

Soqotri Lexical Archive: the 2013 Fieldwork Season

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With a certain delay due the – dramatically ongoing – political and social instability in Yemen, the present authors resume the publication of the results of their long-term lexicographic project dealing with previously unknown or unrecognized lexemes of the Modern South Arabian language Soqotri (island of Soqatra, Gulf of Aden, Yemen)¹.

181. *éghon* (du. *əgáni*, pl. *égnihin*) ‘stone wall, fence’

سورٌ حجري أَجْهَن

► *ékdomk ʔallʔahe di-tirido mən hághər hərə liʔegáməs ʔə-ker ʕároyb wa-ʔə-ker égnihin wa-ʔékdomk ʔə-ʔallʔahe tóʔo toʕobizín ʔə-ʕároyb ʕaf tšarákaḥ id-ber wa-nəgəfo wa-ʔal-lōwə bəs* ‘I saw a cow which was driven down from Hagher. They were trying to drive it into walls and **stone fences**, but I saw how the cow was jumping over the walls and finally found itself in an open place. So it fled and they did not catch it’, *gədəḥ módər² mən hághər wa-zégod égnihin di-ʕífer ʕan riho a-l-likéb diʔal kárye* ‘There came flows of water from Hagher and took away **stone barriers** once built in two rows to prevent water from entering the village’, *gədəḥ tan éʔefo mən rənḥəm wa-ʕed še diʔyho bə-siyára tóʔo əráḥan bə-ʕamḵ di-ḥádəb ʕémər tod miṭa bəñowə lʔhe égnihin di-dələḵ ʔə-ker ḥádəb ʕámok bíši di-ʕérob miṭa bəñowə* ‘A few people from abroad came to visit us and travelled with me in my car. Midway along, they asked me: “Make a stop! When were these many **stone walls** which are all over the area built?” I told: “Nobody knows when they were build”, *šin éʔefo bə-sakótri yəʕómər égnihin ʕan il-yhən məkélə³ wa-ʕan il-yhən tímher wa-basátin kor yətəkəf wa-ʔal-ləzzályhən riho wa-lákən égnihin lʔhe di-nəfəʕəyḥən éʔefo fíne bə-ʕəyḥon ḥalḥétən šker wa-yóuṭər a-l-tóʔo lʔhe il-ʕóumər náʕa* ‘In our land, in Soqotra, people make **stone fences** around their houses and their palm gardens to make them well-done and to prevent them from being destroyed by water. As for the **fences** which were made by people in by-gone years, they are good and strong, better than those which are being made now’.

◊ Comes close to **gnʔ* ‘to build a wall, to fence, to shelter’, best attested in Sab. *gnʔ* ‘wall of a town’ (SD 50), Jib. *gúneʔ* ‘sheltered, warm place’ (JL 77). See further DRS 147–149 for an eventual connection with **gnn* with similar meanings.

182. *šédfaʕ* (*yəšdáfaʕ/líšádfaʕ*) ‘to stumble’

اصطم شذفع

► *šédfaʕk tóʔo šáʕik ʕaf yəʔóhor ménhi tifer di-šəb* ‘**I stumbled** while running so that one of the nails on my foot went off’, *tərədo tho gənniyye bə-ʕamḵ di-ḥte wa-férodḵ wa-tar ménhi ḥes mən fʔaʕ wa-tóʔo érahḵ káʕar ksek diʔyho éšbəʕ tábširir⁴ bə-dor mən tóʔo šédfaʕk bəs wa-s³ke ke šḥ^aboḵ boḵ mənál šédfaʕk bəs ʕaf aʔarah káʕar* ‘A ginni woman pursued me in the middle of the night and while I was fleeing from her, my mind flew away from fear. When I came back home, I found one of my fingers bleeding profusely because **I stumbled** with it, but I have hardly noticed it there where **I stumbled**, before I reached the house’, *gədəḥ tan ʔad ʕag ʔəy šəm wa-ʕámok e-ʕouyḡghon yəʔórəd hin óʔoz firéde⁵ mən di-təbálḥən wa-ho əkádom⁶ ḥəyḥən bə-ʔad*

¹ For the principles, goals and methods of the project, as well as its previously published results, the reader is referred to the team’s earlier articles in this journal (NAUMKIN et al. 2013, 2015, 2016).

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² *módər* ‘a strong flow of water’ (cf. *mérod*, apparently with the same meaning, in MÜLLER 1902:178₁₃).

³ *mókl’i* (du. *mokliʔi*, pl. *məkélə*) ‘house’.

⁴ *əbširir* (*yəbširir/libširir*) ‘to bleed’ (= نَزَف).

⁵ m. sg. *férəd*, du. *fərədi*, pl. *féryəd*, sg. f. sg. *firéde*, du. *firiditi*, pl. *firḥədətən* ‘prone to fleeing’.

⁶ *kédəm* (*yəkádom/líkdom*) ‘to lie in wait, in ambush’ (= صَد).

ħalf řémār énhī řa-təkdóm éhen al-təgósər řámok l'a əkádóm wa-tóʔo kédəmk gədóħo óʔoz wa-k^ololk ħəs tóʔo ħémən əgámahs řédřafsk bə-řəndəħər⁷ di-řəb wa-geħézo tho óʔoz wa-łat zářan řans ħižáre di-mən kářar ‘A man came to visit us one day, and I said to my sons to drive in for us a feral goat from the place such-and-such, while I would wait for them in an ambush in a certain place. They said: “Do not wait. You will not be able (to catch it)!” But I said: “No, I will wait”. While I was in ambush, the goat came, and I threw a piece of cloth at its face. When I almost caught the goat, **I stumbled** with my foot over a piece of dead wood and the goat escaped from me. In the end we had to take a tame one, from the household, instead of it’.

⇒ Cf. JL 34 where the Soqotri verb is translated as ‘to cut one’s foot’ (as one can deduce from the examples above, this is indeed a common offshoot of the more general meaning ‘to stumble’). As rightly observed by JOHNSTONE, formally comparable verbs in the continental MSA have quite a different meaning, viz. ‘to take a bribe’: Mhr. řədfə (ML 64), Jib. řədfář (JL 34).

◇ Undoubtedly related to Arb. *df* ‘to push, to thrust’ (LANE 890), Gez. *dařfa* ‘to thrust, to push’ (CDG 124). Especially noteworthy is Tna. *dářřəře* ‘to shatter, to smash, to crush one’s head with a stick’ (TED 2176). See further DRS 299–300.

183. dáħam (*yədóħom/lidħám*) ‘to be thin’

نخف دأحم

► *tégork b^ořer wa-yhe řam ətógərř dáħam wa-řal-řétbə zářayk toy diřyho di-ħalf wa-déħer ənomiřəň mən řkře wa-řářad řaf řəy řəm dékof tho* ‘I bought a camel. At the time I bought it, **it was emaciated** and not in good conditions. I took it home and began to pamper it with řkře and ziziphus branches all the time. But one day it kicked me’, *éřəfo řə-ħa bə-di-řəřħəř řétəm béne wa-yařágəb lébin déħəm wa-řin řakħ di-řéřəfo yařágəb l'ařřém* ‘There, in far-off lands, people are very fat and want **to become thin**. And in our land there are some who want to become fat’, *řəyyək řəbřól řáře di-řiřámo řan dəř di-dəħámo* ‘I prefer to marry a plump woman rather than a **thin one**’.

◇ Cf. Mhr. *ħədháwm* ‘to have flatulence, bad breath’ (ML 77), Jib. *edħim* ‘to have bad breath and flatulence’ (JL 43), with a feasible shift of meaning.

184. dərəř (*yədárař/lidrář*) ‘to fail to reach the mark (in jumping)’

فشل في لعبة القفز على العود

► *éřəfo řəne řal tékən řayéře yənəħəř mařólħim⁸ wa-di-řal-nóħor diřyhe řə-darř yəřúmor ħəy dərəř wa-yəřřərəř řiř di-yařářon məy* ‘In former times when there was a wedding-feast people were competing in jumping and the one who could not reach **the mark**, one said about him **dərəř**, and those who loved him felt ashamed for him’, *řag di-yədárař řal yəřářəm əħřan ħəy řə-řam yhe al-kéřom bə-řamř di-řéřəfo* ‘A man who **cannot reach the mark** while jumping, it would be better for him not to jump at all among people, *řal yəřářəm éřəfo bə-řayéře řə-darř yəbówétən⁹ də di-yənáħar řə-darř wa-də di-yədárař* ‘When people are going to jump trying to reach **the mark** during a wedding feast, it is known (approximately) who can jump beyond **the mark** and who **cannot reach** it’.

◇ An interesting match is Yemenite Arabic *darař* = *řaq-řayyiqu řidda l-ittisāři* ‘narrow, impossible to broaden’ (AL-IRYANI 396). In the classical language, cf. perhaps *nābun darřāřu* = *takassarat řasnānuħā kibaran wa-ħaraman* ‘the teeth have got broken because of the very old age’ (TA 17 578).

⁷ řəndəħər (du. řəndiri, pl. řəndəħor) ‘a piece of wood, timber’ (= قطعة من الخشب).

⁸ mařólħimo (du. mařólħimóti, pl. mařólħim) ‘jump’ (= قفز).

⁹ bówat (*yəbówétən/libót*), passive from *bet* (*yəbétən/libét*) ‘to understand, to realize’ (= فهم).

185. *géroš* (*yəgórəš/ligrés*) ‘to pull, to drag’

سحب جازيس

► *śinik girbag di-gəšófo řifəf wa-gərəšotš wa-kóbotš řegf* ‘I saw a cat which tore a goat kid, **dragged it** along and brought it into a small cave’, *śámə bə-défe di-kářyáher řářher wa-śámok e-řouyághon kor yəgórəšəy mən défe di-kářyáher id-šəřhək řan řénhom* ‘A bull died near the village and I asked my sons **to drag it** aside from the village, to a remote place, to avoid the smell of putrefaction’, *éřdomk nómhol*¹⁰ *di-yəgórəš śkimo di-řírhez* ‘I saw some ants **drag** a grain of rice’.

⇒ Missing from the main body of LS, but found in the Addendum (p. 497), with reference to MÜLLER 1905:199, fn. 3, where the passive jussive *ligrós* is adduced as a variant to *lišhób* in the main text. Cf. also NAKANO 1986:83.

◊ Same in Mhr. *gəroš* ‘to drag, to pull, to push’ (ML 125), Jib. *gəroš* ‘to drag into’ (JL 79). Further possible cognates, going back to PS **grš* (and, perhaps, **grš*) are studied in KOGAN 2015:290.

186. *hanšəko* (du. *hanšəkóti*, pl. *hanšək*) ‘Adam’s apple, throat’ عَقْدَةُ الْحَنْجَرَةِ حَنْضَأْفُو

► *śinik řag mařtəfo*¹¹ *məy egido řal yəřátar ař-yəřátar kař řok di-hanšəko kor yišam di-máħle* ‘I saw a man whose way of aiming (while shooting) was mean: whenever he would shoot, he would always shoot to one’s **Adam’s apple** so that (the victim) would die immediately’, *diřyho múgřam ářbork řəy řánžəher di-řéləf wa-śámok řəy řh^azəz řánhi dəř óřoz řómor ař-kalk řámok řəy řəmo*¹² *řek hanšəko di-řóřoz řábə řank* ‘I gave a sharp knife to my son and said to him: “Slaughter for me this goat”. He said: “I cannot”. I said: “Is a goat’s **throat** too difficult for you?”. Give it to me, I will do it instead of you”, *śini řag b^eřer di-řizez wa-tóřo óřtə řáher wa-řet məy hanšəko řómor də řag di-řez řa mářtəf wa-řal-řalát řəy nabí* ‘A man saw a camel being slaughtered. When it was finished, he went to see its **throat**. Then he said: “That man who slaughtered here was mean. May the Prophet’s prayer not be upon him”¹³’.

⇒ SIMEONE-SENELLE-LONNET 1991:1459, 1992:95.

◊ Tentative identification with *hangégo* ‘hole’ by SIMEONE-SENELLE and LONNET is not possible as the latter is a fully independent lexeme coexisting with *hanšəko* in the speech of our informants. The comparative Semitic perspective outlined in SED I No. 15 is not persuasive. Conversely, rather likely is an ultimate relationship with PS **ħnk* ‘to choke’ (DRS 1008), cf. Yemeni Arabic *maħnag* ‘Kehle’ (BEHNSTEDT 347).

187. *ħatéřak* (*yaħtéřok/laħtéřak*) ‘to choke with rage’

غضب حَتَارِق

► *gədəħk řəy řéno diřál řad məsřul di-gámařa kor yəkóř tho řómor éňhi řa ař-tořókəř wa-řal-tədrus řin yállə tóřod řéřək řəřřós řəf əřázah ař-tómiř wa-yhe di-gədəħ mən əmbórye yəkóřš kor yədrus wa-ho řřtət ř^ařaf ħtéřkik wa-řáherk wa-řóřoš diřál řad diřyho řáħəř məsřul řómor éňhi tóuřəf əřmétoř ho řək řarére wa-řémřəl éňhi řəf óřókəř* ‘One year I came to a university official to ask him to enroll me, but he said: “No, you won’t enter the university and won’t study with us. Go away from here!” I tried to persuade him until I got tired, but he didn’t agree, while he was admitting other guys who came, and I saw this. In the end **I got angry** and went to an official who was a friend of mine. He said: “Keep silent! I will talk to him tomorrow”. And he talked to him on my behalf until I entered (the university)’, *řáherki ho wa-diřyho řáħbiyye*

¹⁰ *nímhil* (du. *nimíři*, pl. *nómhol*) ‘smaller ants’ (WRANIK 2003:512, NAKANO 1986:118).

¹¹ *mářtəf* (f. *mařtəfo*) ‘mean, evil, damaging’, *ářtəf* (*yařtəřən/lařtəř*) ‘to harm, to damage’ (= أضر).

¹² *řem* (*yəřám/lařam*) ‘to be too difficult, impossible for somebody’ (= أعجز). Cf. LS 71.

¹³ That is, he did not know how to do it properly and made the animal suffer.

abeʔero diʔki ʔa-ʔál'ibe di-gaʕáro ʔahérki di-mustáʕfi wa-ʕógil' ʕyki šouhar ʔa-ter ʕomor hǝyki a-
teʔekébo ʕámok hǝy eʔekébo ʕomor ʕyʕak ʔaʕtáʕ ʕaf óʔo téʕid ʕámok hǝy bə-ǝay mək ʕad kaʔ
ekóbki ʔahérki diʔál' mudír di-mustáʕfi wa-ʕomor kóbyhi ekóbki wa-yhe **haterak** 'I and a friend of
mine went to see our course mate, who was sick. We came to the hospital, but a guard met us at
the door and said: "You will not enter". I said to him: "We will!" He said: "I would like to see
how far you proceed". I said to him: "I swear by your life, we'll enter". And we went to the
director of the hospital, and he said: "Let them enter". We entered, while the guard **choked with
anger**', égaħk ʔa-šənkaha! wa-kaṁáʕ fe ʕaf əsóri di-hóyhi di-ʕamk di-ʔəlfóʔo¹⁴ wa-**htérkik** wa-
ʔédoʕk ʔa-márkaħ wa-žerk toy ʕaf əyhóda 'I climbed a donkey but it bounced under me so that I
fell to the ground, into a cow dung pellet. **I got angry** with it, seized a stick and beat it until I
calmed down a bit'.

• Also in the intensive stem *hórik* (*yəhoriqin/liháraq*) 'to vex, to irritate': *ʔad múgšəm bə-
madrása yəhoriqin tho déher aʔ-yəzósom ʕan əmbórye wa-ʔaʔ-yəkótəb diʔyhe durús* 'One boy at
school always **irritates** me: he does not let other children sit down calmly and does not write
down the lessons'. Cf. also the verbal noun *hórka* 'anger': *ékdomk múgšəm tóʔo éga éʔhəy wa-
ʔéʔhəy yəʕʕaninin¹⁵ ʕǎyš mən hórka hiš áʕyhofk həs wa-ʔédoʕk ʔa-máʕʕad¹⁶ wa-térhork¹⁷ toy bəy
wa-ʔébraħ bəy bə-géhe wa-béša wa-htéʔik ʕəy* 'I saw a boy who was beating his brother, while
his brother was trying to restrain his **anger**¹⁸. I got my spirit out, seized a laddle and hurled it
against him. The laddle hit his chest, and he started to weep. Then I took pity of him'.

◊ As rightly surmised in DRS 928, this is a semantic extension of **hrk* 'to burn', well attested for
ħrq in Classical and dialectal Arabic (LANE 551, PIAMENTA 90, AL-IRYANI 256, BEHNSTEDT
249)¹⁹. The shift of meaning is common, cf. Hbr. *ħry* (HALOT 351).

188. hármas (*yəhármos/lihárməs*) 'to rustle; to make water turbid'

خشخش حَرْمَيْس

► *gədaħk mənəl rézaħk id-kaʔ kor éroy riho fáʔhšo kénhi óʔobən wa-ʔəbróho di-kaʔ wa-**ħarməšo**
he riho wa-ʔaʔ-šérə²⁰ énh* 'When I got tired, I approached a small pool to drink some water. A
stone slipped away from beneath my foot and fell into the pool. **It made turbid** the water and it
was impossible for me to drink', *šínik ʕag diyáʕ hoz di-rédo yəhármos riho kor aʔ-lirǝy éʔlhitən*
'I saw a bad man: when people had to water their animals, **he was making turbid** the water so
that the cows could not drink it'.

• Cf. also the verbal noun *ħarmáše*: *bélokk šəb di-hóyhi kor aħábor éʔəfo wa-tóʔo éraħk ʕamk
di-ʕəsre hímaʕk ʕárho di-**ħarmáše*** 'I set off to inform some people of the death of their relative.
When I reached the middle of a grove, I heard **a rustling sound**', *šínik ʕag bə-ʕamk di-hte bóʕor
wa-də ʕag ʕérobk toy bər yəʔtələn ʔaherk wa-šékdomk²¹ hǝy ħalf di-bəy təʔil'o wa-todk ʕaf tóʔo
gədaħ **ħarmosk** hǝy bə-šáʕʕof di-ʔéʔtəb yhálah wa-ʔáʕtəb ħərəse mən ʕʔaʕ wa-hémən yəʔír mǝy
hes* 'I saw a man travelling during the night, and I knew that this man was scary. I went ahead of
him to the area where scaring things²² were reputed to be and waited for him. When he came, **I
rustled** towards him with leaves of an *éʔtəb* tree. He jumped and shouted out of fear and almost
lost his feelings'.

◊ Of interest is Dathina Arabic *ħrmš* 'embrouiller' (GD 587).

¹⁴ *lóʔə* (du. *lóʔi*, pl. *əlfóʔo*) 'cow dung' (= روث البقر).

¹⁵ *əʕʕá(y)nin* (*yəʕʕa(y)ninin/liʕʕánan*) 'to contain one's anger' (= كظم غيظه).

¹⁶ *máʕʕad* (du. *maʕʕádi*, pl. *máʕʕad*) 'stick for stirring', derived from *ʕóʕid* (*yoʕoʕidin/liʕʕáʕad*) 'to stir vehemently,
to rub into porridge (grains of wheat or barley)'. Cf. LS 321.

¹⁷ *térhər* (*yətérhər/li térher*) 'to throw, to hurl' (= رمى).

¹⁸ That is, was trying not to get involved into fighting.

¹⁹ Prominent presence of **hrk* 'to be angry' in Tigre and Tigrinya (WTS 68, TED 188) is noteworthy, perhaps due to
Arabic influence.

²⁰ *šérə* (*yəšérə/lišérə*) 'it was possible to drink' (cf. LS 396).

²¹ *šékdam* (*yəškádom/lišákdam*) 'to advance' (= تقدم), LS 368.

²² A circumlocation for jinnis.

189. *kóde* (du. *kódʔi*, pl. *ékdo*) ‘plateau’

كُادَى هضبة

► *táherk diʔyho mən káʕar wa-šérkaħk di-kóde wa-hélobk érhon wa-báʕad-aʔ hélobk kténħik diʔyho di-káʕar* ‘I left my house, went up to **the plateau** and milked my goats. After I milked my goats, I came back down to my house’, *térodk miʔšar bə-ri di-kóde wa-hérog kénhi di-ħarf* ‘I was chasing a he-goat on **the plateau**, but it fled from me up the slope’.

◊ Likely related to Arb. *kudyat-* ‘hard, stony ground; big, heavy stone’ (WKAS K 89), Dathina *kidwa* ‘colline’ (GD 2562). Cf. also Akk. *kīdu* ‘outside, open country’ (CAD K 345).

190. *kédor* (*yəkódər/l’ikdér*) ‘to cut (down) a palm tree’

كأدر قطع جذع النخلة

► *laʔ yoʔókəb šákar fəne yəkódər éʔefo tímher deʒ kor óute wa-deʒ kor kóunom* ‘When drought would come in former times, people **would cut down** their palm trees – some of them to eat and some of them to feed their animals’, *gédaħ tan mése di-délaħ wa-rah ʕaf yəkámaʕ²³ bə-šəramħin wa-tímher táherk báʕad mése wa-šetk diʔyho bəstan di-tímher kəsək tri təmriti ebráħto di-láʕanhin di-məsróħo ʕámok e-diʔyho múgšəm təkódər diki təmriti ʕan məsróħo* ‘There was a strong rain in our place, and wind, and it felled palms and (other) trees. When the rain was over, I went to see my palm grove, and I found two (adult) palms (uprooted), which fell upon the upper branch of a young palm. So I said to my sons: “**Cut** these two palm trees (in the middle) and free the young palm of them”’.

• Note the derived noun *kədhir* ‘edible fiber from a date palm’ (MILLER–MORRIS 2004:393)²⁴: *ʕaʕk éʔefo ʕad yəkódər kədhir wa-yəkodérəy wa-yəʔóure məy riħo wa-yəʔóute məy noħóle²⁵ wa-kədhir aʔ-seʔhétən di-məsróħo šker béne ʕan kánbəb* ‘I still caught people to cut down palm trees to obtain edible substance and boil it: its water could be drunk and the sifted fiber could be eaten. And this **edible substance** is not all the same: that of a young palm tree is much better than that of a grown-up one’.

191. *kóʕoʕ* (*yəkóʕoʕ/l’ikʕáʕ*) ‘to escape (an enclosed animal)’ قاعيس

هرب (الحيوان المحبوس)

► *térodk mədkor fəryħe wa-kédomk²⁶ tóyhən di-ħor kor əzaʕáyħən ħadibo wa-ʔəʕóʔom tóʔo gédaħk kor əkáʕa ʕəyhən ksek kəʕəʕ wa-férəd* ‘I drove together a few feral billy goats and put them in an enclosure to take them to Hadibo for selling. When I came later to release them, I found that **they escaped** and fled’, *térodk təy diʔyho óʔoz di-səs ʕifəf wa-yhedk ħəs bə-miʕħər kor tšəmélək diʔse kə-ʔérhon wa-təy šəm kóʕoʕ ʕifəf wa-fərədo biš wa-ħérək ʔətréd aʔ-ʕaʕk* ‘I was pursuing one of my goats, which had a kid. (When I caught it), I enclosed the kid in a pen so that the mother goat would become tame, together with other goats. But one day the kid **escaped**, and the mother goat fled with it. I tried to pursue it, but could not catch it’, *ħa šin bə-kárye miʔšar di-ʕaʕakhétən ʕəy²⁷ ʕəkar wa-ʕétəm ʕar ʕəz wa-táħrer təy šəm giréfən²⁸ di-ʕayéfe kor nəgóħom ʕámok e-məgóšə ifúl l’áken ʕaf l’igmóħ miʔšar kor əzáʕay di-ʕayéfe ʕémər məgóšə aʔ-múʕkil’a l’áken bəs di-bər yikən nəšħaʕiʔin²⁹ mən miʔšar aʔ-káʕsarə ʕəyyúg šħ^a mən diʔyhən miʔšar wa-gəməħəy ʕámok ke ino ħa šħer bóuʕog miʔšar di-ħor bil’eg di-ħor wa-ʔə-ʕóʕi éšbaħ kóʕoʕ ħ^a rosk*

²³ *əkmaʕ* (*yəkámaʕ/l’ákmaʕ*) ‘to fell, to strike down’ (= أسقط). Cf. LS 376.

²⁴ See *ibid.* 394 for a detailed description of *kədhir* as famine food and its preparation.

²⁵ *noħóle* ‘sifting, what has been sifted’, derived from *nóħol* (*yənoħol/l’inħál*) ‘to sift’.

²⁶ *kédom* (*yəkódəm/l’ikdém*) ‘to bring in’ (= أدخل).

²⁷ *di-ʕaʕakhétən ʕəy* ‘famous’ (= مشهور).

²⁸ *gérof* (*yəgórəf/l’igréf*) ‘to invite’, passive *giréf* (*yəgóurof/l’igróf*). See LS 116.

²⁹ *šħaʕi* (*yəšħaʕiʔin/l’išħáʕ*) ‘to inform oneself’, in this passage intended to mean ‘we will learn by all means whether this billy goat is strong or not’.

*wa-fekk*³⁰ *dīʔyho idi* ‘There, in our village, there was a well-known billy goat, big and fat, yet it was strong and prone to flee. One day we were invited to a wedding feast, so we had to bring some meat there. I said to my sons: “Why don’t we catch this billy-goat so that I could bring it to the wedding feast?” The boys said: “No problem. Come what will, we will get acquainted with this billy goat!”. So they did not refuse my request, and they got acquainted with that billy goat, and they caught it. I said: “Now if there are real men among you, put the goat into the shelter”. And the goat was put into the shelter, but in the morning **it fled**. I went bellowing and rubbing my hands (out of anger)’.

◇ Probably related to Arb. *ʔinqaʕaʕa l-qawmu ʔidā nqataʕū fa-dahabū* ‘to set off and go (about people)’ (LA 6 405). Note also Yemenite *gaʕʕa* ‘Locke, unbedecktes Haupthaar’ (BEHNSTEDT 1012, PIAMENTA 407), probably from ‘something set free, released’.

192. *ker* (*yākṛər/l’ikṛér*) ‘to hurt, to cause pain’ قار ألم

► *ōkark di-kāsar wa-ksek ʕag di-kéro bəy šəb wa-ʔal-ʔendéko həy dəmi di-ʔállā ʕámok həy nádok énhī laʕtəber mək šəb ōmor yə taʕtəbor wa-lākən al-láthar fe édosk wa-fálaḥk tos ʕaf yəšrákah məy dor wa-dem* ‘I came home at night and met a man whose foot **hurt** him and did not let him sleep. I said to him: “Let me see your foot”. He said: “Please see it, but don’t cause me pain”. At I opened the wound at once so that blood and pus went out of it”, *ʔəy ʕáze káno bəs mədiso*³¹ *wa-ʔižóho wa-ʔhar bəs al-ʕédo šərkóho di-ḥəgiye kaʕ təhobiʔin la-birok wa-təšófor mən žiho wa-ker bəs dem* ‘There was a woman who had an inflammation on the sole of her foot, and she suffered, and it hurt her so that she could not go out to the courtyard unless creeping on her knees. And she was shouting because of pain, and the pus **hurt** her’, *érəmk šérkahk di-fədhon tóʔo érahk ʕamk di-ḥalf bəzak he dīʔyho šənbəl*³² *wa-sʔreyk wa-lázaʕk*³³ *di-ʔóʔobən la-fiʔo wa-tóʔo ōkark dīʔyho kásar al-dómik ker fe dor bə-fiʔo* ‘Once I went to the mountains. Midway along my sandals tore, and I fell and bumped against a stone with my forehead. When I came home in the evening, I could not sleep: the blood in my forehead hurt me’.

● Likely related is *kōr* ‘peine’ (LS 370): *káneh wa-ʕakairoh ḥelóti eního kōr áʕtidiben* ‘Meine Schwiegermutter hat sie großgezogen, mir zur Pein und Mühsal’ (Müller 1905:207₇₋₈), *kérhen lebíni bašóseh šaiweneh be-káhreten* ‘Weiße Schafe und scheckige werden nur mit Anstrengung erblickt’ (ibid. 338₂₃₋₂₄).

◇ Cf. Gez. *kʷarkʷara* ‘to grieve, to be uncomfortable’ and its Ethiopian cognates in CDG 443.

193. *kóši* (*yəkošiʔin/l’ikáʕe*) ‘to swirl (dust)’ قاشيي تصاعد التراب

► *laʕ tékən méda bə-šəta təkošiʔin šákarə* ‘When the south wind blows in the northern plain, the dust **swirls**’, *ʔahárən ḥan ʕəghétən bə-siyára šaʕ wa-ʔəgáḥan mən ḥérhən wa-nəšéro hin siyára diyáhšəs wa-šóʕof*³⁴ *ʕag dīʔyhe bə-siyára wa-kóši ʕin šákarə* ‘We, the women, were traveling in a car with an open back, and we were in the back side. Then another car passed by us and the man was going very fast and made the dust **swirl** into our faces’, *yhálah fól’hi fərhə di-bíl’eg di-məḳʕe*³⁵ *wa-ḥan bə-káne di-mókl’i tóʔo himáʕan məḳʕe ḥtétmo*³⁶ *ōmor ʕag ya salám ʕan di-kən fól’hi di-yhálah mən məḳʕe ʕámok həy šénhork tóʔo al-róšik toy wáll’a əkrəyməmk məy šəb tóʔo*

³⁰ *fek* (*yəfkək/l’ifkək*) ‘to rub one’s hands’ (among the Soqotrans, a token of anger).

³¹ *mədiso* ‘wound, inflammation on the sole of the foot’, derived from *édos* (*yóudos/l’idés*) ‘to hit, to strike’ (= دق).

³² *šənbəl* (pl. *šənbəl*) ‘sandal’. A widespread South Arabian word of uncertain origin, v. BEHNSTEDT 676, PIAMENTA 267.

³³ *lázaʕ* (*yəlázaʕ/l’ilzáʕ*) ‘to bump’ (= اصطدم).

³⁴ *šóʕof* (*yəšóʕof/l’iʕʕáf*) ‘to run quickly’ (= أسرع).

³⁵ *məḳʕe* (du. *məḳʕiti*, pl. *məḳʕəhi*) ‘non-roofed shelter for calves’ (= مكان غير مسقوف يُحيس فيه عجل).

³⁶ *ḥatétam* (*yaḥtétam/l’ahṭétam* ‘to be destroyed, demolished’ (= انهدم). Cf. LS 171.

*šarkāhan di-ter wa-sīnin šay kōši wa-ṛékob zāhzah*³⁷ *wa-ṛaḷ-šédo sīno šay šayn* ‘A calf prone to flee, who had been put into a shelter, jumped, while we were in the house. When we heard that the shelter was demolished³⁸, my friend said: “What is there? The calf must have jumped out of the shelter!” I said to him: “It’s my fault: I haven’t fastened it nor bended its leg”. When we went outside and looked at the calf, it **swirled the dust** against us, then fled to the countryside and went out of sight’.

194. kēzof (*yakázaf/likzéf*) ‘to incline, to bend down’ أحنى قأف

► *ékdomk šouyegēni di-ṛetéršo sémtaḷ tad šōmor takázafs* ‘I saw two boys fighting, and one observer said: “**Bow him down** to the ground!”’, *táherk ho wa-ṛay šáze wa-diṛse ambórye di-šīse égaṃ šouyēghen di-mášabhār kázēfiš áṛḥayš šaf yaḷázaš di-šīse* ‘I went together with a woman and her children to a pool. Then one of the boys climbed onto a boulder, but one of his brothers **forced him to bend down** so that he fell to the pool’, *káno šin ṛay šéno šayšfe wa-ṛégham éṛefo eṛḥitān wa-tóṛo ḥizez yhalóho ṛay ṛfórād aḷ-šh^azézó*³⁹ *šōmor šag takázafs énhī kor áhṛaz súwa* ‘One year there was a wedding feast by us, and people brought along some cows (as gifts). When the cows were being slaughtered, one of them jumped and fled away and did not lend itself to be slaughtered. Then one man said: “**Bend it down** towards me and I will slaughter it in the right way”’.

195. máhmah (*yamáhmah/limáhmah*) ‘to suck (marrow from bones)’ مَهْمَح مص نخاع العظم

► *éṛefo bə-sak^{tri} laḷ yašólāb kénho māyhān šalb aḷ-kóuse bə-half róuḳah te mān šōḥlo wa-šōḥlo kóudor kə-te wa-laṭ kāróuḥom*⁴⁰ *mās te di-kiṛi bās wa-laṭ fōuzaš mās zōbrāhor daš di-báḥle mah wa-laṭ māhóumah*⁴¹ *mās mah* ‘When people on Soqatra slaughter their livestock, their way of slaughtering does not exist anywhere else (in the world). Meat is taken off the bones, then the bones are cooked together with the meat. Then one gnaws the meat from the bones, that which remains on them. Then one splits the tips of those bones in which there is marrow, and one **sucks** the marrow (from the bones)’, *hímašk šag di-bášaḷ šáze wa-yhe tēgār šaméro ḥay diṛyhe šáze e yaṛéšam tho éṛefo bār bášaḷk šag di-šay mel’ kólā bās wa-ṛiném šayyāš šaméro ke émonk bār ino šak mel’ šayyāk lāmáhmah mān ṫil’of mah šaf lašbás šōmor súwa égdah mel’ šōmor yaḥóuzoz wa-laṭ yaṛóuše*⁴² *māy ṫil’of wa-laṭ kóudor wa-tóṛo béheḷ šōmor ṫatōrib di-ṛákhizo yaḫfouzaš ḥās éšḥal di-ṫil’of wa-se tamáhmah šaf ṫásábaš šaméro náša betk bār bášaḷk tēgār šōmor sébašš šaméro sébašk šōmor náša māṫaléko* ‘I heard that a man had married a woman, and he was a rich man. Now the man’s wife said to him: “People claim that I’ve married a rich man...” He answered: “What would you like?” She said: “If it is true that you have wealth, I want **to suck** marrow from shanks until I’m full”. The man said: “All right”. He brought his livestock and said: “May it be slaughtered, and may its shanks be singed, and then may it be cooked”. When the meat was ready, he said: “Go down to the stones that are in the bottom of the wadi.” And they were splitting the shank bones for her, and **she would suck** the marrow until she was full. And she said: “Now I’ve realized that I’ve married a rich man”. He said: “Are you full?” She said: “I’m full”. He said: “Now you are divorced!”, *laḷ našálāb wa-nākádār te nóutog kārḥim wa-laṭ ḥóure mān ákhizo ṫri óbni di-škaréto wa-rouházo súwa wa-yaṛúge bōyhi éšḥal wa-ṫil’of wa-našóyhim wa-māhóumah mēsān mah* ‘When we carve meat and cook it, what is first to be taken (from the

³⁷ *zāhzah* ‘countryside, land’ (= أرض).

³⁸ That is, the sound of the stones falling out of the wall when the calf jumped against it.

³⁹ *šh^azéz* (*yāšh^azéz/lišāhzez*) ‘to be suitable for slaughtering, to lend itself to be slaughtered’.

⁴⁰ *kārḥam* (*yakaróhom/likārham*), passive *kīrham* (*yakaróuḥom/likērhom*) ‘to nibble, to gnaw’ (= قضم).

⁴¹ Here in the passive *mīhmah* (*yamāhóumah/limóhmoḥ*).

⁴² *šā* (*yīšoy/lišē*), passive *šōwā* (*yaṛóuše/lišó*) ‘to singe’ (cf. CSOL I 671).

boiling pot) is what can be gnawed⁴³. Then one looks for a couple of good stones from the stony bed of the wadi. One washes the stones well and then smashes with them the (normal) bones, the shanks and the backbones, and **one sucks** the marrow from them’.

◊ A reduplicated denominative from *maḥ* ‘marrow’ (NAUMKIN et al. 2013:77) < PS **muhḥ-* (SED I No. 178). For a similar formation cf. Arb. *mḥmḥ* ‘to extract the marrow from the bone’ (LANE 2692).

196. *mímaṣ* (pl. *mihéməṣ* or *mimiḡhétən*) ‘brain’ ميمع دماغ

► *mímaṣ yhe délaḵ ino mímaṣ di-múh’loḵ wa-ḡino mímaṣ di-šfəniṣ wa-kse ṣad mimiḡhétən bə-maḥ’lukát di-ḡállə di-ḡaḷ-ṣərobənsən* ‘There are different kinds of **brain**: there is human **brain**, and there is **brain of animals**, and maybe there are other **brains** among God’s creatures which we do not know’, *ino mímaṣ šker wa-yəftkérən wa-ḡino mímaṣ di-ḡaḷ-šker mímaṣ di-šker də di-yəšəḡəyin tóḡo lašmər álla wa-mənkáynaṣ di-ḡaḷ-yəšəḡəyin tóḡo lašmər álla* ‘There is a good **brain**, one that thinks, and there is a **brain** which is not good. A good **brain** is one which understands whenever God speaks, and the crazy one is one which does not understand whenever God speaks’, *yoḡómər éḡəfo diḡyhən ḷə-ḡəmbórye aḷ-taté mímaṣ di-šóde aḷ-tékən bəl’idin* ‘People say to their children: “Do not eat fish **brain** lest you become stupid”’.

◊ Also in Mhr. *mēma* (ML 260), Jib. *maṣ* (JL 168), as well as in Ugr. *mmṣ* (DUL 559, KOGAN 2004).

⇒ NAKANO 1986:1, SIMEONE-SENELLE-LONNET 1985–1986:282, 1991:1466–1467.

197. *máṣil* (*yəmaṣil’in/limáṣaḷ*) ‘to collect the resin of the dragon-blood tree’ ماصيل

استخرج راتينج شجرة دم الأخوين

► *máṣil’k mən ḥorf wa-fətašk nəfin émṣahaḷ* ‘In autumn **I was collecting the resin of the dragon-blood tree** and chipped off some resin for myself’, *máṣil’ diḡyho ṣouyēghen wa-laḷ šóḡom nəḥṣ diḡyhe émṣahaḷ wa-tégor nəḥṣ biššoḷ di-mádrasa* ‘One of my sons **collected some resin of the dragon-blood tree**, then he sold his resin and bought for himself some clothes to go to the school’, *éḡəfo laḷ tékən mišəḷe yəməšəḷən wa-yətəkəb wa-laḷ yənaḡéḷən məy ḡiṛob wa-diyáṣ wa-laḷ yəšúḡom wa-šérhom də di-məšəḷən məy aḷ-fáhre šərmhin mən ḡad šérhom məy šem aṣrhíyəb* ‘When the season of collecting the resin of the dragon-blood tree comes, people **collect the resin** and accumulate it, then they remove from it pieces of timber and other impurities, then it is sold. And it is not from every tree that **one can collect the resin** – from one tree only, whose name is *aṣrhíyəb*’.

◊ Clearly related to Mhr. *məṣáwl* ‘to turn into dried buttermilk’ (ML 272), Jib. *móṣəl* ‘to turn into buttermilk’, *emšél* ‘to have frequent attacks of diarrhoea, to have frequent unformed stools’ (JL 175). The semantic link are the semi-dry “icicles” of a thick liquid matter. The root with comparable meanings is well attested in Arabic: *mṣl* II ‘laisser égoutter’, V ‘couler goutte à goutte’, *muṣl-* ‘des boulettes de farine d’orge, qu’on laisse tremper longtemps dans de lait aigre’ (DOZY II 606, BK 2 1117–1118, LA 11 743). Note further Tgr. *məṣṣəl* ‘oozing moisture’ (WTS 145).

⇒ MILLER–MORRIS 2004:325 (*əməšəḷo* ‘fresh resin of the dragon-blood tree’).

198. *mésar* (*yəməṣar/limṣár*) ‘to suck up, to sip’ ماضر شفت

► *táherk bə-siyára tóḡo éraḥk ṣamḵ di-šort óstə bətról táherk di-ḵáṣar wa-méṣark bətról mən barmil’ bə-ḵóṣba di-gərəgən wa-laḷ šḡalk toy di-siyára* ‘I was driving, but midway along the gas ran out. I came back home, **sipped** some gas through a hose from the tank into a can, and then

⁴³ That is, bones with small remains of meat are removed from the pot and offered to the guests as a sort of entertainment, while the rest of the meat is left on the fire to be cooked well.

poured it into the car(’s tank)’, *tégork hal’ib wa-záṣayk toy di-káṣar wa-ṭafk toy læ-mábrəhe wa-ṣámok həy díṛyhe kóṣba wa-ṣámok náṣa tāmáṣar díṛe mən kóṣba wa-téroy* ‘I bought a milk carton and took it home. Then I gave it to one of my children, put in the straw and said: “**Sip on it and drink**”, *mésark kéréb di-təmbəko ṣábər sáṣa mən ha ṣaf áhtšom* ‘I **inhaled** smoke from a smoking pipe in one puff until I got intoxicated’.

◇ May be related to Arb. *mqr* ‘to be sour, acid; to macerate fish in vinegar and salt’ (LANE 2727), Gez. *maḳʷara* ‘to be tasty, to taste food’ (CDG 355, with cognates elsewhere in Ethiopian), the semantic link being that of savoring a liquid, sipping it slowly to enjoy the taste.

199. notébaṣ (yəntébaṣ/l’intébaṣ) ‘to get a crack’ انشقَّ نَتَابِع

► *késək ṣáṣe tsámaṣ gəzher wa-notéṣar wa-ksəwə še ṣag ṣámok həy táṣṣət še læ-gəzher di-notébaṣ* ‘I came across a woman who was shaking a goatskin with milk, and it began to tear. So I found a man and said to him: “Please patch with me this **torn** goatskin”, *še ṭay məšiyyo di-šəməúṣe*⁴⁴ *bəs rího mən ṣəbhor ṣaf ṭay šəm netéṣo* ‘I have a leather bucket with which water can be drawn from the well, but one day **it got a crack**’, *hélobk di-gəzher ṣaf yəmələ wa-ṣaf zénokk di-káṣar díṛyho læ-zínig netéṣo ṣáni wa-ṣəḳalk bə-hóyhi wa-ṣéfožk*⁴⁵ *toy ṣaf aṭáraḥ káṣar ṣəḳibk toy* ‘I was milking into a leather vessel until it was full, then I took it home, but while I was carrying it, the vessel **got a crack**. I put it on the ground and bound over the crack. Then I brought it home and poured it into another vessel’.

◇ May be related to PS **nbṣ* ‘to bubble up, to gush forth’ (HALOT 665, CDG 382), particularly since the extant examples always involve liquids leaking from a torn leather vessel.

200. nékhal (du. *nekil’i*, pl. *nek’heṣ*) ‘hollow in a tree trunk’ نَقَبَ نَقْهَل

► *əmhəydədk ṣəṭad di-káne di-nékhal’ kor əməta éṣhər di-ṣasə’ wa-ṭal-miṭaṭk* ‘I stretched my hand into a **hollow** to get hold of a honeycomb, but could not reach it’, *ṭáherk ṣámok édbohor wa-ṣəyyək læḥə ṣəṭad di-nékhal’* ‘Once I went to work with bees, and I wanted to put my hand into **the beehive**’, *késək nékhal’ di-ṣədbohor máṣshər*⁴⁶ *wa-ṭal-ṣəkodk tóṭo ksek də máṣshər wa-kánaḥ ṣaf ṣəṭar díṛyho bə-mišiyyo*⁴⁷ ‘I found a **hollow** with bees, an untouched one, and I was not afraid (that somebody appropriates it) because it turned out that it was located in my own land parcel’.

◇ Likely related to Arb. *nql* (II) ‘briser, fracasser un os de manière que les éclats de l’os se séparent’, *naql-* ‘chaussure déchirée, trouée’, *naqal-* ‘décombres d’une maison en démolition’ (BK 2 1333, LA 11 804–805). Further possible cognates see in CDG 400 under Gez. *naqala* ‘to uproot, to eradicate’.

201. šénkaḥ (yəšnáḳoḥ/l’išénkaḥ) ‘to produce clumps of butter (the shaking leather vessel)’

سَنَقَلَ أَنْتَجَتِ الْقِرْبَةَ رُبْدَةً

► *yəšóumaṣ ṣaf l’išénkaḥ wa-ṣaf yənoúṣob di-ṣádhər wall’á di-sfəriyye* ‘One shakes (the leather vessel) until **it produces clumps of butter**, then one pours it into a pot or pan’, *yhómaṣ ṣag gəzher mən ha ṣaf yəšnáḳoḥ wa-ṣaf ṭáher wa-yhe ṣəmor énhí báṣad ḥams daḳáṛiḳ dəmədimin énhí læ-gəzher* ‘A man was shaking a leather vessel for a while until **it began to produce clumps of butter**. As he was leaving, he said to me: “In five minutes, give the vessel a gentle shake”’.

⁴⁴ *šémṣə* (yəšməsi/l’išémṣe), passive *šimṣe* (yəšməúṣe/l’išémšo) ‘to draw water’ (= دلا). Cf. LS 277.

⁴⁵ *ṣéfož* (yoṣófəž/l’aṣfəž) ‘to bind’ (= ربط، لفت).

⁴⁶ *máṣshər* (du. *maṣsiri*, pl. *máṣshor*) ‘virgin, untouched’ (= بكر).

⁴⁷ *mišiyyo* ‘private area’ (= منطقة خاصة). In its shape, the word is fully identical (homonymous?) with *mišiyyo* ‘bucket’.

202. *nəknək* (yənəkək/línəkək) ‘to fidget’ نَقَّقْ تَمَلَّم

► *démə sougéno mał sédo tédom nəknək bəs kénhom bə-ri wa-šéso tékthom wa-šámok e-dí?se bíyyo sóuraḵ həs wa-foule mən kénhom* ‘Our daughter went to sleep, and while she was sleeping, lice on her head began **to fidget around**, and she woke up and started to scratch. Then I said to her mother: “Her hair must be combed and cleaned of lice!”, *əmbórye laḷ yezéšəm bə-ḵášar aḷ-yəbéhad yaḵášín həyhe wa-yhən aḷ-yəyhóməš wa-laḷ yəšúmor həyhən línhem tənəkək* ‘When children are at home, they cannot stay calmly. When one tries to stop them but they do not listen, then one says to them: “Why do you **fidget**?”’, *ébdodk bíle di-nəkək bə-ḵáne di-mənfəs*⁴⁸ *wa-laḷ fédokk*⁴⁹ *toy šaf yašfirir šómor šag inəm šək šámok ébdodk bíle di-nəkək* ‘I felt something **to fidget** in my nostril, and I scratched it until it reddened. A man said: “What is with you?” I said: “I felt something **fidget** (in my nostril)”’.

• Perhaps the same verb as *negneg* ‘trembler’ (LS 256), attested in MÜLLER 1905:241₁₁₋₁₃: *šážeh lebékeh min gé?me wu-lebékeh min šále wu-min šamḵ ḵatánih wa-lól tóšod tniḡniḡ wu-dé min rážf di-šážeh* ‘Es ist eine Frau, die unten und oben stark, in der Mitte aber schwächig ist, so daß sie zittert, wenn sie geht, und dies gehört zur Frauenschönheit’.

◊ With LS 256, belongs together with Tgr. *nəknəkə* ‘to jolt, to shake’ (WTS 328), Tna. *nəknəkə* ‘to swing, to shake’ (TED 1316), Amh. *nəknəkə* ‘to shake, to rock’ (AED 1029), Har. *niḵniḵ bāya* ‘to move, to shake’ (EDH 119), Cha. Enm. End. Gyt. *nəknəkə*, Eža Muh. Msq. Sod. *nəknəkə*, Sod. *niḵnəkə*, Wol. *nə?änə?ä*, Muh. *nə?ännə?ä* ‘to shake, to move’ (EDG 459).

203. *nəšat* (yənəšat/l’inšát) ‘to look, to inspect’ نَاصَتْ رَاقَبْ

► *hərak ṭad dí?yho mən b^ošer bə-sámód wa-ḵaḷ-ḵésək šaf ənəšat məy éḵdomk məy la-ri mən ri di-mášbhər* ‘I was looking for one of my camels in a thicket, but could not find it. But when I **looked carefully**, I saw its head on the top of a rock’, *hímašk ṭad di-yaštíri wa-ho dí?yho bə-ḵášar wa-šérḵaḵk di-ri di-sek wa-nəšatk wa-ḵédomk šag di-yašárəd mi?šər* ‘I heard somebody talk while staying in my house. So I climbed up to the top of the roof and **watched carefully**. Then I saw a man who was pursuing a billy-goat’, *hímašk šárho wa-ho bə-ḵáne di-ḵášar wa-šérḵaḵk di-ter kor ətomíšín wa-ḵaḷ-hímašk šérḵaḵk di-ri di-ḵəméro éḵdomk šag di-nəšat mən ri di-šádhon álaḵk šəy šámok həy inəm šəyyək šómor l’a aḷ-šatirik šək* ‘I heard a voice and I was in my house. I went outside to listen carefully, but I heard nothing. I went up a hill and saw a man who **was watching** from the top of a mountain. I called him, saying: “What do you want?” He said: “Nothing. I did not call you”’.

◊ Comes close to Syr. *nšat* ‘to listen, to pay attention’ (SL 942, LSyr. 444), Arb. *nšt* ‘to be silent to listen’ (LANE 2801), Sab. *nšt* ‘silence, oblivion’ (SD 100). An eventual relationship to the common verb *šet* ‘to watch, to observe’ and its possible cognates (LS 358–359) is also likely.

204. *šér?əš* (yəšró?oš/l’išér?eš) ‘to show up’ شَرَّيْسَ ظَهَرَ

► *náfašk bəstán wa-šér?eš bə-ḵáne di-bəstán é?etob bášad əmed ḵórimk tóyhən fáḡre* ‘I arranged a palm-garden, but there **appeared** some *figus*-bushes inside it. After a while I exterminated all of them’, *həyhe laḷ yəšábaḡ mən érhon wa-yəgóhom yaštíri kor təgóhom érhon wa-tšaró?oš dí?se mən mókrif*⁵⁰ *wa-dí?se mən móšmid*⁵¹ ‘When somebody looks for his goats in the morning and gathers them in the pen, he shouts so that the goats would come to the pen and

⁴⁸ *mənfəs* (du. *mənfəsi*, pl. *mənfos*) ‘nostril’ (= خيشوم). Cf. SIMEONE-SENELLE-LONNET 1991:1455.

⁴⁹ *fédok* (yəfódək/l’ifédək) ‘to rub’ (= حَكَّ، فَرَك).

⁵⁰ *mókrif* (du. *mókrift*, pl. *mókrif* or *mókrəf*) ‘resting place, den (of a goat)’ (= مَرْبِض). Said to be derived from *ḵérof* (yəḵáraf/l’ikrəf) ‘to dig, to fling soil’ (CSOL II 515) because a goat would normally dig a shallow hole in the ground where it would lie to have a rest.

⁵¹ *móšmid* (du. *móšmidi*, pl. *mášmod*) ‘resting place, den (of a goat)’ (= مَرْبِض). Derived from *ášməd* (yəšámód/l’ášmed) ‘to recline, to spend the night’ ().

show up from their sleeping places’, *rémosk kor əyhən nɔ́fɪn fə́lʃəl kələobk óʔobən kor əhófər šarʔéso he dábéno*⁵² *tóʔo sínik férodk wa-ʔal-látašk tos* ‘I was ploughing in order to plant for myself some peppers. I overturned a stone to dig there, and there **appeared** a snake. When I saw it, I fled and did not kill it’.

205. mortáʃše (du. *mortaʃšiti*, pl. *mortáʃšat*) ‘necklace’ مَرْتَعَشَّة طوق

► *múgšəm laʃ yəbóʃoʃ yəbódə yəhórə mən daháb wa-də daháb biš mortáʃše wa-di-ʃad gésor* ‘When a young man plans to get married, he starts looking for gold, and among this gold there may be a **necklace** and whatever else he can obtain’, *ʃáze laʃ təʔóhor di-ʔayəfe wa-la ʃazóme tədáraʃ diʔse daháb ke mortáʃše wa-ke hól’əhəl’ wa-ke ʃarf* ‘When a woman goes to a wedding or to a feast, she wears her gold, such as a **necklace**, or a fingerring, or a bracelet’, *šin bə-sakótri laʃ təbóʃoʃ ʃáze zówénən*⁵³ *tos bə-mortáʃše kor təškər* ‘In our land, in Soqotra, when a woman gets married, she is adorned with a **necklace**’.

• Also recorded as *mortáʃše* and *mortáʃze*.

⇒ The plural *mortáʃšat* clearly suggests an Arabism, but no suitable source word could be located in the available dictionaries.

206. ráʃaz (*yərəʃaz/lirʃáz*) ‘to be soft, loose’ رَاعَضَ لَان، نَعْم

► *rékotk tɔ́mər di-ʃez ʃaf yərəʃaz* ‘I was trampling hard dates until they **got soft**’, *égaħk tɔ́mre ʃéle wa-ho éʔʃəʃ ráhyon wa-mənəl ʃak aʔágaħ əllə wa-šétʔofk diʔyho bə-ʔəʔəd bíle di-raʃáze*⁵⁴ *dəʃ yom betk bər də di-ráʃaz róho bələkk nɔ́fɪn mən tɔ́mre ʃaf əbáraħ di-hóyhi ʃar régom be šəlħeyk*⁵⁵ ‘I was climbing a tall palm tree – and I was afraid of geckos’⁵⁶. While I was climbing, suddenly I felt with my hand **something soft**. I realized immediately that this **soft thing** was a gecko. I threw myself down from this palm until I reached the ground – thanks to God, I had not climbed too high!, *laʃ yəʔóule*⁵⁷ *ʃagín di-bor yaʃággənu toy ʃaf lirʃáz* ‘When dough made of wheat flour is kneaded, one kneads it until **it becomes soft**’, *ʃölóbən əm-báʃad-aʃ ʃölóbən ʃámok e-məgóʃə təkódər hin te ʃaf l’ibhól wa-lirʃáz bər éʔəfo aʃ-yəʃágb te di-ʃez ھا láfi wa-ھا óti* ‘We slaughtered an animal. When we slaughtered it, I said to my sons: “Cook for us the meat until **it becomes ready and soft**. People do not like meat when it is rubbery – some are strong and some are weak”’⁵⁸.

◊ Also in Mhr. *rəḡāz* (ML 320), Jib. *raḡāz* ‘to be soft’ (JL 208).

⇒ ML 320.

207. róho (du. *róhoy*, pl. *ráhyon* or *ráhyan*) ‘gecko’ رَاحُو سَامَ أَبْرِص

► *yəʃómər yhən éʔəfo róho yəšároḵ*⁵⁹ *di-ʃayn di-həyhe ʔə-dənʃa faħħ laʃ yəʔógəħ tímħer yíʔʃəʃ aʃ-l’iksé ráhyon* ‘Some people say that a **gecko** can jump into the eyes of people. Because of this, some people, when they climb palm trees, are afraid of **geckos**’, *róho yaʃágb l’ázʃam bə-ḳáne*

⁵² Kind of harmless snake (cf. WRANIK 2003:146–147 and 508: *Dityrophis vivax?*). The by-form with *-m-* recorded there is not acknowledged by our informants.

⁵³ *zen* (*yəzénən/lizén*), passive *z’an* or *zówən* (*yəzówénən/lizón*) ‘to adorn, to embellish’ (cf. LS 152).

⁵⁴ The adjective ‘soft’ is *ráʃaz* (du. *raʃázi*, pl. *ráʃyoʃ*), f. *raʃáze* (du. *raʃázi*, pl. *raʃázhétən*).

⁵⁵ *šəlħə* (*yəšlólhi/l’išólhi*) ‘to be low’ (cf. LS 231).

⁵⁶ As acknowledged by WRANIK (2003:122), the islanders have a deep aversion towards geckos (cf. the next lexical entry).

⁵⁷ *táʔə* (*yítal/l’itl’ə*), passive *təʔwə* (*yəʔóule/l’itl’ó*) ‘to knead, to mix’ (= عَجَنَ، خَلَطَ). Cf. LS 203.

⁵⁸ That is, there are those whose teeth are good and those whose teeth are bad.

⁵⁹ *əšrəḵ* (*yəšároḵ/l’išrəḵ*) ‘to jump’ (= قَفَزَ).

*di-məhástəl*⁶⁰ *wa-laṭ yaśáǧob lité shérhon*⁶¹ ‘Geckos like to live in toilets; further, they like to eat moths’, *róho táǧle kóuse bə-tádaṭ di-ǧaǧríhyəb* ‘Geckos are always found on dragon-blood trees’.

⇒ WRANIK 2003:508 (*Haemodracon riebeckii*).

208. *sábah* (*yásabah/lisbáh*) ‘to jump’ سَابَحَ قَفَزَ

► *əǧáhan bə-siyára tóǧo əráhan šǧre agzét siyára wa-kténho di-hérhan wa-sabáhan mən tádaṭ di-siyára* ‘We climbed the car (and set off), but when we reached a mountain pass, the car stalled out and started to move backwards. So we **jumped out** from the car’, *káno ǧayéfe wa-ǧéǧdomk éǧefo di-šh^areb wa-ǧéǧdomk ǧad tóǧo šh^areb ébrah ser éǧefo wa-sábah mən ter wa-ǧébrah bə-káne* ‘There was a wedding feast, and I saw people jump. And I saw one who jumped and landed behind (the circle of) people, then he **jumped** back from outside and landed within (the circle)’, *k^lǧolk e-miǧšar bə-kašmari tóǧo ǧak mérətk bə-défe di-ǧǧfəǧ di-ǧiše sábah wa-sábahk bə-di-sərəy ǧaf əberóho bə-káne di-ǧiše wa-šərkáhki sǧngar*⁶² *mən káne* ‘I threw my shawl into the face of a billy-goat⁶³ – and I was still red-hot (because of running) – at the bank of a pool. The goat **jumped**, and I **jumped** after it, and we both landed in the pool, and we went together out of the pool’.

• Hardly the same as the common verb *sábah* (*yásabah/lisbáh*) ‘to swim’ (LS 280), being clearly perceived as homonymous by the native speakers.

209. *sédək* or *sédək* (*sedéki* or *sediki/sédok* or *sédak*) ‘nest’ سَادَكَ عُنْشٌ

► *késək ǧahélhon di-ǧigo bə-sédək wa-fǧsark ǧad máyhən šǧnkork iném bə-káne* ‘I found a few dove’s eggs in a **nest** and squashed one of them, as I was wondering what was inside’, *ksek sédək di-bəy ǧahélhon ǧáherk wa-ǧarére kténhik diǧyho di-sédək wa-késək di-yaǧmírher bə-tádaṭ di-sédək wa-mánál ǧak óǧod ksek sínfaḥ ber di-ǧašfeno* ‘I found a **nest** in which there were some eggs. Then I left. On the next day I returned to that **nest** and found a *di-yaǧmírher* bird⁶⁴ sitting on its eggs. Then I walked a bit further and found a chick of the *di-ǧašfeno* bird⁶⁵, *gougéno ǧal tǧbyəǧ*⁶⁶ *taśámər nhǧfs sédək bə-šǧrmhin kor taśáǧal diǧse ǧahélhon* ‘When a dove hatches, it makes for itself a **nest** on a tree to put there its eggs’, *ino sédək di-ǧǧkar wa-ǧino sédək ǧǧyhen wa-faǧh di-ǧənyhéro ke síni ǧə-ǧǧyhe diǧyhe kə-ǧahélhon ǧal yəǧóhor ǧǧyhe yəzǧgəd ǧlyhe ǧahélhon* ‘There are big **nests**, and there small **nests**. And some birds, when they see a man close to their eggs, take away their eggs when the man leaves’.

• Presumably different from *sedak* ‘herbe’ (LS 282).

⇒ Cf. NAKANO 1986:120.

210. *sámód* (du. *samódi*, pl. *sǧmdəhin*) ‘forest, grove’ سَامَدَ غَابَةٌ

► *tóǧo éšbahk ǧə-ǧósi mən érhon bédək diǧyho əšbóho mən sámód di-təbálhan tóǧo bédək mən boǧ wa-šérǧah érhon mən boǧ ǧehémo fáhre wa-ǧal-ǧədəro* ‘When I was gathering my goats early in the morning, I began my gathering from the **grove** such-and-such. I started from there

⁶⁰ *məhástəl* ‘toilet’ (= حمام). According to an ingenious suggestion by MARIA BULAKH, this is a curious local adaptation of Arabic *muǧtasal* ‘washing place’.

⁶¹ *shírhin* (du. *shríni*, pl. *shérhon*) ‘butterfly, moth’ (= فراش). Cf. WRANIK 2003:511 (‘butterfly, moth’). The by-form with *š*- recorded there is not recognized by our informants.

⁶² *sǧngar* ‘together’ (= مع بعض), presumably the same as Yemeni Arabic *sanzār* ‘group, in groups’ (PIAMENTA 234).

⁶³ To make it jump out of surprise and lend itself to be caught.

⁶⁴ *Treron waalia* or Bruce’s green pigeon (WRANIK 2003:507, LS 161, CSOL I 512).

⁶⁵ Kestrel (WRANIK 2003:507).

⁶⁶ *bez* (*yǧbyəǧ/libyáǧ*) ‘to hatch eggs’.

and soon the goats went out and were all gathered, none was missing’, *sérokk bʿer bə-dəgdəge kor ał-l’afyhəf wa-lə-šósi hérék lahre wa-ʔał-ksek toy wa-yhe nátin leʔ fe di-sámód* ‘I tethered a camel in the plain so that it would not get lost. In the morning I tried to look for it, but I could not find it. Most probably, it had gone to the **grove**’, *érhon lał yikən təyhi yəgórəs təyhi šifəf di-nəkhəl wáll’a di-sámód ke séʔkə ha sámód wa-bər yhe təyhi maháše də di-yikən bə-sámód* ‘As for the goats, when there is a predator⁶⁷, this predator carries away a goat-kid to a niche in the mountains or to a **grove** if there is a **grove** nearby. And this predator is rapacious, the one which is in the **grove**’.

211. šək (*yəškək/l’iškək*) ‘to shout (a goat kid), to scream’ أعطى صوتاً (جَدِي) صَاق

► *áfyhofk təy díʔyho óʔoz wa-se ibši wa-hímaf k šifəf di-yəškək wa-betk bər díʔyho óʔoz* ‘I lost one of my goats, and it was pregnant. Then I heard a goat kid **shout**, and I realized that (it was) my goat (who gave birth)’, *yhékałk ker kárye⁶⁸ di-tímher lə-šasirini di-šóm wa-kólək díʔyho šʔka lə-ri wa-tóʔo kárib əsrákaḥ mən kárye hímaf k əškək di-šifif tóʔo šək šámok ya allá mənóʔo də əškək ta* ‘I went down through the palm grove late in the afternoon, having put my mantle on my head. When I was close to leaving the grove, I heard the **screaming** of a goat kid. While it was **screaming**, I said to myself: “Oh my God! Where is this **screaming** from?”’, *bíle di-fówégən wa-yəsrákaḥ mən mer wa-yhe šófək yəšásak tóʔo məbrəhe lał yəboure yəšásak wa-ta bər girbag yəšásak wa-ta bər əll’əhe yəšə⁶⁹ wa-ta bər óʔoz lał yaʔəzaš bə-hóyhi wa-yhe yətəzaš wa-zərhóytən⁷⁰ biš yəškək* ‘Every creature, when it is born and goes out of the womb – and it is in good state⁷¹ – it screams: when a baby is born, he screams; in the same way, when a kitten is born, it screams; in the same way, a calf; in the same way, a kid, when it falls to the ground out of the womb and staggers, being covered with its mucus, **it screams**’.

• Also in the intensive stem *šákik* (*yəšakikín/l’iškək*) ‘to imitate the sound produced by a goat kid’: *šifo təy díʔyho hižáre mən kázar wa-šámok e-díʔyho šouyēghen tšərákaḥ šhe tok wa-šakikín šasé tšóni bíle* ‘One of my tame goats disappeared from the house, and I said to one of my sons: “Go up there and **imitate the sound of the kid**, perhaps you will see something”’⁷².

◊ Same as Mhr. *šək* ‘to call, to call from afar’ (ML 362). See further Arb. *šaqqa l-ħirbāʔu = šawwata; ʔaš-šaqqu = šawtu l-mismāri ʔidā ʔukriha šalā d-daqqi* (TA 26 36–37, BK 1 1351), Yemeni *šaggeh* ‘shouting, noise that tires you’ (BEHNSTEDT 719).

212. əsrə (*yəšóri/l’ošir*) ‘to lead off, to take away’

أَصْرَى

أَبْعَد

► *əti he šag di-ʔézfəm ha bə-širhe⁷³ šómor təy sáša šodk lə-ker šort wa-ho šókalk díʔyho bə-bóḥša daráhem gədóho méde wa-zəgédo díʔse dirihímhin wa-ʔéqdomk šəy wa-yhe yəfrər wa-tóʔo ébraḥ šásik kor əlákaḥ wa-méde tšrərš mən ha id-ḥa wa-ḥad ékob lə-ker iʔitin **əsrəš** rah šaf ał-*

⁶⁷ Circumlocution for a feral cat, a reputed enemy of the goats on Soqotra.

⁶⁸ In this example, *kárye* is not the widespread Arabic loanword with the meaning ‘village’, but a different (homonymous?) lexeme with the meaning ‘large palm plantation’ (CSOL II 517).

⁶⁹ *əšə* (*yəšə/l’iškək*) ‘to scream (a calf)’ (= أعطى صوتاً (عجل)). Cf. Gez. *ṭāšwā* ‘calf’ and related terms in SED II No. 234.

⁷⁰ *zərho* (pl. *zərhóytən*) ‘mucus’ (= مخاط، نخامة), cf. LS 155 (‘saleté’).

⁷¹ That is, the term of pregnancy has been completed and the newborn creature is in good state.

⁷² For a different meaning of the intensive stem, viz. ‘to make a goat come by means of making its kid shout’ v. NAUMKIN et al. 2019:77.

⁷³ This is one more local designation of Soqotra’s capital Hadibo, undoubtedly an early borrowing from Yemeni Arabic *qirya* ‘town’ (for which see LANDBERG 1901:689), with the same palatalization as in Jib. *širət* (JL 268). Quite telling is the remark of MÜLLER’s informant in 1905:277_{17–19}: *žerehe šém di ḥadibu be-ʔémed bid fōne wa-náše ke-il-šiméde šād meš šem žerehe ‘žerehe ist der alte Name von Hadibu und auch jetzt heißt er bei den Beduinen žerehe*. That *jetzt* is still valid for our today’s tribesmen is, of course, more than amazing.

ʕak ašóniʃ ker samá wa-ʔal-ʕérobk óʔo ébraḥ ken raḥ wa-ʔoukáshen di-méde ‘A man who stayed there in Hadibo told me a story: “Once I was going along the street, and I had put some money into my pocket. Then the south wind came and took away my money, and I saw it fly. When it landed, I rushed to collect it, but the wind was throwing it from here to there, and one banknote went to the sky – the wind **was pushing it** up until I saw it in the air, and I did not even know where it landed because of the wind and the dust of the south wind’, *ʕatáʃmo ʕyki ʕaf yaʕámər ʕag inəm dənʕa ʕámok ʕagəbo lághems náʕa raḥáḥki di-doukéfo*⁷⁴ *ʕasé ino sánne di-nəḥóuno*⁷⁵ *wa-tóʔo ʃərḳáḥki gədóho nəḥóuno wa-ʔayhéras raḥ wa-ʔoukáshen wa-ʔéʃrə ʕay díʔyhe kofiyye wa-ʔérgə*⁷⁶ *díʔyhe ʔə-sárəng ʕaf beʔéro məy kərʕili wa-həbən yóudof ʕay ʔə-məḳʃe id-məḳḥim ʕan régom be álla mən ʕáʔe wa-ho mən hóyhi kólək ʕay ʔəʔad həmən yaʔóhor* ‘There was no wind in our area, and a friend of mine said: “What is this?” I said: “It looks as if it’s going to rain. Now take us to that little ledge over the gorge, perhaps there will be a bit of breeze there. When we went up, a bit of breeze came, followed by wind and dust. The wind **tore off** his kufiyya and lifted his sarong so that his testicles showed up. And it was about to take him down to the bottom of the gorge if not for God above and me on the earth – I took him by his hand when he was almost gone’.

• Seems to be attested in MÜLLER 1905:33₁₄₋₁₈: *wa-téyhen náʕe həʃihin wu-káʃ wu-ʃóḥhor wu-deráhim wu-dhéb fáḥere wa-kánoh tió ʃámhir di-miḥʃah be-kiyaʔ wu-ʔéʃreʔʃ (éʃretʃ) raḥ wál k(y)úse heʃ ḥalf* ‘Da wurden nun zertrümmt Eisen, Ton, Erz, Silber und Gold und wurden wie Speu der Tenne im Sommer, und der Wind trug sie fort, und ihre Spur war nicht zu finden’. As one can deduce from the following example, the verb can also be used with the intransitive meaning ‘to reach, to be brought’: *éʃrə he métaʔ ken ʔad éʔhi di-ʕúdog ʃe ʕómor éhe ʔa kən ʕámok ya di-bər-ḥomk ʕan*⁷⁷ *di-kən* ‘A message **was brought** to me from a brother of mine who was nursed with me, and he said: “It was like this”. I said: “God forbid!”

◊ Same as Arb. *ʃry* ‘to repel’ (LANE 1685). JOHNSTONE (JL 242) compares the Soqotri verb (known to him with the meaning ‘to raise the sails’) with Jib. *eʃré* ‘to cast an envious eye’.

213. *šónig* (*yəʃonigin/l'išəneg*) ‘to drowse, to doze, to nod’ شانيج نيس

► *ḥəyhe ke yhékam wa-ʔal-démə yəʃonigin bə-ri wa-yaʕágob lidmə* ‘After a person has been awake and could not sleep, **he nodes** with his head and is willing to sleep’, *ḥəyhe ke ʃrer bə-ʔayéʔe ʕaf ʃah yəʃabah šónig wa-ʕaf ʔaʔ yənáfaʃ díʔyhe nəfaʃ aʔ-yənáfaʃʃ síwa wa-yəʕúmor həy ifúl ʔa tšónigin inəm ʃək yaʕámər yótən yhénodk wa-ʔal-dómik* ‘When somebody was celebrating a feast late in the night until the morning, **he drowns**, and when he does his job, he does not do it well. People ask him: “Why **are you drowsing** like this? What is with you?” He says: “Oh people, I was awake (this night) and did not sleep”, *šinik ʕag di-gédaḥ mən l'éhe yóʕod wa-yəʃonigin ʕámok həʔən mən də ʕag di-yóʕod wa-yəʃonigin mən l'éhe ʕémər e məy šenigo di-ʃʔan wa-tóʔo érah káʕar ʕámok həy hə ifúl ʔa tóʕod wa-tšónigin ʕómor yə hərək ʔahre mən əlləhe bə-ʔigl'iso di-ʕam ʔə-ʕóʕi tóʔo ʔteyk əmríro wa-ʔaʔ rézaḥk wa-ʔəʔaḥk šérhon mən káʕre di-ʔigl'iso tóʔo ʔebk tos* ‘I saw a man who was coming from below, and **he was dozing off** while walking. I said: “Oh people – who is that man who is coming from below, and **he is dozing off** while walking?” They said: “Judging from his **drowsing gait**, it must be so-and-so”. When he reached the house, I said to him: “Hey! Why **are you dozing off** while walking?” He said: “I was trying to find a cow on the plateau from early morning, when I had a bite. Now I’m tired and my feet hurt me because of the sharp stones on the plateau – as you can imagine it”.

⁷⁴ Diminutive from *dakf* (du. *dákfi*, pl. *ədkáfo*) ‘ledge over a gorge’.

⁷⁵ *nifha* (du. *nifhāti*, pl. *énfaḥ*) ‘blowing, breeze’.

⁷⁶ *érgə* (*yərógil/l'orig*) ‘to lift, to raise’.

⁷⁷ *di-bər-ḥomk ʕan* is said to be an abbreviation from *di-bəḥrim ʕan*, itself of uncertain meaning and interpretation.

◇ Undoubtedly connected with Yemeni Arabic *stanāḥ* ‘betrunken werden’, *sunāḥ* ‘Trunkenheit’ (BEHNSTEDT 587, PIAMENTA 234) and probably an early borrowing from it.

214. *šēnhən* (yāšēnhən/līšēnhən) ‘to shake’ هَزَّ شَهَّنْ

► *bónik šarēbe wa-tóʔo tétək šēnhonk tos wa-šedhédó fáhre* ‘I was building a fence. When I finished, I tested it by **shaking** it, and the whole thing trembled’⁷⁸, *égaḥk šóbhōr kor aṭárob ḥóubhəl wa-təy šáṣbe al-ʔégahk tos šar ešk al-tənkáf fe wa-laṭ šēnhonk bās béne kor nəkod ḥóubhəl* ‘I climbed a tamarind tree to bring down some fruit, but there was one branch which I did not reach because I was afraid that it would snap under me. So I **shook** it well to make the fruit fall down’, *laḷ yašáḡob ḥəyhi žərhem yəṭóhor yəgerimin yaʔáḡaḥ wa-yāšēnhən nhəfš šáṣyob di-žáʔəd wa-laṭ yalákaṭ nhəfš žərhem* ‘When somebody wants some ziziphus fruit, he goes to collect them: he climbs a tree and **shakes** its branches, then gathers the fruit (on the ground)’.

215. *šérog* (yāšórəg/līšrəg) ‘to continue, to persist in doing something; to occupy, to keep busy, weary’ شَارَجَ اسْتَمَرَ

► *də kətəb di-któbəṅš wa-nafáʕəṅš mən l’oull’iyye érzaḥ tan wa-šérog bin əmed di-délaḳ* ‘This book we wrote and worked on – it was tiresome for us in the beginning and **occupied** us for a lot of time’, *šaróḡən diʔhan šəm la-hári mən šag di-šəyḥof šaf tošóməd* ‘We **continued** to look for a man who disappeared a whole day until the evening’, *etiʔo ḥe šouhéro bə-diʔse əžʔəḥər šəméro góšork əžʔəḥər di-laṭi di-yəsrər wa-šérog fe talát šəyḥontən* ‘A woman told me about her illness. She said: “I have an articulation disease”⁷⁹, and it **persists** in me for three years already”’.

◇ Probably a fossilized š-causative-reflexive from *érog* ‘to annoy’ (CSOL I 476), with no further etymology.

216. *šóšom* (yāšóšom/līššám) ‘to twist somebody’s ears’ ضَاعَمَ قَرَصَ الْأَذْنَ

► *šouyēghen al-šíʔi mən métaḷ diʔyhe di-bíyyo édoḑk ho məy la-ʔidhen wa-šóšomk šámok lóʔo al-tšəʔəyin mən diʔe bíyyo* ‘My son disregarded the words of his mother, so I took him by his ear and **twisted** it, saying: “Why don’t you pay attention to your mother?”’, *gédaḥk diʔáḷ šáḥəb di-fúnduḳ wa-riʔišk toy mən məftaḥ diʔyho di-ḡúrfe wa-šómor énhī šəyḥof édoḑk məy la-ʔidhen wa-šóšomk tos šámok wélaṭ ḥək al-muhimm šámok ḥək žábi ləksə diʔyho ḡúrfe kəšōwə* ‘I came to the receptionist in the hotel and asked for the key of my room. He said: “I it is lost”. I seized his ear and **twisted** it, and I said to him: “Woe unto you! That’s what I say to you: (in this way or another), I want to find my room opened”’.

217. *šášfer* (du. šašfəri, pl. šašférhon) ‘thread, string, fiber’ سَعْفَرُ خَيْطٌ

*inəm yošómər l’he kəyyod * il-ḥišaḳ bə-šašférhon* ‘What do these ropes say * those spun from the **dragon-blood tree fiber**?’⁸⁰, *fone éʔəfo yəšómər kəyḍ mən nōse di-təmre di-ḥázhoḷ wáll’a di-*

⁷⁸ Contrary to our expectations, this has been explained as a good sign by the informants – it means that the wall is well done, holding fast and solid.

⁷⁹ *əžʔəḥər di-laṭi* means literally ‘a disease of the strength’, but has been explained as a disease of joints by the informants.

⁸⁰ This line comes from the famous Soqotri folktale about a deadly contest between a woman’s husband and her brother. The wager was to guess the unusual material of the threads on which the baby’s “bundle” (*zeng*) was hung from the ceiling of the cave. Expectedly, kinship empathy overrode marriage bonds: the woman revealed to her brother the correct answer, disguising it as a lullaby. In the “classic” version of the story (MÜLLER 1905:82–84 No. 14, “revitalized” in NAUMKIN, KOGAN et al. 2015:7–13), the threads were made of dog hair (dogs been practically unknown to the islanders). Two more versions have been kindly put at our disposal by Dr. MIRANDA MORRIS, one

ləbənəno wáll'a di-mətaḳáno tóʔo ləgdób təmre zúʕa məs ənsóʔo wa-ḳúʕaʕ tóyhən wa-laṭ yəʔóuge bə-róutel' ʕaf liṭḳék wa-laṭ yəʕúmor məyhən **šáʕfor** wa-laṭ yəhúʕaḳ wa-ṭa yəʕúmor mən šaʕf di-zaʕrhiyob óuge šáʕfe dəš ʕime wa-laṭ húʕaḳ ʕaf táken ʕayd 'In former times, people would make ropes of palm fiber, of the palm-trees belonging to the di-házhoʕ or di-ləbənəno or di-mətaḳáno sorts. When a palm-tree would be cut down, one would take its fiber and dry it. Then one would beat them with a stick until they become soft, then one would make **threads** of them, which would be woven together (into a rope). In the same way it could be made of the leaves of the dragon-blood trees⁸¹: a dry leaf would be beaten, then (the fiber) would be woven together until it would become a rope', laʕ naʕágob ʕayd di-móuʕok bəy sərəd wáll'a núfaʕ bəy bíʕe tóʔo məʕíyo wa-l'hénʕa nóudof lə-góniye di-bóga nəšátars wa-laṭ naháraṭ éḳha wa-laṭ naʕamərsən tóʔo naʕgób ha di-délaḳ wa-ha di-šəyyor wa-ke əlláḳən mən éḳha yəʕbək wa-ke h^arórən⁸² yəḳáṭon⁸³ wa-ṭad **šáʕfer** ʕáʕər éḳha wa-dəg ṭa wa-laṭ nəhaʕákyhi lə-ṭahədədʕi wa-laʕ yətətóʔo bə-héʕiḳ yóuʕaʕ dəyhi wa-ṭánʔe ʕaf l'áken ʕayd 'When we need a rope to tame a grown-up goat-kid, or to work with a certain object, such as a leather-bucket or similar, we take a sack made of plastic stripes and trim its side, then we tear out its threads. Then we arrange them as we wish – sometimes we take many of them, sometimes few. If we take many threads, it (the plait) will be thick, and if we take few, it will be thin. One **plait** would contain ten threads, and another one like that. Then we plait them together. When their plaiting is finished, we add further threads to them until it becomes a rope', hómil'k lə-humár ʕaf tóʔo kíʔo mədnəbə óstə he ʕayd wa-ʔédofk lə-šáʕfor wa-rédofk⁸⁴ tóyhən wa-laṭ s^bbək⁸⁵ tóyhən kor yəmətə wa-mənáʕ dónib ʕámok həy ʕifha kor aʕ-l'iʕtəlab⁸⁶ mən éḳha 'I was harnessing my donkey, and when just the tail-harness was left, my rope was finished. So I took some (plastic) threads and put them together, then I joined them (to the rope). And where its tail was, I put a rag so that the donkey would not be hurt because of the threads'.

◇ Cf. SED I No. 259.

218. šəfak (yəšəfək/lišfák) 'to be well-formed, well-developed (a foetus)'⁸⁷

بِشَافِكْ اكتمل حملة

► ʕáʕe taʕádoʕ šəʕe əshéro wa-šfəniš də ḳəthon hīmi əshéro wa-ʕan əll'əhe wa-g^əmal' ʕiʕere wa-kaʕ bərwə wa-ʕəwag ṭa yəʕúmor həy aʕ-šəfak yəʕúmor ʕáʕe htélyho⁸⁸ wa-ʔəll'əhe haṭifo⁸⁹ wa-

involving the skin of the šaʕferiyye-snake and the other, "the reddish fibre of the *Dracaena cinnabari*" (šáʕfe). Both šaʕferiyye and šáʕfe are phonetically very close to our šáʕfer and there is little doubt that the three variants derive from a single common *Vorlage*.

⁸¹ For a detailed scientific description of the use of the dragon-blood tree fiber for making cordage see MILLER–MORRIS 2004:327–328.

⁸² h^arər (yah^arər/l'áhrər) 'to make little, to diminish', cf. LS 193.

⁸³ kətən (yəḳáṭon/liḳtón) 'to be thin'.

⁸⁴ rédoʕ (yəródaʕ/lirədəʕ) 'to add'.

⁸⁵ s^bbək (yəšábək/l'ásbak) 'to add, to join'.

⁸⁶ šatəlab (yəštəlob/liʕtəlab) 'to be hurt'.

⁸⁷ It is hard to say whether the adjective šəfək (du. šfáki, pl. šf^əyak), f. šfáke (du. šfakíti, pl. šfakhétən) 'clever, intelligent, smart; eloquent' represents another, semantically rather remote, manifestation of this root. More probably, it is a kind of adaptation of Arb. šfq (IV) 'to be affectionate, kind or compassionate; to fear, to be cautious' (LANE 1573), even if the Arabic verb does not seem to refer to intelligence or smartness either in the classical language or in the dialects known to us. Almost certainly borrowed from Arabic is Jib. šəfək 'to keep quiet out of politeness' (JL 247).

⁸⁸ htélyho (tahtələhən/tahtələy), pl. haṭələh (tahtələhnen/tahtələhen) 'to abort (a woman)' (LS 178).

⁸⁹ haṭifo (hoṭifin/ləhaṭáfen), pl. hóṭif (haṭáfnen/ləhaṭáfen) 'to abort (large cattle)' (LS 171). In MÜLLER 1905:167₁₂ it is used about a woman, but according to our informants, this usage must be metaphoric (derogatory).

*šfōnīs kōthon yəfūmor həy áfǵəl*⁹⁰ ‘A woman carries her child nine months, and small cattle, five months; as for a cow or a she-camel, its gestation is ten months. If a child or a young of an animal is not born like this (that is, earlier than that term), one says about it: “**It is not well-developed**”. If a woman aborts, it is called *htélyho*, and when a cow aborts, it is called *hařifo*, and when females of small cattle abort, it is called *áfǵəl*’, *késək bə-káne di-moukārhin óřoz di-řiggo řifəf él’əl’ wa-řal-šéfak ksək toy yəřššin*⁹¹ *bə-ħe édořk řay wa-ħérək řəřárer*⁹² *ħay řħaf id-ħe kor yíroy wa-řal-ri wa-fíyyot* ‘I came across a goat in a small pen who had given birth to a female kid, but the kid was not **well-developed**. And I found it to open its mouth all the time. I seized it and tried to squeeze some milk into its mouth, but it did not drink and died’, *řay řázē řin řal řəǵhíl’ol’ al-řarah řřkan tařtələħən wa-řal-ken řəs əmbórye řōboř řázē wa-təmtéřol’*⁹³ *tóřo tařtələħən dēħer* ‘There is a woman among us – when she gets pregnant, she is unable to **complete her gestation**: she aborts and has no children. And the woman weeps and worries because she aborts all the time’.

◊ From PWS **špḳ* ‘to be sufficient, to be abundant’: Hbr. *sāpāk* ‘abundance’ (HALOT 765), *špḳ* ‘to reach, to be sufficient’ (ibid. 1349), JPA *spḳ* ‘to suffice’ (DJPA 386), JBA *spḳ* ‘to be sufficient, capable’ (DJBA 827), Syr. *spak* ‘satis fuit; potuit’ (LSyr. 491), Sab. *h-sṯfk* ‘to satiate’, *sṯfk-m* ‘in abundance’ (SD 131), Gez. *sařaka* ‘to grow thickly, densely’ (CDG 488), Tgr. *šāřkā* ‘to be dense (forest, bushes)’ (WTS 231)⁹⁴.

219. šħom (*yəřħom/liřħám*) ‘to scratch’

سحام

خدش

► *řérodk řay yhom kə-řayyúǵ ařħmíre wa-řagóřən řyħən bə-kəyyod di-l’ayúħ wa-tóřo gédəħ ařħmíre ébrəħ di-l’ayúħ wa-ħan gədəħan mən ħérħən wa-gəməħan trə wa-řad éħrə*⁹⁵ *řə-ri di-l’ayúħ wa-řer řag wa-gəméħay bə-fářam wa-stébyo*⁹⁶ *řə-ker məřror řaf nəkébor həy wa-lóyən biř wa-dor yəřřikək řamóřən mənóřo dor řómor kenniřho di-šħom tho řarb* ‘One day I was pursuing a few (feral) donkeys with other men. And we set nets for them, and when the donkeys came, they fell into the nets. And we came from behind and seized two of them, but one jumped above the net. Then one man rushed and seized it by its hind leg, and they dragged each other over the *m.*-trees until we managed to help him and caught the donkey. And there was blood sprinkled (all over there). We said: “Where is this blood from?” The man said: “It is from me. A log **has scratched** me”’, *ħómil’ řəbít*⁹⁷ *řəmit wa-sobós*⁹⁸ *řə-b³řer bəřá məkəřif wa-řóřəm di-yóuřod řəřəmħin bəs tóřo éřah řəbít řamḳ di-řóřəm řħem řəřəmħin goniyíti nigéřéto di-ħóyħi ébrək diřyħe b³řer wa-yħe ħérə mən məkəřif kor yəbóřgyħi di-káne* ‘(A man called) Sebit loaded some cement and some large cattle fodder on his camel without load-packs, and the road he was about

⁹⁰ *ařǵéřo* (*řagol/řářǵal*), pl. *áfǵəl* (*řagólən/řářǵələn*) ‘to abort (a goat or a ewe)’.

⁹¹ *řših* (*yəřššin/liřášah*) ‘to open one’s mouth repeatedly’. Better known (LS 427, CSOL I 479) is the causative stem *řah* (*yəřášah/liřášah*) ‘to open one’s mouth’. As pointed out by our informants, *řših* (*yəřššin/liřášah*) ‘to open one’s mouth repeatedly’ is formally and semantically distinct from another intensive stem verb with (at least synchronically) the same radicals *ř-š-h*, viz. *óřih* (*yóřóřšin/liřášah*) ‘to clean a date palm tree of dead leaves’.

⁹² *řřárer* (*yəřřářirin/liřřárer*) ‘to press, to squeeze’ (= *عصر*). The same meaning can be expressed by *řóřor* (*yəřóřor/liřřár*), homonymous with *řóřor* (*yəřóřor/liřřár*) ‘to scream, to shout’.

⁹³ *mátař* (*yəmtéřol/liřmtéřol* or *řimtól*) ‘to be worried’ (= *قلق*). Interestingly, *mátař* ‘he was worried’ is opposed to *méřař* ‘word, speech’, which provides a rare example of a minimal pair involving *ε* vs. *a*. Structurally similar is the well-known opposition between *nářař* ‘he worked’ and *nəřař* ‘work, affair’ (KOGAN–NAUMKIN 2014:63–64).

⁹⁴ From Aramaic this root was borrowed into Akkadian as *sapāku* ‘to be sufficient’ (CAD S 161).

⁹⁵ *éħrə* (*yəħrə/liřhrə*) ‘to jump’.

⁹⁶ *sotéřə* (*yəstéřə/liřstéř*) ‘to be pulled, dragged along’ (= *انسحب*).

⁹⁷ Sebit is said to be a common personal name on Soqotra. As it happens with other non-Islamic Soqotri names, its origin is unclear to us.

⁹⁸ *sobós* ‘bran’ (= *نخالة*). The origin of the word is unclear to us.

to walk along was full of trees. When Sebit was midway along, the trees **scratched** the two sacks and they began to leak to the ground. Then he made his camel kneel down and went to look for load-packs to put his sacks inside’, *šə́ayfin*⁹⁹ *han ʕaghétan tɔy bə-ʕayéfe wa-tóʔo astóʔo ʕayéfe šarkáhan šəgre toʔo aráhan ʕad half šháməs ʕáze ʕarb kertélo*¹⁰⁰ *šérkah məs dor ʕáherk wa-bóʕark həs šətrəhər mən nókbe wa-ʕaʕ ʕəsamk ʕes ʕaf káʕar* ‘We, the women, have been invited to a wedding feast. When the feast was over, we went up a mountain pass, and a log **scratched** the calf of the leg of one of the women so that blood appeared. I tore off a strip from my veil and bandaged it so that she could reach her home’.

◊ Also in Mhr. *šəhām* ‘to claw, to scratch deep’ (ML 390), Jib. *šham* ‘to scratch hard’ (JL 258). Same in the Arabic dialects of Yemen: *šuhm* ‘Kratzer’, *mišahham* ‘zerkratzt’ (BEHNSTEDT 628).

220. *škə* (*yəšóki/l’óšik*) ‘to visit, to take care of, to look after’

تَفَقَّدَ يَسْكِي

► *še š’l’ε hižharétan əbəšhinitin*¹⁰¹ *lə-ħa bə-di-méde wa-kúl’ə subúʕ əšóki ʕésən toʕ-náʕa kaʕ ino di-ʕələmo*¹⁰² *wa-ʕaʕ əkténaħ* ‘I have three pregnant tame goats staying in the village there in the countryside. Every week I go there **to visit** them – perhaps one of them has given birth? – and then come back (to Hadibo)’, *daħ še diʔyho ħanáken diʔyhe b’ʕer wa-ʕaʕáʕon məy béne liʔénne ʕaʕ yəšóki diʔyhe mən b’ʕer wa-yóuƕar tho yəferirin*¹⁰³ *tho wa-di-še ʕam bər šóʕəƕ wa-tóʕod həy liššin wa-ʕaʕ-məʔzez*¹⁰⁴ *wa-ʕaʕ yəgodihin l’ázam oħošimins wa-ʕaʕ-yəʔohor kénhi kaʕ bə-ʕamt wa-nébcə*¹⁰⁵ *wa-kən* ‘My “godfather”¹⁰⁶ left with me his camel (for a certain period, for pasturing). And I like that man very much because whenever he comes **to visit** his camel in the evening, he entertains me and those who are with me, as he is intelligent and eloquent, but not too talkative. And whenever he comes, I must honor him: he never leaves without half a carcass, and the skin, and the horn’¹⁰⁷, *káno dáʕwa ʕad bə-šətrəhər éntəħ ʕəyyúg mən ʕahidídšən wa-ħérə tk’ləʕényhən diʔyhan ʕaghétan ʕaf yəšétéʔən*¹⁰⁸ *gədəħ ʕad ʕag diyhən ʕəméro ʕáze tɔy šfáke gədəħ fəʕ’an yəšóki ʕékən wa-yəšmətoʕ ʕékən ʕəker šəʕárhər* ‘There was a litigation in a tribe, and the men quarrelled with each other, while their wives tried to prevent them (from quarrelling) and reconcile them. Then a certain man came to them. And one wise woman said: “This man has come **to visit** you. (When he sees your quarrels), he will spread the news (about you) throughout the tribes”’.

• Loss of the *t*-prefix in the Imperfect (3 sg. f. *sóki*), side by side with the Jussive *l’óšik*, make it clear that this is a causative stem verb. In the Perfect, an alternative 3 sg. m. form *škə* has been recorded, with *škə* as 3 pl. m.

◊ From PWS **šky* ‘to look’: Hbr. *maškit* ‘image; imagination’ (HALOT 641), JPA *sky* ‘to look, to expect; to wait, to hope’ (DJPA 377), JBA *sky* ‘to wait’ (DJBA 809), Syr. *skā* ‘exspectavit’ (LSyr. 473), Gez. *maskot* ‘window’ (CDG 365)¹⁰⁹, *sakawa* ‘to look, to observe’, *ʔaskawa* ‘to

⁹⁹ *šə́ayf* (*yəšə́ayfin/lišə́ayf*) ‘to attend a wedding feast’ (= حضر وليمة العرس).

¹⁰⁰ *kartélo* (du. *kartéloti*, pl. *kárthəʕ*) ‘calf of the leg’ (= بطة الساق). SIMEONE-SENELLE-LONNET 1991:1461.

¹⁰¹ *ibšə* (du. *ibšiti*, pl. *ibəš*), diminutive *əbəšéno* (du. *əbəšənóti*, pl. *əbəšhinitin*).

¹⁰² *ʕələmo* (*toʕóʕəm/taʕləm*), pl. *ʕélom* (*toʕóʕəmən/taʕləmən*) ‘to be the first in giving birth (from a group of animals)’.

¹⁰³ *fərir* (*yəferirin/liʕərer*) ‘to amuse, to entertain’ (= سلى).

¹⁰⁴ *məʔzez* ‘talkative person, prattler’ (= ثرثار).

¹⁰⁵ *nébcə* (du. *nebšiti*, pl. *nibaʕ*) ‘skin of a billy-goat (large and, therefore, visibly different from that of a female animal)’ (= جلد التيس).

¹⁰⁶ For this institution on Soqotra v. CSOL I 346, LONNET 1999:207–210.

¹⁰⁷ A circumlocution for taking along some meat offered as a gift by the host to his visitors, a deeply rooted custom among Soqotri bedouins (CSOL I 282).

¹⁰⁸ *šəti* (*yəšətiʔin/lišəte*) ‘to reconcile’ (= تصالح).

¹⁰⁹ Arb. *miškāt* ‘niche in a wall’ (AMBROS 2004:152) has been generally (and, most probably, correctly) understood as an Ethiopism (NÖLDEKE 1910:51, JEFFERY 1938:266), as against RABIN 1951:123 whose doubts do not seem well-founded. The etymologically correct spelling of the Geez word is thus **maškot*.

show' (ibid. 498)¹¹⁰, Jib. *eššóki* 'to look all day long to see if any animals are missing' (JL 251). BROCKELMANN (LSyr. 473) further connects Arb. *škw* 'to complain' (LANE 1589), which he renders as 'questus est auxilium exspectans'.

Abbreviations of lexicographic tools

- AED: T. L. KANE. *Amharic-English Dictionary*. Wiesbaden 1990.
AL-IRYANI: M. AL-IRYANI. *Al-muŕğam al-yamanī fī l-luġa wa-t-turāṭ*. S.l., 2012.
BEHNSTEDT: P. BEHNSTEDT. *Die nordjemenitischen Dialekte (Glossar)*. Wiesbaden 1992–2006.
BK: A. DE BIBERSTEIN–KAZIMIRSKI. *Dictionnaire arabe-français*. Paris, 1860.
CAD: *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute, the University of Chicago*. Chicago 1956–2010.
CSOL I: V. NAUMKIN, L. KOGAN et al. *Corpus of Soqoti Oral Literature*. Volume One. Leiden, 2014.
CSOL II: V. NAUMKIN, L. KOGAN et al. *Corpus of Soqoti Oral Literature*. Volume Two. Leiden, 2018.
CDG: W. LESLAU. *Comparative Dictionary of Geʿez (Classical Ethiopic)*. Wiesbaden 1987.
DJBA: M. SOKOLOFF. *A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*. Ramat-Gan, 2002.
DJPA: M. SOKOLOFF. *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*. Ramat-Gan, 2002.
DOZY: R. DOZY. *Supplément au dictionnaires arabes*. Leiden, 1881.
DRS: D. COHEN et al. *Dictionnaire des racines sémitiques*. Paris–La Haye 1970–.
DUL: G. DEL OLMO LETE, J. SANMARTÍN. *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition*. Leiden 2003.
EDG: W. LESLAU. *Etymological Dictionary of Gurage (Ethiopic)*. Vol. III. Wiesbaden, 1979.
EDH: W. LESLAU. *Etymological Dictionary of Harari*. Berkeley, 1963.
GD: C. DE LANDBERG. *Glossaire daṭīnois*. Leiden 1920–1942.
HALOT: L. KOEHLER, W. BAUMGARTNER, J. J. STAMM. *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament*. Leiden–New York–Köln 1994–2000.
JL: T. M. JOHNSTONE. *Jibbāli Lexicon*. Oxford 1981.
LA: IBN MANDŪR. *Lisānu l-šarab*. Bayrūt 1990.
LANE: E. W. LANE. *Arabic-English Lexicon*. London, 1867.
LS: W. LESLAU. *Lexique Soqotri (Sudarabique moderne) avec comparaisons et explications étymologiques*. Paris 1938.
LSyr.: C. BROCKELMANN. *Lexicon syriacum*. Halle, 1928.
ML: T. M. JOHNSTONE. *Mehri Lexicon*. London 1987.
PIAMENTA: M. PIAMENTA. *Dictionary of Post-Classical Yemeni Arabic*. Leiden 1990.
SD: A. F. L. BEESTON, M. A. GHUL, W. W. MÜLLER, J. RYCKMANS. *Sabaic Dictionary (English-French-Arabic)*. Louvain-la-Neuve 1982.
SED I: A. MILITAREV, L. KOGAN. *Semitic Etymological Dictionary*. Vol. 1. *Anatomy of Man and Animals*. Münster 2000.
SED II: A. MILITAREV, L. KOGAN. *Semitic Etymological Dictionary*. Vol. 2. *Animal names*. Münster 2005.
SL: M. SOKOLOFF. *A Syriac Lexicon*. Winona Lake, 2009.
TA: AZ-ZABĪDĪ. *Tāj al-šarūs*. Kuwayt 1965–2001.
TED: T. L. KANE. *Tigrinya-English Dictionary*. Springfield 2000.
WKAS: M. ULLMANN. *Wörterbuch der klassischen arabischen Sprache*. Wiesbaden, 1957–.

¹¹⁰ Leslau wonders whether these verbs, attested in national lexicographic tools only, could be “reconstructed from *maskot* ‘window’”, but this is very unlikely: while a word for “window” can be easily derived from “to look (through)” (cf. Serbo-Croatian *prozor* < *prozirati*, BUCK 1949:470), a secondary abstraction of the latter from the former is much harder to imagine.

WTS: E. LITTMANN, M. HÖFNER. *Wörterbuch der Tigre-Sprache. Tigre-deutsch-englisch.* Wiesbaden 1956.

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