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Studies in the Verbal Morphology of Soqotri II:
Weak and Geminated Roots in the Basic Stem[*]

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0 Introduction

The present article continues the investigation of the Soqotri verbal morphology undertaken by the Russian-Soqotri fieldwork team.

The article focuses on the so-called "weak" and "geminated" roots in the basic stem. Roots in which the slot of the second or third radical is occupied by the "weak" consonants *y*, *w* or *ʔ* will be referred to as "weak roots". Roots in which the second and the third radicals are identical will be referred to as "geminated roots".

The investigation is based on the analysis of full paradigms (perfect, imperfect and jussive) of more than 170 "weak" and "geminated" Soqotri verbs, most of them occurring in NAUMKIN et al. 2014a (hereafter CSOL I) and the Vienna corpus. The weak verbs have been arranged into separate classes according to the structure of the root (the position and the type of the weak consonant).

One has to stress from the onset that a great deal of fluctuation between some classes dealt with in this article has been observed. Firstly, one verbal root can employ two alternative paradigms belonging to two different classes. One of these paradigms may be defective, with certain slots filled with forms from the other paradigm. Secondly, a verb clearly belonging to one class can, in some positions of the paradigm, employ doublet forms borrowed from another class. Thirdly, one verbal root can employ a mixed paradigm which combines forms from different classes.

Not unlike the strong verbs, the weak and geminated verbs distinguish between active and inactive types of conjugation, the most persistent feature of the inactive type being the vowel -i- in the 3 sg. f. base of the perfect.

In the "geminated" verbs and in the majority of "weak" verbs, the same bases of perfect, imperfect and jussive are distinguished as in the strong verb (NAUMKIN et al. 2014b: 27, 35, 41). However, in some classes of weak verbs one base is used for 3 sg. m. and 3 pl. f. and another base for 1 and 2 persons in the perfect (see Sections 1.1.1, 2.2, 3 below). In some classes, the 3 sg. m. base coincides with the 3 pl. m. base (see Sections 1.1.1, 1.2 (inactive type), 2.2, 3). In some classes of weak verbs 3 sg. f. and 3 du. m. are derived from different bases: 3 sg. f. can be derived from the 3 sg. m. base (and be identical to 3 sg. m.). The base from which 3 du. m. is derived will be labeled as 3 du. m. throughout the present article (in NAUMKIN et al. 2014b, this base is referred to as 3 sg. f. since in the strong verbs, 3 sg. f. and 3 du. m. are always identical).

In most classes, there are a few verbs which, in addition to the features characteristic of the corresponding class, display vocalic alternations triggered by one of the root consonants. These phenomena are basically the same as in the strong verb.

The transcription in the article follows the principles adopted in NAUMKIN et al. 2014b: predominantly phonemic rather than phonetic representation (allophones are recorded in some specific cases only). The symbol *l*, unless followed by *i*, stands for the "emphatic" *ḷ* and differs from the palatal ("Arabic-like") *l'* (more details see NAUMKIN et al. 2014a: 12–13).

1 Weak verbs with final weak consonant

The final weak consonant can be *ʔ* or *y*. The final consonant surfaces in the 3 du. m. base of the perfect, imperfect and jussive, although for many verbs the informants admit doublet forms with both *ʔ* and *y*. The final *ʔ* can also appear in the 1 sg. base of the perfect (before the consonantal ending) and/or in the 1 pl. of the perfect (intervocalically).

In the majority of bases, the final consonant does not surface. As a result, these bases display vocalic endings.

The distinction between active and inactive types is drawn in the perfect and in the imperfect, but not in the jussive. Moreover, the jussive paradigms of the C_1C_2y and $C_1C_2ʔ$ classes are identical in all positions except for the dual forms. In the latter case, either *y* or *ʔ* is displayed as the last radical, depending on the verbal class; still, many verbs belonging to the $C_1C_2ʔ$ class

exhibit doublet forms borrowed from C_1C_2y.[1] Thus, even in the dual the distinction between the two classes is blurred.

For the verb *ʔíti* 'to grow weak' a special paradigm of the jussive is attested (cf. 1.1.2.3).

1.1 Class C_1C_2y

1.1.1 Class C_1C_2y, active type

In the C_1C_2y class three distinct bases can be distinguished in the perfect:

(I) the 3 sg. m. base (from which also the 3 sg. f., 3 pl. m. and 3 pl. f. forms are derived)

(II) the 3 du. m. base (from which also the 3 du. f. form is derived)

(III) the 1 sg. base (from which all other forms of the 1 and 2 persons are derived).

	3 sg. m. (= 3 sg. f.)	**3 du. m.**	**1 sg.**
perfect	C_1eC_2e	$C_1eC_2a/\varepsilon y$	C_1oC_2i

In the imperfect and jussive, the same set of bases is employed as in the regular verbs:

(I) The 3 sg. m. base, from which the forms of 3 sg. f., 3 pl. f., 2 sg. m., 2 pl. f., 1 sg. and 1 pl. are derived.

(II) The 3 du. m. base, from which all other dual forms are derived.

(III) The 3 pl. m. base, from which the forms of 2 pl. m. and 2 sg. f. are derived.

	3 sg. m.	**3 du. m.**	**3 pl. m.**
imperfect	C_1oC_2/C_1eC_2	$C_1C_2\varepsilon y/C_1\varepsilon C_2/C_1eC2$	C_1oC_2e/C_1eC_2
jussive	$C_1C_2\varepsilon$	$C_1C_2\varepsilon y$	C_1C_2e

Full inventories of forms belonging to the active type of the C_1C_2y class will be exemplified by the verbs *déme* 'to sleep' (imperfect *yédom*) and *réŝe* 'to tie' (imperfect *yéreŝ/yéroŝ*).

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1 In the verbs *ʸhóde* 'to calm down' and *kéfe/kfe* 'to be enough', only forms with final *y* are attested; of these, *kéfe/kfe* can also be conjugated after the C_1C_2y pattern.

perfect	sg.		du.		pl.	
	m.	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**
3	*déme*	*déme*	*deméyo*	*demeyéto/deméto*	*déme*	*déme*
	réŝe	*réŝe*	*reŝéyo*	*reŝeyéto/reŝéto*	*réŝe*	*réŝe*
2	*dómik*	*dómiš*	*domíki*		*domíken*	
	róŝik	*róŝiš*	*roŝíki*		*roŝíken*	
1	*dómik*		*domíki*		*dómin*	
	róŝik		*roŝíki*		*róŝin*	

imper-fect	sg.		du.		pl.	
	m.	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**
3	*yédom*	*tédom*	*yedɛméyo*	*tedɛméyo*	*yedóme*	*tedómin*
	yéreŝ/yéroŝ	*téreŝ/téroŝ*	*yerɛŝéyo/ yeréŝo*	*terɛŝéyo/ teréŝo*	*yéreŝ/ yeróŝe*	*teróŝin*
2	*tédom*	*tedómi*	*tedɛméyo*		*tedóme*	*tedómin*
	téreŝ/téroŝ	*tériŝ/teróŝi*	*terɛŝéyo/teréŝo*		*téreŝ/teróŝe*	*teróŝin*
1	*ʔédom*		*ʔedɛméyo*		*nédom*	
	ʔéreŝ/ʔéroŝ		*ʔerɛŝéyo/ʔeréŝo*		*néreŝ/néroŝ*	

jussive	sg.		du.		pl.	
	m.	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**
3	*lidmɛ́*	*tedmɛ́*	*lidméyo*	*tedméyo*	*lidmɛ́*	*tedméyɛn/tedméyn/ tedmɛ́n*
	lirŝɛ́	*terŝɛ́*	*lirŝéyo*	*terŝéyo*	*lirŝɛ́*	*terŝéyɛn/terŝéyn/ terŝɛ́n/*
2	*tedmɛ́*	*tedmí*	*tedméyo*		*tedmɛ́*	*tedméyɛn/tedméyn/ tedmɛ́n*
	terŝɛ́	*terŝí*	*terŝéyo*		*terŝɛ́*	*terŝéyɛn/terŝéyn/terŝɛ́n*
1	*ledmɛ́*		*ledméyo*		*nedmɛ́*	
	lerŝɛ́		*lerŝéyo*		*nerŝɛ́*	

1.1.1.1 The paradigm of the perfect

In three verbs, doublet forms of the 1 sg. base are recorded (C_1eC_2e borrowed from $C_1C_2\mathcal{P}$, inactive type, alongside the regular base C_1oC_2i): *tébe* 'to moo, to low' — *tóbik/tébek*, *séle* 'to follow' — *sólik/sélek* 'to follow' (cf. 1.1.1.5 for *šéŝe/ššе* 'to take, to accept').

In 3 du. f., the ending is attached either to the final *y* (base $C_1\varepsilon C_2\varepsilon y$) or to a truncated base ($C_1\varepsilon C_2$ or C_1eC_2). The base $C_1\varepsilon C_2\varepsilon y$ is always followed by the ending -*ɛto*, whereas after the truncated bases $C_1\varepsilon C_2$ and C_1eC_2 the endings -*ɛto* and -*eto* are allowed (for many verbs, each of the three variants is recorded). Interestingly, no syncope of the vowel of the ending is recorded in the surroundings demanding such a syncope (NAUMKIN et al. 2014b: 52–53): *béše* 'to weep' — 3 du. f. *bešéto* (not **béšto*).

1.1.1.2 The paradigm of the imperfect

1.1.1.2.1 The vowel of the 3 sg. m. base

The choice between the vowels *o* and *e* in the 3 sg. m. base of the imperfect is lexically determined; in some verbs, there is free variation between *o* and *e* in this position.

The following verbs belonging to the active type of the class C_1C_2y have *o* in the imperfect: *béde* 'to tell lies' — *yébod*, *béne* 'to build' — *yébon*, *béše* 'to weep' — *yéboš*, *déle* 'to weigh' — *yédol*, *déme* 'to sleep' — *yédom*, *féle/fɛ́le* 'to seek; to delouse' — *yéfol*, *fŝe* 'to lunch' — *yéfoŝ*, *réne* 'to curse' — *yéron*, *šéʕe* 'to run' — *yéšoʕ*.

The following verbs have been recorded only with *e* in the imperfect: *ʕéḳe* 'to harm, to hurt' — *yéʕeḳ*, *féde* 'to help, to provide abundantly' — *yéfed*, *féḳe* 'to dress oneself' — *yéfeḳ*, *sébe* 'to transfer one's family temporarily to another place' — *yéseb*, *tébe* 'to moo, to low' — *yéteb*.

The following verbs exhibit free variation between *e* and *o*: *gére* 'to look for' — *yéger/yégor*, *ʸhéle* 'to shut in a calf' — *yéʸhel/yéʸhol*, *ʸhéne* 'to plant' — *yéʸhen/yéʸhon*, *ʸháše* 'to irrigate' — *yéʸheš/yéʸhoš*, *héde* 'to carry' — *yéḥed/yéḥod*, *ḥéle* 'to go down'— *yéḥel/yóḥol*, *kéfe/kfe* 'to be enough' — *yékef/yékof*, *réḳe* 'to take one's livestock to upper areas' — *yéreḳ/yéroḳ*, *réše* 'to tie' — *yéreŝ/yéroŝ*, *séfe/sfe* 'to cleanse' — *yésef/yésof*, *séle* 'to follow' — *yésel/yésol*, *šéŝe/ššе* 'to take, to accept' — *yéšeŝ/yéšoŝ*.

In the following verbs, the vowel of the imperfect is *a*, obviously as a result of the vowel alternation *o > a* after an emphatic or before a guttural in a closed syllable (cf. NAUMKIN et al. 2014b: 53): **béʕe* 'to bleat' — **yébaʕ*, *ḳále* 'to roast' — *yéḳal*, *ḳáne* 'to feed' — *yéḳan*, *ḳáre* 'to hide' — *yéḳar*, *ḳáṣe* 'to cut off' — *yéḳaṣ*.

In the rest of the active verbs of the class C_1C_2y, the imperfect base is neither C_1oC_2 nor C_1eC_2. This includes the majority of the verbs with the guttural as C_2 (on which v. 1.1.1.4), as well as the verb *ŝke* 'to seek' in which the imperfect paradigm is borrowed from other conjugational classes (subclasses): impf. *yeŝóki/yeŝóke*. The form *yeŝóki* is borrowed from the inactive type of the C_1C_2y class, the form *yeŝóke* is borrowed from the active type of the $C_1C_2ʔ$ class. This verb can be said to have a mixed paradigm: the perfect from the C_1C_2y class active, the imperfect from the C_1C_2y inactive/$C_1C_2ʔ$ active.

In three verbs, alongside the regular forms of the imperfect, doublet forms are used, borrowed from the C_1C_2y inactive type: *réḳe* 'to take one's livestock upwards' — impf. *yérek/yéroḳ/yeróḳi* and *ʕéḳe* 'to harm, to hurt' — imperfect *yéʕeḳ/yéʕóḳi* (cf. further 1.1.1.5 for *ŝéŝe/ŝŝe* 'to take, to accept').

In verbs with the first radical labial or emphatic, the vowel of the prefix *te-*, when stressed, may be realized as *ö*: *tőboš* 'she weeps' (cf. *yéboš* 'he weeps'), *tőṣam* 'she dies' (cf. *yéṣam* 'he dies'), cf. NAUMKIN et al. 2014b: 31–32 for this phenomenon elsewhere.

1.1.1.2.2 The 3 du. m. base

In the 3 du. m. of the imperfect, the base $C_1\varepsilon C_2\varepsilon y$ is the most common one. However, quite a number of verbs exhibit forms derived from the base $C_1\varepsilon C_2$ or C_1eC_2, mostly as doublets to forms derived from $C_1\varepsilon C_2\varepsilon y$, e. g. *gére* 'to look for' — impf. 3 du. m. *yegɛréyo/yegéro*, *sébe* 'to transfer one's family temporarily to another place' — impf. 3 du. m. *yesɛbéyo/yesébo*, *ʸhéle* 'to shut in a calf' — *yeʸhɛléyo/yeʸhélo*.

1.1.1.2.3 The 3 pl. m. base

There are two bases of the 3 pl. m. imperfect: C_1oC_2e and C_1eC_2. The choice between these two bases is lexically determined. The base C_1eC_2 is less widespread and mostly occurs alongside the C_1oC_2e base: *déme* 'to sleep' — impf. 3 sg. m. *yédom* — 3 pl. m. *yedóme*, but *réŝe* 'to tie' — impf. 3 sg. m. *yéroŝ/yéreŝ* — 3 pl. m. *yéreŝ/yeróŝe*, *ʸhéne* 'to plant' — impf. 3 sg. m. *yéʸhen/yéʸhon* — 3 pl. m. *yéʸhen/yéʸhóne*.

1.1.1.3 The paradigm of the jussive

For the verb *ʕéḳe* 'to harm, to hurt', alongside the expected *liʕḳá*, a bisyllabic jussive form *liʕáḳa* has been recorded.

1.1.1.4 Verbs with the second radical guttural

The following verbs with the second radical guttural belonging to the active type of the C_1C_2y class have been recorded: *béʕe* 'to bleat (a sheep)', *ḳéʕe* 'to

open', *léḥe/lɛ́ḥɛ* 'to bleat', *léḥe/lɛ́ḥɛ* 'to join a kid to a goat other than its mother for suckling', *néhe* 'to burn (intr.); to be hot, warm', *réʕe* 'to pasture (tr.)', *réḥe* 'to lick', *zéʕe* 'to take', *šéʕe* 'to run'.

These verbs display a few deviations from the standard paradigm. In the perfect, they exhibit the 1 sg. base C_1aC_2ay (unstressed *ay* sometimes contracted to *i*). In the imperfect, only two verbs display the monosyllabic 3 sg. m. base usual for this class: *šéʕe* 'to run' — *yéšoʕ*, *béʕe* 'to bleat (sheep)' — *tébaʕ*. The majority have a special 3 sg. m. base $C_1a/\varepsilon C_2a/\varepsilon$.

Besides, the usual rules of vocalic changes in the neighborhood of the gutturals apply. This includes the rules of choice between the allophones *a* and *ɛ* and the rules of the vocalic assimilation (cf. NAUMKIN et al. 2014b: 50–51, 52).

The sample paradigm of the verb *réḥe* 'to lick' looks as follows:

perfect	sg.		du.		pl.	
	m.	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**
3	*réḥe*	*réḥe*	*raḥáyo*	*raḥayɛ́to/reḥéto*	*réḥe*	*réḥe*
2	*ráḥayk/ráḥik*	*ráḥayš/ráḥiš*	*raḥáyki*		*raḥáyken*	
1	*ráḥayk/ráḥik*		*raḥáyki*		*ráḥayn/ráḥin*	

imperfect	sg.		du.		pl.	
	m.	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**
3	*yeráḥa*	*teráḥa*	*yeraḥáyo*	*teraḥáyo*	*yeréḥe*	*teráḥan/teráḥayn*
2	*teráḥa*	*terîḥi*	*teraḥáyo*		*teréḥe*	*teráḥan/teráḥayn*
1	*ʔeráḥa*		*ʔeraḥáyo*		*neráḥa*	

jussive	sg.		du.		pl.	
	m.	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**
3	*lirḥá*	*terḥá*	*lirḥáyo*	*terḥáyo*	*lirḥé*	*terḥán/terḥáyn*
2	*terḥá*	*terḥí*	*terḥáyo*		*terḥé*	*terḥán/terḥáyn*
1	*lerḥá*		*lerḥáyo*		*nerḥá*	

1.1.1.5 Conjugation of the verbs with the syncope of the first vowel

The following verbs belonging to the class C_1C_2y, active type, can syncopate the first vowel *e* (on the conditions for the syncope v. NAUMKIN et al. 2014b: 31): *fŝe* 'to lunch', *kéfe/kfe* 'to be enough', *séfe/sfe* 'to cleanse', *ŝke* 'to look for', *šéŝe/šŝe* 'to take, to accept'. All these verbs are characterized by a special 1 sg. base of the perfect, namely, $C_1C_2\varepsilon y$: *fŝe* 'to lunch' — 1 sg. *fŝɛyk*. In the majority of verbs, the base $C_1C_2\varepsilon y$ is used alongside the regular base C_1oC_2i: *séfe/sfe* 'to cleanse' — 1 sg. *sfɛyk/sófik*, *kéfe/kfe* 'to be enough' — 1 sg. *kfɛyk/kófik*.

The verb *šéŝe/šŝe* 'to take, to accept', apart from this feature, is characterized by doublet forms of 3 du. m. and 1 sg. perfect bases and of imperfect: 3 du. m. perfect *šéŝo/šŝo* (perhaps borrowed from the paradigm of "hollow" verbs or "geminated" verbs, cf. 2.2, 3; the regular *šŝe* is less frequently used), 1 sg. perfect *šéŝek* (borrowed from the inactive paradigm), imperfect *yešóŝi* (borrowed from the inactive paradigm).

1.1.1.6 Vocalic alternations in the vicinity of an emphatic

If the first or the second radical is an emphatic, the vowel *e* of the first syllable of the 3 sg. m. base of the perfect tends to shift to *a/ε* (the lateral approximant *l* behaves as an emphatic in this respect, cf. NAUMKIN et al. 2014b: 29, 37, 53): *ʸháṣe* 'to irrigate', *ʸhéle/ʸhɛ́le* 'to shut in a calf', *féle/fɛ́le* 'to seek; to delouse', *ḥɛ́le* 'to go down', *ḳále* 'to roast', *ḳáne* 'to feed', *ḳáre* 'to hide', *ḳáṣe* 'to cut off'. This shift is, however, far from universal, cf. *ʕéḳe* 'to harm, to hurt', *déle* 'to weigh', *féḳe* 'to dress oneself', *réḳe* 'to take one's livestock to upper areas', *séle* 'to follow', *ṭéme* 'to be thirsty'.

In the 3 sg. m. base of the imperfect, *o* is changed to *a* after an emphatic: *ḳále* — *yéḳal* 'to roast', *ḳáne* — *yéḳan* 'to feed', *ḳáre* — *yéḳar* 'to hide', *ḳáṣe* — *yéḳaṣ* 'to cut off', *ṭéme* — *yéṭam* 'to be thirsty'. The presence of an emphatic after the vowel does not affect it: *déle* — *yédol* 'to weigh', *féle/fɛ́le* — *yéfol* 'to seek; to delouse', *ʸháṣe* — *yéʸhoṣ̌* 'to irrigate', *ḥɛ́le* — *yóḥol* 'to go down', *réḳe* — *yéroḳ* 'to take one's livestock to upper areas', *séle* — *yésol* 'to follow'.

1.1.2 Class C_1C_2y, inactive type

In this subtype, only two distinct bases are employed in the perfect:

(I) the 3 sg. m. base

(II) the 3 pl. m. base

The 3 pl. m. base is limited to 3 pl. m., whereas all the other forms are derived from the 3 sg. m. base.

	3 sg. m.	3 pl. m.
perfect	C_1iC_2i	C_1eC_2e

The bases of the imperfect and the jussive are as follows (the paradigm of the jussive is identical with that of the active type; cf. 1.1.1):

	3 sg. m.	3 du. m.	3 pl. m.
imperfect	C_1oC_2i	$C_1\varepsilon C_2\varepsilon y$	C_1oC_2e
jussive	$C_1C_2\varepsilon$	$C_1C_2\varepsilon y$	C_1C_2e

The conjugation of a verb of the class C_1C_2y, inactive type, can be exemplified by the verb *mídi* 'to be wearied':

perfect	sg.		du.		pl.	
	m.	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**
3	*mídi*	*mído*	*mído*	*midɛ́to*	*méde*	*mídi*
2	*mídik*	*mídiš*	*midíki*		*midíken*	
1	*mídik*		*midíki*		*mídin*	

imperfect	sg.		du.		pl.	
	m.	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**
3	*yemódi*	*temódi*	*yemɛdɛ́yo*	*temɛdɛ́yo*	*yemóde*	*temódin*
2	*temódi*	*temódi*	*temɛdɛ́yo*		*temóde*	*temódin*
1	*ʔemódi*		*ʔemɛdɛ́yo*		*nemɛdɛ́yo*	

jussive	sg.		du.		pl.	
	m.	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**
3	*limdɛ́*	*temdɛ́*	*limdɛ́yo*	*temdɛ́yo*	*limdɛ́*	*temdɛ́yn/temdɛ́n*
2	*temdɛ́*	*temdí*	*temdɛ́yo*		*temdɛ́*	*temdɛ́yn/temdɛ́n*
1	*lemdɛ́*		*lemdɛ́yo*		*nemdɛ́*	

1.1.2.1 The perfect paradigm

In two verbs, the 3 du. f. ending *-oto* (in one of them, alongside the expected *-ɛto*) is recorded: *ʔíti* 'to grow weak' — 3 du. f. *ʔitéto/ʔitóto*, *ṭími* 'to be thursty' — 3 du. f. *ṭimóto*. Unlike the active type, in the inactive verbs the ending *-eto* is only rarely attested: *tíri* 'to be wet' — 3 du. f. *tiréto*.

In the 1 and 2 person forms, the ending can be preceded by an *ʔ*: *ʔíti* 'to grow weak' — 2 sg. m. *ʔítik/ʔítiʔk*, *gízi* 'to despair' — 2 sg. f. *gíziš/gíziʔš*, *ṭími* 'to be thursty' — 2 du. *ṭimíʔki*, *nífi* 'to be pinked' — 1 pl. *nífin/nifíʔin*.

The verbs *míli* 'to be filled' and *míṭa* 'to reach' exhibit mixed paradigms of the perfect: the 3 sg. f. and 3 du. m. forms are those of the inactive type of the class $C_1C_2ʔ$ (*milóʔo*, *miṭóʔo*).

Three verbs have been recorded in which C_2 is an emphatic: *míṣi* 'to be finished', *réǯi* 'to be glad', *míṭa* 'to reach'. For one of them (*míṣi* 'to be finished'), no deviations from the standard paradigm have been recorded. In the verb *réǯi* 'to be glad', the 3 sg. m. base is irregular and differs from that of 3 du. m. (from which 3 sg. f. and 3 du. f. are derived): 3 du. m. *ríǯo*. In the verb *míṭa* 'to reach', the final *a* appears instead of the expected *i* — a unique development within this class. Among the verbs belonging to other weak classes, a parallel is found in *ʔéǯa* 'to grow (plants)', likewise unique within its own class (cf. 1.2.1.3.2).

1.1.2.2 The imperfect paradigm

In some verbs, the 3 sg. m. base of the imperfect is C_1oC_2e, with final *e* rather than *i* (thus, coinciding with the imperfect of the class $C_1C_2ʔ$): *fíni* 'to turn one's face' — *yefóne*, *lísi 'to rain' — *yelóse, *míli* 'to be filled' — *yemóle*, *nífi* 'to be pinked' — *yenófe*. The final *e* instead of the expected *i* is also found in the verb *ṭími* 'to be thirsty' — *yeṭáme* (the shift *o > a* after an emphatic is regular). Of these verbs, *nífi* and *ṭími* have correlates in the $C_1C_2ʔ$ class, inactive type, with the same meaning and full paradigms, so that one can speak of C_1C_2y lexical doublets with defective paradigms (perfect only). In the case of *fíni* and *míli*, we have to do with a mixed paradigm. For the verb *nígi* 'to fail to meet one's expectations', the imperfect *yenóge* is attested alongside the regular *yenógi*.

The only C_1C_2y inactive verb with a guttural as C_2 is *kíʔi* 'to remain', whose imperfect is *yekɛ́ʔɛ*. It thus behaves in the same way as the verbs of the same root structure belonging to the active type of C_1C_2y (cf. 1.1.1.4).

The 3 sg. m. imperfect base of the verb *míṭa* 'to reach' is C_1aC_2a (*yemáṭa*). Thus, as in the perfect, its behavior differs from that of other verbs with an emphatic as C_2 (cf. *réẓ̌i* 'to be glad' — *yeróẓ̌i*).

In the verbs *míli* 'to be filled' and *míṭa* 'to reach', the regular dual forms have doublet forms borrowed from the class $C_1C_2ʔ$: 3 du. m. *yemɛ́lɛyo/ yemɛlóʔo, yemaṭáyo/yemɛṭóʔo*.

In the verb *ʔíti* 'to grow weak' the dual forms are derived from the base $C_1\varepsilon C_2$ respectively: *yɛʔéto* (borrowed from the active type, cf. 1.1.1.2.2).

1.1.2.3 The jussive paradigm

The verb *ʔíti* 'to grow weak' displays irregular forms of the jussive: *liʔít* (alongside the expected *liʔtɛ́*). By its structure, the form *liʔít* is reminiscent of the regular shape of the jussive of the C_1C_2y verbs in the VIII (Gt) stem: *moténe — limtín* 'to desire', *fotéde — liftíd* 'to profit', etc. It would be tempting to surmise that *ʔíti* is in fact a (fossilized?) VIII from a triply-week root *ʔwy*, but no etymological support for such a conclusion is at hand.

1.2 Class $C_1C_2ʔ$

The active type of $C_1C_2ʔ$ is characterized by the same set of bases of the perfect as the regular verbs (NAUMKIN et al. 2014b: 27), which we reproduce here for the reader's convenience:

(I) 3 du. m., from which 3 sg. f. (identical with 3 du. m.) and 3 du. f. forms are derived.

(II) The second base is reserved for 3 pl. m.

(III) 3 sg. m., from which all the remaining forms are derived.

In the imperfect and jussive, the set of the bases is identical with that of the regular verbs (cf. 1.1.1).

	3 sg. m.	3 du. m.	3 pl. m.
perfect	$C_1oC_2e(ʔ)$	$C_1eC_2Vʔ$[2]	C_1eC_2e
imperfect	C_1oC_2e	$C_1\varepsilon C_2Vʔ$	C_1oC_2e
jussive	$C_1C_2\varepsilon$	$C_1C_2Vʔ$	C_1C_2e

As a sample, the paradigms of *zóke* 'to be sad' can be adduced:

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2   Here and below V denotes a vowel whose quality depends on the quality of the vowel of the suffix.

perfect	sg.		du.		pl.	
	m.	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**
3	*zóke*	*zekóʔo*	*zekóˀo*	*zekɛʔéto*	*zéke*	*zóke*
2	*zóke(ʔ)k*	*zóke(ʔ)š*	*zoké(ʔ)ki*		*zoké(ʔ)ken*	
1	*zóke(ʔ)k*		*zoké(ʔ)ki*		*zokéʔen*	

imperfect	sg.		du.		pl.	
	m.	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**
3	*yezóke*	*tezóke*	*yezɛkóʔo*	*tezɛkóʔo*	*yezóke*	*tezokéʔen*
2	*tezóke*	*tezóki*	*tezɛkóʔo*		*tezóke*	*tezokéʔen*
1	*ʔezóke*		*ʔezɛkóʔo*		*nezóke*	

jussive	sg.		du.		pl.	
	m.	f.	m.	f.	m.	f.
3	*lizkɛ́*	*tezkɛ́*	*lizkóʔo*	*tezkóʔo*	*lizké*	*tezkéʔɛn/tezkén*
2	*tezkɛ́*	*tezkí*	*tezkóʔo*		*tezké*	*tezkéʔɛn/tezkén*
1	*lezkɛ́*		*lezkóʔo*		*nezkɛ́*	

The inactive type of the class with the final *ʔ* distinguishes between two bases in the perfect:

(I) 3 du. m., from which 3 sg. f. (identical with 3 du. m.) and 3 du. f. forms are derived.

(II) 3 sg. m., from which all the remaining forms are derived.

	3 sg. m.	3 du. m.
perfect	$C_1eC_2e(ʔ)$	$C_1iC_2Vʔ$

In the imperfect and jussive, the set of the bases is identical with that of the regular verbs (cf. 1.1.1).

	3 sg. m.	3 du. m.	3 pl. m.
imperfect	C_1oC_2e	$C_1ɛC_2Vʔ$	C_1oC_2e
jussive	$C_1C_2ɛ$	$C_1C_2Vʔ$	C_1C_2e

As a sample, the paradigms of *gébe* 'to be able' can be adduced:

perfect	sg.		du.		pl.	
	m.	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**
3	*gébe*	*gibóʔo*	*gibóʔo*	*gibɛʔéto*	*gébe*	*gébe*
2	*gébe(ʔ)k*	*gébe(ʔ)š*	*gebé(ʔ)ki*		*gebé(ʔ)ken*	
1	*gébe(ʔ)k*		*gebé(ʔ)ki*		*gebéʔen*	

imperfect	sg.		du.		pl.	
	m.	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**
3	*yegóbe*	*tegóbe*	*yegɛbóʔo*	*tegɛbóʔo*	*yegóbe*	*tegobéʔen*
2	*tegóbe*	*tegóbi*	*tegɛbóʔo*		*tegóbe*	*tegobéʔen*
1	*ʔegóbe*		*ʔegɛbóʔo*		*negóbe*	

jussive	sg.		du.		pl.	
	m.	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**
3	*ligbɛ́*	*tegbɛ́*	*ligbóʔo*	*tegbóʔo*	*ligbɛ́*	*tegbɛ́ʔɛn/tegbɛ́n*
2	*tegbɛ́*	*tegbí*	*tegbóʔo*		*tegbɛ́*	*tegbɛ́ʔɛn/tegbɛ́n*
1	*legbɛ́*		*legbóʔo*		*negbɛ́*	

Only two bases of the inactive type — 3 sg. m. and 3 du. m. of the perfect — differ from the corresponding bases of the active type. Moreover, as will be shown below, the inactive 3 sg. m. base $C_1eC_2e(ʔ)$ is not entirely absent from the active paradigm. Thus, the diagnostic position for the inactive type is 3 du. m.

The recorded verbs belonging to the active type of the $C_1C_2ʔ$ class are as follows: *ʔége* 'to beat', *ʔéte* 'to pass by', *ʸhóde* 'to calm down', *kéfe/kfe* 'to be enough', *kóle* 'to turn (tr. or intr.)', *kése/kse* 'to find', *ḳáre* 'to read', *móle* 'to fill', *nófe* 'to pink', *zóke* 'to be sad'.

The recorded verbs belonging to the inactive type of the $C_1C_2ʔ$ class are as follows: *ʔéẓ̂a* 'to grow (plants)', *défe* 'to be deaf', *gébe* 'to be able', *ḥére* 'to look for; to try', *lébe* 'to be in season (a female goat)', *néfe* 'to be pinked', *šébe* 'to believe', *ṭéme* 'to be thirsty'.

For two verbs, both active and inactive forms have been recorded: *góŝe/géŝe* 'to belch', *ḳáne/ḳéne* 'to be jealous; to be envious'. The verbs *béde* 'to be-

gin' and *ḥéde* 'to carry' have both active and inactive bases of 3 du. m.: *bedóʔo/bidóʔo*, *ḥedóʔo/ḥidóʔo*. However, for the 3 sg. m. base only the forms *béde* and *ḥéde* (inactive) are recorded (1.2.1.1.1).

1.2.1.1 The perfect paradigm

1.2.1.1.1 The first vowel of the 3 sg. m. base of the perfect

In the 3 sg. m. base of the perfect of the active type the first vowel is *e* rather than *o* in a few verbs characterized by some additional irregularity — the initial *ʔ* (*ʔége* 'to beat', *ʔéte* 'to pass by') or the optional syncope of the first vowel (*kéfe/kfe* 'to be enough', *kése/kse* 'to find'). In the verbs *béde* 'to begin' and *ḥéde* 'to carry', the base C_1eC_2e likely belongs to the inactive paradigm: *béde* 'he began' — *bedóʔo/bidóʔo* 'she began', *ḥéde* 'he carried' — *ḥedóʔo/ḥidóʔo* 'she carried'.

1.2.1.1.2. The final *ʔ*

In the 3 sg. m. base of the perfect, the *ʔ* optionally surfaces after *e* unless it is in word-final position: *ʔége(ʔ)k* 'I beat', *kóle(ʔ)š* 'you$_{sg. f.}$ turned', *ḳaréʔen/ḳáren* 'we read'. For the verb *kéfe/kfe* 'to be enough', no relevant forms have been produced by the informants, who employed instead the corresponding forms of the C_1C_2y paradigm: *kófik* 'I was enough' (this verb can be conjugated after the C_1C_2y paradigm as well).

In the imperfect and jussive, the final *ʔ* can surface in 3 and 2 pl. f., alongside the contracted forms: *teḳaréʔen/teḳáren* 'they$_{pl. f.}$ read', *temoléʔen/temólen* 'they$_{pl. f.}$ fill', *teḳréʔɛn/teḳrɛ́n* 'let them$_{pl. f.}$ read', *temléʔɛn/temlɛ́n* 'let them$_{pl. f.}$ fill'.

Quite frequently, the forms in which the overt *ʔ* is obligatory (that is, in the 3 du. m. bases) have doublet forms borrowed from the C_1C_2y paradigm: *ʔetóʔo/ʔetɛ́yo* 'she passed', *yekɛlóʔo/yekɛlɛ́yo* 'they$_{du. m.}$ return', *temlóʔo/temlɛ́yo* 'let them$_{du. f.}$ fill'. In a similar way, in the 3 and 2 pl. f. of the imperfect and jussive, forms from the C_1C_2y paradigm can appear: *teḳárin* 'they$_{pl. f.}$ read', *temólin* 'they$_{pl. f.}$ fill', *teḳréyn* 'let them$_{pl. f.}$ read', *temléyɛn* 'let them$_{pl. f.}$ fill'.

1.2.1.1.3 The 3 du. f. ending

The 3 du. f. ending is usually *-ɛto*, often with a doublet form *-oto*. The ending *-eto* appears only rarely. In all 3 du. f. forms, the rule of the vocalic assimilation across the guttural is at work (cf. NAUMKIN et al. 2014b: 52): *kóle* 'to turn (tr. or intr.)' — 3 du. f. *kelɛʔéto/keloʔóto*, *móle* 'to fill' — 3 du. f. *melɛʔéto/meloʔóto*, *ʔéte* 'to pass by' — 3 du. f. *ʔetɛʔéto/ʔeteʔéto*, *défe* 'to be deaf' — 3 du. f. *difɛʔéto*.

1.2.1.2 The imperfect paradigm

A few verbs with initial *ʔ* belonging to the class $C_1C_2ʔ$ have been recorded. Unlike the regular verbs with initial *ʔ*, they do not exhibit any forms with contraction in the imperfect: *yeʔóge* 'he beats' (contrast *yóuzom*, side by side with *yɛʔɛ́zom*, 'he lends').

1.2.1.3 Vocalic alternations

1.2.1.3.1 Vocalic assimilation around the final guttural

In the 3 du. m. of the perfect, imperfect and jussive bases, the vocalic assimilation around the final guttural is observed (cf. NAUMKIN et al. 2014b: 52): *zekóʔo* 'they_{du. m.} were sad' — *zekɛʔéto* 'they_{du. f.} were sad', *šibóʔo* 'they_{du. m.} believed' — *šibɛʔéto* 'they_{du. f.} believed'. As in regular verbs, the assimilation is always regressive in the forms with the ending *-o*. In 3 du. f., the assimilation is progressive (*zekɛʔéto > *zekɛʔéto*); alternatively, the forms with *o* around the guttural are used (probably under the influence of 3 m. du.): *meloʔóto/melɛʔéto* 'they_{du. f.} filled'.

Progressive assimilation of the vowels around guttural is observed in the 3 and 2 pl. f. forms of the jussive: **tezkɛ́ʔen* > *tezkɛ́ʔɛn* 'let them_{pl. f.}/you_{pl. f.} be sad', **tešbɛ́ʔen* > *tšebɛ́ʔɛn* 'let them_{pl. f.} believe'[3].

1.2.1.3.2 Vocalic alternations in the vicinity of an emphatic

In the perfect 3 sg. m. base of the active type, the change *o > a* is observed in the vicinity of an emphatic: *ḳáne* 'he envied', *ḳáre* 'he read', *ʸháše* 'he irrigated'[4]. In the 3 sg. m. base of the imperfect, the same shift is observed: *yeḳáne* 'he envies', *yeḳáre* 'he reads'.

In the inactive type, only the 3 sg. m. base of the imperfect is affected by this rule: *yeʔáẓ̂a* 'it sprouts', *yeṭáme* 'he is thirsty'. In the 3 sg. m. base of the perfect (C_1eC_2e), the first vowel *e* remains unchanged in the vicinity of an emphatic (*ṭéme* 'he was thirsty', *ḳéne* 'he was jealous'), whereas the second *e* can be changed to *a* under the influence of an emphatic (the only example is *ʔéẓ̂a* 'it grew, sprouted'; cf. also 1.1.2.1).

In the 3 du. m. base of the imperfect, as well as in the jussive, the vowel is, predictably, realized as *a* in the vicinity of an emphatic (*yeḳanóʔo* 'they_{du. m.} envy', *lihšá* 'let him irrigate', *li(ʔ)ẓ̂á* 'let it sprout').

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3   In the corresponding forms of the imperfect, the underlying vowels before and after the guttural are *e*, so that no vowel change takes place.

4   For this verb, the unexpected variant *ʸhéše* is also recorded (for the choice between *ɛ* and *a* cf. NAUMKIN et al. 2014b: 50–51).

2 Weak verbs with medial weak consonant

The verbs with *ʔ* as the medial radical behave in the same way as other verbs with medial gutturals and are thus to be treated as strong verbs (NAUMKIN et al. 2014b: 47–49).

The "hollow" verbs in the strict sense can be divided into two classes.

The first class comprises verbs with surfacing ("strong") medial *y*. Their conjugation, while exhibiting some special features, is broadly similar to that of the strong verb. In the description below, it will be referred to as C_1yC_3.

The second class, where no semivowel explicitly surfaces in any of the conjugational forms, will be referred to as C_1VC_3.

2.1 Verbs with surfacing medial *y* (C_1yC_3)

The following verbs belonging to this class have been recorded: *ḥéyyom* 'to be ugly', *ḥéyyaṭ* 'to sew', *kíyyol* 'to measure', *ḳéyyol* 'to be high', *míyyos* 'to be thin', *ríyyom* 'to be long', *séyyod* 'to be rich', *ṣéyyom* 'to fast', *šéyyor* 'to be few, little', *ʕer* 'to be blind'. The conjugation of the verbs *niḥ/né^yhaḥ* 'to be glad, merry' and *ʕá^yheṣ* 'to dive' is similar to this class, albeit the medial radical here is *^yh* rather than *y*.

No distinction between active and inactive types can be observed in this class. Admittedly, one could venture to suppose that *o* in the second syllable of the majority of the C_1yC_3 verbs reflects the active pattern *$C_1éC_2oC_3$, whereas *ʕer* (< *ʕéyer*?) is the only representative of the inactive pattern *$C_1éC_2eC_3$. Yet, this hypothesis is not supported by the evidence of the imperfect paradigm, where the bases C_1yeC_3 and C_1yoC_3 can be used indiscriminately for all verbs belonging to this class.

With a few deviations discussed below, the shapes of bases of the perfect and the jussive are the same as in the regular verbs (cf. NAUMKIN et al. 2014b: 27, 41–42 and Sections 1.1.1, 1.2 above). Conversely, the imperfect is characterized by a special monosyllabic base (C_1yeC_3 or C_1yoC_3). The following set of the bases can thus be obtained:

	3 sg. m.	3 du. m.	3 pl. m.
perfect	C_1eyyoC_3	$C_1eyya/\varepsilon C_3$	C_1eyyeC_3
imperfect	C_1yeC_3/C_1yoC_3	$C_1yeC_3/C_1y\varepsilon C_3$	C_1yeC_3
jussive	$C_1y\varepsilon C_3/C_1yoC_3$	$C_1y\varepsilon C_3/C_1yiC_3$	C_1yeC_3

The conjugation can be exemplified by the verb *ṣéyyom* 'to fast':

perfect	**sg.**		**du.**		**pl.**	
	m.	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**
3	*ṣéyyom*	*ṣeyyɛ́mo*	*ṣeyyɛ́mo*	*ṣeyyɛméto*	*ṣéyyem*	*ṣéyyom*
2	*ṣéyyomk*	*ṣéyyomš*	*ṣeyyómki*		*ṣeyyómken*	
1	*ṣéyyomk*		*ṣeyyómki*		*ṣeyyómen*	

imperfect	**sg.**		**du.**		**pl.**	
	m.	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**
3	*yéṣyem*	*téṣyem*	*yeṣyɛ́mo*	*teṣyɛ́mo*	*yéṣyem*	*teṣyɛ́men*
2	*téṣyem*	*téṣyim*[5]	*teṣyɛ́mo*		*téṣyem*	*teṣyɛ́men*
1	*ʔéṣyem*		*ʔeṣyɛ́mo*		*néṣyem*	

jussive	**sg.**		**du.**		**pl.**	
	m.	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**
3	*liṣyɛ́m*	*teṣyɛ́m*	*liṣyɛ́mo*	*teṣyɛ́mo*	*liṣyɛ́m*	*teṣyɛ́men*
2	*teṣyɛ́m*	*teṣyím*	*teṣyɛ́mo*		*teṣyɛ́m*	*teṣyɛ́men*
1	*leṣyɛ́m*		*leṣyɛ́mo*		*neṣyɛ́m*	

2.1.1 The perfect paradigm

The medial *y* is perceived as geminated by the informants.

The vowel *e* before *y* is mostly realized as [ə] and shifts to *i* after *r, k* and *m*[6].

In 3 du. f. the default ending is *-eto*: *ḥéyyom* 'to be ugly' — 3 du. f. *ḥeyyɛméto*. After *l* and the emphatics, the ending *-ɛto* is found: *kíyyol* 'to measure' — 3 du. f. *kiyyɛléto*, *ḥéyyaṭ* 'to sew' — 3 du. f. *ḥeyyaṭéto*.

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5   The opposition between *i* and *e* is neutralized in the vicinity of *y* since unstressed *e* shifts to *i* in this position. Still, the palatalization of the second or third conso-nant occasioned by the 2 sg. f. marker *-i-* helps keep aside the two forms ([téṣyim] 'you_m. fast' vs. [téṣyim'] 'you_f. fast'). Cf. further NAUMKIN et al. 2014b: 36, fn. 21.

6   At least in the case of *k* and *r*, this is due to their palatalized pronunciation in Soqotri.

In the verbs *niḥ* 'to be glad, merry' and *ʕer* 'to be blind' the medial consonant does not surface in the perfect (for *niḥ* a non-contracted form of the perfect, *néʸhaḥ*, is also attested). In 3 du. f. the ending *-oto* has been recorded alongside *-ɛto* and *-eto*: *ʕeréto/ʕeréto/ʕeróto*. The vocalization of the verb *ʕáʸheṣ* 'to dive' in the perfect is unique and cannot be explained through the usual vocalic alternations in the vicinity of pharyngeals or emphatics.

2.1.2 The imperfect paradigm

Since the base of the imperfect is monosyllabic, the general rule of penultimate stress leads to the prefix vowel being accented in most of the forms. However, if the vowel of the prefix is syncopated, the stress shifts to the last syllable (rather than the epenthetic vowel after the second radical): *yáḥyem* 'he is ugly' — *ṭḥayém* 'she is ugly'.

The 3 sg. m. base is C_1eC_3, in most verbs attested side by side with C_1oC_3: *yékyel/yékyol* 'he measures', *yéḳyel/yéḳyol* 'it is high', *yémyes/yémyos* 'he is thin'. In the verb *niḥ* 'to be glad, merry', *e* is changed to *a* in a closed syllable before a guttural (NAUMKIN et al. 2014b: 54): *yénʸhaḥ* 'he is glad'. In the 3 du. m. base, the usual vocalic alternations around the guttural are observed (NAUMKIN et al. 2014b: 52).

The vowel of the 3 du. m. base is *e* or *ɛ* in most verbs: *šéyyor* 'to be little in quantity' — 3 du. m. *yešyéro/yešyéro*, *séyyod* 'to be rich' — *yesyédo/yesyédo*. For the following three verbs, only the vowel *e* has been accepted by the informants: *ḥéyyom* 'to be ugly' — *yaḥyémo*, *ḥéyyaṭ* 'to sew' — *yaḥyéṭo*, *ʕer* 'to be blind' — *yaʕyéro*. The ban on *ɛ* in this form is thus restricted to verbs with the initial guttural and may be described as dissimilation with the prefix vowel (changed to *a* before the guttural in a closed syllable, cf. NAUMKIN et al. 2014b: 54, 44) or with the guttural itself.

2.1.3 The jussive paradigm

The choice between *o* and *ɛ* in the 3 sg. m. base of the jussive is lexically determined. For most verbs, both bases are attested side by side, but in a handful of cases only $C_1yɛC_3$ has been admitted as possible: *ʕáʸheṣ* 'to dive' — *l'aʕʸháṣ*, *ḥéyyaṭ* 'to sew' — *l'aḥyáṭ*, *niḥ* 'to be glad' — *linʸháḥ*, *ṣéyyom* 'to fast' — *liṣyém*. In the first three verbs, the choice of *ɛ* (and its realization as *a*) is triggered by the quality of the final consonant — an emphatic or a guttural. In *ṣéyyom*, no clear reasons for the lack of the C_1yoC_3 base can be detected.

In most verbs the 3 du. m. bases $C_1yɛC_3$ and C_1yiC_3 coexist: *ʕer* 'to be blind' — *l'aʕyéro/l'aʕyíro*, *míyyos* 'to be thin' — *limyéso/limyíso*, *ríyyom* 'to be long' — *liryémo/liryímo*, *séyyod* 'to be rich' — *lisyédo/lisyído*. In the verb *niḥ*

'to be glad, merry', the vowel of the 3 du. m. base is, as expected, fully assimilated to the vowel of the ending: *linʸhóḥo*.

2.2 Verbs with an underlying medial vowel (true "hollow" verbs, C_1VC_3)

Verbs belonging to this class are not numerous: *ʕod* 'to walk, to go', *ʕef* 'to destroy', *ʕeḵ* 'to harm, to hurt', *ʕem* 'to cover', *gez* 'to be able to reach something', *ʸheb* 'to be warm', *ʸhed* 'to shut in', *ʸhel* 'to dig', *ḥes* 'to dig', *ḥeŝ* 'to help', *kaḥ* 'to repeat, to do again', *kol* 'to be capable', *kon* 'to be'[7], *ḳez* 'to persuade', *med* 'to stretch', *ŝel* 'to take', *ṣaḥ* 'to do something well; to be sound'. This list can be expanded by the predicative element *ʕad*, which has no imperfect or jussive forms. The verbs *ʕod* 'to walk, to go', *kon* 'to be' and *kol* 'to be capable' display special conjugational features which distinguish them from the remaining representatives of this class. It is noteworthy that these three verbs are frequently used in the extant Soqotri texts, while most of the rest are functionally marginal lexemes poorly attested in our sources[8].

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7 The vowel ɔ, clearly heard in *kol* 'to be capable' and *kon* 'to be' is most probably to be considered an allophone of *o* and has been rendered as *o* below in this article. The specific articulation of this phone was clear already to Müller, who regularly rendered it as *å* in his transcriptions, such as *kån* (Müller 1905: 46₂₁). For a preliminary survey of other words and forms where ɔ is found v. KOGAN – NAUMKIN 2014b: 77.

8 The surprising rarity of true "hollow" verbs in Soqotri prompts one to inquire, which among them go back to Common Semitic prototypes displaying the same root structure. Clear-cut $*C_1wC_3/*C_1yC_3$ background can be posited in the following cases: the predicative element *ʕad* < **ʕwd* (LESLAU 1987: 55–56), *ʸheb* 'to be warm' < **ḥwb* (JOHNSTONE 1987: 161, 1981: 99), *kon* 'to be' (LESLAU 1987: 299–300). Close to this group are *kaḥ* 'to repeat' and *kol* 'to be capable', where the "hollow" conjugation has likely emerged via elision of the second radical, viz. **knḥ* (LESLAU 1938: 221, JOHNSTONE 1987: 212) and **khl* (LESLAU 1987: 277; loss of *-h-* in the Geez imperfect *yǝkǝl* is a noteworthy parallel development). In the following cases, the "hollow" type must be secondary with respect to a more original geminated one, which fits well the existence of "geminated" conjugational doublets (see below): *ʸhed* 'to shut in' < **šdd* (LESLAU 1938: 141, JOHNSTONE 1987: 152, 1981: 260), *med* 'to stretch' < **mdd* (LESLAU 1987: 329, JOHNSTONE 1981: 168, 1987: 260), *ʕem* 'to cover' < **ġmm* (LANE 1863–1893: 2289, KOEHLER et al. 2001: 846), *ʸhel* 'to dig' < **šll* (cf. Jibbali *ešlél* 'to broaden', JOHNSTONE 1981: 262, Arabic *sāll-* 'fond très-encaissé d'une vallée', BIBERSTEIN-KAZIMIRSKI 1860 I: 1117), *ṣaḥ* 'to do something well; to be sound' < **ṣḥḥ* (LANE 1863–1893: 1651), *ŝel* 'to take' < **ŝll* (LANE 1863–1893: 1591, JOHNSTONE 1987: 379, 1981: 252). The common verb *ʕod* 'to walk, to go' corresponds, peculiarly, to **wġd* in Jibbali (JOHNSTONE 1981: 288) and has no fur-

Some of these verbs (*med*, *ʸhed*, *ḥes*, *ṣaḥ*, *šel*) have doublet forms belonging to the geminated class. Besides, the verb *del* 'to take', belonging to the geminated class, can also be conjugated after the C_1VC_3 paradigm in the imperfect (but not in the jussive). Obviously, the "hollow" class in the basic stem is in the process of merging with the geminated one. This merger is facilitated by the identical paradigm of the perfect shared by the two classes.

The distinction between active and inactive types is apparently drawn only in the 3 du. m. base of the perfect, where the vowel *i* is the marker of the inactive type. However, only for one verb the vowel *i* is recorded in this position, and the inactive base is used side by side with the active one: *ʕef* 'to destroy' — 3 du. m. *ʕéfo/ʕífo*.

In the perfect, 3 sg. f. coincides with 3 du. m., as in the regular verb. The 3 pl. m. base coincides with that of 3 sg. m. Some of the "hollow" verbs display a special 1 sg. base (from which all 1 and 2 persons are derived), while in others the 3 sg. m. base serves to derive these forms as well.

Thus, the bases of the perfect are as follows:

(I) the 3 sg. m. base (from which also the 3 f. sg., 3 m. pl. and 3 f. pl. forms are derived)

(II) the 3 du. m. base (from which also the 3 du. f. form is derived)

(III) the 1 sg. base (from which all other forms of the 1 and 2 persons are derived) — either distinct or identical with the 3 sg. m. base.

	3 sg. m.	3 du. m.	1 sg.
perfect	C_1eC_3	C_1eC_3 (inactive C_1iC_3)	C_1eC_3/C_1oC_3

In the imperfect and the jussive, the following bases are employed (cf. 1.1.1):

	3 sg. m.	3 du. m.	3 pl. m.
imperfect	C_1eC_3/C_1oC_3	$C_1eC_3/C_1\varepsilon C_3$	C_1eC_3/C_1oC_3e
jussive	$C_1\varepsilon C_3/C_1oC_3$	$C_1\varepsilon C_3/C_1iC_3$	C_1eC_3

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ther etymology. For *ḥes* 'to dig', the only likely parallels display the C_1C_2y structure: Mehri *ḥəsū* (JOHNSTONE 1987: 189), Jibbali *ḥasé* (JOHNSTONE 1981: 116), Arabic *ḥsy* (LANE 1863–1893: 572). The following verbs are etymologically obscure: *ʕeḵ* 'to harm' (cf. Arabic *ʕqq* 'to cleave, to rend', LANE 1863–1893: 2095, Tigre *ʕaḵḵa* 'to cut, to wound', LITTMANN – HÖFNER 1962: 467 or rather Arabic *ʕwq* 'to hinder, to impede', LANE 1863–1893: 2198), *gez* 'to be able to reach something', *ḵez* 'to persuade', *ʕef* 'to destroy'.

The conjugation can be exemplified by the verb *gez* 'to be able to reach something':

perfect	sg.		du.		pl.	
	m.	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**
3	*gez*	*gézo*	*gézo*	*gezéto/gezɛ́to*	*gez*	*gez*
2	*gozk*	*gozš*	*gózki*		*gózken*	
1	*gozk*		*gózki*		*gózen*	

imperfect	sg.		du.		pl.	
	m.	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**
3	*yégez*	*tégez*	*yegézo*	*tegézo*	*yégez*	*yegézen*
2	*tégez*	*tégiz*	*tegézo*		*tégez*	*tegézen*
1	*ʔégez*		*ʔegézo*		*négez*	

jussive	sg.		du.		pl.	
	m.	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**
3	*ligɛ́z*	*tegɛ́z*	*ligézo/ligízo*	*tegézo*	*ligéz*	*tegézen*
2	*tegɛ́z*	*tegíz*	*tegézo/tegízo*		*tegéz*	*tegézen*
1	*legɛ́z*		*legézo/legízo*		*negɛ́z*	

2.2.1 The perfect paradigm

In the verb *ḳez* 'to persuade', the vowel *o* of the 1 sg. base is changed to *a* under the influence of the emphatic (cf. 1.1.1.6): 1 sg. *ḳazk*.

In the verbs *kaḥ* 'to repeat, to do again' and *ṣaḥ* 'to do something well, to be sound', the vowel *e* of the 3 sg. m. and 1 sg. bases is changed to *a*. The trigger of this change is the final guttural, which also is responsible for the vowel assimilation in 3 du. m. (NAUMKIN et al. 2014b: 52, 54).

The verbs *ʕod* 'to walk, to go', *kon* 'to be' and *kol* 'to be capable' are characterized by the vowel *o* in the 3 sg. m. and 1 sg. bases (in the latter two verbs, *o* is realized as [ɔ], perhaps under the influence of the following sonorant).

For the 3 du. f. ending, each of the three forms *-eto*, *-ɛto* and *-oto* have been recorded: *ŝel* 'to take' — 3 du. f. *ŝelóto/ŝeléto*, *ʕef* 'to destroy' — 3 du. f. *ʕefɛ́to*. In the verb *kaḥ* 'to repeat, to do again', the vowel *e* in this ending is syncopated (NAUMKIN et al. 2014b: 52–53): *kaḥáto/koḥóto/ḳaḥto*.

2.2.2 The imperfect paradigm

In the 3 sg. m. base, the shape C_1eC_3 is the preferred one. For most verbs, C_1oC_3 has also been recorded as an optional variant, but the informants often feel uncertain about the correctness of such forms.

In verbs with the final guttural, the vowel *a* is used in 3 sg. m. The same vowel appears in the verbs *ḳez* 'to persuade' and *kol* 'to be capable': *yéḳaz*, *yékal*.

The choice between *e* and *ɛ* in the 3 du. m. base is lexically determined: *ʸheb* 'to be warm' — *yeʸhɛ́bo*, but *ʸhed* 'to shut in' — *yeʸhédo*.

Similarly to the verbs of the class C_1C_2y, active type, two bases of 3 pl. m. are in evidence: C_1eC_3 and C_1oC_3e, as in *ʕeḳ* 'to harm, to hurt' — *yéʕeḳ*, but *ʸhel* 'to dig' — *yeʸhóle* (side by side with *yéʸhel*). In this class, however, the base C_1oC_3e is less commonly attested.

2.2.3 The jussive paradigm

In the 3 du. m. base, most verbs allow both *ɛ* and *i*: *ʸhed* 'to shut in' — 3 du. m. *lihédo/lihído*, *ŝel* 'to take' — 3 du. m. *liŝɛ́lo/liŝílo*.

The verb *ḳez* 'to persuade' employs, alongside the expected jussive form *liḳáz*, the non-canonical form *liḳzɛ́* (apparently borrowed from the C_1C_2y active paradigm, although no comparable perfect or imperfect forms for this verb have been recorded).

Three verbs — *ḥeŝ* 'to help', *kol* 'to be capable', *kon* 'to be' — display, alongside the expected forms of the jussive, an alternative paradigm taken after the causative stem: *l'áḥɛŝ*, *l'ákal*, *l'ákɛn*.

3 "Geminated" verbs

The "geminated" verbs employ the same paradigm of the perfect as the C_1VC_3 verbs (cf. 2.2):

	3 sg. m.	3 du. m.	1 sg.
perfect	C_1eC_3	C_1eC_3 (inactive C_1iC_3)	C_1eC_3/C_1oC_3

In the imperfect and jussive, the three-consonantal root with the last two identical consonants is distinctly seen: *fer — yéfrer — lifrɛ́r* 'to fly'.

In the jussive, the conjugation of the geminated verbs is similar to that of the regular type, the only exception being the 3 du. m. base where, besides the expected $C_1C_2\varepsilon C_3$, an irregular base $C_1C_2eC_3$ is sometimes found. The conjugation of the imperfect, on the contrary, differs drastically from the regular verb: there is no vowel between the first and the second consonants. Thus, the bases for the "geminated" verbs are as follows (cf. 1.1.1):

	3 sg. m.	**3 du. m.**	**3 pl. m.**
imperfect	$C_1C_2eC_3$	$C_1C_2\varepsilon C_3/C_1C_2eC_3$	$C_1C_2eC_3$
jussive	$C_1C_2\varepsilon C_3/C_1C_2oC_3$	$C_1C_2\varepsilon C_3/C_1C_2eC_3$	$C_1C_2eC_3$

The conjugation of this class can be exemplified by the verb *ḳer* 'to boil (tr.)':

perfect	**sg.**		**du.**		**pl.**	
	m.	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**
3	*ḳer*	*ḳéro*	*ḳéro*	*ḳeréto*	*ḳer*	*ḳer*
2	*ḳerk*	*ḳerš*	*ḳérki*		*ḳérken*	
1	*ḳerk*		*ḳérki*		*ḳéren*	

imperfect	**sg.**		**du.**		**pl.**	
	m.	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**
3	*yéḳrer*	*téḳrer*	*yeḳréro/yekréro*	*teḳréro/tekréro*	*yéḳrer*	*teḳréren*
2	*téḳrer*	*téḳrir*	*teḳréro/tekréro*		*téḳrer*	*teḳréren*
1	*ʔéḳrer*		*ʔeḳréro/ʔekréro*		*néḳrer*	

jussive	**sg.**		**du.**		**pl.**	
	m.	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**	**m.**	**f.**
3	*liḳrér*	*teḳrér*	*liḳréro*	*teḳréro*	*liḳrér*	*teḳréren*
2	*teḳrér*	*teḳrír*	*teḳréro*		*teḳrér*	*teḳréren*
1	*leḳrér*		*leḳréro*		*neḳrér*	

The verbs of the inactive type are distinguished only by the 3 du. m. base of the perfect, where the vowel of the base is *i* rather than *e*. The following in-

active verbs have been recorded: *ʔeṣ* 'to be afraid' — 3 du. m. *ʔíṣo*, *ʕeẑ* 'to be strong' — 3 du. m. *ʕíẑo*, *ber* (predicative element with the meaning 'already; indeed') — 3 du. m. *bíro*, *neṭ* 'to tremble' — 3 du. m. *níṭo* (alongside *néṭo*), *ṣet* 'to look, to see' — 3 du. m. *ṣíto* (alongside *ṣéto*), *ṭeb* 'to believe; to be sure' — 3 du. m. *ṭíbo*, *ṭef* 'to be thin' — 3 du. m. *ṭífo*, *ṭek* 'to be ground, pulverized' — 3 du. m. *ṭíko*. Of these verbs, only *ṭef* exhibits the 3 sg. m. base $C_1C_2oC_3$ (associated with the inactive type) in the jussive (v. 3.3).

3.1 The perfect paradigm

The 1 sg. base is usually C_1eC_3, the shape C_1oC_3 is attested only for *del* 'to take' — *delk/dolk* and *den* 'to be sad' — *donk*.

The only verbs which exhibit the vowel *a* in the 3 sg. m. and 1 sg. bases are *ẑal* 'to be out of order' and *ḳal* 'to be young'. The combination of an emphatic and *l* is probably the trigger of the change. The verb *ẑal* displays *a* in the 3 du. m. base as well (*ẑálo*).

In 3 du. f., the endings *-eto*, *-ɛto* and *-oto* are employed: *rez* 'to treat wounds with warm water' — 3 du. f. *rezéto/rezɛ́to/rezóto*. The optional syncope of *e* is observed, as expected, in the verbs with a final unvoiced plosive or fricative or the pharyngeal *ḥ* (NAUMKIN et al. 2014b: 52–53): *ḥeŝ* 'to graze' — 3 du. f. *ḥeŝéto/ḥéŝto*, *ʔef* 'to go up' — 3 du. f. *ʔeféto/ʔéfto*.

3.2 The imperfect paradigm

The 3 sg. m. base $C_1C_2oC_3$ is recorded only for the verbs with final *l*: *del* 'to take' — *yéllol*, *ḳel* 'to be small' — *yéḳlol*, *ŝel* 'to take' — *yéŝlol* (side by side with *yéŝlel*), *ẑal* 'to be spoiled' — *yéẑẑol*.

The choice between the 3 du. m. bases $C_1C_2eC_3$ and $C_1C_2\varepsilon C_3$ is lexically determined. For many verbs, both variants are recorded: *ser* 'to throw' — *yesréro/yesrɛ́ro*, *meṣ* 'to suck' — *yemṣéṣo/yemṣɛ́ṣo*.

If the final consonant is a voiceless plosive or fricative or the pharyngeal *ḥ*, the vowel *e* between C_2 and C_3 can be syncopated (NAUMKIN et al. 2014b: 52–53): *res* 'to hurl stones' — *yerséso/yérso*, *ṣaḥ* 'to do something well; to be sound' — *yéṣḥo*, *ŝek* 'to string small cuts of meat on a wooden stick' — *yeŝkɛ́ko/yéŝko*. The syncope occurs in the dual forms only.

3.3 The jussive paradigm

The 3 sg. m. base $C_1C_2oC_3$ has been recorded for the following verbs: *ṭef* 'to be thin' — *litféf/litfóf*, *ẑal* 'to be spoiled' — *liẑẑál/liẑẑól*.

As in the imperfect, the 3 du. m. base allows either *ɛ* or *e*: ʕ*eṭ* 'to swallow' — *l'aʕṭáṭo/l'aʕṭéṭo*. The syncope of *e* is observed whenever the relevant phonological conditions are present (NAUMKIN et al. 2014b: 52–53): *sef* 'to sweep away; to drive (cattle)' — *lisféfo/lisfó*, *ḥes* 'to dig' — *l'aḥséso/l'aḥsó*.

4 History of research

The Soqotri weak verbs have met very little attention in the earlier scholarship. D. H. MÜLLER's paradigms (1905: 374–376) have been supplemented by M. BITTNER (1918: 76–81) and W. LESLAU (1938: 12–13), both fully dependent on MÜLLER's text collections. The only posterior independent witness to this problem are T. M. JOHNSTONE's cursory remarks in his 1968 article on the loss of the *t*-prefix in Soqotri.

4.1 MÜLLER 1905

MÜLLER's paradigm of C_1C_2y verbs is represented by the active type only: *bḗne* 'to build' (1905: 375) and *béše* 'to weep' (ibid. 376).

The alleged quantitative opposition between 3 sg. m. *bḗne/béše* and 3 pl. m. *béne/bĕše* in the perfect does not correspond to our findings and is likely fictitious. The 3 sg. f. form in MÜLLER's paradigm is marked with -*h* (*béneh*, *béšeh*), being thus opposed to 3 sg. m. (as well as 3 pl. m. and f.). So far we have failed to recognize this feature in the speech of our informants[9].

The 1 sg. base with -*o*- in MÜLLER's paradigm fully agrees with our records. Our 3 du. m. form *deméyo* corresponds to MÜLLER's *benáyo* 'they_du. built' on the one hand and *bešéyo* 'they_du. wept' on the other, which reflects his inability to recognize *ɛ* as a special phone in allophonic relationship with *a* and distinct from *e*. The 3 du. f. forms *benéto* and *bešéto* seem to correspond to our *bešéto* (or *deméto*?); the *y*-preserving variant *demeyéto* is not recorded by MÜLLER.

MÜLLER's paradigm of the imperfect is practically identical with our findings. The dual forms *ibénayo* and *ibéšeyo*, apart from being stressed on

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9   The problem is obviously not restricted to this particular verbal class, but applies to all feminine forms (both nominal and verbal). Indeed, our informants strongly insist that the respective endings (-*o* etc.) are actually pronounced (and are to be spelled in the Arabic-based Soqotri writing) with a final *h*, absent from "truly" vowel-final masculine forms. A few modern Western observers (notably, Dr. Miranda MORRIS, p. c.) are of the same opinion. More research seems to be needed to establish whether we are faced with a true phonetic phenomenon or rather a kind of morphophonemic perception on the part of the native speakers (cf. WATSON 2012: 66 for a similar ambiguity in Mehri).

the antepenultimate (rather than penultimate) syllable, display the same in-consistency in rendering ε as in the dual forms of the perfect mentioned above.

In the jussive, some of the key oppositions established in the course of our investigation are not recognized in MÜLLER's paradigm. Thus, the singular/plural contrast -*ɛ́*/-*é* (*libnɛ́* 'may he build' vs. *libné* 'may they_m. build') is not reflected at all (both forms end in -*é*). There is hardly any jus-tification for -*í* (instead of -*ɛ́*) in 3 sg. f. and 2 sg. m. (it is only for 2 sg. f. that the ending -*í* is correct). The ending -*ɛ́yo* of the dual forms corresponds to MÜLLER's -*áyo*. The 2/3 pl. f. form *tibnén* may correspond to our *tebnɛ́n* (the variant types *tebnɛ́yɛn* and *tebnɛ́yn* are not recorded).

Several *k*-forms for *béše* 'to weep' have been adduced by MÜLLER in his paradigms (3 pl. m. of the perfect *bekú*, 3 sg. f. of the imperfect *tbek*, etc.). The background of such forms, never attested in our corpus, is uncertain. In the case of *bekú*, we are most likely dealing with an Arabic insertion (for the Arabic ending -*u* cf. BULAKH's remarks in NAUMKIN et al. 2013: 532–533). The same explanation could apply to *tbek* and similar forms, unless they are relics of a very archaic stage of the language when the palatalizing alterna-tions were still a living feature of the verbal paradigm[10].

The "hollow" verbs are represented by *kon* 'to be' in the perfect and the imperfect. The characteristic labialized vowel of the 3 sg. m. base of the perfect has been correctly perceived as *å* by Müller, as opposed to non-labi-alized *a* in 3 sg. f. and 1 pl. (*kā́noh*, *kā́nen*). The contrast between 3 sg. m. and 3 pl. m. is correctly rendered as *kån* vs. *ken*. The imperfect paradigm of this verb is practically identical to ours.

4.2 BITTNER 1918

In his description of the C_1C_2y verbs, BITTNER (1918: 79) correctly opposes the active type (*béde* 'to tell lies') to the inactive (*fíni* 'to turn one's face'). In 3 sg. f. of the perfect, the active *bédeh*[11] is rightly opposed to the inactive *fínoh*. BITTNER pays due attention to the 1 sg. base of the perfect base in the active type (*bónik* 'I built') as well as to the $i > e$ shift in 3 pl. m. in the inactive type (*féne* 'they_m. turned'). BITTNER's paradigm of the imperfect fits

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10 This is never the case in the modern language studied by us where palatalization is a stable lexical feature of a given verbal root which never alternates with its diachronic velar ancestor. It is only in the nominal domain that such paradigmat-ic alternations are the norm (NAUMKIN et al. 2014a: 16–17).

11 For -*h* cf. 4.1 with fn. 9.

very well our findings (including the opposition *yédom* 'he sleeps' vs. *yedóme* 'they$_m$ sleep'), the only exception being the 3 and 2 pl. f. forms, where BITTNER's *yedómen/tedómen* correspond to our *yedómin/tedómin*. Verbs $C_1C_2ʔ$ are not properly distinguished from C_1C_2y in BITTNER's description.

The complex fate of the C_1y/wC_3 roots in Soqotri is presented in a rather sketchy way (BITTNER 1918: 78–79). As we have shown above (2.2), "true" hollow verbs are rare in Soqotri, and it is not surprising that very few of them have been properly recognized by BITTNER (cf. the basic forms of *kon* 'to be' on p. 79, which he qualifies as "nicht ganz regelmäßig flektiert"). Not unlike JOHNSTONE a few decades later, BITTNER failed to recognize that many of the common "biconsonantal" verbs (like *der* 'to stay' or *ṭef* 'to give') do not belong to the basic stem at all, but represent various weak types in the causative stem (cf. 4.4). At the same time, he was right to point out the existence of a separate sub-class of verbs with surfacing *y* as the second radical (*kíyyol* 'to measure').

BITTNER's description of the geminated verbs (1918: 76) is in agreement with our findings[12].

4.3 LESLAU 1938

LESLAU's concise paradigms of the Soqotri verb (1938: 12–13) provide relatively little information about the relevant forms. For verbs C_1C_2y, the opposition between the active *déme/ídom* and inactive *fíni/ifóne* has been correctly observed. The description of the geminated verbs class is identical to BITTNER's (cf. fn. 12). The same applies to the "hollow" class, incorrectly represented by the causative stem verbs *der* 'to stay' and *ṭef* 'to give'.

4.4 JOHNSTONE 1968

T. M. JOHNSTONE's pioneering article dealing with the loss of the *t*-prefix in Soqotri does not deal with the weak classes discussed in the present article. However, on p. 522 of his study Johnstone incorrectly subsumes the "hollow" verbs under those verbal classes which display the loss of the *t*-prefix in the imperfect. In the reality, there are good reasons to believe that all of his examples actually represent the causative stem rather than the basic one. Furthermore, at least some of them do not belong to the "hollow"

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12 Except for the explicit gemination in the perfect (*temm*, *temmk*, etc.), never heard in the speech of our informants and, it seems, practically missing from the Vienna corpus either.

type at all, but rather to $ʔC_2C_3$ (partly $< *wC_2C_3$)[13]. In fact, true "hollow" verbs like *kon* 'to be' never display the *t*-loss, which has far-reaching consequences for the history of the verb in MSA and Semitic in general[14].

Appendix One: The lexical evidence

C_1C_2y, active type

ʕék̢e (3 sg. f. *ʕék̢e*, 1 sg. *ʕók̢ik*) — *yéʕek̢*[15] (3 pl. m. *yéʕek̢*) — *liʕk̢á* 'to harm, to hurt' (not in LESLAU 1938; cf. *ʕek̢* 'to harm, to hurt' below under C_1VC_3, active type)

*béʕe (3 sg. f. *béʕe*, 1 sg. *báʕayk*) — **yébaʕ* — **libʕá* 'to bleat (a sheep)'[16] (not in LESLAU 1938)

béde (3 sg. f. *béde*, 1 sg. *bódik*) — *yébod* (3 pl. m. *yebóde*) — *libdέ* 'to tell lies' (LESLAU 1938: 82)

béne (3 sg. f. *béne*, 1 sg. *bónik*) — *yébon* (3 pl. m. *yebóne*) — *libnέ* 'to build' (LESLAU 1938: 89)

béše (3 sg. f. *béše*, 1 sg. *bóšik*) — *yéboš* (3 pl. m. *yebóše*) — *libšέ* 'to weep' (LESLAU 1938: 99)

déle (3 sg. f. *déle*, 1 sg. *dólik*) — *yédol* (3 pl. m. *yedóle*) — *lidlέ* 'to weigh' (LESLAU 1938: 128–129)

déme (3 sg. f. *déme*, 1 sg. *dómik*) — *yédom* (3 pl. m. *yedóme*) — *lidmέ* 'to sleep' (LESLAU 1938: 129)

féde (3 sg. f. *féde*, 1 sg. *fódik*) — *yéfed* (3 pl. m. *yefóde*) — *lifdέ* 'to help, to provide abundantly' (not in LESLAU 1938)[17]

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13 Thus, the common verb *ṭer* (*yeṭár/l'áṭar*) 'to catch, to hold, to fasten' is the causative to *éṭar* (*yóuṭar/liṭár*) 'to be held up, to be fixed strongly'. Similarly, *ṭef* (*yeṭáf/ l'áṭaf*) 'to give' is not to be identified with **ṭwb* 'to be good' (contra LESLAU 1938: 201 and many others), but rather with Arabic *wḏf* (II) 'assigner à quelqu'un un traitement ou une subsistance fixe, donner une pension', *waḏfat-* 'gage, solde, pension' (BIBERSTEIN-KAZIMIRSKI 1860 II: 1564).

14 As shown by TESTEN (1992), the loss of the *t*-prefix is always conditioned by the **u*-vowel after *t-* (the intensive and causative stems, the internal passive, the quadriradical verb). No such conditioning factor could be posited for the "hollow" verbs.

15 Alongside *yeʕók̢i*, borrowed from C_1C_2y, inactive type.

16 Only feminine forms were elicited from the informants.

17 Probably not identical with *féde* 'racheter, délivrer' in LESLAU 1938: 333, which displays Arabic-like conjugational forms. Of interest is *fotéde* 'to profit, to benefit from' (CSOL I 533).

féḳe (3 sg. f. *féḳe*, 1 sg. *fóḳik*) — *yéfeḳ* (3 pl. m. *yefóḳe*) — *lifḳɛ́* 'to dress oneself' (LESLAU 1938: 340)

féle/féle (3 sg. f. *féle/féle*, 1 sg. *fólik*) — *yéfol* (3 pl. m. *yefóle*) — *liflɛ́* 'to seek; to delouse' (not in LESLAU 1938, CSOL I 535)

fŝe (3 sg. f. *fŝe*, 1 sg. *fŝɛyk*) — *yéfoŝ* (3 pl. m. *yefóŝe*) — *lifŝɛ́* 'to lunch' (LESLAU 1938: 343)

gére (3 sg. f. *gére*, 1 sg. *górik*) — *yéger/yégor* (3 pl. m. *yéger/yegóre*) — *ligrɛ́* 'to look for' (LESLAU 1938: 115)

ʸhéle/ʸhɛ́le (3 sg. f. *ʸhéle*, 1 sg. *ʸhólik*) — *yéʸhel/yéʸhol* (3 pl. m. *yéʸhel/yeʸhóle*) — *lihlɛ́* 'to shut in a calf' (not in LESLAU 1938)

ʸhéne (3 sg. f. *ʸhéne*, 1 sg. *ʸhónik*) — *yéʸhen/yéʸhon* (3 pl. m. *yéʸhen/yeʸhóne*) — *lihnɛ́* 'to plant' (LESLAU 1938: 145)

ʸháŝe (3 sg. f. *ʸháŝe*[18], 1 sg. *ʸhóŝik*) — *yéʸheš/yéʸhoŝ* (3 pl. m. *yéʸheš/yeʸhóŝe*) — *lihŝá* 'to irrigate' (LESLAU 1938: 142)

ḥéde (3 sg. f. *ḥéde*, 1 sg. *ḥódik*) — *yéḥed/yéḥod* (3 pl. m. *yéḥed*) — *liḥdɛ́* 'to carry' (LESLAU 1938: 164; cf. below under C₁C₂ʔ, inactive)

ḥéle (3 sg. f. *ḥɛ́le*, 1 sg. *ḥólik*) — *yéḥel/yóḥol* (3 pl. m. *yeḥóle*) — *liḥlɛ́* 'to go down' (LESLAU 1938: 175)

kéfe/kfe (3 sg. f. *kéfe/kfe*, 1 sg. *kfɛyk/kófik*) — *yékef/yékof* (3 pl. m. *yékef*) — *likfɛ́* 'to be enough' (LESLAU 1938: 223; cf. below under C₁C₂ʔ, active type)

ḳéʕe (3 sg. f. *ḳéʕe*, 1 sg. *ḳáʕayk*) — *yeḳáʕa* (3 pl. m. *yeḳéʕe*) — *liḳʕá* 'to open' (LESLAU 1938: 379)

ḳále (3 sg. f. *ḳále*, 1 sg. *ḳálik*) — *yéḳal* (3 pl. m. *yeḳóle*) — *liḳlɛ́* 'to roast' (LESLAU 1938: 375)

ḳáne (3 sg. f. *ḳáne*, 1 sg. *ḳánik*) — *yéḳan* (3 pl. m. *yeḳóne*) — *liḳnɛ́* 'to feed' (LESLAU 1938: 377–378)

ḳáre (3 sg. f. *ḳáre*, 1 sg. *ḳárik*) — *yéḳar* (3 pl. m. *yeḳóre*) — *liḳrɛ́* 'to hide' (LESLAU 1938: 386)

ḳáṣe (3 sg. f. *ḳáṣe*, 1 sg. *ḳáṣik*) — *yéḳaṣ* (3 pl. m. *yeḳóṣe*) — *liḳṣɛ́* 'to cut off' (LESLAU 1938: 381)

léhɛ/léhɛ (3 sg. f. *léhe/léhɛ*, 1 sg. *léhik*) — *yeléhɛ* (3 pl. m. *yeléhe*) — *lilhɛ́* 'to bleat' (LESLAU 1938: 229)

léḥe/léḥe (3 sg. f. *léḥe*, 1 sg. *láḥayk/léḥik*) — *yeláḥa* (3 pl. m. *yeléḥe*) — *lilḥá* 'to join a kid to a goat other than its mother for suckling' (CSOL I 601)

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18 Alongside *ʸhɛŝóʔo*, borrowed from C₁C₂ʔ, active type.

néḥe (3 sg. f. *néḥe*, 1 sg. *néḥayk/náḥik*) — *yenáḥa* (3 pl. m. *yenéḥe*) — *linḥá* 'to burn (intr.); to be hot, warm' (LESLAU 1938: 264)

réʕe (3 sg. f. *réʕe*, 1 sg. *ráʕayk/ráʕik*) — *yeráʕa* (3 pl. m. *yeréʕe*) — *lirʕá* 'to pasture (tr.)' (LESLAU 1938: 403)

réḥe (3 sg. f. *réḥe*, 1 sg. *ráḥayk/ráḥik*) — *yeráḥa* (3 pl. m. *yeréḥe*) — *lirḥá* 'to lick' (CSOL I 634, cf. LESLAU 1938: 397)

réḳe (3 sg. f. *réḳe*, 1 sg. *róḳik*) — *yéreḳ/yéroḳ*[19] (3 pl. m. *yeróḳe*) — *lirḳɛ́* 'to take one's livestock to upper areas' (LESLAU 1938: 407)

réne (3 sg. f. *réne*, 1 sg. *rónik*) — *yéron* (3 pl. m. *yeróne*) — *lirnɛ́* 'to curse' (LESLAU 1938: 402)

réŝe (3 sg. f. *réŝe*, 1 sg. *róŝik*) — *yéreŝ/yéroŝ* (3 pl. m. *yéreŝ/yeróŝe*) — *lirŝɛ́* 'to tie' (LESLAU 1938: 408)

sébe (3 sg. f. *sébe*, 1 sg. *sóbik*) — *yéseb* (3 pl. m. *yéseb/yesóbe*) — *lisbɛ́* 'to transfer one's family temporarily to another place' (CSOL I 642, cf. LESLAU 1938: 280)

séfe/sfe (3 sg. f. *séfe/sfe*, 1 sg. *sfɛyk/sófik*) — *yésef/yésof* (3 pl. m. *yésef/ yesófe*) — *lifsɛ́* 'to cleanse' (CSOL I 642)

séle (3 sg. f. *séle*, 1 sg. *sólik*[20]) — *yésel/yésol* (3 pl. m. *yésel/yesóle*) — *lislɛ́* 'to follow'[21]

šéʕe (3 sg. f. *šéʕe*, 1 sg. *šáʕayk/šáʕik*) — *yéšoʕ*[22] (3 pl. m. *yešéʕe*) — *liššá* 'to run' (LESLAU 1938: 419)

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19 Alongside *yeróḳi*, borrowed from the inactive type.

20 Alongside *sélek*, borrowed from $C_1C_2ʔ$, inactive type.

21 LESLAU (1938: 286) lists *séle* 'faire parvenir qque chose à quelqu'un', which goes back to MÜLLER 1905: 167₁₆: *w-ósli tho min gad d'inkórkim* 'Und bring hierbei deine Haut, die gelbe'. In all probability, we are dealing with the causative stem from *séle* 'to follow' ('to make follow' > 'to bring near'), which is also confirmed by the jussive forms *l(y)ósil* and *lósli* adduced by MÜLLER in fn. 167 on the same page. Our informants are indeed aware of the causative *selé* (*yesóle/lósli*), but only with the meaning 'to infect, contaminate somebody with a contagious disease' (which is also compatible with the meaning 'to follow' in the basic stem).

22 Note the absence of shift $o > a$ before a guttural in a closed syllable (cf. 1.1.1.2.1).

šéŝe/ššе (3 sg. f. *šéŝe/ššе*[23], 1 sg. *ššɛyk/šóŝik*[24]) — *yéšeŝ/yéšoŝ*[25] (3 pl. m. *yéšеŝ/yešóŝe*) — *liššɛ́* 'to take, to accept' (not in LESLAU 1938)

ŝke (3 sg. f. *ŝke*, 1 sg. *ŝkɛyk*) — *yeŝóki/yeŝóke*[26] — *liŝkɛ́* 'to seek' (not in LESLAU 1938)

tébe (3 sg. f. *tébe*, 1 sg. *tóbik*[27]) — *yéteb* (3 pl. m. *yéteb/yetóbe*) — *litbɛ́* 'to moo, to low' (LESLAU 1938: 438)

zéʕe (3 sg. f. *zéʕe*, 1 sg. *záʕayk/záʕik*) — *yezáʕa* (3 pl. m. *yezéʕe*) — *lizʕá* 'to take' (LESLAU 1938: 154)

C_1C_2y, inactive type

ʔíti (3 sg. f. *ʔíto*) — *yeʔóti* — *liʔtɛ́*[28] 'to grow weak' (cf. LESLAU 1938: 77)

ʕíli (3 sg. f. *ʕílo*) — *yeʕóli* — *l'aʕlɛ́* 'to be high, tall' (LESLAU 1938: 309–310)

*díni (3 sg. f. *díno*)[29] — **yedóni* — **lidnɛ́* 'to conceive' (LESLAU 1938: 130)

fíni (3 sg. f. *fíno*) — *yefóne*[30] — *lifnɛ́* 'to turn one's face' (LESLAU 1938: 337)

fíti (3 sg. f. *fíto*) — *yefóti* — *liftɛ́* 'to ejaculate; to be fulfilled (a dream)' (CSOL I 539)

gízi (3 sg. f. *gízo*) — *yegózi* — *ligzɛ́* 'to despair' (LESLAU 1938: 106)

kíʔi (3 sg. f. *kíʔo/kíʔyo*) — *yekéʔɛ* — *likʔɛ́* 'to remain' (LESLAU 1938: 212)

kíri (3 sg. f. *kíro*) — *yekóri* — *likrɛ́* 'to be short' (LESLAU 1938: 224)

*lísi (3 sg. f. *líso*[31]) — **yelóse*[32] — **lilsɛ́* 'to rain' (LESLAU 1938: 234)

líti (3 sg. f. *líto*) — *yelóti* — *liltɛ́* 'to meet' (not in LESLAU 1938)

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23 Alongside *šéŝo/ššo*, perhaps borrowed from the paradigm of "hollow" verbs or "geminated" verbs.

24 Alongside *šéŝek*, borrowed from the inactive paradigm.

25 Alongside *yešóŝi*, borrowed from the inactive paradigm.

26 Instead of the expected *yéŝek* or *yéŝok*. The form *yeŝóki* is borrowed from the inactive type of the C_1C_2y class, the form *yeŝóke* is borrowed from the active type of the $C_1C_2ʔ$ class.

27 Alongside *tébek*, borrowed from $C_1C_2ʔ$, inactive type.

28 Alongside the irregular *liʔít* (cf. 1.1.2.3).

29 The verb is not used in the masculine. The non-existing basic form of the perfect can be indirectly elicited from 3 pl. f. *díni* 'they conceived'.

30 Borrowed from the $C_1C_2ʔ$ paradigm (instead of the expected **yefóni*).

31 The verb is used in the 3 sg. f. form only.

32 Borrowed from the $C_1C_2ʔ$ paradigm (instead of the expected **yelósi*).

lízi (3 sg. f. *lízo*) — *yelózi* — *lilžέ* 'to be inclined' (cf. CSOL I 606)

mídi (3 sg. f. *mído*) — *yemódi* — *limdέ* 'to be wearied' (LESLAU 1938: 238)

míli (3 sg. f. *milóʔo*[33]) — *yemóle*[34] — *limlέ* 'to be filled' (LESLAU 1938: 243; cf. *móle* 'to fill' below under C₁C₂ʔ, active)

míṣi (3 sg. f. *míṣo*) — *yemóṣi* — *limṣέ* 'to be finished' (LESLAU 1938: 248)

míṭa (3 sg. f. *miṭóʔo*[35]) — *yemáṭa* — *limṭέ* 'to reach' (LESLAU 1938: 241)

nífi (3 sg. f. *nífo*) — *yenófe*[36] — *linfέ* 'to be pinked' (LESLAU 1938: 270; cf. *nófe* 'to pink' below under C₁C₂ʔ, active type; *néfe* 'to be pinked' below under C₁C₂ʔ, inactive)

nígi (3 sg. f. *nígo*) — *yenógi*[37] — *lingέ* 'to fail to meet one's expectations' (not in LESLAU 1938)

níši (3 sg. f. *níšo*) — *yenóši* — *linšέ* 'to forget' (LESLAU 1938: 276)

réẓ̌i (3 sg. f. *ríẓ̌o*) — *yeróẓ̌i* — *lirẓ̌έ* 'to be glad' (LESLAU 1938: 404)

tíri (3 sg. f. *tíro*) — *yetóri* — *litrέ* 'to be wet' (LESLAU 1938: 445–446)

ṭími (3 sg. f. *ṭímo*) — *yeṭáme*[38] — *liṭmέ* 'to be thirsty' (LESLAU 1938: 205; cf. *ṭéme* below under C₁C₂ʔ, inactive type)

C₁C₂ʔ, active type

ʔége (3 sg. f. *ʔegóʔo*, 1 sg. *ʔégek/ʔégeʔk*) — *yeʔóge* — *liʔgέ/ligέ* 'to beat' (LESLAU 1938: 51)

ʔéte (3 sg. f. *ʔetóʔo*, 1 sg. *ʔéteʔk*) — *yeʔóte* — *liʔtέ/litέ* 'to pass by; to reach the mark (the thrown object)' (LESLAU 1938: 76)

góŝe (3 sg. f. *geŝóʔo*, 1 sg. *góŝek/góŝeʔk*) — *yegóŝe* — *ligŝέ* 'to belch' (CSOL I 547, cf. LESLAU 1938: 117; cf. *géŝe* below under C₁C₂ʔ, inactive)

ʸhóde (3 sg. f. *ʸhedóʔo*, 1 sg. *ʸhódek*) — *yeʸhóde* — *lihdέ/lišdέ* 'to calm down' (LESLAU 1938: 141)

kéfe/kfe (3 sg. f. *kfóʔo*, 1 sg. *kofik*[39]) — *yekófe* — *likfέ* 'to be enough' (cf. *kéfe/kfe* above under C₁C₂y, active)

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33 Borrowed from the C₁C₂ʔ inactive paradigm (instead of the expected **mílo*).

34 Borrowed from the C₁C₂ʔ paradigm (instead of the expected **yemóli*).

35 Borrowed from the C₁C₂ʔ inactive paradigm (instead of the expected **míṭo*).

36 Borrowed from the C₁C₂ʔ paradigm (instead of the expected **yenófi*).

37 Alongside *yenóge* (borrowed from the C₁C₂ʔ paradigm).

38 Borrowed from C₁C₂ʔ, inactive type.

39 Borrowed from C₁C₂y, active type.

kóle (3 sg. f. *kelóʔo*, 1 sg. *kólek/kóleʔk*) — *yekóle* — *liklέ* 'to turn (tr. or intr.)' (LESLAU 1938: 218)

kése/kse (3 sg. f. *ksóʔo*, 1 sg. *kések/késeʔk/ksek/kseʔk*[40]) — *yekóse* — *liksέ* 'to find' (LESLAU 1938: 225)

ḳáne (3 sg. f. *ḳenóʔo*, 1 sg. *ḳánek/ḳáneʔk*) — *yeḳáne* — *liḳnέ* 'to be jealous; to be envious' (LESLAU 1938: 377)

ḳáre (3 sg. f. *ḳeróʔo*, 1 sg. *ḳárek/ḳáreʔk*) — *yeḳáre* — *liḳrέ* 'to read' (LESLAU 1938: 385)

móle (3 sg. f. *melóʔo*, 1 sg. *mólek/móleʔk*) — *yemóle* — *limlέ* 'to fill' (LESLAU 1938: 243; cf. *míli* 'to be filled' above under C_1C_2y, inactive)

nófe (3 sg. f. *nefóʔo*[41], 1 sg. *nófek*) — *yenófe* — *linfέ* 'to pink' (LESLAU 1938: 270; cf. *nífi* 'to be pinked' above under C_1C_2y, inactive; *néfe* 'to be pinked' below under $C_1C_2ʔ$, inactive)

zóke (3 sg. f. *zekóʔo*, 1 sg. *zókek/zókeʔk*) — *yezóke* — *lizkέ* 'to be sad' (LESLAU 1938: 152)

$C_1C_2ʔ$, inactive type

ʔéẑa (3 sg. f. *ʔiẑóʔo*, 1 sg. *ʔéẑaʔk*) — *yeʔáẑa* — *liʔẑá/liẑá* 'to grow (plants)' (LESLAU 1938: 70)

béde (3 sg. f. *bidóʔo*[42], 1 sg. *bédek*) — *yebóde* — *libdέ* 'to begin' (LESLAU 1938: 81)

défe (3 sg. f. *difóʔo*, 1 sg. *défek*) — *yedófe* — *lidfέ* 'to be deaf' (LESLAU 1938: 132)

gébe (3 sg. f. *gibóʔo*, 1 sg. *gébek/gébeʔk*) — *yegóbe* — *ligbέ* 'to be able; to overcome' (CSOL I 541; cf. LESLAU 1938: 101)

géŝe (3 sg. f. *giŝóʔo*, 1 sg. *géŝek/géŝeʔk*) — *yegóŝe* — *ligŝέ* 'to belch' (cf. *góŝe* above under $C_1C_2ʔ$, active)

ḥéde (3 sg. f. *ḥidóʔo*[43], 1 sg. *ḥédek*) — *yeḥóde* — *liḥdέ* 'to carry' (cf. above under C_1C_2y, active type)

ḥére (3 sg. f. *ḥiróʔo*, 1 sg. *ḥérek/ḥéreʔk*) — *yeḥóre* — *l'aḥrέ* 'to look for; to try' (LESLAU 1938: 190)

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40 Besides, the form *ksɛyk* is attested, borrowed from C_1C_2y, active type.

41 Alongside *neféyo* (borrowed from the C_1C_2y paradigm).

42 Alongside *bedóʔo* (borrowed from the active type).

43 Alongside *ḥedóʔo* (borrowed from the active type).

lébe (3 sg. f. *libóʔo*[44]) — *yelóbe* — *lilbέ* 'to be in season (a female goat)' (CSOL I 600, not in LESLAU 1938)

ḳéne (3 sg. f. *ḳinóʔo*, 1 sg. *ḳánek/ḳáneʔk*[45]) — *yeḳáne* — *liḳnέ* 'to be jealous; to be envious' (cf. *ḳáne* above under C₁C₂ʔ, active)

néfe (3 sg. f. *nifóʔo*[46], 1 sg. *néfek/néfeʔk*) — *yenófe* — *linfέ* 'to be pinked' (cf. *nífi* above under C₁C₂y, inactive; *nófe* 'to pink' above under C₁C₂ʔ, active)

šébe (3 sg. f. *šibóʔo*, 1 sg. *šébek/šébeʔk*) — *yešóbe* — *lišbέ* 'to believe' (LESLAU 1938: 410)

ṭéme (3 sg. f. *ṭimóʔo*, 1 sg. *ṭímik*[47]) — *yeṭáme* — *liṭmέ* 'to be thirsty' (cf. *ṭími* above under C₁C₂y inactive)

C₁yC₃

ʕer — *yáʕyer/yáʕyur* — *l'aʕyέr/l'aʕyúr* 'to be blind' (LESLAU 1938: 303[48])

ʕáʸheṣ — *yáʕʸheṣ* — *l'aʕʸháṣ* 'to dive' (LESLAU 1938: 301)

ḥéyyom — *yáḥyem/yáḥyom* — *l'aḥyέm/l'aḥyóm* 'to be ugly' (cf. LESLAU 1938: 172)

ḥéyyaṭ — *yáḥyeṭ* — *l'aḥyáṭ* 'to sew' (LESLAU 1938: 172[49])

ḳíyyol — *yékyel/yékyol* — *liḳyέl/liḳyól* 'to measure' (LESLAU 1938: 217)

ḳéyyol — *yéḳyel/yéḳyol* — *liḳyέl/liḳyól* 'to be high' (not in LESLAU 1938)

míyyos — *yémyes/yémyos* — *limyέs/limyós* 'to be thin' (LESLAU 1938: 243)

niḥ/néʸhaḥ — *yénʸhaḥ* — *linʸháḥ* 'to be glad, merry' (LESLAU 1938: 266)

ríyyom — *yéryem* — *liryέm/liryóm* 'to be long' (LESLAU 1938: 399)

séyyod — *yésyed* — *lisyέd/lisyód* 'to be rich' (LESLAU 1938: 284)

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44 The verb is not used in the masculine. The non-existing basic form of the perfect can be indirectly elicited from 3 pl. f. *lébe* 'they were in season'.

45 Instead of the expected *ḳéne(ʔ)k*. Both of the actually attested variants are likely borrowed from the active type.

46 Alongside *néfe*, borrowed from C₁C₂y, active type.

47 Borrowed from C₁C₂y, inactive type.

48 The clearly audible presence of *u* (rather than *o*) in the imperfect and jussive bases is noteworthy and remains to be explained.

49 LESLAU (1938: 172) lists *ḥéyom* 'ne pas vouloir, mépriser', with reference to MÜLLER 1905: 332₁₂: *tšeréden wa-ʕá ṭhayémen* 'Sie trinken und verschmähen's nicht'. The meaning 'to despise' has been confirmed by our informants for the casuative stem *ḥayém* (*yeḥáyom/l'áḥyɛm*).

ṣéyyom — yéṣyem — liṣyɛ́m 'to fast' (LESLAU 1938: 350)

šéyyor — yéšyer — lišyɛ́r/lišyór 'to be few, little' (CSOL I 662)

C₁VC₃, active type

ʕad (3 sg. f. *ʕédo*, 1 sg. *ʕak*) — predicative element indicating the continuation of an action/state (LESLAU 1938: 302[50])

ʕod (3 sg. f. *ʕádo*[51], 1 sg. *ʕodk*) — *yóʕod* — *l'aʕád*[52] 'to walk, to go' (LESLAU 1938: 301)

ʕeḳ (3 sg. f. *ʕéḳo*, 1 sg. *ʕekk*) — *yéʕeḳ* — *liʕáḳ* 'to harm, to hurt' (not in LESLAU 1938)

ʕem (3 sg. f. *ʕémo*, 1 sg. *ʕemk*) — *yéʕem* — *liʕám* 'to cover' (not in LESLAU 1938)

gez (3 sg. f. *gézo*, 1 sg. *gozk*) — *yégez* — *ligɛ́z* 'to be able to reach something' (CSOL I 549)

ʸheb (3 sg. f. *ʸhébo*, 1 sg. *ʸhobk*) — *yéʸheb* — *lihɛ́b/lihób* 'to be warm' (LESLAU 1938: 410)

ʸhed (3 sg. f. *ʸhédo*, 1 sg. *ʸhedk*) — *yéʸhed* — *lihɛ́d* 'to shut in' (cf. below under C₁C₂C₂, active type)

ʸhel (3 sg. f. *ʸhélo*, 1 sg. *ʸholk*) — *yéʸhel/yéʸhol* — *lihɛ́l/lihól* 'to dig' (LESLAU 1938: 143)

ḥes (3 sg. f. *ḥéso*, 1 sg. *ḥesk*) — *yéḥes* — *lihɛ́s* 'to dig' (cf. below under C₁C₂C₂, active type)

ḥeŝ (3 sg. f. *ḥéŝo*, 1 sg. *ḥeŝk*) — *yéḥeŝ* — *lihɛ́ŝ*[53] 'to help' (LESLAU 1938: 168)

kaḥ (3 sg. f. *kóḥo*, 1 sg. *kaḥk*) — *yékaḥ* — *likáḥ* 'to repeat, to do again' (LESLAU 1938: 217)

kol (3 sg. f. *kɛ́lo*, 1 sg. *kolk*) — *yékal* — *likál*[54] 'to be capable' (LESLAU 1938: 214)

kon (3 sg. f. *káno*, 1 sg. *kank*) — *yéken* — *likán*[55] 'to be' (LESLAU 1938: 215)

ḳez (3 sg. f. *ḳézo*, 1 sg. *ḳazk*) — *yéḳaz* — *liḳáz* 'to persuade' (not in LESLAU 1938)

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50 An irregular verb with defective paradigm (no imperfect/jussive).

51 Instead of the expected *ʕédo*.

52 Alongside *l'áʕad*, borrowed from the causative paradigm.

53 Alongside *l'áḥeŝ*, borrowed from the causative paradigm.

54 Alongside *l'ákal*, borrowed from the causative paradigm.

55 Alongside *l'ákɛn*, borrowed from the causative paradigm.

med (3 sg. f. *médo*, 1 sg. *medk*) — *yémed* — *liméd* 'to stretch' (cf. below under $C_1C_2C_2$, active type)

ṣaḥ (3 sg. f. *ṣóḥo*, 1 sg. *ṣaḥk*) — *yéṣaḥ/yéṣeḥ* — *liṣáḥ* 'to do something well; to be sound' (not in LESLAU 1938; cf. below under $C_1C_2C_2$, active type)

ŝel (3 sg. f. *ŝélo*, 1 sg. *ŝelk*) — *yéŝel/yéŝol* — *liŝél/liŝól* 'to take' (not in LESLAU 1938; cf. below under $C_1C_2C_2$, active type)

C_1VC_3, active/inactive

ʕef (3 sg. f. *ʕéfo/ʕífo*, 1 sg. *ʕefk*) — *yéʕef* — *liʕéf* 'to destroy' (not in LESLAU 1938)

$C_1C_2C_2$, active

ʔef (3 sg. f. *ʔéfo*, 1 sg. *ʔefk*) — *yéʔfef* — *liʔféf* 'to go up' (not in LESLAU 1938)

ʕeb (3 sg. f. *ʕébo*, 1 sg. *ʕebk*) — *yáʕbeb* — *l'aʕbéb* 'to defecate' (LESLAU 1938: 293)

ʕen (3 sg. f. *ʕéno*, 1 sg. *ʕenk*) — *yáʕnen* — *l'aʕnén* 'to pull' (LESLAU 1938: 317)

ʕer (3 sg. f. *ʕéro*, 1 sg. *ʕerk*) — *yáʕrer* — *l'aʕrér* 'to block' (LESLAU 1938: 329)

ʕeŝ (3 sg. f. *ʕéŝo*, 1 sg. *ʕeŝk*) — *yáʕŝeŝ*[56] — *l'aʕŝéŝ*[57] 'to stand up' (LESLAU 1938: 331)

ʕeṭ (3 sg. f. *ʕéṭo*, 1 sg. *ʕeṭk*) — *yáʕṭeṭ* — *l'aʕṭáṭ* 'to swallow' (LESLAU 1938: 305)

beṣ (3 sg. f. *bőṣo*, 1 sg. *beṣk*) — *yébṣeṣ* — *l'ibṣáṣ* 'to be visible, to shine' (LESLAU 1938: 93)

del (3 sg. f. *délo*, 1 sg. *delk/dolk*) — *yéllol* — *lidlél/lillél* 'to take' (LESLAU 1938: 128)

den (3 sg. f. *déno*, 1 sg. *donk*) — *yédnen* — *lidnén* 'to be sad' (LESLAU 1938: 130)

fer (3 sg. f. *féro*, 1 sg. *ferk*) — *yéfrer* — *lifrér* 'to fly' (LESLAU 1938: 342)

feŝ (3 sg. f. *fŝo*, 1 sg. *feŝk*) — *yéfŝeŝ* — *lifŝéŝ* 'to be scattered' (not in LESLAU 1938)

ʸhed (3 sg. f. *ʸhédo*, 1 sg. *ʸhedk*) — *yéhded* — *lihdéd* 'to shut in' (LESLAU 1938: 141; cf. above under C_1VC_3, active type)

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56 Alongside the irregular *yáʕŝe*.

57 Alongside the irregular *l'aʕŝé*.

ḥen (3 sg. f. *ḥéno*, 1 sg. *ḥenk*) — *yéḥnen* — *l'aḥnén* 'to give in abundance' (LESLAU 1938: 183)

ḥes (3 sg. f. *ḥéso*, 1 sg. *ḥesk*) — *yáḥses* — *l'aḥsés* 'to dig' (LESLAU 1938: 184; cf. above under C₁VC₃, active type)

ḥeŝ (3 sg. f. *ḥéŝo*, 1 sg. *ḥeŝk*) — *yáḥŝeŝ* — *l'aḥŝéŝ* 'to graze' (not in LESLAU 1938)

ḥeṭ (3 sg. f. *ḥéṭo*, 1 sg. *ḥeṭk*) — *yáḥṭeṭ* — *l'aḥṭáṭ* 'to search for grass' (not in LESLAU 1938)

ḥez (3 sg. f. *ḥézo*, 1 sg. *ḥezk*) — *yáḥzez* — *l'aḥzéz* 'to slaughter' (LESLAU 1938: 169)

ḳeb (3 sg. f. *ḳébo*, 1 sg. *ḳebk*) — *yéḳbeb* — *liḳbéb* 'to roast' (LESLAU 1938: 365)

ḳal (3 sg. f. *ḳélo*, 1 sg. *ḳalk*) — *yéḳlol* — *liḳlél* 'to be young' (LESLAU 1938: 375)

ḳer (3 sg. f. *ḳéro*, 1 sg. *ḳerk*) — *yéḳrer* — *liḳrér* 'to boil (tr.)' (CSOL I 592)

ḳeṣ (3 sg. f. *ḳéṣo*, 1 sg. *ḳeṣk*) — *yéḳṣeṣ* — *liḳṣéṣ* 'to cut' (LESLAU 1938: 383)

lef (3 sg. f. *léfo*, 1 sg. *lefk*) — *yélfef* — *lilféf* 'to eat much and quickly' (CSOL I 601)

med (3 sg. f. *médo*, 1 sg. *medk*) — *yémded* — *limdéd* 'to stretch' (LESLAU 1938: 238; cf. above under C₁VC₃, active)

meṣ (3 sg. f. *méṣo*, 1 sg. *meṣk*) — *yémṣeṣ* — *limṣáṣ* 'to suck' (LESLAU 1938: 249)

neṭ (3 sg. f. *néṭo*, 1 sg. *neṭk*) — *yénṭeṭ* — *linṭáṭ* 'to tremble' (LESLAU 1938: 265; cf. below under C₁C₂C₂, inactive)

res (3 sg. f. *réso*, 1 sg. *resk*) — *yérses* — *lirsés* 'to hurl stones' (CSOL I 637)

rez (3 sg. f. *rézo*, 1 sg. *rezk*) — *yérzez* — *lirzéz* 'to treat wounds with warm water' (CSOL I 639)

sef (3 sg. f. *sfo*, 1 sg. *sefk*) — *yésfef* — *lisféf* 'to sweep away; to drive (cattle)' (not in LESLAU 1938)

ser (3 sg. f. *séro*, 1 sg. *serk*) — *yésrer* — *lisrér* 'to throw' (not in LESLAU 1938)

ṣaḥ (3 sg. f. *ṣóḥo*, 1 sg. *ṣaḥk*) — *yéṣḥeḥ* — *liṣḥáḥ* 'to do something well; to be sound' (not in LESLAU 1938; cf. above under C₁VC₃, active type)

ṣeḳ (3 sg. f. *ṣéḳo*, 1 sg. *ṣekk*) — *yéṣḳeḳ* — *liṣḳáḳ* 'to shout' (CSOL I 650)

ṣer (3 sg. f. *ṣéro*, 1 sg. *ṣerk*) — *yéṣrer* — *liṣrér* 'to throw out' (LESLAU 1938: 358)

ṣet (3 sg. f. *ṣéto*, 1 sg. *ṣetk*) — *yéṣtet* — *liṣtét* 'to look, to see' (LESLAU 1938: 156; cf. below under $C_1C_2C_2$, inactive)

ŝek (3 sg. f. *ŝko*, 1 sg. *ŝekk*) — *yéŝkek* — *liŝkék* 'to string small cuts of meat on a wooden stick' (LESLAU 1938: 429)

ŝel (3 sg. f. *ŝélo*, 1 sg. *ŝelk*) — *yéŝlel/yéŝlol* — *liŝlél* 'to take' (not in LESLAU 1938; cf. above under C_1VC_3, active type)

teb (3 sg. f. *tébo*, 1 sg. *tebk*) — *yétbeb* — *litbéb* 'to drool' (cf. LESLAU 1938: 438)

ter (3 sg. f. *téro*, 1 sg. *terk*) — *yétrer* — *litrér* 'to throw' (CSOL I 678; cf. LESLAU 1938: 446)

žer (3 sg. f. *žéro*, 1 sg. *žerk*) — *yéžrer* — *ližrér* 'to precipitate' (CSOL I 702)

ẑeb (3 sg. f. *ẑébo*, 1 sg. *ẑebk*) — *yéẑbeb* — *liẑbéb* 'to roast' (cf. LESLAU 1938: 359)

ẑal (3 sg. f. *ẑálo*, 1 sg. *ẑalk*) — *yéẑẑol* — *liẑẑál/liẑẑól* 'to be out of order' (LESLAU 1938: 362)

$C_1C_2C_2$, inactive

ʔeṣ (3 sg. f. *ʔíṣo*, 1 sg. *ʔeṣk*) — *yéʔṣeṣ* — *li(ʔ)ṣáṣ* 'to be afraid' (LESLAU 1938: 55)

ʕeẑ (3 sg. f. *ʕíẑo*, 1 sg. *ʕeẑk*) — *yáʕẑeẑ* — *l'aʕẑáẑ* 'to be strong' (LESLAU 1938: 323)

ber (3 sg. f. *bíro*, 1 sg. *bek*[58]), predicative element with the meaning 'already; indeed' (LESLAU 1938: 97[59])

neṭ (3 sg. f. *níṭo*, 1 sg. *neṭk*) — *yénṭeṭ* — *linṭáṭ* 'to tremble' (cf. above under $C_1C_2C_2$, active type)

ṣet (3 sg. f. *ṣíto*, 1 sg. *ṣetk*) — *yéṣtet* — *liṣtét* 'to look, to see' (cf. above under $C_1C_2C_2$, active type)

ṭeb (3 sg. f. *ṭíbo*, 1 sg. *ṭebk*) — *yéṭbeb* — *liṭbéb* 'to believe; to be sure' (LESLAU 1938: 198)

ṭef (3 sg. f. *ṭífo*, 1 sg. *ṭefk*) — *yéṭfef* — *litféf/litfóf* 'to be thin' (LESLAU 1938: 207)

ṭeḳ (3 sg. f. *ṭíḳo*, 1 sg. *ṭekk*) — *yéṭkeḳ* — *liṭḳáḳ* 'to be ground, pulverized' (not in LESLAU 1938)

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58 With an irregular assimilation: **bərk > bək(k)*.

59 An irregular verb with defective paradigm (no imperfect and jussive).

Appendix Two: an etymological survey of verbs C_1C_2y and $C_1C_2ʔ$

As we have seen above, the verbal classes $C_1C_2ʔ$ and C_1C_2y in Soqotri are, in spite of a certain trend towards merger and variation, rather neatly opposed to each other on the synchronic level. Is this opposition valid also from the diachronic (etymological) point of view? Do the Soqotri C_1C_2y and $C_1C_2ʔ$ classes faithfully reflect their Semitic ancestors or are we rather faced with secondary re-distribution, either arbitrary or following some hitherto undiscovered rules of historical morphology? To answer this question, a brief etymological survey of the extant Soqotri material has been undertaken.

1. Reliable reflexes of Soqotri verbs C_1C_2y going back to Common Semitic C_1C_2y or C_1C_2w verbs include **19** examples: *ʕéḳe* 'to harm, to hurt' < **ʕḳw* (LANE 1863–1893: 2117), *ʕíli* 'to be high, tall' < **ʕlw/*ʕly* (KOEHLER et al. 2001: 828), *béne* 'to build' < **bny* (ibid. 139), *béše* 'to weep' < **bky* (ibid. 129), *déle* 'to weigh' < **dlw* (LESLAU 1987: 132), *féde* 'to help, to provide abundantly' < **pdy* (ibid. 155), *féle* 'to seek; to delouse' < **ply* (MILITAREV – KOGAN 2005: 231), *fíni* 'to turn one's face' < **pnw* (KOEHLER et al. 2001: 937), *fíti* 'to ejaculate' < **ptw* (LESLAU 1987: 171), *ʸháše* 'to irrigate' < **šky* (KOEHLER et al. 2001: 1639), *kíri* 'to be short' < **kry* (BROCKELMANN 1928: 342), *ḳále* 'to roast' < **ḳlw/*ḳly* (KOEHLER et al. 2001: 1101), *ḳáṣe* 'to cut off' < **ḳṣw/*ḳṣy* (ibid. 1120), *níši* 'to forget' < **nšy* (ibid. 728), *réʕe* 'to pasture' < **rʕy* (ibid. 1258), *réke* 'to take one's livestock to upper areas' < **rky* (LANE 1863–1893: 1140), *réẓ̌i* 'to be glad' < **rṣ̌w* (KOEHLER et al. 2001: 1280), *šéʕe* 'to run' < **šʕy* (LANE 1863–1893: 1366), *tíri* 'to be wet' < **try* (LANE 1863–1893: 336).

2. Reliable examples of Soqotri verbs $C_1C_2ʔ$ going back to Common Semitic $C_1C_2ʔ$ prototypes are **10**: *ʔége* 'to beat' < **wgʔ* (LESLAU 1987: 607), *ʔéẓ̂a* 'to grow (plants)' < **wṣ̂ʔ* (KOEHLER et al. 2001: 425), *béde* 'to begin' < **bdʔ* (LANE 1863–1893: 163), *góŝe* 'to belch' < **gŝʔ* (MILITAREV – KOGAN 2000: 283–284), *ʸhóde* 'to calm down' < **hdʔ* (LESLAU 1987: 214), *kóle* 'to turn' < **klʔ* (ibid. 281), *kése* 'to find' < **ksʔ* (KOGAN 2015: 560–561), *ḳáne* 'to be jealous' < **ḳnʔ* (LESLAU 1987: 433), *ḳáre* 'to read' < **ḳrʔ* (KOEHLER et al. 2001: 1128), *móle* 'to fill' < **mlʔ* (ibid. 583).

3. In **4** cases, a diachronic shift from **C_1C_2ʔ* to C_1C_2y is certain: *béde* 'to tell lies' < **bdʔ* (KOEHLER et al. 2001: 109), *míli* 'to be filled' < **mlʔ* (ibid. 583), *ṭími* 'to be thirsty' < **ṭmʔ* (ibid. 1032) and *míṭa* 'to reach' < **mṭʔ* (ibid. 619). It is probably not accidental that in the three latter, most ob-

vious cases inactive verbs are involved: one can surmize that the shift *$ʔ > y$ (yotation) was triggered by the presence of i in the base.

4. In **3** cases, we are faced with a diachronic shift from *C_1C_2y to $C_1C_2ʔ$: *ʔéte* 'to pass by' < *$ʔty$/*$ʔtw$ (LESLAU 1987: 46), *ḥére* 'to look for; to try' < *$ḥry$ (LANE 1863–1893: 557, JOHNSTONE 1981: 115) and *nófe* 'to pink' < *npy (LESLAU 1987: 390). Only the first comparison is fully reliable.

We may conclude that the opposition between C_1C_2y and $C_1C_2ʔ$ is generally valid also in diachronic terms: deviations from the etymologically predicted distribution are uncommon.

In view of the well-known etymological opaqueness of the MSA vocabulary as a whole, it is not surprising to discover that many of the relevant examples are obscure from the etymological point of view.

The first group of such cases is represented by Soqotri verbs with reliable parallels in other MSA languages, but no further Semitic cognates: *$díni$ 'to conceive' (KOGAN 2015: 551), *féḳe* 'to dress oneself' (ibid. 567), *fše* 'to lunch' (ibid. 568), *gízi* 'to despair' (JOHNSTONE 1987: 130, 1981: 82), $^{y}héle$ 'to shut in a calf' (JOHNSTONE 1981: 97), $^{y}héne$ 'to plant' (KOGAN 2015: 571), *gére* 'to look for' (JOHNSTONE 1987: 125, 1981: 77), *ḳéʕe* 'to open' (JOHNSTONE 1987: 139), *ḳáne* 'to feed' (KOGAN 2015: 561), *ḳáre* 'to hide' (ibid. 562), *lébe* 'to be in season' (JOHNSTONE 1987: 251), *léhɛ* 'to bleat' (KOGAN 2015: 563), *$lísi$ 'to rain' (ibid. 543–544), *lízi* 'to be inclined' (JOHNSTONE 1987: 260), *néḥe* 'to burn' (KOGAN 2015: 541), *réḥe* 'to lick' (ibid. 595), *réše* 'to tie' (JOHNSTONE 1987: 330, 1981: 216), *ške* 'to seek' (JOHNSTONE 1981: 251[60]), *tébe* 'to moo, to low' (KOGAN 2015: 574). In each case, the standard dictionaries of Mehri and Jibbali attribute the corresponding cognate lexemes to the C_1C_2y class (which, with the exception of *lébe* 'to be in season', would agree with the synchronic morphological attribution in Soqotri), but since the opposition between C_1C_2y and $C_1C_2ʔ$ in the continental MSA is still understudied[61], it seems safer not to rely on the data of these languages if no external confirmation is at hand.

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60 Since the Jibbali cognate means 'to look all day long to see if any animals are missing', one is tempted to further compare the widespread Aramaic root *sky* 'to look, to gaze, to wait' (see KOEHLER et al. 2001: 1326 for concrete forms) as well as Geez *maskot* 'window' (LESLAU 1987: 365).

61 Thus, in Jibbali the two classes appear to be largely merged together according to RUBIN 2014: 202–205 (and cf. JOHNSTONE 1981: 78: "Differentiation of final ' and *w/y* is weak"). The Mehri facts exposed in RUBIN 2010: 158–159 are too scanty for a serious conclusion.

To the second group, specifically Soqotri *unica* are to be attributed: *ʔíti* 'to grow weak'[62], *béʕe* 'to bleat', *défe* 'to be deaf', *déme* 'to sleep', *gébe* 'to be able; to overcome', *ḥéde* 'to carry', *ḥéle* 'to go down'[63], *kíʔi* 'to remain', *léḥe* 'to join a kid to a goat other than its mother for suckling'[64], *líti* 'to meet', *mídi* 'to be wearied'[65], *míṣi* 'to be finished', *nígi* 'to fail to meet one's expectations', *réne* 'to curse', *sébe* 'to transfer one's family temporarily to another place', *séfe* 'to cleanse'[66], *séle* 'to follow', *šébe* 'to believe', *šéʕe* 'to take, to accept', *zéʕe* 'to take', *zóke* 'to be sad'.

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62 Cf. perhaps Arabic *wtʔ* 'to be heavy and slow in one's gait, by reason of age or by nature' (LANE 1863–1893: 2916).

63 Cf. perhaps Jibbali *ḫálé* '(dagger) to penetrate; (animal) to lie down and refuse to go any further' (JOHNSTONE 1981: 301).

64 Rather promising is Arabic *lḫw/lḫy* 'to trickle, drip or place a thing (medicine) into a person's nose or mouth' (ULLMANN 1980: 432).

65 Cf. perhaps Hebrew *māzā̄* 'weakened' (KOEHLER et al. 2001: 565), which might imply *mḏy in the prototype.

66 Most probably, a loan adaptation of Arabic *ṣfy* 'to be clean' (LANE 1863–1893: 1703). The reception of Arabic *ṣ* as *s* is a common phenomenon both in Soqotri and the continental MSA (LESLAU 1938: 35–36, JOHNSTONE 1981: 220). As rightly observed by JOHNSTONE (1987: 337), this is due to the fact that the partially voiced MSA *ṣ* is acoustically very dissimilar from its Arabic etymological equivalent.

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