

Proto-Modern South Arabian Vowels – A First Approximation

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1 Preliminaries

The MSA languages comprise Mehri, Jibbali, Harsusi, Bathari, Hobbyot, and Soqotri. Mehri, Harsusi and Bathari are closely related and form a group which we call Western Modern South Arabian (WMSA).

We will focus on

- Omani Mehri (OM, Johnstone 1987 = ML)
- Yemeni Mehri (YM, Jahn 1906; cf. also Sima 2009)
- Harsusi (H, Johnstone 1977 = HL, 1987 = ML)
- Eastern Jibbali (EJ, Johnstone 1977 = HL, 1987 = ML)
- Central Jibbali (CJ, Johnstone 1981 = JL, 1987 = ML)
- Soqotri (S, Leslau 1938 = L, Johnstone 1977 = HL, 1981 = JL, 1987 = ML, Siméone-

Sennelle and Lonnet = SSL; Nakano 1986 = N)

When available, the forms used here are taken from Johnstone's last publication, i.e. ML. The usefulness of the published Soqotri data for the reconstruction of vowels is limited by the fact that the published lexical collections are comparatively small and that the collections represent different dialects. The transcription of certain vowels varies even between the different publications of Johnstone. Bathari (B) and Hobyot (Hb) are only poorly documented.

All Modern South Arabian languages possess large amounts of Arabic loanwords. Sometimes they can be identified by irregular consonant correspondences, such as /s/ corresponding to Arabic /s/ going back to Proto-Semitic */š/, which yields /š/ or /h/ in Modern South Arabian. In general, however, it is at the current state of knowledge not possible to reliably recognize loans. To minimize the danger of deforming the reconstruction by words that entered Modern South Arabian languages after they split, we will only consider words which either appear to have no cognate in Arabic, or also have a cognate outside of Arabic (Sets which only share the root, but probably not the vocalization pattern, are not considered cognate sets here).

Throughout the paper, forms not accounted for by the reconstruction are marked in **red**.

2 Stress

Jibbali words often have more than one stressed syllable. Multiple stress also occurs in Mehri, Harsusi and is also reported for Hobyot.

In general, the last stressed syllable in Jibbali corresponds to the last stressed syllable in Mehri and Harsusi. A syllable which is stressed in Mehri and Harsusi is also stressed in Jibbali.

We will assume that the vowels stressed in Mehri, and only these, were stressed in PMSA. It will be shown in section 4 that additional stress at least in Jibbali nouns can be predicted unambiguously from the presumed original pattern. In Soqotri, stress is usually on the penultimate and thus often on a different vowel than in the other languages. However, the original qualities of the formerly stressed vowel remain distinct in Soqotri.

3 Reconstructing Stressed Vowels

The reconstructions for unstressed vowels given here are tentative.

3.1 Mid Vowels *ε and *ɔ

The most well-supported vowel phonemes for PMSA are *ε and *ɔ. The main support for these phonemes is provided by the regular correspondence of WMSA ee to Jibbali /ε/, and of WMSA oo to Jibbali /ɔ/. In Soqotri, *ɔ yields o, while *ε yields e, ə, a (under unknown conditions).

*High *ε*

1. *-bré 'son (definite)': OM H ḥə-bree, YM ḥe-berée | J ε-bré (HL)
2. *(ʔə)tén 'you (f.pl)': OM ʔəteen | JC tən | S ten (HL)
3. *d.ífēr 'nail, claw': OM dfeer, YM SM (ML) tayféer, H ... | JC d.ífēr | S tifer (tífer) (L), táyfər, táfħər (ML)
4. *dréʔ 'pl of *stranger* (m)': OM dreeʔ | JC εdréʔ

5. *fələg 'small river': OM H fəleeg, YM feléej | J fələg
6. *məlsé 'rain': OM mawsee, YM mleseē | JE mósé, JC mósé | S mése (L), mésse (ML)
7. *mərəq 'soup': OM mərəeq, YM mreeq | JE méréq, JC mිරéq | S maraq (L, HL), máraq (ML)
8. *mərəz 'illness': OM H mereez (HL) | JC méréz
9. *məsréq 'comb': OM məsreeq, YM misreeq, H məsrreeq | JEC məsréq | S misraq (L)
10. *mətél 'speech, parable': OM məteel, YM metél (L) | JEC mítél | S methal (L)
11. *mél 'fullness': OM meel | JEC mēl
12. *sələb 'arms': OM H seleeb (HL) | JC séléb
13. *šigér 'pl of mountain pass': OM šiigeer (ML), H šageer | JC šizér
14. *ʔidén 'ear': OM H hə-ydeen, YM haydeen | JC ʔidén (ʔidéʔn) | S {ʔidihen (L), ʔád(ə)han (JL, ML)}
15. *ʕaybél 'flint': OM ʔaybeel (HL), H ʔaabeel (HL) | JC ʕayél | S ʕebhal (HL), ʕəbhal (JL)

In the first syllable of polysyllabic words, the reflex of *ε in Harsusi is é rather than ee:

16. *bédVʔ 'lie, falsehood': M béedi, H bádi | JC bédəʔ, JE bédε (HL) | S bédi (L)
17. *gédVl 'foot': M geedəl, H gódəl | JEC gédəl
18. *kéfVʔ 'boiled beestings': OM keefa, H káfa | JEC kéfeʔ | S káfaʔ (HL), kéfaʔ (ML)
19. *šéhVr 'crescent': M šeehər, H šáhər | J šéhər | S šéhər (JS, ML), séher (L), šáaher (N)
20. *šékVl 'twin': OM šekəl (ML sic!, HL šeekeel), H šókel | J šékel

Low *ɔ

21. *dór(Vʔ) 'blood': OM doorə H doorəʔ | JC **dóhr**, dór- | S {dóor (N), dur (L, HL)}
22. *gól(uʔʔ/Vwʔ) 'fever': OM H gooləw YM jóoluu | JC góleʔ | S {góleʔ (HL), g(y)óle (L)}
23. *yób 'excrement': OM yóob H **yəb (JL)** | JC yób | S {yób (N, HL, JL), yəb (L)}
24. *híb 'how': OM hiiboo H həboo B haaboo | JC yə, yəl | Hb həbó (ML) | S 'ifó(l) (HL, ML)
25. *šxót 'armpit': OM xoot (aff xoot-V, xát-C) | JC šxót | S {šhoh (HL, JL, SSL 1989), šho/šho (L), šhoh (N, SSL 1989)}
26. *tódíʔ 'breast': OM H tódi | JC tódεʔ | S todi (JL)
27. *ʔóz 'goat': OM woz, YM hə-ooʕ, B hə-aʔz | JEC ʔoz | Hb hə-oʔz | S ʔóʔoz (ML), ʔoz (ʔuz, ʔóoz) (L)
28. *CVC(C)óC plural pattern
 29. *gdól 'pl of foot': OM h.ə-gdool | JEC gdól
 30. *qiród 'pl of throat': OM qiirood (ML) **H qəreed (ML)** | JEC qiród | S qáyrod (ML)
 31. *birók 'pl of knee': OM biirook YM birook H **bəreek** | JC eérók | S bírok (ML)
 32. *kVbkób 'pl of star': OM kəbkoob | JEC kəbkób | S {kábkuub (ML), kíbkuub (L)}
 33. *d.Vrób 'pl of small piece of wood': OM d.eeroob | JC d.órób | S tēyruub (JL)
 34. *nVxrór 'pl of nose': OM nəxroor | JC naxrór | S náhror (ML)

The occasional appearance of H ee, ə remains unexplained.

In the neighbourhood of nasals, MH oo < *ó regularly corresponds to Jibbali /ú/:

35. *dVnóʔ 'pregnancy': OM dənooʔ | JE dínúʔ
36. *gVfón 'eyelid': OM H gəfoon | JE gífún | S {gefón (JH, SSL 1986), gáfón (S ML), gáafen (N)}
37. *kVnóbVʕ 'pl of heel': OM kənoobəʕ; kənəwbeʕ, kənáwba, kenóʕba' (SSL 1989) H kənooba' (SSL 1989) | J kunuuʕ (SSL 1989)
38. *IVbón 'white': OM əwboon H əlboon | JE luun (HL) | S lebhan (HL)
39. *món 'who': OM H moon B maan (ML) | JEC mun | S mon
40. *mótVn 'hip, flesh of back': OM H mootən | JC mútun (JL) | S {móten (HL), mótən, du mátni (ML)}
41. *mVtóni 'pl of incisor tooth': OM mətooni (HL) | JC muʔúni (JL) JE mʔúni (HL) | S

{mə́tonhi (JL), metonhi (HL), metónihi (L)}

42. *nóf 'soul': OM hə-noof YM ḥanoof | JEC é-núf | S {nhof-, nhob- (L) nóf-, nhóf- (S ML)}
 43. *nóšVr 'big bird': OM noohər | J núšer, nuser | S {nóyhər (ML), nóyhir (L)}
 44. *šVynón 'pl of gland in neck; gill': OM šəy(ə)noon H šyənnoon | JC šaynún
 45. *tómVr 'dates': YM toomer H toomər (HL) | JE tūr (HL) | S támer(L)

Close to back consonants, *ɔ tends to change to a(a) in Western MSA:

46. *širóš 'navel': OM šiireε, šiireʔ¹ (=šiiiraa/), YM širaʔ, H šeraa | JE širóš, JC šíróš | S šíiraš, šiiraš (N)
 47. *šófər 'red, brown': OM YM ʔóofər H šáfər | JC šófər | S {šofer (HL), šáfər, fem šafəroh (JL), šáfer (L)}

Mehri and Harsusi ee and oo are not found in the environment $_CC$, i.e., they are found only in open syllables, where we define 'open' to include word-final CVC syllables.

Johnstone (ML), and implicitly already Bittner, note that Mehri /ee/ and /oo/ change to /a/ when the syllable is closed and assume that /a/ was the original vowel, which became /ee/ or /oo/ in open syllables. An alternative hypothesis is that /a/ is a secondary reflex in closed syllables. This hypothesis is supported by the fact that /a/ corresponds to Jibbali /ε/, /ɔ/, /a/ (see below for /a/):

Jibbali ε

48. *bək 'knee': OM,H,B bark | JC bək | S {bək (S), berk (L, HL), bək (JS), bark (SN SSL89)}
 49. *gerb 'leprosy, mange, scab': OM,H garb | JCE gerb | S {gerb 'gale' (L), garb (HL), gerb 'mange' (ML) (S)}
 50. *ʔerz 'land, earth': YM arz | J ʔerz | S ʔard. (N)
 51. *mVdėwrVm 'heels': OM mədāwrəm | JC midėbrəm | S {medėrhEm (SN SSL89), midrhem (L)}

Jibbali ɔ

52. *kóbš 'ram': OM, H kábš | JE kabš | JC kóbš | S {kobš (N, S), kubš (ML)}
 53. *xóbz 'bread': OM H xabz, YM xábez | JEC xóbz

*CɔCC can appear as CooCəC in Mehri and/or Harsusi if the second consonant is r:

54. *fórt 'non-digested food in stomach': OM fərt, H foorət, B feert | JC fórt | Hb fərt | S {fərt (JJ), fərt (ML)}
 55. *wórx 'month': M wárx, H woorəx, B waarəx | JEC órx | Hb woorəx
 56. *xórf 'summer': M xarf, H xoorəf | JEC xórf | S hórf (ML)
 57. *ʔórm 'path': OM H woorəm (def ḥoorəm) YM ḥórem | JC ʔórm | S {ʔórim (ʔoirim) (L), ʔóʔorem (HL)}

Jibbali ε/ɔ and Soqotri e, ə/o appear not to be predictable in these examples. We therefore reconstruct separate phonemes *ε and *ɔ also in the environment $_CC$, where they merged to /a/ in Western MSA.

Thus, we have the following rules for *ε and *ɔ:

- Proto-Western-MSA
 1. ε, ɔ > a | $_CC$
 2. ε > ee | open syllable
 3. ɔ > oo | open syllable

1 ML gives šiireε, but the root, the other forms, and the occurrence in the example have š.

- Harsusi
 1. (Harsusi) ee > ə | #C_CV
- Jibbali
 1. ɔ > u | N_ or _N

3.2 Low Vowel *a

While Mehri and Harsusi /a/ often goes back to *ε or *ɔ, *a can be reconstructed for PMSA on the basis of Jibbali /a/, which corresponds to Western MSA /a/ in closed syllables and /aa/ in open syllables. In Soqotri, the vowel also appears as /a/. *a probably was not an independent phoneme, as it appears to be found only together with back or emphatic consonants. While some of the proto-forms with *ɔ also show such environments (e.g., *ʕófər 'red, brown'), none of the reconstructed forms with *ε show such an environment, suggesting that *ε and *a were allophones.

Closed Syllables

58. *d.arb 'small piece of wood': OM d.arb | JC d.arb | S ɬarb (JL)
59. *fáxrVh 'together': OM fáxrəh YM fáxere H fáxərəh | JEC fáxrəh | S {fáhere (B), fáhrəh (ML)}
60. *fVtáwri 'dual of *month name*': OM H fətáwri | J fétábri
61. *hamt 'belly from the navel down': OM H hamt | JEC hamt | S hant (ML)
62. *śáb(V)h 'fat': OM H śábh (HL) | S śábaḥ (N)
63. *zálʕ 'rib': OM H zaalaʔ | JE zálʕ | S {Dálʕ (N), zálʕ (HL), ɖalḥ (L), zóləʕ (SSL)}

Open Syllables

64. *d.áhVm 'camel urine': OM d.aahəm | JEC d.áhəm
65. *fVtás 'naked (m)': OM fətaa H fetáʔ (HL) | JE fitás (HL) | S {fóotaʕ (N), fətaʕ (ML)}
66. *háfi 'bare-footed': OM haafi | JE háfi | S háafi (N)
67. *háfVn 'handful': OM haafən | J háfən
68. *hágVI 'ring; eyebrow': OM H hágəl (HL) YM háajil | JC hágəl (JL) JE hágel (HL) | S {hágal (L, HL), hágəl (JL)}
69. *šáxVr 'old man': M héexər H xaahər | JE šaxer (HL)
70. *šVxár 'pl of *old man*': OM hiixaar | JEC šxar | Hb heexaar (ML)
71. *tád 'one (m)': OM taat H taad B taat, d.aat | JEC tad | S tad (L)
72. *zágVm 'cheek': OM H zaagəm (HL) | JC zágəm (JL) JE zágem (HL) | S zágəm (pl zágəEm) (JL)
73. *ʔVšbás 'finger': OM šəbáʔ YM hašəbá H hašbáʔ B hašbás (SSL 1989) | JC ʔišbás (SSL 1989) JE ʔəšbás, šbaʕ, ʔəšbás (SSL 1989) | Hb hiišəbáʔ (SSL 1989), ešəbás (ML) | S {ʔəšbaḥ (L), ʔišbaʕ, ʔəšbaʕ, ʔəšbəʕ, ʔizbaʔ (SSL 1989)}

3.3 High Back Vowels

In Omani Mehri, uu occurs in several verb forms and also in some nouns. In these forms, it appears as oo in Harsusi and corresponds to Jibbali e/i and ɔ/u and Soqotri e, a and o. In Yemeni Mehri, it corresponds to uu or oo (in open syllables). In the dialects recorded by Sima, uu seems to correlate with Jibbali e/i and Soqotri e. Jibbali i and u occur in the neighborhood of nasals, conforming to the general shift of Jibbali e and ɔ to i and u in the neighborhood of nasals.

Since there appear to be no phonological conditions predicting whether Mehri uu corresponds to Jibbali e/i or ɔ/u, we postulate two phonemes *u > YM uu, J e/i and *o > YM oo, J ɔ/u for PMSA.

While this reconstruction seems to account for the verbal paradigms (see section 5), the correspondences of nouns are less clear and there is no clear evidence for *u in nouns.

3.3.1 *o: Jibbali ɔ/u = Yemeni Mehri oo

Correspondences: Jibbali ɔ/u, Soqotri o, Omani Mehri uu, Yemeni Mehri oo (Sima), uu/oo (Jahn)

Nouns

74. *dVnób 'tail': OM d̥ənuub YM d̥ənoob H **deneeb** | JC d̥únúb | S d̥ínob
 75. *hVnnók 'palate and uvula': OM ɸənnuuk H **hennek** | JEC ɸónúk
 76. *kVmmór 'hedgehog': OM H kəmmuur (HL) | JE kūr (HL)
 77. *lVbbód 'good shot': OM ləbbuud H ləbbood | JEC ləbbód
 78. *mVtón 'pl of flesh of back': OM mətuun | JC motún (JL) | S métɔn (ML)
 79. *qVrón 'horns (pl)': OM qəruun H qəroon B qəraan (ML) | JEC qérún | Hb qəroon (ML) | S qərhən (ML)
 80. *ʕVśór 'tax': OM H ʔaásuur | JC ʕásór | S ʕéesor (N)

Verbs

81. -ót (3rd sg fem perfect): OM -uut YM oo (Sima 19/20) | JC -ót | S -oh

- G stem, Type a
 - active, perfect: *CəCóC: OM rəkuuz-, YM teboor- | JC qódór | S qébor
 - closed: OM rəkáz-, YM tebér-
 - active, impf: *yəCóCəC: OM yəruukəz, YM yikooteb (Jahn), yəCooCəC (Sima 19/20) | JC yCóCəC | S iqóber/iqáfed
 - closed: OM -ərákz-, YM -téber-
- causative
 - active, perfect:
 - 2nd and 1st person in all numbers and genders: *-(h)vCCóC-: OM -hənsuum-, YM -haktuub-, -haktóob- | JC -eCCóC-
 - active, imperfect:
 - 3ms *yv(hv)C(v)CóC: OM yəhənsuum, YM yihaktoob (Jahn) | JC iC:éCóC | S inésoor (L), ynéesor (Johnstone, t-Prefix)
- reflexive a
 - active, imperfect:
 - 3ms *yəCtəCóC: OM yəCtəCuuC, YM yiCteCooC | JC yəCtéCóC | S yikténah.
- caus-reflexive a
 - active, perfect:
 - (2s, 1s, 2p, 1p) *šəCvCóC: OM šəCCuuC- | JC ṣ̌CəCóC-
 - active, imperfect: *yəšC(V)CóC: OM yəšəCCuuC, YM yišəCCuuC (Jahn), yəšəCCooC (Sima 19) | JC yəšCéCóC | S išmétol

3.3.2 *u: Jibbali e/i = Yemeni Mehri uu

Correspondences: Jibbali e/i, Soqotri e/i/ɪ, Omani Mehri uu/aw, Yemeni Mehri uu (Sima), uu/oo (Jahn)

Verbs

- G stem, weak (CCv), perfect: OM CvCuu (ML) | JC eCCé, eCNí (JL)
[This correspondence might be accidental, arising from a generalization of one of the Proto-Semitic CCuu and CCii vocalizations to all CCv verbs.]
- causative,
 - active, perfect
 - 3rd person *haCCúC: OM -hənsuum-, YM -haktuub-, -haktoob- | JC -eCCéC- | S ʔinšir (L) ʔmšir (Johnstone, t-Prefix)
- reflexive b
 - active, perfect: *CtəCúC: OM əCtəCuuC, YM ktetoob | JC əCteCéC
- caus-reflexive a
 - active, perfect: *šəCCúC: OM šəCCuuC, YM šaCCuuC | JC šəCCéC | S šímtel (L) šimtl (Johnstone, t-Prefix)

Nouns

86-89 (below) might be instances of *u, but the correspondences differ.

3.3.3 Unclear Data

The origin of Jibbali /ó/ is unclear. Cf:

- 82. *hʔri 'small boat': OM háwri YM huurii | JC hórí (JL) JE hórí (ML) | S hóri (JL)
- 83. *nʔnVw 'pupil': OM náwnəw (ML), núun (N, Q, F SSL 1986) H ʔenuunuu | JEC nónú (ML, SSL 1986)

OM /aw/ < *ʔ? *ó?:

- 84. *šVhʔd 'pl of witness': OM šəháwd (aff šhəd-) | JC šhód | S šód (šhud) (ML)
- 85. *yʔm 'sun': OM hə-yáwm, YM hə-yuum (Jahn), H hə-yoom | JEC yum | S šam (ML) yôm, du yóomi 'day' (BL)

Other data with J é/í corresponding to Mehri oo/uu/aw:

- 86. *bʔn 'sons': OM hə-boon (constr. bóni points to high vowel) H hə-buun | JC mín, def iin
- 87. *mʔh 'water': OM hə-mooh, -móh YM hamû H hə-myóh | JE é-mí JC é-míh
- 88. *mʔt 'death': OM mawt (however, pronominal amet-h points to low vowel; but YM miût) | JEC mít | S mayt, mi (ML)
- 89. *tVnnʔr 'oven': OM tənnáwwr YM tennûr | JEC ténir (JL, ML) | S ténnar (L)

3.4 High Front Vowels

Regular correspondences in nominal and verbal forms between Jibbali and Omani Mehri support the reconstruction of two high front vowels, which we will denote by *e (Jibbali e, OM ii) and *i (Jibbali i, OM ay). The two vowels seem to have merged to /ii/ in Yemeni Mehri.

3.4.1 *e: Omani Mehri ii = Jibbali e

In Harsusi, both ii and ee are found. Since the Mehri forms given in HL are usually identical to the Harsusi forms in these cases (while they sometimes differ from those in ML), it is likely that the Harsusi transcriptions do not distinguish ee and ii as reliably as the Mehri forms Johnstone gives in his later Mehri Lexicon, i.e., it is possible that there is actually no such distinction in Harsusi.

(*M ii, H ii, J e*)

1. quadriliteral
 90. *kVnséd 'shoulder': OM kənsiid H kənsiid (HL) | JE kenséd (HL) [Cf. SSL 1989 222]
 91. *nVxrér 'nose': OM nəxriir (but pron **anxəráyr-əh** points to *i) H nxeriir (HL) | JC naxrér (JL) JE nxerér (HL) | S {náhrer (N), náhriir (L), náhrir (JL), náhrir (ML)}
 92. *šVfrér 'eyelash': OM šəfriir H šfəriir | JE šfəré (ML) | S {šfriir (HL), šfrər (ML)}
 93. *nVxsés 'inside of the nose': OM nəxsiis (but pron **anxəsáyś-əh** points to *i) H nexsiis | JC naxsé (JL) JE nexsé (HL)
 94. *ǧVrdéb 'neck': OM H ǧaardiib | JE ǧardéb (SSL 1989) | S ǧarédeb, du ǧaridəbi (L)
 95. *kVbkéb 'star': OM H kəbkiib | JC kəbkéb (JL) JE kebkiib (HL) | S {kékbəb (N), kebkiib (HL), kábkiib (JL, ML). Cf. kíbšib 'lucky star' (JL, ML)}
 96. *šVndér 'splinter': OM šəndiir H šəndiir | JEC šəndér
2. trilateral
 97. *dVhéb 'flood water': OM dəhiib H dəhiib (HL) | JEC dhéb
 98. *hésVn 'to them (f)': OM hiisən YM heesen (Bittner) | JC hésən (JL) | S hésən (Bittner)
3. monosyllabic
 99. *šét 'backside': OM šiit (but suff: šáy-t-V points to *i) H šiit | JC šét (JL) JE šet (HL) | S šəh (ML)
 100. *bés 'prep b with suffix 3fs': OM biis H biis² | JC bes
 101. *hés 'when': OM hiis H hiis, həs, əs | JEC hes, hés | S hes 'like' (ML)
 102. *sé 'thing': OM, YM šī, H sí(i), šəy | JE ši', JC sé | S sí (L), šī, ši?

(*M ii, H ee, Jibbali e*)

103. *šVtrér 'little pool': OM šətriir, štəriir H əštəreer | JEC štarér
104. *mVškéék 'wooden spit, skewer': OM meškiik H meškeek (HL) | JE məškék
105. *šéelVt̪ (yVm) 'three days': OM šiiləṭ yuum H šeeləṭ yiim | JEC šélt̪ ém
106. *nVʕét 'udder': OM neʕiit YM naaʕiit H nəʕeet | JE nʕét JC naʕét | S {níʕih (L), néʕəh (ML)}

Conforming with the general shift of *e to Jibbali i close to nasals, *e appears as Jibbali í in these examples:

107. *dVnbén 'tails': OM dənbiin H dənbeen (HL) | JC dənbin (JL)
108. *hVglém 'kind of grass': OM həgliim H həgəleem (HL) | JE həglím
109. *šVynén 'gland in neck; gill': OM šəy(ə)niin H šyəneen | JE šəyənín JC šaynín

The correspondence between *M ii* and *J e* is also supported by other words without known H cognate.

110. *bəbréq: OM bəbriiq | JEC təbréq
111. *həbrér 'sand dune': OM həbriir YM həbriir | JE həbrér
112. *kəbrét 'sulphur': OM kəbriit | JEC kəbrét | S kəbriit (ML)
113. *kərféf 'lip': OM kərfiif YM kərfiif | JE kərfé JC kərféf
114. *mənkéb: OM mənkiib | JC mənkeb
115. *məwsér: OM məwsiir | JE məwsér
116. *mVšfé(ʔ/w?) 'nail sharpened...': OM məšfiw | JC məšféʔ
117. *raʕféf 'horse's mane': OM rafiif | JC raʕféf
118. *rədwéd 'nit': OM rəd(ə)wiid YM reduwiit | JEC əréd

119. *rəyṛéy 'soft sand': OM rəyriiy | JC rəyṛéy JE ryəréy

3.4.2 *i: Omani Mehri ay = Jibbali i

In Harsusi, this vowel appears as /ii/ in non-initial syllables:

120. *(ʔV)kí 'we two': OM ʔəkáy | JC (ʔə)ší | S ki
121. *(ʔV)tí 'you two': OM ʔətáy H ʔetii | JE ti (HL) | S ti (HL)
122. *dVríʔ 'strange(r)': OM dəráyʔ H d̄eriiʔ | JC d̄íríʔ | S d̄írhi (JL)
123. *fVṫVrí 'month name': OM fəṫəráy YM faṫaríi H fəṫərii | JC fəṫəri
124. *yéṫíʔ 'pl of neck': ML ɣayṫáyʔ H yeṫii | JEC yéṫí
125. *məhrí 'Mehri': OM məhráy YM mehrii H məhrii | JEC məhrí
126. *šəḥrí 'šheri': OM šəḥráy H šḥerii | JC šḥerí
127. *ṫeríʔ 'fresh': OM ṫəráyʔ (HL) H ṫeriiʔ | JE ṫeríʔ (HL)
128. *ṫVbrín 'hyena': OM ṫəbərəy'n, ṫəbərəy'n YM ṫibríin H **tebereen** (HL) | JEC ṫiirín
129. *ʔVrníb 'hare': OM ḥarnáyb YM **haarneeb** H **ḥe-ynēb, -ynáyb** (HL) | JE ʔérnīb JC ʔerní
130. *ʕVgín: OM ʔaagáy'n H ʔaagiin | JE ʕágín (HL)

In the first syllable, *i is reflected as /ə/ in Harsusi:

131. *símvI 'left hand': OM śayməl YM śiimel H śóməl | JC śīyēl | S śimhil (śémhel, śémel) (L)
132. *bídi 'liar': OM báydí H bádi | JC bídí | S bídehi (L)
133. *bi 'prep. b with suffix 1cs': OM bay H bəh³ | JC bi (JL)
134. *ṫít 'one (f)': OM ṫáyṫ H ṫət | JEC ṫit | S ṫəyh (JL, ML)
135. *ṫíidíʔ 'pl of breast': OM ṫiidáyʔ H ṫeedi, ṫédi (HL) | JEC ṫiidíʔ

With unknown or unclear Harsusi form:

136. *bíš 'prep b with suffix 2fs': OM bayš | JC biš
137. *bVrík: OM bəráyk | JC bérík
138. *gərgír 'fish-trap': OM gərgáy'r YM jarjayr | JE gərgír
139. *ɣVrşín 'upper arm': OM ɣərşáy'n | JC ɣərşín JE ɣəlşín (SSL 1989)
140. *híni 'prep h 1sg': OM háyni | JC híni
141. *hVsíf 'selfish; grasping; base': OM hesáyf | JC hsíf
142. *kVfíl 'sponsor': OM kəfáy'l | JEC kfíl
143. *mVḥín: OM məḥáy'n | JEC miḥín
144. *mVhír: OM məḥáy'r | JEC méhír
145. *mVnί 'prep mVn with suffix 1cs': OM mənáy | JC míní (JL) | S ménhi, miniho (L)
146. *nVkíd 'unpleasant': OM nəkáy'd | JC nkíd
147. *šbí 'gum': OM hebáy (HL) | JC šbí
148. *xVrfí 'being, travelling with summer rains': OM xərfáy | JEC xarfi
149. *ʔVblís: OM ʔəbláys, bəláys | JC ʔəblís
150. *ʕamqí 'medium, middling': OM 'aamqáy (ML) | JC ʕamqí | S ʕámqəhi (ML)

3.4.3 Correspondences in Verbal Inflection

The reconstruction of *e and *i is largely supported by the vocalization of finite verb forms:

- G stem, type A, active, impf

- 2fs *?: OM **təreekəz**, YM **tetiiber** | JC **tiqdir** | S **teqófid**
- G stem, type A, passive, impf/subj
 - 2fs *tvCCíCi: OM **tərkáyzi** | JC **irefiş**
 - 3mpl *yvCCéC: OM **yərkiiz** | JC **irefəş**
 - 2mpl *tvCCéC: OM **tərkiiz** | JC **irefés**
- G stem, type b, passive, impf/subj
 - 2fs *tvCCiCi: OM **tərkayzi** | JC **irefiş**
 - 3mpl *yvCCeC: OM **yərkiiz** | JC **irefəş**
 - 2mpl *tvCCeC: OM **tərkiiz** | JC **irefés**
- G stem, type B, active, perfect
 - 3ms *CeCVC: OM **tiibər**, YM **kiiteb** | JC **fəḍər** | S **CeCiC**
- G stem, type B, active, subjunctive:
 - 2fs *tVṭbiri: OM **təṭbayri**, YM **tetbiir** | JC **təḍḍír**
 - 3mpl *yVṭber-: OM **yəṭbiir**, YM **yitbiirem** | JC **yəḍḍér**
 - 2mpl *tVṭber-: OM **təṭbiir**, YM **tebiirem** | JC **təḍḍér**
- G stem, Type b, active, perfect:
 - 3ms *CéCVC: OM **tiibər**, YM **kiiteb** | JC **fédər** | S **CéCiC**
- G stem, Type b, active, subjunctive
 - 2fs *tVṭbíri: OM **təṭbáyri**, YM **tetbiir** | JC **təḍḍír**
 - 3mpl *yVṭbér-: OM **yəṭbiir**, YM **yitbiirem** | JC **yəḍḍér**
 - 2mpl *tVṭbér-: OM **təṭbiir**, YM **tebiirem** | JC **təḍḍér**
- causative, active, perfect
 - 3mpl *hVnsém: OM **hənsiim** | JC **eḥlét**
- causative, active, imperfect
 - 2fs *tv-(hv)C(v)CíC-i: OM **təhənsáymi** | JC **iffilít**
 - 3mpl *yv-(hv)C(v)CéC: OM **yəhənsiim** | JC **iffélét**
 - 2mpl *tv-(hv)C(v)CéC: OM **təhənsiim** | JC **efélét**
- reflexive a, active, imperfect
 - 2fs *təCtəCíC: OM **təntəfáyzi** | JC **təftígír**
 - 3mpl *təCtəCéC: OM **yəntəfiiz** | JC **yəCtéCéC**
 - 2mpl *təCtəCéC: OM **təntəfiiz** | JC **yəCtéCéC**
- reflexive a, active, subj
 - 3ms *yəCtéCəC: OM **yəCtiiCəC**, YM **yiCtiiCeC** | JC **yəCtéCəC** | S **l-iktənaḥ**
 - 2fs *təCt(i/é)CəC: OM **təntiifəz** | JC **təCtiCəC**
- reflexive b, active, perfect
 - 3mpl *əCtəCéC: OM **əftəkiir** | JC **əCteCéC**
- reflexive b, active, imperfect
 - 3ms *yəCtəCéCən: OM **yəCtəCiiCən**, YM **yiktetiiben** | JC **yəCtəCéCən**
 - 2fsg *təCtəC(i/é)Cən: OM **təCtəCiiCən** | JC **əCtəCiCən**
- caus-reflexive a, active, perfect:
 - 3mpl *šəCCéC: OM **šəCCiiC** | JC **šəCCéC**
- caus-reflexive a, active, imperfect:
 - 2fs *təšəCCíCi: OM **təšəCCáyCi** | JC **ətšCéCiC**
 - 3mpl *yəšəCVCéC: OM **yəšəCCiiC** | JC **yəšCéCéC**
 - 2mpl *təšəCVCéC: OM **təšəCCiiC** | JC **tšCéCéC**
- caus-reflexive a, active, subj:

- 2fs *təšáCCəC: OM təšáCCər | JC tšáCCəC

3.4.4 Other Correspondences

After back or emphatic consonants, *e and *i merged to /ay/ in Western MSA:

- Jibbali i (with nasal -> original vowel cannot be determined)
 151. *təlhʔm 'spleen': OM təlhaym | JEC təlhím | S {tálhən, tálhem (SSL)}
 152. *qəbʕʔn 'scorpion': OM H qəbáyn | JE šʕiin
 153. *hʔm 'father-in-law': OM YM H həym | JEC him | S ham, hem- (L)
- Jibbali e
 154. *ʕərqəb 'mouse': OM ʔaarqáyb H ʔarqáyb | JEC ʔarqəb (HL, JL)
 155. *sətrér 'rag, strip of cloth': OM s(ə)t(ə)ráy H sətrér | JEC səttrér
 156. *səttét 'long path in awkward place': OM sətáy | JC sítét
 157. *yég 'man': OM YM H yəy | JC yeg, JE yéig | S yáy (L, ML)

This sometimes also happens when the vowel and the consonant are not adjacent:

158. *qVt̪mím 'butter': OM qətm̪iim H qətm̪áy (HL) | J qətm̪ím (Siméone-Sennelle 2011) | S {qətm̪ehəm (SS 2011) qətm̪him (HL) qətm̪əhim (ML)}
159. *yVrəb 'raven': OM yəyrayb YM həyaráyb H yəyərəeb (HL) | JEC ayərəb | S ʕárib (L) aʕreb (HL)

3.4.5 Problematic Data

In an initial syllable, Omani Mehri ay can also correspond to Jibbali u or o, as noted already by Bittner. The environments for *u and *o and the environments for the different Soqotri reflexes are unclear. We will assume a corresponding proto-phoneme by *i*₂, leaving open whether it can be identified with another phoneme and whether it was a single phoneme at all.

- OM ay, Harsusi ə/ay = JC u = S e, i
 160. *t̪i₂n 'clay': OM H t̪ayn | JC t̪un
 161. *h̪i₂tVm 'sky': OM háytem YM h̪i₂tem H h̪átəm | JC šútum JE šétəm | S ʔéʔeten (HL) ʔiitin (L)
 162. *sí₂b 'white hair': OM sáyb H sáyb | JEC súb
 163. *tr̪i₂t 'two (fem)': OM ətr̪áy Y (Jahn) tr̪iit H tr̪erét B tr̪erti | JEC tr̪ut | S trih (ML)
 164. *t̪i₂f 'myrrhe': OM YM t̪áyf | JEC t̪uf | S t̪ayf (L, ML)
 165. *t̪i₂š 'goat': OM táyh YM teyh H taayeh | JC tuš | S teš (L)
- Mehri ay, Harsusi ee/ay/ii = JC o = S ay, o, iya
 166. *b̪i₂t 'house': OM bayt (constr bət) YM beyt, beet H beet | JC bot JE (b)uut (HL) | S {beyt, pron. bét-iš (L), bayt (JL)}
 167. *q̪i₂z 'summer': OM H qayz YM qayt | JC qod̪. | S {qiyat (L) qóyat (JL)}
 168. *š̪i₂d 'fish': OM YM H šayd | JE šud JC šod | S {s.óodeh (N) sóde (L) s.ódəh (S ML)}
 169. *šk̪i₂? 'sword': OM əšk̪áy YM šk̪ii H əšk̪ii?, əškeew | JC štó? JE štó? | S ško? (JH, JS, S ML)

Notably, this correspondence is also found in Arabic loanwords: JC fúdet, H fáydəh 'benefit' < ar faa'ida. This suggests that the original vowel was a high front vowel or the diphthong *ay.

What all these words have in common is the presence of an alveolar, dental or lateral sound, often an alveolar stop. However, this feature does not separate this reflex from Jibbali /i/, as shown by *t̪it 'one (f.)' > J i vs. *t̪i₂f 'myrrhe', *t̪i₂n 'clay' > J u.

Furthermore, the following data do not fit into the reconstruction of *i and *e:

- M ii J i S e
170. *kʔrVś 'belly': OM kīrəs YM kírś H kēreś (HL) | JE šurś (ML) JC šírś (JL) | S šéerís (N)
171. *dʔd 'uncle': ML hə-diid, pron hə-dáy-d-i/hə-dád-ya YM ha-diid H he-dēd | JEC did | S {dédó (dido) (L) dédoḥ, edíd- (JL) dédoḥ (ML)}
- M ii J e S ε
172. *śVIʔt 'three': OM śhəliit YM śólét, śeliit H śəláyś | JEC śhəlét | S śóləḥ (ML)
- M ii J é
173. *ʔinʔt 'women (pl)': OM hə-yniit H ḥaa-niit (HL) | JC inét | Hb ḥáyṇət (ML)
- M ay/ii JC e
174. *śayʔt 'three': OM śaaʔáyṭ YM śayatiit H śaafáyṭ | JE śátét JC śotét | S śaʔteḥ (ML)
- M H ay JC i
175. *mʔt 'when': OM H mayt | JEC mit | S míʔito (ML)
- OM H yii YM iyee JEC u
176. *mVt 'hundred': OM əmyiit YM miyēt H myiit | JEC mút

3.5 Evidence for Diphthongs

While diphthongs are uncommon in Soqotri and Jibbali, ay and aw are highly common in Omani Mehri. In many instances, ay and aw are variants of ee/ ii and oo/uu after pharyngeals, uvulars and emphatics.

There are only few instances of diphthongs outside of Western MSA, mostly in these environments. In addition to the words for 'myrrhe', 'house' and 'summer' mentioned above, this includes

- 177. *ɣayg 'man': OM H B ɣayg, YM ɣayǧ | JE yéig, JC yeg | Hb ɣayj | S ɣayg (L, ML)
- 178. *ḍ.ayʔ 'smell, perfume': OM ḍ.aay (HL), H ḍ.ayʔ | JE ḍ.ayʔ (HL) | S ɬay (HL)
- 179. *ɣayn 'eye': OM ʔaayn, YM ʔayn | JE ɣayn, JC ɣihn | S ɣain (L, SSL)

In a few cases, Jibbali Vb allows for the reconstruction of PMSA *Vw:

- 180. *lɔwḥ 'board': OM lawḥ, YM looḥ | JEC lɔbḥ | S looḥ (L, N)
- 181. *mVdérwVm 'heels': M mədárwəm, JC midébrəm, S {medérhEm (SN SSL89), midrhem (L)}
- 182. *fVʔáwri 'dual of *month name*': OM H fəʔáwri | JEC fétábri

This correspondence is also found in the plural OM *məsáwgəd*, JEC *misébgəd* 'mosques', which probably post-dates Proto-MSA.

The reconstruction *Vw is also plausible in

- 183. *kɔwb 'wolf': OM kawb YM kouḥ H kawb/koob B kawb | JEC kɔb

3.6 CvC and CvC₂C₂ Words

CvC and CvC₂C₂ Nouns and particles often show the expected reflexes of low mid vowels. The presence of short vowels in WMSA suggests that some CvC words originally had a geminate second radical.

- 184. *śeff 'lower limb/leg/foot; footprint': OM śaf, H śeef | JEC śef | S śaf, śaaf (SSL89)
- 185. *śekk 'sin': OM śak | JC śek

186. *ʔemm⁴ 'mother': OM ʔem /ʔaam/ | JC ʔém | S ʔem- (L), ʔəm (JL)
 187. *ħal 'oil': OM ħaal | JEC **ħahl** | S ħal (L)
 188. *h(ʔʕʔaʔ)m 'if': OM haam, H ʔam (cf. Akkadian šumma, Geez ʔamma, Arabic ʔin, Hebrew ʔim)
 189. *kəll 'all': OM kaal, kall- (Rubin), YM kall, H kal, kaal, kall | JE kəl, **kel-**, JC **kəhl**, kəl, kó | S kəl, kal (ML)
 190. *sədd 'relations; friendship': OM sad | JEC səd

CvC₂C₂ verbs show a high mid vowel:

191. *yett 'to choke on s.th.': OM ʔət | JE ʔét, JC ʔett | S ʔət (JS)/ʔet (ML)
 192. *šədd 'to stop, ...': OM H həd | JE šéd, JC šedd | S yhad (HL)
 193. *təśś 'to shower; to jump up': OM təs, H təs | JE tés, JC tésś
 194. *tənn 'se reposer': OM tən | JE tīn, JC tenn | S tenn (L)/ten (ML)

In the following cases, there is an alternation between expected reflexes of low and high mid vowels. In general, H shows the expected reflex of a high vowel. OM and S seem to agree.

195. *š(ʔ/o)mm 'name': OM ham (with pronominal affix həmməh, Rubin 2007), YM hamm, H hām | JEC šum | S šem (L)?, šəm (JL, ML)
 196. *b(ε/e)r 'already': OM bər/bēr, YM bər, H bər/bar | JC ber | S bér (L, ML)/bər (JJ)
 197. *b(ε/e)r 'son': OM bər, YM ber, H bər | JC bər | S bar (L)/bər (HL, ML)
 198. *k(ε/e)ff 'palm of hand': OM kaf, YM keff/kaff, H kəf | JEC kéf
 199. *k(ε/e)m 'how many?': OM kəm, YM káam, H kəm | S kem (L), kəm (HL, ML)
 200. *s(ε/e)mm 'poison': OM sam, YM semm, H səm | JE sem, JC səhm | S sam (L, ML, N)
 201. *s(ε/e)r 'behind, back': OM saar, YM ser | JEC sér | S sar (L, JJ, HL)
 202. *t(ε/e)ś 'shower': OM tās, H təs | JEC tés
 203. *š(ε/e)tt 'six (m)': OM hət, YM hitt, hiitt, H háttə(h), B het | JEC šét | Hb het | S hyat (L, ML)

*e or *i can be reconstructed for the following words:

204. *d(e/i)m⁵ 'pus': OM dəm | JC **dihm** | S dīm, dem (SSL), dam (N)
 205. *šidd 'thunder': OM həd YM hudd | JEC hid | S šed (HL)

3.7 Evidence for Stressed *ə

Stressed /ə/ in Western MSA is the reflex of high vowels in closed syllables. In Jibbali, stressed /ə/ is rare. It seems to correspond to WMSA /ii/:

206. *ʔəb 'father': OM ʔiib, ʔayb YM ʔeyb H ʔayb | JC ʔiy 'father', ʔáb 'big' | Hb ʔəb | S ʔiyf- (ML) 'father', ʔáʔəb (ML) 'big'
 207. *śəgərət 'mountain pass': OM śəgəriit | JE śəgərét JC śəgərət | S śəgreh (ML)
 208. *štət 'six (f)': OM yetiit H yeteet | JEC štət | S hyótəh (ML, JL) híte, ʔíte, yíte (L)

3.8 Summary: Correspondences in Stressed Syllables

Reflexes in brackets occur in certain environments instead of the default reflex.

Proto-	Western MSA	Central Jibbali	Soqotri
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4 Geminata reconstructed on the basis of J, where -m- is not elided.

5 Note that *e becomes i in Jibbali in the neighborhood of nasals.

MSA	Omani Mehri	Yemeni Mehri	Harsusi		
*a	a			a	a
	aa				
*ε	a			ε	e, a
	ee		ee (ə)		
*e	ə	i [Sima]	ə	e (i)	e, i
	ii (ay)		ee (ə, ay)		
*i, *i ₂	ə	i [Sima]	ə	i; o, u	i; o
	ay	ii (ay)	ii (ay)		
*ɔ	a			ɔ (u)	o, a
	oo				
*o	ə	a	?		
	uu	oo			
*u	ə	u [Sima]	?	e (i)	e, i
	uu		oo		
*ə?	ii (ay)			ə	e, i

4 Origin of Multiple Stress in Jibbali

In general, stress seems to spread backwards until it reaches a double consonant or the beginning of the word. In particular, the rules *CvC'vC --> C'vC'vC (exception: *ʕaybél 'flint', *ʔidén 'ear') and *CvCC'vC --> CvCC'vC are confirmed by much of the nominal data above. This shows that multiple stress does not have to be reconstructed for PMSA nouns where it does not occur in Mehri. Stress in Jibbali verbs is not predictable that well, but other language-internal factors may operate in addition to regular sound-change.

5 Reconstructing Vowels in Verbs

5.1 G Stem Conjugation

- Type A
 - Active, Perfect

		Mehri (ML)	Jibbali (JL)	Soqotri
3 ms	*rVkóz	rəkuuz	qódór	qófod (L)
3 fs	*rVkVz-ót	rəkəzuut	qódórót	qefédoh (L)
2 ms	*rVkóz-k	rəkózk	qódór-k	qófodk (L)
	*rVkóz-k	rəkózš ⁶	qódór~s	qófodš (L)

⁶ Rubin 2007. ML has -é-

1 cs	*rVkóz-k	rəkázk	qódórk	qófodk (L)
3 mdu	*rVkVz-ó	rəkəzoo	qódóró	qofódo (L)
	*rVkVz-vtó	rəkəztoo	qódórtó	qofodéto (L)
1/2 du	*rVkóz-ki	rəkázki	qódór~si	qofódki (L)
3 mpl	*rVk?z	rəkáwz	qódór	qéfed (L)
	*rVkóz	rəkuuz	qódór	qófod (L)
2 mpl	*rVkóz-kVm	rəkázkəm	qódórkum	qofódken (L)
	*rVkóz-kVn	rəkázkən	qódórkən	qofódken (L)
1 cpl	*rVkóz-Vn	rəkuuzən	qódórən	qofóden (L)

- Passive, Perfect. **Mehri points to *CvCéC, while Jibbali points to *vCCíC.**

		Mehri (ML)	Jibbali (JL)	Soqotri
3 s	*rVk?z	rəkeez	erfīš	qítel
	*rVkVz-?t	rəkzeet	erfīš-ót	
2 s	*rVk?z-k	rəkázk	erfīš-k	
	*rVk?z-š	rəkázš	erfīš-š	
1 cs	*rVk?z-k	rəkázk	erfīš-k	
3 du	*?	rəkzee	erfīš-ó(h)	
	*?	rəkəztee	erfīš-tó(h)	
1 / 2 du	*rVk?z-ki	rəkázki	erfīš-ši	
3 mpl	*rVk?z-Vm	rəkeezəm	erfīš	
	*rVk?z	rəkeez	erfīš	
2 s	*rVk?z-kVm	rəkázkəm	erfīš-kum	
	*rVk?z-kVn	rəkázkən	erfīš-kən	
1 s	*rVk?z-Vn	rəkeezən	erfīš-ən	

- Active, Imperfect

		Mehri (ML)	Jibbali (JL)	Soqotri (L)
3 s	*y-vCóCvC	yəruukəz	yqódər	iqáfed iqóber
	*t-vCóCvC	təruukəz	tqódər	teqáfed
2 s	*t-vCóCvC	təruukəz	tqódər	teqáfed
	*?	təreekəz (<*tvCéCvC)	tíqdir	teqófid
1 cs	*vCóCvC	əruukəz	əqódər	'eqáfed
3 du	*y-vCvCvC-ó	yərəkzoo	yqódóró	iqáfedo
	*t-vCvCvC-ó	tərəkzoo	tqódóró	tqáfedo

2 cdu	*t-vCvCvC-ś	tə̀rəkzoo	tqədéró	teqáfedo
1 cdu	*vCvCvC-ś	ə̀rəkzoo	nqədéró	eqáfedo
3 p	*y-vCóCC-vm	yə̀rəkzəm	yqódər	iqófod
	*t-vCóCC-vn	tə̀rəkzən	tqódərən	tqáfedin
2 p	*t-vCóCC-vm	tə̀rəkzəm	tqódər	tqófed
	*t-vCóCC-vn	tə̀rəkzən	tqódərən	tqáfedin
1 p	*n-vCóCvC	nə̀ruukəz	nqódər	nqáfed

○ Type B

▪ Active, Perfect

		Mehri (ML)	Jibbali (JL)	Soqotri
3 s	*tébVr	t̪iibər	fédər	
	*t̪VbVr-ót	t̪əbruut	f̪id̪irót	
2 s	*tébVr-Vk	t̪əbrək	fédərək	
	*tébVr-Vš	t̪əbrəš	fédərəš	
1 cs	*tébVr-Vk	t̪əbrək	fédərək	
3 du	*t̪VbVr-ś	t̪əbroo	fédéró	
	*t̪VbVr-tó	t̪əbərto	fédértó	
1/2 du	*tébVr-Vki	t̪əbrəki	fédərši	
3 pl	*tébVr-Vm	t̪əbrəm	fédər	
	*tébVr	t̪iibər	fédər	
3 pl	*tébVr-kVm	t̪əbərəkəm	fédərəkum	
	*tébVr-kVn	t̪əbərəkən	fédərəkən	
1 cpl	*tébVr-Vn	t̪əbrən	fédərən	

▪ Active, Subjunctive

		Mehri (ML)	Jibbali (JL)	Soqotri
3 s	*y-vCCśC	yət_boor	yəf̪d̪ór	l-iCCśC
	*t-vCCśC	tət_boor	təf̪d̪ór	
2 s	*t-vCCśC	tət_boor	təf̪d̪ór	
	*t-vCCiC-i	tət_báyri	təf̪d̪ír	
1 cs	*vCCśC	ət_boor	l-əf̪d̪ór	
3 du	*y-vCCvC-ś	yət_bəroo	yəf̪d̪əró	
	*t-vCCvC-ś	tət_bəroo	təf̪d̪əró	
2 cdu	*t-vCCvC-ś	tət_bəroo	təf̪d̪əró	
1 cdu	*vCCvC-ś	ət_bəroo	nəf̪d̪əró	

3 p	*y-vCCéC	yət_biiir	yəfdér
	*y-vCCóC-vn	tət_boorən	təfdórən
2 p	*t-vCCéC	tət_biiir	təfdér
	*y-vCCóC-vn	tət_boorən	təfdórən
1 p	*n-vCCóC	nət_boor	nəfdór

5.2 Stem Formation

- Simple, Type a
 - active, perfect: *CəCóC: OM rəkuuz-, YM teboor- | JC qádór | S qébor
 - closed: OM rəkáz-, YM tebér-
 - 3mpl *?: **OM rəkáwz, YM teboorem**
 - active, impf: *yəCóCəC: OM yəruukəz, YM yikooteb | JC yCóCəC | S iqóber/iqáfed
 - closed: OM -ərákz-, YM -téber-
 - 2fs *?: **OM təreekəz, YM tetiiber | JC tiqdir | S teqófid**
 - active, subj: *yəCCéC: YM yikteeb | JC yóCCəC | S l-iqbér
 - passive, perfect: *rəkéz: OM rəkeez | JC erfis | S qítel
 - closed: OM rəkaz-
 - passive, impf/subj: *yərkóz: OM yərkooz | JC irefós | S iquól
 - 2fs *tvCCíCi: OM tərkáyzi | JC irefis
 - 3mpl *yvCCéC: OM yərkiiz | JC irefés
 - 2mpl *tvCCéC: OM tərkiiz | JC irefés
- Simple, Type b
 - active, perfect: *CéCVC: OM tiibər, YM kiiteb | JC féđər | S CéCiC
 - closed: OM tǎbr-, YM tiber-
 - active, subjunctive: *yəCCóC: OM yətboor, YM yitboor | JC yəCCóC | S l-iCCóC
 - 2fs *tVtǎbiri: OM tətǎbáryi, YM tetbiir | JC təfdír
 - 3mpl *yVtǎbér-: OM yətǎbiir, YM yitbiirem | JC yəfdér
 - 2mpl *tVtǎbér-: OM tətǎbiir, YM tebiirem | JC təfdér
- Simple, med gutt., active, perfect: *CəCéC: OM gəheem, YM jeheem | JC fhém
- intensive
 - active, perfect: *CóCəC-: OM arookəb, YM soofer | JC -CóCəC-, **-CóCəC-** | S qábit
 - closed OM arákb-
 - 3fs **OM arkəbeet | JC eCiCiCót**
 - active, imperfect: *-CóCC-: OM yarákbən, YM yisáferen | JC -CóCəC-, **-CóCəC-**, **-CúCəC-** | S yiqábiten
 - active, subj: *CóCəC: OM yarookəb, YM yisoofer | JC -CóCəC-
 - 2fs *?: **OM tareekəb | JC l-CúCuC-**
- causative,

- active, perfect: *haCCúC, *haCCóC: OM hǽnsuum, YM haktuub, haktuob | JC -eCCéC-, eCCóC- | S ʔinšir (L) ʔmšir (Johnstone, t-Prefix)
 - 3mpl *hVnsém: OM hǽnsiim | JC eflét
- active, imperfect: *yv(hv)C(v)CóC: OM yǽhǽnsuum, YM yihaktoob | JC íC:éCóC | S inésor (L), ynéesor (Johnstone, t-Prefix)
 - 2fs *tv-(hv)C(v)CíC-i: OM tǽhǽnsáymi | JC iffilit | S néésir (Johnstone, t-Prefix)
 - 3mpl *yv-(hv)C(v)CéC: OM yǽhǽnsiim | JC iffélét | S ynéesir (Johnstone, t-Prefix)
 - 2mpl *tv-(hv)C(v)CéC: OM tǽhǽnsiim | JC efélét | S néésir (Johnstone, t-Prefix)
- active, subj: *yVhéCCVC: OM yǽhǽnsǽm, YM yihákteb | JC yéCCǽC, yéCǽCC | S l-énšér (l-ónšir) (L), l-ónšir (Johnstone, t-Prefix)
 - 2fs *?: **OM tǽhǽnsǽm | JC l-ífǽlt | S l-ónšir**
- reflexive a
 - active, perfect: *CótCǽC: OM CǽtCǽC, YM CǽtCeC | JC CótCǽC | S koténaḥ
 - active, imperfect: *yǽCtǽCóC: OM yǽCtǽCuuC, YM yiCteCooC | JC yǽCtǽCóC | S yikténaḥ.
 - 2fs *tǽCtǽCíC: OM tǽntǽfáyzi | JC tǽftígír
 - 3mpl *tǽCtǽCéC: OM yǽntǽfiiz | JC yǽCtǽCéC
 - 2mpl *tǽCtǽCéC: OM tǽntǽfiiz | JC yǽCtǽCéC
 - active, subj: *yǽCtǽCǽC: OM yǽCtiiCǽC, YM yiCtiiCeC | JC yǽCtǽCǽC | S l-ikténaḥ
 - closed OM -ǽCtǽCC-
 - 2fs *tǽCt(i/é)CǽC: **OM tǽntiifǽz | JC tǽCtíCǽC**
 - 1cpl *?: **OM nǽntiifǽz | nǽCtǽCǽC**
- reflexive b
 - active, perfect: *CtǽCúC: OM ǽCtǽCuuC, YM ktetoob | JC ǽCteCéC
 - 3mpl *ǽCtǽCéC: OM ǽftǽkiir | JC ǽCteCéC
 - active, imperfect: *yǽCtǽCéCǽn: OM yǽCtǽCiiCǽn, YM yiktetiiben | JC yǽCtǽCéCǽn
 - 2fsg *tǽCtǽC(i/é)Cǽn: **OM tǽCtǽCiiCǽn | JC ǽCtǽCíCǽn**
 - active, subj: *?: **OM yǽCtǽCuuC, YM yiktetoob | yǽCtǽCuC**
 - 2fs *?: **OM tǽftǽkáyri | JC tǽftíkǽr**
 - 3mpl *?: **OM yǽftǽkiir | JC yǽftǽkur**
 - 2mpl *?: **OM tǽftǽkiir | JC tǽftǽkur**
- reflexive c
 - active, perfect: YM ktooteb
 - active, imperfect: YM yiktáteben
 - active, subj: YM yiktooteb
- caus-reflexive a
 - active, perfect: *šǽCCúC: OM šǽCCuuC, YM šǽCCuuC | JC šǽCCéC | S šímtel (L) šímtil (Johnstone, t-Prefix)
 - (2s, 1s, 2p, 1p) *šǽCvCóC: OM šǽCCuuC- | JC šǽCǽCóC-
 - 3mpl *šǽCCéC: OM šǽCCiiC | JC šǽCCéC
 - active, imperfect: *yǽšC(V)CóC: OM yǽšǽCCuuC, YM yišǽCCuuC | JC yǽšCéCóC | S išmétol
 - 2fs *tǽšǽCCíCi: OM tǽšǽCCáyCi | JC ǽtšCéCíC | S tšíméetil (Johnstone, t-Prefix)

- 3mpl *yǎšəCVCéC: OM yǎšəCCiiC | JC yǎšCéCéC | S yišméetil (Johnstone, t-Prefix)
- 2mpl *tǎšəCVCéC: OM tǎšəCCiiC | JC tšCéCéC | S tšiméetil (Johnstone, t-Prefix)
- active, subj: *yǎšéCCəC: OM yǎšáCCəC, YM yišaCCeC | JC yšéCCəC | S l-išémtil (L) l-išémtil (Johnstone, t-Prefix)
 - 2fs *tǎšíCCəC: OM tǎšáCCər | JC tšíCCəC | tšámtil (Johnstone, t-Prefix)
- caus-reflexive b
 - active, perfect: *?: OM šǎCeeCəC, YM šCooCeC | JC ~seCéCəC
 - active, imperfect: *yǎšC(M: low, JC: high)?CCen: OM yǎšCáCCəC, YM yišCáCeCen | JC yǎšCéCəCən
 - caus-reflexive b, active, subj: *yǎšC?CəC: OM yǎšCeeCəC, YM yišCooCeC | JC yǎšCéCəC

6 Pronouns

		OM	Central Jibbali	Hobyot	Soqotri (SS 11)
Singular					
1	*həh	hoh	hé	ho(h) (SS 11)	həh(əh), ho ^h
2m	*hət	heet	hət	hät (Arnold) hət	het
2f	*hit	heet	hit	hit (Arnold) hit	hit
3m	*šəh	heh	šəh šə	həh (SS11)	y ^h ehš heh
3f	*sə	seh	sə	seh (SS11)	se ^h
Plural					
1	*nəh	ənəh	nəh(n)	nəh (SS11)	han (hOn)
2m	*t(ó/ó)m	əteem (analogy with fem., cf. H ətoom)	tum	tum (SS11)	tan
2f	*ten	əteen	tən	tən (SS11)	tan
3m	*š(ó/ó)m	heem (analogy with fem., cf. H hoom)	šum	hum (Arnold, SS11)	yhan
3f	*sVn	seen	sən	sän (Arnold) šen, sən	san
Dual					
1	*kí	əkáy	tí	tii, tí ^h (SS11)	ki ^h
2	*tí	ətáy	tí	tii, tí ^h (SS11)	tí ^h

3	*ši	hay	ši	hii, hi ^h (SS11)	he ^h i, hi
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