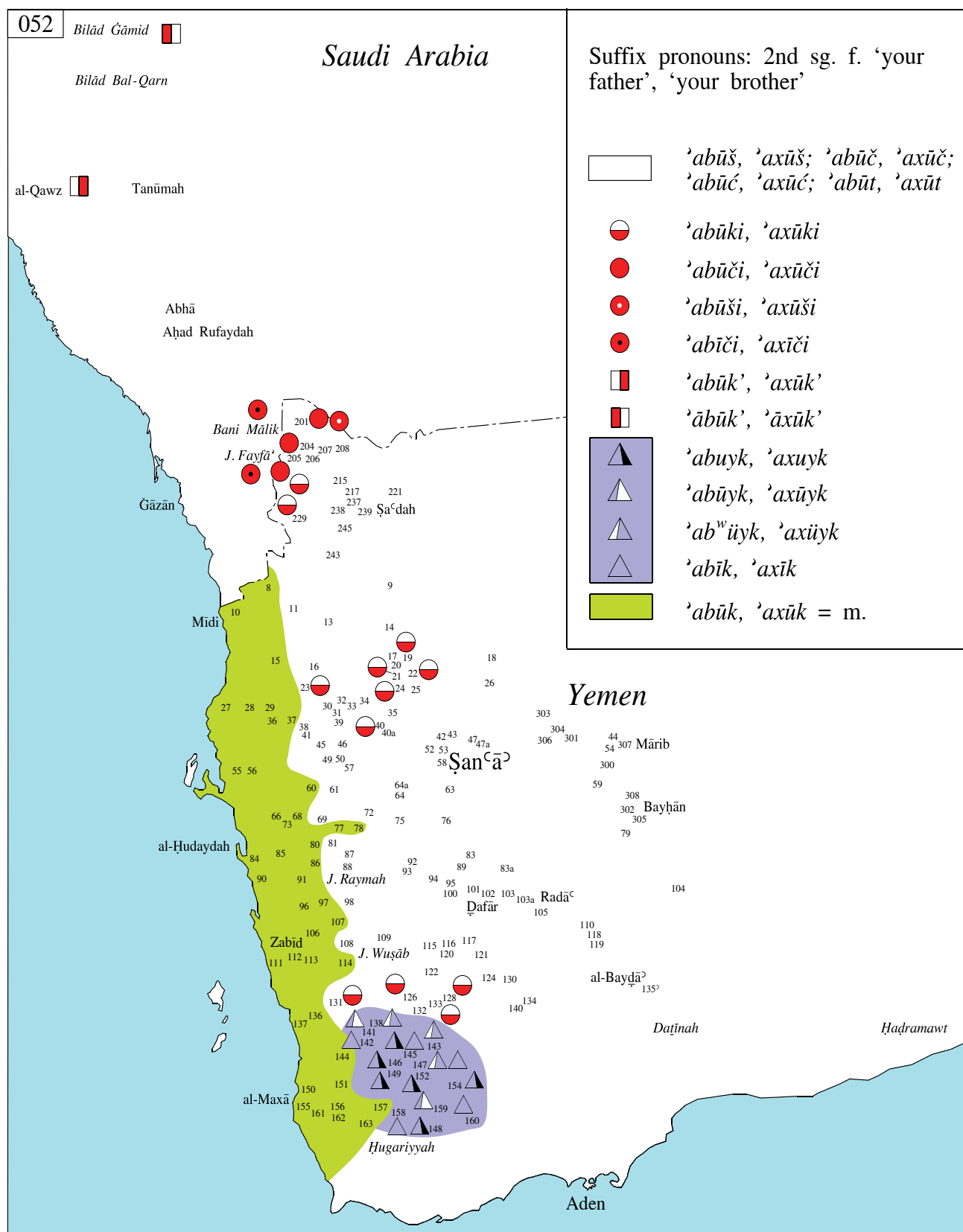
– WAT-8 does not discuss -*it*, -*t* at point 69 (J. aḍ-Ḍāmir): ‘*indit* ‘near you’, ‘*ma‘it* ‘with you’, ‘*ḡahāltit* ‘your children’, ‘*rēkit* ‘I saw you’, ‘*axūt* ‘your brother’, ‘*abūt* ‘your father’, ‘*alēt* ‘on you’. The original commentary says: ‘Die Form -*it* zeigt, daß die Entwicklung von *-*ik* in zwei Richtungen gehen kann, einmal über -*ik* > -*ic* ~ -*ič* > -*iš*, zum anderen über -*ik*^j > *it*^j > -*it*’.⁴ Diem reports -*ik*^j at point 34 (‘Azzileh); this is written as -*ik*’ here.

– With regard to dialect geography it is noticeable that areas with /č/ and related sounds (*baytič*) are always located between areas with /š/ (*baytiš*) and /k/ (*baytik*); i.e. they are a kind of transition zone.

² Written in Arabic and without vocalisation on the questionnaire!

³ Noted like this on the questionnaire. This is probably what Watson’s Ḍulmi (‘near Ḡabal Ḥubayš’) refers to. It is no. 122a on the map.

⁴ The symbols used there for palatalised /k/ and /t/ are represented here as /k^j/ and /t^j/.



– The map illustrates that some Yemeni dialects once again differ from other Arabic dialects of the peninsula and to some extent North Africa. A pair *-ik/-ki* such as in Egyptian Arabic is not widely used. There are instances in the northern plateau (DIEM 26, 21), and some places in the South. Northern dialects (Ša'dah) must not be counted among these, as *-či ~ -ši* (as in Bani 'Abādil) also follows *-c*: *'ibnatči* 'your daughter', *'axiči* 'your brother'.

– We must emphasise the forms in Southern *k*-dialects and the Ḥugariyyah which have only one morpheme variant *-ik* which follows consonants as well as vowels, consequently *'andik* 'near you', *'abu+ik* → *'abuyk* 'your father' in some cases without, in some with partial lengthening, and total assimilation of the final vowel: *'abwüyk*, *'abīk*, or reversed at point 85 *qafayk* 'behind you', but *'abu + ik* → *'abūk*. Similarly at point 160 (Qabbayṭah) *ḍarabūk* m., but *ḍarabu + -ik* → *ḍarabīk* 'they hit you f.'. At point 159 (Šarar Bani Yūsuf) *ḡaddaytūk* 'I gave you lunch', f. *ḡaddaytīk*; 'I gave you dinner' *'aššaytūk* v. *'aššaytīk*. In addition *-nn-* is inserted here with some persons when a suffix is being added, thus *simi'u + -ak* → *simmi'unnak*, but then not **simmi'unnik* as would be expected but instead

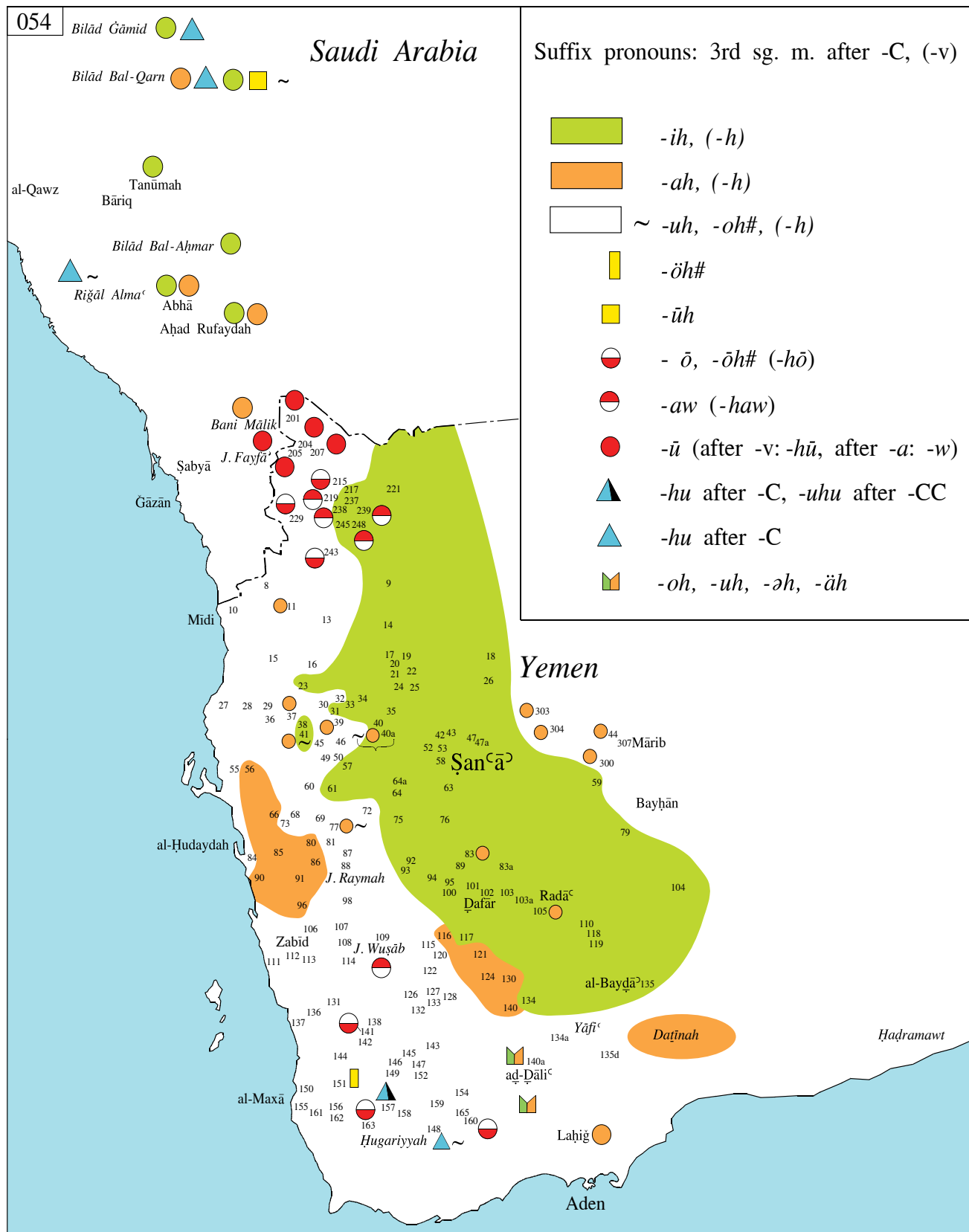
simmi'unnīk 'they heard you (f.)'. Correspondingly *nasunnak* 'they have forgotten you (m.)', f. *nasunnīk*. Thus also in the case of the 1st sg. imperfect of *'asa, ya'si*: *'asunnak* 'I meet you'. Instances from point 152 (al-Misrāx) featuring the short vowel are *'abuyk* 'your father', *ḍarabunnak* – *ḍarabunnīk*, *simi'unnak* – *simi'unnīk*, *laqunnīk* 'they met you'. At point 138 (Bani Ša'b Salām) the plural forms have an *-m-* infix instead of *-nn-*: *ḍarabk^w* 'I hit', *ḍarabkūk* 'I hit you (m.)', *ḍarabkuyk* 'I hit you (f.)', but *nasumūk* 'they forgot you (m.)', *nasumīk* 'they forgot you (f.)' and *ḍarabumūk* – *ḍarabumīk*. DIEM 124 has *laqawmūk* – *laqawmīk* 'they met you m./f.' for ar-Rāḥideh, p. 123 *laqawk* – *laqayk* 'he met you (m./f.)', p. 122 *laqaytūk* – *laqaytīk* 'I met you (m./f.)'. On p. 109 he reports *'abšar(u)mūk* 'they saw you (m.)' and f. *'abšar(u)mūyk* ~ *'abšar(u)mīk* for Jabal Šabur. P. 105 for Ta'izz *'abuyk* and *'abīk*, p. 107 corresponding *'absartūk* – *'absartīk* 'I saw you (m./f.)'. On p. 108 *'absarnāk* 'we saw you', but with elision and short vowel *'absarnīk* 'we saw you f.'.

– At point 69 the forms naturally end in *-t*: *'abūt*, *'axūt* 'your brother', *'alēt* 'on you', *ma'it* 'with you'.

053 Suffix pronouns: 2nd sg. f. ‘behind you’, ‘your father’

– In this case there is no parallelism in the central and southern Tihāmah and the southern *k*- and Ḥugariyyah dialects, such as there is in *qafāš* – ‘*abūš*’ in large parts of the region; this is due to the fact that we must presume **abū* on the one hand, **qafā*’ on the other. Thus for the central and southern Tihāmah we can assume an earlier stage **abūk* – *qafa’ik* and later elision of /’/ leading to

qafayk > *qafēk*. A similar process applies to point 160. In other dialects of the region *’ was not lost. In some places the rule applies that *wara* + *-ik* > *warayk* > *warēk*; ‘*abu* + *-ik* with lengthening and *i*-umlaut ‘*abīk*. And to some dialects, finally, the rule applies that final *-a* is lost when a *-vC* suffix is added, i.e. *qafa* + *-ik* → *qafik*, corresponding to *warik*.



054 Suffix pronouns: 3rd sg. m. after -C, (-v)

– Saudi Arabia PRC-1:126 *-ah* Qahabah, Abha, Bal-Qarn; *-ih* Rufaydah, Abha, Bal-Aḥmar, Tanūmah, Bal-Qarn, Ġāmid; *-uh* Bal-Qarn, Qawz, Šabyā; *-ūh* Bal-Qarn; *-hu* Bal-Qarn; *-uh*, *-hu* Riḡāl Alma'. P. 192 *fa'al* + suff. pron.: *bagar-ah* Rufaydah, Abha; *bagar-ūh* Bal-Qarn; *bagar-uh* Bal-Qarn, Qawz, *bagr-uh* 'his cows' Šabyā; *xašab-ih* Rufaydah, Abha; *xašab-uh* Bal-Qarn; *xašb-uh* 'his wood' Šabyā; *janam-ah* Rufaydah, Abha 'his sheep'; *walad-ah* Qahabah, Rufaydah, Abha 'his boy'; *walad-ih* Tanūmah; *walad-ūh* Bal-Qarn; *walad-hu* Bal-Qarn; *walad-uh* Qawz; *wald-uh* Šabyā. P. 195 *fa'alah* + suff. pron.: 'his cow' *bágarat-ih* Rufaydah, Abha, Tanūmah, Ġāmid; *bágarat-ah* Abha; *bágarat-uh* Bal-Qarn; *bagarat-uh* Qawz; *bagrat-uh* Šabyā; *xášabat-ih* Rufaydah, Abha, Tanūmah; *xášabat-ah* Abha; *xášabat-uh* Bal-Qarn; *xášabat-uh* Qawz; *xášbat-uh* Šabyā.

– Saudi Arabia/Ġāmid TOLL 27 *minhu*, 'alayhu, *gatalth* realised as [gataltuh], *ħaggu*, *ni'malu*, *gataltu*. Jabal Fayfā' ALB 59 *baytū*, 'abihū.

– Yemen/north DGS 70 Sāgēn (245), Wāsiṭ (221), Ša'dah (237), Šaḥn (238), im-Ṭalḥ (217) *-ih*, in pause *-eh*, after vowel *-h*: 'abūh. The only instances for Bani 'Abādil (201) are *ručbatuh* 'his knee', *yiguṣṣūhūh* 'they are shearing him'; Minabbih (204), Xāšir (207), J. Jalḥā (205) *-ū*, in pause *-ūh*: 'ibnū 'his son', *-hū* in pause *-hūh*: *la'aṭūhūh* 'they hit him'; *-w* after *-a*: *katābtaw* 'you wrote it', *'sami'a+u* → *sam'aw* 'he heard it'. In Ġurāz (239), Mahādir (248), Sawdān (235, just above 238), Banī Ma'ād (219): *-aw* ~ *-ow*, *-haw* ~ *-how* following a vowel; in Ġubar (243), in-Naḍīr (229), Majz (216), Ġamar (232) *-ō*, *-hō* following a vowel.

– Northeast NAD 33 *-ah* Ḥuṣūn al-Jalāl (44), Banī Ḍabyān (300), il-Ġawf (303), Siḥīl (304), *-uh* 'Abīdeh (near Mārib).

– Baraddūn (83a) *-ih* BET 142; Manāxah WRB 64 *-uh* – in an *ih*-area on original map 46 – is revised. Kawkabān (40a)

HEN 18 *-ih*, *-uh/-ah*. The latter only in *ismah* v. *xiriḡūluh*. DIEM 54 says concerning Radā' 'In den nicht behandelten Punkten stimmt der Dialekt von Radā' mit dem von Ḍafār (3.2.) überein'. P. 41 he notes *-h/-eh* for 3rd sg. m. HUI 103 has *-(u)h*; in texts on p. 154, 156, 180, however, 'umrah [his age], *ašūfah* 'I have seen it', p. 160 *boṭnah* 'his belly', *aḍroblah* 'give him an injection', p. 172 *iddīlah* 'give him', *tiddīleh* 'you give him', p. 174 *al-kart ḥaqqah* 'his card' *lāzim tijleh* 'must come to him', p. 180 *iddīleh* 'give him'.

– RO-APP, p. 256 has *gāwduh* 'davanti a lui' for Ūsil (region of J. Ḥarāz), p. 258 for Habbāt (48) *beh* 'con esso', J. Wuṣāb *ahlaw* 'la sua famiglia', *baytaw* 'la sua casa', *endaw* 'presso di lui'. Added to map with reservation; possibly these are pausal forms. Cf. similar ones in Lebanon and Qalamūn/Syria. P. 264 'Ubāl (77) *fi l-bēt ḥaqqah* 'alla sua casa', *al-qārōrah ḥaqqoh* 'la sua bottiglia', *zayyuh* 'come lui', *yānhu* 'dov'è egli?', p. 465 al-Ḥudaydah *'induh*, *'enuh*. Nearly always *-uh*; once also *ḡābah* 'lo portò'.

– South/Laḥiḡ FOD 38 *-h*, *-ah*, in texts from p. 42 onwards *šalla-laḥ* 'fetched for himself', *'aḍāfirah* 'his claws'; aḍ-Ḍālī' VAN-1:194 *šá'aroh* 'ses cheveux', *'idāmoh* (aussi *'idāmeh*) 'ses os', *'rurukuh* 'laisse-le!', *ḍarabtāh* 'elle le frappa'. No data for Yāfi' in VAN-2. Daṭīnah LAN-2:7ff. varying between *-ah*, *-ūh* and *-eh*: *beh*, *ba'dah*, *ma'ah*, *beynah*, *xālah*, *aṣḥābah*, *wuḡhāh*, *riḡālah*, *oqtuleh*, *winneh*, 'omrah etc. Aden *-uh* (GHA 2).

– The form used in al-Mudawwar (148; O. Jastrow) is *-uh*, such as in *ma'uh* 'with him'. This allomorph suffixed to 'ala 'on' gives us **'ala+uh* → *'alōh* 'on him', *'alēh* means 'on her'. There are also instances of *-h*, e.g. *qatalūh* 'they killed him', and *-hūh*, e.g. *qatalkēnhūh* 'you (pl. f.) killed him', *qatalnāhūh* ~ *qatalnōh*; i.e. like *'alōh* above.

Saudi Arabia PRC-1:126 *-ha* Qahabah, Rufaydah, Abha, Bal-Aḥmar, Tanūmah, Bal-Qarn, Ġāmid, al-Qawz, Šabyā. Ġāmid TOLL 27/28: *-ha*, *-ā*: *ʾaʾrifhā* 'I know her', *ʾindhā* ~ *ʾindā* 'she has', *naʾrifā* 'we know her'.

– Saudi Arabia/Jabal Fayfāʾ ALB 49 *-hā*.

– Yemen/North DGS 71 *-hā* in Majz (217), Xāšir (207), Ġurāz (239), Šaḥn (238), Umm Lēla (208), Bani ʾAbādil (201), Šaʿdah (237), Sāgen (245), im-Tāl (217), Jabal Jalhā (205), Minabbih (204), *-ha* in Wāsiṭ (221); *-ā*/ *-hā* (after vowel) in-Naḍīr (229), Ġamar (232), Ġubar (243).

– Regarding *rāshā* _ #, *ʾēnhē* _ # cf. map 019 and commentary, according to which forms such as *ʾēnhē* _ # were originally pausal forms.

– Baraddūn BET 1985:142 *-ha*, *-aha* following vCC; Kawkabān Henneken 18 *-hā*; Manāxah Werbeck 64 *-hā*.

– South/Laḥiḡ Fodor 38 *-ha*, *-aha*, in the text 42ff. *ibnehā*, *kullhā*, *quddāmihā*, *niṣṣahā* etc. Ḍālīʿ VAN-1:193 *-ha*. No data for Yāfiʿ in VAN-2; Aden GHA 2 *šāfiḥ*, *ḥālīh*. Daṭīnah LAN-2:7ff.: *ʾandeha*, *leha*, *ḡābhelha*, *beyneha* etc.

– Regarding forms in the green area see JA p. 19, commentary 47: 'The form *-eh* in the South is not without difficulty: DIEM (1973) p. 120 has *-eh* in Ḥuḡariyyah, a form which does not allow conclusions as to whether it is a context form *-i*, in pause according to map 16 with lowering and pausal *-h*, or another form. I have sometimes found this form in pause only, too. Context forms are sometimes *-ē*: *bintē mātah* "her daughter died" (point 159), sometimes *-i*: *binti mātat* (as opposed to *bintī mātat* "my daughter...") (point 108, in some cases [e], semi-long [e-]: *ṭallaqe baʿd šahr* "he repudiated her after one month" (point 146)). At point 108 we have instances of pausal forms such as *ʾalayh* 'on her', *ramayh* 'he shot at her', *samiʿuyh* 'they heard her', *nasiyuyh* 'they forgot her', *šilquyh* 'they will meet her', but following *-i*: *štalqīha* 'you will meet her', *samiʿkīha* 'you heard her', negated *mā samiʿannēš* 'they did not hear her'. The latter form was originally **ma samiʿannayš* with fur-

ther monophthongisation. At point 159 *ʾahalleh* 'she is there', *ma hallayš* 'she is not there', *ʾasunneh* 'I see her', *ma ʾasunnayš* 'I do not see her'.

Cf. also the forms in DIEM 107f. in Taʿizz: *+ʾabsartu + -ih* → *ʾabsartih* 'I saw her' = 'you f. saw her', *ʾabsarna + -ih* → *ʾabsarnih* 'we saw her', p. 109 Jabal Šabur *ʾabsar(u)mūih* and *ʾabsar(u)mīh* 'they (m.) saw her'. In Ḥuḡariyyah p. 122f. *laqaitu + -ih* → *laqaitih* 'I met her', *laqaiteh* 'you (m. sg.) met her', *laqaitih* 'you (f. sg.) met her', *laqai* 'he met her', *laqai-nai* 'we met her', *laqaitumih* 'you (pl.) met her', *laqaumih* 'they (m.) met her'.

O. Jastrow (MS) reports the form *-ih* after consonant in Ibb (128): *ismih* 'her name', *-ha* after vowel: *axūha* 'her brother', but *iddihli* 'give her to me'. In al-Mudawwar (148): *qaryatih* 'her village', *abuyh* 'her father', *ʾašāʾih* 'her dinner', *maʾih* 'with her', *minnih* 'from her', *ʾalēh* 'on her' (< *ʾalayh* < *ʾala+ih*), similarly *ʾalōh* 'on him' (< *ʾalawh* < *ʾala+uh*), *lih* 'to, for her', *qatalih* 'he killed her', *qatāltih* 'she killed her', *qatalih* 'they killed her' with lengthening and *i*-umlaut: *qatalu+ih* → *qatalih*. Cf. also *qatalu + -ik* → *qatalik* 'they killed you' v. *qatalūk* 'they killed you (m. sg.)'. Also *qatalikih* 'you (f. sg.) killed him/her'. Divergent: *qatalkumhī* (m. = *qatalkumhū*) 'you (m. pl.) killed her', *qatalkēnhīh* 'you (f. pl.) killed her' (similarly *qatalkēnhūh*), *qatalkih* 'I killed her' (m. *qatalkūh*), *qatalnēh* 'we killed her' (< *qatalnayh* < *qatalna+ih*). No lengthening in *nasi + ih* → *nasih* 'he forgot her' (*nasuh* 'he forgot him'), but *nasu* pl. with *i*-umlaut: *nasūh* 'they forgot him', *nasīh* 'they forgot her'.

It seems that overall we deal with the allomorphs *-i* in medial, *-ih* [-eh] in final position. This probably goes back to an original **-ih* (cf. *hādih* 'this sg. f.'), which is realised as *-eh* in pause, loses its /h/ in context and is lengthened to *-ē* in some cases.

As *-ih* is also found in Aden it is possible that the green area extends as far as there.



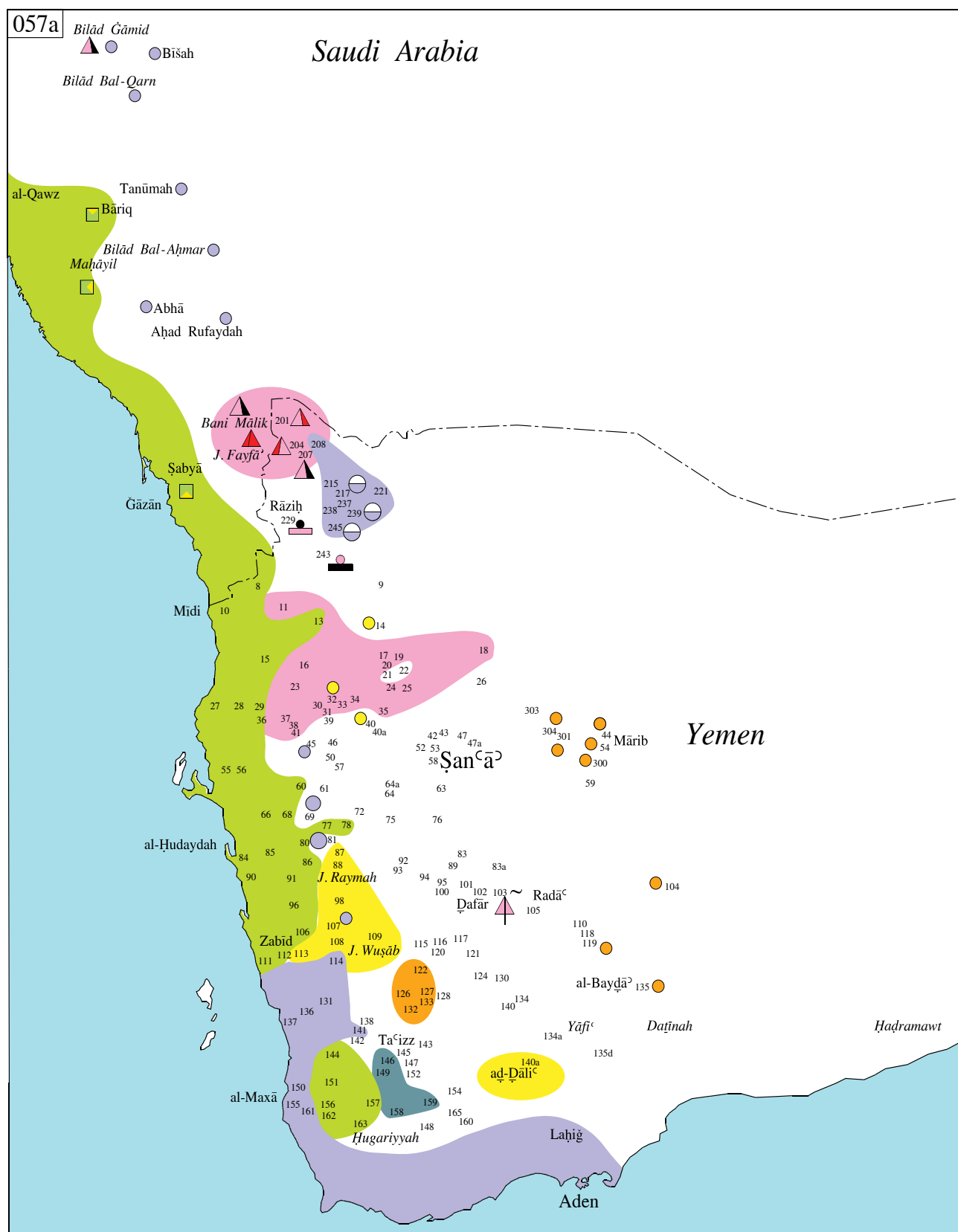
Suffix pronouns: 1st pl.c. with noun

- nā, -na: baytana
- ḥna: baytiḥna

056 Suffix pronouns: 1st pl. c. with noun

056 Suffix pronouns: 1st pl. c. with noun

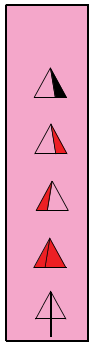
The usage of the independent pronoun *-(i)hna* as a suffix pronoun is only consistent in verb forms; it occurs much less frequently with nouns. See GHA 2 for Aden *ḥālḥna* (*ḥālḥniḥna*) ‘our condition’, and fn. 1 ‘sometimes *niḥna* is used instead of *na*’.



057a-b Suffix pronouns: 2nd, 3rd pl. m.+f.

057b

Suffix pronouns: 2nd, 3rd pl. m.+f.

*-kun / -hun* pl.c.*-kũ / -hin* pl.c.*-kũ / -* pl.c.*-xũ / -* pl.c.*-kum / -hum* pl.c.*-kim / -him* pl.c.*-kum / -kun, -hum / -hun**-kum / -kin, -hum / -hin**-kum / -kan, -hum / -hin**-kum / -kinna, -hum / -hinna,**-kum / -kunnah, -hum / -hunnah**-čum / -čunna, -hum / -hinna**-čum / -činna, -him / -hinna**-čim / -činna, -him / -hinna**-kumma / -kinna, -humma / -hinna**-kum / -kun, -ām / -ōn* (after -v: *-him / -hin*)*-kum / -kun, -ām / -ēn* (after -v: *-him / -hin*)*-kun / -kin, -hun / -hin*

– Original map 49. Regarding location no. 73 ‘village near Bājil’ p. 34, fn. says ‘Wahrscheinlich ist dieser Ort falsch lokalisiert. Aufgrund einiger sprachlicher Daten (fem. Formen im Plural) dürfte er eher nordwestlich von Bājil liegen’. To be deleted. DIEM 68 has the forms *-kun/-kin*, *-hun/-hin* at this place.

– Saudi Arabia PRC-1:126 *-kum/-kunnah*, *-hum/-hunnah* Qahabah, Ġāmid; *-kum*, *-hum* Rufaydah, Abha, Bal-Aḥmar, Tanūmah, Bal-Qarn; *-kun*, *-hun* Qawz, Šabyā. Qahabah is a village inhabited by Banī Mālik, but according to data concerning this dialect found on the internet forms with /č/ appear to be predominant there. Tihāmat Šihr *-kū* in PRC-3:100; *ibid.* ‘*alāxū* for the Maḥāyil area, *bintakun* al-Qawz and *bintukū* for Šabyā. No forms of the 3rd pl.

– Ġāmid TOLL 27/28 *-kum/-hum*, *-um*: ‘*anfishum* ‘themselves’, ‘*allamtum* ‘I informed them’.

– Saudi Arabia/Jabal Fayfā’ ALB 59: *-čim/-činna*, *-him/-hinna*.

– Yemen/north DGS 72: Sāgēn (245), Majz (215), Ša’dah (237), Umm Lēlā (201), Wāsiṭ (221), Ġurāz (239), Šaḥn (238), im-Ṭalḥ (217) all *-kum*; *-hum* all except Ġurāz, Ša’dah, Sāgēn *-him*; Xāšir (207) *-kum/-kunna*, *-hum/-hunna*, Bani ‘Abādil (201) *-čum/-čunna*, *-hum/-hinna*; Minabbih (204) *-čum/-činna*, *-him/-hinna*; in-Naḍir (229) *-kum/-kun*,

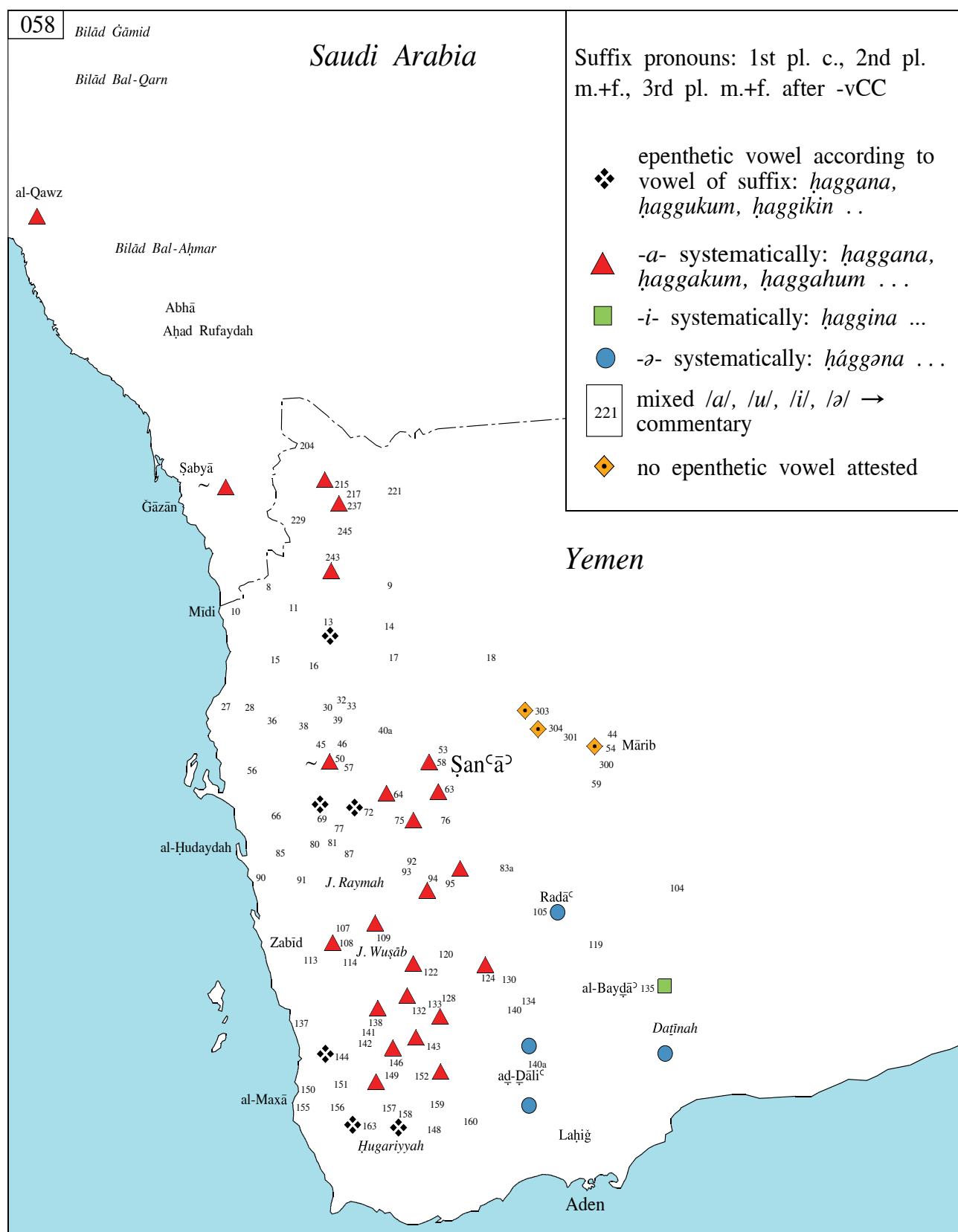
-ām/-ōn (*-him/-hin* after vowel); Ġubar (243) *kum/-kun*, *-ām/-ēn*.

– Northeast NAD 33/34: *-kum* ‘all dialects’, *-hum* ‘all dialects’, *-kum/-kin*, *-hum/-hin* al-Jawf (303), *-kum/-kan*, *-hum/-han* Ḥuṣūn al-Jalāl (44), ‘Abīdeh (54), Siḥīl (304), Širwāḥ (301), Banī Ḍabyān (300).

– Kawkabān HEN 18: *-kum/-kin*, *-hum/-hin*, Rada’ HUI 103: *-kum/-kin*, *-hum/-hin*; Baraddūn BET 142: *-kum/-kin*, *-hum/-hin*; Manāxah WRB 64: *-kum/-kin*, *-hum/-hin*.

– South/Laḥiḡ FOD 38: *-kum/-hom* ~ *-hom*, Aden *-kum/-hum* (Ghanem 2); no data for Yāfi’; aḍ-Ḍālī’ VAN-1:193: *-kom/-kon*, *-hom/-hon* (included with the yellow area). Daṭīnah LAN-2:7ff.: *uiyāhom* (m.), *hom uyāhom* (m.), *bēnehom* (m.), *bandikom* (m.), *ma’āhin* (f.), *kullehom*, ‘*aleyhom*, ‘*alabūkom*, p. 38 *uyāhen ihḥaḍḍenhin uḥebbībīhin*. No instances of 2nd pl. f. Ḥaḍramawt *-kum/-kin*, *-hum/-hin* (ALS 689).

– DIEM 59 explains the forms at point 103 *-kummeh/-kinnneh*, *-hummeḥ/-hinneh* (ad-Dāmiḡah and Baynūn, dialect 11) by means of rhythmical assimilation following the independent forms *antummeḥ/antinneh* and *hummeḥ/hinneh*. On p. 60 he states that the long forms occur in pause, the short forms *-kum/-kin* and *-hum/-hin* in context.



058 Suffix pronouns: 1st pl. c., 2nd pl. m.+f., 3rd pl. m.+f. after -vCC

– The statement on the original map 50 is too generalising. In the white area the epenthetic vowel is only in parts in agreement with the suffix, especially in cases such as *ḥagganā* ‘our’, *‘indanā* ‘near us’, *ḥaggukum* ‘your (pl.)’, *‘indukum* ‘near you (pl.)’, *ḥagguhum* ‘their’, *‘induhum* ‘near them’. We can note frequent exceptions in the 3rd sg. f.: *ḥaggahā* ~ *ḥaggiḥā*. Inconsistencies and contradictory forms are also found, e.g. at point 76 *ḥaggiḥā*, *ḥaggana*, *ḥaggukum*, *ḥagguhum*, *ḥaggakin*, *ḥaggehin*. For simplicity’s sake these will be represented by one symbol on this map. More maps on individual forms will follow.

– Saudi Arabia PRC-1:129 -a- in the 3rd sg. f. Rufaydah, Abha, Bal-Aḥmar, Bal-Qarn, Ġāmid, Qawz, Ṣabyā; -ə- Qawz. -u- in the 3rd pl. m./c. Rufaydah, Abha, Bal-Aḥmar, Bal-Qarn, Ġāmid; -a- Ṣabyā, Qawz.

-u- in the 2nd pl. m./c. Rufaydah, Abha, Bal-Aḥmar, Bal-Qarn, Ġāmid, Qawz, Ṣabyā; -a- Qawz, Ṣabyā. -u- in the 2nd pl. f. Ġāmid.

-i- in the 1st pl. c. Rufaydah, Abha, Bal-Qarn, Ġāmid; -a- Ṣabyā; -ə- Rufaydah; -a- Qawz. I.e. e.g. Bal-Qarn *ḥaggaha*, *ḥaggukum*, *ḥagguhum*, *ḥaggina*.

– Yemen/north DGS 164: in-Naḍīr *ḥagganā* ‘our’, *ḥaggukum* ‘your (pl.)’, *minninā* ‘from us’, *minnakum* ‘from you (pl.)’, *ḥihmattikum* ‘she understood you (pl.)’, ‘eine Systematik lässt sich nicht erkennen’. Minabbih op. cit. 213 *‘ibnanā* ‘our son’, *‘ibniḥeh* ‘your (sg.) son’, *wuddiḥeh* ‘you (sg.) want’. – Northeast NAD 24 with examples such as *idīnhā* ‘her ear’, *riḡīlhā* ‘her foot’, p. 25 *‘ammṭi* ‘my aunt’, p. 26 *ūfēmḥā* ‘her mouth’ (Širwāḥ), *ufmihā* (Banī Ḍabyān).

– Kawkabān HEN 18 mixed: *šufthum*, *šuftanī*, *ḡibtahin*, *uḍnukum*; Baraddūn BET 143 mixed: *‘indina*, *aṣlana*, *aṣlaha*, *silfina*, *‘indaha*, *‘indukum*. Radā’ HUI 105: *ḥaqqena* ‘ours’, 106 *kulle wāḥid*, *kull šī*, *baḥḍena*, *kullena*, p. 136ff. *‘umreha*, *nuṣṣ sā’a*, *šahr wāḥid*, *kulle yōm*, *qablemā*, *kulle leyli* etc. Included in -ə-. Manāxah WRB 2001: -anā, -ahā, -ukum, -ikin, -uhum, -ihin, i.e. in agreement with the suffix.

– For the ‘northern plateau’ DIEM 26ff. only records -anā as 1st pl., e.g. for Xamir (17) p. 29; my own survey: -ana, -aha, -ukum, -uhum. DIEM 79: al-Hadiyeh (98) -anā, -okum, -akan, -ohum, -ahan, in the 3rd sg. f. only -ha. Op. cit. 84 Al-Maḥall (88): -ana, -okum, -okun, -ohum, -ahan, -aha. P. 88 Qafr (115) -ana, -okum, -ekin, -ohum, -hin (!). Not relevant for 3rd sg. f., because -eh. Op. cit. 95 al-‘Udayn (126) -ana, -okum, -kan (!), -ohum, -ahan, no instances of 3rd

sg. f. No data for Jiblih (133). JAQ has the following forms: *‘indanā*, *nubuzzahan*, *innuhum*, *kullahan*, *minnahan*, *biḥaqqanā*, *kullahum* (four times). Cf. also *ḥawā’ijahum*, *qātahum*, *bibyūtahum*. Overall the most frequent vowel is -a-. Consequently original map 50 is being revised. Ta’izz DIEM 105: -ana, -okum, -ekin, -ohum, -ehin; 3rd sg. f. does not appear as it is -ih.

– At point 116 (Iryān) DIEM 48 has -ana as the 1st pl. after CC and ṽC.

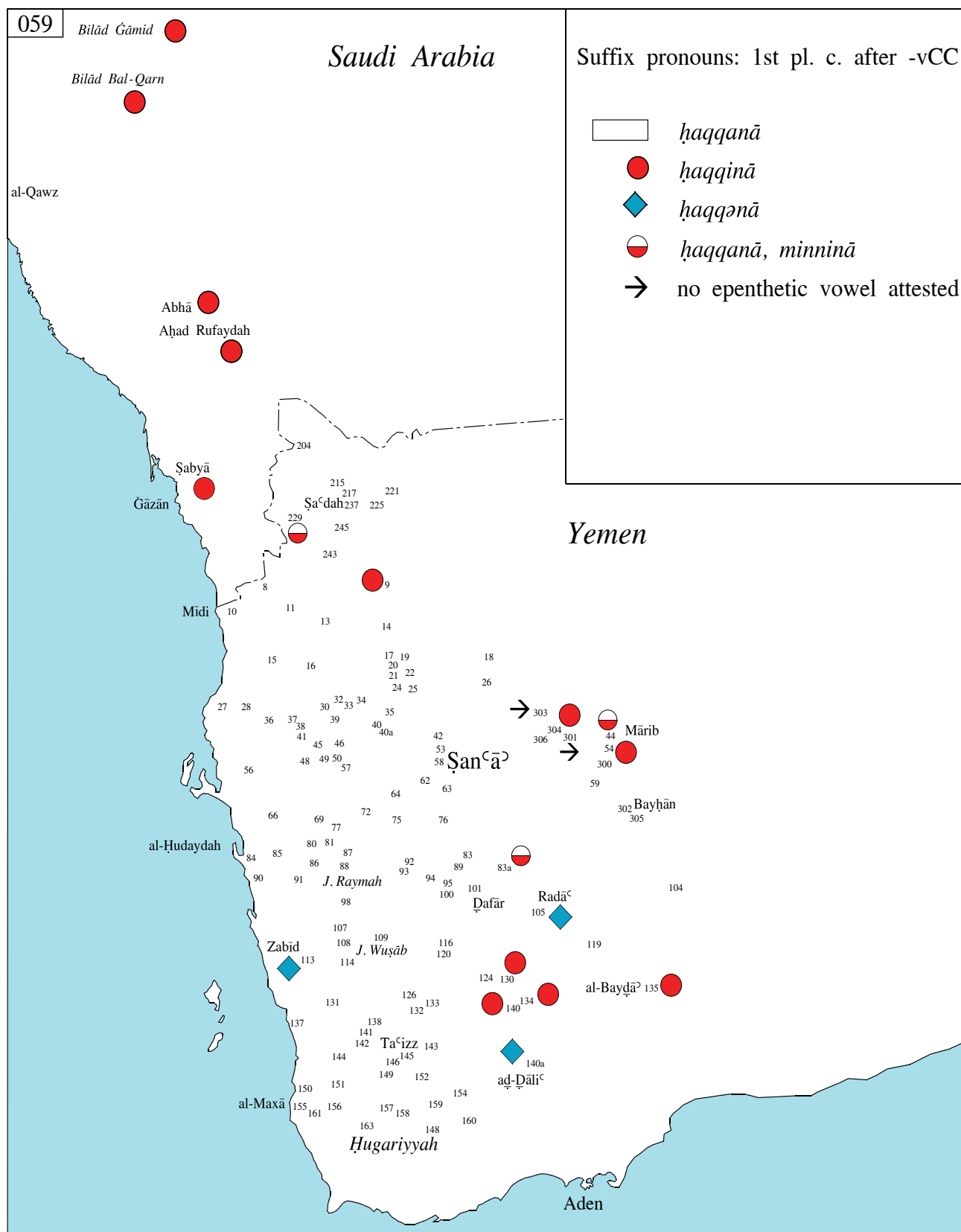
– For al-Hadiyeh (98) DIEM 79 has -ana, -okum, -akan, -ohum, -ahan. P. 84 al-Maḥall (88) -ana, -okum, -okun, -ohum, -ahan. P. 89 Qafr (115) -ana, -okum, -ekin, -ohum, -hin.

– South/Laḥiḡ FOD 42ff. *šallalah*, *ibnehā*, *kullhā*, *nifṣahā*, *‘amrahā*, *tešillahā*, *ḥubbehā*, *gildahā*, *lākinnahā*, *šaḡluhum*, *minnukum*. Overall in accordance with suffix. Aḍ-Ḍālī‘ VAN-1:183: ‘Lorsqu’à la suite de l’ajout d’un pronom suffixe, la rencontre de trois consonnes risquait de se produire, le groupe est disjoint par une voyelle ə insérée entre la 2ème et 3ème consonne: *baqārt-ə-kom* “votre vache”. No data for Yāfi‘ in VAN-2. Daṭīnah LAN-2:7ff. *‘andeha*, *beyneha*, *radd-eha*, *bēnehom*, *kullehom*, *winnehom*, *innehom*, *‘ammehom*, *beynahom* (!), *innekom* ... Included with -ə-.

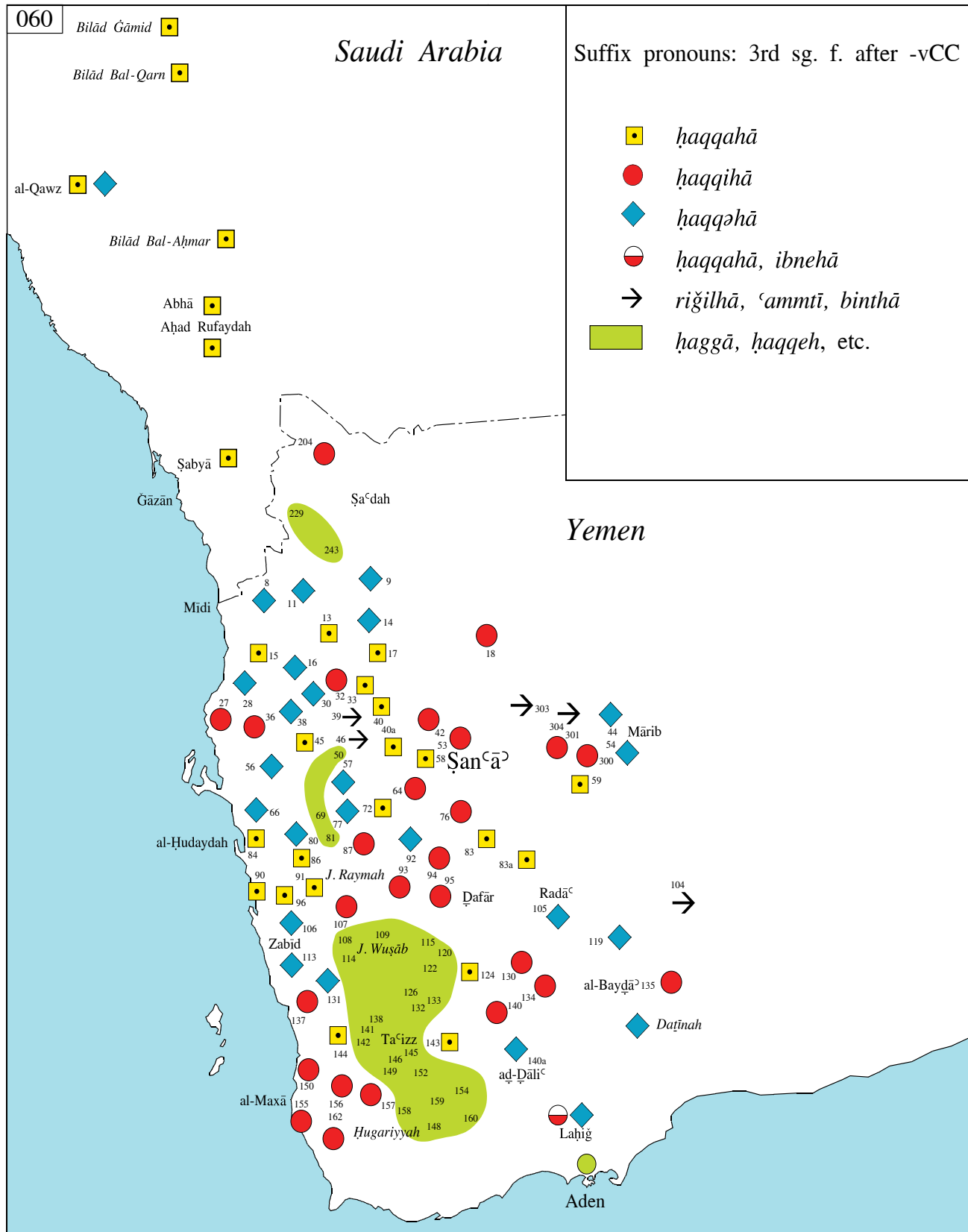
– RO-APP and RO-N provide the following forms: p. 237 *baynātanā* (point 62); p. 241 *ḥagganā* without location; for Ṣan‘ā p. 248 *raytani*. p. 250 in the text: *minnahan*, p. 255 *ḥarbanā*, *‘endana*. P. 465f. al-Ḥudaydah *‘indamā*, *ḡibt(a) lak*, *bēnhum*, *‘indaha*, *kullahā*; point 139 (as-Sayyānī) p. 470 *ma hallahumš* ‘non ci sono’. Thus after -vCC or -ṽC the predominant vowel sound is /a/. NAI provides the following forms: p. 43 *‘indaha*, p. 50 *‘ahleha* ~ *‘ahliha*, p. 73 *baḥḍhum*, p. 74 *‘indana*, p. 77 *gultalak*, p. 79 *ḥabbaha*, *ḥaggahum*, p. 125 *kullihin*, *baḥḍhum*, p. 139 *ḥaggahum*, *kullihin*, p. 151, 208 *‘extkum*, p. 203 *‘umha*, p. 205 *‘indana*, p. 208 *maṭluhā*. WAT-1:179 *‘umrahā*, *‘aglahā*, 184, 191 *‘indanā*, 190 *baḥḍahum*, 192 *kullahin*, 195 *minnanā*, *minnakum*, 196 *minnahā*, *min-nakin*, *minnahum*, *minnahin*, 198 *baytahum*, 199 *baynanā*, 202 *daxxaltahin*. Obviously, -a- is systematic here.

– Radā’ HUI 136, 152, 156, 176, 178 *‘umreha*, p. 170 *‘uḍnehā*, *tiddilehā*, *qablemā*, *wozneḥā*, *‘andokum*, 176 *baṭneha*, *tiddilehā*, *qablemā*, 178 *ismehā*, *nešūfehā*, *minnukum*.

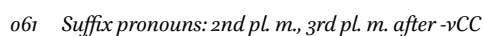
– Aden GHA 14 *kullukum*, *kulluhum*, p. 18 *annakum*, *annahum*, p. 20 *ḥaqqkum*, p. 33 *‘indakum*, *‘indana*. P. 51 *‘indana*, p. 53 *kulluhum*.



059 Suffix pronouns: 1st pl. c. after -vCC

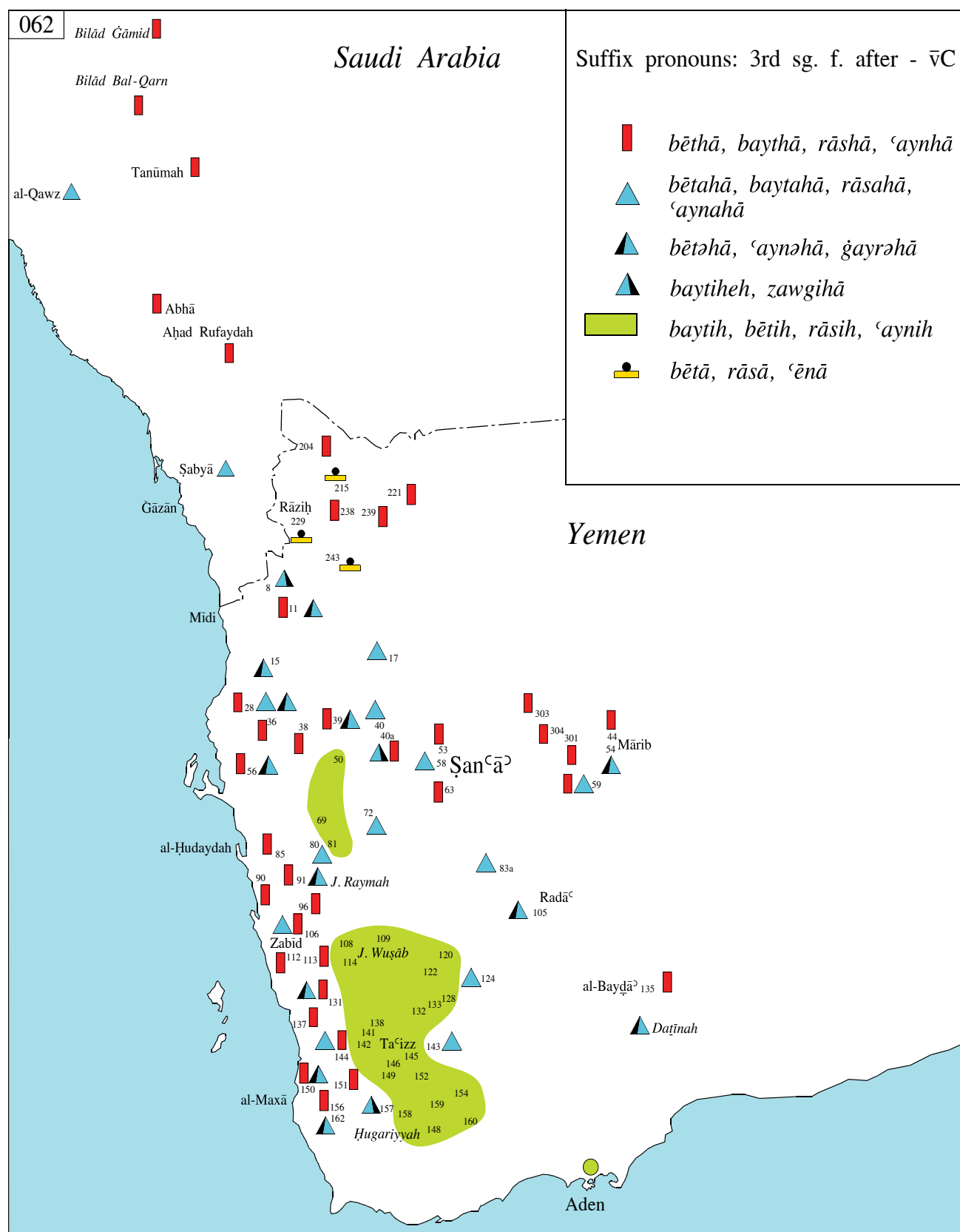


060 Suffix pronouns: 3rd sg. f. after -vCC



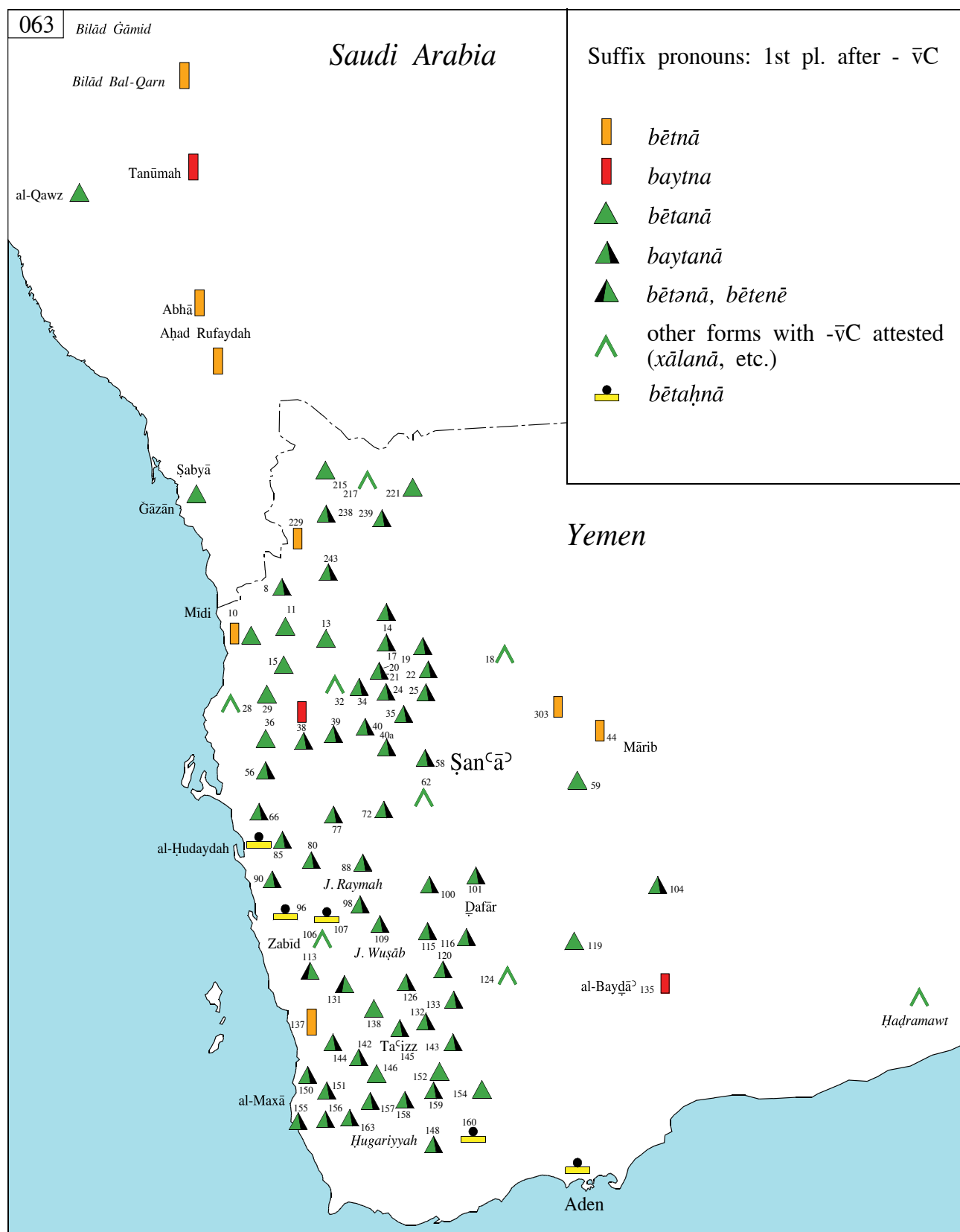
o61 Suffix pronouns: 2nd pl. m., 3rd pl. m. after -vCC

- DIEM writes the forms with /o/ at a number of places, thus on p. 84 al-Maḥall (88): *-okum, -okun, -ohum*. P. 79 al-Hadīyeh (98) *-okum, -ohum*. P. 89 Qafr (115) *-okum, -ohum, -hin*. P. 95 al-‘Udayn (126) *-okum, -ohum*. P. 105 Ta‘izz (145) *-okum, -ohum*. P. 121 ar-Rāhideh (154) *-okum, -ohum*.
- JAQ has the following forms: *innuhum, kullahum* (four times). Cf. also *ḥawā’ijahum, qātahum, bibyūtahum*. Thus the vowel used in the main is /a/.
- Laḥiğ FOD 42ff. *šağluhum, minnukum*.
- WAT-1:190 *ba‘ḍahum, 195 minnakum, 196 minnahum*.
- Radā‘ HUI 170 *‘andokum, 178 minnukum*.
- In many instances forms are mixed; to name but a few:
 - Kawkabān HEN 18 *šufthum, uḍnukum*.
 - Aden GHA p. 14 *kullukum, kulluhum*, p. 18 *annakum, annahum*, p. 20 *ḥaqqkum*, p. 33 *‘indakum*, p. 53 *kulluhum*.
 - Point 36 *ḥaggukun, ḥaggəhun*.
 - Point 10 *ḥaggakum, ḥaggakun, ḥagguhum, ḥagguhun*.
 - In the east frequently without the epenthetic vowel: Point 303 without vowel *maḥallkum, maḥallhum*; point 300 *‘ammukum, ‘ammhum*; point 303 *‘indkum, kullkum*; point 301 *‘indkum, kulləhum ~ kullhum*.
 - Point 141 *ḥaqqakum, ḥaqqohom*.

062 Suffix pronouns: 3rd sg. f. after - $\bar{v}C$

062 Suffix pronouns: 3rd sg. f. after -vC

- The insertion of the epenthetic vowel is not entirely consistent here, either. Forms with /ay/ or /ē/ are problematic, and can be discussed under the heading of -vCC + suffix pronoun or -vC + suffix pronoun.
- The topic is not relevant to some dialects as the suffix pronoun is not -hā but -ih or -ā.
- DIEM only examines 1st sg. pl. after -vC.
- Saudi Arabia PRC-1:1998: *bētha* Qahaba, Rufaydah, Bal-Qarn, *baytha* Tanūmah, *bētaha* Qawz, Ṣabyā.
- Minabbih 204 *ʾinsānhā* ‘her man’ (DGS 221 top), p. 213 ‘Nach -vK lauten die Suffixe nicht mit Vokal an: *ʾaynčeh?* “was willst du?”’
- Baraddūn BET 142: -*aha* ‘dopo -vCC o dopo -vC’.
- Ṣan‘ā’ RO-S 20: *bäytahā*.
- Radā’ HUI 178: *nešūfehā* ‘we see her’.
- Daṭīnah LAN-2:7ff.: *beyneha* and others featuring [e]. Ḥaḍramawt *ktābha* (ALS 689).
- Kawkabān HEN 146: *zawǧihā*, 80 *tišūfhā*, 88 *nšūfhā*, 92 *lagēthā*. 96 *mutawaggiʾinhā*.
- Mixed forms 144: *ʾaynəhā*, *rāsha*; 11 *bēthā*, *bilādəhā*, *ʾaynhā*, 91 *rāsʰhā*, *ʾaynhe*, 39 *xālʰhē*, *bayttēʰ*, 106 *rāsheʰ*, *ʾeynahāʰ*, 131 *rāshāʰ*, *ēnʰhēʰ*.
- Often /h/ is assimilated to the preceding consonant: 303 *ḥadītā* ‘her speech’, 53 *rāsseʰ* ‘her head’.



063 Suffix pronouns: 1st pl. after -vC

Thanks to the data collected by DIEM the topic is documented much more reliably. The allomorph with /a/ occurs more frequently in the 1st pl. than in the 3rd sg. f. and the other persons.

– Saudi Arabia PRC-1:198: *bētna* Qahaba, Rufaydah, Abha, Bal-Qarn, *baytna* Tanūmah, *bētana* Qawz, Şabyā.

– DIEM 24: -*anā* after -vC on the northern plateau. With diphthongs consequently *baytanā*.

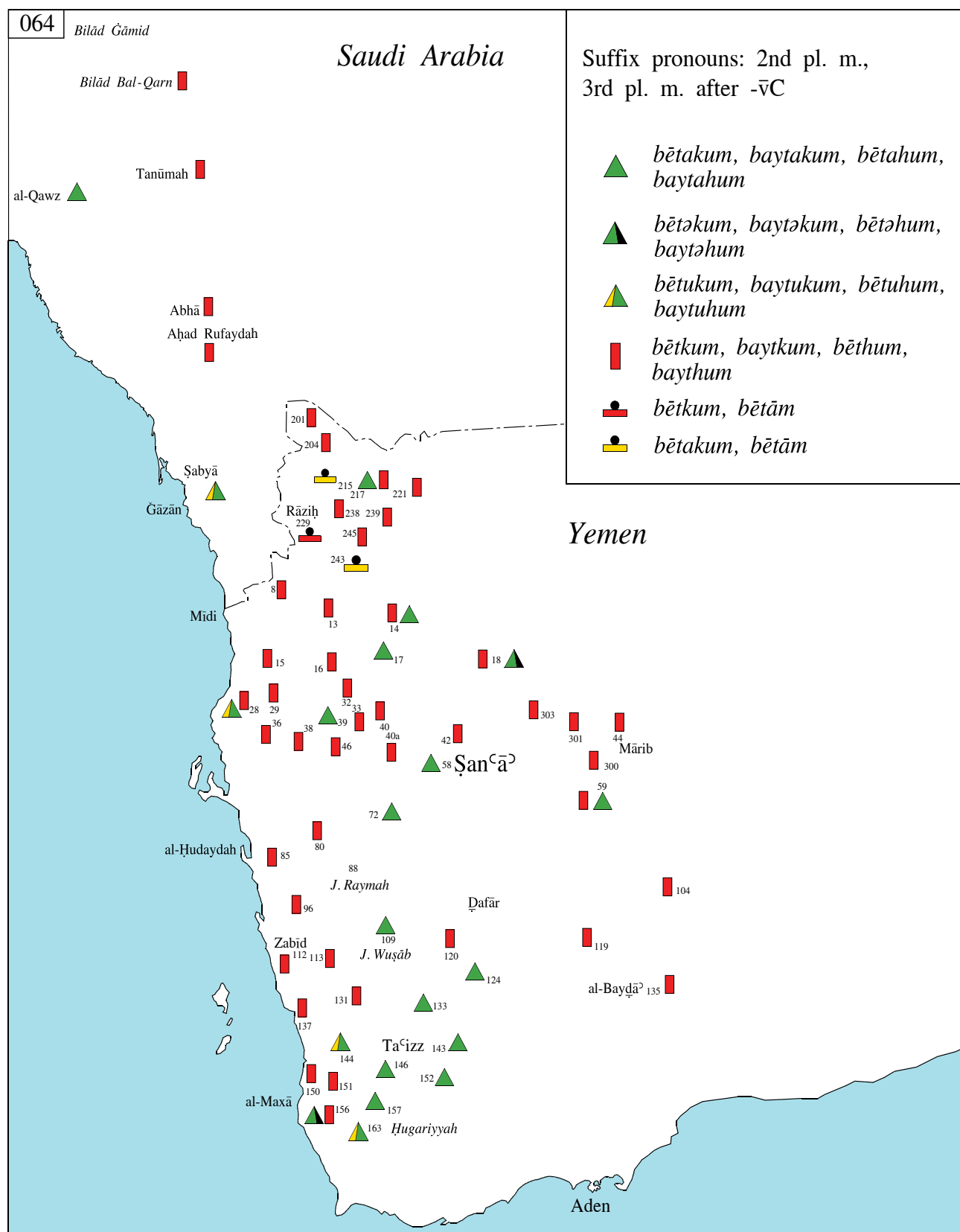
– DIEM 48: Iryān (116) -*ana* after -vC, idem p. 50 Dāmār (101), idem Dafinah and Māriyah (100) p. 53. P. 79/80

al-Hadiyeh (98) -*ana*, p. 84 al-Maḥall (88) -*ana*, p. 89/90 Qafr (115) -*ana*, p. 95 al-‘Udayn (126) -*ana*, p. 105 Ta‘izz -*ana*, p. 120 ar-Rāḥideh (154) -*ana*.

– RO-S 20: *bäytanā* ‘la nostra casa’.

– Kawkabān HEN 74 last line: ‘*aṣābanā* ‘onze zenuwen’, 94 *yīšūfanā* ‘die ons ziet’, 106 *ġāranā* ‘een buur van ons’.

– The open green triangle refers to documented instances such as *xālanā* ‘our uncle’, *ḥālanā* ‘our condition’, *bilādanā* ‘our country’, *awlādanā* ‘our children’.



o64 Suffix pronouns: 2nd pl. m., 3rd pl. m. after -vC

o64 Suffix pronouns: 2nd pl. m., 3rd pl. m. after -v̄C

– Saudi Arabia PRC-1:198: *bētkum*, *bēthum* Rufaydah (also *šāthum* ‘their ewe’), Abha: *baythim* Tanūmah, *bēthim* Bal-Qarn, *bētahun*, *šātahun* Qawz, *bētuhun* Šabyā.

– Yemen/north Majz *bētakum*.

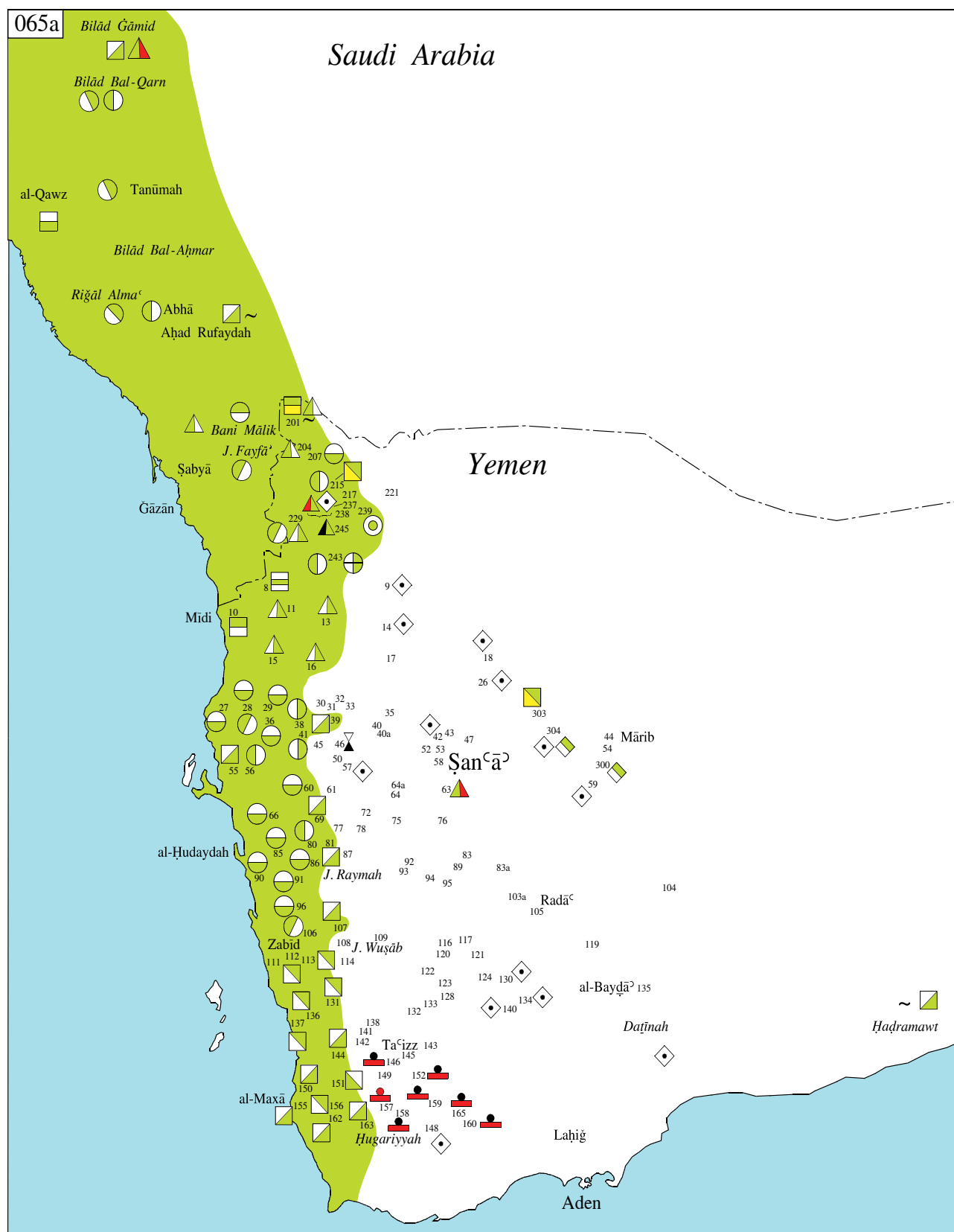
– The topic is not relevant to 215, 229, 243 in parts, due to *bēnām* ‘between them’, *rōkām* ‘I saw them’. Also 229 *bētkum*, *bētkun*, *bētām*, *bētōn* (DGS:164); concerning 204

‘nach -v̄K lauten die Suffixe nicht mit Vokal an: ‘*aynčeh?* “was willst du?”’.

– Although we do not have as much data as for the forms of the 1st pl., we can conclude all the same that /a/ is the most frequent epenthetic vowel in the 1st pl., less frequent in the 3rd sg. f. and is rarest in the 2nd and 3rd pl.

Demonstrative Pronouns and Adverbs

∴



065a–b Demonstrative pronouns: proximal sg. m.+f.

065b

Demonstrative pronouns: proximal sg. m.+f.

 ~ *hāḏa, hāḏā / hāḏi, hāḏī*
 *hāḏa / hāḏih __#*
 *hāḏa / hāḏi*
 *'āḏa / 'āḏi*
 *'ēḏa / 'iḏi*
 *hāḏā ~ ḏā / hāḏī*
 *ḏā / ḏī*
 *ḏā / ḏē*
 *ḏē / ḏī*
 *ḏā / ḏih*
 *ḏāha / ḏīha*
 *ḏīhu / ḏīhi*
 *ḏīhā ~ ḏīyā /*
 *hindīhu / hindīhi*
 *ḏā / tā, ḏa / ta*
 *ḏah / tah*
 *ḏā / tih*
 *ḏih / tih, ḏeh / teh*
 *ḏē / tē*
 *ḏī / tī, ḏi / ti*
 *ḏīh / tīh*
 *ḏā / tay(y)*
 *ḏayy / tayy*
 *ḏiyya / tiyya,
ḏeyya / teyya,*
 *ḏayya(h) / tayya(h)*
 *ḏayyih / tayyih*
 *ḏeyyeh / teyyeh*

065 Demonstrative pronouns: proximal sg. m.+f.

– Original map 51. The symbol at point 157 (Barḥ Dubā‘ ad-Dāxil) is not explained in the key. Read m. *‘ēḍah#*, *‘ēḍa m-dukkān* ‘this shop’, *‘īḍih#*, *‘īḍi m-‘aḍareh* ‘this girl’. Emphatic *ḍ* in *hāḍa* is also typical of many Palestinian and Syrian Ḥawrān dialects.

– RO-N 466 has only *al-mārid hāda*, *al-fāris hāda* for al-Ḥudaydah.

– Saudi Arabia PRC-2. 45/46: (*hā*)*dā* / (*hā*)*dī* Rufaydah, *dahah* [sic] / *dīha* Qawz, *dah* / *tah* Qahabah, *dih* / *tih* Abha, al-Ṣaḥrā’, Riḡāl Alma’, Bal-Aḥmar, *dih* / *tih* Tanūmah, Bal-Qarn, *dayyih* / *tayyih* Ġāmid. ASIRI 71 has *dih* / *tih* for Riḡāl Alma’.

– Saudi Arabia/ Ġāmid TOLL 28/29 *hādā* ~ *dā* / *hādī* ~ *dī*.

– Saudi Arabia/ Jabal Fayfā’ ALB 60 *dayya* ~ *dī* / *tayya* ~ *tī*.

– Yemen/north DGS 76/77 Xāšir (217) *dā* / *tā*, Ġurāz (239) *dā* / *tih*, im-Ṭalḥ (217) *dā* / *dih*, Majz (215), Ġubar (243) *dih* / *tih* ~ *dā* / *tay*, Sāḡen (245) *dayy* / *tayy*, Minabbih (204) *dayya* / *tayya*, independent of gender *dī*: *dī m-bakit* ‘this box’, *dī m-marsamah* ‘this ball pen’, in-Naḍir (229) *dīyā* / *tīyā*, according to WAT-4:48 *dī* / *dīyyah* and *tī* / *tīyyah*; Bani ‘Abādil (201) *hādā* / *hādihī* ~ *dīyā* /, *dīhā* ~ *dayyah* / *tayyah*; Ṣa’dah (237) *hādā* / *hādih* ~ *dēyyeh* / *teyyeh*; Wāsiṭ (221) *hādā* / *hādī*; Ġurāz (239) and im-Ṭalḥ (217), also *hādā* independent of gender; *hādā* ‘Alī’ ‘this is Alī’, *hādā Fāṭmeh* ‘this is Fatmeh’, *hādā sayyārati* ‘this is my car’, *hādā m-gurī* ‘these villages’ (im-Ṭalḥ).

– Northeast NAD 34 *hādā* / *hādī* Ḥuṣūn al-Jalāl (44), Siḥil (304) *hādā* / *hādih*, Širwāḥ (301), *hādā* / –, Banī Ḍabyān (300), *hādā* / *hādī*, *dā* / *dih* il-Jawf (303), *dā* m. Siḥil, Banī Ḍabyān *dā*, and loc. cit. ‘There is a certain fluctuation in these forms: the same dialect may use both short and long forms’.

– Kawkabān HEN 40 *hāda* _#, 44 *hādī* _#, 44 *hādī* f., 46 *hāda*.

– Radā’ HUI 105 *hādā* / *hādih* sic!, Manāxah WRB 70 *hādā* / *hādī* ~ *dēyya* / *teyya*, the latter however anaphoric ‘the abovementioned’ (p. 71), Baraddūn BET 141 *hādā* / *hādih* ~ *dayya* ~ *tayya*.

– DIEM 45 has *hādā* / *hādī* for Yarīm. Idem Ta’izz p. 104.

– JAQ 25, Jiblih: *hādī* ‘this (sg. f.)’, *hādō* ‘these (pl. m.)’, *hādīkāh* ‘this one’ medium deixis, *hāda* ‘this (sg. m.)’ p. 26.

– South/ Laḡiḡ FOD 42 *hāda l-ḡaul*, *el-ḡarya hāda* _#, *hādī l-mawāši*, *hādī d-diḡāq*, *hādī l-ḡarya*; Aden *hāda* / *hādī* GHA 4; no data for Yāfi’, Ḍālī’; Daṭīnah LAN-1: 1909:447 *dā*

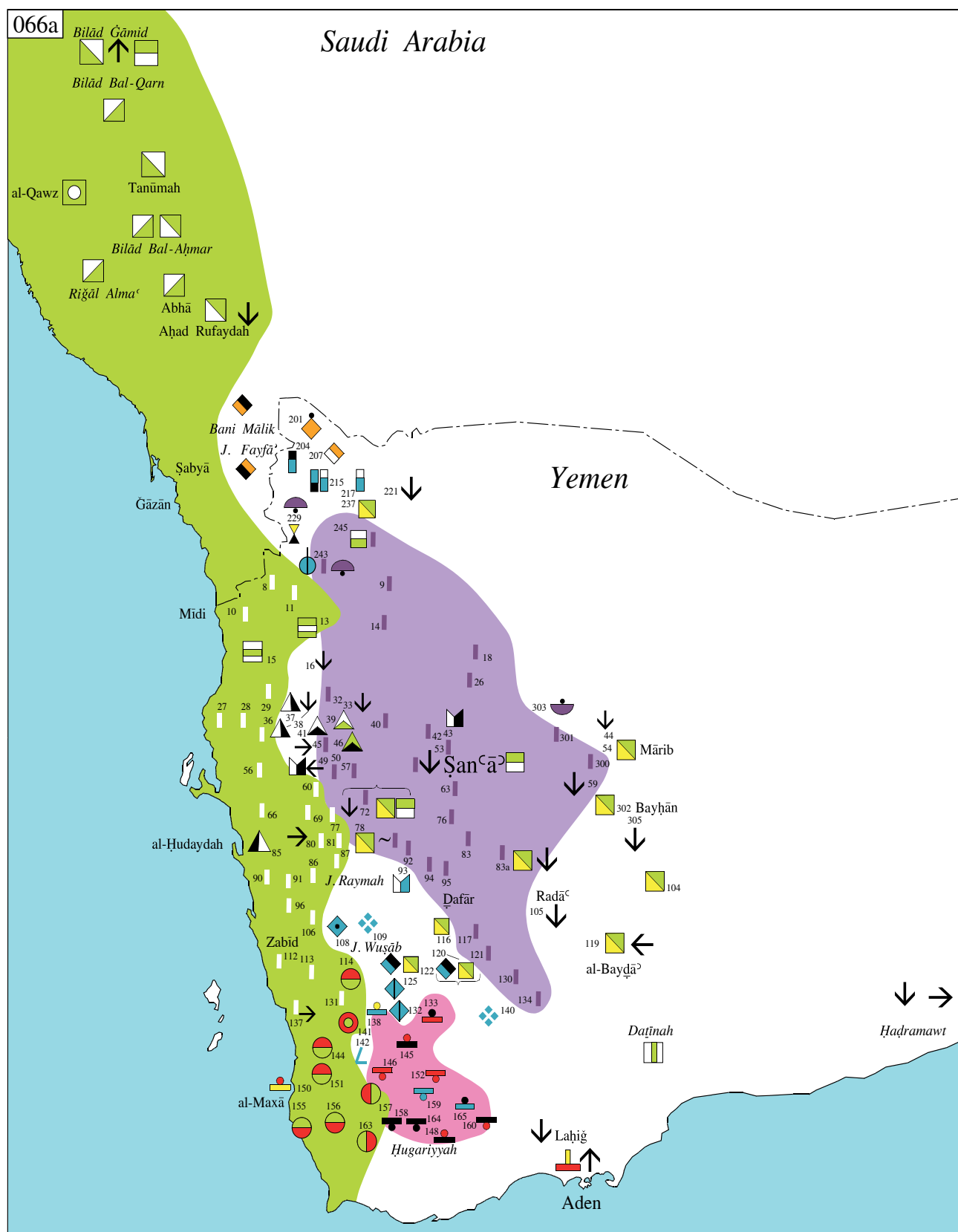
~ *hāda* ~ *hādā* / *deh*, *hādeh*, *hāde*. Ḥaḍramawt *dā* / *dī* ~ *hādā* / *hādī* (ALS 689).

– ‘All of the dialects in the data examined here which have consonant-alternating demonstratives have the same vowel in both the masculine and feminine forms, that is to say there are no demonstratives forms which are both consonant and vowel alternating... We do not even find *dā/tī* dialects which we might expect from contact between the vowel-alternating dialects and the consonant-alternating dialects which are in close proximity to one another as seen in Figure 5.1.28.’ (MAG 295/6). The forms *dāh* / *tih* at point 239 contradict this statement.

– Regarding forms of the type *dayyah* / *tayyah* cf. DIEM 48, according to whom the forms in Iryān (point 116) form a triad and *dayya* / *tayya* / *dawlāyya* are ‘verkleinernd oder verächtlichend’. The same is true of cl. Ar. DIEM refers to FIS-3:101, according to which Old Arabic and Ṣan‘ā’ forms such as *dayya* / *tayya* do not have diminutive meaning. Regarding Ṣan‘ā’ cf. WAT-1:44/45, according to which there is no difference between long and short forms. NAI 111 mentions forms *hādī* ~ *hajj* ~ *hā* / *hāda* (e), *hā*, *dā* and *dajjih* ~ *dajjā* / *tajjih* [tajejeh; tajej]. Also p. 112: ‘The parallel function of the two groups (with and without *ha-*) is difficult to determine. We can state that the unmarked forms (without *-k*) together with initial *ha-* are mainly found in descriptions of procedures (recipes, body painting...). These contexts are generally relevant and to a degree independent of the situation in which the utterance occurred. It could be said that their deictic centre is neutral (neither “near” nor “far”, neither “present” nor “absent”).’¹

Regarding the North DGS 77 says about *dēyyeh* / *teyyeh* ‘weder verkleinernd noch verächtlich’, in fn. 59: ‘auch mit der Bedeutung einer mittleren Deixis’.

¹ ‘Le fonctionnement parallèle des deux séries (avec et sans *ha-*) est difficile à établir. On constate que les formes non marquées (sans *-k*) de l’ensemble à initiale *ha-* sont davantage attestées dans les descriptions de procédure (recettes de cuisine, dessins corporels...). Ces contextes ont une portée générale, c’est-à-dire qu’ils sont en quelque sorte décrochés de la situation d’énonciation. On pourrait dire que leur centre déictique est neutre (ni “proche” ni “lointain”, ni “present” ni “absent”).’



066a–b Demonstrative pronouns: proximal pl. m.+f.

066b

Demonstrative pronouns: proximal pl. m.+f.

	<i>dōlih</i>		<i>hāḍō / hāḍēn</i>		<i>hāḍāla</i>
	<i>ḍawlih</i>		<i>hāḍum / hāḍēn</i>		<i>hadawn</i>
	<i>dōlah</i>		<i>hāḍum / hāḍinnin</i>		
	<i>ḍawla, ḍōla</i>		<i>hāḍōm / hāḍēn</i>		
	<i>dōliyā</i>		<i>hawḍam / hawḍēn</i>		
	<i>ḍawlayyih, ḍawleyya</i>		<i>'āḍum / 'āḍayn</i>		
	<i>ḍayla, ḍēla</i>		<i>'āḍum / 'āḍin</i>		
	<i>dāla(')</i>		<i>'āḍun / 'āḍin</i>		
	<i>ḍāla</i>		<i>'āḍan / 'āḍin</i>		
	<i>ḍāliya</i>		<i>hawla, hawlā, hōla</i>		
	<i>ḍallahah</i>		<i>hawlāy</i>		
	<i>ḍinna</i>		<i>howlahā</i>		
	<i>ḍinnēn</i>		<i>hilla</i>		
	<i>ḍīne</i>		<i>'awlā, 'ōlā</i>		
	<i>ḍēne</i>		<i>'ūlā ~ 'ulayya</i>		
	<i>ḍun</i>		<i>'ōlā ~ 'ōliyā</i>		
	<i>ḍawli / ḍayla</i>		<i>hēḍa</i>		
	<i>ḍawla / ḍilla</i>		<i>hāḍu, hāḍo'</i>		
	<i>ḍawla / ḍalla</i>		<i>hawḍa'</i>		
	<i>hāḍāla / ḍāliyah</i>		<i>'awḍī</i>		
	<i>hāḍawla / ḍawlāyih</i>		<i>'awḍiyā</i>		
	<i>hāḍawla / hāḍāla</i>		<i>'ōḍā</i>		
	<i>hawla / halla</i>		<i>'ūḍī</i>		
	<i>'ōlayya / 'ēlayya</i>		<i>hāḍawla, haḍōla</i>		
	<i>uhmōḷa / ihnōḷa</i>		<i>hāḍawl</i>		
	<i>'ōlī / 'ēlī</i>		<i>hāḍayla, hāḍēla</i>		

o66 Demonstrative pronouns: proximal pl. m.+f.

– Saudi Arabia PRC-2:45 (*hā*)*dōlah* Rufaydah, *dallahah* al-Qawz; *ʾawḏī* al-Qahabah, *dōlih* Abha, al-*Ṣaḥrāʾ* (a village near Abha), Riḡāl Almaʿ, Bal-Aḥmar, *dawlih* Ġāmid, *dōlah* Bal-Aḥmar, *dawlih* Tanūmah, *dōlih* Bal-Qarn, *dawlayyih* Ġāmid.

– Saudi Arabia/ Ġāmid TOLL 28 *haḏawl*.

– Saudi Arabia/ Jabal Fayfāʾ ALB 60 *ʾūḏī*.

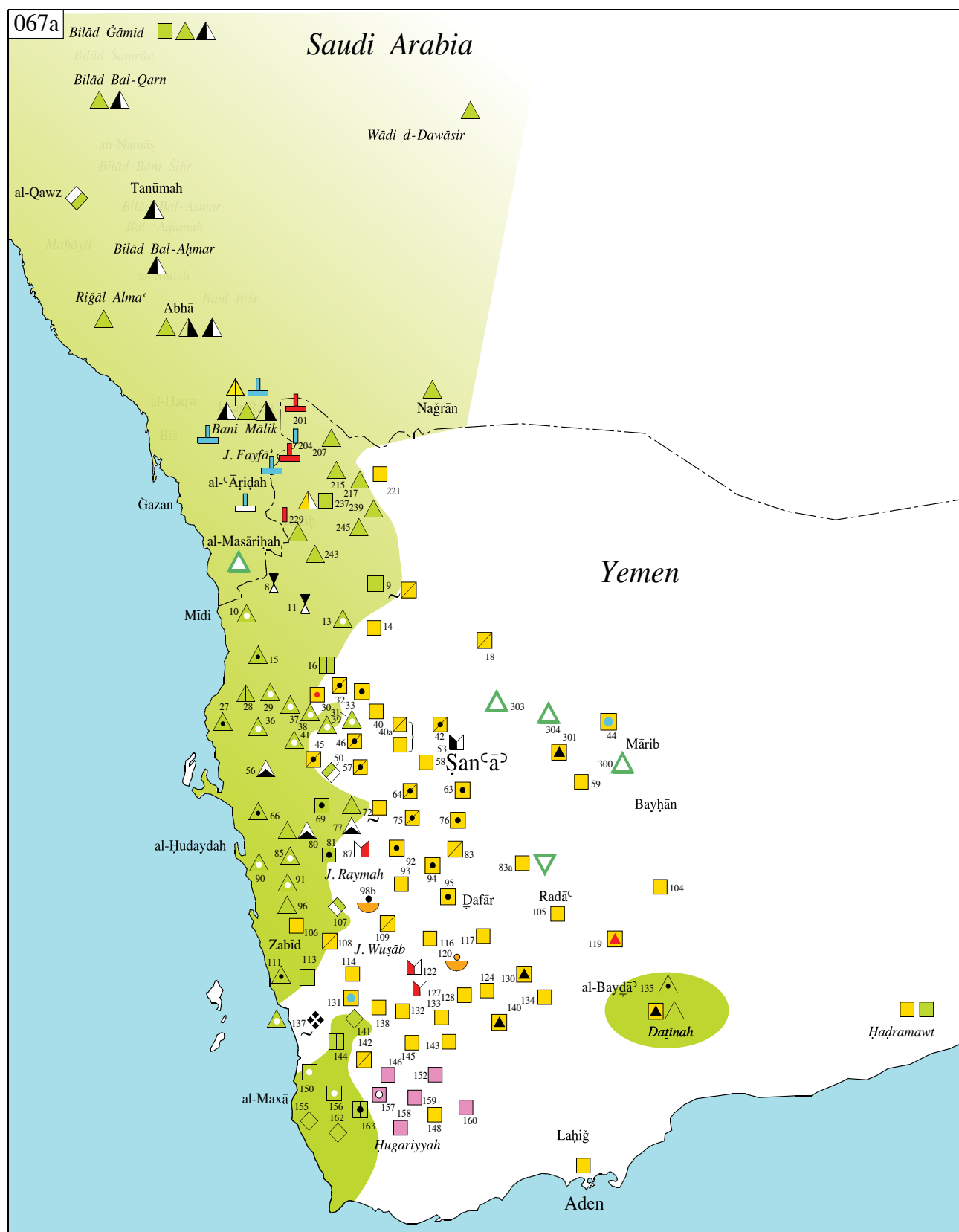
– Yemen/north DGS:81/82 *ʾawlā* im-Ṭalḥ (217), *ʾōla* Majz (215), *ʾūlā* ~ *ʾūlayya* Minabbih (204), *hawla* Ġurāz (239), *dōla* Ṣaʿdah (237), *hāḏowla* Wāsiṭ (221), *ʾōḏā* Xāšir (207), *ʾawḏīyā* Bani ʿAbādil (201), *ʾōlīyā* Majz (215), *dōlīyā* Sāḡen (245). Separate: *ʾōlayya* m. / *ʾēlayya* f. Ġubar (243), in-Naḏīr (229) *ʾōlī* m. / *ʾēlī* f.; Ġubar also *howlahā l-banāt* ‘these girls’. WAT-4:48 has the plural form *ʾēlih* / *ʾēliyya*, obviously a common-gender form, and as ‘male human pl.’ *ʾiltih* / *ʾiltiyyah*. 47/48: ‘In referent agreement, gender distinction

is made in the singular only, the two-way distinction in the plural is between [male human] and non [male human]’. It appears that there are slight differences between dialects in Rāziḥ.

– Baraddūn BET 141 *hāḏawla* ~ *dawla* ~ *hawla*; Manāxah WRB 70 *dawla* ~ *dawleyya* ~ *hawla* ~ *hāḏawlā*; Radāʿ HUI 105 *haḏawlā*; Ṣanʿāʾ WAT-1:44 *hāḏawlāʾ* / *hawlaʾ*, *dawlayya* / *dawlāʾ*. On the map the latter are included in *dawlayyih*.

– Northeast NAD 34 Huṣūn al-Jalāl (44) *hāḏowlā* ~ *hāḏawlā*, *hōlā* ʿAbideh (54), Ṣirwāḥ (301), *hawla* Banī Ḍabyān (300), *dowlā* ʿAbideh/Mārib (54), *uhmōlā* m. / *ihnōlā* f. il-Jawf = *ōlā* intensified with pronouns *hum* and *hin* with subsequent elision of high vowels in the preceding syllable.

– South/Daṭīnah LAN-1:447 *dāla* ~ *dālaʾ* ~ *haḏāla* ~ *hāḏālaʾ*; Aden GHA 133 *hadaul* ~ *hadaun*; Laḥiḡ FOD 43 *an-nās hadōla* (sic!). Ḥaḏramawt *hāḏēla* ~ *hāḏōla* (ALS 689).



067a–b Demonstrative pronouns: distal sg. m.+f.

067b

Demonstrative pronouns: distal sg. m.+f.

	<i>dāk / tāk</i>		<i>hādāk / hādīk</i>
	<i>dak / tak</i>		<i>hādak / hādīk</i>
	<i>dāk / tāk</i>		<i>hādak / hādīk</i>
	<i>dāk / tāk</i>		<i>hādāk / hādīk</i>
	<i>dawk / tawk</i>		<i>hīdāk / hītāk</i>
	<i>tāk / tāka</i>		<i>hādāk / hātēk</i>
	<i>dāk / tīk</i>		<i>hādāk / hīdīk</i>
	<i>dīyāk / tiyāk, dīyāk / tīyāk</i>		<i>hādāk / hātāk</i>
	<i>dīyyak / tiyyak</i>		<i>'ādak / 'ādīk</i>
	<i>dāk / dīk</i>		<i>'idak / 'idīk</i>
	<i>dak / dīk</i>		<i>hēdānuh / hēdānhe'</i>
	<i>dāk / dīk</i>		<i>hudkah / hīdkah</i>
	<i>dak / dīk</i>		<i>hadkah / hadkihi</i>
	<i>dāk / dēk</i>		<i>hadakkah / hadikkehi</i>
	<i>dakkuh / dakkeh</i>		<i>hādak / hādīš</i>
	<i>dakkuh / dakkeha'</i>		<i>hādāk / hādīkç ~ hādīč</i>
	<i>dukkuh / dīkkeh</i>		<i>hindākhu / hindākhihi</i>
	<i>dukkah / dīkkah</i>		
	<i>dākah / dīkah</i>		
	<i>dāk / -</i>		
	<i>- / dīk</i>		
	<i>dīhal / -</i>		
	<i>daylī / taylī</i>		
	<i>dīyāl / tīyāl</i>		
	<i>- / tālhā</i>		
	<i>- / tālih</i>		

– Original map 53: the symbols for *dāk* / *tāk* are the wrong way up at points 10 and 13!

– Regarding Saudi Arabia see PRC-2:45 (*hā*)*dāk* / (*hā*)*dīk* Rufaydah; *dāka* (<**dākhah*?), *dīkah* (<**dīkhah*?), *dallākah* (<**dallākhah*?) al-Qawz. Short forms *dāk* / *tāk* ~ *tīk* / *ʾawdāk* al-Qahabah, *dāk* / *tiyāk* / *dolāk* Abha, but AZR-2:158 Abha *haḍāk* / *haḍīk* / *haḍōlāk* and for medium deixis a plural *haḍōliyyāk* / *haḍōlik*; short forms on p. 159 *dāk* / *dīk* / *dōlāk*, and as ‘middle’ *diyāk* = m. and pl. *dōliyyāk* / *dōlik*. Al-Ṣaḥrā’ *dāk* / *tāk* / *dōlāk*; Riḡāl Alma’ *dāk* / *tāk* / *dōlāk*, Bal-Qarn *dāk* / *tāk* / *dōlāk*, Ġāmid *dāk* / *tiyāk* / *dawlāk* ~ *dawliyyāk*; in TOLL Ġāmid 28 *hādāk* ~ *dāk* / *hādīk* ~ *dīk* / *hādawlāk*. He also notes the parallel forms *diyāk* / *tiyāk* for Abha, al-Ṣaḥrā’, Bal-Aḥmar, Tanūmah, Bal-Qarn. In fn. 3 he also mentions *dāk* / *tāk* for southern Naḡd, Naḡrān and Dōsiri.

– The Saudi forms *dākah* (<**dākhah*?), *dīkah* (<**dīkhah*?), as well as Yemeni forms of the type *dukkuh* / *dīkkeh*, recall Egyptian *dukha* / *dikha*.

– Saudi Arabia (internet) Jabal al-Rayṭ m. *tāk*: *tāk im-bayt*, f. *tākā*: *tākā m-talḥah* ‘that acacia’, *daylī* pl. m.; *tiyyāk* Zahrān, *dāk* al-Masāriḥah/Tihāmah; *dīhal* al-ʿĀriḍah; Ġāmid *dayyāk*. Ġāmid TOLL 28 *hādāk* ~ *dāk* / *hādīk* ~ *dīk*.

– Jabal Fayfā’ *daylī* / *taylī* (ALB 60); *diyāl* / *tiyāl* in Minabbih and ‘Abādil/Yemen exhibit /l/ as indicator of distance. *tālḥā* ‘that one f.’ (229) and *tālīh* ‘that one f.’ (204) are only partially documented.

In DGS 81 these forms, together with *hināl* ‘there’, were compared with cl. Ar. forms such as *dālīka*, *tilka*, *hunālīka*, which also feature /l/ as a deictic element for something distant. Cf. also MAG 280 ‘Hasselbach (2007a, pp. 21–22) argues that the -k suffix largely replaced an older suffix -l(V) which is attested in Afroasiatic and in some of the Semitic languages, especially in Arabic and its dialects,

and which she claims marked distal or remote distance. This suffix is found in the classical Arabic distal singular demonstratives (*dālīka*, *tilka*), but is absent from almost every modern dialect’. For further discussion see MAG 280ff.

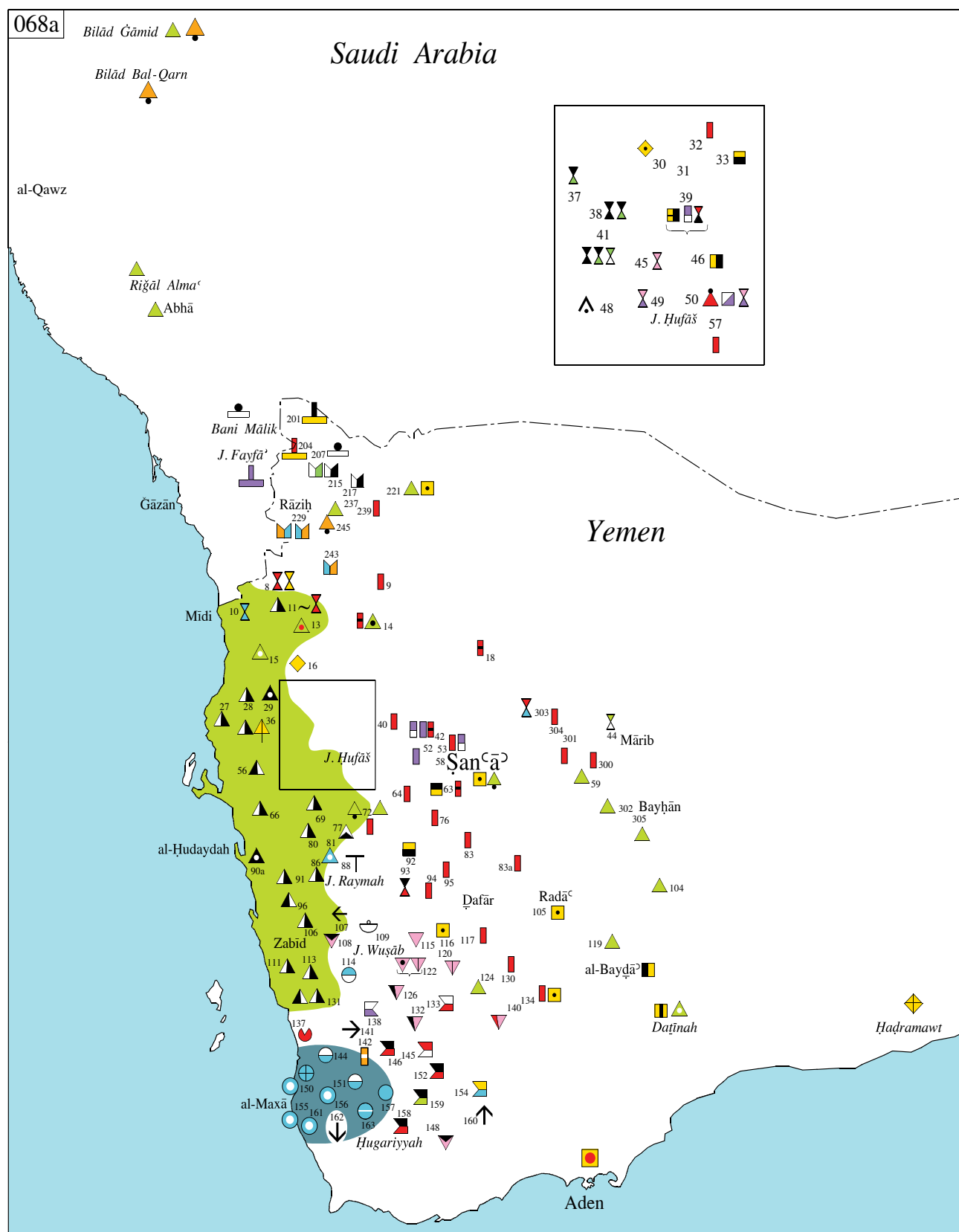
– Emphasis in the 2nd deixis, e.g. in forms such as *dāk* ‘that one’ does not occur only in Yemen. It is also widespread in Palestinian Arabic and in Ḥōrān in Syria. See SA map 279 *haḍāk*.

– *dawk* / *tawk* in one of the Tihāmah dialects may possibly be traced back to **dālīk* / *tālīk* via *dālīk* / *tālīk* (cf. Mehri **kalb* > *kōb* ‘dog’; the phenomenon also occurs in e.g. French and Dutch: **cald-* > *chaud*, **kald* > *koud*).

– Featuring palatalisation of the fem. form (in analogy to corresponding pronominal and verbal forms) at point 120 *hādak* – *hādīš* and at 98b (Kusmi) *hādāk* – *hādīkš* ~ *hādīš* (WAT-8:62).

– It may be that some forms such as *haḍakkah* must be interpreted like comparable ones in Manāxah. WRB 646 lists the following forms: *hādāk* / *hādīk* / *hawlāk* ~ *hādawlāk* ‘that one m.+f.’, and for middle deixis to refer to something within sight or pointing distance, with suffixed -*hā*, -*ahā*, -*ahā*: *hādāhā* ‘this one (m.) there’, *hādīrahā* ‘this one (f.) there’, *hādakhā*, *hādākahā* ‘that one (m.) there’, *hādikhā*, *hādīkahā* ‘that one (f.) there’. Cf. also JAQ 25: *hādākāh* ‘this one (m.) there’ for the middle deixis in Jiblibh.

– According to WAT-4:47/48 a much more elaborate system is found in J. Rāziḥ. Compared to the forms *dāk* ~ *diyāk* / *tāk* ~ *tiyāk* documented by myself, the distinctions there in the second deixis are between *dīhēk* / *tīhēk* ‘distal, addressee’, *dīhēc* / *tīhēc* distal, addressee, *dāk* / *tāk* ‘absent, past distal, addressee’, and *dāc* / *tāc* ‘absent, past distal addressee’.



o68a–b Demonstrative pronouns: distal pl. m. +f.

068b

Demonstrative pronouns: distal pl. m.+f.

	<i>ḍawlāk, ḍōlāk</i>		<i>hawlāk, hōlāk</i>		<i>'awḍāk, 'ōḍāk</i>
	<i>ḍawlāk</i>		<i>hawlāk</i>		<i>hāḍumk / hāḍunk</i>
	<i>ḍālāk</i>		<i>hawlā'ik</i>		<i>hāḍunk / hāḍink</i>
	<i>ḍālak</i>		<i>hawlakkah</i>		<i>hāḍunk / hāḍēnk</i>
	<i>ḍaylāk, ḍēlāk</i>		<i>haḷakka', haḷakkah</i>		<i>'āḍunk / 'āḍink</i>
	<i>ḍēlak</i>		<i>hillak</i>		<i>'āḍank / 'āḍink</i>
	<i>ḍaylowk</i>		<i>hāḍawlāk</i>		<i>hāḍōk / haḍēk</i>
	<i>ḍēlakkún (< ḍēlakhun)</i>		<i>hāḍālāk</i>		<i>'awlāk, 'ōlāk</i>
	<i>ḍaylāk, ḍēlāk</i>		<i>hāḍālāk</i>		<i>'ōlīyāk</i>
	<i>ḍāla'</i>		<i>hāḍālākka'</i>		<i>'ōlak / 'ēlak ~</i> <i>'ōlayyāk / 'ēlayyāk</i>
	<i>ḍālkah</i>		<i>hāḍawlakka'</i>		<i>'ēlāk / 'ēlāč</i>
	<i>ḍālukkah ~ ḍālkwah</i>		<i>hāḍawlāk</i>		<i>humaylāk</i>
	<i>ḍawlayyak, ḍawleyyik</i>		<i>hāḍaḷawk</i>		<i>humḍōlak / hiṇḍōlak</i>
	<i>ḍawlīyāk, ḍōlīyāk</i>		<i>hāḍawnāk</i>		<i>hiṇḍēlakhum /</i> <i>hiṇḍēlakhinneḥ</i>
	<i>ḍawlak / ḍallak</i>		<i>hiḍālāk</i>		<i>hiṇḍēlakhum /</i> <i>hiṇḍēlahun</i>
	<i>ḍawlāk / ḍawlakhinneḥ</i>		<i>hēḍālāk</i>		<i>humḍālkwah /</i> <i>hiṇḍālkwah</i>
	<i>ḍōlakhum / ḍōlakhun</i>		<i>hāḍēlāk</i>		<i>humḍālkwah /</i> <i>hiṇḍālkwah</i>
			<i>hāḍālā</i>		<i>hawlakkah / hallakah</i>
	<i>ḍakkehūn</i>		<i>hawḍakah</i>		<i>humḍālkwah /</i> <i>hiṇḍālkwah</i>
	<i>ḍakkahum</i>		<i>hawḍak</i>		<i>humḍālkwah /</i> <i>hiṇḍālkwah</i>
	<i>ḍukkun</i>		<i>hāḍakah</i>		<i>humḍālkwah /</i> <i>hiṇḍālkwah</i>
	<i>ḍakkum</i>		<i>hāḍōk</i>		<i>hawlakkah / hallakah</i>
	<i>ḍīnek</i>		<i>hāḍayk</i>		<i>humhawḷakkah /</i> <i>hiṇhawḷakkah</i>
	<i>ḍēnek</i>		<i>hēḍak</i>		<i>humowlāk / hiṇālāk ~</i> <i>uhmōlāk / iḥnālāk</i>
	<i>ḍinneḥ</i>				<i>'ulāl</i>
	<i>ḍinnāk</i>				<i>'ūdāylī</i>
	<i>ḍinnēn</i>				<i>'awḍīyāl</i>
	<i>ḍinnēk</i>				
	<i>hēḍanhum</i>				

o68 Demonstrative pronouns: distal pl. m.+f.

– Original map 52: *ḍinnēn* ~ *ḍinnēk* point 150, the near deixis is (*hā*)*ḍinnin*. At point 39 the symbol for *hawḷakkah* had been entered, will be replaced with *humhawḷakkah* / *hinhawḷakkah* in the key. *ḍāwlak* pl. f. in JG is an error; should read ‘pl. m.’ The symbol on the map at point 160 is not listed in the key: = *dakkum*. Point 165 diamond, upper half black; symbol not listed in key, questionnaire is not to be found.

– Saudi Arabia PRC-2:45 *ʾawḍāk* al-Qahabah; *dolāk* (!) Abha, al-Ṣaḥrāʾ, Riḡāl Almaʿ, Bal-Qarn; *ḍōliyāk* Bal-Qarn; *dawlāk* Ġāmid, *ḍawliyāk* Ġāmid.

– Saudi Arabia/Ġāmid TOLL 28 *haḍawlak*, Abha AZR-2:158 (*hā*)*ḍōlāk*.

– Saudi Arabia/Jabal Fayfāʾ ALB 60 *ʾūdāyli*.

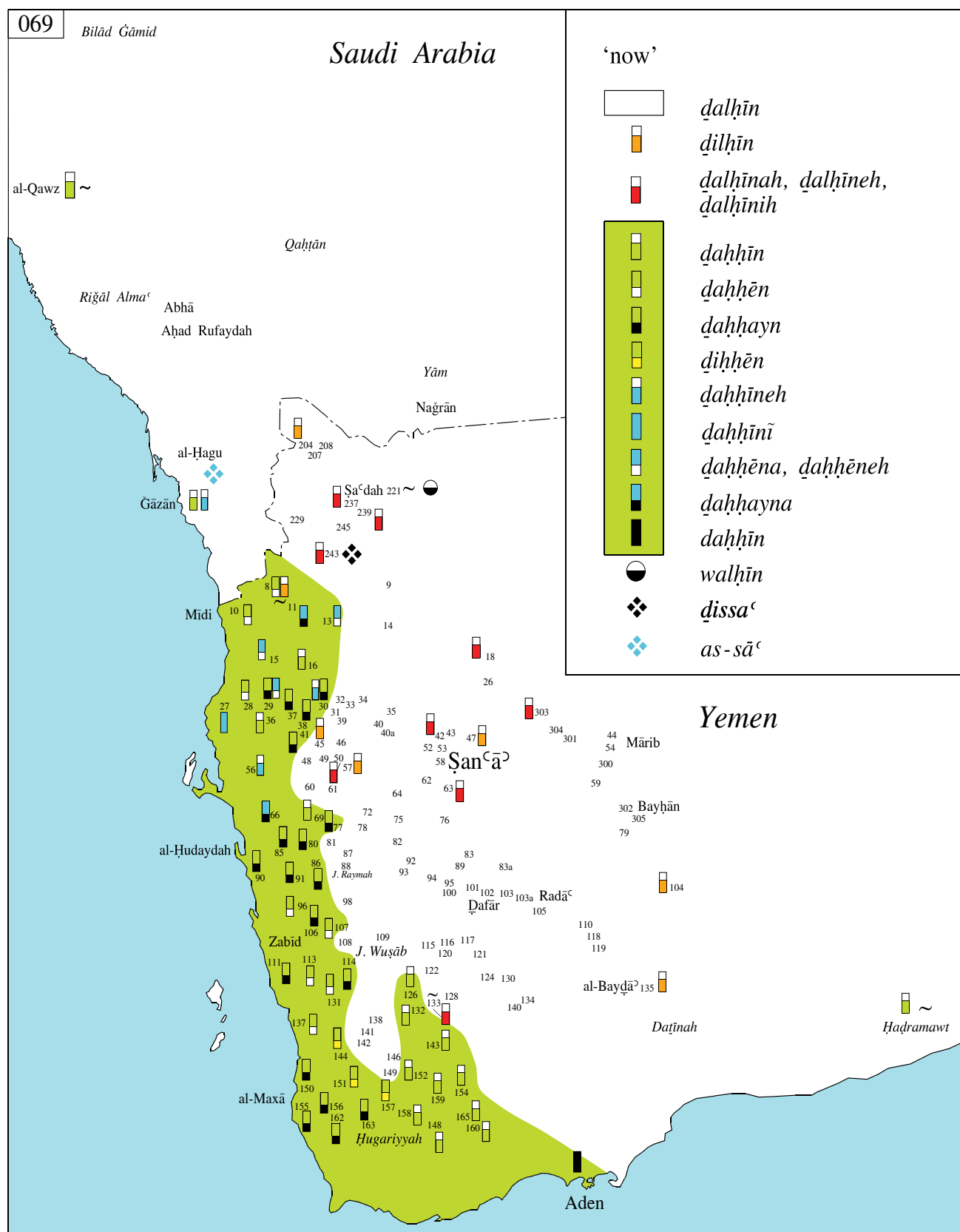
– Yemen/north DGS 81/82 *ʾawlāk* im-Ṭalḥ (217), *ʾolāk* Majz (215), *hawlāk* Ġurāz (239), *hāḍowlāk* Wāsiṭ (221), *ʾōḍāk* Xāšir (207), *ʾōliyāk* Majz (215), *ḍōliyāk* Sāgēn (245); *ʾolāk* m. /

ʾelāk f. Ġubar (243), in-Naḍīr (229), *ʾolayyāk* m. / *ʾelayyāk* f. Ġubar, in-Naḍīr. With /l/: *ʾulāl* Minabbih (204), *ʾawḍiyyāl* Banī ʾAbādil (201).

– In the right column of the table for J. Rāziḥ in WAT-4:48, entitled ‘Male human pl.’, we find the following forms: *ʾiltiḥēk*, *ʾiltiḥēc*, *ʾiltiḥēkum*, *ʾiltiḥēkun*, *ʾiltāk*, *ʾiltāc*, *ʾiltākum*, *ʾiltākun*. The second column from the left, entitled ‘Pl.’, lists the following forms: *ʾelḥēk*, *ʾelḥēc*, *ʾelḥēkum*, *ʾelḥēkun*, *ʾelāk*, *ʾelāc*, *ʾelākum*, *ʾelākun*. If we omit those forms that refer to the addressee (‘you there, you over there’), the main forms remaining are *ʾelāk* pl. m. and *ʾelāc* (=ʾelāč) as against the forms *ʾolāk* m. / *ʾelāk* f. I have documented.

– Manāxah WRB 70 *dawlāk* ~ *dawleyyik* ~ *hawlāk* ~ *hāḍawlāk*; Baraddūn BET 141 *hawlāk*; Radāʿ HUI 105 *haḍawlāk*.

– South/Daṭīnah LAN-1:447 *dālāk* ~ *hāḍālāk*; Aden *hadawnāk* (GHA 4), Ḥaḍramawt *hāḍelāk* (ALS 689).



- Saudi Arabia PRC-2:47 *dalḥīn* Rufaydah, Abha, al-Qawz, *dahḥīn* al-Qawz. Further data from the internet and WAD questionnaire.
- Yemen/north JG *dalḥīn* 207, 208, 221, 229, 245, *dalḥīnah* 237, 239, 243; northeast 300, 301, 302, 304, 305 *dalḥīneh* 303. Freehand does not accept Unicode characters: *dahḥīnī* at point 27 = *dahḥīniy*.
- Manāxah WRB 460 *da l-ḥīn* ~ *da l-ḥīna*; Radāʿ HUI 53 *dalḥīn*; al-ʿUdayn DIEM 94 *dahḥīn*; Daṭīnah *dalḥīn* LAN-1:904, Aden *dahḥīn* GHA 161, Ḥaḍramawt *dalḥīn* ~ *dahḥīn* (ALS 690).
- Localised *dissaʿ* (< *dī s-sāʿa*) ‘at this hour’ recalls Levantine and Iraqi forms such as *hassa*, *hassaʿ*, *issa*.
In al-Ḥagu/Saudi Arabia *as-sāʿ(a)* (internet).

– Saudi Arabia PRC-2:47 *hnī* Rufaydah, *hini* Abha, *hina* al-Qawz; Abha *hinah* (questionnaire), *hnīh* Riḡāl Alma‘ (WAD); Ġāmid TOLL 29 *hinā*, Jabal Fayfā’ *hiniyyah* ALB 60; internet: al-Ḥagu *h(i)nayyah*, *hana* al-Masāriḥah, *hinī* ar-Rayt, Banī Mālik, *hinayyah* ar-Rayt, Bal-Qarn, al-Ḥagu, Banī Ḥarb/Banī Mālik, *hiniyyih* Banī Šihr, *hānahah* Ġāzān.
 – Yemen/north DGS 82 Wāsiṭ (221) *huna* ~ *hina*; *hinā* Ġubar (243), Ġurāz (239), Ša‘dah (237), Xāšir (207); *hiniyyah* an-Naḍīr (229), Sāḡēn (245), ‘Abādīl (217), Banī ‘Abādīl (201), Majz (215), Minabbih (204); *hini* in-Naḍīr, WAT-4:51: *hinih*, Ḥaydān (244) *fah*, Majz (215) *feh*.
 – Manāxah WRB 648 *hānā* ~ *hānāhā*; *hineyya* ‘(precisely) here’ = anaphoric; Radā’ HUI 127 *hanā* ~ *hunā* ~ *hanayya*; Kawkabān KEN 48 *hānā*; Baraddūn BET 150, 154 *hina*, *hāna*, Ḍafār *hāna* (WAD), Šan‘ā’ *hānā* ~ *hiniyyih* (WAD).
 – Northeast Siḡīl (304), Širwāḥ (301) *hāhanah*, Ḥuṣūn al-Jalāl (44) *hina*, *hinā* ~ *hine* (il-Jawf), *ihnā* Banī Ḍabyān (300).
 – South/Laḡiḡ FOD 72 *hēna*; Yāfi’ *hanayya* _# (internet); Ḍāli’ *hānā* (internet, my own data ~ *hina* ~ *huna*); Daṭīnah

LAN-1:353 *hāna* ~ *hāna*, in fn. 3: ‘plus à l’est on dit *hōna*’ [*huna* on the map]; Aden GHA glossary *hina*. Ḥaḍramawt coast *hni*’ (included with *hnī(h)* on the map, *hna*’ inland (questionnaire).

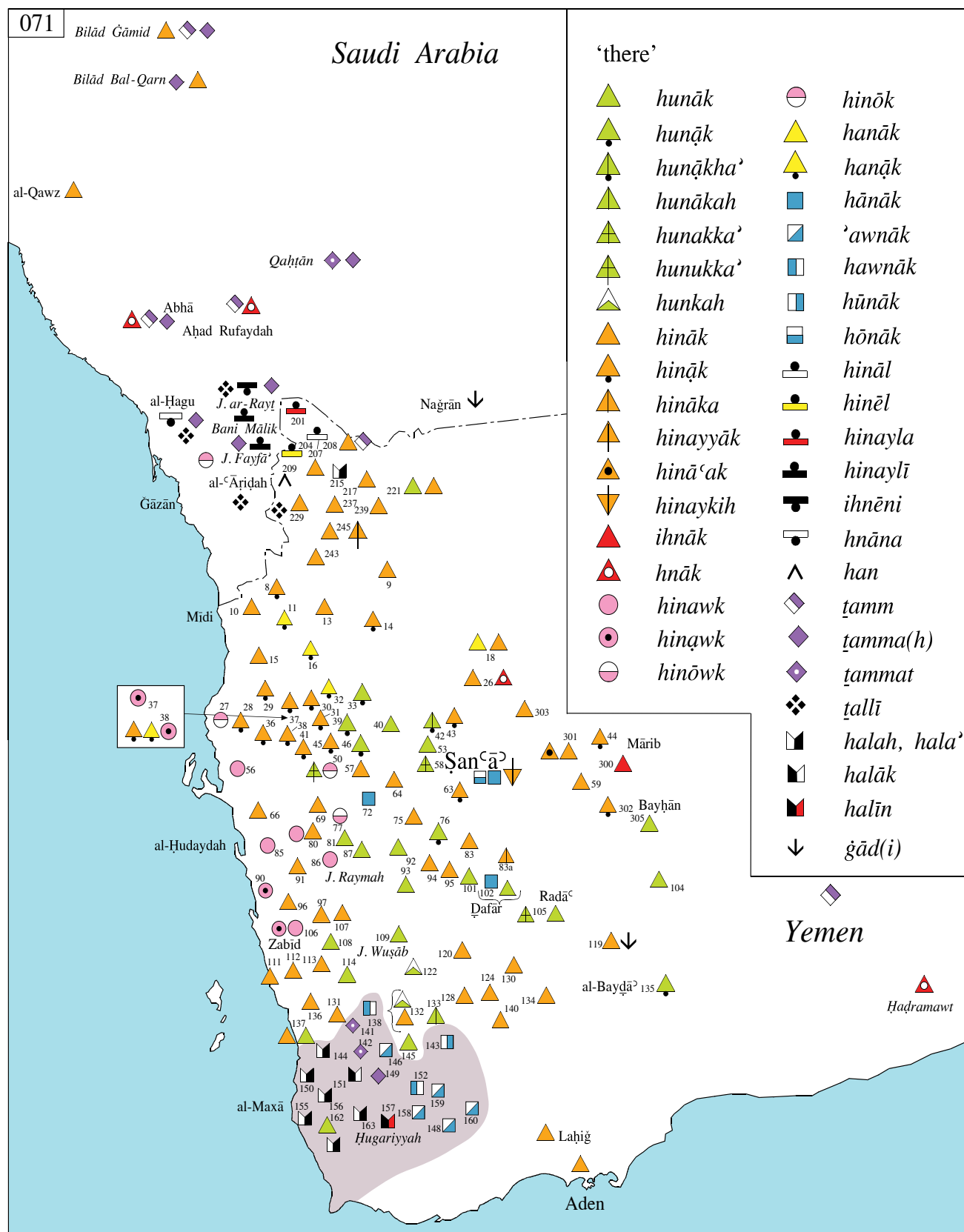
– Forms with /aw/, /ō/ have to be explained with **hāhuna*.

– *fah* and *feh* in the extreme north: ‘These forms should probably be interpreted as *fā*, they have nothing to do with *fī* “there is” (which is *bu*, *bū* in this area), but belong with *fā* “as, then” with an old locative meaning; cf. Hebr. *pō* “here”, LES 54 *fe* in *lafe* “to this side”, which some link to Hebr. *pē’ah* “side, edge” and other Sem. forms incl. Ar. *fī’a*, but Rundgren with Hebr. *pō*.’ (JG 956).

– DIEM 17 regards *hina* as a loan from Egyptian, which is doubtful.

– LAN-1:2879 quotes *hallōh* ‘ici’ for Aden. This may be a misunderstanding, meaning in fact ‘there is’. Q. v.

– Saudi Arabia/ Banī Mālik, Ġāmid (internet) *halam* probably means ‘hither’. Cf. maps 130/131.



- Saudi Arabia PRC-2:47 *tamm* Rufaydah, Abha, *hnāk* Rufaydah, *tammah* Abha, *hināk* Bal-Qarn, al-Qawz. Ġāmid TOLL 18, 29 *hənāk* ~ *hināk*. Abha *hnāk* (questionnaire).
- Saudi Arabia/Jabal Fayfā' ALB 60 *hinaylī*. Internet: ar-Rayt *ihnēni*; al-Ḥagu *hnānah*, ar-Rayt, al-Ḥagu, al-ʿAriḍah *tallī*, ar-Rayt, Bal-Qarn, al-Ḥagu *tammah*, Zahrān *ḡādī*. *tammah* ~ *tammāt* Qaḥṭān/Sarāh (internet), *tamm(ah)* Ġāmid, al-Ḥagu, Jabal Fayfā' (internet), Ġāzān/centre *hnwk*, included with *hinōk* on the map.
- Yemen/north Wāsiṭ (221) *hunāk* ~ *hināk*; Ġurāz (239), Ġubar (243), Ṣa'dah (237), Sāḡēn (245), in-Naḍīr (229), im-Ṭalḥ (217) *hināk*, Sāḡēn *hinayyāk*; *hinayla* Banī 'Abādīl (201), Xāšīr *hināl* (207), Minabbih (204) *hinēl*; Šidā' (209) *han*, Umm Lēlā (208) *tamm*; Rāziḥ (229) *tallī*; Majz (215) *halah*.
- Northeast NAD 35 Širwāḥ *hinā'ak*, Ḥuṣūn al-Jalāl *hināk*, il-Jawf *hnāk* ~ *hināk*, Banī Ḍabyān *ihnāk*.
- Manāxah WRB 649 *hānāk*, anaphoric *hineyyik* '(precisely) there'; Radā' HUI 127 *hunāk* ~ *hunākkah*; Baraddūn BET 144 et passim *henāk(a)*; Ḍafār *hunāk* (WAD), Ṣan'ā' *hānāk* ~ *hinaykih* ~ *hinayyik* (WAD).
- South/Laḥiḡ FOD 72 *henāk*; Aden GHA *hināk* (GHA, WAD, EM); Ḥaḍramawt *hnāk* (WAD), *tamm* Šabwah (internet, located behind the key).
- In cl. Ar. *tamma* is synonymous with *hunāka* (LANE).
- *tallī* in Jabal Rāziḥ without etymology in JG, only a reference to *tamm(a)*. It is possible that we are looking once

again at a deictic element */l/* denoting something distant. Further instances of this form in southwest Saudi Arabia ('Abādīl, al-ʿAriḍah) on the internet.

– */n/* to denote something distant is featured in *hnāna* and *ihnēni*. Similar forms such as *hinaylī* from the same area suggest assimilation **hnāla* > *hnāna*.

– JG explains forms such as *halah* 'aus einem deiktischen Element *hā* und *l* für das Fernere wie in kl. *dālīka*, *tilka*, jem. *diyāl* "jener", *tiyāl* "jene", *hināl* "dort"; cf. also BAU 77 *helehū* "dort ist er", 78 *helehī* "dort ist sie"; FIS-3:175 **hā-la-huwa* verweist auf eben diese Formen, erklärt jedoch */l/* aus **ilā*, weil es nach ihm ein deiktisches *l* in den neuarab. Diall. nicht gibt'. This statement has been refuted by the latest data. *halīn* Jabal Fayfā' (internet), *hinaylī* according to ALB 60, Banī Mālik *ihnēli* (*ihnaylī*, internet sic spelt with *alif*), included with *hinaylī* on the map.

– *ḡād* Saudi Arabia/Naḡrān (internet) is documented for more northerly dialects, including North African ones. One instance of *ḡādī* at point 119.

– *kaḍāk* Ḥaḍramawt (internet), in ALS 689 to indicate direction, i.e. 'thither, (towards) there'. Cf. also JG 1060 *kaḍāk* 'back there, behind there, approximately behind, approximately in this direction (towards a distant target)'.

– *ḥētak* Ḥaḍramawt (questionnaire) glossed as 'your place' (< *ḥayt*). Not on the map. From the context: 'stay there = where you are' *aḥsanlak t-tammi ḥētak* 'it is better if you stay there = where you are'.

Interrogatives

∴

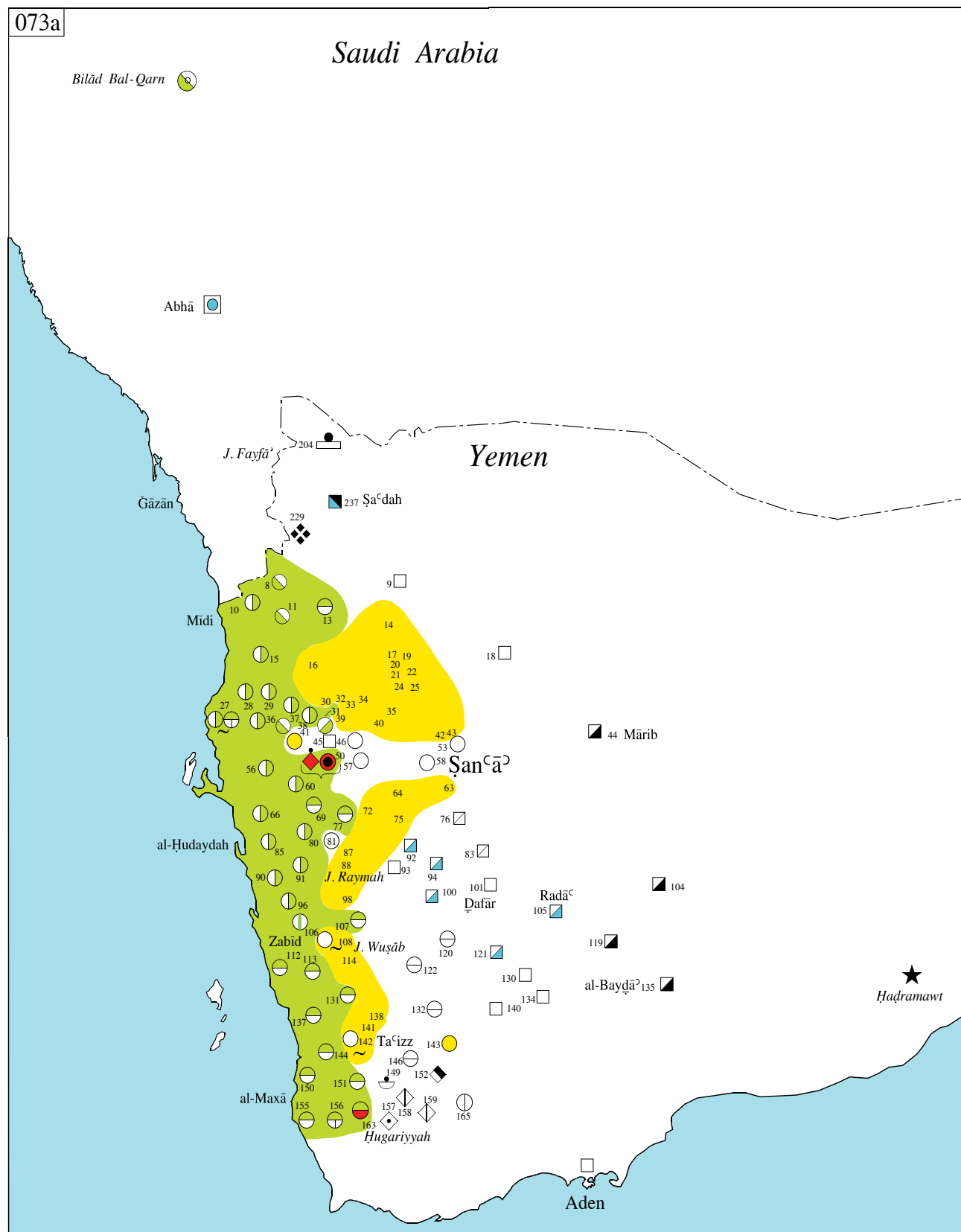
– Saudi Arabia PRC-2:46 *mā* al-Qahabah, *wušš* al-Qahabah, *ēš* Rufaydah, Abha, al-Qawz, *’iš* Abha, *ēš* Abha (questionnaire, both forms also in AZR-2 passim and 137), al-Šaḥrā’, *m(i)da* Bal-Qarn, *wiš* Ġāmid.

– Jabal Fayfā’ *māda* (ALB 61); *ēš* Nağrān (internet), Ġāzān *mah* (internet), *mahā* Ġāzān/mountains, Banī Mālik (internet), *māhū* Ġāzān/city (internet, more likely subject), *mī* Ġāzān/mountains/Bedouin (internet, not locatable, neglected on map), *wēš* ~ *wiš* Ġāmid (internet), Ġāmid *ēš* ~ *ayš* ~ *ay* (TOLL 16, 30, 48).

– Yemen/north DGS 89 *weyš* 208, 215, 217, 221, 237, 239; *mā* 201, 204, 207; *māh* 232; *mādi* 229.

– Yemen/Baraddūn *ayš* ~ *ēš* (BET 124, 152); *ēš* Aden (questionnaire, internet); Šu‘ēb/Ḍāli’ *ēš* (own data), *wēš* ~ *aš* Yāfi’ (internet), Šan‘ā’ *mā* (questionnaire), *eyš* Ḍafār, *mā* Wuṣāb (internet); Ḥaḍramawt *’ah* (ALS 689).

– *šū twawwi*, *šū tšallah* Laḥiğ (FOD 43) seems strange, but Fodor p. 33 states that his young informant had never left Laḥiğ, ‘thus his dialect can be considered intact, without any influence of the Egyptian or any other spoken Arabic’.



073a-b 'what? (subject, m.+f.)'

073b

‘what? (subject, m.+f.)’

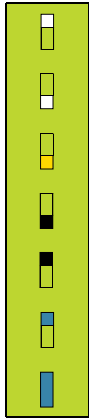
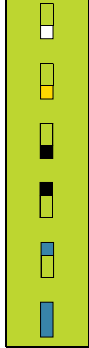
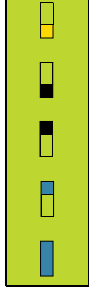
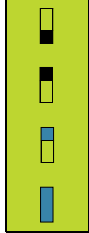
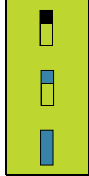
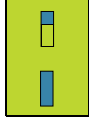
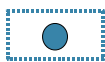
○	<i>mā hādā - mā hādī</i>	◇	<i>múşluhu - múşlihe</i>
⊖	<i>mū hādā - mū hādī</i>	◊	<i>muşluh - muşleh</i>
⊙	<i>mō hādā - mō hādī</i>	◆	<i>muşlōda’ - muşlēdi</i>
□	<i>’ayš hādā - ’ayš hādī</i>	♦	<i>mişluh -</i>
▣	<i>’aš hādā - ’aš hādī</i>	★	<i>hwāh hūda</i>
▤	<i>wayš hādā - wayš hādī, hādeh</i>		
▥	<i>mā dayyah - mā tayyah</i>		
✦	<i>mādī dī c.</i>		
◐	<i>mūda - mūdī</i>		
▦	<i>’ayšu hādā - ayši hādī</i>		
▩	<i>išu / -</i>		
▨	<i>wēššu dā’ - wēšši dī’</i>		
◑	<i>māhāda’ - māhīteh</i>		
■	● <i>māhu hādā - māhi hādī, hādeh</i>		
◒	<i>māhūda’ - māhīteh u.ä.</i>		
◓	<i>māhūde - māhīdī</i>		
◔	<i>māhūde - māhūdī</i>		
◕	<i>māhūhda’ - māhīhdih</i>		
◖	<i>mīhūde’ - mīhīdīy</i>		
◗	<i>māhudāyyah - māhitīyyah</i>		
◘	<i>māhudīyyeh - māhitīyyeh</i>		
◙	<i>māduh dīh - māduhi tih</i>		

073 ‘what? (subject, m.+f.)’

- To be corrected on original map 60 at point 163: *māhúhda* ~ *māhíhđih* rather than *māhúhda* ~ *māhíhda*.
- PRC-2:46 records *mđāhu đīh*, *mđāhi tīh* ‘what is this?’ for Saudi Arabia/Bal-Qarn. Abha *wēš sār luhum* ‘what happened to them?’, *hāh ēš* ‘indukum’ ‘so! what do you have?’, ‘what is wrong with you?’ AZR-2:105, *išū minšīrah iz-za‘al đēh kullah* ‘what is all this anger about?’, other examples containing *ēš*.
- WRB 81 Manāxah *mā hū hāđā* ‘what is that?’. Ḥaḍramawt *hwā hūđā* ‘what is this’ (ALS 690).
- Forms of the type **mā ‘ašluhu?* ‘what is his/its origin?’ are to be emphasised.
- The distinction between masc. and fem. forms would presuppose that the person asking the question knows roughly what the object in question is, such as when inquiring after the name of a tree or a type of car (*šağarah*, *sayyārah*) and consequently uses a feminine form.

074b

‘why?’

*láma**way’**laméh __#**’awēh**lamē**hwēh**lamā**haw**limā**mālak, mālača, etc.**lima, limeh#**mādā bača, mādā
bačum, etc.**limī**lamū(h)**mā(hā) baša (bača), etc.**lamō(h)**iš bik etc.**lamaw**wěš bak**limaw**wěš mālak, etc.**limō**māl**límu**māh**lilmū**māhā ‘awsū**lilmā, lilma, lilmeh#**ěš, wiš gōmik**ninma, ninmeh#**‘alāma**limādā**liyeh**lē(h)**’allīh**layš, lěš**liyayš*

– Similar to many Arabic dialects 'why' is formed out of *li* 'for' and forms meaning 'what' (cf. Romance languages with e.g. *pourquoi* etc.). Parallelism does not occur in every case, thus e.g. in Radā' *leyš* / *eyš*, but also *liyeh*.

– Saudi Arabia PRC-2:47 *lē* al-Qahabah, Rufaydah, Abha, Ġāmid, *lēš* al-Qahabah, Ġāmid, al-Qawz; *limah* Abha, 'allih Bal-Qarn.

– Saudi Arabia (internet) *limah* ar-Rayt, Ġāzān, *lēh* (internet, not locatable), *lēh* Abha (questionnaire).

– Saudi Arabia/Ġāmid TOLL no instances, *limah* Riġāl Alma' (questionnaire).

– Yemen/north *lama* Ġubar (243), *limādā* Wāsiṭ (221), *lima* Majz (215), in-Naḍīr (229), *leyš* Ġurāz (239), im-Ṭalḥ (217); Ġamar (232) *mā jīt lōhnaḥ?* 'why have you come here?'

– Manāxah WRB 602 *lilmā*; Radā' HUI 80 *leyš*, *liyeh*; Baraddūn BET 144 *limāda*; *lilmā* Ṣan'ā' (questionnaire), *leyš* Ḍafār (questionnaire), *lamuh* Ibb (internet), *lamū* Ta'izz (internet), *lilmeh* Ṣan'ā' (internet).

– Northeast NAD 38 *leyš* Ḥuṣūn al-Jalāl (44), Banī Ḍabyān (300), Ṣirwāḥ (301); 'Abīdeh (54) *weyš bak mā jīt?* 'why did you not come?', *lēh* 303, 44.

– South/Laḥiġ no instances. Daṭīnah LAN-1 *lēš* ~ *liš*, Aden GHA *leiš*, *lēš*, 'aṣān ēš (the latter two questionnaire); *limah?* Yāfi' (internet), Ḥaḍramawt *lēh* (ALS 689).

– Forms of the type *haw* Ġāmid (PRC-2:47), *hwēh* Ġāmid, Bani l-Ḥarīt, 'Asīr (internet), 'awēh ~ *hwēh* Sarāḥ Qaḥṭān, Zahrān (internet) are not easy to etymologise. It is possible to recognise *ēh* 'what?' in the last two. The form *way* 'in way' *mā 'ateytši* at point 150 'why did you not come' might even have been 'woe, you did not come!' originally (= 'why did you not come?'). Maybe the previously mentioned forms could be interpreted along the same lines.

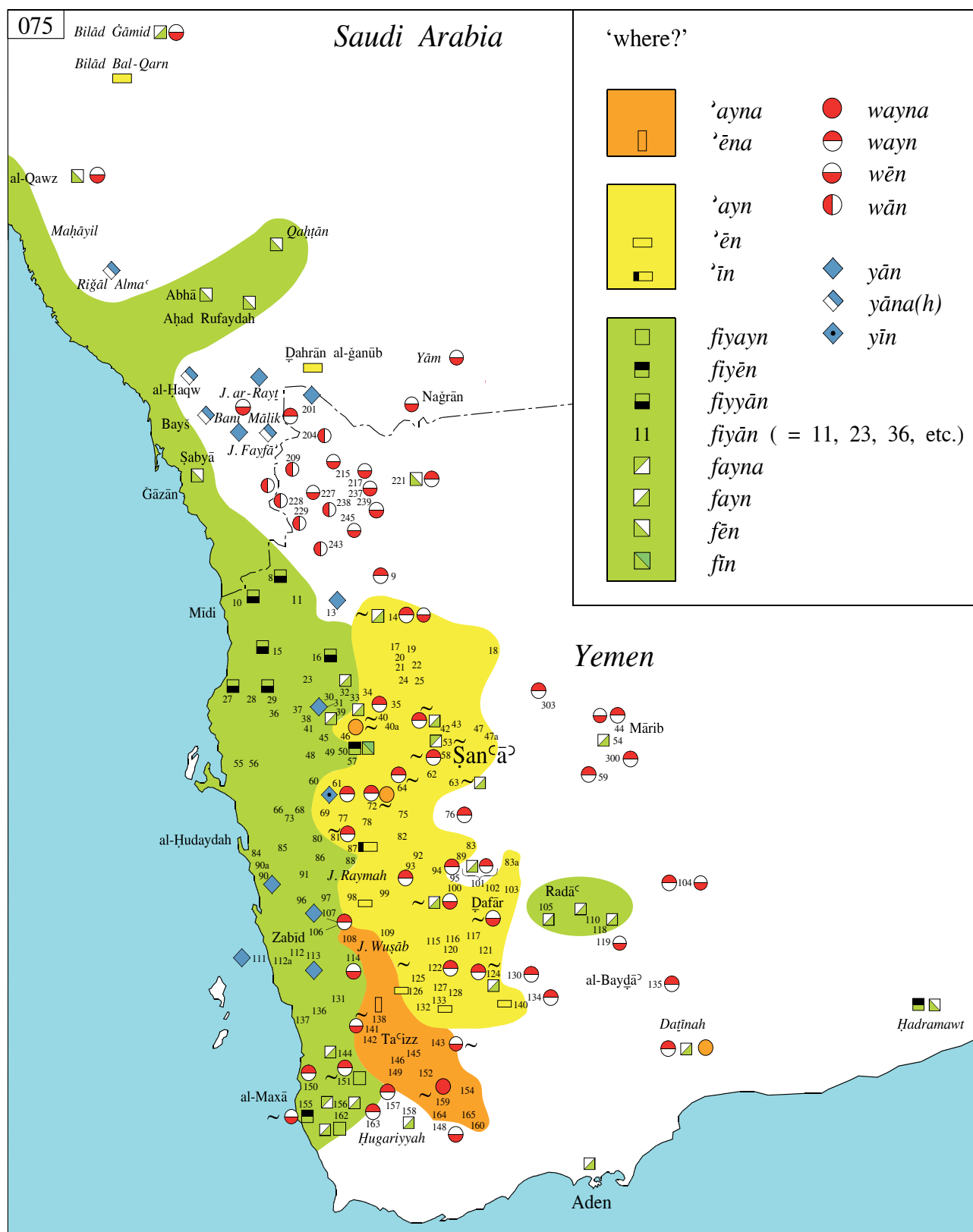
– *māhā* 'awsū Banī Mālik (internet) is impossible to etymologise via cl. Ar., but it probably means something like 'what is its meaning?, what is its use?'

– *ēš gōmak?* Yām (internet). Cf. KUR 279 *wiš gōmik* 'what is the matter with you, what is your problem; why'. See below.

– Jabal Fayfā' ALB 2010: *mālača* ~ *māḍā bača*, in fact 'what is it with you that...'; *mā baša mā ruḥt* 'why did you not go?' 'Abādīl (201), *wēš mālak*...? Ṣa'dah (237), *mālača* ~ *māl mā-tēta naḥna?* 'why did you not come to us?' displaying *māl* 'why?' abstracted from *mālača* reanalysed as *māl-a-ča* (Xāšīr 207, Minabbih 204). Cf. also WAT-1:67 *mā lāk tiwassax ad-dunyā?* 'why are you m. sg. dirtying the place?' beside *lilmā mā yīštawš 'iyāl* 'why don't they m. want children?'

See also SI 178/177 with examples from LAN-2:1197 *mālak qaša't minni em-difā* 'pourquoi m'as-tu enlevé la couverture?'

– Regarding Abha see AZR-2:73 *iš bik*, p. 167 *iš*, *ēš*, *lēh*, *lēš*, *limah*, *kann*. P. 169 '*ish* plus *b* can mean "why" in contexts like *ish b'ali: ma: ja:* "why did Ali not come?", *ish buhum 'axxaraw il-maw'id* "why did they postpone the appointment"'. P. 170: 'Moreover, *ish* can be followed by *go:m* to ask about status in the meaning of "what is wrong with you" or "why" similarly to *ish* plus *b*. *ish* + *go:m* is mostly used by people from GaHTa:n and surrounding areas. *wishgo:m* is recorded by Ingham for the Murra dialect and it is said to be equivalent to the Northern *wish 'ilm* or *wish-bala* (Ingham 1986: 281) consider the following examples: *ishgo:mik* "what is wrong with you" *ish go:mah yibki:?* "why is he crying?"'



– Compared to other dialect areas, part of the Yemen is more conservative regarding forms which are relatively close to cl. Ar. *ʾayna*. Forms with /y/ are also typical, some of them expanded with *f*-, especially in the Tihāmah. Forms with /y/ are rare elsewhere (*yēn* Sudan/Baggāra REM 21).

– Saudi Arabia PRC-2:47 *wēn* al-Qahabah, Ġāmid, al-Qawz, *fēn* Rufaydah, Abha, Ġāmid, al-Qawz, Ṣabyā, *ʾēn* Bal-Qarn; Ġāmid *fayn* TOLL 30, *fēn* Abha (questionnaire).

– Internet: *ʾayn* Ḍahrān al-ḡanūb, *yān* ar-Rayṭ, Banī Mālik, *wēn* Naḡrān/Yām, Zahrān; *yāna* Jabal Fayfā' ALB 61, *yānah* Riḡāl Alma' (questionnaire), al-Ḥagu; *wān* Banī 'Abādīl, *ʾayn* Banī Mālik, *fēn* Qaḥṭān, *f(ī)yān* Bayš/Ġāzān, *fayn* (or *fēn*) Tihāmah.

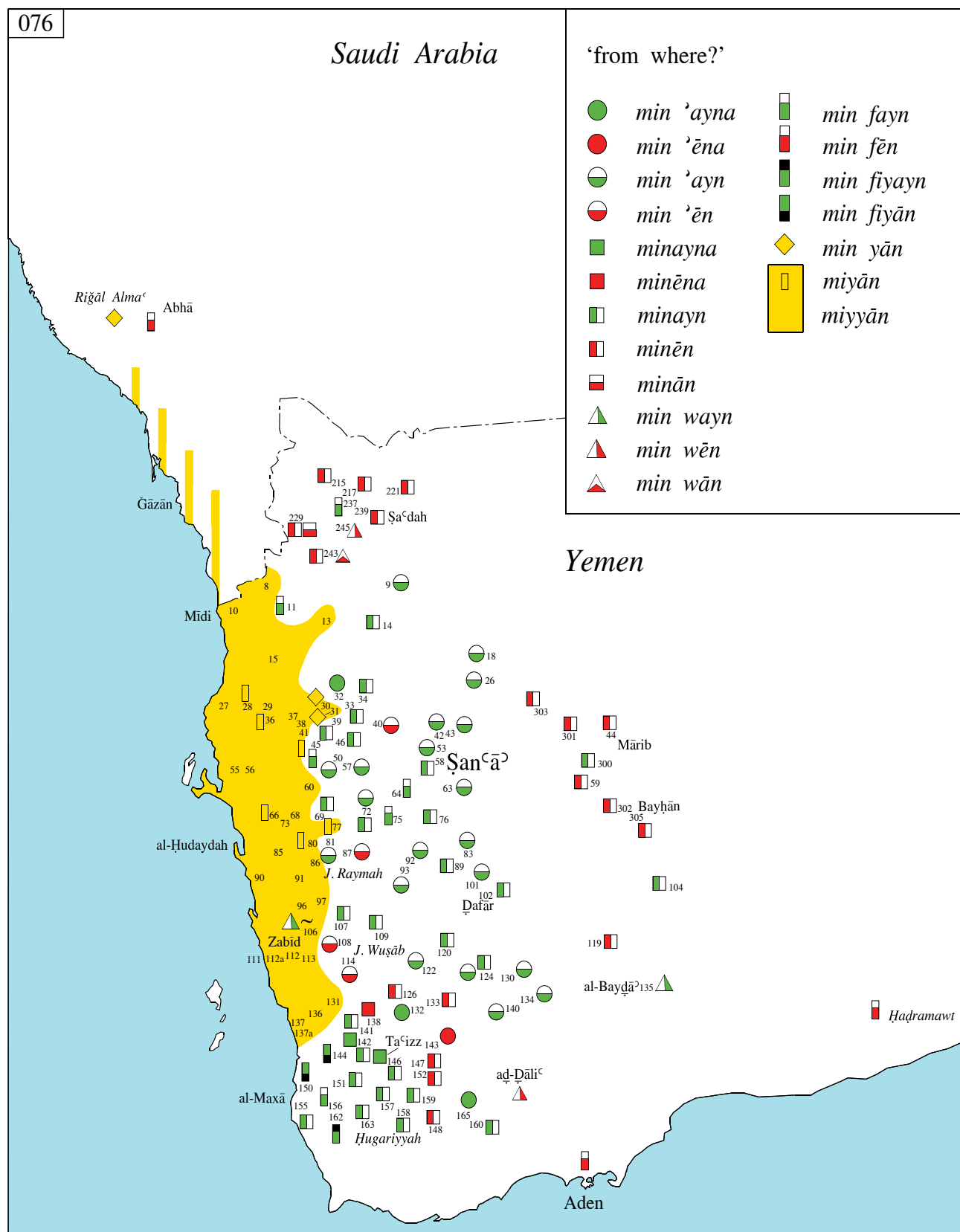
– Yemen/north: *wān* Ġubar (243), in-Naḍīr (229), Minabbih (204), Birkān (228), Ġamar (232), Šidā' (209), *weyn*, *wēn*

Ġurāz (239), Ṣaḥn (238), Ṣa'dah (237), Wāsiṭ (221), Sāgēn (245), im-Ṭallḥ (217), Maḡz (215).

– Manāxah WRB 367 *ʾeyn* ~ *ʾeyna* ~ *weyn*, Radā' *feyn* HUI 127, Ḍafār, Baraddūn *ʾayneḥ axi* (BET 146), Ḍafār *weyn* (questionnaire), DIEM 40 *ʾayn*, *ʾan* #.

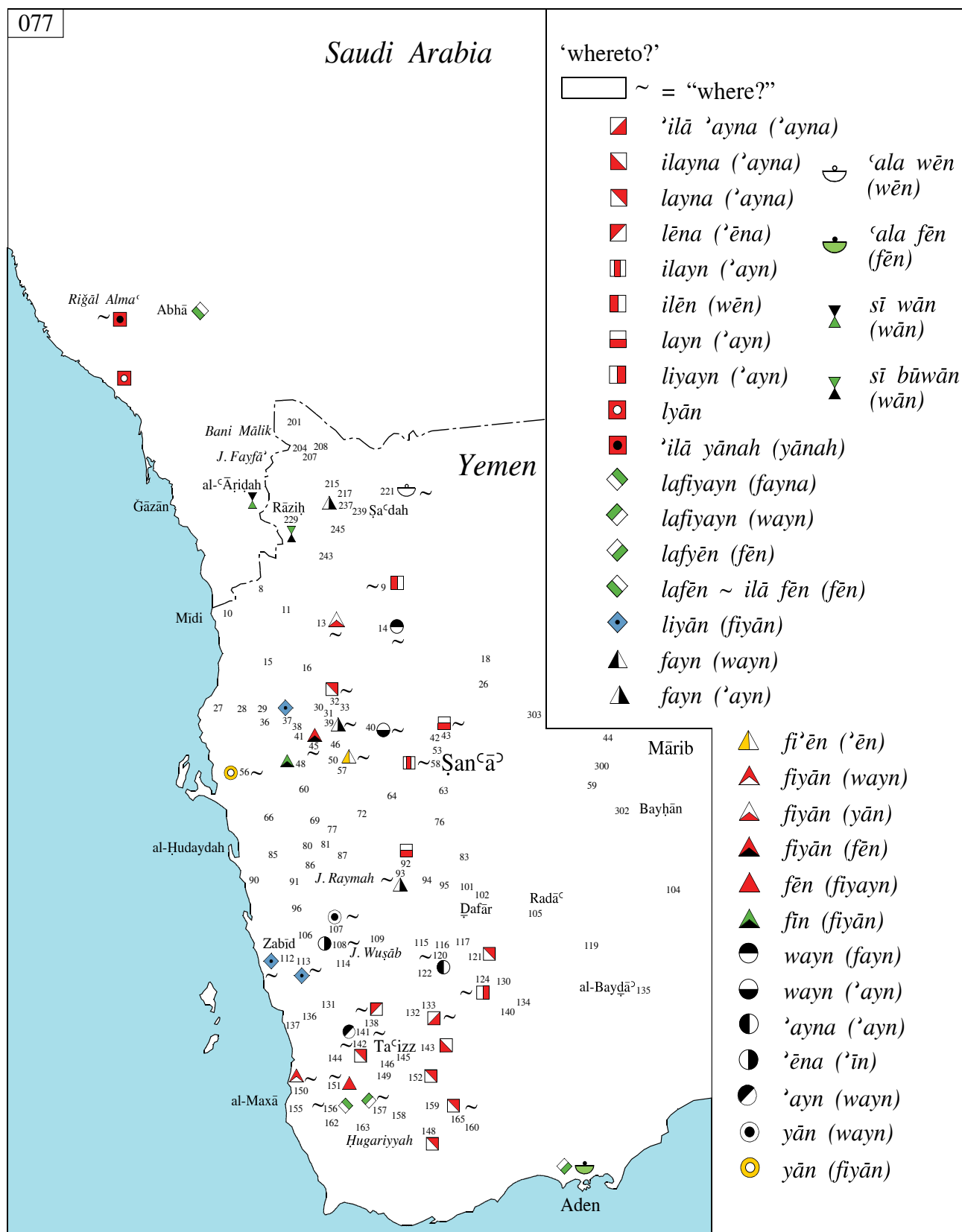
– LAN-1:126 *ʾayna* and *fayn* and *wayn*, reference to 735, 1434, 42, 17. Ḥaḍramawt *fēn* ~ *fyēn* (ALS 689). The latter included with *fyēn* on the map.

In JA there is a map on p. 109 which shows forms for 'where is your son?' and 'where is your daughter?' As the form used is generally 'where' plus suffix pronoun or independent personal pronoun, e.g. *fyānah* / *fyānha*; *wānhō* / *wānhē* in Rāziḥ, we see no need to quote it here.

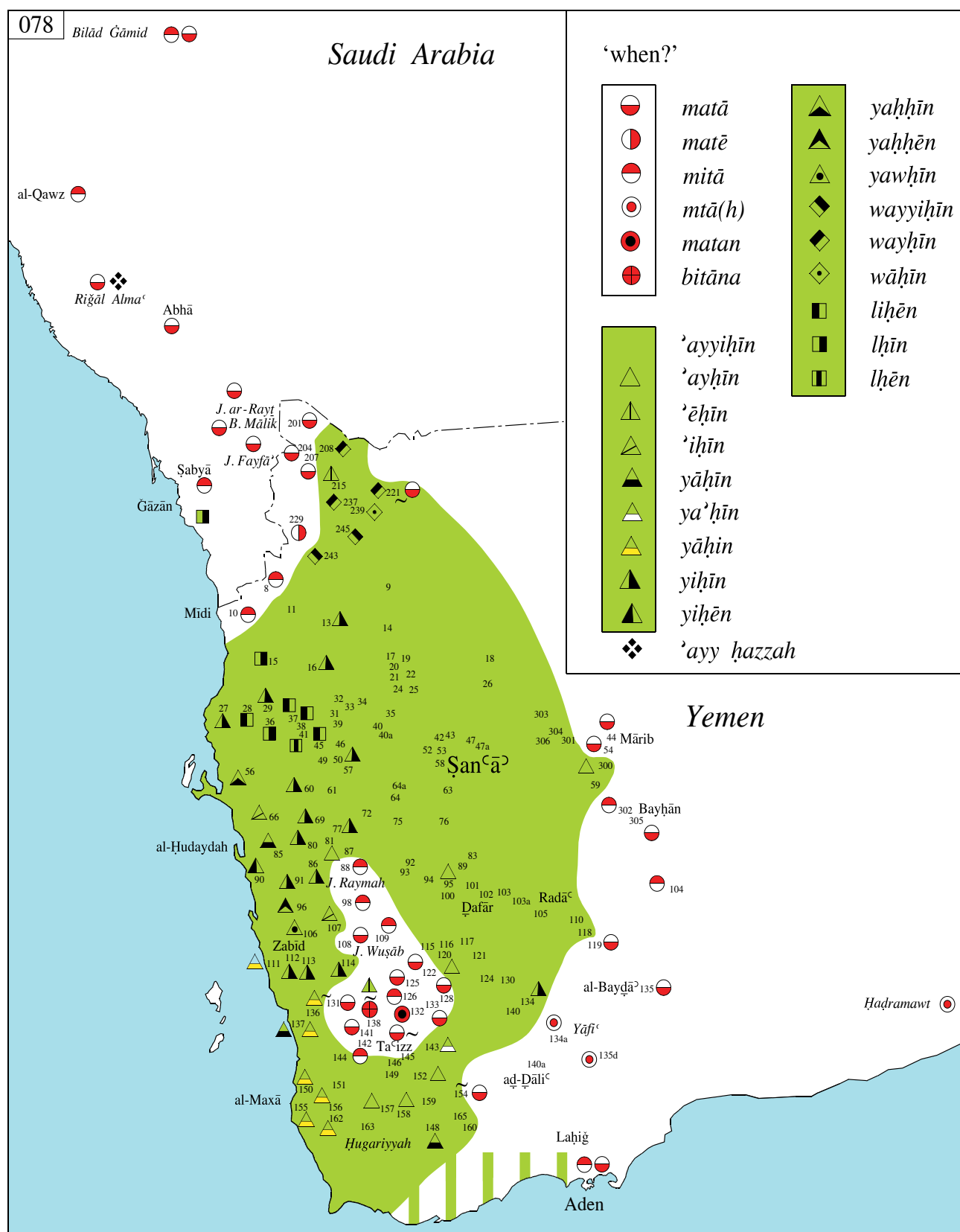


076 ‘from where’

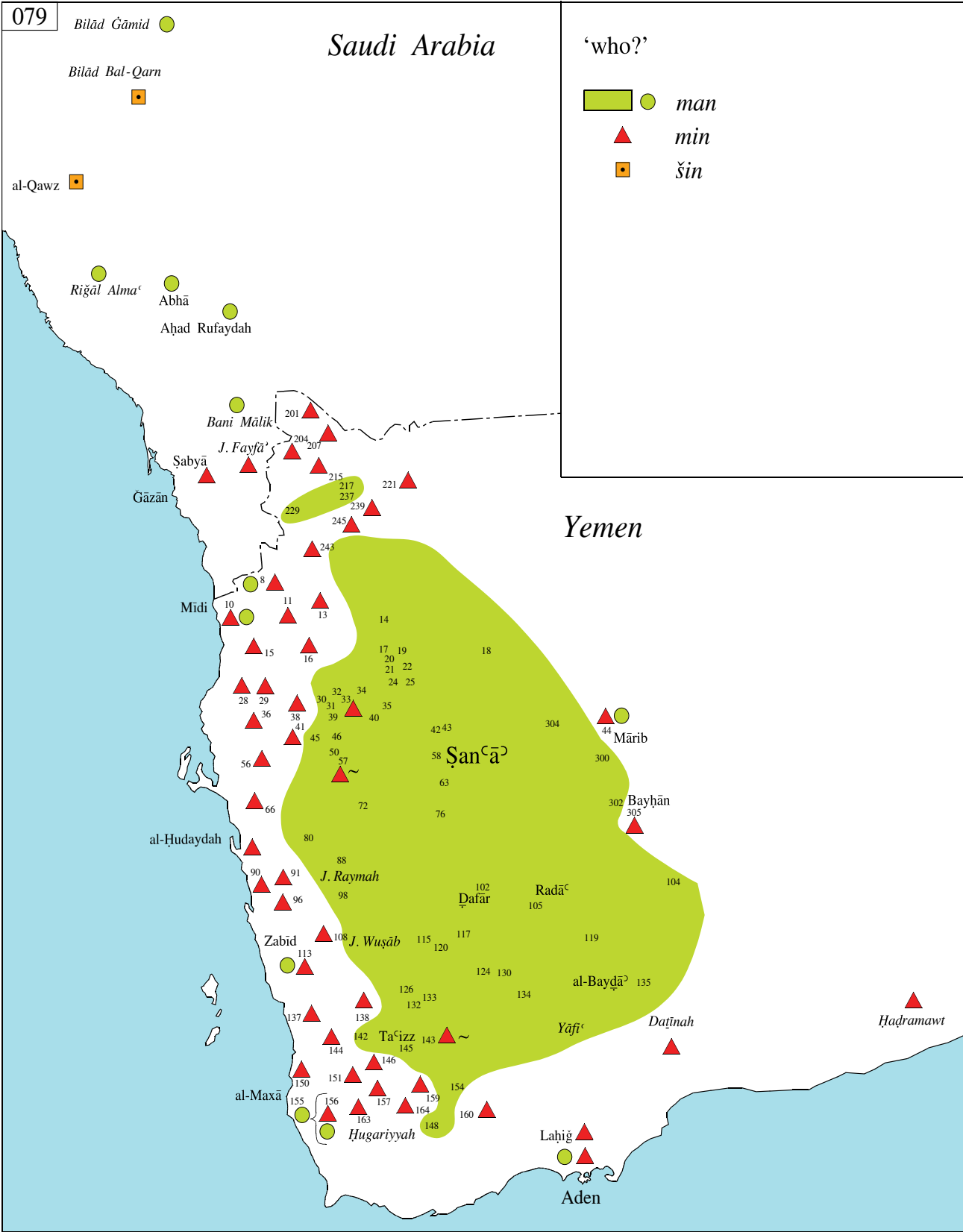
There are instances of formations of *min* + basic form ‘where’, with the exception of the Tihāmah, where the basic form is usually *fiyyān*. There the original form *yān* is used, predominantly with assimilation *min yān* > *miyyān*. In the south of the Tihāmah, however, formations such as *min fiyān*.



– This is frequently expressed using the same form as for ‘where?’. Occasionally the form is given added precision by a preposition *’ilā*, *’alā*. Forms from the extreme north of Yemen and from southwest Saudi Arabia are entirely divergent, namely *sī wān* (al-‘Āriḍah, internet), *sī buwān* Rāziḥ (229). *buwān* corresponds precisely to *fiyān* or *fayn*, with *bu* denoting ‘in’. It is likely that *sī* corresponds to ASA *s* ‘to, towards’ (SD 121).



- Original map 66: point 81 only loop, should be loop with crossbar = *ʿayḥūn*.
- The analytical formation ‘at what time?’ appears to be a predominantly western Yemeni phenomenon, which hardly extends into Saudi Arabia. Ġāzān *al-ḥūn* ~ *al-ḥēn* (internet). Similarly the following:
~ *ʿay ḥazzah?* Riġāl Almaʿ (questionnaire). The latter actually ‘at which point in time?’. Cf. Syria/Bedouin usage *ālḥaz* ‘now’.
- Saudi Arabia PRC-2:47 *mata* al-Qahabah, Abha, Ġāmid, *mita* Ġāmid, al-Qawz, Ṣabyā. Ġāmid *mata* (TOLL 30), *matā* ar-Rayṭ (internet), J. Fayfāʿ ALB 61 *matā*, Riġāl Almaʿ *mata*.
- DIEM 25 Yašīʿ *ʿayyeḥūn*, also for the entire northern plateau. Similarly the southern plateau p. 40. Southwestern mountain range p. 79 *mita* al-Hadiyeh, idem al-Maḥall p. 84, Qafr (115) p. 89 *ʿayyeḥūn*, also at point 154 (ar-Rāḥideh).
- Yemen/north DGS 89 *matā* Xāšir, Minabbih, Banī ʿAbādil, *matē* Rāziḥ (<*matay*); *wayyiḥūn* Ġubar, Sāġēn; *weyḥūn* Wāsiṭ, Ṣaʿdah, Umm Lēlā; *wāḥūn* Ġurāz, ʿēḥūn Majz.
- Northeast *matā* Ḥuṣūn al-Jalāl, ʿAbīdeh, *ayyiḥūn* Širwāḥ, Banī Ḍabyān; Radāʿ *ayyeḥūn* (HUI 127), *ayyiḥūn* Manāxah (WRB 368); *ʿayyiḥūn* Ḍafār (questionnaire).
- Yāfiʿ *mtā* (VAN-6:245). No data in LAN-1 for the Daṭīnah. Aden *mita* (GHA 32), Ḥaḍramawt *mtāh* (ALS 689).



079 ‘who?’

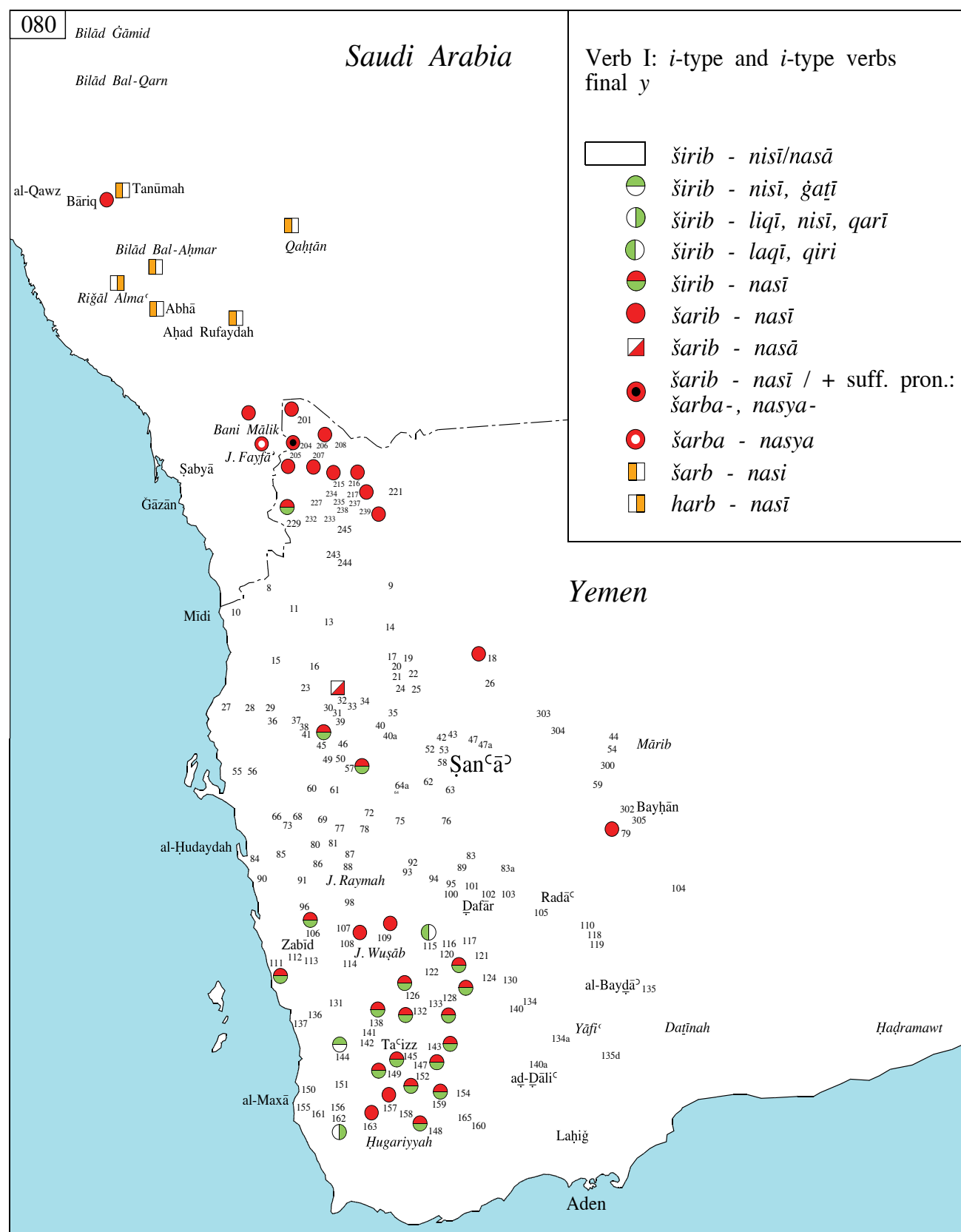
- The subject is not discussed in JA.
- Saudi Arabia PRC-2:46 *man* al-Qahabah, Rufaydah, Abha, al-Ṣaḥrā’, *šin* Bal-Qarn, al-Qawz, *min* Ṣabyā. Abha *man* (questionnaire), Ġāmid (TOLL 30) *man*, Riġāl Alma’ *man* (questionnaire). J. Fayfā’ min ALB 61 *min*. PRC-1:125 *šinhu* ‘who is he?’ Bal-Qarn.
- Yemen/north DGS 89 *man* and *min*.
- FOD 70 *min*, Aden GHA *min* (questionnaire *man*), Ṣan‘ā’ *man* (questionnaire), Ḍafār *man* (questionnaire); al-Ḥudaydah *min* (SI 125, but *mān* in RO-N 465); Daṭīnah

LAN-1:2718 *min* → 728 n. 1. Yāfi’ *man dī saraq al-qāt* ‘who stole the qāt?’ (YouTube). *min* Ḥaḍramawt ALS 689.

- Regarding *šin* cf. SI 157–59, who mainly quotes forms from Landberg which in another context mean ‘what’, such as *šū*, *weššu*, *wešši*, *weššuhum*, *weššihin*, but also Mawāli/Syrian *š^onu* ‘which one (m.)?’ (after Cantineau). Singer 159 considers these forms to be ‘eine Bedeutungsentwicklung . . . da in bestimmten Wendungen “was?” leicht als “wer?” verwendet wird, ohne isoliert oder unter anderen Umständen ebenso ‘wer’ bedeuten zu müssen’.

Verbs

∴



– The verbs final *y* *i*-type and form 1 *i*-type are not vocalised in the same way everywhere. In a central region (see map 110) this can be explained by the merging of *a*- and *i*-type of the verbs final *y*: *širib* – *nasā*. In some dialects the assimilation **a – i > i – i* occurred only in form 1, but not in the verbs final *y*, e. g. in Rāziḥ *širib* – *nasī* (DGS 142, 147), especially in the southern *k*- and Ḥugariyyah dialects, such as al-Mudawwar *širib* – *nasi*, *baqi*, *laqi* (O. Jastrow), Qafr (point 115), DIEM 92 *giliseh* ‘she sat down’, *hibileh* ‘she became pregnant’, but *laqi* ‘meet’, *qiri* ‘read’. The latter, however, is a verb final *hamza* in al-Mudawwar: *qiri*’, *qiri’ah* etc. Jiblih (point 138, DIEM 101 *gilusk*, *gilisk*, *giliski* ‘to sit down’, but *nasi*).

– ALS 639 and 635 has the types *kbur* and *nsi* for Ḥaḍramawt. On questionnaire *šrib* ‘to drink’.

The obvious explanation of the fact that there is no parallelism in the southern *k*- and Ḥugariyyah dialects as there is in Ṣan‘ā *širib* – *nisī*, is that in the case of the

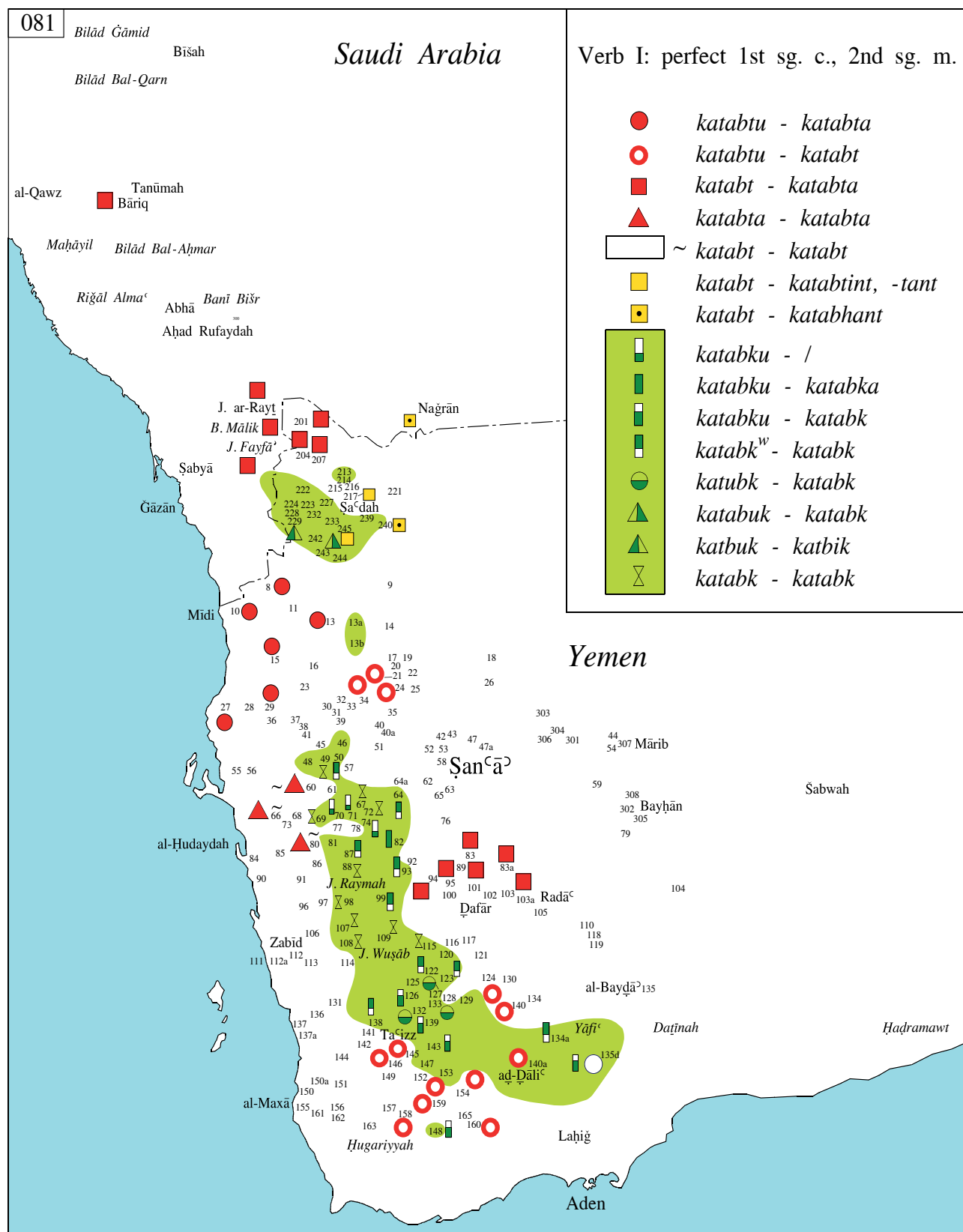
verbs final *y* the *a*-type is predominant, and of the *i*-type only the ending of the 3rd sg. m. was adopted. Cf. the paradigm from Jiblih (loc. cit.), where *nasōk* is derived from **nasawku* < **nasayku*, and the remaining forms also conform to the *a*-type: **nasaykum* > *nasēkum* etc.

– The development **šarib* > *šarb* appears to be a purely Saudi phenomenon.

– PRC-1:30 al-Qahabah *račib*, Rufaydah *rakb*, Abha *rakb*, Bal-Qarn *ričib*, al-Qawz *rikib*; Rufaydah, Abha, Ġāmid, Tanūmah *šarb*, Bal-Qarn, Ġāmid, Qawz, Šabyā *širib*. P. 91: *nasi* Qahabah, Rufaydah, Abha, Bal-Aḥmar, Tanūmah, *nisi* Bal-Qarn, Ġāmid, Qawz, Šabyā.

– The form *harb* found in Riḡāl Alma‘ with **š > h*, a sound change that does not occur systematically, cf. *hams* ‘sun’, *harra* ‘to swim’. See also ALB 55.

– Regarding *šarba* < *šariba* in Jabal Fayfā’ cf. ALB 62. In Minabbih, this **a* only occurs where suffixes are added: *šarib* – **šariba+u* → *šarbaw* ‘he drank it’.



081 Verb I: perfect 1st sg. c., 2nd sg. m.

081 Verb I: perfect 1st sg. c., 2nd sg. m.

– *k*-perfects:

Among the *k*-perfects we must point out those dialects which distinguish between 1st and 2nd person sg. m. There are several possible forms: *katabku* – *katabka*, *katabku* – *katabk*, *katabk^w* – *katabk* with labialised /k/ in the first person, *katubk* – *katabk*, *katabuk* – *katabk*, *katbuk* – *katbik*. In the last two of these cases the vowel of the ending appears to have been metathesised. According to DIEM 100 /u/ in forms such as *katubk* is a result of the ending **-ku*, but ‘auf dem Umweg über Verba mit *i*-haltiger Wurzel, wobei ein direkt vor der Endung **ku* stehendes betontes /i/ der Verba mediae *y* und des Typs *fi’il* durch /u/ ersetzt wurde: **širibku* > *širubku* > *širubk*, **ramayku* > *ramawku* etc.’ Cf. DGS 24. W. Diem had pointed this out to me in the past, as I had presumed the following in the case of *sarḥuk*: **saraḥku* > *saruḥku* > *saruḥk* > *saruḥuk* (with the customary dissolving of all -CC) > *sarḥuk*. In that case, however, one would expect similar forms in the derived themes of the verb, e. g. **barruhk* ‘I left in the morning’, **xāmasuk* ‘I greeted (someone)’. As the actual forms are *barrahuk*, *xāmasuk*, we have to presume a form *širubk* > *širubuk* with anaptyxis and subsequent elision: *širbuk*. Then the ending *-uk* is transferred onto the remaining classes excluding the verbs final *y* and geminate verbs, where we can presume **šallayku* > *šallawku* > *šallōk*.

– *katabku* – *katabka* in ‘Igz (82). This is an interpolated form following Ro-APP 256, who reports *rawku* and *rayku* in this location. For Jabal Ḥarāz ‘e territorio circostante (Ġebel Masār, Ġebel Ṣa’fān, Ūsil)’, points 71, 74, he has the forms *‘ağuzk^{wo}* ‘non ho potuto’, *rāyko* ‘ho veduto’, *‘āyanko* ‘ho veduto, ho osservato con in miei occhi’, *sirk^{wo}* ‘sono andato’ on p. 255, but no forms of the 2nd sg. m., merely on p. 256 feminine forms found in ‘Igz: *rāyiš*, *sirš*, *‘absarš* ‘tu (f.) hai veduto’. We can assume that the 2nd sg. m. ends in *-k* or *-ka*. For Maḥwīt he only reports *šīk* ‘vuoi’ in the 2nd sg. m. I have only found forms with /t/ there; my informants, however, were young schoolboys. For Jabal Ḥufāš he reports *rawk^{wo}* ‘ho veduto’, *‘absark^{wo}* ‘ho guardato’, *širibk* ‘ho bevuto’, and a 2nd. sg. m. *‘atāk* ‘sei venuto’. In Jāhim in this mountain I found *marak^k* – *marak* ‘to work with a *mafris*, to chop’, in Maḥall Bayt al-‘Aṣābī *našark^w* – *našark* ‘to leave in the afternoon’, *širibk^w* – *širibk* ‘to drink’, and in Ṣafagēn *nazalk^w* – *nazalk* ‘to descend’. Rossi reports *mā sal-lamk bāṭel* ‘non pagherei ingiustamente’ for Jabal Milḥān (49), which indicates the two forms having been merged. In Habbāt (48) *mī šīk* ‘che vuoi?’ (p. 257). Separate in Jabal Raymah (‘versante meridionale’) p. 258/9 *kunko* ~ *kunt*, *sirk^w* – *sirk*. For the area around point 98 (al-Hadiyeh), however, DIEM 80 has forms without distinguishing in form I *a*-type: *katabk* – *katabk*, but in form I *i*-type *šumuhk* – *šimihk* ‘to see’, and for hollow verbs *qulk* – *qilk*, *surk* – *sirk*.

	aḏ-Ḍāmir (69)		al-ʿAṣābī (50a)		Bilād at-Ṭaʿām (87)	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>širib</i>	<i>širibu</i>	<i>širib</i>	<i>širibu</i>	<i>širib</i>	<i>širibu</i>
3rd f.	<i>širibit</i>	<i>širibu</i>	<i>širiban</i>	<i>širibēn</i>	<i>širibat</i>	<i>širibēn</i>
2nd f.	<i>širibkīn</i> ^a	<i>širibkūn</i>	<i>širibš</i>	<i>širibkin</i>	<i>širibš</i>	<i>širibkun</i>
2nd m.	<i>širibk</i>	<i>širibkūn</i>	<i>širibk</i>	<i>širibkum</i>	<i>širibk</i>	<i>širibkum</i>
1st sg.	<i>širibk</i>	<i>širibna</i>	<i>širibk</i> ^w	<i>širibna</i>	<i>širibk</i> ^w	<i>širibna</i>

a The /i/ is explained by analogy to the 2nd person imperfect *tīšrabīn*.

Gurrān (93)			al-Mudawwar (148)		Rāziḥ (229)	
sg.	pl.		sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>širibk</i>	<i>širibu</i>	<i>širib</i>	<i>širibu</i>	<i>širib</i>	<i>širbū</i>
3rd f.	<i>širibat</i>	<i>širibayn</i>	<i>širibah</i>	<i>širibēn</i>	<i>širba</i>	<i>širbin</i>
2nd f.	<i>širibš</i>	<i>širibkin</i>	<i>širibk</i>	<i>širibkum</i>	<i>širbič</i>	<i>širibkun</i>
2nd m.	<i>širibk</i>	<i>šurubkum</i>	<i>širibk</i>	<i>širibkum</i>	<i>širbik</i>	<i>širibkum</i>
1st sg.	<i>šurubk^w</i>	<i>širibnāʾ</i>	<i>širibku</i>	<i>širibna</i>	<i>širbuk</i>	<i>širibnā</i>

Gurrān (93)			al-Mudawwar (148)		Rāziḥ (229)	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>nazal</i>	<i>nazalū</i>	<i>qatal</i>	<i>qatalu</i>	<i>sarah</i>	<i>sarḥū</i>
3rd f.	<i>nazalat</i>	<i>nazalayn</i>	<i>qatalah</i>	<i>qatalēn</i>	<i>sarḥa</i>	<i>sarḥin</i>
2nd f.	<i>nazalš</i>	<i>nazalkin</i>	<i>qatalki</i>	<i>qatalkin</i>	<i>sarḥiĉ</i>	<i>saraḥkun</i>
2nd m.	<i>nazalk</i>	<i>nazalkum</i>	<i>qatalk</i>	<i>qatalkum</i>	<i>sarḥik</i>	<i>saraḥkum</i>
1st sg.	<i>nazalk^w</i>	<i>nazalnā</i>	<i>qatalku</i>	<i>qatalna</i>	<i>sarḥuk</i>	<i>saraḥnā</i>

A paradigm for the South/ Yāfi‘ may be found in VAN-2:144. For *k*-perfects extending into Saudi Arabia see ALB 61.

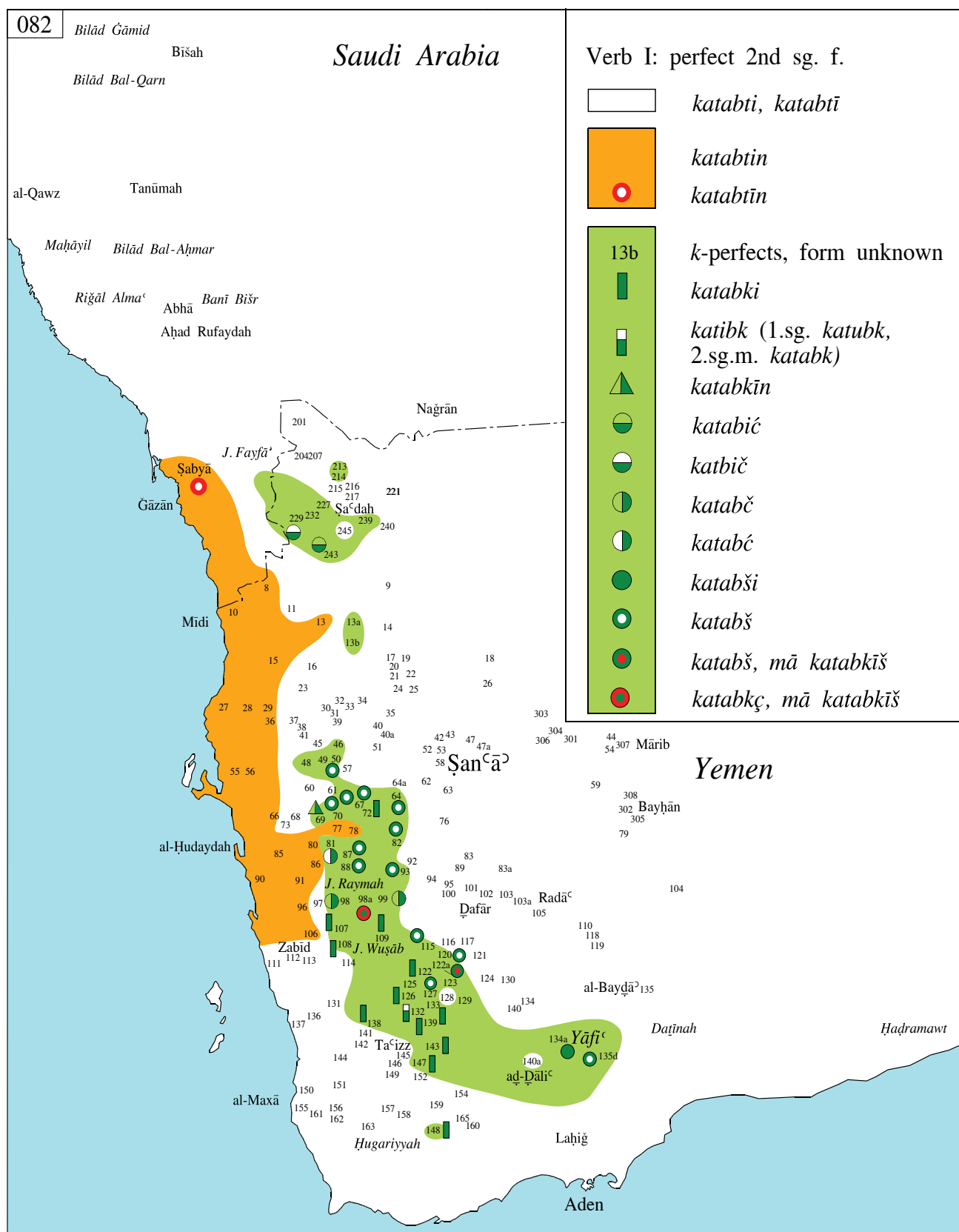
– *t*-perfects:

– We must emphasise the northern Tihāmah where we find *katabtu* – *katabta*, i.e. forms retaining the cl. Ar. endings. It is noticeable that *katabtu* always occurs in proximity with the *k*-perfects. VAN-1:175 refers to LAN-2:1516 fn. 3: ‘Les désinences vocaliques sont encore assez bien conservées, même dans le dialecte ḥaḍarī, que je parle depuis un an avec des hommes de là [Ḥugariyyah]. *Habèytu lak*, je t’ai donné; *habèyta li*, tu m’as donné’. There are no other sources documenting perfects ending in *-ta*. The form *habèytu lak* is beyond doubt, but the second form could be interpreted differently, namely as *habayt+lak* > *habaytalak*, i.e. with epenthetic vowel. Cf. map 62. Landberg loc. cit. reports *eyna daggeytā*’ also from the Ḥugariyyah. More recent research (DIEM 60, JA) have found instances of these forms only in the southern plateau.

– In three places in the central northern Tihāmah *katabta* has been documented for both persons. This recalls Sudanese. W. Fischer (in a pc some time ago) does not assume that the *-ta* of the second person has been transferred, but rather explains the development as back-for-

mation of forms with indirect object suffix: *katabt+lak* → *kababtalak* → *katabta*.

– In Dammāḡ in the extreme north the pronoun ‘*ant*’ (> *hant*) has taken the place of *-t* in the 2nd sg. m., apparently for reasons of disambiguation: *samī’hant*? ‘did you hear?’, *rayḥanthā*? ‘did you see her?’, *gulḥanthā*? ‘did you say her (or it)?’ This is a further development of forms such as *sarahtint*? ‘did you go?’, *dareytint*? ‘did you know?’ with agglutination of *int*, for instance in im-Ṭalḥ. As second suffix *ant* already occurs in Sāgēn (245), as becomes clear in cases of double suffixation: *rētanthā*? ‘did you see her?’ (not: *rēthā ant*?), *rētanthāli*? ‘did you see her for me?’. (DGS 27) I had expressed some doubts about this form (*gulhant*): ‘mit gewissen Vorbehalten sind die folgenden Formen zu betrachten, die mir für die Gegend von Dammāḡ, südöstlich von Ṣa’dah, genannt wurden’. By now, these forms have been documented in great profusion on the internet; also in PRC-1:24: ‘Najrān where a new type of perfect conjugation seems to have evolved. The 2 m. s. inflexional ending has been dropped and an independent pronoun beginning with *h* substituted: *gulhant* (*gil+hant*), this form varying freely with the original *gult* “you (m. s.) said”’



o82 Verb I: perfect 2nd sg. f.

– Original map 70 has no commentary in JA.
 – Part of the perfect forms of the northern Tihāmah has assimilated to the corresponding imperfect forms and adopted the *-n* featured in the latter. Only at one point was the long vowel transferred as well: in aḍ-Ḍāmir (69, *k*-dialect on a small mountain in the middle of the

Tihāmah), with *tiktubīn* – *katabkīn*. Elsewhere, e.g. at point 8: *raddētīn* – *triddīn*, *kiltīn* – *tākulīn*, *gīmtīn* – *hātqūmīn*, *dirītīn* – *tidrīn*, *atētīn* – *tētīn*. Also featuring the long vowel Ṣabyā/Saudi Arabia *katabtīn* (PRC-1:25). A typical northern Tihāmah paradigm at point 10 is (*xabaz* ‘to bake’ and *nifī* ‘to go to work, to perform a service’):

	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
3rd sg. m.	<i>xabaz</i>	<i>xabazu</i>	<i>nifī</i> ^c	<i>nifī</i> ^u
3rd sg. f.	<i>xabazan</i>	<i>xabazu</i>	<i>nifī</i> ^{an}	<i>nifī</i> ^u
2nd sg. f.	<i>xabaztin</i>	<i>xabaztun</i>	<i>nifī</i> ^{tin}	<i>nifī</i> ^{tun}
2nd sg. m.	<i>xabazta</i>	<i>xabaztum</i> ^a	<i>nifī</i> ^{ta}	<i>nifī</i> ^{tum}
1st sg. c.	<i>xabaztu(h)</i>	<i>xabazna</i>	<i>nifī</i> ^{tu(h)}	<i>nifī</i> ^{na}

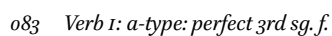
a Probably an assimilation to other dialects with gender distinction. In the 3rd pl., however, common gender form.

When a suffix is added, *-n* is doubled in the 2nd sg. and pl. f.: *nifī*^{tinnuhun} ‘you (sg. f.) did them (f.) a service’, *nifī*^{tunnuhun} ‘you (pl. f.) did them (f.) a service’. The basic form (*xabaztin*) should be understood as a back-formation of forms with object suffix. Final vowels are lengthened: *ḍarabtāh* ‘you (sg.) hit him’, *nifī*^{tāh} ‘you (sg.) did him a service’.

– In *k*-dialects the 2nd sg. f. ending is parallel with the suffix pronoun, i.e. where *bētiš*, *bētič* ‘your house’, there is also *širibš*, *širibši*, *širibč* etc. ‘you (f.) drank’.

Regarding Kusmah (98a) and Ḍulmah (122a) see WAT-8:61 with forms ending in *-š* and featuring *-kī-* in case of further suffixes being added: *ʾabsarš* ‘you f. saw’, *mabsarkīš* ‘you f. did not see’. In Kusmi (p. 62) *ṭala*^{kč} ‘you f. s. went up’, *māṭalā*^{kīš} ‘you f. s. did not go up’. Other speakers also used *-č* and *-kī*.

– The agglutination of the personal pronoun to the 2nd sg. is only found in the masculine for reasons of disambiguation (**gultu*, **gulta* > *gult*), but not in the 2nd sg. f. (**gulahanti*), as there is no conflict of homonyms here. With the ending *-i* the form *gulti* is unambiguous.



083 Verb 1: *a*-type perfect 3rd sg. f.

– Saudi Arabia *katabat* Rufaydah, Abha, Bal-Aḥmar, Tanūmah, Bal-Qarn, Ġāmid, Qawz, *kataban* Bal-Qarn, *katabat* Šabyā (PRC-1:27); Tihāmat Banī Šīhr ‘*aklan*’ (PRC-3:100). J. Fayfā’ ALB 62 *našaran*, *šarban*. More instances featuring the ending *-an* can be found online.

– Yemen/north DGS map 7. In Rāziḥ *-a*, in the text p. 142 also with short *-a*. WAT-4:47 has the forms *giš-šalla* ‘she had taken’, *ti’ba* ‘she tired’, *nāma* ‘she carried’, *dawwara* ‘she looked’.

– RO-APP 256 ‘Igʻz *rāʻat* ‘ha veduto (f.)’, J. Ḥufāš *širibat* ‘ha bevuto’. The three places I surveyed there: *-an*. P. 259 J. Raymah *sārat*, p. 263 *bākat* Ḥajjayleh (78, my data: *-an*), 264 ‘Ubāl (77) *bākan* (the same in my survey), p. 265 al-Ḥudaydah *tamallan* ‘fu piena’. Radāʻ *katabat* HUI 111; Baraddūn *gatalat* BET 128.

– Yāfiʻ VAN-2:144 *wašalah*, *qāmah*, ‘*irah*, *farrah*, *nasīyah*; Ḍāliʻ VAN-1:185ff. *wašalah*, *garrah*, *bakah*, *qāmah*, *gāʻah*; Aden GHA 23 *aštaḡalat*, 25 *šāfat*, *garat* 26, p. 116f. Laḥiḡ FOD texts: *kānat*, *fagaʻat*, *xuṣat*, *kānat*, *figaʻat*, *fakkaraʻt*, *kālaʻt*, *kāmat*, *šallat*, *ṭharrakat*, *wuṣlaʻt*, *šāfaʻt*, *kālaʻt*, *dammaʻat*, *twakkalaʻt*, *tḡaddamaʻt* etc. The raised *t* is probably etymological, and we may presume that the ending in fact exhibited is *-a(h)*, as in the neighbouring regions. VAN-8:755, however, has the ending *-at* for Laḥiḡ; for Mukayras,

Ḥabbān, Abyan, Ḥaḍramawt only *-vt*. ALS 692ff. *lammat*, *katbat*, *kubrit*, *kalat*, *waznat*, *gāmat*, *ramat*, *nisyit*. For the Daṭīnah LAN-2:7ff. has *imtaḥat*, *indahanat*, *raḍīet*, *sauwat*, *ḡalabat*, *ḡowbet* ~ *ḡōwabet* ~ *ḡōwabat*, *rasset*, *rabašətah*, *sakabt*, *nazzaletha*, *fāšet*, *xaraḡet*. Once again inconsistent.

– Regarding the ending *-an* in the Tihāmah see DIEM 68 ‘Es wäre möglich, daß *n* des Singulars vom Plural-Morphem *-na* des Feminins übertragen ist’.

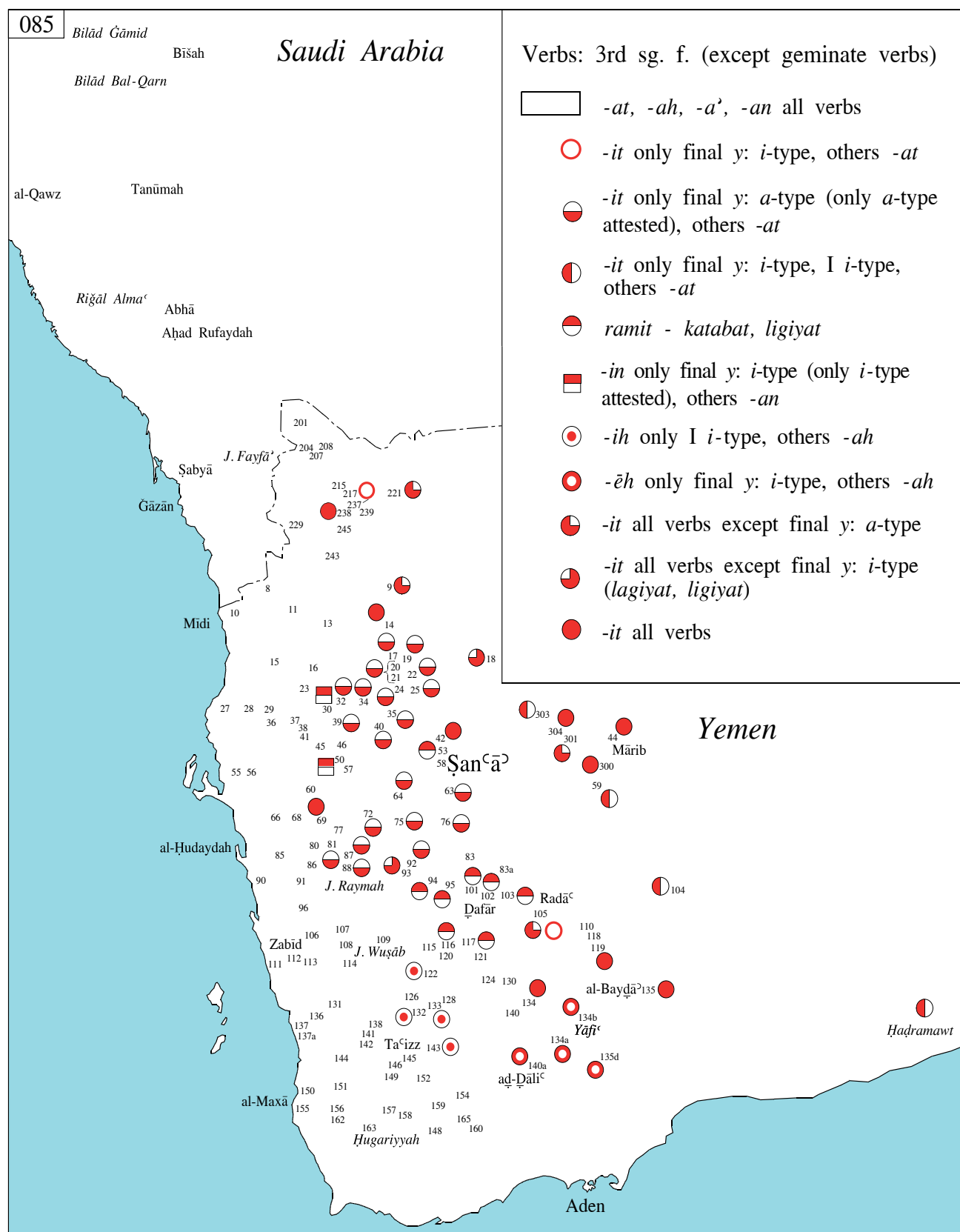
– Regarding the ending *-ah*, see DIEM as well, who (91/91) regards it as ‘an analogous transfer from noun to verb’: ‘The verb in connection with object suffixes was equated with the noun’s corresponding structure in connection with possessive suffixes, and consequently a verbal form ending in *-ah* emerged in analogy with the absolute state of the noun.’¹ Diem refers to CAN 133, 155, 165, according to which this is also documented for the dialect of the Šammar.

¹ ‘Eine analogische Übertragung vom Nomen her’: ‘Das Verbum in Verbindung mit Objektsuffixen wurde dem Nomen entsprechender Struktur in Verbindung mit Possessivsuffixen gleichgesetzt, so daß in Analogie zum Status absolutus des Nomens eine Verbalform mit der Endung *-ah* gebildet werden konnte’.

o84 Verb 1: *a-* and *i-*type perfect 3rd sg. f.

– Saudi Arabia: all locations where ending *-at* has been documented in PRC-1:30 with forms *račbat*, *rikbat*, *šarbat*, *širibat*, *širbat*, *širiban*.

– Regarding Yemen see commentary o83. The information in VAN-8:755 with *-ah* (Yāfi‘, aḏ-Ḍāli‘) and *-vt* (Ḥabbān, Abyan, Ḥaḍramawt) is ambiguous (both types *-vt?*). Ḥaḍramawt with ending *-at* (*katbat*) and *-it* (*kubrit*) in ALS 693/4.



085 Verbs: perfect 3rd sg. f. (except geminate verbs)

085 Verbs: perfect 3rd sg. f. (except geminate verbs)

– Original map 73 has the wrong symbol in Radā' (105). According to DIEM 55 *-it* applies to all verbs here; *-at* only to verbs final *y* *a*-type. HUI 111, 166, however, has *katabat*, *šallat*, 117 *qāmat*, 118 *nisīyit*, *ramat*, 119 *ǧā'at*. According to DIEM 55 the ending *-it* is typical of Radā', while the rural area around it has *-at* (*fi'ilat*).

– Theoretically one could assume that the ending *-it* developed originally in the *i*-type I and verbs final *y*, as the product of assimilation, and then spread to increasingly more categories. This, however, is not the case. In clear contradiction to this rule we find e.g. *-it* with verbs final *y* *a*-type *darit* 'she knew' and *ǧit* 'she came', and *-at* in all other categories: *ligiyat* 'she found', *gāmat* 'she rose', *fakkat* 'she opened', *širibat* 'she drank', *aǧanat* 'she was kneading dough'.

– At points 94 and 95 also *-at* in forms like *labaǧat* 'she hit', *fi'lat* 'she did', *širbat* 'she drank', *gālat* 'she said', but *a*-type *bakit* 'she cried', *ḏawit* 'she returned in the evening' v. *i*-type *šigyat* 'she worked'.

– Northern plateau *katabat*, *gālat*, *rabit*, *šallit*, *ǧit* (DIEM 27/28). Southern plateau/Ḍafār: *katabat*, *hiblat*, *wuldat*, *xulgat*, *ramit*, *ligyat*, *ǧāat* (DIEM 42/43), Yarīm as Ḍafār (p. 45), p. 49 Iryān as Ḍafār, p. 51f. Ḍamār as Ḍafār, p. 51f. Ḍamār *katabat*, *ligiyat*, *ǧilisat*, *hiblat*, *wuldat*, but *ramit*, *ǧit*. Dafinah and Māriyah p. 54 *ǧilsat*, *hiblat*, *wuldat*, *wuḏ'at*, *ǧāat*. Radā' p. 55 *fa'al* and med. inf. as Ḍafār. For hollow verbs only the forms *gālāin*, *sārāin* p. 43. Also *sī'ilit*, *ligiyit* but *ramat*. We also read 'Man beachte vor allem *ramat* mit der Endung *-at* gegen *ramit* mit der Endung *-it* in den

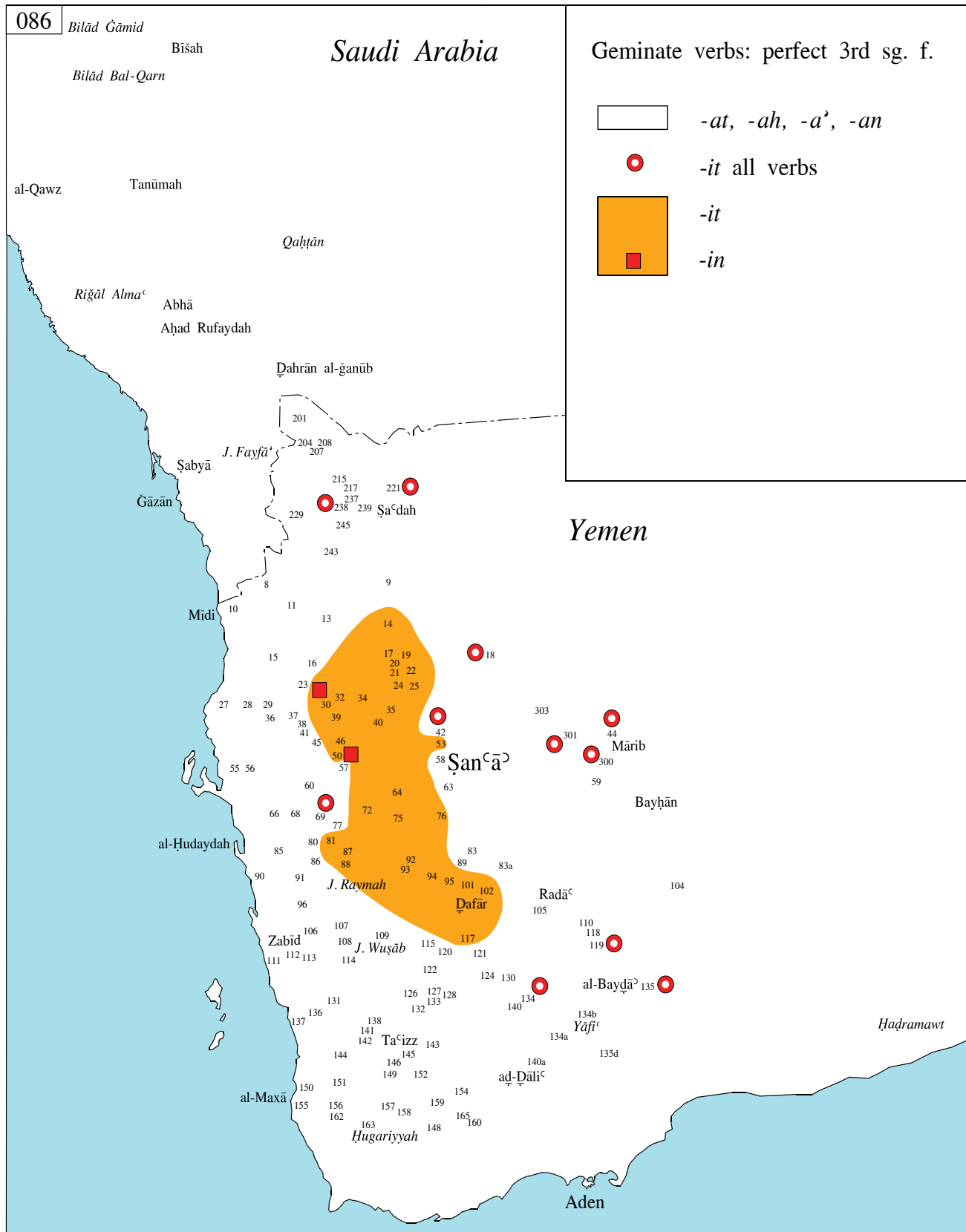
westlichen Dialekten der Südlichen Hochebene', p. 56 Gayfeh 'Statt der Endung *-it* bei der 3.fem. Sing. von *fi'il* und *fi'i* wird *-at* verwendet: *ligiyat* "sie traf", *si'lat* "sie fragte". P. 60 ad-Dāmiǧah and Baynūn *fi'ilat* v. Radā' *fi'ilit*. Southern western range/al-Maḥall (88) DIEM 85ff. *katabat*, *qālat*, but *'atit*; similarly *rama* 'to shoot', *'adda* 'to give', *laqa* 'to meet'. An *i*-type is not documented.

– Manāxah *-at*, *-it* WRB 131 without additional information, p. 132 *-it* for geminate verbs, verbs final *y*, *ǧit* 'she came'. In texts p. 276 *gāmat* 'she began', 277 *kānat* 'she was', p. 295 *gāmat*, *ṭalabat*, 296 *gāmat*, *'additluh*, p. 331, 336 *wulidat*, p. 332 *mā ṭuli'atš*, p. 327 *šibi'at*. *-it* clearly only occurs in geminate verbs and verbs final *y*. Kawkabān HEN 22 *ǧilisat*, *wuṣulat*, *nazalat*, p. 29 *bazzit*, *kānat*, *ǧābat*, *nāmat*, p. 30 *mašat*.

– J. Ḥufāš/50a-b-c *xabazan*, *nazalan*, *'aǧanan*, *širiban*, *tuluman* 'she (it, the soil) was ploughed', *'akalan*, *gāman*, *sāran*, *bazzin*, *nisin*, *rimin*, *habin*, *girin*, *'itin*. As for verbs final *y*, only an *i*-type is attested.

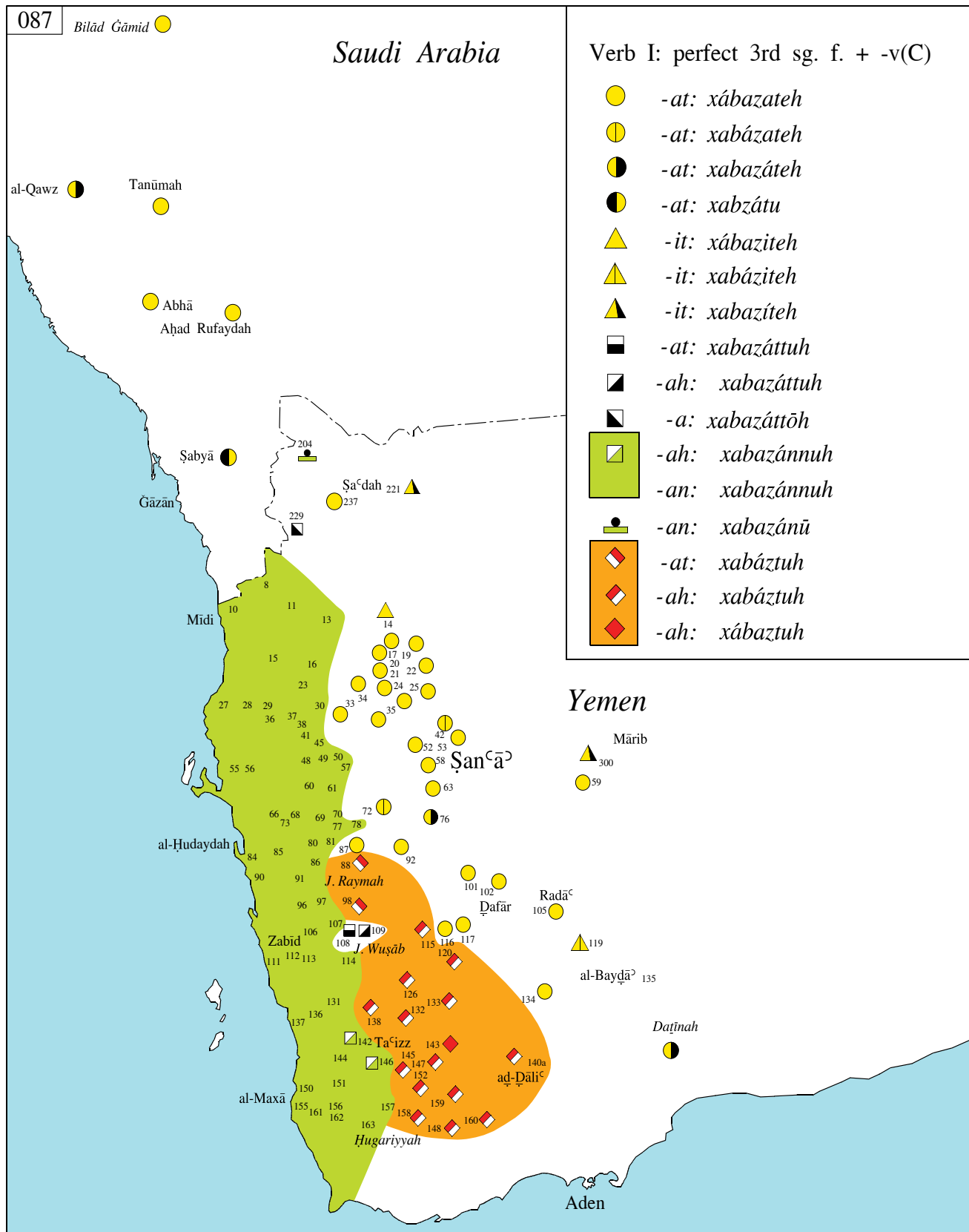
– Southern *k*-dialects, e.g. point 122 *širibih* 'she drank', *ṭili'ih* 'she went up' v. *-a* in all other categories, e.g. verbs final *y* *nasah* 'she forgot', *bakah* 'she cried', *raḏah* 'she agreed', *darah* 'she knew' etc.

– Yāfi'/al-Hirr *bakēh* 'she cried' = *na'ēh* in Lab'ūs (VAN-2:144) for the *a*-type, but *nasīyah* or *nəsīyah* for the *i*-type. The /ē/ ending *-ēh* may be explained as an analogical formation to the plural form *bakēn*. In Ḍāli' *bakah* and *nəsih* (VAN-1:186). In all other forms *-ah* only.



– The ending *-it* is found in a compact area, namely where *-it* also occurs in the *i-* or *a-*type final *y*. It can only be explained by analogy to *-it* in form II of verbs final *y* *i*-type, i.e. **nassit* ‘she caused to forget’. However, this type is hardly documented. DIEM 27/28 only reports *rabit* and *šallit* from the northern plateau. In all my data, too, *-it* is attested in verbs final *y* I and geminate verbs, but rarely in verbs final *y* II. Only in J. Ḥufāš *bazzī* ‘he took’ (<**bazz*) and *bazzin* ‘she took’, *wallī* (< *wallā*) ‘to go away’, consequently *wallin* ‘she went away’. For the southern plateau/

Ḍafār DIEM 43 says ‘Die Verba mediae geminatae werden bis auf die 3. mask. Sing. (*bazz* ‘er trug’) wie *rama* flektiert’. Consequently *bazzit* in accordance with *ramit*. Yarīm p. 45 like Ḍafār. No data for Iryān. P. 54 *ramit* and *ǧit* in Ḍamār suggest **bazzit*. According to HUI 116 *šallat* in Radā’. Southern western range/al-Maḥall DIEM 87 *ʾatit* ‘she came’: ‘Ebenso werden *rama* “schießen”, *ʾadda* “geben” und *laqa* “treffen” flektiert’. This suggests *bazzit*, especially as it has been documented in two other locations of the Jabal Raymah (81, 87).



– The phenomena known from other Arabic dialects, i.e. a) accent shift, b) elision, c) reduplication of final *-t*, *-n* (as in Syrian Bedouin dialects: *ḡrúbat* / *ḡrubáttu*) are present.
 – At two points *-t* is reduplicated as in the neighbouring Tihāmah where we find *xabazannuh*: *qara'at* – *qara'áttuh* ‘she spilled him (it)’, *rağamat* – *rağamattuh* ‘she threw stones at him’, *šaribat* – *šaribattuh* ‘she drank him (it)’ etc. (al-Miṣbāḥ, 108). Similarly the ending *-ah* with added suffix is changed in two dialects to *-ann* as in the neighbouring Tihāmah: *'akalah* – *'akalannuh* ‘she ate him (it)’, *raddah* – *mā radannūš* ‘she did not return him (it)’ (al-Ḥaddah, 142); *xabazah* – *mā xabazatš* – *xabazannuh*, also: *fihimah* – *mā fihimatš* – *fihimannuh* (Maḥall Tubāšī'ah, 146).

– Depending on the verb class there are numerous changes in the dialects featuring *-ah*:

Šarar B. Yūsuf (159): *ḥaṣṣalah* ‘she found’

mā ḥaṣṣaltanīš ‘she did not find me’

mā ḥaṣṣaltanāš ‘she did not find us’

mā ḥaṣṣaltahunš ‘she did not find them (m.)’

mā ḥaṣṣaltahinš ‘she did not find them (f.)’

mā ḥaṣṣaltawš ‘she did not find him’

Thus we have the allomorph *ḥaṣṣalta-* (and not **ḥaṣṣalat* as one would assume) preceding suffixes with initial consonant. The */a/* can be explained as an original epenthetic vowel: *ḥaṣṣalt-ni* → *ḥaṣṣaltani*, which develops into an allomorph **ḥaṣṣalta*, which also applies when the 3rd sg. m. *-u(h)* is added: *ḥaṣṣalta+u-š* → *ḥaṣṣaltawš*. Cf. also *xabazah* – *xabáztuh* ‘she baked him (it)’, *gidimah* – *gidimánti* ‘she hit me’, *gidimtuh* ‘she hit him’.

– In the case of the verbs final *y* we find */y/* here: *'asah* – *'asaytu* ‘she met him’, *mā 'asaytawš* ‘she did not meet him’, *ra'ah* – *mā ra'aytawš* ‘she did not see him’. We must presume historical preforms with */y/* (**'asiyat* > *'asayat+uh*). I.e. */y/* was retained in the bound form, while the basic form (**'asiya*) later merged with the *a*-type (*'asa*). *raddah* – *raddaytuh* is an analogous formation.

In the case of the verbs final *hamza* */ʔ/* is sometimes retained: *xabā'ah* – *xabá'tuh* ~ *xabātuh* ‘she hid him’, *qirī'ah* – *qirītuh* ‘she read him (it)’.

Forms from al-Misrāx (152):

xabazah – *xabáztuh* ‘she baked him (it)’, *ḡarabah* – *ḡarábtana* ‘she hit me (m.)’, *širibah* – *širíbtuh* ‘she drank him (it)’, *simi'ah* – *simí'tuh* ‘she heard him’, *laqah* – *laqáy-tuh* ‘she met him’, *ramah* – *ramáy-tuh* ‘she shot at him’, but *laqatni* ‘she met me (f.)’, *laqatna* ‘she met me (m.)’, *laqatniḥna* ‘she met us’.

– Forms that do not feature diphthongs are correspondingly: *laqah* – *laqētanā* ‘she met me’, *nasah* – *nasētanā* ‘she forgot me’ (Salām 138).

– Forms from Manwaz (120): *simi'ah* – *simí'tani* ‘she heard me’, *širibah* – *širíbtuh* ‘she drank him (it)’, *xabazah* – *xabáztuh* ‘she baked him (it)’, *laqah* – *laqáy-tani* ‘she met me’, *laqáy-tana* ‘she met us’, *laqáytkum* ‘she met you (pl.)’, *raddah* – *raddaytuh* ‘she brought him back’.

– Cf. also al-ʿUgf/J. Ḥabaši (149) *qāla* – *qāltáli* ‘she said to me’, and Qabbayṭah (160) *ḡarabat* – *ḡarábtoḥ* ‘she hit him’. The allomorph *-t* is used in all cases, consequently: *ḡarabtəḥom* ‘she hit them’, *simí'təḥom* ‘she hit them’.

– In al-Mudawwar (148) O. Jastrow elicited the following for *qatalah*, *nasah*:

3rd sg. m.	<i>qatáltuh</i>	3rd pl. m.	<i>qatáltuhum</i>
3rd sg. f.	<i>qatáltih</i>	3rd pl. f.	<i>qatáltihēn</i>
2nd sg. m.	<i>qatáltak</i>	2nd pl. m.	<i>qatáltukum</i>
2nd sg. f.	<i>qatáltik</i>	2nd pl. f.	<i>qatáltikēn</i>
1st sg.	<i>qatáltanī</i>	1st pl.	<i>qatáltanā</i>

nasah:

3rd sg. m.	<i>nasētuh</i>	3rd pl. m.	<i>nasēthum</i>
3rd sg. f.	<i>nasētih</i>	3rd pl. f.	<i>nasēthin</i>
2nd sg. m.	<i>nasētak</i>	2nd pl. m.	<i>nasētkum</i>
2nd sg. f.	<i>nasētik</i>	2nd pl. f.	<i>nasētkin</i>
1st sg.	<i>nasētnī</i>	1st pl.	<i>nasētna</i>

In the same way: *bazzētuh* ‘she took him’, *bazzētni* ‘she took me’.

Note, however, without */t/* ‘she said to him’:

3rd sg. m.	<i>qālāluh</i>	3rd pl. m.	<i>qālālhūm</i>
3rd sg. f.	<i>qālālih</i>	3rd pl. f.	<i>qālālhīn</i>
2nd sg. m.	<i>qālālak</i>	2nd pl. m.	<i>qālālkum</i>
2nd sg. f.	<i>qālālik</i>	2nd pl. f.	<i>qālālkin</i>
1st sg.	<i>qālālī</i>	1st pl.	<i>qālālna</i>

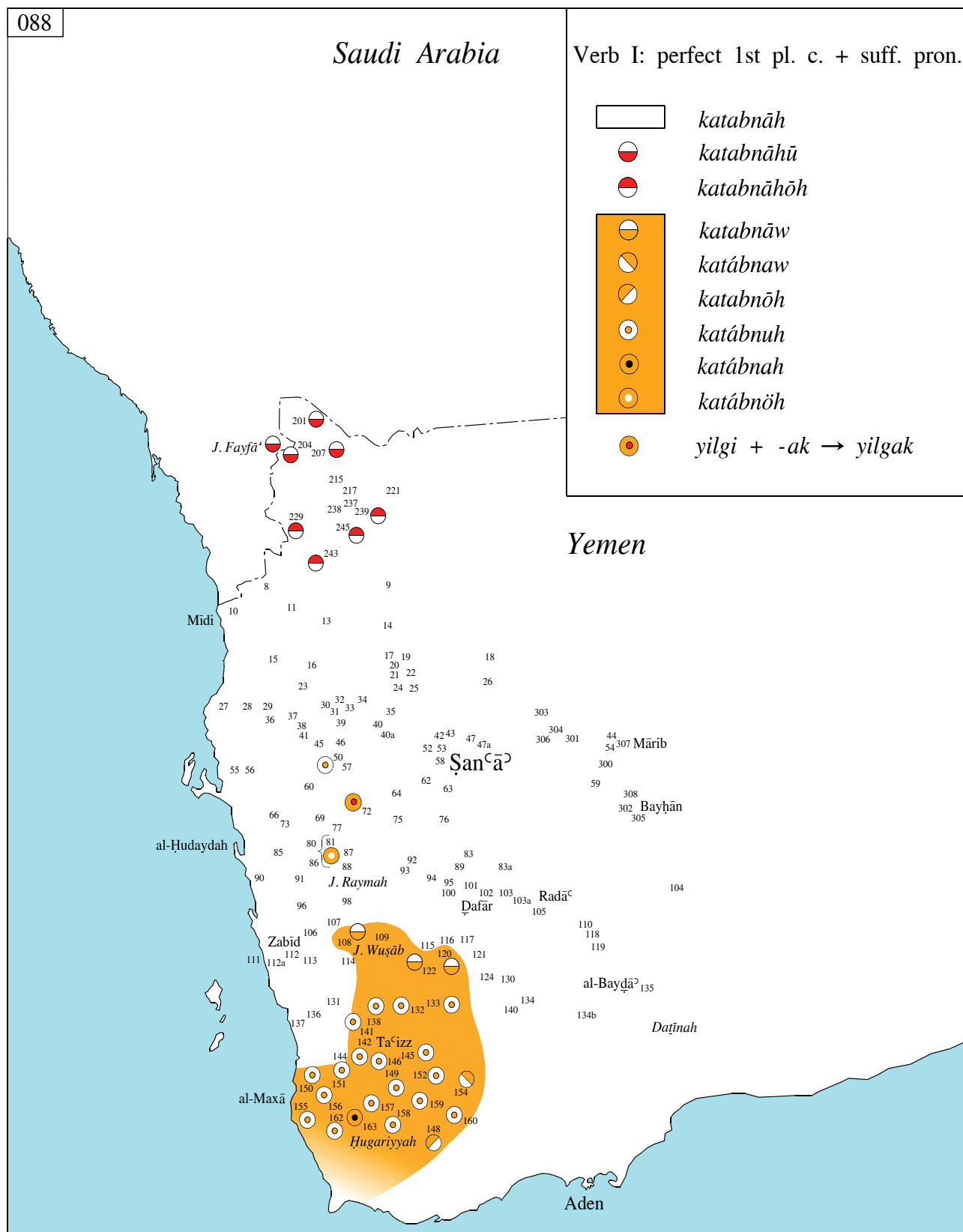
addah 'she gave' follows the same pattern: *addāluh* etc. Depending on the rank of the suffix, different allomorphs will be used: with first order suffixes, forms with /t/, with second or third order suffixes, /ā/. Cf. also depending on the dialect *qālah* – *mā qālāš* 'she did not say' or *mā qālātš* (point 141).

When an object suffix is added to forms ending in *-ah*, these behave exactly like the respective nominal forms.

Cf. map 29 with the variants *baqarah* – *baqartana* (and not **baqaratna*).

– For Daṭīnah see LAN-2:62 *ṭaraḥàtah* 'she put him on there', p. 77 *zāqerètah* 'she took hold of him'. For Ḍāli' VAN-1:194 *ḍarābtāh* 'elle le frappa'.

– For Saudi Arabia see PRC-1:135 *tarakatih* Rufaydah, Tanūmah, *tarakātuh* Qawz, *tarkātuh* Šabyā, *ḍarabatih* Rufaydah, Gāmid, *ḍarabatah* Abha etc.



o88 Verb 1: perfect 1st pl. c. + suffix pronoun

– In some southern dialects (e.g. Ḥugariyyah) final vowels such as in *katabna* ‘we wrote’ are not virtually long, i.e. when an object suffix is added they are not lengthened as would normally be the case in Arabic dialects (*katabna* – *katabnāha*), but remain short as in *katābna* v. *katābnah* ‘we wrote him/it’, or final -a is elided: *katabna* + *uh* → *katabnuh* ‘we wrote him/it’.

On the map only *katabna* + -vC is discussed. However, the rule applies in other cases, too; sometimes with restrictions.

– Cf. Jabal Ḥufāš in the centre, where this rule obviously only applies to the third person: *yinsəh*# ‘he forgets’ v. *yinsöh*# ‘he forgets him’, *yinseh*# ‘he forgets her’, *yinshum* ‘he forgets them’, *yinsu* ‘they forget’ v. *yinsuh* ‘they forget him’, *yinsoh* ‘they forget her’, *nisī*, ‘he forgot’, *nisī l-kilmah* ‘he forgot the word’, *nisih* ‘he forgot him’, *niséh* ‘he forgot her’; *nisū* ‘they forgot’ v. *nisūh* ~ *nisúh* ‘they forgot him’, *nisóh* ‘they forgot her’, *bazzī* ‘he took’ v. *bazzeh* ‘he took her’, *bazzu* ‘they took’, *bazzoh* ‘they took her’, *yákulu* ‘they eat’, *yákuluh* ‘they eat him (it)’, *yákuloh* ‘they eat her’; *yirawwī* ‘he shows’, *yirawwöh* ‘he shows him’, *yirawweh* ‘he shows her’, *yirawwəhum* ‘he shows them’, *yirawwu* ‘they show’, *yirawwuh* ‘they show him’. Forms of ‘*idda*!’ ‘give!’, ‘*iddi*’ ‘give (f. sg.)’, ‘*iddu*’ ‘give pl. m.’: ‘*iddalī l-galaş*’ ‘give me the glass’, ‘*iddóhli*’ ‘give him to me’, ‘*iddéhli*’ ‘give her to me’, ‘*iddúhli*’ ‘give him to me’, ‘*iddihli*’ ‘give (f.) him to me’, ‘*iddahli*’ ‘give (f.) her to me’.

– Regarding Manāxah WRB 56 says ‘Der auslautende Kurzvokal der im Imperfekt stehenden Verba tertiae infirmae wird vor Pronominalsuffix elidiert. || *yilgi* || > *yilgak* “er trifft dich”, || *yihki* || > *yihkuh* “er erzählt ihm”’. Cf. also in the texts p. 318 sentence 6 *yixallahā* ‘he lets her do’, p. 319 sentence 10 *niddalak* ‘we give to you’, p. 321 sentence 2 *tixabbuhum* ‘she hides them’.

– Point 152 *ḍarabnoh* ‘we hit him’, *mā ḍarabnūš* ‘we did not hit him’, *ḍarabnih* ‘we hit her’, *mā ḍarabnīš* ‘we did not hit her’.

– Cf. also DIEM 123 for the Ḥugariyya *laqāhum* ‘he met them’, *laqau* ‘he met him’, *laqai* ‘he met her’, *laqauk* ‘he met you (sg. m.)’, *laqai*k ‘he met you (sg. f.)’ and *laqaina* ‘we met’, with lengthening *laqaināhum*, v. *laqainau*, *laqainai*, *laqainauk*, *laqainai*k. Lengthening occurs only before -CvC, not before -v(C).

– Point 122 *nasī*, *nasin*# ‘he forgot – *nasūh* ‘he forgot him’.

– At point 108 *rama* + 3rd sg. m. results in *ramāh* ‘he shot at him’, but *nasī* + 3rd sg. m. in *nasīyuh* and not **nasih*. Purely historically this is explained by the fact that cl. Ar. *nasiya* had a short vowel, *ramā* a long one. For the synchronous approach we must presume the basic forms **ramā* and **nasīy*.

Paradigms from al-Mudawwar (O. Jastrow)

nasi ‘he forgot’

3rd sg. m.	<i>nasuh</i>	3rd pl. m.	<i>nasīhum</i>
3rd sg. f.	<i>nasih</i>	3rd pl. f.	<i>nasīhēn</i>
2nd sg. m.	<i>nasīk</i>	2nd pl. m.	<i>nasīkum</i>
2nd sg. f.	<i>nasēk</i>	2nd pl. f.	<i>nasīkēn</i>
1st sg.	<i>nasīni</i>	1st pl.	<i>nasīnā</i>

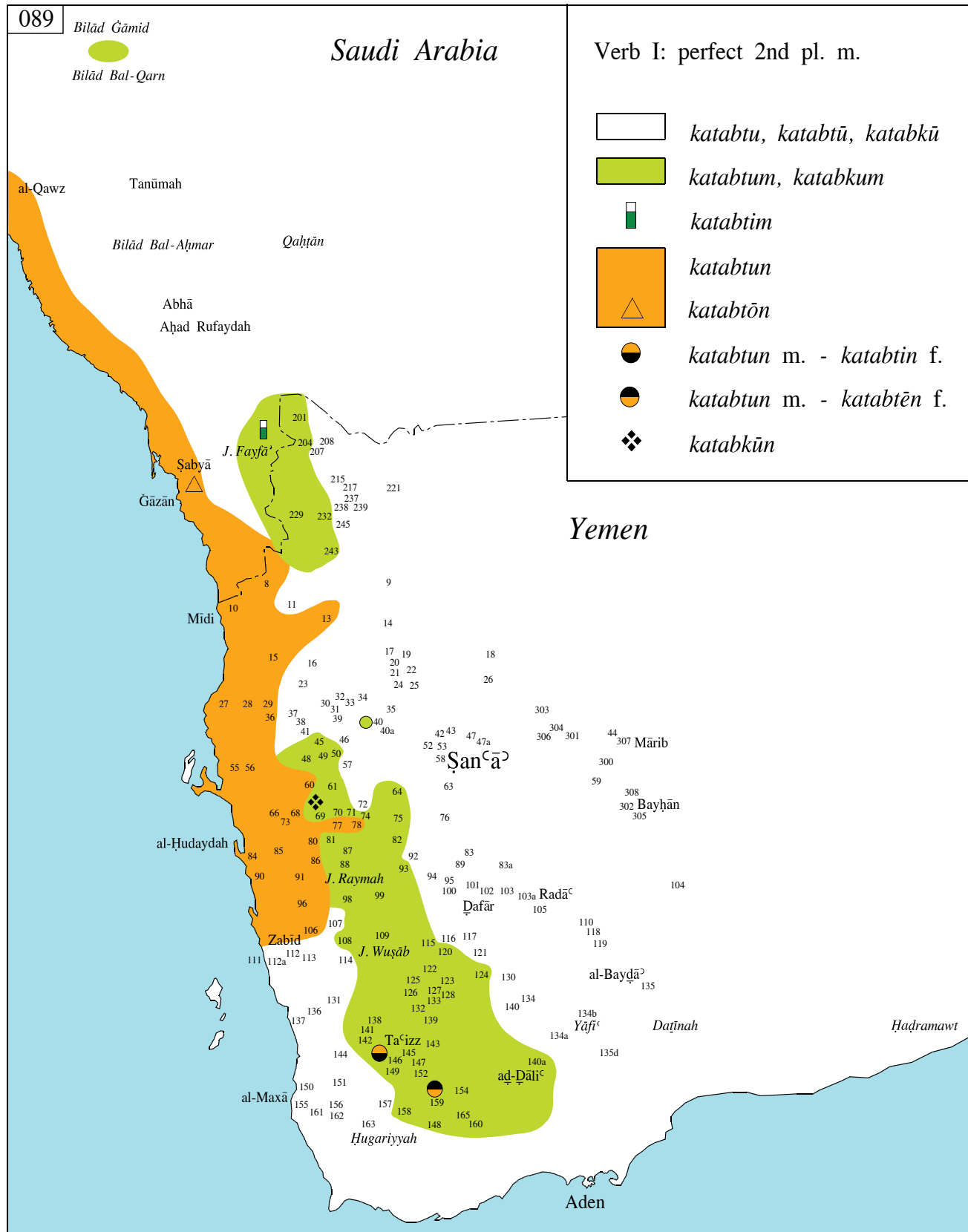
nasu ‘they forgot’

3rd sg. m.	<i>nasūh</i>	3rd pl. m.	<i>nasūhum</i>
3rd sg. f.	<i>nasīh</i> ~ <i>nasuyh</i>	3rd pl. f.	<i>nasīhēn</i>
2nd sg. m.	<i>nasūk</i>	2nd pl. m.	<i>nasūkum</i>
2nd sg. f.	<i>nasīk</i> ~ <i>nasuyk</i>	2nd pl. f.	<i>nasūkēn</i>
1st sg.	<i>nasūni</i>	1st pl.	<i>nasūna</i>

bazzi ‘he took’

3rd sg. m.	<i>bazzuh</i>	3rd pl. m.	<i>bázzuhum</i>
3rd sg. f.	<i>bazzih</i>	3rd pl. f.	<i>bázzihēn</i>
2nd sg. m.	<i>bazzak</i>	2nd pl. m.	<i>bázzukum</i>
2nd sg. f.	<i>bazzik</i>	2nd pl. f.	<i>bázzikēn</i>
1st sg.	<i>bazzīni</i>	1st pl.	<i>bazzīna</i>

I.e., when suffix pronouns with initial vowel are added, there is no lengthening and -i merges with *uh*. Lengthening does occur when -Cv(C) is added: *nasīhum* ‘he forgot them (m.)’ *nasīhēn* ‘he forgot them (f.)’, *nasīkum/nasīkēn* ‘he forgot you (pl.)’, *nasīna* ‘he forgot us’. The rule does not always apply in the 3rd pl.



089 Verb 1: perfect 2nd pl. m.

– Saudi Arabia PRC-1:27 *katabtu* Rufaydah, Abha, Bal-Aḥmar, Tanūmah, Bal-Qarn, *katabtum* Ġāmid, *katabtun* Qawz, *katabtōn* Šabyā. J. Fayfā' *našartim* as *'antim* ALB 62.
– Yemen/north predominantly *-tū*, *-tu* (DGS 29f.); Kawkabān *-tū* HEN 29.
– RO-APP 255 *sirkum* J. Ḥarāz, J. Masār, J. Ša'fān, Ūsil, 256
'Igẓ *raykum*, 256 *širibkum* J. Ḥufāš, 259 Gā'ideh *gulkum*; 263

Ḥağaylah *'ammaytum* 264 'Ubāl *buktun*. Manāxah WRB 131
-tū ~ *-kū*, Baraddūn BET 128 *gataltu*.
– Ḍāli' VAN-1:185 *wašaltum* etc., Yāfi' *wašalkū* VAN-2:144.
Daṭīnah *'ağibtu* LAN-2:120; Aden *-tu* (GHA 116ff.).
Ḥaḍramawt *-tu* (ALS 693).

090 Verb 1: perfect 2nd pl. f.

– Saudi Arabia PRC-1:27 *katabtu* Rufaydah, Abha, Bal-Aḥmar, Tanūmah, Bal-Qarn, *katabtum* Ġāmid, *katabtun* Qawz, *katabtōn* Šabyā; *kababtunnah* Ġāmid, TOLL 31 *gataltu* with query, p. 32 *raddaytu* as common gender form. J. Fayfā' *našartinna*, *šaribtinna* ALB 62.

– Yemen/north DGS 30 *našartunna* 'Abādil; Minabbih, Xāšir *našartinna*, elsewhere *-kun* and *tu*. Northeast NAD 29 *-tan* points 304, 302, 44, 54, 300.

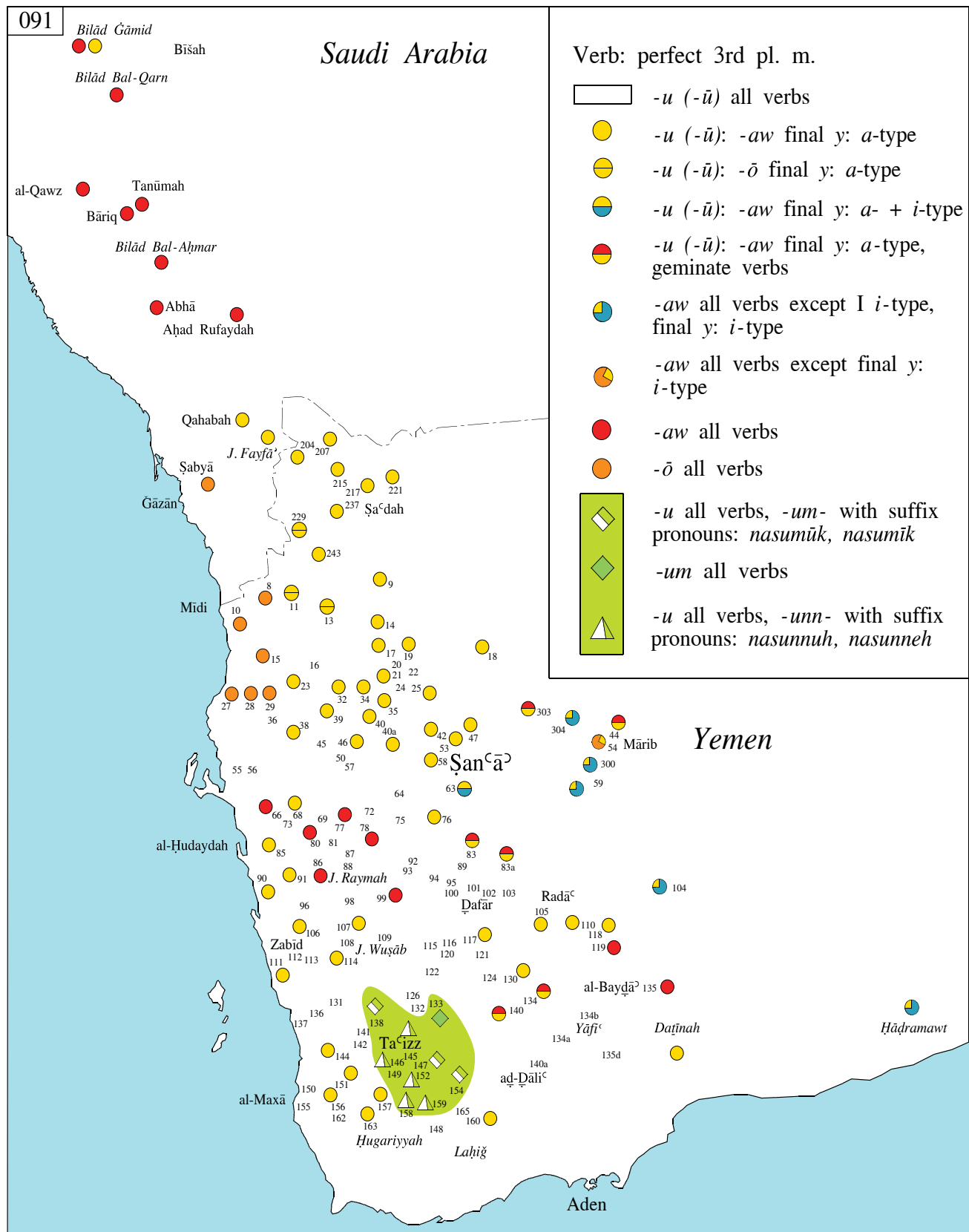
– In the northern plateau the forms end in *-a*: *katabtinna* (DIEM 27), in al-Maḥābišah *katabtinna* (DIEM 71, also my own data), in J. Wašḥah *sarahtinne#* in pause. At points 37, 38, 41 *ragadtinne#*, 31 *dihintinne#* 'you got up (out of bed)', 30 *ağantinne#*.

– Forms ending in *-tayn* correspond to the 3rd pl. f. in nearly all verb classes, which in turn are formed in analogy with regular *ramayn* < *ramayna*.

– Kawkabān HEN 22 **ġilistayn*, *wuṣultayn*, *nazaltayn* 'zijn niet gevonden in de teksten en gemakshalve analoog het Šan'ā'-dialect verondersteld'. P. 29 he has one *nimtayn*. Baraddūn BET has no documented forms of the 2nd pl. f. Because of *raddayn* (137), *yidxulayn* (130), *raddayn*, *xaffayn* (128), we may presume *nazaltayn*.

– aḍ-Ḍālī' VAN-1:185 *waṣaltēn*, Yāfi' VAN-2:144 *waṣalkēn*. Ḥaḍramawt *kababtēn* (ALS 693).

– Adding object suffixes: Šafagēn (50b) 'absarkin – 'absarkinnuh 'you (pl.) have seen him'; al-Gāsim (14) *ḍarabtin* – *ḍarabtinnani* 'you (pl.) hit me', Maḥall Tubāšī'ah (146) *ḍarabtēn* – *ḍarabtinnuh* 'you hit him'; Ḥaraḍ (8) *ḍarabtun* – *ḍarabtunnuh* 'you hit him', *ḍarabtunnihun* 'you hit them (c.)', *raytunli* > *raytulli flān?* 'have you seen so-and-so for me?'. Also with reduplicated *-n* Rāziḥ: *fihimkunnōh* 'you (pl. f.) understood him', *fihimkunnām* 'you understood them (pl. m.)'.



– Saudi Arabia PRC-1:27: I *a*-type *katabaw* Rufaydah, Abha, Bal-Aḥmar, Tanūmah, Bal-Qarn, Ġāmid, Qawz; *katbō* Šabyā, Bišāh *ctibaw*. P. 30 *i*-type: *račbu* Qahabah; *šarbaw* Rufaydah, Abha, Bal-Aḥmar, Tanūmah, *širibō* Šabyā; *širibaw* Bal-Qarn, Ġāmid, *širbaw* Qawz. P. 41 form II: *kas-saraw* Rufaydah, Abha, Tanūmah, Ġāmid, Bal-Qarn, Qawz, *kassarō* Šabyā. P. 55 geminate verbs *maddaw* Rufaydah, Abha, Tanūmah, Bal-Qarn, Ġāmid; *maddō* Šabyā p. 61 verbs initial *alif* -*aw*, -*ō*; Qahabah *ʾačalu*. P. 68 verbs initial *wāw*: -*aw*, Šabyā no record. P. 77 hollow verbs: -*aw*, *gālo* Šabyā. P. 90 verbs final *y*: -*aw*, Šabyā *mašo*. P. 91 verbs final *y* *i*-type -*aw*, *nisiyō* Šabyā; *nasyu* Qahabah. Ġāmid Toll 31 *širibū*, 32 *raddū*, 35 *garaw*. J. Fayfāʾ ALB 62–63 -*ū*, *daraw*.

– Jemen/North: 204, 207, 215, 217, 221, 237, 243 -*ū*, *garaw* DGS 35ff.

– Baraddūn BET 128, 135 *ġilisu*, *gālu*, 134: *mašaw*, *maddaw*; Manāxah -*ū* throughout (WRB 131, 132). Point 78 *bākaw*, *ʾammaw*... ‘La desinanza -*aw* della III plurale non è propria solo dei verbi di 3a debole o dei verbi geminati che sono trattati alla stessa stregua, come *ʾamm*, ma si trova anche nei verbi sani, ad es. in *ʾazamaw* “invitarono” (RO-APP 263).

– South/Daṭīnah LAN-2:7f. *kānu*, *qarro*, fn. p. 8 *sawwaw*. Yāfiʿ only -*ū*, -*u* (VAN-2:144), aḏ-Ḍāliʿ only -*ū*, *gāw* excepted (VAN-1:185–87). Ḥaḍramawt: *katbaw*, *kúbru*, *kalāw*, *wāznaw*, *nāmaw*, *ramaw*, *nsu* (ALS 693–95).

– Examples of forms featuring -*u* and suffixation in *k*- and Ḥuḡariyyah dialects:

Šarar (159): *ḍarabu* – *ḍarabunnuh* ‘they hit him’, *ḍarabunna* ‘they hit me (m.)’, *ḍarabunni* ‘they hit me (f.)’, *ḍarabunnik* ‘they hit you (f.)’, *ʾasunnak* ‘they met you (m.)’, *ʾasunnik* ‘they met you (f.)’, *ʾasunneh* ‘they met her’, neg. *mā ʾasunnayš* ‘they did not meet her’, *nasunnuh* ‘they forgot him’, *nasunneh* ‘they forgot her’, *nasunnik* ‘they forgot you (f.)’, *nasunna* ‘they forgot us’. This was transferred onto other persons as well: *yaʾsunna* ‘they meet us’, *štiʾsunni* ‘she will meet me’ (not **štiʾsini*).

Examples from al-Misrāx (152): *ḍarabu*: *ḍarabunnuh* ‘they hit him’, *ḍarabunna* ‘they hit us’, *ḍarabunnik* ‘they hit you (sg. f.)’, *laqu*: *laqunnuh* ‘they met him’, *laqunnik* ‘they met you (sg. f.)’, *ramu*: *ramunni* ‘they shot at her’, *nisiʾu* ~ *nasu*: *nisiʾunna* ‘they forgot me (m.)’, *nisiʾunni* ‘they forgot her’, *simiʾu*: *simiʾunnik* ‘they heard you (sg. f.)’, *simiʾunnuh* ‘they heard him’.

Also transferred onto other persons: *ḍarabayn* → *ḍarabinnuh* ‘they hit him’, *ḍarabinni* ‘they (f.) hit me’, *xabazinnuh* ‘they baked him (it)’, *simiʾinni* ‘they heard me (f.)’,

yaxbizinnuh ‘they bake him (it)’, *yaḍrubunni* ‘they (m.) hit me (f.)’, *yaḍribinni* ‘they (f.) hit me (f.)’, *šilqunni* ‘they will meet me (f.)’, *šilqunna* ‘they will meet me (m.)’, *štilqunna* ‘you (pl.) will meet me (m.)’, *štilqunni* ‘you (pl.) will meet me (f.)’.

The starting point is probably with imperfect forms featuring -*n* such as **yaḍribūn+ni* > *yaḍribunni*, *yaḍribūn+na* > *yaḍribunna*, with transfer onto other forms and new segmentation as *yaḍribu-nn-uh*, then transferred onto further forms *ḍarabu-nn-uh* etc.

According to DIEM 108 regarding Taʿizz the allomorph -*tunn*- precedes suffixes of the 2nd and 3rd sg., for other persons -*tū*-. Accordingly with other persons *ʾabsarunnuh* ‘they saw him’, *ʾabsarūhum* ‘they saw them (m.)’.

– From J. Šabir DIEM 109 reports the forms *ʾabsar(u)mūh* ‘they (m.) saw him’, *ʾabsar(u)mūih* ‘they (m.) saw her’, *ʾabsar(u)mūk* ‘they saw you (sg. m.)’, *ʾabsar(u)múik* ~ *ʾabsar(u)mik* ‘they saw you (sg. f.)’.

– Paradigm from Banī Šaʿb Salām (138) *ḍarabu* ‘they hit’ + obj. suff.

3rd sg. m.	<i>ḍarabumūh</i>	3rd pl. m.	<i>ḍarabūhum</i>
3rd sg. f.	<i>ḍarabumūh</i>	3rd pl. f.	<i>ḍarabūhen</i>
2nd sg. m.	<i>ḍarabumūk</i>	2nd pl. m.	<i>ḍarabūkum</i>
2nd sg. f.	<i>ḍarabumik</i>	2nd pl. f.	<i>ḍarabūken</i>
1st sg.	<i>ḍarabūna, -ni</i>	1st pl.	<i>ḍarabuḥna</i>

In the same way *nasūna* ‘they forgot me’ etc., but *nasumūk* ‘they forgot you (sg. m.)’, *nasumik* ‘they forgot you (sg. f.)’.

-*m*- is thus infixed only preceding suffixes which begin with a vowel: -*uh*, -*ih*, -*ak*, -*ik*. Still we must assume a pre-form **ḍarabumu* + -*ih* → lengthening and *i*-umlaut → *ḍarabumik*. It is possible that the original basic form was **ḍarabum*, analogous to *ḍarabtum* which survives in some bound forms. Cf. forms such as *katabum* in Egyptian dialects (BW map 206).

In other dialects -*u* is not always lengthened:

– Examples from al-Miṣbāḥ (108): *ḍarabūh* ‘they hit him’, *ḍarabūni* ‘they hit me (f.)’, *ḍarabūč* ‘they hit you (sg. f.)’, *samiʾūč* ‘they heard you (sg. f.)’, but without lengthening: *samiʾuyh* ‘they heard her’, *mā samiʾuyš* ‘they did not hear her’, *raḡamuḥna* ‘they threw stones at us’. Analogous: *nasiyuyh* ‘they forgot her’, *mā nasiyuyš* ‘they did not forget her’, *nasiyuhna* ‘they forgot us’, *šilquyh* ‘they meet her’.

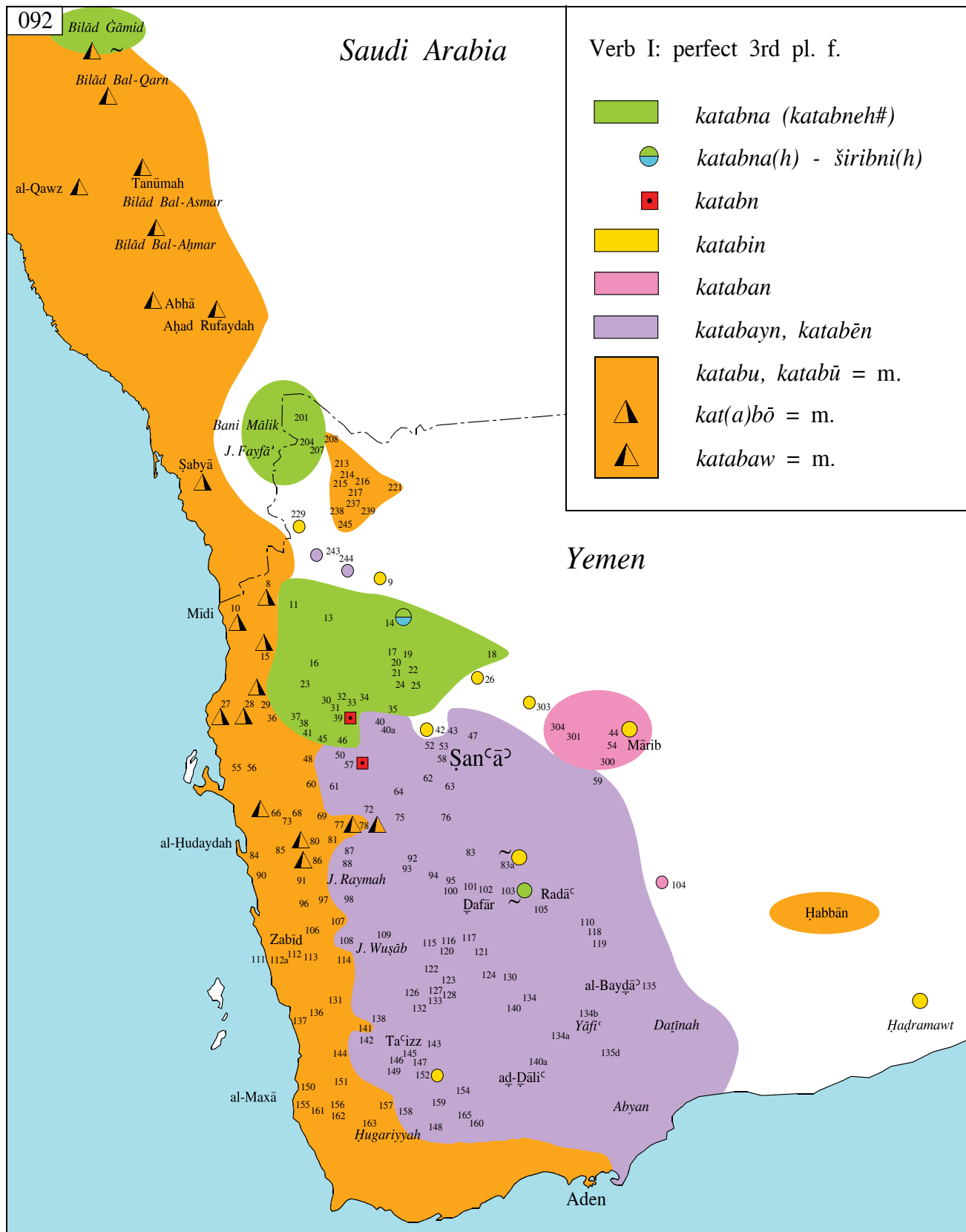
- Cf. also aḏ-Ḍāmīr (69) *nīsūh* ‘they forgot him’, *nīsweh* ‘they forgot her’, *liqūh* ‘they met him’, *liqweh* ‘they met her’.
- Şafagēn (50b): *ḏarabūh* ‘they hit him’, *ḏarabah* ‘they hit her’, *sūmu‘ūh* ‘they heard him’, *sūmu‘ah* ‘they heard her’.
- Other dialects with *i*-umlaut:
 – al-Ḥaddah (142) *ḏarabu* + *-ik* → *ḏarabīk* ‘they hit you (sg. f.)’.

Paradigm from Şifāh (132, O. Jastrow): *qatalu*, *sim‘u*

3rd sg. m.	<i>qatalūh, sim‘ūh</i>	3rd pl. m.	<i>qatalūhum, sim‘ūhum</i>
3rd sg. f.	<i>qatalīh, sim‘īh</i>	3rd pl. f.	<i>qatalūhan, sim‘ūhan</i>
2nd sg. m.	<i>qatalūk, sim‘ūk</i>	2nd pl. m.	<i>qatalūkum, sim‘ūkum</i>
2nd sg. f.	<i>qatalīk, sim‘īk ~ sim‘wīk</i>	2nd pl. f.	<i>qatalūkan, sim‘ūkan</i>
1st sg.	<i>qatalūni, sim‘ūni</i>	1st pl.	<i>qatalūna, sim‘ūna</i>

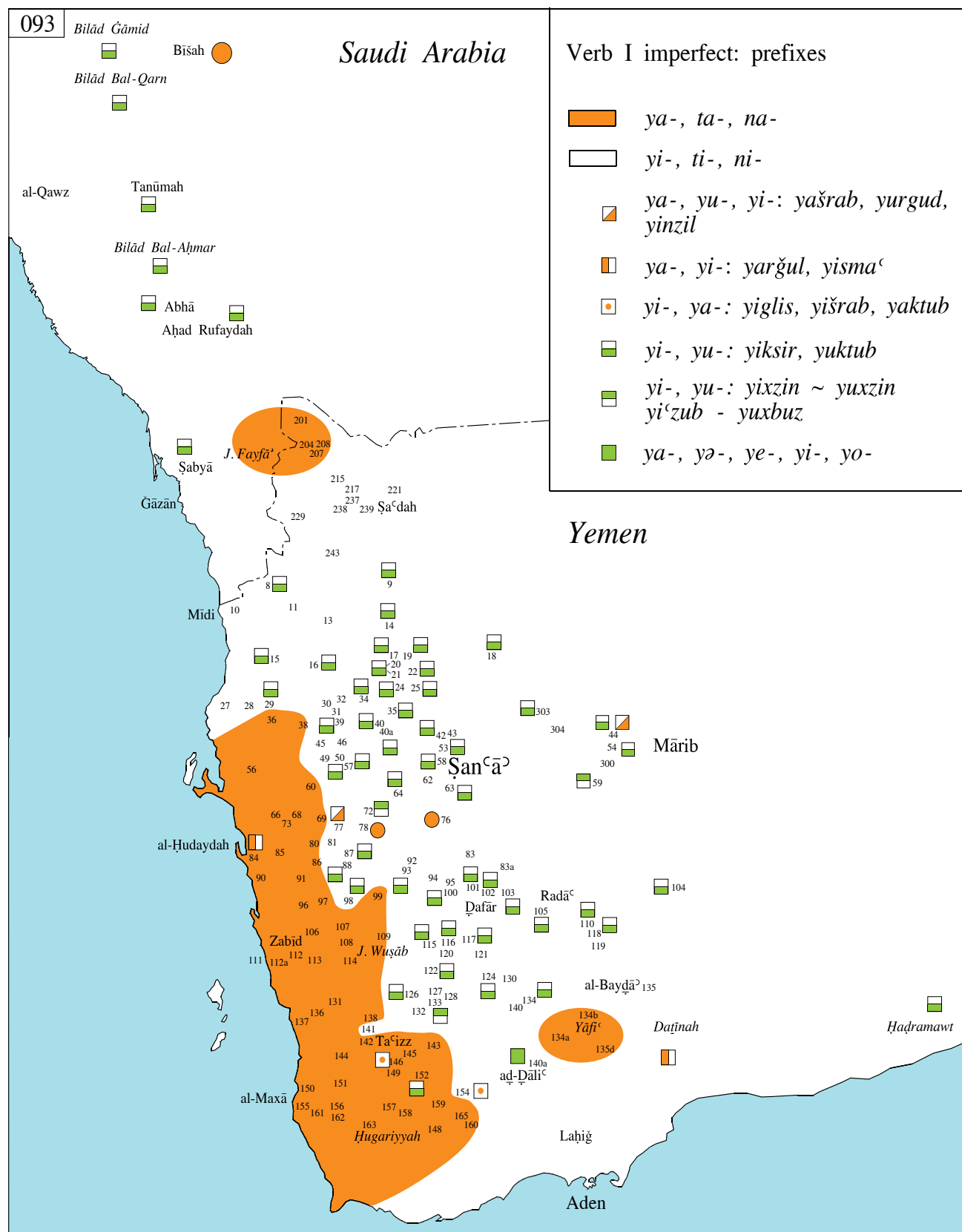
Paradigm from al-Mudawwar (148, O. Jastrow); *qatalu*

3rd sg. m.	<i>qatalūh</i>	3rd pl. m.	<i>qatalūhum</i>
3rd sg. f.	<i>qatalīh</i>	3rd pl. f.	<i>qatalūhēn</i>
2nd sg. m.	<i>qatalūk</i>	2nd pl. m.	<i>qatalūkum</i>
2nd sg. f.	<i>qatalīk</i>	2nd pl. f.	<i>qatalūkēn</i>
1st sg.	<i>qatalūni</i>	1st pl.	<i>qatalūna</i>



- The subject is not discussed in JA. It is not necessary to discuss common gender forms m. + f.
- Feminine forms Saudi Arabia/southwest *katabnah* only in Ġāmid (PRC-1:1988:27). Jabal Fayfā' ALB 62 *našarna*.
- Yemen/north Ġubar, Ḥaydān (243) *našarēn*, Rāziḥ *sarḥin*, Minabbih *našarna*, also 207, 201 (DGS 23).
- In the dialects of the northern plateau and adjoining regions, for the points of the survey DIEM 27ff. has *katabna* (v. *katabnā* 1st pl.); al-Maḥābišah *ktabna* (= *ktabna* 1st pl.) op. cit. 71. In my notes also *saraḥna*# for both persons (noted in the margin 'no difference'), but also *širibnā*# 1st pl. v. *širibnah* 3rd. pl. f., negated *hinna mā saraḥnāš* 'they did not go away'. Further forms *raddēnā*# v. *raddēnah*#, both the same negated: *mā raddēnāš*; *kunnā* 'we ate', *kunnah*# 'they ate', *gulnā* 'we said' v. *gulneh*# 'they said'. At point 46 *ḍarabnā*# v. *ḍarabneh*#; point 30 *ḍarabnā* v. *ḍarabneh*# 'they made dough', *širibnā* v. *širibneh*. Point 32 *ʿazamna*# v. *ʿazamneh*#, *ʿaḡanneh*, *labisneh*. In other forms *šallaynā*# v. *fakkayneh*#. Point 38 *ragadnā*# v. *ragadneh*#, point 31 *ḍihinnā*# v. *ḍihinneh*# 'they stood up', point 11 *saraḥnā*# v. *saraḥneh*# 'they went away'.
- At point 14 we find a variant *-nih* for the *i*-type: *ḍarabna(h)* – *širibni(h)*, similarly *tīʿibnih* 'they became tired', *raddaynih* 'alayya 'they answered me', *kalnih* 'they ate' (*kalnā* 1st pl.), *gumnih*, *sirnih*, *ramaynih*, *ligīnih*, *ḡīnih*. When object suffixes are added: *ḍarābnanī* 'they hit me', *ḍarābnanā* 'they hit us', *simīʿnanī* 'they heard me'.

- Kawkabān *nazalayn* HEN 22, Baraddūn BET with contradictory data 128 *xaffayn*, *raddayn*, *kānin*, *mawwatinha*. No forms for regular verb I. Manāxah WRB 131 *-eyn* / *-ann* (in case of suffixation; see below).
- At point 103 (ad-Dāmiḡah/Baynūn *-ayn* in dialect I, *-na ~ -ayn* in dialect II, DIEM 60/61).
- The forms *yaḡineyn*, *yišʿaleyn* in LAN-2:54 for Daṭīnah suggest *ʿaḡanayn*. No concrete forms for the south in VAN-8:755. ad-Ḍālī' VAN-1:185 *waṣalēn*; Yāfi' VAN-2:144 *waṣalēn*. Ḥaḍramawt *katabin* (ALS 693).
- The starting point for the ending *-ayn* is found in the verbs final *y a*-type (cl. Ar. *ramayna*). When object suffixes with initial vowel are added, *-n* is sometimes doubled and vowel shift occurs: *ʿayyanēn* 'they saw' – *ʿayyaninnuh* 'they saw him' (point 146), *simīʿayn* – *simīʿanneh* 'they heard her', *simīʿannī* 'they heard me' (point 50b); *ḍarabēn* – *ḍarabannuh* 'they hit him', *raḡamēn* – *raḡamanna* 'they threw stones at us', *samīʿēn* – *samīʿanneh* 'they heard her', *mā samīʿannēš* 'they did not hear her', *mā samīʿannūš* 'they did not hear him' (point 108); *ḍarabayn* – *ḍarabannehe:n* 'they hit them (pl. f.)' (point 159).
- With *-in* reduplication occurs as well: *xabazin* – *xabazinnuh* 'they baked him (it)' (point 152).
- But without change: *ḍarabēn* – *ḍarabēnéhna* 'they hit us' (point 138); *simīʿeneh* 'they heard him', *simīʿenni* 'they heard me' (point 59).



– Saudi Arabia PRC-1:32 *yuktub* for Rufaydah, Abha, Bal-Aḥmar, Tanūmah, Bal-Qarn, Ġāmid, Šabyā, *yiktub* Ġāmid; *yurgud* Abha, p. 33/34 more instances of *yufʿul* und *yifʿil*. No *ya*-prefix documented in the southwest, except for Bišah, which, however, is typologically part of dialect group II. J. Fayfāʾ *yašrab* ALB 63.

– Circumstances are more complex than original map 79 suggests. Clearly it was simply forgotten to add forms featuring *yi-/yu-* depending on the basis vowel. Only *ya-*, *ta-*, *na-* and *yi-*, *ti-*, *ni-* are compared, as well as isolated *ya-*, *yu-*, *yi-*. However, the distribution of *yi-/yu-* is not consistent, as examples from Šanʿā suggest (according to WAT-1):

– P. 43: *yilbas*, S. 61: *yiʿrag*, *yizbiḡ*, *yigtub*, *yihrub*, *yibsi*, *yiḡat*, *yiʿkal*, p. 73 *niʿraf*, *yišlah*, *yuxruḡ*, p. 75 *nifʿal*, *yiftah*, p. 79 *yidbaḡ*, *tuḡbux*. Thus *yu-* does not occur every time with basis -CCuC.

– The data for aḏ-Ḍālī in VAN-1:188 are very inconsistent, too: *yifraḡu*, *yisrāb*, *yilbes*, *yaqṭaʿ*, *yizḡef*, *yaqfəz*, *yaḏrəbū*, *yegdem*, *yiskub*, *yāḡsub*, *yāskut*, *yóxrugū*, *yəktəbū*, *yāsbaḡ*, *yórboṭ*, *yóqtel*.

– Laḡiḡ in FOD 34: *yiqriq*, *yirqab*, *yiblaq*, 36: *yiʿraq*, *yirʿab*, 38 *yitrak*, *yirfaʿ*, *yiqrib*, *yirgim*, *yilbag*, *yinzal*, *yizḡaf*, *yifreḡ*, 40 *yašbaḡ*, *yišbaḡ*, *yintig*. In texts 42ff: *yisraq*, *yimnaʿ*, *taqdir*, *tiṭlaʿ*, *yikbar*, *yirgaʿ*, *tirfaʿ*, *tilbig*, *yizraʿū*, *yimlak*, *tasqut*, *yintig*, *tišbaʿ*, *yirgaʿ*, *yidman*, *yaʿrif*, *yidman*, *yirkab* etc.; i.e. predominantly *yi-*. GHA 116 has only *yi-* for Aden. In texts *yimkin*, *yiskunu*, *nidfaʿ*, *tirgaʿ*, *yibdaʿ*, *yixluṣ*, *tišrabu* etc.

– ALS 693 has only *yuktub*, *yukbur*, 696 *yidhar*, 697 *tinjaḡ*, *tikrahak*, 698 *yirjaʿ* for Ḥaḏramawt.

– There is no clear distribution in Kawkabān either in HEN 23: *niftaḡ*, *tiṭmir*, *yisrug*, *yurfuḡ*, *yurgud*, *yutlug*, *yurguṣ*.

– Point 59 not quite clear either: *yiʿzub* ‘he goes to the pasture’, *yugtul* ‘he kills’, *yuxbuz* ‘he bakes’ are documented as well as forms with *yi-* such as *yidrib* ‘he hits’. In addition: point 14 *yidrub*, *yuktib*; point 57 *yirbux* ‘he rests’, *yuktub* ‘he writes’; point 64 *yinzul* ‘he goes down’, *yuktub*; point 44 *yašrab*, *yurgud*, *yinzil*; from a survey of speakers from another tribe: *yisrah*, *yuktub*, *yahruḡ* ‘to speak’; point 77 *yifham*, *yaḡham* ‘he works with a hatchet (*mafris*)’, *yuktub*; point 215 *yinšur*, *yuktub*; point 39 *yirgud*, *yuktub*; point 152 *yifham*, *yaxbiz*, *yudrib* ~ *yaḏrib* ~ *yaḏrub*, *yuktub*; *šuxrug*. O. Jastrow’s notes concerning Ibb: *yiṭrah* ‘he lays’, *yiftaḡ* ‘he opens’, *yigzaʿ* ‘he passes’, *yilbug* ‘he hits’, *yudrus* ‘he learns’.

– JAQ p. 24 says regarding Jiblih ‘In einigen Morphemen können jedoch *i* und *u* frei wechseln... den Imperfekt-präfixen, wenn der Stammvokal *u* ist (*yixruj* ~ *yuxruj* “er kommt heraus”)’.

– DIEM 28 notes for the majority of locations he surveyed: ‘*u* vor Stammvokal *u*, und *i* vor Stammvokal *i* und *a*’. P. 44 with examples *tukrub*, *tuṭruḡ*, *tiḡlas*, *yuktub*.

– In Manāxah the distribution of *yi-* and *yu-* is regulated differently according to WRB 130: ‘Das *yu*-Präfix kommt bei einigen Verben vor, die *x*, *ṣ*, *ḡ* oder *g* als K1 haben: *yixruḡ* ~ *yuxriḡ*, *yixzin* ~ *yuxzin*, *xaṭā*, *yuxṭa*, *xalā*, *yuxli*’.

– The examples in a text from al-Ḥudaydah in Rossi, Nuove Osservazioni 465ff., are not clear either: *tašlah*, *yinfāʿ*, *yimsah*, *yarḡul*, *yaqtul*, *yismaʿ*, *yismar*.

– The examples in LAN-2:7ff indicate the distribution of *yi-/ya-*, showing that the latter can precede back consonants: *yidxol*, *yiqbalha*, *laqbil* (= *naqbil*), *yixroḡha*, *balisrah* (= *bā-nisrah*), *yeqrob*, *yishaboh*, *laqsil* (= *naḡsil*), *teḡham*, *yibrumah*, *yiškaʿ*, *yidxoluh*, *yirboṭuh*, *yigzaʿ*, *linḡaḡ*.

– BET 129f. has only examples featuring *yi-*: *yisrah*, *yiʿzam*, *yidrub*, *yiskun*, *yinzil*, *yiʿrif*, *yimsak*, *yiḡlis*, *yiʿmil*, *yišrab*, *tiglaʿi*, *yirḡaʿu*, *tigʿudu*, *nilbiḡ*.

– The paradigms O. Jastrow documented in al-Mudawwar (148) appear inconsistent at first:

1. ‘to kill’

3rd sg. m. <i>yiqtul</i>	pl. <i>yiqtilu</i>	3rd sg. f. <i>taqtul</i>	pl. <i>yiqtilēn</i>
2nd sg. m. <i>taqtul</i>	pl. <i>taqtulu</i>	2nd sg. f. <i>taqtuli</i>	pl. <i>taqtilēn</i>
1st sg. c. <i>aqtul</i>	pl. <i>naqtul</i>		

2. ‘to run away’ with future prefix š-:

3rd sg. m. <i>šiflut</i>	pl. <i>šiflitu</i>	3rd sg. f.	pl. <i>šiflutēn</i>
2nd sg. m. <i>štaflut</i>	pl. <i>štaflut</i>	2nd sg. f. <i>štaflut</i>	pl. <i>štaflutēn</i>
1st sg. c. <i>šaflut</i>	pl. <i>šnaflut</i>		

Other forms also feature */i/* in the third persons, but in the other forms */a/* in the prefix:

šigzaʿ – *štaḡzaʿ* ‘to pass’, *šišrah* – *štašrah* ‘to drink’, *šiqraʿ* – *štaqraʿ* ‘to read’, *šikul* – *štaʿkul* ‘to eat’, *šinsī* – *štansī* ‘to forget’. Obviously */i/* in the prefix is due to */y/*.

Similarly at point 91: *yanšur* ‘he goes in the afternoon’, but with future prefix *š-*: *šinšur*, *šinšurun* v. *šanšur*, *šanšurin*, *šanšurun*, *šannanšur*.¹ Similar at point 56:

1 For the 1st pl. *n-* is doubled after *š*-prefix in some dialects: *šannanšur* (151), *šinnibūk* ‘we will go (in the afternoon)’ (15, 107, 108, 114), *šinniʿzam* ‘we will go travelling’ (15).

šiktub, šiktubu v. *štaktub, štaktubin, štinaktub*; *šixbiz* v. *štaxbiz*. Similar at point 137: *štaxbizu* – *šixbizu, štanšur* – *šinšuru*.

Inconsistent at point 146: *yikhif* ‘to cover seeds with soil’, *yiḡgin* ‘to dig’, *tanšur* ‘she goes in the afternoon’, *štanšur* ‘she will go in the afternoon’ v. *šinšur* ‘he will go in the afternoon’, pl. m. *šinšurūn*, pl. f. *šinšurēn*.

Cf. also point 11: *yinšur, yinšuru, yinšurna*, but *tunšur, tunšuri, tunšuru, nunšur*.

But more examples would be needed in order for us to determine a rule for this point.

– Despite the revision the map ought to be regarded with a pinch of salt, for where the *yu*-prefix has now been added, this often relies on one example, *yuktub*, only. Cf. *yuktil* ‘he kills’ as the only instance featuring *yu*- in Syrian Bedouin dialects.

094 Verb 1: imperfect 2nd sg. f., 2nd pl. m. (c.), 3rd pl. m. (c.)

– PRC-1:34, 35 has only long forms *-īn*, *-ūn* in Saudi Arabia. Similar Jabal Fayfā' ALB 63. Also the north of the Yemeni Tihāmah. See also DGS 31.

– For South Yemen see VAN-8:755. Ḥaḍramawt *-īn*, *-ūn* (m.) (ALS 693).

– For Laḥiğ FOD quotes forms such as *yizra'ū*, *yirabbū*.

– Daṭīnah: LAN-2:8 *ya'tarikūn*, 9 *bāylibbūneh*, 10 *uyidḍāribūn*.

– Regarding Dubḥān (158a) see DIEM 124: 'Laut Auskunft der Gewährsleute lautet die Flexion so [*taktubi*, *taktubu*,

yaktubu] in den meisten Gegenden der Ḥugariyeh. In Dubḥān (158a) dagegen laute die 2. fem. Sing. *taktubīn* und die 2. und 3. mask. Plur. *taktubūn* bzw. *yaktubūn*'.

– In the northern Tihāmah *-n* is doubled when object suffixes with initial vowel are added: Ḥaraḍ (8) *taḍrubūn*: *taḍrubūnni* 'you (pl.) hit me', aḍ-Ḍāmir (69) *taxbizīn*: *taxbizīnnuh* 'you (sg.) bake him (it)'. These forms are the basis for back-formations of the type *taxbizin*, *taxbizun*, *yaxbizun* as used in the central Tihāmah.

095 Verb 1: imperfect 2nd pl. f., 3rd pl. f.

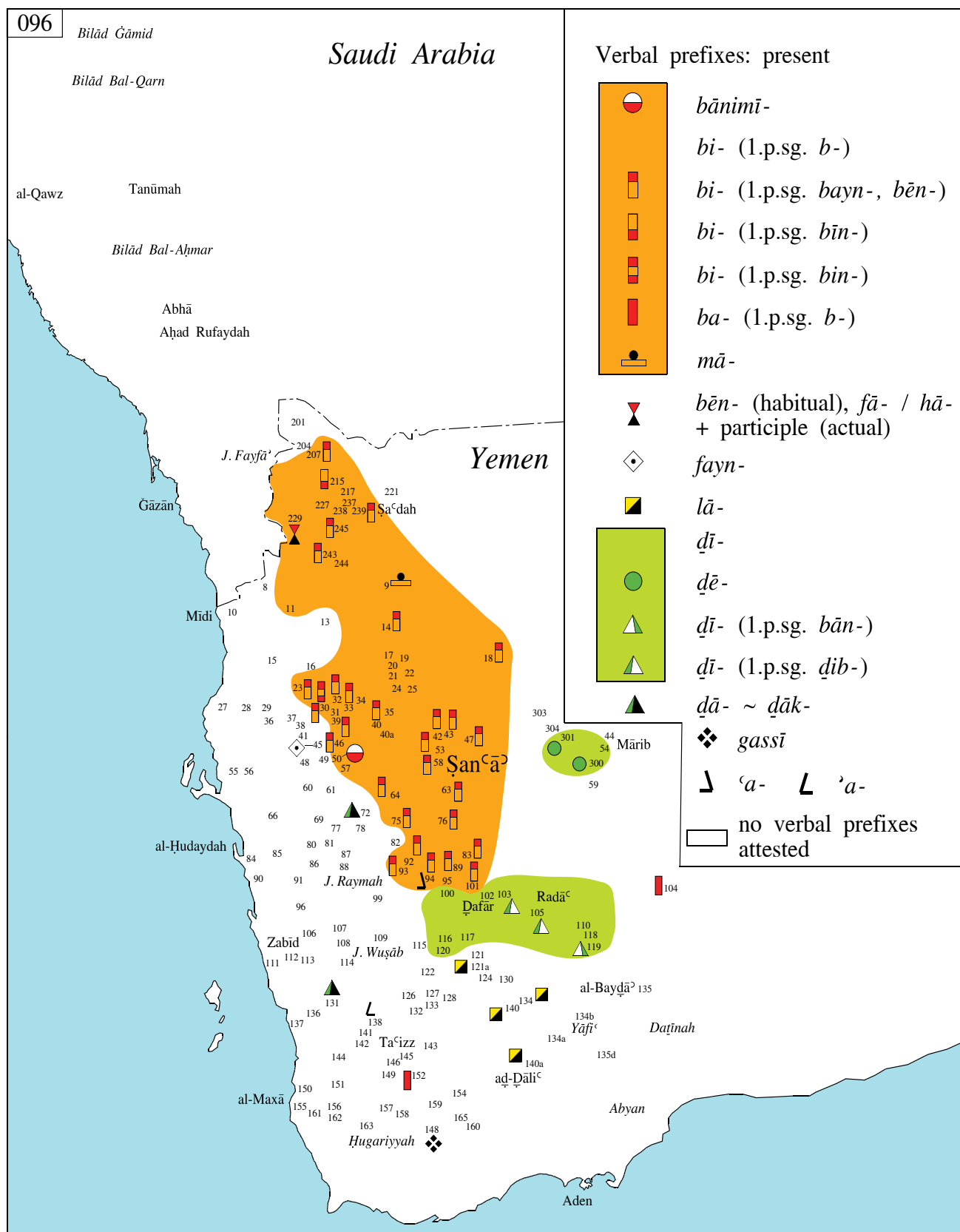
– We must emphasise the almost classical forms of the type *tišrabna(h)*, *yišrabna(h)* in the north. Documented for Saudi Arabia and Ġāmid besides common gender forms (TOLL 31 only *yišrabū* ~ *yišrabūn*), PRC-1:33 however, *tiksirnah*, *yiksirna*. Jabal Fayfā' and neighbouring regions also in Yemen/north *tašrabna(h)*, *yašrabna(h)*. Further south only localised (68). The form at point 103 (ad-Dāmiḡah and Baynūn) was interpolated in the first version in analogy with the perfect form quoted by DIEM 60 for dialect 11, i.e. *sirna* and *sirneh*. On p. 61, however,

he says: 'Über das Imperfekt in Dialekt 11 habe ich keine Informationen'.

– *tišrabayn* (*tišrabēn*), *yišrabayn* (*yišrabayn*) have adopted their endings from the perfect. The origin of the ending is regular *ramayna* 'they (f.) threw/shot', whose ending extended onto all the corresponding forms of all verb classes in perfect and imperfect.

– Regarding the other forms cf. the respective perfect forms.

– VAN-8:755 has no concrete forms for the south.



096 Verbal prefixes: present

– No data for Saudi Arabia in PRC-1 and AZR-2. TOLL 35 says for Ġāmid ‘rather seldom used . . . only about 6% had /bi/’.

– RO-APP 240 ‘prefisso *bi-* a *Ṣan‘ā* e nella Tihāmāh per significare contemporaneità, attualità di stato o azione’. *Ṣan‘ā* ‘*bi-* (*bayn-* first person) which generally expresses continuous and habitual aspect’ (WAT-1:62). A verb modifier *bi-* was not mentioned during the survey in the Tihāmāh.

– JA 79 regards the form *bānimī* (*bānimī-yiktub*, *bānimīhum-yiktubu*) as the starting point for the verb modifier present *bayn-*, *bēn-*, *bīn-*, *bin-* (first person), *b(i)-* (other persons). As the word for ‘what’ is *mī* at point 50 (Jabal Ḥufāš), *bānimī* is linked to cl. Ar. *baynamā* ‘while’, which refers to simultaneousness: *baynamā yaktub* ‘while he writes’.

– Isolated *fayn-* directly next to the *bayn-* region must be linked to it. Cf. forms for ‘in’ with /f/ or /b/.

– *māyuktub* point 9, cf. JG 1142 ‘im Äg. Ar. und Syr. Ar. ebenfalls so, dort jedoch aus **ammāl* über *amma-*, *am-*, *ma^c-*, da keine entsprechende Vorform belegt, eher mit *bā-*, (*bayn-*, *bi-*) zu vergleichen’.

– The modifier *lā-* is only mentioned for points 121a, 134 in JG, but 134 and 140 on the original map: *laktub* ‘I am writing’ = *la‘aktub* (121a), *lātikub* ‘you are writing’ (134), *fulān lāyimahhar* ‘someone is working’ (140, sic without /t/), *lāštaḡil* ‘I am working’. Regarding *lā-* in aḏ-Ḍālī‘ cf. VAN-1:191 with the example *lā-ybki* ‘il est en train de pleurer’, which recall north Moroccan *lā-*, which also denotes an action currently taking place. Cf. also AGU 13–19, who also compares this with a verb modifier future *lā-* in the Ḥassāniyya and Syrian dialects. If there is indeed such a connection, the verb modifier present *bayn-*, *bi-* could be comparable to the verb modifier future *bā-* in Yemen, *b-* in Abha (‘The future tense can be indicated by an imperfect verb plus the prefix *b’*, AZR-2:85): *bitsāfir ba’dēn* ‘she will travel later’, *byāxḏūnhā bukraḥ* ‘they will take it tomorrow’ (op. cit. 86), or Libyan and south Tunisian *b-* (HdAD 263–64). *lā-* is also documented as verb modifier future; this also applies to *ʾa-* and *ʾa-* below. JA links the form to the particle *la* ‘indeed’.

– *dā*, *dē*, *dī* are apparently linked to the verb modifiers *dā* and *dāk* mentioned in WRB 137: ‘Um im Präsens die Gleichzeitigkeit eines Vorgangs zum Sprechen auszudrücken, werden nahdeiktisches *dā* oder ferndeiktisches *dāk* mit dem jeweiligen selbständigen Personalpronomen

der Imperfektform vorangestellt . . . *dā-n-aktub* “ich schreibe gerade” [in fn. 147 < *dā ʾanā ʾaktub*], *dā ʾant tibsir* “du (m.) siehst gerade”, *dāk hūyirgud* “erschlāft gerade”, *dāk hī tākul* “sie ißt gerade”. Thus also point 131 *dā-na ʾaʾumm* ‘I am drinking’. In other forms I have surveyed the deictic element is prefixed to the imperfect form: *dē-tiʾḡin* ‘ēš’ ‘she is kneading dough’ (300, 301). At points 44, 119 *dīyuktub* ‘he is writing’, *dībaktub* ‘I am writing’ (only 119). The latter is probably a contamination of two prefixes *dī-* + *b-*.

Retrospectively I wonder whether, when I pointed out Egyptian *dana ʾayz anām* ‘but I do want to sleep’ in the context of the forms *dāna ʾaʾumm* ‘but I am drinking’, *dāna wātyu* ‘but I am coming’ (JG 401), I was looking at the latter through my Egyptian glasses. It may well be that these are simply examples of what WRB describes.

– If the abovementioned forms can be traced back to a deictic element, this can also apply to *hā-* in Rāziḥ. JG 1244 hints at this possibility: ‘*hā* Verbmodifikator Präsens (+ Partizip, wechselt mit *fā-*) . . . *him hāḡāwlīn* “sie (m.) sagen” . . . Es sind verschiedene Ableitungen möglich; entweder zu *hā* ‘in’ (vgl. *bayn-*, *bi-* Verbmodif. Präsens), zu *ha-* Verbmodif. Futur (nahe Zukunft), da auch *ša-* sowohl für die nahe Zukunft als auch das Präsens verwendet wird (s. dort), oder zu einem deiktischen *hā-*: *hā-ḡāwul* “da ist er, sagend”, oder aber zu *ʾa-*, *ʾa-* (s. dort)’.

– The *ʾa-* at point 138 *ʾa-yaktub* ‘he is writing’, *ʾa-yḡaddil* ‘he is pollarding’ can also be explained as a deictic element. Cf. the Egyptian Arabic presentatives *ahú*, *ahí*, *ahúm* (WOI-K 48).

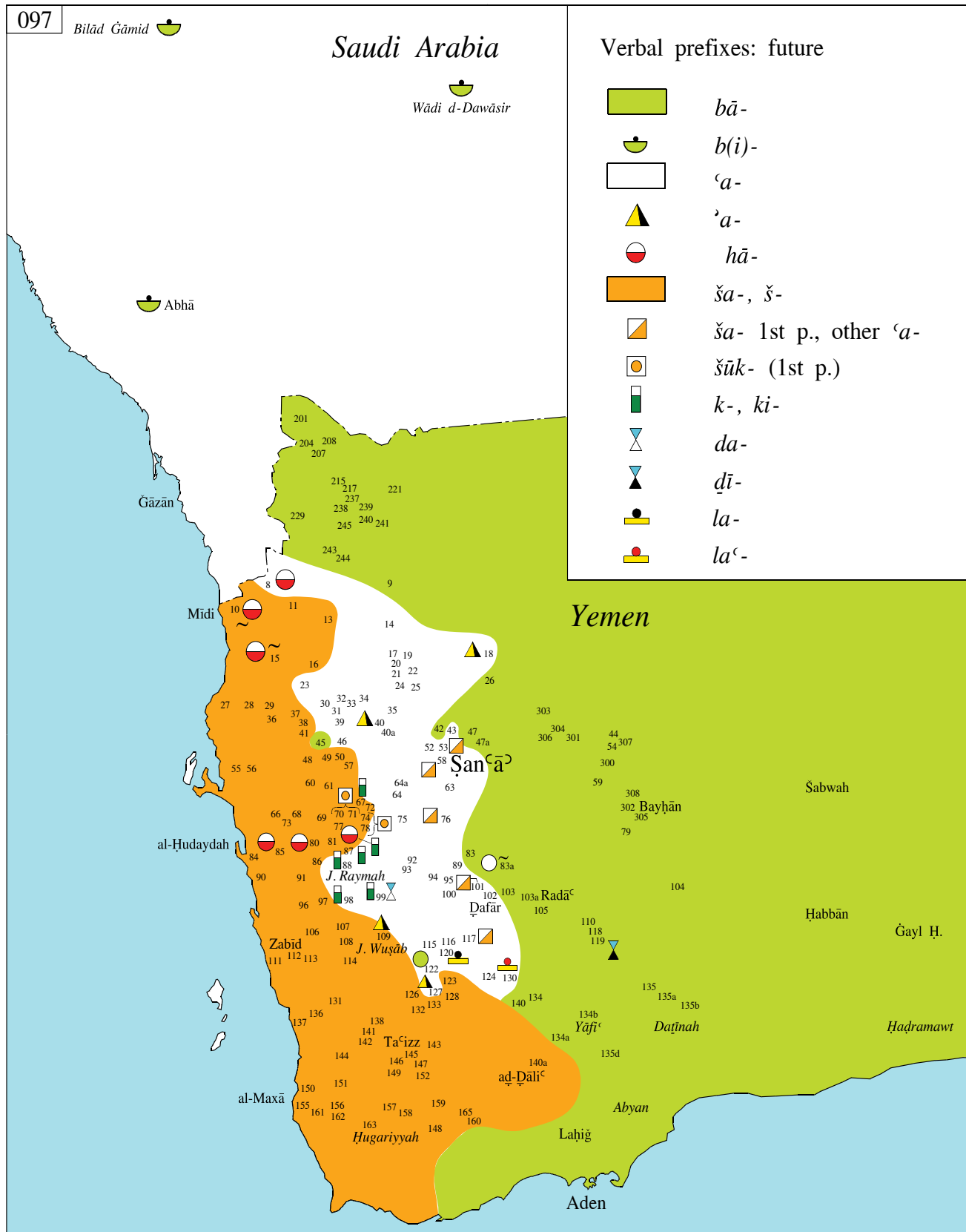
– *ʾa-*, 1st sg. *ʾad-* at point 95 is listed with *ʾād-* ‘still’ in JG 797.

– *fā* in Rāziḥ and the surrounding area, always used with participle at 229: *fāḡāwlīn* ‘they (pl. m.) are saying’, at 228 also with imperfect *fayugúl* ‘he is saying now’, *fāyisrah* ‘he is going now’. Following the above argumentation it might be related to deictic *fā* ‘here’. Cf. the forms *fah* ~ *feh* at other locations in the area. Cf. also WAT-7:34–35.

– *gassī* in al-Mudawwar (148, O. Jastrow ‘aktuell, inchoativ’) is clearly a shortened form of **ḡālsi* < *ḡālīsī* ‘sitting, staying’,¹ which, however, was interpreted as a form II verbs final y; thus:

1 Cf. the short forms *yijiss*, *nijiss* in Jiblih and other locations, also in Tigre *gassa*, imperative *ḡassi*. Cf. also the unchanging verb modifier present *ḡāʾid* (< *ḡāʾid*) in Syrian Bedouin dialects: *ḡāʾid-txabiz* ‘she is baking now’, *ḡāʾid-yxabzin* ‘they are baking now’.

3rd sg. m.	<i>gassī yiqra'</i>	3rd pl. m.	<i>gassu yiqra'u</i>
3rd sg. f.	<i>gassah tiqra'</i>	3rd pl. f.	<i>gassēn yiqra'ēn</i>
2nd sg. f.	<i>gassēki tiqra'i</i>	2nd pl. f.	<i>gassēkin tiqra'ēn</i>
2nd sg. m.	<i>gassēk tiqra'</i>	2nd pl. m.	<i>gassēkum tiqra'u</i>
1st sg.	<i>gassēku aqra'</i>	1st pl.	<i>gassēna niqra'</i>



– No data in PRC-1. Abha ‘The future tense can be indicated by an imperfect verb plus the prefix *b...* *bitsāfir ba’dēn* ‘she will travel later’, *byāxdūnhā bukraḥ* ‘they will take it tomorrow’ (AZR-2:85, 86). TOLL 35 has *bi-’aštārī* ‘I am going to buy’ for Ġāmid, otherwise forms with present meaning. Regarding Dōsiri KUR-1:15 says ‘The particle *bi-* which is prefixed to the imperfect to give it a future meaning’.

– Yemen/north *bā* ‘in der gesamten Gegend’ (DGS 54). The etymology is clear: < *√bġy*, *’by* ‘to want to, intend’.

– Laḥiğ *bā-*: FOD 43ff. *bā*, *bārabbūh*, *beyibka*, *’andi*, *benmūt sawa*.

– Going back to ‘to want, intend’ also *ša*, *ši*, *š-* in west Yemen (cl. Ar. *šā’a* ‘to want to, intend’). Frequently merges with the /y/ of the 3rd person resulting in *ši*, *šī*: *ša’umm* ‘I will/want to drink’, *šta’umm* 2nd sg. m., *ši’umm* 3rd sg. m., *ši’ummu* 3rd pl. m., *ši’ummēn* 3rd pl. f., *šākul* ‘I will eat’, *šikul* ‘he will eat’ (al-Ḥaddah). /n/ is often doubled in the 1st pl: *šinnibūk* ‘we will go’ (5, 107, 108, 114), *šinnīzam* ‘we will go’ (15) or *š-* + *yu-* → *šu-*: *šuqtul* ‘he will kill’, *šuqtal* ‘he will be killed’. Aḍ-Ḍālī ‘unchanging *šā-*’ (VAN-1:192). Also with a long vowel *šā-* in Manāxah (WRB 137) for all persons. Short as well as long 50a *šātāta* ‘you (sg.) will come’, *šāyisīr* ‘he will go’, *šīyātiyēn* ‘they (f.) will come’, *šamši* ‘I will go’.

Paradigm from al-Ḥaddah (142) ‘to eat’:

3rd sg. m.	<i>šikul</i>	3rd pl. m.	<i>šikulu</i>
3rd sg. f.	<i>štākul</i>	3rd pl. f.	<i>šikulēn</i>
2nd sg. m.	<i>štākul</i>	2nd pl. m.	<i>štākulu</i>
2nd sg. f.	<i>štākuli</i>	2nd pl. f.	<i>štākulēn</i>
1st sg.	<i>šākul</i>	1st pl.	<i>šinākul</i>

– Reduced from an original *šūk* ‘I wanted to’ (= present meaning) *k-*, *ki-*. Cf. DIEM 82 for al-Ḥadiyeh (point 98) ‘*kwā’id* “ich will weggehen”, *krawwiḥ* “ich will zurückkommen”, *kiyrawwiḥ* “er will zurückkommen”. Ob *k(i)-* auch bei den zweiten Personen verwendet wird, konnte ich nicht klären’. In RO-APP 240 ‘prefisso *k-* dell’imperfetto in alcuni paesi del versante occidentale’ without further definition. P. 155/56 for Jabal Ḥarāz (77), Ṣa’fān (71), Masār (74), Ūsil (the last named not locatable) *šuk-’absar* ‘vedrò, *šuk-’asīr* ‘andrò’, *šinā naṭsawwab* ‘vogliamo andare’, i.e. clearly inflected. Only as *k-* in the 1st sg. in the region of Raymah: p. 258 ‘*k-sīr* “andrò, voglio andare, ch’io vado, vado” ... manca nelle altre persone dell’Imperfetto; si dice

tasīr “tu vai”, *ša-tasīr* “tu andrai”; *isīr* “egli va”. Rossi seems to have misunderstood this *k-*. It cannot be there, because it originates with a 1st person. P. 259 for Jabal Wuṣāb *’arīk-’wo* *’asīr* ‘voglio andare, andrò’, *anā k-’asīr* ‘andrò’. At point 87 (Markaz Bilād aṭ-Ṭa’ām) I marked the forms *kābūk* ‘I will go’, *kansi* ‘I will forget’, *ka’amši* ‘I will go’, i.e. again in the 1st person only; elsewhere *šāyibūk* ‘he will go’, *šāyibūku* ‘they will go’.

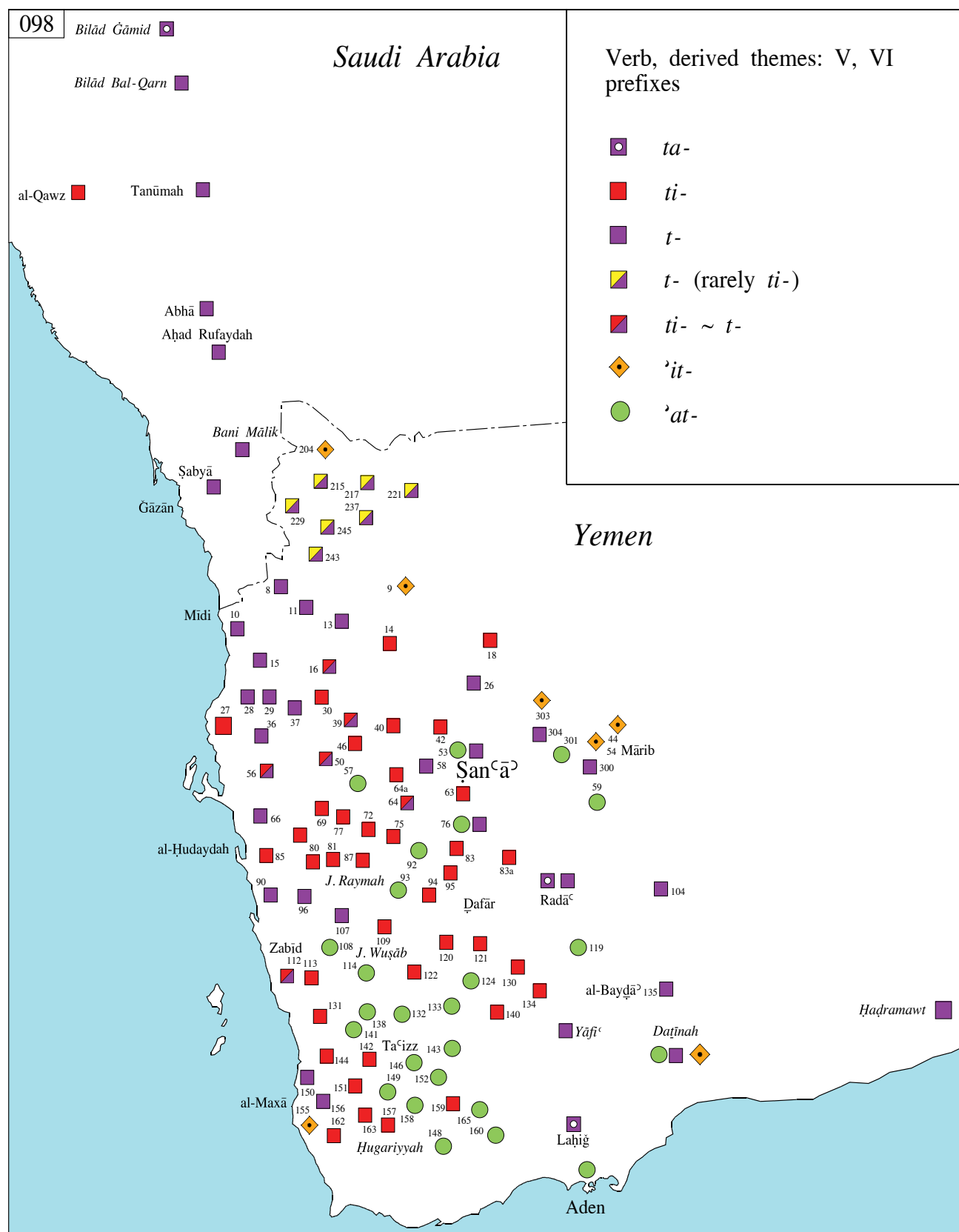
– Ro-APP 259 *da-nasrah* ‘noi andiamo, andremo’ in Wuṣāb/Gā’idah also occurs in Syria in the region of Aleppo (SA map 162). As forms such as *dak-tiğī* ‘you (sg.) will come = must come’ are documented in Syria as well, this probably originated with **biddak* ‘you want to’. Cf. *da-* to this day with present meaning in Baghdad usage, traced back by MAL 43/44 to the auxiliary verb *’ada* ‘which expresses a repeated action’. The forms clearly have no connection whatever. As in Himyarite and in the southern Tihāmah *da* has been documented for *la* ‘no’, Yemeni *da-* can also be linked to the following forms:

– *la-* at point 120 and *la’* at 130. *la-* also occurs in Syria (e.g. in Soukhne). AGU 17 links Moroccan (present tense) *lā-* to Egyptian (future tense) *lāh(a)* < *rāh* (BW map 224). These may all be coincidences. As *’ilā* is also documented as temporal ‘until, up to’, *lā* could also be derived from a sentence such as **rayyi’ ’ilā yiğī* ‘wait until he comes’ → ‘wait, he will come’. Cf. in northern Syria *ta-yiğī* ‘he will come’ from **hattā yiğī*.

– *ḏī* at point 119 (not in JG) was cited in the context of present tense. Retrospectively the data seems inconsistent. Many examples feature *bā-* with future meaning, *wēn bātsīr?* ‘where are you going?’, *bāyisawwow* ‘they will make’, *kēf bātsī hāde?* ‘how do you (sg.) do that?’ *bārī’lukum* ‘I will wait for you (pl.)’, *mitā bātji?* ‘when will you (sg.) come?’, *bātilgōni* ‘you (pl.) will meet me’, *bāyugatal* ‘he will be killed’, *bāhubb* ‘I will go’, *bāfillig* ‘I will pollard’, but also with present meaning *bānxazzin* ‘we are chewing qāt’, *bāyixazzin* ‘he is chewing qāt’, *bāyi’ašširow* ‘they let off a celebratory salvo’, *bānirmī* ‘we are shooting at him’.

– JG links *’a-* (1st sg. *’ad-*, e.g. in *’ad-asīr* ‘I will go’) to *’ad-* ‘still’. MAL also links present *da* to *’ada* and *’ad* ‘still’ (see commentary 96). In Gurrān (93) *’adasīr* ‘I will go’, *’atsīr* ‘you will go’.

– In the northern Tihāmah *hā-* was named as denoting the distant future, *ša-* the near future. This is why JA 22 rules out a derivation in analogy to the Egyptian Arabic one for *rāh* > *ḥa* > *ha*. Cf. also JG 1244, where it is linked to cl. Ar. **sa-*, and Ṣheri *ha-* according to THOM 253–54. Cf. also **sāqah* > *hāqah* ‘ploughtail’.



098 Verb derived themes: v, VI prefixes

– JA 22 remarks on the subject ‘derivation’ that it was discussed very briefly with one map. The reason given is that it corresponds on the whole to derivation in cl. Ar. Regarding form II it comments that there has been some assimilation in the case of the vocalisation of the last syllable in the imperfect, in the order $a - i \rightarrow a - u$: *yikassir* ‘he breaks’, *yidallub* ‘he begs’. RO-APP 30 has *yitallub* ‘chiede’ (sic!). A form *yisibbir* ‘he makes’ was also mentioned. It is necessary to add from the outer Tihāmah: *yihattab* ‘to fetch wood’, *yihimmiš* ‘to roast’, *yidihhir* ‘to make’, *yiruwwiḥ* ‘to go home’, *mizahhab* ‘going to the field’, *yiliyyis* ‘to plaster’, *yisinnib* ‘to stop’, *yigittil* ‘to murder’, *yiwurrid* ‘to transport’, *yiduwwir* ‘to seek’, *yiwuggif* ‘to stop’, *yiyibbis* ‘to dry’, *yibiyyin* ‘to appear’ (point 38). Changes in the vocalism thus only affect the imperfect; there has not been a phonological redistribution as in Egyptian Arabic or Tunisian (*kallim*, *yikallim*, *ṭalla*’, *yīṭalla*’). The perfect is always CaCCaC. Cf. also at point 63 *ḍallab*, *yidallab* ‘to beg’, point 144 *yamman*, *yiyimmin* ‘to go south’, points 104, 135 *yišilliḥ* ‘to repair’, *twilli* ‘you (sg.) go’, *tsuwwi* ‘you (sg.) make’, point 104 *yišilliḥ* ‘to make’, point 15 also *yiliflif* ‘to collect’, *yijil-lis* ‘to let sit down’, *yidikkik* ‘to loosen the soil with a stick and then level it’ (146), point 41 *walla*’, *yiwille*’ ‘to set fire to’, point 36 *yisibbir* ‘to make’, *wulli*’ ‘set fire to!’, *ruwwiḥ*’ ‘come back’, *yifihhim* ‘to explain’, *yigīyyil* ‘to spend the afternoon’.

– The *yišilliḥ* type also occurs in Ḥaḍramawt Arabic: *šarrab* – *yiširrib* ‘to shave’ (ALS 693). FOD 53 has *garra*’, *yigarra*’ ‘to take heart, courage, to pluck up one’s courage’, p. 55 *haššal*, *yīhaššal* ‘to recover sth.’, p. 57 *damma*’, *yidamma*’ ‘to shed tears’, *dawwax*, *yidawwax* ‘to subdue, to look for’, *dawwar*, *yiduwwar* ‘to search, look for’, p. 58 *ragga*’, *yiragga*’ ‘to return, come back, to send/bring back’, *raḥḥab*, *yirahḥab* ‘to greet, to say welcome’, *raxxaš*, *yiraxxaš* ‘to permit’, p. 59 *rakkab*, *yirakkab* ‘to lend camel to so.’, p. 61 *šallaḥ*, *yišallaḥ* ‘to do, to make’, p. 62 *ṭarrab*, *yīṭarrab li* ‘to delight so.’, p. 64 *fagga*’, *yifagga*’ ‘to torture’, p. 65 *fazzaz*, *yifazziz* ‘to open eyes widely’, *fakkar*, *yifak-kir* ‘to think’, p. 68 *kammal*, *yikammil* ‘to carry out’, p. 71 *naffad*, *yinaffid* ‘to execute, to effect, to fulfil’, p. 72 *naqqah*, *yinaqqah* ‘look over, read through’, p. 73 *waššal*, *yīwaššil* ‘to lead, to bring, to fetch’. Thus /a/ usually occurs with a back consonant in the last syllable, /i/ with front consonants. This is the preliminary stage of a development like the one in Egyptian Arabic.

– Different vocalisations are mentioned in WAT-1:437: ‘The vocalic melody of form II verbs is either *a-a* or *a-i*

in the perfect aspect, as in: *šaddag* ‘to believe’, *sabbab* ‘to cause’, *gassim* ‘to divide’, ‘*ayyif* “to be nauseous”’. Other perfect forms mentioned are *dawwar*, ‘*ammal*, *ḥannā*, *xarraḡ*, *xaddar*. P. 440 quotes *zayyin* ‘to make up’ besides ‘*ayyif*. P. 62 *sallif*, *yisallif* ‘he lent, he lends’, p. 67 *mālak* *tīwassax ad-dunyā* ‘why are you m. sg. dirtying the place?’¹ But it is not possible to deduce a distribution as that in Egyptian Arabic.

– Form III usually follows the type *sāfar*, *yisāfir*, e.g. 229 *xāmas*, *yixāmis* ‘to greet’.

	Perfect		Imperfect	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>xāmas</i>	<i>xāmasū</i>	<i>yixāmis</i>	<i>yixāmsū</i>
3rd f.	<i>xāmasa</i>	<i>xāmasin</i>	<i>tixāmis</i>	<i>yixāmsin</i>
2nd f.	<i>xāmasiĉ</i>	<i>xāmáskun</i>	<i>tixāmsi</i>	<i>tixāmsin</i>
2nd m.	<i>xāmasik</i>	<i>xāmáskum</i>	<i>tixāmis</i>	<i>tixāmsū</i>
1st c.	<i>xāmasuk</i>	<i>xāmásnā</i>	<i>ʾaxāmis</i>	<i>nixāmis</i>

According to RO-S 30 form III in Šanʿā ‘non è frequente’. The vocalisation in WAT-1:438 for III are $\bar{a} - a$ in the perfect, $\bar{a} - i$ in the imperfect. One example quoted is ‘*ābab* ‘to work slowly’, but the imperfect on p. 62 is *yīʾābab* rather than, as one would expect, **yīʾābib*.

– There has been no systematic survey of form IV by region, but only at some locations with a few verbs, e.g. at point 93: ‘*arā* ‘to see’, ‘*ašbaḥ* ‘to be in the morning’, (‘*kēf ašbaḥt?* ‘how are you?’; said in the morning), ‘*amsā* ‘to be in the evening’ (‘*fīyān amsēt?* ‘where did you go last night?’), ‘*arsalow* ‘they sent’, ‘*axraḡ* ‘to take out’, ‘*adxal* ‘to put in’, ‘*ašham* ‘to explain’, ‘*atfā* ‘to extinguish’. We must emphasise the verbs ‘*abyaḍ* ‘to become white’, ‘*aswad* ‘to become black’, ‘*ašfar* ‘to become yellow’, ‘*aḥmar* ‘to become red’, ‘*azrag* ‘to become blue’ (point 10). JG has only ‘*ašfar*, *yusfur* in Šanʿā’. Normally form II replaces form IX in Yemeni: *sawwad* etc.

1 P. 74 *wa-tāminih hi tbaxxar* ‘and the eighth makes him better’ is quoted after RO-S 71, where, however, the form is *hiḥ tbaxxir*.

According to RO-S 30 form IV is 'rarissima'.² He quotes the widely used *'absar, yibsir* 'to see' among others. HUI says about Radā' 120 'very rare in Yemeni Arabic' and quotes the example *abšar, yibšir* 'to see'. *'agbal* 'to arrive' and its variants *'igbal* (35) and *gbal, yigbil* 3rd sg. f. *'agbalan* (50b) is also comparatively frequent. Cf. also PRC-1:42 *'agbal* 'he came'.

– Form VII is extremely rare in Yemeni, RO-S 31 says 'rara', NAD 31 'rarely used', NAI 64 (regarding Ṣan'ā) 'd'un emploi rare'. In the north of North Yemen 'nicht zu belegen' (DGS 34). More frequent instances in the east (Mārib region): *indabağ* 'he was beaten', *infītaḥ* 'it was opened', *inxabaz* 'it was baked', *ingīṭa* 'he was held up', *inkīsar* 'it was broken' (loc. cit.). Form VIII is used in most cases: (*i*)*ktasar, yiktasir*.

– Original map 85 was disentangled as the four forms mentioned show the same initial sound only occasionally: *'atkallam* / *'atgābal* / *'aktasar* / *'asta'mal*, and frequently have different initial sounds, e.g. in Baraddūn according to BET 133–34 *tišakkalat, tišā'adu, anḍammaw, antagalu* 'si spostarono', *astagaššayt* 'cercai di vendicarmi'. Instances of *x* have not been integrated in the map as they are not sufficiently documented.

– Saudi Arabia PRC-1:42 *tkallam* Qahabah, Rufaydah, Abha, Tanūmah, Bal-Qarn, Šabyā; *takallam* Ġāmid, *tikal-lam* Qawz. Also: *tkassar* Rufaydah, Abha, Tanūmah, *takassar* Ġāmid, *tikassarat* Qawz, *tharraš* 'to eat lunch Šabyā. Ġāmid *tamakkan* 'he prevailed' (TOLL 31). *tharrağ* 'to speak' Banī Mālik (internet).

– Yemen/north: 'in den meisten Belegorten *t-* mit einer Variante *ti-* vor Dental... *tgaḥḥar* 'frühstücken' / *tidardah* 'stolpern' (217), *tjayyar* 'ohnmächtig werden' / *tidarra* 'sich anziehen' (229, DGS 33/34). At point 204 *'it-*: *'itwaššam* 'to dye one's face green'. Further examples loc. cit.: *tqambas* 'to sit down' (215), *t'ayyan* 'to look' (216), *thaddat* 'to speak' (217), *thağğam* 'to be bled' (237), *tga'am* 'to yawn' (215). For form VI loc. cit. has the examples *t'āyad* 'to disagree', *t'āšal* 'to quarrel', *t'āwan* 'to help one another', *tiğābar* 'to talk to one another' (before [dʒ]). At point 204 *'it-*: *'itdaxxaš* 'to hide', *'itnāfa* 'to help one another'. More examples in DGS 194/195.

– WRB 93/93 for Manāxah: v *ti-*, VI *ti-*: *tisawwağ* 'to go to market', *tiğābar* 'to talk to one another'. All further examples systematically with *ti-*.

Kawakabān is not consistent, HEN 25: v *ta'allam, tağadda*, but v *ithārab, ithāsab*.³

– BET 133 has *ti-* for v and VI, HUI 121 regarding Radā' notes the forms *tağassal* 'to wash oneself', *takallam* 'to speak', *ta'allem* (sic!) 'to learn', *ta'ašša* 'to have dinner', *tağaddā* 'to have dinner' (sic!). Her information on VI is inconsistent: 'takes as a prefix *ta-*' with the example *thākē* 'to speak to another'. The glossary also lists the forms *tanaffas* 'to breathe', *tekawwan* 'to consist of', *tešannuğ* 'to have convulsions', *twelehat, titwelleh* 'to gather (of women)' – Piamenta has this as an instance of form v 'to amuse oneself' giving the example *sir banitwallah* 'let's have fun together'. Further examples are: *tamannā* 'to hope' *tezawwağ* 'to marry', *tfaḍḍal* 'go ahead', *taḍakkār* 'to remember', *taḥāka* 'to speak', previously in the form *thākē*. These and other vocalisations of verbs are not reliable, and frequently appear to have been influenced by standard Arabic. DIEM has no data for this topic for Radā'.

– Yāfi' *tğābər* 'to talk' VAN-2:149.

– Most sources have only *t-* for Ṣan'ā: NAI 63 *tbannan, tğassal, tdallah, thāza, tlābağ*; RO-S 31 *tbannan, tğassal*, but *ta'ağğub*, and only *tafā'al* as type for VI. WAT-1:439 with prefix *t-*: *tfa'al*. 'The vocalic melody of form v verbs is almost invariably *a-a* in both the perfect and the imperfect aspect'. But p. 17 *yitğassilū* 'get washed' v. *yitnaggašayn* 'are tattooed'.

– WAT-1 gives *t-* as the prefix for VI: *tfa'al* and 'The vocalic melody of form VI verbs is almost invariably *ā-a* in both the perfect and the imperfect aspect'. But the subsequent examples include *itjābir* 'to chat to e. o.', *tšāra* 'to collide', *itfādil* 'to interfere', *tsābag* 'to race', *tjābir* 'to chat to e. o.', *tḍārab* 'to hit e. o.', p. 62 *tjābir* 'he chatted (with s. o.)', *yitjābir* 'he chats (with s. o.)'.

– Aden GHA 119 *atkallam* as form VI and p. 118 *aḥtaram* as form v! The glossary p. 129 contains all forms with *at-*: *ağadda, atğassal, athaddad, atkāsal, atnaḍḍaf, atwassax, atwāqaf* etc. Ḥaḍramawt *tkallam* (questionnaire).

– Al-Mudawwar (148, O. Jastrow) *atmahhar* 'to labour'. The paradigm featuring the verb modifier/preverb *qa-* appears entirely irregular at first:

2 Cf. NAI 60/61 according to which IV is gradually being replaced with II, and WAT-1:439 'perhaps (cf. however, form VII below) the least common derived verbal pattern in Ṣan'ānī Arabic'.

3 He interpolated *ithāsab* in analogy to *nithāsab*. Consequently the only documented form for VI is *ithārab*. The examples for v feature back consonants; this does not necessarily imply that *ta-* occurs in all cases.

Imperfect

3rd sg. m.	<i>qimahhar</i>	3rd pl. m.	<i>qimahharu</i>
3rd sg. f.	<i>qatmahhar</i>	3rd pl. f.	<i>qimahharēn</i>
2nd sg. m.	<i>qatmahhar</i>	2nd pl. m.	<i>qatmahharu</i>
2nd sg. f.	<i>qatmahharī</i>	2nd pl. f.	<i>qatmahharēn</i>
1st sg.	<i>qamahhar</i>	1st pl.	<i>qanmahhar</i>

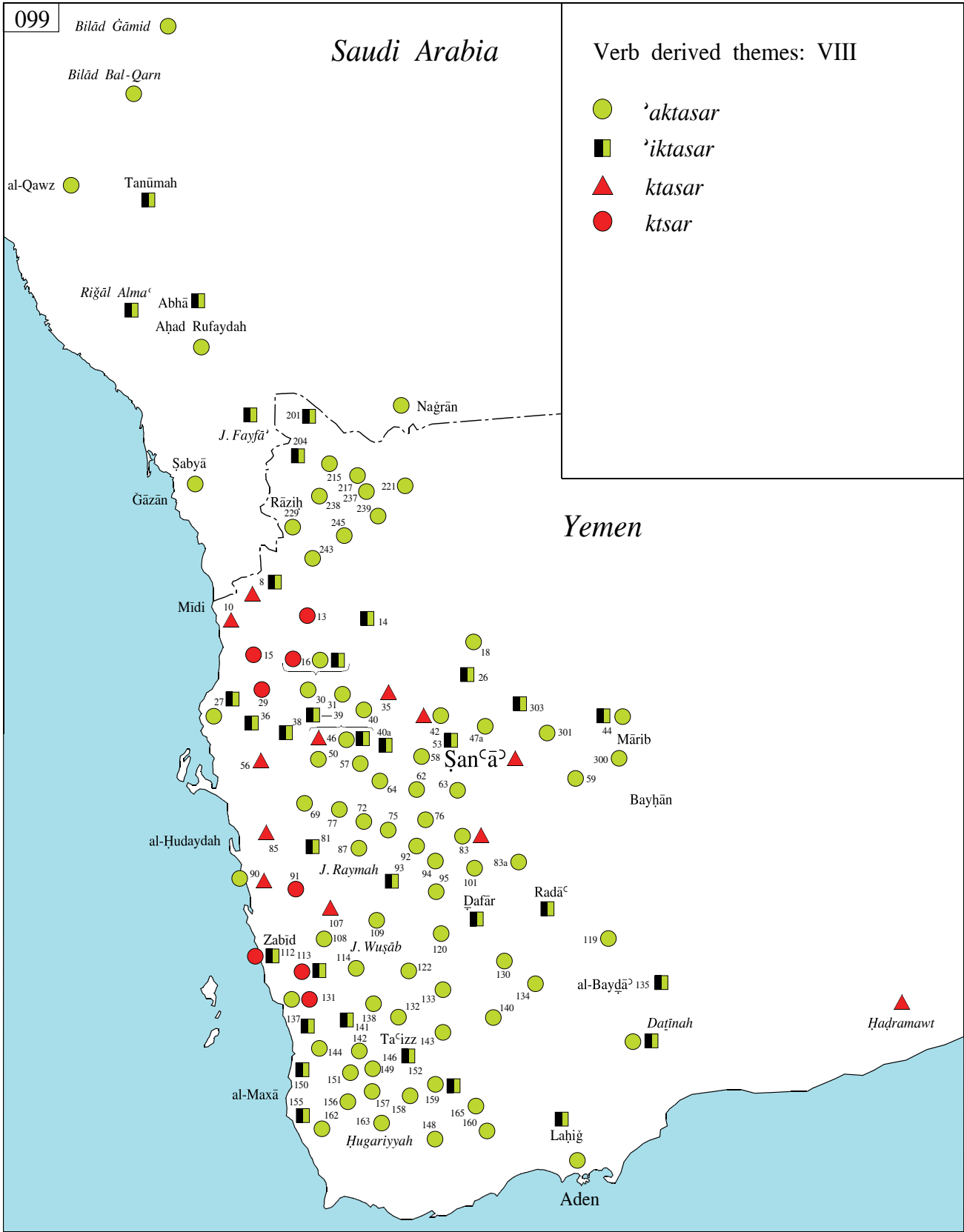
qa- prefixed to a verb and a pronoun is an actualising particle: 'just now, now'. Cf. Jiblih in JG 964 *qāhu mrawwiḥ* 'he is going home now' etc. The loss of /t/ in forms such as *qimahhar* 'he is working just now' can be explained as haplological syllable ellipsis in forms of the 2nd person: **qa-tat(a)mahhar* > *qatmahhar*, where it was not analysed as the verbal prefix of form v but as a personal prefix of the 2nd person, consequently *qimahhar* without /t/. There was no transition from v to II, as the last syllable features /a/ rather than /i/; i.e. *y'allim* 'he teaches', *y'allam* 'he learns'.

The above paradigm applies to all imperfect forms of v. Examples featuring the future prefix: *atmahhar* – *šimahhar* 'to work', *at'ašša* (*at'ašši*) – *šī'ašši* 'to eat dinner', *atgadda* (*atgaddi*) – *šigaddi* 'to eat lunch', *at'allam* – *šī'allam* 'to learn', *atgallas* – *šigallas* 'to sit down'.

The stated rule also applies to VI: *atwālafu* – *šiwālafu* 'to gather'.

– Daṭīnah LAN-2:11 *etkātebu* p. 184 'échangèrent une correspondance'. As it is never quite clear what Landberg means

by this /e/, we cannot say for sure whether this means *itkātabu* or *atkātabu*. On p. 18 four-radical *uetšā'faru*, p. 186 'et se dispersèrent' (in the glossary 2060 only in Arabic and not vocalised). P. 26 *terrāffadhom* p. 193 'il leur fait cadeau', in the glossary as form v in Arabic and not vocalised 'donner la *rifdah*'. P. 27 *uta'addu* [= *w tağaddu*], p. 194 'et l'on déjeune'. P. 38 *iḥaḍḍēhin*, translated on p. 202 as 1st person 'je les embrassais', in the glossary 436 as form v, Arabic, not vocalised 'tenir dans le *ḥuḍn*'. In this form one would have expected /a/ in the 1st person. P. 39 *ta'aššeyna* p. 204 'que nous eussions soupé'. P. 41 *uitrāḡamu ya ḥaḡar* p. 205 'on s'y attaqua de coups de pierres'. P. 42 four-radical *uetwarkaz* 'endeḥa p. 206 'et s'accroupi auprès d'elle', glossary 2919 Arabic, vocalised *tawarkaz* 'être accroupi les jambes courbées et le derrière appuyé contre les talons'. P. 42 *uetbaššar* p. 206 'et regarda', glossary 175 v Arabic, not vocalised 'regarder' = *bašar*. P. 43 *uitwaqqaz* 206 'en marchant sur la pointe des pieds', glossary 2912 Arabic, not vocalised. This form raises the question of whether this is not in fact *w yitwaqqaz*, i.e. an imperfect form. This is also true of other forms with *uit-*. P. 46 *yīḡi em-ḥaḡḡām uetxabbarak* p. [number missing] 'le ventouseur vient te demander', clearly an imperfect form. P. 47 *etwaššet* p. 208 's'est relachée', glossary v tert. inf. [**t()*waššā] = *wašī* 'se dégonfler, se relâcher'. P. 47 *utbāšaru* p. 208 'et qu'ils constatent', glossary 172 VI, perfect, Arabic, not vocalised. As Landberg's transcription is most unsystematic, it is not necessary to search further through his texts.



099 Verb, derived themes: VIII

– Original map 85, which dealt with prefixes and initial vowels of V, VI, VIII and X, has been disentangled. The present map shows only VIII.

– With initial /a/ see examples such as *ʾaḥtabas* ‘to go to prison’, *ʾartabaṭ* ‘to be bound’, *ʾaḍtarab* ~ *ʾaḍḍarab* ~ *ʾaṭṭarab* ‘to be beaten’, *ʾaztara* ~ *ʾazdara* ‘to be sown’, *ʾaltabaj* ‘to be beaten’, *ʾaftaga* ‘to be frightened’, *ʾaxtazaq* ‘to be cut’, *ʾaftara* ‘to separate, part from one another’ (fighting cocks, WRB 565), *ʾaftahan* ‘to rest’. Baraddūn BET 134 *ʾaḥtarag* ‘it burned down’, *ʾaḥtaram* ‘he respected’ Rufaydah, Bal-Qarn, *ʾaḥtaram* Ṣabyā, *ʾaštarak* ‘he participated’ PRC-1:44. Ġāmid in TOLL 31: *angatal* ‘he was killed’, *ʾaftakar* ‘he thought’, *ʾastarġa* ‘he regained’. Naġrān *aštara* ‘he bought’ PRC-1:19. In Mecca also *aštara* (questionnaire).

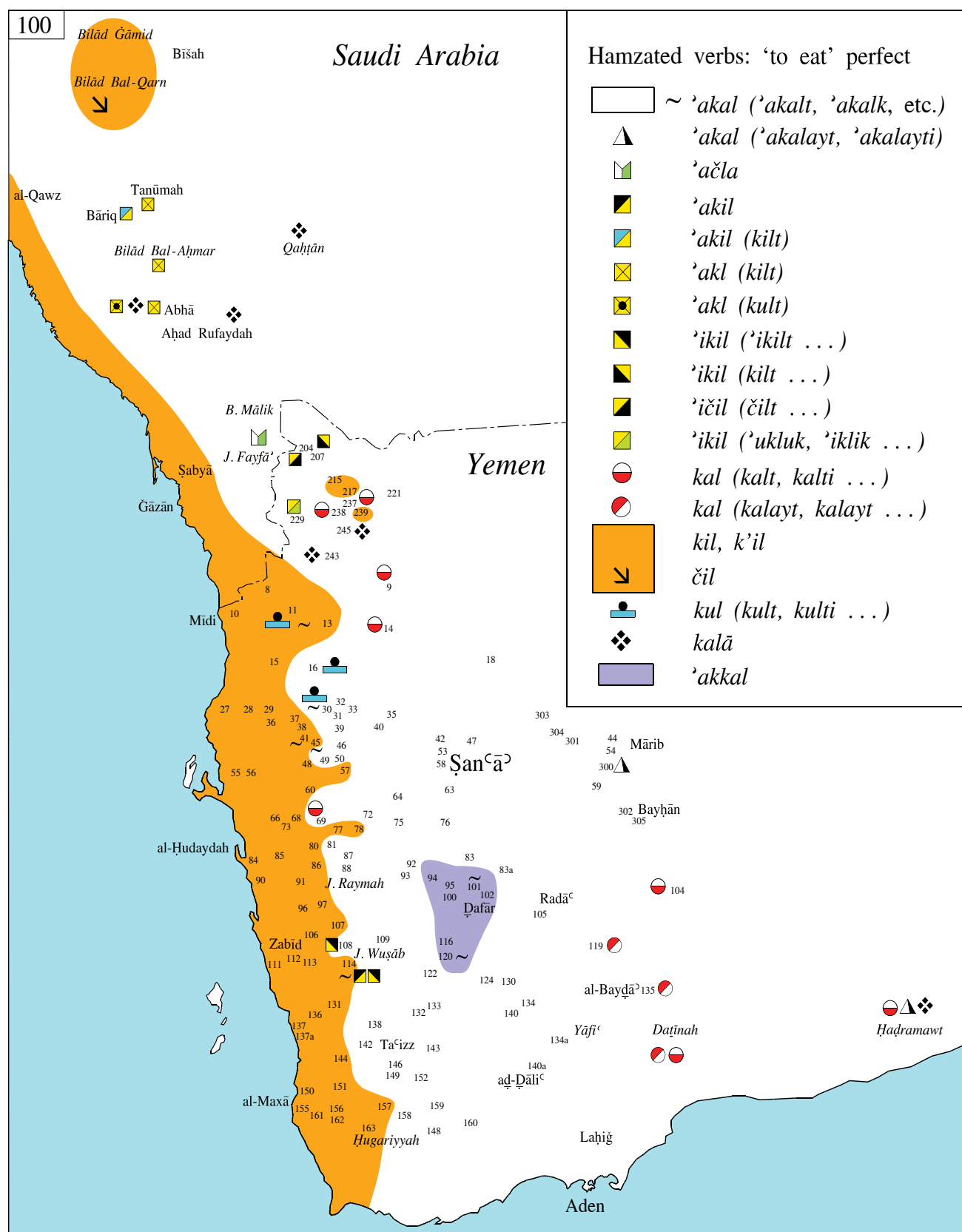
– With initial /i/ *ʾixtatan* ‘to be circumcised’, *ištaraṭ* ‘to agree the bride price’, *ʾiftaraṭ* ‘to be weaned’. Kawkabān HEN 25 *irtāḥ*, *ixtalaf*, p. 28 ‘Het klank-schema is iCtaCaC’,

ištara Ḍafār (questionnaire). Radāʿ HUI 121 ‘VIII takes an initial *i*- *istalam*, *irtāḥ*, *ištara*’. Laḥiġ *iḥtafal*, *ištara*, *iftakk*, *iltafat* FOD 54. Saudi Arabia/Abha *ʾiḥtarag*, *ʾiḥtaram*, *ištarakat* PRC-1:44. J. Fayfāʾ *istaraga* ‘it was stolen’, *intabaza* ‘he jumped’ ALB 62, Riġāl Almaʿ *ištara* (questionnaire).

– Mixed at point 27 *ʾartabaṭ*, *iġtama*ʿ, *aḥtabas*.

– Without vowel Ṣanʿāʾ *btara*ʿ ‘he danced (the *bara*ʿ dance)’ WAT-1:62, *ltabaġ* ‘recevoir des coups’ NAI 63, *ftagah* ‘to become a scholar’ (JG after Rossi). Examples from Zabīd *xtabaz*, *ktsaran* (3rd sg. f.). *ḥtabas*. Ḥaḍramawt (ə)ʾštabaḥ ‘to boast, to stretch’ (ALS 693).

– Frequently cited forms for ‘to break’ and ‘to contact’ in the surveys were *ktsár*, *yiktsír* and *tššál*, *yittšíl*, without a prefixed vowel and featuring elision of /a/. These are exceptions, as the type (ʾa)ʾštábaḥ, *yīštábiḥ* ‘he eats breakfast’ is the rule.



– Original maps 86 and 87 have no commentary in JA.
 – More recent data: Yemen/north according to DGS 37–38 *ʾákal* Wāsiṭ (221); *kal* Ṣaʿdah (237), Ṣaḥn (238); *kalā* Sāgēn (245), Ġubar (243); Rāziḥ *ʾikil* (229); *ʾikil*, *kilt* Xāšir (207), *ʾičil* Minabbih (204); *kil* Ġurāz (239), Majz (215), Ṭalḥ (217).
 – Saudi Arabia: PRC-1:61 *ʾačal* Qahabah, *kala* Rufaydah, Abha, *ʾakl* Abha, Bal-Aḥmar, Tanūmah; *čil* Bal-Qarn, *kʾil* Ġāmid, *kil* Qawz, *kel* Šabyā; Jabal Fayfā *ʾačla* (*ʾačilt* ~ *čil*, *ʾačilnā* ~ *čilnā* ALB 63).
 – Manāxah WRB 114 *ʾakal*, *yākul*; Baraddūn BET 137 *akal*, *yākul*; Radāʿ HUI 30 *ʾakal*, *yāʾkul*, DIEM 49 *ʾakkal*, imperfect *ʾakkul*, *tukkul* etc. P. 52 Ḍamār imperfect *ʾakkul*, *tukkul* with perfect *ʾakkal*, also *ʾaxxuḍ*, *tuxxuḍ* with *ʾaxxaḍ*, but described as obsolescent; more frequent: *ʾakul*, *tākul* and *ʾaxuḍ*, *tāxuḍ*. Daṭīnah and Māriyah p. 54 *ʾakkul*, *tukkul* with *ʾakkal*. Radāʿ p. 56 *ʾakul*, *tākul* and *ʾaxuḍ*, *tāxuḍ*. Cf. HUI above. Laḥiḡ FOD 50 *ʾakal*, *yōkel*; Aden GHA *ʾakal*. Daṭīnah LAN-2:1207 paradigm *kal*, *kaleyt* ~ *kalt*, *kaleyti* ~ *kalti* ~ *kaleyṭīn*, *kaleyteyn* ~ *kalteyn*, *kaleyna* ~ *kalna*. Yāfiʿ/Mufliḥi *akalk*^w Vanhove 1995:144; Ḍālīʿ 1993:190 *akal*. ALS 694 has *ʾakál* ~ *kall* ~ *kalá*.

The following developments took place:

1. Loss of the initial syllable *ʾakal* > *kal*, also e.g. in Egyptian Arabic, apparently starting with forms where this syllable was unstressed such as *ʾakálnā*, *ʾakált*, *ʾakáltum*.
2. Transition from *a*-type to *i*-type probably followed 'to drink', i.e. in Saudi Arabia *ʾakil* > *ʾakl* like *šarib* > *šarb* (PRC-1:30; in Jabal Fayfā *ʾakila* > *ʾačla* like *šariba* > *šarba*. In Yemen *ʾikil* (like *širib*), *kil* in the Tihāmah after loss of initial syllable, sporadically *kul* in analogy to the imperfect (*yākul*).

Paradigm from the Tihāmah (B. Hudayš 13), from Rāziḥ (229)

	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>kil</i>	<i>kulu</i>	<i>ʾikil</i>	<i>ʾuklū</i>
3rd f.	<i>kilan</i>	<i>kulu</i>	<i>ʾikla</i>	<i>ʾiklin</i>
2nd f.	<i>kilti</i>	<i>kultun</i>	<i>ʾiklič</i>	<i>ʾikilkin</i>
2nd m.	<i>kilta(h)</i>	<i>kultun</i>	<i>ʾiklik</i>	<i>ʾikilkum</i>
1st c.	<i>kiltu(h)</i>	<i>kinna</i>	<i>ʾukluk</i>	<i>ʾikilnā</i>

Depending on the dialect a kind of vowel harmony occurs.

Paradigm from the outer Tihāmah (ʾUbāl, 30), al-Maḥābišah (16)

	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>kul</i>	<i>kulu</i>	<i>ʾákal</i>	<i>kulu</i>
3rd f.	<i>kulan</i>	<i>kunneh</i>	<i>kulán</i>	<i>kunnah</i>
2nd f.	<i>kultī</i>	<i>kultinneḥ</i>	<i>kulti</i>	<i>kultinnah</i>
2nd m.	<i>kult</i>	<i>kultu</i>	<i>kult</i>	<i>kultu</i>
1st c.	<i>kult</i>	<i>kulnā</i>	<i>kult</i>	<i>kunnā</i>

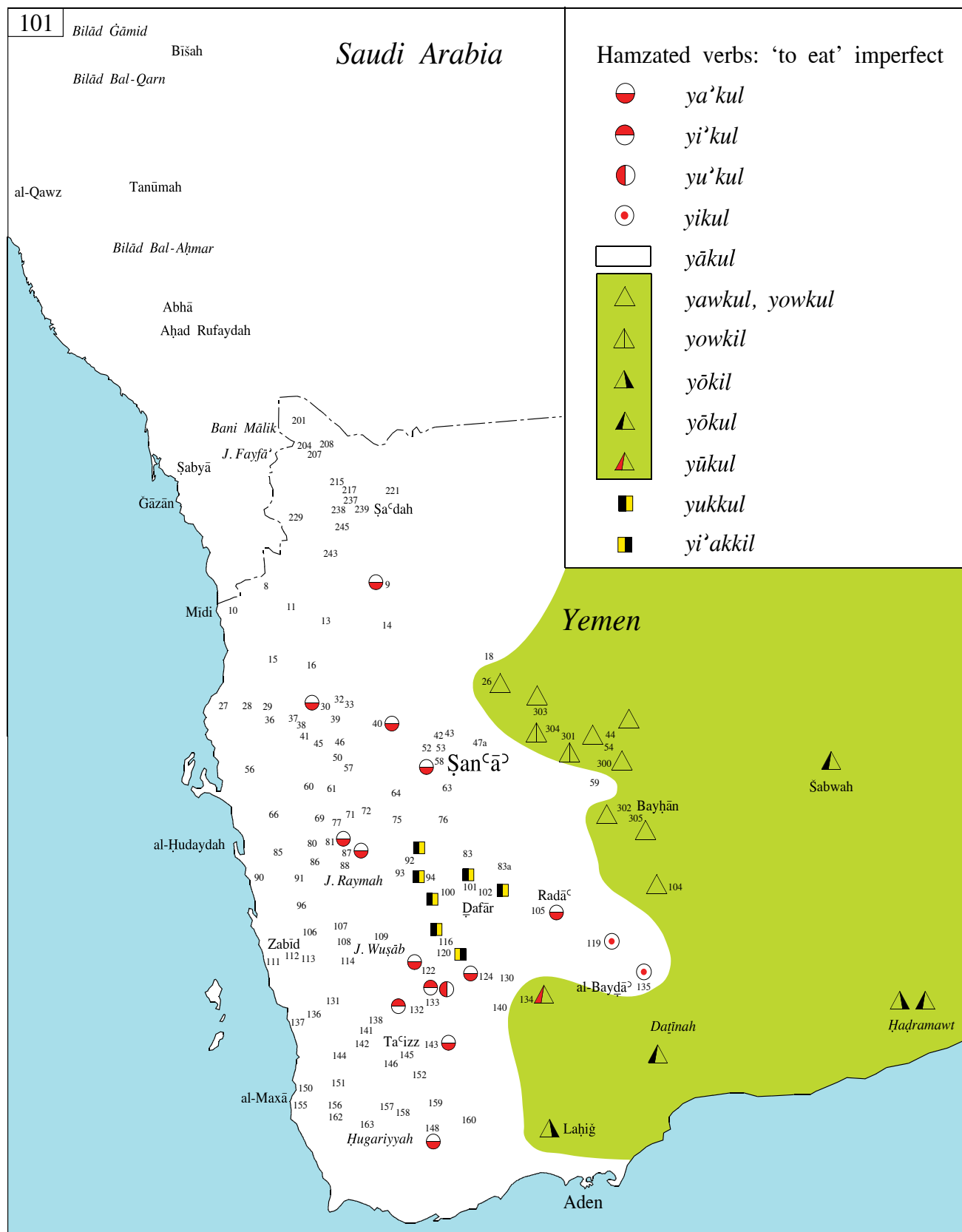
In the *ktab* paradigm DIEM 72 does not distinguish between *ktabna* 'we wrote' and *ktabna* 'they f. wrote'. He has no instances of forms of verbs initial *alif*.

It may be that the 3rd sg. m. *ʾákal* is due to koine influence, assuming *kul* as in point 30. Consequently the symbol for *kul* is now interpolated at point 16.

3. Transition to verbs final *y* as in many Bedouin dialects of the peninsula, e. g. Syria *čala*, *xada* (SA map 167) or in the Maghreb *klā*, *xḍā*.

4. Hybrid: *kal* 3rd sg. m., *kalayt* 1st sg. See the examples from the Daṭīnah above.

5. *ʾakkal*, *yukkul* and *ʾakkal*, *yʾakkil*. M. Woidich thinks that we should not presume **yaʾkul* > *yuʾkul* > *yukkul* in this case, but rather a form II after loss of the factitive sense as has been reported in several dialects, especially for *√wqf*. Cf. WAD III:153 where this is explained as a transition of *v* → II *tawaqqafa* > *waqqaf*. Cf. also BW map 301 *mašša* 'to go away'.



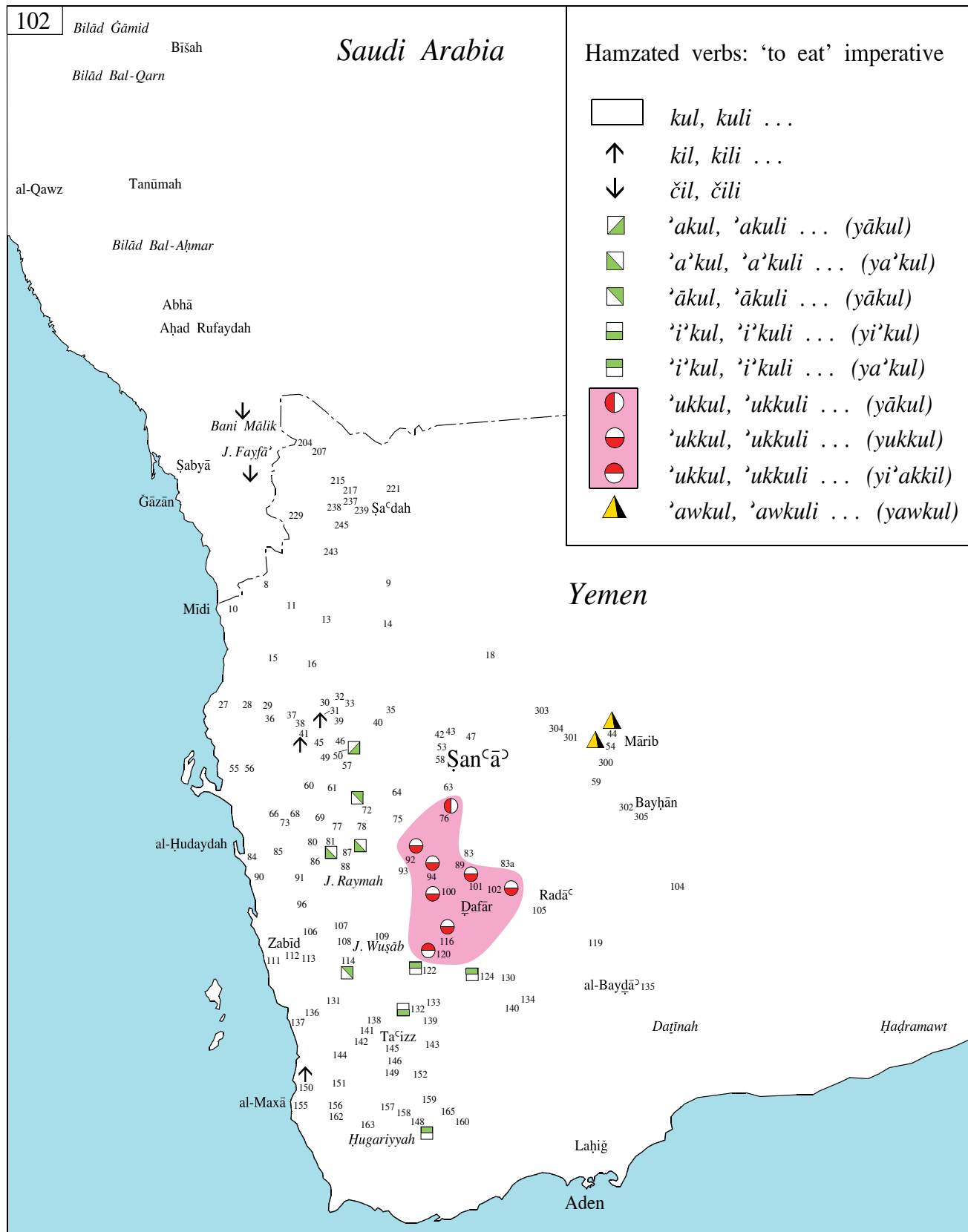
101 Hamzated verbs: ‘to eat’ imperfect

- PRC-1:64 has all forms for Saudi Arabia with short vowel: *yakul*, *takul*, also in the plural *taḵlun* and 2nd sg. f. *takulin*, *tačlin*. Clearly the macrons have been forgotten. AZR-2 has p. 160 *yaklūn* for Abha, p. 191 *ʾakul*, p. 230 *yākul*.
- JAQ has *yuʾkul* for Jiblih (p. 28, sentence 13); for al-Mudawwar with future prefix *šiʾkul* 3rd sg. m., 2nd sg. m. *štaʾkul*; *šaʾkul* 1st sg. c., *šniʾkul* 1st pl. c. (MS O. Jastrow).
- BET 137 has *akal*, *yākul* for Baraddūn.
- HUI 30 *akal*, *yāʾkul* for Radāʿ.
- GHA 128 *akal* for Aden, A IC indicates *yaʾkul*.
- Manāxah WRB 114 *ʾakal*, *yākul*, rare *ʾaxaḍ*, *yāxuḍ*, as opposed to p. 113 which lists *ʾilif*, *yiʾlaf* ‘to be familiar’, *ʾamar* ~ *yiʾmur* ~ *yiʾmir* ‘to give orders’, *saʾal*, *yiʾsʾal* ‘to ask’, *ʾamin* ~ *yiʾman* ~ *yīman* ‘to be safe, feel safe’.
- Kawkabān HEN 30 *ʾaxaḍ*, *yuxuḍ* v. *ʾakal*, *yākul*.
- In the northeast there are further documented instances of the transition to the verbs initial *wāw* in the imperfect:

yowkul at points 300, 302, 303, 305, at 304 *yowkil*, *yōkil* at point 301 and *yūkul* at 134. FOD 50 has *yōkel* for Laḥiḡ. LAN-2:1208 has a complete paradigm of *yōkul*, *yōxuḍ* for the Daḡīnah and Bayḡān. P. 86 *tōxoḍ*.

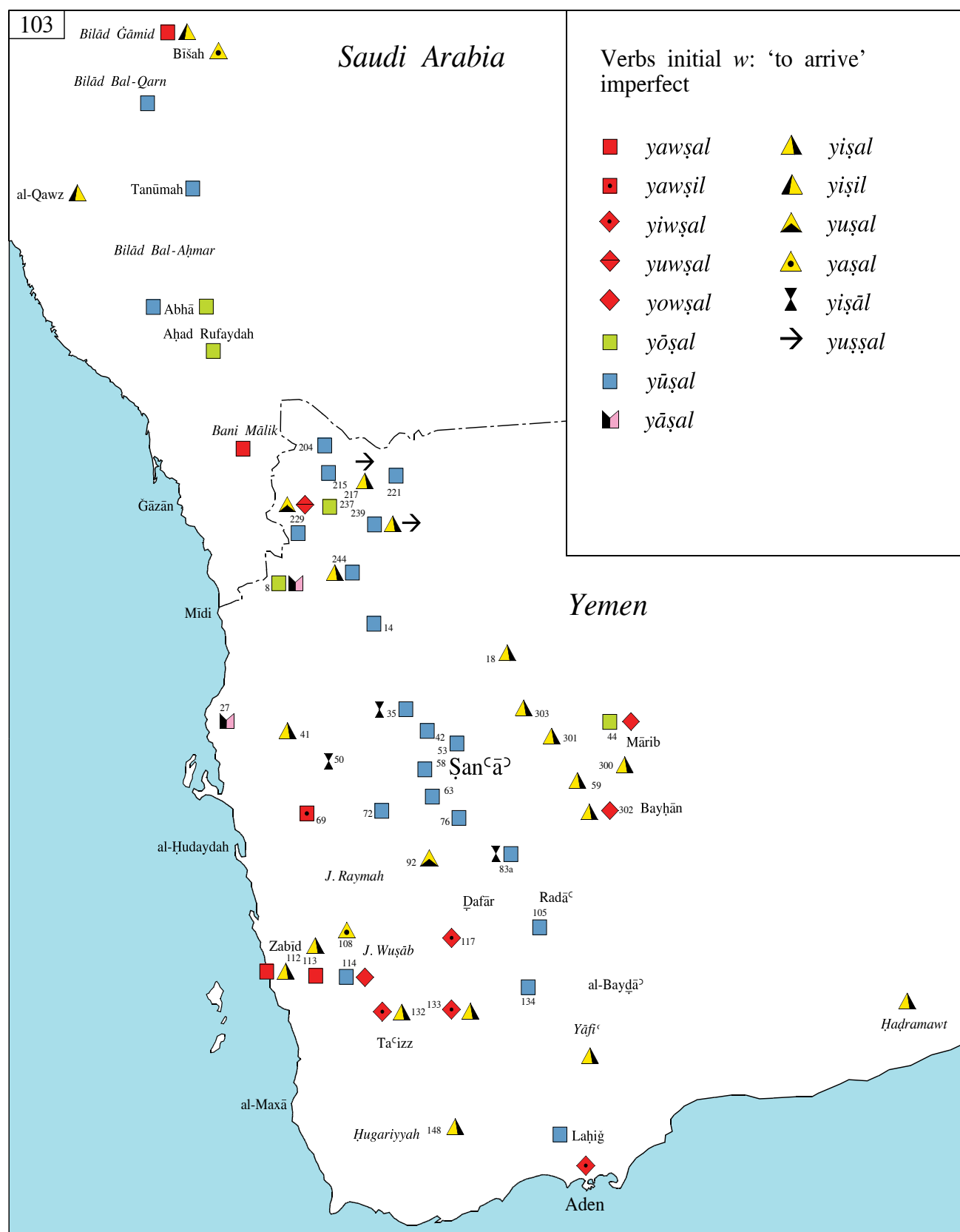
This appears to be a characteristic of the southeast that is also documented for Ḥaḍramawt: *yōkul* ~ *yōkil* (ALS 694) and reaches as far as Oman: ‘In the sedentary dialects, the imperfect of *kal*, *xaḍ* has the prefix vowel /ū/ or /ō/, e.g. *yōkil*. In the Bedouin dialects, this vowel is /ā/: *yākil*’ (HOL-1:490). Cf. also *yāxuḍ* DAV 119 for the coast of Ḍufār, RHO-11:1 *tākilkin ennār* a curse [‘may the fire devour you!'], but Ristāq *yūkil*, *yuxoḍ* (REI 187), Khābūra *yāxuḍ* ~ *yūxaḍ* (BRO 90), *yākil* ~ *yūkil* (BRO 186).

– Forms of the type *yukkul* are documented in, among others, DIEM 54 for Daḡīnah/Māriyah in the form *ʾakkal*, *yukkul*.



102 Hamzated verbs: ‘to eat’ imperative

- Manāxah WRB 114 ‘Der Imperativ von *ʾakal* lautetet *ʾākul* (Sg. m.), während bei *ʾaxaḏ* das übliche *xuḏ* (Sg. m.) verwendet wird’. The prosthetic vowel (cf. cl. Ar. *kul*) may be explained simply as analogy with the regular verb (*yišrab* – *išrab*).
- ALS 694 has *kull*, *klí*, *klū*, *klēn* for Ḥaḍramawt.



103 Verbs initial *w*: ‘to arrive’ imperfect

- The topic was not discussed in JA as many sources (e.g. DIEM) do not cover it. The distribution of long and short forms differs from that in cl. Ar. (see WRIGHT 78–79).
- We must emphasise the class shift in some forms, such as the case of $\sqrt{wzn} > z\bar{a}n$ in Şafagēn (50b):

	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>yizín</i>	<i>yizīnū</i>
3rd f.	<i>tizín</i>	<i>yizīneyn</i>
2nd f.	<i>tizīni</i>	<i>tizīneyn</i>
2nd m.	<i>tizín</i>	<i>tizīnū</i>
1st c.	<i>azín</i>	<i>nizín</i>

The class shift starts with the imperative *zín* = *gum*, consequently *zīnī*, *zīnū* = *gūmī*, *gūmū*, with the corresponding imperfect forms. See map 108.

RO-S glossary lists with /*ū*/: *yūṣal*, *yūgaʿ*, *yūrat*, *yūğad*, but *wazan* ~ *zān*, *yizīn* ‘pesare’. *zān*, *yizīn* are also docu-

mented at points 42, 92, 303. Cf. also Syria/Soukhne *zān*, *yzīn*, Egyptian Arabic *gād*, *yigīd* ‘to light, ignite’.

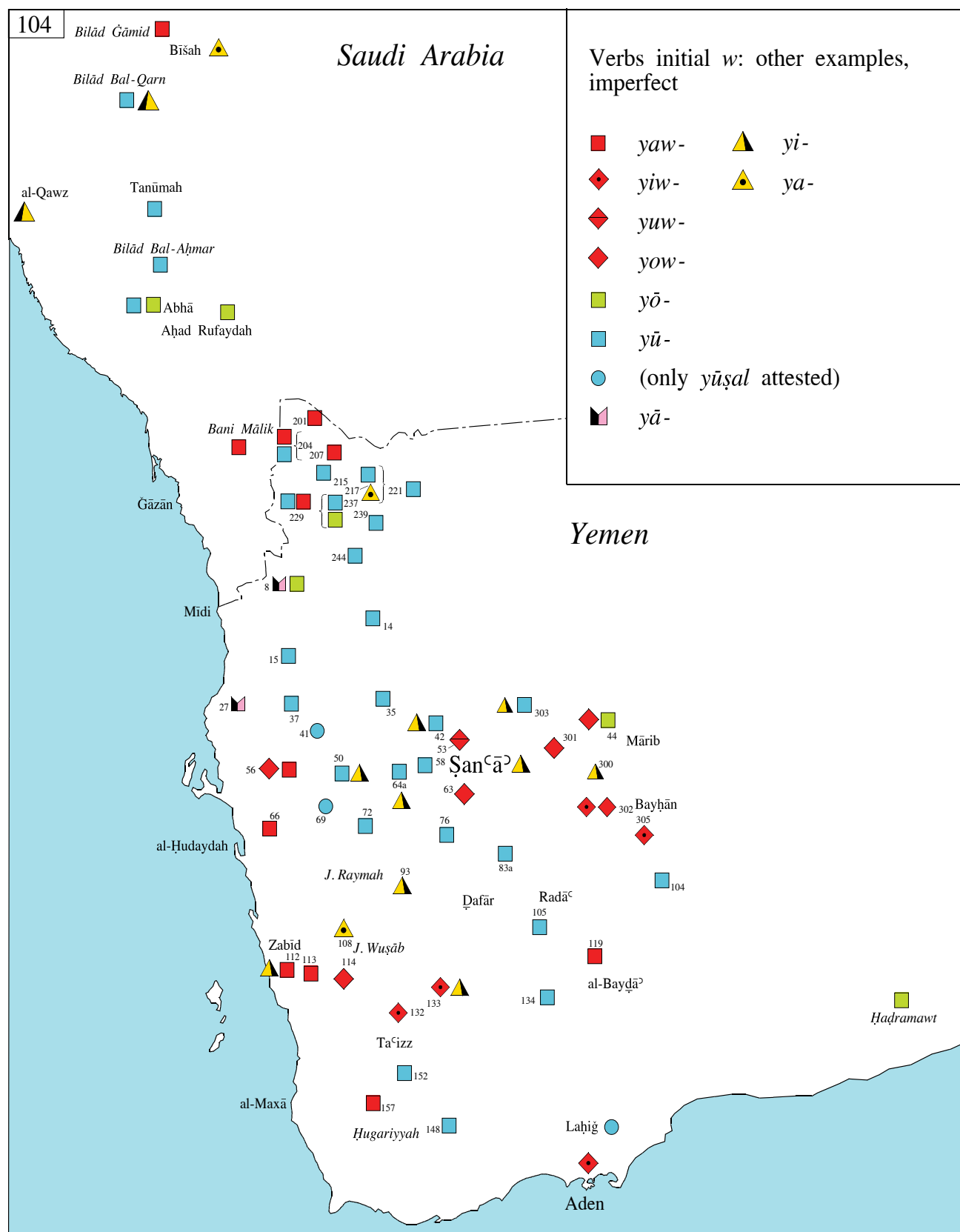
– Class shift also applies in the case of *yūṣal* ~ *yīṣal* in Baraddūn (DET 138). In part also in Syria (SA map 188).

– We must emphasise forms with *yā*:- Ḥaraḍ (8) *yāzin*, *yāṣal*, *yārat*, but *yōgaf*, *yōṣal*. Saudi Arabia/Bīṣah *yāṣal* (PRC-1:70).

– With geminate *yīṣṣal* Ġurāz (239) and *yūṣṣal* im-Ṭalḥ (217).

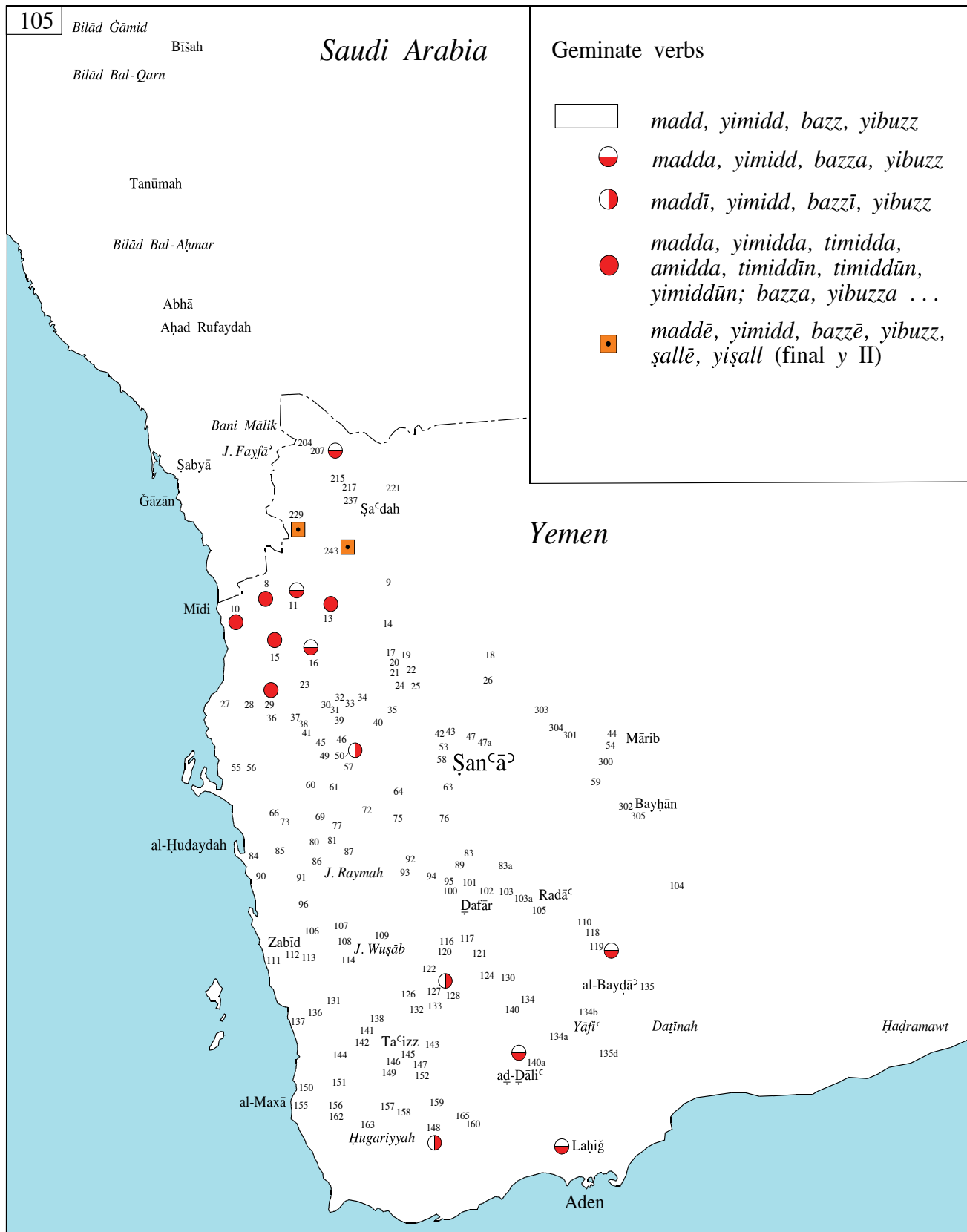
– *wīṣal*, *šīṣal* ‘he will arrive’, *štaṣal* ‘she will arrive’ al-Mudawwar (MS O. Jastrow). All other forms with future prefix feature a long vowel: *waʿad*, *šūʿid* ‘to promise’, *wiqaʿ*, *šūqaʿ* ‘to fall’, *waqaf*, *šūqaf* ‘to stop’, *wazan*, *šūzin* ‘to weigh’, *wagad*, *šūgad* ‘to find’. Manāxah *wuṣul* ~ *waṣal*, *yūṣal* (WRB 656). Laḥiğ *yūṣal* (FOD 73); Yāfiʿ *yaṣal* (VAN-2:145). Aden *waṣal*, *yīwṣal* (GHA 143), Ḥaḍramawt *bā yṣalūn* ‘will arrive’ (ALS 698), p. 694 *yōzin*.

– Forms from Saudi Arabia include *yawṣal* Qahabah, Ġāmid; *yōṣal* Rufaydah, Abha; *yūṣal* Tanūmah, Bal-Qarn, *yīṣil* Ġāmid, Qawz (PRC-1:70).



104 Verbs initial *w*: other examples, imperfect

- Saudi Arabia PRC-1:69/70 Qahabah, Ġāmid *yawgaf*; Rufaydah, Abha *yōgaf*; Abha, Bal-Aḥmar, Tanūmah, Bal-Qarn *yūgaf*; Ġāmid *yig'if*; Qawz *yigif* ~ *yigaf*. Qahabah, Ġāmid *yawzin*; Rufaydah *yōzin*; Abha, Tanūmah, Bal-Qarn *yūzin*; Ġāmid, Qawz *yizin*.
- √*wzn*: *yawzin* 119, 201, 304, 207; *yūzin* 14, 15, 42, 104, 134, 140, 157, 204, 215, 221, 229, 237, 239, *yuwzin* 53, 83 (*zinlī* 'weigh it for me'), *yowzin* 44, 56, 63, 114, *yiwzin* 69, *yāzin* 8; *yizin* 42, 59, *yazin* 113, with future prefix *šizin*; *yizīn* 42, 92, *yazin* 108; Ḥaḍramawt *yōzin* (ALS 694).
- √*wqf*: *yawqef* 56, *yōgaf* 8; *yūgaf* 76, 221, *yigaf* 'to stop intrans.' 59.
- √*wrt*: *yawrit* 113, 157, *yārat* 8, *yōrat* 158, *yūrat* 237, *yūrit* 15, *yirit* 59, *yarit* 108, *šārit* ~ *šawrit* 1st sg. 'to inherit' 113.
- √*wrd*: *yawrid* 'to take to market' 158.
- √*wld*: *tawlad* 56, 88, *tōlad* 237, *tawlid* 113, *tuwlad* 15, *tūlad* 221, 237, *tilid* 59, *talid* 'to give birth' 113.
- √*wq'*: *yiwqa'* 132, *yīqa'* 'to exist, be present' 112.
- √*wğd*: *yīgad* 'to be present' 133.
- √*wğ'*: *yiwğ'i* 133, *yūğ'a* 'to hurt' 237.
- √*wsq*: *yīwsiq* 'to reach up, reach' 133.
- √*whf*: *yowhaf* 'to fan a fire' 113.
- √*wqd*: *yawqid* 'to light a fire' 157, *yūgid* ~ *yūgud* 35.
- √*ws'*: *yīsa'* ~ *yūsa'* 'to contain' 58.
- √*wḥm*: *tūḥam* 'to become pregnant' 64a, 72.



105 Geminate verbs

– The original map 89 has only a brief commentary on p. 23: ‘Die Formen aus der nördlichen Tihāmah lauten in Pausa auf *-h* aus: *maddah, yimiddah*.’

– Approximation of geminate verbs to form II of defective verbs mainly occurred in the perfect and followed the pattern **maddayt – x = šallayt – šalla > maddayt – madda*. At point 119 the basic forms *habb, yihibb* ‘to walk’, *laff* ‘to wrap’ and *hazz, yihizz* ‘to shake’ have been documented, but when an object suffix is added: *šallāha* ‘he took her (it) away’, *laffāha* ‘he wrapped her (it)’. No approximation occurred in the imperfect, as it is either of the *yimidd* type or the *yimidda* type, not *yimaddi*. In Rāziḥ (229) and Ġubar (243) geminate verbs and defective verbs have been merged altogether, although the loss of the vowel in the imperfect of defective verbs form II cannot be explained as approximation to geminate verbs but rather as the general loss of **-ī > -i > -Ø* in defective verbs: *‘imšī > ‘imši > ‘imš* (*‘imiš*) as is the case in many Bedouin dialects of the peninsula (see JOH 9); consequently also **yimšī > yimš* (*> yimiš*), **yišallī > yišall, yidāwī > yidāw* ‘to heal’. Thus in e.g. Rāziḥ we find:

	geminate verb perfect		defective verb II perfect	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>maddē</i>	<i>maddū</i>	<i>šallē</i>	<i>šallū</i>
3rd f.	<i>madda</i>	<i>maddēn</i>	<i>šalla</i>	<i>šallēn</i>
2nd f.	<i>maddēč</i>	<i>maddēkun</i>	<i>šallēč</i>	<i>šallēkun</i>
2nd m.	<i>maddēk</i>	<i>maddēkum</i>	<i>šallēk</i>	<i>šallēkum</i>
1st c.	<i>maddōk</i>	<i>maddēnā</i>	<i>šallōk</i>	<i>šallēnā</i>

	geminate verb imperfect		defective verb II imperfect	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>yimidd</i>	<i>yimiddū</i>	<i>yišall</i>	<i>yišallū</i>
3rd f.	<i>timidd</i>	<i>yimiddin</i>	<i>tišall</i>	<i>yišallin</i>
2nd f.	<i>timiddī</i>	<i>timiddin</i>	<i>tišallī</i>	<i>tišallin</i>
2nd m.	<i>timidd</i>	<i>timiddū</i>	<i>tišall</i>	<i>tišallū</i>
1st c.	<i>‘amidd</i>	<i>nimidd</i>	<i>‘ašall</i>	<i>nišall</i>

Perfect paradigm of geminate verbs from Midi (10) and al-Maḥābišah (16, not in DIEM 71ff.)

	Midi (10) ‘to drink’		al-Maḥābišah (16) ‘to reply’	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>‘ammah#</i>	<i>‘ammu</i>	<i>radda’#</i>	<i>raddu</i>
3rd f.	<i>‘amman</i>	<i>‘ammu</i>	<i>raddan</i>	<i>raddēnah</i>
2nd f.	<i>‘ammētin</i>	<i>‘ammētun</i>	<i>raddēti</i>	<i>raddētinnah</i>
2nd m.	<i>‘ammētah#</i>	<i>‘ammētun</i>	<i>raddēt</i>	<i>raddētu</i>
1st c.	<i>‘ammētuh#</i>	<i>‘ammēnā’#</i>	<i>raddēt</i>	<i>raddēnā</i>

Perfect paradigm of geminate verbs from 50a (J. Ḥufāš) and 50b (J. Ḥufāš):

	geminate verb perfect ‘to take’		geminate verb perfect ‘to take’	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>šallī</i>	<i>šallū</i>	<i>bazzī</i>	<i>bazzu</i>
3rd f.	<i>šallin</i>	<i>šallēn</i>	<i>bazzin</i>	<i>bazziyayn</i>
2nd f.	<i>šallēš</i>	<i>šallākin</i>	<i>bazzēš</i>	<i>bazzākin</i>
2nd m.	<i>šallēk</i>	<i>šallākum</i>	<i>bazzēk</i>	<i>bazzākum</i>
1st c.	<i>šallōk</i>	<i>šallāna/-e’#</i>	<i>bazzōk</i>	<i>bazzēne’#</i>

Like 50a (Bayt al-‘Ašabī) also 50c (Jāhim) except 3rd pl. f. *šalleyn* and 1st pl. *šalleynā*, but also *šallākin, šallākum*. Regarding /ā/ instead of /ē/ see commentary 110.

At point 163 (Ša’bū) the following perfect paradigm was recorded:

	geminate verb perfect	‘to drink water’
	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>‘imm</i>	<i>‘immu</i>
3rd f.	<i>‘imman</i>	<i>‘immu</i>
2nd f.	<i>‘immēti</i>	<i>‘immētu</i>
2nd m.	<i>‘immayt</i>	<i>‘immētu</i>
1st c.	<i>‘immayt</i>	<i>‘immēnā’#</i>

but *fakkayt*, *bazzayt* etc.

– Recorded vocalisations for the imperfect are nearly all /i/ and /u/, e.g. *yibuzz* at point 50a, sporadically also /a/ in *radd*, *yaradd* ‘to answer’ at point 138 (elsewhere only /u/ and /i/); *yirašš* ‘to sprinkle’, *yigarr* ‘to get lost’, *yihatt* ‘to lay’ at 137 besides *yiliff* and *yifukk*.



106a–b Hollow verbs: perfect 1st, 2nd sg. m. +f.

106b

Hollow verbs: perfect 1st, 2nd m.+f.

*qult(u) - qult(a) - qulti,*
sirt(u) - sirt(a) - sirtionly forms with /i/ attested:
giltu - gilta - gilti*qomtu - qomt - qəmti*only forms with /a/ attested:
qaltu - qalt - qalti*qaltu - qalt - qalti, kantu -*
kant - kanti, qimtu - qimt -
*qimti, siqtu - siqt - siqti**k*-perfects, not all forms attested*qulk(u) - qulk - qulki (qulš),*
sirk(u) - sirk - sirki (sirš)only forms with /i/ attested:
qilk - qilk - qilki $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} qalk^w - qalk - qalš \\ bakk^w - bakk - bakš \\ surk^w - sirk - sirš \\ suqk^w - suqk - suqš \end{array} \right.$ *qalku - qalk - qalki*
sirku - sirk - sirki*qulk - qilk - qilki*
surk - sirk - sirki*qulk - qalk - qilk*
surk - sark - sirk*gul(u)k - gil(i)k - gil(i)č*
sur(u)k - sir(i)k - sir(i)č*kunk - kink - kinš*
surk - sirk - sirš

106 Hollow verbs: perfect 1st, 2nd sg. m.+f.

– In the 1st and 2nd persons sg. and pl. cl. Ar. only has the vocalisations /i/ and /u/ in the perfect. In some Yemeni dialects forms with /a/ have been added, mostly in *k*-dialects. At point 8 (Ḥarāḍ) I recorded 17 forms with /i/ such as *sirtu* ‘I went’, *zirtu* ‘I visited’, *ṣimtu* ‘I fasted’, *giltu* ‘I said’, *gimtu* ‘I got up’, *sigtu* ‘I drove (a car)’, i.e. numerous forms with /i/ where cl. Ar. has /u/, in addition to two examples with /a/, i.e. *raḥtu* ‘I went’ and *ṭaḥtu* ‘I fell’ (cl. Ar. *ruḥtu*, *ṭuḥtu*, both with different meaning).

– Documented with /a/ and /i/ al-Mudawwar/Ḥugariyyah (point 148, after O. Jastrow’s notes):

	‘to say’		‘to be’	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>qāl</i>	<i>qālu</i>	<i>kān</i>	<i>kānu</i>
3rd f.	<i>qālah</i>	<i>qālēn</i>	<i>kānah</i>	<i>kānēn</i>
2nd f.	<i>qalki</i>	<i>qālkīn</i>	<i>kinki</i>	<i>kinkīn</i>
2nd m.	<i>qalk</i>	<i>qālkum</i>	<i>kink</i>	<i>kinkum</i>
1st c.	<i>qalk</i>	<i>qalna</i>	<i>kink</i>	<i>kinna</i>

sār like *kān*.

In al-Misrāx/Ḥugariyyah (point 152) the paradigms for ‘to be’ and ‘to stand up, get up’ are:

	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>kān</i>	<i>kānu</i>	<i>qām</i>	<i>qāmu</i>
3rd f.	<i>kānah</i>	<i>kānin</i>	<i>qāmah</i>	<i>qāmin</i>
2nd f.	<i>kinti</i>	<i>kintin</i>	<i>qimti</i>	<i>qimtin</i>
2nd m.	<i>kant</i>	<i>kantum</i>	<i>qamt</i>	<i>qamtu</i>
1st c.	<i>kantu</i>	<i>kanna</i>	<i>qimtu</i>	<i>qimna</i>

qāl like *kān*; like *qām*: *sāq* ‘to drive, go’, *gāb* ‘to reply’, *šām* ‘to fast’. Other forms with /a/ in Maḥall Tubāšī‘ah (146):

	‘to say’		‘to stand up, get up’	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>qāl</i>	<i>qālu</i>	<i>qām</i>	<i>qāmu</i>
3rd f.	<i>qālah</i>	<i>qālēn</i>	<i>qāmah</i>	<i>qāmēn</i>
2nd f.	<i>qalti</i>	<i>qaltēn</i>	<i>qamti</i>	<i>qamtēn</i>
2nd m.	<i>qalt</i>	<i>qaltōn</i>	<i>qamt</i>	<i>qamtōn</i>
1st c.	<i>qalt</i>	<i>qalna</i>	<i>qamt</i>	<i>qamna</i>

Further examples: *saqt al-ḥaywān* ‘I drove the animal away’, *qamna min an-nōm* ‘we stood up’, *qamna ‘ala š-šay’* ‘we resisted something’ (*IV), *qalt li-fulān, qāltaluh* ‘I said to him’, *qaltalak* ‘I said to you’. But *ṣumt* ‘I fasted’, *kunt* ‘I was’. In the mountains (‘Ugf) *qaltali* ‘she said to me’.

At point 143 (Šuqayb) the paradigms for *qām* ‘to stand up, get up’ and *šāf* ‘to see’ are:

	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>qām</i>	<i>qāmu</i>	<i>šāf</i>	<i>šāfu</i>
3rd f.	<i>qāmah</i>	<i>qāmēn</i>	<i>šāfah</i>	<i>šāfēn</i>
2nd f.	<i>qimki</i>	<i>qimkin</i>	<i>šifkī</i>	<i>šifkin</i>
2nd m.	<i>qimk</i>	<i>qimkum</i>	<i>šifk</i>	<i>šifkum</i>
1st c.	<i>qimku</i>	<i>qimna</i>	<i>šufku</i>	<i>šifna</i>

I.e. only one type was reported. Inflected in the same way: *numku* ‘I slept’, *ḡubku* ‘I was absent’, *ṭurku* ‘I flew’, *ḡurku* ‘I called for help’. The same shift also in Ḥubayš (122) *qumk* – *qimk* – *qimki*, pl. *qumku*, *qimkayn*, idem the forms for *sār*. Similar in Jāhim (50c) *gumk* – *gimk* – *gimš*, *gumkum*, *gimkin*.

– *k*-dialects in particular display a kind of vowel harmony here which is most distinct in Šifāh (132, after O. Jastrow): *qulk* ‘I said’, *qalk* ‘you (sg. m.) said’, *qilk* ‘you (sg. f.) said’. In Ḍulmah *qulk* – *qalk* – *qilš* (WAT-8:61), in Ḥubayš 2nd sg. f. *qilki* (as at point 122, also J. Ḥubayš). Loc. cit. only documents 2nd sg. f. *sirč* for Kusmah (98a).

The shift **u* > *a* in the 1st person as well (*qalt*) might be explained via forms with object suffix: **qultalak* > *qaltalak*. – The verb ‘to be’ is frequently not inflected anymore, or is used like a pseudo-verb with suffix pronouns.

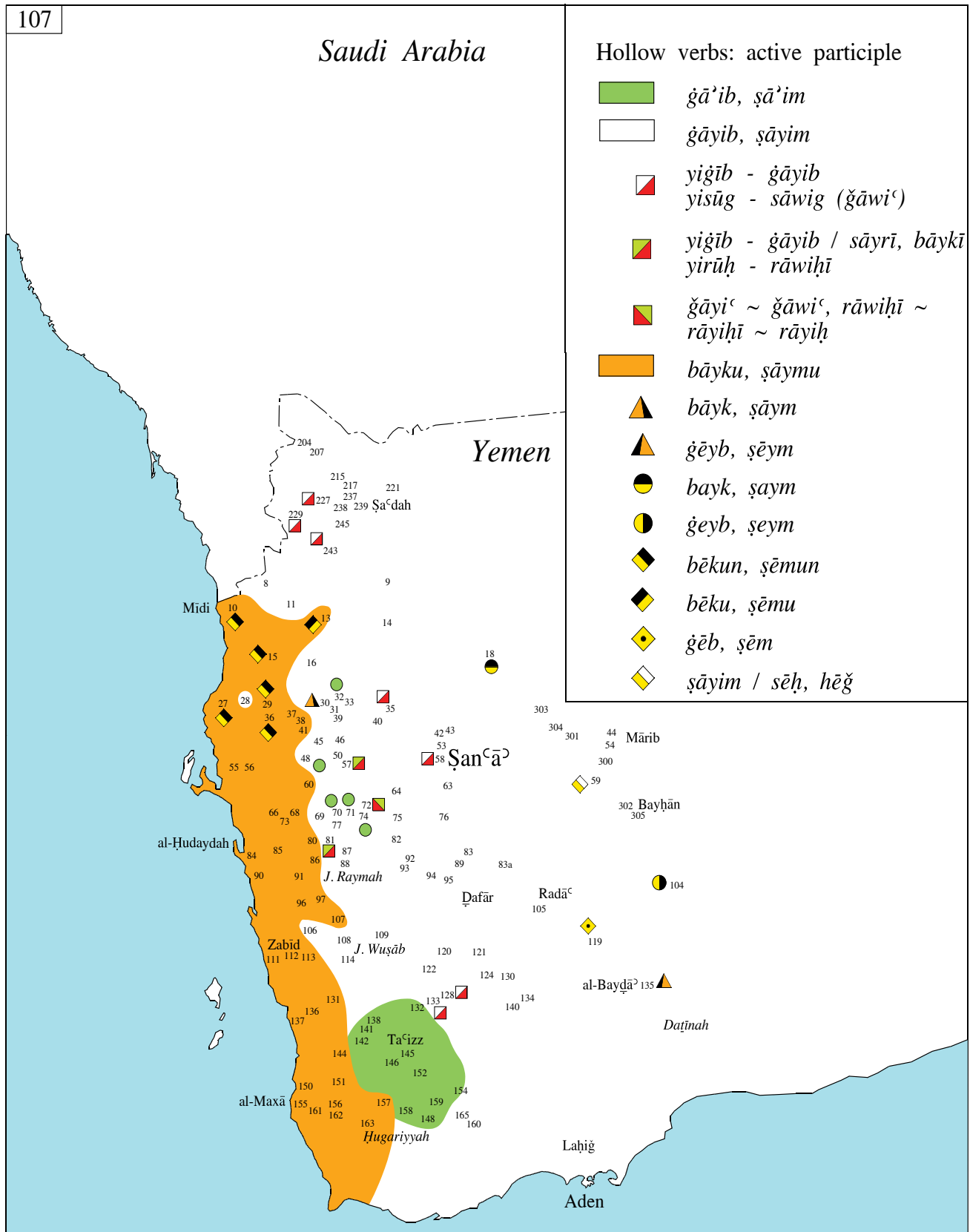
At point 87 *kān_ana* ~ *kān 'ana* 'I was', *'ams kān 'ana* 'yesterday I was', *'ams kān huwa* 'yesterday he was', *'ams kān hiyah* 'yesterday she was'. Point 69 *kān 'ana* or *kink*. Point 50b *mā kān baḥad 'ana* 'I was not there', *mā kān baḥad 'ant* 'you (sg.) were not there'.

Jabal Rāziḥ: *'ams kānnī bu Ṣa'dah* 'yesterday I was in Ṣ.'

	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>kānōh</i>	<i>kānām</i>
3rd f.	<i>kānāh</i>	<i>kānōn</i>
2nd f.	<i>kānič</i>	<i>kānkun ~ kānnnakun</i>
2nd m.	<i>kānak</i>	<i>kānkum ~ kānnakum</i>
1st c.	<i>kānnī</i>	<i>kānnā</i>

DGS 146 states *kānkun ~ kānnnakum* for the masculine by accident.

Further examples: *in-marit dī kān ma'nā* 'the woman who was with us', *kān 'anḥā hāmāšīn* 'we ran' (229), Manāxah *ḡiddatī 'allaḡī kān hī hānāk* 'my grandmother who was there', *ba'dā 'anā kān agambir 'azbiḡ 'aleyk* 'afterwards I played a trick on you' (WRB 601, more examples there and 600), point 204 *wān čān 'anta?* 'where were you (sg.)?', *čān naḥčeh!* 'stay where you are!', point 77 *ani kānnī_šqā* 'I had worked'. JG links the absence of inflection for *kān* with *hall* 'to be', which was originally inflected, but later used only with suffix pronouns *halli*, *hallak* etc.

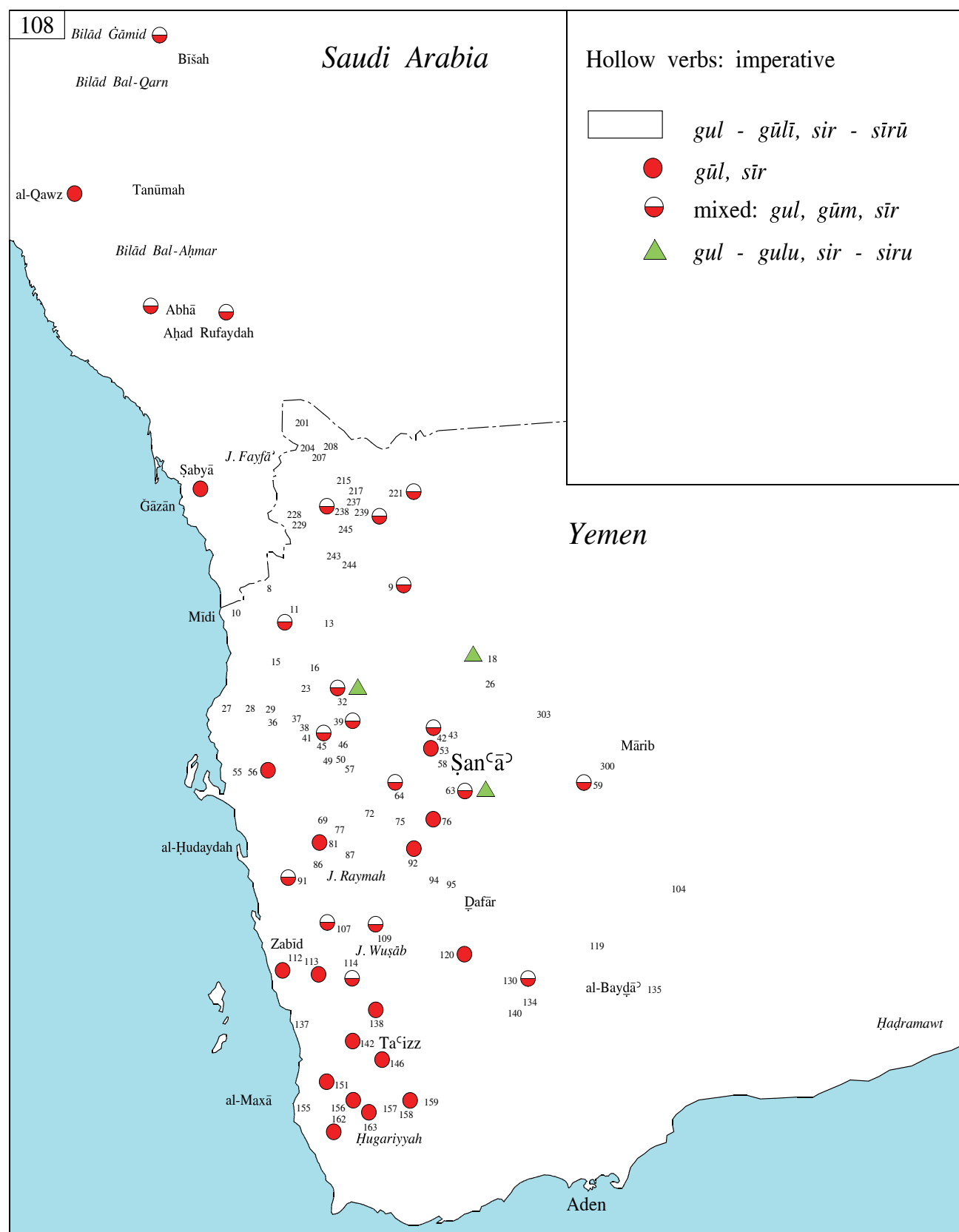


- PRC-1:40 only has participles for the regular verb I.
- At point 32 (Šāmih) we find *nā'im*, *xā'if*, *ġā'ib*, pl. *šā'imīn*, but *ṭāyra* 'aeroplane'. Laḥiḡ FOD 45 (bottom of page) *'āyibīn* = *ġāyibīn*. At point 48 (RO-APP 263) *'anīn bâ'ikah*, p. 256 *yânāk sâ'ir* 'dove vai?' for J. Ḥarāz, J. Masār, J. Ša'fān, Ūsil. Not noted on original map 91. They are added here, but with reservations as on p. 263 Rossi writes with regard to the Tihāmah *fī 'ān bâ'ik* 'dove vai = dove sei andante?', which I have usually heard as *fyān bāyku*. Radā' HUI 114 *xāyifa*.
- The map shows two developments, on the one hand the phonetic shift from *-ā'i-* via *-āy-* to *-ē-*, on the other the transition from *-ā'i-* to *-āy-*, *-āw-* depending on the imperfect vowel: *yīgīb* → *ġāyib*, *yigūl* → *gāwul* (Rāziḡ, Xawlān); elsewhere in the North *ġāyib*, *šāyim*.
- Point 59 (Murād): *sēḡ* 'in heat (female donkey)', *hēḡ* 'in heat (ewe)' are probably the original forms. The former

not in JG; only *sayyah* 'to cry, call'. Also mentioned are *bāyik* 'going' and *šāyim* 'fasting'.

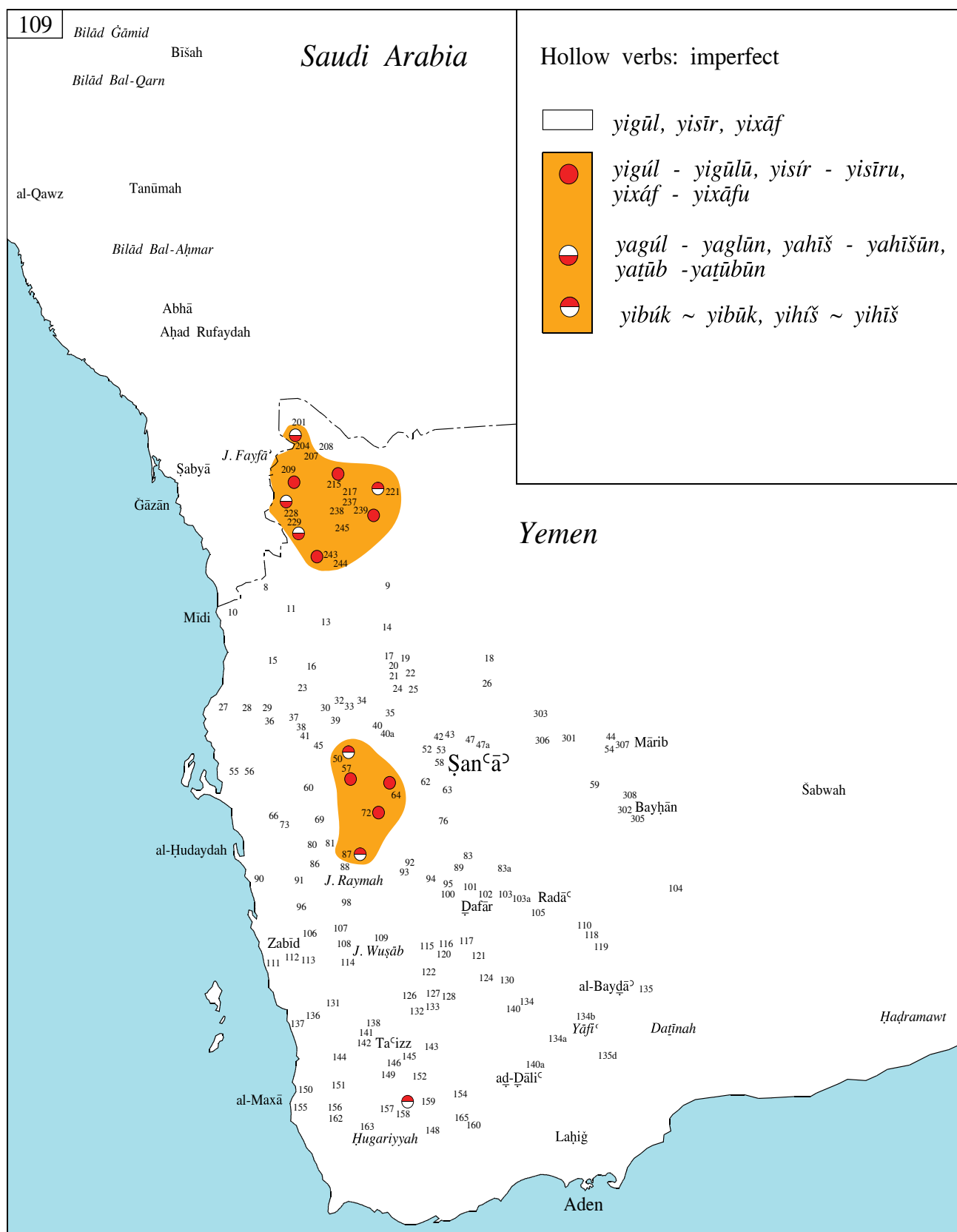
- At point 148 (al-Mudawwar, after O. Jastrow) 'dead' (cl. Ar. *mayyit*) follows the pattern of the participles: *mā'it*, *mā'teh*, *mā'tīn*, *mā'tāt*. The cohering green area with *ġā'ib* corresponds to the one in which /' / is most clearly preserved as a phoneme. Cf. forms such as *gā'ah* 'she came', *qirī'k* 'I read', *xibi'uh* 'he hid him', *amtala'u* 'they were filled' (148).

– The original commentary (JA 23) states that the type *rāwiḡ* 'going' is only documented for verbs of movement, thus not **ġāyibī*, *šāyimī* etc. However, WRB 356 mentions *'ākilī* 'eating' for Manāxah, and p. 120 *ġāwī'ī* 'starving', *xāyišī* 'rotting', *rāwiḡ* ~ *rāyiḡ* 'going', *sāyirī* 'going', *ṭāyiḡ* 'hurrying', *ṭāyirī* 'flying', *ṭāyifī* 'walking around', *māyitī* 'dying'.



108 Hollow verbs: imperative

- The topic is not discussed in JA.
- Saudi Arabia following the cl. Ar. pattern *gul!* – *gūli!* – *gūlu!* Rufaydah, Abha, Bal-Aḥmar, Tanūmah, Bal-Qarn, Ġāmid. With long vowel in the sg. *gūl!* Qawz, Ṣabyā. With short vowel also *guli!* – *gulu!* Ġāmid, Qawz, and regular with f. pl. *gulnah* Ġāmid (PRC-1:82). Other examples include *gumi!* – *gumu!* Abha. No data in AZR-2.
- RO-S 33 has *gúm* – *gûmî* – *gûmû* – *gûmäyn*. Manāxah not discussed in WRB. Going by the imperfect forms, however, we can presume the type *gul* – *gūli* – *gūlû* – *gūlayn*.
- Not discussed in other sources either. Only for Ḥaḍramawt *gum* – *gūmi*, *nim* – *nāmi*, *sib* – *sibi* (ALS 694/5).
- In dialects that have fem. forms such as *gulna*, *yigulna*, we find the corresponding fem. forms of the type *gulna*.



– The topic was not discussed in the original version. It became clear only after the research in the North that the imperfect changed following the same pattern as the imperative *gum!* – *gūmū!*. See DGS 40–41 where this phenomenon is reported for the locations Majz (215), Gurāz (239), Ġubār (243), Šidā' (209, region), in some forms as in Birkān (228) *fāyugūl* 'he says', at 229 predominantly the type *yīšūm* 'he fasts', *yīxūf* 'he is afraid', *yīgūl* 'he says', but *yīgūm* 'he stands up', *yīsīr* 'he goes', the latter with the reservation that this may be due to a misinterpreted **yīsīr* > *yīsīr* > *yīsīr* 'he goes in the evening' (cf. *yībik* < *yibk* < *yibkī* 'he cries'). Regarding forms in the central *k*-dialects see Sūg al-Jum'ah (point 57), on the right Šafagēn/Jāhim/Jabal Ĥufāš (50) with the following paradigms:

	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>yīgūm</i>	<i>yīgūmu</i>	<i>yīsīr</i>	<i>yīsīru</i>
3rd f.	<i>tīgūm</i>	<i>yīgūmu</i>	<i>tīsīr</i>	<i>yīsīrēn</i>
2nd m.	<i>tīgūm</i>	<i>tīgūmu</i>	<i>tīsīr</i>	<i>tīsīru</i>
2nd f.	<i>tīgūmi</i>	<i>tīgūmu</i>	<i>tīsīri</i>	<i>tīsīrēn</i>
1st c.	<i>'agūm</i>	<i>nīgūm</i>	<i>'asīr</i>	<i>nīsīr</i>

In im-Maḍḍah long forms have been documented: *yahīš* 'to go', *yaṭūb* 'to sit', but short forms for 'to say' throughout, with unstressed /u/ being elided:

	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>yagūl</i>	<i>yaglūn</i>
3rd f.	<i>tagūl</i>	<i>yagulna</i>
2nd m.	<i>tagūl</i>	<i>taglūn</i>
2nd f.	<i>taglīn</i>	<i>tagulna</i>
1st c.	<i>'agūl</i>	<i>nagūl</i>

Concerning Manāxah see WRB 118–21 with numerous examples and the remark 'Bei den Flexionsbasen des Imperfekts ist mit der Kürzung des Langvokals ein auffälliger Zug festzustellen, der bislang in anderen Dialekten mit Ausnahme einiger Imperativformen in vereinzelt Beduinendialekten noch nicht (?) belegt ist'. In the 'ver-

einzelten Beduinendialekten', however, the imperative vowel was not shortened; rather the situation is the same as in cl. Ar. (FIS-2:116 *qum*, *nam*, *ḥar*, *šir*, but f. *qūmī*, *nāmī* etc.). As an *a*-type WRB loc. cit. quotes *tixaṭ* 'she sews', *yixāṭeyn* 'they sew', also *xāf*, *yixāf* 'to be afraid', *gār*, *yīgar* 'alā' 'to guard someone'. He does not comment on the stress (*yixāf* or *yixāf*). In the above dialects the original long vowel is reflected by retaining the point of stress.

– As in cl. Ar. the consonant ending *-na* is preceded by a short vowel: *šatbūki* 'you (sg.) will go' – *šatbukneh* 'you (pl. f.) will go', *šatbūk* 'she will go' – *šibukneh* 'they will go' (38), similarly *yīgumneh* 'they (f.) stand up', *tīgumneh* 'you (pl.) stand up' (30).

– Like other dialects, too – e.g. Upper Egypt – the imperfect forms of 'to sleep' often feature /ū/ due to /u/ in the perfect and /aw/ in *nawm*. Locations in JG. In analogy also *xāf*, *yixūf* (points 229, 300). Such forms are comparatively rare, as the verbs used for 'to be afraid', 'to sleep' are frequently *ftaḡa'*, *ragad*.

– In dialects where lowering of **ī* and **ū* occurs (map 14), the forms of 'to say', 'to stand up' accordingly feature /ō/: *yaqōl* 'he says', *yaqōm* 'he stands up' (e.g. 113, 144, 156, 163).

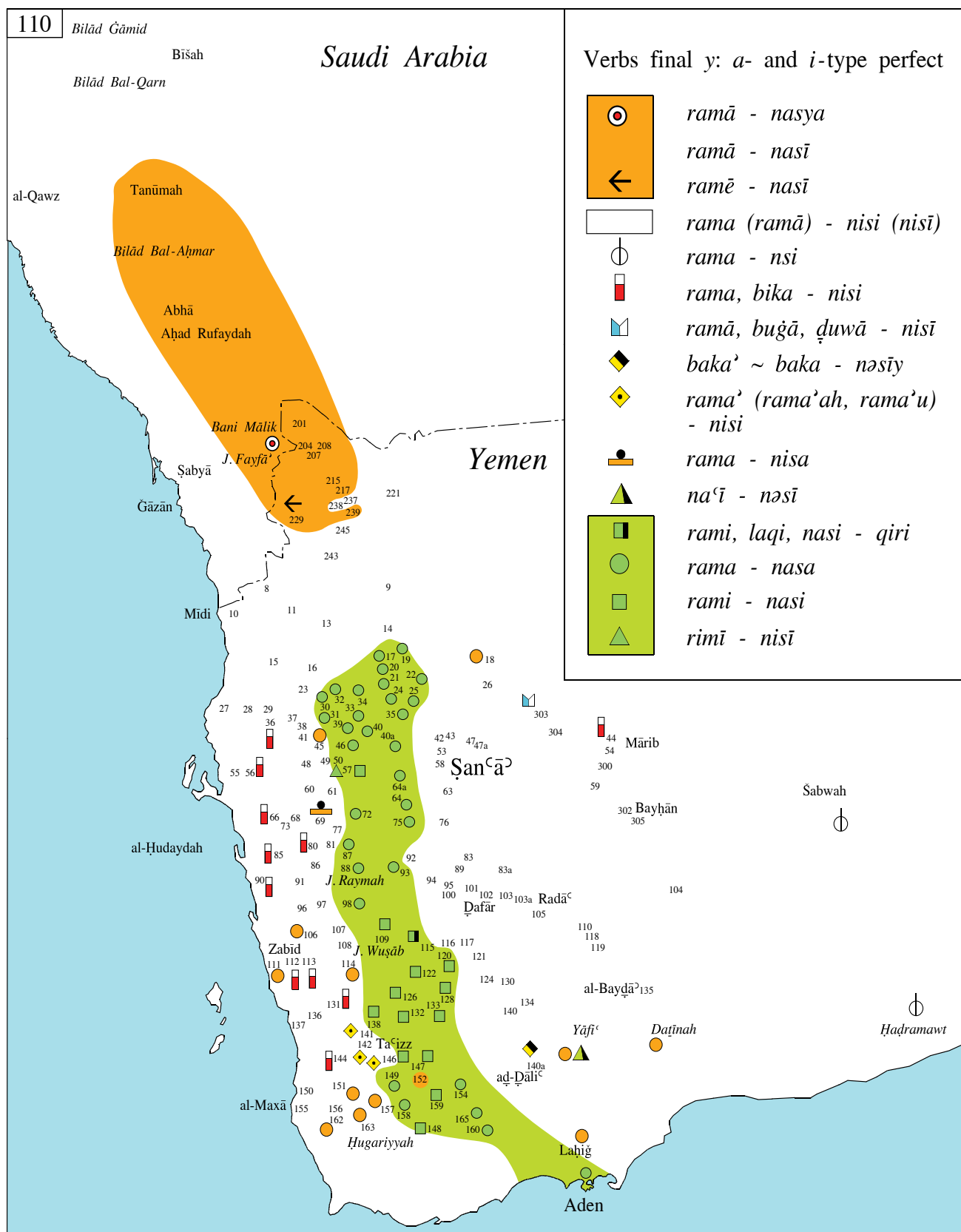
– There is an abundance of instances of triradical verbs medial *w*: *ḡiwi'*, *yīḡwa'* (35, 133), *ḡuwi'*, *yīḡwa'* (46, 64a, 75), *ḡuwu'*, *yīḡwa'* (13) 'to become hungry', *yīḡwaṭū* ~ *yīḡhūṭū* 'they hurry' (after Glaser), *xuwur*, *yīxwar* 'to wish, desire' (58, 64a, in JG compared with cl. Ar. *xāra* 'to scream, roar' → 'to roar in rut' → 'to desire'), *xawaḡ*, *yīxwaḡ* 'to paint, whitewash' (72), *yīrwaṭ* 'to excrete' cf. cl. Ar. *rāṭa* 'to drop dung' (Glaser); *rawaḡ*, *yīrwaḡ* 'to fall (price)', *šawa'*, *yīšwa'* 'to disturb' (31) cf. *šāwa'* = idem (64a, 75) in WA 11:64 *šā'* 'to frighten'; *tīwil*, *yīṭwal* 'to grow long' (35, 58, 133), *'a'waḡ*, *yī'wiḡ* 'to bend, to plait' (58, 14); *'i'wir*, *yī'war* 'to become blind in one eye' (31), *'awar*, *ya'wir* 'to blind, lose one eye' (35 after GO1); *'awuz*, *yī'wiz* 'to need' (58), *'awəz* 'vouloir' (Ḍālī', VAN-1:192); *'a'wal*, *yī'wil* 'to have children' (58, 64a, 133); *gawa'* 'to cheat' (58); *nīwid*, *yīnwad* 'to sway back and forth (millet plant)' (133), 'to topple (because of the wind *nawd*)' (HUG); *hawur*, *yīhwir* 'to be hungry' (58).

Also in other dialects, but not as frequently.

Cairene *hawas*, *yīhwis* 'to drive crazy', *ḥīwil*, *yīḡwal* 'to squint', *dawaš*, *yīdwiš* 'to disturb with noise', *'i'wir*, *yī'war* 'to lose an eye', *xayal*, *yīxyil* 'to distract', *'iyi*, *yī'ya* 'to fall ill', *dayan*, *yīdyin* 'creditor' (WO1-K 78, with added 'e.g.', presumably there are more forms of the same kind). Regarding Syria cf. Grotz 36 'Von einigen Wurzeln mediae *w* sind starke Bildungen gebräuchlich: *dawax*, *byədwx*

“schwindlig, trunken machen”, *zawar*, *byəzwer* “streng anblicken”; *ṭəwel*, *byəṭwal* “lang werden, wachsen”. BEH-S has only *iṭwil*, *yīṭwal* for Soukhne, but *dāx*, *ydūx*. GvG 605ff. ignores forms of this kind.

– Transition from IV to I occurs in *gāb* ‘to answer’, *gīb!* ‘answer!’, *gibtu* ‘I answered’ (142), *ǧāb*, *yǧīb*, *ǧīb!* (31, 46, 302).



110 Verbs final *y*: *a*- and *i*-type perfect

– The map shows the diverse stages of merging of *a*- and *i*-type among the verbs final *y*. In a central stretch either the *a*-type or the *i*-type asserts itself. At point 115 (DIEM 92) the *i*-type seems to prevail in *laqi*, *baki*, *rami*. ‘To read’, however, is *qiri*. As the paradigms show merging only applies to the 3rd sg. m. In the inflection *a*- and *i*-type are clearly distinct: *laqayk* – *qirīk* 1st sg., *laqah* – *qiryeh* 3rd sg. f.

– At point 44 (Ḥuṣūn al-Jalāl) we find partial merging with types *rama*, *bika* – *nisi*. *bika* is inflected like *baġa* ‘to want to, desire’ (*bikēt*, *bikat*, *bikaw* v. *nisīt*, *nisyat*, *nisyu*). The type *bika* is also frequently documented in the Tihāmāh and is inflected like *rama*.

– This is also true of the type *buġā*, *ḍuwā* at 303:

<i>ḍuwā</i> ‘to return home at night’		<i>sarā</i> ‘to leave at night’	
sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>ḍuwā</i>	<i>ḍuwaw</i>	<i>sarā</i>
3rd f.	<i>ḍuwat</i>	<i>ḍuwan</i>	<i>sarat</i>
2nd f.	<i>ḍuwēti</i>	<i>ḍuwētin</i>	<i>sarētī</i>
2nd m.	<i>ḍuwēt</i>	<i>ḍuwētū</i>	<i>sarēt</i>
1st c.	<i>ḍuwēt</i>	<i>ḍuwēneʿ#</i>	<i>sarēt</i>

nisī ‘to forget’

	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>nisī</i>	<i>nisīyyū</i>
3rd f.	<i>nisīyyit</i>	<i>nisīyyan</i>
2nd f.	<i>nisītī</i>	<i>nisītan</i>
2nd m.	<i>nisīt</i>	<i>nisītū</i>
1st c.	<i>nisīt</i>	<i>nisīnā</i>

– Where the two types have been merged the paradigm shows forms from both types:

	Point 50a (J. Ḥufāš)		Point 50b (J. Ḥufāš)	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>nisī</i>	<i>nisū</i>	<i>nisī</i>	<i>nisū</i>
3rd f.	<i>nisīn</i>	<i>nisīnn</i>	<i>nisīn</i>	<i>nisīyayn</i>
2nd f.	<i>nisēš</i>	<i>nisākin</i>	<i>nisēš</i>	<i>nisākin</i>
2nd m.	<i>nisēk</i>	<i>nisākum</i>	<i>nisēk</i>	<i>nisākum</i>
1st c.	<i>nisōk</i>	<i>nisānā</i>	<i>nisōk</i>	<i>nisēnā</i>

Point 143

	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>ramī</i>	<i>ramū</i>
3rd f.	<i>ramah</i>	<i>ramēn</i>
2nd f.	<i>ramēkī</i>	<i>ramēkin</i>
2nd m.	<i>ramēk</i>	<i>ramēkum</i>
1st c.	<i>ramōk</i>	<i>ramēnā</i>

/ā/ in the endings at both 50a and 50b may possibly be explained via forms of the final *hamza*, of which *giraʿkum* ~ *girākum* and *giraʿkin* ~ *girākin* ‘you have read’ have been reported.

	Point 138		Point 93	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>nasi</i>	<i>nasu</i>	<i>nasa</i>	<i>nasu</i>
3rd f.	<i>nasah</i>	<i>nasēn</i>	<i>nasit</i>	<i>nasaynah</i>
2nd f.	<i>nasēki</i>	<i>nasēkēn</i>	<i>nasayš</i>	<i>nasaykin</i>
2nd m.	<i>nasēk</i>	<i>nasēkum</i>	<i>nasayk</i>	<i>nasaykum</i>
1st c.	<i>nasōk</i>	<i>nasēna</i>	<i>nasawk</i>	<i>nasaynā</i>

Point 40

	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>šaga</i>	<i>šagaw</i>
3rd f.	<i>šagit</i>	<i>šagayn</i>
2nd f.	<i>šagayti</i>	<i>šagaytin</i>
2nd m.	<i>šagayt</i>	<i>šagaytum</i>
1st c.	<i>šagayt</i>	<i>šagaynā</i>

In the last example the *a*-type has asserted itself entirely, in the other examples only the base form itself and the 3rd pl. ending in *-ū* are carried over from the *i*-type.

– GHA has only the *a*-type as documented in Aden, with *nasa* ‘to forget’, *rama* ‘to throw’, *baqa* ‘to remain’, *dara* ‘to know, to sow’, *gana* ‘to harvest’, *gara* ‘to run’ etc.

– In the glossary of FOD there are nearly only examples of the *a*-type in Laḥiḡ: *nagā*, *yingī* ‘to save’, *nasā*, *yinsa* ‘to forget’, *masa*, *yimši* ‘to go’, *laqīy*, *yilqa* ‘to find’, *afā*, *yafī*

‘to forgive’, *raga*, *yirgī min* ‘to ask for’, *ra‘ā*, *yir‘ā* ‘to pasture’, *garā*, *yigrī* ‘to run’, *bakā*, *yibkī* ‘to cry’.

– In Ḍālī‘ VAN-1:186 quotes an *a*-type *bāka* ‘pleurer’ and *nasīy* as *i*-type. In Yāfi‘/Jabal Yazīdī she reports (VAN-2:144) *nasā* and *bakī*, in Lab‘ūs *na‘ī* ‘to cry’ and *nāsī* ‘to forget’, with nearly identical inflection patterns: *na‘ōk*, *nāsōk*, *na‘ēk*, *nāsēk*, but 3rd sg. f. *na‘ēh* v. *nāsīyah*.

– For the Daṭīnah LAN-2:7ff. has forms such as *raḍīet*, *reḍī*, *riḍī*, *da‘ā*, *‘awow*, which indicate the presence of both *a*- and *i*-type. Ḥaḍramawt *ramā* – *nsi* (ALS 695).

– Manāxah WRB 122 only one documented type. Kawkabān in HEN 30 only *masa*, *bagā*, *lagā*, *raḍā*.

– Documented for the *i*-type in the North: *nasī* ‘to forget’ im-Tallḥ (217); *wašī* ‘to ignite (fire)’ Minabbih (204); *lagī* ‘to meet’ Ġurāz (239), *rawī* ‘to drink’ Majz (215), *nasī* Rāzih (229), *nīsī* Ṣaḥn (238), Ṣa‘dah (237), Wāsīt (221), Sāḡen (245), Ġubar (243).

– Saudi Arabia *a*-type *baḡa* Qahabah, Rufaydah, Abha, Tanūmah, Qawz (PRC-1:90, with further examples) and *i*-type *nisi* Bal-Qarn, Ġāmid, Qawz, Ṣabyā.



ma-b Verbs final y: a-type 1st, 2nd sg. perfect

111b

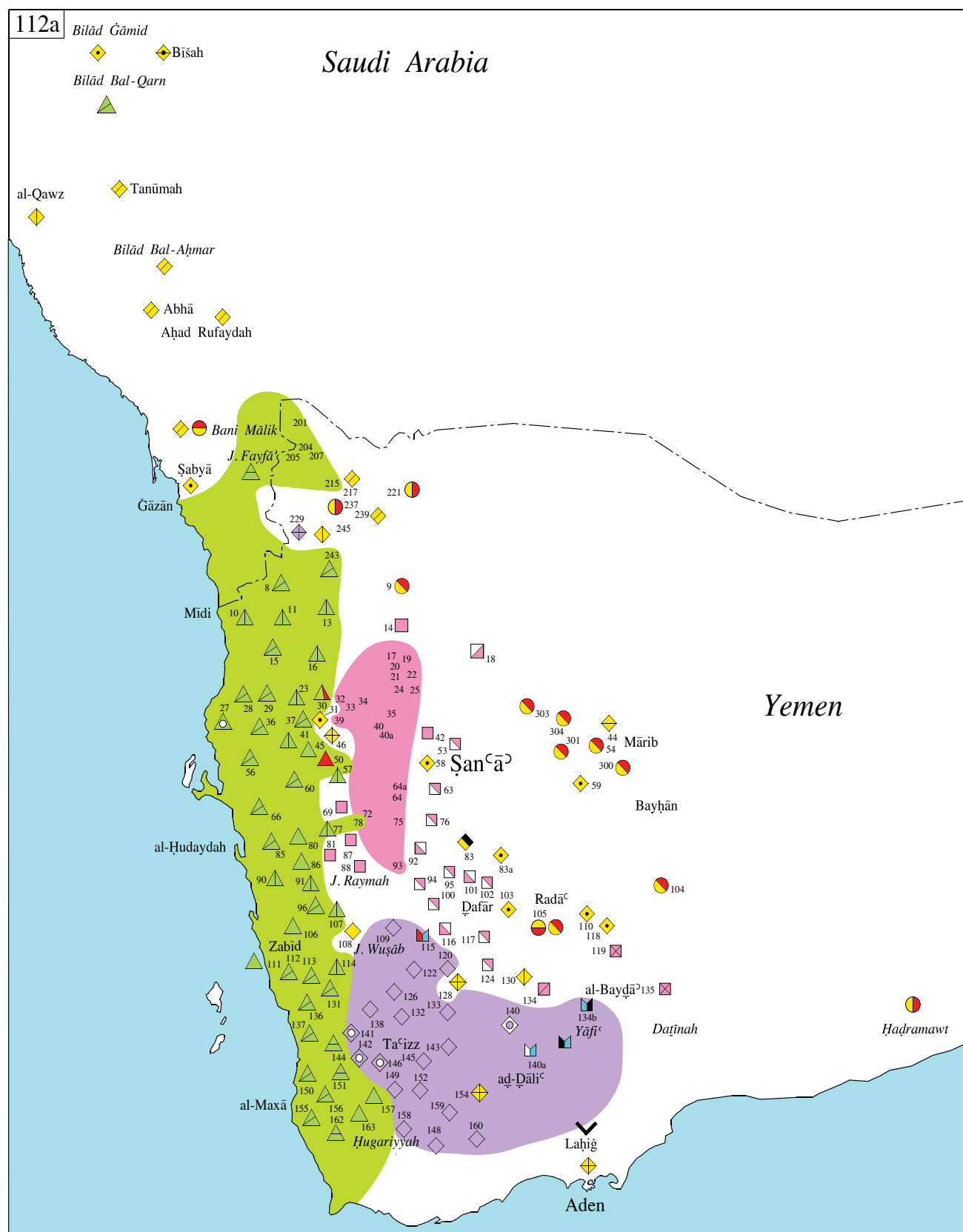
Verbs final y: a-type 1st, 2nd sg. perfect

	<i>ramayt(u) - ramayt - ramayti, etc.</i>
	<i>ramayk - ramayk - ramayki</i>
	<i>ramayk - ramayk - ramayš</i>
	<i>ramayku - ramayk - ramayš</i>
	<i>ramēku - ramēk - ramēki</i>
	<i>ramēk - ramēk - ramēki</i>
	<i>ramēk^w - ramēk - ramēč</i>
	<i>ramēk - ramēk - ramēkīn</i>
	<i>ramawk - ramayk - ramayš</i>
	<i>ramōk - ramēk - ramēš</i>
	<i>ramōk - ramēk - ramēk (!)</i>
	<i>ramōku - ramēk - ramēki</i>
	<i>ramōk - ramēk - ramēki</i>
	<i>ramōk - ramēk - ramēč</i>
	<i>ramōk - ramēk - ramēši</i>
	<i>ramawk - ramayk - ramayki</i>
	<i>ramawku - ramayka - ramayši</i>
	<i>rimōk - rimēk - rimēš</i>

111 Verbs final *y*: *a*-type 1st, 2nd sg. perfect

– Of particular interest are those forms in *k*-dialects that assimilate in the ending of the 1st sg., such as **ramayku* > *ramawku* > *ramawk*, *ramōk*. Cf. DIEM 96.

– Manāxah: WRB 132 *rameyk* – *rameyk* – *rameykī*. Yāfi‘ *bakōk* – *bakēk* – *bakēši* (VAN-2:144). /*ō*/ also transferred onto *i*-type: *nasīyōk* – *nasīyēk* – *nasēši* (al-Hirr), or *nāsōk* – *nāsēk* – *nāsēš* in Lab‘ūs.



112a–b Verbs final y: a- and i-type 3rd sg. f. perfect

112b

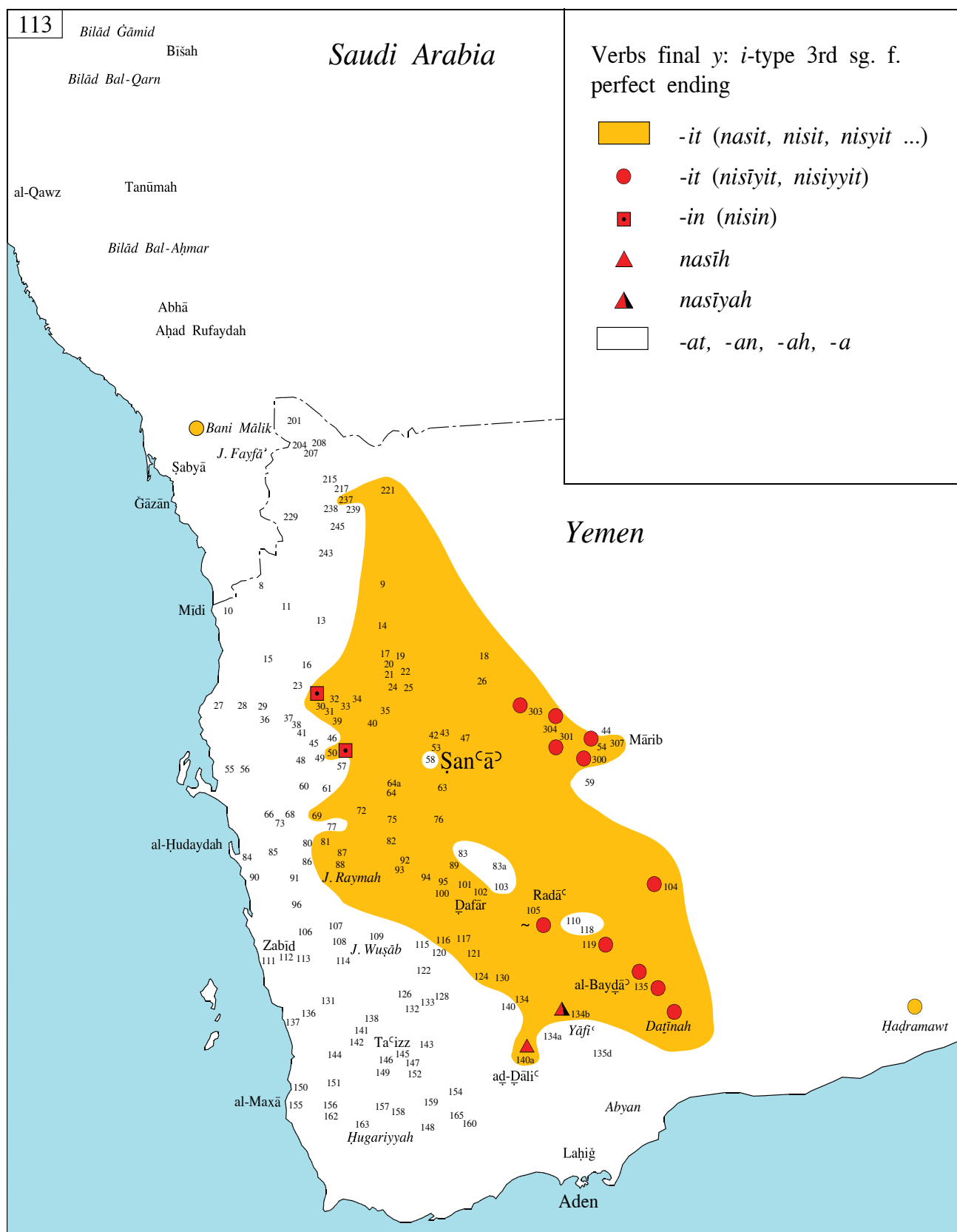
Verbs final y: a- and i-type 3rd sg.f. perfect

 *ramat* - *nasiyat* *ramat* - *nasyat* *ramat* - *nisiyat* *ramat* - *nisyat* *rimat* - *nisyat* *rimat* - *nasyat* *ramat* - *nisīyat* *ramat* - *nasat* *ramah* - *nasah* *rama'ah* - *nisiyah* *ramah* - *nisiyah* *rama* - *nasya* (3.m. *ramē* - *nasī*) *nasah* ~ *nasat* *ramah* - *nasīh* *ramēh* - *nasīyah* *ramēh* - *nāsīyah* *ramah* - *nisyih* *raman* - *nasiyan* *raman* - *nasyan* *raman* - *nisiyan* *raman* - *nisyan* *raman* - *nisīyan* *rimin* - *nisin* *ramin* - *nisin* *ramit* - *nasit* *ramit* - *nisit* *ramit* - *nisiyit* *ramit* - *nisīyit* *ramit* - *nasiyat* *ramit* - *nisiyat* *ramit* - *nisyat* *ramat* - *nasyit* *ramat* - *nisiyit* *ramat* - *nisīyit* *ramat* - *nisyit*

– Saudi Arabia PRC-1:90 *mašat* Rufaydah, Abha, Bal-Aḥmar, Ġāmid, Qawz, Šabyā; *mašan* Bal-Qarn; p. 91 *nasyit* ~ *nasyat* Qahabah; *nasyat* Rufaydah, Abha, Bal-Aḥmar, Tanūmah; *nisiyat* Ġāmid, Šabyā; *nisyat* Qawz; *nisyan* Bal-Qarn. Jabal Fayfā' *daran* – *lagyan* (ALB:64).
 – Yemen/north: *daran* – *nasyan* Xāšir (207), Minabbih (204); im-Ṭalḥ (217), Ġurāz (239) *darat*, *nasyat*; Majz (215) *gadan* – *rawyan*; Wāsiṭ (221), Ša'dah (237) *ramat* – *nisyit*, Sāgēn (245) *darat* – *nisyat*; Ġubar (243) *gadan* – *nisyan*; Rāziḥ (229) *ğara* – *nasya* (DGS 42ff.).
 – Northeast *mašat* – *nisiyit* 44, 300, 301, 303, 304 (NAD 2). Manāxah *-it* / *-it* (WRB 132). Only one type is still extant (cf. p. 122). Kawkabān HEN 30 *bagat* – **mašat* (this interpolated). Baraddūn BET 139 *dalat* – *bigiyat*; Radā' HUI 118 *ramat* – *nisiyit*, DIEM 55 *ramat* – *ligiyit*.

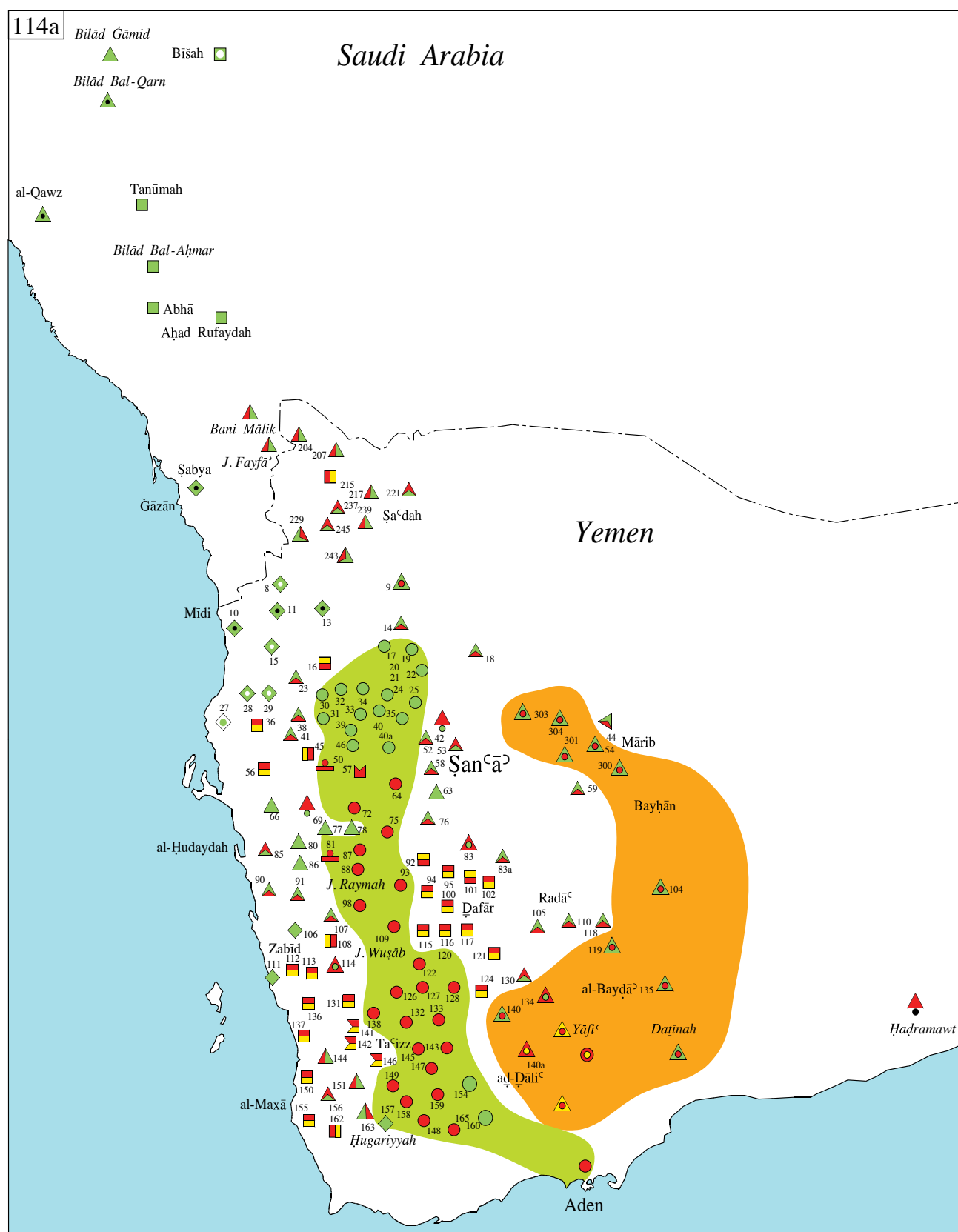
– South/ Yāfi' VAN-2:144 *bakēh* – *nasīyah* al-Hirr; Lab'ūs *na'ēh* – *nāsīyah*; aḍ-Ḍālī' VAN-1:186 *bakah* – *nasih*.

It is not explained how *bakēh* evolved. It might be due to partial approximation to the *i*-type: **bakayah* – *nasiyah* with **ay* > *ē* and further approximation to forms such as *bakēši* 2nd sg. f., 2nd pl. f. *bakēkēn*. FOD 43 has only *bada'aṭ*; *ramaṭ*. As other examples are written with either superscript *-h* or *-t*, there is presumably some variation. LAN-2:7 *raḍīet*, *riḍī' ~ riḍī'*; p. 39 *hādīet* (LAN-1:2862 *haḍī* 'être mouillé, trempé': *haḍīet* (*haḍīyet*) *ed-dunya* 'il a plu hier soir'), LAN-2:76 *u waḥīyeteh*, p. 225 'elle s'en aperçut'; p. 78 *raxiyat* 'she became relaxed'.



113 Verbs final *y*: *i*-type 3rd sg. f. perfect ending

- JA has only one map (no. 95) on the topic. The present map is intended as a synopsis and shows where the ending *-it* occurs with verbs final *y*, independently of whether these exhibit two types or are merged into one type.
- We must emphasise the ending *-īyīt* (*-īyyīt*) in the east. It also occurs in the Daṭīnah. Cf. also in parts of Yāfi', namely Jabal Yazīdī *nasīyah* also with long vowel (VAN-2:144).



114a-b Verb Tertiae infirmae: 3rd pl. m. perfect

114b

Verbs final y: *a-* and *i-*type 3rd pl. m. perfect

	<i>ramaw</i> - <i>nisiyaw</i>		<i>ramu</i> - <i>nasiyu</i>
	<i>ramaw</i> - <i>nisyaw</i>		<i>ramu</i> - <i>nasyu</i>
	<i>ramaw</i> - <i>nasyaw</i>		<i>ramu</i> - <i>nisiyu</i>
	<i>rimaw</i> - <i>nasyaw</i>		<i>ramu</i> - <i>nisiyu</i>
	<i>ramō</i> - <i>nasiyō</i>		<i>rama'u</i> - <i>nisiyu</i>
	<i>ramō</i> - <i>nisiyō</i>		<i>ramū</i> - <i>nāsīyū</i>
	<i>ramō</i> - <i>nisyō</i>		<i>ramū</i> - <i>nasīyū</i>
	<i>ramō</i> - <i>nīsyō</i>		<i>na'ū</i> - <i>nəsū</i>
	<i>ramaw</i> - <i>nasaw</i>		<i>ramu</i> - <i>nasu</i>
	<i>ramaw</i> - <i>nasiyu</i>		<i>rimu</i> - <i>nisu</i>
	<i>ramaw</i> - <i>nasyu</i> (<i>ramaw</i> - <i>nasyū</i>)		<i>ramīyu</i> - <i>nasīyu</i>
	<i>ramaw</i> - <i>nisiyu</i>		
	<i>ramaw</i> - <i>nisyu</i>		both types merged
	<i>ramaw</i> - <i>nīsyū</i>		<i>nīsīyyū</i> , <i>nīsīyū</i>
	<i>ramaw</i> - <i>nīsyū</i>		
	<i>ramaw</i> - <i>nīsīyu</i>		
	<i>rimaw</i> - <i>nisyu</i>		
	<i>ramaw</i> - <i>nisu</i>		
	<i>ramaw</i> - <i>nsu</i>		
	<i>ramō</i> - <i>nisyū</i>		
	<i>ramō</i> - <i>nasyū</i>		

– On the original map the symbol at point 42 was not included in the key; it is Šaruf with the instances *daraw* – *lugū*. The latter is probably a variant of the CiCū type, cf. original map 96 with the feminine forms *raman* – *nisin*. No symbol at point 120 on the original map, only hachure. The only type found is *nasi*, pl. *nasu*.

– We can discover the following developments: a) the endings *-aw* and *-ū* are retained, b) either the ending *-aw* (*-ō*) of the *a*-type prevails, c) or the ending *-ū* of the *i*-type.

– Saudi Arabia PRC-1:90/91: Qahabah: *mašaw* – *nasyu* Rufaydah, Abha, Tanūmah, Bal-Aḥmar *mašaw* – *nasyaw*, Ġāmid *mašaw* – *nišyaw*, Qawz, Bal-Qarn *mašaw* – *nišyaw*, Bišah: *mišaw* – *nasyaw*, Šabyā *mašo* (sic!) – *nišyō*. Jabal Fayfā' ALB 64: *daraw* – *lagyū*.

– Yemen/ north DGS points 204, 207, 217, 239 *daraw* – *nasyū*, 221, 237 *ramaw* – *nišyu*, 229 *ğarō* – *nasyū*, 243 *ğadō* – *nišyū*.

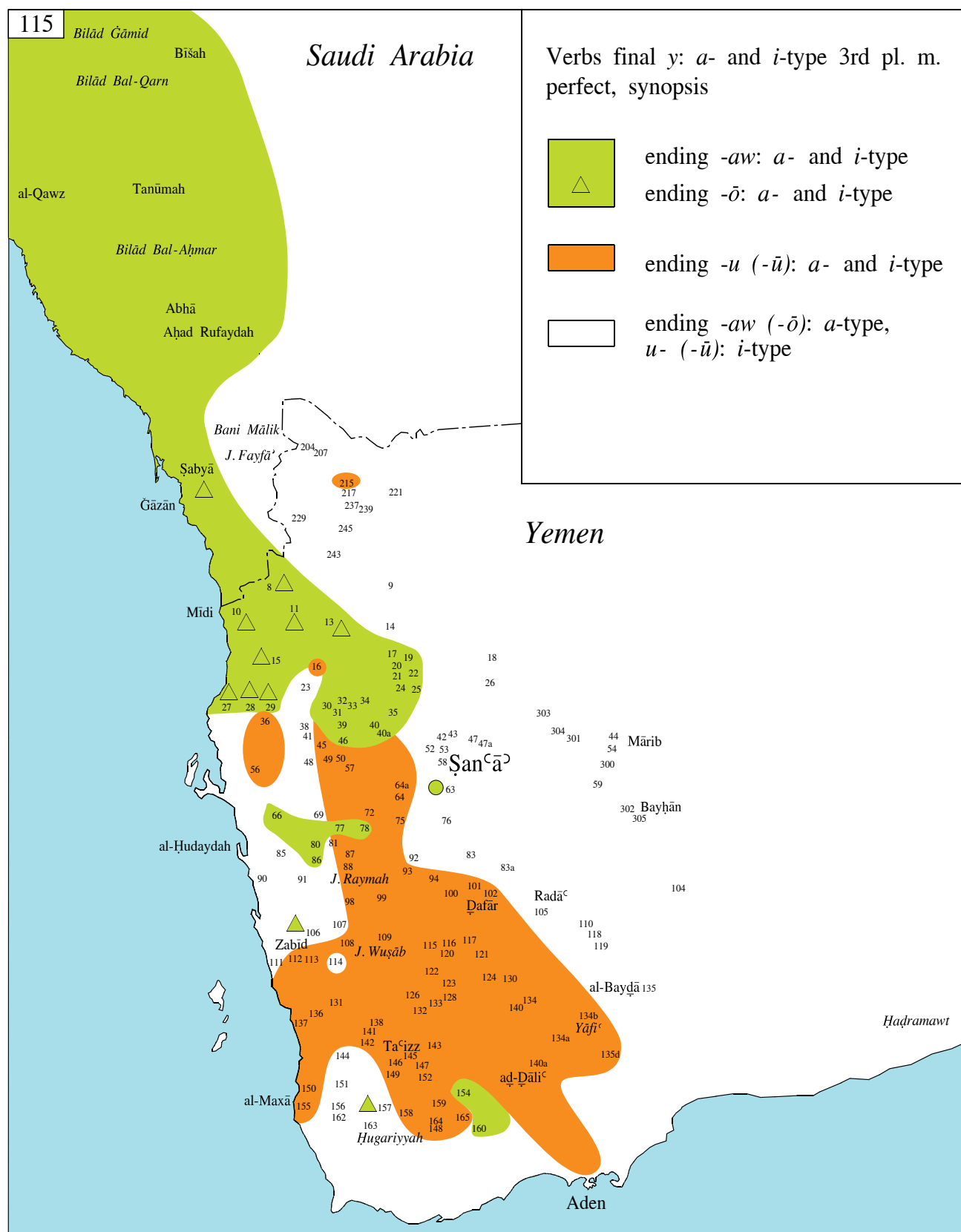
– Northeast NAD 32 *mašaw* – *nišyū* 44, 300, 301, 303, 304.

– Kawkabān HEN 30 *mašaw* – *lagaw*, Manāxah WRB 123 *mašū* – *lagū*, Radā' HUI 118 *ramaw* – *nišyū*, Baraddūn BET 139 *ramaw* – *ligiyu*.

– Inconsistent Radā' (105) with *ramaw* – *nišyū* v. 3rd sg. f. *ramat* – *nišyit* (HUI 118), DIEM 55 *ramaw* – / and *ramit* – *ligiyit*.

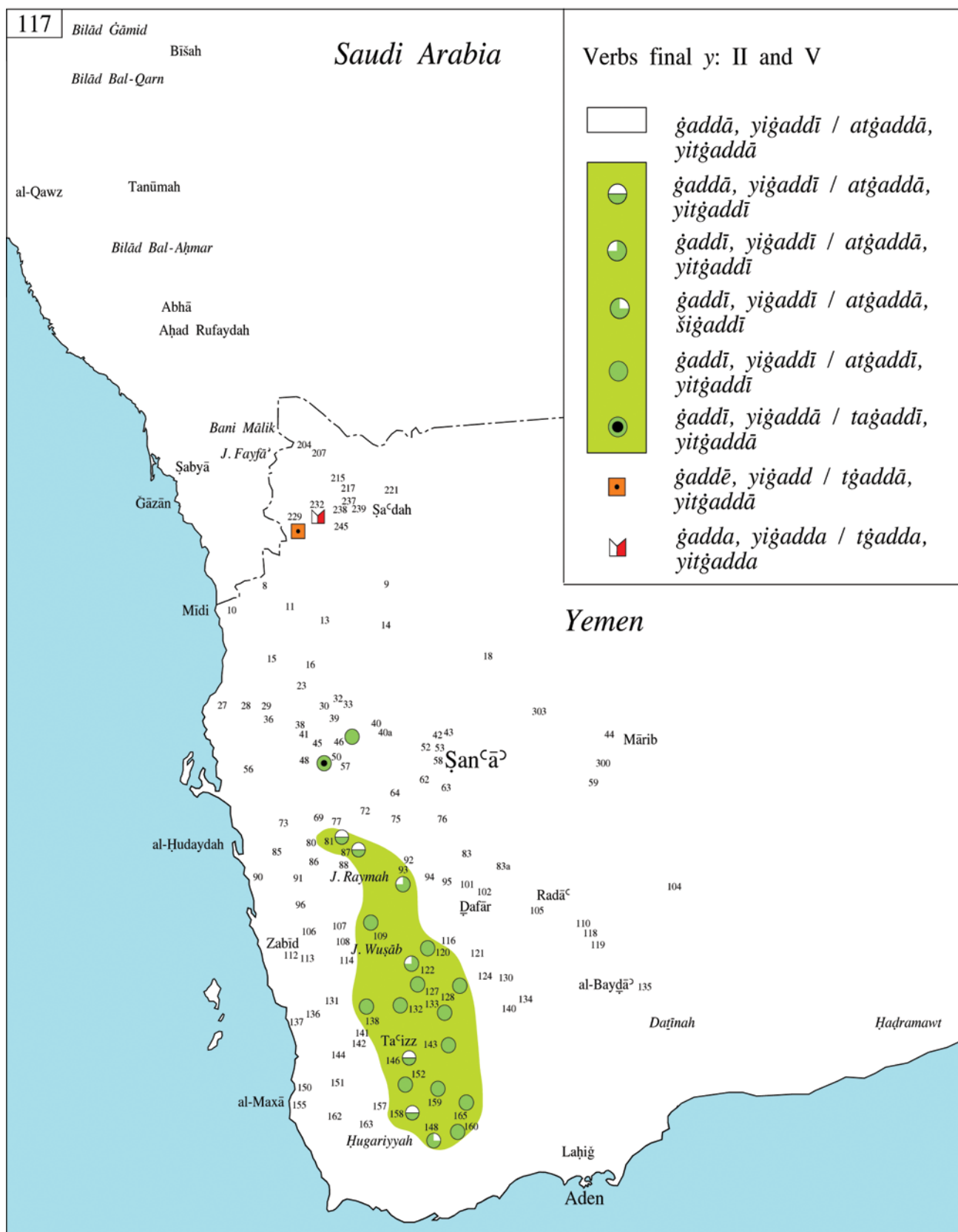
– FOD has no documented instances for Laḥiğ; Yāfi' / J. Yazīdī VAN-2:144 *bakū* – *nasīyū*, Lab'ūs: *na'ū* – *nəsū*; Ḍāli' VAN-2:185 *bakū* – *nəsīyū*.

– ALS 695 shows no parallelism in Ḥaḍramawt, 3rd sg. f. *nsit* ~ *nišyit* and pl. *nsu*.

115 Verbs final y: *a-* and *i-* type 3rd pl. m. perfect, synopsis

116 Verbs final *y*: *a*- and *i*-type 3rd pl. f. perfect

- Here, too, one of the topics is the reciprocal assimilation of endings (cl. Ar. *ramayna* – *nasīna*).
- Saudi Arabia documented only for Ġāmid *mašaynah* – *nisīnah* and Qahabah *mašēna* – *nisīna* in PRC-1:91/92. Jabal Fayfā' ALB 64 *darayna* – *lagīna*.
- Yemen/north DGS 42ff. at point 204, 207 *darayna* – *nasīna*, 229 *ǧarēn* – *nasyīn*. 243 *ǧadēn* – *nisyēn*. At 229 (Rāziḥ) the 3rd pl. f. *i*-type was transformed in analogy with forms like *nasyū* 3rd pl. m., *nasya* 3rd sg. f.
- Kawkabān, HEN 30 *bagayn* – *lagayn*. Manāxah WRB 132: *mašeyn* – *lageyn*. Radā' HUI 118 *rameyn* – *nisyeyn*. No data for Barradūn in BET.
- No data for Laḥiḡ in FOD. Yāfi' VAN-2:144 *bakēn* – *nasīyēn*; al-Hirr, Lab'ūs *na'ēn* – *nāsēn*. Ḍālī' VAB-1:186 *bakēn* – *nsīyēn*. Daṭīnah: LAN-2 has the ending *-eyn* for I (p. 20, imperfect 24), p. 38 *qāleyn*, p. 53 *yihoffeyn*, more on p. 54, p. 63 *yidbeyn*. This at least allows the conclusion that the *a*-type has the same ending.
- There is indication of an eastern isogloss with forms like *raman* – *nisīyan*. However, in Ḥaḍramawt *ramēn* – *nsēn* (ALS 695).



– In some northern and southern *k*-dialects as well as Ḥugariyyah dialects the verbs final *y* have been transformed. In the southern *k*- and Ḥugariyyah dialects the *-ī* of form II imperfect forms was transferred onto the perfect, and from there onto form v. The following gradation obtains: a) *ḡaddā – yīḡaddī / ‘atḡaddā – yitḡaddī*, b) *ḡaddī – yīḡaddī / ‘atḡaddā – yitḡaddī*, c) *ḡaddī – yīḡaddī / ‘atḡaddī – yitḡaddī*. Special forms have been documented in al-Mudawwar for v *‘atḡadda – šīḡaddi*, *at‘ašša – šī‘ašši* (cf. form v commentary map 098) and II *walli, yīwalli*. Imperatives *walla!*, *walli!*, *wallu!*

– FOD 51 has *barri, yibarr* ‘to set right, to redeem, to keep one’s promise’ in Laḥiḡ, p. 57 *rabba, yirabbi* ‘to bring up’, *šalla, yišalli* ‘to pray’.

– At point 46 (al-Maḥwīt) RO-APP 256 reports *‘anā mī darrinī* ‘io non so’, literally ‘I, who let me know’. This indicates that the forms occurring there are similar to those in neighbouring J. Ḥufāš.

The verbs final *y* II in Jabal Ḥufāš are entirely divergent from the norm. The basis of form II has *-ī* in the perfect: *mallī* ‘to fill’, but *-a* in the imperfect, following the pattern of *nīsī – yīnsa → mallī – yimalla*: *‘amalla t-tallāḡah* ‘I am filling the thermos flask’.

	sg.	pl.
1st c.	<i>‘amalla</i>	<i>nimalla</i>
2nd m.	<i>timalla</i>	<i>timallu</i>
2nd f.	<i>timalli</i>	<i>timalliyēn</i>
3rd m.	<i>yimalla</i>	<i>yimallu</i>
3rd f.	<i>timalla</i>	<i>yimalliyēn</i>

With object suffixes:

‘amallōh# ‘I fill him (it)’

‘amalleh# ‘I fill her (it)’

‘amalləhum ‘I fill them (m.)’

‘amalləhin ‘I fill them (f.)’

‘aḡaddəhum ‘I give them (m.) lunch’

timallīh ‘you (sg. f.) fill him (it)’

timallēh ‘you (sg. f.) fill her (it)’

yimalluh ‘they (m.) fill him (it)’

yimalloh ‘they (m.) fill her (it)’

Obviously the *-a* is dropped when a suffix is added. However, looking at it historically it is more probable that **-i* was lost as discussed with map 088.

This transformation was transferred onto other forms as well, such as e.g. III, example *dāwī* ‘to heal’ (in context).

	sg.	pl.
1st c.	<i>‘adāwa</i>	<i>nidāwa</i>
2nd m.	<i>tidāwa</i>	<i>tidāwu</i>
2nd f.	<i>tidāwī</i>	<i>tidāwiyayn</i>
3rd m.	<i>yidāwa</i>	<i>yidāwu</i>
3rd f.	<i>tidāwa</i>	<i>yidāwiyayn</i>

With object suffixes:

‘adāwoh ‘I heal him’

‘adāweh ‘I heal her’

‘adāwəhum ‘I heal them (m.)’

‘adāwəhin ‘I heal them (f.)’

yidāwuh ‘they heal him’

yidāwoh ‘they heal her’

yidāwiyennōh ‘they (f.) heal him’

yidāwiyenneh ‘they (f.) heal her’

Regarding Rāziḡ and forms such as *kawwē, yikaww* ‘to cauterise’, *dāwē – yidāw* ‘to heal’, *‘aslē – yisil* ‘to console’, see DGS 149. The imperfect exhibits general loss of **-ī* like the base form.

J. Ḥufāš:

Form VIII (pausal) ‘to dress (oneself)’ *yiktasa* (with *-a* becoming *-e*)¹

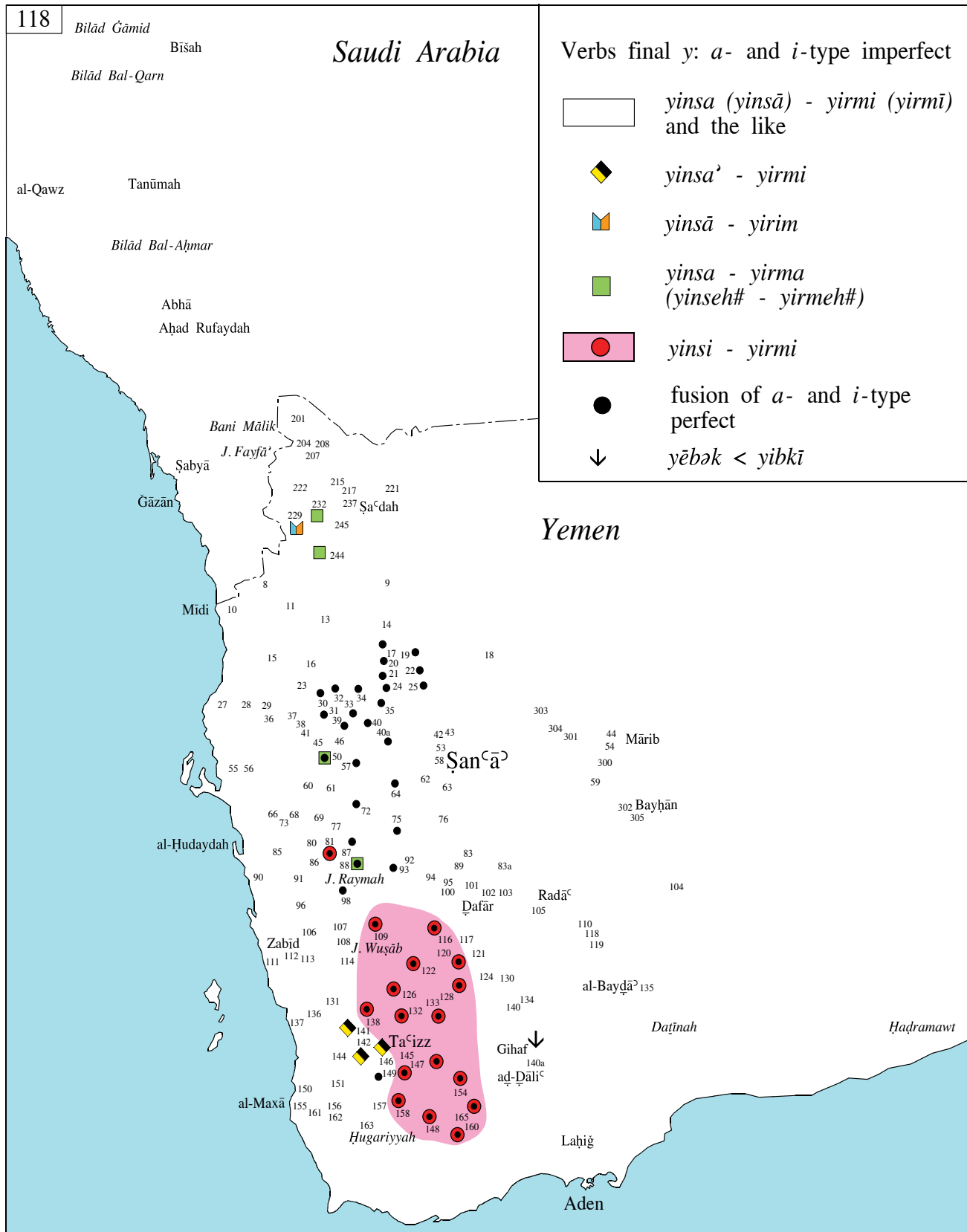
	sg.	pl.
1st c.	<i>‘aktsé’</i>	<i>niktsé’</i>
2nd m.	<i>tiktsé’</i>	<i>tiktsú</i>
2nd f.	<i>tiktsi</i>	<i>tiktsiyayn</i>
3rd m.	<i>yiktsé’</i>	<i>yiktsu</i>
3rd f.	<i>tiktsé’</i>	<i>yiktsiyayn</i>

¹ Regarding the elision of */a/* cf. the commentary on map 099 with *ktsár, yiktsír* and *ttšál, yittšíl*

ʾastakra 'I rent' follows III. 'To buy' different, with future prefix *šā-*:

At point 232 *-a* was, conversely, transferred from V onto II:
tjadda / yitjadda → *ǧadda / yigadda*.

	sg.	pl.
1st c.	<i>šāʾaštar</i>	<i>šāništar</i>
2nd m.	<i>šātištar</i>	<i>šātištaru</i>
2nd f.	<i>šātištarī</i>	<i>šātištariyayn</i>
3rd m.	<i>šāyištar</i>	<i>šāyištaru</i>
3rd f.	<i>šātištar</i>	<i>šāyištariyan</i>



118 Verbs final *y*: *a*- and *i*-type imperfect

– The form *yinsē* – *yirmi* at point 16 (al-Maḥābiṣah) on original map 99 is to be deleted. It referred to 2nd sg. f. *tilgē* # – *tirmi*. The actual forms are *yilgā* – *yirmī*. There were originally two maps on the topic (99 and 100), which have now been merged.

– In Saudi Arabia the two types are separate: *yamši* Qahabah, *yimši* Rufaydah, Abha, Tanūmah, Ġāmid, *yinsa* Rufaydah, Abha, Bal-Qarn, Ġāmid, Qawz, Ṣabyā (PRC-1:92/93).

– Yemen/north DGS 45 mainly *a*- and *i*-type retained in the majority of dialects. Rāziḥ (229) *yilgā* – *yibik* (< *yibk* < *yibki* < *yibkī*). Merged in *a*-type Ġubar (243) with short /a/: *yirma*, *yirmeh* # – *yinsa*, *yinseh* #, similar in Ġamar (232) *bāyigdeh* # ‘she will go’, *bātiḡreh* # ‘she will walk’, *bātuḡweh* # ‘she will return’. -*a* transferred onto all remaining forms: *yibka* ‘he cries’, *yibakka* ‘he bawls’, *yōṭa* ‘he goes down’, *yitḡadda* ‘he eats lunch’, *yistara* ‘he buys’.

– Jabal Ḥufāš (50b) *yinsa* ‘he forgets’, in pause *yinsəh* #. With object suffixes:

3rd sg. m.	<i>yinsöh</i>	3rd sg. f.	<i>yinseh</i>
3rd. pl. m.	<i>yinshum</i>	3rd pl. f.	<i>yinshin</i>
2nd pl. m.	<i>yinsəkum</i>	2nd pl. f.	<i>yinsəkun</i>
		1st pl. c.	<i>yinsáne</i>

Jabal Ḥufāš (50b) ‘to come’, imperfect with future prefix *šā*-:

	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>šāyātā</i>	<i>šāyātu</i>
3rd f.	<i>šātātā</i>	<i>šāyātiyēn</i>
2nd f.	<i>šātātī</i>	<i>šātātiyēn</i>
2nd m.	<i>šātātā</i>	<i>šātātu</i>
1st c.	<i>šāʾitā</i>	<i>šānāti</i>

Elsewhere the two types are clearly separate: *yilgā* – *yibkī*.

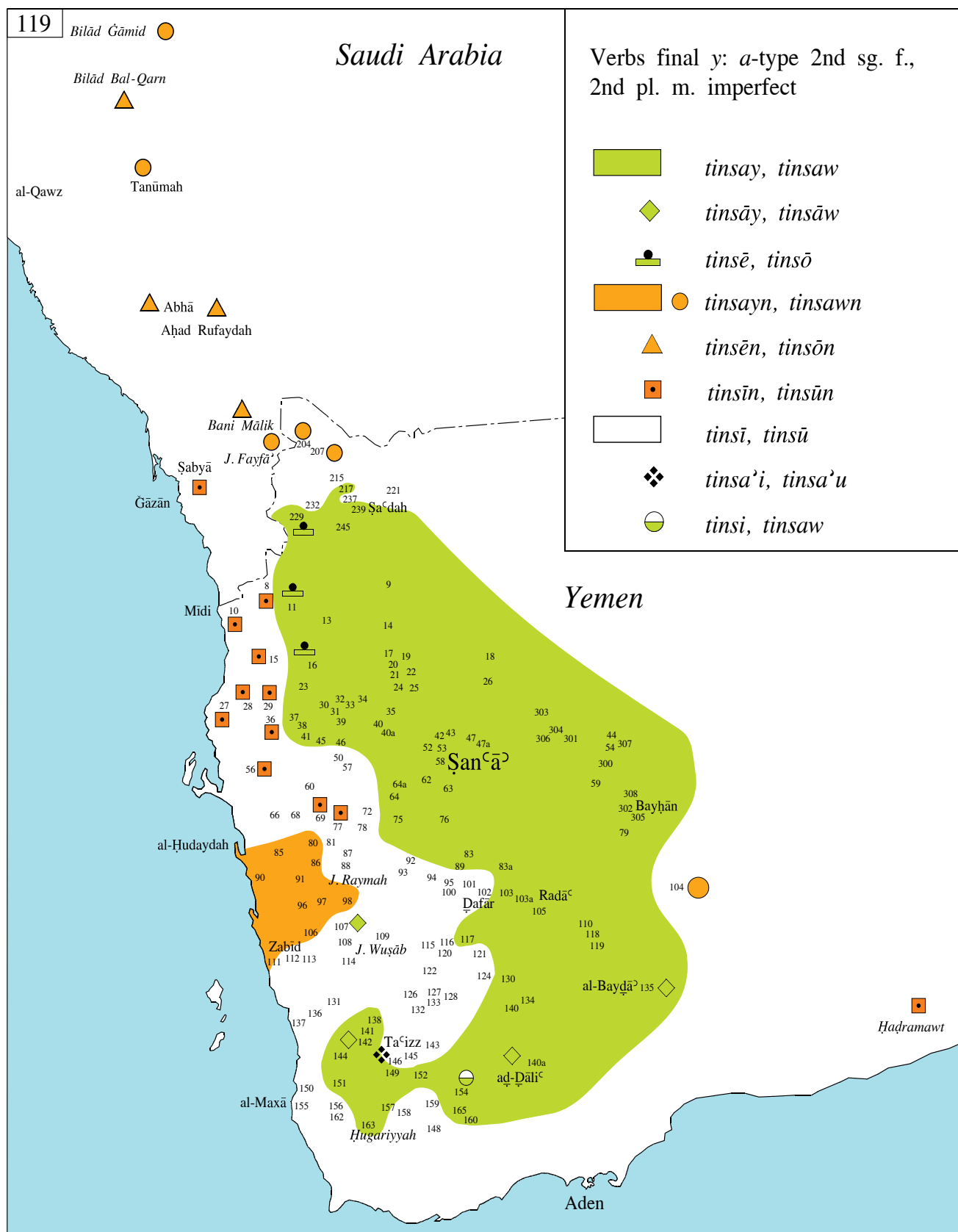
Regarding point 88 (al-Maḥall) see DIEM 88 *yāta* ‘he comes’, according to the same pattern *yirma* ‘he shoots’, *yidda* ‘he gives’. ‘Es hat den Anschein, als ob zwischen den Typen *faʿā* und *faʿiya* in Perfekt und Imperfekt ein Ausgleich stattgefunden habe, der beide Typen in einem einzigen Paradigma zusammenfallen ließ’.

– Kawkabān HEN no clear examples. Radāʿ HUI 118 *yinsā* – *yirmī*. Baraddūn BET 139 *yimši* – *yibga*. Manāxah WRB 122 *yibda* ‘to appear’ – *yibṭi* ‘to arrive too late’. ‘Ein archaischer Zug ist die Kürzung des auslautenden Langvokals im Imperfekt, der mit Ausnahme von Imperativformen in anderen Dialekten noch nicht (?) belegt ist’. Cf. GvG 620.

– South/Laḥiḡ FOD 69 *yilqa*, 58 *raga*, *yirḡi min* ‘to ask for; to request sg’, *raʿā*, *yirʿā* ‘to pasture’. Yāfiʿ VAN-2:145 *yabi* ‘he wants’; Ḍālīʿ VAN-1:190 *yənsā* – *yibki*. Aden *yirḡa* – *yirmi* GHA 122/23. Daṭīnah LAN-2:9 *tebāninzil*, p. 20 *yirwī* = ‘he gives to drink’, p. 24 *bālisqihā* = we water her (it), p. 26 *yibā* ‘he wants’, p. 27 *yifdābeha*. Ḥaḍramawt *yinsa* – *yirmi* (ALS 695).

– Forms with radical /ʾ/ that does not occur regularly are typical of some Ḥugariyyah dialects. Point 142: *yalqa* #, *tašqaʾi* ‘you work’, *talqaʾu* ‘you (pl.) meet’, *talqaʾen* ‘you (pl. f.) meet’, but *yalqu* ‘they (m.) meet’, *yalqaʾen* ‘they (f.) meet’. Point 146 *šilqaʾuh* ‘he will meet him’.

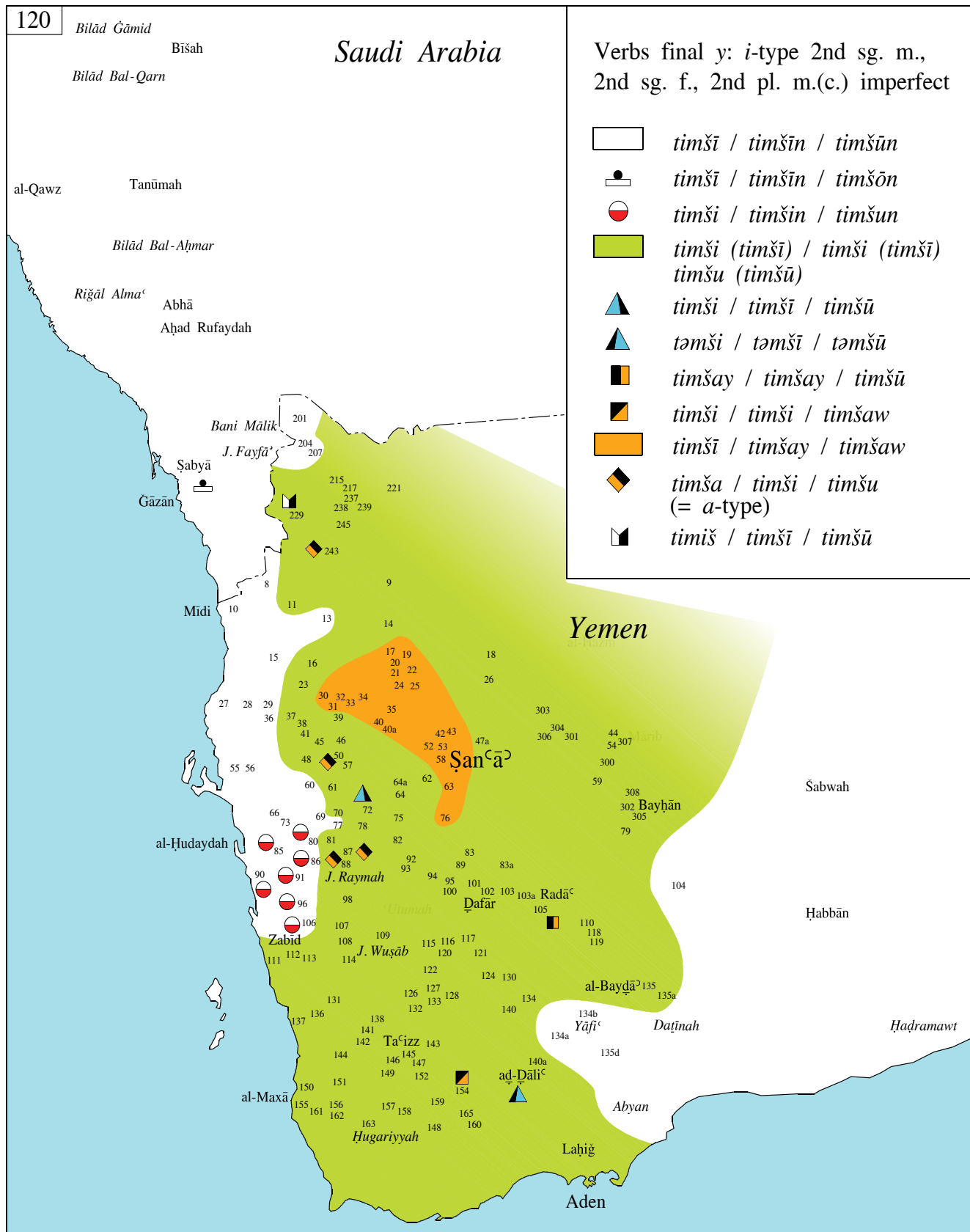
– ‘The dialect of Giḥaf, in Ḍālaʿ, has another remarkable peculiarity in the form of the imperfect of verbs IIIy. It is restructured on the pattern of verb Iw (with a different long vowel): *yēbək* “he weeps”. Unique in Arabic, this analogical formation is known in Semitic, namely in Hebrew (Gesenius 1910:211)’ (VAN-8:756).



119 Verbs final y: a-type 2nd sg. f., 2nd pl. m. imperfect

119 Verbs final *y*: *a*-type 2nd sg. f., 2nd pl. m. imperfect

- Normally parallelism between endings is present, i.e. if *-ay* occurs, so does *-aw* etc. The paradigm DIEM 125 cites for the Ḥugariyyah (point 154) is inconsistent. We find *tilqi* in the 2nd sg. m. and f., but *tilqau*, *tilqain* in the plural, and correspondingly for the 3rd persons *yilqi*, *tilqi* / *yilqau*, *yilqayn*. In the paradigm for ‘to come’ *-ain* is only found with the 2nd and 3rd pl. f.
- ALS 695 has only *tinsūn*, **tinsīn* for Ḥaḍramawt, interpolated in analogy with other verb forms.



120 Verbs final *y*: *i*-type 2nd sg. m., 2nd sg. f., 2nd pl. m. (c.) imperfect

– Due to the loss of *-na* (cl. Ar. *tamšī* – *tamšīna*) the 2nd sg. m. and the 2nd sg. f. now mostly share the same forms as in other Arabic dialects.

– Forms with *-in*, *-un* in the central Tihāmah can be explained as back-formations of forms with object suffix. Cf. point 8 (Ḥaraḍ) *tinsīn* – *tinsinni* ‘you forget me’, *tinsin-nihun* ‘you forget them (c.)’, *šātrīn* – *šātrinni* ‘you will see me’.

– As a reflex of *-in* in Manāxah the ending *-ī* still occurs in the feminine (WRB 130). Cf. also p. 122 *isgīl* ‘water (an animal)’ (m.), *ir’īl* ‘herd (animals)’ (f.). Also in Ḍālī‘ VAN-1:190 *tābki* (m.), *tābkī* (f.). Unified as a type in the map key (*tāmšī* – *tāmšī*).

– A similar development observed in Rāziḥ: m. *timšī* > *timš* > *timš* v. f. *timšī*.

– In the northern plateau and the region surrounding Ṣan‘ā’ the 2nd sg. f. has been assimilated to the *a*-type: *timšay* – *tigray*.

– The paradigm in Radā‘ in DIEM 56 is inconsistent, as the 2nd pl. f. and 3rd pl. f. *i*-type have assimilated to the forms of the *a*-type: *tirmayn* – *tilgayn*, *yirmayn* – *yilgayn*, but not the 2nd sg. m.+f. such as *tirmi* – *tirmi* v. *tilgay* – *tilgayn*. The plural forms m. *tirmu*, *yirmu* do not exhibit assimilation

v. *tilgaw*, *yilgaw*. Inconsistent also the forms listed in HUI 118: *tinsay* – *tirmay*, *tinsaw* – *tirmū*, *yinsaw* – *yirmū*.

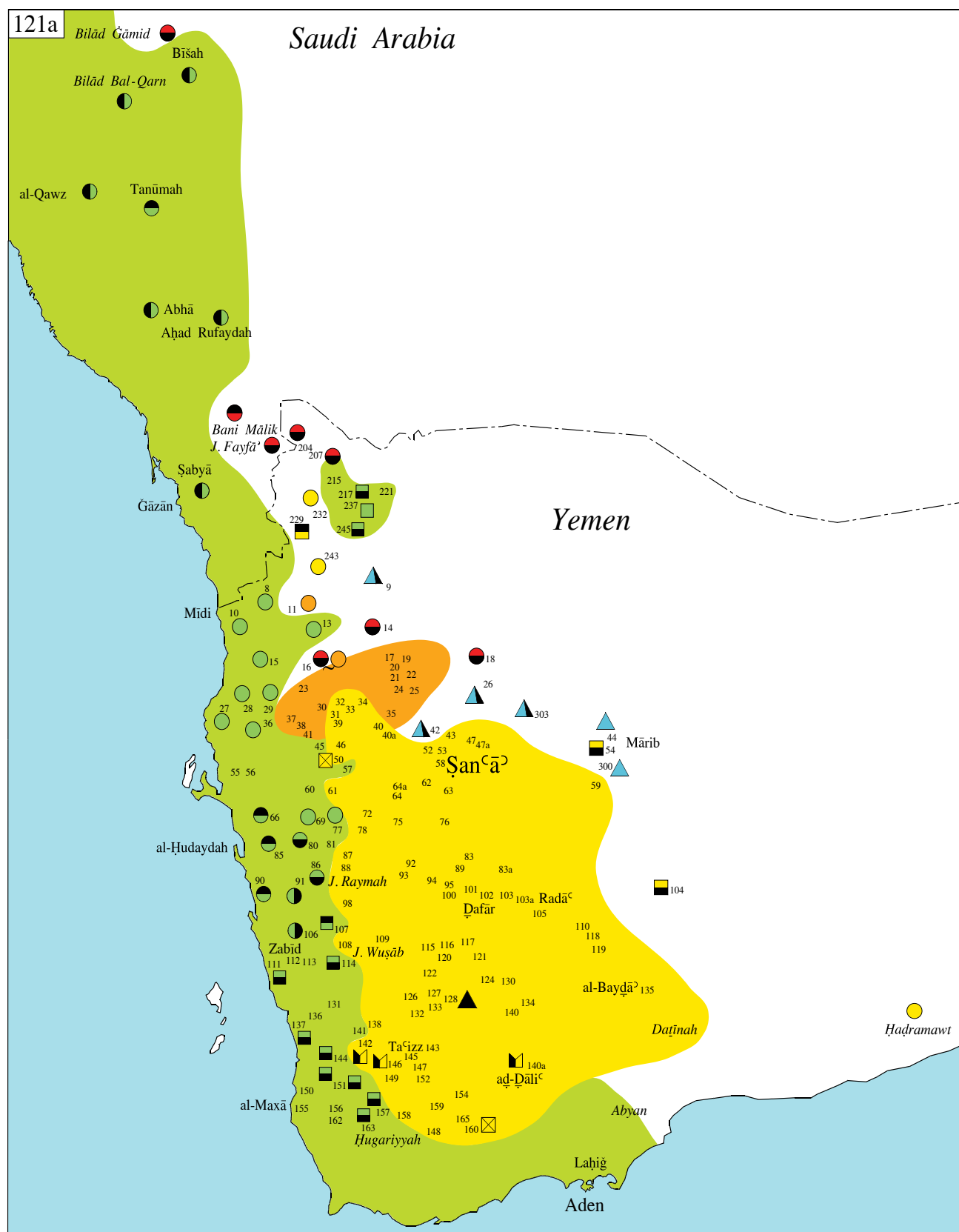
A mix of both types also occurs in ar-Rāḥideh (154) with *-i* in all forms in the singular, and *tilqaw*, *tilqayn*, *yilqaw*, *yilqayn* in the plural (DIEM 125).

– In J. Ḥufāš (50b) the 2nd sg. m. *i*-type has assimilated to the *a*-type:

	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>yigra</i> , <i>yigre’#</i>	<i>yigrū’#</i>
3rd f.	<i>tigra</i> , <i>tigre’#</i>	<i>yigriyayn</i>
2nd m.	<i>tigra</i> , <i>tigre’#</i>	<i>tigrū’#</i>
2nd f.	<i>tigrī</i>	<i>tigriyayn</i>
1st c.	<i>’agra</i> , <i>’agre’#</i>	<i>nigra</i> , <i>nigre’#</i>

Similar *timša* – f. *timšī*, *ta’wa* – f. *ta’wī* ‘you (sg.) cry’, *tirma* – *tirmī* ‘you (sg.) shoot’, *tibka* – *tibkī* ‘you (sg.) cry’.

Regarding *’itī* – *yīta* ‘to come’ see the relevant map.



121a–b Verbs final y: a- and i-type 3rd pl. f. imperfect

121b

Verbs final y: *a-* and *i-*type 3rd pl. f. imperfect
 *yinsayna / yirmīna (yansayna / yarmīna)*
 *yansēna / yarmīna*
 *yinsayna / yirmayna (yinsēna / yirmēna)*
 *yinsayn / yirmayn (yinsēn / yirmēn)*
 *yinsa'ēn / yirmēn*
 *yinsiyayn / yirmiyayn*
 *yinsayn (yinsēn) / yirman*
 *yinsēn / yirmīn*
 *yinsan / yirmīn*
 *yinsan / yirman*
 *yinsin / yirmīn*
 *yinsūn / yirmūn*
 *yinsawn / yirmūn*
 *yinsāwn / yirmun*
 *yinsawn / yirmun*
 *yinsōn / yirmūn*
 *yinsaw / yirmū*
 *yinsaw / yirmaw*
 *yinsāw / yirmu*
 *yinsu / yirmu*

155

121 Verbs final *y*: *a*- and *i*-type 3rd pl. f. imperfect

– The main topic is once again the mutual assimilation of endings of the *a*- and *i*-type (cl. Ar. *yalqayna* – *yarmīna*). As the forms of the 2nd pl. m.+f. have the same endings, (*talqayna* – *tarmīna*), they do not require a separate map.

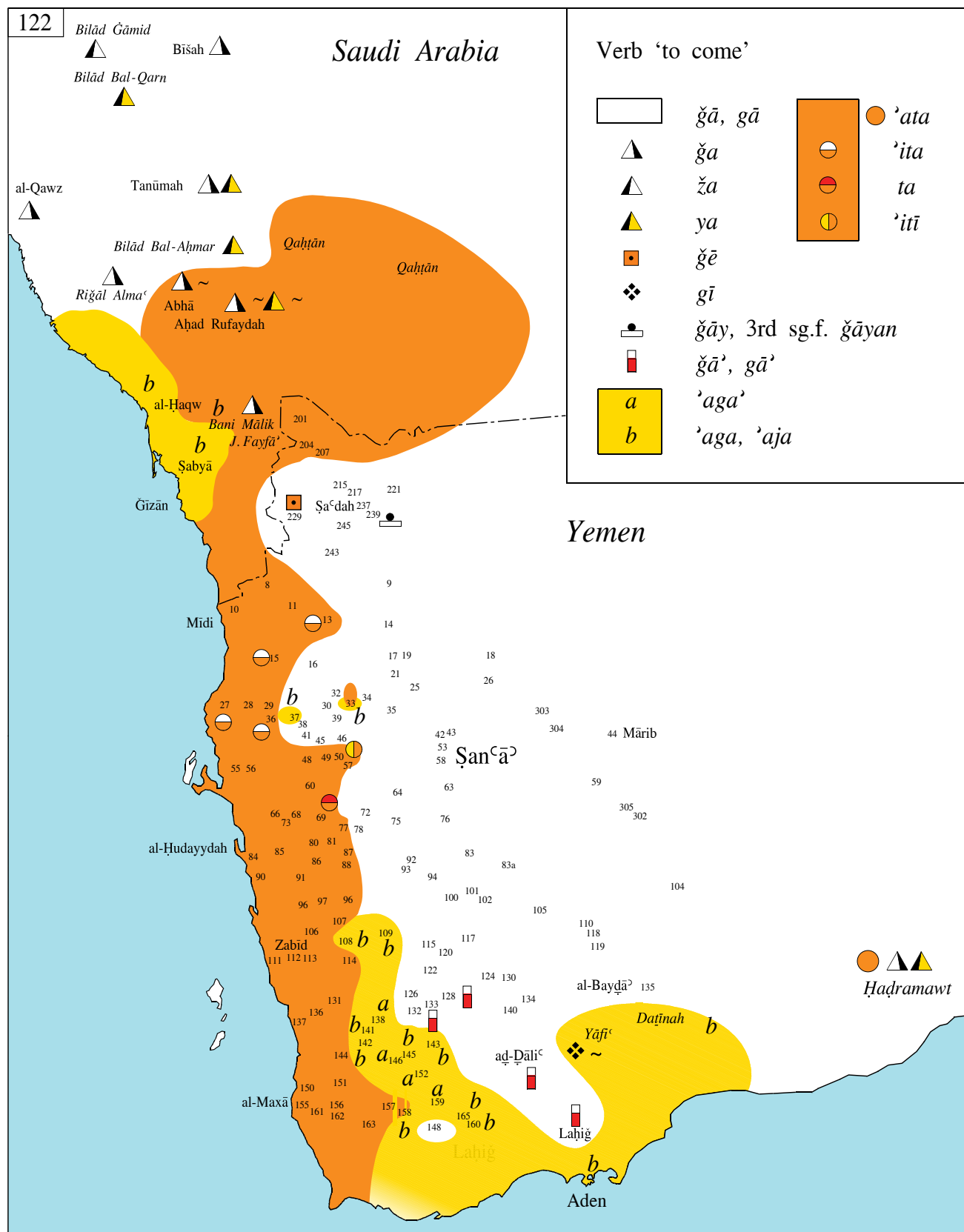
– Saudi Arabia: except for Ġāmid *yansaynah* ~ *yinsaynah* – *yimšīna* and Qahabah *yansēna* – *yamšīna* the only documented forms are common gender (PRC-1:92/93). TOLL 35 ‘etc.’ suggests only one common gender form. J. Fayfā’ ALB 64 *yalqayna* – *yadrīna*.

– The virtually classical forms still in the extreme North Yemen. On the northern plateau with merging of endings into *a*-type. DIEM 72 describes the imperfect at al-Maḥābiṣah as ‘wie in den Dialekten der Nördlichen Hochebene’. Ibid. p. 29 *yirbaina* (*a*-type), *yirmaina* (*i*-type). I recorded the forms *yilgēnah*# and *yibkīnah*# (analogous: *tilgēnah*#, *tibkīnah*#).

– Kawkabān HEN 30 has *yibkayn* (*i*-type) and interpolated **yibgayn* (*a*-type). Radā’ HUI 118 *yinseyn* – *yirmeyn*. Manāxah WRB 131 *tilgeyn* – *yihkeyn*. Baraddūn no forms documented in BET.

– Northeast, no forms in NAD. From questionnaire: 44 *yabġan* – *yibkan*, 44b *yinsayn* – *yimšan*, the same type also at 104, possibly influenced by neighbouring regions; 303 *yigran* – *yidwīn* ‘they return in the evening’.

– South/aḍ-Ḍālī’ VAN-1:190 *yinsa’ēn* – *yābəkēn*. There is no parallelism with other forms (except *tānsa’ēn*): *tānsāy*, *tānsāw*, *yinsāw*. Nor at point 142 with *tinsāy*, *tinsāw*, but at point 146 *tinsa’i*, *tinsa’u*. As this is located near aḍ-Ḍālī’, the type *yinsiyayn* may well be derived from **yinsi’ayn*. Daṭīnah LAN-2:63 text 24 *yidbeyn*, p. 218 ‘qui foulent les peaux’. In the glossary LAN-1:696 *dabā*, *a* ‘tanner, fouler’. Ibid. also *dabā*, *i* ‘ramper’ with reference to 1110. There (LAN-22/II) commentary on *yidbeyn* (from $\sqrt{dbġ}$).



– On the original maps /ǧ/ represents all possible reflexes of **g*. To take all of these into account would have rendered the map altogether confusing.

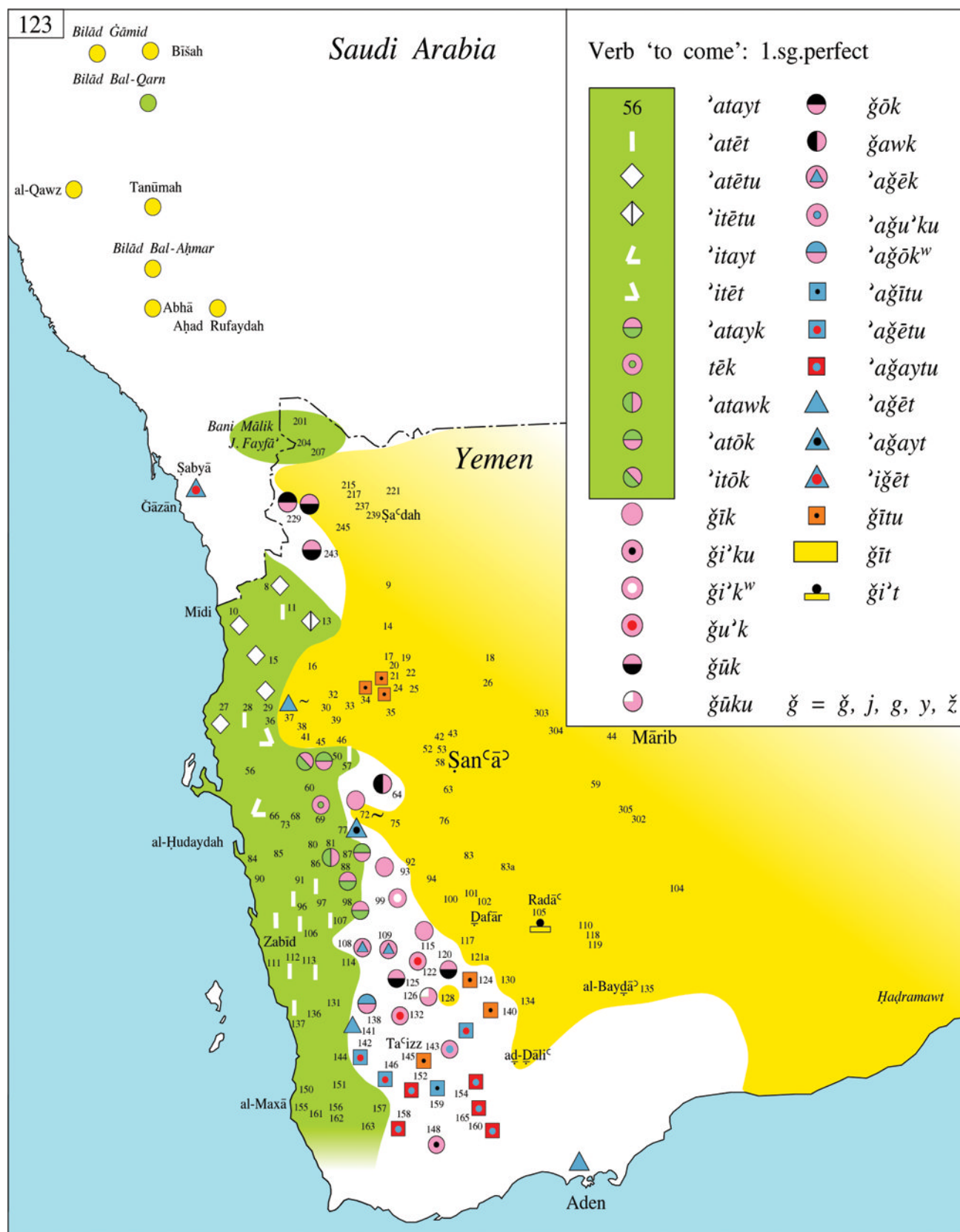
– Reflexes of cl. Ar. *ʾatā*: Jabal Fayfāʾ *ʾatā*, Qaḥṭān, Yām/Nağrān, Ġizān/al-Ḥagu š(a)-*yāti* ‘he will come’ (all internet). In KUR-1 *ata*, *yāti* ‘to come, arrive... according to Bkḥētān, the verb is more commonly used by Ḡḥaṭān and Yām’.

– AD 213 explains the Yemeni forms of the *ʾaga* type as a hybrid of **ʾatā* and **ǧāʾa*. The same applies to the dialects of Šabyā and Qahabah in southwestern Saudi Arabia (‘a village belonging to the Banī Mālik in the Jizān province’ PRC-1:5) where we find *ʾāḡa*. This form is also reported in the Saudi Tihāmāh (internet). North of this area we find only forms such as *ǧa* (Rufaydah, Abha, Tanūmah, Qawz), *ya* (Rufaydah, Bal-Aḥmar, Tanūmah, Bal-Qarn), *ža* (Ġāmid, PRC-1:107), in the south and east *ʾatā*, *yāti* (J. Fayfāʾ, Qaḥṭān, Yām/Nağrān), Yemen/Minabbih, Yemeni Tihāmāh. PRC-1:107 reports *aḡa* in addition to *ǧa* in Qahabah and Šabyā. Two points in the transition region between Yemeni Tihāmāh – mountains, on map 105 JA

only point 37, but also at point 33 with *ʾatā* ~ *ǧā* ~ *ʾāḡā* (JG 11). In the Yemeni Tihāmāh *jā* ~ *ʾajā* ~ *ʾatā* in SIM 227. In the former South Yemen, Aden *aga* (GHA, questionnaire), Daṭīnah *àḡa*, *àga* (LAN-1:327), also in LAN-2:698 but only *àḡa*, and no forms with /*g*/ in further passages listed in LAN-1:327 (LAN-2:24 *äḡah*; LAN-2:41 *äḡa*, LAN-2:70 *äḡa*, also featuring /ʾ/: LAN-2:24 last line *äḡa*). Boundaries drawn tentatively in the south. FOD 54 has *gāʾ* for Laḥiḡ; VAN-1:187 has *gāʾ* for Ḍālīʿ; no data for Yāfiʿ in VAN-2, in VAN-7:155/57 *gēk* 2nd sg. m. perf., 3rd. sg. m. *gī*, and *agā* as a koine form. LAN-3:545: ‘se prononce aussi *āḡa*... comme dans le Nord et en Syrie’, Ḥaḍramawt *ǧaʾ* ~ *yaʾ* (WAD).

– The form *ǧāy* at point 239 can probably not be explained as **ǧāʾ* > *ǧāy*, but rather as a back-formation of forms such as *ǧāyan* < *ǧāʾan* ‘she came’, where /*y*/ is easier to explain (cf. *ǧāʾib* > *ǧāyib*).

– The similarly rare *ǧī* in Yāfiʿ (VAN-7:155, 157 *gēk* 2nd sg. m. perf., 3rd. sg. m. *gī* and *agā* as koine form) probably assimilated to the imperfect form of the type **yīḡi* (no concrete instance documented).



123 Verb 'to come': 1st sg. perfect

123 Verb ‘to come’: 1st sg. perfect

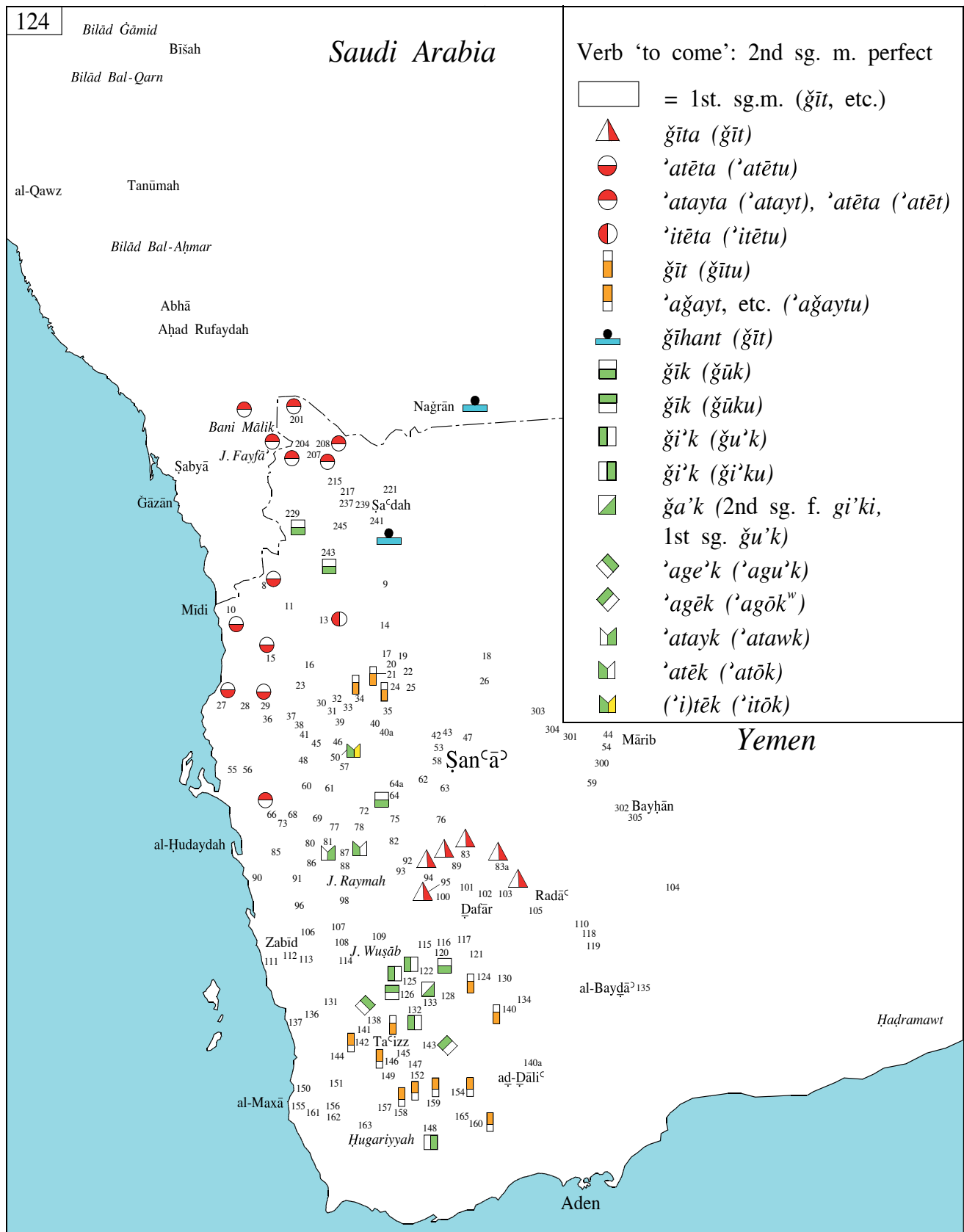
– The same assimilation phenomena may be observed as in the 1st sg. perf. of the verbs finaly: **ramayku* > *ramawku* > *ramawk*, *ramōk*, e.g. in forms such as *guʔk*, *gūk* < *giʔku*. Assimilation to defective verbs also occurs in the case of forms with /*aw*/, /*ō*/, *gawk*, *gōk*; this also applies to forms such as *ʔaǧētu*, *ʔaǧaytu* featuring /*ay*/, /*ē*/ instead of /*i*/ as would be expected.

– Saudi Arabia PRC-1:107 *ǧīt* Rufaydah, Abha, Qawz, *yīt* Rufaydah, Bal-Aḥmar, Ranūmah, Bal-Qarn, *ǧīt* Ġāmid, *ʔǧēt* Šabyā. J. Fayfāʔ *ʔatayt*.

– Yemen/north *ʔatayt* 201, 204, 207, elsewhere *ǧīt*. In the *k*-dialects *ǧūk* Ġubar, in Rāziḥ *ǧūk* ~ *ǧōk* (DGS 49–50).

– Northeast all locations *ǧīt* (not mentioned in NAD). Kawkabān HEN 56 *ǧīt*, sentence 149. Manāxah *ǧīt* ~ *ǧīk* WRB 132. Baraddūn BET 140 documents only *ǧīti* 2nd sg. f. Radāʔ HUI 119 *ǧīʔ*, but DIEM 56 *ǧīt*. Pausal glottalisation has been documented for Radāʔ; consequently *ǧīʔ* could be a pausal form of *ǧīt*. On the map, with reservations.

– Ḍālīʔ VAN-1:187 ‘Il y a toutefois dans le corpus un verbe qui n’a pas à la 1ère personne du sg. de désinence à finales vocalique -*u*. Il s’agit du verbe *ǧāʔ* ‘venir’: *ǧīt*. Aden *ʔagēt* (GHA 123).



124 Verb ‘to come’: 2nd sg. m. perfect

- On original map 107 the symbols of points 142, 146 are not included in the key. This is *ʿagēt* (*ʿagētu*).
- To some extent the endings are the same as in the defective verbs.
- We must, however, emphasise *gaʿk* in Jiblih, which DIEM 102 explains as an analogous new formation following the distribution of /u/ and /a/ in the regular verb *faʿulk*–*faʿalk*.
- Saudi Arabia PRC-1:104 *ʿatēt* Qahabah, Bal-Qarn; *jīt* Rufaydah, Abha, Qawz, *yīt* Rufaydah, Bal-Aḥmar, Tanūmah, Bal-Qarn, *žīt* Ġāmid, *ʿijēt* Šabyā; Jabal Fayfāʿ ALB 64 *ʿatayta*; Nağrān *ğīhant* (internet).
- Yemen/North DGS 48 *ʿatayta* northern dialects (Minabbih 204, Xāšir 207); Šaʿdah (237), Wāsiṭ (221),

- im-Ṭalḥ (217), Mağz (215), Sāgēn (245), Ġurāz (239), Ġubar (243), Rāziḥ (229) *ğīk*. Dammāğ (240) *ğīhant* interpolated based on the other forms and the internet (DGS:27).
- Kawkabān no records in HEN; Manāxah WRB 127 ‘wird im Perfekt wie *šā* konjugiert’, consequently *ğīt* ~ *ğīk*, in accordance with 409 *ğīt* ‘I came’; Radāʿ HUI *ğīt* 1st sg., 2nd sg. m. *ğīt*. DIEM 56: *ğīt*. See commentary re 1st person. Baraddūn BET 140 no record for 2nd sg. m., but must be *ğīta*.
- South/aḍ-Ḍālīʿ VAN-1:187 *ğīt*. Aden according to GHA 123 *ʿageyt*.

125 Verb ‘to come’: 3rd sg. f. perfect

- Saudi Arabia PRC-1:107 *ġat* Rufaydah, Abha, Qawz, *yat* Rufaydah, Tanūmah, Bal-Qarn, *yan* Bal-Qarn, *žat* Ġāmid, *ʾaġat* Šabyā, *ʾatan* Bal-Qarn, J. Fayfāʾ *ʾatan*.
- Yemen/north DGS 48f. *ʾatan* Minabbih (204), Xāšir (207), ʾAbādil, (201), Umm Lēlā (208); Šaʿdah (237) *ġit*, Wāsiṭ (221) *ġat* im-Ṭalḥ (217), Majz (215 also *ġāyan*), Sāgēn (245) *ġāyat*; Ġurāz (239) *ġāyan*; Ġubar (243) *ġāyan*, Rāziḥ *ġā* (m. *ġē*).
- Northeast 44 *ġaʿat*, 54 *ġit*; 301, 304, 300, 303 *ġāt* (not in NAD).
- Manāxah WRB 409 *ġit*, Radāʿ HUI 119 *ġāʿat*, DIEM 156 *ġāat* as ʾDafār p. 43 ‘ohne Stimmeinsatz zwischen den beiden Vokalen’; Baraddūn BET 140; Rubāṭ al-Galʿah (121a) *ġāt* MS O. Jastrow.
- South/ ad-Ḍālīʿ VAN-1:187 *gāʿah*; Laḥiġ *gāʿū* (3rd pl.) in FOD 45 suggests a form *gāʿah* ~ *gāʿa*.
- The form *ġit* used in the central plateau (with the exception of Šanʿāʾ *gāʿat* RO-S:35) follows the defective verbs (*ramit*).

126 Verb ‘to come’: 3rd pl. m.+f. perfect

– On original map 109 the symbol ‘black diamond’ is not in the key = *ʔagaʔu*.

– Saudi Arabia PRC-1:107 *ǧaw* Rufaydah, Abha, Qawz, *yaw* Rufaydah, Bal-Aḥmar, Tanūmah, Bal-Qarn, *ǰaw* Ġāmid, *ʔaǧō* Šabyā; *ʔataw* – *ʔatēna* Bal-Qarn. J. Fayfāʔ *ʔataw* – *ʔatayna*.
– Yemen/north DGS 48–50 *ʔataw* – *ʔatayna* Minabbih (204), Xāšir (207), ‘Abādil (201); *ǧaw* Ša’dah (237), Wāsiṭ (221), *ǧāyū* Majz (215), im-Ṭalḥ (217), Sāgēn (245), Ġubar *ǧāyū* – *ǧāyēn*, Rāziḥ (229) *ǧayyū* – *ǧayyīn*.

– Northeast 44, 54, 300, 301, 303 *ǧaw* – *ǧan*, 304 *ǧū* – *ǧan*.

– Manāxah WRB 408 m. *ǧū*, 131 *ǧeyn*, Rubāṭ al-Gal’ah (121a) *ʔaǧu* – *ǧayn*.

– South/ad-Ḍālīʔ *gāw* – *gāʔēn* VAN-1:187.

Perfect paradigms √*ty*:

Minabbih (204)		J. Fayfāʔ	
sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>ʔatā</i>	<i>ʔataw</i>	<i>ʔatā</i>
3rd f.	<i>ʔatan</i>	<i>ʔatayna</i>	<i>ʔatan</i>
2nd f.	<i>ʔataytī</i>	<i>ʔataytum</i>	<i>ʔataytī</i>
2nd m.	<i>ʔatayta</i>	<i>ʔataytinna</i>	<i>ʔatayta</i>
1st c.	<i>ʔatayt</i>	<i>ʔataynā</i>	<i>ʔatayt</i>

northern Tihāmah (8)		central Tihāmah (85)	
sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>ʔataʔ</i>	<i>ʔatō</i>	<i>ʔata</i>
3rd f.	<i>ʔatan</i>	<i>ʔatō</i>	<i>ʔatan</i>
2nd f.	<i>ʔatētīn</i>	<i>ʔatētun</i>	<i>ʔataytin</i>
2nd m.	<i>ʔatētahʔ</i>	<i>ʔatētun</i>	<i>ʔatayt</i>
1st c.	<i>ʔatētu</i>	<i>ʔatēnā</i>	<i>ʔatayt</i>

<i>k</i> -dialect (69)		<i>k</i> -dialect (50a, 50b)	
sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>tā, teʔ</i>	<i>tū, tuṇʔ</i>	<i>ʔitī</i>
3rd f.	<i>tit</i>	<i>tū, tuṇʔ</i>	<i>ʔitīn</i>
2nd f.	<i>tēkīn</i>	<i>tēkūn</i>	<i>ʔitēš</i>
2nd m.	<i>tēk</i>	<i>tēkūn</i>	<i>ʔitēk</i>
1st c.	<i>tēk</i>	<i>tēnaʔ</i>	<i>ʔitōk</i>

Perfect paradigms √*ǧy*:

(92)		(140)	
sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>ǧāʔ</i>	<i>ǧūʔ</i>	<i>ǧāʔ</i>
3rd f.	<i>ǧīt</i>	<i>ǧayn</i>	<i>ǧah_#</i>
2nd f.	<i>ǧīti</i>	<i>ǧītayn</i>	<i>ǧīti</i>
2nd m.	<i>ǧīt</i>	<i>ǧīti</i>	<i>ǧītum</i>
1st c.	<i>ǧīt</i>	<i>ǧīnaʔ</i>	<i>ǧītu</i>

(59)		(83)	
sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>ǧā_#</i>	<i>ǧawʔ</i>	<i>ǧāʔ</i>
3rd f.	<i>ǧāt</i>	<i>ǧēn</i>	<i>ǧāt</i>
2nd f.	<i>ǧīti</i>	<i>ǧītēn</i>	<i>ǧītīʔ</i>
2nd m.	<i>ǧīt</i>	<i>ǧītu</i>	<i>ǧīta</i>
1st c.	<i>ǧīt</i>	<i>ǧīnāʔ</i>	<i>ǧīt</i>

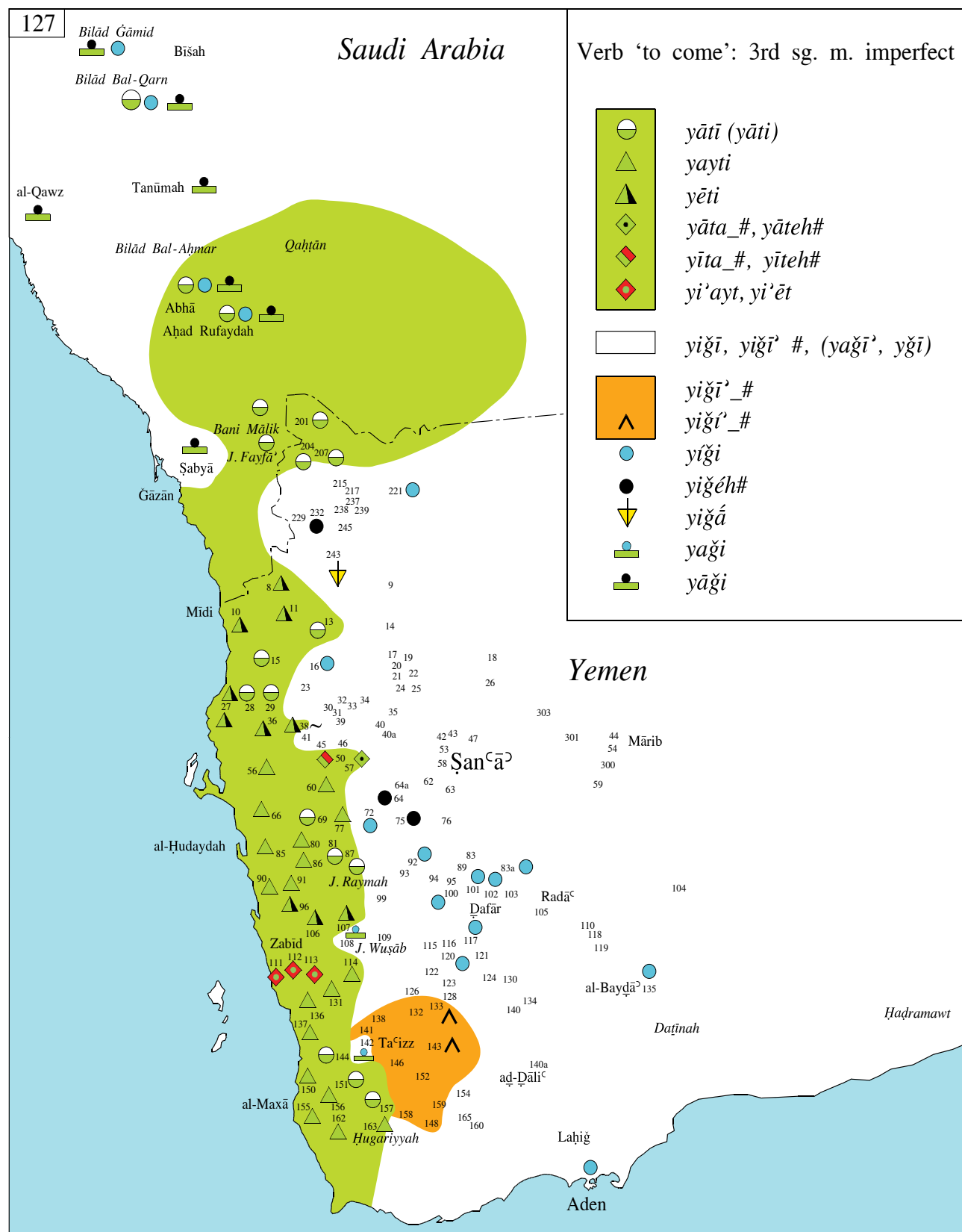
(217, 245)		(239)	
sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>ǧāʔ</i>	<i>ǧāyū</i>	<i>ǧāy</i>
3rd f.	<i>ǧāyat</i>	<i>ǧāyū</i>	<i>ǧāyat</i>
2nd f.	<i>ǧītī</i>	<i>ǧītū</i>	<i>ǧītī</i>
2nd m.	<i>ǧīt</i>	<i>ǧītū</i>	<i>ǧītū</i>
1st c.	<i>ǧīt</i>	<i>ǧīnā</i>	<i>ǧīt</i>

(142)		(141)	
sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>'aga'</i>	<i>'aga'u</i>	<i>'aga'u</i>
3rd f.	<i>'aga'at</i>	<i>'aga'ēn</i>	<i>'aga'ah_#</i>
2nd f.	<i>'agayti</i>	<i>'agaytēn</i>	<i>'agēti</i>
2nd m.	<i>'agayt</i>	<i>'agaytum</i>	<i>'agēti</i>
1st c.	<i>'agaytu</i>	<i>'agayna'#</i>	<i>'agēti</i>

(50a)		(30)	
sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>ǵā'#</i>	<i>ǵaw'#</i>	<i>ǵā'#</i>
3rd f.	<i>ǵit</i>	<i>ǵay'n#</i>	<i>ǵin</i>
2nd f.	<i>ǵiki</i>	<i>ǵikinneh</i>	<i>ǵiti</i>
2nd m.	<i>ǵik</i>	<i>ǵikum</i>	<i>ǵitū</i>
1st c.	<i>ǵūk</i>	<i>ǵīnā'#</i>	<i>ǵit</i>

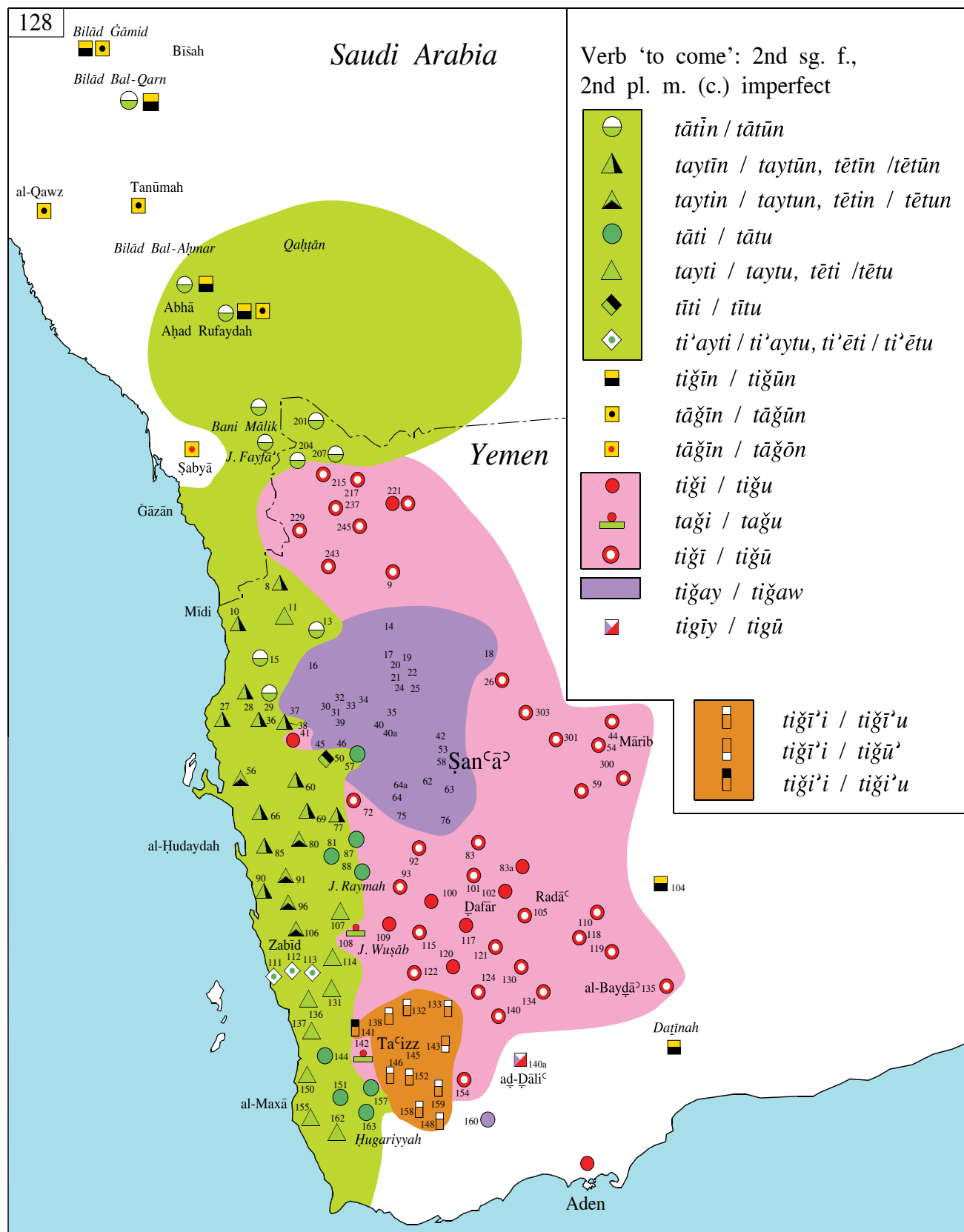
(120)		(148)	
sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>jā'</i>	<i>jā'u</i>	<i>gā</i>
3rd f.	<i>jā'ah</i>	<i>jā'ayn</i>	<i>gā'ah</i>
2nd f.	<i>jīš</i>	<i>jīkēn</i>	<i>gi'ki</i>
2nd m.	<i>jīk</i>	<i>jīkum</i>	<i>gi'ku</i>
1st c.	<i>jūk</i>	<i>jīna'#</i>	<i>gi'ku</i>

(126)		(133)	
sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>gā, ge'#</i>	<i>gā'u</i>	<i>gā'</i>
3rd f.	<i>gā'ah</i>	<i>gā'ēn</i>	<i>ǵā'ah</i>
2nd f.	<i>giki</i>	<i>gikēn</i>	<i>gi'ki</i>
2nd m.	<i>gīk</i>	<i>gīkum</i>	<i>ga'k</i>
1st c.	<i>gūku</i>	<i>gīna</i>	<i>gu'k</i>



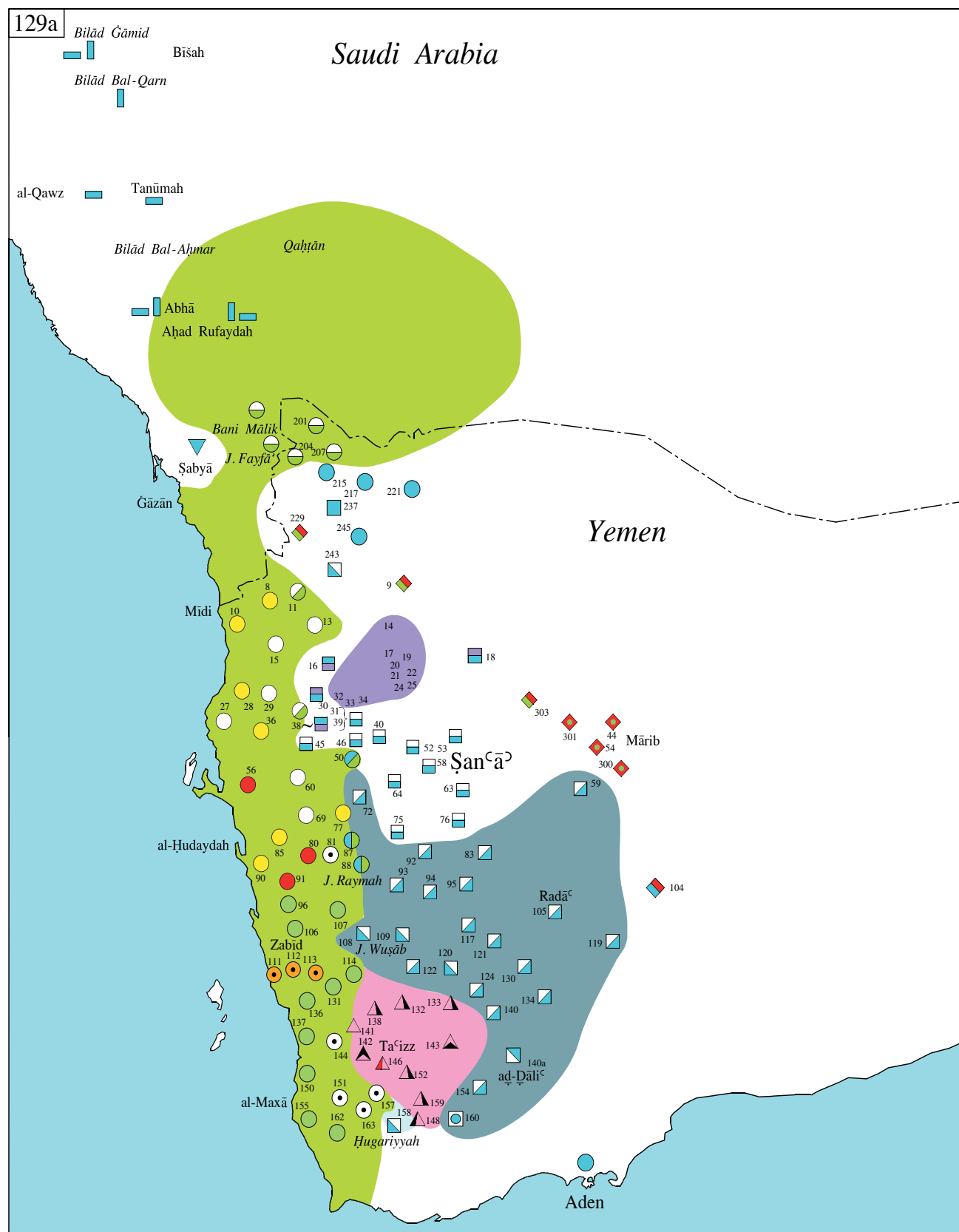
127 Verb ‘to come’: 3rd sg. m. imperfect

- Point 38 on original map 110 *yīgī*, 2nd survey: *yayti*. Point 142 *yīgī* on map, to be corrected to *yagi*. /ǧ/ only in the key. Point 108 on original map 110: *yāti* to be corrected to *yaji* (/j/: palatal plosive), with future prefix *šiji*.
- Saudi Arabia PRC-1:108 *yīgī* Rufaydah, Abha, Bal-Qarn, *yīyi* Rufaydah, Bal-Qarn, *yāyi* Rufaydah, Tanūmah, Bal-Qarn, *yāji* Abha, Qawz, Šabyā, *yīži* Ġāmid, *yāži* Ġāmid.
- *yāti*: Qahabah, Rufaydah, Abha, Bal-Qarn (p. 104). J. Fayfā’ *yāti*.
- Yemen/north DGS 50/51: im-Ṭalḥ (217), Sāgēn (245), Ša’dah (237), Rāziḥ (229) *yīgī*, Wāsiṭ (221) *yīgī*; Ġubar (243) *yīgī*; ‘atā, *yāti* Minabbih (204), Xāšir (207), ‘Abādil (201).
- Northeast 44 *yaji*#, 301 fut. *bāyǧī*, 54 fut. *bāyjī*, 300, 303, fut *bāyjī*.
- Radā’ HUI 119 *yīgī*, DIEM 56 *yīgī*. Baraddūn BET 140 *yīgī*. Manāxah WRB 409 *yīgī*.
- South/ ad-Ḍālī’ VAN-1:190 *ygi*; Laḥiḡ *yigī* FOD 54; Daṭīnah LAN-1:328 *tiǧī* _#, *yīgīlak*. Ḥaḍramawt *yǧī* ~ *iyī* (WAD).
- The forms found in the Tihāmah of the type *yayti*, *yēti*, *yīta*, *yīayt* are probably to be explained in accordance with the imperatives ‘*itah*, ‘*ēti* etc. Cf. commentary ‘come!’



128 Verb ‘to come’: 2nd sg. f., 2nd pl. m. (c.) imperfect

- Saudi Arabia PRC-1:104 *tātīn* – pl. c. *tātūn* Rufaydah, Abha, Bal-Qarn; *tiġīn* Rufaydah, Abha, Bal-Qarn, *tiyīn* Rufaydah, *tāġīn* Abha, Qawz, Šabyā; *tižīn* Ġāmid, *tāyīn* Rufaydah, Tanūmah, *tāġīn* Abha, Qawz, Šabyā; *tāžīn* Ġāmid; *tiġūn* Rufaydah, Abha, Bal-Qarn, *tiyūn* Rufaydah, *tāyūn* Rufaydah, Tanūmah, *tāġūn* Abha, Qawz, *tižūn* Ġāmid, *tāžūn* Ġāmid, *tāġōn* Šabyā, J. Fayfā’ *tātīn* – *tātūn*.
- Yemen/north DGS 50–51: ‘Abādīl (201), Minabbih (204), Xāšīr (207) *tātīn* – *tātūn*; Wāsiṭ (221), Rāziḥ (229), Ġubar (243) *tiġī* – *tiġū*; Wāsiṭ (221) ~ *tiġī* – *tiġū*; Ša’dah (237) *tiġī* – *tiġáw*.
- Point 108 *tagi* – *tagu*. On original map 111 included with type *tiġī* – *tiġū*.
- Northeast: 301 *batġī*, *bātġū*, 54 *batġī*, *bātiġū*; 300, 303 *bātġī*, *bātġū*; 300 *batġī*, *bātġū*.
- Baraddūn BET 140 only *yiġī*, *yiġū*. Manāxah WRB 130 *tiġī* – *tiġū*.
- South/ad-Ḍāli’ VAN-1:190 *tigīy* – *tigū*.



129a–b Verb 'to come': 3rd pl. m.+f. imperfect

129b

Verb 'to come': 3rd pl. m.+f. imperfect

	<i>yātūn / yatīna</i>		<i>yağūn</i>
	<i>yētu / yētina</i>		<i>yiğūn</i>
	<i>yātu / yātayn</i>		<i>yağōn</i>
	<i>yītu / yītayn</i>		<i>yiğū (yiğū)</i>
	<i>yātūn c.</i>		
	<i>yaytūn c.</i>		<i>yiğī'u / yiğī'ēn</i>
	<i>yaytun c.</i>		<i>yiğī'u / yiğēn</i>
	<i>yaytu c.</i>		<i>yiğī'ūn / yiğī'ēn</i>
	<i>yātu c.</i>		<i>yiğū'u / yiğī'ēn</i>
	<i>yi'ētu (yi'aytu) c.</i>		<i>yağī'u / yağēn</i>
			<i>yağū'u</i>
	<i>yiğaw / yiğayna</i>		
	<i>yiğaw / yiğīna</i>		
	<i>yiğū / yiğīna</i>		
	<i>yağaw / yağiyayn</i>		
	<i>yiğaw / yiğayn</i>		
	<i>yiğaw c.</i>		
	<i>yiğū / yiğayn</i>		
	<i>yiğū / yiğēn</i>		
	<i>yğū / yğēn</i>		
	<i>yiğūn / yiğan</i>		
	<i>y(i)ğū / y(i)ğan</i>		
	<i>y(i)ğū / y(i)ğīn</i>		

129 Verb ‘to come’: 3rd pl. m.+f. imperfect

– Saudi Arabia PRC-1:104: *yātūn* Rufaydah, Abha, Bal-Qarn; pl. f. *yātīna* Qahabah; *yīḡūn* Rufaydah, Abha, Bal-Qarn; *yīyūn* Rufaydah; *yajūn* Rufaydah, Tanūmah, *yājūn* Abha, Qawz, *yayūn* Rufaydah, Tanūmah, *yīžūn* ~ *yāžūn* – *yīžīna* ~ *yāžīna* Ġāmid, *yāḡōn* Šabyā. *yāḡūn* with /ā/ can probably be explained as approximation to *yātūn*. Jabal Fayfā’ *yātūn* – *yātīna*.

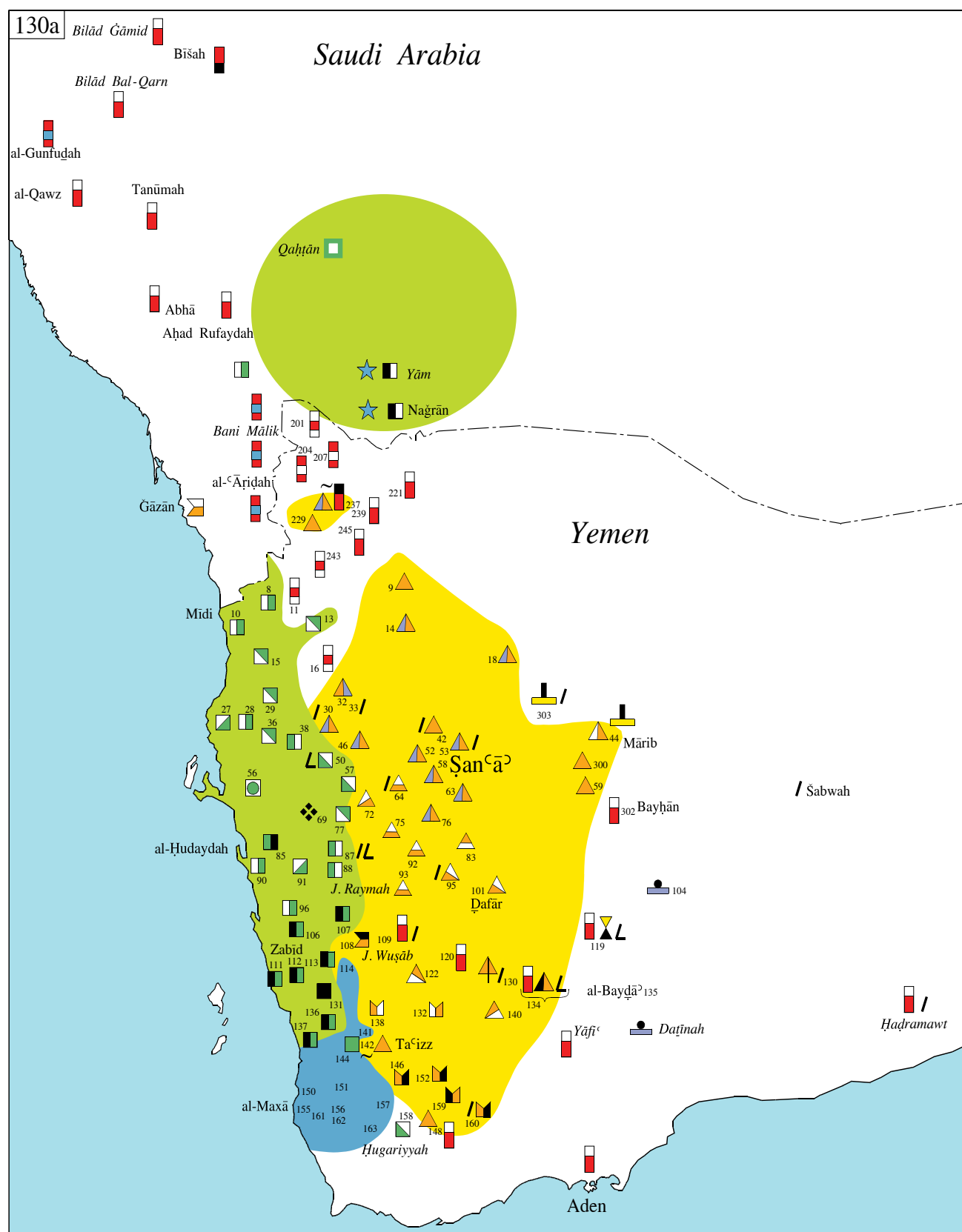
– Yemen/north DGS 50–51 Minabbih (204), Xāšir (207), ‘Abādil (201) *yātūn* – *yātīna*; Ġubar (243) *yīḡū* – *yīḡēn*;

Rāziḥ (229) *yīḡū* – *yīḡūn*; im-Ṭalḥ (217), Sāḡēn (245) *yīḡū* pl. c.; Wāsiṭ (221) *yīḡu* pl. c.; Ša’dah (237) *yīḡāw* pl. c.

– Northeast 44 *yīḡū*’ – *yīḡan*; 301 *yjū*’ – *yjan*, 44b *yīḡū*’ – *yīḡan*; 303 *bāyjū*’ – *bāyjin*: 300 Banī Ḍabyān *yīḡū*’ – *yīḡan*.

– Manāxah WRB 130 only has imperfect suffixes -ū, -eyn, -ann, consequently *yīḡū* – *yīḡayn*. Radā’ HUI 119 *yīḡū* – *yīḡeyn*.

– South/aḍ-Ḍālī’ VAN-1:190 *ygū* – *ygēn*.



130a–b Verb 'to come': imperative sg. m.+f.

130b

Verb 'to come': imperative sg. m.+f.

	<i>ta'āl / ta'ālī</i>		<i>ǧī('), ǧī('), ǧī m.+f.</i>
	<i>it'āl / it'ālī</i>		<i>'iǧī' m.+f.</i>
	<i>ta'āl / ta'ālay</i>		<i>ǧī / ǧī</i>
	<i>ta'āla(h) / ta'ālī</i>		<i>ǧī' / ǧīy</i>
	<i>ta'ā / ta'āy</i>		<i>ǧī' / ǧī</i>
	<i>ta'ā /</i>		<i>ǧe' / ǧī</i>
	<i>duwēnak / duweniš</i>		<i>ǧih / ǧī'</i>
	<i>is'ah / is'ay</i>		<i>ǧeh / ǧī'</i>
	<i>ilhāg / ilhāgī</i>		<i>ǧī' / ǧīy</i>
	<i>hālak / hālik</i>		<i>ǧī' / ǧay</i>
	<i>hālam /</i>		<i>ǧī' / ǧay</i>
	<i>'aytah ('ayteh) / 'ayti</i>		<i>ǧa' / ǧī'</i>
	<i>'ētah ('ēteh) / 'ēti</i>		<i>ǧī' / ǧī'i</i>
	<i>'aytah / 'īti</i>		<i>ǧe' / ǧī'i</i>
	<i>'ītah / 'īti</i>		<i>'iǧe / ('i)ǧī'i</i>
	<i>'itáh ('itéh) / 'ití</i>		<i>'iǧe' / 'iǧī'</i>
	<i>'itéh / 'aytī ~ tí</i>		<i>'ēǧe' / 'iǧī</i>
	<i>'ayt / 'ayti</i>		<i>'ēǧah /</i>
	<i>'ēt / 'ēti</i>		
	<i>'ēt /</i>		
	<i>'ati m.+f.</i>		
	<i>'at /</i>		
	<i>'ēti m.+f.</i>		
	<i>hētah / hīti</i>		
	<i>/</i>		
	<i>sīr / sīri</i>		
	<i>sīr / sīri</i>		

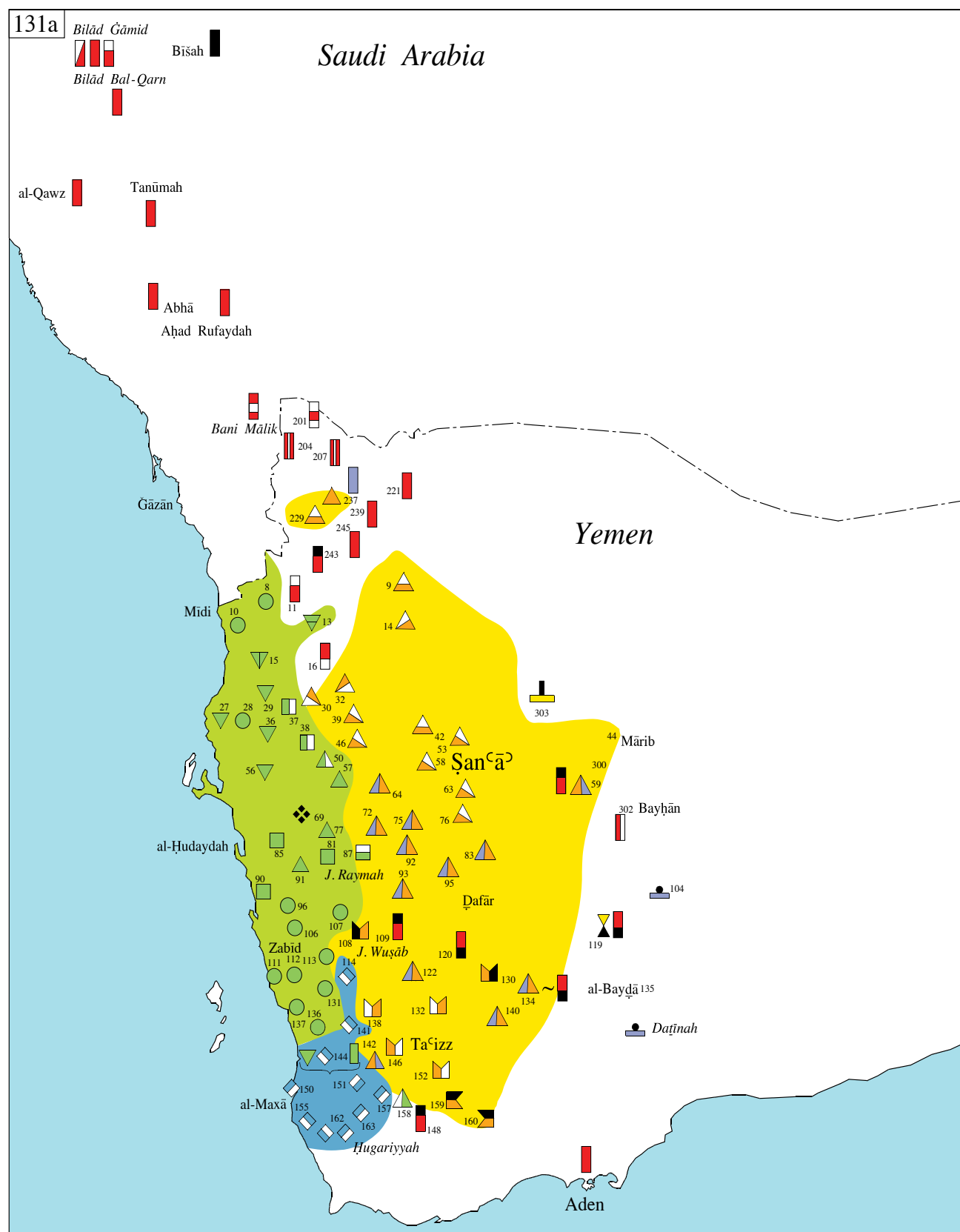
- Symbol for point 69 on original map 113 is not in the key. To be deleted from the map. Noted only *hētah* / *hūtiḡ* which are represented by the symbol ‘small box with black circle’. On the new map the symbol is a black diamond made up out of four smaller diamonds.
- On the original map 113 point 152 is marked as *’iḡe’* / *ḡiṛ’in*, according to JG *’iḡe’* / *’iḡiṛi*. The *-n* is mistaken for *-ḡ*, according to questionnaire: *’iḡe’* / *(i)ḡiṛiḡ*. As I have mentioned before, on the maps */ḡ/* represents all the various reflexes of **g*.
- The same confusion occurred at point 160 with *’iḡe’* / *’iḡiṛ’in*; read: *’iḡe’* / *’iḡiṛiḡ*.
- At point 38 the original map 113 has *’aytah* / *’ayti*. A second questionnaire adds *’ayteh* / *’ayti*.
- Yemen/north DGS 52 *ta’āl* / *ta’ālī* Sāgēn (245), Wāsīt (221), Ġurāz (239); Ṣa’dah (237) *it’āl* / *it’ālī*; Ġubar (243) *ta’ālah* / *ta’ālī*; Rāziḡ (229) *jī* m.+f.
- No data in HUI, HEN, and BET for Radā’, Kawkabān and Baraddūn.
- Manāxah WRB 409 *ḡi* / *ḡī*. Northeast point 303 *ilḡāḡ* *ilḡāḡī*! *ilḡagū!* *ilḡagan!*; point 300 *ḡī* ~ *ḡeh!* / *ḡī*. *ilḡāḡ!* seems to be used only in an immediately present context (‘come to me, come here’) and not in a sense like ‘come next week’.
- Aden *agi* (GHA 123), no data in VAN-1 for aḡ-Ḍālī’.
- Daṭīnah LAN-1:892/93: *duwēnak* / *duwēniš* ‘surtout courant dans le Sud . . . me fut expliqué par *ta’āl*, mot qui n’est pas très courant dans le Sud’. In more detail WAD III:94.
- According to WAD III map. 324a p. 91 imperative forms directly from the root *ḡy* (‘ty) are only used in West Yemen and in the Maghreb; all other Arabic dialects use suppletive forms.
- Concerning other forms on the map see excerpt from commentary WAD III:92:

‘Forms of *√ty*: the hortative particle of cl. Ar. *hayta*, *hayti*, *haytu* ‘come here!’ with variant *hīta*, *hīti*, *hītu* (WRI I 294 D), Quranic *hayta* “particle expressing adhortation (12/23: *hayta laka* ‘come here to me’)” or admonition (AMB 331), is recalled by *’itah*, *’ēti* etc. in the Yemeni Tihāmāh . . . also “*it* courant dans le Yéman” (LAN-1 62) . . . For Zabīd the questionnaire has *’ēti*, JG has *’ēt*. Along the sea shore forms of this kind barely extend into Saudi Arabia; only one documented instance (internet) of *’ētah* (‘*aytah*). However Yām and Qaḡtān “According to Bkhētān, the verb is more commonly used by Ḡaḡtān and Yām, as in *at bi-š-šāy* ‘bring the tea!’ . . . *ētin bi-darbi* ‘come, ladies, and wait here for me’ (KUR-1)”

WAD III:94 ‘Abha *ta’āl* (questionnaire), Riḡāl Alma’ *ta’āl* (questionnaire), ar-Rayṭ, Banī Mālīk, al-‘Āriḡah ‘Abādīl, Gunfuḡah *ta’ā* (internet); neighbouring northwest Yemen in part with short forms such as *ta’a* (im-Maḡḡah, Xāšīr), in part with long forms like *it’āl* (Ṣa’dah). Another concentration in the southern plateau: Ḍafār questionnaire *ḡī* ~ *ta’āl*, Yāfi’ *ta’āl* (VAN-10:265). According to Landberg *ta’āl* “mot qui n’est pas très employé dans le sud” (see above). Ḥaḡramawt questionnaire, however, has *t’āl*, and Aden *ta’āl*, too (GHA, STA 33).

WAD III:95 ‘. . . from the southern Yemeni Tihāmāh, i.e. *hālak*, *hālīk*, *hālūkūn* ~ *hālākūm* etc. They recall cl. Ar. *halumma*, *haytu laka*. Further Saudi Arabia/Naḡrān/Yām *halam* ~ *halumma* as in cl. Ar.; Yemen/Ḥuḡariyyah *hālam* ~ *halumm* “(come) here!” (JG).

P. 95 ‘Forms of *sār* ‘to go’ in Yemen *sīrī yā tīyeh* “come here, you there (sg. f.)!” (JG 303), masc. *sīr yā dīyeh*, Ṣabwah *sīr* (internet), *sīr hīna* Ḥaḡramawt (internet), *sīr*, *sīrū* (JG 30, 33, 42, 53, 64, 87, 95, 109, 130, 160) *sīr*, *sīrū* (JG 50b, 87, 119, 134), Aden *sīr* “go!”, *sīrī* “(fem.) imp. go” (STA 73b). In PIA 241a *sīr* “imperative denoting cohortative: let’s . . .!”



131a-b Verb 'to come': imperative pl. m.+f.

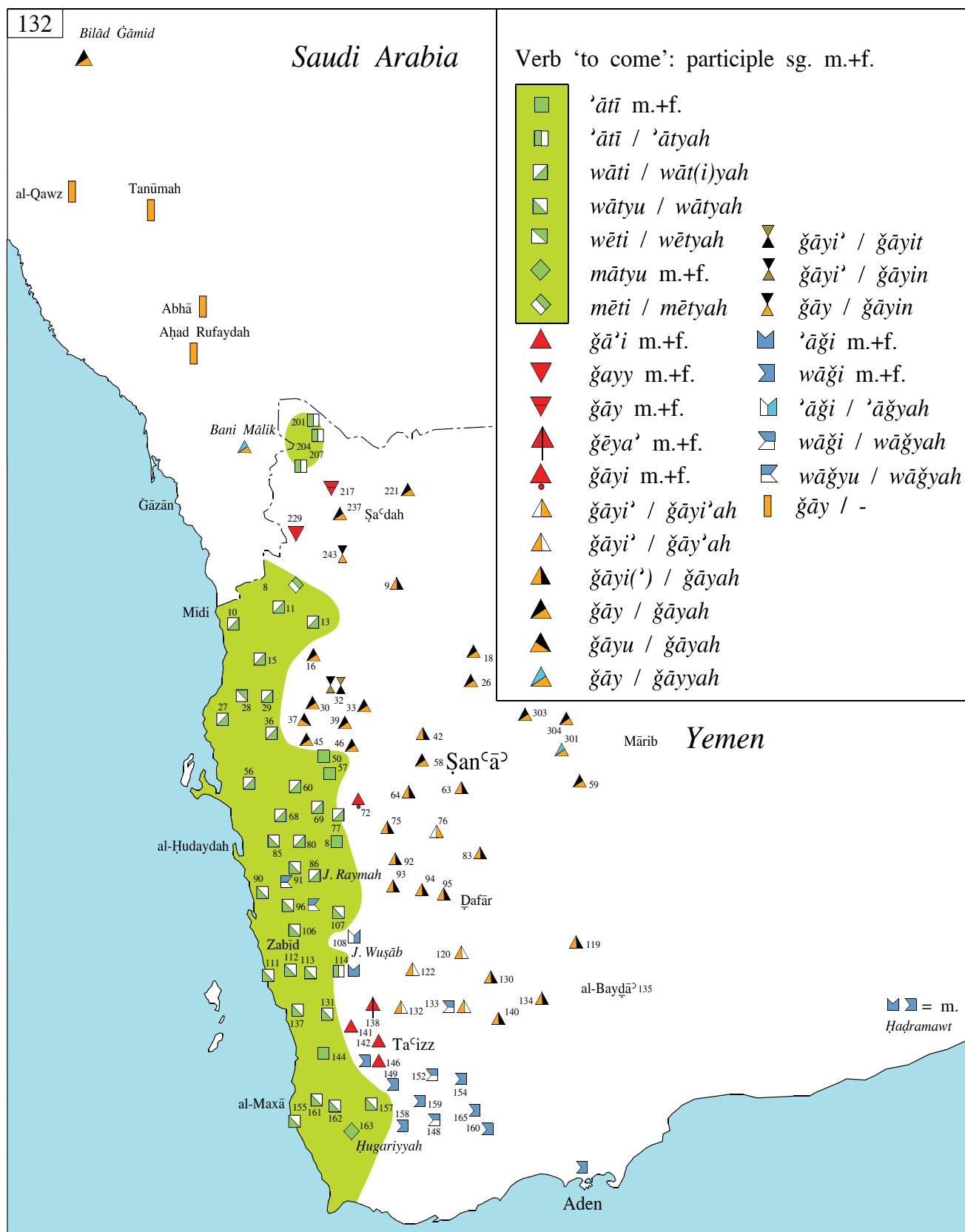
131b

Verb 'to come': imperative pl. m.+f.

	<i>ta'ālū</i> m.+f.		<i>'aytu</i> m.+f.
	<i>ta'ālaw</i> m.+f.		<i>'ētu</i> m.+f.
	<i>it'ālaw</i> m.+f.		<i>'ītu</i> m.+f.
	<i>ta'ālū</i> / <i>ta'alnah</i> (<i>ta'alneh</i>)		<i>'itu</i> m.+f.
	<i>ta'ālū</i> / <i>ta'annah</i>		<i>'itōh</i> m.+f.
	<i>ta'ālaw</i> / <i>ta'ālayneh</i>		<i>'itūw</i> m.+f.
	<i>ta'ālu</i> / <i>ta'ālaynah</i>		<i>'atu</i> m.+f.
	<i>ta'ālu</i> / <i>ta'alēn</i>		<i>'aytu</i> / <i>'aytinneh</i>
	<i>ta'ālu</i> / <i>ta'ālayn</i>		<i>'aytu</i> / <i>'aytayn</i>
	<i>ta'ālu</i> / <i>ta'alīnah</i>		<i>'ītu</i> / <i>'ītayn</i>
	<i>ta'ālū</i> / <i>ta'ālan</i>		<i>'ītu</i> / <i>'ītiyayn</i>
	<i>ta'aw</i> / <i>ta'ayna</i>		
	<i>duwēnkum</i> / <i>duwēnkan</i>		<i>hāl(a)kum</i> m.+f.
	<i>is'aw</i> / <i>is'ēn</i>		<i>hāl(u)kun</i> m.+f.
	<i>ilhagū</i> / <i>ilhagan</i>		<i>hālukūn</i> m.+f.
			<i>hālkōn</i> m.+f.
	<i>ğaw</i> m.+f.		
	<i>ğaw</i> / <i>ğayni</i>		
	<i>ğaw</i> / <i>ğayn</i>		
	<i>ğaw</i> / <i>ğīneh</i>		
	<i>ğaw</i> / <i>ğīn</i>		
	<i>ğū</i> / <i>ğin</i>		
	<i>ğū</i> / <i>ğayn</i>		
	<i>ğū</i> / <i>ğēn</i>		
	<i>ğī'u</i> / <i>ğī'ēn</i>		
	<i>'iğī'u</i> / <i>'iğī'ēn</i>		
	<i>'iğū</i> / <i>'iğayn</i>		
	<i>'iğū</i> / <i>'iğēn</i>		
	<i>'iğu</i> / <i>'iği'ayn</i>		
	<i>'iğaw</i> / <i>'iğiayn</i>		

131 Verb ‘to come’: imperative pl. m.+f.

- The individual forms do not require a separate commentary as they have already been discussed.
- Point 108 on original map 114, circle with triangle = *’iğun*. Should read -*η* (pausal) instead of -*n*.
- The forms *ğū – ġayn*; *ğūw – ġayn*; *ğuw – ġayn*; *ğū’ – ġayn*; *ğū’ – ġayn* of original map are now all included in the type *ğū / ġayn*, as they are clearly only variant pausal realisations of the masculine. Also Manāxah WRB 127 *ğū – ġeyn*.
- Now merged in one type: *ğū’ – ġin*; *ğūw – ġin*, *ğū – ġinn* as *ğū / ġin*.
- Yemen/north: Minabbih, Xāšir *ta’aw – ta’ayna*; *ta’ālū* pl. c. Sāgēn, Wāsiṭ, Ġurāz; Ṣa’dah *it’ālaw*, Ġubar *ta’ālū – ta’ālēn*; Rāziḥ *jū’ – ġin*.
- Saudi Arabia Prochazka 1988:108 *ta’ālu – ta’ālaynah* Qahabah; *ta’ālu – ta’alna ~ ta’ālu – ta’alīnah* Ġāmid; *ta’ālaw* Bīšah; *ta’ālu* Rufaydah, Abha, Tanūmah, Bal-Qarn, Ġāmid, Qawz.



– The forms on original map 115 had no commentary.

– Forms with initial *m-* *mātyu* (point 163), *mēti*, f. *mētyah*, pl. *mētyīn* (point 8) were exchanged in JG: JG has *mātyu* as (definite) *māti* at point 8, and conversely *mēti* at point 163. A feminine **mātyah* was rejected at point 163, only the common gender form is used. Cf. map 34. Initial *m-* remains to be explained; it is most probably approximation to other participles with initial *m-*, known especially from Bedouin Arabic, forms such as *māxiḍ* ‘having taken’, *mākil* ‘having eaten’. Cf. SA map 175. GRI 167 has a total of four forms for Tripoli, namely *ākel*, *yākel*, *mākel*, *wākel*. Cf. also Egyptian Arabic *wākil*, *wāxid* and *mākil*, *māxid* BW map 264. JG has no documented participle forms for $\sqrt{kl}$ and $\sqrt{xd}$ (the latter rare in any case). WRB 356 has *ākilī* for Manāxah, RO-S 32 *ākil* for Ṣan‘ā’. Cf. also GvG 590 n., according to which the origin of *m-* in *mākil*, *māxid* is unclear and influence of the passive participle unlikely as there is no model. ‘Pour moi l’origine n’en est pas obscure, comme le pense Brockelmann 1212.’ (LAN-1:329). But Landberg does not give a reason why.

– As for forms with initial *w-*, these occur more frequently.

– As forms of the type *ʾagā* were explained earlier as hybrids of **gāʾa* and *ʾatā*, the participle forms are correspondingly *ʾāǧi*, or with *w-* *wāǧi*, *wāǧyu*. S. v. ‘coming’ STACE 84 has (written in Arabic) *wāǧi*, *wāṣil*, *wārid*, *āti*, *gāy*, ‘he is coming’ *hū* (*huwa*) *wāǧi*.

– We must emphasise the forms *ǧāyit* and *ǧāyīn* sg. f. at and around point 32 which adopted *-t* or *-n* from the 3rd sg. perfect: *katabat*, *kataban*. At point 243 (Ġubar) *ǧāy* m. – *ǧāyīn* f. was documented in retrospect.

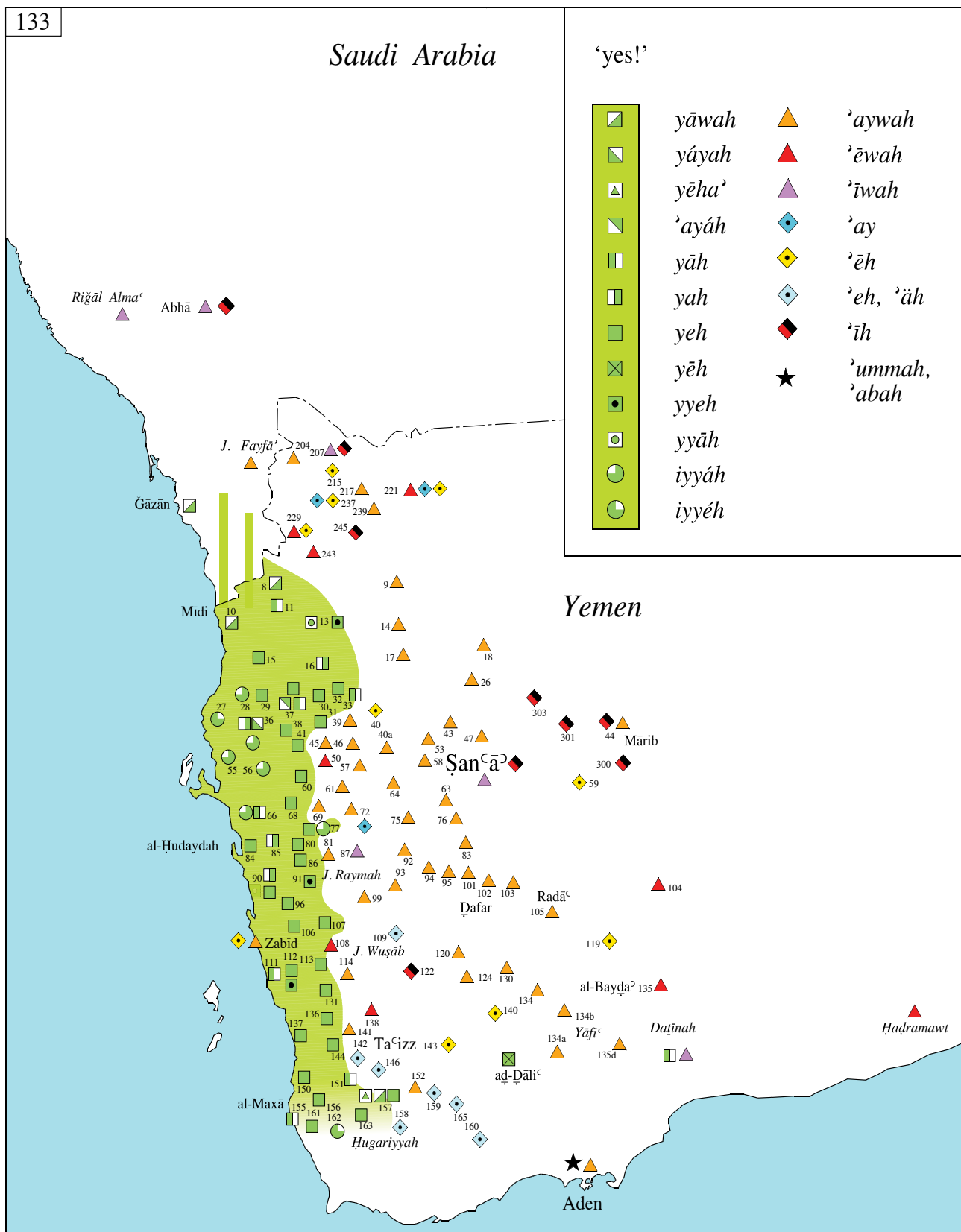
– Saudi Arabia PRC-1:190 *ǧāy* – *ǧāyyah* Qahabah, *ǧāy* Rufaydah, Abha, Qawz, *yāy* Rufaydah, Tanūmah, *žāy* – *žāyah* Ġāmid.

– Yemen/north: DGS 51 *ǧāyy* as common gender form 217, 229; *ǧāy* – *ǧāyah* 237; Minabbih p. 201 *āti* m. f., *ʾātyah* f

– At point 146 according to JG *ʾāǧi* ~ *gāʾi*, *ʾāgyah* ~ *gāyʾah*, *ʾāgyīn* ~ *gāyʾīn*, *ʾāgyāt* ~ *gāyʾāt*, also *wāǧī* according to JG; point 159 *wāǧī* m.+f., point 152 *wāǧi* – *wāgyah*, Manāxah *ǧāyi* independent of gender WRB 127, point 142 only *gāʾi* documented. DIEM 125 mentions only *wāǧi* for Ḥugariyyah, with reference to LAN-1:329 according to which this form is also found in Ḥaḍramawt. Not in ALS.

Lexicon

∴



133 'yes!'

– No commentary on the various forms (original map 116). Only forms are discussed which are the reply to a question, not those which respond to a call. Cf. AZR-2:137 with forms like *na'am*, *hāh*, *labbēh*, *aywah*, 'response to a call', *ṭwah*, *ṭh* 'response to a question', *tamm*, *ṭayyib* 'response to a request', *illā* 'in response to a negative question, comparable to French *si* or German *doch*'.

– Yemen/north DGS 231 *aywah* im-Ṭalḥ (217), Majz (215); *eywah* Ġurāz (239); *ḗwah* Ġubar (243), Rāziḥ (229), Wāsiṭ (221); *ṭwah* Xāšir (207), *eyh* Ša'dah (237), Wāsiṭ (221), *ḗh* Ša'dah (237), Wāsiṭ (221), Majz (215), Rāziḥ (229), *eh* Xāšir (207); *ṭh* Sāgēn (245), Xāšir (207).

– Manāxah WRB 367 *aywa* 'gelegentlich kommt die Kurzform *ay* vor'. Radā' HUI 168 *aywa*, Ḍafār *aywah* (questionnaire), northeast: 44, 300, 301, 303 *ṭ* (JG). Kawkabān HEN 126 *aywa*. Šan'ā' *aywih* (questionnaire), in RO-S2:237 *ṭh*, *ḥwah*, *na'am*. p. 45 'Nel Yemen meridionale e occidentale si sente *ḥwa*. I *gabīli* esprimono l'affermazione anche con uno schiocco di lingua'. Zabīd questionnaire has *aywah* and *ḗ*, my own survey shows *yeh*.

– Aden *eiwa* (GHA glossary), *aywah* (my own data). Yāfi' *aywa* (VAN-6:249); aḏ-Ḍālī' *yēh* (VAN-1:196).

– Saudi Arabia/Ġāzān *yāwā* (internet), Riḡāl Alma', Abha *ṭwah* (questionnaire).

– LAN-1:127 *ṭwa* '... and the other forms 1178 *ay wallāhi* is certainly not the origin. In the Daṭīnah, *yāh*'. LAN-2:1178 *yāh*... *oui*, *ja* so common in our dialect would at first glance seem to be an abbreviation of {*yyāh*} a word with, as preposition, is frequently pronounced *yā*... An analogous interjection occurs in Algeria *eyh*, *eyyah*, *oui* Doutté TO p. 36 n. 204, and in Yemeni we have *ḥye*, *oui*, according to Glaser, Peterm. Mittheil. 1886 Heft p. 7, where we may need to read *ḥye*. However, as the dialects at Bilin [Dembea, Quara and Xamir] use *yawa*, *aya*, *iya*, *yāy*, *yāu*, *yô* = *oui*, *ja*, it is doubtful whether we are indeed looking at an abbreviated form of {*yyāh*}. It is not very likely that dialectal *aywa*, *eywa*, *ewa* (for *éwa*), *ḥwa*, *oui*, originated with {*ay wallāhi*}. Spitta, Gr. § 84¹ and Rašīd 'Atīyah, ed. Dalīl p. 28, support this etymology. I have already expressed doubts of it in my Prov. et Dict. p. 240, where I quoted

el-Xafāḡī, Šifā' p. 21, who reports Zamaxšarī's view according to whom the {*w*} in {*ṭwa*} is the {*wāw al-qasam*}. This is not admissible considering Ethiopian and Tigrinya {*wa*}, Tigre {*we*}, *oui*.² LES 47 has the forms Ge'ez *əwwa*, Tigre *ewā*, Tigrinya *əwā*, Amharic *awo*, *awon*. Leslau points to dialectal Arabic *aywa*, *ḗwa* and *awo* in Beja, *yāwa* in Bilin.

– Barthélemy derives Syrian *ḗ* 'yes' from cl. Ar. *ṭ*, concerning which LANE 131f. 'is a particle denoting a reply, meaning {*na'am*} [Yes, or yea]... Ibn-El-Ḥāḡib asserts that it occurs only after an interrogation; as in the saying [in the Qur. x. 54], {*wa yastanbi'ūnaka 'aḥaqqun huwa qul ṭ wa-rabbi*} [And they will ask thee to inform them, saying, Is it true? Say, Yea, by my Lord!]: but accord. to all, it does not occur otherwise than before an oath: and when one says, {*ṭ wallāhi*} [Yea, by God!]... It is a word preceding an oath, meaning *balā*... as in {*ṭ warabbī*} and {*ṭ wallāhi*}'.

– It is unlikely that the latter is the etymology underlying the forms specifically marked on the map in the Tihāmah. These are simple interjections like *ja!*, *yea!* in the Germanic languages, Dinka *ā* ~ *ey*, Wolof *wāw*, Egyptian and Palestinianian *ḡ* (SPI p. 70 *ā*, *āh*), Algerian *wāh*: Sudanese (Baggāra) *way*, *wayé*; *yyēh*, *ayyēh*, *yyēh*, *yyāh*, *yēh*, *yāh*! also occur in Moroccan Arabic (DEP 118), also p. 113 *ṭ* ~ *ṭ* 'oui!', certes! – *ṭ wu-llāhi* certes, par Dieu! [Co]'. It is not entirely clear why Landberg rejects *ay wallāhi* as the etymology of *aywa(h)*.

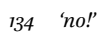
– For Aden, the questionnaire has *'ummah!* addressed to a woman, *'abah!* addressed to a man. GHA, STACE, and

2 ¹ *ṭwa*... et les autres formes 1178 *ay wallāhi* n'en est certainement pas l'origine. En Daṭīnah on dit aussi *yāh*'. LAN-2:1178 *yāh*... *oui*, *ja* si commun dans notre dialecte, paraît de prime abord être une abréviation de {*yyāh*} car ce mot, comme préposition, est souvent prononcé *yā*... Une interjection analogue existe en Algérie *eyh*, *eyyah*, *oui* Doutté TO p. 36 note 204, et le yéménite dit *ḥye*, *oui*, selon Glaser Peterm. Mittheil. 1886 Heft p. 7, où il faut peut-être lire *ḥye*. Pourtant, les idiomes bilin, dembea, quara et xamir ayant respectivement *yawa*, *aya*, *iya*, *yāy*, *yāu*, *yô* = *oui*, *ja*, l'abréviation de {*yyāh*} est discutable. Il est peu probable que le dialectal *aywa*, *eywa*, *ewa* (pour *éwa*), *ḥwa*, *oui*, provienne de {*ay wallāhi*}. Spitta, Gr. § 84, et Rašīd 'Atīyah, ed. Dalīl p. 28, sont pour cette étymologie, dont j'ai déjà douté dans mes Prov. et Dict. p. 240, où je cite el-Xafāḡī, Šifā' p. 21. Celui-ci rapporte l'opinion de Zamaxšarī, selon qui le {*w*}, dans {*ṭwa*}, serait le {*wāw al-qasam*}. Cela n'est pas admissible en présence de l'éthiop. et du tigrina {*wa*}, tigré {*we*}, *oui*'.

1 SPI p. 168 'ai "ja" ({*ṭ*}) Mufaṣṣ, 131, 2) kommt alleinstehend nicht vor, sondern stets in den Verbindungen: *ai na'am* "ja wohl!" und *ai wallāh* "ja bei Gott!", verkürzt in *aiwa*, das die gewöhnliche Form für "ja" ist'.

my own data only show *aywah*. The forms listed on the questionnaire may be interpreted as originally being ‘yes, mother!’, ‘yes, father!’.

– For Ḥaḍramawt the questionnaire has *marḥaba* ~ *marḥba*, which is actually closer to ‘with pleasure’, ‘you are welcome’. Subsequently *ēwah* (pc Abdullah al-Saqqaf).



– Saudi Arabia, Abha, Riḡāl Alma' *lā* (WAD questionnaire). From the internet: 'abā Tihāmāh, also as verbal negation 'abāyākul 'he does not eat'. Dialect of the Banī Ḥarīṣ (Jabal al-Ḥaṣr, Banī Mālik province) yābū; al-ʿAriḏah 'afā.

– Documented Yemen/north DGS glossary: *lōm* Xāšir (207), Sāgēn (245); *lowmah* Ġurāz (239); *la'* im-Ṭalḥ (217), Ġubar (243), Wāsiṭ (221), Ṣa'dah (237), Majz (215), Bani 'Abādil (201); *lā* Minabbih (204), Sāgēn (245); *la'* Wāsiṭ (221).

– Manāxah WRB 16 *mā šī*; Baraddūn *māšī* (BET 148 top of page); Radā' *māšī* (HUI 128); Mārib region points 44 ('Abīdeh), 54, 300 *la'*; point 44 *ma'*; point 301 *la'* ~ *lōm* ~ *lōm la'*; 303 *lōm*; 304 *lowm*. The latter compared with cl. Ar. *lawm* 'criticism' in JA 24 rather than interpreted as *lā* + *mā*. RO-N 463 mentions *lowm* 'a sud e se de Ṣan'ā'; nel paese di Ānis [point 83 surveyed in this region], nel Xawlān orientale, a Ḍamār; *lowma* nel paese di Ḥadā' [south of Ḍamār]. *lōmij* at point 16 is used only by women, men use *la'*.

– DIEM 26 *ma'* for dialects of the northern plateau (first mentioned for point 21), p. 46 *ma'* on the southern plateau.

– For Ta'izz, Mawza' and al-Maxā RO-APP 242, 261 has *dow*, *dāu*, elsewhere (RO-N 463) *lā* for al-Ḥudaydah and Ta'izz.

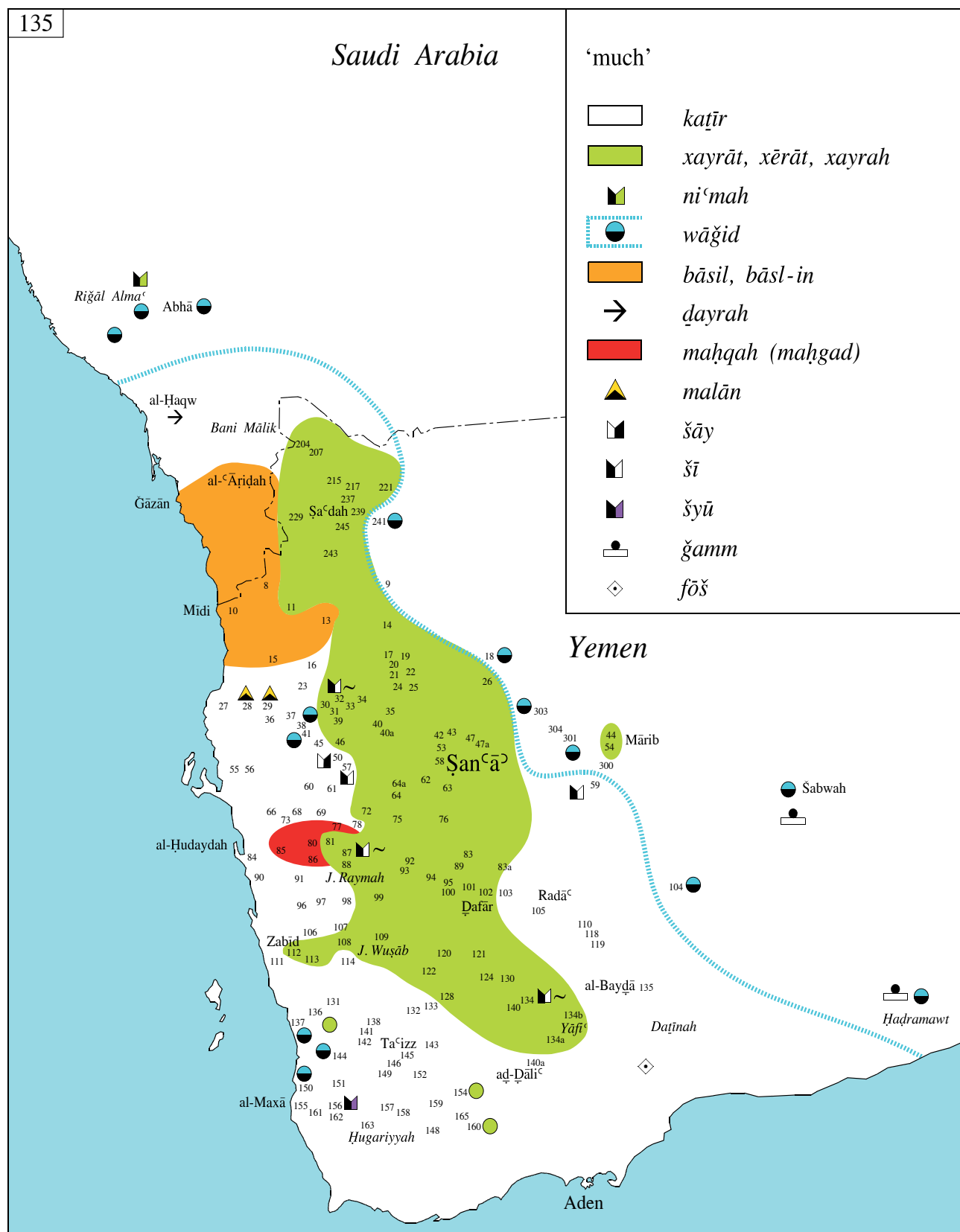
An internet source reports *dā* for Ta'izz. RO-APP 242 fn. 3 notes that *dow* was mentioned by mediaeval authors and according to Mordtmann and Mittwoch occurs in Sabaean. SD, after these authors, *d'* 'not'. Cf. also LAN-1:681 *dw* 'négation = *lā* dans le dialecte ḥimyarite', and LAN-2:417 'Dû dans la langue de certains Yémanites a le sens de *la'*', and further references in fn. 5. *inda* in J.Fayfā' is probably related, but used only by older people. The young generation uses *la'*.

– RO-APP 259 has *lā* and *lāš* at Jabal Raymah, the second form probably developed out of *lā šay'*. Al-'Udayn (126) *lā* DIEM 136.

– *lays* (< *laysa* 'to be not') is not inflected in the central Tihāmāh anymore, but used in the dual: *lēšēn!* 'twice no'; however 'aba' (pausal) as in 'abaw' 'they rejected, said no'.

– During early field work an obsolete *way'* was reported at point 150 ('anhayna way'). This is nothing but 'woe!'. Cf. also *wah!* at point 86 and in Jabal Raymah in Ribāṭ as-Sūq. Forms not on original map.

– Similar to 'abā in the Tihāmāh probably yābū and 'afā in the Ġāzān province. Related to /f/ in the latter cf. possibly 'uffān! 'woe!' (WA 1:98) and way' above.



The survey contained sample phrases such as ‘much money’, ‘a lot of rain’, ‘he smokes a lot’ and ‘he chews a lot of *qāt*’.

– *kaṭīr* is used as parallel or koine form even in places where other forms were mentioned. Documented in Saudi Arabia/Abha *kaṭīr marrah* ‘too much’ (AZR-2:43), *kiṭīrīn kalāmāh* ‘his talk is so much’ (AZR-2:69), questionnaire *kiṭīr*. Also Yemen/north DGS glossary points 204, 221, 239. In the Mārib region point 301 *kaṭīr*, 300 *kṭīr*; Radā’ *kaṭīr* (HUI 50. 150); Manāxah idem, ‘much, numerous, frequent’ (WRB 592); Laḥiḡ *kaṭīr* (FOD 67); South Yemen/Šu‘ēb idem (my own data); Aden *katīr* (GHA, WAD).

– *xayrāt*, *xērāt* according to M. Woidich MS ‘On intensifiers in Arabic dialects’ source domain ‘goods, commodities; boons, blessings’ with examples including Yemen/Šan‘ā’ *xayrāt* ‘gran quantità [huge quantity]’ [RO-S 231a], [WAT-1: 321], [RO-S 220b]; *xayrāt* = ‘very, much, plentiful’, ‘strongly’, [PIA 141a], *gadīh mablūlih xayrāt* ‘it has been soaking for a long time’ [WAT-1:329]; *al-amarkān kān xayrāt yixazzinū* ‘the Americans used to chew (*qāt*) a lot’ [WAT-1:330]. Also documented *xayrāt* in the North at points 204, 217, 229, 239, *xayrah* point 243, Mārib region *xayrāt* points 44, 54; also Ḍafār (questionnaire), Ibb (internet). Additions to original map 118 following JG at point 122, 124. For Yāfi’/al-Mufliḥi, Girba VAN-2:149 has *xērat* (sic!) ‘a lot’. Not documented for Daṭīnah in Landberg’s glossary. *xayrāt* is usually postpositive: *maṭar xayrāt*, *zalaṭ xayrāt* ‘much money’, *al-bint kaslah xayrāt* ‘the girl is very lazy’ (point 124).

– Similar etymology in *nī‘mah* ‘good deed’ Riḡāl Alma’ (questionnaire).

– *wāḡid* source domain ‘... the root *wjd* meaning ‘existing’ (in abundance)’. The root *wjd* conveys yet other meanings which appear often as source domains for intensifiers and quantifiers, i.e., “high grade of emotion” and “richness”, see for MSA “agitated, excited, upset, worried, in love with” [Wehr], class. “to love another passionately”, and *wjd* “to be moderately rich, to earn wealth”, *wāḡid* “rich, solvent; angry” [Hava]. In internet blogs from the Gulf area and Saudi Arabia it is equated with *maṭrah* and *hēl*, op. cit., is an eastern form in Yemen, documented east of the line in Ḥaḍramawt (questionnaire), Oman, Gulf etc. See WAD IV.

On original map 118 documented in some locations in the southern Tihāmah and the east of the country. Also: Saudi Arabia/Asīr *wāyid* (internet), *wāḡid* Tihāmah (internet), Riḡāl Alma’ (questionnaire), *wāḡid* Abha (questionnaire), Yemen/north al-Gābil *wāḡid* (DGS 310); al-Ġawf *wāḡid*, Mārib region point 301 also fem. *filūs* ~ *darāhim wāḡdeh* ‘much money’, Šabwah/Ḥaḍramawt *wāḡid* (inter-

net). *wāḡid* ‘beaucoup’ as described in LAN-1:2903 with references to 473/13, 1166/13 and Ḥḍr. p. 315,8 is not a form from the Daṭīnah but from Naḡd.

– *bāsil* northern Tihāmah extends further into Saudi Arabia into the Ġazān province as far as al-Āriḍah where it is *bāslīn* (internet, with tanwīn). No etymology given in JG. Elsewhere in Yemen ‘cooked without salt’, ‘disgusting’ (according to RO-S 204 ‘disgustoso’, as in cl. Ar.). Possibly linked to the latter; cf. German *stinkreich*, Span. *asquerosamente rico* ‘disgustingly rich’, ‘filthy rich’. Not only related to money as in ‘*induh filūs bāsil*’ ‘he has a lot of money’ (point 8), but also *kiltu bāsil* ‘I ate a lot’ (point 10). According to WA I another possibility arises from *bāsil* ‘with severe expression, awful; strong and opposite bland (drink); gruff; sour (milk)’. Cf. M. Woidich op. cit. ‘force, power, hardness’ as source domain. Cf. also the following.

– It is possible to interpret *dayrah* al-Ḥaqw/Ġazān (internet) in a similar way. WA I *da’ire* ‘something repellent’. Maybe also the following.

– RO-APP 242 has *maḥqah* for ‘Yemen meridionale’ as *maḥgad*. He obviously recorded this form at the locations ‘Ubāl (77) and Ḥajjayleh (78). My own survey records *maḥqah* in this area. No etymology in JG. *maḥag* means among other things ‘to break’, *mtaḥag* ‘to be ruined’. Cf. German *verdammt gut*, *elend gut* ‘damned good, terribly good’; *saumäßig* ‘very bad’, but *saumäßig gut* ~ *saugut* ‘very good’; Fr. *vachement* ‘like a cow’, Argot *vachement bien* ‘very good’. However, the forms *maḥqah* ~ *maḥgad* were not marked as slang; nor was *bāsil*.

– *malān*, actually ‘full’ as in *yīšrab malān* ‘he smokes a lot’, *yixazzin malān* ‘he chews a lot of *qāt*’, *yīs’al malān* ‘he asks a lot [of questions]’.

– *šī*, *šāy*, *šyū* are pre- or postpositive: *šī maṭar* ~ *maṭar šī* ‘much rain’, *šī buyūt* ‘many houses’. In other dialects *šī* means ‘some’, e.g. Morocco *šī ḥāža* ‘something’ or Yemen *tibōn šī qahwah?* ‘would you like some coffee?’. *šī* can also mean ‘there is’, cf. map 136 and *wāḡid* = *mawḡūd* according to Landberg loc. cit.

– Šabwah/Ḥaḍramawt *ḡamm* (internet), Ḥaḍramawt *yam* (internet), in ALS-C 82 ‘*addi ḡamm*’ ‘much money’. M. Woidich op. cit. ‘Source domain: “quantities of water that collects in a well or in the bottom of a boat.” See *ḡamm* “to become abundant [re. water of well after it has been drawn from]”; Negev/‘Azāmīh *ḡamm* “to become abundant [re. water of well] after it has been drawn from” (Shawarbah 396), Šammar idem (Sowayan 254)’.

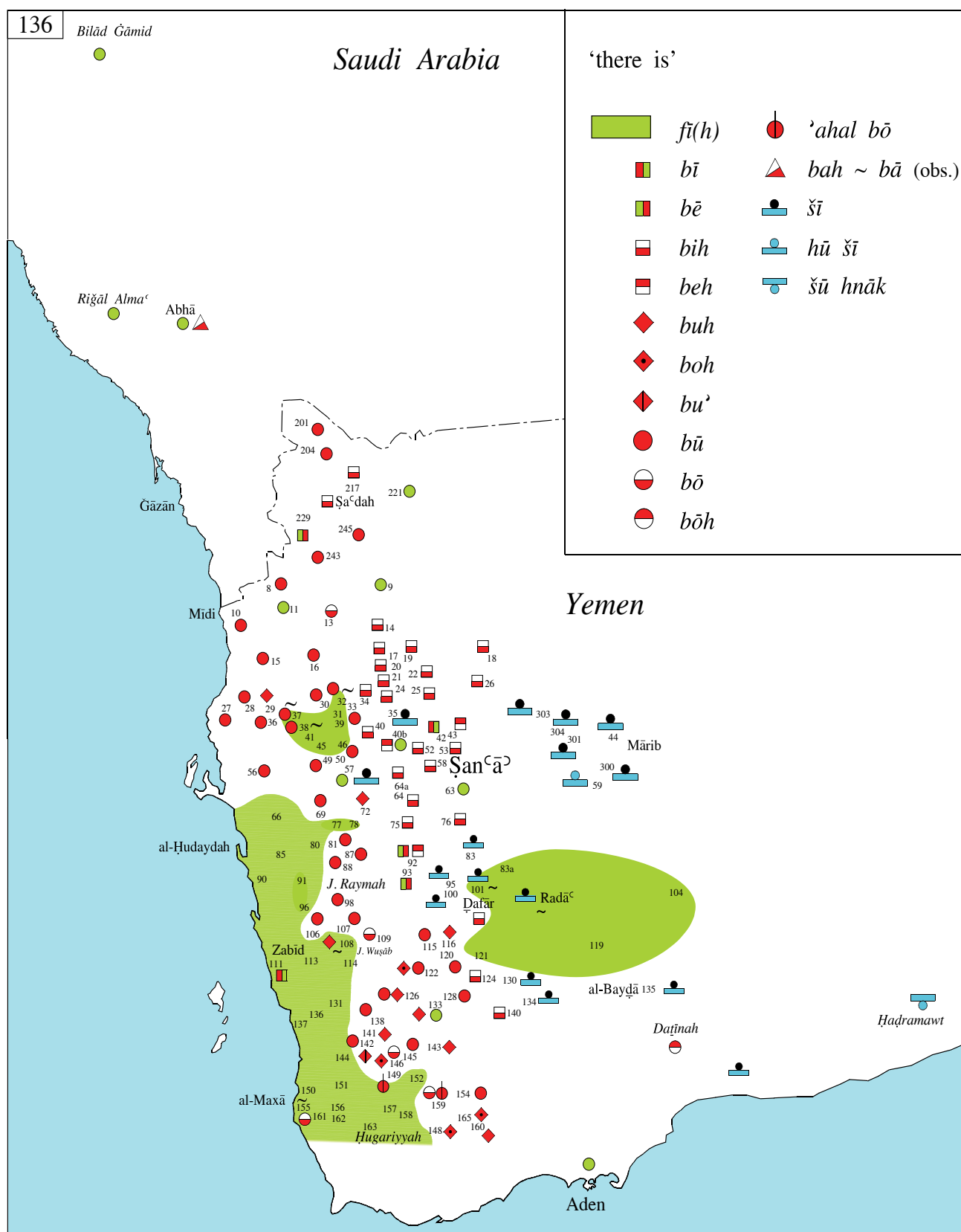
– *fōš* Bedouin (LAN-1:2443, quoting Stace), cf. loc. cit. *fāš* ‘bouillir, jusqu’à déborder’. Loc. cit. according to REI 264

kill šei fāiš lqynāh ‘alles in Überfluss fanden wir’, *fāš tṭama* ‘viele Beutestücke waren da’.

– Isolated *mülk*, actually ‘possession’, was surveyed only in context with ‘money’. In retrospect the question arises of whether it could be used in a sentence such as ‘he smokes a lot’. To be deleted from map.

– It is not possible to find further evidence of *zarīṭ* Saudi Arabia/Banī Mālik, Jabal ar-Rayṭ (internet). Neglected on map.

– *ḡuhdan* ‘much, often’ Saudi Arabia/‘Asīr (internet), actually ‘with effort’. The latter neglected on the map.



– Original map 119 turned out most unclear as positive and negative forms are represented together. This was not entirely unintentional as the negative form may differ from the positive one in its base lexeme or vocalism, not only by added *mā* or *mā* – š, such as *bū* ‘there is’, *mā šī* ‘there is not’ (point 41), or *šī* / *mā bišš* (points 94, 95). Cf. also Manāxah with *buh* / *mā biš* (WRB 369). Some forms can be explained as due to contact, e.g. at point 120 *bū* / *mā bušš* (and not *mā būš* like the rest of the area coloured yellow), which can be explained by proximity to the *mā bišš* area.

Map 119 has been disentangled and divided into two new maps.

– Saudi Arabia/Abha in AZR-2:104 *fīh*, older persons *bah* ~ *bā*. Riḡāl Alma‘ *fī* (questionnaire).

– Northeast Yemen reported mainly in the negative. 304 *šī* / *mā šī*, 300, 303, *mā* – *fīšš* 44b, 301 *mā ‘ād šī* ‘there is nothing (left)’, 44 *mā šī*, 54 *mā bišš*.

– Dafār *bih* (WAD FB), Baraddūn BET 146 *mā hū fīh* ‘non c’è’. Radā‘ HUI 144 *fīh*, in questions 144 *šī* ~ *fī*.

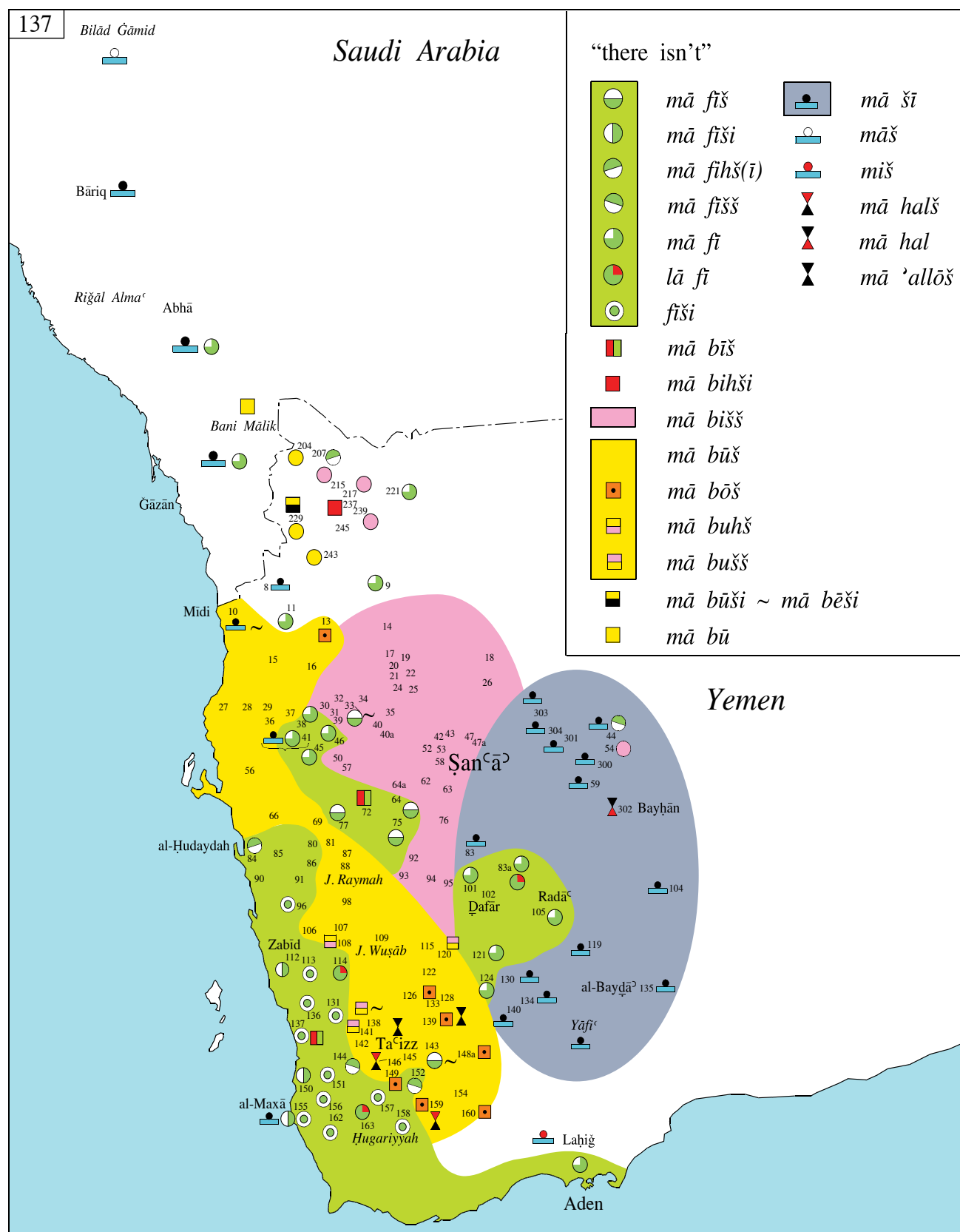
– South LAN-3:628 Ḥaḍramawt *šī*. Aden *fī* (GHA).

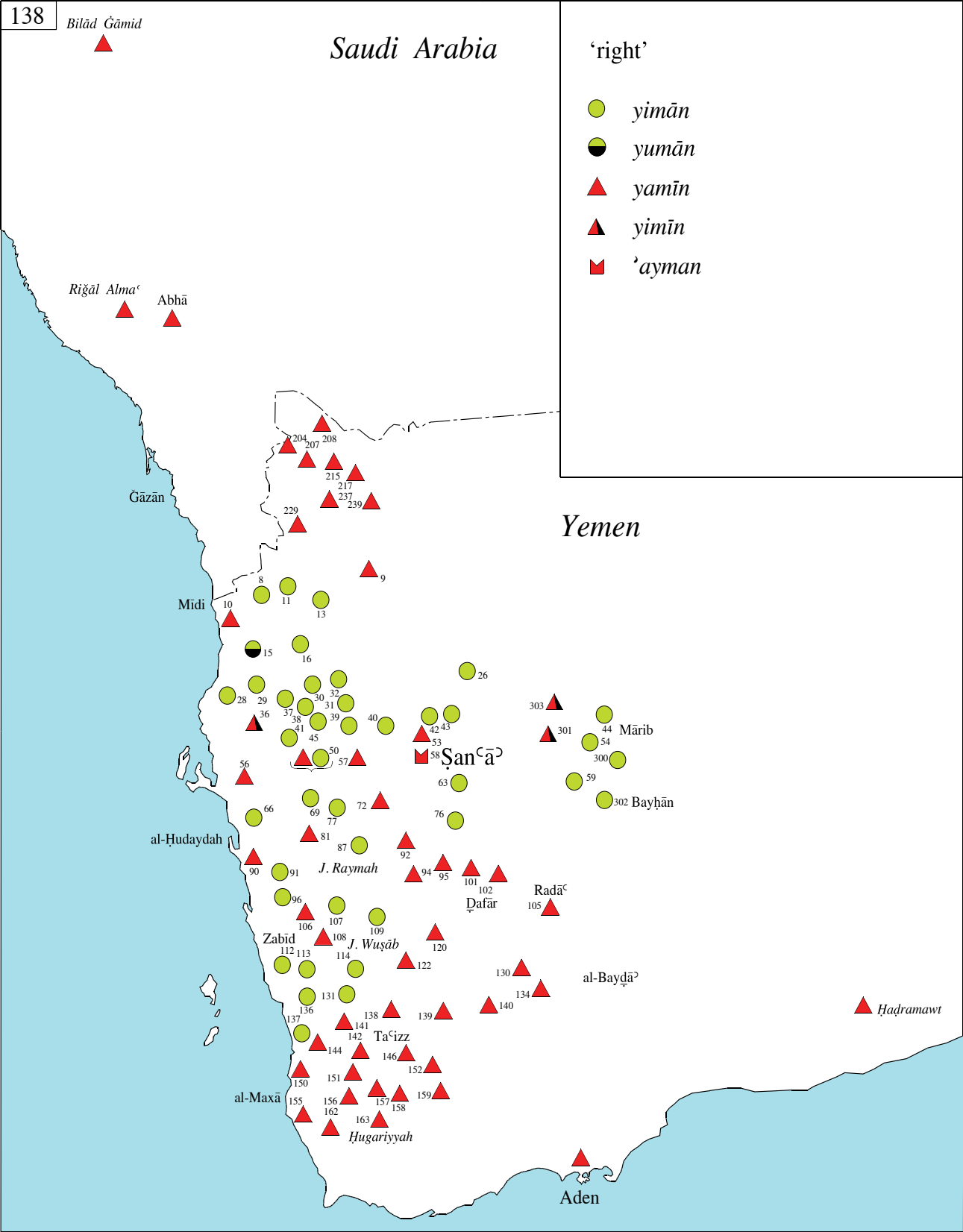
– *šū hnāk?* in Ḥaḍramawt (questionnaire) corresponds exactly to ‘is there?’, *šū* = *šī*.

– Regarding *fī(h)* cf. DIEM 17/18, who believes it to be an import from Egyptian Arabic: ‘Yemeni *beh* “there is” (negative *mā biš*) of the plateau and the *boh* (negative *mā būš*) of the western mountain range and the Ḥugariyyah have been replaced by Egyptian *fīh* (negative *mā fīš*) in the speech of many Yemenis. During a visit to the Bani Hamdān village of Ḥāz, for instance, I discovered that all the men without exception used *fīh* and *mā fīš*, and only a very old woman said *beh* once.’¹ In the Tihāmah at least, *fīh* is probably the original form.

– *‘ahal bō* at points 149 and 159 is tautological. The form goes with verbal *hall* + suffix pronoun ‘to be present’. For a more detailed discussion see JG p. 1265 and p. 45.

¹ ‘Das jemenitische *beh* “es gibt” (verneint *mā biš*) der Hochebene und das *boh* (verneint *mā būš*) der Westkette und der Ḥugariyyeh sind in der Sprache vieler Jemeniten durch das ägyptische *fīh* (verneint *mā fīš*) ersetzt. Bei einem Besuch im Dorf Ḥāz der Bani Hamdān im Westen von Ṣan‘ā’ beispielsweise stellte ich fest, daß die Männer ohne Ausnahme *fīh* und *mā fīš* gebrauchten und nur eine Greisin einmal *beh* sagte.’





– Original map 120 looked at 'right and left' in the context of 'go right, go left'. Some of the forms reported were feminine such as *yamnah* / *yasrah*, which refer to the 'right hand' and 'left hand'. Cf. German *rechterhand*, *linkerhand* '(on the) right-hand (side)', '(on the) left-hand (side)'. The revised map records only the documented base forms, separately.

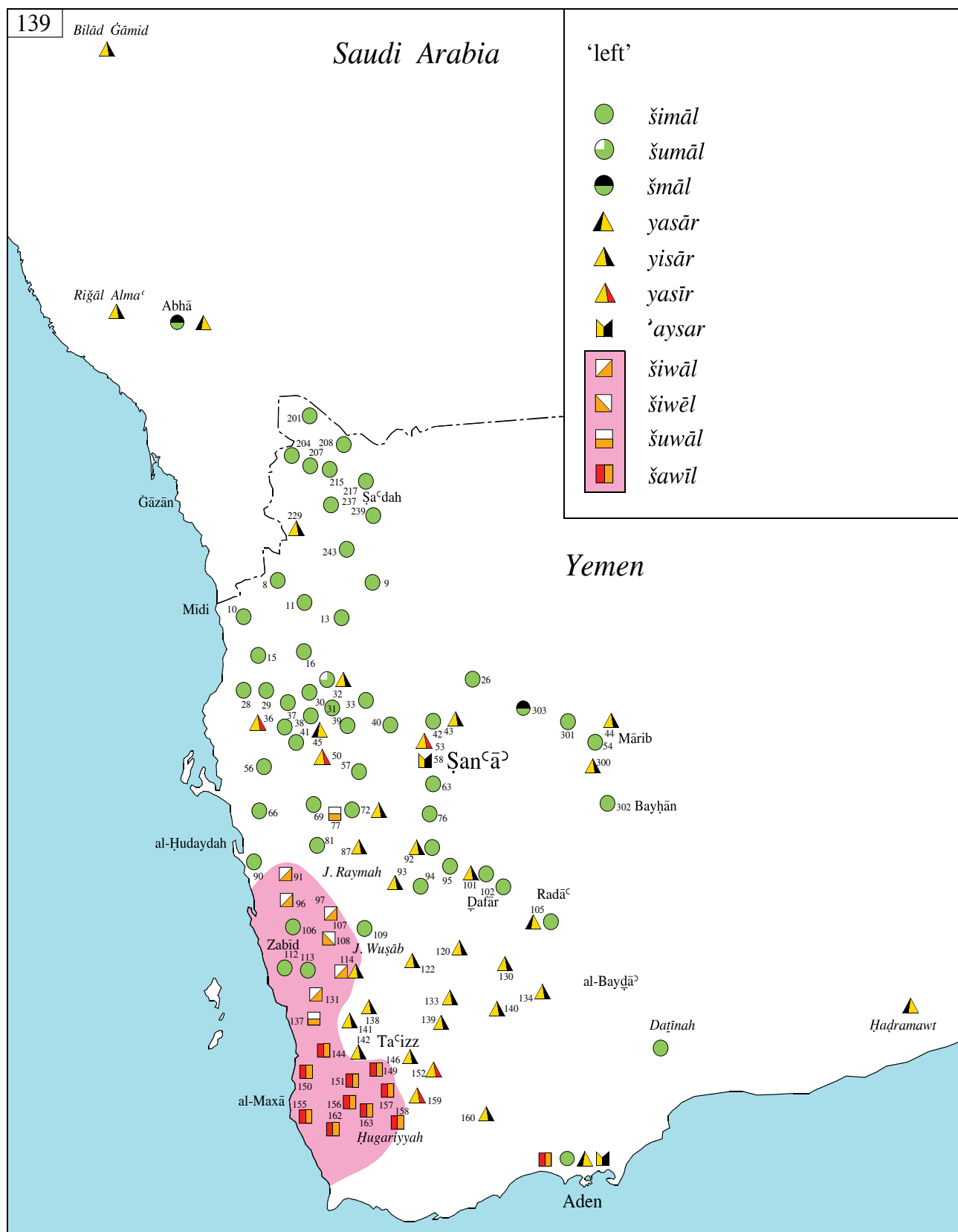
– Yemen/north *yamīnin* 204, *yamīn* 207, 208, 215, 217, 237, 239, Manāxah WRB 663, Radā' HUI 62, Ḍafār (questionnaire), Ḥaḍramawt (questionnaire), Aden (GHA glossary, questionnaire).

– *yimīn* 36, 301, 303.

– Northeast *yimān* 44, 300, 302, *yumān* 15.

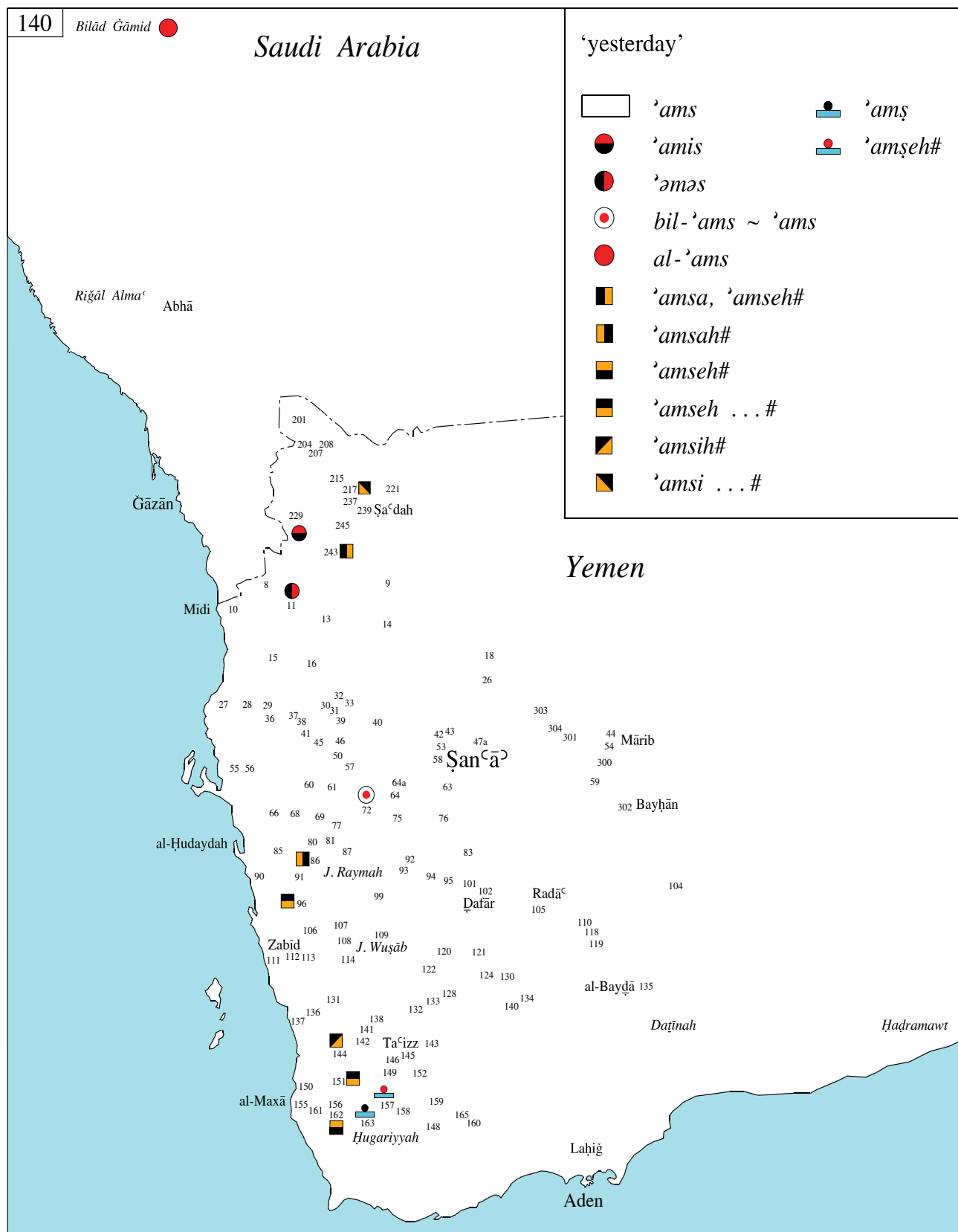
– 'ayman Ṣan'ā' (questionnaire, also RO-S).

– There are many instances of an approximation of 'right' to 'left', namely *yimān* – *šimāl*, *yisār* (cl. Ar. *yamīn* – *šimāl* ~ *yasār*), but not inversely with $\sqrt{\text{šml}}$ (**šamīl* – *yamīn*), only in the southern Tihāmah and parts of Ḥugariyyah with *šawīl* – *yamīn*, localised also *yasīr* – *yamīn*.

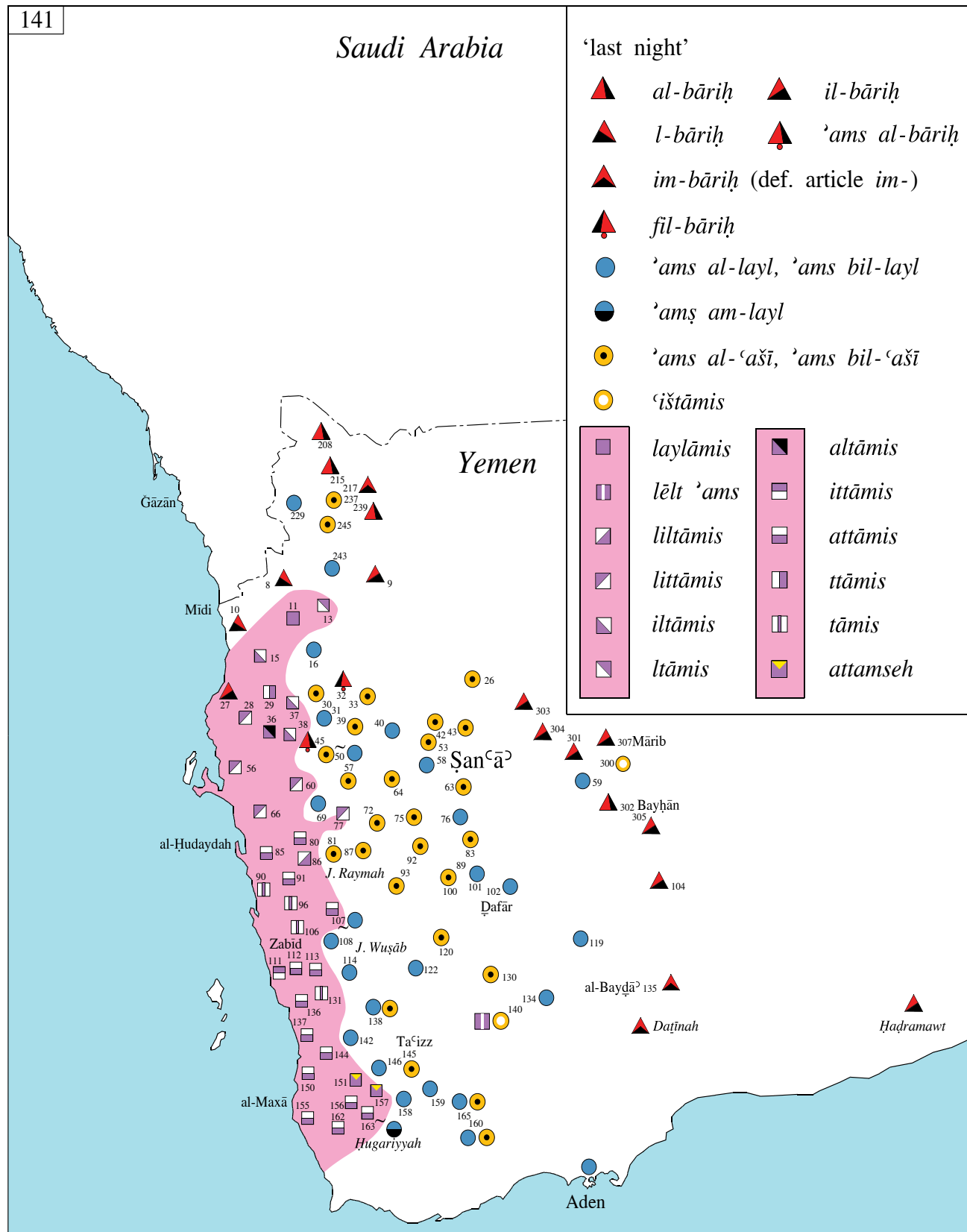


- Saudi Arabia *yisār* Riḡāl Almaʿ, *yasār* ~ *šmāl* Abha (questionnaire), Ġāmid *yasārī* 'to my left' (TOLL 49/50).
- Yemen/north 204 *šimālin*, *šimāl* 207, 208, 215, 217, 237, 239, 243.
- Northeast: *šimāl* 44, 301, 302, *šmāl* 303, *yisār* 300.
- 'aysar Ṣan'ā' (questionnaire, RO-S 238 idem, f. *yāsreh*), *yasār* ~ *šimāl* Manāxah WRB 663, point 32 *šumāl*, Ḍafār *šimāl* ~ *yisār* (questionnaire).
- South/Ḥaḍramawt *yasār* (LAN-3:32). Aden *yasār* (questionnaire), *šimāl* ~ *šawīl*, *yisār*, 'aysar (GHA glossary).
- *šiwāl*, *šawīl* etc. have nothing to do with turk. *sol* 'left' (cf. RO-S 218 *aswal*, *sawlē*, *sūlān*, probably incorrectly writ-

ten instead of *ašwal*). Nor is it a shift **ašmal* > *ašwal* as LAN-1:2084 assumes; on the contrary, the form is related to cl. Ar. *šawwala* 'to be empty, limp (udder, stomach, member)', KAZ 790 'avoir quelque partie du corps lâche', LANE *šawwala* 'said of a horse . . . he put forth his veretrum without being vigorously lustful', cf. LI where the limp udder is linked to the meaning 'to raise', as it rises when it is empty (cf. *šuwwāla* 'tail of the scorpion'). The 'left hand' is the 'limp, lame hand'. Concerning the connotation of 'left' and 'negative' (Ger. 'lahm, schlecht') cf. Italian *sinistro*, German *links*, Swedish *linka* 'to limp'; also 'left' and Old Engl. *lyft-adl* 'lameness, paralysis' (OED).



- Saudi Arabia Abha, Riḡāl Alma' 'ams (questionnaire), Ġāmid *al-'ams* (TOLL 52), obviously in analogy with *al-yōm* 'today'.
- Yemen/north DGS 229 'ams 204, 207, 208, 215, 217, 221, 237, 245, 239, 243, 'amis Rāziḥ (229), 'amsi im-Ṭalḥ region (217); 'amsa, 'amseh# Ġubar (243), 'ams *al-'aṣī* 'yesterday night' (237, 245); 'ams *bil-lēl* (243).
- Manāxah WRB 360 'ams ~ *bil-'ams*; ġā 'ams *al-'aṣī* 'yesterday evening', Radā' HUI 83 *ams*, Ḍafār, Ṣan'ā' idem (questionnaire).
- Northeast: 54 'ams *al-'aṣī* 'yesterday night', 'ams 44, 301, 303; *ilbāriḥ* 'yesterday night' 303, 304, 'ams 300, 'ištāmis 'yesterday night' 300.
- Aden 'ams (GHA, questionnaire). Daṭīnah, Ḥaḍramawt LAN-1:115, LAN-3:523 'ams hier dans la journée, tandis que *al-bāriḥ* est hier soir'. *ilbāriḥ* also Ḥaḍramawt questionnaire 'last night'.
- Tihāmah *Ettāmis* (sic!) 'yesterday' in GRE 60 fn. 28 is probably 'yesterday night'; q.v.



141 ‘last night’

– Four possible forms have been documented: *laylat ʾams* with all possible degrees of ‘usure phonétique’ in the Tihāmah, the inverted form *ʾams al-layl*, also possible with *ʾašī* which in cl. Ar. refers to the ‘evening’, and finally a synthetic *il-bāriḥ*.

– Other sources: Manāxah *yā ʾamsal-ʾašī* WRB 360. There is no explanation of the *yā*. P. 662 the same form in the context of the vocative particle *yā*. Aden *ʾams il-lēl* (questionnaire).

– DIEM 17 '*bukra* kommt neben *judweh* und *bākir* "morgen" vor'. He considers *bukra* to be Egyptian, which may be doubted. In cl. Ar. *bukra* is the 'early morning' (LANE, also 'the first part of the day'). Thus also Dōsiri *bukrah* 'early morning' (KUR). The shift to 'tomorrow' = 'the following day' suggests itself. Cf. 'morning – tomorrow', or German *Morgen – morgen*, Span. *mañana*, Fr. *demain* (* < *dē mane* 'from the morning onwards'). *ḡad* in cl. Ar. 'the morrow, the day next after the present day' (LANE); *ḡudwa* is 'the early part of the day'. The same shift took place here.

– At some points where *bukra* was mentioned no distinction was made as to the time of day, e.g. point 56 *bukra ṣ-ṣubḥ* 'tomorrow morning', *bukra ḡ-ḡuhr* 'tomorrow noon', or point 142 *bukrah* 'in the morning and the afternoon', point 27 'at all times'. At other points we find a clear distinction, e.g. point 38 *bukrah* 'tomorrow morning', 'tomorrow evening' = *laylit ḡade*; point 150 *bukrah* 'tomorrow morning', *ḡadweh* 'tomorrow afternoon and evening'. This is also the result of a shift, namely **ḡudwah* 'early morning' → *ḡadweh* 'tomorrow afternoon'. The data at point 85 *bukrah* ~ *ḡade* should probably also be interpreted along these lines. LAN-1:2360 has *ḡudwah* as 'aujourd'hui dans la matinée'. The references on p.→1185 commentaries, 1188,

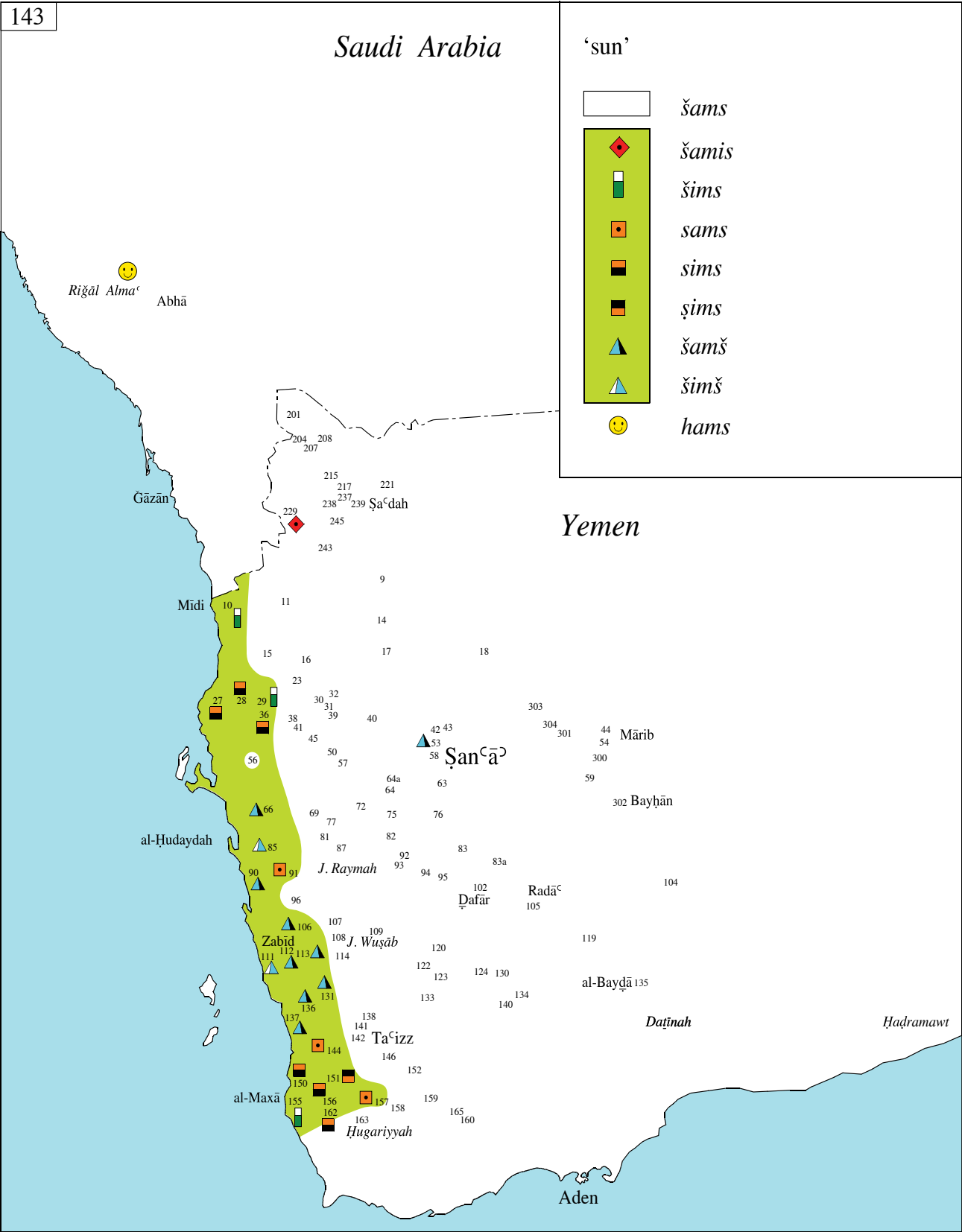
1414 relate to cl. Ar. terms. He mentions *bukra* as occurring in Northern Arabia. Among the Banī Šīhr *ḡudwa* denotes the time of ten in the morning (internet).

– The automatic interpretation of *aṣ-ṣubḥ* is 'tomorrow morning', and it is used in this sense in some locations; however at point 29 *aṣ-ṣubḥ*, *aṣ-ṣubḥ bil-aṣir* 'tomorrow afternoon', *ba'ad aṣ-ṣubḥ* 'the day after tomorrow'. Tihāmah dialects do not use the *am-* article with certain specific times but *al-* instead (also in *al-yōm* 'today').

– *bākir* was named without distinction for every time of day, e.g. *bākir aṣ-ṣubḥ* 'tomorrow morning', *ba'di bākir* 'the day after tomorrow', *lēlit bākir* 'tomorrow evening'.

– The data for *al-gāblah* is inconsistent: *al-gāblah* 'the day after tomorrow' Ḥaḍramawt (internet), in ALS 690 'tomorrow afternoon', *al-gāblah* 'tomorrow' Yām/Naḡrān (internet); *ad'-d'āblah* Naḡd 'tomorrow night' (questionnaire), at point 302 *il-lēleh wu l-gābleh* 'tonight and the following night'.

– *ḡadan* in Laḡiḡ according to FOD 64. HUI 74 has *bukra* and *ḡodwa* in Radā' without distinction. In the north *ḡad* is realised as *qad* depending on the dialect. See original map for the points Wāsiṭ (now 221) and Ṣa'dah (now 237).



143 ‘sun’

- Yemen/north DGS glossary *šamsin* Minabbih (204), *šams* Xāšir (207), im-Ṭalḥ (217), Sāgēn (245), Ša‘dah (237), Majz (215), Ġurāz (239), *šamis* Rāziḥ (229).
- Radā‘ HUI 70 *šams*, Manāxah WRB 509 *šams*, Ḍafār *šams* (questionnaire), Daṭīnah *šamsa* ‘coup de soleil’ LAN-1:2082. Abha *šams*, Šan‘ā’ *šams* (questionnaire, RO-S idem).
- South/Aden *šams* (WAD, GHA), *sams* Ḥaḍramawt LAN-3:626; *šamis* (questionnaire).
- Northeast: *šams* 300, 301, 302, 303, 304.
- *hams* Riḡāl Alma‘ with shift from *š > h, similar to some other forms as well (cf. *harb* ‘to drink’). Cf. ALB 55

‘Speaking in terms of Semitics this is not exactly the same shift as in South Arabian (Mehri) forms of the type *hōba* = Arab. *sab* ‘seven’, since in our area we deal with a shift of *s² (ś) > /h/, in South Arabian of *s’ (š) > /h/’.

– Forms deviating from the standard are nearly all found in the Tihāmah. This is emphasised by the background colour.

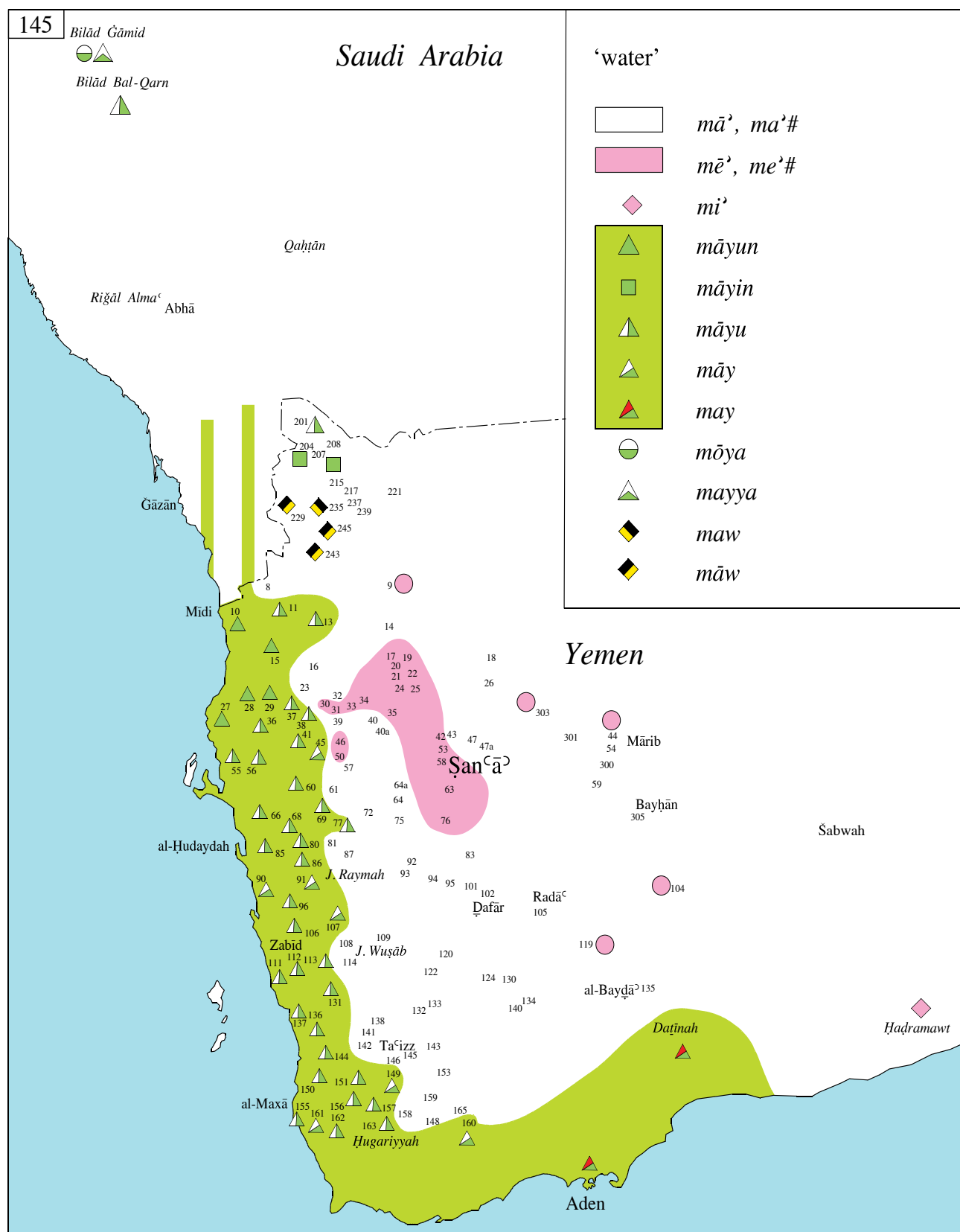
– In retrospect I wonder whether the forms *šimūs* and *šumūs* on original map 124 are not in fact ‘sunlight’ or ‘heat of the sun’, as documented elsewhere. Will be removed from map.



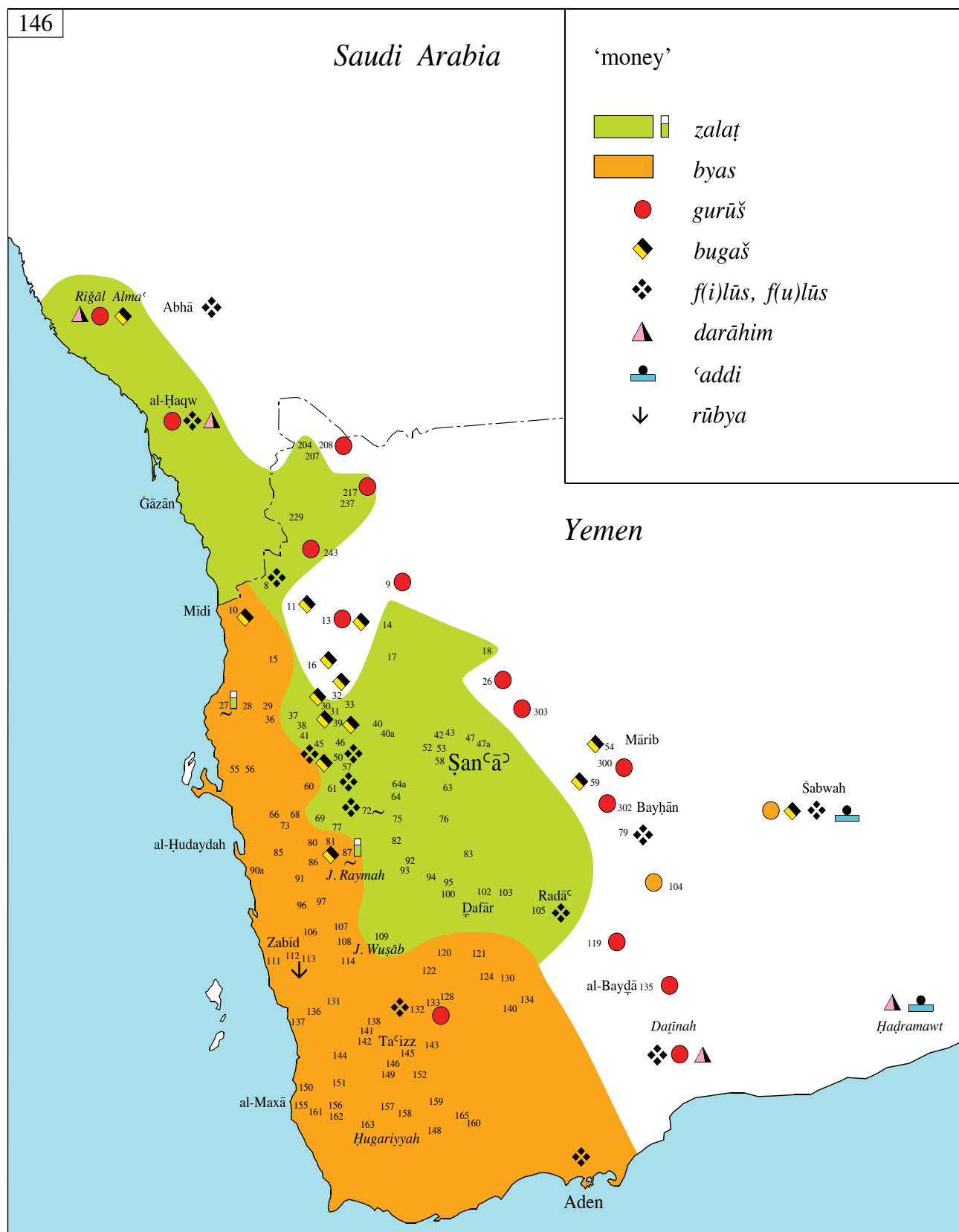
- Saudi Arabia Riḡāl Alma‘, Abha (questionnaire) *gamar*.
- Yemen/north DGS glossary *gamarin* 204, *gamar* 215, 217, 237, 239, 243.
- Northeast *gamar* 300, 301, 302.
- Manāxah WRB 586 *gamar*, Radā‘ *gamar* HUI 49 (writes {q} for /g/), idem Ḍafār (questionnaire) 303 *gamar*.
- *al-laylah qammārī* ‘it is full moon’ 121. *gammārī* ‘moon’ also in Upper Egypt (BW map 412).
- Point 151 *gamrah* is ‘moonlight’ in other dialects, e.g. JOH 20 Gulf, but re Morocco see WAD I map.
- South/Aden *qamar* (questionnaire, GHA), Ḥaḍramawt *gamar* (questionnaire).

– Many dialects know reflexes of cl. Ar. *šahr* only to mean ‘month’. *šahr* meaning ‘moon in general’ still occurs in the Tihāmah, in the Daṭīnah ‘lune, mois’ (LAN-1:2089), idem in Ḥaḍramawt (LAN-3:65), p. 26 *šahr* ‘dans le sud corps céleste’; expanding into Saudi Arabia north of the Tihāmah; *im-šahr* ‘the moon, month’ (PRC-2:44) in Bal-Qarn.

LAN-1:136 *bāḥūr* ‘nom de la lune’ with reference to 896; 1002 ‘probablement parce que les anciens sémites se figuraient le ciel comme un grand océan’ is a quotation from cl. Ar., not an actual Daṭīnah form. LAN-1:2228 *ṭaws* ‘lune, *qamar*, ou nouvelle lune’ with reference to 750, 751, 752, 758, 899, 1002 is a quotation from cl. Ar. as well.



- Saudi Arabia/Bal-Qarn *māyu* (PRC-2:48); Ġāmid *mōya* ~ *mayya* (TOLL 16, 39), Riġāl Alma', Abha *mā* (questionnaire), Qaḥṭān *mā*' (internet).
- Yemen/north DGS glossary: *ma*' 217, *mā* 208, 215, 221, 237, 239, 245; *maw* 235; *māw* 229, 243, Xawlān (area between 245 and 243); *māyin* 204, 207, *māyu* 201. *māw* probably contains a rest of the ending *-un*.
- Manāxah *mā'* WRB 629, Dafār *mā'* (questionnaire), Radā' HUI 79 *mē'*, Zabīd *may* (questionnaire), my own survey *māyu*.
- Northeast *mā'* 300, 301, 305.
- South/Aden GHA *may*; Daṭīnah LAN-1:2726 *may* → 682, 4 from bottom of page, there *may* from the Daṭīnah. Ḥaḍramawt *may* 'interior *ma*', *me*', coast *mi*' (questionnaire).
- Yemeni forms of the type *māyu* are probably not diminutives as in other dialects *mayy(a)*, *ṁwayy*, *unṁmayya*. Cf. Ge'ez *māy*, Hebr. *māyim* (pl.), Old Syriac *mayyā*, Ugaritic *my*.
- At points 36, 37, 38, 45 (northern Tihāmah), 204 *mūyah* was also reported but described as Saudi usage.



– The topic is discussed in detail in WAD II 407–11, also with regard to Yemen.

– Saudi-Arabia Abha *flūs*, Riḡāl Alma‘ *girūš* ~ *zalaṭ*, *bigaš*, al-Ḥagu (internet) *zalaṭ* ~ *darāhim* ~ *gurūš* ~ *fulūs*, Ġāzān *m-zalaṭ* (internet).

– Yemen/north *zalaṭ* 207, 217, 229, 237, *gurūš* 208, 217, 243.

– Northeast 302 *filūs*, 300, 302, 303 *gurūš*.

– Manāxah *fulūs* WRB 570, *zalaṭ* WRB 479, Ḍafār *zalaṭ* (WAD), Radā‘ *flūs* HUI 49, Ṣan‘ā‘ *zalaṭ* (WAD), Zabīd *byas* ~ *rūbya*, Aden *filūs* ~ *biyas* (internet, *biyās* WAD), Ghanem glossary, Habaka 48 only *fulūs*, Daṭīnah Landberg: glossary 2433: ‘tandis que les Bédouins du Sud disent *darāhim* ou *gurūš*... mais ceux qui ont des relations avec Aden ou le ‘Omān emploient *fulūs*...’, adding an example from Ḥarīb (79). Regarding *darāhim* Landberg Ḥaḍramawt 37, 171/172; ‘*addi*’ (WAD), Šabwah *filūs* ~ ‘*addi*’ (internet), *byas* ~ *bugaš* (internet).

Excerpts from WAD II:409:

– ‘The plural *byas* in use in Yemen has its origin in “paisa”, “copper coin from Masqaṭ” (PHIL 281), “an Indian copper coin widely used around the Indian ocean as far as present-day Tanzania” (pc S. Heidemann)... during the Imam era a *baysah* was the smallest copper coin (1/8 or 1/10 of a *buqšeh* ROSSI 152; AKW 848/261 “4 *biyas* = 1 *zalaṭah*”). Variant forms are *biyāsun*, *biyāsu*, *byasu*, *biyās*; *mibayyis(un)* “rich” (JG)... Ultimately from Port. *peso*, cf. also Urdu *paysa* “money” (BABH). Documented as *baize* in PHIL 281.’

– In the former North Yemen *zalaṭ* is now the most common word for “money”... in detail PIA s. v. PIA also records the variant *zalaṭ* after Rossi, confirmed by an internet source. In Syria formerly known as a unit of currency: *zalaṭa* ~ *zalaṭa* “‘trente paras’ monnaie de compte = ancienne pièce de trente paras, appelée en turc *zolota*” (BAR 502), which forms the plural *zalaṭ* “(rare)”; also Lebanon *zalaṭa* “ein 3/4 *girs*” (FRY 74a), and the same word in YAS. In older Egyptian Arabic *zalaṭ* is known to have meant “copper money”, the same meaning as *xurda* (TAYM-3:41), with references to older sources, among them al-Ġabartī (*zalaṭa*), and ‘*umla zalaṭ* “copper coin” (SPI-2); VOL lists it among loans from Slavic: *zalaṭ* “copper money” from Russ.-Pol. золото “gold”, via approximation to *zalaṭ* “pebbles” (VOL 311), possibly surviving as a trace in *zalaṭ wi ṭūb* a metaphor for “money” (own data). *zalaṭ* is derived directly from *zoloṭa*, the name of the Ottoman silver coin worth “30 paras” (EI VIII:229a), which in turn

according to ZEN s. v. comes from *zoloṭa* “coin worth 40 paras” from the Slavic word for “gold”, cf. Pol. *złoty*. This coin was introduced under Sulaymān II (1687–91) following the European example (EI VIII:229a).

VOL already mentioned the not unusual folk etymological association of *zolota* with *zalaṭa* “pebble”, cf. Kies, Schotter, Kohle of colloquial German (WAHR, Synonymwörterbuch), which resulted in the phonological and morphological restructuring (into coll. + -a, in analogy with *zalaṭa* “pebble”). The Ottoman coin probably brought its name with it to Yemen; we cannot determine whether this back-formation of coll. out of sg. (a folk etymological change of designation) took place independently of the development in Syria and Egypt. *zalaṭ* meaning “pebbles” has not been documented there in the present day. Cf. also pm from S. Heidemann: “*zolota*, the Ottoman gold coin: after the sixteenth and before the nineteenth century virtually no other gold reached Yemen. During the nineteenth century Ottoman gold was replaced by the Maria Theresa Thaler, and from the middle of the century onwards, pounds sterling and French francs also became standard currency”. Niebuhr does not mention the form *zalaṭ* or *zolota*, he calculates only in “Speziesthalern”.

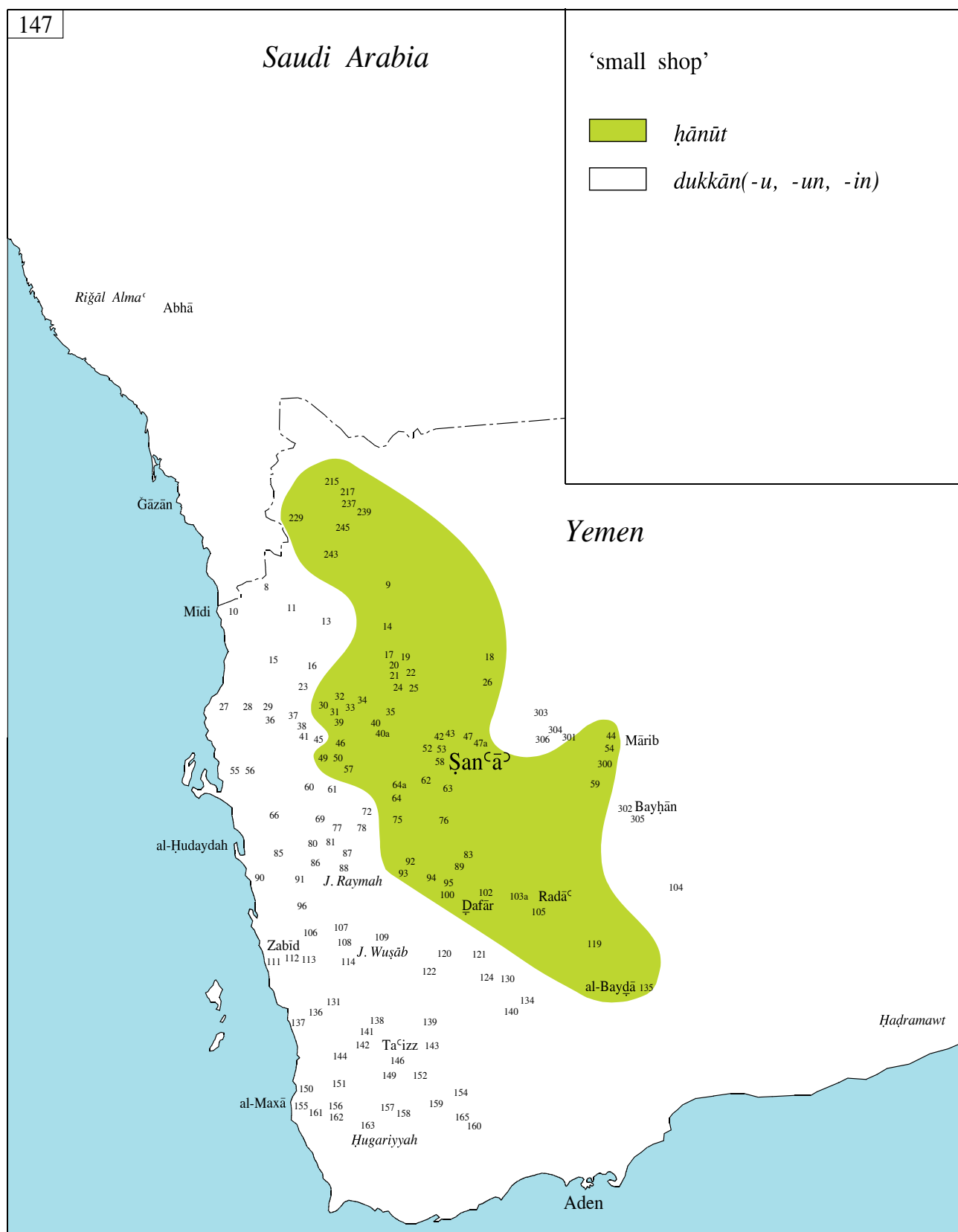
According to AKW proverb no. 848, p. 261 the *zalaṭah* was still common well into the twentieth century: *al-baysah*: ‘*umlatun nuḥāsiyyatun ‘uṭmāniyyatun kānat mutadāwilatan fī l-Yamani ‘ilā ‘ahdin qarībīn; wa kānat ‘ašğara waḥdatin naqdīyatīn ‘indahum, faqad kānat ‘arba‘a biyasin tusāwī zalaṭah* (sic!) *wāḥida*’.

– Yemen. *buqaš*, *bugaš* is the plural of *buqšah*, *bugšeh* “1/40 Maria-Theresa-Thaler” = Pers. *buqče* “bundle, cloths” (see JG). Also documented in Ḥaḍramawt (internet); Saudi Arabia/Ḥiğāz *baxğā(h)* (internet), Riḡāl Alma‘ *bigšah* (questionnaire).

– The Indian “rupee”, Hindi *rupayā* (Wikipedia), Urdu *rupya* (BABH) is the origin of *rūbya* in Yemen: “dans la Tihama on trouve à côté de *b(i)yas(u,un)* un autre mot que j’ai relevé dans mes enquêtes à Zabīd et dans la région de Zabīd aujourd’hui encore vivant dans le parler de l’ancienne génération” (commentary Zabīd questionnaire).

– ‘*addi*’ Ḥaḍramawt (questionnaire), Mukalla idem (internet), Shabwa idem (internet), probably from cl. Ar. ‘*adad*’ ‘number, figure’. In LAN-3:54 *adad* ~ ‘*adā*’ “monnaie en general”.

– Regarding other terms, used in other dialects as well, cf. WAD loc. cit.



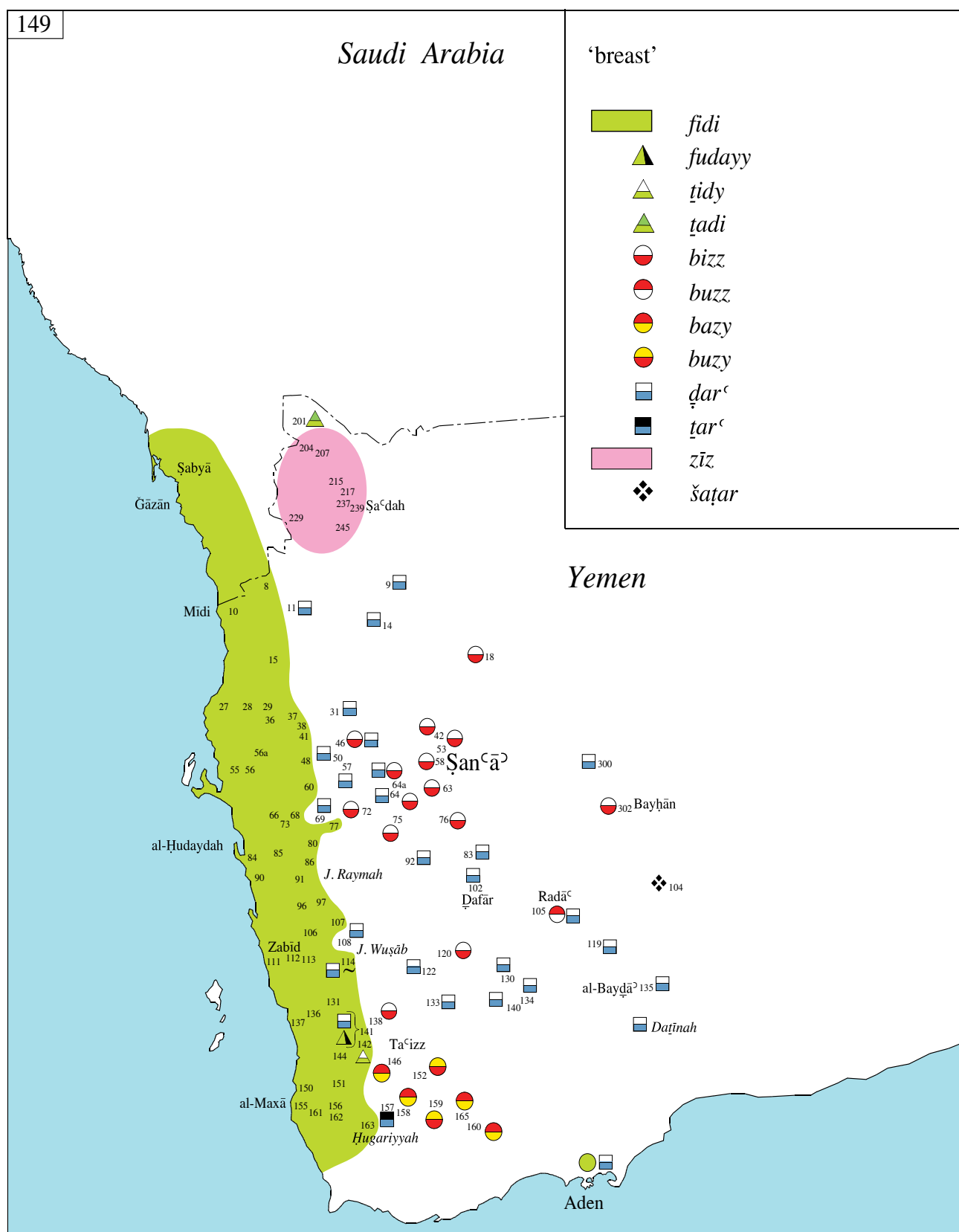
147 ‘small shop’

- Saudi Arabia/Riġāl Alma‘ *diççān*, *daçāçīn* (questionnaire), *dukkān* Ġāzān (internet), idem Abha (questionnaire).
- Yemen/north *hānūt* 215, 217, 229, 237, 239, 243, *dukkānin* 204; *dukkān* 221.
- Northeast points 44, 54 *hānūt*.
- Manāxah WRB 454 only *dukkān* ‘shop, store’, idem Ḍafār (questionnaire), Ṣan‘ā’ *dukkān* ~ *hānūt* (questionnaire), Radā’ ‘shop (a small)’, *hānūt* HUI 65. Aden (GHA) only *dukkān* ‘shop’; not documented for Daṭīnah in LAN-1, Ḥaḍramawt *dukkān* (questionnaire).
- *kassār* ‘shop, grocer’s’ (Ġāzān, internet).
- *ṣandaqah*, *ṣandagah*... is a ‘corrugated metal shed’, a ‘corrugated metal shop’, ‘small stall’ (JG).
- See also map commentary 285 in WAD II.

– The available data is inconsistent. STO 92 has a picture of a ‘Tihāmah couch’ and comments: ‘The principal furniture elements of the Tihāmah consist of wooden frame, hemp-strung beds, couches and chairs’. To the side, handwritten TIHĀMAH COUCH (*qa‘ādah*) – UBIQUITOUS. Then: ‘The couch (*qa‘ādah*) is distinguished from the bed by its backrest and is used for lounging; whereas the bed (*sarīr*) is meant for sleeping. The chair (*kursi*) most often found in the *sūq*, is rare in the home. Heights can range from 30 CM to 1.5 M, allowing for the circulation of air, and escape from scorpions’. JG defines *qa‘ādah* and similar pieces of furniture as ‘large bed (without backrest, not a sleeping couch)’, ‘large bed without backrest’ in a

considerable number of locations, less frequently as ‘large sleeping couch’; according to GIH-2:50 ‘bedstead of the type of Tihāmah beds with leather bracing for guests and patients’; in Manāxah *ga‘ādah* as ‘bench, bedstead’. Some online pictures of *qa‘ādah* show beds with rope bracing without backrest, others sleeping couches in accordance with Stone’s definition. In JG also documented as ‘bier’, without a backrest.

For forms predominant in the central Tihāmah like *mambar* cf. JG 1189–1190. They are compared there with Ge‘ez *nabara* ‘sit, sit down’. *kursi* was not defined as a ‘chair’ but as a ‘couch’ and was seen as such on site.



– Yemen/north: *tadi* Bani 'Abādil (201); *fidy* Saudi Arabia/Ġāzān, Šabyā (internet). Original commentary JA 25 'alternation between *t* and *f* occurs throughout the Tihāmāh; no regularity is observable. (Cf. e.g. the Šī'a dialects in Baḥrayn with systematic transition from **t* to *f*). It has been documented everywhere, but never in such a way that every **t* changed to *f* or vice versa. It usually affects individual lexemes or entire blocks that feature *t* or *f* and differ from one location to another. Thus in Ḥays *falāfah* means "three", *famānyeh* "eight", in al-'Uqqah (point 156) and al-Jum'ah (point 151) *tihim* "to understand", at point 11 (Jabal Wašḥah) *fawr* "bull". *tār* (< *fār*) "to boil" is widely used (also in parts of the Ḥugariyyah).'

– For Aden STA lists *fidi* and *dar*'. This suggests that the Tihāmāh form extends as far as Aden along the south coast.

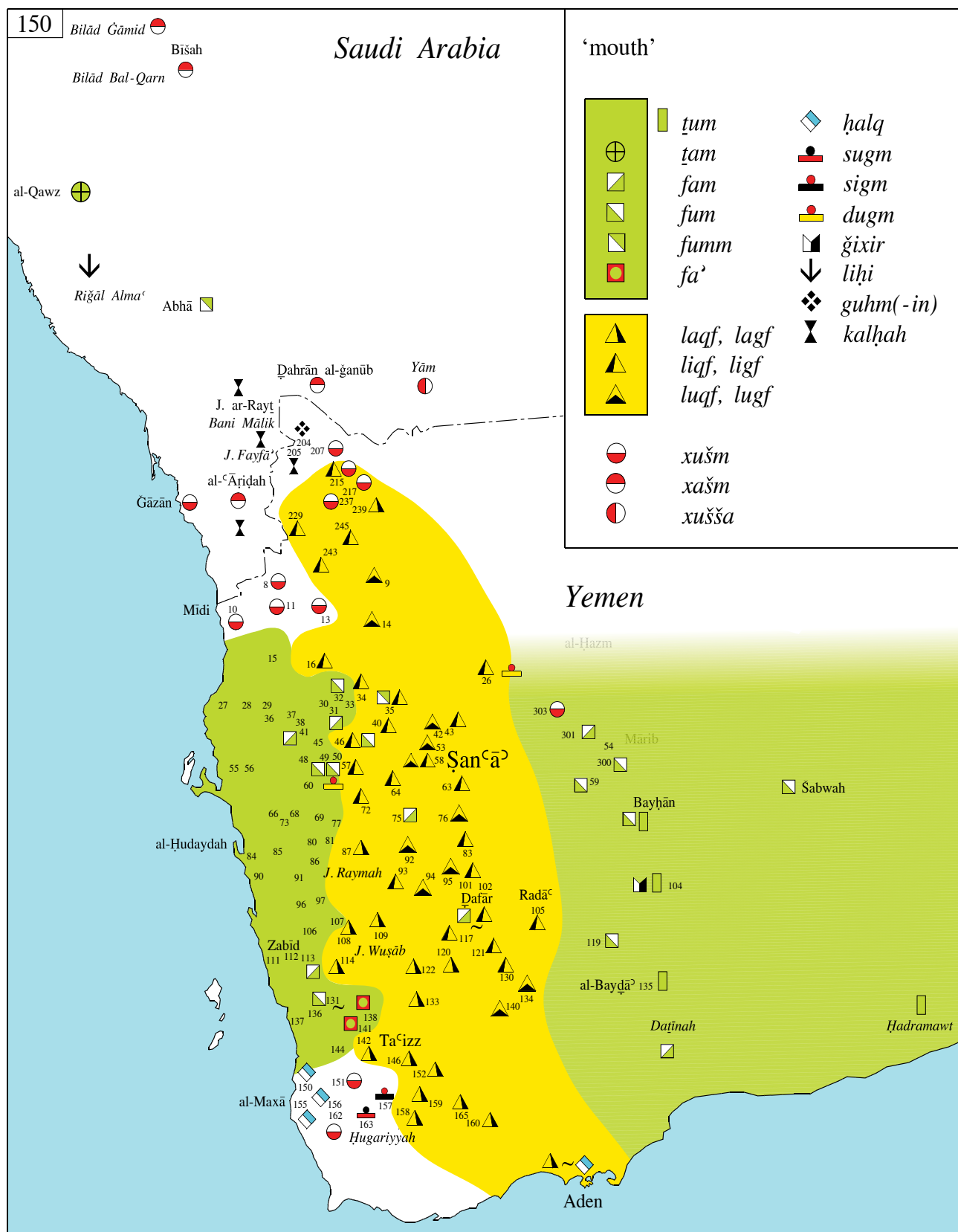
– Radā' HUI 20 *dar*', *ḍorū*', *buzz*, *abzāz*, Manāxah *bizz*, 'abzāz 'teat' (WRB 376), Aden GHA 'breast' *šidr* is dubious. Thus, however, also FGH 162. The form *tar*' at point 157 probably goes back to *tar*' (cf. *tāwar* 'to induce a she-camel who has lost her calf and does therefore not give milk anymore, to give milk again' (procedure described in JG) from cl. Ar. *nāqatun ḍā'ūr* 'she-camel who needs

another calf or the *baww* in order to give milk' (LI 2741), or together with *tady*. Cf. also cl. Ar. *tarra* 'to have swelling udders'. Daṭīnah LAD-1:2172 *dar*' 'mamelle' with reference to p. 1650, there 'pis d'une bête'.

– Regarding forms *bizz*, *buzz*, *bazy*, *buzy* see JG 82: 'cf. LI 278 *bazā*' "to push out one's breast", consequently *bazy* is not necessarily a contamination of *bizz* and *tady* as JA p. 10, 26 presumes'.

– *zīzin* Minabbih (204), *zīz* Rāziḥ (229), Ṭalḥ (215), Ġurāz (239), Sāgēn (245), Xāšir (207), Ša'dah (237). Presumably pars pro toto. The form also occurs in the Maghreb, DO 1:619 *zīza* 'en Barbarie, *mamelle*, *téton*' with reference to Hebr. *zīza*, Malt. *zeiza*, Ital. *zizza*. BEAU 451 *zīza* 'mamelle, sein, téton', pl. *zwāyaz* 'gorge, sein'. According to online Dizionario etimologico, Ital. *zizza* from MHG *Zitze* (< Ger. *Titte*). Cf. also LAN-1:896 *dayd* 'mamelle d'une femme mariée', who places this and similar forms such as Fr. *téton*, *tétine*, Ital. *tetta*, *zizza*, Ger. *Zitze*, Engl. *tit*, Swed. *datta* alongside babies' babble words such as *ba*, *da*, *dad*, *tad*, *ma*, *pa*. Cf. also Anatolian Arabic *days* 'breast', pl. *dyūs* 'udder' vow.

– *ṣaṭar* according to WA 983 'die beiden hinteren oder vorderen Zitzen des Kamels'.



There are commentaries for all forms in WAD 1:126–27. The commentary is quoted verbatim below, as no changes have been established.

– Forms with **f* > *t* (> *t*) are documented exclusively on the Arabian Peninsula. In the south of the Peninsula in two corners: in the Yem. Tihāmah in the form *tumu(n)*, Zabīd *tamu* (questionnaire), *tum* localised, e.g. in al-Bayḏā'..., in Ḥaḍramawt/Say'ūn (questionnaire), Šabwah idem (internet).

– Forms with *f*:- in Yemen localised as *fa'*: *ḍumm fa'ak!* "shut your mouth" ...; Abha *fumm* (questionnaire), Yām idem (internet). Both *fam* and *fum* in Yemen: *fum* also documented in Ḥaḍramawt/Mukalla (questionnaire). Forms such as *ufmak*, *ufmiš* "your (sg.) mouth" in Ġawf/Yemen show that *fum* is biradical'.

→ Added from NAD 26 *fum* with suffixes (300): *úfmī, úfmak, úfmiš, úfmah, úfmihā; fam* (301): *úfmī, úfmak, úfmiš, úfmah, úfāmhā*. There the form is explained by final stress, elision and prothesis: *fumāk* > *fmak* > *ufmak* or by analogy with *idnī, idnak* etc.

– "The fact that in *xašm* a term appears that is regionally used for "nose" – also in cl. Ar. (LANE "the nose... [In modern Arabic, it signifies The mouth]") – can probably be explained as a result of contiguity. In some places in Saudi Arabia and in Yemen: al-Āriḏah *xašm* (internet), Yām/Āl Murra *xušša* (internet), ... *xušm* near the Saudi border and localised in the South and East. Additional instances all with /u/: *xušam* (JG 303), *xušim* (JG 237, 239, 305), *xušum* (JG 207, 217).

– A semantic shift from cl. Ar. *ḥalq* "throat, pharynx" > "mouth" occurred in Yemen in localised areas: *ḥalq* southern Tihāmah, in Aden parallel to *laqf* (GHA, FGH-3:161).

– Forms like *laqf*, *ligf*, *luqf* etc. are characteristic of central western Yemen. They are related to cl. Ar. *laqafa* "to snap", thus designate a "snapper". Cf. Ger. *Schnabel* "beak", jokingly used to refer to the mouth, and *schnappen* (DU VII). Also documented for Lebanon as *laqfe* in the phrase *mneš-šaqfe lel-laqfe* "de l'écuelle à la bouche" (DEN).

– *guhmin* in Minabbih (JG) is related to cl. Ar. *'aqhama 'ilā* "to be hungry for", *al-qahimu* "the hungry man" (LI).

– *kalḥah* is typical of the southwest of Saudi Arabia, also found in the neighbouring regions of Yemen: Ġabal Fayfā' questionnaire, 'Abādil, 'Asīr, Jizan (internet), Yemen Ġabal Ġalḥah (JG). Denotes "the mouth and parts around it" in cl. Ar. (LANE).

– JG considers Yem. *sugm*, *sigm* (*g* = **g*), *suqm* to be *ḡ-q* doublets. They recall *zugm* (= *zuqm*) in Jordan = *tum(m) al-'insān* (!) (internet, no location), *zuqme* in DEN "museau, gueule" for Palestine, in BAU-2 *zuḡum* 'snout, muzzle'. The Jord. forms are related to cl. Ar. *zaqama* "to swallow in one gulp", *zaqqama* "to feed the young", and to Lebanese *za'am* "to fatten" (BAU-2). Another etymology of *sugm* in JG. Possibly also related to *zagm* "the protrusion of a mountain ridge, a mountain top" (BAI 440).

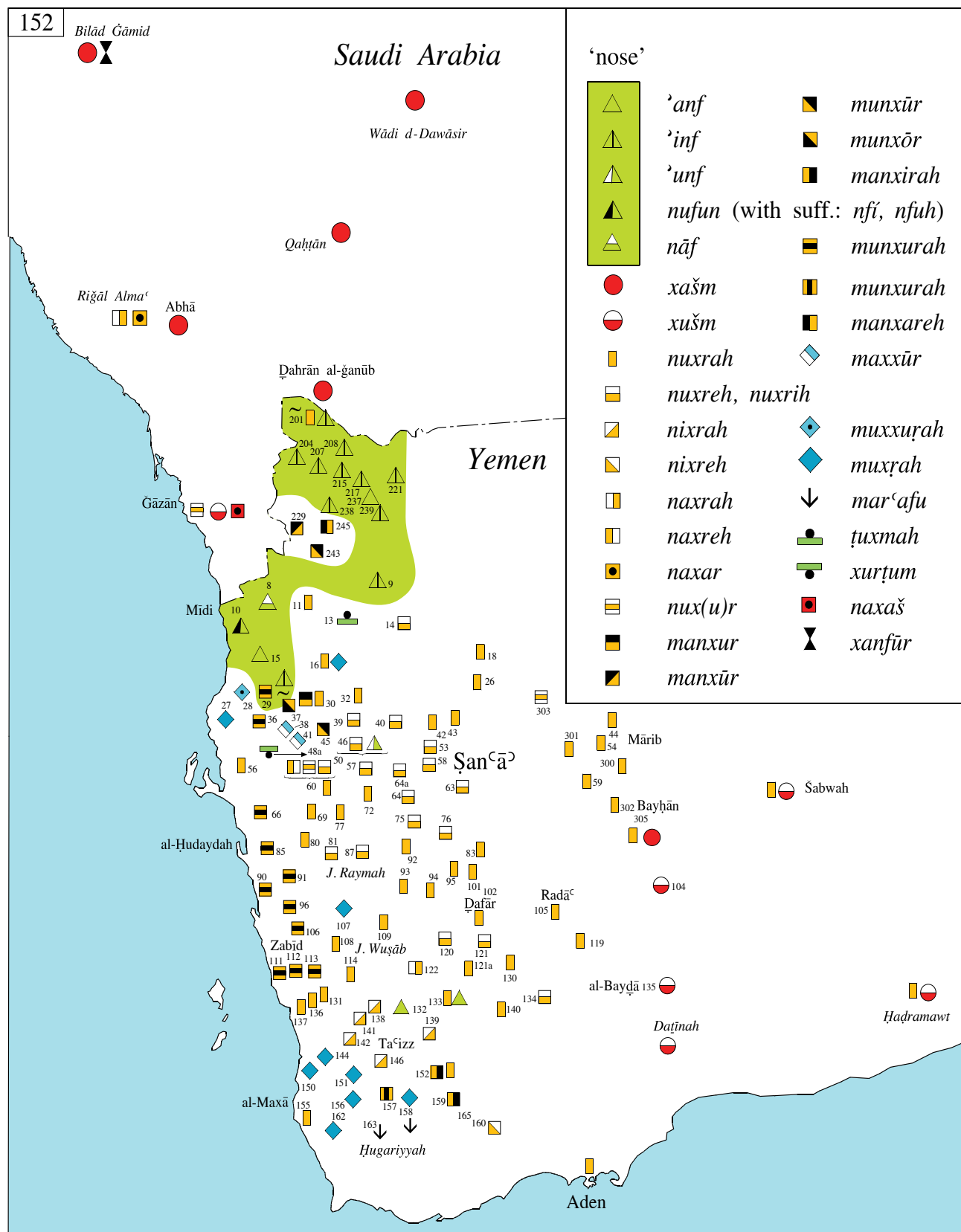
– *ḡaxr*, *ḡixir*, *ḡuxur* in Yemen, Mārib region, Bayḥān, Marxah (JG), Šabwah, are probably related to LI *ḡaxir* "glutton".

– *mabsim* in Ḥaḍramawt (LAN-3:45) is "lip" elsewhere in Yemen, documented in Šan'ā' as well (JG), and in Dōsiri "front teeth, mouth" (KUR-1).

– *liḥi*, pl. *alḥāy* in Riḡāl Alma' (questionnaire) is documented elsewhere as *ləḥya* "cheek".



- The commentary from WAD 1:135–36 will be quoted in excerpts as no essential changes have been recorded.
- 'Cl. Ar. *šafa* "lip" is biradical and documented only sporadically. Abha parallel to *burṭum* (questionnaire).
- *šinfah* in Yemen may be regarded as due to dissimilation of geminates as in *-CC > -nC-*, also *šinf* and *šānif* with approximation to *šārib*.
- Forms of the type *mašfar* which extend eastwards from the Yemeni Tihāmah as far as Oman (REI 72; Aden FGH-3:162) correspond to cl. Ar. *mišfar* "flew" (WE), but not with negative connotation.
- *šārib* ... in the southern Tihāmah, sporadically southwards from Mārib.
- *burṭum*, pl. *barāṭim* ... is typical of Bedouin dialects of the northern peninsula: according to LAN-1:158 "dans toute l'Arabie" ... The form *burṭum* ~ *barṭum* is "elephant's trunk" in cl. Ar., thus also *barṭum* in BAR, and also as "lèvre épaisse". Cf. verbs like *barṭama* "to mutter angrily to oneself, grumble" (WE), Baḥrayn *mbarṭum* "annoyed, morose" (ARN-2), *barṭam* "to sulk" (child) in a variety of dialects in the Near East.
- *baršūm*, *biršūm* from the northern Tihāmah is related to this, cf. REI 254 *beršem* "to twist one's mouth".
- Occurring in the central Tihāmah, *bilām* (*blāmu*, *bilām*) is related to cl. Ar. *balama* "fat, swollen lip" (LI). Cf. Egyp. *ballim*, *yiballim* "to tie a donkey's lip" to calm it.
- *mabsam* is "mouth" in WE, documented with this meaning in some parts.
- *misqum* and *misgum* ... are related to *sugm* and *suqm*, which are both documented as meaning "mouth" as well, similar to *duqm* "lip" (JG after Glaser, not locatable, elsewhere "mouth"). *saḡḡam* also means "to smile" in Yemen.
- *mušduq* and *mušṭug* are related to cl. Ar. *šidq* "corner of the mouth" ... Also probably *šgād* pl. in southwest Saudi Arabia (Balgāzi, 'Abādil, internet).
- Regarding *mutrum* cf. also Yem. *tarmam* "to sulk" and *šnāfa* "pouting lip". *miṭrām* has probably been influenced by *taram* "to split" (LAN-1:247 "ébrecher", WE "to break out a tooth, to have a tooth missing"), as camels' upper lips are split; presumably originally with reference to camels' lips.
- In Ṣan'ā', *bāzimī* and *sīdīyūsuf* are also documented both meaning "lower lip". *bāzimī* is probably a variant of *mabsam*. *sīdīyūsuf* is possibly a humorous phrase of uncertain origin.
- *liqv*, reported besides *šārib* (point 300), is usually the 'mouth' in Yemen. This is also true of the form *duqm*, see above (JG after Glaser). As it cannot be located it was not included in the map.'



– There is a commentary on the terms in WAD 1:110–11. This will be quoted in excerpts and with minor changes.

– On original map 133 the symbol of point 6 is not in the key. There has been a mistake; the box was supposed to have a diagonal line = *manxūr*.

– 'Reflexes of cl. Ar. *xašm* occur primarily in Bedouin Arabic, sometimes also in dialects of the sedentary population... Abha *xašm* (questionnaire),... Qaḥṭān idem (internet), Ġāmid (internet), Ḍahrān al-Ġanūb idem... *xašm*, *xušm* only in southeast Yemen...; Šabwah *xšm* (internet, not vocalised), Ḥaḍramawt *xušum* (questionnaire).' Added: LAN-1:598 '*xušm* "museau", pl. *xišām*, est dans toute l'Arabie, nez de l'homme, 1615 note... On prononce en général *xušm*, qui est surtout la prononciation du Sud.'

– Reflexes of cl. Ar. *'anf*: *'anf*, *'inf*, *'unf*, *nufun*, *nāf*. *nāf* may be interpreted as a reanalysed plural < **'ānāf* (cf. Sudanese *aḍān* 'ear'), or as an approximation to *rās*. *nufun* with suffixes added: *nfi*, *nfi*.

– Localised *ṭuxmah* (11) is related to forms like *xaṭam* especially in Alawite dialects in Syria. LAN-1:622 *xuṭum* (south), 'Anaza *xṭum*, however, translated "museau", also in texts. Transferred from the animal's snout onto human

beings, which can be observed frequently. Expanded form *xurṭum* localised Tihāmah/Ganāwiš (48a).

– Forms derived from *nxr*, basic meaning "to snort" (onomatopoeic) occur as *nuxrah*, *nixrah*, *naxrah*, Aden *nuxrah* (GHA), Šabwah *nuxrah* (internet), idem Ḥaḍramawt (internet), Šan'ā' *nuxrih* (questionnaire); Saudi Arabia/Riḡāl Alma' *naxrah* (questionnaire), Ġāzān *nixr* (internet).

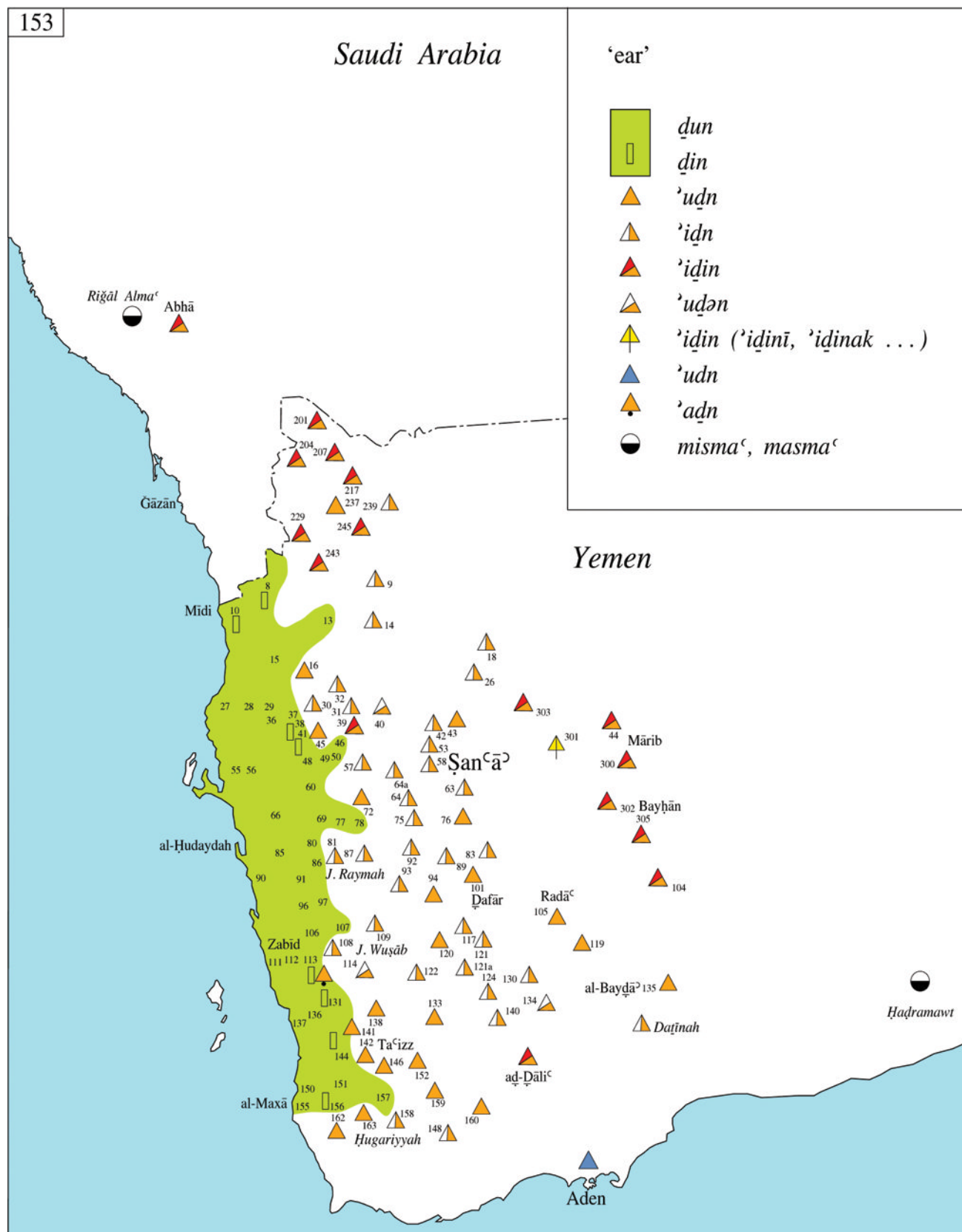
– Originally referring to the "nostril" (cl. Ar. *manxar*): *manxur*, *manxūr*, *maxxūr*, *manxirah*, *munxurah* (*muxxurah*).

With *m*- instead of *n*-: *muxrah* Yemen.

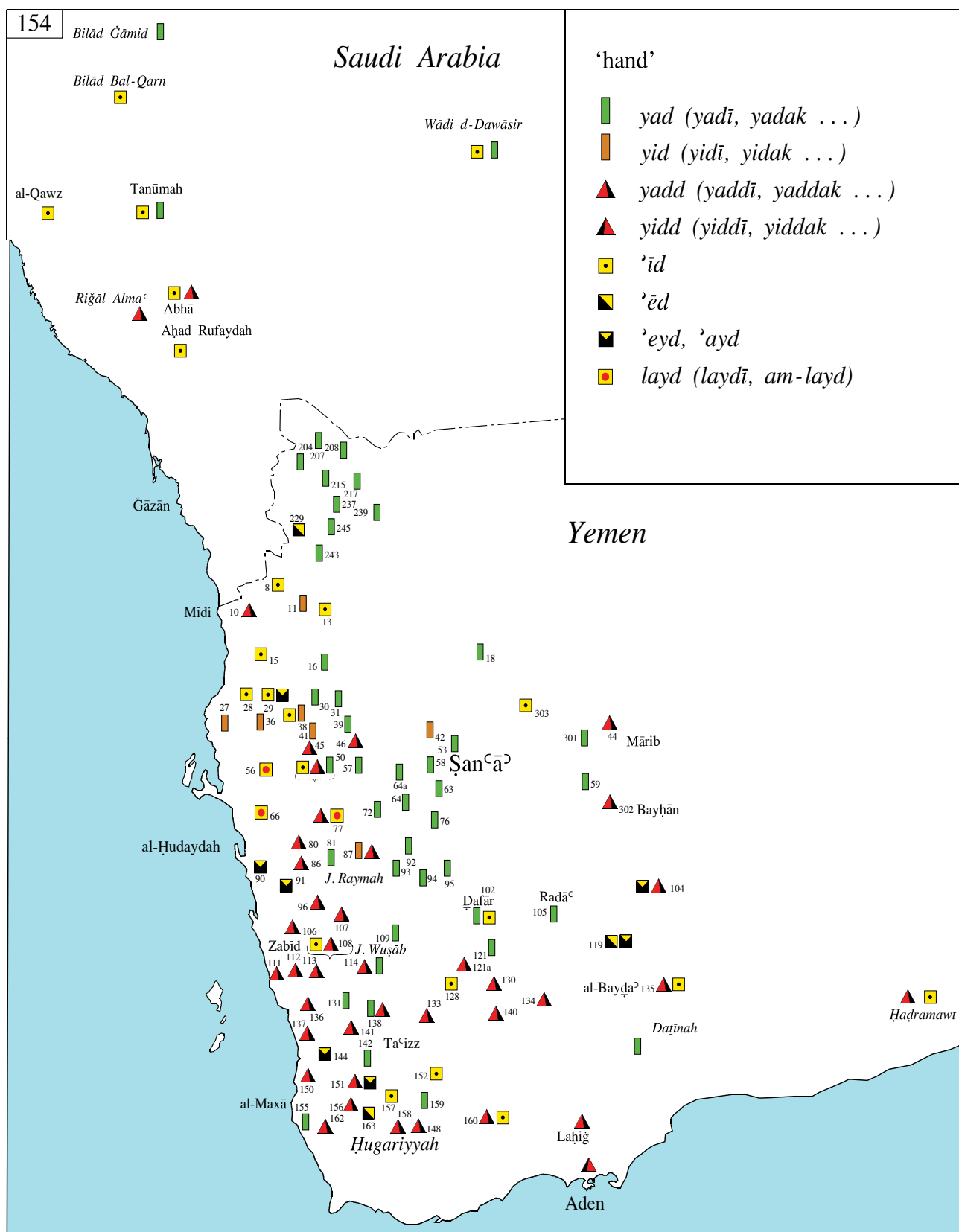
– Localised *naxaš* in Ġāzān/Saudi Arabia (internet) is comparable with *naxšūš* in Baḥrayn "nasal cavity" (HOL-2), idem Egypt (HB). Like *nxr*, *nxš* is part of the onomatopoeic *nx*, *xn* which relates to "snort, wheeze", cf. also the following *xnʃ(r)*.

– *xanfūr* Zahrān (internet) is documented in a similar way for the Maghreb and the Gulf according to map 42 WAD 1. Slightly north of Ġāmid, marked there.

– Yemen *mar'afu* "nose" (158), "big nose" (163) is related to cl. Ar. *ra'afa* *'anfuhu* "his nose bled", *rā'ifun* "extremity of the *'arnaba* [or lower portion, or lobule, of the nose]", in WE "tip of the nose".



- Saudi Arabia PRC-1:207 only quotes plural forms. Abha *’idin* (questionnaire).
- Yemen (questionnaire) Ḍafār, Ṣan‘ā’ *’idn*, Zabīd *ḍunu*, Ḥaḍramawt, Šu‘ēb/aḍ-Ḍālī’ *’idn* (own data), Aden *udn* (GHA, FGH 161). One internet source reports *dūn* in Ḥaḍramawt.
- North: *’idnin* Minabbih (204); *’idn* Ġurāz (239), Majz (215); *’idin* Sāgēn (245), Xāšir (207), Banī ‘Abādīl (201), Ġubar (243); im-Ṭalh (217), *’udn* Ṣa‘dah (237).
- Radā’ HUI 30 *oḍn*; *’udn* Manāxah WRB 353.
- Northeast 54, 302 *’idn*. The original anaptyctic vowel has been phonologised at 301 *’idin*: with suffix pronouns *’idini* ‘my ear’, *’idinak* ‘your (sg.) ear’, *’idinah* ‘his ear’ etc.; 44, 303, 300 only pausal *’idin#*; *’udn* 113. Manāxah WRB 353 *’udn*; *’idn* Rubāṭ al-Gal‘ah (121a).
- *’idn* Daṭīnah LAN-1:74 and LAN-2:24 l. 17.
- In the Yemeni Tihāmah we should presume **’udūn(un)*, or forms with suffix such as **’udūnhā*, as well as elision of the unstressed syllable: *am-ḍun* definite; indefinite *ḍunu* e.g. in Zabīd, occasionally also *ḍin*.
- A completely new form derived from the root *sm* ‘to hear’ is present in *misma* in Riḡāl Alma‘/Saudi Arabia (questionnaire), and *masma* in Ḥaḍramawt/Mukallā (questionnaire).



The subject is discussed in WAD I:141–42. Excerpts from the commentary will be quoted below in slightly amended form:

“The map should mark primarily phonological or morphological changes, as reflexes of cl. Ar. *yad* are found everywhere, and no new designation. These changes mainly concern the transition from biradical to triradical forms, which takes place in some cases through lengthening of the final /d/ (**yad* > *yadd*, *yidd*), in others as reinterpretation in accordance with plural forms, such as e.g. the back-formation *īd* from the pl. *ʾaydin*, in analogy with *ʾarġul* and *riġl* “foot”. Cf. e.g. GvG I:333, LAN-3:2949 and in particular NÖ II:114–16. A clear geographical distribution of the variants is only observable to a limited degree. As it is often not easy to distinctly hear the length of pausal consonants, which has to be inferred from the more or less tense articulation of the final syllable, *yad*, *yid* v. *yadd*, *yidd* are often distinguished with difficulty when heard. Only when a suffix is added does it become clear which form is actually being uttered: *yadi* v. *yaddi* ‘my hand’. Thus we cannot rule out idiosyncratic notations by the authors of the various sources, cf. e.g. JG point 64a *yadd*, with suffix *yadī*; Aden *yad*, pl. *yaddāt* (GHA). *yad*, *yid* and *yadd*, *yidd* are frequently found as isolated forms only, as the bound form is usually *īd*.

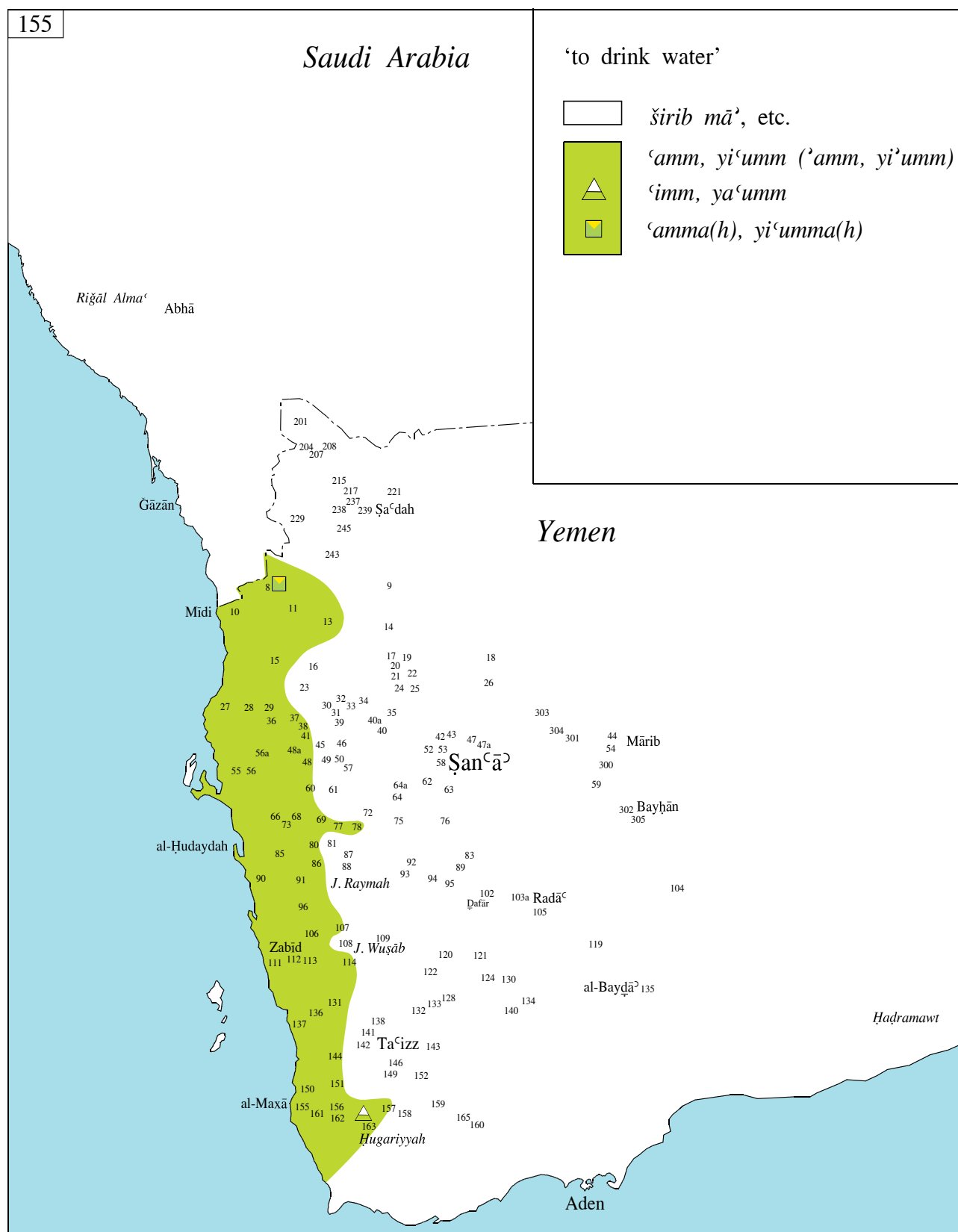
– *yad*: . . . Forms of the type *yad* with scattered instances of *yid* are concentrated in the north and the central western mountains, while *yadd* predominates in the central and southern Tihāmah, the south of the former North Yemen. LAN-1:2949 has *yad* as well as *yadd* in the Daṭīnah; the questionnaire records *īd* and *yadd* in Ḥaḍramawt, LAN-3:739 also names both. Aden *yad*, pl. *yaddāt* (GHA), but questionnaire *yadd*, pl. *-āt*.

– Saudi Arabia: southwest/Tanūmah *yad*, *yadēh* “his hands” (PRC-1:205), *yadd* Abha (questionnaire), *yadd* Riġāl Almaʿ (questionnaire). The bound form is *īd* everywhere except in Tanūmah, Bilād Ġāmid.

– *ʾayd*, clearly a back-formation from cl. Ar. pl. *ʾaydī*. Scattered instances of *ʾayd* and *ʿēd* mainly in the Tihāmah, individual reports also from the al-Bayḍāʾ region.

– *īd* concentrated in the northern Tihāmah.

– The definite article has been agglutinated in isolated instances but is not recognised anymore: *laydī* “my hand” (Tihāmah). In this region the article is *am-*, consequently *am-layd* “the hand”. Why this form, which is part of the basic vocabulary, features **l* and not **am* cannot be determined. Why should this be a loan from a different dialect? Cf. also *al-yōm* “today”, *al-ʾān* “just now”.

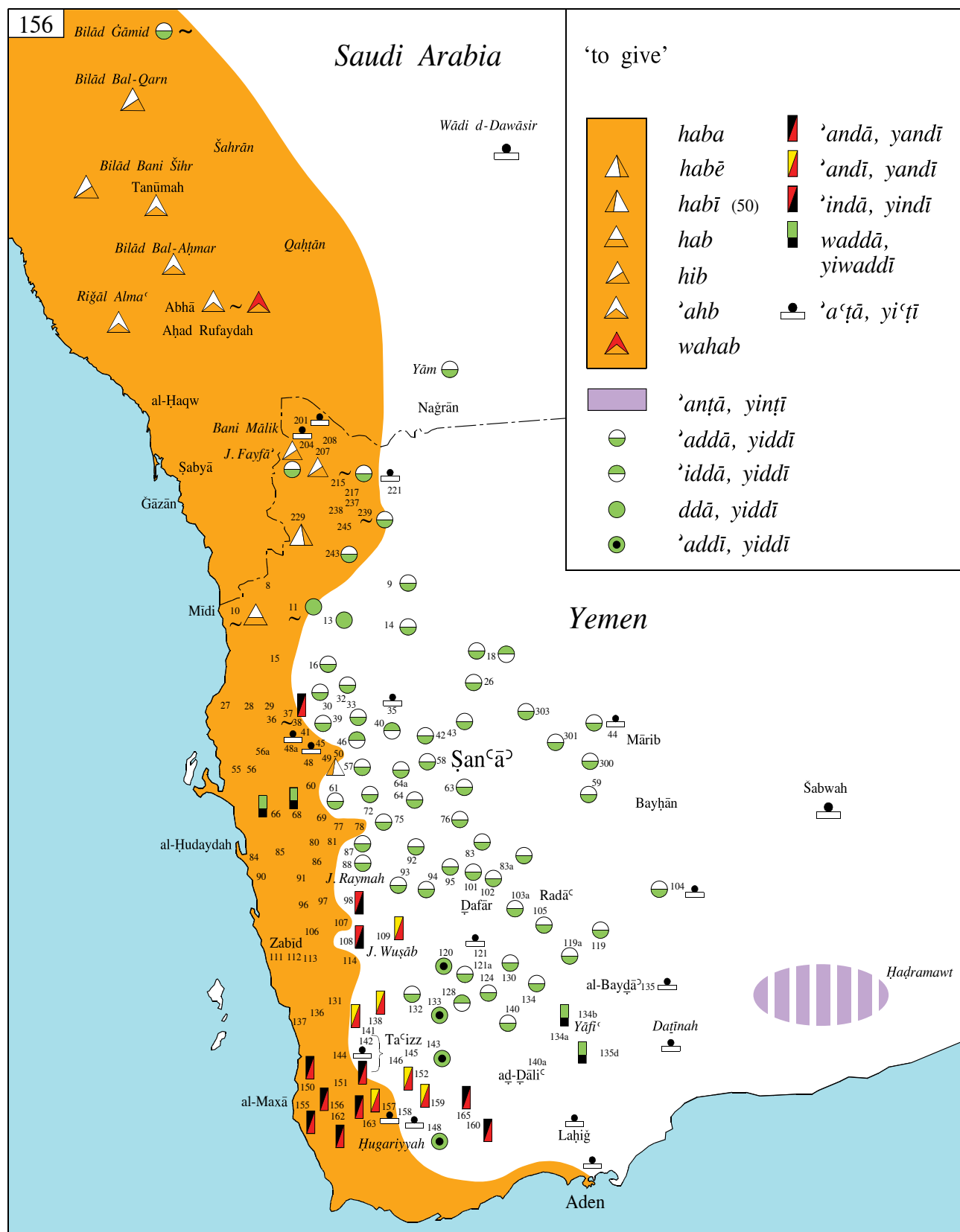


155 ‘to drink water’

– The Tihāmah words *‘amm*, *ya‘umm*, *‘amma*, *yi‘umma*, *‘imm*, *yi‘imm* in the north and *‘amm*, *yi‘umm*, *‘amma*, *yi‘umma* elsewhere are discussed in WAD III:178. The commentary will be quoted in slightly amended form.

– ‘Cf. also Manāxah *‘amm*, *yi‘umm* “to feed someone a liquid” (WRB), Aden *ya‘umma lmawāši* “to water the cattle” (STA 184b), also *addäy na‘umm* “dammi da bere” ROSSI-A 261,8, *‘ammäyt* “ho bevuto” (ROSSI-A 257,-7), more instances in PIA s.v. JG groups it with cl. Ar. *‘abba* “He ... drank water without taking breath ... or he drank water without sipping or sucking in ... he drank water at once, without interrupting the swallowing” (LANE), assuming **b > m*, as is frequently recorded in Yemen (also

vice versa). While one would assume that the word would not stop at the Yemeni–Saudi border, internet research into the dialects of the Ġāzān province, including Šabyā which was discussed in PRC-1, did not come up with any evidence of its being used. Usage of the word does probably not extend very far north, as Abha and Riġāl Alma‘ questionnaires document *šarb* and *harb*. PRC-1 does not report any instances of *‘amm*. But cf. Lebanon *‘abb* “boire en humant et en mettant la bouche sur l’eau sans le secours des mains” (LAN-7:408), which links it to *ġabb*, *yġubb* “animals drinking”, see BEL *ġabb* “boire en humant” in Lebanon; also Dōsirī *‘abbāb* “a well with plenty of water” (KUR-1).



The various designations used are discussed in WAD 111:408–10. The commentary will be quoted in slightly amended and abridged form.

– ‘Reflexes of cl. Ar. *wahaba lahu šayʿan* ‘he gave him a thing; properly as a free gift, disinterestedly, and not for any compensation’, imperf. **yawhibu* > **yahibu* > *yahabu* (LANE); Saudi Arabia *haba* Rufaydah, Abha, Ġāmid, *ʾahb* Abha, Bal-Aḥmar, Tanūmah, *hib* Bal-Qarn, Qawz, *heb* Šabyā (PRC-1:63). For Abha *wahabt*, *wahabti*, *wahabtu*, *wahabt*, *wahabna* besides *ʾahb*, *ʾahbat*, *ʾahbaw*. Also Tihāmat Banī Šiḥr *tāhab* / *ʾāhab* “you/I give”, al-Qawz *tihab*, ‘Asīr *tahab* (PRC-4:100), Riḡāl Almaʿ *ʾahb*, *yahab* (questionnaire); internet: Zahrān, Mixwāt, Ġāmid, Šahrān, Qaḥṭān, ‘Asīr, Ġāzān, Ġāzān/al-Ḥagu, Tihāmah *hab lī*, Ġāzān city *habta lī* ~ *habtalī* “you (sg.) gave to me” (cf. northern Yemeni Tihāmah *habtu* 1st sg. p., *habta* 2nd sg. p.). Point 10 (Ḥaraḍ) *hab* ~ *haba*, *yihab*, correspondingly *habtu* or *habētu* ‘I gave’, *hib*, *yahab* points 204 and 207, imp. *hab!*, *hab lī!* points 201, 207, 218, 221, 237, 243, 245, elsewhere *haba* ~ *habā*, Rāziḥ *habē*, *yihab* (also internet), *habī*, *yihab* point 50b = Šafagēn. Indirect object suffix is often not agglutinated: *hābī lānā galil tamrin!* ‘give (f.) us some dates!’ Minabbih. LAN-1:2846 *habā* with reference to p. 1516 n. 3. There (LAN-2) “*habēytu lak, je t’ai donné, habēyta li, tu m’as donné*”. This refers to the *ḥaḍarī* dialect of the Ḥugariyyah. He also quotes Stace and Rossi *hab*, *habā*; *hab*, *yihab* on the Aden questionnaire; only *ʾaṭa* in GHA. JG mentions Eth.: “LES 609 *wahaba*, Tna. *habā*, Te. *haba*; es ist wohl kein Zufall, daß sich auf der der Tihāmah gegenüberliegenden Meeresseite fast dieselben Formen finden”.

Paradigms:

Rāziḥ (229)

	perfect		imperfect	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>habē</i>	<i>habō</i>	<i>yihab</i>	<i>yihabū</i>
3rd f.	<i>haba</i>	<i>habēn</i>	<i>tihab</i>	<i>yihabin</i>
2nd f.	<i>habēč</i>	<i>habēkun</i>	<i>tihabī</i>	<i>tihabin</i>
2nd m.	<i>habēk</i>	<i>habēkum</i>	<i>tihab</i>	<i>tihabū</i>
1st c.	<i>habōk</i>	<i>habēnā</i>	<i>ʾahab</i>	<i>nihab</i>

Imperative: *hab!*, *habī!*, *habū!*, *habin!*

	Sūq ‘Abs (15)			Zabīd (113)	
	perfect	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.		<i>haba</i>	<i>habō</i>	<i>haba</i>	<i>habu</i>
3rd f.		<i>haban</i>	<i>habō</i>	<i>haban</i>	<i>habu</i>
2nd f.		<i>habēti</i>	<i>habētun</i>	<i>habēti</i>	<i>habētu</i>
2nd m.		<i>habēta</i>	<i>habētun</i>	<i>habēt</i>	<i>habētu</i>
1st c.		<i>habētu</i>	<i>habēnā</i>	<i>habēt</i>	<i>habēnē_#</i>

Inflexion is hybrid everywhere, continuing historical forms of the **yahab* type in the imperfect. See above and JG 1251/2 for examples such as *šahablak šāhiṭ* “I bring you tea”, *habli māyu šāʾumm!* “bring me water, I want to drink!”.

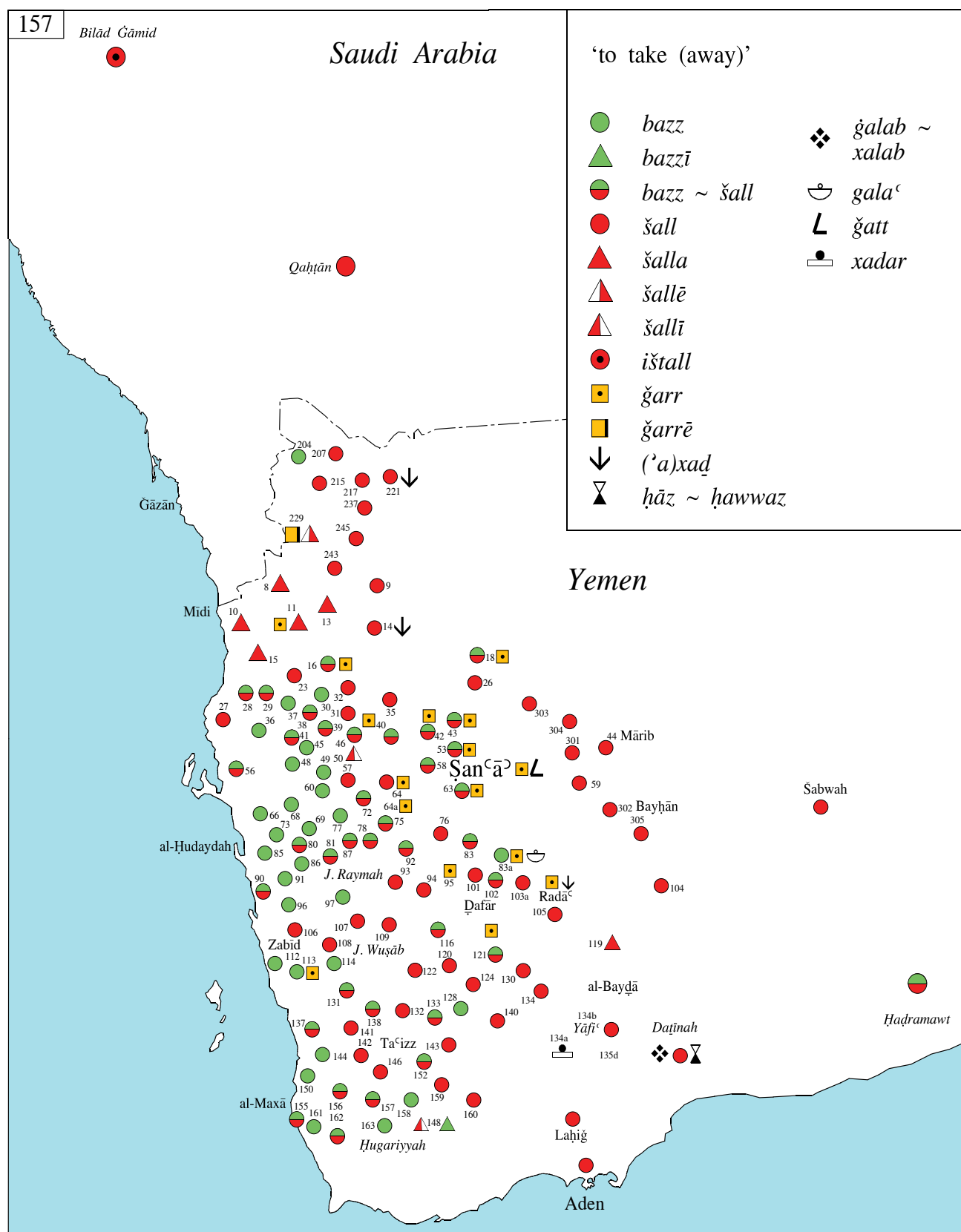
– In cl. Ar. *ʾaddā* means ‘to bring’, among other things. The semantic shift to ‘to give’ is characteristic of large parts of western Yemen (not, however, the coast) ... with variants *ʾadda*, *yiddi*, *dda*, *yiddi*, *idda*, *yiddi*, *ʾaddi*, *yiddi* and *wadda*, *yiwaddi*. Ḍafār *ʾaddā*, *yiddī* (questionnaire), Zabīd *dda*, *yiddi* (questionnaire, but in JA map 137 *haba*), Manāxah WRB 352 *ʾaddā*, *yiddi*. Data from DIEM p. 86 *addaikalak* (al-Maḥall point 88), p. 77 *ʾindīli* al-Hadiyeh (point 98). Radāʿ HUI 37 *ʾaddā*; Ibb *ʾiddā* MS Jastrow, al-Mudawwar *addāluh* MS Jastrow. Yāfiʿ/Mufliḥi/Tenḥara *ddī* (VAN-2:148, VAN-10:262), *ddīni!* (VAN-6:249), Šanʿāʿ *yiddī* (questionnaire), ar-Riyyāšīyyah *ʾiddīli!* (internet), Baraddūn *addaw* “dettero”, *addatilna* “ci ha dato”, *yiddī-laha* “le dà” (BET-B 134, 127, 126).

– Saudi Arabia/Šahrān *ʾadda* (internet, also *hab lī!* “give me!”), Ġāmid *māddi* part. (TOLL 13).

– Featuring dissimilation of **dd* to /*nd*/ in Yemen *ʾanda*, *yandi* at 157, 159; in JA map 137 at point 157 marks only parallel *haba*, *ʾandi*, *yandi*. Point 38 JA map 137 *haba*, besides *ʾindīni!* “give me!” (with short vowel, JG); *ʾindētaluh* “I gave (to) him”, *ʾindāna* “he gave (to) me”, *ʾindayihna* “he gave (to) us” (JG 141), *ʾandaytaluh* (JG 161), *ʾandēt* (JG 163), *ʾandaytak* (JG 150), *ʾandāliḥ* “he gave (to) me” (JG 146, 155, 156, 165), without lengthening *ʾandali* (JG 108, 142, 162); Ġabal Wuṣāb *ʾandīluh!* “give (to) him!” (internet), *ʾandi*, *yandi* (JG 152, 159, 109 = point in Ġabal Wuṣāb).

– Saudi Arabia/Ġāmid *aʿṭā* (TOLL 35, also *haba*, see above), Abha *yaʿṭi* (questionnaire), possibly koineizing.

- Yemen/Aden *aʕā* (GHA), *aʕk* “I give (to) you (sg.)” (my own data), Laḥiḡ *aʕā*, *yaʕī* (FOD 63), Ḥaḍramawt *aʕā*, *baʕaʕik* fut. (LAN-3:659,48), *aʕā*, *yaʕī* (questionnaire), localised Tihāmah *aʕā*, *yiʕī* (JG 38, koine form).
- LAN-3:659: *anṭa* “même dans le sud, mais seulement chez les Bédouins”. Tentative addition.’



– The subject is discussed in WAD III:425. The commentary will be quoted with slight alterations below.

– Three mishaps happened with map JA 138. *ǧarr* was intended to be marked with a half white, half black circle in the key and on the map, but nothing else circular. This circle appears on the map but not in the key, where the symbol appears as an empty circle. This is found once on the map. According to JG, *ǧarr* meaning 'to take away' is documented only in isolated points, as a parallel form besides *bazz* and *ǧatt* on the Ṣanʿāʾ questionnaire, in Rāziḥ *ǧarrē*, *yǧurr*; Manāxah *ǧarr*, *yǧirr* 'to take, grasp, pick up etc.' (WRB 398), others in PIA.

– *bazz*: On original map 138 some parallel instances of *šall* were not marked for the Tihāmah. *bazz* in LAN-1:166 'lever, soulever, enlever, aufheben, 690,5, MJM p. 11, Stace sub *lifted*. C'est un verbe très classique dans ce sens concret, mais le classique dépouiller qq. de qq., *bazza* et *'ibtazza* ... = *'istalaba*, est secondaire'. LAN-2:690 'bzz, Ḥḍr Gloss s.v., et *nbz*, Dt et Nord'. LAN-3:530 'soulever', once again with reference to Stace. The abbreviation MJM is not explained in LAN-1. According to Landberg's criss- and cross-references *bazz* is not a form used in the Daṭīnah. Related to *bazzahu* 'he took it away; or seized it, or carried it away, by force ... removed it from its place, displaced it' (LANE). Also documented *bizz!* Ḍafār (questionnaire, JA only *šall*), Ṣanʿāʾ *bazz*, *yibizz* (JA only *šall*), Zabīd *bazz*, *ybuzz* (questionnaire), *bazzat* 'portò via' Baraddūn (BET-B 152), also *bazzaw* 'sollevarono' (BET-B 134). In PIA, based on several sources, we find the meanings 'to raise, lift up, to carry, to lay hold of, seize, to take, to choose, to keep ... to depart, leave, emigrate, set out, start from a place', not, however 'take away, remove', but cf. instances in JG.

– 3rd mishap: The symbol for *bazz* ~ *šall*, a square with black triangle on the right appears at points 92, 121, 148, 152 as a black triangle only. The forms *bazzi* and *šalli* are found at point 148 (al-Mudawwar).

– The revised version of map 138 in JA still shows a concentration of evidence for *bazz* in the Tihāmah and neighbouring regions. The map contained barely any data for the extreme north.

– *ǧatt* Yemen/Ṣanʿāʾ (questionnaire), no further instances recorded.

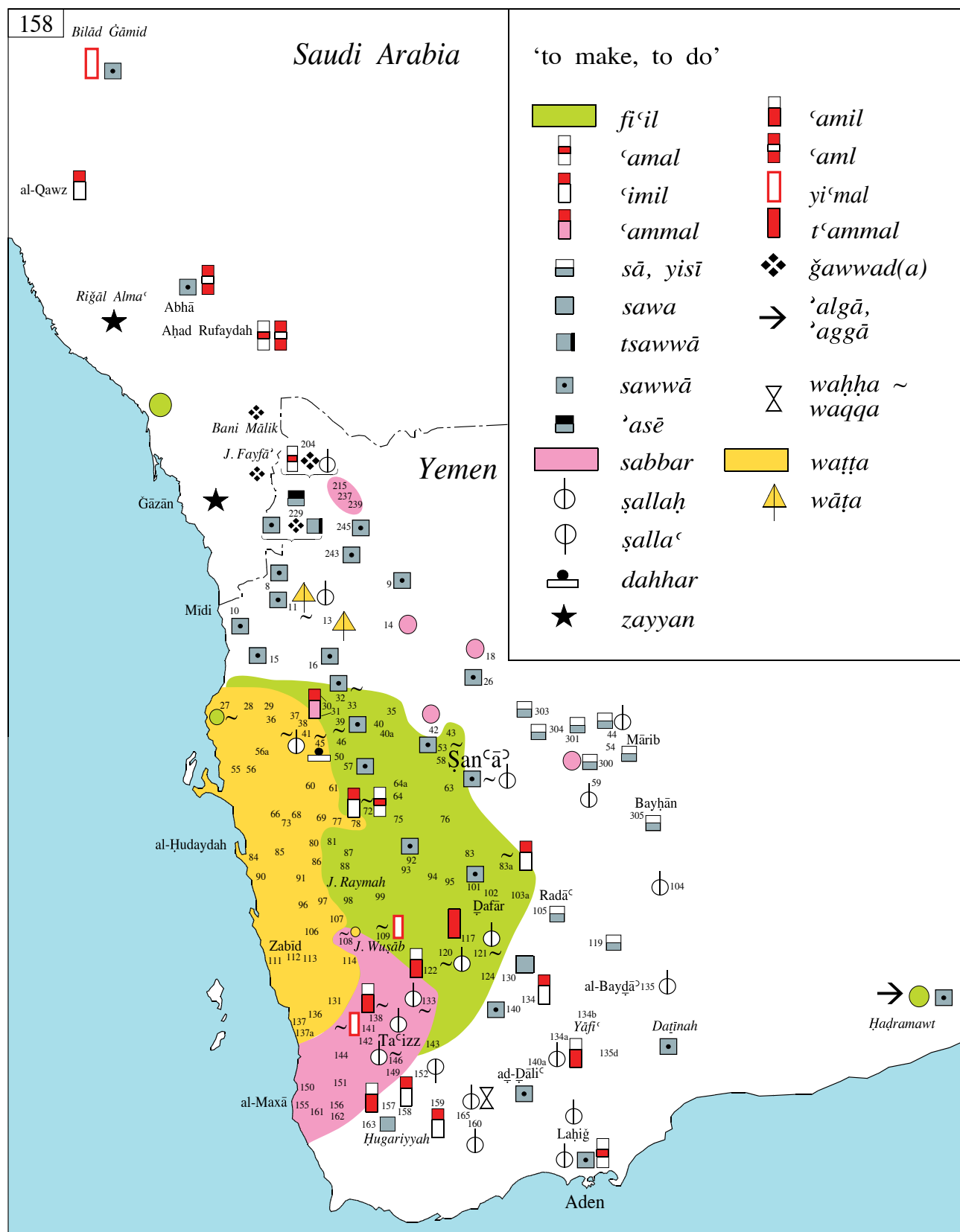
– *xdurī* 'enlève!' Yemen/Yāfi' (VAN-10:266). All other sources on Yemen have this as 'bore, drill', 'bohren', 'percer, perforer' (JG, PIA, LAN-1, LAN-3). LAN-3:560 also has 'se retirer', which would correspond to 'enlever' to some extent.

– *ḥāz*, *i* = *šall* = *ḥawwaz* 'enlever, écarter, mettre de côté, faire aller de côté' Yemen/Daṭīnah (LAN-1:511). Cf. also LAN-2:600 with additional *waḥḥaz*. Also refers to cl. Ar. *zāḥ* 's'écarter, s'éloigner' = *zāx*, Syrian *zāḥ* 'écarter', and links it with *ḥazz* and metathetic *zāḥḥ*. BAR s. v. *zyḥ*: *zāḥ* 'éloigner, écarter, déplacer' in Jerusalem. Cf. map. 379a *zāḥ*. *waḥḥaz* in LAN-1:2906, however, 's'éloigner'.

– LAN-1:628 explains *xalab* 'enlever' Yemen/Daṭīnah as originating in *ǧalab*, and with reference to p. 762, where (LAN-2) *xalab* = *ǧalab* 'enlever'. No further recorded instances for Yemen.

– *tiḡla'i* 'toglie' (f.) via; at 83a (Baraddūn), BET 129. In other dialects 'to wrench away'.

– (*'a*)*xad* is very rare in Yemen. At point 104 inflected partly like tert. inf.: *xadāyt* 'I took'. Cf. the map 'to eat'.



158 ‘to make, to do’

– The subject is discussed in WAD-III:239–45. The relevant sections of the commentary are quoted with minor alterations below.

– ‘The source domain for this generic sense “to make, to do” is often provided by terms denoting specific activities with specific results, e.g. “to make smooth”, “to do it well, correctly, properly” ..., but which lose their specificity (bleaching) and become more generalised.

– Reflexes of cl. Ar. *fa‘alahu* “[he did it]; namely a thing” (LANE), in WE “to do, make, engage in an activity, act”. Documented in Yemen as *fi‘il*, *yif‘al*: “to make, do, act, put into” (JG: Jiblih, 27, 30, 32, 39, 40, 42, 43, 46, 53, 58, 63, 64, 75, 76, 94, 121, 124, 143 (1st sg. *fu‘ulk*, 2nd sg. m. *fi‘ilk*), ZJ, WRB 568). *‘aš fi‘ilt al-yawm?* “what did you do today?”, *mā dif‘al* “what are you doing” (94), Aden *af‘al* “make (imp.)” (STA), Dāfār *fa‘il*, *yif‘al* (questionnaire), Baraddūn *tif‘alah-lohom kiḍa* “così faceva loro” (BET-B 144), *w ḥabba tif‘alha fi tībānaha* “e un altro lo metteva in seno” (BET-B 148), Ḥaḍramawt *fa‘al* ‘faire, 433, mais jamais dans le sens de fabriquer, qui se dit *sawwā*, tandis que *‘amal* est seulement labourer’ (LAN-3:677). p. 433, l. 21: *yif‘alluh gūt*, translated on p. 443, bottom, “chacun se prepare le manger”. Occasionally negative *fa‘al*, *yif‘al* “to do evil” (JG 18). Cf. also *fi‘l* “injury, hostility, murder, action”, and *fi‘il*, *yif‘al* “to be injured” (JG 18, 303).

– Saudi Tihāmah/Ġāzān *māhu* ‘af‘al? (internet).

– Reflexes of cl. Ar. *‘amila* “he worked, or wrought; laboured; served, or did service: he did, acted, or performed” (LANE)... In Saudi Arabia documented only in the south. Appears to be less widely used: Rufaydah *‘amal* (PRC-1:28, 38) *‘imil* al-Qawz (PRC-1:32); Rufaydah, Abha *‘aml* (PRC-1:32, cf. *šarb*), Ġāmid *nī‘malu* (TOLL 27). Yemen *mā ta‘mal?* (JG 109, 142), Baraddūn *‘imil*, *yī‘mil* (BET 123, 129), Manāxah *‘amal* ~ *‘imil*, *yī‘mal* ~ *yī‘mil* (WRB 548), Aden *a‘mal* “make (imp.)” (STA), Yāfi‘ *‘amel* “il fit” (VAN-10:258), especially in central western Yemen; in Yemen form II *yī‘ammal* 30, 31; form V *t‘ammal*, *yit‘ammal* 16, 117.

Forms with semantic shift, source domain “to make straight, flat”:

– *sawwa*, *ysawwi* originally “to make straight, flat”, in WE also “to do (sth.) well”, the meaning “make, produce” is marked “Syr.”, but *sawwa* extends far beyond the Syrian region.

– Saudi Arabia/Abha *yisawwī* (questionnaire).

– Yemen *mā taswī?* what do you (sg.) do? (JG 163), *sawa* (130), *mā tsawwī?* (JG 10, 11), *mā tsuwwī?* (JG 57), Ṣan‘ā’ *lāzīm tisawwaw zanānūr* “you have to have plaits” (WAT-

1:168, literally “you (pl.) must do”), *sawwā*, *yisawwī* (questionnaire, on map 139 JA marked PF), Dāli‘/Šu‘ēb *nisawwi* “we make/do” (my own data), Aden *sawwa* (GHA), *sawwi* “make (imp.)” (STA), Daṭīnah (LAN-1:2004), Ḥaḍramawt (LAN-3:614).

In the northeast as short form *sā*, *yisī* (*yisawwī*) (300): *‘asīlak šāhī?*, 303: ~ *‘assawīlak šāhī* “shall I make you some tea?”, *‘ēš itsawwī?*, 305, 44: *weyš tsī* ~ *weyš tsawwī?*, also at 303. LAN-1:2005 also mentions a short form *sā*, with reference to LAN-2:1313, where we find *lesīleh* = Beyhān *nesīleh* [“we make for him”]. Landberg also refers to GvG 263, according to which this is a haplological form: “*yesūwūn* > *yesūn* ‘they make’, with the fem. *yeseyn* (Landberg 50,2) and the part. *mesīn* (ibid. 71 n. 1) and the perf. *seit* ‘I made’ (83,14), as well as *lesī* ‘I will make’ (86,20) being derived from this.” Landberg loc. cit. derives it from a form IV *‘asā* and “on pourra comparer *bā*, *i*, Nord, *a*, Sud, *vouloir*, < *‘abā*”. As a final *y* *‘asē*, 2nd sg. m. P. *‘asēk* (229). In JG compared to qD *sayt*, *asāw* (JAS-10:265). As *√lqy* also occurs as “to do, make”, it could also be linked to Yem. *√šy* “to meet, find, see”.

Short forms in the perfect, long forms in the imperfect at point 119:

	perfect		imperfect	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>sā</i>	<i>saw</i>	<i>yisawwī</i>	<i>yisawwow#</i>
3rd f.	<i>sat</i> ~ <i>sawwit</i>	<i>seyn</i>	<i>tisawwī</i>	<i>yisawwēn</i>
2nd f.	<i>seyti</i>	<i>seyteyn</i>	<i>tisawwī</i>	<i>tisawwēn</i>
2nd m.	<i>seyt</i>	<i>seytaw</i>	<i>tisawwī</i>	<i>tisawwow#</i>
1st c.	<i>seyt</i>	<i>seynā</i>	<i>asawwī</i>	<i>nisawwī</i>

Point 300:

	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>sā</i>	<i>saw</i>
3rd f.	<i>sit</i>	<i>san</i>
2nd f.	<i>sētī</i>	<i>sētan</i>
2nd m.	<i>sēt</i>	<i>sētū</i>
1st c.	<i>sēt</i>	<i>sēnā</i>

In Rāziḥ (229) *sawwē*, *yisaww*.

– ‘Metathetic *wassā* (LAN-1:2005) with reference to p. 628 in LAN-2. On p. 628 “une métathèse de *rawwā* comme *wassā* (*ā*) de *sawwā*, faire”, which does not make clear whether this is a form from the Daṭīnah. In LAN-1:2922 *wassā* < *sawwā*, referring back to LAN-2:628.

– The same semantic evolution as in *sawwa* is found in *waṭṭa*, *yīwaṭṭi*, less frequently *wāṭa*, *yīwāṭi* Tihāmāh, related to cl. Ar. *waṭa’a* ~ *waṭṭa’a* “he prepared, and made plain, smooth, or soft” (LANE).

Source domain: “to do it well/properly/correctly”:

– *zayyan* Saudi Arabia/southwest/al-Ḥarṭ (internet), *zayyan*, *yizayyin* Riḡāl Alma’ (questionnaire).

– *yīḡawwid* Saudi Arabia/Banī Mālik (internet), ‘Abādil *ḡawwad* (internet), Ḡabal Fayfā’ *ḡawwada* (pc Abdullah Alfaifi); Yemen/Minabbih/Rāziḥ *ḡawwad* (JG); from √ḡwd “good”.

– *šallaḥ*: Form II of √slḥ in *šalaḥa* “it was, or became, in a good, incorrupt, sound, right, or proper, state” (LANE): *keyf tšilliḥ de?* “how do you do that?” (104), *weyš tšilliḥ!* “what are you doing?” (135), Ta’izz *šallaḥ* in DIEM 1973:140,-5, where it is translated as ‘to prepare’, as in *šallaḥ al-magannah* “[he] prepares the sepulchral niche”. Also documented for

Aden *šallaḥ*, *yīšalliḥ* (questionnaire, own data, GHA), also as “repair” (GHA), Aden *šalliḥ qahwa* “make coffee” (STA), Laḥiḡ “to do, make” (FOD 61), Yāfi’ *šallaḥū sellūm* “ils fabriquent une échelle” (VAN-10:262) which speakers in other regions would misunderstand!

– *šalla* ‘Yemen (152, on original map 139 as *salla*); probably related to *šallaḥ*.

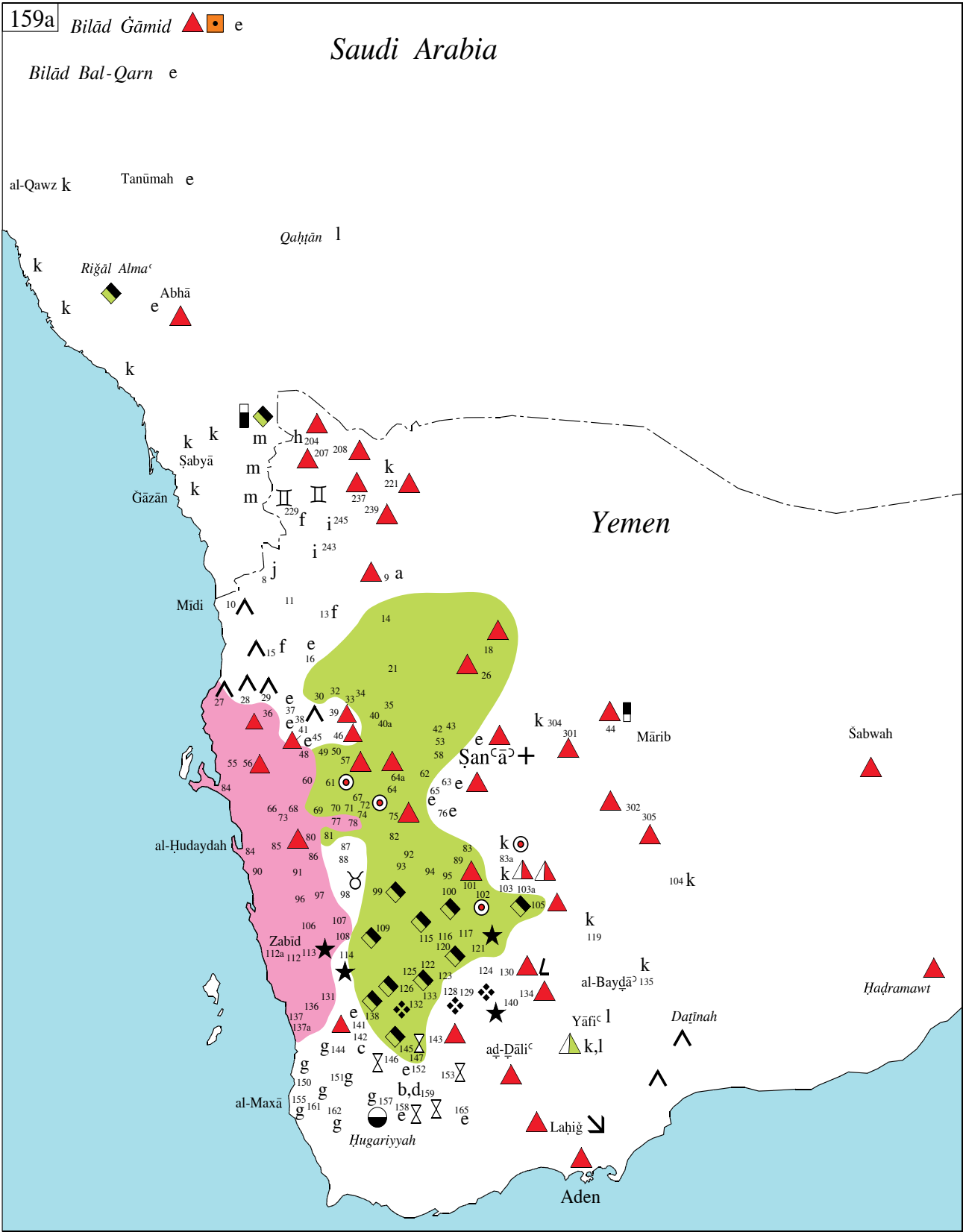
– *sabbar*, *yisabbir*, *yisibbir* “to make, prepare, repair” (JG), Aden *sabbir* “make (imp.)” (STA): *weyš bitsabbir?* “what are you doing?” from *sābir* “good, beautiful, correct, perfect” and cl. Ar. *sibr* “a goodly form . . . beauty” (LANE).

– *dahhar* Yemen (JG 38), linked to cl. Ar. *dahara* “to happen”, thus “to allow to happen”, in LAN-1:859 *dahar* “attiser le feu”, derived from *dār* “tourner, remuer”.

– *waḥḥā*, *yīwaḥḥi* “to make, do” Yemen (JG 165). Cf. *waḥḥaḡ*, *waḥḥag* “to produce, make” (JG Jiblih, 128, 146). Not documented in cl. Ar.

– *waqqa*, *yīwaqqi* Yemen (JG 164, 165); not in cl. Ar. in this sense, but possibly related to *waqā* ~ *waqqā* “garder, conserver, réparer, arranger” (BEL). Cf. possibly *aggā* in Ḥaḍramawt: **aqqā* > *waqqa*’.

– Regarding *algā* in Ḥaḍramawt see commentary WAD and LAN-1:2642 for more information.



159a-b 'to see'

159b

'to see'

a	<i>ra'ā</i>		<i>'absar</i>
b	<i>ra'i</i>		<i>'abṣar</i>
c	<i>ri'i</i>		<i>baṣar</i>
d	<i>ra' (ra'at, ra'u)</i>		<i>'awḥā</i>
e	<i>rā, ra</i>		<i>ḥantar</i>
f	<i>rē</i>		<i>šibiḥ, šabaḥ</i>
g	<i>rī</i>		<i>'ayyan, 'āyan, 'ān</i>
h	<i>rāy</i>		<i>zihid, zahad</i>
i	<i>rāya</i>		<i>ta'ammal</i>
j	<i>rāha</i>		<i>'asī</i>
k	<i>'arā, 'ara, 'arī</i>		<i>liqi</i>
l	<i>ra'</i>		<i>šimih</i>
m	other forms attested: <i>rētča, rayt, rayku</i>		<i>xawwal</i>
			<i>xayyal</i>
			<i>tšāḥar</i>
			<i>'istaḍā</i>
			<i>hidī</i>
			<i>tšawwaf</i>

– Original maps 140 and 141 are merged.

– At some points the base form is not documented, therefore on map 'm = other forms: *rētča*, *raykū* etc.' As there is a commentary in WAD III:330–39, the relevant passages will be copied with small alterations.

– *ḥād, y(i)ḥīd* is characteristic of the central Yem. Tihāmah. The form is marked on the map in JA, but was left out of JG! Cf. also PIA *ḥād, yihīd* "to see, look" (after Diem, Rossi, among others); concerning Zabīd PRC-7:62 *ḥād* with complete paradigm, *ḥād, yihīd* also on Zabīd questionnaire, RO-APP 242 "Nella Tihāmah per 'vedere' si usa *šāf, išūf* oppure *ḥād, iḥīd*", LAN-1:532 *ḥād, i* "voir, chez les Bédouins d'el-Moxā' et de Zabīd. *ḥīduh ḥālam*, le voilà là-bas, Béd. d'el-Moxā'; *ḥittuh* je l'ai vu... connaître, savoir, en 'Omān, 662,3 d'en bas. Pourrait-on rapprocher ce sens de l'hébreu *xīdāh* [written in Hebr.], énigme?"

– *'absar, yibsir*: "sull'altopiano ricorre *'absar, yibsir* (raro *'abšar, yibšir*)" (ROSSI-A 242), also Šan'ā' questionnaire and WAT-3:295. However, a regional distribution of the two variants is observable, forms with /š/ occurring in the southern half of the plateau; cf. also one instance on the internet (without location) *'abšarkū* "I saw him". In Yāfi'/Tenḥara as form I *bašar* (VAN-10:265). Also documented in Saudi Arabia/Banī Mālik, Banī Ḥarb *yibšir* (internet), *'abšar* Zahrān (internet), *'abšar, yibšir* Riḡāl Alma' (questionnaire).

– *'awḥā* Yemen (JG 157), in other Yemeni dialects "to hear, feel". "Es ist von einer Grundbed[eutung] 'wahrnehmen, fühlen' auszugehen, die sich in zwei Richtungen weiterentwickelt hat > 'hören–sehen'; vgl. frz. sentir 'fühlen', italien. sentire 'hören' (JG p. 1288). Im KA *waḥā* '(geistig) offenbaren'."

– *ḥantar, yihantir* "to see, look"; in JG "dissimiliert aus *ḥattar zu kl. *ḥatara* 'den Blick auf etwas richten'" LAN-1:346 and 504 "chez les Bédouins de Xadīr, Māwiyah et Ġebal Šabir, le verbe usuel pour voir". In JA marked on map as "schauen" ("to look").

– *šabaḥ* "nel Yemen di NW" (RO-APP 242), *šibih* in Jabal Rāziḥ "to see, look" (JG), elsewhere more frequently recorded as "to look".

– *'ayyan* Yemen/Dafār (questionnaire), *āyan* "to see, look" Manāxah, Jabal Ḥarāz (JG), more frequently recorded as "to look".

– *zihid, yizhad* northern Tihāmah. *zahada* has entirely different meanings in cl. Ar., among them "he computed, or determined, its quantity" (LANE). This meaning is sometimes also found in Yemen as "to presume, estimate". More in JG.

– *ta'ammalu ~ ta'ammalu* "they saw" Saudi Arabia/Ġāmid (TOLL 13, 51), in Yemen with the meaning "to look" (JG 120, 121a, 138). In LANE more figurative "he looked at the thing endeavouring to obtain a clear knowledge of it... he looked into the thing, considered it, examined it...". Possibly influenced by MSA.

– *'asī, ya'sī* "to see" Yemen/Jiblib, also *'āsī, yi'āsī* with the perfect being used instead of imperfect in *'asūku* "I see it", *mā 'asōkš* "I do not see it" (Šifah), cf. also *arād* "he wants to" and *arukk* "I want to". At point 159 *'asa, ya'si* "to meet" is a Yemenism *'asiya* "to find" (JG after SEL 37).

– The same is true of forms of *√lqy*: *liḡūteh* "I saw, met him", *liḡīnā* "he saw me (m.)" *'ilḡītu 'ams* "I saw him yesterday", *liḡūni* "they saw me (f.)" (JG 121, 114, 113).

– *šimih* Yemen may be one of the "verbs of topological elevation", cf. *šamaxa* "to be high", *šamām* "height, augustness", *šamā* "to be high, august" (WA) and *šamax* "high and distant objective" (JG 98, p. 675).

– *xawwalt* = *ra'ayt* Jibāl Harūb/Saudi Arabia (internet, a little north of Jabal Fayfā'), cf. Yemen *xayyal* "to see" (JG 301), also "to look". LAN-1:669: "*xayyal* est originairement percevoir... observer les nuages pour voir s'il va pleuvoir".

– *tšāḥar* Yemen (JG 130), form I = "to look", LAN-1:2024: *šahḥar* "fixer du regard".

– *staḡā* Yemen/Šan'ā' (JG), *istaḡā* "to be able to see" (questionnaire), WAT-1:82: *'idā gadak bi-tustaḡi ḥayyā mā bi-tib-sir?* "if you (m. sg.) can see, what do you see?"

– *hidī* "to see" Bedouin near Aden (PIA). LAN-1:2859 has it meaning "conduire", like cl. Ar. Possibly also related to *√hd*, cf. loc. cit. *haddā* "attendre, warten".

160 'to see': reflexes of *ra'ā*, *'arā*, 1st sg. perfect

– Saudi Arabia PRC-1:107 Abha, Bal-Qarn, Qawz *rēt*; *rayt* Tanūmah, Ġamid, *'arēt* Qahabah, Qawz, Šabyā. J. Fayfā' *rētča* 'I saw you (sg.)' (internet), Bani Ġamā'ah *raykū* 'I saw him' (ALB 61), in form IV *'ara* in the southwest/ Qahabah, Šabyā, Qawz (Prochazka 1988:106), Saudi Tihāmah *'arēt* (internet), Ġāzān *'arēthum* 'I saw them' (internet). The forms *rī*, *riyan* (3rd sg. f.), *riyu*, southern Tihāmah, are marked by horizontal hachure on the map JA 142 p. 196, the key incorrectly shows vertical hachure; Šan'a' *ma raytiḥ wala bsartiḥ* (questionnaire), Radā' *rayt* (HUI 119). *'arā* in form IV (JG 27, 103a, 119, 135, 304, 221), Baraddūn *araw al-marāḥ* 'videro la donna' (BET 154/5, sentence 9), *arat* 3rd sg. f., *arathom* 'li vide' (BET 132, 144). Point 135 *'arayt ~ rayt*.

Paradigms: Rāziḥ (point 229)

	perfect		imperfect	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>rē</i>	<i>rayyū</i>	<i>yirā</i>	<i>yirō</i>
3rd f.	<i>rayya</i>	<i>rēn</i>	<i>tirā</i>	<i>yirēn</i>
2nd f.	<i>rēč</i>	<i>rēkun</i>	<i>tirē</i>	<i>tirēn</i>
2nd m.	<i>rēk</i>	<i>rēkum</i>	<i>tirā</i>	<i>tirō</i>
1st c.	<i>rōk</i>	<i>rēnā</i>	<i>'arā</i>	<i>nirā</i>

Ġubar (point 243)			Majz (point 215)	
perfect	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>rāy</i>	<i>rāyū</i>	<i>rā</i>	<i>rāyū</i>
3rd f.	<i>rāyan</i>	<i>rāyēn</i>	<i>rāyan</i>	<i>rāyū</i>
2nd f.	<i>rēč</i>	<i>rēkun</i>	<i>rēti</i>	<i>rētū</i>
2nd m.	<i>rēk</i>	<i>rēkum</i>	<i>rēt</i>	<i>rētū</i>
1st c.	<i>rōk</i>	<i>rēnā</i>	<i>rēt</i>	<i>rēnā</i>

Some of the paradigms appear inconsistent. The northern dialects share /y/ as a reflex of * in the forms of the third person. In other forms, however, e.g. **ra'ayt > rayayt* merged to *> rayt*, or a straightforward simplification **ra'ayt > rayt* can be assumed. Similarly **rayku > rawku >*

rawk > rōk. *rē* at 229 must be explained as due to analogy with other forms featuring /ē/, or assimilation to verbs final y (*ramē*). *rayya* and *rayyū* can be explained in analogy with *ġayyū*, *ġayyin* 'they came', but only *ġā* 'she came', not **ġayya*.

	mountain Tihāmah (point 38)		northern Tihāmah (point 15, 'Abs)	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
perfect				
3rd m.	<i>rāh#</i>	<i>raw</i>	<i>rēh#</i> , <i>rē_#</i>	<i>rō'#</i>
3rd f.	<i>ran</i>	<i>rayn</i>	<i>ran</i>	<i>rō'#</i>
2nd f.	<i>raytiḥ#</i>	<i>raytinna</i>	<i>rētīn</i>	<i>rētun</i>
2nd m.	<i>rayt</i>	<i>raytu</i>	<i>rēta</i>	<i>rētun</i>
1st c.	<i>rayt</i>	<i>raynā</i>	<i>rētu</i>	<i>rēnā</i>

/ē/ in the base form at point 15 can be explained as above in accordance with the forms *rētu*, *rēta*, *rēna* etc. When a suffix is added, -n is doubled: *rētinnuh* 'you (sg. f.) saw him', *rētunnuh* 'you (pl.) saw him', *rannuh* 'she saw him'.

Forms from the south. Many of the paradigms found are hybrid.

al-Ḥaddah (point 142)			Šarar Banī Yūsuf (point 159)	
perfect	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>ra'ʔ#</i>	<i>ra'uḥ#</i>	<i>ra'i</i>	<i>ra'u_#</i>
3rd f.	<i>ra'at</i>	<i>ra'ayn</i>	<i>ra'ah</i>	<i>ra'ēn</i>
2nd f.	<i>rīti</i>	<i>rītun</i>	<i>ra'ayti</i>	<i>ra'aytin</i>
2nd m.	<i>rīt</i>	<i>rītum</i>	<i>ra'ayt</i>	<i>ra'aytun</i>
1st c.	<i>rīt</i>	<i>rīna'ʔ#</i>	<i>ra'ayt</i>	<i>ra'ayna_#</i>

In these forms /ī/ can be explained as analogy with the verbs final y of the type *nasūt* 'I forgot', or *ġūt* 'I came'. Cf. also the parallelism in 142 and 141 below, and in the northern dialects above: either retaining *hamz* in the third persons, or transition to /y/, and monophthongs in the other persons, or transition to /ī/ in the third persons and /ay/ in the others as at point 150.

Šar‘ab (point 141)

perfect	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>rīʿi</i>	<i>raʿu</i>
3rd f.	<i>raʿan</i>	<i>raʿu</i>
2nd f.	<i>rīti</i>	<i>rītu</i>
2nd m.	<i>rīt</i>	<i>rītu</i>
1st c.	<i>rīt</i>	<i>rīnā</i>

al-ʿUqqah (point 151)

	perfect		imperfect	
	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>rīʿ#</i>	<i>rīyu</i>	<i>yara</i>	<i>yaraw</i>
3rd f.	<i>rīyan</i>	<i>rīyu</i>	<i>tara</i>	<i>yaraw</i>
2nd f.	<i>rayti</i>	<i>rītu</i>	–	<i>taraw</i>
2nd m.	<i>rayt</i>	<i>rītu</i>	<i>tara</i>	<i>taraw</i>
1st c.	<i>rayt</i>	<i>rīna_#</i>	<i>ʾara</i>	<i>nara</i>

Cf. also point 141: *mā rīʿitš* ‘I did not see’, *rītuh* ‘you (sg. m.) saw him’, *rītīh* ‘you (sg. f.) saw him’, *rīʿik* ‘he saw you’, *raʿannuh* ‘she saw him’. At point 151 *rīyu*, *taraw* and *yaraw* + object suffix 3rd sg. m. become *rīyuh*, *tarah*, *jarah*.

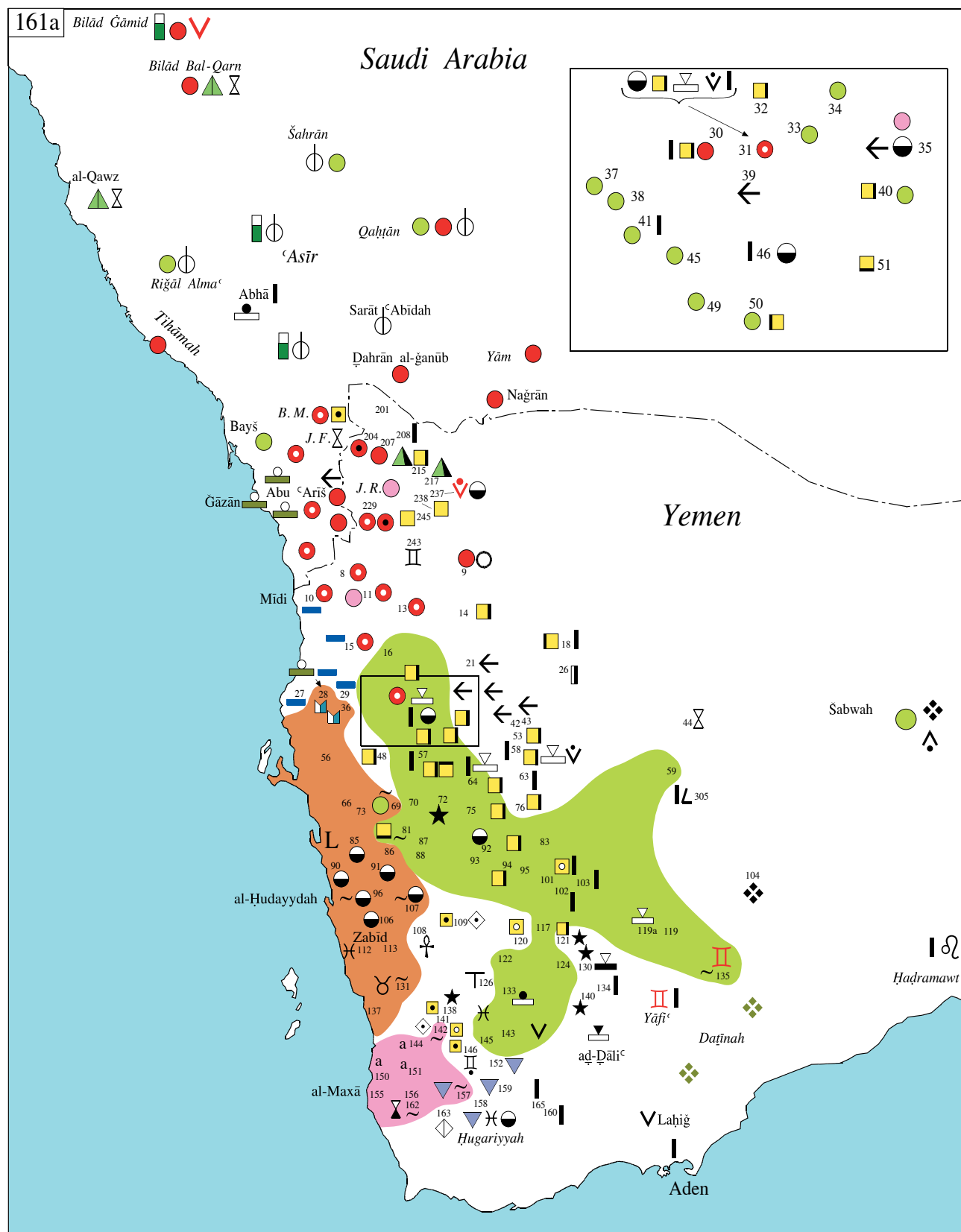
Gabal am-Nār (point 156)			Sūq al-Gum‘ah (point 144)	
perfect	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>rī</i>	<i>rīyu</i>	<i>rī</i>	<i>rīyu</i>
3rd f.	<i>rīyá:n#</i>	<i>rīyu</i>	<i>rīyan</i>	<i>rīyu</i>
2nd f.	<i>rēti</i>	<i>rētu</i>	<i>rīti</i>	<i>rītu</i>
2nd m.	<i>rēt</i>	<i>rētu</i>	<i>rīt</i>	<i>rītu</i>
1st c.	<i>rēt</i>	<i>rēnā</i>	<i>rīt</i>	<i>rīna</i>

Regarding point 156 *rīyahna* ‘he saw us’, *mā rīyahnāšīn#* ‘he did not see us’, similar at point 144 *rīyūna* ‘they saw me (m.)’, *rīyūni* ‘they saw me (f.)’, *rīyuhna* ‘they saw us’.

Yaxtul (point 150)

perfect	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>rī</i>	<i>rīyu</i>
3rd f.	<i>rīyan</i>	<i>rīyu</i>
2nd f.	<i>rayti</i>	<i>raytu</i>
2nd m.	<i>rayt</i>	<i>raytu</i>
1st c.	<i>rayt</i>	<i>rayna_#</i>

mā raynuššīn ‘we did not see him’.



161b

'look!'

	'ayyin		'artub		ṭāli'		šabbiṣ
	'āyin		tšawwaḥ		ṭāni', ṭāni'		'išrif
	t'ayyan		ḥid		'irg	L	lafat
I	šuf	66	ḥīd		'aḥzur, 'iḥzir		
	tšawwaf		xayyil		'aznum		
	'ibsir		txawwal		zzahhad		
	'ibsar		rū		šḥar		
	'absar		ra', rā'		tšāḥar		
	'absir		trawwa'		tšaḥḥar		
	'ibšir		ša'	L	'ušš!		
	'ibšar		taša'ā		'iḥris		
	sir		'a'lum, 'i'lum				
	'unḍur		'allim	T	'išgan		
a	'anḍar	★	t'ammal	ḍ	šuṭṭ		
	'išbaḥ	←	'irba(h)		ḥantir	B. M. = Banī Mālik	
	šabbiḥ		'ilmaḥ	ḥ	qābil	J. F. = Jabal Fayfā'	
	tšabbah	∨	(a)tfarrag		šabbir	J. R. = Jabal Rāziḥ	

Excerpt from WAD III map 340–49 with slight alterations.
 – ‘Under the headword “schauen” (“to look”) SCHR lists transitive *raʿā* and *ʿabšara* and intransitive *naḍara* [ʿilā], *taṭallaʿa* ʿalā, *ranā* ʿilā, as well as terms with specific meanings such as “to look angry/angrily”, “to look in someone’s eyes”, “to look out of the window”, “look [search] for something”, “not to look at other women” etc. The context given during the field studies was “look, there he is!” or “look at this!”

– The OED (online) defines “to look” as “to direct one’s sight” and “to direct one’s gaze in a manner expressive of a certain thought or feeling”. Unlike “to see” it implies the agent’s being in control of the action. For the various directions and manners of looking, Arabic usually has synthetic forms such as *ṭall*, *yṭull* meaning “to look down from above, from a window” in many dialects, or *xazar* “to look (at someone) angrily with a fixed stare”.

– The imperative forms of verbs meaning “to see” may sometimes be used to mean “look!”, e.g. *šūf!*, *šuf!*, *ʿayyin!* etc. This does not usually apply to reflexes of *raʿā*, where suppletive forms are used.

– Ḍafār *ʿayyin!* ~ *šūf!* (questionnaire), Šabwah (internet), *ʿāyan* “to see, look” Manāxah, J. Ḥarāz (JG), *tʿayyan* (JG 215, 217); Saudi Arabia southwest (Ġāzān and elsewhere), documented on the internet, also *ʿānah!* “look [towards after] him”, Šahrān, Qaḥṭān *ʿayyin!* “look!” (internet), Bayš/Ġāzān idem (internet).

– Ḥaḍramawt (questionnaire), Aden (questionnaire), Yāfiʿ (VAN-6:249) *šif!* 208 *šif!*; *šuf!* 18, 31, 36, 46, 57, 58, 63, 64a, 75, 101, 134, 305.

– Reflexes of *ʿabšara*, in some instances losing the emphasis: *ʿabsir li-fulān!* “look [towards after] so-and-so!” (57), *ʿabsar* (50b, 81), Šanʿā *ʿabsir* (questionnaire, internet), *ʿibšar* (142), *ʿibšir* (JG after Glaser), see JG; in southwestern Saudi Arabia/Banī Mālik *ʿabšar* (internet).

– Yemen/north *ʿibšir!* shortened to *sir!*, *sireh!* “see him!”, *sirhā!* “see her!” 245, *sir!*, *sirah!*, *siru!* 238.

– Ġāzān *nazartanī* “you (sg.) looked at me” (internet) presumes *nazarta*, cf. *|z/|* for *|d/|* in *ṣaxmun* “excellent” for *ḍaxmun* in neighbouring Yem. Tihāmah, and forms of the 2nd sg. m. perf. with *-ta*. Yemen *nḍur!* (JG 11), *naḍar*, *yanḍur* Yemen (JG 150, 156, 157), *naḍar*, *yinḍur* (JG 78, 229, ZJ).

– *ʿišbaḥ!* (30, 207), *šabaḥ* “he watched, he guarded” (STA 77a), *šabbaḥ*, *yīšabbih* (204, 229 = Rāziḥ, also internet), *tšabbaḥ li* (8, 10, 11, 13, 31, 64a, 229).

– *ʿartub* from more frequently documented *rattab* “to aim” (108), probably originally “to put up a target” (cl. Ar. *rat-tabā* meaning, among other things, “he fixed” LANE).

– *tšawwaḥ!* (9), probably combining *tšabbaḥ!* and *tšawwaḥ!*

– ḥīd Zabīd (questionnaire), Tihāmah *ḥīd* ~ *ḥīd*.

– J. Fayfāʿ *xayyal* (internet), LAN-1:669 with reference to *raʿā*. “*xayyal*, seule forme verbale usitée de ce thème dans le Sud, est originairement *percevoir* et *se faire une idée* ou *une image de qc.* par des indices extérieurs ou intrinsèques, *supposer, imaginer*... Dans le Sud, ce verbe est le terme technique pour *observer les nuages pour voir s’il va pleuvoir*”.

– *txāwā* Yemen “to look Taʿizz region” (PIA after RO-APP 261), which states “Per Mōzaʿ, tra Taʿizz e Moxā, ho notato questi vocaboli e queste frasi... *etxāwa* ‘guarda.’” The examples cited by Rossi all come from the Tihāmah dialect, and Mōzaʿ probably refers to Mawzaʿ (point 162), closer to Maxā than to Taʿizz, and not in the Taʿizz region. At this location I recorded *txawwal!*, which corresponds to *xawwal*, *xayyal* “to see”, and *xayyil!* “look!”.

– Reflexes of *raʿā*: Yemen *rū!* sg. (243). Vowel probably in accordance with *šūf!*

– *raʿ!* 135, Yāfiʿ *rāʿ* (VAN-6:249, VAN-9:265), *trawwaʿ* (146); obvious contamination of *√rʿy* and *√rʿy* resulting in *√rʿy*, based on semantic contiguity: “to look after” = “to protect, care for”.

– *šaʿ weynuh!* Yemen (104), *šaʿ* Šabwah (internet), in LAN-1:2061 *t(a)šaʿa* “voir, regarder” + *li* “to inspect”. “The following is the result of analysing this word: *šaʿuh* has always been explained to me as *raʿuh* ~ *raʿah* ‘le voilà’. This imperative < *tašaʿa*, used as an interjection, is only found in Syria and southern Arabia. Scholars from Syria have always explained it as an imperative of *qšʿ* ‘voir’, a point of view adopted, too, by some European scholars who presume that the *q* became *hamza*. However, in that case in the south, where *q* never becomes *hamza*, we would have *qšaʿuh* or *iqšaʿuh*, which is not the case. Still, this is not too far from the truth as *qšʿ* could be an extension of the root *šʿ* which survives in Hebrew in the form *šāʾah* [written in Hebr.], Akkad. *šeʾū* to look at.”¹ PIA also notes “particle

1 ‘Voici le résultat de l’analyse de ce mot: “*šaʿuh* me fut toujours expliqué par *raʿuh* ~ *raʿah*, le voilà. Cet impératif < *tašaʿa*, usité comme interjection, n’est employé qu’en Syrie et dans l’Arabie du Sud.” Les savants de Syrie me l’ont toujours expliqué comme un impératif de *qšʿ*, voir, et cette manière de voir a aussi été adoptée par quelques savants européens qui supposent que le *q* est devenu *hamzah*. Mais

alors on aurait dans le Sud, où le *q* ne devient jamais *hamzah*, *qšaʿuh* ou *iqšaʿuh*, ce qui n’est pas le cas. Pourtant la chose n’est pas loin de la vérité, car *qšʿ* pourrait être un élargissement du thème *šʿ*, qui nous reste en hébreu sous la forme *šāʾah* [written in Hebrew], akkad. *šeʾū*, regarder.’

prefixed to pron. suff. + verb, expressing progressive present *ša'nē dāxlin* 'here we go in' based on a Jewish source from Ḥabbān [in Ḥaḍramawt], which one could translate as "nous voici qui entrons".

– *'allim!* Yemen (163), *'alum!* (109), *'ilum 'alā fulān!* (142). In cl. Ar. *'alima* means "to know". The semantic shift probably took place from "to know" > "to recognise, perceive" > "to see". Cf. OE *cnawan* "to know, perceive".

– *'it'ammal, t'ammal* (120, 121a, 138, 140, the latter only on map 143), Manāxah *t'ammal* "to look at, view, contemplate" (WRB 360), see map "to see".

– *raba, 'irba!* north of Ṣan'ā' (18, 35, 39, 42, 43); Saudi Arabia/Abādil/Balḡāzi *'irbah!* (internet, = *'irb* + *-ah?*), from cl. Ar. *raba'a* "to raise, lift up" (WE, transferred), below "to observe from above". Cf. also *rabaša* "to lurk, lie in wait" (which frequently takes place from above), *rabā* "to grow" ("to become high/tall"). LAN-1:1113 "pour le classique *raba'a*, observer d'une hauteur, > *rāba'a*, observer, guetter = *ḥaḍir* et *ittaqa*... ayant la même sémantique que *šāf, u, tašawwaf, šar(r)af, raqab* et *iṭṭalla*."

– *'ilmaḥ!* ~ *talammaḥ!* Saudi Arabia/Asīr/Ġāmid/Zahrān (internet). In cl. Ar. "regarder qn ou qc à la dérobée" (BEL), in WE (German version) *lamaḥa* "to cast a fleeting glance", English version "to glance".

– *'itfarrag!* (143).

– Saudi Arabia/Abha *ṭālī'* marked as a more modern form (questionnaire), Bedouin (internet, no location), *ṭālī'* = *tšabbah* = *šūf* Ḡāzān (internet, other sources *ṭāni'*); Yemen/Jiblih *ṭāla'* "to look at, view" (JG).

– Similar *ṭāni'* Saudi Arabia/Ġāzān (JG, mentioned in Mīdi on the Saudi border; internet: in the centre of the province, Abu 'Arīš and the surrounding area); also at point 28 northern Yem. Tihāmah *tāna', yiṭāni'* (JG).

– Regarding *√rqy* and the "verbs of topological elevation" *irguḥ!* = *'unḍur 'ilayhi* "look towards/after him" Saudi Arabia/Asīr (internet), also *'irgi!* (internet), Qaḥṭān as-Sarāh *irg!* (internet). In WE *raqiya* "to ascend".

– *'aḥzur!* Yemen (90, 91, 107), *ḥazar, yiḥzir* (35), *ḥazar, yiḥzur* (31, 46, 64a, 75, 158, 237), *ḥuzur, yiḥzir* (91, 107), *ḥazzar* after AKQ. LAN-1:588 points this out s. v. *xazar* "regarder fixement", p. 412 *ḥazar* "s'apercevoir, observer" with reference to 74,16. LAN-2 has a comparison of two versions of the same story, in the Daṭīnah dialect and that of Šibām: *min ba'ad zahede bū = min ba'ad ḥazarah abūh*, p. 225 "Le père s'étant aperçu...", also LAN-2:25 *wāḥzor*

'aqlak, p. 192 "fais aussi attention" (LAN-1:412 "fais bien attention"). Loc. cit. also "En Syrie, deviner = *ḥaraz*", 716; cf. *ḥazzūra* and Hadramite *ḥazartah ya'nī naḍartah* [written in Arabic].

– *'aznum!* Yemen (131). JG s. v. lists it among the "verbs of topological elevation" and points out cl. Ar. *√snm (znm)* "high, august".

– *tzahhad ~ zzahhad* Yemen (10, 15, 27, 28, 29) see map "to see".

– *šahar, yišḥar, šhar!* Yemen "to look" (31, 58, 64a), ar-Riyyāšiyah (119a, INT), *tšāḥar* "to see, look" (130), *tšāḥḥar* aḍ-Ḍālī' (INT), idem "il regarda" (VAN-1:183). In cl. Ar. *sāḥara* means "to open the mouth", a Yemenism, possibly > "to stare with one's mouth wide open", in LAN-1:2024 *šahḥar* "fixer du regard".

– *'ušš warāk!* "look behind you" (305). Probably not a verb form, but a hortative particle.

– *(i)ḥris!* Yemen/Ḥaḍramawt/Šabwah (INT), in WE *ḥarasa* "to supervise". LAN-1:412: "Un Ḥaḍramite me dit: *al-ḥazr mā ykūn 'illā bil-'ayān wa l-'urf*, le *ḥazr* n'est que par l'inspection et en connaissance de cause, et *ḥaraztuh ya'nī naḍartuh*... *ḥaraztuh* veut dire: je l'ai vu". Landberg is mixing *√ḥzr* and *√ḥrz*. *(i)ḥris!* maybe pausal for *(i)ḥriz!* – *'išgan!* Yemen (126). JG: "evtl. metathetisch zu *naḡaša* 'untersuchen, prüfen' WA II 987".

– *šutt!* Yemen/Ḥaḍramawt (INT).

– *ḥantir!* see map "to see".

– *qābil!* 87, 113, 145, in JG with reference to Mehri *aḡōbəl* "to watch, keep an eye on" (JOH-4:221).

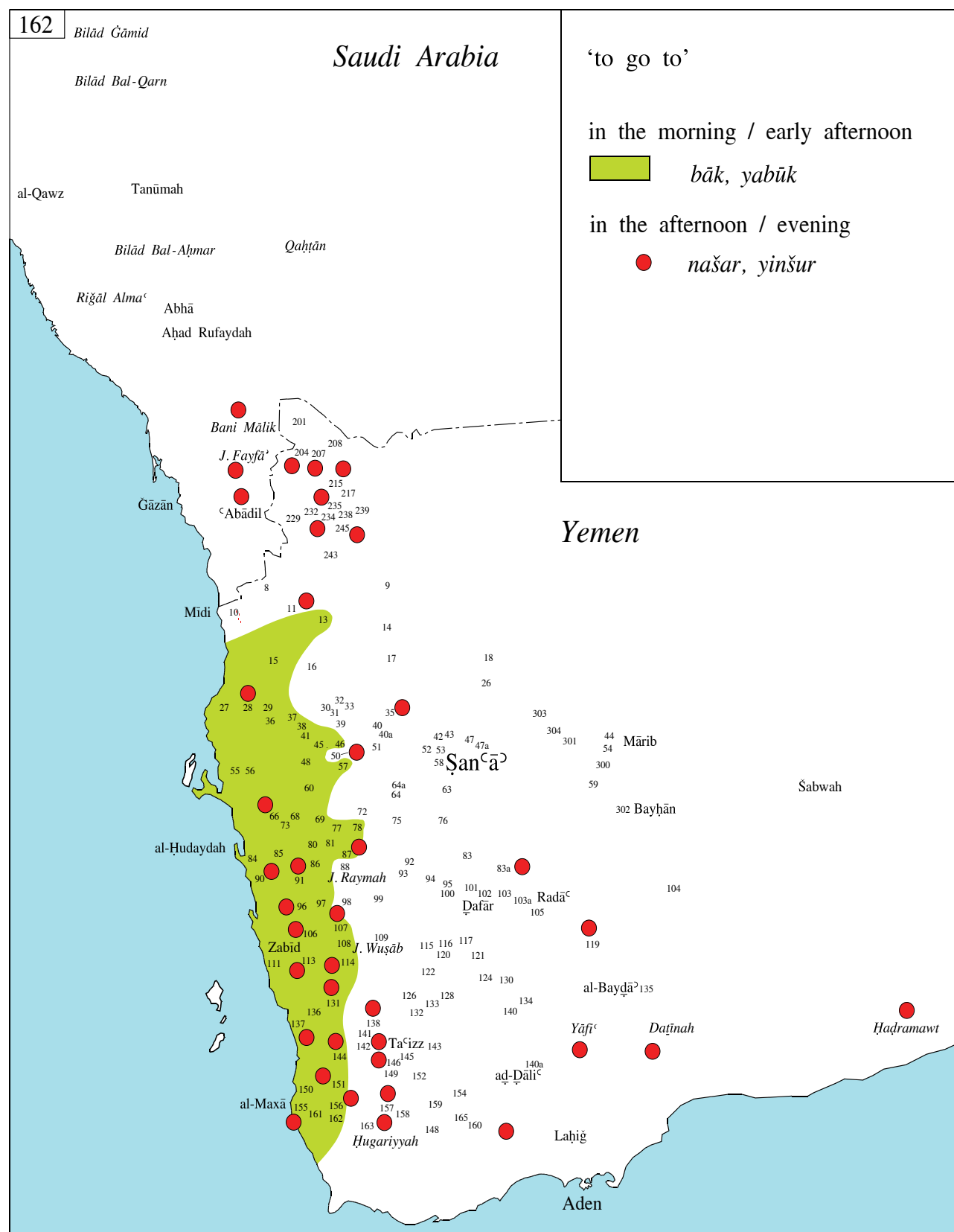
– *šabbar, yišabbir* "to aim, look at" (31, 58). LAN-1:2016: "dans le Sud *šbr* est voir... mehri *šābūr*". He compares this with Eth. *šmr*, Hebr. *šāmar* "bien examiner", also *šimmer* "observe, supervise"; LES 530 compares Eth. *šam(a)ra* with Yem. *sabra* "be suitable (with alternance of labials *m:b*)"; LA considers, with less probability, Ar. *šibr* "span": *šabbar* "to measure by span" > "measure, estimate"; cf. also *šibiḥ, tšabbah, šabbaš, šabih*. (JG p. 614).

– *šabbaš, yšabbis* "to look" Yemen (237), marked as 'slang', contamination of *√šbh* and *√bšr*.

– *'išrīf = ṭull w šūf!* Saudi Arabia/Ġāmid (INT).

– *lafat, yilfit* "to look at" (84). In WE *'alfata naḡarahu 'alā* "to direct one's gaze onto".

– For further terms used only in specific context or which are uncertain cf. WAD.



162 'to go to' (in the morning / early afternoon / evening)

– Original map 44 with the example ‘he went to the market’, with no distinction according to the time of day. However, the subject is much more complicated, as we are dealing with a semantic field, and depending on the questions, one or the other form was named in the answers. At some surveyed locations up to six different designations were documented, at others, one only. The subject had to be spread over several maps, as it might otherwise become too convoluted.

Slightly altered excerpts from WAD III:23ff.:

– ‘As going always implies going away from one point and towards another, the same word is often used to express both concepts “to go to, to proceed to” – “to go away, leave”. Or as in NAI-L 82 “The value of these verbs is a function of the syntax of the utterance: in intransitive constructions, i.e. when the target point of the motion is not specified, ‘to leave’ is the implied sense (1 and 3); in transitive constructions the intended objective directly follows the verb in the position of the direct complement (2 and 4), and the verb has the meaning ‘to go to.’”¹ See also Landberg in detail in LAN-1:1493ff.

– A further contributory factor to the complexity of the topic is that in some areas going to a location is expressed synthetically, i.e. with different verbs depending on the time of day. Where e.g. European languages use an analytic construction featuring the base verb “to go” and a definite time: “frühmorgens gehen” / “to go early in the morning”, “morgens gehen” / “to go in the morning”, “abends, nachts gehen” / “to go in the evening, at night” (“in the morning he goes to work, at night he goes to the disco”), Arabic expresses synthetically through a single lexeme: *rāḥa*, *sarā*, *ḡadā* etc. This is also true of cl. Ar.: “As in Cl. Arabic there are several verbs which specify being or action at a certain time of the day. These distinctions have for the most part disappeared from town dialects, though they still exist in Qatari, a dialect which is less far removed

linguistically from the Bedouin dialects than are the other ḥaḍari dialects of the Persian Gulf area” (JOH 96).

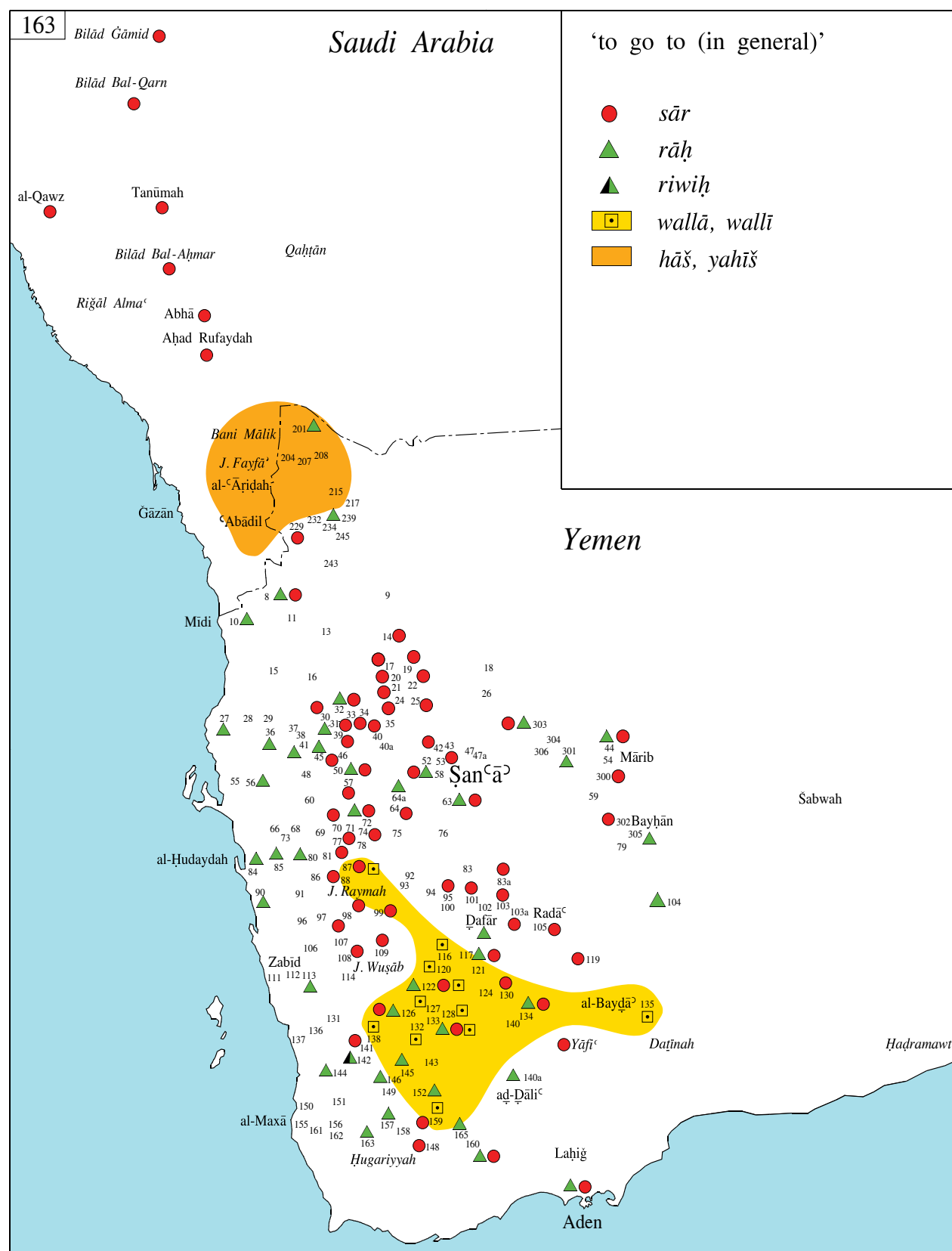
– *bāk*, *yabūk* in JA map 144 in the entire Tihāmah, according to GRE 61 “said before the noon prayer”, JG point 155 “to leave in the morning”. NAI-L:82 says “*bāk*, est réservé à la période qui s’étend du matin au milieu de l’après-midi (~ 16)”; imprecise in SIM 229 ‘l’équivalent de *rāḥ*’. The possible etymologies named in NAI-L:84 *bāka* “vendre et acheter” etc., *bakka* “se bousculer” are rather improbable, cf. JG which assumes *bāk* = **wabaka* < *wakaba* “to stride”, and change of class as in Eg. Ar. *waqada* > *ḡād* “to light a fire” (*qda* in the Maghreb), cf. *wahaba* > *haba* ~ also *hab* “to give” (Tihāmah).

– *našar*, *nišār*, *nšar*, *yanšur* “to go or leave in the afternoon, evening”, especially in western Yemen (JG) see SEL 203. *naššara* “to send out” goes back to the base form *našara*... which is not documented by Arab lexicographers. LAN-1:2771 “mais généralement aller dans l’après-midi, le soir = *rāḥ* (Bédouins) ou simplement aller (Ḥaḍar)”, with reference to Ḥaḍramawt 723, there (LAN-3) idem “chez les vrais bédouins, et chez les ḥaḍar simplement *aller*”. NAI-L:82: “*našar* est employé à partir du milieu de l’après-midi”, Baraddūn *našar as-su’ūdiyya* “parti per l’Arabia Saudita” (BET 152), without reference to the time of day. As GRE 61 fn. 30 *ana nāširun msōq* “used after the noon prayer” suggests, *našar* may refer to the act of “leaving” as well as to “going towards a destination”. Also documented in Saudi Arabia/Ġāzān/‘Asīr (internet) *mayd anšur im-sūq* “I want to go to the market” al-‘Ariḍah, in the form *nšr* and vocalised as *anšara* in the southwest (possibly misspelled for *našara* as in Jabal Fayfā, ALB 61), *nāšir* “going at the time of the ‘ašr”. Cf. also Saudi Arabia/Ġāmid *ninšur ilān* “we go to rest until” (TOLL 44/57).¹ For more information see WAD loc. cit.

– *bāk* is limited to the Tihāmah, while *našar* is probably valid all over western Yemen.

¹ ‘La valeur de ces verbes est fonction de la syntaxe de l’énoncé: dans les constructions intransitives, c’est-à-dire lorsque le site visé par le déplacement n’est pas précisé, c’est le sens de “partir” qui est encodé

(1 et 3); dans les constructions transitives, le site visé suit immédiatement le verbe, en position de complément direct (2 et 4), et le verbe a le sens d’“aller”.



Excerpts from WAD III:18:

– Cl. Ar. *sāra*, *yasīru* is “He, or it went ... or passed along; marched, journeyed ... went away ... or departed ... *sāra min baladin libaladin* they went, or journeyed from town to town” (LANE). Reflexes of this are *sār*, *yīsīr* “to go, leave, go to, go at any time of day”, described in JG as “common to all Yemen”; *sirt Ṣanʿā* “I went to Ṣanʿā”, *sār as-sūg* “he went to the market”, *ʿasīrilhum* “I am going to them”, *ʿayna štasīr*? “where are you going (to)?” (JG, with more examples). *Ṣanʿā sār*, *yīsīr* (questionnaire), Aden *sīr* “go!”, *xallih yīsīr* “let him go” (STA), Baraddūn *sārat* “andò” (BET 146), Yāfiʿ *sār*, *surk* 1st sg. perf. “aller” (VAN-10:260, 144), LAN-1:2008 “aller, voyager, marcher” with reference to LAN-2, I:82/5, where following Stumme he compares a text from Tripoli/Libya with one from the Daṭīnah, e.g. Tripoli *mše lil-barr* vs. Daṭīnah *sār lāʿarḍ* “he went ashore”. Many instances recorded in DIEM: Yašīʿ *sār* “to travel” (p. 27), p. 35/36 *sirtinna* “northern plateau”, Yarīm *ʿan sirt yā waladi*? “where had you gone to?” (p. 132/33), Ḍamār *ʿansīr* “we will go” (p. 52), Radāʿ *basīr* “I will go” (p. 56), ad-Dāmīgah and Baynūn *sirtum*, *sirtummeh* “you go” (p. 60), al-Hadiyeh *sār*, *yīsīr* “to go” (p. 81), idem al-Maḥall (p. 87), idem al-ʿUdayn (p. 96) and RO-APP 242 “A el-Ḥodeidah e nei dintorni si dice *rāḥ*, *irūḥ*, *bāk*, *ibūk*, ‘andare’, mentre sull’altopiano per lo stesso significato predomina il verbo *sār*, *isīr*”.

– Saudi Arabia PRC-1:77, 80 *sār*, *ysīr* “he went” Rufaydah, Abha, Bal-Aḥmar, Tanūmah, Bal-Qarn, Ġamid, Qawz.

– Saudi Arabia/southwest *rāḥ* meaning only “to go” in Rufaydah, Abha, Bal-Aḥmar (PRC-1:78, 82).

– Yemen/ad-Ḍālīʿ *rahku l-madrasah* (my own data), Šuʿēb *ruhku* (my own data), in the former North Yemen usually documented as “to go to”, *rāḥ as-sūg* “he went to market” (165), *rāḥ yinfa*ʿ “he went to take care of something” (10), *rāḥū yiʿizbū* “they went to the pasture” (301), Ḍafār *ʿayruḥ la-Yarīm* “he is going to Yarīm” (DIEM 45), Zabīd *rāḥ* (ques-

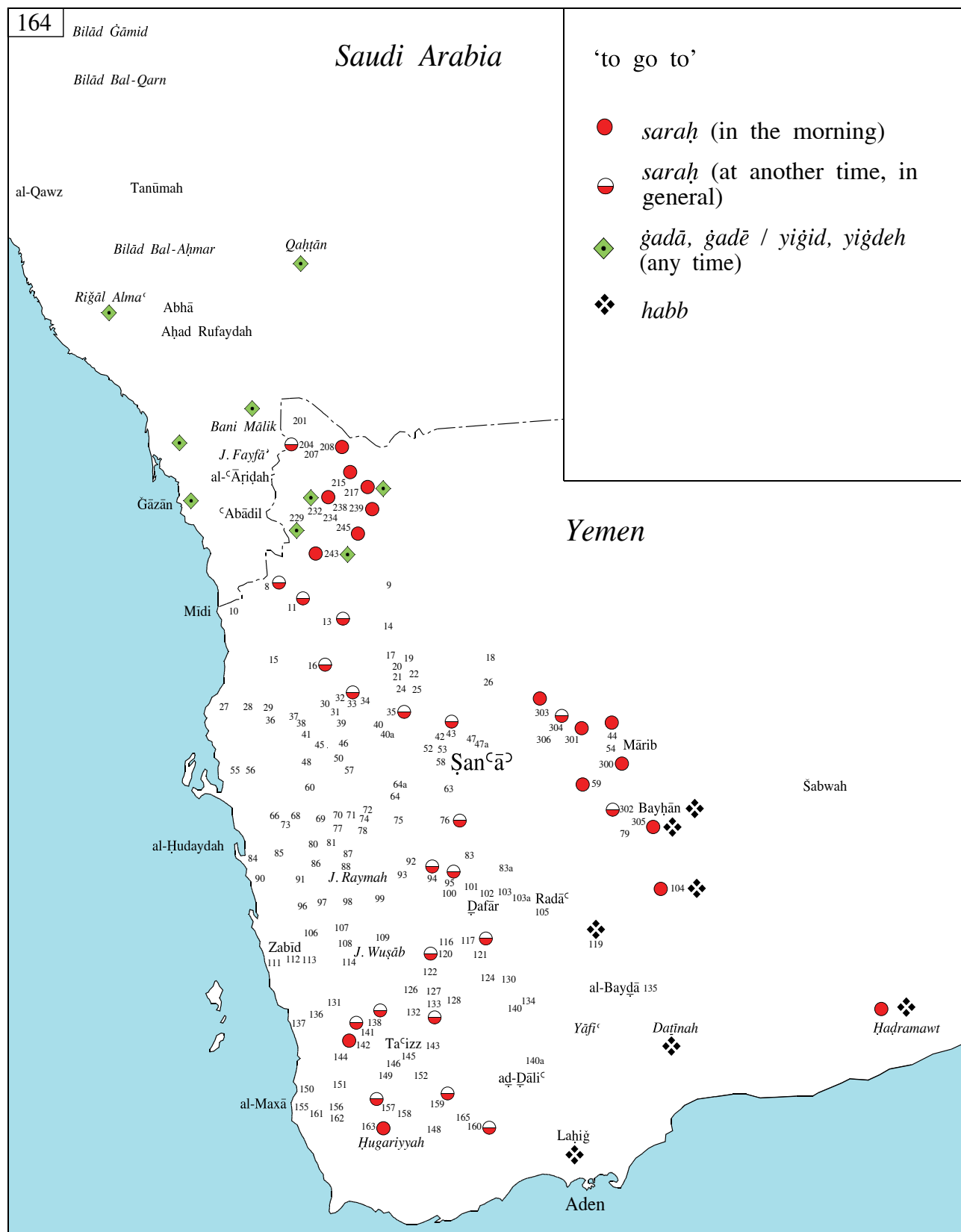
tionnaire). For Zabīd and the surrounding area NAI-L:92 says: “The allative *rāḥ* “to go” is the unmarked corresponding lexeme of *bāk* and *našar* (see 1.1.) with which it forms a triad. The points of departure and arrival are introduced by adpositions, the ablative *min* and the allative *sana*”.¹ Baraddūn *tirūḥ* “vai” (BET 124), Aden *yirūḥu* (EM), *rūḥ* “go!” (STA), *xallih yirūḥ* “let him go” (STA), *rāḥ*, *yirūḥ* (questionnaire), Ḥaḍramawt *rāḥ yirūḥ* (questionnaire).

– Cl. Ar. *rāḥa* “said of a man ... and a company of men ... He, and they, went, or journeyed, or worked, or did a thing ... in the evening ... or in the afternoon ... but they also mean he, or they, returned ... and went, or journeyed at any time” (LANE, more *ibid.*). “Chez les Ḥaḍar du Sud, *rāḥ* est aussi aller en général ... Il est curieux que *rāḥ*, aller, ne se trouve pas une seule fois dans le Qorʾān” (LAN-1:1497). Inflected like a triradical verb: Yemen *riwiḥ*, *yirwaḥ*: *ʿayna štirwaḥ*? “where are you going to?” (142).

– *hāš*, *yahīš*, *yihīš* “to go, walk” (201, 204, 407, 208, 215, PIA), *wān bāthīš*? “where do you want to go (to)?” (217); *yalla nhīš nitḡaddā* “come on, let’s go eat!” (215); Saudi Arabia/Bani Ġamāʿah (near al-ʿĀriḍah): *hišt ʿind* “I went to”, Bal-Ġāzi *hāš*, Jabal Fayfāʿ *hāyiš*, Banī Mālik *hāš*, 1st pl. *nahīš* p. a. *hāyšin* (with customary *tanwīn*), al-ʿĀriḍah *hīš*! imperative, al-ʿAbādīl *huš sīwah*! “go to him!” (all internet, concerning *sī* cf. JG). See also JG with reference to a “shooing” call, cf. Ger. *husch*, *husch*!

– *wallā*, *yīwallī*, *wallā*, *yīwillī*, *yī/wallī* “to go, go to a specific destination” Yemen (JG 87, 121, 116, 120, 128, 135, 138, JJ, ŠJ), *wēn bātwillī*? “where are you going to?” (135), Taʿizz *ʿayna šitwallī* (internet), “SE of Tihāma *wallī* ‘to go’” (PIA, after JA, wrong location), Lower Yemen al-Gades idem “he went” (PIA), Jiblih *wallā*, *yīwallī* “to go (with a specific destination)” (JAQ 55), Iryān *ʿan ʿanta mwallī*? “where are you going (to)?” (DIEM 50), related to WE *wallā* “to turn towards”.

¹ ‘L’allatif *rāḥ* ‘aller’ est le correspondant non marqué de *bāk* et *našar* (voir sous 1.1.) avec lesquels il forme une triade. Les points de départ de d’arrivée du déplacement sont introduits par des adpositions, l’ablatif *min* et l’allatif *sana*.’



– ‘*saraḥ* “to go to work” *Yāfi*’ (INT), *Ta’izz ‘aynā štisraḥ?* “where are you going (to)” (INT). JG translates as “to go away in the morning”, “to go away in the afternoon”, “to go (away)”, also “to go to market”, more generally “to go to, to go away”, “to go with specific destination”. *Yarīm saraḥlah la-bilād* “that one went to a country” (DIEM 132/33). Šabwah *saraḥ* = *dahaba* (INT), *saraḥt* = *ruḥt fin-nahār* Ḥaḍramawt (INT), Baraddūn *kānu yisraḥu yir’aw* “andavano a pascolare” (BET 144), *saraḥat* “andò” (BET 125); in cl. Ar. *saraḥtu ‘anā* “I went, or went away, in the morning” (LANE). Originally probably referred to “go to pasture, from *saraḥa* “the cattle, or camels, pastured . . . in the morning” (LANE). The semantic shift “to go to pasture” > “to go to work” > “to go in general” consequently is not a recent one.

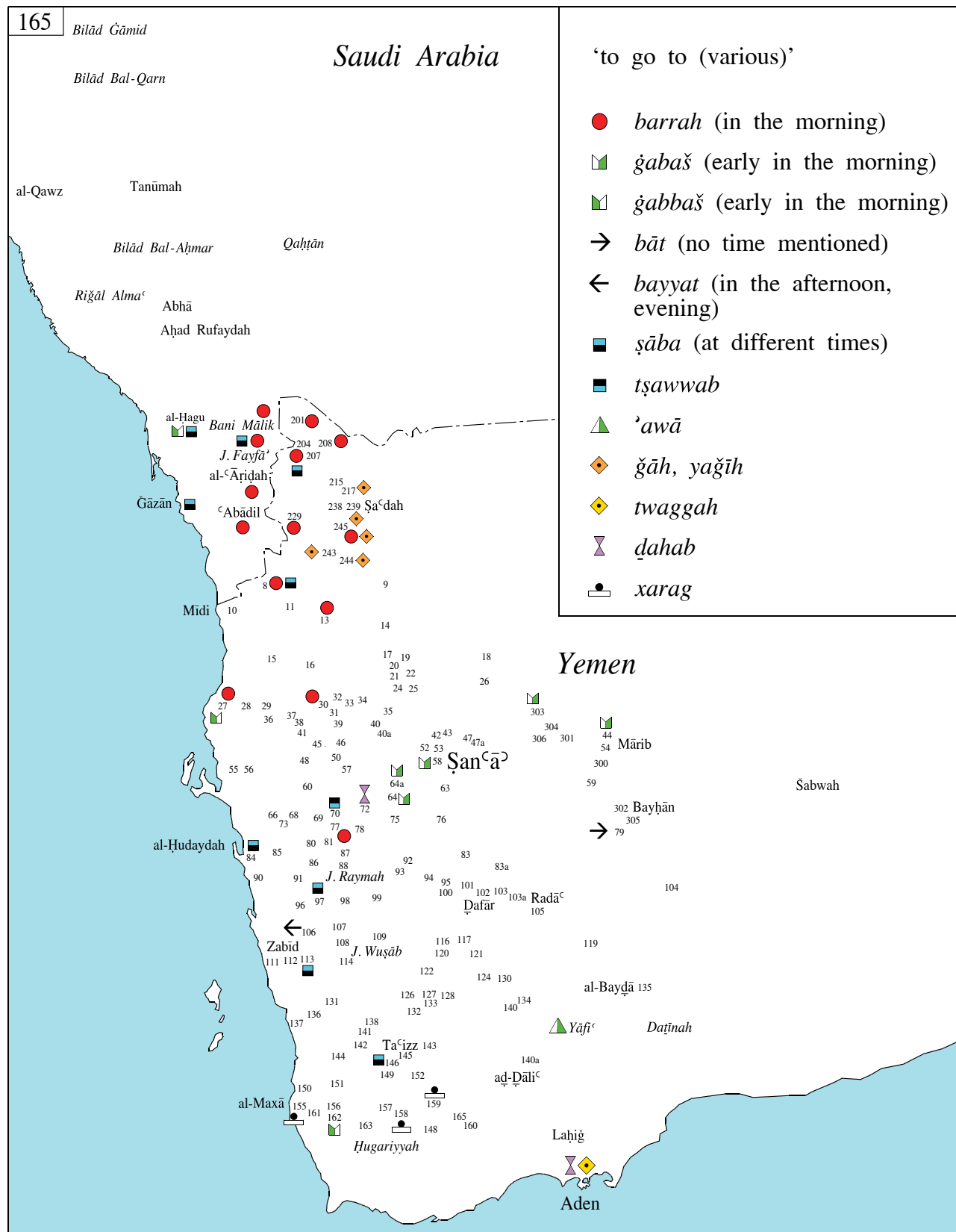
– Cl. Ar. *ḡadā* “He went, or went away, in the time called *ḡudwatun* . . . i.e. [the early part of the morning] the period between the prayer of daybreak and sunrise . . . this is the primary signification . . . he went forth early in the morning” (LANE).

– Saudi Arabia/Banī Mālīk/southwest *ḡadā*, *yaḡdī* (INT), Banī Mālīk imperative *iḡd!* (INT), *ḡādīn* = *rāyih* al-Ḥagu, Ġizān (INT), Qaḥṭān *ayān ḡadā?* “where did he go (to)?”

(INT), Riḡāl Alma’ *ḡadā*, *yigda* “to go” (217, 232, 243), *ḡadē*, *yigid* “to go at any time of day” (229, INT: *iḡid sī naḥwō!* “go to him!”). As all these forms come from the same area, probably generally “to go to”.

– *ḡadā*, *yigdi* “to go” Manāxah (WRB 576), possibly contaminated with *ḡdy*, cf. also Yem. *ḡadd*, *yigidd* “to go before dawn” and WD *iqtadā* “to act in accordance with”. Not on the map, as lacking context. Usually “to go to” was elicited with the sentence “he went to market”.

– *habb*, *yhibb* ‘ila “to go to” Yemen/Laḥiḡ (FOD 72), elsewhere documented as *habb*, *yhibb* “to go, walk (away)” (104, 302, 305, PIA), *wēn bāthibbu?* “where do you want to go (to)?” (305), *habb*, *yihubb* “to go, walk” (119), *habb iṣ-šī’āb* “he went to the valleys” (119), Daṭīnah *habb*, *yihubb* “aller, marcher vite” LAN-1:2843. Ḥaḍramawt “aller” . . . “{hibb} marche!, dit-on à celui qu’on envoit faire une commission” (LAN-3:729). WA 11 has *habb* “to stride out briskly, to march”, LANE idem.’



– ‘*barrah* “to go in the morning, to leave in the morning, to go early in the morning (at sunrise), to go before dawn” (JG 30, 204, 229, 8, 13, 27), linked here with the roots *brh* and *bhr*: *bariḥa* “to become white”, *bahar* “to shine, glow”. Cf. Fr., It. *aube*, *alba* “dawn” from Lat. *albus* “white”. Also documented in Saudi Arabia/southwest/Ġāzān *mubarrihin* = *rāyih waqt aṣ-ṣabāḥ* (internet). For further discussion concerning *barrah* see BEH-B.

– *ġabaš*, *yigbaš* “to go early in the morning” Yemen (JG 44, 58, 64, 64a, 303), *ġabbaš* “to go at dawn” (JG 27, 162), cf. WE *ġabaš* “the twilight before sunrise, last shadows of the night”; Saudi Arabia/al-Ḥagu *miġabbiš* = *rāyih waqt al-faġr* (internet).

– Ḥarīb *bā-nabit* “andremo”, *bāt* “andò” (RO-APP 246) without specifying the time of day. At point 106 *bayyat* “to go in the afternoon, evening”, RO-APP 258 also has *bāyat* “to arrive at night”.

– *ṣāba*, *yiṣābi* “to go” (84), Ta’izz area, elsewhere “to go away, leave”, “to go home” (JG), in the form *ṣāba(h)* in Saudi Arabia/southwest “to go before afternoon” (INT), *muṣābin* “to go at noon” al-Ḥagu (INT, with the customary

tanwīn); ALB 54 *stābā* “to go during the day”, *miṣābī* “going during the afternoon”. Ġāzān (also according to sources on the internet: *fil-minṭaqa ‘ammatan*). With shift from hollow verbs to verbs final y, cf. cl. Ar. ‘*aṣāba* “to reach a destination”. NAI-L 86 has *ṣāb* “se rendre chez’: This verb, which means ‘to visit’, is exclusively used with reference to females. It describes the movement of women from the afternoon onwards, in accordance with a cultural practice of daily neighbourhood visits. The destination aimed at by the movement is introduced by adpositions, the allatives *la* and ‘*ind* (16). If it is not specified, then the act of ‘visiting’ itself is emphasised (17).”¹

tṣawwab “to go” Jabal Ḥarāz (JG).

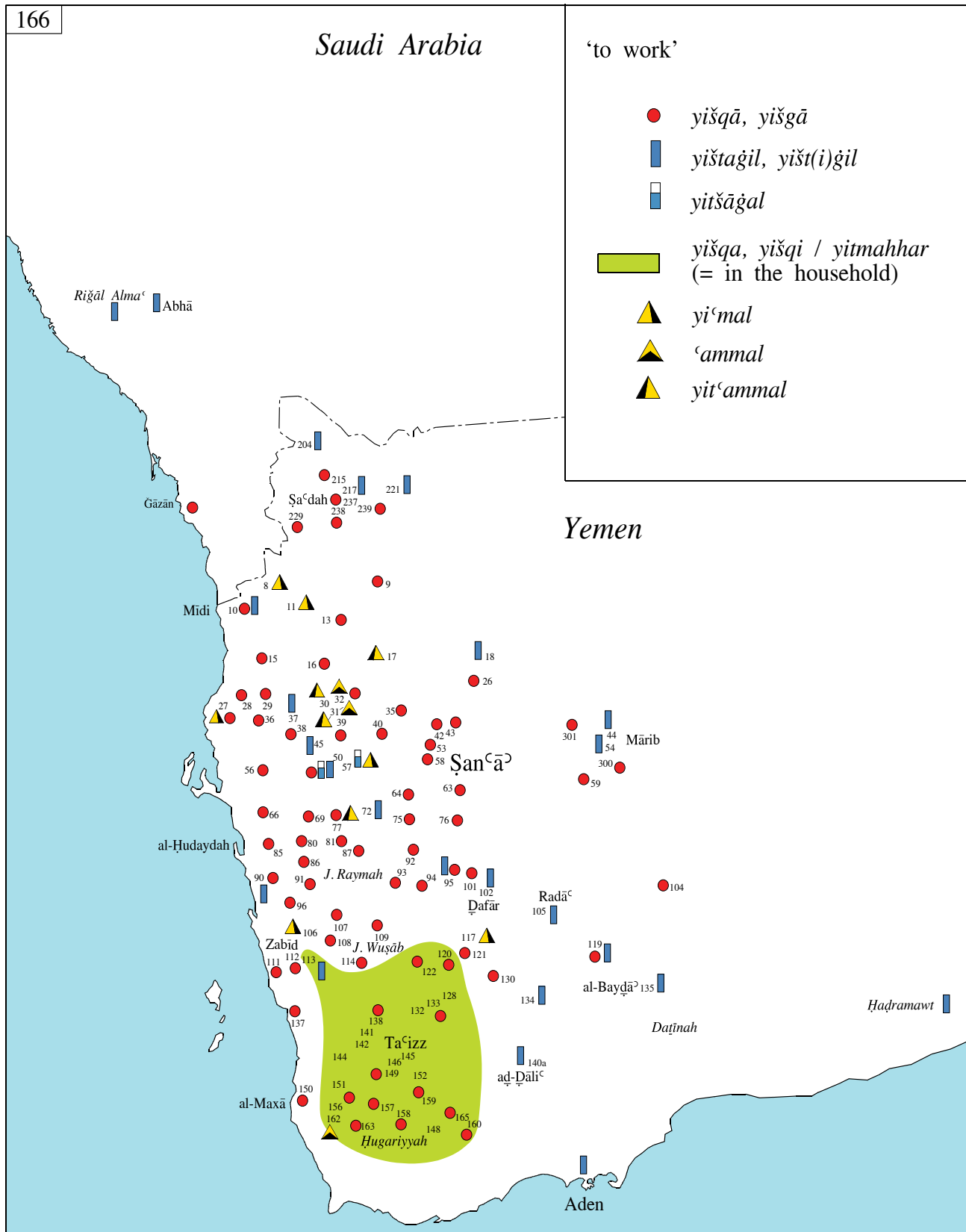
– *bātġih*, *bātġih* “you (sg.) are going” in the north (217, 239, 245), 243, 244 *ġāh*, *yigih* with shift from $\sqrt{wgh}$; cf. $\sqrt{wzn}$: *zān*, *yizān* “to weigh”.

– *dahab*, *dahab* (Aden) probably MSA.

– *xarag* “to go to” Yemen (152, 155, Ḥugariyyah), *xarag as-sūg* “he went to market” (152). Mentioned only in this context.’

¹ ‘Ce verbe, qui signifie “rendre visite”, est d’un usage strictement féminin. Il encode le déplacement des femmes à partir de l’après-midi, conformément à une pratique culturelle consistant en visites de voisinage quotidiennes. Le site visé par le déplacement est intro-

duit par des adpositions, les allatifs *la* et ‘*ind* (16). Lorsque celui-ci n’est pas précisé, c’est l’événement “rendre visite” qui est mis en valeur (17).’



From WAD III:236:

– ‘Yemen localised *yitšāḡal* (JG 50b, 57). *yitšāḡil* is likely to be partly influenced by MSA, or specific (see below).

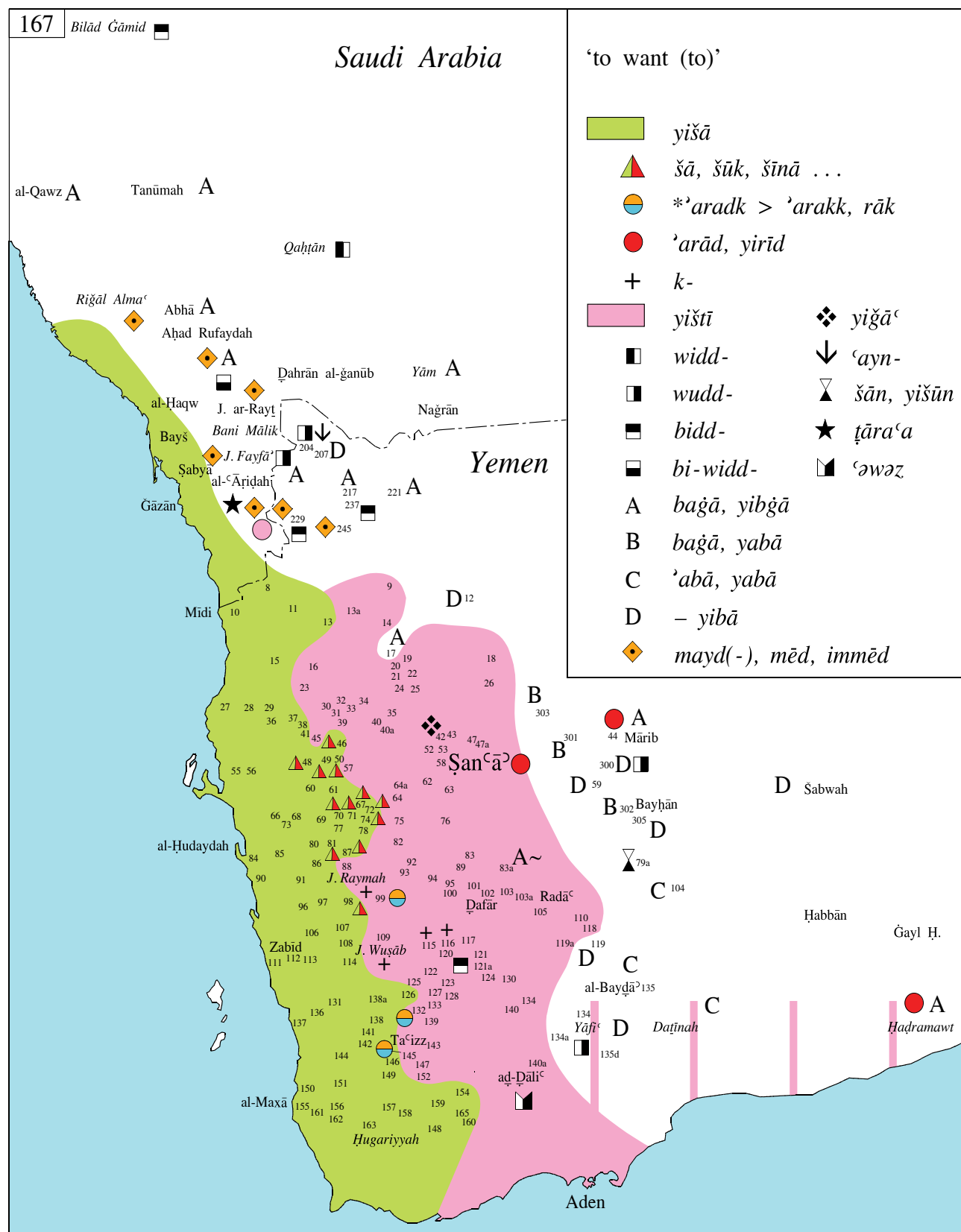
– Reflexes of ‘*amila* are rare, found as form II ‘*ammal* (31, 32, 162), *t’ammal* (16, 117), also with specialised meaning ‘*imilat*, *ti’mal* “to bake (used only fem.)”, and ‘*amal* “to plough”.

– *šaqiya* in cl. Ar. means “He was or became, unprosperous, unfortunate, unhappy, or miserable... or he was, or became, in a state of straitness, distress, adversity, or difficulty...”, also the more recent meaning “he suffered, or experienced, fatigue” (LANE). Regarding the semantic shift “pains, effort” cf. also $\sqrt{šqq}$: *šāqq* “difficult, hard, distressing... fatiguing”. The same feature loss occurred in the southwest of the peninsula, shifting from “exertion, fatigue” to “work, labour”, similar to many other languages as well, e.g. Ger. *Arbeit* = “exertion” in MHG, Fr. *travail* < Lat. *tripalium* “a three-pronged post as instrument of torture”; cf. also “travel” = “journey” ≠ “travail”, southern Ital. *fatiga* “work”. Saudi Arabia/Banī Mālik *yitšāḡi* “to work for a salary” (INT), ‘Asīr, Ġāzān *yitšāḡā* (INT); Yemen *šāqa* “to work” (JG 142, 146, /’/ being part of the root), numerous documented instances in JG p. 664 such as *šāqa*, *šāqi*, *šigī*, in some cases marked with nuances “to work for a salary [on the fields], in an agricultural job” (in a factory *yitšāḡil*): *yitšāḡa fim-zahab* “he works on the fields”, Aden *fēn tišqā* “where do you work?” (STA 190a), Manāxah *šāḡā*, *yitšāḡi* “to work (for pay), to do physical work” (WRB 508). Cf. also Jiblih *šāqqī* “to pay the workers (*šuqāt*)”, Saudi Arabia/ar-Rayṭ *yitšāḡgī* “to let s.o. work, to employ workers” (INT); Jiblih

šāqī “worker”, Aden *šāqī* “labourer” (GHA 158a), Ṣan‘ā’ *šāḡī* “master builder’s assistant” (JG); southwest Saudi Arabia/Ġīzān/al-Ḥagu *šāḡin* “herdsman” (internet). LAN-1:2070 has *šāqā* “travailler”, *bā tišqā* ‘*andi veux-tu travailler chez moi?* L’idée de fatigue est toujours rattachée à ce thème, cf. $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ *travailler*, et $\pi\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\varsigma$ *peine*”. However, according to dictionaries, $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ means “être pauvre, vivre dans l’indigence”, also “labor over”.

– *mahhar*, *yimahhir* “to work” Yemen (127), ‘*atmahhar*, *yitmahhar* “to work” (122, 133, 141, 148, 152, 157, 162), “to work in the house” (163), “to do specific work (e.g. agricultural)” (142), “to work at one’s own expense” (120), as opposed to $\sqrt{šqy}$ which usually refers to paid work or farm work. At point 160 a distinction was made between women’s housework = *titmahhar* and man’s work = *yitšāḡi*. Cf. also point 50b *muhrah* “profession, activity (specifically a woman’s)”. Zabīd *tmahhar* “n’importe quel travail” (questionnaire). LAN-1:2722: “Dans le Nord être habile, comme dans la langue classique... Il y a cependant certaines contrées dans le Sud où ce thème a le sens de *travailler*, avoir un métier... *tmahhar*, *travailler*, Ḥomār près de Ta‘izz”. From cl. Ar. *mahara*, *tamahhara* “He was, or became skilled, or expert, in the thing, and in his art, or craft” (LANE), by feature loss (generalisation) “to work skilfully” > “to work”.

– *yignī*, *maydanā nigñī* “we want to work” Yemen/Minabbih (JG), in JG compared to ‘*anā* “to care for, to become tired, fatigued”. *yignī* is documented (internet) with the meaning “to build” for Banī Mālik/Saudi Arabia (opposite Minabbih). Retrospectively, there is some doubt. Not on the map.’



– The topic is discussed in WAD 111:499–509. The commentary will be copied with minor alterations below.

– On original map 146 the two circles around points 115 and 116 are not explained in the key. They mark *k-* as documented by DIEM 93 ‘Zum Ausdruck des Wollens wird bei der 1. Sing. *k-* präfigiert, z.B. *kasīr* “ich will (werde) gehen”, at the locations Qafr and Iryān. DIEM 83 refers to Rossi ‘Die Partikel *k-* kennt er ebenfalls vom Ġabal Raimah, ferner vom Ġabal Wuṣāb’. Rossi:1928:258 *k^w-sīr* ‘andrò, voglio andare, ch’io vada, vado’, but *ša-tasīr* ‘tu vai’, p. 259 *anā k-ʿasīr* ‘io andrò’.

– In some cases, reflexes of *šāʿā* are documented, or customary, only in the imperfect, in others only in the perfect. Tihāmāh (GRE 58, only imperfect), Zabīd *šē*, *yšā* (questionnaire) Manāxah *šā* ‘(in M. nur im Perfekt ohne Tempusunterscheidung üblich) etc. wollen, möchten *šinā sukkar* wir woll(t)en Zucker, *ʿanā šīk ʿagum* ich will (wollte) aufstehen’ (WRB 511), *šuk-ʿabsar* ‘vedrò’, *šuk-ʿasīr* ‘andrò’, *šinā nātsawwah* ‘vogliamo andare’ Ġabal Ḥarāz, Ġ. Masār, Ġ. Šaʿfān, Ūsil (not locatable) RO-APP 255, Maḥwīt *mā šīk minnī* ‘che vuoidame?’, *ša-ʿašrab* ‘berrò’ Ġ. Ḥufāš p. 256 *mī šīk* ‘che vuoi?’ Ġ. Miḥān; Saudi Arabia/Ġāzān *yšā*, *yīšūn* ‘they want (to)’, *t(i)šā* ‘you (sg.) want (to)’, southwest *t(i)šī* probably 2nd sg. f. (INT), *ʿašā* ‘I want (to)’ Saudi Tihāmāh (INT), Šabyā *yšā*, perfect only with negation (PRC-1:109), *ʿašā* ‘I want (to)’, *mū tšā?* ‘what do you want?’ Ġāzān, Bayš (INT).

Perfect paradigms from Jabal Burāʿ (81) and Jabal Raymah (88):

	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>šāʿ</i>	<i>šōʿ, šow#</i>	<i>šā</i>	<i>šū</i>
3rd f.	<i>šāʿat</i>	<i>šōʿ, šow#</i>	<i>šit</i>	<i>šen</i>
2nd f.	<i>šīk</i>	<i>šūkum</i>	<i>šīš</i>	<i>šikun</i>
2nd m.	<i>šek</i>	<i>šūkum</i>	<i>šīk</i>	<i>šikum</i>
1st c.	<i>šūk</i>	<i>šīne#</i>	<i>šūk</i>	<i>šinā</i>

The differing vocalisations in the first and second persons at 88 can be explained as **šīʿku* > *šūʿku* > *šūk*, while there was no assimilation in the forms of the second persons (**šīʿka*, **šīʿš*). The /ē/ of the 2nd sg. m. at 81 can be explained as an analogy to the verbs final *y*: *ramōk* – *ramēk* – *ramēki* ~ *ramēš*.

– Reflexes of *ʿarāda* usually only in the perfect, e.g. *mū ʿarakk* (= *mū ʿaradk*) ‘what do you want?’, imperf. *yīrīd*

point 132, *mū rāk* ‘che vuoi?’ Taʿizz, *ʿarik^{wo}* ‘voglio’, *mā-rāk* ‘che vuoi?’ point 99 (RO-APP 261), see also JA p. 27. Forms like *ʿaradk* evolve into *k-* prefix: *kāsīr* point 115, 116, JG for Šanʿā *ʿarād*, *yīrīd* (probably MSA, questionnaire has *yīšī*), point 44 (near Mārib) *yīrīd*, Ḥaḍramawt *ugulte luh ride gibleh* ‘je veux un baiser, lui dis-je’ (LAN-3:103/104).

– From cl. Ar. *ʿīštahāhu* ‘he desired it, or longed for it’ (LANE) *yīšī* only in the imperfect, see JA map 146, also Aden *yīšī* (GHA, questionnaire: only imperfect), *ʿayš tišī* ‘what do you want?’ (internet), Ḍafār *yīšī*, *kān yīšī* (questionnaire), Šanʿā *yīšī* (questionnaire), ar-Riyyāšiyah idem (INT), Baraddūn *ašti* ‘voglio’, *yīšī* ‘vuole’ (BET 146, 131), Yāfiʿ *yīšī* as koine form (VAN-7:157), LAN-1:2091 *īštaha* ‘vouloir, désirer’, with reference to LAN-3:627. Also documented in southwest Saudi Arabia/Banī Ġamāʿah (internet).

– *waddaha* ‘he loved, or affected, him, or it... *wadidtu š-šayʿa* ‘I wished for the thing’ (LANE) is not continued in dialects, where we tend to find derivations of nominal *widdun* ‘an object of love’, i.e. *widd-* + suffix pronoun: *widdi* ‘I want (to)’ etc. Yemen/Yāfiʿ, Yiharr, Bīr il-ʿArūs *wuddoh* ‘want’ (VAN-2:151), Yemen/Minabbih *wudd-* as an older form (JG); documented in southwestern Saudi Arabia as *bi-widdī* (marked tentatively south of Rufaydah on the map), Qaḥṭān/Sarāh *gid widdī* ‘I want (to)’ (internet), Ġāmid *biddu yḡātilni* ‘he wanted to kill me’ (TOLL 24); Yemen point 120 and surrounding area (cf. JA p. 27), also in the north (JG 204, 229, 239), Baraddūn *biddi* ‘voglio’ (BET 148).

– *ʿabā*, *yabā*: Landberg (LAN-1:187) regards *ʿabā*, *yabā* as an independent form and not as ‘une mutilation [de *baḡā*], par la chute de *ḡ* > ʿ > ʾ... Ce sont deux verbes distincts, mais synonymes, ou presque, car *baḡa* est désirer et *ʿabā* vouloir’.

See also LAN-1:11–62 in great detail. *ʿabā*, *yabā* points 119, 135, 303 (the latter also *yibīy*, *ēš tibīy?* ‘what do you (sg. f.) want?’), *ʿabayt arūḥ* ‘I wanted to go’ point 119, point 135 *ʿabayt* etc. (inflected like *ramā*). Inflection at 119 as at 135, but *tabēn*, *yabēn*.

– Only imperfect forms documented: *yabā*, *tibēha?* ‘do you (sg.) want her/it?’ (300), *mā yabōnšī* ‘they do not want (to)’ (305), Yāfiʿ *yabā*, *ʿabī* ‘vouloir’ (VAN-7:157, VAN-10:260), Ḥaḍramawt/Šabwah *tibā* (INT), al-Ġawf *tabā maṭ nšīr* ‘vuoi che andiamo con me?’ RO-APP 245. Perfect forms are not found at points 59 (Murād, south of Mārib) and 119 (on the road to al-Bayḍāʿ), either; they are formed using *kān*: *kunt ʿabā* ‘I wanted (to)’.

– *baḡā*, *yibḡā* points 44, 204, 217. Ḥaḍramawt *bḡēt* (LAN-3:174), *bḡa*: *ana ḍaḥḥīn bḡēt šāḥī* ‘now I want tea’, *ana*

bġēt bākīllimuh ilbāriḥ ‘I wanted to talk to him yesterday’ (questionnaire), i.e. with present reference as in Maghrebi Arabic. *mā b(a)ġēt, tabġā, tabġī* 2nd sg. m., f., *b(a)ġēti šī* ‘do you want something/anything?’ (internet). Baraddūn *tubġa* ‘vuoi’ (BET 121).

– Hybrid *baġā, yabā* point 302, *buġā, yibā* point 303. Forms from 301 (Širwāḥ): *baġēt* ‘I wanted (to)’, *baġā* ‘he wanted (to)’, *baġat* ‘she wanted (to)’, *baġō* ‘they (m.) wanted (to)’, *baġan* ‘they (f.) wanted (to)’, *’abā* ‘I want (to)’, *tibā* ‘you (sg. m.) want (to)’, *tibáy* ‘you (sg. f.) want (to)’.

Imperfect paradigm points 59/135:

	sg.	pl.	sg.	pl.
3rd m.	<i>yubā</i>	<i>yubaw</i>	<i>yabā</i>	<i>yabow_#</i>
3rd f.	<i>tubā</i>	<i>yubēn</i>	<i>tabā</i>	<i>yabeyn_#</i>
2nd f.	<i>tubay</i>	<i>tubēn</i>	<i>tabay</i>	<i>tabeyn_#</i>
2nd m.	<i>tuba</i>	<i>tubaw</i>	<i>tabā</i>	<i>tabow_#</i>
1st c.	<i>’abā</i>	<i>nubā</i>	<i>’abā</i>	<i>nabā</i>

303 like 135, but with /i/ in the prefix: *tibā, tibáy, nibáw, tibáw, tibán* etc.

– *mayd* + pron. suff.: *maydanā niġnī* ‘we want to work’, *maydanā niṭṭara* ‘we want to celebrate’ Yemen/Minabbih, *mēd* + pron. suff. point 245, *’immēd* (invariant): *maḍī* ‘ak *’immēd?* ‘what do you (sg.) want?’, *’anhā* *’immēd nisēnim*

‘we want to chew *qāt*’ Rāziḥ (all JG). From *im-mayd*, belonging to *min mayd* ~ *’alā mayd* ‘because of’ (JG 31, 58, 64a, ZJ, Manāxah). Cl. Ar. *mayda* ‘except, because of’ mentioned already in LANE VII 2746 as doublet of *bayda*; LAN-1: *el-mēd* ‘pourque’. Also found in southwest Saudi Arabia/al-’Ariḍah/al-Ġābirī dialect *māḍ antah mayd?* ‘what do you (sg.) want?’, *māh* ‘ak *mayd?* idem al-’Ariḍah/Bal-Ġāzi, *mayd man* also ‘Asīr = *taḡṣudu man?*, Banī Mālik *mayd* (all internet); ‘Asīr *last mēdik* ‘I am not for you, do not want you’ (ING-1:184). Dōsiri *mēdih* ‘he meant, he was referring to’ (KUR-1).

– *yiġā* Yemen point 42, JA p. 27: ‘Die Formen vom Typ *yiġā* werden meist mit *bā*-verstärkt: *bāġā asīr* [ich will gehen], *bātġā tisīr* [du willst gehen]’. Not in JG. Cf. cl. Ar. *ġā’a ilā liqā’ihi* ‘he desired... and longed... [as though hungering,] to meet with him’ (LANE).

– *’ayn*- + pron. suff. Yemen/Minabbih: people call to one another from a distance *’aynēh?* ‘what do you (sg.) want?’ (JG).

– *šān, yišūn* Yemen/east (JG), there linked to cl. Ar. *ša’ana* ‘to follow one’s path’, and to *rāda* ‘to wander to and fro, to vagabond’, *’arāda* ‘to want (to)’, possibly influenced by *šā’a*. Tentatively on the map below Mārib.

– *tāra’a* Saudi Arabia/southwest/Banī ‘Abādil (internet) should probably be read as *tāra’a*, as in that region /t/ occurs instead of *ḍ, ḍ. Cf. cl. Ar. *taḍarra’a* ‘such a one came asking, or petitioning, to another for a thing he wanted’ (LANE). Written with ending -a [alif], cf. Fayfā’ dialect (BEH-19:61 *šabaḥa* ‘he looked’).

– Yemen/Dāli’ *’awəz* (VAN-1:192 with complete paradigm).

168b

'frog'

	<i>ḍifdi'</i>
	<i>ḍifdi'u</i>
	<i>ḍifda'</i>
	<i>ḍafda'</i>
	<i>ḍifda'ah</i>
	<i>ṭifda'ah</i>
	<i>fifda'ah</i>
	<i>ḍuf'ideh</i>
	<i>ḍif'ideh</i>
	<i>ḍuf'aydah</i>

*gifda'ah*

	<i>dufdağah</i>
	<i>dufduğah</i>
	<i>difdağah</i>

	<i>šfandağah</i>
	<i>šafandağ</i>
	<i>šifandağah</i>
	<i>šufdağah</i>
	<i>šifdağat</i>
	<i>šifardarah</i>
	<i>šfirdağah</i>
	<i>čifdağah</i>
	<i>fifdağah</i>

	<i>'uq'uqah</i>
	<i>'ag'agah</i>
	<i>'ig'igeh</i>
	<i>'aggāgah</i>
	<i>'iggāgeh</i>

	<i>dunduğah</i>
	<i>dundu'ah</i>
	<i>funduğah</i>
	<i>tunṭa'</i>

	<i>nugagah</i>
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	<i>kunku'ah</i>
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	<i>garrārah</i>
	<i>gurrārah</i>
	<i>gurrābah</i>

	<i>baggāgah</i>
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168 ‘frog’

See WAD I:383–84.

– On original map 147 symbol at points 96, 106, 131 not in the key = *dufdaḡah*.

– Added *baggāḡah* Saudi Arabia/Naḡrān (INT); *fifda’ah* J. Fayfā’ (INT); *šifdaḡat* ~ *fišdaḡat* al-‘Āriḡah (INT). Added subsequently: VAN-2:151 *ṭunṭa’* Yāfi’/al-Muflihī, Tenḡhara.

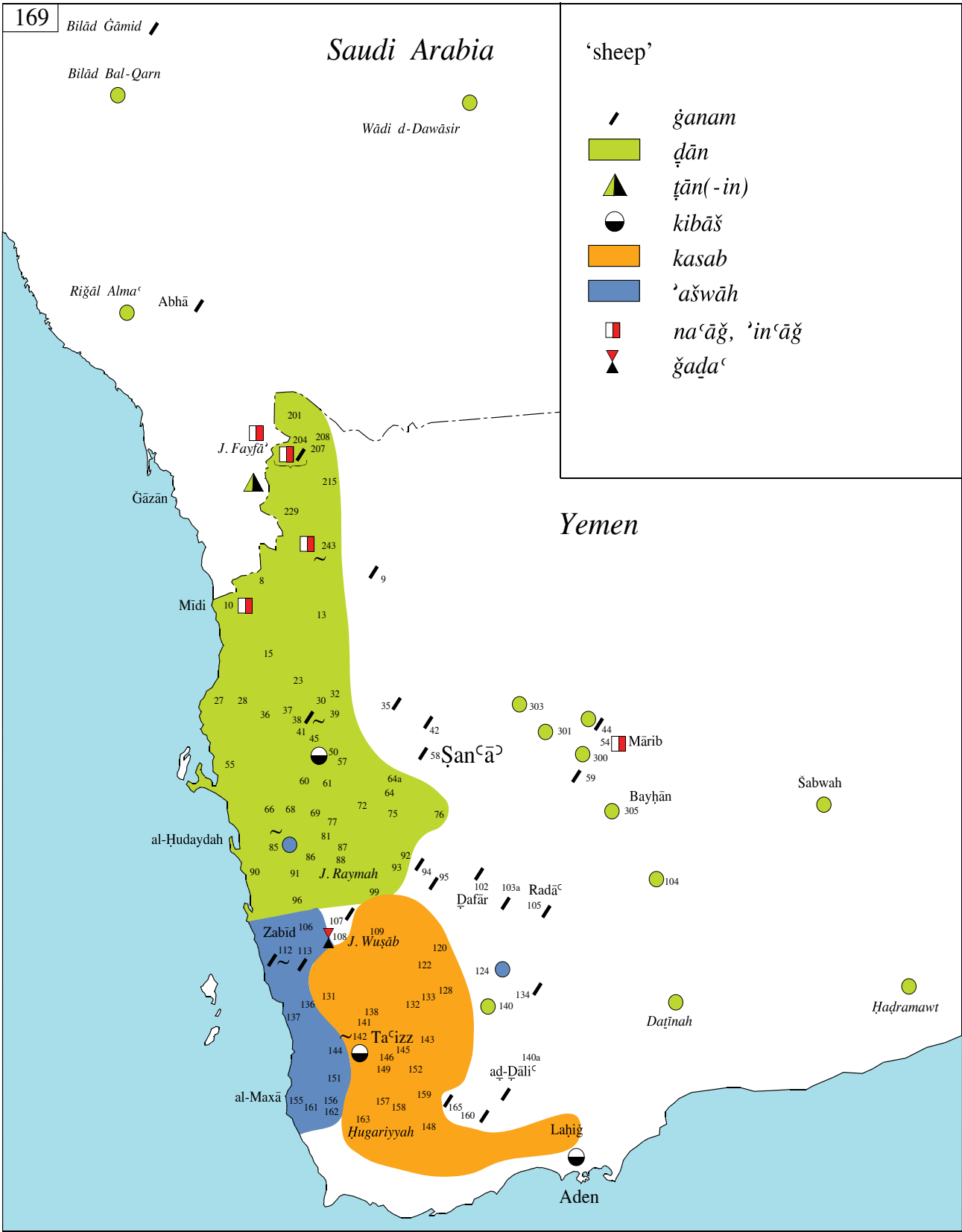
– *šufardaḡ* in LAN-1:2064 = Jibbāli.

– Reflexes of cl. Ar. *ḡifdi’*, *ḡafda’*, *ḡufdu’* (146); Riḡāl Alma’ *ḡifda’* (questionnaire), idem Abha, Jabal Fayfā’ *ṭifda’ah* and *fifda’ah* (questionnaire); Yemen: *ṭifda’ah* in Minabbih, forms like *ḡifda’ah* more frequent in the east, also in Ḥaḡramawt *ḡif’idih* (questionnaire), Aden *ḡafda’* (GHA, questionnaire).

– /š/ instead of *ḡ in Yemeni forms such as *šifdaḡah* etc. can be interpreted in different ways, e.g. as reflex of an older pronunciation *č, cf. /č/ for *ḡ in J. Rāziḡ. Cf., however, also *ḡufḡa’a* in the eastern Nile delta (BW-1) and *ḡifḡa’ah* in the Negev (WAD), *ḡifḡa’a* Kharga/city.

– *qurr* is documented in this form already in cl. Ar. meaning ‘frog’. In North Yemen (not on the map in JA) forms like *garrārah*. The forms are onomatopoeic like *nugagah*, *kunku’ah*, *’ag’agah*.

– *gifda’ah* at point 243 features /g/ in analogy with *garrārah* common in the neighbouring regions.



- Discussed in WAD 1:83–84.
- In some places we find reflexes of cl. Ar. *ġanam* as collective terms for 'sheep' and 'goats', in the forms *qanam* ~ *'anam* ~ *'anam* depending on the region (see map 4).
- Reflexes of cl. Ar. *ḏa'n* 'sheep' (LANE) occur mainly in the northwest and east, Ḥaḍramawt (questionnaire, LAN-1:2164), Saudi Arabia Bal-Qarn (PRC-2:49), Dōsiri (KUR-1), *ṭānin* Jabal Fayfā' (my own data), Banī Mālik (INT). In Riḡāl Alma' one might expect **ḏ'ān* (see map 7).
- 'Cl. Ar. *šāh* means "a sheep, or goat... but more commonly the former" (LANE). The plural *'ašwāh*, meaning 'several sheep', is documented in the southern Tihāmah.
- *kibāš*, plural of *kabš* 'ram', Aden (GHA).
- Southwest Saudi Arabia/Banī Mālik *hōšin* 'sheep (pl.)' (INT) is documented in nearby Minabbih with the meaning 'livestock' = *hawšin* (JG), also referring to a flock (217). From the Tihāmah (112) in the form *hōšu* 'large flock of goats or sheep'. Disregarded on the map.
- Localised plural forms of *na'ġah* 'sheep': *na'āġ*, *in'āġ*.
- *kasab* in southern *k*-dialects, in the Ḥugariyyah; actually 'acquisition, possession'.
- Besides *ġanamu* the Zabīd questionnaire also furnishes *'anze*; in JA, map 149, however, has *'ašwāh*, map 151 sg. *šawh*, map 156 and JG *'anz* 'goat'. Not on the map.
- The form *jaḏa'*, on original map 149, will be disregarded. In WA 1:420 as *ġuḏ'ān*, pl. f. *ġiḏā'āt* 'young livestock'. Possibly misheard.'

170b

'lamb, male'

↓	<i>xarūf</i>	▲	<i>ṭifil</i>
⌵	<i>saxil</i>	▲	<i>ṭafl</i>
⌵	<i>ṣaxal</i>	▲	<i>ṭufil</i>
⌵	<i>ṣaxil</i>	◼	ʿawlī
⌵	<i>sixlu</i>	L	ḥayyu
⌵	<i>suxlī</i>	■	rōm
■	<i>raxl</i>	■	ruwān
■	<i>raxal</i>	▲	ʿars
■	<i>rixil</i>	◆	farāhī
■	<i>ruxul</i>	◆	farīr
■	<i>ruxlī</i>	▲	sirāʿu, sirāʿu
●	<i>bahūm</i>	☪	biḥrī
◎	<i>buhmī</i>	☪	baḥrah m. + f.
⊕	<i>badāḡ, badḡu, bargu</i>	+	mālūd
		⌘	wurwuru
■	<i>ḡidʿu</i>		
■	<i>ḡadaʿ</i>		
■	<i>ḡidi, ḡidyu</i>		
■	<i>ḡadi</i>		
■	<i>ḡāyin</i>		
■	<i>ḡāynī</i>		
II	<i>ṭinī</i>		
Ω	<i>naḥāwmu</i>		
✂	<i>xurḡī</i>		
★	<i>xušār m.+f.</i>		
■	<i>ḡūzī</i>		
◆	<i>kab(i)š</i>		
◆	<i>kubayš</i>		
●	<i>ṭalī</i>		

– The subject is discussed in WAD 1:256–59. The commentary will be quoted with slight alterations.

– Original map 150 covers both male and female lamb. The map has been untangled, as the fem. forms cannot automatically be derived from the masc. by adding *-ah* (*-eh*).

– ‘The map poses a problem in that a generic term “lamb” is not found everywhere; instead distinctions are made according to age (newborn, six months old, one year old, one-to-two years old), according to the time of birth, to whether the lamb is still being suckled or has already been weaned, how well-fed it is etc. Thus several terms could occur, and it cannot be ruled out that some informants (not only for the questionnaires) only mentioned the term with which they are more familiar. A shepherd would distinguish between a six-month-old and a year-old lamb, while someone who has no experience with animal husbandry, such as an informant from the city, may know only one of the terms. Furthermore in some cases the designations for the young of several species are interchangeable, or the term for the adult animal may be used for the young as well, or vice versa. To some extent this explains the abundance of forms and seeming inconsistencies.

– *xarūf* only sporadic instances.

– *ṣaxal*, *saxal*, *sixil* corresponds to cl. Ar. *saxl* “the offspring of the sheep or goat” (LANE). Some of the forms are documented with both meanings: Daṭīnah *suxlī* ‘petit de chèvre ou de mouton’ (LAN-1:605). See map “kid”.

– According to LANE cl. Ar. *rixl*, *rixla*, *raxil* is “a ewe lamb / the male is called *ḥamal*”. As the form is masculine, in some places in Yemen it was reinterpreted as “male lamb”. At point 38 *raxal* “until the first year”.

– Sporadic *buhmī* and *bahūm* are reflexes of cl. Ar. *baham* “lambs” (LANE).

– *baḍaj*, *baḍgu* in the southern Yem. Tihāmah corresponds to *baḍaǧ* “weakest of the lambs” (L1). At point 137a Tihāmah *baḍaj* ~ *baḍgu* (SVL 219, 222, also with flap as *bargu*).

– *ǧid’u* is related to cl. Ar. *ǧada* “applied to a sheep or a goat it means a year old” (LANE).

– *ǧada* from *ǧada’u* “he cut off the nose / the ear / and the hand, or arm; and the lip” (LANE), because in order to mark sheep, their owners might cut off e.g. a piece of the ear. Some connection to *ǧada*. See *biḥrī* below. For Aden *ǧada* in LAN-1:237, at 108 as “year-old ram” (JG p. 173).

– Derived from “sheep”, “ram”:

– From *dān* “sheep”: *dāyin* (“still very small” 217, 245), *dāyni* “lamb” in Yemen; cf. LAN-2, II/1:713.

– *kabš* “ram” is sporadically found meaning “lamb”, occasionally as diminutive *kubayš*, e.g. in Ḥaḍramawt (questionnaire).

– Semantic narrowing of names for young livestock and transference of other animal terms:

– *ṭalī*, *ṭilī* are related to cl. Ar. *ṭalā* “the young one of any cloven-hoofed animals / or the young one of the gazelle, when just born” (LANE). This is a case of semantic narrowing; defined as ‘one-year-old’ or ‘weaned’. Ḥaḍramawt (LAN-3:605, questionnaire).

– Cl. Ar. *ṭift* “a young one, or youngling, or the young / of anything / and also a young one, or the young, of any wild animal” (LANE) occurs in the forms *ṭifal*, *ṭufil*, Daṭīnah *ṭafl* (LAN-1:2212).

– Sporadic *awlī* in Yemen (one year maximum, under one year) is derived from the root ‘wl “to nourish, nurture”, cf. ‘ayyil “child”.

– *ḥayyu*, pl. *ḥayyīn* from the Tihāmah (Zabīd questionnaire) is probably related to *ḥayawān* “animal”, and consequently means “little animal”.

– Cl. Ar. *ǧady* is the ‘male kid’ in the forms *ǧidi*, *ǧadi*, or specified with *jidyī dān* (87).

– *rōm(un)*, common in the northern Tihāmah, must be linked to cl. Ar. *raʾm* “calf to which the she-camel is affectionately devoted” in L1, or *riʾm* “young of the oryx”. More detailed information in JG. Probably also the root of *ruwān* in the extreme north (< **ruwām*). Cf. also *mrawwim* “lamb that drinks from other sheep than its mother” in Djerba.

– Sporadic *ars* meaning “lamb” and “male kid” has been documented. More frequently in the fem. (q. v.). In cl. Ar. this refers to a “weaned camel calf”. In JG “viell(eicht) unter Einfluß von südar. (NSA) *arīḍ* ‘male kid’; JO-ME 27, JAHN *arid* ‘Ziegenbock’ (zu NSA *ʾarōz* ‘entwöhnen’, JO-HA 10, JO-JI 14 *ʾarōz*)”.

– *farāhī* “year-old lamb” in Yemen is related to cl. Ar. *fariha* “to be lively”, *furrah* “lively foals” (WA 11:406). Regarding the pattern cf. *falāḥī* [“fox”] and Eth., also DIEM 1979:27.

– Cf. also *farīr*, pl. *frār* ~ *frān* in Asīr/Riḡāl Alma’ (questionnaire) from *farra* “to escape, run away” (JG p. 940). Further documented instances from the internet. *furāra* “agneau” LAN-1:2404 with reference to 715, there = classical.

Metaphors:

– *sirā’u*, *sirā’u* in the central Tihāmah is related to cl. Ar. *sar’*: *al-qaḍību mina l-karmi l-ǧaḍḍi* / *sar’un yašifu ʾunfuwāna š-šabābi*, thus originally “sappy twig”, in WA “youth”, possibly also linked to *sr’* meaning “to run fast”, or metathetical to *ars*, see above.

– *biḥrī*, in the Daṭīnah *baḥrah* “petit des moutons” (LAN-1:136), from cl. Ar. *baḥara* “he slit her (a camel’s / and a sheep’s or goat’s) ear” (LANE), as young animals were marked by a slit in their ear after a certain age. Cf. *ḡada* above.

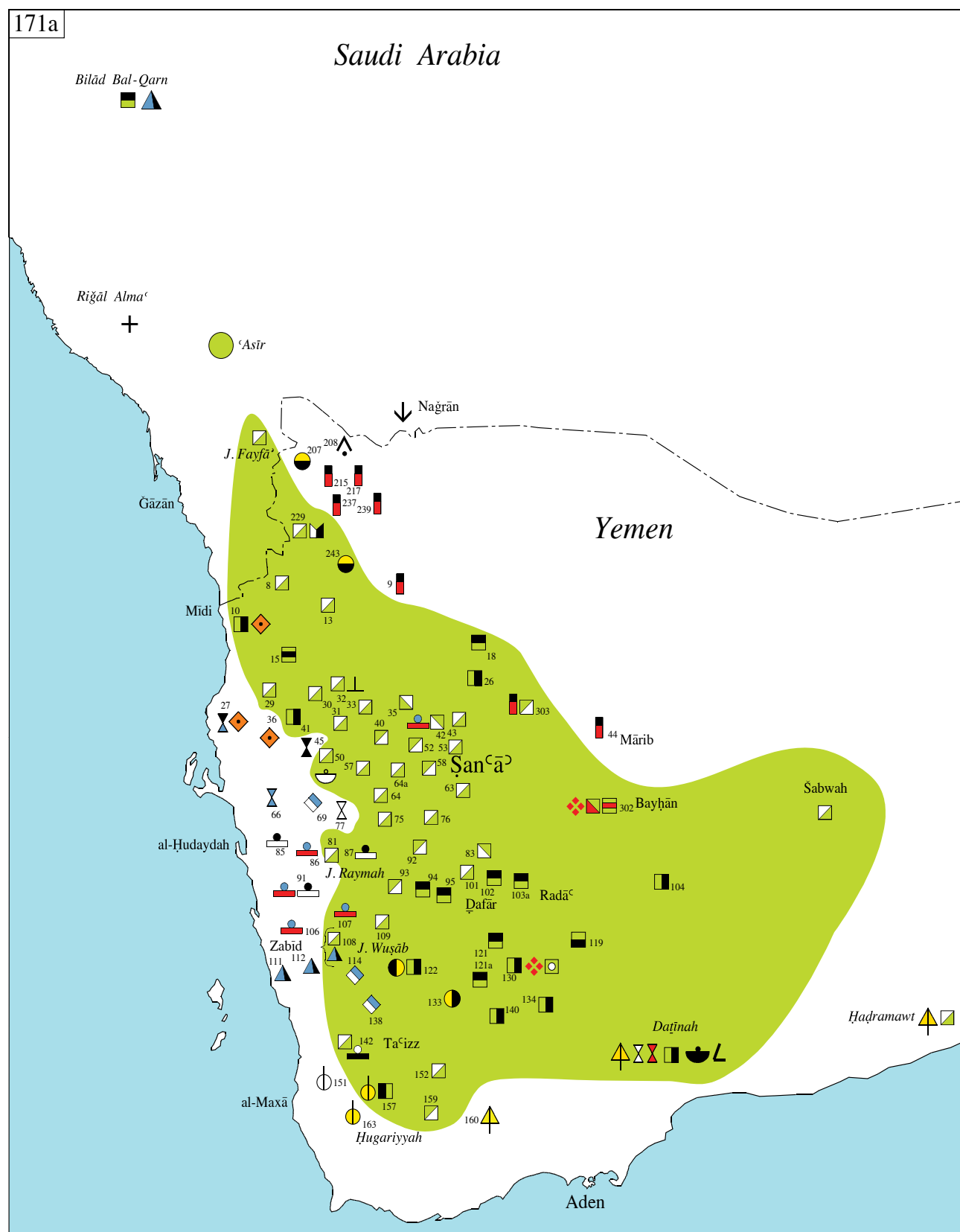
Age:

- Sporadic *mālūd* “newborn” (JG, 119, 305).
- *wurwuru* “immediately after birth” (Ḥugariyyah) refers to a lamb that has not yet been weaned, probably originally a babble word (cf. *wir* “toddler”, Lebanon *birbir* “call to attract sheep” (ABU 111). Cf. also Eg. *wirwir* “crisp and young” (HB, marked as Copt.)).
- *tini* m. Abha/Saudi Arabia (FB) may refer to all young livestock over a year old.
- The etymology of *naḥāwmu* is not clear (cf. JG).
- Localised *xurḍi* is not documented anywhere else.

– *xuṣār* in the Daṭīnah in LAN-1:713 is not documented elsewhere (“dans aucun dictionnaire”). The passage does not make entirely clear whether it is a singular or a plural form. PIA quotes it as “lambs”.

Loans:

- Forms derived from Turk. *kuzu* “lamb”, such as e.g. *qūzi*, are known throughout the peninsula, but usually as “baby lamb, a dish consisting of rice with roasted mutton on top and sometimes raisins and almonds” (WB). In central west Yemen, however, *gūzi* is the common word used for “lamb”.



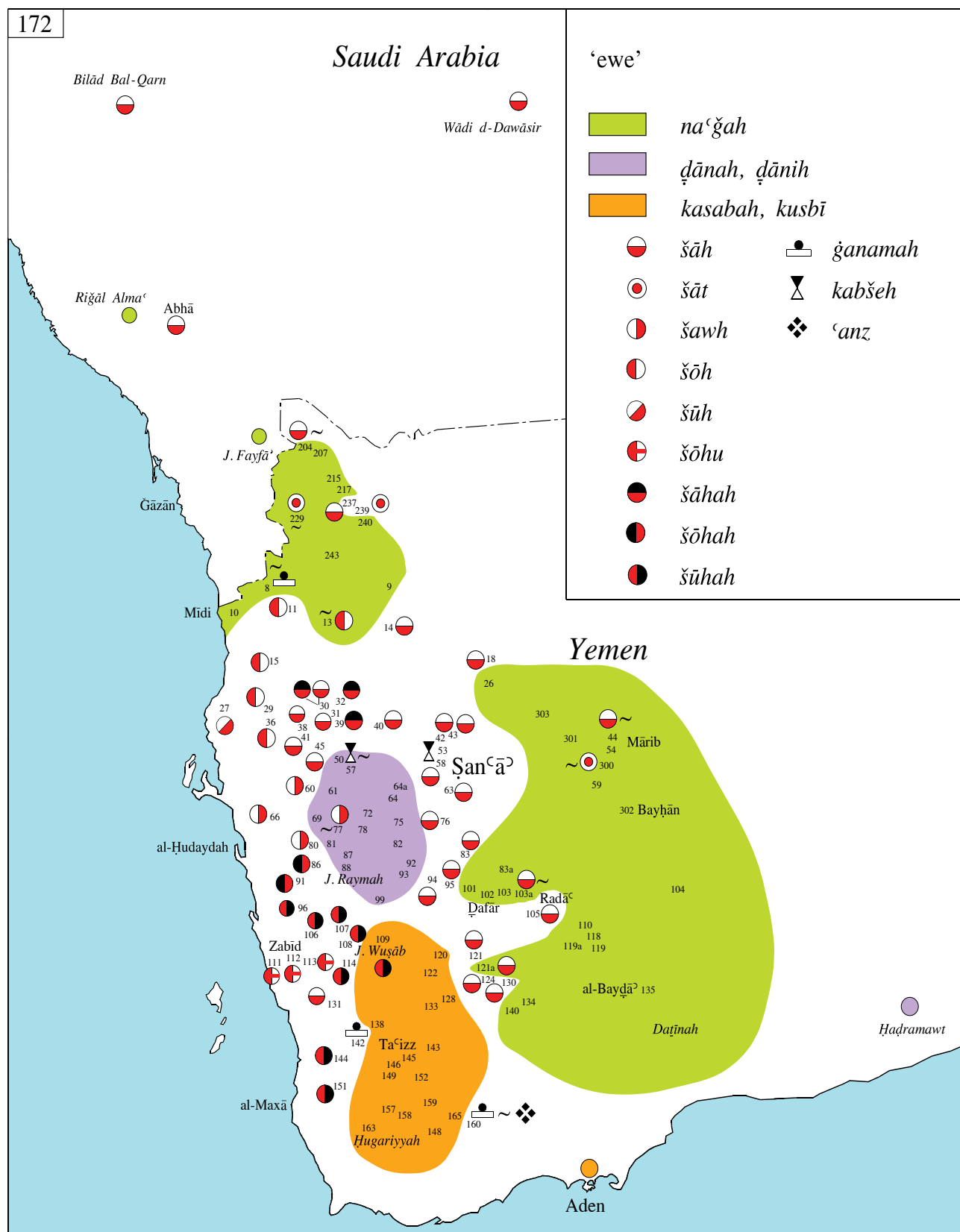
171a-b 'lamb, female'

171b

'lamb, female'

	<i>raxal</i>		<i>saxlah, saxleh</i>
	<i>raxlu</i>		<i>sixileh</i>
	<i>raxil</i>		<i>sixleh</i>
	<i>rixil(u)</i>		<i>şaxalah</i>
	<i>ruxlun</i>		<i>suxlî</i>
	<i>ruxul</i>		<i>ğawleh, ğōleh</i>
	<i>raxlah, raxleh</i>		<i>bağarah</i>
	<i>raxileh</i>		<i>bikr</i>
	<i>rixilah, rixileh</i>		<i>‘anāg</i>
	<i>rixlah, rixleh</i>		<i>farīrah</i>
	<i>ruxuleh</i>		<i>xarūfah</i>
	<i>ruxayleh</i>		<i>ṭalyeh</i>
	<i>rōmah</i>		<i>ṭulwih</i>
	<i>ğidyah, ğidyeh</i>		<i>ṭilweh</i>
	<i>ğadyah, ğadyeh</i>		<i>šāh</i>
	<i>ğid‘ah, ğid‘eh</i>		<i>gūzīyeh</i>
	<i>‘ağmah</i>		
	<i>kabšah, kabšeh</i>		
	<i>badgah</i>		
	<i>badageh</i>		
	<i>baḥrah m.+f.</i>		
	<i>ṭifleh</i>		
	<i>‘arsah</i>		

- The subject is discussed in WAD 1:261.
- Regarding forms derived from the masculine by adding the feminine ending, such as *raxlah*, *rōmah*, *ǧidyah*, *ǧid'ah*, *baḍageh*, *baḍgah*, *ṭifleh*, 'arsah, saxleh, şaxalah, farīrah, xarūfah, šāh, ṭilweh, baḥrah, farīrah, gūzīyeh see map 170. Consequently we will look at only a few forms in detail here. Distinctions are usually made according to age, here, too.
- Cl. Ar. *rixl*, *rixla*, *raxil* 'a ewe-lamb' (LANE), Daṭīnah *raxal* (LAN-1:1216), Ḥaḍramawt *raxlih* (questionnaire). 'Not yet a year old' (38) *raxlu* = 'four months old, before the first birth' (157), *raxlah* = 'younger than *gūzīyeh*' (50b), 'one year old' (142). *rixāl* Saudi Arabia/'Asīr (internet) probably plural.
- Words otherwise denoting 'kid' occur occasionally, e.g. *ǧidyeh*, *ǧadyeh*, 'anāg. As for *baǧ(a)rah* in Naǧrān/Saudi Arabia (internet), cf. in Yemen *baǧrah* 'young goat, goat before giving birth the first time'. Not related to *bagarah* = 'cow'. In JG p. 96 linked to *baǧar* 'to chew the cud'.
- *aǧmah* is characteristic of northeast Yemen (not completely marked on map 150 JA). Denotes a 'ewe before giving birth the first time' at point 9. Also documented as 'she-camel before giving birth the first time' (8). Cf. WA 11:216 'young camels'.
- *ǧawleh*, *ǧōleh* have no male lexical equivalent. Cf. cl. Ar. *ǧawl* 'a flock of... sheep of goats' (LANE). Defined in Bayḥān as 'six months old'.
- *bikr* needs no further comment.



– The feminine ending *-ah* was added to some reflexes of cl. Ar. *šāh* (*šāt*): *šāh*, *šōh*, *šūh*, *šawhah*, *šōhah*, *šūhah*. The shift from **ā* > /*ō*/, /*ū*/ is dark.

– Forms with *-ah* from collective nouns: *ḏān* → *ḏānah* (*ḏānih* Ḥaḍramawt questionnaire), *ḡanam* → *ḡanamah*, *kasab* → *kasabah* (e.g. Aden questionnaire). From the lat-

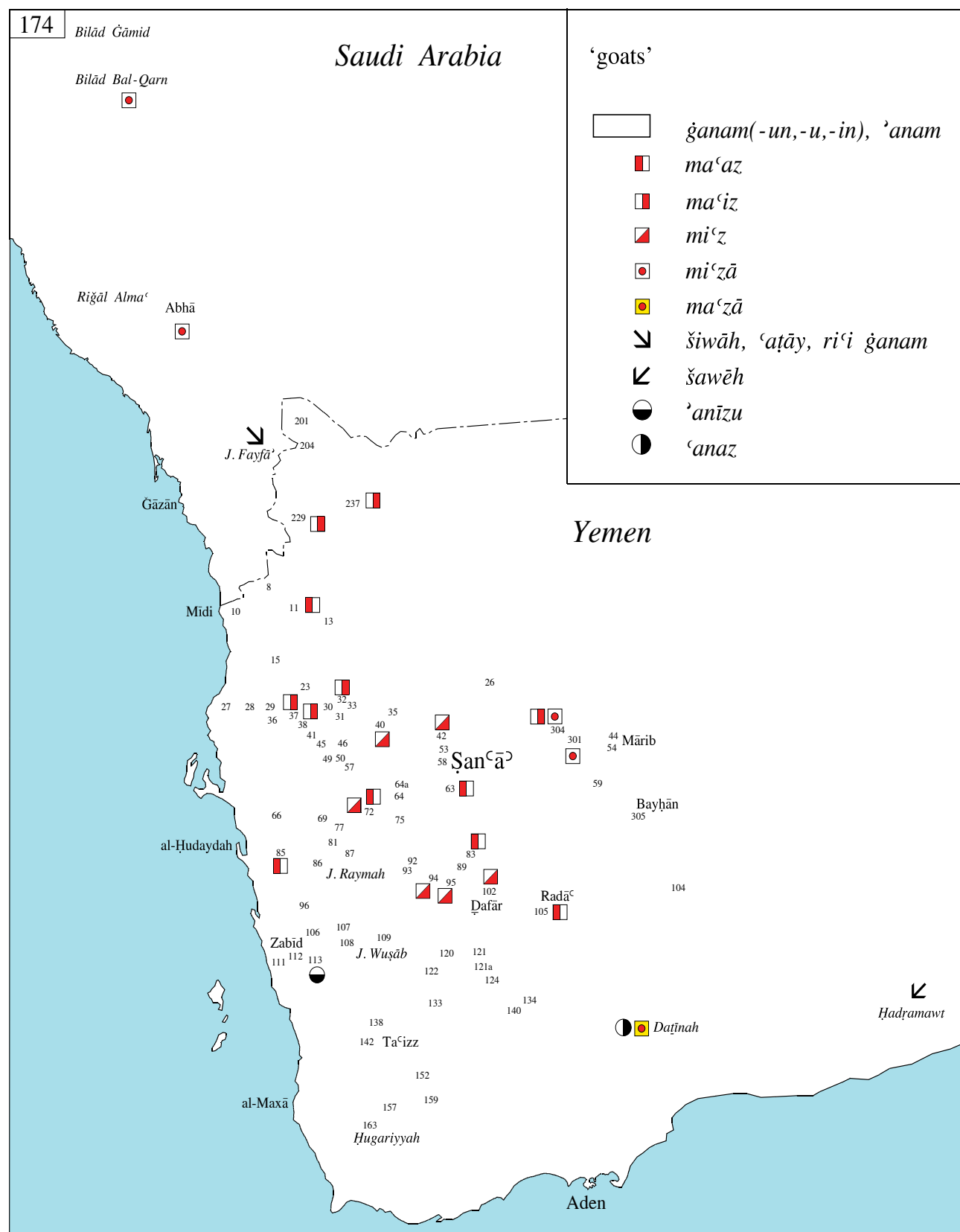
ter also following the pattern for animal names *fu'li*: *kusbī* at 138 and 152.

– Derived from the masculine *kabš* > *kabšeh*.

– 'anz, usually means 'goat'.

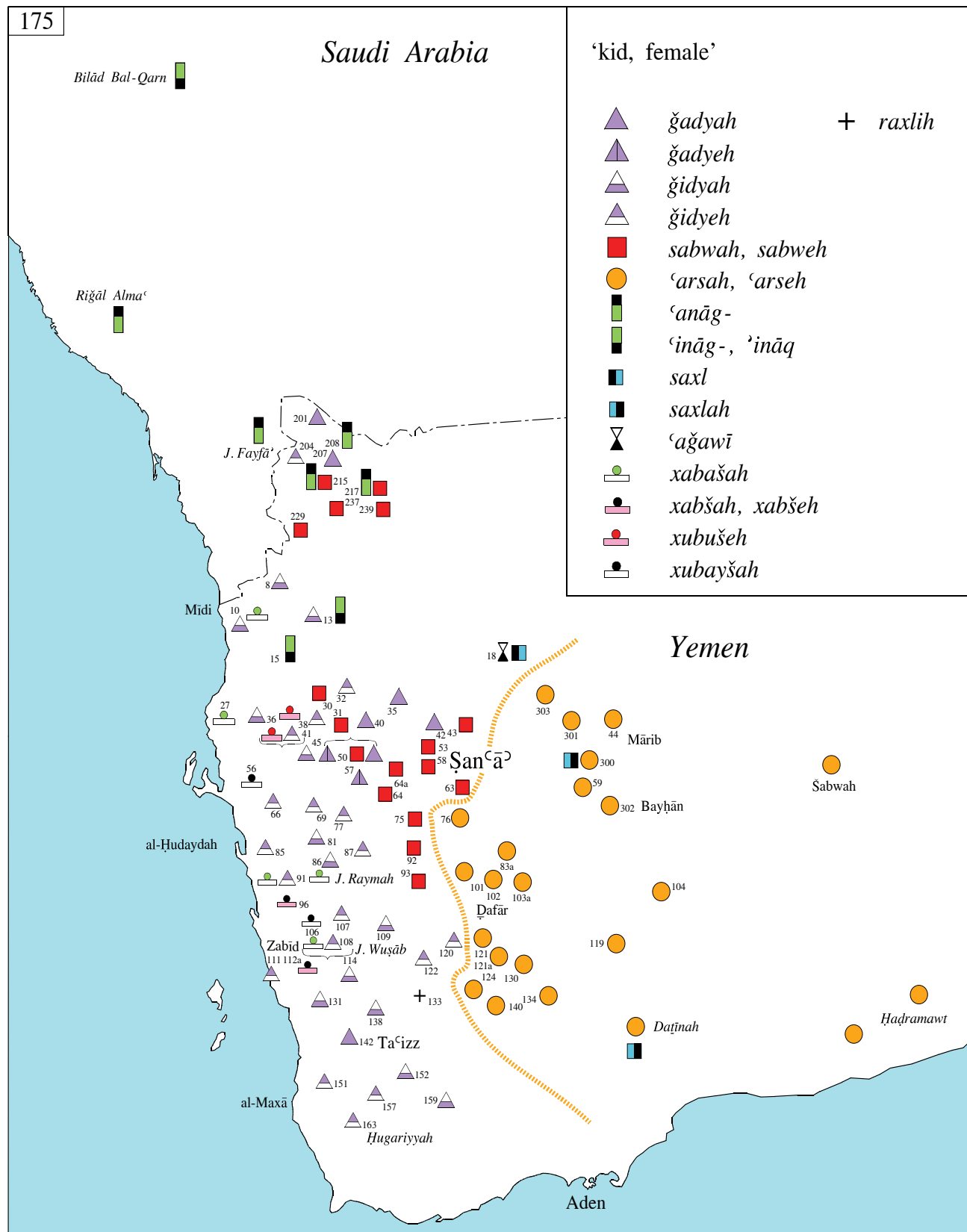
– The Zabid questionnaire furnishes the forms *gid'eh* ~ *šōhu*. See map 'lamb' *gid'ah*.

- The term for the young animal is frequently applied to the adult one (cf. *ǧidi*, '(young) male goat', in other dialects *ǧaḥš* 'donkey foal' > 'donkey'). This is true of *kabš* ~ *xarūf* (questionnaire) in Saudi Arabia/Abha, *xarūf* Riḡāl Alma' (questionnaire); Dōsiri, however, *xarūf* 'fully grown male sheep' (KUR-1).
- The same is true of *ṭali* at the centre.
- *dawwāru* on original map, but in JG 'a year-old lamb'. Obviously refers to the eruption of permanent teeth (*dawr* 'periodic change').
- Reflexes of cl. Ar. *kabš* 'a ram, or male sheep, whatever be his age' (LANE) dominate, with variants such as *kabšu* in the Tihāmah, or *kabiš* in Rāziḥ.
- Sporadic *faṭīm* in Yemen (JG 62, 160) is actually 'weaned animal'. Will be disregarded.
- *ʾoṇmi* in Yāfi' 'mouton' in VAN-4:764 exhibits the typically Yemeni pattern of animal names, with *ǧ > ʾ, as is usual in the dialect.
- WAD compared *barbarī* in Yemen (JG after AKW) 'ram' to *barbūr* in the Lebanon/Kfar 'Abīda (DEN). Obviously originates in the Tihāmah. Tentatively placed in the centre. Internet research of *barbarī* found, among other references, the castration of one such animal in southern Saudi Arabia on YouTube: another Saudi Arabian source: *laḥm xarūf barbarī*, *ḍabīḥat xarūf barbarī*. Still other sources name *mā'iz* ~ *ḍa'n barbarī* as 'ammotragus lervia' = 'Barbary sheep', a kind of mountain goat with shaggy hair on the throat and chest mainly found in the Maghreb. *barbarī* is obviously the term for a specific type of ram.



174 'goats'

- See text 169 'sheep'
- In cl. Ar. we find the collective terms *maʿz*, *maʿīz*, *miʿāz*, *miʿzā*(ʿ) 'goats' (LANE).
- Cl. Ar. 'anz 'goat' was reinterpreted in the Daṭīnah as 'anaz 'goats'. Regarding 'anīzu in Zabīd cf. *maʿīz* in other dialects.
- *riʿi ḡanam* in J. Fayfā' probably means 'a flock of goats'.
- 'aṭāy in J. Fayfā' is not documented elsewhere. Cf. possibly *kasab* 'sheep' (pl.).



– The commentary from WAD 1:276–77 will be copied with slight alterations.

– 'Reflexes of cl. Ar. *saxla* "a lamb, or kid, in whatever state it be... male or female... or a lamb, or kid, when just born; male or female" (LANE) are rare. *saxlah* is documented in the region west and southwest of Mārib (Bānī Ḍabyān "ganz jung, nach der Geburt"), *saxla* ~ *suxlī* in the Daṭīnah (LAN-1:605) "petit de chèvre ou de mouton, pl. *suxlān*".

– Forms derived from the masculine (cl. Ar. *ḡady*) are relatively widely used (the cl. Ar. corresponding female form is *ʿanāq* [LANE]): west *jidyah*, *jidyeh*, localised *jadyah*.

– There is no documented instance of *sabwah* in cl. Ar. Defined as "i.a. 3–4 Monate alt", "goat before giving birth the first time". In JG reference to the parallel *ḡanam* "sheep, goats" – *ḡanima* "to obtain booty, to capture" and *sabwah* – *sabā* "to take prisoner, to raid". Reference to *√šby*.

– *ʿarsah* at 300 "ca. 3 Monate, größer als *saxlah* = ganz jung", *ʿarsiḥ* Ḥaḍramawt (questionnaire); LAN-1:2280 *ʿarsa* "chevrette", "agnelle" with reference to 713, 840. There LAN-2:712 "Les trois mots *baḥra*, *xuṣār* et *ʿarsa* ne se trouvent dans aucun dictionnaire, parce qu'ils appartiennent exclusivement aux dialectes du Sud. Mais *ʿarsa* se trouve dans *ʿamrūsa* d'el-Meydānī, Hommel o.i.p.239." HO 230 calls *ʿamrūsa* an Aramaic loan because of the ending *-ūsa*. Further information there. In a long footnote 713–14 Landberg mentions *ʿamrūs/a* as "un vieux mot sémitique"

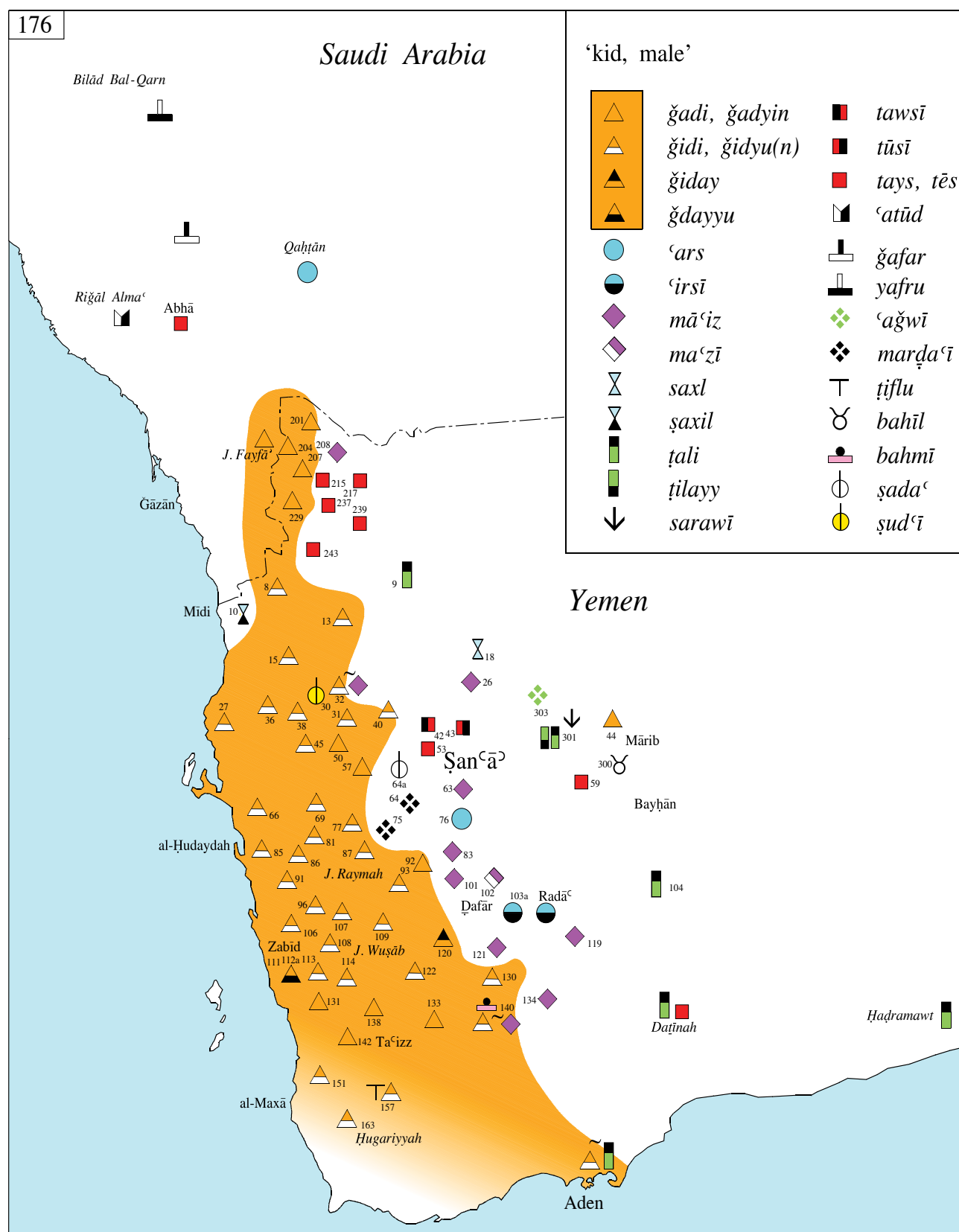
and explains *ʿamrūs* as the result of geminate dissimilation in **ʿarrūs*.

– Cl. Ar. *ʿanāq* "a she-kid... when a year old... or not yet a year old... and a lamb or kid, or such that is just born" (LANE). Its distribution area begins in northern Yemen, where it is documented in the northern Tihāmah: points 15 and 13 *ʿināq(un)* (JG, not on the map, which contains other forms). Also as *ʿanāq* at 208 (Umm Lēlā), 215 (Majz), 217 (im-Ṭalḥ), and near the Saudi border as well. *ʿanāq* in Saudi Arabia/ʿAsīr without precise definition (internet), *ʿanāq*, pl. *ʿināq* in Riḡāl Almaʿ (questionnaire), Bal-Qarn *ʿināgū*, pl. *ʿanīḡu* "kid feminine" (PRC-2:49).

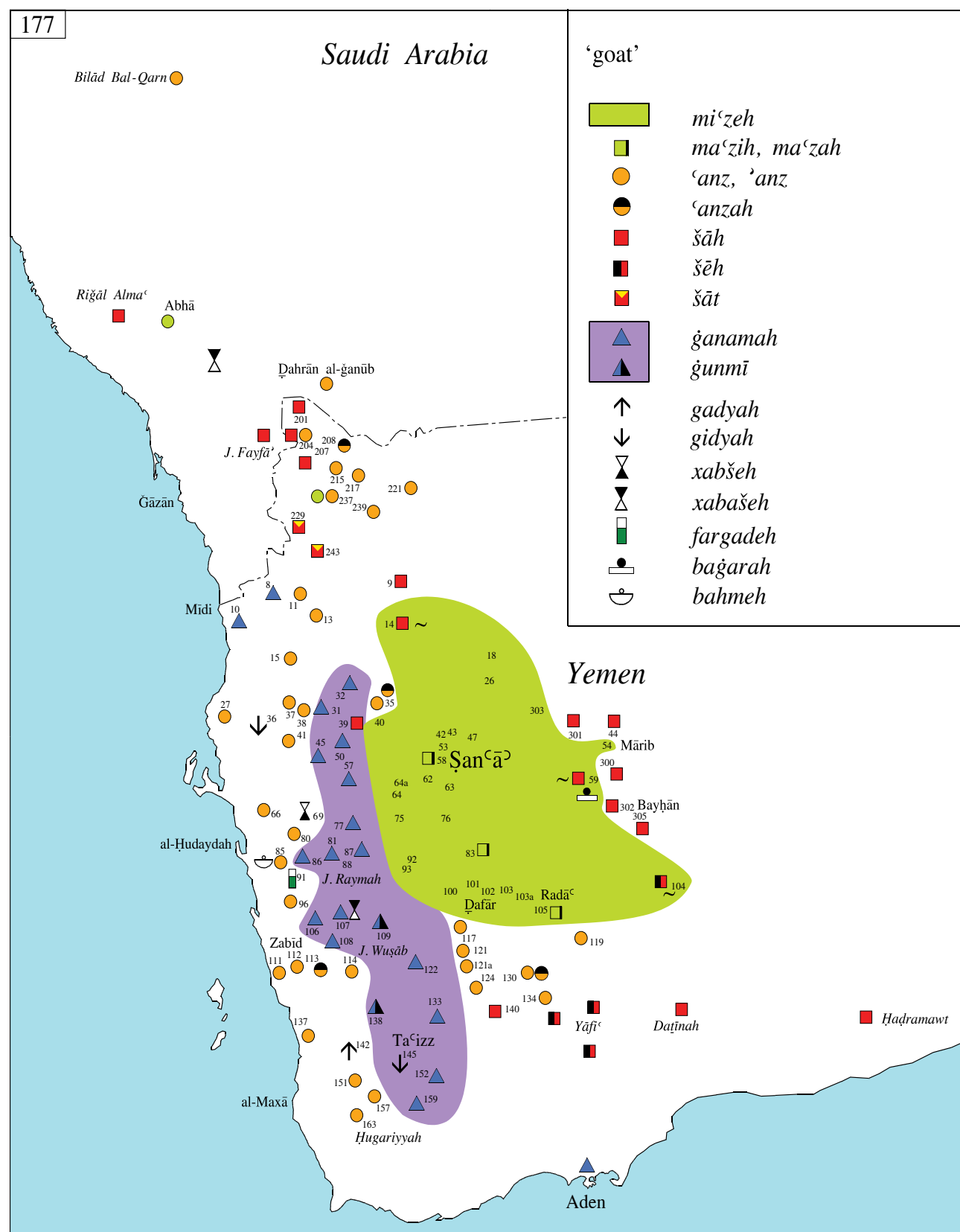
– Forms of the type *xabašah* are not included in the original map. JG defines them as *xabšah* "Ziege, die noch nicht geworfen hat" (112a), *xabšeh* "junge Ziege, Zicklein", *xabašah* "Jungziege" (86, 91, 108), "mittelgroße Ziege" (10), "Zicklein" (27), *xabašeh* "Ziege" (91), *xubušeh* "Ziege vor der ersten Geburt" (38, 41), *xubayšah* "Zicklein" (56, 106). *xabaš* is also documented as "Kamelfohlen älter als *guʿūd*, 1 1/2-jähriges Kamelfohlen". TAG XVII:195 mentions the word *xamaš* as "the male young of the rock hyrax". *xabaš* etc. are forms mainly used in the Tihāmah.

– Localised *raxlih* (Jiblih, 133) usually refers to the female lamb.

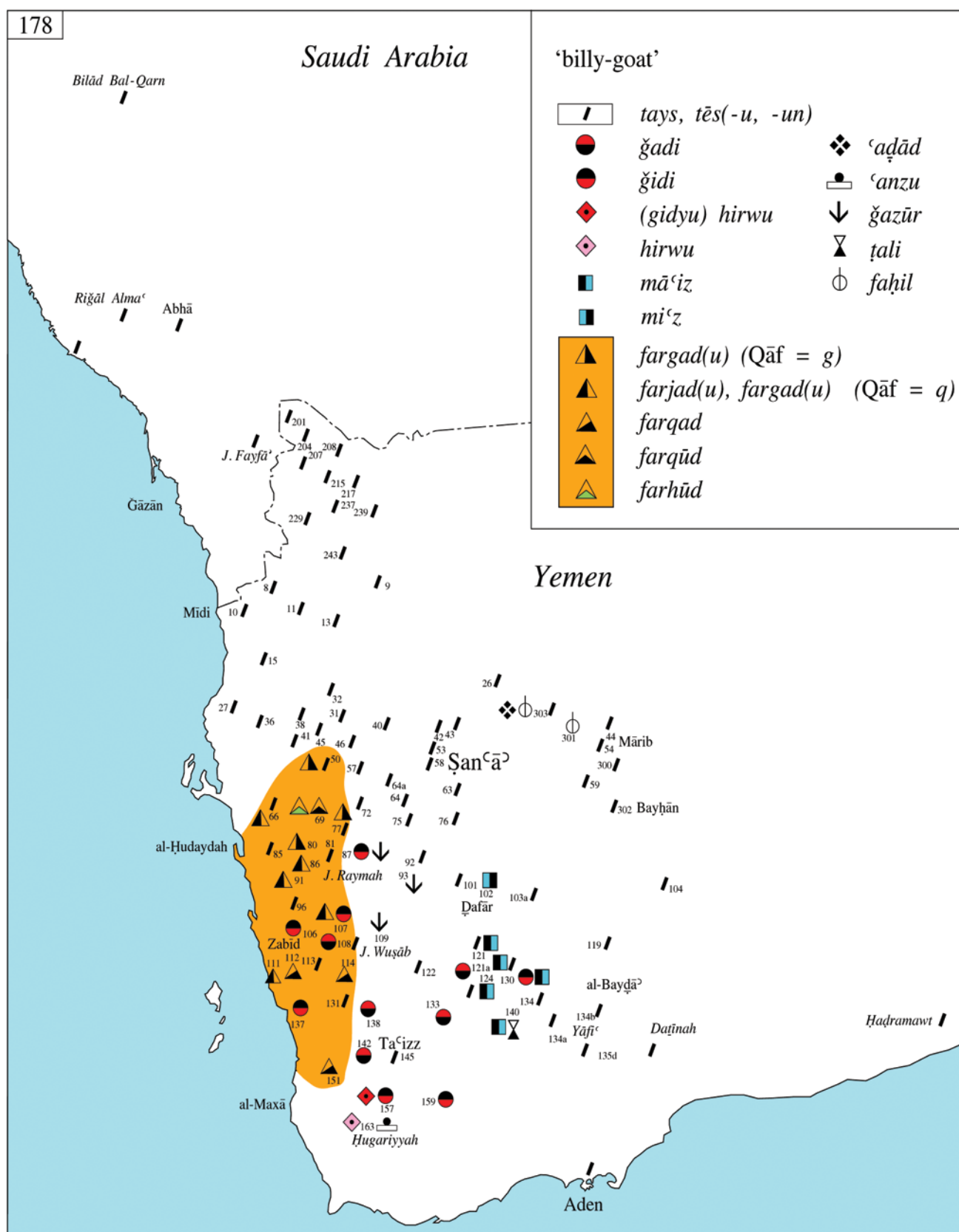
– Localised *tifleh* is also found, referring to a "newborn female lamb" (157).'



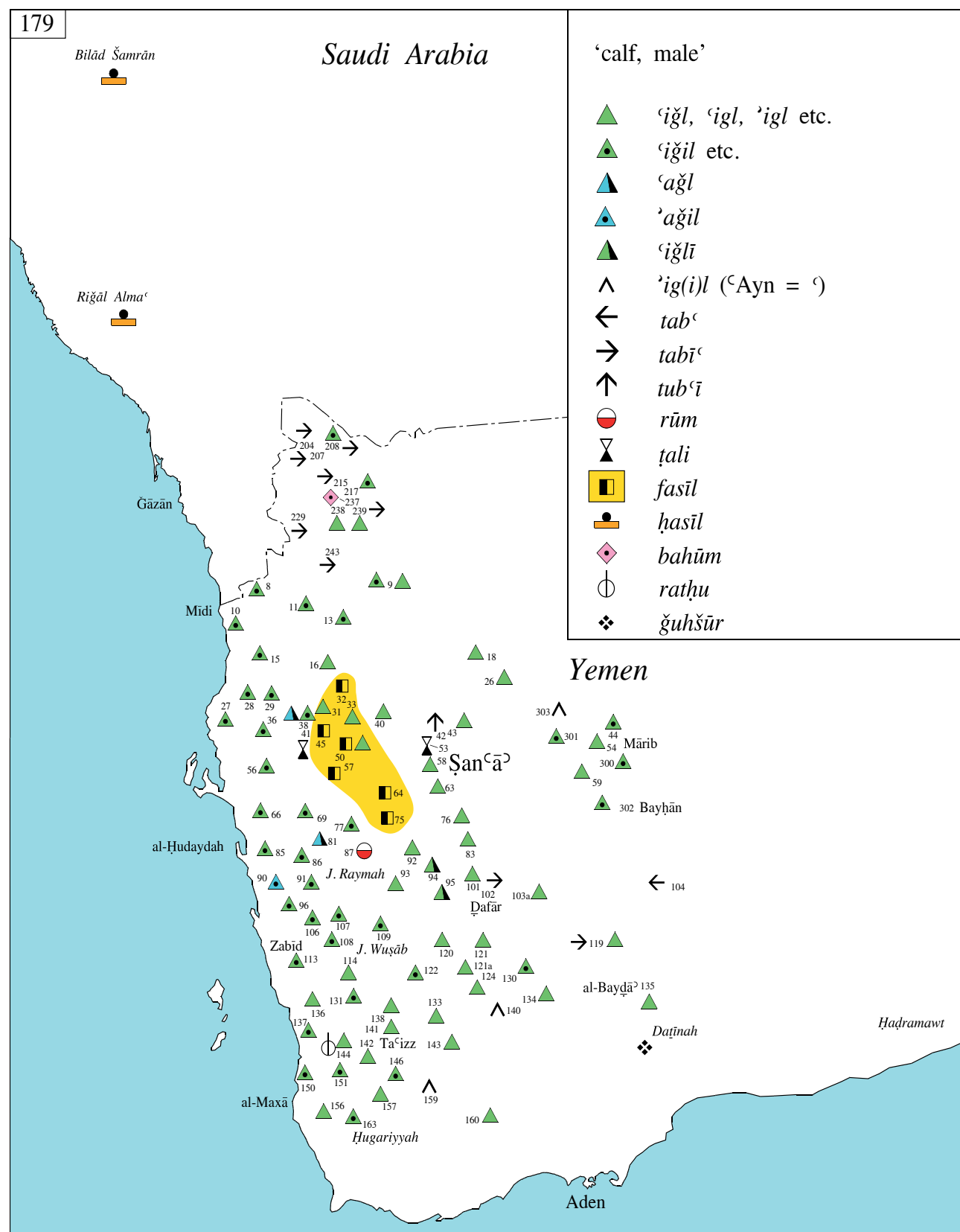
- A mishap occurred on original map 155. The black triangle on the map is not explained in the key = *mā'iz*.
- The subject is discussed in WAD 1:272–74. The commentary will be quoted below with slight alterations.
- 'As with other young animals, too, the problem that arises here is that the "specialist", i.e. the farmer or the herdsman, will distinguish much more subtly according to age, but will not use a generic term for "young male kid", as opposed to the "generalist" who may well know one term only. Such an informant may be a town dweller, but also an explorer for whom a "male kid" is a "male kid" and who does not distinguish between a newborn one, a three-month-old, a seven-month-old, or a year-old male goat.
- In cl. Ar. *ǧady* describes "a male kid... or a kid in his first year... not a year old" (LANE). There are occasional instances of diminutives such as *ǧdayyu*, making things clearer.
- *'ars*, *'irsī*: Saudi Arabia Qaḥṭān *'ars* (internet). In cl. Ar. *'irs* denotes a weasel. The form might also be linked to *'arisa* "to be attached to (child to its mother)", see LANE; cf. *rōm* "lamb" in the commentary on map 168 "lamb (m.)". For other interpretations see commentary 173.
- *saxl* is "originally the 'offspring of the sheep or goat" (LANE), without a specific age. Reflexes of this only localised.
- Rare *ṭalī* ~ *ṭali* ~ *ṭilayy* from cl. Ar. *ṭalā* "the young of one of any of the cloven-hoofed animals... the youngling of any kind" (LANE). *ṭali* usually describes a "lamb", especially when used in the plural *ṭilyān*.
- Localised *sarawī* (301) = "älter als *ṭilayy*" is related to *saruw* "agneau qu'on engraisse à la maison" in the Daṭīnah (LAN-3:1297).
- The designation of a young animal can be used for a fully grown one, and vice versa. In the extreme north of Yemen *tēs(in)*, as well as *tūsī*, *tawsī* are used comparatively frequently. *mā'iz*, which is documented widely, follows the same pattern.
- *'aḏād* "billy-goat of medium size" (300) recalls Sudanese *'atūd*. In cl. Ar. "fat" or "short", said of humans. *'atūd* (HO 247) is cl. Ar. "der junge (einjährige, schon ausgewachsene) Ziegenbock".
- Cl. Ar. *ǧafar* refers to "a lamb, or kid, whose sides have become widened... that has become large, and begun to pasture... that is four months old" (LANE). The form is mentioned online as characteristic of Naǧd and 'Asīr, PRC-2:49 has *yafrū* "kid" in Bal-Qarn. At point 119 *ǧafar* "billy-goat of medium size".
- *marḏa'ī* and *'aǧwī* appear to refer to a newborn kid.
- At point 157 *ṭiflu* "quite young", "4 months old" *gidyu*.
- Localised *bahmī* linked to more widely documented *baham* (QAS) = *awlād aḏ-ḏa'n wa l-mā'iz*.
- Linked also to *bahīl* (300), probably influenced by **sxl* or **rxl*.
- Sporadic *ṣada'*, *ṣud'ī* reflect cl. Ar. *ṣada'* "a mountain goat... of a middling size, neither great nor small" (LANE).



- The subject is discussed in WAD 1:267–68. The commentary will be quoted below with slight alterations.
- 'Reflexes of the cl. Ar. form *ma'zah* as *mi'zeh* in central western Yemen, Ṣan'ā' questionnaire *mi'zih*, occasionally *ma'zah*.
- Reflexes of cl. Ar. *'anz* "a she-goat" (LANE): *'anzū* Saudi Arabia/Bal-Qarn (PRC-2:49), Yemen especially in the west and north.
- Reflexes of cl. Ar. *šāt*... originally *šāha* "a sheep, or goat": Ḥaḍramawt *šāh* (questionnaire), JA map 156 only localised *šēh*, *šāt*, new documented instances in Širwāḥ, Ḥuṣūn il-Jalāl, Daṭīnah *šāh*, pl. *šawhāt* (LAN-1:2102), Yāfi' *šēh* (VAN-6:245). At point 104 *šēh* is older than *mi'zeh*.
- Forms derived from *ḡanam* are common in regions of central western Yemen.
- Localised *jidyah*, *jidyeh* is derived from the masc.
- In Yemen localised *baḡarah* is usually a female goat that has not yet given birth (see JG). *xabšah*, *xabašeh*, *xabšeh*, *xubušeh* have been documented with the same meaning "Ziege, die noch nicht geworfen hat, Jungziege, mittelgroße Ziege" (JG); one internet record of *xab(a)šah* meaning "goat" in the Ġāzān province/Saudi Arabia.
- For localised *bahmeh* cf. *baham* "lambs", *buhmī* "lamb".
- *dābah* (JG after Glaser) in the Tihāmah refers to a "female donkey" elsewhere in Yemen, cf. also *dawwāb* "cattle". Not locatable, consequently not on map.



- The subject is discussed in WAD 1:270. The commentary will be copied below with minor alterations.
- ‘There is some overlap with “young male goat”, as the name of the young animal is often used to refer to the fully grown one (cf. “donkey” and “donkey foal” = *ǧaḥš*). On the other hand, as with other animals there are instances in the sources where clear distinctions are made according to the age.
- Reflexes of cl. Ar. *tays* dominate with variants such as *taysin*, *tēsun*, *tēsu*, *tays*, *tēs*; *tēsu* also Bal-Qarn/Saudi Arabia (PRC-2:49).
- *ǧidi* etc. see map “young male goat”, *judi* in Jiblih (133). At one of the research points in Yemen more precisely: *ǧidyu hīrwu* or only *hīru*. In JG 21 compared to *haryān* “old camel”, *hīriḡ* “lead camel” (JG), *ʾurwīya* “chamois” (featuring *ʾ > *h* similar to other forms).
- *māʾiz* Yemen/Mārib, Nihm = “one year old”, reinterpretation of *māʾiz* “goats”; *mīz* Ḍafār questionnaire remains doubtful.
- Documented several times in Yemen, *ǧazūr* is cl. Ar. “a camel [that is slaughtered, or to be slaughtered]” (LANE).
- Occurring especially in the Tihāmah, *farqad(u)*, *fargad(u)*, *farqūd* are *farqad* “calf” in cl. Ar., HO 226 “little calf”; *farhūd* corresponds to cl. Ar. *furhūd* “young of the mountain goat”, *furhud* in WA 11:406 also “stocky and sturdy”.
- *ʾaḏād* in Ġawf “medium-sized male goat”; *ǧaddāb* “fat male goat” in Ḥaḍramawt.
- *faḥīl* refers to the “male” in the context of various animals. In Syria also “billy-goat”.
- *ʾanzu* is a reinterpretation of *ʾanz* “female goat” as a masculine form.



- The subject is discussed in WAD 1:285–87. The commentary will be copied below with minor alterations.
- ‘Reflexes of cl. Ar. *’igl* dominate (*’iglu(n)*, *’iglu* in the Tihāmah). A female calf is usually marked by adding the feminine ending *-ah*, *-eh*. The word “Kalbin” in JA map 158 is misleading. In southern German, “Kalbin” does not denote a female calf, but a “Jungkuh vor der ersten Geburt” = “heifer”, Fr. “génisse”.
- *’aḡlī* on the Ḍafār questionnaire follows the common Yemeni animal name pattern with *-ī*.
- *’igl* in the Ḥugariyyah, in the Mārib region (159, 140, 303) is not directly linked to *’igl*, as in the dialects concerned the reflex of *‘ is not /’/ but /‘/. The forms are related to cl. Ar. *’iḡl* “herd of wild cows” (see JG).
- In some dialects in Yemen, different roots are used to distinguish between male and female calf, such as *’iḡl* v. *bahmeh*, *’ajil* v. *bahmeh*, localised also *fasīl* v. *bahmah*. In other cases both forms are based on the same root: *bahūm* v. *bahmah*. *√bhm* can also denote other young animals, see “lamb”.
- *fasīl/fasīleh*, *fasīl/’ijlah*, *fasīl/bahmah* obviously refer to a weaned calf, reflects cl. Ar. *fasala* “to wean a baby” (see JG s. v.). One internet instance *fiṣīl* (with this vocalisation) for Saudi Arabia, not locatable.
- Localised *rūm/rūmah* in Yemen is also used to denote other young animals, e.g. *rōmun/rōmah* usually used for

a newborn “camel calf”, but also “lamb”; from cl. Ar. *ra’m* “calf to which the she-camel is affectionately attached” (LI, more information in JG).

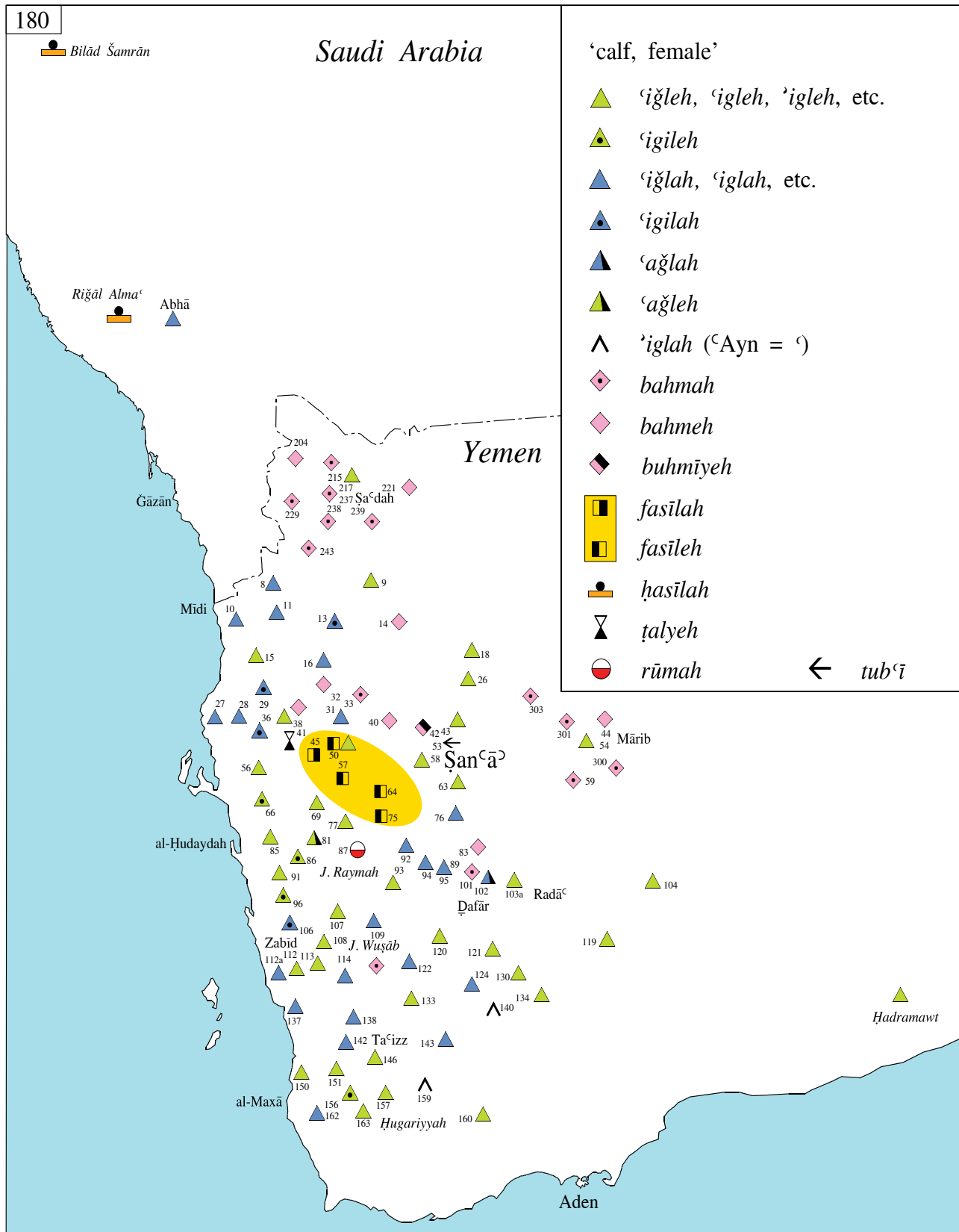
- *tab’/’ijleh* at point 104 JA map 158. Elsewhere in Yemen *taba’*, *tabī’* denotes a “bullock”, with the meaning “calf” found afterwards and mainly in the north. From cl. Ar. *tabī’* “calf which follows its mother” (LI). In Jabal Fayfā’/ Saudi Arabia the chronological sequence of terms is *’iḡlin*, *tabī’in*, *ṭawrin* (internet).

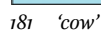
– Localised *ṭali/ṭalyeh* in Yemen normally refers to lambs and kids.

- Localised *rathu/ratḥeh* in Yemen might be interpreted as *radḥu/radḥeh* (see JG), in which case related to cl. Ar. *radāḥ* as an epithet for fat animals.

– *ḥasīl*, f. *-ah*, is typical of southwestern Saudi Arabia. Documented in ‘Asīr (general, internet: *ṣaḡīr al-baqar*), among the Šamrān tribe (internet) and the “Bedouins” (internet, no location), Riḡāl Alma’ (questionnaire). In cl. Ar. only documented as *ḥisl* “the young one of the [kind of lizard called] *ḍabb*” (LANE). Recalls Yem. *fasīl*.

- There is no further evidence of *ḡuhšūr ~ ḡahšūr* “petit du *baqar*” (LAN-1:312). He refers to p. 711, where (LAN-2) he gives the same form for the Daṭīnah, and p. 715 a comparison with other forms denoting young animals following the same pattern, among them *farhūd*.





– See WAD 1:278–80.

– 'Forms of the type *buqrī*, *bugrī* with the usual animal name suffix, or pattern. *buqrī* with added suffix pronoun becomes *buqrī'i*, *buqrī'ak* "my cow, your (sg.) cow" at point 159.

Manāxah (point 72) *bagara* ~ *bugrī* the latter "ländlichen Ursprungs, hat sich aber in Manāxa vielfach durchgesetzt" (WRB 380).

Regarding the suffix *-ī* see for more detailed information RO-S 14–15 with further examples such as *šugrī* "pol-lastrino", *ḍubbī* "mosca", *gumrī* "tortora". Cf. also JG *fūrī* "mouse".

– The form 'arx "cow" (JG 209) probably referred to a "heifer"; in LI 'arxa as "cow" and "heifer". Also Saudi Arabia/Bani 'Amru *al-'arxu* = *ḥasīlatun kabīratun tuḍaḥḥā* (INT).

– *bāru* coll. Tihāmāh points 66, 106, in RO-APP 258 *bārah* "una mucca" in Habbāt (point 48). Rossi also refers to *bār* "bovini" in the Sudanese Baggāra dialect in HIL "glossario", which translates "cattle". QAS 61 *bāra* = *luḡatun fī baqaratīn wa ḡam'uhā bār*, also referring to the Baggāra. JG 56 "cf. also LES 84 *bə'ar* 'ox, bull, horned cattle', Te., Tna. *bə'arāy* 'ox, bull', Amh. *bare*, Te. Arg. *bara*, Har. *bāra*, *ba'ara* ... cf. arab. *ba'ir*". A sound change **ba'ra* > *ba'ra* > *bāra* would be entirely regular in the Tihāmāh, as there are other forms where original *-v'* via *-v'* becomes *-v̄*; *šbētu* "I ate enough", *dabbāli* "he shore my head". From *√šb'* and *√db'*.

– Localised *fārah* in the Tihāmāh (point 66) is derived from *fār* "bull". JG 959 has *fawr* (< **tawr*) at point 11, *fār*, pl. *fīrān*: "*fār* kann man als Rückbildung nach dem Muster *ḡār*: *ḡirān* = x : *fīrān* (< **tīrān*) ansehen; eventuell liegt auch Einfluss von dem in der Tihāmāh weit verbreiteten *bārah* 'Kuh' vor; evtl. auch zu **fr(r)* wie in LANE IV 2356 *fūrār*,

farīr 'the cow', hebr. *pār* 'Stier', akkadisch *parru* 'Lamm'; vgl. a. JO-ME 86 *fōr*, dim. *fārēn* 'young bull' (allerdings zu einer Wurzel *f'r* gestellt)".

Regarding the sound change **t* > */f/* cf. also map 149 *tady* > *fidi* "female breast", point 131 (Ḥays) *falāfah* "three", *famāniyah* "eight"; conversely **fūm* > *tum* map 142, *fār* > *tar* "to boil intr. (water)" esp. in the Ḥugariyyah, localised northern Tihāmāh.

– *lāy(in)*, det. *im-lāy* is typical of southwestern Saudi Arabia: *lāy* (JG 201, 207, 209), *lāyin*, pl. *liwayyin* (204); *lāy* Saudi Arabia/Riḡāl Alma' (questionnaire), idem Jabal Fayfā' (questionnaire), 'Asīr (INT), Balḡāzi/'Abādīl (INT), al-'Āridah (INT). From cl. Ar. *al-la'ā* = *at-tawru l-waḥšīyyu* / *al-baqaratu* (LI). Cf. in Modern South Arabian languages e.g. Mehri *lé* (JO-M), Soqatra *la'y* and similar forms (LES-S).

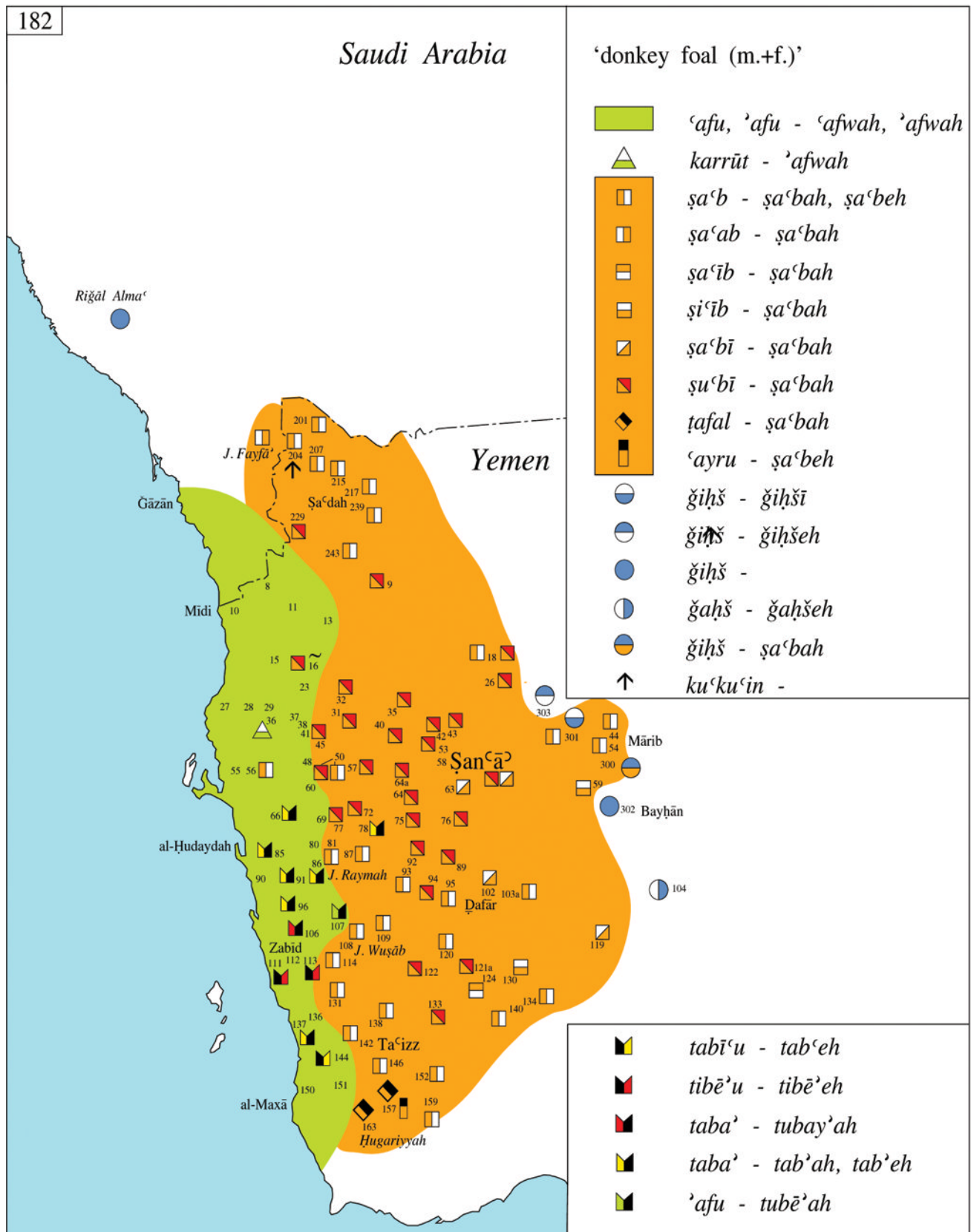
In the Fayfā' dialect the stages of age are denoted *bahmah* – *xabašah* – *lāy*.

– The plural *hawāyiš* of sg. *lāy* in Riḡāl Alma'/Saudi Arabia (questionnaire) is related to *hōš* "cows" Oman/Ristāq (REI 97). More in WAD loc. cit.

– Localised 'ablah in Minabbih may be an epithet "fat one". In JG reference to WA 11:201 'abula "to be fat".

– Localised *bihēmeh* (JG 50a, 243), is originally "head of cattle", also found meaning "female donkey".

– Further instances: Saudi Arabia/Dōsiri *bgirah* (KUR-1) PRC-1:196 *bagara* Rufaydah, Abha, Tanūmah, Gāmid (idem TOLL 39), Bal-Qarn, Qauz, *bagra* Šabyā; Ḥaḍramawt *bagrah* (WAD FB), Sanaa *bagarih* ~ *bahmih* (questionnaire, the latter probably 'heifer'). *bəqarah* Zabid, *baqarah* Yāfi' (VAN-6:246); *baqar* ~ *baḡar* Yāfi' (VAN-7:153; coll. *baḡar* Ḍālī' (EM), Radā' *bagara* (point 105, HUI 28), Ḍafār *bagara* (WAD), Aden *baqara* (GHA), Daṭīnah in LAN-2 text 1:711 *baqāra* in fn. "Mais déjà à eḍ-Ḍāhir *baqara*". It was not possible to locate the place in the south.'



Commentary quoted from WAD 1:293.

– ‘*afu* (*ʾafu*), from cl. Ar. *ʾafw* “young ass” (LANE), is typical of the Yem. Tihāmah. According to LAN-1:2308 “proprement exempt du travail”, Ḥaḍramawt (LAN-3:660) *ʾufwah* “chamelle exemptée du travail”. Saudi Arabia/Ġāzān *ʾafu* (INT).

– Further typically Yemeni forms are *šaʿb*, *šuʿbī*, *šaʿīb*, *šiʿīb*, *staʿbin*. Ḍafār *šaʿbī* – *šaʿbah* (questionnaire); *šuʿbī* Ṣanʿāʾ (questionnaire), *šuʿbī* Manāxah WRB 517 “young donkey”. In some places described as larger, *kuʿkuʿin* (204) and *ġahš* as smaller. LI has *šaʿb* “camel that is not being ridden”. Details in JG. Extends into Saudi Arabia: *im-staʿab* Jabal Fayfāʾ (my own data, INT).

– Saudi Arabia/Riġāl Almaʿ *ġihš*, pl. *ġihāšah* (WAD). In Yemen used only from the eastern half onwards (see JA

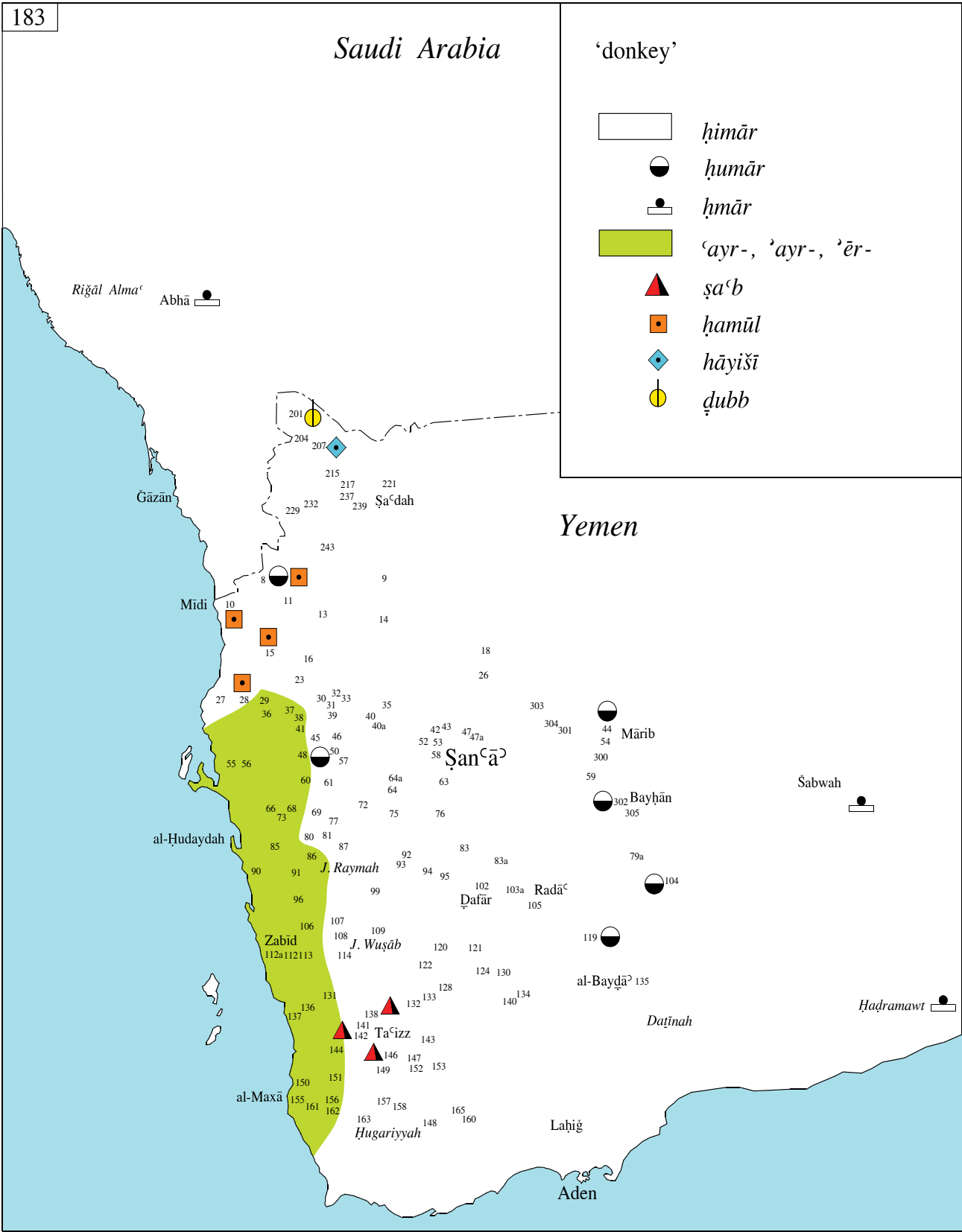
map 160), which has *ġahš* documented only at im-ʿĀgir (point 104), further instances of *ġihš* at 300, 301, 302, 303.

– *tabaʿ* etc. in the Tihāmah cf. map ‘calf’. *ʾafu*, *ʾafweh* used parallel.

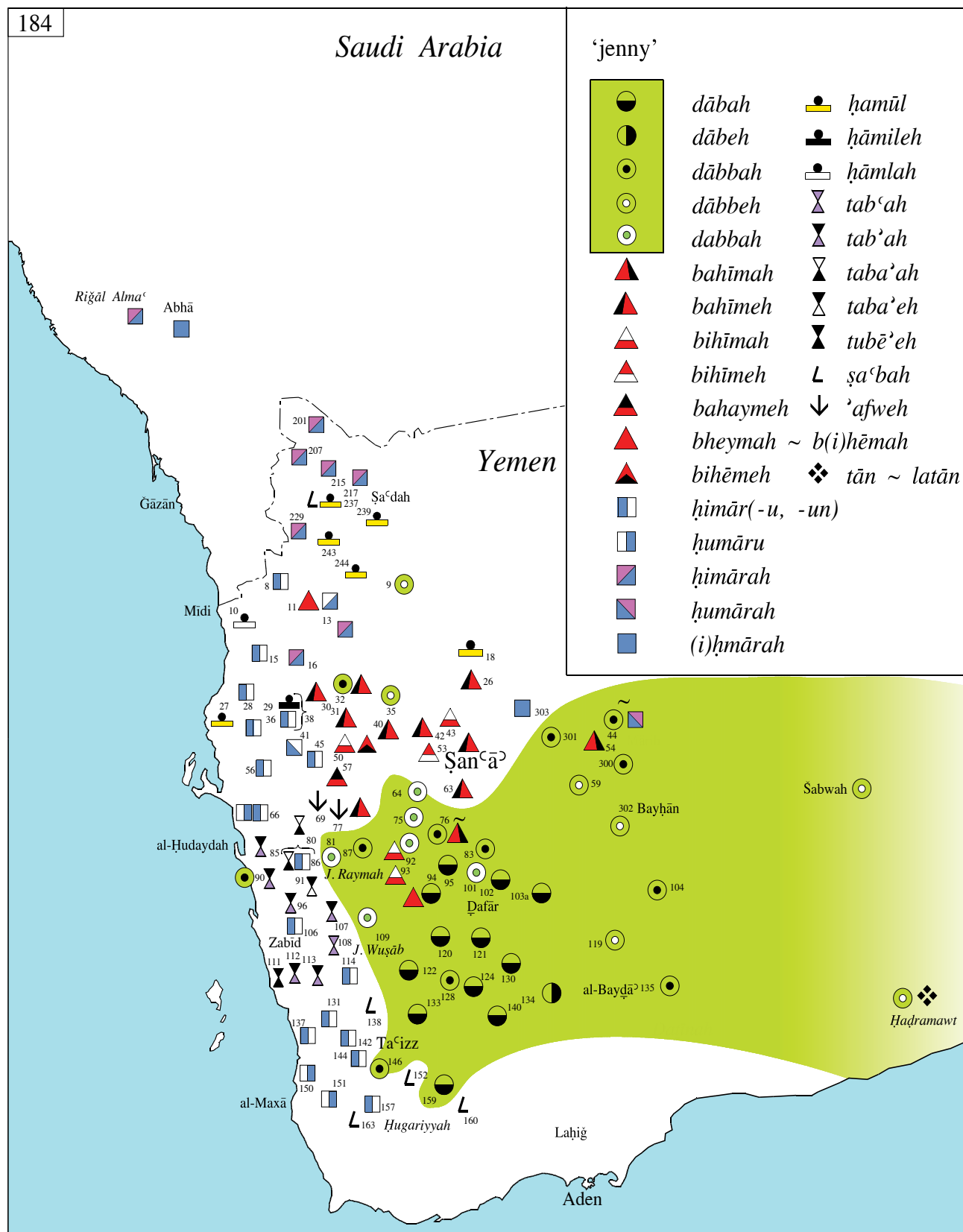
– Related to Levantine *kurr*: probably also localised *karrūt* (36) and *kuʿkuʿin* (204), Cf. also *kuʿs* “medium-sized donkey” (237) and SEL 189/190 *kusʿūm*, *ʾukmūs* as a Himyarism, in LI 3877 *kuʿsūm*, *kusʿūm* from *kusʿa . . . wa l-mīmu zāʿida*; probably part of the sequence *k* – ʿ – for “something round, swelling, swollen”; cf. the epithet “the big-bellied one” for the donkey in Ancient Arabic poetry (JG p. 1076).

– Regarding sporadic *ṭafal* and *tabaʿ* in Yemen cf. maps “calf”, “lamb”.

– In Yemen *ʾaraš* is a “young donkey that has not been broken in” (cf. JG), cf. *ʾars* “lamb (m.)”.



- The subject is discussed in WAD 1:288–89. The commentary will be quoted below, with minor alterations.
- ‘Reflexes of cl. Ar. *ḥimār* dominate, in isolated cases with /u/ as in Egyptian Arabic, Sudanese and Ḥiğāzi.
- In cl. Ar. *ʿayr* refers to “junger ausgewachsener Esel sowol (sic!) vom zahmen wie wilden” (HO 127), but usually denotes a wild donkey. The form is typical of the Yem. Tihāmāh with the variants *ʿayr(u)*, *ʿēr(u)*, *ʿayr(u)*, *ʿēr(u)*. One localised instance at 303 (il-Jawf). RO-APP 258 has the form *ʿērah* “asino maschio” in Habbāt, which seems strange: “his donkey”?
- Sporadic *ṣaʿb* usually refers to the young animal.
- *ḥamūl* in the northern Tihāmāh is originally “beast of burden”.
- *ḥāyiṣī* in the extreme northern Yemen is related to *ḥāṣ*, *yahiṣ* “to go, walk” common there; cf. *mawāṣī* “livestock”.
- Localised *ḍubb* refers to the donkey’s plump belly.’ See commentary 182.



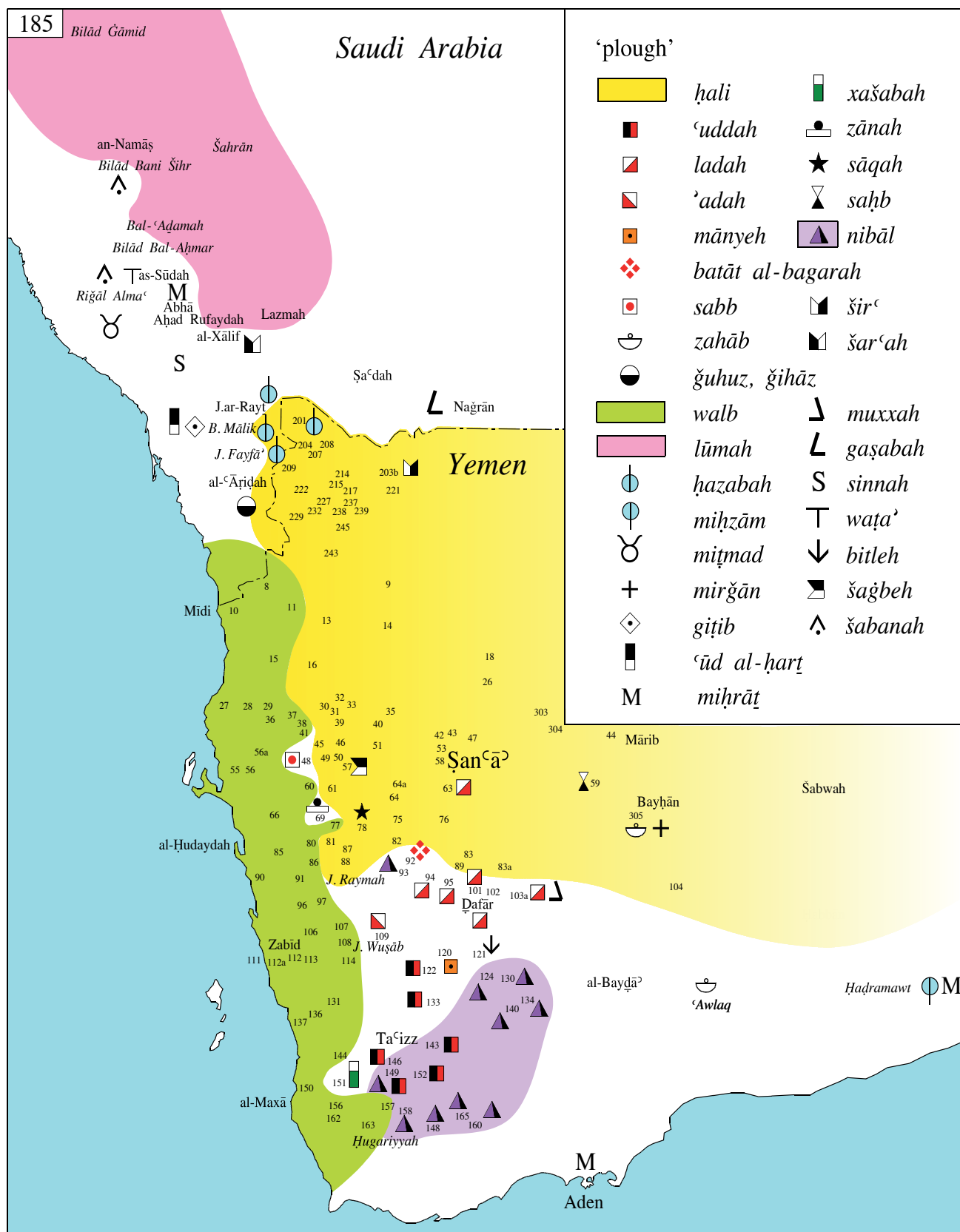
- The names are only sporadically formed by adding the feminine suffix *-a(h)* to the masculine, thus *ḥimārah* from *ḥimār*.
- In the Yemeni Tihāmah *ḥimāru* (rarely *ḥumāru*) describes the ‘jenny’, the corresponding male form is *‘ayr(u)*, *‘ēr(un)* etc.
- *bihēmeh*, *bahūmih* etc. in central Yemen correspond to the male form *ḥimār*.
- Also isolated: *dābbeh*, *dābah*, Ḍafār questionnaire *dābah*, Ṣan‘ā’ questionnaire *dābbih*, Ibb *dābbah* (WAT-5:12), Ḥaḍramawt *dābbih* (questionnaire), which also cor-

respond to *ḥimār*, *ḥmār*. The plural *duwwāb* denotes both genders.

- *ḥamūl*, rarely *ḥāmleh* (correct form to be added instead of *ḥamleh* at point 10 JA map 162) is etymologically ‘beast of burden’.

– *tab(a)‘ah*, *tubē‘ah* in the Yem. Tihāmah is in fact the feminine of *‘afu* (*‘afu*) ‘donkey foal’; as is so frequently the case, the term for the young animal is used to denote the fully grown one. See also sporadic *ṣa‘bah* and *‘afweh*.

- Cl. Ar. *‘atān* (LANE ‘she-ass’) is documented in Ḥaḍramawt as *tān* ~ *latān* (INT).



185 'plough'

- The subject is discussed in WAD 11:325–27. The commentary will be quoted below, with minor alterations.
- “The plough is the farmer’s tool par excellence, consequently semantic narrowing of “tool” can occur, as in the following designations:
- *ḥali*, *ḥaly*, *ḥalī* Yemen (JG), also Ḥaḍramawt (LAN-3:285, internet), *ḥalī* (questionnaire), extends into southwestern Saudi Arabia/al-Xabt (INT); from ASA *ḥly* “movable goods” (SD, JG).
- *‘uddah* = cl. Ar. *‘udda* “Apparatus, equipment or equipment, accoutrements, furniture . . .” (LANE).
- *‘adah*, *ladah*, *lādah* (the latter Ḍafār questionnaire) = cl. Ar. *‘adāt* “An instrument; a tool; an implement” (LANE).
- *mānyeh* related to Ancient Syriac *mānā* “instrument” (see JG after Goitein, see also DAL 11:65 *mānā* “plough” in a Hebr. source), also *mānīyeh* “kitchen equipment” in Yemen.
- *batāt al-bagarah* (see JG) “requisites, equipments” (LANE).
- *sabb* reflects cl. Ar. *sabab* “a thing of any kind . . . by means of which one attains, reaches, or gains access to another thing” (LANE), *sabab* also “object, item” (WE).
- *zahāb* Yemen/Bayḥān, Awlaq (LAN-3:297) related to cl. Ar. *√zhh*, not in Lane, LI only *‘aṭāhu zihban min mālihi*, in WA *zihb*, *zuhbe* as a neologism “provisions, munitions, part of one’s possessions” (see JG, BEH-N:102).
- *ḡuhuz* Saudi Arabia/Ġāzān (internet), ‘Asir *ḡihāz*, also Bal-‘Aḍamah, Bani l-Ḥariṣ (south of Jabal Fayfā’; reliable internet source which also includes dialect pronunciation such as *wastal* = *waṣl* “extension of the yoke”). Cl. Ar. “The requisites . . . equipments . . . apparatus” (LANE).

The concept of tying, yoking:

- *walb-u*, *-un* Yem. Tihāmah “*b*-Dublette zu nordar. *wlm* mit einer Grundbed. ‘binden, einwickeln’ (WE *walam*, *walm* ‘saddle girth, cinch’)” (JG); extends a little into Saudi Arabia/Ġāzān (internet).
- *lūmah* southwest Saudi Arabia: Zahrān (INT), Bal-‘Aḍamah (INT), Bal-Aḥmar (DOS-1:25), Darain, Baḥwān, Lazmah/Asir (DOS-1:40, Šahrān (INT), an-Namāṣ (INT), Ġāmid (INT); reflects cl. Ar. *la’ama* “to dress a wound”, *la’m* “binding, tie” (BEL).
- *ḥazabah* Yemen localised (see JG 201), discussed in BEH-N:103, but not on the map; *b*-doublet of *√hzm*. Idem Saudi

Arabia/Jabal Fayfā’ (INT), Bani Mālik (INT), ar-Rayṭ (INT), mountain regions of the Ġāzān province “with only one ox” (INT).

- Also related *miḥzam* Ḥaḍramawt (INT: *min ‘adawāt al-ḥirāta yutamm bihā tafkik at-turba*).
- *miṭmad*, pl. *maṭāmid* Saudi Arabia/Riḡāl Alma’ (WAD), more frequently meaning “yoke”, like cl. Ar. *miḍmada* (LI).
- Localised *mirjān* Yemen/Bayḥān (not on map 163 in JA), JG links it to LES 465 *ragana* “row, bind tightly, pull the sails”.

Metonymic (contiguity, based on the animal):

- *ḡāmi* Yemen (JG, localised according to GOI 31) refers to a plough pulled by two oxen, *waḥīd* to one with only one draught animal; Saudi Arabia/Bani Mālik *ḡamī* “plough and yoke” (internet). Not on map.

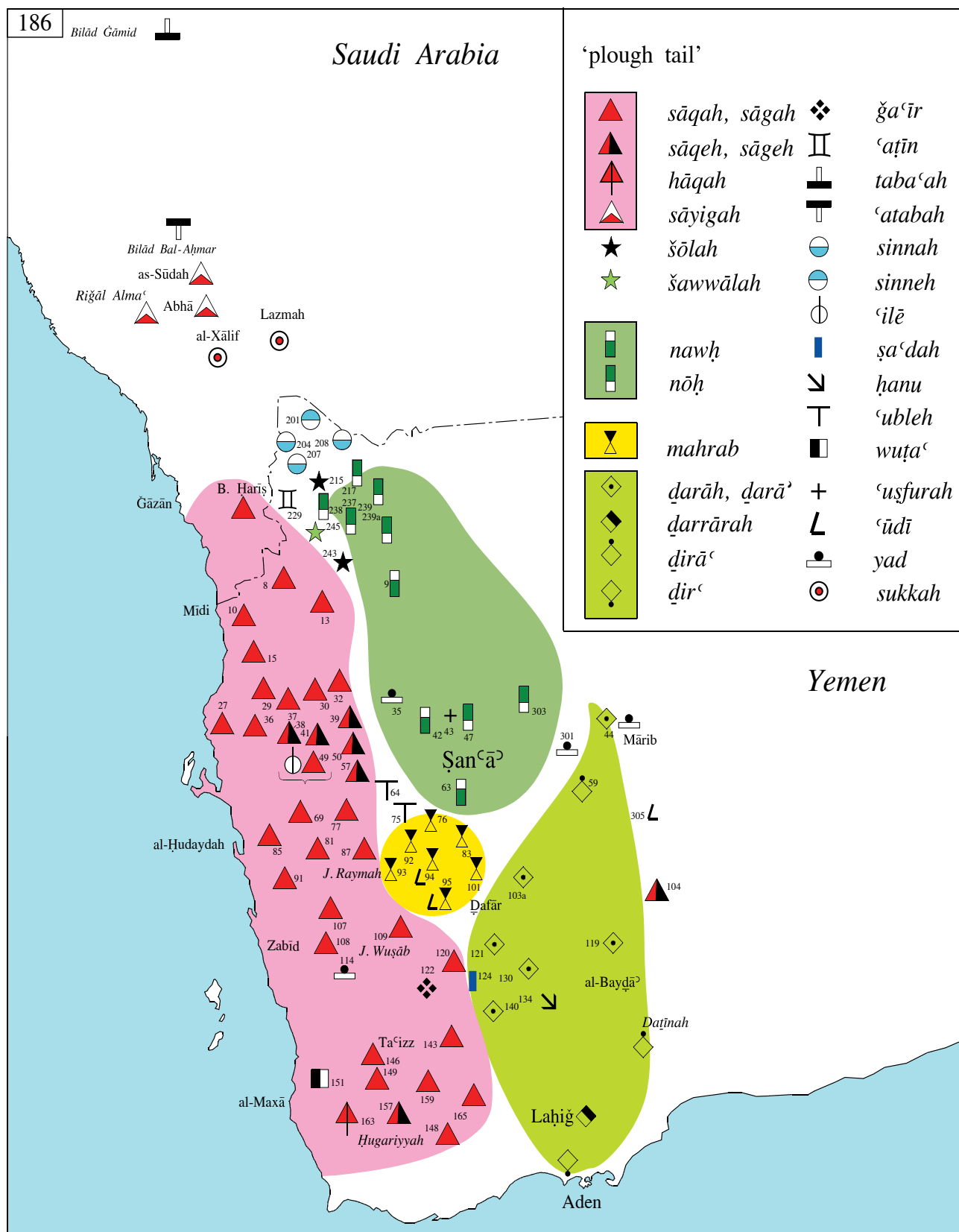
Semantic narrowing due to metonymy or ellipsis is also found in:

- *‘ūd* “wood, pole”. Saudi Arabia/al-Bāḥah/al-Qilwah *‘ūd al-ḥar(i)t* “plough wood” (DOS-1:19, 39, beyond the limits of the map; Bani Mālik INT).
- *ḡiṭib* denotes a small plough pulled by one ox (as opposed to *ḥaly*), Bani Mālik/Saudi Arabia (internet) either from cl. Ar. *ḡiṭb* “axle of the wheel, or the millstone” (WA), also “pole”, or like *ḥazabah* above from *√hzb* “to tie etc.” from cl. Ar. *qaṭaba* “to tighten, tie”.
- “Piece of wood” Yemen, localised, *xaṣabah* (JG).
- *zānah* Yemen, localised, originally “spear, pole”, cf. *nibāl* “plough beam” related to cl. Ar. *nabl* “arrow”, Eg. Ar. *rumḥ* “plough tail” = “lance”.
- Localised *sāqah* in Yemen is normally the plough tail; also in Saudi Arabia/al-Xabt (internet).
- Similarly localised *saḥb* in Yemen, elsewhere “share”; also in Saudi Arabia/Bal-‘Aḍamah.
- More widely used *nibāl* denotes the lower part of the plough beam (see BEH-3:112, diagrams).
- In Yemen derivations of *√šr* usually denote the plough sole(s); localised, however, *šir*, *širwa* (pl.) and *šar’ah* in Saudi Arabia, al-Khalef southeast of Abha (DOS-1:40). *šarī* is also, in fact, the seeder plough (diagram in DOS-1:27, 33 regarding Bal-Aḥmar, al-Khalef, JG 42, 43, 131); *širā* “plough soles” also in Saudi Arabia/al-Xabt (internet).

- *muxxah* for a small ox-drawn plough (JG after Glaser) is the “plough beam” elsewhere (JG 103a). Tentatively located at 103a.
- *gaṣabah* Nağrān (internet) is “plough beam” in northern Egypt; originally “pipe”, anat. “shinbone”, cf. *muxx* “marrow” and *muxxah* above (“marrow bone”).
- *sinnah* southwestern Saudi Arabia (internet) can be linked to Yem. *sinnēh* “plough tail” or “ploughshare” (see BEH-2).
- *waṭāʾ*, pl. *awṭīʾ* in Saudi Arabia/ʿAsīr/Sūdah near Abha (DOS-1:40) is documented in Yemen as “plough tail” and as “plough sole”, probably from $\sqrt{w\dot{t}}$ “down”, see BEH-N:108 (also another interpretation).

Deverbal forms:

- *ʿammāla* Ḥaḍramawt/Dawʿan (INT) from Yem. *ʿamal* “to plough” (JG). Outside the area covered by the map.
- *bitleh*, *battālah* from Yem. *batal* “to plough” (JG). The second form for Aden in VAR (after STACE), idem internet (from the south, tentatively on map near Aden, Taʿizz).
- *šaḡbeh* Yemen, localised (JG 57, not on map in JA) from *šaḡab* “to plough, to furrow, to till”.
- It is not possible to etymologise *šabanah* Saudi Arabia/Bani Bakr (tribe in Riḡāl Almaʿ/ʿAsīr with picture), Bani Šihr (internet).
- Sporadically mentioned *miḥrāt* (Aden questionnaire, Ḥaḍramawt, Abha questionnaire) appear to be in fact MSA.’



Quoted from BEH-N 107–10:

– The most widely used *sāqah*, *sāgah* does not require extensive discussion; it is derived from *sāq* “to steer”. We should add that in Arabic dialects in Hatay and Çukurova (Turkey) the form *sāq*, *ysūq* not only means “to drive, steer” but also “to plough, till” (PRO-C 172). The form *hāqah* is worth noting, as it indicates that the sound change documented in Modern South Arabic $*s^2 > h$ was originally more widespread and may well be rather old, too.

– The form *sinneh* “plough tail” is only recorded as *sinna* in VAR 98, meaning “point of a ploughshare” or “smaller share”. As the diagram in DGS 319 and the numerous instances on the map show, an error is impossible. Add to this *sukkah* in DOS 40, also with a diagram, which occurs in many Arabic dialects as *sikka* and also denotes a “ploughshare”.

– The etymology of *nawḥ*, *nōḥ*, *nūḥ* is difficult to establish. VAR 121 does not recognise its area of circulation, quoting only one *nūḥ* after GIH in the Ṣa’dah region.

– The comparatively widely used form *mahrab* is also difficult to etymologise. There are other forms such as *mahrabah*, *mihrabah* “small axe” (“pollarding axe”), “small axe with a long handle, large axe”, which are related to cl. Ar. *harrama* “to chop”.

– The forms *darāḥ*, *darah*, *dir*ʿ, *dirā*ʿ and *darrārah* cover a fairly large region and extend as far south as Aden and the Daṭīnah. It is possible that two roots crossed here. *dir*ʿ, *dirā*ʿ “arm” corresponds to *yad* with the related meaning “hand, arm”, which according to VAR 124 is used “throughout Yemen”. I hardly ever heard the form during my field research. LAN-1:927 has *dirā*ʿ “manche de la charrue” and refers to 1447,2 where (LAN-2) he quotes: *yizqar em-darā*ʿ “he grasps [the tail of] the handle”. *darāḥ*, *darah* was probably influenced by *dry* “to sow”. The form *darāḥ* is also documented as “furrow opener” and “seed funnel” in my data, VAR 92 has *dārī* and *dārīya*, but not meaning “plough tail”. Depending on the region the seed funnel might be attached to the side of the tail.

– Ger. “Sterz” originally means “(animal) tail”, “prominent rear” (DU 709), corresponding to Engl. “tail”. This concept is the basis of the infrequent word *jaʿīr* “plough tail”, probably from cl. Ar. *ǧaʿrā*, *ǧīʿirrā*, *ǧāʿira* “backside, rear”. VAR 81 records the form in the Ṣa’dah region. This is probably an error; in the atlas (JA) it is marked at point 122.

– *aṭīn* is mentioned in VAR 109 after S. Weir located in an-Naḍīr/Jabal Rāziḥ and denoting “plough beam”. I recorded it meaning “plough tail” there, and linked it with the meaning “rear” in JG 844.

– Another form fitting in this concept is *atabah* in ʿAsīr recorded in DOS 39. It is unlikely to be related to the “doorstep” *atabah*, but rather a metathesis of *tabaʿah* “plough tail”, which the author records in regions further north (al-Bāḥah province, p. 39). Cf. Moroccan Arabic *tābā*ʿ “tail” which denotes a plough component, too – the “mallet”, however, or a supporting post of a similar size directly behind it.

– The form recorded as *shuwāla* in an-Naḍīr/Jabal Rāziḥ in VAR 104 appears in my records as *šawwālah*, and in the same region also *šōlah*. Again, this means “tail” and corresponds to cl. Ar. *šawwāla* “scorpion, raised tail of a scorpion” (L1), and indeed the plough tail in these regions looks like a scorpion’s raised, curved tail.

– Isolated *ʾilē*ʿ is to be interpreted along the same lines (“something raised”, in JG mistakenly marked at point 44 instead of 49).

– Also isolated *šaʿdah* from $\sqrt{\text{š}}d$ “high”.

– *ḥanu* from *ḥny* “to bend, curve”, as the plough tail is often curved.

– *wuṭa*ʿ “plough tail” is probably hypercorrect for $*wuṭa$ ʿ, which is recorded elsewhere with the meaning “landside”. “Plough tail” at one location and “landside” at another are not contradictory, as both are frequently parts of one piece. Consequently it is not surprising that DOS 40 finds *waṭa*ʿ, pl. *awṭī*ʿ “plough” in ʿAsīr. The meaning could be linked to *wṭy* “down”, but also to *wṭy* “to incline, bend”, cf. Yem. *wuṭā*, *yūṭī* “to incline one’s head”.

– The form *ʾubleh*, documented in two villages, would at first seem to be linked to the forms listed in the context of “ploughshare” (“piece of iron”, “arrow”). However, this is not a mistake, as “spear” is *rumḥ* in cl. Ar., and this term for the plough tail is used throughout the eastern Nile delta.

– Isolated *ʾuṣfarah* at point 43 north of Ṣanʿāʾ refers to the handle (a cross-peg) on the tail as well as the entire tail; at neighbouring locations (35, 42) the handle only. This kind of metaphor is not unusual, and the word “sparrow” is widely used in Egypt as well to describe a peg on parts of the plough (handle on the tail, peg on the beam, on the yoke etc.) (BW maps 474, 475, 503, 508).

– *dafleh* “plough tail” is documented in Ṣanʿāʾ (JG 380 after Deboo), VAR 91 has it as *dafla* “plough beam” in the central plateau after RO-S. RO-S:193 has *dāfleh* as “impugnatura o timone”, i.e. “handle” and “plough beam”. Not on the map.

– At 94 and 95 *ūdī* is used parallel to *mahrab*, also at 305. Cf. *ūd* “plough beam” above.

– Sporadic *yad* (GOI 31) “tail” is probably due to the fact that the tail and the handle are often of a piece.

– *sukkah* in DOS-40 (with diagram) is Eg. *sikka* “ploughshare”.

– The map shows very clearly the main distribution of northern Yemeni dialects, which corresponds to the landscape, i.e. 'coast – western mountain range – central plateau – east of the country, with usage in the latter being partly the same as on the central plateau.

Excerpt from BEH-N 100ff. with slight alterations:

– 'The form noted as *'ağār* in GIH 144 is transcribed as *ajārr* by VAR, who (p. 80) lists it as "*j-r-r*" linking it to cl. Ar. *jarr* "the cord that connects the share to the yoke". The form is not documented in LANE; and the ploughshare is not normally connected to the yoke with string.

However, after his *'ağār* GIH 144 notes "in Šibāb *diğr*". We should probably see *'ağār* as a misspelling of the usual plural form of *diğr*, *'adğār*, a form documented in large parts of the country and which extends up into the region of Ša'dah and also a little into Saudi Arabia. *madğar* is documented in im-Maḍḍah, and *dir* (sic!), pl. *adyār* reported in DOS 40 for the Bal-Aḥmar in 'Asīr is probably nothing but **diğr* > *diyr* > *dīr* featuring the shift, common in the area, from **ğ* to /y/ (PRC-1:15). The dual *diğrayn* is recorded for Banī Mālik (internet). See VAR 90 regarding *diğr* found in Arabic dictionaries. Usually plural forms are employed due to the fact that the plough sole consists of two pieces called "Streichbretter" by GIN 144, but which are not the same as the mould boards of European ploughs. Yemeni ploughs are ards.

– Plural forms of a root *šr'* are widely used. VAR 101 does not report many instances of this meaning; see above "plough". He quotes *šarī'a*, pl. *širā'i* "one of two pieces of wood placed tightly under the sole of the iron share".

– As "plough sole" and "ploughshare" often share one designation (see cf. *sinn*), the form *tumrah* (DOS 39) might be a derivation of cl. Ar. *tabara* "to tear open, to break".

– *saḥb* usually refers to the "ploughshare".

– The forms *ṣuḥuf*, *siḥaf* are obviously plurals. A connection with *saḥb* "ploughshare" (as in JG s. v.) is not the case, as DOS 40 documents in one and the same dialect (Abha region) *saḥb* meaning "ploughshare" and *ṣaḥaf*, "plough sole". They are probably metathetic forms of cl. Ar. *ṣafḥa* "outer side", as the plough soles, or the two "mouldboards"

are positioned at both sides of the share. The loss of emphasis in *siḥaf* remains to be explained. JG 702 links it to *ṣaḥafa* "to dig up the soil". Besides *ṣafḥa* we also find localised *ğināb*, originally "sides".

– *šitfah* is documented as *šutfeh* "piece of wood" in other regions. VAR has *shidfa* meaning "small wedge used underneath plough share" (Jabal Rāziḥ after S. Weir).

– *tanābil* is obviously plural and probably related to *nabal* "plough", *nibāl* "lower part of a plough beam".

– Regarding *wuṭa* see above.

– *tašūgah* "the sole of the seeder plough" (GIH 140) is easily linked to *'aššaḡ* "to connect, couple, join together closely" (WE), as the soles ("mouldboards") join the share to the lower part of the tail.

– The rare form *'arf* recorded in GIH 140 in Wādī Amlāḥ (point 203a) is probably related to *'araf* "stay" which he recorded in the north as well (GIH p. 33 with diagram). This refers to the two masonry supports on a well to which parts of the well winch are attached, i.e. they have a function similar to that of the plough soles. The form may be related to cl. Ar. *ḥarf* "edge, rim". VAR 107 links it to Amharic *erf* "stilt" (cf. LES 70 *'arf* "handle of plough, plough").

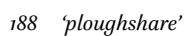
– The rare form *jidlah*, also denoting the two "mouldboards" may be related to LAN-2:272 *ğidla* "instrument en bois où l'on doit mettre les pieds en prison" (see also JG 174/5).

– *jirjir* "the wooden sole of the plough behind the iron share" in VAR 80 (after GIH 138) is a misunderstanding. In the source *ğirğir* denotes a wooden peg that joins the two "mouldboards" (*maḍra'a* = soles).

– The form *maḍra'a* "mouldboards" quoted there for Wādī l-'Abdīn could be read as *maḍra'a* or as *maḍra'a*, and consequently be etymologised in two ways: from *√ḍr'* "arm" or from *√ḍr'* "equal", as it consists of two equal parts.

– *haṣal*, pl. *'ahṣāl* in Riḡāl Alma'/Saudi Arabia is not documented elsewhere. Probably from *haykal* "frame", as the "mouldboards" on both sides of the share could be compared to a frame.

– In some parts of the Tihāmah the upper part of the sole, the beam and the tail are all one piece (see diagram in BEH-N 112).



Excerpt, with slight changes, from commentary ‘Pflugschar’, WAD 11:329–30:

‘...*sinneh* more widespread in central northern Yemen (JA map 166), in Bayḥān, among the ‘Awāliq (LAN-3:297), Ḥaḍramawt *sinnih* (questionnaire). In Jabal Rāziḥ *saḥb* refers to a wider share, *sinna* a narrower one (VAR 96). The term is used in the entire Ṣa‘dah region (DGS 319 with diagram, data not on original map 166). In other regions of Yemen (northern Tihāmah) recorded as “plough sole” (JA map 165), *sinnih* (questionnaire). *sunna*’, recorded in Darayn (south of Ṭā‘if, DOS-1:39, possibly misheard) may be linked to these as well; Riḡāl Alma‘ *sinnah*, pl. *sinan* (questionnaire).

– *saḥb* from cl. Ar. *saḥaba* “to pull, draw” (“ploughshare” = “that which is pulled through the ground”) is the dominant form in Yemen (JA map 166), documented also in Ḍafār (questionnaire), VAR 96 for Aden, the ‘Awāliq, Bayḥān, Laḥiḡ; extends into Saudi Arabia: ‘Asīr/Baḥwān *saḥeb* (DOS-1:39, in the region of the Bal-Aḥmar), ‘Asīr/

Sūdah *saḥb* “ploughshare” (DOS-1:39), the point is referred to as *ma‘amel* here, al-Xālif also *saḥeb*, Lazmah *saḥab* “sole and share”, in the southwest *saḥb* “share” (internet).

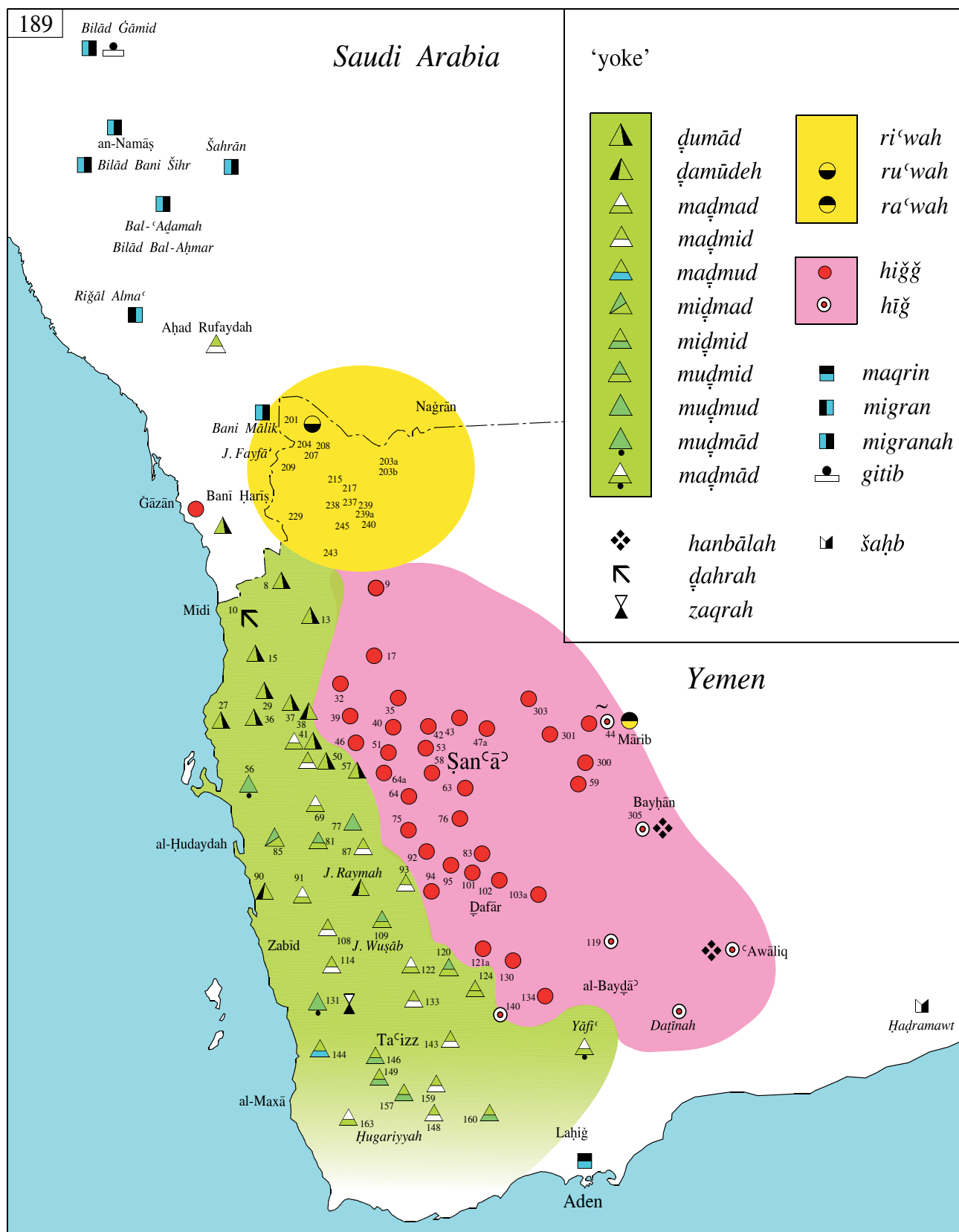
– *ma‘amel* [probably *ma‘mal*] from Yem. ‘*amal* “to plough”, ‘*ammal* “to forge the ploughshare onto the sole” and the *b*-doublet √*bl*: ‘*abbāl* “blacksmith who forges agricultural tools” (JG), cf. also *mi‘bala* “spearhead” (NÖ 11:55).

– Localised Yem. *raṣaw* is probably from cl. Ar. *raṣā* “to fix, attach” (LI s. v.).

– *dadjdj/addjādj* in ‘Asīr/Baḥwān (DOS-1:39) (read: *daḡḡ*) not documented elsewhere. Recalls *diḡr*, pl. ‘*adḡār* “plough sole” (Yemen, Saudi Arabia/southwest). Doubtful, not on map.

– Sporadic Yemeni designations *ḥali* and *ladah* normally refer to “plough”.

– *gidwim* Ḥaḍramawt/Yemen (internet, vocalised) = *ḥagg ḥarrātāt al-‘arḍ yuṣna‘ min al-ḥadīd*, probably “share”, from √*qdm* “front, point”.

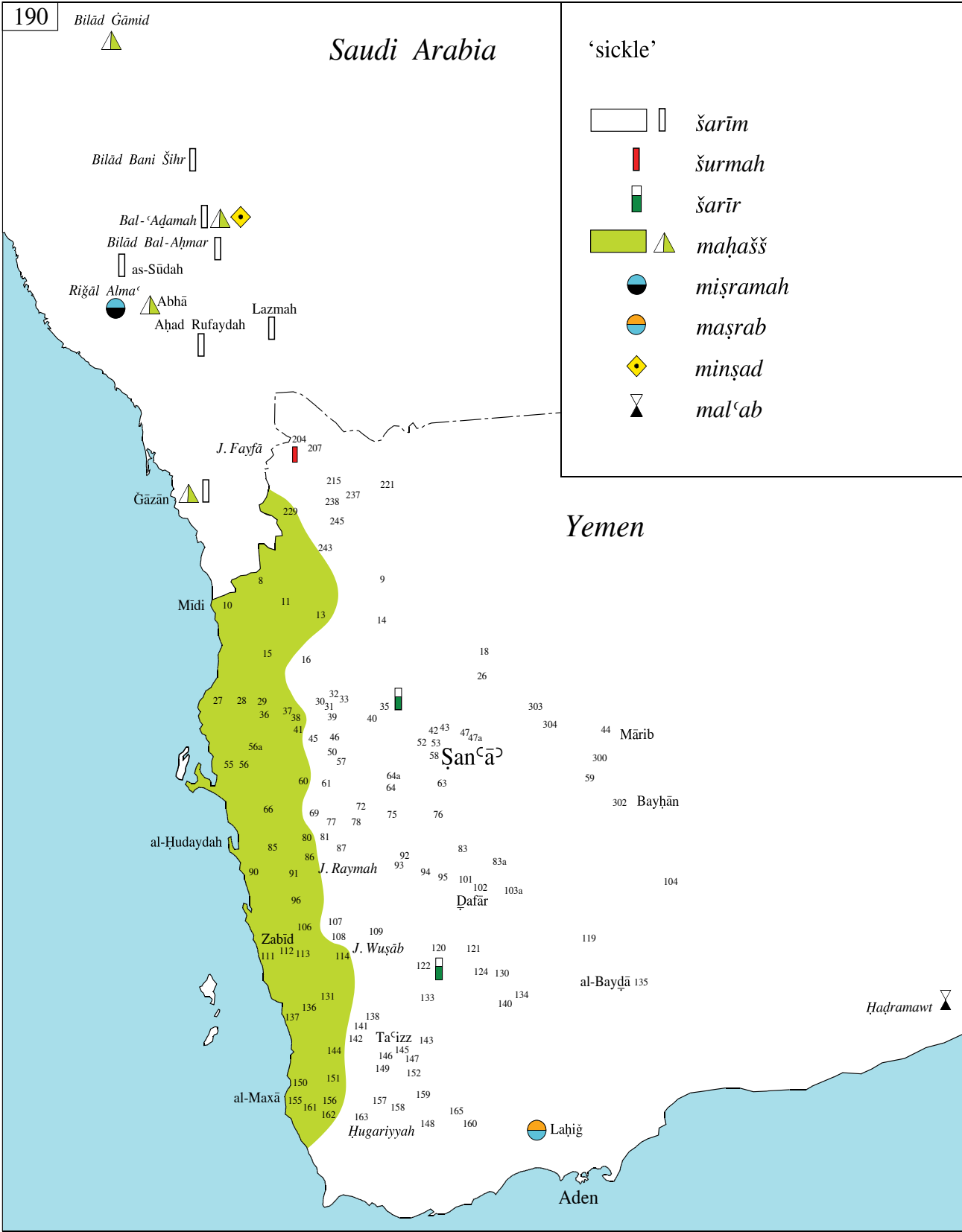


Excerpt from the commentary on map 180 WAD II.

- ‘*maḍmid*’ etc. have already been discussed in AD 28–29. *maḍmid* occurs in western Yemen, extending beyond the Tihāmah (see JA map 167; a more up-to-date map in BEH-N 117), in the north of the Tihāmah *ḍumād*, LAN-3:297 *ḍamd* “paire de taureaux” among ‘Awāliq and in Bayḥān. Yāfi‘ *maḍmād* “attelage de boeufs” (VAN-5:330). *ḍmd*, *mḍmd*, *ḍ(u)mād* also documented in southwestern Saudi Arabia/‘Asīr/Ġāzān (INT, not vocalised). The word was obviously imported into North Africa and al-Andalus by Yemenites. From cl. Ar. *ḍammada* “to make a poultice”, with original meaning “to connect, bind, tie”, and consequently refers to that which is tied – “yoked” – to the animals, *wa l-miḍmadatu: xaṣabatun tuḡ‘alu ‘alā ‘a’nāqi t-tawrayni fī ṭarafihā taqbāni...* (LI 2602-r bottom of page). Cf. also Syrian Arabic *ṣumd* “plough” related to Ancient Syriac *ṣemād* “to tie, bind” and “yoke”, cf. IE **jeug-* “anschrillen, verbinden” (KLU 411a) = “to yoke, harness, connect”.
- *hiḡḡ* (GOI 67, 148) and less frequent *hiḡ*, *hēḡ* (one instance in JA map 167 in the direction of Bayḥān, *hiḡ* LAN-3:733 ‘Awlaq and Bayḥān) may be related, probably from *hayḡah* “tree” rather than Pers. *hiš* as LAN-3:297 suggests. See also BEH-3:106/6. One instance from southwestern Saudi Arabi/al-Xabt online; *hiḡḡ* also on Ḍafār questionnaire.
- In the extreme north Yemen *ri‘wah*, *ra‘wah*, *ru‘wah* with only few recorded instances in JA map 167; more in JG [*ri‘wah* nearly all locations, in GIH 136 *ra‘wa* at Ġabal Munabbih and Wādī al-‘Aqīq (203a-b), *ru‘wah* 201], more up-to-date map in BEH-N, one scattered instance from the Mārib region. In KAZ II:287 as *‘ar‘uwwa* “paire de boeufs, attelage de boeufs employé au labourage”. Cf. above *ḍamd* “pair of oxen” > “yoke”. DOS describes two ploughs in neighbouring Saudi Arabia using the Arabic terminology; but without terms for the “yoke”. *ri‘wah* (or similar) is doc-

umented among the Banī Mālik and in Jabal Fayfā’ (INT). Subsequently also recorded among the Banī Ḥariṣ.

- *hanbāla* also from Ḥaḍramawt/‘Awlaq and Bayḥān (LAN-3:285, 297, 733) is not documented in cl. Ar., possibly dissimilated from **habbāla*, cf. *habbala* “to burden [a stout man his own body fat]” (WA, not in LANE).
- The sporadic form *ḍahrah* (northern Tihāmah, Yemen), from *ḍahr* “back”.
- *zaqrah* Yemen “yoke beam (widened in a leaf-shape at the ends)” from *ziqir* “to grab, to hold”.
- Similarly sporadic *maqrin* in Aden (VAR 113 after STA) is recorded in other areas of Yemen in the forms *mugran*, *magran* “peg on the yoke to which the neck rope is attached”, from *qarn* “horn”. [Similar probably misspelt *maqarn*, pl. *maqārin* in Minabbih and Wādī al-‘Aqīq in GIH 136.] Also defined unmistakably as “yoke”: *migran*, pl. *magārin* Saudi Arabia/Riḡāl Alma’ (questionnaire), *migranah* Šahrān (internet, one of the largest tribes in ‘Asīr), Banī Mālik, Bal-‘Aḍamah, Ġāmid (internet, vocalised). Many documented instances in Egypt meaning “lead (rope) on the cow’s horns”.
- *git(i)b* or *gut(u)b* Saudi Arabia/Ġāmid (INT), Zahrān (INT). From WA *qitb* “camel’s saddle cloth’ (also LI), “implements used by the camel carrying water”, *qatab* “small packsaddle”, JG *gitib* “harness saddle” which the ox has on its back and to which the ropes are attached with which it pulls the water out of the well. As it is not a saddle for a rider to sit on, it could indeed be compared to a yoke. Cf. LANE: *aqtabu l-ba‘ira* “I bound upon the camel the [saddle] called *qatab*”, *qitb* “All the apparatus, or furniture, of the *sāniya* [i.e. camel, or she-camel, upon which water is drawn] ... consisting of the *‘ilāq* ... and the ropes thereof”.
- *šahb* ~ *šahab* in Ḥaḍramawt/Wādī Mayfa‘ah (LAN-3:349).’



190 'sickle'

– Discussed in WAD II:320–22.

– The diagrams in DOS 41 show *maḥašš* as a sickle with a smooth blade and *šarīm* with a serrated blade and named “harvest-knife”, suggesting that *šarīm* refers to a serrated blade. This is supported by its etymology, i.e. cl. Ar. *šarama* “to split, cut, notch”, *šarīm* consequently being a passive form of the type *qatīl*. Cf. also southwest Saudi Arabia *šurmah* = *maḥašš maksūr* (INT). Also the diagram in DGS 321 *šurmah* = “serrated sickle”. A nearly identical type in GIH 150/51 = “Erntemesser (harvest-knife) (*šarīm*)”. For Saudi Arabia documented in Sūdah, Lazmah, Aḥad Rufaydah as “harvest-knife” in DOS 22, 30, 41, “sickle” ar-Rayt, ‘Asīr, Bal-Aḥmar (DOS 30), Bal-‘Aḍamah, Bani Bakr/Šihr, Ġāzān (INT), one internet source for Ġāzān: “similar to *maḥašš* but bigger”. Further instances *šarīm*, pl. *šurum* Yemen/north points 215, 221, 237, 238 (DGS 268), Ḍafār (questionnaire), “with teeth” Ḥaḍramawt (questionnaire), (LAN-3:261), without definition Maḥwīt (INT).

– A variant of this is *šarīr* (points 35, 127). Cf. also WAD II:265 *šaršara*.

– *maḥašš* “small sickle” Saudi Arabia/Ġāzān (INT), “sickle”, large, idem DOS 19, 41 Sarafah/al-Bāḥah/al-Qilwah, Bal-‘Aḍamah, Ġāmid without definition (INT), Abha without definition (questionnaire). Yemen/Zabīd *mḥaššu* without definition (questionnaire), 229 *mīḥašš* without definition (JG).

– *mišramah* “sickle” Saudi Arabia/‘Asīr, idem Riġāl Alma‘ (questionnaire), from $\sqrt{\text{šrm}}$ “to harvest”. Also *mašrab* in Laḥiġ from the Yem. root *šrb* (FOD 44, 61). This is one of the many *b/m*-doublets in Yemen: *šarab* “to harvest with the sickle”, cl. Ar. *šarama* “to cut”, *širām* “time to cut dates, harvest time”. JG has 60 such doublets.

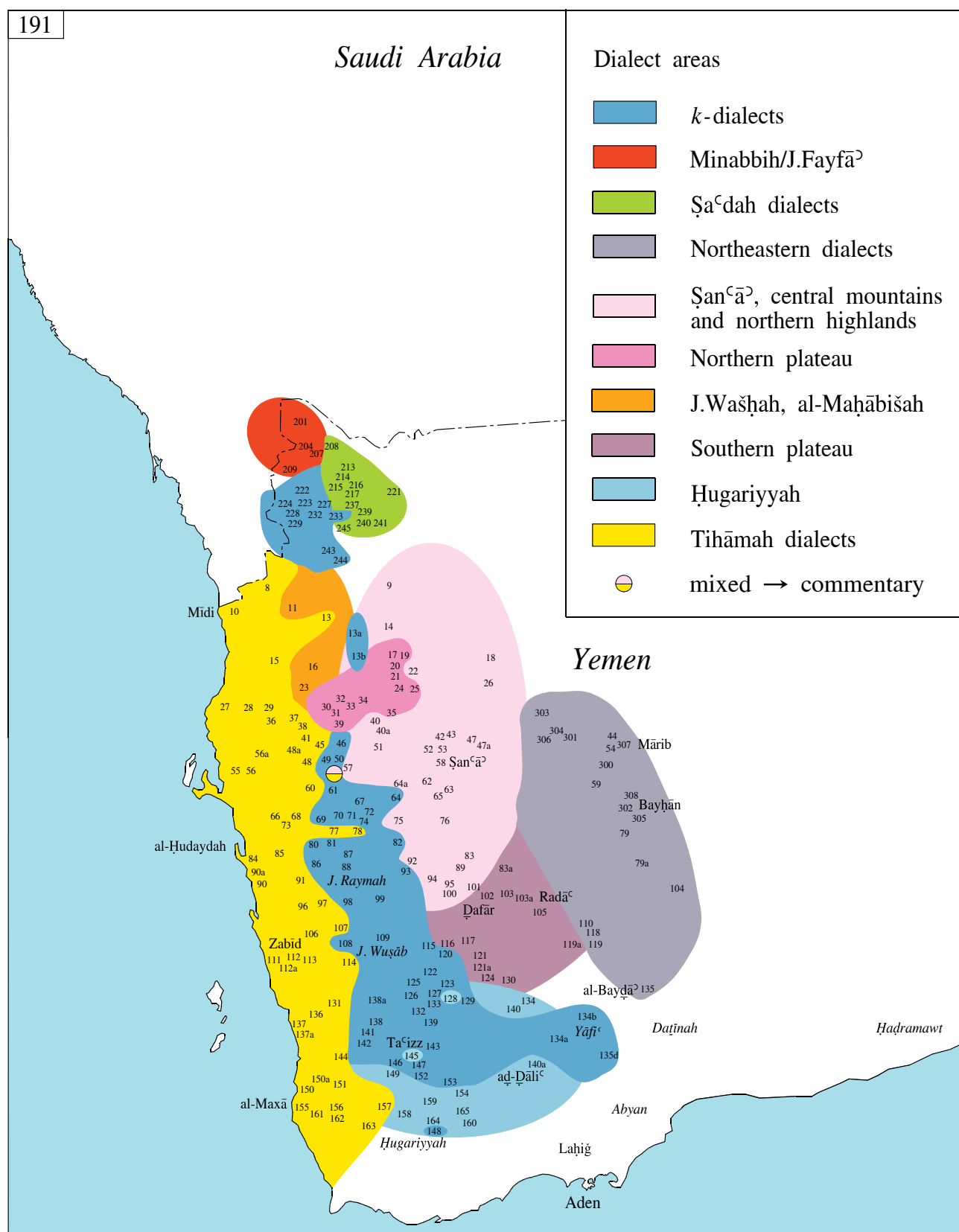
– *miṣṣad* “sickle” Saudi Arabia/Bal-‘Aḍamah (INT) cf. JG *naṣad* “to harvest with a sickle”.

– *mīḥṭab* “a kind of sickle with a long handle, pruning knife” Saudi Arabia/Bal-‘Aḍamah (INT).

– *mal‘ab* Ḥaḍramawt “like a knife, but no teeth” (questionnaire), probably metathetic for *ma‘bal*. Cf. JG 799 s.v. ‘*bl*’ which lists forms such as Eth. *ma‘bal* “tool, instrument, fittings, arrow, weapon (arrow, spear)”, and cl. Ar. *mi‘bala* “spearhead”.

Dialect Areas

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– The most recent classification of Yemeni dialects can be found in VAN-8:752, although where North Yemen is concerned, this is based on my classification of 1985, which in turn is indebted to DIEM 1973. According to Vanhove, id-Ḍālī‘ city is newly defined as a dialect area and counted among the Ḥugariyyah dialects. Laḥiğ and Aden are defined as independent dialect groups. The Daṭīnah is subsumed under Abyan. Ġayl Ḥabbān is an independent dialect area. The only ones further east are Say‘ūn and Mukallah for Ḥaḍramawt.

– There are plans to dialectometrise the atlas; consequently I shall not go into as much detail with the current classification as I did in JA, but subsume some sub-dialects into larger units for now, as boundaries are often arbitrary. Thus point 122 on original map 168 was counted among the central *k*-dialects. This was presumably due to the suffix pronoun of the 2nd sg. f. -iš. On the other hand this dialect features /q/ for qāf, like the southern *k*-dialects. I think dialectometrical determination may well furnish more clarity. As the dialectometrisation is likely to take considerable time and other projects are more pressing, only a small map will be added here.

– Point 57 was originally counted among the Tihāmah dialects, but it really is more of a transition dialect. Among the Tihāmah elements are e.g. the 3rd sg. f. perfect ending in -an, *kil* “to eat”, *atā* “to come”, *bāk* “to go”, variation between common gender forms and masc. and fem. forms such as *šallaytum* ‘you (m. and f.) took away’, *kilu* ‘they (m. and f.) ate’, but *širibu* – *širibn* ‘they (m., f.) drank’ and *antum* – *antin* ‘you (pl., m., f.)’. Phonologically the dialect is closer to the upland dialects, for instance as regards pausal glottalisation. See the following map.

– Concerning the former North Yemen new insights have arisen especially in the north. We must emphasise the *k*-dialect of Jabal Rāziḥ which is more closely related to that of Ġubar (243). No further *k*-dialects of the north have been studied in more detail.

The term ‘*k*-dialects’ is essentially as vague as ‘*qaltu*-dialects’. Consider, for instance, the dialect of Dēr iz-Zōr compared to that of Haskōy!

The classification into a northern, a central and a southern group can be retained, with every point representing a sub-dialect. Cf. JA p. 30.

– The dialect of Minabbih in the north is an independent dialect; it is more closely related to the dialects of Jabal Fayfā’ and the Banī Mālik on the opposite side in Saudi Arabia. Phonological characteristics worth mentioning here are **k* > *č*, *šād* /*st*/, *ḍā*’ /*t*/, as for morphology the ending of the 3rd sg. f. perfect -an.

– The dialects from the area surrounding Ša’dah are another group. Among the features they have in common are *t*-perfects, masc. and fem. merging in the plural, occurrence of *in*- or *an*-article. The dialect of Dammāğ occupies a special position with the form *kitabhant* ‘you (sg.) wrote’, *gulhant* ‘you (sg.) said’, similar to usage further north in Nağrān.

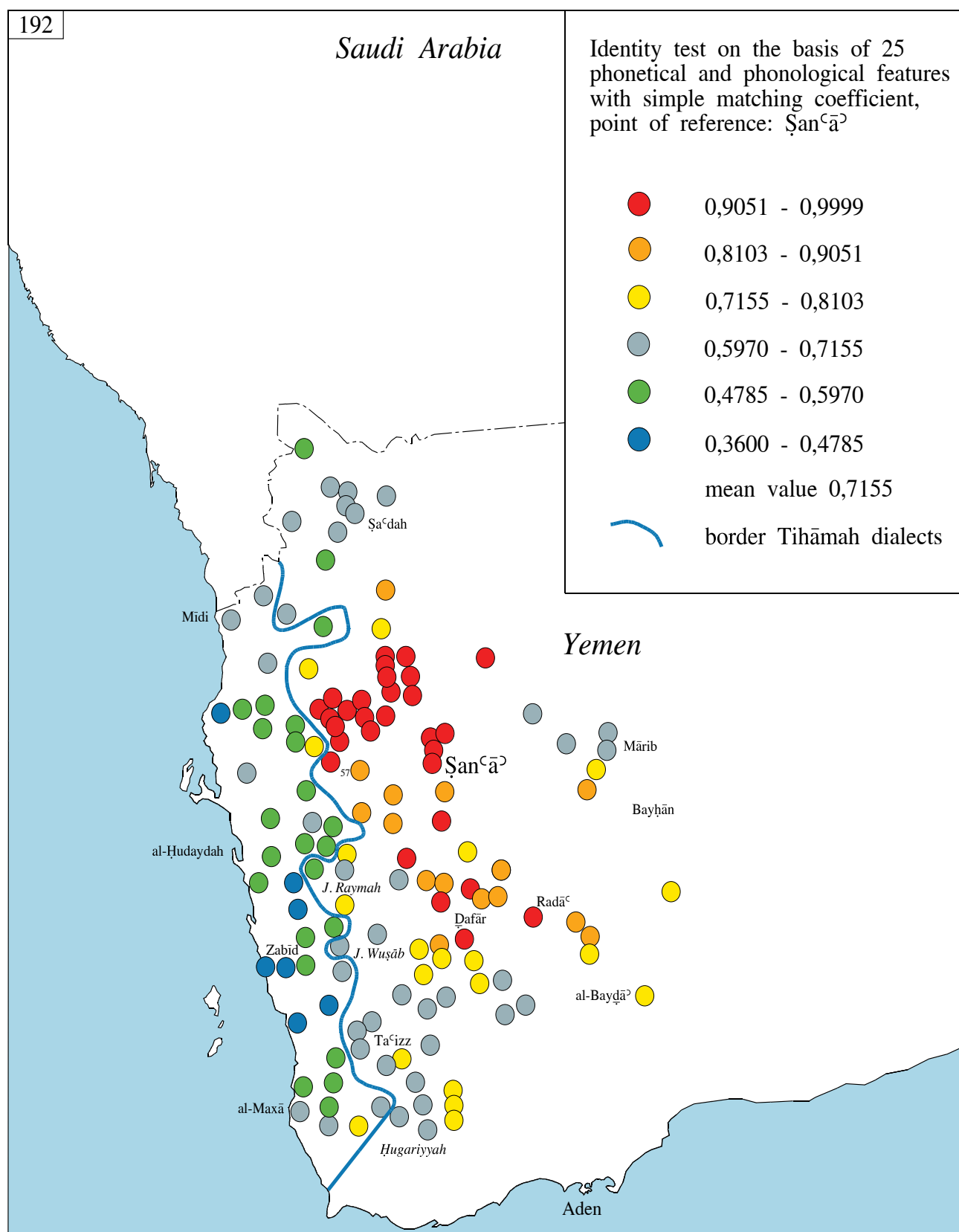
– Region 10 of the original map will be disregarded here, as there is too little data. In southern Jawf (point 303) I was told during my fieldwork in 1985 that the same dialect was spoken in all of Jawf.

– The ‘northeast dialects’ have become more clearly defined. Cf. NAD.

– Šan’ā’, the northern highlands and the south of Šan’ā’ are now being grouped together.

– The ‘northern plateau’ will be retained. W. Diem 1973:35 says on the subject: ‘Die Dialekte der behandelten Gruppe haben viele Züge mit dem Dialekt von Šan’ā’ gemeinsam’. With the aid of 25 phonological and phonetic characteristics, an identity test of those locations for which sufficient documented material exists was carried out (see AD 112–15). This confirmed that as regards phonology and phonetics, the dialects of the ‘northern plateau’ do indeed exhibit a high degree of similarity with Šan’ā’. ‘Andererseits unterscheiden sich die Dialekte vom Dialekt von Šan’ā’ bei den Verbalformen der 2. fem. Plur. und beim Personalpronomen der 2. fem. Plur. so wesentlich, daß sie unbedingt als eigene Gruppe angesetzt werden müssen’ (loc. cit.).

– Regarding the remaining dialect groups, the Tihāmah dialects, the southern plateau, al-Maḥābišah and J. Wašḥah as well as the Ḥugariyyah, no new results were established.



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