

*Recent Lexicographic Research on Soqotri  
with an Emphasis on the Comparative-Historical Dimension*  
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**\*<sup>ʔ</sup>/\*w/\*y**

**ébod** (yo<sup>ʔ</sup>óbəd/l'ibéd) ‘to be lost, to perish’<sup>1</sup> < PS \*<sup>ʔ</sup>bd (HALOT 2, CDG 2)

*bet* (yabót/l'ábet) ‘to mix’

*ébog* (yo<sup>ʔ</sup>óbəg/l'ibég) ‘to flop’

*édon* (yóudon/l'idén) ‘to stay, to remain’ (= مكث)

*édos* (yóudos/l'idés) ‘to stumble’

*ófid* (yo<sup>ʔ</sup>ofidin/l'íféfəd) ‘to pester, to annoy’

*ófos* (yóufos/l'ifés) ‘to call, to mention’

**gem** (yagóm/l'égem) ‘to lose hope’ < PS \*<sup>ʔ</sup>gm, represented by Hbr. *ʔāgēm* ‘grieved’ (HALOT 10), Arb. *ʔǧm* ‘to loath, to dislike’ (Lane 26), *al-wāǧimu* = *allādī štadda huznuhu hattā yumsika ʔani t-ṭaʔāmi* (LA 12 750), Tgr. *ʔagmā* ‘to be grieved’ (WTS 386).

**kef** (yəkóʃf/l'ékef) ‘to hide’ ~ Mhr. *həwkūf* ‘to let someone ill rest on your breast’ (ML 425), Jib. *ebkef* ‘to let someone ill rest one one’s shoulder’ (JL 289), probably Gez. *ʔawkafa* ‘to take, to accept’ (CDG 611)<sup>2</sup>.

*óših* (yo<sup>ʔ</sup>óših/l'íśáh) ‘to clean (a palm garden)’

**šə** (yə<sup>ʔ</sup>óšə/l'áše) ‘to give’ – cf. perhaps Arb. *ʔawšati l-ʔarḍu* = *haraǧa ʔawwalu nabtihā wa-ʔawšati n-naḥlatu* = *haraǧa ʔawwalu ruṭabihā*; *al-wašāʔu* = *tanāsulu l-māli wa-kaṭratuhu* (LA 15 409), assuming the semantic shift ‘to give’ > ‘to produce, to yield’ or vice versa.

**\*ʕ/\*ǧ**

**ʔédon** (yə<sup>ʔ</sup>ódən/l'a<sup>ʔ</sup>dén) ‘to fertilize’ ~ Arb. *ʔdn* ‘to dung, to manure the land’ (Lane 1976). An Arabism cannot be ruled out, but note that the verb does not seem to be widespread in modern Arabic (written or dialectal). Cf. further Hbr. *ʔdn* (hitpa.) ‘to live a life of luxury’ (HALOT 792) and Syr. *ʔdn* (pa.) ‘jucundum fecit; ornavit’ (LSyr. 512), assuming that the meaning ‘to fertilize’ goes back to a more general ‘to be rich, luxurious; to improve’.

*a<sup>ʔ</sup>dérir* (ya<sup>ʔ</sup>dérirín/l'a<sup>ʔ</sup>dérér) ‘to disperse’

*ʔef* (yə<sup>ʔ</sup>éʃən/l'íśáf) ‘to make crooked’<sup>3</sup>

*ʔáǧəl* (du. *ʔáǧl'i*, pl. *ʔíǧhoʃ*) ‘intestine stuffed with the fat of a slaughtered animal’

*ʔatéka* (ya<sup>ʔ</sup>téka/l'a<sup>ʔ</sup>tík) ‘to be exhausted, in a poor state’

*ʔéʃof* (yə<sup>ʔ</sup>óʃəʃ/l'a<sup>ʔ</sup>ʃéʃ) ‘to pull, to draw’ (= جلب)

*əw<sup>ʔ</sup>ál'im* (yəw<sup>ʔ</sup>al'imín/l'in<sup>ʔ</sup>áʃəm) ‘to feel unwell when waked up (usually a baby)’ (= أحسن بغيبة الوعي عند الاستيقاظ)

*mə<sup>ʔ</sup>ráǧe* (du. *mə<sup>ʔ</sup>raǧéti*, pl. *mə<sup>ʔ</sup>óriǧe*) ‘bed, plantation’

*ʔáryəʃ* (pl. *ʔáryəʃ*) ‘the last portions of milk in the upper part of the udder’

**ʔésak** (ya<sup>ʔ</sup>ások/l'a<sup>ʔ</sup>sók) ‘to have one’s eyes dull’ ~ Arb. *ǧsq* ‘to be dark (in particular, about eyes), to shed tears (one’s eyes)’ (Lane 2258)

*á<sup>ʔ</sup>təf* (ya<sup>ʔ</sup>átəf/l'a<sup>ʔ</sup>təf) ‘to disturb, to annoy’ (= أزعج)

<sup>1</sup> Also in the derived stems: Gt *etébed* (yətébod/l'itébed) id., D *ébid* (yē<sup>ʔ</sup>ebidin/l'í<sup>ʔ</sup>ábad) or *óbid* (yo<sup>ʔ</sup>obidin/l'í<sup>ʔ</sup>ábad) and Š *bed* (yabód/l'ébed) ‘to destroy’.

<sup>2</sup> If correct, this comparison provides a good Soqotri etymology for the well-known Mehri verb *šəwkūf* ‘to sleep’ and makes clear that the latter is not related to Soqotri *šéʔef* as sometimes suggested previously (cf. Kogan 2015:589).

<sup>3</sup> Also in Dt *á<sup>ʔ</sup>təf* (ya<sup>ʔ</sup>téʃən/l'a<sup>ʔ</sup>tóʃ) ‘to be crooked, confused’.

*aʿtílil* (yáʿtílo/láʿtílo) ‘to get stuck’

*maʿtíymhim* (pl. *maʿtémhom*) ‘a piece of cloth with which the lower part of the face can be covered’

*ʿótan* (yáʿátan/láʿtán) ‘to embroider’ – cf. perhaps Jib. *ʿóún* ‘to bandage’ (JL 18), even if the semantic relationship is not perfect.

*ástaš* (yáʿtészán/láʿtós or *láʿtésš*) ‘to be confused’ ~ Jib. *ágtēs* ‘to be in a bad mood’ (JL 92), perhaps Akk. *hāšu* ‘to worry’ (CAD H 146, AHw. 334, 1560)<sup>4</sup>. In view of Yem. Arb. *ḡwš* (VIII) ‘to divert someone’s mind, to amaze’ (Piamenta 362), an Arabism in Soqotri and Jibbali cannot be ruled out.

*ʿáyyob* (yáʿyob/láʿyób) ‘to be late’ ~ Arb. *ḡyb* ‘to be absent’ (Lane 3212), Mhr. *ḡayōb* ‘to be absent’ (ML 146), Jib. *ḡēb* id. (JL 91). An Arabic loanword in Soqotri is not to be ruled out in spite of the semantic difference.

*ʿózir* (yoʿozírin/líʿázér) ‘to pester, to annoy; to make obstacles, to block’<sup>5</sup> ~ Arb. *ʿzr* ‘to prevent, to hinder, to forbid’, (II) ‘to discipline, to correct’ (Lane 2034), Yem. Arb. *ʿzr* (V) ‘to be censured, rebuked’ (Piamenta 325), Mhr. *ōzər* ‘to pester, to torment’ (ML 39). Arabisms in MSA are not to be ruled out.

## b

*báʿarher* (du. *baʿréri*, pl. *baʿrérhon*) ‘raw (meat)’

*békam* (yáʿbékom/líʿbókóm) ‘to be lame, unable to walk’ (= تفلّص) – Cf. Arb. *bkm* ‘to be dumb’ (Lane 241), an appealing comparison notwithstanding the substantial semantic difference.

*bákmem* (du. *bákmémi*, pl. *bákmémhon*) ‘highly set, respected’

*bákał* (du. *báklí*, pl. *bókhoł*) ‘cloud’

*bákil* (yáʿbakíl’in/líʿbákał) ‘to turn’ (= دأ)

*bérod* (yáʿbórəd/líʿbréd) ‘to cut the knee-tendons of an animal’ – Cf. Arb. *brd* ‘to file’ (Lane 184), Mhr. *bərōd* ‘to sharpen a knife, to file smooth’ (ML 51), Jib. *béród* ‘to file, to smoothe’ (JL 27), in spite of the semantic difference.

*báʿbāʿ* (yáʿbáʿbāʿ/líʿbáʿbāʿ) ‘to champ’

## \*d

*dóʿok* (yáʿdóʿok/líʿdʿák) ‘to enter’

*dáʿrher* (du. *daʿréri*, pl. *daʿrérhon*) ‘scary, prone to flee’ ~ Arb. *dʿr* ‘to frighten’ (Lane 965), Yem. Arb. *dáʿrān* ‘alarmed, scared, terrified’ (Piamenta 167).

*dégdəg* (yáʿdégdəg/líʿdégdég) ‘to tickle’

*mədóhon* ‘best pastures’ – perhaps related to Arb. *duhn-* ‘fat, grease’ (Lane 926). For the semantic shift cf. Hbr. *šāmēn* ‘fat’, commonly used about fields and pastures (BDB 1032).

*dakf* (du. *dákfi*, pl. *ədkáfo*) ‘ledge over a gorge’ ~ Jib. *dekf* ‘cave-pen for animals’ (JL 38)

*dérmək* (yáʿdérnök/líʿdérnök) ‘to walk blindly, at random’ – Cf. Arb. *darmaka* = *ʿadā fa-ʿasraʿa ʿaw qārabā l-ḥaṭwa* (TA 27 146).

*dérog* (yáʿdórəg/líʿdrég) ‘to flow (tears)’ – Probably < PS *\*drg* ‘to walk, to move’, represented by Arb. *drġ* ‘to walk, to creep’ (Lane 867), Hbr. *madrēgā* ‘foothold in the rock, mountain thorough-fare’ (HALOT 550).

<sup>4</sup> Suggested by Dr. Ilya Arkhipov in personal communication.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the basic stem *ʿézər* or *ʿəzor* (yáʿózar/láʿzér) ‘to be occupied with something, to linger, to tarry’.

*deym* ‘a mixture of dung, water and milk with which the teats of a goat are smeared to make suckling unpleasant for the kid’ (= روث مخلوط بالماء أو بالحليب ثم يوضع على الضرع)<sup>6</sup>

## f

**fékar** (*yafákar/lifkár*) ‘to make a circular cut around the neck (while cutting a dress)’ ~ Arb. *fuqrat*- ‘the part of a shirt into which the head is inserted’ (Lane 2426), Yem. Arb. *figreh* ‘aperture in a long shirt from neck to navel’ (Piamenta 377), probably an Arabism.

**fókaš** (*yafákaš/lifkáš*) ‘to crack (an egg)’ ~ Arb. *faqasa t-tayru baydahū* = *ʔafsadahu* and *faqaša l-baydata* = *qadaḥahā wa-kasarahā bi-yadihi* (TA 17 318)<sup>7</sup>, Mhr. *fakáwš* ‘to tap something until it breaks (e.g. an egg)’ (ML 92), Jib. *fókóš* id. (JL 56). In view of š, the Soqotri verb is more likely to be a relatively recent Arabism than a cognate to the Arabic verb(s).

*fárhaš* (du. *farhási*, pl. *férhoš* or *faráhaš*) ‘articulation, joint’

**afretéṭ** (*yafretéṭ/lifretéṭ*) ‘to disperse’ ~ Jib. *afterét* ‘to be lost, missed (animal); to go the wrong way in a chase, hunt’ (JL 62), eventually < PS *\*prt* ‘to tear off, to detach’ (EDA I 307)<sup>8</sup>.

**féraẓ** (du. *firázi*, pl. *fáryaẓ*) ‘nice, beautiful’ ~ Jib. *efréẓ* ‘to please’ (JL 62).

**feš** (*yáfšəš/lifšéš*) ‘to go to different directions, to disperse’ ~ Jib. *fəššét* ‘squirting everywhere’ (JL 64), perhaps also Arb. *fšš* ‘to make the wind and the butter come forth from the milk-skin by loosing the tie round its mouth’ (Lane 2399).

**fóṭam** (*yafátam/lifṭám*) ‘to kill, to slaughter’ ~ Jib. *fóṭúm* ‘to stop someone’s mouth so that he cannot scream’ (JL 52). A further interesting match may be Gez. *faššama* ‘to complete, to finish, to fulfill’ (CDG 169), with a common semantic shift ‘to put an end’ > ‘to kill’<sup>9</sup>.

**fet** (*yáfət/lifṭát*) ‘to induce a cow to lower its milk down to the teats’ ~ Arb. *fḏḏ* ‘to slaughter a camel and squeeze out the water of its stomach’ (Lane 2419), Jib. *feddḏ* ‘to squeeze a cow’s udder to see if there is milk’ (JL 52).

**fóšad** (*yafášad/lifšád*) ‘to tear off, to release’ < PS *\*pšd* (EDA I 474).

*fózon* (*yafózən/lifzén*) ‘to provide generously’

## g

**angéʔef** (*yangeʔéfən/lingéʔef*) ‘to be dizzy’, *geʔf* ‘dizziness’ ~ Arb. *al-ǧaʔfu* = *ḍarbun mina l-fazaʔi wa-l-ḥawfi* (LA 9 23).

**gádyab** (du. *gadyibi*, pl. *gadyob*) ‘edible palm heart under the base of the leaf sheath’<sup>10</sup> ~ Arb. *ǧadab*-, *ǧidāb*- ‘the pith that is at the head of the palm-tree, from which the fibres are pulled off and then eaten’ (Lane 395).

*gódif* (*yəgodifin/ligédif*) ‘to find by inference, using indirect indices’

*gelmémo* ‘iris, eyeball’

<sup>6</sup> The corresponding verbal lexeme is *deym* (*yədəymin/lidém*) ‘to smear the teats etc.’.

<sup>7</sup> Both variants are present in Yemeni Arabic (Behnstedt 948, Piamenta 377).

<sup>8</sup> *al-farṭaṭa* = *naʔu l-habbāti min sunbulati d-ḏurrati* (al-Iryani 819)

<sup>9</sup> A close parallel in the Semitic domain is Hbr. *killā* ‘to complete, to finish’ > ‘to exterminate’ (BDB 478).

<sup>10</sup> The verb *gédob* (*yəgódəb/ligdéb*) is applied to this operation. For a detailed description of this “famine food” see Miller–Morris 2004:394.

**gélə** (yígoʎ/l'iglé)<sup>11</sup> ‘to spy’ – While an ultimate relationship to PS \*gly ‘to be clear; to reveal, to disclose’ (CDG 192, HALOT 191) is not in doubt, no exact semantic equivalent could be spotted in any other Semitic language.

*géləy* (yəgéləy or yəgéləš/l'igléš) ‘to be blunt, obtuse’

**gámaʃ** (yəgámaʃ/l'igmáʃ) ‘to trim a goat’s horn with a red-hot knife’ ~ Gez. *gamʃa* ‘to pluck out, to cut, to remove, to shave’ (CDG 193).

**gómiz** (yəgomízín/l'igéméz) ‘to palpate’ ~ Yem. Arb. *ǧmz* (II) ‘to massage’ (Piamenta 72, cf. al-Iryani 216).

**gíyyoʎ** or **góʎoʎ** (yágyoʎ or yágyəʎ/l'igyéʎ) ‘to get spoiled’ (= تغیر) Hbr. *gʕl* ‘to be defiled’ (HALOT 170).

## \*h/\*ḥ

**ḥábib** (yəḥabíb/l'ihábeb) ‘to caress, to comfort’ < PS \*ḥbb (HALOT 284)<sup>12</sup>.

**ḥábke** (du. *ḥabkíti*, pl. *ḥíbek*) ‘knife for shearing sheep’ ~ Arb. *ḥbk* ‘to cut, to sever’ (Lane 503), perhaps also Mhr. *ḥabūk* ‘to sew together, to darn a hole’ (ML 164), Jib. *ḥḥk* id. (JL 101).

*ḥʔbəl* (yəḥáboʎ/l'áhbaʎ) ‘to tell, to inform’

**ḥéboš** (yəḥóbaš/l'ahbés) ‘to wrap around’ < PS \*ḥbš (HALOT 289).

**ḥádər** (du. *ḥadíri*, pl. *ḥídhor*) ‘a niche or little cave in a mountain’ (= صغير كهف) ~ Jib. *ḥádər* ‘cave’ (JL 298), eventually related to the PS verbal root \*ḥdr ‘to stay, to dwell’ (HALOT 293).

*ḥémaḵ* (du. *ḥamáki*, pl. *ḥamáke*) ‘intense, deep (colour)’

*ḥánḵər* (yəḥanéḵor/l'ihánḵar) ‘to take something from a place hard to access (a narrow hole)’

*šḥáris* (yəšḥárisin/l'isháres) ‘to speak in pain, to sigh over, to regret’ (= تحسّر، ندم)

*ḥʔyem* (yəḥáyom/l'áhyem) ‘to have one’s hair grown (a youth)’

**ḥézof** (yəḥózaf/l'ahzéf) ‘to make a cut, a notch’ ~ Jib. *ḥózóf* ‘to make a snip out of an ear’ (JL 312).

**ḥázher** (du. *ḥazéri*, pl. *ḥázyer* or *ḥazére*) ‘tooth-gapped’ ~ Mhr. *ḥazūr* ‘to notch’ (ML 458), Jib. *ḥózór* id. (JL 312), perhaps Yem. Arb. *ḥazreh* ‘Akne’ (Behnstedt 323).

*ḥéza* (yəḥázəʎ/l'ahzəʎ) ‘to be kind, merciful’

## k

**kébod** (yəkóbəd/l'ikbéd) ‘to hide (intransitive)’ – Presumably from PS \*kabid(-at)- ‘liver’, known to be generalized into ‘belly, inside’ in several Semitic languages (Kogan 2015:445).

*kádwehe* (pl. *kədwóhon*) ‘dark-skinned’

**kénfar** (du. *kenfiri*, pl. *kénfor*) ‘one of the three roots of a decayed tooth’ ~ Arb. *kinfiratun* = ʔarnabatu l-ʔanfi (TA 14 72), Gez. *kanfar* ‘lip; brim, edge’ (CDG 287).

**kóriš** (yəkórišin/l'ikéres) ‘to lie’ – One is tempted to consider the Soqotri verb a borrowing from Arb. *krh* (II) ‘to declare adverse, odious’ (WKAS K 152), with hypercorrect *h* > *š*. The semantic relationship is not exact, however.

*kárše* (du. *kərsíti*, pl. *kíres*) ‘little stream’

## k

<sup>11</sup> Also *gól'i* (yəgól'ín/l'igéʎ) and *šéglə* (yəšgól'i/l'iségʎ).

<sup>12</sup> The Soqotri parallel in its particular form and meaning has been duly observed by Johnstone in JL 101.

**məktebóo** ‘jinni woman, fairy’<sup>13</sup> – Comparison with Akk. *ḫabû* ‘to say, to speak’ (CAD Q 22), Ugr. *ḫbʾ* ‘to invoke, to summon’ (DUL 681) suggests itself, but its exact semantic implications escape us. Note Hbr. *ḫbb* ‘to curse, to enchant’ (HALOT 1060).

**ḫóbiʾ** (*yəḫobíʾin/líḫábaʾ*) ‘to spare’ ~ Arb. *al-qubūʿu* = *ʿan yudḥila l-ʿinsānu raʿsahu fī qamīšihī ʿaw tawbihi* (LA 8 307).

*ənḫádir* (*yənḫádirin/línḫáder*) ‘to produce clumps’ (= عمل كتلاً)

**ḫáḥmem** (du. *ḫaḥmémi*, pl. *ḫaḥmémhon*) ‘old (person)’ ~ Arb. *qaḥmat-* ‘an old woman’ (Lane 2985), also in Yemeni Arabic (Behnstedt 975, Piamenta 387).

**ḫóhor** (*yəḫóhor/líḫhár*) ‘to scrape off food remains from a cooking pot’ ~ Jib. *ḫaḥár* ‘to wipe clean, to collect leavings on one’s finger’ (JL 143).

*ḫáḫhe* (du. *ḫéḫay*, pl. *ḫiḫáhon*) ‘normal-eared (goat)’

*šḳʾlem* (*yəšḳéʾlom/líšéḳʾlem*) ‘to embrace’

**éḫmaʾ** (*yəḫámaʾ/lʾáḫmaʾ*) ‘to bend down and collapse’ ~ Arb. *qamaʿa r-raḡula* = *dallalahu* (LA 8 349).

*ḫənéḫin* (*yəḫənéḫinin/líḫənéḫan*) ‘to produce calming sounds’

*ḫánšad* (du. *ḫanšádi*, pl. *ḫánšod*) ‘top of a mountain’

*ənḫárḫel* (*yənḫaróḥol/línḫárḫel*) ‘to be mixed, confused’

*ḫárhim* (pl. *ḫárhom*) ‘bone’

**ḫéros** (*yəḫáras/líḫrés*) ‘to sweep’ (= كس) ~ Arb. *al-qaršu* = *al-ḡamʿu wa-l-kasbu wa-d-dammu min hāhunā wa-hāhunā* (LA 6 401).

*ḫórziʾ* ‘a watery place where short grass is growing, meadow’

**ḫóšab** (*yəḫášab/líḫšáb*) ‘to trim one’s moustache’<sup>14</sup> < PS \**ḫšb*, represented, *inter alia*, by Akk. *kašābu* ‘to cut off’ (CAD K 257), Hbr. *ḫšb* ‘to cut off’ (HALOT 1119), Arb. *qšb* ‘to cut’ (Lane 2528), Jib. *ḫóšób* ‘to break, to chop (something small)’ (JL 151).

*ḫáškəš* (*yəḫáškəš/líḫáškəš*) ‘to lop down branches and leaves’

*ḫáyhaʾ* (*yəḫáyhaʾ/líḫyháʾ*) ‘to bend backwards’

*éḫyhə* (*yəḫyhə/líḫyhé*) ‘to jerk’

*ḫáẓam* (du. *ḫáẓmi*, pl. *ḫíẓhom*) ‘white hair behind the ears in a goat’

## I

*šəlébi* (*yəšləbíʾin/líšləbé*) ‘to praise, to flatter’

*élmə* (*yəʾlomi/lólím*) ‘to leave; to leave alone’

## m

*máʿad* ‘to be close to doing something’<sup>15</sup>

**móʿon** ‘kitchenware, household utensils’ (= أوان) – Borrowed from Arb. *māʿūn-* with the same meaning<sup>16</sup>, well attested both in the classical language (LA 13 505, Dozy II 611) and in today’s dialects (BH 828, Premare 227 and many others)<sup>17</sup>.

*mégod* (*yəməgəd/límégéd*) ‘to pull’

**mógid** (*yəməgídin/límégéd*) ‘to trace somebody’s ancestry; to blame, to insult’ – Inseparable from Arb. *mǧd* (II) ‘to glorify, to praise’ (Lane 2689), even if none of the two peculiar

<sup>13</sup> Wrongly with *-k-* in LS 213.

<sup>14</sup> Noticed by Johnstone in JL 151.

<sup>15</sup> Noticed by Johnstone in ML 260 (‘to intend’) and compared to Mhr. *mēd* ‘intelligence’.

<sup>16</sup> As is well known, the Arabic word itself derives from one of the traditional interpretations of the enigmatic *wayamnaʿūna l-māʿūn* in Q 107:7: “Merkwürdig übrigens, daß die, jedenfalls unrichtige, Erklärung unsers Wortes als ‘Gerät, Werkzeug’ wenigstens in Maghrib in den wirklichen Sprachgebrauch übergegangen ist” (Nöldeke 1910:29).

<sup>17</sup> But, interestingly, not in the Yemeni dictionaries available to me.

semantic developments observed in Soqotri seems to be attested either in the classical language or in the modern dialects.

**móhoš** (yámóhoš/l'imhás) 'to become mad' – Cf. perhaps Arb. *at-tamahḥusu* = *kaṭratu l-ḥarakati* (TA 16 496).

**emkēto** (mákoṭ/lámkaṭ) 'to let its milk come into the udder (a cow)' (= نَزَلَت الحليب) < PS \**mkt*, represented, *inter alia*, by Akk. *maḳātu* 'to fall down, to collapse' (CAD M<sub>1</sub> 240), Arb. *sāqītu bnu māqīlin* 'the freedman of a freedman, the refuse, lowest or meanest sort of people' (Lane 2727), Mhr. *məḳáwt* 'to run off in fear, panic' (ML 265), Jib. *móḳóṭ* 'to disappear in a flash, to slip away' (JL 171).

*mūḥo* (du. *mīḥóti*, pl. *émṭah*) 'sleeve'

**miš** (yámyhás/l'imyhés) 'to become weak, lax, relaxed' ~ Jib. *mišš* 'to be tired' (JL 175).

*mózi* (yemozi<sup>18</sup>/in/limáza<sup>18</sup>) 'to say nonsense' ARB HBR AKK YEM

## n

**nébog** (yánóbəg/l'inbég) 'to dismantle'

*nébat* (yánébot/l'inbót) 'to supercede one's estimation, to be better than expected'

**nēfiḥ** (yānefiḥin/l'ináfah) 'to shame' (= عَيَّب) ~ Arb. *nfi* (III) 'to contend' (Lane 2820), Mhr. *nəfiḥ* 'to make someone angry', *anáfiḥ* 'to threaten, to reproach' (ML 284).

*ənfeyréro* (tənféyrər/tənféyrər) 'to have one's placenta gone out (a woman having given birth)'

*nákyiš* 'a goat who had given birth for a long while; its milk is thick and tasty'

*néḳab* (yánáḳab/l'inḳáb) 'to emit a sudden shout'

**nēkar** (yánáḳor/l'inḳár) 'to go bad, to expire' < PS \**nkr*, represented, *inter alia*, by Akk. *naḳāru* 'to tear down, to demolish; to erode, to eat away' (CAD N<sub>1</sub> 329) and Arb. *nqr* 'to strike, to knock, to peck' (Lane 2837).

**nókaš** (yánákaš/l'inḳáš) 'to get in motion' (= تحرك) ~ Mhr. *nátkaš* 'to come upon someone suddenly from under, inside' (ML 298).

*néḳat* (yánáḳat/l'inḳát) 'to pick up, to select'

*nátsa* (yántsa<sup>18</sup>/l'intésa<sup>18</sup>) 'to suffer pain for somebody'

*nótsəf* (yántsof/l'intésef) 'to feel one's stomach empty, to starve'

**násiṭ** (yánašil'in/inášaḷ) 'to remove' < PS \**nšl* (HALOT 717, CDG 405), also in Mhr. *náššəl* 'to come to pieces, to come apart' (ML 301), Jib. *nšəl* 'to become disjointed' (JL 193).

*nótaš* (yánataš/l'inátaš) 'to pick up, to take off'

*éntəb* (yántəb/l'intéb) 'to part, to separate'

## r

*érəš* (yərəšəš/l'árəš) 'to be lean'

**rēfref** (du. *rəfréfi*, pl. *rəfréfhon*) 'long-eared' ~ Arb. *rfrf* 'to expand and flap its wings (a bird)', *rafraf*- 'anything which is redundant and folded' (Lane 1117).

*érgəf* (yərəgof/l'árgəf) 'to hide'

**šárhək** (yášróhok/l'išréhek) 'to produce clay objects'<sup>18</sup> ~ Akk. *rāku* 'to smear, to knead', (CAD R 110), Arb. *rahakahu* = *ḡaššahu bayna ḥaḡaratayni* (LA 10 525).

*róhos* (yərəhos/l'irhás) 'to collect the fruit of the tamarind tree' (= جنى ثمار التمر الهندي)

**rúkaš** (yərəkaš/l'irkáš) 'to walk with a limp' ~ Mhr. *rūka* 'to hop, to hobble' (ML 322), Jib. *rékáš* id. (JL 211), probably also Arb. *rks* 'to bow, to bend' (Lane 1147)

<sup>18</sup> Recorded in JL 209, compared by Johnstone to Jib. *rehek* 'to wear out', semantically difficult.

**mārkaḍ** (du. *mārkaḍi*, pl. *mārkaḍod*) ‘mountain ledge’ (= مدرج جبلي) ~ Mhr. *mārkaḍyd* ‘rough patch up the mountains’ (ML 325).

**mārṣaṣ** (pl. *mārṣaṣ*) ‘wooden plank’ – Cf. Arb. *رصاص* ‘to stick together, to make firm and compact’, *raṣāṣat-* ‘stones cleaving to the circuit of a running spring’ (Lane 1091–1092).

## S

*sāʿfe* (du. *sāʿfīti*, pl. *sāʿf*) ‘tuft of hair’ (= خزيمة الشعر)

*sédok* (*yāsódak/lisédék*) ‘to be dense (plants)’

*askélil* (*yaskélil’in/liskélel*) ‘to run jumping, to bounce’ (= تقافز)

*askínin* (*yaskanínin/liskánen*) ‘to be splitted, divided’

**sélok** (*yasólak/lislék*) ‘to cross’ ~ Arb. *slk* ‘to go along’ (Lane 1411), Gez. *salaka* ‘to walk, to go’ (CDG 499).

**sálʿhəl** ‘thick drooling saliva’ ~ Yem. Arb. *sl* ‘to drip, to flow (in particular about saliva)’ (Piamenta 227).

**sámāl** ‘rubbish, debris’ ~ Arb. *samal-* ‘old, worn out (cloth)’, *samalat-* ‘a small quantity of water remaining in the bottom of a vessel; black fetid mud therein’ (Lane 1431), Gez. *samala* ‘to rot (cereals)’ (CDG 502).

*sémsem* (du. *semsémi*, pl. *semsémhon*) ‘whitish’ (= يميل إلى الأبيض)

*sínfaḥ* ‘chick’

*ser* (*yásrər/lisrér*) ‘to leave, to abandon’

*sótəm* (pl. *astémo*) ‘hut’ (= عريش)

## Ş

*şóʿod* (*yaşóʿod/lisʿéd*) ‘to poke in’

**şéʿe** ‘sound’ ~ Gez. *şawwəʿa* ‘to call, to shout’ (CDG 566)

**şeb** (*yášbəb/lisbéb*) ‘to draw a straight line, to correct’ ~ Mhr. *şəb* ‘perpendicular cut, brand, mark’ (ML 356), Jib. *şəb* id. (JL 234)

**aşféyrər** (*yaşféyririn/lisférer*) ‘to become yellow’ ~ Arb. *ʿaşfar-* ‘yellow’ (Lane 1699), Mhr. *şāfər* ‘yellow, green’ (ML 369), Jib. *şəfrór* ‘yellow’ (JL 236). Arabisms in MSA are likely.

*éshəd* (*yášəhod/lášhad*) ‘to feel appetite (especially for meat)’

*éşləf* (*yášələf/lášləf*) ‘to stir pressed dates in water to prepare a beverage’<sup>19</sup>

*şarbaṭ* (du. *şarbāti*, pl. *şarbátihon*) ‘pirate’

**şeb** (*yášəbən/lisáb*) ‘to be straight’ ~ Arb. *şawāb-* ‘a thing that is right, correct’ (Lane 1741), Mhr. *şawb* ‘to be straight’ (ML 367), Jib. *eşéb* ‘to make a stick straight by heating it in the fire to make it flexible’ (JL 242). Arabisms in MSA are likely.

## Ş

**şəbeb** (*yášbób/lášbéb*) ‘to bend down over something, to look at something downwards’ ~ Arb. *kbb* ‘to bend one’s head down’ (Lane 2582), Mhr. *kəbūb* ‘to stoop’ (ML 201), Jib. *ekbéb* ‘to stoop’ (JL 124).

*şéhed* ‘heat’<sup>20</sup>

*şélhəl* (*yášélhəl/lisélhe*) ‘to jerk’

*şášhaṣ* (*yášášhaṣ/lisášhaṣ*) ‘to joke’

<sup>19</sup> *şilʿife* (du. *şilʿifti*, pl. *şəlaftétən*) ‘date close to ripeness’.

<sup>20</sup> Incorrectly rendered as ‘peur’ in LS 413.

**š<sup>h</sup>ka** (yāšóki/l'óšik) 'to earn, to get one's wages', š<sup>h</sup>ka 'price, wages' – Borrowed from Yemeni Arabic where šqy 'to be miserable, to suffer' acquired the neutral meaning 'to work for wages' (Piamenta 262, Behnstedt 664–665, al-Iryani 634).

## š

šó<sup>o</sup>or (yāšó<sup>o</sup>or/l'iš<sup>o</sup>ár) 'to shout'

šá<sup>l</sup>am (yāšá<sup>l</sup>om/l'išá<sup>l</sup>am) 'to catch'

**šíše** (du. šíšiti, pl. šíeš) 'the upper part of each half of the split skull of a slaughtered animal, directly enclosing the brain' ~ Arb. *al-qīqat-* = *al-qašratu r-raqīqatu llatī tahta l-qaydi mina l-baydi* (LA 10 391), also *qīqā<sup>o</sup>-* 'the envelope of the spadix of the palm-tree which is made into a drinking vessel' (Lane 2997).

## š

šó<sup>o</sup>on (yāšó<sup>o</sup>on/l'iš<sup>o</sup>án) 'to strike'

šé<sup>b</sup>šab (du. šebšibi, pl. šé<sup>b</sup>šob) 'edge of a gorge' (= طرف الهاوية)

**škéro** (šékor/l'ásker) 'to let its milk come into the udder (a goat)' ~ Arb. *škr* 'to have its udder full of milk (a camel)' (Lane 1584).

**šel** (yáššal or yáššol/l'iššél) 'to raise one's tail (an animal)' (= رفع الذيل) – Given the fact that the semantic relationship between 'to lift, to raise' and 'to take (away)' is fairly common, comparison with the Arb. *šll* 'to take away', ubiquitous throughout Yemen (Behnstedt 668, Piamenta 263, al-Iryani 638), plainly suggests itself.

anšémšam (yānšémšam/l'inšémšem) 'to become grey-haired'

šer (yášrer/l'išrer) 'to draw straight lines'

**šórib** (du. šórbi or šoribi, pl. sérob) 'tick'<sup>21</sup> – Looks like an adaptation of Arabic *šārib* 'one who drinks (in this case, blood)', but I was unable to locate any similar formation in the Arabic dictionaries available to me.

**š<sup>o</sup>ra** (yāšó<sup>o</sup>ri/l'ášri) 'to block (door, entrance)' – Cf. Yem. Arb. *šarw* 'Terrassenmauer' (Behnstedt 646), 'low frame of balcony' (Piamenta 255).

**štar** (yášstor or yášstérən/l'áster) 'to be an expert' ~ Arb *šwr* (III) 'to consult' (Lane 1016). An Arabism is not unlikely.

## t

té<sup>o</sup>te (yāté<sup>o</sup>te/l'ité<sup>o</sup>te) 'to call (small cattle)'

téhim (yātehímin/l'itéhem) 'to gather' (= جمع)

té'il (yāte'l'ilin/l'itélel) 'to guide'

tíl'həl' (du. til'i, pl. tál'hol) 'the white tip of a cow's hair'

temího 'appearance'

t<sup>o</sup>na<sup>o</sup> (yātána<sup>o</sup>/l'átána<sup>o</sup>) 'to step back'

teb (yātebən/l'itéb) 'to jump forward'

## t

tá<sup>o</sup>émo (tá<sup>o</sup>am/l'át<sup>o</sup>am) 'to lack milk (a goat)'

šé<sup>l</sup>beb (yāšé<sup>l</sup>bəb/l'išá<sup>l</sup>bəb) 'to save'

tómok (yátámək/l'itmék) 'to pick straws (one's eyes)'

<sup>21</sup> First recorded by M. Morris in Wranik 2003:514.



*ṭarémis* (*yəṭarémisin/lṭarémēs*) ‘to stumble’

**ṭeroŝ** (*yəṭarəš/lṭiréŝ*) ‘to accumulate, to gather’ ~ Yem. Arb. *aṭ-ṭarš* = *al-kansu li-l-bayti awi l-ḡurfati* (al-Iryani 712).

*tóuhe* (du. *tóway*, pl. *tóuwa*) ‘short-eared (goat)’

## **yh**

*yher* (*yəhrər/lṭhrér*) ‘to jump’

## **Z**

*zéfon* (*yəzəfən/lṭzfén*) ‘to be numerous, to pulullate’

*zəḥak* (*yəzəḥak/lṭzḥák*) ‘to catch, to hitch’

*ézmaʿ* (*yəzámáʿ/lázmaʿ*) ‘to entrust, to put under somebody’s protection’ (= وضع)

## **ẓ**

*ẓəḥẓəḥ* (*yəẓəḥẓəḥ/lṭẓəḥẓəḥ*) ‘to speak in a confuse, imprecise manner’ (= متخبط، غير رزين في كلامه)

**ẓérog** (*yəẓárəḡ/lṭẓrég*) ‘to throw, to hurl’ ~ Arb. *ḍrġ* ‘to throw; to split, to rend asunder’ (Lane 1783), perhaps Gez. *ṣaraga* ‘to sweep; to cut, to tear off’ (CDG 563).