CHAPTER 12

SOQOTRI

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Generalities

Soqotri (self-designated as *di-sok'otríjje* or *mɛ́tal*^{ɣ} *di-sak'ɔ́t*^{ʕ}*ri*)[2] is spoken by the inhabitants of the island of Soqotra (Gulf of Aden, Yemen), roughly estimated as 100,000 people (see Map 12.1). Soqotri is the mother tongue of all native Soqotrans (Simeone-Senelle 1997b: 809). Since the number of immigrants (mostly Hadrami Arabs) is quite insignificant, one can safely conclude that the number of Soqotri speakers practically coincides with that of the island's inhabitants. The number of Soqotri speakers inhabiting the neighboring islets of ʕAbd al-Kūrī and Samḥa is insignificant.

Due to the spread of schooling, religious institutions and media, almost all male speakers of young and middle generations are to some extent bilingual with Arabic, which is widely used for external communication. The same is true of many younger women, whereas preschool children, elderly persons and female population in general are still often monolingual (Simeone-Senelle 1997b: 809).

Within MSA, Soqotri appears close to Jibbali as opposed to Mehri, which has led scholars to divide the MSA group into two branches: the Eastern branch, comprising Jibbali and Soqotri, and the Western branch, consisting of Mehri and several minor idioms closely related to it (Lonnet 2008, Rubin 2018: 12, 2014: 13–14).

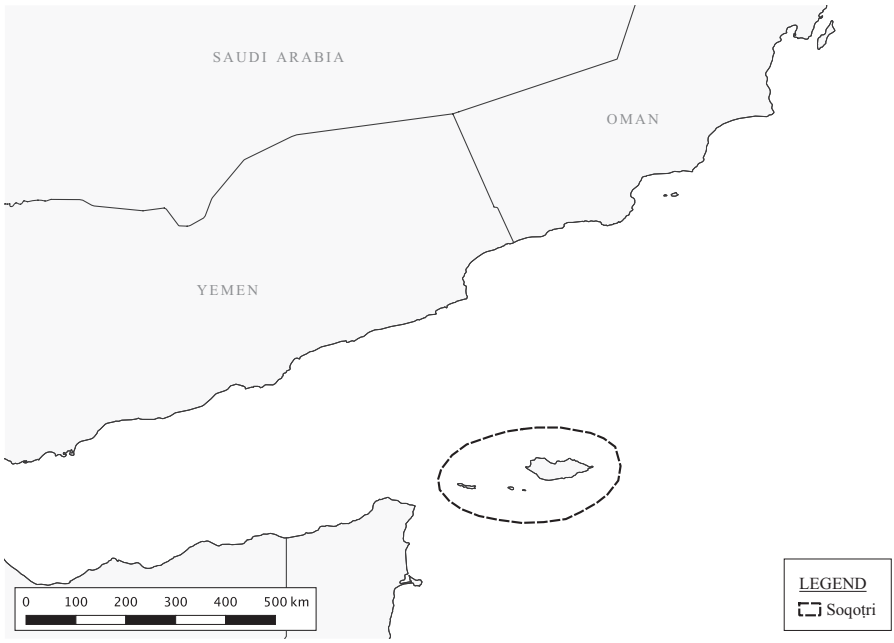
The present description is based on the fieldwork materials collected and analyzed during the past eight years by the Russian-Yemeni research team headed by Vitaly Naumkin. The examples mostly come from the two volumes of Corpus of Soqotri Oral Literature (CSOL I and CSOL II), but also from the team's unpublished field notes (such examples are given without reference). The description is thus limited to the variety spoken by the members of the Da'rho tribe of Central-Eastern inland part of the island.

1.2 Dialects

The Soqotri dialectology is still in its infancy: there is practically no published information on the subject.[3]

According to a broad consensus, the Soqotri varieties spoken in the eastern and central parts of the island do not differ significantly from each other. According to our informants, about two thirds of the population of Soqotra speak this rather uniform central-eastern variety.

The western dialect is spoken in the administrative center of the western province, the town of Qalansiyya, and the areas adjacent to it. By far the best-known feature of this dialect is the preservation of the velars *x* and *ɣ*, which have merged with the corresponding



MAP 12.1 THE SOQOTRI SPEECH AREA

pharyngeals *ħ* and *ʕ* elsewhere on the island (Naumkin and Porkhomovsky 1981: 7, Simeone-Senelle 1998: 312, 1997a: 382, 1997b: 809, 2002a: 384–5, 2003: 7, 2011: 1076, Lonnet 1998: 71, Lonnet and Simeone-Senelle 1997: 348, 366). In the pronominal system, noteworthy are the clearly archaic 2SG personal pronouns *hɛt* and *hit* (Bittner 1913: 12, Naumkin and Porkhomovsky 1981: 7, Simeone-Senelle 2003: 8, 2011: 1083), as opposed to *ʔɛ* and *ʔi* elsewhere. A few archaic lexical features have been reported for the western dialect, such as gender suppletivism *ʔeb* (MSG) vs. *ʔam* (FSG) for the meaning 'big' (Müller 1909b: 347–51; in the speech of our informants *ʔeb* and *ʔam* are relegated to the comparative meaning 'bigger', being ousted elsewhere by the root *ʕk'r*, cf. Miranda Morris *apud* Kogan 2015: 488).

2 WRITING SYSTEM

As other MSA languages, Soqotri has no generally established writing system. The first attempt to write Soqotri words with Arabic letters can be found as early as in Welstedt's *Memoir* (Simeone-Senelle 1991, 1992), and the first volume of the "Vienna corpus" (Müller 1902), where quite a number of archaic poems are written both in transcription and in an improvised Arabic script.

A regular and consistent system of Arabic-based writing for Soqotri is been implemented in numerous recent publications by the Russian–Yemeni research team (v. CSOL I 25–9 for a detailed exposition).

TABLE 12.1 ARABIC LETTERS FOR SOQOTRI PHONEMES

IPA Transcription	*Roman Notation in CSOL I-II*	*Notation in the Arabic-Based Soqotri Script*	*Phonological Description*	*Example*
ɬ	ŝ	ڛ	Voiceless Lateral Fricative	*ʕáɬer* ‘ten’ عَاڛِّر
ʃˤ	ṣ̌	ڞ	Emphatic (Pharyngalized) Postalveolar Fricative	*ʃˤóʕom* ‘he pinched’ ڞُاعُم
ʒ	ž	چ	Voiced Postalveolar Fricative	*ʕáʒe* ‘woman’ عَاچِّه
j^h	y^h	يه	Aspirated Palatal Approximant	*ʔéj^{h}or* ‘he followed’ أَيْهُر
lˠ	ḷ	ڸ	Velarized Lateral Approximant	*ʔálˠaħ* ‘he called’ آلِّح

In the consonantal domain, the additional symbols for phonemes missing from Arabic but present in Soqotri are only five (one of them a digraph), as illustrated by Table 12.1.

As far as the vowels are concerned, the only addition to the standard Arabic inventory of diacritics is ˇ, rendering the phoneme *e* (missing from the vocalic system of literary Arabic).

3 PHONOLOGY

3.1 Consonants

3.1.1 General description

Synchronically, the Soqotri consonants can be represented by Table 12.2.

- Fricative velars *x* and *ɣ* are limited to (mostly) recent Arabisms: *xálfe* ‘window’, *ɣáli* ‘expensive’. For the preservation of etymological velar fricatives in western dialects see §1.2.
- The bilabial glide *v* appears systematically in the passive form of the suffix conjugation of weak verbs: *benøve* ‘it was built’. Outside this position, it is very rare in the inherited lexicon: *va-* ‘and’, *vhóde* ‘let’s go’.
- For the phonetic realization of the specifically Soqotri phoneme *j^h*, see Lonnet 1993: 45–6, 1998: 74, Lonnet and Simeone-Senelle 1997: 347.
- The “parasitic *h*” is thought to have emerged when etymological long vowels of the second syllable of nominal bases lost their accent due to the general shift of the stress to the penultimate syllable (Bittner 1918: 49–50, Lonnet 1993: 50–1, 55–6, 1998: 72–3, Simeone-Senelle 1998: 312, 1997a: 384, 2011: 1079, Lonnet and Simeone-Senelle 1997: 366). Cf. *ʃérhom* ‘tree’ < **h*V*rām*-, *fédhon* ‘mountain’ < **p*V*dān*-. See further LS 22–3, Bittner 1913: 4–6, Rhodokanakis 1915: 13–30.

TABLE 12.2 SOQOTRI CONSONANTAL PHONEMES

	Labials	*Alveolar*	*Postalveolars*	*Palatals*	*Velars/Uvulars*	*Gutturals*	
						Pharyngeals	*Laryngeals*
Plosives	b	t d tˤ			k g k’		ʔ
Nasals	m	n					
Trill		r					
Fricatives	f	s z sˤ	ʃ ʒ ʃˤ		(x) (ɣ)	ħ ʕ	h
Lateral Fricatives			ɬ ɮˤ				
Approximant	ʋ			j jʰ			
Lateral Approximant		l lʸ					

3.1.2 Phonetic realization

3.1.2.1 Emphatics

“Emphasis” is used here as a cover term for several types of secondary articulation (pharyngalization, velarization and glottalization). With the velar emphatic, emphasis is realized as glottalization (*k’*), the emphatic lateral is velarized (*lʸ*), whereas the rest of the emphatic consonants are pharyngalized. Deeper experimental inquiry into the phonetic nature of the Soqotri emphatics is clearly a desideratum.

The emphatic alveolar fricative *sˤ* is pronounced with partial voicing (Johnstone 1968: 517). In the corpus of CSOL, there is one example of true loss of emphasis in direct contact with *d*, resulting in the shift *sˤ* > *z*: *mezdére* ‘woolen mantle’ (cf. PL *mesˤódhir*).

3.1.2.2 Palatalization as secondary articulation

The velars *k* and *g* have a default palatalized realization ([kʲ], [gʲ]). Unmotivated palatalized realization is not infrequent with *r*: *rábaħ* ['rʲabaħ] ‘he bathed’.

For many consonants (except for postalveolars, palatals, gutturals, and *v*) palatalized allophones feature in the vicinity of front vowels (obligatory with *i*, and often with stressed *e*): *fézaʕ* ['fʲeza’ħ] ‘he was afraid’, *difíno* [dʲi'fʲino] ‘she was buried’. Velarized *lʸ* shifts to *l* under the same conditions: *lítaʕ* ‘he was killed’ (contrast *lʸátaʕ* ‘he killed’). In a few morphological positions, the palatalized realization is triggered by an underlying (rather than overt) *i*, and acquires distinctive value (see e.g. Naumkin et al. 2014: 36, n. 21).

3.1.2.3 Pharyngeals

In word-final position, the pharyngeal *ʕ* is regularly devoiced. The output of this process is not a straightforward voiceless fricative pharyngeal *ħ*, but rather a combination of two sounds transcribed here as [’ħ]:[4] *k’álʸaʕ* ['k’alʸa’ħ] ‘he threw’, contrast *k’álʸaħ* ['k’alʸaħ] ‘he vomited’.

The same alternation is sporadically attested in the word-middle position in nouns and adjectives: *míʔħo* 'small intestine' vs. DU *míʕi*. It seems that in most cases a combination of ʕ + "parasitic *h*" is underlying (with devoicing of ʕ) (cf. further Bittner 1918: 52 and Lonnet 1999: 194).

3.1.3 Phonemic oppositions and phonemic alternations

3.1.3.1 Positional alternations between phonemes

Word-final *d* shifts to the emphatic $t^{ʕ}$: *sérɛd* ['sɛrɛtˁ] 'a grown-up kid' (cf. Simeone-Senelle 2011: 1080).

Regressive assimilation in voicing/voicelessness can be observed between neighboring obstruents: *ʔék'dem* ['ʔegdɨm] 'he saw', *férogk* ['ʃerokk] 'I continued' (Lonnet 1999: 201).

Assimilation/dissimilation in emphasis is uncommon in Soqotri, but cf. *yesˁtˁéred* 'they race with each other', *sˁotˁéred* 'they raced with each other', with infix *-t-* shifting to $t^{ʕ}$ under the influence of the preceding emphatic.

Dissimilation *tt* > *st* (Bittner 1918: 53, LS 27) is frequently observed: *stóref* 'she will recover' < **t*(*e*)*toref*, *móstelʸ* 'they talked to each other' < **mo-t-telʸ*.

Assimilation **-dlʸ-* > *-lʸlʸ-* (or *-ll-*) is attested in forms derived from *dlʸk'* 'to be much, numerous': *lillák'* 'may it be numerous', *ʔélʸlʸek* 'he multiplied'.

Assimilation **ɮˁlʸ* > **ɮˁɮˁ* is attested in some forms of the verb *ɮˁálʸaʕ* 'to tell': *ʔeɮˁɮˁáʕ* 'tell!' (LS 39).

The lateral fricatives can shift to *lʸ* before consonants (cf. LS 30): *ħfoł* 'he was dexterous' – *ħfolʸf* 'you (FSG) were dexterous', *ʕóraɮˁ* 'he stopped watering (a plant)' – *ʕóraɮˁk*/*ʕóralʸk* 'you (MSG) stopped watering (a plant)'.

3.1.3.2 *lʸ* and *l* (CSOL I 12–13)

With few exceptions (notably, Lonnet 1999: 188), previous scholars have not recognized the opposition between two lateral approximant phonemes in Soqotri: velarized *lʸ* and plain *l*. The phonetic effects of the Soqotri *lʸ* are partly similar to those of other emphatics: the occasional shift *e* > *ɛ* before syllable-closing *lʸ* (*ʕédɛlʸ* {ʕédelʸ} 'he carried') and the diphthongization [i] > [iʲ] after *lʸ* (*ʕalʸíti* [ʕa'lʸiʲti] 'two teeth').

While *lʸ* is found in phonologically neutral environments, *l* is typically (but not exclusively) attested after or before *i*: *tedélʸob* 'it becomes high (sun)' vs. *dilébo* 'it was high (sun)'.

In the short prefix conjugation of the causative stem *lʸ* and *l* are clearly opposed as independent phonemes: 3MSG *lágdaħ* 'may he bring' vs. 1SG *lʸágdaħ* 'may I bring'. Elsewhere, minimal pairs are rare (cf. *ħelʸ* 'it passed, elapsed' vs. *ħel* 'he toured, went around').

3.1.3.3 *ʃ* and j^h (LS 32–35, CSOL I 13–16)

The phoneme j^h is best described as aspirated palatal approximant.[5] Word-finally it shifts to *j*: *tɛʔéboj* '(a goat) will be pregnant'. In the vicinity of *i* and word-medially before a consonant, as well as intervocalically between open or back vowels, the shift j^h > *h* is usually observed: *hímaɮˁ* '(milk) was shaken for butter' (contrast j^h*ómaɮˁ* 'he shook milk for butter'),[6] *móhdid* 'a piece of cloth blocking the doorway' (contrast y^h*ed* 'he shut'), *ʔibóho* '(a goat) was pregnant' (contrast *tɛʔɛbój*^{h}*en* 'they (goats) become pregnant').

The phoneme j^h (surfacing or underlying) furthermore alternates with *ʃ*. The shift j^h > *ʃ* is obligatory at the direct juncture with the preceding (rarely the following) *t*, and often

occurs at the juncture with other consonants: *ʔɛzijótʃì* ‘she separated the two of them’, *ʃténjo* ‘it (a goat) gave birth for the second time’ (vs. *jʰoténe* ‘they (goats) gave birth for the second time’), *jelʸátˁamʃ* ‘he slaps him in the face’.

The sibilant variant is also common word-initially before *ɛ*, as in *ʃɛb* ‘warmth’ or *ʃɛm* ‘name’ (but cf. *jʰéħar* ‘man’). Word-initial clusters normally display *ʃ*: *ʃħer* ‘men’ (vs. *jʰéħar* ‘man’). The variant *ʃ* also appears in some positions where the preceding consonant does not surface. Thus, the causative (C) stem verbs derived from roots with initial *jʰ* drop the prefix *ʔe-* and normally display *ʃ* throughout the paradigm (thus sharing the pattern of verbs with initial voiceless consonants, §4.6.3.2.1): *jʰeb* ‘it was warm’ – *ʃeb* ‘he warmed’.

Not uncommon is the free variation between *ʃ* and *jʰ*: *ʃóudod*/*jʰóudod* ‘he will be shut in’, *ʃóuħar*/*jʰóuħar* ‘man’.

While some roots display alternation between *ʃ* and *jʰ*, in a few others the consonant *ʃ* is stable or alternates with *k*: *ʔímʃin* ‘yesterday’, *béʃe* ‘he wept’, *míʔʃer* ‘billy-goat’, PL *médkor*. One has thus to distinguish between two morphonemes with different origin. The alternating *ʃ*/*jʰ* goes back to PS **ʃ* ([s] within the affricate theory) and corresponds to *ʃ* in the Central dialect of Jibbali: Jib. *ʃérɔ́k’* ‘he stole’ – Soq. *jʰérak’* ‘he stole’/*tʃárak’* ‘she steals’. The stable *ʃ* corresponds to *s̃* in the Central dialect of Jibbali (Johnstone 1981: xiv, Johnstone 1984, cf. Rubin 2014: 26) and goes back to **k* or **ʃ* ([s]) in palatalizing positions. (Cf. further Leslau 1937, LS 32–5, Kogan 2011: 105–7.)

3.1.3.4 Alternation between velars and palatals (CSOL I 16–17)

The velars *k*, *g* and *k’* can be palatalized into *ʃ*, *ʒ* and *ʃˁ*, respectively (Johnstone 1975: 8–9). Morphophonemic alternations between velars and palatals are attested in derivational and inflectional forms of nouns, pronouns, and prepositions: *míʔʃer* ‘he-goat’ – *médkor* ‘he-goats’, *ʕág* ‘man’ – *ʕáʒe* ‘woman’ – *ʕeghéten* ‘women’, *míʃˁher* ‘goat pen’ – *mák’hor* ‘goat pens’. In the verbal domain, the palatal consonant is a stable feature of a verbal root throughout its paradigm (*béʃe* ‘to weep’, *ʒer* ‘to precipitate’, *méʃˁar* ‘to sip’).

3.1.3.5 Loss of consonants

Unlike Mehri (Watson 2012: 35–8), the loss of **l* is rare in Soqotri, cf. *gad* (PL *ʔegélʸed*) ‘skin; body’, *tésɛ* ‘may it rain’ and *mésɛ* ‘rain’ < *lʸsj*, *k’at* (PL *ʔek’álʸet*) ‘natural water reservoir’. Note the sporadic loss of other consonants, which may reappear in certain inflectional forms: *k’ar* (PL *k’írod*) ‘throat, oesophagus’, *k’ɔn* (PL *k’érhon*) ‘horn’, *málen* (PL *merélì*) ‘house, family’, *ʕámok* ‘I said’ (*ʕómor* ‘he said’). (Cf. Bittner 1918: 53, LS 38–40.)

3.2 Vowels

3.2.1 General overview

In Table 12.3, the vowels of Soqotri are presented (cf. further Naumkin and Kogan 2014).

TABLE 12.3 SOQOTRI VOCALIC PHONEMES

i				u
	e (ø)		o	
		ɛ	(ɔ)	
			(a)	

While the core of the Soqotri vocalic system consists of five phonemes (*ɛ*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*; cf. LS 43), the status of the sounds given in the brackets in Table 12.3 remains to be clarified.

- The phoneme *u* (with its allophone *ou*) is mostly restricted to a few morphological environments. Nevertheless, minimal pairs contrasting *o* and *u* can be found: *jóuʕod* ‘it is brought’ vs. *jóʕod* ‘he walks’. The examples of *u* in a closed syllable are rare: *ʔifúlʸ* ‘how’.
- In the verbal domain, *a* is always attested as a positional allophone of *ɛ* in the neighborhood of pharyngeals and emphatics. If nominal forms are brought into discussion, a limited number of contrasting pairs involving *ɛ* and *a* does emerge (e.g. *bar* ‘strength’ vs. *bɛr* ‘open place’).[7]
- The phone *ø* is usually a labialized allophone of *e*, typically occurring under stress before a labial or emphatic consonant, if *o* is present in the following syllable: *følʸho* ‘calves’, *tóbod* ‘she lies’. Apparently the same sound can feature as an allophone of *o* after lateral fricatives, palatal and palatalized consonants: *gobk* [gʲøbk] ‘I suspected’, *łóʔom* [ˈɬøʔom] ‘he sold’. The phone *ø* regularly occurs in the passive form of suffix conjugation from roots III*v*/*j*: *benǿve* ‘it was built’. (Cf. further Naumkin et al. 2014: 31–3.)
- The phone *ɔ* is likely to be evaluated as a positional variant of *o*, usually (but not exclusively) in the neighborhood of the nasals: *fɔnɬ* ‘breath’, *gemɔ́hɔlʸ* ‘she-camels’. One minimal pair involving *o* and *ɔ* seems to be in evidence: *hɔ* as form of address vs. *ho* ‘I’.

3.2.2 Nasalized vowels

There are two instances of combination of a vowel with *n* realized as a nazalized diphthong: *ʕãj* < *ʕan* and *kẽj* < *ken*, both meaning ‘from him’ (cf. Morris 2005: 365). This feature is unmistakably recognized by native speakers who call it a “hidden *nūn*” and mark it with the superscript ◌̃ in their Arabic-based transcriptions.

3.2.3 Phonetic realization and positions of neutralization

- In the speech of our informants, the default realization of the phoneme *u* is the diphthong [ou], the allophone [u] being preferred in certain positions, notably in the vicinity of *ʔ* or *ʕ*, and after *n*: *jeʕúmor* ‘it is said’, *jeʔúgaħ* ‘it is being climbed’, *jenúdak’* ‘it is given’.
- After pharyngalized consonants, the phoneme *i* is realized as the diphthong [ɨʲ] in an open syllable (*sˤitˤóʕo* [sˤɨʲtˤoʕo] ‘she was hungry’) and as [ɨ] in a closed syllable (*másˤil* [masˤɨl] ‘he collected the gum of the dragon-blood tree’).
- The phoneme *e* is mostly realized as [ɨ] when unstressed and sometimes when stressed: *ʔek’ánem* [ʔɨkˈanɨm] ‘I feed’, *séjjod* [sɨjjotˤ] ‘he was rich’.
- The opposition between *e* and *i* is neutralized after lateral fricatives, palatal and palatalized consonants, where [ɨ] (the allophone of *e*) is usually replaced with [i]: *déker* [dekʲir] ‘he remembered’ (cf. *dékir* [dɛkʲir] ‘he reminded’). The vowel of the verbal prefix *je-* under stress is usually realized as *i*: *jéfoɬ* [jifoɬ] ‘he has lunch’. The opposition between *e* and *i* is also neutralized after pharyngalized consonants, *ʃ*, and *ʒ* in closed syllables, where *i* is pronounced as [ɨ]: *lʸósˤim* [lʸosˤɨm] ‘let me die for someone’ (cf. *jek’ósˤem* [jiˈkˈosˤɨm] ‘they (MPL) are cold’).

3.2.4 "Intrusive" ʲ and ⁱ

When passive forms of the suffix conjugation in the basic and causative stems are produced from roots whose first two consonants form a cluster in the corresponding active forms, a very short *i* is inserted between the first two radicals, as in *ħⁱtɛn* 'he was circumcised' (active *ħton*), *kⁱnɛn* '(an animal) was protected from rain' (active *k*(*ᵉ*)*nen*). The distinctive value of this vowel is clear from such minimal pairs as *ɬⁱkɛf* '(a goat kid) was blocked in its mouth to prevent it from suckling' vs. *ɬkɛf* 'a stick with which one blocks the mouth of a goat kid', *fⁱbaħ* '(a limb) was stretched' vs. *f*(*ᵉ*)*baħ* 'he stretched'.

3.2.5 Vocalic alternations

Vowel *e* often shifts to *a* in a closed syllable before a pharyngeal: *laʕtˁóm* {leʕtˁóm} 'let him be fat', *laħfér* {leħfér} 'let him dig' (Johnstone 1968: 517–18). While the shift in the prefix vowel is not obligatory, and pronunciation with *e*, albeit less frequent, is accepted by the informants, in the verbal bases of III–*H* roots the same underlying shift has resulted in a special conjugation type (Naumkin et al. 2014: 29–30).

The epenthetic vowel after a pharyngeal is usually *a* (while *e* is the default epenthetic vowel): *tħᵃlʸɛf* {teħlʸéf} 'may she replace' (on the syncope of *e* between *t* and *ħ* cf. later in this section).

Vowels *e* and *ɛ*(/*a*) in an open syllable before a guttural are often subject to regressive vocalic assimilation (Bittner 1918: 54, Johnstone 1968: 517); in some positions it is optional (*jaʕábor*/*jeʕábor* {jeʕɛbor} 'he sees'), in others regular (*jóʕod* {jeʕod} 'he walks', *rebóħo* {rebɛ́ho} 'she bathed').

The vowel *e* is often syncopated between two voiceless consonants (*t*, *k*, *f*, *s*, *ɬ*, *ʃ*, *ħ*) in non-final syllables:[8] *tɬátˁar* {teɬɛtˁɛr} 'she cuts', *laʕaféto*/*laʕáfto* {lɛʕɛfeto} 'they (FDU) were accustomed'. Both *e* and *ɛ*(/*a*) are often syncopated in the paradigms of verbs with adjacent voiceless radicals: *kéʃof*/*kʃof* {keʃof} 'he unclosed', *jekéfod*/*jékfod* {jekɛfod} 'it is narrow', *liséko*/*lísko* {lisɛko} 'she stuck'.

If the syncope of the prefix vowel leads to a word-initial triconsonantal cluster, it is usually broken by an epenthetic vowel after the second consonant: *tfᵉrɛd* {tefrɛ́d} 'may she flee'.

The vowel *i* in the same environment is not fully syncopated but rather turns to "intrusive" unstressed ⁱ (§3.2.4): *kⁱtɛf* 'he was bound'. Word-medially cf., however, *díħfo* 'it was flayed' < *diħífo*.

3.3 Accent and syllable structure

Practically all autochthonous Soqotri words and forms are stressed on the penultimate syllable. The only systematic exception is the short prefix conjugation of the basic stem, stressed on the last syllable of the base: *lʸaʕdég* 'may I suckle (intrans.)'. Since such forms can be opposed to the short prefix conjugation of the causative stem (*lʸáʕdɛg* 'may I/she suckle (trans.)'), one has to acknowledge that the position of the accent has some phonemic load.

Soqotri allows triconsonantal and even quadriconsonantal initial clusters (the first two consonants in such clusters are obligatorily voiceless): *ħtmi* 'plaited palm fiber', *ʃfṫho* '(a goat) was mounted'.

The initial cluster can be broken with an epenthetic *e* (or *a* if the preceding consonant is *ħ*). The resulting forms may give the impression of being abnormally stressed on the second syllable. However, this incongruency can be avoided if one treats the first vowel as a phonetic epenthesis (transcribed here as superscript ^{e} or ^{a}): *fᵉzaʕ* 'he frightened somebody', *ħᵃber* 'he informed someone about the death of his parent'.

Geminated consonants are rare in autochthonous Soqotri words: *ʕíggo* '(an animal) gave birth (3FSG)' < **ʕjg*, *bíʃʃolʸ* 'things', PL of *bíle* < **bhl*. Cf. Lonnet and Simeone-Senelle 1997: 361, Lonnet 1993: 52. Gemination mostly occurs as result of assimilation (cf. some examples in §3.1.3.1).

4 MORPHOLOGY

4.1 Pronouns

4.1.1 Personal pronouns

It remains to be established whether the *h*-extended forms are optional variants of the simple ones or have any special pragmatic function (see Table 12.4).

4.1.2 Other pronouns

The meaning 'another one', 'the other' is expressed by *dɛg* (F *deʒ*, DU *dégi*, PL *lhɛg*) or the *n*-extended set *dégen* (F *déʒen*, DU *dégni*, PL *lhégen*).

The meaning 'different' is expressed by *dijáħɬ-* with pronominal suffixes: MSG *dijáħɬ-ej*, FSG *dijáħɬ-es*.

The collective meaning 'all' is expressed by *fáħre*. For 'each', 'every' the autochthonous *kalʸ*, still ubiquitous in the texts of the "Vienna corpus," in the speech of our informants is fully replaced by the Arabism *kúlle*.

The meaning 'self' is expressed by *n*(*h*)*ɔf-* with pronominal suffixes (in dual and plural, alternatively by the bare plural base *nɔ́foj*/*nɔ́foʃ*) (Table 12.5).

TABLE 12.4 PERSONAL PRONOUNS

	SG	*DU*	*PL*
1	*ho* (*hóhon*)	*ki* (*kíhin*)	*ħan* (*ħánhen*)
2M	*ʔɛ* (*ʔɛ́hen*)	*ti* (*tíhin*)	*ten* (*ténhen*)
2F	*ʔi* (*ʔíhin*)		
3M	*jʰe* (*jʰéhen*)	*jʰi* (*jʰíhin*)	*jʰen* (*jʰénhen*)
3F	*se* (*séhen*)		*sen* (*sénhen*)

TABLE 12.5 'SELF'

	SG	*DU*	*PL*
1	*nɔ́fin*	*nɔ́foj* (*nhɔ́fki*)	*nɔ́foj* (*nɔ́foʃ*)
2M	*nhɔfk*	*nɔ́foj* (*nhɔ́fki*)	*nɔ́foj* (*nɔ́foʃ*, *nhɔ́fken*)
2F	*nhɔff*		
3M	*nhɔff*	*nɔ́foj*	*nɔ́foj* (*nɔ́foʃ*)
3F	*nhɔfs*		*nhɔ́fsen*

TABLE 12.6 DEMONSTRATIVES OF NEAR AND MIDDLE DEIXIS

	SG		*DU*		*PL*	
	near	middle	near	middle	near	middle
M	*de*	*dénʕa*				
			díki	*dikénʕa*	*lhe*	*lhénʕa*
F	*def*	*dfénʕa*				

4.2 Demonstratives

Soqotri distinguishes between two sets of simplex demonstratives, for near and middle (close to the addressee) deixis (Table 12.6). The basic form of near deixis is often expanded with various adverbial elements: *de di-ħa*, *de di-ħatóʔo*, *de di-ʔéhɛ*(*n*). Some adverbial extensions are used to form demonstratives of far deixis: *de di-bok'*, *de di-ʔéhɛ-bok'*, *de di-lʸe-ħa*.

Among the deictic adverbs, one can mention *ħa*, *ħatóʔo* and *ʔéhɛ* 'here', *ħánʔe* 'there (close to the addressee)', *lʸe-ħa* 'there', as well as the combinations *ʔéhɛ ħa* 'here' and *ʔéhɛ bok'* 'there'. The deictic adverb *ʔéhɛ* can attach pronominal suffixes, acquiring a predicative meaning: *ʔéhɛʔ-f* 'here he is', *ʔéhɛʔ-s* 'here she is'.

4.3 Interrogatives

Interrogative pronouns: *mɔn* 'who?', *ʔiném* 'what?'.

Interrogative adverbs: *ʔóʔo* 'where?', *mítʕa* 'when?', *ʔífulʸ* (also *ʔifúlʸ*) 'how?', *dífulʸ* 'how much?', *línhɛm* and *lʸóʔo* 'why?'.

4.4 Relative

The relative marker is *di-* (PL *ʔil-*). Not infrequently the singular is used instead of the plural.

4.5 Nominals

4.5.1 Inflection

4.5.1.1 Gender

In nouns and some adjectives the feminine marker in the singular appears as *-e*, *-ɛ* (*-a* after gutturals and emphatics), *-o*, rarely *-i*.

A systematic perusal of the glossaries for CSOL I and II has yielded a practically equal amount of lexemes displaying the *-e* (more rarely, *-ɛ*(*/-a*)) and *-o* allomorphs of the feminine marker – about 150 examples each. While no strict distributional rules between them could be established, certain conditional factors are prominent:

- syllabic structure
- the vowel of the preceding syllable
- part of speech and morphological pattern

Nouns of the *CVCC-*at*- structure constitute an important segment of the *-e*/*-ɛ* group[9] (ca. 25%): *ʔék're* 'sprig of male inflorescence', *béfrɛ* 'a ripe date'. Conversely, in the *-o* group such structures are very rare (*sᶜóħlʸo* 'bone').

The most important constitutive segment of the *-o* group is composed by lexemes of the *(C)VCCVC-*at*- structure (45%), cf. Bittner (1918: 60–1): *ʔaʕlílo* 'white clouds', *gemgémo* 'skull'. With very few exceptions, the vowel in the syllable preceding the feminine ending is either *e* or *i* (while *ɛ*(/*a*) is extremely rare: *ʔaʕgémo*, *toutéjo*). In the *-e*/*-ɛ* group, *(C)VCCVC-*at*- structures are much less common (ca. 10%): *belʸbélʸe* 'shout of a billy goat in rut', *mesᶜrére* 'carrying pole'. Now, in each and every case the vowel preceding the feminine ending is *ɛ*(/*a*).

No clear-cut picture could be obtained for biconsonantal forms *CVC-*at*-. In the *-e*/*-ɛ* group, there are 25 examples representing this structure (*ʔére* 'moon', *bíle* 'thing') as against 17 in the *-o* group (*ʕéno* 'year', *fíʔo* 'forehead'). The lexemes with *ɛ*(/*a*) in the root always belong to the *-e*/*-ɛ* group; otherwise, the vowel of the base does not seem to play any decisive role in the distribution.

The *CVCVC-*at*- structure is prominently represented by 28% in the *-e*/*-ɛ* group: *ħalʸólʸe* 'half-ripe date', *sedák'e* 'inaccessible rock'. Conversely, nouns with this structure constitute only 12% of the *-o* group: *mefᶜífo* 'lintel', *taɮᶜímo* 'dinner'. The discrepancy is largely due to the vowel of the last syllable of the base: while in the *-o* group it is almost always *e* or *i*, the *-e*/*-ɛ* group displays numerous examples with *ɛ*(/*a*).

In more general terms, feminine forms of adjectives almost entirely belong to the *-e*/*-ɛ* group (exceptions: *k'íno* 'small (FSG)', *ʕaféro* 'red (FSG)' and *ħóuro* 'black (FSG)'). Conversely, feminine "old participles" of the derived stems (4.6.8.1), verbal nouns of the derived stems (§4.6.8.2), and the diminutives (§4.5.1.3) always display *-o*.

Substantives denoting female beings can be masculine in agreement: *ʔalʸf* 'young female calf (MSG)', *kéle* 'heifer of intermediate age (MSG)', *ʔéɮᶜjaʕ* 'a goat two years old (MSG)'.

Many nouns with no explicit marker of the feminine are feminine in agreement (mostly, but not exclusively, designations of female persons and animals, body parts and plant names): *férhim* 'girl', *ʔóʔoz* 'goat', *ʕajn* 'eye', *ɮᶜáʔed* 'lotus tree (*ziziphus spina-christi*)'.

4.5.1.2 Number

4.5.1.2.1 Dual

The dual marker *-i* can be attached directly to the base without any structural change: *ʔalʸf*, DU *ʔálʸf-i* 'female calf', *sérɛd*, DU *sɛrédi* 'a grown-up kid'. Nouns with feminine vocalic endings restore *-*t* before the dual marker (the suffix *-e* usually shifting to *-i*): *déf-ɛ*, DU *dɛf-ét-i* 'side', *bekél-e*, DU *bekel-ít-i* 'snake', *ʕán-i*, DU *ʕan-ít-i* 'leather vessel'.

More often, minor structural changes in the base are observed, such as vocalic syncope, the shift *e* > *i* in the last syllable, loss of the "parasitic *h*," etc.

4.5.1.2.2 Sound feminine plural

In comparison to most other Semitic languages, the use of the sound feminine plural *-(he)ten* (rarely *-(h)iten*, *-(h)ɛten*) is relatively restricted in Soqotri. Direct attachment of the plural marker rarely takes place; in most cases, certain changes in the structure of the base are in evidence: *ʔed* 'hand', PL *ʔed-héten*, *líʃin* 'tongue', PL *lʸeʃɔ̃n-ten*, *tᶜádaʕ* 'back',

PL *tˁideʾħ-éten*. As in many other Semitic languages, its association with feminine gender is conspicuous in adjectives (cf. 4.5.2), but it can often be attached to nouns with masculine agreement, as in *tˁádaʕ* ‘back’ (cf. Johnstone 1975: 20–1).

4.5.1.2.3 Broken plural

The “broken” plural, that is, the formation of plural by means of special plural patterns (sometimes in combination with external affixes) applied to the consonants of the singular form, is widespread in Soqotri. Here the most common broken plural types are listed.

1 Nouns with *e* or *i* in the last syllable typically produce plurals with **a*-replacement (*o* < stressed **ă̄*), cf. Bittner (1918: 66), Johnstone (1975: 21), Ratcliffe (1998: 193, 200), Kogan (2015: 476–7). Examples: *ʕífef* ‘goat kid’, PL *ʕífof*, *k’átʕer* ‘skin vessel’, PL *k’átʕor*.
2 Plurals of quadriconsonantal nouns with **ā*-insertion (corresponding to the *maktab-* > *makātib-* type in Arabic), cf. Bittner (1918: 65), Ratcliffe (1998: 193, 199), Kogan (2015: 476). Examples: *ʕánk’eher* ‘anus’, PL *ʕanók’hir*, *gírbag* ‘cat’, PL *gerébeg*.
3 Plurals of the *nomen collectivum*/*nomen unitatis* type, cf. Ratcliffe (1998: 193, 199), Bulakh and Kogan (2011: 8–9). Examples: *ʔedmíʕ-o* ‘tear’, PL *ʔédmaʕ*, *tfér-e* ‘excrement of ruminants’, PL *tfɛr*.
4 Patterns with prefixed **ʔ*V-, cf. Bittner (1918: 63–4), Ratcliffe (1998: 201), Kogan (2015: 166–7). Examples: *k’óme* ‘clay vessel’, PL *ʔék’mᵉhom*, *nójʰer* ‘bird’, PL *ʔenjʰéro*.
5 Plurals in *-ihin*, cf. Kogan (2015: 474–5). Examples: *ʔéghon* ‘stone wall’, PL *ʔégnihin*, *fédhon* ‘mountain’, PL *fédnhin*.
6 The $C_1éC_2(h)oC_3$ pattern, cf. Bittner (1918: 63–4). Examples: *ʔóben* ‘stone’, PL *ʔóbhon*, *kobł*, PL *kéboł* ‘ram’.
7 The $C_1íC_2(h)oC_3$ pattern, cf. Bittner (1918: 63). Examples: *bɛrk* ‘knee’, PL *bírok*, *násˁar* ‘cheek’, PL *nísˁhor*.
8 The $C_1áC_2ojC_3$ pattern. Examples: *ħadíbo* ‘fairy’, PL *ħádojb*, *sˁafék’a* ‘nettle’, PL *sˁáfojk’*.
9 The $C_1éC_2eC_3$ pattern. Examples: *kaſħ* ‘cut-off part of a skin vessel’, PL *kéfeħ*, *łars* ‘scratch’, PL *łéres*.
10 The $C_1íC_2ɛC_3$ pattern. Examples: *kérbe* ‘lower part of a palm branch’, PL *kírɛb*, *sˁárfe* ‘waterfall’, PL *sˁírɛf*.

4.5.1.3 Diminutive

Soqotri is rich in diminutives, which can be produced from nearly every noun or adjective. Soqotri makes use of several different strategies of diminutive formation, of which two or more are typically combined in one form (for some preliminary observations, see Bittner 1918: 59–60 and Johnstone 1973).

1 The $C_1(o)uC_2(h)ɛC_3$ pattern or just the presence of *-(o)u-* in the base (Johnstone 1973: 100–3, LS 10).
2 Various types of *n*-suffixation (Johnstone 1973: 104–7, LS 10).
3 Shift to *e*-vocalism in the base (Johnstone 1973: 101).

4 Shift to *i*-vocalism in the base.
5 Shift to *a*/*ɛ*-vocalism in the base.
6 Breaking a word-middle consonantal cluster (Johnstone 1973: 101).
7 The feminine ending *-o* (LS 10).
8 Partial reduplication (Johnstone 1973: 101, LS 10).

Table 12.7 gives examples of various strategies of diminutive formation and their combinations.

4.5.1.4 Patterns

4.5.1.4.1 Primary nouns

Primary nouns reliably traceable to PS prototypes are not many in Soqotri: *dem* 'pus' < **dam-* 'blood', *kobł* 'ram' < **kabł-*, *ħámʔ-i* 'clarified butter' < **ximʔ-at-*, *ʃéreł* 'stomach' < **karił-*, *ʃébd-e* 'liver' < **kabid-at-*, *líʃin* 'tongue' < **liʃān-*.

4.5.1.4.2 Derived nouns

Numerous examples of non-augmented verbal nouns can be found in §4.6.8.2.

TABLE 12.7 DIMINUTIVES (SAMPLE)

Source Noun/Adjective	*Diminutive*	*Means of Formation*[10]	*Translation*
ʔátˁab	*ʔóutˁab*	**(1)**	'teat'
ʔak'ś	*ʔouk'ásɛn*	**(1)**, **(2)**	'wind'
ʔóti	*ʔetóujhɛn*	**(1)**, **(2)**, **(3)**	'weak'
kóte	*ketoutéjhin*	**(1)**, **(2)**, **(3)**, **(8)**	'inflammation'
téʔɛ	*touʔéno*	**(1)**, **(2)**, **(7)**	'sheep'
matétˁa	*metóutˁaha*	**(1)**, **(3)**	'lad'
k'ɔn	*k'ourínhin*	**(1)**, **(4)**, **(6)**	'horn'
ʔóʔoz	*ʔouzéjo*	**(1)**, **(7)**	'she-goat'
maʕrízo	*maʕarízhin*	**(2)**	'fold of garment'
ħábhor	*ħabéɾɛn*	**(2)**, **(3)**	'cold'
séɾɛd	*seredídhin*	**(2)**, **(3)**, **(4)**, **(8)**	'a grown-up goat kid'
ʔesˁlíʕo	*sˁelʸeʕáno*	**(2)**, **(3)**, **(7)**	'aloe leaf'
ʕífef	*ʕafífjhin*	**(2)**, **(4)**, **(5)**	'goat kid'
ʕáfer	*ʕafiɾírhin*	**(2)**, **(4)**, **(8)**	'red'
sˁélhel	*sˁalʸélʸhɛn*	**(2)**, **(5)**	'a little wadi'
ʕádho	*ʕadéjhɛn*	**(2)**, **(5)**, **(6)**	'mountain pass'
sˁóħlʸo	*sˁaħalʸéno*	**(2)**, **(5)**, **(6)**, **(7)**	'bone'
riʔíme	*ɾɛʔɛméno*	**(2)**, **(5)**, **(7)**	'female goat attached to its master'
ʔímtɛ	*ʔimitíjhin*	**(2)**, **(6)**	'a plant'
gírbag	*gerɛbégo*	**(3)**, **(5)**, **(6)**, **(7)**	'cat'
ʕábre	*ʕebéro*	**(3)**, **(6)**, **(7)**	'generation'
ħámer	*ħeméro*	**(3)**, **(7)**	'hill'
míʔʃer	*medékɛr*	**(5)**, **(6)**	'he-goat'

There are several clearly definable patterns with *m*V-prefixation.

***me*-C_1C_2*e*C_3**: *mésrek* ‘tethering rope’ < *sérok* ‘to tether’
***mo*-C_1C_2*i*C_3**: *móghim* ‘milking place’ < *ʔéghem* ‘to gather livestock in the pen’
me*-C_1C_2*e*C_3-*o: *mergémo* ‘a small roofed shelter’ < *régom* ‘to cover’
me*-C_1C_2*i*C_3-*o: *mesˁħíro* ‘cauterization’ < *sˁóħor* ‘to cauterize’
me*-C_1C_2ɛC_3-*e: *mek’dére* ‘food’ < *k’édor* ‘to cook’

Nouns with *t*-prefixation are rare in Soqotri: *temtílo* ‘story’ < *mótil* ‘to tell’.

4.5.2 Adjectives

“Simple” triconsonantal adjectival lexemes are not numerous in Soqotri (Simeone-Senelle 2011: 1086). The relative paucity of examples and the highly varied declinational patterns make difficult a systematic description of the adjectival inflection, the key parameters of interest being the feminine singular and the masculine plural (see Table 12.8).

The most common pattern of masculine plural is $C_1eC_2jɛC_3$ (with a variant $C_1ɛC_2jɛC_3$ when the first radical is a guttural or an emphatic), illustrated by the examples [2], [3]. Another common pattern is $C_1eC_2ɛC_3e$ (examples [4], [5]). Less frequently, the masculine plural coincides with the (sound) feminine plural (example [1]).

The best attested pattern of feminine singular can be posited as $C_1eC_2eC_3e$, with *e* > *a* in the vicinity of gutturals and emphatics (examples [3], [4]). The feminine ending is mostly *-e*, while *-o* is only rarely observed (example [1]).

Conversely, there is plenty of adjectival lexemes with reduplicated third radical which display a highly regular declinational shape, notably the *ɛ – e* (> *i*) ablaut opposing masculine and feminine in the singular, as well as the patterns $C_1eC_2C_3eC_3hon$ and $C_1ɛC_2oC_3iC_3$ for the masculine and feminine plural, respectively (Müller 1909a, Johnstone 1975: 22, Lonnet 2008: 125–33) (see Table 12.9).

TABLE 12.8 INFLECTION OF ADJECTIVES

Masculine			*Feminine*			*Meaning*
sg	*du*	*pl*	*sg*	*du*	*pl*	
[1] *ʕáfer*	*ʕáfri*	*ʕaferéten*	*ʕaféro*	*ʕaferóti*	*ʕaferéten*	‘red’
[2] *fɛ́ɮˁaħ*	*fɛɮˁáħi*	*fɛ́ɮˁjaħ*	*fiɮˁéħe*	*fiɮˁeħíti*	*fɛɮˁaħéten*	‘ripe’
[3] *gáʕħer*	*gaʕári*	*gáʕjher*	*gaʕáre*	*gaʕaríti*	*gaʾħaréten*	‘sick, ill’
[4] *k’ɛ́tˁhon*	*k’etˁáni*	*k’etˁáne*	*k’etˁáne*	*k’etˁaníti*	*k’etˁhanéten*	‘thin’
[5] *lᵛébhon*	*lᵛebáni*	*lᵛebéne*	*lᵛebíne*	*lᵛebiníti*	*lᵛebhinítin*	‘white’

TABLE 12.9 INFLECTION OF REDUPLICATED ADJECTIVES

Masculine			*Feminine*			*Meaning*
Singular	*Dual*	*Plural*	*Singular*	*Dual*	*Plural*	
défdɛf	*defdéfi*	*defdéfhon*	*défdef*	*defdífi*	*dɛfódif*	‘thick’
ħábdɛd	*ħabdédi*	*ħabdédhon*	*ħábded*	*ħabdídi*	*ħabódid*	‘grey (sheep)’
łíbɛb	*łibébi*	*łejbóbhon*	*líbib*	*łibíbi*	*łɛjóbib*	‘old’

Adjectival meanings can be expressed by verbal periphrases with the relative marker *di-* (usually with the suffix conjugation): *di-délʸak'* 'numerous', *di-ʕók'ar* 'big' (Johnstone 1975: 22, Simeone-Senelle 1997a: 393, 2011: 1086, 1106).

4.5.3 Numerals

In the colloquial speech of today's islanders, autochthonous Soqotri numerals from "three" upwards have been completely ousted by Arabic loan words. Nevertheless, at least among the inland bedouins the old numerals are well known and are still regularly used when livestock is counted. The following forms (Table 12.10) have been elicited from a ca. 25-year-old bedouin informant.

For the round tens, only two non-composite forms are known: *ʕáɬᵉri* 'twenty' and *ɬᵉlʸa* 'thirty'. The composite forms employ the plural *ʕiɬárhen* preceded by the corresponding numeral of the first decade (Simeone-Senelle 2011: 1089). The designation of "hundred" is *máħber* (at least in today's language, only about livestock).

The meaning "both" is expressed by *káʔlʸa* (masculine) and *kɛ́ʔli* (feminine).

The ordinals are formed by the addition of the nota genitivi *di-*: *di-saʕ* 'ninth'.

4.6 Verbs

4.6.1 Tense/aspect

As most other West Semitic languages, Soqotri displays a formal difference between two morphological types, conventionally labeled as active and nonactive verbs. Synchronically, the verbs conjugated after the nonactive type display low transitivity semantics (in terms of Hopper and Thompson 1980), whereas the active type has no semantic restrictions. Each of the two types is represented by three sets of inflectional forms: the Perfect (the suffix conjugation, hereafter SC), the Imperfect (the long form of the prefix conjugation, PCL) and the Jussive (the short form of the prefix conjugation, PCS).

4.6.2 Gender/number/person inflection

4.6.2.1 Affixes

In SC, the gender, number and person are mostly expressed by suffixes, and in PCL and PCS, mostly by prefixes or circumfixes. The paradigms of PCL and PCS employ similar, but not

TABLE 12.10 NUMERALS

	With Masculine Noun Counted	*With Feminine Noun Counted*
'1'	*tˁad*	*tˁej*
'2'	*trɔ*	*tri*
'3'	*ɮˁáʔte*	*ɬᵉlɛ*
'4'	*ʔerbáʕa*	*ʔórbiʕ*
'5'	*ħámoj*	*ħímiʃ*
'6'	*jʰéʔte*	*jʰaʕt*
'7'	*jʰébʕe*	*jʰóbiʕ*
'8'	*teméne*	*tɛmóni*
'9'	*séʕe*	*saʕ*
'10'	*ʕilére*	*ʕáɬer*

identical sets of prefixes: the PCL prefixes with initial *ʔ* and *j* correspond to PCS prefixes with initial *lʸ-* and *l-*, respectively (cf. Tables 12.12 and 12.13). Furthermore, the personal prefixes with initial *t-* are consistently employed in the active voice of PCL of the basic stem, but dropped in PCL of the passive voice, the D and C stems and the quadriradical verb. In the corresponding forms of the PCS, they are replaced by *lʸ*V-.

4.6.2.2 Apophony

A specific feature of Soqotri, rarely attested elsewhere in Semitic, is that not only derivational, but also inflectional meanings in the verbal domain can be expressed by apophonic changes. The most remarkable apophony, permeating the entire verbal system of Soqotri, is the shift of *o*, *ɛ*(/*a*) and *i* into *e* (Bittner 1917–1918: 353–5, Kogan and Naumkin 2014: 72–6) to express 3MPL: *zégod* 'he lifted' ~ *zéged* 'they (MPL) lifted', *ligzém* 'may he swear' ~ *ligzém* 'may they (MPL) swear', *ħósib* 'he counted' ~ *ħóseb* 'they (MPL) counted'.

The 2FSG form in PCL and PCS is likewise expressed by vocalic apophony (*e* > *i*, *o* > *i*, *ɛ*(/*a*) > *i*): *tedófen* 'you (MSG) bury' ~ *tedófin* 'you (FSG) bury', *terbén* 'may you (MSG) advise' ~ *terbín* 'may you (FSG) advise'.

In the subsequent subsections (Tables 12.11 to 12.15), the full paradigms for the basic stem of active/nonactive types are given, exemplified by *férod* 'to flee' (active type) and *déker* 'to remember' (nonactive type).

4.6.2.3 SC

TABLE 12.11 THE SUFFIX CONJUGATION OF ACTIVE AND NONACTIVE VERBS

	SG		*DU*		*PL*	
	M	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*
1	*férodk* *dékerk*		*feródki* *dekérki*		*feróden* *dekéren*	
2	*férodk* *dékerk*	*férodʃ* *dékerʃ*	*feródki* *dekérki*		*feródken* *dekérken*	
3	*férod* *déker*	*ferédo* *dikéro*	*ferédo* *dikéro*	*ferɛdéto* *dikɛréto*	*féred* *déker*	*férod* *déker*

4.6.2.4 PCL

TABLE 12.12 THE LONG PREFIX CONJUGATION OF ACTIVE AND NONACTIVE VERBS

	SG		*DU*		*PL*	
	M	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*
1	*ʔefóred* *ʔedékor*		*ʔeferédo* *ʔedɛkéro*		*nefóred* *nedékor*	
2	*tefóred* *tedékor*	*tefórid* *tedékir*	*teferédo* *tedɛkéro*		*tefóred* *tedéker*	*teforéden* *tedɛkóren*
3	*jefóred* *jedékor*	*tefóred* *tedékor*	*jeferédo* *jedɛkéro*	*teferédo* *tedɛkéro*	*jefóred* *jedéker*	*teforéden* *tedɛkóren*

4.6.2.5 PCS

TABLE 12.13 THE SHORT PREFIX CONJUGATION OF ACTIVE AND NONACTIVE VERBS

	SG		*DU*		*PL*	
	M	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*
1	*lᵛefréd* *lᵛedkór*		*lᵛefrédo* *lᵛedkéro*		*nefréd* *nedkór*	
2	*tefréd* *tedkór*	*tefríd* *tedkír*	*tefrédo* *tedkéro*		*tefréd* *tedkér*	*tefréden* *tedkóren*
3	*lifréd* *lidkór*	*tefréd* *tedkór*	*lifrédo* *lidkéro*	*tefrédo* *tedkéro*	*lifréd* *lidkér*	*tefréden* *tedkóren*

The opposition between the active and nonactive types in PCS, generally maintained in the printed texts (both the Vienna corpus and CSOL), tends to be blurred in the forms directly elicited from our informants, who often adduced *ɛ*-forms for nonactive verbs, reserving *o*-forms exclusively for the internal passive (Naumkin et al. 2014: 42–3).

4.6.2.6 "Old imperative"

TABLE 12.14 THE IMPERATIVE OF ACTIVE AND NONACTIVE VERBS

SG		*DU*	*PL*	
M	*F*		*M*	*F*
ʔefréd *ʔedkór/ʔedkér*	*ʔefríd* *ʔedkír*	*ʔefrédo/ʔefrído* *ʔedkéro/ʔedkíro*	*ʔefréd* *ʔedkér*	*ʔefréden* *ʔedkóren /ʔedkéren*

4.6.2.7 *n*-Conditional

TABLE 12.15 THE CONDITIONAL

	SG		*DU*		*PL*	
	M	*F*	*M*	*F*	*M*	*F*
1	*lᵛefrídin*		*lᵛefrídon*		*nefrídin*	
2	*tefrídin*	*tefrídin*	*tefrídon*		*tefréden*	*tefrédnɛn*
3	*lifrídin*	*tefrídin*	*lifrídon*	*tefrídon*	*lifréden*	*tefrédnɛn*

The *n*-Conditional of the nonactive type does not differ from that of the active type.

4.6.3 Verbal stems

The system of verbal stems in Soqotri is in agreement with the Common Semitic pattern and with the corresponding systems of continental MSA languages. Its seven main elements are summarized in the following chart.

	Causative	Passive-Reflexive	Causative-Reflexive
Basic (G)	C	Gt	Ct
Intensive (D)	–	Dt	CtD

Much further study is needed to evaluate the productivity of each stem, but a few trends are clear. Thus, the passive-reflexive of the intensive (Dt) is the least common stem (Table 12.18) and certainly unproductive, whereas the causative (C) is the commonest and most regularly produced one (Table 12.17). The situation with other stems can be more complex: for example, the causative-reflexive of the basic stem (Ct) is not particularly common (Table 12.20), but fairly productive with the potential-passive meaning 'it is possible to do something' (§4.6.3.5.2).

4.6.3.1 D stem

4.6.3.1.1 Structure

TABLE 12.16 THE BASIC FORMS OF THE D STEM

SC	*PCL*	*PCS*	*Meaning*
mótil	*jemotílin*	*limétɛl̨*	'to tell'
dɛ́kir	*jedɛkírin*	*lidɛ́kɛr*	'to remind'

The distribution between the *-o-* and *-ɛ-* forms (neutralized in PCS) remains to be explained.

4.6.3.1.2 Functions

The common Semitic derivational function of raising transitivity of the source verb is well attested for the D stem in Soqotri: *déker* 'to remember; to mention' – *dékir* 'to remind', *tᵉek'* 'to be minced, made into small bits' – *tᵉák'ik'* 'to mince'. For source verbs of high transitivity, the derived verbs often exhibit the semantics of pluractionality: *gédom* 'to cut off' – *gódim* 'to dismember' (Naumkin et al. forthc.).

4.6.3.2 C stem

4.6.3.2.1 Structure

TABLE 12.17 THE BASIC FORMS OF THE C STEM

SC	*PCL*	*PCS*	*Meaning*
[1] *ʔébrɛk*	*jebérok*	*lábrɛk*	'to make kneel down'
[2] *tref*	*jetérof*	*látrɛf*	'to cure'
[3] *kᵉden*	*jekédon*	*lákdɛn*	'to make appear'
[4] *ked*	*jekód*	*lákɛd*	'to scare'

From a structural point of view, there are four types of formation of the causative stem (the first three being neutralized in the prefix conjugation). The majority type [1] comprises the verbs with the first radical voiced or emphatic. Types [2] and [3] comprise

the verbs with the first radical voiceless; epenthesis (type [3]) is common, but not fully regular, when the second radical is voiced or emphatic. Type [4] is characteristic of verbs with initial *ʔ* (etymologically **ʔ* and **v*).

4.6.3.2.2 Functions

The C stem functions typically as the causative to low transitive verbs in the basic stem: *béhɛlʸ* 'to be cooked, ready' – *ʔébhelʸ* 'to cook, to make ready', *férod* 'to flee' – *fᵉred* 'to put to flight'.

4.6.3.3 Dt stem

4.6.3.3.1 Form

The Dt stem is uncommon in Soqotri and the relatively few available examples show a rather disparate picture (the verb *ʔentégif* 'to spread' adduced in Table 12.18 appears to reflect the most neutral, "canonical" allomorph). The safest guide to distinguish Dt from Gt (§4.6.3.4, Table 12.19) is the presence of the *n*-ending in PCL.

TABLE 12.18 THE BASIC FORMS OF THE DT STEM

SC	*PCL*	*PCS*	*Meaning*
ʔentégif	*jentɛgífin*	*lintégɛf*	'to wave, to brandish; to spread'

4.6.3.3.2 Functions

This rare stem does not show any clearly definable function, although one reliable example of reciprocal derivation is attested: *mótil* 'to tell' – *mᵉstᵉlʸo* (3MDU) 'to talk with each other'.

4.6.3.4 Gt stem

4.6.3.4.1 Form

TABLE 12.19 THE BASIC FORMS OF THE GT STEM

SC	*PCL*	*PCS*	*Meaning*
łɛténɛz	*jelténoz*	*liłténɛz*	'to go askew, to be slanted'

For most Gt verbs in SC, the informants admit an alternative pattern with *o* and *e* in the first and third syllables respectively (*łoténez*), the 3MSG and both MPL and FPL being thereby identical.

4.6.3.4.2 Functions

The Gt stem is mostly attested with the derivational meaning of passive and reciprocal for the basic stem: *k'óʕof* 'to spill, to overturn (transitive)' – *k'atáʕaf* 'to be spilled', *sóbak'* 'to stick, to be attached' – *sotébek'* (3MPL) 'to join one another'.

4.6.3.5 Ct stem

4.6.3.5.1 Form

TABLE 12.20 THE BASIC FORMS OF THE CT STEM

SC	PCL	PCS	MEANING
ʃérben	*jeʃrébon*	*liʃérbɐn*	'to obey'

4.6.3.5.2 Functions

The Ct stem is attested with the function of passive for the basic or the C stem, as well as indirect causative for the C stem, potential-passive to the basic stem, and declarative to the basic stem: *náfaʕ* 'to make, to do' ~ *ʃénfaʕ* 'to be made, performed, carried out', *ħᵃme* 'to give in marriage' ~ *ʃħᵃme* 'to ask for a woman's hand', *ʕók'alʸ* 'to put, to let stay' ~ *ʃáʕk'elʸ* 'it is possible to preserve', *ʔémon* 'to tell the truth' ~ *ʃéʔmen* 'to acknowledge one's truth, to believe'.

4.6.3.6 CtD stem

4.6.3.6.1 Form

TABLE 12.21 THE BASIC FORMS OF THE CTD STEM

SC	PCL	PCS	MEANING
ʃemélik	*jeʃmɛlíkin*	*liʃmélᵛɐk*	'to be in front of'

4.6.3.6.2 Functions

The reliably attested derivational functions of the CtD stem are passive and reflexive to the D stem (§4.6.3.1, Table 12.16): *ʔézi* 'to divide, to separate' ~ *ʃɛʔézi* 'to be separated', *k'ábit* 'to teach' ~ *ʃek'ábit* 'to learn', *ʕóli* 'to praise, to flatter' ~ *ʃeʕáli* 'to be proud, to boast'.

4.6.4 Quadriradical verbs

Soqotri has a complex system of quadriradical verbs, with a morphological distinction between non-reduplicated (Q) and reduplicated (Q_R) roots, as illustrated by Table 12.22.

TABLE 12.22 THE BASIC FORMS OF THE QUADRIRADICAL VERBS

	SC	PCL	PCS	MEANING
Q	*ʕánʃek*	*jeʕánʃok*	*liʕánʃɛk*	'to splash'
Q_R	*gérger*	*jegérger*	*ligérgɐr*	'to purl'

The two types are identical in SC and PCS, but in PCL a major distinction is present (cf. Johnstone 1968: 521): while the reduplicated type copies the SC base, the non-reduplicated type displays *a*-ablaut (**ằ* or **ā́* > *o*). The majority of quadriradical verbs belong to the reduplicated type.

Not unlike the triradical verbs, both types of quadriradical verbs can produce an intensive stem, encoded as Q_{II} and Q_{RII} respectively. Their conjugational forms are illustrated by Table 12.23.

In the reduplicated type, pairs of verbs in the basic stem and the intensive stem are attested, such as *démdem – demédim* 'to rock' or *ɮˁáfɮˁef – ɮˁafáɮˁif* 'to blink'. According to our informants, in such pairs the intensive verb is usually associated with additional strength or repetition in performing the action.

4.6.5 Reduplicated stem

Not a small number of Soqotri verbs are formed through reduplication of the third radical (encoded here as R stem, cf. Table 12.24) (cf. Johnstone 1968: 521).

There are several attestations of R verbs with *i*-vocalism. For some of them, *ɛj*-counterparts are known, and according to our informants the two forms are opposed as active and passive:

ʔegréjfef 'to bend' vs. *ʔigrífif* (*jegrífif*/*ligrífif*) 'to be bent'
ʔemhéjded 'to pull' vs. *ʔimhídid* (*jemhídid*/*limhídid*) 'to be pulled'

4.6.6 Stems with prefixed n

The role of the *n*-prefixation remains to be comprehensively described, as the few examples attested in our corpus are sufficient for a preliminary survey only.

4.6.6.1 From reduplicated roots (Q_N)

ʔengérger 'to purl', *ʔenlʸémlʸem* 'to be filled', *ʔenráʕraʕ* 'to wag one's tail'

4.6.6.2 Denominative

ʔenmak'itˁo (3FSG) 'to become pregnant (large cattle)' < *ʔémk'atˁ* 'pregnant', *ʔenzéħe* 'to grow up' < *záħi* 'grown up'

TABLE 12.23 THE BASIC FORMS OF THE INTENSIVE QUADRIRADICAL VERBS

	SC	*PCL*	*PCS*	*MEANING*
Q_{II}	*temétil*	*jetemɛtílin*	*litemételʸ*	'to recite'
Q_{RII}	*demédim*	*jedemɛdímin*	*lidemédɛm*	'to rock'

TABLE 12.24 THE BASIC FORMS OF THE R STEM

SC	*PCL*	*PCS*	*MEANING*
ʔegʔéjrer	*jegʔɛjrírin*	*ligʔérɛr*	'to grumble'

4.6.6.3 Varia

ʔenberɛ́ʔiɬ (*jenberɛʔíɬin*/*linberéʔɛɬ*) ‘to get in motion’ (Q_{NII}), *ʔenk’ánaʕ* (*jenk’aníʕin*/*link’ánaʕ*) ‘to be crazy, to behave as a fool’ (N_{II}), *ʔenfʲaʕréro* (3SGF) (*tenfʲáʕrer*/*tenfʲáʕrɛr*) ‘to be sterile (a palm)’ (R_N).

4.6.7 Passive voice

In a “biconsonantal” C stem verb (§4.6.3.2.1) the passive in SC is marked by strong palatalization of the first consonant: *daħ* ‘to put, to leave’ ~ *dʲaħ*, *keb* ‘to make enter, to bring in’ ~ *kʲɛb*. If the first consonant is ʕ, the palatal element appears before rather than after it: *ʕeɮˁ* ‘to release one’s large cattle from the milking place out to pasture’, passive *jᵉʕaɮˁ*.

The passive forms for most stems are adduced in Table 12.25. Passive voice for the Gt and Ct stems is seldom attested. No examples for the Dt stem are attested in our corpus.

4.6.8 Non-finite forms

4.6.8.1 Participles

Neither active nor passive participles are productively derived in Soqotri, but participial origin can be plausibly surmised for some nouns and adjectives, as for the following ones (cf. Bittner 1918: 58–9).

- G stem, active: *ʕádɛlʸ* ‘carrier, porter’, *ʔégeħ* ‘one who climbs’, *ráʕi* (F *reʕíjje*) ‘shepherd’.
- G stem, passive (?) and/or C stem, active/passive (?): *métˁeb* (F *metˁébo*) ‘tanned (leather)’, *mébˀħel* (F *mebʕélʸo*) ‘slave’.
- D stem, passive: *menék’hel* (F *menek’élʸo*) ‘the best one’, *meték’af* ‘well-arranged, harmonious’, *metˁelʸék’o* ‘divorced woman’.
- Gt stem, active and/or passive (?): *mek’ɬétˁaʕ* (F *mek’ɬetˁíʕo*) ‘a man who has no relatives close enough to inherit from him’, *meɬténez* (F *meɬtinézo*) ‘slanted’.
- Ct stem, active and/or passive (?): *meʃómtil* ‘interpreter’, *meʃénker* (F *meʃenkéro*) ‘prodigious’.
- N stem: *menk’ájnaʕ* (F *menk’iníʕo*) ‘crazy’.

4.6.8.2 Verbal nouns

Soqotri displays a complex system of derived nouns associated with verbal lexemes. As with the Arabic *masˁdar*s, the basic stem with its variety of patterns is opposed to the

TABLE 12.25 THE BASIC FORMS OF THE PASSIVE

Stem	*SC*	*PCL*	*PCS*	*Meaning*
G	*gíʃɛlʸ*	*jegóuʃolʸ*	*ligʃólʸ*	‘to be broken’
D	*nék’alʸ*	*jenek’élʸen*	*linék’alʸ*	‘to be selected’
C	*ʔik’dɛm*	*jek’óudom*	*lik’dóm*	‘to be seen’
Gt	*k’etenóve*	*jek’etóunɛ*	*lik’ɬón*	‘to be eaten’
Ct	*fíʕrɛk*	*jeʃʕúrok*	*liʃóʕrok*	‘to be fished’
Q	*k’írħɛlʸ*	*jek’eróuħolʸ*	*lik’órħolʸ*	‘to be stirred’

TABLE 12.26 DERIVED VERBAL NOUNS

Pattern	*Verb*	*Verbal Noun*	*Meaning*
C_1*í*C_2*i*C_3	*rə́bon*	*ríbin*	'to give advice'
C_1*í*C_2*hi*C_3	*łóʔom*	*líʔhim*	'to sell'
C_1*o*C_2C_3	*térof*	*torf*	'to heal'
C_1*ɛ*C_2C_3	*réɬˁaf*	*raɬˁf*	'to be beautiful'
C_1*é*C_2*ɛ*C_3	*jʰérak'*	*ʃárak'*	'to steal'
C_1*é*C_2*o*C_3	*ʕétˁab*	*ʕátˁob*	'to set (sun)'
C_1*é*C_2C_3*o*	*ráħab*	*réħbo*	'to be broad'
C_1*i*C_2*ó*C_3*e*	*báʕalʸ*	*biʕólʸe*	'to get married'
C_1*i*C_2*í*C_3*hin*	*néker*	*nikírhin*	'to be nostalgic'
sound verb, D stem			
C_1*ɛ*C_2*i*C_3*o*	*ħósib*	*ħasíbo*	'to count'
sound verb, C stem			
ʔe*C_1C_2*é*C_3*o	*ʔénfer*	*ʔenféro*	'to release'
sound verb, Ct stem			
še*C_1C_2*é*C_3*e	*ʃék'naʕ*	*ʃek'náʕa*	'to believe'
sound verb, CtD stem			
š(e)*C_1*i*C_2*í*C_3*o	*ʃek'ábit*	*ʃk'ibíto*	'to learn'
quadriradical verb, Q_R			
C_1*e*C_2C_1*é*C_2*e*	*démdem*	*demdémе*	'to rock'
quadriradical verb, Q_{RII}			
C_1*e*C_2*ɛ*C_1*í*C_2*o*	*demédim*	*demɛdímo*	'to rock'

derived stems with one unified pattern for each stem. Table 12.26 illustrates the most prominent trends in the formation of the verbal noun in Soqotri.

4.7 Adpositions/adverbs

4.7.1 Adpositions

Only prepositions are used in Soqotri. The key prepositions are *ʔe-* 'to, for (dative, often benefactive)', *di-* (*id-*) 'to, towards', *lʸe-* 'on, above', *be-* 'in' and *ke-* 'with'. Other prepositions include *ʔalʸ* 'to, towards', *mej* id., *diʔálʸ* id., *ʕaf* 'till', *ʕan* 'from', *ken* id., *báʕad* 'after', *ker* 'on, over, along', *di-balʸ* 'without', *nħatˁ* 'under', *tˁaʰar* 'on, above', *sɛr* 'behind', *tóʔo* 'as, like'. Common are composite prepositions like *be-ʕamk' di-* 'in the middle of', *be-défɛ di-* 'beside', *be-k'áne di-* 'inside', *be-tɛr di-* 'outside', *di-tˁádaʕ di-* 'onto'.

Several prepositions employ two bases (Table 12.27), one used with nouns, and the other with pronominal suffixes; furthermore, the forms with the 1SG suffix often display irregularities.

Prepositions can attach two sets of pronominal suffixes (Table 12.28), a shorter one (apparently more common in speech) and a longer one, to be exemplified by the dative preposition *ʔe-* (before short pronominal suffixes, mostly *he-*).

TABLE 12.27 THE BASES OF PREPOSITIONS

Before Nouns	*With 1sg*	*With Other Persons (Exemplified by 2msg)*	*Meaning*
ʔe-	*ʔénhi*	*hek*	'to'
lʸe-	*ħe*	*ʕek*	'on'
be-	*ʃe*	*bek*	'in'
ke-	*ʃe*	*ʃek* (3fsg ***s****es*)	'with'

TABLE 12.28 PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES ON PREPOSITIONS

	sg		*du*		*pl*	
1	*ʔénhi*	*ʔeníʔho*	*héjki*	*ʔekíʔki*	*hin*	*ʔeníʔħan*
2m	*hek*	*ʔeké*	*héjki*	*ʔekíʔti*	*héken*	*ʔekéʔten*
2f	*hef*	*ʔeʃí*				
3m	*hej*	*ʔeʃé*	*héjʰi*	*ʔeʃíʔjʰi*	*héhen*	*ʔeʃéʔjʰen*
3f	*hes*	*ʔesé*			*hésen*	*ʔeséʔsen*

4.7.2 Adverbs

Examples of non-derived adverbs: *béne* 'very, much', *náʕa* 'now', *déħer* 'always', *ħer* 'today', *sémek* 'then'. Combinations of nouns with prepositions often appear as adverbs: *lʸe-ʕółi* 'at dawn', *men béker* 'for the first time', *be-bɛr* 'openly'.

The ending *-e* performs an adverbial function in *neɬjós-e* 'as splinters', *ɬijób-e* 'up to the sinews'. Otherwise, there is no regular way of forming quality adverbs.

5 SYNTAX

5.1 Phrasal word order

In noun phrases, independent possessive pronouns precede the modified nominal, whereas adjectives, genitive modifiers and relative clauses follow it.

díʔjho bíʃʃolʸ gen:1sg thing.pl 'my things'
ʕejjúg ħourhéten man.pl black:mpl 'black people'
tˁádaʕ di-sijjára roof gen-car 'roof of the car'
ʕag di-jeħóreb ħíggob man rel-cut.pcl:3msg palm.branches 'a man who cuts palm branches'

Simple demonstratives usually precede the modifier. Adverbial extensions of demonstratives are placed after the modified.

de míʔʃer dem.msg billy.goat 'this billy goat'
lhe ʕejjúg ʔil-bok' dem.pl man.pl pl-dist 'those men'

The preposition *men* + 3PL pronominal suffixes as a marker of indefiniteness usually precedes the modifier, but the opposite order is also attested.

méjʰen ʔílliho ʔeʔlʸhíten INDF:MPL GEN.PL:1SG cow.PL 'some cows of mine'

The prepositions, as well as the possession markers, usually directly precede the head of the noun phrase introduced by them.

díʔjho di-k'áʕar GEN:1SG ALL-house 'to my house'
mésen be-k'áʕjhɛr INDF:FPL LOC-house.PL 'in some houses'

5.2 Sentential word order and information structure

In verbal clauses, the neutral word order is VSO.

fólʸos	*ʕag*	*ʔóben*	*be-máʕval*
break.SC:3MSG	man	stone	INS-hammer

'A man broke up a stone with a hammer.' (CSOL I *8:32*)

A discourse topic can be fronted, so SVO order is sometimes attested.

va-ʕejjúg	*ʔézʕem*	*va-jefónek'*	*men*	*flo*
and-man.PL	sit.SC:3MPL	and-wait.PCL:3MPL	from	lunch

'As for the men, they sat (there) waiting for the lunch.' (CSOL I 16:29)

Left dislocations, with the dislocated constituent substituted by a pronominal element, are also a common means of topic promotion.

va-díʔse	*múgʃem*	*zenégot-ʃ*	*be-k'ajd*
and-GEN:3FSG	boy	hang.SC:3FSG-OBJ.3MSG	INS-rope

'And as for her son, she hung him up (in a piece of cloth) with a rope.' (CSOL II 25:5)

5.3 Types of predication

Soqotri distinguishes between verbal (cf. examples from the preceding section) and non-verbal clauses (with zero copula), as in the following example.

ʃégre	*ʔésˁbeʕ*	*díʔjʰe*	*di-bébɛ*
tree	finger	GEN:3MSG	GEN-father

'The tree is his father's finger.' (CSOL II 4:24)

The existential copula *ʔíno* and its negative counterpart *bíʃi* are used to form existential clauses.

ʔíno	*ħer*	*xejr*
COP	today	goodness

'There is goodness today.' (CSOL II 1:97)

bíɬi *bes* *fɛ́jde*
COP.NEG LOC:3FSG profit
'There is no profit from it.' (CSOL II *10:3*)

Predicative possession is expressed by combination of the existential copula and the preposition *kɐ-* 'with'.

ʔíno *ʃin* *k'áʕjhɛr* *men* *ʕálɛ*
COP COM:1PL house.PL from above
'We have houses above.' (CSOL II 27:23)

5.4 Definiteness

There is no definite article in Soqotri. Definiteness is usually unmarked. However, it can be expressed by demonstrative pronouns, pronominal anticipation or both.

men *báʕad* *ħa* *ʔaʕbéro* *ʕej* *dɛ́nʕa* *máʕref*
from after here pass.SC:3FSG on:3MSG DEM.MSG glass
'Then she passed him the glass.' (CSOL I 1:14)

va-ʁᶜóuvɛf *ʕes* *férhim*
and-make.feast.SC:PASS:3MSG on:3FSG girl
'And a wedding feast was made for the girl.' (CSOL II 1:102)

Indefiniteness can be expressed by the numeral 'one' for nouns in the singular, and by the combination of the preposition *men* 'from' and plural pronominal suffixes for nouns in the plural.

néhɛr *tᶜad* *ʕoujɛ́ghɛn* *báʕad-ʔalʸ* *múyreb* *lʸe-bustán*
pass.SC:3MSG ONE.M boy after evening on-grove
'One boy passed by the palm-grove in the evening.' (CSOL II *1:108*)

ʕémer *méjʰen* *ʕejjúg* *taláta*
say.SC:3MPL INDF.MPL man.PL three
'Three certain men said. . . .' (CSOL I 1:4)

5.5 Synthetic/analytic

5.5.1 Synthetic/analytic constructions in the verbal system

Aspect, imperative, subjunctive and conditional moods, as well as the passive voice, are expressed synthetically.

The suffix conjugation expresses perfective.

lʸékodk *márdof* *di-bᵉʕer*
make.saddle.SC:1SG saddle GEN-camel
'I made a camel saddle.'

With stative verbs, SC is often used to describe situations in the present:

ho *náʕa* *nékerk* *díʔjho* *ʔembórje*
1SG now miss.SC:1SG GEN:1SG child.PL
'I miss my children now.'

The long form of the prefix conjugation expresses imperfective. It is used in sentences about present and future time (cf. Simeone-Senelle 1993: 252).

jeħóreg *dor* *men* *mónke*
flow.PCL:3MSG blood from wound
'Blood is flowing from the wound.' (CSOL I *28:42*)

ho *ʔebóʕolʸ-s* *náʕa*
1SG marry.PCL:1SG-OBJ.3FSG now
'I will marry her now.' (CSOL I 26:96)

In some cases, PCL can be used as an independent verb expressing imperfective (in the example below, habitual) in the past.

kúlle *sᶜabħ* *jesᶜábaħ* *va-jegóhom*
every morning go.to.cattle.PCL:3MSG and-gather.PCL:3MSG
va-jeħólʸeb *va-jelʸóʕom* *va-lʸatᶜ*
and-milk.PCL:3MSG and-let.suckle.PCL:3MSG and-then
jetᶜaħímin
release.to.pasture.PCL:3MSG
'Every morning he would go to the goats, gather them, milk them, and let the kids suckle, and he would let (the she-goats) out.' (CSOL I 6:31)

PCL is also the neutral exponent of the imperative.

tóudof *lʸe-xetᶜám* *def* *di-gemál* *di-ʔéhɛ* *bok'*
take.PCL:2MSG on-bridle DEM.FSG GEN-camel PROX DEM
va-tenółer *ʔóʔorem*
and-walk.ahead.PCL:2MSG road
'Grasp the bridle of this she-camel and walk ahead.' (CSOL II 1:82)

A special paradigm of the imperative (§4.6.2.6) derived from the base of PCS expresses emphasized commands.

ʔɛ *bɛ́bɛ* *táʕɬeɬ* *sᶜibóħo . . .* *jɔ*
VOC father stand.up.PCL:2MSG be.morning.SC:3FSG INTERJ
ʔaʕɬéɬ *di-tɛr*
stand.up.IMP:MSG ALL-outside
'Oh father, stand up, it is morning! . . . But please stand up (and come) outside!' (CSOL II 1:74, 76)

The short form of the prefix conjugation is the exponent of the subjunctive. It marks verbs dependent on matrix verbs of wishing, giving, allowing (including the indeclinable

element *ɮˤábi* ‘let’), ability, attempt. It can also be dependent on other verbs to denote the goal.

ʕéjjek *lʸaħtón*
want.SC:1SG circumcise.PCS:PASS:1SG
‘I want to be circumcised.’ (CSOL II 8:13)

PCS is also used in subordinate clauses introduced by certain conjunctions, mostly in complementary distribution with PCL (§5.6.2.3.1; §5.6.2.3.3).

The use of non-negated PCS to mark main verbs is rare and mostly expresses uncertainty on the part of the speaker.

tˤáhɛrk *ken* *díʔjho* *ʔembórje* *ʔédaʕ* *jʰen* *lik’bélʸ*
go.SC:1SG from GEN:1SG child.PL perhaps 3MPL be.fine.PCS:3MPL
‘I went on a trip without my children. Let’s hope they’re fine with this.’ (CSOL II *6:17*)

The jussive use of PCS in prose texts of our corpus is restricted to a few fixed expressions: *lák’dɛm ʕek díjje* ‘blessings upon you’ (passim, lit. “may the good see you”), *lité ħórsˤe* ‘may he return safely’ (CSOL I *10:8*).

Negated PCS regularly expresses the prohibitive.

ʃkolʸ *deʃ* *ɬᵉk’a* *di-ħa* *va-ʔalʸ-tesˤtát*
wrap.PCL:2MSG DEM.FSG cloak PROX and-NEG-look.PCS:2MSG
ʔalʸ-tˤa *va-ʔalʸ-tˤa*
NEG-thus and-NEG-thus
‘Wrap yourself in this cloak and do not look either to this side or that.’ (CSOL I 2:36)

The conditional mood (§4.6.2.7) is employed in real and unreal conditional sentences, or main sentences with the meaning of uncertainty or wish (Kogan and Bulakh 2017: 88–104).

The passive voice is widely used. Particularly common and remarkable is the impersonal construction: the object of the corresponding active verb does not alter its object status at the passivization, and there is no agreement between it and the passive verb (cf. Bittner 1917–1918: 351, Lonnet 1998: 78–9, 1994: 248–51).

ʔíʕbɛr *ħe* *mesˤrére* *di-ʔidák’o*
pass.SC:PASS:3MSG on.1SG pole REL-be.heavy.SC:3FSG
‘A heavy carrying pole was given to me.’ (CSOL I *2:50*)

Analytic verbal constructions are few in Soqotri. They express various types of *Aktionsart* or tense. The auxiliaries are predicative elements inflected for SC, viz. *ʔérem* ‘to be’, *ber* ‘to be already’, *ʕad* ‘to remain, continue’. Here some examples of analytic constructions with these auxiliaries are adduced.

The construction *ʔérem* + PCL denotes past imperfective.

ʔéremk *fɔ̃ne* *ʔalʸ-ʔeʃħárog* *súva*
be.SC:1SG formerly NEG-read.PCL:1SG well
‘Formerly, I was unable to read well’ (CSOL II *1:127*)

The construction *ʔérem* + SC can denote pluperfect or remote past.

ʔerémen *tóʔo* *kérhe* *nekóteb* *ʕan* *díʔħan* *métalʸ* *di-sak'ɔ́tˁri*
be.SC:1PL when just write.PCL:1PL from GEN:1PL speech GEN-Soqotri
nífin *ʔílliħan* *ʔavrák'*
forget.SC:1PL GEN.PL:1PL paper.PL
'Long time ago, when we just started to write down our Soqotri speech, we left behind our papers.' (CSOL II *1:127*)

The construction *ber* + SC denotes pluperfect or present perfect (cf. Lonnet 1999: 198).

k'arére *díʔjʰ e* *lʸe-zɛm* *gédaħ* *ʕag*
tomorrow GEN:3MSG on-time come.SC:3MSG man
va-se *bíro* *tˁahéro* *diʔálʸ* *tˁad* *vustád*
and-3FSG be.already.SC:3FSG go.SC:3FSG ALL one.M wise.man
'The next day at the time appointed for him the man came, and she had earlier gone to a wise man.' (CSOL I 1:11)

The construction *ʕad* + PCL denotes continuation of action/state or future tense.

va-ʕag *ʕad* *jéroj* *mes* *ɬħaf*
and-man remain.SC:3MSG drink.PCL:3MSG from.3FSG milk
'And the man went on drinking its milk.' (CSOL II 7:33)

va-ʕak *ʔaħásˁak'* *be-sémmo*
and-remain.SC:1SG return.PCL:1SG LOC-Semmo
'I will come back to Semmo.' (CSOL II 24:12e)

All the auxiliaries mentioned previously can also be used in clauses with non-verbal predication.

Some further conjugated elements (*lʸetˁ* 'to do something afterwards', *kánaħ* 'to do something once more', etc.) are used to form analytic constructions denoting various phasal nuances (usually appearing in the same form as the main verb, preceding or following it).

teɬóʔom *tekánaħ* *tóʔo* *di-fɔ́ne*
sell.PCL:2MSG repeat.PCL:2MSG as formerly
'Sell it again as before!' (CSOL I 25:53)

5.5.2 Synthetic/analytic constructions in the nominal domain

Synthetic inflection in nouns and adjectives involves the number and gender marking (§4.5.1.1, §4.5.1.2). There is no case system. The syntactic roles are expressed by prepositions and word order. The vocative is expressed by the unchangeable particle *ʔɛ*.

Possessive relations are expressed analytically by means of the genitive marker *di-* (PL *ʔil-*): *bébɛ di-ʕougéno* father GEN-girl 'the father of the girl'.

5.5.3 Synthetic/analytic expression of pronominal possessors and objects

Competition between synthetic and analytic forms is most obvious in the introduction of pronominal possessors. The ancient system of synthetic possessive pronominal suffixes is restricted to a few nouns (a hyphen means that the word can be used *only* with pronominal suffixes): *ʔaʾħ-* 'brother', *ʔiʾħít-* 'sister', *ʔiʔif-* (or *ʔif-*) 'father', *ʔéʔɛmhɛ-* (or *ʔémhɛ-*) 'mother', *ʔébreh-* 'grand-son; nephew; son-in-law', *ħámit-* 'brother's wife; wife's sister', *ʕalʸ-* 'friend', *baʕ-* 'master, owner', *bɛr* 'son, daughter', *gad* 'body, self', *ʔélbeb* 'heart'.

Most nouns belonging to this category use the short forms of the pronominal suffixes (exemplified by *ʔélbeb* 'heart' in Table 12.29).

With other nouns, pronominal possessors are expressed by independent possessive pronouns, formed by the genitive marker *di-* + independent personal pronoun: *díʔjho bébɛ* GEN:1SG father 'my father'.

For some types of inalienable possession (body parts, parts of plants and other objects, characteristics, etc.) pronominal possessors are introduced by the preposition *men* 'from' whenever the subject of the clause is not co-referential with the possessor.

ʕámok	*hej*	*kéfed*		*mek*	*ʔélbeb*
tell.SC:1SG	DAT:3MSG	be.narrow.SC:3MSG		from:2MSG	heart
vássaʕ		*ʔéntˁen*	*díʔɛ*	*ʔélbeb*	
widen.ARABIC.IMP:2MSG		a.little	GEN:2MSG	heart	

'I told him: "Your heart is narrow (you are angry), widen a bit your heart (don't be angry)."'

Object pronouns can be directly attached to the verbal stem, but may be also introduced by means of the direct object marker *t-* (Table 12.30).

TABLE 12.29 POSSESSIVE PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES ON NOMINALS

	SG	*DU*	*PL*
1	*ʔelbéb-hen*	*ʔelbéb-ki*	*ʔelbíb-in*
2M	*ʔélbeb-k*	*ʔelbéb-ki*	*ʔelbéb-ken*
2F	*ʔélbeb-ʃ*		
3M	*ʔélbeb-ʃ*	*ʔelbéb-jʰi*	*ʔelbéb-jʰen*
3F	*ʔélbeb-s*		*ʔelbéb-sen*

TABLE 12.30 INFLECTION OF THE DIRECT OBJECT MARKER

	SG	*DU*	*PL*
1	*tho*	*tójki*	*tan*
2M	*tok*	*tójki*	*tó(j)ken*
2F	*toʃ*		
3M	*toj* (*toʃ*)	*tójʰi*	*tójʰen*
3F	*tos*		*tósen*

The synthetic and analytic forms of object pronouns coexist within the same paradigm. The 1SG and 1PL object pronouns are always introduced analytically in modern Soqotri.

k'álʸaʕ *tho* *ʕag* *be-ʔóben* *va-hémen* *toʔóte*
throw.SC:3MSG OBJ:1SG man INS-stone and-almost hit.PCL:3FSG
tho *di-ri*
OBJ:1SG ALL-head
'A man hurled a stone at me, and it almost hit my head.' (CSOL II *30:18*)

For other pronominal suffixes, the distribution of synthetic and analytic attachment depends on the structure of the verbal base: with 2nd person and 1SG and 1DU of SC, analytic forms of object pronouns are used, whereas elsewhere pronominal suffixes are preferred.

ʕek'álʸ-ef put.SC:3MSG-OBJ.3MSG 'he put it'
jenádak'-ʃ give.PCL:3MSG-OBJ.3MSG 'he gives it'

but

lʸoʔófk toj take.without.permission.SC:2MSG OBJ:3MSG 'you (MSG) took it without permission'
ʕek'álʸken toj put.SC:2PL OBJ:3MSG 'you (P) put it'

Synthetically attached object pronouns can be optionally replaced with analytic constructions: *lindák' toj ʔénhi* give.PCS:3MSG OBJ:3MSG DAT:1SG or *lindák'-ʃ ʔénhi* give.PCS:3MSG-OBJ.3MSG DAT:1SG 'let him give it to me'.

5.6 Coordination and subordination

5.6.1 Coordination

Coordinated constituents and clauses are linked by the conjunction *va-* 'and'.

neħólʸeb *ɬhaf* *va-lʸatˁ* *jóusod* *be-ɬijátˁ*
milk.PCL:1PL milk and-then put.on.fire.PCL:PASS:3MSG LOC-fire
ʕaf *laʕfɛ̌ɬ*
until boil.PCS:3MSG
'We milk the milk, then it is put on the fire until it boils.' (CSOL II 2:1)

The constrasting conjunction is *likán* (borrowed from Arabic):

ʕégeb *ʕoujéghɛn* *mɛl* *di-ʕággi* *va-likán* *rénhem*
want.SC:3MSG boy money GEN-man:DU and-but sea
hégo
be.stormy.SC:3FSG
'The boy wanted the money of the two men, but the sea was stormy.' (CSOL I 16:5)

The alternative conjunctions *ʕam* and *válla* can likewise coordinate two phrase constituents or two clauses. Less frequently used are the alternative conjunctions *ʔav* and *ʔémme* (both borrowed from Arabic).

ʔɛ́daʕ *ho* *lʸósi* *va-lʸetréf* *ʕam* *ho*
perhaps 1SG desire.special.food.PCS:1SG and-recover.PCS:1SG or 1SG
bɛ *lʸegʕár* *va-lʸósˁim*
not be.ill.PCS:1SG and-die.PCS:1SG
'Perhaps I am showing signs of pregnancy and will be cured, or maybe I am ill and will die.' (CSOL II 6:17)

va-ʔalʸ-taʕjʰɛ́fen *kenʃ* *válla* *ʔelʸátaʕ-ʃ*
and-NEG-be.lost.PCS:3FPL from:2FSG or kill.PCL:1SG-OBJ.2FSG
'And may none get away from you, or I'll kill you!' (CSOL II 6:12)

Asyndetic coordination is likewise widespread.

tˁahéro *takʼitˁót-ʃi* *ʕeméro* *díʔti*
go.SC:3FSG wake.up.SC:3FSG-OBJ.3DU say.SC:3FSG GEN:2DU
bɛ́bɛ *sˁáme*
father die.SC:3MSG
'She went, she woke them up, she said: "Your father has died".' (CSOL I 17:12)

5.6.2 Subordination

Subordination can be asyndetic or can involve subordinate conjunctions or the relative marker *di-*.

5.6.2.1 Asyndetic subordination

Asyndetic subordination involves complement clauses, indirect questions and goal clauses.

ħérek *lʸeʃɛ́rkʼaħ* *łégre* *di-sˁáʕanhin*
try.SC:1SG go.up.PCS:1SG slope upwards
'I tried to climb up the slope.' (CSOL I *8:27*)

ʔébdodk *sˁétˁaʕk*
feel.SC:1SG be.hungry.SC:1SG
'I felt that I was hungry.' (CSOL I *18:42*)

Asyndetic goal clauses usually employ verbs in PCS, but with some verbs of motion, PCL is consistently used to indicate goal.

tˁáhɛr *tˁad* *méjʰi* *jeħódem* *lʸe-nhɔf-ʃ*
go.SC:3MSG one.M from:3DU work.PCL:3MSG on-himself-3MSG
'One of them went to work for himself.' (CSOL I 6:2)

5.6.2.2 Relative clauses

The relative marker *di-* (PL *ʔil-*) is used to introduce relative clauses. The plural agreement of the relative marker is optional. If the head of the relative clause is co-referential with the subject of the relative clause, the verb agrees with it in person, number and gender.

ħérek *men* *ʔóʔoz* *di-gedéro*
look.for.SC:1SG from goat REL-be.lost.SC:3FSG
'I looked for a goat which was lost.' (CSOL II *1:78*)

A relative clause can be preceded by a demonstrative pronoun.

gemɔ́hɔlʸ *lhe* *ʔil-ʕad*
camel.PL DEM.PL REL.PL-remain.SC:3FPL
'The remaining camels.' (CSOL II 1:83)

If the head of the relative clause is not co-referential with the subject of the relative clause, its syntactic role is indicated by a copying pronoun, which agrees with the co-referent constituent of the main clause in person, number and gender.

témhɛr *ʔil-zeʕé-sen* *ʕag*
palm.tree.PL REL.PL-take.SC:3MSG-OBJ.3FPL man
'Palms which the man had taken.' (CSOL I 27:17)

5.6.2.3 Clauses introduced by subordinating conjunctions

5.6.2.3.1 Temporal clauses

The principal temporal conjunctions are *báʕad-ʔalʸ* (*men báʕad-ʔalʸ*) 'after', *balʸ* (*bɛ*) 'before', *lʸalʸ* 'when', *menálʸ* (*malʸ*) 'while; after', *tóʔo* 'when', *ʕaf* 'until', *ʕᵃtˤaf* (*va-ʕᵃtˤaf*) id. The choice of the verbal form in the subordinate clause may depend on the syntactic properties of the conjunction, but also on the relative time of the action and the form of the head verb. Here are some examples of temporal clauses.

báʕad-ʔalʸ *ʕeméro* *ʕáʒe* *dénʕa* *lʸetóʕo-s* *ʕággi*
after say.SC:3FSG woman DEM.MSG kill.SC:3MDU-OBJ.3FSG man:DU
'After the woman said this, the two men killed her.' (CSOL I 4:11)

ʃféto *balʸ* *linkéʕ* *lhɛg*
hurry.SC:3FSG before come.PCS:3MPL other.PL
'She was in a hurry (to finish) before the others came.' (CSOL I 7:4)

mébrehe *lʸalʸ* *jebóde* *jeħobíʔin* *jedáħdaħ*
child when begin.PCL:3MSG crawl.PCL:3MSG tumble.PCL:3MSG
'When a small child starts to crawl, he tumbles over.' (CSOL II *2:6*)

tóʔo *sˤálik* *ʔal-ʕásˤar* *bøk'alʸk* *ker* *gáħi*
when pray.SC:1SG afternoon.prayer go.up.SC:1SG along wadi
'After I prayed in the afternoon, I went up the wadi.' (CSOL I *17:25*)

tóʔo *jóʕod* *fótker* *mɔn* *liʃ̌ənħar*
when walk.PCL:3MSG think.SC:3MSG who complain.PCS:3MSG
'As he walked, he thought to whom he could appeal.' (CSOL I 27:12)

tóʔo *litˁhóm* *de* *jebáddel*
when wear.out.PCS:3MSG DEM.MSG replace.ARABIC.PCL:3MSG
gad *nhɔf-ʃ*
hide himself-3MSG
'Whenever one (hide) wore out, he replaced it with (another) hide for himself.' (CSOL II 1:5)

ʔék'łaʕk *ʔílliho* *fik'héten* *lʸe-raħ* *ʕaf* *jegéłob*
put.SC:1SG GEN.PL:1SG dress:PL on-wind until evaporate.PCL:3MSG
méjʰen *rího*
from:3MPL water
'I put my clothes out to dry in the wind until the water evaporated from them.' (CSOL II *3:2*)

5.6.2.3.2 Causal clauses

Causal clauses are mostly introduced by conjunctions *ber*, *tóʔo* (also *men tóʔo*), as well as the Arabic borrowings *liʔénne* and *meséb*.[11]

díʔɛ *sijjára* *ʔalʸ-teʃrák'aħ* *lʸe-ħa* *lʸe-deʃ* *ʔóʔorem*
GEN:2MSG car NEG-go.up.PCL:3FSG there on-DEM.FSG road
ber *ʕíɮˁo*
because be.strong.SC:3FSG
'Your car won't make it up there, on that road, because it's tough.' (CSOL II *1:92*)

béʃe *men tóʔo* *ʔalʸ-ʕegébo* *hej*
weep.SC:3FSG because NEG-want.SC:3FSG DAT:3MSG
'She wept because she did not like him.' (CSOL II 1:104)

5.6.2.3.3 Goal clauses

Goal clauses are typically introduced by the conjunction *kor* (*kéjhor*). The subordinate verb is marked for PCL if non-negated, and for PCS if negated.

va-lʸatˁ *k'álʸk'olʸk* *tos* *kor* *jetˁóhor* *mes* *dijáʕ*
and-then swish.SC:1SG OBJ:3FSG GOAL go.PCL:3MSG from:3FSG bad:SG
'And then I swished it around so that the dirt would wash out from it.' (CSOL II *2:8*)

va-lʸóujo *bej* *ʕággi* *kor* *ʔalʸ-liłtˁár*
and-seize.SC:3MDU LOC:3MSG man:DU GOAL NEG-cut.PCS:3MSG
nhɔf-ʃ *k'ar*
himself-3MSG throat
'The two men grabbed him to stop him from cutting his own throat.' (CSOL I 12:14)

5.6.2.3.4 Complement clauses

Complement clauses used with verbs of speech or knowledge are usually introduced by the conjunctions *ber* or *ʔénne* (the former is autochthonous, the latter is an old borrowing from Arabic).

bíto	*ber*	*tegodíħin*	*ʕáʒe*
understand.SC:3FSG	COMP	come.PCL:3FSG	woman

‘She realized that the woman was coming.’ (CSOL II 25:9)

ʕérob	*ʔénne*	*díʔʲʰe*	*ʕáʒe*	*tełorífin*	*kidbát*
know.SC:3MSG	COMP	GEN:3MSG	woman	calumniate.PCL:3FSG	falsehoods

‘He learned that his wife had been making false accusations.’ (CSOL II 6:23)

The complex object construction, with the semantic subject of the complement clause filling the syntactic slot of the object of the main clause, is a widespread means of introducing complement clauses.

betk	*toj*	*ber*	*ħter*
understand.SC:1SG	OBJ:3MSG	COMP	be.angry.SC:3MSG

‘I understood that he was angry.’ (CSOL II *6:3*)

Asyndetic attachment of complement clauses is also known (§5.6.2.1).

5.6.2.4 Conditional clauses

The protasis of real conditional sentences is introduced by the conjunctions *ke* ‘if’ (negative *kalʸ* ‘if not’), *karámme*, or *kéllama*. The verb in the protasis is marked for SC.

ke	*ʕéjjek*	*terέ*	*tek’ádef*	*va-lʸatᶜ*	*téroj*
if	want.SC:2MSG	drink.PCS:2MSG	stir.PCL:2MSG	and-then	drink.PCL:2MSG

‘If you want to drink (it), stir (it) a bit and then drink.’ (CSOL II 2:24)

karámme	*ʔedéfo*	*ħe*	*be-ri*	*ħa*	*tᶜar*
if	take.SC:3FSG	on.1SG	LOC-head	here	catch.PCL:3FSG

‘If she seizes me by the head, she will catch (me).’ (CSOL I 18:22)

kalʸ	*ʃébne*	*góuʔor*	*fáħre*
if.NEG	be.built.SC:3MSG	destroy.PCL:PASS:3MSG	all

‘If it is not built well, it will be destroyed entirely.’

The protasis of unreal conditional sentences is introduced by the conjunctions *lʸe-*, *lʸe-ʕam*, *lʸébin*, *lʸémin*. The verb in the protasis is usually marked for SC. In the apodosis, the verb is marked for conditional or PCL (cf. further Kogan and Bulakh 2017: 101–4).

lʸébin	*ʃémtelʸ*	*tho*	*lʸaʕbírin*	*ʕej*	*sijjára*
if	talk.SC:3MSG	OBJ:1SG	pass.COND:1SG	on:3MSG	car

‘If he had talked to me, I would have given him the car.’ (CSOL I *6:45*)

lʸémin *fáṯhaʃ* *ʔeʃór-ʃ* *fegrémo* *di-ʔif-ʃ*
if fall.SC:3MSG let.follow.PCL:1SG-OBJ.2FSG skull GEN-father-POSS.2FSG
'If he had fallen, I would have made you follow the skull of your father.' (CSOL II 30:23)

5.7 Negation

In the speech of our informants, the negative marker *ʔalʸ* is used in narrative and prohibitive contexts, as well as in the non-verbal clauses.

ʔalʸ-ɬínin *díʔɛ* *bᵉʕer*
NEG-see.SC:1PL GEN:2MSG camel
'We haven't seen your camel.' (CSOL I 17:35)

ʔalʸ-tetˁhír *kénhi*
NEG-go.PCS:2FSG from:1SG
'Don't go from me!' (CSOL II 1:14)

ʔalʸ-ʃker *kalʸ* *ʔetʕáddal* *hes* *díʔse* *ħamól*
NEG-good if.NEG be.balanced.ARABIC.SC:3MSG DAT:3FSG GEN:3FSG load
'It is not good if its (the car's) load is not balanced.' (CSOL II *13:12*)

6 LEXICON

The core vocabulary of Soqotri can be conventionally classified into the following diachronic strata.

- Vocabulary directly inherited from Proto-Semitic. As elsewhere in MSA, the number of such retentions is comparatively low: *tˁífɛr* 'nail' < **θ'ipr-*, *ʔídhɛn* 'ear' < **ʔuðn-*, *ʕajn* 'eye' < **ʕajn-*.
- Lexemes shared with the continental MSA, often isolated within Semitic: *ħáher* 'black', *dor* 'blood', *ʔe-nħe* 'to burn'.
- Exclusive isoglosses between Soqotri and Jibbali: *géhɛ* 'breast', *ʃéʔef* 'to lie down', *ɬerího* 'root', *gáʕalʸhalʸ* 'round'.
- Specifically Soqotri lexemes, many of them etymogically obscure: *ʕók'ar* '(to be) big', *ɣˁáʕab* 'to bite', *sˁóhlʸo* 'bone', *gédaħ* 'to come', *sˁáme* 'to die', *ʃker* '(to be) good', *ʔé-zʕem* 'to sit', *déme* 'to sleep'.

Arabic loan words are notoriously few in the core vocabulary of the Soqotri language, in sharp contrast with the continental MSA. Thus, there is only one proven Arabism in the Swadesh list (*gedíd* 'new'). More Arabisms are found in the non-basic vocabulary. Both nouns and verbs can be borrowed, and the degree of integration into the Soqotri morphological system is usually very high: *ʕélʸatˁ* (*jeʕálʸotˁ*/*liʕlʸátˁ*) 'to err' < Arb. *ɣltˁ*, *ħédom* (*jeħódem*/*laħdém*) 'to work' < Arb. *xdm*, *ktob* (*jekóteb*/*liktéb*) 'to write' < Arb. *ktb*, *ʔírhɛz* 'rice' < Arb. *ʔaruzz-*, *bᵉʕer* (DU *bᵉʕíri*, PL *ʔébʕar*) 'male camel' < Arb. *baʕīr-*. Recent non-adapted loans are characterized by preservation of Arabic morphology (Naumkin et al. 2014: 532–3).[12]

Reliable examples of borrowings from other languages (except for the most recent Anglicisms) are very rare in Soqotri. A curious example is *gírbag* ‘cat’, going back to Middle Persian *gurbak* (Bittner 1913: 31).[13]

7 SAMPLE TEXT

genníje *di-mesémir*
jinni.woman GEN-nail.PL
‘A Jinni Woman with Nails.’ (CSOL II Text 18)

1 *genníje* *mes* *ʃɛm* *di-mesémir*
jinni.woman from:3FSG name GEN-nail.PL
‘There is a jinni woman whose name is “The One with Nails.”’

2 *mes* *kɛn* *kɛn* *di-ʕáʒe* *ʕaf* *lʸalʸ* *k’ádom*
from:3FSG appearance appearance GEN-woman until when see.PCL:2MSG

ʕes *ʔɛ* *tʃóbeʔ-s* *ʕáʒe*
on:3FSG 2MSG believe.PCL:2MSG-OBJ.3FSG woman
‘Her appearance is the appearance of a woman, and when you see her, you take her for a woman.’

3 *bɛss* *ʕaf* *lʸalʸ* *tʃoʔóki-s* *va-tésˁtet*
only until when approach.PCL:2MSG-OBJ.3FSG and-look.PCL:2MSG

mes *ɬérʕħon* *ʕaf* *lʸalʸ* *k’ádom* *ʕes* *mes*
from:3FSG foot.PL until when see.PCL:2MSG on:3FSG from:3FSG

lʸe-ɬérʕħon *k’ádom* *mes* *lʸe-ɬɔb* *tóʔo* *ʕeméro*
on-foot.PL see.PCL:2MSG from:3FSG on-foot as make.SC:3FSG

tˁa *tóʔo* *mésmar*
like.this like nail
‘But when you draw near her and look at her feet, until you see her, (and) her feet, you see that her foot became like this, like a nail.’

4 *tefóred* *ʔéhɛn* *tóʔo* *tfˁrɛd* *taħtéren*
flee.PCL:2MSG 2MSG when flee.PCS:2MSG be.angry.PCL:3FSG
‘You start to flee from her, but when you flee, she angers.’

5 *va-tóʔo* *taħtór* *se* *tenóʕoɬ* *díʔse*
and-when be.angry.PCS:3FSG 3FSG pull.out.PCL:3FSG GEN:3FSG

ɬɔb *se* *va-ʔéhɛn* *tefóred*
foot 3FSG and-2MSG flee.PCL:2MSG
‘And when she gets angry, she pulls out her foot – while you are still fleeing.’

6 *tfᵉrer* *men* *ħa* *tfᵉrer* *men* *ħa* *ʕaf*
jump.PCL:3FSG from here jump.PCL:3FSG from here until

lʸábraħ *ʔitᶜók'*
land.PCS:3FSG there
'She leaps from here, she leaps from here and lands there (where you have just been).'

7 *bok'* *menálʸ* *lʸábraħ* *ʔɛ* *tekóse* *de*
there where land.PCS:2MSG 2MSG find.PCL:3FSG DEM.MSG

ħalʸf *lʸatᶜ* *se* *de* *ħalʸf* *di-bek* *ʔɛ*
place follow.PCL:3FSG 3FSG DEM.MSG place REL-be.already.SC:2MSG 2MSG

férodk *mej*
flee.SC:2MSG from:3MSG
'Wherever you've landed, she then finds that place, she follows (you) and comes to the place whence you've fled.'

8 *tekánaħ* *tefóred* *tfᵉrer* *se* *men* *ħa*
repeat.PCL:2MSG flee.PCL:2MSG jump.PCL:3FSG 3FSG from here

va-báraħ *de* *be-ħalʸf* *díʔɛ* *va-ʔɛ*
and-land.PCL:3FSG DEM.MSG LOC-place GEN:2MSG and-2MSG

bek *ʔɛ* *nóhork* *tᶜok'*
be.already.SC:2MSG 2MSG pass.by.SC:2MSG there

va-se *tek'obílʒᶜin*
and-3FSG be.active.PCL:3FSG
'You start to flee again, and she leaps from there and lands in the place where you are – and you have already gone further. Now, she moves quickly.'

9 *kéllama* *ʒᶜóʕot-k* *kob-k* *ʔarʒᶜ*
if seize.SC:3FSG-OBJ.2MSG let.enter.PCL:3FSG-OBJ.2MSG earth
'If she seizes you, she makes you enter the earth.'

NOTES

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2 Cf. Simeone-Senelle (1998: 310, 1997a: 379) and Lonnet and Simeone-Senelle (1997: 344).
3 M.-C. Simeone-Senelle has often referred to Soqotri's dialectal subdivision (1998: 310, 1997b: 809, 2002a: 389–90, 2011: 1076, 2003), but hardly ever adduced any particular dialectal feature. The only systematic description of a Soqotri dialect remains

Ewald Wagner's (1954) description of the ʕAbd al-Kūrī variety, entirely based on the only published text in this idiom (Müller 1902: 92–111).

4 According to Lonnet and Simeone-Senelle (1997: 367), an affricate [ʔħ].

5 In the present description, it is provisionally kept apart from the biphonemic combination *jh*: the symbol *jʰ* is used only when alternation with *h*/*j*/*ʃ* is attested.

6 But note such exceptions as *jʰi*(*hin*) 'they (DU)', the 3DU object pronoun *-jʰi*, *ħójʰi* 'earth', *nojʰíri* 'two birds'.

7 In the present contribution, the phonemic transcription distinguishes between *ɛ* and *a*, whereas morphonemic/morphological transcription employs *ɛ* only.

8 The laryngeals *ʔ* and *h*, not included in the group of consonants causing syncope of *e*, are to be analyzed as unmarked for the value of voice.

9 In the framework of the present description, *-e* and *-ɛ* are provisionally treated as two variants of a single allomorph of the feminine morpheme insofar as no distribution between the two could be established.

10 Encoded with the figures from the earlier introductory paragraph.

11 Presumably, a peculiar development from **min sabab* 'for the reason'.

12 Throughout the present chapter, such forms are tagged as ARABIC in the glossing.

13 Most of the remaining Iranisms listed in Bittner (1913: 32–6) are either indirect (via Arabic) or unreliable.

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