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THESE DE DOCTORAT

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Education, Cognition, Langages, Interactions, Santé

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Par

Anton KUNGL

Morpho-phonologie nominale en sudarabique moderne

Nominal Morphophonology of the Modern South Arabian Languages

Thèse présentée et soutenue à Nantes, le 14/12/2023

Unité de recherche : Laboratoire de linguistique de Nantes (UMR 6310), CNRS/Nantes Université

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Morpho-phonologie nominale en sudarabique moderne

-

Nominal Morphophonology of the Modern South
Arabian Languages

by Anton Kungl

PhD-Thesis, Nantes Université

2023

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Section I – Introduction

1) Introduction

The Modern South Arabian Languages are usually considered a group of six distinct languages (Mehri, Jibbali/Shahri,¹ Harsusi, Hobyot, Bathari and Soqotri), spoken today in the regions of Dhofar governorate and the Ġiddat al-Ḥarāsīs in Oman, as well as in the al-Mahra and Soqotra governorates of Yemen. Estimates on the numbers of speakers vary at times significantly for each of the languages in question, with a general consensus on the largest being Mehri (approximately 130000 speakers according to Rubin 2019, 257; 100000 according to Simeone-Senelle 2011, 1076) and the smallest being Bathari (9 elderly speakers as of 2023, P.C. Fabio Gasparini), and the number of speakers for the other languages being between the two aforementioned numbers. Each of the MSAL shows a number of varieties (“dialects”), which have been largely understudied, and which appear to be, at least not in all cases, clearly distinguished in terms of spatial dimensions, rather showing at times variation according to tribal (sub-)groups (Watson et al. 2020, 1). In the case of Mh., at least two distinct dialect zones appear to be attested, one for the interior regions of the Najd, thus covering inland areas of both Oman and Yemen; and the other for the coastal regions of al-Mahra governorate in modern-day Yemen, with the latter being subdivided into an eastern and western part, with potential particularities of certain western coastal towns. In this thesis, the former dialect zone will be referred to as “Eastern Mehri” (EM) and the latter as “Western Mehri”, as a shorthand for (at least) two distinct dialectal zones, however, it shall be noted that as long as a more precise account on the dialectology of Mh. (or other MSAL) has not been achieved, this distinction remains preliminary. Also, it will be seen in this thesis that dialectal differences seem to be well attested within EM as well as within WM.

According to most currently accepted classifications of Semitic (for example Huehnergard & Rubin 2011; Kogan 2015; Kogan 2020; Huehnergard & Pat-El 2019; etc.), the MSAL form the earliest branch-off of the West Semitic phylum after the separation of Akkadian (and, hence, Semitic into East and West Semitic). A specific relationship beyond both being nodes of WS was previously assumed at times between the MSAL and Ethiosemitic (i.e. a common “(New) South Semitic” node, joining the MSAL and ES), however, recent studies – most notably those by Dufour (2016; etc.) – seem to largely contradict this notion and underline the independence of the MSAL node within WS. The internal classification of the MSAL is usually organized in two groups, with a “western” group including Mehri, Harsusi, Bathari and Hobyot; and an “eastern” group including J/S and Soqotri.²

¹ Both names are currently used by speakers (various other names are attested in older literature) and often a matter of contention. In this thesis, the abbreviation J/S is meant to refer to both terms on an equal footing, with the internal order of the two initials being alphabetically arranged.

² As recently discussed by Rubin (2015), this internal classification goes back to Antoine Lonnet. For a critical evaluation of said classification, in particular the question of an eastern branch, see Kogan 2015/2020.

The (western) study of these languages goes back to the 1830s, when the first publications on these languages were published, although the first comprehensive attempt on documenting and describing these languages was only made in the aftermath of the Austrian South Arabian expedition at the end of the 19th century, and follow-up fieldwork in the 1900s. After a long hiatus, new material was provided from the 1970s onwards by the studies of T.M. Johnstone in Oman and the French team, including Antoine Lonnet and Marie-Claude Simeone-Senelle in (what was at that time) the PDRY. From the 2000s onwards, the study of the MSAL has somewhat entered a state of renaissance, with a number of scholars from various countries, both from abroad (United Kingdom, France, Italy, Russia, United States) and from within Yemen and Oman, contributing both to the documentation and the study of various MSAL.

1.1) The Nominal System of the MSAL

The initial accounts of the nominal system of the MSAL were given in the publications of the Austrian South Arabian expedition. Thus, Jahn (1905) provided a tabellary overview of nominal patterns in Mh., without much further discussion; whereas in the studies on Mehri by Bittner (1909), as well as on J/S and Soq. in his subsequent publications, first elaborations on nominal patterns, mainly from a comparative perspective, were given. Bittner's account remained the most substantive study of the Mh. noun until the dissertation of Morris (1981), who gave a complete overview of nominal patterns attested in Mh., based on EM; whereas Bittner's publications were based on the data collected by the Austrian Expedition (and follow-up fieldwork), which consist largely (though not entirely) of WM. Morris' account remains an exhaustive overview of nominal patterns in Mh. In the various more recent grammars of Mh., notably those by Rubin (2010; 2018) and Watson (2012), aspects of plural and dual formation, as well as other pertinent nominal categories (adjectives and their declension etc.) are discussed; however, no complete inventory or study of the morphophonology of the noun (and listing of (underlying) nominal patterns) is given. Internal plural formation was also separately discussed by Castagna (2017); as well as by Fathi (2017a; 2017b), who gave an important account on number and gender marking for a number of internal plural patterns in Mh. The formation of plurals in J/S and Harsusi was also discussed by Ratcliffe (1998), mainly under a comparative Semitic lens.

The various studies by the French team of scholars working on the phonology and morphology of the MSAL mainly centered around the verbal system, however, in a number of articles (for example Bendjaballah & Ségéral 2017), references to the nominal sphere were made, and the results of their work seem largely applicable to the nominal system as well, although some particularities will be noted over the course of this thesis. One article by Dufour (2017) concentrated on a group of nominal patterns, and other work by Dufour (2016; 2022) on (the history of) the MSAL, has implications on the nominal system as well. It is thus, in particular against the backdrop of the studies by Bendjaballah, Dufour and Ségéral that this thesis will (re-)examine the nominal domain of Mh. (see below).

1.2) Goals of this Thesis

This thesis will be an examination of the nominal morphophonology of Mh. (marginally other MSAL), particularly EM (see below, 1.5). The primary goal of this thesis is to examine surface patterns of Mh. nominal forms, under the consideration of certain previously described phonological effects (see chapter 1.4.), in order to discern possible underlying forms. A full set of underlying forms and their surface reflexes will be provided and various pertinent features of nominal categories and phonological features with particular interest to the nominal sphere will be given. Thus, it is hoped, that this thesis will be a step towards providing the equivalent of previous studies on the verbal sphere of the MSAL (Mh. in particular), for the nominal sphere; and in doing so, provide both an insight into the inventory of nominal patterns, as well as further elements for the study of the phonology and morphology of Mh. In doing so, it is also hoped that this will provide beneficial for the further study of the MSAL (Mh. in particular), both in terms of synchrony and diachrony.

1.3) Outline

The most prominent nominal patterns will be discussed in section II. The nominal patterns are grouped according to the position of stressed vowels of surface pattern types, and discussed accordingly in the various chapter of section II. Most chapters of section II are structured in parallel: after a brief introduction to each type of pattern, an overview of attestations will be given in the following sub-sections. This will be followed up by tables showing the attested distributions of root consonants in pertinent positions, usually in proximity to the stressed vowel of a given pattern or in connection with consonant clusters (i.e. mostly C2 and C3). The aim of said tables is to highlight distributional gaps and to verify the (non-)application of phonological rules. The lack of configurations of certain consonants in certain patterns will also be exemplified via said tables. After this, the application of previously described phonological effects to the type of pattern in question will be discussed, according to the scheme outlined below (chapter 1.4). This will be followed by a discussion of various aspects of interest in the following sub-chapters, and at the end an overview of the distribution of surface patterns and their (possible) underlying forms will be given in table form. The final chapter of section II will include a brief discussion of more rarely attested patterns, and will hence diverge from the format outlined above, by giving a brief overview of each type of pattern in question. In doing so, the latter part will not be exhaustive, and a few very rarely attested items (which would need further checking) will not be considered in section II. In addition, diminutives will not be treated in this thesis, not least due to their distinct morphophonological features vis-à-vis most other nominal forms.³

In section III, an overarching discussion of the nominal system and various phonological and morphological peculiarities will be given, on the basis of what has been encountered in section II. In chapter 15., questions with regard to nominal categories will be discussed, i.e. the distribution of sg. and

³ For an account of diminutives in (W)Mh. see Rood 2017, for an overview Morris 1981.

pl. patterns, the status of adjectives and various peculiarities involved, the formation of f.sg. forms and the formation of VNs. In chapter 16. problematic phonological features, mostly connected to glides and /ʔ/ will be discussed, again, in the light of what has been seen in section II. In chapter 17., an overview of the phonological adaption of Arabic loans in Mh. will be given, an issue of particular importance for the nominal system. The final chapter will include an overview of underlying patterns and their surface reflexes and provide a summary discussion of particularities of the nominal system and outlook on potential further avenues of research.

1.4) Phonological Effects

In the sub-chapters on phonological effects in section II, a number of, mostly previously described, phenomena will be referenced, and will be summarized in this section. The first five phenomena concern particularities of certain classes of consonants, whereas the other phenomena in question concern a number of segments in particular. Considering vowels, this thesis follows Bendjaballah & Ségéral (2017), in supposing that phonological vowel length does not exist, and that surface long vowels are either stressed vowels in open syllables or simply closed word-final syllables or, in the case of unstressed long surface vowels, the outcome of compensatory phenomena involving underlying glides, /ʕ/ or /ʔ/. Regarding terminology, throughout this thesis “paradigmatically expected” forms will be referenced. These include forms where on the basis of comparative evidence, one would expect given forms to pertain to a certain pattern, which is prohibited by certain phonological effects (i.e. IG and the insertion of a vowel to the left of sonorants).

Table 0.: Overview of Mh. Consonants⁴

		lab.	dent.	alv.	lat.	pal.	vel.	uvul.	phar.	lar.
Plosiv.	-voice			t			k			ʔ
	+voice	b		d			g			
	eject.			tʰ			kʰ			
Fricat.	-voice	f	θ	s	ʃ	ʂ		χ	ħ	h
	+voice		ð	z				ʁ	ʕ	
	eject.		θʰ	sʰ	ʃʰ	ʂʰ				
Son.	Nasals	m		n						
	Liquid.			r	l					
	Glides					y	w			

⁴ IG (in bold) and lowering consonants (waved) are highlighted in the table .

A – IG:

The idle-glottis effect was previously described by Bendjaballah & Ségéral (2014).⁵ Consonants triggering the application of the IG-effect are the voiceless non-ejective consonants /θ/, /t/, /k/, /s/, /š/, /ʎ/, /f/, /h/, /χ/ and /h/. In forms where one would paradigmatically expect a constellation of two IG-consonants separated by an unstressed vowel, no vowel is found. Hence, a sequence /C_{+IG}əC_{+IG}/ is agrammatical. When two IG-consonants surround a stressed vowel, no particular phenomena are noted.

An exception to the application of the IG-effect has been noted by Bendjaballah and Ségéral in their aforementioned initial article on the subject (Bendjaballah & Ségéral 2014, 177) as well as in a recent article (Bendjaballah & Ségéral 2022, 26-27). Thus, the IG-effect appears to be blocked when the first IG-consonant in question is adjacent to another consonant, and sequences CC_{IG}əC_{IG} are grammatical.

B – Diphthongization + Vowel Lowering by Gutt. + Glott.:

Diphthongization of stressed /i/ and /u/ in an open syllable or simply closed final syllable when preceded by a lowering consonant has been previously noted by a number of scholars, for instance Jahn (1905, 18-19); Bittner (1909, 9-10); Morris (1981, 47-50); Johnstone (1987, xiv); Watson (2012, 28-30); Rubin (2018, 40-45). Lowering consonants are guttural consonants /ħ/, /χ/, /ʁ/ and /ʕ/ and ejective consonants /kʰ/, /tʰ/, /sʰ/, /ʔ/, /θʰ/ and /šʰ/.

/i/ → [áy] / C_[+low]___ where C_[+low] = {/ħ/, /χ/, /ʁ/, /ʕ/, /kʰ/, /tʰ/, /sʰ/, /ʔ/, /θʰ/, /šʰ/}

/ú/ → [áw] / C_[+low]___ where C_[+low] = {/ħ/, /χ/, /ʁ/, /ʕ/, /kʰ/, /tʰ/, /sʰ/, /ʔ/, /θʰ/, /šʰ/}

In addition to the diphthongization of /i/ and /u/, underlying /e/ shows the surface reflex [ā] in the same, aforementioned, context.

/é/ → [ā] / C_[+low]___ where C_[+low] = {/ħ/, /χ/, /ʁ/, /ʕ/, /kʰ/, /tʰ/, /sʰ/, /ʔ/, /θʰ/, /šʰ/}

However, as will be seen, a number of forms are attested where one encounters surface diphthongs or [ā] in contexts outside of the aforementioned one. In many cases this seems to be due to the spread of the lowering effect of a preceding consonant via a sonorant; or perhaps in some cases (particularly in WM) via a following lowering consonant, however, these non-standard attestations of the lowering effect are not attested systematically and not all cases can be explained this way. No effects are observed by lowering consonants when followed by stressed /o/ in an open or simply-closed final syllable, which might imply that what surfaces as [ō] might be more accurately described as underlying /a/.⁶

⁵ Described as “breathed” and “unbreathed” consonants in the works of Watson and Heselwood (for example Heselwood et al. 2022).

⁶ Bendjaballah & Ségéral (2017) also understand [ō] to be the surface reflex of underlying /a/. Over the course of this study, this vowel will be referred to as underlying /o/, strictly for the purpose of simplicity.

C - Fronted Stress / III-Gutt.:

Guttural consonants also appear to have the effect of shifting a paradigmatically stressed vowel immediately preceding them, to a vowel position which is located further to the left. This effect has been noted for the verbal system (for example Johnstone 1987, xxvi; Rubin 2018, 45). Sometimes it seems to be lacking completely, particularly when a potential shift to the left is blocked by a cluster of two underlying consonants. However, in other forms where a priori speaking no sequence of two consonants can be posited, one also occasionally observes the seeming lack of the shift to the left, particularly for forms showing /ʕ/ after a stressed vowel (see below).

D – Vowel Epenthesis of Sonorants (Liquids):

Sonorants (including glides) constitute a notable class of consonants in a number of ways, most importantly the insertion of a vowel to their left under certain conditions, attested in patterns where paradigmatically one would not expect an underlying vowel in said position. This effect has been previously discussed by Bendjaballah & Ségéral (2017) and Bendjaballah (2017), with the latter study explicitly showing that sonorants need a vocalic support to their left; and Dufour (2017), in his article on the nominal patterns CvCC and Cv:CəC, where it is shown that the (near) lack of final sonorants for surface attestations CvCC is conditioned by said effect (see also chapter 2 and 3). Possible allusions to this effect are also made in the introduction of ML (Johnstone 1987).⁷

E – Vowel Epenthesis of Glott.:

A similar effect seems to be conditioned by ejective consonants to their right (see Bendjaballah 2017), however this vowel unlike the case of sonorants, only represents a surface phenomenon for paradigmatic sequences of an ejective followed by another consonant to its right.

$/\emptyset/ \rightarrow [\text{ə}] / C_{[+eject.]} _ C$ where $C_{[+eject.]} = \{/k', /t', /s', /ʔ', /\theta', /ʃ'\}$

F – Vocalization of /l/:

In EM the liquid /l/ shows (near-)regular vocalization in word-internal coda position, when not followed by a guttural or glide. This effect has been previously examined by Bendjaballah & Tifrit (2018) and described by various scholars (for example Johnstone 1987, xiii; Watson 2012, 35-37; Rubin 2018, 28-30). The outcome of said vocalization is [ū] (often <əw> in the transcription in ML) when the vowel in question is unstressed and [ē] when the vowel is stressed.

$/\text{əl}/ \rightarrow [\text{ū}] / _ C$ where $C \neq \{/w/, /y/, /ɣ/, /ħ/, /ʁ'\}$

$/\text{é}l/ \rightarrow [\text{ē}] / _ C$ where $C \neq \{/w/, /y/, /ɣ/, /ħ/, /ʁ'\}$

⁷ Note also in this context that the “parasitic h” in Soq. is connected with sonorants, see Bulakh 2022.

Note, that while for the majority of items discussed in this thesis, this effect seems to apply, a few attestations exist where it does not, and it is not always clear whether the forms in question are mistakes or genuine exceptions. Also, note that in other varieties of Mehri (i.e. WM), this effect does not seem to apply (regularly).

G – Behavior of /r/:

While it does not regularly show the same aforementioned particularities of /l/, the liquid /r/ does occasionally show the lengthening of a preceding stressed vowel when followed by a consonant, together with a vowel quality [ɛ], i.e. [Cɛ̄rC].

/r/ → [ɛ̄] / __rC (where C ≠ {/w/, /y/, /χ/, /ħ/, /ʁ/})

This phenomenon is not attested systematically throughout the corpus, and mainly attested for patterns of the type CvCC, and thus presumably is a simple (phonetic) surface phenomenon, without any phonological implicataions. Items as warχ would imply that the same constraints present in the case of /l/ would exist here as well, although this remains to be proven. To the limits of the author’s knowledge, no systematic study of this effect has been previously undertaken, although forms apparently exhibiting this effect have been previously note, for example in ML, and Watson (2012, 38) noted complete vocalization of /r/ in a few forms.⁸

H – /ʕ/:

The phonological particularities of /ʕ/ remain unclear in detail, although it is undeniably present as an underlying consonant in EM, where it surfaces less regularly as [ʕ] than in most other MSAL (or other varieties of Mh.). The features under discussion here affect the various surface realizations of /ʕ/ as well as the nature of /ʕ/ as a guttural (and hence lowering) consonant.

Generally speaking, the sequence /əʕ/ ought to surface as [ā] or [a] in word final position and /ʕə/ as [a] (cf. Bendjaballah & Ségéral 2017, 165-166), with apparently the emission of a vowel to the left (like sonorants in this regard) in the case of initial /ʕ/.

/əʕ/ → [ā] / __Cv

/əʕ/ → [a] / __#

/ʕə/ → [a] / C__C

For /ʕ/ preceding a stressed vowel, it seems clear that in a sequence /ʕiCC/, /ʕ/ surfaces (cf. Rubin 2018, 25) /ʕ/ surfaces regularly. Underlying /ʕó/ in an open syllable shows no surface reflex of /ʕ/ (cf. Rubin 2018, 26), except for, perhaps, a surface glottal stop when attested in initial position. Underlying initial

⁸ The first item <k’ās̄> quoted by Watson (2012, 38) is given in ML and by the author’s informants without full vocalization of /r/, the second item <k’ōn> is a particular case, see below.

/ʕé/ sees the application of the lowering effect of /ʕ/, with a resulting surface sequence [ʔā]. Underlying /ʕú/ in an open syllable appears to show a surface diphthong [aw] (cf. Bendjaballah & Ségéral 2022, 16), hence a simple application of the lowering effect without any other surface reflexes of /ʕ/. Attestations for /ʕú/ are not attested in initial position, hence no attestations showing an additional glottal stop were attested.

An initial sequence /ʕvyC/ the surfacing of /ʕ/ appears unclear and oft phonetically hard to determine (with Rubin 2018, 25). When preceding /y/ the surface reflexes appear to also remain unclear (contra Rubin 2018, 25; while the form *bəʕyōr* (*baʕyōr* lit.cit.) is attested, one also finds *bāyōr*).

/əʕ/ → [əʕ] – [ā] / C__y

In word-final position when preceded by a stressed vowel, most nominal attestations of /ʕ/ seem to show the underlying form /éʕ/ which appears to surface as [ē] (cf. Rubin 2018, 26), although these attestations remain problematic, not least due to the lack of stress-shift in these forms (see above, C).

/éʕ/ → [ē] / __ #

Since /ʕ/ is a guttural – and hence lowering – consonant, phenomena observable for the latter two classes of consonants also apply to /ʕ/. Thus, the aforementioned surface realizations of underlying /ʕí/, /ʕú/ and /ʕé/ can be viewed in terms of the lowering effect (see B). As for attestations of /ʕ/ after a stressed vowel, i.e. /vʕ/, one would expect stress to shift towards the left, where applicable, in accordance with the fronting of stress before guttural consonants (see C).

I – /ʔ/:

The status of /ʔ/ remains unclear. Surface glottal stops are attested rather frequently throughout Mh., though not all of these are reflexes of underlying /ʔ/. Thus, the question of the synchronical existence of underlying /ʔ/ and its potential surface reflexes thus remains in question. Whereas from a historical-comparative perspective, a phoneme /ʔ/ ought to be expected to be attested, at least in the form of some historical reflex of *ʔ, the synchronical situation seems somewhat contradictory. Rubin (2018, 21) considers /ʔ/ to be “lost” and assumes historical vocalization of *ʔ (Rubin 2018, 26); whereas Watson’s description of /ʔ/ (Watson 2012, 14) presumably pertains to surface attestations of [ʔ] in Mh., since it is connected with /ʕ/. Indeed, one finds numerous attestations of a glottal stop [ʔ] in various contexts, for example the aforementioned I-ʕ attestations (see also Bendjaballah & Ségéral 2017, 165-166), but not all of these are reflexes of putative underlying /ʔ/. As will be seen, the nominal domain shows several potential surface reflexes of *ʔ, not all of which can be reconciled with Rubin’s scenario of historical vocalization, and which appear to hence show the preservation of an underlying consonantal phoneme, cognate to *ʔ. For the case of the descriptive section, the sub-chapters pertaining to /ʔ/ will be referencing reflexes of putative *ʔ in the given pattern under discussion.

J – Glides:

Finally, glides show a number of particularities. Some of these have already been mentioned, i.e. the emission of a vowel to their left in certain contexts (see above, D). Underlying glides are realized as [ī] or [ū] when preceded by an unstressed vowel and followed by a consonant, i.e. /CəyC/ and /CəwC/, whereas in word-final position, a glide preceded by an unstressed vowel is represented as [i] or [u] (frequently transcribed as <əw> in ML).

/əy/ → [ī] / __Cv

/əy/ → [i] / __#

/əw/ → [ū] / __Cv

/əw/ → [u] / __#

Other realizations of /əw/ are attested as [ō] and [ā], the latter almost exclusively in the verbal domain, and hence not of immediate interest for this thesis (see Bendjaballah & Ségéral 2017, 167-168). The putative realization [ō] for underlying /əw/ will be discussed, where attested.

A stressed vowel followed by a glide appears to show the same surfacing conditions in terms of surface vowel length and quality as elsewhere.

/ʷy/ → [ay] / __C where v = {/e/, /o/}

/ʷy/ → [ī] / __C where v = {/i/, /u/}

/ʷw/ → [aw] / __C where v = {/e/, /o/}

/ʷw/ → [ū] / __C where v = {/i/, /u/}

Particularly on the right margin of the word when preceded by a stressed vowel, glides show a number of particularities, as will be seen in the course of this thesis (chapter 16).

1.5) Data

For this thesis the entirety of nominal forms attested in ML were extracted and ordered (see annex). Thus, forms quoted throughout this thesis, particularly those in the various tables used throughout the following chapters, are forms attested in ML, unless referenced otherwise. Note, that for the sake of coherence, the transcription of ML was taken over for items from ML, even where this contradicts expectations (for example, unstressed vowels between two IG-consonants). Other sources consulted for EM is Morris' thesis (Morris 1981), Rubin's edition of Johnstone's texts (Rubin 2018) as well as the comparative glossary by Morris et al. (2019). Data from WM mainly come from Jahn (1902) and to a lesser degree Sima (2009). References to data from other MSAL are given with a quote for the source in question, most of which come from JL. In addition to previously published material, the author conducted two months of fieldwork, based in Salalah in February and March of 2022, where additional data on EM was gathered, with consent of the three principal informants, mid-aged male speakers of EM from Dhofar governorate (Oman).⁹

The entirety of nominal forms in ML as well as pertinent forms from other sources are included in the annex, together with a reference to the relevant chapters of this thesis, where pertinent. Not all data from all sources are discussed in the main part of this thesis, particularly items which represent non-adapted or incompletely adapted Arabisms, not conforming to the overall structure of the (nominal) phonology and morphology of Mh.; as well as a few unorthodox forms, too rarely attested to be separately treated in one of the chapters of section II. These forms are given in the annex.

Stress is not coherently noted in the sources of this thesis, and forms exist where the placement of stress seems unpredictable in the transcription in ML. Therefore, stress is not noted consistently in forms given in this thesis, unless a certain aspect related to stress is under discussion, or in forms where ambiguities regarding the position of stress exist.

Translations of the various forms quoted throughout this thesis are usually not given, unless these are of relevance for the aspects under discussion, however, in the annex the translations for all forms are given. The transcription chosen in this thesis follows the transcription used by Bendjaballah in various publications (i.e. Bendjaballah 2014; 2017; etc.). This transcription was also applied, except for some ambiguous cases, for items attested in previous sources and transcribed according to different standards (usually more phonetically). Arabic words are transcribed in standard Arabist manner with minor modifications based on IPA (<ʕ> for <'>, <ʔ> for <'>, <ɣ> for <ḥ>, <ħ> for <ḥ>, <ɣ> for <ġ>).

⁹ Fieldwork was carried out under the auspices of the project "IRN-ALL: Afroasiatic Languages and Linguistics: Bridging the Red Sea Rift" (<https://irn-all.cnrs.fr/test-page-daccueil/>) in cooperation with CEFREPA - Centre français de recherche de la péninsule Arabique (<https://cefrepacnrs.fr/fr/>). Additional (earlier) fieldwork was originally envisioned, however made impossible by the COVID pandemic.

Section II – Mehri Noun Patterns

2) Cv:CəC

2.1) Introduction & Previous Literature

Surface patterns of the type Cv:CəC include CēCəC (and its variant CāCəC), CōCəC and CīCəC, with the latter being much less frequently attested than the former two in EM. Attestations of surface CūCəC are not to be found in the data consulted for EM. In addition, a number of potential forms CīCəC (and perhaps CūCəC) might be found amongst patterns of the type CayCəC and CawCəC, since the effect of lowering consonants preceding the stressed vowel manifests itself in this pattern, as to be expected (yielding CāCəC for CēCəC, CayCəC for CīCəC and CawCəC for hypothetical CūCəC). Patterns of the type Cv:CəC are mainly sg. nouns and less frequently adjectives, usually masculine.

Plural forms of the pattern Cv:CəC are much more rarely attested. Putative plural forms are largely restricted to the pattern CēCəC and are usually collectives (*dēgər – dægərīt, nēχəl – nəχəlīt, bēθ'əh – bəθ'əhəyn*, etc.), or a particular class of plurals of adjectives, mainly adjectives of color (*hēl'ər, lēbən, ʔāfər, hāwər + k'āləʔ* “dry”). The pattern CōCəC shows two pluralic items, one being a collective (*tōmər – tamərīt*) and the other one - *wōrəχ* - being an apparently rather particular case.¹⁰ For the pattern CīCəC, one finds two possible attestations in ML, i.e. *mīri* and *hīyəχ*, with the latter being attested as *tyēχ* in the texts collected in Rubin's grammar (Rubin 2018, 454 – 10). In addition, CōCəC and CēCəC are also attested as somewhat less frequent VN patterns.

Some peculiarities of surface patterns Cv:CəC have been described in previous discussions. Already Bittner (1909, 15-17) noted the derivation (unclear whether historical or underlying) of some surface forms Cv:CəC from CvCC, and distinguished these forms from others, such as *CāCiC>CōCəC, however no elaborations on the conditions under which (historical or underlying) CvCC would become Cv:CəC (other than this purportedly happening via an intermediary stage C'VCəC) are given by Bittner (loc. cit.).

Similarly, Morris (1981) considered CēCəC and CōCəC to (at least partly) “occur to the exclusion of CaCC” (Morris 1981, 100). As has been mentioned (2.9), the conditions under which (presumably underlying) CvCC would surface as Cv:CəC according to Morris (1981, 93-97) cannot be maintained. Similarly, Johnstone (1987, xiii), considered CēCəC to be an “earlier shape” of CaCC.

Parallels between CōCəC and the Arabic (and presumably PS) G-stem active participle (*)CāCiC have long been drawn (Bittner 1909, 15; Morris 1981, 102-103), however this has rested on prima-facie comparisons. As will be shown below, a number of surface forms CōCəC can be understood as loans from Arabic, however, no item CōCəC can – in the author's opinion - be confidently traced back - as of yet - to a (lexicalized) *CāCiC that is not loaned from Arabic.

¹⁰ *wōrəχ* (Sg. *wəryχ*) is attested as such in ML, in Jahn 1902 this item is one of the few items listed as CūCəC (*wūrəχ*), and in Watson et al. 2020 it is listed as CawCəC *wawrəχ*. This particular item merits further study.

Finally, the studies by Dufour (2016; 2017) have elucidated the relationship between CvCC and Cv:CəC somewhat more, showing that underlying patterns CvCC which show a sonorant as R3 surface as Cv:CəC. Dufour’s studies will be referenced throughout this chapter.

2.2) Overview of Attestations

Surface attestations of patterns CəCəC, CēCəC, (CāCəC) and CīCəC and various surface variations are summarized in the table below.¹¹

Table 1.: Attestations of Cv:CəC in ML

Stressed V	Regular	R1		R2	R3					Total
		ʃ	[+low.] ≠ʃ	ʃ	ʔ	ʃ	w	y	III-Son. (excl. glides)	
[ē]	CēCəC (13)			Cēʃi (1)	CēCa (2 ?)	CēCa (2)	CēCəw (2)	CēCi (10)	CēCəC (53)	83
[ā]		ʔāCəC (2 ?)	CāCəC (35)			CāCa(?) (3) CāCəʔ (2)	CāCəw (1)	CāCi (2)	CāCəC (28)	43
[ō]	CōCəC (38)	ʔōCəC (8)	CōCəC X		CōCə (2)	CōCa (7)	CōCəw (3)	CōCi (22)	CōCəC (48)	128
[ī]	CīCəC (6)							CīCi (1)		7
[ū]										N/A

Since a number of variations concerning the stressed vowel are conditioned by the nature of R1, an overview of attestations of R1 amongst various patterns is given in the table below. For items of the surface patterns CēCəC and CīCəC, one would apriorically expect no attestations of lowering consonants as R1, for items of the surface form CāCəC one would expect no attestations without lowering consonants as R1.

¹¹ (Seemingly) Unattested configurations are greyed out in this table, as well as in all comparable overview tables throughout this thesis.

Table 2.: R1 in Cv:CəC

Nat. Classes		R1	CəCəC	CāCəC	CōCəC	CīCəC
	Lowering C (Eject.)	θʔ		x	x	
		sʔ	x	x	x	
		šʔ				
		tʔ		x		
		kʔ		x	x	
	lʔ		x	x		
	Lowering C (Gutt.)	ʕ		?	x	
		ɸ		x	x	
		ħ	x	x	x	
	IG	IG (non-Lowering)	χ		x	x
f			x		x	
θ			x		x	
s		x		x	x	
š		x	x	x		
t				x		
k		x		x	x	
l		x	x	x	x	
h		x		x		
Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.		b	x		x	
	d	x		x		
	ð			x		
	z	x		x		
	g	x		x		
Sonorants	w	x	x	x		
	y					
	r	x		x	x	
	l	x				
	m	x		x	x	
	n	x		x		
?	?	x	x	x		

As will be mentioned below, two attestations of CəCəC showing a lowering consonant are to be found (*sʔədər*, *hēmər*), as well as a few attestations of CāCəC which do not show a lowering consonant and appear to be rather transparent Arabisms (*wāyər*, *ʔāmər*, *lārəʔ*, *šatʔər*). As to be expected, no attestations of CīCəC showing a lowering R1 are to be found in ML.

An overview of the distribution of consonants as R2 and R3 is given in the tables below for the surface forms CəCəC, its variant CāCəC, CōCəC and CīCəC.¹²

¹² With sonorants as R3 separated by a bold line, due to the effects discussed over the course of this chapter and chapters 3. and 4. Combinations of IG-consonants as R2 and R3 are greyed out, since apriorically one would not expect these to be attested here, see below.

Table 3.1.1.1.: 2ə3# in CāCəC / R1 = [+Low.]

C2 \ C3		IG															Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.					Sonorants						?							
		Lowering C (Eject.)						Lowering C (Gutt.)				IG (non-Lowering)					b	d	ð	z	g	w	y	r	l	m	n								
		θ'	s'	ʃ'	t'	k'	l'	ç	ʁ	h	χ	f	θ	s	ʃ	t													k	l	h				
Lowering C (Eject.)	θ'																																		
	s'																																		
	ʃ'																																		
	t'																																		
	k'																																		
	l'																																		
Lowering C (Gutt.)	ç																																		
	ʁ																																		
	h																																		
	χ																																		
IG (non-Lowering)	f																																		
	θ																																		
	s																																		
	ʃ																																		
	t																																		
	k																																		
	l																																		
	h																																		
Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.	b																																		
	d																																		
	ð																																		
	z																																		
	g																																		
Sonorants	w																																		
	y																																		
	r																																		
	l																																		
	m																																		
	n																																		
?																																			

Table 3.1.2.: 2ə3# in CēCəC and CāCəC / R1 = [Low.]

C2	C3	IG																Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.					Sonorants						?												
		Lowering C (Eject.)						Lowering C (Gutt.)				IG (non-Lowering)						b	d	ð	z	g	w	y	r	l	m	n	?												
		θ'	s'	š'	t'	k'	l'	ç	ʁ	h	χ	f	θ	s	š	t	k													l	h										
Lowering C (Eject.)	θ'								x																																
	s'								x																																
	š'																																								
	t'																																								x ¹⁴
	k'								x																																
	l'																																								
Lowering C (Gutt.)	ç																																								
	ʁ																																								
	h					x																																			
IG (non-Lowering)	ç																																								
	ʁ																																								
	h					x																																			
	ç																																								
	f																																								x ¹⁵
	θ					x																																			
	s																																								
	š																																								
Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.	t																																								
	k																																								
	l																																								
	h																																								
	b									x	x																														
Sonorants	d																																								
	ð																																								
	z																																								
	g																																								
	w																																								
	y																																								
r					x																																				
l																																									
m									x	x																															
n																																									
?																																									

¹⁴ wēt'aʔ ML, wōt'ī Jahn 1902, Arabism?

¹⁵ kēfa, root √kfʔ according to Johnstone, no Pl. form given, rather III-çʔ

Table 3.2.: 2ə3# in CōCəC

C2 \ C3		IG											Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.					Sonorants						?								
		Lowering C (Eject.)						Lowering C (Gutt.)					IG (non-Lowering)																?			
		θ'	s'	š'	t'	k'	l'	ʕ	ʁ	h	χ	f	θ	s	š	t	k	l	h	b	d	ð	z	g	w	y	r	l	m	n	?	
Lowering C (Eject.)	θ'																															
	s'																			x								x	x			
	š'																															
	t'																			x								x	x			x ¹⁶
	k'		x			x																					x	x				
	l'																			x								x				
Lowering C (Gutt.)	ʕ																															
	ʁ																															
IG	h																															
	χ																															
IG (non-Lowering)	f						x	x																		x	x	x				
	θ																										x					x
	s																		x	x						x		x				
	š																															
	t																			x								x	x	x		
	k																			x								x		x		
	l							x																								
	h																			x	x											
Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.	b							x																		x	x	x			x	
	d																										x					x
	ð																											x	x	x		
	z																										x	x	x			
	g																			x	x							x		x		
Sonorants	w																									x	x					
	y																									x	x					
	r																										x	x				x
	l																										x	x				x
	m																											x	x			
	n																															
?	?																															

¹⁶ *wēt'a?* ML, *wōt'ī* Jahn 1902, Arabism?
¹⁷ *hōli* √hłw according to ML - questionable

Table 3.3.: 2a3# in C̄C̄C̄C̄

C2		C3	IG													Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.					Sonorants						?					
		Lowering C (Eject.)						Lowering C (Gutt.)			IG (non-Lowering)																					
		θ'	s'	š'	t'	k'	l'	ʕ	ɣ	ħ	χ	f	θ	s	š	t	k	l	h	b	d	ð	z	g	w	y	r	l	m	n	?	
Lowering C (Eject.)	θ'																															
	s'																															
	š'																															
	t'																															
	k'																															
	l'																															
Lowering C (Gutt.)	ʕ																															
	ɣ																															
	ħ																															
	χ																															
IG (non-Lowering)	f																															
	θ																															
	s																															
	š																															
	t																															
	k																															
	l																															
	h																															
Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.	b																															
	d																															
	ð																															
	z																															
	g																															
Sonorants	w																															
	y																															
	r																															
	l																															
	m																															
	n																															
?																																

¹⁸ *l̄ȳəχ* m.Pl. for *l̄ōχ* in ML, however attested as *l̄ȳēχ* in the texts (Rubin 2018, 454) and as *l̄iȳēχ* in Jahn 1902.

Table 4.: 2ə3# in Cv:CəC

C2 \ C3		IG																	Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.					Sonorants						?								
		Lowering C (Eject.)							Lowering C (Gutt.)				IG (non-Lowering)						b	d	ð	z	g	w	y	r	l	m	n	?								
		θ'	s'	š'	t'	k'	ʔ'	ʕ	ʁ	h	ħ	f	θ	s	š	t	k	l													h							
Lowering C (Eject.)	θ'							x																														
	s'								x													x																
	š'																																					
	t'																					x																
	k'	x			x																	x							x	x	x	x						
	ʔ'																					x	x															
Lowering C (Gutt.)	ʕ																																					
	ʁ																				x																	
IG	h					x																					x	x										
	ħ																																					
IG (non-Lowering)	f									x	x																									x	x	
	θ					x																															x	
	s																				x	x															x	
	š																																					
	t																					x															x	
	k																					x															x	
	l										x																											
h																											x	x									x	
Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.	b									x	x																											x
	d																																					
	ð																																					
	z																																					x
	g																											x	x									
Sonorants	w																																					
	y																																					
	r																																					x
	l																																					x
	m																																					
	n																																					
?	?																																					

¹⁹ *wēt'a?* ML, *wōt'i* Jahn 1902, Arabism?

²⁰ *kēfa*, root \sqrt{kf} ? according to Johnstone, no Pl. form given, rather III-ʕ?

Thus, one notes that amongst surface forms of the type Cv:CəC no attestations of IG-consonants as R2 and R3 are found, as to be expected. Attestations of sonorants are particularly frequently found, also as R3, although only one form (with /y/) was found amongst attestations of CīCəC. Classes of consonants other than sonorants are attested less frequently, but throughout all patterns of the type Cv:CəC.

2.3) Application of Phonological Effects

A – IG: As has been seen, and as to be expected, no attestations of IG consonants as both R2 and R3 are to be found, although IG consonants are attested as only R2 or R3 respectively.²¹

B – Diphthongization + Vowel Lowering: Two forms of the surface type CēCəC appear in ML which show a lowering consonant as R1, namely *hēmər* and *s'ədər*. Whereas the latter might well be an Arabism with a non-glottalized Arabic /s/, the former remains problematic. Some examples of CāCəC exist, where R1 is not a lowering consonant, i.e. *wāyər*, *ḡāmər*, *šāt'ər*, *lārəḡ*.²² These examples can be understood as transparently non-integrated Arabisms. Amongst the few examples of surface CīCəC no attestation of a lowering consonant as R1 is found. Thus, the effect of lowering consonants on stressed vowels seems to apply regularly, perhaps with the exception of the two aforementioned items of the surface form CēCəC.

C - Fronted Stress / III-Gutt.: On the surface, it does not appear that any irregularities are encountered, when a given item is attested with a guttural R3, however attestations for said forms are not particularly numerous when viewed against the total numbers of attested forms.²³ This might be a simple (lexical) coincidence, particularly when considering that guttural consonants as R3 are attested in patterns CəCv:C. This would appear to speak against the possibility of some surface forms Cv:CəC being the reflex of CəCv:C / R3 = [+Gutt.].

D – Vowel Epenthesis of Sonorants (Liquids): The majority of attestations (168/261 across all patterns of the type Cv:CəC) is to be found for roots which show a sonorant as R3. This does not apply to CīCəC, where amongst the few examples attested, only the item *mīri* is attested, showing /y/ as R3 (for the implications of this, see below). As has been shown previously (Dufour 2017), this is indicative of a number of forms with sonorants as R3 being reflexes of what would paradigmatically be expected as CvCC.

E – Vowel Epenthesis of Glott.: The following examples show an ejective R2 and no sonorant or /s/, /ʔ/ as R3: *fēs'əv*, *lēk'əb*, *bēθ'əḥ*, *k'āl'əb*, *vōl'əb*, *ḥōs'əb*, *wōt'əb/yōt'əb*, *hōk'ət'/sōk'ət'*, *mīl'əd*. Examples of forms showing a stressed short surface vowel between R1 and R2 and an ejective consonant as R2 (i.e. CāCəC) are attested, as will be seen in chapter 4.). It can therefore be subsumed that the presence

²¹ *līšət* in Jahn 1902 being a particular case, see chapter 15.4.

²² In addition to various forms CāCəC II-Low. in WM, see *hāχər* (Jahn 1902, *hēχər* ML), *kāḥəl* (Jahn 1902, *kēḥəl* ML), *nāḥər* (Jahn 1902, *nēḥər* ML), *nāχəl* (Jahn 1902, *nēχəl* ML).

²³ 30 attestations in total for patterns of the type Cv:CəC. Note, that only three forms III-ḥ are attested: *bēθ'əḥ*, *k'ōməḥ*, *kīnəḥ*.

of an ejective R2 in surface forms of the type Cv:CəC cannot be considered causal for the presence of a vowel between R2 and R3, since in the corresponding forms of the type CvCC, the stressed vowel is not lengthened. The vowel between R2 and R3 in surface forms of the type Cv:CəC showing an ejective R2 ought to be considered underlying and not the result of the insertion of surface vowels of ejective consonants.

F – Vocalization of /l/: Vocalization of /l/ is not encountered in any forms of surface patterns Cv:CəC. The surfacing of /l/ as R2 in patterns Cv:CəC underlines the presence of an underlying vowel between R2 and R3 in these forms, i.e. *mēlak*, *mōlak*, *bōlak*, (+*sēlam*, *sōlam*, *θ'ōlam*).

G – Behavior of /r/: No particular phenomena are to be expected apriorically, other than the vowel spread of sonorants as R3.

H – /ʃ/: Forms with initial /ʃ/ can only be clearly detected in items of the pattern CōCəC, where the attested reflex is ʔōCəC, i.e. *ʔōbər*, *ʔōðək'*, *ʔōðəl*, *ʔōtək'*, *ʔōyəb*, *ʔōfər*, *ʔōk'al*, *ʔōyəl*.

In the case of CēCəC, and its putative reflex ʔāC(ə)C only relatively few putative attestations are found, namely *ʔāgəz* and *ʔāfər*. However, in the case of *ʔāgəz* (m.sg. “lazy“), *ʔāgz* also attested as “incapacity, helplessness“, all ML).²⁴ Therefore, in the case of *ʔāgəz*, it is only the presence of an unstressed vowel [ə] (and the different semantics) which implies Cv:CəC rather than CvCC. In conclusion, it seems that forms I-ʃ are attested for CēCəC, yielding the surface output (ʔ)āCəC, although the distinction between /ʃéCəC/ and /ʃýCC/ cannot be ascertained for all (i.e. both) cases.

Amongst the few attestations of CīCəC, no forms I-ʃ were found. It is possible that some attestations of /ʃíCəC/ are to be found amongst patterns of the type CayCəC.

Medial /ʃ/ is attested once, in the form *rēʃi*, the surfacing of /ʃ/ in this form being likely conditioned by the underlying glide following /ʃ/.²⁵ It cannot be established whether some of the surface forms Cv:C (1v:3) / R2 = /ʃ/ represent underlying Cv:CəC (see chapter 4.4.H).²⁶

Final /ʃ/ is well attested amongst all patterns of the type Cv:CəC and surfaces as Cv:Ca, e.g. *hēk'a*, *k'āma*, *hōma*, etc. The presence of a final vowel /a/ underlines the presence of a vowel between R2 and R3, showing a parallel to certain verbal forms 3.p.m.sg. with a similar outcome əʃ# > a#, e.g. *nūka* (see Rubin 2018, 26), and might also show a distinct surface form from III-ʃ forms of the type CvCC such as *gamʔ*, where the underlying vowel appears to lack (see 4.4.H).

²⁴ It remains unclear whether the unstressed vowel seemingly present in *ʔāgəz* and seemingly lacking in *ʔāgz* is the reflex of an underlying vowel or simply an insertive surface phenomenon.

²⁵ The fact that glides pattern with other sonorants with regard to the emission of a vowel to their left (with Dufour 2017), does not appear to block the surfacing of /ʃ/ in this context. More data would be needed to establish a clearer picture of the behavior of /ʃ/.

²⁶ As will be mentioned (4.4.H), if at all then in the surface pattern CēC, since CōC seems to be the reflex of CəCōC / R2 = /ʃ/ based on the J/S cognates.

I – /ʔ/: Forms of the type I-ʔ (according to ML) and showing what appears to approach surface Cv:CəC are the items *ʔēmər*, *ʔāmər*, *wōrəm*, and possibly *ħōθəl*.²⁷ In the case of the two items showing surface [ʔ], *ʔāmər* is a clear Arabism, going back to CaCC (*ʔamr*), *ʔēmər* might be so as well. The item *ħōθəl* was understood by Johnstone to be I-ʔ, presumably on the basis of the initial /ʔ/ of the Arabic cognate of this botanic term, it seems unclear whether the initial /ħ/ is reflective of a productive definite article, or whether the definite article in this form has been lexicalized (the latter option seemingly indicated by plural *ħəθōwəlʔ*). This leaves one with the item *wōrəm* as an example of an (at least etymologically speaking) item I-ʔ. Other examples of Cv:CəC / I-w seem to be etymological I-w on a comparative basis. It seems thus, that surface reflexes [ʔ] for putative /ʔ/ are restricted to Arabic loans, whereas the putatively inherited form *wōrəm* shows initial [w] for /ʔ/.

In medial position, no clear attestations of a pattern Cv:CəC with a surface attestation of /ʔ/ are to be found.

For (putative) items III-ʔ, a few possible examples are found, i.e. *kēfa*, *wēt'aʔ* (*wōt ī* Jahn 1902), *dōθə*, *đōrə*. Regarding the distinction in final vocalism between the two items of the pattern CēCəC and the two items of the pattern CōCəC, on the surface, the word-final [a] in the case of the former two items might suggest word-final /ʕ/ (see above), whereas the latter two items pattern distinctly, apparently underlining the distinction from items III-ʕ. The question of the surface reflex(es) of /ʔ/ in final position when preceded by an unstressed vowel thus remain problematic and seemingly incoherent and will be picked up in chapter 16.

J – Glides: In initial position, glides are well attested in forms Cv:CəC and do not show any particular behavior, with the observation of I-w being significantly higher represented than I-y being a basic lexical feature, i.e. *wēs'al*, *wēzən*, *wōrəm*, *wōt'əb* (Jahn 1902: *yōt'əb*), etc.

In medial position, glides are less frequently found, but still attested and similarly do not show any particular behavior, i.e. *ħōwər*, *dōyəχ*, etc. Note, that in cases of items II-w/y and III-Son., it can be – at least synchronically – excluded that the underlying pattern is CvCC. Thus, it will be shown in chapter 4), that the spread of a vowel to the left of sonorants does not apply, when the preceding consonant is a glide, hence necessitating an underlying vowel between R2 and R3.

In final position /əy/ appears as [i], e.g. *lēni*, *hēk'i*, etc. and /əw/ as [əw],²⁸ e.g. *rēkəw*, *lētəw*. The outcome of these forms appears to be identical with the putative outcome of underlying CvCC with a glide as R3. Note that, as to be expected, the final surface vowel does not undergo diphthongization when preceded by a lowering consonant, e.g. *gēhi*, *hēk'i*, *lēki*, *hōk'i*, *bōk'i*. Attestations of forms Cv:CəC with a final glide have been shown above (2.2.) and are summarized again in the table below.

²⁷ The latter based on its Arabic parallel, it seems unclear whether one is synchronically dealing with a root I-ʔ or with a lexicalized definite article.

²⁸ With the latter being attested at times as [u] outside of ML.

Table 5.: Cv:CəC III-Glide in ML.

	CēCəC	CāCəC	CōCəC	CīCəC
III-w	CēCəw (2)	CāCəw (1)	CōCəw (3)	N/A
III-y	CēCi (10)	CāCi (2)	CōCi (22)	CīCi (1)

Unlike the case for (certain) pft. verbal forms, no class of forms which show levelling of the distinction between /w/ and /y/ can be readily identified, however, this might very well be due to the sporadic nature of the data involved.²⁹ In some cases, Johnstone identified forms showing final [i] in ML as being III-w, however, the synchronic identification of said forms as actually III-w cannot be ascertained in the author's opinion.³⁰ Given the fact that other forms do show a distinction between /w/ and /y/, no immediate reason appears to posit any distinction with regard to the behavior of R3 in cases where ML indicates final [i] for supposedly III-w nominal forms.³¹

²⁹ Compare *gīlu/mīri* vs. *kayli/bayk'i* in the verbal domain, see Rubin (2018, 226-229)

³⁰ For example √*hłw* – *həlū* (Ga), *hōli* (VN), *hálhi* (T1), *š(ə)həlū*

³¹ Quite possibly unlike the pattern CayCəC, see Dufour 2017 and chapter 3.

2.4) Alternations with Suffixes

When a possessive suffix is added to a surface form of the type Cv:CəC, elision of the unstressed vowel between R2 and R3 is expected, leading to the surfacing of the stressed vowel as short. Accordingly, patterns CōCəC and CēCəC usually show the surface form (a)CáCC when a possessive suffix is added:³²

Table 6.: Cv:CəC + Poss. Suffix in ML and Rubin 2018

Form	+ Suffix	+ Suffix (variation)	Source
<i>bōkər</i>	<i>abákri</i>		ML
<i>bōðəl</i>	<i>b-abáðəli</i>		ML
<i>hōkəm</i>	<i>hakm-</i>		ML
<i>mōtən</i>	<i>matn-</i>		ML
<i>nōfəl</i>	<i>anáfli</i>		ML
<i>nōfəl</i>	<i>anáfləh</i>		ML
<i>nōgər</i>	<i>anágri</i>		ML
<i>lōhəd</i>	<i>láhd-</i>		ML
<i>t'ōfəɤ</i>	<i>t'áfɤ-</i>		ML
<i>tōmər</i>	<i>támərɥəm</i>		Rubin 2018, 56
<i>wōdi</i>	<i>həwádihəm</i>		ML
<i>wōrəm</i>	<i>harməh</i>		Rubin 2018, 434
<i>bēkər</i>	<i>ebekri</i>		ML
<i>fēləl</i>	<i>fałli</i>		ML
<i>fēləl</i>	<i>fałlak</i>		ML
<i>gēbər</i>	<i>agábrəs</i>		ML
<i>kēhəl</i>	<i>kałl-</i>		ML
<i>mēlək</i>	<i>amálkək</i>	<i>amɛ'lkək</i>	ML
<i>sēkən</i>	<i>sakn-</i>	<i>sekəni,</i> <i>sekənək,</i> <i>sekənəh,</i> <i>sekənəs</i> <i>sekənhəm, sekənsən</i>	ML + Rubin 2018
<i>lēhəz</i>	<i>lahzəš</i>		ML
<i>gēbər</i>	<i>agábrəs</i>		ML
<i>wēzən</i>	<i>awáznəh</i>		ML
<i>rēkəw</i>	<i>arákwi</i>		ML
<i>nēχəl</i>	<i>naχl-</i>		ML
<i>s'āwər</i>	<i>s'awr-</i>		ML
<i>t'āfəl</i>	<i>t'afł-</i>		ML

³² As also attested in previous sources, for instance Johnstone (1987, xv-xvi); Rubin (2018, 56-57), etc.

As seen from the examples above, items which show a sonorant as R3 sometimes show a surface vowel between R2 and R3, i.e. (b-) *abáðali*, *χátam-*, etc., however this vowel does not affect the overall distribution of consonants and vowels in the pattern and appears as a simple phonetic surface phenomenon. Forms of the type CēCəC sometimes show the variant form (v)CəCC when a suffix is added in ML. Rubin (2018, 38) implicitly suggested that the surface quality [ɛ] instead of the expected [a] might be connected to the underlying vowel quality /e/. Given the fact that this vowel quality does not seem attested with suffixed forms of the pattern CōCəC this might very well be the case, however, note that this feature does not appear to regularly apply even to forms CēCəC with a suffix and a sonorant as R3, i.e. *falli* (*fēləl*), *naχl-* (*nēχəl*), etc.³³

In two cases, the stressed vowel appears long when a suffix is added, i.e. *hāfli* (Johnstone 1987), *ak'ādəri* (Rubin 2018, 408–8) and *ak'ādərək* (Rubin 2018, 408–9).³⁴ In the case of *hāfli*, the corresponding noun without a suffix is *hōfal*, hence, the vowel quality [a] in this item already presupposes shortening.³⁵

Amongst the few attestations of surface forms CīCəC, no forms with possessive suffixes were attested.

2.5) Cv:CəC = /CvCC/

As has been shown above, forms of the type Cv:CəC showing a sonorant as R3 are frequently attested, and as will be seen, forms of the type CvCC showing a sonorant as R3 are barely attested, with the few attestations being almost exclusively rather transparent loans from Arabic. Thus, one may conclude with Dufour (2016, 2017), that underlying CvCC showing a sonorant as R3 would surface as Cv:CəC, although not all surface forms of the type Cv:CəC (with and without a sonorant as R3) are necessarily underlying or paradigmatic CvCC.

2.6) CōCəC - Observation on Stress and Vowel Quality of Cv:CəC in the Light of Dufour (2016; 2022)

As has been remarked, not all surface patterns Cv:CəC can be traced back to underlying or paradigmatic CvCC – consonants other than sonorants are attested as R3, and some items with a sonorant as R3 appear to take a surface pattern similar to Cv:CəC in other Semitic languages, most notably Arabic. In this case the question arises, why stress appears to be in penultimate, rather than ultimate position. As elaborated upon by Dufour (2016, 2022), one would expect (at least in inherited items) stress to fall on the right-most non-word final historical *a, with metaphonic processes from the following vowel influencing the vowel quality of the outcome of those stressed non-final vowels *a. Applying this scenario to attestations for noun patterns Cv:CəC (without a sonorant as R3), would hence imply that (1) there must be an underlying vowel between R2 and R3, (2) this vowel must be the outcome of a vowel that is not historical

³³ Also, potential variations of [ɛ] and [a] might be attested, i.e. *sakn-* .

³⁴ Note, however, *ak'ādri* (Morris 1981, 98) and both *abákri* (Morris 1981, 100) and *abekri* (Morris 1981, 96)

³⁵ Note the expected *hāfli* in Morris (1981, 102).

/a/ (or /ā/), (3) the vowel quality of the stressed vowel between R1 and R2 depends on the historical vowel quality of the vowel between R2 and R3.

This situation is however, made problematic by the fact that all vowel qualities – except for /u/ - are attested for surface forms Cv:CəC in the stressed vowel position. Following Dufour, one would expect a significant representation of CīCəC, (based off the PS pattern *CaCiC). By contrast, the most prominently attested pattern CōCəC, with [o] being the standard realization of historical /a/ unaffected by metaphony (Dufour 2022, 90), flagrantly violates the situation described above. Similarly, the second most attested pattern CēCəC, is also hard to interpret under the lens of the situation described by Dufour for the verbal system. Although the intricacies of historical MSAL phonology are not of immediate interest here, and it certainly cannot be ruled out that a more refined understanding of historical developments might explain some of the cases outlined above, in the following sub-chapters it will be argued that most surface forms Cv:CəC are indeed not the outcomes of inherited forms *CaCvC, but rather the outcomes of different, more particular processes.

As will be elaborated upon (chapter 15.), most m.sg. forms of the pattern CōCəC which can take a corresponding fem.sg. form (i.e. mainly adjectives) do not show the shift of stress to the fem.sg. suffix. Stress remains stable in these forms, with the outcome being CáCCət. Broadly speaking, stable stress in fem.sg. forms derived from m.sg. forms is a feature typical of forms with an underlying consonantal segment which is not part of the root. This phenomenon can be observed in other forms, most prominently in the case of the frequent adjective pattern CəCayC (fem.sg. CəCáyCət). Another peculiarity of these forms, lies in the aforementioned fact that apophony cannot be conceptualized in forms with a stressed vowel /o/. Hence, if one was dealing with a historical forms CāCiC (loaned from Arabic or inherited), one would assume that the outcome would show the metaphonic process íCə < *áCi, and hence display the surface pattern CīCəC.³⁶ If one supposes an underlying consonantal segment between the stressed vowel and R2, this would explain the lack of metaphony (despite the existence of an underlying vowel between R2 and R3), since a sequence of two underlying consonants would block the application of the metaphonic process (which appears to be not just active in PMSA, see chapter 17.), as well as the lack of stress shift in the case of corresponding fem.sg. forms.

Hence, a sizeable number of forms CōCəC behave as if they showed an underlying consonantal segment after the stressed vowel, i.e. underlying /CóCCəC/, presumably /CoʔCəC/. An infix in said position is also attested as a glide /w/ or /y/ (see chapter 3.). This hypothesis will be further discussed in the chapter on fem.sg. forms (15.5).

³⁶ If one assumes that the loss of historical length was not to have any impact on metaphony in this case.

However, not all forms CōCəC can be understood as either (1) the outcome of paradigmatic CoCC, (2) CōCəC with an underlying consonantal segment, typical of the adaption of Arabic long vowels. This seems clear on the basis of the fact, that forms are encountered which do show a stress shift between m.sg. and fem.sg., i.e. *hōwər/həwrūt*, *ʔōfər/ʔāfərūt*, *nōhər/nəhrūt*, etc. Apriorically speaking, at least some of these forms might well be understood as paradigmatic CoCC (i.e. *nōhər/nəhrūt*, possibly *ʔōfər/ʔāfərūt*), however, at least in the case of *hōwər* this seems problematic, due to the aforementioned fact, that the vowel-spread of sonorants to their left does not seem to apply when the preceding consonant is a glide. Hence, *hōwər* can neither be understood as paradigmatic CoCC, nor as part of the group of surface forms CōCəC which show an underlying non-root consonantal segment after the stressed vowel, since the corresponding fem.sg. form *həwrūt* does show stress shift to the suffix. In the case of *nōhər*, one might very well suppose CoCC on a comparative basis,³⁷ and in the case of *ʔōfər*, both solutions seem apriorically feasible.

Hence, three distinct underlying types of surface CōCəC seem to be attested: (1) paradigmatic CoCC, showing a sonorant as R3; (2) /CóCCvC/ (/CóʔCəC/); (3) other /CóCəC/. However, a quantitative distinction of the three types is difficult to ascertain. Regarding the first group, possible attestations can only be defined when considering comparative evidence, which is not possible for all examples. Regarding /CóʔCvC/, this seems to be the regular reflex of Arabisms of the type CāCiC, and appears attested for all forms where stress shift in corresponding f.sg. forms is not encountered. Regarding /CóCəC/, this seems ascertainable where (2) does not apply and where either no sonorant is attested as R3, or where a sonorant is attested as R3 and a glide as R2 (i.e. *hōwər*, °*hawr* to be expected if this item was /CóCC/).

2.7) CēCəC

As mentioned, surface patterns of the type CēCəC show a particularly large number of forms with sonorants (including glides), /ʔ/ or /ʕ/ as R3, 68 out of 85 attestations show a sonorant as R3. Amongst these, a number of forms can be understood as underlying CvCC, namely those which appear to be loans from Arabic (Ar. CaCC), for example *fēgər*, *fēhəm*, *mēs'ər*, *sēt'al*, *wēzən*, etc. However, not all surface forms CēCəC can be understood as underlying /CeCC/, as witnessed by the 17 items which do not show a sonorant or glide as R3. Amongst these forms, corresponding fem.sg. forms show stress shift to the suffix, indicating the simple vocalic nature of the stressed surface vowel, i.e. *ʔālər/ʔālrēt*, *ʔāgəz/ʔāgzēt*, *nēxəl/nəxlīt*. The only two surface forms CēCəC which do not appear to show stress shift are *sēhər/səhrət* and *sēhəl/səhlət*. In the case of *sēhər/səhrət*, it appears that this item is underlying /Có(ʔ)CəC/, due to the Arabic cognate *sāhir*. By contrast, *sēhəl/səhlət* is the only form which appears genuinely problematic in this regard.³⁸

³⁷ See Kogan & Militarev 2005.

³⁸ The form given in ML has been checked and confirmed during the author's fieldwork.

2.8) CīCəC (+ CūCəC)

Attestations of the surface pattern CīCəC are quite rare, with a number of attestations of CīCəC in WM (Jahn 1902) being the reflexes of the VN pattern CayCəC in EM. Amongst the few examples of CīCəC in EM, it is notable that not a single item shows a sonorant as R3, underlining the ephemeral nature of the surface pattern CəCC (see 2.7).³⁹ In at least one case (*sīyəd*), the vocalism of the first syllable appears to be the outcome of the metaphonic process $íCə < *áCí$, since one is dealing with a loan from Arabic (*sayyid*), and it seems possible that the same explanation could be adduced for the item *kīrəl* (PS **karil*, however Ar. *karš – kariš*; also Mh. *kērł*).⁴⁰ Almost no attestations of the pattern CūCəC exist in EM,⁴¹ the few attestations of surface CūCəC in WM can most likely be explained as containing an underlying /w/, and hence being cognate to CawCəC in EM (i.e. *wūrəχ* (sg. *warχ*) Jahn 1902 - *wáwrəχ* Watson et al. 2020). The pl. is however also attested as *wōrəχ* in ML and in the texts.

2.9) Biradicals

No attestations of the type Cv:CəC of a biradical root are to be found, presumably the outcome of any potential underlying Cv:CəC would be CvCC (hence showing surface merger with underlying CvCC). This phenomenon is attested more broadly in Mh., and hence corresponds to expectations.

³⁹ The item *hīla* shows /ʕ/ as R3, however, as shown by Dufour (2017), the identification of CīCəC as a (rare) plural pattern (rather than a variant of underlying CiCC) can be established on comparative grounds vis-a-vis J/S.

⁴⁰ According to the author's informants, *kīrəl* and *kērł* are not simply variants, but rather distinguish different stomach-related regions ("generic" belly vs. the outer parts and fat of the belly).

⁴¹ The item *rūka*, attested as the pl. of *rəkāt* in ML is III-ʕ, and hence presumably pertains to the pl. pattern CəCūC.

2.10) Conclusion on Cv:CəC

The following table summarizes the potential underlying forms of surface Cv:CəC.

Table 7.: Underlying forms of Cv:CəC in ML

Surface V	Regular	Underlying /v/	Underly ing /vC/	R1		R2	R3				
				+[[low.]]	ʕ	ʕ	ʔ	ʕ	[+son.]	w	y
[e]	CəCəC	/CəCəC/		CəCəC /C _{Low} əCəC/	ʔəCəC /ʔəCəC/	Cəʕ ⁴² /Cəʕəʔ/	CəCə (?) /CəCəʔ/ ?	CəCə /CəCəʕ/	CəCəS /CəCəS/	CəCəw /CəCəw/	CəCi /CəCi/
[a]	CāCəC	/C _{Low} əCəC/						CāCə /C _{Low} əCəʕ/	CāCəS /C _{Low} əCəS/	CāCəw /C _{Low} əCəw/	CāCi /C _{Low} əCi/
[o]	CōCəC	/CōCəC/	/CōʔCəC/	Regular			CōCə /CōʔCəʔ/	CōCə /CōʔCəʕ/	CōCəS /CōʔCəS/	CōCəw /CōʔCəw/	CōCi /CōʔCi/
[i]	CiCəC	/CiCəC/									CiCi /CiCi/

It has been seen in this chapter, that items of the surface form Cv:CəC can be reflexes of paradigmatic CvCC showing a sonorant as R3. Other attestations of surface Cv:CəC, seem to show an underlying /ʔ/ in the stressed vowel, this pertains to a number of items of the type CōCəC. Finally, a number of forms exist which cannot be subsumed under the latter category, and where the presence of a vowel between R2 and R3 cannot be understood as the result of the spread of sonorants of a vowel to their left. An exact quantification of attestations of these three categories of surface forms Cv:CəC seems impossible, although examples for the three types have been mentioned throughout this chapter. Instances of forms of the type Cv:CəC showing IG-consonants as R2 and R3 are not attested, paradigmatic /CʕCəC/ showing IG-consonants as R2 and R3 would presumably be represented as CvCC.

Instances of o/e alternation when a stressed vowel is followed by a guttural appears to occur in the example of *səħar*, where this item – which ought to be understood as CōCəC on comparative grounds (cf. Ar. *sāħir*, and the adaption of Ar. CāCiC as CōCəC, see chapter 17.) – shows /e/ rather than /o/ as its stressed vowel, likely due to the following /ħ/.

⁴² The only example, *rəħi*, pertaining to a root III-ʕ, presumably responsible for the surfacing of /ʕ/ as [ʕ].

3) CayCəC & CawCəC

3.1) Introduction & Previous Literature

Amongst the patterns CayCəC and CawCəC, CayCəC is the more frequently attested pattern, mostly for both Ga- and Gb-stem VNs. In WM, this VN pattern is reflected as CīCəC, although attestations of G-stem VNs CayCəC which do not show a lowering R1 are also to be found in the data in Jahn (1902). In addition, CayCəC is also attested for non-VN m.sg. nouns, i.e. *k'ayl'ər*, *ʔayri*, *haytəm*, etc. and a few adjectives, i.e. *χayləf*, *s'ayləh*, *θayri*, etc. No attestations of pluralic CayCəC are to be found. Attestations of CawCəC are much rarer, most of the attestations in ML are pluralic or collective nouns, i.e. *rawk'a*, *kawməz*, *k'awhəl*, *(ə)rawgəz*, *həgawməd*, with *θ'awma* and (the English loan) *mawtər* being the only sg. forms attested. A number of surface forms CayCəC and CawCəC which show a lowering consonant as R1 might be considered variants of CīCəC – or less likely CūCəC – however, not all attestations of CayCəC and CawCəC can be considered CīCəC/CūCəC.

Previous discussions of CayCəC and CawCəC are few and sporadic. In Bittner (1909), CayCəC is largely treated within the context of CīCəC due to the aforementioned peculiarities of WM. Morris (1981, 112) considers non-VN CayCəC to be a variant of CīCəC and does not discuss non-VN CayCəC in EM in any other fashion. Regarding CawCəC, Morris only quotes the example *k'awhəl* (Morris 1981, 113). By contrast, Dufour (2016, 371-372) implies that CayCəC/CawCəC and their purported monophthong counterparts are distinct patterns, beyond the case of VN CayCəC.

3.2) Overview of Attestations

Surface attestations of CayCəC and CawCəC and various surface variations are given in the table below.

Table 8.: Attestations of CayCəC and CawCəC in ML

Stressed V	Regular	R1		R3			Total
		[+low.] ≠ ʔ	ʔ	w/y	ʕ	ʔ	
[a] (ay)	CayCəC (19)	CayCəC (42)	ʔayCəC/ ʔāyCəC (13)	CayCi (19)	CayCa(?) (6)	CayCa? (1)	87
[a] (aw)	CawCəC (3)	CawCəC (2)			CawCa (2)		6

In analogy to patterns Cv:CəC, an overview of R2 and R3 for patterns CayCəC and CawCəC is given in the tables below.

Table 9.1.: 2ə3# in CayCəC

C2		C3												IG					Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.					Sonorants						?	
		Lowering C (Eject.)						Lowering C (Gutt.)						IG (non-Lowering)																	
		θ'	s'	š'	t'	k'	l'	ʕ	ʁ	h	χ	f	θ	s	š	t	k	l	h	b	d	ð	z	g	w	y	r	l	m	n	?
Lowering C (Eject.)	θ'																														
	s'																			x											
	š'																		x												
	t'																											x			
	k'	x																													
	l'										x																x				
Lowering C (Gutt.)	ʕ																														
	ʁ																														
IG	h				x							x																			
	χ	x																													
IG (non-Lowering)	f	x																									x				
	θ																														x
	s																			x	x										x
	š																														
	t									x	x																	x			x
	k									x																					
	l									x																					x
h											x																				
Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.	b				x			x	x																	x	x	x	x		
	d											x																	x		
	ð																														
	z																														
	g																														x
Sonorants	w																														
	y																														
	r					x																									
	l										x		x		x																
	m																														
	n																														
?	?																														

⁴³ √rθv in ML

⁴⁴ √lsw in ML

⁴⁵ √θbw in ML

⁴⁶ √ʁzw in ML

⁴⁷ √rgw in ML

⁴⁸ t'ayga? (√l'g? according to ML; a plant name – not “cave”)

⁴⁹ kayli, χayli; III-w

Table 9.2.: 2ə3# in CawCəC

C2 \ C3		Lowering C (Eject.)								Lowering C (Gutt.)				IG							Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.					Sonorants						?	
		Lowering C (Eject.)								Lowering C (Gutt.)				IG (non-Lowering)							Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.					Sonorants						?	
		θ'	s'	š'	t'	k'	ʔ'	ʕ	ɸ	h	χ	f	θ	s	š	t	k	l	h	b	d	ð	z	g	w	y	r	l	m	n	?		
Lowering C (Eject.)	θ'																																
	s'																																
	š'																																
	t'																																
	k'								x																								
	ʔ'																																
Lowering C (Gutt.)	ʕ																																
	ɸ																																
	h																																
	χ																																
IG (non-Lowering)	f																																
	θ																																
	s																																
	š																																
	t																																
	k																																
	l																																
	h																																
Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.	b																																
	d																																
	ð																																
	z																																
	g																							x									
Sonorants	w																																
	y																																
	r																																
	l																																
	m																																
	n																								x								
?																																	

Table 10.: 2ə3# in CayCəC + CawCəC

C2 \ C3		IG														Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.					Sonorants						?					
		Lowering C (Eject.)						Lowering C (Gutt.)				IG (non-Lowering)				b	d	ð	z	g	w	y	r	l	m	n	?					
		θ'	s'	š'	t'	k'	l'	ç	ʁ	h	χ	f	θ	s	š													t	k	l	h	
Lowering C (Eject.)	θ'																															
	s'																					x										
	š'																				x											
	t'																											x				
	k'	x						x																								
	l'											x																	x			
Lowering C (Gutt.)	ç																															
	ʁ																															
IG	h				x							x																				
	χ		x																													
IG (non-Lowering)	f	x																														
	θ																															
	s																					x	x									
	š																															
	t										x	x																				
	k										x																					
	l										x																					
h												x																				
Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.	b				x			x	x																							
	d											x																				
	ð																															
	z																															
	g																															
Sonorants	w																															
	y																															
	r					x																										
	l																															
	m																															
	n																															
?	?																															

⁵⁰ √rθv in ML

⁵¹ √lsw in ML

⁵² √θbw in ML

⁵³ √ʁzw in ML

⁵⁴ √rgw in ML

⁵⁵ t'ayga? (√l'g? according to ML; a plant name – not “cave”)

⁵⁶ kayli, çayli; III-w

3.3) Application of Phonological Effects

A – IG: Unlike the case for items of the type Cv:CəC, IG consonants are also attested as R2 and R3 for some examples of the pattern CayCəC, i.e., *bayhəθ*, *dayhəf*, *faytəh*, *mayhəl*, *raykət* (as already noted by Dufour 2016, 371 fn. 309). All of these examples are G-stem VNs and are attested in ML. Some of these items have been confirmed in the author’s fieldwork together with other VNs of the type CayCəC showing IG-consonants as R2 and R3 (*layhəs*, *naykəf*, *bayhəθ*, *aykəs*, *faytəh*).⁵⁷ Note, that this phenomenon corresponds to what one would expect concerning the blocking of the IG effect when the first of a sequence of IG-consonants is preceded by a consonant (see Bendjaballah & Ségéral 2014; 2022). By contrast, Jahn (1902) only shows the item *lišət*, while at the same time showing a number of examples of the pattern CəCC for G-stem VNs / R2+R3 = IG, implying that in WM the IG effect does apply in this position (see chapter 15.4.). Amongst the few attestations of surface forms CawCəC no configuration of two IG consonants is attested.

B – Diphthongization + Vowel Lowering: Some attestations of surface CayCəC (and less likely CawCəC) might represent CīCəC (or – hypothetically – CūCəC respectively), when a lowering consonant is attested as R1 in a given form. Whereas the diphthong in the VN pattern CayCəC does not seem to be induced by a lowering consonant to its left, for non-VN patterns it seems possible to imagine that some examples represent CīCəC (i.e., *k’ayl’ər*; *l’ayga*, etc.), though this cannot be said for all examples of non-VN CayCəC, i.e. *laysəb* (see also Dufour 2017). For CawCəC, two examples of a lowering consonant as R1 are attested, *k’awhəl* and *θ’awma*, however, since CūCəC is virtually unattested as a nominal pattern (see chapter 3.), it seems unlikely that one is dealing with a conditioned variant of CūCəC (with Dufour 2016, 372).

C - Fronted Stress / III-Gutt.: Whereas by and large no peculiarities are to be seen and guttural consonants as R3 are attested (*s’aybəχ*, *s’ayrəχ*, *s’ayləh*, *laytəχ*, etc.), in the data collected by the author, some of the forms with a guttural R2 also show variants of the pattern CəCayC. Since this feature only concerns VNs of the type CayCəC this matter is discussed in chapter 15.4.

D – Vowel Epenthesis of Sonorants (Liquids): Sonorants as R3 are well attested both for VN CayCəC (*haygər*; *hayləm*, *rayhəl*, etc.) and non-VN CayCəC (*haytəm*, *k’ayl’ər*, *layməl*), as well as for CawCəC (*mawtər*; *k’awhəl*). While it seems apriorically possible for non-VN attestations of CayCəC/CawCəC, to represent paradigmatic CiCC/CuCC when a lowering consonant is present as R1 in addition to the sonorant as R3 (i.e. *k’ayl’ər*; *l’ayga*, *k’awhəl* etc.), it seems problematic to reconcile this possibility with the highly marginal status of a surface pattern CəCC (and hence underlying CiCC/CuCC, see chapter 4.).

⁵⁷ However, most examples quoted also show variants CaCC in the author’s data, which seems however difficult to accommodate with the notion of these forms CaCC being the result of the application of the IG effect between R2 and R3 (the expected outcome would be CəCC, and in the cases quoted one cannot suppose R1 coloring the stressed vowel in [a] phonetically). The item *layhəs* shows the variant *lhays* in the author’s data.

E – Vowel Epenthesis of Glott.: N/A

F – Vocalization of /l/: N/A

G – Behavior of /r/: N/A

H – /ʕ/: When /ʕ/ is attested as R1, CayCəC surfaces as ʔayCəC or ʔāyCəC, for example ʔaybəl, ʔaygəb, ʔayri, ʔāyfəd.⁵⁸ In ML three items are attested as ʔāyCəC (ʔāydəl, ʔāyfəd, ʔāygən), with the rest being attested as ʔayCəC. Most attestations of ʔayCəC/ʔāyCəC are VNs, with ʔayri being the only clear exception. No clear attestations of what appears to correspond to CawCəC with /ʕ/ as R1 are attested.

With /ʕ/ in medial position, no surface forms immediately corresponding to what appears to be a surface pattern CayCəC is attested.

As R3, the outcome of /ʕ/ is the expected CayCa(?) / CawCa, i.e. nayka, layba, t'ayga(?), rawk'a, etc.

I – /ʔ/: As R1 and R2 no attestations of /ʔ/ are to be found. Roots which – according to ML – have /ʔ/ as R3 appear to surface as CayCaʔ, i.e. the single example t'aygaʔ.⁵⁹

J – Glides: Patterns CayCəC / CawCəC with glides in R1 position are conspicuously missing in ML, they are however attested in other sources, where they do not appear to show any particularities i.e. wīhəd, wīhəm, etc. (Jahn 1902), wawrəχ (Watson et al. 2020), waykəb, ways'al (Own Data). As R2, no particularities are detected for II-w in CayCəC, i.e. haywəl, laywəl; II-y are however not attested.

As R3, CayCi appears to be the regular reflex for roots which are given in ML as both III-y and III-w – although these identifications remain problematic. Notably, final surface /əw/ does not seem attested amongst the examples given in ML (recognized by Dufour 2017, 212), and in Jahn's data (Jahn 1902), only one example of a VN of the type CayCəC / CīCəC which shows final /u/ is attested, i.e. bīrū. Note that although Dufour (2017, 212) ascertains with regard to this problem that historically speaking some such items might have had historically final /w/, this cannot be ascertained for the synchronic perspective.

3.4) Alternations with Suffixes

In Mehri VNs do not take possessive suffixes, hence the majority of forms cannot be expected to be attested in suffixed forms apriorically. As for the rest of forms which are not VNs, based on the semantics of most of these, no forms with suffixes are to be expected either. The few remaining forms are not attested with suffixes in previous sources.

⁵⁸ The latter item is attested with /ʕ/ surfacing as < اعيفد > in Watson et al. 2020a, 6.

⁵⁹ “plant which may be eaten by people but it is a little bitter” – the root √t'gʕ (t'ayga) is given for “cave”.

3.5) CayCəC as a VN pattern

As mentioned, the majority of attestations for CayCəC are VNs of G-stem verbs, both Ga- and Gb-stem. Amongst noteworthy features, one finds the presence of a surface diphthong regardless of the nature of R1, as well as the lack of the application of the IG effect between R2 and R3 (where one observes a short unstressed /ə/), at least in the data in ML, and potentially restrictions on the occurrence of gutturals as R2 – with the latter two points being unevenly distributed across sources. Given these peculiarities, one could ask whether these distinctions of VN CayCəC are the result of an underlying structure distinct from the underlying structure of non-VN CayCəC, however this question remains otherwise not confirmable within the framework of this thesis.

3.6) Non-VN attestations of CayCəC

The majority of non-VN attestations of CayCəC show a lowering consonant as R1, e.g. *t'ayga*, *t'aygaʔ*, *k'ayt'ər*, *s'aybəχ*, *s'ayrəb*, *k'ayta*, *kaɣfəl*, *ħaywəl*, *s'ayləħ*, *χayləf*, *χayli*. Apriorically speaking any of these items could be either CīCəC or CayCəC. Items of the type CayCəC which are not VNs and do not show a lowering consonant as R1 are also attested, albeit less frequently, e.g. *baydi*, *ħaytəm*, *ħayməl*, *ħaysəb*, *ħayri*, *ħayt'əm*. Note, that amongst non-VN attestations of CayCəC no form is attested where R2 and R3 are IG consonants.

3.7) CawCəC

In contrast to CayCəC and CīCəC, almost none of the attestations of CawCəC show a lowering consonant as R1, with the exception of *k'awħəl* (coll.) and *θ'awma* (see above, table in chapter 3.2.). This, in connection with the general lack of attestations of a nominal pattern CūCəC (see chapter 2.), makes it unlikely that the diphthong in any surface forms CawCəC is a secondary phenomenon, i.e. diphthongized underlying /u/ by neighboring lowering consonants (with Dufour 2016, 372). As a singular pattern, only the items *θ'awma* and *mawtər* are to be found, the latter probably a loan from (Omani) Arabic and ultimately English (*motor*), which explains the presence of the underlying /w/ between R1 and R2 due to the /ū/ or /aw/ to be expected in the Arabic form. As for *θ'awma*, which is translated by Johnstone as “thirst”,⁶⁰ it appears that this is the only non-pluralic, non-loaned attestation of a pattern CawCəC. Note, that in Jahn (1902) this item appears as *t'ōma* (as a VN for the verbal root). Thus, one observes a similar phenomenon to that seen in other items corresponding to EM pl. CawCəC – WM CōCəC, i.e. *wawrəχ* - *wōrəχ* (sg. *warχ*). As a pl. pattern, it is rarely used for sg. items with a stressed fem.sg. suffix –ēt or –īt, or in one case for an item CaCC (*warχ* - *wawrəχ*).

⁶⁰ Note the final vowel transcribed as [a], which one would expect – from a comparative perspective – to be the reflex of historical *ʔ.

3.8) Biradicals

One example of a biradical root taking a surface pattern CayCəC was found in ML, i.e. *raybəb*, no attestations were found for CawCəC.⁶¹ This item is a G-stem VN, and might be the result of paradigmatic pressure of the triconsonantal pattern CayCəC extending to a biradical root. It is quite conceivable that a number of surface patterns CəCC – which show a significant overrepresentation in the case of biradicals – actually go back to underlying CayCəC, which would make sense in particular for those attestations of CəCC which are G-stem VNs, however this assumption cannot be confirmed empirically.

3.9) Conclusion on CayCəC/CawCəC

The following table summarizes the potential surface reflexes of underlying CayCəC/CawCəC.

Table 11.: Underlying forms of CayCəC and CawCəC in ML

Surface V	Regular	Underlying /v/	Underlying /vC/	R1		R3			
				ʕ	Lowering ≠ ʕ	ʔ	ʕ	w	y
[aj] (ay)	CayCəC	/C _{Low} .iCəC/	/C _v yCəC/	ʔayCəC /ʕ _v yCəC/ - /ʕiCəC/	CayCəC /C _v yCəC/ - /C _{Low} .iCəC/	CayCa /C _v yCəʕ/ - /C _{Low} .iCəʕ/ /C _v yCəʔ/ - /C _{Low} .iCəʔ/ (?)	CayCi /C _v yCəy/ (+ /C _v yCəw/?) /C _{Low} .iCəy/ (+ /C _{Low} .yCəw/ ?)		
[aj] (aw)	CawCəC		/C _v wCəC/		Regular	CawCa /C _v wCəʔ/ (?) - /C _v wCəʕ/			

It has been seen in this chapter, that the patterns CayCəC and CawCəC appear to show an underlying glide between R1 and R2, and surface forms of the type CayCəC presumably also contain a number of items underlyingly /CiCəC/. Regardless, where no lowering consonant is attested for R1, the underlying nature of the glide seems apparent not just by the fact that a stressed surface diphthong is attested between R1 and R2, but also by the fact that (at least in the EM data in ML), the IG-effect seems to be blocked between R2 and R3, implying a consonantal underlying glide to the left of R2 (cf. Bendjaballah & Ségéral 2022). Note, however, that the WM data from Jahn (1902) do seem to imply the application of the IG-effect (see chapter 15.4.). It remains unclear whether this is due to a distinction in terms of the application of the IG-effect or due to distinct underlying forms between the two varieties. The majority of items CayCəC are G-stem VNs, with other attestations being rarely attested as mostly sg. nouns or adjectives. Items CawCəC are even rarer, and do not appear to be the reflex of underlying /CúCəC/, since (nominal) surface forms CūCəC are unattested in EM.

⁶¹ An unstressed vowel flanked by two identical consonants would generally speaking not be expected, see Rubin 2018, 34-35.

4) CvCC

4.1) Introduction & Previous Literature

Patterns of the type CvCC include the prominent noun pattern CaCC and the much less frequently attested CəCC, hence representing the two apriorically possible vowel qualities of a stressed vowel in a (phonologically) closed syllable. As in other Semitic languages, patterns CvCC include a large number of simple noun forms, usually masc.sg., but also collective nouns and verbal nouns. Plural attestations of CvCC can be usually understood as collective nouns.

As with all nominal patterns, surface patterns CvCC, which on the first glance resemble the well attested surface patterns C{a,i,u}CC in other Semitic languages, have received relatively little attention in previous descriptions. In one of the first published accounts on the nominal morphology of Mehri, Bittner (1909, 13) considered PS *qatl, *qitl and *qutl to be represented in Mehri by 1a23. This process of merger would have started with the collapse of *qitl and *qutl to qetl, the vowel of which then might be realized as /a/ or /e/, “*je nach Beschaffenheit der konsonantischen Nachbarschaft*“ (Bittner 1909, 13). Bittner also noted, that said forms could be reflected by a form, which he transcribed as qátel (Bittner 1909, 14). This form, according to Bittner, would act as an intermediary for qātel, from which qōtel and qētel could be derived (Bittner 1909, 15). Under certain circumstances (not elaborated upon by Bittner), *qitl could also be represented by CayCəC (Bittner 1909, 17), with Bittner realizing that these forms mainly consist of infinitives. No elaborations upon the conditions under which an original monosyllabic basis is either preserved or transformed into a bisyllabic basis, are to be found in Bittner’s account. Hence Bittner’s remarks appear as prima-facie observations, at least partly from a diachronic background, without any attempt to clarify the question of the synchronic status of CvCC (or other surface patterns) in Mehri in a consequent manner.

Morris (1981, 93-97) considered surface patterns CvCC to be subsets of Cv:CəC, more specifically CaCC being a subset of CēCəC, CāCəC and CōCəC. Similarly, Johnstone (1987, xiii) briefly alluded to CēCəC being the regular reflex of original CaCC, noting that these forms might appear as surface CaCC, without elaborating on the circumstances under which this would occur. This interpretation has been accepted by Fox for original *CaCC patterns (Fox 2003, 138), although according to him, original *CiCC would usually become 1ay2ə3 (Fox 2003, 147), drawing upon Bittner’s aforementioned remark.

While no pertinent information on the question of underlying patterns and the relationship between CvCC and other surface forms can be found in the grammars by Rubin (2010, 2018)⁶² and Watson (2012), the question has been recently been picked up by Dufour (2017). Dufour’s study pertains to particularities of surface forms Cv:CəC in Jibbali (CVCvC) and Mehri. In the aforementioned paper,

⁶² Rubin (2018, 38 – fn. 18.) notes that “*Nouns of the pattern CēCəC are equivalent to the Hebrew segholate type and the Arabic pattern faʕl*”. It has been shown (see chapter 2.) that this seems to be the case for some attestations of CēCəC (namely a part of items Cv:CəC / III-Son.) but not for all.

Dufour shows, on the basis of his data sample, that sonorants in R3 appear to spread a vowel to their left, which subsequently results in the representation of paradigmatic CvCC forms as Cv:CəC, and vice versa, certain paradigmatic Cv:CəC forms as CvCC. With regard to the question whether underlying patterns CvCC exist, Dufour alludes to the fact that a sizeable number (90% of the examples in Dufour's sample) cannot be explained via the IG effect (Dufour 2017, 205), while forms with a sonorant as R3 are severely underrepresented (Dufour 2017, 206).

In this chapter, an overview of the attestations of patterns CvCC will be given under 4.2. After an examination of the application of various phonological effects to patterns CvCC (4.3.), forms with possessive suffixes will be examined under 4.4. In chapter 4.5. the underlying status of vowels in these patterns will be discussed, followed by an evaluation of the distinction of surface forms CaCC and CəCC (4.6.). Finally, after a discussion on attestations of CəCC for biradicals (4.7.), Morris' aforementioned proposals on the connection of CvCC with Cv:CəC will be evaluated under 4.8.

4.2) Overview of Attestations

Surface attestations of patterns CaCC, CəCC and various surface variations are summarized in the table below.

Table 12.: Attestations of CvCC in ML

Stressed V	Regular	R1	R2					R3	Total
		ʕ	l	ʕ	ʔ	w	y	ʔ	
[a]	CaCC (105)	ʔaCC/ʔāCC (2)	CēC (2)	N/A?	CōC (3)	Regular	Regular	CaCʔ (3)	(115)
[ə]	CəCC (22)			CāC (3)			CīC (5)		30

The structural effects, which will be discussed below, mainly concern the nature of R₂ and R₃. Charts of the distributional spread of R₂ and R₃ are given in the tables below for the surface forms CaCC and CəCC.

Table 13.: 23# in CvCC (CaCC + CəCC)

C2		C3		Lowering C													IG					Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.					Sonorants						?								
				Lowering C (Eject.)						Lowering C (Gutt.)				Lowering C (Labial)			IG (non-Lowering)			b	d	ð	z	g	w	y	r	l	m	n	?										
				θ'	s'	s̄'	t'	k'	l'	ç	ʁ	ħ	χ	f	θ	s	š	t	k	l	h	b	d	ð	z	g	w	y	r	l	m	n	?								
Lowering C (Eject.)	θ'																																								
	s'					x					x									x																					
	š'																																								
	t'									x	x	x																													
	k'						x			x	x	x																													
	l'									x																															
Lowering C (Gutt.)	ç																																								
	ʁ																																								
	ħ				x							x	x																												
IG (non-Lowering)	χ		x		x																																				
	f								x				x																												
	θ																																								
	s				x					x		x																													
	š																																								
	t																																								
	k																																								
	l																																								
Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.	h					x							x																												
	b													x						x	x																				
	d					x																																			
	ð																																								
	z																																								
Sonorants	g													x																											
	w																																								
	y																																								
	r					x	x			x	x	x	x	x																											
	l										x																														
	m																																								
?	n				x	x																																			
	?																																								

Table 14.1.: 23# in CaCC

C2 \ C3		Lowering C										IG								Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.					Sonorants						?					
		Lowering C (Eject.)					Lowering C (Gutt.)					IG (non-Lowering)																			?					
		θ'	s'	š'	t'	k'	l'	ʕ	ʁ	h	χ	f	θ	s	š	t	k	l	h	b	d	ð	z	g	w	y	r	l	m	n	?					
Lowering C (Eject.)	θ'																																			
	s'					x					x									x																
	š'																																			
	t'									x	x	x																								
	k'						x			x	x				x																					
l'									x																											
Lowering C (Gutt.)	ʕ																																			
	ʁ																	x																		
IG	h				x							x	x																							
	χ		x		x																															
IG (non-Lowering)	f									x			x																							
	θ																																			
	s				x					x	x						x																			
	š																																			
	t											x																								
	k											x							x																	
	l																																			
	h					x													x																	
Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.	b																	x	x																	
	d					x												x																		
	ð																																			
	z																																			
	g																		x																	
Sonorants	w																																			
	y																																			
	r					x	x			x	x	x	x	x																						
	l																																			
	m																																			
	n					x	x																													
?	?																																			

Table 14.2.: 23# in CəCC

C2		C3												IG						Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.					Sonorants						?					
		Lowering C (Eject.)						Lowering C (Gutt.)						IG (non-Lowering)																						
		θ'	s'	š'	t'	k'	l'	ʕ	ʁ	h	χ	f	θ	s	š	t	k	l	h	b	d	ð	z	g	w	y	r	l	m	n	?					
Lowering C (Eject.)	θ'																																			
	s'																																			
	š'																																			
	t'																																			
	k'																																			
	l'																																			
Lowering C (Gutt.)	ʕ																																			
	ʁ																																			
	h																																			
	χ																																			
IG (non-Lowering)	f																																			
	θ																																			
	s																																			
	š																																			
	t																																			
	k																																			
	l																																			
	h																																			
Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.	b																																			
	d																																			
	ð																																			
	z																																			
	g																																			
Sonorants	w																																			
	y																																			
	r																																			
	l																																			
	m																																			
?	n																																			
	?																																			

4.3) Application of Phonological Effects

A – IG: A number of forms exist (15/115) where R2 and R3 are IG consonants, which is of relevance for the notion evoked by Dufour (2017), that patterns of the type Cv:CəC would surface as CvCC when R2 and R3 are IG consonants. These forms can correspond to CvCC or paradigmatic C'VCəC, since surface forms Cv:CəC / R2 + R3 = [+IG] are not attested (as previously mentioned, see chapter 2.).

B – Diphthongization + Vowel Lowering: N/A

C - Fronted Stress / III-Gutt.: N/A.

D – Vowel Epenthesis of Sonorants (Liquids): The question of the presence or lack of sonorants as R3 is of interest, since one would not expect to encounter surface forms CvCC / III-Son., see Dufour (2017). The forms *šabl*, *ʔas'l*, *χas'm*, *həbr* and *gəbn* appear to be transparent Arabisms on the basis of the cross-Semitic spread and semantics of the pertinent root. In the case of *χas'm* (EM Johnstone), Jahn lists an alternative form *χās'əm*. While the remaining forms have potential cross-Semitic cognates matching the formal and semantic aspect of the Mehri form, cognates from Arabic are known for almost all of the forms in question. In the case of *raħm*, and *θ'ahr* cognates from PS are known, however the forms attested in Mehri do not seem to be retentions but rather loans from Arabic⁶³ – which again strengthens the notion of the other items being Arabic loans as well. The only items standing out are *ħatm* (phlegm, sticky excrescence on trees - ML), the root of which seems attested in other Semitic languages, however, not with a prima-facie relatable meaning⁶⁴, and *χaθm*, which might show a semantic connection with attestations from Arabic.⁶⁵ Despite these two problematic forms, for the moment, it seems that surface forms CvCC with a sonorant as R3 are (non-integrated) Arabisms.

Note, that in the case of items II-glide, the aforementioned constraints do not seem to apply and sonorants are attested as R3 (see below).

E – Vowel Epenthesis of Glott.: An ejective consonant as R2 does not appear to regularly trigger (surface) vowel epenthesis, e.g. *fak'h*, *fak't*, *fat'χ*, *nas'f*, *ras'k*, *was'f*, however some apparent (?) counter-examples exist, i.e. *bāt'aħ* (also: *bat'h*). In such cases, the epenthetic vowel appears to be a simple surface phenomenon, without causing phonological vowel insertion between R2 and R3, which would result in the lengthening of the vowel between R1 and R2, as is the case with sonorants as R3.

⁶³ In the case of *raħm*, PS **raħim* would not result in Mehri *raħm*. For *χas'm* - as noted by Kogan (2015, 127), the fact that the Soqotri cognates seem to be clear Arabisms, already in and of itself facilitates the likelihood of the Mehri and Jibbali cognates being Arabisms as well.

⁶⁴ Compare with Arabic *ħašima* – “he was, or became, angry“, *ħašam* – “a man of special dependents ... who are angry on his account“, *ħišma* – “anger“ (Lane). Similar meanings are attested for verbal forms of this root in Mehri as well.

⁶⁵ Compare with Arabic (LA): *χaθama š-šayʔa: ʔarraḏahu* (χ. something means to show it) ... *wa-qīla: al-χaθamu bilzu l-ʔanfi kulluhu* (and it was said that χ. is the bulkiness of the whole nose) ... *wa-l-χuθma: qišarun fi ʔanfi l-θawr* (and χ. is the shortness of the nose of the bull) ... *wa-χayθamun wa-χayθamatun, wa-χuθāmatun, wa-ʔaχθamu, wa-χuθaym, kulluha ʔasmāʔ* (and χ. etc. are all nouns/names).

F - Vocalization of /l/: Vocalization of /l/ is attested when /l/ is present as R2 (except for biradicals). The surface outcome is, as to be expected, almost always CēC, e.g. *kēθ* (√klθ), *gēd* (√gld), *k'āb* (√k'lb), etc., unless R3 is a guttural consonant, e.g. *t'alh*, *s'alh*. The vocalization of /l/ in these positions underlines the lack of an underlying vowel between R2 and R3. In a few cases /l/ appears preserved on the surface with a non-guttural R3, i.e. *falg*, *kals*. These two items might be explained as non-integrated loans (*falg* < ar. *θalḡ*, *kals* < engl. *glass*). One item appears to show an unexpected vocalism in /aw/, namely *kawb*.

G – Behavior of /r/: In items CvCC which show /r/ as R2, particular phenomena pertaining to surface vocalism can be observed. Whereas in ML, items CvRC usually appear as CvRC, it has been previously noted, that vowel lengthening might occur in this position, and that /r/ can even disappear (Watson 2012, 38).⁶⁶ Whereas in the data collected by the author no example of a full dissimilation of /r/ akin to the dissimilation of /l/ could be found (with the possible exception of *k'ōn*, which appears to be a distinct case), items CvRC do show a similar behavior to that of CvLC, insofar as that the stressed vowel appears lengthened on the surface, and taking the surface vowel quality [ε], however clearly preserving /r/ on the surface, i.e. *k'ārd* (ML: *k'ard* – *k'ā(r)d*), *kēr* etc. Phonetically, in these cases no vowel is to be detected between R2 and R3, hence underlining the distinctness of these forms from Cv:RəC, e.g. *lērak*, etc. It seems likely that this is a purely phonetic surface process.

H - /ʕ/: Items CaCC which show initial /ʕ/ appear either as (?a)CC or (?ā)CC.

In medial position potential outcomes appear to be either CēC, e.g. *mēd*, *rēf*, *lēr*, etc.; CōC, e.g. *fōr*, *t'ōr*; *wōn* or CāC, e.g. *bāl*, *gād*⁶⁷, *s'ār*. Whereas the latter form corresponds to general expectations of the behavior of the sequence CəʕC, the initial two forms are somewhat unexpected outcomes. On the first glance, the distinction of surface vocalism in these forms could be thought as a reflex of the underlying nature of the vowels in question, i.e. /e/ resulting in CēC or /o/ resulting in CōC. However, this necessitates the question why this situation does not seem to apply to surface patterns CāC. The simplest response to this question might be that the vowel behind II-ʕ CāC is /ə/ and not /a/, hence representing an underlying /i/ or /u/. However, this would beg the question why this particularly rare pattern is so – relatively – prominently attested amongst the not particularly numerous attestations of II-ʕ CvCC, which is a question for which no immediate solution appears.⁶⁸ Note also, that in the case of attestations CvCC II-ʕ, sonorants are attested as R3, hence showing a similar patterning to CvCC II-w/y. The distinction in surface vocalism cannot, however, be tracked to the nature of the sonorant as R3, see in the examples given above *s'ār* – *fōr* – *lēr*. A comparison with cognates in J/S shows that items CōC / R2 = /ʕ/ are represented as CəCəC in J/S, hence indicating underlying CəCōC, strengthened by the fact that no

⁶⁶ Also implied in some items given in ML, such as *k'ard* – *k'ā(r)d*.

⁶⁷ Problematic Arabism(?): ML transcribes *jād*, pl. *həwād* [sic?]. *gād* is also attested as a collective noun from the same root (according to ML) as “curly hair”

⁶⁸ In other MSAL, the corresponding forms show surface /a/, e.g. J/S *báʕal*, *s'áʕar* (JL), making cognacy with the presumptive underlying vowel /i/ or /u/ ([ə]) of Mh. *bāl/s'ār* rather unlikely. It seems quite possible that one is dealing synchronically with genuine underlying CəCC in these cases – at least in the case of *bāl* and *s'ār* – with the reasons for this being perhaps of diachronic nature or tied to the general behavior of /ʕ/?

surface pattern CəʕōC or CəʔōC / II-ʕ is attested. Other items appear as CaʕC (or CáCvC / R3 = [+Son.]), with no apparent difference between those items given as CāC and CēC present in J/S. Given the small number of attestations it might hence very well be that the category CāC / R2 = /ʕ/ is a simple sub-class of CēC: of the three attestations one might be understood as CēC with vowel coloring due to the glottal effect of R1 (s'ār), and amongst the other two, at least in one case forms with /ε/ are also attested otherwise, for example when taking the possessive suffix 1.p.sg. *abēli*. Alternatively, one could, as mentioned above, understand surface CāC where R1 is not a lowering consonant as CəCC and not CaCC. While this solution would be the simplest and most straightforward explanation of these forms, it seems questionable why one would observe such distinct behavior of these two items, which are otherwise attested with what appear to be reflexes of /a/ (e.g. J/S, etc.). Hence, it appears on comparative grounds that CōC / R2 = /ʕ/ actually represents a reflex of underlying CəCōC rather than CaCC, whereas underlying CaCC / R2 = /ʕ/ surfaces as CēC. Surface CāC can either be a regular variant of CēC (s'ār) or, in the infrequent item *gād* and the frequent item *bāl*, a reflex of CəCC or an irregular reflex of CaCC.

Nouns of the surface pattern(s) CvCC which show /ʕ/ as R3 are quite rarely attested, and appear to surface as CaCʔ, e.g. *gamʔ*, *ǰarʔ*, *zarʔ*. If the data are correct, this would imply the lack of an underlying vowel between R2 and R3 in these forms, since one would expect an underlying sequence Cəʕ# to surface as Ca#.

I - /ʔ/: Since /ʔ/ is rather sparsely attested in the lexicon, attestations of CvCC with /ʔ/ as a radical are not particularly frequent. In initial position, the only two items I-ʔ, clearly showing a pattern ʔvCC are *ʔas'l* and *ʔans*, clearly rather recent Arabisms (note the lack of an intrusive vowel between R2 and R3 in the case of *ʔas'l* and the representation of /*s¹/ by /s/ in the case of *ʔans*). Apriorically speaking, one might assume that some items containing (at least etymologically) initial /ʔ/ could be found amongst forms of the type wvCC, since initial /ʔ/ can become /w/, however, amongst nouns of the type wvCC, most items would have to be interpreted as etymological I-w from a comparative perspective, with the single item where one could apriorically assume initial /ʔ/, due to the unclear etymology of the word, being *wakt* (humidity/heat of the night).

Potential /CvʔC/ appears to show two possible outcomes: CāC, e.g. *rāy*, *θ'ān*, *wār* and CōC, e.g. *fōl*, *fōs*, *lōn*, *rōh*.⁶⁹ With this being said, a number of the aforementioned examples appear to be – at least in part, rather recent – loans, e.g. *wār* (<engl. *wire*), *fōs* < ar. *fās*, *lōn* < ar. *šān*, and hence it seems – as of yet – unclear whether one can synchronically speak of II-ʔ patterns CvCC in these cases. The outcome of historical CvʔC seems to be CōC in any case (see Rubin 2018, 26),⁷⁰ however, here as well it seems

⁶⁹ The item *bayr*, listed as II-ʔ in ML is best to be considered II-y in a synchronic perspective (although diachronically II-ʔ), since no distinctive traits of this item versus other II-y forms can be found (compare the plural forms, which perfectly behave as II-y)

⁷⁰ According to Rubin (2018, 26), CōC is the historical outcome of CaʔC, however it remains to be shown whether in said examples underlying /ʔ/ synchronically exists.

certainly possible to synchronically assume underlying /ʔ/, but difficult to establish this question definitely.

No clear attestations of a pattern CvCʔ with /ʔ/ as R3 could be found, however, the item *mēl* (√mlʔ) might be a reflex of CvCC / R3 = /ʔ/?⁷¹ If so, this would indicate the complete loss of /ʔ/ in word-final, post-consonantal position, and also draw a distinction to items CvCʕ, which do surface with a final surface glottal stop (see above).

J – Glides: In word-initial position patterns of the shape CvCC with initial /w/ or /y/ do not show any particular behavior, and surface as wvCC, e.g. *warχ*, *warθ*, *wasʕ*, *wakt*, etc. Roots with initial /y/ are rarely attested in general, the only clear attestation of initial /y/ in a noun of a pattern CvCC being *yawm* (sun), more commonly attested with the definite article *ħəyūm*.

In medial position, these patterns show a surface diphthong, resulting from the combination *ʔw/ʔy*, where the glide is a root consonant, e.g. *gawf*, *lawr*, *kayb*, *tayh*, etc.⁷² An important point to be noted with regard to II-w/y forms, is that the restriction of sonorants as R3 does not seem to apply, as witnessed by the forms *dawr*, *gawl*, *kawn*, *kʼawl*, *kʼawm*, *lawn*, *nawl*, *nawr*, *sʼawm*, *lawr*, *tʼawr*, *θawr*, *χawr*, *bayr*, *ʕayl*, *nayl*, *rayl*, *tʼayn*, *χayr*, *zayr*. Attestations of surface reflexes with a monophthong instead of a diphthong are restricted to Western varieties of Mehri (e.g. *nūr* – *nawr*, *yūm* – *yawm*, etc.), whereas a certain number of forms given as II-w/y in ML actually (synchronically) represent biradicals of the pattern CiC, e.g. *dīd*, *dīt*. Other attestations of (etymological) II-w/y forms with a monophthong appear to be non-integrated Arabisms, e.g. *dīn*, *kīs*, *līχ*, *nīd*, *rīh*, *sīm*, *zīr*⁷³ or phonologically adapted loans from Arabic, showing a long /ā/ in their Arabic form e.g. *bōb*, *mōl*, *lōn*, etc.⁷⁴

As to be expected, in word-final position, no immediately obvious reflex of glides in the pattern CvCC is to be found.

4.4) Alternations with Suffixes

As to be expected, no major alternations of patterns CvCC are attested when combined with possessive suffixes, e.g.:

šabli (Rubin 2018, 470 - 22)

akʼardək (Rubin 2018, 462 - 51), *lawrək* (Rubin 2018, 508 - 11)

hamməh (Rubin 2018, 424 – 7)

⁷¹ Not least since this pattern appears to be distinct from the pattern CēCa / R3 = /ʔ/, the latter being an apparent form of the pattern CēCəC, see chapter 2.

⁷² On the apparently distinct patterning of the item *ʕayg* in the Dual, see chapter 15.3.

⁷³ Synchronically either CiC or CəyC

⁷⁴ Synchronically Co(?)C

χάυλəkəm (Rubin 2018, 448 - 2)⁷⁵

šáddəhəm (Rubin 2018, 512 - 9)

According to Rubin (2018, 56), II-w/y forms do not behave distinctly when a suffix is added, unless both R3 and the suffix consist of an IG consonant, in which case vowel shortening should be observed. The following examples are taken from Rubin (2018, 56).

abáyti *აკაყტი*

abátk *აკაყგək*

abát(ə)h *აკაყგəh*

Note, however, the examples *agawfk* and *as'ayhk* given by Watson & al-Mahri (2018, 16), who also imply that only for the item *bayt* shortening of the (surface) diphthong is attested when possessive suffixes containing IG-consonants are added (loc. cit., fn.16).

4.5) The Underlying Status of Vowels

The presence of an underlying vowel between R1 and R2 seems clear by the fact that a stressed surface vowel appears in CvCC. The vowel quality of surface CaCC can apriorically reflect both underlying /e/ and /o/. Due to the surfacing of forms Cv:CəC / III-Son., which would be expected to be CaCC on a comparative basis, as both CēCəC (*bēðər*, *nēvəl*, etc.) and CōCəC (*k'ōbər*, *nōhər*, etc.), it seems quite possible that both underlying vowel qualities are similarly present in CaCC, although this cannot be proven empirically for surface forms CaCC stricto sensu. As for CəCC, while one might apriorically assume the underlying vowel quality of the stressed vowel to be /i/ (or theoretically /u/), none of the examples allows for a clear empirical underpinning of this assumption, since most items CəCC are rather clear Arabisms or other, mostly marginal forms. As for the word-final CC# sequence, the very surface presence of said sequence and the short stressed vowel between R1 and R2 would already indicate the lack of an underlying vowel between the two aforementioned segments. Further evidence might be seen in the aforementioned II-l forms, where the vocalization of /l/ applies.

⁷⁵ In the case of this item, it is questionable whether one is dealing with CvCC or CvC synchronically.

4.6) Evaluating the Distinction of CaCC – CəCC

The total number of attestations of surface patterns CəCC is extremely low in comparison with the much more frequently attested CaCC – 115 vs. 30. The majority of items CəCC are biradicals (14/22). In addition, a number of the CəCC surface forms show variants with CaCC or other patterns, while other attestations show a sonorant as R3 (see above, 4.3.D), which on the basis of the results presented above, might allow one to already eliminate them from the set of pertinent forms. Also, the notion of the surface realization of CvCC as CaCC or CəCC being conditioned by the phonetic environment of the word (cf. Bittner 1909, 13; Morris 1981, 93ff.), is not entirely supported by the data, since parallels to the phonetic environment of CaCC forms do exist, as shown above ([*həbr*] not [***həbr*]).

This leaves one to wonder whether surface patterns CəCC (and, hence, underlying patterns /CiCC/ and /CuCC/) actually exist as productive nominal patterns. The CəCC forms in his dataset include only the forms *ʔəlm*, *gəbn*, *həbr*, *zənd*, *gəbh* and *səhm*.⁷⁶ One might also recall, that amongst the clear Arabisms in the group of CəCC surface forms, the Arabic prototypes show a surface form CiCC or CuCC in a few cases.⁷⁷ Finally, if CəCC was a more widespread noun pattern of the type CvCC, one would expect more surface forms CīC (CūC) of II-w/y roots to occur, the attestations of which cannot entirely be considered to be representations of CayC/CəwC, as well as more attestations of CīCəC / III-Son. However, one important caveat to the question of the status of the pattern CəCC concerns the status of biradicals (see below, 4.7). Also, amongst certain noun categories, most specifically VNs, attestations – albeit not particularly plentiful – of CəCC are to be found, which cannot be explained as Arabisms and (not always) as the result of CayCəC / R2 + R3 = [+IG]. It therefore appears that items CəCC represent an marginal, diachronically heterogeneous group of nouns.

4.7) Biradicals

Biradicals of the type CvCC show a not insignificant distinction from their triradical counterparts in terms of vocalism. Whereas, as mentioned above, in the case of triradicals, /ə/ is exceedingly rarely attested, and mostly restricted to (non-integrated) loans, biradicals display a much larger ratio of CəCC. Out of 47 attestations of biradical CvCC in ML, 33 show CaCC and 14 show CəCC, hence despite the preponderance of CaCC, CəCC is much more prominently presented than amongst triradicals. A number of these forms have been confirmed by the author's fieldwork, and the actual number of CəCC might be higher due to the phonetic effect of initial gutturals ([a]-coloring, see Rubin 2018, 46). Despite the latter notion, in ML a number of biradicals of the pattern CəCC show a guttural consonant as R1, and the same R1 in most attestations of biradical CəCC is also attested for biradical CaCC.⁷⁸ Another feature to be immediately noted is the high number of putative Arabic loans amongst biradicals CaCC. Both patterns

⁷⁶ In addition to the two forms II-ʕ *bāl* and *s'ār* and the preposition *bərk*, which has not been included in the corpus of this study.

⁷⁷ *gəbn*, *həbr*

⁷⁸ e.g. /ħ/ - *ħagg* vs. *ħərr*, /k/ - *kəff* vs. *kəbb*, /k'/ - *k'əll* vs. *k'əll*, /r/ - *raff* vs. *rək'k'*

are also attested as VN patterns of biradicals, underlining the morphological distinctness of CaCC and CəCC, at least in the case of items formed off biradicals. The reasons for this situation remain enigmatic. When considering the lack of patterns Cv:CəC formed off biradicals, one might consider the notion that a number of biradical surface forms CvCC actually represent paradigmatic Cv:CəC, with the sequence of two homorganic consonants separated by an unstressed vowel triggering vowel elision, hence resulting in a sequence CvCC, where the stressed vowel would naturally appear short. Nevertheless, this does little to alleviate the presumable overrepresentation of CəCC vs. CaCC, since amongst surface patterns Cv:CəC, CīCəC is relatively sparsely attested and CūCəC lacking altogether. In the case of verbal nouns, a number of items CəCC might actually represent CayCəC (particularly in WM), a very common VN pattern, but similarly sparsely attested outside of VNs.

4.8) Evaluating Morris' Proposal on CvCC and Cv:CəC

Morris (1981, 93-97), listed the following conditions under which Cv:CəC would be realized as CvCC:

- (a)-> R₂ = /w/ or /y/
- (b)-> R₂ = /l/ or /r/
- (c) -> R₁ = [+Gutt.] or [+Glott.]
- (d) -> R₂ = [+Gutt.]
- (e) -> R₃ = [+Gutt.]

Similarly, surface patterns CəCC⁷⁹ were also considered by Morris to be subsets of Cv:CəC, however, the only condition mentioned under which Cv:CəC would become CəCC, was described as having an ejective consonant as R₃ (Morris 1981, 105), for which Morris provides three examples, namely *fək'θ'*, *rəs'k'* and *s'ədk'*.⁸⁰

To evaluate Morris' hypothesis, we would expect no forms CvCC to occur in roots without guttural consonants, which do not have /l/ or /r/ as R₂ and no glottalized consonant as R₁. Eliminating the pertinent forms with regard to R₂ and R₃ leaves us with the following potential 34 combinations of R₂ and R₃: bd, bs, bɫ, bz, df, fs, gd, gs, gz, θm, kb, kf, kt, mb, md, mθ, ml', nb, nd, ng, ns, nš, nt', nz, sf, sk, st', s'd, s'f, s'l, s'm, tf, t'f. Of these, 14 combinations are exclusively attested with a guttural or ejective as R₁,⁸¹ while another 3 have attestations both with and without gutturals and ejectives.⁸² Thus, one is left with 17 combinations where Morris' predictions do not seem applicable,⁸³ together with the three

⁷⁹ CeCC in her transcription. It cannot be fully ruled out that her transcription actually represents 1ε23, although Morris did use a grapheme <e> to transcribe /ə/ by default (see Morris 1981, 60-61).

⁸⁰ For the data assembled in this study, the first example is attested as *fək'θ'* and *fək'ōθ'* in ML, the third as *s'ədk'* in ML, the second is (as of yet) unattested.

⁸¹ *χabz, hags, ĥagz, χaθm, ĥaɫm, ĥamd, ĥamθ, hand/hənd, ʔans, k'ant', hasf, k'as'd, ʔas'l, χas'm*

⁸² *ħabs – labs; ĥaml' – ramɫ'; hat'f – šat'f*

⁸³ *labd, kabɫ, nadf, nafs, nagd, rakb, nakf, wakt, kamb, ganb, lang, lanš, kanz, mask, wast', nas'f, katf*

aforementioned combinations where forms corresponding to and contradicting her predictions are attested.

Regarding those 20 combinations, where Morris' predictions do not seem to fit, at the first glance, there appears to be a number of Arabisms (and hence, if one subscribes to Morris' hypothesis, non-integrated Arabisms)⁸⁴, however, it seems doubtful whether all given counterexamples can be explained in such a way. More importantly, the parameters assumed by Morris are not argued for in any way by herself, and do not appear to be coherently connected to any more recent attempt at establishing classes of consonants based on their phonetic realization. Hence, why would ejective consonants only induce the reduction of the underlying Cv:CəC (CēCəC) in R₁, while gutturals would trigger this process regardless of position? Why would the glides and /l/ and /r/ appear to “delete“ a vowel to their right-hand side, also in positions where no cluster of IG consonants are encountered? Furthermore, Morris' prediction on the spread between CaCC and CəCC (CeCC in her transcription), does not just not hold up to the data collected, but also seems to operate on premises distinct from those used for CaCC outlined above: according to Morris CəCC-forms are the result of an ejective R₃ (Morris 1981, 105). Also, another result of her hypothesis would be the prediction, that amongst patterns Cv:CəC, no forms which show any of the conditions enumerated by Morris above should appear whatsoever – yet, surface forms CēCəC and CōCəC do exist, which show one or more conditions under which they should be reduced to CvCC, according to Morris' predictions. Finally, the matter of CāCəC-forms rests, which, despite Morris herself recognizing the status of CāCəC as variants of CēCəC due to the presence of a lowering consonant as R₁ (Morris 1981, 98), the very existence of said forms already contradicts Morris' predictions regarding the status of CaCC-forms. Therefore, for the moment it seems that Morris' model can be rejected.

⁸⁴ Definitely *nafs, nagd, lang, lanš, kanz, labs*

4.9) Conclusion on CvCC

The following table summarizes the potential surface reflexes of underlying CvCC.

Table 15.: Underlying forms of CaCC and CəCC in ML

Surface V	Regular	Underlying /v/ (1)	Underlying ing /v/ (2)	R1		R2			R3
				ξ	ξ	l	?	Glide	[+son.]
[a]	CaCC	/CéCC/	/CéCC/	ʔaCC/ʔaCC /ʔvCC/	CɛC / CaC (?)	CɛC /CɛC/ - /CɔC/	CəC /CəC/ - /CəC/ ?	Regular	CawS - CayS /CəwS/ - /CəwS/ - /CəyS/ - /CəyS/
[ə]	CəCC	/Cicc/ ?	/CúCC/ ?					CiC /CiyC/ - /CúyC/	(Arabisms)

It has been seen, that the surfacing of underlying CvCC largely follows in line with previously described phonological effects. The vowel-spread of sonorants to their left has been observed, leading – in combination with the lack of R2+R3 = [+IG] for items of the type Cv:CəC – to the conflagration of CvCC and C'vCəC, as previously described by Dufour (2016, 2017).

The surface vowel in almost all cases can be assumed to be [a], despite some diverging transcriptions in ML, although it remains to be seen whether this surface vowel is reflective of two distinct underlying vowel qualities /e/ and /o/. Evidence from items of the type Cv:CəC seems to indicate a distinction of /e/ and /o/ for forms III-Son.

Another implication which is to be dealt with separately concerns the distribution of the short stressed surface vowel qualities: whereas generally speaking, stressed [ə] can and does appear in Mh., it is, as has been shown, only quite marginally represented in triradical patterns CvCC, but quite frequently in biradical CəCC. The lexical spread of underlying vowels might be responsible for the case of triradicals, however, this does little to alleviate the situation for biradicals CəCC.

Forms showing glides as R2 seem to behave completely normally and surface as CawC or CayC (CvCC) for II-w and II-y respectively. However, two particularities have been noted: first, sonorants as R3 do not emit a vowel to their left, when the preceding consonant is a glide. Second, the diphthong appears shortened as stressed /ə/, when a possessive suffix (other than 1.p.sg./pl.) is added and R3 is an IG consonant – thus, the IG-effect applies to the underlying vowel of the suffix, and does not seem to be blocked by the presence of two underlying consonants preceding the suffix. It remains to be decided whether this is due to the nature of the glide in question, or whether this might be indicative of the need of further precisions of the rule concerning the blocking of the IG effect in such a position (cf. Bendjaballah & Ségéral 2014; 2022). In any case, it can be noted that with regard to said two phenomena,

the root glides in CvCC almost behave as if they were vowels, insofar as that the vowel spread of sonorants and the blocking of the IG effect does not apply.

Finally, a number of forms Cv:C remain, which need further clarification in order to determine their status as underlying CvCC or pertinence to another underlying pattern. This includes some of the aforementioned attestations of II-? and II-ς, as well as the two enigmatic items *kawb* and *k'ōn*, historically II-l and II-r respectively.

5) CəCv:C

5.1) Introduction & Previous Literature

Patterns of the type CəCv:C show all possible vowel qualities for the stressed vowel between R2 and R3, i.e. CəCēC, CəCōC, CəCīC and CəCūC. As is the case in many other nominal patterns, the forms with /e/ and /o/, i.e. CəCēC and CəCōC are more frequently attested than those with /i/ and /u/, i.e. CəCīC and CəCūC. The latter two patterns might also be represented amongst surface forms CəCayC and CəCawC (see chapter 6.). Items of the type CəCv:C are well represented both as sg. (usually m.) and pl. forms, although, in the case of CəCūC pl. forms are significantly more frequently attested than sg. forms. The pattern CəCēC is also comparatively productive as an adj.m.sg. pattern,⁸⁵ whereas the other patterns of the type CəCv:C are only rarely attested as adj.m.sg. forms. In addition, patterns of the type CəCv:C are rarely attested as VN patterns.

In previous discussions, (nominal) patterns of the type CəCv:C have drawn comparatively little interest, with most contributions revolving around diachronic aspects of patterns CəCv:C. Thus, according to Bittner (1909, 17-19) historical (or underlying)⁸⁶ *CaCaC, *CiCaC, *CuCaC and *CuCCaC surface as CəCēC or CəCīC, whereas *CiCāC, *CaCāC, *CuCāC surface as CəCōC or CəCēC (Bittner 1909, 19-20) and *CaCīC as CəCīC (Bittner 1909, 20-21). Regarding Bittner's elaborations towards *CvCaC and *CvCāC, this seems to hold up for a number of Arabic loans but not necessarily for all (inherited) forms (see chapter 17.). In the case of what Bittner deems *CaCīC, most of the examples he refers to are adj.sg. patterns which surface as CəCayC in EM and as CəCīC in WM. Here the distinction between the reflexes of inherited *CaCīC and what surfaces as CəCayC (EM) or CəCīC (EM and WM) is important, and Bittner's hypothesis cannot be upheld. Similarly, Johnstone (1987, xxiii) considers CəCēC to be the reflex of an "earlier CaCaC" and Fox considers CəCēC to be the result of historical *CaCaC (Fox 2003, 163) and EM CəCayC (CəCīC in WM) to be the result of historical *CaCīC (Fox 2003, 194-195). Regarding CəCēC, this image – although with the caveats given by Bittner – is also reflected in Morris' account of Mehri nouns, where CəCēC is described as "...related either to earlier nominal pattern /CaCaC/, less commonly to an earlier adjective pattern /CaCvC/ (probably /CaCiC/), or, in words with final /w/, /y/, /6/ or /9/, to earlier (or Ar.) /CeCaaC/." (Morris 1981, 114). However, in the case of CəCīC, Morris notes that while certain forms are "unmodified Ar. forms" (i.e. non-integrated Arabisms, Morris 1981, 116) and the general reflex of Ar. adj.m.sg. patterns CaCīC is Mh. CəCayC, not all other items can be identified as loans from Arabic, corresponding to Ar. CaCīC (Morris 1981, loc. cit). Regarding CəCōC Morris similarly notes that while some forms can be considered to be "the M. equivalent of the Ar. pattern /CvCaaC/" (Morris 1981, 117), not all items CəCōC can be considered Ar. loans (Morris

⁸⁵ Out of 189 attestations for CəCēC, 16 items show distinct f.sg. and pl. forms while semantically adjectival. Only two forms CəCōC appear as adjectives.

⁸⁶ As usually the case, the distinction is not transparently drawn in Bittner's studies.

1981, loc. cit.). Finally, Dufour (2022, 90) considers the stressed vowel [ē] in CəCēC to be the reflex of “... *a / _C in nouns“, implying *CvCaC⁸⁷ for CəCēC.

Plural forms CəCēC and CəCōC have recently received the attention of Fathi (2021) in the light of her previous studies of various pl. forms (Fathi 2017a, 2017b), where Fathi proposed gender markers /w/ (masc.) and /y/ (fem.) for nominal pl. forms in EM. According to Fathi (2021), these gender markers ought to be posited for the stressed vowels in m.pl. CəCōC and f.pl. CəCēC. These patterns, unlike “canonical“ m.pl. CəCōwəC / f.pl. CəCōyəC which show two sites for gender expression, only show a single site for gender expression, upon which /a/ and /w/ (m.pl.) and /a/ and /y/ (f.pl.) are projected, leading to /o/ and /e/ respectively. Items m.pl. CəCēC and f.pl. CəCōC are understood by Fathi (ibid.) as examples of “non-canonical“ gender expression, where the element √F, which must be realized (either as √+F or as √-F), is associated on an immediately adjacent site to the gender marker (/w/ or /y/ respectively), resulting in the dissimilation of a homorganic sequence /ww/ (√-F + /w/) or /yy/ (√+F + /y/) to /y/ and /w/, resulting in /a+y/>/e/ and /a+w/>/o/ respectively.⁸⁸

In the discussion of this chapter, first certain distributional trends for items of the patterns CəCv:C will be discussed (5.5), which emanate from the description given in 5.3 Then, the status of the underlying stressed vowel, particularly in patterns CəCēC and CəCōC will be discussed on the basis of parallel behavior of stressed /e/ and /o/ in other nominal patterns (5.6). This leads to the discussion of pluralic CəCēC and CəCōC (5.7) in the light of Fathi’s hypothesis (see above), which will ask whether Fathi’s hypothesis manifests itself in any manner discernable via the diagnostic criteria used throughout this thesis.

5.2) Overview of Attestations

Surface attestations of patterns CəCēC (CəCāC), CəCōC, CəCīC, CəCūC and various surface variations are summarized in the tables below.

⁸⁷ Presumably other than *CiCaC, see Dufour 2022, 89.

⁸⁸ This dissimilation is described by Fathi in one of her previous articles (Fathi 2017a, 16) as the result of the violation of the Obligatory Contour Principle.

Table 16.: Attestations of CəCv:C in ML

Stressed V	Regular	R1		R2		R3			Total
		ʔ	ʕ	ʕ	[+low.] ≠ ʕ	ʕ	w	y	
[e]	CəCēC (155)	ʔəCēC (1)	ʔāCēC (15)	CēC (7?)	CəCāC (37)	CəCē (4)	CəCēw (3)	CəCē(?) (4)	226
[o]	CəCōC (81)		ʔāCōC (8)	CōC (2)	Regular	ʔ	CəCōw (1)	CəCōy (3)	95
[i]	CəCīC (16)	ʔəCīC (2)	ʔāCīC (3)	CəʕayC (2) <i>CəʕiC</i> (2)	CəCayC (unclear)	CəCī? (1?)	CəCīw (1)	CəCī (1?)	28
[u]	CəCūC (18)		ʔāCūC (3)	CawC (1)	CəCawC (unclear)	CəCū? (2?)	CəCū (1?)	N/A (<i>CəCūy</i> <i>in Jahn</i> <i>1902</i>)	25

Table 17.1.: 2ē3# in CəCēC (incl. CəCāC) in ML

C2		C3						IG											Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.					Sonorants						?							
		Lowering C (Eject.)						Lowering C (Gutt.)				IG (non-Lowering)											b	d	ð	z	g	w	y		r	l	m	n	?		
		θ'	s'	š'	t'	k'	l'	ç	ʁ	h	χ	f	θ	s	š	t	k	l	h																		
Lowering C (Eject.)	θ'										x																x										
	s'																			x														x	x		
	š'																																				
	t'									x		x																					x				
	k'				x							x																						x			
	l'										x																						x				
	ç																																				
	ʁ																																				
	h																										x						x	x			
	χ		x																							x	x					x	x			x	
Lowering C (Gutt.)	f		x			x																												x	x		
	θ																										x						x	x	x		
	s											x																					x		x		
	š				x																																
	t					x																					x										
	k																																	x	x		
	l																										x						x				
	h			x		x ⁹¹																					x	x					x	x	x		
	Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.	b		x								x				x																	x	x		x	
		d																									x						x	x	x	x	
ð																																x		x			
z																											x					x	x				
g																											x	x					x		x		
Sonorants	w					x	x																										x	x			
	y						x																				x						x				
	r		x			x	x	x				x					x										x	x				x	x		x		
	l					x	x																				x	x					x	x			
	m					x																						x					x	x		x	
	n						x																					x									
?																																					

⁸⁹ *k'əfē* (root ML)⁹⁰ *ʔəfēw* (root ML)⁹¹ *t'əhēk'* ML, *təhēk* Jahn 1902⁹² *nədəʔ* (root ML)⁹³ *fədə* (root ML)⁹⁴ *səwəʔ* (root ML)⁹⁵ *ðərəʔ* (root ML)⁹⁶ *χələʔ* (root ML)⁹⁷ *s'anēw*

Table 17.2.: 2ō3# in CəCōC in ML

C2 \ C3		Lowering C (Eject.)										Lowering C (Gutt.)								IG (non-Lowering)								Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.					Sonorants						?
		θ'	s'	š'	t'	k'	l'	ʕ	Ɂ	h	χ	f	θ	s	š	t	k	l	h	b	d	ð	z	g	w	y	r	l	m	n	?								
Lowering C (Eject.)	θ'																																						
	s'																														x								
	š'																																						
	t'																			x								x											
	k'						x																					x											
	l'																																						
Lowering C (Gutt.)	ʕ																																						
	Ɂ																																						
	h																																						
IG	χ										x																x												
	ʕ										x																												
IG (non-Lowering)	f																									x ₉₈		x		x									
	θ																																						
	s				x																							x											
	š																														x								
	t																														x								
	k																														x								
	l																														x								
	h																														x								
Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.	b						x																					x		x									
	d					x																						x		x									
	ð																																						
	z																																						
	g																																						
Sonorants	w				x																																		
	y																																						
	r		x			x	x				x																x ₉₉			x	x								
	l											x															x ₁₀₀			x	x								
	m												x																x		x								
	n																																						
?	?																																						

⁹⁸ ḥəfōy

⁹⁹ Ɂəṛōy (ML, Ɂəṛūy Jahn 1902)

¹⁰⁰ χəlōy, √χlw according to ML (rather √χly?); dəlōw (ML, also dələ'wwəw)

¹⁰¹ Ɂəṇōy (ML); dəṇō? (ML, √ṇy according to ML)

Table 17.3.: 2ĩ3# in CəCīC in ML

C2 \ C3		Lowering C (Eject.)										Lowering C (Gutt.)								IG (non-Lowering)								Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.					Sonorants						?
		θ'	s'	š'	t'	k'	l'	ʕ	ɸ	h	χ	f	θ	s	š	t	k	l	h	b	d	ð	z	g	w	y	r	l	m	n	?								
		Lowering C (Eject.)	θ'	s'	š'	t'	k'	l'	ʕ	ɸ	h	χ	f	θ	s	š	t	k	l	h	b	d	ð	z	g	w	y	r	l	m	n	?							
Lowering C (Gutt.)	ʕ																									x		x											
	ɸ																																						
IG (non-Lowering)	f				x																						x												
	θ																																						
	s																										x												
	š																																						
	t																								x ₁₀₂			x											
	k																				x																		
	l																																						
	h																			x								x											
Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.	b						x ₁₀₃																																
	d																												x										
	ð																										x												
	z																																						
Sonorants	g																										x												
	w																																						
	y																																						
	r	x														x				x								x											
	l																							x															
m																										x													
n																																							
?	?																																						

¹⁰² *kətiw* (ML), *ktéu* (Jahn 1902)

¹⁰³ *rəbiʔ* (ML)

Table 17.4.: 2ū3# in CəCūC in ML

C2	C3	Lowering C (Eject.)										Lowering C (Gutt.)						IG								Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.					Sonorants						?
												IG (non-Lowering)																			?						
		θ'	s'	š'	t'	k'	l'	ç	ʁ	h	χ	f	θ	s	š	t	k	l	h	b	d	ð	z	g	w	y	r	l	m	n	?						
Lowering C (Eject.)	θ'																																				
	s'																																				
	š'																																				
	t'																																				
	k'																																				
	l'																																				
Lowering C (Gutt.)	ç																																				
	ʁ																																				
	h																																				
	χ																																				
IG (non-Lowering)	f																																				
	θ																																				
	s																																				
	š																																				
	t																																				
	k																																				
	l																																				
	h																																				
Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.	b																																				
	d																																				
	ð																																				
	z																																				
	g																																				
Sonorants	w																																				
	y																																				
	r																																				
	l																																				
	m																																				
	n																																				
?																																					

¹⁰⁴ *rəbūʔ, səbūʔ* (ML)

¹⁰⁵ *ʁəyūg* (Jahn 1902, Watson et al. 2020, own data), *ʁəyōg* (ML)

Table 18.: 2v:3# CəCv:C in ML

C2	C3	Lowering C (Eject.)											Lowering C (Gutt.)							IG (non-Lowering)								Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.					Sonorants						?
		θ'	s'	š'	t'	k'	l'	ç	ʁ	ħ	χ	f	θ	s	š	t	k	l	h	b	d	ð	z	g	w	y	r	l	m	n	?								
		Lowering C (Eject.)	θ'										x																										
	s'																		x									x	x	x									
	š'																																						
	t'									x	x								x								x	x											
	k'				x					x	x																												
	l'									x																		x											
	Lowering C (Gutt.)	ç																									x												
		ʁ																									x	x											
		ħ			x						x									x	x			x			x	x	x	x									
		χ			x						x										x																		
	IG (non-Lowering)	f			x																						x	x	x					x					
		θ																																					
		s				x																																	
		š				x																															x		
		t					x																												x	x			
		k																																					
		l																																					
		h			x																																		
	Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.	b			x																																		
		d				x																																	
		ð																																					
		z																																					
		g																																					
	Sonorants	w				x																																	
		y					x																																
		r	x	x		x	x	x																															
		l				x	x																																
		m				x																																	
		n					x																																
	?	?																																					

¹⁰⁶ k'əfē (root ML), ḥəfōy
¹⁰⁷ ɬətēw (root ML); kəɬīw (ML), kiéu (Jahn 1902)
¹⁰⁸ t'əhēk' ML, təhēk (Jahn 1902)
¹⁰⁹ rəbī? (ML); rəbū?, səbū? (ML)
¹¹⁰ nədē? (root ML)
¹¹¹ fədē (root ML)
¹¹² səwē? (root ML)
¹¹³ ðərē? (root ML)
¹¹⁴ χəlē? (root ML); χəlōy, √χlw according to ML; dəlōw (ML, also dələ'wwəw)
¹¹⁵ s'anēw
¹¹⁶ ʁənōy (ML); dənō? (ML, √dny according to ML)

5.3) Application of Phonological Effects

A – IG: IG consonants are attested both as R1 and R2 and as R2 and R3 for the patterns CəCōC and CəCēC, i.e., *t̤χōf* (R1-R2-R3 IG), *wəsēχ* (ML, *wəsāχ* Jahn 1902), *t̤ʔhāk*, *kʔhōf* (R2-R3 IG) etc. While initial sequences of IG-consonants are often transcribed with an unstressed vowel between two IG-consonants in ML, the short unstressed vowel is always lacking between R1 and R2 when surrounded by IG consonants, as indicated in other sources. No particular phenomena are to be observed regarding the presence of IG consonants, as to be expected.

B – Diphthongization + Vowel Lowering: For CəCēC the variant CəCāC is attested when R2 is a lowering consonant. As in other contexts, attestations exist where /ā/ is attested without a preceding lowering consonant, and one is largely dealing with non-integrated Arabisms in these cases, i.e. *fālān*, *kʔamār*, *wəsāχ*, *wazār*, *χasār*, *ʔagār*, *gəwāz*, *səkān*, *zabān*, *bəzār*. One clear exception in ML is the pl. form *təyāh* (sg. *tayh*) which is however attested as *hāt̤yō* in Jahn (1902) and as the (expected) *tyēh* in Morris et al. (2019, 17).

A few examples of items of the pattern CəCēC showing a lowering consonant as R2 but still a surface vowel [ē] could be found in ML, i.e. *nəθʔēf*, *ləkʔēf*, *kʔətʔētʔ*, *məhēn*.¹¹⁷ Note that, except for the two forms *nəθʔēf* and *ləkʔēf*, these forms are plural forms, showing corresponding sg. forms *kʔətʔātʔ*, *məhnēt*. Given the notion that sg.-pl. (or perhaps rather singulative-collective) correspondences between patterns CəCCēt and CəCēC are well known, one might imagine analogical pressure leading to Johnstone's informant(s) giving plural (or collective) forms of the type CəCēC for these items. As for *nəθʔēf*, no corresponding pl. is attested, whereas *ləkʔēf* shows pl. *ləkʔyōf* and *ləkʔōwəf* in ML.¹¹⁸

In the case of CəCīC and CəCūC it is quite possible that a number of attestations of CəCayC and CəCawC represent their monophthong counterparts when R2 is a lowering consonant. Some attestations, particularly of patterns CəCīC with a lowering consonant as R2 are to be found, which are non-integrated Arabisms of the adjective pattern CaCīC: *nəθʔīf*, *θəkʔīl*, etc. (see chapter 6).

C - Fronted Stress / III-Gutt.: Attestations of items of a pattern CəCv:C which show a guttural R3 other than /ʕ/ are almost exclusively attested in the pattern CəCēC (or its variant CəCāC), i.e. *kʔarēh* (adj.sg.), *mazēh* (Sg.), *sʔalēh* (Sg.), *səmēh*, *wəsēχ*, *rəmēh* (Nom.Pl.), *ləhāh* (Adj.Sg.), *məhāh* (Nom.Pl.), *bətʔāh* (Nom.Pl.), *wətʔāh* (Nom.Pl.) i.e. 10 attestations in ML. No attestations of a guttural R3 other than /ʕ/ are found for items of the patterns CəCīC and CəCūC.

¹¹⁷ In Jahn (1902) one also finds examples as *təhēk* which is however transcribed as *tʔhēkʔ* in ML.

¹¹⁸ The J/S cognates *lkʔēf* and *kʔtʔētʔ* would suggest underlying /i/ in the Mh. cognates, and hence erroneous notation in ML. In this context, one could imagine the item *mhēn* in JL to be actually *m̤hēn* – not least since underlying [ɛ] to surface as [a] after /h/, hence hypothetical *m̤hēn* would also fall in line with *lkʔēf* and *kʔtʔētʔ*. The form *nəθʔēf* remains problematic, not least since the corresponding J/S form appears to be *nθʔf*. The author thanks Julien Dufour for bringing the J/S forms to his attention.

Amongst patterns of the type CəCōC, roots which show a guttural R3 are conspicuously rare and the three examples attested all come from Jahn's account of WM (Jahn 1902) and are all pluralic, i.e. *fəroχ* (Nom. Pl. Jahn 1902, sg. *farχ*), *šəroḥ* (Nom.Pl. Jahn 1902, sg. *šarḥ*; ML *šəroḡəḥ*), *gəboḥ* (Adj.Pl. Jahn 1902; ML *gəbwōḥ*). Whereas apriorically one might imagine this situation to be at least partly conditioned by the o-e alternation when preceding /h/, two of the three examples given by Jahn appear to show /h/ as R3. In this context it is also worth noting Johnstone's aforementioned variant *gəbwōḥ* for Jahn's *gəboḥ* – as will be shown, for the pattern CəCwōC the restriction on [ōḥ] appears to be generally lifted, at least on the basis of the (sparse) data in ML.

D – Vowel Epenthesis of Sonorants (Liquids): A priori no particular manifestations of this effect are to be expected. No particular effects are observed for sonorants as R1 or R2, and in the case of R3 no immediate effect on the stressed vowel preceding it is observed.

E – Vowel Epenthesis of Glott.: N/A

F – Vocalization of /l/: N/A

G – Behavior of /r/: N/A

H – /ʕ/: In initial position, no particular effects are observed, and the expected surface forms ?āCv:C are attested.

In medial position, the only clear surface reflex of CəCv:C (where /ʕ/ surfaces) is the item *šəʕir* (ML), which is in all likelihood a non-integrated Arabic loan. For items of the pattern CəCīC, it is apriorically conceivable that some items showing /ʕ/ as R2 would surface as CəCayC, particularly those items which are not to be understood as adjectives, however, only two such items are attested, i.e. *bəʕayr* and *t'əʕaym*. For items of the pattern CəCūC one possible attestation is to be found, i.e. *dawn* (/dəʕún/?). For items of the patterns CəCēC and CəCōC the expected surface reflex is less clear, apriorically one might imagine CēC/CāC and CōC respectively. In the case of CēC where R2 ought to be understood as /ʕ/, the J/S correspondences mostly surface as CaCC,¹¹⁹ whereas in the case of CōC where R2 ought to be understood as /ʕ/, the J/S correspondences do surface as CvCə'C, indicating that the surface reflex of underlying CəʕōC ought to be understood as CōC (see chapter 4.).¹²⁰ By contrast, in the case of hypothetical /CəʕéC/, possible surface reflexes remain unclear. The aforementioned data from J/S, as well as G-stem verbal forms II-ʕ of the type CāC would militate against assuming CēC to be the surface

¹¹⁹ The case of J/S *əbʕə'z* vs. Mh. *wēl* is a particular one, insofar as this item (which would indicate a correspondence to Mh.CəCōC) appears to be only attested in JL, otherwise one finds the more common form *ʕiyəl*. The latter might indicate CəCēC, it is however unclear whether J/S *ʕiyəl* and Mh. *wēl* are to be understood as cognates stricto sensu in the first place.

¹²⁰ i.e. Mh. *fōr* – J/S *fə'ʕə'r*, Mh. *t'ōr* – J/S *t'ʕə'r*, apparently not though for the pl. forms Mh. *fōm* – J/S *fə'ómtə*, Mh. *bōl* – J/S *bə'ehl* – it is, however, quite conceivable that these differences are simply reflexes of different plural patterns and not (irregular) sound correspondences indicative of any phonological particularities.

reflex of /CəʕʕC/, in favour of CāC. However, the significantly less frequently attested surface forms CāC / II-ʕ appear to be reflexes of CvʕC (see chapter 4.).

In final position, the only clear attestations of patterns CəCv:ʕ are the forms attested for CəCīC and CəCūC: *rəbīʔ, rəbūʔ, səbūʔ*.¹²¹ In the case of CəCōC, no surface item akin to CəCōC showing /ʕ/ as R3 is attested, whereas in the case of CəCēC, a number of surface forms CəCē which show /ʕ/ as R3 are attested. These forms do not appear to show cognates in J/S – yet, the surfacing of a sequence /ēʕ/ as /ē/ is attested otherwise, i.e. *šəwēd* (Rubin 2018, 209), *hək'ʔeʔ* (Rubin 2018, 223). In this sense, the situation of items III-ʕ appears to correspond to the situation described above (5.3.C) for the case of III-Gutt. items more generally speaking – all attestations come from CəCēC, whereas for CəCōC no items III-Gutt. (including /ʕ/) were found.

I – /ʔ/: With the exception of non-integrated Arabisms such as *ʔəkīd, ʔəs'īl, ʔəgār, ʔamān* etc., no reflexes of patterns CəCv:C showing (etymological) /ʔ/ as R1 are attested. The only potential counterexamples are the numeral *ʔəhād* and the form *ʔəθēb*, which is attested in Jahn (1902) with the definite article ha-. Other reflexes of (historical) patterns ʔəCv:C are well attested, all of which show the definite article ha-, i.e. *hayōēn, hāgōr, həynīθ, hayrēm, hāwīl*. A potential reflex of historical /ʔ/ as a glide might be found in the pl. numeral *yalēf* (thousands), *yərəz, yəsēr* and in *yəmsē*. Note in this case, that historical /ʔ/ surfaces only as the glide /y/ before the underlying unstressed vowel, and never as /w/, which is attested when historical /ʔ/ precedes a stressed vowel (*wōrəm*).¹²²

In medial position it is not entirely clear what the expected surface output should be, presumably items of the type Cv:C ought to be rather understood as outputs of patterns CvCC or Cv:CəC (see chapters 2. and 4.). One example of a potential form CəCv:C is the item *fəwōd* (ML), which according to Johnstone should be understood as II-ʔ, and which is attested as *fəʔōd* in Jahn's glossary (Jahn 1902). Similarly, *rəyēʔ* is indicated in ML under the root $\sqrt{rʔw}$, which might be an erroneous identification of the root on Johnstone's part.

In final position a putative reflex of CəCv:C might be found in the adj.m.pl. form *əərēʔ* ($\sqrt{ərʔ}$, according to ML). Given the similarities in surface transcription of roots III-y of the pattern CəCēC (see below), it cannot be ruled out that this item might be understood to be III-y synchronically.

J – Glides: In initial and medial position, no particular phenomena are observed for the examples given in ML, i.e. /w/ and /y/ surface regularly.

¹²¹ All of which are likely Arabisms – note in this regard the non-diphthongization of Ar. /ī/ and /ū/, however, this might very well be considered just incomplete phonological adaptation.

¹²² Although one attestation of *ʔ as /w/ in initial position preceding an unstressed vowel is found in an item of the pattern CəCayC, the likely Arabism *wəlayf* (<Ar. *ʔalīf*?)

In the case of roots III-w, all patterns of the type CəCv:C are attested except for CəCūw, i.e. *dəlōw*, *ləwēw*, *s'anēw*, *lātēw*, *kātīw*. Albeit rarely attested (see the table of attestations in chapter 5.2), the examples given above show that /w/ remains stable in patterns of the type CəCv:C and surfaces as /w/, regardless of the quality of the preceding stressed vowel – with the potential exception of /u/, forms CəCūw are not attested and would presumably surface as CəCū.¹²³ In the case of roots III-y, only three examples are attested in ML, all of the type CəCōC, i.e. *ḅərōy* (*ḅərūy* in Jahn 1902), *χəlōy* and *ħəfōy*. Albeit rarely attested, the examples above show that /ōy/ is an acceptable surface output, and that the reasons for the underrepresentation of said sequence might be lexical. By contrast, the lack of a hypothetical surface output CəCēy might be explained as a result of a process CəCēy > CəCēʔ, as witnessed by the surface forms *nədəʔ*, *χələʔ* (III-w?), *fədə*, *k'əfē*, *mələ*, *səwēʔ* (III-y). Regarding reflexes of the patterns CəCīy and CəCūy, the former might apriorically surface as CəCī – examples are not particularly frequent, the only example *nəbī* (variant: *mbī*) might be understood as a non-integrated Arabism, whereas reflexes of CəCūy are similarly rare, however note the aforementioned example from Jahn (1902), *ḅərūy* (ML *ḅərōy*). Hence it seems that in non-homorganic sequences (i.e. not /īy/ and /ūw/), the final glide surfaces regularly, with the exception of /ēy/, where [ē(?)] is attested; however, patterns CəCv:C which show a final glide are more generally speaking rarely attested, in comparison to III-Glide forms in patterns Cv:CəC (and hypothetically CvCC), the reasons for which do not appear to be phonological (see below). Note, that the neutralization of word-final glides, known from Ga-stem forms which paradigmatically show an identical syllabic configuration and position of stress as patterns CəCv:C, is not attested in the same way in the nominal domain.

5.4) Alternations with Suffixes

Patterns of the type CəCēC (CəCāC) and CəCōC preserve their surface forms when a sg. suffix is added (unless R3 and the Suffix = +IG), whereas, as elaborated upon by Rubin (2018, 56-57),¹²⁴ patterns CəCīC and CəCūC show a diphthong in the base when a sg. suffix is added, i.e. CəCayC- and CəCawC- respectively (again, unless R3 and the suffix = +IG). This situation is mirrored in ML and in the author's data. When a suffix is added to a plural noun, no changes (except for vowel shortening) are observed.

¹²³ Potential examples are rather few – as one would expect given the fact that neither roots III-w, nor attestations of the pattern CəCūC are particularly frequent, the only example consists of what Johnstone transcribes as *ḅədū*, which is however also found as a variant *ḅədə'ww* in ML. If Johnstone's transcription is accurate, it seems unclear why word-final /w/ would appear geminated, unless this was an example of a pattern CəCawC, which would leave the question open of why the stressed vowel is transcribed as /ə/ (cf. *ħək'aw* < /ħək'aww/).

¹²⁴ Examples given by Rubin (loc.cit.) are *gūr* (*ħəgawri*, *ħəgawrək*, etc.), *dīd* (*ħədaydi*, *ħədaydək*, etc.), and f.sg. forms with stressed suffixes (to which the same rule applies).

CəCēC Sg.: *adk'áls* (ML *dək'ēl*); *famh*, *fāməs*, *fāmək* (ML *fēm /fəʕēm/*), *fədēk* (ML *fədē(?)*, √fdy), *əflēkəm* (ML *əflē(?)*); *hək'ābəh*, *hək'ābs* (ML *hək'āb*);¹²⁵ *ansēmi*, *ansēməh* (ML *nəsēm*); *səbēbi*, *səbēbək* (ML *səbēb*), *aðhēbək* (Own Data *ðəhēb*); *k'alēmi*, *k'alēmək*, *k'alēməh* (Own Data *k'alēm*)

CəCēC Pl.: *həbε'rkε* (ML *həbēr /həbʕēr/*)

CəCōC Sg.: *axərōyək*, *axərōyəh* (ML *xərōy*), *tərōk'əs* (ML *tərōk'*); *ktōni*, *ktōnək* (Own Data *ktōn*); *kəlōni*, *kəlōnək*, *kəlōnəh* (Own Data *kəlōn*)

CəCōC Pl.: *həske'nihəm*, *hlke'nyən* (ML *səkōn* pl., *sēkən* sg.),¹²⁶ *t'əhārisən* (ML *t'əhōr* Pl; *t'āhər* Sg.), *fəwádħəm* (ML *fəwōd* √fʔd)¹²⁷

CəCīC Sg.: *fəgayri*, *fəgayrəh* (ML *fəgīr*), *aðhaybək*¹²⁸ (Own Data *ðəhīb*); *ūšayni*, *ūšaynək* (Own Data *ūšīn*)¹²⁹

CəCūC Sg. *aðnāwbəh* (ML *ðənūb*)

CəCūC Pl.: *fəʕámka*, *fəʕámha* (ML Pl. *fawm /fəʕūm/*); *χəs'əmke*, *χəs'əmhε* (ML *χəs'awm* Pl., Sg. *χəs'm*)¹³⁰

There is one item in ML which appears not to conform to this rule, namely sg. *amε'θli* (Sg. *məθēl*, pl. *məθawlət*).¹³¹ If one accepts this form as a valid derivation of *məθēl*, it would suggest stress shift to the vowel between R1 and R2 when the possessive suffix is added, presumably with the same vowel quality between R1 and R2 as between R2 and R3. Note that this item might very well be an Arabism **mátal* > Mh. *məθēl*. However, since other putative Arabisms of the same type are amongst the regular attestations given above (i.e. *səbēb*, *ðəhēb*, *k'alēm*), it appears that this form might be an exception or – more likely – erroneous. Amongst the items given above, the form *famh* (*/fəʕémvħ/?*) appears to show an irregular (?) shortening of the stressed vowel, which might be due to the effect of the suffix –vh. Finally, the item *adk'áls* (ML *dək'āl*), also appears to show an irregular shortening of the stressed vowel, however, the presence of an underlying vowel in the suffix is indicated by the non-vocalization of /l/ in preconsonantal position.

¹²⁵ Phrase: “would that so./st. were back“, hence not included in the corpus but as a reference at this point, since its behavior with a suffix mirrors that of nominal sg. forms with a possessive suffix.

¹²⁶ The second item in ML apparently has a typo <ł> instead of <s>.

¹²⁷ Although semantically sg. (with no separate form for number given), this item appears to be morphologically pluralic, since the stressed vowel is shortened (indicating */fəwádihəm/*).

¹²⁸ Initially *aðhībək* was given, the speaker immediately gave a variant/correction *aðhaybək*

¹²⁹ *əwšēn* in ML. *ūšayn* and WM *lšān* in Morris et al. (2019, 18), WM *lšīn* in Jahn (1902).

¹³⁰ Both of the Pl. forms CəCūC might actually be Pl. CəCawC, see chapter 6. The sg. form *χəs'm* indicated in ML seems to be a non-integrated Arabism, since vowel-spreading of R3 does not occur.

¹³¹ Given as <*ame'θil*>, with the final <l> being a typo in all likelihood.

5.5 Restrictions (?) on R3

As has been mentioned, certain classes of consonants are underrepresented as R3 in patterns CəCv:C when compared with other triradical patterns without affixes, namely gutturals (including /ʕ/) and glides.

Regarding gutturals other than /ʕ/, it has been shown that all attestations in ML – with the exception of *wəsēχ* - show the pattern CəCēC and word-final /h/. This would apriorically indicate the possibility of these items being reflexes of either CəCēC or paradigmatic CəCōC, however, on a comparative basis, with the potential exception of *məhāh*, none of the items attested shows unambiguous parallels indicating CəCōC (i.e. J/S CvCóC, Ar. CaCāC). Similarly, in the case of forms III-ʕ, attestations for CəCēC exist, however (with the exception of putative Arabisms) none for the other patterns. The only potential forms CəCv:C III-Gutt. for a pattern other than CəCēC come from Jahn's glossary, i.e. the aforementioned forms *ʕarōχ* (Nom. Pl. Jahn 1902, sg. *ʕarχ*), *šarōh* (Nom.Pl. Jahn 1902, sg. *šarh*; ML *šarōwəh*), *gabōh* (Adj.Pl. Jahn 1902; ML *gabwōh*). Generally speaking, the lack of a stressed vowel before a guttural R3 is also known from the verbal domain.¹³² When drawing parallels one would imagine that putative reflexes of underlying forms CəCv:G would show stress on the vowel between R1 and R2 in these forms, and perhaps also the same vowel quality.¹³³ Those exceptions – largely restricted to the pattern CəCēC – might be understood either as Arabisms (largely sg. forms) or perhaps loans from J/S, where the general integration of the Arabic noun pattern *CvCaC>CəCēC appears to apply, disregarding the (historical?) rule preventing a sequence ʕG#, hence explaining the exclusivity of /e/ in these forms, in opposition to other vowel qualities,¹³⁴ or, in the case of the plural forms ēG#, as analogies to other items showing a plural CəCēC for a sg. CaCC. Another option might consist in assuming that the (expected) shift of stress to the preceding vowel might be blocked. As will be seen later (chapter

¹³² This ought not to imply that said configurations are unattested in either the verbal or nominal domain.

¹³³ As is the case for example in Ga III-Gutt. pft. forms (*nūka*, *sūməh*, etc.) vs. regular Ga CəCūC.

¹³⁴ Largely, but perhaps not for every of the following items (more data needed in a number of cases):

k'arēh (adj.sg.): J/S *k'éráh* appears to allow for Mh. CəCēC / III-Gutt.

məzēh (Sg., no plural to be expected if “joking” rather than “joke?”): No J/S nominal cognate found in JL, Ar. cognate *mazh/mazah*, with the latter patterning well with a loan CaCaC>CəCēC. From a comparative perspective the root seems to be an Arabism.

s'alēh (Sg. but not Adj.Sg.): J/S *s'eláh* appears to allow for Mh. CəCēC / III.Gutt. Potential Arabic cognates seem questionable, form and semantics do not really match – perhaps one is dealing with an OmAr form?

səmēh (permission): J/S *smāh* (JL) showing Ar. parallel.

wəsēχ (WM Jahn 1902 *wəsāχ*): J/S *wsəχ* (JL) is indicated as an Ar. loan by Johnstone, if this transcription is correct, the J/S parallel would already imply an Ar. loan (< Ar. *wasah*).

rəmēh (Nom.Pl.): No J/S plural attested in JL for “spear”, however the pl. form *riēh* (sg. *rəmhát*) shows an apparent near-cognate to the sg. form in Mh. (albeit with a slightly different meaning: “wand; arrow” according to JL), although strictly speaking one would expect CīCēC in Mh.

lāhāh (Adj.Sg.): No J/S (or Ar.?) cognate attested.

gabāh (Adj.Sg. Jahn 1902, ML *gabh*): All J/S cognates (except f.s. which is of no relevance here) show the suffix *-ūn*. Arabic cognates?

māhāh (Nom.Pl.): J/S *emšə'h* allows assuming underlying CəCōC for Mh. (*məhōh*>*məhēh*>*māhāh*), however this form appears problematic in J/S.

bət'āh (Nom.Pl.): No J/S plural indicated in JL.

wəl'āh (Nom.Pl.): J/S *əbl'áht* shows an additional suffix, but the same position of stress and expected vowel quality. Arabic cognates?

rəwāh (Nom. Pl., Jahn 1902): No J/S plural indicated in JL.

16.), such a shift seems to be blocked when two adjacent consonants precede the stressed vowel in question. Although it cannot be maintained that two (underlying) consonants precede the stressed vowel (i.e. between R2 and R3) in the case of CəCv:C, a similar scenario to what has been proposed for CōCəC might be invoked, i.e. an underlying (infixal) consonant following the stressed vowel, which might block the shift of stress. Note, that amongst examples where one might paradigmatically propose /oʔ/, the o/e alternation is attested amongst patterns CōCəC/CēCəC (i.e. *sēḥar* vs. Ar. *sāḥir*).

Regarding surface CəCōC / III-Gutt., all examples come from Jahn's data and show different patterns in EM, hence CəCōC / III-Gutt. – if it exists at all – appears to be restricted to (at least certain varieties of) WM. More data would be needed on said varieties to establish the status of potential CəCōC / III-Gutt. forms in WM.

Similarly, in the case of final glides, more specifically final /y/, irregularities have been shown above, in terms of the underrepresentation of patterns CəCv:C III-y. Again, outside of CəCēC which surfaces as CəCē(?) , only three items are attested for CəCōC, i.e. *ḅarōy* (*ḅarūy* in Jahn 1902), *χəlōy* and *ḥəfōy*. In this case, no phonological reasons appear evident, restricting the possibility of any (non-homorganic) sequences stressed vowel-glide surfacing, as evident from the three counterexamples CəCōC given above. Perhaps the reasons for this underrepresentation can also be found in the historical distribution of stress: assuming that the final-glide in hypothetical historical forms *CaCvw/y was not preserved on the surface, resulting in a form *CaCv:, rules of vowel-quality sensitive stress distribution would prevent the final vowel from being stressed, resulting in stress on the vowel between R1 and R2. If this scenario holds up, any historical reflex of *CaCvw/y ought to be found within surface forms Cv:C (after the subsequent loss of word-final vowels?), and the overall paucity of patterns CəCv:C / R3 = +Glide being a genuine lexical (near-)gap. However, in this case the question remains how the few attestations of forms CəCv:C / R3 = +Glide ought to be explained – in particular forms such as *ḅarōy* which are not readily explainable as loans from Arabic.¹³⁵

5.6) The Underlying Structure of CəCōC

As has been already noted for a certain sub-class of surface forms CōCəC (chapter 3.), the (Arabic) long vowel /ā/ in Ar. loans appears to be integrated as /oC/ (/oʔ/) in Mehri, showing what appears to be an additional consonantal segment. Whereas the same restrictions on stress-shift observed in the case of CōCəC/CáCCət cannot be empirically detected in the case of CəCōC, since amongst the attested Arabisms of the pattern CəCōC, none have corresponding f.sg. forms; the presence of a number of forms CəCōCət – all of which appear to be Arabisms of the type CaC(C)āCa –¹³⁶ appears to indicate on its

¹³⁵ Even if one assumes metathesis and an ad-hoc (!) sound change *l>r from the Arabic root √لڤو, the concrete vocalization of this item as *ḅarōy* does not find any good parallels in Arabic (suggesting Ar. **lavāy/lavāw*, unattested as far as the author is aware).

¹³⁶ I.e. *bəs'ōrət*, *bəlōrət*, *bəyōrət*, *gənōzət*, *kəḥōmət*, *məḥōrət*, *rəḥōmət*, *səfōlət*, *səlōmət*, *ləḥōdət*, *təgōrət*, *χəsōrət*, *χəzōnət*. With the exception of *bəyōrət* all of these items appear to be rather transparent Arabisms. In the case of

own that at least in these forms a similar situation applies, with an additional underlying segment blocking stress shift. Applying this scenario in analogy to CəCōCət and CōCəC would hence imply that forms with an underlying consonantal segment and stressed /o/ might be attested for CəCōC as well. However, as is the case for forms CōCəC, this cannot be assumed to be the case for all items CəCōC, since the two m.sg. adjectives CəCōC show stress shift for their corresponding f.sg. form, i.e. *əwbōn/əwbənīt, əlyōn/lēnət* (*līnīt* Jahn 1902).¹³⁷ Hence, a bifurcation of surface CəCōC might be posited, namely forms without an underlying infix, i.e. /CəCóC/ and with an underlying infix. A further possible indication of this might be the lack of stress shift to the left for certain items III-Gutt. (see above, 5.5.).

5.7) The stressed vowel in pl. CəCēC and CəCōC

According to Fathi (2021), plural forms CəCēC and CəCōC ought to be understood as the result of the association of a gender marker /y/ and /w/ respectively and a vowel /a/ (underlying /o/) to the single stressed vowel site of a pattern CəCv:C. Operating within the framework of this hypothesis, one might ask, whether any distinctive behavior of said pl. forms CəCēC and CəCōC can be discerned phonologically, via distinct behavior of suffixed forms.

Potential examples are rather few. One potential case might concern what Fathi considers CəCēC-type plurals. A number of these appear to correspond to collective nouns CəCēC,¹³⁸ which usually show a singulative form CəCCv:t. If one assumes – which Fathi apparently does not – that in these forms, the singulative form is the result of a concatenative process of suffixation of a suffix –vt which absorbs stress, it would appear that the double-association of both a glide and a vowel to a single V-position does not manifest itself in any specific behavior, and the resulting vowel can be understood as a phonologically simple underlying vowel.¹³⁹ Also, when possessive suffixes are added to items CəCēC/CəCōC, no particular behavior of these forms seems apparent (see above, 5.5).¹⁴⁰ It is not clear whether this should be understood as a counter-argument to Fathi’s proposition or not, since parallels to such a potential scenario are not known. This affects, in particular, the plural type CəCōC where no derivational variant which might apriorically speaking be liable to stress shift, appears evident (to the author).

səlōmət the form *səlōm* without the suffix is attested, although in this case the suffix does not indicate a natural gender distinction.

¹³⁷ Note, that *əlyōn* is attested as *ləyūn* in the author’s data. Note also that the items in question do not appear to be loaned from Arabic.

¹³⁸ The term is used here semantically, in parallel to the category known from other Semitic languages, and not necessarily in opposition to Fathi’s hypothesis, particularly since not all cases of “Sg.” CəCCv:t / Pl. CəCēC can be understood in terms of the opposition Singulative/Collective.

¹³⁹ Potential examples include *səfərət* (Sg.)/*səfēr* (Pl./Coll.), *wərk’āt* (Sg.)/*wərək’* (Pl./Coll.), *zərəfēt* (Sg.)/*zərəf* (Pl./Coll.), etc. No attestations of a Sg. form CəCēCət are attested for a pl. CəCēC (although one item CəCōCət - *l’əbōbət* is), hence if one assumes productive singulative formation on the basis of suffixation of a suffix –vt to the coll.noun base CəCēC, the outcome CəCCv:t shows stress shift, discarding the possibility of a (tracable) underlying glide.

¹⁴⁰ I.e. no unexpected retention of a long vowel in a pl. form with a possessive suffix, indicating an underlying glide.

Similarly, with regard to Fathi's non-canonical CəCōC/CəCēC, no immediate phonological implications seem apparent. Hence, it seems – at least for the moment – that if Fathi's hypothesis is to be upheld, the (gender-marking) glides would not manifest themselves in any tangible phonological manner.

5.8) CəCūC & CəCīC

As in most nominal patterns, forms with a stressed vowel /i/ and /u/ are less frequently attested for patterns CəCv:C than /e/ and /o/ (see above, tables in 5.2). A number of surface forms CəCīC attested in EM might be considered to be phonologically non-integrated Arabisms (for example *nəbī*, *rəfīk'*, *šəfīr*, etc.), however, some examples exist which appear to represent 'genuine' CəCīC, with the distinction not being always readily possible. Forms which do not appear to be non-integrated Arabisms and do not show a lowering consonant as R2 (for potential attestations of CəCīC/CəCūC showing a lowering consonant as R2, see chapter 6.6) are the sg. forms *χənīn* (name of a fish), *bəhīl* (*s^l>h), *ðəhīb*, *fərik* (?), *k'ərīb* (?), *s'əmīr* ("flowering bud of the *s'amr* tree"), *yətīm* (since fem.sg. *yətāmūt* rather than the expected outcome *°yətaym/yətaymət* for a hypothetical loan from Ar. *yatīm/yatīma*), *l'əfīr* (Pl. *l'əfīrūtən*), *ktīw*, *ɔārīθ'*, *yədīn*. In addition, a few plural forms are attested, i.e. *lərīr* (*lərēr* Jahn), *hərīm* (=Ar. pl. for integr. Ar. loan *hərmēt* sg. ? (see Ar. *hurma/harīm*). In addition, in WM (Jahn 1902), a significantly larger number of surface forms CəCīC is attested, which is however due to the surface representation of what corresponds to forms with a surface diphthong in EM, most prominently in the adj.m.sg. pattern CəCayC. Two of the m.sg. forms (*yədīn* and *yətīm*) in question show a corresponding f.sg. form CəCəCūt, indicating the purely vocalic status of the stressed vowel in these forms. A potential counterargument might be attested in the form *l'əfīr*, which shows the pl. *l'əfīrūtən* according to ML. However, this is the only attestation of a form CəCīCūtən, and potential cognates appear to show diverging patterns (i.e. *l'əfīrūt/l'əfārtən*, ML; *l'əfīrūt/l'ayfārtən*, Jahn 1902). In addition, CəCīC appears to be attested as a pl.form in the case of *lərīr*, and possibly *hərīm* (although it seems more likely that this is a non-integrated Arabism).

The overall number of attestations of surface forms CəCūC is even smaller, presumably not least due to the comparatively smaller number of potential Arabisms involved. Plural forms attested in ML include *bədūd*, *həlūl*, *həmūm*, *bəyūt*, *χərūg*, *əyūg*, *həbūl*, *həbūs*, *hərūz*, *k'ərūn*, *k'əyūd*, *mətūn*; in addition to a number of forms attested in WM (Jahn 1902), some of which might be cognate with CəCawC in EM due to the aforementioned differences in the surfacing of diphthongs. Regarding the pl. forms, it is to be noted that all but two biradical forms (*bədayd/bədūd*, *həmīm/həmūm*)¹⁴¹ attested in EM show a sg. pattern CaCC.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ To this one might add the forms *həlay/həlūl*, if one considers the lack of a final /l/ in the sg. form to be a typo in ML.

¹⁴² *hōbəl* and *mōtən* might be considered paradigmatic CoCC since they show a sonorant as R3 (see chapter 2).

5.9) Biradicals

No irregular behavior is observed for biradical attestations of patterns CəCv:C, surfacing regularly as CəCv:C and attested for all possible vowel qualities.

5.10) Conclusion on CəCv:C

The following table summarizes the potential surface reflexes of surface CəCv:C.

Table 19.: Underlying forms of CəCv:C in ML

Surface V	Regular	Underlying /v/	R1	R2		R3			
			ʃ	+ [low.] ≠ ʃ	ʃ	+ [gutt.] ≠ ʃ	ʃ	w	y
[e]	CəCēC	/CəCéC/ /CəCéʔC/ (?)	ʔəCēC /ʔəCéC/	CəCāC /CəC _{Low} éC/	CēC – CaC (?) /CəʃéC/	Regular /CəCéG/ - /CəCéʔG/ (?)	CəCēʃ /CəCéʃ/	CəCēw /CəCéw/	CəCēy /CəCéy/
[o]	CəCōC	/CəCóC/ /CəCóʔC/ (?)	ʔəCōC /ʔəCóC/	Regular	CōC /CəʃóC/	CəCēC - CəCēʃ (?)		CəCōw /CəCów/	CəCōy /CəCóy/
[i]	CəCīC	/CəCíC/	ʔəCīC /ʔəCíC/	CəCāyC /CəC _{Low} iC/	CəʃāyC CəʃiC /CəʃiC/		CəCīʔ /CəCíʃ/	CəCīw /CəCíw/	CəCīy /CəCíy/
[u]	CəCūC	/CəCúC/	ʔəCūC /ʔəCúC/	CəCāwC /CəC _{Low} úC/	CāwC /CəʃúC/		CəCūʔ /CəCúʃ/	CəCūw /CəCúw/	

Amongst the particularities regarding patterns of the type CəCv:C, particular notice shall be given to the numerical underrepresentation of forms III-Glide and III-Gutt., as well as to the more frequent attestations of said forms for what appears to be /CəCéC/ (or /CəCéʔC/). It remains unclear whether some forms CəCēC and CəCōC might be underlyingly /CəCóʔC/ or /CəCéʔC/, although these options seem possible.

6) CəCayC and CəCawC

6.1) Introduction & Previous Literature

Surface patterns CəCayC and CəCawC can be (at least in EM) considered to be reflexes of underlying CəCīC and CəCūC showing a lowering R2, as well as forms with an underlying glide /CəCvyC/ and /CəCvwC/. The pattern CəCayC is very prominently represented amongst adj.m.sg. forms, but also attested outside of these in non-adjectival sg. forms, and in a small number of plural forms.¹⁴³ Also, CəCayC is attested as a relatively prominent G-stem VN pattern in EM, however apparently completely absent as a VN pattern in WM. CəCawC is, like CəCūC, much more productive as a plural pattern, although some sg. attestations are found as well.¹⁴⁴ Also, CəCawC is attested as a VN pattern, although all VN attestations appear to be Arabisms going back to Ar. CuCūC.

Previous discussions of CəCayC and CəCawC are mostly limited to discussions of CəCayC and these are linked to discussions of CəCīC (see chapter 5.1). In Bittner's discussion of CəCīC, CəCayC is considered to be the WM variant of adj.m.sg. WM CəCīC, conditioned by the presence of a lowering R2 (Bittner 1909, 20). Morris (1981, 119-120), considers CəCayC as a pattern of adjectives and nouns "...corresponding to the Ar. nominal pattern CaCiiC" (Morris 1981, 119), but also notes that not all forms CəCayC are Ar. loans, and that surface forms CəCayC occur relatively rarely in the (largely) WM data by Jahn (Morris 1981, 120). The association of EM CəCayC and Ar. CaCīC is also enunciated by Kogan (2015); however, Kogan clarifies that on a comparative basis, in Mh. this pattern (and its cognates in the other continental MSAL) has to be understood as a pattern loaned from Arabic, at least in the case of the adj.m.sg. attestations, since this pattern is unattested in Soqotri. This position will be discussed and supplied with further arguments in the discussion of Arabic loans.

In the discussion of this chapter, after a short overview of forms which might represent underlying CəCīC and CəCūC (6.5), the distribution of root consonants in parallel with what has been previously mentioned in terms of CəCv:C will be discussed under (6.6). This will be followed by a discussion of the underlying status of the surface diphthong in forms which cannot be readily assumed to be underlying CəCīC or CəCūC (6.7).

¹⁴³ 5 plural forms in ML, one of which (*əfhayl*) could be underlying CəCīC.

¹⁴⁴ 14 attestations in ML, 5 of which (*rəhawl'*, *təhawr*, *wəs 'awf*, *χəs 'aws'* and *həl 'awr*) might represent underlying CəCūC.

6.2) Overview of Attestations

Surface attestations of patterns CəCayC and CəCawC and surface variations are summarized in the table below.

Table 20.: Attestations of CəCayC/CəCawC in ML

Stressed V	Regular	I	II	III			Total
		I-ʕ	II- Lowering	III-y	III-w	III-ʔ	
[a] (ay)	CəCayC (70)	ʔāCayC (5)	CəCayC (46)	Regular (CəCay)	CəCay (1?) ¹⁴⁵	CəCayʔ (3)	124
[a] (aw)	CəCawC (33)	ʔāCawC (6)	CəCawC (19)		Regular (CəCaw)		59

¹⁴⁵ *χəlay* is given as III-w in ML

Table 22.: 2ay3#/2aw3# in CəCayC/CəCawC in ML

C2		C3						IG											Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.					Sonorants						?	
		Lowering C (Eject.)						Lowering C (Gutt.)				IG (non-Lowering)																		?	
		θ'	s'	š'	t'	k'	l'	ʕ	ʁ	ħ	χ	f	θ	s	š	t	k	l	h	b	d	ð	z	g	w	y	r	l	m	n	?
Lowering C (Eject.)	θ'									x																					
	s'									x																	x	x	x	x	
	š'																														
	t'									x									x					x		x	x		x	x	
	k'				x									x											x		x	x			
Lowering C (Gutt.)	l'														x											x					
	ʕ																										x		x		
	ʁ																		x								x				
IG	ħ								x		x				x					x							x	x	x	x	
	χ		x							x																	x	x			
	IG (non-Lowering)	f											x																		
		θ																													
		s										x								x								x		x	
		š																												x	
		t																													x
		k																			x						x		x		x
		l																										x		x	
h																		x	x						x	x		x			
Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.	b								x																		x				
	d					x																				x	x	x	x		
	ð																														
	z																x										x		x		
	g												x										x							x	
Sonorants	w											x														x	x	x			
	y																														
	r				x	x	x				x	x		x		x			x	x									x	x	
	l	x			x						x					x			x					x	147	x			x		
	m									x			x	x						x			x					x		x	
	n				x															x						x			x		
?	?																														

¹⁴⁷ Root $\sqrt{\chi}lw$ according to ML. Most forms indicated in ML do not show any discernible features arguing for or against the identification of this root as III-w or III-y. The forms $\chi\partial lw\bar{e}t$ Pl. $\chi\partial lwayt\bar{a}n$ would indicate III-w, whereas $\chi\partial l\bar{e}?$ would indicate III-y ($/\bar{e}y/ \rightarrow [\bar{e}?]?$, see chapter 5.). Given the fact that the semantics of $\chi\partial lw\bar{e}t$ (“Children’s tunnel in the sand”) does not immediately seem connected to the overall semantics of the root, it seems quite possible that one is dealing with a (synchronic) root $\sqrt{\chi}ly$, based on the item $\chi\partial l\bar{e}?$.

6.3) Application of Phonological Effects

A – IG: As to be expected, no particular phenomena are encountered when IG consonants are attested either as R1 and R2, where [ə] does not surface, despite the aforementioned conventions of transcription in ML (i.e. ML *kəsayb* should be read as ^o*kəsayb*), or as R2 and R3. Attestations for the latter configuration are *dəhayk*, *dəhays*, *k'əhayf*, *nəhayf*, *nəhays*, *t'əfays* and *nəfaws*.

B – Diphthongization + Vowel Lowering: As previously mentioned (chapter 5.), apriorically forms CəCayC and CəCawC which show a lowering R2 might be underlying CəCīC or CəCūC. For a further discussion of this, see below (6.6).

C - Fronted Stress / III-Gutt.: As is the case amongst items CəCv:C, attestations of patterns CəCayC/CəCawC showing a guttural as R3 (other than /ʕ/) are exceedingly rare, with the only attestation in ML being the item *səmayh*. By contrast, a number of items of the type CayCəC III-Gutt. are attested, where paradigmatically one would expect CəCayC, since the items in question are m.sg. adj. forms (*s'ayləh*, *k'aylə*). Thus, it appears that in these forms, the guttural shift applies not just to underlying vowels, but also sequences of underlying vowels and glides (i.e. /CəC'vyG/ → C'vyCəG).

D – Vowel Epenthesis of Sonorants (Liquids): In analogy to other sequences /áwC_{Son}/ and /áyC_{Son}/, (see chapter 4.), vowel epenthesis of sonorants is not attested when preceded by a (surface) glide, i.e. *bəxayl*, *fək'ayr*, *zəkayn*, *səlaym*, *həlawm*, etc.

E – Vowel Epenthesis of Glott.: N/A

F – Vocalization of /l/: In the two examples of pertinent forms showing initial /l/, it is vocalized regularly¹⁴⁸ after the spread of a vowel to the right in one form, i.e. *əwχaym* (√lχm); whereas the item *lət'ayf* (most likely an Arabism) is transcribed without vocalization in ML.

G – Behavior of /r/: N/A

H – /ʕ/: In initial position no particular phenomena are observed and forms surface as *ʔāCayC/ʔāCawC* in ML, i.e. *ʔāgayn*, *ʔāk'ayd*, *ʔālayk*, *ʔāgawz*, *ʔās'awr*, etc.

In medial position, /ʕ/ appears to surface in patterns CəCayC (according to ML), i.e. *bəʕayr*, *t'əʕaym*. Potential reflexes of a pattern CəCawC / R2 = /ʕ/ are rather sparsely attested, the only potential attestation surfacing as CawC, i.e. *dawn* (Sg. *dēn*, see J/S).¹⁴⁹

In final position, no forms are attested where /ʕ/ surfaces. Looking for possible surface reflexes of CəCayC / III-ʕ, one might consider m.sg. forms which on semantic and formal grounds might be considered “adjectives“ and which show /ʕ/ as R3. Amongst these forms one finds the items *farʔ* (variants *faraʔ*, *farəʔ*, *fērəʔ*), *šōga*, *k'aylə*, *s'ələē* and *mələbba* and possibly the forms *gōna* and *ləgē*, with

¹⁴⁸ Or perhaps rather irregularly, when considering the nature of the following consonant /χ/?

¹⁴⁹ This item could also represent CəCūC.

the latter two being attested without corresponding f.sg. and pl. forms. The only item showing a possible surface reflex of a stressed vowel between R2 and R3 is *s'əlē*, with the other forms showing stress between R1 and R2. Of particular interest in this latter regard is the item *k'ayla*,¹⁵⁰ which shows the f.sg. form *k'əlayt* (CəCCīt) and the plural forms *k'ālə?* (=°*k'āla?* CēCəC in analogy to color plurals, see chapter 2.) and *k'əlawtən* (CəCCūtən). Thus, this item appears to show the shift of not just stress, but the surface diphthong (presumably underlying /vy/) to the position between R1 and R2 in the m.sg. form and to the suffix in the f.sg. form. The same distribution of stress is encountered in the corresponding pl. forms (between R1 and R2 for m.pl., on the suffix for f.pl.). Regarding *s'əlē*, this item might just as well be understood as underlying CəCēC (see chapter 5), hence a clear identification of items CəCayC (and even more so CəCawC) showing /ʕ/ as R3 does not seem readily possible.

I – /ʔ/: No attestations of putative reflexes of /ʔ/ are found for R1 and R2 amongst patterns CəCayC and CəCawC.

In final position, there are three attestations of roots III-ʔ according to ML, i.e. *bət'ay?*, *bəray?* and *ðəray?*. At least the first two of these have good parallels in Arabic, allowing the question whether the interpretation in ML of these forms as III-ʔ (and the subsequent transcription) might be the result of the influence of Arabic. The f.sg. and pl. forms of *ðəray* are *ðərayyət* and *ðīraytən*, and hence do not show surface /ʔ/, whereas in the texts, Rubin transcribes this item as (a)*ðəray* (Rubin 2018, 438), not showing any surface reflex of a putative /ʔ/. No f.sg. and pl. forms are attested for *bət'ay?* and *bəray?*. Attestations of these items in Jahn's glossary also do not show any surface reflex of /ʔ/, surfacing as *dərī*. It hence seems unclear whether these forms can synchronically be understood to be actually III-ʔ, or rather III-y.

J – Glides: In initial and medial position /w/ (and, where present, /y/) surfaces regularly, i.e. *wəkayl*, *wəzayr*, *wəs'awf*, *yəhawd*, *s'əwayr*, *ləwayl*, etc. In medial position, only /w/ is attested and this only in the pattern CəCayC, hence sequences CəyayC or CəwawC are not attested in ML for patterns of the type under discussion here.

As is the case for items of the patterns CəCv:C, glides are less frequently represented as R3 than in the case of Cv:CəC. Items III-y surface as CəCay in the case of the pattern CəCayC,¹⁵¹ which can be understood as underlying /CəC'yy/ - hence a regular reflex of CəCayC.¹⁵² No clear attestation of an item III-w can be found, according to ML *χəlay* should be understood as III-w, however, on a synchronic

¹⁵⁰ In parallel with the III-/ħ/ form *s'ayləħ* (m.sg.), *s'əlhayt* (f.sg.). In the author's data this form is attested as *k'əylə* - could the diverging final vowel quality be indicative of a preservation of underlying /y/ between R2 and R3? This intriguing thought seems somewhat problematic when viewed against the background of G-stem VNs III-ʕ of the pattern CayCəC (assuming with Dufour 2016, 2017 that VN CayCəC goes back to historical *CaCīC), which surface as CayCa (i.e. *nayka*), showing a clear final /a/.

¹⁵¹ *k'əway*, *wəlay*, etc.

¹⁵² *ʁənay*, *wəlay*, *əškay*, *k'əway*, *χəlay* (III-w according to ML), *nək'ay*, *wday*

level no reason seems apparent for this interpretation. For the pattern CəCawC, the only clear attestation of an item with a glide as R3 is the plural form *ħək'aw*, presumably /ħək'vwv/.

6.4) Alternations with Suffixes

Clear attestations of patterns CəCayC and CəCawC with possessive suffixes are quite rare, not least since most attestations of said patterns are adjectival attestations of m.sg. CəCayC, which do not take possessive suffixes. The few potential attestations of CəCayC and CəCawC show a diphthong (or a reduced version thereof), which implies that the base of these forms remains stable (i.e. CəCayC- and CəCawC-).

CəCayC Sg.: *abəšáyrəħ* (ML *bəšayr*), *wəħaydi* (ML *wəħayd*)¹⁵³

CəCawC Pl.: *ak'əbəl'kəm* (ML *k'əbawl'* Pl.; Sg. *k'əbōl'*), *ak'ərəšikəm* (ML *k'ərawš* Pl.; Sg. *k'arš/k'erš* (own data *k'ērš/k'ārš*), *χəs'əmkε*, *χəs'əmhε* (ML *χəs'awm* Pl., Sg. *χas'm*)¹⁵⁴

Note the (non-)surfacing of the /y/ of the possessive suffixes of pl. nouns in the examples above.

6.5) CəCīC/CəCūC – CəCayC/CəCawC

As is the case with other patterns showing a surface [ī] or [ū], diphthongization occurs when this vowel is preceded by a lowering consonant. Discounting forms classifiable as “adjectives“ on the basis of both semantics and formal criteria (distinct m.sg./f.sg. and m.pl./f.pl. forms), the following forms are attested as potential underlying forms CəCīC/CəCūC:

CəCayC: *ħək'ayk'*, *rəs'ays'*, *s'ət'ayt'*, *lət'ayt'*, *t'ək'ayk'*, *bəšayr*, *dəħayk*, *dəħays*, *k'əħayf*, *nəs'ayl*, *ləkayb*, *ləħayn*, *ləħayr*, *ləχayl*, *t'əšaym*, *t'əħayn*, *wət'ayb*, *əwχaym*, *wəħayd*, *ləl'ayl'*, *əfħayl*

CəCawC: *rəħawl'*, *təħawr*, *wəs'awf*, *χəs'aws'*, *həl'war*, *ləl'awl'*, *lək'awl*, *ləs'war*, *ħək'aw*, *χət'awt'*, *ħək'awk'*, *ħəθ'awθ'*, *zət'awt'*, *χəs'awm*, *ħəs'awn*, *ləkawb*, *nəkawl*, *əšhawħ*, *ħək'awt'*

¹⁵³ Both items could apriorically be understood as underlying CəCīC with diphthongization due to the preceding guttural, however, at least in the case of *wəħaydi* this seems unlikely if one considers it to be an Arabism **waħīd* (see chapter 17.).

¹⁵⁴ The latter form might actually be Pl. CəCūC, see chapter 5. The sg. form *χas'm* indicated in ML seems to be a non-integrated Arabism, since vowel-spreading of R3 does not occur.

6.6) Restrictions on R3

Patterns CəCayC and CəCawC seem to be subject to similar restrictions on R3 as is the case for patterns CəCv:C (see chapter 5), with only one example of a guttural R3 other than /ʕ/ (*səmayh*), no unambiguous example of items III-ʕ and not particularly frequent – albeit existent – attestations of forms III-Glide, i.e. *ʁəṇay*, *k'əway*, *nək'ay*, *(ə)škay*, *wəlay*, *wday*, *χəlay* and *ħək'aw*.

6.7) Underlying Forms

The surface diphthongs of the forms CəCayC and CəCawC (discounting potential CəCīC and CəCūC, see 6.5) appear to be the reflex of an underlying stressed vowel and glide /vy/ - /vw/. This is implied first of all by the unconditioned surfacing of the diphthong in a large number of forms (i.e. [CəCayC] / [CəCawC] with no lowering R2), however also by the lack of stress shift in the case of f.sg. forms corresponding to m.sg. adjectives of the type CəCayC (f.sg. CəCayCət or CəCáCt when R3 = +IG). A few exceptions to this rule are attested in ML, namely *rəmaym* (f.sg. *rəmmēt*),¹⁵⁵ *həmayg* (f.sg. *həmgīt*),¹⁵⁶ *nəkayd* (f.sg. *nəkdət*),¹⁵⁷ *šərayf* (f.sg. *šərafyət*),¹⁵⁸ *sədayk'* (f.sg. *sádk'ət*)¹⁵⁹ and *səmayh* (f.sg. *səmhayt*). Since most of these forms show variants exhibiting stable stress, it can be assumed that the f.sg. forms given in ML represent speaker-based variants (and/or perhaps mistakes), formed perhaps in analogy to stress-shifting f.sg. forms, and that in these cases a form CəCáyCət can be assumed to be paradigmatic.¹⁶⁰ In the case of CəCawC no such diagnostic tools appear readily available, since most attestations of CəCawC are pl. forms and attestations of the pattern CəCawCət do not seem to stand in any derivational relationship with attestations of CəCawC, however the unconditioned (by a previous

¹⁵⁵ Attested as *rəmaymət* in the author's data.

¹⁵⁶ Attested as *həməgət* in the author's data, which might represent an error?

¹⁵⁷ Attested as *nəkədīt* in the author's data. According to the author's informants this is not a standard Mh. term, but rather a J/S term, which might explain the irregular stress-shift (although one would still expect an unattested *°nəkaydət* via analogy).

¹⁵⁸ Attested both as *šərafyət* and *šəraf* in the author's data (variants come from different speakers).

¹⁵⁹ Attested as *s'ədək'(ə)t* in the author's data. Whereas stress seems to fall on the predicted vowel in this form, the shortening of the diphthong seems unexplainable, since R3 = /k'/. This form remains highly problematic – more so than Johnstone's *s'ádk'ət* (see the footnote below).

¹⁶⁰ Some of the forms mentioned might simply reflect lexicalized differences, for example *s'ədayk' / s'ádk'ət* (see Ar. *šadīq/šādiq* or J/S *súdk'/súdk'ut*). Both the Arabic form and the J/S form would explain the seemingly irregular form *s'ádk'ət*, and imply that this f.sg. form is not directly derived from the corresponding m.sg. form. The author thanks Julien Dufour for drawing the J/S to the author's attention.

In the case of other forms – most notably *həmayg/həmgīt*, but potentially also *rəmaym/rəmmēt* and *nəkayd/nəkdət* – the semantics of these forms falls into a broader category of adjectives describing physical and mental states (usually of some degree of “deficiency”), which pattern distinctly also in terms of vowel quality of the suffix (see chapter 15.5). Distinct morphological patterning of this type of adjectives is also well known in other Semitic languages, i.e. CA, although the forms given above can hardly be considered loans from or cognates with CA adjectives of physical or mental “deficiency”).

The form *səmayh/səmhayt* has already been mentioned above (6.6) for its unusual m.sg. form, being the only item of the type CəCayC to show a guttural /h/ as R3. If one assumed m.sg. *°səmayh*, f.sg. *səmhayt* would seem regular vs. the aforementioned *k'ayta/k'əlayt*, *s'aylāh/s'əlhayt*.

The glide after R3 in the case of the item *šərafyət* seems completely unexplainable at this point, it is however noted by Johnstone that this item is a poetic form, and hence possibly liable to show some degree of idiosyncracies.

lowering consonant) surfacing of [aw] in a number of forms would imply the underlying sequence /CəC'vwC/, at least for a number of attestations of CəCawC.

6.8) Biradicals

No particularities are noted for biradicals, neither for CəCayC nor for CəCawC. This includes biradicals which show an IG consonant as R2 (e.g. *χəfayf*, *χəsays*, *məkawk*, *χəfawf*, *ħəsaws*, *əšhawħ*).

6.9) Conclusion on CəCayC/CəCawC

The following table summarizes the potential underlying forms of surface CəCayC/CəCawC.

Table 23.: Underlying forms of CəCayC/CəCawC in ML

Surface V	Regular	Underlying /v/	Underlying /vC/	R1	R2	R3		
				ʕ	+ [low.]	w	y	III-Gutt. (incl. /ʕ/)
[a] (ay)	CəCayC	/CəC _{Low} íC/	/CəC'vyC/	ʔāCayC /ʕəC'vyC/	CəCayC /CəC'vyC/ /CəC _{Low} íC/	CəCáy (?)	CəCay /CəC'vy/	<i>səmayħ</i>
[a] (aw)	CəCaw C	/CəC _{Low} úC/	/CəC'wC/	ʔāCawC /ʕəC'wC/	CəCawC /CəC'wC/ /CəC _{Low} úC/	CəCaw /CəC'ww/		

It has thus been seen in this chapter, that underlying /CəC'vyC/ and /CəC'wC/ seem to be subject to the same restrictions on R3 as is the case for items of the type CəCv:C. Potential attestations of the shift of the paradigmatically stressed diphthong are found in items such as *s'ayləħ* or *k'ayla*. Thus, one observes that the shift of stress does not seem to apply exclusively to stressed vowels but rather to the entire combination of stressed vowel and non-root glide.

7) mǝ-

7.1) Introduction & Previous Literature

Patterns which show a prefix m- are widely attested in Mehri, as in other MSAL and other Semitic languages more generally speaking. Patterns which do not show any additional affixes can show a stressed vowel or diphthong between the prefix and R1 (mʻCCǝC, i.e. máCCǝC/máCCǝC), R1 and R2 (mǝCǝCǝC / mǝCawCǝC) or between R2 and R3 (mǝCCv:C / mǝCCawC / mǝCCayC). In addition, configurations showing a suffix -vt are attested, most of which show stress on the suffix (mǝCCǝCv:ʻt), but not all do (máCCǝCǝt, mǝCv:ʻCǝCt). Some forms which show a f.sg. -v:t show a f.pl. mǝCCǝCv:tǝn or mǝCCáCtǝn. Also, forms showing a geminated R2 are attested, which show stress on the vowel between R1 and R2 (mǝCáCCǝC), these are mostly Arabic loans. Some of these forms take a pl. suffix -v:n, which is also attested marginally for some other sg. patterns showing a prefix m-. Patterns showing a prefix m- also contain a number of “participles“ of derived stems, some of which are lexicalized beyond their paradigmatic usage, and which show their derived stem morpheme. Also, a few forms containing a nisba-suffix are attested, which is as elsewhere, usually stressed. Finally, a small number of other patterns, containing features such as reduplication of R3 or irregular suffixation (?) of /w/ are attested.

In this chapter, only patterns which do not show any affixes, i.e. configurations mʻvCCǝC, mǝCǝCǝC, mǝCawCǝC, mǝCCǝC, mǝCCǝC (mǝCCayC), mǝCCǝC and mǝCCawC will be discussed, as well as certain surface forms which might be considered variants of aforementioned patterns, i.e. mǝCǝCǝC, mǝCǝCǝC, mǝCaCC, mǝCayC, etc.

Patterns of the type mʻCCǝC are attested relatively infrequently compared to other patterns showing a prefix m-. The stressed vowel is always short, underlining the lack of an underlying vowel between R1 and R2 in patterns of the type mvCCvC, and almost always /a/. All attestations of mʻCCǝC are m.sg. forms with no corresponding f.sg. forms attested. Attestations of this pattern might contain a number of Arabic loans, but the pattern appears not to be entirely composed of loans.

In the case of patterns which show a stressed vowel or diphthong between R1 and R2, all attestations are plural forms.¹⁶¹ Two basic configurations are attested, namely mǝCǝCǝC and mǝCawCǝC, with the few attestations of mǝCǝCǝC and mǝCǝCǝC being in all likelihood surface variants of mǝCǝCǝC. In addition, some sg. forms show the surface pattern mǝCáCC, all of which are II-Glide or geminated roots (see below, 7.6).

¹⁶¹ Some examples of mǝCawCǝC in ML are given without a corresponding Sg./Pl. form, however, semantically speaking it seems relatively clear that one is dealing with pl. forms.

Regarding patterns with a stressed vowel or diphthong between R2 and R3, all possible vowel qualities are attested, with the exception of /u/.¹⁶² Forms which show a diphthong are also attested, in the case of mǎCCawC one is dealing with a non-productive separate pattern (i.e. showing an underlying glide), which is the regular reflex of (most) Arabic loans of the type (Ar.) maCCūC. In the case of mǎCCayC, most attestations (though not necessarily all, see below) can be considered allophones of mǎCCīC when R2 is a lowering consonant. Attestations of the pattern mǎCCīC can be almost entirely considered to be m.sg. attestations of the G-stem passive participle, these show the paradigmatic m.pl. mǎCCōC. For its part, most attestations of mǎCCōC are the aforementioned m.pl. forms, however a few m.sg. attestations of mǎCCōC are attested as well. Patterns of the type mǎCCēC are almost entirely m.sg. forms, most of which do not show a corresponding f.sg. form. As elaborated elsewhere (chapter 17.), mǎCCēC is the expected reflex of Ar. maCCaC, and some attestations appear to be integrated Arabic loans, but not all. Also, some forms showing a prefix m- can be understood as VNs, although these are rather infrequent compared to other varieties of VN formation, and are usually restricted to G-stem forms, and often loaned from Arabic.

One aspect which has drawn attention in previous literature on forms with the prefix m- is the parallel between mǎCCīC and Arabic maCCūC. Already Bittner (1909, 29-30) established the connection between these two forms, without elaborating on details of possible historical developments or the current status of said forms. Forms of the type máCCǎC and mǎCCēC are discussed by Bittner (1909, 31) in the light of Arabic maCCaC and mvCCāC, suggesting that the expected reflex of maCCaC would show stress between R2 and R3, and claiming that forms which show stress between the prefix and R1 do so to avoid surface identity with passive participles (Bittner 1909, loc.cit.), with the details of this purported process remaining unclear.

In Morris' (1981) account of Mehri noun patterns, mǎCCēC is again referred to as “...*a common noun pattern for nouns of instrument.*“ (Morris 1981, 272), implying a similar connection to Ar. maCCaC/mvCCāC as Bittner did, with mǎCCāC being a conditioned variant of mǎCCēC (Morris 1981, 271). The pattern mǎCCayC is described as being the conditioned variant of mǎCCīC (Morris 1981, 274), the G-stem passive participle, though not all examples of mǎCCīC are understood as such by Morris (1981, 275). For the pattern mǎCCōC no references to them being the pl. form corresponding to sg. mǎCCīC are made, though Morris notes that some forms mǎCCōC appear to be nouns referring to spatial terms (Morris 1981, 276). Attestations of the surface pattern mǎCCūC are described by Morris as “...*occasionally the pattern assumed by passive participle forms of the /mafʁuul/ pattern borrowed from Ar. ...*“ (Morris 1981, 277), although it is noted that most items of the type Ar. maCCūC surface as mǎCCawC (Morris 1981, loc.cit.). Patterns showing a stressed vowel between the prefix and R1 are described as a “...*common pattern, occasionally corresponding to the Ar. pattern /mafʁil/...*“ (Morris

¹⁶² The few counter-examples in ML are either clear (and hence in all likelihood non-integrated) Arabisms, i.e. *mǎbrūk* or variants which show /o/ otherwise (i.e. *mǎkūn*, which is also attested as *mǎkōn* in ML).

1981, 279), to which she connects forms of the type $m\acute{a}C\acute{a}CC$ / R2 = Glide, rather than connecting said forms to other surface items of the type $m\acute{a}C\acute{a}CC$, which she reserves for biradicals (Morris 1981, 278). Regarding the plural patterns with a stressed vowel or diphthong between R1 and R2, Morris describes $m\acute{a}C\bar{o}C\acute{a}C$ as the plural form of both f.sg. forms with a stressed suffix and of m.sg. forms of the types $m\acute{a}CC\bar{e}C$, $m\acute{a}CC\bar{i}C$ and $m\acute{a}CCawC$ (Morris 1981, 220-221). Patterns of the surface type $m\acute{a}C\bar{e}C\acute{a}C$ are identified as rare, and apparently a connection between the surface vowel $[\bar{e}]$ and the fact that both of her examples for $m\acute{a}C\bar{e}C\acute{a}C$ show /h/ as R1 is drawn, rather than referring to the nature of R2 (Morris 1981, 221-222). The pattern $m\acute{a}CawC\acute{a}C$ is described as “... a bound pattern, the diphthong /aw/ occurring in all phonetic contexts.” (Morris 1981, 223), with $mawC\acute{a}C$ being attested for forms showing initial /s/ or /ʔ/ (Morris 1981, 223-224).

Finally, in Rubin’s 2018 grammar one finds some discussion on the semantics and usage of passive participles (Rubin 2018, 182-184), including the paradigm of G-stem passive participles $m\acute{a}CC\bar{i}C$ (m.sg.)/ $m\acute{a}CC\acute{a}C\bar{u}t$ (f.sg.)/ $m\acute{a}CC\bar{o}C$ (m.pl., also noting $m\acute{a}CawC\acute{a}C$)/ $m\acute{a}CC\acute{a}Ct\acute{e}n$ (f.pl.).

In the discussion of this chapter, first the question of certain less frequently attested surface patterns and whether they can be considered allophonic variants of other patterns, will be discussed (7.4). This is followed by a discussion of restrictions on R3 in the case of patterns $m\acute{a}CCv:C$ (7.5), in parallel to what has been shown for the case of patterns $C\acute{a}Cv:C$ (chapter 5.) and $C\acute{a}CayC/C\acute{a}CawC$ (chapter 6.). A discussion of the potential neutralization of glides in patterns which do not show a stressed vowel between R2 and R3 is given under (7.6), and the question of the underlying status of surface diphthongs and $[\bar{o}]$ is picked up under (7.7).

7.2) Overview of Attestations

The number of attestations of patterns with a prefix m- and no further affixes are summarized in the tables below.

Table 24.1.: Attestations of $m\acute{v}CC\acute{a}C$ in ML

Stressed V	Regular	R1		R3		Total
		w	ʃ	ʃ	y	
[a]	$m\acute{a}CC\acute{a}C$ (7)	$m\acute{a}wC\acute{a}C$ (3)	$m\acute{a}C\acute{a}C$ (1)	$m\acute{a}CCa(?)$ (1)	$m\acute{a}CCa$ (1?)	13
[ə]	$m\acute{a}CC\acute{a}C$ (2)					2

Table 24.2.: 2ə3 in m'CCəC in ML

C2 \ C3		Lowering C (Eject.)											Lowering C (Gutt.)							IG (non-Lowering)							Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.					Sonorants						?
		θ'	s'	š'	t'	k'	l'	ʕ	Ɂ	h	χ	f	θ	s	š	t	k	l	h	b	d	ð	z	g	w	y	r	l	m	n	?							
		θ'	s'	š'	t'	k'	l'	ʕ	Ɂ	h	χ	f	θ	s	š	t	k	l	h	b	d	ð	z	g	w	y	r	l	m	n	?							
Lowering C (Eject.)	θ'																																					
	s'																									x			x									
	š'																																					
	t'																																					
	k'																																					
	l'																																					
Lowering C (Gutt.)	ʕ																																					
	Ɂ																																					
	h																										x	x										
	χ																																					
IG (non-Lowering)	f																																					
	θ																																					
	s																																					
	š																																					
	t																																					
	k																																					
	l																																					
h																																						
Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.	b																																					
	d																																					
	ð																																					
	z																																					
	g																																					
Sonorants	w																																					
	y																																					
	r																																					
	l																																					
	m																																					
	n																																					
?																																						

Table 25.1.: Attestations of məCōCəC/məCawCəC in ML

Surface V	Regular	R1	R2				R3			Total
		ʃ	w	y	ʃ	[+Gutt.] ≠ ʃ	[+Glide]	ʃ		
[o]	məCōCəC (34)	mōCəC (7)	məCōwəC (5)	məCōyəC (2)		məCēCəC (2)		məCōCi (8)	məCōCa(?) (3)	65
					I- Lo w.	III- w				
						mə Cā Cə C (3) 163	məC ēCə w (1)			
[a] (aw)	məCawCəC (22)	mawCəC (3)			məCáwwəC (?) (1) ¹⁶⁴			məCawCi (3)	məCáwCa? (1)	30
[a] (ay)	məCayCəC (1) ¹⁶⁵									1
[a]	məCáCC (9) ¹⁶⁶									9

¹⁶³ Two of the three attestations do not show a lowering consonant preceding the stressed vowel or a guttural consonant after the stressed vowel, i.e. *mənādax* and *mənāšar*.

¹⁶⁴ *mənáwwəš*, according to ML II-ʃ

¹⁶⁵ *məbayθal*

¹⁶⁶ Biradicals & II-w/y, including *məxə'dd*

Table 25.2.: 2ə3 in məCawCəC in ML

C2 \ C3		IG										Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.					Sonorants						?								
		Lowering C (Eject.)					Lowering C (Gutt.)					IG (non-Lowering)																			
		θ'	s'	š'	t'	k'	l'	ʕ	ʁ	h	χ	f	θ	s	š	t	k	l	h	b	d	ð	z	g	w	y	r	l	m	n	?
Lowering C (Eject.)	θ'																														
	s'																														
	š'																														
	t'																														
	k'	x																		x											
	l'																														
Lowering C (Gutt.)	ʕ																														
	ʁ																														
	h																														
	χ																														
IG	IG (non-Lowering)	f																													
		θ																													
		s																													
	š																														
	t																														
	k																														
	l																														
	h																														
	Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.	b																													
d																															
ð																															
z																															
g																															
Sonorants	w																														
	y																														
	r																														
	l																														
	m																														
	n																														
?																															

Table 25.3.: 2ə3 in məCōCəC in ML

C2 \ C3		Lowering C											IG								Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.					Sonorants						?
		Lowering C (Eject.)						Lowering C (Gutt.)					IG (non-Lowering)																			?
		θ'	s'	š'	t'	k'	l'	ʕ	ʁ	h	χ	f	θ	s	š	t	k	l	h	b	d	ð	z	g	w	y	r	l	m	n	?	
Lowering C (Eject.)	θ'																															
	s'																															
	š'																		x													
	t'											x																				
	k'				x																											
	l'											x																				
Lowering C (Gutt.)	ʕ																															
	ʁ																															
	h																															
	χ																															
IG (non-Lowering)	f	x					x																									
	θ							x																								
	s																							x								
	š																															
	t																															
	k																															
	l									x																						
	h																							x	x							
Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.	b									x														x								
	d											x																				
	ð																															
	z																															
	g																															
Sonorants	w		x							x													x									x
	y				x	x																		x								
	r										x	x																				
	l					x																										
	m																															
	n																															
?																																

Table 25.4.: 2ə3 in məCṽ(:/w)CəC in ML

C2		C3														Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.					Sonorants						?				
		Lowering C (Eject.)							Lowering C (Gutt.)				IG																		
		θ'	s'	š'	t'	k'	l'	ʕ	ɸ	h	χ	f	θ	s	š	t	k	l	h	b	d	ð	z	g	w	y	r	l	m	n	?
Lowering C (Eject.)	θ'																														
	s'																										x	x			
	š'																		x												
	t'										x																x		x		
	k'	x			x														x								x				
	l'										x																				
Lowering C (Gutt.)	ʕ																x														
	ɸ																														
	h																										x				
	χ																										x	x			
IG	IG (non-Lowering)	f	x				x	x																			x	x			
		θ							x																				x		
		s																							x				x		
		š																													
	t																														
	k																			x											
	l								x																						
	h																							x	x						
Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.	b				x			x																		x	x			x	
	d										x																	x			
	ð																		x								x				
	z																										x		x		
	g																								x						
Sonorants	w		x						x										x						x					x	
	y				x	x																		x							
	r						x			x		x							x										x		
	l					x					x															x			x		
	m							x																			x	x		x	
	n																										x				
?	?																														

Table 26.1.: Attestations of məCCv:C in ML

Stressed V	Default Pattern	R1		R2				R3		Total		
		ʕ	ʔ	ʕ	w	y	[+low.] ≠ ʕ	ʕ	[+Glide]			
[e]	məCCēC (16)	māCēC (7)			məCwēC (məCwē) (4)	məCyēC (3)	məCCāC (21) ¹⁶⁷	II-ʕ məCāC (1)	III-ʕ məCCā (2)	məCCē (2)	məCCē (5)	61
[o]	məCCōC (31)	māCōC (1)	məwCōC (1)	məCōC (1)	məCwōC (1)	məCyōC (1)	Regular				məCCōw (2) məCCōy (1)	39
[i]	məCCīC (20)	māCīC (maʔCīC) (3)	məwCīC (1)	məCayC (1)	məCwīC (4)	məCyīC (1)	məCCayC (13) ¹⁶⁸				məCCīw (1)	44
[u]	məCCūC (2)				məCūC (1)							3 ¹⁶⁹
[a] (ay)	məCCayC (5)			məCayC (1)			(see above)				məCCayw (1) məCCay (2)	9
[a] (aw)	məCCawC (5)						məCCawC (2)					7

¹⁶⁷ Including 6 lexical məCCāC¹⁶⁸ Not counting 9 attestations of məCCayC where no lowering consonant is present.¹⁶⁹ All items likely non-integrated Arabisms, forms məCCawC are unlikely to be məCCūC, even for the two forms showing lowering consonants preceding the stressed surface diphthong.

Table 26.2.: 2ē3 in mǝCCēC in ML

C2		C3	IG														Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.					Sonorants						?						
			Lowering C (Eject.)						Lowering C (Gutt.)				IG (non-Lowering)																					
			θ'	s'	š'	t'	k'	l'	ʕ	ɣ	ħ	χ	f	θ	s	š	t	k	l	h	b	d	ð	z	g	w	y	r	l	m	n	?		
Lowering C (Eject.)	θ'																																	
	s'																																	
	š'																																	
	t'																																	
	k'																																	
	l'																																	
	Lowering C (Gutt.)	ʕ																																
		ɣ																																
		ħ																																
		χ																																
IG (non-Lowering)	f						x	x																										
	θ								x																									
	s																								x									
	š																																	
	t																																	
	k																			x			x											
	l																																	
	h																																	
	Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.	b																																
d																																		
ð																				x														
z																																x		
g																																		
Sonorants	w		x						x																	x								
	y									x										x												x		
	r					x	x					x					x			x	x					x				x				
	l					x						x		x									x											
	m																																	
	n																																x	
?	?																																	

Table 26.3.: 2ᵒ3 in mᵒCCᵒC in ML

C2		C3						IG										Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.					Sonorants						?				
		Lowering C (Eject.)						Lowering C (Gutt.)				IG (non-Lowering)																					?
		θ'	s'	š'	t'	k'	l'	ç	κ	ħ	χ	f	θ	s	š	t	k	l	h	b	d	ð	z	g	w	y	r	l	m	n	?		
Lowering C (Eject.)	θ'																																
	s'																			x								x					
	š'																																
	t'																																
	k'																																
Lowering C (Gutt.)	l'																																
	ç																																
	κ																																
	ħ																																
IG	χ																																
	f																																
	θ																																
	s																			x	x												
	š																																
	t																																
	k																			x													
	l																																
	h																																
Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.	b																																
	d																																
	ð																																
	z																																
	g																																
Sonorants	w																																
	y																																
	r																																
	l																																
	m																																
	n																																
?																																	

Table 26.5.: 2v(:/w/y)3 in mǝCCv:C in ML

C2 \ C3		Lowering C											IG								Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.					Sonorants						?		
		Lowering C (Eject.)						Lowering C (Gutt.)					IG (non-Lowering)																			?		
		θ'	s'	š'	t'	k'	l'	ʕ	ʁ	h	χ	f	θ	s	š	t	k	l	h	b	d	ð	z	g	w	y	r	l	m	n	?			
Lowering C (Eject.)	θ'																																	
	s'																			x	x													
	š'																																	
	t'										x																							
	k'		x																		x													
	l'																																	
Lowering C (Gutt.)	ʕ																																	
	ʁ																																	
	h																																	
IG (non-Lowering)	ʕ																																	
	ʁ																																	
	h																																	
	χ																																	
	f																																	
	θ																																	
	s																																	
	š																																	
	t																																	
	k																																	
Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.	b																																	
	d																																	
	ð																																	
	z																																	
	g																																	
Sonorants	w		x																															
	y																																	
	r																																	
	l																																	
	m		x																															
	n																																	
?																																		

7.3) Application of Phonological Effects

A – IG: Amongst the few attestations of $m'CC\bar{C}$, no examples showing a configuration of two IG-consonants are attested.

In patterns of the type $m\bar{C}Cv:C$ configurations of IG-consonants are found, although no particular phenomena are to be expected in said configurations apriorically. In the case of R2 and R3 one finds examples such as *māḥāf*, *mās'hāf* (both $m\bar{C}C\bar{C}$); *māwḥayf* ($m\bar{C}C\bar{C}$) and *māt'hōs*. In addition, one finds a number of examples of biradicals in patterns $m\bar{C}Cv:C$ which show an IG-consonant as R2 (*mālēl*, *māḥfēf*, *māḥkīk*, *mās'fīf*, *māḥfōf*, *māḥfōf*, etc.). IG-consonants are also attested as R1 and R2, (f.e. *māḥfūr*, *māḥfūr*, *māḥfūr*).

Pluralic patterns $m\bar{C}\bar{C}C\bar{C}$ and $m\bar{C}awC\bar{C}$ show a number of attestations of IG-consonants as R1 and R2 (i.e. surrounding the stressed vowel/diphthong, and hence of little interest), in the case of the former pattern *māḥōfār*, *māḥōfāθ'*, *māḥōfām* and *māsēḥat'*; whereas in the case of the latter only the item *māḥawḥāl* is attested. Notably, IG-consonants as R2 and R3 are found in the two examples of *māwḥāt* and *māḥawḥāf* (see below, 7.8), showing the IG-effect apparently blocked by the presence of the preceding (consonantal?) glide, as to be expected (with Bendjaballah & Ségéral 2014; 2022).

B – Effect of Lowering Consonants.: As with other attestations of surface [ā], patterns of the type $m\bar{C}C\bar{C}$ and $m\bar{C}\bar{C}C\bar{C}$ (the latter ultimately $m\bar{C}\bar{C}C\bar{C} > m\bar{C}\bar{C}\bar{C}C\bar{C}$) usually show a lowering consonant as R2 or R1 respectively. Examples in ML which do not show a lowering R2 or R1 respectively are *māḥrāb*, *māḥ'rāl'*, *māḥsār*, *mās'rāb*, *māt'bāḥ*, *māḥbāt'* and *māt'rāḥ* (for $m\bar{C}C\bar{C}/m\bar{C}C\bar{C}$) and *māḥnādāḥ* and *māḥnāsār* (for $m\bar{C}\bar{C}\bar{C}C\bar{C}/m\bar{C}\bar{C}\bar{C}C\bar{C}$). Amongst surface forms $m\bar{C}C\bar{C}$ which do not show a lowering R2, most show a lowering consonant as R1 and /r/ as R2, hence apparently showing the spread of the effect of lowering consonants via liquids, two of the three exceptions *māḥsār* and *māt'bāḥ* are quite transparent Arabisms, presumably not or incompletely integrated.¹⁷⁰ The form *māt'āḥām* appears to be paradigmatic $m\bar{C}\bar{C}C\bar{C}$, showing the application of the alternation o/e and the lowering effect of /θ'/; the form *māḥnāsār* is the plural of the presumably non-integrated sg. form *māḥsār* noted above. The item *māḥnādāḥ* remains the single item defying classification as either a surface reflex of underlying /e/,¹⁷¹ or as a non-integrated Arabism. Amongst surface forms $m\bar{C}C\bar{C}$, no attestations of forms showing a lowering R2 is found in ML, as to be expected.

Amongst patterns of the type $m\bar{C}C\bar{C}$, the expected surface variant $m\bar{C}CayC$ is found when R2 is a lowering consonant. As in other patterns, two independent patterns $m\bar{C}C\bar{C}$ and $m\bar{C}CayC$ exist, however attestations of the latter as an independent pattern are much more restricted than is the case for $CayC\bar{C}$ or $C\bar{C}ayC$ (see below 7.6). Aside from this notion, the identification of some surface forms

¹⁷⁰ The third item, *māḥbāt'*, seems problematic in this regard.

¹⁷¹ Nor does it seem clear how this form could be viewed as underlying $m\bar{C}\bar{C}C\bar{C}$, hence it seems quite possible that one is dealing with a “problematic” form to begin with.

məCCayC as məCCīC becomes clear when regarding corresponding f.sg. forms, which paradigmatically ought to be expected as məCCəCūt (or məCCəCawt / R3 = Lowering), if a simple vowel was underlying (based on the general assumption of underlying non-root glides blocking stress shift in f.sg. forms derived from a m.sg. form, see chapter 15., as well as the paradigmatic shift in pass.part. forms, as described by Rubin (2018, 182-183). The following m.sg.-f.sg. pairs of surface məCCayC showing stress shift are attested: *mək'layl/mək'allōt*,¹⁷² *mək's'ayr/mək's'ərawt*, *məšhayr/məšhərot*,¹⁷³ *məws'ayf/məws'əfūt*, *mənayl/mənālūt*.¹⁷⁴ The only form attested which does not show stress shift is *məskayn/məskaynət*, which does not represent underlying məCCīC. Other surface forms məCCayC in ML which do not show a lowering consonant as R2 are *məχbay*, *məħθaym*, *məłhayr*, *mək'nayw*, *məkrayb*, *mədnay* and *məgbay* (see below, 7.6).

Regarding the question of məCCūC and məCCawC, the former pattern is barely attested in ML (the example *məkūn* is attested as *məkōn* elsewhere, *məbrūk* (and *məgzūr*?) are clear non-integrated Arabisms), and almost all examples of məCCawC can be understood as integrated Arabisms from Arabic məCCūC, i.e. *məghawd*, *mək's'awd*, *mənsawl*, *məs'rawf*, *mət'lawb*, *mārawf*. The only item clearly defying an interpretation from Ar. is *mədḅawš'* (and possible *mənsawl*?). Hence it does not seem likely that attestations of the diphthongization of /u/ is to be found amongst these forms, due to the lack of /u/ in stressed, phonologically open syllables amongst patterns showing a prefix m-, despite the fact that two forms of the type məCCawC can be found which show a lowering consonant preceding the stressed surface diphthong (*mək's'awd* and *mədḅawš'*; see the table above, 7.2).

C - Fronted Stress / III-Gutt.: Amongst forms which do not show stress on the vowel between R2 and R3 (i.e. məCCəC/məCCəC; məCōCəC and məCawCəC), gutturals as R3 are attested. The few attestations of patterns məCCəC show one example *mák'ma* (III-ḡ). Patterns showing a stressed vowel or diphthong between R1 and R2 show *mənādəχ*, *mək'ōla*, *mədōfa?*, *məl'ōrəh*, *mənōwəh*, *mərōwəh*, *mərōθəḅ*, *mərōbə?* and *mək'awma?*, that is 8 examples of məCōCəC out of a total 65 and one example of məCawCəC out of a total 30. Amongst patterns which show a stressed vowel between R2 and R3, guttural consonants as R3 are, as is the case for noun patterns of the type CəCv:C, restricted to patterns of the type məCCēC. Amongst the latter, one finds the examples *mədyēχ*, *mənwēh*, *mərθēḅ*, *mədfē*, *mərbā*, *mək'īā*, *mət'bāχ*, and *məl'rāh*. No attestations of məCCōC or məCCīC (or məCCayC/məCCawC) showing a guttural as R3 are to be found.

Note, with regard to the question of the positioning of stressed vowels before gutturals, the aforementioned examples of surface məCēCəC. All attestations (with the exception of the aforementioned *mənāšə* and *mənādəχ*) show a guttural as R2, hence an unconditioned paradigm məCēCəC cannot be posited. However, one similarly does not observe the shift of stress to the

¹⁷² Presumably a variant of /u/ in Johnstone's transcription.

¹⁷³ Presumably a variant of /u/ in Johnstone's transcription.

¹⁷⁴ To these one might add *məslaym/məsəwmēt*.

(presumably underlying) vowel of the prefix *mə-*. Unlike in certain other cases, this lack of stress shift cannot be adduced to the presence of a consonant cluster preceding the stressed vowel, but rather appears to pattern in parallel with what has been seen for items of the surface pattern *CəCēC* (i.e. *CəCēG*, see chapter 5.). When viewing these two cases in parallel, this would suggest an underlying /ʔ/ for the stressed vowel of paradigmatic *məCōCəC* – however, it ought to be mentioned that an alternative (albeit ad-hoc, not least since items showing stress on the vowel of the suffix are attested, i.e. *máCCəC*) explanation of this phenomenon perhaps should not be ruled out completely, namely the morpheme boundary blocking said displacement of stress.

D – Vowel Epenthesis of Sonorants (Liquids): N/A

E – Vowel Epenthesis of Glott.: N/A

F – Vocalization of /l/: The vocalization of /l/ is attested, as expected, in the pattern *məCCēC*, i.e. *məwsē*, which is the only item amongst the patterns in question where /l/ is attested in ML in a position apriorically liable to vocalization.

G – Behavior of /r/: N/A

H – /ʕ/: Patterns I-ʕ with a stressed vowel between R2 and R3 show the regular reflex *māCv:C*, i.e. *mādīg*, *māθīm*, *maʔgīn*, *mālōkʻ*, *māzēm*, *mālēl*, *māðēb*, *mālēz*, *mārēb*, *mārēlʻ*, *mālēkʻ*, *mārawf*. For patterns I-ʕ with a stressed vowel between the prefix *m-* and R1 only clear attestation I-ʕ can be found, i.e. *māləm*. Patterns I-ʕ with a stressed vowel between R1 and R2 surface as *mōCəC* for *məCōCəC*, i.e. *mōðəb*, *mōləm*, *mōzəb*, *mōfi*, *mōlʻəb*, *mōləkʻ*, *mōməd*, and *mawCəC* for *məCawCəC*, i.e. *mawləl*, *mawðəb*, *mawləm*.

As R2, no clear attestations are found for patterns with a stressed vowel between the prefix and R1 or between R1 and R2, the only potential example for the latter category being the item *mənawwəl*.¹⁷⁵ In the case of patterns of the type *məCCv:C*, three potential examples are found i.e. *mənayl*, *mənōl* and *məlāb*.

In final position, patterns which do not show a stressed vowel immediately preceding /ʕ/ show the regular reflex *Ca(ʔ)#* (for *Cəʕ#*),¹⁷⁶ i.e. *mákʻma*, *məkʻōla*, *mədōfaʔ*, *mərōbəʔ*, *məkʻawmaʔ*. As mentioned above, amongst patterns with stress on a vowel between R2 and R3, /ʕ/ is only to be found amongst the pattern *məCCēC*, where the expected reflex *məCCē* (*məCCā*) is attested, i.e. *mədfē*, *mərbā*, *məkʻtʻā*.

¹⁷⁵ II-ʕ according to ML, which seems quite possible given the verbal attestations of the same root. If the transcription in ML is to be accepted, this might provide an interesting example of what happens to /ʕ/ in the environment *_áwʕv_* (=assimilation?), with /w/ being a non-root glide? Regardless, this item needs verification, and more data is needed for potential attestations of the aforementioned context.

¹⁷⁶ As attested otherwise, sometimes transcribed as <aʔ> or <əʔ> in ML.

I – /ʔ/: Items identified as having /ʔ/ as a root consonant in ML are restricted to forms derived from four roots: I-ʔ √ʔsr (*məwsīr/məwsārūt/məwsōr/məwsártan*) and I-ʔ √ʔrm (*mawrəm/mawrəmət*); III-ʔ √χbʔ (*məχbay/məχawbi*) and III-ʔ √nwʔ (pl. *mənōwi*, sg. *mənwōt*).¹⁷⁷ Note, that in the case of the items I-ʔ, [w] is attested in place of purported /ʔ/; whereas in the case of III-ʔ, one finds [y]. Thus, the purported examples of I-ʔ do not show any distinct features from I-w forms, and the purported examples of III-ʔ do not show any distinct features from III-y forms. Other forms of the same roots also almost uniformly show /w/ or /y/ respectively, opening the possibility that one is dealing with I-w and III-y forms in these cases, at least synchronically.¹⁷⁸

J – Glides: As R1 glides are only attested as I-w for the patterns máCCəC and məCCīC.¹⁷⁹ Examples for the latter are *məwχayf* and *məws’ayf* (and possibly the aforementioned *məwsīr*), none of which shows a corresponding pl. form (with the exception of the aforementioned *məwsōr*). However, the status of at least one (and perhaps by extension both) of the two as məCCīC seems given by the f.sg. form *məws’əfūt*, hence implying a simple underlying stressed vowel rather than a sequence of vowel and glide, due to the stress shift to the suffix. In the case of máCCəC, the forms *mawrəd*, *mawsəm* and *mawrəm* are attested. The item *mawsəm* might be considered an Arabism, although in terms of its surface form, no unusual features can be noted. The same might be the case for *mawrəd*, while *mawrəm* appears to go back to a historical root I-ʔ, hence patterning in parallel to *məwsīr/məwsōr*, in terms of the reflex of (historical?) /ʔ/. The item *máwrəm* also shows the rather unusual pl. form *máwrəmət*. As elsewhere, the lack of I-y forms can be understood as the outcome of the general lexical sparsity of roots I-y.

Attestations of glides as R2 are more frequently found. In the case of the few items máCCəC, no attestations of glides as R2 are found. In patterns of the type məCCv:C, attestations are found in ML for patterns məCCēC,¹⁸⁰ məCCīC,¹⁸¹ and məCCōC.¹⁸² Note, that in these cases both /w/ and /y/ as R2 in combination with all vowel qualities (except for the paradigmatically near-unattested məCCūC) is attested.¹⁸³ In the pattern məCōCəC, glides are also commonly found as R2,¹⁸⁴ again showing both surface forms /w/ and /y/, i.e. *mənōwəh/məwōyæg*. In addition, one might add those attestations of patterns məCáCC, some of which show glides as R2 (i.e. *məχayt’* (*məχōwət’* Pl.), *məsayr*, *mək’awd*),

¹⁷⁷ Not counting rather apparently non-integrated Arabisms such as *mūmən*.

¹⁷⁸ For the purported root √ʔsr, the sg. form *yəsēr* (“hobble”) shows initial /y/, although the pl. *wəsawrət* shows /w/. Other examples (verbal and nominal) of the same root, none of which have a stressed vowel between R1 and R2, all show initial /w/. For the purported root √χbʔ only the examples *məχbay/məχawbi* are given in ML, the J/L cognate in JL is *məχbí*, similarly indicating III-y. Note in this regard also the form with a possessive suffix *məχbáyəh*. For √nwʔ, the verbal forms *nəwō/yənáyw* (*°nəwōh*) indicated in ML (and the cognates in Jahn 1902) also seem to suggest a pattern similar to that of certain II-w, III-y verbs (see Rubin 2018, 244), note however the rather odd form *nəwət* (“poet. rain-clouds”).

¹⁷⁹ And possibly məCCəC, if one considers the example *məwsīr/məwsōr* as I-w rather than I-ʔ.

¹⁸⁰ *mətwē*, *mədyēχ*, *məkyēb*, *mənwēs’*, *mətwēs’*, *mədyēn*, *mənwēh* (Jahn *mənəwāh*)

¹⁸¹ *məkwīr* (*məkəwrūt*), *məs’wīb*, *məkyīg*, *məχwīf*, *mədwīr*

¹⁸² *məsyōl* (pl. *məsaylət*), *mətwōf*, *məs’wōb*, *mədwōr*

¹⁸³ i.e. *mənwēs’/məkyēb*; *məkwīr/məkyīg*, *mədwōr/məsyōl*.

¹⁸⁴ *məlōwi* (*mələwəyīt*), *məlōwəs’* (*mətwēs’*), *mənōwəh* (*mənwēh*), *məwōwəh* (*məwəwhāt*), *mət’ōyək’*, *mənōwi* (nwʔ, *mənwōt*), *məχōwət’* (*məχayt’* Sg.!, *√χyt’*), *məs’ōyəb* (*məs’ībəh* Ar.), *məwōyæg* (*məwōgōt*)

again showing both /w/ and /y/ as R2. Notably, patterns of the type məCawCəC do not show any attestations of roots II-Glide.

Regarding forms with glides as R3, no clear attestations are found amongst items of the type máCCəC.¹⁸⁵ Amongst patterns of the type məCCv:C, glides surface in the patterns məCCɿC and məCCōC, although examples are not particularly frequent in ML, i.e. *məlfɿw*, *məhnōy*, *məlfōw*, *mək'nōw* (*mək'nēw* Jahn 1902). In addition, one might add forms of the type məCCay which appear to be underlying məCCay synchronically, i.e. *mədnay* (pl. *mədōni*), *məgbay*, *məχbay* (III-??). Finally, there is one example məCCayw (məCCayC), i.e. *mək'nayw*. Patterns of the type məCCēC appear to surface as məCCēw in items III-w, although only one such example is attested, i.e. *məlhāw*; whereas items III-y surface as məCCē, i.e. *məgrē* (III-y Pl. *məgōri*), *mərsē* (III-w – Ar. *mərōsi*, *mərawsi*), *mətnē* (III-y, Jahn 1902 *mətnī*), *mətyē* (III-y), *məwsē* (III-w), *mānē* (III-y?). As in the case of the pattern CəCēC (see chapter 5.), the identification of roots as III-w or III-y in ML does not seem to always hold up: whereas the example *məlhāw* (pl. *mələhəw*) clearly shows a surface /w/ rather than /y/ (as indicated in ML), in the case of *mərsē* and *məwsē* the roots in ML are indicated as III-w. In the case of *mərsē* – an unambiguous Arabism – there is no reason to believe that the root in Mh. ought to be synchronically understood as √rsw (pl. *mərōsi/mərawsi*), whereas in the case of *məwsē* (pl. *məlawsi*, in Jahn 1902 *məlōsi*) comparison seems difficult, however the form seems to synchronically pattern as III-y.

In the case of patterns məCōCəC and məCawCəC, there are attestations of roots III-Glide for both patterns and they almost uniformly surface as məCōCi and məCawCi respectively.¹⁸⁶ The plural form *mələhəw* (for the corresponding sg. *məlhāw*, see above) is the only form which seemingly indicates the lack of glide neutralization, at least in the case of məCōCəC. As elsewhere, identifying the underlying glide as R3 in attestations of surface forms məCōCi and məCawCi is not always straightforward: examples of roots identified as III-w in ML are *məl'ōbi* (Sg. *məl'bawt*), *mərōsi* (Sg. *mərsē*), *mək'ōhī* (Sg. *k'əhwēt*), *mōfi*, *məlawsi* (Sg. *məwsē*). The items *mərsē/mərōsi* and *məwsē/məlawsi* have been discussed above and identified as III-y, in the case of *mək'ōhī* one is dealing with an integrated Arabic pl. form (Ar. *maqāhī*) which does not appear to stand in any derivational relationship with the sg. form *k'əhwēt*. In the case of *mōfi*, no reason seems apparent why this item is given as III-w in ML, all other attestations of the root do not indicate III-w. This leaves one with the item *məl'ōbi* which shows the interesting Sg. form *məl'bawt*, apparently in parallel with the forms *mək'ōli* (Sg. *mək'lawt*), which are given as III-v (indicating an unclear glide as R3) in ML.

¹⁸⁵ The form *mək's'a*, given in ML as III-w might be an example, however the final non-stressed vowel transcribed as <a> appears highly problematic – perhaps this unorthodox vowel quality is due to ejective /s'/ preceding the vowel?

¹⁸⁶ For məCōCi: *məlōwi*, *məl'ōbi* (III-w? *məl'bawt*), *mərōsi*, *məθōni* (*məθənyēt*), *mək'ōhī* (*k'əhwēt*), *mək'ōli* (*mək'lawt* III-y?), *mədōni* (III-y, *mədnay*), *mōfi* (III-w?)

For məCawCi: *məhawni* (Sg. *məhnōy*), *məlawsi* (III-w? *məlōsi* Jahn 1902, *məwsē* Sg.), *məχawbi* (III-? ?)

To summarize, the patterns $máCCəC/máCCəC$ do not show any configurations of IG consonants, one example of a final guttural /ʕ/ is found, i.e. *mák'maʔ*; one putative example of a root I-ʕ is found, i.e. *māləm* and the glide /w/ is attested as R1 in a number of forms. Pluralic patterns $məCōCəC$ and $məCawCəC$ show gutturals as R3, and notably in the case of $məCawCəC$, IG-consonants as R2 and R3, without the IG-effect applying. Other classes of consonants largely do not show any particularities for these two patterns, with the potential exception of the aforementioned item II-ʕ; in particular, neutralization of final glides does not seem to be attested for these patterns. Regarding patterns of the type $məCCv:C$, a number of unconditioned attestations of [ā] are found (as elsewhere), gutturals as R3 are only attested for surface forms $məCCēC$ (and its variant $məCCāC$), and final glides appear both regular and with – what appears to be – an additional underlying glide /y/ in the case of $məCCay$.

7.4) Surface Variants (?): $máCCəC$, $məCCayC$, $məCCawC$, $məCCūC$, $məCayCəC$, $məCáCC$, $məCēCəC$, $məCāCəC$

For patterns of the type $máCCəC$ two variants are attested, as mentioned, $máCCəC$ and $məCCəC$. The latter pattern only has two attestations in ML, namely *máχlas'* and *másmər*. The former appear to have a good parallel in Ar. *múhliṣ* and thus appears to be a non-integrated Arabism; the latter is attested elsewhere as *másmər* (Rubin 2018, 95), hence making it very likely that an independent pattern $məCCəC$ is not, or only highly marginally attested.

Regarding the distinction of the vowels /i/ and /u/ and diphthongs /ay/ and /aw/ in patterns of the type $məCCv:C$, it has previously been mentioned that most attestations of $məCCayC$ show a lowering consonant as R2, i.e. *məks'ays'*, *mək's'ayd*, *mərk'ayd*, *mərk'ayt*, *məḵayb*, *mətk'ays'*, *məwχayf*, *mədk'ayk'*, *mət'k'ayk'*, *mək's'ayr*, *məṣhayr*, *məṣ'hayr*, *məws'ayf*. Forms which do not show a lowering consonant as R2 are *məχbay*, *məḥθaym*, *məṭhayr*, *mək'nayw*, *məḵrayb*, *məslaym*, *məskayn*, *mək'layl*, *mədnay*, *məgbay*. As mentioned above, corresponding f.sg. forms show stress shift to the suffix, also in forms which do not show a lowering consonant as R2 (f.e. *mək'layl/mək'allōt* vs. *mək's'ayr/mək's'arawt*), underlining the non-underlying nature of the surface glide in most of these cases. The only example where a corresponding f.sg. form does not show stress shift is *məskayn/məskaynət*, which can be understood to be an integrated Arabic loan *miskīn/miskīna*. Amongst the forms $məCCayC$ which do not show a lowering consonant as R2, a lowering consonant is attested as R1 with R2 being a sonorant in the examples *mək'nayw*, *mək'layl*, and *məḵrayb*, indicating the transmission of the effect of lowering consonants by sonorants – specifically liquids – attested otherwise. The other examples of $məCCayC$ which do not show a lowering R2 also all have a lowering consonant elsewhere in the root, except for the highly problematic item *məṭhayr* and the items *mədnay* and *məgbay*, both of which are forms III-y. The fact that these items surface as $məCCay$ would presumably indicate underlying / $məCCéyy/$ or / $məCCóyy/$, which would not put these forms in line with $məCCīC$. Also, the item *mədnay* shows a plural form *mədōni*, hence not falling in line with the near-regular plural formation of $məCCīC/məCCōC$.

Hence, $m\acute{a}CCayC$ is in almost all cases a variant of $m\acute{a}CC\bar{i}C$, except for cases of regularly integrated Arabic loans, where synchronically an underlying glide has to be posited at least for the case of *māskayn* (*māslaym/māśawmēt* being more problematic in this regard, see chapter 17.), and the items III-y *mādnay* and *māgbay*, which similarly appear to show an underlying glide. In the case of the former two examples, the diphthong is the regular outcome of the integration of Arabic loans, whereas in the case of the latter two examples, $m\acute{a}CCayC$ is the outcome of roots III-y, in what might historically correspond to $m\acute{a}CC\bar{i}C$ (?), but which appears as a pattern separate from $m\acute{a}CC\bar{i}C$, $m\acute{a}CC\bar{e}C$ and $m\acute{a}CC\bar{o}C$ on a synchronic level, albeit quite marginally attested.¹⁸⁷

Concerning the pattern $m\acute{a}CCawC$, it has been noted above that almost all attestations with the possible exception of *māḡawš*(¹⁸⁷) are integrated loanwords of the type $maCC\bar{u}C$, hence an underlying glide needs to be posited for this pattern, which does not however appear to be productive and is almost only attested for Arabic loans. A separate pattern $m\acute{a}CC\bar{u}C$ cannot be established for Mehri, with the attestations being non-integrated Arabic loans. Also, it has been mentioned that the pattern $m\acute{a}CC\bar{a}C$ is a regular variation of $m\acute{a}CC\bar{e}C$, with some forms showing non-conditioned [\bar{a}] largely confined to Ar. loans.

As mentioned by Morris (1981, 223), the diphthong of the pattern $m\acute{a}CawC\bar{a}C$ does not seem conditioned by the nature of R1, hence the glide can be considered to be underlying. A pattern $m\acute{a}CayC\bar{a}C$ is barely attested, the single potential attestation in ML *māḡayθəl* being a sg. form, which shows a pl. form *māḡawθəl*. This item remains enigmatic and needs further checking, but it seems questionable whether a sub-pattern $m\acute{a}CayC\bar{a}C$ can be posited on the basis of this single item.¹⁸⁸

Regarding surface forms $m\acute{a}C\acute{a}CC$, all attestations are either biradicals or show a glide as R2 (three items *māsayr*, *māḡayt'* and *māk'awd*). In the case of *māk'awd* and *māsayr* it is possible that one is dealing with adapted Arabisms and one might question whether this might also be the case for *māḡayt'*, although a good Arabic parallel showing a diphthong or / \bar{i} / (rather than Ar. *miḡyat*) does not seem attested (?).¹⁸⁹ For those items $m\acute{a}C\acute{a}CC$ which are formed off a biradical root, no reason seems apparent to connect these forms with $m\acute{a}CCv:C$, since all patterns $m\acute{a}CCv:C$ can and do show biradicals surfacing completely regularly. It should be noted though, that amongst items $m\acute{a}CC\bar{a}C$ no biradicals are attested, which seems not surprising since sequences R2 \bar{a} R2# do not surface regularly (see chapter 3.). This might lead one to ask whether $m\acute{a}C\acute{a}CC$ might not in fact be the surface reflex of $m\acute{a}CC\bar{a}C$ for biradicals, however, in the case of almost all attestations of $m\acute{a}C\acute{a}CC$ which show a biradical root, good Arabic parallels are attested,¹⁹⁰ leaving open the question of whether one is dealing with the regular reflex of

¹⁸⁷ Note that items III-w appear to surface completely regular in $m\acute{a}CC\bar{i}C$, i.e. *māḡfīw*.

¹⁸⁸ Might it be possible that *māḡayθəl* is a case of retrograde singular formation (i.e. pl.>sg.) based on the notion that *māḡawθəl* ("uncleaned guts of a slaughtered animal") already refers to a natural plural formation, with speakers' intuition wanting to preserve a glide between R1 and R2?

¹⁸⁹ Morris' interpretation of these forms as reflexes of the pattern $m\acute{a}CC\bar{a}C$ / R2 = Glide (Morris 1981, 278) seems not well founded for this case, although it shall be noted that a hypothetical configuration $C\acute{a}Cv:C$ is not attested otherwise.

¹⁹⁰ With the exception (?) of *mālabb*

máCCəC of biradicals, or with a marginal pattern reserved for Arabic loans of the type maCaCC, as in the case of məCCawC.¹⁹¹

7.5) R3 in məCCv:C vs. CəCēC/CəCayC

As has been shown (7.3.C.), amongst patterns of the type məCCv:C, guttural consonants as R3 are attested only in the case of məCCēC, i.e. *mədyēχ*, *mənwēh*, *mərθēv*, *mədfē*, *mərbā*, *mək't'ā*, *mət'bāχ*, and *məl'rāh*. This restriction appears to mirror the situation found amongst patterns of the type CəCv:C (see chapter 5.). None of these examples can be readily semantically connected with the passive participle məCCīC, hence the question of the reflex of the passive participle for verbal roots III-Gutt. remains open.¹⁹² It is apriorically possible that some of the examples given above (at least those III-h) might represent underlying məCCōC. Some attestations appear to be (partly) integrated Arabisms, i.e. *mədfē*, *mət'bāχ* and possibly *məl'rāh*. As for the remaining attestations, one notes that the shift of stress to the vowel does not apply, coinciding with the presence of two adjacent consonants preceding the stressed vowel, indicating the blocking of stress shift by two adjacent consonants preceding the sequence /ǃG/.

Also, glides are not particularly frequently found as R3 amongst patterns məCCv:C (see 7.4.J.), however, this might very well be due to the overall lower number of attestations of patterns məCCv:C when compared to patterns CəCv:C.

7.6) Glide Neutralization in Forms III-w/y?

It has been noted above (7.4.J.), that in the case of patterns məCōCəC and məCawCəC, almost all attestations showing a glide as R3 surface as məCōCi or məCawCi, however, in the only form clearly showing /w/ as R3,¹⁹³ /w/ surfaces, i.e. *məl'hāw/mələhəw*. Also, it has been noted above, that in the other cases, the identification of the final glide given in ML is problematic in a number of forms, and none of the roots identified as III-w in ML which surface as məCōCi or məCawCi can be unambiguously be identified as III-w. However, the case of *məl'bawt/məl'ōbi* and *mək'lawt/mək'ōli* might open the question of whether the diphthong of the f.sg. form might be connected to the nature of R3, implying III-w in these forms.

¹⁹¹ Another option might lie in assuming that the pattern məCáCC is a reflex of məCōCəC (or məCawCəC), an option which would seem possible given the notion that unstressed vowels between two identical consonants are usually elided, and that the stressed vowel is in the same position in the two patterns. However, what makes this hypothesis problematic is first the fact that all attestations of surface məCáCC are singulars whereas məCōCəC and məCawCəC are plural patterns, and a few attestations of biradical roots are attested for məCōCəC and məCawCəC, some of them plurals of məCáCC.

¹⁹² The item *məlawtəv* cited by Rubin (2018, 183 and 64:26) cannot, in the author's opinion, be readily taken as an example, since as Rubin acknowledges, it appears to represent a plural form (Rubin 2018, 183 fn. 26), where məCawCəC is a regular pattern. Hence, the identification of *məlawtəv* as a passive participle (as still seemingly accepted by Rubin, since məCawCəC is indicated as a variant in his account on the plural forms, see Rubin 2018, 182) seems questionable, at least until further examples of passive participles III-Gutt. are attested.

¹⁹³ Despite the identification as III-y in ML.

7.7) Underlying /oʔ/?

It has been shown above (7.6), that underlying consonantal segments which are not part of the root in patterns showing a prefix *m-*, are restricted to the plural pattern $m\acute{a}CawC\acute{a}C$, a few regularly integrated Arabic loans, and the particular case of the pattern $m\acute{a}CCay / III-y$. This shows that in terms of overall attestations, non-conditioned surface diphthongs are significantly rarer amongst patterns showing a prefix *m-* than in the cases of patterns $Cv:C\acute{a}C$ and $C\acute{a}Cv:C$. Viewed against the backdrop of the aforementioned patterns, where at least in the case of $C\acute{o}C\acute{a}C$ (see chapter 2.), but possibly also $C\acute{a}C\acute{o}C$ (see chapter 5.), an underlying consonantal segment which is not part of the root might be suspected, one might be lead to ask whether such a configuration might be attested for the case of $m\acute{a}CC\acute{o}C$ and $m\acute{a}C\acute{o}C\acute{a}C$ as well. Since m.sg. attestations of $m\acute{a}CC\acute{o}C$ do not show corresponding f.sg. attestations in ML, and the pl. pattern $m\acute{a}C\acute{o}C\acute{a}C$ is not expected to show corresponding f.pl. attestations apriorically, answering this question via the shift of stress in suffixed forms does not seem possible. However, as has been noted (7.3.C), one does encounter the *o/e* alternation in the case of $m\acute{a}C\acute{o}C\acute{a}C$ for items II-Gutt., despite the fact that the stressed vowel seems to be preceded by a sequence of unstressed vowel and consonant rather than by a cluster of two consonants. Thus, barring the aforementioned possibility of the lack of the guttural shift over morpheme boundaries, it would seem that in the case of $m\acute{a}C\acute{e}C\acute{a}C$ (i.e. $m\acute{a}C\acute{e}G\acute{a}C$) the shift of a vowel to the left is blocked not by the presence of a preceding consonant cluster, but rather by another factor – such as the presence of an underlying consonant /ʔ/ in the stressed vowel, paradigmatically [ō]. If one accepts this notion and applies it to $m\acute{a}C\acute{o}C\acute{a}C$ as a whole, it would seem that $m\acute{a}C\acute{o}C\acute{a}C$ ought to be considered / $m\acute{a}C\acute{o}ʔC\acute{a}C$ /. This notion is furthermore supported by the fact that in the case of $m\acute{a}C\acute{o}C\acute{a}C$, biradicals are attested, even when $R2 = +IG$ (see below, 7.9), as is the case for $m\acute{a}CawC\acute{a}C$ where one form of a triradical root which shows IG-consonants as both $R2$ and $R3$ is attested ($m\acute{a}kawl\acute{a}f$). Thus, the application of the IG-effect in these forms would seem to be blocked by the presence of an underlying consonant preceding a sequence of two IG-consonants (paradigmatically separated by an unstressed vowel), as to be expected.

7.8) Biradicals

Patterns of the type $m\acute{a}CCv:C$ surface regularly in the case of biradicals (including forms $R2 = +IG$, f.e. $m\acute{a}x\acute{f}\acute{o}f$, $m\acute{a}s\acute{f}\acute{i}f$, $m\acute{a}h\acute{f}\acute{e}f$, etc.), whereas no attestations of biradicals are found for the pattern $m\acute{a}CC\acute{a}C$, which might find its surface reflexes as $m\acute{a}C\acute{a}CC$. In the case of patterns $m\acute{a}C\acute{o}C\acute{a}C$ and $m\acute{a}CawC\acute{a}C$, forms showing biradicals are attested, i.e. $m\acute{a}g\acute{o}f\acute{a}f$, $m\acute{a}l\acute{o}d\acute{a}d$, $m\acute{a}x\acute{o}d\acute{a}d$, $m\acute{a}x\acute{o}t\acute{a}t$, $m\acute{a}r\acute{o}b\acute{a}b$, $mawl\acute{a}t$. Whereas the non-application of the elision of a short unstressed vowel between two identical consonants might apriorically be understood as paradigmatic pressure, it has been noted above that such a situation might also pattern well with the notion of both patterns ($m\acute{a}C\acute{o}C\acute{a}C$ and $m\acute{a}CawC\acute{a}C$) containing an underlying consonantal segment which is not part of the root between the stressed vowel and $R2$.¹⁹⁴

¹⁹⁴ In analogy to the blocking of the IG-effect in (paradigmatic) sequences $CC_{IG}\acute{a}C_{IG}$ (see Bendjaballah & Ségéral 2014; 2022).

Note, that amongst these forms one also finds forms showing IG-consonants as R2, i.e. *məgōfəf* and *mawtəl*, without application of the IG-effect.

7.9) Conclusion

The following tables show the potential underlying forms of surface forms showing a prefixed m-

Surface V	Regular	Underlying /v/	Underlying /vC/	I		II		III			
				ʃ	ʃ	[+low.]	[+gutt.]	ʃ	[+gutt.]	w	y
[ē]	məCCēC	/məCCéC/		māCēC /məʃCéC/		məCCāC /məCCéC/		məCCē /məCCéʃ/	məCCēC /məCCéC/		məCCē /məCCéy/
[ō]	məCCōC	/məCCóC/	/məCCóʔC/ (?)	māCōC /məʃCóC/	məCōC /məCʃóC/	Regular		məCCéʃ /məCCéʃ/	məCCóC /məCCóC/ (?)	məCCōw /məCCów/	məCCōy /məCCóy/
[ī]	məCCīC	/məCCíC/		māCīC /məʃCíC/	məCayC /məCʃíC/	məCCayC /məCCíC/ /məCCýC/				məCCīw /məCCíw/	
[ay]	məCCayC		/məCCýyC/		məCʃýyC/					məCCayw /məCCýyw/	məCCay /məCCýyy/
[ū]	məCCūC	/məCCúC/									
[aw]	məCCawC		/məCCýwC/	māCawC /məʃCvawC/ /		məCCawC /məCCúC/ /məCCýwC/					

Surface V	Regular	Underlying /v/	Underlying /vC/	I				II				III			
				ɣ	ɣ	[+low.]	[+gutt.]	ɣ	[+gutt.]	w	y	ɣ	[+gutt.]	w	y
[a]	máCCəC	/móCCəC/ /méCCəC/		māCəC /móɣCəC/ /méɣCəC/			Regular	máCCa /móCCəɣ/ /méCCəɣ/					<i>máCCa</i>		
[ə]	məCCəC	/míCCəC/ /múCCəC/													
[ə]	məCəCəC	/məCəCəC/	/məCəCəC/	məCəC /məCəCəC/ /məCəCəCəC/ /		Reg.	məCəGəC /məCəGəC/ /məCəGəCəC/	məCəCa(?) /məCəCəɣ/ /məCəCəCəɣ/	Regular	?			məCəCi /məCəCəɣ/ /məCəCəCəɣ/		
[aw]	məCawCəC	/məCúCəC/	məCýwCəC	mawCəC /məɣýwCəC/ C/	məCawwəC /məCýwɣəC/ / (?)		Regular	məCawCa? /məCýwCəɣ/	Regular	?			məCawCi /məCýwCəɣ/		
[ay]	məCayCəC	/məCiCəC/	məCýyCəC												
[a]	məCáCC	/məCéCC/ /məCəCC/													

Table 27.: Underlying forms of forms showing a prefix mə- in ML

In terms of attested surface variants, forms of the type $m\acute{v}CC\grave{a}C$ seem to be restricted to the pattern $m\acute{a}CC\grave{a}C$. A relationship between items of the type $m\grave{a}C\acute{v}CC$ and other patterns might exist, however, this remains unclear and more examples would be needed. The surface patterns $m\grave{a}CCayC$ and $m\grave{a}CCawC$ appear to be restricted to phonologically adapted Ar. loans and do not appear to be productive patterns in Mh. Restrictions to R3 similar to those encountered for $C\grave{a}Cv:C$ and $C\grave{a}CayC/C\grave{a}CawC$ seem to apply for items of the type $m\grave{a}CCv:C$. The neutralization of final glides might be attested for patterns which do not show stress on the vowel preceding the final glide in question, although, as elsewhere, this question remains unclear and hinges upon the apriorical understanding of a given final glide. In forms showing $[\bar{o}]$ it appears that the underlying form of the stressed vowel might contain an additional non-root consonant $/\lambda/$, based on the e/o alternation attested for $m\grave{a}C\bar{o}C\grave{a}C/m\grave{a}C\bar{e}C\grave{a}C$ and $m\grave{a}CC\bar{o}C/m\grave{a}CC\bar{e}C$ and the non-application of the IG-effect (and the elision of unstressed vowels between two identical consonants). The blocking of the IG-effect is also attested for the pattern $m\grave{a}CawC\grave{a}C$ (i.e. *mawlət* - *məʕvələt*).

8) CəCv:wəC, CəCv:yəC, CəCwv:C, CəCyv:C

8.1) Introduction & Previous Literature

Patterns showing a glide between R2 and R3 are quite frequently attested in Mehri. Patterns of the type CəCawC and CəCayC have been discussed elsewhere (chapter 6.), and in this chapter attention will be given to patterns showing a stressed vowel to the left of the glide and an unstressed vowel to its right (CəCōwəC, CəCēwəC, CəCōyəC, CəCáwwəC/CəCáwwəC), or a stressed vowel or surface diphthong to the right of the glide (CəCwōC, CəCwēC, CəCwīC, CəCyōC, CəCyīC, CəCwayC and CəCyawC). In both cases, both glides, i.e. /w/ and /y/ are attested as (presumably) infixes. Most of the patterns under discussion are exclusively attested as pl. patterns. This is true for all items showing a stressed vowel between R2 and the glide, i.e. CəCōwəC, CəCēwəC, CəCōyəC and CəCáwwəC (CəCáwwəC/CəCáwwəC), as well as CəCwōC.¹⁹⁵ The only patterns which do not seem to be reserved exclusively for pl. forms are patterns of the type CəCwīC and CəCyv:C. Whereas a number of attestations of CəCyōC (9/15) are pl. forms showing a corresponding sg. form, the remaining 6 forms of CəCyōC appear to be largely composed of mass nouns, not showing a corresponding sg./pl./singulative form. The attestations in ML of the rare patterns CəCwīC and CəCyīC (two attestations each) appear to be either sg. (*k'əlyīr* – “coconut husk, shell, peel, skin“; *rədwīd* – “nit“, *s'əlwīl* – “ravine“) or a mass noun (*k'əs'yīb* – “grass growing after rains“). A similar pattern CəCyūC is attested in WM, although it seems to lack in at least the EM variant(s) attested in ML.¹⁹⁶ In WM it is attested in some forms as cognate to CəCyōC-type mass nouns in EM (i.e. *θ'əhyōl* ML/*θ'əhəyūl* Jahn 1902), but also as an – apparently rather productive – verbal noun pattern, which appears to correspond to VNs of the type CəCayC in EM.

According to Bittner (1909, 57), patterns of the type CəCyōC are to be understood as forms CīCōC, showing metathesis of the glide between R1 and R2 when either R1 or R2 is attested as a lowering consonant, however, not all of the examples quoted by himself (loc.cit.) or found in other sources show a lowering consonant as R1 or R2. Furthermore, CəCwōC is, according to Bittner (1909, 57-58) a secondary development (of unclear synchronic and diachronic status) from CəCyōC, although no conditions are given under which such a change CəCyōC>CəCwōC should have taken place. For the patterns CəCōyəC and CəCōwəC, Bittner does not have any particular comments, except for noting that both are attested frequently as pl. forms, the latter in particular for patterns of the type CvCC (Bittner 1909, 65-66).

¹⁹⁵ The few items which do not show a sg.-pl. correspondence in ML appear to be pluralic based on their semantics, i.e. *ləbōwəθ* (“hair on the face“) and presumably also *ʔātə'wwək'* (“name of a small tree“). The same appears to be the case for *zərwōr* (“saliva dripping from the corners of the mouth“).

¹⁹⁶ Items CəCyūC are given in Morris 1981, which show CəCyōC in ML.

Morris describes patterns of the type CəCwv:C and CəCyv:C as “...common as plural adjectival forms [...] rare in the singular, being confined to forms with a C2 and C3 identical, or to forms with medial guttural consonants“ (Morris 1981, 123). According to Morris, distinct vowel qualities [ō] and [ū] are to be found as the stressed vowel in these patterns (Morris 1981, 123; 219), although no attestations of CəCwūC or CəCyūC are found in ML. The claim that similar forms are not found in Jahn’s data is obviously an error (Morris 1981, 124). Patterns CəC’vwwəC are uniformly transcribed as CəCéwweC by Morris (1981, 229-231), and identified as pl. forms for sg. Cv:CəC, CvCC and some CəCv:C. Interestingly, a discussion of the pl. pattern CəCōwəC is lacking in Morris (1981), and some attestations of CəCōwəC in ML are attested as CəCəwwəC in Morris (1981), i.e. *χάτᾶwwəm* (Morris 1981) – *χάτᾶwəm* (ML), *φάτᾶwwəχ* (Morris 1981) – *φάτᾶwəχ* (ML), *βᾶδᾶwwəρ* (Morris 1981) – *βᾶδᾶwəρ* (ML), etc. The pattern CəCōyəC is described by Morris as a frequent pl. pattern for fem.sg. items showing a (stressed or unstressed) suffix –v(:)t (Morris 1981, 235).

Finally, in various studies by Fathi (2017a, 2017b), the patterns CəCōwəC and CəCōyəC are discussed, and the glides between R2 and R3 are interpreted as gender markers - /w/ for masculine and /y/ for feminine plurals, whereas pluralic CəCwōC is reduced to adjectives in Fathi’s analysis, where probing cannot be effectuated, and the glide in this pattern is considered “filler material“ (Fathi 2017b, 243). The pattern CəCyōC is, according to Fathi (2017a, 17-19), a phonologically conditioned variant of CīCōC, based on the presence of a guttural consonant as R2.

In this chapter, an overview of forms attested is given under 8.2. together with an overview of consonants attested as R2 and R3. Section 8.3. will present an outline of the application of various phonological effects. In section 8.4., a discussion on the possibility on identifying certain of the patterns in question as (phonologically) conditioned variants will be given, and in section 8.5. the question of potential restrictions on R3 will be discussed. An overview of biradicals attested for the patterns in question will be given in section 8.7.

8.2) Overview of Attestations

An overview of the various pl. forms showing glides between R2 and R3 (other than CəCayC/CəCawC) is given in the tables below.

Table 28.: Attestations of CəCv:/vwwəC in ML

Stressed V	Regular	R1		R2		R3	Total
		ʕ	w	w	ʕ	w	
[a] (aw)	CəCáwwəC (4)						4
[ə] (əw)	CəCáwwəC (8)	ʔəCáwwəC (1)			CəCáwwa (1)	CəCáwwəw (1)	11
[ō] (ōw)	CəCōwəC (42)	ʔəCōwəC (2)			CəCōwa (3)		47
[ē] (ēw)	CəCēwəC (1) ¹⁹⁷						1
[ō] (ōy)	CəCōyaC (23)	ʔəCōyaC (2)	wəCōyaC (1)	CəwōyaC (2)	CəCōya (1)		28

¹⁹⁷ *k'alēwəl*

Table 29.3.: 2ōy3# in CəCōyəC in ML

C2 \ C3		IG										Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.					Sonorants						?								
		Lowering C (Eject.)					Lowering C (Gutt.)					IG (non-Lowering)																			
		θ'	s'	š'	t'	k'	l'	ç	ʁ	h	χ	f	θ	s	š	t	k	l	h	b	d	ð	z	g	w	y	r	l	m	n	?
Lowering C (Eject.)	θ'																														
	s'																														
	š'																														
	t'																														
	k'											x								x											
	l'																														
Lowering C (Gutt.)	ç																														
	ʁ																														
	h																		x							x					
	χ																														
IG (non-Lowering)	f																													x	
	θ																														
	s																													x	
	š																														
	t																											x			
	k																														
	l																														
	h																														x
Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.	b																		x									x			
	d																														x
	ð																														
	z																											x			x
	g																											x			
Sonorants	w																								x						
	y																														
	r																										x			x	
	l																													x	
	m																												x		
	n																														
?																															

Table 30.: Attestations of CəCwv:C/CəCyv:C in ML

Stressed V	Regular	R1	R2	R3				Total
		I-ʕ	II-ʕ	III-ʔ	III-w	III-y	III-ʕ	
[ō] (wō)	CəCwōC (16)	ʔāCwōC (1)			CəCwōw (1)			18
[ē] (wē)	CəCwēC (1)					CəCwēʔ (1?)	CəCwē (1)	3
[ī] (wī)	CəCwīC (2)							2
[a] (way)	CəCwayC (1)							1
[ō] (yō)	CəCyōC (11)		CəʕyōC (2) (+CāyōC?)	CəCyō (1)		CəCyay (1)		15
[ī] (yī)	CəCyīC (2)							2
[a] (yaw)	CəCyawC (1)							1

Table 31.1.: 2wō3# in CəCwōC in ML

C2 \ C3		IG										Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.					Sonorants						?									
		Lowering C (Eject.)					Lowering C (Gutt.)					IG (non-Lowering)																				
		θ'	s'	š'	t'	k'	l'	ʕ	ʁ	h	χ	f	θ	s	š	t	k	l	h	b	d	ð	z	g	w	y	r	l	m	n	?	
Lowering C (Eject.)	θ'																															
	s'																															
	š'																															
	t'																															
	k'																															
	l'																															
Lowering C (Gutt.)	ʕ																															
	ʁ																															
	h																															
	χ																															
IG (non-Lowering)	f																															
	θ																															
	s																															
	š																															
	t																															
	k																															
	l																															
	h																															
Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.	b																															
	d																															
	ð																															
	z																															
	g																															
Sonorants	w																															
	y																															
	r		x																													
	l																															
	m																															
	n																															
?																																

8.3) Application of Phonological Effects

A – IG: For patterns CəCwōC, CəCwēC and CəCyōC, one example showing IG consonants as R2 and R3 is attested *k'əhyōf* (+ *təhwōk* Jahn 1902, √t'ħk' in ML) and three examples of biradicals where R2 is an IG consonant, i.e. *təhwōh*, *s'əhwēh*, *hətyōt*.

In the case of CəCwīC, CəCyīC and CəCwayC, no attestations of IG consonants as R2 and R3 are found, however, overall attestations of these patterns are very few (see above, 8.2.).

In the case of patterns showing a stressed vowel before the surface glide between R2 and R3, i.e. CəCōwəC, CəCōyəC, CəCáwwəC, CəCáwwəC almost no attestations of configurations R2 + R3 = +IG are to be found, with the single exception being an attestation of a biradical root *t'əlōwəl*, as well as the sole attestation of a pattern CəCēwəC *k'əlēwəl*. Since no phonological reasons seem evident, the underrepresentation of IG-consonants as R2 and R3 is likely to be a lexical feature and hence of little further interest.

Between R1 and R2 one finds configurations of IG consonants for all of the patterns discussed in this chapter (f.e. *χətōwəm*, *səhōyər*, *kəlēwəl*, *fəðáwwəl*, *θəfwōl*, *təfyōl*), except for the rare patterns CəCyēC, CəCwayC, CəCyawC, CəCyīC and CəCwīC (however, note Jahn's *təhwāh* instead of Johnstone's *təhwōh*), which is, as elsewhere, of no further interest for the following discussions.

B – Diphthongization + Vowel Lowering: Most of the patterns in question show stressed /ō/, /á/ or /é/, hence the question of diphthongization of /i/ and /u/ and lowering of /e/ does not apply apriorically in these cases. The diphthong in CəC'wwəC does not seem conditioned by the nature of R2. Amongst the two examples of CəCyīC, one example (*kəs'yīr*) shows a lowering consonant as R2, the effect of which seems to be blocked (?) by the glide.

C - Fronted Stress / III-Gutt.: For most patterns, guttural consonants are attested as R3. In the case of CəCáwwəC one finds two examples (*fək'áwwa* (III-ʕ) and *fəs'áwwəʕ*), whereas in the case of CəCōwəC the following items are attested: *həmōwa*, *t'əlōwəʔ*, *fət'ōwəχ*, *tərōwəχ*, *s'əbōwəχ*, *šərōwəh*, *sət'ōwəh*, *t'əlōwəh*, *ðərōwəʔ* (III-ʕ) (+*s'ənwōwəχ* Jahn 1902). The pattern CəCōyəC shows however only two attestations of a guttural R3, *s'əbōyəʕ* and *gəmōya* (III-ʕ), (+*tərōya* in Jahn 1902).

In the case of patterns of the type CəCwv:C and CəCyv:C, guttural consonants are somewhat less frequently attested as R3. No attestations are found for patterns CəCyv:C,¹⁹⁹ whereas for patterns CəCwv:C one finds *tərwōχ* (variant *tərōwəχ*), *təhwōh*, *gəbwōh*, *k'ərwōh*, (+*gəlwōh* Jahn 1902), *s'əhwēh* (*s'əhwāh* Jahn 1902), *s'əlwē* (III-ʕ), and *rət'wēʔ* (III-y according to ML). Also, the sole attestation of CəCwayC shows a guttural R3 (*kənwəyħ*).

¹⁹⁹ *wət'yō* is considered to be III-ʔ in ML.

D – Vowel Epenthesis of Sonorants (Liquids): N/A

E – Vowel Epenthesis of Glott.: N/A

F – Vocalization of /l/: Forms showing /l/ in a position where it might be liable to vocalization are not attested. This includes R2 in patterns CəCwv:C and CəCyv:C, where vocalization is, as expected when preceding a glide, not attested (*s'əlwē* and *s'əlwīl*) and further attestations are found in WM (*gəlwōh*, *κəlwōθ*).

G – Behavior of /r/: N/A

H – /ʕ/: In initial position no particular phenomena are observed, and the expected surface outcome ʔāC is attested for all patterns under discussion, except for the pattern CəCyōC and the less frequently attested patterns CəCwayC, CəCwīC, CəCyīC, CəCyawC; where no attestations of roots I-ʕ are found: *ʔātəwwək'* (CəC'vwəC); *ʔāððwək'*, *ʔāt'əwər* (CəCōwəC); *ʔāgōyaz*, *ʔālōyam* (CəCōyəC); *ʔāgwōm* (CəCwōC).

Items showing /ʕ/ as R2 are only attested for the pattern CəCyōC, i.e. *bəʕyōr* and *wəʕyōl*, with the former item being also attested as *bāyōr*, hence showing two possible realizations of the sequence /əʕy/ in this position, which underlines some unclarity in terms of the phonology of /ʕ/.

Attestations with /ʕ/ as R3 are not particularly frequent. Patterns which do not show a stressed vowel immediately preceding final /ʕ/ show the expected surface output Ca#, i.e. *fək'əwwa* (CəC'vwəC); *həmōwa*, *f'alōwa*, *ðərōwəʔ* (CəCōwəC); *gəmōya* (+*ħərōya* Jahn 1902) (CəCōyəC). For patterns of the type CəCwv:C/CəCyv:C, only one clear attestation is found in ML, *s'əlwē*. This surface form would suggest a pattern CəCwēC.

I – /ʔ/: Forms showing a (purported) radical /ʔ/ are restricted to two examples in ML, as R1 *ħəθōwəl* (sg. *ħōθəl*) and as R3 *wət'yō*. Regarding *ħəθōwəl*, no sg. or pl. forms lacking the initial /ħ/ are to be found in ML, hence it cannot be ascertained whether this /ħ/ is a lexicalized definite article (and hence, synchronically R1), or whether the definite article is still productive in these forms. Regarding *wət'yō*, the lack of a final surface glide seems to indicate that this item is not III-Glide. The only other attestation of the same root,²⁰⁰ is the item *wēt'aʔ*. The final sequence, transcribed as <aʔ> in ML, might open the possibility of this root being III-ʕ, but the form *wōt'ī* in Jahn (1902) seems to indicate a glide rather than /ʕ/, at least for the case of WM. Regardless, if one takes the transcription in ML serious, this form seems to be distinct from other forms (purportedly) III-ʔ of the pattern Cv:CəC, i.e. *dōθəʔ*, *ðōrəʔ*, although this might be due to the nature of R2 (/t'/). Returning to *wət'yō*, this item would hence be synchronically interpretable as either III-ʕ or as (the outcome of historical) III-ʔ. Note, that this root might be a loan

²⁰⁰ *wət'ō*, *wət'ōməh* and (*lə-*)*wt'ákməh*, listed under the same root in ML can hardly be considered to be of the same root as the item(s) under discussion here.

from Arabic $\sqrt{w\text{t}ʔ}$, although a form of the type CvCyv(:)C is not to be expected, at least in CA, for this root.

J – Glides: Only patterns of the types CəCōyəC (*wəhōyən*) and CəCyōC (*wət'yō*) show attestations of roots I-Glide in ML.²⁰¹ The two examples appear to be I-w, without any irregularities to be found.

As R3, glides are somewhat more frequently found amongst the attestations in ML. For the pattern CəC'wwəC one finds the item *dəl'wwəw* and for CəCwōC one finds *s'ənwōw* (*s'ənwōy* in Jahn 1902). Furthermore, one also finds the form *s'əh'ww*, which might be understood as CəCōwəC (or CəC'wwəC?).²⁰² Roots III-w thus seem to regularly show a surface /w/, where this is attested as R3. In the case of CəCwēC one finds the item *rət'wēʔ* which might be understood as the regular surface output of a pattern CəCwēC / III-y, although it remains open why in this case one would find a pattern CəCwēC rather than CəCwōC. No attestations of roots III-glide are found for the pattern CəCōyəC.²⁰³

8.4) Surface Variants (?): CəCáwwəC/CəCáwwəC; CəCēwəC, CəCwēC, CəCwayC, CəCyīC, CəCyawC

As shown above (8.2), in ML, one finds a number of attestations of patterns of the type CəC'wwəC, showing both apriorically possible vowel qualities CəCáwwəC and CəCáwwəC. While some surface variation between the two patterns might be expected based on the nature of R2, particularly when R2 is a lowering consonant, one cannot subscribe to the notion of the entirety of attestations being reducible to this factor, i.e. *gəmə'wwəš*, *ʔədá'wwəl* (CəCáwwəC / R2 = -Gutt.); *fək'əwwa*, *fəs'əwwəʔ* (CəCáwwəC / R2 = +Gutt.). Since all forms in question are plural forms, it shall be mentioned that in other pl. patterns which have four consonant positions, and show a stressed vowel between the second and third consonant (R1 and R2 in the case of mə-, R2 and R3 in the case of the patterns under discussion here), one finds similar possible surface vowel/diphthong combinations, i.e. məCōCəC/məCawCəC.

Also, in terms of sg.-pl. correspondences, the two patterns CəCōwəC and CəC'wwəC seem to be attested for the same type of sg. patterns, i.e. triconsonantal patterns showing a stressed vowel between R1 and R2 (CaCC and Cv:CəC, with a few forms CəCv:C attested for CəCōwəC).²⁰⁴ Another argument in favor of the connection of CəCōwəC and CəC'wwəC seems to lie in the fact, that in the data attested in Morris (1981), CəCáwwəC occurs to the exclusion of CəCōwəC (see above, 8.1.). However, all of this does not yet explain the variation in surface vowel quality CəCáwwəC/CəCáwwəC. As has been shown at various previous occasions (cf. chapter 4., chapter 7.), stressed vowels [á] are only very rarely attested in the nominal domain, and most attestations can be explained either as (non- or incompletely

²⁰¹ The item *yəfə'wwəl* appears to be a particular case – perhaps a typo in ML? – given the fact that the root is given as \sqrt{hfl} .

²⁰² Attested in Jahn (1902) as *s'əh'ōwo*.

²⁰³ The example *hədōya* is highly problematic: despite the fact that it is given as III-Glide in ML, it appears that one is dealing here with an incompletely integrated Arabism (Ar. *hadāyā*). No indication for this item being synchronically III-ʕ (or IV-ʕ) seems apparent from the forms given in ML.

²⁰⁴ *χəlēk'/χəlōwək'*, *gədīlāh/gədōwəl* (also attested as *gədātən*), *t'ərəf/t'ərōwəf* (also attested as *t'ərōf* and *t'ərōwōf*)

integrated) Arabisms, or as expected surface reflexes of patterns showing a reduced stressed underlying /i/, /u/, /vy/ or /vw/. In this case, one is dealing with a diphthong which is not reduced, but still shows surface /ə/ in the majority of attestations in ML. The exact nature of this phenomenon seems unclear, however, given the general distribution of stressed /a/ and /ə/ mentioned above, might it be the case that one is dealing here with a particular phenomenon related to the phonetics of (stressed) short surface vowels, perhaps connected to the following sequence /ww/?

Regarding the few attestations of stressed /e/, no conditioning factors appear evident for *k'əḷēwəḷ*.²⁰⁵ As for two of the items CəCwēC in ML, *s'əḥwēḥ* and *s'əḷwē* (+*s'əḥwāḥ* and *s'əḷwāḥ* in Jahn 1902), both show a guttural as R3, whereas *rəḷ'wē?* shows a glide as R3 (according to ML). However, as previously noted (chapter 5.), CəCwōC is one of the few nominal patterns to apparently allow a sequence /o(?)ḥ/ to surface as [ōḥ], i.e. *ḷəḥwōḥ*, *gəḇwōḥ*, *k'ərwōḥ* (+*gəḷwōḥ* Jahn 1902). The distinction between CəCwēC and CəCwōC remains thus unclear.

The patterns CəCwīC and CəCyīC are the only patterns under discussion here, to be apparently exclusively reserved for sg. forms, and three of the four attestations (*rəḍwīd*, *s'əḷwīl* and *k'əḷyīr*) show corresponding pl. forms *rəḍwōd*, *s'əḷwōl* and *k'əḷyōr*,²⁰⁶ preserving the glide in both sg. and pl., and showing the well-known four-consonantal sg.-pl. correspondence CīC# (sg.) - CōC# (pl.). Patterns showing a diphthong after a glide after R2 are only attested as CəCwayC and CəCyawC, with one attestation each (*kəḇwayḥ* and *k'ənyawn*). No forms corresponding to a non-diphthongized variant of CəCyawC are attested in ML, hence it seems that one is dealing with two lexicalized examples of patterns CəCwayC and CəCyawC.²⁰⁷

8.5) Restrictions on R3

As has been shown above (8.3.A.), IG consonants as R2 and R3 are attested rather infrequently amongst patterns under discussion here. Patterns CəCōwəC, CəCōyəC and CəC'wwəC only show the item *t'əḷōwəḷ*, as well as *k'əḷēwəḷ* for CəCēwəC. Note, that amongst the plural attestations of the patterns CəCōC and CīCōC, IG consonants are attested as R2 and R3, albeit also quite rarely outside of paradigmatic adj.m.pl. CīCōC, i.e. *dəḥōk*, *nīḥōf*, *sīḫōf*, *t'īfōs*. Attestations of items III-Gutt. for patterns pf the type CəCwv:C/CəCyv:C are more frequently found when viewed against the backdrop of the overall number of attestations (see above, 8.2.).

²⁰⁵ Morris (1981, 221-222) seems to suggest for surface forms məCēCəC, that /l/ preceding the stressed vowel might be tied to the surface vowel outcome /e/. While apriorically no argument for this notion can be found (see, in particular, the discussion in chapter 7., where it is argued that in at least some of Morris' examples məCēCəC this can be traced to the consonant following C2), it shall be noted that here again one is dealing with /l/ preceding stressed /e/, in a place where one would expect /o/ or /aw/ on the basis of the frequency of attestations.

²⁰⁶ In the author's data, the sg. of *k'əḷyōr* was attested as *k'əḷīrūt*, thus patterning with a small class of items CəCīCūt, and apparently showing the glide in both sg. and pl., as if it was a root consonant rather than an infix?

²⁰⁷ Although both items do show a lowering consonant in the root, hence the spread of a lowering consonant cannot be completely excluded.

Other restrictions on R3 do not appear to apply, lending credence to the notion that the glide(s) encountered between R2 and R3 show no phonological distinctness from glides encountered elsewhere. Thus, one finds gutturals (including /ʕ/) attested as R3 amongst patterns CəC'vwəC, CəCōwəC, CəCōyəC and CəCwv:C, with attestations for CəCōyəC being somewhat less frequent (see above, 8.3.C.). Also, glides are attested as R3, with glide neutralization apparently not taking place (see above, 8.3.J.).

8.6) Biradicals

In most of the (major) patterns under discussion, with the exception of CəC'vwəC, forms showing biradicals are attested. Thus one finds the attestations *t'əlōwəl* and *lək'ōwək'* (CəCōwəC); *k'əlēwəl* (CəCēwəC); *dək'ōyək'* (CəCōyəC); *ləhwōh*, *zərwōr*, *rədwōd*, *s'alwōl* and *s'anwōw* (CəCwōC); *rədwīd* and *s'alwīl* (CəCwīC); *həlyōl* and presumably *k'anɣawn* (CəCyawC). As mentioned above (8.3.A. and 8.6.), one finds attestations of R2 = +IG amongst these forms, i.e. *t'əlōwəl*, *k'əlēwəl*, *ləhwōh*, *həlyōl*.

8.7) Conclusion

The following table summarizes the potential underlying forms of forms showing an infix glide between R2 and R3.

Table 32.: Underlying forms of forms of the type CəCv(:)w/yəC in ML

Surface V	Regular	Underlying /v/	Underlying /vC/	I		II		III		
				ʃ	[+low.]	ʃ	[+gutt.]	ʃ	w	y
[aw]	CəCáwwəC	/CəCáwəC/	/CəCýwwəC/							
[əw]	CəCəwwəC		/CəCýwwəC/	ʔəCəwwəC /ʔəCýwwəC/	CəCəwwəC		Regular	CəCəwwə /CəCýwwəʃ/	CəCəwwəw /CəCýwwəw/	
[ə]	CəCəwəC	/CəCəwəC/	/CəCəʔwəC/ (?)	ʔəCəwəC /ʔəCəwəC/	Regular		Regular	CəCəwə /CəCəwəʃ/		
[e]	CəCəwəC	/CəCəwəC/			CəCəwəC					
[ə]	CəCəyəC	/CəCəyəC/	/CəCəʔyəC/ (?)	ʔəCəyəC /ʔəCəyəC/	Regular		Regular	CəCəyə /CəCəyəʃ/		CəCəyə (?)
[ə]	CəCwəC	/CəCwəC/	/CəCwəʔC/ (?)	ʔəCwəC /ʔəCwəC/	Regular		CəCwəC /CəCwəG/		CəCwəw /CəCwəw/	
[e]	CəCwəC	/CəCwəC/			Regular		CəCwəC /CəCwəG/	CəCwə /CəCwəʃ/		CəCwəʔ /CəCwəʔ/
[i]	CəCwəC	/CəCwəC/					CəCwəC /CəCwəG/			
[ay]	CəCwayC	/CəCwáyC/								
[ə]	CəCyəC	/CəCyəC/	/CəCyəʔC/ (?)		Regular	CəCyəC CəyəC /CəCyəC/				CəCyə /CəCyəyy/
[i]	CəCyiC	/CəCyiC/			Regular					/CəCyəy/ (?)
[aw]	CəCyawC		/CəCýwəC/							

The relationship of items CəCəwwəC and CəCáwwəC remains problematic. While the distinction between the two being simply the result of some unknown phonetic effect might be the most attractive option, it cannot be solidly maintained for the moment. Patterns of the type CəCwv:C and CəCyn:C have been shown to be of interest, not least since they do not exhibit the shift of stress to the left in final-guttural forms, thus the sequence of two adjacent consonants seems to block the shift of stress. Even more particular seems the notion of a sequence [əh] being apparently attested for the pattern CəCwəC, although items CəCwəC / III-Gutt. can also be found. Restriction on R3 for patterns which do not show a stressed vowel immediately preceding R3 are not found, as to be expected.

9) Cəwv:CəC and CəCwǝCCəC

9.1) Introduction & Previous Literature

Patterns of the type Cəwv:CəC (CəwǝCəC and CəwēCəC) and CəwǝCCəC (CəwáCCəC, marginally CəwáCCəC) are much rarer pl. patterns than their counterparts showing a glide to the right of R2, i.e. CəCǝwəC/CəCǝyəC/CəCəwwəC/CəCwǝC (chapter 8.). As is the case for CəCǝwəC and CəCǝyəC, most attested forms show corresponding sg. patterns of the type Cv:CəC or patterns with a f.sg. suffix.²⁰⁸

Previous discussions of these patterns are limited. Bittner (1909, 65) mentions the existence of a rare pl. pattern CəwāCəC (“qawātil”), although the examples cited by Bittner (loc.cit.) are either CəwǝCəC or CəwēCəC. Morris notes the existence of patterns CəwāCCəC (Morris 1981, 242) as well as CəwǝCəC and CəwēCəC (Morris 1981, 245), with the former pattern being described as “...[formed] *from singular substantive forms with or without feminine markers*” (Morris 1981, 242) without any further discussions of said patterns. In Fathi’s account (Fathi 2017a, 2-4; 16), patterns CəwǝCəC are subsumed under the category of “Feminine plural nouns with a glide w between radicals C1 and C2”, proposing that in these cases the glide /w/ is a feminine gender marker (non-canonical exponence), although the gender of the corresponding sg. forms could not be ascertained for all of the forms in question in the case of this study, particularly those which do not show a f.sg. suffix. No discussion is given by Fathi regarding the pattern CəwáCCəC. It should be noted however, that, despite the aforementioned presence of corresponding sg. forms which do not show a f.sg. suffix, almost all of the forms attested in ML are various terms for camels, or for “bride, groom” (*kəlōn*) and “warlock, wizard” (*sēhər/sáhrət*), hence all of these terms could – at least apriorically – be conceived of as f.sg. forms, although further checking is needed to ascertain this notion.²⁰⁹

In this chapter, after an overview of attestations and surface variations (9.2.) and a discussion of the application of phonological effects (9.3.), the distinction of patterns of the type Cəwv:CəC and CəwáCCəC will be discussed under 9.4., as well as the distinctions of both patterns from pl. patterns showing a glide to the right of R2 (9.6.).

²⁰⁸ Note, however: *kəlōn/kəwállən, k’əhawr/k’əwáhhər, rəbād/rəwēbəd*

²⁰⁹ A number of the aforementioned camel-terms appear to be, at least in terms of natural gender, feminine. Regarding *kəlōn*, while no f.sg. morpheme is to be found in the Mh. form, other Semitic languages showing (what appears to be cognate to) this root, i.e. Hebrew *kalā*.

9.2) Overview of Attestations

Attestations of plural forms showing a glide infix followed by a stressed vowel between R1 and R2 are summarized in the tables below.

Table 33.: Attestations of Cəwv:CəC in ML

Stressed V	Regular	R1	R2	R3	Total
		ʕ	[+gutt.]	y	
[ō]	CəwōCəC (6)	ʔawōCəC (1)	CəwēCəC (2)	CəwōCi (1)	8
[ē]					2

Table 34.: 2ə3# in Cəwv:CəC in ML

C2	C3	IG														Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.					Sonorants						?						
		Lowering C (Eject.)						Lowering C (Gutt.)				IG (non-Lowering)																					
		θ'	s'	ṣ'	t'	k'	l'	ʕ	ɣ	ħ	χ	f	θ	s	ṣ	t	k	l	h	b	d	ð	z	g	w	y	r	l	m	n	?		
Lowering C (Eject.)	θ'																																
	s'																																
	ṣ'																																
	t'																																
	k'																																
	l'																																
Lowering C (Gutt.)	ʕ																																
	ɣ																																
	ħ																																
	χ																																
IG (non-Lowering)	f																																
	θ																																
	s																																
	ṣ																																
	t																																
	k																																
	l																																
	h																																
Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.	b																																
	d																																
	ð																																
	z																																
	g																																
Sonorants	w																																
	y																																
	r																																
	l																																
	m																																
	n																																
?	?																																

9.3) Application of Phonological Effects

A – IG: Almost no attestations of sequences consisting of more than one IG-consonant are attested, the only example being attested for CəwēCəC, i.e. *səwēħar* (sg. *sēħar*), where – as to be expected – the IG-effect does not apply.²¹⁰ No attestations of IG-consonants as R2 and R3 are found.

B – Diphthongization + Vowel Lowering: N/A

C - Fronted Stress / III-Gutt.: Two attestations of forms showing guttural consonants as R3 are found in ML, i.e. *səwōrəħ* and *rəwámma* (+*fəwōra?*, *l'əwōfa?* III-ŷ Jahn 1902). Also, gutturals are found as R2, i.e. *k'əwáhhər*, *rəwēħəd*, *səwēħər*. Note, that amongst forms of the surface type CəCwv:CəC, the surface form CəCwēCəC is found, both attestations of which show a guttural consonant as R2.

D – Vowel Epenthesis of Sonorants (Liquids): N/A

E – Vowel Epenthesis of Glott.: N/A

F – Vocalization of /l/: N/A

G – Behavior of /r/: N/A

H – /ʕ/: In initial position one attestation of /ʕ/ is found, i.e. *ʔawōtək'*. No transparent attestations of these patterns are found for items II-ŷ. As R3, one finds the aforementioned form *rəwámma*, (+*fəwōra?*, *l'əwōfa?* III-ŷ Jahn 1902), without any particular phenomena regarding the surface reflex of /ʕ/ to be noted.

I – /ʔ/: N/A

J – Glides: In medial position, two items, *dəwōyər* and *ħəwōyæg* are attested. Only one form showing a final glide is found, i.e. *gəwōbi* (sg. *gēbyət*), III-y according to ML. Based on this one example, it seems that glide neutralization does not take place. Note, that none of the items in question (of particular relevance for II-Glide) are attested for the pattern CəwáCCəC.

9.4) Distinction CəwōCəC/CəCwēCəC and CəwáCCəC/CəwáCCəC

The two attestations of CəwēCəC both show guttural consonants as R2, i.e. *səwēħər*, *rəwēħəd*, whereas no attestations of guttural consonants as R2 are found amongst attestations of the pattern CəwōCəC. This seems to indicate that CəwēCəC is a variant of CəwōCəC, with the alternation between stressed /o/ and /e/ before (certain) guttural consonants being apparently attested for this pattern.

Amongst the attestations of the pattern CəwáCCəC, one finds one example where the stressed vowel is transcribed as /ə/ in ML, and apparently confirmed as such by Morris (1981, 242), i.e. *zəwərrək'*.²¹¹ It

²¹⁰ *səwōyəd* vs. *sáddət* problematic.

²¹¹ Although, given the putative (at least partial) overlap of sources between Morris 1981 and ML, it seems unclear whether the attestations in Morris 1981 and ML actually mutually confirm each other.

seems unclear whether this represents a distinct pattern CəwáCCəC or simply a phonetic variant without any further (morpho)phonological implications, the aforementioned paucity of attestations might imply the latter option.

9.5) Opposition between CəwōCəC and CəwáCCəC and the sequence wáCCə

Regarding the opposition between CəwōCəC and CəwáCCəC, one immediately notes the parallel to similar plural patterns showing a non-root glide to the right of R2, i.e. CəCōwəC, CəCōyəC and CəCńwwəC (see chapter 8.). As in the case of the aforementioned patterns, one finds one form with a stressed vowel /o/ and one form with a stressed vowel surfacing as [a] in a closed syllable. In the case of CəCńwwəC, one finds what appears to be gemination of the glide infix /w/, in the case of CəwáCCəC, it is R2. For CəCńwwəC, it has been asked previously (chapter 8.), whether the “geminate“ realization of the glide might be simply due to the variation between /o/ and /aw/ in position of the stressed vowel. Exporting this situation to the case of CəwáCCəC does not clarify the enigmatic case of R2 in this pattern, since a hypothetical form with a diphthong /aw/ (i.e. °CəwáwCəC) is not attested. Supposing that one is dealing with underlying /CəwáwCəC/, with /w/ assimilating to R2 does not seem plausible given the general behavior of /w/ in comparable environments (i.e. CńwC, for example *bawk*, *kawməz*, *hawd*, etc.), where assimilation of /w/ (or glides more generally speaking) is not attested.

Perhaps a similar approach might yield better results, namely by assuming that both CəwōCəC and CəwáCCəC are outputs of one underlying form, namely a form where the stressed vowel [ō] is not a plain underlying vowel /o/ but rather an underlying sequence /oʔ/, as encountered elsewhere in the nominal domain (see chapter 2.). In this case, the question remains whether the sequence wáCC is the outcome of assimilation of underlying /ʔ/ to R2 or whether this is due to other factors. However, no solution seems well establishable for the moment, given the lack of any other (apparent) attestations of this phenomenon outside of (possibly) CəCōwəC/CəCńwwəC. Specifically, in the pattern CōCəC, no potential surface outcomes CáCCəC (which might be traceable to original CōCəC) are known.

9.6) Distinction Cəwv:CəC+CəwáCCəC vs. CəC(Glide)

No phonological factors appear to condition the distinction between Cəwv:CəC/CəwáCCəC and pl. forms showing a glide between R2 and R3, although this might be due to the smaller number of attestations showing a glide between R1 and R2.

9.7) Biradicals

The only possible attestation of a biradical root is the item *səwōyəd*, for which a sg. form *sáddət* is given. This item is problematic and needs further checking. Otherwise, the expected lack of sequences 2ə2# manifests itself in the lack of attestations of patterns Cəwv:CəC/CəwáCCəC with biradicals.

9.8) Conclusion

The following table summarizes the potential underlying forms of forms showing an infix glide between R1 and R2.

Table 37.: Underlying forms of forms of the type Cəwv:CəC/CəwáCCəC in ML

Surface V	Regular	Underlying /v/	Underlying /vC/	R1	R2	R3	
				ʕ	[+gutt.]	ʕ	y
[a]	CəwáCCəC	/CəwáCCəC/	/CəwáʔCəC/			CəwáCCa	/CəwáCCaʔ/
[ə]	CəwəCCəC	/CəwəCCəC/					
[o]	CəwəCəC	/CəwəCəC/	/CəwəʔCəC/	ʔawəCəC /ʕawəCəC/	CəwəCəC /CəwəGəC/ /Cəwə(?)GəC/ (?)		CəwəCi /CəwəCay/
[e]	CəwēCəC	/CəwēCəC/					

Items of the type in question are rarely attested pl. forms. Unusually for pl. forms, only stressed /o/, /e/ and reduced [a] and [ə] are attested as stressed vowels, but not [aw]. Also, one finds the highly unusual “gemination“ of R2 in the pattern CəwáCCəC, which might suggest assimilation of a potentially underlying consonantic element (presumably pertaining to internal plural formation?) to R2, although more data would be needed to clarify this question. Note also, the application of the e/o alternation for items of the pattern CəwēCəC, despite only one apparent consonant preceding the stressed vowel, thus perhaps indicating paradigmatic /CəwəʔCəC/.

10) Cv:Cv:C

10.1) Introduction & Previous Literature

In this chapter, patterns of the type Cv:Cv:C, i.e. triconsonantal patterns showing two long surface vowels with stress on the second vowel will be discussed. These patterns are attested as CīCōC, CayCōC, CīCēC (+CīCāC), CayCēC (+CayCāC), CīCáy(?), CayCáy(?), CēCōC, CēCīC, CēCāC (= CēCēC), CōCīC and CōCōC; with most attestations being found for CīCōC and CīCēC. The pattern CīCōC is most prominently attested as a m.pl. pattern, particularly – though not exclusively – for “adjectives“ showing corresponding m.sg., f.sg. and f.pl. forms. Some putative sg. attestations of CīCōC are found as well, which appear to be mass nouns. The pattern CīCēC is also attested as a pl. pattern, though not in the same way as CīCōC, being rather the plural for mostly – but not exclusively – f.sg. nouns with a stressed f.sg. suffix. Singular attestations of CīCēC are not limited to mass nouns. The other patterns attested are either variants of CīCōC and CīCēC (see below), or very rarely attested, i.e. CōCīC/CōCōC and potentially CīCay(?).

In previous accounts of these patterns, a comparison with patterns of the type CiCv:C (in Arabic or PMSAL) has been drawn by some authors. Hence, Bittner (1909, 55-56) describes these forms as *qitāl*-type plurals, although Bittner states (loc.cit.) that the identification of these forms as “*qitāl*-types“ can only be ascertained when R1 or R2 is a lowering consonant, inducing diphthongization (on this question see below, 10.3.B). Similarly, Dufour (2022, 89) considers the vowel between R1 and R2 to be the reflex of historical /i/.

Fathi (2017a) considers the initial long surface vowel of CīCōC to contain an underlying glide /y/, which serves as a non-canonical masculine gender marker, due to its adjacency to R2, containing an underlying segment /w/, resulting in the dissimilation (?) of the masculine gender marker /w/ to /y/. This interpretation of the initial sequence CīC has the attractive virtue of explaining the presence of this glide since putative interpretations of this sequence as the reflex of historical (inherited) /i/ result not just in the problem of explaining the intra-Semitic origin of putative patterns *CiCv(:)C but also in explaining the seemingly irregular (?) development of *i/>/y/ in these patterns (unlike the example of T1 subj.3.m.d. forms referenced by Dufour 2022, 89). However, it remains unclear (to the author), how this notion accounts for attestations of CīCēC, particularly those which are plurals of marked f.sg. nouns. By contrast, Watson & al-Mahri (2018) consider the unstressed long vowel to be the result of secondary stress.

In a more neutral vein, Morris (1981, 111) simply describes these forms as “*Patterns with two long vowels...*“ (loc.cit.), adding that CīCōC is commonly attested for adjectives (Morris 1981, 233-234) and CīCēC for nouns (Morris 1981, 232). Patterns of the type CīCay(?) and CīCā(?) are considered by Morris as pertaining to the pattern CīCēC (Morris 1981, 232-233). No observations on the nature of the long unstressed surface vowel are made by Morris.

In this chapter an overview of attestations (10.2) and an account of the various phonological effects of interest (10.3) will be given, followed by a discussion of the underlying nature of the unstressed long surface vowel in patterns CīCv:C (10.4). The underlying structure of stressed long surface vowels other than [ī] will be discussed under 10.5, whereas the distribution of stressed vowels and potential surface variations thereof will be discussed under 10.6.

10.2) Overview of Attestations

Attestations of patterns showing a long, unstressed surface vowel without any further affixes are given in the tables below.

Table 38.: Attestations of Cv:Cv:’C in ML

Stressed V	Regular	R1		R2	R3			Total
		ʕ	[+low.]	[+low.]	[+gutt.]	ʕ	y	
[ō]	CīCōC (49)	ʔayCōC (1)	CayCōC (6) ²¹²	Regular (CīCōC)	CīCēC? ²¹³		Regular (CīCōy)	56
[ē]	CīCēC (16)	ʔayCēC ʔāyCēC ʔīCēC (4)	CayCēC (2) ²¹⁴	CīCāC (10) ²¹⁵	See above	CīCē(?)/ CīCē (5)	CīCē(?) (4)	41

²¹² Sporadically attested in ML; most items I-Lowering show CīCōC.

²¹³ Unclear – 7 surface forms CīCēC and 1 CīCāC show III-Gutt.

²¹⁴ Sporadically attested in ML; some items I-Lowering show CīCēC.

²¹⁵ Including *ʔayl'āb* (I-Lowering), *ʔīk'ā* III-w? and *ʔīt'ā* III-ʕ

Table 39.3.: $l\bar{1}2/1ay2$ in $C\bar{1}C\bar{e}C/CayC\bar{e}C/C\bar{1}C\bar{a}C/CayC\bar{a}C/C\bar{1}C\bar{e}(?)$ in ML

C1 \ C2		Lowering C										IG								Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.					Sonorants						?		
		Lowering C (Eject.)						Lowering C (Gutt.)				IG (non-Lowering)																			?		
		θ'	s'	\bar{s}'	t'	k'	l'	ζ	ε	h	χ	f	θ	s	\bar{s}	t	k	l	h	b	d	\bar{d}	z	g	w	y	r	l	m	n	?		
Lowering C (Eject.)	θ'																																
	s'																																
	\bar{s}'																																
	t'										x																						
	k'																x																
	l'																							x									
Lowering C (Gutt.)	ζ													x		x							x				x						
	ε										x																						x
	h																																x
IG	IG (non-Lowering)	f				x	x																										
		θ																															
		s																															
	\bar{s}																																
	t																																
	k																																
	l																																
	h																																
	Other Voiced Obstr./Fric.	b																															
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Sonorants	w																																
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	n																																
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10.3) Application of Phonological Effects

A – IG: IG consonants are attested as R1 and R2 (*χīfōf, fīhōm, fītōn, sīhōl, sīχōf, haytōm, haylōm, hītēm, hīχār*) and as R2 and R3 (*χīfōf, nīhōf, sīχōf, t'īfōs, t'īfēh*). Whereas the latter configuration seems trivial, since the vowel between R2 and R3 is stressed, attestations of IG consonants between R1 and R2 are important, since one would expect a simple underlying unstressed vowel to be elided in this position, pointing towards the underlying nature of the surface long vowel as a glide /y/. Configurations of IG consonants as R1 and R2 are also attested in corresponding patterns in WM (i.e. *χayfōf*, etc. in Jahn 1902). Amongst the few examples of CēCv:C and CōCv:C no configurations of IG consonants as R1 and R2 are found.

B – Diphthongization + Vowel Lowering: Forms of the type CīCv:C do not regularly show diphthongization of the initial unstressed long surface vowel. Most forms CīCv:C with a lowering R1 do not show diphthongization, however some do (*haytōm, k'aydōr, ḡaylōr, kayzōr, haylōm, k'ays'ōr, hāyrēm, ḡāytēr, kayfēn, haynē?, haydēn, ḡaylē, kayl'āb, kayθáy?*).

Surface patterns of the type CīCāC all show a lowering consonant as R2, and are hence to be understood as allophones of CīCēC. However, vowel lowering when preceded by a lowering consonant is not attested for the putative attestations of CēCōC, i.e. *θ'ērōb, v̄elōθ', v̄ēšōm*; pointing towards erroneous transcription of these forms in ML and perhaps the possibility of these forms being variants of CīCōC.

C - Fronted Stress / III-Gutt.: Amongst surface patterns of the type CīCōC only one form with a guttural R3 is attested in ML, namely the irregular form *sīmōh*, the m.pl. form of the irregular m.sg. form *samayh* (see chapter 6.). However, amongst surface patterns of the type CīCēC and its variant CīCāC, forms showing a guttural R3 are quite well attested, i.e. *t'īfēh, bēt'āh, dīrē?, nībē?, l'īgē, nīdēχ, hīrē, šīrē, fīt'ā* (III-ς), *rībay* (III-ς), pointing to the alternation of stressed /o/ - /e/ when succeeded by a guttural consonant.

D – Vowel Epenthesis of Sonorants (Liquids): N/A

E – Vowel Epenthesis of Glott.: N/A

F – Vocalization of /l/: Assuming that the unstressed long surface vowel is the surface representation of an underlying glide, one would not expect the vocalization of initial /l/ in these patterns. In initial position only one attestation of /l/ is to be found in ML, namely *līyōn*, where vocalization does not apply, further underlining the presence of an underlying glide. In medial and final position vocalization is not attested and also not expected.

G – Behavior of /r/: N/A

H – /ʕ/: As is the case with other forms with a guttural consonant as R1, forms of the patterns in question which show /ʕ/ as R1 surface either with a diphthong /ay/ or a monophthong /ī/ (in one case /ē/ in ML),

i.e. *ʔaylōr*, *ʔīwēkʻ*, *ʔīlēkʻ*, *ʔāytēr*, *ʔaylē*, *ʔēlīg*. In the case of *ʔāytēr*, the vowel of the diphthong is transcribed as long in ML, harking back to the general unclarities of notation of the transcription of word-initial unstressed sequences /ʕə/ (or, perhaps more properly /əʕ/) in ML.

No clear attestations of /ʕ/ as R2 in surface patterns CīCv:C or any potential cognate patterns have been found. The item *ʔayrōr* does not clearly fall into the category of items CīCv:C, since it appears to be an item with reduplicated R3 of a root √ʕr.

Most attestations of /ʕ/ as R3 show the surface forms CīCē(?) or CīCē, i.e. *ḏīrēʔ*, *nībēʔ*, *tʻīgē*, *ḥīrē*, *šīrē*, *fītʻā* and one item shows the surface form CīCay, i.e. *rībay*. No attestations of surface [o(:)] are found for items III-ʕ, which appears to be related to the alternation /o/ - /e/.

I – /ʔ/: No clear attestations of /ʔ/ are to be found as R1 or R2 in ML (*īdōb* in Jahn 1902?).²¹⁶ The status of items which show – at least historically – initial /ʔ/ and a definite article *h-* as well as a surface glide between R1 and R2 and a stressed vowel between R2 and R3 (ḥəyCv:ʕ) remains unclear, and might pertain to the patterns in question.²¹⁷

Two items of the patterns in question are given in ML as III-ʔ, namely *tʻīrōy* and *ḏīrayʔ*. The former item shows /y/ in corresponding m.sg. and f.sg. forms, and is transcribed as *tʻīrī* by Jahn (1902), hence no reason seems apparent to interpret this item as anything but III-y, at least synchronically. As for *ḏīrayʔ*, this is the plural form of one of the two – apparently – distinct III-ʔ items of patterns Cv:CəC (see chapter 3.), namely *ḏōrəʔ*. Note, that a similar surface transcription is used in ML for *ḥīdayʔ* which is historically speaking not III-ʔ (rather III-y), and which (possibly aside from this plural form) does not show any trace of /ʔ/ in the corresponding sg. form *ḥōdi*.

J – Glides: In initial position, no glides are attested amongst the patterns in question in ML.

In medial position, glides /w/ and /y/ surface regularly, i.e. *ḥīwōw*, *dīwōl*, *līyōn*, *ḥīwōz*, *tʻīwōl*, *kʻīwōy*, *ḥīwōtʻ*, *ḥīwēʔ* (√θw ML), *ʔīwēkʻ*, *gīyēd*, *dīwē* (√dwy ML), *nēwōw*, *nēwīw*, *gīwē* (√gww in ML).

Forms which have a root III-glide surface both as CīCōC and as CīCē(?) or CīCay(?). The former category includes *ḥīwōw*, *kʻīwōy*, *ḥīlōy* (III-w in ML all forms show III-y), *ḥīkʻōy*, *nēwōw/nēwīw*; whereas the latter includes *dīwē* (√dwy ML), *kīrēʔ* (√kry ML), *ḥaynēʔ* (√ḥny ML), *ʔaylē* (√ʕly ML), *fītʻā* (√fkʻw ML), *ʕayḥáyʔ* (√ʕḥy ML), *kīlay* (√klw ML, all forms show III-y except for *kālawtān* in Jahn 1902), *ḥīdayʔ* (√ḥdy ML).

²¹⁶ The item *ʔēmīr* is an unsystematically (if at all) integrated Arabism in all likelihood.

²¹⁷ i.e. *ḥayrēm*, *ḥayḏēn*, *ḥaynīθ*

10.4) The phonological profile of the unstressed long surface vowel [ī]

Since one would, generally speaking, not expect a long surface vowel in an unstressed open syllable, one would expect the surface vowel [ī] in most of the forms under discussion here, to be the surface realization of an underlying glide, with the underlying structure of most items under discussion being hence /CəyCṽC/. In addition to this general argument based on the surfacing of said vowel as long, it has been shown above (10.3.A), that the IG effect does not apply between R1 and R2 in these patterns, hence, it can be ruled out that the sequence between R1 and R2 consists of a simple underlying vowel.

Other arguments, albeit more tentatively might be added to the case for an underlying glide /y/ in these forms. The aforementioned occasional diphthongization (10.3.B) is probably of little interest in terms of the regularity (or irregularity) of its application, however, the very presence of (at least some) forms which show an unstressed diphthong in these cases also goes to show that one is not dealing with a simple underlying vowel /i/, since such diphthongization of unstressed underlying vowels /i/ and /u/ is not attested elsewhere.²¹⁸

Another potentially salient point concerns the aforementioned non-application of stress shift in forms which show a guttural R3 (see 10.3.C). No reason seems apparent to assume that, if CīCōC was the surface outcome of a hypothetical underlying form /CiCōC/, stress shift would be blocked, and one would hence expect a surface outcome with stress on the vowel between R1 and R2 (which is very rarely attested for the plurals of “adjectives“, where CīCōC is a dominant m.pl. pattern). Rather, it seems that the shift of stress to the vowel between R1 and /y/ is blocked by the presence of two adjacent underlying consonantal segments /yC/. A similar situation has been encountered in the case of patterns of the type CəCyv:C and CəCwv:C, where guttural consonants as R3 were similarly attested in final position after a stressed vowel.²¹⁹ Also, the application of processes such as vowel metaphony does not seem to apply when blocked by two adjacent underlying consonantal segments in various nominal patterns. Hence, the fact that forms CīCv:C III-Gutt. exist might be in itself an indication of an underlying glide /y/ between R1 and R2, immediately adjacent to R2.

Finally, one might ask whether the aforementioned lack of glides as R1 (10.3.J) is of any indicative value for determining the nature of the long surface vowel in question. Apriorically speaking, this question seems somewhat unjustified, since sequences /wvy/ are attested otherwise, albeit not very frequently.²²⁰ However, in the light of Fathi’s aforementioned proposals on these patterns, where the non-canonical representation of the glide, which is understood as a gender marker by Fathi (2017a) and

²¹⁸ Admittedly, the search for parallels where one might confidently assume underlying /i/ is a rather intricate matter, hard to prove empirically for the nominal system (in Mh. at least).

²¹⁹ The seemingly – irregular – non-application of the variation /o/ - /e/ before gutturals in these forms has been previously mentioned and shall not be elaborated upon at this point, suffice to say that the constraints on this variation (which seem to apply only in the case of CəCyōC), if they exist at all, do not operate here.

²²⁰ For example in G-stem VNs of the type CayCəC, i.e. *waykəb*, etc., in patterns CəCayC, i.e. *k’əway*, *təCCayC*, i.e. *təḥwayr*, etc. Forms with initial /y/ are not considered, since roots with initial /y/ are barely attested on lexical grounds.

where the form /y/ for masculine rather than /w/ is due to an OCP-violation of two adjacent segments /w/; one might ask whether a similar constraint might explain the lack of forms I-Glide in ML for these patterns. The problem remains that the empirical basis of ML does not allow to answer this question, since CəCayC-type m.sg. forms (which are the m.sg. correspondents for most m.pl. “adjectives“ CīCōC) which show /w/ as R1 are given without any (salient) corresponding pl. forms, i.e. *wəḥayd*, *wəḏayḏ*, *wəlayf*, *wərayθ*, etc.²²¹ More data would hence be needed to decide whether the lack of I-glide forms for the patterns in question is simply a lacuna in ML, or whether constraints on the nature of R1 do in fact apply for these forms. If the latter option was to be chosen, this might imply (morpho)phonologically distinct behavior of the underlying glide in patterns CīCv:C more generally speaking, since it has been shown above that in other forms sequences /wvy/ (with the second glide being a non-root glide, not induced by a neighboring lowering consonant) appear to surface regularly.

10.5) CēCv:‘C and CōCv:‘C

In addition to [ī] and [ay], two more surface vowel qualities are attested in ML for the long, stressed surface vowel between R1 and R2, namely [ē] and [ō]. Attestations for [ē] are *bēt’āḥ*, *nēwōw*, *nēwīw*, *θ’ērōb*, *ḵēlōθ’*, *ḵēšōm* in addition to the aforementioned putative Arabisms *ʔēmīr* and *nēt’ōr*. It has been previously mentioned (10.3.B), that the lowering of /e/ is not attested in forms showing a lowering consonant as R1, i.e. *θ’ērōb*, *ḵēlōθ’*, *ḵēšōm*, implying that in these forms one is not dealing with underlying /e/.²²² Furthermore, at least some of these forms show variations with [ī], [ay] or [ə] in other sources, i.e. *θ’ayrōb* (Jahn 1902), *θ’īrōb* (Watson et al. 2020) for *θ’ērōb*; *ḵayšōm* (Jahn 1902) for *ḵēšōm*; *ḵəlwōθ’* (Jahn 1902) for *ḵēlōθ’*; *bət’āḥ* (Jahn 1902) for *bēt’āḥ*.²²³ Finally, regarding sg. *nēwīw* /pl. *nēwōw*, it seems as if one was dealing with a form with reduplicated R3, on the basis of the sg.-pl. correspondence of [ī] and [ō], implying that the surface [ē] is the outcome of some other process (compensatory for underlying /ʕ/?). Hence, when regarding these forms in combination with the tendency for confusing [ī] and [ē] generally speaking in ML (for example in stressed f.sg. suffixes), it appears that the case for the existence of patterns of the type CēCv:C seems rather weak. More data would be needed to establish this question in more definite terms, but it seems reasonable for the moment to assume that said forms – if they exist at all – are little more than (unconditioned?) surface variants of CīCv:C.

²²¹ The latter two forms, show pl forms *wəlōf* and *wərθē*. More patterns of the type wəCayC showing pl. forms are attested in ML, these do not however show corresponding f.sg. and pl. forms, and are hence not necessarily to be equated with “adjective“ forms under consideration here.

²²² In addition to the aforementioned general notion that an underlying unstressed vowel would not surface in its underlying vowel quality and lengthened.

²²³ Or vice-versa, *nīḥar* in ML for *nēḥār* in Jahn 1902.

Regarding the question of forms of the type CōCv:C, one has even fewer attestations, i.e. *gōdēl/gōdōl*²²⁴ and *nōmīl/nōmōl* in ML, as well as potentially *nūwēb* in Jahn (1902), *nōbēt/nāwēb* in ML.²²⁵ Extrapolating from what has been noted above with regard to an underlying glide in CīCv:C, one might similarly envision an underlying consonantal segment between R1 and R2 in these forms, distinct from /y/. Underlying /vw/ would apriorically speaking result in surface [ū] when unstressed or [aw] when stressed, however, there are a few examples where an underlying non-root glide might surface as either a monophthong or a diphthong, see the aforementioned variation (chapter 2.) between *wōrəχ* (ML), *wūrəχ* (Jahn 1902) and *wáwrəχ* (Morris et al. 2019). Although the underlying vowel is stressed in these examples, one might nevertheless ask whether the – otherwise unknown (?) – sequence of a non-root underlying glide /w/ preceded by an unstressed vowel might show similar distinct surface forms (where [ō] in ML corresponds to [ū] or [aw] in Jahn 1902). Given the fact that the few examples of this type show no phonological characteristics through which the hypothesis of an underlying glide /w/ could be confirmed or disproven, no further elaborations can be added at this point.

10.6) The Stressed Vowel between R2 and R3

The quality of the stressed vowel between R2 and R3 is /ō/ in most patterns in question, i.e. CīCōC and possibly CēCōC and CōCōC. Surface patterns of the type Cv:CēC are less frequently attested, and show, as previously mentioned (10.3.C), a guttural R3 in a number of cases, i.e. *t'īfēh*, *ōīrē?*, *nībē?*, *nīdēχ*, *īīrē*, *šīrē*. However, not all attestations of CīCēC can be understood as being conditioned by the alternation of /o/ and /e/ before guttural consonants. These remaining attestations of CīCēC are either plural forms for usually f.sg. nouns, or in some cases sg. forms including, but not restricted to, mass nouns. Putative cognate patterns are also known from J/S, hence, the distinction between CīCōC and CīCēC cannot be considered to be exclusively outcome of the variation of stressed /o/ and /e/ before gutturals. The presence of an underlying /ʔ/ in the stressed vowel of the pattern CīCōC seems apriorically possible, however, it cannot be proven due to the aforementioned fact that the stressed vowel seems to be preceded by a cluster of two adjacent consonants, hence preventing stress shift to the left.

Forms showing a stressed vowel [ī] or a diphthong [ay] between R2 and R3 are even rarer, with almost all attestations, except for the aforementioned *nēwīw* and *lērīr* showing a “weak” consonant as R3, either a glide, /ʃ/ or in one case (see 10.3.I) potentially /ʔ/. In the case of the latter forms, one finds a surface diphthong [ay], pointing towards underlying /áyy#. As elsewhere, it remains unclear why this sequence appears with a short vowel, reduced in quality, rather than with a lengthened stressed vowel [ō] or [ē]. In any case, Morris' aforementioned suggestion (Morris 1981, 232-233) of categorizing these patterns together with CīCēC seems difficult to envisage on phonological grounds.

²²⁴ Sg. *gəwdīl* in Rubin 2018.

²²⁵ Other, even more problematic forms appear in Jahn 1902, which do not however, fall under the purview of the patterns under discussion here, f.e. *hōmōwək'*, *mōʔēt*, etc.

10.7) Biradicals

Biradicals are attested for patterns CīCōC and CīCēC, where they surface without any particularities.

10.8) Conclusion

The following table summarizes the potential underlying forms of forms showing an infix glide between R1 and R2 preceded by an unstressed vowel.

Table 40.: Underlying forms for infix glide between R1 and R2 preceded by an unstressed vowel in ML

Surface V	Regular	Underlying /v/	Underlying /vC/	R1		R2		R3		
				ʕ	[+low.] ≠ʕ	[+low.]	[+gutt.]	ʕ	w	y
[ō]	CīCōC	/CayCōC/	/CayCōʔC/	ʔayCōC /ʕayCōC/	CīCōC CayCōC /C _{Low} ayCōC/	Regular	CīCēC /CayCēG/ /CayCō(?)G/ (?)		CīCōw /CayCōw/	CīCōy /CayCōy/
[ā]	CīCēC	/CayCēC/		ʔayCēC /ʕayCēC/	CīCēC CayCēC /C _{Low} ayCēC/	CīCāC /CayC _{Low} éC/		CīCē(?) CīCē /CayCēʕ/		CīCē(?) /CayCēy/

The attestation of an underlying glide between R1 and R2 in the forms in question is indicated not just by the surfacing of an unstressed long vowel, but also by the non-application of stress-shift to the left in the case of forms III-Gutt. Also, the incoherent diphthongization by preceding lowering consonants, might be an argument in favor of the notion of an underlying glide in this position. Forms showing unstressed [ē] between R1 and R2 might also be surface variations of CīC, however, the data in question would need validation by speakers. The items CōC_ /CəwC_ remain few and elusive, and might – for whatever reason – show underlying /w/ between R1 and R2. Unlike the case of CəCwōC (see chapter 8.), with the exception of the highly problematic (and likely erroneous, cf. the corresponding sg. forms) item *sīmōh*, no attestations of CīCōC showing a final guttural are attested, indicating that the alternation of /o/ and /e/ before gutturals applies regularly here. This, in turn might lend further credence to the notion that the pertinent forms III-Gutt. of the pattern CəCwōC might be in fact mistakes.

11) Nisba

11.1) Introduction & Previous Literature

Patterns showing a suffix containing a glide /y/ and being attested as a class of nouns (or rather “adjectives“) having a certain quality or pertaining to a certain group are classified here, in parallel with similar forms in other Semitic languages as “Nisba“ forms. As mentioned, the common formal denominator of said forms is the presence of a suffix /vy(y)/, which can, in rare contexts (see below), surface as [i]. Such Nisba forms are attested as m.sg., f.sg., m.pl. and f.pl. forms, although not every item has corresponding forms in all aforementioned genders and numbers (at least in ML). On the basis of said classification, not all patterns showing a suffix /y/ can be classified as Nisba patterns, since a small class of nouns exists, which show a pl. form with what appears to be a suffix /-ayy/ (see chapter 14.).

No detailed discussions of Nisba forms in Mh. have been provided in previous literature, although their surface forms have been briefly mentioned by various authors: Bittner (1909, 33-34) noted a number of Nisba forms, usually m.sg. which – in the western varieties, which largely form the basis of Bittner’s data – show a suffix –ī, thus showing the aforementioned (chapters 2., 5. etc.) dialectal variation regarding the realization of stressed underlying diphthongs. In the data cited by Bittner (loc.cit.), m.sg. forms showing a lowering consonant preceding the suffix, the suffix surfaces as a diphthong. Only one pl. form is mentioned by Bittner (loc.cit.), <hāmenôy> (unattested in ML), showing the m.pl. suffix –ōy attested elsewhere (see below). The surfacing of the m.sg. Nisba suffix as –ī in the western varieties and –áy in the eastern varieties is confirmed by Watson (2012, 104), and examples for full m.sg./f.sg./m.pl./f.pl. are given for both western (ibid., 105: *karkamī/karkamyōt/karkamō/karkamaytən*) and eastern (ibid., 106: *hīk’ay/hīk’iyūt/hīk’ō/hīk’aytən*) varieties, without any further elaborations. Morris (1981) lists m.sg. patterns of the type CəC(ə)Cay (ibid., 13-132), f.sg. patterns only of the type CəCCáyyət (ibid., 167), m.pl. patterns of the types CəCCō and CəCCōy (ibid., 329-330) and f.pl. patterns only of the type CəCCáyət (ibid., 332-333). Finally, Rubin (2018, 107-108) lists a number of m.sg. Nisba forms, all showing the (eastern) suffix –áy, which he classifies together with adjectives showing distinct gender and number (the latter for all genders).

In this chapter, after an overview of attestations (11.2) and the discussion of the application of various phonological effects (11.3); variations (where attested) and the question of the underlying patterns of m.sg. (11.4), f.sg. (11.5), m.pl. (11.6) and f.pl. (11.7) Nisba forms will be discussed.

11.2) Overview of Attestations

Attestations of forms showing a Nisba suffix, arranged by surface pattern are given in the table below.

Table 41.: Overview of Nisba Forms

Condition	Surface Pattern	N° of Attestations
M.Sg.	CəC(ə)Cay	17
M.Sg.	CəCáwCi	2 (<i>sədáwk'i</i> , <i>χəs'aws'i</i>)
F.Sg.	CəCCáyyət	5
F.Sg.	CāCəCyət	1 (<i>hāwəlyət</i>)
F.Sg.	CəC(ə)yöt	4
F.Sg.	CəC(ə)yūt	0 (regular in Morris 1981, Own Data)
F.Sg.	CəCCyēt	1 (<i>ʔāmk'yēt</i>)
M.Pl.	CəCCöy	7
M.Pl.	CəCCō	2 (<i>s'arbō</i> , <i>χərfō</i>)
M.Pl.	CəC(ə)Cēʔ	1 (<i>həbəlēʔ</i>)
M.Pl.	CəCCē	1 (<i>məhrē</i>)
M.Pl.	CəCawCi	1 (<i>gənnawni</i>)
M.Pl.	CəCōCi	1 (<i>gənōbi</i>)
F.Pl.	CəC(ə)Cáyətən	7
F.Pl.	CəCC(ə)yūtən	1 (<i>təhrəyūtən</i>)

11.3) Application of Phonological Effects

A – IG: As R1 and R2 one finds IG consonants in the following items: *əfχəray*, *təhray* (*təhrəyöt*, *təhrōy*), *tətway* (*tətwōy*). No attestations of IG consonants as R2 and R3 are attested.

B – Diphthongization + Vowel Lowering: When stressed, the m.sg. nisba suffix surfaces in the eastern varieties always as a diphthong, regardless of the nature of the preceding consonant, i.e. *ʔāmk'ay* vs. *məhray*. Two sg. forms exist where stress is located in the base rather than the suffix, i.e. *sədáwk'i* and *χəs'aws'i*. These forms are, in all likelihood Arabisms and were not recognized by the informants consulted by the author. The one example of a form III-ʕ in ML is transcribed with /ʕ/ preserved on the surface, i.e. *bəl'əʕáy* (see below), however, the indicative value of this is, as elsewhere, open to deliberation.

C - Fronted Stress / III-Gutt.: Two items showing a guttural consonant as R3 are attested in ML, i.e. *s'əbhay* and *bəl'əʕáy*.

D – Vowel Epenthesis of Sonorants (Liquids): N/A

E – Vowel Epenthesis of Glott.: N/A

F – Vocalization of /l/: N/A

G – Behavior of /r/: N/A

H – /ʕ/: In initial position, no particular phenomena are involved and initial /ʕ/ surfaces as ʔā: ʔāmk'ay, ʔārəbay, ʔāzəbay.

No attestations of /ʕ/ as R2 are found, in the single attestation of /ʕ/ as R3, /ʕ/ surfaces in the transcription in ML: bəl'əʕáy/bəl'əʕáyɣət. To this, the item k'ēʕi might be added, which shows a number of particularities, to be considered separately.

I – /ʔ/: Putative reflexes of /ʔ/ are only attested as R1: ʔənsay/ʔənsayɣət/ʔənsōy/ʔənsaytən and hāwəlay/hāwəlyət/hāwəlōy/hāwəlaytən.²²⁶ The former example is, in all likelihood, an Arabism due to the reflex of *s¹ as /s/, which would explain the surfacing of /ʔ/ as [ʔ] in the transcription in ML. The latter shows an (apparently lexicalized?) definite article.

J – Glides: No attestations of glides as R1 are to be found in in ML.²²⁷ As R2 one finds the aforementioned hāwəlay/hāwəlyət/hāwəlōy/hāwəlaytən as well as məhəwəlay/məhəwəlōy, both of the same root II-w. As R3 only the item lətway/lətwōy (III-w) is attested.

11.4) M.Sg. CəC(ə)Cáy

Since the stressed vowel in m.sg. Cáy# is realized short, the underlying form of the final syllable appears to be double closed, i.e. /Cáy#/. In this sense, this suffix can be viewed in parallel with other forms which show a final glide preceded by a stressed vowel and realized as [Cáy#].

However, not in all forms which – based on their semantics appear to be Nisba forms – the suffix appears stressed, in these forms the suffix surfaces as simple Ci#, indicating underlying /Cəy#/. These forms consist of plural forms CəCáwCi and CəCōCi and the aforementioned putative Arabisms sədāwk'i and χəs'áws'i, which based on the general phonological properties of adapted Arabic loans in Mehri, appear to have an underlying glide which is not part of the root, after the stressed vowel. In this sense the distribution of stress in Nisba forms appears to mirror that of f.sg. forms with a suffix /-vt/: stress generally shifts to the suffix, unless there is an infix which is not part of the root – in the latter case, stress remains stable. Note, however, that in the case of s'ərbay, a corresponding form s'ayrəb exists,

²²⁶ Excluding forms which appear to be non-integrated Arabisms, such as ʔənglīzi (Rubin 2018, 440 – 7).

²²⁷ It seems unclear whether the items həwkəbay/həwkōbi, listed under I-w in ML might be understood as Nisba forms.

which might imply that in such cases a root-based derivation of m.sg. Nisba forms might actually be attested.²²⁸ More data would be needed to decide this question.

11.5) F.Sg. CəCCáyyət vs. CəCCəyōt/CəCCəyūt

As has been seen, for forms showing a stressed m.sg. Nisba suffix,²²⁹ two basic types of f.sg. forms are attested: those which show stable stress on the vowel between the last consonant of the base and /y/ (Cáyyət#), and those which show stress on the vowel between the /y/ of the Nisba suffix and the /t/ of the f.sg. suffix. In the latter case, the quality of the stressed vowel in ML is /o/ (C(ə)yōt#), whereas in the author's data and in Morris (1981), only attestations of /u/ (C(ə)yūt#) are found. Moreover, in the author's data, a significant degree of variation between Cáyyət# and C(ə)yūt# is encountered, and almost every form is attested with both suffixes, and speakers have judged both forms to be correct. Moreover, no particularities concerning the phonological environment of C(ə)yv:t# and Cáyyət# can be found: /ʕ/ as R3 for *ħəbəlāyyət* and *fəxəlyōt*, /r/ for *məhrāyyət* and *ləħrəyōt*. Hence – at least in the eastern varieties – the two varieties seem to be in free variation. It might be possible that dialectal differences might account for some of this variation – not least when considering the two reported endonyms for Mh. across two principal dialect groups – however, it shall be noted that f.sg. forms showing stress on the vowel of the Nisba suffix are attested in Jahn's data as well (*ʔənsáyyət*, *gənáyyət*, etc.), hence it seems questionable whether this variation might be explained exclusively on dialectological grounds.

Regarding the underlying structure of the two variants, Cáyyət is always transcribed with <yy>, indicating what has already been postulated for the m.sg. forms above, i.e. underlying /C'yy/. The presence of two underlying glides would also explain the position of stress in the two variants: stress shift on the f.sg. suffix appears to be blocked by the presence of an additional glide, whereas the lack of said glide allows stress shift to the (f.sg.) suffix. Thus, the distribution of stress seems to be governed by the same factors as in forms showing a suffix /-vt/ more generally speaking (see chapter 15.5.). Furthermore, the existence of the variant C(ə)yv:t# appears to underline the secondary nature of the geminated glide in m.sg. forms, showing a degree of fluctuation of the gemination of a glide preceded by a stressed vowel, as found elsewhere (see chapter 16.1.). Thus, the glide of the Nisba-suffix does not appear to automatically block stress shift, and appears to behave in this regard as a root glide would. By contrast, “geminated“ /y/ does block stress shift, which appears to find a parallel in the infix /y/ of patterns CəCayC/CəCayCət, where the presence of said infix blocks stress shift (see chapter 16.1.).

²²⁸ It is unclear if *s'ayrəb* is underlying /C'yyCəC/ or /C'icəC/. If the latter form is considered underlying, non-root based derivation of *s'ərbay* can be envisioned. Note also *karkamay* for *kərkəm*, *ħīk'ay* for *ħayk'* and *samdáy* for *samōdah* given by Watson (2012, 104-106), it does not seem clear whether a non-root glide or /ʔ/ might be underlying in the corresponding nouns without a Nisba suffix in these forms, particularly *samdáy/samōdah*.

²²⁹ Forms with an unstressed suffix are not regularly transcribed with corresponding f.sg. or pl. forms, the item *ʔəngləzə'yyət* appears to be an incompletely integrated Arabism.

Finally, regarding the quality of the stressed vowel in forms C(ə)ʏv:t#, note that neither in ML, nor in Morris (1981) or the author's data any variation of the vowel quality of the stressed vowel (with the exception of *ʔāmk'yēti*) is found: as mentioned, only /o/ or /u/ are attested within the respective accounts. Whereas it seems unclear whether the difference of the quality of this vowel between ML on one side and Morris (1981) and the author's data on the other, is based on dialectal (or idiolectal) differences or on errors in transcription, given the derivational origin of the forms in question suggested above, it seems reasonable that given the putative identical nature of the previous vowel, the vowel quality of the f.sg. suffix would similarly be identical across all forms which show stress on the f.sg. suffix.

11.6) M.PL.

For m.pl. Nisba forms a larger number of surface forms are attested: CəCCō, CəCCōy, CəCCē, CəCəCēʔ, CəCawCi, CəCōCi. The two attestations of CəCCō in ML are limited to Nisba forms for people travelling during certain seasons: *χərfay/χərfō*, *s'ərbay/s'ərbō*; nevertheless, the form *lətway/lətwōy* appears to show that not all Nisba forms of this (semantic) type show plurals in CəCCō. Note, in the examples given by Morris (1981, 329-330), CəCCō is attested for ethnonyms, which are not attested for this pattern in ML. The pattern CəCCōy is the most widely attested, showing the forms *ħərsōy*, *lətwōy*, *ləħrōy*, *ʔənsōy*, *fəbəlōy*, *ħāwəlōy* and *ʔāmk'yōy*.²³⁰ The other patterns in ML are attested only once for each form: *məhrē* (CəCCē), *ħəbəlēʔ* (CəCəCēʔ), *gənnawni* (CəCCawCi), *gənōbi* (CəCōCi).

Regarding the pattern CəCCōy, it appears that in this pattern, the secondary gemination apparently attested in m.sg. forms, is not attested – rather the stressed vowel surfaces as long, implying a simple underlying glide /Cóy#/. In the case of the pattern CəCCō, it seems curious to find a pattern with a final stressed vowel which surfaces as long – based on the general spread of such final sequences, it would appear that in the case of these forms, a final consonantal segment would be underlying, presumably /ʔ/, based on the lack of any surface consonant. This assertion seems however difficult to empirically verify for the two forms in question. Note, that in J/S the regular reflex of Nisba forms m.pl. also shows a simple final vowel, leaving the option open that these forms might represent loans from J/S. As for CəCəCēʔ, assuming underlying /y/ seems relatively unproblematic, since final /Céy#/ generally speaking surfaces as [Cē(ʔ)#], hence implying at least two possible vowel qualities for the vowel of the m.pl. Nisba suffix: /o/ and /e/. It remains open whether the sole attestation of CəCCē might be understood as a phonetic variant of CəCəCēʔ, or whether a different underlying form – perhaps /Céʔ/, in parallel with CəCCō – might be postulated for this pattern. Finally, regarding CəCawCi and CəCōCi, it appears that in these cases internal plural patterns are used, to which a nisba suffix is added.

Thus, it appears that – in addition to the internal plural patterns with a nisba suffix – patterns showing underlying /Cóy#/, /Cóʔ#/, /Céy#/ and perhaps /Céʔ#/ are attested. It seems questionable if any

²³⁰ As well as, possibly, *k'yōy*.

relationship between the patterns with putative underlying (or rather historical?) final /ʔ/ and the Nisba suffix exists.

11.7) F.PL.

The majority of f.pl. Nisba forms show stress either on what appears to be the reflex of the nisba suffix, Cáyṭən, or on the vowel after said suffix, C(ə)yūtən. The presence or lack of a vowel between the last consonant of the base – in this case the Nisba suffix – and the /t/ of the f.pl. suffix can be understood in parallel with the discussion of the presence of said vowel for f.pl. forms –(v)tən more generally speaking (see chapter 12.). The distribution of the two variants in the case of Nisba forms does not appear to follow any predictable patterns, and appears to be lexicalized – and possibly subject to variation between the two forms. With this being said, the one example of CəCCəyūtən in ML, *ləhrəyūtən* shows a corresponding f.sg. form *ləhrəyōt*, perhaps implying a parallel with the variation –áyyət/-yv:t in the singular.

11.8) Summary

Thus, it has been seen that the nisba suffix generally attracts stress in m.sg. forms, unless a generically long vowel – presumably containing an underlying consonant in loans from Arabic. This, in combination that putative historical forms of the Nisba ought to be considered as -*ī might imply the Mh. Nisba suffix being itself a loaned suffix from Arabic. This might also explain the variant f.sg. realizations of the nisba containing a geminate or simple glide, and hence showing either stress shift to the f.sg. suffix or stable stress. The corresponding m.pl. forms have seen to take various suffixes, some of which cannot be easily reconciled with underlying /y/, whereas the f.pl. forms again appear to show variation in the underlying structure of the surface glide, perhaps similar to the f.sg. forms.

12) F.Pl. Suffix(es) –tən

12.1) Introduction & Previous Literature

Forms showing a suffix –(v:)tən are frequently encountered in Mh., mainly as f.pl. forms, although a few attestations of m.pl., paradigmatically for derived stem participles, are found as well. Two basic variations are attested: forms showing a stressed vowel on the last vowel of the base, without a vowel between the last consonant of the base and the /t/ of the suffix (i.e. C'vCtən), and forms showing a stressed vowel between the last consonant of the base and the /t/ of the suffix (i.e. C'v:tən). In the latter case the vowel quality of the stressed vowel is attested as /u/ and /o/, in the former the vowel quality is attested usually as [a], with a few transcriptions of [ə] in ML. In addition, a few forms can be found where a seemingly unconditioned diphthong [aw] is found in stressed position, as well as one attestation of [ē], *mək'nētən*. Nisba forms have f.pl. –áytən or –yūtən (see chapter 11.), and hence pattern in line with other attestations of f.pl. –(v:)tən). The final /n/ of the suffix is dropped when a possessive suffix is added, with stress appearing to remain stable.

Bittner (1909, 50-51) describes the f.pl. forms in question as –ōtən, despite the fact that in a number of examples quoted by him (and in Jahn 1902) one finds –ūtən. Bittner further notes (loc.cit.), that this suffix is used for f.sg. forms with a stressed (long) vowel, although this suffix is found for other sg. forms in ML as well. Morris (1981, 196) mentions –tən, –ūtən, –awtən and –aytən as suffixes pertaining to the class under discussion here, although in the examples given for –aytən, the /y/ appears to be part of either the root or the Nisba suffix. In addition to remarks on the distribution to f.sg. and m.sg. and participle forms, Rubin (2018, 92-93) notes that the suffixes in question are attested as –tən, –ōtən, –ūtən and –áwtən.

In this chapter, after an overview of attestations (12.2) and a recount of phonological features (12.3), the question of the stressed vowel in configurations _C'v:Ctən (12.4) and _Cv 'Ctən (12.5) will be discussed, followed by elaborations on the possibility of uniting the two types (12.6).

12.2) Overview of Attestations

Attestations for the various patterns in question are given in the tables below.

Table 42.1.: $_2\acute{a}3t\acute{o}n\#$ in ML

Condition	Surface Pattern	N° of Attestations
	CīCáCtān	38
Regular	<i>CīCáCtān</i>	31
III-w	$_C\acute{a}wt\acute{a}n$	2 (+ <i>χīláyta</i> n, III-w in ML)
III-y	$_C\acute{a}yt\acute{a}n$	0 ? (possibly 2 given as III-? in ML, see below)
III-l	$_ēta$ n	3
III-?	$_áyta$ n	2 ? (<i>tīrayta</i> n and <i>đīrayta</i> n given as III-?)
	CəCwáCtān	9
	CəCáCtān	60
Regular	<i>CəCáCtān</i>	49
III-w	$_C\acute{a}wt\acute{a}n$	2 (<i>bəráwta</i> n, <i>káwta</i> n)
III-y	$_C\acute{a}yt\acute{a}n$	2 (<i>ləhayta</i> n, <i>dənayta</i> n + <i>kəlayta</i> n III-w in ML?)
III-l	$_ēta$ n	3 (+ <i>ḡānšēta</i> n/ <i>ḡaynšēta</i> n, <i>ḡāyēntān</i> where no /l/ is underlying)
II-Gutt./Glott. + III-l	$_āta$ n	4 (+ <i>χəwāta</i> n, <i>gəḡāta</i> n = III-l)
	CəCóCtān	6
Nisba	CəC(ə)Cáyta n	7
	məCCáCtān	5
	məCCóCtān	1 (<i>məslómtān</i>)

Table 42.2.: $_3\bar{u}t\bar{a}n\#$ in ML

Condition	Surface Pattern	N° of Attestations
	$_C\bar{u}t\bar{a}n$	39
Regular	$_C\bar{u}t\bar{a}n$	17
III-w	$_w\bar{u}t\bar{a}n$	1 ($\chi\bar{a}w\bar{u}t\bar{a}n$, also attested as $\chi\bar{o}t\bar{a}n$)
III-y	$_y\bar{u}t\bar{a}n$	7 (incl. Nisba; $\bar{s}'\bar{a}ff\bar{a}w\bar{t}\bar{a}n$ given as III-y in ML)
III-Gutt./Glott.	$_C\bar{a}w\bar{t}\bar{a}n$	8 (incl. I/II-Gutt./Glott. – spreading via sonorants)
III-ʕ	$_a\bar{w}t\bar{a}n$	6
	$_Cawt\bar{a}n$ (?)	3 (unmotivated $_Cawt\bar{a}n$ in $h\bar{a}daw\bar{t}\bar{a}n$, $k\bar{a}g\bar{a}naw\bar{t}\bar{a}n$, $h\bar{a}mb\bar{a}raw\bar{t}\bar{a}n$)

Table 42.3. : $_3\bar{o}t\bar{a}n\#$ in ML

Condition	Surface Pattern	N° of Attestations
	$_C\bar{o}t\bar{a}n$	27
Regular	$_C\bar{o}t\bar{a}n$	17
III-w	$_y\bar{o}t\bar{a}n$ / $_o\bar{t}\bar{a}n$	2 ($f\bar{a}k'y\bar{o}t\bar{a}n$ and $n\bar{a}\bar{\lambda}'y\bar{o}t\bar{a}n$ given as III-w, actually III-y?) / 1 ($\chi\bar{o}t\bar{a}n$, also attested as $\chi\bar{a}w\bar{u}t\bar{a}n$)
III-y	$_y\bar{o}t\bar{a}n$	5
III-ʕ	$_o\bar{t}\bar{a}n$	1 ($g\bar{a}l\bar{o}t\bar{a}n$)
III-ʔ	$_o\bar{t}\bar{a}n$	1 ($\theta'\bar{a}y\bar{o}t\bar{a}n$ III-ʔ according to ML, rather II-ʔ, III-y?)

As mentioned above, one item showing what appears to be $_e\bar{t}\bar{a}n$ is attested, i.e. $m\bar{a}k'n\bar{e}t\bar{a}n$. This item is given in ML as III-w in ML, although given the semantics of this form (“baby“), it might be related to $k'\bar{a}nn\bar{a}wn$, and hence possibly a(n irregular) biradical root.

Since of relevance for various of the effects discussed under 12.3., an overview of the last consonant of the base is given in the table below for patterns $_C\bar{v}Ct\bar{a}n$, $_C\bar{u}t\bar{a}n$ and $_C\bar{o}t\bar{a}n$.

Table 43.: Final Consonant of the Base in *_CvCtən*, *_Cütən* and *_Cötən* in ML

C	<i>_CvCtən</i>	<i>_Cütən</i>	<i>_Cötən</i>
b	x	x	x
f	x	x	x
d	x	x	
ð			
θ	x		
θ'	x		
m	x	x	x
n	x	x	x
r	x	x	x
s	x		x
s'	x		
š			
š'			
t			x
t'			
y	x	x	x
z	x		
g		x	x
k	x		
k'	x	x	
w	x	x	x ²³¹
l	x		x
l'	x		
l'	x		
ʎ		x	
ʁ			
h	x	x	
ç		x	x
ʔ			x ²³²
h			x ²³³

12.3) Application of Phonological Effects

A – IG: Constellations of IG consonants are attested as R1 and R2, where no particular effects are noted.²³⁴ In attestations of the pattern *CīCáCtən*, the IG effect does not apply, as expected, whereas in other patterns the IG effect is not regularly transcribed in ML.

Similarly, as R2 and R3 IG consonants are attested as well, again with no particularities noted. In patterns where a stressed vowel is to be found between R2 and R3 the IG effect does not apply, as to be expected.²³⁵ In patterns where no stressed vowel is to be found between R2 and R3, no vowel is found in the transcriptions, although it is not entirely clear whether this is due to the IG effect. This constellation also goes to show that in a number of cases, the last consonant before the /t/ of the suffix(es) in question is an IG consonant, however, as seen in the attestations above, the question of the presence of an vowel between the last consonant of the base and the /t/ of the suffix cannot be predicted on the basis of the nature of the last consonant of the base (IG/non-IG), i.e. *šətütən*, etc..

²³¹ Examples glossed as III-w in ML show [y] on the surface, i.e. *fək'yōtən* (Sg. *fīk'ā* = *CīCēC?*), *nəʎyōtən* (Sg. *nəʎūt*). *χōtən* is given as II-w, also attested with /w/ surfacing, i.e. *χəwūtən*.

²³² *θ'əyōtən* (*θ'əyūtən* in Jahn 1902), sg. *θ'āy/θ'áʎy* – perhaps rather II-ʔ, III-y? See below.

²³³ *βārħōtən*, III-r in m.sg. *βāħər* but showing metathesis (?) in f.sg. *βārħēt*, and the irregular (?) long surface vowel; attested also *βəħərōtən* in Jahn 1902

²³⁴ *CəCvCtən*: *χəʎaftən*, *ħəθamtən*, *χayfáftən* (Jahn 1902), *ħaylámtən*, *θəfētən*, *ləħwaħtən*, *χīfáftən*, *sīχáftən*, *fīhámten*, *fītántən*, *sīhētən*, *məšhartən*

CəCCütən: *ktəwūtən* (Jahn 1902), *fīyūtən* (Jahn 1902), *kəfənūtən*, *šətütən*, *ləħħawtən* (Jahn 1902), *ləħrəyūtən*, *ħəfyūtən*, *χəθmūtən*, *əʎfūtən*

²³⁵ *CəCvCtən*: *χəʎaftən*, *nəfastən*, *məs'ħaftən*, *χayfáftən* (Jahn 1902), *χīfáftən*, *ləħwaħtən*, *nīħáftən*, *sīχáftən*, *t'īfáftən*

CəCCütən: *rəfχawtən*, *əʎfūtən* (\sqrt{f}), *s'əħħawtən*, *ləħħawtən* (Jahn 1902), *təħkawtən* (Jahn 1902, rather $\sqrt{t'}$ hk', see ML)

B – Diphthongization + Vowel Lowering: The pattern CəCCūtən is apriorically liable to diphthongization of the stressed vowel /u/. A number of attestations of items are found, where one finds a suffix –awtən, most of which show a lowering consonant preceding the suffix.²³⁶ Amongst those items which do not show a lowering consonant preceding the suffix, one finds a lowering consonant elsewhere in the root in a number of cases, i.e. *s'ərrawtən*, *k'ərnawtən*, *ʋəgənwawtən*, *həmbərawtən*, *s'əhawtən*, *mək'lawtən*. With the exception of the two items *ʋəgənwawtən* and *həmbərawtən*, which show certain particularities in their corresponding sg. and dual forms, as well as the item *hədawtən*, all of these items only show sonorants between the lowering consonant and the diphthongized suffix, hence, it appears that the lowering effect perturbs the sonorants in question, as attested elsewhere. This leaves one with the aforementioned items *ʋəgənwawtən*, *həmbərawtən* and *hədawtən*, where a seemingly unmotivated diphthong is found in the f.pl. suffix.²³⁷

Conversely, in ML no attestations of items are found where a lowering consonant precedes a f.pl. suffix with a stressed vowel which does not show diphthongization. One such example is found in Jahn (1902), i.e. *rəbūtən* (III-ʕ). Also, amongst items of the type CəCCōtən, no lowering consonants except for one attestation of /ʕ/ are found in this position in ML (*gəlōtən* III-ʕ; in Jahn 1902: *šərotən* III-ʕ), with an additional example *ʋəlθ'ōtən* in Jahn (1902). Amongst patterns showing surface forms –aytən, no attestations of a lowering consonant preceding the suffix are found, making it improbable that one is dealing with an underlying suffix /-ítən/ in these cases.²³⁸

Regarding the effect of lowering consonants on a stressed vowel /e/, few examples can be found, since this vowel quality is not attested in a stressed, phonologically open syllable (i.e. –v:tən), with the aforementioned exception of *mək'nētən*, where the effect of /k'/ does not seem to spread via /n/. The only potential attestations of this phenomenon concerns items III-l of the type CəCvCtən, where – what appears to be the lowering effect – is attested in the following attestations: *həs'ātən*, *nəwātən*, *s'əhātən*, *bātən*.

C - Fronted Stress / III-Gutt.: For patterns which show stress on a vowel inside the base, the only pattern where guttural consonants as R3 are attested regularly is the pattern CəCwáCtən: *təhwahtən*, *gəbwahtən*, *kənwahtən*. This corresponds to the aforementioned irregularity with regard to patterns CəCwv:C, where guttural consonants are attested as R3, and where the alternation /o/-/e/ is not regularly observed. Only

²³⁶ ML: *s'ərrawtən* (birad.), *χənk'awtən*, *k'ərnawtən*, *rəfχawtən*, *hədawtən* (birad.), *šərawtən* (III-ʕ), *təlawtən* (III-ʕ), *ʋəgənwawtən*, *həmbərawtən*, *mənawtən* (III-ʕ), *s'əhəhawtən* (birad.), *səmħawtən*, *k'əlawtən* (III-ʕ), *s'əhawtən* (III-w), *šəgawtən* (III-ʕ), *t'ək'awtən* (II-y), *mək'lawtən* (birad.)

Jahn 1902: *t'əfl'awtən* (IV-ʕ), *kəlawtən* (III-Glide), *līrawtən* (III-ʕ), *təhəhawtən* (birad.), *gəbhəhawtən*, *s'əlhəhawtən*, *təhəkawtən* (likely III-k', see ML), *s'əlawtən* (III-ʕ)

²³⁷ To which the item *kəlawtən* might be added from Jahn 1902 (corresponding form in ML: *kīláy*).

²³⁸ The item *k'əʕt*, f.pl. *k'əʕáyətən* is a particular case and ought to be considered separately.

one other example is to be found for patterns which show a stressed vowel inside the base – *sīmáhtən*, i.e. the f.pl. form of the aforementioned irregular *səmayh/səmhayt/sīmōh*.²³⁹

In the case of patterns which show a stressed vowel between the last consonant of the base and the /t/ of the suffix, base-final guttural consonants are attested, i.e. *rəfχawtən*, *šərawtən* (III-ʕ), *təlawtən* (III-ʕ), *məlawtən* (III-ʕ), *s'əhhawtən*, *səmhawtən*, *k'əlawtən* (III-ʕ), *šəgawtən* (III-ʕ), *gəlōtən* (III-ʕ).²⁴⁰ As previously noted, most of these examples appear to show the vowel quality /u/ in the suffix, which is regularly diphthongized, with /ʕ/ being particularly frequently attested as the consonant preceding the suffix, and only two attestations of /h/ and one of /χ/ respectively. It is not known whether this preponderance of /ʕ/ and the lack of /ʁ/ and rarity of other guttural consonants is of any interest, or simply lexical. In any case, this apparently indicates the preponderance of –ūtən in the data in ML, against –ōtən.

D – Vowel Epenthesis of Sonorants (Liquids): N/A

E – Vowel Epenthesis of Glott.: N/A

F – Vocalization of /l/: The vocalization of /l/ is attested in patterns of the type _C'vCtən, where the last consonant of the base is /l/. In these cases, one either finds the expected outcome _Cētən, i.e. *həbētən*, *rəgētən*, *θəfētən*, *dīwētən*, *sīhētən*, *t'īwētən*; or _Cātən, which is usually attested when a lowering consonant precedes the stressed vowel (see above), i.e. *həs'ātən*, *nəwātən*, *s'əhātən*, *bātən*. One item which does not appear to show final /l/ but still shows _Cētən is found in ML, i.e. *ʔānšētən* (variant *ʔaynšētən*).²⁴¹ One more item exists, where surface [ɛ̄] is transcribed in ML, i.e. *ʔāyēntən*, but where no underlying /l/ (or any other consonant) can be readily assumed to explain this surface vowel quality and quantity. Two items _Cātən, where the consonant preceding the stressed vowel is not a lowering consonant are found, i.e. *χəwātən* and *gədātən*.²⁴² In at least one form, vocalization of /l/ is not attested before the /t/ of the suffix, i.e. *ʔayk'ältən*, however, given the non-systematic nature of this phenomenon it seems more likely that this form might represent an error (or hypercorrection on the part of the speaker) rather than a genuine case of blocking of the vocalization of /l/.

²³⁹ To which the item *k'ərtən* might be added, root √k'rḥ according to ML. Given the lack of /h/ and of surface length in Johnstone's transcription, this form contains an error in transcription in all likelihood. Note *mīlāhtən* in Jahn (1902), as well as *tərántən* (III-ʕ), which appears to show a suffix –(v)n before the f.pl.suffix.

²⁴⁰ Jahn 1902: *t'əfl'awtən*, *kəlawtən*, *fīrawtən*, *ləhhawtən*, *gəbhawtən*, *s'alhawtən*, *təhkawtən*, *s'alawtən*, *rəbūtən*, *ʁəlθ'ōtən*, *šərōtən*

²⁴¹ This item seems problematic and needs further checking.

²⁴² Add *s'əylātən* (III-ʕ) from Jahn 1902.

G – Behavior of /r/: N/A

H – /ʕ/: Initial /ʕ/ surfaces as ʔā, ʔa, or – in the case of CīCvCtən – as ʔay.²⁴³ No particular phenomena are to be noted for /ʕ/ in this position. Amongst patterns of the type _Cūtən, no forms showing initial /ʕ/ were found in ML, which is unlikely to be of any significance.²⁴⁴

As R2, various surface realizations of /ʕ/ are found. For patterns of the type _CvCtən, the items *bātən*, *l'əʔawtən* and *tyabtən* (Rubin 2018, 506 – 18. √tʕb) are attested. Whereas *bātən* appears to be a regular form, given the root √bʕl, the surface forms of the latter two items seem enigmatic. Amongst patterns showing a stressed vowel between the last consonant of the base and /t/ one finds *rəʕyūtən*, *nəʔyōtən* (*nīʔáyətən* Jahn 1902) and *wēdūtən*. The former two items appear to be examples of the otherwise attested variation in transcription in ML of /ʕ/ before /y/ (underlying /Cəʕy/), whereas the latter item might be understood as a phonetic variation of [ā] (underlying /wəʕd/)?

For attestations of /ʕ/ as R3 or the final consonant of the base, almost all attestations in ML surface as _Cawtən, i.e. *šərawtən*, *təlawtən*, *məlawtən*, *k'əlawtən*, *šəgawtən*; with one example surfacing as _Cōtən, i.e. *gəlōtən*. Similarly, in Jahn 1902 one finds examples showing a stressed vowel or diphthong preceding /t/, i.e. *rəbūtən*, *līrawtən*, *l'əʔl'awtən*, *s'əlawtən*, *šərōtən*, *s'əylātən* (√s'ʕ); and one example where an additional suffix -(v)n appears to be present, *lərantən*. These forms (with the exception of *s'əylātən* in Jahn 1902 and *gəlōtən* in ML), seem to indicate a stressed vowel /u/ after /ʕ/, i.e. /_ʕūtən/, since in the case of a stressed vowel inside the base, preceding /ʕ/, one would expect surface forms _Cv:tən, which is barely attested for the forms in question. For the item *gəlōtən* it seems unclear whether one is dealing with underlying /_ʕótən/ or /_Cóʕtən/, however, given the overall spread of consonant-vowel configurations, the former option seems more likely, pointing towards the underrepresentation of /o/ in f.pl. suffixes with a stressed vowel (see below).

I – /ʔ/: Putative reflexes of /ʔ/ as R1 are mainly attested for patterns showing a stressed vowel inside the base (including Nisbas), i.e. *ʔənsaytən*, *hāwəlaytən*, *məwsartən*, *hāgərtən*, *həyōtantən*.²⁴⁵ The initial sequences in question are identical to those found in the corresponding sg. forms.

²⁴³ *ʔaθ'amtən*, *ʔəʔartən*, *ʔāʕ'adtən*, *ʔālak'tən*, *ʔātartən*, *ʔāra'ʕtən*, *ʔāyēntən*, *ʔayʕartən*, *ʔāmk'aytən*, *ʔārəbaytən*, *ʔayk'altən*, *ʔānšētən/ʔaynšētən*

-ōtən: *məʔazəbōtən*, *ʔābəlōtən*, *ʔāθəmōtən*, *ʔāmōtən*, *ʔaʕyōtən*, *ʔāwrōtən*, *ʔāgəmōtən*

Jahn 1902: *ʔal'ādətən*, *ʔayə'ntən*, *ʔəθ'amtən*, *ʔīʕyūtən*, *ʔawrūtən*, *ʔagəmūtən*, *aymədōtən*

²⁴⁴ Particularly, when considering the general trend of /o/ being more prominent in suffixes than /u/ in the first part of ML. Stressed /o/ is well attested in ML for items I-ʕ showing a suffix with a stressed vowel between the last consonant of the base and /t/, see above.

²⁴⁵ Jahn 1902: *īdābtən*, *həygartən*, *harbəyaytən*

No clear attestations of /ʔ/ as R2 are found, the item *rəyūtən* is given as II-ʔ in ML, although this seems questionable given the sg. *rəyēʔ*, which seems to indicate III-ʔ (?) rather than II-ʔ.

As R3, one finds *t'iraytən*, *ḏiraytən* and *θ'əyōtən* (*θ'əyūtən* Jahn 1902) in ML. In the case of *t'iraytən*, the corresponding sg. and m.pl. forms consistently show /y/, hence no reason seems apparent to classify this form as III-ʔ. In the case of *ḏiraytən*, the corresponding m.pl. form is given as *ḏirēʔ* in ML, whereas the corresponding sg. forms show /y/. As for *θ'əyōtən*, the corresponding sg. form is given as *θ'āy/θ'aʔy*, implying that if an underlying /ʔ/ is to be assumed for this root, it might rather be assumed to be R2, not R3.

J – Glides: In initial position, no particular phenomena are to be noted for most forms, i.e. *wəʔəktən*, *gəwastən*, *wēdūtən yətamtən*, *yədantən* (*haydāntən* Jahn 1902). The item *gəwastən* is listed both under the root √wgs and under the root √gws in ML, however in the sg. *gəsōt* no reflex of the glide is to be found. As for the item *hādūtən*, it is listed as I-y in ML, presumably due to its etymology, however, as in its corresponding sg. form *(ʔ)īd* (def. *hayd*), there is no clear indication of underlying /y/ synchronically, and rather appears to be I-ʔ.

For most attestations, glides surface as such when attested as R2, at least in the transcriptions given in ML.²⁴⁶ The item *χōtən* is given as II-w in ML, however, is also attested as *χəwūtən*. In the item *l'ək'awtən* and the various forms derived from the (putative) root √kyg, no (apparent) surface reflex of /y/ is to be found. It seems unclear why this is the case, at least in the case of *ʔəggōtən* and *ʔəgənwawtən* it seems improbable that this is due to an error in transcription.

As R3, glides seem to surface regularly, both in patterns of the type *_CvCtən* and *_Cv:'tən*. Patterns of the former type include both the paradigmatic *CvCv:C/CvCvCtən* and *CəCwv:C/CəCwvCtən* type “adjective” patterns (*s'ənwawtən*, *t'iwāwtən*, *χīlaytən* (III-w ML *χəlōtən* Jahn 1902), *k'īwaytən* (III-y)), but are not limited to these patterns, i.e. *bərawtən*, *l'əʔawtən* (III-w), *s'əhawtən* (III-w), *ləhaytən* (III-y ML), *dənaytən/dənyōtən* (*dənyūtən* Jahn 1902), *kəlaytən* (III-w ML). Examples for the latter type are found with stressed vowels transcribed both as <ō> and <ū> in ML, i.e. *kəlyūtən* (III-w ML), *rəyūtən* (III-w ML; probably III-ʔ? See above.), *ləryūtən* (III-y), *dəwyōtən* (*dəwyūtən* Jahn 1902), *məsəyūtən* (III-y), *rəʔyūtən*, *mələnyūtən*, *ʔəlyōtən* (*ʔīləyūtən* Jahn 1902), *həʔyūtən*, *fək'yōtən* (III-w ML), *nəʔyōtən* (III-w ML *nīʔaytən* Jahn 1902), *bədyōtən* (III-y), *gəbyōtən* (III-y). As seen elsewhere, the root

²⁴⁶II-w: *kawtən*, *k'əwabtən*, *gəwəftən*, *gəwastən*, *t'iwāwtən*, *t'iwāztən*, *k'īwāytən*, *dīwētən*, *t'īwētən*, *hāwəlaytən* (*həwəlūtən* Jahn 1902), *χəwūtən*, *mədəwrūtən*, *dəwyōtən* (*dəwyūtən* Jahn 1902), *ʔəwrōtən* (*ʔawrūtən* Jahn 1902), *χōtən*, *həwəlōtən* (*həwəlūtən* Jahn 1902), *χəwātən*

II-y: *bəyal'tən*, *əhyartən* (*həyər'tən* Jahn 1902), *ʔəyēntən* (*ʔayə'ntən* Jahn 1902), *līyantən* (*līnūtən* Jahn 1902), *ʔəgənwawtən* (*ʔəgənūtən* Jahn 1902), *l'ək'awtən*, *ʔəggōtən*, *χəʔsōtən*

identifications in ML do not always appear to hold up to the forms actually encountered. The rarity of forms III-w appears confirmed by the general spread of roots III-w.

Apparently irregular forms of patterns in question for roots III-Glide are relatively rare: The item *š'affūtān* is given as III-y in ML and attested as *š'affyūtān* in Jahn (1902). The item *χəlwaytān* is given as III-w in ML and shows /w/ in the corresponding sg. form *χəlwēt*, hence the origin of the diphthong [ay] in the pl. form remains enigmatic, however, in Morris (1981, 200), one finds the corresponding pl. form transcribed as *χəlaytān*. Finally, the item *mək'nētān* is given as III-w in ML, given its sg. form *mək'nawt* and its meaning ("baby"), it seems more probable in the author's opinion that one is dealing with a biradical root √k'n, as encountered elsewhere (i.e. *k'annawn*, etc.), this does not, however, explain the completely irregular vowel quality of the stressed vowel in this form, which cannot be readily explained as pertaining to the suffix, since no other attestations of /e/ in this position are to be found.

12.4) Stressed Vowel in C'áCtān

While the majority of forms showing a stressed vowel inside the base show stressed [a], a few items in ML are transcribed with stressed Schwa: *χəlák'tān*, *hənák'tān*, *kəláθtān*, *wərəáktān*, *κəták'tān*, *ǰāráltān*, *məslámtān*. All of these forms are forms which do not show a corresponding m.pl. form, and none of these forms show a surface [ɪ] between R1 and R2 or /w/ between R2 and the stressed vowel, hence they do not appear to be derived from m.pl. patterns CīCōC or CəCwōC, where one could expect the stressed vowel to surface as [a] in a closed non-final syllable. The question hence arises, whether these transcriptions faithfully represent a vowel quality indicative of an underlying vowel quality distinct from that apparently to be found in the majority of attestations (i.e. [a], hence underlying /o/ or /e/), or whether one is dealing with simple errors or phonetic variants in transcription.

Almost all of the attestations in question, most show a sonorant /r/, /l/ or /n/ as R2, i.e. the consonant preceding the stressed vowel, with the exception of /t/ in the case of *κəták'tān*. None of the forms show a stressed vowel [ə] with a preceding lowering consonant, which would have allowed the dismissal of said forms. As for the consonants attested as R2 in C'áCtān, all are also attested in surface forms transcribed as _CáCtān in ML: *fəráltān*, *hərál'tān*, *kəlábtān*, *tərás'tān*, *t'aláftān*, *tənáθtān*, *yətámtān*, *zəráftān*, *bəráktān*, *bəráwtān*, *dənáy'tān*. Regarding the consonant following the stressed vowel in items transcribed as C'áCtān, one notes that four out of seven attestations show /k'/ or /k/, whereas attestations of said consonants as R3 are less frequently attested amongst items transcribed as _CáCtān, one does however find *bəráktān* and *sədak'tān*. Hence, the only possible phonetic factor which might condition a surface vowel [ə] in place of [a] could be imagined in the nature of R3, with a voiceless or ejective velar stop /k/ or /k'/ inducing [ə] – however, if this phenomenon actually exists, it does not seem to apply systematically.

If one discards the possibility of a conditioned phonetic variant, one is left with the possibility of simple errors in transcription or with a genuinely distinct (and rather rare) pattern CəCáCtən. No indicative factors seem apparent for the moment to decide which of these possibilities is the case, although it should be noted that transcriptions of word-internal stressed [ə] in ML are at times attested as /a/ otherwise; references to a pattern CəCáCtən are missing in Morris (1981),²⁴⁷ and no distinction of corresponding sg. forms of CəCáCtən and CəCáCtən can be found. Furthermore, the previously mentioned cases of other irregular attestations of stressed [ə] in the transcription in ML should be recalled. All of this seems to militate in favor of assuming that the distinction ĆCtən and ĆCtən is nothing but a simple phonetic surface variation or error in notation, however, more solid data would be needed to establish this question more definitely.

12.5 (Variation of?) –ūtən and –ōtən

Forms which show a stressed vowel between the last consonant of the base and the /t/ of the suffix, almost exclusively show the vowel qualities /u/ and /o/. The majority of attestations in ML show /u/, and the distribution of vowel qualities /u/ and /o/ in the f.pl. suffix(es) in question seems somewhat paralleled by the distribution of said vowel qualities in (f.sg.) suffix(es), where most forms in question are transcribed with /o/ in the first half of ML and with /u/ in the second half of ML. Yet, it has been established that both /u/ and /o/ do in fact, as one might apriorically assume based on the general distinctness of these two vowels in Mh., represent two distinct underlying vowels also in the case of the (f.sg.) suffix(es) –v:t (see chapter 15.). The question hence arises whether the same can be assumed for the case of the f.pl. suffix(es) in question, i.e. whether –ōtən and –ūtən represent two distinct suffixes, and if – and if so, how – the vowel quality of the stressed vowel can be predicted.

Regarding the transcriptions in ML, note, that of the 27 attestations of –ōtən, 18 are attested in the first half of ML, where in the case of the (f.sg.) suffix(es) –ōt/-ūt, /o/ is predominant, the remaining 9 attestations of –ōtən being *nəʔyōtən*, *nəl'əfōtən*, *həmōtən*, *həməgōtən*, *həwlōtən*, *məšəxərōtən*, *šətōtən*, *χōtən*, *χəysōtən*. Thus, the majority of attestations – including all forms III-Glide except for *nəʔyōtən* – might apriorically be connected to the particularities of transcribing /o/ and /u/ in suffixes in ML. Nevertheless, a number of forms remain where the surface vowel cannot be explained via this convention of transcription in ML, notably the 9 forms mentioned above, as well as forms attested with –ōtən otherwise, such as *əaggōtən* which is transcribed with <ō> in Rubin's texts (Rubin 2018, 408 – 2). Hence, it appears that – perhaps similar to the attestations of –ōt and –ūt – despite /u/ being more frequently and systematically attested in ML, and the variety described therein; one cannot readily reduce all attestations of –ōtən to transcription errors referring to –ūtən, although this is imaginable for a number of cases. The further study of the variation –ūtən/-ōtən would hence hinge on a precise collection of items which show –ōtən rather than –ūtən, which has not been achieved during the limited

²⁴⁷ One item is transcribed with <e>, i.e. <6ayKelten> (Morris 1981, 343), but said forms are not systematically discussed in Morris 1981. Note, that the cognate to this item in ML is transcribed with <a>, i.e. *ʔayk'áltən*.

fieldwork sessions of the author. The following remarks will hence consist of some preliminary questions and remarks of interest for the variation -ōtən/-ūtən.

First, it shall be noted that in the attestations of -ōtən in ML, no attestations of forms which show a lowering consonant preceding the stressed vowel can be found, with the exception of one item, presumably III-ʕ, *gəlōtən*, as well as the item *χōtən*, which is interpreted as pertaining to a biradical root $\sqrt{\chi w}$ in ML, however, the purported /w/ neither surfaces in the plural form in question, nor in its corresponding sg. *χā*. By contrast, as has been shown above, forms which do show a lowering consonant preceding the stressed vowel, are always transcribed in ML with a diphthong [aw], indicating underlying vowel quality /u/. This, notably, also applies to the first half of ML, which strongly indicates underlying /u/ in the majority of cases in question. Next, it shall be noted that in most other sources, the vowel quality /u/ appears to account for the majority of attestations. This includes Morris (1981), where no separate chapter of suffixes -ōtən is given, and all forms in question are transcribed as -ūtən (or -awtən), and also in Jahn (1902), accounting in most cases for WM variants, the vowel quality -ūtən is at least more frequently attested than is the case for the (f.sg.) suffix -ūt. Hence, -ūtən appears to be at least the more frequently attested of the two forms, at least in EM, and presumably existing as well in WM.

In terms of phonological features, one notes that a sizeable proportion of attestations of -ōtən in ML are attested for “weak” roots, particularly for roots III-Glide (6/27), i.e. *ʔəlyōtən* (*ʔl̩əyūtən* Jahn 1902), *fək’yōtən* (III-w ML), *nəʔyōtən* (III-w ML *nīʔaytən* Jahn 1902), *bədyōtən* (III-y), *gəbyōtən* (III-y), *dənyōtən* (III-y). To these, the item *θ’əyōtən* might be added which is probably III-y rather than III-ʔ, as mentioned above. Two biradicals, *həmōtən* and *šətōtən* are attested, to which *χōtən* ($\sqrt{\chi w}$ according to ML) might possibly be added. As previously mentioned, only one item shows a guttural consonant preceding the stressed vowel, i.e. *gəlōtən* (III-ʕ). The other attestations of -ōtən show various consonants preceding the stressed vowel: *gənəbōtən*, *nəl’əfōtən*, *ʔəfənōtən*, *ʔəggōtən*, *məʔazəbōtən*, *ʔəbəlōtən*, *ʔəθəmōtən*, *ʔəmōtən*, *ʔərhōtən*, *həwlōtən*, *həməgōtən*, *χəysōtən*, *məšəkəʔōtən*, *ʔəwrōtən*, *ʔəgəmōtən*. None of these consonants explain the surfacing of the stressed vowel as [ō] rather than [ū].

Regarding the distribution of possible derivative chains, most notably from m.pl. forms, most attestations of both -ōtən and -ūtən do not have corresponding m.pl. forms. For those which do show corresponding m.pl. forms, one finds the following pairs: *həwəl/həwlōtən*, *həmōg/həmgōtən*, *χətsay/χəysōtən*,²⁴⁸ *ʔəwēr/ʔəwrōtən*, *ʔəgwōm/ʔəgəmōtən*; as compared to *s’əhwēh/s’əh’hawtən*, *sīmōh/səm’hawtən*, *ləhrōy/ləhrəyūtən*, *həfyay/həfyūtən*, *šərwōm/šərmūtən*, *χəθwōm/χəθmūtən*, *k’ələʔ/k’ələwtən*, *s’əhəww/s’əhawtən*, *šəgēt/šəgawtən*, *l’ik’ayn/l’ək’awtən*, *mək’lōl/mək’lawtən*, *mədwōr/mədwūrətən*. Thus, one notes that in three out of five pairs for -ōtən, the corresponding m.pl. shows a pattern CəCv:C, which is not attested for the case of -ūtən, although one does find the final sequence _Cv:C in the m.pl. forms *mək’lōl* and *mədwōr*. Given the small number of attestations – and

²⁴⁸ If the /t/ in *χətsay* is not to be understood as an error in transcription, this form is in all likelihood not the derivational source of *χəysōtən*.

the open question of whether the f.pl. forms in question are actually derived from the m.pl. forms, which seems rather improbable at least for the cases which show m.pl. $C\text{ə}Cwv:C$ and a f.pl. without the infix /w/ – it seems unclear whether this feature is of any relevance.

In summary, while it seems that $-\text{ūtən}$ is predominantly attested in both varieties of Mh., at least a few cases of $-\text{ūtən}$ appear to be attested, although the exact (quantitative) distribution of $-\text{ūtən}$ and $-\text{ōtən}$ would need further investigations. On the basis of the data in ML, no phonological factors seem to determine the distribution of $-\text{ōtən}$ and $-\text{ūtən}$. Regarding forms which show corresponding m.pl. forms, it seems that $C\text{ə}Cv:C$ is prominently attested for f.pl. forms showing a suffix $-\text{ōtən}$, however, not enough data are available to assert the possible relevance of this point – particularly, when considering that the majority of attestations of both $-\text{ōtən}$ and $-\text{ūtən}$ are attested for forms which do not show corresponding m.pl. forms. Thus, no evidence seems apparent on the basis of the points raised, that the distribution of $-\text{ōtən}$ and $-\text{ūtən}$ is phonologically conditioned (although other factors might exist). If the distinction is not exclusively lexical (and, of course, if the distinction exists at all), one would need more data to establish the status of said suffixes.

12.6) Distribution of Stress and Presence of Underlying Vowels

As has been shown, two basic types of suffixes showing /tən/ have been encountered: those showing stress on the last vowel of the base, i.e. $_C\acute{v}Ctən$ and those showing stress on a vowel between the last consonant of the base and the /t/ of the suffix, i.e. $_Cv:tən$. In the former case, no vowel seems to be underlying between the last consonant of the base and /t/, since the stressed vowel always appears short,²⁴⁹ whereas in the latter case an underlying vowel is implied by the fact that a surface vowel carrying stress is attested in the position in question. From this situation the question arises of whether these two types of suffixes can be reduced to a single type of suffix – and if so, how the presence and lack of an underlying vowel in the respective forms can be understood.

First, it shall be noted that when considering the scenario of both types being reflexes of forms with a suffix showing an inherent vowel before /t/, the vowel would be a priori subject to elision in the underlying form when stress remains stable on a vowel in the base. Thus, assuming that a suffix $-\text{vtən}$ is suffixed to a form $C\bar{i}C\bar{o}C$ or $C\text{ə}Cw\bar{o}C$, one would expect the initial vowel of the suffix to be elided ($/C\text{ə}yC\acute{o}(?)C/ + /vtən/ > /C\text{ə}yCo(?)Ctən/ = [C\bar{i}C\acute{a}Ctən]$), in analogy to the elision of a vowel in an unstressed open syllable immediately following a stressed syllable when more than one syllable follows said stressed vowel. Parallel cases are to be noted in the case of f.sg. forms of m.sg. $Cv:C\text{ə}C$ (i.e. m.sg. $C\bar{o}C\text{ə}C /C\acute{o}?\text{C}\text{ə}C/ - \text{f.sg. } C\acute{a}CC\text{ət} /C\acute{o}?\text{CC}\text{ət}/ < \text{°}C\acute{o}?\text{C}\text{ə}C + \text{ət}$).

²⁴⁹ Also, when the final consonant of the base is not an IG-consonant.

Hence, the option of both types of suffixes being the reflex of a single suffix seems apriorically possible. In this case, however, the assumption would be necessitated that stress shift – which would be apriorically expected to apply here as well, i.e. $C\bar{I}C\bar{o}C + /vt\bar{a}n/ > C\bar{I}C\bar{e}Cv:t\bar{a}n$ – would have to be blocked, presumably as elsewhere ($C\bar{o}C\bar{a}C/C\acute{a}CC\bar{a}t$, $C\bar{a}CayC/C\bar{a}C\acute{a}yC\bar{a}t$, etc.) by an underlying consonantal segment in the stressed vowel. This seems apriorically possible for both $C\bar{I}C\bar{o}C$ and $C\bar{a}Cw\bar{o}C$, although it has not been empirically proven in either of the two aforementioned patterns.

It remains, however, open whether this actually is the case, or whether one can simply posit two distinct types of suffixes, one with and one without a vowel between the base and /t/, as implied by the surface forms. As has been shown above (12.3), no phonological features allowing the decision of said question seem to emerge. If one assumes that forms III- ζ which show the surface form $_Cawt\bar{a}n$ are underlying $_C\zeta\acute{u}t\bar{a}n/$, this would point towards the lack of forms $_C\acute{a}Ct\bar{a}n$ / III-Gutt., with the exception of paradigmatic $C\bar{I}C\acute{a}Ct\bar{a}n$ and $C\bar{a}Cw\acute{a}Ct\bar{a}n$, however, even with this being the case, it remains unclear whether in these cases one would be justified to assume that stress is shifted to a potential vowel position to the right of the final consonant of the base (a guttural consonant in this case), or whether in these cases one is simply dealing with non-phonologically motivated $_u\bar{t}\bar{a}n$.

In summary, despite the fact that in a number of cases the presence or lack of an underlying vowel between the last consonant of the base and /t/ can be predicted on the basis of paradigmatic f.pl. derivation from corresponding m.pl. forms (in the patterns $C\bar{I}C\bar{o}C/C\bar{I}C\acute{a}Ct\bar{a}n$ and $C\bar{a}Cw\bar{o}C/C\bar{a}Cw\acute{a}Ct\bar{a}n$), the question of the distribution of an underlying vowel amongst different attestations of suffix(es) $_v)t\bar{a}n$ has not been shown to be predictable on phonological grounds, or morphological grounds aside from the aforementioned cases of $C\bar{I}C\bar{o}C$ and $C\bar{a}Cw\bar{o}C$. It seems apriorically possible to subsume the two basic types of f.pl. suffixes (one with, one without an underlying vowel before $_t\bar{a}n$) under a common form, showing a stressed vowel /u/ (and alternatively perhaps /o/, see above) before /t/, which would be regularly elided when it is not able to take stress due to the blocking of stress shift from the base, however, no indicative features have been found to answer the question of whether this is the case or not.

12.7) Summary

Two types of forms showing the external f.pl. suffix are attested, those showing stress inside the base ($_C\acute{v}Ct\grave{a}n$) and those showing stress on a vowel after the final consonant of the base ($_Cv:t\grave{a}n$). In the case of the former, it appears that surface variations of the stressed vowel (i.e. [a] and [ə]) are simple phonetic variations, although the forms in question showing [ə] in ML would need checking. In the case of the stressed vowel quality of the latter forms, one is confronted with a similar situation as in the case of f.sg. suffixes -ōt and -ūt, in terms of the difficulties of distinguishing the two possible vowel qualities – not least due to defective notation in ML. While it appears that the distinction between -ōtān and -ūtān is not phonologically conditioned, more research would be needed to clarify this question. Similarly, the question of whether forms showing an underlying stressed initial vowel of the suffix and those not showing any underlying initial vowel might be the reflex of one and the same suffix or not, remains to be answered. The latter option seems at least possible (although not proven), although comparative evidence might militate in favour of the former option. More research would be needed to clarify this question.

13.) Suffix(es) –v:t and -ət

13.1) Introduction

In Mh., as well as in the other MSAL, suffixes of the type -ət and -v:t are widely attested. Most attestations, particularly of -v:t are attestations of f.sg. forms, however, these suffixes are also found on pl. forms (mainly -ət) and VNs (-ūt, -ēt and possibly -ōt). Forms showing stressed -v:t show all possible vowel qualities, i.e. -īt, -ūt, -ōt, -ēt.

Whereas previous literature has always duly taken notice of the existence of said suffixes, the question of the distribution of stress and the diverging vowel qualities of the stressed suffix forms has rarely found attention, and not been discussed coherently. The most pertinent previous study is an article by Bendjaballah & Rubin (2020), which, although dealing with verbal 3.f.sg.pft. suffixes, seems to offer an perspective on the nominal attestations of the vowel quality of -v:t. However, as will be hinted to in this chapter and elaborated upon in a following chapter (15.), the situation outlined by Bendjaballah & Rubin (2020) does not seem tenable for the nominal domain, at least for the entirety of attested forms.

This chapter will only provide an overview of attestations of pertinent forms (13.2.) and a discussion of the application of the various phonological effects (13.3.). Since the aforementioned questions of the distribution of stress and vowel qualities appear to be intimately linked with the question of the derivation of f.sg. forms more generally speaking, these questions will be dealt with in the pertinent sub-chapter in section III (chapter 15.).

13.2) Overview of Attestations

In the following tables, attestations of the various forms in question will be presented, first forms showing stress on the suffix and then forms showing stress inside the base.

Table 44.1.: CəCCv:t

Surface V	Regular	R1		R2	R3						Total
		ʕ	ʕ	w	y	[+low.]	ʕ	ʔ	Glide	Birad.	
[ē]	CəCCēt (166)	ʔa(:)CCēt (26)	CāCēt (9) Cəʕyēt (1) ²⁵⁰	CōCēt (3) Rest: CəCCēt (CəwCēt/ CūCēt)	CēCēt (1) ²⁵¹ CəCCēt (1) ²⁵² Rest: CəCCēt (CīCēt)	CəCCāt (33) ²⁵³	CəCāt (?) (12) CəCēt (6) ²⁵⁴	CəCēt (1) ²⁵⁵	CəCēt (4) ²⁵⁶ Rest: CəCCēt (CəCwēt/ CəCyēt)	CəCēt (9) ²⁵⁷ Rest: CəCCēt	272
[ī]	CəCCīt (66)	ʔa(:)CCīt (7)	CāCīt (1) ²⁵⁸ CēCīt	CōCīt (1) ²⁶² CəCīt	CēCayt (1) ²⁶⁴ Rest:	CəCCayt (23) ²⁶⁵	CəCayt (4) ²⁶⁶		CəCīt (3) ²⁶⁷ Rest:	CəCīt (3) ²⁶⁸ CēCīt	115

²⁵⁰ *nəʕyēt*²⁵¹ *dēmēt*²⁵² *ʔəggēt* (ʔəggīt in Rubin 2018)²⁵³ Not included are 4 biradical forms II-r without lowering consonants (*dərrāt, fərrāt, mərrāt, lərrāt*) + 7 triradical forms (*fəl'lāt, gərdāt, ʔəl'nāt, həl'ərāt, məkərāt, nəs'alāt, ɣəl'ərāt*)²⁵⁴ 4 + *sēt, ʕəgēt*²⁵⁵ *gəlēt* III-ʔ according to ML²⁵⁶ *bəlēt* (III-v ML), *həlēt* (III-v ML), *mədēt* (III-y ML), *məlēt* (III-v ML)²⁵⁷ *ðərət, həlēt, kənēt, ləzēt, sənēt, θəmēt, ʔāmēt, əwmēt, ʕənēt*²⁵⁸ *bālīt*²⁶² *rōbīt*²⁶⁴ *ʔəl'ayt*²⁶⁵ Not included are 2 biradical forms II-r (*s'ərrayt, ɣərrayt*) and 4 triradical forms (*hərmayt, k'ərmayt, ðərwayt, ləwzayt*)²⁶⁶ *k'əlayt, s'əlayt, nəbayt, rəbayt*²⁶⁷ *kəlīt, k'əðīt, əwbīt*²⁶⁸ *hənīt, əhkīt, gərīt*

			(1) ²⁵⁹ Cēŷyīt (1) ²⁶⁰ Cəʔīt (1) ²⁶¹	(2) ²⁶³	CəCCīt (CīCīt)				CəCCīt (CəCwīt/ CəCyīt)	(1) ²⁶⁹ Rest: CəCCīt	
[ū]	CəCCūt (18)	ʔā_ (ʔāk'awt)	CāCūt (2) ²⁷⁰	CəCūt (3) ²⁷¹		CəCCawt (1) ²⁷²			CəCūt (1) ²⁷³	Regular	26
[ō]	CəCCöt (13) ²⁷⁴	ʔa(:)CCöt (3) ²⁷⁵		CəCöt (1) ²⁷⁶	Regular ²⁷⁷	Regular	CəCöt (3) ²⁷⁸		CəCöt (6) ²⁷⁹ Rest: Regular ²⁸⁰	CəCöt (1) ²⁸¹	27

²⁵⁹ *mēθīt*. Another entry for the same item is to be found under $\sqrt{w\theta v}$.

²⁶⁰ *rēŷyīt*

²⁶¹ *nəʔīt* ($\sqrt{n\text{ŷ}w}$ according to ML)

²⁶³ *k'əbīt*, *k'ənīt*

²⁶⁹ *rēlīt* (attested as *rīlīt* in Own Data; Jahn 1902; Rubin 2018; Watson et al. 2020).

²⁷⁰ *rābūt*, *l'āfūt*

²⁷¹ *k'əzūt*, *χəlūt*, *ʔāk'awt* (II-Glide according to ML)

²⁷² *hk'ət'awt* (VN H-stem, root $\sqrt{hk't'}$)

²⁷³ *tlūt* (VN H-stem)

²⁷⁴ All f.pl. adjectives, except for *həs'k'ōt* and *s'əwōt*. *nək'əyōt* attested in Rubin 2018 (not included).

²⁷⁵ *ʔāfərōt*, also attested as *ʔāf(ə)rūt*, *ʔaylōt*, *ʔāgzōt*

²⁷⁶ *gəsōt*

²⁷⁷ i.e. *rayl'ōt*

²⁷⁸ *gəlōt*, *ləkōt*, *təlōt*

²⁷⁹ *s'alōt*, *zəkōt*, *dəwōt*, *həlōt*, *həyōt*, *s'əfōt*

²⁸⁰ i.e. *ʔəlyōt*, *s'əfyōt*

²⁸¹ *θəmōt*

Table 44.2.: CīCv:t

Surface V	Regular	III-ζ	Birad.	Total
[ē]		CīCēt (1) ²⁸²		CīCēt (1)
[ī]			CīCīt (2) ²⁸³	CīCīt (2)

²⁸² *rībēt*

²⁸³ *θīwīt, rīdīt*

Table 44.3.: m- _-v:t

Surface V	Regular	R1	R2			R3					Total	
		ʃ	ʃ	w	y	[+low.]	ʃ	ʔ	Glide	Birad.		
[ē]	məCCəCēt (29)	māC(ə)Cēt (3)	məCāCēt (1)			məCCəCāt (4)	məCCāt (2) ²⁸⁴ mə12ēt (1) ²⁸⁵					40
[ī]	məCCəCīt (2) ²⁸⁶											2
[ū]	məCCəCūt (15)		məCāCūt (1) ²⁸⁷	Regular		məCCəCawt (1) ²⁸⁸			məCCawt (2) ²⁸⁹	məCəCūt (1) ²⁹⁰ Rest: məCəCCūt		20
[ō]	məCCəCōt (5)	māCəCōt (1) ²⁹¹		Regular ²⁹²	məCCōt (1) ²⁹³		məCCōt (1) ²⁹⁴	məCCōt (1) ²⁹⁵		Regular ²⁹⁶		9

²⁸⁴ mək't'ūt, mənwūt²⁸⁵ məs'fēt²⁸⁶ məlwəyūt, məns'ərūt²⁸⁷ mənālūt²⁸⁸ məšhət'awt + mək's'ərawt (the latter not included)²⁸⁹ mək'lawt, mək'rawt²⁹⁰ məgəfūt²⁹¹ məs'əbōt²⁹² i.e. mənwōt²⁹³ məgōt²⁹⁴ mək'lōt²⁹⁵ mənwōt²⁹⁶ i.e. mək'allōt

Table 44.4.: Redupl. + -v:t

Surface V	Regular	II-ʕ	Total
[ē]	CəCCəCēt (2) ²⁹⁷	CāCāt (1) ²⁹⁸	3
[ō]	CəCCəCōt (2) ²⁹⁹		2

²⁹⁷ *bəlbəlēt, səwsəlēt*

²⁹⁸ *k'āk'āt*

²⁹⁹ *gəmgəmōt, kəlkəlōt*

Table 44.5.: R3 Redupl. + -v:t

Surface V	Regular	I-ʕ	Total Attestations
[ū]	CəCəCCūt (3) ³⁰⁰	ʔāCēCCawt (1) ³⁰¹	4
[ō]	CəCəCCōt (1) ³⁰²	ʔāCəCCōt (1) ³⁰³	2

³⁰⁰ *k'ətəbbūt, kətəbbūt, k'ətəllūt*

³⁰¹ *ʔāfērrawt*

³⁰² *ʕəməllōt*

³⁰³ *ʔāt'əllōt*

Table 44.6.: Quadrilit. + -v:t

Surface V	Regular	R1	R3	R4	Total
		ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	
[ē]	CəCCəCēt (4) ³⁰⁴				4
[ī]	CəCCəCīt (1) ³⁰⁵				1
[ū]	CəCCəCūt (4) ³⁰⁶				4
[ō]	CəCCəCōt (12)	ʔa(:)CCəCōt (2) ³⁰⁷	CəCāCōt (1) ³⁰⁸	CəCəCōt (1) ³⁰⁹	16

³⁰⁴ fənxərēt, s'əbāfēt (II-1), xəl'ərgēt, əmərħəbēt

³⁰⁵ xərbəlīt

³⁰⁶ ħəlk'əmūt, ħənl'əbūt, ħəwkəmūt, kərsədūt

³⁰⁷ ʔabsəlōt, ʔākərmōt

³⁰⁸ təwālōt

³⁰⁹ təbəlōt

Table 44.7.: Prefix hə- + -v:t

Surface V	Regular	R1	R2		R3			Total
		ʃ	w	y	[+low.]	ʃ	Glide	
[ū]	həCCəCūt (13)	<i>həwk'awt</i> (√ʃlk')	həwCəCūt (1) ³¹⁰		həCCəCawt (3)	həCCawt (1) ³¹¹	həCCūt (5) ³¹²	24
[ō]	həCCəCōt (2) ³¹³	hāC(C)ōt (4) ³¹⁴		Regular ³¹⁵		həCCōt (3) ³¹⁶	həCCōt (1) ³¹⁷	10

³¹⁰ *həws'əbūt*

³¹¹ *həwk'awt*

³¹² *hərwūt, həwlūt, həwzūt, hərxawt, hənhawt*

³¹³ *həks'əbōt, həkyəgōt*

³¹⁴ *hānōt* (√ʃny), *hāhōt, hāk'əbōt, hārsōt*

³¹⁵ i.e. *həkyəgōt*

³¹⁶ *hərbōt, hərfōt, hərtōt*

³¹⁷ *hək'wōt* (see also *hānōt*)

Table 44.8.: Infix -t(ə)- + v :t

Surface V	Regular	R1	R2		R3			Total
		ʃ	w	y	[+low.]	ʃ	Glide	
[ū]	CətəCCūt (4) əCtəCCūt (4) ³¹⁸		əCtēCūt (1) ³¹⁹ Rest: Regular	Regular	CətəCCawt (1) ³²⁰ əCtəCCawt (2) ³²¹		Regular ³²²	12
[ō]		ʔātCəCōt (3) ³²³	Regular ³²⁴			əCtəCōt (2) ³²⁵	CətəCyōt (1) ³²⁶	6

³¹⁸ The initial vowel in ML cannot be exclusively explained via phon. effects in the overall number of attestations: *əhtərfūt*, *əntəksūt*, *əwtəlmūt*, *ərtək'yūt* (+*əxtēnūt*, *əktəθ'awt*, *əhtəfk'awt*), however, based on the data in Jahn (1902) and the data collected by the author, it seems that *əCtəCCūt* is in fact a variation of *CətəCCūt* (conditioned by R1, i.e. IG-consonants and sonorants), see chapter 15.

³¹⁹ *əxtēnūt*

³²⁰ *lətəwk'awt*

³²¹ *əhtəfk'awt*, *əktəθ'awt*

³²² i.e. *ərtək'yūt*

³²³ *ʔātwərōt*, *ʔātəksōt*, *ʔātəwmōt*

³²⁴ i.e. *ʔātwərōt*, *ərtəwōt*

³²⁵ *ərtəfōt*, *ərtəwōt*

³²⁶ *gərtəfyōt*

Table 44.9.: Prefix šə- + -v:t

Surface V	Regular	R1		R2		R3				Total
		ʔ	ʕ	ʕ	w	[+low.]	ʔ	Glide	Birad.	
[ē]	šəCCəCēt (1)			šəCēCēt (1) ³²⁷		šəCCəCāt (1) ³²⁸		šəCCēt (1) ³²⁹		4
[ū]	šəCCəCūt (6)	šāCəCūt (1) ³³⁰	šāC(əC)v:t (1) ³³¹		šəwCəCv:t (2) ³³² Rest: Regular ³³³	šəCCəCawt (3) ³³⁴	šəCCawt (1) ³³⁵	šəCCūt (1) ³³⁶	šəCCūt (1) ³³⁷ Rest: Regular ³³⁸	16
[ō]	šəCCəCōt (1) ³³⁹		šāCəCōt (1) ³⁴⁰		šəwCəCōt (1) ³⁴¹				šəCCōt (1) ³⁴²	4

³²⁷ šəwēdēt

³²⁸ šəwhək'āt

³²⁹ šək'rēt

³³⁰ šāmānūt

³³¹ šāl'awt

³³² šəwnəχawt, šəws'əbūt (II-w)

³³³ i.e. šənəws'awt, šəl'yək'awt

³³⁴ šənəws'awt, šəl'yək'awt, šəwhək'awt

³³⁵ šəχt'awt

³³⁶ šəwzūt

³³⁷ šəhmūt

³³⁸ i.e. šəzəllūt

³³⁹ šənhərōt

³⁴⁰ šāsərōt

³⁴¹ šəwχərōt

³⁴² šərdōt

Table 44.10.: Prefix *tə-* + *-v:t*

Surface V	Regular	R1	R3		Total
		ʃ	ʃ	Glide	
[ē]	təCCəCēt (1)	tāCəCēt (1) ³⁴³	təCCāt (1) ³⁴⁴		3
[ō]				təCōCōt (1) ³⁴⁵	1

³⁴³ *tābəlēt*

³⁴⁴ *tərbāt*

³⁴⁵ *təwōs'ōt*

Table 44.11.: F.Sg. Nisba (stress on suffix)

Surface V	Regular	R1	R2	R3			Total
		I-ʕ	II-ʕ	III- Lowering	III-w III-y	Birad.	
[ē]		ʔāCCyēt (2) ³⁴⁶					2
[ō]	CəC(ə)C(ə)Cyōt (3) ³⁴⁷		<i>k'ēʕyōt</i>		<i>k'ēʕyōt</i>	CəCyōt (1) ³⁴⁸	5

³⁴⁶ ʔāmk'yēt, ʔāfryēt (?)

³⁴⁷ ʔəhrəyōt, həndyōt, fəxəlyōt

³⁴⁸ gənyōt

Table 45.1.: C'CCət

Surface V	Regular	R1	R2			R3				Total
		ʕ	w	y	Glide + III-IG	ʕ	ʔ	Glide	Birad.	
[a]	CáCCət (38)	ʔāCCət (3) ³⁴⁹ ʔōCət (1) ³⁵⁰	CōCət (4) ³⁵¹ Other: Regular (CáwCət) ³⁵²	Regular (CáyCət)	CáCt (2) ³⁵³ Regular ³⁵⁴	CáCat (1) ³⁵⁵		Regular (CáCyət)	Regular	49
[ə]	CáCCət (5) ³⁵⁶			CīCət (1) ³⁵⁷ CáCət (1) ³⁵⁸	CáCt (3) ³⁵⁹			Regular ³⁶⁰	CáCt (2) ³⁶¹	12
[ē]							CēCət	CēCCət		2

³⁴⁹ ʔāfyət, ʔāk'lət, ʔāylət

³⁵⁰ ʔōdət

³⁵¹ bōrət, dōmət, hōgət, zōnət (one more item in ML, hōθ'ət, listed under the root √hθ'r seems unclear in this regard and is not included here).

³⁵² One attestation of putative II-w shows CayCət (dayrət)

³⁵³ haft, raht (II-w)

³⁵⁴ i.e. xayət

³⁵⁵ šāgat

³⁵⁶ t'ə'nk'ət, wə'hənət, gə'nyət, fə'rəkət, nə'kdət (wáhnət in Rubin 2018 and own data)

³⁵⁷ līlət (also attested as láylət in ML)

³⁵⁸ gə'dət

³⁵⁹ kə'st, səft, zəkt

³⁶⁰ i.e. gə'nyət

³⁶¹ bə'rt, tə'ft

							(1) ³⁶²	(1) ³⁶³	
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³⁶² *nēwət*

³⁶³ *gēbyət*

Table 45.2.: CəCv:Cət

Surface V	Regular	R1	R2		R3					Total
		ʕ	w	y	[+IG]	ʕ	ʔ	Glide	Birad.	
[ē]	CəCēCət (15)	ʔa(:)CēCət (1) ³⁶⁴	Regular	Regular ³⁶⁵	CəCáCt (6) ³⁶⁶ CəCēCət (3) ³⁶⁷ CəCōCət (3) ³⁶⁸	CəCáʔt (1) ³⁶⁹		Regular (CəCēwət/ CəCēyət) ³⁷⁰	Regular	20
[ō]	CəCōCət (29)	ʔa(:)CōCət (2) ³⁷¹	Regular	Regular					Regular	34
[aw]	CəCawCət (25)	ʔa(:)CáwCət (4) ³⁷²	Regular ³⁷³	Regular ³⁷⁴	CəCáCt (8) ³⁷⁵ CəCáyCət (1) ³⁷⁶			III-y: CəCáwwət (1) ³⁷⁷ CəCáwyət (1) ³⁷⁸		37

³⁶⁴ ʔarēwət³⁶⁵ i.e. hyēk'ət³⁶⁶ bəwáft, sək'áft, l'əyáft, bəwakt, gəwáft, fəwast (II-ʔ? also attested as fəwēsət)³⁶⁷ i.e. gəwēsət, s'əwētət, fəwēsət (II-ʔ? also attested as fəwast)³⁶⁸ i.e. k'əlōsət, k'amōsət, məlōkət. Note məláykat in Rubin (2018) – not included in the table.³⁶⁹ rəbáʔt³⁷⁰ ʔarēwət is given as III-y in ML.³⁷¹ ʔālmət, ʔāyōbət³⁷² ʔāk'awdət, ʔāmawdət, ʔāmawlət, ʔāyawdət³⁷³ i.e. gəwáwrət³⁷⁴ One item, bəyawrət, is given as II-ʔ in ML – while etymologically correct, no distinctness appears synchronically from roots II-y, also in the corresponding sg. form bayr.³⁷⁵ hərə'zt, əhwə'zət, fəχə'ðət do not show III-IG (attested however in Jahn 1902 and in the author's data as fəχayðət)³⁷⁶ nəgaysət³⁷⁷ š'əfáwwət (III-y according to ML)³⁷⁸ bəzə'wyət

[ay]	CəCayCət (46)	ʔa(:)CáyCət (1) ³⁷⁹	Regular				CəCáyɣət (3) ³⁸⁰	III-w: CəCáyɣət ʔ ³⁸¹ III-y: Regular (CəCáyɣət) ³⁸²	Regular	50
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³⁷⁹ ʔazaymət

³⁸⁰ bəráɣɣət, t'əráɣɣət, dəráɣɣət

³⁸¹ mət'ayɣət, ɣəlayɣət (III-w according to ML)

³⁸² One attestation of CəCə'yyət (*hədə'yyət*)

Table 45.3.: m- (stress in base)

Surface V	Regular	R1	R2		R3		Total
		ʃ	w	y	Glide	Birad.	
[a]	máCCəCət (1) ³⁸³	māCCət (1) ³⁸⁴					2
[a]	məCáCCət (7)		Regular ³⁸⁵		Regular	Regular	7
[aw]	məCCawCət (1)				III-w: məCCawt (2) ³⁸⁶		3
[ay]	məCCayCət (1) ³⁸⁷						1

³⁸³ *máwrəmət*

³⁸⁴ *mālmət*

³⁸⁵ Two items, *mədōrət* and *məʔūnət*, are unclear in terms of the underlying pattern.

³⁸⁶ *mək'nawt*, *məl'bawt*

³⁸⁷ *məskaynət*

Table 45.4.: F.Sg. Nisba (stress on Nisba suffix)

Surface V	Regular	R1		R3	Total
		ʔ	ʕ	ʕ	
[ay]	CəCCáyyət (2) ³⁸⁸	ʔəCCáyyət (1) ³⁸⁹	ʔāCəCáyyət (1) ³⁹⁰	CəCəʕáyyət (1) ³⁹¹	5

³⁸⁸ *məhráyyət, ħəbəláyyət*

³⁸⁹ *ʔənsáyyət*

³⁹⁰ *ʔarəbáyyət*

³⁹¹ *bəl'əʕáyyət*

Table 45.5.: R2 geminated (stress in base)

Surface V	Regular	III-IG	Birad.	Total
[aw]	CəCCáwCət (4) ³⁹² CəCCát (1) ³⁹³	CəCCacuteCt (2) ³⁹⁴		7
[ō]	CəCCōCət (7)		Regular	7
[ū]		CəCCūCət (1) ³⁹⁵		1

³⁹² *hərrawk'ət, sənnawrət, nəɞɞawrət, tənnawrət*

³⁹³ *k'ənnə't*

³⁹⁴ *bət't'ə'χt* (likely CəCCacuteCət, cf. Ar.), *hənnəkət* (also attested as *hənnūkət*, see below, hence likely CəCCūCət)

³⁹⁵ *hənnūkət*

Table 45.6.: Quadrilit. (stress in base)

Surface V	Regular	III-ŋ	Total
[a]	CəCáCCət (6)		6
[ō]	<i>k'əwōt'əyət</i>		1
[aw]		CəCáwCət (1) ³⁹⁶	1

³⁹⁶ *k'əbawnət*

Other forms include forms which do not adhere to any of the aforementioned categories and forms which seem problematic in a number of regards. For -ēt this includes *k'ātābēt harbyēt ʔānšēt māšəbərēt ʔābərēyēt ʔābērēt bərēt* (likely typo for *°bərzēt* - under root $\sqrt{\text{brz}}$ in ML) and *ḡārḡēt* (*ḡārḡūt* in Jahn 1902 and the author's data). For -īt/-ayt one finds *rīt əfkráyət, həybūt, hāwālūt, bəkayt mənəwbənūt* (*mənəzbənūt* in the author's data) and *həwāryūt*. For -ūt one finds the VNs *ʔəwəllūt, ənhət'məlūt* and *šəḡārəgūt*, the unstressed long surface vowel of the latter being likely an error in ML. For -ōt the items *ḡəgənōt, gīrēmōt, mīrōt, gōt, lōt, gəsōt, ɣōt* and *lābānōt* are attested. Finally, for -ət one finds a number of other forms: *gawhərət, k'āfələt, k'awzərət, ɣayrōrət, ʔəngəlīzīyət, həzmīyət, fəráʔyət, šərafyət, s'əfəriyət, līθōmət, həganbət, lābōnət, lēnət, hāwəlyət, məlabbət, ʔəgbōnət, bənnōwyət, dəkaknət, lərawtət, rīwəhət, gūtiət, ənwanwət, əškayyət, həswek'ət, yəl'armət, ʔəgabnət*. Some of these forms have been referenced in previous chapters.

13.3) Application of Phonological Effects

A – IG: For patterns showing a stressed suffix, the presence of constellations of IG consonants is largely irrelevant, although attestations are found throughout (for example *nəfsēt, ɣəʔfīt, hāʔhōt, šəwkəfūt*). Note in the context of the aforementioned examples that the presence of constellations of IG-consonants do not seem to influence to vowel quality of the following stressed vowel of the suffix.

For patterns showing stress inside the base on a vowel which is not a vowel immediately preceding the consonant before the suffix (i.e. *CáCCət, máCCət*, etc.), the application the IG-effect is attested for two forms presumably of the pattern *CōCət* – given as II-w in ML – i.e. *hāʔt, ráh̄t*; as well as in four forms, presumably of the pattern *CīCət* (or *CūCət*), i.e. *kəst, səʔt, zəkt, gədət*. However, in the case of *ɣaysət*, the IG-effect does not seem to apply. Note, that in this case (*ɣaysət*), the glide seems to behave fully consonantal insofar as the IG-effect is blocked, unlike the case in certain other configurations.³⁹⁷ Another putative example of the application of the IG-effect is the – in all likelihood inherited – item *ləʔt*, presumably a biradical root.

Amongst patterns showing stress inside the base on a vowel which immediately precedes the consonant before the suffix (i.e. *ḡCət#*), attestations of the application of the IG-effect are more frequently found, although not without exceptions. In the case of the pattern *CəCayCət*, the IG-effect seems to apply regularly when an IG-consonant is in the position of R3, i.e. *CəCáCt*. This is noted throughout attestations of adj.f.sg. forms, where *CəCáCt* is regularly attested, with one exception (*nəgaysət*), and one more attestation, *məlaykət* in Rubin (2018), the latter being the only plural attestation of a pattern *CəCayCət*.³⁹⁸ Note, that some items given as *CəCáCt* in ML, do not show an IG-consonant as R3, i.e. *hərázt, əh̄wəzət* and *fəḡəðət*. The latter item is attested regularly as *fəḡayðət* in Jahn (1902) and in the

³⁹⁷ Also, note that *ɣaysət* is the adj.f.sg. form of m.sg. *ɣōyəs*.

³⁹⁸ Possibly an Arabism *malāʔika* ?

author's data, making it possible that *fəχəðət* (and perhaps the other two forms as well) was a mistake in ML?

Surface forms of the type CəCawCət are not attested with IG-consonants as R3, thus, in pertinent forms of the pattern CəCawCət – i.e. when attested with an IG-consonant as R3 – these surface as CəCáCt, and hence show regular application of the IG-effect.³⁹⁹ As for patterns of the type CəCōCət and CəCēCət, items showing an IG consonant as R3 show both the application of the IG effect and the blocking of said effect. Attestations not showing the IG effect include *gəwēsət*, *s'əwētət*, *fəwēsət* (the latter also attested as *fəwast*, hence with the application of the IG-effect) for CəCēCət; and *k'əlōsət*, *k'amōsət*, *məlōkət* for CəCōCət. By contrast, the forms *kəwáft*, *sək'áft*, *l'əyáft*, *bəwakt*, *gəwáft*, *fəwast* (the latter also attested as *fəwēsət*, hence without the application of the IG-effect) show the seemingly regular application of the IG-effect.⁴⁰⁰ It seems unclear whether the forms not showing the application of the IG-effect are simple mistakes, or if the IG-effect is actually blocked in these items, perhaps due to an underlying consonantal segment in the stressed vowel (which would also block the shift of stress to the suffix, and hence be apriorically expected to be present in this position). Of course, if the latter option is the case, the forms which show the application of the IG-effect ought to be considered to be “irregular“. Thus, to clarify this contradictory situation, more data would be needed;⁴⁰¹ however, if one counts the forms not showing the application of the IG-effect, this might lend further credence to the notion of an underlying consonantal segment in the stressed vowel of patterns CəCv:Cət.⁴⁰²

B – Diphthongization + Vowel Lowering: Lowering consonants have the expected effect of diphthongizing stressed /i/ and /u/, mainly attested in suffixes. In addition, a few forms are attested which show seemingly unmotivated [ay] in a stressed suffix (for example *hərmayt*, *ðərwayt*, etc.) – in these cases one presumably ought to interpret these forms as underlying /C'vyt#/.

C - Fronted Stress / III-Gutt.: Whereas the fronting of stress when a paradigmatically stressed vowel is followed by a guttural consonant is definitionally excluded in the case of forms showing a stressed suffix, in the case of word-internal stress a few items appear exhibiting this phenomenon appear to be attested, although the total number of items is rather limited. Whereas in the case of non-adj.sg. forms, no apparent attestation of stress shifting from the most frequently stressed internal vowel position, i.e. CəC'vCət is attested (*raht*, *rəbaʔt*, *fəraʔyət*, *fəwēvət*, *s'əbēvət*), amongst adj.sg. forms all attestations

³⁹⁹ It remains empirically speaking unclear whether some attestations of CəCə'Ct actually represent CəCawCət, or if all attestations are reflexes of CəCayCət. Since the majority of attestations are (adj.)sg. forms, it would seem that the majority of attestations of CəCə'Ct are of the pattern CəCáyCət. The perhaps best candidate for CəCawCət might be the item *šəraʔft*, which is an adj.pl. form of the (otherwise not unproblematic, cf. f.sg. CəCə'Cyət) m.sg. form *šərayf*.

⁴⁰⁰ Discerning CəCēCət from CəCōCət seems impossible for these forms.

⁴⁰¹ Particularly, since the number of attestations showing the application of the IG-effect is equal to that of attestations which do not show the application of the IG-effect (both 6 attestations in total).

⁴⁰² Accepting the validity of forms CəCv:Cət showing an IG-consonant as R3, one might further ask whether the attestations of forms showing the application of the IG-effect in this position might reflect a tendency of lexicalizing stress in these forms and reanalyzing the stressed /'vC/ sequence as a simple vowel?

appear to exhibit stress on the first vowel (*k'amhət, šágat, fərvət, məlabbat*) or in the case of what one would paradigmatically expect to be CəCayC/CəCayCət to the left of the paradigmatically expected vowel site for m.sg. and to the right for f.sg. (*s'ayləh/s'alhayt, k'ayla/k'alayt*).

D – Vowel Epenthesis of Sonorants (Liquids):

Sonorants emitting vowels to their left is not attested in any significant manner, although sequences of consonants and unstressed vowels can be broken up by the vowel emission of sonorants, as elsewhere.

E – Vowel Epenthesis of Glott.:

As the case with sonorants (see above), surface vowels are emitted by ejective consonants, and some surface configurations of unstressed vowels are also altered by these consonants (see chapter 15.).

F – Vocalization of /l/:

The vocalization of /l/ is regularly attested in a number of forms, usually showing [ū]/[əw] for the sequence of unstressed vowel and /l/, with some examples being *məwt'áwmət, əwbənīt, həməwkūt, məsəwmēt*, etc.

G – Behavior of /r/: N/A

H – /ʕ/:

When followed by an unstressed vowel, the surface reflex of underlying /ʕ/ is usually, as to be expected [a(:)]. When followed by a stressed vowel, surface realizations are found as surface diphthongs in the case of /u/ and possibly /i/ as well, although in the latter case the option of underlying /vy/ cannot be ruled out (see above), i.e. *nəbayt, rəbayt, s'alayt, həwk'awt*, etc. Surface forms of the type CəCēt appear to be realizations of CəCCēt III-ʕ, however, more frequently than those are attestations of CəCāt III-ʕ, indicating that perhaps the realization of /ʕét#/ might not only result in CəCēt but also CəCāt? Note, that most forms CəCāt III-ʕ do not show a lowering consonant as R2.⁴⁰³ Finally, amongst items of the type CəCōt, one finds an interestingly large number of forms III-ʕ, i.e. *ləkōt, gəlōt, təlōt, mək'lōt*; particularly when viewed against the small overall number of patterns of the type CəCCōt.

⁴⁰³ *dəmət, fərat, gəlāt, gəmət, hədāt, k'ət'āt, mətāt, nəlāt, rəkāt, rək'āt, s'anāt, lək'āt*

I – /ʔ/:

In the few initial attestations of /ʔ/ before an unstressed vowel (see chapter 16.), the surface reflex is either zero (*rīt*), [ā]- (*hāwəlīt*, *hārīt*, *šāmānūt*), [a]- (*harbyēt*) or possibly [w] (*māwsərūt*). According to ML, intervocalic /ʔ/ is attested in the case of *fəwast* – *fəwēsət* and *bəyawrət*, though it seems questionable in both cases whether these forms are synchronically underlying II-ʔ or II-Glide. A few items, putatively III-ʔ of what appears to be the pattern CəCayCət are attested, which seem to show /ʔ/ surfacing as [y], i.e. *bərayyət*, *t'ərayyət*, *ḏərayyət*. Other items III-ʔ (according to ML) include *šəxt'awt*, *mənwōt*, *gəlēt*, and *nēwət*.

J – Glides:

Amongst patterns showing a stressed suffix and – presumably – an underlying glide preceding said suffix, most attestations show a regular surface reflex of said glide (i.e. [yv:t] / [wv:t]); however, some forms are attested across most patterns in question where no surface reflex of said glide can be found (i.e. [Cv:t]). These latter forms would need further checking. Occasionally, forms which are presumably III-Glide show a diphthong in the suffix, without a preceding surface reflex of /w/ or /y/, i.e. [Cawt] or [Cayt] (*mək'lawt*, *mək'rawt*, *bəḳayt*), although in these cases it can be assumed that these forms are reflexes of the type [Cv:t], since the forms in question show a lowering consonant preceding the stressed vowel (in two cases separated by a liquid).

In the case of patterns showing stress inside the base, the reflexes of roots showing a final glide are regular, i.e. the glides surface as such; although in a few forms the glide indicated in ML does not seem to equal the attested surface glide (*ḳəzəwəyət*, *š'əfəwwət*).

14) Other Patterns

14.1) Other Morphologically Complex Patterns

14.1.1) Fully Reduplicated Forms 1212

Patterns showing full reduplication of a presumably bilateral root are attested both as sg. and corresponding pl. forms. Sg. attestations usually show stress on the second syllable, i.e. CəCCv:C, or on a suffix -v:t; with two exceptions, *náwnəw* and *mēma* (√mṣ). It seems unclear why in these two forms, stress is on the first vowel, rather than the second. In the case of *mēma* one might imagine this to be due to the guttural R2, however since two adjacent consonants are separating the two vowels and in the other two examples, showing a guttural R2, stress is not located on the first vowel (*k'āk'āt* and *rəvrīv*); it is not evident how the nature of R2 would hence explain the unorthodox position of stress in this example.

Most other sg. attestations without a suffix are of the type CəCCīC. Three sg. attestations of CəCCēC (*ḍarḍēr*, *kəmkēm*, *fəlfəl*) are at least partly composed of Arabisms, explaining the vowel quality /e/ (see chapter 17.). The other sg. attestation of CəCCēC is *kəbkēb*, the VN of Ga *wəkūb*. Here, the initial /w/ does not appear, and is the only VN attested in Mh. of this type, whereas in J/S this type of VN formation appears to be more frequently attested (see Kungl forthcoming). Plural attestations of CəCCēC are the pl. forms of sg. forms showing a stressed suffix, and hence this mode of pl. formation patterns in parallel with what is attested of (non-reduplicated) triradical patterns (see chapter 15.).

Reduplicated forms showing a stressed suffix -v:t are attested with stressed vowels /e/ and /o/. Whereas in some cases case of /e/ the outcomes might again be understood as the regular outcome of the adaption of Ar. loans (*bəlbəlēt*, *səwsələt*), in the case of VNs the suffix -ēt seems to be regular (see chapter 17.). In the case of the suffix -ōt, the two attestations in ML (*gəmgəmət*, *kəlkəlōt*) are not VNs, and (presumably) represent the outcome of inherited CvCCvCvt.

Patterns of the type CəCCōC are usually plural attestations of CəCCīC or CəCCēC, with one possible sg. attestation found in ML (*k'ərk'ōr* – “beehive fish trap“). Two other pl. patterns show an insertive vowel between R2 and the reduplicated R1, i.e. CəCōCəC and CəCawCəC, and are attested for sg. patterns which do not show the i/o change, i.e. CəCCəCv:t, CəCCēC and C'vCCəC.

14.1.2) Geminated R2

Whereas forms showing geminated R2 might apriorically be expected to be loans from Arabic, this cannot be ascertained in all cases, as will be seen below. The forms in question always show stress on the vowel preceding R2 in the case of forms showing a prefix m- (i.e. məCáCCəC) and always on the vowel following R2 in other cases. The stressed vowel following R2 is mostly attested as /o/, hence reflecting Ar. CaCCāC, however, attestations are also found for [aw] (*tənnawr*, *sənnawrət*, *hərrawk'ət*), [ū] (*kəmmūr*, *ləbbūd*, *hənnūk*), [ə] – presumably representing /vy/ (*bət't'əχt*), [ā] (*həmmām*, *həllāk'*, *t'əbbāl*, *bənnāy*, *səyyārəh*, *t'əyyāryəh*), as well as two items showing final [ay] (*š'əffay*, *həllay*). In the

case of the items showing [ā] none of the attestations seem to show /e/ surfacing as [ā], and all attestations can be understood as non-adapted Arabisms. The items *bət't'əxt*, *tənnawr* and possibly *sənnawrət* also appear to be Arabisms showing /ū/ or /ī/ in their corresponding Ar. form (see chapter 17.). The other forms attested seem problematic however, and it remains unclear whether one is indeed confronted with (adapted) Arabisms, or with another explanation for the apparent gemination of R2. Forms showing a prefix mə- appear universally as məCáCCəC and appear to be wholly composed of loans from Arabic.⁴⁰⁴

Corresponding pl. forms show stress usually on the same site as in the sg. form, in some cases with the addition of a suffix -ət. The item *kəmmūr*, as well as the two forms of the type məCáCCəC showing corresponding pl. forms (*mət'awwa*, *məgálləh*) show a suffix -īn (*kəmrīn*, *mət'əwwəʕayn* and *məgálləhayn* with a highly unusual position of stress in the latter plural form). Only in the case of *dəkkōn/dəkáknət* does stress seem to shift to the left, presumably since the pl. form is also loaned from Arabic (*dakākīn*)?

14.1.3) Quadrilaterals

As is the case for other morphologically complex patterns, sg. attestations of quadrilateral roots in quadrilateral patterns, also show the configurations CəCCv:C, CəCCəCv:t and – more frequently than in the other cases – CǀCCəC. The latter pattern shows 11 attestations, one with an unstressed suffix (an Arabism *gawhərət*), and four of which show a final glide /y/ (*hawri*, *k'awt'i*, *lawmi*, *lawsi*). Most attestations appear to be Arabisms, many of which appear to be ultimately of non-Semitic (and non-Afroasiatic) origin, thus CǀCCəC does not appear to be a productive quadrilateral pattern in Mh. Patterns of the type CəCCv:C show surface vowel qualities [aw], [ay], [ē], [ā], [ō] and [ī]. Forms showing [ā] show a lowering consonant preceding the stressed vowel, hence these forms can be understood as underlying /CəCCéC/. Forms showing a stressed surface diphthong [aw] appear to be Arabisms (*faynaws*, *saybawn*, *bərnaws*, *məndawk'*, *səndawk'*), hence presumably underlying /'vw/. Forms showing a stressed surface diphthong [ay] are few and include a few forms showing a preceding lowering consonant (*həwt'ayk'*, *t'əlhaym*, *k'əbayn*, *š'ənayf* – the latter two III-ʕ), although forms without lowering consonants are also attested ((*h*)*arnayb*, *hədhayd*, *ʔəblays* and potentially the forms with (presumably) prefixed yə-, see below). Items CəCCēC and CəCCīC are the most frequently attested, usually showing corresponding pl. forms of the type CəCCōC. Singular attestations of CəCCōC are few and restricted to the four Arabisms *məskōt*, *məstōn*, *məlyōn* and *dəftōr*. Forms showing a stressed suffix -v:t usually show the suffix vowels /u/ or /o/ in ML, with the exception of some VNs (*əmərhəbēt*) and the items *harbyēt*, *fənxərēt*, *χəl'ərgēt* and *χərbəlīt*. Forms showing a f.sg. suffix and stress inside the base are few and include the Arabisms *gawhərət* and *fəraslət*.

⁴⁰⁴ With the possible (?) exception of *məgálləh/məgálləhayn*?

Plural forms of CəCCīC and CəCCēC usually show the pattern CəCCōC, hence showing i/o in sg.-pl. correspondences, as with other patterns showing more than three consonants. A few forms showing pl. forms of the type CəCōCəC and CəCawCəC(ət) are also attested (i.e. *k'əbayn/k'əbawnət, gəndīl/gənodəl, kənbēʔ/kənbəʔ, məndēr/mənwədər, ʔāgrēz/ʔāgōrəz, χət'rāk'/χət'awrək'*) or in one case CəCēCəC (*kərsay/kərəsi*). Plural forms showing a stressed f.sg. suffix show pl. forms of the type CəCCēC; in one case CəCēCəC (*fənēχər*) and in one case CəCōCəC (*s'əfōlāḥ*). Note, that in both of the aforementioned cases a guttural consonant is attested as R3 or R4. Forms showing a sg. of the type CəCCəC show a variety of possible pl. forms (*hawri/həwāryūt, k'awt'i/k'əwōt'əyət, kambəl/kənābəl, dārzən/dərzən, šaywəl/əšwal*).

As is the case for verbal forms (cf. Bendjaballah & Ségéral 2022), the majority of forms show a sonorant (including glide) as R2. However, a number of forms exist which do not, including *k'ālēw/k'ōləw, k'āləw* (II-ʕ, also *k'ālīw*), *χət'rāk'/χət'awrək', hədhayd/hədhōd, ʔəblays, dəhrīz, dəχšīr/dəχšōr, həglīm/həglōm, rədwīd/rədwōd, dəftōr/dəfātərət, məskōt, məstōn/məsawtən, s'əḅāfēt/s'əḅāf, k'əbayn/k'əbawnət, χət'ərgēt, səbər wōt, s'əfəlḥōt/s'əfōlāḥ, šəḅəlfōt, fək'əl wōt/fək'ələw, fəs'ər wōt/fəs'ərəw, kəl'ərāʔ, fəḅər wōt/fəḅōrəw* (also *fəḅərəw*), *əwftayn/əwftyīn, ʔāgrēz/ʔāgōrəz, ʔəbsəlōt, ʔāḍfīr, ʔāšfīr/ʔāšfōr, ʔākərmōt/ʔākərēm*. Thus, if any (possibly historical) derivational relationship was to exist between these items and a triradical root, it cannot be ascertained that this would eventuate via the insertion of a sonorant as R2. Note, however, the relatively conspicuous forms showing a final -w; i.e. *k'ālēw/k'ōləw, k'āləw* (II-ʕ, also *k'ālīw*), *gəlḥwōt/gəlḥaw, k'əmər wōt, səbər wōt, fəḅər wōt/fəḅōrəw* (also *fəḅərəw*), *fək'əl wōt/fək'ələw, fəs'ər wōt/fəs'ərəw*.

14.1.4) Reduplicated R3

Forms showing reduplicated R3 always show a stressed vowel between the two attestations of R3, except for forms which take a stressed suffix of the type -v:t. The vowel in question is always /i/ in the sg. and /o/ or /e/ in the corresponding pl. forms, the only sg. exceptions in ML being the items *ʔək'bēb* and *dəḅšēš*, with the former being attested with /i/ in Jahn (1902) and both showing a regular plural CəCCōC, thus making it possible that the stressed vowel of these two forms was mistakenly noted in ML. Forms showing a diphthong [ay] usually show a sonorant as R3 and a lowering consonant as R2, with the exception of *kərmaym*. Those forms which show a stressed suffix are of the surface form CəCəCCv:t, and show /o/ or /u/ as the stressed vowel of the suffix. Those forms CəCəCCv:t which are not VNs, show pl. forms of the type CəCəCēC, hence again patterning with other morphologically complex forms as well as forms CəCCv:t. Note, that IG-consonants are attested as R3 for these forms (i.e. *rāfīf, nəkfīf*) but not gutturals, which might however be due to the lesser number of attestations of forms with reduplicated R3?

14.1.5) Other Morphologically Complex Forms

The items *gəhānnəb*, *k'ərənʕəl*, *nōχəðēh/nəwaxəðət* are clear Arabisms. The plural form *bnēdam* appears to be a nominal composite from a historical perspective (“people“, *banv(:) ʔa(:)dam), whereas the item *ʔəwəllūt* (also attested as *məʔχūlīl* in the author’s data) is the VN of the frequent verb *ʔχūlūl*.

14.1.6) Summary on Morphologically Complex Forms

The patterns in question all show four consonants, mostly of the configurations CəCCv:C (sg.+pl.), CəCCəCv:t (sg.), CəCv:CəC (pl.); and rarely CʕCCəC (sg.). In all cases the most frequently found forms are CəCCīC (sg.) and the corresponding CəCCōC (pl.). Singular CəCCēC is found, particularly for quadrilateral roots, where these items appear to pattern like CəCCīC in ML, whereas other attestations of CəCCēC are mostly Arabisms or pl. forms of sg. CəCCəCv:t. Patterns showing stress between the first and second consonant, i.e. CəCCəC are rare, and mostly restricted to Arabisms. Thus, it appears that the morphophonological profile of fully reduplicated biradical, finally reduplicated triradical, medially geminated triradical and quadrilateral roots is by and large internally coherent.

14.2) -vn

14.2.1) -īn/-ayn

The suffix -īn is the most frequently attested stressed suffix of the type -v:n. Whereas the majority of attestations are pl. forms, mainly for nouns of the type CəCv:C (mainly CəCōC) or adj.m.pl. forms for m.sg. forms of the type CōCəC (see chapter 15.), some forms are also attested as sg. forms (or generically sg. G-stem VNs).

One noticeable aspect of sg. forms showing a suffix -īn/-ayn concerns their corresponding pl. forms. Whereas some forms show a suffix -ōn in their corresponding pl. forms (see below), a few forms exist which show a suffix -əyēn. This includes *fərhayn/fərhəyēn*, *k'əlhayn/k'əlhəyēn* and the item *θəbərəyn*, which also shows a stressed suffix -ēn, but without the /y/, i.e. *θəbərən*. However, in Jahn (1902), one finds the pl. form *θəbəryōn*, hence again showing said /y/. Note, that in two of the three aforementioned forms no lowering consonant is found, which might underline that in these cases one is not dealing with an underlying suffix /-īn/ but rather /-ʕyn/. Since said – apparently underlying – glide reappears in the corresponding pl. form, one might be pressed to assume that in these cases the glide, which ought to be historically considered not to be part of the root, i.e. an affix, might be actually part of the root? More data would be needed to clarify this question.

14.2.2) -ēn

Significantly less frequently attested than the suffix -īn, the suffix -ēn is attested in two singular forms (*ḵīggēn* – also attested as *ḵīggēn*) and *ḵībēn*, the aforementioned pl. forms of sg. forms showing a suffix -ayn (*fārhayēn*, *k'alhayēn*, *ḡabārēn*), as well as one further pl. form, *ḡawfēn* (sg. *ḡalayf*).⁴⁰⁵

14.2.3) -ōn

Most items showing a suffix -ōn can be understood as the regular reflex of adapted Arabic loans, showing a suffix -ān in Arabic (i.e. *rāmāt'ōn*, *rāḡmōn*), in accordance with the phonological adaption of Arabic loans in Mh. (see chapter 17.). The adj. *ḡāgbōn/ḡāgbōnāt/ḡāgabnāt/ḡāgbānayn* and *lābōn/lābōnāt/lābānīn/lābānōt* are presumably also to be seen in this light.⁴⁰⁶ In addition, a few pl. forms exist, showing a suffix -ōn, most of which show a suffix -īn in their corresponding sg. forms, i.e. *ḡāzālōn* (sg. *ḡēzāl*), *s'āwfōn* (sg. *s'āwfayn*, √s'lf), *māḡwāyōn* (sg. *māḡwāyōn*), *ḡāḡīrōn* (sg. *ḡāḡōr* in ML) and *lārōn* (sg. *lārāyn*, √lr). In the case of forms showing a corresponding sg. form with the suffix -īn, one seems to be confronted with i/o plural formation, whereas it seems unclear as to why a form showing the suffix -ōn is used for the plurals of *ḡāḡōr* and *ḡēzāl*.

14.2.4) -ūn

Two items (*zaytūn* and *ḡūrūn*) show a suffix -ūn. Whereas in the case of *zaytūn*, one appears to be facing a non-adapted Arabism (not least, since olive cultivation is not practiced in the MSAL-speaking regions), it does not seem clear why a suffix -ūn is attested for *ḡūrūn*.

14.2.5) -ən

An unstressed suffix of the type -ən is attested mainly in adverbial expressions referring to a period of time (*s'ōbēḡān*, *ḡasrawwān*, etc.) but not in nominal forms stricto sensu, except for the item *ḡāḡānōt* – possibly derived from *ḵī(g)ḡēn* – and in the items *mānzawbān/mānzawbānīt* (*mānzawbān/mānzūbānēt* in the author's data).⁴⁰⁷

14.3) tə-

Forms showing a prefix tə- are largely composed of the D/L-stem VN pattern təCCayC, itself likely a loan from Arabic (see chapter 15.). A few forms of this pattern or very similar surface patterns seem to be Arabisms of non-VN attestations of a pattern təCCīC (Ar. taCCīC).⁴⁰⁸ In addition, there exists a small number of D/L-stem VNs showing a prefix tə- but show diverging stressed vowel quality or an additional suffix. For the former category, the items *tāzē* (√gz) and *tārgē* (√rg) are attested; for the latter *tābālēt* (√bl), *tārbāt* (√rb), *tāḡawt'awt* (√kt') and *tāwōs'ōt* (√ws'y). It thus appears, that in the

⁴⁰⁵ And possibly in the item *ḡawbēn* ?

⁴⁰⁶ The latter items seem to have been reinterpreted as pertaining to a root √lḡbḡ(n)?

⁴⁰⁷ Not counting a potential (etymological?) reflex of a possible cognate in the f.pl. suffix(es).

⁴⁰⁸ i.e. *tārīḡ*

case of “weak“ roots, the pattern təCCayC is – at least partially – replaced by a pattern showing a stressed suffix. The vowel quality /e/ seems to be in accordance with the vowel quality of the 3.f.sg.pft. suffix, in the case of the two items *təʁawt'awt* and *təwōs'ōt* this does not seem to be the case for unclear reasons.

Finally, a small number of animal nouns seems to exist, which also seem to take a prefix tə-, showing the pattern təCCēC or təCCīC, i.e. *təbrīk'/təbrēk*⁴⁰⁹ and *tərk'āl'* in ML, as well as *tərbāht/tərbēh* (“stingray“, own data). In addition, the non-animal noun *tək'šē* (“club“), might also show a pattern təCCēC, as well as the item *təwālōt*, showing a stressed suffix –ōt, the latter being presumably a retention of a PS word for “worm“, and hence not necessarily cognate with patterns showing a putative prefix tə-. Note, that the items showing təCCēC seem to resemble a Ga 3.f.sg.subj. verbal form təCCēC – might these forms represent frozen verbal forms, perhaps with in an originally optative sense (cf. Rubin 2018, 171)? Also, it shall be noted that for most items the putative roots (i.e. without a putative prefix tə-) are not attested in ML,⁴¹⁰ except for (perhaps) the item *təbrīk'/təbrēk*?⁴¹¹

14.4) yə-

A putative prefix yə- seems attested for a small group of morphologically complex nouns, mostly animal nouns. Thus, one finds items of the type yəCəCayC (*yəʁarayb*, *yəgərayd*), yəCCīC (*yəḏbīr*, *yəḥayl* (II-ḡ)), yəCCāC (*yəbχāχ*), yəCCōC (*yəbχōχ*, *yəḏbōr*; *yəkrōb*, *yəḥōl* (II-ḡ)), yəCCawCət (*yəbχawχət*), *hāCəCawC* (*hāgərawd*). In addition, two non-animal nouns are attested of the patten yəCCēC (*yəmlēχ* and *yərež*). Amongst the forms in question, those showing [ay], [ī] and [ā] are sg. forms, the forms showing [ō] and [aw] are the corresponding pl. forms. Thus, most of the sg. forms in question appear to show an underlying vowel /i/ (except for *yəbχāχ* and the two non-animal nouns *yəmlēχ* and *yərež*, showing no corresponding pl. form), while corresponding pl. forms usually show /o/ or /aw/, hence corresponding to the general distribution of vowel qualities between sg. and pl. forms. The /i/-/o/ correspondence in particular, seems to underline the notion of an initial consonantal segment, rather than just the result of an initial epenthetic vowel, since it is most frequently attested in morphologically complex forms, showing more than three consonants in the base (see above, 14.1). The exact nature of said consonant (i.e. the prefix yə-) remains unclear though. Whereas the parallel with the aforementioned animal nouns showing a prefix tə- might lead one to think that these forms are similarly frozen verbal forms (in this case of a 3.m.sg. form), this notion seems complicated by the fact that the pattern yəCCēC (corresponding to təCCēC) seems only attested for *yəbχāχ*. Also, in the case of the putative prefix yə-, a number of forms attested show clearly reconstructable PS animal lexemes, sometimes missing a consonant (i.e. *yəḏbīr*, *yəḥayl* – the latter without the final /b/, possibly an ancient suffix connotating wild animals, as initially proposed by Diakonoff), or forms known from other Semitic languages,

⁴⁰⁹ Both attested in ML.

⁴¹⁰ Might *tərk'āl'* be connected with *√rk's* (*rək'aws* - “to jog up and down“; *rəkys'ayt* - “good grazing grass“)? Note also the root *√rbh* in J/S and Soq. for “to swim”/“to bathe”.

⁴¹¹ Any possible connection with *√brk* - “to lighten, flash“? (*təbrēk* - “a parti-coloured sheep“)

although without the *yə-* prefix (i.e. *yəḅərayb*, *yəḡərayd* – the latter without the suffix known from Yem.Ar. dialects).

The notion of these items actually showing an underlying prefix /*yə-*/ is furthermore weakened by the pl. form *hāḡərawd*, showing no apparent reflex of underlying /*y*/. Also, in WM, some of the forms in question seem to show initial /*hī-*/ (according to Jahn 1902), hence a parallel with forms I-ʔ seems to emerge due to the surfacing of a prefix *h-* or *h̄-* in at least certain pertinent forms. This might imply that the suffix *yə-* is in fact the surface realization of an underlying prefix ʔə- perhaps in analogy with other (putatively inherited) animal nouns I-ʔ, i.e. *arnayb* (def. *ḥarnayb*), and *ḥarbyēt*? This would, however, complicate the surfacing of underlying /ʔ/ in Mh. (see chapter 16.) and appear not to be quite in line of the suggested phonological characteristics of underlying /ʔ/. Thus, these forms remain problematic and more research would be needed to clarify the status of these highly interesting items.

14.5) Biradical Cv:C / Cv:t

Whereas a number of items showing the surface forms Cv:C or Cv:t appear to pertain to triradical patterns, a few items exist which appear to represent biradicals projected onto biradical patterns. This includes the items *šīt/šətōtən*, *ʔīb/ḥawb*, *ʔīd/ḥādūtən*, *dīd/dūd*, *dīt/dūtən*, *ḥaym/ḥawm*, *ḥəmayt/ḥəmūtən*, *χā(h)/χōtən*, *ḅā/ḅayw*, *ḅayt*, *ḅōb/ḅəbbīn*, *l'ōb/l'əbbīn* *ʔōm/ʔawm*, *ʔāmēt/ʔāməwtən*, *ʔēm* (def. *ḥām* in status constructus; *ḥāmē/ḥāmēt* regular) *tēθ/ḥaynīt* (suppletive plural); as well as possibly *nīd/nōd* (due to the i/o sg./pl. correspondence, II-w in ML). To these, a number of other items might be added which show a medial glide according to ML, but which show no corresponding pl. form which might clarify the question of the root and pattern in question.

Amongst the forms in question, one finds a number of items showing a stressed vowel /*i*/ in their sg. forms, and /*u*/ in their pl. forms, a rather unusual configuration of sg./pl. vowel correspondences. Also, a number of forms include primary nouns, particularly nouns designating family members. Other primary nouns designate body parts, such as *šīt/šətōtən*, *ʔīd/ḥādūtən*, *χā(h)/χōtən*. Of the remaining items *ḅōb/ḅəbbīn*, *l'ōb/l'əbbīn* and *tēθ/ḥaynīt*; two show the uncommon sg./pl. configurations CōC/CəCCīn, putatively underlining the lack of an underlying consonant in the stressed vowel.

14.6) -əh/-v:h

Forms showing a suffix terminating in /*h*/, apparently equivalent to -ət/-v:t, appear throughout many patterns, and largely pattern the same as forms showing a suffix including /*t*/. These forms appear to usually represent unadapted or incompletely adapted Arabisms. However, this does not block these forms from exhibiting, at least at times, corresponding plural forms which are seemingly coherent with the morphophonology of Mh., i.e. *səḥārəh/səḥōyər*.

14.7) (Lexicalized) Derived-Stem Participles

Whereas (historical) participles are mainly used as future-tense quasi-verbal forms, a few items appear to be attested with a distinct semantic value, sometimes also showing distinct forms. Thus, one finds the items *mək 'awləb*, *məstīhəl* (Rubin 2018, 506), *məhamrət*, *məhəlni* – *məhələn* (pl. *mələnyūtən*), *mšändīb* (Sima 2009, 38), *mābayl* (√bʕl, H-stem?).

14.8) CəCv:Cv:t

A few items of the type CəCv:Cv:t are found in ML, i.e. *k'ələfūt*, *t'əlīfūt/t'ələftən*,⁴¹² *zəgīnūt/zəgantən*. The item *k'əlyrūt/k'əlyōr* was given by an informant of the author, hence possibly showing a reflex of a glide between /h/ and /r/ in both the sg. and pl. forms, which might point towards the glide being part of the root (and perhaps the sg. being derived from the pl.)? Note that the cognate in ML also shows /y/ in both sg. and pl., i.e. *k'əlyr/k'əlyōr*. However, the pl. forms of the type CəCáCtən given in ML would appear to contradict such a notion, hence more data would be needed to clarify this question. However, a similar phenomenon appears to be attested in the case of the item *gīrēmōt/gəroḡyam* – *gīrēm*.

14.9) CəC(ə)Cē? / CəC(ə)Cay

A small number of items is attested, showing what appears to be external plural forms showing suffixes –ē? and –ay. The former includes forms such as *ənk'ələē?*, *wərθē*, *ləkəbē?*, etc. and the plural of certain Nisba forms (see chapter 11.), the latter mainly adj.pl. forms *s'əfyay*, *həfyay*, *lək'ələy* and *s'əbray*, all of which show m.sg. forms CōCəC. Note, that in the case of –ay, the notion of external plural formation thus patterns with the use of –īn for m.pl. forms of adj.m.sg CōCəC.

14.10) Other Forms

In addition, a number of other rarely attested forms are attested (often with just a single attestation per putative pattern), often with seemingly irregular long vowels, or incompletely adapted Arabisms. These forms are to be found in the annex.

⁴¹² Given as *t'əl(ə)fōt* in Johnstone 1975, 112.

Section III – Discussion

15) Nominal Categories

15.1) Singular-Plural Correspondences

As is the case in (certain) other Semitic languages, a plethora of pl. patterns exists in Mh. and the MSAL in general, some of which are also attested as sg. patterns. As is to be seen below, most of the more frequently attested sg. patterns show a large, and in many cases unpredictable number of patterns in corresponding pl. forms, however some patterns are more frequently attested than others. Correspondences between sg. and (internal) pl. forms have been previously presented by Morris (1981, 208-209; 335-343) and Castagna (2017), as well as by Ratcliffe (1998) for Harsusi and J/S, although in all of the aforementioned cases, no full survey of all potential sg.-pl. correspondences is given.

In this sub-chapter, various forms of plural formation will be investigated, mainly with an eye on the distribution of stress and vowel qualities and on the question of whether given pl. forms are derived from the given sg. form or not. The question of the pl. formation of adjectives will be treated separately, due to their (at least partial) distinctness in terms of pl. formation. In the table below, patterns with more than 5 sg. attestations showing corresponding pl. forms are listed, together with sg. patterns which show less attestations (either as sg. or in terms of their corresponding plurals), but show apparently identical configurations of vowels and consonants (i.e. CəCC for CaCC; CɪCəC for CōCəC, CēCəC, etc.). Frequently attested plurals (i.e. more than 5 attestations for one given sg. pattern) are given in the tables below amongst items classed “Frequent Pl. Patterns”, whereas other, less frequently attested pl. forms are indicated separately (including attestations of a given pl. pattern which might be attested more than 5 times for a different sg. pattern).

Table 46.: Sg. C[́]CC/C[́]:C_əC/CayC_əC + Corresponding Pl. Forms

Sg. Pattern	Frequent Pl. Patterns (>5 attestations for a given sg. pattern)						Other Pl. Patterns
	C _ə CawC	C _ə C _ō C	C _ə C _ē C	C _ə C _ō w _ə C	C _ə C _́ ww _ə C	C _ə C _ē C _{ət}	
CaCC	x	x		x		x	x ⁴¹³
C _ə CC	x	x	x				
C _ē C _ə C (incl. C _ā C _ə C)	x	x		x	x		x ⁴¹⁴
C _ō C _ə C				x	x		x ⁴¹⁵
C _ī C _ə C							x ⁴¹⁶
CayC _ə C							x ⁴¹⁷

Thus, one observes that in the case of triconsonantal patterns without any further affixes and stress on the vowel position between R1 and R2, most corresponding plural forms show stress on a vowel site between R2 and R3. The most frequently attested patterns C_əC_ōC, C_əC_ēC, C_əCawC, C_əC_ōw_əC, C_əC_́ww_əC and C_əC_ēC_{ət} (the latter in particular for the sg. pattern CaCC) show a stressed vowel or surface diphthong between R2 and R3, in the case of C_əC_ēC_{ət} together with an unstressed suffix -ət. A variety of other patterns are attested, most of them again showing stress on a vowel position between R2 and R3. Note, that in the case of patterns of the type CvCC, no underlying vowel can be assumed between R2 and R3 (see chapter 4.), which makes it clear – at least for these patterns – that the stressed vowel of the plural must be inserted and hence appears to be a case of internal plural formation.

⁴¹³ C_əC_ēC (*dəhēk', əhyēk', həyēr, wəgēh, t'əyēk'*), C_əC_āC (*məhāh, əsrār, wəl'āh, təyāh*), C_əC_ūC (*həbūs, hərūs, k'əyūd, kəyūg*), C_əC_ēw_əC (*k'əlēwəl*), h_əCC_ōC (*həlbōb, həfərōk', hāsyoḅ*), əCC_{ūtən} (*əl'fūtən*), C_əC_ōtən (*həmōtən, θ'əyōtən*), C_əC_áCtən (*gəwáftən, ʔəyēntən*), C_īC_ōC (*bīrōk, fīrōl', k'īrōd*), C_īC_ēC (*fīrēθ, t'īfēh*), C_ēC_āC (*bēt'āh*), C_ēC_ōC (*θ'ērōḅ*), C_əC_ýōC (*fək'yōl', wəfyōl (?)*), C_əC_ōC_{ət} (*həyōḅət*), C_əCawC_{ət} (*t'əyawḅət, zəyawrət, ʔəyáwdət*), h_əCC_ēC_{ət} (*həswēk'ət*), C_ōC_əC (*wōrəχ*), C_əCC_{īm/ayn} (*həwəayn*), C_əCC_{ōn} (*t'īfōn*), C_īC (*s'ih*)

⁴¹⁴ C_əC_ēC (*rəmēl, lətēw, ʔāgēm*), C_əC_ōC (*ʔās'ōr (?)*), C_əC_āC (*səkān*), C_əCayC (*s'əwayr, əfhayl*), C_īC_āC (*hīχār, nīhār*), C_āC_ōC (*hāgōl*), CayC_ōC (*k'aydōr, ʔaytōr*), C_īC_ōC (*k'īrōd, t'īgōm*), C_əCaw (*hək'aw*), C_əw_ēC_əC (*səwēhər*), C_əC_́wC_{ət} (*ʔəzə'wyət, hərəwk'ət*), C_əC_ēC_{ət} (*rəkēwət, gəḅēyət*), C_əCw_ōC (*tərwōχ*), C_əCC_{ūtən} (*həmṛūtən, rəfyūtən*), m_əCawC_əC (*məsawhər*), h_əCC_ōC (*həgdōl*), C_əC_əC_{ōn} (*gəzəlōn*)

⁴¹⁵ C_ēC_əC (*fək'a*), C_īC_əC (*hīlaʔ*), C_əC_ōC (*bəkōr, ḍəbōl, həfōy*), C_əC_ūC (*həbūl, mətūn*), C_əCawC (*təhawd*), C_əCayC (*wday*), C_əw_́CC_əC (*rəwámma, kəwábbər*), C_əw_ōC_əC (*ʔawōtək'*), C_əCC_{ēt} (*bīrēt*), C_əC_ōC_{ət} (*həyōrət, həkōmət*), C_əC_áwC_{ət} (*həl'awrət*), C_əCC_ōtən (*gəbyōtən*), C_īCayʔ (*ḍīrayʔ, θīdayʔ, kəyḅayʔ*), CayC_ēC (*kayl'āb*), C_īC_ēC (*hīl'ār, mīs'al*), CayC_ōC (*haytōm*), m_əC_ōC_əC (*mək'ōḅər*), C_əCC_ōC_{ət} (*χəddōmət*)

⁴¹⁶ C_īC_ēC (*kīrēl*)

⁴¹⁷ C_əCC_{ēt} (*bədyēt*), C_īC_ēC (*t'īgē, hītēm*), C_əCC_ōtən (*ʔābəlōtən, ʔāḅəmōtən*), C_əCayC_{ət} (*ʔazaymət*), C_əC_ēC_{ət} (*ʔarēwət*), C_əC_ōw_əC (*s'əḅōwəχ, təmōwəl*)

Table 47.: Sg. CəCv:C/CəCayC/CəCawC + Corresponding Pl. Forms

Sg. Pattern	Frequent Pl. Patterns (>5 attestations for a given sg. pattern)					Other Pl. Patterns
	CəCōC	CəCawCət	CəCōyəC	CīCōC	CəCCīn	
CəCēC (incl. CəCāC)		x				x ⁴¹⁸
CəCīC						x ⁴¹⁹
CəCayC	x	x	x	x		x ⁴²⁰
CəCōC					x	x ⁴²¹
CəCūC						x ⁴²²
CəCawC						x ⁴²³

As is the case for patterns of the type CvCC/Cv:CəC/CvyCəC, triconsonantal patterns without any further affixes and stress on the vowel between R2 and R3 in their sg. forms largely show stress on the vowel between R2 and R3, which is the same vowel site of the corresponding sg. forms. Frequently attested patterns are CəCawCət, CəCōC, CəCōyəC and CīCōC.

One noticeable exception from this trend is the pattern CəCōC, where the plural suffix -īn is frequently attested. Other examples of stress on other sites concern patterns Cəwv:CəC, CəCwāCCəC CəCCv:n (other than CəCCīn), CəCCēt, CəC(ə)Cē?, and external f.pl. patterns of the type CəCCv:tən, all of which are attested for various items of sg. forms CəCv:C and which are less frequently attested than CəCCīn. Note, in this regard, that not all attestations of a pl. suffix -īn are attested for sg. forms of the type CəCōC.

⁴¹⁸ CəCōC (*χəbōr, ləšōn*), CəCCūt (*θ'əfərūt*), CəCCūtən (*kəfənūtən, rəgəmūtən*), CīCāC (*rīkād*), CəwēCəC (*rəwēkəd*), CəCōC (*mədōd*), CəCōCət (*fəwōgət, k'alōsət, k'əsōt'ət, mālōkət*), CəCwōC (*ħər wōb*), CəCyōC (*ħək'yōf, fəxyōd*), CəCōwəC (*ħək'ōwəf, t'arōwəf, χəlōwək'*), CəCōCīn (*fəwōgīn*), ħəCawCəC (*ħəgawməd*)

⁴¹⁹ CəCūC (*ħəmūm*), CəCawCət (*fəgawrət*), CəCōC (*yətōm, ʔārōθ'*), CəCīCūtən (*f'əfirūtən*)

⁴²⁰ CəCūC (*bədūd*), CəCawC (*ʔāl'awl'*), CəCōCət (*k'amōsət*), CīCāCtən (*rīhāntən*) CəCwōC (*ħər wōk*), CəCyōC (*bəʕyōr/bāyōr, k'əħyōf*), CīCēC (*rīhēn*), CəCCēn (*ħəwəfēn*), CəCCūn (*gūrūn*), CəCəCē(?) (*ħəbēʔ, wərθē*)

⁴²¹ CəCāC (*zəbān*), CəCawC (*k'əbawl', k'amawš*), CəwāCCəC (*kəwallən*), CəCawCət (*χəmawmət*), CəCōCət (*rəwōlət*), CəCCēt (*bəħərēt*), CəCCēh (*kəryēh*), CəCyōC (*k'əħyōf*), CəCCēn (*ħəʕfēn*)

⁴²² CəCCīn (*ðənbīn, ʔāsmīn*)

⁴²³ CəwāCCəC (*k'əwāħər*), CəCōyəC (*ʔəgōyəz*), CəCawCət (*ʔāmawdət*)

Table 48.: Sg. C_vCC_vt/C_vCCv:t + Corresponding Pl. Forms

Sg. Patterns	Frequent Pl. Patterns (>5 attestations for a given sg. pattern)		Other Pl. Patterns
	C _v C _v C	C _v C _v C _t ən	
CaCC _v t			x ⁴²⁴
C _v CC _v t	x	x	x ⁴²⁵
C _v CC _v ayt			x ⁴²⁶
C _v CC _v ēt (incl. C _v CC _v āt)	x	x	x ⁴²⁷
C _v CC _v ūt			x ⁴²⁸
C _v CawC _v t			x ⁴²⁹
C _v CayC _v t			x ⁴³⁰
C _v CōC _v t			x ⁴³¹

The two most frequently attested pl. patterns C_vC_vC and C_vC_vC_tən show stress on the vowel between R2 and R3. Other patterns also usually show stress on this site, although some attestations of C_vCCv:tən and Cv:C_vC exist as well. Note in this regard, that forms showing an external f.pl. suffix (see chapter 12.) and forms showing no suffix at all are attested. For sg. forms showing stress on the suffix, an external f.pl. suffix is found across the various vowel qualities (both with stress in the base and on the suffix), but for sg. forms of the type in question showing stress inside the base, no external f.pl. suffix is attested.⁴³²

⁴²⁴ C_vC_vC (*l̥awēk'*, *amwēg*, *f̥awēt'*), C_vC_vC (*s'ayāw*), C_vwōC_vC (*h̥awōras*, *dawōyar*), C_vwēC_vC (*sawēh̥ar*)

⁴²⁵ C_vCōC (*h̥adōg*, *l̥ās'ōb*), C_vCawC (*k̥anawm*), C_vC_vC (*k'īl̥ēn*, *l̥īgēr*), C_vCCōtən (*n̥əlyōtən*, *badyōtən*), C_vCCūtən (*h̥arbūtən*), C_vCōwəC (*h̥amōwas*), CawC_vC (*kawm̥əz*), C_vC_vC (*n̥ēx̥əl*, *bēs̥ar*, *θēf̥ar*, *dēg̥ar*), C_vCayn (*h̥abayn*), C_vCōC_vC (*s'əf̥ōr̥ər*)

⁴²⁶ CaCC (*h̥abθ'*), C_vC_vC (*h̥anēk'*, *l̥arēs'*), C_vCōC (*h̥arōm*), C_vC_vC_tən (*ʁ̥ətək'tən*, *h̥ənək'tən*), C_vC_vC_tən (*h̥arál'tən*, *r̥ək'ás'tən*, *l̥arás'tən*), C_vCCawtən (*k'arnawtən*, *r̥əf̥x̥awtən*, *χ̥ənk'awtən*)

⁴²⁷ CaCC (*l̥āyd*, *l̥ārf*), C_vC_vC (*l̥ār̥af*), C_vC_vC (*l̥arīr*), C_vCawC (*h̥əbawb*), CayC_vC (*l̥āytēr*), C_vCCawtən (*l̥'əʔawtən*, *s'arrawtən*), C_vCCūtən (*l̥aryūtən*), CayC_vC_tən (*l̥ayl̥artən*), C_vCCōtən (*g̥ənəbōtən*), C_vCCōt (*g̥aldōt*), C_vCōCəh (*g̥arōdah*), C_vCōwəC (*s̥arōwah*), C_vCōyəC (*k'arōyal'*, *k'asōyam*, *r̥əh̥ōyab*, *χ̥əlōyaf*, *χ̥əzōyan*), C_vCCay (*h̥arlay*), m̥əCōC_vC (*m̥ək'ōhi*, *m̥ək'ōt'af*), CawC_vC (*rawk'a*, *ərawgəz*)

⁴²⁸ C_vCaC_tən (*k'adāhtən*, *y̥atamtən*), C_vC_vC (*r̥əbēθ*, *r̥əχam*), C_vCawC (*k̥anawm*), C_vC_vC (*l̥iwēk'*)

⁴²⁹ C_vCōyəC (*h̥əg̥ōyəl*, *h̥əmōyəl*)

⁴³⁰ C_vCōyəC (*dək'ōyək'*)

⁴³¹ C_vC_vC (*l̥'əbēb*), C_vCōC (*d̥əg̥ōg*), C_vCōyəC (*g̥ənōyəz*, *l̥ālōyam*)

⁴³² External f.pl. suffixes are however attested for adjective f.pl. forms showing corresponding f.sg. forms with stress in the base, see below 15.2.

Table 49.: Sg. Forms showing a prefix mǝ- + Corresponding Pl. Forms

Sg. Patterns	Frequent Pl. Patterns (>5 attestations for a given sg. pattern)			Other Pl. Patterns
	mǝCawCǎC	mǝCǔCǎC	mǝCCǔC	
mǝCCǎC	x			x ⁴³³
mǝCǎCC				x ⁴³⁴
mǝCCǎC	x	x		x ⁴³⁵
mǝCCawC				x ⁴³⁶
mǝCCǐC			x	x ⁴³⁷
mǝCCayC			x	
mǝCCǔC				x ⁴³⁸
mǝCCǎCǎt		x		x ⁴³⁹
mǝCCǎCǐt				x ⁴⁴⁰
mǝCCǎCǔt				x ⁴⁴¹
mǝCCǎCǔt				x ⁴⁴²

For the case of sg. forms showing the prefix m-, one observes, that two different sites of stressed vowels are attested: between R1 and R2 (hence C2 and C3) and between R2 and R3 (hence C3 and C4). Pl. forms of the former type are attested as mǝCawCǎC and mǝCǔCǎC/mǝCǎCǎC (as well as forms with additional suffixes), of the latter type almost only as mǝCCǔC.

The few attestations of sg. forms showing stress on the prefix or between R1 and R2 largely show stress between R1 and R2. Sg. forms showing stress on a vowel between R2 and R3 (and putatively no vowel between R1 and R2) show stress both on sites between R1 and R2 and between R2 and R3. The latter constellation is particularly frequently attested for sg. items of the type mǝCCǐC, hence apparently showing the i/o “Ablaut”, in parallel with other morphologically complex forms (see below).

⁴³³ máCCǎCǎt (*mawrǎmǎt*)

⁴³⁴ mǝCawCǎt (*mǎt'awk'ǎt*)

⁴³⁵ mǝCCǔC (*mǎhǔǔf, mǎhǔǔr*), mǝCǎCǎC (*mǎlǎhǎw, mǎθ'ǎhǎm, mǎnǎšǎr*), mǝCCǎCǎtǎn (*mǎs'hǎftǎn*)

⁴³⁶ mǝCCǔC (*mǎk's'ǔd*), mǝCǔCǎC (*mǎnǔsǎl*), mǝCawCǎC (*mǎs'awrǎf*),

⁴³⁷ mǝCǔCǎC (*mǎhǔmǎs*), mǝCawCǎC (*mǎsawǔǎd*)

⁴³⁸ mǝCawCǎC (*mǎhawǎni*), mǝCǔCǎC (*mǎk'ǔhǎ, mǎnǔwi*), mǝCǎCǎCǎt (*mǎsǎylǎt*)

⁴³⁹ mǝCǎCǎC (*mǎlǎχǎm*), mǝCCaw (*mǎlhǎw*), mǝCawCǎC (*mǎhǎwk'ǎb*), mǝCǎCǎC (*mǎkǎrǎb*), mǝCCǎCǎtǎn (*mǎk't'ǎrtǎn*)

⁴⁴⁰ mǝCǔCǎC (*mǎlǔwi, mǎnǔs'ǎr*)

⁴⁴¹ mǝCCǔC (*mǎǔǔr*), mǝCǔCǎC (*mǎǔǔzǎr, mǎt'ǔbǎl*), mǝCǎCǎCǎw (*mǎǔǔzǎrǎw*)

⁴⁴² mǝCǔCǎC (*mǎhǔǔǎr, mǎhǔǔfǎr, mǎhǔǔzǎm, mǎǔǔfǎf*), mǝCCǎ'Cǎtǎn (*mǎslǎ'mtǎn*)

Forms showing a stressed f.sg. suffix and a prefix mǝ-, show stress on both possible vowel sites, i.e. between R1 and R2 and between R2 and R3. A few attestations show an additional f.pl. suffix.

For the case of other morphologically complex forms in the tables below, since the overall numbers of attestations are smaller, pl. patterns were listed without distinction of their numbers of attestations. Less frequently attested patterns were still given in the footnotes.

Table 50.1: “Quadriliteral“ CǝCCv:C/CǝCCǝCv:t + Corresponding Pl. Forms

Sg. Forms	CǝCCǝC	CǝCCǝC	CǝCawCǝC	CǝCǝCǝC	CǝCǝCǝC	CǝCǝCCǝt	Other
CǝCCǝC			X ⁴⁴³				
CǝCCǝC	X ⁴⁴⁴		X ⁴⁴⁵	X ⁴⁴⁶			
CǝCCay					X ⁴⁴⁷		
CǝCCawC						X ⁴⁴⁸	X ⁴⁴⁹
CǝCCǝC	x			X ⁴⁵⁰			
CǝCCayC	x						
CǝCCǝC			X ⁴⁵¹			X ⁴⁵²	
CǝCCǝCǝt					X ⁴⁵³		
CǝCCǝCǝt		X ⁴⁵⁴		X ⁴⁵⁵			X ⁴⁵⁶
CǝCCǝCǝt		X ⁴⁵⁷					
CǝCǝCCǝt				X ⁴⁵⁸			

⁴⁴³ *χǝt'awrǝk'*

⁴⁴⁴ *bǝrdǝg*

⁴⁴⁵ *mǝnawdǝr*

⁴⁴⁶ *ʔǝgǝrǝz*

⁴⁴⁷ *kǝrǝsi*

⁴⁴⁸ *mǝnǝdk'ǝt, sǝnǝdk'ǝt*

⁴⁴⁹ *hǝgǝrawd*

⁴⁵⁰ *gǝnǝdǝl, tǝbǝrǝk'*

⁴⁵¹ *mǝsǝwtǝn*

⁴⁵² *dǝfǝtrǝt*

⁴⁵³ *fǝnǝχǝr*

⁴⁵⁴ *fǝndǝl, gǝnzǝf, ʔǝkǝrǝm*

⁴⁵⁵ *s'ǝfǝlǝh, tǝbǝla, fǝbǝrǝw*

⁴⁵⁶ *fǝk'ǝlǝw, fǝs'ǝrǝ'w, fǝkǝrǝ'w*

⁴⁵⁷ *hǝlk'ǝm, hǝnl'ǝb, hǝwkǝm, kǝrǝšǝd*

⁴⁵⁸ *fǝrǝsǝl*

Table 50.2.: Sg. Redupl. R₁əR₂R₁v:R₂ + Corresponding Pl. Forms

Sg. Forms	CəCCōC	CəCCēC	CəCawCəC	CəCōCəC
CəCCayC	x			
CəCCēC	x ⁴⁵⁹		x ⁴⁶⁰	
CəCCīC	x			
CəCCəCōt		x ⁴⁶¹	x ⁴⁶²	
CəCCəCēt				x ⁴⁶³

Table 50.3.: Sg. R2 Gem. R₁əR₂R₂v:R₃ + Corresponding Pl. Forms

Sg. Forms	CəCCōCət	CəCCūCət	CəCCəCt	CəCáCCət	Other
CəCCōC	x			x ⁴⁶⁴	x ⁴⁶⁵
CəCCūC		x ⁴⁶⁶	x ⁴⁶⁷		x ⁴⁶⁸

Table 50.4.: Sg. R3 Redupl. R₁əR₂R₃v:R₃ + Corresponding Pl. Forms

Sg. Forms	CəCCōC	CəC(ə)CēC
CəCCēC	x ⁴⁶⁹	
CəCCīC	x	
CəCəCCōt		x ⁴⁷⁰
CəCəCCūt		x ⁴⁷¹

⁴⁵⁹ *ðərðər*

⁴⁶⁰ *kəməwkəm*

⁴⁶¹ *gəmgēm, kəlkəl*

⁴⁶² *gəməwgəm*

⁴⁶³ *səlōsəl*

⁴⁶⁴ *dəkáknət*

⁴⁶⁵ *CəCə'Cyəy (ħədə'dyəy)*

⁴⁶⁶ *ħənnūkət*

⁴⁶⁷ *ħənnə'kt*

⁴⁶⁸ *CəCCīn (kəmrīn)*

⁴⁶⁹ *dəḅšōš, ʔāk'bōb*

⁴⁷⁰ *kəmələl*

⁴⁷¹ *k'ət'əbāb*

One thus observes, that amongst other morphological complex forms of the type CəCCīC/CəCCēC, the corresponding pl. forms are usually attested as CəCCōC, i.e. on the same site and showing i/o “Ablaut”, with exceptions pertaining mostly to CəCCēC (*məṇawdər, ʔāgōrəz, kəṃawkəm, χət’awrək’*) and in two cases CəCCīC (*gəṇōdəl, təbōrək’*). Note, that in the case of these exceptions, stress is located on a vowel site between C2 and C3, where presumably no vowel is present in the corresponding sg. forms.

Singular forms of the type CəCCūC and CəCCōC are attested only for forms showing geminated R2, and show a variety of pl. forms, most of the type CəCCv:Cət. Notably, no traces of “Ablaut” are detected in these forms.

Forms showing a stressed f.sg. suffix show corresponding pl. forms of the type CəCCēC or CəCōCəC/CəCawCəC.

It appears therefore, that amongst the other morphologically complex sg. forms in question, no significant distinctions in terms of plural formation are attested, with the potential exception of forms with geminated R2, where also divergent stressed vowel qualities are attested in the corresponding sg. forms, underlining the notion of these forms being composed of Arabic loans. Forms of the type CəCCīC usually show the i/o “Ablaut”, as do some items of the type CəCCēC (which might at least partially be errors in the notation in ML?), whereas forms showing a stressed f.sg. suffix show pl. forms of the type CəCCēC or CəCōCəC/CəCawCəC. The former type seems to be in parallel to the attestations of triconsonantal CəCCv:t/CəCēC. Forms in which a vowel is to be found between C2 and C3, appear to be attestations of root-based pl. formation, since no traces of a vowel in said position are found in the corresponding sg. forms. Finally, one might reconsider the attestations of forms showing a prefix mə- in parallel with the other morphologically complex forms shown above.

Table 51.: Other Sg./Pl. Forms

Sg. Forms	Pl. Forms
CəCyīC	CəCyōC (<i>k’əlyōr</i>)
CīCēC	CīCōC (<i>rīkōb</i>), CəCCōtən (<i>fək’yōtən, nəl’əfōtən</i>), CəCCūtən (<i>χət’amūtən, kəmmūtən, rəgəmmūtən, šərawtən</i>), CəCōCət (<i>kəṃōmət</i>), məCāCəC (<i>məṇādəχ</i>)
CīCōC	CəCCīn (<i>gədərīn, ləwt’ayn</i>), CəCēCət (<i>gərēbət</i>)

It has thus been seen, that there is no uniform manner of pl. formation in a general sense, nor are there exact one-to-one correspondences between a given sg. pattern and a given pl. pattern, with the possible exception of CəCCīC-CəCCōC, i.e. the i/o “Ablaut” in morphologically complex forms. The question for many forms still remains, whether the pl. forms in question are derivationally related to the corresponding sg. form or whether one is confronted with root-based plural formations. In order to approach this question, the canonical sites of stress and vowel qualities in pl. forms will be considered in the following two sub-chapters.

15.1.1) Canonical Sites of Stress

Amongst triconsonantal patterns, it has been shown that in the case of patterns which show stress between R2 and R3 in the singular forms, stress remains on the same site in the case of corresponding plural forms in the majority of cases. The most notable exception to this rule are plurals of the type –v:’n (largely –īn), mostly attested for the pattern CəCōC; as well as a few examples of the types –v:tən, CəwaCCəC/Cəwv:CəC and CəCəCē(?). By contrast, amongst triconsonantal patterns which show stress between R1 and R2 in the singular, stress is almost always located on a vowel between R2 and R3 in their corresponding plural forms, with most exceptions again consisting of forms showing either a f.pl. suffix –v:tən or a m.pl. suffix –v:n. In addition, a very small number of forms exists showing stress on the vowel between R1 and R2 in the sg. form, where stress appears to remain on the same vowel in corresponding plural forms, i.e. *warχ/wōrəχ*, *fōk’a/fēk’a*, *s’ayh/s’ih* and *hōla/hīla*.⁴⁷² Note, that in the aforementioned cases, R3 is a guttural consonant, which might explain the position of stress between R1 and R2 as a result of the guttural shift, although it has been shown that in the case of /ʕ/ (2/4 attestations in question), stress can remain stable in the nominal domain.⁴⁷³

Triconsonantal patterns which show a stressed feminine sg. suffix without any further affixes show either “external“ f.pl. morphemes of the type –tən, where patterns of the type CəCáCtən are more frequently attested than CəCCv:tən; or various pl. patterns usually showing stress between R2 and R3. Attestations showing stress between R1 and R2 are of the patterns CawCəC (CəCCīt: *kawmāz*; CəCCēt: *rawk’a*, *ərawgəz*), CēCəC (CəCCīt: *nēχəl*, *bēsər*, *θēfər*, *dēgər*) and CaCC (CəCCayt: *habθ’*). Note, that amongst attestations of CēCəC, all items show a sonorant as R3 and might hence very well be underlying /CéCC/. The items in question might be semantically speaking singulative/collective nouns, which might explain the seemingly irregular site of stress. Finally, two attestations showing other suffixes are attested, *gəldōt* and *hərlay*, the sg. forms of which are both of the type CəCCēt. Note in this regard the

⁴⁷² The forms in question (except for *wōrəχ*) might be in fact CīCēC, as suggested by Julien Dufour (P.C.), and need to be verified.

⁴⁷³ Such an explanation cannot be upheld for the color adjective c.pl. forms of the type CēCəC, since the latter do not show a guttural as R3

– comparatively few – attestations of f.pl. CəCōyəC (*k'ərōyəl', k'əsōyam, rəhōyəb, χəlōyaf, χəzōyan*, all of which show a sg. CəCCēt),⁴⁷⁴ as well as the two attestations of CəCōwəC (*həmōwəs* and *šərōwəh*).⁴⁷⁵

Triconsonantal patterns with a f.sg. suffix and without any further affixes which show stress on the vowel between R1 and R2 are less frequently attested, and show pl. forms with stress either on the same site, of the pattern Cəwv:CəC or of the type CəCēC. Among the few attestations of sg. patterns with a f.sg. suffix without further affixes and stress on a vowel (or surface diphthong) between R2 and R3, one finds that stress remains stable and most pl. forms attested are of the type CəCōyəC (CəCawCət: *həgōyəl, həmōyəl*; CəCayCət: *dək'ōyək'*; CəCōCət: *gənoyaz*), with the two pl. attestations of the type CəCv:C (*t'əbēb, dəgōg*; with (at least) the latter being an Arabism) showing both sg. forms of the type CəCōCət.

Singular attestations of the type CīCv:C show a variety of corresponding pl. forms. The majority of sg. items CīCēC take a corresponding pl. CəCCv:tən and hence show stress to the right of the sg. site, with two items (*rīkōb* and *kəmōmət*) showing stress on the same site as the sg. as well as one item (*mənādəχ*), which shows stress to the right, apparently based on a completely different pattern (with prefix mə-). Amongst the few attestations of sg. CīCōC (showing a corresponding pl.), two items show CəCCīn (*gədarīn, təwt'āyn*) and one CəCēCət (*gərəbət*). Notably, none of the external f.pl. forms shows stress in the base, and – except for the case of *rīkēb/rīkōb* – in none of the attestations does the initial unstressed Cī appear to be preserved in the corresponding pl. form.

⁴⁷⁴ Other sg. forms corresponding to pl. CəCōyəC usually show stress within the base and not on the suffix.

⁴⁷⁵ The latter two items being perhaps the pl. of m.sg. *hōməs* and *šarh* rather than f.sg. *həmsīt* and *šərhāt* ?

Table 52.: Position of Stress in pl. forms corresponding to sg. C'CC/Cv:C'C/C'CV:C/C'CCv:t

Sg. Position of Stress	Pattern Type Sg.	Pattern Types Pl.	Pl. Position of Stress.		
			V1	V2	Suffix
Stress R1'vR2	C'vC'C / C'vCC	Cə(y)C(y)'v(wə)C(ət)	(x)	x	
	C'áCCət	CəCēC Cəwv:CəC	(x)	x	
Stress R2'vR3#	CəC'vC	Cə(y)C(y)'v(wə)C(ət) / CəCCv:n		x	x
	CəC'vCət	CəC'v(yə)C		x	
	CəCawCət/CəCayCət	CəC'v(yə)C		x	
	C'vCv:'C	C'vCōC CəCv:Cət CəCCv:tən CəCC'v		x	x
Stress R3'vt#	CəCCv:t	Cə(y)C(y)'v(wə)C CəC'áCtən / CəCCv:'tən +CaCC/CēCəC +CawCəC Others CəCCōt, CəCCay	(x)	x	x

To summarize, for pl. forms of sg. patterns of the types in question, stress is almost always located on a vowel between R2 and R3 – even when no vowel is to be found in said position in the corresponding sg. form – with the exception of some forms showing stress on a suffix (notably CəCōC/CəCC'v) and a very small number of forms on the vowel between R1 and R2.

Amongst the few attestations of items showing a prefix m- and stress on the vowel of the prefix, most pl. attestations are of the type məCawCəC, i.e. showing stress to the right of the sg. form, with one example of stress remaining on the same site, *máwrəmat*. The single attestation of an item of the sg. pattern məC'áCC showing a corresponding pl. form shows stress on the same vowel site as in the corresponding plural. For other sg. patterns, two sites of stress in plural forms are attested: between R1 and R2 and between R2 and R3 (i.e. C2 and C3 and C3 and C4). Whereas stress on the former site is

attested across almost all of the patterns in question, stress on the latter site appears usually only where it is already attested in the corresponding sg. form, i.e. sg. $məCCv:C > pl. məCCv:C$. Thus, items of the type $m'CCəC$ and $məCCəCv:t$ usually do not show plural patterns of the type $məCCv:C$. The only exceptions to this notion are the items $məCCaw$ (*məlhaw*)⁴⁷⁶, $məCəCēC$ (*məxəreḅ*), $məCCaCtən$ (*mək't'artən*) (for $məCCəCēt$); $məCCūC$ (*məgzūr*), $məCəCēCəw$ (*məgəzērəw*) (for $məCCōC$); $məCCáCtən$ (*məslámtən* for $məCCəCēt/məCCəCūt$).

Table 53.: Position of Stress in pl. forms showing a prefix $mə-$

Sg. Position of Stress	Pattern Type Sg.	Pattern Types Pl.	Pl. Position of Stress		
			V2	V3	Suffix
Stress $m'R1$	$máCCəC$	$məCawCəC$ + $máCCəCət$	x ⁴⁷⁷		
Stress $məR1áR2$	$məCáCC$	$məCáwCət$	x		
Stress $məR1R2'R3$	$məCCēC$	$məC'v(w)CəC$ $məCCōC$ $məCCáCtən$	x	x	
	$məCCīC$	$məCCōC$ $məC'v(w)CəC$	x	x	
	$məCCōC$	$məC'v(w)CəC(ət)$	x		
	$məCCawC$	$məC'v(w)CəC$ $məCCōC$	x	x	
	$məCCayC$	$məCCōC$		x	
Stress $məR1R2əR3'vt$	$məCCəCēt$	$məCv(w)CəC$ $məCəCēC$ $məCCáCtən$	x	x	
	$məCCəCīt$	$məCōCəC$	x		
	$məCCəCōt$		x	x	
	$məCCəCūt$	$məCōCəC$ $məCCáCtən$	x	x	

⁴⁷⁶ sg. *məlhəyēt*

⁴⁷⁷ + 1 form V1: *mawrəmət*

Other morphologically complex patterns showing four consonant positions, i.e. reduplicated forms, forms showing a geminated (?) R2, reduplicated R3 and “quadrilateral“ roots show stress on the last vowel position in the sg. forms CəCCv:C or CəCCəCv:t. The corresponding pl. forms show stress either on the same position, i.e. CəCCv:C or on an inserted vowel (or diphthong) between C2 and C3. A few attestations of sg. CəCCv:C show an unstressed suffix -ət in their corresponding pl. forms, with stress being placed on a vowel between C2 and C3 in these cases, i.e. CəCáCCət. Note, that amongst the f.sg. forms of the type CəCCəCv:t, no forms showing external f.pl. suffixes -tən are attested.

Table 54.: Position of Stress in pl. forms of other morphologically complex forms (sg. type CəCCv:C/CəCCəCv:t)

Sg. Position of Stress	Pattern Type Sg.	Pattern Types Pl.	Pl. Position of Stress		
			V2	V3	Suffix
Redupl. Stress C3'vC4#	CəCCayC	CəCCōC		x	
	CəCCēC	CəCCōC CəCawCəC	(x) ⁴⁷⁸	x	
	CəCCīC	CəCCōC		x	
R2Gem. Stress C3'vC4#	CəCCōC	CəCCōCət CəCáCyəy CəCáCCət	x	x	
	CəCCūC	CəCCūCət/CəCCáCt CəCCīn		x	(x) ⁴⁷⁹
R3Redupl. C3'vC4#	CəCCēC (CəCCāC)	CəCCōC		x	
	CəCCīC	CəCCōC		x	
IVRad. C3'vC4#	CəCCēC (CəCCāC)	CəCCōC CəCawCəC	x	x	
	CəCCīC	CəCCōC CəCōCəC	x	x	
	CəCCōC	CəCáCCət CəCáwCəC	x		
	CəCCayC	CəCCōC ḥāCəCáwC		x	
	CəCCay	CəCēCi	(x) ⁴⁸⁰		

⁴⁷⁸ kəmkēm/kəmawkəm

⁴⁷⁹ kəmmūr/kəmrīn

⁴⁸⁰ kərsay/kərəsi

	CəCCawC	CəCáCCət	x		
Redupl. Stress C4vt#	CəCCəCōt	CəCCēC CəCawCəC	x	x	
R3Redupl. C4vt#	CəCCəCēt	CəCōCəC	x		
IVRad. C4vt#	CəCCəCōt	CəCəCēC		x	
	CəCCəCūt	CəCəCāC		x	
IVRad. C4vt#	CəCCəCēt	CəCēCəC	x		
	CəCCəCōt	CəCCēC CəCōCəC CəCəCáw	x	x	x
	CəCCəCūt	CəCCēC		x	
IVRad. C2vC3C4ət#	CəCáCCət	CəCōCəC	x		

In summary, what has been observed for the majority of stress distribution in pl. forms, is the fact that, with few exceptions, stress falls on the second vowel site from the left. Distribution of lexical stress in sg. forms can in many cases be subsumed under the same paradigm, however, not always – particularly in the case of sg. patterns CəCC, Cv:CəC, CayCəC, CəCCət, máCCəC and (possibly) məCCəCv:t. When viewed under this lens, the question of the position of stress appears determined by the presence of underlying vowels in the plural forms in question. In the case of sg.-pl. correspondences C'CC-CəCv:C, CəCCət-CəCv:C, CəCCv:C-CəCōCəC a vowel appears present in the plural forms at a site where in the singular no underlying vowel can be assumed, underlining the notion that these vowels are morphological devices of plural formation.

15.1.2) Canonical Vowel Qualities

The large majority of attestations of pl. forms show either stressed /o/ or /e/ or a stressed diphthong /aw/. This does not concern attestations of stressed pl. suffixes -ōtən/-ūtən, -īn, -ē?, -ay. The few exceptions are attested for the patterns CaCC/CəCūC (*ḥabūs, ḥarūz, k'ayūd*), CəCēC/CəCayC (*s'əwayr, əḥayl*), CōCəC/CīCəC (*ḥīla?*); CōCəC/CəCūC (*ḥabūl, mətūn*),⁴⁸¹ CōCəC/CīCay? (*ḍīray?, ḥīday?, bayḥay?*); CəCēC/CəCəCūt (*ḥ'əḥarūt*); CəCayC/CəCūC (*bədūd*); CəCCēt/CəCCay (*ḥarlay*); CəCCēt/CəCawC (*ḥabawb*); CəCCūC/CəCCūCət (*ḥannūkət-ḥannākt*); məCCəCōt/ məCCūC (*məgzūr*). The majority of these attestations shows /u/, largely of the type CəCūC. This pattern appears complicated from a comparative and a historical perspective. Whereas the surface similarities with Ar. CuCūC seem apparent, if this pattern was loaned from Arabic, one would expect its reflex in EM to be CəCawC. If this pattern was inherited, it is difficult to explain the stressed vowel quality /u/ in these cases,

⁴⁸¹ Possibly underlying /CoCC/

particularly vis-a-vis the Ga-stem 3msg.pft., where a final /-a/ can be posited, which might explain the vowel quality of the stressed vowel (following Dufour 2016; 2021) – which cannot be readily assumed here. Thus, CəCūC (particularly when attested as pl.) appears to be a problematic pattern, both from a synchronic morphological perspective (non-standard pl. vowel quality) and from a historical-comparative perspective (irregular reflex of Ar. /ū/ or inexplicable stressed vowel quality).

Very few attestations are found for stressed /i/ and /ýy/. Stressed /i/ in pl. forms is only attested for the plural of *hōla/hīla*, and possibly as the underlying stressed vowel in *s'ayh/s'ih*. Note, that in both cases the stress position of the plural item is also irregular. As for /ýy/, one finds the aforementioned forms showing a sg. CēCəC (*s'əwayr, əfhayl*), CōCəC (*wday*) and possibly amongst the III-? forms of sg. CōCəC (CīCay?: *ḏīray?, θīday?, kayθay?*). Furthermore, one might add plural patterns which are transcribed with stressed <ə> in ML, i.e. CəCáwwəC, CəCáCtən, etc., although it seems unclear – and in the light of the overall distribution of vowel qualities in pl. forms, perhaps rather questionable – if these forms actually show underlying stressed /i/ or /u/.

In conclusion, the vowel qualities [ō] and [ē] as well as the stressed surface diphthong [aw] appear to be paradigmatic for pl. forms. Notable exceptions are the problematic pl. pattern CəCūC, as well as a few forms showing [ī] and [ay], as well as forms showing what appears to be final /ýyy/ and possibly patterns with stressed [ə]. Also, stressed pl. suffixes do not show the more frequently attested pl. vowel qualities, but rather [ī] (-īn) or [ū] (-ūtən).⁴⁸²

15.1.3) Summary

Regarding pl. formation, a number of forms was attested where the stressed vowel was found in a position where no reflex of an underlying vowel can be expected in the corresponding sg. form. In these forms it seems clear that one is confronted with internal plural formation, derived from the root, rather than the base of the corresponding sg. form.

In forms which show a distinct positioning of stress between sg. and pl. on a presumably underlying vowel in both forms, it seems apriorically possible that a given pl. form is derived from a corresponding sg. form; however, no reason seems apparent for the shift of stress (and, where applicable, vowel quality). Thus, in these cases the presumably most cogent interpretation of said forms would be to similarly assume that the plural would be derived from the root.

The perhaps most interesting mode of pl. formation concerns items which show stress on the same site between sg. and pl. forms. Here, the i/o “Ablaut” is notably attested, particularly for morphologically complex forms (including forms with prefixes mə-). A smaller number of items shows the base of the sg. form in the corresponding pl., with the addition of an unstressed suffix -ət. In the latter case it seems

⁴⁸² And [ō] (-ōtən), if an underlying distinction of the stressed vowels of f.pl. suffixes exists, see chapter 12.

possible that the pl. is derived from the base of the sg., whereas in the case of i/o, more research would be needed to approach this issue.

Amongst items showing distinct positioning of stress between sg. and pl. forms, a special role seems to pertain to forms showing a stressed external plural suffix. Whereas in the case of the f.pl. suffix(es), the question of the presence of an initial underlying vowel of the suffix has been elusive (see chapter 12.), a few paradigmatic forms seem to show stable stress inside the base, particularly adj.f.pl. CīCáCtən derived from m.pl. CīCōC. Items showing the suffix –īn are, as mentioned in previous literature, largely attested for items of the type CəCōC, however, also for adjectives of the type CōCəC (see below). It thus seems, that internal plural formation was blocked in these cases – perhaps by the presence of an underlying non-root /ʔ/ in the stressed vowel?⁴⁸³ The same seems to apply to attestations of the f.pl. suffix –ōt and the m.pl. suffix –ay, both again attested for adjectives of the (m.sg.) type CōCəC.

⁴⁸³ Note for the latter also the case of external plural formation of Ar. G-stem active participles.

15.2) On the Status of “Adjectives“ – Gender & Number; Stress & Vowel Qualities; Distinctions

For many (Semitic) languages, the category “adjectives“ is usually considered as a part of the nominal domain. Distinctive features of “adjectives“ versus other nominal categories (aside from the semantics of any given item) include (at least partly) derivatively related forms with (at least partly) distinct gender and number marking,⁴⁸⁴ as well as the fact that adjectives, unlike other nouns, cannot take a possessive suffix, nor a dual affix (Rubin 2018, 89). Adjectives can be substantivized without any apparent morphological or phonological modifications (Rubin 2018, 110-111), however, in the data from the author’s fieldwork some apparently distinct forms were given for f.sg. non-substantivized forms vs. substantivized forms, insofar as distinct vowel qualities were attested in the stressed f.sg. suffix.⁴⁸⁵ More data would be needed to clarify the question of substantivization of f.sg. adjectives.

In terms of formal distinctions of “adjectives“ from other nominal forms, the first distinction concerns derivations for gender and number. As previously mentioned (Rubin 2014, 130; Rubin 2018, 106-110), broadly speaking four categories of “adjectives“ exist with regard to gender and number: forms which show gender and number distinction in all pertinent categories (m.sg./f.sg./m.pl./f.pl.), forms which show gender distinction in the singular but not in the plural, forms which show number but not gender distinction and forms which show distinction neither for gender nor for number. The most frequently attested type of adjectives show distinct forms in all configurations, an overview of which is given in the tables below. It is to be noted, that in the tables below the identification of a given item to one of the given aforementioned categories was made on the base of the attestations in ML, which in actuality might be incomplete in a number of cases.

In this sub-chapter, forms classifiable as “adjectives” on the basis of the aforementioned gender and number distinction (and where applicable, semantics) will be investigated, first corresponding forms in terms of gender and number – hence asking whether the same trends of plural and fem. formation apply as in the case of non-adjective nouns.

The table below shows correspondences of m.sg./f.sg./m.pl./f.pl. adjective patterns, for forms where full gender and number distinction is attested.

⁴⁸⁴ See Fathi 2017a; 2017b for a morphological account on pl. formation of certain classes of adjectives and their distinctness from non-adjectival nominal forms.

⁴⁸⁵ Potential attestations in the author’s data include $\chi\theta\bar{e}m\bar{a}t$ vs. $\chi\theta\bar{a}m\bar{i}t$, $\chi\bar{a}r\bar{e}s\bar{a}t$ vs. $\chi\bar{a}r\bar{s}\bar{i}t$ (the former “place in the mouth where teeth are missing“ vs. “toothless“), $(?)\bar{a}f\bar{a}r\bar{u}t/(?)\bar{a}f\bar{a}r\bar{o}t$ vs. $(?)\bar{a}f\bar{a}r\bar{e}t$ ($\bar{a}f\bar{a}r\bar{e}ti$ as “my reddish color“), $\bar{h}\bar{a}w\bar{r}\bar{u}t/\bar{h}\bar{a}w\bar{r}\bar{o}t$ vs. $\bar{h}\bar{a}w\bar{r}\bar{e}t$ ($\bar{h}\bar{a}w\bar{r}\bar{e}t$ as “dark color of the face“).

Table 55.: Adjectives M.Sg./F.Sg./M.Pl./F.Pl.

Stress in m.sg.	M.Sg	F.Sg.	M.Pl.	F.Pl.
R1vR2	CaCC	CəCCayt	CəCwēC	CəCCawtən ⁴⁸⁶
		CáCCət	CəCCīn	CəCūtən ⁴⁸⁷
	CəCC	CəCCayt	CəCwōC	CəCwaCtən ⁴⁸⁸
	CáCCəC	CáCCət	CəCCīn	CəCCōt
	CōCəC	CáCCət	CəCCēt ⁴⁸⁹	CəCCōt
			CəCCāC ⁴⁹⁰	CəCCōtən ⁴⁹⁶
			CəCCīn ⁴⁹¹	CəCCūtən ⁴⁹⁷
			CəCCayn ⁴⁹²	CayCáCtən ⁴⁹⁸
CəCCayʔ ⁴⁹³				
<i>CətCáy</i> ⁴⁹⁴				
CəCCay ⁴⁹⁵				
CēCəC	CáCCət ⁴⁹⁹ CəCCēt ⁵⁰⁰	CīCōC ⁵⁰¹	CīCáCtən ⁵⁰⁴	
		CəCCay ⁵⁰²	CəCCūtən ⁵⁰⁵	
		CəCCēt ⁵⁰³	CəCCōt ⁵⁰⁶	
CīCəC	CəCCayt	CəCwayC	CəCwaCtən ⁵⁰⁷	
CayCəC	CəCCayt	CēCəC	CəCCūtən ⁵⁰⁸	
		CəC(ə)Cēt	CəCCōtən ⁵⁰⁹	
R2vR3#	CəCayC	CəCayCət/CəCəCt	CīCōC	CīCáCtən

⁴⁸⁶ √s'hħ

⁴⁸⁷ √P'yk'

⁴⁸⁸ √gbħ

⁴⁸⁹ √fsl, nəl, sk't', šgʕ, ʕyl

⁴⁹⁰ √ft'r

⁴⁹¹ √k'mħ

⁴⁹² √bly

⁴⁹³ √s'br, ʕk'l

⁴⁹⁴ √χys

⁴⁹⁵ √s'fy

⁴⁹⁶ √χys

⁴⁹⁷ √šgʕ

⁴⁹⁸ √ʕk'l

⁴⁹⁹ √shl, ħfy

⁵⁰⁰ √ʕgz

⁵⁰¹ √shl

⁵⁰² √ħfy

⁵⁰³ √ʕgz

⁵⁰⁴ √shl

⁵⁰⁵ √ħfy

⁵⁰⁶ √ʕgz

⁵⁰⁷ √knħ

⁵⁰⁸ √k'ʕ

⁵⁰⁹ √ħwl

		CáCCət ⁵¹⁰ CəCCēt ⁵¹¹ CəCCīt ⁵¹²	CayCōC ⁵¹³ CēCōC ⁵¹⁴ CəCəCē(?) ⁵¹⁵ CəCēC ⁵¹⁶ CāC ⁵¹⁷ CəCōC ⁵¹⁸ CəCwōC ⁵¹⁹	CayCáCtən ⁵²⁰ CəCáCtən ⁵²¹ CəC(ə)Cōtən ⁵²² CəCwáCtən ⁵²³ CəCCūt ⁵²⁴
	CəC(C)awC	CəC(C)ət	CəCyawC	CəC(C)ətən ⁵²⁵
	CəCēC	CəCCayt ⁵²⁶ CəCCīt ⁵²⁷ CəCCēt ⁵²⁸ CəCēCət ⁵²⁹	CəCwōC ⁵³⁰ CəCwēC ⁵³¹ CīCōC ⁵³²	CəCwáCtən ⁵³³ CəCtən ⁵³⁴ CəCáCtən ⁵³⁵ CīCáCtən ⁵³⁶ CəCCōtən ⁵³⁷ CəCCūtən ⁵³⁸
	CəCīC	CəC(ə)Cūt	CəCōC	CəCáCtən
	CəCōC	CēCət	CīCōC	CīCáCtən ⁵³⁹

⁵¹⁰ √sdk'

⁵¹¹ √rmm

⁵¹² √hmg

⁵¹³ √kzr, hlm, k's'r

⁵¹⁴ √kθ', ksm

⁵¹⁵ √sdk'

⁵¹⁶ √ðr?

⁵¹⁷ √t'ɕf

⁵¹⁸ √hmg

⁵¹⁹ √mrl'

⁵²⁰ √hlm, k's'r

⁵²¹ √sdk', kθ'

⁵²² √hmg

⁵²³ √mrl'

⁵²⁴ √t'ɕf

⁵²⁵ √k'nn (= /CəC(C)áwCt/ - /CəC(C)ə'Ctən/ see Rubin 2018, 108)

⁵²⁶ √hnh, brs', k'rñ, tww, s'ls

⁵²⁷ √s'nw, šrm, çrs, dkm, hdb, lðr, θfl, çzr

⁵²⁸ √çθm, çgm

⁵²⁹ √tww

⁵³⁰ √hnh, brs', k'rñ, çθm, s'nw, šrm, çrs, dkm, hdb, θfl, çgm

⁵³¹ √s'ls

⁵³² √tww, tww, lðr, çzr

⁵³³ √hnh, brs', s'nw, çrs, dkm, hdb

⁵³⁴ √krñ

⁵³⁵ √θfl

⁵³⁶ √tww, tww, lðr, çzr

⁵³⁷ √çgm

⁵³⁸ √çθm, šrm, s'ls

⁵³⁹ √lyn

Suffix	CəCCōn	CəCCōnət	CəCCānīn	CəCCānōt ⁵⁴⁰
			CəCáCnēt	CəCCənayn ⁵⁴¹
məR1R2v:R3	məCCayC	məCCayCət ⁵⁴²	məCCōC	məCCaCtən ⁵⁴⁶
		məCəCCōt ⁵⁴³		məCCawtən ⁵⁴⁷
	məCəCCēt ⁵⁴⁴			
	məCCū ⁵⁴⁵			
	məCCīC	məCəCCūt	məCCōC	məCəCCūtən ⁵⁴⁸
				məCCáCtən ⁵⁴⁹

In certain cases, gender distinction is only attested in the singular, but not in the plural (see Rubin 2018, 108-109). With this being said, it remains unclear if this is the case for all items attested in the table below, or whether in some cases the items attested in ML the corresponding f.pl. was simply not registered.

⁵⁴⁰ √kʰb

⁵⁴¹ √ʕgb

⁵⁴² √skn

⁵⁴³ √kʰll, šhr

⁵⁴⁴ √slm

⁵⁴⁵ √nʕl

⁵⁴⁶ √skn, šhr, slm, nʕl

⁵⁴⁷ √kʰll

⁵⁴⁸ √dwr

⁵⁴⁹ √w/ʔsr

Table 56.: Adjectives M.Sg./F.Sg./C(?).Pl.

Stress in m.sg.	M.Sg.	F.Sg.	(C?).Pl.
R1vR2	CəCC	Cá(C)Cət	CəCēC
	CōCəC	CáCCət	CəCawC ⁵⁵⁰
		CáCCət	CīCōC ⁵⁵¹
		CəCCūt ⁵⁵²	CēCəC ⁵⁵³
		CəC(ə)Cōt ⁵⁵⁴	
CēCəC	CāCCēt	CāCCōtən ⁵⁵⁵	
R2vR3#	CəCayC	CáCCət	CəCCōt ⁵⁵⁶
		CəCayCət	CīCōC ⁵⁵⁷
	CəCawC	CəC(ə)Cīt	CēCəC ⁵⁵⁸
	CəCēC	CəCCēt	CəCCōtən ⁵⁵⁹
	CəCōC	CəC(ə)Cīt	CēCəC
mə-	<i>mətállī</i>	<i>mətállīyət</i>	<i>mətalyōt</i>
	<i>mək's'ayr</i>	<i>mək's'awrət</i>	<i>mək's'ōr</i>
	<i>məšēvər</i>	<i>məšəvərēt</i>	<i>məšəvərōtən</i>

Some items are only attested as singulars with gender distinction, but no plurals. Rubin (2018) makes no mention of such cases, and since these items show patterns which are attested for forms which show gender and number distinction for all cases, it seems rather likely that the corresponding plural forms were simply not registered in ML.

⁵⁵⁰ √hk't'

⁵⁵¹ √frɕ

⁵⁵² √hwr

⁵⁵³ √hwr, ʒfr

⁵⁵⁴ √ʒfr - ʔāf(ə)rūt in Rubin 2018, 504-8 and own data.

⁵⁵⁵ √ɕhr/ɕrh

⁵⁵⁶ √nkd

⁵⁵⁷ √mll

⁵⁵⁸ √hl'r

⁵⁵⁹ √ʒwr

Table 57.: Adjectives M.Sg./F.Sg.

Stress in m.sg.	M.Sg.	F.Sg.
R1́R2	CōCəC	CaCCəṭ ⁵⁶⁰
	CayCəC	CəCCayṭ ⁵⁶¹ CəCCīṭ ⁵⁶² CəCCēṭ ⁵⁶³
R2́R3#	CəCēC	CəC(ə)Cēṭ ⁵⁶⁴
mə-	<i>məhrīm</i>	<i>məhrəmūt</i>
	<i>məws'ayf</i>	<i>məws'əfūt</i>
	<i>məlabba</i>	<i>məlabbat</i>
	<i>mənzəwbən</i>	<i>mənzəwbənīt</i> (<i>mənzəwbənēt</i> – own data)

Another group of items concerns adjectives which do not appear to show gender distinction but do show a distinction for number (see Rubin 2018, 109). Again, it remains unclear whether this is due to lacking data in ML or whether this scenario confirms to reality. As mentioned by Rubin (ibid.) in the case of *lōχ/līyēχ* and *nōb/nəyōb* this situation can be ascertained due to the lexicalized natural gender distinction involved.

⁵⁶⁰ √wfy, k'sy, χyn

⁵⁶¹ √s'lh

⁵⁶² √χlf

⁵⁶³ √θry

⁵⁶⁴ √bt'r

Table 58.: Adjectives C(?)Sg./C(?)Pl.

Stress in c.sg.	(C.?)Sg.	(C?)Pl.
R1vR2	CōCəC	CəCCayn CəCəCēt ⁵⁶⁵ CəCūC ⁵⁶⁶
	CēCəC	CəCayC ⁵⁶⁷
R2vR3#	CəCayC	CīCōC ⁵⁶⁸
	CəCēC	CəCwōC ⁵⁶⁹
	lōχ	līyēχ
	CəCCīC	CəCōCəC ⁵⁷⁰

Two items are attested in ML which show gender distinction in the plural but not in the singular. It might well be the case that in these cases, one is dealing with defective notation in ML?

Table 59.: Adjectives M(/C?)Sg./M.Pl./F.Pl.

M.Sg.	M.Pl.	F.Pl.
<i>s'əhwēw</i>	<i>s'əhəww</i>	<i>s'əhəwtən</i>
<i>tōgər</i>	<i>təgēr</i>	<i>təgērət</i>

In three cases, only f.sg. and f.pl. forms are attested, due to the semantics of the adjectives in question (pregnant/(heavily) pregnant/big (fem.).

Table 60.: Adjectives F.Sg./F.Pl.

F.Sg.	F.Pl.
<i>dənyēt</i> (Rubin 2018: <i>dənyīt</i>)	<i>dənaytən/dənyōtən</i>
<i>mədṇay</i>	<i>mədōni</i>
<i>nōb</i>	<i>nəyōb</i>

⁵⁶⁵ √ghl

⁵⁶⁶ √slm

⁵⁶⁷ √slm

⁵⁶⁸ √ft'n

⁵⁶⁹ √gōm

⁵⁷⁰ √t'lf (redupl. R3)

Finally, a large number of items exist, which semantically might be considered “adjectival” in one sense or another, but which do not show any distinction of gender or number. The existence of such a category of “adjectives” is affirmed by Rubin (2018, 110), however, considering the large number of forms attested in ML, it seems questionable if all of the items in question might in fact be considered “adjectives”, and whether in fact some of these forms do show gender and number distinction which was not noted in ML. The (putative) adjectives in question are the following:

Non-declinated Adjectives in ML

hāməł’, s’āfər, šāt’ər, ʁayfəl, ɣayli, māyər, mər, nēʔ, wəsχān, t’əhēk’, ʁəbrēr, həs’bēb, ʁənay, wēt’aʔ, wət’yōʔ, ɣəs’aws’, θəbawr, həbayb, hət’ayl’, wəðayð, ɣəsays, bərayk, bət’ayʔ, bət’ayn, θ’ərayf, fəlayk, ɣəsaym, ʁərayb, həsayf, k’ədaym, k’ərayb, k’ət’ayn, lət’ayf, məhəyn, nəθ’ayf, nəhəyl, nəhəys, wəhəyd, ɣət’ayr, zəkəyn, k’ədēd, rēhək’, wēθək’, ʔēmər, hərək, səwēʔ, təgē, ʔəkīd, ʔəs’īl, wōgəb, gōna, bōt’əl, dōyəɣ, θ’ōləm, fōrəs, fōt’an, hōlək, hōsəd, hōyər, nōk’əs’, rōbək, θōbət, zōhəb, hōdi, dōyəm, mədyēm, məɣləs’, məðkīr, məɣwīf, mədwīr, məhsōd, məbrūk, məgarred, məlabbas, mədawwər, mək’tayli, məftəɣayr, məɣtīb, məhak’bəl, mənfərʔər, mənkəwrəd, məšəɣfi, mətkabbər, mətarrəɣ, ʔāšá, ʔālayk, ʔāgīb

Distribution of Patterns

One notes, that the majority of m.sg. attestations are of the patterns CəCayC, CōCəC and CəCēC. Other m.sg. patterns are attested rather inconsistently.

Corresponding f.sg. forms of m.sg. patterns CəCayC, CōCəC and CēCəC (near-)regularly show stress on the same site; and stress on the suffix in the case of most other patterns. The lack of stress shift appears to be due to the presence of an underlying non-root consonant /y/ or /ʔ/ in certain forms.

Corresponding m.pl. forms show a number of potential patterns, with only one-to-one correspondences being rarely attested (as known from non-adjectival nominal patterns), however, amongst the most frequently attested patterns certain tendencies can be observed. Thus, the majority of forms m.sg. CəCayC show m.pl. CīCōC; the majority of m.sg. CōCəC show forms with stressed suffixes -ēt, -īn or -áy and the majority of forms m.sg. CəCēC show m.pl. CəCwōC/CəCwēC with some attestations of CīCōC. In addition, participles of the type m.sg. məCCīC show the expected m.pl. məCCōC and adjectives of color (showing various m.sg. patterns) show the c.pl. CēCəC. Note in this regard also the absence of certain prominent non-adjective plural patterns, i.e. CəCōwəC, CəCōyəC, CəCəwwəC, məCōCəC, CəwōCəC, Cəwv’CCəC, etc.⁵⁷¹

Finally, f.pl. patterns almost always show an external f.pl. suffix –tən. The patterns in question are largely based on their corresponding m.pl. forms, with CīCáCtən for CīCōC and CəCwáCtən for CəCwōC, although some forms CəCáCtən or CəCCv:tən are attested for both CīCōC and CəCwōC. Less frequently attested m.pl. patterns show either CəCáCtən or CəCCv:tən as their corresponding f.pl. forms.

⁵⁷¹ In accordance with Fathi 2017a, 2017b.

The only f.pl. forms which do not show a suffix –tən, are patterns of the type CəCCōt, which are regularly attested as the f.pl. correspondences of m.pl. CəCCīn and CəCCēt / m.sg. CōCəC, as well as a few exceptions (*l'āfūt*, *ʔāgbənayn*, *mədōni*, *nəyōb*).⁵⁷²

Distribution of Stress

Regarding the distribution of stress between singular and plural forms (see chapter 15.1), some atypical distributions of stress in plural forms are attested for “adjectives“ vis-à-vis other nominal forms. First, one might note the plurals of the type CēCəC, largely attested for adjectives of color, and which show various patterns of the type CəCv:C and Cv:CəC in their corresponding sg. forms (*əwbōn/lēbən*, *hōwər/hāwər*, *ʔōfər/ʔāfər*, *həl'awr/hēl'ər*), hence either sg. forms showing the pl. displacement of stress to the left of the site of the sg. stressed vowel, barely attested for non-adjective forms (see chapter 15.1.1) or forms showing stable stress between sg. and pl. on the vowel between R1 and R2. Note, that in the case of *hōwər/hāwər* and *ʔōfər/ʔāfər*, stress rests on the same site between m.sg. and c.pl., which is unattested in the case of other adjectives of the type CōCəC. Also note, that all of these items show a sonorant as R3, which might apriorically make these items potential underlying CvCC. However, in at least the case of *hōwər/hāwər*, the fact that a vowel is present between R2 and R3 cannot be readily adduced to the fact that R3 is a sonorant, since R2 is a glide, and the vowel emission of sonorants seems to be blocked by a preceding glide (see chapter 16.), underlining the paradigmatically underlying nature of the vowel both in the m.sg. and the corresponding c.pl. form, rather than being a result of the vowel shift of sonorants. Extrapolating from this, it would seem that amongst the other attestations of c.pl. CēCəC, a paradigmatically underlying vowel would have to be posited between R2 and R3, i.e. underlying /CéCəC/ regardless of the nature of R3, although this cannot be empirically verified for the other attestations.

Other adjectives of the type CōCəC also show somewhat irregular plural formation compared with non-adjectival nouns, insofar as most plural forms attested show a stressed suffix: –ēt, –īn or –ay.⁵⁷³ Said suffixes are, as has been seen (see chapter 15.) unattested for non-adjectival nouns of the type CōCəC,⁵⁷⁴ and the few pl. forms of non-adjectival sg. CōCəC which do show a suffix, never show stress on said suffix (i.e. –ət). Note, in this regard, that the two non-color adjective attestations of sg. forms CōCəC showing no gender distinction in their pl. forms; show plural forms CəCawC (*hək'awt'*) or CīCōC (*fīrōb*), patterns which appear unattested for the case of adjectives CōCəC with pl. gender distinction. Potential attestations of pl. CəCawC and CīCōC amongst non-adjectival sg. nouns of the pattern CōCəC

⁵⁷² In the case of *ʔāgbənayn*, the presence of a suffix –ayn appears to be the only attestation of such a suffix for f.pl. forms, and hence needs further checking. In the case of *mədōni* (sg. *mədnay*), one appears to be facing a grammatical masculine but naturally feminine form (“(heavily) pregnant“). In the case of *nəyōb* the same situation seems to apply as in the case of *mədōni*. The item *l'āfūt* remains unclear in this regard.

⁵⁷³ Except for the item *fət't'ār*, which according to ML shows gemination of R2? Possibly an Arabism?

⁵⁷⁴ Except for *bōyər/bīrēt*

are also rather sparse (*lāhawd* and possibly *ḥaytōm*?). This, again, underlines the distinctness of adj.m.sg. CōCəC showing number and gender distinction, from those adj.m.sg. CōCəC showing c.pl. forms.

In the case of CəCēC, one also finds m.pl. forms which do not correspond to pl. forms known from non-adjectival attestations of CəCēC, namely CəCwōC/CəCwēC and four attestations of CīCōC. In these cases, stress is on a site, predictable from the basis of non-adjectival nouns, however, the pattern itself is almost unattested for pl. forms of non-adjectival CəCēC.⁵⁷⁵

Thus, one notes that, while the distribution of stress between sg. and corresponding pl. forms seems to correspond to the trends observed for other nominal forms, important differences exist, mainly (though not exclusively) in terms of certain stressed suffixes attested for adjectival m.pl. forms of the m.sg. pattern CōCəC.

Distribution of Vowel Qualities

Regarding the distribution of vowel qualities between singular and plural adjectives, a broadly similar situation applies to what has been said about other nominal forms. Thus, as is the case for non-adjectival nouns, the most frequently attested stressed vowel quality for m.pl. adjectives is /o/, but with /e/ and /aw/ being significantly rarer than in the case of non-adjective plural forms. Outside of suffixes, attestations of /i/ or /ay/ are almost completely lacking, with the sole representative of an adj.m.sg. pattern CīCəC (*kīnāḥ*) giving also the sole attestations of an adj.m.pl. pattern CəCwayC (*kənwayḥ*).

Distinctive Adjective Patterns (?)

When viewing the overall attestations of “adjective“ patterns, it becomes clear that at least certain patterns in question seem largely, if not exclusively attested for “adjectives“. Thus, in the case of CəCayCət, almost all attestations are attested for productive f.sg. “adjectives“, with the few exceptions being almost exclusively transparent Arabisms of the type CaCīCa.⁵⁷⁶ In the case of CəCayC, the distinction between “adjective“ and other forms seems difficult, as has been previously mentioned, however, the majority of attestations appears to meet the initial definition of “adjectives“, with the rest being either (EM) VNs or other items, usually Arabisms of the type CaCīC. Concerning CīCōC, it has been previously mentioned that not all attestations of this pattern can be considered (adj.) plurals, and the f.pl. pattern CīCáCtən is also attested for forms which do not show corresponding m.pl. forms. What appears as a surface pattern CayCəC in a few forms III-Gutt., might in a similar vein be understood to be the result of the guttural shift, i.e. *s’aylāḥ*, etc. As previously mentioned, the only form III-Gutt. in ML which patterns perfectly in agreement with CəCayC/CəCayCət/CīCōC/CīCáCtən, is the item *səmayḥ*, which might very well be an error in ML.

⁵⁷⁵ With the exception of *ḥarēb/ḥarwōb*

⁵⁷⁶ i.e. *bəḥaymət, dək’ayk’ət, fətaylāt, gəmaylāt, gəraymət, gəzayrət, ḥək’aybət, k’əbaylāt, mədaynət, rəḥaynət*
Unclear for *gədaylāt, gəraydət, nəḥayrət, θəḥayrət*

Amongst other adjective patterns, no pattern can be considered to be majoritarily, let alone exclusively, attested for adjectives.

From a historical perspective, it appears that a large part of Mh. adjectives represent loans from Arabic (or loaned patterns). This most notably includes Ar. *CaCīC and its Mh. reflex CəCayC, as well as at least a number (though not all) of adjectives of the type CōCəC (Ar. CāCiC). Potential reflexes of (putatively) PS adjective patterns *CaCvC are extremely infrequently attested (as adjectives). As for *CaCiC, its putative reflex (following Dufour 2016; 2021) CīCəC is almost inattested as a m.sg. adjective;⁵⁷⁷ and *CaCaC which would be expected as CəCv:C (CəCōC if no metaphonic processes are involved, or – according to Dufour 2022 – also CəCēC) might be attested in the more frequently attested pattern CəCēC or the less frequently attested (although two attestations are color adjectives, probably inherited) pattern CəCōC. However, for each item other interpretations are possible. As for CōCəC, whereas synchronically underlying /CóʔCəC/ and /CóCəC/ (including paradigmatic CoCC) seem possible, it seems unclear how either of these forms would be the reflex of *CaCvC.

Thus, it would appear that adjectives of the type *CaCvC were completely lost in Mh., or show surface reflexes which are not immediately tracable to their historical forms.⁵⁷⁸ Note in this regard the lack of reflexes of Arabic CaCīC as a productive adj.m.sg. pattern in Soqotri, which might make Soqotri the key in reconstructing PMSAL adjective patterns (see Kogan 2015/2020).

In summary, it can thus be noted that forms classifiable as “adjectives” in the initially evoked sense, show distinct forms of plural and feminine formation, insofar as certain patterns, otherwise rarely or unattested, feature prominently amongst “adjectives”. This includes a significantly higher number of derivated f.sg. and f.pl. with the corresponding m.sg./m.pl. forms as their derivative base (i.e. CəCayC/CəCayCət; CōCəC/CáCCət; CəCwōC/CəCwáCtən; CīCōC/CīCáCtən). Thus, from a morphophonological perspective, “adjectives” appear to constitute a particular nominal category, although the exact boundaries of said category remain not exactly tracable for all forms in question.

⁵⁷⁷ With the exception of *kīnəḥ/kənḥayt/kənwayḥ/kənwaḥtən*; which also shows a guttural R3, hence it is possible that stress between R1 and R2 might be a secondary phenomenon in these forms.

⁵⁷⁸ Possibly in the color adj. pl. forms of the type CēCəC, which would (again) underline the distinctness of the class of color adjectives in Mh. (and the MSAL more generally speaking).

15.3) Dual Forms

Albeit rarely attested, the dual in Mh. (as in other MSAL) has been previously described as a suffix /-i/, suffixed to the base of a sg. noun – both masculine and (marked) feminine – obligatorily followed by the numeral *θrōh/θrayt* in almost all contexts, i.e. *báyti θrōh*. Stress remains stable in these forms, regardless of the question of an underlying simple vowel or sequence vowel-consonant in the stressed surface vowel. Due to the restrictions mentioned above, dual forms cannot take additional suffixes. Note the surface similarity of the dual nouns to nouns showing a 1.p.sg.poss. suffix, with the only immediately apparent difference being the presence of a definite article in the case of the poss. suffix.

Table 61.: Comparison Dual/1.p.sg.poss.suffix

	Examples	
Sg.	<i>bayt</i>	<i>κayg</i>
Dual	<i>bayti θrōh</i>	<i>κaygi θrōh</i>
Sg. + 1.p.sg.poss.suffix	<i>abayti</i>	<i>κaygi</i>

As has been noted by Simeone-Senelle (2015) and Rubin (2018, 88), what appears to be a dual suffix -i, phonetically appears to be a prefix to the obligatory numeral following the dual noun.⁵⁷⁹ This has been confirmed in the forms collected during the fieldwork by the author, where informants would clearly pause between the dualized noun and the dual morpheme-numeral construction.

However, a few unusual duals have been noted previously, i.e. *κawgi* (WM *κōǧī*) and *κaggawti*, which show a surface vowel or diphthong distinct from their regular sg. attestations (*κayg/κaggīt*), and which are not used with the numeral *θrōh/θrayt*.⁵⁸⁰ Like other dual forms, these two items do not take the definite article, however, unlike other dual forms, these two forms do not show a following numeral. One does observe, however, a suffixed morpheme -i, and, most eye-catchingly, a change in their base /y/>/w/ and /i/>/w/ for *κayg* and *κaggīt* respectively. In this context one might also add the “plural“ *fak’hi* for *fak’h* “half“ (as noted by Rubin 2018, 89; semantically a natural dual, hence also showing the dual morpheme), which similarly neither shows a definite article, nor a numeral, but no clear internal changes of the base, at least in Mehri. In J/S, however, sg. *fok’h* yields dual *fūs’hi*.

⁵⁷⁹ Note, that in the unpublished fieldwork notes by Eduard Glaser, this phenomenon also seems attested (Kungl 2019), hence underlining the notion that this is not a very recent phenomenon.

⁵⁸⁰ However, as mentioned in the table above, these items are also attested as “regular” duals, i.e. *κaygi θrōh*. From a semantic point of view, while forms such as *κawgi* are classified as duals by Rubin (2018, 88); the author’s informants have given the forms *κawgi* and *κaggawti* as determined (dual) forms (i.e. “these (two) men“), interestingly both for Mehri and J/S, although some controversy remained between speakers consulted on whether these forms could also be understood as (regular) dual forms or not.

These forms might be considered in the light of the aforementioned phenomenon, of the dual morpheme seeming to (at least phonetically) be a suffix of the obligatorily following numeral. Considering the dual morpheme to be (morphologically) a prefix of the following numeral rather than a suffix of the dual noun might explain the irregular forms *ƙawgi* and *ƙəggawti*, with the non-standard diphthong being conditioned by a metaphonic effect, similar to those described by Dufour (2016, 2021). In the light of this, it appears as if an underlying sequence /vy/ would resurface on the preceding stressed vowel position. Furthermore, such an interpretation would explain the palatalization of /k'/ in J/S *fúš'hi*.⁵⁸¹

One thus apparently observes the dual morpheme having an immediate impact on the base of the dual item, when used as a suffix, as is the case in the vestigial forms *ƙawgi* and *ƙəggawti*. This, in turn, shows broad similarities with the 1.p.sg.poss. morpheme -i in terms of having an influence on the base, however, the parameters are distinct in the cases of the dual and the possessive suffix, e.g. *dīd – hādāydi* vs. *ƙayg – ƙawgi*. In the case of the possessive suffix, vowels which can be diphthongized (e.g. /i/ and /u/) are diphthongized, whereas existing diphthongs do not undergo any changes (e.g. *ƙayg – aƙaygi*). In the case of the dual suffix, unfortunately no examples of suffixed dual forms showing a vowel in a phonologically open syllable are attested, however, one notes that a surface diphthong (presumably containing a glide as a radical, see below) undergoes changes unknown from the 1.p.sg.poss. suffix. This underlines the underlying distinctness of the dual morpheme from the possessive morpheme. Since no changes in the base are noted for items showing a 1.p.sg. suffix, might this suffix be understood to be a simple underlying glide /y/?

Considering this interpretation, the dual morpheme seems however unusual insofar as it seems to affect not just a preceding vowel, but also an underlying glide (in the case of *ƙawgi*), and that a surface vowel [i] triggers a change of vocalism towards [aw], rather than [ay] - the latter being of course well-known from the 2.p.f.sg. verbal forms, amongst others. In this context, it ought to be noted that the (putative) root $\sqrt{\text{kyg}}$, attested for the two irregular dual forms in Mh. is on its own part, problematic. First, no good Semitic etymology for this root exists. Second, the interpretation of this root as II-y appears to be mainly based on the pl. of *ƙayg*, i.e. *ƙəyūg*, since in isolation the item *ƙayg* could be understood as pertaining to a biradical root $\sqrt{\text{kg}}$ of the pattern CīC. Also, some other forms of the same root show no apparent reflex of the medial glide, i.e. *məkgōt* (Pl. *məkyōg*), or, in the case of *ƙəggūt* (*ƙəggēt* in ML), as well as the dual *ƙəggawti* and the pl. *ƙəggōtən*, one notes the gemination of /g/- which one might ad-hoc understand as a reflex of R2, however, the assimilation of /y/ to a following consonant when preceded by an unstressed vowel, is otherwise unknown in Mh. It would thus appear, that the irregular dual forms *ƙawgi* and *ƙəggawti* might be due to an (as of yet completely unclear) particularity of the root, putatively

⁵⁸¹ The distinction of the quality of the stressed vowel in JL between the Sg. and Dual forms remains unclear, extrapolating from comparable environments from the D/L stem (Rubin 2014, 110-111), one might rather expect /f/ to color the following stressed vowel to [u] in the case of C'CC# rather than /C'vCvC#/?

given as $\sqrt{\text{kyg}}$. Nevertheless, this interpretation alone, necessitates the thought that some kind of metaphony applies in the case of a suffixed dual morpheme.

Comparing this suffix with other nominal dual morphemes in Semitic languages, one is drawn to the interpretation of this suffix as the potential reflex of $*\text{-}\bar{\text{a}}(\text{n})$ (nominative)/ $*\text{-ay}(\text{n})$ (oblique). If one was to understand this suffix as either of the two forms, this would beg the question of why historical $*\text{a}$ or $*\bar{\text{a}}$ does not take stress, as one would expect it to do (following Dufour 2016). This situation could be remedied by assuming a (pre-)PMSAL monophthongization of the oblique form (which would in turn imply the lack of productive case distinction in duals) towards $[\text{e}(:)]$ or $[\text{i}(:)]$. Furthermore, given the aforementioned apophonic effect of post-tonal historical $*\bar{\text{i}}$ on stressed $*\text{a}$, and the lack thereof in the dual forms in question, it seems unlikely that the historical reflex of the dual morpheme would be PMSAL $*\text{i}(:)$, which would leave $*\text{e}(:)$ as a potential candidate.⁵⁸²

This scenario leaves one with the question of what the metaphonic reflex of a hypothetical PMSAL $*\text{e}(:)$ might be – a peculiar question, since no other attestations of such a phoneme seem readily reconstructable (at the moment). Indeed, the fact that word-final (long) vowels appear to have disappeared (although not without leaving a trace on preceding stressed vowels) in the history of the MSAL, would speak against the notion of the dual morpheme being a pure underlying vowel, but rather a vowel-consonant sequence. The same conclusion would be obtained from a synchronic perspective, where word-final stressed (surface long) vowels appear to show – at least underlyingly – a word-final consonant, and often also surface with a final consonantal element. Thus, the diachronic notion of the historical oblique dual morpheme monophthongizing to $[\text{e}(:)]$ appears to stand in contradiction with the – both diachronically and synchronically necessary – assumption of a final underlying consonant of the dual morpheme. Inferring the insertion of a secondary final consonant, after monophthongization of the oblique dual morpheme and before the loss of word-final vowels, would remedy this situation, however such an argument remains completely ad hoc. Furthermore, this situation leaves the question open, of why a final vowel would not have been elided, as is the case elsewhere. This very notion – as well as the fact that synchronically, final vowels emerge from underlying vowel-consonant sequences – implies that historically speaking, the monophthongized oblique dual morpheme would have to have been subsequently reanalyzed as a vowel-consonant sequence.

To summarize, the nominal dual morpheme appears to be a prefix of the following numeral (where attested, i.e. in the majority of cases), and a suffix in a few lexicalized cases. In the latter forms, the behavior of the nominal base appears to underline the underlying distinctness of the dual morpheme from the (phonetically identical) 1.p.sg.poss. suffix. The irregular shift $[\text{y}/>[\text{w}]]$ in these forms, as well as the palatalization of $[\text{k}']$ in the J/S cognate appears to underline the notion of a metaphonic process applying to this suffix (hence, word-final $[\text{vy}/]$), perhaps somewhat akin to the similar – albeit not

⁵⁸² With Mh. $[\text{i}/]$ being the reflex of PMSAL $*\text{e}$ as attested elsewhere, see Dufour 2016, 2021.

identical – scenario of 2.f.sg.ipf. verbal forms, however not enough examples are available to examine this notion further, and to specify the exact conditions of the application of this phenomenon. In terms of the underlying properties of this morpheme, the aforementioned notion would appear to necessitate the assumption of an underlying sequence /vy/, as do other synchronic and diachronic notions – which appears to be, however, contradicted by other diachronical considerations connected to the historical placement of stress and word-final syllable structure.

15.4) Verbal Nouns

15.4.1) Introduction

As in other Semitic languages, VNs – as gerundive nouns – are attested in Mehri and in the other MSAL. In previous descriptions, VNs have not been treated separately for most cases, with only sporadic – mostly tabellary – discussions.

Verbal noun formation in Mehri is described in a forthcoming paper by the author (Kungl forthcoming). The aforementioned paper of the author will be referenced throughout this sub-chapter, and while a few conclusions have been altered, the overall results given in this sub-chapter are largely conforming to those drawn in the paper.

15.4.2) An Overview of Verbal Noun formation in Mehri

As is the case for other Semitic languages, VN formation of G-stem VNs is largely unpredictable, although some patterns are more prominently attested than others; while derived-stem VN formation is largely paradigmatical, although some variations exist. In the table below, various more prominent types of G-stem VN formation are summarized, with further (rarer) items of G-stem VNs being attested across other patterns.

Table 62.: Overview of G-stem VN patterns in Mh.

VN ML (EM)	VN Jahn 1902 (WM)	Stem	Comments
CayCəC	CīCəC	Ga + Gb	CayCəC mostly for R1-low. in WM
CəCayC		(Ga?+) Gb ; II-Gutt.	Only EM
	CəCyūC	(Ga?+) Gb ; II-Gutt.	Only WM
CaCC	CaCC	Ga + Gb	
CəCC	CəCC	<i>Biradical</i>	
CēCəC	CēCəC	Ga + Gb	
CōCəC	CōCəC	Ga	
CəC(ə)Cīn	CəC(ə)Cīn	Ga + Gb	Mainly WM
CəCēC	CəCēC	Ga + Gb	

Regarding G-stem VN formation, whereas a number of patterns – otherwise known from the nominal domain – are also attested as VNs, the most prominent patterns are CayCəC and CəCayC. Whereas the former is attested for both Ga- and Gb-stem verbs, the latter is mostly attested in ML for II-Gutt. and some Gb-stem verbs which do not show a guttural consonant as R2. Note, that in WM (based on Jahn 1902 and some attestations in Sima 2009), this pattern (or immediately identifiable reflexes thereof) are not attested, however the pattern CəCyūC is attested for a number of items where CəCayC is found in

EM. However, despite the particularities of the distribution between $CayC\grave{a}C$ and $C\grave{a}CayC$ (as VNs), no solid rules could be identified governing the distribution of $CayC\grave{a}C$ and $C\grave{a}CayC$, since II-Gutt. and Gb-stem verbs are also attested for the pattern $CayC\grave{a}C$ (cf. Kungl forthcoming). Similarly, the dialectal distribution of $C\grave{a}CayC$ and $C\grave{a}Cy\ddot{u}C$ cannot be traced back – for the time being – to any cogent phonological or morphological factors, since otherwise (i.e. outside of VNs) dialectal variation between these two patterns is unattested.

Concerning the underlying structure of $CayC\grave{a}C$, in ML a few attestations of forms showing IG-consonants as R2 and R3 are encountered with the IG-effect apparently being blocked (in accordance with Bendjaballah & Ségéral 2022).⁵⁸³ This would confirm the apriorically justified (due to the presence of an unconditioned surface diphthong) assumption that an underlying configuration of a stressed vowel and glide /y/ would be present in this pattern (cf. chapter 3.). However, in the data in Jahn (1902) from WM, only one item (*līšət*) showing the blocking of the IG-effect is attested, whereas a sizeable number of G-stem VNs ${}^{\circ}C\grave{a}CC$, where R2 and R3 are IG-consonants are found. This would point towards the non-blocking of the IG-effect (and hence the regular application of the IG-effect) in WM $C\grave{a}C\grave{a}C$. Thus, whereas in the author's article it was argued that an underlying glide seems to be underlying in both EM and WM (Kungl, forthcoming), this assumption cannot be upheld as easily for the case of WM since the IG-effect does appear to be blocked. Nevertheless, it seems unclear whether in fact only a vowel is underlying in the WM VN pattern $C\grave{a}C\grave{a}C$ (which would hence be cognate with EM $C\grave{a}C\grave{a}C$), or whether the IG-effect is simply not blocked in the same configurations as in EM despite the presence of an underlying glide (and hence the application of the IG-effect in WM being not bound by the same constraints as in EM). More research would be needed to decide this question.

In the table below, derived-stem VNs are summarized.

⁵⁸³ In the author's fieldwork these forms were confirmed and additional attestations were found.

Table 63.: Overview of derived stem VN patterns in Mh.

Stem	ML (EM)	Comments
D/L	təCCayC	Also forms showing - ēt and -ōt (<i>təwōs'ōt</i>) attested.
H	həCCəCūt/həCCəCōt həCəCCūt/həCəCCōt	I-IG does not show the prefix hə-
Š1	šəCCəCūt/šəCCəCōt šəCəCCūt/šəCəCCōt	
Š2	šəCCəCūt/šəCCəCēt šəCəCCūt/šəCəCCēt	
T1	CətəCCv:t,	Both -ūt and -ōt
T2	əCtəCCv:t	

In the case of derived stem VNs, the D/L stem is characterized by the pattern təCCayC, which based on its lack in Soqotri as a productive VN pattern and the stressed surface diphthong appears to be a pattern loaned from Arabic. As for the H-stem pattern, həCCəCūt, one finds the surface variation həCəCCūt when R2 is a sonorant, i.e. the expected sonorant spread, and the prefix /hə-/ is missing under the same conditions when it does not surface in the case of finite verbal forms. The same variations of internal configuration of surface vowels and consonants are attested for the Š1- and Š2-stem VNs šəCCəCūt (Š1) and šəCCəCēt/šəCCəCūt (Š2). As for the T1- and T2-stem VNs, one finds unclear surface forms sometimes showing an initial vowel [ə] in ML, also in places where one would neither expect this vowel to surface as the result of the vowel emission of sonorants to their left, or as a reflex of the initial surface vowel of the T2-stem finite verbal forms. In the data collected by the author, no distinction between T1- and T2-stem VNs has been seen to be obvious, and the internal distribution of surface vowels and consonants is governed by the same factors as is the case for the H- and Š1/2-stem VNs, i.e. the presence of sonorants and clusters of IG-consonants, with the default pattern being CətCəCūt, apparently for both T1- and T2-stem VNs.

Regarding the vowel quality of the suffixes in question, the validity of the transcriptions in ML can – as elsewhere – be doubted concerning the distribution between /u/ and /o/. Other sources have presented the vowel quality of the suffixes as either uniformly /u/ (i.e. Morris 1981, see above) or mostly /o/ with some /u/ (i.e. Jahn 1902, see above). In the author's data, almost all VNs collected showed /u/ in the suffix, except for Š2-stem VNs, and the aforementioned few irregular forms of D/L-stem VNs; which showed /e/. Note for the case of Š2-stem VNs, that different informants (who were all speakers of "EM") gave different forms of VNs: some with /u/ others with /e/. Regardless, no distinction of suffix vowel

quality could be found amongst any speakers regarding the vowel quality of the suffixes of T1- and T2-stems.

The distribution of unstressed vowels and consonants in derived-stem VNs showing stress on the suffix, appears to be determined by certain phonological effects (IG, emission of (surface) vowels by sonorants and ejective consonants) in the case of the H-, Š1- and Š2-stems (i.e. $hə/šəCCəCv:t$ or $hə/šəCəCCv:t$). As is the case in finite verbal forms, the prefix of the H-stem does not surface in VNs when R1 is an IG-consonant (i.e. *tlūt*). In the case of the T1- and T2-stems, the internal configuration of vowels and consonants in ML seem incoherent, although it appears from other sources, such as Jahn (1902) and the author's own fieldwork, that the distribution of vowels and consonants is also determined by the same phonological factors, as elsewhere (see below). The vowel quality of the stressed suffix of derived-stem VNs will be discussed below.

15.4.3) Vowel Qualities of Suffixes

As has been previously mentioned, the vowel quality of the suffixes of derived-stem VNs appears to resemble that of corresponding 3.fs.pft. forms in a number of cases. A list of the correspondences of vowel quality throughout various sources is given in the table below.

Table 64.: Vowel Qualities of Stressed Derived Stem VN suffixes

Stem	3.f.sg.pft.	ML (EM)	Morris 1981 (EM)	Own Data (EM)	Jahn 1902 (WM)
D/L	-ēt	$təCCayC$	(-ēt)	$təCCayC$	(-ōt)
H	-ūt	-ūt/-ōt	-ūt	-ūt	-ōt (+-ūt)
Š1	-ūt	-ūt/-ōt	-ūt	-ūt	-ōt (+-ūt)
Š2	-ēt	-ūt/-ēt	-ūt	-ūt/-ēt	-ōt (+-ūt)
T1	-ōt	-ūt/-ōt	-ūt	-ūt	-ōt
T2	-ūt	-ūt/-ōt	-ūt	-ūt	-ōt (+-ūt)
Redupl. R1R2	-ēt	-ēt	-ēt	-ēt	-ōt/-ūt
Redupl. R3	-ūt	-ūt (?) (<i>ʔāfərrawt</i>)	-ūt/-ēt	-ēt	-ōt ⁵⁸⁴
4rad.	-ūt	-ēt	-ēt	-ēt	-ōt/-ēt
n-		-ūt	-ūt	-ēt/-ūt	N/A
šə-		N/A	N/A	-ēt	N/A

⁵⁸⁴ *nahayrrōt* and *kiriddōt* given as n- and 5rad. in Kungl (forthcoming), and should presumably rather be understood as reduplicated R3?

Comparing the vowel quality of the verbal suffix with those of the corresponding VN suffixes, one notices a number of parallels. Whereas, in the case of the D/L stem, most patterns do not show forms showing suffixes, but rather the pattern təCCayC, the few forms which do show stressed suffixes, show the suffix -ēt, with one exception (*təwōs'ōt*). In the H-, T2- and Š1-stem, the vowel quality of the verbal suffixes seem to be identical to those of the VNs, i.e. -ūt. In the case of the Š2-stem, whereas most attestations in ML show the suffix as -ēt, these forms are not found in Morris (1981) or in Jahn (1902), rather showing -ūt (or -ōt, in the case of Jahn 1902) throughout. In the author's data, Š2-stem VNs were given entirely with a suffix -ēt by one informant, and with -ūt by another, hence reflecting apparently a (dialectal?) distribution, perhaps showing the generalization of the Š1-type VN throughout both the Š1- and Š2-stem amongst some speakers? Thus, while dialectal differences seem to exist – and a lexicalized standard pattern for the D/L-stem – most derived stems seem to reflect their corresponding 3.f.sg.pft. forms in terms of suffix vocalism.

The situation of the T1-stem is more problematic. The vowel quality /o/ was not attested for the T1-stem in Morris (1981) and in the data collected by the author (ML being an unreliable source in this regard, due to the aforementioned frequent confusion between /u/ and /o/, particularly in suffixes). It should be noted in this regard, that in ML, T-stem VNs appear to give a generally speaking rather contradictory image, also with regard to the distribution of consonants and vowels in their base. While apriorically speaking, given the fact that one is confronted with a sequence of unstressed vowels (and consonants), one would expect that the configuration of surface (unstressed) vowels and consonants would be governed by phonological effects, such as the vowel emission of sonorants, ejective consonants, etc.; in actual fact one finds in ML a number of distributions of consonants and vowels across both T1- and T2-stem VN patterns which seem neither to be in line with the aforementioned phonological effects, nor to be in any relationship with their (putatively) corresponding stem. Thus, two surface configurations are found in ML, CətəCCv:t and əCtəCCv:t. Forms of the type əCtəCCv:t include items showing a sonorant (i.e. *əntəksūt*) or IG-consonant (i.e. *əftərtūt*) as R1, however not all forms show one of the aforementioned consonants as R1 (i.e. *əptyəθ'awt* – T1; *əptəwθōt* – T2). In the latter two items, one would hence not expect the initial surface vowel to be an epenthetic phenomenon, which might link the aforementioned vowel with the initial vowel of the pft. T2-stem verbal forms; however, this assumption seems problematic by the fact that it also appears in the example *əptyəθ'awt*, i.e. a T1-stem VN. Also, amongst patterns of the type CətəCCv:t, examples in ML include both T1- and T2-stem items, which do not appear to show any traces of an initial vowel. Thus, the situation in ML seems contradictory.

By contrast, in Jahn (1902) and the author's data, the internal configuration of consonants and vowels in the base seems to be governed by the aforementioned phonological effects. Thus, the aforementioned initial vowel would only surface with forms showing a sonorant as R1, regardless of the stem in question (i.e. *əntfəzūt* – T1 vs. *əntəksūt* – T2), the IG-effect would apply regularly (i.e. *gətfəyūt*, *ftərtūt* – T1 vs. *ūtχərūt*, *htfk'awt* – T2), with the default configuration of consonants and vowels being apparently

CətəCCūt across both T1- and T2-stems (i.e. *k'ətūbūt* – T1 vs. *ʁətərbūt* – T2). It would hence seem, that the initial vowel, where attested, is simply epenthetic and that the initial vowel of the T2-stem shows no reflex in T-stem VNs. Drawing from this notion, one might suspect an underlying vowel between R1 and the infix. Regarding the question of the presence of a vowel between the infix and R2, the gemination of R2 in biradical forms and the non-attestation of assimilation of R2 to the suffix (as is the case in biradical T1-stem pft. forms), i.e. *bətəddūt*, *k'ətəllūt*, etc., would imply the presence of an underlying vowel between the infix and R2. Finally, it would appear that no distinction exists between T1- and T2-stem VNs more generally speaking.

The situation for other morphologically complex forms seems inconclusive, based on the examples of verbal suffixes (taken in the table above from the introduction of Johnstone 1987), it would appear that for fully reduplicated forms and forms with reduplicated R3, the vowel quality of the verbal suffix would correspond to that of the corresponding VN, but not in the case of “quadriliterals”. The author’s data by contrast, as well as the data by Jahn (1902) and Morris (1981) would, by contrast, suggest distinct vocalism. More data on these forms would be needed to discuss the vocalism of the morphologically complex VNs in question more decisively.

To conclude, VNs of derived stems (and possibly other morphologically complex forms) seem to be identical to the 3.p.f.sg.pft. form in most cases in EM, except for the D/L-stem and the T1 and T2 stems. In particular it shall be noted in this regard, that one informant of the author specifically underlined the notion that derived-stem VNs are equal to their corresponding 3.f.sg.pft. forms, except for the T1-stem, where, according to him, only -ūt (and never -ōt) was used. In the case of the D/L-stem, the pattern təCCayC appears to be paradigmatically used, except for a few forms which show suffixes -ēt or -ōt. Note, in this regard that this pattern might well be a loan from Arabic, not just due to the parallel between Ar. /ī/ and Mh. [ay], but also due to the fact that in Soq. this pattern does not seem to be attested as a productive VN pattern.⁵⁸⁵ Verbal nouns of the T1 and T2 stems appear to show no distinction between T1 and T2, however, in the case of the T1/2-stem VN pattern it appears difficult to reconcile this form with the 3.f.sg.pft. of either the T1 or the T2-stem. The same might be said about other morphologically complex forms, although in both cases more data would be needed to conclusively decide this question. For G-stem VNs a plethora of patterns exist, with CayCəC and CəCayC (in EM) as well as CəCyūC (in WM) being the most prominently attested patterns. The distribution between the three patterns, both between and within different dialects of Mh. remains a point of further investigation, particular insofar as certain phonological effects, such as the (non-)application of the IG-effect or the behavior of gutturals as R2 are concerned.

⁵⁸⁵ See Kogan & Bulakh (2019, 302) who give CəCīCo, underlining the notion that derived-stem VNs in the MSAL show a suffix. A pattern similar to Mh. təCCayC (presumably also loaned from Arabic?) does exist in Soq., but it appears not to be used (at least not to the same degree?) as a productive VN pattern (?).

15.5) Fem.Sg. Derivation

15.5.1) Distribution of Stress: Suffix/Base

As has been seen previously and noted by Fathi (2017a), for singleton nouns showing a suffix of the type -vt, the distribution of stress seems apriorically speaking unpredictable, with the caveat of plural forms usually showing stress in the base rather than on the suffix (except for adj.pl. forms of the type CəCCōt, see chapter 15.2., and a few exceptions), and derived-stem verbal nouns showing stress on the suffix. The underlying presence of a vowel in the suffix(es) in question can be ascertained for forms showing a stressed suffix by the very presence of a stressed vowel, and for forms showing an unstressed suffix by the fact that stressed vowels of the base immediately preceding the suffix surface as long.⁵⁸⁶ The distribution of stress in forms which show corresponding m.sg./f.sg. forms, i.e. mainly adjectives but also a few nominal forms which cannot readily be considered adjectives, both due to their semantics and formal characteristics (i.e. pattern not usually used for VNs, the form in question can take possessive suffixes and dual affixes); is shown in the table below.

⁵⁸⁶ The items *k'ənnawn/kənnə'it* seem problematic in this regard, since the assimilation of /n/ to /t/ presupposes adjacency (and hence the lack of an underlying vowel), presumably these forms are the result of some (unclear) historical development? The IG-effect usually applies between the last consonant of the base and the suffix, leading to forms *_CvCt*; however a few forms where this is not the case have been noted (15.1).

Table 65.: Distribution of stress in m.sg./f.sg. pairs

M.Sg	Stressed F.Sg. Suffix				Unstressed F.Sg. Suffix
	-īt	-ēt	-ūt	-ōt	
CaCC	CəCCīt ⁵⁸⁷	CəCCēt ⁵⁸⁸	CəCūt ⁵⁸⁹		
CəC(C)					CáCət ⁵⁹⁰ CáCt ⁵⁹¹
CēCəC	CəCCīt ⁵⁹²	CəCCēt ⁵⁹³			CáCCət ⁵⁹⁴
CōCəC	CəCCīt ⁵⁹⁵	CəCCēt ⁵⁹⁶			CáCCət ⁵⁹⁷
	CəCCūt/CəCCōt		CəCCūt/CəCCōt ⁵⁹⁸		
CayCəC	CəCCīt ⁵⁹⁹				
	CəCCēt	CəCCēt ⁶⁰⁰			
CəCēC	CəCCīt ⁶⁰¹	CəCCēt ⁶⁰²			CəCēCət ⁶⁰³
CəCīC			CəCCūt ⁶⁰⁴		
CəCayC	CəCCīt ⁶⁰⁵	CəCCēt ⁶⁰⁶			CəCayCət ⁶⁰⁷ CáCCət ⁶⁰⁸ CáCCət ⁶⁰⁹ CəCáCyət ⁶¹⁰

⁵⁸⁷ *kaγg/kəggūt; hāyr/hīrūt; kawb/kəwbūt*

⁵⁸⁸ *nafs/nəfsēt* (individual/person > individual/soul), *kēθ/kəwθēt* ? (talk-story)

⁵⁸⁹ *χayl/χəlūt*

⁵⁹⁰ *gīd/gə'dət*

⁵⁹¹ *bər/bərt*

⁵⁹² *nēkal/nəkalīt*

⁵⁹³ *ʔālar/ʔālrēt; ʔāgəz/ʔāgzēt*

⁵⁹⁴ *sēhal/sáhlət; sēhar/sáhrət*

⁵⁹⁵ *hōməs/həmsīt*

⁵⁹⁶ *gōhəl/gəhəlēt*

⁵⁹⁷ Regular – 17 attestations + 1 (*fə'rkət*) Cə'CCət

⁵⁹⁸ *ʔōfər/ʔāfərōt-ʔāfərūt*; Note however that in the texts the form *āfrūt* seems to appear (Rubin 2018, 492)

hōwər/həwrūt

⁵⁹⁹ *baydi/bədyūt; s'ayləh/s'alhayt; χayləf/χəwfūt; k'ayla/k'alayt*

⁶⁰⁰ *haywəl/həwəlēt; θayri/θəryēt*

⁶⁰¹ Regular

⁶⁰² *χəθēm/χəθmēt; bəl'ār/bəl'ərēt; ʔāgēm/ʔāgəmēt; ʔāwēr/ʔawrēt; ʔāgēm/ʔāgəmēt*

⁶⁰³ *ləwēw/ləwēwət*

⁶⁰⁴ *yədīn/yədənūt; yətim/yətəmūt*

⁶⁰⁵ *həmayg/həmgūt*

⁶⁰⁶ *rəmaym/rəmmēt*

⁶⁰⁷ Regular

⁶⁰⁸ *sədayk'/sádk'ət*

⁶⁰⁹ *nəkayd/nə'kdət*

⁶¹⁰ *šərayf/šərə'fyət*

CəCōC	CəCCīt ⁶¹¹				CēCət ⁶¹²
CəCawC	CəCCīt ⁶¹³				CəCCát ⁶¹⁴
məCCīC			məCCəCūt ⁶¹⁵	məCCəCōt ⁶¹⁶	
məCCayC	məCCayCət	məCəCCēt ⁶¹⁷			məCCayCət ⁶¹⁸

A number of forms, particularly those which show stable stress between m.sg. and f.sg. forms can be considered to be derived from their m.sg. counterpart. This holds particularly true for forms of the type m.sg. CəCayC – f.sg. CəCayCət; m.sg. CōCəC – f.sg. CəCCət. Note, that in the case of the m.sg. form CəCayC, a non-conditioned surface diphthong is attested in EM. Also, in the case of CōCəC, it seems that in at least some attestations of surface CōCəC, an underlying form /Có?CəC/ is attested (see chapter 2.). This would hence indicate, that in the two most prominently attested f.sg. patterns derived from corresponding m.sg. forms, the lack of stress shift to the suffix is conditioned by the presence of a non-root morpheme in the nominal base. By contrast, in the large majority of cases where no infix seems apparent in the base, stress appears to generally shift to the suffix, showing a number of diverging vowel qualities (see below).

Some exceptions to the scenario described above exist. Thus, in terms of forms of the type CəCayC, a few are attested in ML with corresponding f.sg. forms of the type CəCCv:t (*rəmmēt*, *həmgīt*) or C'vCCət (*sádk'ət*, *nákdət*), as well as one completely unexpected form *šərafyət*.

Amongst the two attestations of CəC(C)áwC showing corresponding f.sg. forms, one item (*həl'awr/həl'rīt*) shows shift to the suffix, however, in the case of m.sg. *həl'awr*, the consonant preceding the stressed vowel is a lowering consonant, which means that it is possible that one is dealing with a pattern CəCūC, which would explain stress shift to the suffix. As for the other attestation of CəCawC, *k'ənnawn*, stress appears to rest on the same site in the corresponding f.sg. form (*k'ənnát*).

As for attestations of CayCəC, two attestations (*s'aylāh* and *k'ayla*) show a final guttural consonant, making it possible, that one is dealing with a pattern CəCayC, which shows subsequent stress shift to the left. Two other attestations of CayCəC show a lowering consonant as R1 (*həywəl* and *χayləf*), making it possible that one is dealing with underlying /CíCəC/, which would explain the shift of stress to the suffix in the corresponding f.sg. forms *χəwfīt* and *həwəlēt*. This leaves one with the items *baydi/bədyīt* and *θayri/θəryēt*, as two attestations of apparently unexplainable stress shift to the suffix with an

⁶¹¹ *əwbōn/əwbənīt*; *gōr/gərīt*

⁶¹² *əlyōn/lēnət*

⁶¹³ *həl'awr/həl'ərīt*

⁶¹⁴ (/CəCCáwCət/?) *k'ənnawn/k'ənnát*

⁶¹⁵ Regular

⁶¹⁶ *mək'layl/mək'allōt*; *məšhayr/məšhərōt*

⁶¹⁷ *məslaym/məsəwmēt*

⁶¹⁸ *məskayn/məskaynət*

(apparently) unconditioned stressed surface diphthong in the putative derivative base. Note, however, that in these cases the forms in question are forms III-y.

Not all attestations of CōCəC show stable stress in their corresponding f.sg. forms. Whereas in the case of *gōhəl/gəhəlēt*, one could suspect these forms to be paradigmatic CoCC due to the presence of a sonorant as R2 and the application of stress shift, this does not seem immediately obvious (yet possible) for *hōməs/həmsīt*, since R3 is not a sonorant in the latter case. As for the two color adjectives *ʔōfər/ʔāfərōt-ʔāfərūt* and *hōwər/həwrūt*, paradigmatic CoCC can be excluded at least for the case of the latter item, since R2 is a glide and R3 a(n other) sonorant. Thus, it appears that at least some surface forms CōCəC exist which do exhibit stress shift in their corresponding f.sg. forms, indicating underlying /CóCəC/ (without an underlying /ʔ/), some of which are paradigmatic CoCC.

Contrary to the aforementioned exceptions, where an unpredicted stress shift was observed, a few forms of patterns other than CōCəC and CəCayC exist which (unexpectedly) do not appear to show stress shift. The item *sēhəl/sáhlət*⁶¹⁹ seems particularly problematic in this regard, since the /o/-/e/ alternation is not apriorically expected to apply before /h/, hence the item cannot be readily understood as original CōCəC, i.e. /CóʔCəC/ (in particular when considering Ar. *sahl*, which would give the expected surface output *sēhəl* in Mh.). In the case of *əlyōn/lēnət*, it seems unclear how the m.sg. form could be derivatively connected with the corresponding f.sg. form, whereas in the case of *təwēw/təwēwət*, as well as in forms collected during the author's fieldwork,⁶²⁰ it seems unclear why stress shift does not apply.

Two items being Arabic loanwords of uncommon patterns (amongst Arabic loans in Mh.) also show particular distributions of stress, when compared to what appears to be their paradigmatic pattern in Mh. Concerning *gīd/gádət*, while the m.sg. form seems to be a reflex of the pattern CəCC, the blocking of stress shift in the corresponding f.sg. form might imply a pattern CvyC.⁶²¹ As for *məslaym/məsəwmēt*, the m.sg. form is the only reliable reflex of Ar. muCCiC, whereas the f.sg. form seems to confirm to the regular adaption of Ar. muCCiCa, i.e. showing stress shift on the last possible /a/ (see chapter 17.). Thus, it appears that in the latter item, the f.sg. form is not derived from the m.sg., but rather itself a direct loan from Arabic, as is the m.sg.

To summarize, it appears that the distribution of stress in forms showing a suffix -vt is determined by the internal structure of the base. If a non-root glide or /ʔ/ is present within the base, stress remains stable, said infixes thus appear to block the shift of stress. Otherwise, stress is shifted to the suffix, regardless of the internal configuration of stress, consonants and vowels. Apparent exceptions to this

⁶¹⁹ Confirmed by the author's fieldwork.

⁶²⁰ Adjectives of the type CəCēC were at times given as CəCēCət by one informant

⁶²¹ Note in this regard, that the reflex of Ar. CáCCiC for items II-y would be expected to be CīCəC, with stress on the vowel corresponding to Ar. /a/ and active vowel metaphony, i.e. *sīyəd* (<Ar. *sayyid*). It seems unclear why in this form one is confronted with surface CīC rather than CīCəC, see chapter 17. Also, the underlying glide in this form does not seem to behave like a regular radical /y/, since stress-shift appears blocked, but rather in parallel with infixal glides (<Ar. /i/).

rule are relatively few. Concerning singleton items showing an unstressed suffix *-ət*, it is empirically difficult to ascertain whether one might infer the presence of non-root /ʔ/ (or /y/) from patterns such as CəCōCət or CəCēCət, although the existence of patterns CəCayCət or CəCawCət (beyond f.sg. forms derived from m.sg. forms) seems to at least not contradict said notion. Similarly, concerning singleton items showing a stressed suffix *-v:t*, the lack of said non-root glide or /ʔ/ in the base is also difficult to ascertain, although in most cases no reason seems evident to assume the presence of any such glide or /ʔ/. Note in this regard, however, the very rare pattern CəCīCūt.

This scenario seems to pattern well with the putative origins of *-v(:)t* in Mh., assuming that one may posit one single suffix **-at*, the vowel-quality sensitive distribution of stress would by default fall on the suffix in all pertinent cases.⁶²² However, in this scenario the question arises of how vowel qualities are distributed within the suffix.

15.5.2) Distribution of Vowel Qualities in the Suffix

In the case of forms showing stress on the suffix, all apriorically possible vowel qualities are attested. However, not all vowel qualities are (equally) attested for all forms. Branching out from the situation of verbal forms 3.f.s.pft., where the vowel quality of the suffix, presumably originally **-at*, appears determined by the nature (or lack) of the preceding vowel (as explained by Bendjaballah & Rubin 2020), one might ask whether the same scenario applies to the nominal domain (at least in terms of derived f.sg. forms). However, the evidence presented above seems to rather conflict with such an interpretation.

First of all, the suffix *-īt* is attested across the board, with various patterns showing diverging preceding stressed vowel qualities in their corresponding m.sg. forms. Similarly, in the case of *-ēt*, no regular preceding (detectable) stressed vowel quality can be detected. As for *-ōt*, the default reflex of **a* when not influenced by any neighboring vowels, attestations for derived f.sg. forms in ML are rather infrequent, although this might be due to confusion with /u/ in ML. By contrast, *-ūt* appears to regularly surface when the preceding vowel is /i/, although the number of relevant items for this phenomenon are rather few, it is to be noted that at least in the case of the G-stem participle məCCīC/məCCəCūt, this seems to be paradigmatic (and perhaps also for f.sg. Nisba forms showing stress shift, see chapter 11.?). Regardless, when considering the entirety of putatively derived f.sg. forms, it appears that the solution presented by Bendjaballah & Rubin for the verbal domain cannot be adapted, at least not without significant modifications.

When considering the attestations of certain vowel qualities of stressed nominal suffixes *-v:t*, a number of other observations emerge. Thus, in the case of *-īt*, it has been seen that this form is exclusively attested for f.sg. nominal forms, and not in any other place where a suffix of the type *-v:t* (i.e. plural forms, verbal nouns, 3fs.pft. suffixes, diminutives) might emerge. Also, amongst nominal forms, this

⁶²² Unless it is blocked by an infix, which is present in phonologically adapted loans from Arabic showing an Ar. long vowel – but not necessarily exclusively in said forms.

suffix appears only attested for forms which are not morphologically complex, i.e. which do not show any further affixes and which are not “quadrilateral“ forms.⁶²³ Finally, this suffix seems also quite underrepresented for adjectives: outside of the particular case of adjectives of color and physical and mental deficiencies, f.sg. adjectives showing a suffix *-īt* are unattested in ML. Thus, it appears that *-īt* is a very frequent suffix, attested mainly for f.sg. non-adjective (except for adjectives of physical and mental deficiencies and color) morphologically non-complex forms; and unconditioned by the nature of the preceding vowel (if any exists in the first place). Despite these precisions, a more specific account on why many – but not all – forms under the definition given above surface with *-īt* seems impossible with the analytical tools at hand, which might lead one to conclude for the moment, that attestations of *-īt* are lexicalized.

As for *-ēt*, it is frequently attested across morphologically complex and simple triconsonantal patterns. Unlike *-īt*, it is also attested as a verbal suffix, and for verbal nouns. It shall also be mentioned, that *-ēt* is the regular outcome of loans from Arabic, showing an Arabic f.sg. suffix, without a long vowel absorbing stress (see chapter 17.), which might further contribute to the frequent attestations of *-ēt*. By contrast, in derived f.sg. forms, *-ēt* is relatively rarely attested. The attestations of *-ēt* given in ML for m.sg. forms showing CəCēC indicated in the table above have actually yielded *-īt* when checked by the author. This leaves relatively few putative attestations of derived *-ēt*, namely amongst morphologically complex f.sg. forms, as well as amongst Š2-stem (and a very few D/L-stem) VNs (in addition to the very frequent attestations of *-ēt*, which cannot readily be assumed to be derived from a m.sg. or other forms). Thus, while *-ēt* appears to be a very frequent stressed f.sg. suffix, the majority of its attestations come from putatively non-derived forms, amongst which a not insignificant (although hard to determine precisely) number stem from phonologically adapted Arabic loans, where the quality of this vowel can hence be considered lexical. Derived *-ēt* is largely restricted to morphologically complex forms, including derived-stem VNs.

Regarding *-ōt* and *-ūt*, the distinction between the two is hard to draw on the basis of ML, since up to entries for <ʁ>, most suffixes in question were transcribed as <-ōt>, and after <ʁ> most were transcribed as <-ūt>. Nevertheless, some patterns seem to emerge. Whereas both suffixes are in general rarely attested for triconsonantal patterns, in terms of derived *-ūt*, all attestations showing a stressed vowel before the final consonant in corresponding m.sg. forms, show the vowel quality /i/, i.e. CīC > CCūt. This does not imply in reverse, that all attestations of derived *-ūt* show preceding stressed /i/ in their corresponding m.sg. forms, however, even in cases where the last vowel of the base is unstressed in corresponding m.sg. forms, the existence of a vowel can be ascertained, as seen amongst the

⁶²³A few putative counter-examples exist in ML, where *-īt* is attested with morphologically complex forms, i.e. *mənzəwbən/mənzəwbənīt*, however, in the author’s fieldwork, some of the aforementioned examples were attested with *-ēt*, i.e. *mənzəwbənēt*. The same holds for ML *məlwəyūt* (*məlwəyēt* in the author’s data). The items *χərbəlīt*, *məns’ərīt*; *həwāryūt* (Pl. *hawri*) could not be checked and remain the few morphologically complex forms showing a suffix *-īt*.

aforementioned case of color adjectives showing a f.sg. form -ūt, i.e. *hōwār/hāwrūt*, *ʔōfār/ʔāfārūt*. In this regard, it is also to be noted that no derived attestations of -ūt actually show (what would appear to be) /u/ as a preceding stressed vowel in the derivative base, very much unlike the situation for the verbal system described by Bendjaballah & Rubin (2020), although this might very well be due to the smaller number of attestations of patterns of the type CūC# in the nominal domain, particularly as patterns which might be considered suitable derivative bases for a derived f.sg. form. Also, it shall be noted that stressed /i/ immediately preceding a final consonant in pft. verbal forms, is almost unattested (with the exception of the D/L-stem variant aCCīC), which might (at least partially?) explain the lack of attestations /i/>/u/ in the verbal domain. Concerning verbal nouns, -ūt is a very frequently attested suffix in derived-stem VNs, and might be considered the result of the same situation as discussed by Bendjaballah & Rubin (2020), hence implying the notion that derived-stem VN formation (except for D/L) is identical to 3fs.pft. formation. As for non-derived -ūt, attestations are few and inbetween in the case of triconsonantal patterns (*k'adhūt*, etc.), as is the case for -ōt (*hās'k'ōt*), see chapter 13.

Thus, it appears that for the large majority of attestations of (putatively) derived f.sg. forms, the vowel quality of the stressed suffix appears lexicalized as either /i/ or /e/. The only apparent chain of vowel derivations concerns the rather atypical situation of /CīC/>/CCūt/, although traceable attestations are, as has been mentioned, not particularly frequent; as well as possibly derived-stem VNs.⁶²⁴

15.5.3) Distribution of Vowel Qualities in the Base

Concerning forms which show a stressed vowel in the base and a suffix -ət, stress is usually on the last vowel preceding the suffix, i.e. Cṽ(w)Cət#. The only diverging patterns are sg. patterns of the type CáCCət, which are – when derived – the outcome of CōCəC and a suffix -vt. This notion also clarifies the vowel quality in terms of CáCCət (i.e. Có(?)CCət). Other items of this type are very rare, i.e. *k'awzarət*, *k'āfalət* (the latter being in all likelihood an incompletely adapted Arabism).

Vowel qualities in sg. items of the type CəCv:Cət are attested as (/e/?,) /o/ , /ay and /aw/. Singular attestations of CəCawCət are restricted to four items (*hərawrət*, *həgawlət*, *həkawmət*, *həməwlət*), which appear to be – at least partly – Arabisms of the type CvCūCa. In a similar vein, sg. attestations of CəCōCət, which are more frequently attested, appear to also show at least a large number of potential Arabisms of the type CvCāCa.⁶²⁵ Attestations of CəCayCət are, as has been seen, in large parts derived forms of m.sg. CəCayC, whereas other attestations seem to correspond to singleton Arabisms of the type CvCīCa. Finally, singular CəCēCət only attested once in ML (*ləwēw/ləwēwət*), however in the authors' data, this form was sometimes given by one informant as the f.sg. forms of CəCēC.

⁶²⁴ Note, for the i/u alternation also the case of 3.m.sg.pft./3.m.pl.pft. in the verbal domain.

⁶²⁵ *dəgōgət*, *həmōmət*, *l'əbōbət/l'əbōb*, *bəs'ōrət*, *bəlōrət*, *bəyōrət*, *gənōzət*, *kəromət*, *məhōrət*, *rəhōmət*, *səfōlət*, *səlōmət*, *ləhōdət*, *təgōrət*, *χəsōrət*, *χəzōnət*, *χəyōnət*, *zəyōrət*. However, (at least) the status of *bəs'ōrət*, *səfōlət* and particularly *bəyōrət* as Arabisms seems questionable.

Plural forms of the type $CəCv:Cət$ are attested as $CəCēCət$, $CəCōCət$ and $CəCawCət$. The patterns $CəCōCət$ and $CəCawCət$ are the two more frequently attested patterns, and as has been mentioned (chapter 15.1.), items of the type $CəCēCət$ cannot be readily considered to be variations of $CəCōCət$ conditioned by a guttural consonant to the right of the stressed vowel, since amongst pluralic $CəCēCət$, no forms showing a guttural in said position are attested. Note, that this configuration of pluralic vowel qualities converges with what has been previously stated about canonical pluralic vowel qualities (see chapter 15.1.).

16) Phonological Effects

16.1) Glides

In the preceding chapters, a number of particular phenomena in connection with glides have been observed. In this sub-chapter, a discussion of the various phenomena in question will be given, i.e. the apparent neutralization of final glides (16.1.1), the question of the blocking of sonorant spread of preceding sonorants (16.1.2), “secondary gemination“ of glides in word-final position (16.1.3) and the question of shortening glides and the blocking of the IG effect (16.1.4).

16.1.1) Neutralization of Word-Final Glides

In various nominal and verbal patterns, one observes the neutralization of word-final glides, when preceded by an unstressed vowel. Neutralization is to be understood as the surfacing of an underlying glide /w/ or /y/ as [i] in this position, i.e. /əw#/ and /əy#/as [i]. Whereas in the latter case this is the expected outcome of such an underlying sequence, in the former case one would expect surface [əw] or [u]. These outcomes are attested in the majority of nominal patterns encountered in the previous chapters, however, in a number of patterns no forms showing such a surface reflex are attested. This, notably, concerns the pattern CayCəC, frequently attested as a VN pattern, where Dufour (2016; 2017), already noted said phenomenon, and this is also attested in the verbal domain, for example in the case of CayCi-type G-stem pf. verbal forms (see Rubin 2018).

Two restraining factors need to be briefly recounted here: first of all, roots III-w are significantly less frequently attested than roots III-y, hence, a predominance of III-Glide forms showing [i] when a final glide is preceded by an unstressed vowel is apriorically expected. Secondly, the interpretation of roots in ML is, in many cases, open to interpretation and quite questionable, with a number of forms not showing any traces of /w/, /y/ or /ʔ/; suggested in ML,⁶²⁶ but rather consistently show a different glide (or glottal stop). Thus, in many cases, the identification of the radicals of “weak roots“ in ML seems not to be based on the actual forms encountered, but rather upon comparative and/or etymological reasoning, with the exact lines of reasoning behind the identification of roots in ML being unclear. Thus, the identification of potential candidate forms attesting word-final glide neutralization is complicated both by the lexical spread final /w/, and by the difficult documentary situation in ML.

The identification of potential candidates for glide neutralization thus ought to be achieved – at least partly – negatively: patterns which do show at least one form with a final sequence [əw#] might be discarded as potential attestations of glide neutralization. Patterns which show a too small number of attestations, are similarly indecisive concerning the question of glide neutralization. This leaves one with a small number of patterns, possibly exhibiting this phenomenon, notably CayCəC. From this, the question arises of how to explain these forms. In Dufour’s account (Dufour 2017, 211-212), it is stated

⁶²⁶ Or open to interpretation in the case of <v> in ML.

that this phenomenon is the outcome of *i, presumably underlying /iw#/ or /vyw#/, i.e. either the assimilation of /w/ to a preceding non-root glide /y/ or the vowel /i/ showing a similar influence. Also, Dufour draws a distinction between adjectival and non-adjectival forms III-w, with the neutralization occurring only in the former case (Dufour 2017, 211). As has been shown previously, this neutralization is not attested for the aforementioned underlying sequences when the vowel/diphthong is stressed, where the surface reflex of underlying /w/ is perfectly regular: *ktīw* (CəCīC), *ḡayw* (CīC or CayC), *mək'nayw* (məCCīC or məCCayC). It shall be noted, that in the cases of [áyw#], it seems open whether the diphthong is the reflex of an underlying non-root glide, or rather of /i/, diphthongized by the preceding lowering consonant (*ḡayw*), separated by /n/ in the case of *mək'nayw*. The latter interpretation seems problematic due to the spread of sg./pl. patterns: CīC and məCCīC are both perfectly frequent and regular sg. patterns, but virtually unattested as pl. forms (the examples in question are plurals); the former interpretation seems problematic due to the lack of patterns CayC or məCCayC.⁶²⁷

Thus, if one was to pursue Dufour's hypothesis, one would have to assume that stress is a determining factor for the application of said effect, and that it could only apply in an unstressed sequence /iw#/ or /vyw#/. This, in turn, would imply that attestations of [Cəw#] or [Cu#] do not show an underlying vowel /i/ preceding final /w/. The identification of said vowel is, of course, impossible in most cases, when discussing the forms attested in Mh. in isolation, thus necessitating both comparative data (not from J/S) and more data from (E)Mh., in order to give a more definitive account on glide neutralization.

16.1.2) Blocking of sonorant spread

It has been seen (chapters 4., 6., etc.), that a glide, when attested in initial position of a consonant cluster followed by another sonorant (i.e. a consonant cluster /GS/) appears to block vowel insertion of sonorants. This phenomenon is attested for patterns CvCC, CəCayC, CəCawC etc. Note, that this phenomenon seems to apply regardless of the nature of the preceding glide, hence in examples such as *dawr*, *ḡayr*, etc. the glide in question is (presumably) a root consonant, whereas in examples such as *ḡadayl*, *ḡəzawr*, *məskayn*, *mənsawl*, etc. the glide is (presumably) not a root consonant, and might rather be understood as an infix. Since one is dealing in said context with a cluster of two sonorants, with the first being a glide, it shall be recounted that in a more general sense, the vowel insertion of sonorants is attested for paradigmatically expected sonorant clusters not containing a glide, i.e. in patterns CvCC, no attestations of forms showing sonorants (other than glides) as both R2 and R3 are found, whereas for patterns Cv:CəC, forms showing sonorants as R2 and R3 with R2 being a sonorant other than a glide

⁶²⁷ As has been mentioned previously, surface məCCayC is attested otherwise, however, almost exclusively as the conditioned variant of məCCīC when the consonant preceding the stressed vowel is a lowering consonant; or, in a very few forms, the regular reflex of Ar. /ī/, i.e. *məskayn* < Ar. *miskīn*.

are attested.⁶²⁸ Thus, the effect in question is a peculiarity of glides, and does not pertain to sonorants in general.

16.1.3) “Gemination“ of word-final glides

It has been previously seen that word-final surface diphthongs showing a short, stressed vowel [a] are attested. The fact that a stressed vowel preceding a word-final consonant surfaces as short, rather than long, would imply that the syllable in question terminates in two consonants (rather than just one). The table below summarizes attestations of said phenomenon, together with paradigmatically related attestations.

Table 66.: Attestations of [áy#]/[áw#] vs. [v:’y#]/[v:’w#]

Pattern \acute{v} (Gl.)C#	III-Glide	
	[-ay#] ([-aw#])	[-v:y]
CəCv:C – CəCayC – CəCawC	CəCay/CəCaw	CəCv:y / CəCv:w
məCCv:C (- məCCayC?)	məCCay	məCCv:y/məCCv:w
CīCv:C	CīCay ⁶²⁹	CīCōy/CīCōw/CīCē(?)
Nisba m.sg.	CəCCay	N/A
Nisba f.sg.	CəCCáyyət	CəCCəyv:t

In the case of certain patterns, this notion seems ascertained due to the paradigmatic presence of an infix /y/ or /w/, notably in patterns CəCayC and CəCawC.⁶³⁰ However, surface forms CəCay which do not appear to be transparent adj.sg. forms of the type CəCayC are attested for the following forms: *ḥalay*,⁶³¹ *əškay*,⁶³² *wday*,⁶³³ as well as a number of forms which are transcribed with final /ʔ/ and given as III-ʔ in ML, appear to be adj.sg. forms and hence conforming to the pattern CəCayC. It remains unclear whether the phenomenon in question is attested amongst the three items mentioned above, or whether these represent other attestations (i.e. not adj.sg.) of the pattern CəCayC.

In the case of patterns məCCv:C, again attestations of məCCv:y and məCCáy are attested, however, unlike in the case of CəCv:C/CəCayC, a pattern məCCayC is barely attested.⁶³⁴ Attestations for the

⁶²⁸ Albeit, presumably on grounds of lexical phonology, not particularly frequently. Attestations include *gōri*, *dōlāw*, *gōlāw*, *hōmi*, *ḥēmār*, *lēni*, *ḥāmāl*, *ḫāmār*, *ʔāmār*, *ḅārāw*. Note, that the item *hōwi* seems to suggest that in a paradigmatic consonant cluster of two glides, the vowel shift seems to apply.

⁶²⁹ Very few attestations, *rībay* (III-ʔ, sg.), *kīlay* (pl.), *θīdayʔ* (pl.), *ḅayḥayʔ*.

⁶³⁰ Only one item, *ḥāk’aw*, seems attested for the latter pattern.

⁶³¹ Given as a root \sqrt{hl} , i.e. a biradical, in ML.

⁶³² “sword“, etymology unknown.

⁶³³ pl. of *wōdi*.

⁶³⁴ Most attestations appear to be regular reflexes of məCCīC, conditioned by the presence of a lowering consonant, usually but not always adjacent to the stressed vowel. Attestations of məCCayC which do not confirm to this constraint are rare, i.e. *məḥhayr*, *məslaym*, *məskayn* and *menkayr* – the former three of which are transparent Arabisms, in two cases the stressed diphthong is the reflex of Arabic /ī/ or /i/, and hence regular, the item *məḥhayr* seems problematic in this regard since it would appear to be the reflex of Ar. /ū/ - however this is a

regular surfacing of the glide are found in the cases of *məlfīw*, *məhnōy*, *məlfōw*, *mək'nōw* (*mək'nēw* Jahn 1902), *məlhāw*, as well as in the various attestations of surface forms of the type *məCCē* (*məCCēC* / III-y). Surface forms *məCCay* are attested in the following items: *mədnay*, *məgbay*, *məχbay* (III-??).

For patterns of the type *CəCv:C* and *CəCwōC*, only a few attestations of this phenomenon are found. In the case of *CīCv:C*, one finds the items *ḡayθáyʔ*, *rībay*, *kīlay*, *θīdayʔ* and regular attestations of III-Glide are well attested, both for *CīCōC* and *CīCēC*, i.e. *tīwōw*, *k'īwōy*, *χīlōy*, *hīk'ōy* (*CīCōC*); *dīwē*, *kīrēʔ*, *ḡaynēʔ*, *ʔaylē*, *fīk'ā* (*CīCēC*).

Finally, the phenomenon in question is regularly attested for Nisba forms. As has been mentioned (chapter 11.), in the case of m.sg. forms, the stressed Nisba suffix always surfaces as [-ay], implying underlying /-vyC#/. Also, in the case of Nisba forms, the alternance between [-ay] and [-v:y] does appear to be paradigmatic, insofar as surface attestations of a short surface realization of the stressed vowel of the suffix is restricted to m.sg. forms, whereas long surface realizations of the stressed vowel are restricted to m.pl. forms, i.e. [-ōy].

16.1.4.) Blocking of the IG effect

It has been previously shown (Bendjaballah & Ségéral 2014; 2022), that the IG-effect appears to be blocked, when the first IG-consonant in a sequence of two IG-consonants separated by an unstressed underlying vowel is preceded by a consonant underlyingly adjacent to the first IG-consonant. However, when the consonant preceding the first IG-consonant in question is a glide, the blocking of the IG-effect is observed unevenly in the case of nominal forms, as shown in the table below. The second column shows surface forms where the IG-effect does not apply (as expected), whereas the third column shows forms where the IG-effect does apply, with the shortening of the surface diphthong to stressed [ə].

Table 67.: Blocking and unblocking of the IG-effect by preceding glides

Pattern	Surface Form	
	-IG	+IG
<i>CaCC</i>	N/A (<i>CaYC_{IG}</i> / <i>CawC_{IG}</i>)	<i>CáCk</i>
<i>CayCəC</i>	<i>CayC_{IG}əC_{IG}</i>	N/A
<i>CəCayC</i>	N/A (<i>CəCayC_{IG}</i>)	<i>CəCáC_{IG}t</i>
<i>məCawCəC</i>	<i>məCawC_{IG}əC_{IG}</i>	N/A
**CóʔCəC	N/A	N/A

different problem, suffice to note for the moment that it is a loan from Arabic, in all likelihood. In any case, it does not appear that *məCCayC* is a productive pattern outside of Arabic loans (with the potential exception of *mənkayrʔ*).

Thus, the few attestations of the blocking of the IG-effect by a preceding glide are found for verbal nouns of the type CəyCəC and pluralic nouns of the type məCawCəC. However, when a stressed diphthong is to be found in a sequence CáyC# or CávC#, it appears that, when a possessive suffix containing an IG-consonant, or a f.sg. suffix which does not show stress on the vowel is added, the blocking of the IG-effect does not apply and the diphthong in question is regularly shortened to [ə]. Note, that this applies regardless of the (etymological) status of the glide in question, i.e. the IG-effect applies regularly regardless of whether the glide is a radical (*bəyt* > *abət*) or a non-radical “insertive” glide (*səy* > *sət*).

16.1.5.) Conclusion

In some of the phenomena evoked, the glides in question seem to exhibit a somewhat bicephalic nature. Whereas the surfacing as a diphthong (unconditioned by a preceding lowering consonant) implies the presence of an underlying consonantic glide, in all of the phenomena in question, they do not seem to behave like consonants with regards to all of the features in question. Thus, they do not induce the emission of a vowel or a sonorant to their immediate right; nor do they seem to count as a consonant blocking the application of the IG effect, when followed by an IG-consonant. However, assuming that the glides in question – or, indeed, all glides in Mh., since in a number of the phenomena evoked, the glides in question are radicals – are actually underlying vowels would pose significant problems, not least regarding the question of why a – hence underlying vowel /i/ or /u/ – would sometimes surface as a glide and sometimes as a vowel in otherwise identical contexts, i.e. CəCīC/CəCəyC, CīCəC/CəyCəC, etc. Assuming that the “consonantic” surfacing is due to the adaption of Arabic loans containing Ar. /ī/ or /ū/ cannot be upheld, since the surface diphthongs in question are also attested outside of Ar. loans. A perhaps more pertinent observation regarding the phenomena in question concerns their word-internal position. All of the effects in question manifest on the right edge of the word, whereas in other positions these effects are not attested, notably in the case of the blocking of the IG-effect, where the lack of blocking is only observed when a suffix containing an IG-consonant is added. Other irregularities are known from the right periphery of the word in Mh., such as the surfacing of a stressed vowel as long in a(n apparently) stressed, simply-closed final syllable (cf. Bendjaballah & Ségéral 2017). It appears thus, that most effects in question can be viewed under this lens, although further studies would be needed to define the effects in question more precisely.

As for the question of the word-final “gemination” of glides when preceded by a stressed vowel, it has been suggested for the case of the Nisba suffix (chapter 11.) that this suffix is loaned from Arabic, hence the expected reflex would have to be /-vy/, i.e. [-v:y] (see chapter 17.). However, one finds a short surface vowel preceding the glide, i.e. a geminated underlying glide, and both forms in the corresponding f.sg. (and possibly f.pl.) forms. Hence, the Nisba suffix provides a clear case of the – apparently secondary – origin of geminated final /y/, where one would expect (at times paradigmatically) [-v:y]. It thus appears, that the “gemination” of final glides when preceded by a stressed vowel is the

result of variation in final /vy#/ sequences. Parameters of said variation (if any exist at all) might be connected to the presence of underlying /ʔ/ for some of the stressed vowels in question, although more data would be needed to decide this question.

16.2) /ʔ/

16.2.1) Introduction

The status of the phoneme /ʔ/, known from a number of Semitic languages (and PS), seems rather unclear in Mh. and the MSAL more generally speaking, hence Rubin (2018, 21) considers it “lost”. Nevertheless, one still notes certain distinct phonological features of forms presumably – at least historically – containing /ʔ/, both in the verbal and the nominal domain. As for the nominal domain, the following representations of what appears to correspond to /ʔ/ are attested: /ʔ/ as a glide; /ʔ/ as a stressed vowel [ō] or [ā]; /ʔ/ as an unstressed vowel [ə] or [ā]; /ʔ/ as [ʔ]; or /ʔ/ as zero. The attestations of the various surface realizations of a putative underlying consonant /ʔ/ will be presented in the table below, followed by a discussion of the phonological status of /ʔ/. The identification of potential attestations of /ʔ/ is not always readily possible, in the table below examples from ML were chosen, where, according to ML, the root was identified as containing /ʔ/, which in turn was presumably (at least mostly) done on comparative grounds in ML.

Table 68.: Putative reflexes of underlying /ʔ/ (radical)

Context		Glide		Vowel			Zero	[ʔ]
		[w]	[y]	[ō]	[ē]/[ā]	[ə]/[ʔ]		
Initial Onset	ʔVC	<i>wōrām,</i> <i>wōt'əb</i>	<i>yōt'əb</i> (<i>Jahn</i> <i>1902</i>)					<i>ʔāmər</i> ⁶³⁵ , <i>ʔēmər</i>
	ʔVC#	<i>wōz</i>						ʔC <i>ʔēm</i>
	ʔvC	<i>wasáwrət</i>	<i>yasē'r</i> (<i>īsēr</i>), <i>yəbīt</i> , <i>yərēz</i>					<i>rīt</i> , <i>rawn</i> , <i>gōr</i> , <i>gərīt</i> , <i>gīrōn</i> , <i>bū</i> , <i>tēθ</i> ⁶³⁶
Internal Onset	vʔvC							
	vʔVC	<i>awōCəC</i> <i>D/L</i> <i>fəwōd</i> , <i>fəwēsət</i> , <i>rəwōy</i>	<i>rəyē</i> (?)					
Def. Art. hv-			<i>həyðēn/</i> <i>həyðántən</i> ; <i>həynīθ</i> ; <i>hāyrēm</i> , <i>haybīt</i>	<i>hōrām</i> , <i>hōz</i>	<i>hārīt</i> , <i>hāgōr</i> , <i>hāgərīt</i> , <i>hāgīrōn</i> , <i>hāgērtən</i> <i>hārawn</i> , <i>hābū</i> , <i>hāmē</i> , <i>hām</i>		<i>harnayb/</i> <i>harnōb</i> <i>harbyēt</i>	
Internal Coda	vʔC		<i>bayr/</i> <i>bəyawrət</i> (?)	CōC /CóʔC/ (+CōCəC, etc.)	<i>θ'āy</i> , <i>fē/feʔ</i> , <i>nē(?)</i> , <i>rāy</i> , <i>wār</i> , <i>θ'an</i>	<i>ī</i> <i>həráh</i>		
	vʔC	<i>təwCayC</i> (<i>tūCayC</i>),, <i>məwsīr/</i> <i>məwsərūt</i>			<i>šāmənū</i> ⁶³⁹ , <i>hāwīl/</i> <i>hāwəlūt</i> ; <i>hāwəlay/</i>	<i>θ'əyōtən</i> , <i>rəyūtən</i> (?)		

⁶³⁵ (Incompletely integrated) Arabism *ʔāmər*

⁶³⁶ At least historically I-ʔ

⁶³⁷ Attested only for Arabisms.

⁶³⁸ <*h-arnáyb*> / <*h-arnōb*> in ML

⁶³⁹ VN pattern šəCCəCūt

					<i>hāwālyət</i>				
Final	√ʔ#			<i>wət 'yō</i> (CəCyōC?)					
	vʔ#						CēCa (<i>kēfa</i> , <i>wēt 'a?</i>) <i>t'ayga?</i> CáCCa (<i>ʔámma</i>)	<i>dōθə</i> , <i>đōrə</i>	
	vCʔ#		<i>məχawbi</i> (<i>məχbay</i>) ?					<i>mēl</i> (?)	
	√yʔ#		Cáy(?)# (<i>t'əray?</i> , <i>bət 'ay?</i> , <i>məχbay</i> , <i>đəray?</i>)						

16.2.2) Discussion

As has been shown above, a number of surface reflexes are attested for putative /ʔ/ in various contexts. Whereas the presence of an underlying consonant distinct from /y/ (in forms *bayr/bəyawrət*, CəCay(?), etc.) or /ʕ/ (in forms terminating in [a#]) cannot be ascertained for all cases, some surface forms distinct from reflexes of underlying glides or /ʕ/ are to be found. Thus, in the case of indefinite *wōrəm* and *wōz*, no traces of the initial [w] is found when the definite article is added, i.e. *hōrəm* and *hōz*; unlike the case of *wōdi* and *həwōdi*. Also, in the case of indefinite forms which would paradigmatically be expected to show (putative) initial /ʔ/ followed by an unstressed vowel, no traces of initial /ʔ/ are to be found in the indefinite forms, whereas in the definite forms the definite article surfaces as [h] together with a long vowel [ā] (i.e. *rīt/hārīt*, *rawn/hārawn*, etc.; see above). Whereas the lack of any reflex of an initial consonant in the indefinite forms cannot be reconciled with a hypothetical initial underlying glide or /ʕ/, the lengthening of the unstressed surface vowel in the definite form points towards the presence of an underlying consonant, and subsequent compensatory lengthening. Finally, in at least one form in question, what one would from a comparative expective expect to be underlying /ʔ/ surfaces as a glide, and one notes the change of the nature of the glide between corresponding sg. and pl. forms, i.e. *yəsēr/wəsawrət*. A similar phenomenon, albeit with a different configuration of glides between sg. and pl. might be attested in the case of *wōrəm* (def. *hōrəm*)/*hāyrēm*.⁶⁴⁰ Hence, it appears that – at least in the

⁶⁴⁰ Note, however, that this does not appear to apply to all attestations of putative /ʔ/ which show surface reflexes as glides, i.e. *həyōēn/həyōantən*, *yəbīt-həybīt*. In the case of the latter item, the identification of this item with the root √ʔbl seems not unproblematic in the author's opinion, not least due the lack of any surface reflex of /l/ (assuming vocalization of /l/ for a hypothetical /ʔəbə'lv/ seems problematic, since vocalization would apriorically not be expected in this position, nor would the surface outcome [ī] be expected, it seems rather that if *yəbīt* is to be connected with √*ʔbl, /l/ was lost completely and a suffix /-ít/ was added).

nominal domain – an underlying consonantal segment, cognate to /ʔ/ in other Semitic languages does exist.⁶⁴¹ As for the synchronic nature of this underlying segment, since at least for those attestations where it might be found as a root consonant, it corresponds to the glottal stop /ʔ/ in other Semitic languages, the notation of this consonant with <ʔ> has been kept, although this question remains to be determined. In this section an attempt on synthesizing the previously mentioned surface reflexes of /ʔ/ will be made.

The first generalization one encounters is that in initial onset position, when /ʔ/ precedes a stressed vowel /o/, which can be lengthened due to its syllabic context, /ʔ/ surfaces as [w]. This is attested for initial /ʔ/, and possibly also for intervocalic /ʔ/ when a stressed vowel is located to its right. The glide does not surface at all, when a definite article is added, i.e. *ḥōrām*, *ḥōz*.⁶⁴² As for pre-stressed position when the following stressed vowel is not /o/, too few examples are available to definitely draw conclusions, however, on the basis of the two examples *ʔēm* and *ʔīb* it would seem that /ʔ/ would surface as [ʔ] without any further changes on the quality of the stressed vowel.

I) /ʔóCə/ ~ /ʔóC#/ → [wōC(ə)]

II) /ʔéCə/ ~ /ʔéC#/ → [(ʔ)ēC(ə)]

III) /ʔíCə/ ~ /ʔíC#/ → [(ʔ)īC(ə)]

IV) /ʔúCə/ ~ /ʔúC#/ → [(ʔ)ūC(ə)]

As initial onset, when followed by an unstressed vowel, three cases have been observed: /ʔ/ surfacing as a glide, /ʔ/ surfacing as [ʔə] and no surfacing of any reflex of /ʔ/. Attestations of initial /ʔ/ surfacing as a glide are attested only for *yāsēr/wasáwrət*, and possibly *yārēz* and *yəbīt/haybīt*.⁶⁴³ Note for the case of *yāsēr/wasawrət*, that a G-stem passive participle appears to exist of the same root, which also shows /ʔ/ surfacing as a glide [w] (*məwsīr/məwsərūt*), despite the stressed vowel being (apparently) /i/, which might seem to imply that [w] surfaces paradigmatically in this form – possibly lexicalized as $\sqrt{wsr?}$. Attestations of initial /ʔ/ surfacing as [ʔə] are attested more frequently, however, almost all examples can be understood as Arabisms. The only possibly exceptions to this include the items *arnayb* (def. *ḥarnayb*)/*arnōb* (def. *ḥarnōb*) and *ḥarbyēt*. Note, that in these examples the surface vowel transcribed as [a] is followed by what appears to be a consonant cluster, which might be responsible for the particular surfacing of putative /ʔ/ in these cases. The remaining attestations do not show any reflex of initial /ʔ/, however, when a definite article is added, these forms are of the type *ḥāCv:ʿC*, implying the surfacing of a reflex of initial /ʔ/. Note, that amongst these forms, all items could (at least apriorically) be

⁶⁴¹ In addition one might add the various verbal attestations of distinct forms containing putative /ʔ/.

⁶⁴² Sima (2002, 660-661) assumed retrograde sg. formation of putative I-ʔ forms showing a surface glide on the basis of the form showing the definite article, which results in inconsistencies between forms showing a stable surface glide and those which show a surface glide only in the indefinite form.

⁶⁴³ The alternation y/w for sg./pl. of the first item was confirmed in the author's data.

understood as retentions from PS, and no cogent argument seems obvious to necessarily identify these forms as Arabisms, underlining the distinction between initial [ʔə] and initial zero.

V) /ʔəĆ/ → [Ć] (inherited)

VI) /ʔəĆ/ → [ʔəĆ] (Arabisms)

VI.I) /ʔəCĆ/ → [(ʔ)aCĆ] ((*ħ*)*arnayb*/*(ħ)**arnōb*, *ħarbyēt*)

VII) /ʔəĆ/ → [wəĆ]/[yəĆ] (paradigmatic analogy in $\sqrt{\text{ʔsr}}$ (?); unclear for *yārēz* and *yābīt/ħaybīt*)

Attestations of internal onset attestations preceding a stressed vowel are questionable, the putative attestations *rəwōy*, *fəwēsət*, *fəwōd* might be understood as either reflexes of /ʔ/ or glides if the forms in question are loans from Arabic. In the case of D/L *awōCəC* for I-ʔ, one is again faced with the problem of the seeming generalization of /ʔ/ as [w] (and potentially /w/?) for D/L-stem forms. As for potential attestations of putative /ʔ/ as an initial onset preceding an unstressed vowel, no clear attestations are to be found.⁶⁴⁴

Forms showing putative /ʔ/ in an internal coda, are attested showing diverging surface forms amongst different patterns. In some cases where /ʔ/ appears to be attested after an unstressed vowel, as in the D/L-stem VN pattern, the reflex of /ʔ/ appears to be [w] (or [ū]) (i.e. *təwōdayn*, etc.), as well as in the aforementioned G-stem passive participles *məwsīr/məwsərūt*. In other cases the surface reflex appears to be [ā]. This concerns the various items of the root $\sqrt{\text{ʔwl}}$ (i.e. *ħāwīl/ħāwəlūt*; *ħāwəlay/ħāwəlyət*), as well as the Š1-stem VN *šāmənūt*. In items such as *rəyōtən* and *θ’əyōtən* it is unclear whether there is underlying /ʔ/ in these items in the first place (cf. ML), and if so, in which position.

The most frequently attested outcome of the sequence $\acute{y}ʔC$, i.e. when /ʔ/ is in internal coda position and preceded by a stressed vowel, is [ō], containing all attestations of forms II-ʔ of the type *CōC* (i.e. underlying /*CóʔC*/) and presumably those attestations of *CōCəC* (and other patterns) showing an underlying infix *ʔ* for the stressed surface vowel; as well as a few other items which show diverging surface vowel qualities: [ē] (or [ā]) in the case of *θ’āy*, *fē(ʔ)*, *nē(ʔ)*; [ī] in the case of *tī* and [ay] in the case of *bayr*. Note that for the latter item, the pl. form *bəyawrət* also shows a surface glide [y], preceding a surface diphthong [aw], hence from a synchronic perspective no reason seems evident to assume that the surface glide is underlying /ʔ/ rather than underlying /y/. As for the other items, if these items are to be understood as II-ʔ, III-Glide, it appears that, similarly to *CōC* and *CōCəC* no immediate surface trace of underlying /ʔ/ would be found in this position – although it remains unclear whether these forms are actually II-ʔ.

⁶⁴⁴ Whereas the pl. patterns *CəCōwəC* and *CəCōyəC* appear to show some surface resemblance with Ar. *CaCāʔiC*, it seems difficult to maintain the notion of [w] and [y] being synchronically reflexes of /ʔ/ in these forms, not least in the light of Fathi (2017a; 2017b).

Final /ʔ/ is rarely attested. For final /ʔ/ preceded by a stressed vowel only one potential attestation is attested, i.e. *wət'yō*, which would appear to be an attestation of the pattern CəCyōC. If this is the case, this would imply word-final /ʔ/ surfacing as [v:'#].⁶⁴⁵ As for final /ʔ/ preceded by an unstressed vowel, the two examples *dōθə* and *đōrə* are found – as well as potentially some attestations of [a], i.e. *kēfa*, *wēt'aʔ* and *ʔamma*. The fact that here, word-final unstressed surface vowels are found in the first place, would already indicate the presence of an underlying final consonant in these forms. However, it seems unclear whether one is dealing with underlying /ʔ/ rather than /ʕ/, and at least in the case of *wēt'aʔ* it seems apriorically possible that the vowel quality [a] might be conditioned by the lowering consonant preceding the (presumable) underlying sequence /Cəʔ#/.

VIII) /əʔC/ → [āC] (Regular?)

IX) /əʔC/ → [əwC] / [ūC] (Paradigmatic for √ʔsr and D/L VN təCCayC?)

X) /v'ʔC/ → [v:'C]

XI) /v'ʔ#/ → [v:'#] (*wət'yōʔ*?)

XII) /əʔ#/ → [ə#] (possibly [a#]?)

Clear attestations of post-consonantal word-final /ʔ/ are rare. One presumable attestation might be the item *mēl*, if the identification of the root √mlʔ in ML (presumably on comparative grounds) is correct, which would imply a realization of /ʔ/ as zero in this position. Furthermore, if the aforementioned items *nēʔ*?, *fēʔ*?, *tī* and (particularly) *θ'āy* are indeed III-ʔ (as given in ML) and of the configuration CvCC,⁶⁴⁶ this would similarly imply a surface realization of /ʔ/ as zero. A potential exception of this rule might be found in patterns of the type CəCayC and one attestation of məCCīC/məCCayC, where a number of forms – presumably III-ʔ – exist, which show the surface form CəCayʔ, i.e. *t'arayʔ*, *bət'ayʔ*, *məχbay*.

XIII) /Cʔ#/ → [C#]

⁶⁴⁵ Potential other attestations might be found in m.pl. Nisba forms, although here it is paradigmatically unclear whether one might suppose underlying /ʔ/ in the first place.

⁶⁴⁶ Assuming underlying /CvCv'C/ would put /ʔ/ in a preconsonantal position if it was R2, presumably conditioning a surfacing of /ʔ/ as a glide (see above) and in word-final position if it was R3 with the glide /y/ as R2, hence a surface output Cəyē would be expected regardless of the internal configuration of the root. Assuming underlying /Cv'CvC/ would put /ʔ/ in intervocalic post-stress position if it was R2 - which is otherwise unattested (see above), and in final position after an unstressed vowel if it was R3 – which would at least in the form *θ'āy* presumably condition a hypothetical surface output θ'āyv#. Since none of these options is attested, it appears that the forms in question are underlying CvCC.

Particular situations are attested for configurations in which initial /ʔ/ is preceded by a definite article /h(v)-/. When the definite article is added to an item showing the configuration /ʔv/, no immediate reflex of /ʔ/ is attested, i.e. *hōrəm* (indef. *wōrəm*) and *hōz* (indef. *wōz*). When the definite article is added to an item showing the configuration /ʔv/, some attestations show a surface reflex [y], i.e. *həyðēn/həyðántən*; *həynīθ*; *həyrēm*. Note, however, that in these cases the stressed vowel is either /e/ or /i/, and it cannot be excluded that in – at least some of these cases – one is confronted with a pattern CīCēC, which would explain the surface glide.⁶⁴⁷ In the case of items which show no surface reflex of underlying /ʔv/ in their indefinite surface form, the initial sequence is represented as [hā], when a definite article is added, implying the regular surfacing of /CəʔC/ as [CāC] (see above).

XIV) /həʔC/ → [hāC] (for items of type V)

XV) /həʔC/ → [həyC] (possibly CīCēC?)

XV) /həʔóC/ → [hō]

In summary, while the existence of an underlying segment corresponding to what one might expect to be a glottal stop /ʔ/ can be ascertained for the nominal domain, the phonological rules determining its surface reflexes are less clear. Whereas it is hoped that the generalizations suggested in this chapter will prove useful, more data would be needed to clarify the picture. Note, that the most frequent attestations of – what has been suggested to be /ʔ/ – were found not for attestations of /ʔ/ as a root consonant, but rather as an infix, throughout various patterns encountered in section II.

⁶⁴⁷ In the case of *həyðántən*, the underlying vowel quality is unclear, it is however apriorically possible that one is dealing with underlying /e/. The case of *həynīθ* remains problematic in this regard.

16.3) Stress

16.3.1) Introduction

In the previous chapters, the shift (or non-shift) of stress has been evoked at a number of occasions. In the following section an overview of the distribution of stress and vowel qualities in various patterns will be given, followed by a discussion of the question of (the predictability of) stress shift(s), first the shift of stress (and lack thereof) forms showing certain types of suffixes which are attested paradigmatically both with and without stress, then a group of suffixes which appears never to take stress, and finally the shift of stress to the left when a stressed vowel precedes a guttural consonant.

16.3.2) Discussion

Stress shift with suffixes

It has been previously seen, that certain sets of affixes, frequently absorb stress. This has been noted in particular for all suffixes of the type -vt, -vn and the Nisba suffix(es) (at the very least m.sg.+m.pl. but also certain forms f.sg.+f.pl.),⁶⁴⁸ assuming suffixation of said morphemes to a base triggers the shift of (otherwise lexical) stress to the suffix. This is certainly not the case for all attestations of forms showing a suffix -v:t or -v:n, since a large number of attestations exist where one is dealing with simplex attestations of a form showing said suffixes, without any corresponding forms from which a given form would be derived, yet, in a number of cases (i.e. m.sg./f.sg.; m.sg./m.pl., etc.) a derivative link between said forms does seem to be involved. From a synchronic perspective, this notion is particularly strengthened by the predictable nature of the suffix vowel of forms 3.f.sg.pft. (see Bendjaballah & Rubin 2020); from a diachronic perspective this notion patterns in accordance with the notion of stress falling on the rightmost non-final historical *a(:) (see Dufour 2016, 2022), which one would apriorically expect in a suffix -v:t (-*at⁶⁴⁹), -v:n (*-ān with Kogan 2015) or in the case of object suffixes on 3.m.sg.pft. verbs. Having said this, it remains unclear why the configuration of vowel qualities in said suffixes does not (always) pattern in full accordance with what is known from the verbal system (on this question, see chapter 15.5).

However, a number of infixes appear to categorically absorb stress and block the aforementioned stress shift in forms where one would otherwise expect stress shift to apply, i.e. m.sg./f.sg. derivations. This has been shown to be the case for patterns of the type CəCayC and might (by extension) be also supposed for pluralic patterns showing an unstressed suffix /-ət/. Since these infixes show (at least in EM) a surface form containing a non-conditioned stressed surface diphthong, the assumption of an underlying glide – which cannot be part of the root, since no reflexes of said glide can be found in other forms of the same root – seems validated, at the very least for EM. Given the fact that most pertinent forms showing such

⁶⁴⁸ And including sets of verbal suffixes not treated here, but listed in Watson & al-Mahri 2018 (11-12).

⁶⁴⁹ Although the possibility of *-t cannot be outruled with absolute certainty from a comparative perspective, no reason seems evident from where the underlying vowel, capable of absorbing stress (!) would surface.

a diphthong do not experience stress shift, it has been argued that it is this infix that blocks stress shift. On this basis, it has been argued that the same solution applies also those m.sg. forms which do not show an infix glide, but rather [ō] and do not exhibit stress shift in derived f.sg. forms (i.e. CōCəC/CáCCət). Thus, these forms seem to show an underlying consonantal infix after the stressed vowel, in all likelihood (as outlined above), /ʔ/. This solution patterns in accordance with the proposed behavior of the phonology of phonologically adapted loans from Arabic, in particular the notion that Arabic long vowels are always integrated as underlying /vC/ sequences, which is not to necessarily say however, that all attestations of said infix glides and /ʔ/ ought to be necessarily always understood as loans from Arabic. Furthermore, this hypothesis finds, as has been shown (chapter 11.) a parallel in the behavior of f.sg. Nisba forms, where secondary gemination of the glide leads to the blocking of stress shift in some f.sg. Nisba forms (i.e. Cáyyət).

Non-shift for certain suffixes

In the case of certain suffixes, one does not observe such a shift. This concerns mainly possessive suffixes, the dual affix, as well as – in the verbal domain – the conjugation suffixes of pft. forms (with the exception of the 3fs.pft. suffix).⁶⁵⁰ In most of these cases, it appears that the position of stress in these forms is the outcome of the historical configuration of stress: since in the case of the conjugation suffixes, no vowel is underlying, and in the case of the possessive suffixes the underlying vowel is apparently not an outcome of historical *a(:), it is nothing but predictable, on the basis of Dufour's historical stress laws, that an underlying vowel (where attested), would not take stress in these forms. As for the dual morpheme, in the few cases where this does not appear as a prefix of the following numeral, no stress shift appears, possibly indicating that the underlying vowel of this morpheme is not a reflex of historical *a(:). In the case of adverbial /-ən/, it seems that this suffix does not take stress, although it is unclear – and in light of the distinct semantics perhaps rather doubtful – whether this morpheme is cognate with other suffixes of the type /-vn/.

Shift to the left

By contrast, in certain other positions a shift in the opposite direction has been encountered. This concerns mainly forms which show a stressed vowel before a guttural consonant.⁶⁵¹ It has been shown that in most patterns forms of the type C'v:G# are rare, and the few attestations are mainly attested as Cē'G# and realizations of word-final post-stress /ʕ/. Notably, it has been observed that this phenomenon appears to also apply to forms showing an infix glide (and hence a surface diphthong) in the position of the stressed vowel (i.e. s'áyləḥ), however more data would be needed to ascertain this situation. In a number of forms one still observes constellations C'v:G#, mainly as CēG#. Some of these attestations

⁶⁵⁰ In addition to the aforementioned cases of suffixes of the type /-ət/, which do not take stress since the stress-shift appears to be blocked.

⁶⁵¹ It is not clear if the vowel is displaced by this shift followed by stress, or inverse.

are attested for patterns which show a consonant cluster preceding the stressed vowel, i.e. patterns CəCwōC/CəCwēC, məCCōC/məCCēC, etc. In these forms, it seems that the shift of stress to the left appears blocked by the presence of two underlying adjacent consonants preceding the stressed vowel, as a result of which, forms where paradigmatically a vowel /o/ might be expected, surface with [ē]. However, in other forms no consonant cluster preceding the stressed vowel is found, yet no vowel shift is attested. It has been suggested at various points throughout section II, that in these cases, one might be dealing again with an underlying sequence /ʕʔ/, only that in these cases, the underlying infix /ʔ/ would block stress shift not to the right, but to the left, with the o/e alternation applying as a consequence.

Comparing the configurations of vowels and consonants in the case of leftwards shifts versus rightwards shifts highlines a difference between the two: whereas in the case of rightwards shifts, the presence of two adjacent consonants appears to block stress shift only when the first is an infix (i.e. non-root); the leftwards shift appears blocked by two adjacent consonants regardless of their morphological status, i.e. both root- and non-root consonants. This situation might be explained as a result of two distinct causes of the stress shifts in question. In the case of the shift of stress to suffixes, one is dealing with the result of the historical stress configuration, drawing stress to the rightmost non-final *a(:), or – in the case of the Nisba suffix – the regular notion of stress being situated on the long vowel in the case of Arabic loans with long vowels. In the case of the shift of stress before guttural consonants, stress shift – and where this seems blocked, distinct vowel quality – is conditioned by the phonological constraint on the surfacing of certain vowel qualities before guttural consonants. In the case of rightwards shifts, one would apriorically expect – except for lexicalized /-it/ and lexicalized attestations of /-et/ – metaphony to apply regularly, in accordance with Bendjaballah & Rubin (2020), however, as has been shown, certain particularities seem to exist, and clear cases of metaphony for stressed suffixes -vt are difficult to ascertain. As for the leftwards shift, the question of the existence of metaphony is also hard to determine, however on the basis of the paradigmatic verbal attestations such as Ga CūCəG and certain nominal items, i.e. CáyCəG for CəCáyG, it appears that – at least with certain items – this phenomenon is also encountered here.

17) On the Adaption of Arabic Loans

17.1.) Introduction

Whereas loans from Arabic appear to be prominently attested throughout Mh. and the MSAL (especially the continental languages) more generally speaking, it is perhaps in the nominal domain where they exhibit the most particular morphophonological profile, unlike verbal loans, which are adapted into the set verbal patterns of Mh. In previous studies, loans from Arabic were usually made reference to only in passing, with one contribution by Antoine Lonnet (Lonnet 2005) being the only study exclusively dedicated towards an overview of Arabic influence on all levels in Mh. In this chapter, the morphophonology of nominal loans in the MSAL will be examined, on the basis of what has been previously seen, in particular with regard to the vocalism of Arabic loans, examining the reflexes of Arabic long (17.2) and short (17.3) vowels.

Arabic loans in Mh. show various degrees of phonological adaption. In this chapter, only those forms which might be considered as “fully adapted“ will be considered. This is understood as a negative definition, i.e. forms which appear to violate principles of Mh. phonology will be excluded. This includes violation of the lengthening of stressed vowels in open syllables (i.e. *šáraf*), the non-application of the effect of lowering consonants (i.e. *nəs 'ihəh*, *mənsar*, *lamān*), forms showing f.sg. suffixes as –vh (i.e. *məkīnəh*, *nōχəðēh*, etc.), irregular surfacing of /s/ (i.e. *zaʕfərān*); (morphological) gemination (i.e. *həmmām*, *bənnāy*); etc. Some of the forms in question show by-forms, exhibiting varying degrees of phonological adaption, i.e. the aforementioned *bənnāy* vs. *mənnōy* (cf. Lonnet 2005). Amongst the remaining forms, only a restricted number of examples out of the overall lexicon were used, namely attestations which were deemed to be highly likely Arabisms, due to the distribution of the root and pattern from a cross-Semitic perspective, weighed against the particular semantics of a given root. It is hoped, that this choice presents a coherent and accurate picture of the adaption of loans from Arabic, applicable throughout the nominal domain. Nevertheless, the exact number of Arabic loans amongst Mh. nominal forms cannot be established in detail in the framework of this thesis.

Before discussing the vocalism of Ar. loans in Mh., a brief overview of the adaption of consonants in Ar. loans in Mh. shall be given in the table below.

Table 69.: Consonantism of Ar. loans in Mh. (frequent forms)

Ar.	Mh.
ʔ	/ʔ/ ?
ʕ	/ʕ/ ?
b	b
t	t
d	d
ṭ	t / tʰ
k	k
ḡ	g
q	kʰ
ṯ	θ (/ f)
ḍ	ð / d
z	θʰ
m	m
n	n
r	r
l	l
w	w
y	y
f	f
s	s
z	z
ṣ	s / sʰ
ḍ	ʔʰ
š	ʃ / š
ḥ	χ
ġ	ʁ (/ χ)
ḥ	ħ
h	h

Whereas the majority of Ar. consonants show one-to-one correspondences in Mh. between Ar. consonants and their phonetic (near-)equivalents (where applicable), a few pertinent points shall be highlighted, particularly those correspondences where the phonetic profile of Arabic and Mh. consonants are markedly distinct. First, “emphatic“ (i.e. usually pharyngealized) consonants in Arabic are not always adapted as ejective consonants in Mh., but also as non-ejective, non-voiced, consonants.

The only exception to this appears to be /q/, which is almost always (for the few possible exceptions, see below) adapted as /k'/. Regarding Ar. /š/, some attestations appear to show its (actual) cognate /ħ/, whereas others show the phonetically equivalent Mh. /š/. Reflexes of Ar. /s/ are usually /s/, note in this regard th (near-)doublet *hədd* vs. *sədd*. Other irregularities are attested in an unsystematic manner, such as Mh. /f/ for Ar. /t/ (*falg*), Mh. /ʃ/ for Ar. /ħ/ (*ʃāhər* ?) or Mh. /g/ for Ar. /q/ (mainly in WM). The exact reflexes of Ar. /ʔ/ are unclear, however, it appears that at least in the case of initial /ʔ/ followed by an unstressed vowel, a surface reflex [ʔə] seems to be attested in Mh. (see chapter 16.2.).

17.2) Long Vowels

Arabic /ā/ is usually integrated as stressed /ō/ in Mh. This is attested across a variety of nominal patterns, i.e. Ar. CāCiC (*sōyām*, *s'ōbər*, *fōt'ər*, *ʋōli*, etc.); Ar. CāCiCa (*faydat*, *s'abrət*, *fat'rət*, *ʋalyət*, etc.); Ar. CaCāC (*ħarōm*); Ar. CiCāC (*ktōb*); Ar. miCCāC (*mīzōn*); Ar. CuCāC (*k'əmōš*, *əstōd*); Ar. CaCāCa (*dəgōgət*, *ħəmōmət*); Ar. CaCaCān (*rəməl'ōn*); Ar. CaCCāCa (*səggōdət*), etc. This also concerns various sg. forms given as II-Glide in ML, and which appear to be unconventional surface reflexes of /w/ when viewed through the perspective of Mh.: Ar. CāC (*bōb*, *hōl*); Ar. CāCa (*ħōgət*); Ar. CaCāt (*ħəyōt*, *zəkōt*); etc. Said forms do show a glide /w/ in their corresponding plural forms (where attested), which would imply pattern replacement if one does not assume underlying /w/ in the corresponding sg. forms.

A few forms where Arabic /ā/ surfaces as stressed /e/ in Mh. are attested. This includes items of the Ar. pattern CāCiC (*lēzām*, *sēlām*, *sēħər*), as well as items such as *rəmēd*, *dənyē*, *mīdēn*. Whereas in the case of *sēħər*, one seems to be confronted with o/e alternation before /ħ/, in the other cases it remains unclear why the reflex of Ar. /ā/ is stressed /e/ in Mh. Perhaps, in some cases, (Arabic) Imāla is the reason for this seemingly irregular reflex (which might open the possibility of these items being actually non-adapted loans), regardless, one appears to be dealing with a minority of cases.

Arabic /ī/ shows the reflex [ay] in EM, when stressed. Attestations for this are to be found in the frequent adjectival attestations of the pattern CəCayC and CəCayCət (Ar. CaCīC and CaCīCa), as well as in other forms such as Ar. CáCī (*wəláy*), CúCCī (*kərsáy*), Ar. CiCCīC (*skáy*), Ar. miCCīC (*məskayn*) or the D/L stem VN pattern təCCayC (Ar. taCCīC). In WM, where surface diphthong not conditioned by preceding lowering consonants, the regular reflex of Ar. /ī/ is WM [ī].

Similarly, Arabic /ū/ shows the reflex [aw] in EM, corresponding to [ū] in WM. Attestations include Ar. CūC (*rawħ*, *nawr*); Ar. CūCa (*s'awrət*); Ar. CaCūC (*ʔāgawz*, *ʔamawd*); Ar. CaCCūC (*tənnawr*, *səndawk'*); Ar. CuCūCa (*ħəkawmət*); Ar. maCCūC (*mārawf*, *mət'lawb*, *məghawd*, etc.); Ar. CuCCūC (*bərnaws*); etc. The few clear attestations of Arabic /aw/ also show [aw] in Mh., i.e. *gawħərət*, *mawget* and (dialectal) *sənnawrət*. In at least one item, *məlyōn*, one notes a reflex of [ō], for what should be /ū/ in Classical (or rather Modern Standard) Arabic, however, in this case one is dealing with a recent non-Semitic loan in Arabic, which might show dialectal variations with [ō]. More troubling is the case of the Mh. passive participle məCCīC. Whereas from a cross-Semitic perspective, the perhaps most

comparable form would be the Arabic passive participle maCCūC; assuming a loan from Arabic in these forms would yield the seemingly irregular sound correspondence Ar. /ū/ > Mh. /i/, even more so since Ar. maCCūC is also attested as the expected Mh. reflex, i.e. məCCawC (see above). Note in this regard, also the aforementioned f.sg. form of the passive participle, məCCəCūt, showing /u/-/i/ metaphony (see chapter 15.5.). Furthermore, in at least one case one finds seemingly irregular diphthongization of /i/, i.e. *məlhayr* (cf. Ar. *mašhūr*). Perhaps the G-stem passive participle represents an older layer of Ar. loans in Mh., although more research would be needed to ascertain this notion.

To summarize, it has been shown above that in phonologically adapted nominal loans from Arabic, Ar. long vowels always take stress, regardless of their position inside a word-unit (i.e. *sōyām* vs. *hārōm*); regardless of the quality of surrounding vowels, including, notably, Ar. /a/ (i.e. *waláy* vs. *kərsáy* vs. *skáy*n vs. CəCáyCət) and regardless of the distribution of stress in their Arabic correspondences (*kərsay*, etc.). Arabisms showing more than one long (surface) vowel in their Arabic forms, are rarely attested, forms such as *mīzōn* or *mīdēn* would suggest stress on the second vowel, corresponding to Arabic /ā/. The underlying nature of the reflexes of Arabic long vowels in Mh. appear to consist of a stressed vowel and a consonant. This appears clear on the surface for Ar. /ī/ - Mh. /vy/ and Ar. /ū/ - Mh. /vw/. As for the reflex of Ar. /ā/, i.e. Mh. [ō], the comparison of the aforementioned forms in isolation would suggest Mh. /ó/. However, as has been shown previously, stressed surface [ō] in Mh. shows particular behavior in a number of forms, including the lack of stress shift; the lack of the application of vowel metaphony for the reflex of Arabic /ā/, unlike the reflex of Arabic /a/ (for the latter, see below) and possibly the lack of stress shift when stressed and paradigmatically succeeded by a guttural. This, in combination with the fact that other Ar. long vowels show reflexes as a combination of a vowel and consonant rather than a simple vowel, seems to indicate that the reflex of Ar. /ā/ is /óʔ/ rather than a simple vowel /ó/.

17.3) Short Vowels

Stressed reflexes of Arabic short vowels almost always show Mh. /e/. For Ar. /a/, a number of attestations exist, such as Ar: CáCaC (*rəgēb*, *kalēt*’, *gabēl*, *k’alēm*, *s’afēr*, *lāgēr*, etc.); Ar. CáCaCa (*bək’arēt*, *bər(ə)kēt*, *bəs’alēt*, etc.); Ar. CaCCa (*gənnēt*); Ar. CíCCa (*ðəmmēt*, *k’əs’s’ēt*, *k’ablēt*, etc.); Ar. CúCCaC (*skēr*); Ar. CúCCa (*k’əwwēt*, *fərsēt*, *gəmlēt*, *həgrēt*, *nət’fēt*, etc.); Ar. máCCaC (*mərkēb*, *mərkēz*, *mət’lēk*’); Ar. máCCaCa (*mədərsēt*, *mək’abrēt*); Ar. CáCCaC (*məndēr*); etc. Also, reflexes of Ar. CaCC showing a sonorant as R3 might be considered under this light, with the Mh. reflex CēCəC, (*mēs’ər*, *sēt’əl*, *ʔās’ər*, etc.), implying that forms of the type CōCəC, when attested as a reflex of paradigmatic CoCC, i.e. with a sonorant as R3, are not Ar. loans. Other reflexes of Ar. /a/ are rare and seemingly exceptional, such as Mh. *dəftōr* for Ar. *dāftar*.

Clear reflexes of Ar. /i/ and /u/ are less frequently attested (other than as reduced vowels). For /i/, at least two stressed realizations as /e/ can be found, i.e. *ʔāt’ər* (cf. Ar. *ʕitr*), and *fəwfəl* (cf. Ar. *filfil*). In one – highly – problematic item, Ar. /i/ seems to find a reflex as Mh. /i/, i.e. *məsgīd* (cf. Ar. *másğid*), defying all expectations in terms of both the distribution of stress and vowel quality. Finally, a small number of

items exist where Ar. /i/ seems reflected by a glide in the corresponding Mh. form. This includes two attestations of Mh. CīCōC, apparently corresponding to Ar. CiCāC, i.e. *gīdōr* and *gīrōb*, as well as one attestation corresponding to an Ar. causative active participle *māslaym* (Ar. *mūslim*). The latter example is particularly interesting, insofar as that this is one of the few items where the corresponding Arabic form shows neither long vowels, nor /a/; indicating that in this case stress falls upon the right-most vowel, which seems to be treated as a long vowel, hence resulting in the surface diphthong.⁶⁵²

As for Ar. /u/, the few stressed reflexes usually surface as /e/, i.e. Ar. CuCC (*kēhəl*, *lēkəl*, *ḡāmər*, (?)*āḡḡər*) and Ar. CúCCuC (*kərkēm*). The same appears to be the case in reflexes of Ar. CúCC/CiCC surfacing as CəCC, such as *bənn*, *gəbn*, *həbr*; which appear to be non-integrated loans from Arabic (see chapter 4.), the same might be said about *mūmən*. Only one clear example of Ar. /u/ surfacing with a different reflex in Mh. exists, i.e. *məndawk'* (cf. Ar. *bunduqīya*). Here, it appears that the suffix was apocopated, leaving a base form ***bunduq*.

To summarize, it has been seen that short vowels in Arabic loans are stressed on the rightmost short vowel, with preference to /a/. Thus, the right-most /a/ is always stressed, unless a long vowel is to be found in the word, regardless of the vowel quality of neighboring vowels as well as regardless of the distribution of stress in the corresponding Ar. form (cf. *gənnēt* vs. *ḡəmmēt* vs. *k'əwwēt*). The reflex of Ar. /a/ has shown to be /e/. As for the distribution of stress and vowel qualities when an Arabic form neither shows a long vowel, nor /a/, the sparsely attested data are somewhat contradictory. Whereas the majority of attestations would support the shift of stress to the right-most vowel and a realization of said vowel as /e/, a few examples exist which would support the notion of a confounding of vowel length in this position, and hence a reflex of Ar. /i/ and /u/ as Mh. [ay] and [aw] respectively; i.e. *māslaym*, *məndawk'* as well as possibly unstressed /i/ in *gīrōb* and *gīdōr*.

17.4.) Summary & Discussion

The adaption of vowels in loans from Ar. effectively shows the PMSAL system of vowel-sensitive distribution of stress (cf. Dufour 2016, 2022) intact. The right-most /a/ is always stressed, unless an Ar. long vowel is attested, in which case the reflex of the Ar. long vowel takes stress by default. The large number of loans and loaned patterns thus contributes to the large number of underlying non-root (i.e. infixes) consonants in Mh. As for the various metaphonic processes attested for earlier stages of Mh. or the MSAL more generally speaking (cf. Dufour 2016, 2022), while most patterns under discussion do not show configurations apriorically liable to the application of metaphony, a few forms are attested which seem to reflect metaphony, such as *gīd* and *sīyəd*. In these two cases, the corresponding Ar. form shows the pattern CáyyiC (CáCCiC). Since the stressed vowel does not surface as a diphthong in these cases, it does not seem that it was adapted as a sequence of vowel and consonant, but rather as a stressed

⁶⁵² The latter form was found both as *māslaym* and as *māsləm* during the author's fieldwork; the latter attestation would appear to suggest regular integration of /i/ (or rather /u/) as /e/ in Mh.; perhaps in analogy to the pattern máCCəC, which appears to be also (albeit not exclusively) attested for loans from Arabic.

vowel. However, rather than a hypothetical reflex ***sēyəd* or ***gēd*, which one would expect on the basis of the integration of Ar. /a/ (see above), one finds Mh. /i/, which would appear to indicate the application of metaphony. This would, in turn, indicate a single underlying consonant in these forms, i.e. /CíCəC/, and hence a reduction of Ar. gemination of glides. This seems necessitated by the fact that in other contexts where two adjacent consonantal segments follow a stressed vowel, metaphony seems blocked – also in Arabic loans, such as *máfs'əl* or *máwsəm*.⁶⁵³ Importantly, a similar blocking seems attested in the case of the reflex of Ar. CāCiC; Mh. CōCəC: whereas one would expect a reflex ***CīCəC* for Ar. CāCiC, if metaphony was operative and the reflex of Ar. /ā/ was a simple vowel /o/, this is not attested as a reflex of Ar. CāCiC. Hence, the presence of underlying infixes and /ʔ/ as a reflex of Ar. long vowels, seems to block not only the shift of stress, but also vowel metaphony.

⁶⁵³ Although, admittedly, since in these cases the stressed vowel is situated in a closed, non-final syllable, the only factor indicating the non-application of metaphony is the surfacing of the stressed vowel as [a] rather than [ə].

18) Conclusion

An overview of underlying patterns attested throughout this thesis and their possible surface reflexes is given in the table below.

Table 70.: Summary of underlyingly attested patterns

Underlying Pattern	Surface Pattern	Condition
/CéCC/	CaCC	Regular
	CēCəC	III-Son. (paradigmatic /**CéCS/> CēCəC)
	CēCa (?)	III-ʃ
	CāC (?)	II-ʃ
/CóCC/	CaCC	Regular
	CōCəC	III-Son. (paradigmatic /**CóCS/> CōCəC)
	CāC (?)	II-ʃ
/CiCC/	CəCC (?)	Regular
	CīC	II-y
/CéCəC/	CēCəC	Regular
	CāCəC	I-Lowering
	CaCC	II+III-IG . (paradigmatic /**CéC _{IGə} C _{IG} /> CaC _{IG} C _{IG})
	CēCv	III-Glide
	CēCa	III-ʃ (+III-? ?)
/CóCəC/	CōCəC	Regular
	CaCC	II+III-IG (paradigmatic /**CóC _{IGə} C _{IG} />/CaC _{IG} C _{IG})
	CōCv	III-Glide
	CōCa	III-ʃ (+III-? ?)
	CōCə	III-?
	CēCəC	II-Gutt. (paradigmatic /**CóGəC/ > CēGəC)
/Có?CəC/	CōCəC	Regular
	CōCv	III-Glide
	CōCa	III-ʃ (+III-? ?)
	CōCə	III-?
	CēCəC	II-Gutt. (paradigmatic /**Có?GəC/ > CēGəC)
/CiCəC/	CīCəC	Regular
	CayCəC	I-Lowering
	CəCC	II+III-IG (?) (paradigmatic /**CíC _{IGə} C _{IG} /> CəC _{IG} C _{IG})
	CīCv	III-Glide

/CýyCəC/	CayCəC	Regular
	CayCi	III-Glide (?)
	CayCa	III-ʕ (+III-ʔ ?)
	CəCC	II+III-IG (WM)
/CýwCəC/	CawCəC	Regular
	CawCa	III-ʕ (+III-ʔ ?)
/CəCéC/	CəCēC	Regular
	CəCāC	II-Lowering
	CēC (/ CāC ?)	II-ʕ
	CəCē	III-ʕ
	CəCēw	III-w
	CəCē(?)	III-y
/CəCóC/	CəCōC	Regular
	CōC	II-ʕ
	CəCōw	III-w
	CəCōy	III-y
	Cv:CəC /CəCēC	III-Gutt.
/CəCíC/	CəCīC	Regular
	CəCayC	II-Lowering
	CəʕayC (?)	II-ʕ
	CəCīʔ (?)	III-ʕ (likely Arabisms)
	CəCīw	III-w
	CəCī (?)	III-y (likely Arabisms)
/CəCúC/	CəCūC	Regular
	CəCawC	II-Lowering
	CawC	II-ʕ
	CəCūʔ (?)	III-ʕ (likely Arabisms)
	CəCūy	III-y
/CəCýyC/	CəCayC	Regular
	CayCəC	III-Gutt.
/CəCýwC/	CəCawC	Regular
/CəCýwwəC	CəCýwwəC	Regular
	CəCýwwa	III-ʕ
	CəCýwwəw	III-w
/CəCó(?)wəC/	CəCōwəC	Regular

	CəCōwa	III-ſ
/CəCéwəC/	CəCēwəC	Regular
/CəCó(?)yaC/	CəCōyaC	Regular
	CəCōya	III-ſ
/CəCwó(?)C/	CəCwōC	Regular
	CəCwōC – CəCwēC (?)	III-Gutt.
	CəCwōw	III-w (?)
/CəCwéC/	CəCwēC	Regular
	CəCwē	III-ſ
	CəCwē(?)	III-y
/CəCwīC/	CəCwīC	Regular
/CəCwýC/	CəCwayC	Regular
/CəCyó(?)C/	CəCyōC	Regular
/CəCyīC/	CəCyīC	Regular
/CəCyýwC/	CəCyawC	Regular
/Cəwý(?)wCəC/ - /Cəwý(?)wCCəC/	CəwýCCəC	Regular
	CəCwýCCa	III-ſ
/Cəwó(?)CəC/	CəwōCəC	Regular
	CəwēCəC	II-Gutt.
	CəwōCi	III-y
/CəwéCəC/	CəwēCəC	Regular
/CəyCó(?)C/	CīCōC	Regular
	CīCōC – CayCōC (- CēCōC?)	I-Lowering
	CīCēC	III-Gutt.
	CīCōw	III-w
	CīCōy	III-y
/CəyCéC/	CīCēC	Regular
	CīCēC – CayCēC	I-Lowering
	CīCāC	II-Lowering
	CīCē(?) – CīCē	III-ſ
	CīCē(?)	III-y
/CəwCýC/	CōCv:C (?)	Regular (?)
/móCCəC/ - /méCCəC/	máCCəC	Regular
/məCó(?)CəC/	məCōCəC	Regular
	məCēCəC	II-Gutt.

	məCōCa	III-ʕ
	məCōCi	III-y
/məCʷwCəC/	məCawCəC	Regular
	məCawCa	III-ʕ
	məCawCi	III-y
/məCóCC/ - /məCéCC/	məCáCC	Regular (biradical; II-Glide)
/məCCéC/	məCCēC	Regular
	məCCāC	II-Lowering
	məCCē	III-ʕ
	məCCē	III-y
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	məCCōw	III-w
	məCCōy	III-y
/məCCíC/	məCCīC	Regular
	məCCayC	II-Lowering
	məCCīw	III-w
/məCCýyC/	məCCayC	Regular
	məCCayw	III-w
	məCCay	III-y (?)
/məCCʷwC/	məCCawC	Regular
/CəCCýyy/	CəCCay	Regular
/CəCCýyyət/	CəCCáyyət – CəCCəyyūt – CəCCəyōt	Nisba F.Sg. form showing variation, see chapter 11.
/_Cútən/	_Cūtən	Regular
	_Cawtən	III-Lowering
/_Cótən/	_Cōtən	Regular
/_C(v)tən/	_Ctən	Regular
/_Cət/	_Cət	Regular
/_Cít/	_Cīt	Regular (Lexicalized)
/_Cét/	_Cēt	Regular (Lexicalized)
?	_Cēt - _Cōt - _Cūt	Unclear (some metaphonic process expected, particularly for i/u)

In addition to the repertoire of underlying forms presented above, various aspects of the phonology and morphology of Mh. have been discussed throughout this thesis. While further research and data will be needed to ascertain – and, where necessary, correct – some of the assumptions made in this thesis, it is hoped that the groundwork was laid, both for the synchronic study of the morphophonology of Mh. nominal forms, and for the comparative and historical study of the MSAL nominal system.

List of Abbreviations

Ar.	Arabic
EM	Eastern Mehri
IG	Idle Glottis (Consonants)
J/S	Jibbali/Shehri
JL	Jibbali Lexicon (Johnstone 1981)
Mh.	Mehri
ML	Mehri Lexicon (Johnstone 1987)
MSAL	Modern South Arabian Languages
PMSA	Proto-Modern South Arabian
PS	Proto-Semitic
Soq.	Soqotri
VN	Verbal Noun
WM	Western Mehri

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Résumé en Français

Cette thèse constitue une contribution à la morphophonologie des formes nominales dans les langues sudarabiques modernes – principalement le mehri (oriental), auquel des comparaisons avec d'autres langues sudarabiques modernes (principalement le jibbali/shehri) ont été ajoutées tout au long du travail. L'un des objectifs principaux de cette thèse est de définir l'ensemble des schèmes nominaux sous-jacents en mehri. Le deuxième objectif principal est d'évaluer l'application de certains effets phonologiques – précédemment décrits sur la base du système verbal – dans le domaine nominal et de discuter de certaines caractéristiques particulières au domaine nominal.

Dans la section I, outre quelques informations générales sur les langues sudarabiques modernes et la constitution de la base empirique de cette thèse, je présente les principaux phénomènes phonologiques à l'œuvre en mehri d'Oman. Dans la section II, les schèmes nominaux ont été regroupés en fonction de la position de la voyelle accentuée dans la base nominale et de la présence d'affixes, puis analysés selon une structure fixe, avec une attention particulière portée aux effets phonologiques décrits précédemment. La section III traite de questions liées aux catégories nominales telles que le singulier *vs* pluriel, la formation du duel, des noms verbaux et des adjectifs. De plus, des particularités phonologiques sont abordées, notamment une discussion sur l'adaptation phonologique des emprunts arabes.

Section II – Schèmes nominaux

Cv:CəC

Les schèmes nominaux du type *Cv:CəC* sont attestés principalement pour les formes au masculin singulier et présentent toutes les qualités vocaliques accentuées a priori possibles, à l'exception de /u/. Néanmoins, les attestations de *CīCəC* sont très rares. Comme cela a été noté précédemment dans Dufour (2017), les consonnes 'idle glottis' en tant que R2 et R3 font défaut, alors qu'un grand nombre de formes présentant une sonante en tant que R3 peuvent être trouvées, dont certaines pourraient représenter un schème paradigmatique de type *CvCC*. Je propose que, pour un certain nombre d'items du type *CōCəC*, la voyelle accentuée réalise un infixé consonantique sous-jacent, vraisemblablement /ʔ/. L'argument principal repose sur l'observation que l'accent ne change pas de place dans la forme au féminin singulier correspondante. Un autre argument en ce sens est basé sur le fait que, dans ces formes, le [ō] de surface semble d'être emprunté à l'arabe /ā/. Or, les voyelles longues de l'arabe ne sont pas adaptées comme de simples voyelles, mais plutôt comme des séquences /vC/ : /vy/ pour /ī/ de l'arabe, /vw/ pour /ū/ de l'arabe et /oʔ/ pour /ā/ de l'arabe. En plus de *CōCəC* contenant un /ʔ/ sous-jacent et correspondant à *CāCīC* de l'arabe, d'autres attestations de *CōCəC* existent également. Une partie d'entre elles peut être identifiée comme ayant le schème paradigmatique *CoCC* avec une sonante comme R3. Enfin un troisième groupe (moins nombreux) de formes existe où aucun /ʔ/ sous-jacent ne peut être posé pour la voyelle accentuée et où la voyelle non accentuée entre R2 et R3 doit être présumée d'être paradigmatique.

CayCəC / CawCəC

On peut a priori s'attendre à ce que les formes de surface du type *CayCəC* et *CawCəC* soient des réalisations de /CíCəC/ sous-jacent présentant une consonne abaissante comme R1 (et moins probablement /CúCəC/ en raison du manque d'attestations claires de ce schème) ou bien de formes présentant un glide sous-jacent entre R1 et R2. La plupart des attestations de *CayCəC*, mais pas toutes, sont des noms verbaux du thème de base, tandis que les quelques attestations de *CawCəC* sont en grande partie des formes plurielles. Contrairement aux attestations du type *Cv:CəC*, les noms verbaux du type *CayCəC* présentent des consonnes 'idle glottis' comme R2 et R3. De plus, aucune attestation de type III-w présentant une séquence finale -əw ([-əw] ou [-u]) n'a été trouvée, comme l'a noté Dufour (2017), ce qui pourrait représenter un exemple de neutralisation finale des glides.

CvCC

La plupart des schèmes de type *CvCC* sont attestés avec *v = a*, auxquels s'ajoute une minorité d'items de forme *CəCC*. Les formes en question sont généralement au masculin singulier. Comme on pouvait s'y attendre, presque aucune sonante n'est attestée comme R3, les rares contre-exemples étant en grande partie des arabismes (apparemment non adaptés). Une exception notable au manque de sonantes comme R3 concerne les formes à R2 = glide : dans ce cas, les sonantes en R3 sont fréquemment attestées. Certaines attestations de *CvCC* présentant des consonnes 'idle glottis' comme R2 et R3 pourraient être considérées comme paradigmatiques *Cv:CəC* (voir Dufour 2017), bien que le nombre exact ne puisse pas être vérifié empiriquement, de la même manière que c'est le cas pour le paradigmatique *CvCC* avec R3 = sonante, faisant surface comme *Cv:CəC*. Les réflexes des formes avec R2 = ζ ne sont pas clairs, il semblerait que *CāC* et *CēC* correspondent à *CəCC*, bien que plus d'exemples seraient nécessaires pour vérifier cette hypothèse. Quant aux formes avec R3 = ζ , quelques exemples du type de surface *CaC?* existent dans le ML (Johnstone 1987), ce qui impliquerait que dans ces cas / ζ / apparaît en surface sous la forme [?], bien que ces exemples devraient être vérifiés. En ce qui concerne les attestations (putatives) des items avec R2=?, il semble difficile de savoir d'un point de vue synchronique si leurs réflexes putatifs *CōC* et *CāC* sont sous-jacents de type /Có?C/ ou /CóC/.

Les schèmes de type *CəCC* présentent une particularité notable : dans cette classe les racines bilitères sont majoritaires. Les formes dérivées d'une racine trilitère sont, pour la plupart, des arabismes non intégrés. Les raisons de cette distribution particulière ne semblent pas claires. On pourrait a priori s'attendre à ce que les attestations de *CaCC* contiennent des /e/ et /o/ sous-jacents entre R1 et R2, bien que ce point ne puisse pas être vérifié empiriquement. De plus, outre le fait qu'il n'y a pas de voyelle de surface entre R2 et R3 et que la voyelle accentuée apparaît comme réduite et courte, le fait que /l/ soit vocalisé lorsqu'elle est attestée comme R2 indique également l'absence de voyelle sous-jacente entre R2 et R3.

CəCv:C

Les attestations du schème CəCv:C présentent toutes les qualités vocaliques a priori possibles comme voyelle accentuée (/e/, /i/, /o/, /u/), encore une fois avec une majorité de cas présentant /e/ et /o/. Les schèmes de ce type sont attestés à la fois comme singuliers et pluriels. En termes de caractéristiques phonologiques, la rareté des consonnes gutturales suivant la voyelle accentuée (c'est-à-dire comme R3) a été notée ainsi que le fait que (au moins en mehri oriental) seul /e/ se trouve comme voyelle accentuée précédant les consonnes gutturales dans cette position. Sur un plan plus général, on pourrait se demander pour quelle raison la voyelle accentuée ne se déplace pas vers la position vocalique précédente et si cette absence de déplacement pourrait être due à la nature sous-jacente de la voyelle accentuée en question (/vC/ sous-jacent ?). Il a également été noté que les glides apparaissent en surface comme [w] et [y] (avec /éy#/ > [ē#]) en tant que R3 dans ces formes. D'un point de vue comparatif (et historique), le cas du pluriel CəCūC a été noté, tandis que dans une perspective synchronique, la question des pluriels CəCēC et CəCōC a été discutée-dans le contexte de Fathi (2021).

CəCayC/CəCawC

Les deux schèmes de surface en question, à savoir CəCayC et CəCawC, contiennent soit une simple voyelle sous-jacente /i/ ou /u/ avec une consonne abaissante précédente en R2, soit des séquences /vy/ et /vw/. CəCayC est fréquemment attesté comme un schème pour des formes d'adjectif masculin singulier et est plus généralement attesté comme le réflexe de la forme CaCīC de l'arabe, mais aussi comme schème de nom verbal du thème de base. CəCawC est moins fréquemment attesté que CəCayC et la plupart des attestations sont des pluriels. Il est intéressant de noter que les consonnes gutturales sont également rarement attestées en R3, tout comme cela a été relevé pour les schèmes du type CəCv:C, malgré la présence visible en surface d'un glide consonantique entre la voyelle accentuée et R3.

Formes avec un préfixe mə-

En mehri, comme dans d'autres langues sémitiques, on trouve un certain nombre de formes présentant un préfixe m(v)-, et d'autres présentant des affixes supplémentaires. Trois catégories paradigmatiques de formes montrant ledit préfixe sans autres affixes peuvent être identifiées : (1) mṽCCəC, (2) məCōCəC/məCawCəC/məCṽCC, (3) məCCv:C. Dans chacun de ces types, la voyelle accentuée (ou diphthongue en surface) est localisée sur un site différent : sur le préfixe (1), entre R1 et R2 (2) et entre R2 et R3 (3). La première catégorie est la moins importante numériquement, avec quelques formes au singulier et majoritairement des formes correspondantes en arabe. La deuxième catégorie est, à l'exception des quelques attestations de məCṽCC avec R2 = glide ou bien dérivées de racines bilitères, composée entièrement de formes plurielles. La troisième est attestée avec toutes les qualités vocaliques de surface possibles (bien que məCCūC soit probablement composé d'arabismes non adaptés, alors que les rares attestations de məCCayC et məCCawC semblent être des arabismes phonologiquement

adaptés) et attestées au singulier et pluriel. Ce groupe rassemble notamment les formes de participe passif du thème de base.

Les caractéristiques phonologiques notables de ces formes incluent le blocage de l'effet 'idle glottis', blocage relevé pour $m\grave{a}CawC\grave{a}C$ avec $R2$ et $R3 = [+IG]$, soulignant la nature consonantique du glide ainsi que sa contiguïté à $R2$. Pour le schème $m\grave{a}C\bar{o}C\grave{a}C$, on observe l'alternance de la voyelle accentuée \bar{o} / \bar{e} (presque) exclusivement si $R2$ est une consonne gutturale : la réalisation /e/ semble donc être exclusivement une variante conditionnée de /o/ dans ces formes. Notons que l'on n'observe pas de déplacement de l'accent vers la voyelle du préfixe dans le cas de $m\grave{a}C\bar{e}C\grave{a}C$, ce qui implique soit la présence d'une consonne sous-jacente dans la voyelle accentuée (/oʔ/?), soit l'idée que le décalage vers la gauche des voyelles accentuées avant les gutturales est bloqué non seulement par les groupes de consonnes, mais également par les frontières de morphèmes.

$C\grave{a}Cv:w\grave{a}C$, $C\grave{a}Cv:y\grave{a}C$, $C\grave{a}Cwv:C$, $C\grave{a}Cyv:C$

Ces schèmes sont attestés sous les formes suivantes : $C\grave{a}C\bar{o}w\grave{a}C$, $C\grave{a}C\bar{e}w\grave{a}C$, $C\grave{a}C\bar{o}y\grave{a}C$, $C\grave{a}C\acute{a}ww\grave{a}C/C\grave{a}C\acute{a}'ww\grave{a}C$ pour les schèmes avec un glide suivant la voyelle accentuée entre $R2$ et $R3$ et $C\grave{a}Cw\bar{o}C$, $C\grave{a}Cw\bar{e}C$, $C\grave{a}Cw\bar{i}C$, $C\grave{a}Cy\bar{o}C$, $C\grave{a}Cy\bar{i}C$, $C\grave{a}CwayC$ et $C\grave{a}CyawC$ pour les schèmes avec un glide précédant la voyelle accentuée entre $R2$ et $R3$. Les schèmes du premier type sont des pluriels, alors que les schèmes du dernier type sont attestés à la fois comme (adjectifs) pluriels et singuliers (en particulier $C\grave{a}Cyv:C$). Les glides internes de ces formes ont déjà été interprétés par Fathi (2017a ; b) comme marqueurs de genre.

Il a été noté dans la thèse que, dans le cas de $C\grave{a}C\acute{a}'ww\grave{a}C$, la voyelle accentuée - un [ə] - précédant un glide /w/ semble plutôt étrange et sans parallèles (significatifs) ailleurs. Quant au cas de $C\grave{a}Cw\bar{o}C$, trois attestations de formes présentant la séquence de surface [ōh] ont été trouvées, apparemment en violation de l'alternance e/o devant les gutturales, trouvée ailleurs.

$C\grave{a}wv:C\grave{a}C$ et $C\grave{a}Cw\acute{v}CC\grave{a}C$

Ces schèmes sont rarement attestés comme formes de pluriel. Ils sont attestés comme $C\grave{a}w\bar{o}C\grave{a}C$, $C\grave{a}w\bar{e}C\grave{a}C$, $C\grave{a}w\acute{a}CC\grave{a}C$ et marginalement $C\grave{a}w\acute{v}CC\grave{a}C$. Parmi les caractéristiques notables de ces schèmes – outre le placement de la voyelle accentuée – se trouve le fait que dans les deux derniers cas, $R2$ apparaît géminée. Notons que la plupart des attestations de pluriels de ce type semblent être constituées de mots appartenant à un champ sémantique spécifique, lié aux chameaux.

$Cv:Cv:'C$

Un type de schèmes significativement mieux attesté présentant un glide sous-jacent entre $R1$ et $R2$ est constitué des schèmes qui ont comme forme de surface $Cv:Cv:'C$. La grande majorité des formes en question sont de type $C\bar{i}C\bar{o}C$ et $C\bar{i}C\bar{e}C$, tous deux attestés largement – mais pas exclusivement – comme schèmes pluriels.

La présence d'un glide sous-jacent entre R1 et R2 est déjà indiquée par le fait même qu'une voyelle phonétiquement longue non accentuée distincte de [ə] se trouve dans cette position. De plus, l'application incohérente de l'effet d'abaissement des consonnes sur ladite voyelle souligne encore ce point. La présence d'une voyelle accentuée /e/ entre R2 et R3 rend difficile la distinction entre les attestations de C̄iC̄ōC̄ paradigmatique et C̄iC̄ēC̄ paradigmatique pour les racines à R3 = Gutt. Les formes avec R3 = y sont de type C̄iC̄ōy et C̄iC̄áy, fournissant ainsi des témoins de courtes diphthongues finales de surface inattendues (impliquant /C̄əyC̄vy/, avec une gémination (?) inexplicable).

Nisba

Les formes présentant des suffixes de type « Nisba » (comme connues dans d'autres langues sémitiques) sont attestées dans des formes m.sg./f.sg./m.pl./f.pl. Il a été noté que la forme du m.sg. apparaît toujours accentuée sur le suffixe [-áy], sauf si la base nominale comporte une consonne infixée. La forme sous-jacente du suffixe Nisba semble être /-oyy/ ou /-eyy/, en raison du fait que la voyelle accentuée apparaît courte et accentuée. Les formes f.sg. montrent une bifurcation de formes entre celles qui semblent immédiatement dérivées de la forme m.sg., montrant ainsi un accent stable sur le suffixe de Nisba, et des formes où l'accent se déplace vers le suffixe f.sg. Dans le premier cas, je suppose la présence d'un glide final géminé sous-jacent dans les formes de masculin, qui bloque le déplacement de l'accent : /-o.e}yy/ + /-vt/ -> [-áyyət]. Dans le second cas, je propose que la forme de masculin comporte un glide final simple, qui permet le déplacement de l'accent : /-əy/ + /-vt/ -> [-əyv:t]. Les formes m.pl. correspondantes apparaissent sous diverses formes distinctes, C̄əCCō(?), C̄əCCōy, C̄əC(ə)C̄ē(?), C̄əCCē et C̄əC̄ōCi. Aucune tendance claire pour la répartition de ces formes ne peut être identifiée pour le m.pl., car les exemples sont trop peu nombreux et peu concluants. Enfin, les formes f.pl. reflètent la situation des formes f.sg., dans la mesure où l'accent est attesté à la fois sur le réflexe du suffixe de Nisba ([-aytən]) et sur le réflexe de la voyelle initiale (de cette variante) du suffixe f.pl. ([-əyv:tən]). Enfin, il a été suggéré que le suffixe de Nisba lui-même pourrait ne pas être hérité, mais plutôt emprunté à l'arabe, ce qui expliquerait non seulement le comportement incohérent de ce suffixe en mehri, mais aussi des problèmes liés à l'absence des réflexes historiques a priori attendus dans les formes de Nisba hypothétiquement héritées. Notons cependant qu'en jibbali/shehri les incohérences relevées pour le mehri semblent ne pas exister.

F. Pl. -tən/-ūtən/-ōtən

Les formes de féminin pluriel externes présentent un suffixe -tən (à l'exception d'un petit groupe d'adjectifs avec un suffixe -ōt), avec un accent parfois à l'intérieur de la base nominale, sur la dernière voyelle précédant le suffixe, et parfois sur une voyelle [ū] ou [ō] (qui semble absente de la base) entre la dernière consonne de la base et le suffixe. Ces suffixes peuvent être ajoutés à une variété de schèmes, y compris ceux qui présentent d'autres affixes tels que le préfixe m̄ə- ou l'infixe /w/ ou /y/. Pour les bases infixées, l'accent reste stable et aucune trace d'une voyelle initiale du suffixe n'apparaît, alors que pour les bases non infixées, les deux situations sont attestées : accent stable sur la base et accent sur la

voyelle initiale du suffixe/entre base et suffixe. Il semble difficile de savoir ce qui conditionne l'apparition de cette voyelle. Bien qu'aucune raison semble évidente pour penser qu'elle fasse partie de la base nominale, aucun facteur conditionnant l'apparition (ou l'absence) de cette voyelle dans les bases non infixées, n'a pu être identifiée dans le cadre de cette thèse. De plus, on ne sait toujours pas quels sont les facteurs régissant la variation entre [ū] et [ō] dans ces formes. Cette situation semble refléter un problème général attesté en mehri pour les suffixes de féminin singulier -ūt et -ōt.

Section III – Discussion

La section III aborde d'une part, diverses thématiques de morphologie nominale (marquage du nombre (singulier, pluriel, duel), marquage du genre, catégorie des « adjectifs » et des noms verbaux) et d'autre part une sélection de questions générales de phonologie (statut des glides, de /ʔ/ et de l'accent) ainsi que l'adaptation des emprunts à l'arabe.

Concernant le marquage du nombre, il a été avancé que, pour la grande majorité des formes de pluriel, l'accent est localisé sur le site entre C2 et C3 et, dans le cas de formes morphologiquement complexes, entre C3 et C4. Seule une petite minorité de formes présentent l'accent sur le site entre C1 et C2. Les qualités canoniques des voyelles des formes de pluriel interne semblent être [ō] (au moins partiellement sous-jacent /oʔ/?), [ū] (/u/) et [aw] (/ew/ ou /ow/).

Une différence significative en termes de formation du pluriel a été notée pour certains schèmes présentant des suffixes pluriels externes, notamment dans le cas des noms singuliers du type CəCv:C et des adjectifs singuliers masculins CōCəC, où le suffixe m.pl. -īn est fréquemment attesté. Le pluriel féminin correspondant à la forme adjectival -īn est formé par le suffixe -ōt. D'autres particularités du pluriel des adjectifs concernent l'usage fréquent du schème m.pl. CīCōC pour m.sg. CəCayC et m.pl. CəCwōC pour m.sg. CəCēC. La répartition de l'accent dans les formes de pluriel des adjectifs semble correspondre à ce qui est connu dans d'autres formes nom.pl., avec une différence significative des formes du type CēCəC, (principalement) les formes pl. pour l'adjectif de couleur. La classe des adjectifs de couleur a également été identifiée pour d'autres raisons comme exceptionnelle à plusieurs reprises tout au long des chapitres précédents.

Le morphème du duel nominal a été principalement décrit comme un suffixe -i dans la littérature. Dans cette thèse, il a été suggéré (en relation avec les observations faites dans les études précédentes concernant les caractéristiques phonétiques du morphème du duel, dont Simeone-Senelle 2015 et Rubin 2018) que le morphème du duel nominal est réalisé dans la plupart des cas comme un préfixe sur le numéral obligatoire qui suit le nom. Cependant, quelques formes vestigiales semblent exister, dans lesquelles le morphème du duel est réalisé comme un suffixe et dans lesquelles un changement du [ay] interne en [aw] a été observé. Il a été suggéré que ce changement est dû à la structure sous-jacente du morphème du duel, distincte du suffixe homophone de possessif 1.p.sg., Les détails du processus

impliqué restent à préciser : à ce stade, nous ne disposons pas d'un nombre suffisant d'attestations du morphème du duel comme suffixe.

Les noms verbaux (au sens de noms gérondifs correspondant à une forme verbale finie) présentent différents schèmes pour les verbes du thème de base, le schème le plus important étant CayCəC pour les verbes de base Ga et Gb. Le schème du mehri oriental CəCayC semble correspondre au CəCyūC en mehri occidental. Il est principalement attesté pour les formes à R2 = gutturale et pour certaines formes du thème Gb. Une pléthore d'autres modèles de noms verbaux, moins fréquents que CayCəC et CəCayC, est attestée pour les verbes du thème de base (qui correspond au *Grundstamm*, terme utilisé dans la littérature sémitologique). Contrairement au thème de base, les noms verbaux des verbes dérivés ont tendance à montrer un seul schème de nom verbal par thème dérivée. Le schème des noms verbaux correspondant aux verbes de type aCōCəC est spécifique et prend la forme təCCayC (probablement un emprunt à l'arabe taCCīC). Les schèmes des noms verbaux correspondant aux autres formes verbales dérivées présentent un suffixe accentué du type -v:t. La distribution des qualités vocaliques dans ce suffixe semble être dans une large mesure identique à celle du suffixe de 3fs perfectif des formes verbales. Seuls les noms verbaux correspondant aux verbes de type CatCəC se distinguent. La distribution des consonnes et des voyelles non accentuées dans la base des noms verbaux correspondant aux verbes dérivés semble être influencée par les effets phonologiques généraux dans la langue (sonantes, consonnes 'idle glottis', etc.)

Un point particulier a été fait sur les suffixes du type -ət et -v:t. Ceux-ci sont attestés principalement dans les noms f.sg., mais aussi dans certaines formes pl. et les noms verbaux. De plus, il existe un petit nombre (principalement) d'adjectifs, qui présentent un suffixe du pl. externe -ōt. Le suffixe accentué -v:t présente toutes les qualités de voyelles a priori possibles, c'est-à-dire -ēt, -ōt, -īt, -ūt. Il a été suggéré que la distribution de l'accent dans les formes présentant les suffixes de type -vt et liée de manière dérivée à d'autres formes (c'est-à-dire f.sg. dérivé de m.sg.) est déterminée par la présence d'un infixe consonantique dans la base de dérivation. Si la base comporte un infixe, l'accent reste stable, si elle n'en comporte pas, l'accent est sur le suffixe. Concernant la question des qualités vocaliques du suffixe accentué, les facteurs exacts régissant la distribution des voyelles restent flous. Il semble clair que les attestations de -īt et au moins certaines attestations de -ēt ne sont pas régies par la nature de la voyelle de la base (sous-jacente), mais devraient plutôt être considérées comme lexicalisées. La répartition des -ūt et (marginale) -ōt présente certaines particularités : ces timbres sont fréquemment attestés dans les noms verbaux des thème dérivés ou dans des formes qui montrent un /i/ accentué dans la base de dérivation. Cependant, tous les timbres vocaliques observés du suffixe ne peuvent pas être expliqués par la qualité vocalique précédente. Par conséquent, il semble que, de manière synchronique, la distribution des timbres du -v:t nominal n'est au moins pas entièrement identique à celle du -v:t verbal.

En termes d'effets phonologiques, certains effets concernant les glides, /ʔ/ et la répartition de l'accent ont été discutés. Parmi les particularités des glides constatées, on retrouve le blocage de l'émission vocalique des sonantes dans un groupe de consonnes de type Glide-(autre) Sonante; le fait que les données se divisent en deux groupes au regard de l'application de l'effet 'idle glottis' dans le contexte GC_{+IG} C_{+IG}, probablement dû à un double statut du glide au plan sous-jacent ; la présence d'une séquence *vy#* en surface, ce qui implique un glide géminé au plan sous-jacent ; et la question de la réalisation des glides comme [i] en finale de mot, lorsqu'ils sont précédés d'une voyelle non-accentuée.

L'existence d'une consonne sous-jacente, correspondant à ce que l'on pourrait attendre de /ʔ/ d'un point de vue comparatif, a été argumentée sur la base d'exemples qui présentent des phénomènes compensatoires ainsi que d'autres particularités, comme l'apparition irrégulière d'un glide [w]. Les réflexes de surface de cette consonne sous-jacente, qui est proposée être /ʔ/, seraient [ʔ], [w], [y] ou zéro – dans la thèse, il a été tenté de faire des généralisations sur ces réalisations dans divers contextes.

La distribution de l'accent a été principalement discutée dans la perspective du déplacement de l'accent. Il a été noté que certains suffixes attirent généralement l'accent, et il a été proposé que certains infixes bloquent ce déplacement d'accent. De plus, un cas de nature différente de déplacement de l'accent a été observé, lorsqu'une voyelle accentuée est suivie d'une consonne gutturale au plan sous-jacent. Dans ce cas, il a été suggéré que l'accent ne peut se maintenir dans cette position, sauf si la voyelle de surface accentuée est la réalisation de surface d'une séquence /vʔ/ (i.e. elle implique un infixe consonantique) ou si elle est précédée d'un groupe de consonnes, auquel cas la réalisation de surface (presque) uniformément observée est [ē].

Form	Provenance	Main Ch.	Translation	Adj.	Surface Pattern	Number	Gender	R1	R2	R3	R4	R5	Attestations in Source
bədūn	ML	5	(target in) stone-throwing game	NO	1ə2ū3	Sg.	?	b	d	?			bədūn
χā	ML	14	mouth, entrance, opening	NO	1ā	Sg.	?	χ	w				χā/χōtən
χadd	ML	4	cheek	NO	1a22	Sg.	?	χ	d	d			χadd/χədawd
χaff	ML	4	hoof, sole of the foot (+measure)	NO	1a22	Sg.	?	χ	f	f			χaff/χəfawf
χann	ML	4	hold (of a ship)	NO	1a22	Sg.	?	χ	n	n			χann
χat't'	ML	4	letter, line	NO	1a22	Sg.	?	χ	t'	t'			χat't'/χət'awt'
χabz	ML	4	bread	NO	1a23	Sg.	F	χ	b	z			χabz
χank'	ML	4	silver necklace	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	χ	n	k'			χank'
χarf	ML	4	summer, rainy summer period, p	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	χ	r	f			χarf
χarg	ML	4	saddle-bag	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	χ	r	g			χarg/χərūg
χas'm	ML	4	enemy	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	χ	s'	m			χas'm/χəs'awm
χaθm	ML	4	sickly livestock	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	χ	θ	m			χaθm
χawr	ML	4	stream, river, inlet of the sea	NO	1a23 (1aw3)	Sg.	?	χ	w	r			χawr/χəwērət
χaws'	ML	4	leaves used for weaving baskets	NO	1a23 (1aw3)	Sg.	?	χ	w	s'			χaws'
χayr	ML	4	good, health, well-being	NO	1a23 (1ay3)	Sg.	?	χ	y	r			χayr
χāmər	ML	2	wine, intoxicant	NO	1ā2ə3	Sg.	?	χ	m	r			χāmər
χayləs	ML	3	straying, getting lost	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	χ	l	s			χayləs
χayli	ML	3	to be empty, alone with so.	NO	1ay2i	Sg.	?	χ	l	v			χayli
χayl	ML	4	maternal uncle, mother's brother	NO	1ay3	Sg.	?	χ	w	l			χayl/χawl
χərrayt	ML	13	round hole	NO	1ə22ayt	Sg.	?	χ	r	r			χərrayt/χərēr
χəllēt	ML	13	lavatory	NO	1ə22ēt	Sg.	?	χ	l	l			χəllēt
χəddōmi	ML	14	good, energetic worker, industri	NO	1ə22ō3i	Sg.	?	χ	d	m			χəddōmi
χət'rāk'	ML	14	cudgel, (walking) stick	NO	1ə23ā4	Sg.	?	χ	t'	r	k'		χət'rāk'/χət'awrək'
χənt'ay	ML	11	front udder of a camel	NO	1ə23ay	Sg.	?	χ	n	t'			χənt'ay/χənōt'i
χərfay	ML	11	being, travelling with summer ra	NO	1ə23ay	Sg.	?	χ	r	f			χərfay/χərfō
χənk'ayt	ML	13	wild-cat	NO	1ə23ayt	Sg.	?	χ	n	k'			χənk'ayt/χənk'awtən
χərbəhīt	ML	14	disorder	NO	1ə23ə4īt	Sg.	?	χ	r	b	ɫ		χərbəhīt
χədmēt	ML	13	work, service	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	?	χ	d	m			χədmēt
χəznēt	ML	13	treasury	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	?	χ	z	n			χəznēt/χəzōyən
χəlwēt	ML	13	children's tunnel in the sand	NO	1ə23ēt (1ə2wēt)	Sg.	?	χ	l	v			χəlwēt/χəlwaytən
χənzīr	ML	14	pig	NO	1ə23ī4	Sg.	?	χ	n	z	r		χənzīr
χəmlīt	ML	13	bug	NO	1ə23īt	Sg.	?	χ	m	l			χəmlīt/χəmēl
χərmīt	ML	13	notch, cut in the skin, hare-lip or	NO	1ə23īt	Sg.	?	χ	r	m			χərmīt/χərēm

χəlfīt	ML	13 hole pierced in the ear, bored ho	NO	lə23īt	Sg.	?	χ	l	f	χəlfīt/χələftən
χəs'būt	ML	13 sending (for)	NO	lə23ūt	Sg.	?	χ	s'	b	χəs'būt
χət'ār	ML	5 danger	NO	lə2ā3	Sg.	?	χ	t'	r	χət'ār
χəsawr	ML	6 food for immediate consumption	NO	lə2aw3	Sg.	?	χ	s	r	χəsawr
χəbēr	ML	5 news, information	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	χ	b	r	χəbēr/χəbōr
χələk'	ML	5 cloth, Mehri dress (pl. clothes)	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	χ	l	k'	χələk'/χələwək'
χəl'ərgēt	ML	14 drivel, nonsense	NO	lə2ə34ēt	Sg.	?	χ	l'	r	g χəl'ərgēt
χət'ərāt	ML	13 time, turn	NO	lə2ə3āt	Sg.	?	χ	t'	r	χət'ərāt/χət'ār
χələbēt	ML	13 boat, sambuk (not motor-powere	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	χ	l	b	χələbēt/χələb
χətənīt	ML	13 circumcision	NO	lə2ə3īt	Sg.	?	χ	t	n	χətənīt
χələ?	ML	5 desert, hungry, alone, empty	NO	lə2ē?	Sg.	?	χ	l	v	χələ?
χənīn	ML	5 name of a fish	NO	lə2ī2	Sg.	?	χ	n	n	χənīn
χəlīg	ML	5 the Arabian gulf	NO	lə2ī3	Sg.	?	χ	l	g	χəlīg
χəmōm	ML	5 rubbish	NO	lə2ō2	Sg.	?	χ	m	m	χəmōm/χəmawmət
χərōb	ML	5 damage, ruin	NO	lə2ō3	Sg.	?	χ	r	b	χərōb
χələb	ML	5 whetstone	NO	lə2ō3	Sg.	?	χ	l	b	χələb/χələbīn
χəyōr	ML	5 best, perh. a pl. of χayr	NO	lə2ō3	Sg.	?	χ	y	r	χəyōr
χəsōrət	ML	13 bride-price	NO	lə2ō3ət	Sg.	?	χ	s	r	χəsōrət
χəzōnət	ML	13 magazine (of a gun)	NO	lə2ō3ət	Sg.	?	χ	z	n	χəzōnət
χələy	ML	5 divorce	NO	lə2ōy	Sg.	?	χ	l	v	χələy
χərūb	ML	5 hot summer wind from the west	NO	lə2ū3	Sg.	?	χ	r	b	χərūb
χəlūt	ML	13 father's sister, paternal aunt, mot	NO	lə3ūt	Sg.	?	χ	w	l	χəlūt/χəwātən
χəwk'āt	ML	13 mole, pimple	NO	ləw3āt	Sg.	?	χ	l	k'	χəwk'āt/χələk', χələ'k'tən
χəwfēt	ML	13 window	NO	ləw3ēt	Sg.	?	χ	l	f	χəwfēt/χələf, χələyaf
χəwfūt	ML	13 leaving behind	NO	ləw3ūt	Sg.	?	χ	l	f	χəwfūt
χəyōnət	ML	13 rebellion	NO	ləyō3ət	Sg.	?	χ	w	n	χəyōnət
χīt'ām	ML	10 halter, leating rope of a camel	NO	lī2ā3	Sg.	?	χ	t'	m	χīt'ām/χət'əmūtən
χīs'ayt	ML	13 small barren palm tree	NO	lī3ayt	Sg.	?	χ	w	s'	χīs'ayt/χaws'
χīt'ayt	ML	13 lī3ayt	NO	lī3ayt	Sg.	?	χ	y	t'	χīt'ayt/əχyēt'
χīmēt	ML	13 sun-shade, canopy	NO	lī3ēt	Sg.	?	χ	y	m	χīmēt
χōtəm	ML	2 ring	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	χ	t	m	χōtəm/χətōwəm
χōzər	ML	2 fresh, (unclarified) butter	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	χ	z	r	χōzər/χəzōwər
χōdəm	ML	2 servant	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	χ	d	m	χōdəm/χəddōmət
χōb	ML	16 protection from, absence of an e	NO	lō3	Sg.	?	χ	w	b	χōb

əχlawr	ML	6 (poet.) mixed (load)	NO	ə12aw3	Sg.	?	χ	l	r	əχlawr
əχtəmēt	ML	13 the Qur'an (or part of it), final w	NO	ə12ə3ēt	Sg.	?	χ	t	m	əχtəmēt
əχtēnūt	ML	13 breaking an oath, betraying so-	NO	ə1tē3ūt	Sg.	?	χ	w	n	əχtēnūt
məχbāt'	ML	7 cartridge, round of ammunition	NO	mə12ā3	Sg.	?	χ	b	t'	məχbāt'/məχawbət'
məχt'ār	ML	7 journey, wandering around	NO	mə12ā3	Sg.	?	χ	t'	r	məχt'ār/məχawt'ər
məχbay	ML	7 pocket	NO	mə12ay	Sg.	?	χ	b	?	məχbay/məχawbi
məχlēf	ML	7 deserted habitation	NO	mə12ē3	Sg.	?	χ	l	f	məχlēf/məχawləf
məχmərēt	ML	13 yeast	NO	mə12ə3ēt	Sg.	?	χ	m	r	məχmərēt/məχōmər
məχfif	ML	7 cloth, (man's) waistcloth	NO	mə12fif	Sg.	?	χ	f	f	məχfif/məχfōf
məχlik'	ML	7 poor man, poor fellow, created	NO	mə12if	Sg.	?	χ	l	k'	məχlik'/məχlōk'
məχayt'	ML	7 needle	NO	mə1a23	Sg.	?	χ	y	t'	məχayt'/məχōwat'
məχə'dd	ML	7 hairpin	NO	mə1ə'22	Sg.	?	χ	d	d	məχə'dd/məχōdəd
šəχt'awt	ML	13 to be injured by mistake, inadver	NO	šə12awt	Sg.	?	χ	t'	?	šəχt'awt
šəχbərūt	ML	13 asking, enquiring; question	NO	šə12ə3ūt	Sg.	?	χ	b	r	šəχbərūt
šəχt'ənūt	ML	13 to bet with, dare oa.	NO	šə12ə3ūt	Sg.	?	χ	t'	n	šəχt'ənūt
šəχārəgūt	ML	13 reading, interpreting	NO	šə1ā2ə3ūt	Sg.	?	χ	r	g	šəχārəgūt
təχrayb	ML	15 spoiling, damaging	NO	tə12ay3	Sg.	?	χ	r	b	təχrayb
təχways'	ML	15 tə12ay3	NO	tə12ay3	Sg.	?	χ	w	s'	təχways'
χās'	ML	special, especially	YES	1ā2	Sg.	?	χ	s'	s'	χās'
χaysət	ML	13 rotten	YES	1a23ət	Sg.	F	χ	y	s	χōyəs, χaysət/χətsay, χəysōtən
χayləf	ML	6 next, following	YES	1ay2ə3	Sg.	M	χ	l	f	χayləf, χəwft
χayli	ML	6 empty	YES	1ay2i	Sg.	?	χ	l	v	χayli
χaynət	ML	13 oath-breaker, rebel	YES	1ay3ət	Sg.	F	χ	w	n	χōyən, χaynət
χəθmēt	ML	13 weak, sickly (livestock)	YES	1ə23ēt	Sg.	F	χ	θ	m	χəθēm, χəθmēt/χəθwōm, χəθmūtən
χərsīt	ML	13 gap-toothed	YES	1ə23īt	Sg.	F	χ	r	s	χərəs, χərsīt/χərwōs, χərwastən
χəs'aws'	ML	6 confounded, brought to naught	YES	1ə2aw2	Sg.	?	χ	s'	s'	χəs'aws'
χəs'aws'i	ML	11 special, specially	YES	1ə2aw2i	Sg.	?	χ	s'	s'	χəs'aws'i
χəlay	ML	6 unmarried, bereaved, having not	YES	1ə2ay	Sg.	M	χ	l	v	χəlay, χəlayyət/χīlōy, χīlaytən
χəmaym	ML	6 bad, mean, base, smelly	YES	1ə2ay2	Sg.	M	χ	m	m	χəmaym, χəmaymət/χīmōm, χīmamtən
χəsays	ML	6 mean, miserable	YES	1ə2ay2	Sg.	?	χ	s	s	χəsays
χəfayf	ML	6 light, light-footed, swift, easy	YES	1ə2ay2	Sg.	M	χ	f	f	χəfayf, χəfə'ft/χīfōf, χīfajtən
χəmaymət	ML	13 bad, mean, base, smelly	YES	1ə2ay2ət	Sg.	F	χ	m	m	χəmaym, χəmaymət/χīmōm, χīmamtən
χət'ayr	ML	6 dangerous	YES	1ə2ay3	Sg.	?	χ	t'	r	χət'ayr
χəlayyət	ML	13 unmarried, bereaved, having not	YES	1ə2ayyət	Sg.	F	χ	l	v	χəlay, χəlayyət/χīlōy, χīlaytən

χəfə'ft	ML	13 light, light-footed, swift, easy	YES	lə2ə'2t	Sg.	F	χ	f	f	χəfayf, χəfə'ft/χīfōf, χīfajtən	
χərēs	ML	5 gap-toothed	YES	lə2ē3	Sg.	M	χ	r	s	χərēs, χərsīt/χərwōs, χərwestən	
χəθēm	ML	5 weak, sickly (livestock)	YES	lə2ē3	Sg.	M	χ	θ	m	χəθēm, χəθmēt/χəθwōm, χəθmūtən	
χəzēr	ML	5 hare-lipped	YES	lə2ē3	Sg.	M	χ	z	r	χəzēr, χəzərīt/χīzōr, χīzartən	
χəzərīt	ML	13 hare-lipped	YES	lə2ə3īt	Sg.	F	χ	z	r	χəzēr, χəzərīt/χīzōr, χīzartən	
χəwfit	ML	13 next, following	YES	ləw3īt	Sg.	F	χ	l	f	χayləf, χəwfit	
χōyəs	ML	2 rotten	YES	lō2ə3	Sg.	M	χ	y	s	χōyəs, χaysət/χətsay, χəysōtən	
χōyən	ML	2 oath-breaker, rebel	YES	lōyə3	Sg.	M	χ	w	n	χōyən, χaynət	
məχləs'	ML	7 sincere	YES	məl2ə3	Sg.	?	χ	l	s'	məχləs'	
məχwif	ML	7 afraid	YES	məl2ī3	Sg.	?	χ	w	f	məχwif	
məχtīb	ML	exhausted (pasture)	YES	məl1tī3	Sg.	?	χ	y	b	məχtīb	
məsəχfi	ML	14 invisible	YES	məsəl2i	Sg.	?	χ	f	v	məsəχfi	
χaws'	ML	4 small barren palm tree	NO	lɑ23 (lɑw3)	Pl.		χ	w	s'	χīs'ayt/χaws'	
χawl	ML	4 maternal uncle, mother's brother	NO	lɑw3	Pl.		χ	w	l	χayl/χawl	
χəddōmət	ML	13 servant	NO	lə22ō3ət	Pl.		χ	d	m	χōdəm/χəddōmət	
χənk'awtən	ML	12 wild-cat	NO	lə23awtən	Pl.		χ	n	k'	χənk'ayt/χənk'awtən	
χəlwaytən	ML	12 children's tunnel in the sand	NO	lə23aytən	Pl.		χ	l	v	χəlwēt/χəlwaytən	
χərfō	ML	11 being, travelling with summer ra	NO	lə23ō	Pl.		χ	r	f	χərfay/χərfō	
χət'ār	ML	5 time, turn	NO	lə2ā3	Pl.		χ	t'	r	χət'ərāt/χət'ār	
χələftən	ML	12 hole pierced in the ear, bored ho	NO	lə2a3tən	Pl.		χ	l	f	χəlfit/χələftən	
χəwātən	ML	12 father's sister, paternal aunt, mot	NO	lə2ātən	Pl.		χ	w	l	χəlūt/χəwātən	
χədawd	ML	6 cheek	NO	lə2aw2	Pl.		χ	d	d	χadd/χədawd	
χəfawf	ML	6 hoof, sole of the foot (+measure)	NO	lə2aw2	Pl.		χ	f	f	χaff/χəfawf	
χət'awt'	ML	6 letter, line	NO	lə2aw2	Pl.		χ	t'	t'	χat't'/χət'awt'	
χəmawmət	ML	13 rubbish	NO	lə2aw2ət	Pl.		χ	m	m	χəmōm/χəmawmət	
χəs'awm	ML	6 enemy	NO	lə2aw3	Pl.		χ	s'	m	χas'm/χəs'awm	
χət'awrək'	ML	14 cudgel, (walking) stick	NO	lə2aw3ə4	Pl.		χ	t'	r	k'	χət'rāk'/χət'awrək'
χələ'k'tən	ML	12 mole, pimple	NO	lə2ə'3tən	Pl.		χ	l	k'	χəwk'āt/χələk', χələ'k'tən	
χərēr	ML	5 round hole	NO	lə2ē2	Pl.		χ	r	r	χərrayt/χərēr	
χələk'	ML	5 mole, pimple	NO	lə2ē3	Pl.		χ	l	k'	χəwk'āt/χələk', χələ'k'tən	
χəmēl	ML	5 bug	NO	lə2ē3	Pl.		χ	m	l	χəmlīt/χəmēl	
χərēm	ML	5 notch, cut in the skin, hare-lip or	NO	lə2ē3	Pl.		χ	r	m	χərmīt/χərēm	
χələb	ML	5 boat, sambuk (not motor-powere	NO	lə2ē3	Pl.		χ	l	b	χələbēt/χələb	
χələf	ML	5 window	NO	lə2ē3	Pl.		χ	l	f	χəwfēt/χələf, χələyof	

χᾶwērət	ML	13 stream, river, inlet of the sea	NO	lə2ē3ət	Pl.	χ	w	r	χawr/χᾶwērət
χᾶləbīn	ML	14 whetstone	NO	lə2ə3īn	Pl.	χ	l	b	χᾶləb/χᾶləbīn
χət'əmūtən	ML	12 halter, leading rope of a camel	NO	lə2ə3ūtən	Pl.	χ	t'	m	χīt'ām/χət'əmūtən
χᾶbōr	ML	5 news, information	NO	lə2ō3	Pl.	χ	b	r	χᾶbēr/χᾶbōr
χᾶθ'ōri	ML	14 vegetables	NO	lə2ō3i	Pl.	χ	θ'	r	χᾶθ'ōri
χᾶnōt'i	ML	14 front udder of a camel	NO	lə2ō3i	Pl.	χ	n	t'	χᾶnt'ay/χᾶnōt'i
χᾶlōwək'	ML	8 clothes	NO	lə2ōwə3	Pl.	χ	l	k'	χᾶlēk'/χᾶlōwək'
χᾶtōwəm	ML	8 ring	NO	lə2ōwə3	Pl.	χ	t	m	χᾶtəm/χᾶtōwəm
χᾶzōwər	ML	8 fresh (unclarified) butter	NO	lə2ōwə3	Pl.	χ	z	r	χᾶzər/χᾶzōwər
χᾶlōyəf	ML	8 window	NO	lə2ōyə3	Pl.	χ	l	f	χᾶwfēt/χᾶlēf, χᾶlōyəf
χᾶzōyən	ML	8 treasury	NO	lə2ōyə3	Pl.	χ	z	n	χᾶznēt/χᾶzōyən
χᾶrūg	ML	5 saddle-bag	NO	lə2ū3	Pl.	χ	r	g	χarg/χᾶrūg
χᾶwūtən	ML	12 mouth, entrance, opening	NO	ləwūtən	Pl.	χ	w		χᾶ/χᾶtən
χᾶtən	ML	12 mouth, entrance, opening	NO	lōtən	Pl.	χ	w		χᾶ/χᾶtən
əχyēt'	ML	5 thread, sting, bowstring	NO	ə12ē3	Pl.	χ	y	t'	χīt'ayt/əχyēt'
məχfōf	ML	7 cloth, (man's) waistcloth	NO	mə12ō2	Pl.	χ	f	f	məχfif/məχfōf
məχlōk'	ML	7 poor man, poor fellow, created	NO	mə12ō3	Pl.	χ	l	k'	məχlik'/məχlōk'
məχālērīn	ML	14 mixed	NO	mə1ā2ə3īn	Pl.	χ	l	r	məχālērīn
məχawbət'	ML	7 cartridge, round of ammunition	NO	mə1aw2ə3	Pl.	χ	b	t'	məχbāt'/məχawbət'
məχawləf	ML	7 deserted habitation	NO	mə1aw2ə3	Pl.	χ	l	f	məχlēf/məχawləf
məχawt'ər	ML	7 journey, walking around	NO	mə1aw2ə3	Pl.	χ	t'	r	məχt'ār/məχawt'ər
məχawbi	ML	7 pocket	NO	mə1aw2i	Pl.	χ	b	?	məχbay/məχawbi
məχōdəd	ML	7 hairpin	NO	mə1ō2ə2	Pl.	χ	d	d	məχə'dd/məχōdəd
məχōt'ət'	ML	7 signs marked on the ground	NO	mə1ō2ə2	Pl.	χ	t'	t'	məχōt'ət'
məχōmər	ML	7 yeast	NO	mə1ō2ə3	Pl.	χ	m	r	məχmərēt/məχōmər
məχōwət'	ML	7 needle	NO	mə1ōwə3	Pl.	χ	y	t'	məχayt'/məχōwət'
χᾶθmūtən	ML	12 weak, sickly (livestock)	YES	lə23ūtən	Pl.	F	χ	θ	χᾶθēm, χᾶθmēt/χᾶθwōm, χᾶθmūtən
χᾶrwastən	ML	12 gap-toothed	YES	lə2wa3tən	Pl.	F	χ	r	χᾶrēs, χᾶrsīt/χᾶrwōs, χᾶrwastən
χᾶrwōs	ML	10 gap-toothed	YES	lə2wō3	Pl.	M	χ	r	χᾶrēs, χᾶrsīt/χᾶrwōs, χᾶrwastən
χᾶθwōm	ML	10 weak, sickly (livestock)	YES	lə2wō3	Pl.	M	χ	θ	χᾶθēm, χᾶθmēt/χᾶθwōm, χᾶθmūtən
χᾶtsay	ML	rotten	YES	lət3ay	Pl.	M	χ	y	χᾶyəs, χᾶysət/χᾶtsay, χᾶysōtən
χᾶysōtən	ML	12 rotten	YES	ləy3ōtən	Pl.	F	χ	y	χᾶyəs, χᾶysət/χᾶtsay, χᾶysōtən
χᾶiftən	ML	13 light, light-footed, swift, easy	YES	lī2a2tən	Pl.	F	χ	f	χᾶfayf, χᾶfə'ft/χᾶifōf, χᾶiftən
χᾶimamtən	ML	13 bad, mean, base, smelly	YES	lī2a2tən	Pl.	F	χ	m	χᾶmaym, χᾶmaymət/χᾶimōm, χᾶimamtən

χīzartən	ML	13 hare-lipped	YES	lī2a3tən	Pl.	F	χ	z	r	χəzēr, χəzərīt/χīzōr, χīzartən	
χīlaytən	ML	13 unmarried, bereaved, having not	YES	lī2aytən	Pl.	F	χ	l	v	χəlay, χəlayyət/χīlōy, χīlaytən	
χīfōf	ML	10 light, light-footed, swift, easy	YES	lī2ō2	Pl.	M	χ	f	f	χəfayf, χəfə'fī/χīfōf, χīfaftən	
χīmōm	ML	10 bad, mean, base, smelly	YES	lī2ō2	Pl.	M	χ	m	m	χəmaym, χəmaymət/χīmōm, χīmamtən	
χīzōr	ML	10 hare-lipped	YES	lī2ō3	Pl.	M	χ	z	r	χəzēr, χəzərīt/χīzōr, χīzartən	
χīlōy	ML	10 unmarried, bereaved, having not	YES	lī2ōy	Pl.	M	χ	l	v	χəlay, χəlayyət/χīlōy, χīlaytən	
məšēkər	ML	second, another, other	YES	məšēkər	Sg.	M	?	?	?	məšēkər, məšəkərēt/məšəkərōtən	
məšəkərēt	ML	second, another, other	YES	məšəkərēt	Sg.	F	?	?	?	məšēkər, məšəkərēt/məšəkərōtən	
məšəkərōtən	ML	second, another, other	YES	məšəkərōtən	Pl.	NA	?	?	?	məšēkər, məšəkərēt/məšəkərōtən	
brūš	ML	5 brush	NO	l2ū3	Sg.	?	b	r	š	brūš	
barr	ML	4 maize	NO	l1a2 (1a22)	Sg.	?	b	r	r	barr	
bar	ML	4 poet. desert, land	NO	l1a2 (1a2)	Sg.	?	b	r		bar/bərawr	
bark	ML	4 knee	NO	l1a23	Sg.	?	(F?)	b	r	k	bark/bīrōk
bast'	ML	4 breakfast	NO	l1a23	Sg.	?	b	s	t'	bast', basət'/basōwət'	
bat'h	ML	4 sand, soil	NO	l1a23	Sg.	?	b	t'	h	bat'h, bat'ah/bēt'āh	
baχs'	ML	4 pain	NO	l1a23	Sg.	?	b	χ	s'	baχs'	
bayt	ML	4 house	NO	l1a23	Sg.	F	b	y	t	bəyūt	
baħθ	ML	4 vegetation	NO	l1a23	Sg.	?	b	ħ	θ	baħθ	
bat'ah	ML	4 sand, soil	NO	l1a2a3	Sg.	?	b	t'	h	bat'h, bat'ah/bēt'āh	
basət'	ML	2 breakfast	NO	l1a2ə3	Sg.	?	b	s	t'	bast', basət'/basōwət'	
bāl	ML	4 owner, possessor	NO	l1ā3	Sg.	M	b	ʕ	l	bāl/báyli - bəʕēli	
bālīt	ML	13 owner, possessor (f)	NO	l1ā3īt	Sg.	F	b	ʕ	l	bālīt/bātən	
bawk	ML	4 book	NO	l1aw3	Sg.	?	b	w	k	bəwákt – bəwūk	
baydi	ML	3 liar (m)	NO	l1ay23	Sg.	M	b	d	v	baydi, bədyīt/bədyēt, bədyōtən	
baylaʔ	ML	3 to swMLow	NO	l1ay2aʔ	Sg.	?	b	l	ʕ	baylaʔ	
bayhər	ML	3 to appeal for help to	NO	l1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	b	h	r	bayhər	
bayhəθ	ML	3 to dig a hole in the ground, in the	NO	l1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	b	h	θ	bayhəθ	
bayrəd	ML	3 to sharpen (a knife), to file smoo	NO	l1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	b	r	d	bayrəd	
baylət'	ML	3 to slit	NO	l1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	b	l	t'	baylət'	
baytəl	ML	3 (camel) to walk at a fast pace	NO	l1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	b	t	l	baytəl	
bayr	ML	4 well	NO	l1ay3	Sg.	?	b	ʔ	r	bayr/bəyáwrət	
bən	ML	4 coffee-powder	NO	l1ə2	Sg.	M	b	n	n	bən	
bər	ML	4 son of (construct state)	NO	l1ə2	Sg.	M	b	r		bər/həmbəráwtən - həmərəw	
bəlbəlēt	ML	14 zagharīt, trilling sound made by	NO	l1ə2l1ə2ēt	Sg.	F	b	l	b	l	abəlbəlēt

bənnāy	ML	14 builder	NO	1ə22ā3 (1ə22āy)	Sg.		b	n	v		bənnāy/bənnōwyət
bət't'ə'χt	ML	13 melon	NO	1ə22ə'3t	Sg.	?	b	t'	χ		bət't'ə'χt/bət't'ayχ
bēdi	ML	2 lie, falsehood	NO	1ē23	Sg.	?	b	d	v		bēdi
bēni	ML	2 building	NO	1ē23	Sg.	?	b	n	v		bēni/bənāyāt
bərnaws	ML	14 blanket	NO	1ə23aw4	Sg.	?	b	r	n	s	bərnaws
bərdēg	ML	14 a rag, piece of cloth	NO	1ə23ē4	Sg.	?	b	r	d	g	bərdēg/bərdōg
bəχš'ərrō	ML	14 little finger	NO	1ə23ə44ō	Sg.	?	b	χ	š'	r (?)	bəχš'ərrō
bərlēt	ML	13 buggalow, kind of boat	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	?	b	ɾ	l		bərlēt
bərkēt	ML	13 pool, cistern	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	F	b	r	k		bərkēt/bəráktən
bəlwēt	ML	13 catastrophe, disaster	NO	1ə23ēt (1ə2wēt)	Sg.	F	b	l	v		bəlwēt
bərmīl	ML	14 barrel	NO	1ə23ī4	Sg.	?	b	r	m	l	bərmīl
bədyīt	ML	13 liar (f)	NO	1ə23īt	Sg.	F	b	d	v		baydi, bədyīt/bədyēt, bədyōtən
bəhlīt	ML	13 word	NO	1ə23īt	Sg.	F	b	h	l		bəhlīt/bəhēl
bərwīt	ML	13 a split in a fold of the flesh of the	NO	1ə23īt	Sg.	F	b	r	v (?)		bərwīt/bərawtən
bəs'ār	ML	5 dawn	NO	1ə2ā3	Sg.	?	b	s'	r		bəs'ār
bəʕayt	ML	13 desire	NO	1ə2a3t (1ə2ayt)	Sg.	F	b	ʕ	v		bəʕayt
bədayd	ML	6 small camel, 2-3 days old	NO	1ə2ay2	Sg.	?	b	d	d		bədayd/bədūd
bəʕayr	ML	6 male camel	NO	1ə2ay3	Sg.	M	b	ʕ	r		bəʕayr/bāyōr - bəʕyōr
bərayk'	ML	6 pitcher, ewer	NO	1ə2ay3	Sg.	?	b	r	k'		bərayk'/bərawk'ət
bəráy?	ML	6 innocent, free of debt, guilt, etc.	NO	1ə2áy3 (1ə2áy)	Sg.	M	b	r	?		bəráy?
bəhaymət	ML	13 poor, simple fellow	NO	1ə2ay3ət	Sg.	?	b	h	m		bəhaymət
bəráyyət	ML	innocent, free of debt, guilt, etc.	NO	1ə2áyyət	Sg.	F	b	r	?		bəráyyət
bədēd	ML	5 separation	NO	1ə2ē2	Sg.	?	b	d	d		bədēd
bēðər	ML	2 seed	NO	1ē2ə3	Sg.	?	b	ð	r		bēðər/bəðōwər
bēðər	ML	2 planted, seeded area	NO	1ē2ə3	Sg.	?	b	ð	r		bēðər
bēkər	ML	2 first-born	NO	1ē2ə3	Sg.	M	b	k	r		bēkər/bəkōwər
bēk'əl	ML	2 vegetation that grows after rain	NO	1ē2ə3	Sg.	M	b	k'	l		bēk'əl
bēl'ər	ML	2 tear, slit, (slang) vulva	NO	1ē2ə3	Sg.	?	b	l'	r		bēl'ər/bəl'ōwər
bədēl	ML	5 improvement, change	NO	1ə2ē3	Sg.	?	b	d	l		bədēl
bədēn	ML	5 body	NO	1ə2ē3	Sg.	?	b	d	n		bədēn/bədawnət
bəhēš'	ML	5 unpleasant person who is fair to	NO	1ə2ē3	Sg.	?	b	h	š'		bəhēš'
bəřēd	ML	5 frost, hail	NO	1ə2ē3	Sg.	?	b	r	d		bəřēd
bədəwáy	ML	11 bedouin	NO	1ə2ə3áy	Sg.	M	b	d	v		bədəwáy/badw
bəθ'əhayn	ML	14 food item	NO	1ə2ə3ayn	Sg.	?	b	θ'	h		bəθ'əhayn/bēθ'əh

bək'ərēt	ML	13 cow	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	F	b	k'	r	bək'ərēt/əbk'ār
bərəkēt	ML	13 blessing, benediction	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	F	b	r	k	bərəkēt
bəs'alēt	ML	13 onion	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	F	b	s'	l	bəs'alēt/bəʃāl
bələrēt	ML	13 skin, complexion, maidenhead	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	F	b	l	r	bələrēt
bəzərēt	ML	13 a piece of dry stuff (Jahn: "Stück	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	F	b	z	r	bəzərēt
bələrīn	ML	14 reward for bringing good news	NO	lə2ə3īn	Sg.	?	b	l	r	bələrīn
bəsərīt	ML	13 date	NO	lə2ə3īt	Sg.	F	b	s	r	bəsərīt/bēsər
bəlēt	ML	13 north wind	NO	lə2ēt	Sg.	F	b	l	v	balēt
bəhīl	ML	5 cooked food	NO	lə2ī3	Sg.	?	b	h	l	bəhīl
bəhōr	ML	5 measure of weight	NO	lə2ō3	Sg.	?	b	h	r	bəhōr
bəhōr	ML	5 sailor	NO	lə2ō3	Sg.	M	b	h	r	bəhōr/bəhərēt
bət'ōl	ML	5 fear	NO	lə2ō3	Sg.	?	b	t'	l	bət'ōl
bəlōrət	ML	13 good news	NO	lə2ō3ət	Sg.	F	b	l	r	bəlōrət
bəyōrət	ML	13 trickery	NO	lə2ō3ət	Sg.	F	b	y	r	bəyōrət
bəs'ōrət	ML	13 right advice	NO	lə2ō3ət	Sg.	F	b	s'	r	bəs'ōrət
bərt	ML	13 daughter of (construct state)	NO	lə2t	Sg.	F	b	r		bərt/həbantən
bəlyēt	ML	13 catastrophe, disaster	NO	lə2yēt	Sg.	F	b	l	v	bəlyēt
bəhyōk'	ML	8 illness	NO	lə2yō3	Sg.	?	b	h	k'	bəhyōk'
bətəddōt	ML	13 to separate, leave	NO	lətə22ōt	Sg.	?	b	d	d	bətəddōt
bīl'ayt	ML	13 egg	NO	lī3ayt	Sg.	F	b	y	l'	bīl'ayt/bəyal'tən/bayl'
bōki	ML	2 weeper	NO	lō23	Sg.	M	b	k	v	bōki
bōk'i	ML	2 remainder	NO	lō23	Sg.	?	b	k'	v	bōk'i
bōkər	ML	2 young female 2 year old camel	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	F	b	k	r	bōkər/bəkōr
bōlək	ML	2 grown up, adult	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	M	b	l	ɤ	bōlək
bōrək'	ML	2 lightning	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	b	r	k'	bōrək'
bōyər	ML	2 cheat, swindler, sharper, cunning	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	b	y	r	bōyər/bīrēt
bōni	ML	2 to build, put up	NO	lō2i	Sg.	?	b	n	v	bōni
bōb	ML	16 door	NO	lō3	Sg.	?	b	w	b	bōb/bəwēbat
həbs'ərōt	ML	13 to see well	NO	hə12ə3ōt	Sg.	?	b	s'	r	həbs'ərōt
həbt'ōt	ML	13 to be late, delayed, away for a lo	NO	hə12ōt	Sg.	?	b	t'	?	həbt'ōt
məbɤāl'	ML	7 hateful, rude person	NO	mə12ā3	Sg.	M	b	ɤ	l'	məbɤāl'
məbrēd	ML	7 file, flint	NO	mə12ē3	Sg.	?	b	r	d	məbrēd
məbrēk	ML	7 camping-place	NO	mə12ē3	Sg.	?	b	r	k	məbrēk
šəblərēt	ML	13 to receive a reward, be given a p	NO	šə12ə3ēt	Sg.	?	b	l	r	šəblərēt

təblayr	ML	15 to console, give good news	NO	tə12ay3	Sg.	?	b	l	r	təblayr	
təbrək'	ML	14 a parti-coloured sheep	NO	tə12ē3 (1ə23ē4	? Sg.	?	b	r	k'	təbrək'	
baħħət'	ML	14 to be slit	YES	1a22ə3	Sg.	M	b	l	t'	baħħət'	
bərs'ayt	ML	13 naked	YES	1ə23ayt	Sg.	F	b	r	s'	bərs', bərs'ayt/bərwōs', bərwās'tən	
bəl'ār	ML	5 torn, slit	YES	1ə2ā3	Sg.	M	b	l'	r	bəl'ār, bəl'ərēt	
bəs'ayr	ML	6 perceptive	YES	1ə2ay3	Sg.	M	b	s'	r	bəs'ayr, bəs'ayrət/bīs'ōr, bīs'ärtən	
bət'ay?	ML	6 slow, late	YES	1ə2ay3	Sg.	M	b	t'	?	bət'ay?	
bət'ayn	ML	6 having a big belly	YES	1ə2ay3	Sg.	M	b	t'	n	bət'ayn	
bəχayl	ML	6 mean, avaricious, grasping, grudξ	YES	1ə2ay3	Sg.	M	b	χ	l	bəχayl, bəχaylət/bīχōl, bīχātən	
bərayk	ML	6 blessed	YES	1ə2ay3	Sg.	M	b	r	k	bərayk	
bəs'ayrət	ML	13 perceptive	YES	1ə2ay3ət	Sg.	F	b	s'	r	bəs'ayr, bəs'ayrət/bīs'ōr, bīs'ärtən	
bəχaylət	ML	13 mean, avaricious, grasping, grudξ	YES	1ə2ay3ət	Sg.	F	b	χ	l	bəχayl, bəχaylət/bīχōl, bīχātən	
bərəs'	ML	5 naked	YES	1ə2ē3	Sg.	M	b	r	s'	bərəs', bərs'ayt/bərwōs', bərwās'tən	
bəl'əfáy	ML	11 speaking broken language, a mix	YES	1ə2ə3áy	Sg.	M	b	l'	ʕ	bəl'əfáy, bəl'əfáyət	
bəl'əfáyət	ML	11 speaking broken language, a mix	YES	1ə2ə3áyət	Sg.	F	b	l'	ʕ	bəl'əfáy, bəl'əfáyət	
bəl'ərēt	ML	13 torn, slit	YES	1ə2ə3ēt	Sg.	F	b	l'	r	bəl'ār, bəl'ərēt	
bōt'əl	ML	2 cowardly, decieving, weak	YES	1ō2ə3	Sg.	M	b	t'	l	bōt'əl	
mābáyl	ML	14 owned (dog)	YES	mā1áy3	Sg.	M	b	ʕ	l	mābáyl	
məbrūk	ML	7 blessed, fortunate	YES	mə12ū3	Sg.	M	b	r	k	məbrūk	
badw	ML	4 beduins	NO	1a23	Pl.	?	b	d	v	bədəwáy/badw	
bātən	ML	12 owners (f)	NO	1ātən	Pl.	F	b	ʕ	l	bālīt/bātən	
báyli	ML	owners	NO	1ay3i	Pl.	M	b	ʕ	l		
bāyōr	ML	8 male camels	NO	1āyō3	Pl.	M	b	ʕ	r	bəfayr/bāyōr - bəfyōr	
bət't'ə'χt/bət't'a	ML	14 melon	NO	1ə22ay3	Pl.	?	b	t'	χ	bət't'ə'χt/bət't'ayχ	
bənnōwyət	ML	13 builders	NO	1ə22ōw3ət (1ə22	Pl.	?	b	n	v	bənnāy/bənnōwyət	
bədyēt	ML	13 liars (m)	NO	1ə23ēt	Pl.	M	b	d	v	baydi, bədyīt/bədyēt, bədyōtən	
bərdōg	ML	14 a rag, piece of cloth	NO	1ə23ō4	Pl.	?	b	r	d	g	bərdēg/bərdōg
bədyōtən	ML	12 liars (f)	NO	1ə23ōtən	Pl.	F	b	d	v	baydi, bədyīt/bədyēt, bədyōtən	
bēt'āh	ML	10 sand, soil	NO	1ē2ā3	Pl.	?	b	t'	h	bat'h, bat'ah/bēt'āh	
bəs'āl	ML	5 onion	NO	1ə2ā3	Pl.	?	b	s'	l	bəs'alēt/bəs'al	
bēni/bənāyāt	ML	13 building	NO	1ə2ā3āt	Pl.	?	b	n	v	bēni/bənāyāt	
bəwákt	ML	13 book	NO	1ə2á3t	Pl.	?	b	w	k	bəwákt	
bəráktən	ML	12 pool cistern	NO	1ə2á3tən	Pl.	?	b	r	k	bərkēt/bəráktən	
bərawtən	ML	12 split in a fold of the flesh of the f	NO	1ə2a3tən (1ə2aw	Pl.	?	b	r	v (?)	bərwīt/bərawtən	

bəyal'tən	ML	12 egg	NO	lə2a3tən (ləya3t Pl.	?	b	y	l'	bīl'ayt/bəyal'tən/bayl'
bərawr	ML	6 poet. desert, land	NO	lə2aw2 Pl.	?	b	r	r	bar/bərawr
bədawnət	ML	13 bodies	NO	lə2aw3ət Pl.	?	b	d	n	bədēn/bədawnət
bərawk'ət	ML	13 pitcher, ewer	NO	lə2aw3ət Pl.	?	b	r	k'	bərayk'/bərawk'ət
bēθ'əh	ML	5 food items	NO	lē2ə3 Pl.	?	b	θ'	h	bəθ'əhayn/bēθ'əh
bəhəl	ML	5 words	NO	lə2ē3 Pl.	?	b	h	l	bəhlīt/bəhəl
bəhərēt	ML	13 sailors	NO	lə2ə3ēt Pl.	?	b	h	r	bəhōr/bəhərēt
bəwēbət	ML	13 door	NO	lə2ē3ət (ləwē2ə Pl.	?	b	w	b	bōb/bəwēbət
bəʕēli	ML	owners	NO	lə2ē3i Pl.	M	b	ʕ	l	bāl/bāyli - bəʕēli
bəkōr	ML	5 young female 2 year old camel	NO	lə2ō3 Pl.	?	b	k	r	bōkər/bəkōr
bəðōwər	ML	8 seeds	NO	lə2ōwə3 Pl.	?	b	ð	r	bēðər/bəðōwər
bəkōwər	ML	8 first-born	NO	lə2ōwə3 Pl.	?	b	k	r	bēkər/bəkōwər
bəl'ōwər	ML	8 tear, slit, (slang) vulva (Jahn: "L	NO	lə2ōwə3 Pl.	?	b	l'	r	bēl'ər/bəl'ōwər
bədūd	ML	5 small camels, 2-3 days old	NO	lə2ū2 Pl.	?	b	d	d	bədayd/bədūd
bəyūt	ML	5 house	NO	lə2ū3 Pl.	?	b	y	t	bayt/bəyūt
bəʕyōr	ML	8 male camels	NO	lə2yō3 Pl.	M	b	ʕ	r	bəʕayr/bāyōr - bəʕyōr
bəsōwət'	ML	8 breakfast	NO	lə3ōwə3 Pl.	?	b	s	t'	
bəyáwrət	ML	13 wells	NO	ləyáw3ət Pl.	?	b	ʔ	r	bayr/bəyáwrət
bīrēt	ML	13 cheat, swindler, sharper, cunning	NO	lī23ēt Pl.	?	b	y	r	bōyər/bīrēt
bīrök	ML	10 knee	NO	lī2ō3 Pl.	?	b	r	k	bark/bīrök
əbk'ār	ML	5 cows	NO	ə12ā3 Pl.	?	b	k'	r	bək'ərēt/əbk'ār
həbantən	ML	daughters	NO	hə1a2tən Pl.	?	b	r (n)		bərt/həbantən
həbūn	ML	children	NO	hə1ū2 Pl.	M	b	n		həbūn, həbōn
həmbərawtən	ML	boy	NO	həm1ə2awtən Pl.		b	r		kīggēn, kīgēn/həmbərawtən, həmərō
həmbəráwtən	ML	boys, (male children)	NO	həm1ə2áwtən Pl.	?	b	r		bər/həmbəráwtən - həmərəw
həmərəw	ML	boys, (male children)	NO	həmə2əw (?) Pl.	?	b	r		bər/həmbəráwtən - həmərəw
həmərō	ML	boy	NO	həmə2ō Pl.		b	r		kīggēn, kīgēn/həmbərawtən, həmərō
bərwás'tən	ML	12 naked	YES	lə2wá3tən Pl.	F	b	r	s'	bərəs', bərs'ayt/bərwōs', bərwás'tən
bərwōs'	ML	10 naked	YES	lə2wō3 Pl.	M	b	r	s'	bərəs', bərs'ayt/bərwōs', bərwás'tən
bīs'ártən	ML	13 perceptive	YES	lī2á3tən Pl.	F	b	s'	r	bəs'ayr, bəs'ayrət/bīs'ōr, bīs'ártən
bīḫātən	ML	13 mean, avaricious, grudging, gras	YES	lī2ātən Pl.	F	b	ḫ	l	bəḫayl, bəḫaylət/bīḫōl, bīḫātən
bīs'ōr	ML	10 perceptive	YES	lī2ō3 Pl.	M	b	s'	r	bəs'ayr, bəs'ayrət/bīs'ōr, bīs'ártən
bīḫōl	ML	10 mean, avaricious, grudging, gras	YES	lī2ō3 Pl.	M	b	ḫ	l	bəḫayl, bəḫaylət/bīḫōl, bīḫātən
dabh	ML	4 honey	NO	la23 Sg.	?	d	b	h	dabh

dahk'	ML	4 precipice, slope	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	d	h	k'		dahk', deħək'/dəħēk'
darg	ML	4 white cloth	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	d	r	g		darg/dərōwəg
darb	ML	4 village street, yard	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	d	r	b		darb
dawr	ML	4 turn	NO	1a23 (1aw3)	Sg.	?	d	w	r		dawr
dárzən	ML	14 dozen	NO	1á23ə4	Sg.	?	d	r	z	n	dárzən/dərárzən
dāhyəh	ML	14 very learned, very good (person)	NO	1ā23əh (1ā2yəh)	Sg.	?	d	h	v		dāhyəh
dāwēt	ML	13 complaint	NO	1ā3ēt	Sg.	F	d	ʕ	v		dāwēt
dayhəf	ML	3 to pat, slap, slap on the back	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	d	h	f		dayhəf
dayləf	ML	3 to jump	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	d	l	f		dayləf
dayχəl	ML	3 to bear witness, foreswear, under	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	d	χ	l		dayχəl
dayr	ML	4 to wander around, go and come l	NO	1ay3	Sg.	?	d	w	r		dayr
dayrət	ML	13 area, locality, compass	NO	1ay3ət	Sg.	F	d	w	r		dayrət/dəwōyər
dəgdəgēt	ML	14 to tap, make a tapping sound wit	NO	1ə21ə2ēt	Sg.	?	d	g	d	g	dəgdəgēt
dəmdəmət	ML	14 to grope	NO	1ə21ə2ēt	Sg.	?	d	m	d	m	dəmdəmət
dəgdīg	ML	14 insect like a grasshopper	NO	1ə21ī2	Sg.	?	d	g	d	g	dəgdīg/dəgdōg
dək'k'°	ML	4 to pound, to knock	NO	1ə22	Sg.	?	d	k'	k'		dək'
dərrāt	ML	13 shirt, gown, dishdasha	NO	1ə22āt	Sg.	F	d	r	r		dərrāt/dərēr
dəffēt	ML	13 body, side	NO	1ə22ēt	Sg.	F	d	f	f		dəffēt/dəfēf
dəkkēt	ML	13 (stone) bench by the outside doo	NO	1ə22ēt	Sg.	?	d	k	k		dəkkēt/dəkēk
dəllēt	ML	13 coffee-pot	NO	1ə22ēt	Sg.	F	d	l	l		dəllēt/dəlēl
dənnēt	ML	13 reverberation	NO	1ə22ēt	Sg.	F	d	n	n		dənnēt
dəllōl	ML	14 guide, agent	NO	1ə22ō2	Sg.	?	d	l	l		dəllōl/dəllōlət
dəkkōn	ML	14 shop, store	NO	1ə22ō3	Sg.	?	d	k	n		dəkkōn/dəkaknət
dəkrayr	ML	14 point, summit, peak, spike	NO	1ə23ay3 (1ə23ay	Sg.	?	d	ʁ	r	(r?)	dəkrayr/dəkrōr
dək'layl	ML	14 beak (bird) peak (mountain)	NO	1ə23ay3 (1ə23ay	Sg.	?	d	k'	l	(l?)	dək'layl/dək'lōl
dəʁšēš	ML	14 high point, edge, cliff	NO	1ə23ē3 (1ə23ē4)	Sg.	?	d	ʁ	š		dəʁšēš/dəʁšōš
dərgēt	ML	13 step, layer	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	F	d	r	g		dərgēt/dərēg
dəχmət	ML	13 flatulence, bad breath and ingest	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	F	d	χ	m		dəχmət
dənyē	ML	this world	NO	1ə23ē	Sg.	?	d	n	v		dənyē
dəhlīl	ML	14 cave, hole, lair	NO	1ə23ī3 (1ə23ī4)	Sg.	?	d	ħ	l	(l?)	dəhlīl/dəhlōl
dəhrīz	ML	14 room, cell	NO	1ə23ī4	Sg.	?	d	h	r	z	dəhrīz
dərhīs	ML	14 one year old female kid (m in ge)	NO	1ə23ī4	Sg.	M	d	r	h	s	dərhīs/dərhōs
dərwīš	ML	14 wandering pauper	NO	1ə23ī4	Sg.	M	d	r	v	š	dərwīš
dəχšīr	ML	14 lair, hole in (not through) sth.	NO	1ə23ī4	Sg.	?	d	χ	š	r	dəχšīr/dəχšōr

dəftōr	ML	14 notebook	NO	lə23ō4	Sg.	?	d	f	t	r	dəftōr/dəfatrət
dēkar	ML	2 projecting tongue, small ledge or	NO	lē2a3	Sg.	?	d	ɤ	r		dēkar
dək'al	ML	5 mast	NO	lə2ā3	Sg.	?	d	k'	l		dək'al
dəmāt	ML	13 tear, tear-drop	NO	lə2āt	Sg.	F	d	m	ɥ		dəmāt/dəmā
dəfāt	ML	13 to push, pay, bribe	NO	lə2āt	Sg.	?	d	f	ɥ		dəfāt
dək'ayk'ət	ML	13 minute	NO	lə2ay2ət	Sg.	?	d	k'	k'		dək'ayk'ət/dək'ōyək'
dəhayl	ML	6 to become used to, to get to know	NO	lə2ay3	Sg.	?	d	h	l		dəhayl
dəhayr	ML	6 afflictions (of stumbling), a rather	NO	lə2ay3	Sg.	?	d	h	r		dəhayr
dəhayk	ML	6 skinning, flaying	NO	lə2ay3	Sg.	?	d	h	k		dəhayk
dəhayk'	ML	6 to come straight to (a place)	NO	lə2ay3	Sg.	?	d	h	k'		dəhayk'
dəhays	ML	6 tiresome fellow, pest	NO	lə2ay3	Sg.	?	d	h	s		dəhays
dəfā?	ML	5 defense	NO	lə2ā?	Sg.	?	d	f	ɥ		dəfā?
dēhər	ML	2 period of time, us. a year or a ce	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	?	d	h	r		dēhər
dəgərīt	ML	13 bean	NO	lə2ə3īt	Sg.	?	d	g	r		dəgərīt/dēgər
dəgōgət	ML	13 chicken	NO	lə2ō2ət	Sg.	?	d	g	g		dəgōgət/dəgōg
dəlōlət	ML	13 to know, show, direct, guide to	NO	lə2ō2ət	Sg.	?	d	l	l		dəlōlət
dəhōm	ML	5 heat-haze, shimmer	NO	lə2ō3	Sg.	?	d	h	m		dəhōm
dəwōt	ML	13 inkwell, ink	NO	lə2ōt	Sg.	F	d	w	v		dəwōt
dənō?	ML	5 pregnancy	NO	lə2ō?	Sg.	?	d	n	v		dənō?
dəsūs	ML	5 little snake popularly believed to	NO	lə2ū2	Sg.	?	d	s	s		dəsūs
dēmēt	ML	13 warehouse for food	NO	lē3ēt	Sg.	F	d	y (?)	m		dēmēt
dəyn	ML	4 debt	NO	lɛ23 (lɛy3)	Sg.	?	d	y	n		dəyn/dəyawnət
dəhək'	ML	4 precipice, slope	NO	lɛ2ə3	Sg.	?	d	h	k'		dahk', dəhək'/dəhēk'
dēn	ML	4 desert plain	NO	lē3	Sg.	?	d	ɥ	n		dēn/dawn
dīwē	ML	10 medicine, medical treatment	NO	lī2ē	Sg.	?	d	w	v		dīwē/dəwyōtən
dīd	ML	14 paternal uncle	NO	lī3	Sg.	M	d	w	d		dīd/dūd
dīt	ML	14 maternal aunt	NO	lī3	Sg.	F	d	w	d		dīt/dūtən
dīn	ML	religion	NO	lī3	Sg.	?	d	y	n		dīn
dīk	ML	cock	NO	lī3	Sg.	M	d	y	k		dīk
dōsi	ML	2 dirt	NO	lō23 (lō2i)	Sg.	?	d	s	v		dōsi
dōθə	ML	2 spring rain	NO	lō2ə	Sg.	?	d	θ	?		dōθə
dōrəs	ML	2 student	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	M	d	r	s		dōrəs
dōləw	ML	2 well-bucket, well-rope	NO	lō2ə3 (lō2əw)	Sg.	?	d	l	v		dōləw/dəlōw, dələ'wwəw
dōmət	ML	13 dōm-tree	NO	lō3ət	Sg.	F	d	w	m		dōm

həɖχəlōt	ML	13 to make so. swear, foreswear	NO	hə12ə3ōt	Sg.	?	d	χ	l	həɖχəlōt
həɖχəmōt	ML	13 to have flatulence, bad breath	NO	hə12ə3ōt	Sg.	?	d	χ	m	həɖχəmōt
hədəllōt	ML	13 to inform, show, direct, guide	NO	hə1ə22ōt	Sg.	?	d	l	l	hədəllōt
mədrēm	ML	7 achilles' tendron, heel	NO	mə12ē3	Sg.	?	d	r	m	mədrēm/mədawrəm
mədyēχ	ML	7 dizzy turn	NO	mə12ē3	Sg.	?	d	y	χ	mədyēχ
mədfənūt	ML	13 cache (in the sea)	NO	mə12ə3ūt	Sg.	?	d	f	n	mədfənūt
mədfē	ML	7 cannon	NO	mə12ē	Sg.	?	d	f	ʃ	mədfē/mədōfa?
mədmīm	ML	7 one sought for revenge for a killi	NO	mə12ī2	Sg.	M	d	m	m	mədmīm
mədak	ML	7 striker of a rifle	NO	mə1a2	Sg.	?	d	k	k	mədak
mədərsēt	ML	13 school	NO	mə1ə23ēt	Sg.	F	d	r	s	mədərsēt
mədōrət	ML	13 square, open space	NO	mə1ō3ət	Sg.	F	d	w	r	mədōrət
šəɖχəlēt	ML	13 to agree not to do st. (group)	NO	šə12ə3ēt	Sg.	?	d	χ	l	šəɖχəlēt
šədōt	ML	13 to curse, insult, miscML so.	NO	šə1ōt	Sg.	?	d	ʃ	v	šədōt
dəwayl	ML	6 old, worn out	YES	1ə2ay3	Sg.	M	d	w	l	dəwayl, dəwaylət/dīwōl – dəwōl, dīwētən
dənyēt	ML	13 pregnant	YES	1ə23ēt (1ə2yēt)	Sg.	F	d	n	v	dənyēt/dənaytən, dənyōtən
dəwaylət	ML	13 old, worn out	YES	1ə2ay3ət	Sg.	F	d	w	l	dəwayl, dəwaylət/dīwōl – dəwōl, dīwētən
dəkēm	ML	5 blunt (in the point)	YES	1ə2ē3	Sg.	M	d	k	m	dəkēm, dəkəmīt/dəkwōm, dəkwamtən
dəkəmīt	ML	13 blunt (in the point)	YES	1ə2ə3īt	Sg.	F	d	k	m	dəkēm, dəkəmīt/dəkwōm, dəkwamtən
dōyəχ	ML	2 dizzy	YES	1ō2ə3	Sg.	M	d	y	χ	dōyəχ
dōyəm	ML	2 permanently living in the same p	YES	1ōyə3	Sg.	M	d	y (?)	m	dōyəm
mədnay	ML	7 heavily pregnant (for animals on	YES	mə12a3 (mə12ay	Sg.	?	d	n	v	mədnay/mədōni
mədɁawš'	ML	7 pointed (mountain)	YES	mə12aw3	Sg.	M	d	Ɂ	š (š')	mədɁawš'
mədk'ayk'	ML	7 pounded	YES	mə12ay2	Sg.	M	d	k'	k'	mədk'ayk'
mədyēn	ML	7 indebted	YES	mə12ē3	Sg.	M	d	y	n	mədyēn
mədwīr	ML	7 coiled	YES	mə12ī3 (mə1wī3	Sg.	M	d	w	r	mədwīr, mədəwrūt/mədwōr, mədəwrūtən
mədāwwər	ML	14 round	YES	mə1ā22ə3	Sg.	M	d	w	r	mədāwwər
mədəwrūt	ML	13 coiled	YES	mə1ə23ūt (mə1ə	Sg.	F	d	w	r	mədwīr, mədəwrūt/mədwōr, mədəwrūtən
dawn	ML	4 desert plain	NO	1aw3	Pl.	?	d	ʃ	n	dēn/dawn
dəgdōg	ML	14 insect like a grasshopper	NO	1ə21ō2	Pl.	?	d	g	d g	dəgdīg/dəgdōg
dəllōl/dəllōlət	ML	13 guide, agent	NO	1ə22ō2ət	Pl.	?	d	l	l	dəllōl/dəllōlət
dəɁrōr	ML	14 point, summit, peak, spike	NO	1ə23ō3 (1ə23ō4)	Pl.	?	d	Ɂ	r (r?)	dəɁrayr/dəɁrōr
dəɁšōš	ML	14 high point, edge, cliff	NO	1ə23ō3 (1ə23ō4)	Pl.	?	d	Ɂ	š (š?)	dəɁšēs/dəɁšōš
dəhlōl	ML	14 cave, hole, lair	NO	1ə23ō3 (1ə23ō4)	Pl.	?	d	h	l (l?)	dəhlīl/dəhlōl
dək'lōl	ML	14 beak (bird) peak (mountain)	NO	1ə23ō3 (1ə23ō4)	Pl.	?	d	k'	l (l?)	dək'layl/dək'lōl

dərhōs	ML	14 one year old female kid (m in ge)	NO	1ə23ō4	Pl.	?	d	r	h	s	dərhis/dərhōs
dəχšōr	ML	14 lair, hole in (not through) sth.	NO	1ə23ō4	Pl.	?	d	χ	š	r	dəχšīr/dəχšōr
dəwyōtən	ML	12 medicine, medical treatment	NO	1ə23ōtən (1ə2yōi	Pl.	?	d	w	v		dīwē/dəwyōtən
dəmā	ML	5 tear, tear-drop	NO	1ə2ā	Pl.	?	d	m	ʕ		dəmāt/dəmā
dərārzən	ML	14 dozen	NO	1ə2ā23ə4	Pl.	?	d	r	z	n	dārzən/dərārzən
dəkaknət	ML	13 shop, store	NO	1ə2a23ət	Pl.	?	d	k	n		dəkkōn/dəkaknət
dəfātɾət	ML	13 notebook	NO	1ə2a34ət	Pl.	?	d	f	t	r	dəftōr/dəfātɾət
dəyawnət	ML	13 debt	NO	1ə2aw3ət	Pl.		d	y	n		dəyn/dəyawnət
dələ'wwəw	ML	8 well-bucket, well-rope	NO	1ə2ə'wwəw	Pl.	?	d	l	v		dōləw/dələw, dələ'wwəw
dəfēf	ML	5 side, body	NO	1ə2ē2	Pl.	?	d	f	f		dəffēt/dəfēf
dəlēl	ML	5 coffee-pot	NO	1ə2ē2	Pl.	?	d	l	l		dəllēt/dəlēl
dəkēk	ML	5 (stone) bench by the outside doo	NO	1ə2ē2	Pl.	?	d	k	k		dəkkēt/dəkēk
dərēr	ML	5 shirt, gown, dishdasha	NO	1ə2ē2	Pl.	?	d	r	r		dərrāt/dərēr
dēgər	ML	5 bean	NO	1ē2ə3	Pl.	?	d	g	r		dəgərīt/dēgər
dəhēk'	ML	5 precipice, slope	NO	1ə2ē3	Pl.	?	d	h	k'		dəhk', dəhək'/dəhēk'
dərēg	ML	5 step, layer	NO	1ə2ē3	Pl.	?	d	r	g		dərgēt/dərēg
dəgōg	ML	5 chicken	NO	1ə2ō2	Pl.	?	d	g	g		dəgōgət/dəgōg
dəlōlət	ML	13 directions, instruction	NO	1ə2ō2ət	Pl.	?	d	l	l		dəlōlət
dələw	ML	5 well-bucket, well-rope	NO	1ə2ō3 (1ə2ōw)	Pl.	?	d	l	v		dōləw/dələw, dələ'wwəw
dərōwəg	ML	8 white cloth	NO	1ə2ōwə3	Pl.	?	d	r	g		dərg/dərōwəg
dək'ōyək'	ML	8 minute	NO	1ə2ōyə2	Pl.	?	d	k'	k'		dək'ayk'ət/dək'ōyək'
dūd	ML	14 paternal uncle	NO	1ū3	Pl.	M	d	w	d		dīt/dūd
dūtən	ML	12 maternal aunt	NO	1ū3ən	Pl.	F	d	w	d		dīt/dūtən
dəwōyər	ML	area, locality, compass	NO	dəwōyər	Pl.	?	d	v	r		dəyrət/dəwōyər
mədawrəm	ML	7 achilles' tendon, heel	NO	mə1aw2ə3	Pl.	?	d	r	m		mədrēm/mədawrəm
mədōfaʔ	ML	7 cannon	NO	mə1ō2aʔ	Pl.	?	d	f	ʕ		mədfe/mədōfaʔ
dənyōtən	ML	12 pregnant	YES	1ə23ōtən (1ə2yōi	Pl.	F	d	n	v		dənyēt/dənaytən, dənyōtən
dənaytən	ML	12 pregnant	YES	1ə2a3tən (1ə2ayt	Pl.	F	d	n	v		dənyēt/dənaytən, dənyōtən
dəkwmətən	ML	12 blunt (in the point)	YES	1ə2wa3tən	Pl.	F	d	k	m		dəkēm, dəkəmīt/dəkwōm, dəkwamtən
dəkwōm	ML	10 blunt (in the point)	YES	1ə2wō3	Pl.	M	d	k	m		dəkēm, dəkəmīt/dəkwōm, dəkwamtən
dīwētən	ML	12 old, worn out	YES	1ī2ētən	Pl.	F	d	w	l		dəwayl, dəwaylət/dīwōl – dəwōl, dīwētən
dīwōl	ML	10 old, worn out	YES	1ī2ō3	Pl.	M	d	w	l		dəwayl, dəwaylət/dīwōl – dəwōl, dīwētən
mədwōr	ML	7 coiled	YES	mə12ō3	Pl.	M	d	w	r		mədwīr, mədəwrūt/mədwōr, mədəwrūtən
mədəwrūtən	ML	12 coiled	YES	mə1ə23ūtən	Pl.	F	d	w	r		mədwīr, mədəwrūt/mədwōr, mədəwrūtən

mədōni	ML	7 heavily pregnant (animals only?)	YES	mə1ō23 (mə1ō2i Pl.	?	d	n	v		mədnay/mədōni
ðahl	ML	4 the person next to me	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	ð	h	l	ðahl
ðar?	ML	4 forearm	NO	1a2?	Sg.	?	ð	r	ʃ	ðar?/ðarōwə? - ðirē?
ðayhəb	ML	3 to be flooded	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	ð	h	b	ðayhəb
ðəbbēt	ML	13 fly	NO	1ə22ēt	Sg.	F	ð	b	b	ðəbbēt/ðəbēb
ðəmmēt	ML	13 debt	NO	1ə22ēt	Sg.	F	ð	m	m	ðəmmēt
ðərwayt	ML	13 camel's hump	NO	1ə23ayt (1ə2way	Sg.	F	ð	r	v	ðərwayt
ðəráyyət	ML	offspring	NO	1ə2áyyət	Sg.	F	ð	r	r/v	ðəráyyət, ðəreyyət
ðəhēb	ML	5 gold	NO	1ə2ē3	Sg.	?	ð	h	b	ðəhēb
ðərēt	ML	13 durah, a kind of sorghum	NO	1ə2ēt	Sg.	F	ð	r	r/v	ðərēt
ðəhīb	ML	5 flood water, torrent	NO	1ə2ī3	Sg.	?	ð	h	b	ðəhīb
ðənūb	ML	5 tail	NO	1ə2ū3	Sg.	?	ð	n	b	ðənūb/ðənbīn
ðōrə	ML	2 blood	NO	1ō2ə	Sg.	?	ð	r	ʔ/v	ðōrə/ðīráy?
ðōbəl	ML	2 side, edge	NO	1ō2ə3	Sg.	?	ð	b	l	ðōbəl/ðəbōl
həðrē	ML	13 to let the blood of a goat run ove	NO	hə12ē	Sg.	?	ð	r	ʔ/v	həðrē
ðəráy?	ML	6 strange, stranger	YES	1ə2áy3	Sg.	M	ð	r	?	ðəráy?, ðəráyyət /ðərē?, ðīráytən
ðəráyyət	ML	13 strange, stranger	YES	1ə2áyyət	Sg.	F	ð	r	?	ðəráy?, ðəráyyət /ðərē?, ðīráytən
məðkīr	ML	7 honoured	YES	mə12ī3	Sg.	M	ð	k	r	məðkīr
ðərðōr	ML	14 flea	NO	1ə21ō2	Pl.		ð	r	ð r	ðərðēr/ðərðōr
ðənbīn	ML	14 tail	NO	1ə23īn	Pl.		ð	n	b	ðənūb/ðənbīn
ðəbēb	ML	5 fly	NO	1ə2ē2	Pl.	?	ð	b	b	ðəbbēt/ðəbēb
ðəbōl	ML	5 side, edge	NO	1ə2ō3	Pl.		ð	b	l	ðōbəl/ðəbōl
ðərōwə?	ML	8 forearm	NO	1ə2ōwə?	Pl.		ð	r	ʃ	ðar?/ðarōwə? - ðirē?
ðīráy?	ML	10 blood	NO	1ī2áy3 (1ī2ī)	Pl.		ð	r	ʔ/v	ðōrə/ðīráy?
ðīrē?	ML	10 forearm	NO	1ī2ē?	Pl.		ð	r	ʃ	ðar?/ðarōwə? - ðirē?
ðərē?	ML	5 strange, stranger	YES	1ə2ē3	Pl.	M	ð	r	?	ðəráy?, ðəráyyət /ðərē?, ðīráytən
ðīráytən	ML	13 strange, stranger	YES	1ī2áytən	Pl.	F	ð	r	?	ðəráy?, ðəráyyət /ðərē?, ðīráytən
fk'awt	ML	13 to cover	NO	12awt	Sg.	?	f	k'	v	fk'awt
fle?	ML	5 lunch	NO	12e?	Sg.	?	f	l	v	əflē, fle?
fakl	ML	4 plentiful grazing, pasture	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	f	ɤ	l	fakl
fak'h	ML	4 half	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	f	k'	h	fak'h/fak'hi
fak'f'	ML	4 coconut meat	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	f	k'	f'	fak'f', fək'ōf'/fək'yōf'
falg	ML	4 ice, snow, desert frost	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	f	l	g	falg
fark	ML	4 to polish, rub; to leave her spous	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	f	r	k	fayrək, fark

fark'	ML	4 flock (goats, sheep only)	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	f	r	k'	fark'/həfərōk'	
farθ	ML	4 undigested food in the stomach	ε NO	1a23	Sg.	?	f	r	θ	farθ/firēθ	
farχ	ML	4 bastard (of an Arab father and a	NO	1a23	Sg.	M	f	r	χ	farχ	
farl'	ML	4 best dates, religious duty	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	f	r	l'	farl'/firōl'	
fash	ML	4 permission	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	f	s	h	fash	
fat'χ	ML	4 hit, blow, wound on the head	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	f	t'	χ	fat'χ/fət'ōwəχ	
faynáws	ML	14 lamp	NO	1a23áw4 (1ay2á)	Sg.	?	f	ʔ/v	n	s	faynáws
fawt'ət	ML	13 coloured waistcloth	NO	1a23ət (1aw3ət)	Sg.	F	f	w	t'	fawt'ət/fəwēt'	
faydət	ML	13 advantage, benefit	NO	1a23ət (1ay3ət)	Sg.	F	f	y	d	faydət	
fayrək	ML	3 to polish, rub; to leave her spouse	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	f	r	k	fayrək, fark	
fays'əl	ML	3 to mediate, arbitrate, make a judge	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	f	s'	l	fays'əl	
faytəh	ML	3 to open	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	f	t	h	faytəh	
fē	ML	14 lengthening shadow	NO	1ē	Sg.	?	f	y	?	fē - fe?	
fəwfəl	ML	14 pepper	NO	1ə21ē2 (1əw1ē2)	Sg.	?	f	l	f	l	fəwfəl
fədfid	ML	14 ringworm, scabies	NO	1ə21ī2	Sg.	?	f	d	f	d	fədfid
fərfir	ML	14 hasty person	NO	1ə21ī2	Sg.	?	f	r	f	r	fərfir
fərrāt	ML	13 unripe fruit	NO	1ə22āt	Sg.	F	f	r	r	fərrāt/fərēr	
fət't'āt	ML	13 pimple, itchy spot	NO	1ə22āt	Sg.	F	f	t'	t'	fət't'āt/fət'āt'	
fəl'l'āt	ML	13 silver	NO	1ə22āt	Sg.	F	f	l'	l'	fəl'l'āt	
fəllēt	ML	13 notch in a knife	NO	1ə22ēt	Sg.	F	f	l	l	fəllēt	
fərhāt	ML	13 happiness	NO	1ə23āt	Sg.	F	f	r	h	fərhāt	
fərl'āt	ML	13 harbour, customs post	NO	1ə23āt	Sg.	F	f	r	l'	fərl'āt	
fəl'hāt	ML	13 embarrassment, scandal	NO	1ə23āt	Sg.	F	f	l'	h	fəl'hāt	
fəl'lāt	ML	13 what remains over, remainder	NO	1ə23āt	Sg.	F	f	l'	l	fəl'lāt	
fərk'awt	ML	13 to frighten so., to recover from a	NO	1ə23awt	Sg.	?	f	r	k'	fərk'awt	
fəlhawt	ML	13 to have eaten just enough	NO	1ə23awt	Sg.	?	f	l	h	fəlhawt	
fərhayn	ML	14 mare, horse	NO	1ə23ayn	Sg.	?	f	r	h	fərhayn/fərhəyēn	
fərmēl	ML	14 lateen yard, top-bar of the first	NO	1ə23ē4	Sg.	?	f	r	m	l	fərmēl
fənxərēt	ML	14 nostril	NO	1ə23ə4ēt	Sg.	?	f	n	χ	r	fənxərēt/fənēχər
fəndəlōt	ML	14 sweet potato	NO	1ə23ə4ōt	Sg.	F	f	n	d	l	fəndəlōt/fəndēl
fərgēt	ML	13 joke, fun	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	F	f	r	g	fərgēt	
fərsēt	ML	13 opportunity	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	F	f	r	s	fərsēt	
fərlēt	ML	13 opening out in a valley	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	F	f	r	l	fərlēt/fərlətən	
fəχlīt	ML	13 one squirt of an udder	NO	1ə23īt	Sg.	F	f	χ	l	fəχlīt	

fəlān	ML	5 such-and-such	NO	lə2ā3	Sg.	M	f	l	n		fəlān
fəráslət	ML	14 measure (28 ratl)	NO	lə2á34ət	Sg.	F	f	r	s	l	fəráslət/fərosəl
fəlāni	ML	such-and-such	NO	lə2ā3i	Sg.	M	f	l	n		fəlāni
fəráṭ	ML	13 bravery, brave exploits	NO	lə2āt	Sg.	F	f	r	ʕ		fəráṭ, fəreṭ, fəráʔyət
fəḏayr	ML	6 to shake	NO	lə2ay3	Sg.	?	f	ð	r		fəḏayr
fərayl'	ML	6 she-camel up to two years old (n NO	NO	lə2ay3	Sg.	M	f	r	l'		fərayl'/fərol'
fətaylət	ML	13 wick	NO	lə2ay3ət	Sg.	F	f	t	l		fətaylət/fətōyəl
fəráʔyət	ML	13 bravery, brave exploits	NO	lə2áʔyət	Sg.	F	f	r	ʕ		fəráṭ, fəreṭ, fəráʔyət
fəḏē	ML	5 ransom	NO	lə2ē	Sg.	?	f	d	v		fəḏē, fəḏēʔ
fəxə'ðət	ML	13 tribe	NO	lə2ə'3ət	Sg.	F	f	χ	ð		fəxə'ðət - fɣayðət
fərə'st	ML	13 bad smell	NO	lə2ə'3t	Sg.	F	f	r	s		fərə'st
fēgər	ML	2 dawn, dawn-prayer	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	?	f	g	r		fēgər
fēhəm	ML	2 understanding	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	?	f	h	m		fēhəm
fēhəl	ML	2 penis	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	F	f	h	l		fēhəl/əfhayl
fēk'əl	ML	2 to burst, explode	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	?	f	k'	l		fēk'əl
fēs'əɁ	ML	2 gecko, indiscreet person, blabber	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	?	f	s'	Ɂ		fēs'əɁ/fəs'ə'wwəɁ
fēs'əl	ML	2 reason	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	?	f	s'	l		fēs'əl
fēləl	ML	2 affair, one's work	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	?	f	l	l		fēləl/fələ'wwəl
fələg	ML	5 stream, watercourse	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	f	l	g		fələg/fələwgət
fəreṭ'	ML	5 sense of loss, slipping out of o's	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	f	r	t'		fəreṭ'
fəwēg	ML	5 echo	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	f	w	g		fəwēg/fəwōgīn, fəwōgat
fək'əlwōt	ML	14 name of a fruit, fruit bush, blossom	NO	lə2ə34ōt (lə2ə3'	Sg.	F	f	k'	l	(w)	fək'əlwōt/fək'ələ'w
fəs'ərwōt	ML	14 caul (animals)	NO	lə2ə34ōt (lə2ə3'	Sg.	?	f	s'	r	w	fəs'ərwōt/fəs'ərə'w
fət'əray	ML	11 month name	NO	lə2ə3ay	Sg.	?	f	t'	r		fət'əray, fət'awri
fəreḏət	ML	13 very cold weather	NO	lə2ē3ət	Sg.	F	f	r	Ɂ		fəreḏət
fəhədēt	ML	13 animal bogy about the size of a c	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	F	f	h	d		fəhədēt/fəhēd
fəhəmōt	ML	13 to understand	NO	lə2ə3ōt	Sg.	?	f	h	m		fəhəmōt
fəxərwōt	ML	14 hollow below the Adam's apple	NO	lə2ə3wōt	Sg.	F	f	Ɂ	r		fəxərwōt/fəxōrəw – fəxəréw
fəθ'əwli	ML	gatecrasher, scrounger	NO	lə2éw3i	Sg.	M	f	θ'	l		fəθ'əwli
fəgīr	ML	5 smML tobacco pipe	NO	lə2ī3	Sg.	?	f	g	r		fəgīr/fəgawrət
fərik	ML	5 someone whose wife has left him	NO	lə2ī3	Sg.	M (?)	f	r	k		fərik
fək'əl'	ML	5 coconut meat	NO	lə2ō3	Sg.	?	f	k'	l'		fək'əl', fək'əl'/fək'yəl'
fəwōd	ML	16 memory, attention, feeling ("the	NO	ləwō3	Sg.	?	f	ʔ	d		fəwōd
fēʔ	ML	16 lengthening shadow	NO	lēʔ	Sg.	?	f	y	ʔ		fē - fēʔ

fēm	ML	4 foot, leg	NO	lē3	Sg.	F	f	ʃ	m	fēm/fōm
fik'ā	ML	10 bedding, covering	NO	lī2ā	Sg.	?	f	k'	v	fik'ā/fək'yōtən
fit'ā	ML	10 private parts, pudenda	NO	lī2ā	Sg.	?	f	t'	ʃ	fit'ā
fiḡōn	ML	coffee-cup	NO	lī3ō4	Sg.	?	f	n	g n	fiḡōn/fənagnət - fənəgnət
fōk'a	ML	2 rain pool, seepage of water from NO		lō2a	Sg.	?	f	k'	ʃ	fōk'a/fēk'a, fək'ə'wwa
fōðər	ML	2 pubes (us. animals, women); larḡ NO		lō2ə3	Sg.	?	f	ð	r	fōðər
fōrəd	ML	2 to stampede, panic, make off, ru NO		lō2ə3	Sg.	?	f	r	d	fōrəd
fōrək	ML	2 a wife who has left her husband NO		lō2ə3	Sg.	F (?)	f	r	k	fōrək
fōl	ML	16 omen	NO	lō3	Sg.	?	f	ʔ	l	fōl
fōr	ML	5 young bull	NO	lō3	Sg.	M	f	ʃ	r	fōr/fəhārīn
fōs	ML	16 matchet, axe	NO	lō3	Sg.	?	f	ʔ	s	fōs/fəwēsət, fəwast
fōtēt	ML	13 carcass of an unslaughtered anir NO		lō3ēt	Sg.	F	f	w	t	fōtēt/fəwattən, fwōt
əfkráyyət	ML	thought, consideration for somec NO		ə123áyyət	Sg.	F	f	k	r	əfkráyyət
əfḡāð	ML	5 flesh and bone of upper leg from NO		ə12ā3	Sg.	?	f	χ	ð	əfḡāð/fḡəyōð
əflē	ML	5 lunch	NO	ə12ē	Sg.	?	f	l	v	əflē, fleʔ
əfḡərēt	ML	13 pride, the state of being perfume NO		ə12ə3ēt	Sg.	F	f	χ	r	əfḡərēt
əftərtōt	ML	13 to change o's ways, o's mind NO		ə1tə23ōt	Sg.	?	f	r	t	əftərtōt
həftō	ML	to give so. an idea or plan; to cor NO		hə12ō	Sg.	?	f	t	v	həftō
máfs'əl	ML	7 joint	NO	má12ə3	Sg.	?	f	s'	l	máfs'əl/məfaws'əl
məfrēk'	ML	7 hairline (women): connected wit NO		mə12ē3	Sg.	?	f	r	k'	məfrēk'
məftēh	ML	7 key	NO	mə12ē3	Sg.	?	f	t	h	məftēh
tfəlayg	ML	15 (woman) to make a separation be NO		t1ə2ay3	Sg.	?	f	l	g	tfəlayg
tfəlayθ	ML	15 to exchange, take st. good and le NO		t1ə2ay3	Sg.	?	f	l	θ	tfəlayθ
təfsayr	ML	15 explanation, writing for an amuk NO		tə12ay3	Sg.	?	f	s	r	təfsayr
farʔ	ML	4 brave	YES	1a23	Sg.	M	f	r	ʃ	farʔ, farəʔ, fəəʔ
fasχ	ML	4 stark, staring mad	YES	1a23	Sg.	M	f	s	χ	fasχ
faslət	ML	13 neglectful, lazy, too lazy to budg YES		1a23ət	Sg.	F	f	s	l	fōsəl, faslət/fəslēt, fəslōt
fatrət	ML	13 not fasting	YES	1a23ət	Sg.	F	f	t'	r	fōt'ər, fatrət/fət't'ār, <fat'rōt>
farəʔ	ML	4 brave	YES	1a2ə3	Sg.	M	f	r	ʃ	farʔ, farəʔ, fəəʔ
fə'rəkət	ML	13 fully-grown, grown up fast	YES	1ə'23ət	Sg.	F	f	r	ɤ	fōrək, fə'rəkət/fīrōɤ
fəhaym	ML	6 clever	YES	1ə2ay3	Sg.	M	f	h	m	fəhaym, fəhaymət/fihōm, fihāmtən
fəlayk	ML	6 lucky in getting what he wants, r YES		1ə2ay3	Sg.	M	f	l	k	fəlayk
fətayn	ML	6 trouble-maker	YES	1ə2ay3	Sg.	M	f	t	n	fətayn, fətaynət/fītōn, fītāntən
fət'ayn	ML	6 clever	YES	1ə2ay3	Sg.	M	f	t'	n	fət'ayn/fīt'ōn

fæk'ayr	ML	6 poor	YES	lə2ay3	Sg.	M	f	k'	r	fæk'ayr, fæk'ayrət/fik'ör, fik'artən
fəhaymət	ML	13 clever	YES	lə2ay3ət	Sg.	F	f	h	m	fəhaym, fəhaymət/fihöm, fihämtən
fətaynət	ML	13 trouble-maker	YES	lə2ay3ət	Sg.	F	f	t	n	fətayn, fətaynət/fitön, fitántən
fəkəlay	ML	11 having much milk (people, flock	YES	lə2ə3ay	Sg.	M	f	ɤ	l	fəkəlay, fəkəlyöt/fəkələy, fəkəlaytən
fəkəlyöt	ML	11 having much milk (people, flock	YES	lə2ə3yöt	Sg.	F	f	ɤ	l	fəkəlay, fəkəlyöt/fəkələy, fəkəlaytən
fērə?	ML	brave	YES	lɛ2ə3	Sg.	M	f	r	ʕ	far?, farə?, fērə?
förək	ML	2 fully-grown, grown up fast	YES	lō2ə3	Sg.	M	f	r	ɤ	förək, fə'rkət/firörk
förəs	ML	2 expert, well-versed, versatile	YES	lō2ə3	Sg.	M	f	r	s	förəs
fösəl	ML	2 neglectful, lazy, too lazy to budg	YES	lō2ə3	Sg.	M	f	s	l	fösəl, faslət/fäslēt, fäslöt
föt'an	ML	2 clever	YES	lō2ə3	Sg.	M	f	t'	n	föt'an
föt'ər	ML	2 not fasting	YES	lō2ə3	Sg.	M	f	t'	r	föt'ər, faʔrət/fət't'är, <fat'röt>
əfχaray	ML	11 arrogant, conceited	YES	ə12ə3ay	Sg.	M	f	χ	r	əfχaray
məftəχayr	ML	acting arrogantly	YES	mə1tə2ay3	Sg.	M	f	χ	r	məftəχayr
mənfə'rfər	ML	14 hasty	YES	mən1ə'21ə2	Sg.	M	f	r	f r	mənfə'rfər
fχəyöd	ML	8 flesh and bone of upper leg from	NO	12əyöd3	Pl.		f	χ	ð	əfχäd/fχəyöd
fwöt	ML	13 carcass of an unslaughtered anir	NO	12ö3 (1wö3)	Pl.		f	w	t	fötēt/fəwattən, fwöt
fak'hi	ML	15 half	NO	1a23i	Pl.		f	k'	h	fak'h/fak'hi
fərhəyēn	ML	14 mare, horse	NO	lə23əyēn	Pl.		f	r	h	fərhayn/fərhəyēn
fəndēl	ML	14 sweet potato	NO	lə23ē4	Pl.		f	n	d l	fəndəlöt/fəndēl
fēk'a	ML	2 rain pool, seepage of water from	NO	lē2a	Pl.		f	k'	ʕ	fök'a/fēk'a, fək'ə'wwa
fət'ät'	ML	5 pimple, itchy spot	NO	lə2ä2	Pl.		f	t'	t'	fət't'ät/fət'ät'
fəwattən	ML	12 carcass of an unslaughtered anir	NO	lə2a33ən (1ə2a3	Pl.		f	w	t	fötēt/fəwattən, fwöt
fənagnət	ML	13 coffee-cup	NO	lə2a34ət	Pl.		f	n	g n	figön/fənagnət - fənegnət
fəraltən	ML	12 opening out in a valley	NO	lə2a3tən	Pl.		f	r	l	fərlēt/fəraltən
fəgawrət	ML	13 small tobacco pipe	NO	lə2aw3ət	Pl.		f	g	r	fəgīr/fəgawrət
fələwgət	ML	13 stream, watercourse	NO	lə2aw3ət	Pl.		f	l	g	fələg/fələwgət
fək'ə'wwa	ML	8 rain pool, seepage of water from	NO	lə2ə'wwa	Pl.		f	k'	ʕ	fök'a/fēk'a, fək'ə'wwa
fəs'ə'wwək	ML	8 gecko, indiscreet person, blabber	NO	lə2ə'wwə3	Pl.		f	s'	ɤ	fēs'ək/fəs'ə'wwək
fələ'wwəl	ML	8 affair, one's work	NO	lə2ə'wwə3	Pl.		f	l	l	fələl/fələ'wwəl
fərēr	ML	5 unripe fruit	NO	lə2ēr2	Pl.		f	r	r	fərrät/fərēr
fəhəd	ML	5 animal bogy about the size of a c	NO	lə2ēr3	Pl.		f	h	d	fəhädēt/fəhəd
fəwēt'	ML	5 coloured waistcloth	NO	lə2ēr3 (1əwēr3)	Pl.		f	w	t'	fawt'ət/fəwēt'
fəs'ərə'w	ML	14 caul (animals)	NO	lə2ə3ə'4 (1ə2ə3:	Pl.		f	s'	r w	fəs'ərwöt/fəs'ərə'w
fək'ələ'w	ML	14 name of a fruit, fruit bush, blossc	NO	lə2ə3ə'4 (1ə2ə3:	Pl.		f	k'	l (w)	fək'ələwöt/fək'ələ'w

fəneχər	ML	14 nostril	NO	lə2ē3ə4	Pl.		f	n	χ	r	fəneχərət/fəneχər
fəkəréw	ML	14 hollow below the Adam's apple	NO	lə2ə3é4 (lə2ə3é Pl.			f	ɤ	r		fəkərwət/fəkōrəw – fəkəréw
fərdl'	ML	5 she-camel up to two years old (n NO		lə2d3	Pl.		f	r	l'		fərayl'/fərdl'
fərsəl	ML	14 measure (28 ratl)	NO	lə2d3ə4	Pl.		f	r	s	l	fəraslət/fərsəl
fəwōgət	ML	13 echo	NO	lə2d3ət (ləwō3ə Pl.			f	w	g		fəwēg/fəwōgīn, fəwōgət
fəkōrəw	ML	14 hollow below the Adam's apple	NO	lə2d3əw (lə2d3: Pl.			f	ɤ	r		fəkərwət/fəkōrəw – fəkəréw
fəwōgīn	ML	14 echo	NO	lə2d3īn (ləwō3ī Pl.			f	w	g		fəwēg/fəwōgīn, fəwōgət
fət'ōwəχ	ML	8 hit, blow, wound on the head	NO	lə2d3wə3	Pl.		f	t'	χ		fat'χ/fət'ōwəχ
fətdyəl	ML	8 wick	NO	lə2dyə3	Pl.		f	t	l		fətaylət/fətdyəl
fək'yōl'	ML	8 coconut meat	NO	lə2yō3	Pl.		f	k'	l'		fak'l', fək'ōl'/fək'yōl'
fək'yōtən	ML	12 bedding, covering	NO	lə2yōtən (lə23dō Pl.			f	k'	v		fik'ā/fək'yōtən
fəhārīn	ML	young bull	NO	ləhā3īn	Pl.		f	ɟ	r		fōr/fəhārīn
fəwast	ML	13 matchet, axe	NO	ləwa3t	Pl.		f	ʔ	s		fōs/fəwəsət, fəwast
fəwəsət	ML	9 matchet, axe	NO	ləwē3ət	Pl.		f	ʔ	s		fōs/fəwəsət, fəwast
fīrēθ	ML	10 undigested food in the stomach ε	NO	lī2ē3	Pl.		f	r	θ		fārθ/fīrēθ
fīrōl'	ML	10 best dates, religious duty	NO	lī2d3	Pl.		f	r	l'		fār'l'/fīrōl'
fōm	ML	4 foot, leg	NO	lō3	Pl.		f	ɟ	m		fēm/fōm
əfhayl	ML	6 penis	NO	ə12ay3 (lə2ay3) Pl.			f	h	l		fēhəl/əfhayl
həfərōk'	ML	flock (goats, sheep only)	NO	hə1ə2d3	Pl.		f	r	k'		fark'/həfərōk'
məfaws'əl	ML	7 joint	NO	mə1aw2ə3	Pl.		f	s'	l		máfs'əl/məfaws'əl
fat'rōt	ML	13 not fasting	YES	lə23dōt	Pl.	F	f	t'	r		fōt'ər, faṭrət/fət't'ār, <fat'rōt>
fət't'ār	ML	14 not fasting	YES	lə22ā3	Pl.	M	f	t'	r		fōt'ər, faṭrət/fət't'ār, <fat'rōt>
fəslēt	ML	13 neglectful, lazy, too lazy to budg	YES	lə23ēt	Pl.	M	f	s	l		fōsəl, faslət/fəslēt, fəslōt
fəslōt	ML	13 neglectful, lazy, too lazy to budg	YES	lə23dōt	Pl.	F	f	s	l		fōsəl, faslət/fəslēt, fəslōt
fəkəlaytən	ML	12 having much milk (people, flock	YES	lə2ə3aytən	Pl.	F	f	ɤ	l		fəkəlay, fəkəlyōt/fəkəldy, fəkəlaytən
fəkəldy	ML	11 having much milk (people, flock	YES	lə2ə3dy	Pl.	M	f	ɤ	l		fəkəlay, fəkəlyōt/fəkəldy, fəkəlaytən
fīk'artən	ML	13 poor	YES	lī2a3tən	Pl.	F	f	k'	r		fək'ayr, fək'ayrət/fīk'ōr, fīk'artən
fīhāmtən	ML	13 clever	YES	lī2á3tən	Pl.	F	f	h	m		fəhaym, fəhaymət/fīhōm, fīhāmtən
fītántən	ML	13 trouble-maker	YES	lī2á3tən	Pl.	F	f	t	n		fətayn, fətaynət/fītōn, fītántən
fīhōm	ML	10 clever	YES	lī2d3	Pl.	M	f	h	m		fəhaym, fəhaymət/fīhōm, fīhāmtən
fīk'ōr	ML	10 poor	YES	lī2d3	Pl.	M	f	k'	r		fək'ayr, fək'ayrət/fīk'ōr, fīk'artən
fīrōɤ	ML	10 fully-grown, grown up fast	YES	lī2d3	Pl.	M (cor f	r	ɤ			fōrəɤ, fə'rəɤt/fīrōɤ
fītōn	ML	10 trouble-maker	YES	lī2d3	Pl.	M	f	t	n		fətayn, fətaynət/fītōn, fītántən
fīt'ōn	ML	10 clever	YES	lī2d3	Pl.	M (cor f	t'	n			fət'ayn/fīt'ōn

gamʕ	ML	4 fist	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	g	m	ʕ		gamʕ
gamh	ML	4 skink	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	g	m	h		gamh, geməh
ganb	ML	4 side	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	g	n	b		ganb
gans	ML	4 type, kind	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	g	n	s		gans
garb	ML	4 mange	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	g	r	b		garb
gawb	ML	4 shield of hippopotamus hide	NO	1a23 (1aw3)	Sg.	?	g	w	b		gawb/gawēbət
gawf	ML	4 chest	NO	1a23 (1aw3)	Sg.	?	g	w	f		gawf/gəwafɪ, gəwafɪn
gawh	ML	4 water melon	NO	1a23 (1aw3)	Sg.	?	g	w	h		gawh
gawl	ML	4 strongest young goat	NO	1a23 (1aw3)	Sg.	?	g	w	l		gawl
gawš	ML	4 turn	NO	1a23 (1aw3)	Sg.	?	g	w	š		gawš
gayd	ML	4 beestings	NO	1a23 (1ay3)	Sg.	?	g	y	d		gayd
gawhərət	ML	14 jewel	NO	1a23ə4ət (1aw3ə	Sg.	F	g	w	h	r	gawhərət/gawēhər, gawōhər
gamʔ	ML	4 communal prayer	NO	1a2ʔ	Sg.	?	g	m	ʕ		gamʔ, geməʔ
gād	ML	4 part of a camel saddle	NO	1ā3	Sg.	?	g	ʕ	d		gād/həwād
gaynəb	ML	3 (camel) to dislike its young and ı	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	g	n	b		gaynəb
gayðəm	ML	3 to lop off (branches), to lose mer	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	g	ð	m		gayðəm
gayri	ML	3 passing	NO	1ay2i	Sg.	?	g	r	v		gayri
gayzi	ML	3 to prefer, be finished with	NO	1ay2i	Sg.	?	g	z	v		gayzi
gəmgəmōt	ML	14 skull	NO	1ə21ə2ōt	Sg.	F	g	m	g	m	gəmgəmōt/gəmgēm, gəməwgəm
gənnay	ML	11 ginni	NO	1ə22ay	Sg.	M	g	n	n		gənnay/gənnawni
gənnēt	ML	13 paradise	NO	1ə22ēt	Sg.	F	g	n	n		gənnēt
gəhēt	ML	13 body, corpse	NO	1ə22ēt	Sg.	?	g	ɫ	ɫ		gəhēt
gəmmōl	ML	14 camel man	NO	1ə22ō3	Sg.	?	g	m	l		gəmmōl
gəbn	ML	2 cheese	NO	1ə23	Sg.	?	g	b	n		gəbn
gēhi	ML	2 flat desert, desert plain	NO	1ē23 (1ē2i)	Sg.	?	g	h	v		gēhi
gəlhwōt	ML	14 eyeball	NO	1ə234ōt (1ə23wē	Sg.	F	g	l	h	w	gəlhwōt/gəlhaw
gərdāt	ML	13 desert area, mountainless area	NO	1ə23āt	Sg.	F	g	r	d		gərdāt/gərdəh
gəzhāt	ML	13 crowd, mass	NO	1ə23āt	Sg.	?	g	z	h		gəzhāt
gənbə'yyət	ML	11 dagger	NO	1ə23ə'yyət	Sg.	F	g	n	b		gənbə'yyət/gənbəbi
gənzəfōt	ML	14 large branch, tree trunk	NO	1ə23ə4ōt	Sg.	F	g	n	z	f	gənzəfōt/gənzēf
gərdəfōt	ML	14 lizard smaller than a monitor	NO	1ə23ə4ōt	Sg.	F	g	r	d	f	gərdəfōt
gəbhēt	ML	13 front, the (revolutionary) front	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	F	g	b	h		gəbhēt
gəhmēt	ML	13 beetle, snail	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	F	g	h	m		gəhmēt/gəhām
gəldēt	ML	13 dry, stoneless soil	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	F	g	l	d		gəldēt/gəldōt

gəmlēt	ML	13 total	NO	lə23ēt	Sg.	F	g	m	l		gəmlēt
gənbēt	ML	13 pleurisy, side, nocturnal ejaculat	NO	lə23ēt	Sg.	F	g	n	b		gənbēt
gəndēt	ML	13 trunk (of a tree)	NO	lə23ēt	Sg.	F	g	n	d		gəndēt/gənēd
gənbēt	ML	13 to ejaculate while sleeping	NO	lə23ēt	Sg.	?	g	n	b		gənbēt
gəndīl	ML	14 camel gave birth a year ago and l	NO	lə23ī4	Sg.	?	g	n	d	l	gəndīl/gənōdəl
gərdīl	ML	14 compacted hard (desert) surface	NO	lə23ī4	Sg.	?	g	r	d	l	gərdīl/gərdōl
gərdōn	ML	14 rat	NO	lə23ī4	Sg.	?	g	r	ð	n	gərdōn/gərdōn
gəhlīt	ML	13 jar	NO	lə23īt	Sg.	F	g	h	l		gəhlīt/gəhāl
gəláh	ML	cuckold, "Hahnrei" (Jahn)	NO	lə2á3	Sg.	?	g	l	h		gəláh
gəwāz	ML	5 passport	NO	lə2ā3 (ləwā3)	Sg.	?	g	w	z		gəwāz
gəhānnəb	ML	hell	NO	lə2á33ə4	Sg.	?	g	h	n	b	gəhānnəb
gəlāt	ML	13 date-stone	NO	lə2āt	Sg.	F	g	l	ʕ		gəlāt/gəlē, gələʕ?
gəmət	ML	13 company	NO	lə2āt	Sg.	?	g	m	ʕ		gəmət
gəzawr	ML	6 old she-camel ready for slaughte	NO	lə2aw3	Sg.	?	g	z	r		gəzawr
gəwayr	ML	6 neighbour	NO	lə2ay3 (ləway3)	Sg.	?	g	w	r		gəwayr/gəwawrət, gūrūn
gədaylāt	ML	13 stocks (for prisoner)	NO	lə2ay3ət	Sg.	?	g	d	l		gədaylāt
gəmaylāt	ML	13 advantage, victory, strength to er	NO	lə2ay3ət	Sg.	F	g	m	l		gəmaylāt
gəraydət	ML	13 plank of palm tree wood	NO	lə2ay3ət	Sg.	?	g	r	d		gəraydət/gərōyəd
gəraymət	ML	13 crime	NO	lə2ay3ət	Sg.	F	g	r	m		gəraymət/gərōyəm
gəzayrət	ML	13 island	NO	lə2ay3ət	Sg.	F	g	z	r		gəzayrət/gəzōyər
gəbər	ML	2 vulva	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	?	g	b	r		gəbər/gəbōwər
gədəl	ML	2 foot	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	?	g	d	l		gədəl/gədə'wwəl, həgdōl
gələr	ML	2 coarsely ground flour	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	?	g	l	r		gələr
gəzəl	ML	2 big rock	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	?	g	z	l		gəzəl/gəzəlōn
gəbəl	ML	5 mountain	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	g	b	l		gəbəl
gəməd	ML	5 Jumada	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	M	g	m	d		gəməd, gəməd/həgawməd
gəsēm	ML	5 body	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	g	s	m		gəsēm
gədəlēt	ML	13 noose to snare animals	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	F	g	d	l		gədəlēt
gədərēt	ML	13 worm	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	F	g	d	r		gədərēt/gədartən
gənəbēt	ML	13 she-camel that rejects its new-bo	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	F	g	n	b		gənəbēt/gənəbōtən
gərəbēt	ML	13 mass, group of people	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	F	g	r	b		gərəbēt
gərəmət	ML	13 sweet little child	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	F	g	r	m		gərəmət
gəzəlēt	ML	13 slice, portion, quarter-basket of c	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	g	z	l		gəzəlēt/gəzəl
gəzərēt	ML	13 matchet	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	F	g	z	r		gəzərēt/gəzər

gəwē	ML	5 hunger	NO	lə2ē	Sg.	?	g	w	ʕ	gəwē
gəzē	ML	5 sunset	NO	lə2ē	Sg.	?	g	z	ʕ	gəzē, gəzeʔ
gəmət	ML	13 Friday, week, Friday prayers	NO	lə2ēt	Sg.	?	g	m	ʕ	gəmət
gəlēt	ML	13 belch, eructation	NO	lə2ēt	Sg.	F	g	l	ʔ	gəlēt
gəzeʔ	ML	5 sunset	NO	lə2eʔ	Sg.	?	g	z	ʕ	gəzē, gəzeʔ
gēbi	ML	2 hem	NO	lē2i	Sg.	?	g	b	v	gēbi/gəbēyət
gədīləh	ML	head rope	NO	lə2ī3əh	Sg.	?	g	d	l	gədīləh/gədōwəl, gədātən
gəfōn	ML	5 eyelid, eyelash; stuffed skin give	NO	lə2ō3	Sg.	?	g	f	n	gəfōn
gəlōb	ML	5 thicket	NO	lə2ō3	Sg.	?	g	l	b	gəlōb
gəməd	ML	5 Jumada	NO	lə2ō3	Sg.	M	g	m	d	gəməd, gəməd/həgawməd
gəlōr	ML	5 side of chest and perhaps chest c	NO	lə2ō3	Sg.	?	g	l	r	gəlōr/gəlōrīn
gəwōb	ML	5 letter, answer	NO	lə2ō3 (ləwō3)	Sg.	?	g	w	b	gəwōb
gənōzət	ML	13 bier, corpse, body	NO	lə2ō3ət	Sg.	F	g	n	z	gənōzət/gənōyəz
gəlōt	ML	13 clitoris	NO	lə2ōt	Sg.	F	g	l	ʕ	gəlōt/gəlōtən
gənyōt	ML	13 ginniya, witch	NO	lə2yōt	Sg.	F	g	n	n	gənyōt/gənnaytən
gəsōt	ML	13 (liquid) resin	NO	lə3ōt	Sg.	F	g	w	s	gəsōt/gəwastən
gətəfyōt	ML	13 turning over	NO	lətə23ōt (lətə2y)	Sg.	F	g	f	v	gətəfyōt
gēbyət	ML	13 pond, round cistern	NO	lē23ət (lē2yət)	Sg.	?	g	b	v	gēbyət/gəwōbi
gəməh	ML	4 skink	NO	lɛ2ə3	Sg.	?	g	m	h	gamh, gəməh
gəməʔ	ML	4 communal prayer	NO	lɛ2əʔ	Sg.	?	g	m	ʕ	gamʔ, gəməʔ
gēd	ML	4 skin, hide	NO	lē3	Sg.	?	g	l	d	gēd/gəlēd
gīrēmōt	ML	dom fruit	NO	lī2ē3ōt	Sg.	F	g	r	m	gīrēmōt/gəroyəm, gīrēm
gīrī	ML	15 going, passing by	NO	lī2ī	Sg.	?	g	r	v	gīrī
gīlōl	ML	10 cooked or boiled (food), flame	NO	lī2ō2	Sg.	?	g	l	l	gīlōl
gīdōr	ML	10 wall, cairn, piece of stone	NO	lī2ō3	Sg.	?	g	d	r	gīdōr/gədārīn
gīrōb	ML	10 jaraab, long basket (measure) of	NO	lī2ō3	Sg.	?	g	r	b	gīrōb/gərəbət
gōdəm	ML	2 piece of bread	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	g	d	m	gōdəm
gōzər	ML	2 Jaazar, the coastal area occupied	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	g	z	r	gōzər
gōləw	ML	2 fever	NO	lō2ə3 (lō2əw)	Sg.	?	g	l	v	gōləw
gōdēl	ML	10 glowing stick, fire stick, firewoo	NO	lō2ē3 (lō3ē4)	Sg.	?	g	d	l	gōdēl
gōdəráy	ML	smallpox	NO	lō2ə3áy	Sg.	?	g	d	r	gōdəráy
gōbi	ML	2 bank (of a stream), edge, brim, p	NO	lō2i	Sg.	?	g	b	v	gōbi/gəbyōtən, yəgōy
gōri	ML	2 past	NO	lō2i	Sg.	?	g	r	v	gōri
gōt	ML	13 ledge, deep hole, depression	NO	lōt	Sg.	F	g	w	v	gōt/gīwē

gūti	ML	17 show	NO	lū3i	Sg.	g	w	t	y	gūti/gūtiət
həgzōt	ML	13 to requite, make up for the loss c	NO	hə12ōt	Sg.	?	g	z	v	həgzōt
həganbət	ML	Janabah	NO	hə1a23ət	Sg.	F	g	n	b	həganbət
həgārōt	ML	13 to throw, put down	NO	hə1ā3ōt	Sg.	?	g	ʕ	r	həgārōt
magsəm	ML	7 scratch, score on a blade	NO	ma12ə3	Sg.	?	g	s	m	magsəm
mágdəl	ML	7 bracelet	NO	má12ə3	Sg.	?	g	d	l	mágdəl/məgawdəl
məghawd	ML	7 one's best effort	NO	mə12aw3	Sg.	?	g	h	d	məghawd
məgrē	ML	7 bereavement, wood under the ba	NO	mə12ē	Sg.	?	g	r	v	məgrē
məglēs	ML	7 (1) telling off, (2) meeting place	NO	mə12ē3	Sg.	?	g	l	s	məglēs
məgmərēt	ML	13 incense burner	NO	mə12ə3ēt	Sg.	F	g	m	r	məgmərēt
məgzərōt	ML	13 beast for slaughter	NO	mə12ə3ōt	Sg.	F	g	z	r	məgzərōt/məgzūr
məgzərōt	ML	13 spine	NO	mə12ə3ōt	Sg.	F	g	z	r	məgzərōt/məgōzər, məgəzērəw
məgrīr	ML	7 beehive	NO	mə12ī2	Sg.	?	g	r	r	məgrīr/məgrōr
məgMLəh	ML	14 cuckold	NO	mə1a22ə3	Sg.	?	g	l	h	məgMLəh/məgálləhayn
məgə'nnət	ML	13 jinn-haunted place	NO	mə1ə'22ət	Sg.	F	g	n	n	məgə'nnət
məgəfūt	ML	13 corpse, chest cavity of a corpse	NO	mə1ə2ūt	Sg.	F	g	f	f	məgəfūt/məgōfəf
təgrays	ML	15 to annoy (by visiting too frequen	NO	tə12ay3	Sg.	?	g	r	s	təgrays
təzē	ML	15 going down (sun)	NO	tə2ē	Sg.	?	g	z	ʕ	təzē
gə'dət	ML	17 good	YES	1ə'3ət	Sg.	F	g	y	d	gīd, gə'dət/gīyēd
gəbh	ML	4 blunt	YES	1ə23	Sg.	M	g	b	h	gəbh, gəbhayt/gəbwōh, gəbwahtən
gəbhayt	ML	13 blunt	YES	1ə23ayt	Sg.	F	g	b	h	gəbh, gəbhayt/gəbwōh, gəbwahtən
gəhayd	ML	6 diligent, industrious	YES	1ə2ay3	Sg.	M	g	h	d	gəhayd, gəhaydət/gīhōd, gīhadtən
gəsaym	ML	6 brave, bold	YES	1ə2ay3	Sg.	M	g	s	m	gəsaym
gəhaydət	ML	13 diligent, industrious	YES	1ə2ay3ət	Sg.	F	g	h	d	gəhayd, gəhaydət/gīhōd, gīhadtən
gəðēm	ML	5 having branches lopped off, havi	YES	1ə2ē3	Sg.	M	g	ð	m	gəðēm/gəðwōm
gīd	ML	4 good	YES	1ī3	Sg.	M	g	y	d	gīd, gə'dət/gīyēd
gōna	ML	2 sheltered	YES	1ō2a	Sg.	M	g	n	ʕ	gōna
gōhəl	ML	2 us. poet. foe, unfriendly	YES	1ō2ə3	Sg.	M	g	h	l	gōhəl/gəhəlēt
məggəhōb	ML	shallow	YES	mə11ə2ōb	Sg.	M	g	h	b	məggəhōb
məgbay	ML	7 hemmed	YES	mə12a3 (mə12ay	Sg.	M	g	b	v	məgbay
məgarrəd	ML	14 cleaned out, skinned, broke, disa	YES	mə1a22ə3	Sg.	M	g	r	d	məgarrəd
gəmgēm	ML	14 skull	NO	1ə21ē2	Pl.	g	m	g	m	gəmgəmōt/gəmgēm, gəməwgəm
gərgōr	ML	14 fish-trap, "Grille"	NO	1ə21ō2	Pl.	g	r	g	r	gərgayr/gərgōr
gənnawni	ML	11 ginni	NO	1ə22aw2i	Pl.	g	n	n		gənnay/gənnawni

gənnaytən	ML	12 ginniyyah, witch	NO	lə22aytən	Pl.	g	n	n		gənyöt/gənnaytən
gəlhaw	ML	13 eyeball	NO	lə23a4 (lə23aw)	Pl.	g	l	h	w	gəlhwöt/gəlhaw
gənzəf	ML	14 large branch, tree trunk	NO	lə23ē4	Pl.	g	n	z	f	gənzəföt/gənzəf
gəlrīn	ML	14 side of chest, and perhaps chest c	NO	lə23īn	Pl.	g	l	r		gəlör/gəlrīn
gərdöl	ML	14 compacted hard (desert) surface	NO	lə23ō4	Pl.	g	r	d	l	gərdīl/gərdöl
gərdōn	ML	14 rat	NO	lə23ō4	Pl.	g	r	ð	n	gərdōn/gərdōn
gəldöt	ML	13 dry, stoneless soil	NO	lə23öt	Pl.	g	l	d		gəldēt/gəldöt
gəbyötən	ML	12 bank (of a stream), edge, brim, p	NO	lə23ötən (lə2yō)	Pl.	g	b	v		gəbi/gəbyötən, yəgōy
gəhāl	ML	5 jar	NO	lə2ā3	Pl.	g	h	l		gəhlīt/gəhāl
gəhām	ML	5 beetle, snail	NO	lə2ā3	Pl.	g	h	m		gəhmīt/gəhām
gəwaft	ML	13 chest	NO	lə2a3t (ləwa3t)	Pl.	g	w	f		gawf/gəwaft, gəwaftən
gədartən	ML	12 worm	NO	lə2a3tən	Pl.	g	d	r		gədarēt/gədartən
gəwaftən	ML	12 chest	NO	lə2a3tən (ləwa3	Pl.	g	w	f		gawf/gəwaft, gəwaftən
gəwastən	ML	12 (liquid) resin	NO	lə2a3tən (ləwa3	Pl.	g	w	s		gəsöt/gəwastən
gədātən	ML	12 head rope	NO	lə2ātən	Pl.	g	d	l		gədiləh/gədōwəl, gədātən
gəməwgəm	ML	14 skull	NO	lə2awlə2	Pl.	g	m	g	m	gəmgəmöt/gəmgēm, gəməwgəm
gəwawrət	ML	13 neighbor	NO	lə2aw3ət (ləwaw	Pl.	g	w	r		gəwayr/gəwawrət, gūrūn
gəməwwəš	ML	14 skink	NO	lə2awwə3	Pl.	g	m	h (š?)		gamh, gəməh/gəməwwəš
gədə'wwəl	ML	8 foot	NO	lə2ə'wwə3	Pl.	g	d	l		gədəl/gədə'wwəl, həgdöl
gənēd	ML	5 trunk (of a tree)	NO	lə2ē3	Pl.	g	n	d		gəndēt/gənēd
gəzēl	ML	5 slice, portion, quarter-basket of c	NO	lə2ē3	Pl.	g	z	l		gəzəlēt/gəzēl
gəzēr	ML	5 matchet	NO	lə2ē3	Pl.	g	z	r		gəzərēt/gəzēr
gəwēhər	ML	14 jewel	NO	lə2ē3ə4	Pl.	g	w	h	r	gəwēhər, gəwōhər
gərebət	ML	13 jaraab, long basket (measure) of	NO	lə2ē3ət	Pl.	g	r	b		gīrōb/gərebət
gəbēyət	ML	13 hem	NO	lə2ē3ət (lə2ēyət	Pl.	g	b	v		gəbi/gəbēyət
gəwēbət	ML	13 shield of hippopotamus hide	NO	lə2ē3ət (ləwē3ə	Pl.	g	w	b		gawb/gəwēbət
gədarīn	ML	14 wall, cairn, piled stones	NO	lə2ə3īn	Pl.	g	d	r		gīdör/gədarīn
gəfanīn	ML	14 eyelid, eyelash; stuffed skin give	NO	lə2ə3īn	Pl.	g	f	n		gəfōn/gəfanīn
gəzəlōn	ML	14 big rock	NO	lə2ə3ōn	Pl.	g	z	l		gēzəl/gəzəlōn
gənəbötən	ML	12 she-camel up to two years old (n	NO	lə2ə3ötən	Pl.	g	n	b		gənəbēt/gənəbötən
gələ	ML	5 date-stone	NO	lə2ē	Pl.	g	l	ʕ		gəlāt/gələ, gələʕ
gələd	ML	5 skin, hide	NO	lə2ē3	Pl.	g	l	d		gēd/gələd
gələʕ	ML	date-stone	NO	lə2ēʕ	Pl.	g	l	ʕ		gəlāt/gələ, gələʕ
gənödəl	ML	14 camel gave birth a year ago and l	NO	lə2ō3ə4	Pl.	g	n	d	l	gəndīl/gənödəl

gəwōhər	ML	14 jewel	NO	lə2ō3ə4	Pl.	g	w	h	r	gəwēhər, gəwōhər
gərdəh	ML	desert area, mountainless area	NO	lə2ō3əh	Pl.	g	r	d		gərdāt/gərdəh
gənōbi	ML	14 dagger	NO	lə2ō3i	Pl.	g	n	b		gənbəʹyyət/gənōbi
gəlōtən	ML	12 clitoris	NO	lə2ōtən	Pl.	g	l	ʕ		gəlōt/gəlōtən
gəbōwər	ML	8 vulva	NO	lə2ōwə3	Pl.	g	b	r		gēbər/gəbōwər
gədōwəl	ML	8 head rope	NO	lə2ōwə3	Pl.	g	d	l		gədīləh/gədōwəl, gadātən
gəmōya	ML	8 Friday, week, Friday prayers	NO	lə2ōya	Pl.	g	m	ʕ		gəmēt
gənōyəz	ML	8 bier, corpse, body	NO	lə2ōya3	Pl.	g	n	z		gənōzət/gənōyəz
gərdyəm	ML	8 crime	NO	lə2ōya3	Pl.	g	r	m		gəraymət/gərdyəm
gərdyəm	ML	8 dom fruit	NO	lə2ōya3	Pl.	g	r	m		gīrēmōt/gərdyəm, gīrēm
gəzōyər	ML	8 island	NO	lə2ōya3	Pl.	g	z	r		gəzayrət/gəzōyər
gərdyəd	ML	8 plank of palm tree wood	NO	lə2ōya3	Pl.	g	r	d		gəraydət/gərdyəd
gəwōbi	ML	9 pond, round cistern	NO	ləwō2i	Pl.	g	b	v		gēbyət/gəwōbi
gīwē	ML	10 ledge, deep hole, depression	NO	lī2ē	Pl.	g	w	v		gōt/gīwē
gīrēm	ML	10 dom fruit	NO	lī2ē3	Pl.	g	r	m		gīrēmōt/gərdyəm, gīrēm
gōdōl	ML	10 glowing stick, fire stick, firewood	NO	lō2ō3	Pl.	g	d	l		gōdēl/gōdōl
gūtiət	ML	show	NO	lū3iət	Pl.	g	w	t	y	gūti/gūtiət
gūrūn	ML	14 neighbor	NO	lū3ūn	Pl.	g	w	r		gəwayr/gəwawrət, gūrūn
həgdōl	ML	foot	NO	hə12ō3	Pl.	g	d	l		gēdəl/gədəʹwwəl, həgdōl
həgawməd	ML	3 Jumada	NO	hə1aw2ə3	Pl.	g	m	d		gəməd, gəməd/həgawməd
həwād	ML	part of camel saddle	NO	həwā3	Pl.	g	ʕ	d		gād/həwād
məgrōr	ML	7 beehive	NO	mə12ō2	Pl.	g	r	r		məgrīr/məgrōr
məgzūr	ML	7 beast for slaughter	NO	mə12ū3	Pl.	g	z	r		məgzərōt/məgzūr
məgálləhayn	ML	14 cuckold	NO	mə1á22ə3ayn	Pl.	g	l	h		məgalləh/məgálləhayn
məgawdəl	ML	7 bracelet	NO	mə1aw2ə3	Pl.	g	d	l		mágdəl/məgawdəl
məgəzērəw	ML	14 spine	NO	mə1ə2ē3əw	Pl.	g	z	r		məgzərōt/məgōzər, məgəzērəw
məgōfəf	ML	7 corpse, chest cavity of a corpse	NO	mə1ō2ə2	Pl.	g	f	f		məgəfūt/məgōfəf
məgōzər	ML	7 spine	NO	mə1ō2ə3	Pl.	g	z	r		məgzərōt/məgōzər, məgəzērəw
yəgōy	ML	bank (of a stream), edge, brim, p	NO	yəgōy	Pl.	g	b	v		gōbi/gəbyōtən, yəgōy
gəhəlēt	ML	13 us. poet. foe, unfriendly	YES	lə2ə3ēt	Pl.	M	g	h	l	gōhəl/gəhəlēt
gəbwahtən	ML	12 blunt	YES	lə2wa3tən	Pl.	F	g	b	h	gəbh, gəbhayt/gəbwōh, gəbwahtən
gəbwōh	ML	10 blunt	YES	lə2wō3	Pl.	M	g	b	h	gəbh, gəbhayt/gəbwōh, gəbwahtən
gədwōm	ML	10 having branches lopped off, havi	YES	lə2wō3	Pl.	M	g	ð	m	gəðēm/gədwōm
gīyēd	ML	10 good	YES	lī2ē3 (1īyē3)	Pl.	NA	g	y	d	gīd, gəʹdət/gīyēd

gīhadtən	ML	12 diligent, industrious	YES	lī2ə3tən	Pl.	F	g	h	d	gəhayd, gəhaydət/gīhōd, gīhadtən
gīhōd	ML	10 diligent, industrious	YES	lī2ō3	Pl.	M	g	h	d	gəhayd, gəhaydət/gīhōd, gīhadtən
hk'ət'awt	ML	13 giving birth (camels), forgetting,	NO	l2ə2awt	Sg.	?	h	k'	t'	hk'ət'awt
hamm	ML	4 care, sadness	NO	l2a22	Sg.	?	h	m	m	ham/həməwəm
hags	ML	4 thought, idea	NO	l2a23	Sg.	?	h	g	s'	hags/həgaws
hamm	ML	4 name	NO	l2a23	Sg.	?	h	m	m/v	ham/həmōtən
hand	ML	4 India	NO	l2a23	Sg.	?	h	n	d	hand
hark'	ML	4 stealing, theft	NO	l2a23	Sg.	?	h	r	k'	hark'
hasf	ML	4 wanting everything for oneself, NO	NO	l2a23	Sg.	?	h	s	f	hasf
hat'f	ML	4 one-shot rifle	NO	l2a23	Sg.	?	h	t'	f	hat'f
hawɤ	ML	4 dew	NO	l2a23 (l2aw3)	Sg.	?	h	w	ɤ	hawɤ/həwɤayn
hayb	ML	4 crowbar	NO	l2a23 (l2ay3)	Sg.	?	h	y	b	hayb/həyōbət
hawri	ML	14 dug-out canoe	NO	l2a234 (l2a23i)	Sg.	?	h	w	r y	hawri/həwāryīt
hawrət	ML	13 drought	NO	l2a23ət (l2aw3ət)	Sg.	?	h	w	r	hawrət
hayma?	ML	3 hearing	NO	l2ay2a?	Sg.	?	h	m	ɕ	hayma?
haybəd	ML	3 crouching behind something, lyi	NO	l2ay2ə3	Sg.	?	h	b	d	haybəd
hayrək'	ML	3 stealing	NO	l2ay2ə3	Sg.	?	h	r	k'	hayrək'
haytəm	ML	3 heaven, sky	NO	l2ay2ə3	Sg.	?	h	t	m	haytəm/hītēm
haybi	ML	3 (poor man) going to people ever	NO	l2ay2i (l2ay23)	Sg.	?	h	b	v	haybi
həd	ML	4 thunder	NO	l2ə2	Sg.	?	h	d	d	həd
həddūt	ML	13 cradle	NO	l2ə22ūt	Sg.	?	h	d	d	həddūt/hədawtən
hərmayt	ML	13 tree, grazing area	NO	l2ə23ayt	Sg.	F	h	r	m	hərmayt/hərōm
həbšēt	ML	13 crowd	NO	l2ə23ēt	Sg.	?	h	b	š	həbšēt
həgmēt	ML	13 attack	NO	l2ə23ēt	Sg.	F	h	g	m	həgmēt
həbyīt	ML	13 gum (of the mouth), tooth ridge	NO	l2ə23īt (l2ə2yīt)	Sg.	F	h	b	v	həbyīt/həbayn
həs'k'ōt	ML	13 hobble, rope	NO	l2ə23ōt	Sg.	F	h	s'	k'	həs'k'ōt
hēk'a	ML	2 severe coldness	NO	l2ē2a	Sg.	?	h	k'	ɕ	hēk'a
hədāt	ML	13 cold	NO	l2ə2āt	Sg.	F	h	d	ɕ	hədāt
həzayz	ML	6 strong wind	NO	l2ə2ay2	Sg.	?	h	z	z	həzayz
hələ'kt	ML	13 thirst	NO	l2ə2ə'3t	Sg.	F	h	l	k	hələ'kt
hədə'yyət	ML	13 present, gift	NO	l2ə2ə'yyət (l2ə2ə')	Sg.	F	h	d	v	hədəyyət/hədōya
hērək'	ML	2 thief, robber	NO	l2ē2ə3	Sg.	?	h	r	k'	hērək'/hərawk'ət
hēχər	ML	2 old man	NO	l2ē2ə3	Sg.	?	h	χ	r	hēχər/hīχār
həl'ərāt	ML	13 green(ness)	NO	l2ə2ə3āt	Sg.	?	h	l'	r	həl'ərāt

həlēt	ML	13 spot, boil, swelling	NO	lə2ēt	Sg.	F	h	l	l	həlēt/həlēl
hēk'i	ML	2 irrigation	NO	lē2i	Sg.	?	h	k'	v	hēk'i
həbūk	ML	5 tree whose sap, gum is used to tr	NO	lə2ū3	Sg.	?	h	b	k	həbūk
hənūd	ML	5 drowsiness	NO	lə2ū3	Sg.	?	h	n	d	hənūd
hīk'ī	ML	15 irrigating, giving a drink	NO	lī2ī	Sg.	?	h	k'	v	hīk'ī
hīk'ōy	ML	10 drinking	NO	lī2ō3	Sg.	?	h	k'	v	hīk'ōy
hōlaʔ	ML	2 shade, shadow, reflexion, protec	NO	lō2aʔ	Sg.	?	h	l	ʕ	hōlaʔ/hīlaʔ
hōdəm	ML	2 name of a bush, drops of whose :	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	h	d	m	hōdəm
hōyər	ML	2 abyss	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	h	y	r	hōyər/həyōrət
hōfəl	ML	2 belly, stomach (dysentery - Jahn)	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	F	h	f	l	hōfəl/yəfə'wwəl
hōk'i	ML	2 giving animals water	NO	lō2i	Sg.	?	h	k'	v	hōk'i
hōmi	ML	2 cMLing name	NO	lō2i (1ō23)	Sg.	?	h	m	m/v	hōmi
hōwi	ML	2 fMLing	NO	lō2i (1ō23)	Sg.	?	h	w	v	hōwi
məhnōy	ML	7 farm near a town	NO	mə12ō3	Sg.	?	h	n	v	məhnōy/məhawni
šəhmūt	ML	13 daring, being bold encouraged u	NO	šə12ūt	Sg.	?	h	m	m	šəhmūt
šəhəwbūt	ML	13 warming oneself at the fire	NO	šə1ə23ūt	Sg.	?	h	w	b	šəhəwbūt
təhrayb	ML	15 smuggling, putting to flight	NO	tə12ay3	Sg.	?	h	r	b	təhrayb
hak't'ət	ML	13 (ms.) useless fellow, (fs.) immor	YES	1a23ət	Sg.	F	h	k'	t'	hōk'ət', hak't'ət/hək'awt'
hənday	ML	11 Indian	YES	1ə23ay	Sg.	M	h	n	d	hənday, həndyōt/hənawd, həndaytən
həmgīt	ML	13 stupid, ignorant	YES	1ə23īt	Sg.	F	h	m	g	həmayg, həmgīt/həmōg, həməgōtən
həndyōt	ML	11 Indian	YES	1ə23yōt	Sg.	F	h	n	d	hənday, həndyōt/hənawd, həndaytən
həl'awr	ML	6 green, yellow	YES	1ə2aw3	Sg.	M	h	l'	r	həl'awr, həl'ərīt/hēl'ər
həsayf	ML	6 selfish, grasping	YES	1ə2ay3	Sg.	M	h	s	f	həsayf
həmayg	ML	6 stupid, ignorant	YES	1ə2ay3	Sg.	M	h	m	g	həmayg, həmgīt/həmōg, həməgōtən
həl'ərīt	ML	13 green, yellow	YES	1ə2ə3īt	Sg.	F	h	l'	r	həl'awr, həl'ərīt/hēl'ər
hōk'ət'	ML	2 (ms.) useless fellow, (fs.) immor	YES	lō2ə3	Sg.	M	h	k'	t'	hōk'ət', hak't'ət/hək'awt'
hōlək	ML	2 late, departed, deceased	YES	lō2ə3	Sg.	M	h	l	k	hōlək
hōdi	ML	2 quiet (person)	YES	lō2i (1ō23)	Sg.	M	h	d	v	hōdi
həwəyən	ML	14 dew	NO	1ə23ayn (1əw3ay	Pl.		h	w	ɤ	haww/həwəyən
həwəryīt	ML	13 dug-out canoe	NO	1ə2ā34īt	Pl.		h	w	r y	hawri/həwəryīt
həməwəm	ML	6 care, sadness	NO	1ə2aw2	Pl.		h	m	m	ham/həməwəm
həgaws	ML	6 thought, idea	NO	1ə2aw3	Pl.		h	g	s	hags/həgaws
hərawk'ət	ML	13 thief, robber	NO	1ə2aw3ət	Pl.		h	r	k'	hērək'/hərawk'ət
hədawtən	ML	12 cradle	NO	1ə2awtən	Pl.		h	d	d	həddūt/hədawtən

həbayn	ML	14 gum (of the mouth), tooth ridge	NO	lə2ayn (lə2a3n)	Pl.		h	b	v	həbyit/həbayn
hələl	ML	5 spot, boil, swelling	NO	lə2ē2	Pl.		h	l	l	həlēt/hələl
hərōm	ML	5 tree, grazing area	NO	lə2ō3	Pl.		h	r	m	hərmayt/hərōm
həyōbət	ML	13 crowbar	NO	lə2ō3ət	Pl.		h	y	b	hayb/həyōbət
həyōrət	ML	13 abyss	NO	lə2ō3ət	Pl.		h	y	r	hōyər/həyōrət
həmōtən	ML	12 name	NO	lə2ōtən	Pl.		h	m	m/v	ham/həmōtən
hədōya	ML	8 present, gift	NO	lə2ōya (lə2ō3a)	Pl.		h	d	v	hədāyyət/hədōya
hīḡār	ML	10 old man	NO	lī2ā3	Pl.		h	ḡ	r	hēḡər/hīḡār
hīlaʔ	ML	2 shade, shadow, reflexion, protect	NO	lī2aʔ	Pl.		h	l	ʕ	hōlaʔ/hīlaʔ
hītēm	ML	10 heaven, sky	NO	lī2ē3	Pl.		h	t	m	haytəm/hītēm
məhawni	ML	7 farm near a town	NO	məlaw2i (məlaw	Pl.		h	n	v	məhnōy/məhawni
yəfə'wwəl	ML	14 belly, stomach	NO	yə2ə'wwə3	Pl.		h	f	l	hōfəl/yəfə'wwəl
həndaytən	ML	12 Indian	YES	lə23aytən	Pl.	F	h	n	d	hənday, həndyōt/hənawd, həndaytən
hək'awt'	ML	6 (ms.) useless fellow, (fs.) immoral	YES	lə2aw3	Pl.	NA	h	k'	t'	hōk'ət', hak't'ət/hək'awt'
hənawd	ML	6 Indian	YES	lə2aw3	Pl.	M	h	n	d	hənday, həndyōt/hənawd, həndaytən
hēl'ər	ML	2 green, yellow	YES	lē2ə3	Pl.	NA	h	l'	r	həl'awr, həl'ərīt/hēl'ər
həməgōtən	ML	12 stupid, ignorant	YES	lə2ə3ōtən	Pl.	F	h	m	g	həmayg, həmgīt/həmōg, həməgōtən
həmōg	ML	5 stupid, ignorant	YES	lə2ō3	Pl.	M	h	m	g	həmayg, həmgīt/həmōg, həməgōtən
hāl	ML	oil	NO	lā2	Sg.	?	h	l	l	hāl
hān	ML	14 thingummyjig, what's-its-name	NO	lā2	Sg.	?	h	n		hān
hagg	ML	4 pilgrimage to Mecca	NO	la22	Sg.	?	h	g	g	hag
hak'k'	ML	4 right	NO	la22	Sg.	?	h	k'	k'	hak'/hək'awk'
hML	ML	4 time, period	NO	la22	Sg.	?	h	l	l	hal/həlawl
hass	ML	4 consciousness, sound, voice	NO	la22	Sg.	?	h	s	s	has/həsaws
hagz	ML	4 smML hill	NO	la23	Sg.	?	h	g	z	hōgəz,hagz/həgōwəz
hak'f	ML	4 corner on a mountain	NO	la23	Sg.	?	h	k'	f	hak'f
hamd	ML	4 praise	NO	la23	Sg.	?	h	m	d	hamd
hamθ	ML	4 belly from navel down	NO	la23	Sg.	?	h	m	θ	hamθ/həmōθ
haml'	ML	4 yoghurt	NO	la23	Sg.	?	h	m	l'	haml'
harf	ML	4 gold coin, gold amulet	NO	la23	Sg.	?	h	r	f	harf/hərawf
hark'	ML	4 heat	NO	la23	Sg.	?	h	r	k'	hark'
harz	ML	4 silver amulet	NO	la23	Sg.	?	h	r	z	harz/hərūz
halm	ML	4 phlegm, sticky excrescence on tr	NO	la23	Sg.	?	h	l	m	halm
hawl	ML	4 year	NO	la23	Sg.	?	h	w	l	hawl/həwələt

hawt	ML	4 (any) big fish	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	h	w	t	hawt	
hawt'	ML	4 yard (of a house)	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	h	w	t'	hawt'	
hawz	ML	4 boundary mark	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	h	w	z	hawz/əhwə'zət	
hawf'	ML	4 pond	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	h	w	f'	hawf'/əhwɛl'ət	
hayk'	ML	4 shore, beach	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	h	y	k'	hayk'/hyɛk'ət, əhyɛk'	
hayr	ML	4 donkey	NO	1a23	Sg.	M	h	y	r	hayr/həyɛr	
hays	ML	4 violence (usuMLy in b-hays)	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	h	y	s	hays	
hayt'	ML	4 part of a mt. road you cannot see	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	h	y	t'	hayt'	
habs	ML	4 prison, ankle-ring	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	h	b	s	habs/həbʊs	
hadd	ML	4 place (M), border frontier (Ar)	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	h	d	d	had/hədawd	
harnayb	ML	14 hare	NO	1a23ay4	Sg.	F	h	r	n	b	harnayb/harnōb
harsət	ML	13 (camels) not needing water (for 1	NO	1a23ət	Sg.	F	h	r	s	harsət/həwōrəs	
hawt'ət	ML	13 irritability arising from an uneas	NO	1a23ət	Sg.	?	h	w	t'	hawt'ət	
haylət	ML	13 cunning strategem	NO	1a23ət	Sg.	?	h	y	l	haylət	
hāfən	ML	2 amount that can be scooped up, 1	NO	1ā2ə3	Sg.	?	h	f	n	hāfən	
hāgəl	ML	2 eyebrow, ankle-ring	NO	1ā2ə3	Sg.	?	h	g	l	hāgəl	
hākəb	ML	2 cow-rearing community	NO	1ā2ə3	Sg.	?	h	k	b	hākəb/həkōb	
hāk'əw	ML	2 belt, st. used as a belt	NO	1ā2ə3	Sg.	?	h	k'	v	hāk'əw/hək'aw	
hāməl	ML	2 load	NO	1ā2ə3	Sg.	?	h	m	l	hāməl	
hās'ən	ML	2 large house	NO	1ā2ə3	Sg.	?	h	s'	n	hās'ən/həs'awn	
hāl'ər	ML	2 ready money	NO	1ā2ə3	Sg.	?	h	l'	r	hāl'ər	
hām	ML	4 dream	NO	1ā3	Sg.	?	h	l	m	hām/həlawm	
haft	ML	14 hafah (Salalah), village, city (Jah	NO	1a3t	Sg.	?	h	w	f	haft	
haym	ML	14 father-in-law, brother-in-law, (pl	NO	1ay2	Sg.	M	h	m		haym/hawm	
hayfəθ'	ML	3 keeping safe, preserving, looking	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	h	f	θ'	hayfəθ'	
haygər	ML	3 guarding	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	h	g	r	haygər	
hayləb	ML	3 milking	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	h	l	b	hayləb	
haymər	ML	3 taming, breaking (a horse)	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	h	m	r	haymər	
hayrəs	ML	3 guarding	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	h	r	s	hayrəs	
haysəd	ML	3 envy	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	h	s	d	haysəd	
hays'əb	ML	3 making a smML bed of pebbles	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	h	s'	b	hays'əb	
hayləm	ML	3 shaming someone by killing his	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	h	l	m	hayləm	
hayzər	ML	3 guessing	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	h	z	r	hayzər	
hayl'ər	ML	3 persuading, attending, bringing	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	h	l'	r	hayl'ər	

haynē?	ML	10 henna	NO	1ay2ē?	Sg.	?	h	n	v (?)	haynē?
həθ'θ'	ML	4 luck, share	NO	1ə22	Sg.	?	h	θ'	θ'	həθ'/həθ'awθ'
hərr	ML	4 smML cave used as a pen or fold	NO	1ə22	Sg.	?	h	r	r	hər/hərawr
həmmām	ML	14 lavatory	NO	1ə22ā2	Sg.	?	h	m	m	həmmām
həllāk'	ML	14 barber	NO	1ə22ā3	Sg.	?	h	l	k'	həllāk'
həllay?	ML	14 night	NO	1ə22a3? (1ə22ay	Sg.	?	h	l	v (?)	həllay?
hək'k'āt	ML	13 tin cup, tin receptacle	NO	1ə22āt	Sg.	F	h	k'	k'	hək'k'āt
hət't'āt	ML	13 piece, pip	NO	1ə22āt	Sg.	F	h	t'	t'	hət't'āt/hət'et'
hərrawk'ət	ML	14 fag-ends, burnt bits of tobacco	NO	1ə22aw3ət	Sg.	?	h	r	k'	hərrawk'ət
həbbēt	ML	13 clitoris, (ar.) pill	NO	1ə22ēt	Sg.	F	h	b	b	həbbēt/həbēb, həbawb
həllēt	ML	13 dry leaf (also coll.)	NO	1ə22ēt	Sg.	?	h	l	l	həllēt
həddōd	ML	14 blacksmith	NO	1ə22ō2	Sg.	?	h	d	d	həddōd/həddōdət, hədə'dyəy
həggōg	ML	14 pilgrim	NO	1ə22ō2	Sg.	?	h	g	g	həggōg/həggōgət
həwwōt	ML	14 fisherman	NO	1ə22ō3	Sg.	?	h	w	t	həwwōt
hənnūk	ML	14 gum and palate	NO	1ə22ū3	Sg.	?	h	n	k	hənnūk/hənnūkət, hənnəkət
həbr	ML	2 ink	NO	1ə23	Sg.	?	h	b	r	həbr
hərsay	ML	11 Harsusi	NO	1ə23ay	Sg.	M	h	r	s	hərsay/hərsōy
hədhayd	ML	14 sand-dune	NO	1ə23ay4	Sg.	?	h	d	h d	hədhayd/hədhōd
həwt'ayk'	ML	14 curds, yoghurt	NO	1ə23ay4	Sg.	?	h	w	t' k'	həwt'ayk'/həwt'ōk'
həbθ'ayt	ML	13 kind of bush (Ar. 7abz.a)	NO	1ə23ayt	Sg.	F	h	b	θ'	həbθ'ayt/həbθ'
hənk'ayt	ML	13 a lipped jug to feed a baby	NO	1ə23ayt	Sg.	F	h	n	k'	hənk'ayt/hənēk', hənə'k'tən
hərl'ayt	ML	13 salam tree	NO	1ə23ayt	Sg.	F	h	r	l'	hərl'ayt/həral'tən, hərl'īw
həwlēb	ML	14 swollen neck-glands	NO	1ə23ē4	Sg.	?	h	w	l b	həwlēb
həl'rəmōt	ML	14 Hadramawt	NO	1ə23ə4ōt	Sg.	?	h	l'	r m	həl'rəmōt
həlk'əmūt	ML	14 Adam's apple	NO	1ə23ə4ūt	Sg.	?	h	l	k' m	həlk'əmūt/həlk'ēm
hənl'əbūt	ML	14 bead	NO	1ə23ə4ūt	Sg.	?	h	n	l' b	hənl'əbūt/hənl'āb
həwkəmūt	ML	14 bush with yellow inedible fruits	NO	1ə23ə4ūt	Sg.	F	h	w	k m	həwkəmūt/həwkām
həblēt	ML	13 umbilical cord	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	F	h	b	l	həblēt/həbēl, həbētən
həgrēt	ML	13 company of males sitting in a cir	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	F	h	g	r	həgrēt/həgēr
hərmēt	ML	13 widow, poor defenceless woman	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	?	h	r	m	hərmēt
hərlēt	ML	13 crab	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	F	h	r	l	hərlēt/hərlay
həs'bēt	ML	13 measles	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	F	h	s'	b	həs'bēt
həlmēt	ML	13 nobility, respect, honour	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	F	h	l	m	həlmēt
həbrīr	ML	14 sand-dune	NO	1ə23ī3	Sg.	?	h	b	r	həbrīr/həbrōr

həglīm	ML	14 kind of grass	NO	1ə23ī4	Sg.	?	h	g	l	m	həglīm/həglōm
hədgīt	ML	13 sour little melon-like fruit, bML	NO	1ə23īt	Sg.	F	h	d	g		hədgīt/hədōg
həmsīt	ML	13 turtle (female)	NO	1ə23īt	Sg.	F	h	m	s		həmsīt/həmōwəs
hərbīt	ML	13 unmarried woman, spinster	NO	1ə23īt	Sg.	F	h	r	b		hərbīt/hərbūtən
həθmīt	ML	13 kind of grass, grazing	NO	1ə23īt	Sg.	F	h	θ	m		həθmīt/həθamtən
həzmīyət	ML	dark camel	NO	1ə23īyət	Sg.	F	h	z	m		həzmīyət
hət'āt'	ML	5 grain	NO	1ə2ā2	Sg.	F	h	t'	t'		hət'āt'
həlawl	ML	6 laxative	NO	1ə2aw2	Sg.	?	h	l	l		həlawl
hərawrət	ML	13 burnt food at the bottom of a par	NO	1ə2aw2ət	Sg.	F	h	r	r		hərawrət
həgawlət	ML	13 bracelet of iron or silver	NO	1ə2aw3ət	Sg.	F	h	g	l		həgawlət/həgōyəl
həkawmət	ML	13 government	NO	1ə2aw3ət	Sg.	F	h	k	m		həkawmət
həmawlət	ML	13 camel load	NO	1ə2aw3ət	Sg.	F	h	m	l		həmawlət/həmōyəl
həlay	ML	goat milked for the children at ni	NO	1ə2ay	Sg.	?	h	l	l		həlay/həlūl
hədayd	ML	6 iron, iron tool	NO	1ə2ay2	Sg.	?	h	d	d		hədayd/hədawdət
hək'ayk'	ML	6 giving someones due, neither ad	NO	1ə2ay2	Sg.	?	h	k'	k'		hək'ayk'
hərayr	ML	6 silk	NO	1ə2ay2	Sg.	?	h	r	r		hərayr
həlayf	ML	6 MLy	NO	1ə2ay3	Sg.	?	h	l	f		həlayf/həwfēn
hək'aybət	ML	13 camel-cloth	NO	1ə2ay3ət	Sg.	F	h	k'	b		hək'aybət/hək'ōyəb
həmayt	ML	13 sister- or mother-in-law	NO	1ə2ayt	Sg.	F	h	m			həmayt/həmūtən
hərə'zt	ML	13 guarantee	NO	1ə2ə'3t	Sg.	F	h	r	z		hərə'zt
hēmər	ML	2 belt, string tied round the waist	NO	1ē2ə3	Sg.	?	h	m	r		hēmər/həmūtən
hədēs	ML	5 sweet-smelling leaves pounded v	NO	1ə2ē3	Sg.	?	h	d	s		hədēs
hələb	ML	5 milking (us. in the morning)	NO	1ə2ē3	Sg.	?	h	l	b		hələb
hərəb	ML	5 unmarried male; left-over food	NO	1ə2ē3	Sg.	M	h	r	b		hərəb/hərwōb
həwəl	ML	5 madness	NO	1ə2ē3	Sg.	?	h	w	l		həwəl
həl'ərmay	ML	14 Hadrami	NO	1ə2ə34ay	Sg.	M	h	l'	r	m	həl'ərmay/yəl'armət
həsənēt	ML	13 heavenly reward	NO	1ə2ə3ēt	Sg.	F	h	s	n		həsənēt
həs'əlēt	ML	13 stone	NO	1ə2ə3ēt	Sg.	F	h	s'	l		həs'əlēt/həs'ātən
həbəlīt	ML	13 pod of the herood., seed pod of a	NO	1ə2ə3īt	Sg.	F	h	b	l		həbəlīt
həfəlīt	ML	13 ripe (wild) fig	NO	1ə2ə3īt	Sg.	F	h	f	l		həfəlīt
həgəlīt	ML	13 naturMLy enclosed pasturage	NO	1ə2ə3īt	Sg.	F	h	g	l		həgəlīt
həlēt	ML	13 rust	NO	1ə2ēt	Sg.	?	h	l	v (?)		həlēt
həmīm	ML	5 charcoal	NO	1ə2ī2	Sg.	?	h	m	m		həmīm/həmūm
hənīt	ML	13 thingummyjig, what's-its-name	NO	1ə2īt	Sg.	F	h	n			hənīt

həlöl	ML	5 what is MLowed, permissible	NO	lə2ö2	Sg.	?	h	l	l	həlöl
həmömət	ML	13 pigeon	NO	lə2ö2ət	Sg.	F	h	m	m	həmömət
hərōm	ML	5 tabu, sth which is not permissible	NO	lə2ö3	Sg.	?	h	r	m	hərōm
həsōb	ML	5 reckoning	NO	lə2ö3	Sg.	?	h	s	b	həsōb
həlöt	ML	13 description what is said of someone	NO	lə2öt	Sg.	?	h	l	v (?)	həlöt
həyöt	ML	13 life	NO	lə2öt (ləyöt)	Sg.	?	h	w	v	həyöt
həbūr	ML	5 cold(ness)	NO	lə2ū3	Sg.	?	h	b	r	həbūr
həzyēt	ML	13 story	NO	lə2yēt (lə23ēt)	Sg.	F	h	z	v/v	həzyēt
həs's'ayt	ML	13 milk-eating stone, milk-stone	NO	lə22ayt	Sg.	F	h	s'	s'	həs's'ayt/həs'
həwk'āt	ML	13 circle, ring	NO	ləw3āt	Sg.	F	h	l	k'	həwk'āt/hələk'
həwfit	ML	13 truce, MLiance	NO	ləw3īt	Sg.	F	h	l	f	həwfit/hələyaf
hīlök'	ML	10 soot, smoke marks on wMLs and	NO	lī2ö3	Sg.	?	h	l	k'	hīlök'
hīböt'	ML	10 swelling, ulcer, boil, pimple	NO	lī2ö3	Sg.	?	h	b	t'	hīböt'
hīrīt	ML	13 female donkey	NO	lī3īt	Sg.	F	h	y	r	hīrīt/əhyartən
hōma	ML	2 shell	NO	lō2a	Sg.	?	h	m	ʕ	hōma/həmōwa
hōbəl	ML	2 leather head thong	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	h	b	l	hōbəl/həbōwəl, həbūl
hōgəz	ML	2 smML hill	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	h	g	z	hōgəz, həgz/həgōwəz
hōkəm	ML	2 ruler	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	h	k	m	hōkəm/həkōmət
hōməs	ML	2 turtle (male)	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	M	h	m	s	hōməs
hōs'əb	ML	2 pebbles	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	h	s'	b	hōs'əb
hōs'əl	ML	2 pebbles	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	h	s'	l	hōs'əl
hōtəm	ML	2 coffee pot spout	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	h	t	m	hōtəm/haytōm
hōt'ər	ML	2 2-3 month old female kid, smMI	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	M	h	t'	r	hōt'ər/hīt'ār
hōl'ər	ML	2 present	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	h	l'	r	hōl'ər/həl'awrət
hōmək'	ML	2 scab, scar	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	h	m	k'	hōmək'/həmə'wwək'
hōθ'ət	ML	13 coward, cowardly	NO	lō2ət	Sg.	?	h	θ'	?	hōθ'ət
hōwi	ML	2 part of a camel harness	NO	lō2i	Sg.	?	h	w	ʔ/v	hōwi
hōfi	ML	2 she-camel with a young one which	NO	lō2i (lō23)	Sg.	?	h	f	v	hōfi/həfōy
hōli	ML	2 stuffing into (a sack), making (b-	NO	lō2i (lō23)	Sg.	?	h	l	v	hōli
hōzi	ML	2 wise man	NO	lō2i (lō23)	Sg.	?	h	z	v/v	hōzi
hōl	ML	16 condition	NO	lō3	Sg.	?	h	w	l	hōl
hōgət	ML	13 need, thing, something	NO	lō3ət	Sg.	F	h	w	g	hōgət/həwōyæg
əhkīt	ML	13 itch	NO	əl2īt	Sg.	F	h	k	k	əhkīt
əhtəfk'awt	ML	13 embracing	NO	əl tə23awt	Sg.	?	h	f	k'	əhtəfk'awt

əhtərfüt	ML	13 going, moving away	NO	əl tə23üt	Sg.	?	h	r	f	əhtərfüt
ənh̄r̄ir	ML	14 roaring	NO	ən12ī2	Sg.	?	h	r	r	ənh̄r̄ir
ən̄hət'məlūt	ML	15 being smashed	NO	ən1ə23ə4ūt	Sg.	?	h	t'	m l	ən̄hət'məlūt
məhθaym	ML	7 camel rope, rope with which a camel is	NO	məl2ay3	Sg.	?	h	θ	m	məhθaym/məhθōm
məhfēf	ML	7 head-rope, head-cloth (rare)	NO	məl2ē2	Sg.	?	h	f	f	məhfēf/məhfōf
məhgēr	ML	7 hollow under Adam's apple	NO	məl2ē3	Sg.	?	h	g	r	məhgēr/məhgōr
məhfəθ'āt	ML	13 the wallet on a dagger	NO	məl2ə3āt	Sg.	?	h	f	θ'	məhfəθ'āt/məhōfəθ'
məhwəlay	ML	11 yearling calf, year-old (person carrying)	NO	məl2ə3ay	Sg.	M	h	w	l	məhwəlay/məhwəlōy
məhk'əbēt	ML	13 camel girth	NO	məl2ə3ēt	Sg.	F	h	k'	b	məhk'əbēt/məhawk'əb
məhðərūt	ML	13 pen for goats	NO	məl2ə3ūt	Sg.	?	h	ð	r	məhðərūt/məhðōðər
məhfərūt	ML	13 pit, hole	NO	məl2ə3ūt	Sg.	?	h	f	r	məhfərūt/məhōfər
məhzəmət	ML	13 waist	NO	məl2ə3ūt	Sg.	?	h	z	m	məhzəmət/məhōzəm
məhbīs	ML	7 prisoner	NO	məl2ī3	Sg.	?	h	b	s	məhbīs/məhbōs
məhfir	ML	7 basket	NO	məl2ī3	Sg.	?	h	f	r	məhfir/məhfōr
məhlīb	ML	7 camel calf on the udder, camel carrying	NO	məl2ī3	Sg.	?	h	l	b	məhlīb/məhlōb
məhmīs	ML	7 coffee roaster	NO	məl2ī3	Sg.	?	h	m	s	məhmīs/məhōmās
məhmīs'	ML	7 skin of a kid	NO	məl2ī3	Sg.	?	h	m	s'	məhmīs'/məhmōs'
məhamməl	ML	14 loaded	NO	məl1a22ə3	Sg.	?	h	m	l	məhamməl
məharrəm	ML	14 Muharram	NO	məl1a22ə3	Sg.	?	h	r	m	məharrəm
məhawmər	ML	7 raindrops dripping off the bushes	NO	məl1aw2ə3	Sg.	?	h	m	r	məhawmər
məhəwk'āt	ML	13 circle, ring	NO	məl1əw3āt	Sg.	F	h	l	k'	məhəwk'āt
məthamməs	ML	angry and eager to win	NO	mət1a22ə3	Sg.	?	h	m	s	məthamməs
təhðayr	ML	15 warning someone nearby of danger	NO	təl2ay3	Sg.	?	h	ð	r	təhðayr
təhmays	ML	15 making so. angry	NO	təl2ay3	Sg.	?	h	m	s	təhmays
ʔahālyē	ML	a cloth bound with string	NO	ʔalā23ē	Sg.	?	h	l	v (?)	ʔahālyē
həfyət	ML	13 barefoot, penniless	YES	1a23ət	Sg.	F	h	f	v	hāfi, həfyət/həfyay, həfyūtən
həylət	ML	13 senile	YES	1a23ət	Sg.	F	h	y	l	hōyəl, həylət
həlyət	ML	13 pleasant	YES	1a23ət (1a2yət)	Sg.	F	h	l	v	hōli, həlyət
həməl'	ML	2 sour	YES	1ā2ə3	Sg.	?	h	m	l'	həməl'
hāfi	ML	2 barefoot, penniless	YES	1ā2i (1ā23)	Sg.	M	h	f	v	hāfi, həfyət/həfyay, həfyūtən
həywəl	ML	6 mad	YES	1ay2ə3	Sg.	M	h	w	l	həywəl, həwəlēt/həwēl, həwlōtən
həs'bēb	ML	14 clever, active, quick, smart	YES	1ə23ē3	Sg.	?	h	s'	b	həs'bēb
həwrūt	ML	13 black	YES	1ə23ūt	Sg.	F	h	w	r	hōwər, həwrūt/hāwər
həbayb	ML	6 beloved	YES	1ə2ay2	Sg.	NA	h	b	b	həbayb

həl'ayl'	ML	6 of unpleasant disposition	YES	lə2ay2	Sg.	?	h	l'	l'	həl'ayl'	
həlaym	ML	6 respectable, polite, respecting	YES	lə2ay3	Sg.	?	h	l	m	həlaym, həlaymət/haylōm, haylamtən	
həlaymət	ML	13 respectable, polite, respecting	YES	lə2ay3ət	Sg.	?	h	l	m	həlaym, həlaymət/haylōm, haylamtən	
hərək	ML	5 lame	YES	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	h	r	k	hərək	
hədēb	ML	5 hunch-backed	YES	lə2ē3	Sg.	M	h	d	b	hədēb, hədəbīt/hədwōb, hədwabtən	
həbəlay	ML	11 Ethiopian	YES	lə2ə3ay	Sg.	M	h	b	l	həbəlay, həbəlayyət/həbəlēʔ, həbəlaytən	
həbəlayyət	ML	11 Ethiopian	YES	lə2ə3ayyət	Sg.	F	h	b	l	həbəlay, həbəlayyət/həbəlēʔ, həbəlaytən	
həwəlēt	ML	13 mad	YES	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	F	h	w	l	haywəl, həwəlēt/həwēl, həwlōtən	
hədəbīt	ML	13 hunch-backed	YES	lə2ə3īt	Sg.	F	h	d	b	hədēb, hədəbīt/hədwōb, hədwabtən	
hōgəm	ML	2 (camel) left in a safe place	YES	lō2ə3	Sg.	M	h	g	m	hōgəm/həwōgəm	
hōsəd	ML	2 envious	YES	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	h	s	d	hōsəd	
hōyəl	ML	2 senile	YES	lō2ə3	Sg.	M	h	y	l	hōyəl, haylət	
hōyər	ML	2 senile	YES	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	h	y	r	hōyər	
hōwər	ML	2 black	YES	lō2ə3	Sg.	M	h	w	r	hōwər, həwrūt/hāwər	
hōli	ML	2 pleasant	YES	lō2i	Sg.	M	h	l	v	hōli, halyət	
əhrək'	ML	hotter	YES	ə12ē3	Sg.	NA	h	r	k'	əhrək'	
məhrəmūt	ML	13 deprived	YES	mə12ə3ūt	Sg.	F	h	r	m	məhrīm, məhrəmūt	
məhrīm	ML	7 deprived	YES	mə12ī3	Sg.	M	h	r	m	məhrīm, məhrəmūt	
məhsōd	ML	7 askew, out of line	YES	mə12ō3	Sg.	?	h	s	d	məhsōd	
hyək'ət	ML	13 shore, beach	NO	12ē3ət	Pl.		h	y	k'	hayk'/hyək'ət, əhyək'	
habθ'	ML	4 kind of bush (ar. 7abz.a)	NO	1a23	Pl.		h	b	θ'	habθ' ayt/habθ'	
harnōb	ML	14 hare	NO	1a23ō4	Pl.		h	r	n	b	harnayb/harnōb
hawm	ML	14 father-in-law, brother-in-law, (pl)	NO	1aw2	Pl.		h	m		haym/hawm	
haytōm	ML	10 coffee pot spout	NO	1ay2ō3	Pl.		h	t	m	hōtəm/haytōm	
həs's'	ML	4 milk-heating stone, milk-stone	NO	1ə22	Pl.		h	s'	s'	həs's' ayt/həs'	
hənnə'kt	ML	13 gum and palate	NO	1ə22ə'3t	Pl.		h	n	k	hənnūk/hənnūkət, hənnəkt	
həddōdət	ML	13 blacksmith	NO	1ə22ō2ət	Pl.		h	d	d	həddōd/həddōdət, hədə'dyəy	
həggōgət	ML	13 pilgrim	NO	1ə22ō2ət	Pl.		h	g	g	həggōg/həggōgət	
hənnūkət	ML	13 gum and palate	NO	1ə22ū3ət	Pl.		h	n	k	hənnūk/hənnūkət, hənnəkt	
hənl'āb	ML	14 bead	NO	1ə23ā4	Pl.		h	n	l'	b	hənl'əbūt/hənl'āb
həwkām	ML	14 bush with yellow inedible fruits	NO	1ə23ā4	Pl.		h	w	k	m	həwkəmūt/həwkām
hərlay	ML	14 crab	NO	1ə23ay	Pl.		h	r	l		hərlēt/hərlay
həlk'ēm	ML	14 Adam's apple	NO	1ə23ē4	Pl.		h	l	k'	m	həlk'əmūt/həlk'ēm
hərl'īw	ML	14 salam tree	NO	1ə23īw	Pl.		h	r	l'		hərl' ayt/həral'tən, hərl'īw

həbrōr	ML	14 sand-dune	NO	lə23ō3	Pl.	h	b	r		həbrīr/həbrōr
hədhōd	ML	14 sand-dune	NO	lə23ō4	Pl.	h	d	h	d	hədhayd/hədhōd
həglōm	ML	14 kind of grass	NO	lə23ō4	Pl.	h	g	l	m	həglīm
həwt'ōk'	ML	14 yoghurt, curds	NO	lə23ō4	Pl.	h	w	t'	k'	həwt'ayk'/həwt'ōk'
hərsōy	ML	11 Harsusi	NO	lə23ōy	Pl.	h	r	s		hərsay/hərsōy
həm'rūtən	ML	12 belt, string tied round the waist	NO	lə23ūtən	Pl.	h	m	r		hēmər/həm'rūtən
hərbūtən	ML	12 unmarried female, spinster	NO	lə23ūtən	Pl.	h	r	b		hərbīt/hərbūtən
hək'aw	ML	6 belt, something used as a belt	NO	lə2a3 (lə2aw)	Pl.	h	k'	v		hāk'əw/hək'aw
həral'tən	ML	12 salam tree	NO	lə2a3tən	Pl.	h	r	l'		hərl'ayt/həral'tən, hərl'īw
həθamtən	ML	12 kind of grass, grazing	NO	lə2a3tən	Pl.	h	θ	m		həθmīt/həθamtən
həs'ātən	ML	12 stone	NO	lə2ātən	Pl.	h	s'	l		həs'əlēt/həs'ātən
həbawb	ML	6 clitoris, pill (ar.)	NO	lə2aw2	Pl.	h	b	b		həbbēt/həbēb, həbawb
hədawd	ML	6 place (M), border frontier (Ar)	NO	lə2aw2	Pl.	h	d	d		had/hədawd
hək'awk'	ML	6 right	NO	lə2aw2	Pl.	h	k'	k'		hak'/hək'awk'
həlawl	ML	6 time, period	NO	lə2aw2	Pl.	h	l	l		hal/həlawl
hərawr	ML	6 small cave used as a pen or fold	NO	lə2aw2	Pl.	h	r	r		hər/hərawr
həθ'awθ'	ML	6 luck, share	NO	lə2aw2	Pl.	h	θ'	θ'		həθ'/həθ'awθ'
həsaws	ML	6 consciousness, sound, voice	NO	lə2aw2	Pl.	h	s	s		has/həsaws
hədawdət	ML	13 iron, iron tool	NO	lə2aw2ət	Pl.	h	d	d		hədayd/hədawdət
həlawm	ML	6 dream	NO	lə2aw3	Pl.	h	l	m		hām/həlawm
hərawf	ML	6 gold coin, gold amulet	NO	lə2aw3	Pl.	h	r	f		harf/hərawf
həs'awn	ML	6 large house	NO	lə2aw3	Pl.	h	s'	n		hās'ən/həs'awn
həl'awrət	ML	13 present	NO	lə2aw3ət	Pl.	h	l'	r		hōl'ər/həl'awrət
hədə'dyəy	ML	14 blacksmith	NO	lə2ə'2yəy	Pl.	h	d	d		həddōd/həddōdət, hədə'dyəy
hənə'k'tən	ML	12 a little lipped jug to feed a baby	NO	lə2ə'3tən	Pl.	h	n	k'		hənk'ayt/hənēk', hənə'k'tən
həmə'wwək'	ML	8 scab, scar	NO	lə2ə'wwə3	Pl.	h	m	k'		hōmək'/həmə'wwək'
həbēb	ML	5 clitoris, pill (ar.)	NO	lə2ē2	Pl.	h	b	b		həbbēt/həbēb, həbawb
həbēl	ML	5 umbilical cord	NO	lə2ē3	Pl.	h	b	l		həblēt/həbēl, həbētən
həgēr	ML	5 company of males sitting in a cir	NO	lə2ē3	Pl.	h	g	r		həgrēt/həgēr
həlēk'	ML	5 circle, ring	NO	lə2ē3	Pl.	h	l	k'		həwk'āt/həlēk'
hənēk'	ML	5 a little lipped jug to feed a baby	NO	lə2ē3	Pl.	h	n	k'		hənk'ayt/hənēk', hənə'k'tən
həwēf	ML	5 Hafah (Salalah), village (Jahn)	NO	lə2ē3	Pl.	h	w	f		haft
həyēr	ML	5 donkey	NO	lə2ē3	Pl.	h	y	r		hayr/həyēr
həwēlət	ML	13 year	NO	lə2ē3ət	Pl.	h	w	l		hawl/həwēlət

hət'et'	ML	piece, pip	NO	lə2ε2	Pl.	h	t'	t'	hət't'āt/hət'et'
həbētən	ML	12 umbilical cord	NO	lə2ētən	Pl.	h	b	l	həblēt/həbəl, həbētən
hərīm	ML	5 widow, poor defenceless women	NO	lə2ī3	Pl.	h	r	m	hərmēt
hədōg	ML	5 sour little melon-like fruit, ball o	NO	lə2ō3	Pl.	h	d	g	hədgūt/hədōg
həfōy	ML	5 she-camel with a young one whic	NO	lə2ō3	Pl.	h	f	v	hōfi/həfōy
həkōb	ML	5 cow-rearing community	NO	lə2ō3	Pl.	h	k	b	hākəb/həkōb
həmōθ	ML	5 belly from navel downwards	NO	lə2ō3	Pl.	h	m	θ	hamθ/həmōθ
həkōmət	ML	13 ruler	NO	lə2ō3ət	Pl.	h	k	m	hōkəm/həkōmət
həmōwa	ML	8 shell	NO	lə2ōwa	Pl.	h	m	ʕ	hōma/həmōwa
həbōwəl	ML	8 leather head thong	NO	lə2ōwə3	Pl.	h	b	l	hōbəl/həbōwəl, həbūl
həgōwəz	ML	8 small hill	NO	lə2ōwə3	Pl.	h	g	z	hōgəz, hægz/həgōwəz
həmōwəs	ML	8 turtle (female)	NO	lə2ōwə3	Pl.	h	m	s	həmsīt/həmōwəs
həgōyəl	ML	8 bracelet of iron or silver	NO	lə2ōyə3	Pl.	h	g	l	həgawlət/həgōyəl
hək'ōyəb	ML	8 camel-cloth	NO	lə2ōyə3	Pl.	h	k'	b	hək'aybət/hək'ōyəb
həlōyəf	ML	8 truce, alliance	NO	lə2ōyə3	Pl.	h	l	f	həwfit/həlōyəf
həmōyəl	ML	8 camel load	NO	lə2ōyə3	Pl.	h	m	l	həmawlət/həmōyəl
həwōyæg	ML	8 need, thing, something	NO	lə2ōyə3 (ləwōy: Pl.	Pl.	h	w	g	hōgət/həwōyæg
həlūl	ML	5 goat milked for the children at ni	NO	lə2ū2	Pl.	h	l	l	həlay/həlūl
həmūm	ML	5 charcoal	NO	lə2ū2	Pl.	h	m	m	həmīm/həmūm
həbūl	ML	5 leather head thong	NO	lə2ū3	Pl.	h	b	l	hōbəl/həbōwəl, həbūl
həbūs	ML	5 prison, ankle-ring	NO	lə2ū3	Pl.	h	b	s	həbs/həbūs
hərūz	ML	5 silver amulet	NO	lə2ū3	Pl.	h	r	z	harz/hərūz
həmūtən	ML	12 sister- or mother-in law	NO	lə2ūtən	Pl.	h	m		həmayt/həmūtən
hərwōb	ML	8 unmarried male, left-over food	NO	lə2wō3	Pl.	h	r	b	hərēb/hərwōb
həwfēn	ML	14 ally	NO	ləw3ēn	Pl.	h	l	f	həlayf/həwfēn
həwōrəs	ML	9 (camels) not needing water (for 1	NO	ləwō2ə3	Pl.	h	r	s	hərsət/həwōrəs
hīt'ār	ML	10 2-3 month old female kid, small	NO	lī2ā3	Pl.	h	t'	r	hōt'ər/hīt'ār
əhyartən	ML	12 female donkey	NO	ə12a3tən	Pl.	h	y	r	hīrīt/əhyartən
əhwə'zət	ML	13 boundary mark	NO	ə12ə'3ət	Pl.	h	w	z	hawz/əhwə'zət
əhyək'	ML	5 shore, beach	NO	ə12ē3	Pl.	h	y	k'	hayk'/hyək'ət, əhyək'
əhwēl'ət	ML	13 pond	NO	ə12ē3ət	Pl.	h	w	l'	hawl'/əhwēl'ət
məhwəlōy	ML	11 yearling calf, year-old (person or	NO	mə12ə3ōy	Pl.	h	w	l	məhwəlay/məhwəlōy
məhfōf	ML	7 head-rope, head-cloth (rare)	NO	mə12ō2	Pl.	h	f	f	məhfēf/məhfōf
məhbōs	ML	7 prisoner	NO	mə12ō3	Pl.	h	b	s	məhbīs/məhbōs

məhför	ML	7 basket	NO	mə12ö3	Pl.	h	f	r	məhfür/məhför	
məhgör	ML	7 hollow under Adam's apple	NO	mə12ö3	Pl.	h	g	r	məhgēr/məhgör	
məhlöb	ML	7 camel calf on the the udder, cam	NO	mə12ö3	Pl.	h	l	b	məhlīb/məhlöb	
məhmös'	ML	7 skin of a kid	NO	mə12ö3	Pl.	h	m	s'	məhmīs'/məhmös'	
məhθöm	ML	7 camel rope, rope with which a ca	NO	mə12ö3	Pl.	h	θ	m	məhθaym/məhθöm	
məhawk'əb	ML	7 camel girth	NO	mə1aw2ə3	Pl.	h	k'	b	məhk'əbēt/məhawk'əb	
məhöðər	ML	7 pen for goats	NO	mə1ö2ə3	Pl.	h	ð	r	məhöðrüt/məhöðər	
məhöfər	ML	7 pit, hole	NO	mə1ö2ə3	Pl.	h	f	r	məhfərüt/məhöfər	
məhözəm	ML	7 waist	NO	mə1ö2ə3	Pl.	h	z	m	məhzəmüt/məhözəm	
məhöfəθ'	ML	7 the wallet on a dagger	NO	mə1ö2ə3	Pl.	h	f	θ'	məhfəθ'ät/məhöfəθ'	
məhömäs	ML	7 coffee roaster	NO	mə1ö3ə3	Pl.	h	m	s	məhmīs/məhömäs	
yəl'armət	ML	14 Hadrami	NO	yə2a34ət	Pl.	h	l'	r	m	həl'armay/yəl'armət
hāwər	ML	2 black	YES	1ā2ə3	Pl.	NA	h	w	r	hōwər, hōwrüt/hāwər
haylamtən	ML	12 respectable, polite, respecting otl	YES	1ay2a3tən	Pl.	F	h	l	m	həlaym, həlaymät/haylöm, haylamtən
haylöm	ML	10 respectable, polite, respecting otl	YES	1ay2ö3	Pl.	M	h	l	m	həlaym, həlaymät/haylöm, haylamtən
həfyay	ML	14 barefoot, penniless	YES	1ə23ay	Pl.	M	h	f	v	hāfi, hafyät/həfyay, həfyütən
həwlötən	ML	12 mad	YES	1ə23ötən	Pl.	F	h	w	l	haywəl, həwəlēt/həwəl, həwlötən
həfyütən	ML	12 barefoot, penniless	YES	1ə23ütən	Pl.	F	h	f	v	hāfi, hafyät/həfyay, həfyütən
həwəl	ML	5 mad	YES	1ə2ē3	Pl.	M	h	w	l	haywəl, həwəlēt/həwəl, həwlötən
həbəlaytən	ML	12 Ethiopian	YES	1ə2ə3aytən	Pl.	F	h	b	l	həbəlay, həbəlayyät/həbəlē?, həbəlaytən
həbəlē?	ML	14 Ethiopian	YES	1ə2ə3ē?	Pl.	M	h	b	l	həbəlay, həbəlayyät/həbəlē?, həbəlaytən
hədwabtən	ML	12 hunch-backed	YES	1ə2wa3tən	Pl.	F	h	d	b	hədēb, hədəbīt/hədwöb, hədwabtən
hədwöb	ML	10 hunch-backed	YES	1ə2wö3	Pl.	M	h	d	b	hədēb, hədəbīt/hədwöb, hədwabtən
həlyöl	ML	10 having all bones smashed	YES	1ə2yö2	Pl.	?	h	l	l	həlyöl
həwögəm	ML	9 (camel) left in a safe place	YES	1əwö2ə3	Pl.	?	h	g	m	högəm/həwögəm
kaff	ML	4 palm of the hand, paw, claw	NO	1a22	Sg.	?	k	f	f	kaf/kəföf
kabl	ML	4 (male) lamb, "Widder"	NO	1a23	Sg.	M	k	b	l	kabl/kəböwəl
kamb	ML	4 camp	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	k	m	b	kamb
kanz	ML	4 treasure	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	k	n	z	kanz
karh	ML	4 hatred	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	k	r	h	karh, kerh
katf	ML	4 top of back, back of shoulder	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	k	t	f	katf
kawb	ML	4 cup	NO	1a23 (1aw3)	Sg.	?	k	w	b	kawb
kawn	ML	4 severe pain	NO	1a23 (1aw3)	Sg.	?	k	w	n	kawn
kawt	ML	4 watchtower	NO	1a23 (1aw3)	Sg.	?	k	w	t	kawt

kayd	ML	4 cunning	NO	1a23 (1ay3)	Sg.	?	k	y	d	kayd	
kayf	ML	4 liking	NO	1a23 (1ay3)	Sg.	?	k	y	f	kayf	
kambəl	ML	14 blanket	NO	1a23ə4	Sg.	?	k	n	b	l	kambəl/kənābəl
kawrəh	ML	14 bML	NO	1a23əh (1aw3əh)	Sg.	?	k	w	r	kawrəh	
kālēt	ML	13 swollen testicle	NO	1ā3ēt	Sg.	F	k	ʕ	l	kālēt/kəʕāl	
kawb	ML	4 wolf, dog	NO	1aw3	Sg.	?	k	l	b	kawb/kəlōb	
kayli	ML	3 coming, bringing home	NO	1ay2i	Sg.	?	k	l	v	kayli	
kəlkəlōt	ML	14 burn blister	NO	1ə21ə2ōt	Sg.	?	k	l	k	l	kəlkəlōt/kəlkəl
kəbkīb	ML	14 star	NO	1ə21ī2	Sg.	?	k	b	k	b	kəbkīb/kəbkōb
kəbb	ML	4 spilling out ML of sth.	NO	1ə22	Sg.	?	k	b	b	kəb	
kəh	ML	4 lifting the clothes up to the thigh	NO	1ə22	Sg.	?	k	l	l	kəl	
kəbbēt	ML	13 cholera	NO	1ə22ēt	Sg.	F	k	b	b	kəbbēt	
kəmmēt	ML	13 smML women's head-cloth unde	NO	1ə22ēt	Sg.	F	k	m	m	kəmmēt/kəmmēm	
kəzzīt	ML	13 sandhill	NO	1ə22īt	Sg.	?	k	z	z	kəzzīt/kəzēz	
kəllōb	ML	14 grapple, grappling hook	NO	1ə22ō3	Sg.	?	k	l	b	kəllōb/kəllōbət	
kəmmūr	ML	14 foul-smelling animal, (prob.) a k	NO	1ə22ū3	Sg.	?	k	m	r	kəmmūr/kəmrīn	
kəbbūt	ML	13 stooping	NO	1ə22ūt	Sg.	?	k	b	b	kəbbūt	
kərsay	ML	14 chair, rifle-butt	NO	1ə23a4 (1ə23ay)	Sg.	?	k	r	s	y	kərsay/kərəsi
kərmaym	ML	14 mountain	NO	1ə23ay3	Sg.	F	k	r	m	kərmaym/kərmōm	
kərfāyəh	ML	charpoy	NO	1ə23āyəh	Sg.	?	k	r	f	kərfāyəh/kərəfi	
kərkēm	ML	14 orange-yellow dye	NO	1ə23ē4	Sg.	?	k	r	k	m	kərkēm
kərsədūt	ML	14 knobbed club	NO	1ə23ə4ūt	Sg.	?	k	r	š	d	kərsədūt/kərsēd
kəfsēt	ML	13 constriction of the chest and bre:	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	F	k	f	s	kəfsēt	
kəswēt	ML	13 clothing, clothes	NO	1ə23ēt (1ə2wēt)	Sg.	F	k	s	v	kəswēt	
kəwrēt	ML	13 love	NO	1ə23ēt (1əw3ēt)	Sg.	?	k	w	r	kəwrēt	
kənbē?	ML	14 heel	NO	1ə23ē?	Sg.	?	k	n	b	ʕ	kənbē?/kənōbə?
kərlēnūt	ML	belly, calf muscle, biceps	NO	1ə23ēnūt	Sg.	?	k	r	l	kərlēnūt/kīrəl	
kərfīf	ML	14 face, (SM) lip	NO	1ə23ī3	Sg.	?	k	r	f	kərfīf/kərfōf	
kənsīd	ML	14 shoulder	NO	1ə23ī4	Sg.	?	k	n	s	d	kənsīd/kənsōd
kəbrīt	ML	13 sulphur	NO	1ə23īt	Sg.	F	k	b	r	kəbrīt	
kənzīt	ML	13 bML of dates	NO	1ə23īt	Sg.	F	k	m	z	kənzīt/kawməz	
kēfa	ML	2 boiled beestings	NO	1ē2a	Sg.	?	k	f	?	kēfa	
kəlawkəl	ML	14 gusts of wind	NO	1ə2aw1ə2	Sg.	?	k	l	k	l	kəlawkəl
kəfayl	ML	6 guarantor, sponsor (in arranging	NO	1ə2ay3	Sg.	?	k	f	l	kəfayl	

kəsayb	ML	6 good investment	NO	lə2ay3	Sg.	?	k	s	b	kəsəb, kōsəb, kəsayb
kəways	ML	6 (poet.) south wind (in prose məd NO		lə2ay3	Sg.	?	k	w	s	kəways
kēθ'ər	ML	2 knot, tangle	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	?	k	θ'	r	kēθ'ər/kəθ'awwər
kēhəl	ML	2 kohl	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	?	k	h	l	kēhəl
kēsəb	ML	2 precious acquisition	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	?	k	s	b	kēsəb, kōsəb, kəsayb
kēθər	ML	2 much, amount	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	?	k	θ	r	kēθər
kəfēn	ML	5 shroud	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	k	f	n	kəfēn/kəfənūtən
kəhēn	ML	5 old times, ancient days, long ago	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	k	h	n	kəhēn
kəzəbēt	ML	13 coconut	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	F	k	z	b	kəzəbēt/kəzēb
kəbərūt	ML	13 going and staying with folk to dr	NO	lə2ə3ūt	Sg.	?	k	b	r	kəbərūt
kənəmūt	ML	13 louse	NO	lə2ə3ūt	Sg.	?	k	n	m	kənəmūt/kənawm
kənēt	ML	13 not infl. discreet	NO	lə2ēt	Sg.	?	k	n	n	kənēt
kətīw	ML	5 dark, darkness, twilight	NO	lə2ī3 (lə2īw)	Sg.	?	k	t	v	kətīw
kəlīt	ML	13 name of a green tree	NO	lə2īt	Sg.	F	k	l	v	kəlīt/kəlaytən
kəmōl	ML	5 st. fated, inevitable	NO	lə2ō3	Sg.	?	k	m	l	kəmōl
kəlōn	ML	5 bride, groom	NO	lə2ō3	Sg.	?	k	l	n	kəlōn/kəwMLən
kətōb	ML	5 book, leather amulet	NO	lə2ō3	Sg.	?	k	t	b	kətōb/kətəbīn
kərōmət	ML	13 generosity	NO	lə2ō3ət	Sg.	F	k	r	m	kərōmət
kəlyīt	ML	13 kidney	NO	lə2yīt	Sg.	F	k	l	v	kəlyīt/kīlay, kəlyūtən
kəst	ML	13 bag	NO	lə3t	Sg.	F	k	y	s	kəst
kətəbbūt	ML	13 lying face down	NO	lətə22ūt	Sg.	?	k	b	b	kətəbbūt
kəwθēt	ML	13 story	NO	ləw3ēt	Sg.	?	k	l	θ	kəwθēt/kələ'θtən
kəwbīt	ML	13 female wolf	NO	ləw3īt	Sg.	F	k	l	b	kəwbīt/kəlabtən
kēθ	ML	4 talk	NO	lē3	Sg.	?	k	l	θ	kēθ
kīmēm	ML	10 udder shield, teat shield	NO	lī2ē2	Sg.	?	k	m	m	kīmēm/kəmōmət, kəmmūtən
kīrəl	ML	2 belly, (dim.) tummy	NO	lī2ə3	Sg.	?	k	r	l	kīrəl/kīrēl
kīrē?	ML	10 rent, hire	NO	lī2ē?	Sg.	?	k	r	v	kīrē?
kōbən	ML	2 dry cow-pat, piece of dry cow-dt	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	k	b	n	kōbən/kəbúwwən
kōfər	ML	2 infidel, European	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	k	f	r	kōfər
kōhən	ML	2 cunning, cheat	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	k	h	n	kōhən
kōsəb	ML	2 sound investment: more commor	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	k	s	b	kēsəb, kōsəb, kəsayb
kōtəb	ML	2 clerk	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	k	t	b	kōtəb
makhəl	ML	7 feathers for applying kohl	NO	ma12ə3	Sg.	?	k	h	l	makhəl
məkhəlēt	ML	13 kohl receptacle	NO	mə12ə3ēt	Sg.	F	k	h	l	məkhəlēt

mæknīn	ML	7 strong roof to keep out the rain, ;	NO	mə12i2	Sg.	?	k	n	n	mæknīn/mæknōn	
mækdīs	ML	7 sand castle	NO	mə12i3	Sg.	?	k	d	s	mækdīs	
mækwīr	ML	7 lover	NO	mə12i3	Sg.	M	k	w	r	mækwīr	
mækəbnēt	ML	13 st. hidden beyond the rise of the	NO	mə1ə23ēt	Sg.	F	k	b	n	mækəbnēt	
mækəmnēt	ML	13 st. hidden beyond the rise of a sl	NO	mə1ə23ēt	Sg.	F	k	m	n	mækəmnēt/mækōmən	
mækəndēt	ML	13 big toe, thumb	NO	mə1ə23ēt	Sg.	F	k	n	d	mækəndēt/mækōnəd	
mækənsēt	ML	13 broom	NO	mə1ə23ēt	Sg.	F	k	n	s	mækənsēt	
mækəwrūt	ML	13 lover	NO	mə1ə23ūt	Sg.	F	k	w	r	mækəwrūt	
mækūn	ML	7 place	NO	mə1ū3	Sg.	?	k	w	n	mækūn/mæknīn	
təklayl	ML	15 flight	NO	tə12ay2	Sg.	?	k	l	l	təklayl	
kənhayt	ML	13 (coming) back, returning	YES	1ə23ayt	Sg.	F	k	n	h	kīnəh, kənhayt/kənwayh, kənwah̄tən	
kəraym	ML	6 generous	YES	1ə2ay3	Sg.	M	k	r	m	kəraym, kəraymət/kīrōm, kīramtən	
kəraymət	ML	13 generous	YES	1ə2ay3ət	Sg.	F	k	r	m	kəraym, kəraymət/kīrōm, kīramtən	
kīnəh	ML	2 (coming) back, returning	YES	1i2ə3	Sg.	M	k	n	h	kīnəh, kənhayt/kənwayh, kənwah̄tən	
mənkə'wrəd	ML	14 mad	YES	mən1ə'23ə4	Sg.	?	k	w	r	d	mənkə'wrəd
mətkabbər	ML	proud	YES	mət1a22ə3	Sg.	?	k	b	r	mətkabbər	
kawməz	ML	3 ball of dates	NO	1aw2ə3	Pl.		k	m	z	kəmzīt/kawməz	
kəlkēl	ML	14 burn blister	NO	1ə21ē2	Pl.		k	l	k	l	kəlkəlot/kəlkēl
kəbkōb	ML	14 star	NO	1ə21ō2	Pl.		k	b		kəbkīb/kəbkōb	
kəllōbət	ML	13 grapple, grappling hook	NO	1ə22ō3ət	Pl.		k	l	b	kəllōb/kəllōbət	
kəmmūtən	ML	13 udder shield, teat shield	NO	1ə22ūtən	Pl.		k	m	m	kīmēm/kəməmət, kəmmūtən	
kəršēd	ML	14 knobbed club	NO	1ə23ē4	Pl.		k	r	š	d	kəršədūt/kəršēd
kəmrīn	ML	14 foul-smelling animal, (prob.) a k	NO	1ə23īn	Pl.		k	m	r	kəmmūr/kəmrīn	
kərfōf	ML	14 face, (SM) lip	NO	1ə23ō3	Pl.		k	r	f	kərfif/kərfōf	
kərmōm	ML	14 mountain	NO	1ə23ō3	Pl.		k	r	m	kərmaym/kərmōm	
kənsōd	ML	14 top of shoulder	NO	1ə23ō4	Pl.		k	n	s	d	kənsīd/kənsōd
kənābəl	ML	14 blanket	NO	1ə2ā3ə4	Pl.		k	n	b	l	kambəl/kənābəl
kərāfi	ML	14 charpoy	NO	1ə2ā3i	Pl.		k	r	f	kərfāyəh/kərāfi	
kəlabtən	ML	12 female wolf	NO	1ə2a3tən	Pl.		k	l	b	kəwbīt/kəlabtən	
kəmawkəm	ML	14 women's head-cloth (the top clot	NO	1ə2aw1ə2	Pl.		k	m	k	m	kəmkēm/kəmawkəm
kənawm	ML	6 louse	NO	1ə2aw3	Pl.		k	n	m	kənəmūt/kənawm	
kəθ'awwər	ML	14 knot, tangle	NO	1ə2awwə3	Pl.		k	θ'	r	kēθ'ər/kəθ'awwər	
kəlaytən	ML	12 name of a green tree	NO	1ə2aytən	Pl.		k	l	v	kəlīt/kəlaytən	
kələ'tən	ML	12 story	NO	1ə2ə'3tən	Pl.		k	l	θ	kəwθēt/kələ'tən	

kəbə'wwən	ML	8 dry cow-pat, piece of dry cow-dt	NO	lə2ə'wwə3	Pl.		k	b	n		kōbən/kəbúwwən
kəmēm	ML	5 small women's head-cloth under	NO	lə2ē2	Pl.		k	m	m		kəmmēt/kəmēm
kəzēz	ML	5 sandhill	NO	lə2ē2	Pl.		k	z	z		kəzzīt/kəzēz
kəzēb	ML	5 coconut	NO	lə2ē3	Pl.		k	z	b		kəzəbēt/kəzēb
kərəsi	ML	14 chair, rifle-butt	NO	lə2ē3i (lə2ē34)	Pl.		k	r	s	y	kərsay/kərəsi
kətəbīn	ML	14 book, leather amulet	NO	lə2ə3īn	Pl.		k	t	b		kətōb/kətəbīn
kəfənūtən	ML	12 shroud	NO	lə2ə3ūtən	Pl.		k	f	n		kəfēn/kəfənūtən
kəfōf	ML	5 palm of the hand, paw, claw	NO	lə2ō2	Pl.		k	f	f		kaf/kəfōf
kəmōmət	ML	13 udder shield, teat shield	NO	lə2ō2ət	Pl.		k	m	m		kīmēm/kəmōmət, kəmmūtən
kəlōb	ML	5 wolf, dog	NO	lə2ō3	Pl.		k	l	b		kawb/kəlōb
kənōbə?	ML	14 heel	NO	lə2ō3ə?	Pl.		k	n	b	ʕ	kənbēʔ/kənōbə?
kəbōwəl	ML	8 (male) lamb	NO	lə2ōwə3	Pl.		k	b	l		kabl/kəbōwəl
kəlyūtən	ML	12 kidney	NO	lə2yūtən	Pl.		k	l	v		kəlyīt/kīlay, kəlyūtən
kəwallən	ML	9 bride, groom	NO	ləwa22ə3	Pl.		k	l	n		kəlōn/kəwallən
kəʕāl	ML	swollen testicle	NO	ləʕā3	Pl.		k	ʕ	l		kālēt/kəʕāl
kīlay	ML	10 kidney	NO	lī2ay	Pl.		k	l	v		kəlyīt/kīlay, kəlyūtən
kīrəl	ML	10 belly	NO	lī2ē3	Pl.		k	r	l		kīrəl/kīrəl
kīrəl	ML	10 belly, calf muscle, biceps	NO	lī2ē3	Pl.		k	r	l		kərlēnūt/kīrəl
məknīn	ML	14 place	NO	məl2īn	Pl.		k	w	n		məkūn/məknīn
məknōn	ML	7 strong roof to keep out the rain, ʔ	NO	məl2ō2	Pl.		k	n	n		məknīn/məknōn
məkōmən	ML	7 st. hidden beyond the rise of a sl	NO	məlō2ə3	Pl.		k	m	n		məkəmmēt/məkōmən
məkōnəd	ML	7 big toe, thumb	NO	məlō2ə3	Pl.		k	n	d		məkəndēt/məkōnəd
kənwahtən	ML	12 (coming) back, returning	YES	lə2wa3tən	Pl.	F	k	n	h		kīnəh, kənhayt/kənwayh, kənwahtən
kənwayh	ML	6 (coming) back, returning	YES	lə2way3	Pl.	M	k	n	h		kīnəh, kənhayt/kənwayh, kənwahtən
kīramtən	ML	13 generous	YES	lī2a3tən	Pl.	F	k	r	m		kəraym, kəraymət/kīrōm, kīramtən
kīrōm	ML	10 generous	YES	lī2ō3	Pl.	M	k	r	m		kəraym, kəraymət/kīrōm, kīramtən
k'əbīt	ML	13 smMLer stomach of a ruminant ʔ	NO	lə2īt (lə3īt)	Sg.	?	k'	b	ʔ		k'əbīt/k'əwabtən
k'ā	ML	14 ground, land, place	NO	lā	Sg.	M	k'	w	ʕ		k'ā
k'āk'āt	ML	14 frog	NO	lā1āt	Sg.	?	k'	ʕ	k'	ʕ	k'āk'āt
k'aḥ	ML	4 (rare) baggage	NO	la22	Sg.	?	k'	l	l		k'aḥ/k'ələwəl
k'ant'	ML	4 edge of a cliff	NO	la23	Sg.	?	k'	n	t'		k'ant'
k'ard	ML	4 voice, throat	NO	la23	Sg.	F	k'	r	d		k'ard, k'ārəd/k'īrōd
k'as'd	ML	4 aim	NO	la23	Sg.	?	k'	s'	d		k'as'd
k'arš	ML	4 Maria Theresa dollar, (pl.) mone	NO	la23	Sg.	?	k'	r	š		k'arš, k'erš/k'ərawš

k'awl	ML	4 speech	NO	1a23 (1aw3)	Sg.	?	k'	w	l		k'awl
k'awm	ML	4 raiding-party	NO	1a23 (1aw3)	Sg.	?	k'	w	m		k'awm/k'əwōm, k'əwēmət
k'awl	ML	4 smML group of she-camels	NO	1a23 (1aw3)	Sg.	?	k'	w	l		k'awl/k'əwōl
k'awt	ML	4 food	NO	1a23 (1aw3)	Sg.	?	k'	w	t		k'awt
k'ayd	ML	4 rope	NO	1a23 (1ay3)	Sg.	?	k'	y	d		k'ayd/k'əyūd
k'ayθ'	ML	4 summer before the rains	NO	1a23 (1ay3)	Sg.	?	k'	y	θ'		k'ayθ'
k'awt'i	ML	14 tin, tin box	NO	1a234 (1a23i)	Sg.	?	k'	w	t'	y	k'awt'i/k'əwōt'əyət
k'aymət	ML	13 judgment day	NO	1a23ət (1ay3ət)	Sg.	?	k'	w	m		k'aymət
k'āma	ML	2 percussion cap, (?) inflammation	NO	1ā2a	Sg.	?	k'	m	ʕ		k'āma
k'ādər	ML	2 pot	NO	1ā2ə3	Sg.	?	k'	d	r		k'ādər/k'aydər
k'āfəl	ML	2 lock	NO	1ā2ə3	Sg.	?	k'	f	l		k'āfəl
k'ārəd	ML	2 voice, throat	NO	1ā2ə3	Sg.	F	k'	r	d		k'ard, k'ārəd/k'īrəd
k'ās'əm	ML	2 coldness, cold	NO	1ā2ə3	Sg.	?	k'	s'	m		k'ās'əm
k'ās'ər	ML	2 first-floor or top-floor room	NO	1ā2ə3	Sg.	?	k'	s'	r		k'ās'ər/k'əs'awwər
k'āt'ər	ML	2 direction	NO	1ā2ə3	Sg.	?	k'	t'	r		k'āt'ər
k'āl'əb	ML	2 lucerne, alfalfa	NO	1ā2ə3	Sg.	?	k'	l'	b		k'āl'əb
k'ātəbət	ML	fibrositis, pain in the shoulder	NO	1ā2ə3ət	Sg.	?	k'	t	b		k'ātəbət
k'āfələt	ML	caravan	NO	1ā2ə3ət	Sg.	F	k'	f	l		k'āfələt
k'āb	ML	4 mind, intelligence, memory, heart	NO	1ā3	Sg.	?	k'	l	b		k'āb/k'əlawb
k'ālēw	ML	14 milk bucket made from palm tree	NO	1ā3ē4 (1ā3ēw)	Sg.	?	k'	ʕ	l	w	k'ālēw, k'ālīw/k'ōlōw, k'ālōw
k'ālīw	ML	14 milk bucket made from palm tree	NO	1ā3ī4 (1ā3īw)	Sg.	?	k'	ʕ	l	w	k'ālēw, k'ālīw/k'ōlōw, k'ālōw
k'awzərət	ML	13 round basket of dates	NO	1aw2ə3ət	Sg.	F	k'	z	r		k'awzərət/k'əwōzər
k'aybəl	ML	3 accepting	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	k'	b	l		k'aybəl
k'aybəl'	ML	3 looking after, herding (animals)	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	k'	b	l'		k'aybəl'
k'ayš'əb	ML	3 breaking, chopping	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	k'	š'	b		k'ayš'əb
k'ayl'ər	ML	3 leopard	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	k'	l'	r		k'ayl'ər
k'ayəbs'	ML	stinging, (snake) biting	NO	1ayə23	Sg.	?	k'	b	s'		k'ayəbs'
k'ərək'ōr	ML	14 beehive-fish-trap	NO	1ə21ō2	Sg.	?	k'	r	k'	r	k'ərək'ōr
k'əll	ML	4 sparseness	NO	1ə22	Sg.	?	k'	l	l		k'əll
k'əs's'āt	ML	13 top of the forehead, hair on brow	NO	1ə22āt	Sg.	?	k'	s'	s'		k'əs's'āt/k'əs'ās'
k'əffēt	ML	13 smML basket	NO	1ə22ēt	Sg.	?	k'	f	f		k'əffēt/k'əfēf
k'əllēt	ML	13 hilt (of a sword, etc.), straight sword	NO	1ə22ēt	Sg.	?	k'	l	l		k'əllēt/k'əlēl
k'əssēt	ML	13 story	NO	1ə22ēt	Sg.	F	k'	s	s		k'əssēt/k'əsēs
k'əwwēt	ML	13 force, strength	NO	1ə22ēt	Sg.	?	k'	w	v		k'əwwēt

k'ərrōb	ML	14 nocturnal desert animal-demon t	NO	1ə22ō3	Sg.	?	k'	r	b		k'ərrōb
k'əmt'ār	ML	14 shimmering in the hot air, heat sl	NO	1ə23ā4	Sg.	?	k'	m	t'	r	k'əmt'ār
k'ərt'ās	ML	14 paper, sheet of paper	NO	1ə23ā4	Sg.	?	k'	r	t'	s	k'ərt'ās
k'ərl'āt	ML	13 loan	NO	1ə23āt	Sg.	F	k'	r	l'		k'ərl'āt/k'əroyəl'
k'əlhayn	ML	14 mussel	NO	1ə23ayn	Sg.	?	k'	l	h		k'əlhayn/k'əlhəyēn
k'ərnayt	ML	13 kind of grass, (occ.) womb	NO	1ə23ayt	Sg.	F	k'	r	n		k'ərnayt/k'ərnawtən
k'əblēt	ML	13 west, qibla	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	?	k'	b	l		k'əblēt
k'əhbēt	ML	13 whore, harlot	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	F	k'	h	b		k'əhbēt/k'əhāb
k'əsmēt	ML	13 present to a child	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	F	k'	s	m		k'əsmēt/k'əsōyəm
k'əs'bēt	ML	13 half a dozen or so (people, came	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	?	k'	š'	b		k'əs'bēt
k'əhwēt	ML	13 coffee	NO	1ə23ēt (1ə2wēt)	Sg.	?	k'	h	v		k'əhwēt
k'əhwēt	ML	13 coffee-shop	NO	1ə23ēt (1ə2wēt)	Sg.	?	k'	h	v		k'əhwēt/mək'ōhi
k'əfir	ML	14 lip	NO	1ə23i3	Sg.	?	k'	f	r		k'əfir/k'əfirōr
k'ət'fif	ML	14 feather, wing	NO	1ə23i3	Sg.	?	k'	t'	f		k'ət'fif/k'ət'fōf
k'ət'mīm	ML	14 unclarified, freshly made butter	NO	1ə23i3	Sg.	?	k'	t'	m		k'ət'mīm
k'əndīl	ML	14 oil-lamp carried about in the stre	NO	1ə23i4	Sg.	?	k'	n	d	l	k'əndīl/k'əndōl
k'ərmīl	ML	14 baggage, gear, belongings	NO	1ə23i4	Sg.	?	k'	r	m	l	k'ərmīl/k'ərmōl
k'əlnīt	ML	13 thicket, forest	NO	1ə23īt	Sg.	?	k'	l	n		k'əlnīt/k'īlēn
k'ədhūt	ML	13 tree whose resin is gum Arabic. l	NO	1ə23ūt	Sg.	?	k'	d	h		k'ədhūt/k'ədahtən
k'ət'āt'	ML	5 covered but open cave, overhung	NO	1ə2ā2	Sg.	?	k'	t'	t'		k'ət'āt'/k'ət'ēt'
k'əmar	ML	5 gambling	NO	1ə2ā3	Sg.	?	k'	m	r		k'əmar
k'əs'āb	ML	5 plants, dhurah	NO	1ə2ā3	Sg.	?	k'	s'	b		k'əs'āb
k'əl'ayyət	ML	compensation, satisfaction, rever	NO	1ə2a33ət (1ə2ay)	Sg.	F	k'	l'	v		k'əl'ayyət
k'ət'āt	ML	13 piece	NO	1ə2āt	Sg.	?	k'	t'	ʕ		k'ət'āt
k'əhawr	ML	6 fairly old camel with grown up o	NO	1ə2aw3	Sg.	?	k'	h	r		k'əhawr/k'əwahhər
k'əhayf	ML	6 coconut shell used as a cup, dish	NO	1ə2ay3	Sg.	?	k'	h	f		k'əhayf/k'əhyōf
k'əmay	ML	6 shirt	NO	1ə2ay3	Sg.	?	k'	m	s		k'əmay/k'əməsət
k'əbaylət	ML	13 tribe, kind, type	NO	1ə2ay3ət	Sg.	F	k'	b	l		k'əbaylət/k'əbōyəl
k'əbayn	ML	14 scorpion	NO	1ə2ay4	Sg.	?	k'	b	ʕ	n	k'əbayn/k'əbawnət
k'əs'ayyər	ML	the month before Ramadan	NO	1ə2ayyə3	Sg.	?	k'	s'	r		k'əs'ayyər
k'əfē	ML	5 back	NO	1ə2ē	Sg.	?	k'	f	v		k'əfē
k'əfēs'	ML	5 cage	NO	1ə2ē3	Sg.	?	k'	f	s'		k'əfēs'
k'əlēm	ML	5 pen	NO	1ə2ē3	Sg.	?	k'	l	m		k'əlēm
k'əlēs	ML	5 glass	NO	1ə2ē3	Sg.	?	k'	l	s		k'əlēs/k'əlōsət

k'əšēt'	ML	5 rainbow	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	k'	š	t'		k'əšēt'/k'əšöt'ət
k'ətēb	ML	5 covered wooden harness put on	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	k'	t	b		k'ətēb
k'əθēr	ML	5 nagging, bad time	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	k'	θ	r		k'əθēr
k'ət'əbbūt	ML	14 doll: formerly a doll carved from	NO	lə2ə33ūt	Sg.	?	k'	t'	b		k'ət'əbbūt/k'ət'əbāb
k'ərənfél	ML	14 clove	NO	lə2ə34ē5	Sg.	?	k'	r	n	f l	k'ərənfél
k'amərwōt	ML	14 kind of tree	NO	lə2ə34ōt	Sg.	?	k'	m	r	w	k'amərwōt
k'əs'əbēt	ML	13 reed, cane, gun-barrel, crowbar	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	k'	s'	b		k'əs'əbēt/k'əs'āb
k'ət'əbēt	ML	13 number indicating about a dozen	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	k'	t'	b		k'ət'əbēt
k'ət'əfēt	ML	13 camel basket or bag, snip taken c	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	k'	t'	f		k'ət'əfēt/mək'ōt'əf
k'alēfūt	ML	14 bark of a tree	NO	lə2ē3ūt	Sg.	?	k'	l	f		k'alēfūt
k'ətēt	ML	13 camel-cloth under the zemel	NO	lə2ēt	Sg.	?	k'	t	?		k'ətēt
k'ərīb	ML	5 relation	NO	lə2ī3	Sg.	?	k'	r	b		k'ərīb
k'əðīt	ML	13 caries, tooth-decay	NO	lə2īt	Sg.	?	k'	ð	v		k'əðīt
k'əbīt	ML	13 second stomach of a ruminant	NO	lə2īt	Sg.	?	k'	w	b		k'əbīt/k'əwabtən
k'əbōl'	ML	5 herd of camels	NO	lə2ō3	Sg.	?	k'	b	l'		k'əbōl'/k'əbawl'
k'əhōf	ML	5 stony ground	NO	lə2ō3	Sg.	?	k'	h	f		k'əhōf/k'əhyōf
k'amōš	ML	5 white cloth	NO	lə2ō3	Sg.	?	k'	m	š		k'amōš/k'amawš
k'əwōl	ML	5 improviser of poetry, singer	NO	lə2ō3	Sg.	?	k'	w	l		k'əwōl
k'ərōs'	ML	5 mosquito, bug	NO	lə2ō3	Sg.	?	k'	r	s'		k'ərōs'/k'ərs'ayn
k'əlōr	ML	5 rock on the shore sometimes cov	NO	lə2ō3	Sg.	?	k'	l	r		k'əlōr/k'əlrīn
k'əyōs	ML	5 good fit, proper measure, propor	NO	lə2ō3	Sg.	?	k'	y	s		k'əyōs
k'əs'yīb	ML	8 grass growing after rains	NO	lə2yī3	Sg.	?	k'	s'	b		k'əs'yīb
k'əlyīr	ML	8 coconut husk, shell, peel, skin	NO	lə2yī3	Sg.	?	k'	l	r		k'əlyīr/k'əlyōr
k'əhyōr	ML	8 small amount left in a dish, last c	NO	lə2yō3	Sg.	?	k'	h	r		k'əhyōr
k'ēſi	ML	spirit, ghost (not bad but to be av	NO	lē3i	Sg.	?	k'	w	ſ		k'ēſi/k'ēyōy
k'anīt	ML	13 spear	NO	lə3īt	Sg.	?	k'	w	n		k'anīt/k'əwēn
k'əzūt	ML	13 little, shMLow, overhung mount	NO	lə3ūt	Sg.	?	k'	w	z		k'əzūt/k'iwēz
k'ēſyōt	ML	female spirit, ghost	NO	lē3yōt	Sg.	F	k'	w	ſ		k'ēſyōt/k'ēſáyten
k'ətəllūt	ML	13 spilling (milk), running away	NO	lətə22ūt	Sg.	?	k'	l	l		k'ətəllūt
k'ətənmūt	ML	13 fetching, collecting food or fodd	NO	lətə23ūt	Sg.	?	k'	n	m		k'ətənmūt
k'ətəwbūt	ML	13 changing into another shape, bec	NO	lətəw3ūt	Sg.	?	k'	l	b		k'ətəwbūt
k'əwsēt	ML	13 button, sword-belt buckle	NO	ləw3ēt	Sg.	?	k'	l	s		k'əwsēt/k'alēs
k'ōs'ər	ML	2 short (measure)	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	k'	s'	r		k'ōs'ər
k'ōbər	ML	2 grave	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	k'	b	r		k'ōbər/mək'ōbər

k'ōn	ML	4 horn, peak, spur	NO	lō3	Sg.	?	k'	r	n	k'ōn/k'ərūn
hək'wōt	ML	13 building up (a fire), strengthenin	NO	hə12ōt	Sg.	?	k'	w	v	hək'wōt
hək'əfdūt	ML	13 lowering, unloading	NO	hə1ə23ūt	Sg.	?	k'	f	d	hək'əfdūt
mák's'a	ML	7 end, end of a road	NO	má12a	Sg.	?	k'	s'	v	mák's'a
mák'maʔ	ML	7 corner of the eye	NO	má12aʔ	Sg.	?	k'	m	ʕ	mák'maʔ/mək'awmaʔ
mək'rāl'	ML	7 shears	NO	mə12ā3	Sg.	?	k'	r	l'	mək'rāl'/mək'awrəl'
mək't'ār	ML	7 caravan	NO	mə12ā3	Sg.	?	k'	t'	r	mək't'ār
mək'nawt	ML	13 baby	NO	mə12a3t (mə12a	Sg.	F	k'	n	v	mək'nawt/mək'nētən
mək't'āt	ML	13 waterless desert	NO	mə12āt	Sg.	?	k'	t'	ʕ	mək't'āt/mək't'ā
mək's'awd	ML	7 object, reason	NO	mə12aw3	Sg.	?	k'	s'	d	mək's'awd/mək's'ōd
mək'lawt	ML	13 coffee-roaster	NO	mə12awt (mə12a	Sg.	?	k'	l	v	mək'lawt/mək'ōli
mək'rawt	ML	13 hiding place	NO	mə12awt (mə12a	Sg.	F	k'	r	v	mək'rawt
mək's'ayd	ML	7 short cut	NO	mə12ay3	Sg.	?	k'	s'	d	mək's'ayd
mək'nayw	ML	7 baby	NO	mə12ay3 (mə12a	Sg.	M	k'	n	v	mək'nayw/mək'nōw
mək'hayrīr	ML	14 shin-bone	NO	mə12ay3ī3	Sg.	?	k'	h	r	mək'hayrīr/mək'hayrōr
mək't'ərēt	ML	13 thread	NO	mə12ə3ēt	Sg.	F	k'	t'	r	mək't'ərēt/mək't'artən
mək'ðif	ML	7 oar	NO	mə12ī3	Sg.	?	k'	ð	f	mək'ðif/mək'ðōf
mək's'ōs'	ML	7 longish moustache	NO	mə12ō2	Sg.	?	k'	s'	s'	mək's'ōs'
mək'lōt	ML	13 dead tree	NO	mə12ōt	Sg.	?	k'	l	ʕ	mək'lōt/mək'ōla
mək'addəm	ML	14 leader	NO	mə1a22ə3	Sg.	?	k'	d	m	mək'addəm
mək'awd	ML	7 path trodden by irrigation animal	NO	mə1a23 (mə1aw	Sg.	?	k'	w	d	mək'awd
mək'əbrēt	ML	13 graveyard	NO	mə1ə23ēt	Sg.	?	k'	b	r	mək'əbrēt/mək'ōbər
mək'ərĕt	ML	13 (cow's) shoulder-blade, used as a	NO	mə1ə23ēt	Sg.	F	k'	r	f	mək'ərĕt/mək'ōrəf
mək'tawləb	ML	stiff neck	NO	mə1taw2ə3	Sg.	?	k'	l	b	mək'tawləb
məstak'bəl	ML	future	NO	məsta12ə3	Sg.	?	k'	b	l	məstak'bəl
šək'rēt	ML	13 hide-and-peek	NO	šə12ēt	Sg.	?	k'	r	v	šək'rēt
tək'dayr	ML	15 God's decree	NO	tə12ay3	Sg.	?	k'	d	r	tək'dayr
tək'yays	ML	15 proper arrangement	NO	tə12ay3	Sg.	?	k'	y	s	tək'yays
k'amhət	ML	13 bad	YES	1a23ət	Sg.	F	k'	m	h	k'ōməh, k'amhət/k'əmhin, k'əmhit
k'asyət	ML	13 cruel	YES	1a2yət (1a23ət)	Sg.	F	k'	s	v	k'ōsi, k'asyət
k'ayla	ML	6 dry, stale	YES	1ay2a	Sg.	M	k'	l	ʕ	k'ayla, k'əlayt/k'āləʔ, k'ələwtən
k'ənnawn	ML	14 child, little, young	YES	1ə22awn	Sg.	M	k'	n	n	k'ənnawn, k'ənnə't/k'ənyawn, k'ənnə'tən
k'ənnə't	ML	14 child, little, young	YES	1ə22ə't	Sg.	F	k'	n	n	k'ənnawn, k'ənnə't/k'ənyawn, k'ənnə'tən
k'ərhayt	ML	13 hornless, shave-headed	YES	1ə23ayt	Sg.	F	k'	r	h	k'ərēh, k'ərhayt/k'ərwōh, k'ərtən

k'əway	ML	5 cruel, strong	YES	lə2a3 (lə2ay)	Sg.	M	k'	w	v	k'əway, k'əwayyət/k'ɪwōy, k'ɪwaytən	
k'əwayyət	ML	13 cruel, strong	YES	lə2a33ət (lə2ay)	Sg.	F	k'	w	v	k'əway, k'əwayyət/k'ɪwōy, k'ɪwaytən	
k'ədaym	ML	6 ancient	YES	lə2ay3	Sg.	?	k'	d	m	k'ədaym	
k'ərayb	ML	6 near, nearly	YES	lə2ay3	Sg.	?	k'	r	b	k'ərayb	
k'ət'ayn	ML	6 thin	YES	lə2ay3	Sg.	?	k'	t'	n	k'ət'ayn	
k'əs'ayr	ML	6 low, short	YES	lə2ay3	Sg.	M	k'	s'	r	k'əs'ayr, k'əs'ayrət/k'ays'ōr, k'ays'artən	
k'əs'ayrət	ML	13 low, short	YES	lə2ay3ət	Sg.	F	k'	s'	r	k'əs'ayr, k'əs'ayrət/k'ays'ōr, k'ays'artən	
k'əlayt	ML	13 dry, stale	YES	lə2ayt	Sg.	F	k'	l	ɟ	k'ayla, k'əlayt/k'äləʔ, k'ələwtən	
k'ədēd	ML	5 shave-headed	YES	lə2ē2	Sg.	?	k'	d	d	k'ədēd	
k'ərēh	ML	5 hornless, shave-headed	YES	lə2ē3	Sg.	M	k'	r	h	k'ərēh, k'ərhayt/k'ərwōh, k'ərtən	
k'öməh	ML	2 bad	YES	lō2ə3	Sg.	M	k'	m	h	k'öməh, k'amhət/k'əmhin, k'əmhot	
k'ōsi	ML	2 cruel	YES	lō2i (lō23)	Sg.	M	k'	s	v	k'ōsi, k'asyət	
mək'layl	ML	7 disobedient, rude, (camel) refrac	YES	məl2ay2	Sg.	M	k'	l	l	mək'layl, mək'allōt/mək'lōl, mək'lawtən	
mək's'ayr	ML	7 cut off in youth	YES	məl2ay3	Sg.	M	k'	s'	r	mək's'ayr, mək's'ərawt/mək's'ōr	
mək's'ərawt	ML	13 cut off in youth	YES	məl2ə3awt	Sg.	F	k'	s'	r	mək's'ayr, mək's'ərawt/mək's'ōr	
mək'allōt	ML	13 disobedient, rude, (camel) refrac	YES	mələ22ōt	Sg.	F	k'	l	l	mək'layl, mək'allōt/mək'lōl, mək'lawtən	
mək'tayli	ML	naughty	YES	məl2ay2i (məl2a)	Sg.	?	k'	l	v	mək'tayli	
məhak'bəl	ML	14 next	YES	məha12ə3	Sg.	?	k'	b	l	məhak'bəl	
k'äləw	ML	14 milk bucket made from palm tree	NO	lā3ə4 (lā3əw)	Pl.		k'	ɟ	l	w	k'äləw, k'älw/k'ōləw, k'äləw
k'aydör	ML	10 pot	NO	lay2ō3	Pl.		k'	d	r	k'ädər/k'aydör	
k'ərnawtən	ML	12 kind of grass, (occ.) womb	NO	lə23awtən	Pl.		k'	r	n	k'ərnayt/k'ərnawtən	
k'ərs'ayn	ML	14 mosquito, bug	NO	lə23ayn	Pl.		k'	r	s'	k'ərōs'/k'ərs'ayn	
k'əlhəyēn	ML	14 mussel	NO	lə23əyēn	Pl.		k'	l	h	k'əlhayn/k'əlhəyēn	
k'əlɪn	ML	14 rock on the shore sometimes ove	NO	lə23ɪn	Pl.		k'	l	r	k'əlōr/k'əlɪn	
k'əfrör	ML	14 lip	NO	lə23ō3	Pl.		k'	f	r	k'əfrūr/k'əfrör	
k'ət'fōf	ML	14 feather, wing	NO	lə23ō3	Pl.		k'	t'	f	k'ət'fɪf/k'ət'fōf	
k'ərmōl	ML	14 baggage, gear, belongings	NO	lə23ō4	Pl.		k'	r	m	l	k'ərmɪl/k'ərmōl
k'əndōl	ML	14 oil-lamp carried about in the stre	NO	lə23ō4	Pl.		k'	n	d	l	k'əndɪl/k'əndōl
k'əs's'ās'	ML	5 top of the forehead, hair on brow	NO	lə2ā2	Pl.		k'	s'	s'	k'əs's'āt/k'əs's'ās'	
k'əs'āb	ML	5 reed, cane, gun-barrel, crowbar	NO	lə2ā3	Pl.		k'	s'	b	k'əs'əbēt/k'əs'āb	
k'əhāb	ML	5 whore, harlot	NO	lə2ā3	Pl.		k'	h	b	k'əhbēt/k'əhāb	
k'əwabtən	ML	12 second stomach of a ruminant	NO	lə2a3tən	Pl.		k'	w	b	k'əbɪt/k'əwabtən	
k'əbawl'	ML	6 herd of camels	NO	lə2aw3	Pl.		k'	b	l'	k'əbōl'/k'əbawl'	
k'ələwb	ML	6 mind, intelligence, memory, hear	NO	lə2aw3	Pl.		k'	l	b	k'āb/k'ələwb	

k'əmawš	ML	6 white cloth	NO	lə2aw3	Pl.	k'	m	š		k'əmōš/k'əmawš
k'ərawš	ML	6 Maria Theresa dollar, (pl. money NO	NO	lə2aw3	Pl.	k'	r	š		k'arš, k'erš/k'ərawš
k'əbawnət	ML	13 scorpion	NO	lə2aw4ət	Pl.	k'	b	ʕ	n	k'əbayn/k'əbawnət
k'əs'awwər	ML	14 first-floor or top-floor room	NO	lə2awwə3	Pl.	k'	s'	r		k'ās'ər/k'əs'awwər
k'əfēf	ML	5 small basket	NO	lə2ē2	Pl.	k'	f	f		k'affēt/k'əfēf
k'əlēl	ML	5 hilt (of a sword, etc.), straight sw NO	NO	lə2ē2	Pl.	k'	l	l		k'allēt/k'əlēl
k'əsēs	ML	5 story	NO	lə2ē2	Pl.	k'	s	s		k'əssēt/k'əsēs
k'ət'ēt'	ML	5 covered but open cave, overhung NO	NO	lə2ē2	Pl.	k'	t'	t'		k'ət'āt'/k'ət'ēt'
k'əlēs	ML	5 button, sword-belt buckle	NO	lə2ē3	Pl.	k'	l	s		k'əwsēt/k'əlēs
k'əwēn	ML	5 spear	NO	lə2ē3	Pl.	k'	w	n		k'ənīt/k'əwēn
k'əwēz	ML	5 little, shallow, overhung mounta NO	NO	lə2ē3	Pl.	k'	w	z		k'əzūt/k'iwēz
k'ət'əbāb	ML	14 doll: formerly a doll carved from NO	NO	lə2ə3ā3	Pl.	k'	t'	b		k'ət'əbbūt/k'ət'əbāb
k'əwēmət	ML	13 raiding-party	NO	lə2ē3ət	Pl.	k'	w	m		k'awm/k'əwōm, k'əwēmət
k'əlēwəl	ML	8 (rare) baggage	NO	lə2ēwə2	Pl.	k'	l	l		k'aH/k'əlēwəl
k'əwōm	ML	5 raiding-party	NO	lə2ō3	Pl.	k'	w	m		k'awm/k'əwōm, k'əwēmət
k'əwōl	ML	5 small group of she-camels	NO	lə2ō3	Pl.	k'	w	l		k'awl/k'əwōl
k'əwōt'əyət	ML	13 tin, tin box	NO	lə2ō3ə4ət	Pl.	k'	w	t'	y	k'awt'i/k'əwōt'əyət
k'əlōsət	ML	13 glass	NO	lə2ō3ət	Pl.	k'	l	s		k'alēs/k'əlōsət
k'əmōsət	ML	13 shirt	NO	lə2ō3ət	Pl.	k'	m	s		k'amays/k'əmōsət
k'əšōt'ət	ML	13 rainbow	NO	lə2ō3ət	Pl.	k'	š	t'		k'əšēt'/k'əšōt'ət
k'ēyōy	ML	spirit, ghost (not bad, but to be a NO	NO	lē2ōy (lēyōy)	Pl.	k'	w	ʕ		k'ēʕi/k'ēyōy
k'əbōyəl	ML	8 tribe, kind, type	NO	lə2ōyə3	Pl.	k'	b	l		k'əbaylat/k'əbōyəl
k'əsōyəm	ML	8 present to a child	NO	lə2ōyə3	Pl.	k'	s	m		k'əsmēt/k'əsōyəm
k'ərōyəl'	ML	8 loan	NO	lə2ōyə3	Pl.	k'	r	l'		k'ərī'āt/k'ərōyəl'
k'ərūn	ML	5 horn, peak, spur	NO	lə2ū3	Pl.	k'	r	n		k'ōn/k'ərūn
k'əyūd	ML	5 rope	NO	lə2ū3	Pl.	k'	y	d		k'ayd/k'əyūd
k'əhyōf	ML	8 stony ground	NO	lə2yō3	Pl.	k'	h	f		k'əhōf/k'əhyōf
k'əhyōf	ML	8 coconut shell used as a cup, dish NO	NO	lə2yō3	Pl.	k'	h	f		k'əhayf/k'əhyōf
k'əlyōr	ML	8 coconut husk, shell, peel, skin NO	NO	lə2yō3	Pl.	k'	l	r		k'əlyīr/k'əlyōr
k'ēʕāytən	ML	12 female spirit, ghost	NO	lē3āytən	Pl.	k'	w	ʕ		k'ēʕyōt/k'ēʕāytən
k'əwahhər	ML	9 fairly old camel with grown up o NO	NO	ləwa22ə3	Pl.	k'	h	r		k'əhawr/k'əwahhər
k'əwabtən	ML	smaller stomach of a ruminant ar NO	NO	ləwa2tən (ləwa2 Pl.	Pl.	k'	?	?		k'əbīt/k'əwabtən
k'əwōzər	ML	9 round basket of dates	NO	ləwō2ə3	Pl.	k'	z	r		k'awzərət/k'əwōzər
k'īlēn	ML	10 thicket, forest	NO	lī2ē3	Pl.	k'	l	n		k'əlīnīt/k'īlēn

k'irōd	ML	10 voice, throat	NO	lī2ō3	Pl.		k'	r	d		k'ard, k'ārəd/k'irōd
k'ōlēw	ML	14 milk bucket made from palm tree	NO	lō3ə4 (lō3əw)	Pl.		k'	ʕ	l	w	k'ālēw, k'ālīw/k'ōlēw, k'āləw
mək't'ā	ML	7 waterless desert	NO	məl2ā	Pl.		k'	t'	ʕ		mək't'āt/mək't'ā
mək't'artən	ML	12 thread	NO	məl2a3tən	Pl.		k'	t'	r		mək't'ərēt/mək't'artən
mək'hayrōr	ML	14 shin-bone	NO	məl2ay3ō3	Pl.		k'	h	r		mək'hayrīr/mək'hayrōr
mək'nētən	ML	12 baby	NO	məl2ētən	Pl.		k'	n	v		mək'nawt/mək'nētən
mək'bīn	ML	14 guardians of a saint's tomb	NO	məl2īn	Pl.		k'	b	?		mək'bīn
mək'ōf	ML	7 oar	NO	məl2ō3	Pl.		k'	ō	f		mək'ōif/mək'ōf
mək's'ōd	ML	7 object, reason	NO	məl2ō3	Pl.		k'	s'	d		mək's'awd/mək's'ōd
mək'nōw	ML	7 baby	NO	məl2ō3 (məl2ōv	Pl.		k'	n	v		mək'nayw/mək'nōw
mək'awmaʔ	ML	7 corner of the eye	NO	məlaw2aʔ	Pl.		k'	m	ʕ		mák'maʔ/mək'awmaʔ
mək'awrəl'	ML	7 shears	NO	məlaw2ə3	Pl.		k'	r	l'		mək'rāl'/mək'awrəl'
mək'ōla	ML	7 dead tree	NO	məlō2a	Pl.		k'	l	ʕ		mək'lōt/mək'ōla
mək'ōbər	ML	7 grave	NO	məlō2ə3	Pl.		k'	b	r		k'ōbər/mək'ōbər
mək'ōbər	ML	7 graveyard	NO	məlō2ə3	Pl.		k'	b	r		mək'əbrēt/mək'ōbər
mək'ōrəf	ML	7 cow's shoulder-blade, used as a t	NO	məlō2ə3	Pl.		k'	r	f		mək'ərēt/mək'ōrəf
mək'ōt'əf	ML	7 camel basket or bag, snip taken c	NO	məlō2ə3	Pl.		k'	t'	f		k'ət'əfēt/mək'ōt'əf
mək'ōli	ML	7 coffee-roaster	NO	məlō2i (məlō23	Pl.		k'	l	v		mək'lawt/mək'ōli
mək'ōhi	ML	7 coffe-shop	NO	məlō2i (məlō23	Pl.		k'	h	v		k'əhwēt/mək'ōhi
k'āləʔ	ML	2 dry, stale	YES	lā2əʔ	Pl.	M	k'	l	ʕ		k'ayla, k'əlayt/k'āləʔ, k'əlawtən
k'ays'artən	ML	12 low, short	YES	lay2a3tən	Pl.	F	k'	s'	r		k'əs'ayr, k'əs'ayrət/k'ays'ōr, k'ays'artən
k'ays'ōr	ML	10 low, short	YES	lay2ō3	Pl.	M	k'	s'	r		k'əs'ayr, k'əs'ayrət/k'ays'ōr, k'ays'artən
k'ənnə'tən	ML	12 child, little, young	YES	lə22ə'tən	Pl.	?	k'	n	n		k'ənnawn, k'ənnə't/k'ənyawn, k'ənnə'tən
k'əmhīn	ML	14 bad	YES	lə23īn	Pl.	M	k'	m	h		k'ōməh, k'amhət/k'əmhīn, k'əmhōt
k'əmhōt	ML	13 bad	YES	lə23ōt	Pl.	F	k'	m	h		k'ōməh, k'amhət/k'əmhīn, k'əmhōt
k'əlawtən	ML	12 dry, stale	YES	lə2awtən	Pl.	F	k'	l	ʕ		k'ayla, k'əlayt/k'āləʔ, k'əlawtən
k'ərwōh	ML	10 hornless, shave-headed	YES	lə2wō3	Pl.	M	k'	r	h		k'ərēh, k'ərhayt/k'ərwōh, k'ərtən
k'ənyawn	ML	10 child, little, young	YES	lə2yaw2 (lə2yav	Pl.	?	k'	n	n		k'ənnawn, k'ənnə't/k'ənyawn, k'ənnə'tən
k'īwaytən	ML	13 cruel, strong	YES	lī2a3tən (lī2ayt	Pl.	F	k'	w	v		k'əway, k'əwayyət/k'īwōy, k'īwaytən
k'īwōy	ML	10 cruel, strong	YES	lī2ō3 (lī2ōy)	Pl.	M	k'	w	v		k'əway, k'əwayyət/k'īwōy, k'īwaytən
k'ərtən	ML	hornless, shave-headed	YES	k'ərtən	Pl.	F	k'	r	h		k'ərēh, k'ərhayt/k'ərwōh, k'ərtən
mək'lawtən	ML	12 disobedient, rude, (camel) refrac	YES	məl2awtən	Pl.	F	k'	l	l		mək'layl, mək'əllōt/mək'lōl, mək'lawtən
mək'lōl	ML	7 disobedient, rude, (camel) refrac	YES	məl2ō2	Pl.	M	k'	l	l		mək'layl, mək'əllōt/mək'lōl, mək'lawtən
mək's'ōr	ML	7 cut off in youth	YES	məl2ō3	Pl.	?	k'	s'	r		mək's'ayr, mək's'ərawt/mək's'ōr

lawlūwəh	ML	pearl	NO	1a21ū2əh	Sg.	?	1	w	l	w	lawlūwəh/lawlūw
labs	ML	4 clothing, dress	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	1	b	s		labs
lang	ML	4 launch, motorised boat	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	1	n	g		lang
lanš	ML	4 launch, motorised boat	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	1	n	š		lanš
lawh	ML	4 board	NO	1a23 (1aw3)	Sg.	?	1	w	h		lawh
lawn	ML	4 kind, variety	NO	1a23 (1aw3)	Sg.	?	1	w	n		lawn
layf	ML	4 coconut hair, fibre	NO	1a23 (1ay3)	Sg.	?	1	y	f		layf
lawmi	ML	14 lime	NO	1a234 (1a23i)	Sg.	?	1	w	m	y	lawmi
lawsi	ML	14 woman's headcloth	NO	1a234 (1a23i)	Sg.	?	1	w	s	y	lawsi/ləwōsi
lawk'ət	ML	13 bottle, big water jar	NO	1a23ət	Sg.	F	1	w	k'		lawk'ət/ləwək'
laylət	ML	13 night (in certain contexts only)	NO	1a23ət (1ay3ət)	Sg.	F	1	y	l		laylət, līlət
lāθēt	ML	13 skink	NO	1ā3ēt	Sg.	F	1	ʃ	θ		lāθēt
laytəɾ	ML	3 killing	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	1	t	ɾ		laytəɾ
layt'əm	ML	3 slapping (the face); one who slaɾ	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	1	t'	m		layt'əm
laysi	ML	3 raining	NO	1ay2i (1ay23)	Sg.	?	1	s	v		laysi
ləbbūd	ML	14 good shot	NO	1ə22ū3	Sg.	?	1	b	d		ləbbūd
ləɾwēt	ML	13 nonsense	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	F	1	ɾ	v		ləɾwēt
ləhyēt	ML	13 chin, beard	NO	1ə23ēt (1ə2yēt)	Sg.	F	1	h	v		ləhyēt/ləhā?
ləgēm	ML	5 wooden peg put in the mouth of	NO	1ə2ē3	Sg.	?	1	g	m		ləgēm/ləgawmət
ləhēb	ML	5 hot wind, flame	NO	1ə2ē3	Sg.	?	1	h	b		ləhēb
ləsənēt	ML	13 point (of a sword, pencil, etc.)	NO	1ə2ə3ēt	Sg.	F	1	s	n		ləsənēt/ləsantən
ləzēt	ML	13 influenza, inflammation of the cl	NO	1ə2ēt	Sg.	F	1	z	z		ləzēt
lēɾi	ML	2 dew, raindrops on the grass	NO	1ē2i (1ē23)	Sg.	?	1	ɾ	v		lēɾi
lēhi	ML	2 bleating	NO	1ē2i (1ē23)	Sg.	?	1	h	v		lēhi
līθōmət	ML	13 muzzle of a rifle	NO	lī2ō3ət	Sg.	F	1	θ	m		līθōmət
līχ	ML	14 net	NO	lī3	Sg.	?	1	y	χ		līχ
līlət	ML	13 night (in certain contexts only)	NO	lī3ət	Sg.	F	1	y	l		laylət, līlət
lōt	ML	13 point (of a sword, pen), nipple, l	NO	lōt	Sg.	F	1	w	ʃ		lōt
əwftayn	ML	14 black stinging ant	NO	əw23ay4	Sg.	?	1	f	t	n	əwftayn/əwftyɿn
əwχaym	ML	6 shark	NO	əw2ay3	Sg.	?	1	χ	m		əwχaym/əwχawmət
əwšēn	ML	5 tongue	NO	əw2ē3	Sg.	?	1	š	n		əwšēn/ləšōn
əwbədēt	ML	13 noise, bang, shot	NO	əw2ə3ēt	Sg.	F	1	b	d		əwbədēt
əwbənēt	ML	13 whiteness	NO	əw2ə3ēt	Sg.	F	1	b	n		əwbənēt
əwk'əmēt	ML	13 mouthful	NO	əw2ə3ēt	Sg.	F	1	k'	m		əwk'əmēt/əwk'əm

əwfök'	ML	5 soft cheese, curds	NO	əw2ō3	Sg.	?	1	f	k'	əwfök'
həwbēb	ML	heart	NO	həw2ē2	Sg.	?	1	b	b	həwbēb/həwbōb
məlhaw	ML	7 jaw, molar tooth, toothache	NO	məl12a3	Sg.	?	1	h	v	məlhaw/mələhəw
məlhayēt	ML	13 molar tooth	NO	məl12ə3ēt	Sg.	F	1	h	v	məlhayēt/məlhaw
məlwəyīt	ML	13 mountain pass, path, winding m	NO	məl12ə3īt	Sg.	F	1	w	v	məlwəyīt/mələōwi
mələbb	ML	7 side	NO	məl1a22	Sg.	?	1	b	b	mələbb
məwk't'áh	ML	necklace, pendant	NO	məw23áh	Sg.	F	1	k'	t'	məwk't'áh/mələk'ət'
məwt'awmət	ML	13 a stroke, wry-mouth	NO	məw2aw3ət	Sg.	F	1	t'	m	məwt'awmət
məwsē	ML	7 rain	NO	məw2ē	Sg.	F	1	s	v	məwsē/mələwsi
məwbədēt	ML	13 wound, bullet hole	NO	məw2ə3ēt	Sg.	F	1	b	d	məwbədēt
məwt'əmēt	ML	13 slap	NO	məw2ə3ēt	Sg.	F	1	t'	m	məwt'əmēt/mələt'əm
lət'ayf	ML	6 pleasant	YES	lə2ay3	Sg.	?	1	t'	f	lət'ayf
lēnət	ML	13 soft	YES	lē3ət	Sg.	F	1	y	n	əlyōn, lēnət/līyōn, līyantən
əlyōn	ML	5 soft	YES	ə12ō3	Sg.	M	1	y	n	əlyōn, lēnət/līyōn, līyantən
əwbənīt	ML	13 white	YES	əw2ə3īt	Sg.	F	1	b	n	əwbōn, əwbənīt/lēbən
əwbīt	ML	13 (female animal) in season	YES	əw2īt	Sg.	F	1	b	v	əwbīt
əwbōn	ML	5 white	YES	əw2ō3	Sg.	M	1	b	n	əwbōn, əwbənīt/lēbən
mələbbəs	ML	14 dressed	YES	məl1a22ə3	Sg.	?	1	b	s	mələbbəs
lawlūw	ML	14 pearl	NO	lə21ū2	Pl.		1	w	l w	lawlūwəh/lawlūw
ləhaytən	ML	12 cows	NO	lə2a3tən	Pl.		1	h	v	ləhaytən
ləsantən	ML	12 point (of a sword, pencil, etc.)	NO	lə2a3tən	Pl.		1	s	n	ləsənēt/ləsantən
ləgawmət	ML	13 wooden peg put in the mouth of	NO	lə2aw3ət	Pl.		1	g	m	ləgēm/ləgawmət
ləhā?	ML	5 chin, beard	NO	lə2ā?	Pl.		1	h	v	ləhyēt/ləhā?
ləwēk'	ML	5 bottle, big water jar	NO	lə2ē3	Pl.		1	w	k'	lawk'ət/ləwēk'
ləšōn	ML	5 tongue	NO	lə2ō3	Pl.		1	š	n	əwšēn/ləšōn
ləwōsi	ML	14 woman's headcloth	NO	lə2ō34 (lə2ō3i)	Pl.		1	w	s y	lawsi/ləwōsi
əwftyīn	ML	14 black stinging ant	NO	əw23yī4	Pl.		1	f	t n	əwftayn/əwftyīn
əwk'ām	ML	5 mouthful	NO	əw2ā3	Pl.		1	k'	m	əwk'əmēt/əwk'ām
əwχawmət	ML	13 shark	NO	əw2aw3ət	Pl.		1	χ	m	əwχaym/əwχawmət
həwbōb	ML	heart	NO	həw2ō2	Pl.		1	b	b	həwbēb/həwbōb
həwbōd	ML	sandal	NO	həw2ō3	Pl.		1	b	d	həwbōd (pl.)
məlhaw	ML	7 molar tooth	NO	məl12a3	Pl.		1	h	v	məlhayēt/məlhaw
mələwsi	ML	7 rain	NO	məl1aw2i (məl1aw	Pl.		1	s	v	məwsē/mələwsi
mələhəw	ML	7 jaw, molar tooth, toothache	NO	məl1ē2ə3	Pl.		1	h	v	məlhaw/mələhəw

məlōwi	ML	7 mountain pass, path, winding mc	NO	məlō23 (məlō2i Pl.		1	w	v			məlwəyīt/məlōwi
məlōk'ət'	ML	7 necklace, pendant	NO	məlō2ə3	Pl.	1	k'	t'			məwk't'áh/məlōk'ət'
məlōt'əm	ML	7 slap	NO	məlō2ə3	Pl.	1	t'	m			məwt'əmēt/məlōt'əm
lēbən	ML	2 white	YES	lē2ə3	Pl.	NA	1	b	n		əwbōn, əwbənīt/lēbən
līyantən	ML	13 soft	YES	lī2a3tən	Pl.	F	1	y	n		əlyōn, lēnət/līyōn, līyantən
līyōn	ML	10 soft	YES	lī2ō3	Pl.	M	1	y	n		əlyōn, lēnət/līyōn, līyantən
l̥xəwəllūt	ML	13 sitting	NO	l2ə3ə45ūt	Sg.	?	l̥	χ	v	1 1	l̥xəwəllūt
labb	ML	4 youth	NO	la22	Sg.	?	l̥	b	b		labb/həlbōb
ladd	ML	4 burdensome thing, burden	NO	la22	Sg.	?	l̥	d	d		lad
laff	ML	4 trace, track(s)	NO	la22	Sg.	?	l̥	f	f		laff/əlfūtən
lakk	ML	4 sin, doubt	NO	la22	Sg.	?	l̥	k	k		lakk
lak'k'	ML	4 crack, ray of sunshine	NO	la22	Sg.	?	l̥	k'	k'		lak'k'/lək'ōwək'
larr	ML	4 ill-health, evil	NO	la22	Sg.	?	l̥	r	r		larr
labh	ML	4 looking like so.	NO	la23	Sg.	?	l̥	b	h		labh
labh	ML	4 fat, corpulence	NO	la23	Sg.	?	l̥	b	h̥		labh
ladk'	ML	4 inside of the cheek, from and inc	NO	la23	Sg.	?	l̥	d	k'		ladk'/lədōk'
larb	ML	4 bug	NO	la23	Sg.	?	l̥	r	b		larb, lerb/lərōb
larɤ	ML	4 desiring, fancying (a person of th	NO	la23	Sg.	?	l̥	r	ɤ		larɤ
larh	ML	4 st. lost	NO	la23	Sg.	?	l̥	r	h̥		larh
lark'	ML	4 east, sunrise, overcast morning	NO	la23	Sg.	?	l̥	r	k'		lark'
larχ	ML	4 wand, lopped dressed branch	NO	la23	Sg.	?	l̥	r	χ		larχ/lərōwəχ
lawr	ML	4 advice, consultation	NO	la23 (law3)	Sg.	?	l̥	w	r		lawr
layb	ML	4 white hair, old	NO	la23 (lay3)	Sg.	?	l̥	y	b		layb
lart'əh	ML	14 police	NO	la23əh	Sg.	?	l̥	r	t'		lart'əh
lārəʔ	ML	2 street	NO	lā2əʔ	Sg.	?	l̥	r	ʕ		lārəʔ
larʔ	ML	4 holy law, judge	NO	la2ʔ	Sg.	?	l̥	r	ʕ		larʔ
lālēt	ML	13 beeswax, honeycomb	NO	lā3ēt	Sg.	?	l̥	ʕ	l		lālēt/lāl
layba	ML	3 to be satisfied	NO	lay2a	Sg.	?	l̥	b	ʕ		layba
layna	ML	3 (animal) standing on the hind-leḡ	NO	lay2a	Sg.	?	l̥	n	ʕ		layna
laybək	ML	3 linking the fingers in a cat's crad-	NO	lay2ə3	Sg.	?	l̥	b	k		laybək
layməl	ML	3 left, left hand	NO	lay2ə3	Sg.	?	l̥	m	l		layməl/ləmōwəl
layrəf	ML	3 building up sticks for a fire	NO	lay2ə3	Sg.	?	l̥	r	f		layrəf
laysəb	ML	3 sack made of palm leaves	NO	lay2ə3	Sg.	?	l̥	s	b		laysəb
laytər	ML	3 raising capital from o's fellow tri	NO	lay2ə3	Sg.	?	l̥	t	r		laytər

lək'k'āt	ML	13 women's overML body wrapping	NO	lə22āt	Sg.	?	ʔ	k'	k'	lək'k'āt/lək'āk'	
lərrāt	ML	13 spark	NO	lə22āt	Sg.	?	ʔ	r	r	lərrāt/lərr	
ləddēt	ML	13 getting tired	NO	lə22ēt	Sg.	?	ʔ	d	d	ləddēt	
ləɾāt	ML	13 (physical) desire	NO	lə23āt	Sg.	?	ʔ	r	ɾ	ləɾāt	
lətway	ML	11 being, travelling in winter	NO	lə23ay	Sg.	?	ʔ	t	v	lətway/lətwōy	
lət'rayr	ML	14 rag, strip of cloth	NO	lə23ay3	Sg.	?	ʔ	t'	r	lət'rayr/lət'rōr	
ləɾs'ayt	ML	13 temple, hair on the temples	NO	lə23ayt	Sg.	?	ʔ	r	s'	ləɾs'ayt/ləɾas'tən, ləɾēs'	
ləhwēt	ML	13 (physical) desire	NO	lə23ēt	Sg.	?	ʔ	h	v	ləhwēt	
ləryēt	ML	13 fat around the kidneys	NO	lə23ēt	Sg.	?	ʔ	r	v	ləryēt/ləryütən	
ləlyēt	ML	13 fat around the kidneys	NO	lə23ēt	Sg.	?	ʔ	ʔ	v	ləlyēt	
ləɣlēt	ML	13 filth	NO	lə23ēt	Sg.	?	ʔ	ɣ	l	ləɣlēt	
ləfīr	ML	14 eyelash	NO	lə23ī3	Sg.	?	ʔ	f	r	ləfīr/ləfrōr	
ləɾnīn	ML	14 gland in neck, gill	NO	lə23ī3	Sg.	?	ʔ	ɾ	n	ləɾnīn/ləɾnōn	
lətrīr	ML	14 little poolm long puddle, few drc	NO	lə23ī3	Sg.	?	ʔ	t	r	lətrīr/lətrōr	
ləndōr	ML	14 splinter	NO	lə23ī4	Sg.	?	ʔ	n	ð	r	ləndōr/ləndōr
ləbhūt	ML	13 likeness	NO	lə23ūt	Sg.	?	ʔ	b	h	ləbhūt	
ləwrūt	ML	13 consulting, whispering	NO	lə23ūt (ləw3ūt)	Sg.	?	ʔ	w	r	ləwrūt	
lək'āt	ML	13 step	NO	lə2āt	Sg.	?	ʔ	k'	ʕ	lək'āt	
lət'ayt'	ML	6 long path in an awkward place	NO	lə2ay2	Sg.	?	ʔ	t'	t'	lət'ayt'	
ləbayh	ML	6 suspecting so., being like so.	NO	lə2ay3	Sg.	?	ʔ	b	h	ləbayh	
ləɾayb	ML	6 stranger	NO	lə2ay3	Sg.	?	ʔ	ɾ	b	ləɾayb/ləɾəbē?	
ləhayd	ML	6 bearing witness	NO	lə2ay3	Sg.	?	ʔ	h	d	ləhayd	
ləhayn	ML	6 angry, cross	NO	lə2ay3	Sg.	?	ʔ	h	n	ləhayn	
ləhayr	ML	6 mountains, the fertile part of the	NO	lə2ay3	Sg.	?	ʔ	h	r	ləhayr	
lərayk	ML	6 partner	NO	lə2ay3	Sg.	?	ʔ	r	k	lərayk/lərwōk	
ləwayl	ML	6 like, likeness	NO	lə2ay3	Sg.	?	ʔ	w	l	ləwayl/ləwōl	
ləɣayl	ML	6 feeling disgusted	NO	lə2ay3	Sg.	?	ʔ	ɣ	l	ləɣayl	
lərayn	ML	14 leg	NO	lə2ayn	Sg.	?	ʔ	r	ʕ	lərayn/ləɾōn	
lərayt	ML	13 woman's leather bag	NO	lə2ayt	Sg.	?	ʔ	r	v	lərayt/lərawtət	
ləbər	ML	2 span of outspread fingers	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	?	ʔ	b	r	ləbər/ləbōwər	
ləɾəb	ML	2 difficulty	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	?	ʔ	ɾ	b	ləɾəb/ləɾawb	
ləɾəl	ML	2 work, disturbance	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	?	ʔ	ɾ	l	ləɾəl	
ləhər	ML	2 first crescent of moon	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	?	ʔ	h	r	ləhər	
ləhəz	ML	2 resin, frankincense	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	?	ʔ	h	z	ləhəz	

lĕk'əb	ML	2 collar-bone	NO	lĕ2ə3	Sg.	?	ł	k'	b	lĕk'əb
lĕrək	ML	2 white night demon about the size	NO	lĕ2ə3	Sg.	?	ł	r	k	lĕrək/lĕrəwək
lĕrəχ	ML	2 crayfish	NO	lĕ2ə3	Sg.	?	ł	r	χ	lĕrəχ/lĕrwəχ, lĕrəwəχ
lĕs'ər	ML	2 crevice, crack, slit, (sl.) vulva	NO	lĕ2ə3	Sg.	?	ł	s'	r	lĕs'ər/ləs'əwər
lĕtəw	ML	2 winter (Jan-Mar)	NO	lĕ2ə3	Sg.	?	ł	t	v	lĕtəw/lĕtĕw
lĕfĕk'	ML	5 last rays of the setting sun, twilight	NO	lĕ2ĕ3	Sg.	?	ł	f	k'	lĕfĕk'
lĕgĕr	ML	5 plants and trees	NO	lĕ2ĕ3	Sg.	?	ł	g	r	lĕgĕr
lĕk'ĕf	ML	5 collar-bone, ledge	NO	lĕ2ĕ3	Sg.	?	ł	k'	f	lĕk'ĕf/lĕk'yəf, lĕk'əwəf
lĕbəkĕt	ML	13 net, web, spider's web	NO	lĕ2ə3ĕt	Sg.	?	ł	b	k	lĕbəkĕt/lĕbĕk
lĕgərĕt	ML	13 sand-grouse	NO	lĕ2ə3ĕt	Sg.	?	ł	g	r	lĕgərĕt
lĕgərĭt	ML	13 mountain-pass straight up a mou	NO	lĕ2ə3ĭt	Sg.	?	ł	g	r	lĕgərĭt/lĭgĕr
lĕfərɣĕn	ML	14 eyelash	NO	lĕ2ə3ɣĕn	Sg.	?	ł	f	r	lĕfərɣĕn
lĕdĕd	ML	5 loading on to st.	NO	lĕ2ĕ2	Sg.	?	ł	d	d	lĕdĕd
lĕni	ML	2 sight, view	NO	lĕ2i	Sg.	?	ł	n	v	lĕni
lĕgəb	ML	5 across	NO	lĕ2əb	Sg.	?	ł	g	b	lĕgəb
lĕrək'	ML	5 side (of so., st.)	NO	lĕ2əb	Sg.	?	ł	r	k'	lĕrək'/lĕrk'ayn
lĕχəf	ML	5 milk	NO	lĕ2əb	Sg.	?	ł	χ	f	lĕχəf/lĕχəfĕn
lĕhəbət	ML	13 witness, testimony, shahada	NO	lĕ2əbət	Sg.	?	ł	h	d	lĕhəbət
lĕkət	ML	13 thorn	NO	lĕ2ət	Sg.	?	ł	k	ɕ	lĕkət/lĕkawn
lĕbəwəθ	ML	8 hair on the face	NO	lĕ2əwə3	Sg. (Pl? ?	?	ł	b	θ	lĕbəwəθ
lĕft	ML	13 hair	NO	lĕ2t	Sg.	?	ł	f	f	lĕft/lĕf
lĕtəwk'awt	ML	13 longing for so., st.; miss	NO	lĕtə23awt	Sg.	?	ł	w	k'	lĕtəwk'awt
lĕrt'	ML	4 condition	NO	lĕ23	Sg.	?	ł	r	t'	lĕrt'/lĕrawt'
lĕr	ML	4 straw	NO	lĕ3	Sg.	?	ł	ɕ	r	lĕr
lĕrĭr	ML	14 mixed water and yoghurt	NO	lĕ3ĭ3	Sg.	?	ł	ɕ	r	lĕrĭr/layrər
lĭ	ML	16 thing	NO	lĭ	Sg.	?	ł	y	?	lĭ
lĭrĕ	ML	10 sail	NO	lĭ2ĕ	Sg.	?	ł	r	ɕ	lĭrĕ
lĭwət'	ML	10 fire, hell-fire	NO	lĭ2əb	Sg.	F	ł	w	t'	lĭwət'/lĕwt'ayn
lĕgəd	ML	2 fine fishing net with a smML mo	NO	lĕ2ə3	Sg.	?	ł	g	d	lĕgəd/lĕgəwəd
lĕwər	ML	2 quiet, calm (sea)	NO	lĕ2ə3	Sg.	?	ł	w	r	lĕwər
lĕhəd	ML	2 witness	NO	lĕ2ə3	Sg.	?	ł	h	d	lĕhəd/lĕhawd
lĕn	ML	16 sake (in phrase min lĕn d-)	NO	lĕ3	Sg.	?	ł	?	n	lĕn
məłχāl	ML	7 filth	NO	məł2ā3	Sg.	?	ł	χ	l	məłχāl/məławχəl
məłhayr	ML	7 famous	NO	məł2ay3	Sg.	?	ł	h	r	məłhayr/məłhər

məlk'ays'	ML	7 sunrise, east	NO	məl2ay3	Sg.	?	ɫ	k'	s'	məlk'ays'
məlkayb	ML	7 concerned about so. sth.	NO	məl2ay3	Sg.	?	ɫ	ɤ	b	məlkayb
məlnē	ML	7 view, idea	NO	məl2ē	Sg.	?	ɫ	n	v	məlnē
məlwēs'	ML	7 tooth-stick, toothpick	NO	məl2ē3	Sg.	?	ɫ	w	s'	məlwēs'/məlōwəs'
məlrēk'	ML	7 comb	NO	məl2ē3	Sg.	?	ɫ	r	k'	məlrēk'
məlxəmēt	ML	13 itchy spot	NO	məl2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	ɫ	χ	m	məlxəmēt/mələχəm
məlrəfūt	ML	13 pile of sticks for a fire	NO	məl2ə3ūt	Sg.	?	ɫ	r	f	məlrəfūt
məlkik	ML	7 wooden spit, skewer	NO	məl2i2	Sg.	?	ɫ	k	k	məlkik/məlkök
məlkir	ML	7 (person) having plenty milk after	NO	məl2i3	Sg.	?	ɫ	k	r	məlkir/məlkör
məlfiw	ML	7 nail sharpened for sewing leather	NO	məl2i3	Sg.	?	ɫ	f	v	məlfiw/məlföw
mələddət	ML	13 main girth round a camel's belly	NO	mələ22ət	Sg.	?	ɫ	d	d	mələddət/mələdöd
mələwfət	ML	13 protected (tabu) person, thing; pı	NO	mələ23ət	Sg.	?	ɫ	w	f	mələwfət
mələbēt	ML	13 ladder	NO	mələ3ēt	Sg.	?	ɫ	ʕ	b	mələbēt/mələb
mələllūt	ML	13 bride price	NO	mələ22ūt	Sg.	?	ɫ	l	l	mələllūt
məlwōf	ML	7 back-sight of a rifle	NO	məlwō3	Sg.	?	ɫ	w	f	məlwōf
məhalni	ML	14 healer, medicine-man	NO	məha12i	Sg.	?	ɫ	n	v	məhalni, məhēlən/mələnyütən
məhēlən	ML	14 healer, medicine-man	NO	məhē1ə2	Sg.	?	ɫ	n	v	məhalni, məhēlən/mələnyütən
ləbōn	ML	14 satisfied	YES	lə3ōn	Sg.	M	ɫ	ʕ	b	ləbōn, ləbōnət/ləbānīn, ləbānōt
ləbōnət	ML	14 satisfied	YES	lə3ōnət	Sg.	F	ɫ	ʕ	b	ləbōn, ləbōnət/ləbānīn, ləbānōt
ləhhayt	ML	13 sharp	YES	lə22ayt	Sg.	F	ɫ	h	h	ləhāh, ləhhayt/ləhwōh, ləhwahṭən
ləhray	ML	11 Shehri	YES	lə23ay	Sg.	M	ɫ	h	r	ləhray, ləhrəyōt/ləhrōy, ləhrəyütən
ləwzayt	ML	13 constantly looking out of the cor	YES	lə23ayt (ləw3ay	Sg.	F	ɫ	w	z	ləwēz, ləwzayt/ləwōz, ləwazṭən
ləhrəyōt	ML	11 Shehri	YES	lə23əyōt	Sg.	F	ɫ	h	r	ləhray, ləhrəyōt/ləhrōy, ləhrəyütən
ləhāh	ML	5 sharp	YES	lə2ā2	Sg.	M	ɫ	h	h	ləhāh, ləhhayt/ləhwōh, ləhwahṭən
lədayd	ML	6 tiring, wearisome, rigorous, stric	YES	lə2ay2	Sg.	M	ɫ	d	d	lədayd, lədaydət/lədōd, lədadṭən
lədaydət	ML	13 tiring, wearisome, rigorous, stric	YES	lə2ay2ət	Sg.	F	ɫ	d	d	lədayd, lədaydət/lədōd, lədadṭən
ləwēw	ML	5 transparent	YES	lə2ē2	Sg.	M	ɫ	w	v	ləwēw, ləwēwət/ləwōw, ləwawṭən
ləwēwət	ML	13 transparent	YES	lə2ē2ət	Sg.	F	ɫ	w	v	ləwēw, ləwēwət/ləwōw, ləwawṭən
ləðēr	ML	5 stiff, stiff-necked, obstinate	YES	lə2ē3	Sg.	M	ɫ	ð	r	ləðēr, ləðərīt/ləðōr, ləðarṭən
ləwēz	ML	5 constantly looking out of the cor	YES	lə2ē3	Sg.	M	ɫ	w	z	ləwēz, ləwzayt/ləwōz, ləwazṭən
ləðərīt	ML	13 stiff, stiff-necked, obstinate	YES	lə2ə3īt	Sg.	F	ɫ	ð	r	ləðēr, ləðərīt/ləðōr, ləðarṭən
ləgē	ML	5 envious	YES	lə2ē	Sg.	?	ɫ	g	ʕ	ləgē
ləχ	ML	14 big	YES	lə3	Sg.	M	ɫ	y	χ	ləχ/ləyəχ
mələbba	ML	14 satisfied, sated	YES	mələ22a	Sg.	M	ɫ	b	ʕ	mələbba, məlabbat

məlabbat	ML	14 satisfied, sated	YES	mə1a22at	Sg.	F	l	b	ʕ		məlabba, məlabbat
lāl	ML	4 beeswax, honeycomb	NO	lā3	Pl.		l	ʕ	l		lālēt/lāl
layrōr	ML	14 mixed water and yoghurt	NO	lay3ō3	Pl.		l	ʕ	r		lēīr/layrōr
lēf	ML	14 hair	NO	lē2	Pl.		l	f	f		lēft/lēf
lərk'ayn	ML	14 side (of so., st.)	NO	lə23ayn	Pl.		l	r	k'		lərōk'/lərk'ayn
ləwt'ayn	ML	14 fire, hell-fire	NO	lə23ayn (ləw3ay	Pl.		l	w	t'		līwōt'/ləwt'ayn
ləfrōr	ML	14 eyelash	NO	lə23ō3	Pl.		l	f	r		ləfrīr/ləfrōr
ləxnōn	ML	14 gland in neck, gill	NO	lə23ō3	Pl.		l	ɣ	n		ləxnīn/ləxnōn
lətrōr	ML	14 little pool, long puddle, few droḡ	NO	lə23ō3	Pl.		l	t	r		lətrīr/lətrōr
lət'rōr	ML	14 rag, strip of cloth	NO	lə23ō3	Pl.		l	t'	r		lət'rayr/lət'rōr
ləndōr	ML	14 splinter	NO	lə23ō4	Pl.		l	n	ð	r	ləndīr/ləndōr
lətwōy	ML	11 being, travelling in winter	NO	lə23ōy	Pl.		l	t	v		lətway/lətwōy
ləryūtən	ML	12 fat around the kidneys	NO	lə23ūtən	Pl.		l	r	v		ləryēt/ləryūtən
lək'āk'	ML	5 women's overall body wrapping,	NO	lə2ā2	Pl.		l	k'	k'		lək'k'āt/lək'āk'
ləras'tən	ML	12 temple, hair on the temples	NO	lə2a3tən	Pl.		l	r	s'		lərs'ayt/ləras'tən, ləres'
ləɣawb	ML	6 difficulty	NO	lə2aw3	Pl.		l	ɣ	b		ləɣəb/ləɣawb
ləhawd	ML	6 witness	NO	lə2aw3	Pl.		l	h	d		ləhəd/ləhawd
lərawt'	ML	6 condition	NO	lə2aw3	Pl.		l	r	t'		lərt'/lərawt'
ləkawn	ML	14 thorn	NO	lə2awn	Pl.		l	k	ʕ		ləkōt/ləkawn
lərawtət	ML	13 woman's leather bag	NO	lə2awtət	Pl.		l	r	v		lərayt/lərawtət
ləbēk	ML	5 net, web, spider's web	NO	lə2ē3	Pl.		l	b	k		ləbəkēt/ləbēk
lərēs'	ML	5 temple, hair on the temples	NO	lə2ē3	Pl.		l	r	s'		lərs'ayt/ləras'tən, ləres'
lətēw	ML	5 winter (Jan-Mar)	NO	lə2ē3	Pl.		l	t	v		lətəw/lətēw
ləɣəfēn	ML	14 milk	NO	lə2ə3ēn	Pl.		l	ɣ	f		ləɣōf/ləɣəfēn
ləɣəbē?	ML	14 stranger	NO	lə2ə3ē?	Pl.		l	ɣ	b		ləɣayb/ləɣəbē?
lərīr	ML	5 spark	NO	lə2ī2	Pl.		l	r	r		lərrāt/lərīr
lədōk'	ML	5 inside of the cheek, from and inc	NO	lə2ō3	Pl.		l	d	k'		lədk'/lədōk'
ləwōl	ML	5 likeness, like	NO	lə2ō3	Pl.		l	w	l		ləwayl/ləwōl
lərōb	ML	5 bug	NO	lə2ō3	Pl.		l	r	b		lərb/lərōb
lərōn	ML	14 leg	NO	lə2ōn	Pl.		l	r	ʕ		lərayn/lərōn
ləbōwər	ML	8 span of outspread fingers	NO	lə2ōwə3	Pl.		l	b	r		ləbər/ləbōwər
ləgōwəd	ML	8 fine fishing net with a small mou	NO	lə2ōwə3	Pl.		l	g	d		ləgəd/ləgōwəd
lək'ōwəf	ML	8 collar-bone, ledge	NO	lə2ōwə3	Pl.		l	k'	f		lək'ēf/lək'yōf, lək'ōwəf
ləmōwəl	ML	8 left, left-handed	NO	lə2ōwə3	Pl.		l	m	l		ləyməl/ləmōwəl

l̥əɔwək	ML	8 white night demon about the size	NO	l̥əɔwək3	Pl.	l̥	r	k	l̥ɛrək/l̥əɔwək
l̥əɔwəχ	ML	8 wand, lopped dressed branch	NO	l̥əɔwək3	Pl.	l̥	r	χ	l̥arχ/l̥əɔwəχ
l̥əɔwəχ	ML	8 crayfish	NO	l̥əɔwək3	Pl.	l̥	r	χ	l̥ɛrəχ/l̥əɔwəχ, l̥əɔwəχ
l̥əs'əwər	ML	8 crevice, crack, slit, (sl) vulva	NO	l̥əɔwək3	Pl.	l̥	s'	r	l̥ɛs'ər/l̥əs'əwər
l̥ək'əwək'	ML	8 crack, ray of sunshine	NO	l̥əɔwək2	Pl.	l̥	k'	k'	l̥ak'k'/l̥ək'əwək'
l̥ərwök	ML	8 partner	NO	l̥ə2wök3	Pl.	l̥	r	k	l̥ərayk/l̥ərwök
l̥ərwöχ	ML	8 crayfish	NO	l̥ə2wök3	Pl.	l̥	r	χ	l̥ɛrəχ/l̥ərwöχ, l̥əɔwəχ
l̥ək'yōf	ML	8 collar-bone, ledge	NO	l̥ə2yök3	Pl.	l̥	k'	f	l̥ək'ɛf/l̥ək'yōf, l̥ək'əwəf
l̥īgēr	ML	10 mountain-pass, path straight up	NO	l̥ɪ2ɛ3	Pl.	l̥	g	r	l̥əgərɪt/l̥īgēr
əl̥fütən	ML	12 trace, track(s)	NO	əl̥12ütən	Pl.	l̥	f	f	l̥aff/əl̥fütən
h̥əlbōb	ML	youth	NO	h̥ə12ō2	Pl.	l̥	b	b	l̥abb/h̥əlbōb
m̥əlkök	ML	7 wooden spit, skewer	NO	m̥ə12ök2	Pl.	l̥	k	k	m̥əlk̥ɪk/m̥əlkök
m̥əlfōw	ML	7 nail sharpened for sewing leather	NO	m̥ə12ök3	Pl.	l̥	f	v	m̥əlf̥ɪw/m̥əlfōw
m̥əlhör	ML	7 famous	NO	m̥ə12ök3	Pl.	l̥	h	r	m̥əlhayr/m̥əlhör
m̥əlkör	ML	7 (person) having plenty of milk at	NO	m̥ə12ök3	Pl.	l̥	k	r	m̥əlk̥ɪr/m̥əlkör
m̥əläb	ML	7 ladder	NO	m̥ə1ä3	Pl.	l̥	ʕ	b	m̥əläbɛt/m̥əläb
m̥əlawχəl	ML	7 filth	NO	m̥ə1aw2ə3	Pl.	l̥	χ	l	m̥əχ̥äl/m̥əlawχəl
m̥ələnyütən	ML	12 healer, medicine-man	NO	m̥ə1ə23ütən	Pl.	l̥	n	v	m̥əh̥äni, m̥əh̥ɛlən/m̥ələnyütən
m̥əlēχəm	ML	7 itchy spot	NO	m̥ə1ɛ2ə3	Pl.	l̥	χ	m	m̥əχ̥əmɛt/m̥əlēχəm
m̥ələdəd	ML	7 main girth round a camel's belly	NO	m̥ə1ö2ə2	Pl.	l̥	d	d	m̥əlad̥dət/m̥ələdəd
m̥ələwəs'	ML	7 tooth-stick, toothpick	NO	m̥ə1ö2ə3	Pl.	l̥	w	s'	m̥əlwɛs'/m̥ələwəs'
l̥äbänin	ML	14 satisfied	YES	l̥ä3änin	Pl. M	l̥	ʕ	b	l̥äbön, l̥äbönət/l̥äbänin, l̥äbänöt
l̥äbänöt	ML	12 satisfied	YES	l̥ä3änöt	Pl. F	l̥	ʕ	b	l̥äbön, l̥äbönət/l̥äbänin, l̥äbänöt
l̥əhrəyütən	ML	12 Shehri	YES	l̥ə23əyütən	Pl. F	l̥	h	r	l̥əhray, l̥əhrəyöt/l̥əhröy, l̥əhrəyütən
l̥əhröy	ML	11 Shehri	YES	l̥ə23öy	Pl. M	l̥	h	r	l̥əhray, l̥əhrəyöt/l̥əhröy, l̥əhrəyütən
l̥əhwəhtən	ML	12 sharp	YES	l̥ə2wa2tən	Pl. F	l̥	h	h	l̥əh̥äh, l̥əh̥hayt/l̥əhwöh, l̥əhwəhtən
l̥əhwöh	ML	10 sharp	YES	l̥ə2wöh2	Pl. M	l̥	h	h	l̥əh̥äh, l̥əh̥hayt/l̥əhwöh, l̥əhwəhtən
l̥ɪdadtən	ML	13 tiring, wearisome, rigorous, strict	YES	l̥ɪ2a2tən	Pl. F	l̥	d	d	l̥ədayd, l̥ədaydət/l̥ɪdöd, l̥ɪdadtən
l̥ɪwawtən	ML	13 transparent	YES	l̥ɪ2a2tən	Pl. F	l̥	w	v	l̥əwɛw, l̥əwɛwət/l̥ɪwöw, l̥ɪwawtən
l̥ɪdärtən	ML	13 stiff, stiff-necked, obstinate	YES	l̥ɪ2a3tən	Pl. F	l̥	ð	r	l̥əðɛr, l̥əðərɪt/l̥ɪdör, l̥ɪdärtən
l̥ɪwaztən	ML	13 constantly looking out of the corner	YES	l̥ɪ2a3tən	Pl. F	l̥	w	z	l̥əwɛz, l̥əwzayt/l̥ɪwöz, l̥ɪwaztən
l̥ɪyəχ	ML	10 big	YES	l̥ɪ2ə3 (l̥ɪyə3)	Pl. M	l̥	y	χ	l̥öχ/l̥ɪyəχ
l̥ɪdöd	ML	10 tiring, wearisome, rigorous, strict	YES	l̥ɪ2öd2	Pl. M	l̥	d	d	l̥ədayd, l̥ədaydət/l̥ɪdöd, l̥ɪdadtən
l̥ɪwöw	ML	10 transparent	YES	l̥ɪ2öd2	Pl. M	l̥	w	v	l̥əwɛw, l̥əwɛwət/l̥ɪwöw, l̥ɪwawtən

fīðör	ML	10 stiff, stiff-necked, obstinate	YES	lī2ð3	Pl.	M	l	ð	r	læðēr, læðərīt/fīðör, fīðartøn
fīwōz	ML	10 constantly looking out of the cor	YES	lī2ð3	Pl.	M	l	w	z	læwēz, læwzayt/fīwōz, fīwaztøn
mələbbəʕīn	ML	14 satisfied, sated	YES	mə1a22ə3īn	Pl.	M	l	b	ʕ	mələbba, mələbbat
mələbböt	ML	13 satisfied, sated	YES	mə1a22öt	Pl.	F	l	b	ʕ	mələbba, mələbbat
f'arr	ML	4 harm	NO	1a22	Sg.	?	f'	r	r	f'arr
f'aww	ML	4 light	NO	1a22	Sg.	?	f'	w	ʔ	f'aw
f'abbət	ML	13 sound, noise, chatting, sound of	NO	1a22ət	Sg.	?	f'	b	b	f'abbət
f'arh	ML	4 thicket, road up a mountain	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	f'	r	h	f'arh/f'ərōwəh
f'ayf	ML	4 guest, wedding guest	NO	1a23 (1ay3)	Sg.	?	f'	y	f	f'ayf/f'īfōn
f'aymət	ML	13 shortage of milk	NO	1a23ət	Sg.	?	f'	y	m	f'aymət
f'ālaʔ	ML	2 rib	NO	1ā2aʔ	Sg.	?	f'	l	ʕ	f'ālaʔ/f'əlōwaʔ
f'āgəm	ML	2 cheek	NO	1ā2ə3	Sg.	?	f'	g	m	f'āgam/f'əgōwəm, f'īgōm
f'āhər	ML	2 back (of a camel), help, support	NO	1ā2ə3	Sg.	?	f'	h	r	f'āhər/f'əhōr
f'āt'ər	ML	2 buttock	NO	1ā2ə3	Sg.	?	f'	t'	r	f'āt'ər/f'ət'ōwər
f'āfōr	ML	Dhofar	NO	1ā2ð3	Sg.	?	f'	f	r	f'āfōr
f'āfēt	ML	13 not to be a tribesman	NO	1ā3ēt	Sg.	?	f'	ʕ	f	f'āfēt
f'āwēt	ML	13 plant name	NO	1ā3ēt	Sg.	?	f'	ʕ	v	f'āwēt/f'əʔawtøn
f'ayga	ML	3 pen, enclosure, shelter, fold, cav	NO	1ay2a	Sg.	?	f'	g	ʕ	f'ayga/f'īgē
f'aygaʔ	ML	3 plant which may be eaten by peo	NO	1ay2aʔ	Sg.	?	f'	g	ʔ	f'aygaʔ
f'ayt'	ML	4 to take	NO	1ay3	Sg.	?	f'	b	t'	f'ayt'
f'əbbēt	ML	13 silver or metal band on a rifle ba	NO	1ə22ēt	Sg.	?	f'	b	b	f'əbbēt/f'əbēb
f'əbbīt	ML	13 (female) monitor lizard	NO	1ə22īt	Sg.	?	f'	b	b	f'əbbīt/f'əbbütøn
f'ərt'āt	ML	13 fart	NO	1ə23āt	Sg.	?	f'	r	t'	f'ərt'āt
f'əlʕayn	ML	14 gecko	NO	1ə23ayn	Sg.	?	f'	l	ʕ	f'əlʕayn
f'ərhēt	ML	13 noise to set o's teeth on edge	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	?	f'	r	h	f'ərhēt
f'əfrīt	ML	13 leaf with a scent like thyme	NO	1ə23īt	Sg.	?	f'	f	r	f'əfrīt/f'əfartøn
f'əhā	ML	5 Dhu l-Hijja	NO	1ə2ā	Sg.	?	f'	h	v	f'əhā
f'əhāk	ML	5 laughter	NO	1ə2ā3	Sg.	?	f'	h	k	f'əhāk
f'əyaf	ML	13 wedding food, marriage feast	NO	1ə2a3t	Sg.	?	f'	y	f	f'əyaf
f'ənayt'	ML	6 constricted, narrow place	NO	1ə2ay3	Sg.	?	f'	n	t'	f'ənayt'
f'əgərayr	ML	14 scream, screech, shriek	NO	1ə2ə3ay3	Sg.	?	f'	g	r	f'əgərayr
f'əfir	ML	5 plait of hair	NO	1ə2ī3	Sg.	?	f'	f	r	f'əfir/f'əfirütøn
f'əbōbət	ML	13 mist	NO	1ə2ð2ət	Sg.	?	f'	b	b	f'əbōbət/f'əbēb
f'ōya	ML	2 injured, ill, hit	NO	1ð2a	Sg.	?	f'	y	ʕ	f'ōya

l'ɔfɛk	ML	2 partly formed, almost liquid cow	NO	lɔ2ɛ3	Sg.	?	l'	f	ɤ	l'ɔfɛk/l'ɔfɛ'wwɛk
l'ɔhɛr	ML	2 (that which is) apparent, easily sɛ	NO	lɔ2ɛ3	Sg.	?	l'	h	r	l'ɔhɛr
l'ɔb	ML	14 (male) monitor lizard	NO	lɔ3	Sg.	?	l'	b		l'ɔb/l'ɔbbɪn
l'ɔt'	ML	Zizyphus spina Christi	NO	lɔ3	Sg.	?	l'	w	t'	l'ɔt'/l'ɔfɪn
mɔl'rɔh	ML	7 tooth	NO	mɔl2ɔ3	Sg.	?	l'	r	h	mɔl'rɔh/mɔl'ɔrɔh
mɔl'bawt	ML	13 roast meat	NO	mɔl2ɔ3t	Sg.	?	l'	b	v	mɔl'bawt/mɔl'ɔbi
mɔl'awbɔt'	ML	7 (poet.) shelter	NO	mɔlɔw2ɔ3	Sg.	?	l'	b	t'	mɔl'awbɔt'
ʃɔl'yɔk'awt	ML	13 to be cramped, to be depressed	NO	ʃɔl2ɔ3awt	Sg.	?	l'	y	k'	ʃɔl'yɔk'awt
tɔl'lɔyl	ML	15 rheumatism	NO	tɔl2ɔyl2	Sg.	?	l'	l	l	tɔl'lɔyl
l'ɔyk'	ML	4 narrow, cramped	YES	lɔ23 (lɔy3)	Sg.	M	l'	y	k'	l'ɔyk', l'ɔyk'ɔt/l'ɪk'ayn, l'ɔk'awtɔn
l'ɔyk'ɔt	ML	13 narrow, cramped	YES	lɔ23ɔt	Sg.	F	l'	y	k'	l'ɔyk', l'ɔyk'ɔt/l'ɪk'ayn, l'ɔk'awtɔn
l'ɔɔayf	ML	6 non-tribal	YES	l'ɔɔay3	Sg.	M	l'	ɕ	f	l'ɔɔayf, l'ɔɔɔ'ft/l'ɔf, l'ɔfɪt
l'ɔɔɔ'ft	ML	13 non-tribal	YES	l'ɔɔɔ'3t	Sg.	F	l'	ɕ	f	l'ɔɔayf, l'ɔɔɔ'ft/l'ɔf, l'ɔfɪt
l'ɔbbɪn	ML	14 (male) monitor lizard	NO	l'ɔ22ɪn	Pl.		l'	b	b	l'ɔb/l'ɔbbɪn
l'ɔbbɪtɔn	ML	13 (female) monitor lizard	NO	l'ɔ22ɪtɔn	Pl.		l'	b	b	l'ɔbbɪt/l'ɔbbɪtɔn
l'ɔfartɔn	ML	12 leaf with a scent like thyme	NO	l'ɔ2ɔ3tɔn	Pl.		l'	f	r	l'ɔfɪt/l'ɔfartɔn
l'ɔfɛ'wwɛk	ML	8 partly formed, almost liquid cow	NO	l'ɔ2ɔ'wwɛ3	Pl.		l'	f	ɤ	l'ɔfɛk/l'ɔfɛ'wwɛk
l'ɔbɛb	ML	5 silver or metal band on a rifle ba	NO	l'ɔ2ɛ2	Pl.		l'	b	b	l'ɔbbɛt/l'ɔbɛb
l'ɔbɛb	ML	5 mist	NO	l'ɔ2ɛ2	Pl.		l'	b	b	l'ɔbɔbɔt/l'ɔbɛb
l'ɔfɪrɪtɔn	ML	14 plait of hair	NO	l'ɔ2ɪ3ɪtɔn	Pl.		l'	f	r	l'ɔfɪr/l'ɔfɪrɪtɔn
l'ɔhɔr	ML	5 back (of a camel), help, support	NO	l'ɔ2ɔ3	Pl.		l'	h	r	l'ɔhɔr/l'ɔhɔr
l'ɔlɔwaʔ	ML	8 rib	NO	l'ɔ2ɔwaʔ	Pl.		l'	l	ɕ	l'ɔlɔʔ/l'ɔlɔwaʔ
l'ɔgɔwɔm	ML	8 cheek	NO	l'ɔ2ɔwɔ3	Pl.		l'	g	m	l'ɔgɔm/l'ɔgɔwɔm, l'ɪgɔm
l'ɔrɔwɔh	ML	8 thicket, road up a mountain	NO	l'ɔ2ɔwɔ3	Pl.		l'	r	h	l'ɔrh/l'ɔrɔwɔh
l'ɔt'ɔwɔr	ML	8 buttock	NO	l'ɔ2ɔwɔ3	Pl.		l'	t'	r	l'ɔt'ɔr/l'ɔt'ɔwɔr
l'ɔɔawtɔn	ML	12 plant name	NO	l'ɔɔɔ3tɔn	Pl.		l'	ɕ	v	l'ɔwɛt/l'ɔɔawtɔn
l'ɪgɛ	ML	10 pen, enclosure, shelter, fold, cavi	NO	lɪ2ɛ	Pl.		l'	g	ɕ	l'aygɔ/l'ɪgɛ
l'ɪgɔm	ML	10 cheek	NO	lɪ2ɔ3	Pl.		l'	g	m	l'ɔgɔm/l'ɔgɔwɔm, l'ɪgɔm
l'ɪfɔn	ML	14 guest, wedding guest	NO	lɪ3ɔn	Pl.		l'	y	f	l'ayf/l'ɪfɔn
l'ɔfɪn	ML	14 Zizyphus spina Christi	NO	lɔfɪn	Pl.		l'	w	ʔ	l'ɔt'/l'ɔfɪn
mɔl'ɔrɔh	ML	7 tooth	NO	mɔlɔ2ɔ3	Pl.		l'	r	h	mɔl'rɔh/mɔl'ɔrɔh
mɔl'ɔbi	ML	7 roast meat	NO	mɔlɔ2ɔi	Pl.		l'	b	v	mɔl'bawt/mɔl'ɔbi
l'ɔf	ML	4 non-tribal	YES	lɔ3	Pl.	M	l'	ɕ	f	l'ɔɔayf, l'ɔɔɔ'ft/l'ɔf, l'ɔfɪt
l'ɔfɪt	ML	13 non-tribal	YES	lɔ3ɪt	Pl.	F	l'	ɕ	f	l'ɔɔayf, l'ɔɔɔ'ft/l'ɔf, l'ɔfɪt

l'ək'awtən	ML	12 narrow, cramped	YES	lə3awtən	Pl.	F	l'	y	k'		l'ayk', l'ayk'ət/l'ik'ayn, l'ək'awtən
l'ik'ayn	ML	14 narrow, cramped	YES	li3ayn	Pl.	M	l'	y	k'		l'ayk', l'ayk'ət/l'ik'ayn, l'ək'awtən
māhh	ML	4 ghee, clarified butter	NO	la22	Sg.	?	m	h	h		māh/məhāh
marh	ML	4 rope-burn (on camels)	NO	la23	Sg.	?	m	r	h		marh
mask	ML	4 musk	NO	la23	Sg.	?	m	s	k		mask
maws	ML	4 razor	NO	la23 (1aw3)	Sg.	?	m	w	s		maws/məwēsət
mawt	ML	4 death	NO	la23 (1aw3)	Sg.	?	m	w	t		mawt
mayz	ML	4 table, mess	NO	la23 (1ay3)	Sg.	?	m	y	z		mayz
mawgət	ML	13 wave, rough sea	NO	la23ət	Sg.	F	m	w	g		mawgət/əmwēg
māray	ML	7 pasturage, pasture	NO	lā2ay	Sg.	?	m	r	ʕ	y	māray
mawtər	ML	3 motor car	NO	law2ə3	Sg.	?	m	t	r		mawtər
mayri	ML	3 playing with a camel's teats till n	NO	lay23 (1ay2i)	Sg.	?	m	r	v		mayri
mayhək'	ML	3 (children) annoying so., pesterin	NO	lay2ə3	Sg.	?	m	h	k'		mayhək', mahk'
mayhəl	ML	3 wiping, mopping	NO	lay2ə3	Sg.	?	m	h	l		mayhəl
maywət	ML	3 death, dying	NO	lay2ə3 (1aywə3)	Sg.	?	m	w	t		maywət
mēma	ML	14 brain	NO	lē1a	Sg.	?	m	ʕ	m	ʕ	mēma/mōma
mēl	ML	4 fullness, filling, fill	NO	lē2	Sg.	?	m	l	ʔ		mēl
mət't'ārəh	ML	14 canvas water-bottle	NO	lə22ā3əh	Sg.	?	m	t'	r		mət't'ārəh
mərrāt	ML	13 gML, gML-bladder, courage	NO	lə22āt	Sg.	?	m	r	r		mərrāt
məddēt	ML	13 period, generosity	NO	lə22ēt	Sg.	?	m	d	d		məddēt
məllēt	ML	13 large bowl	NO	lə22ēt	Sg.	F	m	l	l		məllēt/mələl
məzzīt	ML	13 (a) smoke, st. to smoke, mouthfu	NO	lə22īt	Sg.	F	m	z	z		məzzīt
mədhāt	ML	13 praise, flattery	NO	lə23āt	Sg.	F	m	d	h		mədhāt
məhs'āt	ML	13 shMLow well	NO	lə23āt	Sg.	?	m	h	s'		məhs'āt/məhēs'
məlhāt	ML	13 salt, brackish (water), salpetre (a	NO	lə23āt	Sg.	?	m	l	h		məlhāt
mərkāt	ML	13 dust, place where the soil is roug	NO	lə23āt	Sg.	?	m	r	ʁ		mərkāt
məndawk'	ML	14 rifle, (slang) penis	NO	lə23aw4	Sg.	F	m	n	d	k'	məndawk'/mənadk'ət
məndayrəh	ML	14 flag	NO	lə23ay4əh	Sg.	?	m	n	d	r	məndayrəh
mərθ'ayt	ML	13 instructions, message	NO	lə23ayt	Sg.	?	m	r	θ'		mərθ'ayt
məndēr	ML	14 port, town	NO	lə23ē4	Sg.	?	m	n	d	r	məndēr/mənawdər
məngəray	ML	14 spiked bracelet	NO	lə23ə4a5	Sg.	?	m	n	g	r y	məngəray/mənōgər
məhnēt	ML	13 profession, job, work	NO	lə23ēt	Sg.	F	m	h	n		məhnēt
məhnēt	ML	13 trouble, unavoidable task, work	NO	lə23ēt	Sg.	F	m	h	n		məhnēt/məhēn
məsyēt	ML	13 kiss	NO	lə23ēt	Sg.	F	m	s	v		məsyēt

mət'k'ēt	ML	13 bush of a kind eaten by camels	NO	lə23ēt	Sg.	F	m	t'	k'		mət'k'ēt
məndīl	ML	14 handkerchief	NO	lə23ī4	Sg.	?	m	n	d	l	məndīl/məndōl
məskōt	ML	14 Muscat	NO	lə23ō4	Sg.	?	m	s	k	t	məskōt
məstōn	ML	14 row of cultivated palm-trees, pla	NO	lə23ō4	Sg.	?	m	s	t	n	məstōn/məsawtən
məlyōn	ML	14 million	NO	lə23ō4	Sg.	?	m	l	v	n	məlyōn
məray	ML	camel with milk but no young	NO	lə2a3	Sg.	?	m	r	v		məray/mīri
mətāt	ML	13 food	NO	lə2āt	Sg.	?	m	t	ʕ		mətāt
məkawk	ML	6 measure of quantity	NO	lə2aw2	Sg.	?	m	k	k		məkawk
məhayr	ML	6 skilled, clever, knowledge	NO	lə2ay3	Sg.	?	m	h	r		məhayr
mədaynət	ML	13 graveyard, cemetery, city	NO	lə2ay3ət	Sg.	F	m	d	n		mədaynət/mədōyən
mət'ayyət	ML	mount, camel	NO	lə2ayyət (lə2a3:	Sg.	F	m	t'	v		mət'ayyət
mədēd	ML	5 cash, ready money; elongated (Jɛ	NO	lə2ē2	Sg.	?	m	d	d		mədēd
məlēl	ML	5 sickening person (poet.), sicknes	NO	lə2ē2	Sg.	?	m	l	l		məlēl
mēhər	ML	2 bride-price	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	?	m	h	r		mēhər
mēlək	ML	2 possession	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	?	m	l	k		mēlək
mēs'ər	ML	2 Egypt	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	?	m	s'	r		mēs'ər
mələk	ML	5 king, angel (ML); king (WM Jah	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	m	l	k		mələk/mələkət
mərək'	ML	5 gravy, soup	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	m	r	k'		mərək'
mərəl'	ML	5 illness	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	m	r	l'		mərəl'
məθəl	ML	5 proverb, precept, good example	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	m	θ	l		məθəl/məθawlət
məzēh	ML	5 joke, joking	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	m	z	h		məzēh
məzēr	ML	5 st. (such as a bit of wood) which	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	m	z	r		məzēr
məxərāt	ML	13 frankincense tree (Boswellia Car	NO	lə2ə3āt	Sg.	F	m	x	r		məxərāt/məxār
məhəlēt	ML	13 respite	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	F	m	h	l		məhəlēt
məzərēt	ML	13 rotteness, bad odour of rotting	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	m	z	r		məzərēt
mədēt	ML	13 south wind, north wind (Jahn)	NO	lə2ēt	Sg.	F	m	d	v		mədēt
məlēt	ML	13 she-camel	NO	lə2ēt	Sg.	F	m	l	v		məlēt
mēhi	ML	2 unformed feces, diarrhoea	NO	lē2i (lē23)	Sg.	?	m	ʔ	v		mēhi
məs'is'i	ML	(children's word) tree with honey	NO	lə2i2i	Sg.	?	m	s'	s'		məs'is'i
məkīnəh	ML	machine	NO	lə2i3əh	Sg.	?	m	k	n		məkīnəh
məθīləh	ML	poet. likeness	NO	lə2i3əh	Sg.	?	m	θ	l		məθīləh
məhōrət	ML	13 cleverness	NO	lə2ō3ət	Sg.	?	m	h	r		məhōrət
mətənyūt	ML	13 wishing	NO	lətə23ūt	Sg.	?	m	n	v		mətənyūt
mətəwyūt	ML	13 having leisure, not being busy	NO	lətə23ūt	Sg.	?	m	w	v		mətəwyūt

məwkēt	ML	13 possession of a woman in marria	NO	ləw3ēt	Sg.	?	m	l	k		məwkēt
məʔwəyən	ML	intestine	NO	ləʔwə3ən	Sg.	?	m	ʃ	v		məʔwəyən/məʔwəyən
mēd	ML	4 intelligence	NO	lē3	Sg.	?	m	ʃ	d		mēd
mēθīt	ML	13 goat droppings	NO	lē3īt	Sg.	?	m	ʃ	θ		mēθīt
mīt'ayn	ML	10 tree the wood of which is very ha	NO	lī2ay3	Sg.	?	m	y	t'	(n?)	mīt'ayn/mīt'ōn
mīrēs	ML	10 girth on the back of the camel	NO	lī2ē3	Sg.	?	m	r	s		mīrēs
mīl'əd	ML	2 plant name: a more usual name i	NO	lī2ə3	Sg.	?	m	l'	d		mīl'əd
mīdēn	ML	10 (town, village) square, area set a	NO	lī2ē3	Sg.	?	m	y	d	(n?)	mīdēn
mīrōt	ML	13 mirror	NO	lī2ōt	Sg.	?	m	r	ʔ	y	mīrōt/mōʔər
mīze't	ML	13 largest part of st.	NO	lī3e't	Sg.	?	m	y	z		mīze't
mōs'əl	ML	2 sun-dried buttermilk	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	m	s'	l		mōs'əl/mīs'al
mōtən	ML	2 flesh of back	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	m	t	n		mōtən/mətūn
mōl	ML	16 livestock, capital	NO	lō3	Sg.	?	m	w	l		mōl
əmərhəbēt	ML	14 welcoming someone	NO	ə1ə23ə4ēt	Sg.	?	m	r	h	b	əmərhəbēt
həmərtūt	ML	13 heating red-hot, trying by ordeal	NO	hə1ə23ūt	Sg.	?	m	r	t		həmərtūt
həməwkūt	ML	13 giving legal possession of a wife	NO	hə1əw3ūt	Sg.	?	m	l	k		həməwkūt
məhamrət	ML	14 (ap. of hemruut) ordeal giver, w	NO	məha12ə3	Sg.	?	m	r	t		məhamrət
mat'k'	ML	4 sweet	YES	1a23	Sg.	NA	m	t'	k'		mat'k'
māyər	ML	2 steep and rough (ground)	YES	lāyə3	Sg.	?	m	ʃ	r		māyər
mərr	ML	4 bitter	YES	1ə22	Sg.	M	m	r	r		mər
məhray	ML	11 Mehri	YES	1ə23ay	Sg.	M	m	h	r		məhray, məhrayyət/məhrē, məhraytən
məskayn	ML	7 poor fellow	YES	1ə23ay4	Sg.	M	m	s	k	n	məskayn, məskaynət/məskōn, məskantən
məskaynət	ML	13 poor fellow	YES	1ə23ay4ət	Sg.	F	m	s	k	n	məskayn, məskaynət/məskōn, məskantən
məhrayyət	ML	11 Mehri	YES	1ə23ayyət	Sg.	F	m	h	r		məhray, məhrayyət/məhrē, məhraytən
məlayl	ML	6 so. never ready, procrastinator, d	YES	1ə2ay2	Sg.	M	m	l	l		məlayl, məlaylət/milōl
məlaylət	ML	13 so. never ready, procrastinator, d	YES	1ə2ay2ət	Sg.	F	m	l	l		məlayl, məlaylət/milōl
məhayn	ML	6 tiresome, trying, nagging	YES	1ə2ay3	Sg.	?	m	h	n		məhayn
mərayl'	ML	6 ill, sick	YES	1ə2ay3	Sg.	M	m	r	l'		mərayl', mərayl'ət/mərwōl', mərwal'tən
mərayl'ət	ML	13 ill, sick	YES	1ə2ay3ət	Sg.	F	m	r	l'		mərayl', mərayl'ət/mərwōl', mərwal'tən
mōyət	ML	2 dead, dying	YES	lō2ə3	Sg.	M	m	w	t		mōyət/maytāyn
məndōl	ML	14 handkerchief	NO	1ə23ō4	Pl.		m	n	d	l	məndīl/məndōl
məhāh	ML	5 ghee, clarified butter	NO	1ə2ā2	Pl.		m	h	h		mah/məhāh
məḅār	ML	5 frankincense tree (Boswellia Car	NO	1ə2ā3	Pl.		m	ḅ	r		məḅərāt/məḅār
mənadk'ət	ML	13 rifle, (slang) penis	NO	1ə2a34ət	Pl.		m	n	d	k'	məndawk'/mənadk'ət

mənaʷdər	ML	14 port, town	NO	lə2aw3ə4	Pl.	m	n	d	r	məndər/mənaʷdər
məsawtən	ML	14 row of cultivated palm-trees, pla	NO	lə2aw3ə4	Pl.	m	s	t	n	məstən/məsawtən
məθawlət	ML	13 proverb, precept, good example	NO	lə2aw3ət	Pl.	m	θ	l		məθəl/məθawlət
mələl	ML	5 large bowl	NO	lə2ē2	Pl.	m	l	l		mələl/mələl
məhēs'	ML	5 shallow well	NO	lə2ē3	Pl.	m	h	s'		məhs'ət/məhēs'
məhēn	ML	5 trouble, unavoidable task, work	NO	lə2ē3	Pl.	m	h	n		məhnēt/məhēn
məwēsət	ML	13 razor	NO	lə2ē3ət	Pl.	m	w	s		maws/məwēsət
məsəyütən	ML	12 kiss	NO	lə2ə3ütən	Pl.	m	s	v		məsəyēt
mənēdəm	ML	14 person	NO	lə2ē4ə5	Pl.	m	n	?	d m	mənēdəm
mənögər	ML	14 spiked bracelet	NO	lə2ə3ə4	Pl.	m	n	g	r y	məngəray/mənögər
mələkət	ML	13 king, angel (EM Johnstone); kin	NO	lə2ə3ət	Pl.	m	l	k		mələk/mələkət
mədəyən	ML	8 graveyard, cemetery, city	NO	lə2əyə3	Pl.	m	d	n		mədəyən/mədəyən
mətün	ML	5 flesh of back	NO	lə2ü3	Pl.	m	t'	n		mötən/mətün
məʔwəyən	ML	14 intestine	NO	ləʔwə3ən	Pl.	m	ʕ	v		məʔwəyən/məʔwəyən
mīs'al	ML	10 sun-dried buttermilk	NO	lī2ā3	Pl.	m	s'	l		mös'al/mīs'al
mīri	ML	2 camel with milk but no young	NO	lī2i (lī23)	Pl.	m	r	v		məray/mīri
mīt'on	ML	10 tree the wood of which is very h	NO	lī2ə3	Pl.	m	y	t'	(n?)	mīt'ayn/mīt'on
mōma	ML	14 brain	NO	lō1a	Pl.	m	ʕ	m	ʕ	mēma/mōma
mōh (həmōh)	ML	water	NO	lōh	Pl.	m	w	h		mōh (həmōh)
mōʔər	ML	mirror	NO	lōʔə2	Pl.	m	r	?	y	mīrət/mōʔər
əmwēg	ML	5 wave, rough sea	NO	ə12ē3	Pl.	m	w	g		mawgət/əmwēg
həmrō	ML	children	NO	hə12ə	Pl.	m	r	v		həmrō
maytáyn	ML	14 dead, dying	YES	1a23áyyn (1ay3áy	Pl. M	m	w	t		mōyət/maytáyn
məskantən	ML	12 poor fellow	YES	1ə23a4tən	Pl. F	m	s	k	n	məskayn, məskaynət/məskōn, məskantən
məhraytən	ML	12 Mehri	YES	1ə23aytən	Pl. F	m	h	r		məhray, məhrayyət/məhrē, məhraytən
məhrē	ML	11 Mehri	YES	1ə23ē	Pl. M	m	h	r		məhray, məhrayyət/məhrē, məhraytən
məskōn	ML	14 poor fellow	YES	1ə23ə4	Pl. M	m	s	k	n	məskayn, məskaynət/məskōn, məskantən
mələl	ML	5 so. never ready, procrastinator, d	YES	lə2ə2	Pl. NA	m	l	l		mələyl, mələylət/miləl
mərwal'tən	ML	12 sick, ill	YES	1ə2wa3tən	Pl. F	m	r	l'		mərayl', mərayl'ət/mərwəl', mərwəl'tən
mərwəl'	ML	10 sick, ill	YES	1ə2wə3	Pl. M	m	r	l'		mərayl', mərayl'ət/mərwəl', mərwəl'tən
nawnəw	ML	14 pupil of the eye	NO	1a21ə2	Sg. ?	n	w	n	w	nawnəw/nōnəw, ənwanwət
nadf	ML	4 expelling and outlawing (a fellow	NO	1a23	Sg. ?	n	d	f		nadf
nafs	ML	4 individual, person	NO	1a23	Sg. ?	n	f	s		nafs/nəfaws
nagd	ML	4 Negd (in Dhofar)	NO	1a23	Sg. ?	n	g	d		nagd

nahf	ML	4 slice of wood, stone, bread	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	n	h	f	nahf
nahs	ML	4 ill fortune	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	n	h	s	nahs
nakf	ML	4 driving st. out (as an outlaw)	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	n	k	f	nakf
nas'f	ML	4 half	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	n	s'	f	nas'f
nawl	ML	4 fare	NO	1a23 (1aw3)	Sg.	?	n	w	l	nawl
nawr	ML	4 light, glamour, light from the face	NO	1a23 (1aw3)	Sg.	?	n	w	r	nawr
nawl (ðə-gwōb)	ML	4 unofficial news of st.	NO	1a23 (1aw3)	Sg.	?	n	w	l	nawl (ðə-gwōb)
nayl	ML	4 indigo	NO	1a23 (1ay3)	Sg.	?	n	y	l	nayl
nawrət	ML	13 lime powder	NO	1a23ət	Sg.	?	n	w	r	nawrət
nayka	ML	3 coming	NO	1ay2a	Sg.	?	n	k	ʕ	nayka
naykəm	ML	3 anger, refusal of conjugal rights	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	n	ɤ	m	naykəm
nəfɤāt	ML	13 blowing	NO	1ə23āt	Sg.	?	n	f	ɤ	nəfɤāt
nək't'āt	ML	13 dot, spot, point, item	NO	1ə23āt	Sg.	?	n	k'	t'	nək't'āt/nək'āt'
nəbzət	ML	13 smML piece of woven material,	NO	1ə23ət	Sg.	?	n	b	z	nəbzət/nəbēz
nəfsət	ML	13 individual, soul	NO	1ə23ət	Sg.	?	n	f	s	nəfsət/nəfastən
nəfzət	ML	13 cut on the toe, foot	NO	1ə23ət	Sg.	?	n	f	z	nəfzət/nəfaztən
nəgsət	ML	13 pollution, ejaculated semen	NO	1ə23ət	Sg.	F	n	g	s	nəgə'st, nəgsət
nəkbət	ML	13 unlawful thing, tremendous thing	NO	1ə23ət	Sg.	?	n	k	b	nəkbət
nəhyət	ML	13 impossible, uncontrollable situation	NO	1ə23ət (1ə2yət)	Sg.	F	n	h	v	nəhyət
nəs'yət	ML	13 crack in the sole of the foot	NO	1ə23ət (1ə2yət)	Sg.	?	n	s'	v	nəs'yət/nəyēs'
nəkfi	ML	14 scab	NO	1ə23i3	Sg.	?	n	k	f	nəkfi/nəkfi
nəχrīr	ML	14 nose	NO	1ə23i3	Sg.	?	n	χ	r	nəχrīr/nəχrōr
nəχlīl	ML	14 bone of the nose	NO	1ə23i3	Sg.	?	n	χ	l	nəχlīl/nəχlōl
nəχdīt	ML	13 water-channel in a wadi	NO	1ə23īt	Sg.	?	n	χ	d	nəχdīt/nəχād
nəχlīt	ML	13 palm-tree, date-palm	NO	1ə23īt	Sg.	?	n	χ	l	nəχlīt/nəχəl
nəθ'ār	ML	5 thought, consideration	NO	1ə2ā3	Sg.	?	n	θ'	r	nəθ'ār
nəlāt	ML	13 sniff	NO	1ə2āt	Sg.	?	n	l	ʕ	nəlāt
nəs'ayl	ML	6 barley	NO	1ə2ay3	Sg.	?	n	s'	l	nəs'ayl
nəhayrət	ML	13 funeral meats	NO	1ə2ay3ət	Sg.	?	n	h	r	nəhayrət
nəbayt	ML	13 (female) oryx	NO	1ə2ayt	Sg.	?	n	b	ʕ	nəbayt/nībēʕ
nəgə'st	ML	13 pollution, ejaculated semen	NO	1ə2ə'3t	Sg.	F	n	g	s	nəgə'st, nəgsət
nēðər	ML	2 vow	NO	1ē2ə3	Sg.	?	n	ð	r	nēðər/nəðwər
nēkəl	ML	2 bastard	NO	1ē2ə3	Sg.	?	n	ɤ	l	nēkəl/nəkawl
nēhəg	ML	2 game, dancing, playing	NO	1ē2ə3	Sg.	?	n	h	g	nēhəg

nēhəl	ML	2 portion of one's livestock given t	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	?	n	h	l	nēhəl
nēhər	ML	2 side-passage of a vMLeY, landin	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	?	n	h	r	nēhər/nīhār
nēs'ər	ML	2 victory	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	?	n	s'	r	nēs'ər
nədēm	ML	5 repentance	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	n	d	m	nədēm
nəθ'ēf	ML	5 marrow	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	n	θ'	f	nəθ'ēf
nəsēm	ML	5 breath, soul	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	n	s	m	nəsēm
nətēk'	ML	5 (poet.) clothes	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	n	t	k'	nətēk'
nəs'əlāt	ML	13 blade	NO	lə2ə3āt	Sg.	?	n	s'	l	nəs'əlāt/nəs'āl
nədərēt	ML	13 milk put aside to the children	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	n	d	r	nədərēt/nədəēr
nəhədēt	ML	13 part of the night (us. 1-2 hours)	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	F	n	h	d	nəhədēt/nəhēd
nəkərēt	ML	13 st. disliked, disapproved	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	n	k	r	nəkərēt
nəs'əbēt	ML	13 beam, tree-trunk	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	n	s'	b	nəs'əbēt/nəs'āb
nət'əfēt	ML	13 drop	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	n	t'	f	nət'əfēt/nət'āf
nəʁəlīt	ML	13 sweat	NO	lə2ə3īt	Sg.	?	n	ʁ	l	nəʁəlīt/nəʁāl
nəʁəlīt	ML	13 female child born out of wedlock	NO	lə2ə3īt	Sg.	?	n	ʁ	l	nəʁəlīt/nəʁātən
nəhəmīt	ML	13 eagle	NO	lə2ə3īt	Sg.	?	n	h	m	nəhəmīt
nēwət	ML	13 rain-clouds	NO	lē2ət	Sg.	?	n	w	?	nēwət
nədē?	ML	5 dew	NO	lə2ē?	Sg.	?	n	d	v	nədē?
nəbī	ML	5 prophet	NO	lə2ī	Sg.	?	n	b	v	nəbī
nēwīw	ML	10 scarecrow, cloth laid over a tree	NO	lē2ī2	Sg.	?	n	w	v	nēwīw/nēwōw
nəs'īhəh	ML	advice	NO	lə2ī3əh	Sg.	?	n	s'	h	nəs'īhəh
nətīgəh	ML	result	NO	lə2ī3əh	Sg.	?	n	t	g	nətīgəh
nəhōr	ML	5 day	NO	lə2ō3	Sg.	F	n	h	r	nəhōr/yūm
nəʎyēt	ML	13 elegy	NO	lə2yēt	Sg.	?	n	ʎ	v	nəʎyēt
nəʎyōk'	ML	8 phlegm	NO	lə2yō3	Sg.	?	n	ʎ	k'	nəʎyōk'
nəyēt	ML	13 aim, interest	NO	lə3ēt	Sg.	?	n	w	v	nəyēt
nə?āl	ML	5 sandals	NO	lə?ā3	Sg.	?	n	ʎ	l	nə?āl
nə?īt	ML	5 udder	NO	lə?īt	Sg.	?	n	ʎ	v	nə?īt/nə?yōtən
nēt'ōr	ML	10 guard	NO	lē2ō3	Sg.	?	n	t'	r	nēt'ōr
nīl'āf	ML	10 covering, covers, mattress	NO	lī2ā3	Sg.	?	n	l'	f	nīl'āf/nəl'əfōtən
nīθ'awr	ML	10 gun-sight	NO	lī2aw3	Sg.	?	n	θ'	r	nīθ'awr
nīdēʎ	ML	10 smoke, incense-smoke	NO	lī2ē3	Sg.	?	n	d	ʎ	nīdēʎ/mənādəʎ
nīd	ML	14 water-skin	NO	lī3	Sg.	?	n	w	d	nīd/nōd
nōfəl	ML	2 splinter	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	n	f	l	nōfəl/nəfə'wwəl

nōgər	ML	2 cliff of sand and stone	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	n	g	r	nōgər/nəgə'wwər
nōhər	ML	2 big bird	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	n	h	r	nōhər
nōmīl	ML	10 ant (smMLer than an ewftayn)	NO	lō2ī3	Sg.	?	n	m	l	nōmīl/nōmōl
nōχəðēh	ML	17 ship's captain, master	NO	lō3ə4ēh	Sg.	?	n	w	χ ð	nōχəðēh/nəwəχðət
nōbēt	ML	13 bee	NO	lō3ēt	Sg.	?	n	w	b	nōbēt/nəwēb
ənk'ēlē?	ML	14 choice (livestock)	NO	ə12ē3ē?	Sg.	?	n	k'	l	ənk'ēlē?
əntəksūt	ML	13 to be miserable	NO	ə1tə23ūt	Sg.	?	n	ɤ	s	əntəksūt
hənhawt	ML	13 burning	NO	hə12awt (hə12a3	Sg.	?	n	h	v	hənhawt
həndəχawt	ML	13 fumigating (us. with incense smc	NO	hə12ə3awt	Sg.	?	n	d	χ	həndəχawt
hənɤəmūt	ML	13 angering (one's wife)	NO	hə12ə3ūt	Sg.	?	n	ɤ	m	hənɤəmūt
hənk'əbūt	ML	13 dropping, throwing off	NO	hə12ə3ūt	Sg.	?	n	k'	b	hənk'əbūt
hənsəmūt	ML	13 breathing	NO	hə12ə3ūt	Sg.	?	n	s	m	hənsəmūt
hənəwfūt	ML	13 beckoning so.	NO	hə1ə23ūt	Sg.	?	n	w	f	hənəwfūt
mənhāl'	ML	7 slice, silver, crumb	NO	mə12ā3	Sg.	?	n	h	l'	mənhāl'
mənk'ār	ML	7 entrenching tool, digging adze	NO	mə12ā3	Sg.	?	n	k'	r	mənk'ār/mənōk'ər
məns'āb	ML	7 judge (not a qadi)	NO	mə12ā3	Sg.	?	n	s'	b	məns'āb
mənsār	ML	7 saw	NO	mə12ā3	Sg.	?	n	š	r	mənsār/mənāšər
mənyāl	ML	7 sieve	NO	mə12ā3	Sg.	?	n	χ	l	mənyāl/mənōχəl
mənwāt	ML	13 owl	NO	mə12āt	Sg.	?	n	w	ɟ	mənwāt/mənawtən
mənsawl	ML	7 woollen cloak, blanket worn as a	NO	mə12aw3	Sg.	?	n	s	l	mənsawl/mənōsəl
mənzawbən	ML	14 (child) not growing well, retarde	NO	mə12aw3ən	Sg.	?	n	z	b	mənzawbən
mənhayn	ML	burning (of grass); smoke	NO	mə12ayn	Sg.	?	n	h	v	mənhayn
mənwēh	ML	7 battle	NO	mə12ē3	Sg.	?	n	w	h	mənwēh/mənōwēh
mənwēs'	ML	7 wrestling	NO	mə12ē3	Sg.	?	n	w	s'	mənwēs'
mənkəray	ML	11 (boy) rude to his parents	NO	mə12ə3ay	Sg.	?	n	k	r	mənkəray
mənhəgēt	ML	13 girth that runs in front of the nec	NO	mə12ə3ēt	Sg.	F	n	h	g	mənhəgēt/mənōhəg
mənk'ərēt	ML	13 rude pointing gesture	NO	mə12ə3ēt	Sg.	?	n	k'	r	mənk'ərēt/mənōk'ər
məns'əbēt	ML	13 bow and arrow, bow	NO	mə12ə3ēt	Sg.	?	n	š'	b	məns'əbēt/mənōš'əb
məns'ərīt	ML	13 strip of scalp cut off by married	NO	mə12ə3īt	Sg.	?	n	s'	r	məns'ərīt/mənōs'ər
mənkəbūt	ML	13 clever, terrific (gril), man-chaser	NO	mə12ə3ūt	Sg.	?	n	k	b	mənkəbūt
mənkīb	ML	7 womanizer, skirt-chaser, (child)	NO	mə12ī3	Sg.	?	n	k	b	mənkīb/mənkōb
mənsōb	ML	7 pubic hair	NO	mə12ō3	Sg.	?	n	s	b	mənsōb
mənwōt	ML	13 dark rain-cloud	NO	mə12ōt	Sg.	?	n	w	ʔ	mənwōt/mənōwī
mənawwəš	ML	7 bier	NO	mə1awwə3	Sg.	?	n	ɟ	š	mənawwəš

šənhərōt	ML	13 complaining, raising a claim in c	NO	šə12ə3ōt	Sg.	?	n	h	r	šənhərōt
šənwəws'awt	ML	13 wrestling	NO	šə1ə23awt	Sg.	?	n	w	s'	šənwəws'awt
šəwnəχawt	ML	13 resting	NO	šəw1ə3awt	Sg.	?	n	w	χ	šəwnəχawt
naðlēt	ML	13 low, useless, worthless person	YES	1ə23ət	Sg.	F	n	ð	l	nōðəl, naðlēt/nəðəlēt, naðlōt
nə'kdət	ML	13 unpleasant, shocking	YES	1ə'23ət	Sg.	F	n	k	d	nəkayd, nə'kdət/nəkdōt
nək'ay	ML	6 pure	YES	1ə2ay (1ə2a3)	Sg.	M	n	k'	v	nək'ay
nəθ'ayf	ML	6 clean	YES	1ə2ay3	Sg.	?	n	θ'	f	nəθ'ayf
nəgays	ML	6 (ritually) unclean (as not having	YES	1ə2ay3	Sg.	M	n	g	s	nəgays, nəgaysət/nīgōs, nīgastən
nəhayf	ML	6 lean, thin	YES	1ə2ay3	Sg.	M	n	h	f	nəhayf, nəhə'ft/nīhōf, nīhaftən
nəhayl	ML	6 slim	YES	1ə2ay3	Sg.	?	n	h	l	nəhayl
nəhays	ML	6 envious	YES	1ə2ay3	Sg.	?	n	h	s	nəhays
nəkayd	ML	6 unpleasant, shocking	YES	1ə2ay3	Sg.	M	n	k	d	nəkayd, nə'kdət/nəkdōt
nəgaysət	ML	13 (ritually) unclean (as not having	YES	1ə2ay3ət	Sg.	F	n	g	s	nəgays, nəgaysət/nīgōs, nīgastən
nəhə'ft	ML	13 lean, thin	YES	1ə2ə'3t	Sg.	F	n	h	f	nəhayf, nəhə'ft/nīhōf, nīhaftən
nē?	ML	16 raw, uncooked	YES	1ē?	Sg.	NA	n	y	?	nē?
nə?aym	ML	6 soft, smooth	YES	1ə?ay3	Sg.	M	n	ʕ	m	nə?aym, nə?aymət
nə?aymət	ML	13 soft, smooth	YES	1ə?ay3ət	Sg.	F	n	ʕ	m	nə?aym, nə?aymət
nōk'əs'	ML	2 mean, grasping	YES	1ō2ə3	Sg.	?	n	k'	s'	nōk'əs'
nōðəl	ML	2 low, useless, worthless person	YES	1ō2ə3	Sg.	M	n	ð	l	nōðəl, naðlēt/nəðəlēt, naðlōt
nōb	ML	14 big	YES	1ō3	Sg.	F	n	w	b	nōb/nəyōb
mənālūt	ML	13 naughty (us. of a child)	YES	mə1ā3ūt	Sg.	F	n	ʕ	l	mənayl, mənālūt/mənōl, mənātən
mənayl	ML	7 naughty (us. of a child)	YES	mə1ay3	Sg.	M	n	ʕ	l	mənayl, mənālūt/mənōl, mənātən
nəʕkəwrət	ML	13 stork, turkey (WM Jahn)	NO	1ə22aw3ət	Pl.		n	ʕ	r	nəʕkōr/nəʕkəwrət
nəkfōf	ML	14 scab	NO	1ə23ō3	Pl.		n	k	f	nəkfiʔ/nəkfōf
nəχrōr	ML	14 nose	NO	1ə23ō3	Pl.		n	χ	r	nəχriʔ/nəχrōr
nəχlōl	ML	14 bone of the nose	NO	1ə23ō3	Pl.		n	χ	l	nəχliʔ/nəχlōl
nək'āt'	ML	5 dot, spot, point, item	NO	1ə2ā3	Pl.		n	k'	t'	nək't'āt/nək'āt'
nəs'āb	ML	5 beam, tree-trunk	NO	1ə2ā3	Pl.		n	s'	b	nəs'əbēt/nəs'āb
nəχād	ML	5 water-channel in a wadi	NO	1ə2ā3	Pl.		n	χ	d	nəχdiʔ/nəχād
nəʕāl	ML	5 sweat	NO	1ə2ā3	Pl.		n	ʕ	l	nəʕəliʔ/nəʕāl
nəs'āl	ML	5 blade	NO	1ə2ā3	Pl.		n	s'	l	nəs'əlāt/nəs'āl
nət'āf	ML	5 drop	NO	1ə2ā3	Pl.		n	t'	f	nət'əfēt/nət'āf
nəwəχōt	ML	13 ship's captain, master	NO	1ə2a34ət	Pl.		n	w	χ	nōχəðēh/nəwəχōt
nəfastən	ML	12 individual, soul	NO	1ə2a3tən	Pl.		n	f	s	nəfsēt/nəfastən

nəfəzətən	ML	12 cut on the toe, foot	NO	lə2a3tən	Pl.	n	f	z		nəfzət/nəfəzətən
nəkātən	ML	12 female child born out of wedlock	NO	lə2ātən	Pl.	n	ɣ	l		nəkəlīt/nəkātən
nəfəws	ML	6 individual, person	NO	lə2aw3	Pl.	n	f	s		nəfəws/nəfəws
nəkawl	ML	6 bastard	NO	lə2aw3	Pl.	n	ɣ	l		nəkəl/nəkawl
nəfə'wwəl	ML	8 splinter	NO	lə2ə'wwə3	Pl.	n	f	l		nəfəl/nəfə'wwəl
nəgə'wwər	ML	8 cliff of sand and stone, a sand or NO	NO	lə2ə'wwə3	Pl.	n	g	r		nəgər/nəgə'wwər
nēχəl	ML	5 palm-tree, date-palm	NO	lē2ə3	Pl.	n	χ	l		nəχlīt/nēχəl
nəbēz	ML	5 small piece of woven material, o	NO	lə2ē3	Pl.	n	b	z		nəbzēt/nəbēz
nədəēr	ML	5 milk put aside for the children	NO	lə2ēr3	Pl.	n	d	r		nədəēt/nədəēr
nəhēd	ML	5 part of the night (us. 1-2 hours)	NO	lə2ēr3	Pl.	n	h	d		nəhədēt/nəhēd
nəwēb	ML	5 bee	NO	lə2ēr3	Pl.	n	w	b		nəwbēt/nəwēb
nəl'əfōtən	ML	12 covering, covers, mattress	NO	lə2ə3fōtən	Pl.	n	l'	f		nəl'āf/nəl'əfōtən
nēwōw	ML	10 scarecrow	NO	lē2ō2	Pl.	n	w	v		nēwīw/nēwōw
nəðōwər	ML	8 vow	NO	lə2ōwə3	Pl.	n	ð	r		nəðər/nəðōwər
nəyēs'	ML	5 crack in the sole of the foot	NO	ləyē2	Pl.	n	s'	v		nəs'yēt/nəyēs'
nəʔyōtən	ML	12 udder	NO	ləʔyōtən	Pl.	n	ʕ	v		nəʔīt/nəʔyōtən
nīhār	ML	10 side-passage off a wadi	NO	lī2ā3	Pl.	n	h	r		nēhər/nīhār
nībēʔ	ML	10 (female) oryx	NO	lībēʔ	Pl.	n	b	ʕ		nəbayt/nībēʔ
nōnəw	ML	14 pupil of the eye	NO	lō1ə2	Pl.	n	w	n	w	nəwnəw/nōnəw, ənwanwət
nōmōl	ML	10 ant (smaller than an ewftayn)	NO	lō2ō3	Pl.	n	m	l		nōmīl/nōmōl
nōd	ML	14 water-skin	NO	lō3	Pl.	n	w	d		nīd/nōd
ənwənwət	ML	13 pupil of the eye	NO	ə12a12ət	Pl.	n	w	n	w	nəwnəw/nōnəw, ənwanwət
mənkōb	ML	7 womanizer, skirt-chaser; (child)	NO	məl2ō3	Pl.	n	k	b		mənkīb/mənkōb
mənādəχ	ML	7 smoke, incense-smoke	NO	məlā2ə3	Pl.	n	d	χ		nīdēχ/mənādəχ
mənāšər	ML	7 saw	NO	məlā2ə3	Pl.	n	š	r		mənšār/mənāšər
mənawtən	ML	12 owl	NO	məl a2tən (məl a	Pl.	n	w	ʕ		mənwāt/mənawtən
mənōhəg	ML	7 girth that runs in front of the nec	NO	məlō2ə3	Pl.	n	h	g		mənəhəgēt/mənōhəg
mənōk'ər	ML	7 entrenching tool digging adze	NO	məlō2ə3	Pl.	n	k'	r		mənək'ār/mənōk'ər
mənōk'ər	ML	7 rude pointing gesture	NO	məlō2ə3	Pl.	n	k'	r		mənək'ərēt/mənōk'ər
mənōsəl	ML	7 woollen cloak, blanket worn as a	NO	məlō2ə3	Pl.	n	s	l		mənəswəl/mənōsəl
mənōs'ər	ML	7 strip of scalp cut off by married	NO	məlō2ə3	Pl.	n	s'	r		mənəs'ərīt/mənōs'ər
mənōš'əb	ML	7 bow and arrow, bow	NO	məlō2ə3	Pl.	n	š'	b		mənəs'əbēt/mənōš'əb
mənōwəh	ML	7 battle	NO	məlō2ə3	Pl.	n	w	h		mənəwəh/mənōwəh
mənōχəl	ML	7 sieve	NO	məlō2ə3	Pl.	n	χ	l		mənχāl/mənōχəl

mənōwi	ML	7 dark rain-cloud	NO	mə1ō2i	Pl.	n	w	?	mənwōt/mənōwi		
nəkdōt	ML	13 unpleasant, shocking	YES	1ə23ōt	Pl.	?	n	k	d	nəkayd, nə'kdət/nəkdōt	
nəðəlēt	ML	13 low, useless, worthless person	YES	1ə2ə3ēt	Pl.	M	n	ð	l	nōðəl, nəðlət/nəðəlēt, nəðlōt	
nəðəlōt	ML	13 low, useless, worthless person	YES	1ə2ə3ōt	Pl.	F	n	ð	l	nōðəl, nəðlət/nəðəlēt, nəðlōt	
nəyōb	ML	5 big	YES	1ə2ō3	Pl.	F	n	w	b	nōb/nəyōb	
nīgastən	ML	13 (ritually) unclean (not having wa	YES	1ī2a3tən	Pl.	F	n	g	s	nəgays, nəgaysət/nīgōs, nīgastən	
nīhaftən	ML	13 lean, thin	YES	1ī2a3tən	Pl.	F	n	h	f	nəhayf, nəhə'ft/nīhōf, nīhaftən	
nīgōs	ML	10 (ritually) unclean (not having wa	YES	1ī2ō3	Pl.	M	n	g	s	nəgays, nəgaysət/nīgōs, nīgastən	
nīhōf	ML	10 lean, thin	YES	1ī2ō3	Pl.	M	n	h	f	nəhayf, nəhə'ft/nīhōf, nīhaftən	
mənātən	ML	12 naughty (us. of a child)	YES	mə1ātən	Pl.	F	n	ʃ	l	mənayl, mənālūt/mənōl, mənātən	
mənōl	ML	7 naughty (us. of a child)	YES	mə1ō3	Pl.	M	n	ʃ	l	mənayl, mənālūt/mənōl, mənātən	
mədmīt	ML	13 regretting having given st. and a:	NO	1ə23īt	Sg.	?	n (m)	d	m	mədmīt	
rabb	ML	4 lord	NO	1a22	Sg.	?	r	b	b	rab	
raff	ML	4 shelf, rack, bunk	NO	1a22	Sg.	?	r	f	f	raf	
rahm	ML	4 womb	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	r	h	m	rahm/rəhōwəm	
rakb	ML	4 ledge on a cliff (of about the size	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	r	k	b	rakb, rəkəb/rəkōwəb	
raml'	ML	4 hot, soft sand, hot ash	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	r	m	l'	raml'	
ras'k'	ML	4 lot, luck, fortune	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	r	s'	k'	ras'k'	
rawh	ML	4 spirit	NO	1a23 (1aw3)	Sg.	?	r	w	h	rawh	
rayk'	ML	4 without breakfast	NO	1a23 (1ay3)	Sg.	?	r	y	k'	rayk'	
rayl	ML	4 railway	NO	1a23 (1ay3)	Sg.	?	r	y	l	rayl	
rays'	ML	4 broad-leaved water plant 3-4ft. h	NO	1a23 (1ay3)	Sg.	?	r	y	s'	rays'	
rawrəm	ML	14 sea	NO	1a23ə4	Sg.	?	r	w	r	m	rawrəm/rəwōrəm
rawa	ML	lot	NO	1a2a	Sg.	?	r	w	ʃ	rawa/arwā	
rāy	ML	16 opinion	NO	1ā3	Sg.	?	r	?	v	rāy/rəwōy	
rāfif	ML	14 (horse's) mane; hair-style where	NO	1ā3ī3	Sg.	?	r	ʃ	f	(f)	rāfif
raht	ML	14 happiness	NO	1a3t (1a23?)	Sg.	?	r	w	h	raht	
rābūt	ML	13 being possessed by a spirit (heal	NO	1ā3ūt	Sg.	?	r	ʃ	b	rābūt	
raybəb	ML	3 (camel) becoming disoriented, a:	NO	1ay2ə2	Sg.	?	r	b	b	raybəb	
raybət'	ML	3 to tie a rope to st.	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	r	b	t'	raybət'	
raydəf	ML	3 riding behind another rider	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	r	d	f	raydəf	
raygəm	ML	3 covering st., putting a lid on	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	r	g	m	raygəm	
rayhəl	ML	3 bringing water from a distance, t	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	r	h	l	rayhəl	
raykət	ML	3 stepping on, standing on	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	r	k	t	raykət	

rayk'əs'	ML	3 jogging up and down, catching o	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	r	k'	s'	rayk'əs'	
rayχəs'	ML	3 becoming cheap	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	r	χ	s'	rayχəs'	
rayl'əf	ML	3 to cache, hide under stones	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	r	l'	f	rayl'əf	
raygi	ML	3 hoping, waiting for	NO	1ay2i	Sg.	?	r	g	v	raygi	
rayθi	ML	3 doing a favour, one's duty, doing	NO	1ay2i	Sg.	?	r	θ	v	rayθi	
raywi	ML	3 having one's thirst slaked	NO	1ay2i	Sg.	?	r	w	v	raywi	
rək'rayk'	ML	14 good soft soil	NO	1ə21ay2	Sg.	?	r	k'	r	k'	rək'rayk'/rək'rök'
rəβrīɤ	ML	14 soft sand, soil	NO	1ə21ī2	Sg.	?	r	ɤ	r	ɤ	rəβrīɤ
rək'k'	ML	4 shMLow, abyss with cliffs	NO	1ə22	Sg.	?	r	k'	k'	rək'	
rəggēt	ML	13 bang, noise	NO	1ə22ēt	Sg.	?	r	g	g	rəggēt	
rəggōz	ML	14 poet, singer	NO	1ə22ō3	Sg.	?	r	g	z	rəggōz/rəggōzət	
rəbbūt	ML	13 groin, (knee-)cap, pain in the gro	NO	1ə22ūt	Sg.	?	r	b	b	rəbbūt	
rəšt	ML	2 trigger	NO	1ə23	Sg.	?	r	š	t	rəšt	
rəbt'āt	ML	13 bandage	NO	1ə23āt	Sg.	?	r	b	t'	rəbt'āt	
rəmhāt	ML	13 spear, wand	NO	1ə23āt	Sg.	?	r	m	h	rəmhāt/rəməh	
rəχs'āt	ML	13 leave	NO	1ə23āt	Sg.	?	r	χ	s'	rəχs'āt	
rəfχayt	ML	13 animal whose milk comes easily,	NO	1ə23ayt	Sg.	?	r	f	χ	rəfχayt/rəfχawtən	
rək's'ayt	ML	13 good grazing grass	NO	1ə23ayt	Sg.	?	r	k'	s'	rək's'ayt/rək'as'tən	
rəbšēt	ML	13 disturbance	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	F	r	b	š	rəbšēt	
rəgfēt	ML	13 malaria bout, bout of shivering	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	?	r	g	f	rəgfēt	
rəhbēt	ML	13 town	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	?	r	h	b	rəhbēt/rəhōyəb	
rəhmēt	ML	13 rain	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	?	r	h	m	rəhmēt	
rəmlēt	ML	13 sand, soil, dust	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	?	r	m	l	rəmlēt/rəməl	
rəmsēt	ML	13 chatting	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	?	r	m	s	rəmsēt	
rəzfēt	ML	13 group of 10-15 people	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	?	r	z	f	rəzfēt	
rədwīd	ML	14 nit	NO	1ə23ī4	Sg.	?	r	d	v	d	rədwīd/rədwōd
rəglīt	ML	13 noose	NO	1ə23īt	Sg.	?	r	g	l	rəglīt/rəgētən	
rəhmōn	ML	14 God	NO	1ə23ōn	Sg.	?	r	h	m	n	rəhmōn
rəbθūt	ML	13 foam on milk	NO	1ə23ūt	Sg.	?	r	b	θ	rəbθūt/rəbēθ	
rəβād	ML	5 newly pregnant camel	NO	1ə2ā3	Sg.	?	r	ɤ	d	rəβād/rīβād, rəwēβəd	
rəkāt	ML	13 prostration (in prayer)	NO	1ə2āt	Sg.	?	r	k	ɥ	rəkāt	
rək'āt	ML	13 patch, rag	NO	1ə2āt	Sg.	?	r	k'	ɥ	rək'āt/rawk'a	
rəhawł'	ML	6 abolutions, bathing	NO	1ə2aw3	Sg.	?	r	h	ł'	rəhawł'	
rəs'ays'	ML	6 lead, lead(en)	NO	1ə2ay2	Sg.	?	r	s'	s'	rəs'ays'	

rəhaynət	ML	13 gold necklace	NO	lə2ay3ət	Sg.	?	r	h	n	rəhaynət/rīhēn, rīhantən
rəbayt	ML	13 quarter	NO	lə2ayt	Sg.	?	r	b	ʕ	rəbayt, rəbaʔt
rəbaʔt	ML	13 quarter	NO	lə2aʔt	Sg.	?	r	b	ʕ	rəbayt, rəbaʔt
rēʕəb	ML	2 smML branch of a tree	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	?	r	ʕ	b	rēʕəb/rəʕōwəb
rəgēb	ML	5 Rajab	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	r	g	b	rəgēb
rəgēm	ML	5 smML table	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	r	g	m	rīgēm/rəgəmūtən
rəmēd	ML	5 ash	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	r	m	d	rəmēd/rəməwdət
rēkəw	ML	2 red leather mattress of dyed cow	NO	lē2ə3 (lē2əw)	Sg.	?	r	k	v	rēkəw/rəkēwət
rəhəl'āt	ML	13 menstruation	NO	lə2ə3āt	Sg.	?	r	h	l'	rəhəl'āt
rəgəzēt	ML	13 poem, song	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	r	g	z	rəgəzēt/ərawgəz
rələbēt	ML	13 clay jar, tin vessel for water	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	r	l	b	rələbēt/rələb
rəwəyēt	ML	13 a kind of poem	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	r	w	v	rəwəyēt
rəχəmūt	ML	13 Egyptian vulture	NO	lə2ə3ūt	Sg.	?	r	χ	m	rəχəmūt/rəχām
rəməl'ōn	ML	14 Ramadan	NO	lə2ə3ō4	Sg.	?	r	m	l' n	rəməl'ōn
rəgē	ML	5 sediment, leavings, fag ends	NO	lə2ē	Sg.	?	r	g	ʕ	rəgē
rēʕi	ML	2 herder, -herd	NO	lē2i	Sg.	M	r	ʕ	v	rēʕi/rəʕyūtən
rəðil	ML	5 useless, worthless	NO	lə2il3	Sg.	?	r	ð	l	rəðil
rəfīk'	ML	5 one another	NO	lə2il3	Sg.	?	r	f	k'	rəfīk'
rēlīt	ML	snake	NO	lē2īt	Sg.	?	r	l	l	rēlīt/rīyēl
rəbīʔ	ML	5 spring	NO	lə2ilʔ	Sg.	?	r	b	ʕ	rəbīʔ
rəs'ōs'	ML	5 bullet, bullet-wound	NO	lə2ō2	Sg.	?	r	s'	s'	rəs'ōs'/rəs'ayn
rəgōb	ML	5 (animal) afterbirth	NO	lə2ō3	Sg.	?	r	g	b	rəgōb/rəgəbīn
rəwōl	ML	5 waral	NO	lə2ō3	Sg.	?	r	w	l	rəwōl/rəwōlət
rəhōmət	ML	13 good looks, character, pleasant	NO	lə2ō3ət	Sg.	?	r	h	m	rəhōmət
rəbōwi (θrō)	ML	8 the months of Rabia al-Awwal/T	NO	lə2ōwi	Sg.	?	r	b	ʕ	rəbōwi (θrō)
rəbūʔ	ML	5 wednesday	NO	lə2ūʔ	Sg.	?	r	b	ʕ	rəbūʔ
rəl'wēʔ	ML	8 wish, desire	NO	lə2wēʔ	Sg.	?	r	l'	v	rəl'wēʔ
rēʕyīt	ML	13 female herd	NO	lē2yīt	Sg.	F	r	ʕ	v	rēʕyīt/rəʕyūtən
rəhāt	ML	13 palm of hand	NO	lə3āt	Sg.	?	r	w	h	rəhāt
rəyēʔ	ML	16 lung	NO	ləyēʔ	Sg.	?	r	ʔ	v	rəyēʔ/rəyūtən
rēf	ML	4 refractory (camel), unbroken	NO	lē3	Sg.	?	r	ʕ	f	rēf/rayf
(ε-)rīrī	ML	Khor Rori	NO	līlī	Sg.	?	r	y	r y	(ε-)rīrī
rībay	ML	10 companion, fellow-traveller, fell	NO	lī2ay	Sg.	?	r	b	ʕ	rībay/ərbāt
rīgēm	ML	10 cover, lid (for food)	NO	lī2ē3	Sg.	?	r	g	m	rīgēm/rəgəmūtən

rīkēb	ML	10 riding camel	NO	lī2ē3	Sg.	?	r	k	b	rīkēb/rīkōb	
rībəl	ML	2 slow-moving snake	NO	lī2ə3	Sg.	?	r	b	l	rībəl	
rībēt	ML	13 female travelling companion	NO	lī2ēt	Sg.	F	r	b	ʕ	rībēt	
rīdīt	ML	13 field, fertile area	NO	lī2īt	Sg.	?	r	d	ʔ	rīdīt	
rīh	ML	hot wind	NO	lī3	Sg.	?	r	w	h	rīh/rīwəhət	
rīdīt	ML	13 meadow, fertile area	NO	lī3īt	Sg.	?	r	y	d	rīdīt	
rōma	ML	2 she-camel sharing a new-born ca	NO	lō2a	Sg.	?	r	m	ʕ	rōma/rəwamma	
rōkəb	ML	2 rider	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	r	k	b	rōkəb	
rōšən	ML	17 first floor room, window	NO	lō3ə4	Sg.	?	r	w	š	n	rōšən/rəšōwən
rōbīt	ML	13 edible corn which is eaten raw	NO	lō3īt	Sg.	?	r	w	b	rōbīt	
ərḥā	ML	5 hand-mill	NO	ə12ā	Sg.	?	r	h	v	ərḥā	
ər1'ā	ML	5 agreement	NO	ə12ā	Sg.	?	r	l'	v	ər1'ā	
ərtəfōt	ML	13 being lifted, raised, promoted	NO	ə1tə2ōt	Sg.	?	r	f	ʕ	ərtəfōt	
ərtəwōt	ML	13 drawing lots	NO	ə1tə2ōt	Sg.	?	r	w	ʕ	ərtəwōt	
ərtək'yūt	ML	13 reading	NO	ə1tə2yūt	Sg.	?	r	k'	v	ərtək'yūt	
ḥəryawt	ML	13 releasing, slackening sth.	NO	ḥə12awt	Sg.	?	r	χ	v	ḥəryawt	
ḥəryəs'awt	ML	13 giving so. leave, permission to se	NO	ḥə12ə3awt	Sg.	?	r	χ	s'	ḥəryəs'awt	
ḥərdəfūt	ML	13 putting so. behind os. on a camel	NO	ḥə12ə3ūt	Sg.	?	r	d	f	ḥərdəfūt	
ḥərbōt	ML	13 lifting, pulling up	NO	ḥə12ōt	Sg.	?	r	b	ʕ	ḥərbōt	
ḥərfōt	ML	13 lifting, pulling up	NO	ḥə12ōt	Sg.	?	r	f	ʕ	ḥərfōt	
ḥərtōt	ML	13 refuting a bad imputation about c	NO	ḥə12ōt	Sg.	?	r	t	ʕ	ḥərtōt	
ḥərwūt	ML	13 giving to drink	NO	ḥə12ūt	Sg.	?	r	w	v	ḥərwūt	
ḥəroh	ML	16 head	NO	ḥə1ō3	Sg.	?	r	ʔ	h	ḥəroh/ḥərə'h	
marbək'	ML	7 by-name, laqab	NO	ma12ə3	Sg.	?	r	b	k'	marbək'	
mərbā	ML	7 canine teeth	NO	mə12ā	Sg.	?	r	b	ʕ	mərbā/mərobəʔ	
mərḥām	ML	7 womb	NO	mə12ā3	Sg.	?	r	h	m	mərḥām	
mərk'ās'	ML	7 crutch, walking stick	NO	mə12ā3	Sg.	?	r	k'	s'	mərk'ās'/mərawk'əs'	
mərk'ayd	ML	7 rough patch up the mountain	NO	mə12ay3	Sg.	?	r	k'	d	mərk'ayd/mərk'ōd	
mərk'ayt	ML	7 corner	NO	mə12ay3	Sg.	?	r	k'	t	mərk'ayt	
mərsē	ML	7 anchor	NO	mə12ē	Sg.	?	r	s	v	mərsē/mərosi	
mərbēb	ML	7 camel overattached to its young	NO	mə12ē2	Sg.	?	r	b	b	mərbēb/mərobəb	
mərkēb	ML	7 boat	NO	mə12ē3	Sg.	?	r	k	b	mərkēb/mərawkəb	
mərkēz	ML	7 (police) station	NO	mə12ē3	Sg.	?	r	k	z	mərkēz	
mərθēk	ML	7 camel with shields on its teeth	NO	mə12ē3	Sg.	?	r	θ	κ	mərθēk/məroθək	

mærtøbēt	ML	13 arena, place to fight in	NO	mə12ə3ēt	Sg.	?	r	t	b	mærtøbēt	
mərɫ'əfēt	ML	13 cache	NO	mə12ə3ēt	Sg.	?	r	ɫ'	f	mərɫ'əfēt/mərɔɫ'əf	
mərmədūt	ML	13 burnt-out ash	NO	mə12ə3ūt	Sg.	?	r	m	d	mərmədūt	
məradd	ML	7 return	NO	mə1a22	Sg.	?	r	d	d	məradd	
mərəwhāt	ML	13 fan	NO	mə1ə23āt	Sg.	?	r	w	h	mərəwhāt/mərōwəh	
šərgəlēt	ML	13 bargaining, chaffering	NO	šə12ə3ēt	Sg.	?	r	g	l	šərgəlēt	
šərdōt	ML	13 to get back, ask. f. st. back	NO	šə12ōt	Sg.	?	r	d	d	šərdōt	
tərbāt	ML	15 giving so. protection	NO	tə12āt	Sg.	?	r	b	ɥ	tərbāt	
tərgayd	ML	15 (rain) fMLing slowly and gently	NO	tə12ay3	Sg.	?	r	g	d	tərgayd	
tərgē	ML	15 taking back a divorced wife	NO	tə12ē	Sg.	?	r	g	ɥ	tərgē	
rayyəl'	ML	14 quiet	YES	1a22ə3	Sg.	M	r	y	ɫ'	rayyəl', rayɫ'ət/rayɫ'ayn, rayɫ'ōt	
rayɫ'ət	ML	13 quiet	YES	1a23ət (1ay3ət)	Sg.	F	r	y	ɫ'	rayyəl', rayɫ'ət/rayɫ'ayn, rayɫ'ōt	
rəmmēt	ML	13 worn-out, brittle	YES	1ə22ēt	Sg.	F	r	m	m	rəmaym, rəmmēt/rīmōm, rīmatən	
rək'ayk'	ML	6 fine, delicate	YES	1ə2ay2	Sg.	M	r	k'	k'	rək'ayk', rək'ayk'ət/rīk'ōk', rīk'āk'tən	
rəmaym	ML	6 worn-out, brittle	YES	1ə2ay2	Sg.	M	r	m	m	rəmaym, rəmmēt/rīmōm, rīmatən	
rək'ayk'ət	ML	13 fine, delicate	YES	1ə2ay2ət	Sg.	F	r	k'	k'	rək'ayk', rək'ayk'ət/rīk'ōk', rīk'āk'tən	
rəχays'	ML	6 cheap	YES	1ə2ay3	Sg.	M	r	χ	s'	rəχays', rəχays'ət/rīχōs', rīχas'tən	
rəhaym	ML	6 beautiful	YES	1ə2ay3	Sg.	M	r	h	m	rəhaym, rəhaymət/rīhōm, rīhamtən	
rəχays'ət	ML	13 cheap	YES	1ə2ay3ət	Sg.	F	r	χ	s'	rəχays', rəχays'ət/rīχōs', rīχas'tən	
rəhaymət	ML	13 beautiful	YES	1ə2ay3ət	Sg.	F	r	h	m	rəhaym, rəhaymət/rīhōm, rīhamtən	
rēhək'	ML	2 distant	YES	1ē2ə3	Sg.	NA	r	h	k'	rēhək'	
rōbəɕ	ML	2 unsalted, saltless	YES	1ō2ə3	Sg.	?	r	b	ɕ	rōbəɕ	
rawk'a	ML	3 patch, rag	NO	1aw2a	Pl.		r	k'	ɥ	rək'āt/rawk'a	
rayf	ML	4 refractory (camel), unbroken	NO	1ay3	Pl.		r	ɥ	f	rēf/rayf	
rək'rōk'	ML	14 good soft soil	NO	1ə21ō2	Pl.		r	k'	r	k'	rək'rayk'/rək'rōk'
rəggōzət	ML	13 poet, singer	NO	1ə22ō3ət	Pl.		r	g	z	rəggōzət	
rəfχawtən	ML	12 animal whose milk comes easily,	NO	1ə23awtən	Pl.		r	f	χ	rəfχayt/rəfχawtən	
rədwōd	ML	14 nit	NO	1ə23ō4	Pl.		r	d	v	d	rədwīd/rədwōd
rəχām	ML	5 Egyptian vulture	NO	1ə2ā3	Pl.		r	χ	m	rəχəmūt/rəχām	
rək'as'tən	ML	12 good grazing grass	NO	1ə2a3tən	Pl.		r	k'	s'	rək's'ayt/rək'as'tən	
rəmawdət	ML	13 ash	NO	1ə2aw3ət	Pl.		r	m	d	rəmēd/rəmawdət	
rəs'ayn	ML	14 bullet	NO	1ə2ayn	Pl.		r	s'	s'	rəs'ōs'/rəs'ayn	
rəbēθ	ML	5 foam on milk	NO	1ə2ē3	Pl.		r	b	θ	rəbθūt/rəbēθ	
rəmēh	ML	5 spear, wand	NO	1ə2ē3	Pl.		r	m	h	rəmhāt/rəmēh	

rəmēl	ML	5 sand, soil, dust	NO	lə2ē3	Pl.	r	m	l	rəmlēt/rəmēl
rələb	ML	5 clay jar, tin vessel for water	NO	lə2ē3	Pl.	r	l	b	rələbēt/rələb
rəkēwət	ML	13 red leather mattress of dyed cow	NO	lə2ē3ət	Pl.	r	k	v	rēkəw/rəkēwət
rəgəbīn	ML	14 (animal) afterbirth	NO	lə2ə3īn	Pl.	r	g	b	rəgəb/rəgəbīn
rəgəmūtən	ML	12 cover, lid (for food); small table	NO	lə2ə3ūtən	Pl.	r	g	m	rīgēm/rəgəmūtən
rəgētən	ML	12 noose	NO	lə2ētən	Pl.	r	g	l	rəglīt/rəgētən
rəwōrəm	ML	14 sea	NO	lə2ō3ə4	Pl.	r	w	r m	rawrəm/rəwōrəm
rəwōlət	ML	13 waral	NO	lə2ō3ət	Pl.	r	w	l	rəwōl/rəwōlət
rəkōwəb	ML	8 small branch of a tree	NO	lə2ōwə3	Pl.	r	κ	b	rēkəb/rəkōwəb
rəhōwəm	ML	8 womb	NO	lə2ōwə3	Pl.	r	h	m	rahm/rəhōwəm
rəkōwəb	ML	8 ledge on a cliff (of about the size	NO	lə2ōwə3	Pl.	r	k	b	rakb, rəkəb/rəkōwəb
rəhōyəb	ML	8 town	NO	lə2ōya3	Pl.	r	h	b	rəhbēt/rəhōyəb
rəʕyūtən	ML	12 herder, -herd	NO	lə2yūtən	Pl.	r	ʕ	v	rēʕi - rēʕyīt/rəʕyūtən
rəšōwən	ML	8 first floor room, window	NO	lə3ōwə4	Pl.	r	w	š n	rōšən/rəšōwən
rəwamma	ML	9 she-camel sharing a new-born ca	NO	ləwa22a	Pl.	r	m	ʕ	rōma/rəwamma
rəwēkəd	ML	9 newly pregnant camel	NO	ləwē2ə3	Pl.	r	κ	d	rəkād/rīkād, rəwēkəd
rəwōy	ML	5 opinion	NO	ləwō3	Pl.	r	ʔ	v	rāy/rəwōy
rəyūtən	ML	12 lung	NO	ləyūtən	Pl.	r	ʔ	v	rəyēʔ/rəyūtən
rīkād	ML	10 newly pregnant camel	NO	lī2ā3	Pl.	r	κ	d	rəkād/rīkād, rəwēkəd
rīhantən	ML	12 gold necklace	NO	lī2a3tən	Pl.	r	h	n	rəhaynət/rīhēn, rīhantən
rīhēn	ML	10 gold necklace	NO	lī2ē3	Pl.	r	h	n	rəhaynət/rīhēn, rīhantən
rīwəhət	ML	13 hot wind, hot breeze	NO	lī2ə3ət	Pl.	r	w	h	rīh/rīwəhət
rīkōb	ML	10 riding camel	NO	lī2ō3	Pl.	r	k	b	rīkēb/rīkōb
rīyēl	ML	snake	NO	līyē2	Pl.	r	l	l	rēlīt/rīyēl
rūka	ML	prostration (in prayer)	NO	lū2a	Pl.	r	k	ʕ	rəkāt
arwā	ML	lot	NO	a12ā	Pl.	r	w	ʕ	rawa/arwā
ərbāt	ML	13 companion, fellow-traveller, fell	NO	ə12āt	Pl.	r	b	ʕ	rībay/ərbāt
ərawgəz	ML	3 poem, song	NO	ə1aw2ə3	Pl.	r	g	z	rəgəzēt/ərawgəz
hərə'h	ML	head	NO	hə1ə'3	Pl.	r	ʔ	h	həroh/hərə'h
mərk'ōd	ML	7 rough patch up the mountain	NO	mə12ō3	Pl.	r	k'	d	mərk'ayd/mərk'ōd
mərawkəb	ML	7 boat	NO	mə1aw2ə3	Pl.	r	k	b	mərkēb/mərawkəb
mərawk'əs'	ML	7 crutch, walking stick	NO	mə1aw2ə3	Pl.	r	k'	s'	mərk'əs'/mərawk'əs'
mərobəb	ML	7 camel overattached to its young	NO	mə1ō2ə2	Pl.	r	b	b	mərbēb/mərobəb
məroθək	ML	7 camel with shields on its teats	NO	mə1ō2ə3	Pl.	r	θ	κ	məroθēκ/məroθək

mərōwəh	ML	7 fan	NO	mə1ō2ə3	Pl.	r	w	h	mərōwhāt/mərōwəh
mərōl'əf	ML	7 cache	NO	mə1ō2ə3	Pl.	r	l'	f	mərōl'əfēt/mərōl'əf
mərōbəʔ	ML	7 canine teeth	NO	mə1ō2əʔ	Pl.	r	b	ʕ	mərōbā/mərōbəʔ
mərōsi	ML	7 anchor	NO	mə1ō2i	Pl.	r	s	v	mərōsē/mərōsi
rayl'ayn	ML	14 quiet	YES	1a23ayn (1ay3ay	Pl. M	r	y	l'	rayyəl', rayl'ət/rayl'ayn, rayl'ōt
rayl'ōt	ML	13 quiet	YES	1a23ōt (1ay3ōt)	Pl. F	r	y	l'	rayyəl', rayl'ət/rayl'ayn, rayl'ōt
rīk'āk'tən	ML	13 fine, delicate	YES	lī2ā2tən	Pl. F	r	k'	k'	rək'ayk', rək'ayk'ət/rīk'ōk', rīk'āk'tən
rīhamtən	ML	13 beautiful	YES	lī2a3tən	Pl. F	r	h	m	rəhaym, rəhaymət/rīhōm, rīhamtən
rīχas'tən	ML	13 cheap	YES	lī2a3tən	Pl. F	r	χ	s'	rəχays', rəχays'ət/rīχōs', rīχas'tən
rīmatən	ML	13 worn-out, brittle	YES	lī2atən	Pl. F	r	m	m	rəmaym, rəmmēt/rīmōm, rīmatən
rīk'ōk'	ML	10 fine, delicate	YES	lī2ō2	Pl. M	r	k'	k'	rək'ayk', rək'ayk'ət/rīk'ōk', rīk'āk'tən
rīmōm	ML	10 worn-out, brittle	YES	lī2ō2	Pl. M	r	m	m	rəmaym, rəmmēt/rīmōm, rīmatən
rīhōm	ML	10 beautiful	YES	lī2ō3	Pl. M	r	h	m	rəhaym, rəhaymət/rīhōm, rīhamtən
rīχōs'	ML	10 cheap	YES	lī2ō3	Pl. M	r	χ	s'	rəχays', rəχays'ət/rīχōs', rīχas'tən
ɸā	ML	14 brother	NO	lā	Sg. M	ɸ	w		ɸā/ɸayw
ɸamd	ML	4 sheathe	NO	1a23	Sg. ?	ɸ	m	d	ɸamd/ɸəməwd
ɸarb	ML	4 big water bucket, camel's back ir	NO	1a23	Sg. ?	ɸ	r	b	ɸarb
ɸayθ'	ML	4 anger	NO	1a23 (1ay3)	Sg. ?	ɸ	y	θ'	ɸayθ'
ɸayg	ML	4 man	NO	1a23 (1ay3)	Sg. M	ɸ	y	g	ɸayg/ɸəyōg
ɸayl	ML	4 star in the ascendent when the cc	NO	1a23 (1ay3)	Sg. ?	ɸ	y	l	ɸayl
ɸādəl	ML	2 big load	NO	lā2ə3	Sg. ?	ɸ	d	l	ɸādəl/ɸədawwəl
ɸārəw	ML	2 one day old camel	NO	lā2ə3 (lā2əw)	Sg. ?	ɸ	r	v	ɸārəw
ɸāzi	ML	2 raider	NO	lā2i (lā23)	Sg. ?	ɸ	z	v	ɸāzi/ɸəzə'wyət
ɸayfēn	ML	3 coloured sheet used as a sari	NO	1ay2ē3	Sg. ?	ɸ	f	n	ɸayfēn/ɸəfənōtən
ɸaybər	ML	3 to meet, come to meet	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg. ?	ɸ	b	r	ɸaybər
ɸayfəl'	ML	3 to tie st. up in st.	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg. ?	ɸ	f	l'	ɸayfəl'
ɸayzər	ML	3 to determine, plumb a depth	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg. ?	ɸ	z	r	ɸayzər
ɸayzi	ML	3 raiding	NO	1ay2i (1ay23)	Sg. ?	ɸ	z	v	ɸayzi
ɸayrōrət	ML	13 smML bag	NO	1ay2ō2ət	Sg. F	ɸ	r	r	ɸayrōrət/ɸayrōyər
ɸayt	ML	14 sister	NO	1ayt	Sg. F	ɸ	w		ɸayt/ɸawtən
ɸayyət	ML	13 flirtation, love-talk	NO	1ayyət	Sg. F	ɸ	w	v	ɸayyət
ɸəl'	ML	4 winking, closing the eyes	NO	lə2	Sg. ?	ɸ	l'	l'	ɸəl'
ɸəbbēt	ML	13 depths of the sea, deep sea	NO	lə22ēt	Sg. F	ɸ	b	b	ɸəbbēt
ɸəddēt	ML	13 influenza	NO	lə22ēt	Sg. F	ɸ	d	d	ɸəddēt

κəllēt	ML	13 mist	NO	lə22ēt	Sg.	?	κ	l	l		κəllēt
κəsrawwən	ML	14 (in) the early evening	NO	lə23a44ən	Sg.	?	κ	s	r	w	κəsrawwən
κəfk'āt	ML	13 difficulty, time of trouble, conjun	NO	lə23āt	Sg.	?	κ	f	k'		κəfk'āt
κəl'nāt	ML	13 compassion	NO	lə23āt	Sg.	F	κ	l'	n		κəl'nāt
κərs'ayn	ML	14 wrist, ankle, ankle-joint	NO	lə23ayn	Sg.	?	κ	r	s'		κərs'ayn/κərōs'ən
κətk'ayt	ML	13 hollow at the back of the knee	NO	lə23ayt	Sg.	F	κ	t	k'		κətk'ayt/κətək'tən
κəbrē	ML	ginni, earth-spirit that can possess	NO	lə23ē	Sg.	?	κ	b	r		κəbrē/κəbōri
κərmēl'	ML	14 a little fruit bush (smML feqelw)	NO	lə23ē4	Sg.	?	κ	r	m	l'	κərmēl'
κəbrēt	ML	13 heat mist, heat haze	NO	lə23ēt	Sg.	?	κ	b	r		κəbrēt
κərbēt	ML	13 strange place, unknown place, at	NO	lə23ēt	Sg.	F	κ	r	b		κərbēt
κərfēt	ML	13 ground floor room	NO	lə23ēt	Sg.	F	κ	r	f		κərfēt/κərēf
κənay	ML	5 song	NO	lə2a3 (lə2ay)	Sg.	?	κ	n	v		κənay
κəwəft	ML	13 acacia	NO	lə2a3t	Sg.	?	κ	w	f		κəwəft/κəwáf
κədayl	ML	6 bundle, load	NO	lə2ay3	Sg.	?	κ	d	l		κədayl/κədawlət
κədə'ww	ML	crack, depression on a mountain	NO	lə2ə'33 (lə2ə'w)	Sg.	?	κ	d	v		κədə'ww, κədū/κədəwən
κəbēr	ML	5 dolphin	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	κ	b	r		κəbēr/κəbawrət
κəbēs'	ML	5 swelling on the neck, the state of	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	κ	b	s'		κəbēs'
κəfēk'	ML	5 vice, blemish	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	κ	f	k'		κəfēk'
κəlēt'	ML	5 mistake	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	κ	l	t'		κəlēt'
κəməd	ML	5 sunset	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	κ	m	d		κəməd
κəmət'	ML	5 asphyxiation, drowning	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	κ	m	t'		κəmət'
κənēθ	ML	5 rice with ghee	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	κ	n	θ		κənēθ
κərəl'	ML	5 target, aim	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	κ	r	l'		κərəl'/κərawl'ət
κəməllōt	ML	14 big raincloud, piled up, massed c	NO	lə2ə33ōt	Sg.	F	κ	m	l	l	κəməllōt/κəməlēl
κəl'ərə	ML	14 slime	NO	lə2ə3ā	Sg.	?	κ	l'	r	ʔ/ʕ	κəl'ərə
κəməm	ML	5 fog	NO	lə2ō2	Sg.	?	κ	m	m		κəməm
κəyōr	ML	5 something harmful	NO	lə2ō3	Sg.	?	κ	y	r		κəyōr
κərəy	ML	5 talk, speech, language	NO	lə2ō3 (lə2ōy)	Sg.	?	κ	r	v		κərəy/κəryēh
κədū	ML	16 crack, depression on a mountain	NO	lə2ū	Sg.	?	κ	d	v		κədə'ww, κədū/κədəwən
κəggēt	ML	15 big girl	NO	lə33ēt	Sg.	F	κ	y	g		κəggēt/κəggōtən
κəl'ayt	ML	tree name	NO	lē3ayt	Sg.	F	κ	y	l'		κəl'ayt
κəgənōt	ML	13 girl	NO	lə3ənōt	Sg.	F	κ	y	g		κəgənōt/κəgənawtən
κətərbōt	ML	13 to be abroad, away from home	NO	lətə23ōt	Sg.	?	κ	r	b		κətərbōt
κəwθ'ayn	ML	14 fatness, thickness	NO	ləw3ayn	Sg.	?	κ	l	θ'		κəwθ'ayn

κῑnēg	ML	10 bit, bridle	NO	lῑ2ē3	Sg.	?	κ	n	g	κῑnēg
κῑggēn	ML	boy	NO	lῑ33ēn	Sg.	M	κ	y	g	κῑggēn, κῑgēn/hāmbərawtən, hāmərō
κῑs'ayt	ML	13 wild palm (which bears no fruit)	NO	lῑ3ayt	Sg.	F	κ	y	s'	κῑs'ayt
κῑbēn	ML	14 epilepsy	NO	lῑ3ēn	Sg.	?	κ	y	b	κῑbēn
κōb	ML	14 excreta, faeces	NO	lō2	Sg.	?	κ	b	b	κōb/κəbbῑn
κōbər	ML	2 camel about to give birth	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	κ	b	r	κōbər/κəwabbər
κōrəb	ML	2 back of a camel's neck in front of	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	κ	r	b	κōrəb
κōzəl	ML	2 cotton cloth, little cotton pad per	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	κ	z	l	κōzəl
κōl'əb	ML	2 bull	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	M	κ	l'	b	κōl'əb/κayl'əb
κōrət	ML	13 raid	NO	lō2ət	Sg.	F	κ	w	r	κōrət
κōθi	ML	2 neck	NO	lō2i (lō23)	Sg.	?	κ	θ	v	κōθi/κayθáy?
əktyəθ'awt	ML	13 getting angry	NO	ə1t2ə3awt	Sg.	?	κ	y	θ'	əktyəθ'awt
əkɬəwθōt	ML	13 not to have had enough sleep	NO	ə1təw3ōt	Sg.	?	κ	l	θ	əkɬəwθōt
həks'əbōt	ML	13 losing sth of importance	NO	hə12ə3ōt	Sg.	?	κ	s'	b	həks'əbōt
həkɣəgōt	ML	13 bearing young	NO	hə12ə3ōt	Sg.	?	κ	y	g	həkɣəgōt
həkɬərəōt	ML	13 to give help	NO	hə12ə3ōt	Sg.	?	κ	b	r	həkɬərəōt
həkɬōt	ML	13 to forget, lose	NO	hə12ōt	Sg.	?	κ	d	v	həkɬōt
məkɣāb	ML	7 evening, west	NO	mə12ā3	Sg.	?	κ	r	b	məkɣāb
məkɬāf	ML	7 offal filled with fat and roasted	NO	mə12ā3	Sg.	?	κ	l	f	məkɬāf/məkɬawɬəf
məks'ays'	ML	7 village street, path between houses	NO	mə12ay2	Sg.	?	κ	s'	s'	məks'ays'
məkɬēl'	ML	7 wrapping, package, bundle tied in	NO	mə12ē3	Sg.	?	κ	f	l'	məkɬēl'/məkɬawɬəl'
məkɣēf	ML	7 half coconut used as a spoon	NO	mə12ē3	Sg.	?	κ	r	f	məkɣēf
məkɣēb	ML	7 epilepsy	NO	mə12ē3	Sg.	?	κ	y	b	məkɣēb
məkɬəfēt	ML	13 big fishing net	NO	mə12ə3ēt	Sg.	F	κ	d	f	məkɬəfēt/məkɬōdəf
məkɣīg	ML	7 new born	NO	mə12ῑ3 (mə1yῑ3)	Sg.	?	κ	y	g	məkɣīg
məkɣōz	ML	7 soft sand, quicksand	NO	mə12ō3	Sg.	?	κ	r	z	məkɣōz
məkɣōt	ML	13 camel with new born young	NO	mə13ōt	Sg.	F	κ	y	g	məkɣōt/məkɬōyəg
məkayθəl	ML	7 uncleaned guts of a slaughtered animal	NO	mə1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	κ	θ	l	məkayθəl/məkɬawθəl
məkərɬēt	ML	13 acquaintance	NO	mə1ə23ēt	Sg.	F	κ	r	b	məkərɬēt/məkərɬēb
šəkɬərəōt	ML	13 to go and get help, collect funds	NO	šə12ə3ōt	Sg.	?	κ	b	r	šəkɬərəōt
šəkɬərəōt	ML	13 to ask pardon of god	NO	šə12ə3ōt	Sg.	?	κ	f	r	šəkɬərəōt
šəwɬərəōt	ML	13 raiding	NO	šəw1ə2ōt	Sg.	?	κ	w	r	šəwɬərəōt
təkwayɣ	ML	15 heartburn	NO	tə12ay3	Sg.	?	κ	w	r	təkwayɣ
təkɣayz	ML	15 to cause (a car, e.g.) to get stuck	NO	tə12ay3	Sg.	?	κ	r	z	təkɣayz

təkəwt'awt	ML	to be mistaken	NO	tələw3awt	Sg.	?	ɤ	l	t'	təkəwt'awt
yəkərayb	ML	14 raven	NO	yələ2ay3	Sg.	?	ɤ	r	b	yəkərayb
ɤalyət	ML	13 expensive	YES	lə23ət	Sg.	F	ɤ	l	v	kōli, ɤalyət/ɤəlyayn, ɤəlyōt
ɤāhər	ML	2 second, another, other	YES	lā2ə3	Sg.	M	ɤ	h (y?)	r	ɤāhər, ɤārhēt/ɤārhōtən
ɤārhēt	ML	13 second, another, other	YES	lā32ēt	Sg.	F	ɤ	h (y?)	r	ɤāhər, ɤārhēt/ɤārhōtən
ɤayfəl	ML	6 cheerful (absent-minded)	YES	lay2ə3	Sg.	M	ɤ	f	l	ɤayfəl
ɤəbrēr	ML	14 dusty brown	YES	lə23ē3	Sg.	M	ɤ	b	r	ɤəbrēr
ɤənay	ML	5 rich	YES	lə2a3 (lə2ay)	Sg.	M	ɤ	n	v	ɤənay
ɤəlayθ'	ML	6 fat, solid, thick	YES	lə2ay3	Sg.	M	ɤ	l	θ'	ɤəlayθ', ɤəlayθ'ət/ɤəlōθ', ɤələθ'tən
ɤərayb	ML	6 peculiar, strange, stranger	YES	lə2ay3	Sg.	M	ɤ	r	b	ɤərayb
ɤəšaym	ML	6 clumsy, ignorant	YES	lə2ay3	Sg.	M	ɤ	š	m	ɤəšaym, ɤəšaymət/ɤēšōm, ɤīšamtən
ɤəzayr	ML	6 deep	YES	lə2ay3	Sg.	M	ɤ	z	r	ɤəzayr, ɤəzayrət/ɤayzōr, ɤīzartən
ɤəlayθ'ət	ML	13 fat, solid, thick	YES	lə2ay3ət	Sg.	F	ɤ	l	θ'	ɤəlayθ', ɤəlayθ'ət/ɤəlōθ', ɤələθ'tən
ɤəšaymət	ML	13 clumsy, ignorant	YES	lə2ay3ət	Sg.	M	ɤ	š	m	ɤəšaym, ɤəšaymət/ɤēšōm, ɤīšamtən
ɤəzayrət	ML	13 deep	YES	lə2ay3ət	Sg.	F	ɤ	z	r	ɤəzayr, ɤəzayrət/ɤayzōr, ɤīzartən
ɤōli	ML	2 expensive	YES	lō2i	Sg.	M	ɤ	l	v	ɤōli, ɤalyət/ɤəlyayn, ɤəlyōt
məkrayb	ML	7 famous, well-known	YES	məl2ay3	Sg.	M	ɤ	r	b	məkrayb/məkrob
ɤawtən	ML	12 sister	NO	lawtən (la2tən)	Pl.		ɤ	w		ɤayt/ɤawtən
ɤayl'āb	ML	10 bull	NO	lay2ā3	Pl.		ɤ	l'	b	ɤōl'əb/ɤayl'āb
ɤayθáy?	ML	10 neck	NO	lay2áy? (lay2á3 Pl.			ɤ	θ	v	ɤōθi/ɤayθáy?
ɤayrōyər	ML	small bag	NO	lay2ōyə2	Pl.		ɤ	r	r	ɤayrōrət/ɤayrōyər
ɤayw	ML	14 brother	NO	layw (lay2)	Pl.		ɤ	w		ɤā/ɤayw
ɤəbbīn	ML	14 excreta, faeces	NO	lə22īn	Pl.		ɤ	b	b	ɤōb/ɤəbbīn
ɤəryēh	ML	talk, speech, language	NO	lə23ēh	Pl.		ɤ	r	v	ɤəōy/ɤəryēh
ɤəwáf	ML	acacia	NO	lə2a3	Pl.		ɤ	w	f	ɤəwaf/ɤəwáf
ɤəməwd	ML	6 sheathe	NO	lə2aw3	Pl.		ɤ	m	d	ɤamd/ɤəməwd
ɤəbawrət	ML	13 dolphin	NO	lə2aw3ət	Pl.		ɤ	b	r	ɤəbēr/ɤəbawrət
ɤədawlət	ML	13 bundle, load	NO	lə2aw3ət	Pl.		ɤ	d	l	ɤədawl/ɤədawlət
ɤərawl'ət	ML	13 target, aim	NO	lə2aw3ət	Pl.		ɤ	r	l'	ɤərel'/ɤərawl'ət
ɤədawwəl	ML	14 big load	NO	lə2awwə3	Pl.		ɤ	d	l	ɤādəl/ɤədawwəl
ɤəzə'wyət	ML	13 raider	NO	lə2ə'w3ət (lə2ə' Pl.			ɤ	z	v	ɤāzi/ɤəzə'wyət
ɤərēf	ML	5 ground floor room	NO	lə2ē3	Pl.		ɤ	r	f	ɤərēfēt/ɤərēf
ɤəməlēl	ML	14 big raincloud, piled up, massed	NO	lə2ə3ē4	Pl.		ɤ	m	l	ɤəməllōt/ɤəməlēl
ɤədəwēn	ML	14 crack, depression on a mountain	NO	lə2ə3ēn	Pl.		ɤ	d	v	ɤədə'ww, ɤədū/ɤədəwēn

κəfənōtən	ML	12 coloured sheet used as a sari	NO	lə2ə3ōtən	Pl.	κ	f	n	κayfən/κəfənōtən
κətək'tən	ML	12 hollow at the back of the knee	NO	lə2ə3tən	Pl.	κ	t	k'	κətək'ayn/κətək'tən
κəyōg	ML	5 man	NO	lə2ō3	Pl.	κ	y	g	κayg/κəyōg
κərəs'ən	ML	14 wrist, ankle, ankle-joint	NO	lə2ō3ən	Pl.	κ	r	s'	κərəs'ayn/κərəs'ən
κəbōri	ML	14 ginni, earth-spirit that can possess	NO	lə2ō3i	Pl.	κ	b	r	κəbrē/κəbōri
κəggōtən	ML	12 big girl	NO	lə33ōtən	Pl.	κ	y	g	κəggēt/κəggōtən
κəgənawtən	ML	12 girl	NO	lə3ənawtən	Pl.	κ	y	g	κəgənōt/κəgənawtən
κəwabbər	ML	9 camel about to give birth	NO	ləwa22ə3	Pl.	κ	b	r	κōbər/κəwabbər
məkərōk'	ML	7 deep water, places	NO	məl2ō3	Pl.	κ	r	k'	məkərōk'
məkawfəl'	ML	7 wrapping, package, bundle tied in	NO	məlaw2ə3	Pl.	κ	f	l'	məkəfəl'/məkawfəl'
məkawθəl	ML	7 uncleaned guts of a slaughtered	NO	məlaw2ə3	Pl.	κ	θ	l	məkayθəl/məkawθəl
məkərēb	ML	7 acquaintance	NO	mələ2ē3	Pl.	κ	r	b	məkərbēt/məkərēb
məkōdəf	ML	7 big fishing net	NO	məlō2ə3	Pl.	κ	d	f	məkōdēfēt/məkōdəf
məkōyæg	ML	7 camel with new born young	NO	məlōyə3 (məlō2Pl.		κ	y	g	məkōt/məkōyæg
κārḥōtən	ML	12 second, another, other	YES	lā32ōtən	Pl.	?	κ	h (y?) r	κāḥər, κārḥēt/κārḥōtən
κəyzōr	ML	10 deep	YES	ləy2ō3	Pl.	M	κ	z r	κəzayr, κəzayrət/κəyzōr, κīzartən
κəlyayn	ML	14 expensive	YES	lə23ayn	Pl.	M	κ	l v	κōli, κalyət/κəlyayn, κəlyōt
κəlyōt	ML	13 expensive	YES	lə23ōt	Pl.	F	κ	l v	κōli, κalyət/κəlyayn, κəlyōt
κəlaθ'tən	ML	12 fat, solid, thick	YES	lə2a3tən	Pl.	F	κ	l θ'	κəlayθ', κəlayθ'ət/κēlōθ', κəlaθ'tən
κēlōθ'	ML	10 fat, solid, thick	YES	lē2ō3	Pl.	M	κ	l θ'	κəlayθ', κəlayθ'ət/κēlōθ', κəlaθ'tən
κēšōm	ML	10 clumsy, ignorant	YES	lē2ō3	Pl.	M	κ	š m	κəšaym, κəšaymət/κēšōm, κīšamtən
κīzartən	ML	13 deep	YES	lī2a3tən	Pl.	F	κ	z r	κəzayr, κəzayrət/κəyzōr, κīzartən
κīšamtən	ML	13 clumsy, ignorant	YES	lī2a3tən	Pl.	F	κ	š m	κəšaym, κəšaymət/κēšōm, κīšamtən
məkərōb	ML	7 famous, well-known	YES	məl2ō3	Pl.	M	κ	r b	məkrayb/məkərōb
skayn	ML	6 knife	NO	l2ay3	Sg.	?	s	k n	skayn/skawnt
skēr	ML	5 sugar	NO	l2ē3	Sg.	?	s	k r	skēr
skōn	ML	5 rudder, tiller	NO	l2ō3	Sg.	?	s	k n	skōn
sadd	ML	4 relations, relationship, friendship	NO	lā22	Sg.	?	s	d d	sad
samm	ML	4 poison	NO	lā22	Sg.	?	s	m m	sam
sarr	ML	4 mystery, secret, secret power over	NO	lā22	Sg.	?	s	r r	sar/əsrār
saddət	ML	13 raised platform, island in a vML	NO	lā22ət	Sg.	?	s	d d	saddət/səwōyəd
sahm	ML	4 arrow	NO	lā23	Sg.	?	s	h m	sahm, sehəm
saht'	ML	4 slaughter	NO	lā23	Sg.	?	s	h t'	saht', sehət'
sak'f	ML	4 roof, roofing, roof of branches	NO	lā23	Sg.	?	s	k' f	sak'f

sarf	ML	4 side	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	s	r	f	sarf, sárəf/sərawf	
sat'h	ML	4 roof, ceiling	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	s	t'	h	sat'h/sət'ōwəh	
sawf	ML	4 wool	NO	1a23 (1aw3)	Sg.	?	s	w	f	sawf	
sawk'	ML	4 market	NO	1a23 (1aw3)	Sg.	?	s	w	k'	sawk'/həswek'ət	
sawt'	ML	4 whip	NO	1a23 (1aw3)	Sg.	?	s	w	t'	sawt'	
sayb	ML	4 oar	NO	1a23 (1ay3)	Sg.	?	s	y	b	sayb/hāsyōb	
sandəl	ML	14 cosmetic dye, used by women to	NO	1a23ə4	Sg.	?	s	n	d	l	sandəl
sahrət	ML	13 witch	NO	1a23ət	Sg.	?	s	h	r	sahrət/səwēhər	
sayrəχ	ML	3 making a bang, noise, be fired	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	s	r	χ	sayrəχ	
saybi	ML	3 capturing, taking prisoner	NO	1ay2i	Sg.	?	s	b	v	saybi	
sayfi	ML	3 throwing sand, soil	NO	1ay2i	Sg.	?	s	f	v	sayfi	
saybawn	ML	soap	NO	1ay3aw4	Sg.	?	s	ʔ	b	n	saybawn
səyyārəh	ML	14 car	NO	1ə22ā3əh	Sg.	?	s	y	r	səyyārəh	
sənnawrət	ML	14 cat	NO	1ə22aw3ət	Sg.	?	s	n	r	sənnawrət/sənnōyər	
səmmēt	ML	13 rush mat	NO	1ə22ēt	Sg.	?	s	m	m	səmmēt	
səggōdət	ML	14 prayer-mat	NO	1ə22ō3ət	Sg.	?	s	g	d	səggōdət	
səhm	ML	2 swell (at sea)	NO	1ə23	Sg.	?	s	h	m	səhm/səhēm	
səlt'ān	ML	14 Sultan	NO	1ə23ā4	Sg.	?	s	l	t'	n	səlt'ān
sərhāt	ML	13 custom, mode of conduct	NO	1ə23āt	Sg.	?	s	r	h	sərhāt/səwōrəh	
səndawk'	ML	14 box	NO	1ə23aw4	Sg.	?	s	n	d	k'	səndawk'/sənadk'ət
səbtēt	ML	13 belt	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	?	s	b	t	səbtēt/səbēt	
səwayyət	ML	fault	NO	1ə2a33ət (1əway	Sg.	?	s	w	v	səwayyət	
səhārəh	ML	box for luggage	NO	1ə2ā3əh	Sg.	?	s	h	r	səhārəh/səhōyər	
sək'aft	ML	13 grave column	NO	1ə2a3t	Sg.	?	s	k'	f	sək'aft/sək'ōyəf	
səlawb	ML	6 custom	NO	1ə2aw3	Sg.	?	s	l	b	səlawb	
sənayn	ML	6 person a year older than os., one	NO	1ə2ay2	Sg.	?	s	n	n	sənayn/sīnōn	
sərayr	ML	6 rope-bed	NO	1ə2ay2	Sg.	?	s	r	r	sərayr/sərōr	
səbēb	ML	5 cause, fault	NO	1ə2ē2	Sg.	?	s	b	b	səbēb	
sēbəɾ	ML	2 dye	NO	1ē2ə3	Sg.	?	s	b	ɾ	sēbəɾ	
sēhər	ML	2 warlock, wizard; magic	NO	1ē2ə3	Sg.	?	s	h	r	sēhər/səwēhər	
sēkən	ML	2 inhabitant	NO	1ē2ə3	Sg.	?	s	k	n	sēkən/səkān	
sēkən	ML	2 community	NO	1ē2ə3	Sg.	?	s	k	n	sēkən/səkōn	
sēmər	ML	2 name of a large tree, prob. the sa	NO	1ē2ə3	Sg.	?	s	m	r	sēmər	
sētəl	ML	2 arm and top of the shoulder	NO	1ē2ə3	Sg.	?	s	t	l	sētəl, sōtəl/sətōwəl	

sēt'əl	ML	2 milk bag, bucket made of goat-s	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	?	s	t'	l		sēt'əl/sət'ōwəl
səbəl	ML	5 heavy rain, black rain-clouds see	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	s	b	l		səbəl
səfēr	ML	5 travel	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	s	f	r		səfēr
səlēb	ML	5 arms, guns	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	s	l	b		səlēb
səbərwōt	ML	14 Euphorbia, tree whose leaves do	NO	lə2ə34ōt	Sg.	?	s	b	r	w	səbərwōt
səbəχāt	ML	13 clean sand sprinkled in a cafe aft	NO	lə2ə3āt	Sg.	?	s	b	χ		səbəχāt
səbəlēt	ML	13 ear of rice	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	s	b	l		səbəlēt
sədərēt	ML	13 kind of grass with a conical cap	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	s	d	r		sədərēt
sədərēt	ML	13 sidrah-tree	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	s	d	r		sədərēt/sədartən
səfərēt	ML	13 journey	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	s	f	r		səfərēt/səfēr
sənēt	ML	13 year	NO	lə2ēt	Sg.	?	s	n			sənēt/sənayn
səmēh	ML	5 permission	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	s	m	h		səmēh
səmēʔ	ML	5 sky	NO	lə2ēʔ	Sg.	?	s	m	v		səmēʔ
səxōt	ML	5 name of a tree	NO	lə2ō3	Sg.	?	s	x	t		səxōt
səhōb	ML	5 rainclouds	NO	lə2ō3	Sg.	?	s	h	b		səhōb/səhōbīn
səlōb	ML	5 shields, spears and swords, arms	NO	lə2ō3	Sg.	?	s	l	b		səlōb
səlōm	ML	5 peace	NO	lə2ō3	Sg.	?	s	l	m		səlōm
səfōlət	ML	13 flotsam and jetsam	NO	lə2ō3ət	Sg.	?	s	f	l		səfōlət
səlōmət	ML	13 peace, safety	NO	lə2ō3ət	Sg.	?	s	l	m		səlōmət
səbūʔ	ML	5 week	NO	lə2ūʔ	Sg.	?	s	b	ʔ		səbūʔ
səft	ML	13 sea-shore	NO	lə3t	Sg.	?	s	y	f		səft
səwsəlēt	ML	14 chain	NO	ləw1ə2ēt	Sg.	?	s	l	s	l	səwsəlēt/səlōsəl
sēt	ML	(long) period of time	NO	lēt	Sg.	?	s	w	ʔ		sēt
sīyəd	ML	2 Sayyid	NO	lī2ə3	Sg.	?	s	y	d		sīyəd
sīm	ML	copper wire	NO	lī3	Sg.	?	s	y	m		sīm
sīdəh	ML	along, straight on	NO	lī3əh	Sg.	?	s	y	d		sīdəh
sōbəl	ML	2 downpour of rain	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	s	b	l		sōbəl
sōtəl	ML	2 arm and top of the shoulder	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	s	t	l		sētəl, sōtəl/sətōwəl
sōfi	ML	2 sand, dusty	NO	lō2i	Sg.	?	s	f	v		sōfi
sōdəh	ML	absent-mindedness, blank-eyed s	NO	lō3əh	Sg.	?	s	w	d		sōdəh
mə'smər	ML	7 nail	NO	mə'12ə3	Sg.	?	s	m	r		mə'smər/məsawmər
məshət'awt	ML	13 beast, animal for slaughter	NO	mə12ə3awt	Sg.	?	s	h	t'		məshət'awt/məsēhət'
məsfəlūt	ML	13 driftwood	NO	mə12ə3ūt	Sg.	?	s	f	l		məsfəlūt
məsgīd	ML	7 mosque	NO	mə12ī3	Sg.	?	s	g	d		məsgīd/məsawgəd

məsyōl	ML	7 vMLEy bottom, bottom of a wat	NO	mə12ō3	Sg.	?	s	y	l	məsyōl/məsaylət	
məsakkər	ML	14 drug	NO	mə1a22ə3	Sg.	?	s	k	r	məsakkər	
məsayr	ML	7 journey, period of time	NO	mə1a23 (mə1ay3	Sg.	?	s	y	r	məsayr	
məsəwmūt	ML	13 animal slaughtered for votive pu	NO	mə1əw3ūt	Sg.	?	s	l	m	məsəwmūt/məslə'mtən	
sχəft	ML	13 stupid, foolish, idiotic, weakling	YES	12ə3t	Sg.	F	s	χ	f	səχayf, sχəft/sīχōf, sīχəftən	
sadk'ət	ML	13 neutral, one not an enemy	YES	1a23ət	Sg.	F	s	d	k'	sədayk', sadk'ət/sədək'ā, sədak'tən	
sahlət	ML	13 easy	YES	1a23ət	Sg.	F	s	h	l	sēhəl, sahlət/sīhōl, sīhētən	
sak't'ət	ML	13 coward, low, vile fellow	YES	1a23ət	Sg.	F	s	k'	t'	sōk'ət', sak't'ət/sək't'āt, sək't'ōt	
səmhayt	ML	13 flat, smooth, straightforward	YES	1ə23ayt	Sg.	F	s	m	h	səmayh, səmhayt/sīmahtən, səmhawtən	
sədawk'i	ML	1 credulous, truthful	YES	1ə2aw3i	Sg.	?	s	d	k'	sədawk'i	
səmayh	ML	6 flat, smooth, straightforward	YES	1ə2ay3	Sg.	M	s	m	h	səmayh, səmhayt/sīmahtən, səmhawtən	
səχayf	ML	6 stupid, foolish, idiotic, weakling	YES	1ə2ay3	Sg.	M	s	χ	f	səχayf, sχəft/sīχōf, sīχəftən	
sədayk'	ML	6 neutral, one not an enemy	YES	1ə2ay3	Sg.	M	s	d	k'	sədayk', sadk'ət/sədək'ā, sədak'tən	
sēhəl	ML	2 easy	YES	1ē2ə3	Sg.	M	s	h	l	sēhəl, sahlət/sīhōl, sīhētən	
sēləm	ML	2 safe	YES	1ē2ə3	Sg.	?	s	l	m	sēləm/səlaym	
səwē?	ML	5 united	YES	1ə2ē?	Sg.	?	s	w	v	səwē?	
sōk'ət'	ML	2 coward, low, vile fellow	YES	1ō2ə3	Sg.	M	s	k'	t'	sōk'ət', sak't'ət/sək't'āt, sək't'ōt	
sōləm	ML	2 safe	YES	1ō2ə3	Sg.	?	s	l	m	sōləm/səlūm	
məshayr	ML	7 bewitched	YES	mə12ay3	Sg.	M	s	h	r	məshayr, məshərōt/məshōr, məshartən	
məslaym	ML	7 Muslim	YES	mə12ay3	Sg.	M	s	l	m	məslaym, məsəwmēt/məslōm, məslamtən	
məshərōt	ML	13 bewitched	YES	mə12ə3ōt	Sg.	F	s	h	r	məshayr, məshərōt/məshōr, məshartən	
məsəwmēt	ML	13 Muslim	YES	mə1əw3ēt	Sg.	F	s	l	m	məslaym, məsəwmēt/məslōm, məslamtən	
skawnət	ML	13 knife	NO	12aw3ət	Pl.		s	k	n	skayn/skawnət	
sənnōyər	ML	14 cat	NO	1ə22ōyə3	Pl.		s	n	r	sənnawrət/sənnōyər	
səkān	ML	5 inhabitant	NO	1ə2ā3	Pl.		s	k	n	sēkən/səkān	
sənadk'ət	ML	13 box	NO	1ə2a34ət	Pl.		s	n	d	k'	səndawk'/sənadk'ət
sədartən	ML	12 sidrah-tree	NO	1ə2a3tən	Pl.		s	d	r	sədərēt/sədartən	
sərawf	ML	6 side	NO	1ə2aw3	Pl.		s	r	f	sarf, sārəf/sərawf	
sənayn	ML	6 year	NO	1ə2ay2	Pl.		s	n		sənēt/sənayn	
səbēt	ML	5 belt	NO	1ə2ē3	Pl.		s	b	t	səbtēt/səbēt	
səfēr	ML	5 journey	NO	1ə2ē3	Pl.		s	f	r	səfərēt/səfēr	
səhēm	ML	5 swell (at sea)	NO	1ə2ē3	Pl.		s	h	m	səhm/səhēm	
səhəbīn	ML	14 rainclouds	NO	1ə2ə3īn	Pl.		s	h	b	səhōb/səhəbīn	
səlōsəl	ML	14 chain	NO	1ə2ō1ə2	Pl.		s	l	s	l	səwsəlēt/səlōsəl

sərōr	ML	5 rope-bed	NO	lə2ō2	Pl.	s	r	r	sərayr/sərōr	
səkōn	ML	5 community	NO	lə2ō3	Pl.	s	k	n	sēkən/səkōn	
sətōwəl	ML	8 arm and top of the shoulder	NO	lə2ōwə3	Pl.	s	t	l	sētəl, sōtəl/sətōwəl	
sət'ōwəh	ML	8 roof, ceiling	NO	lə2ōwə3	Pl.	s	t'	h	sat'h/sət'ōwəh	
sət'ōwəl	ML	8 milk bag, bucket made of goat-sl	NO	lə2ōwə3	Pl.	s	t'	l	sēt'əl/sət'ōwəl	
səfōyən	ML	8 ships	NO	lə2ōya3	Pl.	s	f	n	səfōyən	
səhōyər	ML	8 box for luggage	NO	lə2ōya3	Pl.	s	h	r	səhārəh/səhōyər	
sək'ōyaf	ML	8 grave column	NO	lə2ōya3	Pl.	s	k'	f	sək'əft/sək'ōyaf	
səwēhər	ML	9 warlock, wizard	NO	ləwē2ə3	Pl.	s	h	r	sēhər, sahərət/səwēhər	
səwōrəh	ML	9 custom, mode of conduct	NO	ləwō2ə3	Pl.	s	r	h	sərhāt/səwōrəh	
səwōyəd	ML	9 raised platform, island in a valley	NO	ləwōya2	Pl.	s	d	d	saddət/səwōyəd	
sīnōn	ML	10 person a year older than os., one	NO	lī2ō2	Pl.	s	n	n	sənayn/sīnōn	
əsrār	ML	5 mystery, secret, secret power over	NO	ə12ā2	Pl.	s	r	r	sar/əsrār	
hāsyōb	ML	oar	NO	hā12ō3 (hā1yō3)	Pl.	s	y	b	sayb/hāsyōb	
həswēk'ət	ML	market	NO	hə1wē3ət	Pl.	s	w	k'	sawk'/həswēk'ət	
məslə'mtən	ML	12 animal slaughtered for votive pu	NO	mə12ə'3tən	Pl.	s	l	m	məsəwmūt/məslə'mtən	
məsəylət	ML	13 valley bottom, bottom of a water	NO	mə1a23ət (mə1a	Pl.	s	y	l	məsyōl/məsəylət	
məsəwgəd	ML	7 mosque	NO	mə1aw2ə3	Pl.	s	g	d	məsgīd/məsəwgəd	
məsəwmər	ML	7 nail	NO	mə1aw2ə3	Pl.	s	m	r	mə'smər/məsəwmər	
məsēhət'	ML	7 beast, animal for slaughter	NO	mə1ē2ə3	Pl.	s	h	t'	məshət'awt/məsēhət'	
sək't'āt	ML	13 coward, low, vile fellow	YES	lə23āt	Pl.	M	s	k'	t'	sōk'ət', sak't'ət/sək't'āt, sək't'ōt
səmhawtən	ML	12 flat, smooth, straightforward	YES	lə23awtən	Pl.	F	s	m	h	səmayh, səmhayt/sīmahtən, səmhawtən
sək't'ōt	ML	13 coward, low, vile fellow	YES	lə23ōt	Pl.	M	s	k'	t'	sōk'ət', sak't'ət/sək't'āt, sək't'ōt
sədak'tən	ML	12 neutral, one not an enemy	YES	lə2a3tən	Pl.	F	s	d	k'	sədayk', sadk'ət/sədək'ā, sədak'tən
səlaym	ML	6 safe	YES	lə2ay3	Pl.	?	s	l	m	sēləm/səlaym
sədək'ā	ML	14 neutral, one not an enemy	YES	lə2ə3ā	Pl.	M	s	d	k'	sədayk', sadk'ət/sədək'ā, sədak'tən
səlūm	ML	5 safe	YES	lə2ū3	Pl.	?	s	l	m	sōləm/səlūm
sīmahtən	ML	13 flat, smooth, straightforward	YES	lī2a3tən	Pl.	F	s	m	h	səmayh, səmhayt/sīmahtən, səmhawtən
sīxəftən	ML	13 stupid, foolish, idiotic, weakling	YES	lī2a3tən	Pl.	F	s	χ	f	səxayf, sχəft/sīxōf, sīxəftən
sīhētən	ML	12 easy	YES	lī2ētən	Pl.	F	s	h	l	sēhəl, sahlət/sīhōl, sīhētən
sīhōl	ML	10 easy	YES	lī2ō3	Pl.	M	s	h	l	sēhəl, sahlət/sīhōl, sīhētən
sīmōh	ML	10 flat, smooth, straightforward	YES	lī2ō3	Pl.	M	s	m	h	səmayh, səmhayt/sīmahtən, səmhawtən
sīxōf	ML	10 stupid, foolish, idiotic, weakling	YES	lī2ō3	Pl.	M	s	χ	f	səxayf, sχəft/sīxōf, sīxəftən
məshartən	ML	12 bewitched	YES	mə12a3tən	Pl.	F	s	h	r	məshayr, məshərōt/məshōr, məshartən

məslamtən	ML	12 Muslim	YES	mə12a3tən	Pl.	F	s	l	m	məslaym, məsəwmĕt/məslōm, məslamtən	
məshōr	ML	7 bewitched	YES	mə12ō3	Pl.	M	s	h	r	məshayr, məshērōt/məshōr, məshartən	
məslōm	ML	7 Muslim	YES	mə12ō3	Pl.	M	s	l	m	məslaym, məsəwmĕt/məslōm, məslamtən	
šakk°	ML	4 doubt	NO	1a22	Sg.		š	k	k	šak	
šarh	ML	4 singing and dancing, party	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	š	r	h	šarh/šērōwəh	
šaxl	ML	4 way of acting, doing	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	š	ɤ	l	šaxl	
šahk'	ML	4 ebb-tide	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	š	h	k'	šahk'	
šat'f	ML	4 nick, superficial bullet wound	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	š	t'	f	šat'f	
šaxt'	ML	4 matches	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	š	χ	t'	šaxt'	
šayχ	ML	4 chief, older man	NO	1a23 (1ay3)	Sg.	?	š	y	χ	šayχ	
šaywəl	ML	14 shovel	NO	1a23ə4	Sg.	?	š	y	v	l	šaywəl/əšwal
šakməh	ML	14 slap on the butt	NO	1a23əh	Sg.	?	š	k	m	šakməh	
šamləh	ML	14 woollen wrapping	NO	1a23əh	Sg.	?	š	m	l	šamləh	
šant'əh	ML	14 bag, suitcase	NO	1a23əh	Sg.	?	š	n	t'	šant'əh	
šayləh	ML	14 shawl, headcloth	NO	1a23əh (1ay3əh)	Sg.	?	š	y	l	šayləh	
šāfĕt	ML	13 kind of mole on the skin believe	NO	1ā3ĕt	Sg.	?	š	ɥ	f	šāfĕt/šaʔf	
šəbšĭb	ML	14 red waterworm	NO	1ə21ĭ2	Sg.	?	š	b	š	b	šəbšĭb/šəbšōb
šət'fĕt	ML	13 round, shMLow tray used for foc	NO	1ə23ĕt	Sg.	?	š	t'	f	šət'fĕt/šət'āf	
šəbdĭt	ML	13 liver	NO	1ə23ĭt	Sg.	?	š	b	d	šəbdĭt/šəbadtən	
šəbār	ML	5 (poet.) dhow	NO	1ə2ā3	Sg.	?	š	b	r	šəbār	
šərayf	ML	6 noble, descendant of the Prophet	NO	1ə2ay3	Sg.	?	š	r	f	šərayf, šərə'fyət/šərə'ft, šərōf, həsrōf	
šərə'fyət	ML	13 noble, descendant of the Prophet	NO	1ə2ə'3yət	Sg.	?	š	r	f	šərayf, šərə'fyət/šərə'ft, šərōf, həsrōf	
šĕt'ər	ML	2 measure, span between the end o	NO	1ĕ2ə3	Sg.	?	š	t'	r	šĕt'ər/šət'ōwər	
šəɤəlʔōt	ML	14 lobe of the ear	NO	1ə2ə34ōt	Sg.	?	š	ɤ	l	f	šəɤəlʔōt
šədĕd	ML	5 camel girth	NO	1ə2ĕ2	Sg.	?	š	d	d	šədĕd/əšdawdət	
šəgĕt	ML	13 bravery	NO	1ə2ĕt	Sg.	?	š	g	ɥ	šəgĕt	
šəɥĭr	ML	5 barley	NO	1ə2ĭ3	Sg.	?	š	ɥ	r	šəɥĭr	
šĕhi	ML	tea	NO	1ĕ3i	Sg.	?	š	ʔ	h	y	šĕhi
šĭt	ML	14 backside, buttocks, anus, root	NO	1ĭ2	Sg.	?	š	t		šĭt/šətōtən	
šĭrĕ	ML	10 navel	NO	1ĭ2ĕ	Sg.	?	š	r	ɥ	šĭrĕ/šərawtən	
šōməɤ	ML	2 fine hair shed by a camel	NO	1ō2ə3	Sg.	?	š	m	ɤ	šōməɤ	
χōt	ML	13 armpit	NO	2ōt	Sg.	?	š	χ	v	χōt	
əškay	ML	15 sword	NO	ə12a3 (ə12ay)	Sg.	?	š	k	v	əškay/əškayyət	
məšML	ML	7 brace on a cartridge-belt	NO	mə1a22	Sg.	?	š	l	l	məšML	

məšēχi	ML	7 one of the mašāyīχ, who have su	NO	mə1ē3i	Sg.	?	š	y	χ	məšēχi	
šágat	ML	13 brave	YES	1á2at	Sg.	F	š	g	ǰ	šōga, šágat/šáǰēt, šáǰawtən	
šāt'ər	ML	2 clever	YES	1ā2ə3	Sg.	?	š	t'	r	šāt'ər	
šərmīt	ML	13 hare-lipped	YES	1ə23īt	Sg.	F	š	r	m	šəreḿ, šərmīt/šərwōm, šərmūtən	
šəreḿ	ML	5 hare-lipped	YES	1ə2Ē3	Sg.	M	š	r	m	šəreḿ, šərmīt/šərwōm, šərmūtən	
šōga	ML	2 brave	YES	1ō2a	Sg.	M	š	g	ǰ	šōga, šágat/šáǰēt, šáǰawtən	
šaʔf	ML	4 kind of mole on the skin believe	NO	1aʔ3	Pl.		š	ǰ	f	šāfēt/šaʔf	
šəbšōb	ML	14 red waterworm	NO	1ə21ō2	Pl.		š	b	š	b	šəbšīb/šəbšōb
šət'āf	ML	5 round, shallow tray used for food	NO	1ə2ā3	Pl.		š	t'	f	šət'fēt/šət'āf	
šəbadtən	ML	12 liver	NO	1ə2a3tən	Pl.		š	b	d	šəbdīt/šəbadtən	
šərawtən	ML	12 navel	NO	1ə2awtən	Pl.		š	r	ǰ	šīrē/šərawtən	
šərə'ft	ML	13 noble, descendant of the Prophet	NO	1ə2ə'3t	Pl.		š	r	f	šərayf, šərə'fyət/šərə'ft, šərəf, həsrōf	
šərəf	ML	5 noble, descendant of the Prophet	NO	1ə2ō3	Pl.		š	r	f	šərayf, šərə'fyət/šərə'ft, šərəf, həsrōf	
šətōtən	ML	12 backside, buttocks, anus, root	NO	1ə2ōtən	Pl.		š	t		šīt/šətōtən	
šət'ōwər	ML	8 measure, span between the end o	NO	1ə2ōwə3	Pl.		š	t'	r	šēt'ər/šət'ōwər	
šərwəh	ML	8 singing and dancing, party	NO	1ə2ōwə3	Pl.		š	r	h	šərh/šərwəh	
əškayyət	ML	13 sword	NO	ə12a33ət (ə12ayy	Pl.		š	k	v	əškay/əškayyət	
əšhawh	ML	6 the Shihuh (Ra's al-Khaima)	NO	ə12aw2	Pl.		š	h	h	əšhawh	
əšdawdət	ML	13 camel girth	NO	ə12aw2ət	Pl.		š	d	d	šədēd/əšdawdət	
həsrōf	ML	noble, descendant of the Prophet	NO	hə12ō3	Pl.		š	r	f	šərayf, šərə'fyət/šərə'ft, šərəf, həsrōf	
šərmūtən	ML	12 hare-lipped	YES	1ə23ūtən	Pl.	F	š	r	m	šəreḿ, šərmīt/šərwōm, šərmūtən	
šáǰawtən	ML	12 brave	YES	1ə2awtən	Pl.	F	š	g	ǰ	šōga, šágat/šáǰēt, šáǰawtən	
šáǰēt	ML	13 brave	YES	1ə2Ēt	Pl.	M	š	g	ǰ	šōga, šágat/šáǰēt, šáǰawtən	
šərwōm	ML	10 hare-lipped	YES	1ə2wō3	Pl.	M	š	r	m	šəreḿ, šərmīt/šərwōm, šərmūtən	
sadk'	ML	4 truth	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	s'	d	k'	sadk'	
s'alh	ML	4 safe-conduct, truce	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	s'	l	h	s'alh	
s'anχ	ML	4 cooking fat	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	s'	n	χ	s'anχ	
s'arf	ML	4 sheath	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	s'	r	f	s'arf/s'ərawf	
s'awr	ML	4 Sur	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	s'	w	r	s'awr	
s'awb	ML	4 direction	NO	1a23 (1aw3)	Sg.	?	s'	w	b	s'awb	
s'awm	ML	4 (period of) fasting, fast	NO	1a23 (1aw3)	Sg.	?	s'	w	m	s'awm	
s'awt	ML	4 voice, sound (of an animal)	NO	1a23 (1aw3)	Sg.	?	s'	w	t	s'awt/s'əwētət	
s'ayd	ML	4 fish	NO	1a23 (1ay3)	Sg.	?	s'	y	d	s'ayd	
s'ayh	ML	4 desert	NO	1a23 (1ay3)	Sg.	?	s'	y	h	s'ayh	

s'ayh	ML	4 voice, sound	NO	1a23 (1ay3)	Sg.	?	s'	y	h	s'ayh/s'ih	
s'awrət	ML	13 idol, picture	NO	1a23ət	Sg.	?	s'	w	r	s'awrət	
s'ābər	ML	2 patience, aloes, sour thing	NO	1ā2ə3	Sg.	?	s'	b	r	s'ābər	
s'ādər	ML	2 sword-hilt	NO	1ā2ə3	Sg.	F	s'	d	r	s'ādər/s'ədawr	
s'āhən	ML	2 dish	NO	1ā2ə3	Sg.	?	s'	h	n	s'āhən	
s'āhər	ML	2 brand	NO	1ā2ə3	Sg.	?	s'	h	r	s'āhər/məs'awhər	
s'āk'ər	ML	2 falcon	NO	1ā2ə3	Sg.	?	s'	k'	r	s'āk'ər/s'ək'ōwər	
s'āwər	ML	2 stone, rock	NO	1ā2ə3	Sg.	?	s'	w	r	s'āwər/s'əwayr	
s'ār	ML	4 gazelle	NO	1ā3	Sg.	?	s'	ʕ	r	s'ār/s'ayr	
s'aybəχ	ML	3 a kind of stinging bug	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	s'	b	χ	s'aybəχ/s'əbōwəχ	
s'ayrəb	ML	3 late autumn	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	s'	r	b	s'ayrəb	
s'ayrəf	ML	3 being economical, going easy wi	NO	1ay2ə3	Sg.	?	s'	r	f	s'ayrəf	
s'ayʁət	ML	13 ornament (gold, silver), jeweller	NO	1ay3ət	Sg.	?	s'	w	ʁ	s'ayʁət	
s'āyər	ML	the Say'ar tribe	NO	1āyə3	Sg.	?	s'	ʕ	r	s'āyər	
s'əbb	ML	4 perpendicular cut, brand, mark	NO	1ə22	Sg.	?	s'	b	b	s'əbb	
s'əhhāt	ML	13 health	NO	1ə22āt	Sg.	?	s'	h	h	s'əhhāt	
s'ərrayt	ML	13 animal hard to milk because of ti	NO	1ə22ayt	Sg.	?	s'	r	r	s'ərrayt/s'ərrawtən	
s'əbhay	ML	11 morning, matutinal	NO	1ə23ay	Sg.	?	s'	b	h	s'əbhay	
s'ərbay	ML	11 being, travelling in the late autur	NO	1ə23ay	Sg.	?	s'	r	b	s'ərbay/s'ərbō	
s'əmrēt	ML	13 deafening noise	NO	1ə23ēt	Sg.	?	s'	m	r	s'əmrēt	
s'əfrīr	ML	14 flower	NO	1ə23ī3	Sg.	?	s'	f	r	s'əfrīr/s'əfrōr	
s'əlwīl	ML	14 ravine	NO	1ə23ī4	Sg.	?	s'	l	v	l	s'əlwīl/s'əlwōl
s'əhlīt	ML	13 basin	NO	1ə23īt	Sg.	?	s'	h	l	s'əhlīt/s'əhātən	
s'əʁāfēt	ML	13 leaf	NO	1ə2ā4ēt	Sg.	?	s'	ʁ	l	f	s'əʁāfēt/s'əʁāf
s'ənāt	ML	13 way of doing st.	NO	1ə2āt	Sg.	?	s'	n	ʕ	s'ənāt	
s'ət'ayt'	ML	6 pain	NO	1ə2ay2	Sg.	?	s'	t'	t'	s'ət'ayt'	
s'əlayt'	ML	6 hair-oil	NO	1ə2ay3	Sg.	?	s'	l	t'	s'əlayt'	
s'əmayl	ML	6 big club, big strong fellow	NO	1ə2ay3	Sg.	?	s'	m	l	s'əmayl	
s'əlayt	ML	13 bald spot, baldness, crown of the	NO	1ə2ayt	Sg.	?	s'	l	ʕ	s'əlayt	
s'əfēf	ML	5 (poet.) century	NO	1ə2ē2	Sg.	?	s'	f	f	s'əfēf	
s'ədər	ML	2 stem, bow, prow (of a ship)	NO	1ē2ə3	Sg.	?	s'	d	r	s'ədər/əs'dawr	
s'əfēr	ML	5 Safar, the sixth month	NO	1ə2ē3	Sg.	?	s'	f	r	s'əfēr	
s'əlēb	ML	5 fruit of aws'awf bush: this is sml	NO	1ə2ē3	Sg.	?	s'	l	b	s'əlēb	
s'əlēh	ML	5 fatness, stoutness	NO	1ə2ē3	Sg.	?	s'	l	h	s'əlēh	

s'ərēd	ML	5 oil lamp, light	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	s'	r	d		s'ərēd
s'əfəlhōt	ML	14 abalone (mollusc)	NO	lə2ə34ōt	Sg.	?	s'	f	l	h	s'əfəlhōt/s'əfōləh
s'əbēkət	ML	13 indigo-dyed dress worn by Mehr	NO	lə2ē3ət	Sg.	?	s'	b	ɤ		s'əbēkət/s'əbōyək
s'əfəriyət	ML	pan, cooking pot	NO	lə2ə3i'yət	Sg.	?	s'	f	r		s'əfəriyət/s'əfōri
s'əmīr	ML	5 flowering bud of the samr-tree	NO	lə2i3	Sg.	?	s'	m	r		s'əmīr
s'əlōt	ML	13 Salalah	NO	lə2ōt	Sg.	?	s'	l	l		s'əlōt
s'əlōt	ML	13 prayer	NO	lə2ōt	Sg.	?	s'	l	v		s'əlōt
s'əwfayn	ML	14 dead nit	NO	ləw3ayn	Sg.	?	s'	l	f		s'əwfayn/s'əwfōn
s'əwfōt	ML	13 st. seen from far away	NO	ləw3ōt	Sg.	?	s'	l	f		s'əwfōt
s'ōbē'hən	ML	14 time just before dawn, about 3 a.	NO	lō2ē'3ən	Sg.	?	s'	b	h		s'ōbē'hən
s'ōt'ər	ML	2 big date-basket	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	s'	t'	r		s'ōt'ər/s'ət'ōwər
s'ōnəw?	ML	2 ear-wax	NO	lō2əw?	Sg.	?	s'	n	v		s'ōnəw?
s'ōyəm	ML	2 fasting	NO	lōyə3	Sg.	?	s'	w	m		s'ōyəm
s'ōyək	ML	2 goldsmith, silversmith, jeweller	NO	lōyə3	Sg.	?	s'	w	ɤ		s'ōyək
əs'yīf	ML	5 one who walks with outturned to	NO	əl2i3	Sg.	?	s'	y	f		əs'yīf
has'bēb	ML	clever, active, quick, smart	NO	həl2ē2	Sg.	?	s'	b	b		has'bēb
həs'bəhawt	ML	13 being in the morning	NO	həl2ə3awt	Sg.	?	s'	b	h		həs'bəhawt
həs'ərdūt	ML	13 putting on (a light, lamp, etc.)	NO	hələ23ūt	Sg.	?	s'	r	d		həs'ərdūt
həws'əbūt	ML	13 hitting (with a bullet, etc.)	NO	həw1ə3ūt	Sg.	?	s'	w	b		həws'əbūt
mas'hər	ML	7 branding-iron	NO	məl2ə3	Sg.	?	s'	h	r		mas'hər/məs'awhər
məs'hāf	ML	7 pure, us. virgo intacta	NO	məl2ā3	Sg.	?	s'	h	f		məs'hāf/məs'hafōn
məs'rāb	ML	7 saw-edged knife used (by women)	NO	məl2ā3	Sg.	?	s'	r	b		məs'rāb/məs'awrəb
məs'rawf	ML	7 rations, supplies, necessities	NO	məl2aw3	Sg.	?	s'	r	f		məs'rawf/məs'awrəf
məs'fēt	ML	13 raspberry, rude sound made with	NO	məl2ēt	Sg.	?	s'	f	ɟ		məs'fēt
məs'fif	ML	7 unswen (hem)	NO	məl2i2	Sg.	?	s'	f	f		məs'fif
məs'wīb	ML	7 wounded	NO	məl2i3	Sg.	?	s'	w	b		məs'wīb/məs'wōb
məs'ībəh	ML	disaster	NO	məl1i3əh	Sg.	?	s'	w	b		məs'ībəh/məs'ōyəb
šəws'əbūt	ML	13 to be accidentMLy wounded, hit	NO	šəw1ə3ūt	Sg.	?	s'	w	b		šəws'əbūt
s'abrət	ML	13 patient	YES	1a23ət	Sg.	F	s'	b	r		s'ōbər, s'abrət/s'əbray?, s'əbrōt
s'āfər	ML	2 brass, yellow, green	YES	lā2ə3	Sg.	NA	s'	f	r		s'āfər
s'afyət	ML	13 pure, clear	YES	1a2yət	Sg.	F	s'	f	v		s'ōfi, s'afyət/s'əfyay, s'əfyōt
s'ayləh	ML	6 fat	YES	1ay2ə3	Sg.	M	s'	l	h		s'ayləh, s'əlhayt
səhh	ML	4 alive, awake, healthy	YES	lə22	Sg.	M	s'	h	h		səh, səhhayt/s'əhwēh, s'əhhawtən
səhhayt	ML	13 alive, awake, healthy	YES	lə22ayt	Sg.	F	s'	h	h		səh, səhhayt/s'əhwēh, s'əhhawtən

s'əlhayt	ML	13 fat	YES	lə23ayt	Sg.	F	s'	l	h	s'ayləh, s'əlhayt
s'əhwēw	ML	14 cream-coloured, creamy-white, f	YES	lə23ē3	Sg.	M	s'	h/h	v	s'əhwēw/s'əhəww, s'əhawtən
s'ənwīt	ML	13 deaf	YES	lə23īt	Sg.	F	s'	n	v	s'ənēw, s'ənwīt/s'ənwōw, s'ənwawtən
s'əlayt	ML	13 thin or bald on top	YES	lə2ayt	Sg.	F	s'	l	ʕ	s'əlē, s'əlayt/s'əlwē, s'əlawtən
s'ənēw	ML	5 deaf	YES	lə2ē3	Sg.	M	s'	n	v	s'ənēw, s'ənwīt/s'ənwōw, s'ənwawtən
s'əlē	ML	5 thin or bald on top	YES	lə2ē	Sg.	M	s'	l	ʕ	s'əlē, s'əlayt/s'əlwē, s'əlawtən
s'ōbər	ML	2 patient	YES	lō2ə3	Sg.	M	s'	b	r	s'ōbər, s'abrət/s'əbrayʔ, s'əbrōt
s'ōfi	ML	2 pure, clear	YES	lō2i	Sg.	M	s'	f	v	s'ōfi, s'afyət/s'əfyay, s'əfyōt
s'ayr	ML	4 gazelle	NO	lay3	Pl.		s'	ʕ	r	s'ār/s'ayr
s'ərrawtən	ML	12 animal hard to milk because of ti	NO	lə22awtən	Pl.		s'	r	r	s'ərrayt/s'ərrawtən
s'əyyōd	ML	14 fishermen	NO	lə22ō3	Pl.		s'	y	d	s'əyyōd
s'ərbō	ML	11 being, travelling in the late autur	NO	lə23ō	Pl.		s'	r	b	s'ərbay/s'ərbō
s'əfrōr	ML	14 flower	NO	lə23ō3	Pl.		s'	f	r	s'əfrīr/s'əfrōr
s'əlwōl	ML	14 ravine	NO	lə23ō4	Pl.		s'	l	v l	s'əlwīl/s'əlwōl
s'əʕāf	ML	14 leaf	NO	lə2ā4	Pl.		s'	ʕ	l f	s'əʕāfēt/s'əʕāf
s'əhātən	ML	12 basin	NO	lə2ātən	Pl.		s'	h	l	s'əhlīt/s'əhātən
s'ədawr	ML	6 sword-hilt	NO	lə2aw3	Pl.		s'	d	r	s'ādər/s'ədawr
s'ərawf	ML	6 sheath	NO	lə2aw3	Pl.		s'	r	f	s'arf/s'ərawf
s'əwayr	ML	6 stone, rock	NO	lə2ay3	Pl.		s'	w	r	s'āwər/s'əwayr
s'əwētət	ML	13 voice, sound (of an animal)	NO	lə2ē3ət	Pl.		s'	w	t	s'awt/s'əwētət
s'əfōləh	ML	14 abalone (mollusc)	NO	lə2ō3ə4	Pl.		s'	f	l h	s'əfəlhōt/s'əfōləh
s'əfōri	ML	14 pan, cooking pot	NO	lə2ō3i	Pl.		s'	f	r	s'əfəriyət/s'əfōri
s'əfōt	ML	13 news, information, knowledge	NO	lə2ōt	Pl.		s'	f	v	s'əfōt
s'əbōwəχ	ML	8 a kind of stinging bug	NO	lə2ōwə3	Pl.		s'	b	χ	s'aybəχ/s'əbōwəχ
s'ək'ōwər	ML	8 falcon	NO	lə2ōwə3	Pl.		s'	k'	r	s'āk'ər/s'ək'ōwər
s'ət'ōwər	ML	8 big date-basket	NO	lə2ōwə3	Pl.		s'	t'	r	s'ōt'ər/s'ət'ōwər
s'əbōyək	ML	8 indigo-dyed dress worn by Mehr	NO	lə2ōyə3	Pl.		s'	b	ʕ	s'əbēʕət/s'əbōyək
s'əwfōn	ML	14 dead nit	NO	ləw3ōn	Pl.		s'	l	f	s'əwfayn/s'əwfōn
s'ṯh	ML	4 voice, sound	NO	lṯ3	Pl.		s'	y	h	s'ayh/s'ṯh
əs'dawr	ML	6 stem, bow, prow (of a ship)	NO	əl2aw3	Pl.		s'	d	r	s'ēdər/əs'dawr
məs'haftən	ML	12 pure, us. virgo intacta	NO	məl2a3tən	Pl.		s'	h	f	məs'hāf/məs'haftən
məs'wōb	ML	7 wounded	NO	məl2ō3	Pl.		s'	w	b	məs'wīb/məs'wōb
məs'awhər	ML	7 brand	NO	məlaw2ə3	Pl.		s'	h	r	s'āhər/məs'awhər
məs'awhər	ML	7 branding-iron	NO	məlaw2ə3	Pl.		s'	h	r	mas'hər/məs'awhər

məs'awrəb	ML	7 saw-edged knife used (by women)	NO	məlaw2ə3	Pl.	s'	r	b	məs'rāb/məs'awrəb		
məs'awrəf	ML	7 rations, supplies, necessities	NO	məlaw2ə3	Pl.	s'	r	f	məs'rawf/məs'awrəf		
məs'ōyəb	ML	7 disaster	NO	məlōyə3	Pl.	s'	w	b	məs'ībəh/məs'ōyəb		
s'əhhawtən	ML	12 alive, awake, healthy	YES	lə22awtən	Pl.	F	s'	h	h	səh, səhhayt/s'əhwēh, s'əhhawtən	
s'əbray?	ML	14 patient	YES	lə23ay?	Pl.	M	s'	b	r	s'ōbər, s'abrət/s'əbray?, s'əbrōt	
s'əbrōt	ML	13 patient	YES	lə23ōt	Pl.	F	s'	b	r	s'ōbər, s'abrət/s'əbray?, s'əbrōt	
s'əhawtən	ML	12 cream-coloured, creamy-white, f	YES	lə2awtən	Pl.	F	s'	h/h	v	s'əhwēw/s'əhəww, s'əhawtən	
s'əhəww	ML	14 cream-coloured, creamy-white, f	YES	lə2ə33	Pl.	M	s'	h/h	v	s'əhwēw/s'əhəww, s'əhawtən	
s'ənawwtən	ML	12 deaf	YES	lə2awwtən	Pl.	F	s'	n	v	s'ənēw, s'ənwīt/s'ənwōw, s'ənawwtən	
s'əhwēh	ML	10 alive, awake, healthy	YES	lə2wē2	Pl.	M	s'	h	h	səh, səhhayt/s'əhwēh, s'əhhawtən	
s'əlwē	ML	10 thin or bald on top	YES	lə2wē	Pl.	M	s'	l	ʕ	s'əlē, s'əlayt/s'əlwē, s'əlawtən	
s'ənwōw	ML	10 deaf	YES	lə2wōw	Pl.	M	s'	n	v	s'ənēw, s'ənwīt/s'ənwōw, s'ənawwtən	
s'əfyay	ML	10 pure, clear	YES	lə2yay	Pl.	M	s'	f	v	s'ōfi, s'afyət/s'əfyay, s'əfyōt	
s'əfyōt	ML	13 pure, clear	YES	lə2yōt	Pl.	F	s'	f	v	s'ōfi, s'afyət/s'əfyay, s'əfyōt	
š'əffay	ML	14 elbow	NO	lə22a3 (lə22ay)	Sg.	?	š'	f	v	š'əffay/s'əfōf, š'əfawwət, š'əffūtən	
š'əfdēt	ML	13 frog	NO	lə23ēt	Sg.	?	š'	f	d	š'əfdēt/s'əfadtən	
š'ənayf	ML	14 corner	NO	lə2ay4	Sg.	?	š'	n	ʕ	f	š'ənayf
š'əba?	ML	finger	NO	lə2a?	Sg.	?	š'	b	ʕ	š'əba?/š'āba?	
š'əfərīt	ML	13 joking but vulgar gesture	NO	lə2ə3īt	Sg.	?	š'	f	r	š'əfərīt/s'əfōrər	
š'āba?	ML	4 finger	NO	lā2a?	Pl.		š'	b	ʕ	š'əba?/š'āba?	
š'əffūtən	ML	13 elbow	NO	lə22ūtən	Pl.		š'	f	v	š'əffay/s'əfōf, š'əfawwət, š'əffūtən	
š'əfadtən	ML	12 frog	NO	lə2a3tən	Pl.		š'	f	d	š'əfdēt/s'əfadtən	
š'əfawwət	ML	13 elbow	NO	lə2awwət	Pl.		š'	f	v	š'əffay/s'əfōf, š'əfawwət, š'əffūtən	
š'əfōf	ML	5 elbow	NO	lə2ō2	Pl.		š'	f	v	š'əffay/s'əfōf, š'əfawwət, š'əffūtən	
š'əfōrər	ML	14 joking but vulgar gesture	NO	lə2ō3ə3	Pl.		š'	f	r	š'əfərīt/s'əfōrər	
trīk	ML	5 pressure lamp	NO	l2ī3	Sg.	?	t	r	k	trīk	
tlūt	ML	13 regretting, being sorry, repent	NO	l2ūt	Sg.	?	t	l	v	tlūt	
tayh	ML	4 (fully grown) m. goat	NO	lā23 (lāy3)	Sg.	M	t	y	h	tayh/təyāh	
taywi	ML	3 meat	NO	lāywi	Sg.	?	t	w	v	taywi	
tə'nk'ət	ML	13 freckle	NO	lə'23ət	Sg.	?	t	n	k'	tə'nk'ət/tənk'āt	
tənnawr	ML	14 oven	NO	lə22aw3	Sg.	?	t	n	r	tənnawr/tənnawrət	
tərk'āl'	ML	14 spotted goat, male or female	NO	lə23ā4	Sg.	M/F	t	r	k'	l'	tərk'āl'/tərk'əl'
təflayθ	ML	14 new-born camel but to a bereave	NO	lə23ay4	Sg.	?	t	f	l	θ	təflayθ
tənθēt	ML	13 kind of bush	NO	lə23ēt	Sg.	?	t	n	θ	tənθēt/tənaθtən	

tək'šē	ML	14 club	NO	lə23ē	Sg.	?	t	k'	š	ʔ	tək'šē/tək'awša
təbrīk'	ML	14 parti-coloured sheep	NO	lə23ī4	Sg.	?	t	b	r	k'	təbrīk'/təbōrək'
təhmīt	ML	13 thinking, imagining	NO	lə23īt	Sg.	?	t	h	m		təhmīt
təmrit	ML	13 ear lobe, ear-ring, pendant, jewel	NO	lə23īt	Sg.	?	t	m	r		təmrit/təmartən
təmbōku	ML	tobacco	NO	lə23ō4u	Sg.	?	t	m	b	k w	təmbōku
təwālōt	ML	13 worm	NO	lə2ā4ōt	Sg.	?	t	w	ʕ	l	təwālōt/təwāl
təhawr	ML	6 (poet.) good sense	NO	lə2aw3	Sg.	?	t	h	r		təhawr
tənēg	ML	5 smoke, ash of incense used to bk	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	t	n	g		tənēg
təmərēt	ML	13 date	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	t	m	r		təmərēt/təmartən
tələfōn	ML	14 telephone	NO	lə2ə3ō4	Sg.	?	t	l	f	n	tələfōn
təbəlōt	ML	13 uvula, tonsil(s), tonsillitis	NO	lə2ə3ōt	Sg.	?	t	b	l	ʕ	təbəlōt/təbōla
təlēt	ML	13 nipple	NO	lə2ēt	Sg.	?	t	l	ʕ		təlōt, təlēt/təlawtən
təmōm	ML	5 completeness, completely	NO	lə2ō2	Sg.	?	t	m	m		təmōm
təgōrət	ML	13 trade, business	NO	lə2ō3ət	Sg.	?	t	g	r		təgōrət
təlōt	ML	13 nipple	NO	lə2ōt	Sg.	?	t	l	ʕ		təlōt, təlēt/təlawtən
təfyōl	ML	8 spit, saliva	NO	lə2yō3	Sg.	?	t	f	l		təfyōl
təʔēb	ML	5 weak (people)	NO	ləʔē3	Sg.	?	t	ʕ	b		təʔēb
tōnəg	ML	2 applying black to the eyes or gur	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	t	n	g		tōnəg
tōbəh	ML	repentance	NO	lō3əh	Sg.	?	t	w	b		tōbəh
mətwē	ML	7 green fodder, pasture, diet	NO	məl2ē	Sg.	F	t	w	v		mətwē
məthīm	ML	7 accused	NO	məl2ī3	Sg.	?	t	h	m		məthīm
tōgər	ML	2 rich, merchant	YES	lō2ə3	Sg.	M	t	g	r		tōgər/təgēr, təgərēt
mətalli	ML	14 second, another, last, following	YES	məl a22i	Sg.	M	t	l	v		mətalli, mətalyət/mətəlyōt
mətalyət	ML	13 second, another, last, following	YES	məl a2yət	Sg.	F	t	l	v		mətalli, mətalyət/mətəlyōt
tənnawrət	ML	13 oven	NO	lə22aw3ət	Pl.		t	n	r		tənnawr/tənnawrət
tənk'āt	ML	13 freckle	NO	lə23āt	Pl.		t	n	k'		tə'nk'ət/tənk'āt
təyāh	ML	5 (fully grown) m. goat	NO	lə2ā3	Pl.		t	y	h		tayh/təyāh
təmartən	ML	12 date	NO	lə2a3tən	Pl.		t	m	r		təmərēt/təmartən
təmartən	ML	12 ear-lobe, ear-ring, pendant, jewel	NO	lə2a3tən	Pl.		t	m	r		təmrit/təmartən
tənaθtən	ML	12 kind of bush	NO	lə2a3tən	Pl.		t	n	θ		tənθēt/tənaθtən
təwāl	ML	14 worm	NO	lə2ā4	Pl.		t	w	ʕ	l	təwālōt/təwāl
tək'awša	ML	14 club	NO	lə2aw3a	Pl.		t	k'	š	ʔ	tək'šē/tək'awša
təlawtən	ML	12 nipple	NO	lə2awtən	Pl.		t	l	ʕ		təlōt, təlēt/təlawtən
təbōla	ML	14 uvula, tonsil(s), tonsillitis	NO	lə2ō3a	Pl.		t	b	l	ʕ	təbəlōt/təbōla

təbōrəkʰ	ML	14 parti-coloured sheep	NO	lə2ō3ə4	Pl.	t	b	r	kʰ	təbrīkʰ/təbōrəkʰ
tərōkʰəlʰ	ML	14 spotted goat, male or female	NO	lə2ō3ə4	Pl.	t	r	kʰ	lʰ	tərəkʰəlʰ/tərōkʰəlʰ
təgēr	ML	5 rich, merchant	YES	lə2ē3	Pl. M	t	g	r		tōgər/təgēr, təgərēt
təgərēt	ML	13 rich, merchant	YES	lə2ə3ēt	Pl. ?	t	g	r		tōgər/təgēr, təgərēt
mətəlyōt	ML	13 second, another, last, later, follow	YES	mələ2yōt	Pl. F	t	l	v		mətalli, mətalyət/mətəlyōt
tʰML	ML	4 dew	NO	lə22	Sg. ?	tʰ	l	l		tʰML
tʰalʰ	ML	4 light rain, shower	NO	lə22	Sg. ?	tʰ	l	l		tʰalʰ/tʰəlōwəl
tʰafh	ML	4 mountain side	NO	lə23	Sg. ?	tʰ	f	h		tʰafh/tʰifēh
tʰahs	ML	4 slipping, stumbling	NO	lə23	Sg. ?	tʰ	h	s		tʰahs
tʰalh	ML	4 name of a kind of acacia	NO	lə23	Sg. ?	tʰ	l	h		tʰalh/tʰəlōwəh
tʰawr	ML	4 time, turn,	NO	lə23 (ləw3)	Sg. ?	tʰ	w	r		tʰawr/tʰəwōr
tʰayf	ML	4 aloes, myrrh, bitterness (often used)	NO	lə23 (ləy3)	Sg. ?	tʰ	y	f		tʰayf
tʰaykʰ	ML	4 wild fig tree	NO	lə23 (ləy3)	Sg. ?	tʰ	y	kʰ		tʰaykʰ/tʰəyēkʰ
tʰayn	ML	4 clay, soil	NO	lə23 (ləy3)	Sg. ?	tʰ	y	n		tʰayn/tʰəyawnət
tʰāba	ML	2 manners	NO	lā2a	Sg. ?	tʰ	b	ʕ		tʰāba
tʰābəl	ML	2 drum	NO	lā2ə3	Sg. ?	tʰ	b	l		tʰābəl/tʰābōwəl
tʰāfəl	ML	2 infant	NO	lā2ə3	Sg. ?	tʰ	f	l		tʰāfəl
tʰaywi	ML	3 to come, visit at night, to wrap (to)	NO	ləy2i	Sg. ?	tʰ	w	v		tʰaywi
tʰəbbāl	ML	14 drummer	NO	lə22ā3	Sg. ?	tʰ	b	l		tʰəbbāl
tʰəlhaym	ML	14 spleen	NO	lə23ay4	Sg. ?	tʰ	l	h	m	tʰəlhaym
tʰərnīkʰ	ML	14 name of a fish	NO	lə23i4	Sg. ?	tʰ	r	n	kʰ	tʰərnīkʰ
tʰəkʰaykʰ	ML	6 fine flour	NO	lə2ay2	Sg. ?	tʰ	kʰ	kʰ		tʰəkʰaykʰ
tʰəʕaym	ML	6 eating, tasting, trying	NO	lə2ay3	Sg. ?	tʰ	ʕ	m		tʰəʕaym
tʰəhayn	ML	6 fine, fine ground	NO	lə2ay3	Sg. ?	tʰ	h	n		tʰəhayn
tʰəmāʔ	ML	5 treasure, also a proper noun (word)	NO	lə2āʔ	Sg. ?	tʰ	m	ʕ		tʰəmāʔ
tʰəlēb	ML	5 request	NO	lə2ē3	Sg. ?	tʰ	l	b		tʰəlēb
tʰəlēkʰ	ML	5 long (in the neck)	NO	lə2ē3	Sg. ?	tʰ	l	kʰ		tʰəlēkʰ
tʰənēkʰ	ML	5 style, character	NO	lə2ē3	Sg. ?	tʰ	n	kʰ		tʰənēkʰ
tʰərəf	ML	5 side	NO	lə2ē3	Sg. ?	tʰ	r	f		tʰərəf/tʰərəwəf
tʰəhəkʰayn	ML	14 being smooth	NO	lə2ə3ayn	Sg. ?	tʰ	h	kʰ		tʰəhəkʰayn
tʰəlīfūt	ML	14 skin on boiled milk	NO	lə2i3ūt	Sg. ?	tʰ	l	f		tʰəlīfūt/tʰələftən
tʰəhōb	ML	5 herd (of about 100 camels)	NO	lə2ō3	Sg. ?	tʰ	h	b		tʰəhōb
tʰəyōb	ML	5 goodness	NO	lə2ō3	Sg. ?	tʰ	y	b		tʰəyōb
tʰəʔēm	ML	5 food	NO	ləʔē3	Sg. ?	tʰ	ʕ	m		tʰəʔēm

t'əʔēn	ML	5 thrusting at oa.	NO	ləʔē3	Sg.	?	t'	ʃ	n	t'əʔēn
t'ōr	ML	5 clay for making pottery	NO	lō3	Sg.	?	t'	ʃ	r	t'ōr
t'ōb	ML	16 tree whose leaves are used to tan	NO	lō3	Sg.	?	t'	w	b	t'ōb
t'ōl	ML	16 length	NO	lō3	Sg.	?	t'	w	l	t'ōl
t'ōfān	ML	17 flood	NO	lō3ān	Sg.	?	t'	w	f (n?)	t'ōfān
mət'bāχ	ML	7 kitchen, ship's gMLey, stove	NO	məl2ā3	Sg.	?	t'	b	χ	mət'bāχ
mət'lawb	ML	7 aim, desire	NO	məl2aw3	Sg.	?	t'	l	b	mət'lawb
mət'lēk'	ML	7 harbour	NO	məl2ē3	Sg.	?	t'	l	k'	mət'lēk'
mət'hənēt	ML	13 grind-stone, quern	NO	məl2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	t'	h	n	mət'hənēt
mət'bəlōt	ML	13 hot stones put under and on to d	NO	məl2ə3ōt	Sg.	?	t'	b	l	mət'bəlōt/mət'ōbəl
mət'hōs	ML	7 slippery place	NO	məl2ō3	Sg.	?	t'	h	s	mət'hōs
mət'ak'k'	ML	7 pestle and mortar	NO	məl1a22	Sg.	?	t'	k'	k'	mət'ak'k'/mət'awk'ət
mət'awwaʔ	ML	14 pious, learned man, medicine mā	NO	məl1a22aʔ	Sg.	?	t'	w	ʃ	mət'awwaʔ/mət'əwwəʃayn
tət'rayf	ML	15 laying aside	NO	təl2ay3	Sg.	?	t'	r	f	tət'rayf
tət'wayh	ML	15 swing	NO	təl2ay3	Sg.	?	t'	w	h	tət'wayh
tət'yayb	ML	15 giving so. enough of st.	NO	təl2ay3	Sg.	?	t'	y	b	tət'yayb
tət'yayf	ML	15 collecting aloes	NO	təl2ay3	Sg.	?	t'	y	f	tət'yayf
t'əfays	ML	6 person of low habits, bad morals	YES	lə2ay3	Sg.	M	t'	f	s	t'əfays, t'əfə'st/t'īfōs, t'īfastən
t'əhayr	ML	6 (ritually) clean, pure, virtuous	YES	lə2ay3	Sg.	M	t'	h	r	t'əhayr, t'əhayrət/t'īhōr, t'īhartən
t'əwayl	ML	6 long	YES	lə2ay3	Sg.	M	t'	w	l	t'əwayl, t'əwaylət/t'īwōl, t'īwētən
t'əhayrət	ML	13 (ritually) clean, pure, virtuous	YES	lə2ay3ət	Sg.	F	t'	h	r	t'əhayr, t'əhayrət/t'īhōr, t'īhartən
t'əwaylət	ML	13 long	YES	lə2ay3ət	Sg.	F	t'	w	l	t'əwayl, t'əwaylət/t'īwōl, t'īwētən
t'ərayyət	ML	13 wet, damp, fresh	YES	lə2ayyət	Sg.	F	t'	r	ʔ	t'ərayʔ, t'ərayyət/t'īrōy, t'īraytən
t'ərayʔ	ML	6 wet, damp, fresh	YES	lə2ayʔ	Sg.	M	t'	r	ʔ	t'ərayʔ, t'ərayyət/t'īrōy, t'īraytən
t'əfə'st	ML	13 person of low habits, bad morals	YES	lə2ə'3t	Sg.	F	t'	f	s	t'əfays, t'əfə'st/t'īfōs, t'īfastən
t'əhēk'	ML	5 smooth	YES	lə2ē3	Sg.	M	t'	h	k'	t'əhēk'
t'əwfif	ML	14 flat	YES	ləw3ī3	Sg.	NA	t'	l	f	t'əwfif/t'əlōfəf
mət'k'ayk'	ML	7 pounded	YES	məl2ay2	Sg.	?	t'	k'	k'	mət'k'ayk'
t'əlaftən	ML	12 skin on boiled milk	NO	lə2a3tən	Pl.		t'	l	f	t'əlīfūt/t'əlaftən
t'əyawnət	ML	13 clay, soil	NO	lə2aw3ət	Pl.		t'	y	n	t'ayn/t'əyawnət
t'əyēk'	ML	5 wild fig tree	NO	lə2ē3	Pl.		t'	y	k'	t'ayk'/t'əyēk'
t'əwōr	ML	5 time, turn	NO	lə2ō3	Pl.		t'	w	r	t'awr/t'əwōr
t'əlōwəl	ML	8 light rain, shower	NO	lə2ōwə2	Pl.		t'	l	l	t'alh/t'əlōwəl
t'əbōwəl	ML	8 drum	NO	lə2ōwə3	Pl.		t'	b	l	t'ābəl/t'əbōwəl

t'əlōwəh	ML	8 name of a kind of acacia	NO	lə2ōwə3	Pl.	t'	l	h	t'alh/t'əlōwəh	
t'ərōwəf	ML	8 side	NO	lə2ōwə3	Pl.	t'	r	f	t'ərēf/t'ərōwəf	
t'īfēh	ML	10 mountain side	NO	lī2ē3	Pl.	t'	f	h	t'afh/t'īfēh	
mət'awk'ət	ML	13 pestle and mortar	NO	mə1aw2ət	Pl.	t'	k'	k'	mət'ak'k'/mət'awk'ət	
mət'əwwəʃayn	ML	pious, learned man, medicine mā	NO	mə1ə22ə3ayn	Pl.	t'	w	ʃ	mət'awwaʃ/mət'əwwəʃayn	
mət'ōbəl	ML	7 hot stones put under and on to d	NO	mə1ō2ə3	Pl.	t'	b	l	mət'bəlōt/mət'ōbəl	
mət'ōyək'	ML	7 heavy silver bracelet	NO	mə1ō2ə3	Pl.	t'	y	k'	mət'ōyək'	
t'əlōfəf	ML	14 flat	YES	lə2ō3ə3	Pl.	NA	t'	l	f	t'əwff/t'əlōfəf
t'īfastən	ML	13 person of low habits, bad morals	YES	lī2a3tən	Pl.	F	t'	f	s	t'əfays, t'əfə'st/t'īfōs, t'īfastən
t'īhartən	ML	13 (ritually) clean, pure, virtuous	YES	lī2a3tən	Pl.	F	t'	h	r	t'əhayr, t'əhayrət/t'īhōr, t'īhartən
t'īraytən	ML	13 wet, damp, fresh	YES	lī2aytən	Pl.	F	t'	r	ʔ	t'ərayʔ, t'ərayyət/t'īrōy, t'īraytən
t'īwētən	ML	12 long	YES	lī2ētən	Pl.	F	t'	w	l	t'əwayl, t'əwaylət/t'īwōl, t'īwētən
t'īfōs	ML	10 person of low habits, bad morals	YES	lī2ō3	Pl.	M	t'	f	s	t'əfays, t'əfə'st/t'īfōs, t'īfastən
t'īhōr	ML	10 (ritually) clean, pure, virtuous	YES	lī2ō3	Pl.	M	t'	h	r	t'əhayr, t'əhayrət/t'īhōr, t'īhartən
t'īwōl	ML	10 long	YES	lī2ō3	Pl.	M	t'	w	l	t'əwayl, t'əwaylət/t'īwōl, t'īwētən
t'īrōy	ML	10 wet, damp, fresh	YES	lī2ōy	Pl.	M	t'	r	ʔ	t'ərayʔ, t'ərayyət/t'īrōy, t'īraytən
wagh	ML	4 face, protection, safe conduct	NO	1a23	Sg.	ʔ	w	g	h	wagh/wəgēh
wakt	ML	4 heat of the night	NO	1a23	Sg.	ʔ	w	k	t	wakt
wak't	ML	4 time	NO	1a23	Sg.	ʔ	w	k'	t	wak't
warθ	ML	4 inheritance	NO	1a23	Sg.	ʔ	w	r	θ	warθ, werθ
warχ	ML	4 month	NO	1a23	Sg.	M	w	r	χ	warχ/wōrəχ
was'f	ML	4 description	NO	1a23	Sg.	ʔ	w	s'	f	was'f
wal'h	ML	4 time(s) per day	NO	1a23	Sg.	ʔ	w	l'	h	wal'h/wəl'āh
wāyər	ML	2 wire	NO	lā2ə3	Sg.	ʔ	w	y	r	wāyər
wār	ML	4 yard	NO	lā3	Sg.	ʔ	w	ʔ	r	wār
wə'hnət	ML	13 shoulder blade, back of the shou	NO	lə'23ət	Sg.	ʔ	w	h	n	wə'hnət/wəhōyən
wərk'āt	ML	13 paper, sheet of paper	NO	lə23āt	Sg.	ʔ	w	r	k'	wərk'āt/wərēk'
wəgnēt	ML	13 cheek-bone	NO	lə23ēt	Sg.	ʔ	w	g	n	wəgnēt
wərkīt	ML	13 hip, hip-bone and flesh	NO	lə23īt	Sg.	ʔ	w	r	k	wərkīt/wərə'ktən
wəzār	ML	5 waistcloth	NO	lə2ā3	Sg.	ʔ	w	z	r	wəzār
wəlay	ML	5 saint	NO	lə2a3 (1ə2ay)	Sg.	ʔ	w	l	v	wəlay/əwləyē, wləyēʔ
wəs'awf	ML	6 tree name	NO	lə2aw3	Sg.	ʔ	w	s'	f	wəs'awf
wəkayl	ML	6 agent	NO	lə2ay3	Sg.	ʔ	w	k	l	wəkayl
wəlayf	ML	6 companion	NO	lə2ay3	Sg.	ʔ	w	l	f	wəlayf/wəlōf

wərayθ	ML	6 inheritor	NO	lə2ay3	Sg.	?	w	r	θ	wərayθ/wərθē
wət'ayb	ML	6 red dyed leather of high quality	NO	lə2ay3	Sg.	?	w	t'	b	wət'ayb/wət'ōb
wəzayk	ML	6 groaning	NO	lə2ay3	Sg.	?	w	z	k	wəzayk
wəzayr	ML	6 minister, vizier	NO	lə2ay3	Sg.	?	w	z	r	wəzayr/wəzawrət
wēs'al	ML	2 arriving, reaching	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	?	w	s'	l	wēs'al
wēzən	ML	2 weight	NO	lē2ə3	Sg.	?	w	z	n	wēzən
wəlēd	ML	5 children, male or female	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	w	l	d	wəlēd
wəsēχ	ML	5 dirt	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	w	s	χ	wəsēχ
wəbəlīt	ML	13 name of a plant	NO	lə2ə3īt	Sg.	?	w	b	l	wəbəlīt
wəyē	ML	5 dish, container	NO	lə2ē	Sg.	?	w	y	Ǝ	wəyē
wədēt	ML	13 pledge	NO	lə2ēt	Sg.	?	w	d	Ǝ	wədēt
wēd	ML	4 place appointed for a meeting, p1	NO	lē3	Sg.	?	w	Ǝ	d	wēd/wēdīn, wēdūtən
wēl	ML	4 wa'l	NO	lē3	Sg.	?	w	Ǝ	l	wēl/wə?ōl, wəƎyōl
wōðəm	ML	2 fate, debt	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	w	ð	m	wōðəm
wōt'əb	ML	2 teat, nipple	NO	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	w	t'	b	wōt'əb
wōdi	ML	2 wadi	NO	lō2i	Sg.	F	w	d	v	wōdi/wday
wōn	ML	5 eye disease, conjunctivitis	NO	lō3	Sg.	?	w	Ǝ	n	wōn
kəbkēb	ML	14 entry (verbal noun of weku:b)	NO	2ə32ē3	Sg.	?	w	k	b	kəbkēb
kəbkēb	ML	14 to enter	NO	2ə32ē3	Sg.	?	w	k	b	kəbkēb
šənēt	ML	15 sleep	NO	2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	w	š	n	šənēt
gəsōt	ML	13 resin, gum	NO	2ə3ōt	Sg.	?	w	g	s	gəsōt/gəwastən
əwmēt	ML	13 fish-bait	NO	ə12ēt	Sg.	?	w	m		əwmēt
əwtəlmūt	ML	13 to be prepared (food)	NO	ə1tə23ūt	Sg.	?	w	l	m	əwtəlmūt
həwk'awt	ML	13 putting (down)	NO	hə12awt	Sg.	?	w	k'	Ǝ	həwk'awt
həwkəbay	ML	back udder	NO	hə12ə3ay	Sg.	?	w	k	b	həwkəbay/həwkōbi
həwgərūt	ML	13 giving a nursing child a drink	NO	hə12ə3ūt	Sg.	?	w	g	r	həwgərūt
həwgəlūt	ML	13 taking out (the beasts) in the late	NO	hə12ə3ūt	Sg.	?	w	g	l	həwgəlūt
həwrədūt	ML	13 taking (beasts) down to water	NO	hə12ə3ūt	Sg.	?	w	r	d	həwrədūt
həwlūt	ML	13 turning back, going back to	NO	hə12ūt	Sg.	?	w	l	v	həwlūt
həwzūt	ML	13 putting aside	NO	hə12ūt	Sg.	?	w	z	v	həwzūt
mawrəd	ML	7 watering-place	NO	ma12ə3	Sg.	?	w	r	d	mawrəd
mawrəm	ML	7 funnel (for pitch)	NO	ma12ə3	Sg.	?	w	r	m	mawrəm/mawrəmət
mawsəm	ML	7 trading boat that comes on the m	NO	ma12ə3	Sg.	?	w	s	m	mawsəm
məwχayf	ML	7 home	NO	mə12ay3	Sg.	?	w	χ	f	məwχayf

məwkəbēt	ML	13 floor-gravel	NO	mə12ə3ēt	Sg.	?	w	k	b	məwkəbēt
mēθīt	ML	13 dry cow droppings	NO	mē2īt	Sg.	?	w	θ	v	mēθīt
mīzōn	ML	16 balance, measure	NO	mī2ō3	Sg.	?	w	z	n	mīzōn
šəwhək'āt	ML	13 having hiccups	NO	šə12ə3āt	Sg.	?	w	h	k'	šəwhək'āt
šəwhək'awt	ML	13 hiccup	NO	šə12ə3awt	Sg.	?	w	h	k'	šəwhək'awt
šəwgəlūt	ML	13 going in the early evening (4-7P)	NO	šə12ə3ūt	Sg.	?	w	g	l	šəwgəlūt
šəwkəfūt	ML	13 sleeping	NO	šə12ə3ūt	Sg.	?	w	k	f	šəwkəfūt
šəwzūt	ML	13 bending back over	NO	šə12ūt	Sg.	?	w	z	v	šəwzūt
šəwēdēt	ML	13 making a rendezvous	NO	šə1ē3ēt	Sg.	?	w	ʕ	d	šəwēdēt
təwkəlēt	ML	15 entrusting with	NO	tə12ə3ēt	Sg.	?	w	k	l	təwkəlēt
təwōs'ōt	ML	15 giving o's dying instruction	NO	tə1ō3ōt	Sg.	?	w	s'	v	təwōs'ōt
wəfyət	ML	13 honest, faithful	YES	1a23ət	Sg.	F	w	f	v	wōfi, wəfyət
wəsxān	ML	14 dirty	YES	1ə23ān	Sg.	?	w	s	χ	wəsxān
wēt'a?	ML	2 flat, smooth, low, quiet	YES	1ē2a3 (1ē2a?)	Sg.	?	w	t'	?	wēt'a?
wəḏayḏ	ML	6 comfortable, pleasant (person)	YES	1ə2ay2	Sg.	?	w	ḏ	ḏ	wəḏayḏ
wəḥayd	ML	6 alone, solitarity	YES	1ə2ay3	Sg.	?	w	ḥ	d	wəḥayd
wēθək'	ML	2 firm, fixed	YES	1ē2ə3	Sg.	?	w	θ	k'	wēθək'
wət'yō	ML	8 inadequate (in amount), in poor c	YES	1ə2yō	Sg.	?	w	t'	?	wət'yō
wōgəb	ML	2 incumbent, necessary, fitting, de	YES	1ō2ə3	Sg.	?	w	g	b	wōgəb
wōfi	ML	2 honest, faithful	YES	1ō2i	Sg.	M	w	f	v	wōfi, wəfyət
məws'ayf	ML	7 fine-looking, famed, famous, inf:	YES	mə12ay3	Sg.	M	w	s'	f	məws'ayf, məws'əfūt
məws'əfūt	ML	13 fine-looking, famed, famous, inf:	YES	mə12ə3ūt	Sg.	F	w	s'	f	məws'ayf, məws'əfūt
wḏay	ML	6 wadi	NO	12ay (12a3)	Pl.		w	d	v	wōdi/wḏay
wləye?	ML	14 saint	NO	12ə3ε?	Pl.		w	l	v	wəlay/əwləyəē, wləye?
wəθē	ML	14 inheritor	NO	1ə23ē	Pl.		w	r	θ	wərayθ/wəθē
wəl'āh	ML	5 time(s) per day	NO	1ə2ā3	Pl.		w	l'	h	wəl'h/wəl'āh
wəzawrət	ML	13 minister, vizier	NO	1ə2aw3ət	Pl.		w	z	r	wəzayr/wəzawrət
wərə'ktən	ML	12 hip, hip-bone and flesh	NO	1ə2ə'3tən	Pl.		w	r	k	wərkīt/wərə'ktən
wəgēh	ML	5 face, protection, safe conduct	NO	1ə2ē3	Pl.		w	g	h	wagh/wəgēh
wərək'	ML	5 paper, sheet of paper	NO	1ə2ē3	Pl.		w	r	k'	wərk'āt/wərək'
wəlōf	ML	5 companion	NO	1ə2ō3	Pl.		w	l	f	wəlayf/wəlōf
wət'ōb	ML	5 red dyed leather of high quality	NO	1ə2ō3	Pl.		w	t'	b	wət'ayb/wət'ōb
wəhōyən	ML	8 shoulder blade, back of the shou	NO	1ə2ōyə3	Pl.		w	h	n	wə'hnət/wəhōyən
wəfyōl	ML	8 wa'l	NO	1ə2yō3	Pl.		w	ʕ	l	wēl/wə?ōl, wəfyōl

wəʔəl	ML	5 wa'l	NO	ləʔəl	Pl.	w	ʕ	l	wəl/wəʔəl, wəʕyəl		
wēdīn	ML	10 place appointed for a meeting, pɪ	NO	lē3īn	Pl.	w	ʕ	d	wəd/wēdīn, wēdūtən		
wēdūtən	ML	12 place appointed for a meeting, pɪ	NO	lē3ūtən	Pl.	w	ʕ	d	wəd/wēdīn, wēdūtən		
wōrəχ	ML	2 month	NO	lō2ə3	Pl.	w	r	χ	wəʕ/wōrəχ		
gəwastən	ML	12 resin, gum	NO	2əwa3tən	Pl.	w	g	s	gəsət/gəwastən		
əwləyē	ML	14 saint	NO	əl2ə3ē	Pl.	w	l	v	wəlay/əwləyē, wləyē?		
həwkōbi	ML	back udder	NO	həl2əl3i	Pl.	w	k	b	həwkəbay/həwkōbi		
mawrəmət	ML	13 funnel (for pitch)	NO	mal2ə3ət	Pl.	w	r	m	mawrəm/mawrəmət		
yəbχāχ	ML	14 chameleon	NO	lə23ā3	Sg.	?	y	b	χ	yəbχāχ/yəbχōχ	
yəkrayb	ML	14 crow, raven	NO	lə23ay4	Sg.	?	y	κ	r	b	yəkrayb/yəkrōb
yəmlēχ	ML	14 edible resin of the themmor bush	NO	lə23ē4	Sg.	?	y	m	l	χ	yəmlēχ
yədbīr	ML	14 hornet	NO	lə23ī4	Sg.	?	y	ð	b	r	yədbīr
yəθayl	ML	14 fox	NO	lə2ay4	Sg.	?	y	θ	ʕ	l	yəθayl/yəθəl
yəs'ayt	ML	13 fear	NO	lə2ayt	Sg.	?	y	s'	s'	yəs'ayt	
yəgərayd	ML	14 mouse, rat	NO	lə2ə3ay4	Sg.	?	y	g	r	d	yəgərayd/həgərawd
yətəmūt	ML	13 female orphan	NO	lə2ə3ūt	Sg.	?	y	t	m	yətəmūt/yətamtən	
yətīm	ML	5 orphan	NO	lə2ī3	Sg.	?	y	t	m	yətīm/yətōm	
yəhūdi	ML	11 Jew	NO	lə2ū3i	Sg.	?	y	h	d	yəhūdi/yəhawd	
həyməl	ML	right, right hand	NO	həl2ə3	Sg.	?	y	m	l	həyməl	
həyawm	ML	sun	NO	həl1a23	Sg.	?	y	w	m	həyawm	
ʔīd	ML	14 hand	NO	ʔī2	Sg.	?	y	d	ʔīd/hādūtən		
yədənūt	ML	13 new	YES	lə2ə3ūt	Sg.	F	y	d	n	yədīn, yədənūt/yədōn, yədantən	
yədīn	ML	5 new	YES	lə2ī3	Sg.	M	y	d	n	yədīn, yədənūt/yədōn, yədantən	
yəbχōχ	ML	14 chameleon	NO	lə23əl3	Pl.	y	b	χ	yəbχāχ/yəbχōχ		
yəkrōb	ML	14 crow, raven	NO	lə23əl4	Pl.	y	κ	r	b	yəkrayb/yəkrōb	
yətamtən	ML	12 female orphan	NO	lə2a3tən	Pl.	y	t	m	yətəmūt/yətamtən		
yəhawd	ML	6 Jew	NO	lə2aw3	Pl.	y	h	d	yəhūdi/yəhawd		
yətōm	ML	5 orphan	NO	lə2əl3	Pl.	y	t	m	yətīm/yətōm		
yəθəl	ML	14 fox	NO	lə2əl4	Pl.	y	θ	ʕ	l	yəθayl/yəθəl	
yūm	ML	day	NO	lū3	Pl.	y	w	m	nəhōr/yūm		
yūm	ML	days	NO	lū3	Pl.	y	w	m	yūm		
həgərawd	ML	14 mouse, rat	NO	həl1ə2aw3	Pl.	y	g	r	d	yəgərayd/həgərawd	
hādūtən	ML	16 hand	NO	həl2ūtən	Pl.	y	d	ʔīd/hādūtən			
yədantən	ML	12 new	YES	lə2a3tən	Pl.	F	y	d	n	yədīn, yədənūt/yədōn, yədantən	

yəðɔ̃n	ML	5 new	YES	lə2ɔ̃3	Pl.	M	y	d	n	yəðɪn, yəðənūt/yəðɔ̃n, yəðantən	
zakk	ML	4 cold (in the head, chest)	NO	lɑ22	Sg.	?	z	k	k	zakk	
zarb	ML	4 unroofed enclosure	NO	lɑ23	Sg.	?	z	r	b	zarb	
zawd	ML	4 (us. poet.) strength	NO	lɑ23 (lɑw3)	Sg.	?	z	w	d	zawd	
zayr	ML	4 wooden bucket (of any size), big	NO	lɑ23 (lɑy3)	Sg.	?	z	y	r	zayr/zəyawrət	
zayt	ML	4 gun-oil	NO	lɑ23 (lɑy3)	Sg.	?	z	y	t	zayt	
zaytūn	ML	14 olive, olive tree	NO	lɑ23ūn	Sg.	?	z	y	t	zaytūn	
zarʔ	ML	4 grass	NO	lɑ2ʔ	Sg.	?	z	r	ʕ	zarʔ	
zayfən	ML	3 to transport goods brought by the	NO	lɑy2ə3	Sg.	?	z	f	n	zayfən, zəfənūt	
zayhəd	ML	3 to be expert	NO	lɑy2ə3	Sg.	?	z	h	d	zayhəd	
zə't't'i	ML	gipsy, one who does low-class work	NO	lə'22i	Sg.	?	z	t'	t'	zə't't'i/zət'awt'	
zəllət	ML	13 attack	NO	lə22ət	Sg.	?	z	l	l	zəllət	
zəggɔ̃d	ML	14 (camel) thief, reiver	NO	lə22ɔ̃3	Sg.	?	z	g	d	zəggɔ̃d	
zənd	ML	2 forearm, arm from wrist to elbow	NO	lə23	Sg.	?	z	n	d	zənd/zənɔ̃d	
zənbīl	ML	14 kind of basket	NO	lə23ī4	Sg.	?	z	n	b	l	zənbīl/zənbōl
zərfit	ML	13 blackberry; "flacher, großer Stein"	NO	lə23īt	Sg.	?	z	r	f	zərfit/zarf	
zəʕār	ML	5 kind of cactus, which in an emergency	NO	lə2ā3	Sg.	?	z	ʕ	r	zəʕār	
zəgārəh	ML	cigarette	NO	lə2ā3əh	Sg.	?	z	g	r	zəgārəh	
zəbən	ML	2 power, protection	NO	lə2ə3	Sg.	?	z	b	n	zəbən	
zəməl	ML	2 camel-load	NO	lə2ə3	Sg.	?	z	m	l	zəməl	
zərək'	ML	2 kind of fast-moving snake	NO	lə2ə3	Sg.	?	z	r	k'	zərək'/zəwə'rrək'	
zəməl	ML	5 camel-gear	NO	lə2ə3	Sg.	?	z	m	l	zəməl	
zərəfət	ML	13 cigar; "Bergesabgrund-absturz"	NO	lə2ə3ət	Sg.	?	z	r	f	zərəfət/zəraftən	
zəfənūt	ML	13 to transport goods brought by the	NO	lə2ə3ūt	Sg.	?	z	f	n	zayfən, zəfənūt	
zəʕīm	ML	5 head of a family	NO	lə2ī3	Sg.	?	z	ʕ	m	zəʕīm	
zəgīnūt	ML	14 butterfly	NO	lə2ī3ūt	Sg.	?	z	g	n	zəgīnūt/zəgantən	
zəgɔ̃g	ML	5 glass	NO	lə2ɔ̃2	Sg.	?	z	g	g	zəgɔ̃g	
zəbɔ̃d	ML	5 perfume extracted from the civet	NO	lə2ɔ̃3	Sg.	?	z	b	d	zəbɔ̃d	
zəbɔ̃n	ML	5 time, old time, harvest time, long	NO	lə2ɔ̃3	Sg.	?	z	b	n	zəbɔ̃n/zəbān	
zəwɔ̃d	ML	5 supplies	NO	lə2ɔ̃3	Sg.	?	z	w	d	zəwɔ̃d/zəwədīn	
zəwɔ̃l	ML	5 early afternoon (about one o'clock)	NO	lə2ɔ̃3	Sg.	?	z	w	l	zəwɔ̃l	
zəhɔ̃b	ML	5 camel-cloth; "Scheide des Dolch"	NO	lə2ɔ̃3	Sg.	?	z	h	b	zəhɔ̃b/zəhəbīn	
zəwɔ̃li	ML	carpet	NO	lə2ɔ̃3i	Sg.	?	z	w	l	zəwɔ̃li	
zəkɔ̃t	ML	13 Zakat	NO	lə2ɔ̃t	Sg.	?	z	k	v	zəkɔ̃t	

zərwōr	ML	8 saliva dripping from the corners	NO	lə2wō2	Sg.	?	z	r	r	zərwōr
zəkt	ML	13 name of a kind of shellfish	NO	lə3t	Sg.	?	z	y	k	zəkt
zəyōrət	ML	13 visit to a saint's tomb	NO	ləyō3ət	Sg.	?	z	w	r	zəyōrət
zīnēt	ML	13 fish name	NO	lī3ēt	Sg.	?	z	y	n	zīnēt
zōnət	ML	13 supply of cartridges	NO	lō3ət	Sg.	?	z	w	n	zōnət
həzbərūt	ML	13 feeling pleasure at so.'s misfortune	NO	hə12ə3ūt	Sg.	?	z	b	r	həzbərūt
məzməlēt	ML	13 soft, grass filled bags put on the	NO	məl2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	z	m	l	məzməlēt/məzōməl
məzəwk'āt	ML	13 coconut shell used as a receptacle	NO	mələw3āt	Sg.	?	z	l	k'	məzəwk'āt/məzōlək'
šəzəllūt	ML	13 to criticise, blame	NO	šə1ə22ūt	Sg.	?	z	l	l	šəzəllūt
zəhayb	ML	6 ready, prepared	YES	lə2ay3	Sg.	M	z	h	b	zəhayb, zəhaybət/zīhōb, zīhəbtən, zəhbōt
zəkayn	ML	6 bold, cool	YES	lə2ay3	Sg.	?	z	k	n	zəkayn
zəhaybət	ML	13 ready, prepared	YES	lə2ay3ət	Sg.	F	z	h	b	zəhayb, zəhaybət/zīhōb, zīhəbtən, zəhbōt
zōhəb	ML	2 ready, prepared	YES	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	z	h	b	zōhəb
mənzəwbən	ML	14 undersized	YES	mən1əw2ə3	Sg.	M	z	b	n	mənzəwbən, mənzəwbənīt
mənzəwbənīt	ML	14 undersized	YES	mən1əw2ə3īt	Sg.	F	z	b	n	mənzəwbən, mənzəwbənīt
zarf	ML	4 blackberry; "flacher, grosser Stein"	NO	1a23	Pl.		z	r	f	zərfit/zarf
zənbōl	ML	14 kind of basket	NO	lə23ō4	Pl.		z	n	b	1 zənbīl/zənbōl
zəbān	ML	5 time, olden time, harvest time, late	NO	lə2ā3	Pl.		z	b	n	zəbōn/zəbān
zəgantən	ML	12 butterfly	NO	lə2a3tən	Pl.		z	g	n	zəgīnūt/zəgantən
zərəftən	ML	12 cigar; "Bergesabgrund-absturz"	NO	lə2a3tən	Pl.		z	r	f	zərəfēt/zərəftən
zət'awt'	ML	6 gipsy, one who does low-class work	NO	lə2aw2	Pl.		z	t'	t'	zə't't'i/zət'awt'
zəyawrət	ML	13 wooden bucket (of any size), big	NO	lə2aw3ət	Pl.		z	y	r	zayr/zəyawrət
zəhəbīn	ML	14 camel-cloth; "Scheide des Dolch"	NO	lə2ə3īn	Pl.		z	h	b	zəhōb/zəhəbīn
zəwədīn	ML	14 supplies	NO	lə2ə3īn	Pl.		z	w	d	zəwōd/zəwədīn
zənōd	ML	5 forearm, arm from wrist to elbow	NO	lə2ō3	Pl.		z	n	d	zənd/zənōd
zəwə'rrək'	ML	9 kind of fast-moving snake	NO	ləwə'22ə3	Pl.		z	r	k'	zērək'/zəwə'rrək'
məzōlək'	ML	7 coconut shell used as a receptacle	NO	məlō2ə3	Pl.		z	l	k'	məzəwk'āt/məzōlək'
məzōməl	ML	7 soft, grass filled bags put on the	NO	məlō2ə3	Pl.		z	m	l	məzməlēt/məzōməl
zəhbōt	ML	13 ready, prepared	YES	lə23ōt	Pl.	F	z	h	b	zəhayb, zəhaybət/zīhōb, zīhəbtən, zəhbōt
zīhəbtən	ML	13 ready, prepared	YES	lī2a3tən	Pl.	F	z	h	b	zəhayb, zəhaybət/zīhōb, zīhəbtən, zəhbōt
zīhōb	ML	10 ready, prepared	YES	lī2ō3	Pl.	M	z	h	b	zəhayb, zəhaybət/zīhōb, zīhəbtən, zəhbōt
ʔass	ML	4 difficulty	NO	1a22	Sg.	?	ʔ	s	s	ʔas
ʔamma	ML	many people	NO	1á22a	Sg.	?	ʔ	m	ʔ	ʔamma
ʔans	ML	4 human beings	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	ʔ	n	s	ʔans

ʔas'1	ML	4 origin, lineage	NO	1a23	Sg.	?	?	s'	l		ʔas'1
ʔāmər	ML	2 matter, order	NO	1ā2ə3	Sg.	?	?	m	r		ʔāmər
ʔəblays	ML	14 devil	NO	1ə23ay4	Sg.	?	?	b	l	s	ʔəblays
ʔəngəlīzīyət	ML	14 English (language)	NO	1ə23ə4ī5īyət	Sg.	?	?	n	g	l z	ʔəngəlīzīyət
ʔəgār	ML	5 rent	NO	1ə2ā3	Sg.	?	?	g	r		ʔəgār
ʔəhād	ML	5 someone, anyone	NO	1ə2ā3	Sg.	?	?	h	d		ʔəhād
ʔəθēb	ML	5 name of a bush, ficus salicifolia	NO	1ə2ē3	Sg.	?	?	θ	b		ʔəθēb
ʔēmīr	ML	5 prince	NO	1ē2ī3	Sg.	?	?	m	r		ʔēmīr
ʔīb	ML	14 father	NO	1ī2 (ʔī2)	Sg.	?	?	b			ʔīb/hawb
rīt	ML	16 moon	NO	2īt	Sg.	?	?	r			rīt (hārīt)
sōs	ML	foundation	NO	2ō2	Sg.	?	?	s	s		sōs
wōz	ML	16 goat (also collective)	NO	2ō3	Sg.	F	?	w	z		wōz (hōz)
arnayb (harnayb	ML	16 hare	NO	a23ay4	Sg.	F	?	r	n	b	arnayb (harnayb)/arnōb (harnōb)
əstōd	ML	14 craftsman, shipbuilder	NO	ə23ō4	Sg.	?	?	s	t	d	əstōd
ħarbyēt	ML	16 locusts, cicadas	NO	ħa234ēt	Sg.	?	?	r	b	y	ħarbyēt
gərīt (hāgərīt)	ML	16 (female) slave, negress	NO	hā2ə3īt	Sg.	?	?	g	r		hāgərīt/hāgərtən
gōr (hāgōr)	ML	16 (male) slave, negro	NO	hā2ō3	Sg.	?	?	g	r		hāgōr/hāgīrōn
ħayðēn	ML	16 ear	NO	ħay2ē3	Sg.	?	?	ð	n		ħayðēn/ħayðantən
ħəwbēn	ML	16 name of a kind of bush	NO	ħəw3ē4	Sg.	?	?	l	b	n	ħəwbēn
yəbīt (ħəybīt)	ML	13 she-camel	NO	ħəy2īt	Sg.	?	?	b	l		yəbīt (ħəybīt)
ħōθəl	ML	16 tamarisk, Tamarix articulata or a	NO	ħō2ə3	Sg.	?	?	θ	l		ħōθəl/ħəθōwəl
mūmən	ML	believer	NO	mū2ə3	Sg.	?	?	m	n		mūmən
šāmənūt	ML	13 to believe	NO	šā2ə3ūt	Sg.	?	?	m	n		šāmənūt
tārīχ	ML	15 date	NO	tā2ī3	Sg.	?	?	r	χ		tārīχ
tēθ	ML	14 woman, wife	NO	tē3	Sg.	?	?	n	θ		tēθ/həynīθ
təwðayn	ML	15 calling to prayer	NO	təw2ay3	Sg.	?	?	ð	n		təwðayn
təwχayr	ML	15 to postpone	NO	təw2ay3	Sg.	?	?	χ	r		təwχayr
twədayb	ML	15 to punish, correct	NO	twə2ay3	Sg.	?	?	d	b		twədayb
twəkayd	ML	15 to attest, certify, promise	NO	twə2ay3	Sg.	?	?	k	d		twəkayd
wōrəm	ML	16 road	NO	wō2ə3	Sg.	F	?	r	m		wōrəm (hōrəm)/hāyrēm
yərēz	ML	14 rice	NO	yə2ē3	Sg.	?	?	r	z		yərēz
ʔadīb	ML	5 educated	YES	1a2ī3	Sg.	M	?	d	b		ʔadīb/mətəʔaddəbīn
ʔənsay	ML	11 human (as opposed to ginn)	YES	1ə23ay	Sg.	M	?	n	s		ʔənsay, ʔənsayyət/ʔənsōy, ʔənsaytən
ʔənsayyət	ML	11 human (as opposed to ginn)	YES	1ə23ayyət	Sg.	F	?	n	s		ʔənsay, ʔənsayyət/ʔənsōy, ʔənsaytən

ʔēmər	ML	2 huge	YES	lē2ə3	Sg.	NA	ʔ	m	r	ʔēmər
ʔəkīd	ML	5 certain	YES	lə2ī3	Sg.	ʔ	ʔ	k	d	ʔəkīd
ʔəs'īl	ML	5 of good lineage	YES	lə2ī3	Sg.	ʔ	ʔ	s'	l	ʔəs'īl
hāwəlay	ML	11 ancient	YES	hā2ə3ay	Sg.	M	ʔ	w	l	hāwəlay, hāwəlyət/hāwəloy, hāwəlaytən
hāwəlīt	ML	5 first, long ago	YES	hā2ə3īt	Sg.	F	ʔ	w	l	hāwīl, hāwəlīt
hāwəlyət	ML	11 ancient	YES	hā2ə3yət	Sg.	F	ʔ	w	l	hāwəlay, hāwəlyət/hāwəloy, hāwəlaytən
hāwīl	ML	5 first, long ago	YES	hā2ī3	Sg.	M	ʔ	w	l	hāwīl, hāwəlīt
mətarrəχ	ML	historic	YES	məta22ə3	Sg.	ʔ	ʔ	r	χ	mətarrəχ
məwsərūt	ML	16 hobbled	YES	məw2ə3ūt	Sg.	F	ʔ	s	r	məwsīr, məwsərūt/məwsōr, məwsartən
məwsīr	ML	16 hobbled	YES	məw2ī3	Sg.	M	ʔ	s	r	məwsīr, məwsərūt/məwsōr, məwsartən
rawn	ML	16 goats	NO	2aw3	Pl.		ʔ	r	n	rawn (hārawn)
bū (hābū)	ML	16 people	NO	2ū	Pl.		ʔ	b	v	bū
arnōb (harnōb, h ML		hare	NO	a23ō4	Pl.		ʔ	r	n	b arnayb (harnayb)/arnōb (harnōb)
hāgērtən	ML	16 (female) slave, negress	NO	hā2ē3tən	Pl.		ʔ	g	r	hāgərīt/hāgērtən
hāgīrōn	ML	16 (male) slave, negro	NO	hā2ī3ōn	Pl.		ʔ	g	r	hāgōr/hāgīrōn
hawb	ML	16 father (pl. parents)	NO	haw2	Pl.		ʔ	b		ʔīb/hawb
hāyrēm	ML	16 road	NO	hāy2ē3	Pl.		ʔ	r	m	wōrəm (hōrəm)/hāyrēm
həθōwəl	ML	tamarisk, Tamarix articulata or a	NO	hə2ōwə3	Pl.		ʔ	θ	l	həθəl/həθōwəl
həyðantən	ML	16 ear	NO	həy2a3tən	Pl.		ʔ	ð	n	həyðēn/həyðantən
həynīθ	ML	16 women	NO	həy2ī3	Pl.		ʔ	n	θ	tēθ/həynīθ
ʔənsaytən	ML	12 human (as opposed to ginn)	YES	lə23aytən	Pl.	F	ʔ	n	s	ʔənsay, ʔənsayyət/ʔənsōy, ʔənsaytən
ʔənsōy	ML	11 human (as opposed to ginn)	YES	lə23ōy	Pl.	M	ʔ	n	s	ʔənsay, ʔənsayyət/ʔənsōy, ʔənsaytən
hāwəlaytən	ML	12 ancient	YES	hā2ə3aytən	Pl.	F	ʔ	w	l	hāwəlay, hāwəlyət/hāwəloy, hāwəlaytən
hāwəloy	ML	11 ancient	YES	hā2ə3ōy	Pl.	M	ʔ	w	l	hāwəlay, hāwəlyət/hāwəloy, hāwəlaytən
mətəʔaddəbīn	ML	educated	YES	mətə1a22ə3īn	Pl.	ʔ	ʔ	d	b	ʔadīb/mətəʔaddəbīn
məwsartən	ML	12 hobbled	YES	məw2a3tən	Pl.	F	ʔ	s	r	məwsīr, məwsərūt/məwsōr, məwsartən
məwsōr	ML	7 hobbled	YES	məw2ō3	Pl.	M	ʔ	s	r	məwsīr, məwsərūt/məwsōr, məwsartən
hāllōt	ML	13 to rouse, bring awake, to bear (fr	NO	hā22ōt	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	l	l	hāllōt
hārs	ML	marriage, wedding	NO	hā23	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	r	s	hārs, ʔārs
hārsōt	ML	13 to marry	NO	hā23ōt	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	r	s	hārsōt
hāk'əbōt	ML	13 to flit, move to another place	NO	hā2ə3ōt	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	k'	b	hāk'əbōt
hānōt	ML	13 to decide, intend	NO	hā2ōt	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	n	v	hānōt
həwk'awt	ML	13 to light, kindle	NO	həw3awt	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	l	k'	həwk'awt
māmdēt	ML	13 pillow, cushion	NO	mā23ēt	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	m	d	māmdēt, ʔamdēt/mōməd

mārawf	ML	7 favour	NO	mā2aw3	Sg.	?	ɕ	r	f	mārawf
mālēl	ML	7 plant	NO	mā2ē2	Sg.	?	ɕ	l	l	mālēl/mawləl
māðēb	ML	7 stick to lift the milk-heating ston	NO	mā2ē3	Sg.	?	ɕ	ð	b	māðēb/mawðəb
mālēz	ML	7 sickening person, thing	NO	mā2ē3	Sg.	?	ɕ	l	z	mālēz
mārēb	ML	7 1. sunset, 2. west	NO	mā2ē3	Sg.	?	ɕ	r	b	mārēb
mārēl'	ML	7 invitation	NO	mā2ē3	Sg.	?	ɕ	r	l'	mārēl'
mālēk'	ML	7 (poet.) beloved	NO	mā2ē3	Sg.	?	ɕ	l	k'	mālēk'
māləm	ML	7 branding-iron, nail	NO	mā2ə3	Sg.	?	ɕ	l	m	māləm/mawləm
mārəfay	ML	11 friendly, pleasant	NO	mā2ə3ay	Sg.	?	ɕ	r	f	mārəfay
māl'əbēt	ML	13 cut	NO	mā2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	ɕ	l'	b	māl'əbēt/məl'əb
mās'əbōt	ML	13 wrapper, wrapped headcloth	NO	mā2ə3ōt	Sg.	?	ɕ	s'	b	mās'əbōt
mānē	ML	7 example, intention, intent	NO	mā2ē	Sg.	?	ɕ	n	v	mānē
mādīg	ML	7 suckling	NO	mā2ī3	Sg.	?	ɕ	d	g	mādīg
māθīm	ML	7 poulticed	NO	mā2ī3	Sg.	?	ɕ	θ	m	māθīm
māwk'āt	ML	13 (tea-)spoon	NO	māw3āt	Sg.	?	ɕ	l	k'	māwk'āt/mələk'
maʔgīn	ML	7 stew of meat or fat	NO	maʔ2ī3	Sg.	?	ɕ	g	n	maʔgīn
məʔūnət	ML	13 help	NO	məʔū3ət	Sg.	?	ɕ	w	n	məʔūnət
mōðəb	ML	7 annoying fellow	NO	mō2ə3	Sg.	?	ɕ	ð	b	mōðəb
mōzəb	ML	7 camel-herd, goatherd away from	NO	mō2ə3	Sg.	?	ɕ	z	b	mōzəb/məʔazəbōtən
mōləm	ML	7 brander, teacher	NO	mō2ə3	Sg.	?	ɕ	l	m	mōləm/mālmət
mōfi	ML	7 one who comes forward from a ɸ	NO	mō2i	Sg.	?	ɕ	f	v	mōfi
šāl'awt	ML	13 to worry about, be upset	NO	šā2awt	Sg.	?	ɕ	l'	v	šāl'awt
šāsərōt	ML	13 to love, like	NO	šā2ə3ōt	Sg.	?	ɕ	s	r	šāsərōt
šēfā	ML	to improve in health	NO	šē2ā	Sg.	?	ɕ	f	v	šēfā
tākayb	ML	15 to pester, trouble, be a nuisance	NO	tā2ay3	Sg.	?	ɕ	k	b	tākayb
tālaym	ML	15 to teach, to mark, brand	NO	tā2ay3	Sg.	?	ɕ	l	m	tālaym
tāθaym	ML	15 to bandage, poultice	NO	tā2ay3	Sg.	?	ɕ	θ	m	tāθaym
tābəlēt	ML	15 to test st. or so., to look after	NO	tā2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	ɕ	b	l	tābəlēt
tāyīt'	ML	15 to cry out, weep	NO	tā2ī3	Sg.	?	ɕ	y	t'	tāyīt'
tāwayn	ML	15 to help	NO	tāway3	Sg.	?	ɕ	w	n	tāwayn
ʔaH	ML	4 to rise, get up, grow, become ere	NO	ʔa22	Sg.	?	ɕ	l	l	ʔaH
ʔāzz	ML	4 honour	NO	ʔā22	Sg.	?	ɕ	z	z	ʔāzz
ʔāddēt	ML	13 1. gear, 2. waiting time after divc	NO	ʔā22ēt	Sg.	?	ɕ	d	d	ʔāddēt
ʔāzzēt	ML	4 nobility	NO	ʔā22ēt	Sg.	?	ɕ	z	z	ʔāzzēt

ʔarkʻ	ML	4 1. artery, sinew, nerve, 2. sanddu	NO	ʔa23	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	r	kʻ		ʔarkʻ/ʔārawkʻ
ʔāfl	ML	4 baggage	NO	ʔā23	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	f	l		ʔāfl
ʔāgz	ML	4 incapacity, helplessness	NO	ʔā23	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	g	z		ʔāgz
ʔāks	ML	4 photograph	NO	ʔā23	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	k	s		ʔāks
ʔākʻd	ML	4 marriage contract, promise	NO	ʔā23	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	kʻ	d		ʔākʻd
ʔāmkʻ	ML	4 middle	NO	ʔā23	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	m	kʻ		ʔāmkʻ
ʔārs	ML	4 marriage, wedding	NO	ʔā23	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	r	s		hārs, ʔārs
ʔātʻb	ML	4 succulent plant with bitter and c	NO	ʔā23	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	tʻ	b		ʔātʻb
ʔāyn	ML	4 eye, spring of water, spy	NO	ʔā23	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	y	n		ʔāyn/ʔāyēntən
ʔāyɫ	ML	4 rice	NO	ʔā23	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	y	ɫ		ʔāyɫ
ʔāzm	ML	4 intention, aim	NO	ʔā23	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	z	m		ʔāzm/ʔāzawm
ʔāyb	ML	4 to break an oath	NO	ʔā23	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	y	b		ʔāyb, ʔāyōbət
ʔāyd	ML	4 festival, 'id	NO	ʔā23	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	y	d		ʔāyd, ʔīd/ʔāyawdət
ʔārsʻāt	ML	13 the house of, clan of mozʻaʻ	NO	ʔā23āt	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	r	sʻ		ʔārsʻāt
ʔārkʻayb	ML	14 mouse, rat	NO	ʔā23ay4	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	r	kʻ	b	ʔārkʻayb/ʔārkʻōb
ʔākʻbēb	ML	14 name of a tree, grey plant	NO	ʔā23ē3	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	kʻ	b		ʔākʻbēb/ʔākʻbōb
ʔāgrēz	ML	14 testicle	NO	ʔā23ē4	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	g	r	z	ʔāgrēz/ʔāgōrəz
ʔāskəray	ML	11 soldier, policeman	NO	ʔā23ə4ay	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	s	k	r	ʔāskəray/ʔāskēr
ʔāskərayyət	ML	11 soldiery, army, police	NO	ʔā23ə4ayyət	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	s	k	r	ʔāskərayyət
ʔabsəlōt	ML	13 anything red, light, gleam, blood	NO	ʔa23ə4ōt	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	b	s	l	ʔabsəlōt
ʔamdēt	ML	13 pillow, cushion	NO	ʔa23ēt	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	m	d		māmdēt, ʔamdēt/mōməd
ʔābdēt	ML	13 German measles	NO	ʔā23ēt	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	b	d		ʔābdēt
ʔārlēt	ML	13 barasti, (coconut) palm-leaf hut,	NO	ʔā23ēt	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	r	l		ʔārlēt/ʔāroʻltən
ʔālrēt	ML	13 (female) friend	NO	ʔā23ēt	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	l	r		ʔālrēt/ʔaylartən
ʔāydēt	ML	13 sardine	NO	ʔā23ēt	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	y	d		ʔāydēt/ʔāyd
ʔābrēt	ML	13 ship, "das wogende Meer"	NO	ʔā23ēt	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	b	r		ʔābrēt
ʔānšēt	ML	13 spider	NO	ʔā23ēt	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	n	š		ʔānšēt/ʔānšētən, ʔaynšētən
ʔarbi	ML	Arabic language	NO	ʔa23i	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	r	b		ʔarbi
ʔāðfir	ML	14 plant giving a bitter medicine wɫ	NO	ʔā23ɪ4	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	ð	f	r	ʔāðfir
ʔāmnīb	ML	14 queen bee (but thought of as a ki	NO	ʔā23ɪ4	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	m	n	b	ʔāmnīb, ʔāmnīm
ʔāmnīm	ML	14 queen bee (but thought of as a ki	NO	ʔā23ɪ4	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	m	n	m	ʔāmnīb, ʔāmnīm
ʔāšfir	ML	14 whelk, cowrie-shell	NO	ʔā23ɪ4	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	š	f	r	ʔāšfir/ʔāšfōr
ʔāmbīr	ML	14 amber	NO	ʔā23ɪ4	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	m	b	r	ʔāmbīr
ʔāfsīt	ML	13 rowdy person	NO	ʔā23īt	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	f	s		ʔāfsīt

ʔās'bit	ML	13 irritability, ability to be roused e:	NO	ʔā23it	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	s'	b	ʔās'bit	
ʔās'bit	ML	13 sinew, nerve	NO	ʔā23it	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	s'	b	ʔās'bit/ʔās'ōb	
ʔāl'dit	ML	13 upper arm	NO	ʔā23it	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	l'	d	ʔāl'dit/ʔāl'adtən	
ʔāfryēt	ML	demon	NO	ʔā23yēt	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	f	r	ʔāfryēt/ʔāfartən	
ʔārdyīb	ML	8 nape of the neck and the top of tl	NO	ʔā23yī4	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	r	d	b	ʔārdyīb/ʔārdyōb
ʔāθ'al	ML	5 pitch dark (of the night)	NO	ʔā2ā3	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	θ'	l	ʔāθ'al	
ʔāk'al	ML	5 head-rope	NO	ʔā2ā3	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	k'	l	ʔāk'al	
ʔāgawz	ML	6 old woman	NO	ʔā2aw3	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	g	z	ʔāgawz/ʔāgōyəz	
ʔāmawd	ML	6 ceiling beam, beam	NO	ʔā2aw3	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	m	d	ʔāmawd/ʔāmawdət	
ʔālayl	ML	6 hard working, energetic man wh	NO	ʔā2ay2	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	l	l	ʔālayl	
ʔāl'ayl'	ML	6 bone	NO	ʔā2ay2	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	l'	l'	ʔāl'ayl'/ʔāl'awl'	
ʔāgayn	ML	6 dough	NO	ʔā2ay3	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	g	n	ʔāgayn	
ʔāk'ayd	ML	6 leader, chief	NO	ʔā2ay3	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	k'	d	ʔāk'ayd/ʔāk'awdət	
ʔātə'wwək'	ML	8 name of a small tree	NO	ʔā2ə'wwə3	Sg. / (Pl	ʔ	ʕ	t	k'	ʔātə'wwək'	
ʔādēd	ML	5 each, every, total, amount	NO	ʔā2ē2	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	d	d	ʔādēd	
ʔātēt	ML	5 a little while	NO	ʔā2ē2	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	t	t	ʔātēt	
ʔādēm	ML	5 non-existence	NO	ʔā2ē3	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	d	m	ʔādēm	
ʔāgēb	ML	5 love	NO	ʔā2ē3	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	g	b	ʔāgēb	
ʔālēm	ML	5 mark, sign, wasm	NO	ʔā2ē3	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	l	m	ʔālēm	
ʔāmēl	ML	5 farm, field of growing plants	NO	ʔā2ē3	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	m	l	ʔāmēl/ʔāmawlət	
ʔānēt	ML	5 large-mouthed waterskin	NO	ʔā2ē3	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	n	t	ʔānēt	
ʔāsēl	ML	5 honey	NO	ʔā2ē3	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	s	l	ʔāsēl	
ʔāzēb	ML	5 young calfless and milkless cow:	NO	ʔā2ē3	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	z	b	ʔāzēb	
ʔābər	ML	2 contemporary	NO	ʔā2ə3	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	b	r	ʔābər/ʔābōr	
ʔādər	ML	2 to offer food	NO	ʔā2ə3	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	ð	r	ʔādər	
ʔādər	ML	2 excuse	NO	ʔā2ə3	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	ð	r	ʔādər	
ʔāgəm	ML	2 virgin	NO	ʔā2ə3	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	g	m	ʔāgəm/ʔāgēm	
ʔāk'əl	ML	2 (us. poet.) mind	NO	ʔā2ə3	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	k'	l	ʔāk'əl/ʔāk'awl	
ʔāk'ər	ML	2 size	NO	ʔā2ə3	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	k'	r	ʔāk'ər	
ʔālər	ML	2 friend	NO	ʔā2ə3	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	l	r	ʔālər/ʔaylōr	
ʔāt'əf	ML	2 herd of animals to be driven awa	NO	ʔā2ə3	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	t'	f	ʔāt'əf	
ʔāmər	ML	2 age	NO	ʔā2ə3	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	m	r	ʔāmər	
ʔās'ər	ML	2 night	NO	ʔā2ə3	Sg.	M	ʕ	s'	r	ʔās'ər/ʔās'ōr, ʔās'awr	
ʔāt'ər	ML	2 perfume, perfume-bottle	NO	ʔā2ə3	Sg.	ʔ	ʕ	t'	r	ʔāt'ər/ʔāt'ōwər	

ʔāfērrowt	ML	15 to blush, flush, become pale	NO	ʔā2ē33awt	Sg.	?	ʕ	f	r	ʔāfērrowt	
ʔāt'əllōt	ML	15 to delay (for a reason)	NO	ʔā2ə33ōt	Sg.	?	ʕ	t'	l	ʔāt'əllōt	
ʔākərmōt	ML	13 pelvis	NO	ʔā2ə34ōt	Sg.	?	ʕ	k	r	m	ʔākərmōt/ʔākəreṃ
ʔāzəbay	ML	11 staying alone or without o's fami	NO	ʔā2ə3ay	Sg.	?	ʕ	z	b	ʔāzəbay/ʔāzəböy	
ʔābərēt	ML	13 desire to weep, lump in the throa	NO	ʔā2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	ʕ	b	r	ʔābərēt/ʔābēr	
ʔādəfēt	ML	13 piece	NO	ʔā2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	ʕ	ð	f	ʔādəfēt	
ʔāθ'əmēt	ML	13 back	NO	ʔā2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	ʕ	θ'	m	ʔāθ'əmēt/ʔaθ'amtən	
ʔāgəlēt	ML	13 haste	NO	ʔā2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	ʕ	g	l	ʔāgəlēt	
ʔāgəlēt	ML	13 wheel	NO	ʔā2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	ʕ	g	l	ʔāgəlēt/ʔāgəl	
ʔāk'əbēt	ML	13 (any) large bird	NO	ʔā2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	ʕ	k'	b	ʔāk'əbēt/ʔāk'əb	
ʔārəbēt	ML	13 name of an edible plant	NO	ʔā2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	ʕ	r	b	ʔārəbēt	
ʔārəfēt	ML	13 leaf of a plant used in basket-we:	NO	ʔā2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	ʕ	r	f	ʔārəfēt/ʔārəf, ʔārf	
ʔātəbēt	ML	13 name of a plant	NO	ʔā2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	ʕ	t	b	ʔātəbēt	
ʔātərēt	ML	13 buttermilk, butterskin	NO	ʔā2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	ʕ	t	r	ʔātərēt/ʔārtərtən, ʔāytēr	
ʔāzəlēt	ML	13 leprosy	NO	ʔā2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	ʕ	z	l	ʔāzəlēt	
ʔādəlīt	ML	13 cut down machet, shortened mai	NO	ʔā2ə3īt	Sg.	?	ʕ	ð	l	ʔādəlīt	
ʔākərīt	ML	13 smoke rising a house, ship	NO	ʔā2ə3īt	Sg.	?	ʕ	k	r	ʔākərīt	
ʔās'ərīt	ML	13 indigestion	NO	ʔā2ə3īt	Sg.	?	ʕ	s'	r	ʔās'ərīt	
ʔāmēt	ML	13 grandmother, aunt	NO	ʔā2ēt	Sg.	F	ʕ	m		ʔāmēt/ʔāmōtən	
ʔārīθ'	ML	5 male kid	NO	ʔā2ī3	Sg.	?	ʕ	r	θ'	ʔārīθ', ʔarīθ'/ʔārōθ'	
ʔāsīr	ML	5 juice	NO	ʔā2ī3	Sg.	?	ʕ	s	r	ʔāsīr	
ʔāfōr	ML	5 cloud	NO	ʔā2ō2	Sg.	?	ʕ	f	r	ʔāfōr/ʔāfōrīn	
ʔādōm	ML	5 to remove completely	NO	ʔā2ō3	Sg.	?	ʕ	d	m	ʔādōm	
ʔāmōn	ML	5 Oman	NO	ʔā2ō3	Sg.	?	ʕ	m	n	ʔāmōn	
ʔāyōbət	ML	13 to break an oath	NO	ʔā2ō3ət	Sg.	?	ʕ	y	b	ʔāyb, ʔāyōbət	
ʔālōmət	ML	13 indication, mark	NO	ʔā2ō3ət	Sg.	?	ʕ	l	m	ʔālōmət/ʔālōyəm	
ʔāsūm	ML	5 heap, pile	NO	ʔā2ū3	Sg.	?	ʕ	s	m	ʔāsūm/ʔāsmīn	
ʔālūr	ML	5 kind of tree	NO	ʔā2ū3	Sg.	?	ʕ	l	r	ʔālūr	
ʔālūr	ML	5 tax, customs duty	NO	ʔā2ū3	Sg.	?	ʕ	l	r	ʔālūr	
ʔāfyət	ML	13 good health, well-being, peace	NO	ʔā2yət	Sg.	?	ʕ	f	v	ʔāfyət	
ʔāk	ML	4 strength of will, strong-mindedn	NO	ʔā3	Sg.	?	ʕ	l	k	ʔāk	
ʔāk'awt	ML	13 mountain pool	NO	ʔā3awt	Sg.	?	ʕ	w	k'	ʔāk'awt/ʔīwək'	
ʔātwərōt	ML	13 to be sore	NO	ʔāt2ə3ōt	Sg.	?	ʕ	w	r	ʔātwərōt	
ʔātəksōt	ML	13 to be bored, fed up	NO	ʔātə23ōt	Sg.	?	ʕ	k	s	ʔātəksōt	

ʔātək'ād	ML	belief	NO	ʔātə2ā3	Sg.	?	ʕ	k'	d	ʔātək'ād
ʔātəwmōt	ML	13 to learn	NO	ʔātəw3ōt	Sg.	?	ʕ	l	m	ʔātəwmōt
ʔāwk'ayt	ML	13 small water-worm	NO	ʔāw3ayt	Sg.	?	ʕ	l	k'	ʔāwk'ayt/ʔālak'tən
ʔāwmēt	ML	13 knowledge	NO	ʔāw3ēt	Sg.	?	ʕ	l	m	ʔāwmēt
ʔaylē	ML	10 supper	NO	ʔay2ē	Sg.	?	ʕ	l	v	ʔaylē/ʔalyōtən
ʔaybəl	ML	3 flint, flintstone	NO	ʔay2ə3	Sg.	?	ʕ	b	l	ʔaybəl/ʔābəlōtən
ʔaydəg	ML	3 to suck (at the breast)	NO	ʔay2ə3	Sg.	?	ʕ	d	g	ʔaydəg
ʔaydəm	ML	3 to be lacking	NO	ʔay2ə3	Sg.	?	ʕ	d	m	ʔaydəm
ʔaygəb	ML	3 to love, like, want to	NO	ʔay2ə3	Sg.	?	ʕ	g	b	ʔaygəb
ʔaymər	ML	3 singing	NO	ʔay2ə3	Sg.	?	ʕ	m	r	ʔaymər
ʔays'əb	ML	3 to bind, tie	NO	ʔay2ə3	Sg.	?	ʕ	s'	b	ʔays'əb
ʔayt'əf	ML	3 to seize, reive, to panic, stamped	NO	ʔay2ə3	Sg.	?	ʕ	t'	f	ʔayt'əf
ʔayθəm	ML	3 bandage, poultice, plaster	NO	ʔay2ə3	Sg.	?	ʕ	θ	m	ʔayθəm/ʔāθəmōtən
ʔayzəm	ML	3 invitation	NO	ʔay2ə3	Sg.	?	ʕ	z	m	ʔayzəm/ʔazaymət
ʔāyfəd	ML	3 to jump	NO	ʔāy2ə3	Sg.	?	ʕ	f	d	ʔāyfəd
ʔāygən	ML	3 to knead	NO	ʔāy2ə3	Sg.	?	ʕ	g	n	ʔāygən
ʔāydəl	ML	3 to lift, raise	NO	ʔāy2ə3	Sg.	?	ʕ	d	l	ʔāydəl
ʔayri	ML	3 tom-cat	NO	ʔay2i	Sg.	?	ʕ	r	v	ʔayri/ʔarēwət
ʔəlm	ML	4 knowledge	NO	ʔə23	Sg.	?	ʕ	l	m	ʔəlm
ʔēlīg	ML	10 camel-calf about two years old	NO	ʔē2l3	Sg.	?	ʕ	l	g	ʔēlīg/ʔālōg
ʔəyīn	ML	5 the evil eye	NO	ʔə2l3	Sg.	?	ʕ	y	n	ʔəyīn
ʔəwzēt	ML	13 sick feeling	NO	ʔəw3ēt	Sg.	?	ʕ	l	z	ʔəwzēt
ʔilək'	ML	10 knob (to hand st. on)	NO	ʔil2ē3	Sg.	?	ʕ	l	k'	ʔilək'/mālōk'
ʔid	ML	festival, 'id	NO	ʔi3	Sg.	?	ʕ	y	d	ʔāyd, ʔid/ʔāyawdət
ʔōm	ML	14 ancestor, grandfather	NO	ʔō2	Sg.	M	ʕ	m		ʔōm/ʔawm
ʔōbər	ML	5 passenger	NO	ʔō2ə3	Sg.	?	ʕ	b	r	ʔōbər/ʔābərēyēt
ʔōḏək'	ML	5 cluster of dates (on a palm-tree),	NO	ʔō2ə3	Sg.	?	ʕ	ḏ	k'	ʔōḏək'/ʔāḏōwək'
ʔōḏəl	ML	5 cutting blade shorter than a swor	NO	ʔō2ə3	Sg.	?	ʕ	ḏ	l	ʔōḏəl
ʔōtək'	ML	5 camel with little milk	NO	ʔō2ə3	Sg.	?	ʕ	t	k'	ʔōtək'/ʔawōtək'
ʔōyəb	ML	5 oath-breaker	NO	ʔō2ə3	Sg.	?	ʕ	y	b	ʔōyəb/ʔāybīn
ʔōr	ML	disgrace, shame	NO	ʔō3	Sg.	?	ʕ	y	r	ʔōr
ʔōdət	ML	13 custom, habit	NO	ʔō3ət	Sg.	?	ʕ	w	d	ʔōdət
māzēm	ML	7 invited	YES	mā2ē3	Sg.	?	ʕ	z	m	māzēm
ʔāmk'ay	ML	11 medium, middling	YES	ʔā23ay	Sg.	M	ʕ	m	k'	ʔāmk'ay, ʔāmk'yēt/ʔāmk'ōy, ʔāmk'aytən

ʔawrēt	ML	13 blind	YES	ʔa23ēt	Sg.	F	ʕ	w	r	ʔāwēr, ʔawrēt/ʔawrōtən	
ʔāgzēt	ML	13 lazy	YES	ʔā23ēt	Sg.	F	ʕ	g	z	ʔāgzəz, ʔāgzēt/ʔāgzēt, ʔāgzōt	
ʔāk'lot	ML	13 clever	YES	ʔā23ət	Sg.	F	ʕ	k'	l	ʔōk'əl, ʔāk'lot/ʔāk'əlay, ʔayk'altən	
ʔāylət	ML	13 a small, insignificant person	YES	ʔā23ət	Sg.	F	ʕ	y	l	ʔōyəl, ʔāylət/ʔaylēt, ʔaylōt	
ʔāgbōn	ML	14 one in love	YES	ʔā23ōn	Sg.	M	ʕ	g	b	ʔāgbōn, ʔāgbōnət/ʔāgabnət, ʔāgbənayn	
ʔāgbōnət	ML	14 one in love	YES	ʔā23ōnət	Sg.	F	ʕ	g	b	ʔāgbōn, ʔāgbōnət/ʔāgabnət, ʔāgbənayn	
ʔāmk'yēt	ML	13 medium, middling	YES	ʔā23yēt	Sg.	F	ʕ	m	k'	ʔāmk'ay, ʔāmk'yēt/ʔāmk'ōy, ʔāmk'aytən	
ʔāšá	ML	rude, boorish, misanthropic	YES	ʔā2á	Sg.	?	ʕ	š	š	ʔāšá	
ʔālayk	ML	6 strong-willed	YES	ʔā2ay3	Sg.	M	ʕ	l	k	ʔālayk	
ʔāgēm	ML	5 dumb	YES	ʔā2ē3	Sg.	M	ʕ	g	m	ʔāgēm, ʔāgēmēt/ʔāgwōm, ʔāgēmōtən	
ʔālēw	ML	5 at the top	YES	ʔā2ē3	Sg.	?	ʕ	l	v	ʔālēw	
ʔāwēr	ML	5 blind	YES	ʔā2ē3	Sg.	M	ʕ	w	r	ʔāwēr, ʔawrēt/ʔawrōtən	
ʔāgzəz	ML	2 lazy	YES	ʔā2ə3	Sg.	M	ʕ	g	z	ʔāgzəz, ʔāgzēt/ʔāgzēt, ʔāgzōt	
ʔārəbay	ML	11 Arab, Arabic	YES	ʔā2ə3ay	Sg.	M	ʕ	r	b	ʔārəbay, ʔarəbayyət/ʔārəbayyət, ʔārəbaytən	
ʔarəbayyət	ML	11 Arab, Arabic	YES	ʔa2ə3ayyət	Sg.	F	ʕ	r	b	ʔārəbay, ʔarəbayyət/ʔārəbayyət, ʔārəbaytən	
ʔāgēmēt	ML	13 dumb	YES	ʔā2ə3ēt	Sg.	F	ʕ	g	m	ʔāgēm, ʔāgēmēt/ʔāgwōm, ʔāgēmōtən	
ʔāfərōt	ML	13 red, brown, red-brown	YES	ʔā2ə3ōt	Sg.	F	ʕ	f	r	ʔōfər, ʔāfərōt/ʔāfər	
ʔāgīb	ML	5 strange	YES	ʔā2ī3	Sg.	?	ʕ	g	b	ʔāgīb	
ʔōyəl	ML	2 a small, insignificant person	YES	ʔō2ə3	Sg.	M	ʕ	y	l	ʔōyəl, ʔāylət/ʔaylēt, ʔaylōt	
ʔōfər	ML	2 red, brown, red-brown	YES	ʔō2ə3	Sg.	M	ʕ	f	r	ʔōfər, ʔāfərōt/ʔāfər	
ʔōk'əl	ML	2 clever	YES	ʔō2ə3	Sg.	M	ʕ	k'	l	ʔōk'əl, ʔāk'lot/ʔāk'əlay, ʔayk'altən	
mālmət, maʔalər	ML	13 brander, teacher	NO	mā23ət	Pl.		ʕ	l	m	mōləm/mālmət	
mālōk'	ML	7 knob (to hand st. on)	NO	mā2ō3	Pl.		ʕ	l	k'	ʔīlēk'/mālōk'	
mawlət	ML	7 plant	NO	maw2ə2	Pl.		ʕ	l	l	mālēt/mawlət	
mawðəb	ML	7 stick to lift the milk-heating ston	NO	maw2ə3	Pl.		ʕ	ð	b	māðēb/mawðəb	
mawləm	ML	7 branding-iron, nail	NO	maw2ə3	Pl.		ʕ	l	m	māləm/mawləm	
məʔazəbōtən	ML	camel-herd, goatherd away from	NO	məʔa2ə3ōtən	Pl.		ʕ	z	b	mōzəb/məʔazəbōtən	
mōlək'	ML	7 (tea-)spoon	NO	mō2ə3	Pl.		ʕ	l	k'	māwk'āt/mōlək'	
mōməd	ML	7 pillow, cushion	NO	mō2ə3	Pl.		ʕ	m	d	māmdēt, ʔamdēt/mōməd	
mōl'əb	ML	7 cut	NO	mō2ə3	Pl.		ʕ	l'	b	māl'əbēt/mōl'əb	
ʔārf	ML	4 leaf of a plant used in basket-we:	NO	ʔā23	Pl.		ʕ	r	f	ʔārəfēt/ʔārəf, ʔārf	
ʔārl'	ML	4 breadth	NO	ʔā23	Pl.		ʕ	r	l'	ʔārl'	
ʔāyd	ML	4 sardine	NO	ʔā23	Pl.		ʕ	y	d	ʔāydēt/ʔāyd	
ʔāskēr	ML	14 soldier, policeman	NO	ʔā23ē4	Pl.		ʕ	s	k	r	ʔāskəray/ʔāskēr

ʔānšētən	ML	12 spider	NO	ʔā23ētən	Pl.	ʃ	n	š	ʔānšēt/ʔānšētən, ʔaynšētən
ʔāsmīn	ML	14 heap, pile	NO	ʔā23īn	Pl.	ʃ	s	m	ʔāsūm/ʔāsmīn
ʔāybīn	ML	14 oath-breaker	NO	ʔā23īn	Pl.	ʃ	y	b	ʔōyb/ʔāybīn
ʔāk' bōb	ML	14 name of a tree, grey plant	NO	ʔā23ō3	Pl.	ʃ	k'	b	ʔāk' bēb/ʔāk' bōb
ʔārk' ōb	ML	14 mouse, rat	NO	ʔā23ō4	Pl.	ʃ	r	k' b	ʔārk' ayb/ʔārk' ōb
ʔāšfōr	ML	14 whelk, cowrie-shell	NO	ʔā23ō4	Pl.	ʃ	š	f r	ʔāšfir/ʔāšfōr
ʔārdyōb	ML	14 nape of the neck and the top of tl	NO	ʔā23yō4	Pl.	ʃ	r	d b	ʔārdyīb/ʔārdyōb
ʔāk' āb	ML	5 (any) large bird	NO	ʔā2ā3	Pl.	ʃ	k'	b	ʔāk' ēbēt/ʔāk' āb
ʔaθ' amtən	ML	12 back	NO	ʔa2a3tən	Pl.	ʃ	θ'	m	ʔāθ' emēt/ʔaθ' amtən
ʔāfartən	ML	12 demon	NO	ʔā2a3tən	Pl.	ʃ	f	r	ʔāfiryēt/ʔāfartən
ʔālak' tən	ML	12 small water-worm	NO	ʔā2a3tən	Pl.	ʃ	l	k'	ʔāwk' ayt/ʔālak' tən
ʔātartən	ML	12 buttermilk, butterskin	NO	ʔā2a3tən	Pl.	ʃ	t	r	ʔātərēt/ʔātartən, ʔāytēr
ʔāl' adtən	ML	12 upper arm	NO	ʔā2a3tən	Pl.	ʃ	l'	d	ʔāl' dīt/ʔāl' adtən
ʔaɫ' awɫ'	ML	6 bone	NO	ʔa2aw2	Pl.	ʃ	ɫ'	ɫ'	ʔāl' ayl'/ʔaɫ' awɫ'
ʔāk' awl	ML	6 (us. poet.) mind	NO	ʔā2aw3	Pl.	ʃ	k'	l	ʔāk' əl/ʔāk' awl
ʔārawk'	ML	6 1. artery, sinew, nerve, 2. sanddu	NO	ʔā2aw3	Pl.	ʃ	r	k'	ʔark'/ʔārawk'
ʔās' awr	ML	6 night	NO	ʔā2aw3	Pl.	ʃ	s'	r	ʔās' ər/ʔās' ōr, ʔās' awr
ʔāzawm	ML	6 intention, aim	NO	ʔā2aw3	Pl.	ʃ	z	m	ʔāzm/ʔāzawm
ʔāk' awdət	ML	13 leader, chief	NO	ʔā2aw3ət	Pl.	ʃ	k'	d	ʔāk' ayd/ʔāk' awdət
ʔāmawlət	ML	13 farm, field of growing plants	NO	ʔā2aw3ət	Pl.	ʃ	m	l	ʔāmēl/ʔāmawlət
ʔāyawdət	ML	13 festival, 'id	NO	ʔā2aw3ət	Pl.	ʃ	y	d	ʔāyd, ʔīd/ʔāyawdət
ʔāmawdət	ML	13 ceiling beam, beam	NO	ʔā2aw3ət	Pl.	ʃ	m	d	ʔāmawd/ʔāmawdət
ʔazaymət	ML	13 invitation	NO	ʔa2ay3ət	Pl.	ʃ	z	m	ʔayzəm/ʔazaymət
ʔārə' ltən	ML	12 barasti, (coconut) palm-leaf hut,	NO	ʔā2ə'3tən	Pl.	ʃ	r	ɫ	ʔārɫēt/ʔārə' ltən
ʔābēr	ML	5 desire to weep, lump in the throa	NO	ʔā2ē3	Pl.	ʃ	b	r	ʔābərēt/ʔābēr
ʔāgēl	ML	5 wheel	NO	ʔā2ē3	Pl.	ʃ	g	l	ʔāgəlēt/ʔāgēl
ʔāgēm	ML	5 virgin	NO	ʔā2ē3	Pl.	ʃ	g	m	ʔāgəm/ʔāgēm
ʔārəf	ML	2 leaf of a plant used in basket-we:	NO	ʔā2ə3	Pl.	ʃ	r	f	ʔārəfēt/ʔārəf, ʔārf
ʔākərēm	ML	14 pelvis	NO	ʔā2ə3ē4	Pl.	ʃ	k	r m	ʔākərēmōt/ʔākərēm
ʔāfərīn	ML	14 cloud	NO	ʔā2ə3īn	Pl.	ʃ	f	r	ʔāfōr/ʔāfərīn
ʔābəlōtən	ML	12 flint, flintstone	NO	ʔā2ə3ōtən	Pl.	ʃ	b	l	ʔaybəl/ʔābəlōtən
ʔāθəmōtən	ML	12 bandage, poultice, plaster	NO	ʔā2ə3ōtən	Pl.	ʃ	θ	m	ʔayθəm/ʔāθəmōtən
ʔāzəbōy	ML	11 staying alone or without o's fami	NO	ʔā2ə3ōy	Pl.	ʃ	z	b	ʔāzəbay/ʔāzəbōy
ʔābərɪt	ML	13 passenger	NO	ʔā2ə3yēt	Pl.	ʃ	b	r	ʔōbər/ʔābərɪt

ʔarēwət	ML	13 tom-cat	NO	ʔa2ēwət	Pl.	ʕ	r	v	ʔayri/ʔarēwət
ʔāyēntən	ML	12 eye, spring of water, spy	NO	ʔā2Ē3tən	Pl.	ʕ	y	n	ʔāyn/ʔāyēntən
ʔābōr	ML	5 contemporary	NO	ʔā2ō3	Pl.	ʕ	b	r	ʔābər/ʔābōr
ʔālōg	ML	5 camel-calf, usually about two ye:	NO	ʔā2ō3	Pl.	ʕ	l	g	ʔĕlīg/ʔālōg
ʔārōθ'	ML	5 male kid	NO	ʔā2ō3	Pl.	ʕ	r	θ'	ʔārīθ', ʔarīθ'/ʔārōθ'
ʔās'ōb	ML	5 sinew, nerve	NO	ʔā2ō3	Pl.	ʕ	s'	b	ʔās'bīt/ʔās'ōb
ʔās'ōr	ML	5 night	NO	ʔā2ō3	Pl.	ʕ	s'	r	ʔās'ər/ʔās'ōr, ʔās'awr
ʔāgōrəz	ML	14 testicle	NO	ʔā2ō3ə4	Pl.	ʕ	g	r z	ʔāgrēz/ʔāgōrəz
ʔāmōtən	ML	12 grandmother, aunt	NO	ʔā2ōtən	Pl.	ʕ	m		ʔāmēt/ʔāmōtən
ʔāđōwək'	ML	8 cluster of dates (on a palm-tree),	NO	ʔā2ōwə3	Pl.	ʕ	đ	k'	ʔōđək'/ʔāđōwək'
ʔāt'ōwər	ML	8 perfume, perfume-bottle	NO	ʔā2ōwə3	Pl.	ʕ	t'	r	ʔāt'ər/ʔāt'ōwər
ʔāgōyəz	ML	8 old woman	NO	ʔā2ōyə3	Pl.	ʕ	g	z	ʔāgawz/ʔāgōyəz
ʔālōyəm	ML	8 indication, mark	NO	ʔā2ōyə3	Pl.	ʕ	l	m	ʔālōmət/ʔālōyəm
ʔalyōtən	ML	12 supper	NO	ʔa2yōtən	Pl.	ʕ	l	v	ʔaylē/ʔalyōtən
ʔawm	ML	16 ancestor, grandfather	NO	ʔaw2	Pl.	ʕ	m		ʔōm/ʔawm
ʔawōtək'	ML	8 camel with little milk	NO	ʔawō2ə3	Pl.	ʕ	t	k'	ʔōtək'/ʔawōtək'
ʔaynšētən	ML	12 spider	NO	ʔay23ētən	Pl.	ʕ	n	š	ʔānšēt/ʔānšētən, ʔaynšētən
ʔaylartən	ML	12 (female) friend	NO	ʔay2a3tən	Pl.	ʕ	l	r	ʔālrēt/ʔaylartən
ʔāytēr	ML	10 buttermilk, butterskin	NO	ʔāy2ē3	Pl.	ʕ	t	r	ʔātərēt/ʔātartən, ʔāytēr
ʔaylōr	ML	10 friend	NO	ʔay2ō3	Pl.	ʕ	l	r	ʔālər/ʔaylōr
ʔīwēk'	ML	10 mountain pool	NO	ʔī2ē3	Pl.	ʕ	w	k'	ʔāk'awt/ʔīwēk'
ʔāmk'aytən	ML	12 medium, middling	YES	ʔā23aytən	Pl.	F	ʕ	m k'	ʔāmk'ay, ʔāmk'yēt/ʔāmk'ōy, ʔāmk'aytən
ʔāgbənayn	ML	14 one in love	YES	ʔā23ənayn	Pl.	?	ʕ	g b	ʔāgbōn, ʔāgbōnət/ʔāgabnət, ʔāgbənayn
ʔaylēt	ML	13 a small, insignificant person	YES	ʔa23ēt	Pl.	M	ʕ	y l	ʔōyəl, ʔāylət/ʔaylēt, ʔaylōt
ʔāgzēt	ML	13 lazy	YES	ʔā23ēt	Pl.	M	ʕ	g z	ʔāgəz, ʔāgzēt/ʔāgzēt, ʔāgzōt
ʔaylōt	ML	13 a small, insignificant person	YES	ʔa23ōt	Pl.	F	ʕ	y l	ʔōyəl, ʔāylət/ʔaylēt, ʔaylōt
ʔāgzōt	ML	13 lazy	YES	ʔā23ōt	Pl.	F	ʕ	g z	ʔāgəz, ʔāgzēt/ʔāgzēt, ʔāgzōt
ʔāwrōtən	ML	12 blind	YES	ʔā23ōtən	Pl.	NA	ʕ	w r	ʔāwēr, ʔawrēt/ʔāwrōtən
ʔāmk'ōy	ML	14 medium, middling	YES	ʔā23ōy	Pl.	M	ʕ	m k'	ʔāmk'ay, ʔāmk'yēt/ʔāmk'ōy, ʔāmk'aytən
ʔāgabnət	ML	13 one in love	YES	ʔā2a3nət	Pl.	?	ʕ	g b	ʔāgbōn, ʔāgbōnət/ʔāgabnət, ʔāgbənayn
ʔāfər	ML	2 red, brown, red-brown	YES	ʔā2ə3	Pl.	NA	ʕ	f r	ʔōfər, ʔāfərōt/ʔāfər
ʔāk'əlay	ML	14 clever	YES	ʔā2ə3ay	Pl.	M	ʕ	k' l	ʔōk'əl, ʔāk'lət/ʔāk'əlay, ʔayk'altən
ʔārəbaytən	ML	12 Arab, Arabic	YES	ʔā2ə3aytən	Pl.	F	ʕ	r b	ʔārəbay, ʔarəbayət/ʔārəbayyət, ʔārəbaytən
ʔārəbayyət	ML	13 Arab, Arabic	YES	ʔā2ə3ayyət	Pl.	M	ʕ	r b	ʔārəbay, ʔarəbayyət/ʔārəbayyət, ʔārəbaytən

ʔāgəməōtən	ML	12 dumb	YES	ʔā2ə3ōtən	Pl.	F	ʃ	g	m	ʔāgēm, ʔāgəməēt/ʔāgwōm, ʔāgəməōtən
ʔāgwōm	ML	10 dumb	YES	ʔā2wō3	Pl.	M	ʃ	g	m	ʔāgēm, ʔāgəməēt/ʔāgwōm, ʔāgəməōtən
ʔayk'altən	ML	12 clever	YES	ʔay2a3tən	Pl.	F	ʃ	k'	l	ʔōk'əl, ʔāk'lət/ʔāk'əlay, ʔayk'altən
hārīk	ML	arāk (?) tree	NO	lā2ī3 (hā2ī3)	Sg.	?	ʔ/h	r	k	hārīk
θML	ML	4 weakly goat	NO	lā22	Sg.	?	θ	l	l	θML
θawr	ML	4 bull, big stupid blundering stron;	NO	lā23 (lāw3)	Sg.	?	θ	w	r	θawr
θawrəh	ML	14 revolution	NO	lā23əh (lāw3əh)	Sg.	?	θ	w	r	θawrəh
θābēt	ML	13 cough	NO	lā3ēt	Sg.	?	θ	ʃ	b	θābēt
θaybər	ML	3 breaking	NO	lāy2ə3	Sg.	?	θ	b	r	θaybər
θaybi	ML	3 (cow) mooing	NO	lāy2i	Sg.	?	θ	b	v	θaybi
θayri	ML	3 wetting, dampening	NO	lāy2i	Sg.	?	θ	r	v	θayri
θəmmōr	ML	14 name of a kind of thorn tree havi	NO	lə22ō3	Sg.	?	θ	m	r	θəmmōr
θəhmēt	ML	13 glowing ember	NO	lə23ēt	Sg.	?	θ	h	m	θəhmēt
θəmrīt	ML	13 Thamrit	NO	lə23īt	Sg.	?	θ	m	r	θəmrīt
θəbtūt	ML	13 making firm	NO	lə23ūt	Sg.	?	θ	b	t	θəbtūt
θəlaylət	ML	13 poet. the highest praise	NO	lə2ay2ət	Sg.	?	θ	l	l	θəlaylət
θərayd	ML	6 a kind of porridge made of bread	NO	lə2ay3	Sg.	?	θ	r	d	θərayd
θəhayrət	ML	13 wound, hurt	NO	lə2ay3ət	Sg.	?	θ	h	r	θəhayrət
θəmən	ML	5 value	NO	lə2ē3	Sg.	?	θ	m	n	θəmən
θəbərəyn	ML	14 hyena	NO	lə2ə3ayn	Sg.	F	θ	b	r	θəbərəyn/θəbərēn
θəmərēt	ML	13 coming to fruition, ripening	NO	lə2ə3ēt	Sg.	?	θ	m	r	θəmərēt
θəfərīt	ML	13 camel-dung, dung in pellet form	NO	lə2ə3īt	Sg.	?	θ	f	r	θəfərīt/θəfər
θəmət	ML	13 garlic	NO	lə2ēt	Sg.	?	θ	m		θəmət/θəm
θəməōt	ML	13 fine soil	NO	lə2ōt	Sg.	?	θ	m		θəməōt
θīwīt	ML	13 sheep	NO	lī2īt	Sg.	?	θ	w		θīwīt/θīwē?
θōdi	ML	2 breast, bosom	NO	lō2i	Sg.	F	θ	d	v	θōdi/θīday?
məθəmnēt	ML	13 waistband	NO	mə1ə23ēt	Sg.	?	θ	m	n	məθəmnēt
məθənyēt	ML	13 incisor tooth	NO	mə1ə23ēt	Sg.	?	θ	n	v	məθənyēt/məθōni
θayri	ML	6 fresh, damp	YES	lāy2i	Sg.	M	θ	r	v	θayri, θəryēt
θəryēt	ML	13 fresh, damp	YES	lə23ēt	Sg.	F	θ	r	v	θayri, θəryēt
θəbawr	ML	6 (poet.) broken	YES	lə2aw3	Sg.	?	θ	b	r	θəbawr
θək'ayl	ML	6 heavy	YES	lə2ay3	Sg.	M	θ	k'	l	θək'ayl, θək'aylət/θīk'əl, θīk'ātən
θəmayn	ML	6 fine, expensive	YES	lə2ay3	Sg.	M	θ	m	n	θəmayn, θəmaynət/θīmōn, θīmāntən
θəmaynət	ML	13 fine, expensive	YES	lə2ay3ət	Sg.	F	θ	m	n	θəmayn, θəmaynət/θīmōn, θīmāntən

θək'aylət	ML	13 heavy	YES	lə2ay3ət	Sg.	F	θ	k'	l	θək'ayl, θək'aylət/θīk'ōl, θīk'ātən
θəfəl	ML	5 having a broken leg, lame	YES	lə2ē3	Sg.	M	θ	f	l	θəfəl, θəfəlīt/θəfwōl, θəfētən
θəfəlīt	ML	13 having a broken leg, lame	YES	lə2ə3īt	Sg.	F	θ	f	l	θəfəl, θəfəlīt/θəfwōl, θəfētən
θōbət	ML	2 firm	YES	lō2ə3	Sg.	?	θ	b	t	θōbət
θəm	ML	garlic	NO	lə2	Pl.		θ	m		θəmēt/θəm
θēfər	ML	5 camel dung, dung in pellet form	NO	lē2ə3	Pl.		θ	f	r	θəfərīt/θēfər
θəbərēn	ML	14 hyena	NO	lə2ə3ēn	Pl.		θ	b	r	θəbərəyn/θəbərēn
θīday?	ML	10 breast, bosom	NO	lī2ay?	Pl.		θ	d	v	θōdi/θīday?
θīwē?	ML	10 sheep	NO	lī2ē?	Pl.		θ	w		θīwīt/θīwē?
məθōni	ML	7 incisor tooth	NO	mə1ō2i	Pl.		θ	n	v	məθənyēt/məθōni
θəfētən	ML	12 having a broken leg, lame	YES	lə2ētən	Pl.	F	θ	f	l	θəfəl, θəfəlīt/θəfwōl, θəfētən
θəfwōl	ML	10 having a broken leg, lame	YES	lə2wō3	Pl.	M	θ	f	l	θəfəl, θəfəlīt/θəfwōl, θəfētən
θīmāntən	ML	13 fine, expensive	YES	lī2a3tən	Pl.	F	θ	m	n	θəmayn, θəmaynət/θīmōn, θīmāntən
θīk'ātən	ML	13 heavy	YES	lī2ātən	Pl.	F	θ	k'	l	θək'ayl, θək'aylət/θīk'ōl, θīk'ātən
θīk'ōl	ML	10 heavy	YES	lī2ō3	Pl.	M	θ	k'	l	θək'ayl, θək'aylət/θīk'ōl, θīk'ātən
θīmōn	ML	10 fine, expensive	YES	lī2ō3	Pl.	M	θ	m	n	θəmayn, θəmaynət/θīmōn, θīmāntən
θ'fēr	ML	5 nail of a finger or toe, claw	NO	l2ē3	Sg.	?	θ'	f	r	θ'fēr/θ'əfərūt
θ'an	ML	4 thought	NO	lā2	Sg.	?	θ'	n	n	θ'an
θ'āy	ML	16 smell, scent	NO	lā2 (lāy)	Sg.	?	θ'	v	?	θ'āy - θ'ā?y/θ'āyōtən
θ'ahr	ML	4 noon, midday	NO	lā23	Sg.	?	θ'	h	r	θ'ahr
θ'arb	ML	4 smML piece of wood, (poet.) sta	NO	lā23	Sg.	?	θ'	r	b	θ'arb/θ'ərōb
θ'āhəm	ML	2 camel urine	NO	lā2ə3	Sg.	?	θ'	h	m	θ'āhəm
θ'an	ML	16 family	NO	lā3	Sg.	?	θ'	?	n	θ'an
θ'āwēt	ML	13 plant name	NO	lā3ēt (lāwēt)	Sg.	F	θ'	ʃ	v	θ'āwēt
θ'awma	ML	3 thirst	NO	lāw2a	Sg.	?	θ'	m	?	θ'awma
θ'əhayl	ML	6 to urinate	NO	lə2ay3	Sg.	?	θ'	h	l	θ'əhayl
θ'əhyōl	ML	8 urine	NO	lə2yō3	Sg.	?	θ'	h	l	θ'əhyōl
θ'ōnēt	ML	13 bad smelling, malodorous sweat	NO	lō3ēt	Sg.	F	θ'	w	n	θ'ōnēt
məθ'hām	ML	7 bladder (of an animal)	NO	mə12ā3	Sg.	?	θ'	h	m	məθ'hām/məθ'āhəm
məθ'χām	ML	7 pincers, tweezers	NO	mə12ā3	Sg.	?	θ'	χ	m	məθ'χām/məθ'awχəm
məθ'allət	ML	13 sunshade	NO	mə1á22ət	Sg.	F	θ'	l	l	məθ'allət
θ'ərayf	ML	6 skilled (doctor)	YES	lə2ay3	Sg.	M	θ'	r	f	θ'ərayf
θ'ōləm	ML	2 cruel	YES	lō2ə3	Sg.	M	θ'	l	m	θ'ōləm
θ'ərbēt	ML	13 gust of wind, wind storm	NO	lə23ēt	Pl.		θ'	r	b	θ'ərbēt

θ'əfərūt	ML	13 nail of a finger or toe, claw	NO	1ə2ə3ūt	Pl.	θ'	f	r	θ'fēr/θ'əfərūt
θ'ērōb	ML	10 small piece of wood, (poet.) statu	NO	1ē2ō3	Pl.	θ'	r	b	θ'arb/θ'ērōb
θ'əyōtən	ML	12 smell, scent	NO	1ə2ōtən (1əyōtən	Pl.	θ'	v	?	θ'āy - θ'á?y/θ'əyōtən
məθ'āhəm	ML	7 bladder (of an animal)	NO	mə1ā2ə3	Pl.	θ'	h	m	məθ'hām/məθ'āhəm
məθ'awχəm	ML	7 pincers, tweezers	NO	mə1aw2ə3	Pl.	θ'	χ	m	məθ'χām/məθ'awχəm

Titre : Morpho-phonologie nominale en sudarabique moderne

Mots clés : Morphophonologie, Sudarabique Moderne, Mehri, Jibbali

Résumé : Cette thèse constitue une première étude de la morphophonologie nominale des langues sudarabiques modernes – principalement le Mehri (Oriental/Najdi), bien que des données comparatives provenant d'autres langues sudarabiques modernes, principalement Jibbali/Shehri, soient mentionnées tout au long de cette thèse. Après une introduction en section I, qui rappelle les effets phonologiques décrits précédemment et qui serviront d'outils de diagnostic principaux pour la suite de cette thèse, les schèmes nominaux les plus attestés sont discutés dans la section II. Ici, les schèmes nominaux sont regroupés en fonction de caractéristiques de surface et ensuite analysés en termes d'application des effets phonologiques décrits précédemment. En suite, dans la section III, une discussion des catégories nominales et certaines caractéristiques phonologiques est proposée, suivie d'un tableau résumant l'ensemble des schèmes nominaux sous-jacents en Mehri.

Parmi les caractéristiques discutées dans cette thèse figurent la distribution de formes sg./pl., la distribution de l'accent et des qualités vocaliques dans les formes nominales, le statut des adjectifs, le statut du morphème duel, la formation des fem.sg. et fem.pl. ainsi que la formation des noms verbaux. En ce qui concerne les traits phonologiques, le statut des glides et du /ʔ/ a été discuté, tout comme la répartition de l'accent en lien avec les glides infixaux et /ʔ/. On espère ainsi que cette thèse contribuera à l'étude des langues sudarabiques modernes de manière général en comblant la lacune du domaine nominal, ainsi qu'à l'étude de la (morpho)phonologie de Mehri, tout en apportant un certain nombre de caractéristiques particulières du domaine nominal, qui pourraient être d'intérêt pour des études ultérieures, tant de point de vue synchronique que diachronique.

Title : Nominal Morphophonology of the Modern South Arabian Languages

Keywords : Morphophonology, Modern South Arabian Languages, Mehri, Jibbali

Abstract : This thesis is a first account of the nominal morphophonology in the Modern South Arabian Languages – mainly (Eastern/Najdi) Mehri, although comparative data from other MSAL, mainly Jibbali/Shehri is mentioned throughout this thesis. After an introduction (section I), recalling the previously described phonological effects which will serve as principal diagnostic tools for the remainder of this thesis, the most prominently attested noun patterns are discussed in section II. Here, noun patterns are grouped together according to surface features and subsequently analyzed in terms of the application of previously described phonological effects. Subsequently, in section III a separate discussion of nominal categories and certain phonological features is given, followed by a table summarizing the set of underlying noun patterns in Mh.

Amongst the features discussed in this thesis is the distribution of sg./pl. forms, the distribution of stress and vowel qualities in nominal forms, the status of adjectives, the status of the dual morpheme, fem.sg. and fem.pl. formation and verbal noun formation. In terms of phonological features, the status of glides and /ʔ/ has been discussed, as well as the distribution of stress in connection with infixal glides and /ʔ/. It is thus hoped, that this thesis will contribute to the study of the MSAL in a general sense by closing the lacuna of the nominal domain, as well as contribute to the study of the (morpho)phonology of Mh. by contributing a number of particular features of the nominal domain, which might be of interest for further studies, both in terms of synchrony and diachrony.